

HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 13

D
6
G7

THE SLOVENES

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

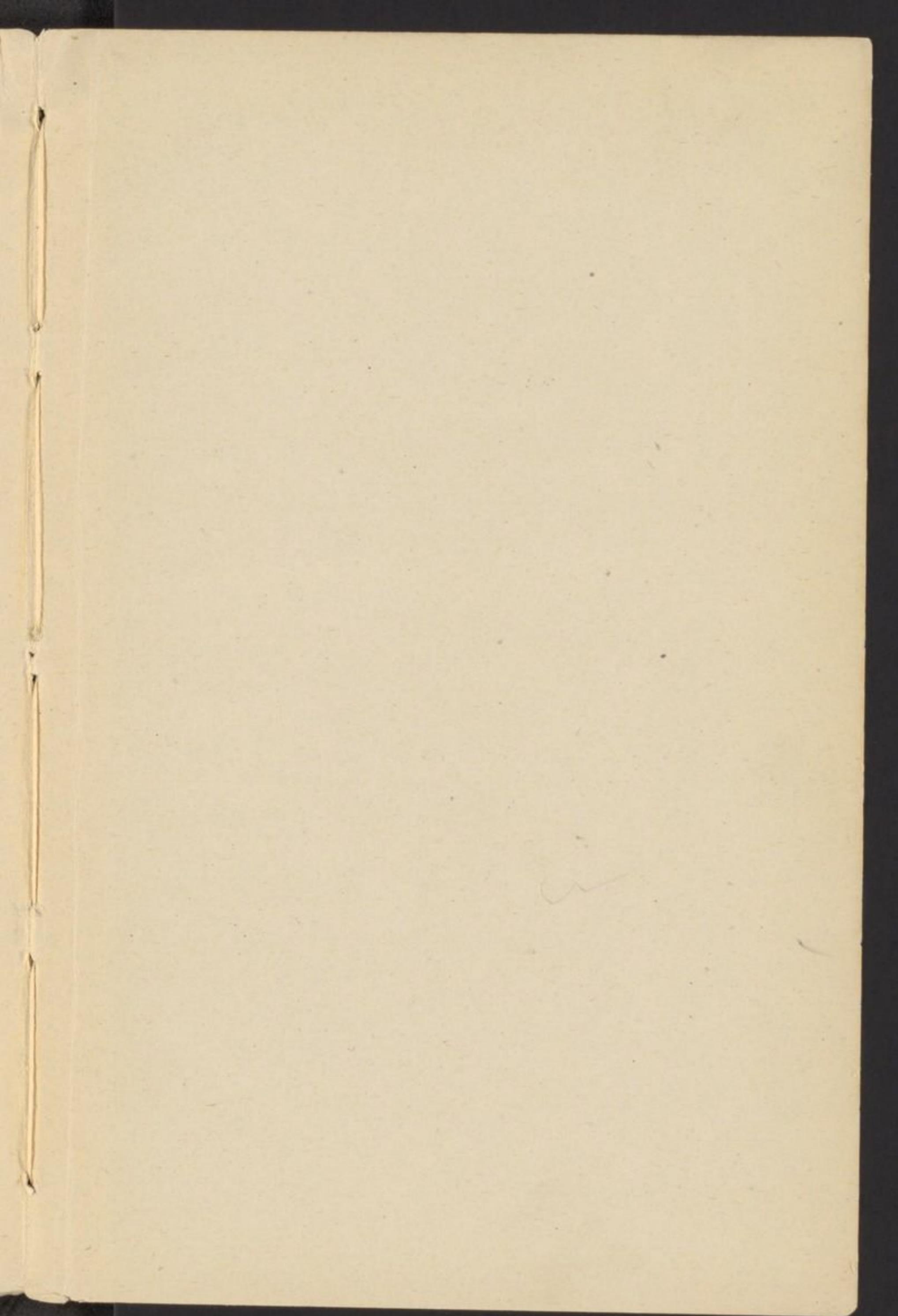
1920

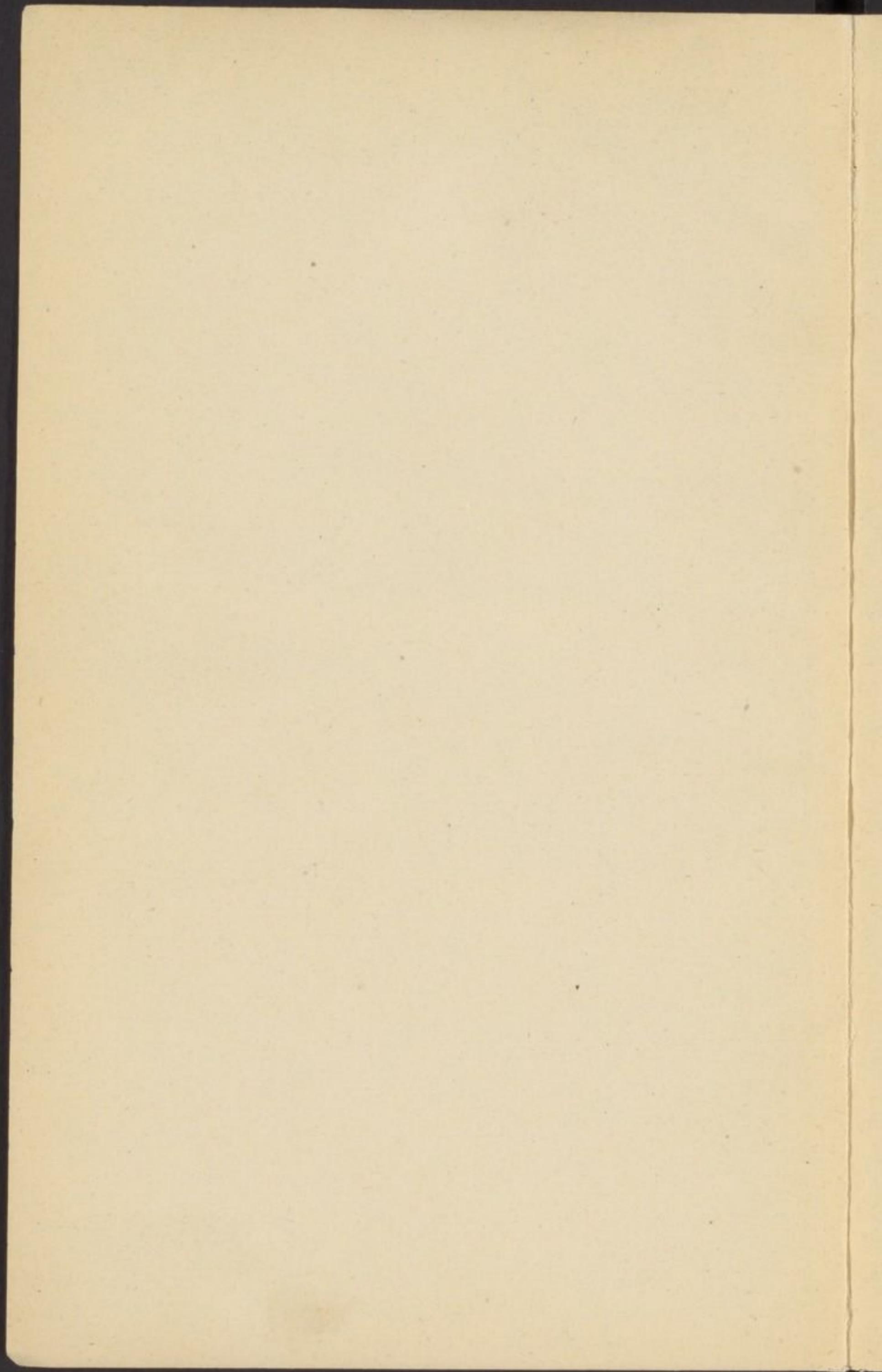


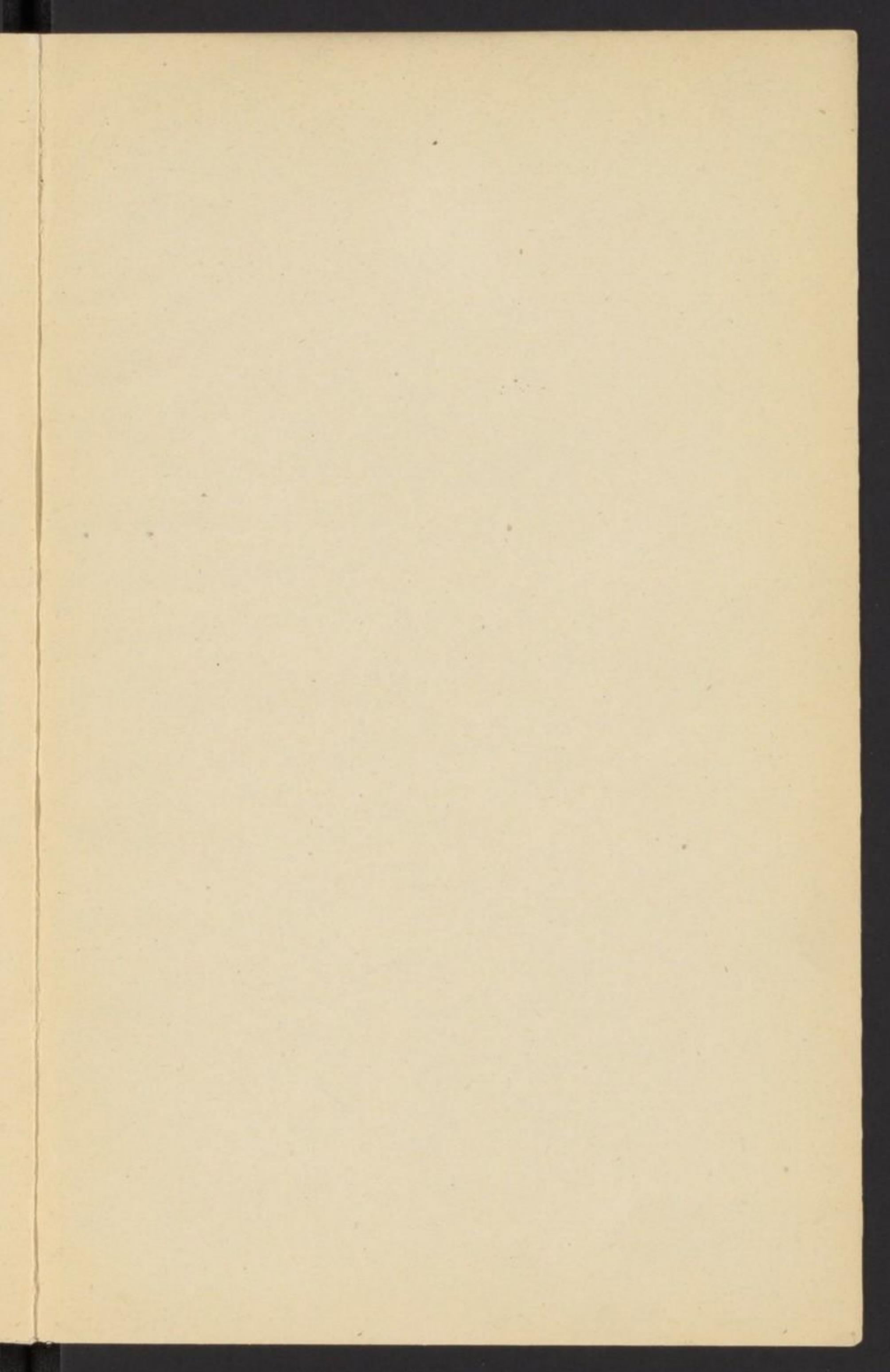


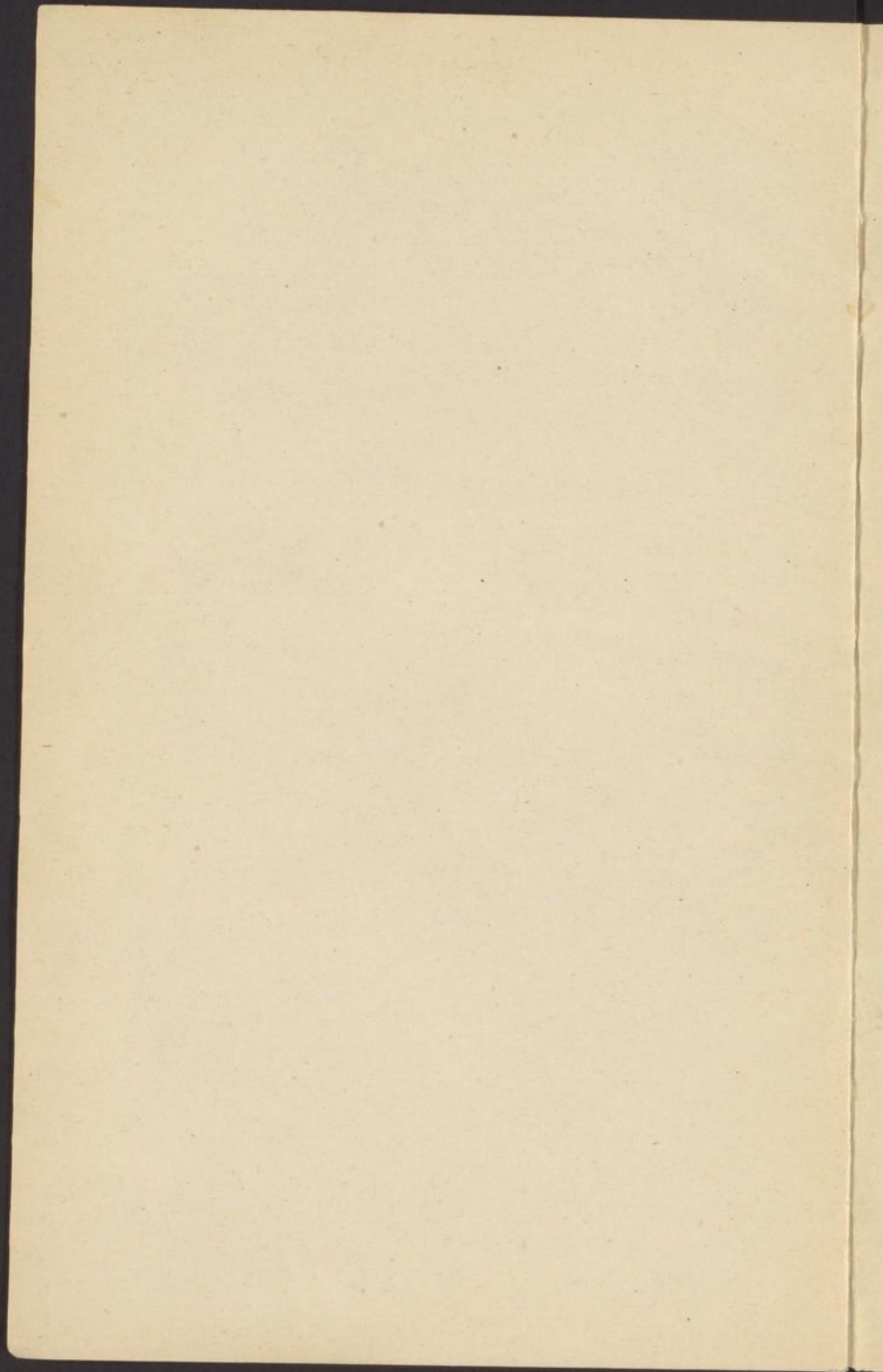
Class II 6

Book .G 7









153

HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE ^{Gen. Sect.} FOREIGN OFFICE.--No. 13

507

1407

THE SLOVENES

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

1920

2d set

II 6
.G 7

n. of D.
JUL 23 1920

maps Mar, 1921

Editorial Note.

IN the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connection with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous enquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

General Editor and formerly

Director of the Historical Section.

January 1920.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. POLITICAL HISTORY	
Chronological Summary	1
Introductory	1
The Reformation	2
The Eighteenth Century	3
The Romantic Movement	3
The Illyrian Provinces	4
Restoration to Austria	5
Literary Movement and Reform of the Language	5
The Year of Revolution	6
Bach's Administration	7
The Constitution of 1861	8
The Ausgleich	8
The Pan-German Movement	8
The Slovene Clerical Party	9
Growth of Jugo-Slav Feeling	10
The Reichsrat of 1907	11
The Balkan Wars	11
 II. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS	
1. Religious... ..	13
2. Political	13
3. Educational	14
 III. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS	
 AUTHORITIES	
Maps	20

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

CHAPTER II

CHAPTER III

CHAPTER IV

CHAPTER V

CHAPTER VI

CHAPTER VII

CHAPTER VIII

CHAPTER IX

CHAPTER X

CHAPTER XI

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- c. 590 First Slovene Settlements.
- 627-658 Kingdom of Samo.
- 952 Creation of the Duchy of Carantania.
- 1282-1382 Absorption of the Slovenes in the Habsburg dominions
- 1555 Translation of the New Testament into Slovene.
- 1809 Creation by Napoleon of the Illyrian Provinces.
- 1815 Restoration of the Provinces to Austria.
- 1848 Emancipation of the Peasantry.
- 1871 Hohenwart's Administration.
- 1879-93 Taaffe's Administration.

Introductory.—The ancestors of the Slovenes, who belonged to the Wend branch of the Slavonic race, appeared, in the latter part of the sixth century A.D., in the regions still occupied in great part by their descendants. Their name in the form Wind or Windisch survives in many local place-names (*e.g.*, Windischgrätz). Their settlements extended northwards into Lower Austria and westward to Tirol; but they formed a compact mass only in what later became Carantania, *i.e.*, South Styria, South Carinthia, and Carniola, whence they spread southwards into the lands of the Littoral. They are first found in subjection to the Avars; but in the next century they threw off the yoke and became part of the great Czecho-Slovene kingdom under Samo (627-658). Separated from the Czechs after his death, they maintained themselves against the Friulians, Bavarians, and Avars only by submission (748) to the Franks, who had felt the pagan monarchy to be a menace.

Ultimately their lands were divided by Charlemagne between the Dukes of Bavaria and Friuli. An era of German colonization followed; and the work of Christianization was carried out entirely by the German clergy.

Little is heard of the Slovenes in the later Middle Ages. They formed the main population of the Duchy of Carantania, created in 952 by Otto I as a bulwark against Magyar invasion. Ottokar II, King of Bohemia, endeavoured to unite the Slavs of north and south in one Empire, as Samo had done before him; but, after his defeat at Marchfeld in 1278, the Slovene lands in the course of a century (1282-1382) fell under the dominion of the Habsburgs. The Counts of Celje (Cilli), who cherished ambitions in the south and exerted authority at one time in Croatia, at another in Bosnia, threatened for a time to be formidable rivals; but the last of the line was murdered in 1456, and his possessions also passed to the Austrian Crown. Long before this the Slovene aristocracy had been ousted or absorbed by the German nobility. In the thirteenth century, however, the Slovene language still possessed a legal status, and was spoken at the Court of Vienna; and many Slovene titled names are preserved in the records of this period. The inhabitants of the eastern frontier region were constantly combined with their kinsmen across the border in resistance to the Turks; and the characteristic anti-Turk Jugo-Slav epic, which has been preserved in this region, enshrines the names of Serbian heroes.

The Reformation.—Owing to the close connection of the Slovene lands with Germany, the doctrines of the Reformation soon spread to them, and found considerable acceptance among the nobles and inferior clergy, and, to some extent, in the towns. They were propagated in the native tongue by Primož Trubar (1508-86), a native of Carniola, who in 1548 was driven from Laibach on account of his heretical opinions, and thenceforth lived in Germany. Here he translated the New Testament into Slovene (1555), and published

various religious works—hymn books, catechisms, &c.—in the same tongue. These were printed at first in German, and afterwards to some extent in the Latin type; but also in Glagolitic and Cyrillic, in presses erected at Urach and Tübingen.

One result of the movement was a study of the Slovene language, which produced a small grammar (by Bohorić) and a dictionary. But the interesting feature of the movement is its Jugo-Slav character. From Istria, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Serbia a circle of collaborators gathered round Trubar; and at one time the movement bid fair to spread in Croatia. It was not, however, destined to be permanent; nowhere was the success of the Counter-Reformation more complete than in Slovene lands. As controversial literature continued to be produced on both sides in Slovene, the popular tongue was not at first unfavourably affected; but when, at the opening of the seventeenth century, the Catholic victory was complete, it was discouraged, and the use of Bohorić's grammar was prohibited. Moreover, the Protestant literature was burnt as heretical, and many works have perished completely, while the few that survive are extremely rare.

The Eighteenth Century.—Throughout the seventeenth century nothing in Slovene history calls for mention. In the eighteenth century the Germanizing and centralizing tendencies of Maria Theresa and Joseph II might have been expected to discourage still further what was now merely the speech of peasants. But the former, in her zeal for religion, caused a catechism in Slovene to be introduced into the schools; while, owing to the desire of the latter for the enlightenment of his subjects, the Government during his reign undertook or promoted the translation of many educational books, especially works on economics and medicine.

The Romantic Movement.—Towards the end of the century national sentiment received a powerful stimulus from the Romantic movement, which among the subject Slavs of Austria allied itself with the liberal

and nationalist tendencies promoted by the French Revolution. Idealization of the past led to the study of national history, to a new interest in native literature, and to a new discontent with the inferiority of the Slav position. Among the Slovenes, as among the Czechs, the impulse to revive the national tongue was strongly felt; and a circle was formed whose avowed object was to write "in the tone of the people, and for the people." The patron of the movement was the wealthy noble and mine-owner, Baron Cojz (Zois); the leading spirit was Vodnik (1758-1819), and at a later date Kopitar. Vodnik, a priest of Carniola, was brought by Cojz's influence to Laibach, where he founded (1797) the first Slovene newspaper. To the callings of priest and journalist he united those of poet and scholar, devoting himself mainly to studying the language and antiquities of his native land.

The Illyrian Provinces.—The year 1809, which saw the creation by Napoleon of the "Illyrian Provinces," marks a turning-point in the history of the Slovenes. This dependency, intended to secure for France easy communication with the Near East, included Carinthia, Carniola, Gorizia, Istria, part of Croatia, and Dalmatia (to which was added Ragusa), and had its capital at Laibach (Ljubljana). The new grouping did not exactly coincide with any racial boundary, but it included—with the exception of those in Hungary and Styria—all the Slovenes, who were thus treated for the first time as a racial unity, and were brought into contact with their near kinsmen of Croatia. The Slovene language was encouraged in the primary schools, and introduced to some extent for official purposes; while at Laibach a Slovene "academy" or high school was founded, in which Vodnik became a teacher. Native officials were employed in the local administration so far as the limited supply of qualified persons allowed. The period was one of just and competent government, and still lives in local tradition as an age of gold. At the time it was celebrated in the best known of his poems, "The

Resurrection of Illyria," by Vodnik, who played a great part in organizing the education of the new provinces.

Restoration to Austria.—The restoration of the provinces to Austria in 1815 cancelled the French reforms¹ and rendered all political development impossible, for though nominally they were incorporated in a shadowy "Kingdom of Illyria," the old provincial Diets were at various dates restored. These bodies were in no sense representative, including, besides nobles and clergy, only a few delegates from the towns, while their functions were restricted to the registration of Imperial decrees relative to recruiting and taxation, and to dealing with matters of local police.

Literary Movement and Reform of the Language.—But a strong stimulus had been given to the nationalist spirit, which had already manifested itself in the circle of Baron Cojz, and gradually developed into the full-blown "Illyrism" of the thirties. In so far as the movement was literary, it received a good deal of encouragement; not only from the German literary and learned world, where a considerable interest in Serbian national poetry had already been created by Goethe and Jakob Grimm, but also from the Viennese Government, which hoped that national feeling might thus be confined in a safe channel. While local patriotism, which has always been strong in Slovene lands, found expression in it, on its more important side the movement was Jugo-Slav, and may be said to have its origin in the works of two great scholars, the Serbian Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864), and the Slovene Jernei Kopitar (1780-1844). Slovene had never developed a literary idiom; besides the numerous local dialects there was merely a debased jargon, full of false forms and strongly Germanized. Serbian, in spite of a great tradition, and Croatian were in no better case. Kopitar aimed

¹ Vodnik was compulsorily retired from his post at the Academy.

at the development of the spoken language into a medium of literary expression, and with this object published in 1808 the first scientific Slovene grammar. Not the least of his claims to remembrance is that he discerned the possibilities of the spoken Serbian language, which was closely akin to that of the national poetry, and suggested to Vuk, who had already begun to use it for prose, that it should become the Serbian literary language. This advice induced Vuk to devote himself to the linguistic and lexicographical labours which ultimately resulted in the adoption of the idiom in question (known as the *što* dialect), with a reformed orthography, as the literary language of Serbs and Croats alike. Kopitar would fain have seen the Slovenes also accept this new literary idiom, but found little support and met with determined opposition, especially from Prešern, the most distinguished of Slovene poets, in whom local patriotism was strong. In fact, though Slovenes and Serbo-Croats can understand each other's language, the innovation would have involved a far greater breach with the vernacular than in Croatia. Still, the labours of Vuk were not without their effect in Slovene lands. A linguistic standard had been set; moreover, when in 1843 permission was granted to the Slovenes, who had been agitating on the subject for twenty years, to bring out a periodical in their own language, Janez Bleiweis (1808-1881) used in his *Novice* Vuk's orthography, and followed his authority on doubtful points of vocabulary or syntax. The new periodical was at first limited to the discussion of questions of agriculture and economics, under cover of which, however, it managed to introduce a good deal of political matter; in 1848 a political side was added.

The Year of Revolution.—The year 1848 found the Slovenes awake to national, Jugo-Slav, and even Pan-Slav¹ ideals, but without political leadership, experience, or definitely formulated aims. The petition to

¹ The Pan-Slav element was mainly due to Czech influence, and especially to that of the poet Kollár.

the Emperor, drawn up by the Committee of the Congress of Prague on behalf of the Slav nationalities, demanded the creation of a Kingdom of Slovenia, which was to include Carniola and all the Slovene districts of Styria, Carinthia, and the Littoral, with Laibach for the capital. This demand had been formulated by "Slovenija," a Slovene society recently founded at Vienna under the presidency of the famous Slav scholar, Miklošić. It especially represented youthful academic opinion, and had protested against the election of deputies to the German Parliament at Frankfort. Both the petition of the Congress and the resolution of "Slovenija" strongly protested loyalty to the Habsburg Crown. On the other hand, Slovene representatives attended the Croato-Slavonic Diet at Agram, which petitioned for the incorporation of the Serbian Voivodina and the Slovene territories with Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia under the crown of St. Stephen. In the Committee of the Kremsier Diet, which had been instructed to draw up proposals in the Federalist sense, conflicting proposals were made for the independence of Carniola and Carinthia, and for their union with each other or with other provinces.

Bach's Administration.—The Slovenes, in fact, won no direct political advantage from the perturbations of 1848; in 1849 even the title of "Kingdom of Illyria" finally disappeared. In spite of the generally centralising character of Bach's administration, a somewhat more liberal spirit was manifested in the treatment of the language. Up till 1848 German was the language of the State, or, as the Emperor Joseph had called it, "die Universalsprache der Monarchie." Slovene had long disappeared from the administration, except in so far as it was necessarily used by officials in their intercourse with the people; the secondary schools were purely German; the primary schools almost without exception bilingual. Carniola and Carinthia now obtained the recognition of Slovene as a judicial language (*Gerichtssprache*). In the course of a few years the mother tongue of the scholars

was made the medium of instruction in the primary schools; the purely German character of secondary education was virtually maintained. But the real achievement of 1848—the emancipation of the peasants—was destined to have far-reaching effects by bringing about the ruin of the German nobility; while education and the improved conditions which resulted from more efficient administration raised the peasantry and enlarged the middle class.

The Constitution of 1861.—The Constitution of 1861, though it closed the era of absolutism, brought the Slovenes little immediate advantage. The reconstitution of the Diets on practically their present basis left them still in a minority, even in that of Carniola; and the new Reichsrat was elected by the Diets. When in 1863 the Slovene members of the Diet of Carniola demanded that the minutes should be kept in Slovene as well as in German, they were peremptorily refused by Count Auersperg (Anastasius Grün), an admirer of their national lyric and one of their best friends among the Germans. A proposal in the same Diet in 1866 to suppress German in all the primary schools of the province save those of the German *enclave* of Gottschee was naturally unsuccessful.

The Ausgleich.—The Ausgleich with Hungary, which secured the supremacy of Germans in Austria as of Magyars in Transleithania, was extremely unpopular with the Slovenes; and the Slovene deputies of Carniola refused to attend the Reichsrat convoked by Beust at Vienna, following in this the example of the Czechs. In 1868-9 there was further agitation for a Kingdom of Slovenia, to include the Slovene lands (South Styria, South Carinthia, Carniola, and the Littoral), and a demand that the language should be used for purposes of government and education. But the fact that the representatives of the Slovenes sat in six different Diets made effective political co-operation impossible.

The Pan-German Movement.—From 1870 a new acuteness was imported into the general racial struggle

by the growing aggressiveness of the younger Germans, which was fostered by the issue of the Franco-Prussian War. By 1881 all German parties were united in a demand for special measures to defend the position of Germans within the monarchy, and for the recognition of German as the official language of the State. The Deutscher Schulverein, founded in 1880 with the object of extending German education in non-German areas, began a systematic campaign which, directed primarily against Bohemia, has proved extremely effective in Carinthia. Extremists such as Schönerer openly avowed that their object was union with the German Empire in order to secure control over Bohemia and the Jugo-Slav lands. They were in close communication with the Pan-German party within the German Empire, among whose avowed ambitions was the conversion of the Adriatic into a German sea. These trans-frontier relations were distasteful to the older type of Austrian German and also to the Viennese Government, and produced a modified reaction in favour of the Slavs. During Taaffe's administration (1879-93) various linguistic concessions were made to the Slav nationalities on whose support he depended. The introduction of their languages into secondary education was deeply resented by the Germans, in whose eyes German was the only *Kultursprache* conceivable. In this period the Slovenes gained ground. In 1882 they obtained for the first time a majority both in the Diet of Carniola and in the town council of Laibach; and in consequence of a resolution of this Diet, on a motion of the Slovene members of the Reichsrat, Slovene was given the status of a "recognised language" (*Landessprache*) in Carniola, in the Cilli (Celje) district in Styria, and in the Slovene and mixed districts of Carinthia. A Slovene gymnasium was founded in Laibach.

The Slovene Clerical Party.—The Clericals had always formed the majority of the Slovene party in the Reichsrat; but apart from occasional differences on religious matters there appears to have been no marked

opposition between them and the Radicals. The secularizing tendencies of the Bürger Ministerium (1867-70) united the Clericals of the Empire (including the German Clericals) against the German Nationalists in support first of Hohenwart, and at a later date of Taaffe; hence moderate German-Austrians regard Catholicism at the present day—hardly with entire justice—as “an organized political force ranged on the side of the Slavs.”¹ Generally speaking, the inferior clergy in each of the Slav regions is drawn from the local population, and shares in some degree its national aspirations; and in the Slovene lands, owing in part to the influence of Bishop Strossmayer, similar sympathies seem to have existed in the higher ranks of ecclesiastics. In the late eighties the Slovene Clericals in the Reichsrat, under the influence of the Christian Socialists, began to interest themselves actively in social questions; and the Slovene clergy during the same period founded or promoted many of the mutual aid societies which are a marked feature of Slovene life, and have done much to support the people in their competition both with Germans and Italians. Christian Socialist influence doubtless helped in the last decade of the nineteenth century to promote in certain Clerical circles suspicions of the Jugo-Slav movement as involving, even in its Trialist form,² association with considerable Orthodox forces; and Vienna, to promote her own political ends, has never been slow to play on such fears. But the majority of the Slovene Clerical party seems never to have followed a centralist policy.

Growth of Jugo-Slav Feeling.—From the beginning of the present century, however, the growth of Jugo-Slav feeling in all circles has been marked. The accession of King Peter, and the introduction of a genuinely democratic régime in Serbia, attracted to that country the sympathies of the Slovenes as of the Croats. The

¹ P. Samassa, *Der Völkerstreit im Habsburgerstaat*, p. 63.

² See pp. 11, 12.

Agram trial and the subsequent exposure of the Friedjung documents inflamed public opinion; and in the summer of 1908 the mere rumour of a change in the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina evoked riots at Laibach and elsewhere. Intellectual intercourse with Croatia was encouraged. Since 1907 the Slovenska Matica or Literary Society of Laibach has undertaken the publication of a Croatian, the Academy of Agram that of a Slovene book each year. Professors of Agram University give lectures in Laibach, and several Slovenes hold University posts in Agram.

The Reichsrat of 1907.—The first elections to the Reichsrat on the basis of universal suffrage (1907) brought a considerable accession of strength to the Slovenes; their representation rose from 16 to 24. Of these seats 17 were Clerical; the 7 Radicals joined forces with the other (13) members of the Jugo-Slav Club. But the opposition of Clerical and Radical was already much softened. In the Diet of Carniola the Slovene members, without distinction of party, voted for the incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Kingdom of Croatia. A moderate German Austrian writer¹ in 1910 describes Slovene action in the Reichsrat as homogeneous and modelled on that of the Czechs; their ultimate ambitions were divided between the creation of an autonomous Illyria under the Habsburg Crown and incorporation in an independent Jugo-Slav State, but lay too far outside the domain of practical politics to create any party division.

The Balkan Wars.—The Balkan Wars and Serbia's unexpected demonstration of military efficiency brought about a complete change of atmosphere. Austria, in the phrase of an Italian writer, realised that "a Piedmont of the Balkans" had arisen, and her thoughts turned uneasily to 1859; while the Jugo-Slavs of the Empire saw a dream brought within the region of possibility. The Party of Pure Right in Croatia revised its aims, and, in conjunction with the Party of Right, drew up in the spring of 1913 the

¹ P. Samassa, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

Trialistic programme of Abbazia, which demanded the creation under the Habsburg Crown of an autonomous Kingdom of Croatia, including Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, with Fiume and the Medjumurje (the Slovene district of West Hungary), the Littoral with the islands of the Quarnero, Carniola with South Carinthia and South Styria, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. This represented the ambitions of the Catholic and pan-Croat party; but Jugo-Slav ambitions were gaining ground. The Concordat arrived at by Serbia and the Vatican in July 1914 removed Clerical apprehensions as to the position of Catholics in an Orthodox State, and since the outbreak of war many prominent ecclesiastics, and at least a large proportion of the other clergy, have supported the demand for a completely independent State, including Serbia and Montenegro, as well as the Jugo-Slav lands of the Monarchy. There have been many popular demonstrations in favour of this policy, which appears to command the approval of a majority in all parties and all classes.

II. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) RELIGIOUS

THE Slovenes of Austria are almost without exception Roman Catholic. In Carniola there are numerically insignificant Orthodox and Uniat colonies among the Uskoks, who are descendants of Serbian fugitives from the Turks. In Western Hungary a Protestant (Calvinist) community exists, numbering over 15,000.

(2) POLITICAL

The Slovenes send to the Reichsrat 24 deputies, distributed as follows: Trieste, 1; Istria, 1; Gorizia-Gradisca, 3; Carinthia, 1; Styria, 7; Carniola, 11. Their electoral districts are large compared with those of the Italians and Germans, and their representation in consequence is low. Carinthia furnishes an extreme instance, 82,212 Slovenes being represented by a single deputy. The one German constituency in Carniola numbers 18,000 voters.

Slovenes are found under six Diets: the three of the Littoral, and those of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. In Gorizia-Gradisca and Carniola they form a majority of the population, but only in the latter do they command a majority in the Diet. In Istria they form with the Serbo-Croats a Jugo-Slav majority in the population, but the Italians hold half the seats in the Diet. As the Diet controls the finance of the primary education within the province, public works, the public health service, and other matters of provincial administration, the Slovenes are placed at a disad-

vantage in their endeavours to maintain their language and their status generally.

The population is mainly agricultural. Practically all industrial undertakings, including the mines, are in German hands. Germans are also the only large landholders; in Carniola, where they form less than 7 per cent. of the population, they own about 25 per cent. of the land.

The Slovene professional class, though small, is important. Its members, always of recent and often of immediate peasant origin, have never lost touch with the tillers of the soil, and have carried on among them an active national propaganda.

The Slovenes are a hardy race, and make excellent soldiers; they furnish the Austrian Army with some of its best regiments.

(3) EDUCATIONAL

The educational question in the Austrian Littoral is distinct from that of the other Slovene provinces, and is dealt with in No. 10 of this series. The following table shows the proportion of primary schools to either element in the population elsewhere:—

	Population.		Schools.		
	German.	Slovene.	German.	Slovene.	Bilingual.
Carniola	27,915	490,978	32	381	8
Carinthia	304,287	82,212	302	3	87
Styria	983,252	409,684	621	228	49

While in Carniola and Styria a fair proportion is maintained, in Carinthia an embittered struggle has so far resulted in the defeat of the Slovenes. Fifty

years ago, with a smaller population, they had 28 schools. Nor is the balance redressed by the bilingual schools, where Slovene is always in a position of marked inferiority; and instruction in it is often limited to the beginning of school life. There is no provision in Carinthia for secondary education in Slovene.

The University.—The agitation for a national university became acute in 1899, and in the opening years of the present century seemed likely to attain its object. The Minister of Public Instruction was favourably disposed, and the Municipality of Laibach raised a considerable sum towards the cost of the new foundation; the bill, however, was ultimately rejected by the Reichsrat. The question has, in the eyes of the Slovenes, more than a sentimental importance. To qualify for the practice of law or the higher posts in the Civil Service they must take a degree at an Austrian university; for the degrees of Agram (Zagreb), where the language would be intelligible to them without special study, and to which they would naturally gravitate, are not recognised in Austria proper. Lack of the requisite knowledge of German keeps down the number of students and increases the difficulty, already great, of providing an adequate proportion of Slovenes qualified for the public services. Thus a fresh grievance is created by the extent to which the affairs of Slovene districts are administered by officials imperfectly acquainted with the language.

III. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

It will be seen from the historical sketch that the position of the Slovenes as compared with that of the other Jugo-Slav communities, within the Monarchy and outside it, is in some respects peculiar. They have never formed an independent State, and therefore have had behind them no national tradition and no historical right to aid them in formulating a policy. They received Christianity through the medium of their German conquerors; and their Church consequently has none of the Slavonic tradition which survives, *e.g.*, in Croatia and Dalmatia. Inevitably they have moved entirely in the orbit of Austria. Exposed more than any other branch of the Jugo-Slavs to Western influences and politically severed from their Croatian kinsmen under the Crown of St. Stephen, they have had more opportunity of active political co-operation with the Czechs than with the Jugo-Slavs, a fact of great importance in the present situation.¹ None the less, their sense of kinship with the latter has never since the Napoleonic period been lost sight of; and their belief in a common destiny has been a steadily-growing force. Issues have been complicated by the fact that they are exposed to the pressure, not of one alien nationality, but of two. In spite, however, of the bitterness of their rivalry with the Italians, the struggle with Austria is felt to be the more fundamental and dangerous.

The most westerly of the Jugo-Slav communities, the

¹ In this connection the extension of Czech settlements to the borders of Styria and the financial assistance given by the Czechs to Slovene banks in Trieste are especially worthy of notice.

Slovenes form a block separating the German-speaking provinces of Austria from the Adriatic. Their territory is traversed by the two most direct routes connecting Central Europe with the Mediterranean—that from Munich to Trieste *via* Salzburg, Villach (Beljak), and Gorizia, and that from Vienna to Trieste *via* Graz, Cilli (Celje), and Laibach (Ljubljana). Hence it is an object of anxious interest to the Monarchy, and not less to the Pan-German party in the two Empires. It is obvious that, so long as the Austrian Empire exists, it must desire to maintain effective control over the territory which includes its most important naval base and chief economic outlet by sea. Consequently, from 1870 an actively Germanizing policy has been pursued. In the Littoral, though favouring German education and the employment of Germans in the public services, it has largely taken the form of promoting between Slavs and Italians dissensions which leave Austria in the position of *tertius gaudens*. In the northern provinces, especially Carinthia, it is openly directed to the Germanization of the schools and services. This is notably the case with regard to judicial appointments, which are alleged to have been virtually determined of late years by the influence of the Nationalrat, a committee of German politicians. Thus, in 1905, in the almost purely Slovene province of Carniola only one judge in seven was a German; latterly, only German appointments have been made, and the Slovene element has almost disappeared.

The tactics of Vienna, supported by the activity of Pan-German societies, have met with considerable success in Styria and Carinthia. The linguistic frontier, which now runs from Villach slightly north of Klagenfurt to Radgona on the Mur, lay fifty years ago decidedly further to the north; moreover, the Germans are beginning to form important islands in the towns to the south of it. While the Slovene birth-rate is lower than the German, the rate of emigration from these threatened provinces is higher; an absolute

increase of the Slovene population is maintained, but it is extremely small. It is, however, to be noted that the Austrian official returns are based on the *Umgangssprache*¹ or "language commonly used" by the individual, which does not necessarily coincide with his nationality. The language of the school tends to prevail; moreover, the test is liable to abuse through undue influence exerted by employers of labour and others interested. The granting in 1907 of universal suffrage in the form of the right to elect national representatives caused voters in many places to resume a discarded nationality; and to this circumstance a marked recovery of the Slovene element in Carinthia is largely due. But the official figures are still generally regarded as overstating the German element.

¹ See *Austria* (No. 1 of this series), "Domestic History, General Observations," under "The Language Question."

AUTHORITIES

There is little non-Slavonic literature which deals specifically with the Slovenes, and what exists is slight and chiefly descriptive of the country or of the manners and customs of the people. Occasional references to Slovene affairs may be found in general histories of Austria-Hungary, and various books dealing with problems of nationality and language in Austria and in Europe give a brief account of their numbers, distribution, and relation to their neighbours. Authorities on the Italo-Slovene question are given in the section on the Littoral.

The Slovenes.

Article on the Slovenes in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1911.
 ILWOF, FRANZ, *Der Protestantismus in Steiermark, Kärnten und Krain, vom XVI. Jahrhundert bis in die Gegenwart*. Graz, 1900.

KLUN, series of four articles in *Ausland*, 1872.

Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. Vienna, 1886-1902.

Die Völker Oesterreich-Ungarns, Bd. X. *Die Slovenen*. Vienna and Teschen, 1881.

General.

CHARMATZ, R., *Oesterreichs innere Geschichte von 1848 bis 1907*. Leipzig, 2 vols., 1909.

FRIEDJUNG, H., *Oesterreich von 1848 bis 1860*. Stuttgart and Berlin, 2 vols., 1908 and 1912.

LEGER, L., *L'Autriche-Hongrie*. Paris, 1895.

SAMASSA, P., *Der Völkerstreit im Habsburgerstaat*. Leipzig, 1910.

SPRINGER, A., *Geschichte Oesterreichs seit dem Wiener Frieden*, 1809. Leipzig, 2 vols., 1863 and 1865.

The Language Question.

FISCHEL, A., *Das österreichische Sprachenrecht*. Brunn, 1901.

FISCHEL, A., *Materialien zur Sprachenfrage*. Brunn, 1902.

Nationality and Language.

AUERBACH, B., *Les Races et les Nationalités en Autriche-Hongrie*, 2nd edition. Paris, 1917.

CHERVIN, A., *L'Autriche et la Hongrie de demain*. Paris and Nancy, 1915.

DOMINIAN, LEON, *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*. American Geographical Society, New York, 1917.

NIEDERLE, L. (tr. L. Leger), *La Race Slave*. Paris, 1911.

Language and Literature.

HINNEBERG, P., *Die Kultur der Gegenwart, &c.* (Teil I., Abt. ix., *Die Osteuropäischen Literaturen und die Slawischen Sprachen*.) Berlin and Leipzig, 1905, &c.

POPOVIĆ, P., *Jugoslovenska Književnost*. Cambridge, 1918.

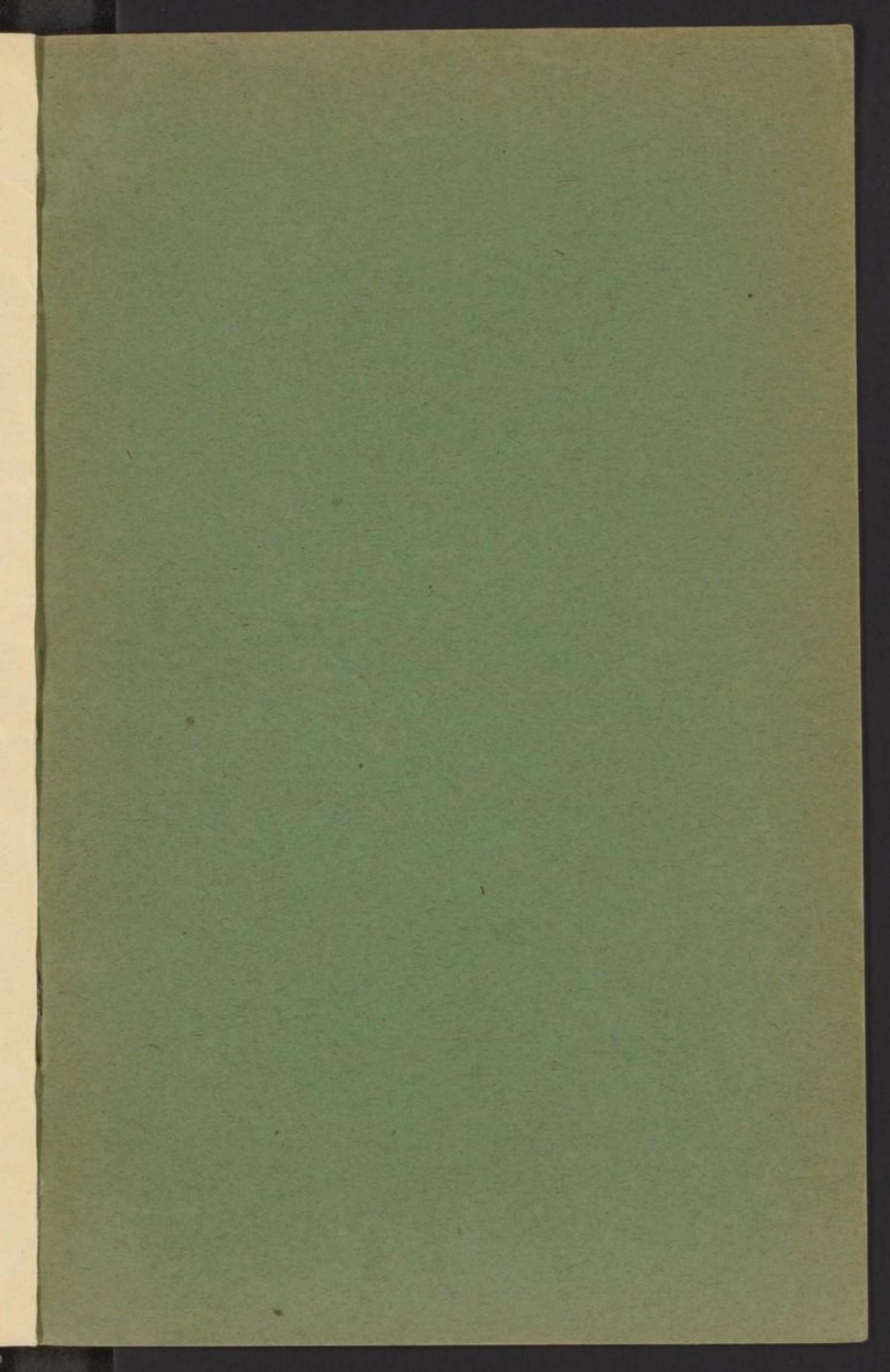
The Jugo-Slav Standpoint.

KREK, IVAN, *Les Slovènes*. Paris, 1917.

VOSNJAK, BOGUMIL, *A Bulwark against Germany*. London, 1917.

MAPS.

For geography and ethnography, see note on maps in *Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria*, No. 9 of this series, and in *Austria* (No. 1), p. 28.



87

LONDON :

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

To be purchased through any Bookseller or directly from
H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE at the following addresses :

IMPERIAL HOUSE, KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C. 2, and

28, ABINGDON STREET, LONDON, S.W. 1;

37, PETER STREET, MANCHESTER;

1, ST. ANDREW'S CRESCENT, CARDIFF;

23, FORTH STREET, EDINBURGH;

or from E. PONSONBY, LTD., 116, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

1920.

Price 6d. Net.