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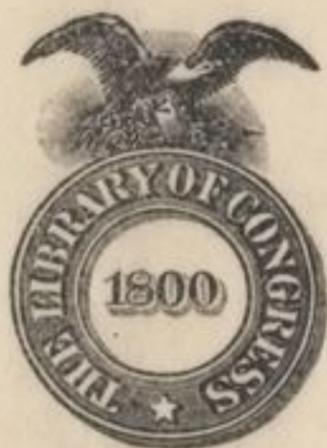
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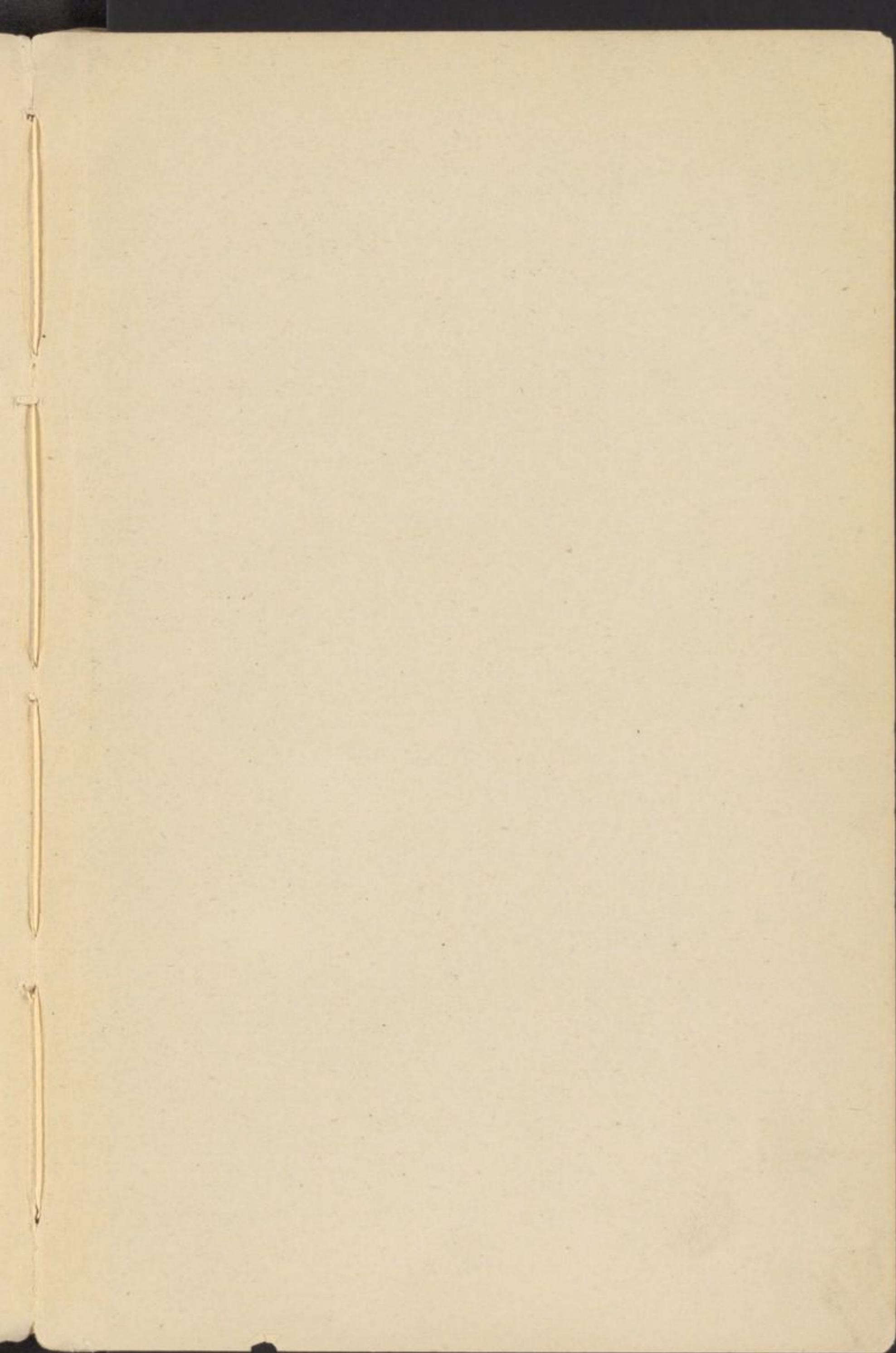
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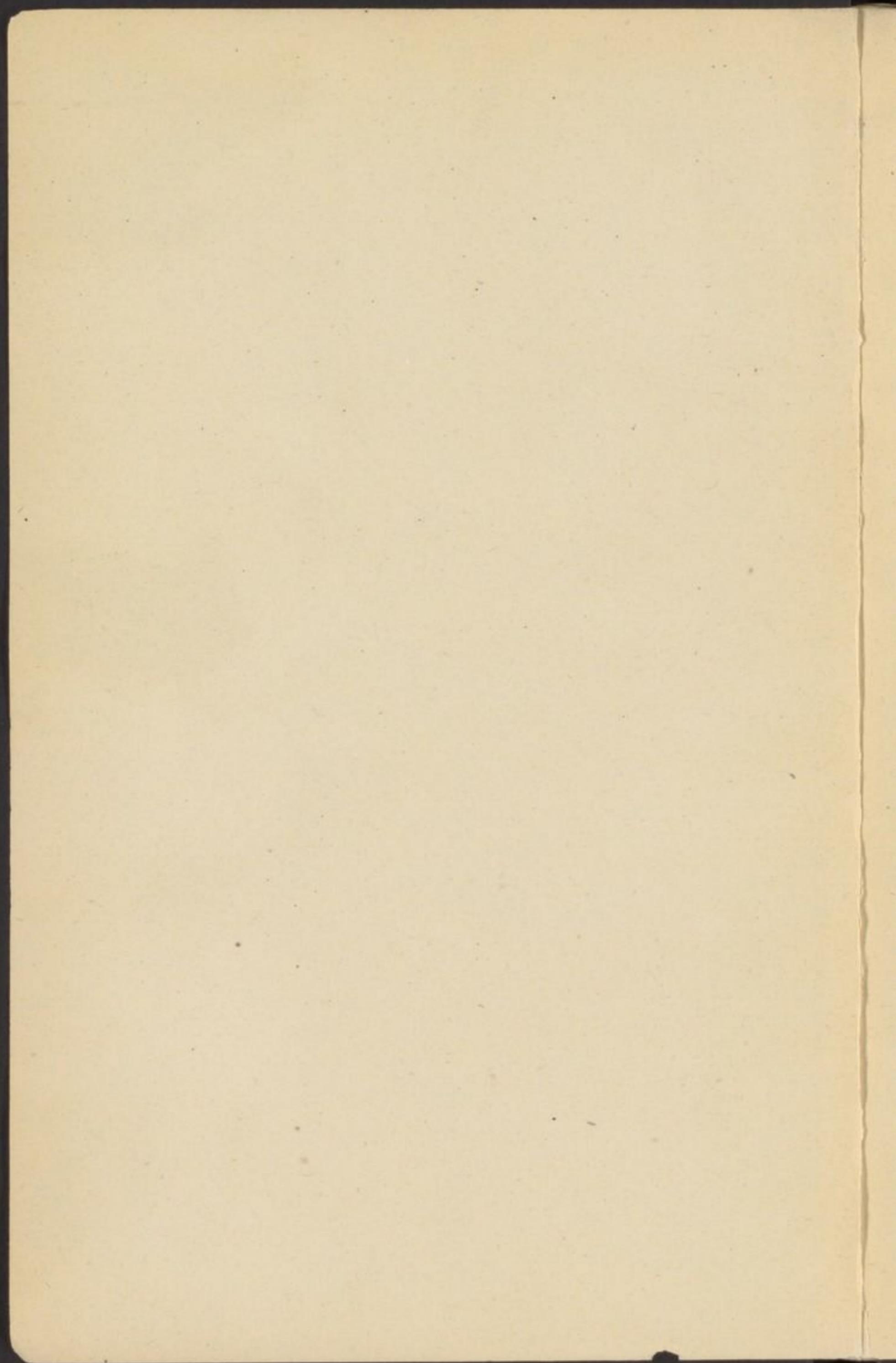


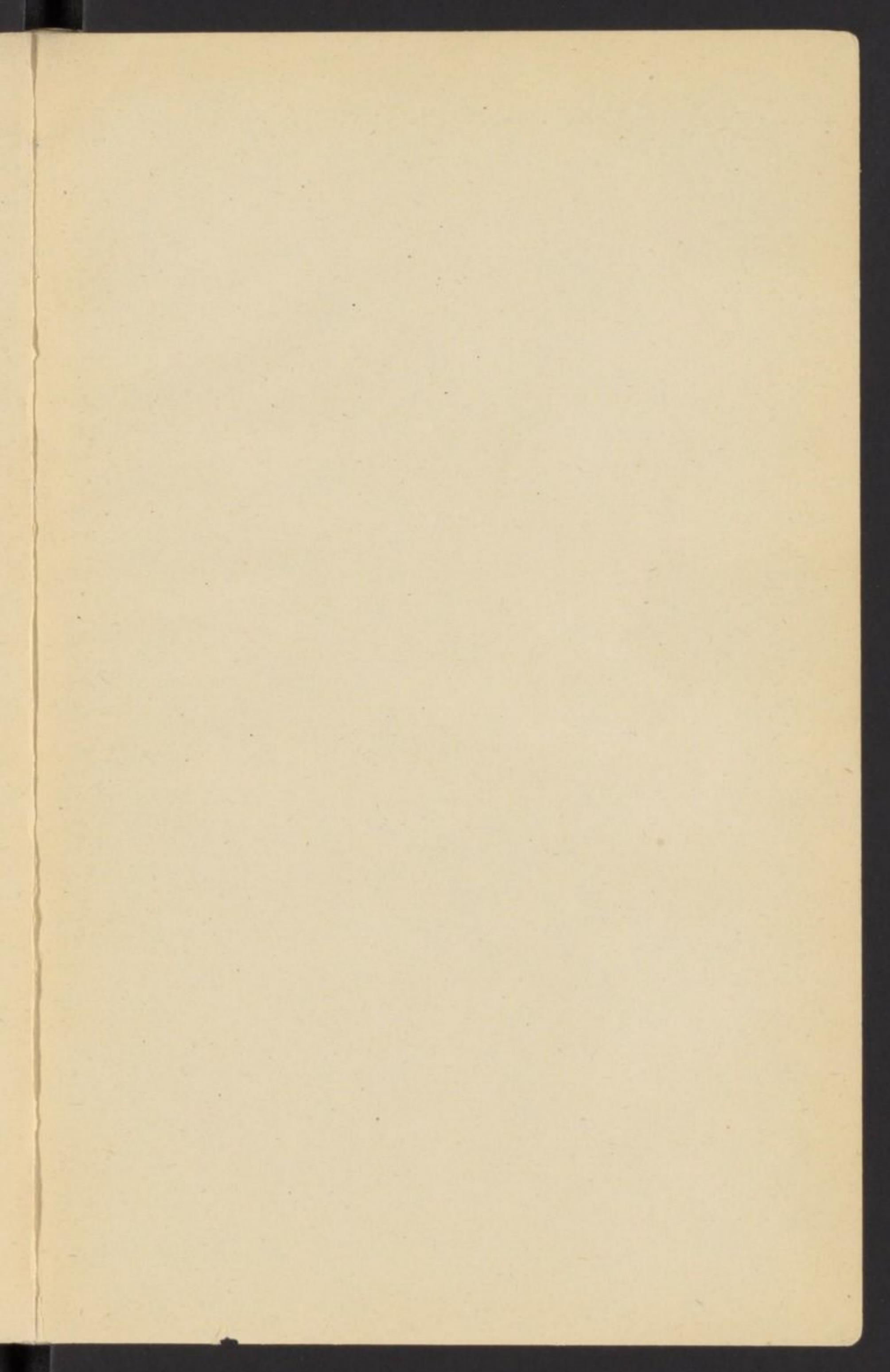


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# THE JUGO-SLAV MOVEMENT

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### Editorial Note.

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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.*

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# THE JUGO-SLAV MOVEMENT<sup>1</sup>

## CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

1787. Birth of Vuk Karadžić.  
1804-13. Kara George and the First Serbian Insurrection.  
1809-13. The Illyrian Provinces.  
1815. Miloš Obrenović and the Second Serbian Insurrection.  
1815. Birth of Bishop Strossmayer.  
1818. First edition of Karadžić's Dictionary.  
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1917. Pact of Corfu.  
1918 (March). Pact of Rome.  
1918 (October). Creation of the National Council at Zagreb.  
1918 (November). Conference of Geneva.

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOVEMENT UP TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE EUROPEAN WAR

### *Introductory*

*The Jugo-Slav Race.*—The Jugo-Slavs belong to the southern branch of the Slav family;<sup>2</sup> they include the Slovenes, Serbs, and Croats, and occupy territory

<sup>1</sup> For the proper understanding of the Jugo-Slav movement it is necessary to have some knowledge of the history, early as well as recent, of the separate Jugo-Slav communities within the Dual Monarchy and outside it. For this the reader is referred to the following books in this series: Nos. 1, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, and 20.

<sup>2</sup> The Slav family is divided on the basis of language into three groups (1) the eastern, including the Great and Little Russians; (2) the western, including the Czechs, Poles, and Lusatian Wends or Sorbs; (3) the southern, including the Slovenes, Serbo-Croats, and Bulgars.

which extends uninterruptedly from southern Carinthia and Styria and southern and south-western Hungary to the southern frontiers of Montenegro and Serbia, and is bounded on the west by the Adriatic and on the east by Bulgaria. On the fringes of this territory there are almost everywhere areas of mixed population where the drawing of an equitable frontier line will be a matter of extreme difficulty, further complicated by the frequent conflict of racial and strategic considerations. But within it the Jugo-Slavs form a population united by blood, by language, and to a certain extent by national tradition, though divided by religion as well as, hitherto, by government. The Jugo-Slavs of Austria were distributed among six provinces,<sup>1</sup> while the inhabitants of Croatia-Slavonia were attached to Hungary, though, unlike the Serbs of South Hungary, they enjoy a limited measure of home rule. Bosnia-Herzegovina is under joint Austro-Hungarian administration. Outside the Dual Monarchy the Jugo-Slavs are divided between the independent kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro.

As regards religion, the Slovenes are purely Catholic; Serbia, Montenegro, and the Serbs of South Hungary Orthodox. Elsewhere the two confessions are closely intermingled, generally in such a way that no geographical line can be drawn between them. In Bosnia-Herzegovina the Orthodox form the largest, the Moslems the second element in the State; but the Catholic element is also very considerable. In Croatia-Slavonia the Catholics form about two-thirds, the Orthodox nearly one-third of the population. The difference in religion coincides with a difference of alphabets, Orthodox communities using the Cyrillic, Catholic the Latin characters. The common national literature is printed partly in one type, partly in the other; hence both are equally familiar to the educated, and the Latin type is at least

<sup>1</sup> Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Gorizia-Gradisca, Istria, Dalmatia. The Slavs of the first five are wholly or mainly Slovenes; those of Dalmatia are Serbo-Croats.

very generally taught in the primary schools of Orthodox districts.

*The Bulgars.*—No account is taken in this paper of the Bulgars, as they have not participated in the Jugo-Slav movement. Their speech is closely allied to Serbo-Croatian, and that they are largely Jugo-Slav by race cannot be doubted. But they have also a certain admixture of Finno-Ugrian blood; and at present both Jugo-Slavs and Bulgars are intent on establishing complete racial diversity. None the less the Bulgars must be reckoned as a very important branch of the Jugo-Slavs; and it need hardly be said that full account should be taken of their legitimate claims in any final settlement of the Macedonian question. It may be added that a reasonable compromise in this region will be greatly facilitated if the Jugo-Slavs are given secure possession of their natural outlets to the west and north-west. In seeking the basis of a lasting peace in south-eastern Europe these two questions will be found to be inseparable.

#### *The Jugo-Slav Communities of Austria-Hungary*

*The Slovenes.*—Among the Jugo-Slavs of the Habsburg monarchy the Slovenes occupy territories farthest north and north-west, including, besides the southern part of Carinthia and Styria, the whole of Carniola, the northernmost strip of Istria, and a large part of Gorizia-Gradisca. Their chief centre is Ljubljana (Laibach). There is a large Slovene minority in the population of Trieste city, and a considerable majority in Gorizia and Gradisca together. These northernmost Jugo-Slavs have been under German rule for a thousand years, and have followed the fortunes of the Austrian Duchies under the Babenberg and Habsburg dynasties. The vigour of their nationality was so marked that they have preserved their language, identity, and racial cohesion down to the present day. The speech of the Slovenes, though allied to the Serbo-Croatian, is a distinct

variety, but intelligible to their Serbo-Croatian neighbours; for some time, moreover, an educational and literary movement has been at work among them, tending towards linguistic assimilation to the latter. From close contact with German and Italian elements in the towns, the Slovenes have been able to attain a relatively high educational standard. They alone among the Jugo-Slavs were affected by the Reformation; and, though the movement was finally stamped out by the Counter-Reformation, it may be said that something of its spirit survives in the temper of the Slovene people.

*The Serbo-Croats.*—The rest of the Jugo-Slav population of Austria-Hungary is Serbo-Croatian. Serbs and Croats cannot be distinguished racially. They are the descendants of two closely related tribes which in the seventh century entered side by side the Roman province of Illyricum. In spite of the political barriers which have at practically all periods of their history impeded their intercourse, their language is at the present day uniform to such a degree that its extreme varieties, as spoken by the Croats of the Save valley and by the Herzegovinian Serbs of the Narenta, differ less perhaps than the dialects of Lancashire and the Midlands. The difference of name indicates, therefore, rather a difference of religion than of race, the Croats being Catholics, the Serbs Orthodox.

The cause of the divergence is to be found in the fact that from the time of Diocletian onwards the Roman Empire was divided for administrative purposes, and that the province of Illyricum fell partly to the eastern, partly to the western half. Hence the Serbs, the more easterly of the invading tribes, found themselves under the authority, more or less effectively asserted, of Byzantium, and ultimately received from that quarter the Orthodox faith. The Croats settled within the limits of the Western Empire, in regions where the See of Rome endeavoured incessantly, and on the whole successfully, to maintain its spiritual authority. Later on, the cause of Latin Christianity in this region was

reinforced and its triumph ensured by the rise of Hungary in the north and of Venice on the Adriatic side.

Religious antagonism, however, appears on the whole to have been conspicuous by its absence. According to the Jugo-Slav proverb, 'A brother is dear, whatever his faith'; and in fact the tie of blood and language seems to have counted for more than religious differences. The common consciousness of the Turkish peril no doubt made for co-operation, and not less the humane and conciliatory spirit of the Franciscan clergy, who were prominent in the lands where the two confessions were intermingled. In 1390, after the Serbian defeat at Kosovo, the Catholic town of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) offered Prince Vuk Branković refuge within its walls, and permission to build there a church of his own faith.<sup>1</sup> From the middle of the fourteenth century till the extinction by Napoleon of the Republic of Ragusa, the town paid a yearly contribution first to the Orthodox monastery of St. Michael at Jerusalem, and subsequently to the monasteries of Hilendar and St. Paul on Mount Athos.<sup>2</sup> During the Turkish domination the monks of Serbia sought alms for their monasteries in Croatia as well as in Russia, and enjoyed the countenance of the Catholic bishops.

To the 'Illyrists' of the nineteenth century the religious distinction appeared unimportant, and in 1848 it proved no obstacle to the co-operation of Serbs and Croats. Bishop Strossmayer and Dr. Franjo Rački, President of the South Slav Academy, both churchmen of high distinction, identified themselves with the cause of Jugo-Slav unity, and maintained friendly relations with the Orthodox clergy.

#### *Rise of the Jugo-Slav Movement*

*Original Conception of Jugo-Slav Unity.*—The Jugo-Slav movement, being the product of intellectual

<sup>1</sup> F. Miklosič, *Monumenta Serbica*, pp. 215-16.

<sup>2</sup> Both originally Serbian. That of St. Paul is Greek at the present day.

and ideal forces and having long remained dissociated from political agitation and even from definite political aims, offers peculiar difficulties to the Anglo-Saxon imagination. Nor is it easy to estimate its strength and extent in the early stages when it was no more than the sentiment of a racial unity transcending political and religious divisions. This original conception of Jugo-Slav unity is well expressed in the pregnant sentences exchanged between Kossuth and the deputation of Serbs from southern Hungary who on the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution of 1848 presented to the Diet at Pressburg a petition for the recognition of their national language in the Magyar State.

‘What’, inquired Kossuth, ‘do you understand by a nation?’

‘A race which possesses its own language, customs, culture, and enough self-consciousness to preserve them.’

‘A nation must also have its own government,’ objected Kossuth.

‘We do not go so far. One nation can live under several different governments, and again several nations can form a single State.’

*Illyrism.*—This conception of Jugo-Slav unity was in part the outcome of the literary and linguistic movement which developed in the first half of the nineteenth century and is associated with the name of Vuk Karadžić. But this movement itself was greatly stimulated by the political ideas to which Napoleon’s creation in 1809 of the Illyrian Provinces had given rise. The new Provinces, which included the greater part of the Slovene lands, the Croatian littoral, and Dalmatia, were designed to be a French outpost on the high road to the East and a fortress on the flank of Austria; hence Napoleon deliberately aimed at uniting in them considerable Slav populations under a government sympathetic to their national spirit. The abolition of the frontiers which had hitherto divided them and the material and in-

tellectual progress which resulted from the able and enlightened government of the French made on the subjects of the new State an impression which was never effaced. 'Illyrism' became the watchword of the next generation of political thinkers; but in their definition of Illyria they included, besides Napoleon's provinces, all lands inhabited by Jugo-Slavs, to whose ultimate union in some yet undefined form they now began to aspire. The revolt of Serbia and her emancipation from Turkish rule, after a heroic struggle, promoted this ideal at a time when political and religious considerations alone would have favoured the narrower Napoleonic conception.

*Vuk Karadžić.*—The labours of Vuk Karadžić, the founder of modern Jugo-Slav culture, gave a solid basis to the ideas of the Illyrists. Born in Serbia under Turkish rule and in humble circumstances, Vuk made use of such educational opportunities as he could obtain, first in Syrmia and Croatia, and after the success of Kara George's first revolt at the newly-established High School of Belgrade. On the temporary overthrow of Serbian liberty in 1813, he withdrew to Vienna, where by a fortunate accident he made the acquaintance of the Slovene poet and scholar, Jernei Kopitar. Kopitar, a native of the lands recently included in the short-lived Illyrian Provinces (1809–13), had been deeply stirred by Napoleon's political experiment. He was one of the leading representatives of 'Illyrism', and his influence on Vuk was decisive. One great obstacle to the spread of Illyrist ideas was the fact that, while one vernacular was spoken by the whole race,<sup>1</sup> there was no standard literary language, and the debased forms produced under various foreign influences were in some cases unintelligible, or nearly so, outside the district in which they were current. Vuk, strongly interested from the first in the speech and traditions of his people, had already begun to write in the vernacular. Kopitar,

<sup>1</sup> With the exception, in a limited sense, of the Slovenes. See *supra*, p. 3.

struck by its possibilities, saw in their development the best hope of creating a literary language, and urged Vuk to undertake the linguistic studies which were an indispensable preliminary.

It is unnecessary to specify here all the works produced by Vuk in the course of fifty years of devoted toil. His great dictionary, whose second edition (1852) satisfied the most exacting standards of western scholarship, fixed the forms of the literary language at the time, and remains a linguistic authority of the first importance. It is also a mine of information on Jugo-Slav folk-lore, customs, and tradition. The publication of national songs and heroic poetry, collected in the course of extensive travels through Jugo-Slav lands, created a sensation in the Germany of Grimm and Goethe, and attracted attention in more western lands. Among the Jugo-Slavs it revived the consciousness of a heroic past whose great names were the common property of the race and household words on the lips of every peasant. Finally, by his reform of the current orthography and by the construction of an alphabet in Cyrillic characters but on strictly phonetic lines, Vuk rendered to the Serbian section of his people a service of permanent value. The attachment of the Serbs to their alphabet often appears to foreigners exaggerated and sentimental. Sentiment plays a large part in it, for every child who passes through a primary school is taught to revere the name of Vuk; but the alphabet is valued hardly less for its proved efficacy as an instrument of instruction. The strikingly rapid diffusion of education in the kingdom of Serbia has been greatly assisted by the possession of a phonetic alphabet.

The labours of Vuk gave the Jugo-Slav movement a definitely western orientation.<sup>1</sup> Serbian intellectual

<sup>1</sup> Or, more exactly, confirmed and made general the western tendencies already promoted in Serbia by Obradović, a Hungarian Serb, and a widely-travelled scholar. Appointed Minister of Education in the kingdom of Serbia by Kara George in 1809, Obradović created a system of national education, and founded the High School of Belgrade in which Vuk received a part of his education.

life had hitherto had its chief centre in South Hungary, where it had been largely, though by no means entirely, under narrow Orthodox influences which drew much of their strength from Russia. From the inveterately conservative Orthodox clergy in this region and from the Srpska Matica of Buda-Pest, the oldest of Serbian literary societies, Vuk's linguistic and orthographical innovations met with vigorous though unsuccessful resistance. In Croatia, on the other hand, they found ready acceptance, largely through the influence of the Illyrist Ljudevit Gaj; and through Kopitar and Bleiweis they exercised an influence on the kindred speech of the Slovenes. Vuk himself spent the greater part of his life on Austrian soil, and was the friend of Jakob Grimm and other eminent western scholars.

*The Events of 1848.*—The Jugo-Slavs of the Monarchy shared in the outburst of national sentiment which marked the years 1847 and 1848. Had Kossuth and the Magyar revolutionaries shown any disposition to recognize the claims of Croatia or to meet the demands of the Hungarian Serbs in a liberal spirit, Croats and Serbs alike would have abstained from lending active support to the Crown, and the Serbs at least might have cast in their lot with Hungary. As it was, the racial intolerance of the Magyars drove their potential supporters into the arms of Austria. In March 1848 Ljudevit Gaj headed a deputation to the Emperor to plead for the separation of Croatia from Hungary and the erection of an autonomous Jugo-Slav State under the Habsburg Crown. In September, Jelačić, the Ban of Croatia, led against the insurgents an army of 40,000 men, which was soon increased by large numbers of the Hungarian Serbs who had already risen against the Magyars. Alexander Karageorgević, Prince of Serbia, yielded to Russian and Austrian pressure and remained neutral; but numerous Serbian volunteers joined the forces of Jelačić, even as Hungarian Serbs had fought in the Serbian war of liberation under Kara George and Miloš Obrenović. Partly by the aid of Russia, partly by that of her Jugo-Slav subjects,

Austria triumphed, and Serbs and Croats now looked for their reward. The Banat and Bačka were in fact separated from Hungary and declared to be an autonomous Serbian Voivodina; Croatia likewise was made an Austrian Crownland and promised local autonomy.

Illyrist enthusiasts thought that their dreams were on the eve of fulfilment. Peter II, Prince and Bishop of Montenegro, a distinguished poet and Illyrist, wrote to Jelačić: 'Destiny has set you at the head of the Southern Slavs. The eyes of every patriot, of our whole nation, are fixed upon you; they stretch out their hands to you as to a heaven-sent Messiah.' In a proclamation he stated that the time had come for the liberation of the Jugo-Slavs from the oppression of Austria and their union in complete independence with the other members of their race. Such extravagant hopes were naturally doomed to disappointment; but not even moderate expectations were fulfilled. The Voivodina was in 1860 reincorporated in Hungary; the promised autonomy was withheld from Croatia; and in 1868 the dual system was completed by her reunion with Hungary in a position of marked inferiority. Thus neither in 1848 nor in 1866 did the Jugo-Slavs gain any advantage from Austria's extremity.

### *The Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*

*Bishop Strossmayer.*—In the second half of the nineteenth century, and especially after the union of Croatia-Slavonia with Hungary, the Jugo-Slav idea was most actively promoted in Croatia, where its most notable champion was Bishop Strossmayer (1815–1905). This distinguished churchman, best known in western Europe for his opposition to the declaration of Papal Infallibility in the Vatican Council of 1869–70, was a remarkable personality. His brilliant intellectual gifts and wide culture,<sup>1</sup> his saintly life, and the combined

<sup>1</sup> He was deeply interested in historical studies, was the best Latinist in the Council, and spoke and wrote with facility in French, German, and Italian. The best English account of Strossmayer is to be found in Dr. Seton-Watson's *Southern Slav Question*, pp. 118

force and charm of his character gave him an influence which extended far beyond the bounds of his diocese. Though he played an active part in politics till 1888, and was a recognized leader of the opposition to Magyar supremacy in Croatia, the movement retained under his guidance its mainly intellectual character. By his foundation of the South Slavonic Academy of Zagreb (Agram) (1867) and of the University in the same town (1874), achievements carried through in the teeth of determined Magyar opposition, he laid the foundations of a solid higher education and of advanced scholarship in Croatia. The University has enjoyed the services of Jugo-Slav scholars of real distinction; and the Academy has published valuable collections of historical documents and standard editions of the older Croatian poets. Research has naturally tended to concentrate on national history, antiquities, and literature; hence its extent and value are little known in western Europe, where the achievements of Serbian and Croatian scholarship alike, as well as the general level of education, have been underrated. The first President of the Academy, Dr. Franjo Rački, set a high standard of historical criticism and also maintained Strossmayer's conception of the institution as a centre of Jugo-Slav and not merely Croatian culture. Strossmayer's liberal nationalist policy found further expression in his relations, always close and friendly, with the Orthodox Eastern Churches. He also encouraged the old Slav liturgy known as the Glagolitic rite, which survived in various parts of his diocese and of the neighbouring lands, and secured for it the sympathy and protection of Pope Leo XIII.

Meanwhile, side by side with the educational movement and in marked contrast to it, a definitely political agitation was developing on narrow national, or rather confessional, lines. Since 1868, when the dual system in Austria-Hungary was completed by the assignment of Croatia-Slavonia to Hungary, Croatian discontent had *et seq.* The bishop's correspondence with Gladstone is given in an appendix of the same book.

been on the increase. Governed by Magyar officials with a definitely Magyarizing policy, the Croats found their economic development strangled by Hungary's commercial and agrarian jealousy, and their extremely sensitive pride irritated by perpetual attempts to impose on them the Magyar language. Cut off from Austria and in contact only with the Magyars, till the end of the nineteenth century they were anti-Hungarian, but not anti-dynastic. Their ambition was for the reconstruction of the old triple kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia as an autonomous federal unit of the Habsburg Empire.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the Party of Right under Starčević, which formed the dominant element in the Opposition throughout the eighties, desired a State on a purely Catholic basis, and would have withheld religious equality from the large Orthodox element in Croatia. This attitude was maintained by the new Party of Pure Right under Dr. Frank, which on Starčević's death in 1896 virtually superseded the older group (i. e. The Party of Right), and still more sedulously fostered the hostility between Serb and Croat. This antagonism stultified all constitutional agitation by driving the Serbs into the arms of the Government, which indeed was generally alleged to foster the feud. Till the opening of the twentieth century it exercised a disastrous influence on Croatian politics.

*The Occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.*—The occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina belongs rather to the history of Austrian foreign policy than to that of the Jugo-Slav movement. But in the event, the Bosnian question proved to be of crucial importance in its effect on Jugo-Slav sentiment both within the Dual Monarchy and outside it, and must therefore be briefly dealt with here. At the Congress of Berlin the Great Powers had acquiesced in the occupation of these provinces by Austria as a necessary police measure. It is in fact difficult to see what other course could have been followed. The disorders in the insurgent provinces

<sup>1</sup> This conception was subsequently enlarged to include Bosnia-Herzegovina, Istria, Fiume, and the Slovene lands.

could no longer be tolerated, while the inability of the Turks to suppress them and the atrocities which they committed afforded a more than adequate justification for the abrogation of their rule. Intervention had become an imperative necessity; and Austria, embarrassed by the influx of refugees over the Croatian border and apprehensive of trouble in Dalmatia, to which the rising threatened to spread, had the strongest interest in restoring and maintaining order.

In many important respects her mission was successful. Order was restored, security of life and property established, and the administration of justice reformed. Communications were developed and sanitary conditions radically improved. The Austro-Hungarian administration, however, aimed rather at order than progress, and failed to appreciate the distress prevalent among large masses of the population. It followed in fact a policy of conciliating the Mohammedan upper class at the expense of the Orthodox peasantry, and left the acute land question unsolved. The roads and railways, which were among the most obvious tokens of progress, were constructed at the expense of the province, and largely of the most poverty-stricken elements in it, often with vast outlay, and primarily with a view to Austro-Hungarian strategic advantage, while communications necessary to economic development were refused. Hungary viewed with bitter hostility the possible rivalry of Bosnia as an agricultural State; and the Austro-Hungarian Government followed its usual policy, so often disastrous in critical moments, of placating the Magyars at the expense of the other nationalities of the Monarchy. Education was withheld. 'For my mission', said Kállay, the first administrator, 'one gendarme is worth five teachers'; and the same spirit continued to prevail. The unfortunate result was that the Government failed on the whole to secure the co-operation of the inhabitants in its best-conceived efforts to promote their welfare, such as the introduction of more scientific methods of agriculture. Discontent

among the lower classes grew; and such progressive elements as there were realized that the conditions of the Dual Monarchy made a disinterested administration of the provinces impossible.<sup>1</sup>

### *The Twentieth Century*

*The Slovenes.*—At the opening of the new century the general situation of the Jugo-Slavs in the Dual Monarchy may be summed up as follows. All alike were dissatisfied with their position of inferiority. This feeling was least marked among the Slovenes, where, economic conditions being relatively favourable, discontent centred round the university question and that of education generally, the prominence of the German and Italian elements in the administration of the mixed districts, and the inadequacy of Slovene representation in the Reichsrat. It was specially acute in the neglected lands of Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, where distress among the masses was chronic.

*Bosnia-Herzegovina.*—But in the latter region at least dissatisfaction was no longer merely economic. It had spread from the Bosnian peasantry to the more prosperous classes, among whom a national literary movement on a modest scale was beginning to develop. Bosnians of the upper class visited Serbia in ever-increasing numbers, and, as they despaired of progress under Austria-Hungary, saw no prospect of amendment except in union with Serbia, remote as such a solution then appeared.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The economic policy of the Government in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been severely criticized by impartial German-Austrian publicists of authority, such as Baernreither. It must be remembered that in England, owing to the general ignorance of Slav history and languages, the Slav problems of the Dual Monarchy have until very recent years been studied mainly from the official Austro-Hungarian point of view. Cf. *Bosnia and Herzegovina*, No. 12 of this series, pp. 21-24.

<sup>2</sup> It had been formulated long before by Strossmayer. When the question of occupation by Austria was first under discussion (1876) he urged in a letter to Gladstone that Bosnia should be placed under Serbian protection. Finally he acquiesced in Austrian rule as a necessity, but with the comment, "If Vienna, or rather Pest,

Attachment to the Habsburg dynasty, which certainly existed in Dalmatia and probably among the Slovenes, had never developed in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croatia's dissatisfaction, as has been said, was anti-Magyar rather than anti-Austrian. The Serbs of South Hungary were no less hostile to the Magyars, and, partly owing to their geographical situation, partly to their Orthodox faith and long-established relations with Serbia, were keenly conscious of their racial identity with the inhabitants of the kingdom.

*Czech and Serbian Influence.*—The idea of the spiritual and intellectual unity of the Jugo-Slav race had never lost its vitality; owing to the authority of Strossmayer's name it had gained currency among the Slovenes. An important factor in the development of the political idea was the influence of Professor Masaryk,<sup>1</sup> exerted directly on the Slovenes (who had many relations with the Czechs) and indirectly, as will be seen, on the Croats. But there was as yet no movement for political co-operation by the separate Jugo-Slav units within the Dual Monarchy, and no political influence from without. From this time onwards, however, events outside Austria-Hungary exercised a decisive influence. The first of these was the accession of King Peter to the throne of Serbia in 1903. During the reign of his predecessor, who governed by autocratic methods and pursued a policy wholly subservient to Austria, there was little but racial sentiment to attract the sympathies of the Jugo-Slav subjects of the Habsburg Empire to Belgrade. The high personal character of the new sovereign<sup>2</sup> and his consistently constitutional government gave the kingdom a new status in the eyes of sympathizers beyond its borders, and quickened their Serbian sentiments. Hungarian Serbs, though refused

means to govern the new provinces by Hungarians and Germans and for their profit, the Austrians will end by being more hated than the Turks'.

<sup>1</sup> First President of the new Czecho-Slovak State.

<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence to connect the Karageorgević family with the assassination of Alexander.

passports, found means to evade control, and thronged to attend King Peter's coronation. From 1904 onwards various literary and artistic societies, Slovene, Croatian, Serbian, and Bulgarian, held annual meetings in Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade, and Sofia; intellectual intercourse was active, and the ideas which found their first expression in the Balkan League began to take shape.

Most important of all was the revival of confidence and energy in Serbia itself. A wise domestic policy promoted economic development and fostered education of every grade, especially encouraging Serbian students to complete their university education abroad. As prosperity grew and culture spread, the Serbs of the kingdom came more and more to regard themselves as the truest representatives of their race; and as the position of Turkey appeared increasingly insecure, they looked on the emancipation of Bosnia-Herzegovina alike from Turkey and from Austria and its union with the kingdom as certain, if not imminent.

*Serbo-Croat Rapprochement in Croatia.*—Meantime in Croatia the animosity between Serbs and Croats was dying out. This was partly due to the influence of Dr. Masaryk, whose liberal views and practical policy had for the last few years exercised considerable influence in Croatia,<sup>1</sup> partly to the perception that union was necessary if the Magyarizing policy of the Hungarian Government was to be resisted. Moreover, the resignation in 1903 of the Ban Count Khuen-Héderváry removed a peculiarly repressive and demoralizing influence from Croatian politics.

In Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, owing to the miserable economic conditions prevalent, discontent with Austrian rule was growing ever more intense; these provinces seemed to impartial foreign observers to be ripe for revolt.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Masaryk's ideas were first diffused by a group of Croatian students who, having taken part in political disturbances in Croatia in 1895, were obliged to complete their studies at the Czech University of Prague.

*Resolutions of Fiume and Zara.*—The proposal for joint political action by the Croats and Serbs of Austria-Hungary came first from the Croat party in Dalmatia. On October 2, 1905, a Conference took place at Fiume between the leaders of the party and the Croat deputies of Croatia-Slavonia, resulting in a resolution demanding reunion of their lands, and setting forth the principle that 'every nation has the right to decide freely and independently concerning its existence and its fate'. A fortnight later the Serb deputies of Dalmatia met at Zara and formulated another resolution, confirming that of Fiume on condition that the principle of equality between Serb and Croat received recognition. Finally, in a Conference at Zara on November 18, 1905, the representatives of both parties made a joint declaration that 'the Croats and the Serbs are one nation', and drew up a petition to the Imperial and Royal Government for the incorporation of Dalmatia with Croatia-Slavonia and for equality of treatment in all matters regarding Serbs and Croats.

The Resolutions of Fiume and Zara are landmarks in the history of the Jugo-Slav movement. But their spirit was, as regards the political organization of the Habsburg Monarchy, confined within strict constitutional limits. The reunion of Dalmatia with the rest of the Triune Kingdom had been guaranteed by imperial charter. The aim of the Croat leaders and their Serb colleagues was to achieve this union within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

*Relations of Serbia with the Monarchy.*—The change of temper thus manifested was unwelcome to the Hungarian Government, and simultaneously the Dual Monarchy found itself in conflict with a new and independent spirit in the kingdom of Serbia. The Austro-Hungarian Government succeeded in preventing the formation of a customs-union between Serbia and Bulgaria; but when it endeavoured by economic pressure to oblige Serbia to place a munitions contract in Austria-Hungary instead of France, it failed, and the famous 'pig-war' merely embittered Serbian feeling and

raised the price of meat in the Monarchy. It was plain that the control which Austria had so long exercised in Serbia was at an end.

*Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary.*—At this critical juncture Baron (later Count) Aehrenthal succeeded Count Goluchowski as Minister for Foreign Affairs (1906). The precise motives which dictated his forward policy in the Balkans and its full scope are possibly not yet known. To the best-informed observers of the time it appeared that he was actuated largely by the desire to shake himself free from the domination of Germany, and that by the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina he hoped to secure for Austria-Hungary such a position in the Balkans as would give her a leading, perhaps the decisive, rôle in European politics. But uneasiness caused by the knowledge that Serbia could no longer be coerced probably contributed to his decision. Moreover, a certain amount of secret agitation was undoubtedly going on in Croatia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina on the one side, and Serbia on the other, in favour of a union with the latter country, though this movement was futile in character and the Serbian Government was in no way implicated in it.<sup>1</sup> Much could be urged from the Austrian point of view in defence of the annexation. No one could foretell what would be the ultimate consequences of the Turkish revolution for the nationalities under Ottoman sway. An awkward situation threatened to develop immediately, as the Mohammedans of Bosnia, still nominally under Turkish suzerainty, were certain to demand representation in the new Turkish Parliament. Serbia's ambitions were fully awake; and Austria could not contemplate with equanimity even the remote possibility that an independent Slav State with a warlike population might establish itself on such a vital frontier as that of Croatia-Slavonia, where, moreover, it would be in contact with

<sup>1</sup> This was established by the issue of the Friedjung trial; see *infra*, p. 19.

a subject population of its own race, highly discontented with Austro-Hungarian sway. Whether even at this eleventh hour a liberal economic policy would have won the attachment of the annexed provinces, and a solution of the Croatian and Dalmatian question on Trialist<sup>1</sup> lines would have convinced the Jugo-Slavs of the Monarchy that their future would be best assured under Habsburg sway, it is now idle to speculate. For such a course Austria's traditions had not prepared her. The policy of repression in Croatia was intensified. The Serbo-Croat Coalition was inconvenient alike to the Hungarian Government and to Baron Aehrenthal; and, when at the election of 1908 it was found to have ousted every 'Unionist' (i. e. every deputy in favour of maintaining the union with Hungary), the Diet was suspended, and did not meet till 1910.

*The Agram and Friedjung Trials.*—But it was important to Aehrenthal permanently to discredit the Coalition; and to this motive, as well as to the desire to convince European opinion that Serbia was promoting a revolutionary movement in Austria-Hungary and thus to justify the annexation, must be ascribed the proceedings known as the Agram Treason Trial. Fifty-three Serbs resident in Croatia were indicted by the Public Prosecutor on a charge of conspiracy against the Habsburg Monarchy and of treasonable relations with a revolutionary organization at Belgrade, and thirty-one of them were convicted and sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from twelve to five years. The trial was a travesty of justice, and the general outcry induced the Government to publish through the historian, Dr. Friedjung (who acted in good faith and was himself deluded), some of the secret documents on which the verdict was professedly based, and which purported to prove the complicity of the Serbian Government in the agitation. In a further

<sup>1</sup> Trialism is the name given to the policy which aimed at the erection of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia as a third autonomous State under the Habsburg Crown and in all respects on an equal footing with Austria and Hungary.

trial, that of an action for libel brought against Dr. Friedjung, these documents were shown to be forgeries, produced in the Austro-Hungarian Legation at Belgrade.<sup>1</sup> The complicity of Count Forgách, the Austro-Hungarian Minister in that city, was established, and that of Aehrenthal himself must be presumed. Neither of these functionaries, however, was called to account. Aehrenthal remained at the Foreign Office and was raised to the rank of Count; Forgách ultimately became Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and as such took a leading part in drawing up the ultimatum to Serbia in July 1914 which was the immediate cause of the European War.

*The Balkan Wars.*—The irritation of Jugo-Slav sentiment throughout the Monarchy produced by these events led to a closer co-operation between the Serbo-Croats and Slovenes, and to a still further decline in the influence of the Clerical and Trialist Party of Pure Right under Dr. Frank. Public opinion was thus in a highly inflammable state; and the unexpected issue of the Balkan Wars was a spark to fire it. Serbia appeared no longer as an insignificant State at the mercy of its greater neighbour, but as a considerable military Power, victorious in turn against Turks and Bulgars, and with territory conterminous with that of Greece and Montenegro. Premonitory symptoms notwithstanding, the Austro-Hungarian Government was not

<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, the issue of the Friedjung trial cast the gravest suspicion on the evidence produced at the 'Bomb Trial' of Cetinje earlier in the same year. The accused were in this case alleged to have conspired against the lives of the King of Montenegro and his second son, and to have had in their design the support of highly placed Serbians who regarded the existence of the Montenegrin dynasty as a bar to the realization of 'Greater Serbian' designs. The case for the Crown rested on the evidence of the informer Nastić, who in the course of the Friedjung trial was shown to be in the pay of the Austrian police and to be a person of (to say the least) doubtful veracity. None the less, Austrian writers of repute have continued to use the Cetinje trial as conclusive proof of the complicity of the Serbian Government in treasonable designs, or, at least, of its connivance. So, e. g. Sosnosky, *Die Balkanpolitik Oesterreich-Ungarns seit 1866*, ii, p. 193 (published 1914).

prepared for the enthusiasm with which the Jugo-Slavs of the Empire greeted the Serbian successes. The outburst was startling, and was specially marked amongst the Slovenes, whose Serbian sympathies have ever since been strong<sup>1</sup> and have inspired their markedly homogeneous policy throughout the war.

*The Ultimatum to Serbia.*—In these circumstances the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo in June 1914 was calculated to bring matters to a head. The Austro-Hungarian ultimatum, whose terms were so framed as to make war inevitable, was presented on July 23, 1914, and was followed within a week by a declaration of war.

#### EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE EUROPEAN WAR

##### *Austria-Hungary's Treatment of Jugo-Slav Subjects*

In the earlier stages of the war, evidence as to the feeling of Jugo-Slavs in Austria-Hungary and their treatment by the Government was difficult to obtain.

However, some amount of information as to internal conditions reached Italy during the period of Italian neutrality, chiefly through the medium of escaped prisoners, and some could also be gleaned from the press in Austria and Hungary. Both sources indicated that the Government was pursuing a policy of repression in its most extreme form, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A very large proportion of the educated Jugo-Slavs were imprisoned or interned;<sup>2</sup> a severe press censorship was established; the Provincial

<sup>1</sup> 'Why do you call us Jugo-Slavs?' said a considerable contingent of Slovenes to the Serbs who were assisting to enrol the Jugo-Slav regiments in Russia. 'Call us Serbs; we prefer it.'

<sup>2</sup> The Jugo-Slav estimate of 10,000 in round numbers does not appear to be exaggerated. Dr. Tresić-Pavičić, deputy to the Reichsrat for the Dalmatian islands, was imprisoned on the outbreak of the war. When three months later he appeared for the first time before a judge, the latter told him that 5,000 persons had been arrested in Dalmatia, Istria, and Carinthia alone.

Diets in Austria in which the Jugo-Slavs were represented were suspended; and, though the Croatian Diet continued to subsist, any free expression of opinion would have laid its members open to the charge of high treason. Decrees passed on October 7 and 13, 1914, deprived of citizenship all subjects of the Monarchy then abroad and suspected of working against its interests. The property of all such persons was confiscated, and their families were deported. On December 8, 1914, the semi-official *Bosnische Post* announced that the same measures were to be taken against all absent Bosniaks, whether suspect or not. Between February 20 and March 23, 1915, the *Bosnische Post* recorded the expulsion from Bosnia of 5,260 families who were removed in a destitute condition to Serbia or Montenegro. The Orthodox clergy were the object of severe persecutions. A decree of the Government of Croatia suspended all the Orthodox parish priests of Slavonia and Sylvania, while it is stated that in Bosnia scarcely an Orthodox priest was left at liberty, and large numbers were hanged. From all suspected regions hostages were taken, and executed in the event of anti-Government action in their localities. Trials for treason were numerous.<sup>1</sup> The information available points to the conclusion that the Government from the first believed disaffection to be general in the Jugo-Slav population.

In 1917 the reopening of the Reichsrat in May and the amnesty granted to political prisoners in July restored some measure of free speech. The proceedings of the Government in Dalmatia and Bosnia and the condition of the Jugo-Slav prison

<sup>1</sup> In June 1916, a Jugo-Slav authority stated that since the outbreak of the war the death-sentence had been passed on over 4,000 civilians in Austria. It was known from official sources that the number of hangmen in the Dual Monarchy had been increased from two to ten. In October 1916 two Magyar papers published the fact that in Vienna the hangman's assistant, sentenced to ten days' imprisonment for being drunk and disorderly, obtained the remission of his sentence on the ground that his services could not be spared for so long a period.

camps were denounced in the Reichsrat (October 19, 1917) by Dr. Tresić-Pavičić, deputy for the Dalmatian islands, who had himself been arrested on the outbreak of the war and released only under the terms of the amnesty. The charges were horrifying, and it is not surprising that the speech was suppressed in the Austrian and Hungarian newspapers. At Zagreb the first half was printed, evidently with the connivance of the local authority; and the effect of the statements on public opinion was profound. While the circumstances were obviously not favourable to the compilation of exact statistics, much information was made available by the release of the political prisoners, whose numbers were great. The high character of the Dalmatian deputy and the fact that the Government made no reply to his speech after its partial publication at Zagreb were taken to support the substantial accuracy of the charges. They include that of wholesale massacres of the Serb population in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and give a considerable amount of detail.<sup>1</sup> In prison camps the alleged rates of mortality were no less startling: 8,000 were stated to have died at Doboï in Bosnia, where a camp had been formed in December 1915, and between 3,000 and 4,000 at Arad in Hungary, while over 8,000 Croats, deported chiefly from Istria, perished in Styria alone.

To the members of the Reichsrat Dr. Tresić's statements were known in full; and they intensified the already apparent determination of the Jugo-Slavs to secure their separation from the Habsburg Empire.

<sup>1</sup> General Potiorek, the Military Governor of Bosnia, is stated to have signed 3,500 death-warrants with his own hand; but hundreds perished by summary execution without this formality, or were shot down by the soldiers. The victims included women and children; and the proceedings were marked by traits of a savagery comparable to that of the Germans in Belgium. An abstract of the published portion of the speech may be read in the *Southern Slav Bulletin* of December 18, 1917.

*Jugo-Slav Agitation within the Dual Monarchy*

*The Jugo-Slav Parliamentary Club.*—On the re-opening of the Reichsrat in May 1917, the Jugo-Slav deputies, by forming themselves into a single Parliamentary Club had already taken a decided line. Owing to various causes their 37 representatives were reduced to 31.<sup>1</sup> Of these, 29 united in the Jugo-Slav Club under the presidency of Mgr. Korošec (Slovene); two (Dr. Sušteršić, a Landeshauptmann of Carinthia, and M. Jaklić) were favourable to the government at Vienna. On May 30 the Jugo-Slav Club put forward in the Reichsrat a demand that all the provinces of the Monarchy inhabited by Slovenes, Croats, or Serbs, should be united under the Habsburg Crown in a single autonomous and democratic State, free from all foreign domination. The reference to the Habsburg Crown was dictated merely by prudential motives, as was recognized alike by the Jugo-Slav and the German-Austrian press. The Zagreb paper, *Hrvatska Država*, immediately stated that, owing to the reference to the Monarchy, the demand of the Jugo-Slav Club could be regarded only as a minimum and provisional programme. All subsequent official pronouncements of the Jugo-Slavs<sup>1</sup> reiterated the demand for a national and independent State, without qualification.

*The Slovenes.*—The prominent part played by the Slovenes deserves remark, as also the fact that the chief promoters of the Jugo-Slav movement among them are distinguished churchmen. Among the most notable

<sup>1</sup> Six representatives had been imprisoned on the outbreak of the war. These were now released and permitted to take their seats. One of these was subsequently disqualified, being condemned for high treason; of the other members, one had fled the country in 1915, and four died within a short time of the opening of the Reichsrat.

<sup>2</sup> e. g. Korošec's telegram of protest in the name of the Jugo-Slav Club to the Conference of Brest-Litovsk, January 31, 1918, and the resolutions passed by a gathering of Slovene, Croat, and Serb representatives from both Austria and Hungary in March 1918, which expressly demanded union with the Jugo-Slavs outside the Monarchy.

personalities in the Reichsrat were the late Mgr. Krek and Mgr. Korošec,<sup>1</sup> and outside it the Prince-Bishop of Ljubljana (Laibach) and the Bishops of Trieste and Veglia.

The pro-Serbian sympathies of the Slovenes before the European War have been mentioned above. The German-Austrian press noted in 1917 that in Slovene lands the Jugo-Slav propaganda 'has penetrated to every peasant's hut'. In the same year Slovene women collected from their own sex 200,000 signatures to a petition for incorporation in a Jugo-Slav State which should include all Jugo-Slavs. As the total Slovene population before the war was under 1,500,000, the figure is high.

The Slovenes alone among the Austrian Jugo-Slavs were able to carry on a definite agitation, the repressive measures of the Government in Istria and Dalmatia rendering concerted action impossible until a very late stage of the war.

*Croatia.*—Conditions under Hungarian rule were no less unfavourable to the free expression of opinion than those obtaining in Austria. On the outbreak of the war an overwhelming proportion of the educated class was imprisoned or interned, including, in spite of their parliamentary immunity, members of the Croatian Diet. In a large proportion of cases no evidence was forthcoming against the persons arrested; and under the pressure of public opinion from 1915 onwards many of them were successively released. According to information received, they immediately began to organize a secret revolutionary society, somewhat on the lines of the Carbonari, each member being known to only two of his fellows, and to work through it for the Jugo-Slav cause. The organization is alleged not merely to have completely captured civilian opinion, but to have acquired over the army a hold which con-

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards President of the National Council which on the fall of the Habsburg Monarchy assumed the direction of affairs at Zagreb, and Vice-President in the first Ministry of the United Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs.

tributed largely to the formation of the volunteer regiments in Russia and determined the course of events on the Italian front in the later stages of the war.

The Diet naturally maintained an attitude of reserve. On the whole it confined itself to demanding separation from Hungary, but it abstained from any specific declaration of loyalty. Individual members frequently insisted on the racial unity of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs. In October 1918 the greatly diminished Frank party joined the National Council, the two or three irreconcilables who remained withdrawing from political life. Thus the only political opposition in Croatia to union with the Jugo-Slavs outside the Monarchy disappeared.

The national sympathies of Croatian officials were noteworthy, and were the subject of complaint in the German Austrian press. The Mayor of Zagreb and eight town councillors attended, on May 16, 1918, a Czech demonstration, which openly demanded complete independence for Bohemia. The censorship has frequently been evaded at Zagreb, as in the case of the speech of Tresić-Pavičić, alluded to above. Great demonstrations attended the tour through Croatia of Count Louis Voinović, a distinguished Dalmatian author who was arrested on the outbreak of the war, and released late in 1917. At meetings organized in his honour throughout Croatia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia, Jugo-Slav unity and independence of the Habsburgs were openly demanded.

*Bosnia-Herzegovina.*—Reference has already been made to the severity of the repressive measures taken in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It may be added that desertions to the enemy from Bosnian regiments were specially frequent, and were often due to concerted action. The first Bosnian regiment twice passed over *en bloc* to the enemy and was twice reconstituted. Finally, at Jassy, it went over to the Russians with its Mohammedan Serb colonel at its head.

*The Jugo-Slav Volunteers.*—A large number of Jugo-Slavs who had fought perforce in the Austrian army

and surrendered to the Russians or been captured by them were anxious to join the ranks of the Entente, and in 1915 a Jugo-Slav Committee was formed at Odessa to organize and equip them. It worked under difficulties, for the prisoners were scattered over remote and widely separated camps—a circumstance which increased the difficulty of communication and transport. Nevertheless, between November 1915 and July 1917 volunteers were enrolled to the number of 46,581, of whom the largest proportion was furnished by Bosnia-Herzegovina. The corps saw much service, and suffered heavily in proportion to its numbers.

*Jugo-Slav Activity outside the Dual Monarchy*

*The Jugo-Slav Committee.*—The Jugo-Slav leaders who had escaped from Austria-Hungary in the early stages of the European War had formed themselves into a committee to represent their national interests, and stood for the union of all Jugo-Slavs in a free and independent State. They gradually established communications with the majority of the deputies in the several Diets and in the Reichsrat, and had the unanimous support of the considerable Jugo-Slav colonies in America,<sup>1</sup> Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In 1915 and 1916, however, the President of the Committee, Dr. Ante Trumbić, a Croat deputy of Dalmatia,<sup>2</sup> and the other members of the Committee in London were unwilling to break with Russia; and the same attitude was maintained by the Crown Prince of Serbia, who was naturally believed to incline to the 'Greater Serbia' solution.

*The Pact of Corfu.*—But on the fall of the autocracy in Russia, closer co-operation between the two Jugo-Slav sections at once began; and a most important step towards the union of the peoples was taken when the Pact of Corfu was signed on July 20, 1917, by M. Pašić for the Serbian Government and by Dr.

<sup>1</sup> The Jugo-Slavs in America number about 1,500,000.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

Trumbić. This agreement<sup>1</sup> provided for the union of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in a single free and independent kingdom, on a constitutional and democratic basis, under the Karageorgević dynasty. Local autonomy, the free exercise of religions, and the maintenance of the two alphabets were guaranteed.

The terms of the Pact and the favour with which it was accepted by the majority of the Entente peoples produced an immediate effect on opinion in Croatia. In the first week of August Radić, the peasant leader in the Diet, openly asserted the desire of the Jugo-Slavs of the Dual Monarchy to be freed from Habsburg dominion and united to Serbia. From this date onwards popular manifestations became frequent.

*The Italo-Jugo-Slav Agreement.*—The apprehensions of the Jugo-Slavs respecting the supposed designs of Italy had not been removed; and the failure of the Italian Government to accept the Pact of Corfu had increased the tension between the two nations. Italian opinion had been apt to regard Jugo-Slav nationalism as nothing but a Habsburg manoeuvre; and the fear of Italy's hostility and the extent of her ambitions had made Croats and Slovenes hesitate wholly to renounce the possibility of using Habsburg support against apprehended aggression. The openly anti-Habsburg agitation now pursued by the Jugo-Slav Club under Mgr. Korošec and the popular movement in Croatia and among the Slovenes did much to convince instructed Italian opinion that Italian and Jugo-Slav interests in the Adriatic, far from being irreconcilable, were in the main identical. Pourparlers initiated early in 1918 by Signor Orlando and Dr. Trumbić resulted in an agreement known as the Pact of Rome, signed by Signor Torre representing a large parliamentary committee and by Dr. Trumbić, and adopted as a resolution at the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities held in Rome in April of that year. This document<sup>2</sup> declared that the unity and independence of

<sup>1</sup> For complete text see Appendix, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> For text see Appendix, p. 39.

the Jugo-Slav nation were of vital interest to Italy, as was the completion of Italian national unity to the Jugo-Slavs; and that the liberation of the Adriatic and its defence against every present and future enemy were of equal importance to both peoples. It pledged both nations to solve territorial controversies according to the principles of nationality and of the right of peoples to decide their own fate, and to guarantee the language, culture, and moral and economic interests of such racial groups of one people as might be included within the frontiers of the other. The effects of the agreement, whose principles were accepted by Signor Orlando, were far-reaching, and most beneficial to the Allied cause. Jugo-Slav suspicions were removed; the last hesitations of Croatia disappeared; and, most important of all, according to well-informed sources, the revolutionary movement now spread with the utmost rapidity in the Austro-Hungarian army and navy, with the result that the march of events on the Italian front was hastened and the triumph of Italian arms in the following October greatly facilitated.

*The National Council of Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes.*—On the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, a National Council was formed,<sup>1</sup> composed of Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes, under the presidency of Mgr. Korošec. This body represented the interests of all the Jugo-Slavs of the Monarchy, and was charged with their government until a Constituent Assembly should determine the permanent form of the future State.

*The Geneva Conference.*—On November 6, 1918, the Serbian Premier, M. Pašić, representing the Serbian Government, and Mgr. Korošec, representing the National Council, together with other representatives from the Serbian Skupština and the National Council and delegates from the Jugo-Slav Committee in London, met in conference at Geneva. The most important matters dealt with were, firstly, the recognition of the National Council in Zagreb (Agram) as the Government of the Serbs, Slovenes, and Croats of the

<sup>1</sup> Announced in *The Times*, October 29, 1918.

late Dual Monarchy, which was at once accorded by M. Pašić, representing the kingdom of Serbia; and secondly, the formation of a joint ministry for the kingdom of Serbia and the territories subject to the authority of the National Council in Zagreb. This ministry was to organize the common state of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes pending the enactment of the Constitution by a Constituent Assembly.<sup>1</sup> On November 23 the Jugo-Slav National Council in Zagreb passed a resolution transferring the Regency of the United Serbo-Croat-Slovene State to the Prince Regent of Serbia.<sup>2</sup>

### THE NEW STATE

*Population.*—The Southern Slav country—the new ‘Jugo-Slavia,’ as defined by the Jugo-Slav leaders—extends from Southern Styria and Carinthia to the Monastir region of Macedonia; and the area will be seen to be fairly equally divided between Austro-Hungarian territory on one side and that of the kingdoms of Serbia and of Montenegro on the other. The Jugo-Slav population of Austria-Hungary numbers approximately 7,000,000.<sup>3</sup> The population of the Serbian kingdom and Montenegro, as included within the limits laid down by the Treaty of Bucarest, amounted, before the war, to about 5,000,000. This would give a total Jugo-Slav population approaching 11,000,000; but owing to the mortality caused directly and indirectly by the war the actual figure must be considerably lower.

From the standpoint of general European interests, it may be fairly urged that any Jugo-Slav State constituted should be of sufficient size and population to form an effective obstacle to possible German designs on the Adriatic—the ports of which are among the strongest potential seats of maritime power in the Mediterranean

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the arrangement arrived at see Appendix, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> For the text, see Appendix, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Of these some 500,000 or 600,000 inhabit certain districts of southern Hungary, viz. Baranya, Bačka, and the western part of the Banat.

—in one direction, and to German control of the highway to Constantinople in the other. A considerable part of this Jugo-Slav region, at present sparsely populated, would, if fair economic conditions prevailed, become one of the main lines of European traffic, and experience a rapid development in wealth and population.

*The Economic Liberation of the Jugo-Slav Lands.*—Not the least important part of the liberation of the Jugo-Slav peoples of Austria-Hungary is in fact their emancipation from the economic disabilities under which they have hitherto lain. The main lines of railway construction have been laid down to suit the interests of the German, and still more of the Magyar element in the Monarchy. Railways designed to connect Croatia and Dalmatia were left uncompleted owing to the political and economic jealousy of the Magyars. Such is the case with the Lika line, projected to run from Ogulin to Knin in Dalmatia.<sup>1</sup> So too the Hungarian Government left incomplete the lines planned to connect Karlovac (Karlstadt) with Ljubljana (Laibach) and Croatia's natural markets in the Slovene lands, and to give Zagreb (Agram) a better connexion with Graz and Vienna, though the Austrian sections of both were carried up to the frontier. In Bosnia a section is still lacking to complete the line from Sarajevo to Spalato, which is of vital importance to the economic development of Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>2</sup> At present the only railway connexion is with the considerably more distant port of Gravosa.

Finally, the construction of a line of some 50 miles connecting Ljubljana directly with Gradisca would shorten by five hours the journey from Paris to Belgrade, *via* the Simplon and Milan, the route which will in future be the natural line of communication with the Near East for Great Britain, France, and North Italy.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dalmatia*, No. 11 in this series, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Unless some other port on the Adriatic less inconveniently situated than Gravosa be given railway connection with the backland.

*Gorizia-Gradisca.*—In Gorizia-Gradisca the Slovene population has a considerable majority over the Italian. It consists mainly of peasant proprietors, who are well organized economically, having many co-operative and credit associations. The Italian peasantry are *coloni* on the estates of large landed proprietors, with a lower standard of living and a decidedly higher percentage of illiteracy than the Slovenes. Only in the town of Gorizia is there an Italian majority, and before the war the Slovene minority was rapidly increasing.

*Trieste.*—Trieste is the natural port not merely for the Slovene lands, but for what lies behind them—for Austria, and to a considerable extent, which the Peace Settlement may tend to increase, for Bohemia.<sup>1</sup> This Baron Sonnino recognized in 1881 when he wrote: 'Trieste is the most convenient port for the trade of the entire German region; its population, like every population in the neighbourhood of our eastern frontier, is mixed. To claim Trieste as a right would be an exaggeration of the principle of nationality.'<sup>2</sup> Nor had his view apparently changed when in April 1915 he formulated in a telegram to the Italian Ambassador at Vienna the conditions of Italy's continued neutrality. As one of these he demanded the complete autonomy and independence of Trieste and its establishment as a free port, with a modest strip of territory starting from Nabresina in the north and including the judicial districts of Capo d'Istria and Pirano in the south.<sup>3</sup> The population of Trieste city in the strict sense shows an Italian majority (in round numbers 119,000 Italians to 57,000 Slovenes and 2,400 Serbo-Croats), but one that was rapidly diminishing, while the suburbs are Slav.

<sup>1</sup> It is also possible, however, that Bohemian trade may gravitate rather to Fiume, as that route avoids the mountain ranges north of Trieste.

<sup>2</sup> *Rassegna Settimanale*, May 29, 1881.

<sup>3</sup> *Documenti Diplomatici*, xxxii, Article III. For the text of the articles concerning territories in which the Jugo-Slavs are interested, see Appendix, p. 44.

The Italians are certainly the most cultivated element in the population, and form the large majority of the professional class. In commerce, however, they do not show the same predominance. Of the Austrian mercantile marine registered at Trieste, more than 50 per cent. was in the hands of Jugo-Slavs (chiefly Dalmatian), and only about 30 per cent. in that of Italians. Italian banking institutions represented an aggregate capital of only about 9 million kronen, while the Jugo-Slav Jadranska Banka alone had a capital of 31 millions, and there were numerous other Jugo-Slav and two Czech banks. The sea-borne trade of Trieste was primarily with the Black Sea ports, Greece, and the Levant; the Jugo-Slav provinces of the Adriatic came second, Great Britain third, and Italy held only the fourth place. For its supply of labour Trieste depends on the surrounding Slav regions. In these circumstances even Italian men of business viewed the possibility of annexation to Italy with considerable apprehension. Shortly before the armistice the Chamber of Commerce of Trieste declared itself in favour of the autonomy of Trieste within the Austrian Empire, while the racially mixed Socialist party, said to represent about a third of the town population, had a few weeks earlier voted for complete independence.

In Istria apart from Trieste there are 223,000 Jugo-Slavs, as against 147,000 Italians, who inhabit the western part of the peninsula and are chiefly to be found in the towns, but nowhere form an unmixed population.

*Fiume.*—Fiume, the natural outlet by sea for the trade both of Croatia and Hungary, has a mixed population in which the Italians according to the latest figures numbered 24,212, and the Serbo-Croats 13,351. It is impossible, however, to separate Fiume from its industrial suburb Susak across the river, whose population included 11,000 Serbo-Croats and 1,500 Italians.

*Dalmatia.*—The total number of Italians in Dalmatia is, according to the latest census figures, 18,000 in round

numbers, and according to the extreme and probably somewhat exaggerated Italian claims, 30,000. On either estimate they form a small percentage of the population of 635,000 which is otherwise Serbo-Croat. The Italians are confined to the towns, and form a majority only in Zara.

The closest relations of the new State will probably be with the Czechs. For twenty years the Jugo-Slavs of Austria proper have maintained with them an active intellectual intercourse. Czech finance has supported Slovene banks in Trieste. The acquisition of land in German Austria has been pursued by the Czechs as a deliberate policy, with the result that a chain of Czech settlements now reaches from Bohemia to the borders of Styria. It seems not improbable that the animosity formerly existing between Austrians and the Jugo-Slavs may disappear with the officials of the late administration, especially as the two populations are in contact only on the northern Slovene border.

## APPENDIX

## I. THE PACT OF CORFU

At the conference of the members of the late Coalition Cabinet and those of the present Cabinet, and also the representatives of the Jugoslav Committee in London, all of whom have hitherto been working on parallel lines, views have been exchanged in collaboration with the President of the Skupština, on all questions concerning the life of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in their joint future State.

We are happy in being able once more on this occasion to point to the complete unanimity of all parties concerned.

In the first place the representatives of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes declare anew and most categorically that our people constitutes but one nation, and that it is one in blood, one by the spoken and written language, by the continuity and unity of the territory in which it lives, and finally in virtue of the common and vital interests of its national existence and the general development of its moral and material life.

The idea of its national unity has never suffered extinction, although all the intellectual forces of its enemy were directed against its unification, its liberty, and its national existence. Divided between several States, our nation is in Austria-Hungary alone split up into eleven provincial administrations coming under thirteen legislative bodies. The feeling of national unity, together with the spirit of liberty and independence, have supported it in the never-ending struggles of centuries against the Turks in the East and against the Magyars in the West.

Being numerically inferior to its enemies in the East and West, it was impossible for it to safeguard its unity as a nation and a State, its liberty and its independence against the brutal maxim of 'might goes before right' militating against it both East and West.

But the moment has come when our people is no longer isolated. The war imposed by German militarism upon Russia, upon France and upon England for the defence of their honour as well as for the liberty and independence of small nations, has developed into a struggle for the Liberty of the World

and the Triumph of Right over Might. All nations which love liberty and independence have allied themselves together for their common defence, to save civilization and liberty at the cost of every sacrifice, to establish a new international order based upon justice and upon the right of every nation to dispose of itself and so organize its independent life; finally to establish a durable peace consecrated to the progress and development of humanity and to secure the world against a catastrophe similar to that which the conquering lust of German Imperialism has provoked.

To noble France, who has proclaimed the liberty of nations, and to England, the hearth of liberty, the Great American Republic and the new, free, and democratic Russia have joined themselves in proclaiming as their principal war aim the triumph of liberty and democracy and as basis of the new international order the right of free self-determination for every nation.

Our nation of the three names, which has been the greatest sufferer under brute force and injustice, and which has made the greatest sacrifices to preserve its right of self-determination, has with enthusiasm accepted this sublime principle put forward as the chief aim of this atrocious war, provoked by the violation of this very principle.

The authorized representatives of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, in declaring that it is the desire of our people to free itself from every foreign yoke and to constitute itself a free, national, and independent State, a desire based on the principle that every nation has the right to decide its own destiny, are agreed in judging that this State should be founded on the following modern and democratic principles:

1. The State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, who are also known as the Southern Slavs or Jugoslavs, will be a free and independent kingdom, with indivisible territory and unity of allegiance. It will be a constitutional, democratic, and Parliamentary Monarchy under the Kara-georgevitch Dynasty, which has always shared the ideas and the feelings of the nation, placing liberty and the national will above all else.

2. This State will be named 'The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes'. And the style of the sovereign will be 'King of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes'.

3. The State will have a single coat-of-arms, a single flag, and a single crown. These emblems will be composed of the present existing emblems. The unity of the State will be symbolized by the coat-of-arms and the flag of the Kingdom.

4. The special Serb, Croat, and Slovene flags rank equally and may be freely hoisted on all occasions. The special coats-of-arms may be used with equal freedom.

5. The three national designations—Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—are equal before the law throughout the territory of the Kingdom, and every one may use them freely upon all occasions of public life and in dealing with the authorities.

6. The two alphabets, the Cyrillic and the Latin, also rank equally, and every one may use them freely throughout the territory of the Kingdom. The Royal authorities and the local self-governing authorities have both the right and the duty to employ both alphabets in accordance with the wishes of the citizens.

7. All recognized religions may be freely and publicly exercised. The Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Musulman faiths, which are those chiefly professed by our nation, shall rank equally and enjoy equal rights with regard to the State.

In consideration of these principles the legislative will take special care to safeguard religious concord in conformity with the spirit and tradition of our whole nation.

8. The calendar will be unified as soon as possible.

9. The territory of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes will include all the territory inhabited compactly and in territorial continuity by our nation of the three names. It cannot be mutilated without detriment to the vital interests of the community.

Our nation demands nothing that belongs to others. It demands only what is its own. It desires to free itself and to achieve its unity. Therefore it consciously and firmly refuses every partial solution of the problem of its national liberation and unification. It puts forward the proposition of its deliverance from Austro-Hungarian domination and its union with Serbia and Montenegro in a single State forming an indivisible whole.

In accordance with the right of self-determination of peoples, no part of this territorial totality may without infringement of justice be detached and incorporated with some other State without the consent of the nation itself.

10. In the interests of freedom and of the equal rights of all nations, the Adriatic shall be free and open to each and all.

11. All citizens throughout the territory of the Kingdom shall be equal and enjoy the same rights with regard to the State and before the Law.

12. The election of the Deputies to the National Representative body shall be by universal suffrage, with equal, direct, and secret ballot. The same shall apply to the elections in the Communes and other administrative units. Elections will take place in each commune.

13. The Constitution, to be established after the conclusion of peace by a Constituent Assembly elected by universal suffrage, with direct and secret ballot, will be the basis of the entire life of the State; it will be the source and the consummation of all authority and of all rights by which the entire life of the nation will be regulated.

The Constitution will provide the nation with the possibility of exercising its special energies in local autonomies delimited by natural, social, and economic conditions.

The Constitution must be passed in its entirety by a numerically defined majority in the Constituent Assembly.

The Constitution, like all other laws passed by the Constituent Assembly, will only come into force after having received the Royal sanction.

The nation of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, thus unified, will form a State of about 12,000,000 inhabitants. This State will be the guarantee for their independence and national development and their national and intellectual progress in general, a mighty bulwark against the German thrust, an inseparable ally of all the civilized nations and States which have proclaimed the principle of right and liberty and that of international justice. It will be a worthy member of the new Community of Nations.

Drawn up in Corfu, July 7/20, 1917.

The President of the Yugoslav  
Committee,

(Sgd.) DR. ANTE TRUMBIĆ.

Advocate, Deputy and Leader  
of the Croatian National  
Party in the Dalmatian  
Diet, late Mayor of Split  
(Spalato), late Deputy for  
the district of Zadar (Zara)  
in the Austrian Parliament.

The Prime Minister of the  
Kingdom of Serbia and  
Minister for Foreign Affairs,

(Sgd.) NIKOLA P. PAŠIĆ.

II. THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS OF  
OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES AT ROME

The representatives of the nationalities subjected in whole or in part to the rule of Austria-Hungary—the Italians, Poles, Roumanians, Czechs, and Jugoslavs—join in affirming their principles of common action as follows :

1. Each of these peoples proclaims its right to constitute its own nationality and State unity or to complete it and to attain full political and economic independence.

2. Each of these peoples recognizes in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy the instrument of German domination and the fundamental obstacle to the realization of its aspirations and rights.

3. The assembly recognizes the necessity of a common struggle against the common oppressors, in order that each people may attain complete liberation and national unity within a free State unit.

The representatives of the Italian people and of the Jugoslav people in particular agree as follows :

1. In the relations between the Italian nation and the nation of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—known also under the name of the Jugoslav nation—the representatives of the two peoples recognize that the unity and independence of the Jugoslav nation is a vital interest of Italy, just as the completion of Italian national unity is a vital interest of the Jugoslav nation. And therefore the representatives of the two peoples pledge themselves to employ every effort in order that during the war and at the moment of the peace these decisions (*finalità*) of the two nations may be completely attained.

2. They declare that the liberation of the Adriatic Sea and its defence against every present and future enemy is a vital interest of the two peoples.

3. They pledge themselves also in the interest of good and sincere relations between the two peoples in the future, to solve amicably the various territorial controversies on the basis of the principles of nationality and of the right of peoples to decide their own fate, and in such a way as not to injure the vital interests of the two nations, such as shall be defined at the moment of peace.

4. To such racial groups (*nuclei*) of one people as it may be found necessary to include within the frontiers of the other there shall be recognized and guaranteed the

right to their language, culture, and moral and economic interests.

[The second part of the above embodies the Italo-Jugo-Slav Convention as signed by Messrs. Torre and Trumbić, and is also known as the Pact of Rome.]

### III. PROCLAMATION OF THE JUGO-SLAV LEADERS OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, READ IN THE AUSTRIAN REICHSRAT, OCTOBER 1918.

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is not competent to undertake any peace steps on behalf of any other nationality save the German and Magyar. The Jugoslavs demand peace, but this can only be based upon the following principles:—

1. The Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes are a single indivisible people, wherever they live.

2. They can only consent to a peace based upon the right of peoples to determine their own fate.

3. The Jugoslavs must be allowed themselves to decide whether they wish to create their own independent State or to conclude an international union with any other State which already exists or may be constituted.

4. No section of the Croato-Serbo-Slovene Nation can be subjected to foreign domination; this people must be united within the Yugoslav State.

5. The Jugoslavs undertake to grant to minorities all rights of cultural development. The Adriatic ports will be open to all peoples, on the basis of suitable agreements.

6. The Jugoslavs will not recognize any peace concluded without their participation, and demand admission to the Peace Conference for representatives of the Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes.

[This pronouncement was signed by Dr. Korošec, for the National Slovene Council; the Dalmatian deputy, Dr. Bulat, on behalf of his Dalmatian colleagues; Mr. Pavilić, for the Starčević Party of Croatia; Mr. Radić, for the Croatian Peasant Party; Mr. Krasojević, for the Radical Serb Party; Mr. Bukšeg and Mr. Korač, in the name of the Yugoslav Socialist Party; and the well-known Croatian deputies, Budisavljević and Lorković; and was endorsed by the Croat and Serb representatives of Bosnia.]

IV. 1. DECLARATION OF THE CONFERENCE OF  
GENEVA, NOVEMBER 11, 1918

The common effort of the Allies and the United States of North America, as well as the strength of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, have, both on the battlefield and on the sea, broken down the brutal barriers which were preventing the union of our people. The representatives of the Royal Government of Serbia and of the parliamentary groups of the Skupština, the representatives of the National Council of Zagreb and the representatives of the Jugoslav Committee of London who have met at Geneva, the city of liberty, are happy to be able to proclaim, solemnly and unanimously, to the entire world their union in one State, formed of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The people of Montenegro, to whom we extend our hand in brotherly love, will certainly not hesitate to welcome this act, which realizes their highest ideals. By this act the new State appears and stands from to-day as an indivisible State-unit and as a member of the Society of Free Nations. The former frontiers no longer exist.

In all manifestations abroad this State-unit will be represented by the common Ministry of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, by the intermediary of organs specially created for this end and in the same spirit. The public has already been notified of the formation of this Government. We shall ultimately make known the sphere of action of this Government, for its unanimity in all questions regarding aims and methods has already prepared the way for the general labours of the new State.

The Government of the Kingdom of Serbia and the National Council of Zagreb will, each one in its sphere of judicial, interior, and territorial matters, continue to direct such administration as exists, until the Great National Assembly of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (the Constituent) shall be elected by all citizens by means of direct and secret universal suffrage and until the Constitution shall have definitely settled the State organization. The life of the entire State will be based on this Constitution, which will be the source and refuge of all power and rights and which will have to organize, in a democratic spirit, all functions of State life.

The frontiers between this State and the neighbouring States will be traced according to the principles of nationality, at the same time respecting the right of free determination of each people. The unchangeable faith and confidence of our people in its right and in the principle of justice, proclaimed by our

Allies and accepted by the universal conscience of the civilized world, are sufficient guarantees for this settlement.

Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes !

Our secular dream has to-day been realized. We are united in liberty. Let us glorify the great days of national fortune and joy and let us maintain order. Where there is no order, there is no State !

It is only a strong State which can accomplish at the right time those tasks which ensure the well-being of the citizens, and which can accomplish its social duties and its mission by concerning itself for the general progress of society, the protection of the weak, of wrecked households, and of disabled soldiers.

Let us respect the memory of all those who fell fighting for the realization of our national and human ideal. Let us do respectful homage to the historic exploits of our army, and transmit to future generations our grateful sentiments towards our noble Allies with whom we share the victory.

Jugoslavs !

May our beloved country live in honour and glory amidst the other peoples !

The President of the National Council at Zagreb,  
Dr. ANTON KOROŠEC.

The Prime Minister of Serbia,  
NICHOLAS P. PAŠIĆ.

The President of the Yugoslav Committee in London,  
Dr. ANTE TRUMBIĆ.

2. DOCUMENT DRAWN UP BY THE ACCREDITED REPRESENTATIVES OF SERBIA AND THE JUGOSLAVS AND TRANSMITTED TO THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS BY THE SERBIAN DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES.

In the name of the Serbian Government, Mr. Pašić, Premier of Serbia, accepts the Note by which Dr. Anton Korošec, President of the Yugoslav National Council in Zagreb, and MM. Čingrija and Žerjav, members of this Council, request—

(a) The recognition of the Yugoslav Council of Zagreb as the supreme authority in the State organized by the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, belonging to the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

(b) The recognition of the Yugoslav military forces on land and sea as belligerent troops and Allies of the Entente.

(c) The recognition of Dr. Trumbić, President of the Yugoslav Committee of London, as official representative of the Yugoslav National Council in Zagreb with the Entente Government, until the moment when a common organ, including Serbia, shall have been created to represent the new States constituted in Zagreb.

Mr. Pašić consented to inform the Allied Governments immediately regarding the requests contained in this Note and to support them.

The Conference then unanimously and amid great enthusiasm proclaimed the Constitution of a Common Ministry for the State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, including Serbia. It proclaimed also that there are no longer any political or customs frontiers within the territory of the new State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The governmental organizations and administration, hitherto existing in various Yugoslav countries, including Serbia, will be maintained for the moment.

#### V. RESOLUTION OF THE JUGO-SLAV NATIONAL COUNCIL IN ZAGREB, NOVEMBER 23, 1918

The Regency of the united Serbo-Croat-Slovene State is transferred to the Prince Regent of Serbia, who has summoned the State Council to Sarajevo, and will appoint the first Government.

The State Council will consist (1) of all members of the Southern Slav National Council in Zagreb (Agram); (2) of fifty representatives from the Kingdom of Serbia, and (3) of five representatives each from Montenegro and the Voivodina. From among the members of the State Council the Prince Regent will appoint a Government which will consist of much the same Ministries as have existed in Austria-Hungary and other States; a special Ministry will be formed to deal with maritime affairs.

The Regent in addition will appoint five—or possibly seven—Governors to sit in Belgrade for Serbia, in Cetinje for Montenegro, in Ljubljana (Laibach) for Slovenia, in Novi Sad (Neusatz) for the Voivodina, in Sarajevo for Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Split (Spalato) for Dalmatia, and in Zagreb (with the title of Ban) for Croatia and Slavonia.

In addition, he will appoint five—or possibly seven—Secretaries of State, who will have a voice in the Cabinet and will act as intermediaries between the central Government and

the different provinces. The Cabinet is responsible to the State Council for the administration of the provinces. As soon as peace and order have been re-established, the elections for the Constituent Assembly will follow, which will be held in Sarajevo.

The election procedure will be drawn up by the State Council, which will be the ruling body during the period of transition. The direction of joint affairs (representation abroad and military matters) is expressly reserved for the State Council. The Constituent Assembly will determine the final form and constitution of the State.

VI. EXTRACT FROM *DOCUMENTI DIPLOMATICI*,  
XXXII. 64: ARTICLES CONCERNING TERRI-  
TORIES IN WHICH THE JUGO-SLAVS ARE IN-  
TERESTED.

ARTICLE II. A correction should be made in favour of Italy on the Eastern frontier, the cities of Gradisca and Gorizia being included in the ceded territory. From Troghofel the new boundary parts from the actual, running eastward as far as Osternig, and thence from the Carnic Alps to Saifniz. Thence by the ridge between Seisera and Schliza, it rises to Wischberg and then turns and follows the present frontier to the saddle of Nevea, to descend from the slopes of the Rombone to the Isonzo, passing to the east of Plezzo. It then follows the course of the Isonzo to Tolmino, whence it leaves the Isonzo to follow a line farther east, which, passing to the east of the plateau Pregona-Planina, and following the valley of the Chiappovano, runs up east of Gorizia, and crossing the Carso di Comen terminates at the sea-coast between Monfalcone and Trieste near to Nabresina.

ARTICLE III. The city of Trieste, with its territory extending northward to include Nobresina, thus adjoining the new Italian frontier (see Art. II), and southward so far as to take in the present judicial districts of Capo d'Istria and Pirano, shall be constituted an autonomous and independent state in matters political, international, military, legislative, financial, and administrative, Austria-Hungary renouncing all sovereignty over the same. It shall remain a free port. No armed forces shall be permitted to enter it, whether Austro-Hungarian or Italian. It shall take up a part of the present public debt in proportion to its population.

ARTICLE IV. Austria-Hungary cedes to Italy the Curzolarian Archipelago, including Lissa (with the neighbouring

small islands of St. Andrea and Busi), Lesina (with the Spaladori and Torcola), Curzola, Lagosta (with the small islands and rocks near), Cazza and Meleda and also Pelagosa.

ARTICLE V. Italy shall at once occupy the territories to be ceded (Art. I, II, IV); and Trieste and its territory (Art. III) shall be freed from the authority and the military forces of Austria-Hungary. All soldiers and sailors from the ceded districts or from Trieste shall be immediately discharged from the Austro-Hungarian forces.

The Commission appointed to draw up the above proclamation added the following resolution in a plenary sitting of the Southern Slav National Council: 'The Southern Slav National Council, in accordance with the above decisions and in agreement with the Government of the Kingdom of Serbia, proclaims the union of the Southern Slav State which has been formed from all the Southern Slav territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with the Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro, as a single unitary State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and appoints a Committee consisting of 28 members who, in conjunction with the Government of the Kingdom of Serbia and representatives of all parties in Serbia and Montenegro, will proceed immediately to the organization of the unitary State on the basis of these decisions. These decisions will be ratified at the first meeting of the State Council, to which, together with representatives of the Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro, all members of the present National Council in Zagreb belong, with the addition of the Southern Slav Committee in London.'

## AUTHORITIES

The authorities for the Jugo-Slav question are virtually identical with those cited for the various Jugo-Slav nationalities within the Monarchy and without it, and should be sought under the following headings :

*Serbia* (No. 20), *Montenegro* (No. 19), *Croatia-Slavonia* (No. 8), *Transylvania and the Banat* (No. 6), *Bosnia and Herzegovina* (No. 12), *Dalmatia* (No. 11), *the Austrian Littoral* (No. 10), *the Slovenes* (No. 13).

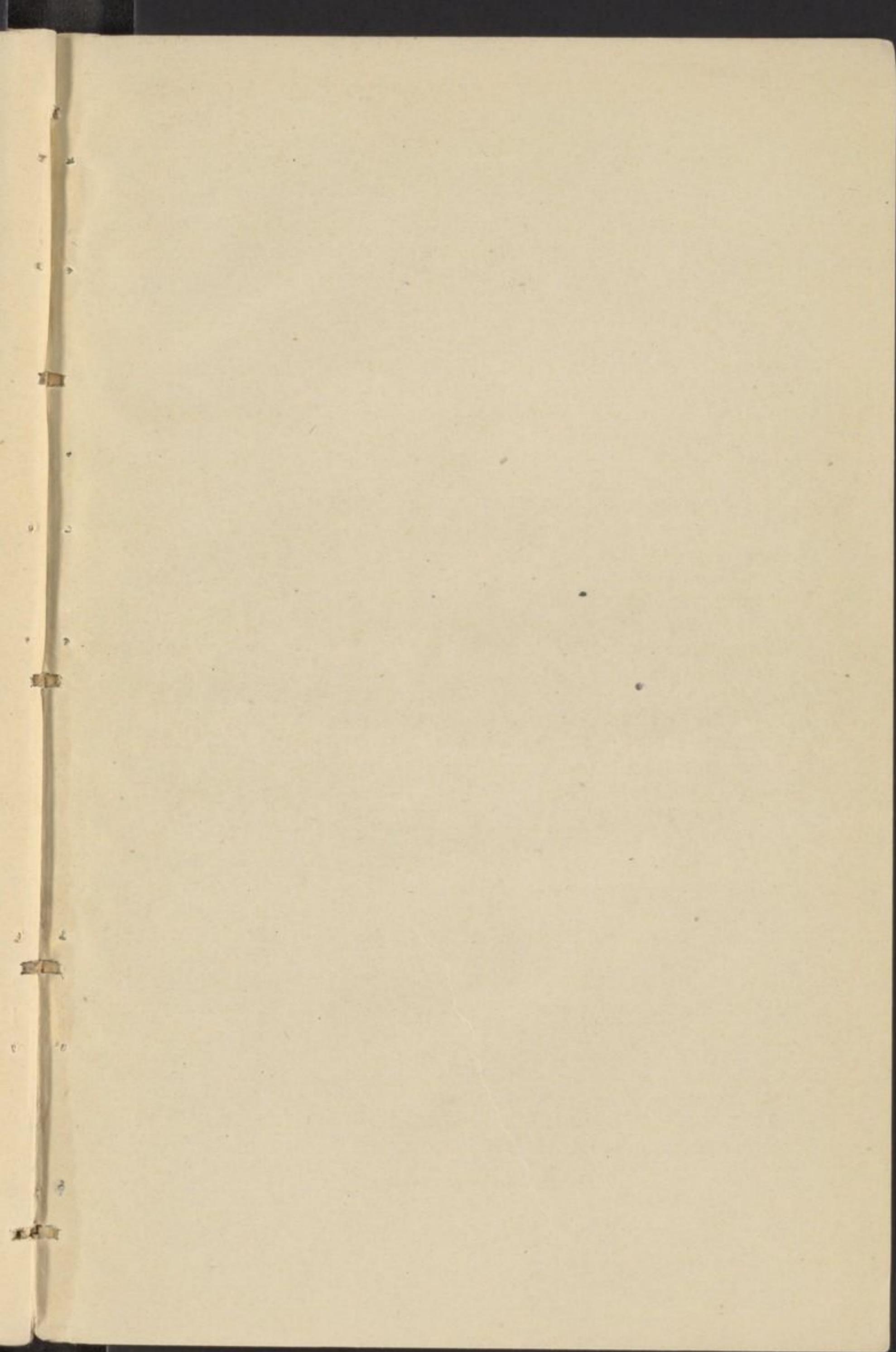
Reference may be made here to a paper by Sir Arthur Evans, 'The Adriatic Slavs and the Overland Route to Constantinople', *Geographical Journal*, April 1916, and to *La Question de l'Adriatique* (Paris : Librairie Chapelot, 1915) by Charles Vellay. 'Italy and the Southern Slavs', an article by Prof. Gaetano Salvemini in the *Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1918, is a temperate statement of Italian claims. For the period of the war the *Southern Slav Bulletin*<sup>1</sup> is valuable, especially as its information is often derived from enemy or neutral sources. An account of the treatment of the Jugo-Slavs within the Dual Monarchy during the first months of the war will be found in the *Revue Hebdomadaire*, September 4, 1915, 'L'Autriche-Hongrie en guerre contre ses Sujets', by Lanux and Toplitza.

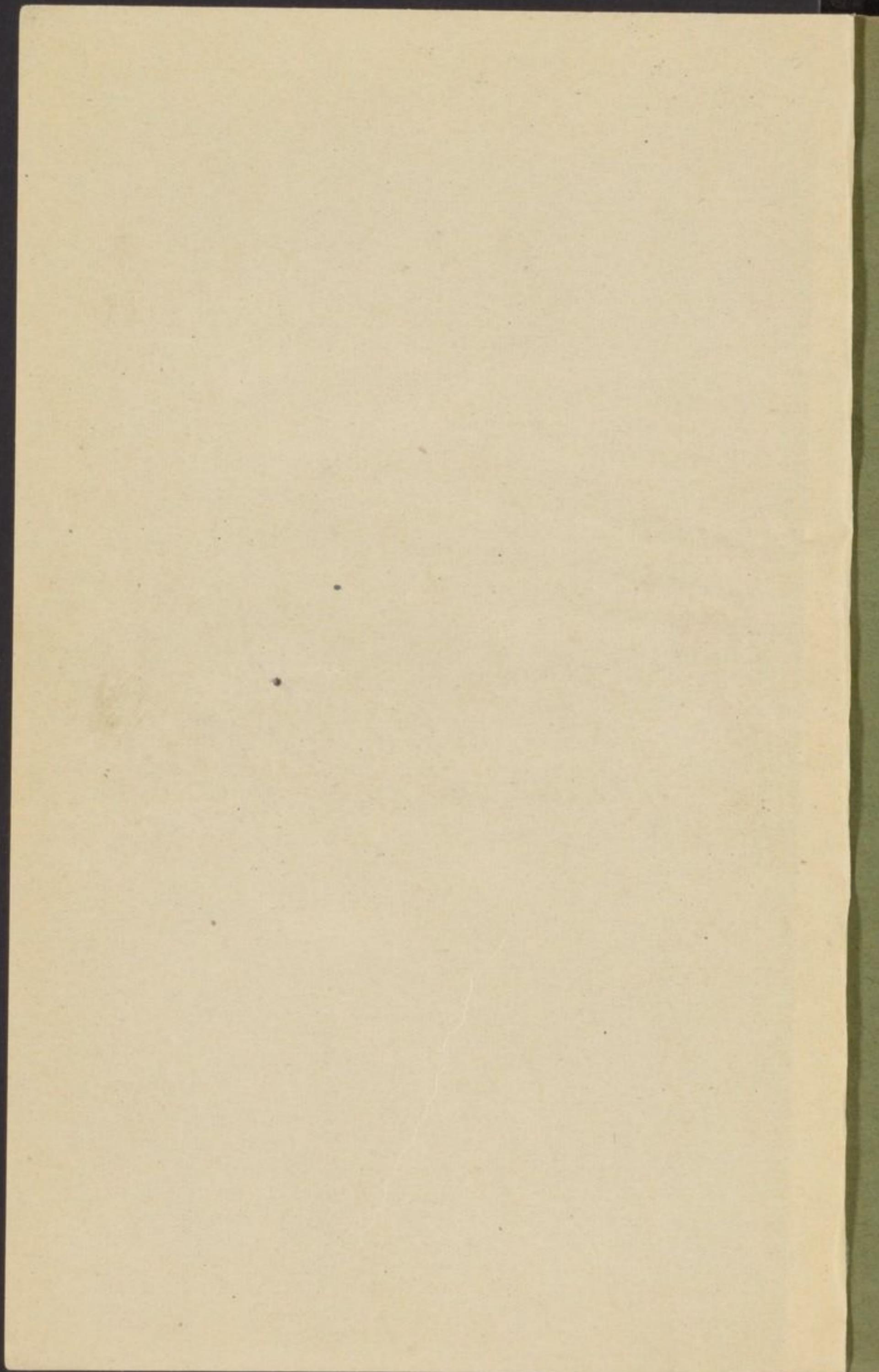
Victor Kuhne (*Ceux dont on ignore le martyre*, Geneva, Librairie Kundig, 1917) devotes a good deal of space to trials of Jugo-Slavs for treason during the war. His account makes considerable use of the reports in the Austro-Hungarian press, and also has value as the work of a neutral.

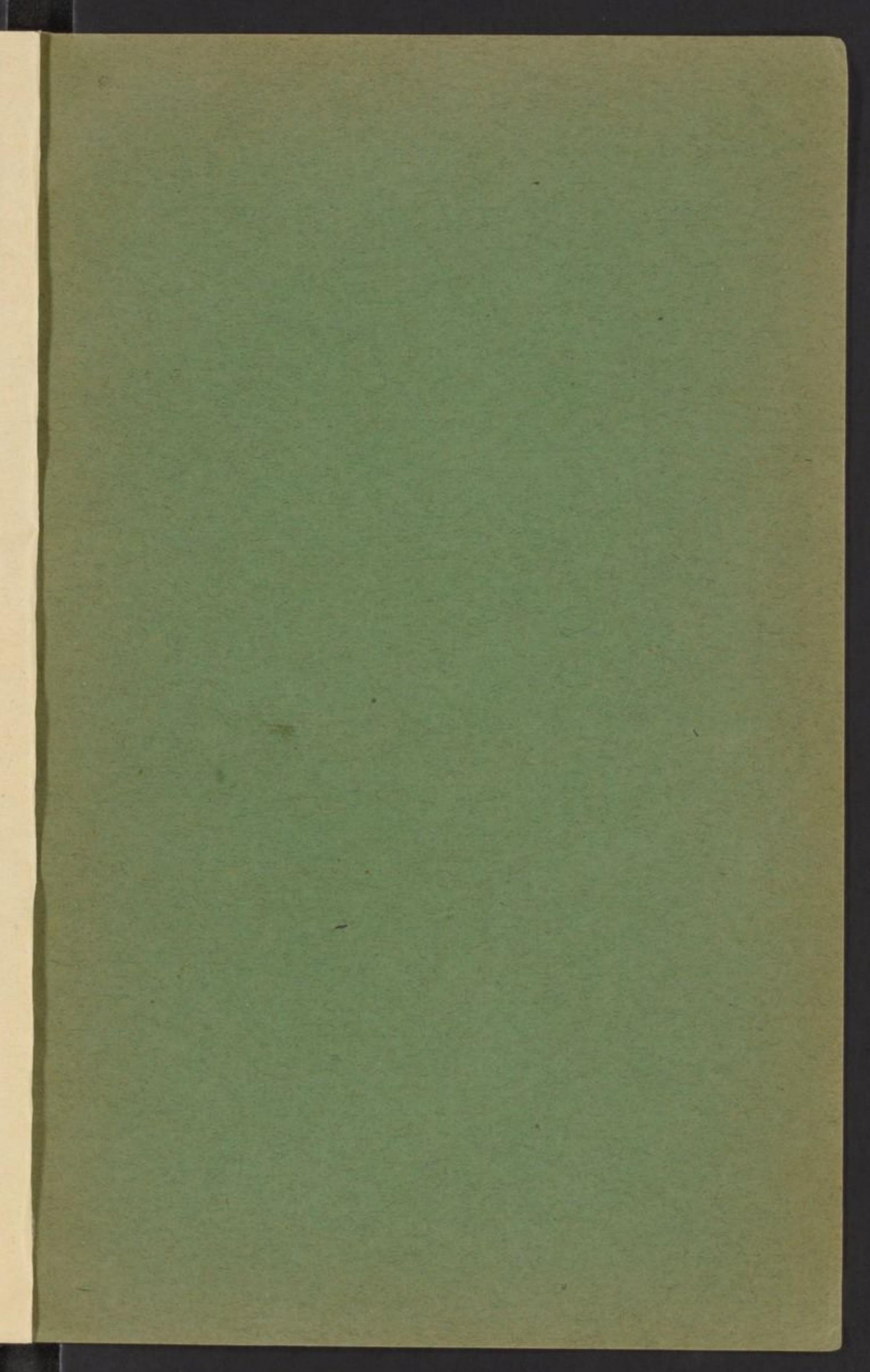
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