

# Political Paths of the Croatian Participants at the Prague Congress of the Slavs in 1848

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**Abstract.** The starting point of this study is the reception of Austroslavism in mid-nineteenth-century Croatian politics, especially during the 1848–1849 revolutionary years. Austroslavism as a political concept aspiring to preserve the Habsburg Monarchy and remodel it into a federation based on the ethnic-linguistic principle, became a major component of the 1848–1849 Croatian political movement. In the second part of the study, the participation of Croatian representatives at the 1848 Congress of the Slavs in Prague is discussed. The ten Croatian delegates in Prague were politicians, intellectuals, and artists. Three of them were elected by the Zagreb People’s Assembly to be the Croatian representatives at the Congress in Prague, and the others were students in Vienna or in Prague at the time. They were trying to uphold the Austro-Slavic spirit of the Congress and enforce the Congress’s main constitutional goals in their political, publicist or artistic work in the following years. However, although some of them played a significant role in Croatian political life in the 1848–1849 as publicists and even as members of the Ban’s Council, the first Croatian Government operating from May 1848 to June 1850, they were unable to achieve the Congress’s political and constitutional goals. Even the idea of resuming the Congress of the Slavs in Zagreb, as well as the 1851-year proposition of the Croatian cultural organisation *Matica ilirska* to organize the conference of Slavic philologists in a Slavic capital, were dropped due to the political circumstances. The study then traces the development of the ideological and political life paths of individuals: Dragojlo Kušlan, Josip Praus, Mato Topalović, Andrija Torkvat Brlić, Maksimilijan Prica, Stanko Vraz, Vatroslav Lisinski, Dr. Miroslav Dražić, Jakob Franjo Tkalec, and Petar Frančeskini. Except for the latter two, they were well-known and active in the political and (or) cultural life of nineteenth-century Croatia. Their political thoughts in the 1848–1849 revolutionary years and in subsequent decades are analysed. Overall, a panorama of the political ideas, together with the careers of these people, is presented. Although disappointed with neo-absolutism, some played a significant role in Croatia’s political life in the years following the reestablishment of the constitutional system in the Habsburg Monarchy.

**Keywords:** Austroslavism, Congress of the Slavs in Prague in 1848, Croatian participants and their political paths, nineteenth-century political ideas

## Austroslavism in mid-nineteenth-century Croatian politics

The Austroslavic idea predates the so-called ‘Springtime of the peoples’ in 1848.<sup>1</sup> Soon after the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder described the Slavs as noble and good-natured people with a bright future ahead in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Riga–Leipzig, 1784–1791, four volumes), the Czech philologist and historian Josef Dobrovský sent an address to Emperor Leopold II describing the Slavs as a group of peoples connected by the tradition of their Apostles, Cyril and Methodius. The first custodian of the Court Library in Vienna, Jernej (Bartholomäus) Kopitar, attributed Austrian patriotic orientation to the Austroslavic idea.<sup>2</sup> In his paper entitled “Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand der böhmischen Literatur und ihre Bedeutung” (1842), Count Leo von Thun und Hohenstein argued that the peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy were joined together by the need to be protected from mighty neighbours and that the Monarchy’s existence should be based on the “principle of mutual respect for the individuality of peoples.” In subsequent years, similar ideas were proposed by other Czech authors, among them the historian and politician František Palacký in the spring of 1848.<sup>3</sup>

The integration process of the Croatian nation was marked by the intertwining of the Slavic, South-Slavic, and the Croatian components. This is evident in the works of Croatian authors from the seventeenth century onwards (Juraj Križanić, Vinko Pribojević, Pavao Ritter Vitezović, and others), and full momentum was achieved in the works of several members of the Croatian National Revival in the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The idea of Slavic mutuality was strongly incorporated into the Croatian National Revival.<sup>5</sup> At the height of the 1848 revolutionary turmoil, Austroslavism as a political concept aspiring to preserve the Habsburg Monarchy and remodelling it into a federation based on the ethnic-linguistic principle were a major component of the Croatian political movement.<sup>6</sup> Reasons for its acceptance

1 This research was carried out as part of the project 380-01-02-23-41 (Croatia and Europe: Institutions and Individuals in the Development of Modern Society and State), funded by the European Union NextGenerationEU programme.

2 Moritsch, “Der Austroslavismus,” 13.

3 Šidak, “Austroslavizam,” 96–101, cit. p. 97; Moritsch, “Der Austroslavismus,” 18–23.

4 Iveljić, “Stiefkinder Österreichs,” 125.

5 There is an extensive body of literature on the influence of Ján Kollár’s, Pavel Josef Šafařík’s, and Josef Dobrovský’s ideas and those of other Slavists on members of the Croatian National Revival (Illyrianists/Illyrians, Croat. *ilirci*). Among them are the following: Stančić, “Ideja o »slavenskoj uzajamnosti« Jána Kollára”; Stančić, “Hrvatski narodni preporod”; Stančić, “Die kroatische Variante”; Stančić, *Gajevo “Još Horvatska ni propala”*; Šidak et al., *Hrvatski narodni preporod*; Kessler, *Politik, Kultur und Gesellschaft*.

6 For Austroslavism in Croatia cp. Iveljić, “Stiefkinder Österreichs”; Prelog, *Slavenska renesansa*,

should be sought in the fear that the foundation of a great German state would comprise the Habsburg Monarchy, and also in the intensification of Croatian–Hungarian relations. The 1848 Hungarian April Laws restricted Croatia’s autonomy to merely three Croatian counties (Zagreb, Križevci, and Varaždin), while three Slavonian counties (Virovitica, Požega, and Syrmium) were supposed to send their deputies to the Hungarian Parliament directly. Moreover, the Military Frontier, Dalmatia, and Istria were distinct administrative units, separated from civil Croatia and Slavonia. The acceptance of this Hungarian policy would mean leaving the Croatian state at the mercy of the Hungarians, who pursued an extremely non-liberal policy with regard to Croatia’s autonomy. The Croatian reaction was harsh: The Croatian Ban Josip Jelačić enacted a decision on 25 April 1848 to sever Croatian administrative bodies’ official ties with the Hungarian Government.<sup>7</sup> The decision was confirmed by the Croatian Parliament sitting in June and July 1848. This was the first representative, i.e., elected parliament in Croatian history. Croatian politicians were aware that Croatia’s territorial integrity, the preservation and expansion of its autonomy, the constitution of an autonomous Croatian government, and convening the Croatian Parliament were prerequisites for Croatia’s further progress and development, as well as for the implementation of modernisation reforms in a liberal spirit. These reforms provided for the introduction of civil and political freedoms, the abolition of serfdom, the establishment of the basic national institutions (university, national bank), and general economic and cultural development. These goals were articulated in the ‘Demands of the Nation,’ adopted on 25 March 1848 by the Grand National Assembly in Zagreb.<sup>8</sup> This was the most important programmatic document of the 1848–1849 Croatian political movement. In the following months, the Croatian political programme was supplemented by political brochures, newspaper articles, and documents issued by individuals and Croatian state bodies.

Originally published in the *Oesterreichische Zeitung* newspaper and translated into Croatian, the anonymous article “Die Völker Oesterreichs” [The Peoples of Austria] stresses the need to restructure the Habsburg Monarchy into a federal state where each people would have a certain administrative and financial autonomy. All the people would share their military and foreign affairs, and their elected representatives would be assembled in a joint congress. The author envisaged the foundation

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271–421; Šidak, “Novi prilozi”; Šidak, “Austroslavizam”; Korunić, *Jugoslavizam i federalizam*; Korunić, “Program konfederalizma”; Leščilovskaja, “Austroslavizam”; Markus, *Hrvatski politički pokret*, 127–36; Švoger, *Zagrebačko liberalno novinstvo*, 229–53.

7 The Ban’s proclamation in German in: Markus, *Hrvatski politički pokret 1848.–1849. g. Izabrani dokumenti*, 66–69.

8 “Forderungen der Nation,” see in: Markus, *Hrvatski politički pokret 1848.–1849. g. Izabrani dokumenti*, 59–62.

of a German, a Czech, a Polish, a Hungarian, an Italian, and a South-Slavic political unit.<sup>9</sup> This was the first signal of the future Austroslavic policy in the Croatian press. An article by the politician, writer, and historian Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski “Kakva tréba da bude u obće politika naša” [What Should Our Policy Generally Be] attracted much attention both in Croatia and abroad. Sakcinski’s view was that the Slavs should follow the German example and gather at a general congress to discuss mutual assistance and cooperation without violating the existing borders.<sup>10</sup> At approximately the same time, Czech politicians, aware of the threat to their homeland from Frankfurt am Main, began the preparations for an assembly of the representatives of Slavic peoples at a congress in Prague.<sup>11</sup> The Congress of the Slavs (2–12 June 1848) was developed and held in the spirit of Austroslavism. Its task was to debate the preservation and remodelling of the Habsburg Monarchy into a federation of equal peoples.

After Austroslavism was elaborated as a political concept at the Congress of the Slavs in Prague,<sup>12</sup> its most consistent advocates in the Croatian political public were Croatian liberal newspapers, primarily *Novine dalmatinsko-hèrvatsko-slavonske* [The Dalmatian–Croatian–Slavonian Newspaper], *Slavenski Jug* [The Slavic South], and the *Südslawische Zeitung*, as well as the society *Slavenska lipa na slavenskom jugu* [The Slavic Linden in the Slavic South]. Dragojlo Kušlan, Josip Praus, Maksimilijan Prica, and Andrija Torkvat Brlić, Croatian representatives at the Prague Congress, authored most of the articles in these papers about the implementation of Austroslavism and the federal restructuring of the Habsburg Monarchy. Bogoslav Šulek was the author of most of the articles on the topic in the newspaper *Novine dalmatinsko-hèrvatsko-slavonske*. Ognjeslav Utješenović Ostrožinski, an officer in the Military Frontier, deputy in the 1848 Croatian Parliament, and later grand Prefect of Varaždin County (1875–1883), published a programme for restructuring the Habsburg Monarchy into a confederation of equal peoples. The programme came out in instalments in the *Slavenski Jug* newspaper (from 27 October to 5 November 1848) and was accepted by the *Slavenska lipa* society and by liberals assembled around the Ljubljana-based newspaper *Slovenija*.<sup>13</sup> *Slavenski*

9 *Novine dalmatinsko-hèrvatsko-slavonske* no. 34, 13 April 1848.

10 *Novine dalmatinsko-hèrvatsko-slavonske* no. 37, 20 April 1848.

11 A copy of the programme of the Congress of the Slavs, belonging to Andrija Torkvat Brlić, one of the attending Croatian representatives, with his notes on the margins is kept in the Archives of the Brlić family in Slavonski Brod. AOB box 6, bundle 9.

12 The book *Der Prager Slavenkongreß*, edited by Moritsch, analyses the participation of different Slavic peoples in the Congress.

13 “Programm zur Konstituierung des österreichischen Kaiserstaates nach dem Prinzip der konstitutionellen Freiheit, der nationalen Gleichberechtigung und Konföderation,” see: Markus, *Hrvatski politički pokret 1848.–1849. g. Izabrani dokumenti*, 236–50.

*Jug* and the *Südslawische Zeitung* advocated Austroslavism even after the adoption of the Imposed March Constitution of 4 March 1849, when the federalisation of the Monarchy definitely became unfeasible.<sup>14</sup>

The prevailing view in Croatian historiography is that the concept of Austroslavism was expounded in some official documents as well, such as in Article XI of the Croatian Parliament and in the Manifesto of the Croatian-Slavonic People that the Parliament addressed to the European public, explaining the major objectives of Croatian politics.<sup>15</sup> Both documents name Croatia's autonomous affairs and the common affairs shared by the entire Monarchy, which were defined in a similar manner as in the documents of the Congress of the Slavs.

During neo-absolutism, all forms of public life were under very strict scrutiny, and it was impossible for the opposition to publish newspaper articles. Upon the restoration of constitutionality in the early 1860s, Croatian politics advocated again the federalisation of the Monarchy, but this time under new circumstances. However, the 1867 Austro-Hungarian Settlement and its outcome—the dual structure of the Monarchy—and the failure to reach an agreement with the Czechs four years later shattered the dreams of federalising the Monarchy for good. Subsequently, part of the Croatian political public gradually accepted the idea of cooperating with other South Slavic peoples in order to unite into a federal community outside the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.<sup>16</sup>

## Croatian representatives at the Congress of the Slavs in Prague in 1848

Ten Croatian representatives took part in the Congress of the Slavs in Prague:

14 Markus, *Hrvatski politički pokret*, 127–36; Švoger, *Zagrebačko liberalno novinstvo*, 229–53; Iveljić, “Stiefkinder Österreichs,” 129–32.

15 For the conclusions of the 1848 Croatian Parliament and for the aforementioned Manifesto in German see: Markus, *Hrvatski politički pokret 1848.–1849. g. Izabrani dokumenti*, 88–141, 188–96. In his monograph (*Hrvatski politički pokret*), the author finds that the thesis about the Croatian Parliament advocating the idea of remodelling the Habsburg Monarchy into a federation of equal peoples in its conclusion XI is without foundation. He believes that the Croatian Parliament did not even debate it, at least judging by newspaper coverage, since the newspapers did not publish a single speech delivered by a deputy advocating Austroslavism. He also adds that the Croatian newspapers supporting this concept would not have missed the opportunity to introduce a speech of this kind. Markus, *Hrvatski politički pokret*, 134–36. The Conclusions are the only official documents preserved from the sittings of the 1848 Croatian Parliament. For this reason, the newspapers that followed the sittings in great detail are an important source for studying its work and results.

16 Iveljić, “Stiefkinder Österreichs,” writes on this tersely providing a good overview, 132–37. For Croatia in the period from 1848 to 1880 cp. Gross, *Die Anfänge des modernen Kroatien*.

Dragojlo Kušlan, Josip Praus, Mato Topalović, Andrija Torkvat Brlić, Maksimilijan Prica, Stanko Vraz, Vatroslav Lisinski, Dr. Miroslav Dražić, Jakob Franjo Tkalec, and Petar Frančeskini, who were members of the South-Slavic section.

According to newspaper reports, Dragojlo Kušlan, Josip Praus, and Đuro Kontić were elected at a national assembly held in Zagreb on 11 May 1848 to be the Croatian representatives at the Congress of the Slavs in Prague. Maksimilijan Prica went to Prague instead of Kontić.<sup>17</sup> The latter three Croatian representatives in Prague and the renowned poet of the Croatian Revival period Stanko Vraz were elected by the Croatian Parliament to take part in the deliberations of the Czech Parliament that was supposed to be in session in Prague,<sup>18</sup> but this did not happen due to insurgence and a military intervention. It seems that the remaining Croatian representatives came to the Congress at the invitation of a member of the organising committee, perhaps on their own initiative.

Dragojlo (Dragutin) Kušlan (1817–1867) was a politician, lawyer, non-fiction writer and one of the editors of *Slavenski Jug*. From 1848 to his death, he was repeatedly elected member of the Croatian Parliament and in 1861 was appointed grand prefect of Zagreb County. Josip Praus (1819–1874) was born in Czechia and came to Zagreb after completing his university studies. He was the editor of the *Agramer Zeitung* (1846–1848), and subsequently of the *Südslawische Zeitung* (1849–1852). Furthermore, he was a Secretary of the *Matica ilirska* cultural organisation and the editor of its magazine *Neven* from 1853 to 1857. Maksimilijan Prica (1823–1873) was a politician, lawyer, and journalist who wrote articles for *Slavenski Jug* and the *Südslawische Zeitung*. From 1862, he was a judge of the Table of Seven, the highest court of law in Croatia, and from 1871, Head of the Justice Department of the Croatian Royal Land Government. All three were members of the *Slavenska lipa na slavenskom jugu* society, ardent Illyrianists, and from 1848 strong supporters of Austroslavism.<sup>19</sup>

Stanko Vraz (true name Jakob Frass, 1810–1851) was a Croatian poet born in Styria, a fervent Illyrianist, and the first professional writer in Croatia. He produced love poetry in the Romantic spirit, and published several collections of poems. He also translated from Greek, Latin, the Slavic languages, German, English, Italian, French, and Spanish. Most often, he translated Romantic poetry. He is considered

17 *Novine dalmatinsko-hèrvatsko-slavonske* no. 47, 13 May 1848.

18 Perić, *Hrvatski državni sabor*, 176–77. At the invitation of Ban Jelačić, the Czechs sent two representatives to the Croatian Parliament. Iveljić, “Stiefkinder Österreichs,” 179, says that Stanko Vraz, who was of Slovenian origin, but lived in Zagreb for years and was a prominent Illyrianist and a Croatian poet, was a representative of the Slovenes from Styria to the Congress of the Slavs.

19 For their public activities cp. Švoger, *Zagrebačko liberalno novinstvo*.

one of the most eminent poets of the Croatian Romanticism. He corresponded with distinguished Slavic philologists, especially Kollár and Šafařík, with whom he cherished a long-standing friendship. It was probably due to their encouragement that he attended the Congress of the Slavs.<sup>20</sup>

Andrija Torkvat Brlić (1826–1868) was a politician, non-fiction writer, philologist, and historian. In the spring of 1848, he studied in Vienna preparing his PhD in theology. His diary and many preserved letters suggest that during his studies in Vienna and also thereafter, he maintained frequent contacts with numerous Slavic intellectuals, especially Czechs and Slovaks. He became a fervent Illyrianist while attending secondary school in Zagreb. From the beginning of the 1848 revolutionary unrest in the Habsburg Monarchy, his political activities intensified significantly. He may have gone to Prague at the invitation of some of his friends.<sup>21</sup>

Mato Topalović (1812–1862) was a Catholic priest, politician, and writer, one of the most prominent members of the Croatian National Revival in Slavonia. In the revolutionary year of 1848, he was a teacher in the seminary in Đakovo. He studied theology in Zagreb and Pest, and completed his studies in Vienna, where he obtained his PhD degree in philosophy and theology. In Vienna, he moved among Slavic students. He was a bosom friend of the future bishop of Đakovo, politician and patron of the arts, Josip Juraj Strossmayer, who may have prompted him to go to Prague, where he travelled in the company of Stanko Vraz. During absolutism, he completely withdrew from political life.<sup>22</sup>

Vatroslav Lisinski (true name Ignatius Fuchs, 1819–1854) was a Croatian composer of Slovenian-Croatian origin. Like Stanko Vraz, he embraced the ideas of the Illyrian movement and Croatianised his first name and surname. A lawyer by profession, from 1842 to 1847, he was a notary of the Tabula Banalis in Zagreb, the highest court of law in Croatia at the time. He received his musical education through private lessons. In 1846, there was a very successful world premiere of the first Croatian opera *Ljubav i zloba* [Love and Malice] that Lisinski composed with the assistance of his former teacher Georg Karl Wisner von Morgenstern who wrote the instrumentation. In the autumn of 1847, Lisinski went to Prague to further his musical studies with the financial support of many patriots. However, due to his age, he was not admitted to the Conservatory as a regular student but managed to enrol

20 Other Croatian representatives at the Congress of the Slavs, especially Brlić, Kušlan and Topalović often talked to and corresponded with the aforementioned two philologists and with subsequent codifiers of the Slovak language L'udovit Štúr and Martin Hattala. Švoger, "On Connections," 26–31. More extensively on S. Vraz see: Drechsler, *Stanko Vraz*.

21 For his public activities cp. Švoger, *Ideali, strast i politika*; Župan, ed., *Zbornik o A. T. Brliću*.

22 Topalović's varied political, literary and cultural work has not been sufficiently researched. For more see: Pavić, "Ilirizam u Đakovu."

in the Organ School. He received private lessons in composition and instrumentation from the director of the Conservatory Jan Bedřich Kittl. He returned to Zagreb in the autumn of 1850.<sup>23</sup> Since he was living in Prague during the Congress of the Slavs, he was involved in its activity.

The literature names some other Croatian participants of the Congress, of whom very little information is available. Moreover, it is evident that some of the information is inaccurate. For example, Franjo Tkalac, a merchant from Karlovac, is mentioned as a participant. We could not find any information about him before we established that this is most likely Jakob Franjo Tkalec (1822–1865), who, at the time of the Congress, was studying medicine and sciences in Vienna. Subsequently, he was a teacher at the Zagreb classics-programme secondary school.<sup>24</sup> We have no information as to his actual participation in the Congress;<sup>25</sup> in his later years, he was devoted to his profession and did not take part in political life.

Petar Frančeskini is yet another person about whose participation in the Congress we have no information. Historiography has not established his identity either. In view of the above, it may be that Frančeskini is the wrong form of the surname and that the person in question is actually Petar Franceschi (1822–1849), a Dalmatian intellectual, writer, and translator from Omiš, who is most famous for his contributions on the history of the Republic of Poljica (*Poljička republika*, *Poljička knežija*, *Poljica*), an autonomous administrative region in Dalmatia. Franceschi died of cholera in Zadar on 6 September 1849.<sup>26</sup>

Finally, the Congress was also attended by the physician Dr. Miroslav Dražić (1815–1879). We have more information about him, and his example speaks volumes about the enthusiasm that the Congress of the Slavs aroused in a section of the Croatian people. Dražić was born in Požega, Slavonia and obtained a doctor's degree in medicine in 1839 in Vienna, where he found himself again in the spring of 1848. Already in March, he joined the revolutionary movements with a rifle in his hand. Thrilled with the idea of the Slavic connection and also led by intense indignation towards the Hungarian revolutionary movement, Dražić joined a larger group of Slavs from Vienna who made their way to the Congress on their own initiative. He was actively engaged in its work and asked his native town (Požega) and county (County of Požega) to confirm him as their official representative to the Congress.<sup>27</sup>

23 Katalinić, "Vatroslav Lisinski," 25–40.

24 Barić, "Jakob Franjo Tkalec."

25 While the Congress was in session, he published an article entitled "An die Slawen" in the Prague newspaper *Slawische Centralblätter*, 6 June 1848. Prelog, *Slavenska renesansa*, 421.

26 Matijević, "Uvod."

27 Kempf, "Dva pisma uglednog Požežanina iz 1848."

Some of the Croatian representatives played a major role in the deliberations of the Congress of the Slavs. Mato Topalović and Maksimilijan Prica delivered speeches at a preparatory event on 30 May 1848. Topalović discussed the situation in South Slavic countries, with special reference to the territorial fragmentation of Croatian lands and the fact that some of the South Slavs were under Turkish oppression. He hoped that the Croatian interests would be enforced within a Slavic framework.<sup>28</sup>

Members of the Congress were divided into three sections: Czech–Slovak, Polish–Ruthenian, and South-Slavic, the latter comprising all Croatian representatives. Topalović, Brlić, and Praus were elected to the Great Committee comprising sixteen members. Stanko Vraz was elected Congress vice-president. Prica was elected one of the clerks of the Congress, Kušlan was elected his deputy, and Brlić deputy clerk of the South-Slavic section. According to his own testimony, Miroslav Dražić was elected clerk of the South-Slavic section. The work of the Congress focused on the sections. Therefore, each section elected two of its representatives who were entitled to participate in the debates of the other sections. Praus was elected representative of the Czech–Slovak section. Kušlan and Prica were elected representatives of the Polish–Ruthenian section, and Brlić deputy representative. Topalović was elected speaker of the South-Slavic section at the Congress's first plenary session. The views he presented in his speech were similar to those given at the preparatory event. According to the Congress's Rules of Procedure, the plenary was supposed to accept conclusions that would be adopted by all three sections following debate. Slight differences in standpoints were conciliated by the Great Committee, and the so-called Diplomatic Committee was elected to edit the minutes of the Congress and to draft the Manifesto to the Peoples of Europe. Praus and Kušlan were among its members. Two additional committees were elected to draft a petition addressed to the emperor and define the funds necessary for meeting the Slavic objectives. Their members were Prica and Brlić.<sup>29</sup> Three sections could not agree on all issues, and views diverged within individual sections as well. There were difficulties in mutual understanding, as all representatives spoke their own language and sometimes interpreters were required. Official sources of the Congress and some of its participants denied allegations in German newspapers that Congress participants used German because otherwise they could not understand one another.<sup>30</sup>

28 Prelog, *Slavenska renesansa*, 418; Iveljić, "Stiefkinder Österreichs," 179.

29 Prelog, *Slavenska renesansa*, 419–35, 455; Kempf, "Dva pisma uglednog Požežanina iz 1848," 3.

30 Prelog, *Slavenska renesansa*, 435–66. Maksimilian Prica who participated at the Congress under the pseudonym Pl.....ki [Pleševički] refuted allegations about German being the language of discussions in his article "Der Slavenkongres [!]," *Südslawische Zeitung* no. 19, 14 February 1849. The editor of the aforementioned newspaper Josip Praus, another Congress participant, corroborated his allegations in a note next to the article.

Of the three Congress documents envisaged, only the Manifesto to the Peoples of Europe was fully completed and adopted at the plenary session. Starting from the principle of freedom, brotherhood, and equality, the Manifesto expressed a demand for the Habsburg Monarchy to be restructured into an alliance of equal peoples, which was considered a condition for the salvation of the Slavic peoples, while at the same time preserving “freedom, education, and humanity at large.” Finally, there was a proposal to convene “a general European congress of peoples” to discuss international issues.<sup>31</sup>

The Address to the Emperor contains the demands of all the Slavic peoples in the Monarchy. Croats and Serbs demanded that all former and future conclusions and decisions should be adopted by the Croatian Parliament, the Ban, and the provisional governing committee of the Vojvodina Srpska should be confirmed. Slovenes demanded that the territories where they lived be unified into a kingdom of Slovenia with a separate government. Czechs, Moravians, and Slovenes, supported by other Slavic peoples of the Monarchy, distanced themselves from their annexation to Germany.<sup>32</sup>

A compromise was not reached on the third document that was supposed to define a federal alliance among the Austrian Slavs. A draft written by the Polish prince Jerzy Lubomirski and the Czech knight Johann Norbert von Neuberg provided for this act to be confirmed by the parliaments of all the Slavic lands in Austria. The foundation of a cultural body was envisaged to promote cultural cooperation: Slavic newspapers, a library, and an academy of science.<sup>33</sup>

In his diary, A. T. Brlić made an interesting note on his participation in the Congress of the Slavs. He described his contribution to individual committees of the Congress, intense communication with many Slavic intellectuals, the parties he attended, and the atmosphere in Prague:

“I spoke at the Congress in Prague several times. The arrival in Prague was remarkable. I, Fingerhut, Belanji, and a Pole were among the first. [...] There I made the acquaintance of Šafařík, Palacki, and other Czechs, and stayed at Fingerhut’s place. A good and honest, patriotic and cordial house. I dined at Besjeda<sup>34</sup> [...]. A dispute between Ruthenians and Poles

31 Moritsch, “Revolution 1848,” 16–17; Šidak, “Austroslavizam,” 106; Prelog, *Slavenska renesansa*, 456–68.

32 Moritsch, “Revolution 1848,” 16–17; Šidak, “Austroslavizam,” 105–6; Prelog, *Slavenska renesansa*, 468–71.

33 Moritsch, “Revolution 1848,” 17.

34 Czech civil society Měšťanská beseda established in Prague in 1845 as a counterweight to societies that assembled mostly Czech Germans. Pokorný, “Vereine, Verbände und Parteien,” 612–13.

in Prague was the reason why our affairs proceeded slowly; many parties took up a lot of our time. [...] I was a member of the commission drafting the Manifesto to Europe and the Address to the Emperor, and of the one where options were discussed on the type of alliance among the Slavs. All attendants of the Congress visited Thun. [...] The Poles have a lot of understanding for the Hungarians. Frequent demonstrations of soldiers. Cannons were brought to Vyšehrad.”<sup>35</sup>

The uprising that broke out on 12 June 1848 in Prague and the ensuing military intervention interrupted the Congress. Later, ideas emerged about the resumption of the Congress of the Slavs with Zagreb as its venue. Zagreb became a temporary centre of Austroslavism, since some Congress participants, in order to avoid prosecution, found refuge there. In October 1848, the Administrative Board of Zagreb County proposed that a Congress of the Slavs should be held in the city. However, the Ban's Council, the first Croatian Government (1848–1850) established by Ban Jelačić and operating from May 1848 to June 1850, rejected the proposal because of the war against the Hungarians and a lack of financial means.<sup>36</sup> In mid-1851, *Matica ilirska* invited Slavic cultural societies to elect their representatives to the Congress that could be held in Warsaw or Belgrade, with the objective of the linguistic convergence of Slavic peoples. However, following Vienna's intervention, the idea of convening the Congress was dropped.<sup>37</sup>

### Subsequent political activities of Croatian representatives at the 1848 Congress of the Slavs in Prague

Stanko Vraz and Vatroslav Lisinski never entered politics but still belonged to the circle of the most distinguished Illyrianists. Through their artistic work, they

35 AOB, box 10, bundle 1, Andrija Torkvat Brlić's Diary from 1 January 1848 to 17 September 1848, entry under 26 May 1848: "U Pragu sam na saboru više put govorio. Einzug u Prag bje zlamenit. Med prvima sam i ja išao, Fingerhut i Belanji i jedan Poljak. [...] Tamo sa Šafařikom, Palackim i ostalim Česima se spoznah, stanovah kod Fingerhuta. Dobra i poštena, domorodna i srdačna kuća. U Besjedi sam večeravao [...] U Pragu razpra med Russinima i Poljacima učini, da smo poslove sve sporo obavljali; mloge zabave nas takodjer zaokupiše. [...] Bio sam u komissiji za Manifest na Europu i Adressu na cara, te za onaj u kom se način saveza slavjanskog opredjeljivaše. Visita kod Thuna od cijelog Sabora. [...] Poljaci mnogo sympatije za Magjare imaju. Česte demonstracije vojničke. Nošenje topova na Višegrad." Obviously, Brlić supplemented his original entry under this date, since his next entry is under 12 June 1848. In this next entry, he describes taking part in fights at the barricades and the liberation of Bohemian governor Count Leo Thun, who was taken captive by insurgents.

36 Iveljić, "Die Kroaten," 180.

37 Švoger, *Zagrebačko liberalno novinstvo*, 400 f.

significantly contributed to the development of Croatian culture, one of the main goals of the Croatian National Revival, which is also known as the Illyrian movement. After his return from Prague, Stanko Vraz continued writing poetry and translating, and died three years later. Lisinski returned to Zagreb in the autumn of 1850, bringing with him a number of compositions, some of which were inspired by the revolutionary events, and the first arias of the new opera *Porin*. He composed solo songs, piano compositions and dance music. In 1851, he completed *Porin*, the second Croatian opera, based on a libretto by Dimitrije Demeter and inspired by medieval Croatian history. For this reason, *Porin*, whose world premiere was not held until 1897 in Zagreb, is considered the first national opera.<sup>38</sup>

Upon his return from Prague, Baron Dragojlo Kušlan held even stronger liberal views. In early August 1848, jointly with Nikola Krestić, he launched the liberal *Slavenski Jug* newspaper, which was in opposition to the Austrian Government. From March to August 1849, Kušlan was its sole editor. In his articles, he analysed in a liberal spirit the current political developments in Croatia and the Monarchy and consistently advocated Austroslavism. During neo-absolutism, he practiced law and resumed his political activity after the renewal of constitutionality. He criticised Austrian centralism and the restriction of the powers of Croatian counties. In 1861, he was elected member of the Croatian Parliament and its deputy speaker. While in Parliament, he contributed to resolving constitutional and judicial issues, advocated Croatia's territorial integrity, the return of the Hungarian–Croatian Constitution, the enforcement of civic and political rights and freedoms, and the federalisation of the Monarchy. From 1865 to 1867, he was a member of the Croatian Parliament representing the National Liberal Party and argued for the preservation of Croatia's autonomy and territorial integrity as a prerequisite for the renewal of an alliance between Hungary and Croatia, which should be based on full equality.<sup>39</sup>

Josip Praus became involved in the *Slavenska lipa na slavenskom jugu* society in late 1848. Together with the writer Dimitrije Demeter, in January 1849, he launched the *Südslawische Zeitung*, a newspaper of liberal and opposition orientation, which he edited until the spring of 1852. He promoted liberal postulates: the constitutional monarchy, civic and political rights and freedoms, religious and ethnic equality, Austroslavism, and the implementation of modernisation reforms in all spheres of public life in Croatia and the Monarchy. Due to the opposition

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38 Katalinić, "Vatroslav Lisinski," 35, 39–40; Palić-Jelavić, "Porin i Nikola Šubić Zrinjski," 133; the historical model, a Croatian prince Porin (*Porinos archontos*) is mentioned in the manual of the tenth century Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus *De administrando imperii* in Chapter 30 for the period of the Christianization of the Croats. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, 144 (Greek), 145 (English).

39 "Kušlan, Dragojlo"; Švoger, *Zagrebačko liberalno novinstvo*.

views of the newspapers, he was under pressure from the Croatian and Austrian official bodies. In the spring of 1852, he was sentenced to a one-month imprisonment term and a fine of 100 forints for publishing an article by Andrija Torkvat Brlić in which Brlić harshly and argumentatively criticised the state structure and the manner in which the Habsburg Monarchy was ruled.<sup>40</sup> From 1853 to 1857, Praus was Secretary-General of *Matica ilirska* and editor of its magazine *Neven*. In 1860, in his capacity of Secretary to Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, he accompanied the bishop to the sessions of the Imperial Council in Vienna. There, he composed a brochure entitled *Die Idee der Gleichberechtigung* (Agram, 1861) in which he championed Croatia's and Hungary's equality. He was active in journalism to the end of his life.<sup>41</sup>

As an elected MP, Maksimilijan Prica participated in the deliberations of the Croatian Parliament in 1848 and subsequently acted as Ban Jelačić's secretary. After the revolution was crushed in 1849, he practiced law. He returned to political life in 1861 as a member of the Croatian Parliament. There, he advocated the renewal of a constitutional alliance with Hungary provided that the autonomy and the actual territorial scope of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia was recognised.<sup>42</sup> As of the following year, he was a judge of the Table of Seven, Croatia's supreme court. In 1863, he joined the newly established Independent National Party that recognised the common affairs with Austria and worked for the agreement between Croatia and Austria on condition that Croatia's autonomy was acknowledged. Several years after the Croatian–Hungarian Settlement (1868) had renewed constitutional ties between Croatia and Hungary, recognised Croatia's autonomy in public administration, the judiciary, and education with other affairs being shared with Hungary, Prica adopted a unionist policy. In 1871, he became head of the Justice Department of the Land Government, holding the office until his death.<sup>43</sup>

Andrija Torkvat Brlić was the most versatile personality among the Croatian representatives at the Congress of the Slavs and had the most exciting life. At the request of the apostolic nuncio to Vienna, he wrote two Latin memoranda to the pope on the state of the Catholic Church in Croatia and Hungary. In September 1848, he took part in the Slovak uprising against the Hungarians, then joined Ban Jelačić as his temporary secretary (replacing the sick Maksimilijan Prica). From

40 A. B. [Andrija Torkvat Brlić], "Von der Berawa in Slawonien. Mitte Juni." *Südslawische Zeitung* no. 144–46, 26–28 June 1851.

41 Švoger, *Zagrebačko liberalno novinstvo*.

42 The name was frequently used in the nineteenth century. The abridged form, the Triune Kingdom, was used as well and the name Croatia was used from the second half of the nineteenth century on.

43 "Prica, Maksimilijan."

December 1848 to February 1849, he was Ban Jelačić's envoy to Paris tasked with suppressing Hungarian anti-Croatian propaganda. In Paris, he came in contact with leading personalities from the highest political and religious circles and the main representatives of the Polish emigrant community. As the first foreign correspondent in the history of Croatian journalism, he sent reports to Ban Jelačić in letters and to the Croatian public in newspaper articles about the current political developments in France and French policy towards other European countries. During the spring and summer of 1850, he travelled to Paris again, and then stayed in Belgium, Great Britain, Switzerland, and northern Italy. Again, he sent articles to Croatian newspapers and letters to Ban Jelačić. This time, however, the focus of his reporting was on the political, administrative, and judicial systems of these countries, their culture and economy. In the following years, he lived in Zagreb where he was Secretary-General of *Matica ilirska* and of the *Društvo za jugoslavensku povjesnicu i starine* [South-Slavic History and Antiquities Society]. In 1853, he left for Vienna to study law. There, he wrote and published a Croatian grammar in German, as well as two books of sources on South-Slavic history. On completing his studies, he returned to his native town of Brod na Savi (present-day Slavonski Brod), where in 1857 he opened a law office and lived for the rest of his life. He published many newspaper and magazine articles on political and social issues, literary works, translations, and travelogues. In his newspaper articles and brochures, he expounded liberal views, advocated the constitutional order, civic and political freedoms, Austroslavism, and concord among the Slavic peoples. As an elected member, he took part in the work of the Croatian Parliament in 1861, where he was the informal leader of MPs from the Military Frontier. In Parliament, he supported the recognition of the conclusions of the 1848 Croatian Parliament (the session was adjourned due to the preparations for the 1848–1849 Croatian–Hungarian War), the establishment of a federation in Hungary based on Croatia's territorial integrity, autonomy, and equality with Hungarians.<sup>44</sup> In the mid-1860s, Brlić began to advocate a solution of Croatia's constitutional position (that was outstanding since April 1848 when Ban Jelačić severed constitutional ties with Hungary) in the form of a real union with Hungary, provided that Hungary recognised Croatia's territorial integrity and autonomy. Together with his younger brother Ignjat Brlić, he set the stage for the Croatian–Hungarian Settlement through contacts with Hungarian politicians.<sup>45</sup>

After 1848, physician Miroslav Dražić was devoted to his profession, he lived and worked in Karlovac, one of the most significant urban centres in the Croatian national movement. He lived thirty more years (died in 1879) and was not active in politics but always distinguished himself as a Croatian patriot. He was a member of *Matica*

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44 Švoger, *Ideali, strast i politika*, 29–60, 79–216, 217–36.

45 Švoger, "Behind the Political Scenes."

*hrvatska* and many other Croatian cultural and educational societies and was friends with many other prominent Croatian and Serbian patriots and political workers.<sup>46</sup>

Most of the Croatian participants at the Congress of the Slavs were known to the Croatian public as early as 1848. Subsequently, they played an important role in Croatia's political and/or cultural life.

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46 Dugački, "Dražić, Miroslav," 602.

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