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THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARINTHIAN SLOVENES

BY

BOGO GRAFENAUER, PH. D.

LECTURER IN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA

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THE HISTORY OF THE COLONIZATION OF THE UPPER DRAVA VALLEY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The colonization of the Upper Drava (Drau) Valley, Carinthia and the Eastern Tyrol forms a special chapter in the history of the Slovene settlement. From the year 15 B. C. this territory was part of the Roman Empire sharing its culture. The inhabitants were Celts and Illyrians who in the course of the 3rd century under the influence of the newly arrived Roman townspeople became themselves almost completely romanized. The German tribes, on their way to attack Rome, at that time often crossed the Upper Drava (Drau) Valley. Later, at the time of the great migration, Cimbrians, Marcomans and Goths also followed this route; with the exception of the Ostrogoths however, who ruled the country from 493—535, but without any considerable colonization in the country, they stayed in the country only for a few months at the most. Because of their short stay and their small numbers they did not leave any considerable traces in the country: "Before the arrival of the Germans, Germanic tribes are hardly to be reckoned with in the history of the Carinthian colonization. The role ascribed to them has been greatly exaggerated or is even impossible." (M. Kos, *The Slovene Settlement in Carinthia*, *Geografski Vestnik* [The Geographical Journal] 8, 1932.)

Recently, German scientists have asserted that Germanic tribes settled in Carinthia on a larger scale than ever before the arrival of the Slovenes, and that Germanic groups were living there up to the beginning of the Bavarian penetration of Slovenia in the 9th century. Their assertions, however, cannot be substantiated.

1) They say that a special defence line was built along the river Drava (Drau) and round the Celovec (Klagenfurt) Basin about the year 400 and was added to in later years. This line is said to have been guarded by Germanic mercenary troops. The facts are that about the year 400 the Romans moved their defence line on the Italic eastern frontier from Trojane, between Celje and Ljubljana, to the line Reka (Fiume)—Ajdovščina (Aidussina)—the Julian Alps—Meglarje (Maglern) above Trbiž (Tarvis). The garrison did not consist of Germanic troops but of three Italic legions who held small holdings in the neighbourhood (source: *Notitia Dignitatum*). Only a few scattered fortifications still existed in Carinthia from ancient times and these did not form an unbroken line (limes) but served as refuge for the inhabitants of isolated towns from Barbarian incursions (Balduin Saria, *Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* [The Journal of the Museum Society of Slovenia], 20, 1939, pp. 141—148). The only Germanic garrisons in Carinthia were a few Gothic garrisons during the Ostrogoth rule.

2) Carinthia is said to have been under Lombard rule from the year 546 till the end of the 6th century, and even until the middle of the 8th century, according to certain assertions which, however, are at complete variance with all written sources (which prove that the Slovenes in Carantania were free at that time); in fact the Lombards did not occupy any part of Carinthia in 546. This German assertion has been based on Procopius' report on the territory ceded by Justinianus to the Lombards, but his "Polis Noricon" is not the name of the Province of Noricum but the name of the town Ptuj (W. Schmid, L. Hauptmann, R. Egger, B. Saria). Western Noricum, especially the whole of Carinthia, at this time remained Byzantine and this as a fairly autonomous region (L. M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*). The only "proof" for the Lombards being present in Carinthia at that time are three brooches which, however, are not Lombard but were left behind by Gothic garrisons. The comparative material accumulated in the works of Aberg and H. Kuehn clearly shows that all the three brooches belong to the Aquilean type and to the time from 450 to 550. Only later (from 620 till 730), the valley of the Ziljica (Gailitz) as far as Meglarje (Maglern) came under Lombard rule but Paulus Diaconus (*Historia Langobardorum*) calls it quite unmistakably "the Slovene district". Thus even this part of Carinthia was not an object of Lombard colonization, but only of their political control.

3) Kranzmayer's explanations of a few geographical names in Carinthia as having Lombard roots are wrong without exception (Anton Breznik, *Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* [The Journal of the Museum Society of Slovenia], 1943).

4) Certain types of houses in Carinthia resemble the "east-Germanic ones". In fact these types of houses are not known only by the eastern Germanic peoples but also by the Slavs. They occur in the north- and east-Germanic and in the Slav cultural sphere but were only partly known even to the original inhabitants of Carinthia (Rauchstube). Thus even these types of houses may have been brought into the country by the Slovenes themselves and not by any German predecessors (O. Moro, *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*, III, p. 605).

5) During this war Karl Dinklage started to explain the objects found in Carinthian and Carniolan graves from the early Middle Ages as early German ones; the graves themselves provided him with the proof of the dense German population in Carinthia at that time. The truth is that one part of the objects found in these tombs are characteristic of the entire Carolingian Empire to which Carantania belonged, and that they are partly due to the import into the country. But it is undeniable that many objects (ceramics, temple pendants) are typically Slav as are the forms of the tombs themselves. The Carolingian objects only prove that Carantania, too, belonged to the Carolingian cultural sphere, but they are no evidence of any German infiltration in the country. An irrefutable proof of the Slovene character of Carantania in those days are the written sources in which the Germans at that time used the name "Carantanus" for the Slovenes in general and not only for the Carinthians.

On the basis of all written reports and the names of localities we can assert that the Slovenes in Noricum, who gained access to this area in the year 568, after the departure of the Lombards from Pannonia to Italy, directly replaced the old Roman population. The old bishoprics (Virunum, Teurnia, Aguntum) disappeared only in the years 580 to 590; the names of localities which the Slovenes took over from the old settlers can only be either pre-Roman or Roman, none are German and some are even direct evidence that the Slovenes still found the old Roman inhabitants in Carinthia although thinly settled after the stormy events of the peoples' migration. After their settlement the Slovenes in Carinthia — like everywhere else — took to the soil which had already been cultivated before their arrival. The main nuclei of the Slovene settlement were Podjuna (Jauntal), Gosposvetsko polje (Zollfeld), the territory on the Upper Glina (Glan), Krappfeld, the neighbourhood of Breže (Friesach) and the present Neumarkt, Rož (Rosental), the neighbourhood of Beljak (Villach) and the Lower Zilja (Gail), Lurnsko polje (Lurnfeld) around Spittal, Moelltal and the neighbourhood of Lienz where the Slovenes settled in the bordering valleys up to the height of 1300 metres. In the year 769 the Slovene-Bavarian ethnographic frontier is stated to have been formed by the brook Kristenbach which has its source under the Anraška gora (Anrasberg), between Lienz and Innichen. In 593 the Slovenes fought with the Bavarians on Lurnsko polje (Lurnfeld), but in the year 595 they defeated them with the help of the Avars near Lienz. Thus they occupied the whole of Carinthia already a quarter of a century after the Lombard departure for Italy. In the period of their greatest expansion, from the 7th till the 10th century, compact Slovene settlements in the west reached the line running from the brook Kristenbach to the crest of the Deferegger Alpen and then across Hochgall, passing by the Defereggertal and Virgental, and climbing on to the Visoke Ture (Hohe Tauern) where the three highest summits of this mountain chain, the Dreiherrnspitze, the Grossvenediger, and the Grossglockner formed the frontier posts of the Slovene territory of that time. From the Visoke Ture the Slovene ethnographic frontier then descended to the Nizke Ture (Niedere Tauern) and the so-called Radstaetter Tauern, it crossed the valley of the Aniža (Enns) to the west of Schladming, climbed to the Dachstein, comprised the sources of the river Traun, ran along the heights of the Todtes Gebirge and the Austrian foothills down to the river Traun reaching even beyond it. Up to the middle of the 8th century the Bavarians broke off this Slovene territory, comprising about 70.000 square kms, only a strip along the river Danube as far as the river Aniža (Enns) and a part of the valley of the Zilja (Gailtal) (the valley of the Ziljica [Gailitz] as far as Meglarje [Maglern]) was under Lombard political rule from 620 till 730, but its Slovene character remained untouched.

Lower Styria, Carniola and the Littoral, the whole of Eastern Styria and the corridor along the Danube were at that time almost continually under the rule of the Avars or closely connected with them; only in the period of Samo's rule (623 till 659) did they belong to his Slav State. Carantania, composed of the Eastern Tyrol, Carinthia, Upper Styria and the western

regions of Central Styria, was then the central Slovene region. The Avars ruled Carantania only for half a century until the advent of Samo; from the middle of the third decade of the 7th century till the death of Samo, Carantania was a distinct component part of his State with its own prince. The roads leading the Avars to Central Europe and to Italy lay on territory which was separated from Carantania by mountains and this favourable geographical position helped Carantania to preserve its independence even after Samo's death, in spite of the renewal of Avar power.

Thus a free Carantania represents the main benefit bestowed on the Slovenes by Samo's State. Amidst the Bavarians, Lombards, and Avars, the Slovenes in their Carantanian fortress defended their freedom. Near Krnski grad (Karnburg) on the Gosposvetsko polje (Zollfeld), in the centre of their State, the Slovene freeholders chose and installed their princes. A great part of the Carinthian Constitution was based on the legal order of free Slovene Carantania right up to the end of the Middle Ages, even after the introduction of the feudal system. Not only "the witnesses according to the Slovene law" ("*Slovenicae institutionis testis*") found in the Carinthian documents belonging to the high Middle Ages and numerous legal customs in everyday peasant life bear witness to the Slovene basis of Carinthian legal life, but above all the fundamental legal Act of Government of the country, the ceremony of electing and installing the Carinthian prince on the Gosposvetsko polje (Zollfeld), a ceremony unique in Europe. German authors at the time of increased German nationalism often tried to prove the German character of this ceremony. But in all their works they vainly fought against the following facts:

1) The language used at the ceremony of the investiture by the installing peasant as well as by the new prince was Slovene. The songs sung by the people at the installation were old Slovene ritual songs; even their form is a proof of it (I. Grafenauer, *Slovenski kirieleisoni*, Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo [The Journal of the Museum Society of Slovenia], 23, 1942).

2) It was a free Slovene peasant who installed the prince and not the representative of the German nobility, though they held all authority in the country from the beginning of the 9th century onwards.

3) The first report on the Carantanian people electing their prince dates from the time when Carantania was only loosely connected with the Frankish State, and when neither the Bavarians nor the Franks had any influence on the internal affairs of Carantania (*Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, for the time round 750). The entire ceremony could be comprehensible only if it had come into being at the time when Carantania was exclusively Slovene. The Slovene ritual language could only be used when the Slovene freeholders, and not the German nobility, were the highest social stratum; otherwise representatives of the nobility would have installed the prince. At that time the German Emperor still had no word in the appointment of the Carantanian prince (or he would not have ceded this right to the peasant population who had no rights in the Middle Ages). The original ritual also is in complete conformity with the principles and regulations of

the Slovene law (Josip Mal, *Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* [The Journal of the Museum Society of Slovenia], 23, 1942; the same, *Probleme aus der Frühgeschichte der Slowenen*, 1938). Only in the later Middle Ages did the external form of the ritual undergo some changes, but the language used at the ceremony remained Slovene, and a Slovene peasant equally remained the installing person.

Sources are unanimous in the statement that the Carinthian prince in the late Middle Ages had to defend himself in Slovene against the Carantanian accusers. Saying that this regulation was "nonsense" (M. Wutte) does not impair the validity of the information.

About the year 700 the Carantanian Slovenes showed more initiative in their foreign policy. They attacked the Bavarians and liberated the valley of the Ziljica (Gailitz) from the Lombards. But when in the third decade of the 8th century the Avar danger began to reappear, the Slovenes concluded an agreement with the Bavarians and formed a military and political alliance in which the Slovenes were to help the Bavarians against the Franks, and the Bavarians the Slovenes against the Avars. When the Franks attacked the Bavarians in 743 the Slovenes kept their word, but in spite of this the Bavarians suffered defeat and their country was incorporated in the Frankish State. The defeat of the Slovene allies incited the Avars to renew their pressure on Slovene Carantania. The Slovenes asked their old allies for help but the Frankish Emperors who did not like the renewal of this alliance which had once been directed against themselves, asked the Bavarians to include Carantania in the Frankish State (744—745). The assertion of the Carinthian German historians that the Bavarians liberated the Slovenes from the Avar yoke is a pure invention.

Thus Carinthia became included into the sphere of the German State and a subject of the German colonization only in the middle of the 8th century. And even then it formed an independent province within the Frankish State and the Bavarian Duchy respectively; its princes were not appointed by the Bavarian dukes, but by the assemblies of the Carantanian freemen in agreement with the Frankish king. Although included in the Frankish State, Carantania remained for almost another hundred years, until 820, an entirely Slovene country ruled by Slovene princes and territorially unimpaired. But later on it was fatal for the Slovenes that a real nobility as known by the Franks, had not yet come into being among them but was only in the process of being formed from the higher classes of freeholders. In the beginning the Germans had not yet settled in the country; the first deed of donation by a German nobleman, proving German landownership in Carinthia, dates only from the year 822.

Towards the end of the 8th century (792—803), in the course of fighting against the Avars, Charlemagne united all the Slovene territory under the Frankish rule as far as the Danube, the Blatno jezero (Lake Balaton), the river Kolpa and the Adriatic Sea, including Croatia, Bosnia and even a part of Northern Serbia. In the Eastern March (Lower Austria) the German colonization started at this time on a territory with a comparatively thin Slovene population; but the German colonists also pressed into Pannonia which

lay on the eastern borders of Carantania; nevertheless the majority of immigrants into Pannonia came from the Slovene Alps, thus reinforcing the number of the Slovene inhabitants.

The controversy between the Friulan margrave Kadaloh, and Ljudevit, prince of Sava-Croatia and Lower Pannonia, called forth the insurrection of South Slav tribes from Carantania to the river Timok in 819. In Carantania the insurrection was crushed in 820. The consequences of this unsuccessful uprising cut short the organic development of the Slav people in Carinthia. The Frankish kings deprived the Slav princes of their ownership of all uninhabited territory, confiscated the possessions of the rebels and appointed Frankish counts as administrators of the country. In this way the country came in possession of the German landowners who henceforth became the lords of the Slovene subjects. The Frankish nobility, which was already formed, asserted itself in Carantania and was strictly separated from the lower social classes making impossible any further development of a native nobility which was then only in embryo. Only a few individuals could bridge the gap between freemen and nobles. The fatal consequence of the uprising was therefore a social weakening of the Slovene nation which, of course, could not remain without consequences for the entire national life.

The Frankish and, later on, the German Emperors bestowed vast portions of their crown-lands on various ecclesiastical or lay German noblemen. In these deeds of donation the Slovene people are often mentioned as having been given away together with the estates. These estates which were still very thinly populated, would have been a dead property without the resident population. The second decade of the 9th century, therefore, shows a strong German colonization spreading above all in the Eastern March and in Pannonia. In Carantania the colonization also made a successful start although the Germans, for the time being, did not settle there in large numbers. At that time the Germans did not settle along the ethnographic frontier but "on or near already civilized territory which offered comparatively favourable conditions of existence and tillage and which was not covered with forests or moors" (M. Kos). "All the settlements of the Carolingian period are villages lying on the best arable land" (E. Klebel). The Germans were not keen on the mountainous northern and north-western parts of the country, preferring to settle in the southern part of Carinthia which was more densely populated also by the Slovenes. A proof of the still limited character of the influx of alien population is shown by the position of Carantania in the last quarter of the 9th century: Under Arnulf's leadership it acquired the character of a real tribal duchy, the Slovene character of which is emphasized by the historical writers.

German colonization in Pannonia and in the Eastern March finished with the arrival of the Magyars in the Danube Basin towards the end of the 9th century; the German frontier receded to the line of the Karavanke — the Kamnik Alps — the mountains of Central Styria — the river Anžka (Enns). Only after the battle on Lechfeld near Augsburg, in 955, the Magyars were compelled to settle down and cease their plundering activities. The political frontiers of the German State again moved east and south.

In the 10th century they already comprised all the main territory of Carniola and Styria; about the year 1200 the frontier against Croatia and Hungary was definitely formed.

The immigration of the German colonists was again resumed in Carinthia. Also at this time the Germans preferred to settle in the centre of the Slovene country and intensified the Germanization there. Since the social structure of the Slovene people had been truncated after the insurrection of Ljudevit Posavski, the distribution of the Slovene territory among various German ecclesiastical and lay rulers was completed towards the middle of the 12th century. The social catastrophe also caused the national catastrophe. Those who had received the crown-lands brought with them numerous colonists or sent settlers from their more densely populated estates to the less populated ones. In the vast range of the Celovec (Klagenfurt) Basin and Podjuna (Jauntal), the German settlements were increased in numbers. In some places the German colonists started clearing forests and forming small ethnical islands. Such was the situation up to the end of the 12th century.

It is characteristic that at this time the Slovene-German frontier did not as yet fluctuate. German localities existed beside the Slovene ones; in some places the population was mixed but the border-land remained stable and the alien influence there the weakest. Eastern Tyrol and the territory on the Upper Drava (Drau) and its tributaries were still firmly Slovene. It was in this area that the oldest record of the Slovene language was preserved: the confession and prayers in the famous "Brižinski Spomeniki" (the Freising Monuments). They are connected with the Freising possessions on Lurnsko polje (Lurnfeld) near Spittal, an area which was still densely populated with Slovenes about the year 1000.

Despite the increased German influx, the Slovene population of Carinthia was still so strong that even at this time Carantania was regarded by strangers as a Slovene country. "Carantanian" was still a synonym for Slovene. The anonymous writer from Salzburg, for instance, writing his memorandum "Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum", some time after St. Method had come to the Prince Kocelj (871), used the name "Carantanian" not only for the inhabitants of Carantania but for all Slovenes from the Adriatic to the Danube, from Innichen to the Lake Balaton. In Arnulf's deeds of donation the expressions "Slovenia", "Slovene country" and the "Carantanian Kingdom" are synonyms for the Slovene tribal duchy of Carantania. This was in usage also during the 12th and 13th centuries. In the "Chronica Sclavorum", I, 1 dating from the second half of the 12th century, Helmold enumerates the Carinthians among other Slavs and so did the author of the Russian Annals ("Nestor's Annals") from the 12th century, whilst in 1161 the Imperial notary Burghardt counted Carinthia among the parts of Slovenia. The British Franciscan, Bartholomeus Anglicus, in his Encyclopaedia also counts the Carantanians to the Slavs and Carantania to the Slav countries (1240).

In spite of the partly mixed population, the absence of an aristocratic class, and the Slovene population being limited to the lower classes, Carinthia at this time figured as a separate Slovene duchy within the German

State. The assembly of Slovene freemen still confirmed the Emperor's decree giving the country a new prince, whom they installed on the Gosposvetsko polje (Zollfeld), north of Celovec (Klagenfurt), near Krnski grad (Karnburg), the seat of the old Slovene princes. The whole ceremony was performed in the Slovene language and the people accompanied it with Slovene songs. The Slovene language was still respected in the country even by the foreign nobility. The oldest record of the Slovene language in Carinthia dates back to the year 1000. When in 1227 the duke Bernhard of Spanheim received the German poet Ulrich Liechtenstein, disguised as Venus, near Vrata in the Zilja (Gail) Valley, he solemnly welcomed him in Slovene. Even after the installation, the citizens could bring an action against their prince before the Emperor in the Slovene language and he in his turn might defend himself only in Slovene. Many signs of the old Slovene law have been preserved among the peasant population.

It is clear that the national situation as it had developed up to the end of the 12th century, could not persist. Following the natural laws of assimilation, the one or the other side had to prevail in various parts of the country. In the last three centuries of the Middle Ages, the ethnic structure of the country became indeed more simplified. When there was no more room in the more fertile Celovec (Klagenfurt) Basin, the German colonists began to settle in the northern and north-eastern mountainous regions, on the territory newly cleared of the forests. Their new settlements were placed all round the exposed Slovene villages in the valleys. The latter, cut off from the Slovene hinterlands, were submerged in the foreign environment. Thus the German-Slovene ethnographic frontier began to move southward. The Slovene ethnic islands in Eastern Tyrol and Upper Carinthia kept shrinking until their complete disappearance in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries. Basing their proof on Christian names, German authors maintain that this process had come to pass earlier and claim a greater proportion of the population in southern Carinthia as German than can be ascertained from other data. Our reply is that a German Christian name in Carinthia — as well as in the rest of Slovenia — does not provide any clue to the bearer's nationality. In the question of names the higher social classes exercised their influence upon the lower ones. Those, too, who recorded the names were seldom Slovenes. The names of those Slovenes whose nationality is quite certain (witnesses in Slovene law cases in the 11th century) are the clearest proof of it. They all have either common Christian and German names, but no Slovene names.

Even less validity as an indication of nationality can be granted to the family names in the "urbarji" (documents containing data on leased landed property) which are used by Martin Wutte and Glauert for Lower Carinthia. There, family names were mainly given by German castle-clerks in their records and in the parish records by educated priests; in the majority of cases they are not the real popular names. It is only natural that their originators gave them a more decided and to them more familiar German character. Detailed inquiries into single examples prove this. The overwhelming German character of family names among the Slovenes in Carinthia only

reflects their social bondage but it is no indication of the magnitude of the German infiltration.

The Slovenes did not suffer only failures at this time. The greatest success of the Carinthian Slovenes in the later Middle Ages was the clearing and consolidating of their territory in Lower Carinthia within the ethnographic frontier as it had developed around the year 1500. They almost cleared the southern part of the country from alien elements. After a silent national struggle in the form of assimilation, at the end of the 15th century, almost the whole of the Celovec (Klagenfurt) Basin remained in Slovene hands.

In the later Middle Ages, however, a new class of society, higher than the Slovene peasant population, came into being — the townspeople. Whilst the larger towns were mostly German, the smaller market towns seem to have been preponderantly Slovene, since formulae of the oath to be sworn by the new members of the community, and even those to be sworn by the borough-judges, have come down to us in Slovene. It was particularly the towns that supported German peasant settlement. Beljak (Villach) severed the connection between the compactly Slovene territory and the still partly Slovene Upper Drava (Drau) Valley; and the provincial capital Št. Vid (St. Veit) closed the passage from the Celovec (Klagenfurt) Basin to the north. Thus the national development in Carinthia in the Middle Ages reflects in everything the social position of the Slovene population. The fact that only the peasant population was Slovene caused great loss of the national territory and hampered national defence and renaissance.

In such a position it was highly creditable for the Slovenes to have cleared the whole of the Celovec (Klagenfurt) Basin. Two ethnically clearly defined areas, the Slovene and the German, touched on a line formed by a number of places marked "Windisch" — "Slovenji". Their geographical position reveals that the Germans at this time thus marked the first Slovene localities through which the way to the purely Slovene part of the country led them. Connecting these localities and using the data on the Slovene-German frontier from the first part of the 19th century, we get a line comprising all the wide Lower Zilja (Gail) Valley, running directly to the boundaries of the town of Beljak (Villach), reaching as far as the Osojsko Jezero (Ossiacher See), comprising the whole of the Celovec (Klagenfurt) Basin as far as the hills which shut it off to the north, the whole of the present Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) District, Podjuna (Jauntal) and the valley of the Mežica (Miess). In the course of this development, which reached its final stage round the year 1500, the heart of Carinthia remained Slovene.

The transferring of the provincial capital from Št. Vid (St. Veit) to Celovec (Klagenfurt) which stood in the midst of Slovene environs did not affect the situation in any way. (Št. Vid was punished for having joined the Slovene peasant rebels in 1515). The situation remained unchanged for three centuries. Another proof of the dominating position of the Slovenes in the country up to the end of the Middle Ages is the preservation of the Slovene investiture of the Carinthian princes up to the year 1414. At the end of the 15th century the Carinthian priest Unrest, a Bavarian, says in a commentary bearing on conditions in Carinthia: "When this investiture

and other praiseworthy things disappeared from the country, everything turned bad". When speaking of the prince's right to defend himself before the Emperor in Slovene, the same author emphasizes that Carinthia was then "a true Slovene country". One of the rare Slovene manuscripts belonging to the late Middle Ages, the Celovec (Klagenfurt) Manuscript, originates from Carinthia.

The insurrections of the peasants in Carinthia (in 1478, 1515) show that the Slovenes played a decisive role in the peasant movements in Carinthia. Only those uprisings which were joined by the Slovene population were really strong and lasting. The rebellions of the German peasants (1525), on the other hand, found almost no response in the country.

THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN CARINTHIA UP TO THE BEGINNING OF THE 19th CENTURY

From the end of the Middle Ages up to the middle of the 19th century the Slovene-German ethnographic frontier in Carinthia was clearly defined and stable. The social position remained unchanged: an almost exclusively German nobility ruled over Slovene subjects; among the clergy only chaplains and vicars were Slovenes as far as their native tongue was concerned. In the towns only the working class was Slovene. In spite of their unfavourable position, the Slovene character of the southern part of the country, remained apparent throughout all spheres of the Slovene national development, also in modern times. Even before the social renaissance of the Slovene people the Carinthian Slovenes played a considerable part in Slovene national life and its culture.

The peasant insurrection of 1515 is called "Slovene" in the historical sources, and modern scientific works also admit its Slovene character. When reconstructing the line of the Slovene-German ethnographic frontier in Lower Styria of that time, A. Luschin bases his inquiries on the spreading of this insurrection. This uprising was also joined by Carinthians, but the campaign of the German peasants in 1525 did not find any response in southern Carinthia. In 1555, four years after the publication of the first Slovene book, the Slovene Protestants in Carinthia entered into relations with the Slovene writers in Tübingen. The Carinthians contributed 900 guildens for Dalmatin's Slovene translation of the Bible. Megiser collected material for the first Slovene dictionary in Carinthia. The Catholic Slovenes in Carinthia were not idle either. The first Catholic Slovene book (a catechism published in 1574 — not preserved) was written by a Carinthian, the Slovene Cistercian monk, Leonhard Paherneker of Vetrinjš (Viktring). The Slovene Protestant communities near Podklošter (Arnoldstein), on the western slopes of the Dobrač (Villacher Alpe) and by the Lake of Osoje (Ossiacher See), demonstrated the great love of the Carinthian Slovenes for the Slovene literature by standing firm throughout the difficult period of the Counter-Reformation until the time of Joseph II, when they began to feel the first breath of freedom. They carefully preserved Slovene Protestant publications, especially Dalmatin's Bible and his Prayerbook. They copied and distributed banned books. Under the influence of this activity began the Carinthian "bukovništvo".

This was a literary movement of simple, uneducated men from among the common people, a characteristic feature of Carinthia up to the middle of the last century. It was this literary activity which strengthened the

national feeling of the Carinthian Slovenes; it is the clearest proof of a vigorous Slovene national consciousness among the common people in southern Carinthia. Copies of Protestant postils, songs and prayers are still preserved from the 17th and 18th centuries. "Bukovništvo" also spread among the Catholic Slovenes who were copying apocryphal texts. "Even this semi-folkloristic literature", says Dr I. Grafenauer, "was closely connected with the literary development of the central Slovene regions, from its beginning at the turn of the 16th century. The basis of their literary work was not the pure dialect of the Zilja (Gall) Valley, of Rož (Rosental) or Podjuna (Jauntal), but of the central Slovene literary language as it had been formed and stabilized by the Slovene Protestant writers of the 16th century, especially in Dalmatin's Bible. They also adopted their alphabet and spelling... thus preserving the continuity of Slovene culture from the Middle Ages up to modern times and preserving at the same time the consciousness of the national unity of all Slovene regions". The language used by these simple writers is the most resolute answer to the German assertions that the Carinthian Slovenes, "Vindišarji", are not members of the Slovene nation, that the central Slovene literary language has no connection with the Carinthian dialects and is not understandable to the Carinthians.

A report on Slovene sermons in Celovec (Klagenfurt) at the beginning of the 17th century has been preserved; another report from the year 1605 speaks of Slovene recitals on the occasion of Jesuit processions in the same town. Among the rare Slovene texts from the middle of the 17th century there are also copies of the Carinthian feudal oaths from the years 1637—1642 and the feudal oath of allegiance to the bishop of the Krka (Gurk) bishopric (1653). These Slovene formulae for feudal oaths prove that there were already some Slovenes among the nobility who in the middle of the 17th century took their oath of allegiance to the Hapsburg emperors in Slovene. In addition there are some copies of old Protestant texts ("Jurčičeva Postila") and the Slovene oath for new "townsmen" from the end of the 17th century in the borough of Železna Kapla (Eisenkappel), an important proof of the Slovene character of the borough.

In 1744 the Jesuits of Celovec (Klagenfurt) published a new edition of Megiser's Vocabulary, a manual indispensable to all intellectuals in Slovenia. Following the example of the Carniolan Stržinar, Primož Lavrenčič, a Jesuit of Celovec (Klagenfurt), compiled a manuscript song-book which contained old Carinthian religious folk-songs (1748, published in 1752, "Misionske katoliš karšanske pesme" (Catholic Missionary Songs). In 1758 the Jesuits of Celovec (Klagenfurt) prepared a new edition of Bohorič's Grammar (in German) adding a German-Slovene-Italian vocabulary. They also prepared a special edition of Parhamer's translation of Kanizius' Catechism (1761). All this points to the great interest accorded to the Slovene language. The "bukovniki" also continued their work. The manuscript of Lesičjek from Leše near Prevalje consisting of charms and prayers also contains the first known record of non-religious Slovene folk-songs which are wide-spread in Carinthia even to-day. During all this time the Carinthian cultural sphere in the question of language depended on the traditions

of the Carniolan cultural sphere. In 1766 a Carinthian compiled Slovene prayer-texts which were later published in the Celovec (Klagenfurt) edition of the Salzburg Ritual (1785).

In 1770, at least two Slovene religious books appeared in Celovec (Klagenfurt); one of them, "Kristianske resnice skuz premišlivanje naprej-nešene inu za pridige tudi naraunane" (Christian Truths for Meditation and Sermons) was important because it contained an addition in German "on Slovene and Carniolan orthography". In this appendix the author, Gutschmann, pleads for the spelling of the old Slovene writers against the exaggerations of Pohlin. He wanted his work to be understandable to all the Slovenes, the Carinthians, Carniolans, and Styrians. He aimed at an all-Slovene literary language and kept up the connection with the old Carniolan printings.

The preface to the Slovene Grammar by Gutschmann (Windische Sprachlehre, Celovec, 1777) is a true "Apology of the Slovene language". In this preface the Slovenes and, what is more, the Carinthians themselves for the first time rose against the denationalization of the Slovenes and the German tendency to oust the Slovene language on the grounds that it was spoken only by the lower classes. In this preface Gutschmann underlined that there were more Slavs than Germans in Austria and that, therefore, Slovene had its "right of domicile" in this country. But in spite of this the schools which were being introduced throughout the country following the decision of Maria Theresia "were from the very beginning intended as true German schools, The Slovene catechism was only an auxiliary book and the Slovene primer only a private edition" (Kidrič). For this school Gutschmann translated "Ta Veliki Kateklzem" (The Large Catechism) to "relieve the trouble of religious teachers in those localities which were mostly Slovene". His work on spelling had a second edition in 1777.

In the decade from 1780—1789 at least 7 Slovene books and a German one with Slovenistic contents were published in Carinthia. Gutschmann was the author of all except two: in 1780 the Carinthian edition of the Gospels and Epistles and the Sermons for Sundays and fast-days were published, in 1780—1781 appeared the Large Catechism in a German-Slovene edition, in 1784 the authorized song-book for use in church, in 1786 the second edition of Gutschmann's Grammar, in 1788 the Prayer-book and in 1789 the German-Slovene dictionary. In all these works he took into consideration the "Carniolan literary language". A reprint of Dalmatin's Prayer-book was published at this time of religious tolerance for the Carinthian Slovene Protestants (1784). In the next decade (1790—1799), at least 9 Slovene books were published in Celovec (Klagenfurt). Among them was a new edition of Gutschmann's German-Slovene Catechism (1792) and a third edition of his Grammar (1799). The need for these new editions is a proof that "the circle of readers... became ever greater in Carinthia". The social reforms of Joseph II, abolishing serfdom, made the flow of the surplus peasant population from the country to the towns possible; the schools opened the way to education, thus widening the circle of Slovene readers. Slovene

society began to develop towards its completion. Before his death Gutschmann prepared another primer for the Slovenes. Except for the translation of Wolstein's book on the illnesses of live-stock, the books are of a religious character.

The schools, spreading the knowledge of reading and writing, did very much to renew the old tradition of the "bukovniki". In the last decade of the 18th century several of them are known; among them Miha Andreaš, Drabosnjak and several others asserted themselves and "their importance for the preservation of the Slovene language in Carinthia became ever greater". The situation in the schools improved through the work of the schoolmasters and without aid from the Celovec (Klagenfurt) authorities. Gutschmann's unofficial primer was already a help, but also the Carniolan editions were used. In the years 1783—1791, the Emperor's letters patent were sent to Carinthia from Graz and later from Ljubljana, in Slovene translations.

In the decade 1799—1809, about 10 Slovene books were published in Celovec (Klagenfurt). The most influential writer of the time was Japelj, headmaster of the seminary at Celovec (Klagenfurt) in 1801 and chief episcopal school inspector in 1815. Three Slovene poets, Grundtner, Jarnik, and Schneider in the Celovec seminary certainly came under his influence. Among the "bukovniki" of that time Andreaš and Drabosnjak have already been mentioned. The text-books used in the schools were almost the same as those in Carniola, exclusively Slovene Carniolan editions were used. This practice continued in the next decade (1810—1819), a period when a considerable flow of popular writings published in Ljubljana came into Carinthia (Ravnikar's "Male Povesti" [Short Stories]). At this time also the first official German-Slovene text-book (Namenbüchlein, Bukvar) was published. After the restoration of the Hapsburg rule, Urban Jarnik was the leading intellectual in Carinthia. In his first period he wrote poems and popular books to meet the needs of the peasants. Kopitar's Grammar was his guide-book in the questions of language and through it he was connected with the whole Slovene literary tradition. In his manuscript poems, Schneider attacked Germanization and tried to raise national consciousness. A Slovene Passion play has been preserved, it had been played at Železna Kapla (Eisenkappel) round 1816. It is at this time that the activity of the "bukovniki" reached its climax. On account of these peasant writers Rož (Rosental) was called the "Slovene Athens" and the social origin of these simple writers convincingly proves the Slovene character of southern Carinthia.

The main representative of these writers was Andrej Šustar, called Drabosnjak, whose native village lay almost at the Slovene-German ethnographic frontier between Kostanje (Koestenberg) and Strmec (Sternberg). He kept up his knowledge of the language by reading copies of various Protestant publications and the apocryphal texts. Beside short poems he wrote plays for the Slovene popular theatre. The most interesting of all his publications is the "Slovene ABC" in which he criticized the social and moral conditions not only of the peasants, but also of the nobility and clergy. In it he shows his peasant pride; attacks on the German nobility recall the slogans of the insurgent peasants of the 16th century. Because

of this poem, Drabosnjak was persecuted by the authorities and lost all his property, but his work retained great importance in Carinthian national life. Even 170 years after his birth he was not forgotten; the peasants copied his books and so his work became a strong support of Slovene national life and the Slovene folk-songs in Carinthia.

At the time of the Restoration (1815—1848) the Carinthians got some new text-books. Ješenak published "Mali Katekizem" [Little Catechism] and Alič some text-books for elementary schools. France Prešeren, the greatest Slovene poet, also stayed in Celovec (Klagenfurt) at this time.

The Carinthian district at this time surpassed all the rest of the Slovene border countries. This is the beginning of that development which in the middle of the 19th century temporarily transferred the centre of all Slovene literary and cultural life to Celovec (Klagenfurt).

The German press and their tendentious science (Dr Hussa in 1861, Dr Martin Wutte and others after 1930, Dr E. Kranzmayer) assert that the Carinthian Slovenes are not real Slovenes but "Windische" and as such a part of the German nation speaking a Slovene-German mixture. The development outlined above as well as all later history clearly show that such assertions have no foundation in actual facts.

Throughout history the population of Carinthia was a living member of the Slovene people. For 500 years the name "Carantan" was a synonym for "Slovene". Carinthian Slovenes always called themselves Slovenes as do the Slovenes in Slovenia and in Carinthia to-day. In the past centuries the Germans used the names "Carantan" and "Slovene" and also the name "Windische" but they applied it to all Slovenes from the Danube to the Adriatic not limiting it to the Carinthians.

The language spoken by the Carinthian Slovenes is a special dialect of the Slovene tongue which is organically connected with the neighbouring Slovene dialects in Carniola and Styria. The rest of the Slovenes understand the Carinthians quite well and the Carinthians understand them. In 1849, Dean Rabitsch from Železna Kapla (Eisenkappel) declared on the occasion of an official inquiry that, for the Carinthian Slovenes, the laws should be translated into a language "as it is spoken round Celje and in Upper Carniola which the Carinthians, also, understand well". The Carinthian Slovenes, even the uneducated peasants, understand and use the literary Slovene. In all the literary work, from the "Brižinski Spomeniki" (the Freising Monuments, about 1000 A. D.) onwards, the Carinthian Slovenes used the same language as the rest of the Slovenes. Even the literary works of the uneducated writers of the 18th and 19th centuries are closely connected with the Slovene literary language and its development. From the middle of the 19th century the Carinthian Germans did not spare any effort to prevent the Carinthian Slovenes from learning the Slovene literary language but they scarcely achieved anything. All the newspapers from the middle of the 19th century onwards which were written by the Carinthians and subscribed to by uneducated peasants, "Slovenec" (The Slovene), "Šolski Prijatelj" (The School Friend), "Mir" (Peace), "Koroški Slovenec" (The Carinthian Slovene) were written in the literary language. Even the news-

papers edited by the Germans with the purpose of winning over the Carinthian Slovenes (e. g. "Koroška Domovina" [The Carinthian Fatherland]), were written in literary Slovene, although German publicists say that the uneducated people could not make head or tail of it; it was not written in the "Windisch", a Slovene-German mixture which in fact does not exist at all and which nobody would read. 7226 Slovenes subscribed to the books of the St. Hermagor Brotherhood in 1918, which were all written in the literary Slovene. Comparing the number of subscribers with the number of the Slovene population in Carinthia, we see that one out of every 16 Slovenes subscribed to these books. But if we consider that whole families and not single persons were the actual subscribers, we see that these books were subscribed to by every fourth Carinthian Slovene.

The middle of the 19th century was the time when the Germans started their attempts to crush the Slovene renaissance in Carinthia. Just for this time a whole series of documents is preserved which give a clear picture of the Slovene-German ethnographic frontier in Carinthia at the beginning of the forcible and deliberate Germanization. They also furnish details about the ethnical situation in the southern part of the country.

CONDITIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FORCIBLE GERMANIZATION

(Maps III—VIII)*

The basis for the definition of the Slovene territory in Carinthia in the first half of the nineteenth century, before the beginning of the forcible Germanization on a large scale (after 1848) are various descriptions of the Slovene-German ethnographic frontier in this region during this time, and detailed results of the official inquiry, carried out by the Austrian authorities and conducted by Czoernig. This inquiry had the object of stating the linguistic composition of the resident civilian population; it is usually called Czoernig's Ethnographic Statistics. On the basis of a copy of this work preserved and recently found in the legacy of the Slovene cartographer Peter Kozler, we can determine the detailed distribution of the people in the country, and by cautious critique correct Czoernig's final results and his ethnographic map.

The first attempt to determine the linguistic frontier in Carinthia was undertaken by Joseph Kindermann, a journalist from Graz, on his Map of Inner Austria (1790—1791). But his border line is of use only in two sectors: from the Dobrač (Villacher Alpe) to Beljak (Villach) and to the east of St. Ulrich (near Št. Janž on Mostič [St. Johann a. Brückl]), where it turns to the Svinška planina (Saualpe) as far as the frontier of the province. It is unreliable, and according to Wutte even wrong in the Kanal Valley (Kanalstal), in the Zilja Valley (Gailtal) as far as the Dobrač (Villacher Alpe), and in the sector from Vernberk (Wernberg) to the Svinška planina (Saualpe), where it designates as German a large territory which was then and partly is Slovene even to-day (in the communes of Lipalja vas (Leopoldskirchen), Brdo (Egg), Goriče (Görtschach); to the north of the road Beljak—Vrba—Vrbsko jezero—Celovec (Villach—Velden—Wörther See—Klagenfurt) and Št. Tomaž (St. Thomas).

Anton Werzer, the district commissioner of the environs of Celovec (Klagenfurt) designated in the year 1812, on the short sector to the north of Celovec (Klagenfurt), in the present communes of Dole (Ponfeld) and Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal), the following localities in which Slovene is strictly separated from German: Račica (Retschach), Dole (Ponfeld), Pičev (Pitzelstätten), Smerovčice (Emmersdorf), Breza ves (Wriesnitz), Krnski grad (Karnburg). These are the southernmost places where according to his report, the Slovene language is no longer in use.

* The maps are published in the Cartographic Annex "Maps relating to the ethnical structure of Slovene Carinthia".

In 1826 Urban Jarnik, in his treatise "Andeutungen über Kärntens Germanisierung" (Remarks on the Germanization of Carinthia) a work which was considered as a reliable one also by the Germans of Carinthia, described the ethnical structure as follows (map V): The Lower Zilja Valley (Gailtal) east of Modrinja ves (Möderndorf) near Šmohor (Hermagor) as wholly Slovene. Between Beljak (Villach) and Labot (Lavamünd), where the linguistic border touches the river Drava (Drau) it runs everywhere north of the main road Beljak—Celovec—Labot (Villach—Klagenfurt—Lavamünd). The Slovene border parishes are Domačale (Damschach), Št. Jurij on Strmec (St. Georg am Sternberg), Kostanje (Köstenberg), Dholica (Teichelsberg), Breza (Pirk), the southern part of the parish Možberg (Moosburg), Čajnče (Tultschnig), the south-western part of the parish Krnski grad (Karnburg), Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal), Otmanje (Ottmanach), Št. Lipš ob Krki (St. Philippen b. Reinegg), Djekše (Diex), Kneža (Grafenbach), Krčanje (Greutschach), Grebinj (Griffen). This description is especially important for the area above Celovec (Klagenfurt), because Jarnik knew these places very well (Možberg [Moosburg], Krnski grad [Karnburg]) as he had been working in this very region from 1806 till 1827, Čajnče (Tultschnig), Celovec (Klagenfurt), Šmihel on the Gosposvetsko polje (St. Michael am Zollfeld).

The members of the cadastral commission for taxation A. K. Kuzel, J. Launsky and L. Salzmann published in 1835 a map of Lower Carinthia on which they marked the German-Slovene ethnographic frontier. In a way not approved elsewhere it connects Celovec (Klagenfurt) by an approximately two kilometres broad strip of land with the homogeneous German territory. The line running north of the Slovene Zagorje (Ober-Göriach), close beneath the German Možberg (Moosburg) and Goričica (Amaibichl) is thus far in accordance with other authors. But here this line differs from all other reports, in so far as it turns south-east across the Slovene Čajnče (Tultschnig) to the German Št. Primož (St. Primus), from there straight on south to the river Glinica (Glanfurt), along the road to Št. Peter near Celovec (Klagenfurt), then along the river Glina (Glan), which it leaves west of Zgornje Goričice (Obergoritschitzen), where it turns straight north and west of Tesna ves (Tessendorf), it passes again over to the river Glina (Glan), keeping to it as far as Kuchling. East of this place it is in the main in accordance with other descriptions, except for some slight differences, Otmanje (Ottmanach) and Schmieddorf on the river Krka (Gurk) remaining on the German side. The ethnographic border runs above the Slovene Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal), Posovo (Possau), Št. Gregor on Krka (St. Georg a. d. Gurk), the Šmihelska gora (Michaelsberg), and the Št. Janška gora (St. Johannisberg) and Št. Urh (St. Ulrich), to the Svinška planina (Sausalpe). From there it descends to the river Drava (Drau), which it follows as far as Labot (Lavamünd), where it turns to the frontier of the province.

In 1844, Petz, the taxation commissioner of the financial department for the Ljubljana District under whose jurisdiction the whole of Carinthia stood at that time, described in a special memorandum the linguistic con-

ditions in Carinthia. M. Wutte supposes that Petz used the data of the official inquiry on the native tongue of the inhabitants of the year 1843. According to his description the whole of the Kanal and Zilja (Gail) Valleys from Modrinja ves (Möderndorf) to Beljak (Villach) belong to the Slovene territory; east of this territory, according to him, the Slovene language dominated in the following border communes: Vernberk (Wernberg), Kostanje (Köstenberg), Dholica (Techelsberg), Možberg (Moosburg), the southern part of the commune of Tigerče (Tigring), Dole (Ponfeld), Št. Peter na Gori (St. Peter am Bichl) and Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal). East of these places his description becomes too incomplete for the determination of the border line.

We must completely ignore the descriptions of the ethnic structure by Hain, Czoernig and Ficker, which particularly German authors like to refer to, especially Martin Wutte in his recent works. After our finding of the statistical description itself all these works, even the detailed studies by Hain ceased to be historical sources for the ethnic conditions in Carinthia in the middle of the 19th century. With regard to this sector at least, these works are only auxiliary literature which are — as we shall see later on — very incomplete (more so Czoernig than Hain). For the establishment of the frontier and the ethnic conditions in Carinthia they are of no importance.

From the year 1848 we have two documents for the Slovene linguistic frontier in Carinthia. The first is the linguistic border drawn by hand on the map of Carinthia by Sigmund. This map was issued in Celovec (Klagenfurt) in 1847 and was kept in the archives of the Carinthian Historical Society in Celovec (Klagenfurt). According to Jaksch's original supposition, the author of this line is the Carinthian Slovene Hermanitz, but Martin Wutte proved, that it was drawn by the German Josef Wagner in connection with his book "Das Herzogtum Kaernten" (The Dukedom of Carinthia). His frontier crosses the Kanal Valley just east of Pontabel (Pontafel) and just east of Modrinja ves (Moederndorf), Šmohor (Hermagor) and the Upper and Lower Bela (Ober- und Untervellach) it crosses the valley of the Zilja (Gail). Then it runs in the main on the ridge of the Zilja Alps (Gailtaler Alpen), touching only in the north the still German Kreuzen and the Dobrač (Villacher Alpen). Between the Slovene Judendorf and Perava (Perau) and the German Velka ves (Voelkendorf) and Beljak (Villach) it passes over to the river Drava (Drau) only to leave it at once and to pass above the Slovene Jezernica (Seebach) and Šmihel (St. Michael) to the Osojske Ture (Ossiacher Tauern) keeping to them as far as Golinje (Gallinberg), 1045 m; the frontier of the communes of Vernberk (Wernberg), Kostanje (Koestenberg), Dholica (St. Martin am Techelsberg). Hence it passes below the villages of Zagorje (Obergoeriach), Borovčiče (Baerendorf) and Gumno (Stallhofen) straight on above the Slovene Možberg (Moosburg), but from there it keeps close above the road Možberg (Moosburg)—Dole (Ponfeld). Above the Slovene Dole (Ponfeld) it leaves the road to go towards the German St. Martin and leads straight east just beneath Steniče (Tentschach), Vogliče

(Winklern), and Krnski grad (Karnburg), and turns above Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal) north-east to the Št. Lenska gora (Magdalensberg). Above Schmieddorf it crosses the valley of the Krka (Gurk), goes round Djekše (Diex) and Kneža (Grafenbach), and hence runs along the frontier of the commune of Grebinj (Griffen) and the district of Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) as far as Led (Eis), then along the watershed between the river Drava (Drau) on one side, and the Gradnica (Granitzbach) and the Labošnica (Lavant) on the other side nearly to the mouth of the river Labošnica (Lavant). From here it breaks off and passes over to the Magdalensberg and Huehnerkogel straight on east to the frontier of the province. Beyond this line there are two Slovene linguistic islands, Zgornja Bela near Beljak (Obervellach b. Villach) and Wachsenberg near Feldkirchen, but in the south there are five German linguistic islands, Rabelj (Raibl), Kaltwasser and Mali Tmin (Flitschl), Trbiž (Tarvis), Kokovo (Goggau) and Naborjet (Malborghet) in the Kanal Valley, Celovec (Klagenfurt) and Velikovec (Voelkermarkt).

The first schematism of the Krka (Gurk) Diocese (Geistlicher Personalstand der Diozöse Gurk) originated also in the year 1848 (Map V). From this we can trace on the basis of the entry of the language used in church the Slovene border parishes as far as Št. Janž na Mostiču (St. Johann am Brückl). In the Kanal Valley, Lipalja vas (Leopoldskirchen) was the border parish, in the Zilja (Gail) Valley Brdo (Egg) and Borlje (Foerolach). From there to Beljak (Villach) the whole Zilja area (Gailtal) was Slovene, as well as Perava (Perau) near Beljak (Villach). East from there the linguistic frontier as indicated in this document passed over to the Osojske Ture (Ossiacher Tauern), comprising the German-Slovene parish of Možberg (Moosburg), the Slovene parishes of Čajnče (Tultschnig) and Št. Jurij (St. Georgen am Sandhof), the German-Slovene Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal), the Slovene-German Otmanje (Ottmanach) and the German-Slovene Št. Janž above Mostič (St. Johann am Brückl). For the territory east of this we have the description of the Lavant clergyman Pirkmayr made for Kozler about 1850, according to which the Slovene border parishes were Djekše (Diex), Kneža (Grafenbach), Golovica (Woelfnitz), Krčanje (Greutschach), Grebinj (Griffen), Ruda (Ruden), Sv. Miklaž (St. Nikolai), Žvabek (Schwabegg), Labot (Lavamuend), Št. Lovrenc (Lorenzenberg). A later official report is of 1870, which designates also Št. Urh (St. Ulrich) as a Slovene parish and differs from the above report only in so far it considers Golovica (Woelfnitz) and Labot (Lavamuend) as German parishes, though later on (1880—1911) Labot (Lavamuend) was considered a mixed one, the Slovene and the German languages both being used in church. Einspieler's report in the letter written to Peter Kozler (July 11, 1851), entirely agrees with this, only that it leaves Perava (Perau) on the German side, divides Št. Janž above Mostič (St. Johann a. Brückl) in the southern Slovene and northern German part, but it considers also Krnski grad (Karnburg) and Labot (Lavamünd) as Slovene respectively partly Slovene parishes. South of this border-line there were German islands in the Kanal Valley, both town-parishes of Celovec (Klagenfurt) were according to the schematism German, the suburb-parish German-Slovene, the nearby Žrelec (Ebental) Slovene-German. Ein-

spieler speaks about Celovec (Klagenfurt) as a very germanized town, and similarly about Vellkovec (Voelkermarkt), which was according to the schematism of 1870, Slovene-German. In Kozler's legacy also is preserved a fragment of another more detailed description by Einspieler of several border parishes: In the parish of Možberg (Moosburg) only three villages had a German majority, among them Možberg (Moosburg) itself; six others are mentioned as mixed, and nine as entirely Slovene. Breza (Pirk) is entirely Slovene, except three families at Kriva Vrba (Krumpendorf), and so is Čajnče (Tultsching), except the castles, Št. Jurij (St. Georgen am Sand) and Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal) except 14 peasant families and except the officials, innkeepers and shopkeepers. The parishes of St. Martin am Ponfeld, Krnski grad (Karnburg) and Otmanje (Ottmanach) are mixed. In Vellkovec (Voelkermarkt) one third of the population understands only German, one third only Slovene and one third both languages. With detailed data he proves that Celovec (Klagenfurt) is not a wholly German town, but has a mixed population

Drawing the border-line in his Map of the Slovene Lands (1854), Peter Kozler did not use one source only and not above all the language used in church, as Martin Wutte asserts in recent time. He used the statistics by Czoernig, the language used in church and also various descriptions of people who knew the territory, especially that by Einspieler who perhaps even supplied him with the copies of Czoernig's ethnographic inquiry, and who partly furnished them with his remarks. Certainly he is among all contemporary cartographers the one who used the most extensive material. His border-line on the whole agrees with that of Wagner (although he did not know Wagner's map). There are only slight differences: the Kozler line in the Zilja Valley (Gailtal) keeps to the border of the communes of Brdo (Egg) and Goriče (Goertschach); the bulge towards Kreuzen is smaller by half, it leaves Judendorf and Perava (Perau) on the German side, it only touches Jezernica (Seebach), but it comprises some more localities west of Možberg (Moosburg), between Dole (Ponfeld) and Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal), it runs a bit above the Werzer line which he did not know either, so that he counts Werzer's border localities still as Slovene, he includes some more villages than Wagner above Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal) but on the German side he leaves Groblje (Groebloch) near Otmanje (Ottmanach) and Schmieddorf on the river Krka (Gurk); he made a mistake at Krčanje (Greutschach), which was left on the German side, but in the Labot Valley (Lavanttal) he comprises also St. Martin, Dob (Hart), Plestaetten, and Magdalensberg. He did not mark the German linguistic islands, but he has inscribed in his hand-drawn map the Slovene linguistic island Bela (Obervellach) near Beljak (Villach). In his Ethnography (1852) which was to explain the map, Kozler described the frontier according to the parishes. Here also he counts the parishes of Farška vas (Farrdorf) and Labot (Lavamuend) as Slovene ones, but he mentions three more Slovene localities in the parish of Šmihel (St. Michael am Zollfeld): Posov (Possau), Rotišče (Rotheis) and Teleče (Töltschach), Celovec (Klagenfurt) and Velikovec (Voelker-

markt) as mixed towns and he specifies five localities in the Kanal Valley as linguistic islands.

With the remark that the scientist Hauser of Celovec (Klagenfurt) even in 1888 and 1893 described the line above Celovec (Klagenfurt) as the Slovene linguistic frontier (1888: Moosburg—Ponfeld—Karnburg—Hochosterwitz) and that he considered the town as a German linguistic island, we have exhausted all independent descriptions of the frontier, which can be recognised as sources and we can pass over to the ethnographic statistics of the year 1846. The inquiry was carried out by districts; in the Beljak (Villach) area by the newly created districts in the year 1814 on the basis of the administrative reform at the time of the French Illyria, but in the area of Celovec (Klagenfurt) the inquiry was carried out by the old districts corresponding to the manors (Herrschaft). The districts reported on the linguistic adherence of single cadastral communes, in some places also of groups of single localities. The inquiry showed the following ethnical structure (map VI; the results are calculated with regard to the later communes): In the Kanal Valley there were three Slovene communes (Lipalja ves (Leopoldskirchen), Ukve (Uggowitz), Žabnica (Salfnitz), in the Zilja Valley (Gailtal) four, Brdo (Egg), Goriče (Goertschach), Sv. Štefan (St. Stephan), Blače (Vorderberg). In the Podklošter (Arnoldstein) district the commune of Smerče (Emersdorf) is designated as a mixed one with a Slovene majority, but the commune of Straja ves (Hohenthurn) and Podklošter (Arnoldstein) as German localities, only the cadastral commune of Podklošter (Arnoldstein, Gailitz) is entered as Slovene. In the Beljak (Villach) district only the cadastral commune of Vetrup (Federaun) is denoted as Slovene-German, but in the district of Landskron a part of the commune (Hauptgemeinde) of Vernberk (Wernberg) is entered as Slovene-German, the other part as German-Slovene. All communes of the district of Rožek (Rosegg), Marija na Zilji (Maria a. d. Gail), Bekštanj (Finkenstein), Rožek (Rosegg) and Vrba (Velden) are entered as mixed with a German majority. In the Celovec (Klagenfurt) area the whole territory south of the river Drava (Drau) [the later court districts of Borovlje (Ferlach), Železna Kapla (Eisenkappel), Dobrla ves (Eberndorf), and Pliberk (Bleiburg)] is entered as Slovene. In all this territory there are only two mixed localities with a German majority (Pliberk [Bleiburg], Guštanj [Gutenstein]) and 11 mixed ones with a Slovene majority (five of them in the present Austria: Železna Kapla [Eisenkappel], Dobrla ves [Eberndorf], Šmihel [St. Michael], Lonča ves [Einersdorf], and Borovje [Woroujach] near Pliberk [Bleiburg], the manor Suha [Neuhaus] and six in Yugoslavia: Libeliče, Dobrova, Javornik, Farška vas, Leše, and Črna).

North of the river Drava (Drau) there is also a broad strip of land designated as Slovene. The border of the homogeneous Slovene territory comprises still the greater part of the communes of Škofiče (Schiefeling), the whole of the communes of Hodiše (Keutschach), Vetrinj (Viktring), Radiše (Radsberg), Grabštanj (Grafenstein), Pokrče (Poggersdorf), and Važenberk (Waisenberg), the greater part of the commune of Žrelec (Ebental), and part of the commune of Trdnja ves (Hoertendorf), east from there the greater

part of the commune of Velikovec (Voelkermarkt), the cadastral commune of Krčanje (Obergreutschach) and the commune of Djekše (Diex) and the entire communes of Sv. Peter na Vašinjah (St. Peter am Wallersberg), Grebinj (Griffen), and Ruda (Ruden); on this territory the town of Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) is entered as a mixed one with a German majority, the cadastral commune of Tinje (Tainach), the village of Mlinski graben (Muehlgraben) near Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) and the borough of Grebinj (Griffen) as mixed places with a Slovene majority.

North of the Vrbsko jezero (Woerther See) nearly the whole territory is entered as mixed with a Slovene majority. Thus are designated the entire districts of Leonstein (communes Dholica [St. Martin am Techelsberg] and Poreče [Poertschach]) on the northern and a part of the commune of Škofiče (Schiefling) with Otok (Maria Woerth) on the southern shore of the lake and Kriva Vrba (Krumpendorf). The southern part of the commune of Možberg (Moosburg) up to the German places Podlipa (Unterlinden), Možberg (Moosburg), Žihpolje (Seigbichl) and the majority of the communes of Dole (Ponfeld) and Dhovše (Lendorf) are similarly denoted. In the commune of Možberg (Moosburg) the place Tudrešče (Tuderschitz) south of the above mentioned border and Hojevče (Hojabitsch) are entered as mixed with a German majority, but the remaining cadastral commune of Prekop (Kregab) as mixed with a great Slovene majority. Also part of the commune Dhovše (Lendorf) and the district Halak (Halleg) including four localities are entered as mixed with a German majority. The Slovene-German territory in the commune of Dole (Ponfeld) is encircled in the north-east by the still German-Slovene localities of Račica (Retschach), Vamče (Fanning), and Gabriel whilst the commune of Št. Peter (St. Peter a. Bichl) is clearly divided between the Slovene (Weissenbach, Steniče [Tentschach]), and the German places, only its eastern part being denoted as mixed with a German majority.

Celovec (Klagenfurt), Št. Martin, Št. Rupert (St. Ruprecht) and a part of Št. Peter are entered as mixed with a strong Slovene majority. To the east they border on the Slovene-German cadastral communes of Gradnica (Gradnitz) and Žrelec (Ebental) and the German-Slovene part of the commune of Št. Peter; to the north this town is shut in partly by the purely Slovene Tesna ves (Tessendorf), Ehrental, Št. Jurij (St. Georgen) and partly by the as German denoted commune of Trnja ves (Annabichl) and the Slovene-German part of the commune of Trdnja ves (Hoertendorf): the cadastral commune of Blašnja ves (Blasendorf). The commune of Št. Tomaž (St. Thomas), then divided among various manors, is, according to the various statements of those manors, divided also from the ethnical point of view. The strip along the river Krka (Gurk) from Rogarja ves (Reigersdorf) as far as Bučinja ves (Wutschein), Timenica (Timenitz) with the environs and the locality of Čilberg (Zeiselberg), and part of the manor of Žrelec (Ebental) are designated as mixed with a German majority, whilst the small estate of Frajdenberk (Freudenberg) is entered as mixed with a Slovene majority, but Št. Tomaž (St. Thomas), belonging to Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal), as purely Slovene. In the commune of Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal) the German territory extends to the localities of Poreče (Poertschach), north of Krnski grad (Karn-

burg), Zagrad (Sagrad), Račja vas (Ratzendorf), Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal), and the road of Št. Vid (St. Veit). The western part (except the Slovene Dole [Ponfeld] near Krnski grad [Karnburg]), and the northern part of the communes are denoted as mixed with a German majority, but the eastern and southern parts as Slovene. The commune Otmanje (Ottmanach) is ethnically divided along the boundaries of the Ostrovica (Ostrowitz) and the Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal) parishes respectively. The Ostrovica part, (the cadastral commune of Otmanje [Ottmanach]), had a three quarters' Slovene population, the Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal) part, (the cadastral commune of Mizla ves [Gammersdorf]), is denoted as Slovene.

The whole southern part of the commune of Št. Janž above Mostič (St. Johann am Brückl), in so far as it belonged to Ostrovica (Ostrowitz), is denoted as mixed with a Slovene majority and partly with a three quarters' Slovene population (Uha ves [Hausdorf] and Kraehwald with the environs). Schmieddorf, belonging to the manor of Mansberg, is mixed with a Slovene majority. The whole district of Vovbre (Heimbürg), the commune of Vovbre, the greater part of the commune of Djekše (Diex), and the cadastral commune of Št. Janška gora (Johannsberg) are entered as mixed with a German majority. The Dravograd district (the former commune of Dravograd) is denoted as Slovene, except the German town and the German Št. Lovrenc (Lorenzenberg).

This description and map show that Hain, Czoernig and Ficker did not thoroughly enough use the material they had at their disposal. Sometimes they incorrectly generalized or cancelled mixed areas and drew the linguistic frontier in such a way that in places it cut the Slovene and the German territory respectively. None of their works are entirely satisfactory.

If we compare the reports of Czoernig with the later established court districts we get the following picture:

Court District	Slovenes	Slov.- Germ. Carniol.	Slov.- Germ.	Germ.- Slov.	Germ.	Total
Šmohor, Slovene part (Hermagor)	4925					4925
Trbiž (Tarvis)	2558				3581	6139
Podklošter (Arnoldstein) Beljak (Villach) (as far as to the ethnic frontier)	536		2095		4695	7326
Rožek (Rosegg)			1474	5676 8096	540	7640 8096
Borovlje (Ferlach)	9144					9144
Celovec mesto (Klagen- furt city)		12054				12054
Celovec okolica (Kla- genfurt environs)	14935	1415	7092	2353	3553	29348
Železna Kapla (Eisen- kappel)	3695		1188			4883
Dobrla ves (Eberndorf)	8649		397			9046
Pliberk (Bleiburg)	12217		3098	1299		16614

Court District	Slovenes	Slov.- Germ. Carniol.	Slov.- Germ.	Germ.- Slov.	Germ.	Total
Velikovec (Völkermarkt) without Pustrica (Pustritz)	10130		750	3930		14810
Št. Janž na Mostiču (St. Johann a. Brückl) (southern part) . . .	449		384	679	149	1661
Dravograd (Drauburg)	1630				770	2400
Slovene Carinthia	68868	13469	16478	22019	13288	134122
Present Austrian terri- tory*	56763	13469	14524	21456	9224	115436

If we estimate the majority at 60 per cent, as Czoernig approximately defined it, and a strong majority at two thirds of the population, we get 96,544 Slovenes and 37,414 Germans. Czoernig arrived at the following figures: 95,544 Slovenes and 36,714 Germans. The difference of 1700 souls (1000 Slovenes and 700 Germans) is caused by the fact that in Czoernig's statistics the returns for 4 and a half of the cadastral communes are missing. The calculation carried out on the same principle shows that in the present Slovene-Austrian part of Carinthia Czoernig would count 82,515 Slovenes and 32,957 Germans. So much about the statistics itself. Now to the critique!

Czoernig's statistics on Carinthia are not nearly so good as they were once thought to be. As much as 40 years ago (Carinthia, I, 96, 1906) Martin Wutte said they were "unreliable in details". As correct he considered only the frontier of the homogeneous German territory in Carinthia. If this clever Nazi scientist begins now to assert the reverse, exclusively for political reasons and without any new scientific facts to support his change of opinion, that cannot invalidate his former statements. For Hain, whom he refers to as a new source, besides Czoernig, is in no way a "new source", but only a defective revision of Czoernig's work. Trying to justify his change of opinion Wutte was compelled to assert that the Austrian censuses of 1880 and 1890 artificially augmented the number of the Slovenes in Carinthia. These censuses had been carried out under strong German pressure and therefore Wutte's statement is just the opposite of the truth as we shall see when dealing with them later.

The result of the ethnographic statistics of 1846 does not correspond either with the description of the ethnic frontier in the 19th century, or with the results of the official Austrian statistics carried out half a century later, although the forcible Germanization, having lasted for decades, in many places changed the conditions between these two periods to the detriment of the Slovenes. The officials who answered the inquiry in the isolated districts which were fairly large in Upper Carinthia, were Germans who spoke German with anyone that knew it. German was at

* Except Trbiž (Tarvis) and the Mežica (Miess) Valley.

this time the only official language in Carinthia. The fact that the Carinthian Slovenes had begun to speak both languages already in the 16th century furnished the basis for the reports that the Germans were in a partial or even complete majority in these districts. The results were the reports on extensive mixed areas in these statistics.

All ethnic frontiers in the 19th century as well as the official ecclesiastical schematism for the year 1848 show the Zilja (Gail) Valley from Šmohor (Hermagor) to Beljak (Villach) and Zgornji Rož (Ober Rosental) between the Karavanke and the Osojske Ture (Ossiacher Tauern) as entirely Slovene regions, even without any linguistic islands.

The same picture is revealed also by a much later statistics:

Commune	1880					1890	1900
	Total	Germans	%	Slovenes	%	% Slovenes	
Smerče (Emersdorf) . . .	2284	91	4.1	2170	95.9	94	72
Straža ves (Hohenturn) .	2216	25	1.1	2169	98.9	95	91
Podklošter (Arnoldstein)	3637	2064	60.4	1360	39.6	61	54
Bekštanj (Finkenstein) .	3520	131	3.8	3364	96.2	94	92
Marija na Zilji (Maria a. d. Gail)	1331	54	4.1	1253	95.9	96	91
Vernberk (Wernberg) .	2276	590	26.8	1614	73.2	63	60
Rožek (Rosegg)	4630	150	3.3	4456	96.7	divided	
Vrba (Velden)	3632	137	3.7	3531	96.3	divided	

This table and the descriptions of the ethnic frontier show clearly enough how unreliable the designations of 1846 are. Nearly in all above mentioned communes, which the census of 1846 marks as German-Slovene or German, we find in 1880, even according to the official German statistics less than 5 per cent Germans. The higher percentage of the commune of Vernberk (Wernberg) is due to the railway line which after 1870 strengthened Germanization, and to the influence of Beljak (Villach) which had quickly developed into a railway and industrial centre. At Podklošter (Arnoldstein), however, we have to do not only with a real Germanization supported by the influence of the schools, of economic pressure (factories) and a colony of railway men, but with a significant example of a Germanization on paper. For, at this time, the Slovenes in Carinthia could not regain their lost positions. Therefore, if a later census shows a higher percentage of Slovenes, this can only mean a mistake or deliberate injustice committed by the commissioners at the previous census. And such is the case at Podklošter (Arnoldstein).

Year	Total	Germans	%	Slovenes	%
1880	3637	2064	60.4	1360	39.6
1890	3669	1434	39	2171	61
1900	3569	1315	46	1874	54
1910	4055	2333	60.1	1552	39.9

Not even in 1910, in spite of strong immigration and influence of industries and a railway line, as well as the German schools, did the town of Podklošter (Arnoldstein) reach the percentage of Germans which it is alleged to have had in the year 1880. Without further thought we can assert that the conditions at Podklošter (Arnoldstein) in 1880 were similar to those at Vernberk (Wernberg); and that, according to information about the language used in church and the descriptions of the linguistic border it was entirely Slovene in 1846. This is especially proved by the fact that both places, Podklošter (Arnoldstein) and Ziljica (Gallitz), later on the strongest German positions in this community, are entered as Slovene, as the only ones in the whole district, since apparently there the census officials were well acquainted with the conditions.

All this confirms the marginal notes of Andrej Einspieler written into Kozler's copy of this statistics. Einspieler knew the whole territory in question from personal experience, having served for a long time as vicar both in the Zilja (Gail) and the Kanal Valleys. He designated all the above mentioned communes as wholly Slovene. At Podklošter (Arnoldstein) itself which is denoted as Slovene there is only one German teacher and some German officials, at Pesek (Sand) in the commune of Vernberk (Wernberg) there is an immigrated German family. Besides the owner of the castle Vernberk (Wernberg) was also a German. The cadastral commune of Vetrup (Federaun) was also Slovene and Judendorf and Bela (Obervellach) near Beljak (Villach) almost entirely so. The notes of Einspieler concerning Vetrup (Federaun) are confirmed by all reports on the ethnographic frontier, those concerning Judendorf by Petz and Kindermann, those concerning Bela (Obervellach) by the archives (M. Wutte, Carinthia, 96, 1906). That Perava (Perau) near Beljak (Villach) at that time was at least partly Slovene is proved not only by Kindermann and Petz but also by the language used in church in 1848. Regarding the Kanal Valley Einspieler remarks that Lužnica (Lusnitz) near Malborghet (138 inhabitants) is almost entirely Slovene, and that there are many Slovenes in the mines of Rabelj (Raibl) and Trbiž (Tarvis) (in 1890: 287 Slovenes in the commune in 1846: 2313 inhabitants). Taking into consideration the above mentioned remarks we may correct Czoernig's statistics for the area up to the ethnic frontier in Upper Carinthia as follows:

Court District	Slovenes	Germans	Total
Šmohor (Hermagor) . . .	4925	—	4925
Trbiž (Tarvis)	2958	3181	6139
Podklošter (Arnoldstein)	7250	76	7326
Beljak (Villach)	7461	215	7676
Rožek (Rosegg)	8096	—	8096
Upper Carinthia	30690	3472	34162

Let us now consider the ethnic conditions in the Celovec (Klagenfurt) area. Without doubt the linguistic composition of all places in the

Leonstein district is incorrectly designated. The parishes of Št. Martin na Dholici (St. Martin am Techelsberg), Poreče (Poertschach), Škofiče (Schiefling), Otok (Maria Woerth) are entered as Slovene in the schematism of 1848 (and also later, up to 1890). The same is confirmed by all descriptions of the ethnographic frontier and by the later statistics.

Communes	Total	1880				1890	1900
		Germ.	%	Slov.	%	% Slovenes	
Sv. Martin v Dholici (St. Martin am Techelsberg) . . .	1408	122	8.7	1282	91.3	86	73
Poreče (Pörschach)	730	127	17.5	601	82.5	50.2	9
Škofiče (Schiefling)	1296	14	1.1	1277	98.9	97	94

At Poreče (Poertschach) the influence of the railway line and the tourist traffic already made itself felt. It caused a great change in the ethnic conditions on the northern shore of the Vrbsko jezero (Woerthersee). In the year 1846, when there was neither railway line nor tourist traffic the whole manor of Leonstein was Slovene.

We cannot subject the situation in the triangle Možberg (Moosburg)—Celovec (Klagenfurt)—Otmanje (Ottmanach) to a critical study as the data at our disposal were compiled at a later period. After 1850 the Germanization made such quick progress in this triangle that the ethnic structure changed each decade and we get the first reliable linguistic statistics only 34 years after Czoernig's statistics. In addition, the German tendency, shown in the censuses, to connect Celovec (Klagenfurt) at least on paper with the compact German territory, was the strongest in this area. The practical population policy, of course, was in complete accordance with this tendency. The clearest proof of this tendency is Otmanje (Ottmanach). This commune, which according to the official data of the year 1846 had still a four fifths' Slovene majority, shows later on, at the official census of 1880, an entirely different picture; the figures show 826 Germans and only 142 Slovenes. According to a private Slovene census of 1910 364 Slovenes still lived in the commune beside 429 Germans. This example shows the swift changes and also the unreliability of the existing statistic data for this territory. We can correct the inquiry carried out in 1846 only by using all the other descriptions from the first part of the 19th century.

On the western side of the river Glina (Glan) Czoernig's linguistic statistics of the year 1846 renders a rather uniform picture. This was a territory mostly inhabited by Slovenes. The entry of the manor of Halak (Halleg) as a mixed one with a German majority is certainly a mistake on the part of the officials. According to Jarnik's information the parish Čajnce (Tultschnig) to which this manor belonged was completely Slovene (Jarnik was for three years chaplain at Čajnce). Einspieler also says that there were only a few Germans (in the castles Halak-Halleg and Žalem-Seltenheim) in this parish. After the year 1848 the commune of Dhovše (Lendorf)

was among the first which supplied itself with a Slovene stamp. Above all the Slovene character of the parish is proved by the entry of that part of the village Čajnče (Tultschnig) which is divided between Halak (Halleg) and Žalem (Seltenheim), which belonged to the district of Žalem (Seltenheim) as a mixed one with a Slovene majority. The four villages of Halak (Halleg) certainly did not differ from other environs all of which had a Slovene majority.

There still remains the question of the percentage of Slovenes and Germans in this territory. Here we must not forget that all the descriptions of the linguistic frontier, which after all have a certain value, except one equally assign the territory south of the line Golinje (Gallinberg)—Možberg (Moosburg)—Dole (Ponfeld)—Krnski grad (Karnburg)—Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal) to the Slovenes (Werzer, Jarnik, Wagner, Kozler, etc.). But Czoernig's statistics shows that even the territory north of this line was not yet quite German. Not only that north of it there were still places with a Slovene majority, but he even enumerates entirely Slovene places in this district. The border line thus divides the territory on which the Slovenes were in a really strong majority from a narrow strip where they had only a small majority or even were in a minority. This is also confirmed by the ecclesiastical conditions. The parishes of Breza (Birk) and of Čajnče (Tultschnig) were entered in 1848 and even later (till 1910, respectively 1870) in official schematisms as Slovene. According to Einspieler's report there were only three German families in the parish of Breza (in the village of Kriva vrba [Krumpendof]). The mixed parish of Možberg (Moosburg), however, was divided by the frontier into a southern Slovene and a northern German part. At Možberg (Moosburg) itself the Germans had the majority but otherwise the territory south of the ethnographic frontier was wholly Slovene except in four mixed places. Einspieler's information that also the whole parish of Št. Martin near Dole (Ponfeld) and the whole parish of Krnski grad (Karnburg), except its south-eastern Slovene part, are mixed, is completely in accordance with both linguistic descriptions of 1843 (Petz) and of 1846. This information of Einspieler is confirmed also by the linguistic record of 1843 (Petz), according to which there were more Slovenes than Germans in the whole district. So the southern Slovene part must have been comparatively pure with regard to its ethnic structure.

The German island south of Trnja ves (Terndorf-Annabichl) is an invention on the part of the castle-official. This is proved by all linguistic frontiers, especially by that which (incorrectly) joins Celovec (Klagenfurt) to the German territory. For it runs along the easternmost edge of this "Island", so that it assigns this island to the Slovene territory, though it denotes territory which is Slovene according to the statistics of 1846 as German and it does not use these allegedly German places as connection with Celovec (Klagenfurt). The parish of Sv. Jurij (St. Georgen am Sandhof) by which this island is formed, is entered in official schematisms till 1890 as Slovene, in 1910 as Slovene-German. All its inhabitants were Slovenes but, of course, the knowledge of German was rather widespread

among them (Einspieler). As illustration to this German island let us only emphasize the fact that one among these in 1846 "German" places (Št. Jakob, part of the cadastral commune of Belcenek-Welzenegg) numbered 38 Slovenes and 16 Germans in 1890.

If we enter the data of Czoernig's statistics in the commune of Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal) east of the Šent Vid (St. Veit) road into a map, we give a distorted picture of the northernmost part of the Celovec (Klagenfurt) Basin to the disadvantage of the Germans. For all places north of the line Techmannsdorf—Posov (Possau)—Rotmanja ves (Rattmansdorf) are jointly entered as German-Slovene, not separately. The linguistic frontiers and the ecclesiastic schematism show that the Germans inhabited the northern localities and so it follows that the southern ones (line Rosendorf—Posov [Possau]—Trovavska ves (Treffelsdorf)) were still Slovene. This is shown also by the report of the manor of Ostrovica (Ostrowitz) on its part of the "German-Slovene" villages of Trovavska ves (Treffelsdorf) and Rotmanja ves (Rattmannsdorf), which states that in them the Slovenes had a three quarters' majority. Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal), which all linguistics frontiers leave on the Slovene side, was mixed (shopkeepers, innkeepers, officials being Germans). At Varpja ves (Arndorf), Račja ves (Ratzendorf), and Bučinja ves (Wutschein) there were altogether 14 German families (Einspieler), otherwise the whole commune up to the above mentioned line was Slovene.

According to Czoernig's statistics the commune of Št. Tomaž (St. Thomas) is entirely Slovene with the exception of the "German-Slovene" localities that belonged to the manor of Žrelec (Ebental). In 1846, Št. Tomaž (St. Thomas) had been perfectly Slovene. In 1880 it had, according to the official statistics, owing to the progressive Germanization, already 12 Germans besides its 55 Slovenes. At that time — in 1880 — the population of the above mentioned mixed villages was divided between the two nationalities as follows:

	Germans	Slovenes
Timenica (Timenitz)	18	74
Ličje (Leibnitz)	7	29
Bučinja ves (Wutschein)	14	90
Žilej (Sillebruecken)	8	24
Sv. Lovrenc (St. Lorenzen)	—	89
Rogarja ves (Reigersdorf)	7	76
Svičja ves (Zinsdorf)	9	40
Čilberk (Zeiselsberg)	19	32

The entries in the manor of Žrelec (Ebental) are obviously without value, the territory, however, was entirely Slovene in 1846. The same is revealed by later statistical data for the "German-Slovene" Na Bregu (Rain) in the commune of Pokrče (Poggersdorf) (1880: 39, 1890: 44 Slovenes, no Germans) and for the commune of Tinje (Tainach) (1880: 23 Germans, 533 Slovenes; 1890: 26, 610; 1900: 29, 579); the village of Lipje (Lind) in the commune of Grabštanj (Grafenstein) (1890: 75 Slovenes and no Germans). In the commune of Trdnja ves (Hoertendorf) the Slovene population in the

localities which had been purely Slovene in 1846, was no bigger in 1890 than it had been in 1846 in the mixed villages. (The statistics of 1880 in this commune are an obvious forgery, a characteristic feature for the official statistics: in 1880 607 Germans, 73 Slovenes; in 1890 302 Germans, 449 Slovenes!). So the starting point before the Germanization was here also the same — it is shown by the official ecclesiastical designation of the parish of Št. Jakob as Slovene till 1910.

We have seen already how unreliable the entries of the manor of Žrelec (Ebental) were. This can also be seen in the commune of Žrelec (Ebental) itself. In 1880 there was in the linguistically mixed Gradnica (Gradnitz) 1 German and 177 Slovenes, at Predlje (Priedl) 52 Slovenes and 4 Germans, at Hovja ves (Pfaffendorf) 52 Slovenes and 2 Germans, at Breg (Rain) in 1890 only 29 Slovenes. Also at Žrelec (Ebental) itself not even a fourth part of the population was German in 1880 (59 Germans, 181 Slovenes). So this commune, too, was completely Slovene in 1846.

The communes of Celovec (Klagenfurt), Št. Martin, Št. Rupert, and Sv. Peter are denoted as Slovene-German-Carniolan (Windisch-deutsch-krainerisch) according to the statistics of 1846. Though we must consider the estimates by Ficker (1869), a German author, based on this entry and his affirmation that two thirds of the inhabitants of Celovec (Klagenfurt) were Slovene, as exaggerated, the statistics certainly reveals two things: that in 1846 the Slovenes in Celovec (Klagenfurt) had a clear majority; and the term "krainerisch" that among them were also a number of people with a conscious tendency towards Ljubljana. Otherwise such an entry could not have been made in a German office; (it is known that even Ljubljana was denoted as Slovene-German).

On the eastern part of the country, let us first consider the commune of Št. Janž (St. Johann). The villages of Št. Lipš (St. Philippen), Hrovače (Krobathen), and Dušinje (Ochsendorf) are said to have been merely mixed with a Slovene majority in 1846. In truth, however, Št. Lipš (St. Philippen) even in 1880 was hardly one fifth German (35 Germans, 174 Slovenes), at Dušinje (Ochsendorf) one seventh (11 Germans, 66 Slovenes), at Hrovače (Krobathen) there was, in 1890, no German at all but 62 Slovenes. The official entry of the parish of Št. Lipš (St. Philippen) as Slovene till 1922 proves as well that these localities were completely Slovene in 1846.

The entry of the manor of Vovbre (Haimburg) as a mixed one with a German majority also originated in the brains of a German castle official as this territory was entirely Slovene in 1846. This is proved both by the entry of the parishes involved, Djekše (Diex), Kneža (Grafenbach), Sv. Štefan (St. Stephan), Vovbre (Haimburg), Klošter (Oberndorf) in the register as Slovene to the very year 1922 and by the official statistics of 1880:

	Germans	Slovenes
Commune Djekše (Diex) without Krčanje (Obergreutschach) designated as Slovene	42	1456
Commune Vovbre (Haimburg) without later commune of St. Peter, designated as Slovene	50	1634

There are only some separate linguistic islands still to be taken into consideration. First we shall give the data for the communes where we have at our disposal both the official statistics and the private Slovene one of 1910:

Communes	1880		1890		1910	
	Germ.	Slov.	Germ.	Slov.	Germ.	Slov.
Pliberk (Bleiburg)	934	171	1119	108	243	788
Železna Kapla (Eisenkappel) .	623	515	460	618	79	1053
Guštanj (Gutenstein)	604	311	512	498	69	1175
Dravograd (Drauburg)	503	192	479	204	114	635

A significant example for these towns and boroughs is Velikovec (Voelkermarkt), which according to German official statistics has a strong German majority (1880: 1516 Germans, 188 Slovenes; 1890: 1604 Germans, 232 Slovenes). But the ecclesiastical official designation for the town parish is "Slovene-German" till 1890. This riddle is solved by Einspieler's information, according to which at Velikovec one third of the population spoke only Slovene, one third only German, and one third both languages. The last mentioned must have been nearly all Slovenes, because Germans learning Slovene are very seldom to be found in Carinthia. That this supposition is justified is shown by the Slovene national cadaster of 1910, drawn up on the basis of the native tongue (not the language of intercourse); according to this out of 2028 inhabitants at Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) only 700 were Germans. The difference between the German official data on the basis of the language of intercourse and the Slovene data on the basis of the native language originates above all in the fact that the pressure of Germanization beginning in 1848 was the strongest in the town settlements where it also had the most favourable conditions as the Slovenes in Carinthia only had a Peasant Party. Thus by 1880 undoubtedly a considerable change in favour of the Germans had taken place in the towns even with people of Slovene origin.

In 1846, the situation in the towns of Pliberk (Bleiburg) and Dravograd (Unt. Drauburg) and in the boroughs of Železna Kapla (Eisenkappel) and Guštanj (Gutenstein) was even better than at Velikovec (Völkermarkt). There are no traces of any linguistic islands in ecclesiastical entries. Pirkmayer states explicitly that all parishes concerned are purely Slovene except for some 110 Germans (one fourth of the population) at Spodnji Dravograd (Unt. Drauburg). At Železna Kapla (Eisenkappel) the Slovenes had a strong majority even according to the official statistics of 1890. But, of course, the knowledge of German in all these places was rather general. We find the very same situation also at Grebinj (Griffen) (in 1900 according to the official statistics there were 259 Slovenes and 188 Germans in that place) and at Dobrla ves (Eberndorf) (1880: 156 Germans, 326 Slovenes). As to Mlinski graben (Mühlgraben) the ecclesiastical entries and the descriptions of the environs of Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) reveal that it was in reality

quite Slovene (even in 1890 it had a Slovene majority: 88 Germans, 95 Slovenes).

With regard to all other "islands", the later official statistics render such a clear picture that there is no need to waste any words about them.

	1880		1890		1900	
	Germ.	Slov.	Germ.	Slov.	Germ.	Slov.
At Pliberk (Bleiburg):						
Šmihel (St. Michael)	2	111	26	135	20	153
Borovje (Woroujach)	—	146	—	131	—	94
Lonča ves (Einersdorf)	—	162	6	143	35	105
Commune Libeliče (Leifling):						
Libeliče (Leifling)	—	322	43	298	21	291
Kogelska gora (Kogelingberg)	—	96	3	75	—	71
Močula (Motschulaberg)	—	170	10	136	—	149
Suha (Neuhaus)	—	74	—	60	9	51
Vesnice (Wesnitzen)	—	60	—	71	—	60
At Guštanj (Gutenstein):						
Javornik	6	94	26	141	86	88
At Dravograd (Drauburg):						
Dobrova	—	112	—	114	1	122
Pod Klancem	—	70	2	74	28	51
Dravski brod	10	51	12	63	44	20

It is obvious that all these localities were completely Slovene in 1846 as well as in 1880. At first sight the situation was less favourable only in three localities (now on Yugoslav territory):

Locality	1846		1880		1890		1900	
	Number	Design.	Germ.	Slov.	Germ.	Slov.	Germ.	Slov.
Leše	444	Slov.-Germ.	120	855	132	524	58	569
Farska ves	251	Slov.-Germ.	541	938	1056	633	496	770
Črna	549	Slov.-Germ.	53	441	80	364	117	373

But it only seems so. For at Leše and Farška vas the figures of Czoernig's statistics refer only to the Slovene peasant population. The industrial prosperity which brought in German workers to both places (the statistical data are greatly exaggerated) started only in the following decades. At Črna, however, in 1880 hardly more than one tenth of the population was German. It follows that these localities, too, were wholly Slovene in 1846.

But also Sv. Lovrenc (Lorenzenberg) in the commune of Dravograd was not quite German. In 1880 its population was according to the official census more than one third Slovene (184 Germans, 114 Slovenes), in 1890 even more than one half at an equal number of inhabitants, i. e., without any immigration (142 Germans, 156 Slovenes). As to the ecclesiastical designation the parish was entirely Slovene till 1870.

On this basis we are able to correct Czoernig's statistics for the territory up to the ethnographic frontier in Lower Carinthia. Thus we get the following statistics:

Court district	Slovenes	Germans	Total
Borovlje (Ferlach)	9144	—	9144
Celovec Town (Klagenfurt Stadt)	6500	5554	12054
Celovec Environs (Klagenfurt Umgebung)	24786	4552	29348
Železna Kapla (Eisenkappel) . .	4495	338	4833
Dobrla ves (Eberndorf)	8909	137	9046
Pliberk (Bleiburg)	16175	439	16614
Velikovec (Völkermarkt)	14112	638	14810
com. Št. Janž na Mostiču, south part (St. Johann a. Brückl) . .	1324	337	1661
Dravograd (Drauburg)	2140	260	2400
Lower Carinthia	87645	12315	99960

Thus in 1846 Slovene Carinthia including the towns numbered altogether 134.122 inhabitants; among them were 118.335 Slovenes and 15.787 Germans. The Slovene territory which now belongs to Austria had altogether 115.436 inhabitants, 103.200 Slovenes and 12.236 Germans.

As beside the above mentioned Slovenes in the southern part of Carinthia about another 4000 Slovenes lived as workmen, farm hands, and shepherds in the German part of the country (according to the generally confirmed report by Jarnik), the Slovenes formed in 1846, 38,2 per cent of the whole Carinthian population (318.577: 122.000) and 35,6 per cent of the population on the territory of the present Austrian Carinthia (300.233 : 107.000).

Thus Einspieler's estimates (Slovenija, 1848, p. 200), based on the parishes, that Slovene Carinthia comprises 119.915 Slovenes, was very near the truth. Even nearer to it are the estimates of an unknown author (Historisch-ethnographisch-statistische Notizen über Nationalitäten Österreichs [Historic-ethnographic-statistical Notes on Austria's Nationalities], 1849, pp. 33—36) founded on the same basis and stating that the Slovene part of Carinthia comprises 131.662 inhabitants, among whom there are 118.000 Slovenes.

Having concluded the critique of Czoernig's statistics, we get quite a different picture of the ethnic structure in Carinthia about the middle of the 19th century which, however, is in complete accordance with the data of the ecclesiastical schematism of 1846 (see the maps V and VIII): The ethnographic frontier left the provincial border at Pontabelj (Pontafel), passed the Carnic Alps (Karnische Alpen), and separated the Slovene hills from the narrow German Upper Zillja (Gail) Valley by the centuries' old administrative and ecclesiastical boundary running along the rivulet Krnica (Karnitzen), Gosrinja (Goessering) and Suha (Zauchen) close to the German localities Modrinja ves (Moederndorf), Šmohor (Hermagor), and

Gornja and Spodnja Bela (Ober- und Untervellach). Across the Preseško jezero (Pressegger See) and the bogs around it, the frontier rose above the Slovene villages of Borovnica (Braunitzen), Pazerje (Passriach), Preseka (Presseggen) to the ridge of the Ziljske Alpe (Gailtaler Alpen). From there it passed over the rivulet Čajna (Noetsch) to the Dobrač (Villacher Alpe), and from there above the prevaillingly Slovene Judendorf and the Beljak (Villach) suburb Perava (Perau) to the river Drava (Drau).

From Perava (Perau) as far as Št. Urh (St. Ulrich) the frontier ran along the Drava (Drau), but there it separated from the river and passed over to the Osojske Ture (Ossiacher Tauern) so that Suha (Zauchen) remained on the Slovene, but Šmihel (St. Michael) on the German side. It kept to the ridge of the Osojske Ture as far as Golinje (Gallinberg), point 1045, but from there it passed through the open valley as far as St. Ulrichsberg (point 1015) across the ethnically mixed Možberg (Moosburg), Dole (Ponfeld), Zabukovje (Grossbuch), and Št. Peter. It crossed the Gosposvetsko polje (Zollfeld) on a line marked by the villages of Zagrad (Sagrad) (German) — Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal) (mixed) — Majzlica (Meiselberg) — Rotišče (Rotheis) — Šentlenska gora (Magdalensberg, point 1058). Then it crossed the Krka (Gurk) Valley north of Schmieddorf where it went from Šentlenska gora (Magdalensberg) to Svinška planina (Saualpe), point 1515. It comprised some more villages above Djekše (Diex), otherwise it is marked by the places Kneža (Grafenbach) and Krčanje (Obergreutschach). Beyond the watershed between the Golovica (Woelfnitzbach) and the Gradnica (Granitzbach) it ran through the area east of Grebinj (Griffen) and north of Led (Eis). From the Drava bent at Žvabek (Schwabegg) as far as Labot (Lavamuend), the Drava (Drau) separated the compact Slovene area from the narrow ethnically mixed strip north of the river. Beyond the Multer brook (Multererbach) the border left the river again, comprised the Slovene Št. Lovrenc (Lorenzberg) and over the Košenjak (Huehnerkogel) (point 1521) reached the frontier of the province.

If we deduct a narrow German border in the communes of Možberg (Moosburg) and Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal) cut off by this ethnographic frontier, we find that there lived within the provincial frontiers of the Slovene Carinthia of those days 118.335 Slovenes (89,3 per cent) and 13.993 Germans (10,59 per cent; the whole population: 132.328), within the frontiers of present-day Austria, however, 103.200 Slovenes (90,81 per cent) and 10.442 Germans (9,19 per cent), so that the area south of this line really was entirely Slovene. There can be no doubt about it.

At the time when the Germans in Austria still held all power and consequently had no reason to be afraid of losing Slovene Carinthia Martin Wutte himself came to this conviction (Carinthia, I, 96, 1906). "Thus Celovec (Klagenfurt) was up to the middle of the 19th century a German linguistic island. Only in the second half of the 19th century the linguistic frontier has been pushed on towards the south. This statement has all the more value as all our witnesses are independent of each other". But when the danger arose that Slovene Carinthia might join Yugoslavia, Martin Wutte suddenly began to assert the reverse in his book

"Kaerntens Freiheitskampf" (Carinthia's Struggle for Liberty), for which he was the first to get from the hands of the war criminal Gauleiter Dr Rainer the newly founded prize for national-socialist scientific work which prize was called the Martin Wutte Prize. The sources that had in 1906 been "independent of each other" suddenly turned "clearly connected with one another" and "unreliable". From the facts that Hain's description of the ethnographic situation is in complete accordance with Czoernig's and that the names of houses and families between the Št. Vid (St. Veit) road and Kriva vrba (Krumpendorf) are germanized, he argues that Celovec (Klagenfurt) was connected with the German territory already in the 18th century. But Hain used the same statistical material as Czoernig and cannot be considered as a separate historical source at all; and the names of houses and families were through centuries recorded in the castle books by German castle officials. Original data of statistics, however, prove that this territory was really Slovene still in the middle of the 19th century and that all Wutte's distortions are without foundation, this being a classic example of the ways of contemporary German historiography.

But the statistics also reveal that south of the outlined ethnographic frontier there was no real German island except in the Kanal Valley. In all localities which were inhabited by the Germans, the Slovenes were in the majority, even at Celovec (Klagenfurt), the capital of the country.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POPULATION AND THE ETHNIC CHANGES IN CARINTHIA FROM 1846 TO 1910

(Maps IX—XVI)

All Southern Carinthia was entirely Slovene till the middle of the 19th century. Even the partly German towns could not change this fact. Till that time the frontier between the German and the Slovene territory that had been formed at the end of the Middle Ages remained unchanged. But then a new Germanizing wave broke over the Carinthian Slovenes. This time it was so strong that it not only absorbed all natural increase of the Slovene population but even extended over it and resulted in an absolute decrease of the number of the Carinthian Slovenes. This is shown most clearly by the official statistics (for the same territory as the former tables): (Vide page 40)

The development in the whole country is shown by the following table:

Within the frontiers up to 1918	1880		1890		1900		1910	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Slovenes	102252	29.7	101030	28.4	90495	25.1	82212	21.2
Germans	241585	70.2	254832	71.5	26960	74.8	304287	78.6
Other nationalities	227	0.1	274	0.1	345	0.1	573	0.2
Austrian citizens present	344064	100.0	355936	100.0	360800	100.0	387072	100.0
Within the frontiers 1920—1938								
Slovenes	85051	28.6	84667	25.5	75136	22.3	66463	18.3
Germans	234825	73.4	247174	74.4	261561	77.6	295462	81.6
Other nationalities	211	0.0	222	0.1	295	0.1	334	0.1
Austrian citizens present	320087	100.0	332063	100.0	336992	100.0	362259	100.0

Still, according to official data the number of the Carinthian Slovenes (between the Austrian State frontier of 1920 and the Slovene ethnic border of 1846) decreased amazingly quickly during this time. Even the decrease between 1846 and 1880 (absolutely by 18,000 persons, the Slovene part of the population in the province by 9 per cent.) seems unnatural. Without doubt, the German part of the population increased during this time, but

District resp. commune	1880			1890			1900			1910		
	Popul. present	Language of intercourse of the native population		Popul. present	Language of intercourse of the native population		Popul. present	Language of intercourse of the native population		Popul. present	Language of intercourse of the native population	
		German	Slovene		German	Slovene		German	Slovene		German	Slovene
Šmohor (Hermagor) . .	4879	141	4725	4326	148	4654	4657	160	4456	4330	379	3942
Trbiž (Tarvis)	6867	4226	2429	6844	4217	2391	7297	4944	2105	7667	5622	1541
Podklošter (Arnold- stein)	8137	2180	5699	8305	1677	6514	7785	2404	5234	7859	3530	4113
Beljak (Villach)	8193	1784	6242	8641	2103	6394	8803	2523	6115	9170	4542	4419
Rožek (Rosegg)	8322	287	7987	8731	1109	7554	8532	1060	7414	9471	2185	7169
Borovlje (Ferlach) . . .	10030	635	9151	10734	1400	9339	10867	2305	7990	11385	4928	6347
Celovec-Town (Klagen- furt-Stadt)	13147	17113	629	13756	16134	723	24234	21503	1671	23911	25532	1761
Celovec-environs (Kla- genfurt-Umgebung) . .	31346	13800	17403	33475	16145	17044	35051	21571	12386	39639	28260	10623
Železna kapla (Eisen- kappel)	5215	813	4334	4686	502	4172	4767	750	4008	4633	937	3688
Dobria ves (Eberndorf)	9788	302	9459	10006	427	9525	9662	695	8935	9660	1075	8555
Pliberk (Bleiburg) . . .	21193	2703	18232	21316	3861	17206	20084	3134	16663	20900	3573	17145
Velikovec (Völkermarkt)	16016	2630	13133	16232	3458	12731	15527	4188	11247	15060	4378	10127
Št. Janž (St. Johann) . .	1597	876	720	1413	940	553	1425	1335	54	1482	1223	218
Dravograd (Drauburg)	2621	923	1671	2532	784	1784	2583	1236	1266	2663	858	1762
Slovene Carinthia . . .	152951	48629	101874	157637	54904	100634	161309	68418	90079	172927	87571	81410
Within the frontiers 1920—1938	128974	41869	84673	133824	47446	84231	137401	60019	74720	148114	78752	56661

the population of that region of the country, which was Slovene in 1846, increased by about 14.000 inhabitants, the population of the territory, which was purely Slovene in 1846, increased by about 6.300, the territory in Carinthia which was almost completely Slovene even according to the official statistics of 1880, increased by over 5.600. Thus the large decrease, in spite of progressive Germanization, remains completely inexplicable. The decrease in the decade 1880—1890 was proportionally small in absolute figures (about 1200 Slovenes), a little higher, however, in relative ones (1,3 per cent, about 4600 souls). But the decrease during the two following decades (absolute 10.500 souls and 8000 souls respectively, relative 3,3 and 3,9 per cent respectively i. e. about 12.000 and about 13.000 souls respectively) is so great that it not only cannot be natural but even cannot be true. For you cannot change your nationality and your mother tongue over night and there is no other explanation for such a development not even in an extensive emigration and even less in a great mortality (10 per cent of the minority).

Before 1914 the Austrian statistics used "the language of intercourse" for determining the nationality which was not considered an objective designation of nationality but was according to the official explanation the language which an individual most frequently used in public life. Along the ethnographic frontier and in places with an somewhat numerous German population, it was, therefore, easy for a strong German propaganda, supported by economic pressure, to make Slovenes declare that their "language of intercourse" was German. The statistical commission even officially established that these declarations could not serve as a quite trustworthy basis for a determination of nationality and Martin Wutte equally stated that by making use of this category more Germans were entered in Carinthia than there were in reality (Carinthia, I, 96, 1906).

The unreliability of the official data is proved by the statistics themselves. The number of Slovenes in one place varies according to the pressure of German propaganda and the correctness of the census commissioner.

Commune or locality	1880		1890		1900		1910	
	Germ.	Slov.	Germ.	Slov.	Germ.	Slov.	Germ.	Slov.
Št. Janž pri Mostiču (St. Johann a. Brückl)	1790	792	1496	557	1919	54	1900	223
Trdnja ves (Hörtendorf):	607	13	302	449	682	98	465	251
Trdnja ves (Hörtendorf)	127	7	57	84	124	38	56	81
Št. Jakob (St. Jakob)	22	4	7	26	33	4	33	14
Pokrče (Poggersdorf)	54	10	2	67	65	4	38	33
Št. Martin at Celovec (St. M. bei Klagenfurt)		145		74		0		217
Vetrinj (Viktring)	546	742	707	628	1254	32	1317	237
Medborovnice (Unterferlach)	4	1174	288	824	741	352	375	721
Podklošter (Arnoldstein)	2064	1360	1434	2171	1615	1874	2338	1552

We have given only some rather drastic examples out of a number of cases. We could easily enumerate many others. The total of such cases,

of course, amounts to thousands and thousands. Under the influence of such a census the number of Germans in single localities increased by leaps and bounds, which alone proves the unreliability of such censuses, since there was no change in the population which might account for such a rapid increase.

Commune	1880		1890		1900		1910	
	Germ.	Slov.	Germ.	Slov.	Germ.	Slov.	Germ.	Slov.
Medborovnice (Unterferlach)	4	1174	288	842	741	352	375	721
Marija na Zilji (Maria Gail)			59	1316	140	1346	908	677
Bekštanj (Finkenstein)	131	3364	217	3410	295	3310	1774	2055
Bistrica v Rožu (Feistritz i. Rosental)			61	1682	162	1573	715	893
Grabštanj (Grafenstein)					343	1660	922	918
Pokrče (Poggersdorf)					193	1289	600	859
Važenberk (Waisenberg)			351	2602	948	1905		

These are only some examples of the process that we perceive in the statistical material regarding Slovene Carinthia. Isolated concrete data also prove the official statistics to be a great falsification. Thus at Vetrinjš (Viktring), which had according to the statistics of 1907: 1254 Germans and 32 Slovenes, the Slovene party got 44 votes, i. e. 12 more than there were Slovenes in the place, whilst the German party got 70 votes. A fortnight before the census of 1910 took place, the German and decidedly nationalistic Provincial Board of Education drew up a table of German and Slovene children for some schools where religious instruction in German was to be introduced. These official data are in the most striking opposition to the results of the census.

School communes	1910			
	School		Census	
	Germans %	Slovenes %	Germans %	Slovenes %
Borovlje (Ferlach)	31.0	69.0	91.4	8.6
Bajtiše (Waidisch)	5.6	94.4	78.1	21.9
Podljubelj (Unterloibl)	15.0	85.0	50.0	50.0
Žrelec (Ebental)	24.4	75.6	65.0	35.0
Grabštanj (Grafenstein)	10.6	89.4	50.1	49.9
Pokrče (Poggersdorf)	1.3	98.7	41.1	58.9
Tinje (Tainach)	1.0	99.0	20.0	80.0

All this clearly proves the unreliability of the official data. And indeed, if we take into account another statistical source, the official schematisms of the Krka (Gurk) Diocese, we obtain essentially different data about the number of Carinthian Slovenes. Various facts prove that the designations regarding the nationality of the parishes are founded on facts and not on the wilfulness of Slovene clergymen, as is frequently being asserted by German authors: in the Zilja (Gail) Valley (the parishes of Št. Jurij [St.

Georgen] and of Podklošter [Arnoldstein]) these designations even distort the facts to the advantage of the Germans (maps VII—IX). The parish of Krnski grad (Karnburg) was entered as a German one when one third of the population was still Slovene. The official schematisms render the following picture:

	Number of population:				
	Slov. parishes	Slov.-Germ. parishes	Germ.-Slov. parishes	German islands	Total
1880	118178	4680	14096	17625	154579
1890	117228	4285	17735	18946	158194
1900	112628	13729	18699	20547	165803
1910	109302	10361	26993	23124	169780

If we reckon on the basis of the following estimate; in the Slovene parishes for 1880 and 1890 a 5 per cent, for 1900 and 1910 a 10 per cent German population, being a rather high valuation; in the Slovene-German parishes two thirds, in the German-Slovene ones one third and in the German islands 10 per cent of the population as Slovene, we get the following result:

The Slovenes in Carinthia		
	Within the old borders	Within the borders 1920—1938
1880	121663	102711
1890	120278	101782
1900	119287	100639
1910	118589	99006

Even this calculation shows a decrease of the Slovenes in Carinthia on account of the violent German pressure, but within reasonable bounds. The first Slovene private census that took place in 1900 ("Mir" [Peace], 1908, p. 2), corresponds almost completely to this calculation (119.800 Slovenes in Carinthia). But according to the private census of 1910 (or better the national cadaster [register], on the basis of the mother tongue) there were even 134.920 Slovenes in Carinthia (115.807 on the territory of German Austria). The difference originates in the fact that the cadaster took into account all Slovenes by birth although they did not speak Slovene even at home. But at any rate the ecclesiastical schematisms give the real number of the Carinthian Slovenes, calculated on the objective basis of the mother tongue, and thus they also give a true ethnic structure of Southern Carinthia. To facilitate the survey, we give statistical data for the Slovene ethnographic territory in Carinthia within the borders of 1920—1938, corrected in accordance with the above mentioned data:

In the year	Population present	Native population according to the mother tongue	
		Germans	Slovenes
1880	129774	23787	102711
1890	133824	29295	101782
1900	137501	34050	100689
1910	148114	45405	99006

All these figures of the ecclesiastical statistics refer only to Slovene Carinthia within the national border of 1846, i. e. excepting Beljak (Villach). Besides, Slovenes resided also in the German part of the country. Even the official statistics which entered smaller numbers than there really were there, gives a number of 798 of them there in 1910. In fact the number was considerably greater (according to the Slovene national cadaster of 1910, about 8,000). Here all persons born on nationally Slovene territory and having their domicile there, were entered as Slovenes in spite of their residing in the German part of the country. In any case there were in 1910 more than 100.000 Slovenes in Carinthia within the Austrian frontier of 1920.

In spite of the increase of the German population from 10 per cent in the year 1846 to nearly a third of the population in 1910 the Slovene character of Slovene Carinthia was preserved beyond any doubt also after that time. The details of the development of the ethnographic situation from 1880 till 1910 show that even more clearly than the figures themselves.

In 1880 (maps IX and X) the Slovene territory in Carinthia, even according to the official statistics, still represented an entirely compact territory. For the sole German island (the commune of Podklošter [Arnoldstein]) proved in later statistics to be the invention of the census commissioner (1890: 61 per cent Slovenes, 1900: 54 per cent Slovenes). We find similar distortions with regard to other localities as well and that also if we take only the official material as our basis (the commune of Trdnjaves [Hoertendorf] in 1880: 10,7 per cent, in 1890: 60 per cent, Kriva vrba [Krumpendorf] 33,1, and 44 per cent respectively, Železna Kapla [Eisenkappel] 47,9 and 57 per cent respectively, etc.). In the whole Zilja (Gail) Valley between Podklošter (Arnoldstein) and Šmohor (Hermagor), in the whole Rož (Rosental) and in nearly the whole Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) District more than 95 per cent, in many localities nearly 100 per cent of the population proved to have been Slovene. The official census reveals great mistakes above all in the environs of Celovec (Klagenfurt) which according to ecclesiastical data was by no means so much germanized, but in which, of course, the pressure at the census was the strongest.

The German progress in the triangle Možberg (Moosburg)—Celovec (Klagenfurt)—Glina (Glan) is, however, evident. From a territory with a strong Slovene majority this territory changed to a mixed one with a German majority. It is true that the process of Germanization was concluded in this sector only a few decades later; even nowadays you come across individuals there who speak Slovene, which is extraordinarily rare with

Carinthian Germans, but at the time about 1910 there were still many Slovenes there — the fundamental direction of the development, however, was decided already before 1880. Various circumstances helped the Germans to connect Celovec (Klagenfurt) with the compactly German territory. These localities were separated from the compactly Slovene territory by the Vrbsko jezero (Woerther See). The market in Celovec (Klagenfurt), which satisfied all the demands of the surrounding population, so that they had no occasion to go farther south, prolonged this barrier towards the east. Besides this was the only part of the ethnographic frontier which did not coincide with a natural border line (especially from Golinje [Gallenberg] as far as St. Ulrichsberg and on the Gosposvetsko polje [Zollfeld] and therefore, the Slovenes bordered here on the Germans on a rather long line in the lowlands. The Slovene territory was also cut by two roads which joined the adjacent German territory with Celovec (Klagenfurt) and thus furthered its bilingual character and the German colonization and Germanization (Feldkirchen—Možberg [Moosburg]—Celovec [Klagenfurt]; Št. Vid [St. Veit]—Celovec [Klagenfurt]). Later these two supports of Germanization were strengthened also by the railway lines (Št. Vid [St. Veit]—Celovec [Klagenfurt]; Celovec [Klagenfurt]—Beljak [Villach]).

The second German success at this time was the great strengthening of the German element at Celovec (Klagenfurt) itself and in its immediate environs. The German character that the town acquired is to a great extent the result of the Germanization of the Slovenes who immigrated into the town. At the beginning of the 20th century nearly a whole third of the residents of Celovec (Klagenfurt) still came from Slovene districts (6498, i. e. 31,78 per cent, in the town 5695, in German districts 8253; Mačkovšek in Niederle, "Slovanski svet" [The Slavonic World], 1911). Considering the predominance of the German civil servants in the town (1910: 49,19 per cent of the inhabitants were in public offices) it is no wonder that the germanizing policy of the Provincial Government met with success. But here, too, the Germanizing process was far from being concluded. At Celovec (Klagenfurt) too, up to the first World War, more than a third of the inhabitants knew Slovene. Naturally, it was just here that the entry of the "language of intercourse" instead of the "mother tongue" had extraordinary consequences; for it happened that the authorities called people to account for putting down Slovene as their language of intercourse alleging that this was not possible in a German town (according to the census of 1910). Except in the Celovec (Klagenfurt) sector, the Germans advanced only at the borders of the Slovene territory (Gospa Sveta [Maria Saal], Otmanje [Ottmanach], the Labot Valley [Lavanttal]).

The statistics of 1890 and 1900, corrected by means of the ecclesiastical data reveal essentially the same situation and development (maps XII—XIV). The success of the Germanization may be seen especially in the sector around Celovec (Klagenfurt) (in 1900 the formerly Slovene parishes of Št. Jurij [St. Georgen] and Vetrinj [Viktring] are denoted as Slovene-German); one can already perceive the influence of the tourist traffic at the Vrbsko jezero (Woerther See) (in 1900 Poreče [Poertschach] Slovene-German); the germanizing in-

fluence of Beljak (Villach) (in 1900 Skočidol [Gottesthal], Slovene-German), the German progress at Velikovec (Völkermarkt) (1900 — German-Slovene) and the further German progress along the ethnographic frontier (1890 Št. Lovrenc [St. Lorenzen] in the Labot Valley [Lavanttal] German-Slovene, 1900 Kostanje [Koestenberg] beneath the Osojsko jezero [Ossiacher See] Slovene-German). The Zilja (Gail) Valley, Rož (Rosental) and the Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) District constitute even according to the official data an uninterrupted Slovene territory with an extraordinarily high percentage of Slovene population (in the majority of communes very near to 100 per cent, in very few communes under 90 per cent). The decrease of the Slovene portion is indeed much exaggerated in the official data of 1900, but even according to them the Slovene territory still constituted an uninterrupted whole. Celovec (Klagenfurt) is separated from the pure German territory by a mixed one.

In 1910 (maps XIV—XVI), the results of the census (according to the language of intercourse) are in strong contrast with the official ecclesiastical data about the language spoken in the parishes and still more with the results of the Slovene national cadaster, which determined nationality on the basis of birth and origin. At this time the official data are already distorted to such an extent that the Slovene territory is cut by the mixed territory, the wedge of Podklošter (Arnoldstein) and Borovlje (Ferlach), into three parts: along the Zilja (Gail), the Upper Rož (Ober Rosental), and the Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) District. But in these areas also the Slovene portion decreased quite incredibly, just as it did in the Celovec (Klagenfurt) District. In the Podjuna (Jauntal) and in the Upper Rož (Ober Rosental), however, the Slovenes preserved a very high percentage even according to these data.

The picture which is rendered by reliable ecclesiastical entries (confirmed also by the Slovene national cadaster), shows that the Slovene territory in Carinthia was still homogeneous at this time. The commune of Podklošter (Arnoldstein) was indeed mixed, yet even there the Slovenes were still in the majority. The Germanization made great progress above all in the Celovec (Klagenfurt) sector, under the influence of the tourist traffic in the places round the Vrbsko jezero (Woerther See) (Vrba [Velden], Poreče [Poertschach], Kriva vrba [Krumpendorf], at Velikovec [Voelkermarkt] [German-Slovene]), but otherwise above all along the ethnographic frontier (Smerče [Emersdorf] on the Zilja [Gail], Vernberk [Wernberg], Kostanje [Koestenberg] beneath the Osojsko jezero [Ossiacher See], the Labot Valley [Lavanttal]). In the whole remaining territory the German minority, indeed, increased a little, above all in connection with the new railways built during the last decade, but undoubtedly the Slovenes still had a majority of more than 90 per cent in this sector. The situation which has been fixed in these two maps is also confirmed by a report on the knowledge of Slovene in Carinthia in a minute inquiry from village to village in this territory (A. Beg, Slovensko-nemška meja na Koroškem [The Slovene-German Frontier in Carinthia], 1908).

THE DEVELOPMENT FROM 1910 TO 1939 AND THE PRESENT ETHNIC SITUATION IN CARINTHIA

(Maps XIV, XVII—XX)

Statistical falsification was not only continued but even intensified in the time of the Austrian Republic. At the Peace Conference in Paris a serious danger had arisen that the Slovene part of Carinthia might be united with the Slovene territory in Yugoslavia. The Germans of Carinthia meant to prevent any such solution of the Carinthian question on some future occasion. For that purpose it was above all necessary that the Slovenes of Carinthia should vanish at least from the official statistics. And they succeeded to a considerable degree (the following table applies to the same territory as the previous ones):

Court district or commune	1923			1934			1939		
	Popu- lation present	Language of the native population		Residents			Popu- lation present	The language	
		Germ.	Slov.	Total	Germ.	Slov.		Germ.	Slov.
Šmohor (Hermagor)	4059	2381	1641	4115	3375	733	3776		
Beljak (Villach) . .	15488	11529	3885	16544	13735	2769	17331		
Rožek (Rosegg) . .	9868	5463	4408	10962	7725	3169	11705		
Borovlje (Ferlach) .	10846	5454	5381	11105	7083	4004	10809		
Celovec Town (Kla- genfurt Stadt) . .	27423	26803	428	29671	29110	429	61775		
Celovec Environs (Klagenfurt Umg.)	39197	33973	5037	48144	44459	3371	30366		
Železna Kapla (Eisen- kappel)	3377	1117	2248	3811	1511	2296	3629		
Dobrla ves (Ebern- dorf)	9202	4345	4852	10302	7001	3290	10288		
Pliberk (Bleiburg) .	6628	2465	4151	7050	3409	3613	7302		
Velikovec (Völker- markt)	14610	10661	3931	15304	12919	2363	15181		
Št. Janž (St. Johann)	2186	1952	203	2315	2220	91	2289		
Slov. Carinthia . .	142884	106116	36163	159323	132547	26128	174451	125000	45000

The following table shows the development in the whole country:

	1923		1934		1939	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Slovenes	37292	10.1	26796	6.6	45000	9.8
Germans	331842	89.5	376330	93.1	378653	89.9
Others	1683	0.4	1403	0.3	1300	0.3
Total	370817	100.0	405129	100.0	424953	100.0

The criteria at the censuses were different each time. As early as 1923 the Germans introduced an even less objectively ascertainable standard ("the language which the person uses most fluently and in which he generally thinks"). Under the influence of the German conception (Deutsch-Windisch-Slowenisch, Kampf um Kärnten 1918—1920, 1930) that the majority of the Carinthian Slovenes, despite their language, do not belong to the Slovene but to the German nation, the questionnaire of 1934 put the question in the following absurd way: "In the determination of 'language' it is decisive to which cultural sphere the individual professes himself to belong. It is, therefore, determined exclusively by the subjective feeling of the questioned person, not by any objective marks, such as origin, mother tongue, greater or smaller fluency in the use of a language, usual language of intercourse, education, or similar things." It was expressly ordered that everybody could belong only to one linguistic sphere with an evident purpose to make difficult as much as possible, to learn the real number of Slovenes in Carinthia. In this way the Austrian Republic rejected all objective foundations for ethnic statistics and made it possible to count as "Germans" even Slovenes who did not speak German at all or at least did not usually do so. How the linguistic question was formulated at the census of 1939 is not exactly known since the results have not yet been published (we know the results only from a speech delivered on July 10, 1942, in Celovec [Klagenfurt] by Maier-Kaibitsch, the Nazi commissioner for the Slovene minority in Carinthia). There were two questions: "language of intercourse" — result: 45.000 Slovenes and "nationality" — result: 7.500 Slovenes.

It must further be stated that in all communes with less than 4000 inhabitants — that is to say — in all Slovene communes the question about nationality was filled in by the census commissioners. Already after the census of 1923 the Slovenes complained that all the Slovene census commissioners had been removed and their work rejected. The new commissioners were all Germans and they corrected the linguistic census as they liked. Teachers especially were appointed census commissioners. According to the statement of the present Carinthian Government, they were the principal creators of Nazism in Carinthia; they knew how to exercise their personal influence upon the questioned persons in order to carry out the secret orders of the Heimabund which stated in advance how many Slovenes might be counted (in 1934: 25.000, in 1939: 10.000 with

regard to the nationality). In 1934, the proceedings at the census were such as to compel the minority to complain to the League of Nations. The investigation into the census of 1934 reveals the high degree of undue influence exercised by the census commissioners: The language of 148 families (438 persons) had been changed from "Slovene" into "German" even after the questionnaires had been completed. (Veiter Th., Die Slowenen in Kärnten, 1936, p. 129.)

The results corresponded to the proceedings. The startlingly rapid progress of the German part of the population in single communes according to the official data shows the worthlessness of these data. We only give a few examples of what happened in almost all the communes:

Commune	Percentage of Slovenes		
	1910	1923	1934
Libuče (Loibach)	88.3	50.6	37.7
Globasnica (Globassnitz)	96.4	59.1	81.6
Galicija (Gallizien)	98.0	56.4	18.5
Škocijan (St. Kanzian)	85.9	68.7	17.7
Ruda (Ruden)	86.7	28.9	15.8
Važenberg (Waisenberg)	64.9	19.8	5.9
Pokrče (Poggersdorf)	58.9	21.8	3.3
Šmarjeta v Rožu (St. Margarethen im Rosental)	92.4	70.3	46.5
Ledenice (Ledenitzen)	96.8	91.6	27.4
Straja ves (Hohenthurn)	92.5	32.4	28.0
Bistrica na Zilji (Feistritz a. d. Gail)	83.9	8.1	20.1
Sv. Štefan (St. Stefan)	92.5	12.2	4.5

If these data were true, almost three quarters of the population must have been changed in some communes.

At the communal elections in 1930 the Slovene Conservative Party alone got in some communes a higher number of votes than all the Slovenes counted there in 1934. And the Conservative Party united in its ranks only a third of the Carinthian Slovenes. Dobrla ves (Eberndorf) (1930, 24 per cent; 1934, 17.5 per cent) and Škocjan (St. Kanzian) (1930, 37.2 per cent; 1934, 17.7 per cent) are only two examples. The official data show the percentage of children receiving German or Slovene religious instruction at complete variance with the percentage stated at the census. Let us give a few examples:

Commune	Percentage of Slovenes		
	Census 1923	School 1928/29	Census 1934
Sv. Štefan ob Zilji (St. Stefan a. d. Gail)	12.2	97	4.5
Straja ves (Hohenthurn)	30.4	97	28.0
Rožek (Rosegg)	29.2	87	11.8
Sv. Jakob v Rožu (St. Jakob im Rosental)	40.5	97	38.2
Hodiše (Keutschach)	41.9	98	41.3
Svetna ves (Weitzelsdorf)	35.7	85	59.0
Djekše (Diex)	26.9	87	46.1

The drop from 66.463 (the official census of 1910) to 37.292 (the official census of 1923) means 44 per cent in little more than a decade and is so obviously unnatural that even the Germans saw the necessity of a detailed explanation for the people abroad. Martin Wutte, who had undertaken this task, asserted that 20.000 Slovenes who had been in Carinthia in 1910, returned after the Plebiscite to their native places in Carniola and Lower Styria (Carinthia I, 114, 1924). This assertion which was often repeated later on is completely unfounded. In 1910 there were in Carinthia 6140 Carniolans and 18.271 Styrians from the whole of Styria (not only from its lower part) where one third of the population were Slovenes. In 1934 there were in Carinthia still 12.598 Styrians and 8064 persons born on Yugoslav territory. The difference (about 3700 people) is easily explained by a quarter of a century's difference. In 1910 some of these immigrants were already fairly old (there were 5075 Carniolans and 10.379 Styrians in Carinthia already in 1890). The number of Carinthian Slovenes and Carniolans resident in Carinthia, who left the country in 1920, amounted in fact to about 700; it could therefore exercise no essential influence upon the ethnic structure of the country. (For the statistical data compare G. Moro, *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*, III, 588.)

Even the Germans, except the precursors of Austrian Nazism, (M. Wutte, *Heimatbund*) rejected both censuses, which diminished the Slovene minority in Carinthia in such an incredible way (the first census reduces it by 44 per cent of the figures of 1910, the second by another 29 per cent of the figures of 1923). In 1925 the Socialists explicitly rejected the results of the census of 1923 saying that only the members of the Slovene National Party had been counted, whereas the whole number of Slovenes in Carinthia was about 80.000 (*Arbeiterwille*, Graz, April 5, 1925). On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Plebiscite in Carinthia A. Falle asserted in the official publication of the Socialist party in Carinthia that the inhabitants of the Plebiscite zone "A" "were almost exclusively Slovenes" (Lagger H., *Abwehrkampf und Volksabstimmung in Kärnten 1918—1920*, 1930, p. 13—14). Veiter Th. (l. c., p. 129) admits the authenticity of the Slovene private census of 1925. He thinks the census numbers even too low if the mother tongue were taken as the guiding principle. The falsifications at both censuses carried out during the time of the Austrian Republic were proved as such in 1939, when in spite of the Nazi terror 45.000 people (19.000 more than in 1934) acknowledged Slovene as their language of intercourse.

From 1846 to 1939 the population in Slovene Carinthia increased from 113,700 to 172,000 inhabitants. According to this natural increase there should be about 156,000 Slovenes in Carinthia to-day. Even if we restrict ourselves in determining their number in 1846 only to the correction of Czoernig's statistics according to the later official statistics of 1880 and 1890, there should be still at least about 150,000 of them. The violent Germanization carried out during the last hundred years hindered the natural growth of the Carinthian Slovenes. It is only owing to this circumstance that

their number in Carinthia is considerably smaller; for the Carinthian Slovenes never essentially lagged behind the Carinthian Germans regarding their natural increase and, during the last decades even considerably surpassed them.

According to the official data furnished by the Krka (Gurk) Diocese and according to the Slovene national cadaster of 1910 there were in 1910 more than 100,000 Slovenes in the territory of Slovene Carinthia which remained in Austria after 1920. From that time onwards the natural increase in the Slovene part of the country was about 12 per cent in a decade. Few Slovenes left the country at this time, for emigration was made rather difficult and so they remained within the country, though not always within their native communes. Even if we take into consideration a moderate, real progress of Germanization we may fairly venture to count about 120,000 Slovenes in Carinthia after three decades of this development.

No statistical source did treat the Slovene minority in Carinthia as a whole at that time. The German pressure upon the Carinthian Slovenes increased so much in the period of the Austrian Republic that the ascertaining of a considerable portion of Slovenes, particularly in the partially germanized part of the country (Celovec [Klagenfurt] and the area north of it) was rendered almost impossible. Ecclesiastical data also are missing for this time.

The German organization "Heimabund" started immediately after the Plebiscite a deliberate campaign aiming at the introduction of German sermons beside Slovene ones, or even at German being substituted for Slovene in the Slovene parishes. They were backed in their efforts by the new bishop Adam Hefter, a Bavarian, who appointed Germans from the Reich, who did not know Slovene at all as parish priests to several Slovene parishes. In this way the Germans intended to get Slovene parishes, up to then entered in the official ecclesiastical characterization as Slovene ones, entered as mixed ones, removing thus the proof of the ethnical character of Slovene Carinthia. In some completely Slovene parishes, situated in the partially germanized regions, they really succeeded in introducing German sermons, which was marked also in the official ecclesiastical data regarding the linguistic character of these parishes. That is why also the official ecclesiastical statistics of 1922 (last published in that year) show already considerably too small a number of Slovenes (about 90,000). But as the Germans were not satisfied even with this success, the data relating to this point ought to be struck off altogether in the schematism published by the Krka (Gurk) Diocese after 1922.

The Carinthian Slovenes themselves several times tried to ascertain the number of the Slovene minority in Carinthia through their own organizations. But these censuses never comprised the whole minority either, mostly not even regarding the territory. The same applies to the Slovene national cadaster (census of the population), carried out by the Cultural Union of the Carinthian Slovenes through its members, which found 97,095 Slo-

venes*. The criterion taken was the usual language of intercourse of the family. The members of the Cultural Union carried out a detailed census of the population, Slovenes and Germans, in the areas of the utraquistic schools, but outside these areas they registered at the census only those Slovenes who were known to the Cultural Union through its organizational activities.

The data relating to the portion of Slovene children in the elementary schools (according to the religious instruction in Slovene or German in the utraquistic schools) also refer only to a part of Slovene Carinthia. By applying this percentage to the whole of the population 81,592 Slovenes and 16,569 Germans appear for the year 1934 in the territory with utraquistic schools (where more than two thirds of the Carinthian Slovenes were residing).

On the compactly Slovene territory comprising the Zilja (Gail) Valley from Šmohor (Hermagor) to Beljak (Villach), the Basin of Celovec (Klagenfurt) as far as the Osojske Ture (Ossiacher Tauern), (the town of Celovec excepted), the Vrbsko jezero (Woerther See) and the Šentlenška gora (Magdalensburg) and Podjuna (Jauntal) with the southern slope of the Svinška planina (Saulpe) there were, according to the statistical data of 1934, about 85,000 Slovenes among 100,000 inhabitants. The Slovenes still represent about 85 per cent of the whole population in those regions. The German minority is not equally distributed through all the country, being more concentrated in the single zones where the Germanization was the strongest and by means of which the Germans tried to split the Slovene territory into several separate parts.

The remainder of the Carinthian Slovenes (about 30,000) reside at Celovec (Klagenfurt), in its surroundings and in the surroundings of Beljak (Villach) on an already partially germanized territory.

* The results of this cadaster (register) are the following (for the same territory as the previous table):

District or commune	Germans	Slovenes
Šmohor (Hermagor)	304	3717
Podklošter (Arnoldstein)	1603	6782
Beljak (Villach)	1559	6605
Rožek (Rosegg)	1995	8790
Borovlje (Ferlach)	830	10351
Celovec town (Klagenfurt Stadt)	23737	5934
Celovec environs (Klagenfurt Umgebung)	26222	21778
Železna Kapla (Eisenkappel)	248	3398
Dobria ves (Eberndorf)	304	10051
Pliberk (Bleiburg)	524	6461
Velikovec (Völkermarkt)	2616	12433
Št. Janž na Mostiču (St. Johann am Brückl)	1281	852
Dravograd (Drauburg) a part	251	33
Slovene Carinthia	61474	97095

The Decree, regulating the utraqistic schools in Carinthia, issued by the Provincial Government of Carinthia, on October 31, 1945, likewise proves the continuity of the Slovene territory in Carinthia. Under the provisions of this Decree bilingual schools are to be introduced again. They are destined for Slovene children in the whole of the political district of Velikovec (Voelkermarkt), excepting the commune of Pustrica (Pustritz), in the whole of the court districts of Borovlje (Ferlach) and Rožek (Rosegg), in two thirds of the court district of Celovec Environs (Klagenfurt Umgebung) and on the whole Slovene territory in the Zilja (Gail) Valley (the Slovene portion of the court districts of Beljak [Villach] and Šmohor [Hermagor]). Thus the present Provincial Government of Carinthia officially acknowledged, through this Decree, that this territory is almost entirely Slovene up to this very day.

Based on official statistics, a detailed ethnical classification of the communes of Carinthia also gives a wholly wrong picture. Already by 1923 the territory with a Slovene majority (map XIV) was alleged to have shrunk so as to comprise merely the greater part of Podjuna (Jauntal), besides 13 communes elsewhere. And even on this territory the Germans were alleged to form everywhere an extraordinary high proportion of the population (in 9 communes almost one half of it). It is almost impossible to speak of compact Slovene territory at all. At the most only a strip of communes along the Yugoslav border were admitted to be compact Slovene territory.

By 1934 the position is, of course, alleged to have deteriorated. Except Podjuna (Jauntal), the number of communes with a Slovene majority appears to have shrunk to 5 (two of them with more than 40 per cent Germans); but even in Podjuna (Jauntal) itself quite impossible changes appear to have occurred to the benefit of the Germans. In the commune of Škocjan (St. Kanzian), for instance, the increase of the German population surpassed 50 per cent of the entire population of the commune (map XIV).

To demonstrate the present Slovene ethnic territory in Carinthia we enclose three maps; they are based a) on the Slovene national cadaster (map XIX), b) on the linguistic determination of parishes according to the proposal of the Heimatbund in 1935 to organize utraqistic schools (map XVII, after Veiter Th., I, c., 147—151) and c) on the official data on the percentage of Slovene children in elementary schools attending Slovene religious instruction about 1930 (map XVIII, Veiter Th., I, c., 116—123).

It is evident at a glance that all three maps agree with each other in all fundamental questions. They clearly show that the process of Germanization engulfed only a small part of that territory which was compactly Slovene in 1846 i. e. the territory north of Celovec (Klagenfurt) and the Vrbsko jezero (Woerther See) up to the German or mainly German communes of Možberg (Moosburg), Poreče (Poertschach), Kriva Vrba (Krumpendorf), Celovec (Klagenfurt) with its environs, Trnja ves (Annabichl), and Gospa Sveta (Maria Saal). A rather strong Slovene minority was preserved in the communes of Otmanje (Ottmanach) and št. Janž (St. Johann). Beside this the communes of Vrba (Velden am Woerther See) and Velikovec (Voel-

kermarkt), the school communes of Borovlje (Ferlach) and the villages of Podklošter (Arnoldstein) and Ziljica (Gailitz), turned mainly German. The German population increased also in some other places: Smerče (Emersdorf), Vernberk (Wernberg) near Beljak (Villach), Kostanje (Koestenberg) and Dholica (St. Martin am Techelsberg), in the commune of Otok (Maria Woerth), in the narrow strip south of the Vrbsko jezero (Woerther See), in the wider environs of Celovec (Vetrinje [Viktring], Žrelec [Ebental], Grabštanj [Grafenstein], Trdnja ves [Hoertendorf]), and in the places Grebinj (Griffen), Železna Kapla (Eisenkappel) and Pliberk (Bleiburg). But in all these places they form only a German minority on Slovene territory.

The Slovene ethnic territory thus forms even to-day a great uninterrupted unity. It is true that the German minority on this territory became stronger, especially in some half-urban centres, but the real majority of this territory remains even to-day almost entirely Slovene, especially the countryside. In 1937 the following Slovene-German frontier was ascertained on the spot and with the help of the above mentioned material: from the Yugoslav State frontier at Dravograd (Drauburg) it runs for some distance along the river Drava (Drau) leaving it shortly beyond the spot where the Labošnica (Lavant) flows into the Drava (Drau), running then along the mountain ridges north of the Drava (Drau), then between the rivers Gradnica (Granitzbach) and Golovica (Woelfnitzbach), following almost the border line of the Plebiscite zone of 1920, as far as Pustrica (Pustritz), which it leaves to one side, but encircles Krčanje (Obergreutschach) and Kneža (Grafenbach), joining beneath Djekše (Diex) the frontier of the Plebiscite zone, which it follows past Mostič (Brück) on the Krka (Gurk) to the Šentlenska gora (Magdalensberg) and then west of Otmanje (Ottmanach) turns abruptly southward. The Celovec (Klagenfurt) suburb of Št. Peter still touches Slovene territory. The ethnographic frontier then runs past the southern suburbs of Celovec (Klagenfurt) on to the Glinica (Glanfurt) following the river to the Vrbsko jezero (Woerther See), which it cuts in two on a line drawn from its mouth to Kriva Vrba (Krumpendorf). From there it runs along the hills north of the Lake and includes small firm Slovene settlements in these hills, whereas the localities on the shore are German; north of Poreče (Poertschach) it turns north-westwards on to the Osojske Ture (Ossiacher Tauern), where it runs past the Slovene communes of Dholica (St. Martin am Techelsberg) and Kostanje (Koestenberg). Behind Domačale (Damschach) it turns southward towards the river Drava (Drau) which it touches at Vernberk (Wernberg). From there it runs along the rivers Drava and Zilja (Gail) as far as Vetrav (Federaun) where it rises on to the Dobrač (Villacher Alpe), cuts the valley of Čajnče (Tultschnig) between Rute (Hensberg) and Pajštvica (Badstuben), keeps to the Zilja Alps (Gailtal Alpen) and then follows the communal border of the communes of Goriče (Goertschach) and the settlement of Preseka (Preseggen), rising then round the Slovene places of Borovnica (Braunitzen), Brdo (Egg), Limarče (Fritzendorf) and Potoče (Potschach), across the river Zilja (Gail) and the ravine of Krnica on to the Carnic Alps (Karnische Alpen).

But the Germanization did not mean only a change from the use of one language to that of another but even more a change of the political national consciousness of individual persons. This is evident from various election results. Only two pre-war elections can be taken into consideration: the elections of 1907 and those of 1911 (after the introduction of the general, equal and direct suffrage); territorially only the electoral district of Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) can be taken into account as it was the only one where the Slovenes had the majority and therefore some real chances of success. Though the censuses had been unjust, falsifying the real situation in 1900 by one quarter, and in 1910 by one third of the Slovene minority in Carinthia, the percentage won by the only Slovene party in Carinthia was even lower. This is evident if we compare the respective figures of the Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) constituency:

Inhabitants (present Austrian citizens)			
	Total	Slovenes	Germans
1900	45043	37061	7434
1910	46270	35735	10513

Elections							
	Voters	Votes	Valid votes	Slov. Party	Germ. Lib.	Soc. Dem.	Various
1907	9890	8224	8191	4668	2077	1436	10
1911	10415	8137	8096	4117	2430	1546	3

In a district with an enormous Slovene majority the Slovene Party obtained only a bare majority: in 1907, both Slovene Parties, the Conservative and the Social Democratic, 74,5 per cent, in 1911 when the Slovene Socialist Party united with the German Socialist Party, not even quite 51 per cent. The Plebiscite of 1920 showed similar results. In spite of its bias the official census of 1910 admitted 49,600 people (68,5 per cent) in the Plebiscite Zone A whose language of intercourse was Slovene. But only 15,279 people (40,96 per cent) voted for Yugoslavia. As a matter of fact, these results are due, in the main, also to the mistakes committed at the Plebiscite. (Vide p. 89.)

The results of all elections which took place in Carinthia after the Plebiscite are in keeping with the then prevailing conditions determined by the disastrous influence of the long-termed and deliberate Germanization: the Slovene Party always scored a minority of votes, the other non-Slovene parties won the majority of them, the most went to the Social Democrats. This party succeeded in showing itself as a just party not detrimental to the Slovenes as far as their national rights were concerned. At the elections into the Provincial Assembly the Slovene Party obtained the following votes:

in 1921 9.869 votes and 2 members
in 1923 9.868 votes and 2 members
in 1927 9.334 votes and 2 members
in 1930 9.205 votes and 2 members

(at a ballot of about 174.000 valid votes).

At the last elections the Slovene Party in Carinthia thus obtained only 5,3 per cent of all valid votes. 21.500 people voted for the Slovene party. Adding to this number 1885 Slovenes — Yugoslav citizens with a permanent residence in Carinthia — we get a total of 23.400 adherents of the Slovene Party. All the rest of the Carinthian Slovenes belonged to the Landbund, the German middle-class party, and an especially high proportion to the German Social-Democratic Party.

Results of 1930 elections in percentage								
	% country people	Slov. Party	Land-bund	Soc. Dem.	Communists	Nat. Soc.	Heimat block	Christ. Soc.
Rožek (Rosegg)	51.1	25.1	17.7	42.9	0.5	5.5	4.9	3.4
Borovlje (Ferlach) . . .	39.9	25.1	11.3	47.0	4.7	4.7	8.7	1.3
Dobrla ves—Žel. Kapla (Eberndorf—Eisenkappel)	61.6	32.0	15.7	35.8	0.0	3.5	12.2	0.8
Pliberk (Bleiburg) . . .	68.5	45.9	15.5	27.3	0.0	3.3	6.2	1.8

The causes of this political division are to be found in the great changes of the social structure in Carinthia during the last 70 years.

The economic index of the Carinthian population in 1880—1934						
Professions	1880	1890	1900	1910	1934	
Agriculture, forestry .	71.5	63.9	58.4	51.1	39.3	—32.2
Industry, trade	17.9	17.5	19.9	21.7	26.5	+ 8.6
Commerce, traffic . . .	3.3	6.7	8.6	11.0	10.6	+ 7.3
Free callings	7.2	11.9	13.1	16.2	23.6	+16.4

This development naturally took place in the Slovene part of the country as well, although to a smaller degree than in the German one.

The economic index of the population in 1934								
Political district	Agriculture, forestry	Industry, trade	Commerce, traffic	Banks	Public service	Free callings	House work	Without profession
Šmohor (Hermagor) . .	52.3	22.4	6.2	0.1	2.3	1.7	0.5	14.5
Beljak environs (Villach Umgebung)	34.0	31.8	11.1	0.1	2.0	1.5	0.9	18.8
Celovec environs (Klagenfurt Umgebung) .	38.5	29.7	9.1	0.3	2.4	1.9	1.0	17.1
Velikovec (Völkermarkt)	57.6	21.1	5.0	0.1	2.0	1.3	0.4	12.4

The professional index of those able to work in 1934								
Political district	Agri- culture, fore- stry	Mines	Indu- stry, trade	Com- merce, traffic	Intel- lectual profes- sions	House work	Various callings	All pro- fessions together
Šmohor (Hermagor) . .	59.3	0.4	21.3	6.0	3.6	3.0	6.4	100
Beljak environs (Villach Umgebung)	43.7	2.5	27.7	7.7	3.9	5.0	9.4	100
Celovec environs (Kla- genfurt Umgebung) .	46.4	0.2	27.3	7.0	4.2	5.1	9.7	100
Velikovec (Völkermarkt)	67.9	0.9	16.0	4.3	3.3	3.0	4.5	100

At a first glance the social structure of the Slovene part of the country seems to have undergone but little changes. But the peasant group is divided by a wide gulf:

The distribution of farms according to size in ha 1930						
Political district	Number	Under 2 ha	2—10 ha	10—20 ha	20—100 ha	More than 100 ha
Šmohor (Hermagor) . .	2.603	12.2	29.3	21.8	33.7	3.0
Beljak environs (Villach Umgebung)	5.460	26.6	34.4	17.9	19.2	1.9
Celovec environs (Kla- genfurt Umgebung) .	6.087	19.8	34.6	20.0	23.2	2.4
Velikovec (Völkermarkt)	3.812	13.0	34.0	22.6	28.7	1.7

The distribution of land under cultivation among farms in 1930							
Political district	The entire surface	Ave- rage size ha	Under 2 ha	2—10 ha	10—20 ha	20—100 ha	More than 100 ha
Šmohor (Hermagor)	78200	30.8	0.4	5.8	10.3	44.4	39.1
Beljak environs (Villach Umge- bung)	102263	18.7	1.3	9.4	13.9	38.9	33.5
Celovec environs (Klagenfurt Umgebung)	127431	20.9	0.8	8.6	13.9	41.0	35.7
Velikovec (Völkermarkt)	87782	23.0	0.6	7.8	14.4	43.4	33.7

The social structure of persons employed in agriculture in 1930								
Political district	Total number	Under 14 years	Emple- yer	Family mem- bers	Emple- yees	Perma- nent work- ers	Day labour- ers	Season work- ers
Šmohor (Hermagor) . . .	9035	2.3	28.2	53.9	0.3	11.1	6.3	0.2
Beljak environs (Villach Umgebung)	22833	5.7	25.9	44.2	0.3	13.9	14.7	1.0
Celovec environs (Kla- genfurt Umgebung) . .	27011	6.2	24.4	43.5	0.4	20.3	10.0	1.3
Velikovec (Völkermarkt)*	18821	8.0	21.9	46.6	0.5	18.1	12.3	0.7

* According to the data of 1934 the percentage of family members was even only 34.5 in this district; the percentage of employees was 0.9 and that of workers 38.8.

Small farms are numerically strong but they comprise only a small proportion of the agricultural area. Therefore the proprietors must add to their income by working on larger holdings. More than a third of this area is in some places cultivated by hired labour (including family members, not all of whom have the right to vote). The number of the labourers is extremely high compared with the number of land-owners. The Socialist demands (social insurance, the 8 hours' day) and the lack of field labourers, many of whom were absorbed by industry caused a growing dissension between the labourers and the farmers. The workers, of course, took the part of the Social-Democratic Party which they joined.

The only Slovene party in Carinthia was a conservative Peasants' Party. As there was neither a Slovene middle-class nor a Slovene Socialist Party in Carinthia, those classes of society who could not be satisfied with a conservative programme, joined the German parties. Townspeople had done this towards the end of the last century, the workers did it in even greater numbers after 1900. Only the peasant element remained in the ranks of the Slovene Party. This was evident on the occasion of the elections to the Agricultural Chamber in 1932, which were, in accordance with the electoral regulations of that time, the expression of the political opinion of farmers. The Slovene Party obtained an absolute majority in 5 districts. These elections are significant particularly as the expression of the political tendencies of all the people who possessed land, i. e. of the social strata most firmly attached to the soil, which are the most permanent inhabitants in the country. In this social struggle the elections still indicated a strong Slovene national consciousness.

Elections to the Agricultural Chamber in 1932:

	Slov. party	Land- bund	Soc. Dem.	Commun- ists	Nat. Soc.	Christ. Soc.
Rožek (Rosegg) . . .	50.7	32.1	11.6	0.8	3.4	1.4
Borovlje (Ferlach) . . .	57.5	22.5	8.4	3.3	6.7	1.6
Železna Kapla—Dobrla ves (Eisenkappel — Eberndorf)	53.0	32.7	9.7	1.9	0.8	1.9
Pliberk (Bleiburg) . . .	66.9	25.8	3.7	1.2	0.6	1.8

Faile's description of the political differentiation in the Plebiscite Zone A is thus confirmed. The majority of the population consists of farmers, smallholders, and labourers who are almost without exception Slovenes. The school-masters, officials, forest-clerks, doctors and railway officials are for the most part Germans, adherents of the German nationalistic parties (Deutsch-Nationale, National-Socialists). The economically strongest classes (shopkeepers, timber and cattle merchants, rich land-owners, etc.) are indeed for the most part Slovenes, but they belong to the liberal Landbund together with all those who are economically dependent on them. This economically stronger side is opposed by the Slovene farmers, whereas the Slovene cottagers, smallholders, and workers, because of their class interests, rally to the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party (Lagger H., I, c., 13—14).

Combining all above data regarding choice of language, social structure and political opinion we can divide the Carinthian Slovenes at the time of the Austrian Republic (1920—1938) into four groups: The first group (farmers under the leadership of the clergy) were nationally conscious but conservative in their political opinion. The second group were the workers, who were Social-Democrats; they spoke Slovene but were indifferent to national questions and were led by Germans. The third group comprised a part of the Slovene peasants and the Slovene middle-class; they spoke Slovene but were pro-German and Liberal. In the fourth group were all those who still knew Slovene but were gradually losing the habit of using their mother tongue. The first three groups numbered about 80.000 people, the rest of the Carinthian Slovenes belonged to the fourth group.

This division in the ranks of the Slovenes in the post-war time was not only the consequence of an increasing social differentiation but of a deliberate campaign of the political leaders of German parties who wanted to divide all the Carinthian Slovenes among the German parties in order to assimilate them and put an end to the national struggle in south-eastern Carinthia as soon as possible (Maier-Kaibitsch, on July 10, 1942).

But at the time of the Nazi terror a sudden change occurred among the Carinthian Slovenes. Already before the beginning of the war, at the 1939 census, 20,000 more inhabitants were returned as speaking Slovene than in the 1934 census: because of the terror, which caused almost all the German parties to unite, the Slovene ranks also closed. The Nazi terror during the war, the removal of Slovenes and the settlement of Germans in the Slovene part of the country only favoured this closing-up process. The Carinthian Slovenes became politically united and to-day they see in democratic Yugoslavia the only possibility of their future existence. During four years they fought for Yugoslavia in the ranks of the Partisan Army.

CAUSES OF GERMANIZATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARINTHIAN SLOVENES FROM 1848 TO 1945

In recent times the German authors have tried to prove that the decrease of Slovenes in Carinthia was mainly due to the national development of the population. (O. Zell, Carinthia 124, 1934; M. Wutte, Carinthia I, 128; M. Straka-W. Neunteufl, Schriften des Südostdeutschen Institutes, Graz, 4, 1941).

They say that the Carinthian Slovenes represent the type of a people past their zenith as the number of women is higher than that of men (109:100; Carinthian Germans 103:100). The reason for this proportion is alleged to be the low number of children and the predominance of the older strata of the population in which women are in the majority, whereas the reverse is to be found with children. The Slovenes in Carinthia are said to represent in the countryside the population-type of a big town. They say that the number of births is smaller with Slovenes than with Germans and the difference in the natural increase is even greater. Strong emigration, they say, favours this natural development. But despite his wrong calculations even Wutte stated that the decrease of the population due to the above mentioned causes did not exceed 2,500 persons for the time of 1880—1923. Thus neither the great drop recorded in the official data, about 50,000 during the same time and on the same territory, nor the figures in our corrected data, about 23,000, can be explained in this way.

Annual average birth-rate (per thousand)						
	1880 —1890	1891 —1900	1901 —1910	1911 —1913	1881 —1913	1934 —1936
Šmohor (Hermagor) . .	32.4	31.4	31.2	29.1	31.4	20.0
Celovec environs (Kla- genfurt Umgebung) .	32.0	31.8	32.9	29.8	31.6	18.1
Beljak environs (Villach Umgebung)	33.8	33.1	34.8	31.0	33.2	19.2
Velikovec (Völkermarkt)	31.0	29.9	29.8	28.4	29.8	23.4
Carinthia	32.4	32.0	32.5	30.6	31.9	18.7

Percentage of natural increase and migrations:

	1880-1910			1910-1923	1923-1934		
	Real increase	Natural increase	Migration	Real increase	Real increase	Natural increase	Migration
Šmohor (Hermagor) . . .	+ 4.4	+ 27.9	— 23.5	— 5.0	+ 4.1	+ 13.4	— 9.1
Celovec environs (Klagenfurt Umgebung) .	+ 19.1	+ 21.8	— 2.7	— 2.4	+ 15.5	+ 8.5	+ 7.0
Beljak (Villach)	+ 23.9	+ 21.4	+ 2.5	+ 5.0	+ 10.5	+ 13.6	— 3.2
Velikovec (Völkermarkt)	— 3.9	+ 16.6	— 20.5	— 4.6	+ 7.4	+ 12.5	— 5.1
Carinthia	+ 13.7	+ 20.6	— 6.9	— 0.2	+ 9.7	+ 11.1	— 1.4

Birth-rate (1), death-rate (2) and natural increase-rate (3) in the Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) district.

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
1	24.9	23.6	22.2	23.0	21.2	23.0	22.3
2	15.3	15.3	16.2	16.0	15.0	14.7	13.0
3	9.6	8.3	6.0	7.0	6.2	8.3	9.3

Percentage of illegitimate children in 1933—1938:

District	1933	1936	1938
Šmohor (Hermagor)	27.4	25.9	16.1
Spittal	35.2	34.3	30.1
Beljak town (Villach Stadt)	33.2	31.4	33.8
Beljak environs (Villach Umgebung) . . .	37.1	32.9	24.7
Celovec town (Klagenfurt Stadt)	36.2	34.3	36.1
Celovec environs (Klagenfurt Umgebung) .	47.8	42.8	35.2
Št. Vid (St. Veit)	58.3	53.6	46.9
Velikovec (Völkermarkt)	35.1	33.4	29.9
Wolfsberg	37.7	37.4	34.8

None of these tables bear out the German assertions. In the Slovene part of the country the birth-rate was only a little smaller than the average for the whole country; after the Great War, however, the Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) District took the first place, exceeding by far the average of the country. There is a greater difference in the natural increase because of the higher mortality, but the natural increase is still strong, and owing to this factor the number of Slovenes should grow; the fall in the number of the Carinthian Slovenes cannot be explained in this way. The fact that after the first World War the birth-rate in the Slovene part of the country fell less than in the rest of the country proves the senselessness of the assertion that the Carinthian Slovenes were a people past their prime. The relation between weddings and births proves just the reverse: in the time from

1890 till 1934 it is just the Slovene districts which show the greatest average number of children: Šmohor (Hermagor) 2,9, Beljak (Villach) environs 2,7, Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) 2,7, the average of the country 2,4. A higher birth-rate in the German part of the country before the first World War is to be attributed to a higher proportion of illegitimate children, but the marriages among Slovenes were more fertile than those among Germans.

The reason for the comparatively higher number of women is not to be found in the overripeness of the people but in the migrations. As a rule, younger men leave the place and so the number of women grows in the migration areas. The present Slovene territory in Carinthia, above all its core, the Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) District, consists mainly of cultivated land and is like the other similar areas in the German part of the country a migration area. The development of the population from 1880 till 1934 shows the following picture for the Slovene part of the country:

In 32 communes, even on the territory where Slovenes are in the majority to-day, the population is diminished (maps XVI—XVIII). In the Zilja Valley (Gailtal), it has diminished between Šmohor (Hermagor) and Podklošter (Arnoldstein), in the wider surroundings of Celovec (Klagenfurt) (in 6 communes) and Beljak (Villach) and in the environs of Borovlje (Ferlach) (in 5 communes), but most of all in the Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) District (in 13 communes). But the population increased in 28 communes: on the lower Zilja (Gail) below Podklošter (Arnoldstein) (in 13 communes), in the whole area from the State frontier in the lower Rož (Rosental) to the ethnic frontier near Kostanje (Koestenberger) (in 10 communes), in the neighbourhood of Borovlje (Ferlach), in the near surroundings of Celovec (Klagenfurt) (in 3 communes) and in 7 communes in the Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) District. Besides the population also increased at Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) and at Vrba (Velden am Wörther See), places with a German majority. The communes where the population has decreased are overwhelmingly agrarian. But on the whole, the population has increased in the Slovene part of Carinthia. It is true that in 32 communes the population has fallen by 5,814, but it has grown in 28 communes by 8,437; together with the towns of Vrba (Velden) and Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) it has increased by 9,363. The population of Slovene Carinthia (to the present ethnic frontier) has thus increased by 2,623 or 3,547 persons. Thus the demographic development, as invented by Wutte, cannot explain the disappearance of 13,000 Slovenes.

But it also needs emphasizing that it was only the Slovenes from the Zilja Valley (Gailtal) who partly emigrated from the country (to America). The rest of the natural increase of the Slovenes which left their native communes and was absorbed by larger industrial places, remained in the country. Thus the problem of their Germanization gets transferred to another place but it does not disappear. Reckoning by the natural increase, at least 120,000 Slovenes ought to live in Carinthia to-day. The question why 30,000 Slovenes became germanized and why one part of the Slovene peasant minority in Carinthia turned politically pro-German cannot be explained by demographic development.

THE GERMANIZATION OF THREE AUSTRIAS

The political development in Carinthia during the last hundred years will show us the real causes of the Germanization of the Carinthian Slovenes. For the essential characteristic of this process was, on the side of the Slovenes, their struggle for the use of Slovene in schools and in public offices with the ultimate aim of getting Slovene Carinthia united with the other Slovene provinces of the Hapsburg Monarchy into one administrative whole, while the Germans tried by a deliberate, violent Germanization of the Carinthian Slovenes to avert the danger of the country's being divided along the ethnic frontier which was still perfectly clear at that time.

a) The Hapsburg Austria

The forcible and deliberate Germanization began at the time of Joseph II (1780—1790), who wanted to introduce a uniform language in all the Hapsburg countries. There were two means of Germanization: social pressure and the schools. Gutschmann (*Windische Sprachlehre*, 1777) already reports that many Germans demanded the abolition of Slovene in Carinthia as it was of little use and spoken only by the uneducated people. With such propaganda, the German castle officials at least succeeded in making the Slovene peasants feel inferior and learn German. (Vide Schneider's Manuscript from the beginning of the 19th century). Urban Jarnik (Carinthia, 1826) mentions above all the social reasons of the germanizing process: the influence of the German nobility and the newly settled townfolk on the subject peasants. The migration of the Slovenes to the German part of the country had its economic reason; for the Slovenes did not travel to the German part of the country to learn the language but to earn their living. Wutte's assertion that they went to attend the German schools (*Handwörterbuch des Auslandsdeutschtums*, III) is pure invention. There is no doubt that the German schools were one of the means of Germanization, not only that the teaching was entirely in German but it was even a punishable offence to speak Slovene at school during recreation time. (*Stimmen aus Innerösterreich I*, 1861, p. 37). Urban Jarnik, who puts the social and economical reasons in the first place, but also mentions the frequent complaints against these schools, says: "People who finish the higher schools are thoroughly germanized at the end of their studies and have almost to learn their mother tongue anew". Slomšek, the later Bishop of Lavant, asserted the same about the influence of education in his time. Yet the success of the Germanization was still poor, at that time; it is significant

that even workers' islands in German surroundings preserved their ethnical character for some hundred years (Obervellach near Beljak [Villach]). Only on three open parts of the border at least a partial success was reached (the localities Možberg [Moosburg] and Gospa Sveta [Maria Saal]; Pustrica [Pustritz] and Labot [Lavamuend] in the Labot [Lavant] Valley).

At that time, however, the national question was raised in Carinthia at the most only in sermons in church (Slomšek in 1838, at Možberg [Moosburg]); as a political question it did not exist up to the year 1848. The reason for that is quite simple. Through all the Middle Ages the Slovenes were peasants and workers, members of the lower classes of society, the only Slovene intellectual class was the lower clergy. The whole political power in the Slovene countries was up to the breakdown of Feudalism in the hands of the German nobility, the wealthier townfolk and the German-minded higher clergy. Not till the second half of the 18th century, when the Slovenes ceased to be serfs, could they start creating a Slovene middle-class and conquering the towns which had been preponderantly German up to that time. Political life became accessible to them only in 1848, when something resembling a democracy was introduced in Austria.

The whole national revival is essentially connected with the abolition of Feudalism and with the gradual progress and affirmation of democratic principles. With the elections to provincial diets and to parliaments the Slovene deputies replaced the former German feudal lords, at first partly and at the end everywhere — after the gradual introduction of the general and equal suffrage had been accomplished. Though the Slovenes did not get the executive power which remained in German hands, they got at least the possibility to state their claims and to fight for them through their representatives. The introduction and the gradual progress of a free press and the liberty of association helped them in this fight. Their first opportunity came with the Revolution of March 1848.

The first days of the Revolution showed at once, that the national question in Carinthia was very urgent, otherwise it would not have been put with such violence. It was the Carinthian Slovene Matija Majar who first, only six days after Metternich's fall, demanded the union of all the Slovene territories in one administrative body, where the Slovene language would be recognised as the official language and where schools would be Slovene. In the following days this claim was repeated by the Slovenes in Vienna and those of all Slovene Lands. Slomšek, the Bishop of Lavant, who at first attached little value to these demands — being a member of the reactionary Austrian episcopate, his hands were tied, — later on also recognized their importance and recommended them. (Letter to Vodušek, June 2, 1848). The claim that Slovene Carinthia should be joined to a United Slovenia was confirmed also elsewhere: in the Kromeritz Parliament it was supported also by a part of the left-wing Germans. Even pro-German deputies in the Carinthian diet, Milonig and Dr Rulitz demanded that the officials in Slovene Carinthia should speak Slovene with their clients and that the Slovene language must be introduced in schools. At Celovec

(Klagenfurt) the Slovenes founded a Slovene Society, they were adversaries of the Frankfort German Parliament, Matija Majar and Andrej Einspieler took a lively part in the discussions of Slovene claims. In the paper "Slovenija" the latter repeatedly demanded a United Slovenia, and especially the introduction of Slovene schools and the appointment of officials who knew Slovene.

The Germans, being supported by the Government authorities and the gendarmerie, tried in every possible way to prevent the partition of the country. They transferred Majar to a lonely, distant place, Višarje (Luschariberg). With actual attacks and with active counterpropaganda, speaking of a "thousand-year-old German Carinthia", they hindered the work of the Slovene Society; with the aid of the gendarmerie they made the propaganda against the elections to the Frankfort Parliament almost impossible. But the disposition of the Slovene peasant voters is shown by the fact, that at Beljak (Villach) they left the polling-place after Majar, who happened to be there, had spoken a few words.

Always since the Napoleonic Wars the pan-German idea had been alive among the Carinthian Germans; now in the course of these struggles it flared up. The Revolution found the Slovenes unorganized, limited to the lower social strata, and also without the necessary means by which they might have accomplished a large political action. The wealthier Slovene middle-class, small in numbers, preferred to associate with the more distinguished liberal German middle-class rather than with the conservative peasant population. As the Germans concentrated their actions against the Slovene part of the country it is no wonder that with the aid of the Provincial authorities they scored a greater success than the Slovenes, who, owing to external obstacles, could not even tell the voters what the issue was. Together with the rest of the Slovenes they obtained only two things:

- 1) that the language of instruction in the elementary schools should be everywhere the mother tongue of the pupils and
- 2) the decision, that the officials in the Slovene part of Carinthia had to know Slovene.

The abolition of the Constitution (1851) and the re-introduction of Absolutism by Minister Bach once more barred the way to the political arena for the Slovenes. In 1848 the Germans, however, attained the separation of Carinthia from Carniola with which it had been united for several decades. In this way they re-established an administrative unit, where they had a twofold majority in the diet: 1) of the whole population and 2) of the disproportionately strong representation of the big landowners as stipulated by the electoral regulations.

In 1848 the attention of the Germans was first drawn to the possibility that the Carinthian Slovenes might try to slip out of their hands. Henceforth all German endeavours were directed to this purpose: to disperse and germanize the Slovenes as soon and as much as possible. Thus the year 1848 means the beginning of the forcible Germanization on a large scale, which, from two points of view, is a characteristic expression of the capitalistic

age. This age created an exaggerated nationalism, and it created also the means by which the Germans germanized the Carinthian Slovenes. They employed for this end all means put at their disposal by the social and economic order. Their only aim was to enlarge the German territory by a planned and forcible denationalisation, in order to reach the Adriatic. Social exploitation became a means for a new planned national violence. The wealthy German landowners and middle-class had in their hands not only the administrative apparatus of the country, but also all the means of production. They were numerically, culturally, politically and above all economically much stronger than the politically young, only just awakening Slovene people. In their hands were the administration of the country, the schools, the offices and all pecuniary resources of the country, moreover the whole great German nation gave them moral and also economic support. Even the taxes, paid by the Slovenes themselves, were employed for their Germanization.

Wutte came to similar conclusions: "The reason for the domination of the German element in the biggest localities on the Slovene linguistic territory is the fact that commerce, industry, and trade often are in German hands. Industry, commerce, and traffic are, therefore, the best German allies in Carinthia. They are nearly completely in the hands of the economically stronger and more progressive Germans and with their development the spreading of the German language as the language of intercourse makes good progress". (Carinthia, 96, 1906.) The higher positions in factories and other private enterprises went exclusively to German officials, who did their part in the anti-Slovene campaign. They exercised a germanizing influence by demanding that the workers should speak German with them; at the elections they supported the German candidates and even demanded of the Slovene workers that they should proclaim themselves Germans at the censuses. With the peasant population they exploited the influence of the great landowners. About 1880 the environs of Celovec (Klagenfurt) were, so to speak, divided between German manufacturers and great German landowners, who in the single communes worked for the Germanization, above all for the German schools. As Falle (Lagger I. c., pp. 13—14) witnesses, the small village potentates also exploited their whole influence with the people, who were economically dependent on them, to the advantage of the Germans. Against private capital and the great landowners, where jobs were available only for Germans and renegades, the Slovenes were powerless. The fact must be stressed that the great landowners who leased their lands to the peasants, had a great influence on them. This is most clearly shown in the case of Djekše (Diex), where during the economical crisis of 1934, when this influence was not so strong, the percentage of Slovenes in the official census rose by 20 per cent.

But if the Carinthian Slovenes really could not defend themselves against this attack, supported as it was by private capital, they nevertheless did not give up the struggle. In 1848 Celovec (Klagenfurt) became for two decades the centre of Slovene literary life. Its leader was

the young Carinthian, Anton Janežič (1828—1869) who edited several literary papers: "Slovenska Bčela" (The Slovene Bee) (1848—1853), "Glasnik slovenskega slovstva" (Slovene Literary Herald) (1854) and "Slovenski Glasnik" (The Slovene Herald) (1858—1868), all of which were published in Celovec (Klagenfurt). He also founded a collection famous in Slovene literary history for the publication of more extensive works "Cvetje iz domačih in tujih logov" (1861—1867) (Flowers from Home and Foreign Groves). He created the basis for the further development of Slovene literary life just as the Slovenes even at the beginning of the twentieth century still learned their mother tongue from his Slovene Grammar (1854—1863). His papers were the first Slovene literary reviews and meant the beginning of a new era in Slovene literary history.

At that time also Celovec (Klagenfurt) assumed the lead of Slovene popular literature and kept it up to the year 1918, when Celovec (Klagenfurt) was separated from the liberated Slovenia. In the year 1852, Janežič, Einspieler, and Slomšek reorganized the "Družba sv. Mohorja" (The Brotherhood of St. Hermagoras), reorganizing it in 1860 on a larger scale. It has remained the chief supplier of popular books to the simple Slovene people up to our days. Up to 1918, about 19,000,000 Slovene books were issued in its publishing-house in Celovec (Klagenfurt). In 1918 it had 90,512 members to whom it sent out 543,072 books. In Carinthia itself it had 7226 members; nearly every sixteenth Carinthian Slovene was a member; the same relation is found in other Slovene regions. Up to 1918 the lead of the Brotherhood of St. Hermagoras was almost entirely in the hands of the Carinthians themselves.

The political struggle was much harder even after the revival of constitutional life in 1860. For according to the constitutional regulations the Carinthian Slovenes could not get a representation corresponding to their numbers, either in the diets or in the Parliament. From 36 elected members of the diet, ten were elected by about 100 German landowners, 12 by the mostly German wealthier middle-classes and 14 by the country communes, which had at that time a huge majority in the country. This electoral system remained valid up to 1907. Besides, the Slovenes were distributed among the electoral districts and united in the same districts with the Germans in such a way that there was a Slovene majority only in the district of Velikovec (Voelkermarkt). For the election of deputies to the Parliament of 1873 the Slovenes were likewise divided by means of electoral geometry so that they had only minor chances of success in the Velikovec—Celovec (Voelkermarkt—Klagenfurt) electoral district.

The political rights of the Carinthian Slovenes were thus limited to the utmost. The more we must admire the relatively great success of Einspieler in the organization of political life in Carinthia, especially, because up to the end of the nineteenth century the Carinthian Slovenes got only little material or ideological support from Ljubljana. Immediately after the introduction of the Constitution Andrej Einspieler (1813—1888) started publishing a new political paper "Stimmen aus Inneroesterreich" (Voices of Inner

Austria) (1861—1862 as a periodical, in 1863 as a daily paper), beside the paper "Slovenski prijatelj" (The Slovene Friend) in which he fought above all for the introduction of Slovene schools. In his political paper, he was the first man of his time who resolutely and repeatedly demanded the foundation of a United Slovenia, only in a somewhat widened form. In this new State unit with a common political representation were to be united all Inner Austrian countries in which the Slovenes had an absolute majority. Carinthia also was to form a part of the United Slovenia. Einspieler thus united the historical programme with the national one. Moreover, in his extensive programme he demanded for Slovene Carinthia as a Slovene country the following: 1) Slovene schools (elementary and secondary schools), 2) Slovene official language in the communes, 3) the publication of laws in the Slovene language, 4) Slovene administration in the provincial and governmental offices and, therefore, officials who could speak Slovene, 5) Slovene records and public announcements of the diets beside German ones. His political party had been organized in the sixties of the nineteenth century round the Society "Trdnjava" (The Fortress) at Celovec (Klagenfurt). With regard to its social structure it was in the main a peasants' party led by the clergy and, therefore, conservative. But in spite of that he nevertheless fought for the fundamental democratic Rights of Man and for the use of the mother tongue. Einspieler's paper was suppressed by a violent German act: according to the press-law Einspieler was sentenced to one month's imprisonment and a fine; and the paper ceased to appear.

Dr Alois Hussa, manufacturer, who worked with all possible pressure for the Germanization of the Slovene schools in the near neighbourhood of Celovec (Klagenfurt) and in the communes above the Vrbsko jezero (Woerther See), in his paper "Zeitung aus Kärnten" biliously repelled all Einspieler's claims as to language rights, saying that it was not important for the Carinthian Slovenes, who had no uniform language at all, to learn Slovene at school; they should rather learn German, which they urgently needed for contact with the culturally and economically stronger Germans. He also used the same arguments to exert pressure on the mayors of the country communes. This work was supported by the whole power of the State and private officials. The importance of the German language was closely connected with their existence, therefore they used all their influence to spread it.

In 1865 Einspieler started a new political paper "Slovenec", (The Slovene) (1865—1867), which assumed the lead of the whole political life not only in Carinthia, but also in the whole of Slovenia, being the best political paper of that time. The Germans then forced the printing-works to break their contract, in order to prevent the paper from being published at Celovec (Klagenfurt). In this paper as well as in his Political Catechism published in 1865, he pleaded for the same programme as formerly. He resolutely stood for the establishment of a United Slovenia and for the rights of the Slovene language. In numerous communications from many districts complaints kept on arriving, especially on two matters: first, against German officials who exercised their german-

izing influence upon the people, because they refused to learn Slovene, but above all complaints against the germanizing mission of the elementary schools.

As the struggle for the use of Slovene as the language of administration went on in each commune separately — in this struggle the Germans had, of course, all the provincial and State offices on their side — a similar struggle was fought for each school. For the German and the utraquistic German-Slovene schools were the chief germanizing means in Carinthia, apart from economical and social pressure. This is not only a Slovene assertion, many times repeated by the Slovenes, but admitted by the Germans themselves. When the census of 1900 showed 5423 Slovenes less than the census of 1890, the District Governor of Celovec (Klagenfurt) said that the progress of the German language of intercourse in the District of Celovec (Klagenfurt) was essentially due to the schools. "We must not overlook the influence of the excellent utraquistic schools that offer the local Slovenes the occasion to learn German". After the Plebiscite of 1920 also, the opinion was expressed that the Plebiscite had been won by the utraquistic schools. This opinion was confirmed also in the official publication of the Kärntner Heimatbund, the precursor of Nazism in Carinthia, whose task it was to watch over the German interests in Lower Carinthia, "Abwehr und Verständigung" (1938, p. 6). In the opinion of this publication the utraquistic school was an essential condition which made possible the struggle of 1918 for Carinthia and an essential condition for the success at the Plebiscite. Bartha, chairman of the German association "Südmark" also stated that the utraquistic schools had done much for the Germanization of the Carinthian Slovenes; at the general meeting of this association, which was to watch over the German interests, he said that in the interest of the Germans it was necessary to keep these schools (1932). No wonder, therefore, that the "Südmark" in Carinthia supported especially these germanizing schools and not the German ones.

The Ministerial Decree of 1848, that in elementary schools instruction should be given in the mother tongue, gave the basis for the creation of Slovene schools in Carinthia. But a complementary Decree of 1851 for Carinthia decided, that from the second school year onwards the German language should also be taught. The second decree was a veritable springboard for the Carinthian Germans; they changed the formerly completely German schools into bilingual ones — in the first school year they still used Slovene for teaching, but in the upper classes only German was used. Thus a struggle developed for each school separately, whether it should be Slovene or German-Slovene.

In this struggle the Germans had above all two factors on their side against which the Slovenes fought only with the greatest difficulty: the economical superiority of the Germans and the provincial administration. The private manufacturers and great landowners, who contributed large sums to the construction of school buildings, shared in their management and exercised a great influence upon the Slovene population (the workers and socially weaker peasants); their influence was above all important in

the villages, upon wealthier individuals with bourgeois tendencies (innkeepers, shopkeepers), whom they tore away from the conservative mass of the people. This influence was always decisive in the communal councils, and exercised a pressure upon a great number of Slovene villagers, who were economically dependent on them. The Provincial School Board likewise used all its influence to prevent the introduction of Slovene schools, and to change the already established Slovene schools back into German ones. When visiting the country schools its members tried to persuade the people to introduce German schools, saying that the Slovene language was of no use to the children. If the Slovenes of a commune presented a petition for a Slovene school, a commission would come to state that the children learned enough Slovene at the "German-Slovene" schools. The commission would then hurriedly summon the population, and try to persuade them that their children indeed learned Slovene enough and tell them how useful the German language was until they got them to withdraw their petition. When in 1866 Einspieler gave the Carniolan deputies particulars about the schools in Carinthia so as to enable them to ask questions in Parliament, the Germans urged the mayors through official channels to sign a memorandum demanding German schools. By the united efforts of the administrative apparatus (school inspectors), of German wealth, and paid agitators they easily attained what they wanted.

But this, of course, does not mean that the majority of the Slovene people really wanted such schools. Even the elections, though carried out under extraordinarily strong German pressure, particularly during the time of the Liberalist régime in Austria (1866—1879) give a picture essentially differing from such memoranda signed by mayors. Even in the year 1867, when the German pressure was strongest, the Slovenes, whose fundamental claim were Slovene schools, got nearly 50 per cent of votes in the district of Velikovec (Voelkermarkt). Their victory was prevented particularly by the pressure of the officials of the iron works of Prevalje (for that reason the communes of Prevalje, Guštanj, Tolsti vrh almost without exception voted for the Germans) and by the agitation of the electoral commission even at the polling places. At Rož (Rosental) the majority of the electors voted for the Slovene candidates and in the district of Beljak (Villach) all except three electors voted for them. The political failure of the Slovenes is due above all to the construction of the electoral districts which were formed of German and Slovene areas together. This time Einspieler was unsuccessful, but after 1863 he was always elected deputy to the Provincial Diet. And surely his electors agreed with his programme. At later elections, when at last the pressure from the Liberal Government in Vienna had ceased, the situation of the Carinthian Slovenes in the rural communes still improved; at the elections to the Parliament of 1885 e. g., the results in the district of Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) were 110:1 for the Slovene candidates, in the electoral district of Beljak (Villach) only three communes, Borovlje (Ferlach), Smerče (Emersdorf), and Vernberk (Wernberg) voted for the Germans, the rest for the Slovenes. The electoral geometry, of course, often prevented Slovene successes. But it was obvious that the majority of the

common people were for Einspieler's school demands and that the petitions for German and utraquistic schools extorted by the Germans were the expressions of a minority. Of course, the Slovene deputies to the Provincial Diet could but make demands as they were always outvoted by the Germans.

It was not until 1870 that the rest of the Slovenes joined the struggle for language rights that had raged in Carinthia since the re-establishment of the Constitution. Of the series of "tabori" (great popular meetings), by which the demand for a United Slovenia was spread, three took place in Carinthia, where the attending Carinthians in great numbers agreed to this demand: in 1870 in Bistrica near Pliberk (Felstritz b. Bleiburg) and in Žoprače (Selpritsch), and in 1871 in Buhlje (Wuchl).

Just at this time, during the Franco-Prussian war, a new wave of pan-German nationalism rose in Carinthia. This is clearly shown by the writing of the newspapers during the war itself and still more by the celebration of the victory, when the town of Beljak (Villach) was bright with an enormous number of black-red-golden banners. The violence of this pan-German wave, connected with Liberalism, is most clearly shown by the fact, that in 1871 even in the rural communes only 3 Conservative (1 Slovene) and 9 Liberal candidates were elected. From this time onwards the German nationalism in Carinthia can be compared only with the Prussian nationalism which was animated by the Polish-German struggle.

No wonder that the Slovenes, owing to the German pressure, did not succeed in changing even one third of the schools for Slovene children into Slovene schools although they had at that time a legal basis for doing so. Thus in the year 1861 there were in Carinthia besides 28 Slovene schools, 56 German-Slovene ones, but in the sector north of Celovec (Klagenfurt) and Vrbsko jezero (Woerther See) all schools were completely German. Till 1864 the number of Slovene elementary schools was still reduced by two. As the new Austrian Education Act became valid (1869), by which the Provincial School Board was to decide on the language of instruction after having previously demanded the opinion of the communes, the Germans, not satisfied even with the status quo, went over to a systematic offensive. The Provincial School Board dispatched questionnaires to all communes with the object of learning the people's wishes about schools. With systematic official and private pressure upon the communal committees the Germans succeeded in making the majority demand the Slovene language for the lower classes and the German language for the upper classes, but a considerable part asked for Slovene as language of instruction and German to be taught only as a foreign language.

Based on this inquiry the Provincial School Board in 1872 founded the famous utraquistic schools. The object of these schools, as revealed by its curriculum, was, above all, to teach the children the German language. The children should be taught in Slovene during the first year and partly in the second. Slovene instruction should be used only as a means to teach them German and afterwards the German language should

become the language of instruction. While twelve hours weekly were assigned to German as a compulsory subject, only three hours a week and always the last lessons of the day were assigned to Slovene as a semicompulsory subject (the children could excuse themselves from learning Slovene if they wanted to). In practice it was even worse: the Slovene language had at its disposal only ten to twenty pages in one of the text-books; in reality the teachers talked Slovene (not literary Slovene, but a dialect) only the first few months of the first school year, from then onwards the German language ruled unlimitedly. Only religious instruction was still given in the mother tongue. It was in the teaching of this subject that it was noticed that the above described schools did not enable the Slovene children even to read Roman letters and Slovene texts. The teachers giving Bible lessons demanded at the Provincial School Board and the Ministry of Education that the children in the utraquistic schools destined for Slovenes should at least learn how to read Slovene. But their request was, of course, constantly refused.

In vain the Slovenes demanded that the children in the elementary schools should first be taught the literary Slovene language in the same way as German children first learnt literary German. German should be taught to them only when the children knew the Slovene literary language well. The communal committees, the Local School Boards and the teachers of religious instruction continuously presented petitions to the district School Boards, to the Provincial School Board, to the Ministry of Education, and sent complaints to the State Court, demanding that more attention and time should be given to Slovene; all in vain. 140 such unsuccessful petitions and complaints were presented only in the time from 1874 to 1889 and were followed incessantly by new ones. In the year 1910 it even happened that both the State and the Administrative Courts granted some of these petitions and backed their decisions with the stipulations of the Constitution, but the Provincial School Board would not consider even these decisions of the supreme administrative body in the State.

A great part of these petitions remained unanswered, the rest was settled by the Germans in their old way; an official commission visited the locality, "stated" a sufficient knowledge of the Slovene language and used their authority to persuade the signers of the petitions to withdraw them. Even the highest administrative officials took part in this work (the district leader at Bilčovs [Ludmannsdorf] in the year 1887). The teachers at utraquistic schools did not know Slovene at all (in 1892 39 teachers knew the Slovene language, 71 knew only a little, 42 of them did not even understand it). At this time the majority of the teachers were already Germans, who punished the children for speaking Slovene at school. They were, moreover, compelled to such proceedings by the higher school authorities who threatened to deprive the teachers of the quinquennial increase in their small salary if the results of the Germanization should not be satisfactory. In the year 1877 the Provincial School Board issued the following directions: "The German instruction will remain unsuccessful as long as the

teacher dresses his teaching in Slovene clothes. The German language is to be taught by the direct method; the teacher should speak exclusively German with his pupils even though they may not understand him." According to these directions, the teachers already before 1914 began to give up even those 3 Slovene lessons a week that were allowed by decree to the utraquistic schools. Till the end of the 19th century there was no public Slovene school in the country. Altogether there were 89 utraquistic and three Slovene schools in Carinthia in the year 1913.

Because the body of the civil servants was one of the most important factors of Germanization, the Carinthian Slovenes sought in vain positions in their native country after having finished their studies at the university. They were appointed to Carniola or to Lower Styria lest the Slovene intellectual class in Carinthia should be fortified. The semi-private professions (the district physicians), too, were reserved almost entirely for Germans, of whom the great majority were active German political workers. In the year 1912 four posts of veterinary surgeons were vacant in the Slovene part of the country and in this whole part not one of the veterinary surgeons could speak Slovene, but a Slovene veterinary surgeon Škofič had to practise in the German part of the country. In the year 1913, there were in the offices of the Slovene part of the country only 66 Slovene officials beside 1463 German ones (115 of whom held certificates that they knew Slovene). Nevertheless in the year 1909 the Germans founded an "Association of German State employees in Carinthia". This association was to watch over "the interests of the German State employees against the steadily increasing penetration of people of another nationality. It should maintain at least the present national status in the offices. Besides it should endeavour to have vacant posts wherever possible occupied by Germans". In this way the Germans, supported by the State and Provincial authorities, limited and hampered the growth of Slovene Carinthian bourgeoisie so much that the common people had to struggle for their rights in Carinthia alone.

In this policy the railways which had by then been built in the country were of special importance (1863—1871 Maribor—Celovec [Klagenfurt]—Beljak [Villach]; 1870 Trbiž [Tarvis]—Ljubljana; 1873—1879 Beljak [Villach]—Trbiž [Tarvis]—Pontabelj [Pontafel]; 1903 Sinča ves [Kuehnsdorf]—Železna Kapla [Eisenkappel]; 1906 the Karavanke railway, 1909 the Ture railway [Tauernbahn]). In the railways, too, the composition of the personnel was similar (in 1913 there were 773 Germans, of whom 61 held a certificate that they knew Slovene, and 24 Slovenes). Every railway station and every office in the Slovene part of the country was artificially changed by immigrant Germans into a fresh chauvinist germanizing centre, likewise every gendarmerie station on the road and every larger school. That is the reason that the traffic artificially furthered Germanization to such a great extent. All German officials were even more ardent germanizers as with the introduction of linguistic equality their own social and economical existence would have deteriorated. The Slovenes who were qualified for such posts had to find jobs in the German part of the country.

It clearly appears that these German employees neither could nor would make use of the Slovene language in their administration. Even in the courts, where according to the stipulations of the Constitution of 1867 and to the Ministerial Decree of 1882, Slovene clients had a right to a Slovene trial, that right was refused to them, especially after 1903. Even if both parties were Slovene or one of them unable to understand German the case was conducted in German in spite of their protest. The same practice was introduced in the land-register. Since 1907, in both these offices the German language was exclusively dominant, Slovene lost all its rights. This language struggle was carried even into the street. In the year 1908 the Germans organized demonstrations in the streets of Celovec (Klagenfurt) with the unlawful demand that every application to the Courts made in Slovene should be unconditionally refused. At the post offices and at the railways the Slovene language was also systematically suppressed and the Germans did not shrink even from using police measures and imprisonment. A particular sort of propaganda and of violence against the Slovenes was carried out at the censuses; this violence increased with the spreading of the pan-German movement in the country. How correct these censuses were, clearly appears from an official communication of the Town Council of Celovec (Klagenfurt) of the year 1890, in which this council maintained that the Slovenes of Celovec (Klagenfurt) had no right to register themselves as Slovenes, because at Celovec the common language was German and everyone was forced to speak German; everyone's language of intercourse was German. Especially since 1900, when the German imperialists began to dream of world hegemony, the pan-German wave rose also in Carinthia. Particularly the teachers and the intellectuals were delighted with these dreams of a victory over England and France. This enthusiasm was finding external expression in the increasing number of votes for the pan-German party, in the hanging out of German flags and in the singing of imperialist German battle songs at various demonstrations.

The Germans, indeed, succeeded at that time in winning over to their side (at least politically) the upper and lower Slovene middle-classes, since the end of the 19th century also the workers (to the Socialist Party), but still the electoral successes as well as the successful organization of the Carinthian Slovenes show that the majority of them were steadfastly fighting against the German oppression. In the year 1897 the Slovene candidate Gregor Einspieler even gained the victory in the District of Celovec (Klagenfurt) by 117 votes against 114 German votes (number of inhabitants according to the official census of 1900: 25,759 Germans and 24,133 Slovenes). At the elections of the electoral representatives in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Slovenes had on their side all the communes of the District of Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) almost compactly, with only a few exceptions, two thirds of the communes in Rož (Rosental) and in the southern half of the Celovec (Klagenfurt) District, two thirds of the Slovene communes of the Zilja Valley (Gailtal) and all communes of the Kanal Valley. Later elections on the ground of a general suffrage (in 1907 and 1911) also show that the

majority of the Slovene inhabitants agreed with the demands of their conservative political leaders. In spite of the increasing German minority the Slovene Deputy Grafenauer both times won an absolute majority of votes in the electoral district of Borovlje (Ferlach)—Pilberk (Bleiburg).

From 1882 onwards the Carinthian Slovenes again published a political paper "Mir" (Peace) (1882—1918), in 1890 they founded the "Katoliško politično in gospodarsko društvo" (The Catholic Political and Economical Association) and they renewed their cultural and economical efforts in close connection with those of the rest of the Slovenes. Thus they had in 1914 thirty-two organizations at Celovec (Klagenfurt) only, and in the whole of Carinthia 61 economical and 177 cultural societies. A great majority of them was, however, under an explicitly conservative leadership.

In spite of this the Carinthian Slovenes had almost no political representation. The electoral districts for the elections into the Provincial Assembly had been, up to 1914, divided so cleverly that the Slovenes could possibly win only in two districts, whilst everywhere else the Germans were in the majority. Even after the Election Reform Act in 1907 the electoral districts were constructed so that the Slovenes had a majority only in one of them. Owing to such electoral geometry the Slovenes, who even according to the official census in 1910 still formed 21,2 per cent of the population, won not more than 4,6 per cent of the mandates available for the Provincial Assembly and 11,1 per cent of the Parliamentary mandates.

Before the first World War already the Germans made use of violence in order to restrict the activities of the Slovene societies in Carinthia. With demonstrations and various outrages the Germans disturbed the festivities and meetings of the Slovene societies in Carinthia. They forbade the opening of the Slovene "Homes of Culture" in Carinthia (In 1908 at Podljubelj [Unterloibl], in 1909 at Brnica [Furnitz]). The Germans enjoyed all the help of the authorities. During the first World War the outrages on the Slovene population spread and continued without interruption. Not only the Slovene political leaders but also many simple Slovene peasants of Carinthia were put into prison. In 1918 a delegation of Carinthian Germans demanded from the Emperor "that the Slovenes in Carinthia should be deprived of all rights that might ensure their peculiar national existence".

Notwithstanding all this German terror 19,000 signatures of Slovenes and 80 of Carinthian parish priests were collected under the most difficult circumstances for the so-called May Declaration demanding the union of the Slovenes with the South Slavs. In spite of all kinds of Italian intrigues and other incorrectnesses which essentially influenced the results of the Plebiscite of 1920, the Yugoslavs succeeded in scoring a victory at the Plebiscite in the regions south of the river Drava (Drau) (in the whole of Podjuna [Jauntal] and Rož [Rosental]). That the Plebiscite for the whole territory was won by Austria is to be ascribed to the three quarters of a century of German preparation by means of a deliberate and violent Germanization of the Carinthian Slovenes against which the Slovenes fought a hard but fruitless fight.

b) The German-Austrian Republic

Immediately before the Plebiscite (September 28, 1920) the Provincial Assembly of Carinthia solemnly promised "that it intended to protect the national and linguistic individuality of the Slovene population and ensure its spiritual and economical prosperity in the same degree as that of the German inhabitants of the country". The Plebiscite propaganda used this promise as a means to conciliate those numerous Slovenes who wanted a more progressive form of government than that of the Yugoslav militarist monarchy but hesitated, afraid lest they should lose their national rights. In the whole Plebiscite Zone A, Austria got 59,04 per cent of the votes (22,025), Yugoslavia 40,96 per cent (15.279). On the whole territory south of the river Drava (Drau) Yugoslavia got a majority of 52,7 per cent of all votes and in a strip of communes north of the Drava (Drau), a 52,2 per cent majority of the votes. Nearly one half of the Plebiscite Zone A — even according to the official returns, against which well-founded objections must be risen — decided for Yugoslavia. But only the total result was taken into consideration, and the wish of the population was disregarded; the country was annexed to German Austria against the will of the population.

It is true that the Carinthian Provincial Government, when taking over the administration in the Plebiscite Zone A (on November 18, 1920) repeated the promise made by the Provincial Assembly: "Faithful to the solemn proclamation of the Carinthian Assembly on September 28, 1920, and to the promises made to-day by the Provincial Government of Carinthia through its representative at the Plebiscite commission on the basis of the regulations of the Treaty of Saint Germain, we promise that we shall in future remove from the country all national strife and hatred".

Instead of keeping their promises the Austrians started to exercise a far greater oppression upon the Carinthian Slovenes than had been exercised upon them before 1914. The German political parties made a deliberate attack upon the Plebiscite Zone. They wanted to annihilate the Slovenes as a political power by placing them under the exclusive lead of German political parties, of the Landbund and the social democrats. A planned terror was used against the Carinthian Slovenes who did not give way to the intense political propaganda combined with economic pressure. And all the German violence had a uniform leadership. Up to the year 1924 all the parties were organized in the organization "Heimatdienst", which decided on all things concerning Slovene Carinthia. When the Socialists left the organization in 1924, the Heimatdienst was reorganized into the Heimatbund. But the actual leadership of both organizations was in the hands of Carinthian Nazis. Maier-Kaibitsch, who later on became SS-Standartenführer, discharged the affairs of both organizations, the spiritual leader was the Nazi Martin Wutte who also gave practical advice for the struggle against the Slovenes, and the net of confidants was also mainly pro-Nazi. The Heimatbund found its most valuable support in the ranks of the teachers who, according

to the statement of the present Austrian Government, were the main supporters and creators of Nazism in Austria. According to what has been found out so far, more than one third was already organized in the Nazi-party when it was still illegal. The pro-Nazi tendencies of the Heimatbund are also evident from their fervent support of the "Anschluss". "We must persuade the people in southern Carinthia, that annexation to the German Reich is the only possible relief for their economic troubles" (Maier-Kaibitsch, on October 21, 1926; and similarly Martin Wutte in favour of the Anschluss in his Kampf um Südkärnten, 1925: "The Carinthian danger does not concern only the Carinthians but it concerns all the German nation").

Under the leadership of the Heimatdienst a series of attacks on nationally conscious Slovenes was organized (15 cases in the years 1921 and 1922); when such attackers were tried on July 28, 1922, at Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) they were acquitted as "heimattreu" (faithful to the fatherland), whereas the attacked were said to be "jugoslawisch gesinnte" (friendly disposed towards Yugoslavia). In 1921 seven Slovene farms were burnt down. In the name of the Heimatdienst, the Velikovec mayor Kandut and the counsellor-at-law Poetsch demanded that the Slovene political leader Dr Petek should leave Velikovec (Voelkermarkt) in three days or they could not answer for his life. They arrested Slovenes and put them into prison on charges of "high treason" without any evidence (Borovnik Tone, at Borovlje-Ferlach, teacher J. Wutte). They even attacked priests: on February 17, 1921, the clergyman Limpl was seriously injured; on March 6, 1921, an attack on the priest Trunk was carried out at Celovec (Klagenfurt); at a meeting of the Heimatdienst the intended murder of the priest Starc was discussed.

In the first years after the Plebiscite no Slovene meeting could take place without being disturbed. Specially organized German bands led by officials and mayors dispersed the meetings (for instance the attack on the meeting at Grebinj [Griffen] on March 12, 1922, led by the mayors Schwarz and Rabitsch and the counsellor-at-law Poetsch). The gendarmerie would not interfere against the attackers as they were organized by the Heimatdienst. At the gathering of the Landbund on March 25, 1922, Schumy, the Vice-Governor of the Province, explicitly called upon the people to disperse the Slovenes if they wanted to have a meeting or a cultural entertainment.

27 Slovene railwaymen were dismissed without pension by the Beljak (Villach) directorate; the same happened to a considerable number of workers in the iron works of Borovlje (Ferlach) and 28 teachers. Obeying the demands of the Heimatdienst, even the Bishop removed a series of Slovene priests, and appointed to certain parishes Germans from the Reich who could speak no Slovene. The Slovenes were deprived of licenses for public houses (the Culture House at Velikovec [Voelkermarkt]; the rooms of the Cultural Society were unlawfully seized in 1924 at Dobrla ves [Eberndorf]). In both cases the Supreme Court decided favourably for the Slovenes but the wilful decisions of the local authorities nevertheless prevailed.

It goes without saying that the use of Slovene in public offices was stopped. After 1920 no Slovene official was appointed either to a Provincial

or to a State office in Carinthia, whereas all the pre-Plebiscite officials were dismissed from service. The same is true for the railways and post offices. Even the road-surveyors and postmen who had voted for Yugoslavia were dismissed.

Even the Germans admit that the position of the Slovenes "evidently deteriorated" after the Plebiscite. It is a fact that "economic prosperity was easier to be attained by a Slovene if he joined the pro-German 'Windische'". The German teachers demand "that a Slovene speaking child should as soon as possible use exclusively the German language". The teachers even instructed the children to slight their own nation. Private Slovene schools were forbidden "because there was a danger of irredentism" (1921). No Slovene was admitted to the training college for teachers at Celovec (Klagenfurt) if it did not seem quite sure that he would firmly take sides for the Germans before the end of his studies. "All the teachers in the mixed area of the country... take an active part in the Germanization". In 1934 the regulations of the Decree concerning the utraquistic schools were obeyed only in 7 out of 78 schools. Everywhere else the teaching of the Slovene language was nearly or completely abolished. "In the decade after the Plebiscite the utraquistic schools became a means of aggravating the position of Slovenes faithful to their nation". (Veiter Th., *Die Slowenen in Kärnten*, 1936, p. 63—71.)

Even parochial stamps were not allowed to be written in both languages. According to official data there was no teacher with a knowledge of Slovene in 30 utraquistic schools. In 80 utraquistic schools there were only 68 teachers qualified for Slovene in 1930/31 (the entire staff was 206; according to *Kärntner Schulwesen, Personalstand der Kärntner Lehrerschaft 1930/31*).

At this time the Nazi movement made only slow progress in Carinthia, spreading mostly among teachers and students. But they were very active (in 1923 the Carinthians were the first who sent an oath of allegiance to Hitler who was then in prison); besides the Nazis predominated in the Heimatbund which decided the fate of the Slovene minority in Carinthia.

In 1921 the Carinthian Slovenes re-established their political, cultural and economic organizations: "Politično in gospodarsko društvo na Koroškem" (The Political and Economical Society in Carinthia), "Slovenska krščansko-socialna zveza" (The Slovene Christian-Socialist Union), from 1933 on "Prosvetna zveza" (Culture Union). In spite of the fact that only economically completely independent farmers could vote for the Slovenes — as the great German landowners (Heldorf, Thurn, Voigt) could also take the land from the farmers — and despite the organized German bands preventing all Slovene political meetings, the Carinthian Slovene Party got almost 10,000 votes and two deputies to the Provincial Assembly. The Germans answered with an attack on the deputy Poljanec on which occasion a gendarme refused to interfere. Against numerous gatherings of the German parties the Carinthian Slovenes could only present the "Koroški Slovenec" (The Carinthian Slovene), a weekly, printed in Vienna, but ne-

vertheless they scored at the elections of 1923 only one vote less than at the elections of 1921.

The German attacks, therefore, became even sharper. In his pamphlet "Der Kampf um Südkärnten" Martin Wutte only expressed the views of the Heimatbund when calling all Slovenes who had given their votes to the Carinthian Slovene Party "irreconcilable" irredentists, although this party acknowledged the status quo. He called all the Slovene economic and cultural organizations, Slovene plays and musical performances, in short everything indicating that Lower Carinthia was a Slovene country — irredentism. He incited the Germans to attack all these Slovene organizations and to start a resolute campaign for the annexation of Austria to Germany.

Also in the matter of statistics the Austrian Republic by far surpassed the Hapsburg Monarchy in oppression and forgeries. In the eyes of German nationalists everybody who declared himself a Slovene committed high treason; even at the census, the census commissioners put the question concerning language in this sense ("are you for Austria or SHS, are you German or Serb" etc.). We have already seen the results of such proceedings but we are referring to them again because they are of interest for the political historian as a special example of national oppression. In 1926 the Heimatbund, which directed all the German policy against the Carinthian Slovenes, started to execute a plan of buying up Slovene estates and settling Germans on them, mainly from Eastern Prussia. Up to the year 1934, 133 German families numbering 707 family members were thus settled on a territory with a Slovene majority. In addition the Germans facilitated the settlement of Carinthian German worker-families in the border areas (for instance in the commune of Marija on Zilja [S. Maria a. d. Gail] 69 families, in the commune of Št. Rupert [St. Ruprecht] near Celovec [Klagenfurt] 250 families numbering about 1500 members.

As a reply to all this oppression, the Yugoslav Government in 1924 disbanded the autonomous "Cultural Union" of the Germans in the Vojvodina and the latter urged the Carinthian Germans to grant cultural autonomy to the Carinthian Slovenes. In 1926 Maier-Kaibitsch said in a public speech at Celovec (Klagenfurt), that the Carinthian Slovenes would not get autonomy because they had a right to it but because this "was the demand of German minorities everywhere... Cultural autonomy must be granted but the expenses must be borne by the Slovenes themselves". In fact, under the pressure of the Germans in Yugoslavia the German parties in Carinthia put before the Provincial Assembly a bill concerning the cultural autonomy of the Carinthian Slovenes (1927). Negotiations which had started some time before, were conducted for the Slovenes by Dr Petek, for many years Slovene deputy in the Provincial Assembly. There were two main points of dissension at these negotiations.

The Germans proposed to make the Slovene national cadaster (register) the basis for the Slovene cultural autonomy. Only those Slovenes who decided to do so by their own free will should be entered in the register. Therefore no objective facts (mother tongue, etc.) but the mere personal will was decisive. The Slovenes, on the other hand, demanded that objective facts

should be taken as the basis of the register. They pointed out that according to the German proposal only one political group among the Slovenes would be given autonomy, i. e. one third of the minority, not the minority itself; in addition the German parties reserved for themselves the right to mobilize every political and economical means in their power against the inscription in the register and against children attending Slovene schools which were to be opened.

But in spite of all this the Slovenes finally accepted the proposal of the national register based on subjective criteria, but only on two conditions:

- 1) that the register be secret and in Slovene hands so that it could not be abused for political retaliation by the Germans,

- 2) that "all the rights and duties of the minority be transferred to the representative body of the cultural autonomy".

The Slovene Carinthians wanted thus to thwart the Nazi plan to separate the Slovenes, "faithful to the fatherland", from those entered in the register.

An agreement between both parties was therefore not prevented either by the German plan of a Slovene national register nor by the dispute about the conditions under which inscription should take place, as German writers asserted some time later; it was prevented by the dispute about another point which concerned the organization of the new Slovene schools. The German additional proposal to the Bill of Autonomy suggested that all the existing utraquistic schools should remain untouched beside the new Slovene schools built and kept at the Slovene minority's own expenses. So the Slovene children of the same place should be divided among two schools according to the political and party adherences of their parents. In this point the Slovenes could not yield. Their view was that the language which the children had spoken before going to school was to have more weight than the language of instruction decided upon by their parents. At a gathering of the Slovene Political and Economical Society on April 28, 1928, a resolution was passed to the effect "that they resolutely rejected every division of Slovene children among two school authorities" and that "they demanded a national and patriotic education by Slovene teachers and in the mother tongue for all children brought up by their parents in the Slovene language". They demanded that the Slovene autonomous cultural organization take over all the utraquistic schools which had been established as minority schools for the Slovenes. All Slovene children, regardless of the political opinion of their parents, should attend these schools and all the Slovenes, regardless of their political opinion, should decide upon their administration. The schools should be supported in the same manner as they had been supported hitherto, that is at the expense of the country; the Slovenes could not pay additional taxes for special Slovene schools beside the other taxes which they paid like the rest of the citizens.

On this basis negotiations were unacceptable for the Germans as in this way it would have been impossible for them to disintegrate the Slovenes. Only a few months later, on October 20, 1927, the Landbund, the party which had, in agreement with all its deputies in the Provincial

Assembly, put forward the Bill on Cultural Autonomy, refused to discuss the cultural autonomy of the Slovenes in Carinthia at all; at the same time it started a wide propaganda campaign against the proposal which had been put forward. It must be emphasized that the main German parties in Carinthia wanted by means of this "cultural autonomy" first culturally to divide and then to destroy the Slovene minority. The Landbund, the Socialists and the Christian Socialists were unanimous in this aim. The leader of the Christian Socialist party explicitly declared to Dr Petek that it was no concern of the Slovenes what the Germans were going to do with those Slovene children whose parents would not enter their names in the national cadaster (register).

At negotiations in Geneva in 1930 the Carinthian Germans, following the mediation of German minorities who aimed at a propaganda success in their own political campaigns, finally agreed to certain points which should form the basis for a renewal of the negotiations:

- 1) The actual carrying out of the decree of the year 1891 concerning the utraquistic schools, especially the regulation about the compulsory lessons of Slovene (3 lessons a week).

- 2) Appointment of a supervisor for utraquistic schools whom Slovenes also could trust.

- 3) A guarantee that Slovene teachers could get the necessary education.

- 4) Establishment of one Slovene agricultural and two domestic science schools.

- 5) The public administration should return certain premises destined for Slovene purposes which it had occupied (a Slovene printing-works and a college).

- 6) Subsidy for Slovene co-operatives and appointment of a Slovene representative to the Cultural Council of the country.

- 7) Removal of prominent officials against whom there were well founded complaints.

That meant the end of any real cultural autonomy. But even these demands — Veiter admits that they were reduced to the minimum — were too much for the Germans. On April 6, 1930, the Great German Party refused to continue the discussions. On June 12, 1930, the School Board of the Provincial Assembly simply denied to Dr Petek that any agreement had ever been reached. Despite repeated Slovene demands the Plenum of the Provincial Assembly never heard the report on the negotiations about the cultural autonomy. At the same time Martin Wutte put the campaign against the Slovenes on a new basis. In his article "Deutsch-windisch-slowenisch" published on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Plebiscite in the Heimatbund's pamphlet "Kampf um Kärnten" he asserted that the majority of the Carinthian Slovenes did not belong to the Slovene nation at all. In spite of speaking the Slovene language these "Windische" were only a part of the German nation. Therefore the Germans were fully justified in using all means to make them completely German, also with regard to their language.

This article by Wutte is a "scientific" justification of the violent Germanization of the Carinthian Slovenes and of the German refusal of any concessions to the Slovene minority with regard to all those Slovenes who did not belong to the Slovene Conservative Party. From then onwards the Germans at all negotiations demanded that the Slovenes should "let the Vindišarji alone". This was also the fundamental demand of all German pamphlets of that time (M. Wutte, Scheichelbauer, Miltschinsky). The Germans would not negotiate with the Slovenes unless the latter agreed also to the cultural division of the Slovene minority and left its great part to the mercy of the Germans.

At this time the Nazi movement in Carinthia grew in strength. After the communal elections in 1933 the Nazis had their representatives in almost all the Carinthian communes. On the occasion of the dissolution of the party, acts of violence were committed in some places (in Spittal for instance). On the occasion of the revolt in July 1934, it was only in Carinthia that the Nazis succeeded in taking over a great part of the country; there they held their ground against the regular army longer than anywhere else in Austria, then they retreated across the frontier. The strength of the Nazi movement in the country was evident at every step (swastikas, etc.). All the teachers in the Slovene part of Carinthia were ideological supporters of Hitler and more than one third actually were members of the illegal Nazi Party.

In 1934 Father Starc and Dr Tischler again opened negotiations in the name of the Carinthian Slovenes. They hoped that it would be easier for them to succeed with the Christian Socialist Party which they supported. But the Christian Socialists also entrusted the negotiations with the Slovenes to the Heimatbund, that is to say to the Nazi leader Maier-Kaibitsch. But at the beginning the discussions nevertheless made some progress. Several types of bilingual schools with a detailed distribution of Slovene and German lessons were agreed upon; on a special list put forward by the Heimatbund it was marked into what category the various existing utraqustic schools belonged. The Slovenes had already accepted this list when Maier-Kaibitsch suddenly broke off the negotiations. The cause was revealed in 1942 by Maier-Kaibitsch himself: "There was already some danger that a Slovene school supervisor might be appointed". Thus the Slovenes would have obtained control over the principal tools of the Heimatbund — the Nazi teachers; they would have hindered their work at least as far as it infringed the laws on the utraqustic schools. Therefore the Heimatbund preferred to stop negotiations before they came to a successful conclusion.

When in the years 1936 and 1937 the Slovenes again tried to settle the question of schools in Carinthia, the elementary school teachers at their gathering on June 5, 1937, resolutely rejected every reform of the elementary school. At the same time the last Slovene book (the Primer) disappeared from another 11 utraqustic schools. The mediation of the representatives of the German minority in Slovenia (on August 27, 1937) had not the least success against this decision of the Heimatbund.

We thus see that in the Republic of Austria the promises given to the Slovene minority before the Plebiscite were kept neither by the Socialists nor by the Liberals nor the Christian-Socialists. Even during the Christian-Socialist dictatorship which the Slovenes supported against Nazism, the position of the Slovenes did not change at all. During all this time the fate of the Carinthian Slovenes was in fact decided upon by the Nazis. For in the Slovene part of Carinthia no government, whatever party was in power, took any measures to which the Heimatbund, the instrument of the later SS-Standartenführer Maier-Kaibitsch, had not agreed beforehand.

c) Hitler's Austria

Of the whole of Austria Carinthia was the province in which the Nazi movement was best organized even before 1938. This was revealed also at the Anschluss in 1938 when the Nazi leaders took over authority in Carinthia sooner than in any other Austrian province. With great enthusiasm the Carinthian Germans accepted the fulfilment of the dreams which had been cherished by their spokesmen of whatever political party from 1918 onward.

Especially in the relations with the Slovene minority the continuity between Republican and Nazi Austria is clearly expressed. For the SS-Standartenführer Maier-Kaibitsch, the leader of the Heimatbund, was appointed commissioner for the minority in Carinthia. Immediately after the Anschluss the persecutions of the Slovene political leaders started. The parish priest Poljanec was arrested and poisoned so that he died in consequence of it a few months later. He was not granted peace even after death — for his grave was profaned. (September 5, 1938.)

After the Anschluss, however, a much greater danger menaced the Carinthian Slovenes than anybody else in Carinthia. From 1931 onward the only Slovene party in Carinthia had been in close connection with the Christian-Socialists who were the chief supporters of the Schuschnigg régime and as such they were among the most determined opponents of the Nazis during the years of political struggle. Immediately before the Anschluss the Slovene political leaders published posters calling upon the Carinthian Slovenes to vote against the Anschluss at the Schuschnigg plebiscite. Thus the Carinthian Slovenes were threatened by the same danger as all other anti-Nazi fighters. But this danger was immensely increased by the fact that after the Anschluss the greatest adversaries of the Slovenes came into power, those who had been the leaders of the anti-Slovene struggle from 1918 to 1920 and the leaders of the whole campaign against the Carinthian Slovenes during the period of the Republic of Austria.

Thus the Slovenes were justified in expecting an extremely harsh anti-Slovene minority policy in Carinthia. As a minority which could not expect any assistance from abroad they could mitigate this only by expressing their loyalty to the new State. In that way they were able to put at least a brake on the persecutions that had started immediately after the Anschluss.

But even this did not help much. Maier-Kalbitsch was carrying out his plan without regard to hindrances. Above all he wanted to germanize the Slovene youth in the shortest possible time by means of an organization that was being carried out to the least detail. In summer 1938 already the former germanizing means were increased by 60 kindergartens for children from 3 to 6 years of age which, according to the official declaration, had the purpose "of accustoming the children of the border region to the German language and German peculiarity sooner and better than the schools could". These kindergartens were run by German women teachers who did not know one single word of Slovene. Other means of Germanization were strengthened too. The net of officials got denser, along the frontier custom-house officers were posted at every 8th kilometre, in the Slovene part of the country a line of barracks was erected and billeted by German soldiers. The German youth organizations came to Slovene Carinthia to spend their holidays there. While Slovene workers were sent to build roads in Germany and forbidden to speak Slovene to one another, hundreds of German workmen were sent to the Slovene region. The Germans were forbidden to buy anything from Slovene shop-keepers. A net of SS-spies was spread through all villages.

At the beginning of the new school year 1938—1939 the schools were entirely germanized. The Slovene language and even the Roman letters were banished. From then onward the Slovenes were culturally dependent on private home instruction, for even public courses in Slovene were prohibited. The children were forcibly included in Nazi organizations in spite of their parents' opposition. A whole number of Slovene societies were dissolved, others (fire-brigades) were taken over by the Germans. The work of the cultural societies was made impossible by police decrees. By economic pressure (subventions, etc.) the Germans tried to cause individuals to leave the Slovene cultural societies in which they saw opposition to Nazism. Admittance of new members was quite forbidden. The majority of the most distinguished Slovene clergymen were transferred to the German part of the country and even before the end of 1938 the remaining Slovene leaders, Dr Tischler and the parish priest Starc, had to leave the country.

But by all this the Germans attained just the opposite of their wishes. The Slovenes realized that their sole salvation was in uniting with the Slovenes in Yugoslavia. And they were also aware that that had to take place as soon as possible because otherwise the tremendous German pressure would probably succeed in germanizing a great part of the Slovene youth. Even that part of the Slovene minority which had formerly had no national feeling became more and more conscious of its nationality. One of the proofs of the increasing compactness of the Slovenes is the census of 1939: the number of the Slovene speaking inhabitants increased by 19.000 in five years (according to official data). Already in 1939 an organization of Slovene deserters from the German Army was coming into existence; others were taking refuge in Yugoslavia.

With the collapse of Yugoslavia the Carinthian Germans considered the problem of the Carinthian Slovenes as "solved". They dissolved all their organizations, put into prison or removed from the country all remaining Slovene intellectual workers, removed nearly all Slovene priests and substituted for them priests from the Reich. Orders such as the following were issued by Maier-Kalbitsch: In Carinthia there is no place for Slovenes. And he who does not consider himself Slovene must not use the Slovene language anywhere. To obtain this the fullest use must be made of the influence of the school on the children as well as of various courses and of social institutions which are not allowed to give any relief to a person who speaks Slovene. All Slovene books must be found out and destroyed. Only German must be spoken in Carinthia. "Therefore our first and most important task for the future is to exterminate the Slovene language in public and private life. In the years 1918—1919 it was right to use the slogans "Carinthia to the Carinthians" and "Out with the Carniolans", as there was then no support from the German Reich. But now the German border land must be cleaned" (July 10, 1942). Before this he had already deported some hundred Slovene families who were the most nationally conscious ("The leading circles of the Carinthian Slovenes") from the country in order to frighten the others (altogether about 300 families — more than 2000 people). In their homes he settled Nazi-German families coming from the Kanal Valley.

But this also was without success. On the contrary, the Slovenes clearly realized that only Yugoslavia would make life for them possible and so they hopefully looked to the south. They made contact with the Slovenes in Upper Carniola and passed to open fighting against the Nazis. With all determination they put before the world their demand that Southern Carinthia be split off from Germany or Austria. The Partisan movement in Carinthia was the only example of armed resistance against Nazism in the whole territory of the German Reich. From 1942 onward the Carinthian Slovenes fought all over Slovene Carinthia in the Partisan ranks for the victory of the United Nations and for the union of Slovene Carinthia with Yugoslavia. Everywhere in this region the Liberation Front of the Slovene nation also established a chain of men of confidence. This movement was the first to create political unity among all Slovenes, without regard to the different parties they had formerly adhered to. The German answer to this was to torture captured Partisans, shoot hostages, burn down farms and make new deportations. Finally Maier-Kalbitsch prepared a plan for the deportation of all Carinthian Slovenes to Southern Russia. Huts were already prepared there with the names of various Slovene villages in Carinthia to receive their inhabitants. Only the victorious march of the Red Army after the historical turning point of the present war — the victory at Stalingrad — prevented the realization of this intended crime.

About 3500 Carinthian Slovenes fought till the end of the war in Partisan detachments under the chief command of Marshal Tito against the Nazis in Carinthia. (We must add that Slovene Carinthia was then almost

without male population, which were mobilized into Hitler's Army or sent to concentration camps.) Three British majors were with them as liaison officers. In 1944 the Carinthian Partisans in Črna (Schwarzenberg) even got a special commendation from Field-Marshal Alexander. Their co-operation was of essential importance also at the final liberation of Carinthia from the Nazi criminals.

The Partisans in Carinthia were fighting all this time for the union of all the Slovene lands, for the liberation of Slovenia and for the democratic rights of their tortured nation. In this struggle all Carinthian Slovenes rallied around them. On this basis they also combined with the anti-Fascist Austrians who now frankly admit that their fight was successful only where they relied on Tito's Army. The French prisoners of war in Carinthia made the very same declaration regarding their sabotage actions. A striking expression of this Yugoslav-Austrian collaboration were also the two Austrian battalions in the ranks of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army, while the other Austrians themselves were not able to form one single unit of anti-Nazi fighters, but without any qualms went to the front against the Allies and even distinguished themselves there in war crimes. Let us, by the way, stress also the fact that it was just the Carinthian Nazis who committed the most numerous crimes all over Slovenia, and who occupied all leading positions in the "Adriatic Operation Zone" (Operationszone Adriatisches Küstenland), and at Ljubljana and that it is, therefore, they who are in the first line responsible for everything that happened there during their occupation.

THE PRESENT POSITION AND THE YUGOSLAV STANDPOINT

In 1846 the Slovenes and Germans in Carinthia were divided by an ethnographic frontier which left on the Slovene side all the Zilja Valley (Gailtal) east of Šmohor (Hermagor), touched Beljak (Villach), then ran along the hills in the Osojske Ture (Osslacher Tauern), the Šenturška gora (Ulrichsberg) and Šentlenska gora (Magdalensberg), encircled the whole Celovec (Klagenfurt) Basin high above Celovec (Klagenfurt), then passed over the Svinška planina (Saulpe) and the river Drava (Drau) and reached the provincial frontier above Dravograd (Drauburg). This border line divided at those times the still purely Slovene ethnic territory from the purely German one. On the Slovene side about 14,000 Germans lived among 118,000 Slovenes and on the German side about 4,000 Slovenes among 184,000 Germans.

By means of the new capitalistic economic policy the Germans succeeded during the last century in moving the Slovene ethnographic frontier towards the south, particularly in the sector above Celovec (Klagenfurt) which in this way became connected with German territory. Thus they created a true bilingual area and some German linguistic islands and pervaded the whole Slovene part of the country with a certain percentage of German inhabitants. In spite of this, there are still about 120,000 Slovenes in Carinthia. In as much as the rural districts were germanized, this was done exclusively by violent measures. The same can be said for the smaller industrial towns. A real German colonization took place only at Beljak (Villach), in some holiday resorts at the Vrbsko jezero (Woerther See) [Vrba (Velden), Poreče (Poertschach), Kriva Vrba (Krumpendorf)] and at Celovec (Klagenfurt). In other places the Germanization made progress also without any shifting of the Slovene ethnic frontier so that, as a result of the strong German pressure, ethnically mixed localities or even German islands within the compact Slovene territory came into being. We must call attention, however, to two facts: the mixed and the germanized localities do not form a compact territory, but are only islands within a purely Slovene territory and they are separated from the compact German territory by a strip of Slovene territory. The Germanization is hardly anywhere an accomplished process; we have to do with a transitional state, the population still understands the Slovene language, even that part of it which does not use it at home. The Carinthian Slovenes are to this very day a nationally conscious and active part of the Slovene nation and they essentially take part in the Slovene national development in cultural and political respects. The con-

sequences of the social and national injustice inflicted upon the Slovenes by the fact that they were left to the denationalising policy of the Austrian Nazis and their predecessors, who tried to turn them into Germans and denied them every expression of a national life of their own, prove that the Carinthian Slovenes must be protected effectively. The unjust northern frontier of Slovenia must be abolished and the Slovene part of Carinthia must be joined to the new democratic Yugoslavia.

Besides this, a great part of the German townspeople in Lower Carinthia have been artificially settled there at the time of the deliberate Germanization, above all in connection with the communications. But here we raise another important aspect of the Carinthian question. For the communicational function of Lower Carinthia is not regional but, according to the statements of the German Carinthian geographer Paschinger himself, a long-distance one. In other words it lies in the fact that its main arterial road from east to west is the north side of the Slovene traffic triangle Maribor—Beljak (Villach)—Trst (Trieste). This triangle is of extraordinary importance for the communications between Central or East-Central Europe and the Mediterranean, and from the West to the South-East of Europe. Its backbone is formed by the Carniolian-Styrian ditch between Trst (Trieste) and Ptuj which according to the English geographer Ellen Churchill Semple, "afforded the shortest and lowest transit route to the European interior in the whole 1,300-mile stretch of mountains between the Bosphorus and the Rhone Valley Break."

The fate of Beljak (Villach) shows most clearly that this town is part of the Slovene communication triangle. Its whole progress from a decaying town in the middle of the 19th century to an important railway junction in these days (1857: 5083 inhabitants, 1920: 21,998) depends on the traffic to the Adriatic and to the south-east. Nearly one half of the town population consists of railway employees and their families, and 75 per cent of the inhabitants live on the salaries of these employees. The development of the whole Slovene territory likewise proves that Beljak (Villach) belongs to the Slovene railway junctions. Up to the construction of the railways the whole of Slovenia had made its living from traffic in the form of carting and shipping. The railways united all the traffic in a few railway lines and traffic junctions. Slovenia became a prevalently agrarian country with strong tendencies to emigration, for the soil could not supply with food all the people that were suddenly dependent on it alone. The traffic across Slovenia concentrated on single points [the most important among them were Trst (Trieste) and Beljak (Villach)] giving them an economic basis for quick growth. It was this traffic that before the building of the railways afforded a livelihood to that part of the Slovenes who could not make their living by cultivating the soil. Therefore they were now compelled to emigrate. The Carinthian Germans deliberately brought foreign German colonists to Beljak (Villach) and generally employed almost exclusively Germans at the railways in Carinthia — that was part of their germanizing scheme. The Slovenes, however, had to leave home and to scatter all over the world. Thus the economic development also proves that Beljak

(Villach) really belongs to the Slovene traffic system: for the traffic which ran across Slovenia could not concentrate outside its communicational and geographical framework.

It follows from all this that within the economic framework of Europe the southern part of Carinthia quite evidently belongs to Slovenia. But the Slovene traffic triangle can fulfil its European function only if it is united. Thus the reparation of the social and national injustice and of the present unjust ethnographic position coincides here with the best economic settlement of this part of Europe.

Against the Yugoslav demand that Slovene Carinthia should be united with Yugoslavia it is stated that the Carinthian Slovenes at the Plebiscite of 1920 finally decided to remain in Austria. But for well-founded reasons Yugoslavia cannot acknowledge the result of this Plebiscite.

Above all it must be stressed that the Plebiscite took place in a region where the Slovenes had been oppressed for more than a thousand years, ever since the Franks had by force set over them the German aristocracy as their masters, and where during the last century they had been exposed to the most violent germanizing process. Thus the Germans had been preparing for this Plebiscite already from the beginning of the 19th century. During all this time the Slovenes in Carinthia had no rights, they were being ousted and oppressed everywhere. The German immigrants who were sent to the country in order to germanize it more quickly, and those who had come to the Slovene part of Carinthia only some years before the Plebiscite (e. g. gendarmes, railway employees and officials who were not bound to the soil at all) were given as much right to determine the fate of Slovene Carinthia as a Slovene peasant (father, maybe, of ten children), whose forefathers had been living there from time immemorial. To acknowledge the Plebiscite means, therefore, to acknowledge as just all oppression and all injustices the German imperialists and Nazis had inflicted upon the Carinthian Slovenes during the last century. Even the Heimatbund itself admitted in an official publication that the Germans would have certainly lost the Plebiscite in Carinthia without this germanizing action ("Abwehr und Verständigung", 1938, p. 6).

The votes which were given for Yugoslavia (15,279) were only Slovene votes. The votes for Austria (22,025), however, were only partly German; to a large extent they were also Slovene (according to German estimates about 10,000) for even according to the official census of 1910 the Slovenes were in the majority in the Plebiscite zone. These Slovenes voted for Austria hoping that there would be no national oppression and that Austria would be a socialist state. They were deceived in both. Without regard to the fact that a part of the Slovenes voted for Austria, the Carinthian Germans started a real persecution of the Slovenes in Carinthia after the Plebiscite and the power in the country firmly remained in the hands of the German "liberal" nationalists, the predecessors of the later Nazi Party. Under democratic Austria as well as during the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg

clero-fascist régime, and naturally also after the union with Nazi Germany, it was the Carinthian Nazis who decided the position of the Carinthian Slovenes and that by means of the Heimabund (Maier-Kaibitsch). After the union with Germany the Carinthian Germans clearly and decidedly revealed in their writings that the struggle of the Plebiscite in Carinthia had been conducted by Nazi elements. It is known that the greater part of the Carinthian Germans had been turning pan-German already from about 1900 onwards, so that we might say with full justification that Carinthia was one of the earliest breeding-grounds of the Nazi movement (Martin Wutte, "Kärntens Freiheitskampf", 1943, Steinacher, "Sieg in deutscher Nacht", 1943).

And finally the formal, legal side of the Plebiscite in Carinthia cannot satisfy a just observer. Italy was then already a vehement adversary of Yugoslavia with whom she was at that time in open conflict over the Yugoslav Littoral. Italy had already clearly enough shown her partiality at the Peace Conference where she had claimed for Austria also other, completely Slovene districts (part of Upper Carniola, the northern part of Lower Styria). As a member of the Interallied Plebiscite Commission Italy naturally was not impartial but strove to do everything she could to cause Yugoslavia to lose the Plebiscite. Under Italian influence the Interallied Plebiscite Commission by its dispositions repeatedly altered the regulations of the Saint Germain Peace Treaty and systematically impaired the authority of the Yugoslav State administration; thus Italy to a not inconsiderable extent helped the Austrians to victory. Only by its last disposition concerning the extension of the final term set for reclamations with regard to the electoral lists (it was the German representative who put forward this proposal); it increased the Austrian majority by at least some thousands of votes. It is true that the registers of the voters had been composed by local commissions composed of Yugoslav and Austrian representatives, but the final decision on them was in the hands of the Allied district commissions which, during the absence of the representatives of both parties concerned, struck from the lists the names of many adherents of Yugoslavia. But above all, they entered in the registers, after the expiration of the first term for complaints, the names of several thousand persons who were presented by the Austrian side only. They were partly persons without any documents and people who at the Plebiscite saw Carinthia for the first time. The results of the polling were not stated by the local mixed commissions; the ballot-boxes were brought to the seats of the district commissions by mostly Italian allied officers and sentries who had also, without any supervision, guarded them over night. The Yugoslav representatives had no possibility of checking whether the seals on the urns had been changed and, besides, the urns were sealed in such a way that the bottom could be opened without damaging the seals. Most of the material which was needed for the polling had been made at Celovec (Klagenfurt). These legal irregularities are sufficient for us to refuse the Plebiscite results.

But in spite of everything Yugoslavia got the majority in the Plebiscite territory south of the river Drava and in the Upper Rož Valley (Rosental). Thus it seems incomprehensible to us, how it is possible to assert that the whole of Slovene Carinthia at that time decided against Yugoslavia.

During the present war of the democratic United Nations against German and Italian Fascisms, the Carinthian Slovenes, too, joined in the struggle under the leadership of the Liberation Front of the Slovene nation. They fought for a United Slovenia, for democracy and social justice. This proves that the Slovene demands in Carinthia correspond with the struggle for democracy, whilst the anti-Slovene solutions conceal the remainders of Fascism and oppression. The situation in Carinthia is such that the democratic principles can be realized only by complying with the Slovene demands. Every other solution of the Carinthian problem will make Carinthia a new refuge and starting point for Fascist elements, as it has been after the first World War. And if these same democratic rights are not to remain a worthless heap of paper they demand that the injustice and oppression inflicted upon the Carinthian Slovenes during the last century by the Nazis and their predecessors should be set to right. The correct solution of the Carinthian question must, therefore, be clear to every true democrat who thinks that the imperialistic aggressor must not be allowed to retain the spoils of his aggression. Only on this principle can international security really be safeguarded. Whoever calls himself a democrat, yet wants to dismiss the injustice done to the Slovenes in Carinthia as an old story, which cannot be helped now, in reality justifies Nazi aggression — an aggression which is now, indeed, being hypocritically condemned by its very perpetrators, who yet refuse to part with their unlawful gain.

Therefore we Slovenes, with full justification, put the Carinthian question before the world as one the solution of which will decide whether democracy will gain the victory.

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