

## FRENCH RULE IN CROATIA: 1806-1813

Hardly any period of Croatian history left more indelible marks than the rule of the French from 1806 until 1813. The era of the French Revolution and Napoleon was equally important for both the Croats and Slovenes, two South Slav neighbors who had lived previously for centuries under the Habsburg domination. To many of these South Slavs the French rule really represented a significant change for the better and liberation from the policy of Germanization, although many people did not realize that at that time. Viewing all the evidence, however, one finds indications that the period of French rule as a whole did not have the significance some historians would like to attach to it.

There were really two periods of the French rule in Croatia. The first lasted roughly from the beginning of 1806 until October, 1809, and was limited only to Dalmatia. The second period started with the Peace of Schönbrunn (October, 1809) when Napoleon created the Illyrian Provinces which embraced most of the Slovenian and some Croatian territory with Dalmatia and ended before the close of 1813.

The Croats, whose homeland by the end of the eighteenth century was ruled by three different powers (Austria, Venice, and the Ottoman Empire), enjoyed a very good reputation as soldiers in France. Since the time when the French Army had "un brillant régiment de cavalerie étrangère qui s'appelait 'Le Royal Cravate,'" <sup>1</sup> until the defeat of Napoleon, the Croatian soldiers were well-known in France.

The Croatian soldiers were mentioned beside the German mercenaries on the historic 14th of July 1789 when the French Revolution erupted with full force. The attack on the Bastille on that day was at least partly caused

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1. Edouard Driault, *Tilsit in Napoléon et l'Europe* (Paris: P. Alcan, 1917), p. 230. As a part of their uniform the Croats wore neckties which later became a piece of European fashion, called by the French "la cravatte," by the Germans "die Kravatte," hence the English "cravat;" all these terms denote the old form the name "le Croat" or "the Croat." See also Clarence L. Barnhart (ed.), *The American College Dictionary* (New York and London: Harper and Bros., 1947), p. 283, which defines the "cravat" as "a scarf worn around the neck; neckcloth... so called because adopted from the Croats (F. Cravattes)."

by the false rumors that "the Royal Germans and Royal Croats were attacking La Place du Throne and the suburb of Saint-Antoine."<sup>2</sup>

In spite of all efforts on the part of the Habsburg authorities to suppress them, the French revolutionary ideas spread among the Croatian subjects of the monarchy. The "Jacobin" ideas became evident in *Banska Hrvatska* (Croatia-Slavonia), especially among the intellectuals, the members of the middle class and even the clergy. Among the best known "Jacobin" leaders was a Serb from Vojvodina, Ignjat Martinović, who was born in southern Hungary but lived and was active for years in Croatia proper. Educated for the priesthood, he was a well versed man in many scholarly disciplines, traveled widely all over Europe and wrote extensively.

In 1794, a "Liberty Tree" was erected and decorated in the capital of Croatia, Zagreb. A revolutionary poem in Croatian was posted on the tree. It was an appeal to the Croatian people, propagating the ideas of the French Revolution, and it began with these meaningful words:

<p>"Why should the Croatsians wage a war against the French?"</p>	<p>In Croatian: "Zakaj išli bi Horvati prot Francuzu vojevati"</p>
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There was also in this long poem a statement that "The French fight for the whole world;" ("Francuz za ves svet vojuje.") The Habsburg authorities, shocked by such ideas, reacted immediately and harshly. Martinović and several of his Serbian, Croatian, and Hungarian friends were arrested and he and four other leaders were executed in May of 1795 at Budapest. It is also worthy of note that on this and several other occasions the authorities denounced the Bishop of Zagreb, Maksimilijan Vrhovec, for his connections with the "democrats" as the sympathizers of the French ideas were then called.<sup>3</sup>

As faithful soldiers of Austria the Croatsians did fight against the French,

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2. P. Sagnac, *La Révolution Française (1789-1792)* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1920) p. 49.

3. Ferdo Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti Hrvatskoga Naroda* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1962), pp. 379-380. The "Jacobin Plot" in Croatia and Hungary was a significant affair. Among the participants was also a higher state official of Croatian nationality, Josip Kralj. His suicide in 1795 made further investigation in Croatia impossible because of the lack of evidence. See also Tadija Smičiklas, *Poviest Hrvatska* (Zagreb, 1879), II, and Jaroslav Šidak, *Historijski Zbornik*, IV, 1956, pp. 184-186, who also discussed the plot of Martinović. Šišić wrote several articles about this conspiracy, one of them being "Nepoznate stranice iz doba Biskupa Vrhovca," *Novosti* (Zagreb), Nos. 149-152, June, 1926. A good bibliography about the French influences in Croatia and Slovenia is contained in Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti Hrvatskoga Naroda* (Zagreb, 1962), pp. 368-369. Vaso Bogdanov gives a Marxist interpretation of the influence of Jacobinism in Croatia in his *Historija Političkih Stranaka u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Novinarsko Izdavačko Poduzeće, 1958), "Jakobinci," pp. 30-58.

for instance in the Italian campaigns during 1796-1797. Napoleon, commanding the French troops, met here for the first time on the battle front, the Croatian soldiers in Austrian service. During the battle of Arcoli (15th to 17th November, 1796) A. F. I. Marmont, his good friend and later marshal, saved Napoleon from being captured by a Croatian unit.<sup>4</sup> On January 14, 1797, Napoleon only with extreme effort and quick movement of his battalions succeeded in forcing the Croats from a strategically important position which they had seized previously when his units began to waver and retreat.<sup>5</sup> Thousands of these Croats of whom he knew in France and whose military skill and courage he learned to respect at the battle fields of northern Italy, were later on to serve him faithfully in his Grand Army.

Although fighting gallantly, the Austrians were defeated in Italy and the French under Napoleon advanced as far as Leoben in northern Styria where he signed a peace treaty with Francis I of Austria on April 18, 1797. In a secret document Napoleon promised Austria in exchange for Lombardy (which the Austrians ceded to the French) these Venetian possessions: Istria, Dalmatia, the Islands off the Croatian Littoral, and Bocca di Cattaro (Venetian Albania).<sup>6</sup>

### *Dalmatia and the Fall of Venice*

In 1797 Dalmatia, the ancient cradle of the Croatian medieval state, was still under the rule of Venice, which had acquired it in 1420 from Hungary. What is known today as Dalmatia was a gradual extension of Venetian-held territory. As the rule of this Adriatic republic extended from the shores and islands of the Eastern Adriatic, so did the territory of what became known as Dalmatia. The coastal strips were gradually expanded at the expense of the Turkish-held Bosnian and Herzegovinian provinces embracing what became known as *Zagora* (the land beyond the mountains, the hinterland). The exceptions are: The territory of the Republic of Ragusa from Ston as far as the entrance to the Bocca di Cattaro and the region of Bocca di Cattaro as far south as Budva (which is called *Albania Veneta* of Venetian Albania).<sup>6</sup> In order to avoid being intermediate neighbors with the Venetians, the Re-

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4. F. Bourienne, *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1903), pp. 43-44.

5. Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti*, p. 309; also by Šišić, *Biskup Štrosmajer i Južnoslavenska Misao* (Beograd: "Zastava," 1922), p. 70.

6. Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti Hrvatskoga Naroda*: Od najstarijih dana do godine 1873 (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1916), p. 265; Stjepan Antoljak, *Dalmacija i Venecija na Preliminarima u Leobenu i na Miru u Campo-Formiu* (Zagreb, 1936).

public of Ragusa (called Dubrovnik in Croatian) succeeded during the signing of the Treaty of Požarevac in 1718 in inducing the Christian signatories to give the Ottoman Turks a narrow strip of land along the northern and southern borders of the Ragusan Republic: Klek in the north, and Sutorina in the South. In this way the Turkish province of Herzegovina had two outlets to the Adriatic Sea. In the year 1420 Venice held all the coastal towns and islands (*acquisto vecchio*). Later its territories were expanded by the treaties of Karlovci (1699), (*acquisto nuovo*), and Požarevac (*acquisto nuovissimo*). What is now known as Dalmatia included roughly all the land from the Velebit mountains in the north, the parts south and southwest of Dinara range down to the Neretva (Narenta) River, as well as Bocca di Cattaro which bordered on the Turkish-held Albania.<sup>7</sup>

After centuries of Venetian rule which was characterized by national oppression, economic exploitation, and cultural neglect, less than ten per cent of the entire Dalmatian population was Italian. The Italians lived in several cities, while the islands, coast and the hinterland were solidly Croatian. Since the time of the Turks numerous Serbian refugees settled in the region of Krka River around Skradin and Knin. Numerous Vlachs well-known throughout the Balkans as nomad shepherds gradually settled in the hinterland. Most of them became assimilated by the Croats. In 1726 several hundred Albanians from the vicinity of Scutari settled near Zadar in Borgo E-rizzo, today known as Arbanasi. (In Croatian "The Albanians.")<sup>8</sup>

For economic reasons and because they were excellent sailors with their own sailing vessels, the Dalmatians were among the first Croatian overseas emigrants to many countries. Already during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were among the early emigrants in North and Central America. In many ways the Venetian rule in Dalmatia could be compared to their rule in some parts of Greece and on the Greek islands.

In spite of the oppressive policy of the Venetians, many of the clergy, both Catholic and Orthodox, as well as the masses of the people, were loyal to Venice. The Catholic priests, many of whom were Franciscans, feared the

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7. Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti* (1916 ed.), p. 250, and 1962. ed. pp. 360-369. Furthermore: Ljubo Karaman, *Eseji i Članci* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1939), pp. 57-60; Introduction by Grga Novak, "Dalmacija i Hvar u Pribojevićevo Doba," in Vinko Pribojević, *O Podrijetlu i Zgodana Slavena* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1951), pp. 9-43; Francis R. Prevenden, "Dalmatia from 1318 until 1718," in *A History of the Croatian People* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1962), II, 151-217. For an excellent comprehensive discussion see Petar Skok, "Dalmacija," in *Hrvatska Enciklopedija* (Zagreb: Hrvatski Izdavački Bibliografski Zavod, 1942), IV, 439-495.

8. Skok, *op. cit.*, pp. 480-491.

revolutionary French influences. Most of the burghers, too, distrusted the radicalism which posed a threat to the centuries-old order maintained by the Venetians. However, there were people who were very outspokenly in favor of the French ideas. Such was the case of Count Miroslav Zanolović (1761-1834) from Budva, the southern part of Venetian Albania. He was a strong advocate of the Jacobin concepts before the French ever arrived at the eastern Adriatic shores. As a radical he was arrested by the Venetian authorities, brought to Zadar (Zara, capital of Dalmatia), and transferred in chains to Venice where he was soon liberated by the troops of Napoleon.<sup>9</sup>

It is of more than passing note that on the eve of the downfall of the Venetian Republic some 12,000 Croats from Dalmatia were in the ranks of the Venetian Army; this contingent presented a considerable majority of the armed forces of the Republic. A few days before the French came, the authorities sent some 10,000 of these Croatian troops to Dalmatia to preserve the old order, but it was to no avail, for on the historic date of May 12, 1797, the thousand-year old "Mistress of the Adriatic" was occupied by the revolutionary forces of Napoleon. Such was the end of the Italian rule on the Croatian eastern shores of the Adriatic.<sup>10</sup>

In the words of a French historian, "Morte, elle eut, ainsi que tant d'autres défunts toutes les vertus dans l'obligatoire oraison funèbre. Il ne fut plus question de récriminer. Tous ses torts furent oubliés; et on ne conserva que le souvenir de ses gloires."<sup>11</sup>

It was noted above that according to the previous treaty of Leoben, Dalmatia was promised to Austria. The sudden disappearance of the Venetian Republic brought about a turmoil among the Dalmatian population and there were riots in several cities resulting in the killing of several suspected "Jacobins." The leadership of Dalmatia consisting of the Catholic and Orthodox hierarchy and many members of the middle class were most eager to make an end to this anarchy and demanded an immediate reunion with the mother-country, Croatia. On July 5, 1797, the Austrian general Mato Rukavina, a Croatian from the district of Lika, arrived in Zadar with some 4,000 Croatian troops enthusiastically received by the native population. Rukavina's troops also occupied Bocca di Cattaro. By the Treaty of Campo For-

9. Mirko Breyer, *Antun Contè Zanolović i Njegovi Sinovi* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1928), p. 130.

10. *Ibid*; Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti* (1916), p. 265; Karaman, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

11. Paul Pisani, *La Dalmatie de 1797 à 1815* (Paris: Picard 1892), as quoted in Comte L. de Voinovitch, *La Dalmatie, l'Italie et l'Unité Yougoslave (1797-1917)* (Genève, Bâle, Lyon: George & Co., 1917), p. 36; also see here pp. 1-36 and the entire Chapter II.

mio between France and Austria on October 17 of the same year, Dalmatia and Venetian Albania became an Austrian province.<sup>12</sup>

For months following the downfall of the Venetian rule, all inhabitants of Dalmatia, except for the Italian population, demanded reunion with Croatia. However, Austria considered such a union contrary to her interests and General Rukavina, as well as the newly appointed civil commissar of the province, Count Raimund Thurn, received strict orders from the government of Vienna to undertake anything to suppress such a movement on the part of the population. In these endeavors the Austrians obtained support from the Italians who were, for understandable reasons, against Dalmatia's return to Croatia. On the whole, this first Austrian rule in Dalmatia (1797 until the end of 1805) did not essentially differ from the previous Venetian rule. The preferential treatment of the Italian city elements (former ruling class in Venetian Dalmatia) and the suppression of the unification movement antagonized the population which in 1797 had so enthusiastically welcomed the Austrian rule. On January 1, 1798, Austria instead of uniting Dalmatia with the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, inaugurated the government of the new Austrian province of Dalmatia in Zadar.<sup>13</sup>

Except for a few improvements in the areas of education and justice the Austrians for the most part continued the centuries-established policy of the Venetians. Several changes of commissars were made during these few years of the Austrian rule: Thurn (1797-1799), General Rukavina (as military commissar 1799-1801), and Irish General Brady (July 1804 until February 1806). Brady as military and civil commissar made out of Dalmatia and Bocca di Cattaro a strong military base in preparation for a forthcoming war with the French.<sup>14</sup>

### *French Conquest of Dalmatia*

The subsequent events indicated that such a war was inevitable. The peace concluded at Campo Formio between Napoleon and Francis I was to

12. Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti* (1962), pp. 381-382.

13. F. Šišić, *Hrvatska Povijest, Treći Dio, 1790 to 1847* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1913), pp. 70-77; Ante Oštrić, *La Structure et les Moeurs de la Société Croate* (Thonon, Switzerland: Imprimerie du Chateau, 1950), pp. 12-13; Rudolf Horvat, "Iz najnovije prošlosti grada Zadra", *Alma Mater Croatica*, Vol. VII, Nos. 5-8 (Zagreb, January-April, 1944), pp. 131-140; for more information see: T. Erber, *Storia della Dalmazia dal 1797 al 1814*, 3 vols. (Zadar, 1886-1890); P. Pisani, *La Dalmatie* (mentioned under footnote 11) partly translated by F. Šišić in "Pad mletačke republike i ulaz Austrijanaca u Dalmaciju," *Prosvjeta* (Zagreb, 1894), Vol. II; Grga Novak, "Pokret za sjedinjenje Dalmacije s Hrvatskom (1797-1814)," *Rad J.A.Z.U.* (Zagreb, 1940).

14. Skok, *op. cit.*, p. 473.

be of short duration. In 1799 the Second Coalition against Napoleon was organized in which Austria also participated. In 1801 Austria, by accepting of the Peace of Lunéville, dissolved the Second Coalition. The period between the peace of Amiens in 1802 (between Britain and France) and May, 1803, was a peace interim during which the Croatian Diet (*Sabor*) in Austria, supported by the Hungarian Diet in Pressburg, demanded in 1802 from Francis I the reunion of Croatia-Slavonia with Dalmatia. Again the ruler rejected it. It should be noted that already during this period Napoleon himself was busy with the idea of taking Dalmatia for France. For his future designs in the Balkan Peninsula it seemed now important to limit Austria's access to the Adriatic Sea.

For Napoleon Dalmatia was "une porte, même toute une série de portes ouvertes sur la péninsule des Balkans." Through Dalmatia the French could get into contact with the neighboring Turkish territories in Bosnia and Herzegovina and through them even as far northeast as Serbia. In the south the Dalmatian province was indirectly connected with Ottoman-held Albania and a connection was possible with the Greek-populated Ionian Islands and Greece, these being then also Ottoman possessions.

Dalmatia was indeed a corridor to the Balkans and the Near East. The French recognized this fact as well as the possibility that becoming immediate neighbors of the Ottoman-held territories their eventual participation in a possible partition of the Ottoman possessions in Europe would be considerably facilitated and made easier. Napoleon did not consider these Croatian inhabited territories as primarily Adriatic lands but rather an important part of the Balkans. In a letter written in 1802 Napoleon significantly stated:

On verra également la Dalmatie et on traitera cette question: quelle influence la réunion de l' Istrie à la Dalmatie a-t-elle aujourd' hui, et peut-elle avoir un jour, sur la prospérité de la Hongrie, tant par les débouches qui existent déjà que par les canaux qu' on pourrait creuser.<sup>15</sup>

As far as the Ionian Islands, including Corfu, are concerned, these former Venetian possessions consisting of seven strategically located islands, were ceded to France by the same Treaty of Campo Formio by which the Eastern Adriatic shores were ceded to Austria. Off the Western Coast of Greece and guarding the entrance into the Adriatic Sea, these islands were of significant importance for France. Two years later (1799), the Russians, as members of the Second Coalition, took the islands and created there an important base

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15. *Correspondance de Napoléon*, Tome VII, pp. 458-459, as quoted in Giuseppe Prezzolini, *La Dalmatie* (Genève: Imprimerie Commerciale, 1917), pp. 18-19.

for their Mediterranean fleet. In March 1800, the Septinsular Republic first under Turkish suzerainty and then under the Russian protectorate was created. It was here that the Greek patriot and statesman and the later Russian minister for foreign affairs John Capodistrias made the beginnings of his interesting and rich career by serving as the Secretary of this unique little republic. Because of their location and significance, the Ionian Islands during this period were important to the security of Dalmatia as well. This explains why during the years 1797-1815 four powers contended for the mastery of these islands: France, Russia, Britain and Turkey. If the French wanted to protect their possessions in Dalmatia, they had to reconquer them.<sup>16</sup>

In May, 1803, Britain was again at war with Napoleon and started to form the Third Coalition against the French. In May, 1804, Napoleon became the Emperor of the French. In Austria Francis II (who ruled in Croatia and Hungary as Francis I, 1792-1835) realizing the great changes in Germany and in the Holy Roman Empire of which he was a nominal ruler, decided also to proclaim himself Emperor of Austria in August of 1804. This was an evident move to integrate the empire. The Austrian view in Dalmatia was a reflection of such an integration policy which in reality meant a Germanization of the non-German peoples within the Habsburg Empire. In 1805, Austria and Russia joined the British in the Third Coalition.

On October 15, 1805, Napoleon defeated the Austrians at Ulm in Germany and a few weeks later, on December 2 in a battle at Austerlitz in Moravia, he defeated the combined forces of Austria and Russia. On December 26, Austria and France signed the peace treaty of Pressburg. Besides Venice and Istria, Austria also lost the newly won province of Dalmatia. Except for the Croatian Littoral in the north, the entire east Adriatic coast was now under the French control. However, for the French the unsolved question in the southern area still remained the Republic of Ragusa. The loss of Dalmatia was a severe blow to the Austrians although Austria still was not completely shut off from the Adriatic. Napoleon by this conquest became the master of the Adriatic and obtained his corridor to the Balkans.<sup>17</sup>

Even while concluding the Treaty of Pressburg, Napoleon had already

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16. William P. Kaldis, *John Capodistrias and the Modern Greek State* (Madison, Wis : The State Historical Society, 1963), pp. 3-6; as Capodistrias' name indicates his ancestors originated in Istria; Josef März, *Gestaltwandel des Südostens* (Berlin: Frundsberg Verlag, 1942), p. 64.

17. Šišić, *Pregled Povoljesti* (1962), p. 382; A. F. L. Marmont, *Mémoires du Maréchal Marmont, Duc de Raguse* (Paris: Perrotin, 1857), 11, 360-365; see also Geoffrey Bruun, *Europe and the French Revolution 1799-1814* (New York: Harper and Bros, 1938), L.R. Gottschalk, *The Era of the French Revolution 1715-1815* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929).



set his mind on an important diplomatic offensive aimed at gaining an alliance with the Ottoman Turks. For this purpose he wanted to have Dalmatia, for he hoped that Dalmatia could serve the French as an excellent military base from which he could attack Russia by marching through a friendly Turkish territory.

Realizing how important the Turks might prove in the Balkans against Napoleon, the English and Russians tried at least not to antagonize them and keep them from joining Napoleon. A real test of the Allied attitude came soon after the beginning of the Serbian revolt under Karageorge against the Turks, in 1804. The Serbs appealed to both Austrians and Russians. Austria after Ulm and Austerlitz was too weak to help them and Russia was afraid to antagonize and seriously offend the Turks in spite of the fact that the ruler of Russia, Alexander I, had great plans regarding the future of the Balkans and the partition of the Ottoman Empire. At this moment Alexander was well aware that there was only one threat to his designs in the Balkans—Napoleon and his troops in Dalmatia. The Russians were now firmly established in the Ionian Islands (Septinsular Republic) and undertook everything to expel the French from Dalmatia after the Treaty of Pressburg. The year 1806 was to be a decisive one in the struggle between Russia and France for the control of the Adriatic and the Balkans.<sup>18</sup>

Early in 1806 Napoleon sent his General Lauriston to Dalmatia as a temporary commissar. General Molitor with only one French division accomplished the occupation of Dalmatia as far south as the Narenta River by February. The French could not, however, take Bocca di Cattaro and the rest of former Venetian Albania because the Russians and their Montenegrin allies were there already. The Russian navy which took Bocca, the most important and best strategic position in the entire Adriatic, was commanded by Admiral Siniavin. The Russian fleet now became very active in the Adriatic waters and took also the Island of Curzola (Korčula) which is located north west of Ragusa and strategically very important in the central parts of the eastern Adriatic.<sup>19</sup> •

Important in the Russian strategy of attack against the French was the position and the participation of the little mountainous principality of Monte Negro (*Crna Gora*). Virtually independent, situated in the hinterland of Bocca and north of Albania it was for centuries engaged in a struggle against the Turks. Courageous but poor and primitive, the people of Montenegro (at

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18. L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453* (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1959), pp. 202-204.

19. Marmont, *op. cit.*, II. 360-375.

that time not much more than 100,000 relied for existence on occasional raids into Turkish-held territories. Ruled by its prince-bishops from the Petrović family, Montenegro because of its strategic position and Orthodox population was in special favor of the Russian tsars since the time of Peter the Great. Down through the centuries the Montenegrins developed a strong attachment for the Russians not only because of the subsidies paid to the Montenegrin rulers by the Russian tsars but also because Russia as a growing power could always back the Montenegrins in their gradual expansion at the expense of the Turks. At the time of the downfall of Venice, the first rule of Austria in Dalmatia, and the advent of the French, the ruler of Montenegro was Petar Petrović Njegoš. In 1797 before General Rukavina arrived with his troops, *vladika* Njegoš took Budva, handed it over to the Austrians in August of 1797 and withdrew. However, as Bocca and Budva with their narrow strip of land bar the access of Montenegro to the warm Adriatic shores, the Montenegrins always coveted these parts of southern Dalmatia and were more than eager to join the Russians against the French to take Bocca, to remain there for a while, and later on even to attack Ragusa.<sup>20</sup>

Both the French and the Russians tried to obtain the support of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) which in this difficult situation tried first to maintain neutrality. The formerly prosperous commercial republic was well aware of the revolutionary changes the French were carrying through in the newly conquered territories. To the Senate of Ragusa the French seemed on the other hand lesser evil because the French had no navy as the Russians had. Many citizens of Ragusa sympathized with the French whose consul Renat La Bruère Desrivaux was a well-known Jacobin and freely propagated the French ideas. Although Ragusa's commercial rival for many centuries, Venice was abolished by the French, and it was only logical for the Ragusans to learn something from this precedent, they still clung to the hope of preserving their independence as they had for about a thousand years from Hungary, Serbia, Byzantium, and even the Turks. After long deliberations, the Senate of the Republic of Ragusa decided to take side with the French. As a local historian of Ragusa remarked, "In the senate itself a major part of the senators sided with Napoleon." Napoleon needed the Ragusan territory because it afforded the only land approach for his troops to attack Bocca held by the Russians and Montenegrins. He ordered General Lauriston to take the strongly fortified city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), the seat of the Republic, "comme compensation et comme moyen d'observer les bouches de Cattaro."<sup>21</sup> Catta-

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20. Breyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-150.

21. Marmont, *op. cit.*, II, 375; Josip Bersa, *Dubrovačke Slike i Prilike 1800-1880* (Za-

ro (Kotor) was indeed important to Napoleon to secure the routes to the eastern parts of the Balkans.

On May 26, 1806, Lauriston appeared with only 1,500 soldiers before the gates of the city and asked the Senate for permission to enter the city and after resting his troops, to be permitted to march through the territory of the republic southwards to Bocca. The Senate agreed to open the gates, the French entered, immediately took the fortifications, and occupied the city. This was the end of the Ragusan independence. (The formal French annexation was proclaimed on January 31, 1808.) Marshal Marmont who was later named by Napoleon Duke of Ragusa, commented nostalgically on the passing of the Ragusan Republic: "Ce petit pays, qui jouissait du plus grand bonheur, dont les habitants sont doux, industrieux, intelligents; oasis de la civilization au milieu de la barbarie."<sup>22</sup>

In the meantime some 2,500 Russians and 5,000 of their Montenegrin allies had already invaded the eastern parts of the Ragusan Republic. On June 10, Admiral Siniavin arrived with a fleet of 18 warships at Cavtat (Southeast of the city of Ragusa), took it and delivered it to the Montenegrin ruler Njegoš. The united Montenegrin-Russian forces besieged the city of Ragusa between June 17 and July 6. From the top of the Srgj mountain above the city they bombarded Ragusa. About a hundred people were killed as result of this bombardment. The sacking, destruction, and burning of unruly Montenegrin mountaineers was appalling. They and the Russians sacked churches and some six hundred homes many of which were burned. The damages were estimated at some 13,000,000 francs. On July 6 the small French garrison was finally relieved by the forces of General Molitor.<sup>23</sup>

Marshall August Marmont arrived in Dalmatia as the new military governor. He came to the capital of Zara with the three French regiments from Friaul (northeastern Italy) on July 21 and on August 2 he appeared in Ragusa. He came to love this city and later regretted the fact that his country had discontinued the independent existence of this small republic. He felt sorry that the French took from "this happy population...so brutally their peace

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greb: Matica Hrvatska, 1941), pp. 29-31. This is one of the best social histories of Dubrovnik and its decline. According to F. De Bourienne in *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte*, p. 286, Napoleon obtained all necessary information about (Dubrovnik) and other Croatian provinces from a colonel Bernard. On Cattaro see also Albert Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française: Le Blocus Continental-Le Grand Empire, 1806-1812* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1904), p. 39.

22. Marmont, *op. cit.*, II, 375; Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti* (1962), p. 383.

23. Bersa, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 32-34; Oton Knezović, *Poviest Hrvata* (Madrid: "Domovina," 1961), p. 231.

and prosperity.” It is to Marmont’s credit that he opened a theater in Ragusa. Many of his countrymen, however, were less popular with the native population than he was. Especially after the Montenegrin - Russian attack more French troupes arrived and one of the first acts of the invaders was the extraction of 100.000 francs of ransom they required from the city. They also closed several monasteries and stationed the soldiers there.<sup>24</sup>

Hostilities with the Russians in the southern part of Dalmatia were continued and until the end of 1806 the French were fighting against the forces of Admiral Siniavin and Montenegrins. Marmont also was able to establish friendly relations with the Aga of Mostar in Turkish Herzegovina and with other Moslem dignitaries in the parts of the Ottoman Empire directly in the hinterland of the Ragusan and Dalmatian territory. This friendship with the Turkish authorities was wholly in accordance with the directives for the foreign policy of Napoleon. Hence, in the same summer of 1806 Napoleon sent General Sebastiani to Constantinople to lure the Turks into an alliance with France against the Russians whose presence at Bocca and the Ionian Islands was an equal threat to both the French and Turks. Napoleon also sent a very flattering letter to Sultan Selim assuring him that the French were interested in helping and saving the Ottoman Empire. Selim responded favorably and soon was at war with the Russians who in November, 1806 attacked the Turkish dependencies Wallachia and Moldavia, the traditional Russian route for their many invasions of the Turkish Balkan possessions. The next month Selim declared war on Russia and thus entered the armed struggle on the French side. The Franco - Turkish alliance was never signed. However, England too, now attacked the Turks and in the course of the war the British navy passed through the Dardanelles and after a short stay in the waters in front of the Turkish capital withdrew without accomplishing much. The Turks also attacked the Russian possessions at the Ionian Islands and the Serbs under Karageorge. By June 1807 the Russians were retreating in Wallachia. The French during this war sent from their military bases in Dalmatia some five hundred artillerymen to Constantinople. In July of 1807, when Sultan Selim III was, deposed in Constantinople and Turkey withdrew from the war, the emperors of France and Russia, Neapoleon and Alexander, met at Tilsit.<sup>25</sup>

By the Treaty of Tilsit of July 7, 1807, Russia gave up the Ionian Islands and Bocca di Cattaro. On August 10, 1807, the French arrived in Bocca and

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24. August Fournier, *Napoléon I* (Vienna : Tempsky, 1904-1906), I, 347; Marmont, *Mémoires*, III, 100,109; Bersa, *op. cit.*, p. 10 ff.

25. Marmont, *op. cit.*, I, 4 ; description of the conditions in Ragusa and Bocca on pp. 1-20; V. J. Puryear, *Napoleon and the Dardanelles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), p. 113; Stavrianos, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-206.

two days later they reached Budva where French tricolors were unfurled and on the streets the youth were parading with the shouts "Long live the great Napoleon." With their occupation of Budva, the most southern tip of Dalmatia, the French occupation of the Eastern Adriatic coast was accomplished. Only two years later the English took five of the seven Ionian Islands to blockade the French Adriatic possessions.<sup>26</sup>

### *France and Montenegro*

An important role was that of Count Miroslav Zanolvić in Budva. As a liberal who had long favored French ideas and whose brother was in France, he was under surveillance of the Austrian authorities for his revolutionary activities. When the Russians took Bocca, Miroslav was arrested as a French sympathizer. When the French came, both Lauriston and Marmont paid a visit to the home of Zanolvić. He was named French vice-delegate and councilor. On many occasions he acted as mediator for the local population and the French. Being well acquainted with Montenegro and Albania, he wrote descriptions of Montenegro and Albania for the French authorities.<sup>27</sup>

A most delicate and unpleasant duty for Miroslav Zanolvić was to accompany the French troops in establishing law and order, for instance, during the revolt of the people in Brajčér in Bocca in 1808. There were several such revolts against the French in the district of Bocca, where the leaders, after the revolts were quelled by the French, fled to neighboring Montenegro. As Zanolvić knew in person the ruler of Montenegro, Petar Petrović Njegoš, he served as the official French mediator with Montenegrin government. He also was present as interpreter during the important meeting of August Marmont with the Montenegrin ruler on August 11, 1807, just after the French occupation of Kotor, the main base in Bocca, in the vicinity of the little fortress of Sv. Trojica (Holy Trinity).<sup>28</sup>

Napoleonic France wanted to establish regular diplomatic relations with the little principality and in these efforts Zanolvić, as a friend of both the French and Montenegrins, tried to induce the Montenegrins to agree to the French

26. Jesse Clarkson, *A History of Russia* (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. 258-259.

27. These two descriptions drafted for the generals Vignola and Clauzel respectively, were entitled "Dettaglio succinto del Montenegro, fatto dal Signor Milislao Zannovich vicedelegato" and "Descrizione dell'Albania turcha dalli confini di Pastrovichio sino Scutari;" Breyer, *Antun Conte Zanolvić* pp. 131-136; on Miroslav Zanolvić see also "Zanolvić konte Miroslav," in E. Laszowski, *Znameniti i Zaslužni Hrvati* (Zagreb: Hrv. Štamparski Zavod, 1925), p. 289.

28. Breyer, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

requests to send a consul to Cetinje. Knowing the traditional antagonism between the Orthodox Montenegrins and the Catholic Ragusans, the French explicitly promised that the consul would not be a former subject of the Ragusan Republic, but, by their declaration of August 6, 1808, the Montenegrin chiefs, in a memorandum sent to their ruler, firmly rejected the establishment of a French consulate. They could agree to such a step only, as they stated, "with the knowledge and by permission of the Russian imperial court, their traditional protector." Should the French insist in interfering with the affairs of Montenegro (as the French desire to establish a consulate was interpreted by *Vladika* and the chiefs) the Montenegrins were ready rather "to be resettled to the state of our most gracious protector [Russia] to which we feel bound by the same religion and race."<sup>29</sup>

Thus all the great efforts of the French to lure the Montenegrins to their side and thus to expand their influence in the regions adjacent to Dalmatia, produced no positive results. Montenegro flatly rejected the French offers, waiting for the time when Montenegrins would again join the Russians in an eventual war against the French. Napoleon himself was very interested in these efforts and hearing of the Montenegrin rejection, threatened to turn *Crna Gora* (Black Mountains) into *Crvena Gora* (Red or Bloody Mountains)...<sup>30</sup>

### *The Start of the French Rule in Dalmatia*

Already in April, 1807, the French named as civil governor of Dalmatia a very capable and honest man, Vincenzo Dandolo (in Croatian known as Vicko), who was born in Venice, October, 1758. In his native city he was the leader of the pro - French party during the days of the downfall of the Venetian Republic. On July 3, 1806, Dandolo arrived at Zara and a week later he issued a proclamation to the people of Dalmatia in Italian and Croatian, promising justice, efficient government, law and order, and economic progress. Dandolo indeed kept his word "reviving in a few years Dalmatia from a medieval stagnation to a vigorous, rejuvenated, and modern life."<sup>31</sup>

One of the first signs of this cultural and economic revival was the appearance of a newspaper published in both Italian and Croatian: *Il Regio Dalmata—Kraglski Dalmatin*, whose first number appeared on July 12, 1806. The first number was ready for printing even before Dandolo landed at Zara.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137; Marko Dragović, "Prilozi za istoriju Crne Gore," *Spomenik Srpske Kraljevske Akademije* (Belgrade), XXXI, 110-112.

30. Breyer, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

31. Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti* (1962), p. 384.; see also by Šišić, "Neke stranice iz novije naše historije: 1797-1814," in *Hrvatsko Kolo* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1909), pp. 192-245.

The printing of this paper on eight pages was not the original idea of Dandolo but rather of Eugene Beauharnais, the viceroy of Italy. On each page the left column was in Italian and the right in Croatian. Until 1810 the paper was a weekly printed regularly each Saturday, later each Friday, but at the beginning of the year 1810 it was published irregularly. The last time this unique paper appeared was on April 1, 1810. It was put out in the press establishment of L. Battara which also published other French official publications and documents. On the occasion of the publication of the first issue, Dandolo himself reported to Napoleon that the purpose of the publication was to glorify in this province the great deeds and accomplishments of the French.<sup>32</sup>

The first Croatian editor of the paper was Rev. Paško Jukić, a Franciscan, who died a year later and was succeeded by a Dominican priest, Budrović. The editor of the Italian page, the chief editor and director of the paper, was an Italian Bartuo Benincasa. He was also in charge of the education under the French in Dalmatia and later became the chief censor of the Illyrian Provinces.<sup>33</sup>

The language and spelling of the Croatian part was obsolete and many Croatian words were spelled according to the Italian concept of the pronunciation of Croatian words. The trouble was that the Croats at that time still did not have any established literary language or orthodox spelling. Many items in this paper were translations from the official French *Moniteur*. The *Regio Dalmatia* was printed in about 1,100 copies of which one hundred were sent to Italy. As the Croatian language used in the paper was difficult to understand, and only a few people except the Italians could read Italian, this French publication had hardly any influence on the masses of the native population.

Vicko Dandolo was also primarily a Venetian who subscribed to the liberal ideas of the revolutionary French. A majority of the Anglo-Saxon-historians consider the *Regio Dalmatia* as a measure of the French to appeal to the national feelings of people and even appraise the paper as the first Croatian newspaper. Most of the Croatian and Slovenian historians, however, are of the opinion that beside being an official publication of the French occupying forces and a mouthpiece of Napoleonic propaganda, the purpose and the impact of this paper were hardly patriotic or conclusive to any surge of nationalism from the Dalmatian Croats. On the contrary, some consider

32. R. Horvat, *op. cit.*, p. 131; Šišić, *Hrvatska Povijest, Treći Dio*, p. 83; Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti* (1962) pp. 384-385; Ernest Bauer, *Die Entwicklung der Publizistik in Kroatien* (Zagreb: Europa Verlag, 1942), pp. 13-14.

33. Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16; S. Urlić, "Bartuo Benincasa urednik Kraljskoga Dalmatina," *Nastavni Vjesnik*, XXV, 1917 (Zagreb), R. Maixner, "Nešto o listu 'Regio Dalmata-Kragliski Dalmatin' i njegovu uredniku Benincasi," *Rad J. A. Z. U.*, 1952. pp. 290.

Dandolo as a man who under new forms simply wanted to continue the Italianization and denationalization of Dalmatia. One of the best experts on the Croatian literature, summing up the role of the *Regio Dalmatia*, stated that the paper "left hardly any traces" in Dalmatia.<sup>34</sup>

### *Organizations of French Dalmatia*

The capital of the provincial government for Dalmatia (*la proveditura generale*) remained in Zara. The provincial governor's title was *providitore generale*; he was subject directly to the viceroy of Italy, Eugene Beauharnais. Dalmatia thus was considered by the French as a part of the Kingdom of Italy with Napoleon himself as king. The official language of the administration was Italian.

The Dalmatian government was divided into six departments (*divisioni*): military affairs, interior, justice, finances, accounting, and education. There were also two superintendents: one for the police, one in charge of the army. The Secretary General (*segretario generale*) was the right hand of the governor, his deputy.<sup>35</sup>

The population of Dalmatia, including the former Ragusan territories and Venetian Albania, was estimated at some 250,000 of whom there were about 50,000 Serbs, 25,000 Italians and the rest Croats. Both Serbs and Croats included the former Vlachs (*Vlasi* in Croatian), though, more of them were assimilated by the Croats than by the Serbs. The relatively small number of Italians testifies to the fact that the Italianization of Dalmatia was really negligible. The French military units were stationed in the main strongholds; Zara (Zadar), Sebenico (Šibenik) Trau, (Trogir) Castelli. (Kašteli) Klissa, (Klis) Spalato (Split). Makarsca, and Signe (Sinj). The entire territory was divided into four districts (*distretti*): Zara, Sebenico, Spalato, and Makarsca. Their administrators were called delegates. Each district again was divided into cantons (*cantoni*) with vice-delegates as their heads; each canton was partitioned into smaller units: municipalities or *opchinas* (in Croatian) governed by councils which were headed by mayors (*podesta*) in cities, and headmen (*Siarjeshina* in Croatian, *anziani* in Italian) in the villages.<sup>36</sup>

34. Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16; Mihovil Kombol (one of the best historians of the Croatian culture and literature), "Zadar u hrvatskoj književnosti," *Alma Mater Croatica*, VII, Nos. 5-8, pp. 141-152.

35. Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti* (1962) p. 384.

36. Mladen Lorković, *Narod i Zemlja Hrvata* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1939), pp. 138-146. No real census was conducted in Dalmatia until 1818, when the Austrians counted 297,912 inhabitants. As such censuses were intended primarily for military purposes,



With the abolition of the Senate in Ragusa the last formal vestiges of the Ragusan self-rule were abolished on January 31, 1808; the last *Knez* (*Duke*) of Dubrovnik was interned by the French.<sup>37</sup> A problem similar to that of Ragusa existed in the district of Poljice, southeast of Spalato. Police was an ancient semi-autonomous Croatian peasant republic. When the French upon their arrival in Dalmatia abolished the medieval privileges of the *Poljichka Knezhia*, the population of several localities, instigated and supported by the Russians revolted in June, 1807, against the French who, however, quickly subdued the disorders.<sup>38</sup>

After the incorporation of the Ragusan Republic and the Bocca region (Venetian Albania), the French did not assign these territories to governor Dandolo but put them in charge of another governor, Domenico Garagnino as *providitore generale*. In addition they created four more districts which in size were much smaller than those in Dalmatia north of the Narenta River: Cavtat, Ston, Lopud, and Kotor. Moreover, they created temporarily two additional cantons (outside of the four districts) governed by the vice-delegates in Hercegnovi and Budva. Miroslav Zanolović, the long-time friend of the French, became such a vice-delegate for Budva and the Community of Paštrovići. By the end of 1808 the French abolished the two cantons and annexed them to the canton of Kotor.<sup>39</sup>

Attached to the governor of Dalmatia was an advisory body, the General Council (*Consiglio Generale della Dalmazia*) consisting of 48 members of whom the first were selected by the governor himself among the leading citizens of the province. One or several representatives were selected from each canton. The governor presided over the sessions of this council.

### *French Reforms in Dalmatia*

In the fields of justice the French introduced great changes. All over Dalmatia they established the justices of peace (twenty-two in all), officially cal-

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they did not — as usually in these regions — contain religious affiliation or nationality. The census of 1837 revealed that of 373, 479 people there were 296, 700 Catholics and 70,400 Orthodox. According to the census of 1850, there were 393, 715 inhabitants of whom 304, 152 were Croats; 74,524 Serbs and 14,645 Italians. See also Marmont's memoirs, Vol. III, 24-29; a detailed description of Dalmatia is on pp. 50-70.

37. Šišić, *Hrvatska Povijest, Treći Dio*, p. 92; Émile Haumont, "Les Français à Raguse," *La Revue de Paris* (Mars-Avril 1912), pp. 150-174; see also his book *La Formation de la Yougoslavie (XVe-XXe Siècles)* (Paris: Bossard, 1930), especially the chapter "Les Français et l'Illyrisme," pp. 239-259.

38. Šišić, *Hrvatska Povijest, Treći Dio*, p. 92; Marmont *op. cit.*, III, 49-50.

39. Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti* (1962), p. 384; Breyer, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

led *iudici locali o di pace*. The *tribunali* as appellate courts for all civil and criminal cases were organized in Zara, Spalato, and Ragusa. The highest appellate court for Dalmatia was a *corte d'appello* in Zara. The highest appeal was a Supreme Court, *tribunale di cassazione* in Milan, Italy.

The *Code Napoléon* was only partly introduced on some judicial levels because it would have been too impractical and difficult in view of the traditional practices especially in the probate matters (property, inheritance, and marital cases). Justice in Dalmatia was therefore based on the new French law and the old Venetian and Austrian laws. For the first time in the history of Dalmatia there was equality before the law for all the people. The new rulers also introduced many humanitarian measures: prison reform, abolishment of torture and flogging. Capital punishment was executed through the guillotine. Defense councils in criminal cases and attorneys-at-law in civil matters were also introduced.

In September of 1806 governor Dandolo embarked on an extensive inspection tour of Dalmatia to see the country and to get acquainted with its needs. Among the first reforms he recommended was the abolition of the most vestiges of feudalism. Napoleon responded immediately introducing thus one of the most revolutionary social changes. The peasants now became owners of their land but still had to pay to the French a tithe in form of the farm produces.

Dandolo did everything to improve agriculture and bring about economic changes. He invited from Italy agricultural experts to teach the peasants the new and better ways of farming. Methods of the agriculture, gardening, fruit growing, and animal husbandry (with help of the French veterinarians) were improved and showed great success. A very progressive and far-sighted reforestation program was inaugurated; it was very badly needed after centuries of Venetian devastation. The tobacco culture and increased production of potatoes were also successfully launched. The swamps were dried out and many wells were dug in this region which lacks drinking water. The French built also a network of new roads, more than were built since the time of the Romans. A regular postal service was the first of its kind in this region.

The French were aware of the rich mineral resources but had too little time to develop mining. Some new industries were founded, commerce was encouraged, chambers of commerce were established and so were regular fairs at major towns and cities. The export of the three major commodities: olive oil, wine, and fish was increased. The customs and revenues were fixed and collected and regulations against usury were introduced.

Much attention was paid to public health. The French introduced small-pox vaccination, opened new hospitals, and cared for the sanitary and hy-

gienic conditions of the people who for centuries had lived a backward life in misery and often on the brink of starvation.

All these measures and reforms were, of course, expensive. During the first three years Dandolo obtained more than 3,000,000 francs from the Kingdom of Italy. One year the governor himself spent over 10,000 francs, from his own pocket for the benefit of the people. The yearly budget of Dalmatia had always to be approved by the government in Milan. The revenues of Dalmatia arose from these sources: 1) The tithe collected from the peasants in produce for which the government had to build storage houses, granaries, and warehouses; 2) a special tax on pasture (*erbatico* in Italian, *travarina* in Croatian); 3) salt monopoly to which the greatest amounts were contributed from the salt fields of the island of Pag which under the French produced over a million liters more than previously; 4) customs on all imports. Beside the new French money, the coins then in circulation were of Venetian, Austrian, Italian, Ragusan, and even Turkish origin. It should be noted that in the last year of Dandolo's governorship in Dalmatia the expenditures in the budget amounted to 1,827,000 francs while income was 1,894,000 francs. The province which was later considered by Austria as non-productive, had a budget in the black, during the French rule.<sup>40</sup>

In the field of the education the French did much more in a few years than the Venetians did in almost four centuries. On May 5, 1807, the French issued a decree introducing a sweeping educational program. Accordingly they founded a lyceum on the level of a college in Zara and established seven gymnasia in: Zara, Sebenico, Trau, Spalato, Makarsca, Hvar, and Krk. For the male children they erected nineteen elementary schools and for the girls fourteen. Moreover, eight trade schools, two academies (Zara and Spalato), and four seminaries (Makarsca, Spalato, Zara, and Osor) were added to other schools. The curriculum of the lyceum in Zara consisted of drawing, logic, metaphysics, methods of advanced agriculture, biology, chemistry, pharmacutics, natural rights, international law, Roman institutions, civil law based on the Napoleonic code, criminal law and procedures, anatomy, pathology, and medicine. The purpose of this highest educational institution was to supply good public officials, teachers, lawyers, pharmacists, notary publics, architects, agricultural experts, and engineers. The gymnasia had offered courses in the following subjects: Italian, Latin, rhetorics, geography, history, and mathematics. The elementary schools offered basic training in writing, reading, and arithmetic, and the "moral catechism" (*catechismo morale*). The program in the elementary schools for girls included also teaching

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40. Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti* (1962), pp. 368-378; Knezović, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

in handicrafts (knitting etc.). Under a penalty of six francs a month a father of a family was required to send at least one of his sons or nephews to elementary school.

The lyceum of Zara started its activities in the former ancient monastery of Sv. Krševan, (which had been closed by the French) on November 16, 1807. The faculty consisted of seven professors and a rector, most of whom were native monks. The gymnasia were opened gradually and all seven were in operation before 1810. The government subsidized the lyceum and gymnasia, while the elementary schools had to be supported by the funds from municipalities; the latter started their operation during 1806-1807.

The Franciscan order was traditionally very popular among the people, in Dalmatia, especially in the countryside. One of the reasons for their popularity was that especially during the difficult times of the Turks the Franciscans stayed with the people (as they still were at that time in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and shared all their hardships and persecutions. On many occasions during the Venetian rule the Franciscans were the mediators between their people and the authorities and in later times they were considered as not only religious but also political leaders of their people. This service was especially evident when, upon the downfall of Venice, the Franciscans led the movement for reunion with Croatia-Slavonia. The most popular poet of the Croatian people in Dalmatia was a Franciscan who lived during the eighteenth century and who published in 1756 the first edition of his book of popular poetry and national epics. He was Andrija Kačić-Miošić whose *Razgovor Ugodni Naroda Slovinskoga* became the most popular literary work in Dalmatia and neighboring provinces. Marshal Marmont, the military commander in Dalmatia was well informed about the attitude and importance of Franciscans, and though he also knew that many were against French rule, he came to like them, admired them, and tried to make friends with them.<sup>41</sup>

Dandolo took a very important step in regulating the position of the other Christian religion, namely, the Orthodox Church. For the first time the Orthodox, many of whom considered themselves Serbs, by a special decree of Napoleon, on September 19, 1808, obtained a bishopric of their own with a consistorium and forty parishes of their own. The first *episkop* (bishop) was Benedict Kraljević with his see at Sebenico. The Orthodox Church received a regular yearly subsidy from the government in amount of 15,000 francs.<sup>42</sup>

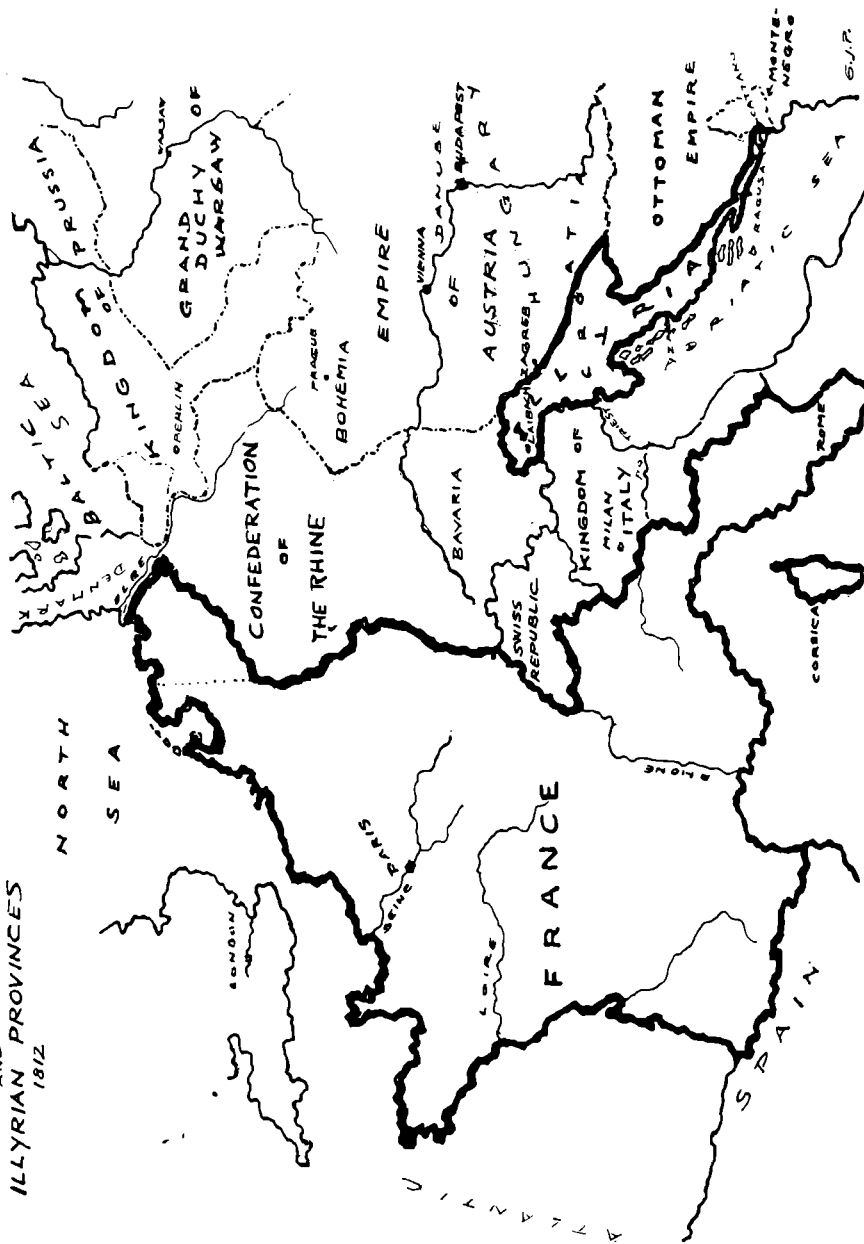
To top all these reforms Dandolo abolished numerous Dalmatian privileges concerning the municipalities and corporations and "in this way he

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41. Marmont, *op. cit.*, III, 120.

42. Šišić, *Hrvatska Povijest, Treći Dio*, pp. 89-91.

# NAPOLEONIC FRANCE AND ILLYRIAN PROVINCES 1812





actually transformed medieval Dalmatia into a modern country." Undoubtedly, Dalmatia was therefore to be the first country of the Habsburg Empire to be introduced into a modern social order and progressive administration.<sup>43</sup>

### *The Reaction of the People*

In spite of all the French efforts to change the conditions and to put through sweeping reforms, the masses of the people and the lower clergy, especially the Franciscans, hated the French and their regime considering these foreigners as "irreligious Jacobins." The opposition of the people was particularly strong while the Russians were still in the Bocca and on the island of Curzola (until the Treaty of Tilsit). During the revolt and after, in the district of Poljice, the French burned down many houses and hanged or shot a number of people. On some occasions they behaved as all occupiers did, devastating some parts of the country and dealing ruthlessly with any resistance.

The French closed a number of churches and monasteries and suppressed some monastic groups. Their abolishment of many old privileges and guilds especially incited the people and caused distrust and hatred. In spite of many economic reforms and genuine economic progress under the French rule, prosperity was relative because the entire economy was geared to the military ambitions of France. The burdens of prolonged rule became heavier and the dissatisfaction greater for all the classes of the people. The leaders of the people, notably some of the clergy, always looked towards Zagreb in Croatia proper for guidance. Despite all the dissatisfaction with the short rule of the Habsburgs, the masses of people still seemed to prefer such rule to that of a "Godless Jacobin," Napoleon.

All the French constructive policies could not create a sufficiently strong group of supporters among the people. Only a small number of intellectuals subscribed to the ideas of the French Revolution. On the whole, the general response of the people in Dalmatia to all French efforts of goodwill was a negative one. Subsequent events showed clearly that the first phase of French rule in Croatian lands produced very few French friends; Croats just waited for the first opportunity to shake off what they considered the yoke of a foreign power.

### *1809; The Establishment of French Illyrian Provinces*

The year of 1809 was very eventful regarding the French rule among the South Slavs. In April Austria proclaimed a war of liberation against the

43. Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti* (1962) p. 388.

French. As Marmont and his troops were in a position to threaten Austria from the south and to observe activities in Austria, he grew aware of the military preparations in Austrian-occupied Croatia. Through his agents he obtained information about the presence of eighteen battallions "tous croates" prepared for an attack on French Dalmatia. These battallions were located in the Military Frontier of Croatia, a military zone which Austria had maintained for centuries as a buffer against the Turks in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>44</sup>

As soon as the war between Austria and France broke out, General Andrija Stojčević with some 10,000 Croats attacked from the Austrian territory the French in Dalmatia. Marmont found himself in a precarious position and allied himself with the Turks in Bosnia, who promptly attacked Croatia and burned down Cetin Grad and devastated the regions around Otočac and Ogulin. In Dalmatia all the islands were taken by the native rebels waiting for the arrival of the Croatian troops from Austria. The Russian Empire at this time was still officially an ally of the French. Thus, because of the Turkish attack, General Stojčević found himself forced to retreat into Croatia. The French under Marmont soon advanced to the vicinity of Gospić in Croatia where on May 22, they defeated the Croatian units of Austria. At the same time (on May 21 and 22) the Austrian troops of Emperor Francis were able to defeat Napoleon in the battle of Aspern and Esslingen near Vienna. The Austrians could not, however, utilize these victories. As Napoleon needed Marmont and a part of his troops, Marmont after the battle of Gospić marched northward by way of Senj, Fiume, and Laibach (Ljubljana) to join Napoleon. As soon as Marmont left Croatia, the Croatian troops under General Baron Knežević, invaded Dalmatia where his troops were warmly welcomed by the native population who thought this was the end of the French rule. Except for a few fortresses and Zara, the islands and the entire area north of Narenta River were now under the Austrian military and the native revolutionary control.<sup>45</sup>

Napoleon, who had entered Vienna on May 13, defeated the Austrian

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44. Marmont, *op. cit.*, III, 133; On the origins and the early development of Military Croatia see a good monograph, Gunther E. Rothenberg, *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522-1747* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1960).

45. Marmont, *op. cit.*, III, 136-147; Rudolf Horvat, *Povjest Hrvatska* (Petrinja: D. Benko, 1904), p. 516; Šišić, *Hrvatska Povijest, Tréci Dio*, pp. 92-93; A. Kaznačić, "Uspomene Marsala Marmonta, Hercega Dubrovačkog," in *Leptir Godišnjak* (Zagreb, 1860); Historicus, "Provala Hrvata u Francusku Dalmaciju god. 1809.," in *Narodne Novine*, No. 262 (Zagreb, 1902); Ivan Davčić, "Marsal Marmont i Turci Krajisnici," in *Narodne Novine*, No. 211, 1906; M. Medaković, "Pohod Francezah u Liku 1809. god." in *Danica* (Zagreb, 1845), p. 122.



army on July 5 and 6, in the decisive battles at Aspern and Wagram. The irony of fate was that Croatian units fought on both sides in these battles. Numerous Dalmatian Croats fought in Napoleon's army against Austria, while the Croats from the Austrian Military Border fought in the ranks of the Austrian army.<sup>46</sup>

After this defeat, Napoleon wanted to materialize his old plans in regard to the Balkans beside punishing Austria by taking from her the access to the sea. In the diplomatic negotiations with Austria Napoleon made clear to the Austrians: "Nous avons l'ambition de la Méditerranée." He wanted from Austria this time much more than merely Dalmatia: Part of Ost-Tyrol, western parts of Carinthia around Villach, the entire province of Carniola, Istria with Trieste and Gorizza, Dalmatia, and Croatia west of Sava River up to the confluence of Una River into the Sava (near Jasenovac). For Napoleon the main purpose for keeping these territories was to have a territorial connection with Dalmatia. Furthermore, he wanted "to secure the French supremacy on Mediterranean and Adriatic Sea" as well as "to acquire a convenient basis for influence upon the Turkish Empire."<sup>47</sup> After the setbacks in Spain and the worsening of the relations with Alexander of Russia, who was growing suspicious of Napoleon's actions and found himself blocked in his plans in the Balkans by the French maneuvers, Napoleon sorely needed these Austrian territories to secure his Continental System and the very future of his Empire.

In her excellent study on Illyria Melitta Pivec-Stelé interpreted the reasons why Napoleon created this new province:

Napoleon a---crée l'Illyrie pour avoir une liaison entre la Dalmatie et l'Italie et une sentinelle contre l'Autriche; mais il l'a créé surtout pour fermer les ports de la rive droite de l'Adriatique au commerce anglais et pour avoir une voie de terre pour le commerce franco-levantin... La création de l'Illyrie, elle aussi, procède du motif principal du blocus continental, à savoir la proscription des marchandises anglaises, et du motif principal de toutes les incorporations faites depuis 1808, la suppression de la contrebande.<sup>48</sup>

By the treaty concluded in Vienna on October 14, 1809, and known as the Treaty of Schönbrunn, Austria lost considerable territory with approxi-

46. Docteur Deak, "Les Français en Croatie, 1809 à 1813," in *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, XX (Mars-Avril, 1923), p. 148; Louis Madelin, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire* (Paris: Hachette, 1945), p. 84.

47. Madelin *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

48. M. Pivec-Stelé, *La Vie Economique des Provinces Illyriennes* (Paris: Bossard, 1930) p. 13

mately 2,000,000 inhabitants. The Habsburg Empire was at least temporarily degraded to the rank of a second-rate power. Only two days after the treaty was signed, Napoleon for the first time learned about the name "les provinces d' Illyrie." It is likely that the suggestion for the name of the new province came from one of his good friends, Count Ivan Cobenzl, a Slovenian great-landowner from the province of Carniola. The name (Illyria) was used by the Romans to designate the Balkan peninsula, and, although the ancient Illyrians were not Slavs, many Croatian and Slovenian writers adopted the name, as did also many writers of the West. Through centuries from the time of the Romans the Illyrians between the regions of present-day southwestern Austria and Albania were for the most part assimilated by the new Slavic settlers. Present-day Albanians are considered descendents of the old Illyrians. Nevertheless, the new French provinces, were called by this name and the name as such was to be used by the Croats during their national and cultural revival following the time of Napoleon.

All the newly acquired territories were now united with Dalmatia into a new province officially called "le gouvernement général des Provinces Illyriennes" which was detached from the kingdom of Italy and became an integral part of the French Empire under Marshal Marmont as "gouvernant général" and with its capital in Laibach.<sup>49</sup> This was the beginning of the second phase of French rule in Croatia with the difference that considerable other territories were now included.

The parts of Croatia which were under Austria until the last treaty, were occupied by 5,000 French troops under General Delzons. However, this sudden change from centuries-old Austrian rule considerably upset the masses of the people whose Military Frontier had for centuries furnished many thousands of loyal soldiers to the Habsburgs. Nevertheless, regardless of their dissatisfaction, a considerable part of Croatia proper for the first time in history found itself under the rule of France. The military and clergy were especially distrustful of those who by such sweeping changes and radical ideas, brought with them the end of feudalism. Eager to preserve their privileged position, these nobles and clergymen detested such changes.<sup>50</sup>

Napoleon was well informed by Marmont and the French agents about the dissatisfaction of the Croats in the newly acquired territories. He considered the Croatian area as an important part of Illyria because of the signifi-

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49. *Ibid.*, p. 126; L. R. Gottschalk, *The Era of the French Revolution*, p. 384; Šišić, *Hrv. Povijest, Treći Dio*, p. 94; Driault, *Tilsit*, p. 229.

50. Horvat, *op. cit.*, p. 517. For excellent cultural-social analysis consult Josip Horvat, *Kultura Hrvata kroz 1000 Godina* (Zagreb: Tipografija, 1942), II, 198-214.

cant role it traditionally played as the Austrian Military Border and as a military reservoir for the Habsburg. He had met the Croatian soldiers from these parts of *Krajina* during his campaigns in Italy. He wanted to gain their loyalty and now utilize this reservoir of military manpower for his own Empire. He reportedly regarded the Croatian parts of Illyria as "une excellente acquisition, car elle fournira des bons soldats."<sup>51</sup> By the end of 1809 he issued from Milan a proclamation to the Croatian people in Croatia proper; it ran, in part, as follows:

Croats,

I am moved with your misfortune inasmuch as I know your national character, which is...full of love for your homeland and devotion for the ruler. You are victims of your former government, but now they have lost with you their strongest foundation on which for a long time they upheld their weak ruling house.

Trust in God and me... preserve your spirit by which you have gained for yourselves respect of Europe and achieved my favors. Be peaceful, obedient, devoted, and steadfast...I shall prove to you that in me you obtained not only a ruler but at the same time a considerate father.<sup>52</sup>

#### *Marshal Marmont and His Reforms in Illyria*

Marshal Marmont, named by Napoleon hereditary Duke of Ragusa (*duc de Raguse*) on March 1, 1808, proceeded immediately to establish order and peace in Illyria. To carry out this purpose he had at his disposal two French divisions. The province was indeed established as Napoleon and the French stated as "une sentinelle aux portes de Vienne."

The province had an odd shape and form. (See the map). It stretched from the north to the southeast and its full length in this geographic direction was approximately 450 miles. Its widest part (the line drawn approximately from Trieste to the eastern most tip of the Military Frontier of Croatia at the confluence of the Una and Sava rivers) measured some 175 miles. Running southeastwards the territory became gradually narrower and at the most southern tip in Bocca and Budva the width was less than 10 miles. Austria was now separated from its outlets to the Adriatic by about 100 miles of French controlled territory. Consisting of some 28,000 square miles, the territory looked on the map like a huge dagger or sword pointed towards Albania, Greece, and the Near East.

51. Driault, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

52. Cyprien Robert, *Le Monde Slave* (Paris: Passard, 1852), I, 75; Šišić, *Hrv. Povijest, Treći Dio*, pp. 95-96.

French Illyria embraced a major part of the lands inhabited by the Slovenian people (except Southern Styria), a considerable part inhabited by the Croats (parts of Croatia proper, along with Dalmatia including Ragusa and Bocca); it included also some territory peopled by Italians and Germans. The religious affiliations were these: Over 1,300,000 Catholics, some 225,000 Orthodox, and the rest Protestant and other denominations.

Dalmatia now had direct continental overland connection with Italy and the Adriatic became a French lake. On November 17 Marmont arrived in Laibach (Ljubljana, present day capital of Slovenia) and took over the government of the Provinces. On December 25, 1809, he received from Napoleon unlimited powers and started to organize his administration.<sup>53</sup>

He was well aware of the difficulties he might encounter in these multinational provinces which extended from Lienz in Eastern Tyrol down to the Bocca in the extreme south. He was certain that "les lois et l'organisation ne pouvaient être uniformes, et le même régime ne pouvait convenir aux Croates militaires qui gardent les frontières, aux négociants de la ville de Trieste, aux seigneurs de la Carniole, aux mineurs d'Idria et de Bleiburg, et aux matelots de la Dalmatie."<sup>54</sup>

One of the first acts of his administration was to determine the territorial and administrative division. In 1810 he founded gendarmerie which soon cleared the country of bandits and military deserters. Two military districts were established. The first comprised Gorizza, Trieste, Istria, Carnythia, Carniola, Croatian Littoral, the so-called Civil Croatia (with the center in Karlovac), and parts of Military Croatia with Slunj and Ogulin. The second district included other parts of Military Croatia with Otočac and Gospić with Dalmatia, Ragusa and Bocca.<sup>55</sup>

Napoleon continued the maintenance of the Military Frontier which he took over from Austria. The only difference for the Croatian military units was in the fact that they had to use now French military regulations instead of the old Austrian. As a French author stated, "Marmont, tout comme Napoléon, tenait en haute estime les Croates, pour leurs vertus guerriers d'abord, puis pour leur honnête, leur bienveillance et, avant tout, pour leurs habitudes de cordiale hospitalité."<sup>56</sup> Another French writer again states, "De

53. Šišić, *Hrv. povijest, Tréci Dio*, pp. 95-96.

54. Marmont, *Mémoires*, III, 342.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

56. Deak, "Les Français en Croatie," p. 149. See also an excellent book discussing the Croats in the French army during Napoleon: L. H. Boppe, *La Croatie Militaire*, 1809-1813 (Paris: Berger, 1900); also Janko Polec, *Kralještvo Ilirija* (Ljubljana, 1925); and Bovško Strika, *Francusko Doba u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb, 1924).

soldates croates....il [Marmont] fit des fantassins français dont le loyalisme devint célèbre...Les Croates luttèrent avec vaillance.”<sup>57</sup>

In military Croatia he nominated Colonel Šljivarčić as commander of the first regiment in Lika, while five other Croatian regiments in this region were commanded by the French. Almost all officers in Croatian regiments were of Croatian nationality. As governor of Illyria Marmont was determined to protect the interests of these Croats and to render them a just rule. He paid a great deal of attention to this region and its people and carefully studied the situation in this important border zone on the Turkish frontier. “Je vis les Croates,” he reported after an inspection tour “compagnie par compagnie, je pourvus à leur besoins, je satisfis à leur besoins, je satisfis à leur demandes, et je laissai ce peuple content d’appartenir à son nouveau souverain.”<sup>58</sup>

As an integral part of France Illyria was subject to the orders and regulations from Paris. The official language was French. It is interesting that Marmont wanted to introduce also a native language as the official language in most of the offices. While he was in Dalmatia he learned Croatian—with the dialect of Ragusa—fairly well. He wanted his officers also to learn Croatian and for this purpose he invited from Ragusa a young Catholic priest, Antun Sivrić. The marshal wanted to introduce as the official language the dialect of Ragusa which had been used by many Croatian writers in Dalmatia and in the Ragusan Republic during the flourishing period of Dalmatian literature in the Renaissance. The trouble with this language was that the Slovenians did not understand it well because their language is fairly different from Croatian. In 1810 Marmont sponsored publication of an Italian-Croatian-Latin dictionary. All these measures undertaken by Marmont indicate a basic difference between his policy and that of V. Dandolo, who now was the vice-governor of Dalmatia. Dandolo’s rule with all its benefits has been appraised by most of the South Slav historians as a denationalization of the native people. However, the reforms of Marmont can be possibly interpreted as enlightenment of the people in accordance with the progressive French ideas and simultaneously as a policy to partly incite nationalism among the Croats and Slovenes. This opinion can be considerably justified by the fact that Marmont, as proved by his *Mémoires*, sincerely liked and admired these peoples. In January, 1810, Dandolo, dissatisfied with Marmont’s policy, resigned and returned to Italy. He was replaced by a series of new commis-

57. Christophe Robert, *Les Amours et les Guerres du Maréchal Marmont, Duc de Raguse* (Paris : Hachette, 1955), p. 161.

58. Marmont, *op. cit.*, III, 574.

sars. And still Marmont had of course his difficulties with the natives, especially with the clergy. In 1810, for instance, thirteen Catholic priests in Ragusa rejected to swear the oath of loyalty to Napoleon. One of them was a Franciscan, Rev. Antun Agić. To avoid persecution Agić fled to the Turkish-held Herzegovina where he stayed until the French departed in 1814.<sup>59</sup>

Marmont's plan to introduce the Croatian language depended mostly on the support of the native educated people who had necessarily to be bilingual (beside their mother tongue they had to speak French, too). In order to create a sufficient number of such intellectuals the French of course needed a great number of new schools. Marmont, therefore, continued the expansion of the education based on Dandolo's plan. He organized in Illyria the elementary schools, gymnasia, lycea, and the so-called central schools. The elementary schools for boys were established in all small communities (*opchinas*), while there were fewer of such schools for girls. Two more trade schools were founded in Zara and Laibach. There were 25 gymnasia and nine lycea. The central schools were on college level and they accepted the graduates from the lycea. Such central schools were in Laibach and Zara. There were also several major seminaries for the education for the priesthood. As the language of instruction in the elementary schools and gymnasia the native tongue was used while lycea and the two central schools used French. The curriculum at all these schools resembled those of the schools under Dandolo's administration. This new educational setup was more or less in full swing already by late 1810.<sup>60</sup>

The last issue of the *Regio Dalmatia* appeared on April 1, 1810. Marmont wanted now to publish a new organ for his provinces. He induced the French government to issue on the 30th of June, 1810, an official decree concerning censorship and the press. According to this decree the government planned two editions of an official organ: one "en français et allemand" and another "en italien et illyrique." There were detailed instructions as to the content of these papers and the functions of the editors. Marmont nominated to the position of the chief censor and the editor of this newspaper the former editor of the *Regio Dalmatia*, Benincasa. Unbelievable as it may seem, Benincasa could not find a suitable person for the Croatian translation and the Croatian issue could never be published. The first name of the official paper was *Provinces Illyriennes—Télégraphe Officiel* which was later changed to simply *Le Télégraphe*. The first issue of this paper (in Italian and French only) appeared on October 3, 1810. The German edition appeared in the begin-

59. Bersa, *Dubrovačke Slike*, p. 46; Šišić, *Biskup Štrosmajer*, p. 83.

60. Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti* (1962), pp. 390-391.

ning of 1811. This newspaper, in spite of the great efforts of the French, had little success and found very little support among the people. Its significance was small and the French authorities themselves admitted that the paper was dull, uninteresting, and a failure.<sup>61</sup>

When the Turks repeatedly raided the Croatian territory Marmont responded very energetically. With his troops he invaded western part of Bosnia (Krajina) and took the town of Bihać. After obtaining promises from the Turkish authorities that they would raid no more the Croatian frontier regions, Marmont withdrew into Croatia. The peace was now restored.<sup>62</sup>

On the occasion of Napoleon's wedding with Marie Louise, the daughter of Emperor Francis of Austria, Marmont organized a large delegation from the Illyrian provinces to go to Paris. It consisted of representatives of all the major cities and districts of Illyria and was headed by the Bishop of Laibach, Msgr. Ricci. The Croatian regiments were represented by Col. Šljivarić. Miroslav Zanović was a delegate of Bocca di Cattaro. Marmont wanted the delegates of these territories to be impressed by the splendor of the French Empire and the city of Paris. Seeing for themselves the greatness of France they were likely to become more enthusiastic subjects of Napoleon.

From June until December, 1810, the Illyrian delegation stayed in the capital of the Empire. Here they participated in many festivities, and at the celebration of the wedding between Napoleon and Marie Louise. They also took part in the discussions about the definite legislation on the final organization of the Illyrian Provinces. On August 15, 1810, Napoleon received in a special audience the delegates of Illyria. It was an impressive scene: Napoleon was at the throne surrounded in his imperial splendor by the highest officials, ministers, cardinals, generals, members of the court, senators, and members of the state council. The Illyrian delegation was introduced to the Emperor by the Prince Court Vice-Marshal. The bishop of Laibach greeted Napoleon with selected words in behalf of the delegation expressing the hope of all the inhabitants of Illyria that they would benefit from the greatness and genius of their sovereign and would undergo a real resurrection and progress. Napoleon responded with a solemn speech promising his paternal care and expressing his personal desire to learn about all the needs of the peoples of Illyria to whom he wanted to guarantee happiness and prosperity.

Most of the members of the delegation, including the Croatian army

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61. Bauer, *Die Entwicklung der Publizistik in Kroatien*, pp. 16-19; M. Kos, "Télégraphe Officiel in njegovo izdaje," *Glasnik Muzejskega Društva* VII-VIII (Ljubljana), 1927.

62. Marmont, *op. cit.*, III, 355-357; about the conditions in Military Croatia see pp. 409-414.

officers, were decorated by Napoleon. Among them was also Miroslav Zanović. On the evening of August 15, the delegation was entertained by Napoleon who addressed separately each member of the delegation. *Le Moniteur Universel*, the official organ of Napoleon, described in detail the audience of the Illyrian delegates and published the list of the delegates. The visit of the Illyrian delegation in Paris marks in a way the zenith of the French rule in Croatian and Slovenian lands. Napoleon was then at the peak of his power. He was—in spite of various difficulties—the master of Europe. The quality and efficiency of the French regime in Illyria reached also its highest point at about this time under Marshal Marmont.<sup>63</sup>

In Croatian parts of Illyria Marmont was instrumental for distribution of numerous decorations of *La Légion d'honneur*. He sent two Croatian regiments to Dalmatia “to civilize this province.” At the suggestion of Napoleon, he also dispatched to Paris about two hundred young Croats, the sons of the officers to be educated there.<sup>64</sup>

The French government and justice “functioned so precisely as if it would have been already organized for many years,” reported a contemporary observer. The French took over and employed all former Austrian officials who were willing to swear the oath of allegiance to France. The peasants became free from their feudal yoke. This radical social change naturally antagonized the native nobility. On the whole Marmont's reign was “stern, but honest and just. Nobody was persecuted on account of his opposing political ideas.”<sup>65</sup>

The French introduced many of their good and inevitably some of the bad habits and manners. They founded patriotic clubs trying to attract the native intellectuals. In Karlovac, Croatia they founded a masonic lodge which was joined by some prominent Croats. One of the distinguished Franco-philis was a Croatian patriot, Count Janko Drašković, who had his property on both sides of the Sava River and thus was able to live also in the French part of Croatia. He left for Paris where he stayed until the end of the Napoleonic era, then returned to Zagreb where he became one of the prominent leaders of L. Gaj's “Illyrian Movement” in the 1830's and 1840's. Most con-

63. Breyer, *Conte Zanović*, pp. 137-138.

64. Marmont, *op. cit.*, III, 376, 433-435; about Dalmatia at this time see the indispensable work by P. Pisani, *La Dalmatie*, already quoted; also Gellia Cassi, “Les Populations Juliennes-Illyriennes pendant la domination Napoléonienne, 1806-1814,” in *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* (Oct.-Dec., 1930), pp. 193-212, 257-275, 335-369.

65. I. I. Tkalac, *Uspomene iz Mladosti u Hrvatskoj* (Beograd: Rodoljub, 1925), I, 25-27; originally published in German under the title *Jugenderinnerungen aus Kroatien*, 1749-1845 (Leipzig, 1894).



temporary testimonies state that the French in general were very tactful and showed a great respect toward the natives.<sup>66</sup>

Marmont like his predecessor in Dalmatia, stimulated the industry and commerce and organized the collections of customs and revenues. The trading routes through neighboring Bosnia were of significant importance for Napoleonic France. Except for his military expedition to Bihać when he tried to teach a lesson the Bosnian Turkish authorities, Marmont's relations with the Turks in Bosnia were friendly. With their cooperation free transit for commerce between France and Turkey was established and it was profitable for both sides. The route through the Ottoman Empire by which the caravans traveled with armed guards transporting various goods, was by way of Ūsküb (Skoplje) in Macedonia, Novi Pazar in Sanjak, Sarajevo and Travnik in Bosnia, then to Kostajnica in Croatia which was on the French frontier in this part of Croatia. In his overall plans, Napoleon intended to transform Illyria into a great warehouse through which in the future wars the goods of Turkey, France, Switzerland, Italy, and Illyria would be exchanged.<sup>67</sup>

There was a great shortage of salt in Illyria as well as in some other parts of the Napoleonic Empire. A Croatian merchant from Fiume, and a citizen of Karlovac Ludovik Adamić was authorized by the French authorities to import salt and tobacco in neutral vessels. His ships communicated with the English-held island of Malta. There are indications that Adamić worked as a spy for the British; as such he tried to convince the British of the value of Illyria as market. As a generous contributor Adamić was also responsible for the opening of the Theatre in Fiume in July, 1810.<sup>68</sup>

The French activities in Bosnia were not limited merely to the commercial relations. The very active diplomatic representative of France stationed in the Bosnian city of Travnik, Consul David, tried to expand the Franco-Turkish friendly relations. The Turkish authorities noted in Bosnia a great deal of French propaganda activities, much of which originated from the French in Dalmatia.<sup>69</sup>

66. Tkalac, *op.cit.*, I, 27-33; about the free masons see F. Kidrič, *Framasonske Lože Hrvatskin Zemelj* (Zagreb, 1915); also Radoslav Lopašić, *Karlovac* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1879).

67. Charles Schmidt, "Napoléon et les routes Balkaniques," in *Revue de Paris*, Vol. XIX (Nov. 1912), 335-352; Marmont. *op. cit.*, III, 359-360; Louis Madelin, *La Crise de l'Empire, 1810-1811* (Paris: Hachette, 1945), p. 270.

68. Ivan Avakumovic, "An Episode in the Continental System in the Illyrian Provinces," in *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XIV (Summer, 1954), pp. 254-261; Lopašić, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

69. Driault, *Tilsit*, pp. 136-137; The episode with Napoleon's consul in Travnik was described by Ivo Andrić, born in Croatia, the recent Yugoslav winner of the Noble Prize for

It has not been established whether Napoleon really wanted to occupy Bosnia as some historians tried to prove. A student in this field even ventures to maintain: "It is probable, indeed, that he dreamt of restoring the independence of Greece, and his Illyrian army was well placed for carrying out such a project."<sup>70</sup> Some indication of such a French plan could be derived from the fact that Marmont fortified Dubica and some other places on the Turkish frontier. He also built some important roads as that one between Fiume and Karlovac which had a military significance. Moreover, Marmont went even as far as to establish friendly relations with the Pasha of Scutari in Albania who considered himself almost independent of central authorities in Constantinople and traditionally was not in friendly relations with the Bosnian pashas. Marmont's couriers made regular trips through Bosnia to Constantinople. He also increased the number of troops in Illyria to twenty-four battalions and twelve cavalry companies. The entire Military Croatia along the Turkish border looked as a vast military camp. By the end of 1810 there were about 17,000 soldiers in this region.<sup>71</sup>

In addition, the French organized a small navy on the Adriatic with main bases at Trieste, Fiume, Kraljevica, Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik, and Kotor; the latter was a formidable base because of its natural protection. All the ships of the former Republic of Ragusa sailed now under the French flag. However, when the French authorities wanted to draft 300 additional Ragusan sailors, the leaders of Ragusa refused to comply. The French merchant marine in the Adriatic used some 1,700 ships and about 2,000 smaller boats. The custom inspectorates were established in: Trieste, Fiume, Gorizza, Laibach, and Sisak.<sup>72</sup>

Guilds were abolished and the trades were encouraged. Forestry, mining, and agriculture were promoted. French engineers not only built excellent roads for which Marmont is still remembered in Croatia, but also made great improvements in mining. In all his efforts Marmont was aided by the General Intendants (*les intendants généraux*).<sup>73</sup> While the previous Austrian administration employed in civilian posts mostly foreigners, the French employed in Croatian and Slovenian parts the natives in a majority of such positions.<sup>74</sup>

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literature, in his book *Travnička Kronika* which was published in English translation, *Bosnian Chronicle* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1963); see also Stoyan Christowe, "Napoleon Sends a Consul to Travnik," *The New York Times Book Review*, October 20, 1963.

70. Haumont, *La Formation de la Yougoslavie*, p. 258; H. Morse Stephens, *Revolutionary Empire, 1789-1815* (London: Constable, 1936), pp. 256-257.

71. Driault, *op. cit.*, p. 230; Marmont, *op. cit.*, III, 359-361; Pivec-Stelé, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

72. Pivec-Stelé, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-192; Bersa, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-45.

73. Bersa, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

74. Deak, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.

Summing up Marmont's activities and accomplishments in Illyria, the French historian Albert Sorel wrote:

Des lois — le Code Civil — des juges équitables, des administrateurs vigilants; des routes ouvertes, des torrents endiguées, les fleuves rectifiés en leur cours; les écoles, la tolérance religieuse; tout l'inconnu, tout le bienfait du gouvernement éclairé, voilà ce que leur apporte, sous l'impulsion de l'empereur, le gouvernement français de Marmont.<sup>75</sup>

Most of the South Slav historians agree that "Marmont ruled well and justly, and was a sincere friend of the Croatian people. He did a lot for the communications, public health, education, and security of Croatia."<sup>76</sup> This explains why many streets and squares in Croatia and Slovenia until World War II were named after Marshal Marmont.

All the French efforts, however, could not win the majority of the South Slavs to support their regime. The introduction of new taxes, conscription, and increased war burdens provoked even more the enmity of the people. When the French came in 1809 to Croatia some peasant representatives greeted them with Latin words (probably taught by their priests): "*Galli sumus, liberi sumus.*"<sup>77</sup> As I. I. Tkalac in his recollections of the French rule pointed out, the peasants who overnight became free, did not know what to do with their freedom, because they were backward and uneducated.<sup>78</sup> Slovenian Marxian historian (and present-day Vice-President of Communist Yugoslavia), Edward Kardelj wrote an interesting analysis of the French rule in Slovenia from Marxian standpoint. He stressed in his study that the French upon their arrival in Slovenia left feudalism almost intact. In addition to the old feudal obligations, the Slovenian peasants had now to pay even more taxes and give additional contributions which inevitably caused dissatisfaction and some revolts.<sup>79</sup>

Yet there were Slovenes who were very happy and enthused about the French rule. Slovenian national poet, Valentin Vodnik (1758-1819), who

75. Sorel, *op. cit.*, p. 481.

76. Horvat, *op. cit.*, p. 517; Alfred Fischel, *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkriege* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1919), pp. 130-150; L. Léger, *Le Monde Slave* (Paris: Didier, 1873), pp. 18-23, and also his *La Liquidation de l' Autriche-Hongrie* (Paris: Alcan, 1915), pp. 82-86; Oscar Halecki, *The Borderlands of Western Civilization* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1952), p. 237; G. Pariset, *Le Consulat et l' Empire* (Paris: Hachette, 1921), pp. 371-372, 276-377.

77. G. Bruun, *Europe and the French Imperium* (New York: Harper, 1938), p. 158; G. Cassi, "Le popolazioni Giulio-Illiriche durante il dominio napoleonico," in *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, Vol. VIII (1930), pp. 1-70.

78. Tkalac, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

79. E. Kardelj, *Razvoj Slovenskega Narodnega Vprašanja* (Ljubljana: Vlastita Naklada, 1957), pp. 165-169.

was the administrator of education under the French, in one of his famous poems wrote about Napoleon and his influence on Slovenia:

Napoleon said: "Wake up, Illyria."  
 She is waking up, she is asking with a sigh:  
 "Who calls me back to the light?  
 O great hero, is it you?"  
 During fourteen centuries the moss has covered Illyria.  
 And today Napoleon calls upon her to shake off the dust  
 Napoleon's spirit is reaching the Slovenes:  
 A whole generation rises from the soil...  
 Resting one hand upon Gaul  
 It gives its other hand to Greece.<sup>80</sup>

It is evident from the poem that Vodnik identified here his Slovenian people with the Illyrians, as Ljudevit Gaj will do it only a few years later in Croatia, identifying the Croats and all the Southern Slavs with the same Illyrians.

The only elements on which Napoleon and the French could rely was the population of the Croatian Military Border and its soldiers and officers. They were loyal and devoted to France and Napoleon. Marmont in his *Mémoires* left not only numerous pages of valuable testimony about the French rule in Croatia, but also repeatedly stressed both his and Napoleon's admiration for these military units. One of the reasons, according to Marmont why the Croatian soldiers were devoted to France was that the Austrians had treated them as an inferior race, although the Croats were known as excellent soldiers. Marmont, called the attention of Napoleon to the excellent quality of these troops which may be used in a future war.<sup>81</sup>

#### *Illyria after the departure of Marmont*

In February, 1811, Marmont left for Paris. With some of his Illyrian advisors, Marmont helped the French authorities to put some finishing touches on *Décret sur l'Organisation de l'Illyrie*. Then he resigned as the governor of Illyria and proceeded to Portugal where he was named a viceroy by Napoleon. On March 25, the new governor of Illyria became General Baron Bertrand. The *Décret* was proclaimed on April 15, 1811, giving Illyria a definite organization. Illyria was divided into six provinces: Carniola, Carinthia, I-

80. Hans Kohn, *Pan-Slavism: Its History and Ideology* (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1962), p. 60.

81. Marmont, *op. cit.*, III, 347-348.

stria, Civil Croatia, Military Croatia, and Dalmatia with Ragusa. The provinces consisted of 20 districts which were subdivided into cantons (*kotari* in Croatian); the cantons again were divided into city and village communities (*opchine* in Croatian and Slovenian). The so-called Civil Croatia was composed of the following regions: parts of Croatian Littoral, four islands between Istria and Dalmatia (in Croatian: Krk, Rab, Cres and Lošinj) and the rest of Croatia proper on the right bank of Sava. Military Croatia was still divided as before into the following regiments: Lika, Otočac, Ogulin, Slunj and Banija.

The Illyrian Government (*le gouvernement général des provinces de l'Illyrie*) with the capital in Laibach (Ljubljana) was headed by the Governor General, who was aided by the general intendant for finances and a commissary for justice. The governor was directly responsible to Napoleon as Illyria was an integral part of France. Subject to the governor were the army and gendarmerie as well as the entire administration. He was also in charge of building the fortifications and roads throughout the Provinces. The general intendant for finances was in control of the most important functions of the administration, including the yearly budget. The governor and the two intendants: for finances and justice formed together the Little Council (*petit conseil*) of Illyria. This was the actual government of the province. At the head of each of six provinces was an intendant while the cantons were under the charge of the sub-intendants.

The cities and towns were headed by mayors (*maire*) while the villages were under a headman (*starjeshina* in Croatian). The mayors and headmen were subordinated to the sub-intendants; these were again directly responsible to the provincial intendant, while all provincial intendents were responsible to the general intendant of finances in Laibach. Each of these administrators on various levels had on his side a council composed in all territorial divisions of major administrative officials while in cities and village communities such councils consisted of the representatives of the townspeople and peasants. In military Croatia the military organization was preserved as it had been previously. It was headed by a higher officer whose title was Military Intendant; he resided in Karlovac and was subordinated directly to the Governor General in Laibach.

The justice with its different courts was organized in the same way as it was under Dandolo in Dalmatia. Each canton had a justice of peace (*juge de paix*); all major cities (like Rijeka, Karlovac, Zadar, Dubrovnik Kotor etc.) had a higher court (*tribunal de première instance*) for all civil and criminal cases. There were also commercial courts (*tribunal de commerce*) at Rijeka and Dubrovnik. The highest appellate court of Illyria acted at Laibach, the capital of Illyria, as well as in Zadar and Dubrovnik. The jurisdiction of

the appellate court (*cours d'appel*) at Laibach extended over Istria and Civil Croatia; that in Zadar covered the Dalmatian territory as far as Narenta River; while the court in Dubrovnik had jurisdiction over the former Ragusan territory and Venetian Albania. Military Croatia retained the old military courts on two levels (*kapetanski* and *pukovnijski*) with a high military tribunal in Karlovac. Needless to say that all classes of the people were completely equal before the law which was quite a revolutionary change from the previous rule. Everybody now was under the French laws of *Code Napoléon* which was introduced almost exclusively.

Three military districts were now in operation in Illyria. The first division, for Dalmatia, had its center at Zara; the second division for Croatia was located at Karlovac; and the third for other provinces had its center at Laibach. All these three districts delivered to the French 18,000 conscripts while Military Croatia alone delivered 16,000 additional troops. A National Guard, comprising all able-bodied men in the age between 18 and 50 was organized for the defense of the provinces.

Financially Illyria was independent because Napoleon wanted the provinces to exist from their own income and revenues. Two high officials subordinated to the general intendant for finances were in charge of finances; one of them took care of the entire income, while the other controlled all the expenditures. Originally almost the entire income consisted of the tithe in produce; however, this proved to be insufficient and the French were compelled to introduce all kinds of direct and indirect taxes which steadily increased with the last difficult years of the French Empire. As an example the budget of 1810 should be noted, although this was still the last year under Marmont's rule, and the financial situation in the forthcoming years became considerably worse. Expenses in 1810 amounted to 18,809,000 francs, while income was only 12,475,000, thus showing a deficit of 6,334,000. This had to be obtained from the central government in Paris. Over 8,000,000 francs were spent for the maintenance of the army; about 6,000,000 were spent for the education which was free for every citizen; the administrative costs amounted to 767,000 francs.

The education remained basically as it was established at Marmont's time. The only significant change was that the Central School (with the rank of College) was transferred from Zara to Ragusa where it was placed on the old building of the former Jesuit college. It should be noted that the course of construction beside Latin, French, and Italian included also the Croatian (Illyrian) language which was taught by a learned scholar from Ragusa, Appendini.<sup>82</sup>

82. Šišić, *Pregled Povijest* (1962), pp. 391-392; Pivec-Stelé, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 100-104, 248-249.

*The End of Illyria — Napoleon and the Croats*

As already mentioned, Napoleon respected the military quality of the Croats. Even before the actual founding of Illyria, Napoleon made several flattering remarks with respect to the Croats like that one in his letter to A. Marmont on June 28, 1809 — who brought after the battle of Gospić Croatian units to participate in the battle of Wagram — “You have the best corps of my army.”<sup>83</sup>

The fateful year of 1812 with all its historical events brought about great changes in the Napoleonic Empire and in Europe. There were in Napoleon's Grand Army which invaded the Russian territories in June, 1812, many nationalities. Among them were thousands of Croats from Military Croatia as well as Croats from the rest of Croatia and Slovenes from their provinces. The Croats who had throughout centuries died on many a battlefield of Europe were now dying for the French on the plains of Russia. They distinguished themselves in the Battle of Borodino in September of 1812. In this battle a young officer from Karlorac, Mundrovčić displayed such a personal courage that Napoleon promoted him on the battlefield to the rank of captain and decorated him — along with many other Croats — with the Legion of Honor. The Croatian units fought valiantly in the battle at Berezina River on October 27 and 28, 1812, during the disastrous retreat from Moscow. Napoleon himself was in command of the Croats during this battle. Croatian General Čolić was decorated by Napoleon with the medal of the Legion of Honor for his bravery at Berezina. The day after the battle, Napoleon issued a special proclamation to the Croatian troops, in which he stated:

Yesterday I was convinced through my own eyes about your courage and devotion. You achieved for yourselves immortal glory and honor and I count you among my first troops...I am pleased, very pleased with you.<sup>84</sup>

The Croatian losses during the Russian campaign were very heavy and few Croats returned from Russia. In 1813 the Croatian units also participated in the battle of Leipzig. Col. Šljivarić, who was a good friend of Marmont and was at the head of the Croatian military delegation at Paris 1810, was promoted by Napoleon to the rank of general. Napoleon got acquainted with him and was very fond of him. He ordered General Šljivarić to compose a special Croatian brigade which fought during the wars after 1812.

83. Šišić, *Hrv. Povijest, Tréci Dio*, p. 104.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 106; Tkalac, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29; Deak, *op. cit.*, pp. 150; and Šišić, “Hrvatske krajiške regimente u francuskoj vojnoj službi,” *Kolo* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1909), pp. 270-278.

Šljivarić survived the Russian campaign and after the fall of Napoleon stayed in France in voluntary exile.<sup>85</sup>

Marmont had previously called the attention of Napoleon to the fact that some day he will make a good use of the Croatian troops, and discussed this in some of his letters to Napoleon after he — Marmont — was already in Portugal. As Marmont remarked in his memoirs, Napoleon after the Russian campaign recognized the validity of his assertions. As Marmont stated Napoleon agreed after the disaster in Russia with regard to the Croats that “il n'avait jamais eu...de soldats plus braves et meilleurs sous tous les rapports.”<sup>86</sup>

On the whole

Les Croates étaient très fiers de leur armée... Napoleon lui même estimait très fort ces soldats et ne parlait d'eux qu'en les appelant “mes braves Croates.” A la bataille de la Berezina et pendant toute la retraite de Russie, les régiments Croates combattant sous le drapeau français témoignèrent d'une bravoure surhumaine.<sup>87</sup>

It was obvious after the departure of Marmont from Illyria, and even before the repercussions of the Russian campaign could be felt in the Provinces, that his successors could not match Marmont's qualities and the zeal in administering Illyria. The successor of Marmont, General Bertrand stayed until March 1813, when he was replaced by Marshal Junot. In July of the same year Napoleon summoned the former minister of the interior, Fouché, the Duke of Otranto, who was in Napoleon's disgrace since 1809, and sent him to Laibach to perform the difficult and now almost impossible job. By now, after the military disasters of the French in Russia and Germany, the position of the Illyrian Provinces was little short or hopeless.

Chancellor Metternich of Austria, after the French disaster in Russia, was now skillfully detaching Austria from her alliance with France and bringing her into the alliance with anti-Napoleonic forces in Europe. During his diplomatic negotiations with both the Allies and Napoleon, during the months of May until July, 1813, Metternich insisted upon return of the Illyrian Provinces to Austria. Napoleon first offered Illyria to Austria as the price for Austrian neutrality. He pointed out to the Austrian chancellor that Illyria had cost him altogether 200.000 military casualties and that he could not give up the Provinces so easily.<sup>88</sup>

85. Deak, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

86. Marmont, *op. cit.*, III, 368.

87. Deak, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

88. L. Madelin, *L'Écrasement du Grand Empire* (Paris: Hachette, 1960), pp. 152-153;



Before this difficult position of Illyria was approaching its final stages, the French position in the south and south-west of Dalmatia became seriously threatened. First there were disturbances in the Bocca. During the entire time of the French rule the population of Bocca was very restless and openly hostile. These feelings were nurtured by the neighboring Montenegrins who remained stubborn enemies of Napoleon. Bocca was on the verge of a revolt and Napoleon who was informed about the Montenegrin intrigues was seriously contemplating to punish "ces terribles montagnards." However, this plan to send his army to attack Cetinje never materialized. In the beginning of 1812 an anti-French revolt broke out in the community of Paštrovići near Budva instigated and supported by Montenegro. The French succeeded in crushing the revolt but the rebellious people bided their time to shake off the French rule.<sup>89</sup>

The revolt in the southernmost part of the French Adriatic possessions was partly incited by the presence of the British in the southeastern Adriatic. Attacking from their bases at the Ionian Islands the British from the very beginning of Illyria tried to blockade it and outflank Napoleon. While the French firmly held the coastal parts of Dalmatia the British dominated the sea. After defeating the French navy near the island of Vis (Lissa) in 1812, they took this Dalmatian island and held it until the wars with Napoleon were over. In 1813 the British navy took the islands of Lastovo (Lagosta) and Korčula (Curzola) as well as the islands near Ragusa, including Lopud. The English issued from their fleet stationed here a proclamation to the Ragusans to arise against the French. The proclamation called the Ragusans to "recall the old glory and to fight for freedom of their homeland."<sup>90</sup>

Attacked from the south by the British and threatened from the north by the Austrians, the Illyrian Provinces were gradually disintegrating. At such time precisely did Fouché arrive at Laibach as the last French Governor General. By July of 1813, the days of the French rule were numbered. Interestingly enough even at this point, a Croatian delegation from Karlovac arrived at Laibach to ask the French authorities to stay in Illyria, assuring them of the native loyalty in Croatia. However, it was too late already. The British undertook a successful raid on the port of Fiume in the upper Adriatic. The Austrians ordered about middle of August, General Radivojević to attack the French in Croatia. On August 17th he crossed the Sava River with some

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Cyril E. Black, "Fouché in Illyria 1813," in *Journal of Central European Affairs*, Vol. II (January, 1943), p. 387.

89. Breyer, *Conte Zanović*, pp. 138-139.

90. Bersa, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Skok, "Dalmacija," p. 474.

9,000 Croatian troops and immediately took the city of Karlovac which had been evacuated by the French the night before. Only two days later, on August 19, 1813, Austria declared war on Napoleon. This was the beginning of the end of French Illyria. In the vicinity of Ragusa, in Konavljje, a Ragusan nobleman, Frans Bona organized a revolt against the French. Soon the northern and southern parts of the former Ragusan Republic were in the possession of the insurgents. The British and their Austrian allies nominated Antun Kaboga as a temporary governor of the Ragusan Republic. On November 15, 1813 the old flag of independent Ragusa was raised at Cavtat and saluted with 21-gun salute by the British fleet.<sup>91</sup>

On the 27th of August the last French Governor General left Laibach for Trieste. In Istria, a few days earlier the native population arose against the French, joined a small troop of Croatian soldiers under captain Lazarić, waiting for the arrival of the main body of the Austrian troops. They arrived on the 26th of August and took Fiume. Fouché could do little "to suppress this outburst of Croat nationalism."<sup>92</sup>

The Austrian General Francis Baron Tomašević was in charge of the plan to reconquer the Illyrian territories. He and General Danese based their plan for reconquest of the Croatian and Dalmatian parts on the collaboration of the native population. This proved to be a very successful plan for indeed the majority of the natives revolted against the French along the Adriatic coast and on the islands and eagerly waited for the arrival of the Austrian army.

The last days of the French power were particularly turbulent in Bocca and the community of Paštrovići where the Montenegrins and their sympathizers waited for their chance to attack the French. In Budva the enemies of the French attacked the French sympathizers and collaborators and sacked their homes; among these was Miroslav Zanočić. On September 23, 1813 the Prince-Bishop of Montenegro, Petar Petrović Njegoš arrived at Budva with his troops. The small detachment of the French was taken prisoner. In a few days the coveted shores of the beautiful Bocca — except for the city of Kotor — were in the hands of the Montenegrins. Before their evacuation the French destroyed some of the fortifications.

From his headquarters at Budva *Vladika* Njegoš issued a proclamation to the people of the former Venetian Albania, Ragusa and Dalmatia urging them to arise against the French. In this proclamation *Vladika* called the

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91. Bersa, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Deak, *op. cit.*, p. 151; Tkalac *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41; V. Deželić "Kako su Francuzi g. 1813 otišli iz Karlovca," *Vjesnik Kralj. Hrvatskog, Slavenskog, Dalmatinskog Zem. Arhiva*, Vol. XV (1913), p. 198; Horvat, *op. cit.*, p. 518.

92. Plack, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

French the enemies of the religion, "destroyers of all Europe", who have brought infamy and shame by closing the churches, plundering and burning, and destruction of commerce and navigation. "Everybody who joins us against these henchmen, will be accepted as our brother and friend," stated Njegoš. The time to strike is now and to join all the united forces under the leadership of the glorious Emperor Francis II of Austria; Croatia had been already liberated and soon Dalmatia and Dubrovnik (Ragusa) will get rid of the foreign occupiers, stated Njegoš. This interesting Montenegrin proclamation ends with these words:

The tyrant is defeated... and this we announce to every inhabitant of Bocca and to the Ragusans: that we took your localities as friends in order to expell with your help the common enemy; in the service of our great Protector Alexander I, and the emperor Francis and their allies we are taking up the arms. Everyone should well know that should he fight against the Montenegrins, or *Primorci* [reference to the inhabitants of the Bocca littoral who were Montenegrin sympathizers] or those who allied themselves with us, that he should fight also against the above mentioned emperors and kings... and the nations; and such one will be prosecuted as the traitor of the country and his property will be confiscated.<sup>93</sup>

The wording of this manifesto was careful in a way. Njegoš was afraid that he might offend the Austrians whom he expected to return. He tried to depict himself as an ally of Austria while his and his people's allegiance to Russia had already been known for a long time.

In the meantime, the Austrian troops were advancing in Dalmatia; first they took Knin whereupon Baron Tomašević issued a proclamation as the temporary civil and military governor of Dalmatia to the population. By the beginning of December — with the ample help of the native population — the Austrians were in Ostrovica, Benkovac, and Zadar. General Danese took additional parts of the Dalmatian territory. The British took the city and port of Split (Spalato). Omiš, Makarska and other places were soon liberated by the Austrians. On January 4, the British took the last French stronghold in Bocca, Kotor, which they delivered to the Montenegrins instead to the Austrian General Todor Milutinović who had taken southern Dalmatia and was now in the vicinity of Ragusa.

On January 3, 1814, the Austrians under Milutinović (a Serb from Banat) arrived in the immediate vicinity of Ragusa which was completely surrounded by the insurgents. On January 22 Milutinović started to use the cannon against the city. The French were disarmed by the Ragusans.

93. Breyer, *op.cit.*, pp. 139-141.

On the 29th of January the French formally surrendered to the British and Austrians who on the same day entered the city. For a while three flags were waving over the walls of Dubrovnik: the Saint Blaise flag of the old Republic, the British and the Austrian. Soon, however the English fleet left and the Austrians stayed. They took down the Ragusan flag and dispersed the revolutionary native militia.<sup>94</sup>

The Montenegrins under *Vladika* Njegoš were by now firmly determined to realize their old dream: to take for themselves the entire region of the former Venetian Albania. In this way Montenegro would gain an extended valuable access to the Adriatic sea because this little mountainous principality was still completely landlocked. On October 29, 1813, the *Vladika* called a gathering of Montenegrin chiefs and the representatives of the Bocca region to Dobrota. The delegates passed a resolution proclaiming a union of Boka Kotorska (Bocca) with Montenegro. Fifteen delegates of the Bocca region, including also Count Zanočić, signed the resolution. A Central Commission consisting of nine Montenegrin and nine Bocca representatives, administered this area to which the British added the city of Kotor. However, from the very beginning the Croatian population through their representatives demanded a union with Austria which Njegoš did not dare to oppose openly. Instead he sent his representative, Sava Plamenac to the Russian Emperor Alexander I in Paris with a petition to submit Bocca and Montenegro to the protectorate of Russia. However, the Austrian authorities in Šibenik apprehended Plamenac and his group and they could never reach Paris. At the same time the Catholic Croats of Bocca sent their delegates to the Austrian Emperor asking for Austrian protection. In Troyes, France, in the headquarters of the Allied powers, Emperor Francis received the Catholic delegation from Bocca on February 22. On the same day he issued a decree stating that Austria will take under its protection the region of Bocca. The Emperor assured the native population of his "paternal love and devotion" and informed them that he had already given the order to General Milutinović to march into Bocca to "disperse all misunderstandings and all the unfortunate disturbances." The latter term referred to the Montenegrin interferences and occupation.

In view of such developments the Montenegrins had no other choice but to withdraw. In July *Vladika* Njegoš and his troops left the Bocca region, after on June 4, General Milutinović had announced in a proclamation to the people that his soldiers in the name of Austria would come to conquer the territory. With the Austrian conquest of Bocca and Budva, the entire re-

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94. Bersa, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Skok, *op. cit.*, p.474; Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti* (1962), pp. 392-393.

gion between the Zrmanja River, on border of Croatia proper and Budva, on the border of Turkish Albania, was now under the Austrian control. The name of Dalmatia was for the first time in history now applied also to the former territories of the Ragusan Republic and Venetian Albania. With the British evacuation of Dalmatia in 1815, Dalmatia was completely under the Austrian control which survived on the eastern Adriatic shores for the next hundred and three years.<sup>95</sup>

*Vladika* Njegoš could never forgive the Austrians their conquest of the region he so much desired to take for his own state. The fact is, however, that a majority of the population in this region was still predominantly Catholic and Croatian.<sup>96</sup> In his letters to Alexander I of Russia the ruler of Montenegro bitterly complained about the loss of Bocca as "the greatest misfortune that ever befell Montenegro." In a letter dated September 26, 1814, addressed to the Russian Chancellor Rumiantsov, the Prince-Bishop of Montenegro also complained about the severe persecutions by the Austrian authorities of all those who had supported the Montenegrins and were accused by the Austrians as pro-Russian elements. Among those listed as prisoners of the Austrians was the name of "Count Miroslav Zanović of the Roman faith, confined in the fortress of San Lorenzo in Dubrovnik." Zanović was among the first persons who were arrested by the military authorities of General Milutinović, although the Austrians had previously promised that no one because of the opposing political views would be persecuted. Also arrested by the Austrians was the prominent citizen of Dubrovnik, Marquis Frano Bonabunić who—before the Austrians arrived—had agitated against the annexion of Dubrovnik by Austria and was the leader of the popular revolt against the French. Under military escort Zanović was transferred to Zara where he remained interned by the Austrians until the end of 1816. Released by the Austrians he spent the rest of his life in Kotor where he died in poverty in 1834.<sup>97</sup>

The case of Count Zanović was typical of all those who had supported the French and even Russians, although the Russians were officially the Austrian allies against Napoleon. It is true that the Dalmatian population as well as the Croats in Croatia proper received enthusiastically the Austrian troops. Many Croatian leaders in Dalmatia again hoped that Dalmatia would

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95. Breyer, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

96. In Communist Yugoslavia Boka Kotorska was finally annexed by the Montenegrin Republic and is now a part of the Montenegrin Littoral. However, the Petrovich dynasty, which until 1918 ruled Montenegro, never did acquire this strategic and beautiful part of the Adriatic coast.

97. Breyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-149.

be united with Croatia-Slavonia. Nothing of this kind happened. Dalmatia was directly subject to Vienna and Austria; the Austrians refused the demands of the leaders in both Croatia-Slavonia and in Dalmatia for a reunion of these two Croatian provinces. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 confirmed the Austrian annexation of the Illyrian Provinces. In spite of the Ragusan efforts at the Congress of Vienna to regain their independence, the Austrians kept Ragusa. Austria now took the former Civil Croatia from the Croatian-Slavonian province and put it together with Carniola. On August 3, 1816, against all the protests of the Croatian Diet, the government in Vienna proclaimed here the so-called Kingdom of Illyria. After repeated vigorous protests of the Croatian estates Austria returned Civil Croatia to Croatia-Slavonia but the islands Rab, Krk, Cres, and Lošinj were added to the Austrian province of Istria and taken away from the jurisdiction of the Croatian Diet. Dalmatia, never reunited with Croatia-Slavonia, remained until the end of 1918 a part of Austria while the Habsburgs until the end of their rule in their long title retained the phrase "King of Illyria."<sup>98</sup>

All over the former French provinces the Austrians introduced a harsh rule of absolutism and oppression. It was the time of conservative reaction all over Europe and the secret police especially in the Habsburg lands were busy eradicating "radical" ideas which had crept into these parts under the French rule. The peasants in Civil Croatia may have been influenced with such ideas for a few small-scale rebellions broke out after the departure of the French. They were promptly crushed by the military. The reasons for rebellions was also the fact that the Viennese government returned to the nobility and the clergy all the old privileges which were abolished by the French; in addition, the peasants were removed again from the orbit of civil jurisdiction and returned into the feudal relationship with their former lords. Public education, too, was now completely overhauled and put under the strict control of the loyal supporters of the Habsburg dynasty, notably the clergy. On the whole the Habsburgs did "with a great sponge erase everything that the French regime had instituted."<sup>99</sup>

### *The Significance of the French Rule — A Critical Reassessment*

In spite of many beneficial changes introduced by the French a majority of the population undoubtedly was opposed to their rule in Illyria. There

98. Bersa, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-59; Šišić, *Pregled Povijesti* (1962), p. 393; Dominko Cvietin, *Traženje Hrvatske kroz Ilirsku Priču* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1942), pp. 15-16, 30.

99. Šišić, *Hrv. Povijest, Treći Dio*, p. 197; Herman Wendel, *Der Kampf der Südslawen um Freiheit und Einheit* (Frankfurt: Societätsdruckerei, 1928), p. 137; Bersa, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

are indications that only in Military Croatia (the Military Frontier or *Krajina*) a majority of the people sympathized with the French. The population of Dalmatia had for almost four hundred years a chance to get acquainted with all the negative aspects of the Venetian rule. During the first period of the Austrian rule: 1797-1806 the people had a taste of the Austrian rule which was similar to that of Venice. Many educated people were definitely opposed to both Venetian and the Austrian rule. Yet, the masses of the people, oppressed politically and economically by the foreign rules, did not consider the French as liberators although they brought them at least some features of democracy, abolished serfdom and introduced the equality of all classes. In 1813 and 1814 the Austrians in both Croatia proper and Dalmatia were hailed as liberators. This may be partly explained by the presence of the Croatian troops in the Austrian army which created among the natives the illusion of a liberation by their own people and gave them hope of being reunited with the mother country. This hope was expressed mostly by the rising middle class and by the Catholic clergy.

On the whole the masses of the peasantry were pathetic and were still not in the process of experiencing the rise of real nationalism. In 1813 — 1814 the Austrians brought back to all parts of former Illyria the old regime and its ingredients: feudalism and denationalization. While the French were in the process of disintegration, the masses of the people were jubilant and were eagerly waiting for the Austrians. However, after a few years of this new Austrian rule, the people — who before did not appreciate the benefits of the revolutionary changes introduced by the French — now lamented the passing of the French rule. They started to remember only good things about the French and their rule and thus they went to another extreme: trying to exaggerate the French achievements.

As the Croatian historian Josip Bersa reported in his excellent history of Ragusa, *Dubrovačke Slike i Prilike: 1800-1880*, the Ragusans escorted the leaving French to the ships warmly and friendly. Some people were even crying seeing off these troops whom they had previously cursed as foreign occupiers and suppressors of their centuries-old independence. For many years to come the Dubrovčani (Ragusans) remembered nostalgically the rule of the French and whenever the Ragusans wanted to describe the "good old days" under the French — as compared to the later bad days under Austria — they used a phrase, "*Ispod Franceza*" ("under the French").

Thus gradually a legend arose about the Napoleonic period. This legend was especially kept alive by the middle class who were more affected and, maybe, were in a position to better understand the French ideas than the peasantry did.

For the past few decades there has been a great deal of discussion of the significance of the French rule and influence of their ideas upon the South Slavs. It seems that a majority of the historians and writers consider the French rule very significant. Quite a few of them tend to even overemphasize the importance of this rule. Indeed they added somewhat to the legend which does not correspond always to the full story of that period. There is presently a definite need to re-evaluate and re-appraise the French achievements, the motives behind their actions, and the repercussions among the South Slavs. In the abundant historiography on the Napoleonic period in the Balkans the myth should be sifted from the reality.

On the other hand there are again those who try to minimize the importance of the French period among the South Slavs and try to describe the French as merely a new group of foreign occupiers and exploiters. The Marxian historians in present day Yugoslavia are among these who try to depict the French as mere successors of the old Austrian and Venetian feudal rulers, emphasize all the negative aspects of the French rule and point out mostly their failures. However, they do admit some successes of the French especially with regard to the idea of the national unification of the South Slavs.

An American writer stated in a recent book on Napoleonic period: "Marmont merely had time in the Illyrian Provinces to open a few schools, send a few pupils to France, and encourage the Croat tongue."<sup>100</sup> In view of the existing evidence this seems to be at least an understatement. Marmont founded many more schools and scored other successes. Very frequent statements with respect to the French rule tend to forget that Marmont was in Dalmatia since 1806, and he was responsible for many achievements already before Illyria was ever founded. The success of the French rule is the success of mostly a single man, Auguste Marmont. Although he left the Provinces three years before they ceased to exist, the French rule in this part of Europe is often identified with Marmont's rule alone.

After the French left even the Austrians had to admit that their predecessors — especially Marmont — had been very successful. When Francis I traveled through Croatia shortly after the departure of the French, he was reported to have stated that it was a pity that the French didn't stay any longer.<sup>101</sup> Needless to say that the brief and very eventful rule of the French and particularly the achievements of Marmont were at that time even more appreciated by the people themselves.

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100. Robert B. Holtman, *Napoleonic Propaganda* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), p. 123.

101. Driault, *La Chute de l'Empire* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1927), p. 19; Pivec-Stelé, *op. cit.* pp. 12-13.



A careful analysis of this era in the South Slav history reveals that the results of the French rule were more apparent in the economic and social changes rather than in political. Between approximately 1790 and 1848, the political life in the Habsburg provinces, inhabited by the South Slavs, was dominated to a great extent by nobles and the clergy. These were for understandable reasons usually the staunchest opponents of the liberal ideas introduced by the French Revolution. They cared less about the national question than about their class interests. The notable exceptions were among others the Counts Janko Drašković and Miroslav Zanković. One of the greatest problems for the nobles was especially to control the serfs and this they could only by allying themselves with the Habsburg Dynasty. The French Revolution equally undermined the ruling position of the Habsburgs and the privileges of the nobility. The shock and horror caused by the French revolutionary ideas threw the nobility: German, Hungarian, Croatian, or Slovenian, stronger than ever into the hold of the royal regime. For decades to come the dynasty and the nobility will form a unity of interests, they will merge in defying the social and national changes.<sup>102</sup> It would be dangerous to make a generalization and maintain that all the nobles did not care for their respective national interests (especially in the case of many Hungarian and some Croatian nobles), but generally they cared more for the interests of their estates than for the national struggle for independence. The idea of nationalism—in spite of the French influence—was still dormant among most of the South Slavs.

Yet, there were many indications that feudalism as such was definitely on decline in Austria. This decline was caused also considerably by the repercussions of the French Revolution and especially by the brief and important French rule in Illyria. It was the French who accelerated this decline and with the revolutions in 1848 the feudalism will receive its death blow among the South Slavs in Austria. It was the middle class, although insignificant in numbers but important in its influence, which after 1815 emerged as *the* group leading the national struggle. Composed of many intellectuals, some of whom spent a few years in France, former officers from Napoleonic wars, merchants and tradesmen who got acquainted with the French ideas, lived under the French rule, the middle class became in 1848 an element surpassing in its importance the old privileged class of nobility, which was formerly leader of national politics.

A host of historians and writers have stressed in numerous articles and books the political repercussions of the French rule. To enumerate even the

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102. Bogdanov, *Historija Političkih Stranaka u Hrvatskoj*, pp. 81-82.

more important studies would require a long bibliography quoting the writings in French, German, Croatian, Slovenian, Serbian and less so in English. Obviously the historians, writers, and even political propagandists have been attracted by the fascinating topic of the French Illyria and French rule among the South Slavs. There is definitely an overemphasis on the *political* repercussions of the Napoleonic era. Some of such writings contain statements which are evidently the product of wishful thinking. Some writers again try to imply things which the French wanted or may have wanted to do. The major question then arises: Did the French rule contribute to the rise of the South Slav nationalism and the idea of the South Slav unity?

H. Desprez, a Frenchman who in 1847 visited the Balkan regions, reported that Napoleon "had truly touched the national fiber of the neighboring peoples of the Adriatic." Desprez also reported that the South Slavs believed Napoleon would attack the Ottoman Empire and unify all the South Slavs. "Even today it is still like a happy dream which their poets write about, and one cannot persuade them that the Illyria of the future never existed in Napoleon's mind," wrote Desprez.<sup>103</sup>

One of the leading American historians of East Central Europe, Prof. Oscar Halecki contends that "during the few years of French administration under Marshal Marmont, the national movement of the Croats and Slovenes was encouraged and developed in the direction of at least a cultural community of all Southern Slavs."<sup>104</sup> L. S. Stavrianos is not as cautious in his appraisal of the political repercussions of the French rule and he sees in it a strong influence for the formation of the South Slav movement. He also claims that the South Slavs "had been united for the first time in centuries" under the French. French influence extended, he says, even to the South Slavs under the Austrian and Ottoman rule.<sup>105</sup> However, such statements need more evaluation and documentation to hold their ground.

Both Halecki and Stavrianos, although American scholars, descend from the area of East Central Europe. Halecki, an eminent Polish scholar has a good analogy in Poland (Napoleon's Duchy of Warsaw), a similar French creation, although in many aspects strikingly different from Illyria. Stavrianos has another very good example of what the French influence was like in a part of Greece when he discusses the Ionian Islands and the French influences upon the Greek people on the eve of their national revolution. Another

103. D. Desprez, "La grande Illyrie et le mouvement Illyrien," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, XVII (March 15, 1847), 1017, as quoted in Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453*, p. 213.

104. O. Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization*, p. 287.

105. Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453*, pp. 212-213, 264.

prominent scholar who descends from East Central Europe, Prof. Hans Kohn briefly summarized the political repercussions in Illyria in his excellent study of Pan-Slavism.<sup>106</sup> Kohn believes that French Illyria influenced the Illyrian movement of Ljudevit Gaj. However, when he states that after the treaty of Campo Formio in 1797 "all Croats and Slovenes found themselves under the same rule" it seems that he gave little recognition to the fact that: the Croats and Slovenes had already lived together throughout centuries under the Habsburgs, and that even in French Illyria not *all* Slovenes and not *all* Croats lived under the same rule.

R. A. Kann in his excellent work on the Habsburg empire gives a good analysis and appraisal of the French rule; however, contrary to Halecki, Kohn and Stavrianos, Kann comes to a slightly different conclusion. His opinion is that the French did not want to create a national awakening of the people of Illyria. "French political expediency could make use of existing national trends. ...it could support them, but it could scarcely create or revive a national movement for its own sake." He also makes excellent point by stating "The rapid pace of this cultural development [after the French rule] was largely...the consequence of the socio-economic contrast between the French administration and the following Austrian regime."<sup>107</sup>

Another author points out that Napoleon in seeking the loyalty of the Croats, appealed to their class rather than regional prejudices. To quicken national feelings "was never Napoleon's intention... The tradition that he nursed a far-sighted plan to create... free homeland for the Croats and Slovenes, is a part of the Bonapartist legend, not a part of Napoleonic system."<sup>108</sup> He also underlines the fact that the unity of the Croats and Slovenes was fictitious and strictly administrative.

A British author, one of the greatest experts on the South Slaves among the Anglo-Saxon writers, considers the French influences as "vivifying and renewing forces." To R. W. Seton-Watson Napoleon was an awakener to whom Dalmatia was—in his grand designs—only one of "many stepping stones towards the dominion of the East."<sup>109</sup>

Melitta Pivec-Stělé, a Slovenian scholar who wrote one of the best mono-

106. H. Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, p. 59.

107. Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), I, 242-243.

108. G. Bruun, *Europe and the French Imperium* pp. 157-159.

109. R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans* (London: Constable, 1917), pp. 62, 88-89; his son Hugh Seton-Watson, author of several books on Eastern Europe mentioned in *Eastern Europe Between the Wars* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1945), p. 35.

graphs on French Illyria is of the opinion that it is only a supposition that Napoleon wanted to create a South Slav state. Bogumil Vošnjak, also a Slovenian and propagator of the South Slav unification, and Louis Adamic, an American leftist writer of Slovenian descent, state on the contrary that Napoleon did want to create such a state. As both Vošnjak and Adamic were primarily propagators of a political idea rather than historians interested in objective truth, their statements should be accepted with reservation and should be considered partly as a result of projecting the present concepts into the past events.<sup>110</sup>

Edward Kardelj, a Slovenian Marxist writer and politician, in his interpretation of the Slovenian history, where he also analyzes the French influences, belongs to that small group of writers who try to slight, minimize and even misinterpret the French achievements. Kardelj goes even so far as to deny any good will on the part of the French, negates any good results of the French rule, and sees in the French Illyrian policy only the imperialistic designs of Napoleon.<sup>111</sup>

A significant number of Croatian historians, including Vjekoslav Klaić, Tadija Smičiklas, Rudolf and Josip Horvat, Mihovil Kombol, Radoslav Lopašić, Ferdo Šišić, Petar Skok, Grga Novak, Ante Dabinović, Jaroslav Šidak and Vaso Bogdanov (who is a Serbian writing primarily on the history of Croatia), have written detailed discussions and analysis of the French rule and influences. They have produced monographs, articles, studies and comments on the entire era of the French rule as well as on particular phases and problems connected with the French rule. They all agree on many points. They all admit the beneficial results of the brief rule of France especially in economic and cultural fields. However, they disagree on the question as to

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110. Pivec-Stelé, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; Bogumil Vošnjak, *A Dying Empire* (Austria-Hungary) (London: C. Allen, 1918), pp. 21, 67, and *A Bulwark Against Germany* (London: Allen, 1917); Vošnjak, who died a few years ago in Washington, D. C., was during World War I a member of the South Slav Committee in London which was headed by a Croatian politician from Dalmatia, Dr. Ante Trumbić. The Committee was instrumental in the creation of the South Slav State in 1918, later to be known as Yugoslavia (after 1929), officially called first the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Those who believed that French political ideas influenced Illyrian movement tried to prove that Yugoslavia was a result of the Illyrian movement. Vošnjak's scholarly study was *Ustava Ilirskih Dežel* (Ljubljana: Matica Slovenska, 1910). Louis Adamic, *My Native Land* (New York: Harper, 1943), p. 269. This book abounds in distortions of history and advocates creation of a Communist Yugoslav state.

111. Edward Kardelj, *Razvoj Slovenskega Narodnega Vprašanja*; written by a Marxist, this is a Marxian interpretation of the Slovenian history.

what degree did the French politically influence the Croats, Slovenians, and the Serbs. Ferdo Šišić, was one of the best modern Croatian historians. A very prolific writer whose *Croatian History* was just recently published (1962) by Matica Hrvatska in Zagreb in an impressive new edition, (under the editorship of the present Croatian historian J. Šidak, with excellent Bibliography and Notes) he is also known as one of many Croats who sincerely believed in the idea of South Slav unity. This implied a state which should be based on equal partnership of all Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins and — if possible—Bulgarians. Thus Šišić's name is connected with the idea of "Yugoslavism," the concept of the South Slav unification. As a man who believed in such ideas and ideals Šišić wrote history — as most historians do — with pre-conceived ideas, sometimes interjecting projections to the past. An excellent historian, Šišić, naturally searched in all historical trends for the particulars which would confirm his beliefs. It is therefore not surprising that he believed that French Illyria and the French rule as such did contribute to the rise of the South Slav unification movement. In his writings and ideas he was merely following such men as the Croatian Bishop Josip J. Strossmeyer and Rev. Franjo Rački who believed in Slav solidarity and the necessity of a union of all South Slav peoples.

As Šišić's writing are very numerous, he undoubtedly influenced to some degree many of the contemporary French, German and some British scholars and writers who discussed the French influences among the South Slavs. There were other South Slav writers who shared Šišić's ideas and, too, influenced the European and some American historians in their opinion with respect to the French influences on South Slav nationalism and unification.

A typical French writer who adhered to such concepts was Émile Haumant who in his book *La Formation de la Yougoslavie* (Paris: Bossard, 1930) somewhat too optimistically interpreted the motives behind the French policies in Illyria. In his opinion, the French rule first in Dalmatia and then in all Illyria, did instigate the rise of the "Yugoslav idea." While Haumant discussed the French influences with regard to all the South Slavs, Gustave Horn in his study *Le Compromis de 1868 entre la Hongrie et la Croatie* (Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et Jurisprudence, 1907)—which is the best French discussion of the compromise between Hungary and Croatia, deals with these influences in respect to Croatia alone. Louis Léger, a great friend of the South Slavs also advocates the theory expressed by Haumant in his well known book, *La Liquidation de l' Autriche-Hongrie* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1915). Léger entirely subscribed to the idea that the French influenced the South Slav movement. Many articles in scholarly and less scholarly journals were pub-

lished in French on this subject. The authors, however, vary in their interpretation of the political effects of the French rule.<sup>112</sup>

Alfred Fischel and Herman Wendel in their German studies of Slavic problems shared the opinion of a majority of the scholars that the French rule stimulated the rise of South Slav movement. Wendel saw only good things which the French accomplished and definitely overemphasized their political influence to suit his theories on the South Slav solidarity about which many South Slav writers have a different opinion.<sup>113</sup>

Many Croatian and other South Slav historians do not share the attitude and opinion of Šišić. Certain revisions not only with respect to the French period but to other periods of South Slav history have been undertaken in recent decades. M. Kombol as a historian of the Croatian literature, for instance, is more skeptical about some French achievements than Šišić and others. According to Kombol, Dandolo in fact undertook a policy of denationalization in Dalmatia. As soon as the French left in 1814, the Austrians introduced such an oppressive policy trying to stamp out any signs of Croatian nationalism, that—in opinion of Kombol—their rule was worse than four centuries of Venetian rule in Dalmatia. The Austrians employed thousands of Italians and Germans as their officials in Dalmatia and encouraged foreign elements to such an extent that within a short time Dalmatia with its predominant Croatian population was completely dominated by an outspokenly hostile element. All Dalmatian cities were ruled and dominated by an Italian-speaking and Habsburg-loyal element. In this way the Austrians succeeded better than the Venetians did. Thus an indirect result of the French rule was actually denationalization of Dalmatia rather than its national a-

112. Some of the articles were written by the South Slavs and some by the French. G. Cassi, "Les populations juliennes-illyriennes pendant la domination Napoléonienne, 1806 - 1814," *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, XXI (October, 1930), 193-212; XXI (November, 1930), 257-275; XXI (December, 1930), 355-369. E. Dard, "Les souvenirs napoleoniens [sic]," *Revue d' Histoire Diplomatique*, XLVII (January-March, 1933), 1-9. H. Desprez, whose article was quoted above wrote one of the oldest and most realistic appraisals of this problem, "La grande Illyrie et le mouvement Illyrien," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, XVII (March 15, 1847). F. Zwitter, "Illyrisme et sentiment yougoslave," *Le Monde Slave*, X (April 1939) 39-71; X (May 1933), 161-185, 213-243; and X (June 1933), 358-375. V. Kisovec, "La révolution française et le royaume de l' Illyrie," *La Revue Slave*, VI (November-December 1909), 253-278. Ante Dabinović, "La révolution française et le nationalisme croate," *Annales de l' Institut Français de Zagreb*, III, 1939, and *ibid.*, Stjepan Antoljak, "Les repercussions de la Révolution Française en Croatie." P. Skok, "Le mouvement illyrien et les Français," *Le Monde Slave*, XII (June, 1935), 426-438.

113. A. Fischel, *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg*; H. Wendel, *Der Kampf der Südslawen um Freiheit und Einheit*. Many other German works reflect ideas similar to these expressed in these two books.

wakening. It took fifty years until the Croatian national elements succeeded in overthrowing these anti-national forces in municipal elections.<sup>114</sup>

Vaso Bogdanov gives in his works primarily a Marxian interpretation of the French rule. He is—like all Marxian historians—interested mostly in the class struggle and economic determinism. However, rich in new discoveries and notably in stressing the Jacobin influences in Austria during the time of the French revolution, he deserves attention of those who would rather like to see additional light shed on the topic than to be satisfied with the conventional interpretation of the French period. A few other Croatian historians who live under the present regime, but are not Marxists, cannot help but to stress the class struggle as primary motivating forces during the Napoleonic era. They are critical of at least some aspects of the French rule. In a way this attitude is helpful because it takes into account new discoveries and adds to the revisionism of historiography on this period.

There have been in the discussion of the French period and their influences too many suppositions, numerous conjectures, and theories. Some of these center around the plans of Napoleon. Did he want to conquer Turkey, as Šišić and some other historians stated? What would have happened if the French would have taken Bosnia and maybe Herzegovina? Many other questions could be asked. We think that it is immaterial and insignificant what Napoleon wanted to do, what he planned and dreamed about. The fact is that he did not take Bosnia and did not found a South Slav state and that he did not support the Serbs under Karageorge. He had grand plans; one of them was even to take Constantinople but he failed to do it. From the point of objective history it is more important what Napoleon achieved rather than what he wanted to achieve.

The historians so far have neglected to trace, for instance, any possible statements of thousands of the veterans of the Napoleonic wars, Slovenes and Croats alike. There were thousands of such veterans in Croatia and Slovenia. Most of them were of peasant origin. Some of them—particularly the officers belonged to the middle class. It was possible that these elements, the soldiers who fought under the French imperial eagles, many of whom went to Russia, who saw the glory and the decline of the French Empire, despite the Austrian conservative reaction, still entertained some French ideas. The lingering memories of the past wars and Napoleon could not be erased overnight by the orders of the Metternich's regime. It is in the nature of all veterans of all wars to cherish the past events and with the passing of time to

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114. M. Kombol, "Zadar u hrvatskoj književnosti," *Alma Mater Croatica*, VII (January-April, 1944), 141-152.

recall mostly those pleasant ones. So far the South Slav historians have done little to appraise whether and to what extent these thousands of soldiers and officers exercised a possible influence on their contemporary environment. What happened also to those two hundred boys sent by the French Illyrian authorities to France to be educated? There were also in the entire Illyria numerous burghers, the members of the middle class, even some who wholeheartedly supported the French. So far very few contemporary testimonies, letters, diaries, articles and other documents left by all these French sympathizers including the free masons, have been discussed by all those involved in the analysis of the impact of the French political and other ideas. Until this has been done the history of the French rule among the South Slavs will remain incomplete. Before this may be undertaken we will still be in a difficult position to distinguish between the myth and legend on one side and the real truth on the other side. A need of revisionism presents itself as long as we will remain unable to discern many new additional details from the neglected unpublished materials.

So far the only significant re-appraisal and revisionism was undertaken in regard to the so-called Illyrian movement of Ljudevit Gaj, Janko Drašković, D. Demeter (who interestingly enough was of Greek descent) and others. All the writers so far have stressed the influences of French Illyria on the Illyrian movement. Count Janko Drašković, an outspoken Francofile was one of its leaders and some Croatian army officers — who fought under Napoleon — were its members. Many of the supporters of this movement were former subjects of the French Illyria. Many of the “Illyrians” have been influenced by the French democratic ideas. These are facts of history. Gaj as the chief leader and ideologist of this political and cultural movement was, however, a sympathizer of Russia, greatly influenced by the Pan-Slav ideas, but at the same time by some Great-Croatia ideas of Pavle R. Vitezović, who formulated these ideas at the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>115</sup>

Many of the scholars who have discussed the impact of the French ideas like Kohn, Stavrianos, Haumant, Wendel, and others maintain that the Illyrian movement was in a way stimulated by the French ideas and the existence of French Illyria. Furthermore, these scholars and a host of others, including some South Slavs, depict Gaj's Illyrian movement as one which wanted to unite all the South Slavs in one state. Such statements have to be qualified. Croatian scholar and historian, Franjo Fancev in his numerous writings succeeded sufficiently to describe the Illyrian movement as an autochthonous

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115. For a good biography see Vjekoslav Klaić, *Život i Djela Pavla Rittera Vitezovića: 1652-1713* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1914).



movement of the Croatian people.<sup>116</sup> To Gaj and many Croatian and Slovenian writers the term "Illyrian" was synonymous with "the Croats and Slovenes." Vitezović and many writers and historians before and after him considered Illyrians identical with the Croats and Slovenes.

In view of Fancev's revisionism of the history of the Illyrian movement, the logical question remains whether the movement as such was a South Slav unification movement or rather a national Croatian movement. One of the fathers of modern Croatian nationalism, Ante Starčević, and formulator of a Great-Croatian program was in his youth a member of the Illyrian movement. Both Serbs and Slovenes rejected the Illyrian movement in 1830's and 1840's. The foreign writers so far have completely overlooked Fancev's discoveries and revisionist theories with respect to the Illyrian movement. Founded on solid documentation, it seems that argumentation of Fancev (who was an objective scholar) should be taken into account. This would imply that the foreign opinions as such appear at least partly undefensible and outdated. Consequently some of such opinions with respect to the political repercussions of the French—in particular those who maintain that French Illyria contributed to the rise of South Slav unification movement—need a new critical reassessment. The future discussions of this problem should approach it more cautiously and in the light of all the new evidence.

The one remaining question remains: was the French rule and notably French Illyria, a success or a failure? In terms of economic, cultural, and social achievement it was a success if one takes into consideration the circumstances, like the hostility of the population, the Russian agitation, and British blockade and naval harassment.

For the peoples living in Illyria it was a unique, interesting, and for some groups (officers, soldiers, merchants, students and pupils living in France) a fascinating experience. The advent of the French was a sudden—in a way

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116. Franjo Fancev, "Dokumenti za naše podrijetlo hrvatskoga preporoda (1790-1832) *Gradja za Povijest Književnosti Hrvatske*, XII (Zagreb, 1933), 1-46; "Hrvatski ilirski preporod jest naš autohtoni pokret," *Hrvatsko Kolo*, XVI (Zagreb, 1935); "Ilirstvo u hrvatskom preporodu," *Ljetopis J. A. Z.U.*, XLIX (1937). About the Illyrian movement as a Croatian national movement and its background: Milutin Nehajev, *O Stogodišnjici Hrvatskoga Preporoda* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1931). Grga Novak, "Le mouvement illyrien et la Dalmatie," *Le Monde Slave*, XII (1935); for Marxian interpretation of the problem see Rudolf Bičanić, "Ilirski pokret i kapitalizam," in *Počeci Kapitalizma u Hrvatskoj Ekonomici i Politici* (Zagreb, 1952) and Vaso Bogdanov, chapter "Iliri," in *Historija Političkih Stranaka u Hrvatskoj*, pp. 95-194; it interprets—in conformity with the official Marxian line—the movement as a progressive social, a great cultural and political movement which contributed to the unification of all Croatian provinces and to the union of all South Slavs as well.

a too quick — change from medieval feudalism to a new, modern era characterized by the ideas of liberty, equality, and brotherhood. Unfortunately these ideas of the French Revolution were not always equally applied by the French to the subject peoples. For the people thrust suddenly from centuries of Venetian and Austrian feudal and absolutist rule into a modern era, it was difficult to grasp the full meaning of the new ideas. A population consisting of approximately ninety per cent peasants and ten per cent of nobles, clergymen, and burghers, was likely to be unable to grasp the revolutionary spirit of the French. Over ninety per cent to the South Slavs subjects were illiterate. This fact too may explain some difficulties and reasons for the failure of the French. It was many years later, looking in retrospect, that many more people understood the French motives and learned to more appreciate the French achievements. In the course of time the lingering memories of the French rule were becoming as Desprez stated “a happy dream which their poets write about.”

A monument at a square in the Slovenian capital, Ljubljana, some roads still in use, and many buildings erected by the French in Slovenia, Croatia, and Dalmatia still remind the people of the years when the French were there. Several hundred Croatian and Slovenian families today have French last names. In Dubrovnik alone the following French names existed after 1814: Montaigne, Talleyrand, Rigaud, Fouque, Manet, Espiè, Tex, and Flé. Most of them are descendants of the French citizens and soldiers who stayed behind after the French troops had left.

On the 28th of October, 1956 in *Le Dome des Invalides*, the resting place of Napoleon in Paris, a plaque honoring all Croatian soldiers in the French army, was unveiled and dedicated by the French government. The inscription reads as follows: “A la mémoire des régiments croates qui sous le drapeau français partageaient la gloire de l’armée française.”<sup>117</sup>

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117. Bersa, *Dubrovačke Slike*, pp. 49-50; *Hrvatska Revija*, VII (March 1957), pp. 100-101. Ante Starčević, one of the founders of Croatian nationalist movement in the second half of the last century was a convinced Francophile and admirer of Bonapartist tradition. See Milutin C. Nehajev, *Rakovica* (Zagreb; Hrv. I. Bibliografski Zavod, 1944), pp. 222-253.