

THE ACTIVITIES OF VICE-ROY PAVAO RAUCH IN CROATIA^x

Mira KOLAR*

1. Introduction

Little has been written concerning *Ban* or Vice-Roy Dr. Pavao Rauch's rule outside the context of the 1909 high-treason process against fifty-three Croatian Serbs. What has appeared has always painted a negative portrait of Rauch. Many of his accomplishments have remained hidden and passed over in silence and the Vice-Roy and his associates have often been exposed to mockery and sneer. Journalist Josip Horvat has been one of the few to write favourably of Rauch. He noted in his secret diary that "on the whole, Pavao Rauch had not been that bad" and that he had permitted fully free elections to be held without influencing the results in any way. Horvat further wrote that "[t]oday, such tolerance is impossible; to be in power, to hold elections with a limited number of candidates, and not to get a single mandate, is a paramount freedom which can rarely be found."¹ Pavao Rauch put in much effort to convince authorities in Budapest and Vienna in the necessity to invest in Croatia and economically improve the country to pacify the dissatisfaction of the people and the majority of the political parties. In doing so, he had some modicum of success until the initiation of the high-treason process. This author believes that this trial had been primarily provoked and aimed at preventing Rauch's attempts to improve Croatia's economy, even though the Court also had political reasons to neutralise those opposing the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. To some extent, this

^x This paper previously appeared in *Povijesni prilozi* (Zagreb: 1999), vol. 18, pp. 241-324 with minor additions. The paper "Požeška županija za banovanje Pavla Raucha s posebnim osvrtom na grad Požegu (1908.-veljača 1910), *Zlatna dolina* (Požega: 1998), IV, pp. 59-86 and paper "Ban Pavao Rauch i Podravina", published in *Podravski zbornik* (Koprivnica: 1999), 24-25, pp. 113-136, complement the description of the activities of Vice-Roy Pavao Rauch. Of course, much can be said about Vice-Roy Pavao Rauch and the period before his appointment, as he had been an opponent of Khuen. Rauch's life after 1910 also deserves attention when Vienna appreciated him while politicians in Croatia denounced him. A book about this family should be published. The members of his family included Deputy Vice-Roy Ivan Rauch who played – thanks to his naiveté – an unpopular role in suppressing the peasant rebellion in 1755, and Pavao's father Levin Rauch who served as Vice-Roy and allowed Vienna and Pest to manipulate him.

* Mira Kolar, Ph. D., Zagreb, Republic of Croatia.

¹ Josip Horvat, *Preživjeti u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: 1989), p. 111.

can be shown by events in Croatia Rauch's removal from office where the economy and other forms of development came to a standstill.

2. The Appointment of Pavao Rauch as the Vice-Roy and his Reception in Zagreb

The appointment of Pavao Rauch as Vice-Roy by the Emperor's handwritten order on 8 January 1908 took the Croato-Serbian Coalition by surprise. The Emperor and Dr. Alexandar Wekerle, President of the Hungarian Government, thought that Rauch would rule systematically and strictly, destroy the Coalition, weaken its links with Belgrade and strengthen moderate Croatian national feeling. Ten thousand protesters met Rauch upon his arrival in Zagreb on 15 January, hurling abuse and throwing spoiled eggs and pebbles at him. Dalmatians, with Budislav Angjelinović in the forefront, led the protests which had been organised by the Croato-Serbian Coalition. From the very beginning of Rauch's rule, the Coalition announced that it would refuse to co-operate in any manner with the new unionist Vice-Roy.²

3. Rauch's Civil Servants

Rauch had faith in the noblemen of the northwestern Croatia. In contrast to them, the rich and independent Slavonian noblemen had ties with the Hungarian nobility while those from Krajina, who for the most part lacked property, gladly linked themselves with the merchants and rich middle-class sympathising with the Croato-Serbian Coalition. Rauch advised low-ranking civil servants not to interfere with politics and he prohibited their membership in political parties. As a result, he found himself with many enemies.³

Upon taking office, Rauch inherited Nikola pl. Czernkovich Dolski as the Deputy Vice-Roy (who served as the head for Internal Administration), a worn-out politician from the times of Rauch's father, Levin. A new Deputy Vice-Roy appointed on 5th July 1909, Slavko Cuvaj od Ivanjske, had until then been the Head Mayor of Zagreb.⁴ Cuvaj had been an experienced administration official, well aware of the difficulties in Slavonia and the problems of Lika. Rauch appointed Dr. Slavko Aranicki, son-in-law of Ognjeslav Utješenović Ostrožinski, as the head of the Justice Department for Croatia's Landed Government. Deep inside, Aranicki probably had been a sympathiser of the Coalition. The naïve Rauch may have been persuaded by him to support the initiation of the poorly prepared "high-treason trial" which compromised Rauch to such extent that he had to give up the Vice-Roy position (the author has been led to this conclusion by the fate of Aranicki's sons who held high positions in Royal Yugoslavia).⁵ In his work,

² Josip Lakatoš, *Medju veleizdajnicima* (Zagreb: 1910), p. 62.

³ *Ustavnost*, 11, 13 February 1908.

⁴ *Ustavnost*, 142, 24 June 1909.

⁵ Slavko Aranicki was born in Ruma in 1853. Aranicki's sons became among the most prominent people in Zagreb in the period between the two World Wars. Fedor Aranicki served

Rauch relied on high district prefects and they had his confidence in the counties.

After the Croatian Parliament (*Sabor*) had been disbanded on 12 March 1908 because of its refusal to co-operate with and the insults it directed at the Vice-Roy, Pavao Rauch ruled through decrees and civil servants. He planned to establish a nationally and politically balanced administrative structure through the transfer of professors, teachers and judges. He further sought to calm national and other conflicts in highly sensitive areas. Rauch also did not ignore the living standards of civil servants, increasing their rental subsidies by twenty-one percent.⁶

Rauch wanted to rule by laws and regulations, and although no parliamentary sessions took place for the remainder of his term, his administration rarely breached the law. It represented a stroke of good fortune that between 1891 and 1906 Milan Smrekar managed to author the six volume *Manual for Political Administrative Service in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia* (Zagreb 1899-1906) which contained an invaluable collection of all existing regulations for administrative, economic and medical services.

In 1909 Rauch organised so-called "dineri," meetings with people from the government, administration, church, industry, art, science and the army, and to which he often invited former high district prefects and politicians as well.

4. Elections of 27 and 28 February 1908

Rauch decided to fully adhere to the Act on Protection of Elections of 1 March 1907 according to which no one could use force or threaten a person with respect to his electoral choices. At the elections, Rauch's Constitutional Party failed to win a single mandate. The united Croato-Serbian Coalition received 53 mandates (which broke down among the Coalition parties as follows: Croatian Party of Rights 23, Croatian Progressive Party 4, Serbian Independent Party 16, Independent Club 10), Starčević's Party received 23 representatives with 1 dissident mandate, Radić's Croatian Peasant Party received 2 mandates, the Serbian Radicals received 2 mandates and the German party received 1 mandate. Out of 48,562 eligible voters, 35,709 cast their ballots. 9,387 voted for the Croatian Party of Rights, 9,254 for Starčević's Party of Rights, 3,088 for the Coalition, 3,006 for the Serbian Independent Party, 2,021 for independent candidates, 1,729 for the

as secretary of the Emigration Commissariate and Ognjeslav served as a financial commissioner and participated as a governmental representative at meetings of many stock companies. Ognjeslav also owned the cinema in Ilica 8 in Zagreb. Interestingly, Rauch's successor, Dr. Nikola Tomašić, supported Slavko Aranicki. Tomašić even strongly opposed the Coalition in July 1910 because he refused to bow to the Coalition's demands to force Aranicki to leave the government and the judiciary. Aranicki ultimately retired on 16 November 1910 at his own request. - *Hrvatska krana*, 70, 19 January 1910.

⁶ *Ustavnost*, 61, 13 April 1908.

Constitutional Party, 1,528 for the Croatian Populist Progressive Party, 1,132 for the Croatian Populist Peasant Party of the Radić brothers, and 837 for the Social-Democrat Party.⁷

5. Opposition Activities Against the Vice-Roy

In September 1908, Rauch prohibited the distribution of the Serbian newspapers *Politika*, *Štampa*, *Pravda* and *Trgovački glasnik* in Croatia, an indication of the increasing deterioration of relations between the Monarchy and Serbia. Intolerance and tensions intensified at the borders of the two states but also within Croatia.⁸ In response to the prohibition of the Serbian papers, Bogoslav Mažuranić prohibited the local People's Reading Club in his native Novi Vinodolski to carry Rauch's newspaper *Ustavnost*.⁹

The political climate in Zagreb became extremely unsettled as the Coalition had many followers and influence over the entire population through its powerful press and resources. Because of the situation in Croatia's capital city, police controls intensified and they arrested many Serbs. Articles in *Ustavnost*, which continued to be published until the end of Rauch's term, clearly show that Rauch refrained for a long period from undertaking more severe measures against the Serbs. When the first arrests of Serbs took place, the newspaper noted that not all Serbs could be characterised as Serbian chauvinists. But the situation could not remain calm after news arrived from Belgrade about recruitment for three volunteer legions and about Russia's support for war for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Many flats owned by Austro-Hungarian citizens in Belgrade came under attack that gave additional impulse to anti-Serbian feeling in Croatia.¹⁰

The opposition in Croatia consisted of many parties that had many internal conflicts. On 18 October 1908 the Coalition came to the verge of collapse because its Party of Rights' members favoured the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina while the Independent Party and Progressive Party members opposed it. Although these disagreements gradually eased, the Coalition continued to influence life in Croatia in a negative manner by hindering any improvement to the country's situation.

The entire press covered the high-treason trial brought in the District Court in Zagreb against fifty-three Serbs. Rauch's *Ustavnost* objectively discussed the proceedings. Tensions especially increased in February 1909 when the trial had been expected to start. The trial actually commenced on 3 March 1909.

Rauch stopped trying to be evenhanded in his relations with Serbs. Instead, he listened to the wishes of Croats and tried to redress some wrongs

⁷ *Glasnik požeške županije*, 12, 21 March 1908.

⁸ *Ustavnost*, 175, 1 September 1908.

⁹ *Ustavnost*, 185, 14 September 1908.

¹⁰ *Ustavnost*, 216, 20 October 1908, and 218, 22 October 1908.

previously inflicted on them. On 8 February 1909, Rauch returned the seat for a district located to the south of Zagreb from Serb-populated Vrginmost to Croat-inhabited Topusko, overturning the decision previously made by Khuen Hedervary, one of Rauch's predecessors. This move of course came to be interpreted as a political act against Serbs.¹¹ A real storm arose as a result of the Government's decision of 26 October 1908 requiring all official documents to be written in the Latin script. However, Rauch never requested the removal of Cyrillic inscriptions in Serb-majority areas.

All Rauch's efforts to present his rule to European public opinion in a positive manner failed due to very intensive propaganda from the Serbs of the Monarchy. Their viewpoint found acceptance among all circles, which had had a negative attitude towards Austro-Hungary. Serbs from Mostar, Šola, Vasiljević and Padul, traveled across Europe and slandered Rauch's government. While European public opinion towards Rauch's government took a turn for the worse, such attitudes did not reflect the actual situation in Croatia.¹² In response to a brochure written by English journalist and publicist Robert Seton-Watson under the pseudonym Scotus Viator (published first in English and then in German under the title *Absolutismus in Kroatien* (Wien 1909)), Dr. Izidor Kršnjavi published an article in the Austrian journal *Oesterreichische Rundschau* that pointed to numerous incorrect pre-suppositions presented in Seton-Watson's work.¹³

Tomas G. Masaryk also wrote a number of articles supporting the indicted Serbs, reflecting the tendency of the Czech press to be disinclined to Croat concerns.¹⁴ The Hungarian press argued that Croatia's judiciary had no independence.¹⁵ The experienced, numerous defenders of the Serbs accused in the high-treason process quickly discovered weaknesses in the indictment. As a result of the destruction of evidence, the indictment formed a poor base on which to conduct the trial. When Dr. H. Friedjung published his article "Austria-Hungary and Serbia" on 25 March 1909 in the *Neue freie Presse*, Dr. Harpne, a Coalition member of the Croatian Parliament, brought a lawsuit filed against Friedjung in Vienna which raised the whole case to an international level.¹⁶ Harpne questioned the reliability of the material used by Friedjung (which material may have been planted). Masaryk urged the examination of Friedjung's evidence at the common Parliament in Budapest. Harpne even traveled to Belgrade to gather materials in support of his charges against Friedjung. In an effort to compromise Austria's foreign

¹¹ *Ustavnost*, 40, 19 February 1909.

¹² *Ustavnost*, 99, 1 May 1909.

¹³ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Scotus Viator uber Kroatien", *Oesterreichisches Rundschau* (Vienna, 1909), Band (vol.) XXI, vol. 3, p. 7-8.

¹⁴ Tomaš G. Masaryk, *Der Agramer Hochverratsprozess und die Annexion von Bosnien und Herzegovina* (Vienna: 1909); Ibidem, *Vasić - Forgach - Aehrenthal* (Prague: 1911); *Ustavnost*, 150, 5 July 1909.

¹⁵ *Ustavnost*, 160, 16 July 1909.

¹⁶ *Ustavnost*, 102, 5 May 1909.

policy in the East, Friedjung's evidence had been proclaimed a forgery that had been created with the help of the Austrian Embassy in Belgrade. For various reasons, Harpne's operation reverberated powerfully in Europe.¹⁷ The Friedjung process, which cost 26,000 Korona, finally ended with a settlement on 21 December 1909. The parties had been forced to come to a deal since none of them had been able to bring the lawsuit to a decent conclusion. But the aim of Harpne's actions had been achieved. The high-treason trial in Zagreb and the Friedjung lawsuit in Vienna created the conviction that everything in the Monarchy had been subject to political manipulation and that political rights there had come under attack.¹⁸ Those who conducted the high-treason process did not remain long in their positions after Rauch's rule ended.

Historiography has always discussed the high-treason process without taking into account the context of the prevailing economic and social situation in Croatia. As a result, a deformed picture has been created of the events with the impression that Serbs in Croatia suffered mass persecutions. Many of the fifty-three defendants actually had connections to Serbia through Bosnia and had been very radical in their statements against Croats and Croatia. Moreover, the relatively small number of accused involved in the trial cannot realistically be accepted as evidence that Serbs in Croatia felt endangered.

Those who agreed to testify against the Serbs came under threat. Many refused to testify although they had much to tell. The teacher Parać from Okučani testified against the defendants and thereafter became exposed to constant threats by Serbs, what made his life miserable.¹⁹ Someone threw a bomb in front of the house of attorney Dr. Franjo Horvat in Šid as a warning to him not to gather evidence against the indictees.²⁰

Those who launched the high-treason process should have been better prepared or should not have started it at all.²¹ Because of its duration and the rivalry between the two sides, the proceeding made Vice-Roy Rauch's attempts to deal with other matters very difficult. The Court in Vienna needed the trial at a time when the Monarchy struggled for recognition of its annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. After it received such recognition, the Court tried to get rid of the process as an obstacle for establishing normal relations with states that sided with defendants.

The high-treason trial ended in October 1909 and those convicted received an aggregate of 184 years in prison. The costs of the trial amount-

¹⁷ *Ustavnost*, 104, 7 May 1909. The problem of the new "evidence" has been discussed by H. Sirotković (Hodimir Sirotković, "Pravni i politički aspekti procesa reichpost – Friedjung", *Starine*, 52, 1962).

¹⁸ *Ustavnost*, 12, 17 January 1910.

¹⁹ *Posavska Hrvatska*, 43, 24 October 1908.

²⁰ *Posavska Hrvatska*, 47, 21 November 1908

²¹ "Serbian tax on the horizon" *Posavska Hrvatska*, 15, 10 April 1909.

ed to 342,719 Korona, an enormous amount that burdened Croatia's budget for that year.²²

6. Vice-Roy Rauch's Economic Programme and its Implementation

Rauch wanted to use all possibilities provided by the Hungaro-Croatian Agreement of 1868 (known as the *Nagodba*) to Croatia's benefit. He forced the ministries in Budapest to direct as much money as possible towards Croatia. Rauch's programme had been made in Zagreb by a group of people closely linked to the Court in Vienna who realised that Vienna's policy towards Croatia needed to change. Some important provisions of that programme had been proposed by Rauch's predecessor, Vice-Roy Aleksandar Rakodczay. Rauch adopted Rakodczay's programme with some minor modifications. The programme provided that Croatian policy would be conducted within the framework of the *Nagodba*, that the national language would be protected, and that the differences between Croatia and Hungary should be resolved. The programme further provided that the coats of arms on joint Hungaro-Croatian government offices in Croatia would contain Croatian inscriptions only, a school for railway clerks would be established in Croatia, the Academy of Forestry in Zagreb would be made equal to the one in Selméczbany, and the number of commercial schools would be increased. The programme proposed the completion of the Dalmatian railway between Ogulin and Split, as well as the building of railways between Karlovac and Metlika, Ilok and Mitrovica, Vukovar and Rača, and Slankamen and Indjija. The riverbeds of the Sava, Drava and Kupa would be improved, and the work on the Vukovar - Šamac canal, which had been halted long ago, would be revived. Agriculture and livestock breeding would be improved, as would veterinary services. Land inheritance would be regulated, while teachers' salaries would be increased.²³ Unfortunately, because of delays in holding Croatia's Parliamentary sessions, the programme could never be formally adopted. As a result, it has been considered as Rauch's personal, individual programme. Moreover, so-called "cultural councilors," or county cultural councils responsible for economic and commerce-related issues did not support its implementation.

In his inauguration speech, Rauch invited all people in Croatia to cooperate and emphasised that ". . . in my efforts, I shall not make any differences pertaining to religion or ethnicity, and here I especially want to stress that I shall always support the justified and feasible wishes of our Serb brothers..."²⁴ Rauch announced his intention to fight for Croatia's right to impose a 15% land tax or to arrange for state loans in order to give it more

²² *Ustavnost*, 226, 4 October and 227, 5 October 1909; *Hrvatske novine*, 46, 11 October 1909.

²³ *Glasnik županije požeške*, 1, 4 January 1908.

²⁴ *Ustavnost*, 164, 18 August 1908.

economic independence to undertake specific projects. The Croato-Serbian Coalition denounced the idea as a fraud even though this represented the only possible way of getting funds under the existing financial agreement with Hungary from 1889.²⁵

The Vice-Roy intended to visit all regions in Croatia and speak to businessmen about their needs. In May 1908, Rauch toured the areas of Pisarovina, Lasinja and Topusko. He saw the foundry in Vranovina, and stayed in Petrinja and Velika Gorica.²⁶ In July, he visited Lika and had been greeted by his hosts everywhere except in Karlovac and Knin. In Knin, Fra. Lujo Marun warmly met him at the Museum of Croatian Antiquities, but two Serbs entered the Museum and asked the Vice-Roy to leave Knin immediately. They would not allow Rauch even to sign the Museum's visitors' book while Knin's police peacefully observed these events (as Knin belonged to the Kingdom of Dalmatia, it laid outside the Vice-Roy's jurisdiction which had been limited to Croatia proper and Slavonia).

Members of the Serbian Independent Party fiercely attacked those Serbs in Lika who welcomed the Vice-Roy during his tour of Lika.²⁷ *Srbobran* condemned Ilija Mašič, the Orthodox head-priest of Otok, for greeting the Vice-Roy. Mašič defended his actions quoting the New Testament's maxim to render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's. Mašič also said that he had welcomed *Bans* Ladislav Pejacsevich in 1882 and Khuen in 1884 and that he had never been condemned for such actions, although they had also been the Vice-Roys under the terms of the *Nagodba*.²⁸

Rauch had at his disposal significant funds for the economy as he appropriated monies from the Krajina Investment Foundation. The Foundation's coffers had been funded with money received from the sale of timber in the former Military Frontier. The funds held by the Foundation could meet the needs of whole area of the former Military Frontier, not only those required for the construction of railways. However, Rauch's entire construction programme required him to obtain 14,000,000 to 15,000,000 Korona.

By mid-1909, it became clear that Rauch would not be able to realise his economic programme so that he adjusted it to fit realities. Because of a financial crisis in the entire Monarchy, the construction of the Lika railway had been halted while feeble support from financiers delayed other investments as well. Rauch spent on various investments in civilian Croatia hoping that the money would be recouped before the end of his rule. As a result, Rauch spent more than he had available while his Government owed money to Budapest. After July 1909, Rauch stopped touring Croatia, for both political and medical reasons. Many of the projects that had been started could not

²⁵ "Financial Part of the Programme", *Ustavnost*, 6, 7 June 1908 ; "P. Ljubić, What's Baron Rauch's Promise?", *Hrvatske novine*, 3, 2 January 1908.

²⁶ *Ustavnost*, 87, 14 May 1908.

²⁷ *Ustavnost*, 135, 14 July 1908.

²⁸ *Ustavnost*, 140, 20 July 1908.

be completed during his tenure and his successors reaped the final results of his effort and work.

While Croatia-Slavonia received financial support from Hungary in accordance with the *Nagodba*, the 44 % of its budget sent from Budapest to cover its autonomous affairs could not cover all its expenses. When one considers Rauch's methods, one must admit that he managed to get a great deal of money from the central government through the use of some unconventional means, including using blackmail and raising the threat of a rebellion breaking out in Croatia.

7. Agricultural Policy During Rauch's Rule

Pursuant to his decree of 11 June 1908, Rauch ordered that popular lectures be held in order to improve the educational level of the common people. Experts from the Economic Educational Institution in Križevci (established in 1860), county veterinaries and agronomists provided such lectures. At Rauch's initiative, a livestock breeding course took place in late January 1909, a trade in which Rauch had a special interest.²⁹ Rauch provided financial support for the publication of the first agricultural magazine in Croatia, *Gospodarska smotra* in Križevci.³⁰ His decrees promoted exemplary farms and livestock breeding.

The Vice-Roy understood the problem of livestock sales in villages where cattle buyers came to purchase cattle at reduced prices. Therefore, he allowed a larger number of annual fairs in many villages of Podravina, such as Virje, Veliko Trojstvo, and later Pitomača. In May 1908, he allowed two annual fairs in Martinska ves.³¹ Unfortunately, not even Rauch remained immune to political practices in Croatia. His followers and supporters often had been awarded privileges related to holding the fairs. The opposition used such examples to support their claims concerning corruption in Rauch's government. However, such actions pale in comparison to Rauch's accomplishments in the development of livestock breeding in Croatia. In September 1908 Croatia saw its first cattle and horse breeding exhibitions (Đurđevac, Pitomača, Petrinja, Sunja, etc.) where prizes had been awarded to the best head. While the number of livestock declined from 1906 to 1908, their aggregate value had increased, reflecting a rise in quality to which special attention had been paid at these exhibitions.

8. Industrial Policy and Crafts

Rauch believed that foreign capital, especially Jewish, should be allowed to enter Croatia to make up for the lack of domestic resources. He further

²⁹ *Ustavnost*, 83, 13 April 1909.

³⁰ *Ustavnost*, 152, 7 July 1909. In this magazine, Predavec published his study on the Danish economy.

³¹ *Ustavnost*, 3, 4 February and 101, 1 June 1908. On 24 December 1909, Rauch permitted Pitomača to hold its fair on 10 April and also in September after St. Mary's Day. (*Ustavnost*, 6, 10 January 1910).

believed that tourism might be developed in parallel with industry, as in Kraljevica where he permitted the establishment of the Danubius shipyard.

Discussions commenced in January 1909 to draft a new crafts law as an 1884 crafts' act hindered the development of some of the production and service trades. A movement had already begun among craftsmen of the same trades to jointly acquire raw materials and modernise their trades. Pressure increased after 1907 when Croatia's craftsmen drafted rules for the Croatian Craftsmen Union, which the Croato-Serbian Coalition never wanted to recognise. Rauch, though, easily approved their rules in 1908 and the Union held its first regular general assembly on 15 August 1908.³² Further, the members of the Zagreb Craftsmen Association ordered plans for a Craftsmen Hall to be built next to the Forestry Academy near the "Kolo." The great hall of the Hall remains one of the most beautiful in Zagreb.³³

9. Rauch and Social Policy

Rauch streamlined the procedure to expand social insurance for workers. While an Act on Compulsory Insurance of Workers in Case of Illness had been in force since 1891, casualty insurance only came into place through the Act of 9 April 1907. However, the provisions of the Act had not been implemented. Pursuant to his decree, Rauch centralised the social insurance service in Zagreb by establishing the Landed Office for Worker's Insurance in August 1909. As soon as its insurance fund had sufficient monies, Rauch approved the construction of a rehabilitation centre for the District Fund of Brestovac on Medvednica Mountain at a cost of 144,059 Korona. That provided treatment for workers suffering from tuberculosis. Dr. Milivoj Dežman served as the main physician at the centre.³⁴

Rauch attempted to implement a governmental decision of September 1906 to establish a central hospital for Croatia and he wanted its construction to start in Zagreb no later than 1908. On 4 April 1908, in the presence of medical and construction experts, he proposed the commencement of the construction of the Šalata Hospital with 600 beds. A meeting concerning the purposes of the Hospital took place on 14 July, while on 30 November 1908 the corner stone had been laid for the Hospital. The Hospital formed the basis for the establishment of the Medical Faculty in Zagreb in 1917.³⁵ Due to a lack of funds, the work did not advance as planned and the building only became completed during the rule of Vice-Roy Nikola Tomašić.³⁶

³² *Spomenspis Saveza hrvatskih obrtnika povodom 25-godišnjice njegova opstanka* (Zagreb: 1938), p. 65.

³³ *Ustavnost*, 243, 23 October 1909.

³⁴ *Ustavnost*, 137, 16 July 1908, 103, 6 May 1909, 198, 31 August 1909, Dežman, a physician and a politician, and also served as editor of the then independent paper *Obzor*.

³⁵ *Ustavnost*, 145, 25 July and 251, 30 November 1908. In *Pokret*, Šurmin ridiculed the construction of the Hospital as Rauch had laid the corner stone even though its design had not

In May 1908 the Government decided to build in Pakrac (at a cost of 200,000 Korona) an institution for non-aggressive incurable psychiatric patients in order to relieve the burden on the psychiatric hospital in Stenjevac. The construction of this facility gave rise to the expression “the Pakrac Decree,” a euphemism for a journey to a bad place without return.³⁷

Spas became generally promoted during Rauch’s rule. Topusko, Stubičke Toplice and Varaždinske Toplice, among other spas, saw good attendance. Rauch’s brother, Gejza, owned the modernized Stubičke Toplice spa. The spa in Topusko, managed by Dr. Dragan Altmann and restored using funds from the Landed Government, saw frequent visits by military personnel and civilians, especially civil servants.³⁸

In March 1909 a shelter for 40 children of working parents opened on Josipovačka Road 5 in Zagreb, the first institution of its kind in Croatia. Plans had been drawn up for the building of an almshouse together with a rehabilitation institution and an orphanage. For the first time, the possibility had been raised that Rebro above Laščina should become the location for all large social institutions in Zagreb.³⁹

Schoolmistresses started to organise holiday colonies for children in Gornja Rijeka and Kraljevica and during this time the practice of sending feeble children to the seaside began.⁴⁰ In early 1909, architect Vjekoslav Bastl commenced surveying a plot of land in Sv. Duh for an almshouse and nurturing establishment and subsequently the Foundling Hospital moved there from Jelačić Square.⁴¹ Meanwhile, Vjekoslav Heinzl constructed, following the designs Ignjat Fischer, the sanatorium in Jelisavetina Street (Klaićeva), which opened in September 1909.⁴²

Rauch, Schools and the Education System

Rauch came under attack for introducing “Julijan” Hungarian schools into Croatia-Slavonia. But a look at the facts shows that most of these schools had been established during the heyday of the “New Course” policy and the co-operation of Croato-Serbian Coalition with the Hungarians.

Rauch allowed parents to enroll their children in schools of their choice so that, for opportune reasons, many Croat and Serb parents sent their chil-

been completed. But once Rauch began the construction of the Šalata Hospital nothing could possibly stop it.

³⁶ *Ustavnost*, 8, 12 January 1910.

³⁷ *Ustavnost*, 98, 27 May and 174, 31 August 1908, and 14, 19 January 1910.

³⁸ *Ustavnost*, 210, 15 September 1909.

³⁹ *Ustavnost*, 103, 6 May 1909. The area measured 38,044 square meters which could be bought at the time for 130,000 Korona. (*Ustavnost*, 134, 13 July 1908, and 138, 17 July 1908).

⁴⁰ *Ustavnost*, 191, 23 August 1909.

⁴¹ *Ustavnost*, 175, 3 August 1909.

⁴² *Ustavnost*, 199, 1 September 1909.

dren to Hungarian schools in order to ensure that their children would be able to obtain jobs with the state railways.⁴³ In 1909, 366 children attended the Hungarian school in Zagreb while 144 attended the German school.⁴⁴ But Rauch maintained a positive policy towards Croatian schools. Several works appeared during his rule, which had great importance for pedagogy.

Zagreb University, however, found itself in a different situation as Rauch came into personal conflict with the school. The University had become a stronghold of anti-Croat sentiment. His changes to the composition of the University's professors led to strong resistance and made him numerous enemies, especially among students who sided with their liberal professors and their Great-Slavic policies.

On 7 May 1908, some 250 students left Zagreb University and went to Prague, Vienna and Graz to continue their studies. In Brno, they established the "Jugoslavija" society, which fostered the idea of Yugoslavia as the only solution for the South Slavic nations. The students who had left Zagreb came to be used in their new schools as a tool to fight Rauch.⁴⁵

Rauch filled positions at existing faculties with exceptionally good personnel. In early 1909, he received the Emperor's approval for the establishment of the Technical College in Zagreb.⁴⁶ At the Faculty of Philosophy, economic subjects began to be taught. On 17 May 1908, in response Rauch's proposal, the Emperor appointed Dr. Otto Frangeš as a University professor. Frangeš had completed his thesis on the Bosnian cow (*buša*) and had excellent knowledge of the agricultural situation in Croatia.⁴⁷ In January 1909, Rauch approved the establishment of the department of biology at the Croatian Natural Sciences Society and appointed Dr. Dragutin Kramberger Gorjanović as the department's head. Kramberger, a Court advisor, geologist and anthropologist, had become world famous for the discovery of the Krapina Man in 1899.⁴⁸

Prompted by the requests of Koprivnica and Mitrovica to establish trade schools, Rauch started to consider reforming the three existing Trade Colleges (in Zagreb, Osijek and Zemun) which had been joined to gener-

⁴³ *Ustavnost*, 220, 24 October 1908. Count Bela Sečenji published a report on the Hungarian society "Julija." The society had the purpose to establish Hungarian schools in Croatia. He recorded 27 of these schools with 2,135 children (*Hrvatske novine*, 18, 29 April 1909). However, in autumn 1909, requests to establish 11 more Hungarian schools had been received from Novska, Đakovo, Ploščica, Krivaja, Zdenci, Prespi, Narta, Žlebina, Veliki Grdjevac, Badljevin and Toranj. The decisions to open these schools occurred after Rauch term in office. (*Hrvatske novine*, 39, 23 September 1909).

⁴⁴ *Hrvatske novine*, 4, 21 January 1909.

⁴⁵ *Ustavnost*, 80, 6 May 1909.

⁴⁶ *Hrvatske novine*, 7, 11 February 1909; *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, 2, Zagreb 1989, p. 758.

⁴⁷ *Ustavnost*, 100, 30 May 1908. Otto Frangeš had been related to the Mihanović family, which also produced the author of Croatia's national anthem "Lijepa naša." Like many other Croats, Frangeš had a life full of controversy.

⁴⁸ *Ustavnost*, 15, 20 January 1909.

al-programme secondary schools.⁴⁹ Although some of these plans did not get realised, by the end of his rule Rauch had separated the Trade College in Zagreb from the Lower City General-Programme Secondary School. Secondary-school graduates could also enroll in a one-year commercial course in Zagreb. In this manner, Rauch created the basis for the establishment of the Trade and Commercial College in Zagreb in mid-1920, which subsequently became the Economics' Faculty.⁵⁰

Significantly, during Rauch's rule, the Landed School for Girls in Draškovićeveva Street in Zagreb (today the building houses the Casualty Hospital) had been established at a cost of 448,000 Korona, with two courses of study: house-keeping, and trade and industry.⁵¹ After that building had been completed, Rauch allocated 50,000 Korona for another similar school in Sušak.⁵² The association of schoolmistresses founded "Koljevka" on 4 October 1909 on Josipovačka Road in Zagreb, which served as a foundling home with monetary support from the Landed Government.⁵³

In September 1909, the Landed Government increased its donation for the Junior Seminary of the Bishopric of Senj from 22,000 to 30,000 Korona. The young cadre from that Seminary had been considered to be extremely important for Roman Catholicism in the Hrvatsko Primorje region.⁵⁴

Although the Landed treasury often remained rather short of funds, Rauch allocated 6,900 Korona to support the Teachers' School in Petrinja and 48,000 Korona to support the Great Secondary School in Zagreb in autumn 1909.⁵⁵

10. Culture, Leisure and Care for Historical Heritage during the Period of Vice-Roy Rauch

No matter how much the opposition mocked Rauch because of his provincialism (he liked to speak in the Kajkavian dialect), he did more for Croatia's cultural tradition than his successor, the legal historian Dr. Nikola Tomašić. Rauch approved the purchase of Cetinograd from Jozo Sokolić and the Jelačić Society for 2,800 Korona and requested that the area be fenced in and protected by an employed guard to prevent further devastation of the fortress.⁵⁶ Rauch had the old town of the Zrinski family in Kostajnica restored at the expense of the Landed Government.⁵⁷ It should

⁴⁹ *Ustavnost*, 249, 27 September 1908.

⁵⁰ *Ustavnost*, 18, 24 January 1910.

⁵¹ *Ustavnost*, 227, 5 October 1909.

⁵² *Ustavnost*, 296, 28 December 1909.

⁵³ *Ustavnost*, 229, 7 October 1909.

⁵⁴ *Ustavnost*, 206, 10 September 1909.

⁵⁵ *Ustavnost*, 252, 4 September 1909. Look in: Ivica Golec, *Povijest školstva u Petrinji 1700.-2000.* (History of Education in Petrinja 1700-2000) (Petrinja: 2000).

⁵⁶ *Ustavnost*, 13, 15 February 1908.

⁵⁷ *Ustavnost*, 27, 3 March 1908.

also be mentioned that during his rule the renovation of the City Museum, the City Library and the Archive of the City of Zagreb in Kamenita Kula began in January 1908.⁵⁸ In October 1909, the “Trenkova izložba” (the Trenk Exhibition) opened in the City Museum under the sponsorship of the 53rd Home Guard Regiment. Emil pl. Laszowsky and historian Rudolf Horvat took part in the preparation of the exhibition.⁵⁹ Rauch allocated a thousand Korona from the budget to the Knin Antiquarian Society and repeated the donation in the same amount once again during his rule.⁶⁰ He approved the establishment of the County Archives in Osijek, and appointed Laszowski as its senior archivist.⁶¹ At the initiative of Izidor Kršnjavi, who had become dissatisfied with the work of the National Museum and the Museum of the Technical and Craftsmen Chamber (which had come to resemble an ethnographic museum), the Museum of Arts and Crafts had been founded at the School of Crafts in May 1909.⁶² Rauch arranged for the provision of a permanent subsidy for the National Theatre in Zagreb.⁶³

Few have noticed the increased number of Croatian historians who appeared during Rauch's tenure. This resulted not only from the support provided to print their works, but also because of special concessions given by the Vice-Roy such as the one-year leave provided to each of Rudolf Horvat to write a history of Varaždin and Julije Kempf to write a history of Požega. It should also be mentioned that during Pavao Rauch's rule, the Emperor pardoned writer Antun Gustav Matoš who after many years could finally return and settle in Zagreb.

11. Construction During the Rule of Pavao Rauch

During Rauch's tenure, the Government Palace in Zagreb's Upper Town (today, the Croatian Parliament building) had been started and completed. Rauch should receive sole credit for that building's construction.

Credit for the commencement of construction of the beautiful Secessionist-style National and University Library in Zagreb at Marulić Square 14 (today the Croatian State Archives' Building) also must go to Rauch. Rauch sent Dr. Velimir Dezelić and Ladislav Sitzer to Budapest, Kolosvary, Lvov and Berlin to explore modern interior decoration to be built into the Library. This contributed to the impressive appearance of the building's interior.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ *Ustavnost*, 48, 28 March 1908.

⁵⁹ *Ustavnost*, 272, 26 September 1909.

⁶⁰ *Ustavnost*, 271, 24 December 1908, and 113, 18 May 1909. Father Lujó Marun carried out some excavations in Knin and Biskupija, and discovered some of the most valuable of Old Croatian treasures.

⁶¹ *Ustavnost*, 150, 31 June 1908, and 169, 25 August 1908.

⁶² *Ustavnost*, 115, 21 May 1909.

⁶³ *Ustavnost*, 272, 27 November 1909.

⁶⁴ *Ustavnost*, 8, 12 January 1910.

As noted above, Schools for Girls in Draškovićeve Street in Zagreb and in Sušak had been built with financial support allocated by Rauch from the Landed budget.⁶⁵ The Vice-Roy also provided 40,000 Korona for the construction of a public school in Bakar.⁶⁶ During Rauch's term, Sušak's primary school had been completed for which the Landed Government allocated 200,000 Korona and the municipality of Trsat 85,000 Korona.⁶⁷ A new school had also been constructed in Virovitica and Rauch approved the disbursement of following amounts for the construction and renovation of public schools in the following towns: 6,500 Korona for Pisarovina, 10,000 Korona for Slavetić 11,740 Korona for Nova Gradiška, 15,000 Korona for Bakar, 4,000 Korona for Okučani, and 6,799 Korona for Bjelovar.⁶⁸

Rauch had a new modern court building built in Sisak. During his administration, Edo Schon started building the palace of the "Croatia" insurance company in Zagreb and Ehrlich built the home of Lavoslav Schwarz on Maksimirska Road in Zagreb for 120,000 Korona.⁶⁹ Rauch allocated large amounts from Landed funds for the construction of churches and apartments for priests of all confessions. Water-supply networks also came under construction using Landed money in Drežnik (Lika), Zelina, and Samobor.⁷⁰ In order to intensify the construction of large and beautiful buildings, Rauch ordered the establishment of a master masonry and stone-masonry school in Crikvenica in 1908.⁷¹

12. Rauch and the City of Zagreb

Rauch had been surprised when the Mayor of Zagreb, Dr. Milan Amruš, did not welcome him at the Zagreb Railway Station on his return from Vienna where the Emperor had appointed him the Vice-Roy. A city crisis had been ongoing. Amruš, who served as Mayor between 1890 and 1892 and in 1904, had again been re-elected on 8 February 1908, promising that the city would be modernised, a new gas plant would be finished, and electric lighting introduced. Most interestingly, Rauch helped Amruš by speaking favourably of Amruš's plans when submitted for approval to Budapest. Although they had been political opponents, they shared the same ideas about the well being of the city of Zagreb. Nevertheless, their apparent conflicts slowed down the realisation of their respective ambitions.

When clearance for a loan from the National Bank in Vienna in the amount of 7,600,000 Korona for Zagreb had been delayed, Rauch provid-

⁶⁵ *Ustavnost*, 161, 3 August 1908, 173, 29 August 1908, and 245, 26 October 1909.

⁶⁶ *Ustavnost*, 213, 16 October 1908.

⁶⁷ *Ustavnost*, 234, 13 October 1909.

⁶⁸ *Ustavnost*, 296, 28 December 1909.

⁶⁹ *Ustavnost*, 138, 19 June 1909, and 274, 30 November 1909.

⁷⁰ *Ustavnost*, 255, 8 November 1909.

⁷¹ *Ustavnost*, 54, 4 April 1908, 27, 4 February 1909, and 163, 20 July 1909.

ed a temporary loan to the city from the Landed budget in the amount of 200,000 Korona. The design of a new gas plant in Radnička Street started promptly thereafter and the plant satisfied the needs of the city for almost the entire twentieth century.⁷²

In the midst of drawing plans for the street regulation of Kaptol, the idea appeared of rearranging Dolac to be used as a market place. In May 1908, discussions began related to the construction of a fire-fighting storage facility in Savska on city property as the old location had been envisaged for the construction of the Home of Crafts since the latter's members insisted that their building be close to the "Kolo."⁷³ The construction of the Mirogoj arcades continued during Rauch's reign. When the construction of the Catholic church of St. Blaise in Prilaz began, Rauch visited the site because he wanted that part of the city to have a church. Baths for the military had been constructed during Rauch's tenure on the Sava, which led to discussions on the necessity of having a new bathing place for citizens. In September 1909, a survey took place concerning the construction of a new bathing establishment on the Sava. Weiss' hygienic bath establishment "Diana" could not meet the needs of the growing population of Zagreb.⁷⁴ Under pressure from citizens, a commission determined on 12 November 1909 that a bathing place on the Sava be built to the west of the carriage bridge. As a result, Gospodnetić's bathing facility opened (known as Heintel's bathing facility after 1928).⁷⁵ The first renovation in years of Maksimir Park took place during Rauch's rule. The Park had been neglected after Archbishop Jurij Haulik died and around 1896 it had become the property of the city of Zagreb. The Holjevac Inn at the entrance of the Park became an attractive spot for meetings and gatherings.⁷⁶

Summer parties took place at the old shooting range at the beginning of Tuškanac.⁷⁷ At the around this time, Roksandić's statue "Borba" (the Struggle) had been unveiled on the Jezuitski Square in the Upper Town whose depiction of a snake being strangled came to be seen as a political allegory warning members of the Croato-Serbian Coalition not to renege on their promises and change their political opinions.⁷⁸ In autumn 1908, the renovation of the Strossmayer Promenade began,⁷⁹ and Zrinjevac became asphalted a year later.⁸⁰

⁷² *Ustavnost*, 55, 6 April 1908, and 62, 14 April 1908, and 9, 13 January 1910.

⁷³ *Ustavnost*, 53, 6 March 1909.

⁷⁴ *Ustavnost*, 184, 12 September 1908.

⁷⁵ *Ustavnost*, 79, 5 May 1908, and 260, 13 November 1909.

⁷⁶ *Ustavnost*, 127, 4 July 1908, and 156, 7 August 1908.

⁷⁷ *Ustavnost*, 130, 9 June 1909.

⁷⁸ *Ustavnost*, 112, 17 May 1909.

⁷⁹ *Ustavnost*, 174, 31 August 1908.

⁸⁰ *Ustavnost*, 207, 11 September 1909.

In late September 1908, the Palace Hotel "Croatia" with 50 rooms had been opened after being constructed by the Honigsberg and Deutsch Company. As a result, Zagreb obtained a hotel on par with other modern European cities. No other hotels in Zagreb would be built thereafter until 1926, when the Esplanade Hotel opened.⁸¹

During Rauch's time, the highest officials of the City of Vienna, its famous mayor Dr. Karlo Lueger and deputy mayor Dr. Neumayer, visited Zagreb. Lueger always supported the Croats against the Hungarians and he spoke openly about rearranging the Dual Monarchy in accordance with a tripartite arrangement between Austrians, Hungarians and Croats. Lueger's modernisation of Vienna served in many respects as a role model for Rauch's ambitions to beautify Zagreb.⁸²

As a result of difficulties Zagreb faced in obtaining a loan for communal investments, the City Council started to seriously consider the establishment of a city savings bank in which money saved by its citizens would serve as a source of funds to meet the city's needs. This idea became realised in 1914. Since then and until 1941, the city never faced a fiscal crisis.

During Rauch's time, Žitnjak, which had been joined to Zagreb in 1900 in order to allow wastewater from Zagreb to be conveyed to the Sava River, first came to the attention of authorities. The Vice-Roy favoured the construction of a road to Žitnjak and the settlement also received a primary school.⁸³

13. Railways

Although the issue of railways had not been dominant during Rauch's tenure, a number of new railway lines had been planned and surveyed which had economic and political significance. Work on the Lika railway had been important for Dalmatia, but only the Knin - Ogulin section had been surveyed. In Dalmatia, the Metković - Dugo Polje link that would connect the province with Bosnia had also been mapped out.⁸⁴ Rauch constantly applied pressure on Budapest to complete the Lika railway as he had been aware of the primary political importance represented by the connection of Dalmatia and Croatia. The Plaški - Bihać line had been planned to connect Bosnia and Croatia-Slavonia and the project received the support of the First Croatian Saving Bank (whose secretary at that time, Dušan Plavšić, had an economic interest in the construction of railways) as well as the Croato-Serbian Coalition in general.⁸⁵ The main investor in the construction of the Lika railway should have been the Krajinna Investment Foundation. As it

⁸¹ *Ustavnost*, 157, 8 August 1908, and 200, 1 October 1908.

⁸² *Ustavnost*, 113, 18 May 1909.

⁸³ *Ustavnost*, 211, 16 September 1909, 253, 5 November 1909, and 256, 9 November 1909.

⁸⁴ *Ustavnost*, 17, 20 February 1908.

⁸⁵ *Ustavnost*, 49, 30 March 1908.



Vice-Roy Pavao Rauch and dignitaries at St. Mark's Square in Zagreb

lacked the money needed to build the railway, Rauch co-financed the work from the Landed budget.⁸⁶ But construction ran into delays and the railway only became completed in 1925 when Zagreb and Split became connected by rail for the first time.

Rauch insisted that a new railway bridge across the Drava River near Osijek be finished. Rauch argued in Budapest that the rail traffic isolation of Osijek should be eliminated. As a result, Minister of Trade Ferenc Kossuth in November 1909 gave permission for the construction of a 34 km long railway from Osijek to Vinkovci. The line would enable Osijek to have a direct rail connection with Bosnia.

By September 1909, the iron bridge Erdut - Gamboš (Bogojevo) had almost been finished. The bridge would significantly facilitate the flow of rail traffic towards Dalj and Srijem. It cost 11,000,000 Korona.⁸⁷ Apart from that bridge Rauch provided for the expenses of the construction of the 105-meter long cast iron bridge in Donji Miholjac. Tenders had also been solicited for the construction of a new railway bridge on the Sava after the Vice-Roy had secured funds for its construction.⁸⁸ Rauch also started the construc-

⁸⁶ *Ustavnost*, 111, 13 June 1908.

⁸⁷ *Ustavnost*, 217, 23 September 1909; *Posavska Hrvatska*, 6, 8 February 1908; Zdenka Baždar, "Razvoj željezničke mreže u hrvatskom Podunavlju od 1850. do 1914." (The Development of Railway Network in the Croatian Danube Region between 1850 and 1914), (master's thesis, University of Zagreb, Zagreb 1999), p. 83-87.

⁸⁸ *Ustavnost*, 255, 8 November 1909.

tion of the Sisak - Karlovac railway across Banovina in the expectation that it would integrate Banovina into Croatia's economy. As the flow rate on the Zagreb - Sisak - Novska line remained low, the Hungarian State Railway determined to build the Novska-Dugo Selo line to facilitate the transport of goods and passengers towards Bosnia.⁸⁹

In addition to stimulating the construction of railways at state expense, Rauch supported the construction of private railways. He especially wanted a railroad in Podravina to be built from Osijek to Varaždin, but the Hungarians hindered its construction. While vertically built railways had been directed towards Hungary, Rauch tried to promote the construction of horizontal railways across Croatia, but the work could only be done in fragments, faced great difficulties and turned out rather poorly.

Rauch helped the large wood and timber industrialists, the Gutmanns, to build the 29 km long Osijek - Valpovo - Belišće rail line that opened in September 1908.⁹⁰ Rauch wanted to remove Hrvatsko Zagorje from its isolation. The Vice-Roy further supported plans to construct the Križevci - Varaždin railway that he saw as the first step in building a line connecting Varaždin with Bjelovar and further with Moslavina and the east. However, nothing had been done with respect to this proposal by the time Rauch left office.⁹¹ A request also had been put forward to build a railway connecting Krapina with the Slovenian border, but the Slovenians resisted every attempt to open such a connection with Zagorje.⁹²

In spring 1908, Minister of Trade Ferenc Kossuth requested an allocation in the budget of 202,500,000 Korona for new railway investments in the eastern half of the Monarchy. Out of that about 16,500,000 Korona had been earmarked for Croatia. Clearly, such an amount could not cover all of its needs, but the programme included plans to widen the gauges and renovate the port of Rijeka, repair the Budapest - Zemun railway, modernise the Zagreb-Budapest rail line, construct the upper-town station in Osijek, widen gauges in Vinkovci and in Brod, construct gauges in the Zagreb warehouse and restore the railway station in Karlovci which had been destroyed by fire. Some money would be left aside for Caprag near Sisak, where the railway would branch off for Banovina.⁹³ Rauch lobbied for the construction of the 65 km long Vukovar - Rača line as the initial stage of a railway that would to cross Bosnia all the way to the Drina River.

⁸⁹ *Ustavnost*, 269, 24 November 1909, and 296, 28 December 1909.

⁹⁰ *Ustavnost*, 230, 5 November 1908.

⁹¹ *Ustavnost*, 111, 13 June 1908., and 233, 12 October 1909; Ivan Obad published the brochure "Željeznica Križevci - Kalnička gora - Svibovec - Varaždinske toplice - Varaždin" (Railway Križevci - Kalnička gora - Svibovec - Varaždinske toplice - Varaždin) (*Ustavnost*, 276, 2 December 1909).

⁹² *Ustavnost*, 169, 27 July 1909.

⁹³ *Ustavnost*, 91, 19 May 1908.

The Hungarians remained unhappy with Rauch who continuously requested the construction of railway stations, gauges, and railway lines in Croatia. In autumn 1909 Rauch secured lower railway fares for municipal clerks.⁹⁴ However, Rauch had to make certain concessions to the Hungarians so that he accepted Kossuth's condition requiring every employee of the railways to speak Hungarian. As a result, the opposition called Rauch a pro-Hungarian (*mađaron*) and refused to accept that one had to give something in order to receive something.⁹⁵

14. Rivers

Railways pushed the importance of river transportation aside. However, northern Croatia and Slavonia remained lands of rivers. The first work on the regulation of the Sava began around 1896 and during Rauch's tenure work began on the stretch of the Sava from Zagreb to Mičevac, towards Slovenia.⁹⁶ Rauch managed to secure through Minister of Agriculture Dr. Ignazio Darany an allocation of 29,290,000 Korona or 15.21% from the 192,000,000 Korona set aside by the Pest Government for river regulation projects over a 25-year period.⁹⁷ The money would be used for the regulation of the Drava, Sava and Kupa Rivers, with the focus on the Sava from Rugvica to Podsused.⁹⁸ The regulation of the Drava continued, concentrating on the area from Osijek to the River's estuary.

During Rauch's term, the Drava had been a living, navigable river. As a result, it comes as no surprise that Slavko Steiner of Osijek received a permanent concession to transport passengers on the Drava aboard a petrol engine boat from Osijek to Barcs.⁹⁹ A new design of the Vukovar - Šamac canal also had been made during this time.

15. Maritime Issues

Though not from the coastal area of Croatia, Rauch became aware of the importance of Hrvatsko Primorje and the sea for the development of all of Croatia. Rauch personally invested in his villa "Nemo" in Crikvenica, assisted in the development of the fishing industry and the masonry school in Crikvenica, and influenced the development of tourism. These actions wrongly came to be understood as Rauch's attempts to "Hungarianise" the region.

Because the city of Rijeka had been detached from the Vice-Roy's territory, Rauch directed his attention to the cities of Bakar and Novi. He took special interest in Bakar's Nautical School.

⁹⁴ *Ustavnost*, 256, 9 November 1909.

⁹⁵ *Hrvatske novine*, 28, 9 July 1908.

⁹⁶ *Ustavnost*, 18, 21 January 1908.

⁹⁷ *Ustavnost*, 81, 7 May 1908.

⁹⁸ *Ustavnost*, 147, 28 June 1908, and 11, 15 January 1909.

⁹⁹ *Ustavnost*, 231, 6 November 1908.

16. Rauch and the Press

Politicians and statesmen become easier to eliminate when they become exposed to ridicule. Such means came to be used by the Croato-Serbian Coalition, whose wit and skill to mock the government and its officials must be acknowledged. The first time such tools had been used occurred when Rauch assumed power. *Srbobran*, Ivan Lorković's *Pokret*, Peroslav Ljubić's *Hrvatske novine* in Virje, the papers of the Croatian Party of Rights (*Obzor*, *Dom*, *Novosti*, and *Hrvatska*) and the satirical *Koprive* (established in 1906 by Dr. Edo Marković who employed the excellent caricaturist Saša Vereš), incorrectly portrayed Rauch's intentions. Whatever Rauch did or said almost immediately came under criticism and ridicule. A lampoon first appeared during Rauch's reign: "Mom has got a bungler, she named him Pavao Smoke" (a play on the German meaning of Rauch's surname).¹⁰⁰ The emigrant press repeated the lies raised against Rauch. The Serbian-language Pittsburgh newspaper *Srbina* wrote against Rauch and *Hrvatsko-američki glasnik* continued the attacks.¹⁰¹

Rauch did not manage or want to put the press under his control. His greatest interference in the press became his prohibition of newspaper street sales. Very rarely and only in exceptional circumstances did he make use of the Act of 14 May 1907 concerning the censorship of the press.¹⁰² Toni Schlegel became the most dangerous journalist for Rauch as he had become popular as a result of his satirical writings in an opposition journal.

In autumn 1909, the Coalition dared to bring a libel suit against Rauch's paper, *Ustavnost*, which had claimed that some Zagreb newspapers received payments from Belgrade. Although such charges probably had been true, the editor of *Ustavnost*, Vilim pl. Dorotka, had to issue an apology as required by law since he could not prove his accusations.¹⁰³ That suit characteristically shows the weakness and misery of the press in Rauch's times.

A new newspaper, *Hrvatski Lloyd*, appeared during this time, the first paper dedicated to providing information to Croatian merchants. The paper advocated the separation of the Croatian economy from the Hungarian. It started to publish statistics concerning the export of livestock from Croatia and Slavonia and the preliminary results of the Landed Registry of Cattle.¹⁰⁴

17. Rauch's Withdrawal

Despite all opposition predictions, Rauch remained in power for two years. His removal became a question of time when Dr. Gyorgy Lukacs became

¹⁰⁰ *Hrvatski narod*, 30, 1909, – Freedom in Croatia during Rauch's rule. Saša Vereš died in London in 1950 as an emigrant after having left Croatia in 1945

¹⁰¹ *Ustavnost*, 17, 22 January 1909.

¹⁰² *Ustavnost*, 244, 21 November, 278, 29 December 1908, 14, 19 January 1909, and 33, 11 February 1909.

¹⁰³ *Ustavnost*, 236, 15 October and 240, 20 October 1909.

¹⁰⁴ Order of 23 December 1908. Act on the Promotion of Livestock-breeding.

Minister President and even more so when Khuen Hedervary assumed that position. Rauch's removal had been planned for early 1910, but the Court thought that balance needed to be provided for in the Croatian Parliament. In January 1910 Rauch received an order to announce Parliamentary elections. The Court still counted on him, not as a Vice-Roy but to become the Croatian Minister in Budapest. Some Hungarian circles attacked the proposal, as they never accepted Rauch's strong links with Vienna and his devotion to Emperor Franz Jozef. In fact, Rauch's removal occurred due to the will of the people but as a result of Khuen's determination.¹⁰⁵

Rauch quietly assumed and quietly left the Vice-Roy seat. On 5 February 1910, he received the Emperor's letter of dismissal without a single decoration, a significant sign of disapproval. Nevertheless, Vice-Roy Rauch ruled until his last day in office as if nothing happened. Nikola Tomašić had been immediately appointed as new Vice-Roy.¹⁰⁶

Surprisingly, Rauch's removal had been greeted by silence rather than joy. In the author's opinion, the reasons for this should be sought in the fact that not even the opposition press could write of Rauch's tenure as a total failure. The building of the Government Palace (the Parliament Building), improvements to workers' social insurance, the slowing down of emigration and the care given to the improvement of agriculture implied the contrary. They needed to wait for new events in order to pin the blame on Rauch.

Rauch gave help to anyone who asked for it. When the Parliamentary Committee for Finance reviewed transactions which took place during Rauch's term, Dr. Milan Rojc, in his analysis of Rauch's economic policy, could come up with nothing other than a conclusion that Rauch's government had spent "much in many fields, but had been tight-fisted in others."¹⁰⁷ The Khuen Government in Pest had no fondness for Rauch and requested that the Croatia-Slavonian Government return about two million Korona to Budapest, which had allegedly been taken from the state treasury and used for investments without permission.

The Croato-Serbian Coalition did not forget Pavao Rauch. It closely observed his movements between Martijanec, Zagreb and Crikvenica.¹⁰⁸ That became obvious in autumn 1918 when he ended up in prison. In the

¹⁰⁵ Rauch tried to negotiate with Khuen. He wanted Stjepan Erdödy from Jastrebarsko, as a member of the old Croatian nobility, to succeed him. But the Coalition opposed Erdödy. Nikola Tomašić and Josip Frank went to Khuen for consultations concerning the new Vice-Roy. Khuen asked Rauch to come to terms with the Croato-Serbian Coalition and to administer a gentler policy. Rauch offered to co-operate with Frank but on the condition that he would administer a harder policy. These negotiations failed and led to Rauch's resignation, was accepted in February 1910. (*Hrvatska kruna*, 8, 25 January 1910 - Rauch stays, and 13, 5 February 1910 - Rauch leaves).

¹⁰⁶ *Ustavnost*, 26, 3 February 1910, and 27, 4 February 1910.

¹⁰⁷ *Podravska hrvatska straža*, 14, 16 April 1910.

¹⁰⁸ *Srbobran* in early 1914 reported that Rauch planned to travel to Buenos Aires to meet Croatian immigrants. (*Srbobran*, 13, 29 January 1914) On the attack discuss in the text below, see Croatian State Archive, National Council, 18, issue 373/1918.



Landed School for Girls in Draškovićeve Street in Zagreb

Martijanec area, the green cadre became especially aggressive in the autumn 1918 as has been pointed out by Miroslav Krleža. On 3 November 1918, all Rauch's employees fled from Martijanec, which came under attack by green cadre, as did all Jewish merchants when their stores had been looted. Rauch's property also came under attack. In Hrastovljani, a granary with 50 wagons of unthreshed wheat had been set ablaze,¹⁰⁹ while his property in Crikvenica would later be turned into nursery-garden.

18. Conclusion

This paper shows the incontestable fact that economic and other trends in Croatia during Rauch's rule had been pointing upward. But it also shows that his opponents used every means to stem such progress and to attribute all the good that came out of Rauch's tenure to others. Rauch had never been a pro-Hungarian. He had not been a member of any party and his policy focused on his interest in ending Croatia's impoverishment. He believed that whoever lived in its territory and on its bread had to contribute to it. He had been a member of Croatia's high nobility, of Germanic origin, and the Emperor's confidant. He owned no property outside Croatia, his holdings consisting of Martijanec near Ludbreg, the villa "Nemo" in Crikvenica, and a forest cottage in Medvednica.

¹⁰⁹ Croatian State Archive, *National Council*, box 18, 373/1918. and Zdenka Šimončić-Bobetko, "Agricultural reform in Hrvatsko Zagorje and Podravina in the period between the wars", *Povijesni prilozi*, 7, 1988, 35. Rauch had been placed in prison in Zagreb together with Josip Sarkotić who came from Sarajevo under a guarantee that he would suffer no harm. Unlike Sarkotić, Rauch insisted on remaining in Croatia. Rauch died in late 1933 and was buried in Pušća near Zaprešić.

Pavao Rauch wanted to restore respect for the *Nagodba* concluded by his father and show that Croatia could benefit from it as it ensured a certain level of statehood not enjoyed by any other Slavic nation within the Monarchy.

During the two years of Rauch's rule, more had been done in Croatia than during the entire tenure of Izidor Kršnjavi, the legendary head of the Department for Religious Affairs and Education for Croatia-Slavonia. Rauch accepted advice from Kršnjavi who had left office in 1896. Rauch's attention became centered on the construction of public buildings, schools and churches. During Rauch's rule, Croatian history and culture had been promoted, as had the economy and social policy. At the same time, Rauch opened Croatia's doors to European cultural achievements. Rauch knew that he could not build everything he wanted based on the budget of the Croatian Landed Government or with the help of the central Government in Budapest. As a result, he looked to private capital, which in Croatia had been accumulated in banks generally managed by Jews. He made Croatia attractive to large Austrian and Czech banking businesses and during his rule Wiener Kredit Anstalt opened a branch office in Zagreb.

His activities focused on his economic programme. He believed that the economy needed to be built on a firm basis and he promoted the opening of schools for economic experts. This led him to begin reforms of the education system and the craft industry. His main advisor in this endeavor became the excellent pedagogical expert Antun Cuvaj, brother of Deputy Vice-Roy Slavko Cuvaj. Rauch sought support from nobility more than members of other classes, but the nobility did not support him.

Rauch understood well that the Hungarians, who had a certain form of their own state, did not represent a threat to Croatia, but that the danger lurked with the Serbs living in Croatia. At the same time, he did not have sufficient political independence, associates and money to act more efficiently, strongly and with a better defined strategy. Upon orders from Vienna, he had been forced to organise a high-treason trial in order to justify Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia. When the European powers recognised the annexation and the Monarchy no longer felt pressure from abroad, the high-treason trial became a burden to Vienna. Since Vienna wanted to continue its co-operation with the Croato-Serbian Coalition as it represented an ideal group, which consisted of members of the Croat and Serb middle-class elite, Rauch had to be sacrificed.

Pavao Rauch did not display hostility toward the Serbs as evidenced by the numerous Serb clerks who remained in their positions or had been promoted during his rule.

The evidence shows that the rule of Pavao Rauch had not been in Hungarian interests and that he had not been a pro-Hungarian but that he worked in the interests of Croatia. Although the facts set forth in this article have mostly been based on Rauch's official newspaper *Ustavnost*, which appeared only during his rule, the author believes that research of any

subject matter mentioned in this text with an analysis of the much larger number of archival sources and press material, would not come to conclusions much different from those in this paper. Such findings remain totally at odds with what has previously appeared in the historiography of Pavao Rauch's rule.

Hardly anyone ever believed in the possibility of creating an independent Croatian state. Even Pavao Rauch had his doubts because he believed that it could only occur when Croatia became stronger and more independent economically. Many of his decisions had been driven by such a vision of Croatia's future.

Translated by Ida Jurković

Banus Pavle Rauch und Kroatien in seiner Zeit

Zusammenfassung

Baron Pavle Rauch war der kroatische vom Januar 1908 bis zum Februar 1910 amtierende Banus. In dieser Zeit ließ er den Regierungspalast in Zagreb errichten und griff auf Landes-, Staats-, und private Finanzmittel um Vorhaben in der Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht, im Handel, Verkehr und in der Kultur zu tätigen. Da er auf vehementen Widerstand der kroatisch-serbischen Koalition, bzw. Opposition stieß, waren seine Erfolge eigentlich noch bedeutender und sollten nicht aus der kroatischen Geschichtsschreibung ausgeschlossen werden, obwohl diese Opposition es geschafft hat, den Namen des Banus ausschließlich mit dem sog. Hochverrats-Prozess gegen Serben zu verbinden, was keineswegs der wichtigste Aspekt seines Wirkens war.

