

The idea of common good among the business people of 19th century of Croatia

- Argument over the railway construction in Croatia -

Osamu TAMAKI*

Abstract

This research aims to clarify the meaning of business people's claims which demanded the social recognition of their crucial role in society from the perspective of common good. In regards to this aim, We shall discuss arguments among business people through which they tried to legitimize their social status as essential to leading the modern society in Croatia in the 19th century¹. At that time, business people found their way into cultural and social fields. However, they could not enjoy the reputation which they thought they deserved. Antun Jakić was one of the leaders among them. From his various statements, we will discuss their concept of "common good or common interest" as one of the key factors that had used in the business people's arguments. In this period, the time of growing nationalism, the idea of nation was often used in order to legitimize or justify political claims. However this concept was not the be-all-end-all solution to support one's claims over every business matter and domestic problem. In these cases, the concept of common good or common interest was used.

Keywords : 19th century, Business people, Common good.

Introduction

The Kingdom of Croatia was part of the Habsburg Empire, as well as a part of the Land of Hungarian Crown (see map 3). Croatia had its own parliament and governor but was subject to direct imperial Austrian rule until 1867, and then to Hungary after the settlement of 1867. Under these circumstances, Croatia was restricted politically and economically. In the middle of the 19th century, people came to Zagreb – the capital city of Croatia – from various regions of the Empire and succeeded at business later on. However, what these people could achieve was limited in that era since the aristocracy-

¹ In this article, a word "business people" will be used to describe a certain group of people who led a business society in Zagreb. Most of them were rich merchants but there were also some other kinds of occupations such as architects, craftsmen and so on.

*Lecturer, University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, nigamoto@yahoo.co.jp

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landed aristocrat-Magnat -and prelacy still remained at the helm of the government of Croatia. In these circumstances they felt a sense of dissatisfaction with their “underestimated” social reputation in the society. Therefore, their aim was to be equal with the intellectuals whose educational background was based on traditional Latin - classical education.

By now, a good deal has been written and said about the meanings of social acts and demands conducted by the business people of the 19th century Croatia. M. Gross (1992.) studied them under the concept of “Big merchants” who fought with political and cultural Germanization and Hungarization (or Magyarization) to protect their business possibilities by using Croatian nationalism². On the other hand, I. Iveljić (2007.) described them as a “Business elite” which sympathized with Slavic or Croatian nationalism, then became a strong carrier of the national movement³. These studies are very important to reveal various aspects of national integration in the modern society of Croatia. However, as for these business people’s acts, it is insufficient to fully characterize it only by national identity. Actually, in the late 19th century, the idea of nation was often referred to in order to legitimize or justify claims. However, sometimes this concept was inappropriate to apply to business matters and domestic problems. For instance, arguments over railway planning in Croatia, which we will discuss later, were simultaneous questions for regional economic interest but also conflicts between several cities within the Croatian national territory. And also the social status of merchants or business people as I mentioned above, was not strictly relevant to the concept of nation. Namely at that time, business people’s society in Croatia had a multinational character. Therefore, the central question became: what kind of concept could be created when they could not use, or it was inappropriate to use, the concept of “nation - in Croatian *narod*” in their arguments⁴.

² Mirijana Gross and Agneza Szabo, (1992). *Prema hrvatskome građanskom društvu*, Zagreb, pp.296-297.

³ Iskra Iveljić, (2007). *Očevi i sinovi - Privredna elita Zagreba u drugoj polovici 19. Stoljeća-*, Zagreb, 2007.

⁴ A word nation can be translated to a word *Nacija* or *Narod* in Croatian language. *Nacija* means a stable community of people formed on the basis of a common culture, language and ethnicity. However, in the 19th century, *Nacija* was not used often. Instead of *Nacija*, usually a word *Narod* can be seen in the arguments in this period. The word *Narod* originally stands for a group of people living in same territory. However, in this period, this word was often used to refer to the people having a common origin, language, tradition and history then started to be used for nationalistic claims.

36 วารสารมนุษยศาสตร์ ฉบับบัณฑิตศึกษา

Liberalism and free-business were fostered in the center of Habsburg Empire in 1860s. In this period many social acts were founded also in Croatia. A. Szabo (1987, 1988.) did an exhaustive research of social organizations, associations and people who had established and managed them in Croatia from 1860 to 1873⁵. This research pointed out that there had been a variety of organizations established by citizens and that those who established and managed them often engaged in several organizations at the same time. Most of them were business people. This research showed the fact that business people who were independent from the idea of nation to some extent because of its multi-national character, were deeply involved in the society of that era. Under these circumstances, the concept of nation could not be the strongest reasoning in the arguments. Therefore, they needed to have other concepts instead of nation in some instances. In this paper, we picked up one key person from these organizations to find an answer for my question. Antun Jakić (1828.-1878.), president of the Chamber of Commerce of Zagreb from 1866 to 1868⁶. From his various statements, we will discuss his concept of “common interest or common good” as one of the alternatives that had used in the business people’s arguments. “Common interest” or simply “interest” was considered contrary to the concept of material profit.

Chapter 1 of this paper refers to one Croatian economist who had a large influence on Antun Jakić and other business people. Chapter 2 focuses on how the concept of “common interest” was used to give legitimacy to their claims.

Chapter 1 : Business people and common interest/common good

1-1 Kvaternik’s influence on business people

“We have drunken our water for money, our wood is sold unto us.”

Vladimir Koščak ed. (1971). *Josip J. Štrossmayer / Franjo Rački, Politički spisi*, Zagreb, pp.23-31, Petar Kornić, (2003). “Nacija i nacionalni identitet : uz porijeklo i integraciju hrvatske nacije” *Zgodovinski časopis*, 57, pp.163-208.

⁵ Agneza Szabo, (1988). *Središnje institucije hrvatske u Zagrebu: 1860.-1873*. Sv.1, 1987., Sv.2.

⁶ Chamber of Commerce was one of the most important institutions in the business community in Croatia. In 19th century, there were three chambers of commerce in Croatian region, namely Zagreb, Rijeka and Osijek. Meetings were held regularly there. Almost all leading merchants from each regions gathered, then various theme over economy and business problems were discussed. Members had many different kind of ethnic background such as Greek, Slovenian, Hungarian, and so on. Milan Krešić, (1902). *50-godišnjica Trgovačko-obrtničke komore u Zagrebu 1852.–1902.*, Zagreb, pp.103-144.

Eugen Kvaternik (1825.-1871.) cited this phrase from the Book of Jeremiah into his book⁷. In the beginning part of his work, Kvaternik gave people a warning of the devastating situation in Croatia which was economically exploited by foreigners. According to his view, Croatia was rich in abundant natural resources which God had given them. But in fact, the current situation was becoming miserable. He noted, that. “Foreigners came to our land. And while locals suffered from poverty, they developed its network and got fat.”⁸

This author, Eugen Kvaternik was one of the first Croatians who wrote about domestic economic problems in Croatian language. He published his business book with the long title *Hrvatski glavničar ili putkaz k narodnoj obrtnosti a kroz ovu k narodnjem blagostanju* - in English *Croatian capitalist or the guide to national industry and through it to national prosperity*. In this book, he pointed to necessity of the independence of Croatia was not only political but also economical. His aim was to inform citizens of the power of the stock exchange and equity capital and methods which quickly increased the value of money. The book summed up the knowledge he had gained during his stay in France. Thus, by now, a number of studies by Croatian historians have addressed the strong influence of the French liberalism in Kvaternik’s economic thought, suggesting possibilities of independence from the old regime⁹. At that time, Croatia belonged to the Habsburg Empire. After the 1848 Revolution, people from all over the Europe looked for a modern, democratic society. However, the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia was directly under Wien court administrations even though Croatia maintained a small measure of autonomy with its own parliament (see map 3). Under this situation, Croatia was restricted economically and politically. Kvaternik tried to seek a way out of this situation. His suggestions always related to his political aims, namely the independence of the Croatian nation. So, it is reasonable if business people widely accepted his philosophy, then we can conclude that it must be a result of national awakening and nationalist movement. The author criticized the current situation in which foreigners exploited Croatian natural resources which would destroy the possibility of Croatian material progress. He distinguished between us

⁷ Eugen Kvaternik, (1863). *Hrvatski glavničar ili Putokaz k narodno obrtnosti a kroz ovu k narodnjemu blagostanju*, Zagreb. (republished in *Eugen Kvaternik Politički spisi*, Zagreb, 1971.) p.504.

Kvaternik was a Croatian politician and one of the founders of the nationalist party, Party of Rights.

⁸ Ibid., p.506.

⁹ Vladimir Veselica, (2005). *Ekonomski ogledi I pogledi Eugena Kvatelnika*, Zagreb, Vladimir Stepetić, (2013). *Povijest hrvatske ekonomske misli od 1848.-1968.*, Zagreb. They focused on the French liberalism

38 วารสารมนุษยศาสตร์ ฉบับบัณฑิตศึกษา

and them clearly. “Us” means domestic people and “them” are foreigners who come from outside of Croatia. This sort of idea was commonly claimed among the business people in 1860s Zagreb in Croatia¹⁰. We can understand this tendency as historical fact from the anxiety that had appeared among business people as a result of foreign markets and foreign business people. Thus under these circumstances, the idea of nation was brought forward to reinforce their claims. However, we can also find another factor from his book that fascinated business people. Kvaternik regarded material profit as a common interest for the people and nation itself as below.

“We hope to, from the bottom of our heart, our nation try to face to world spirit namely sense of solidarity among people which consists of product and profit created by trading.....Material profit –it self- is the most powerful common interest.”¹¹”

Then, any reader of this book would not take merchant’s profit as a self-interested aim but also a common interest for all people in Croatia. This kind of idea was quite important for the business people who had been lessened in social status in this period. For instance, Mijo Krešić - Jakić’s intimate friend and one of the leading merchants in Zagreb- encountered difficulty when he launched a literature magazine *Naše gore list*. He received cold reaction from the public.

“Sutor, ne ultra crepidam” (Shoemaker, not beyond the shoe).

One of the major Croatian newspapers *Narodne novine* used the Latin proverb above and showed disrespect to his challenge in the literature field. The editors of this newspaper thought that publishing cultural contributions were the business of social readers who had traditional classic education, namely gymnasium education and Latin knowledge¹². On the contrary to this situation, Kvaternik offered business people a possibility to boost their social status and reputation with his ideas of “common interest or common good”. This concept enabled them to understand their business result as a possibility for common good, not as a result of self-interested profit. Krešić quoted almost all part of introduction from Kvaternik's book, then introduced his theory of interest in his magazine¹³. This is a fact that proved Kvaternik's philosophy had a high affinity to the business people's mind.

1-2 Merchant's business result and common good

¹⁰ Iveljić, pp.71-74.

¹¹ Kvaternik, p.510.

¹² Mijo Krešić, (1898). *Autobiografija*, Zagreb, (republished, 2005.) pp.111-112.

¹³ *Naše gore list*,(1865). br.35, 36.

In the Croatian Parliament in 1866, there was a heated debate on the new parliamentary system and its seats allocation. At that time, there were only about 10 lawmakers from the business circle out of 240 members in the parliament of Croatia. This number was too moderate compared to their economic presence in the society¹⁴. One of them was Antun Jakić. In this parliament, Jakić proposed a bill that enabled the election of at least one member from each Chamber of Commerce in Croatia, namely Zagreb, Osijek, and Rijeka. However for all his efforts, the arrangement committee refused that request and no regard was given to his proposal. Jakić strongly condemned this result and expressed the importance of businessmen who are able to contribute to the national interest. He stressed the words “interest of merchants”

“In these days, the importance of commerce is getting bigger and wider. It became an essential factor of the society. However, I am deeply disappointed that our committee totally ignored my proposal. Actually, I got some reports personally from certain quarters. And it says that they – the committee- believe the representative of the parliament must not be the one who stand for a certain group. ” After this word , Jakić acknowledged that there are public opinions which regard merchant’s profit as a result of self-interested aim. However, in next words he expressed his strong belief of merchant’s role in the society. He emphasized a strong interdependence between the acts of merchants and national material prosperity¹⁵.

“We do not want to represent the interests of particular groups. I think we need to make this clear. What is meaning of interest which come from merchant’s acts and its results. My opinion is different from the gentlemen who believe the merchant’s interest belongs only to merchants itself. In fact, nowadays profit which is created by merchants means interest for our nation itself. ¹⁶” In this session, one of the participants mentioned the key factor of the parliament. And he said below.

“Now we see three main factors of the membership of the Croatian parliament. These are Honor, Nation and Interest¹⁷.” In his phrase, we can understand that the concept of “interest” was one of the key factors that related to the common good of Croatian territory. Thus Jakić tried to use the concept of “interest” to legitimize their role in society.

¹⁴ Iveljić, pp.178-179.

¹⁵ *Dnevnik sabora trojedne kraljevine Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije god.1865-1867, (1867). Zagreb, p.275*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.275-276.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.277.

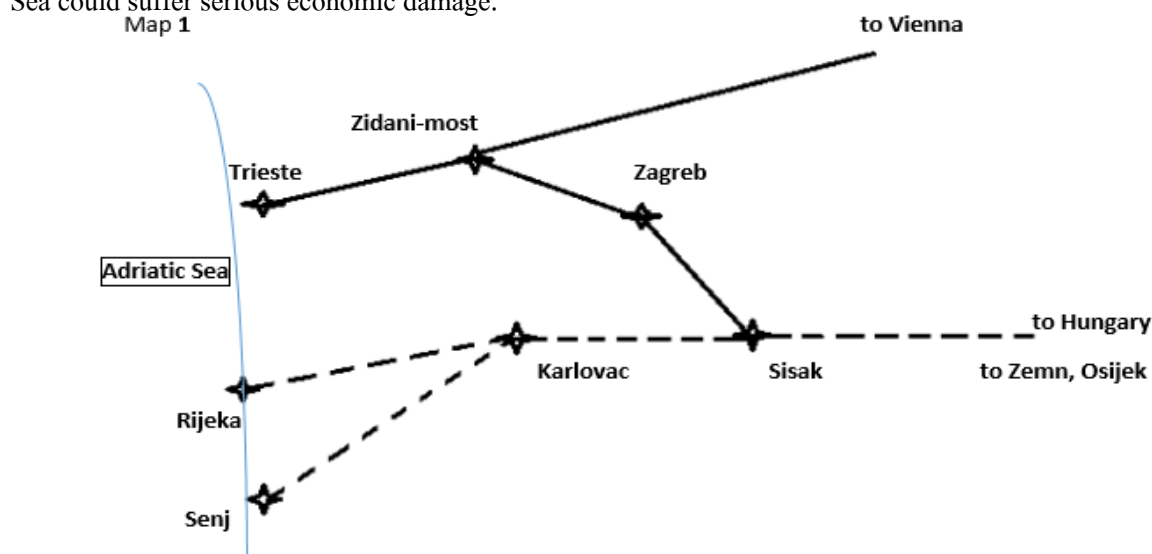
40 วารสารมนุษยศาสตร์ ฉบับบัณฑิตศึกษา

This concept and word was often used when the concept of nation could not work to solve the business problem among merchants. The railway planning always came up for discussion not only in parliament but in restaurants, cafés and the newspapers. Also Jakić was deeply involved in these discussions himself. Where and how should the railway route be built¹⁸. Each region had its own plans and hopes. It depended on the region's geographical position. They tried to introduce a railway line in their favor mainly for economic reasons. However often they could not use the concept of Nation to legitimize their claims; these claimants often belonged to -or were believed to have belonged to- the Croatian nation. If the opponent in a debate were German or Hungarian, it would be easy to distinguish "them and us" by using the idea of nation. However, when the opponent belonged to same nation, they could not deny opposing claims by using the national interest. In these cases, we can find the word "interest" instead of "nation" in the arguments. In the next chapter, we will focus on Jakić's perspective to discuss problems of railway planning and the claims among the business people.

Chapter 2: Railway construction and common good

2-1 Controversy over the railway construction and route planning

Croatian railway started its history in 1862 when the Wien-Trieste Line (see map 1) branched off from Zidani-most in Slovenia, went through Zagreb then further down to the river city Sisak. Traditional river transportation routes were connected at this river port. In this period, the railway was an indispensable condition for economic growth and its competitiveness. However, this new railway could ruin the traditional Croatian commercial route. Especially, the route from commercial city Karlovac to the Adriatic Sea could suffer serious economic damage.



¹⁸ He conducted an active devete on his magazine. *Sidro : Glasilo trgovine, obrtnosti i narodnoga gospodarstva*, (1864). br,10,13,17,18,19.

Since Croatia lay between Inland-Hungary and the Adriatic Sea, Karlovac city took advantage of its geographical location to become one of the major commercial cities in Croatia (see map 1). The commercial routes started from eastern cities Zemn or Osijek, then went west to Karlovac by going through river Sava and Kupa. This route led to the harbor cities of the Adriatic Sea- cities such as Rijeka and Senj were reached by arterial road constructed in the early 19th century. However, the commercial route would be changed by the launch of the railway described in map1. Although the route from inland to rivers city Sisak did not change, the route from Sisak would change to go northwest by going through Zidani-most. It would reach the Adriatic Sea at Trieste instead of the traditional Croatian port Rijeka or Senj¹⁹ (see thick line above in map 1). This meant that the new route would not go through Karlovac, which was a major commercial city (see dotted line above in map 1). It could also greatly damage the Croatian harbor cities mentioned above. The traditional land route towards the west was at a competitive disadvantage compared with railway because of its high transportation cost²⁰.

Thus, people who managed their own businesses in the western part of Croatia had a sense of crisis about this change.

The following description is about the new railway, which was written on a catalog published by the Chamber of Commerce of Zagreb at a first economic exhibition in Zagreb in 1864, two years after the launch of Croatian railway²¹. It explained what representatives of Croatian economic community thought about the impact of the railway. At first, they referred to the negative aspects on Croatian regional economy. That is, Croatia could not take advantage of its geographical location - located between the Black Sea and the Adriatic Sea- since the newly constructed railway did not go through traditional route to the ocean. It referred to the disadvantages of the indirect route to the North as follows:

“Since the new railway from Zidani-most to Sisak was constructed, major commercial cities such as Karlovac, Senj and Rijeka experienced a great economic downfall due to a decrease of the amount of agricultural crops being transported through. According to uncertain sources, it seems like the railway is

¹⁹ Nikola Tomašegović, (2014). “Polemika o željezničkom pitanju do 1862. Godine u Pozoru i Narodnim novinama”, *Povijest u na stavi*, vol.12 No.23(1), pp.46-47.

²⁰ Igor Karaman, (1991). *Industrijalizacija građanske Hrvatske 1800.-1941.*, Zagreb, pp.92-93.

²¹ *Prva izložba Dalmatinsko Hrvatsko Slavonska 1864.*, (1864). Zagreb.

42 วิจารณ์มนุษยศาสตร์ ฉบับบัณฑิตศึกษา

going to be extended from Sisak to Karlovac, however it is useless if it will not reach to the Croatian ocean.^{22,}

They insisted that it was important to construct a railway on the traditional transportation route from the eastern part of Croatia - city Zemun –towards the west - city Rijeka. This traditional route started from Hungary then led to the Adriatic Sea by going through major commercial cities in Croatia. They believed that would be difficult to keep existing profits without constructing a new railway on this route. They also had a strategic intention of distributing agricultural crops from eastern part of Croatian region by railway throughout wider areas than before. Therefore, they attached overriding importance to the route in the Croatian governor's conference, the first railway conference in Croatia held in 1862²³. In this conference, there appeared several drafts and route plans. The issue of constructing a railway was deeply involved with the interests of those cities on the railroad line. That is, many different kinds of claims for constructing railways represented the interests of the region each group belonged to. A representative from Dalmatia wanted to extend the railway route into their region even though there were serious technical difficulties. Cities in the region of Drava River had a vision to draw a line along this river instead of the traditional route along the Sava River. However, there were conflicting interests among these claims. For instance, when the Chamber of Commerce of Osijek chose Vinkovci as a route for railway extended from Osijek to south, Town Vukovar which is located 20 km east of Vinkovci opposed that idea, insisting that they should be on the route²⁴. Also, when the Military Frontier²⁵ planned Senj as a gateway to the Adriatic Sea, Rijeka, which was another harbor city, objected to this plan. In the Railway conference, Ivan Mažuranić – later Croatian governor- who was from Karlovac, was also opposed to the indirect route going through Zagreb, and insisted on the route from Sisak directly to Karlovac²⁶ (see map 2). His intention caused the controversy we will see in the next section.

As we saw in the case of several conflicting plans, each of the claims were based on each of the region's interests. In this case, because the arguments occurred among people who had the same Croatian

²² Ibid., p.87.

²³ Miroslava Despot, (1970). *Industrija građanske Hrvatske 1860.-1873.*, Zagreb, pp.28-29.

²⁴ Karaman, p.96.

²⁵ Special borderland which was located the border between Croatia and Ottoman Empire. It had own administrative command to govern this area.

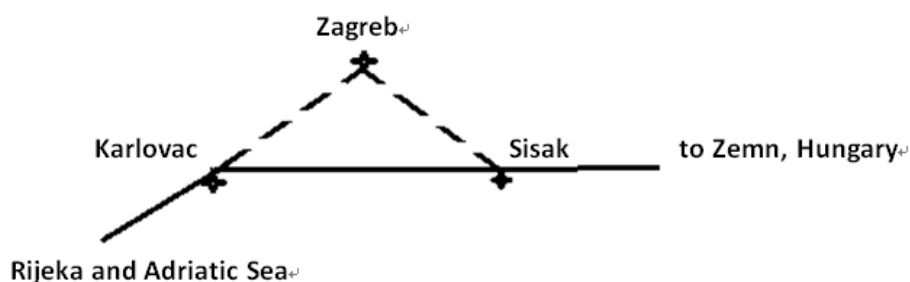
²⁶ Milan Ilić, (2002). *Željeznički putnički promet središnje Hrvatske*, *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* 62, p.251.

Nationality, the concept of nation could not justify nor legitimize their claims.. Also, the region in which business people had a multiethnic character such as Zagreb had difficulty using this concept. Therefore they needed to find another concept insted of nation. In addition, as described in the previous chapter, business people were afraid of being misunderstood by the public that their claims were mere expressions of their own private interests. In order to discuss this issue, we will analyze how business people used the concept of common good or common interest as a solution for competing interests between people in the same nation, and how they justified their claims as for the common good to gain their needed social status and reputation.

2-2 Jakić's claims in his magazine *Sidro*

Jakić had significant interests in the development of a railway since he was operating an import business. Therefore, he kept expressing his opinions in many kinds of publications even before the launch of railway. In 1864, he created the business newspaper *Sidro* in order to discuss these issues²⁷. This newspaper featured the economic exhibition held in Zagreb in 1864 and the railway issue. In 1864, he started to express strong oppositon and a sense of crisis toward the existing plan for constructing railway. He opposed the alteranative route plan of Zemn- Rijeka line which had recently come up in 1863.²⁸. According to the first decision of Railway conference in 1862, the Zemn – Rijeka line should go through Zagreb (see dotted line below in map 2). However in April of 1863, Emperor Franz Joseph the First gave permission to the alternative route plan which went to west to the Adriatic Sea from Sisak, not going

Map 2²⁹



through Zagreb (see thick line below in map 2).

²⁷ Đuro Crnadak, (1889). *Antun Jakić, i knjižnica za hrvatske trgovce*, Zagreb, p.13.

²⁸ *Sidro*, (1864), br.17,18.

44 วารสารมนุษยศาสตร์ ฉบับบัณฑิตศึกษา

Ivan Mažuranić, who was from Karlovac and a representative of Croatia in the Department of State in Vienna at that time, played an important role in this change. According to this new plan, Zagreb was isolated from the network of the East – West line (see map 1 and 2). Therefore, business people in Zagreb needed to insist on the realization of the original plan of 1862, which went through Zagreb; this was so that the city could play a crucial role as a basepoint to connect eastern and western regions, even though this route was a round about way, while the alternative route plan of 1863 was along the traditional commercial route. Regarding this issue, they expressed opinions in *Sidro* as follows.

“We highly appreciate the decision made in 1862, since the nation understands its own interests well.We made the decision based on the interests of our nation, Croatia.”²⁹,

The author of this article used the word “nation” just once. However, after that he never mentioned this word again. He started to write about interests of city Zagreb. For this reason, he could not mention the word nation, instead of this he used the concept of common good. In this article, it was expressed that the plan of 1862 was chosen as a result of adjusting interests of the regions - although those Croatian regions had separated and belonged to several different administrations at that time (see map 3). In other words, this author tried to say that the plan of 1862 represented the “common good of Croatia” which went beyond the interests of each region. Also in this article, he criticized the alternative plan of 1863 which might go against the Croatian common good³⁰. The point that *Sidro* and the editor Jakić stuck to was that Zagreb must be on the new railway route even though it would be an indirect route. He never used the fact that they were running businesses in Zagreb as a reason, since it could be mistaken as a mere self-interest of the city Zagreb or business people in Zagreb.

Sidro repeatedly insisted that their claims were not based on the self-interests of Zagreb³¹. The author completely denied it. As described before, the new railway plan was considerably influenced by the political intentions of the government of Vienna. At the same time, Hungary, which was the other biggest force in the Empire, also showed a great deal of interest in the politics of railway construction. Compared to other political regimes, Croatia did not have enough capital for constructing railways. In these circumstances, the editor of *Sidro*, Jakić showed a sense of crisis that the railway network would not have its center and would end up as a mere passing point from Hungary to Austria or to the Ocean. Because of this, any railway route that connected east and west part of Croatia must pass Zagreb even if it need to pay

²⁹ *Sidro*, (1964). br.17.

³⁰ *Sidro*, (1964). br.17.

³¹ *Sidro*, (1964). br.18.

extra cost to make an indirect route. *Sidro* showed a sense of danger from the political intentions of Austria and Hungary. And they also saw a problem that traffic and transportation could not be unified if each region made demands only for their own interests. However, it was important that the claim regarding the necessity of having Zagreb on the route of railway was not misunderstood as mere self-interest by the public. Jakić criticized the egoism and regionalism as follows.

“We do not want people having no expert knowledge to make decisions on the route of the new railway using opportunity they got by chance....^{32,}”

The author did not mention specific names, however people from Karlovac who had influenced the alternative plan, were assumed to be those people mentioned above. In addition to that, their intention of having Zagreb on the railway route was justified by the concept of “Common good”. After the quotation above, there is also a description as follows:

“We do not insist that other regions in Hungary or the part of Empire should construct railways based on the Croatian interest. In fact, we insist that we have our own right to demand its construction based on the common good of us, Croatia.... The alternative plan did not consider this point though.^{33,}”

The point we need to pay attention to here is that the narrowly defined idea and theory of nation – based on ethnicity- could not be employed in the case of Zagreb at that time. The reason why is that the business world in Zagreb consisted of people with multinational ethnic backgrounds, as described before. *Sidro* insisted the necessity of having Zagreb on the new route under the name of Devide, a member of the Chamber of Commerce of Zagreb. Devide himself was Czech and many other members came from various foreign countries³⁴. Therefore, in order to insist on the necessity of the Zagreb route, they needed to employ the idea of common good rather than nation, which simply meant common people living in Croatian territory. It went beyond specific small regions or ethnic groups.

Conclusion

In the 19th century, business people found their way into cultural and social fields. They established many social associations to keep pace with the changes of the social, economic and commercial environment. They considered themselves an essential factor of society. However, they could not enjoy the reputation which they thought they deserved. Under these circumstances, Eugen Kvaternik offered

³² *Sidro*, (1964). br.19.

³³ *Sidro*, (1964). br.13.

³⁴ See Note 6., Milan Krešić, pp.103-144.

46 วิจารณ์มนุษยศาสตร์ ฉบับบัณฑิตศึกษา

business people the possibility of boosting their social status and reputation with the idea of “ common interest or common good”. This concept enabled them to understand their business result as a possibility for common good, not as a result of self-interested profit. This concept totally concurred with business people’s mind and they actually used it to legitimize their claims at every opportunity. In addition to this fact, in this period – the latter half of the 19th century - the idea of nation was often used in order to legitimize or justify political claims. However this concept was not the be-all-end-all solution to support one’s claims over every business matter and domestic problem. Therefore, in these cases, the concept of common good could have a strong appeal to support their demand.

Map 3



https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/66/Austria-Hungary_map.svg/776px-Austria-Hungary_map.svg.png

1-17 **Habsburg Empire**, consist of several sub-kingdoms (18: 1908-)

16 }
 17 } **Kingdom of Hungary**
 5 }

17: Croatia and Slavonia }
 5: Dalmatia } **Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia**

5: Dalmatia was politically belonged to a Crown land of Austrian Empire and administrated by Vienna. (1815.-1867.)

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