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THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ETHNIC-GERMANS IN THE TERRITORY OF YUGOSLAVIA

German settlements in the territory that would eventually form parts of Yugoslavia were scattered in various parts and came to being over centuries of changeful history that spanned the time between the Middle Ages and the early 20th century. Their common feature was that they were always a fruit of more or less planned colonization, organized and sponsored that the powers-that-be. However, it would be wrong to conclude that the aim of those who had organized the settlement (the Church, aristocracy, the Viennese Court) were nationalistic or aimed against some particular nationality. As we shall presently see, economic and strategic factors were decisive in all cases of German colonization, with nationalist ones playing a subordinate role, and only in some smaller cases.

The ethnic enclave of the Kočevje-Germans (Gottscheer) certainly cannot aspire to autochthonousness in their homeland, but it was, by all means, the oldest non-Yugoslav ethnic community in the Yugoslav territory which survived until the foundation of the common South-Slav state and of which it was at least approximately known when it came into being. It would not be incorrect to say that writing of the Slovenian and German historiography about Kočevje, together with their writing about the Slovene minority of Carinthia, is the most blatant example of a continued national struggle of these two peoples through scholarship and publicistics. The reasons are to be found in the bitterness with which intellectuals on both sides waged that struggle since mid-19th century, as well as in the fact that Kočevje had been an ethnic island deep within the Slovenian national territory. The latter fact determined to a large degree the attitude of both parties concerning the importance of the enclave, which was to a large extent reflected in writings about it.

The German colonization in Slovenia, of which the enclave of the Kočevje covered the largest continuous territory, must be seen as part of integration of the Slovenian lands into the broader structures of Germanic states since 9th century B.C.. Among other features of that integration was the settlement of German peasant and burgher colonists into the, until then, predominantly Slovene territory, which caused Germanization in some areas. This, however, was a spontaneous result of the historical development. The present-day ethnographical border between the two peoples stabilized more or less by the 15th century, although the Slovenes suffered some territorial losses later on too.¹

In geographical terms Kočevje comprises the territory of 800 km², to the North-West of Novo Mesto, between the rivers Krka in the North and the Kupa in the South, and from the vineyards of Bela Krajina in the East to the highland of Central Carniola behind the Loški

¹ Milko Kos, Kolonizacija i germanizacija slovenske zemlje, Historijski zbornik, IV, 1-4, 1951, pp. 9-19. The article deals with German settlement within and without the present-day German territory, the latter laying beyond the scope of our work.

potok and Prezid in the West.² This area, which used to have somewhat broader confines, was settled with German peasants³ by the counts of Ortenburg in the 14th century.⁴ Both German and Slovenian authors agree on this. However, the time of settlement is concerned, opinions differ, along the national lines.⁵ Thus, the Slovenian authors claim main colonization took place between 1349 and 1363,⁶ whereas the German ones strive to prove that as early as 1330s the number of Germans there had been considerable, since the information is preserved that in 1339 they asked to have a priest.⁷ It is less contentious that the colonists came from Carinthia and Tyrol, and later on also from Thuringia, although the Slovenian authors do not miss the opportunity to point out that the Slovenes from Carinthia were also among the settlers.⁸

Opinions diverge most on the question whether Kočevje was inhabited or not at the time of the German colonization. The answer to this question, logically calls for an answer to the following pertinent question: was it an ethnic island, as claimed by the German authors, or was it an ethnically mixed region, as insisted by the Slovenian authors?⁹ The German authors claim Kočevje had been uninhabited when the Germans came.¹⁰ On the other hand, their Slovenian counterparts claim it had been inhabited by Slovenes, albeit sparsely.¹¹ It is interesting to note how both parties try to document their respective theses adducing place-names, proving that they are predominantly Slovene or German. From those data, they deduct who had founded the given village. Another method for proving primacy used by some Slovenian authors, is using of folk costumes – which are, according to them, completely Slovene. According to them, this proves that the Slovenes had been the autochthonous population there and have been assimilated by the Germans, who in turn, took over Slovene costumes and folklore.¹² In order to underpin their claims to the German character of Kočevje,

² Kočevsko. Izgubljena kulturna dediščina kočevskih Nemcev/Gottschee. Das verlorene Kulturerbe der Gottscheer Deutschen, Ljubljana 1993, p. 14.

³ Hugo Grothe, Deutsche Sprachinsel Gottschee in Slowenien. Ein Beitrag zur Deutschtumskunde des europäischen Südostens, Münster in Westfalen 1931, p. 18; Herbert Otterstädt, Gottschee. Verlorene Heimat deutscher Waldbauer, Freilassing [1962], pp. 6-8; Idem, Gottschee. Eine deutsche Volksinsel im Südosten, Graz 1941, p. 9; Ivan Simonič, Zgodovina kočevskega ozemlja, in: Kočevski zbornik. Razprave o Kočevski in njenih ljudeh, Ljubljana 1939, pp. 51-58; Jubiläums-Festbuch der Gottscheer-600-Jahresfeier. Aus Anlaß des 600-jährigen Bestandes des Gottscheer Landes, [Kočevje 1930], pp. 39-42; 500 let mesta Kočevja, [Kočevje 1971], pp. 8-10; Karl Schemitsch, Das war Gottschee, Landskron, Kitchener [1977], p. 18.

⁴ The probably most famous researcher of Kočevje, Hugo Grothe, deemed Kočevje had been settled through a long process of colonization between mid-13th and mid-15th century. (Grothe, p. 29.)

⁵ Grothe gives a survey of various phantastic theories according to which the Gottscheers were descendants of remnants of the Suevians, Goths, Kimbri, Vandals or other ancient Germanic tribes. (Grothe, pp. 31-36.) With part of German authors such theories could have been the product of scholarly curiosity, but also a means of proving German priority.

⁶ Kočevsko, p. 18. Simonič claims the colonization started around 1330 and that its main part was executed between 1350 and 1363. (Simonič, pp. 51-52.)

⁷ Jubiläums-Festbuch, p. 39; Schemitsch, p. 16; Otterstädt, Gottschee. Eine deutsche Volksinsel, p. 9. In this particular case, even in the context of nationality struggle, it is not clear why the difference of a few decades should be so important.

⁸ 500 let, p. 9.

⁹ Among other things, the ethnically mixed make-up of Kočevje was being proven by minute analysis of the number of Germans from ethnically pure and mixed marriages; the latter were, to be sure, excluded from the German national minority. (Tone Zorn, Narodnostni podatki kočevskega območja po podatkih narodnega katastra iz leta 1936, Zgodovinski časopis, XXVI, 3-4, 1972; Dušan Biber, Kočevski Nemci med obema vojnama, Zgodovinski časopis, XVII, 1963, p. 26.)

¹⁰ Otterstädt, Gottschee. Verlorene Heimat, pp. 6-7; Idem, Gottschee. Eine deutsche Volksinsel, p. 10; Schemitsch, p. 15.

¹¹ Simonič, pp. 45-46; Jože Rus, Jedro kočevskega vprašanja. Zgodovina, sedajnost in bodočnost kočevskega gospodarstva in njegovih prirodnih in socialnih podlag, in: Kočevski zbornik, pp. 131-133; S. Šantel, O izvoru kočevske narodne noše, in: Kočevski zbornik, p. 347; 500 let, p. 8; Kočevsko, p. 18.

¹² Šantel, o.c.; Rus, p. 134; Ivan Koštial, O Kočevcih in kočevščini, in: Kočevski zbornik, p. 324.

the German authors claim the Germans had been living around that area almost hundred years before the colonization,¹³ and that indeed it was the last phase of the German settlement in the Slovenian province of Crain.¹⁴

Regardless of the degree of its “ethnic purity” and the exact date when the colonization began, the fact remains, it managed to endure as predominantly German ethnic island in the Slovenian sea, managing to Germanize a large number of Slovenes who came to settle down there over the centuries. In that respect this last fruit of the German agrarian colonization,¹⁵ in the Slovenian lands resembled predominantly German towns in Slovenian territory, which preserved their German character until 1918.¹⁶ When the agrarian colonization from without ended around 1400, the internal colonization of German peasants ensued during the next couple of centuries. But much earlier began the influx of German burghers into towns in Slovenian lands.

Most of the towns in Slovenia were founded by Germans, that is, by German feudal lords who had controlled the whole Slovenian ethnic territory.¹⁷ To their lands they were bringing peasants – Germans and Slovenes, but also burghers – chiefly Germans. Whereas the German agrarian population dispersed among the majority Slovenes¹⁸ was gradually assimilated by the latter by the end of 19th century, the German townies survived until the foundation of Yugoslavia, and even later. This particularly held true for Lower Styrian towns of Celje (Cilli), Ptuj (Petau) and especially Maribor (Marburg) (that was closest to compact German ethnic territory), but partly also for Ljubljana and some smaller towns deep within the Slovene ethnic territory.¹⁹ Slovenian scholars and national champions have always been deeply frustrated by the German character of Slovenian towns²⁰ which these preserved well into 19th century, and partly into 20th too. For that reason they strove to underplay the German features of Slovenian towns – in their own time, as well as in the more distant past. Slavization of the towns which came about only in the second half of the 19th century, was predated to Middle Ages or early Modern Age.²¹

¹³ Otterstädt, Gottschee. *Verlorene Heimat*, 6; *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums* (henceforth: HWBGAD) III, Breslau 1938, p. 60.

¹⁴ Balduin Saria, *Die mittelalterliche deutsche Besiedlung in Krain*, in: *Gedenkschrift für Harold Steinacher* (1875-1965), München 1966, 96.

¹⁵ 500 let, p. 11; Kočevsko, p. 18; Simonič, p. 61.

¹⁶ Saria, *Die mittelalterliche deutsche Besiedlung in Krain*, p. 102.

¹⁷ So for example, in Carniola twelve of the most important towns (including Ljubljana (Laibach) and Kranj (Krainburg)) were founded by German nobility from 12th century onward. (HWBGAD, III, Breslau 1938, p. 322.) The towns of Maribor (Marburg) and Ptuj (Petau) were also founded by the Germans. (Doris Kraft, *Das untersteirische Drauland. Deutsches Grenzland zwischen Unterdrauburg und Marburg*, München 1935, p. 127.)

¹⁸ INJ, I, pp. 753-756; HWBGAD, III, pp. 317-320; Kraft, p. 128. About mutual assimilation processes and gradual shrinking of the Slovene ethnic territory from 10th to 15th centuries, see: Milko Kos, *Kolonizacija i germanizacija slovenske zemlje*, *Historijski zbornik*, IV, 1-4, 1951. About the settlement and assimilation of German peasantry in Carniola see: Balduin Saria, *Die mittelalterliche deutsche Besiedlung in Krain*, in: *Gedenkschrift für Harold Steinacher* (1875-1965), München 1966, pp. 85-94.

¹⁹ Saria, p. 102.

²⁰ This however was not particular to Slovenian lands – most of the towns in the Habsburg Monarchy had German character until the second half of 19th century, thanks to German and Germanized population, as well as to the Jews of German language and culture. (A.J.P. Taylor, *Habsburška monarhija 1809-1918*, Zagreb 1990, pp. 32-33.) Ferdo Šišić wrote: “As late as the second half of 19th century some towns in Croatia, such as Zagreb, Varaždin or Osijek, were so infested with Germaneness, that a foreigner couldn’t tell if he was in a Slavic country or not.” (*Biskup Štrosmajer i jugoslavenska misao*, I, Beograd 1922, p. 25.)

²¹ Thus Janko Orožen tries hard to prove the bearers of German names in the mediaeval Celje had actually not been Germans but Slovenes. (*Zgodovina Celja in okolice*, I, Celje 1971, p. 269.) Although names are by no means certain proof of nationality of their bearers, the fact remains that Slovene names appear in the lists of the town officials only since the second half of 18th century. (*Ibid.*, pp. 349-350.) Fran Kovačič proceeds in the same way. (*Slovenska Štajerska in Prekmurje. Zgodovinski opis*, Ljubljana 1926, p. 220.) The official »Istorija naroda Jugoslavije« claims the Slovenes were the majority of the town populations. (pp. 758, 772.)

Thanks to the archival documents one can observe the continuous influx of the German population into Slovenian towns until 20th century, but also the process of Germanization of the Slovene inhabitants of these towns.²² This process was above all connected to upward social mobility and influence of the environment. Political and ideological affinity was a major factor in Germanization of Slovenian newcomers in 19th century. The liberal bourgeoisie, German and Germanized, sailed under German banner, and the same was true of Social-Democracy. Conservatism remained as the trade mark of the Slovenian national movement which lacked stronger bourgeoisie and which was therefore led predominantly by Catholic clergy. This won many a liberal Slovene over to the German national camp, which deliberately boasted of its liberalism.²³

How important these factors have been was proven by the last Austrian census which recorded, apart from the language of communication, the place of origin. Based on these data, Slovenian scholars strove to prove that the majority of Germans in Slovenian towns had actually been “nemčuri« or »nemškiutari”, i.e., Slovenes who, for various reasons, declared themselves Germans.²⁴ This opting for German nationality was often one-sidedly construed as a consequence of economic and other pressure, or as caused by the school.²⁵ Others, however, correctly marked the importance of upward social mobility for linguistic and national assimilation.²⁶ For Slovenian national awakeners, the “nemčuri” were a red rag. As shall be shown further in this work, Slovenian origin of part of the Germans in Slovenia or apostasy on part of the Slovenes, served as one of the excuses for intolerant Slovenian national policy towards the German minority during the inter-war period.

Together with assimilation of the immigrant Slovenes, the German population of bigger towns was renewed by continuous influx of bureaucrats, military officers, businessmen and workers. During the era of nationalism in 19th century, the immigration was strongest in Maribor for two reasons. On the one hand, the town was closest to the compact German ethnic area; on the other, unlike other predominantly German towns, it was a big industrial centre, attracting lot of German, but also Slovenian labour force.²⁷ Skilled workers were German or Germanized, whereas Slovenian newcomers were unskilled, and for greater part, nationally unconscious. Together with economic dependence, Slovenian workers were influenced by daily use of the German language, as well as the German-tinged Social

²² In Maribor there was a Windische Gasse in 1317, which testifies to the presence of Slovenian inhabitants in the town. (Jože Mlinarič, *Maribor do začetka 17. stoletja*, Kronika, XXXI, 2-3, 1983, p. 131.) Ptuj, being smaller and with much weaker Slovene immigration, preserved longer and easier its German character. (Bogo Grafenauer, *Ptuj v Srednjem veku*, *Zgodovinski časopis*, XXIV, 3-4, 1970. Cf. also: Janez Cvritn, *Trdnjavski trikotnik. Politična orijentacija Nemcev na spodnjem Štajerskem (1861-1914.)*, Maribor 1997, pp. 10-11.)

²³ Bruno Hartman, *Kulturni tokovi v Mariboru in njegovem zaledju med vojnama*, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, LIV, 1-2, 1983, p. 234; Cvirn, pp. 56, 75, 105, 125.

²⁴ Vlado Valenčič, *Etnična struktura ljubljanskega prebivalstva po ljudskem štetju 1880*, *Zgodovinski časopis*, XXVIII, 3-4, 1974, pp. 295-299. Valenčič concluded that one third of the population which has declared itself German, originated from non-German regions. (p. 300.) Anton Melik came to similar conclusions analyzing the data of the 1900 census. He deduced that in Maribor, Celje and Ptuj, which were the towns with German majority and highest percentage of German population in Slovenian lands, 71%, 63,12%, and 69,63% of the population originated from predominantly Slovene areas. (Nemci u Sloveniji. Prilikom opštih izbora u Mariboru, Celju i Ptuju, *Letopis Matice srpske*, knj. 303, sv. 1, 1925, p. 68.) One should however bear in mind that these estimates concerned all the inhabitants of these towns, where not all citizens declared German nationality. In Maribor the ratio of Germans and Slovenes was 27.994 : 22.653; in Ptuj 3.672 : 608; in Celje 6.919 : 4.625. (Ibid.) Matijaž Klemenčič came to the same results. (*Germanizacijski procesi na Štajerskem od srede 19. stoletja do prve svetovne vojne*, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, L, 1-2, 1972, p. 368.)

²⁵ Kovačič, p. 337.

²⁶ Melik, p. 67; Orožen, II, p. 43.

²⁷ Milko Kos rightly noticed the importance of large industrial centres for Germanization. (Kos, p. 18.)

Democracy whose influence contributed to blunting the national consciousness of Slovenian workers and gradual Germanization.²⁸

On the German side, such tendencies were deliberately encouraged. They wanted to completely Germanize Maribor, but also the narrow Slovenian ethnic gap which separated it from the compact German-speaking territory.²⁹ Not only “a bridge to Maribor” was wanted, but also further towards the Adriatic sea. Such plans were popularized above all by a German nationalist organization the “Südmark” founded in Graz in 1889 in order to protect the endangered German Diaspora in the South, as well as in order to preserve German hegemony in predominantly German or mixed areas of Austria.³⁰ This association, which was by no means alone, wanted to build its “bridge towards the Adriatic” by colonizing Germans from Germany. In order to do that it undertook concrete steps to raise money, buy farms and bring in the colonists between Šent Ilj and Maribor.³¹ The results of this colonization 1906-1914 were rather modest,³² and in the last resort, served more to awake Slovenian fears, than to realize the plans of German nationalists.

Since Slovenian lands were part of the Habsburg Empire for centuries, and stood under domination of nobility and officialdom, and later on also of bourgeoisie of German descent or at least of German language, the influx of Germans into the Slovenian territory was steady, although not overly strong. In the territories which remained outside Yugoslavia in 1918, with the aid of schools, economic, social, cultural, political and other factors, in the course of the second half of 19th century it pushed to the South the Northern Slovenian ethnic border in Carinthia which had been constant ever since 15th century.³³ Immigration in the Slovenian ethnic territory, coupled with the above mentioned factors, helped preserve predominantly German character of at least some towns – especially in Lower Styria. The Germans received further reinforcements through quiet assimilation of Slovenes – above all in towns and especially among the upper strata. However, it would be wrong to ascribe the immigration of the German population throughout the centuries and even in 19th century, to some deliberate attempt at Germanization. Indeed, greater part of German and other migrations was the consequence of economic, political, military and other needs of the powers-that-be, as well as of the needs of the migrating people themselves. Since the Germans had been the leading cultural, economic and political factor in the old Austria, their migrations often left a much deeper impact than migrations of other peoples. In the predominantly Slovenian territory, German peasant colonists completely assimilated to the Slovenes until the end of 19th century, whereas large portion of the German townees, who immigrated only recently, emigrated or were sent packing by the new authorities after the foundation of Yugoslavia – as we shall see in one of the following chapters.1

The colonization that was not only better recorded, but that can practically be reconstructed from year to year, with all the institutions and more or less known personages

²⁸ Emin Kržičnik, *Gospodarski razvoj Maribora. Gradivo k zgodovini industrijalizacije mesta Maribora*, Maribor 1956, p. 22; Tone Petek, *Kratek etnološki oris železničarske kolonije Studenci v Mariboru*, *Kronika*, XXXI, 2-3, 1983, pp. 197-200.

²⁹ Klemenčič, p. 364.

³⁰ Eduard G. Staudinger, *Die Südmark. Aspekte der Programmatik und Struktur eines deutschen Schutzvereins in der Steiermark bis 1914*, in: Helmut Rumpler, Arnold Suppan (eds.), *Geschichte der Deutschen im Bereich des heutigen Slowenien 1848-1941*, Wien, München 1988; Günter Schödl *Variante deutscher Nationalpolitik vor 1918. Zur politische Organisationen und Programmbildung deutscher Minderheiten in Ost- und Südosteuropa*, *Südostdeutsches Archiv*, XXII-XXIII, 1979/80. Special importance of Maribor for the Südmark can be discerned from the fact that its second largest library (out of 162) was in that town. (Bruno Hartman, “Südmarkini“ knjižnici v Mariboru, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, LIV, 1-2, 1983, p. 150.)

³¹ Staudinger, pp. 137-138, 145-147.

³² During this period 435 colonists were settled down. (Ibid., p. 146.)

³³ Kos, p. 17.

who took part in its preparation and execution, is the Habsburg colonization of (Southern) Hungary. It was one of the great settlement schemes in the Europe of 18th and early 19th century. This, however, does not imply it has been completely consistent. In principle, the goals were clear enough: a vast and potentially economically profitable area had to be populated. As to how to achieve that, the opinions differed. Various interests were involved: those of the Court, the Court Chamber, the Army, the Roman-Catholic Church, private landowners, big stock merchants, manufacturers, some high state officials, the local population, and finally, those of the colonists themselves. Various parties involved in the planning and executing of the colonization had their own partial goals, often in collision with one another. Because of all this, the colonization was, despite its clear main goal, full of contradictions, halts and setbacks.³⁴ In the first part of this chapter, we have dealt with the settlement of the Romanians – which was, just like the settlement of the Serbs, a mix of spontaneity and planned population policy of the Viennese authorities – and below we shall deal with the colonization of Germans, Magyars, Slovaks, Ruthenians and other less numerous populations, who through 18th and 19th centuries had settled in what later became known under the name of the Vojvodina. One should however, bear in mind, that at that time no-one saw that region as something apart: the colonization in Southern Hungary took place in the same way as in other parts of the country. Only the situation of the Military Border and the Banat, which was gained only in 1718 by the peace treaty of Passarowitz (Požarevac) and joined to the rest of Hungary in 1779, was somewhat particular. Its characteristics were prevention of Hungarian colonization, and greater presence of Serbs and Romanians, as well as the larger direct control of the Viennese court. Still, the colonization of all Hungarian territories should be seen as a whole, regardless of local differences and halts over time. Finally, the colonization of Southern Hungary (and neighbouring Eastern Syrmium) should be regarded as part of longer colonization process which spilled over into Western Syrmium and Slavonia in the second half of 19th century. Together with supplementary colonization organized by the Hungarian government in the last third of 19th century, this settlement would give the Vojvodina and Slavonia the make-up that would last until the Second World War.

After the successful Great Viennese War (1683-1699) the Habsburg Court was enriched by spacious new territories: central Hungary, Slavonia, part of Syrmium, the Bačka, Baranya,³⁵ part of the Banat, Partium and Transylvania. To these territories the rest of Syrmium, greater part of the Banat and Northern Serbia were added in 1718. Parts of historical Hungary recovered thanks to successful wars were in no envious condition. What the Ottoman authorities did not neglect, was to a great extent destroyed in war or Rakoczy's uprising 1703-1711.³⁶ The Muslim population withdrew, and the Christian one was few and

³⁴ Cf. Wolf, p. 40. For the still best survey of different aspects of the colonization of Hungary see: Konrad Schünemann, *Österreichs Bevölkerungspolitik unter Maria Theresia, I*, Berlin [1935?]. Unfortunately, the second volume of this master-piece never came out.

³⁵ The whole of Baranya comprises a much larger territory than was allotted to Yugoslavia after the First World War.

³⁶ The thesis of more or less devastated South Hungary see in: Schünemann, pp. 66. 73; Anton Tafferner, *Quellenbuch zur donauschwäbische Geschichte*, Stuttgart 1977, p. XXXII; Čelap, p. 115; Zrenjanin, Zrenjanin 1966, p. 35; D. Popović, *Srbi, II*, pp. 26-27, 40; Imre Wellmann, *Die erste Epoche der Neubesiedlung Ungarns nach der Türkenzeit (1711-1761)*, *Acta Historica*, XXVI, 1980, p. 241; Šandor Mesaroš, *Položaj Mađara u Vojvodini 1918-1929*, Novi Sad 1981, p. 7; Erik Roth, *Die planmäßig angelegte Siedlung im Deutsch-Banater Militärbezirk 1765-1821*, München 1988, pp. 26, 51; Ladislaus Michael Weifert, *Beiträge zur Mercyschen Besiedlung des Banats*, in: *Gedenkschrift für Harold Steinacker (1875-1965)*, München 1966, p. 133; M. Mitrović, p. 197; Slavko Gavrilović, *Rusini u Bačkoj i Sremu od sredine XVIII do sredine XIX veka*, *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Vojvodine*, Novi Sad 1977, p. 153; basically also Gačeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, p. 8. There are however, authors who do not share this, in the relevant literature predominant, opinion: Cf. Felix Lackner, *Rumänische und deutsche Siedlungsbewegungen im Banat, ihre Beziehungen und gegenseitige Bedingtheit*, *Südostdeutsches Archiv*, XVII-XVIII, 1974/1975, p. 75; Gerhard Seewann, *Serbische*

far between, half-nomadic, cattle-breeding, and “schismatic” at that. The newly acquired territories were to be capacitated to be of economic and military use to the new powers-that-be, but the population at their disposal did not measure up – neither in quality nor in quantity.³⁷ Because of such state of affairs, a Neoacquistic Commission was set up in Vienna already during the war in 1688, which, under the influence of cameralists, draw a colonization plan for the new territories. The Commission proposed settlement of the Germans “ so that the Kingdom, or at least its large parts, be gradually Germanized and Hungarian blood prone to unrest and revolt be tempered with German and thus led into assiduous fidelity and love for its natural (sic!) hereditary king.” Hungarian nobility, headed by the palatine, protested vehemently against such “attack on Hungarian nation”. What hurt them more than the national sting was the limitation of corvee to just three days, larger judicial and ownership rights of the serfs, but most of all, the infamous proposal that the land of the nobility too should be subject to taxation. Hungarian Diet also issued a sharp protest in 1689, so the whole scheme was eventually dropped.³⁸

The real colonization began only under Charles VI, and was continued with increased intensity under his heirs Maria Theresa (1740-1780), Joseph II (1780-1790), Leopold II (1790-1792). The later colonization in early 19th century was but a conclusion of the one from the previous century, and it was partly only internal. The goal of this author won't be to describe again in detail its course and the way it was executed, since this is not very important for our topic, and since about that subject already a whole library exists. We shall confine ourselves to sketching its main features, minding especially certain phenomena and processes which had left a lasting mark on the inter-ethnic relations in Southern Hungary and which, in the last resort, coupled with other factors influenced the situation of the immigrant German.

The Colonization of Hungary is usually divided according to rulers under which it had taken place, although (except for Joseph II) they did not play the main role in its planning and execution. Charles VI was the first to start bringing Germans from South-Western Germany. The first came in 1712, and a somewhat larger group in 1716-1718. These first colonists were men of the army, veterans, military artisans etc.³⁹ To the Darda manor the first German colonists came in 1713, and since 1714 to the estate of Prince Eugene of Savoy too. Their immigration would continue for the next fifteen odd years.⁴⁰ In the first half of 18th century, the Germans settled down in larger towns of Eastern Slavonia (Osijek, Vukovar, Virovitica), but in that region they started coming to villages only in 1760s and 1770s - usually to manor

Süd-Nord-Migrationen in Südosteuropa als Voraussetzung für die deutsche Ansiedlung im 18. Jahrhundert, in: A Kárpát-Medence vonzásában Pécs 2001, p. 441.) Quoting some eyewitnesses, Nikola Petrović even claims the Banat had been a flourishing province ruined by the Austrians' mismanagement. (Petrović, p. 26.) Wolf believes the Banat became pretty desolate, but not to the degree some other authors had claimed. (Wolf, pp. 30-32.)

³⁷ We have already seen what opinion of the Romanians prevailed, and the Serbs enjoyed no better reputation, except as soldiers. (Cf. Hegediš, pp. 210, 233; Seewann, pp. 432-433, 436, 438, 441; Popović, Srbi, II, pp. 33-34; Franc Štefan Engel, Opis kraljevine Slavonije i vojvodstva Srema, Zbornik Matice srpske za jezik i književnost, knj. 19, sv. 2, 1971, p. 309; Leonhard Böhm, Geschichte des Temeser Banats, I, Leipzig 1861, pp. 214-215; Ibid., II, pp. 205-211, 217.)

³⁸ INJ, II, p. 808; John O. Spielman, Leopold I of Austria, New Brunswick 1977, pp. 178-180. Similar ideas about running the German wedge between the Hungarians and the Turks were shared by the then most important Austrian general, prince Eugene of Savoy. (Cf. Roth, p. 27; Gaćeša, Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu, p.7.) There were also many others who pleaded for the same solution. (Cf. Reimund Friedrich Kaindl, Die Deutschen in Osteuropa, Leipzig 1916, p. 96; G[eza] C. Paikert, The Danube Swabians. German Populations in Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia and Hitler's Impact on Their Patterns, The Hague 1967, p. 19.)

³⁹ Sonja Jordan, Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat im 18. Jahrhundert, München 1967, p. 21; Jankulov, p. 7.

⁴⁰ Tri stoljeća Belja, Osijek 1986, pp. 47-48.

villages.⁴¹ In 1717-1719 miners, craftsmen and peasants from Bohemia, Carniola, Silesia, from the upper Danube and the middle Rein came to the Western Banat. Soon afterwards, in the provincial capital Temeswar (Timișoara) a population commission was founded, and already in 1723-1724 larger groups of Germans came to Bela Crkva, Vršac and Bečkerek (today: Zrenjanin). Together with them, Spaniards and Italians meant to develop the silk industry were also settled. All the colonists, and especially the latter had difficulties adapting to the climate, so most of them died from diseases.⁴² As for the colonization of Hungarian peasants, who would probably better survive the prevailing living conditions, it was avoided under Charles VI and Maria Theresa (in the Banat) because they had been viewed as politically unreliable,⁴³ but also in order not to weaken Hungary economically.⁴⁴ Colonization of the privileged German settlers, who were exempted from many obligations incumbent on the “nationalists” (as the Habsburg authorities used to call Serbs and Romanians) during the first years, scared the natives and spurred many to flee to Serbia or Valachia, for fear of having to bear all obligations alone.⁴⁵

During the first wave of colonization between 10.000 and 12.000 Germans were settled down – in the Western Banat in most cases in or by Serbian settlements.⁴⁶ The majority of the first colonists were poor devils, unskilled at agriculture, so that they were no great asset for the economy. The plague and marauding raids of Turks and Romanians during the unsuccessful war with Turkey 1737-1739 swept away most of these colonists from the Southern Banat – except for those in larger settlements.⁴⁷ Most of the survivors fled to the North or to the North-West.⁴⁸ As for the Bačka very few Germans were settled there during the reign of Charles VI. Since it had for greatest part been divided among Hungarian nobles, there was no important state colonization of the Germans there until 1749.⁴⁹ In Syrmium, just like in the Bačka, few German veterans were settled in Schwabendorf by Sremska Kamenica, whereas count Schönborn colonized Germans from middle Rein in Zemun,⁵⁰ and count Pejačević in Ruma.⁵¹

⁴¹ Egon Lendl, *Die Stellung des Slawoniendeutschtums unter den südostdeutschen Volksinseln*, *Der Auslandsdeutsche*, XX, 4, 1937, p. 203; Nikola Gačeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Sremu 1919-1941*, Novi Sad 1975, p. 12.

⁴² Jordan, p. 25; Popović, *Srbi*, II, p. 39; Jankulov, p. 8.

⁴³ Popović, *Srbi*, II, p. 45; Wolf, p. 51.

⁴⁴ Jankulov, p. 45; Wellmann, p. 260. Realizing the need for colonization and higher reliability and productivity of German peasants as compared to their Hungarian counterparts, Hungarian nobility also sought German settlers in the first decades of 18th century. (Cf. Schünemann, p. 184; Wellmann, p. 252; Josef Volkmar Senz, *Die Deutschen im Batscher Land. Pioniere und Märtyrer des Abendlandes im europäischen Südosten*, Wien 1984, p. 38; Paikert, p. 18.)

⁴⁵ Popović, II, p. 44; Jankulov, pp. 9-10. This fear was by no means groundless. (Cf. Wellmann, p. 263.)

⁴⁶ The original idea was that Germans should teach Serbs to till the land, but due to mutual strife, the outcome was often ousting of Serbian stock-breeders by German peasants. (Wellmann, pp. 256, 262; Seewann, pp. 421, 437-438.) These goings-on left a lasting mark on inter-ethnic relations, and Serbian politicians in the inter-war Yugoslavia often raised the point when they wanted to harangue against the German minority.

⁴⁷ Popović, *Srbi*, II, p. 43; Wellmann, p. 265; Felix Milleker, *Die erste organisierte deutsche Kolonisation des Banats unter Mercy 1722-1726, Vršac 1923*, pp. 8-9; HWBGAD, I, Bresalu 1933, pp. 223-224.

⁴⁸ Jankulov, p. 11.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵⁰ Milan Šenoa, *Doseljavanje tuđinaca u Srijem*, Rad JAZU, knj. 201, razredi historičko-filološki i filozofičko-juridički, Zagreb 1914, p. 4; Jankulov, pp. 12-13.

⁵¹ Hermann Haller, Karl Bischof, *Zur Entstehung der deutschen Stadt Ruma im Rahmen des Syrmieniendeutschtums*, *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung*, IV, 2, 1940, pp. 295-297. The Germans in Ruma received a reinforcement in 1786. (*Ibid.*, pp. 301-302.) Despite Serbian influx, the town gradually developed into the most important German settlement in Syrmium. (*Ibid.*, p. 284.) About the colonization of Ruma see also: Slavko Gavrilović, *Naseljavanje Nemaca u Rumi u doba Josifa II*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju*, 11, 1975; Šenoa, p. 6. These two authors deem Germans came to Ruma only under Joseph II.

During the reign of Maria Theresa colonization was continued along the same lines as under Charles VI, albeit in accordance with the changed strategic and economic situation. Great wars at battlefields all over Europe demanded economic strengthening of the Monarchy in a world where waging of wars was increasingly dependant on material resources. An important role in the economic strengthening of the financially hard-pressed state was assigned to the colonization. Furthermore, Hungarian magnates, increasingly prone to luxury, also strove to augment their revenues, and the brisk sale of foodstuffs during the war years spurred them to colonize in order to enhance agrarian production.⁵² They, like the Viennese Court turned to recruiting German peasants who were considered more productive and more obedient than the Hungarian peasantry imbued with the kurucz (rebel) traditions. At that time the Slovaks, who have been considered almost as desirable as the Germans, were settled down at the manor of Futog, in Bački Petrovac and Bezdan.⁵³ Nevertheless, the early Theresian colonization (1740-1749) was not overly great either in scope or in the quality of the settlers, who were recruited partly among the poor and partly among the deported riff-raff.⁵⁴ Moreover, the stock-breeders' lobby in the Banat temporarily got the upper hand so that the colonization there soon came almost to a halt.⁵⁵

The war because of the Pragmatic Sanction and the Seven Years' War have put additional strain on the already overburdened finances of the Habsburg Empire. This spurred a larger, so-called Mid-Theresian colonization (1749-1772). Furthermore, settling of loyal Catholic elements, coupled with improved education, had to ideologically fortify the "patched Monarchy".⁵⁶ Just as the wars with the Ottoman Empire had increased the importance of the Banat, the wars in the West and in Central Europe have upgraded the importance of the Bačka,⁵⁷ for whose colonization two conflicting plans were made. The first one was by count Antal Grassalkovich, the president of the Hungarian Chamber, and the second one by baron Anton Cothmann, president of the Impopulation Commission of the Hungarian Chamber. The first of the two dignitaries, being a Hungarian and having landed estates in the Bačka, favoured more Hungarian and local interests. He was in favour of a slower colonization that would gradually turn Hungary from a cattle-breeding into a land-tilling nation.⁵⁸ Agriculture was to be developed along the rivers Tisa (Tisza) and the Danube, whereas the upcountry would be left to stock-breeders. He was in favour of the colonization of Magyars and Slovaks in the first place, and only in the second of the Germans and others,⁵⁹ although eventually he

⁵² Schünemann, pp. 107-108.

⁵³ Rudolf Bednarik, *Slovaci v Juhoslavii. Materialy k ich hmotneja a duchovnej kulture*, Bratislava 1966, p. 35; Popović, *Srbi*, II, p. 46; Jankulov, p. 60; M. Mitrović, p.206; Mila Bosić, *Narodna nošnja Slovaka u Vojvodini*, Novi Sad 1987, p. 18. At the same time the first Ruthenians came to Kula and Krstur. (Gavrilović, *Rusini u Bačkoj i Sremu*, pp. 154-155.)

⁵⁴ Jankulov, p. 14. The enemies of the Volksdeutsche made a grate ado of the deported criminals, prostitutes etc, claiming all the Swabians (as the Germans were called in Hungary proper) were their descendants. Their actual number was rather small: for instance, between 1752 and 1768 only 3.130 deportees were sent to the Banat. Many of them were backsliders, which means the actual number was even lower. On the first occasion most of them escaped back to Austria. (Schünemann, pp. 76-88; Wellmann, p. 268.) Joseph II had the deportation stopped because he had realized they were useless. (Schünemann, p. 86; Friedrich Lotz, *Die frühtheresianische Kolonisation des Banats (1740-1762)*, in: *Gedenkschrift für Harold Steinacker (1875-1965)*, München 1966, p. 162.)

⁵⁵ Jordan, p. 85; Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, p. 11. The pastures tenants' lobby managed to stop the state-run colonization once again in 1772, although the overall number of settlers had already been much higher by that time. (Jordan, p. 92; HWBGAD, I, p. 308.)

⁵⁶ Jankulov, p. 15.

⁵⁷ The colonization of the Bačka was spurred also by the abolishment of Military Border around the Tisa and the Moriš, which led to the emigration of the Serbs from there. (Nikola Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Bačkoj 1918-1941*, Novi Sad 1968, p. 17.)

⁵⁸ Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Bačkoj*, p.14; Jankulov, p. 16.

⁵⁹ Popović, *Srbi*, II, p. 45; Senz, p. 42; Jankulov, p. 17.

settled more non-Hungarians than Hungarians.⁶⁰ Hungarian settlers were for greater part poor peasants and were not given privileges granted to German colonists.⁶¹ The Hungarian Chamber did its best to settle as many Hungarians as possible around Sombor and the Tisa – for national reasons.⁶²

During the colonization of the Bačka, the interests of Maria Theresa and Joseph II clashed with those of the Hungarian Chamber: the first wanted to resettle to the Bačka part of the Hungarians from hilly and rebellious parts of Hungary and to weaken them in that way, whereas the Chamber wanted in the Bačka only the hand-picked colonists who had paid all their debts in the old homeland. This met with the resistance of the Neoacquistic Commission in Vienna, which opposed strengthening the Hungarian nobility in the Bačka.⁶³

Unlike the mercantilist Grassalkovich, Cothmann was a physiocrat who wished to make a swift transition to agriculture which would oust grazing and confine cattle-breeding to barns, only as a secondary occupation of the peasants. His plan foresaw planning and state regulation of everything – from surveying the land to organizing settlements and the way of life in them. Kempele continued to execute this plan in the Banat.⁶⁴ The colonists were given three tax-free years, advances, tools and other privileges, but their work was still not an easy one. The soil had yet to be made arable since the Serbs and Romanians who had been forced to do it, have done their job only partly and half-heartedly.⁶⁵ Many colonists were disappointed by the situation they found, which did not correspond fully to the rosy picture painted by the agents advertising in South-West Germany, becoming dejected, so that settlement did not proceed as smoothly as Cothmann had hoped for. Problems also arose with repayment of the advances, lack of artisans, dying, flight of the disappointed etc.⁶⁶ The natives were obliged to plough and sow the fields for the newcomers, which bore hatred,⁶⁷ whereas to the destruction of their way of life they reacted with plunder and murder of the German colonists.⁶⁸ During 1760s a new wave of German colonists came to the Bačka and the Yugoslav part of Baranya.⁶⁹

After the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, Maria Theresa devoted much attention to the colonization of Hungary, which had supported the war effort to a large degree. In that year a colonization patent was issued calling on the veterans to volunteer for settlement in Hungary, Transylvania and the Banat, promising, among other things, six tax-free years for peasants, and as much as ten for craftsmen. The goal of this scheme was to relieve the state finances of pensions for officers and veterans on the one hand, whereas on the other, the state land was rented to rich entrepreneurs who undertook the obligation of colonizing it. This

⁶⁰ So for instance he colonized Germans in Apatin, Bukin, Odžaci and Kolut. (Popović, Srbi, II, p. 44.) Grassalkovich bragged in 1762 that had brought 2.200 Hungarian, 1.370 Serbian, 1.070 German and 400 Ruthenian, Czech and Roman-Catholic South Slav families into thirty two places in the Bačka over fifteen years. (Schünemann, p. 118; Wellmann, p. 273.)

⁶¹ M. Mitrović, p. 202. This was certainly one of the reasons they couldn't match the Germans. (Schünemann, p. 112.)

⁶² Radivoj Plavšić, *Fragmenti iz istorije Sombora*, Sombor 1956, p. 25; Jankulov, p. 47.

⁶³ Jankulov, p. 49.

⁶⁴ Popović, II, p. 42; Jankulov, pp. 17-19.

⁶⁵ The colonists were often billeted in Serbian and Romanian houses, which spoiled inter-ethnic relations on the one hand, and, due to lack of hygiene, also the health of the settlers, on the other. (Jordan, p. 90.)

⁶⁶ Jankulov, pp. 22, 25. In order to prevent the flight of the disappointed settlers, police precautions also had to be taken. (Wellmann, p. 263.)

⁶⁷ Popović, Srbi, II, pp. 43-44; Jankulov, p. 23. The claim of Milivoje Erić that the Serbs, allegedly busy fighting for political and religious privileges did not realize the danger of colonization of aliens for a long time, is groundless. (Milivoje Erić, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Jugoslaviji 1918-1941*, Sarajevo 1958, p. 61.)

⁶⁸ Seewann, pp. 433, 436.

⁶⁹ *Tri stoljeća Belja*, p. 48; Reimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Geschichte der Deutschen in Karpathenländern*, III, Gotha 1911, pp. 189-204.

brought several thousands of settlers from South-West and Western Germany to the Banat over the next several years, some of them to the Military Border.⁷⁰ They joined in the work of draining the Banat swamps which had been going on ever since 1759. Another push-factor in 1770s was hunger that prevailed in Europe and which made the Banat attractive.⁷¹ In the Bačka the Germans from the same parts of Germany were colonized from 1749, throughout 1750s and 1760s in a number of Serbian villages in order to train the Serbs in assiduous agricultural work, teach them better agricultural techniques and – if possible – convert them to Roman-Catholicism and Germanize them.⁷²

The late-Theresian colonization (1772-1780) carried on the settlement of the preceding phase, in accordance with the doctrine that Austria should be an industrial country, with Hungary as her complementary agrarian counterpart.⁷³ In 1772 a new Impopulation Patent came into force. It foresaw measuring of the land so as to ascertain how many Germans should be settled in the existing Serbian and Romanian villages. These colonists were hailing from Silesia, Moravia and Bohemia, and they as experienced agriculturalists, had to teach the “nationalists” the better methods of tilling the land.⁷⁴ Together with them, other colonists were also recruited in Alsace and Lorraine, part of whom were French.⁷⁵ The 1770s were the time of large German colonization in the Bačka.⁷⁶

The next phase of colonization is called Josephinian, after Joseph II who introduced important changes into it. Under him, the land was redistributed in accordance with the size of the family, which, coupled with the purge of the administration of corrupt officials, contributed to better tax collection.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Joseph II fought against the system of advances which the colonists often were not able to pay back: in his opinion, they should have been either given everything free, or they should have brought everything along or they should have made it themselves. Patent of religious tolerance in 1781 for the first time enabled colonization of the Protestants, whom bigoted Maria Theresa would not tolerate in the new territories, and in 1785 the new Urbarial Law divided the District of Temeswar (the counties having been abolished earlier that year) into the hilly part meant for viticulture and mining, and the flat one reserved for agriculture. Dependant on this scheme, people were settled in accordance with their capabilities and skills.⁷⁸ Being a physiocrat, Joseph II paid more attention to the choice of the colonists and to building larger and better settlements than was the case under his mother. Josephinian settlements, partly Protestant, were created mostly

⁷⁰ One of the goals of the colonization of the invalids was to create a loyal Catholic element along the border. For that reason, part of the Serbian population was to be transferred deeper inland. (Roth, p. 45.) Among the settlers there were many Czech, Polish and other non-German families. (Cf. Felix Milleker, *Geschichte der Banater Militärgrenze 1764-1873*, Pančevo 1925, pp. 41-42; Idem, *Die Besiedlung der Banater Militärgrenze*, Bela Crkva 1926, p. 5; Jankulov, pp. 26-27, 30, 34.) Roth claims the majority of these colonists were Czechs. (Roth, p. 51.) Apart from tax exemptions during the first years, the taxes remained lower for the Germans than for the Serbs later too, since the government wanted to enable them to get on their feet as soon as possible (Johann Heinrich Schwicker, *Geschichte der österreichischen Militärgrenze*, Wien, Teschen 1883, p. 126.) Obviously, this was an additional reason that awoke Serbian discontent and envy.

⁷¹ Popović, *Srbi*, II, p. 43.

⁷² Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, p. 9; Jankulov, pp. 28-29.

⁷³ Jankulov, p. 29.

⁷⁴ Kaindl, *Geschichte*, pp. 215-219; Jankulov, p. 31.

⁷⁵ Jankulov, p. 32. (In that way three French villages were founded in the Yugoslav part of the Banat: St. Hubert, Charleville and Soltour; however, due to the immigration of Germans, they were gradually completely Germanized.)

⁷⁶ HWBGAD, I, p. 309. Kaindl's opinion that there had been no colonization in the Bačka at that time is obsolete. (Cf. Kaindl, *Geschichte*, p. 215.)

⁷⁷ Jankulov, pp. 34-35.

⁷⁸ Jankulov, pp. 36-37; Wolf, p. 47.

in the Bačka, as continuation of the existing Serbian villages.⁷⁹ Another feature of the Josephinian colonization was further settlement of Magyars in the Banat (including the Military Border), where they had been denied access previously.⁸⁰

In order to strengthen the Border in the Banat after the unsuccessful war with Turkey (1788-1790), it was decided that as addition to the existing ten villages between Kovin and Sakule, nine new ones be built. Thus the Germans from South-West Germany, Switzerland, Alsace and Lorraine founded evangelical Franzfeld in 1791,⁸¹ as the beginning of the Leopoldine colonization, which, however, due to the premature death of the Monarch did not last long.⁸² Despite that, colonization was continued also under the new ruler Francis II,⁸³ whose reign was the golden age of the private settlement.⁸⁴

Wars against Napoleon with their material efforts and devastations of which Hungary was spared, spurred further colonization of what was to become the Vojvodina. Colonization of German and other refugees in the Banat ignited Serbian dissatisfaction and rebellion in Pančevo, Bela Crkva and their surroundings. The Serbs considered they did more services in the defense of the Monarchy, and were dissatisfied that despite that they couldn't have an autonomous Vojvodina. The Viennese court for its part strove to strengthen the Military Border which supported the main war effort in the struggle against Napoleon, by colonizing not only the loyal Germans from the Tyrol and South-West Germany, but also Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians and others – regardless of their religion.⁸⁵ According to Borislav Jankulov, the intention was to create an imperial melting-pot of a kind (with the Germans as an integrating factor) with the aim of military and economic strengthening and equalizing of the Monarchy. Together with the Germans, the Slovaks were also settled in several places in the Banat and Syrmium Border.⁸⁶ Apart from the Border the Germans, but also the Romanians, started settling in the civilian part of the Banat on the estates of feudal lords of various nationality at that time.⁸⁷ At the same time, some colonists came to the Border in Syrmium, but also to the estates of the nobles there.⁸⁸ During the same period a smaller number of Germans came to the Bačka too.⁸⁹

⁷⁹ At this period Bujkes, Novi Vrbas, Torža, Crvenka, Filipovo, Sekić, Bački Jarak, Čonoplja, Mali Ker (Bačko Dobro Polje), Bački Brestovac, Bezdán, Stanišić, etc. were founded. (Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Bačkoj*, p. 16; Jankulov, pp. 40-42.)

⁸⁰ Jankulov, p. 50. This was probably the best proof that Joseph's aim was not Germanization, but just firmer ties between the polyglot population. (Paikert, p. 16.) Increased influx of Hungarians was partly due to larger private colonization, which gained momentum under Joseph II. (HWBGAD, I, p. 230.)

⁸¹ Felix Milleker, *Geschichte der Banater Militärgrenze*, p. 93; Idem, *Die Besiedlung*, p. 15.

⁸² During the reign of Leopold II Slovaks were settled in Novi Slankamen. (Slavko Gavrilović, *Naseljavanje Slovaka u Novi Slankamen* (1791), *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju*, 3, 1971.) At the same time, a number of refugee families from Serbia was settled, especially in the Military Border. (Slavko Gavrilović, *Seobe Srba u Habzburšku Monarhiju u drugoj polovini XVIII i početkom XIX veka*, in: *Seobe srpskog naroda od XIV do XX veka. Zbornik posvećen tistogodišnjici velike seobe Srba*, Beograd 1990.)

⁸³ At that time New Town in Osijek was founded and spreading of Germans in places in Syrmium started, that would last for the next hundred odd years. (Šenoa, pp. 6-7.)

⁸⁴ HWBGAD, I, p. 204.

⁸⁵ Milleker, *Geschichte der Banater Militärgrenze*, pp. 113-114; Kaindl, *Geschichte*, pp. 251-252.

⁸⁶ Jankulov, pp. 85-86; Bednarik, p. 44; Bosić, pp. 29-30. Among them was Kovačica (1803) which would become the largest Slovak centre in the Banat.

⁸⁷ Jankulov, pp. 75, 83-84, 95-96.

⁸⁸ Lazar Čelap, *Postanak Francenstala kao ratarskog naselja u Zemunu*, *Zadružni arhiv*, 7, 1959; Radoslav Marković, *Pravoslavna srpska parohija u Indiji krajem 1900*, *Sremski Karlovci 1901* (2nd ed.), pp. 6-7 (The latter author pays special attention to the ousting of the Serbian population by the German newcomers.); Kaindl, *Geschichte*, pp. 270-271; Slavko Gavrilović, *Naseljavanje Slovaka u sremska sela Sot i Bingulu godine 1835*, *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, knj. XII/1, 1969; Idem, *Privredne i društvene prilike u Indiji 1746-1849*, *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, 6, 1961, pp. 145-146; Idem, *Rusini u Šidu od 1803 do 1848. Prilog istoriji nacionalnih manjina u Vojvodini*, *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, 1, 1956; Valentin Oberkersch, *India. Deutsches Leben in Ostsyrmien 1825-1944*, *Stuttgart 1977*, pp. 48-55;

The colonization of South Hungary resulted from the need to use in the best way the vast territories liberated from the Turks. The native population was on the one hand too sparse, and on the other, unsteady, cattle-breeding and unskilled at agriculture. For that reason colonization was needed. People of various nationalities, including the Serbs, took part in it. The Germans were favoured, but above all for two reasons: on the one hand, they had surplus population, and on the other, their economic prowess enabled them to withstand the competition even of much better agriculturists than were the Serbs and Romanians at that time.⁹⁰ Colonization was neither directed from one centre, nor did all involved have the same goals. It is certain that it was primarily economic, i.e. economic and military in character.⁹¹ Economic criteria were practically decisive for private colonization, which pursued only economic gains, disregarding broader interests.⁹² As we have seen, the state colonization, even when it had been under the influence of the nationalist thinking, gave priority to the economic component which was much more important for the state as a whole.⁹³

Ethnic considerations were present in the colonization, but they did not play a major role: quite simply, military and economic exigencies couldn't be brought into line with national preferences of certain organizers of the colonization. When the colonists of a desired nationality were not available in sufficient number, one had to make do with what was available. It should also be kept in mind that different factors who were executing the colonization, had different national preferences. Moreover, one should not forget that colonists of various nationality possessed different qualities and that they were given roles accordingly in the great task of colonization: Serbs were better as warriors and border-guards, Germans and Slovaks as agriculturists. To claim that the colonization was aimed against this or that people, as one can still find in the modern literature on the subject,⁹⁴ is one-sided, to say the least, since it neglects all those various factors which had been directing the colonization, changing their preferences depending on time, place and needs.

Jankulov, p. 85; Hermann Haller, *Die Entstehung der deutschen Tochttersiedlungen in Syrmien*, *Der Auslandsdeutsche*, XX, 4, 1937, p. 234.

⁸⁹ They settled in Novi Sivec, Čib, Deronje etc. (Jankulov, p. 82.) In 1829 privileges for the colonists were abolished, so that from then on, only well-heeled individuals able to finance their own emigration settled down. (Plavšić, p. 26.)

⁹⁰ In the USA German farmers competed successfully for 200 years with English and Scandinavian ones, and were reputed as the most successful. (Cf. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *German-American Achievements. 400 Years of Contribution to America*, Bowie 2001, p. 29.) These qualities were well known in Europe, so that German peasants and artisans were coveted also by other European rulers. In 18th century German colonists were wooed by Britain, the Netherlands, Spain, France and Russia, as well as, the Habsburgs' greatest rival, Prussia. (Schünemann, pp. 235-242; Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Osteuropa*, p. 27; *Tausend Jahre Nachbarschaft. Rußland und die Deutschen*, München 1988, pp. 120-129; Benjamin Pinkus, *Ingeborg Fleischhauer, Die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion. Geschichte einer nationale Minderheit im 20. Jahrhundert*, Baden-Baden 1987, pp. 33-41; Ingeborg Fleischhauer, *Die Deutschen im Zarenreich*, Stuttgart 1986.)

⁹¹ HWBGAD, I, p. 220; Jordan, p. 22; Mesaroš, p. 7; Andreas Dammang, *Die deutsche Landwirtschaft im Banat und in der Batschka*, Novi Sad 1931, p. 10; Ervin Pamleny (ed.), *Histoire de la Hongrie des origines a nos jours*, Budapest 1974, p. 199; Paikert, p. 16; Wolf, p. 32; Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, 8-10.

⁹² This can best be seen from the lists of settlements, nationality of their inhabitants and that of the landowners who had colonized them. (Jankulov, o.c.; Adam Vereš (ed.), *Slovenska evanjelicka kerestanska cirkev aušburskeho vyzmania v Kral. Juhoslovenskom v slove a v obrazoch*, Petrovac 1930; B.M. Drobñjaković, *Feliks Mileker, Letopisí opština Podunavske oblasti, Pančevo 1929*. Other examples see in: Branislav Bukurov, *Naselja u južnom Banatu*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za prirodne nauke*, 39, 1970, pp. 35, 57; Miloš M. Ratković, *Mramorak. Geografski prikaz sela i bliže okoline*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za prirodne nauke*, 24, 1960, p. 90; Milutin Perović, *Nacionalni pokret kod Slovaka od kraja 18. do početka 20. veka*, *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Vojvodine* 1981, Novi Sad 1983, p. 53; HWBGAD, I, p. 231.

⁹³ Cf. the example of Grassalkovich.

⁹⁴ Bukurov, *Stanovništvo*, p. 30; *Istorija srpskog naroda* (henceforth: ISN), knj. IV, tom 1. *Srbi u XVIII veku*, Beograd [1982?], p. 214; Toša Iskruljev, *o Vojvodini i njenoj kolonizaciji* (preštampano iz »Zastave«), Novi Sad 1925, p. 11; Vera Milutinović, *Srbi i Nemci u Vojvodini*, *Etnološki pregled*, 4, 1962, p. 36.

The fact is that land and houses were taken away from the Serbs and given to the Germans, or the Germans ousted them from their villages and pastures.⁹⁵ One should however keep in mind that the Serbs were very movable, semi-nomads, whose houses were not meant to last long anyway. Moreover, for the houses and lands taken away from them, they received compensation and privileges like those for the Germans, and in some cases they received more land as compensation than had been taken away from them.⁹⁶ There were also cases when colonization was organized especially for the Serbs.⁹⁷ Sometimes the Serbs (and Romanians) took over vacated German houses,⁹⁸ and sometimes the Germans were resettled in favour of the Serbs.⁹⁹ All this goes to show that the colonization of the Vojvodina had been a very complex process in which many factors, phenomena and processes intermingled and clashed, making a simplified judgment impossible.

What is certain is that the settlement of the Vojvodina during 18th and in early 19th centuries has left lasting consequences in at least four ways. These consequences were felt until well into 20th century, and can partly still be felt today. First was the ethnic make-up of the province, which as we shall presently see, did not change significantly, despite colonization and immigration during the rest of 19th century. Second was the ethnically tinged social structure reflected through the landownership patterns and professional division. In connection with this, it can be said that the colonization and its consequences have left a lasting mark on inter-ethnic relations: tensions between Serbian cattle-breeders and the newly come, privileged and economically versatile German, but also Slovak agriculturists, religious conflicts with the Romanians, clash with the Roman-Catholic Church, Hungarian nobility, and with the Hungarian state (which supported Magyar colonists, especially in 19th century), religious and social tensions with the Uniate Ruthenians, diverging ways of life and world views etc. coupled with the events which they produced through 18th and 19th centuries, determined to a high degree the stance of the Serbs and the Yugoslav state towards national minorities colonized in the region at this period. Finally, colonization of Southern Hungary by German, Slovak and Hungarian populations, made possible their partial spill-over into Syrmium and Slavonia (to the neighbouring parts already in 18th century) in greater numbers in 19th century when both in the Vojvodina and in Slavonia and Syrmium a necessary combination of push and pull factors occurred. It was partly a successive transfer of the population: had there been no colonization of the Vojvodina, there would have been almost no settlement in Slavonia - at least not in that proportions and from that direction. For all these reasons, the importance of the colonization of the Vojvodina in 18th and early 19th century for the nationality question in the northern parts of Yugoslavia had been just as large as its importance for the development of the economy and civilization in those parts in general.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Seewann, pp. 421, 436, 438; V. Milutinović, p. 37; Lackner, p. 79; ISN, VI/1, p. 214; Jordan, pp. 89-90; Roth, pp. 45, 47; HWBGAD, I, pp. 225, 306; Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, p. 12. Jankulov claims even the colonization of the Germans by Hungarian nobles was leveled against the compactness of the Serbian people! (Jankulov, p. 84.)

⁹⁶ Roth, p. 47; Lackner, p. 80; HWBGAD, I, p. 308; Wolf, pp. 45-46.

⁹⁷ Such was the case in Bela Crkva and its vicinity after the abolishment of the Military Border on the Moriš 1751-1752. (Rudolf Steger, *Bela Crkva u XVIII i XIX veku. Komorski i vojnograničarski period*, Novi Sad, Bela Crkva 1982, p. 22.) For the end of 18th century, see: Gavrilović, *Seoba Serba*.

⁹⁸ That was the case in Southern Banat after the catastrophe 1737-1739. (Lackner, pp. 80-82.)

⁹⁹ This was happening especially in the Military Border during the reign of Joseph II. (Roth, pp. 170, 172.) On the occasion of resettlement of the Germans and settlement of the Serbs, the authorities made sure to build houses for the colonists and give them other privileges. (Lazar Čelap, *Prilog proučavanju kolonizacije Vojvodine krajem XVIII veka*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za društvene nauke*, 29, 1981, pp. 80, 86.)

¹⁰⁰ Not enough has been written about the latter aspect of the colonization, and unfortunately for lack of space, this author too cannot dwell on all those technical and cultural achievements brought along or created on the spot by the immigrant population. (Cf. Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, pp. 8-9; Zlatoje Martinov,

The colonization in Hungary in the second half of 19th century had, on the one hand, the characteristics of an internal colonization, whereas it bears the stamp of the statist ethnic engineering in the service of the Magyar national cause, on the other. At that time, the territory of the present-day Vojvodina was partly still receiving immigrants, but as the century drew to an end, internal migrations and “export” of the surplus (above all German, Slovak and Hungarian) population into Syrmium, Slavonia and Bosnia became more common.

If one considers the German colonization in the Bačka in 19th century, one can see that it was almost exclusively internal: surplus population from older colonies moves into other places, or founds new, but not very numerous, villages.¹⁰¹ The colonization of the Germans by the Hungarian nobility in the Banat is perceptible in the first decades of 19th century, but it was nothing like so big as in the previous century when unpopulated land still abounded. In the second half of 19th century it stopped altogether. As for the colonization of the Hungarians in the Banat, it began again after the *Ausgleich* and the abolishment of the Military Border in the last third of the century. Big landowners were the first to start by settling agricultural labourers on their estates. As the nationalist and Magyarizing trend of the Hungarian state policy gained momentum, the government strove to facilitate the colonization of the loyal Magyar and partly German element by juridical measures and financial aid through parastatist banks. Thus Tisza Kalmanfalva (Budisava), Mali Stapar and Svilojevo came into being, whereas several smaller groups were settled in the Šajkaška in order to separate the Serbs in the Bačka from those in the Banat. For the same reasons, the Szekelys from Bukowina were colonized in Hertelendifalva (now Vojlovica) – where a group of Germans and Slovaks had already sought refuge from the flood - and in Skorenovac and Đurđevo in the Southern Banat.¹⁰² In 1868-1869 foundation of seven German, Slovak and Magyar villages in the South Banat Marsh was tried, but the flood destroyed three and damaged one of them in 1869. The Hungarian government wanted to use that scheme for Magyarization of that “nationally endangered area”, since the non-Magyar settlers came from the surrounding Banat villages and were people of already dormant national consciousness.¹⁰³ Hungarian national colonization proved in the last resort unsuccessful: the Magyar powers-that-be wanted to conquer the Vojvodina by numbers and not by economic strength.¹⁰⁴

As for Slavonia, we found German settlements there ever since the last decades of 18th century, but in small numbers.¹⁰⁵ In the early 19th century, together with the villages already mentioned above, Novo Selo by Vinkovci and Franztal near Zemun were founded.¹⁰⁶ Unlike

Nemački uticaj na ishranu Srba u Banatu, Pančevo 1997; Nives Rittig-Beljak, Švapski kulinarij – dodir kultura u Hrvatskoj, Zagreb 2002.)

¹⁰¹ Jankulov, p. 82.

¹⁰² M. Mitrović, pp. 208-210; Jankulov, pp. 87-92; Bukurov, Naselja, p. 20.

¹⁰³ M. Mitrović, pp. 207-208; Jovan Erdeljanović, Srbi u Banatu. Naselja i stanovništvo, Novi Sad 1992 (2nd ed.), p. 19; Jankulov, pp. 92-94; Gaćeša, Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu, pp. 25-26.

¹⁰⁴ Erić, p. 61; Gaćeša, Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu, p. 26.

¹⁰⁵ Retfala near Osijek is a case in point, where the counts Pejačević settled the Germans along with the Hungarians. Other examples were Sarvaš, colonized in 1770 by count Palffy, Donji Miholjac, as well as the state colonies Kula and Poreč (Josephsfeld and Josephsdorf) from the time of Joseph II. From the same time dates the evangelical settlement of Nova Pazova in the Military Border. Apart from that, there were private settlements along the Drava in Kapan and Josipovac, as well as several others. Some Germans settled also around the town of Đakovo. (Georg Wild, *Deutsche Siedlungen in Syrmien, Slawonien und Bosnien*, Südostdeutsches Archiv, XIV, 1971, p. 150; Valentin Oberkersch, *Die Deutschen in Syrmien, Slawonien und Bosnien bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Donauschwaben*, Stuttgart 1972, pp. 17-19; Vladimir Geiger, *Nijemci u Đakovu i Đakovštini*, Zagreb 2001, pp. 13-17; Hans Kühn, *Das Deutschtum in Poscheganer Kessel*, *Der Auslandsdeutsche*, XX, 4, 1937, pp. 208-220; Wilhelm Sattler, *Die Slawonische Drauniederung als deutsche Volksinsellandschaft*, in: E. Meynen (ed.), *Das Deutschtum in Slawonien und Syrmien*. Landes- und Volkskunde, Leipzig 1942, pp. 171, 215-216; Ingeborg Kellermann, *Josefsdor (Josipovac). Lebensbild eines deutschen Dorfes in Slawonien*, in: Meynen (ur.), pp. 503-504.)

¹⁰⁶ Kaindl, *Geschichte*, p. 270; Wild, p. 150.

the Vojvodina, Slavonia was more densely populated already in 18th century, so that the need for colonization was not that great there.¹⁰⁷ For that reason, the second larger influx of the Germans, Hungarians and others started only in the second half of 19th century.¹⁰⁸ Several factors determined that. On the one hand, the revolution of 1848/49 liberated the peasants and made them more movable. (This was especially important for the Hungarians, who, unlike the Germans, had mainly been serfs.) On the other hand, the land in the Vojvodina and central Hungary had already been divided, whereas the number of inhabitants was increasing. Together with these changes, Hungary was hit by an economic crisis caused by transition from feudal to capitalist economy in 1870s, with concomitant difficulties of the former Border guards who found it hard to adapt to civilian life and economy. This caused great indebtedness of the peasants who were increasingly more often compelled to sell their land at low prices. At the same time, big landowners wanted to catch up with the market economy of the time and increase their revenues. This opened wide the door for German, Hungarian and other peasants who jumped at the opportunity to buy for comparatively little money they got for their land in their places of origin, two or three times more.¹⁰⁹ Already in 1860s group of Germans came to several Slavonian manors under contract,¹¹⁰ and during those years a number of villages in Syrmium got their German inhabitants.¹¹¹ Settlement of the Germans, Magyars, Czechs, and of much smaller number of Ruthenians on estates of the nobility continued until the beginning of 20th century, and in some cases even after the First World War.¹¹² Buying land from large landowners or impoverished Croat or Serb peasants throughout 1870s and 1880s, Germans and Hungarians settled down in a number of villages in Syrmium and Slavonia, becoming gradually the majority population in some of them (Banovci, Gašinci, Mrzović, Slatnik, Tomašanci, Pisak, Vučevci, Krčedin, Bečmen, Beočin, Bežanija, Surčin).¹¹³ However, it remained typical of Slavonia that the newcomers founded

¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, certain colonization of non-South-Slav populations took place in Slavonia and Croatia proper. Thus the bishop of Đakovo Antun Mandić colonized some Germans in the town and manor of Đakovo. Germans have been coming continuously in smaller numbers to that area until the middle of 19th century. (Geiger, pp. 17-36; Kaindl, *Geschichte*, pp. 270-271; Erwin Boehm, *Das Deutschtum und seine kulturgeographische Leistung in den vier slawonischen Bezirken Diakowar, Poscheg, Neu-Gradischka, Brod*, in: Meznen (ed.)) Groups of Czechs were coming to Croatia (the Varaždin Military District) and partly to Slavonia, to the surroundings of Bjelovar, Grubišino Polje, Veliki Zdenci etc, as well as into some Croatian villages, from the last decades of 18th and in the first decades of 19th century. (Vidosava Nikolić, *Prilog proučavanju kolonizacije stanovništva Češke i Moravske na području Varaždinskog generalata i Slavonije 1824-1830*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za društvene nauke*, 46, 1967; *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* (henceforth: EJ), 3, Zagreb 1984, p. 263.) Slow influx of smaller groups of Czechs would continue until 1890s, chiefly around Daruvar, Slavonska Požega and Kutina. (EJ, 3, p. 264.) Similar was the influx of the Germans into Požeška dolina and the valley of the Ilova. (Tomislav Wittenberg, *Doslavljanje Nijemaca u središnji dio Požeške doline*, *VDG Jahrbuch/Godišnjak Njemačke narodnosne zajednice*, Osijek 2002, pp. 261-269; Egon Lendl, *Das Deutschtum in der Ilowasenke*, in: Maynen (ed.), p. 19.)

¹⁰⁸ Lendl, *Die Stellung*, p. 204.

¹⁰⁹ Geiger, pp. 43-46; Sattler, p. 171; Josip Gujaš, »Nacionalna odbrana« Mađara u Slavoniji na prijelomu XIX i XX stoljeća u okviru Slavonske akcije, *Historijski zbornik*, XXIII-XXIV, 1970-1971, pp. 54-60, 64; Oberkersch, *Die Deutschen*, pp. 22-23; Haller, *Die Entstehung der deutschen Tochttersiedlungen*, p. 240.

¹¹⁰ Antunovac, *Blagorodovac*, Hrastovac by Pakrac, Sokolovac, Đulaves, etc. (Lendl, *Das Deutschtum*, p. 20; Oberkersch, *Die Deutschen*, p. 25; Sattler, p. 218; Boehm, p. 304.)

¹¹¹ Haller, *Die Entstehung, der deutschen Tochttersiedlungen*, p. 245; Kaindl, *Geschichte*, pp. 271-272.

¹¹² Oberkersch, pp. 26-30; Geiger, p. 49; Haller, *Die Entstehung der deutschen Tochttersidelungen*, pp. 237-240; Wild, p. 151; Lendl, *Das Deutschtum*, p. 20; Sattler, p. 220.

¹¹³ Geiger, p. 49; Oberkersch, *Die Deutschen*, p. 33; Šenoa, pp. 8-11; Wild, p. 151; Laszlo Szita, *Identitätsprobleme der Magyaren in Kroatien*, in: Gerhard Seewann (ed.), *Minderheitenfrage in Südosteuropa. Beiträge der internationalen Konferenz: The Minority Question in Historical Perspective 1900-1990*, Inter-University Center, Dubrovnik, 8-14 April 1991, München 1992, p. 178. The Hungarians reached a majority in

even fewer new villages than in the Vojvodina, and usually settled down in the already existing Croat or Serbian ones, remaining a minority, or even assimilating to Croats (in places where just a few families settled down).¹¹⁴ Just like previously in the Bačka and the Banat, conflicts with the natives occurred. Different ways of life, disputes over property, and a feeling of being in danger from the local Slavic population have led to conflicts which sometimes ended up in physical violence.¹¹⁵

Because they were scattered, and because of their smaller numbers (absolutely and relatively speaking) the German and other colonists there never became so important a factor as in the Vojvodina, and because of their relative poverty in the beginning, smaller number of ethnically unified villages, and their shorter stay in the new homeland, until the foundation of Yugoslavia, they did not manage to strengthen economically as their co-nationals in the places of their origin. Nevertheless, they did become a numerical, political and economic factor not to be neglected.

Almost simultaneously with the colonization of Slavonia, began settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was the last phase in the colonization of non-Yugoslav populations in the territory that would become Yugoslav. It was the smallest in scope, economical importance and impact it had left on the ethnic make-up of the province. Just like the previously described ones, it too has been a combination of state and private colonization, and more or less representatives of the same peoples took part in it as in the earlier colonizations of the Habsburg lands, with the addition of Italians (who played but an ephemeral role in the colonization of the Banat in 18th century) and some Dutchmen. Unlike the colonization of Slavonia, where the bulk of the settlers came from the Habsburg Empire, colonization of Bosnia had a specific feature in as much as a considerable number of colonists were subjects of foreign states (Germany and Russia).

Although the colonization of Bosnia was basically an enterprise connected with the Austro-Hungarian rule in that country, it had actually started before the Habsburg domination was imposed. The first to come were German Trappist monks in 1869 who had bought some land near Banja Luka and built a monastery Mary Star (Maria Stern, Marija Zvijezda), with accompanying economic facilities: a brewery, a dairy, brick-works, a mill, a saw-mill, a power station etc.¹¹⁶ After the Habsburg occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878, they launched a campaign to bring in Catholic German settlers.¹¹⁷ The provincial government of Bosnia-Herzegovina was at first not well disposed towards such projects, since colonists could settle down only on state-owned land, which was not ample. The unclear questions of possession of land that Turkey had left behind and expensive private lands, complicated the affair further.¹¹⁸ As the number of prospective colonists grew, the Government had to issue Regulations for the Colonization in 1879 which foresaw free grants of the state-owned lands and tax exemptions from five to ten years, free wood for heating and building etc. The goal was to attract foreign peasants who would teach the natives more progressive agricultural

twenty-five villages around Slatina and Virovitica, but many emigrated from them after the First World War. (Sattler, p. 209.)

¹¹⁴ Oberkersch, *Die Deutschen*, p. 33; Wild, p. 151; Szita, p. 176. The Czechs, being Slavs and living scattered were especially endangered by assimilation. (Sattler, p. 209.)

¹¹⁵ Geiger, p. 50; Oberkersch, *Die Deutschen*, pp. 34-35.

¹¹⁶ To be sure, not all these objects were built right in the beginning, but rather after long years of patient and diligent work. (Cf. Margareta Matijević, Franz Pfanner (1825-1909) – ili kratko o doprinosu njemačkih trapista gospodarskom razvitku banjalučkog kraja, *VDG Jahrbuch/Godišnjak Njemačke narodnosne zajednice*, Osijek 2002, p. 281-283.)

¹¹⁷ Hans Maier, *Die deutsche Siedlungen in Bosnien*, Stuttgart 1924, pp. 9-12.

¹¹⁸ Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kolonizacija stranih seljaka u Bosnu i Hercegovinu za vrijeme austrougarske uprave*, Istorijski časopis, knj. XXXVI, 1989, p. 122.

methods and who would be a loyal support to the state authorities.¹¹⁹ As the situation in the country stabilized, the interest of the Government for colonization grew. At first, economic motives were most important,¹²⁰ but later on, the political ones started to get the upper hand.¹²¹ Austro-Hungarian Finance Minister, in charge of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Benjamin Kállay, gave an order in 1893, that together with economic considerations, in colonization of districts of Banja Luka, Gradiška, and Kostajnica, one should keep in mind the need to intersperse the disloyal Serbian elements with foreign colonists, so as to more easily keep the first in check.¹²² The disposition of colonies proves indeed that the goal was to shatter Serbian ethnic compactness.¹²³

And yet, the first colonies were founded on private land by buying, leasing or entering relations of serfdom. In 1879 the first group of Germans from Germany came to Brezici near Gradiška. Together with later comers, they founded Windhorst (Nova Topola), named after a German Catholic politician.¹²⁴ The next to be founded were further Catholic settlements Rudolfstal (later: Aleksandrovac) by Banja Luka, Šibovska, Kalenderovci Turski, Polje, Sitneš, Opsiječko, Trošelje, Franz-Josefsfeld etc.¹²⁵ Although the Government was not willing to allow settlement on state-owned lands before the title deeds were issued, occasionally it made exceptions.¹²⁶ The situation with granting state aid was similar, due to the lack of funds.¹²⁷

After the cadastre was made and the work on issuing title-deeds made headway, the Common Finance Ministry issued directives for colonization, with principles that were to be upheld in the process. Local and foreign candidates were eligible. Foreigners could get between 10 and 12 ha, but were obliged to bring at least 600 forints with them. The land was first to be rented, in order to clear it for cultivation; if the lessees proved reliable and politically impeccable through ten years, they would become owners of their land gratuitously. As previously, they were given free building wood.¹²⁸ In order to make the colonization palatable for the natives, the Bosnian government claimed it started settling foreigners only after the colonization of the local Muslim population had failed – which did not correspond fully with the truth.¹²⁹ During 1890s, which were the golden age of the state

¹¹⁹ Kraljačić, p. 113; W[i]ly Oehler, *Deutsche Kolonisation in Bosnien*, Kulturwart, XXIX, 13, 1918, p. 2; Fritz Hoffmann, Josef Zorn (eds.), *Franz-Josefsfeld – Schönborn. Geschichte einer deutschen Gemeinde in Bosnien*, Freilassing 1963, p. 12; Anton Burda, *Poljski naseljenici u Bosni*, Zbornik krajiških muzeja, III, 1969, p. 186.

¹²⁰ Ferdo Hauptmann, *Regulisanje zemljišnog posijeda u Bosni i Hercegovini i počeci naseljavanja stranih seljaka u doba austrougarske vladavine*, Godišnjak Društva istoričara BiH, XVI, 1965, p. 160.

¹²¹ Adnan Busuladžić, *Pojava grkokatoličkog stanovništva u Bosni i Hercegovini (od 1879 do najnovijeg doba)*, Časopis za suvremenu povijest, XXXV, 1, 2003, p. 171. Thus the plan of colonizing Tyrolians in Herzegovina as a living wall against Montenegro came to being. It was eventually dropped because of complicated agrarian relations and for fear of Montenegrin reaction. (Kraljačić, p. 114.)

¹²² Kraljačić, p. 115. In the case of Ruthenians, the authorities wanted to weaken their irredenta in Galicia by scattering them all over the Monarchy. (Cf. Vaso Strehaljuk, *Ukrajinci u Bosni*, Godišnjak Društva istoričara Vojvodine, Novi Sad 1978, p. 78.)

¹²³ Šćepan Grdić, *Kolonizacija u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Pregled (Sarajevo), 6, 1912, p. 371.

¹²⁴ Hauptmann, p. 158; Kraljačić, p. 116.

¹²⁵ Vladimir Geiger, *Bosna u folksdojčerskoj istoriografiji i publicistici*, *Bosna franciscana*, IX, 15, 2001, pp. 230-231; Wild, p. 152; Dušan Drljača, *Kolonizacija i život Poljaka u jugoslovenskim zemljama. Od kraja XIX do sredine XX veka*, Beograd 1985, pp. 26-27.

¹²⁶ As for instance in the case of colonization of Italians in Mahovljani in 1883. (Kraljačić, p. 117.)

¹²⁷ Mahovljani and Franz-Josefsfeld got help nevertheless. (Hauptmann, p. 165; Kraljačić, p. 117.)

¹²⁸ Kraljačić, p. 118.

¹²⁹ Hauptmann, p. 115; Wild, p. 153; Maier, p. 17. However, the locals did take part in colonization, and indeed they received somewhat more land than the immigrants (231.646, *dunum* compared to 218.923), but the number of local families who received land was almost four times larger than that of the colonists'. (Grdić, p. 374.) Hauptmann claims the colonization of foreigners was more successful than that of the natives. (Hauptmann, p. 152.)

colonization,¹³⁰ German colonies of Branjevo, Dugo Polje, Dubrava (Königsfeld), Vrbaška (Karlsdorf), Prošara, Korače, Glogovac (Schützberg) and others were founded.¹³¹

After Kállay's death in 1903, the number of colonists dwindled perceptibly, and in 1905 the colonization of foreigners was brought to a stop altogether – ostensibly in favour of the colonization of the locals. The reasons for the end of the colonization were the unresolved property rights problems¹³² and the resistance on the part of the natives who demanded not only that the colonization be stopped, but also that the settlers go back where they came from.¹³³ According to the official data, until 1905 thirty-eight colonies were founded with 15.340 settlers on 20.085 ha. Among these colonies (which the powers-that-be wanted to make mono-ethnic in order to prevent their assimilation) there were 12 Polish,¹³⁴ 11 German, 4 Czech, 4 Polish-Ruthenian, 3 Ruthenian, 2 Italian, 1 Hungarian and 1 Slovenian.¹³⁵ Eventually the total number of state colonies was 54, but only 12 out of them were German.¹³⁶

As for the rural colonies in Bosnia-Herzegovina, because of the bad terrain, short existence, small state aid, poor roads, resistance on the part of their Yugoslav neighbours etc, they never reached the degree of prosperity of the villages in the Bačka, the Banat, Hungary proper or Germany from where most of the colonists had come from.¹³⁷ For these reasons, their influence on their surroundings remained limited: their neighbours were not always willing to accept the more advanced agricultural techniques – unknown also to part of the colonists themselves, by the way.¹³⁸ Furthermore, the colonists looked down on the natives,¹³⁹ whereas the latter despised the newcomers, calling them “Swabians” and “carpet-beggars”.¹⁴⁰

Large part of the colonists in Bosnia were not rural, but urban skilled labour force in industry, which started developing gradually under Austro-Hungarian rule,¹⁴¹ as well as numerous officials and officers.¹⁴² This population did not show so much steadiness as the rural one, so that its larger part left Bosnia-Herzegovina after the break-up of the Habsburg Monarchy.

The colonization of Bosnia-Herzegovina was not crowned by a success. Only a smaller number of settlers was colonized and they did not alter the ethnic make-up of the

¹³⁰ Cf. Hauptmann, p. 151; Maier, p. 17.

¹³¹ Maier, pp. 19-22; Wild, p. 153.

¹³² Hauptmann, pp. 153-154, 157.

¹³³ Hauptmann, p. 153; Kraljačić, p. 119; Drljača, p. 43.

¹³⁴ It was the Polish who were the most numerous colonists, and not the German and Ruthenian ones, as claimed by Cvijić. (Cf. Drljača, p. 17.)

¹³⁵ Kraljačić, p. 120.

¹³⁶ HWBGAD, I, p. 498.

¹³⁷ The claim of Tomislav Kraljačić that all Germans have founded exemplary estates cannot be accepted. (Kraljačić, p. 121. Cf. Maier, p. 39; F. Sommer, *Fern vom Land der Ahnen. Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Gemeinde Schutzberg in Bosnien 1895-1942. Notvolle Heimkehr. Das Schicksal der Bosniendeutschen 1942-1960*, s.l. [1960], pp. 20, 32.) It has only relative congruency, dependant on place and only if the life of the majority of the Germans is compared to the abysmal poverty of the native population. (Lech Pazdzierski, *Maria Dobrowska i Jugoslavija*, *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, XVI/2, 1973, p. 615.)

¹³⁸ So for instance, the authorities were dissatisfied with the Ruthenians, of whom they thought they stood at even lower economic level than did the natives. (Kraljačić, p. 122.) Part of the Italians from Tyrol also turned to be unserious. (Hauptmann, p. 168.)

¹³⁹ This picture was however, not universal: the Poles got along well enough with the Croats, but they disliked the Serbs. (Pazdzierski, p. 615; Drljača, p. 16.) The reasons for this lied probably in religious difference. The claim of the Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia that the Poles and the natives got along well, needs to be qualified accordingly. (EJ, 6, Zagreb 1965, p. 537.)

¹⁴⁰ Kraljačić, p. 124. The privileges the colonists enjoyed, were certainly the cause of animosity too. (Cf. Drljača, p. 19; Oehler, p. 2; Hoffmann, Zorn (eds.), p. 16.)

¹⁴¹ These colonists came to the new budding industrial centres such as Žepče, Zenica, Zavidovići, Sarajevo, Mostar etc. (Maier, p. 24; Geiger, *Bosna*, p. 220.)

¹⁴² Drljača, pp. 7, 24-25.

population – except in some places on the local level. Economically predominantly weak¹⁴³ (although they often seemed prosperous enough compared to the surrounding native population), the colonies were suitable neither for the economic enlightening nor the political role assigned them by the powers-that-be of the Habsburg Empire. Grave storms of history would almost completely wipe out the results of the rural Habsburg colonization in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the next few decades. The urban colonist population proved even weaker: it either emigrated after 1918, or, if it had caught root itself earlier, started assimilating, ultimately disappearing as a minority population in the process. Still, because of their more numerous co-nationals in other parts of Yugoslavia, and their mother-countries (Austria, and particularly Germany) who played a role in the Yugoslav foreign policy, German colonists in Bosnia-Herzegovina were not completely insignificant even during the inter-war period.

Chapter One

The Settlement

German settlements in the territory that would eventually form parts of Yugoslavia were scattered in various parts and came to being over centuries of changeful history that spanned the time between the Middle Ages and the early 20th century. Their common feature was that they were always a fruit of more or less planned colonization, organized and sponsored that the powers-that-be. However, it would be wrong to conclude that the aim of those who had organized the settlement (the Church, aristocracy, the Viennese Court) were nationalistic or aimed against some particular nationality. As we shall presently see, economic and strategic factors were decisive in all cases of German colonization, with nationalist ones playing a subordinate role, and only in some smaller cases.

The ethnic enclave of the Kočevje-Germans (Gottscheer) certainly cannot aspire to autochthonousness in their homeland, but it was, by all means, the oldest non-Yugoslav ethnic community in the Yugoslav territory which survived until the foundation of the common South-Slav state and of which it was at least approximately known when it came into being. It would not be incorrect to say that writing of the Slovenian and German historiography about Kočevje, together with their writing about the Slovene minority of Carinthia, is the most blatant example of a continued national struggle of these two peoples through scholarship and publicistics. The reasons are to be found in the bitterness with which intellectuals on both sides waged that struggle since mid-19th century, as well as in the fact that Kočevje had been an ethnic island deep within the Slovenian national territory. The latter fact determined to a large degree the attitude of both parties concerning the importance of the enclave, which was to a large extent reflected in writings about it.

The German colonization in Slovenia, of which the enclave of the Kočevje covered the largest continuous territory, must be seen as part of integration of the Slovenian lands into the broader structures of Germanic states since 9th century B.C.. Among other features of that integration was the settlement of German peasant and burgher colonists into the, until then, predominantly Slovene territory, which caused Germanization in some areas. This, however, was a spontaneous result of the historical development. The present-day ethnographical border between the two peoples stabilized more or less by the 15th century, although the Slovenes suffered some territorial losses later on too.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Wily Oehler has noticed that the private colonies often fared better than the state ones, the latter being in unsuitable places. (Oehler, p. 2.)

¹⁴⁴ Milko Kos, *Kolonizacija i germanizacija slovenske zemlje*, *Historijski zbornik*, IV, 1-4, 1951, pp. 9-19. The article deals with German settlement within and without the present-day German territory, the latter laying beyond the scope of our work.

In geographical terms Kočevje comprises the territory of 800 km², to the North-West of Novo Mesto, between the rivers Krka in the North and the Kupa in the South, and from the vineyards of Bela Krajina in the East to the highland of Central Carniola behind the Loški potok and Prezid in the West.¹⁴⁵ This area, which used to have somewhat broader confines, was settled with German peasants¹⁴⁶ by the counts of Ortenburg in the 14th century.¹⁴⁷ Both German and Slovenian authors agree on this. However, the time of settlement is concerned, opinions differ, along the national lines.¹⁴⁸ Thus, the Slovenian authors claim main colonization took place between 1349 and 1363,¹⁴⁹ whereas the German ones strive to prove that as early as 1330s the number of Germans there had been considerable, since the information is preserved that in 1339 they asked to have a priest.¹⁵⁰ It is less contentious that the colonists came from Carinthia and Tyrol, and later on also from Thuringia, although the Slovenian authors do not miss the opportunity to point out that the Slovenes from Carinthia were also among the settlers.¹⁵¹

Opinions diverge most on the question whether Kočevje was inhabited or not at the time of the German colonization. The answer to this question, logically calls for an answer to the following pertinent question: was it an ethnic island, as claimed by the German authors, or was it an ethnically mixed region, as insisted by the Slovenian authors?¹⁵² The German authors claim Kočevje had been uninhabited when the Germans came.¹⁵³ On the other hand, their Slovenian counterparts claim it had been inhabited by Slovenes, albeit sparsely.¹⁵⁴ It is interesting to note how both parties try to document their respective theses adducing place-names, proving that they are predominantly Slovene or German. From those data, they deduct who had founded the given village. Another method for proving primacy used by some Slovenian authors, is using of folk costumes – which are, according to them, completely

¹⁴⁵ Kočevsko. Izgubljena kulturna dediščina kočevskih Nemcev/Gottschee. Das verlorene Kulturerbe der Gottscheer Deutschen, Ljubljana 1993, p. 14.

¹⁴⁶ Hugo Grothe, Deutsche Sprachinsel Gottschee in Slowenien. Ein Beitrag zur Deutschtumskunde des europäischen Südostens, Münster in Westfalen 1931, p. 18; Herbert Otterstädt, Gottschee. Verlorene Heimat deutscher Waldbauer, Freilassing [1962], pp. 6-8; Idem, Gottschee. Eine deutsche Volksinsel im Südosten, Graz 1941, p. 9; Ivan Simonič, Zgodovina kočevskega ozemlja, in: Kočevski zbornik. Razprave o Kočevski in njenih ljudeh, Ljubljana 1939, pp. 51-58; Jubiläums-Festbuch der Gottscheer-600-Jahresfeier. Aus Anlaß des 600-jährigen Bestandes des Gottscheer Landes, [Kočevje 1930], pp. 39-42; 500 let mesta Kočevja, [Kočevje 1971], pp. 8-10; Karl Schemitsch, Das war Gottschee, Landskron, Kitchener [1977], p. 18.

¹⁴⁷ The probably most famous researcher of Kočevje, Hugo Grothe, deemed Kočevje had been settled through a long process of colonization between mid-13th and mid-15th century. (Grothe, p. 29.)

¹⁴⁸ Grothe gives a survey of various phantastic theories according to which the Gottscheers were descendants of remnants of the Suevians, Goths, Kimbri, Vandals or other ancient Germanic tribes. (Grothe, pp. 31-36.) With part of German authors such theories could have been the product of scholarly curiosity, but also a means of proving German priority.

¹⁴⁹ Kočevsko, p. 18. Simonič claims the colonization started around 1330 and that its main part was executed between 1350 and 1363. (Simonič, pp. 51-52.)

¹⁵⁰ Jubiläums-Festbuch, p. 39; Schemitsch, p. 16; Otterstädt, Gottschee. Eine deutsche Volksinsel, p. 9. In this particular case, even in the context of nationality struggle, it is not clear why the difference of a few decades should be so important.

¹⁵¹ 500 let, p. 9.

¹⁵² Among other things, the ethnically mixed make-up of Kočevje was being proven by minute analysis of the number of Germans from ethnically pure and mixed marriages; the latter were, to be sure, excluded from the German national minority. (Tone Zorn, Narodnostni podatki kočevskega območja po podatkih narodnega katastra iz leta 1936, Zgodovinski časopis, XXVI, 3-4, 1972; Dušan Biber, Kočevski Nemci med obema vojnama, Zgodovinski časopis, XVII, 1963, p. 26.)

¹⁵³ Otterstädt, Gottschee. Verlorene Heimat, pp. 6-7; Idem, Gottschee. Eine deutsche Volksinsel, p. 10; Schemitsch, p. 15.

¹⁵⁴ Simonič, pp. 45-46; Jože Rus, Jedro kočevskega vprašanja. Zgodovina, sedajnost in bodočnost kočevskega gospodarstva in njegovih prirodnih in socialnih podlag, in: Kočevski zbornik, pp. 131-133; S. Šantel, O izvoru kočevske narodne noše, in: Kočevski zbornik, p. 347; 500 let, p. 8; Kočevsko, p. 18.

Slovene. According to them, this proves that the Slovenes had been the autochthonous population there and have been assimilated by the Germans, who in turn, took over Slovene costumes and folklore.¹⁵⁵ In order to underpin their claims to the German character of Kočevje, the German authors claim the Germans had been living around that area almost hundred years before the colonization,¹⁵⁶ and that indeed it was the last phase of the German settlement in the Slovenian province of Crain.¹⁵⁷

Regardless of the degree of its “ethnic purity” and the exact date when the colonization began, the fact remains, it managed to endure as predominantly German ethnic island in the Slovenian sea, managing to Germanize a large number of Slovenes who came to settle down there over the centuries. In that respect this last fruit of the German agrarian colonization,¹⁵⁸ in the Slovenian lands resembled predominantly German towns in Slovenian territory, which preserved their German character until 1918.¹⁵⁹ When the agrarian colonization from without ended around 1400, the internal colonization of German peasants ensued during the next couple of centuries. But much earlier began the influx of German burghers into towns in Slovenian lands.

Most of the towns in Slovenia were founded by Germans, that is, by German feudal lords who had controlled the whole Slovenian ethnic territory.¹⁶⁰ To their lands they were bringing peasants – Germans and Slovenes, but also burghers – chiefly Germans. Whereas the German agrarian population dispersed among the majority Slovenes¹⁶¹ was gradually assimilated by the latter by the end of 19th century, the German townies survived until the foundation of Yugoslavia, and even later. This particularly held true for Lower Styrian towns of Celje (Cilli), Ptuj (Petau) and especially Maribor (Marburg) (that was closest to compact German ethnic territory), but partly also for Ljubljana and some smaller towns deep within the Slovene ethnic territory.¹⁶² Slovenian scholars and national champions have always been deeply frustrated by the German character of Slovenian towns¹⁶³ which these preserved well into 19th century, and partly into 20th too. For that reason they strove to underplay the German features of Slovenian towns – in their own time, as well as in the more distant past.

¹⁵⁵ Šantel, o.c.; Rus, p. 134; Ivan Koštial, O Kočevcih in kočevščini, in: Kočevski zbornik, p. 324.

¹⁵⁶ Otterstädt, Gottschee. Verlorene Heimat, 6; Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums (henceforth: HWBGAD) III, Breslau 1938, p. 60.

¹⁵⁷ Balduin Saria, Die mittelalterliche deutsche Besiedlung in Krain, in: Gedenkschrift für Harold Steinacher (1875-1965), München 1966, 96.

¹⁵⁸ 500 let, p. 11; Kočevsko, p. 18; Simonič, p. 61.

¹⁵⁹ Saria, Die mittelalterliche deutsche Besiedlung in Krain, p. 102.

¹⁶⁰ So for example, in Carniola twelve of the most important towns (including Ljubljana (Laibach) and Kranj (Krainburg)) were founded by German nobility from 12th century onward. (HWBGAD, III, Breslau 1938, p. 322.) The towns of Maribor (Marburg) and Ptuj (Petau) were also founded by the Germans. (Doris Kraft, Das untersteirische Drauland. Deutsches Grenzland zwischen Unterdrauburg und Marburg, München 1935, p. 127.)

¹⁶¹ INJ, I, pp. 753-756; HWBGAD, III, pp. 317-320; Kraft, p. 128. About mutual assimilation processes and gradual shrinking of the Slovene ethnic territory from 10th to 15th centuries, see: Milko Kos, Kolonizacija i germanizacija slovenske zemlje, Historijski zbornik, IV, 1-4, 1951. About the settlement and assimilation of German peasantry in Carniola see: Balduin Saria, Die mittelalterliche deutsche Besiedlung in Krain, in: Gedenkschrift für Harold Steinacker (1875-1965), München 1966, pp. 85-94.

¹⁶² Saria, p. 102.

¹⁶³ This however was not particular to Slovenian lands – most of the towns in the Habsburg Monarchy had German character until the second half of 19th century, thanks to German and Germanized population, as well as to the Jews of German language and culture. (A.J.P. Taylor, Habsburška monarhija 1809-1918, Zagreb 1990, pp. 32-33.) Ferdo Šišić wrote: “As late as the second half of 19th century some towns in Croatia, such as Zagreb, Varaždin or Osijek, were so infested with Germaneness, that a foreigner couldn’t tell if he was in a Slavic country or not.” (Biskup Štrosmajer i jugoslavenska misao, I, Beograd 1922, p. 25.)

Slavization of the towns which came about only in the second half of the 19th century, was predated to Middle Ages or early Modern Age.¹⁶⁴

Thanks to the archival documents one can observe the continuous influx of the German population into Slovenian towns until 20th century, but also the process of Germanization of the Slovene inhabitants of these towns.¹⁶⁵ This process was above all connected to upward social mobility and influence of the environment. Political and ideological affinity was a major factor in Germanization of Slovenian newcomers in 19th century. The liberal bourgeoisie, German and Germanized, sailed under German banner, and the same was true of Social-Democracy. Conservatism remained as the trade mark of the Slovenian national movement which lacked stronger bourgeoisie and which was therefore led predominantly by Catholic clergy. This won many a liberal Slovene over to the German national camp, which deliberately boasted of its liberalism.¹⁶⁶

How important these factors have been was proven by the last Austrian census which recorded, apart from the language of communication, the place of origin. Based on these data, Slovenian scholars strove to prove that the majority of Germans in Slovenian towns had actually been "nemčuri« or »nemškiutari", i.e., Slovenes who, for various reasons, declared themselves Germans.¹⁶⁷ This opting for German nationality was often one-sidedly construed as a consequence of economic and other pressure, or as caused by the school.¹⁶⁸ Others, however, correctly marked the importance of upward social mobility for linguistic and national assimilation.¹⁶⁹ For Slovenian national awakeners, the "nemčuri" were a red rag. As shall be shown further in this work, Slovenian origin of part of the Germans in Slovenia or apostasy on part of the Slovenes, served as one of the excuses for intolerant Slovenian national policy towards the German minority during the inter-war period.

Together with assimilation of the immigrant Slovenes, the German population of bigger towns was renewed by continuous influx of bureaucrats, military officers, businessmen and workers. During the era of nationalism in 19th century, the immigration was strongest in Maribor for two reasons. On the one hand, the town was closest to the compact German ethnic area; on the other, unlike other predominantly German towns, it was a big industrial

¹⁶⁴ Thus Janko Orožen tries hard to prove the bearers of German names in the mediaeval Celje had actually not been Germans but Slovenes. (Zgodovina Celja in okolice, I, Celje 1971, p. 269.) Although names are by no means certain proof of nationality of their bearers, the fact remains that Slovene names appear in the lists of the town officials only since the second half of 18th century. (Ibid., pp. 349-350.) Fran Kovačič proceeds in the same way. (Slovenska Štajerska in Prekmurje. Zgodovinski opis, Ljubljana 1926, p. 220.) The official »Istorija naroda Jugoslavije« claims the Slovenes were the majority of the town populations. (pp. 758, 772.)

¹⁶⁵ In Maribor there was a Windische Gasse in 1317, which testifies to the presence of Slovenian inhabitants in the town. (Jože Mlinarič, Maribor do začetka 17. stoletja, Kronika, XXXI, 2-3, 1983, p. 131.) Ptuj, being smaller and with much weaker Slovene immigration, preserved longer and easier its German character. (Bogo Grafenauer, Ptuj v Srednjem veku, Zgodovinski časopis, XXIV, 3-4, 1970. Cf. also: Janez Cvritn, Trdnjavski trikotnik. Politična orijentacija Nemcev na spodnjem Štajerskem (1861-1914.), Maribor 1997, pp. 10-11.)

¹⁶⁶ Bruno Hartman, Kulturni tokovi v Mariboru in njegovem zaledju med vojnama, Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, LIV, 1-2, 1983, p. 234; Cvirn, pp. 56, 75, 105, 125.

¹⁶⁷ Vlado Valenčič, Etnična struktura ljubljanskega prebivalstva po ljudskem štetju 1880, Zgodovinski časopis, XXVIII, 3-4, 1974, pp. 295-299. Valenčič concluded that one third of the population which has declared itself German, originated from non-German regions. (p. 300.) Anton Melik came to similar conclusions analyzing the data of the 1900 census. He deduced that in Maribor, Celje and Ptuj, which were the towns with German majority and highest percentage of German population in Slovenian lands, 71%, 63,12%, and 69,63% of the population originated from predominantly Slovene areas. (Nemci u Sloveniji. Prilikom opštih izbora u Mariboru, Celju i Ptuj, Letopis Matice srpske, knj. 303, sv. 1, 1925, p. 68.) One should however bear in mind that these estimates concerned all the inhabitants of these towns, where not all citizens declared German nationality. In Maribor the ratio of Germans and Slovenes was 27.994 : 22.653; in Ptuj 3.672 : 608; in Celje 6.919 : 4.625. (Ibid.) Matijaž Klemenčič came to the same results. (Germanizacijski procesi na Štajerskem od srede 19. stoletja do prve svetovne vojne, Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, L, 1-2, 1972, p. 368.)

¹⁶⁸ Kovačič, p. 337.

¹⁶⁹ Melik, p. 67; Orožen, II, p. 43.

centre, attracting lot of German, but also Slovenian labour force.¹⁷⁰ Skilled workers were German or Germanized, whereas Slovenian newcomers were unskilled, and for greater part, nationally unconscious. Together with economic dependence, Slovenian workers were influenced by daily use of the German language, as well as the German-tinged Social Democracy whose influence contributed to blunting the national consciousness of Slovenian workers and gradual Germanization.¹⁷¹

On the German side, such tendencies were deliberately encouraged. They wanted to completely Germanize Maribor, but also the narrow Slovenian ethnic gap which separated it from the compact German-speaking territory.¹⁷² Not only “a bridge to Maribor” was wanted, but also further towards the Adriatic sea. Such plans were popularized above all by a German nationalist organization the “Südmark” founded in Graz in 1889 in order to protect the endangered German Diaspora in the South, as well as in order to preserve German hegemony in predominantly German or mixed areas of Austria.¹⁷³ This association, which was by no means alone, wanted to build its “bridge towards the Adriatic” by colonizing Germans from Germany. In order to do that it undertook concrete steps to raise money, buy farms and bring in the colonists between Šent Ilj and Maribor.¹⁷⁴ The results of this colonization 1906-1914 were rather modest,¹⁷⁵ and in the last resort, served more to awake Slovenian fears, than to realize the plans of German nationalists.

Since Slovenian lands were part of the Habsburg Empire for centuries, and stood under domination of nobility and officialdom, and later on also of bourgeoisie of German descent or at least of German language, the influx of Germans into the Slovenian territory was steady, although not overly strong. In the territories which remained outside Yugoslavia in 1918, with the aid of schools, economic, social, cultural, political and other factors, in the course of the second half of 19th century it pushed to the South the Northern Slovenian ethnic border in Carinthia which had been constant ever since 15th century.¹⁷⁶ Immigration in the Slovenian ethnic territory, coupled with the above mentioned factors, helped preserve predominantly German character of at least some towns – especially in Lower Styria. The Germans received further reinforcements through quiet assimilation of Slovenes – above all in towns and especially among the upper strata. However, it would be wrong to ascribe the immigration of the German population throughout the centuries and even in 19th century, to some deliberate attempt at Germanization. Indeed, greater part of German and other migrations was the consequence of economic, political, military and other needs of the powers-that-be, as well as of the needs of the migrating people themselves. Since the Germans had been the leading cultural, economic and political factor in the old Austria, their migrations often left a much deeper impact than migrations of other peoples. In the predominantly Slovenian territory, German peasant colonists completely assimilated to the Slovenes until the end of 19th

¹⁷⁰ Milko Kos rightly noticed the importance of large industrial centres for Germanization. (Kos, p. 18.)

¹⁷¹ Emin Kržičnik, *Gospodarski razvoj Maribora. Gradivo k zgodovini industrijalizacije mesta Maribora*, Maribor 1956, p. 22; Tone Petek, *Kratek etnološki oris železničarske kolonije Studenci v Mariboru*, *Kronika*, XXXI, 2-3, 1983, pp. 197-200.

¹⁷² Klemenčič, p. 364.

¹⁷³ Eduard G. Staudinger, *Die Südmark. Aspekte der Programmatik und Struktur eines deutschen Schutzvereins in der Steiermark bis 1914*, in: Helmut Rumpler, Arnold Suppan (eds.), *Geschichte der Deutschen im Bereich des heutigen Slowenien 1848-1941*, Wien, München 1988; Günter Schödl *Variante deutscher Nationalpolitik vor 1918. Zur politische Organisationen und Programmbildung deutscher Minderheiten in Ost- und Südosteuropa*, *Südostdeutsches Archiv*, XXII-XXIII, 1979/80. Special importance of Maribor for the Südmark can be discerned from the fact that its second largest library (out of 162) was in that town. (Bruno Hartman, “Südmarkini“ knjižnici v Mariboru, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, LIV, 1-2, 1983, p. 150.)

¹⁷⁴ Staudinger, pp. 137-138, 145-147.

¹⁷⁵ During this period 435 colonists were settled down. (Ibid., p. 146.)

¹⁷⁶ Kos, p. 17.

century, whereas large portion of the German townees, who immigrated only recently, emigrated or were sent packing by the new authorities after the foundation of Yugoslavia - as we shall see in one of the following chapters.¹

The colonization that was not only better recorded, but that can practically be reconstructed from year to year, with all the institutions and more or less known personages who took part in its preparation and execution, is the Habsburg colonization of (Southern) Hungary. It was one of the great settlement schemes in the Europe of 18th and early 19th century. This, however, does not imply it has been completely consistent. In principle, the goals were clear enough: a vast and potentially economically profitable area had to be populated. As to how to achieve that, the opinions differed. Various interests were involved: those of the Court, the Court Chamber, the Army, the Roman-Catholic Church, private landowners, big stock merchants, manufacturers, some high state officials, the local population, and finally, those of the colonists themselves. Various parties involved in the planning and executing of the colonization had their own partial goals, often in collision with one another. Because of all this, the colonization was, despite its clear main goal, full of contradictions, halts and setbacks.¹⁷⁷ In the first part of this chapter, we have dealt with the settlement of the Romanians – which was, just like the settlement of the Serbs, a mix of spontaneity and planned population policy of the Viennese authorities – and below we shall deal with the colonization of Germans, Magyars, Slovaks, Ruthenians and other less numerous populations, who through 18th and 19th centuries had settled in what later became known under the name of the Vojvodina. One should however, bear in mind, that at that time no-one saw that region as something apart: the colonization in Southern Hungary took place in the same way as in other parts of the country. Only the situation of the Military Border and the Banat, which was gained only in 1718 by the peace treaty of Passarowitz (Požarevac) and joined to the rest of Hungary in 1779, was somewhat particular. Its characteristics were prevention of Hungarian colonization, and greater presence of Serbs and Romanians, as well as the larger direct control of the Viennese court. Still, the colonization of all Hungarian territories should be seen as a whole, regardless of local differences and halts over time. Finally, the colonization of Southern Hungary (and neighbouring Eastern Syrmium) should be regarded as part of longer colonization process which spilled over into Western Syrmium and Slavonia in the second half of 19th century. Together with supplementary colonization organized by the Hungarian government in the last third of 19th century, this settlement would give the Vojvodina and Slavonia the make-up that would last until the Second World War.

After the successful Great Viennese War (1683-1699) the Habsburg Court was enriched by spacious new territories: central Hungary, Slavonia, part of Syrmium, the Bačka, Baranya,¹⁷⁸ part of the Banat, Partium and Transylvania. To these territories the rest of Syrmium, greater part of the Banat and Northern Serbia were added in 1718. Parts of historical Hungary recovered thanks to successful wars were in no envious condition. What the Ottoman authorities did not neglect, was to a great extent destroyed in war or Rakoczy's uprising 1703-1711.¹⁷⁹ The Muslim population withdrew, and the Christian one was few and

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Wolf, p. 40. For the still best survey of different aspects of the colonization of Hungary see: Konrad Schünemann, *Österreichs Bevölkerungspolitik unter Maria Theresia*, I, Berlin [1935?]. Unfortunately, the second volume of this master-piece never came out.

¹⁷⁸ The whole of Baranya comprises a much larger territory than was allotted to Yugoslavia after the First World War.

¹⁷⁹ The thesis of more or less devastated South Hungary see in: Schünemann, pp. 66, 73; Anton Tafferner, *Quellenbuch zur donauschwäbische Geschichte*, Stuttgart 1977, p. XXXII; Čelap, p. 115; Zrenjanin, Zrenjanin 1966, p. 35; D. Popović, *Srbi*, II, pp. 26-27, 40; Imre Wellmann, *Die erste Epoche der Neubesiedlung Ungarns nach der Türkenzeit (1711-1761)*, *Acta Historica*, XXVI, 1980, p. 241; Šandor Mesaroš, *Položaj Madara u Vojvodini 1918-1929*, Novi Sad 1981, p. 7; Erik Roth, *Die planmäßig angelegte Siedlung im Deutsch-Banater Militärbezirk 1765-1821*, München 1988, pp. 26, 51; Ladislaus Michael Weifert, *Beiträge zur Mercyschen*

far between, half-nomadic, cattle-breeding, and “schismatic” at that. The newly acquired territories were to be capacitated to be of economic and military use to the new powers-that-be, but the population at their disposal did not measure up – neither in quality nor in quantity.¹⁸⁰ Because of such state of affairs, a Neoaquistic Commission was set up in Vienna already during the war in 1688, which, under the influence of cameralists, draw a colonization plan for the new territories. The Commission proposed settlement of the Germans “ so that the Kingdom, or at least its large parts, be gradually Germanized and Hungarian blood prone to unrest and revolt be tempered with German and thus led into assiduous fidelity and love for its natural (sic!) hereditary king.” Hungarian nobility, headed by the palatine, protested vehemently against such “attack on Hungarian nation”. What hurt them more than the national sting was the limitation of corvee to just three days, larger judicial and ownership rights of the serfs, but most of all, the infamous proposal that the land of the nobility too should be subject to taxation. Hungarian Diet also issued a sharp protest in 1689, so the whole scheme was eventually dropped.¹⁸¹

The real colonization began only under Charles VI, and was continued with increased intensity under his heirs Maria Theresa (1740-1780), Joseph II (1780-1790), Leopold II (1790-1792). The later colonization in early 19th century was but a conclusion of the one from the previous century, and it was partly only internal. The goal of this author won't be to describe again in detail its course and the way it was executed, since this is not very important for our topic, and since about that subject already a whole library exists. We shall confine ourselves to sketching its main features, minding especially certain phenomena and processes which had left a lasting mark on the inter-ethnic relations in Southern Hungary and which, in the last resort, coupled with other factors influenced the situation of the immigrant German.

The Colonization of Hungary is usually divided according to rulers under which it had taken place, although (except for Joseph II) they did not play the main role in its planning and execution. Charles VI was the first to start bringing Germans from South-Western Germany. The first came in 1712, and a somewhat larger group in 1716-1718. These first colonists were men of the army, veterans, military artisans etc.¹⁸² To the Darda manor the first German colonists came in 1713, and since 1714 to the estate of Prince Eugene of Savoy too. Their

Besiedlung des Banats, in: Gedenkschrift für Harold Steinacker (1875-1965), München 1966, p. 133; M. Mitrović, p. 197; Slavko Gavrilović, *Rusini u Bačkoj i Sremu od sredine XVIII do sredine XIX veka*, Godišnjak Društva istoričara Vojvodine, Novi Sad 1977, p. 153; basically also Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, p. 8. There are however, authors who do not share this, in the relevant literature predominant, opinion: Cf. Felix Lackner, *Rumänische und deutsche Siedlungsbewegungen im Banat, ihre Beziehungen und gegenseitige Bedingtheit*, Südostdeutsches Archiv, XVII-XVIII, 1974/1975, p. 75; Gerhard Seewann, *Serbische Süd-Nord-Migrationen in Südosteuropa als Voraussetzung für die deutsche Ansiedlung im 18. Jahrhundert*, in: *A Kárpát-Medence vonzásában Pécs 2001*, p. 441.) Quoting some eyewitnesses, Nikola Petrović even claims the Banat had been a flourishing province ruined by the Austrians' mismanagement. (Petrović, p. 26.) Wolf believes the Banat became pretty desolate, but not to the degree some other authors had claimed. (Wolf, pp. 30-32.)

¹⁸⁰ We have already seen what opinion of the Romanians prevailed, and the Serbs enjoyed no better reputation, except as soldiers. (Cf. Hegediš, pp. 210, 233; Seewann, pp. 432-433, 436, 438, 441; Popović, *Srbi*, II, pp. 33-34; Franc Štefan Engel, *Opis kraljevine Slavonije i vojvodstva Srema*, Zbornik Matice srpske za jezik i književnost, knj. 19, sv. 2, 1971, p. 309; Leonhard Böhm, *Geschichte des Temeser Banats*, I, Leipzig 1861, pp. 214-215; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 205-211, 217.)

¹⁸¹ INJ, II, p. 808; John O. Spielman, *Leopold I of Austria*, New Brunswick 1977, pp. 178-180. Similar ideas about running the German wedge between the Hungarians and the Turks were shared by the then most important Austrian general, prince Eugene of Savoy. (Cf. Roth, p. 27; Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, p.7.) There were also many others who pleaded for the same solution. (Cf. Reimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Osteuropa*, Leipzig 1916, p. 96; G[ęza] C. Paikert, *The Danube Swabians. German Populations in Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia and Hitler's Impact on Their Patterns*, The Hague 1967, p. 19.)

¹⁸² Sonja Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat im 18. Jahrhundert*, München 1967, p. 21; Jankulov, p. 7.

immigration would continue for the next fifteen odd years.¹⁸³ In the first half of 18th century, the Germans settled down in larger towns of Eastern Slavonia (Osijek, Vukovar, Virovitica), but in that region they started coming to villages only in 1760s and 1770s - usually to manor villages.¹⁸⁴ In 1717-1719 miners, craftsmen and peasants from Bohemia, Carniola, Silesia, from the upper Danube and the middle Rein came to the Western Banat. Soon afterwards, in the provincial capital Temeswar (Timișoara) a population commission was founded, and already in 1723-1724 larger groups of Germans came to Bela Crkva, Vršac and Bečkerek (today: Zrenjanin). Together with them, Spaniards and Italians meant to develop the silk industry were also settled. All the colonists, and especially the latter had difficulties adapting to the climate, so most of them died from diseases.¹⁸⁵ As for the colonization of Hungarian peasants, who would probably better survive the prevailing living conditions, it was avoided under Charles VI and Maria Theresa (in the Banat) because they had been viewed as politically unreliable,¹⁸⁶ but also in order not to weaken Hungary economically.¹⁸⁷ Colonization of the privileged German settlers, who were exempted from many obligations incumbent on the “nationalists” (as the Habsburg authorities used to call Serbs and Romanians) during the first years, scared the natives and spurred many to flee to Serbia or Valachia, for fear of having to bear all obligations alone.¹⁸⁸

During the first wave of colonization between 10.000 and 12.000 Germans were settled down – in the Western Banat in most cases in or by Serbian settlements.¹⁸⁹ The majority of the first colonists were poor devils, unskilled at agriculture, so that they were no great asset for the economy. The plague and marauding raids of Turks and Romanians during the unsuccessful war with Turkey 1737-1739 swept away most of these colonists from the Southern Banat – except for those in larger settlements.¹⁹⁰ Most of the survivors fled to the North or to the North-West.¹⁹¹ As for the Bačka very few Germans were settled there during the reign of Charles VI. Since it had for greatest part been divided among Hungarian nobles, there was no important state colonization of the Germans there until 1749.¹⁹² In Syrmium, just like in the Bačka, few German veterans were settled in Schwabendorf by Sremska Kamenica, whereas count Schönborn colonized Germans from middle Rein in Zemun,¹⁹³ and count Pejačević in Ruma.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸³ Tri stoljeća Belja, Osijek 1986, pp. 47-48.

¹⁸⁴ Egon Lendl, Die Stellung des Slawoniendeutschtums unter den südostdeutschen Volksinseln, Der Auslandsdeutsche, XX, 4, 1937, p. 203; Nikola Gaćeša, Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Sremu 1919-1941, Novi Sad 1975, p. 12.

¹⁸⁵ Jordan, p. 25; Popović, Srbi, II, p. 39; Jankulov, p. 8.

¹⁸⁶ Popović, Srbi, II, p. 45; Wolf, p. 51.

¹⁸⁷ Jankulov, p. 45; Wellmann, p. 260. Realizing the need for colonization and higher reliability and productivity of German peasants as compared to their Hungarian counterparts, Hungarian nobility also sought German settlers in the first decades of 18th century. (Cf. Schünemann, p. 184; Wellmann, p. 252; Josef Volkmar Senz, Die Deutschen im Batscher Land. Pioniere und Märtyrer des Abendlandes im europäischen Südosten, Wien 1984, p. 38; Paikert, p. 18.)

¹⁸⁸ Popović, II, p. 44; Jankulov, pp. 9-10. This fear was by no means groundless. (Cf. Wellmann, p. 263.)

¹⁸⁹ The original idea was that Germans should teach Serbs to till the land, but due to mutual strife, the outcome was often ousting of Serbian stock-breeders by German peasants. (Wellmann, pp. 256, 262; Seewann, pp. 421, 437-438.) These goings-on left a lasting mark on inter-ethnic relations, and Serbian politicians in the inter-war Yugoslavia often raised the point when they wanted to harangue against the German minority.

¹⁹⁰ Popović, Srbi, II, p. 43; Wellmann, p. 265; Felix Milleker, Die erste organisierte deutsche Kolonisation des Banats unter Mercy 1722-1726, Vršac 1923, pp. 8-9; HWBGAD, I, Bresalu 1933, pp. 223-224.

¹⁹¹ Jankulov, p. 11.

¹⁹² Ibid, p. 45.

¹⁹³ Milan Šenoa, Doseljavanje tudinaca u Srijem, Rad JAZU, knj. 201, razredi historičko-filologički i filozofičko-juridički, Zagreb 1914, p. 4; Jankulov, pp. 12-13.

¹⁹⁴ Hermann Haller, Karl Bischof, Zur Entstehung der deutschen Stadt Ruma im Rahmen des Syrmieniendeutschtums, Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung, IV, 2, 1940, pp. 295-297. The

During the reign of Maria Theresa colonization was continued along the same lines as under Charles VI, albeit in accordance with the changed strategic and economic situation. Great wars at battlefields all over Europe demanded economic strengthening of the Monarchy in a world where waging of wars was increasingly dependant on material resources. An important role in the economic strengthening of the financially hard-pressed state was assigned to the colonization. Furthermore, Hungarian magnates, increasingly prone to luxury, also strove to augment their revenues, and the brisk sale of foodstuffs during the war years spurred them to colonize in order to enhance agrarian production.¹⁹⁵ They, like the Viennese Court turned to recruiting German peasants who were considered more productive and more obedient than the Hungarian peasantry imbued with the kurucz (rebel) traditions. At that time the Slovaks, who have been considered almost as desirable as the Germans, were settled down at the manor of Futog, in Bački Petrovac and Bezdan.¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the early Theresian colonization (1740-1749) was not overly great either in scope or in the quality of the settlers, who were recruited partly among the poor and partly among the deported riff-raff.¹⁹⁷ Moreover, the stock-breeders' lobby in the Banat temporarily got the upper hand so that the colonization there soon came almost to a halt.¹⁹⁸

The war because of the Pragmatic Sanction and the Seven Years' War have put additional strain on the already overburdened finances of the Habsburg Empire. This spurred a larger, so-called Mid-Theresian colonization (1749-1772). Furthermore, settling of loyal Catholic elements, coupled with improved education, had to ideologically fortify the "patched Monarchy".¹⁹⁹ Just as the wars with the Ottoman Empire had increased the importance of the Banat, the wars in the West and in Central Europe have upgraded the importance of the Bačka,²⁰⁰ for whose colonization two conflicting plans were made. The first one was by count Antal Grassalkovich, the president of the Hungarian Chamber, and the second one by baron Anton Cothmann, president of the Impopulation Commission of the Hungarian Chamber. The first of the two dignitaries, being a Hungarian and having landed estates in the Bačka, favoured more Hungarian and local interests. He was in favour of a slower colonization that would gradually turn Hungary from a cattle-breeding into a land-tilling nation.²⁰¹ Agriculture

Germans in Ruma received a reinforcement in 1786. (Ibid., pp. 301-302.) Despite Serbian influx, the town gradually developed into the most important German settlement in Syrmium. (Ibid., p. 284.) About the colonization of Ruma see also: Slavko Gavrilović, *Naseljavanje Nemaca u Rumi u doba Josifa II*, Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju, 11, 1975; Šenoa, p. 6. These two authors deem Germans came to Ruma only under Joseph II.

¹⁹⁵ Schünemann, pp. 107-108.

¹⁹⁶ Rudolf Bednarik, *Slovaci v Juhoslavii. Materialy k ich hmotneja a duchovnej kulture*, Bratislava 1966, p. 35; Popović, Srbi, II, p. 46; Jankulov, p. 60; M. Mitrović, p.206; Mila Bosić, *Narodna nošnja Slovaka u Vojvodini*, Novi Sad 1987, p. 18. At the same time the first Ruthenians came to Kula and Krstur. (Gavrilović, *Rusini u Bačkoj i Sremu*, pp. 154-155.)

¹⁹⁷ Jankulov, p. 14. The enemies of the Volksdeutsche made a grate ado of the deported criminals, prostitutes etc, claiming all the Swabians (as the Germans were called in Hungary proper) were their descendants. Their actual number was rather small: for instance, between 1752 and 1768 only 3.130 deportees were sent to the Banat. Many of them were backsliders, which means the actual number was even lower. On the first occasion most of them escaped back to Austria. (Schünemann, pp. 76-88; Wellmann, p. 268.) Joseph II had the deportation stopped because he had realized they were useless. (Schünemann, p. 86; Friedrich Lotz, *Die frühtheresianische Kolonisation des Banats (1740-1762)*, in: *Gedenkschrift für Harold Steinacker (1875-1965)*, München 1966, p. 162.)

¹⁹⁸ Jordan, p. 85; Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, p. 11. The pastures tenants' lobby managed to stop the state-run colonization once again in 1772, although the overall number of settlers had already been much higher by that time. (Jordan, p. 92; HWBGAD, I, p. 308.)

¹⁹⁹ Jankulov, p. 15.

²⁰⁰ The colonization of the Bačka was spurred also by the abolishment of Military Border around the Tisa and the Moriš, which led to the emigration of the Serbs from there. (Nikola Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Bačkoj* 1918-1941, Novi Sad 1968, p. 17.)

²⁰¹ Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Bačkoj*, p.14; Jankulov, p. 16.

was to be developed along the rivers Tisa (Tisza) and the Danube, whereas the upcountry would be left to stock-breeders. He was in favour of the colonization of Magyars and Slovaks in the first place, and only in the second of the Germans and others,²⁰² although eventually he settled more non-Hungarians than Hungarians.²⁰³ Hungarian settlers were for greater part poor peasants and were not given privileges granted to German colonists.²⁰⁴ The Hungarian Chamber did its best to settle as many Hungarians as possible around Sombor and the Tisa – for national reasons.²⁰⁵

During the colonization of the Bačka, the interests of Maria Theresa and Joseph II clashed with those of the Hungarian Chamber: the first wanted to resettle to the Bačka part of the Hungarians from hilly and rebellious parts of Hungary and to weaken them in that way, whereas the Chamber wanted in the Bačka only the hand-picked colonists who had paid all their debts in the old homeland. This met with the resistance of the Neoacquistic Commission in Vienna, which opposed strengthening the Hungarian nobility in the Bačka.²⁰⁶

Unlike the mercantilist Grassalkovich, Cothmann was a physiocrat who wished to make a swift transition to agriculture which would oust grazing and confine cattle-breeding to barns, only as a secondary occupation of the peasants. His plan foresaw planning and state regulation of everything – from surveying the land to organizing settlements and the way of life in them. Kempele continued to execute this plan in the Banat.²⁰⁷ The colonists were given three tax-free years, advances, tools and other privileges, but their work was still not an easy one. The soil had yet to be made arable since the Serbs and Romanians who had been forced to do it, have done their job only partly and half-heartedly.²⁰⁸ Many colonists were disappointed by the situation they found, which did not correspond fully to the rosy picture painted by the agents advertising in South-West Germany, becoming dejected, so that settlement did not proceed as smoothly as Cothmann had hoped for. Problems also arose with repayment of the advances, lack of artisans, dying, flight of the disappointed etc.²⁰⁹ The natives were obliged to plough and sow the fields for the newcomers, which bore hatred,²¹⁰ whereas to the destruction of their way of life they reacted with plunder and murder of the German colonists.²¹¹ During 1760s a new wave of German colonists came to the Bačka and the Yugoslav part of Baranya.²¹²

After the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, Maria Theresa devoted much attention to the colonization of Hungary, which had supported the war effort to a large degree. In that year a colonization patent was issued calling on the veterans to volunteer for settlement in Hungary, Transylvania and the Banat, promising, among other things, six tax-free years for

²⁰² Popović, Srbi, II, p. 45; Senz, p. 42; Jankulov, p. 17.

²⁰³ So for instance he colonized Germans in Apatin, Bukin, Odžaci and Kolut. (Popović, Srbi, II, p. 44.) Grassalkovich bragged in 1762 that had brought 2.200 Hungarian, 1.370 Serbian, 1.070 German and 400 Ruthenian, Czech and Roman-Catholic South Slav families into thirty two places in the Bačka over fifteen years. (Schünemann, p. 118; Wellmann, p. 273.)

²⁰⁴ M. Mitrović, p. 202. This was certainly one of the reasons they couldn't match the Germans. (Schünemann, p. 112.)

²⁰⁵ Radivoj Plavšić, *Fragmenti iz istorije Sombora*, Sombor 1956, p. 25; Jankulov, p. 47.

²⁰⁶ Jankulov, p. 49.

²⁰⁷ Popović, II, p. 42; Jankulov, pp. 17-19.

²⁰⁸ The colonists were often billeted in Serbian and Romanian houses, which spoiled inter-ethnic relations on the one hand, and, due to lack of hygiene, also the health of the settlers, on the other. (Jordan, p. 90.)

²⁰⁹ Jankulov, pp. 22, 25. In order to prevent the flight of the disappointed settlers, police precautions also had to be taken. (Wellmann, p. 263.)

²¹⁰ Popović, Srbi, II, pp. 43-44; Jankulov, p. 23. The claim of Milivoje Erić that the Serbs, allegedly busy fighting for political and religious privileges did not realize the danger of colonization of aliens for a long time, is groundless. (Milivoje Erić, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Jugoslaviji 1918-1941*, Sarajevo 1958, p. 61.)

²¹¹ Seewann, pp. 433, 436.

²¹² *Tri stoljeća Belja*, p. 48; Reimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Geschichte der Deutschen in Karpathenländern*, III, Gotha 1911, pp. 189-204.

peasants, and as much as ten for craftsmen. The goal of this scheme was to relieve the state finances of pensions for officers and veterans on the one hand, whereas on the other, the state land was rented to rich entrepreneurs who undertook the obligation of colonizing it. This brought several thousands of settlers from South-West and Western Germany to the Banat over the next several years, some of them to the Military Border.²¹³ They joined in the work of draining the Banat swamps which had been going on ever since 1759. Another push-factor in 1770s was hunger that prevailed in Europe and which made the Banat attractive.²¹⁴ In the Bačka the Germans from the same parts of Germany were colonized from 1749, throughout 1750s and 1760s in a number of Serbian villages in order to train the Serbs in assiduous agricultural work, teach them better agricultural techniques and – if possible – convert them to Roman-Catholicism and Germanize them.²¹⁵

The late-Theresian colonization (1772-1780) carried on the settlement of the preceding phase, in accordance with the doctrine that Austria should be an industrial country, with Hungary as her complementary agrarian counterpart.²¹⁶ In 1772 a new Impopulation Patent came into force. It foresaw measuring of the land so as to ascertain how many Germans should be settled in the existing Serbian and Romanian villages. These colonists were hailing from Silesia, Moravia and Bohemia, and they as experienced agriculturalists, had to teach the “nationalists” the better methods of tilling the land.²¹⁷ Together with them, other colonists were also recruited in Alsace and Lorraine, part of whom were French.²¹⁸ The 1770s were the time of large German colonization in the Bačka.²¹⁹

The next phase of colonization is called Josephinian, after Joseph II who introduced important changes into it. Under him, the land was redistributed in accordance with the size of the family, which, coupled with the purge of the administration of corrupt officials, contributed to better tax collection.²²⁰ Furthermore, Joseph II fought against the system of advances which the colonists often were not able to pay back: in his opinion, they should have been either given everything free, or they should have brought everything along or they should have made it themselves. Patent of religious tolerance in 1781 for the first time enabled colonization of the Protestants, whom bigoted Maria Theresa would not tolerate in the new territories, and in 1785 the new Urbarial Law divided the District of Temeswar (the counties having been abolished earlier that year) into the hilly part meant for viticulture and mining, and the flat one reserved for agriculture. Dependant on this scheme, people were settled in accordance with their capabilities and skills.²²¹ Being a physiocrat, Joseph II paid more attention to the choice of the colonists and to building larger and better settlements than

²¹³ One of the goals of the colonization of the invalids was to create a loyal Catholic element along the border. For that reason, part of the Serbian population was to be transferred deeper inland. (Roth, p. 45.) Among the settlers there were many Czech, Polish and other non-German families. (Cf. Felix Milleker, *Geschichte der Banater Militärgrenze 1764-1873*, Pančevo 1925, pp. 41-42; Idem, *Die Besiedlung der Banater Militärgrenze*, Bela Crkva 1926, p. 5; Jankulov, pp. 26-27, 30, 34.) Roth claims the majority of these colonists were Czechs. (Roth, p. 51.) Apart from tax exemptions during the first years, the taxes remained lower for the Germans than for the Serbs later too, since the government wanted to enable them to get on their feet as soon as possible (Johann Heinrich Schwicker, *Geschichte der österreichischen Militärgrenze*, Wien, Teschen 1883, p. 126.) Obviously, this was an additional reason that awoke Serbian discontent and envy.

²¹⁴ Popović, *Srbi*, II, p. 43.

²¹⁵ Gačeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, p. 9; Jankulov, pp. 28-29.

²¹⁶ Jankulov, p. 29.

²¹⁷ Kaindl, *Geschichte*, pp. 215-219; Jankulov, p. 31.

²¹⁸ Jankulov, p. 32. (In that way three French villages were founded in the Yugoslav part of the Banat: St. Hubert, Charleville and Soltour; however, due to the immigration of Germans, they were gradually completely Germanized.)

²¹⁹ HWBGAD, I, p. 309. Kaindl's opinion that there had been no colonization in the Bačka at that time is obsolete. (Cf. Kaindl, *Geschichte*, p. 215.)

²²⁰ Jankulov, pp. 34-35.

²²¹ Jankulov, pp. 36-37; Wolf, p. 47.

was the case under his mother. Josephinian settlements, partly Protestant, were created mostly in the Bačka, as continuation of the existing Serbian villages.²²² Another feature of the Josephinian colonization was further settlement of Magyars in the Banat (including the Military Border), where they had been denied access previously.²²³

In order to strengthen the Border in the Banat after the unsuccessful war with Turkey (1788-1790), it was decided that as addition to the existing ten villages between Kovin and Sakule, nine new ones be built. Thus the Germans from South-West Germany, Switzerland, Alsace and Lorraine founded evangelical Franzfeld in 1791,²²⁴ as the beginning of the Leopoldine colonization, which, however, due to the premature death of the Monarch did not last long.²²⁵ Despite that, colonization was continued also under the new ruler Francis II,²²⁶ whose reign was the golden age of the private settlement.²²⁷

Wars against Napoleon with their material efforts and devastations of which Hungary was spared, spurred further colonization of what was to become the Vojvodina. Colonization of German and other refugees in the Banat ignited Serbian dissatisfaction and rebellion in Pančevo, Bela Crkva and their surroundings. The Serbs considered they did more services in the defense of the Monarchy, and were dissatisfied that despite that they couldn't have an autonomous Vojvodina. The Viennese court for its part strove to strengthen the Military Border which supported the main war effort in the struggle against Napoleon, by colonizing not only the loyal Germans from the Tyrol and South-West Germany, but also Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians and others – regardless of their religion.²²⁸ According to Borislav Jankulov, the intention was to create an imperial melting-pot of a kind (with the Germans as an integrating factor) with the aim of military and economic strengthening and equalizing of the Monarchy. Together with the Germans, the Slovaks were also settled in several places in the Banat and Syrmium Border.²²⁹ Apart from the Border the Germans, but also the Romanians, started settling in the civilian part of the Banat on the estates of feudal lords of various nationality at that time.²³⁰ At the same time, some colonists came to the Border in Syrmium, but also to the estates of the nobles there.²³¹ During the same period a smaller number of Germans came to the Bačka too.²³²

²²² At this period Bujkes, Novi Vrbas, Torža, Crvenka, Filipovo, Sekić, Bački Jarak, Čonoplja, Mali Ker (Bačko Dobro Polje), Bački Brestovac, Bezdán, Stanišić, etc. were founded. (Gaćeša, Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Bačkoj, p. 16; Jankulov, pp. 40-42.)

²²³ Jankulov, p. 50. This was probably the best proof that Joseph's aim was not Germanization, but just firmer ties between the polyglot population. (Paikert, p. 16.) Increased influx of Hungarians was partly due to larger private colonization, which gained momentum under Joseph II. (HWBGAD, I, p. 230.)

²²⁴ Felix Milleker, *Geschichte der Banater Militärgrenze*, p. 93; Idem, *Die Besiedlung*, p. 15.

²²⁵ During the reign of Leopold II Slovaks were settled in Novi Slankamen. (Slavko Gavrilović, *Naseljavanje Slovaka u Novi Slankamen (1791)*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju*, 3, 1971.) At the same time, a number of refugee families from Serbia was settled, especially in the Military Border. (Slavko Gavrilović, *Seobe Srba u Habzburšku Monarhiju u drugoj polovini XVIII i početkom XIX veka*, in: *Seobe srpskog naroda od XIV do XX veka. Zbornik posvećen tistogodišnjici velike seobe Srba*, Beograd 1990.)

²²⁶ At that time New Town in Osijek was founded and spreading of Germans in places in Syrmium started, that would last for the next hundred odd years. (Šenoa, pp. 6-7.)

²²⁷ HWBGAD, I, p. 204.

²²⁸ Milleker, *Geschichte der Banater Militärgrenze*, pp. 113-114; Kaindl, *Geschichte*, pp. 251-252.

²²⁹ Jankulov, pp. 85-86; Bednarik, p. 44; Bosić, pp. 29-30. Among them was Kovačica (1803) which would become the largest Slovak centre in the Banat.

²³⁰ Jankulov, pp. 75, 83-84, 95-96.

²³¹ Lazar Čelap, *Postanak Francenstala kao ratarskog naselja u Zemunu*, *Zadružni arhiv*, 7, 1959; Radoslav Marković, *Pravoslavna srpska parohija u Indiji krajem 1900*, *Sremski Karlovci 1901* (2nd ed.), pp. 6-7 (The latter author pays special attention to the ousting of the Serbian population by the German newcomers.); Kaindl, *Geschichte*, pp. 270-271; Slavko Gavrilović, *Naseljavanje Slovaka u sremska sela Sot i Bingulu godine 1835*, *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, knj. XII/1, 1969; Idem, *Privredne i društvene prilike u Indiji 1746-1849*, *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, 6, 1961, pp. 145-146; Idem, *Rusini u Šidu od 1803 do 1848*. *Prilog istoriji nacionalnih manjina u Vojvodini*, *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, 1,

The colonization of South Hungary resulted from the need to use in the best way the vast territories liberated from the Turks. The native population was on the one hand too sparse, and on the other, unsteady, cattle-breeding and unskilled at agriculture. For that reason colonization was needed. People of various nationalities, including the Serbs, took part in it. The Germans were favoured, but above all for two reasons: on the one hand, they had surplus population, and on the other, their economic prowess enabled them to withstand the competition even of much better agriculturists than were the Serbs and Romanians at that time.²³³ Colonization was neither directed from one centre, nor did all involved have the same goals. It is certain that it was primarily economic, i.e. economic and military in character.²³⁴ Economic criteria were practically decisive for private colonization, which pursued only economic gains, disregarding broader interests.²³⁵ As we have seen, the state colonization, even when it had been under the influence of the nationalist thinking, gave priority to the economic component which was much more important for the state as a whole.²³⁶

Ethnic considerations were present in the colonization, but they did not play a major role: quite simply, military and economic exigencies couldn't be brought into line with national preferences of certain organizers of the colonization. When the colonists of a desired nationality were not available in sufficient number, one had to make do with what was available. It should also be kept in mind that different factors who were executing the colonization, had different national preferences. Moreover, one should not forget that colonists of various nationality possessed different qualities and that they were given roles accordingly in the great task of colonization: Serbs were better as warriors and border-guards, Germans and Slovaks as agriculturists. To claim that the colonization was aimed against this or that people, as one can still find in the modern literature on the subject,²³⁷ is one-sided, to

1956; Valentin Oberkersch, *India. Deutsches Leben in Ostsyrmien 1825-1944*, Stuttgart 1977, pp. 48-55; Jankulov, p. 85; Hermann Haller, *Die Entstehung der deutschen Tochttersiedlungen in Syrmien*, *Der Auslandsdeutsche*, XX, 4, 1937, p. 234.

²³² They settled in Novi Sivac, Čib, Deronje etc. (Jankulov, p. 82.) In 1829 privileges for the colonists were abolished, so that from then on, only well-heeled individuals able to finance their own emigration settled down. (Plavšić, p. 26.)

²³³ In the USA German farmers competed successfully for 200 years with English and Scandinavian ones, and were reputed as the most successful. (Cf. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *German-American Achievements. 400 Years of Contribution to America*, Bowie 2001, p. 29.) These qualities were well known in Europe, so that German peasants and artisans were coveted also by other European rulers. In 18th century German colonists were wooed by Britain, the Netherlands, Spain, France and Russia, as well as, the Habsburgs' greatest rival, Prussia. (Schünemann, pp. 235-242; Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Osteuropa*, p. 27; *Tausend Jahre Nachbarschaft. Rußland und die Deutschen*, München 1988, pp. 120-129; Benjamin Pinkus, *Ingeborg Fleischhauer, Die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion. Geschichte einer nationale Minderheit im 20. Jahrhundert*, Baden-Baden 1987, pp. 33-41; Ingeborg Fleischhauer, *Die Deutschen im Zarenreich*, Stuttgart 1986.)

²³⁴ HWBGAD, I, p. 220; Jordan, p. 22; Mesaroš, p. 7; Andreas Dammang, *Die deutsche Landwirtschaft im Banat und in der Batschka*, Novi Sad 1931, p. 10; Ervin Pamleny (ed.), *Histoire de la Hongrie des origines a nos jours*, Budapest 1974, p. 199; Paikert, p. 16; Wolf, p. 32; Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, 8-10.

²³⁵ This can best be seen from the lists of settlements, nationality of their inhabitants and that of the landowners who had colonized them. (Jankulov, o.c.; Adam Vereš (ed.), *Slovenska evanjelicka kerestanska cirkev augšburskeho vyzmania v Kral. Juhoslovenskom v slove a v obrazoch*, Petrovac 1930; B.M. Drobňaković, *Feliks Mileker, Letopisi opština Podunavske oblasti, Pančevo 1929*. Other examples see in: Branislav Bukurov, *Naselja u južnom Banatu*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za prirodne nauke*, 39, 1970, pp. 35, 57; Miloš M. Ratković, *Mramorak. Geografski prikaz sela i bliže okoline*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za prirodne nauke*, 24, 1960, p. 90; Milutin Perović, *Nacionalni pokret kod Slovaka od kraja 18. do početka 20. veka*, *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Vojvodine* 1981, Novi Sad 1983, p. 53; HWBGAD, I, p. 231.

²³⁶ Cf. the example of Grassalkovich.

²³⁷ Bukurov, *Stanovništvo*, p. 30; *Istorija srpskog naroda* (henceforth: ISN), knj. IV, tom 1. Srbi u XVIII veku, Beograd [1982?], p. 214; Toša Iskruljev, *o Vojvodini i njenoj kolonizaciji* (preštampano iz »Zastave«), Novi Sad 1925, p. 11; Vera Milutinović, *Srbi i Nemci u Vojvodini*, *Etnološki pregled*, 4, 1962, p. 36.

say the least, since it neglects all those various factors which had been directing the colonization, changing their preferences depending on time, place and needs.

The fact is that land and houses were taken away from the Serbs and given to the Germans, or the Germans ousted them from their villages and pastures.²³⁸ One should however keep in mind that the Serbs were very movable, semi-nomads, whose houses were not meant to last long anyway. Moreover, for the houses and lands taken away from them, they received compensation and privileges like those for the Germans, and in some cases they received more land as compensation than had been taken away from them.²³⁹ There were also cases when colonization was organized especially for the Serbs.²⁴⁰ Sometimes the Serbs (and Romanians) took over vacated German houses,²⁴¹ and sometimes the Germans were resettled in favour of the Serbs.²⁴² All this goes to show that the colonization of the Vojvodina had been a very complex process in which many factors, phenomena and processes intermingled and clashed, making a simplified judgment impossible.

What is certain is that the settlement of the Vojvodina during 18th and in early 19th centuries has left lasting consequences in at least four ways. These consequences were felt until well into 20th century, and can partly still be felt today. First was the ethnic make-up of the province, which as we shall presently see, did not change significantly, despite colonization and immigration during the rest of 19th century. Second was the ethnically tinged social structure reflected through the landownership patterns and professional division. In connection with this, it can be said that the colonization and its consequences have left a lasting mark on inter-ethnic relations: tensions between Serbian cattle-breeders and the newly come, privileged and economically versatile German, but also Slovak agriculturists, religious conflicts with the Romanians, clash with the Roman-Catholic Church, Hungarian nobility, and with the Hungarian state (which supported Magyar colonists, especially in 19th century), religious and social tensions with the Uniate Ruthenians, diverging ways of life and world views etc. coupled with the events which they produced through 18th and 19th centuries, determined to a high degree the stance of the Serbs and the Yugoslav state towards national minorities colonized in the region at this period. Finally, colonization of Southern Hungary by German, Slovak and Hungarian populations, made possible their partial spill-over into Sirmium and Slavonia (to the neighbouring parts already in 18th century) in greater numbers in 19th century when both in the Vojvodina and in Slavonia and Sirmium a necessary combination of push and pull factors occurred. It was partly a successive transfer of the population: had there been no colonization of the Vojvodina, there would have been almost no settlement in Slavonia - at least not in that proportions and from that direction. For all these reasons, the importance of the colonization of the Vojvodina in 18th and early 19th century for the nationality question in the northern parts of Yugoslavia had been just as large as its importance for the development of the economy and civilization in those parts in general.²⁴³

²³⁸ Seewann, pp. 421, 436, 438; V. Milutinović, p. 37; Lackner, p. 79; ISN, VI/1, p. 214; Jordan, pp. 89-90; Roth, pp. 45, 47; HWBGAD, I, pp. 225, 306; Gačeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, p. 12. Jankulov claims even the colonization of the Germans by Hungarian nobles was leveled against the compactness of the Serbian people! (Jankulov, p. 84.)

²³⁹ Roth, p. 47; Lackner, p. 80; HWBGAD, I, p. 308; Wolf, pp. 45-46.

²⁴⁰ Such was the case in Bela Crkva and its vicinity after the abolishment of the Military Border on the Moriš 1751-1752. (Rudolf Steger, *Bela Crkva u XVIII i XIX veku. Komorski i vojnograničarski period*, Novi Sad, Bela Crkva 1982, p. 22.) For the end of 18th century, see: Gavrilović, *Seoba Serba*.

²⁴¹ That was the case in Southern Banat after the catastrophe 1737-1739. (Lackner, pp. 80-82.)

²⁴² This was happening especially in the Military Border during the reign of Joseph II. (Roth, pp. 170, 172.) On the occasion of resettlement of the Germans and settlement of the Serbs, the authorities made sure to build houses for the colonists and give them other privileges. (Lazar Čelap, *Prilog proučavanju kolonizacije Vojvodine krajem XVIII veka*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za društvene nauke*, 29, 1981, pp. 80, 86.)

²⁴³ Not enough has been written about the latter aspect of the colonization, and unfortunately for lack of space, this author too cannot dwell on all those technical and cultural achievements brought along or created on the spot

The colonization in Hungary in the second half of 19th century had, on the one hand, the characteristics of an internal colonization, whereas it bears the stamp of the statist ethnic engineering in the service of the Magyar national cause, on the other. At that time, the territory of the present-day Vojvodina was partly still receiving immigrants, but as the century drew to an end, internal migrations and “export” of the surplus (above all German, Slovak and Hungarian) population into Syrmium, Slavonia and Bosnia became more common.

If one considers the German colonization in the Bačka in 19th century, one can see that it was almost exclusively internal: surplus population from older colonies moves into other places, or founds new, but not very numerous, villages.²⁴⁴ The colonization of the Germans by the Hungarian nobility in the Banat is perceptible in the first decades of 19th century, but it was nothing like so big as in the previous century when unpopulated land still abounded. In the second half of 19th century it stopped altogether. As for the colonization of the Hungarians in the Banat, it began again after the *Ausgleich* and the abolishment of the Military Border in the last third of the century. Big landowners were the first to start by settling agricultural labourers on their estates. As the nationalist and Magyarizing trend of the Hungarian state policy gained momentum, the government strove to facilitate the colonization of the loyal Magyar and partly German element by juridical measures and financial aid through parastatist banks. Thus Tisza Kalmanfalva (Budisava), Mali Stapar and Svilojevo came into being, whereas several smaller groups were settled in the Šajkaška in order to separate the Serbs in the Bačka from those in the Banat. For the same reasons, the Szekelys from Bukowina were colonized in Hertelendifalva (now Vojlovica) – where a group of Germans and Slovaks had already sought refuge from the flood - and in Skorenovac and Đurđevo in the Southern Banat.²⁴⁵ In 1868-1869 foundation of seven German, Slovak and Magyar villages in the South Banat Marsh was tried, but the flood destroyed three and damaged one of them in 1869. The Hungarian government wanted to use that scheme for Magyarization of that “nationally endangered area”, since the non-Magyar settlers came from the surrounding Banat villages and were people of already dormant national consciousness.²⁴⁶ Hungarian national colonization proved in the last resort unsuccessful: the Magyar powers-that-be wanted to conquer the Vojvodina by numbers and not by economic strength.²⁴⁷

As for Slavonia, we found German settlements there ever since the last decades of 18th century, but in small numbers.²⁴⁸ In the early 19th century, together with the villages already

by the immigrant population. (Cf. Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, pp. 8-9; Zlatoje Martinov, *Nemački uticaj na ishranu Srba u Banatu*, Pančevo 1997; Nives Rittig-Beljak, *Švapski kulinarij – dodir kultura u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb 2002.)

²⁴⁴ Jankulov, p. 82.

²⁴⁵ M. Mitrović, pp. 208-210; Jankulov, pp. 87-92; Bukurov, *Naselja*, p. 20.

²⁴⁶ M. Mitrović, pp. 207-208; Jovan Erdeljanović, *Srbi u Banatu. Naselja i stanovništvo*, Novi Sad 1992 (2nd ed.), p. 19; Jankulov, pp. 92-94; Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, pp. 25-26.

²⁴⁷ Erić, p. 61; Gaćeša, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu*, p. 26.

²⁴⁸ Retfala near Osijek is a case in point, where the counts Pejačević settled the Germans along with the Hungarians. Other examples were Sarvaš, colonized in 1770 by count Palffy, Donji Miholjac, as well as the state colonies Kula and Poreč (Josephsfeld and Josephsdorf) from the time of Joseph II. From the same time dates the evangelical settlement of Nova Pazova in the Military Border. Apart from that, there were private settlements along the Drava in Kapan and Josipovac, as well as several others. Some Germans settled also around the town of Đakovo. (Georg Wild, *Deutsche Siedlungen in Syrmien, Slawonien und Bosnien*, Südostdeutsches Archiv, XIV, 1971, p. 150; Valentin Oberkersch, *Die Deutschen in Syrmien, Slawonien und Bosnien bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Donauschwaben*, Stuttgart 1972, pp. 17-19; Vladimir Geiger, *Nijemci u Đakovu i Đakovštini*, Zagreb 2001, pp. 13-17; Hans Kühn, *Das Deutschtum in Poschegener Kessel*, *Der Auslandsdeutsche*, XX, 4, 1937, pp. 208-220; Wilhelm Sattler, *Die Slawonische Drauniederung als deutsche Volksinsellandschaft*, in: E. Meynen (ed.), *Das Deutschtum in Slawonien und Syrmien. Landes- und Volkskunde*, Leipzig 1942, pp. 171, 215-216; Ingeborg Kellermann, *Josefsdor (Josipovac). Lebensbild eines deutschen Dorfes in Slawonien*, in: Meynen (ur.), pp. 503-504.)

mentioned above, Novo Selo by Vinkovci and Franztal near Zemun were founded.²⁴⁹ Unlike the Vojvodina, Slavonia was more densely populated already in 18th century, so that the need for colonization was not that great there.²⁵⁰ For that reason, the second larger influx of the Germans, Hungarians and others started only in the second half of 19th century.²⁵¹ Several factors determined that. On the one hand, the revolution of 1848/49 liberated the peasants and made them more movable. (This was especially important for the Hungarians, who, unlike the Germans, had mainly been serfs.) On the other hand, the land in the Vojvodina and central Hungary had already been divided, whereas the number of inhabitants was increasing. Together with these changes, Hungary was hit by an economic crisis caused by transition from feudal to capitalist economy in 1870s, with concomitant difficulties of the former Border guards who found it hard to adapt to civilian life and economy. This caused great indebtedness of the peasants who were increasingly more often compelled to sell their land at low prices. At the same time, big landowners wanted to catch up with the market economy of the time and increase their revenues. This opened wide the door for German, Hungarian and other peasants who jumped at the opportunity to buy for comparatively little money they got for their land in their places of origin, two or three times more.²⁵² Already in 1860s group of Germans came to several Slavonian manors under contract,²⁵³ and during those years a number of villages in Syrmium got their German inhabitants.²⁵⁴ Settlement of the Germans, Magyars, Czechs, and of much smaller number of Ruthenians on estates of the nobility continued until the beginning of 20th century, and in some cases even after the First World War.²⁵⁵ Buying land from large landowners or impoverished Croat or Serb peasants throughout 1870s and 1880s, Germans and Hungarians settled down in a number of villages in Syrmium and Slavonia, becoming gradually the majority population in some of them (Banovci, Gašinci, Mrzović, Slatnik, Tomašanci, Pisak, Vučevci, Krčedin, Bečmen, Beočin, Bežanija, Surčin).²⁵⁶ However, it remained typical of Slavonia that the newcomers founded

²⁴⁹ Kaindl, *Geschichte*, p. 270; Wild, p. 150.

²⁵⁰ Nevertheless, certain colonization of non-South-Slav populations took place in Slavonia and Croatia proper. Thus the bishop of Đakovo Antun Mandić colonized some Germans in the town and manor of Đakovo. Germans have been coming continuously in smaller numbers to that area until the middle of 19th century. (Geiger, pp. 17-36; Kaindl, *Geschichte*, pp. 270-271; Erwin Boehm, *Das Deutschtum und seine kulturgeographische Leistung in den vier slawonischen Bezirken Diakowar, Poscheg, Neu-Gradischka, Brod*, in: Meznen (ed.)) Groups of Czechs were coming to Croatia (the Varaždin Military District) and partly to Slavonia, to the surroundings of Bjelovar, Grubišino Polje, Veliki Zdenci etc, as well as into some Croatian villages, from the last decades of 18th and in the first decades of 19th century. (Vidosava Nikolić, *Prilog proučavanju kolonizacije stanovništva Češke i Moravske na području Varaždinskog generalata i Slavonije 1824-1830*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za društvene nauke*, 46, 1967; *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* (henceforth: EJ), 3, Zagreb 1984, p. 263.) Slow influx of smaller groups of Czechs would continue until 1890s, chiefly around Daruvar, Slavonska Požega and Kutina. (EJ, 3, p. 264.) Similar was the influx of the Germans into Požeška dolina and the valley of the Ilava. (Tomislav Wittenberg, *Doslavljanje Nijemaca u središnji dio Požeške doline*, *VDG Jahrbuch/Godišnjak Njemačke narodnosne zajednice*, Osijek 2002, pp. 261-269; Egon Lendl, *Das Deutschtum in der Ilwasenke*, in: Maynen (ed.), p. 19.)

²⁵¹ Lendl, *Die Stellung*, p. 204.

²⁵² Geiger, pp. 43-46; Sattler, p. 171; Josip Gujaš, »Nacionalna odbrana« Mađara u Slavoniji na prijelomu XIX i XX stoljeća u okviru Slavonske akcije, *Historijski zbornik*, XXIII-XXIV, 1970-1971, pp. 54-60, 64; Oberkersch, *Die Deutschen*, pp. 22-23; Haller, *Die Entstehung der deutschen Tochttersiedlungen*, p. 240.

²⁵³ Antunovac, Blagorodovac, Hrastovac by Pakrac, Sokolovac, Đulaves, etc. (Lendl, *Das Deutschtum*, p. 20; Oberkersch, *Die Deutschen*, p. 25; Sattler, p. 218; Boehm, p. 304.)

²⁵⁴ Haller, *Die Entstehung, der deutschen Tochttersiedlungen*, p. 245; Kaindl, *Geschichte*, pp. 271-272.

²⁵⁵ Oberkersch, pp. 26-30; Geiger, p. 49; Haller, *Die Entstehung der deutschen Tochttersiedlungen*, pp. 237-240; Wild, p. 151; Lendl, *Das Deutschtum*, p. 20; Sattler, p. 220.

²⁵⁶ Geiger, p. 49; Oberkersch, *Die Deutschen*, p. 33; Šenoa, pp. 8-11; Wild, p. 151; Laszlo Szita, *Identitätsprobleme der Magyaren in Kroatien*, in: Gerhard Seewann (ed.), *Minderheitenfrage in Südosteuropa. Beiträge der internationalen Konferenz: The Minority Question in Historical Perspective 1900-1990*, Inter-

even fewer new villages than in the Vojvodina, and usually settled down in the already existing Croat or Serbian ones, remaining a minority, or even assimilating to Croats (in places where just a few families settled down).²⁵⁷ Just like previously in the Bačka and the Banat, conflicts with the natives occurred. Different ways of life, disputes over property, and a feeling of being in danger from the local Slavic population have led to conflicts which sometimes ended up in physical violence.²⁵⁸

Because they were scattered, and because of their smaller numbers (absolutely and relatively speaking) the German and other colonists there never became so important a factor as in the Vojvodina, and because of their relative poverty in the beginning, smaller number of ethnically unified villages, and their shorter stay in the new homeland, until the foundation of Yugoslavia, they did not manage to strengthen economically as their co-nationals in the places of their origin. Nevertheless, they did become a numerical, political and economic factor not to be neglected.

Almost simultaneously with the colonization of Slavonia, began settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was the last phase in the colonization of non-Yugoslav populations in the territory that would become Yugoslav. It was the smallest in scope, economical importance and impact it had left on the ethnic make-up of the province. Just like the previously described ones, it too has been a combination of state and private colonization, and more or less representatives of the same peoples took part in it as in the earlier colonizations of the Habsburg lands, with the addition of Italians (who played but an ephemeral role in the colonization of the Banat in 18th century) and some Dutchmen. Unlike the colonization of Slavonia, where the bulk of the settlers came from the Habsburg Empire, colonization of Bosnia had a specific feature in as much as a considerable number of colonists were subjects of foreign states (Germany and Russia).

Although the colonization of Bosnia was basically an enterprise connected with the Austro-Hungarian rule in that country, it had actually started before the Habsburg domination was imposed. The first to come were German Trappist monks in 1869 who had bought some land near Banja Luka and built a monastery Mary Star (Maria Stern, Marija Zvijezda), with accompanying economic facilities: a brewery, a dairy, brick-works, a mill, a saw-mill, a power station etc.²⁵⁹ After the Habsburg occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878, they launched a campaign to bring in Catholic German settlers.²⁶⁰ The provincial government of Bosnia-Herzegovina was at first not well disposed towards such projects, since colonists could settle down only on state-owned land, which was not ample. The unclear questions of possession of land that Turkey had left behind and expensive private lands, complicated the affair further.²⁶¹ As the number of prospective colonists grew, the Government had to issue Regulations for the Colonization in 1879 which foresaw free grants of the state-owned lands and tax exemptions from five to ten years, free wood for heating and building etc. The goal was to attract foreign peasants who would teach the natives more progressive agricultural

University Center, Dubrovnik, 8-14 April 1991, München 1992, p. 178. The Hungarians reached a majority in twenty-five villages around Slatina and Virovitica, but many emigrated from them after the First World War. (Sattler, p. 209.)

²⁵⁷ Oberkersch, *Die Deutschen*, p. 33; Wild, p. 151; Szita, p. 176. The Czechs, being Slavs and living scattered were especially endangered by assimilation. (Sattler, p. 209.)

²⁵⁸ Geiger, p. 50; Oberkersch, *Die Deutschen*, pp. 34-35.

²⁵⁹ To be sure, not all these objects were built right in the beginning, but rather after long years of patient and diligent work. (Cf. Margareta Matijević, Franz Pfanner (1825-1909) – ili kratko o doprinosu njemačkih trapista gospodarskom razvitku banjalučkog kraja, *VDG Jahrbuch/Godišnjak Njemačke narodnosne zajednice*, Osijek 2002, p. 281-283.)

²⁶⁰ Hans Maier, *Die deutsche Siedlungen in Bosnien*, Stuttgart 1924, pp. 9-12.

²⁶¹ Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kolonizacija stranih seljaka u Bosnu i Hercegovinu za vrijeme austrougarske uprave*, Istorijski časopis, knj. XXXVI, 1989, p. 122.

methods and who would be a loyal support to the state authorities.²⁶² As the situation in the country stabilized, the interest of the Government for colonization grew. At first, economic motives were most important,²⁶³ but later on, the political ones started to get the upper hand.²⁶⁴ Austro-Hungarian Finance Minister, in charge of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Benjamin Kállay, gave an order in 1893, that together with economic considerations, in colonization of districts of Banja Luka, Gradiška, and Kostajnica, one should keep in mind the need to intersperse the disloyal Serbian elements with foreign colonists, so as to more easily keep the first in check.²⁶⁵ The disposition of colonies proves indeed that the goal was to shatter Serbian ethnic compactness.²⁶⁶

And yet, the first colonies were founded on private land by buying, leasing or entering relations of serfdom. In 1879 the first group of Germans from Germany came to Brezici near Gradiška. Together with later comers, they founded Windhorst (Nova Topola), named after a German Catholic politician.²⁶⁷ The next to be founded were further Catholic settlements Rudolfstal (later: Aleksandrovac) by Banja Luka, Šibovska, Kalenderovci Turski, Polje, Sitneš, Opsiječko, Trošelje, Franz-Josefsfeld etc.²⁶⁸ Although the Government was not willing to allow settlement on state-owned lands before the title deeds were issued, occasionally it made exceptions.²⁶⁹ The situation with granting state aid was similar, due to the lack of funds.²⁷⁰

After the cadastre was made and the work on issuing title-deeds made headway, the Common Finance Ministry issued directives for colonization, with principles that were to be upheld in the process. Local and foreign candidates were eligible. Foreigners could get between 10 and 12 ha, but were obliged to bring at least 600 forints with them. The land was first to be rented, in order to clear it for cultivation; if the lessees proved reliable and politically impeccable through ten years, they would become owners of their land gratuitously. As previously, they were given free building wood.²⁷¹ In order to make the colonization palatable for the natives, the Bosnian government claimed it started settling foreigners only after the colonization of the local Muslim population had failed – which did not correspond fully with the truth.²⁷² During 1890s, which were the golden age of the state

²⁶² Kraljačić, p. 113; W[i]ly Oehler, *Deutsche Kolonisation in Bosnien*, Kulturwart, XXIX, 13, 1918, p. 2; Fritz Hoffmann, Josef Zorn (eds.), *Franz-Josefsfeld – Schönborn. Geschichte einer deutschen Gemeinde in Bosnien*, Freilassing 1963, p. 12; Anton Burda, *Poljski naseljenici u Bosni*, Zbornik krajiških muzeja, III, 1969, p. 186.

²⁶³ Ferdo Hauptmann, *Regulisanje zemljišnog posijeda u Bosni i Hercegovini i počeci naseljavanja stranih seljaka u doba austrougarske vladavine*, Godišnjak Društva istoričara BiH, XVI, 1965, p. 160.

²⁶⁴ Adnan Busuladžić, *Pojava grkokatoličkog stanovništva u Bosni i Hercegovini (od 1879 do najnovijeg doba)*, Časopis za suvremenu povijest, XXXV, 1, 2003, p. 171. Thus the plan of colonizing Tyrolians in Herzegovina as a living wall against Montenegro came to being. It was eventually dropped because of complicated agrarian relations and for fear of Montenegrin reaction. (Kraljačić, p. 114.)

²⁶⁵ Kraljačić, p. 115. In the case of Ruthenians, the authorities wanted to weaken their irredenta in Galicia by scattering them all over the Monarchy. (Cf. Vaso Strehaljuk, *Ukrajinci u Bosni*, Godišnjak Društva istoričara Vojvodine, Novi Sad 1978, p. 78.)

²⁶⁶ Šćepan Grdić, *Kolonizacija u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Pregled (Sarajevo), 6, 1912, p. 371.

²⁶⁷ Hauptmann, p. 158; Kraljačić, p. 116.

²⁶⁸ Vladimir Geiger, *Bosna u folksdojčerskoj istoriografiji i publicistici*, *Bosna franciscana*, IX, 15, 2001, pp. 230-231; Wild, p. 152; Dušan Drljača, *Kolonizacija i život Poljaka u jugoslovenskim zemljama. Od kraja XIX do sredine XX veka*, Beograd 1985, pp. 26-27.

²⁶⁹ As for instance in the case of colonization of Italians in Mahovljani in 1883. (Kraljačić, p. 117.)

²⁷⁰ Mahovljani and Franz-Josefsfeld got help nevertheless. (Hauptmann, p. 165; Kraljačić, p. 117.)

²⁷¹ Kraljačić, p. 118.

²⁷² Hauptmann, p. 115; Wild, p. 153; Maier, p. 17. However, the locals did take part in colonization, and indeed they received somewhat more land than the immigrants (231.646, *dunum* compared to 218.923), but the number of local families who received land was almost four times larger than that of the colonists'. (Grdić, p. 374.) Hauptmann claims the colonization of foreigners was more successful than that of the natives. (Hauptmann, p. 152.)

colonization,²⁷³ German colonies of Branjevo, Dugo Polje, Dubrava (Königsfeld), Vrbaška (Karlsdorf), Prošara, Korače, Glogovac (Schützberg) and others were founded.²⁷⁴

After Kállay's death in 1903, the number of colonists dwindled perceptibly, and in 1905 the colonization of foreigners was brought to a stop altogether – ostensibly in favour of the colonization of the locals. The reasons for the end of the colonization were the unresolved property rights problems²⁷⁵ and the resistance on the part of the natives who demanded not only that the colonization be stopped, but also that the settlers go back where they came from.²⁷⁶ According to the official data, until 1905 thirty-eight colonies were founded with 15.340 settlers on 20.085 ha. Among these colonies (which the powers-that-be wanted to make mono-ethnic in order to prevent their assimilation) there were 12 Polish,²⁷⁷ 11 German, 4 Czech, 4 Polish-Ruthenian, 3 Ruthenian, 2 Italian, 1 Hungarian and 1 Slovenian.²⁷⁸ Eventually the total number of state colonies was 54, but only 12 out of them were German.²⁷⁹

As for the rural colonies in Bosnia-Herzegovina, because of the bad terrain, short existence, small state aid, poor roads, resistance on the part of their Yugoslav neighbours etc, they never reached the degree of prosperity of the villages in the Bačka, the Banat, Hungary proper or Germany from where most of the colonists had come from.²⁸⁰ For these reasons, their influence on their surroundings remained limited: their neighbours were not always willing to accept the more advanced agricultural techniques – unknown also to part of the colonists themselves, by the way.²⁸¹ Furthermore, the colonists looked down on the natives,²⁸² whereas the latter despised the newcomers, calling them “Swabians” and “carpet-beggars”.²⁸³

Large part of the colonists in Bosnia were not rural, but urban skilled labour force in industry, which started developing gradually under Austro-Hungarian rule,²⁸⁴ as well as numerous officials and officers.²⁸⁵ This population did not show so much steadiness as the rural one, so that its larger part left Bosnia-Herzegovina after the break-up of the Habsburg Monarchy.

The colonization of Bosnia-Herzegovina was not crowned by a success. Only a smaller number of settlers was colonized and they did not alter the ethnic make-up of the

²⁷³ Cf. Hauptmann, p. 151; Maier, p. 17.

²⁷⁴ Maier, pp. 19-22; Wild, p. 153.

²⁷⁵ Hauptmann, pp. 153-154, 157.

²⁷⁶ Hauptmann, p. 153; Kraljačić, p. 119; Drljača, p. 43.

²⁷⁷ It was the Polish who were the most numerous colonists, and not the German and Ruthenian ones, as claimed by Cvijić. (Cf. Drljača, p. 17.)

²⁷⁸ Kraljačić, p. 120.

²⁷⁹ HWBGAD, I, p. 498.

²⁸⁰ The claim of Tomislav Kraljačić that all Germans have founded exemplary estates cannot be accepted. (Kraljačić, p. 121. Cf. Maier, p. 39; F. Sommer, Fern vom Land der Ahnen. Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Gemeinde Schutzberg in Bosnien 1895-1942. Notvolle Heimkehr. Das Schicksal der Bosniendeutschen 1942-1960, s.l. [1960], pp. 20, 32.) It has only relative congruency, dependant on place and only if the life of the majority of the Germans is compared to the abysmal poverty of the native population. (Lech Pazdzierski, Maria Dobrowska i Jugoslavija, Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu, XVI/2, 1973, p. 615.)

²⁸¹ So for instance, the authorities were dissatisfied with the Ruthenians, of whom they thought they stood at even lower economic level than did the natives. (Kraljačić, p. 122.) Part of the Italians from Tyrol also turned to be unserious. (Hauptmann, p. 168.)

²⁸² This picture was however, not universal: the Poles got along well enough with the Croats, but they disliked the Serbs. (Pazdzierski, p. 615; Drljača, p. 16.) The reasons for this lied probably in religious difference. The claim of the Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia that the Poles and the natives got along well, needs to be qualified accordingly. (EJ, 6, Zagreb 1965, p. 537.)

²⁸³ Kraljačić, p. 124. The privileges the colonists enjoyed, were certainly the cause of animosity too. (Cf. Drljača, p. 19; Oehler, p. 2; Hoffmann, Zorn (eds.), p. 16.)

²⁸⁴ These colonists came to the new budding industrial centres such as Žepče, Zenica, Zavidovići, Sarajevo, Mostar etc. (Maier, p. 24; Geiger, Bosna, p. 220.)

²⁸⁵ Drljača, pp. 7, 24-25.

population – except in some places on the local level. Economically predominantly weak²⁸⁶ (although they often seemed prosperous enough compared to the surrounding native population), the colonies were suitable neither for the economic enlightening nor the political role assigned them by the powers-that-be of the Habsburg Empire. Grave storms of history would almost completely wipe out the results of the rural Habsburg colonization in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the next few decades. The urban colonist population proved even weaker: it either emigrated after 1918, or, if it had caught root itself earlier, started assimilating, ultimately disappearing as a minority population in the process. Still, because of their more numerous co-nationals in other parts of Yugoslavia, and their mother-countries (Austria, and particularly Germany) who played a role in the Yugoslav foreign policy, German colonists in Bosnia-Herzegovina were not completely insignificant even during the inter-war period.

²⁸⁶ Wily Oehler has noticed that the private colonies often fared better than the state ones, the latter being in unsuitable places. (Oehler, p. 2.)