

Southern New Hampshire University

Emigration from the Hungarian Banat,

1900-1920

A Capstone Project Submitted to the College of Online and Continuing Education in Partial
Fulfillment of the Master of Arts in History

By

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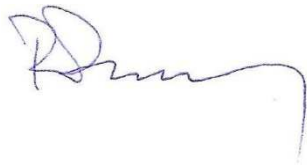
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Abstract

The early Twentieth century represented peak emigration years for Hungary and the Hungarian Banat. The research of this paper uses a social lens to convey the historical context of the period in relationship to emigration from the region. Between 1900 and 1920 the outflow of minority populations was due to nationalization tension, economic factors, conscription, social unrest and a lack of equity in state rights based in minority status. Peak emigration years were 1905-1907 and this is accounted for by increased social discontent coupled with marketing of shipping lines and agents. Minorities left in higher percentages than ethnic Hungarians and the effect was to increase the Hungarian population to the majority. Emigration ended with the advent of World War I (WWI). Post WWI, new minorities were created due to the partitioning of the Banat, but immigration nearly halted due to the 1924 United States Immigration Act.

Dedication

This paper is dedicated with respect to my grandparents,
Mathias Kratochwill and Franziska Kratochwill née Franczen,
who had the wisdom and foresight to emigrate
from the Banat in 1903 and 1905.

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I would like to thank each of my instructors and professors along the way for the valuable insights that they imparted, and for the lively material presented that kept interest alive.

A Note About Place Names

For the most part, place names used in the thesis are in accord with the period under discussion. Banat names were typically adapted and occasionally changed due to new national identities. A very old village may have a name rooted in its period as a Roman Province. Conversely, a new village name will have been renamed or adapted to Romanian or Serbian usage. Usually, the name variations are close. Bulgarosch becomes Bulgaros or Bogoros; Lowrin becomes Lovrin. Both villages are located within Timiș county. The region is alternately referred to as the Banat in reference to Hungary or Romanian periods, and the Vojvodina in Serbia. Under the Ottomans, the Banat was an administrative district known as the Eyelet of Temeswar. During the Austrian administrative period, the largest city was called Temeswar. Today, the city is known as Timișoara, the county seat of Timiș county and the largest city in the Romanian Banat. The two Serbian counties of the Banat, gained when Yugoslavia was a young nation under Tito, are known as a part of the Vojvodina.

Introduction

In a sense, the Banat is the center of it all as a highly contested region of East Central Europe. As part of the Pannonian plain, of South-east, and Central Europe, it is bound by the Tisza, Mureş and Danube rivers in the lowlands with the Carpathian chain defining the perimeter to the east. Both the Tisza and the Danube are navigable rivers. (Please refer to the Appendix, map 1.) The land is a very fertile plain with proven productivity dating back to pre-Roman times. Regional history was built upon a succession of initial conquests followed by one or two hundred years of rule before the next group arrived to claim the space. As a result, ethnic diversity in the Banat was quite broad by the early 1900's as a part of Hungary, in the dual Austro-Hungarian empire. During the period of this study, the Banat was a region of Hungary. Since 1920, only one county remains with Hungary. Today, the Banat is held by three nations - Hungary, Romania and Serbia, due to the partitioning of Hungary through the Treaty of Trianon in 1920 post World War I.¹ *This study of out-migration from the Hungarian Banat between 1900 and 1920 demonstrates strategies of ethnic nation building that reduced opportunities for the diverse population of the region resulting in minority emigration.*

There were many motivations to emigrate to America from the Banat, but often the reasons are presented in very general terms or conversely deeply specific to one factor. Topics will note economic conditions were poor, or population had increased, there was a war, or other conflict, but nobody took a survey (there is the one US survey) of why people left in particular,

¹ "Treaty of Trianon: Treaty of Peace Between the Allied and Associated Powers and Hungary And Protocol and Declaration," conclusion date: June 4, 1920, Brigham Young University, World Document Archive, Conventions and Treaties, https://www.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Trianon, last modified 4 November, 2011.

and this is where the significant gap remains. Remaining questions surround what the historical conditions were, of cultural influence, political climate and economics that encouraged the differing minorities to emigrate from the Hungarian Banat between 1900 and 1920.

Apparently, most simply took advantage of the opportunities offered that were not present at home. Yet within another twenty-five years, for many families, the branch that emigrated would be the ones who survived. Historical census reports show that many ethnicities resided in the Banat region, but that is not so true today. Instead, reduced population diversity is due to the continued use of ethnic nation structural development determined in the early twentieth century. The region was partitioned from Hungary to Romania and Serbia at the end of the first World War which is reflected in its demographic shift to a majority Romanian population in the Banat, and Serbian in what is known as the Vojvodina. This research topic explored could be compared to agriculture, through analogy. In this region, population groups are now much more homogenous. The long term trend has been to favor monocropping. Perhaps this is an apt analogy in light of historical dependence on large land estates.

Most scholars now settle on the concept of East-Central Europe, or South-Central Europe as the geophysical location of the Banat. Perhaps the most important historical debate even now revolves around the irredentist claims of each nation in the Banat, for at certain points of history, each small nation of today was vastly larger, or at least had an older claim. The Hungarian line encompassed Bohemia in the middle ages. Romania has memories of stretching back to the days of Roman occupation and the development of Dacia with Timișoara at its center, and this tends to be very territoriality expansive. Serbia was also a much larger empire at one point, and an important ally to Byzantium. Nevertheless, the focus of this particular paper is to examine the

context and reasons for the emigration of minorities from the Banat between 1900 and 1920, and less about who had what valid claim.

Debates about the Banat have revolved around which nation had the best claim to the region, and who should be permitted to live there as the dominant ethnic group. Less emphasis has been placed on the limits existing in society, in relationship to emigration. Earlier historical debates in the west began as the region was regained from the Ottomans during the eighteenth century involved how to develop and resettle the area. The region was viewed as a problem due to various conflicts, including the failed attempt by Hungary to separate from the Hapsburg empire in 1848. The failure led to concessions resulting in the Great Compromise of 1867.

Emigration from the Banat during this period resulted from the unique effects of a well-documented purposeful change of culture to establish Hungary as a Hungarian state coincided with significant emigration, mostly to the United States. The process of Hungarian nationalization was known as Magyarization. A lengthy process to convert all schools, public institutions and everyday culture to the use of Hungarian was a cultural point of friction. Prior to 1867, the language of government was either Latin in old Hungarian documents, or German, due to the relationship with the Austrian empire. The changes of culture affected all aspects of society from personal names, to the language spoken in school, and to the language of national policies and law.

By 1900, the emancipation of serfs in 1848 had been replaced by tenant farming. Industrialization through processed products had begun, so it would seem that the period should have been in a development phase, yet it was not and there was not enough work. The newly emerging, quickly growing, bureaucracy could not accommodate all seeking

employment, and itself was the source of extreme levels of taxation which increased discontent.

The research covers years where the population outflow related to a broad historical context of the period. The first wave of emigration from Hungary had consisted of those who had failed at rebellion from the Austrian empire. Many moved to Iowa and were cordially welcomed in the United States. The immigration waves of the early twentieth century were encouraged to come work in industrial settings, or try settling in regions of new land claims. The national composition of Hungarians in Hungary increased as minorities left to seek new opportunities. The Banat is used for the micro scale of this paper because the emigration of the Donauschwaben is particularly well delineated for case studies. Effects of cultural shifts such as this remain useful as comparisons when planning community standards to accommodate minority groups. Modern analogies may be seen in autonomous nations, voting districts, the United States Indian reservation system, and many ongoing factionalized wars including Syria. In short, any area may benefit from comparison where boundaries are a source of conflict due to perceived identities.

Most research studies of minority emigration from the Hungarian Banat during the early Twentieth century are not readily available to English speakers. Historical surveys of this region do not address the region in its entirety due to competing historical claims. Studies examine the region through a lens of national interests and territorial claims, or as part of larger works about the Balkans or Central Europe. Although the paper is written as an overview of conditions for emigration from the Banat during the early Twentieth century, the details are specific and comprehensive. Books of the region are limited in scope; large history works do not detail the specifics, smaller monographs and journal papers focus on quite detailed but limited areas of

concern. This proposed research paper seeks to reduce gaps in understanding about the impact and the specific influences of a regional migration. Following is the order of work presented by chapter.

Chapter I contains a historiography of works that form the themes and backdrops of the immigration details. There is a brief discussion of primary sources followed by secondary sources. Secondary sources include books and journal articles about the Banat from varied perspectives of scale and intention.

Chapter II is about the methodology used and the management of statistical vagaries. The choice of a Social lens is discussed in relationship to the period and the material contained within focus. A discussion on professional standards is included.

Chapter III examines specialized audiences. Discussed are those who would find interest amongst the general public. Scholarly application is given consideration. Techniques to improve access are included.

Chapter IV consists of the project Plan including proposed monograph budget and budget discussion. The initial phase is the final traditional research paper. The research paper will used to publish an historical monograph on the topic. The final proposed plan is to publish a monograph from the research findings. A budget is given along with a brief budget discussion.

Chapter V contains the historical research topic. The chapter is formatted in a relative chronological discussion of the Banat that compares who was leaving with events and conditions of the period. Conditions Minority emigration in relationship to political legislation, regional unrest, land holding and nationalization. Secondary considerations where gaps remain in the research are mentioned as noticed. Frequently as well, a gap is noticed in an area that invites new research focus.

Chapter VI, Recommendations and Ethical Considerations convey practices followed. Because immigration is a national concern, a mission statement is applied. Copyright and permissions are considered. Ethical standards are related to the professional field.

The Conclusion summarizes the research findings and makes note of remaining gaps. The significance of migration is placed within the context of the twentieth century conclusions about minority troubles and ethnic solutions. Technical chapters are considered in relationship to project plans.

The Appendix contains maps that show how the region changed. A few primary images are included, as well as charts or tables of note for the text. A section on ephemera from shipping lines and agents completes the offerings of the appendix.

The Bibliography contains a basic sort between primary and secondary materials. Primary materials include maps, immigration and population statistics along with primary texts discussing important themes of the period. Primary source websites are databases or digitized archival material. Secondary materials include books, journal articles and other media sources.

Chapter 1: Historiography

Primary sources for Banat emigration research begin with village church records and ship manifests. The church records, as noted before, have been collected by the Latter Day Saints, and they are available on Microfiche at Family history Centers.¹ Entries are written in script in the language of the time, which for most of the region means German and later, Hungarian with frequently Magyarized names. This database is most useful for family research of genealogy and there is no way to sort large batches of data online. The three major entries of church records include baptisms, marriage, and death. Most churches retain confidentiality for 100 years, and there are complications with accessing documents still held by the Romanian government. Other records may be available for non-Catholic confessions, but most of the Banat village churches were Catholic. Romanian, Serb and Bulgarian villages were Orthodox. For families seeking genealogical information, the Family History Centers contain useful research material. However, for this research, the most important data rises from census records, immigration statistics and shipping manifests kept by Austria, Hungary and the United States.

Of interest here are the first set of immigration records kept by Austria as they resettled land that had been retaken from the Ottomans. Berta List's "Danube Swabian History, The First German Settlers in the Banat Community of Bogarosch, A Contribution to the History of the Migration of the German People" details people who were ethnic Germans in the Banat.² The

¹ "Banat Church Records," microfiche file archives, Salt Lake Family History Center, (2018), <http://www.familysearch.org/Search/searchcatalog.asp>.

² Berta List, "Danube Swabian History, The First German Settlers in the Banat Community of Bogarosch, A Contribution to the History of the Migration of the German People," trans. Diana Lambing, 1942.

work is presented through the lens of pan-Germanic ethnic interests regarding Danube Swabian communities of the Banat region. List assembles the details of early pioneer registers in Vienna where immigrants to the Banat signed on. The “Quellen zur Deutschen Siedlungsgeschichte in Südost Europa” (Sources of the German Emigration History in South East Europe), is part of the data used to create the account of who had settled in Bogorosch, and in Lenauheim where a number of settlers resided while Bogorosch was being completed. The two towns mentioned are useful site samples from the larger region under discussion. The 'Quellen', although, only contained 11% of the pioneer entries.

Berta List took the position that Banat communities were German because Germans lived there. Prior to the Hungarian rebellion in 1848, the official language of the region had been German during its administration by the Hapsburg empire. Other ethnic groups in the region did not agree with this premise, including Hungarians, Croatians, Serbians and Romanians. List did not account for Magyarization which was asserting a national Hungarian culture nor pan-Germanic expressions through World War II. Her focus was specific to Germans outside of Germany.

Records of emigration are perhaps the most important primary source. Ship manifests are available through David Dreyer's database *Emigration from Banat in the National Archives Ship Records*.³ The database is thorough, and it may be sorted to extract useful data sets. Dreyer's ship list is the main collection of primary material used to track out-migration from the Banat region to the United States. The list covers data from passenger arrival manifests and entry records from the ports of Baltimore, Ellis Island, Galveston, Philadelphia, Canadian Ports and including

³David Dreyer, *Emigration from Banat in the National Archives Ship Records, 1896-1930*, http://www.village-records.org/ShipList/ShipData_list.php, revised 2018.

Bremen, Hamburg and Fiume departure records. There are varying levels of information included about the passengers because the earliest years requested less information from the passengers. Always included are the dates, who the person was, their age, where they stated they were from. often, who they accompanied, and who they planned to visit or stay with on arrival. The data base has a search function that enables easy use to select family names, and other categories may be quickly sorted by column. Unfortunately, the notes are grouped and need sorting for use. Another useful source is the *Bremen Passenger lists* database available from the State archives of Bremen Germany.⁴ The interactive database was created from lists saved in a salt mine during WWII. Luckily, Traian Rotariu, Maria Semeniuc & Elemér Mezei made available the census data from Transylvania in 1910 in English, for during this period, Hungary still grouped the counties of the Banat in with those of Transylvania.⁵

Scholarly works and shorter publications that are primary documents due to their direct observations or pleas are discussed in context below. Included in this grouping are the works by Dame Rebecca West, John Jivi-Banatanu, and H. R Helmut. Maps are not discussed in this historiography except to note that there are examples in the appendix of maps used during the decision making process to partition the Banat at the end of WWI. Following is the secondary source discussion.

⁴ Karl Weisling, project manager, Herbert Juling, database programming, *Bremen Passenger Lists*, (2009), Bremen Stats Archive, <http://www.passagierlisten.de/>.

⁵ Traian Rotariu, Maria Semeniuc & Elemér Mezei, *Recensământul din 1910 – Transilvania [The Census of 1910 – Transylvania]*, (1999), Bucharest: Staff, 548–550. Also see Rothschild, Joseph, *East Central Europe Between the Two World Wars*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974.)

Secondary Sources

To understand the Banat and its ethnic composition, one must understand the histories of several empires and their occupations of the region. Carolyn Finkel's *Osman's Dream* provides a detailed account of the arriving Turks, before and after the Ottoman taking of Constantinople in 1543.⁶ Because of Turkey's engagements in the Balkans and Central Europe, Finkel's volume helps to round out the rules of empires in the region. The details of Hungarian Ottoman conflicts are thorough as are the effects of the Crimean war. Finkel's careful scholarship makes the book indispensable to developing an understanding of the interactions and events through Ottoman fields of activity that explain how Muslim communities, such as neighboring Kosovo, came to be what they are today.

Along a similar vein of much needed information of earlier years, Judith Herrin's *Byzantium: The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire* details early relationships of South-eastern European nations with the Byzantine Empire.⁷ Especially useful are the sections that discuss the efforts of early diplomacy and religious conversions that resulted in the Orthodoxy of modern Serbians, Bulgarians and Romanians. Campaigns, diplomatic relationships, and the rise of the Turks are covered. The book lays the foundation to understanding how differing religious practices may become a definition of ethnicity.

John Fine's two volume series, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century*, and *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the*

⁶ Carolyn Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923*, (London: John Murray, 2005.)

⁷ Zoltan Gal, "The Golden Age of Local Banking: The Hungarian Banking Network in the Early 20th Century (from Unit Banking to Branch Banking - A Financial Geographical View)," *SSRN Electronic Journal*, (2008), 10.2139/ssrn.1334081, DOI: 10.2139.

Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest, dispels much confusion over which group arrived when and how each history plays into the development of what we now know as ethnic nation-states.⁸ When assessing national claims prime themes inviting bias include the precedence of arrival, and imprecations that the ones who came later were the aggressors, and not perhaps also themselves. This work is useful for weighing the claims of one ethnic group versus another because of his careful scholarship explain historical record free of national bias.

Lonnie Johnson's modern work *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends* provides an up to date perspective of the Hapsburg empire.⁹ Johnson is the Executive director of the Fulbright Commission in Vienna and is well versed in the complexities of Central European heritage. In this definition of Europe, the Austrian empire is capably presented with detailed explanations of regional and imperial interactions. Concepts of ethnic nation development are treated in depth and this is very important to understanding the constructs of the ethnic nations, such as Hungary and the Banat, within the Hapsburg empire. Comprehensive sections on political and minority changes along with the thoughtful analysis of underlying conditions make this volume very useful in deepening an understanding of how the geopolitical terrain was thought of in terms of allocation, war and management. Johnson focuses less on imperial policy and more on the workings of each nations considered in its relationship to empire and self-determination.

⁸ John V.A. Fine Jr., *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1983), *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1983.)

⁹ Lonnie B. Johnson, *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.)

In contrast, H.F. Helmut's *South-Eastern and Eastern Europe*, is an earlier historical survey written in 1907 and as such offers glimpses of conditions and thinking patterns of the time.¹⁰ The insights into period attitudes and details are priceless and provide context to regional levels. Because his observations were in the moment, out of print and archival works such this that are contemporary to the period of study present primary material with a scholarly basis.

This is also True of Dame Rebecca West in her lengthy volumes *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*.¹¹ British woman travelers have created detailed records we may cherish now for their faithful recording of conditions and conversations that they experienced while on their journeys. And of these, West was the best. Her acutely detailed writing offers a rare window into the people and conditions of the time as she and her husband, with their driver traversed the region to fulfill Dame West's need to understand the nature of sacrifice in the Balkans. At the time of her visit, our period of research is recently ended which helps to draw conclusions of the effects of out migration and territorial boundary changes. Her discussion of the complicated factionalized conflicts that existed in the Yugoslavian state are interwoven with the history of earlier years diffused through voluminous notes of meetings with the residents, visitors and officials of Yugoslavia. She is very clear to describe the differing attitudes and thought one minority had for another and has a great many fiercely violent alliances fully described. *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* is a most remarkable work and one that is indispensable to understanding

¹⁰ H.F. Helmut, *The History of the World. A Survey of Man's Record, Volume 5, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe*, (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1907.)

¹¹ Dame Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey Through Yugoslavia*, (New York: Viking Press, 1941.)

the region. Dame West visited Yugoslavia during the interwar period, but included discussion of then recent events.

The assassination of Austrian Archduke Ferdinand in 1914, accomplished by young Gavrilo Princip, in Sarajevo, set off the first World War. As a direct result, all of Europe was drawn into a long-protracted trench war with the allegiances of the allies clearly divided through previous treaty agreement. At the War's end, Germany and its allies, lost. To settle post war terms of reparation, The Versailles Treaty was signed in 1919 with conditions that altered the landscape of Europe to this day, nearly one hundred years later. The historiography surrounding the Versailles Treaty and its critiques is foundational to understanding the boundaries of the European Union today. The treaty of importance to the period of this research is the Treaty of Trianon which was signed in 1920 and partitioned the Hungarian Banat to Serbia and Romania, except for one county in the north.¹²

Margaret McMillan, in *Paris 1919*, makes a departure from the grand historical overview of nations and instead focuses on the Paris Peace Treaty process at the conclusion of World War I. She has a keen eye for describing the characteristics of the involved parties.¹³ The detailed accounts of how nations were partitioned, as a result of losing WWI, along with other treaty settlements are discussed within the problem solving framework of the process and its players. As a part of the Treaty of Trianon, most of the Banat was ceded by Hungary to Romania and Serbia, and this she does not neglect. The arguments presented by delegates hoping to gain territory are priceless.

¹²Treaty of Trianon: Treaty of Peace Between the Allied and Associated Powers and Hungary And Protocol and Declaration, Signed at Trianon June 4, 1920. https://www.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Trianon, 2011.

¹³ West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*.

Of Margaret Macmillan, a review by John Keegan noted "So frequently do current events, particularly in the Balkans but also in the Middle East, take us back to the Paris Peace Conference that Macmillan's book often reads like a commentary on the daily newspaper."¹⁴ This work is useful for detailed contextual overview of the Versailles Treaty and how its conditions established path dependency. In a separate review, Tony Judt, who was very well versed in the affairs of modern Europe, noted that although occasionally her background details might be better organized, Macmillan's management of each nation's involvement in the treaty making process is quite capable and that she is particularly strong in character development. Tony Judt considers Margaret Macmillan's *Paris in the spring of 1919* to be the first go to gain an understanding of ethnic and geo-politics today that are results of treaty conditions.¹⁵

To increase working knowledge of current scholarship, the recent centennial even at Sapienza University in Rome, 2014, commemorated the onset of the First World War and organized within the PhD program "History of Europe." The conference was dedicated to the hundredth anniversary of the outbreak of the Great War in continuation of the previous year's Conference on Empires and Nations from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century. Taking an inclusive approach, the papers include international and national scholars, researchers, and PhD students in history, political science, economy, sociology, geopolitics, geography, literature, and other scientific fields related to the topic. A great deal of background information may be gained from the proceedings in consideration of ethnic nationalism.

¹⁴ Keegan, John, "Paris 1919 by Margaret Macmillan, a Review," *Washington Post*, Washingtonpost.com December 15, (2002.)

¹⁵ Judt, Tony, "We'll always have Paris. Book Review," New York: New York Times, (Dec. 1, 2002.)

The assembled results entitles, *First World War: Analysis and Interpretation*, edited by Antonello Biagini and Giovanna Motta analyze the interrelations between multinational empires and the affirmation of the idea of the nation. Participants from various different countries and continents focused their attention on ideological and historiographical debates; the use of propaganda for the mobilization of public opinion; military history; social, political, economic, and psychological aspects of the war; the role of intellectuals and artists; the issue of minorities and nationalities; economy, international relations, and politics; and on war memories and the most important contemporary historiographical and popular narratives about the war.

The two-volume international, interdisciplinary work is the result of a combination of different disciplines and efficient research methods used by the contributors to reconstruct various aspects and facts of the history of the Great War. The contributions are based on archival documents from different countries, such as Georgia, Italy, and Poland, on international and local historiography, as well as on the analysis of newspaper articles, postcards, propaganda material, memorials, theater, school books, etc.¹⁶

Of particular interest in enlarging upon the historiographical themes of this paper are in chapter two of volume one, *Communication, Propaganda, Perception* examines the power of propaganda and its use by the governments involved in the conflict in order to support war efforts and encourage men to join the armies. Different propaganda instruments including pamphlets, handbills, books, postcards, newspapers, magazines, and books and toys for children are analyzed. The materials were aimed not only to recruit men but also to promote an active role of women as “agents of moral suasion.” Another propaganda tool used during the war and at

¹⁶ Antonello Biagini and Giovanna Motta, *The First World War: Analysis and Interpretation*, (Cambridge: Lady Stephenson Library, 2015.)

peace conferences was the ethnographical map, which became a weapon of political communication and an instrument for classifying identities and solving ethnic disputes.

The fifth chapter, *Nationalities and Minorities* examines the minority position and roles as well as the relations between them, focusing, on the one hand, on the harsh reality and the exclusion of minorities through policies of cultural homogenization, and, on the other hand, on the opportunity provided by the conflict to struggle for a better place.

Another curious gap remains in consideration of the Wilsonian vision of Ethnic States in regions of the Empire known to contain mixed people and cultures. Most modern cultures would cite outside agitators as the source of many discontents. Perhaps the outgrowth of ethnic groups with hard boundary lines was in part an attempt to remove outside influences from each discrete unit of the cordon sanitaire. President Wilson, like most of us, was simply promoting the trend of his day. The sense that groups must be geo-physically isolated from each other in hard boundary lines, rather than the softer overlaps of inter-tribal and family alliances in large groups of people who travel and have trade with each other seems to be a disconnect in light of the interactions of American diversity as it is practiced, or the reservation system as developed during the expansion of the United States into the west. In the United States, there was little immigration during the war period, and after that, the new minorities were barred by the 1924 Immigration Act and more or less, left to their own devices. Wilson's 14 points never were adopted by Congress.¹⁷

Tracing the legacies of the Wilsonian Doctrine remains another theme of Versailles Treaty historiography. The failure of the Wilsonian vision was not only due to a stonewalling

¹⁷ Woodrow Wilson Original Letters on Treaty of Versailles. Shapell Manuscript Foundation, <http://www.shapell.org/manuscript.aspx?treaty-of-versailles>, updated 2018.

congress over the formation of the League of Nations. Of concern to the losing nations forced to reparations were the losses of national lands conflated with the concept of ethnic boundaries. Losses of territory, resources and population laid historical groundwork for friction and lack of opportunity in Eastern and Southern Europe that have continued into the twenty-first century. The recent work of Graeber, Norman A., and Bennett, Edward M. *The Versailles Treaty and Its Legacy: The Failure of the Wilsonian Vision* critiques the Paris Peace Conference through a realist lens and supports the strong aversion many had to the treaty terms.¹⁸ However, as is reflected in most current histories of the Paris Peace Conference, the authors note that there is a developmental aspect that is ongoing. The vision of Wilsonian self-determination to grant national allotments on a demographic basis of ethnicity has continued to play out today.

Joseph Rothschild's work, *East Central Europe Between the Two World Wars* picks up with the effects of the Treaties arranged post WWI. Here is where the effects of partitioning the Banat begin to be discerned and this too links to emigration out of the region. This book is one of a projected nine volume history on the region. Rothschild was one of the first to define the concept of an "East Central Europe" in response to the break between east and west during the cold war years. His chapters are neatly arranged by nation including one for each of Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia. The detailed results of WWI are well defined and include historical reference to per-existing conditions for each nation state.

In this group of references, the individual work on the German settlers of the Banat region is well supported by the Danube Schnabel communities. Sue Clarkson's *History of German Settlers in Southern Hungary* describe the history of arrival and living conditions of the

¹⁸ Norman A. Grabner, and Edward M. Bennett, *The Versailles Treaty and Its Legacy: The Failure of the Wilsonian Vision*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

German pioneers who settled in the Banat after the Ottoman army was defeated.¹⁹ Richard Clogg's *History of Greece* help to deepen understanding of population transfers, irredentism, and the effect of Greece on the larger Balkan region especially through war, and the spread of the ethnic national ideal. *A Concise History of Hungary* by Miklós Molnár provides the details of major historical events of over one thousand years of Hungarian history in a compact version. Peter Sugar, Péter Hanák and Frank Tibor collaborated to produce *A History of Hungary* and are known for strict rigorousness in maintaining a balanced perspective. Although occasionally dry, this work combined with the previous by Molnár covers the nation thoroughly in providing national context to the research basis. *A Concise History of Romania*, by Keith Hitchins provides a fair account of Romanian history, which remains as a construct that is not in alignment with the Hungarian history due to competing claims.

Imposed Authenticity by Balás Trencsényi examines three nations and their inter-relationships in a non- polarized manner to broaden the scope of the discussion.²⁰ The work done here to analyze national concepts provides insights into the motivations of developing national characteristics and concepts of historicity in terms of symbolic resources and ideological references that define a nation. One might only wish that the scope had been broadened a bit further to include Serbia, but during the interwar period, the emergence of Yugoslavia submerged Serbia into its fold.

¹⁹ Sue Clarkson, *History of German Settlements in Southern Hungary*, (Foundation for East European Family History Studies, <http://www.feefhs.org/banat/bhistory.html>, 1996.)

²⁰ Trencsényi Balás, *'Imposed Authenticity': Approaching Eastern European National Characterologies in the Inter-war Period*, (W.S. Maney & Sons Ltd., 2010.)

Stephen Horak's publication *Eastern Europe and National Minorities 1919-1989* explains the complex ethnic composition of the region.²¹ The work is presented plainly without an agenda beyond its value to the US department of Education. The book contains historical summaries with annotated bibliographies for minorities throughout Eastern Europe, including nations claiming the Banat, with specific focus on demographic changes and political implications of the interwar period. The handbook was assembled because the authors argue that the complications of ruling "subject nationalities" led to deep complications with clear links to cause and effect.

The three chapters of interest for the study of the Banat are *National Minorities in Hungary, 1919-1980* by Martin L. Kovacs and David Crowe, *National Minorities in Romania, 1919-1980* by Stephen Fischer Galati, and *National Minorities in Yugoslavia, 1919-1980: Linguistic Minorities from an Economic Perspective* by Toussaint Hocevar and David Crowe.²² Because the works all pick up with the ending of World War I, the observations help to document the end point results of minority discontent for the period of this out-migration study.

A reasoned case for national integration is presented by Miklós Kásler in *Ethnic and Demographic Changes in Hungary's (More than) 1100 Years Long History*. By placing the foundation squarely in the beginning with the ten tribes who assembled, traveled west and took the land and developed as an integrated Hungarian culture. The focus is on sovereignty, integration and a common will of a people. Kásler's position maintains reasoned perspective that stands in counterpoint to the less than positive effects on minority populations in the Banat

²¹ Stephan M. Horak and Others, "Eastern European National Minorities, 1919-1980 Handbook," (Washington DC.: Department of Education, Littleton, CO: Libraries Unlimited, Inc., 1985.)

²² Horak and Others, *Eastern European National Minorities, 1919-1980*.

Mihai Spariousu, the editor of *Intercultural Conflict and Harmony in the Central European Borderlands*, contain works funded by Romania and pays very close attention to how cultures interact through contact.²³ The work is hugely valuable for its considerations of acculturation, contact and integration from the Romanian perspective. Continuing along the lines of minority interactions is Thomas Spira's *German Hungarian Relations and the Swabian Problem: From Kirolyi to Gombos 1919-1926* examines official interactions of Hungarian minority policies with the strong German minority. Since the three introductory chapters cover *Hungary's' Minority Policy before World War 1*, "Minorities 'Conciliated' Education and Cultural Policy 1918-1919," and *The Early D4 182 / 4National Minorities in Hungary, 1919-1980 Horthy Era: Swabians; Austrians and Germans and, The Seeds of a Dilemma (1919- 1,922)*. The remaining chapters, deal with historical surveys of the difficulties between the Magyars and the Swabians; the latter being the largest and most vocal minority remaining in Trianon Hungary. Spira's monograph is a natural pairing to use with a correlated statistical outflow of emigration.

Thanos Veremis is perhaps the most direct in his assessment of the region in *The Modern Balkans: A Concise Guide to Nationalism and Politics*. Veremis does not mince words as he discusses the region in a global context with emphasis on the trajectories create as a result of nationalistic practice. Overall, the purpose of the book is to clarify the nationalism of the region and to remove confusion the nature of regional identity and statehood. There are three main sections to the book: first, the emergence of new nation states and those without a state, second the connections of the Balkans to global context in areas of nationalism and identity, and third, the remaining challenges to be addressed in the region.

²³ Mihai Spariousu ed., "Intercultural Conflict and Harmony in the Central European Borderlands," (Göttingen: V&R unipress GmbH, 2017.)

Contrary to opinions of the west, regular features of society were not uncommon. Zoltan Gal in *'The Golden Age of Local Banking': The Hungarian Banking Network in the Early 20th Century*, discusses the banking system.²⁴ His work makes it possible to understand how area financing was managed and what types of financing were available. Fully dispelling the notion of a region perhaps lacking in culture is Cécile Kovács házy in her study *Timișoara, la petite Vienne du Banat* where she discusses the cultural climate of the city in relationship to Vienna's intellectual and cultural communities. However, she makes no mention of the usual notice of *Timișoara*, as a little Paris and this must be explored through other writers. She is included here because her portrayal of early twentieth century city life in the Banat depicts a happening urban scene, not at all "backward."²⁵

The influence of geography on nations is neatly covered by Robert Kaplan in *The Revenge of Geography*.²⁶ This could be his most important contribution, although *The Revenge of Geography* is not specifically focused on the Banat, the deeply considered relationships of geopolitics from the perspective of land based attributes, needs and resources remains applicable. The premise of the book is quite simply, that geographic space and resources form the core definitions of a nation's realities and opportunities, despite emphasis on other political or cultural aspects. One glance at the Banat is all it takes to note that this prime area of agriculture will continue to be contested because of its fertile plain and abundant supply of water and that all

²⁴ Zoltan Gal, "'The Golden Age of Local Banking': The Hungarian Banking Network in the Early 20th Century (from Unit Banking to Branch Banking - A Financial Geographical View)," *SSRN Electronic Journal*. 10.2139/ssrn.133408, 2008.

²⁵ Cécile Kovács házy, "Timișoara, la petite Vienne du Banat," *Germanica*, 43, (2008,) 105-114.

²⁶ Robert Kaplan, *The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate*, (New York: Random House, 2012.)

roads still lead to Timișoara. Maps of demographic change may be found in the work of K. Kocsis and P. Tátrai in *Changing Ethnic Patterns of the Carpatho-Pannonian Area*.²⁷ The GIS mapping systems assembled by Kocsis Tátrai and Kicošev demonstrate the shifting patterns of population in the Serbian section of the Banat known as the Vojvodina. Since the mapping covers an extensive timeline, periods are covered prior to Serbian success at gaining the Vojvodina through the Treaty of Trianon.

Two websites in particular convey the effects of nationalistic practices based in cultural dominance. YIYO is the largest archive of Ashkenazic resources and contains a brief but well documented history of Jewish presence in the Banat written by Ladislau Gyémánt.²⁸ The other is the Center for Research of Expelled Germans.²⁹ This site is quite explicit on the removal of most ethnic Germans outside Germany and clarifies who was responsible for what type of forced movement in the region. This of course, includes the Banat, with its story of German expulsions dependent on differing Serbian, Romanian or Hungarian policy. The causal antecedents of the war are not ignored. Although this is past the proposed timeline of our study, the finality of the endings cannot be ignored in the conclusion about Banat trajectories based in ethnic nationalism as a source of out minority out- migration. A less harsh perspective is gained from Jan Wilhelm in *Banat Swabians on the Move* as he carefully ties research of a personal family member to the larger themes of immigration shared in common experience. Wilhelm's early work is an

²⁷ K. Kocsis, and P. Tátrai, "Changing Ethnic Patterns of the Carpatho-Pannonian Area," *Budapest: Geographical Institute, Research Centre for Astronomy and Earth Sciences HAS*, (2012.)

²⁸ Ladislau Gyémánt, "Banat," Translated by Anca Mircea, YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Banat>, (2010.)

²⁹ James Mayfield, "Center for Research of Expelled Germans," <http://expelledgermans.org/index.html>, (2009.)

inspiration to personalize the common themes of immigration through the lens of one family member. In contrast is the sober account of Mramorak village life given by Herman Bohland. This Lutheran settlement was located in the Vojvodina and flourished for over two hundred years. They were “perished” at the end of World War II.³⁰ A large contribution to understanding post war population changes is presented by James Mayfield who has the Center for Research of Expelled Germans.³¹ This set of historical data, from carefully detailed information shows what happened in areas where there were ethnic Germans after World War II.

Miklós Kásler, “Ethnic and Demographic Changes in Hungary's (More than) 1100 Years Long History,” luckily also cover the period of research and confirms that minorities were leaving in excess of others.³² John Kosa on the other hand, “A Century of Hungarian Immigration, 1850-1950,” covers the modern years beginning with the exodus after the failed revolution of 1850 when many Hungarians settled in Iowa and Turkey, through post World War II, but not up to the also failed revolution of 1956.³³

The Hungarian version of a global national identity was linked to what was known as pan-Turanism. For a period, many Hungarians believed because they had originally emigrated from east of the Caucuses that they were perhaps related to other Turkish people. Michal

³⁰ *Heinrich, Bohland*, “Mramorak Gemeinde an der Banater Sandwüste (Mramorak in the Banat),” Translated by Henry Fisher, *Village Association of Mramorak*, http://www.swabiantrek.com/?page_id=498, (1980.)

³¹ James Mayfield, Center for Research of Expelled Germans, <http://expelledgermans.org/index.html> , 2009.

³² Miklós Kásler, “Ethnic and Demographic Changes in Hungary's (More than) 1100 Years Long History,” *Civic Review*, Vol. 13, <https://eng.polgariszemle.hu/archive/141-vol-13-special-issue-2017/hungarian-history/895-ethnic-and-demographic-changes-in-hungary-s-more-than-1100-years-long-history>, 2017.

³³ John Kosa, “A Century of Hungarian Immigration, 1850-1950,” *The American Slavic and East European Review*, Vol. 16, No. 4, 1957, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3000776>, pp. 501-514.

Kowalczyk gives a detailed account of the rise of Hungarian pan-Turanism, and its relationship to other similar movements of the day.³⁴

As noted early on, the historiography surrounding the Banat involves histories of empires including Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman and Austrian periods. National histories are numerous, and often balanced in perspective despite the conflicting claims of differing national identities over territory. Many articles have examined aspects of Eastern European society and historical events, but few have placed emigration from the region into the period context or focused on the Banat. Primary works most useful have been related to now historical primary documents in the form of books and booklets, along with national statistics and the ship lists assembled from ports of entry. Using all the resources mentioned has been enough to create the paper, and yet there is so much more that could be included for a larger work in the future. The historical research discussion will commence in Chapter V which incorporates references from the historiography and others. Many of the previous works are mentioned in the research topic with additional sources incorporated as needed. Following is the discussion of the methodology used for historical research on emigration from the Banat.

³⁴ Michal Kowalczyk, "Hungarian Turanism. From the Birth of Ideology to Modernity-an Outline of the Problem," (Węgierski turanizm.) *Od narodzin ideologii do czasów współczesnych – zarys problematyki*,) Warszawa: Historia i Polityka No. 20 (27), www.hip.umk.pl.

Chapter 2: Methodology

The period of the early twentieth century was in congruence with new and emerging social trends in historical understanding, although the Austro-Hungarian empire was still focused on the liberal perceptions that followed the waning concept of the Hapsburg absolutist monarchy. The lens chosen for the research project uses a social perspective that is able to account for the blending of other more singular perspectives including historical religious, economic, political, gender, minority and educational facets. Research indicates using an historical lens with a social focus will enable presentation of multiple factors influencing the out-flow of people. Ernst Breisach's *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern* provides a quality overview of the manner in which history is accounted for over time in the western traditions.¹ During the period of 1900-1920, the concept of what was important to history began to be greatly expanded and viewed through numerous lenses. Using a social lens enables discussions that affected society emigration enables other lenses to be incorporated from widely ranging disciplines under one “umbrella.”

The time frame of emigration from the Banat is during the early modern period. The earlier phase of the Enlightenment had brought increased levels of toleration for religious groups and minorities under Joseph II. By the end of the nineteenth century, new pressing concerns through lack of opportunity and an overtaxed system. Emigration agencies were close at hand and ready to help the emigrant each step of the way. A new time of social interactions, of mass movements of common people had begun. Because the history is based in a social movement, a

¹ Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern*, 3rd ed. (University of Chicago Press, 2007.)

social lens is used to assess the detail through equating the context of emigration with the actual flow.

An overview of the modern era helps to clarify the themes relevant to the period, in case one does not have the time to read histories of several empires and another half dozen about small states with large claims. *The Modern Historiography Reader: Western Sources* by Adam Budd helps place the many schools of thought into a coherent and selective context.²

Methodology is based in sound research practice. There is some awareness of personal bias for the author because of ancestors who emigrated from the region in the early twentieth century, but this has only served to increase interest in the region. A comparative approach is useful to understanding the differing perspectives that create a composite history, particularly in a region such as the Banat where histories are long intertwined. For this, *Comparative Historical Methods* by Matthew Lange is a useful guide to begin with.³ Comparison is useful in sorting out the strains of period thinking. *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History* by John Tosh also sets the standards of research including trends.⁴ *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing* by Anthony Brundage Wiley is yet another text that guides the practice for this research project in selection of reliable primary and secondary materials.⁵ Methodology for this paper is a mixed system that incorporates selected

² Adam Budd, editor, *The Modern Historiography Reader: Western Sources*, 3rd edition. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009.)

³ Matthew Lange, *Comparative-Historical Methods*, (Sage, 2013.)

⁴ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History*, (Oxfordshire: Taylor and Francis Sixth Edition, 2015.)

⁵ Anthony Brundage, *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing*, 5th ed., (San Francisco: Wiley, 2013.)

historical information to provide societal context in relationship to out-migration. Most simply this can be explained as who left when what was happening, how did they leave. Secondary selections are chosen to represent a cross section of the period in areas covering nationalization, education, religious considerations, minorities in the ethnic nation, women's roles, economics, agriculture and immigration marketing. For this inclusive approach, set through a minority filter of emigration, the social lens is the best fit.

Results have been determined by the best and often the only historical data available. A case in point is the 1774 work by Jacob J. Ehrling in determining the ethnic composition of the Banat. His work is the only work, and so that is what we must use, even as thoughts remain open to possible vagaries in his accounting.⁶ Most sources used in research have been available online through repositories that include the New York Public Library, the National Archives, the Hungarian National Archives and a number of universities who have digitized collections including Stanford, Brigham Young University and Yale.

Primary data used in this paper has been established for some time, however, it is incompletely placed into the context of conditions as seen through a social lens. Immigration records are as accurate as possible, but there are always small mistakes or a deeper level of information that might have been gathered. In addition, there are the people who did not turn up on any record who either traveled under false identities or as stowaways. Census data is the best available from the period, yet there are always those not completely counted, such as the migratory Rom, or those who reported inaccurately. In addition, many people were identified by the language spoken, which prior to the great Reconciliation of 1867 between Austria and

⁶ Jacob J. Ehrling, "The Origins of Minorities in Banat."

Hungary meant German, and after that increasingly turned to Hungarian due to nationalization policies. People who were not landed might not have been properly counted including pastoral Serbians and Romanians. Conversely, other groups have been well written about particularly the German Lutherans, and Danube Schwabs. Other minorities such as the Bulgarians or the Czechs also command interest due to the unique stories of their arrivals in the region or as ongoing anomalies of an ethnic state in the modern era.

One source of primary data is the ship lists. Methodology here involves first downloading over 43,000 data entries in Excel, in sheets of 500 names at a time. Eighty-seven pages later, and with enough power to process, a sortable database may be reconfigured. From this database much has already been gleaned, and this is acknowledged as presented. Sorting in new forms gains answers that support the research premise, although not without difficulty. Hence, the list may be easily sorted by villages, and then counted to see how many left from that location in relationship to the existent population. Sorting by year of emigration is less simple due to the need to separate the date year from month and day, however, this can be accomplished through adding a new column and entering each year for each individual. Age based information is readily available and sortable by year.

Many papers display forms of national or minority interest and occasionally, outright bias. Most papers will focus on one aspect of emigration or various conditions and events of the period. The attempt here is to explain the overall causes of emigration and then tie them to the groups leaving without invective over concepts of “backwardness”, or nationalism at the expense of other groups. Awareness of competing national positions has to be acknowledged, because many works must be sifted to gain the facts that support the nuanced claims. This is also true of western perspectives about Eastern Europe. Although there are verifiable and often deep details,

there are many more perceptions. The goal is to acquire a composite that adequately measure the outflow of people from the Banat and their minority status to the conditions of the period.

Larger historical themes are not lacking in this region. Imperial relationships yielded years of Absolutism under the Hapsburg, whereas the Hungarian king was traditionally elected for life by peers, to a position that did not always translate to heirs and occasionally was contracted out to other foreign nationals such as the Anjous of France (back in the 14th c.) Military history is a strong regional theme with accounts of both the Ottoman gains and losses as related to the Austrian advances, not neglecting Balkanism and all the territorial claims, or the Great Wars. The Banat as a frontier is an important historical theme of the region because many new settlers were brought in after the land was retaken from the Turks. Additionally, the region is thematically rich in national statehood and minority concerns especially through the lenses of acculturation and emigration.

Primary documents are indispensable and include the following sources. Ship lists, which are the most complete emigration records for this population. Voting records, census statistics and records of policies and law are indispensable to document how the region changed through emigration in relationship to the political climate. Newspaper resources are in the beginning phases of research, but there is no lack of archived material, and much of it is contained within American collection sites including the National Archives. Early books, booklet and tracts were of use in shaping the period debates

Other primary documents are Hungarian voting records, economic indicators and census statistics. The official records are about as accurate as they can be, although there is always a need to account for what is not included or may have been “adapted.” Earlier historians did not

have access to the databases of today, and they are very powerful tools to have and use. Other resources used in the research including specific national histories and journal articles including tracts and ephemera now out of print. Ship lists were tagged and sorted to gain counts of the composition of ticketed passengers and those in their company.

Although it seems basic to note, statistics are based on the data available at the time. Hence, although emigration records from the Banat are thorough in covering most who left, there are anomalies of people who arrived, but have no presence in the ship manifests of having left. Political voting records are only acknowledged as what was officially counted; there is rarely an account of what may have been disappeared or inflated. When taxes were collected, only what was gained was accounted for, not what could be hidden. Conclusions are drawn pragmatically within the range of what is in the record, but there is awareness that gaps in records may reduce the total accuracy. Those who were evading conscription, or taxation during high collection phases, saw no advantage to accurate reporting. Otherwise, conclusions from research are based in the sound foundation of credentialed works supplemented by the best statistics and day to day information available. Conclusions based in data gained from the ship lists were gained by sorting information as entered, or by separating data that had been grouped to gain a sense of how many people were in the groups considered.

Chapter 3: Specialized Audiences

Intended Audience

The intended audience is first and foremost, to gain peer review with further adaptation and expansion permits based in acceptability. For papers such as this, often the first step is to seek an opportunity to present the paper at a professional conference and to have the work published in a peer review journal. A publisher of historical monographs is being sought to then make the work available to the larger common audience who has interest in immigration history, yet may not be historians. Because the monograph addresses demographic change, the work has value as a comparative case history.

Immigration histories remains relevant to American society and there are an estimated four million Hungarian Americans in the United States. In addition, there are the ethnic Germans, Serbians, Romanians who's families emigrated from Hungary, and might like to know more about the causes and flow. Modern Americans with ancestors who came from the Banat will find the research results of interest. As a part of the larger story of America and immigration, the audience can be anyone who is interested in the diverse make up of the nation.

Minority immigration is an important component to the weave of the fabric in the United States, yet we often do not fully understand the conditions that encouraged such a remarkable flow of people. The intended audiences for the research and exhibiting of reasons for out-migration from the Banat are individuals and scholars who are researching social histories to understand the dynamics of ethnic nation building and minority population changes. Because the region was a unique mix of many minority groups, the research results are useful to researchers

and students who need to understand the conditions that encouraged populations to leave their homeland. Ultimately, by the end of WWI, the concept of ethnic mixing had unraveled in favor of the ethnic nation state, with increasingly drastic steps taken. How diversity failed in the Banat is of interest to any professional who is striving to maintain an equitable and diverse community.

With proper funding, ease of access might be improved. Print material could also be read aloud for those who have vision impairment, or simply prefer to listen. Lectures would be improved if a sign interpreter is employed to communicate during a talk. The project plan and budget discussion is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Project Plan, including Budget, staffing and discussion

Phase one of the project has been to create a full length traditional research paper about emigration from the Hungarian Banat between 1900-1920. The completed full length, traditional, research paper is the project for the capstone. However, the core project forms the basis for a threefold approach to audience engagement: the published monograph, a devoted website exhibit, and visual guide to a lecture series in the form of a power point presentation suitable for ungraduated students and educated adults. The staffing is minimal, consisting of the author and site creator. Technology on hand is sufficient to complete each project. Each component is discussed in detail below in a prioritized order of accomplishment.

The Monograph

Monographs remain in favor, often to be found in museum gift shop and in bookstores with specialty sections related to the topic. As a printed book, the slim volumes present specialized information on topics of interest. The research paper and historiography will form the basis of a monograph on emigration from the Hungarian Banat between 1900-1920, although there will be inevitable improvements to the flow of writing, as well as editing to format for publication. Additional visual materials will be needed to create a booklet with visual interest. A monograph is usually tailored to an educated public who have some knowledge of the topic and interest in learning more. The quality of scholarship in a monograph ensures its inclusion in historical scholarship. Funding to support the monograph as a chapbook, runs about one dollar per page. A first run will only need one hundred copies to get started, with further copy runs as

ordered. The sale of the monograph will theoretically recover time spent researching and writing. A travel grant will be sought to expand the primary source material and the depth of material.

Prior to publishing the monograph however, it is most appropriate to submit the work to peer review and then create the final publication. This will mean making an effort to send out queries for journal publication, particularly to publications that have an interest in the history of migrations, particularly with a minority and Eastern European focus. Fortunately, many journals pay for articles, and those that do not pay add to one's professional credibility. Earlier experience with article writing for publication provides the background confidence to proceed.

The budget needed to publish first in a peer reviewed journal and second to create a print and online version of the monograph has no significant expense, for one can only hope that personal time invested as a student creating a paper, will eventually pay off. The largest investment in the process of revision and publication is in the time spent working on the project, followed by the technology that is used to perform the work. It would be wonderful to have a professional editor to work with, and an indexer, but this will only be in the budget if there is a publisher. The only other related costs are shipping and printing. If there is a publisher, time will need to be spent assembling the contract and determining the royalty agreement and coordinating the work on an agreed timeline. If the work of other artists are included in photographic materials or compositions, there could be permissions and royalty payments for copyright material. Considerations of layout, binding and cover art will need to be addressed.

Should the monograph attain a reasonable footing, the monograph could be expanded into a full book. Expansion would be best facilitated with a Creative Writing Fellowship from the

National Endowment for the Arts.¹ The research paper would be reworked to tell the story of immigration from the region, personalized through individual emigrants and their communities.

Grants are awarded to only a few in comparison with the number of applicants, so the expectation here is to apply as a supplemental project with other areas of project focus moving forward independently. There are other supporters of larger research projects, especially those who have a closer interest in this particular history. All grant attempts need to be planned out well in advance to meet application deadlines. Much of the basic information is already assembled in the capstone project details which reduces the time spend creating the proposal, but the work remains lengthy. Additionally, the use of grant funding requires additional layers of reporting beyond the basic accounting for tax purpose because the funds have to be spent in ways agreed on with goals that are delivered as completed, and successful, projects. The project for the capstone is the monograph, followed by other related projects. Following is a production budget and discussion.

Although a publisher will be sought, the pragmatic approach of self-publishing is listed for the purposes of this paper and depicted in figure 1. With professional fees included, (other than the author), the initial run of 200 paperback books will cost \$7.35. The wholesale price to book vendors will need reflect artist remuneration. Once the initial costs are recovered, subsequent runs generate higher revenue, even at wholesale. Most vendors will want to market a booklet such as this in the range of twenty dollars or so, and there are limits to the wholesale pricing due to the retail markup. Any books that are personally sold, such as after a lecture, will have a retail price that is equivalent to a shop. A final cost are the books used for promotional

¹ “Creative Writing Fellowships,” National Endowment for the Arts, (<https://www.arts.gov/grants-individuals/creative-writing-fellowships>.) Accessed August 16, 2018.

material. Taxes are usually an additional expense by state, county or municipality and are not factored into production costs.

Banat Monograph Production Budget, Self-published, Services used.		
Category item	Cost	Notes:
Copy Editor	300.00	25.00 per hour
Indexer	300.00	25.00 per hour
Cover Art	200.00	public domain may be selected
Promotion/marketing		
Print copies	220.00	200 copies first run, 1.10 per paperback
professional fees and licenses	300.00	
Office expense	600.00	includes purchase of Adobe Publisher
Shipping	200.00	
Narrator for audio version online	150.00	
Total Expanded Budget	\$1,470.00	

Figure 1: Banat Monograph Production Budget

The slide show

The slide show will not be developed until after the course is completed, but following are a few thoughts on the creation of a one hour lecture on emigration from the Hungarian Banat. Time is needed to build up interest in a topic presented through public speaking, and so the first order is to connect with the historical groups and others through promotional material. Often a simple query is enough, or a response to a call for papers. The first and most obvious use for a power point presentation is for paper presentation at a conference. Otherwise, most lectures take place at monthly events where people enjoy learning new topics. Venues include societies, associations and other institutions such as schools or museums with related materials.

From experience in other lecture slide presentations, it is possible to run through up to eighty slides in an hour, if the slides are highly visual and are used for brief bursts of information. However, for most class settings, the number is much lower, and more slowly presented, rarely surpassing twenty or thirty slides for a full two hour or longer period, and they may lack graphics. The instructor of such may be presenting the salient points on slide, with the lecture containing a deeper level of detail, or the slide may be entire. For most, the slide is used as the talking point for the lecture. To create talking points, the research paper will need reduction to its key points.

After that, the points may be assembled in fairly discrete bits for the slide show. It helps to keep in mind that there are limits to the readability of words on slides, for a viewer at 25 feet will need letters to be 1.5 inches tall, once it a slide projected onto the screen. For personal speaking engagements, which are usually a paid exchange, the graphic components will all need to be materials not restricted by copyright requirements to minimize investment. Most groups have up to date projectors compatible with power point formats, although technical requirements remain an important part of any speaking agreement to verify.

Chapter 5: Historical Research Topic

The Banat and its formation

The Banat has long been an area of mingling people. The region was often thought of as a boundary land and this trend has continued for most of its history.¹ Most often the boundaries were very real and represented at their peak by a row of fortresses stretching from Transylvania to the Adriatic Sea. Archaeology sites indicate that Banat Sarmatians were still present near the Danube when the Slavs arrived along with Germanic Goths and the Romans who created the province they called Dacia in the 1st c.² The earlier Celtic tribes had already receded to further north. Dacia as a Roman province went to Eastern Rome when Diocletian split the empire. The division meant that the region came under the influence of Constantine, and away from Rome. During the time that the Banat was a part of the Roman Empire, the cultural center became Constantinople. The fourth century brought the first wave of Huns, and close or not, Hungarians identify closely with the period of Attila's arrival in Europe. After the 5th century, the Barbarian world was to the north, on the other side of the Danube. Dacia was the dividing line between the Eastern and Western Roman empire. The lands that the Slavs moved into were not empty, for the Croats quickly subjugated the Avars and the Serbs became neighbors, settled through imperial decree, under Heraclius.³

¹ John Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to late Twelfth Century*, (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press), 1983, 14-15.

² Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, 12, 26.

³ Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, 53.

Migration was the norm and this trend has continued throughout the history of Eastern Europe, and this is no different in the Banat as a region of changing populations. “Moves that are relatively long and relatively definitive” and “break with the area of origin,” form a substantive lens for the history of East Central Europe in the last three centuries is migration history.⁴ Small local migrations connected to labor or marriage practices. Circular migrations led to a return after seasonal work. Chain migrations include related individuals and clusters of people linked by descent and often related to career migration for economic opportunities. Also, military conflict emerged as a factor of movement due to war migrations, and post war planned colonization. Migration occurred because populations were affected by the complexities of life, influenced by political events, military campaigns, religious discrimination, economic circumstances, social organization, property holding status, and demographic characteristics while population movements also exhibited regional variations and fluctuations.⁵ Movements of population groups in and out of the Banat have continued through modern times with ongoing emigration of minorities from ethnic states, usually due to ongoing conflicts that were set in treaty boundary lines post WWI.

Incoming populations began to develop the area, first under independent kingships, but increasingly under administrations that had assumed empire status through massive holdings of many territories. The growth of large estates was a trend that emerged between the 4-6th c, with remaining freeholdings still legislated, and intermittent free villages.⁶ Banat farms were

⁴ Irina Livezeanu, and Arpad von Klimo, *The Routledge History of East Central Europe since 1700*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 126.

⁵ Irina Livezeanu, and Arpad von Klimo, *The Routledge History of East Central Europe since 1700*, 127.

⁶ Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, 20.

developed during this period as tax farms, which was also equated with latifundia style agriculture. By the tenth century, the Hungarians kingdom was complete, and recognized. In the 1200s the region was devastated by the Mongolian horde, but they retreated on the death of the Khan. The Hungarian kingdom then flourished until the arrival of Ottoman military I the 16th century who persisted with repeated campaigns to extend holdings in the Balkans.

Years of intermittent warfare along the Hungarian front finally culminated in a five year truce negotiated by grand vizier Rustem Pasha. Transylvania, which included the Banat during this period, was handed back over to Hungary. This provoked retaliation by the Ottomans who sent the governor of Rumeli, Sokullu Mehmed Pasha and he took the military front from Hungary. “By 1552, for the first time, there was a line of Turkish forts along a Hungarian boundary that included Buda and Timișoara.”⁷ The boundary lines of Temeșvar province were fairly contiguous with later versions of the Banat as an administrative region. Local government and ownership of lands were for the most part retained as they were, as a section of Transylvania, but were now subject to new Ottoman administration.⁸

Tax farming concessions were intrinsic to regional management. Life term tax farming was instituted in 1695 by the Ottomans.⁹ Tax farming concession were put out to bid but by 1715, the terms were ended because of their over-generosity. The daughters of Sultan Ahmed III were the main beneficiaries of tax farming concessions because princesses were the only ones who were able to hold life tenure. The princesses had landholdings and entitlements to customs

⁷ Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923*, (London: John Murray Publishers, 2005), 134.

⁸ Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 134.

⁹ Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 338.

dues that were especially strong in the Balkan provinces. Provincial farms such as this typically had their local managers who also received their cut of revenue gained from the land. Tax farms did not include town income sources such as market dues but allowed small investors in to stimulate the economy.¹⁰ Crop exports began to develop in grains, especially wheat, wool, cotton, hemp and dried fruits.¹¹ However, the efforts to retake the territory by Hungary, with Austria increasingly dominant, continued. Through war and devastation, the land was depopulated. Only the eastern areas still occupied by the Turks were an exception and presented a better picture. Known minorities of this period in Ottoman Temeşvar, included families of Spanish Jews and Serbians who had fled war fronts.”¹² Amongst the incoming groups were thirty thousand Serbs had migrated into the region in 1699 away from the war front. Later, a population of Bulgarians arrived and settled new villages as they too fled war.

The Turks were driven out of the Banat on July 21, 1718 with parts of Serbia and Wallachia also taken by the Habsburg military forces. In appreciation for their support in the military campaign against the Turks, lords and church officials were given huge tracts of apparently empty ownerless land. Most of what had been there had been destroyed over the course of repeated campaigns.

When the Banat was recovered from the Turks, the existing population of Serbs and Romanians were pastoral and living on a subsistence basis. A remaining gap is the survey of lands which had been used for grazing prior to the war against the Turks and hence claimed later

¹⁰ Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 340.

¹¹ Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 341.

¹² Hans Walther Röhrig, “Die Geschichte der deutsch evangelischen Gemeinden Des Banats” trans. By Henry A. Fisher, (Liepzig: 1940), paragraph 2.

by the Hapsburg empire. A remaining gap is a comprehensive history of property claim losses in regions such as this. Because imperial Austria claimed the Banat, all previous claims were invalid, even those prior to the Ottoman years. A Royal Patent and decree in 1689 proposed a plan to resettle the region by bringing German peasant farmers, artisans and craftsmen along with other nationalities to redevelop all of devastated Hungary, including the Banat and adjoining Batschka. The German settlers were culturally and linguistically isolated in the ethnic mix of Serbs, Hungarians, Romanians, and others found in the Banat prior to the retaking. Although, they did adopt Gypsy children in the years when children were being removed from their families, these children were then raised in Germanic culture.

Ongoing conditions were difficult which created unsettled movement of peasants, either to the mountains and away from tax collectors and large estates, or into the fold of a large estate as a serf, where protection was a given. During periods when lands were abandoned, usually due to war fronts, tax revenues fell, and the state found it more difficult to raise military funds. This resulted in legislation to bind peasants to the land. This pattern continued no matter who ruled until 1848 when serfdom was abolished, as a concession, after the failed Hungarian revolution.¹³ The revolution itself was nearly half a century later than the constructs of revolution that had emerged through western European thinking, consider Haiti, The United States, or France, but was in the same time frame as other eastern European nations in the empire. Unrest in the Hapsburg empire was something of a regular feature with ongoing minority complaint.

Regaining Hungarian lands allowed reduction of some of that pressure through a plan to resettle the region. The Settlement Patent of Charles VI in 1722 began the flow of settler who

¹³ Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, 20- 21.

were in reality, gaining land for military and land development service. Settlement phases extended over one hundred years and had three phases named after the Emperor of the period- Carolingian, Theresian and Josephinian. At first, German Roman Catholics from neighboring Austrian principalities were settled in the area. Amongst the Germans were French and Italian people. Later Evangelical Lutheran settlers from Baden, Württemberg, Hessen, Alsace and Lorraine as well as the Palatinate also arrived.

Maria Therese had an expulsion policy for all non-Catholics because she was firm in her belief of Austria's identity was as Catholic nation as evidenced by its history as the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁴ This did not persist for her policies of expulsion were later replaced by her son, Joseph II, enacting the Patent on Toleration 1781.¹⁵ Beyond the scope of this research paper is that there may be a use in comparing the military frontier of the Banat to other frontier settlement planning, in the Americas.

Under the Habsburgs, the Banat of Temeşvar was administratively established as property of the Crown. Most of the landed estates in Banat and Batschka were owned by the State and were designated as a military district and buffer zone against incursions by the Turks. Prince Eugene of Savoy, the military administrator and Count von Mercy, head of the land settlement program, ran the Banat on behalf of the Royal Austrian Court. There were few private landed estates or landlords.¹⁶ Hungary was excluded from administration of the retaken frontier and state institutions which enabled the Hapsburg Dynasty to divide up the land without any

¹⁴ Bohland, "Mramorak in the Banat."

¹⁵ Emperor Joseph II's Toleration Patent for the Lands of the Austrian Empire (1781), http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3643, 2018.

¹⁶ Bohland, "Mramorak in the Banat."

impediment.¹⁷ To avoid ethnic conflict over cultural differences, administrator usually established villages that were composed of one group or culture.

Once the land was secured, the settlement program of the Hapsburgs allotted lands to the settlers who were by any account very much in keeping with ancient traditions as landed farmer soldiers. German colonists were famous for developing the Banat into a highly valued agricultural land. As a remaining gap in historical land management practices, another researcher might enjoy tracing the land grant systems of farmer/soldiers structurally through its heritage to ancient Greek States.

The discontent of the peasants became economically related to a lack of land. By the end of the 19th century, the descendants of these German Donauschwabs constituted a sizable minority of the population. There were also private colonization efforts where the large estates brought in their own supply of workers. Later, the invited workers came to be subjected to restrictions on movement. The numbers of Banat Germans, with their high birth rate grew, until by the end of the 19th century they found themselves without further farmland for an expanding agrarian population. The ongoing German culture had followed a hereditary system of primogeniture, but this was replaced with partible inheritances as the Magyarization process increased after 1849. In effect, this meant that parcels began to be too small to be productive, yet the new lands were not available due to being held by the state. For other minorities, the situation was not better since Serbs, Romanians and the Rom rarely had land of their own. They subsisted as tenants and seasonal workers, yet also had increasing populations. Religious minorities had also tended to relocate to the region due to intolerance in their homeland. Transylvania had a

¹⁷ Bohland, "Mramorak in the Banat."

tradition of acceptance; the Ottomans had long recognized political and society arrangements through the millet system based in religious confession.

Lutherans began to arrive in 1718, although they settled in their own villages and were not initially welcomed. Lutheran settlements in the Banat that were established in the spring of 1718 with the arrival of Hessian Lutheran settlers from Ober-Ramstadt located in the Odenwald at Neu Palanka south of Weisskirchen. Their first settlement was located at Langenfeld shortly after the Turks were expelled from the area. All public worship was denied the Hessian Lutheran settlers in the Banat, but some families and individuals about eighty-five in all, left and followed their former pastor to Hungary. All of the settlements were later destroyed by the Turks and the population was massacred or carried off into slavery while some managed to flee and found haven with the Transylvania Saxons.¹⁸

By 1781, the situation had changed. In order to accommodate the large scale Protestant emigration Joseph II sold large sections of crown lands on August 1. As of September 21, 1782, would-be settlers were granted freedom of conscience in regard to religion. Joseph II was a strong supporter of the “Enlightenment” and he enacted The Edict of Toleration in 1781 for Austria and 1784 in Hungary. This decree should not be confused with religious freedom at this point, but simply tolerance.¹⁹

The only account of the population from this period are from the numbers given by

¹⁸ Röhrig, Hans Walther, “Die Geschichte der deutsch evangelischen Gemeinden Des Banats, (The History of the German Lutheran Congregations In the Banat),” Liepzig, 1940, summarized and translated By Henry A. Fischer, (Donauschwaben Villages Helping Hands, DVHH.org, 02 Feb 2008) website by Jody McKim Pharr, http://www.dvhh.org/heritage/Fischer/1782-banat_german_lutheran_congregations~Rohrig-Fischer.htm.

¹⁹ Bohland, “Mramorak in the Banat”.

Johann Jakob Ehrler in his 1774 report on Origins in Banat.²⁰ He noted that after 50 years of colonization, approximately 53,200 or 14.11 percent were German colonists living in Banat and that the rest were Romanians 220,000 (58.55 percent) with Serbs and Aromanians 100,000 comprising 26.61 percent of the total. Although the land had been a part of Hungary, and Transylvania, due to Austrian administration retaking from the Ottomans, Hungarians were in the minority at 2,400. The remaining others represented 0.64 percent, and this also included the Bulgarians. Jews were still a very small group at 340, 0.09 percent of people.²¹

Although Ehrler's numbers are most likely not exactly precise due to seasonal workers and such, his count is most likely a reasonable representation of the mix of people. His report is centered on the Germans in relationship to the rest. Although they were just over 14 percent of the population, they had the relative advantages of smaller family sized land grants and early support to get established. The largest group was Romanian at nearly 58.55 percent, but he did not comment on their pre-existence or their arrival in the region. In any event Romanians had few rights under the Hapsburgs and most had no land, although they were in the majority, status was not improved. The very low percentage of Hungarians due to the retreat from the Ottomans and then later the administration by the Austrians, is interesting because the land was still supposedly a part of Hungary, but this was prior to the full development of ethnic nationalism to follow the mid-19th century. Conditions for religious faiths other than Catholics in the Hapsburg Empire began to improve with the 1781 Patent of Toleration enacted by Joseph II. which

²⁰ Johann Jakob Ehrler, "Report on Origins in Banat."

²¹ Johann Jakob Ehrler, "Report on Origins in Banat."

recognized the existence of non-Catholics.²² Previously, Maria Theresa had expelled them downriver and out of the homeland core. 1782 Joseph II Edict of Tolerance- extended tolerance to Jewish faith which reduced constrictions for the community.

Austrian Chancellor Kaunitz wanted to have the eastern regions as the grainery for lower industrialized Austria using new roadways, cleared river channels and constructed canal systems.²³ Swamps were drained, fertilizers and crop rotation introduced. The 1800s saw increased recognition for modern methodologies in agriculture (*Pallérozás*) with large landowners sponsoring educational institutions to gain skilled employees. Farming for economic benefit increasingly diversified into manufacturing and secondary product production.²⁴ Value added products in agriculture represented the first phase of industrialization in Hungary, but the Banat remained predominantly agricultural.

Post 1848, conditions began to change. Although Hungary had lost their revolution against the empire, they were able to gain concessions. Many revolutionaries had emigrated to Iowa in the first wave of American Hungarian ex-patriots but those who remained moved into a phase of restructuring political institutions. The Public laws of 1848 contained 6 legislative acts (Public Laws VIII-XIII/1848) that ratified important changes to society. The changes abolished the *corvée*, the tithe, tax exemption for nobility, and entailment of feudal estates making former serfs, now tenant/owners of “urburial parcels.” Cottage tenants on the “demesne” were not

²² Emperor Joseph II's Toleration Patent for the Lands of the Austrian Empire (1781), http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=3643.

²³ Andrew C. Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary 1925-1945*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982, 35.

²⁴ Oscar Jászi, *The dissolution of the Hapsburg Monarchy, 1929, 5th edition*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 36.

included. Communal grazing lands were divided between landowners and villages, with payment extended somewhere out into the future 'under the protective shield of national honor'²⁵ Public law III replaced the Royal Chancellery and Resident Council with a prime minister and a parliament, dissolved the diet of the estates and replaced it with a bicameral assembly of lords and representatives. The lords retained the rights of review and rejection. Hungarian ministries of defense and finance were established. Public law VI merged Transylvania and Hungary, but left Croatia undefined with the Hapsburgs. The lack of Croatian status would become exacerbated over time with its final result as the Croatian nation we know today. In between, there was ongoing resistance, and the issue of conscription would arise.

The changes did not endure, for the Great Compromise of 1868 undid many of the earlier laws. Most executive powers, along with county and municipal assemblies were relegated to ceremonial function by executive committee with power to nominate by a high sheriff, and veto by a lord lieutenant. The period brought in the politics of bureaucracy, with the new institutions modeled on French forms. The last quarter of the 19th century became known for its electoral corruption through the use of forgery and intimidation. This was known earlier, but now it became institutionalized and routine. Coleman Tisza's administrative bureaucracy created a single powerful machine through making elections perpetuate the Liberal majority through many rotten boroughs. The evolution of open boroughs as models developed in response.²⁶ Agriculture was deeply entangled politically because the large estates were of deep concern to the landed lords who were usually members of parliament.

²⁵ Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary*, 83-84.

²⁶ Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary*, 97.

After 1850, policies were established that transferred land back to the former feudal landlords, but prevented the emergence of full-time family farms in order in favor of the large estates to ensure that they had farm employees when they were needed.”²⁷ All sources agree that family farms between five and fifty hectares were blocked from development in favor of large scale operations. Other large estate holding strategies to conserve the system was enabled by strict controls that included massive credit subsidies, expansion of mortmain holdings, plus a protective grain tariff after 1878. The effective supply of land was very restricted and unevenly distributed.²⁸ Lack of development in Hungary was due to the “enforced” system of very large landholders and lack of recognition of small farm efficiency. “The consolidation of large, centrally-operated estates in Hungary was unique in Europe, aside from lesser developed parts of Southern Europe.”²⁹

The transformation of serf labor to wages did not increase farm employment. The Customs Union, established in 1850, could not cope. They were unable to manage declining grain prices, the transportation revolution of canals, railroad, steam followed by cars and trucks, and the Austrian capital which financed the boom post 1867.

Under mixed economic conditions, The Great Hungarian migration began in earnest in 1870, only three years after the 1867 date of Hungarian nationalization. Hungary chose to assert their rights as a nation and declared a policy known as Magyarization, which meant a conversion

²⁷ Michael Kopsidis, *Agricultural Development and Impeded Growth: the Case of Hungary 1870-1970*, edited by Pedro Lains and Vincente Pinilla, (Halle (Saale), Germany: Institute of Agricultural Development in Central and Eastern Europe, 2006), 10.

²⁸ Kopsidis, *Agricultural Development and Impeded Growth*, 10.

²⁹ Folke Dovring, *Land and Labor in Europe 1900-1950: A Comparative Survey of Recent Agrarian History*, (Dordrecht: Springer Science +Business Media, 1956.)

to all things Hungarian, no matter what had come before. Prior to nationalization, the language of government and in schools in the Banat had been German. All this was changed to encourage a Hungarian national identity.

Magyarization

Magyarization was the process of creating the Hungarian nation after the 1867 compromise. All aspects of public life changed. Public spaces, streets, city squares, were re-named after Hungarian heroes. Focus was spent on developing a Hungarian style of architecture, in a huge phase of national monument building. Hungary took part of a European “statue craze” from 1880 onwards and used Magyar symbols to crowd out the multi-ethnicity of villages towns, public buildings, and maps and atlases. On the macro level, social changes to make everyone be Hungarian meant annexing territory, redrawing borders. During the great compromise, the Banat was returned to Hungary by Austria for administration. Micro level changes meant taking control of town councils and nationalizing local spaces. Internal spaces became the real battleground. All official business was converted to Hungarian including permits, and act of government. Prior to the Great Compromise, the Austrians had used German for all administration of Hungary. Involvement with Austria had, in large part been due to retreating from the Turks. Earlier, the Hungarians used Latin for government documents. Schools also began to teach primarily in Hungarian. Most reports agree that the Germans were amongst the people who assimilated to Hungarian culture, even to the point of changing their names to be more Hungarian. This was also true of the Jews, particularly those who were urbane, who were expected to be Hungarian, although of a different religion.

There was concern by other minorities. Hungarian socialists worked with the Czech minority in opposition to the official use of Hungarian during Magyar nationalization, but

Germans were willing participants. The populations of Jews had steadily increased after Joseph II enacted Religious toleration patents. Unlike Maria Therese who was firm in her sense of Austria as a Catholic nation due to its history as the Holy Roman Empire, Joseph II made choices based in Enlightenment thinking that improved circumstances for religious minorities who were subject populations. After emancipation in 1867, the number of Jews living in Banat doubled to 13,591, and the last census before World War I recorded 19,153, accounting for approximately 3 percent of the total population. After World War I, Banat became part of Romania, and the Romanian census of 1930 recorded 14,043 Jews in the region.³⁰ Jews dominated banking and finance, remaining notably opposed to socialism and used the same techniques as Christian anti-Semitic groups in opposition.³¹ Further research of the common usages between disparate groups to disparage opposition political parties would yield functional insights based in continuation from historical practice. Romanians protested the use of a national language, particularly when religious schools came under the requirement. For the Serbs and Romanians who were developing their own national identities within a modern framework, the resistance to becoming Hungarian would eventually result in the taking of the Banat at the end of WWI.

Magyarization replaced the previous efforts to assimilate minorities to Germanic culture. Prior to the Austrian cultural overlay, Ottoman culture organized society based on religious confession through the millet system. Although Hungary had lost its revolution, the position was strong enough to assert its identity and this was accomplished through the Great Compromise of

³⁰ Ladislau Geymant, "Banat," Translated by Anca Mircea, YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Banat>, (2010).

³¹ G.D.H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought: Volume III, Part II, The Second International, 1889-1914*, (London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1963,) 567.

1867. All aspects of society were affected by language changes and official forms of support for a Hungarian national identity.

Education

The first round of teaching an official language in schools had been undertaken in response to the “*Ratio Educationis*” regulation (1777) that had begun to teach in German, but the original languages were still in use to aid in transitioning. This changed on 4 March 1849, with acknowledgement of the religion and of the cultural identity of each ethnic group that inhabited the Monarchy, without however granting them the right to being taught in their native language.³² Years later another decree stated the German language as teaching language, disregarding the other existent native languages.³³ When Magyarization became official, large numbers of German priests and teachers accepted and even embraced the process of Magyarization, simultaneously being granted all sorts of privileges. Therefore, the process culminated, when the Apponyi laws (1907) came into force and no one was allowed any longer to make use of any other language, except the Hungarian one, in educational institutions or other public places.³⁴

The entire society was modernizing, and this required a higher level of education for an increasingly higher number of citizens, especially through the use of value added processing. Agricultural and forestry fields began to use increasingly skilled labor. 1900-1910, 3,186 industrial units added in the Banat. By 1910 there were 45, 572 places of industrial employment,

³² Andreea Rodica Ruthner, “The status of the German minority within the multi-ethnic educational system of the Banat region – a historical overview focusing on the multicultural character of the region,” (1938), *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 46, (2012), 1435 – 1439, 1438.

³⁴ Ruthner, “The Status of the German Minority, 1438.

15,389 of which used employees.³⁵ Many of the industries must have been small cottage enterprises with a sole proprietor, because not quite one-third of the new industries had employees. Mining created additional requirements in skill.

New industry created new standards in orientation and qualifications to industrial employment often aimed at machinery functions and installations. Apprenticeship schools were founded. This increase of children sent off to school was a result of legislative measures to develop schools and improve attendance and, the direct support of the local communities to construct the new and modern school buildings. Education was compulsory for ages 6-15. Many legislative provisions from one decade to the next transformed the schools into “instruments for forced Magyarization.”³⁶ Official policies were strongly opposed by the Romanian minorities who wanted to retain their own language., the Germans mostly adapted even taking Magyarized surnames. Past the language and cultural components, education and literacy did advance. In 1880, Banat literacy was 23 percent. By 1910 it had improved to 50.6 percent, and then continued to climb. Wealthier households showed the most significant progress in town such as Jimbolia, Cenei and Sannacola Maer.³⁷

The educational protests that emerged from the Romanian community were over the requirement of confessional schools, not public, to also teach exclusively in Hungarian. April 9, 1907 protests in Timisoara, with thousands from Ciavoca, Buzias, Recas, Lipova and Aradul Nou, against the Berseviczy law project for education and Minister Albert Apponyi's laws. The

³⁵ Ioan Munteanu, *The Evolution of Literacy in the Historical Banat of the Late 19th and Early 20th Century*, in *Intercultural Conflict and Harmony in the Central European Borderlands*, ed. by Mihai Spariosu, Göttingen: V&R unipress GmbH, (2017), 175.

³⁶ Munteanu, *Intercultural Conflict and Harmony in the Central European Borderlands*, 178.

³⁷ Munteanu, *Intercultural Conflict and Harmony in the Central European Borderlands*, 184.

protest resolution condemned teaching in the Hungarian language “at the expense of the student's instruction in didactic material.”³⁸

Early modern years

Unrest continued, shifting to the acquisition of Croatia and Bosnia/Herzegovina by the Austrians. Because of the Muslim populations, a process began that highlighted the differences in rights between groups. The Austrian empire had been spending some time trying to develop institutions that would manage the many minorities of the empire. Common thinking determined two main denominators. One, the Austrian empire needed a way to define territories so that small nations could band together for mutual benefits. The other factor was how to best re-organize to satisfy its eleven semi-autonomous ethnic nation states.³⁹ Ultimately any advances or retractions came too late as the onset of WWI would later demonstrate very significantly. Minority discontent increased. The Treaty of Berlin settled in 1878 gained independence for Serbia, Romania and other Balkan nations based in ethnic self-determination, such as Montenegro and Bulgaria. The entry of Orthodox nations into the Austrian empire introduced an increased Russian influence due to pan-Slavism and Orthodoxy.⁴⁰ Hungary was uneasy due to their experiences since 1867 in Magyarizing other minorities, especially the Slavs and also due to “acquiring” the Moslem populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁴¹

Economics also continued to lurch along. The real beginning of industrial development dated from the establishment of full Hungarian autonomy under the 'Ausgleich of 1867.

³⁸ Munteanu, *Intercultural Conflict and Harmony in the Central European Borderlands*, 184.

³⁹ Johnson, *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends*, 165.

⁴⁰ Finkel, *Early Medieval Balkans*, 487.

⁴¹ Finkel, *Early Medieval Balkans*, 487.

However, this development did not gather momentum' until the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century. This was also the period during which there was a great improvement in the scope and quality of economic statistics. The first censuses of agriculture and manufacturing were taken in 1895 and 1898, respectively. Shortly thereafter, in 1900, the first complete and reliable population census was conducted.⁴²

Accurate counts did not extend to the growth in economics, for during this period, capital venture developed a tendency to overstate assets. Capital was stated in gross terms and yet was related as net national product. Government statistics also presented estimated personal consumption obtained after deducting gross capital formation from net national product. This appeared to be purposeful because there was no distinction made between gross and net capital formation. "Data are always stated in gross terms, yet the implicit impression is left as if they were net and overstatement became common."⁴³

During the 1850s, new Hungarian institutions of government were being developed because awareness had grown that economic and bureaucratic structures had a gap in function. The emerging bureaucracies initially favored the Hungarian families of nobles with nepotism a common practice. Taxation quickly grew to much higher levels than in western Europe to the point that reassessing property values became the norm. To collect taxes, "quasi-military" campaigns (*adószedési hadjárat*), were sent out. The worst was in 1869 with *gendarmes* going house to house and terrorizing taxpayers and sequestering livestock, furniture and household goods. The campaign increased bitterness in the rural population and raised revenues by

⁴²Alexander Eckstein, *National Income and Capital Formation in Hungary, 1900-1950*, (1955), John Wiley and Sons, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4991.1955.tb01079.x>, updated 2018, 153.

⁴³ Eckstein, *National Income and Capital Formation in Hungary*, 159.

11percent. 1868-1875 are the years of fiscal mismanagement.”⁴⁴ Hungary had followed the model of France and other western European countries in creating its institutional structures, except the country did not generate the financial overhead to support social institutions.⁴⁵

During the seven year period following, 1868-1875, (the fiscal mismanagement years) state expenses rose 68.5 percent, taxes went up 21.7 percent. To make up the difference, and to finance the railroad, bonds were floated, but only sold for 55-75 percent of their value on European money markets. National debt increased. In the following three years, Finance minister Coleman Széll increased land based income 25 percent, from its previous base of a 27 percent house tax and introduced excise taxes on hunting licenses, firearms, jewelry, wine and meat.⁴⁶ But, by 1880 the budget was close to balanced. To make growth possible, the next step was to shift tax burden to small production units, and from rural to urban tax payers, and finally also including wage earners.⁴⁷

The Civil Service Act of 1885 improved the merit system by requiring education and this had some leveling effect of reducing the previous types of nepotism that favored employees from families of Hungarian nobles first and the rest hardly at all.⁴⁸ With reforms, the first minority to gain a foothold were the Germans who had accepted Magyarization. They were followed by the others as offspring of well to do farmers and horse traders, became educated. The acceptance of minorities had the effect of absorbing rather than creating separate groups of

⁴⁴ Janos *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary*, 106.

⁴⁵ Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary*, 106.

⁴⁶ Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary*, 109.

⁴⁷ Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary*, 109.

⁴⁸ Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary*, 110.

leaders. The saying of the period became “One feeds a Slovak child on one side, and on the other out comes a Hungarian gentleman.”⁴⁹ A remaining gap in historical research is comparing the pattern of acculturation that is expressed in this adage to others, for it calls to mind Henry Ford’s “melting pot” ceremony for new American citizens.

Alexander Werner, Hungarian minister of finance 1887-1892, the fiscal program was regressive with large estates over 1,000 acres taxed at 9 percent and small farmers under 50 acres up as high as 30 percent. Urban taxpayers, home owners, workshops and factories were taxed percent higher than the small farms. Werner also introduced levies on tobacco, alcohol, kerosene, flour and salt. Overall, he raised excise revenue 330 percent, and over all income and property taxes up 30 percent. This created revenue excess between 1880-1885. Foreign capital in the 1890s contributed to a serious phase of industrialization that shifted 20 percent of farm labor into manufacturing, but this was not enough to absorb the population in need of work.⁵⁰

From a socialist perspective, Cole pointed out the differences between Magyar aristocrats and the much larger body of small holders and laborers. For the Socialists, the peasant Magyars were easier to work with than other Hungarian minorities who were prone to take up their own nationalist movements across borders (such as pan-Slavism). “The great agrarian troubles in Hungary in the 1890s took place mostly in the Magyar areas and, when they spread, more among the Germans of the Banat than among any other racial group.”⁵¹ Most socialist critique faults the bi-modal distribution system that favored large estates at the expense of the smaller which were

⁴⁹ Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary*, 110.

⁵⁰ Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary*, 109.

⁵¹ Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought*, 568.

more competitive due to family employees rather than wage earners. Hungary as a nation was known as “the quintessential home of a landed aristocracy.”⁵² For the many landless and unemployed farm laborers, this was no comfort.

The system depressed the living standard for wage earners, and prevented the rise of a domestic market for new industrial products.⁵³ Yet, nobody, for instance exactly forced Hungarians to increase their consumption of textiles as much as they did in the early 19th century.⁵⁴ But they did, and this slowed down domestic saving and agricultural increases (money put back into the land.) The effects of import fabrics are well documented in their influence on societal behaviors and economies. It was a weak link in the economy because the Banat and other sections of Hungary raised fiber crops including cotton, wool, hemp and for a period, silk, although there were no manufacturers to weave and sew. Hapsburg determinations of the Banat as agricultural created a barrier to regional development.

Fabric as it turned out was in the domain of The Austro-Bohemian textile industry. Tariff influences lasted until the early 1900s, when the government met “secretly, given the great political sensitivity of the issue “and channeled 65 percent of government subsidies into textiles to remedy the lack.”⁵⁵ During the industrialization phase, although there was credit available to pile on year after year, Agrarian “profligacy” was vastly exaggerated by conservatives and radical alike. By the end of 1800s, over half of agriculture was comprised of a new generation of

⁵² S.M Eddie, (1989), *The Social Distribution of Landed Wealth in Hungary ca. 1910*, Research in Economic History, Suppl. 5, 219–249.

⁵³ Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary*, 109.

⁵⁴ Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary*, 319.

⁵⁵ Janos *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary*, 152.

well-educated ethnic entrepreneurs, and that despite depressed prices, improvements continued to be made. Wheat correlated to income.⁵⁶

The modern mills served an increasingly strong internal market for grain. Bilateral agreements placed for duty free imports of grain to be processed. Austrian demand stagnated, and there was a loss of all markets not in the customs union. Because of the agreements, Romania and Russia could not compete or enter into western Euro markets and Hungary had protection.⁵⁷ From 1850s on there was work for unskilled labor in the fast growing agricultural population, but this did not last. However, while it did there was rapid growth of modern infrastructure, extension of cultivated farm lands and diffusion of extensive farming systems. In reflection of the pretty good period, emigration did not really show much activity until twenty years later.

Unfortunately, the dual Hungarian Austrian structure made it difficult to react to adverse market developments without slowing down growth and increasing poverty. The pressure on large estates to produce grain, and their inability to leave grain “significantly reduced the capability of Hungarian agriculture to absorb labor.”⁵⁸ Wheat prices did not keep up with the rest of Europe. By the end of the 1880s, decreasing returns in the previous agricultural boom created a labor surplus that could not be absorbed. Grain producers reacted to cost pressures by cutting

⁵⁶ Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary*, 153.

⁵⁷ Kopsidis, “Komlos,” 1983, 143-144.

⁵⁸ Michael Kopsidis, *Agricultural development and impeded growth: the case of Hungary 1870-1970*, ed. Pedro Lains and Vincente Pinilla, (Halle (Saale), Germany: Institute of Agricultural Development in Central and Eastern Europe, 2006.)

wages and other labor-saving measures.⁵⁹ Industrial progress centered in the cities could not develop quickly enough to absorb labor, and Timișoara was no exception, although the records show very quick progress. The city of Timișoara trade member taxes to the Chamber of Commerce and Industry show that in 1880 there were 5,028 members. By 1910 this had grown fourfold to 20,216 members.⁶⁰ Additionally, for a period the development of new infrastructure in the form of railroads, canals and roadways absorbed workers during the boom cycle of the 1880s. Modernization of agriculture was accompanied by the creation of new technical institutions.

The coincidence of shrinking agrarian and non-agrarian demand for unskilled labor in the face of an expanding rural population enabled political radicalization in the agrarian population. Thus, severe social unrest increasingly resembled a pre-revolutionary situation during the 1890s.⁶¹ At any rate, the system was at its limit of productivity and this resulted in conservative retrenchment on one hand and social experiments by the left on the other. The Magyar core did not drain its periphery which included the Banat, of economic products (implicit is that Austria did.) In the case of Hungary, social problems rather than a sudden increase of population gave the impetus to emigration.⁶²

⁵⁹ Károlyi Kocsis, "Contributions to the History of the Hungarian Ethnic Mapping," (http://www.academia.edu/8846059/CONTRIBUTIONS_TO_THE_HISTORY_OF_THE_HUNGARIAN_ETHNIC_MAPPING), (2018,) 12, 13.

⁶⁰ Károlyi Kocsis, "Contributions to the History of the Hungarian Ethnic Mapping," 12, 13.

⁶¹ Károlyi Kocsis, "Contributions to the History of the Hungarian Ethnic Mapping," 12, 13.

⁶² John Kosa, "A Century of Hungarian Immigration, 1850-1950," *The American Slavic and East European Review*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (Dec., 1957), Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies; Cambridge University Press, 1957, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3000776>, pp. 501-514. Accessed: 18-07-2018 21:28, 502.

Conditions continued to deteriorate even as advances were made, but could not be effected quickly enough. Once again, the socialist perspective here is useful, for they were the interested parties in radicalizing farm populations. The agrarian disturbances of 1896 and 1897 were met with severe measures of repression by the government beyond breaking up the peasant meetings and proscribing the socialist party; it enacted new repressive legislation. In 1898 a new law, commonly called the ‘ Slavery Law’, was enacted. Clearly a backlash law against agitation, all strikes were prohibited, with harsh penalties for incitement to strike. Rural workers were forbidden to gather in any form, and became subjected to compulsory labor. Absenteeism while in service of an estate-owner became a criminal offense with enforcement provided by county authorities, who were in the control of the local landowners. Again, there were extensive agrarian uprisings in 1905 that was played off through the excitement caused by the Russian Revolution.⁶³

Many signs of the times were not positive. The Romanian agricultural riots of 1907 left the region in deep unrest with many trials. On the other border of the Hungarian Banat, The Serbian King and Queen were assassinated in 1903 by the Black Hand, a shadowy paramilitary group with a pan-Slavic agenda. Later, Black hand would be affiliated with Young Bosnia, the group that Gavrilo Princip belonged to that planned to assassinate the Archduke. In 1908, 503 Slovaks were indicted on charges of incitement to riot and to abusing the Hungarian flag. During the same time frame, 216 Romanians were also sentenced. Socialist records show that 916 of its members stood trial in the decade before WWI.⁶⁴

⁶³ Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought*, 578.

⁶⁴ Oscar Jászi, *The dissolution of the Hapsburg Monarchy, 1929, 5th ed.*, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1971), 65.

New election complaints rose with new votes in 1914 as a result of gendarme or administration mistreatment. Courts were known to be more favorable to Magyars than national minorities, social Democrats or Agrarian Socialists.⁶⁵ Three Agrarian Socialists were elected to the Hungarian Parliament, but they were not from the Banat. Achin was soon assassinated but the Varkonyi, Mezofi, continued in Parliament to promote reform.⁶⁶ The activities of the Socialists later were most apparent post WWI with the brief tenure of Bela Kun, the first communist president of Hungary in 1919. This did not last for he was quickly replaced by ultra-conservative, Admiral Horthy in 1920.

Voting Rights

Another increasingly recognized source of discontent was the lack of voting rights for most subjects. Voting rights were not universal. For males, only a little over 6% had the right to vote, and women had none at all. In 1905-6 a party known as the 'Men of 1867' promoted a bill which would have given both the working classes and the Slavs some prospect of winning seats, but it was blocked by nationalist opposition. In addition, there was a struggle occurring over the right of the Crown to increase the size of the armed forces and to demand from Hungary both a larger number of recruits and an increased financial contribution. The Austrian emperor/Hungarian king permitted a secret promise to not disturb compromise of 1867 which provided little for either group.

The 1908 Franchise Bill would have set representation on a plural system that weighed against non-Magyars and working classes. Socialists created serious protest riots in Budapest,

⁶⁵ Oscar Jászi, *The dissolution of the Hapsburg Monarchy*, 1929, 65.

⁶⁶ Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought*, 578.

and were deeply repressed. The next two iterations of the Franchise bill also broke down amidst a conflict over increased military service in relation to new Austrian agreements with Germany. The Hungarians refused to authorize a larger call-up. Women were not able to gain suffrage during this period, despite ongoing activity. .

The 1905-06 introduction of universal suffrage for male Austrian men created a political crisis in Hungary. 1910 saw the last prewar parliamentary elections with only 6.4% of the men eligible to vote. By 1912, women were supporting universal suffrage demonstrations, but this was the last prewar feminist campaign. In May 1913, the Thirteenth Congress of International Women's Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) in Budapest. In July 1914 war began.⁶⁷ In December of 1917, Vilmo Vázsonyi submitted an electoral reform bill that included women, in June of 1918, but Parliament rejected the electoral reform. In 1922, women cast their first votes, but full suffrage took until 1945.

Emigration regulation and practice

In 1850 immigration permits had become required. Thirty years later, Hungarian mass emigration between 1880 and 1900, became a period where the national government as well as local authorities made increased efforts to manage the flow. Concern increased over emigration agents who were recruiting emigrants in large numbers, typically for shipping companies under little regulatory oversight. In 1881 the bill known as ‘On Emigration Agents’ passes with new requirements for emigration agents to acquire a license from the authorities. Those continuing their activities without such license faced fines and/or imprisonment.⁶⁸ Emigration agencies were

⁶⁷ Judith Szapor, *Hungarian Women's Activism in the Wake of the First World War: From Rights to Revanche, Ch. 1, the Promise of Progress 1904-1918* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017.)

⁶⁸ Text of “On Immigration Agents bill 1881,” Hungarian translation.

placed under the Minister of the Interior. Along with regulations came crackdowns on agents and a period of trials. This is also the period where there were “secret agents” who would recruit in round about manner.

Large estate owners with political influence, and the wealth and titles, demanded that steps be taken to prevent their labor force leaving the country en masse. Keep in mind that the estates were making demands in the late 1800s, and not even near peak outflow years of 1905, 1906, and 1907. They requested that the government takes steps, even to the point of closing the borders.

However, the government considered emigration a right and also a way to change minority demographics in favor of Magyars. The Preamble to the bill on emigration agents stated, “Contemporary thinking does not allow the outright prohibition of emigration, for, as we all know, the right to emigrate is a constitutional right.”⁶⁹ The policy was enlightened, although the government considered it advantageous from the perspective of the Hungarian nation-state that non-Magyars were leaving the country in large numbers thus artificially increasing the percentage of the ethnic Magyar population. In 1880, the percentage of Magyars in Hungary was 46.6 percent, which increased to 54.5 percent by 1910. The proportion of all major non-Magyar ethnic groups decreased during the same period: the Germans (from 13.6 percent to 10.4 percent), the Slovaks (from 13.5 percent to 10.7 percent), and the Romanians (from 17.5 percent to 16.1 percent.) Kuon Klebersberg pointed out to Prime Minister Kálmán Széll in 1902 that the

⁶⁹ István Kornél Vida. “Death of a Nation? Debating the Great Transatlantic Emigration from Hungary, 1900-1914.” *Hungarian Cultural Studies. e-Journal of the American Hungarian Educators Association*, Volume 7 (2014): <http://ahea.pitt.edu> DOI: 10.5195/ahea.2014, 128.

mass emigration of the non-Hungarian population made up for the diminishing natural increase of the Magyar population.⁷⁰

From the ship manifests of Banat emigrants, over 42, 000 left from this area prior to the beginning of WWI. The largest swell correlates to the national years between 1905 and 1907. In a region of roughly 1.5 million, a loss of 42,000 which is about .028 percent of the total, a little lower than national average.

By 1900, Hungarians were not the majority population in many areas of the country although overall, with 8,588,834 people, Magyars were 51.4 percent of the population. In the northern area there were 1,991,402 Slovaks, and between the Banat and Transylvania there were 1,980,423 Germans with 11.8 percent of the national population. There were also Serbs, Ruthenes, and others.⁷¹ More than two-thirds of those who left Hungary between 1899 and 1913 were non-Magyars, the percentage of Slovaks lying between twenty-five and thirty-three percent of the total.⁷²

Jews accounted for over 5 percent of the population, but were only at 3 percent in the Banat.⁷³ Temeschburg/Temesvár, Timișoara with 49,624 inhabitants was more than 50 percent German speaking.⁷⁴ By 1919 the population of the Banat was 1,530,000 of whom 571,000 were

⁷⁰ István Kornél Vida. "Death of a Nation?," 128.

⁷¹ R.W. Seton-Watson, "Racial Problems in Hungary."

⁷² Tibor Frank, 'From Austria-Hungary to the United States: National Minorities and Emigration 1880-1914', *Nationalities Papers* 24, no. 3, 1996, <http://www.nationalismproject.org/journals/natpaps.htm>, 416.

⁷³ Julianna Puskás, "Overseas Emigration from Hungary and the National Minorities, 1880-1914", *Ethnicity and Society in Hungary*, ed. Ferenc Glatz, Budapest, 1990, pp. 284-5, 296-9.

⁷⁴ Seton-Watson, 'Racial Problems in Hungary' (1908),

Romanians, 428,000 Germans, 306,000 Serbs, 153,000 Hungarians. The rest consisted of Bulgars, Jews, Croats, Russians, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Czechs and Gypsies.⁷⁵

Between 1899 and 1913 1-1.5million emigrated from Hungary, about half of the approximated three million immigrants from Austria/Hungary that were registered by the United States Office of Immigration.⁷⁶ The most intense years of emigration from the territory of Hungary were 1905, 1906 and 1907 with 7.9, 9.1 and 9.3 emigrants per 1,000 inhabitants. This was three times higher than during the previous years and almost five times as high as the average of the upcoming years until the First World War.⁷⁷

In 1908, in consequence of the great economic depression of the previous year, the number of overseas emigrants fell to less than one-fourth of the number in 1907.⁷⁸

As a result of this procedure and of a rate war instituted by competing concerns against the Cunard Line, most of the emigrants travelled to America via the northern seaports and thus avoided all Government control. In 1911 the Hungarian government granted the North Atlantic Steamship Lines' Association known as the Continental Pool, a similar permit to transport Hungarian emigrants referred to as the Pool Agreement. Hungarian emigration came under government control and the object of the law was attained.⁷⁹

Ship Lists and data observations

⁷⁵ Bohland, Mramorak

⁷⁶ United States Annual Report 1976: 62-64.

⁷⁷ István Kornél Vida. "Death of a Nation? Debating the Great Transatlantic Emigration from Hungary, 1900-1914." Hungarian Cultural Studies. e-Journal of the American Hungarian Educators Association, Volume 7 (2014): <http://ahea.pitt.edu> DOI: 10.5195/ahea.2014.14, 128.

⁷⁸ Thirring, *Hungarian Migration of Modern Times*, 411.

⁷⁹ Thirring, , *Hungarian Migration of Modern Times*, 412.

Using the data base of ship lists from David Dreyer's compilation, it was possible to gain information about trends in emigration from the Banat.⁸⁰ The records represent about half of the passengers who left the Banat which most agree was about 100,000 people. The passengers in this ship list were considered to be Donauschwaben because they were Hungarian and spoke German and were from the Banat.⁸¹ Examination of the names on the list in reality reveals a wider diversity, and there is a gap in relating name to origin. The ship records should be thought of in a representative way, as a sample of the total based on information available. Even so, this makes over 42,000 records available. The ship list confirms that the largest movements of people leaving the Banat were in 1905 and 1907. The earliest years lack the information of later dates after 1906, yet even so convey the name and age of the passenger, ship, date of arrival, place of origin, and destination. Those after 1906 have extensive notes included about other members in the party, with names, ages, and often the place of birth. Also noted after 1906, are people the passengers planned to join in America and who they referenced that was still in the home village. Notations of joining and returning strengthens the concept of linked immigration where family members remained a connected flow.

Taken as a whole, the listings show 8291 travelers, or nearly 19 percent from the Banat, left from the port of Fiume with the majority leaving from northern ports of Bremen and Hamburg. The following samples are listed to increase understanding of the people who were emigrating and add to the overall body of knowledge already extracted.

⁸⁰ David Dreyer, *Emigration from Banat in the National Archives Ship Records, 1896-1930*, http://www.village-records.org/ShipList/ShipData_list.php, revised 2018.

⁸¹ David Dreyer, and Anton Kraemer, "Pre-World War I Migration Patterns of Banat Germans to North America. *NEEFS Journal*, 2002, updated 2003.

The first sample taken yielded an estimate of women who booked passage. Information from the first five thousand names listed was tagged and sorted by sex. Of the five thousand, 1734 were women who had tickets of their own (34.6 percent) and were frequently traveling with their children. Of the remaining passengers, 868 of the men were accompanied by their wives representing 17,3 percent of the total. 84 men or 1.068 percent of the sample were traveling with their children, about half of whom were older teens. The results suggest that individuals traveling without spouses were a three to four ratio of men to women. Many of these individuals were either joining spouses or had left them at home. The count of spouses being joined, and spouses left behind is a remaining gap. To complete the entire list is also a gap that would be more readily closed with sufficient funding to support tagging and sorting the data base details which is time consuming.

Other information may be gained by sorting other columns, such as town of origin and point of departure. This study looked at a village, Bulgaros, and the largest town of the Banat, Timisoara (Temeswar), to compare them to the larger data set of five thousand. The list shows a flow that more or less conforms to the larger regional trends of outmigration by minority groups, not only the men, but entire families. Following that is a brief discussion of the children who traveled unaccompanied.

In Bulgaros, 839 passengers who purchased tickets were accompanied by 408 additional family members which created a total of 1247 passengers. Of the 179 passengers who had previously lived in the US or Canada, sixty were returning to America with 93 other family members listed at the point of entry, with the remaining all traveling for the first time. There are no entries of a woman booking a ticket who is accompanied by her husband, rather tickets were booked in the husband's name and this is true across each category presented.

Temeswar and Bulgarosch were compared to the larger sample discussed above and to each other. 296 Women represented 35.2 percent of the Bulgarosch list, a little higher than the sample group. 130 Men were accompanied by their wives. At 15.49 percent this is lower than the sample and the urban emigrants from Temeswar. There were 26 men with children, which at 3.09 percent is higher than the sample or the city. Tagging and sorting emigrants who left Temeswar yielded 1,585 records. 612 women traveled with tickets in their own name, at 38.6 percent. This ratio of female travelers is higher than the sample of five thousand, and higher than the ratio of women leaving from the village, Bulgarosch. 28 men were accompanied by children (1.66 percent.) and 278 were accompanied by their wives (17 percent.) 330 departed from Fiume percent, which at 20.8 percent shows the highest ratio of people who left through Hungarian channels.

Other data sorts specific to Bulgarosch included 616 who stated they were joining other family members. Forty-eight wives were noted as remaining in the home village while the husband emigrated, out of the 321 comments on the main family member at home. 229 acknowledged a mother or father remaining in their home village. Relatives mentioned were a few in each group but included seven brothers, ten brothers-in-law, one cousin, one daughter, four grandfathers, three mothers in law, two sisters, one stepbrother, one stepson, and three uncles. Thirty-eight passengers passed through Fiume, just over 4.5 percent and represents a much lower percentage of passages through Fiume compared to the region as a whole at 19 percent. The youngest ticketed traveler from Bulgaros in 1908 who did not seem to have an escort was ten years old, with the next listing for an 11 year old in 1931.

The solo children who emigrated

While the majority of children were in the company of a parent or relative, as noted above, there is a group of children who had their own tickets. A data sort of the listed ages of the ticketed passengers reveals that there were seventy-nine children age ten and younger who were traveling without apparent adult guardians. One village, Zichydorf, sent the children to America as a group. The others were either alone or with younger siblings. The youngest was three years old and travelled in 1908. Of the young ticketed passengers, eighteen older children another twenty-two younger siblings in tow. Ten young passengers departed from the port of Fiume, with most of the rest through Hamburg and Bremen. traveling without guardians. Fourteen of the children travelled post war, accompanied by five other siblings, with a dozen joining family members in Canada. It is beyond the scope of this paper to close the gap in understanding what arrangements were made for young children traveling without guardians or parents. Of the minorities, this group is the smallest when viewing the entire nation.

Emigration from the nation

By 1900, Hungarians were not the majority population in many areas of the country although overall, with 8,588,834 people, Magyars were 51.4 percent of the population. In the northern area there were 1,991,402 Slovaks, and between the Banat and Transylvania there were 1,980,423 Germans with 11.8 percent of the national population. There were also Serbs, Ruthenes, and others.⁸² More than two-thirds of those who left Hungary between 1899 and 1913 were non-Magyars, the percentage of Slovaks lying between twenty-five and thirty-three percent of the total.⁸³

⁸² Seton-Watson, 'Racial Problems in Hungary'.

⁸³ Julianna Puskás, 'Overseas Emigration from Hungary and the National Minorities, 1880-1914', in *Ethnicity and Society in Hungary*, ed. Ferenc Glatz, Budapest, 1990, pp. 284-5, 296-9. See also, Tibor Frank, 'From

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Austria-Hungary to the United States: National Minorities and Emigration 1880-1914', *Nationalities Papers* 24, no. 3, (1996), pp. 409, 416.

⁸⁴ Seton-Watson, 'Racial Problems in Hungary' (1908),

⁸⁵ Bohland, "Mramorak in the Banat.

⁸⁶ United States Annual Report 1976: 62-64, https://www.sec.gov/about/annual_report/1976.pdf.

⁸⁷ István Kornél Vida. "Death of a Nation? Debating the Great Transatlantic Emigration from Hungary, 1900-1914." *Hungarian Cultural Studies. e-Journal of the American Hungarian Educators Association*, Volume 7 (2014): <http://ahea.pitt.edu> DOI: 10.5195/ahea.2014.14, 128.

⁸⁸ Thirring, , *Hungarian Migration of Modern Times*, 411.

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World War I

The 1912 War Requirement Act (*Kriegsleistungsgesetze*) placed state controls over private industry in 1914 for males, and 1917 for females, to prohibit employees from leaving “firms under state direction.” In July 25, 1914, an additional law outlawed all activities that could be seen as a hindrance to production of state protected firms. All legal basis for trade unions was eliminated as a result. After 1917, in response to the rise of Bolshevism, a Wage and Complaint Commission was established to allow workers in military firms to seek labor redress for working conditions and increasing cooperation with state employees. During the war, immigration ground to a halt. Pre-war hierarchies based on profession and gender broke down, replaced by simpler categories of perception distinguishing, for instance, those who had access to food from those who did not.⁹⁰

Post war, for a brief period in 1918, the Banat was independent, however Romanian claims superseded regional autonomy. Three counties went to Romania, Arad, Mureş and Timiş the Vojvodina gained two counties. Hungary was left with one. Territory was promised to neutral countries to enter the war and by 1916, Romania sided with the Entente against Austro Hungary and Germany. The trend had begun with new nation states free of the Ottoman empire, including

⁸⁹ Thirring, *Hungarian Migration of Modern Times*, 412.

⁹⁰ Jakub Beneš, “Labour, Labour Movements, Trade Unions and Strikes (Austria-Hungary),” in: 1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War, edited by Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson, (Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, 2016-04-05.) DOI: 10.15463/ie1418.10883.

Serbia, and Romania which caused ongoing regional instability. Each hoped to make territorial gains from the war. Serbia had also been supported by Austro-Hungary in its effort to gain self-determination from the Ottomans, but support ended when Austria broke agreements and annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina.⁹¹ The relationship continued to deteriorate as Austria remained focused in empire, the Serbs wanted an independent nation. From the perspective of having a new pan-Slavic nation adjoining the empire, the onset of WWI was an opportunity to settle issues with Serbia and take the nation as an Austrian administrative district. The Serbs, as Slavs and Orthodox Christians turned to Russia, and this caused Germany to enter, then France, and so on until the entire continent was at war. The Serbian relationship with Russia turned to their benefit during the partitioning of Hungary at the end of the war as did the Romanian relationship with the Entente.⁹²

There was little emigration during WWI, and almost none after. Instead, many new minorities were created by the border changes due to partitioning the Banat to Serbia and Romania. The map appendix contains maps used in the decision making process that may be compared⁹³ By 1924, the United States had enacted restricted immigration legislation that nearly halted emigration during the interwar period and never returned to prewar levels. US President Wilson's 14 points were not adopted, the Banat was partitioned. By 1924, the United States had a new Emigration act that closed the door for most. Mass emigration ended and was replaced by

⁹¹ Lonnie R. Johnson, *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends*, 3rd ed. *WWI and National Self Determination*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 162, 163.

⁹² Lonnie R. Johnson, *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends*, 164.

⁹³ U.S. Department of State, "Ethnographical Maps of Central and South-Eastern Europe and Western Asia, Maps: A Handbook Prepared Under the Historical Section of the Foreign Office," No.O*, Paris, 1919. 39 p. <https://dl.wdl.org/18447/service/18447.pdf>.

creation of new minorities and nations trying to manage a period of internal and cross border movement due to the boundary changes.

Chapter 6: Recommendations and Ethical Considerations

Standards promoted by professional historical societies remain at the core of practice and research.¹ Although this is an independent project, there is the larger community to link to including associations reflecting the diaspora. Most Hungarians, including those from the Banat, emigrated to America, especially to the United States. The mission statement from the Smithsonian National Museum of American History is the guiding principle because it is an appropriate institution for research of immigrants who are a part of the diversity that form the strength of the nation. “Through incomparable collections, rigorous research, and dynamic public outreach, we explore the infinite richness and complexity of American history. We help people understand the past in order to make sense of the present and shape a more humane future.”² Standards used in this research paper are in accordance with the society of historians as developed through association. As a public historian, the first place to re-affirm a code of ethics and professional conduct is the National Council of Public Historians.³ Adherence is given to ethical research practice. Standards for ethical relationships in workplaces and with clients are also established. Ethical historical scholarship is also well defined by the American Historical

¹ American Historical Association, “Statements on Standards of Professional Conduct,” <https://www.historians.org/jobs-and-professional-development/statements-standards-and-guidelines-of-the-discipline/statement-on-standards-of-professional-conduct#Scholarship>, updated 2018.

² National Museum of History, “Mission & History,” <http://americanhistory.si.edu/museum/mission-history>, 2018.

³ NCPH *Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct*, National Council of Public Historians, <http://ncph.org/about/governance-committees/code-of-ethics-and-professional-conduct/>, 2007.

Association.⁴ Both groups stress the value of integrity in research and in interactions with other professionals and the public. All work in the paper represents original composition with references of acknowledged professional reputation. Recommendations for best historical practices for this purpose encompass ethical management of all cited materials.

⁴ *Statement on Standards of Professional Conduct*, American history Association, <https://www.historians.org/jobs-and-professional-development/statements-standards-and-guidelines-of-the-discipline/statement-on-standards-of-professional-conduct>, 2018.

Conclusion

The long history of the Banat and its surrounding nations was known for its mingling of different ethnic groups. Although there might have been opportunity to manage the multi-ethnic nation of the empire, the very position of ethnic nationalism clamored for independence and regions composed of national culture. During the migration period of 1900 to 1920 conditions in the region were multifaceted in causing discontent. Schools were teaching only in Hungarian, there was a lack of economic opportunity, shipping agents and lines were in their marketing heyday. Unrest was ongoing over language concerns and over agriculture. Nearby regions were no better and young men were rightfully concerned about conscription. The desire to emigrate was deepened by national policies of Magyarization which exacerbated minority tensions. National legislation failed to respond to social need and took most opportunities to strengthen the position of the large landed estates. Taxes soared, land was scarce.

Due to the persistence of the latifundia system of landed estates. Social unrest and regional discontent coupled with a collapsing market for wheat coupled with a lack of available land or development credit created desirable conditions for leaving. Additionally, ongoing regional conflicts created a population eager to avoid new conscription regulations. Although increasing levels of opportunity were ongoing, they were not large enough to counter age old resentments and nationalistic sentiments. The temptation is to speculate on the wonderful possibilities that the window of mingled cultures offered, but the path trajectory from history has already shown that in this region, separation became the standard.

The rise of the Hungarian ethnic nation, and the use of Hungarian in all educational and civil institutions, had been preceded by Austrian cultural dominance, with the use of German for

business and Latin for legislation. Difficulties in language barriers created institutional advantages for Hungarian, and less for the minorities depending on their status. The legacy of the ethnic nation state may be seen as remnants of the Austria's accustomed practice of dividing people to rule under the umbrella of empire. During the years as part of the Soviet system, most discourse remained behind the iron curtain. Today, this is being replaced by the European Union, which is seemingly more inclusive as each nation attains harmonized standards and adheres to pre-condition requirements of state policy and practice. The research question is focused on the historical context to leave the Banat along with related conditions of the time. A remaining gap could be lessened by linking the end results of WWII with a sense of pre awareness by the emigrants or their supporters.

Today, the region of the Banat remains a concern, partly because the effects of gaining independence from the years behind the iron curtain are only slowly being worked out as the region integrates with the European Union. As newcomers, the position remains weak. Even before beginning a dialogue about ongoing trends with minority management across borders, all one really has to do is look at a regional map to note that all roads still, even now, lead to Timisoara as the center of the region. Although the land has been partitioned for almost one hundred years, the effects of fragmented infrastructure are still being overcome.

Early twentieth century emigration from the Banat provides a modern point of departure from the old days of landed people moving rarely from their place of origin. The reasoning for emigration remains timely in light of ongoing population movements on a global scale, and because of the lingering effects of nations based on one dominant ethnicity, such as noted above concerning infrastructure and trade. Further, the ongoing trends of how to manage remnant minorities show that the trajectories established in the time of this study remain as points of

friction between neighboring states. Another disconcerting feature of trends is that a trend, especially in academia, may long discuss a point of interest that has very little to do with solving the needs of what is actually occurring in everyday life. This may be perceived as a personal bias, but it is true that the region continues to lag behind western Europe in development standards, and this is in part due to what gains attention. Regional trends tend to examine time changes of minority demographics, the requirements and advantages of EU membership where Schengen zone inclusion is a major discourse. Minority populations across Trianon determined borders are still under negotiation, almost one hundred years later. The trend to uphold the ethnic nation has not subsided.

Key developments include mixing during the period of empire years and unmixing “after the triumph of the nation-state”, from routine and seasonal migration to more sustained economic and overseas migration. Earlier centuries migration was the product of military conquest, political and religious conflict, with resulting movements creating intermingling of diverse ethnicities, languages and religion. “The emergence of nation-states were instrumental in causing and directing migration to create nationally homogeneous states along ethnic lines.”¹

Jews of Banat survived the Holocaust, as in the autumn of 1942 the Romanian government abandoned its deportation plans for Jews living in this region. Data from 1947 revealed the presence of 15,963 Jews, and the census of 1956 showed a total of 17,816. As a result of the mass emigration, however, only several hundred Jews were living in Banat in 2000.²

¹ Irina Livezeanu, and Arpad von Klimo, *The Routledge History of East Central Europe since 1700*, (Abingdon: Routledge 2017,) 126.127.

² Ladislau Geymant, “Banat,” Translated by Anca Mircea, YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, (2010), <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Banat>.

Here the exodus was a result of post WWII repressive regimes coupled with the call of Zionism.

Neumann observes,

“Under the pressure of nationalist ideologies and the consequences of the war, these types of documents failed, however, to refer to the plurality of socio-cultural and religious legacies of the region: from the obvious legacies referring to the cohabitation between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches and the German-Austrian-Romanian-Serbian cultural interactions to the association of the Yiddish-speaking German Jews, Ashkenazim, with the Ladino-speaking Spanish Jews, Sephardim, or to the assimilation of the emancipated Jews by other cultures such as German or Hungarian.”³

Its plural cultures and histories did not find their correspondence in the mono-lingual and mono-cultural orientations of the newly created nation-state.”⁴ When Neumann observes that Romania was not prepared to handle the diversity of Timisoara, this is a remarkable statement to make about what had been a very urban city and is a harbinger of the scale of minority incomprehension across the boundary lines of Banat’s partition. The Ethnographical maps shown in the map appendix, (map 2), had the ethnography drawn in very broad swatches. The net results of the broad swatches created new minorities once the partitions took effect for many former nationals were on the wrong side of the border.

³ Victor Neumann, *Between Orthodox Byzantium and Catholic Europe: The Banat and its Multiple-Coded Cultural Legacies*, in *Intercultural Conflict and Harmony in the Central European Borderlands*, ed. by Mihai Spariosu, (Göttingen: V&R unipress GmbH, 2017), 392.

⁴ Neumann, *Between Orthodox Byzantium and Catholic Europe*, 392.

In World War II, The Jews fled or perished. For the German Lutherans of Serbia, it ended badly for they had embraced pan-Germanic ideals and had endured earlier pan-Slavism. Herman Bohland's quiet voice relates how Mramorak lost its ethnic Germans, "We can account for the loss of at least 807 of the German villagers in Mramorak who were the victims of Tito's now forgotten genocide, excluding most of the children who died or have become lost and submerged in the Yugoslavian population of today."⁵ Bohland further related that, the left bank of the Tisza River the German village of Rudolfsgnad was transformed into a large extermination camp where local inhabitants had been evacuated by the retreating German Army. During the battles which followed in the area the village was badly damaged. Following their internment in their home villages, 23,000 Germans in the Banat, mostly the elderly, women and children were brought to this camp which was the largest of its kind in the Banat, (for Bohland this would have meant the Serbian section of the Banat that was attached to the Vojvodina.) The aged and the children from Mramorak were all brought there. They would be among the 20,000 victims buried in the mass graves there.⁶ Ethnic reprisals were severe.

One can only note that for all people who perished, ethnic nationalism did not work out. Today, the region is quieter, nations are members of the European Union, grants are awarded by region, not nation. The Schengen zone creates easier movement across borders. The modern standard of the EU is to highlight intercultural competence, and communicative competence as key skills in order to adapt to the system. The EU takes for granted that multi-ethnic cities are the norm, and places importance on the increase of pluralism. Integration is based on fusions that

⁵ Heinrich Bohland, "Mramorak Gemeinde an der Banater Sandwüste, (Mramorak in the Banat)," (1980) on behalf of the Village Association of Mramorak, Trans. Henry Fisher, http://www.swabiantrek.com/?page_id=498.

⁶Bohland, "Mramorak in the Banat."

highlight “non-discriminatory interaction leading to the achievement of the supreme cultural competence.”⁷

Recommendations for future research include a finely tuned analysis of the individual groups and their migration rates as previously constricted material become available. For the purpose of this thesis, the final conclusion is to present the paper by publishing the monograph. The thesis will remain geared to historical peer review followed by those who are interested in historical topics such as immigration and in this way will be presentable to the widest audience likely to further the national dialogue about immigration.

⁷ Ruthner, “The status of the German minority,” 1436.

Appendix: Maps



Figure 2: The Modern Banat

This modern depiction of the Banat shows the region through its Romanian and Serbian perspectives for the one county remaining with Hungary is not quite included in the image.¹

¹ Andrei Nacu, Map of the Banat Region, public domain 2008, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banat#/media/File:Banat_map.svg.

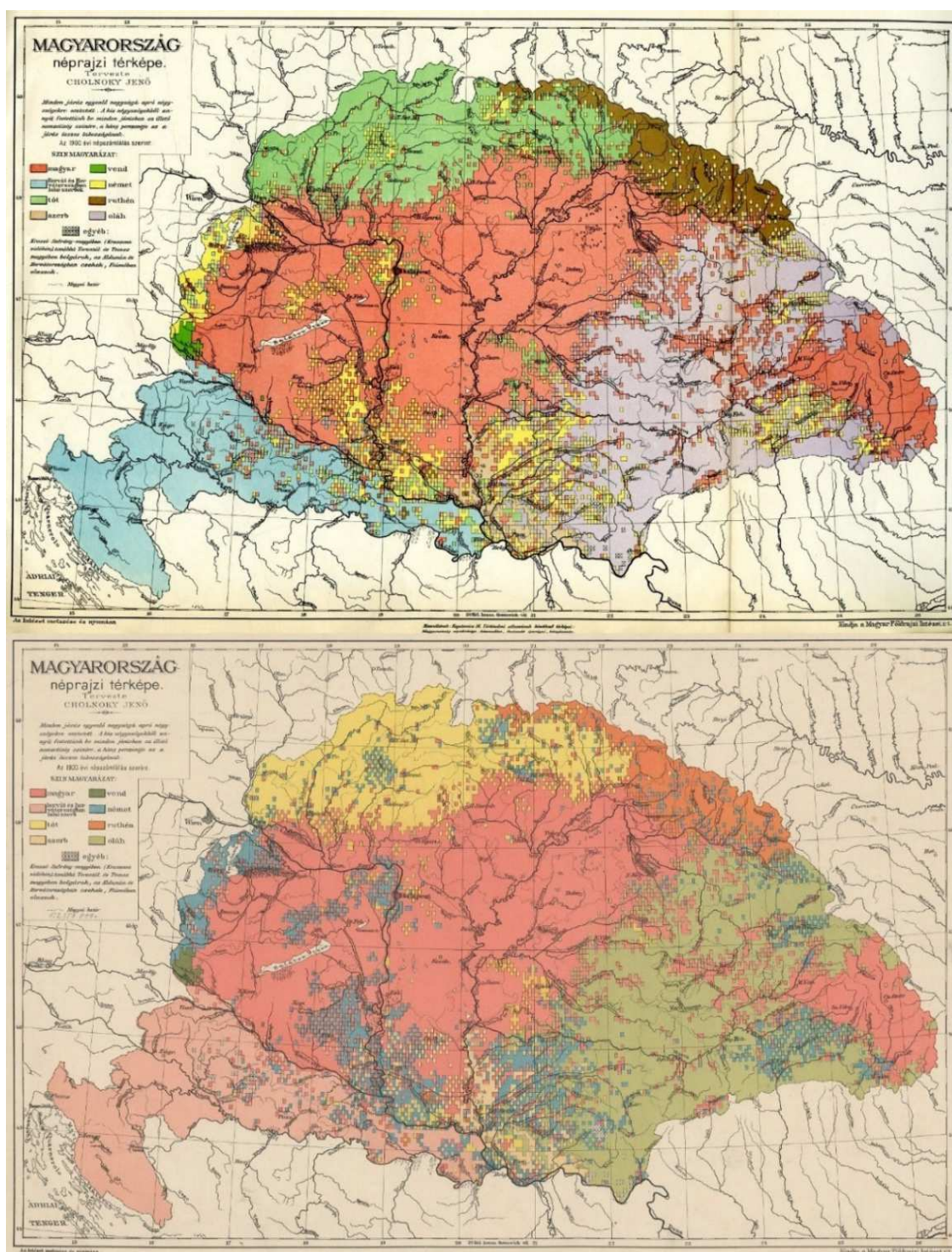


Figure 3: Ethnographic maps of Hungary by Cholnoky

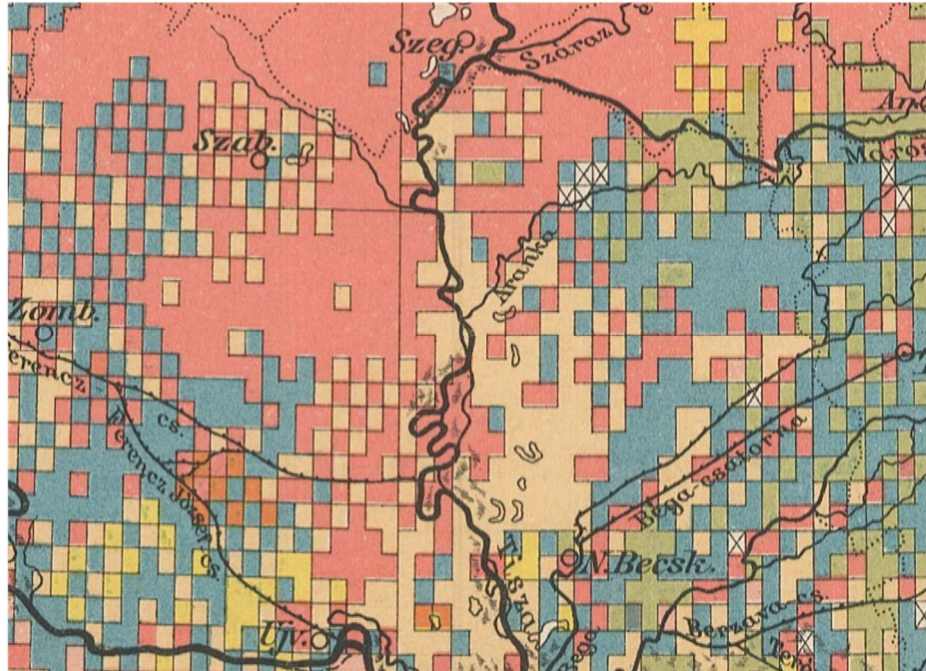


Figure 4: Detail of Colnoky's Map

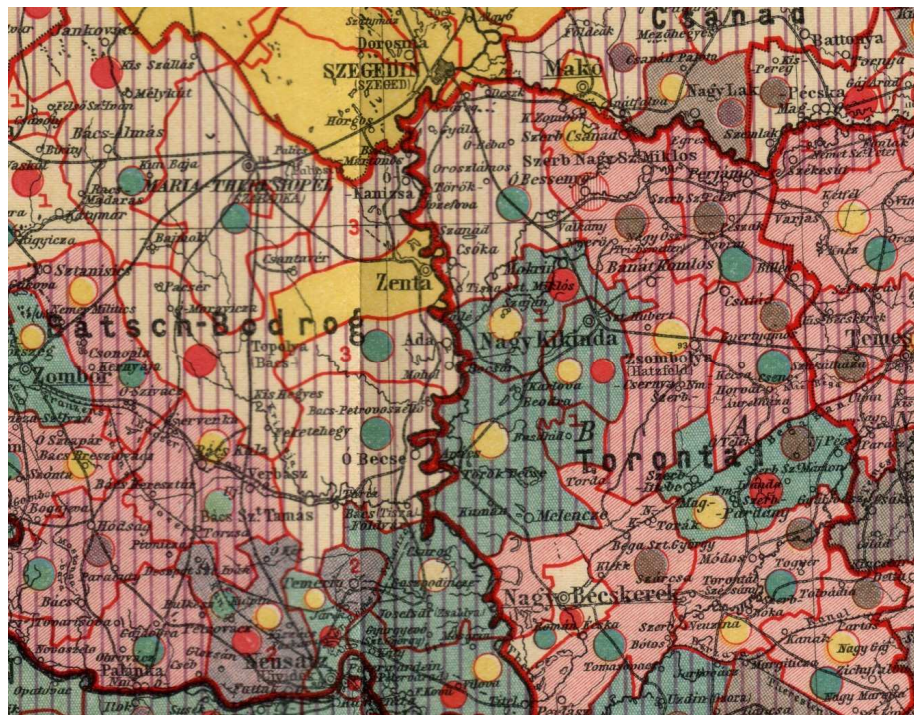


Figure 5: Inset of Langhans' Ethnographic Map

The Ethnographic map of Hungary 1903 by Cholnoky had two versions that are presented in figure 2.² The map when enlarged reveals county level coloring schemes of the population composition of Hungary depicted by the use of colored blocks. Comparative detail differences between Cholnoky's and Langhans' mapping techniques shown in figures 3 and 4, demonstrate the early interest in mapping ethnicity in the region. Although Langhans' map has an amorphic non-linear form, the colored circles increase understanding by showing where minorities were over ten percent in any given area. Cholnoky's map indicates presence by percentage by county, but lacks the population scale. For a full discussion of the Langhans and Cholnoky maps, a cartographer's analysis is capably presented by János Jeney in his thesis "Ethnic Map of Hungary by Jenő Cholnoky."³

A comparison with *Ethnographical Maps of Central and Southeastern Europe and Western Asia, 1919*, the US history department ethnographical maps used in decision making, show a similar block pattern, first used to greater detail by Cholnoky.⁴ The images are digitized representations of the actual maps used during the treaty making process. They are listed here to show what materials were available to work with, and to demonstrate the interwoven aspects of Banat settlement patterns. The original handbook was prepared by the Historical section of the United States Foreign Office to inform the treaty making process. A digitized set of bound maps

² Cholnoky (1903) Magyarország néprajzi térképe, Magyar Földrajzi Intézet, Budapest.

³ János Jeney, Ethnic Map of Hungary by Jenő Cholnoky, Technical University of Dresden, Institute for Cartography, Eötvös Loránd University, Department of Cartography,

⁴ U.S. Department of State, "Ethnographical Maps of Central and South-Eastern Europe and Western Asia, Maps: A Handbook Prepared Under the Historical Section of the Foreign Office," No.O*, Paris, 1919. 39 p. <https://dl.wdl.org/18447/service/18447.pdf>.

shows the ranges of national territories and ethnic populations after the first World War during the treaty making process. As such, effort was made to provide as much accuracy possible based on available information, yet was still presented in very broad swatches with many smaller minorities not included. Map #4 of Southeastern Europe and the Balkan Peninsula has a representation of Banat minorities that also clearly showed the permeable boundaries of the main ethnic groups in the region. There is no attempt to account for population, instead, areas are colored by regional majority indicated by blocks. Although colored in broader detail when compared to Cholnoky or Langhans, the Banat was mapped as an area where differing groups are in relationship through its position in a boundary area. The notes by the cartographers remain of historical interest in the manner that the regions are described for these were the perspectives considered in how to partition the region. Maps played a significant role in aiding decision making and further defining concepts of ethnicity in relationship to territory, and they were used to shape decisions of national boundaries.

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