

Galicia: A Multi-Ethnic Overview and Settlement History with Special Reference to Bukovina

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tam i kiedys - there once upon a time

Family history researchers place great value upon primary source documents. We want to seek out the original church records, ship lists, census lists, land records and other forms of documentation that may establish someone's presence at a certain location and at a particular point in time. Most will begin by visiting a local Family History Center to determine record availability and as soon as possible, want to read films to find ancestors and their family groups.

Very few, however, take any time to read and learn about the people, places, and the times in which their ancestors lived. Instead they tend to dive into the records with a Star Trek mentality: *Genealogy, the final frontier. These are the voyages of the family history researcher. My continuing mission: to explore strange new worlds, to seek out new life and new civilizations, to boldly go where no one has gone before.* All of this, we believe, will take place within the library walls. That is where we expect to find our family story, preserved on the microfilm in that was written in a place that we cannot locate, in a language that we do not speak and do not trouble ourselves to learn, but one that we believe will somehow speak to us from the bygone frontier past.

The frontier mentality often serves as a kind of prism that we use to examine and interpret the records that we collect and collate. We like to picture an immigrant ancestor to this continent as a lone adventurer from some remote, unknown place, perhaps a stowaway or a runaway who survived only by his or her own ingenuity in alien circumstances. But that ancestor actually followed siblings, uncles and aunts, cousins, and neighbors halfway around the world, in turn prompting others to leave the old world to join him. These chain migrations created networks of family and friends that maintained ties between the old and the new world and within them, we can identify push-and-pull factors that cause emigrants to leave a place on the one hand and on the other, attract them to new ones. Recognizing this may enable us to place our ancestors in communities and in migration streams, thereby helping us to direct and focus our own research.

We may also be tempted to use this frontier prism to draw false conclusions about earlier migrations and settlements. Since our North American grandparents homesteaded large tracts of land to establish ownership, broke the virgin sod, and saved money to expand and upgrade their farms and ranches, we envision more distant ancestors doing the same kind of thing in Bukovina, Galicia, West Prussia, and other parts of central Europe. We envision a young man taking off from the homeland and heading east and south across Europe alone in seek of vast new lands that had been opened for settlement. Because we do not know the

name of the village from which he emigrated or the place in which he settled, we assume that no one does - and that we will be the ones to discover the family's "origin."

If you had German ancestors in Galicia or Bukovina, whether they were Evangelical or Catholic, from southwestern Germany or from Bohemia, much of this information may already be a matter of record and has been for decades. Researchers such as Dr. Franz Wilhelm and Dr. Josef Kallbrunner as well as Ludwig Schneider reviewed lists of late eighteenth-century immigrants who registered at various points on the route to settlement in the eastern Habsburg empire. Wilhelm and Kallbrunner's *Quellen zur deutschen Siedlungsgeschichte in Südosteuropa* [Sources for German Settlement in Southeastern Europe] and Schneider's *Das Kolonisationswerk Josefs II. In Galizien* [The Settlement Work of Joseph II in Galicia]² present not only surname lists but relevant historical summaries. Historians and philologists, including Raimund Friedrich Kaindl and later Walter Kuhn, began to visit the German villages in the Habsburg, Prussian, and Russian empires where they observed the daily life, the religious practices, social interaction, education, and the extent of cultural assimilation or preservation, and then published their research. Local village historians, often Galician-born schoolmasters like Ernst Hexel and Johann Christian Dressler, were motivated to investigate the origins of their villages and the people of various ethnic backgrounds who lived there. They made a special point of doing genealogical research for others, searching parish records for places of origin and then writing to distant churches to verify data and obtain additional information. They also published their research.

These researchers have examined the same primary source records that you seek to document your family story. To understand these documents, it is vital that you have engaged in some focused reading that helps you enter the contexts and the times in which they were drafted. Set aside the American homesteading mentality and read about the place called Galicia. Particularly insightful and reliable are the sections pertaining to Austrian Poland in *God's Playground, A History of Poland, Volume II, 1795 to the Present* by Norman Davies as well as Robert Kann's *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*, Paul R. Magocsi's *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide*, and Ukraine, *A History* by Orest Subtelny.

You may say, "My ancestors were from Bukovina. What relevance does Galicia have for me?" Briefly stated, when many of your ancestors left their native villages in the 1780s, they headed for Mährisch-Neustadt (Neustadt, Moravia), which was the first emigrant checkpoint, next to

Vienna for another check, and then to Lemberg, Galicia where they registered for settlement. From there they were directed to temporary lodgings as they waited to be assigned places to live and work. Other ancestors may have first migrated to lands that Prussia's Frederick II had opened for settlement and after only a short time there, moved on to the eastern Austrian empire where they registered first at Zamosc and then at Lemberg. Out of the first twelve *Erbzinsler*, or settlers endowed with hereditary rights, in Illishestie, Bukovina, nine had been quartered in Lemberg, one in Zamosc and two in other Galician districts. The first colonist families in Fratautz had each been quartered in Galicia for an average of about two years.³ Other Germans were Bohemian glassworkers who moved as communities to Bukovina and Galicia.⁴

Who were all these Germans? Where were their homelands, the villages in which they were born and married? What is known about them and what prompted them to emigrate?

The German Homelands

The Palatinate, or *Pfalz* in German, a small area of only 503 square kilometers divided between seven rulers, was swept with emigration fever. Völklingen in Nassau-Saarbrücken was the ancestral home of the Hubich, Kurtz, and Wagner families who eventually settled in Tereblestie and Alt-Fratautz, Bukovina. It is described in a 1756 report reproduced in Wilhelm Messner's *Die schwäbisch-pfälzische Bauernsiedlung Deutsch-Tereblestie von ihrer Gründung bis zur Umsiedlung 1789-1940*, pages 184-185. In translation, it reads:

Völklingen in 1756 as reported by Christian Lex, an official of the Saarbrücken lord

The village is solely subject to the Nassau-Saarbrücken sovereign domain, and the subjects are serfs. Without counting the church, there are seventy-four houses here, of which three are unoccupied. Nineteen houses have tile roofs and the others have straw thatch roofs; therefore it follows that twenty chimneys are built of stone and the others of wood. Sixty-five commoners with compulsory labor duties and four widows of the same class live here. There is only one contributing smallholder who pays a fee for the lord's patronage and protection, and no widows in that class. Six persons are free from compulsory labor, namely the pastor, the Lutheran schoolmaster, the hunter, the bailiff, and the two shepherds. The lord's steward on the Völklingen manorial estate is of course free from compulsory labor duties ...

... Two fire escapes and two fire pokers ... hang under the roof at the schoolhouse. There are three common spring-fed wells with troughs for watering livestock in addition to many private wells here. The Köllerbach, which flows nearby, suffices in the place of a communal watering place. There is no mill or farmyard; the serfs are directed to the mill at Wehrden.

There is much forest but it belongs to the community, not the lord. There is no fishpond here, but there is fresh water in the Saar, the Köllerbach and the Framersbach streams. His Grace the Lord has all hunting and fishing rights but permits the serfs to fish in the Saar with their hands and small nets. His Grace has imposed customs fees as well as traveling charges. On the other hand, the community pays His Grace 5 Gulden and 1 Batzen for the former Bannbackofen [oven], and traveling fees. Finally the written village ordinance is kept in a community chest at the steward's house and read aloud once a year.

There are nineteen Catholic commoners and two Reformed women here; the rest of the people are Lutheran. The resident Lutheran pastor is named Seidel, the Catholic who comes from the Wadgasser monastery is named Koch, and the Reformed pastor, who lives in Ludweiler, is named Faesch.

In this village stand a church and a Lutheran school house, and the Lutherans and Catholics from Fürstenhausen, Geislautern, and Wehrden, as well as part of Klarenthal, belong here but the Reformed people belong to Ludweiler ...

... The main support of the local people is the cultivation of the land but since this is not adequate, handicrafts must supply the difference ...

... Of the people here, five are prosperous, eighteen of average means and property, and all the rest are in obviously poor condition

The Palatinate people were poor, according to Messner and other sources, and lived upon properties that under terms of inheritance law had become so splintered that many could not exist upon what they had. Here serfdom, failed harvests, oppressive taxes in the form of payments and *Fronen*, or compulsory labor, all contributed to emigration. So did reforms such as those of the Margrave Karl Friedrich von Baden, who attempted to reform agriculture but antagonized conservative farmers by ordering that animals be fed in the barns so that manure could be collected for fertilizer, and that clover be planted rather than grain crops. Further emigration incentives were provided by Prussian, Austrian, and Russian recruitment agents who praised the opportunities and conditions in their own countries.

Approximately fifty kilometers to the northwest of Saarbrücken was the Principality of Birkenfeld, where serfdom continued until 1783. This was the homeland of the Rein family of Fratautz, Bukovina, the Nunweiler and Weber families (Satulmare), the Leib family (Arbora), the Engel and Germann families (Neu-Itzkany), the Hehn, Massier, Pfeifer, and Sauer families (Tereblestie), the Brenner and Knieling families (Illishestie) and others who immigrated to Galicia and eventually to Bukovina.

The Birkenfelders in the late 1700s were serfs who had to fulfill various obligations if they wished to emigrate.⁵ First, a fee had to be paid simply to present a request to be released from serfdom. In order to be released from serfdom, a fee called the *Manumissionstaxe*, or release tax consisting of ten per cent of the individual's property, had to be paid.

An *Abzug*, a closing or departure fee consisting of a legally fixed portion of goods/crops produced, had to be paid in addition to *Landschaftsgeld*, a provincial fee consisting of two percent of the serf's valuation. Finally, an *Exditionstaxe*, a fixed chancellery fee, was levied upon every completed manumission document. Clauses typically stated that emigration had to take place within a specified time frame, or the individual would fall back into serfdom. This would also happen if the emigrant returned to his homeland as clearly stated below in the *Losschein*, or release certificate, of Georg Ludwig Hubich. It is translated from the *Deutsch Tereblestie* book, pages 182 and 183.

The *Losschein*, or Release Certificate, of the Immigrant Georg Ludwig Hubig (Hubich)

"We of the government of the principality of Nassau Saarbrücken, the official president, privy councillor, court and government councillor, hereby document and consent to the proper request of the serf Georg Ludwig Hubig of Völklingen in the Grafschaft (earldom) Saarbrücken to be free and released from the serfdom in which he was held by His Grace and further that if he and his family return for a short or a long time, to any place or location where serfdom is found in His Grace's domain, where he settles with the permission of His Grace or simply stays there on a day to day basis, then he will be obligated to the duties of serfdom as he was before, and will remain in that state. This was documented in Saarbrücken on 29 May 1784 with the principality's governmental seal and the signature of D. Pammerer, official president, privy and government councillor of Nassau-Saarbrücken's district government."

Johann Hubich, nicknamed *der krumme Schmiedt* ("the stooped smith"), great-grandson of Georg Ludwig, lived in Tereblestie from 1838 until 1909. His autobiography, which is published in the *Deutsch-Tereblestie* book on pages 186-190, includes the family history as he had heard it. He wrote, "My grandfather was named and called himself Ludwig Huwig and came the village Völklingen in the earldom Saarbrücken in Alsace-Lorraine. He was released from serfdom in 1786, which was when Emperor Joseph II was head of the Austrian royal house of Habsburg. The Habsburgs recruited Germans to come to Galicia, Bukovina, and Hungary, where each family would receive 28 *Joch* [note: 1 *Joch* equals 0.575464 hectare, 1 hectare equals 2.471 acres], of land, a house, barn, shed, and farm implements. In addition, each person received 35 *Florin* for daily expenses and travel costs from Germany. No emigrant had any property; each was only the serf of his lord and was released as such.

"My great-grandfather Ludwig Huwig migrated from Germany to Lemberg and supposedly arrived in the autumn and because winter was coming, lived there at government expense until the spring. During the winter, he was supposedly married in Lemberg and in the spring of 1787 was settled as a colonist in Satulmare, Bukovina ..."

The villages of origin for other *Pfälzer* who immigrated to Galicia and eventually settled in Bukovina have also been established. These localities and their associated families were as follows:

Rockenhausen (Kreis): Böhmer (see note in Fratautz book, p. 17), Hodel, Kerth, Kissinger, Wendling, Taub

Kaiserslautern (Kreis): Burghard, Mang, Mock, Walther

Worms (Kreis): Radmacher, Schmidt

Alzey (Kreis): Arnbrüster, Hassel

Rorodt (near Hunsrück): Manz

Weitersborn (west of Bad Kreuznach): Kelsch

A separate *Pfälzer* group included a small group of Mennonites from the Anabaptist tradition, excellent farmers who settled in Einsiedel, Falkenstein, and Mostki in the Lemberg area and in Neuhof and Kiernica near Gródek.⁶ Although over a third of the first settlers moved on to Russia, their significance outweighs their numbers. Because they did not undergo the privations experienced by the Evangelicals, they managed to expand their holdings by purchasing rather than leasing land beginning with Neuhof in 1830. When others gave up their holdings, the Mennonites acquired them, speculating on purchases, making them profitable, and then reselling the lands in smaller tracts to Poles and Ruthenians.

Other Germans in this region emigrated from villages located further in east in neighboring Hesse-Nassau, according to Massier, Messner, and Dressler. These localities and their associated families include:

Löhnberg: Bock

Bissingen (Kreis Wetzlar): Kieper/Kipper

Zeilhard (Kreis Dieburg): Rau

Southwestern Germany, including the Duchy of Württemberg and Baden-Durlach, was another center for German emigration that eventually led to West Prussia and/or Galicia, and then Bukovina. Although the constitution specified that people had the right to leave at will, the Duke was opposed to emigration and ordered his officials to impede it whenever possible. Here also, Bukovina village historians have identified villages of origin for emigrants. They may be generally located as follows.

Vaihingen (Kreis): Clemens, Ganther, Reh, Theilmann

Calw (Kreis): Dürr, Glass, Schönthal

Tuttlingen (Kreis): Irion, Kohler

Horb (Kreis): Schlotter, Huncker

Balingen (Kreis): Ast, Scherle

Pforzheim (Kreis): Bessai, Schumm, Zachmann

Maulbronn (Kreis): Schäfer

Karlsruhe (Kreis): Schrey

Rottweil (Kreis): Jäckle, Etter

Civil and church records contain clues about chain migration among these Swabians. Max Miller's book *Die*

Auswanderung der Württemberger nach Westpreussen und dem Netzebau 1776-1786 gives an overview of the former type of record. Miller summarized past research, identified archival resources in Württemberg and Berlin, and described emigration movements from 1781 until 1786. He also presented two sets of Prussian lists: emigrants passing through Potsdam and Berlin, and Württembergers who settled in the Netze River district and the Marienwerder-Bromberg areas beginning in 1781. Included are the Bessay, Deutscher (Diescher or Tiescher), Dirr (Dörr, Dürr), Glaß, Irion, Jäkel, Jetter (Etter), Klemens (Clemens), Merkle, Näher (Neher), Reh (Rehe), Ringwald, Scherle, Schönthaler, Schrey, Stahl, Thielmann, and Zachmann (Zogmann) families.

The Württemberg state archives hold no emigration records prior to 1781. The emigration records in the state archives, as described by Miller, include:

- *Kabinetsregistratur* (p. 12). Persons desiring to leave were required to present written and personal applications to the Duke. These have apparently been lost.
- *Der Geheimrat* (p. 13) was the top central governing body and as such, supervised the governmental actions and handled emigrant reports. The 1781 Geheimratsakten emigrant lists include Friedrich Schäfer, Hardthof; Johann Georg Merkle, born in Meissheim, living in Leonbronn, paid 150 florins; Johann Georg Schäfer, Heimertigen, paid 75 florins; Friedrich Irion, shoe maker from Tübingen; and Michael Huncker from Vöringen.
- *Die Herzogliche Regierung*, or *Oberrat* (p. 13) has the most emigrant records: 25 volumes for the 1757-1806. Miller used the four volumes for 1781, 1782, 1783, and 1784. Although the record quality varies, they do accurately portray the emigration movement.
- The 1781 *Oberratsakten* emigrant lists include the repeated applications of Matthias Schrey, Michel Huncker from Vöringen, "Klein, Friedrich = Lorenz Schönthaler, Ludwig Merkle from Neuenberg" and Ludwig Ringwald from Balingen.

- The 1782 *Oberratsakten* emigrant lists include Lorenz Näher with Hansjerg Lupolt (Luipolt?) and Martin Schott from Dürrwangen in the Balingen district, Adam Reeh and his sister Elisabeth from Ötisheim, Maulbronn; and Johann Seger from Wildberg.

- *Stadt- und Amtsschreibereien* (p. 13-14) document all legal emigration cases which were presented with birth and character references to the city and district authorities, which is rather helpful when studied with church record books.

- *Sonstige*, or miscellaneous records, for 1781 cite Glass, Jakob Friedrich from Gchingen.

Many Württembergers chose to immigrate to Prussia. In the first Partition of Poland in 1772, Prussia obtained lands linking East Prussia with Pommern and Brandenburg when Austria annexed Galicia/Lodomeria. Miller notes the records in Berlin documenting this migration:

- *Preuß. Geheim. Staatsarchiv* in Berlin-Dahlem (Miller 14) holds record from the *Khl. General-Ober-Finanz-, Krieges- und Domänes-Direktoriums*, also known as the *Generaldirektorium*. The material includes reports and tables about colonists in the West Prussian and Bromberg *Cammerdeputationen*. Two volumes specifically relate to colonists from Württemberg, Baden-Durlach, and other regions.

- *Spezialakten des Generaldirectoriums* includes 1781 settlement records of the *Westpreußisches Cammerdepartment* (or Marienwerder) and the *Netzedistrik Cammerdepartment* (Bromberg) for emigrants from Württemberg and Baden-Durlach. These include colonist settlement petitions, some made in person in Potsdam, others sent from their homeland to the *Generaldirektorium*. Although regular *Namentliche Nachweisungen* verified the names of the immigrants, their family and property circumstances, only rather general replies were recorded for *Herkunft* (place of origin). Officials often returned baptismal certificates and immigration passes to the applicants without making copies.

Table 1 - Settlers assigned to the Netze District (Bromberg)
1 June - 30 November 1781

<u>Amt (district)</u>	<u>Vorwerk (farm settlement)</u>	<u>Colonist</u>
Strelno	Bielsko	Michael Theilmann, wife
"	"	Chr. Clemens
"	"	Adam Rehe
"	Ciechrz	Johann Schäfer
"	"	Fr. Zachmann = Zogmann
"	Stodoly	Jakob Bessey
"	"	Sam. Etter

Table 2 - Settlers assigned to the Netze District (Bromberg) 1 December 1781 - 31 March 1782

<u>Amt</u>	<u>Vorwerk</u>	<u>Colonist</u>	<u>Herkunft</u> (Origin)
Bromberg	Oplawitz	Michael Huncker	Vöhringen
Kruschwitz	Cykowo	Mart. Merkle	Zillhausen
"	"	Balth. Jetter	Weilheim
"	Sierakowo	Fr. Glaß	Gechingen
"	"	Lor. Schönthalier	Feldrennach
Murzynno	Schadlowitz	Mart. Scherle	
"	"	Joh. Kiesinger	
"	"	Jak. Jotter = Jetter	
"	"	Ludw. Ringwald	
"	"	Mich. Huncker	
"	Spital	Mich. Schlotter	
"	"	Jak. Schlotter	
"	"	Erh. Ruf	
"	"	Lorenz Nehr	
Nakel	Sadke	Martin Jäckle	

Table 3 - Settlers assigned to the Netze District (Bromberg) 1 December 1782 - 31 March 1783

<u>Amt</u>	<u>Vorwerk</u>	<u>Colonist</u>	<u>Herkunft</u>
Strelno	Bielsko	Joh. & Konr. Irion	Tabingen

Within a year or two, the disillusioned Swabians in West Prussia abandoned their settlements. Some crossed into Poland and then to Galicia; others went directly to Galicia where they registered for settlement in Zamocz or Lemberg, where they waited for settlement.

The German Bohemians in Galicia consisted of two main groups: the *Egerländer* and the *Böhmerwäldler*, both Roman Catholic, according to the research of Walter Kuhn.⁷ People in the Machliniec area, which included the mother colonies Machliniec, Nowe Siolo, Kornelówka, and Izidorówka, were exclusively *Egerländer* from villages around Plan, Tachau, and Pfraumberg, and between Bischofsteinitz and Pilsen. Those in the Felizienthal area, however, came from both these Egerland areas and from Bohemian Forest villages around Kuschwarda, Wallern, and Prachatitz. Kuhn identified these places of origin by studying birth places noted in the Roman Catholic marriage records in the Machliniec and Felizienthal parishes.

The Bohemian Forest, one of the largest forest areas in Europe, reportedly had vast areas never been disturbed by an axe by as late as 1870. In the center, along the Kubani, is the primeval forest from which the Felizienthal people emigrated. This area had only slowly been penetrated for settlement in the course of wood cutting for the glassworks

cottage industry. Woodcutters, *Köhler* [charcoal burners] and *Aschenbrenner* [potash burners], a primitive people who lived in simple huts in the deep forest, were the vanguard of civilization. Only gradually were small farms established in clearings around the abandoned glass huts and in the process, the woodcutters became smallholders.

Even before the migration to Galicia, some Bohemians went to Bukovina and established a glassworks called Althütte in 1793. Here as in Bohemia, wood was utilized in *Pottaschebrennen*, and then the cleared woodland was settled. Only later in the 1800s would German Bohemian farms appear in Bukovina.

In Galicia, a German Bohemian glass hut was established at Lubaczow, but the workers soon moved to Bukovina. An *Eisenhütte*, or iron works, led to the settlement of Ludwikowka and after it failed, it became a woodcutter settlement like Jammersthal and Pöchersdorf in the Felizienthal area. But even the farming communities like Machliniec and Angelówka were placed upon cleared forest land. The old people in Mariahilf said that when their ancestors came to Galicia, they were offered land in the Kolomea area but declined and instead selected the most remote, overgrown land in the district. They came from the forest and that was where they wanted to be.

The German Bohemians were not settled in Galicia under the terms of any state initiative or program. Rather, they came at their own risk and at their own expense, often without a known destination, prepared to settle wherever they found an opportunity to do so. They were allotted forested lands but had to come up with everything else on their own. They built their houses from wood that they felled; they did not receive any livestock or implements or funds to support their settlement. It must be noted that the three youngest Bohemian settlements, Pöchersdorf, Neu-Mizun, and Jammersthal were formed with state sponsorship upon tillable land but by this time, after 1830, the state's program was completely different than it had in the 1770s and 1780s.

Galicia: The Land and Its People

Galicia, sometimes called Austrian Poland in North American census lists and texts, was the destination for these immigrants in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. It lies in the central European borderlands, spreading north from the Carpathian foothills across the Sarmatian Plain and reaching from the Biala, a tributary of the Vistula River, in the west to the Zbrucz in the east.

The duchy of Halych was annexed by Poland in the fourteenth century and was included in the Poland-Lithuania Commonwealth formed in the 1569 Union of Lublin. Land was increasingly concentrated in the hands of aristocratic Polish landlords including the Tarnowski, Zamoyski, Potocki, Gofuchowski, Lubomirski and other families, who only numbered about 95,000 or 3.4% of the province by the late eighteenth century.⁸ The vast majority of the population consisted of the enserfed peasants who provided their landlords with five and even six days of labor per week, with domestic service, and with a proportion of their agriculture produce in exchange for tiny plots of land. They identified themselves as *tutejszy*, “people from here,” or locals.⁹ The term *Nationalisten* or indigenous peoples, is typically used for them in population estimates and censuses dating from the time of Austrian annexation until the mid-nineteenth century. When the term is employed in Galicia, for example, it refers to Poles and Ruthenians, who are counted together and not separately. Therefore Kann refers to Schuselka, who in 1843 estimated that 4.35 million Poles and Ruthenians, “no breakdown between them,” lived in Galicia and Bukovina.¹⁰

Who are the Ruthenians? Kann explains that although *Ruthenian* is a latinization of the word “Russian,” it historically refers to the most western branch of the Ukrainian people who lived in eastern Galicia and northeastern Hungary.¹¹ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Austrians referred to them as Ruthenians (*Rusyny*) and Russians called them *Malorosy*, or “Little Russians.” Although the word *Ukraine*, which means “borderlands,” first appeared in 1187 in the Kievan Rus chronicles, it referred to lands around Kiev, located further east. The people in this region referred to themselves as *Rusyny*, not Ukrainians, until the late 1800s.¹²

For hundreds of years, the Ruthenian people had been Orthodox Christians and for that reason were persecuted by the Roman Catholic Poles. In 1596, a group of Orthodox bishops and the Roman Catholic Church in Rome signed an agreement called the Union of Brest. This stipulated that the rites and traditions of the Orthodox Church would be preserved while acknowledging the primacy of the Catholic pope. The actions of the Orthodox bishops caused much strife but most of the Ruthenian people living under Polish jurisdiction followed the bishops in what is called the Uniate, or Greek Catholic, Church. It was the Greek Orthodox monasteries that dotted the countryside at the time of the Austrian annexation of Galicia.

The Jews, a third segment of the population of Galicia in the late 1700s, were already mentioned as living in Lwów (Lemberg) in 1356. Several hundred years later, the region was the center of *Ashkenazi*, or mainstream, Judaism and was experiencing two important movements. The first, *Hasidism* with its pious and emotional mysticism, developed as a response to Orthodox Judaism in the wake of church-sponsored pogroms and revolts in Poland and Ukraine. The *Haskalah*, or Jewish Enlightenment, encouraged its adherents, the *maskilim*, to study secular subjects in preparation for new professional fields, and attempted to assimilate into society by adopting prevailing European dress, language and customs. This contributed to the Reform movement as well as to Zionism. By 1776, four years after the Austrian annexation of the region, a census indicated that over 144,000 Jews were living in Galicia and that three-quarters of them lived in the east, mostly in cities and towns.¹³ They represented 13.2% of Galicia’s population in 1773.¹⁴

In 1772, the increasing weakness of Poland-Lithuanian Commonwealth prompted Europe’s three great powers, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to join in the first partition of that land. Austria’s share was 18% of the territory, including Galicia-Lodomeria, and 32% of the population. The western half of Galicia was mostly Polish and the eastern part Ruthenian. Although it was without agricultural development, it did have a significant population of 2.6 million people, or 33 persons per square kilometer. No vast open areas awaited settlement here.¹⁵

At the time that Empress Maria Theresa gained Galicia in the first Partition of Poland, she was working to reform social conditions. Serfdom (*Leibeigenschaft*) still existed in the Habsburg empire and she sought to restrict or modify it into *Unterthänigkeit*, a lord-subject relationship, which also existed in the realm. The empress envisioned bringing German farmers and artisans to the region to develop it and also to serve as a buffer along the empire’s eastern frontier but her military advisors opposed her plans. Several years later, she acquired Bukovina from the Ottoman Empire to serve as a link between Galicia and Transylvania. Bukovina’s 10,422 square kilometers were sparsely populated in contrast with Galicia: only about 60,000 persons, or about six persons, mostly shepherds and poor peasants, were counted per square kilometer in 1775.¹⁶

Her son and successor, Joseph II, carried on and expanded the reforms. He regarded Galicia, in particular, as a place where experiments to restructure society might be conducted with the intention of improving socio-economic conditions and productivity, and decided that conditions could not be improved until the lot of the peasant class was improved. His *Unterthanenpatent*, an edict intended to lead to the abolishment of serfdom, was issued in September 1781. It limited the number of days per week and the services that a landlord could demand from his peasants, and also recognized a peasant's right to work his land, to marry without his lord's permission, to move to other places, and to file legal complaints against the lord.

His social experiments in Galicia were also supported by his *Patent of Toleration* (1781) and *Patent of Settlement* (1782) which promised various settlement incentives including freedom of conscience and religion, exemption from military service for the oldest son in each family, land, a house, animals, farm equipment, seed, household furnishings, free transportation from Vienna, ten years exemption from property taxes, and funds for support until settlement.

Maria Theresa and Joseph II both applied parity in state relations with Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic churches. The appointments of Greek Catholic clergy were no longer subject to the Polish landlords and furthermore, their status and well-being was enhanced by government salaries. The money came from the *Religionsfond*, a fund that the state established when it closed the Greek Orthodox monasteries and leased the land. A significant event was the re-creation of the office of the Greek Catholic metropolitan in Halych, which had not existed for over four hundred years, and provided the Ruthenian peasants with their only social institution.¹⁷

Hapsburg reforms also extended to education. Since elementary schools were virtually non-existent, they introduced a system with several types of schools: one-class primary schools taught in the native language of the village, three-class primary schools taught in German and Polish, and four-year schools that were intended to prepare students for further education. In 1784, Joseph also founded a university in Lemberg, the first in the Ukrainian lands of central Europe, to train civil servants and priests.¹⁸

Immigration and Early Colonist Life

Approximately thirteen thousand Germans immigrated to Galicia in response to Emperor Joseph II's patent.¹⁹ Most from parts of modern southwestern Germany, arriving as early as 1783 although some were not actually settled until 1790. Others came in the early decades of the nineteen century from Egerland or Bohemia within Austria. The settlements included closed ethnic colonies as well as *Einsiedlungen* established in the villages of other nationalities. Walter Kuhn's statistical overview of German settlements in Galicia from his work *Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln in Galizien*, pages 37-41, is translated, edited and presented in the appendix.

The Germans from the Rhine Palatinate, mostly farm laborers and artisans, were predominately Evangelical: Lutheran and Reformed. Their *Stammsiedlungen*, or mother colonies, were established with the assistance of the imperial government in the 1780s and 1790s. Due to rapid population growth, *Tochtersiedlungen*, or daughter colonies were soon established. The colonists received an average of twenty to twenty-five *Joch* of land with a house, barns, sheds, livestock, farm implements and tools.

Five immigrant classification groups were identified, and plans outlined for the settlement of each in Galicia. On page 10 of her translation of Massier's book, Dr. Sophie Welisch describes them as follows:

1. Privileged colonists who held more assets received larger land allotments with more buildings, animals, and implements.
2. Disadvantaged colonists could claim only a so-called "half" allotment under the terms of the settlement patent.
3. Private colonists had limited assets, similar to those in no. 2, and were to be placed upon large, privately-owned estates subject to contractual agreements with the owners.
4. Those colonists who came on their own initiative, without a certificate for receipt of land or without financial resources, could attempt to buy/lease land on their own in the first instance, or seek work as laborers in the other.
5. Republican colonists included those of other nationalities who, like the Germans, were free to apply for land but did not receive the same settlement incentives.

Because the Austrian settlement commission were not prepared for the large numbers of immigrants, the actual implementation of plans fell far behind Joseph's expectations. The houses had not been built, and settlers were accommodated in the huts of Polish or Ruthenian farmers or the homes of Jews, or within the Greek Orthodox monasteries that the state had dissolved. Massier reports, for example, that "... lodgings at that time often meant accommodations of up to 'twenty' people in a Polish farmhouse. This frequently resulted in the eventual expenditure of most of the cash reserves brought on the journey with the result that the colonists to a greater or lesser degree became dependent upon the state."²⁰ Many families remained in these temporary lodgings for some years, obviously at inconvenience to those compelled to host them. Disease broke out; many became discouraged, returned to their place of origin, or moved on. Settlement Commissioner Ainser wrote to Vienna, "[They] are naked and destitute and one would have to be completely bereft of Christian and humanitarian feelings not to hear their lamentations and observe their distress without coming to their aid."²¹

When they were placed upon their own land, it was soon evident that most had only limited experience of agriculture:

they did not know how to produce a crop. In 1787, the Lutheran pastor Kurz had already written in the Brigidau parish book that “From August until January, a number of families had no bread in their homes. All that kept them from starvation were a few potatoes.” A year later, in 1788, the wheat harvest in Brigidau failed. The people were left with only oats and peas; years of suffering and severe poverty set in. The pastor wrote, “The poverty and hunger in my congregation is so great that some families have not eaten bread in six to eight weeks. They will actually go out at night and dig up a dead ox in order to have something to eat. At church services, some people faint from weakness.” Many sold out for little or nothing and moved on to Russia; others simply disappeared. A few years later, in 1793, Pastor Fasi noted that many people could not attend worship services in Josefsberg because they had nothing to wear, and that children were attending school wearing nothing more than a shirt. These people had emigrated from a well-established old culture in which most had learned to read and write. They were able to correspond with, and even visit, relatives and friends in northern Galicia or even Bukovina a few years later. But their children in Galicia were not able to do so. The Brigidau pastor was describing the Dornfeld parishioners when he wrote, “The colonists are raw, wild, uncouth people and angry Christians. On the average, they are the dregs of humanity, who exist only to make the pastor’s life miserable.” And yet, a visitor to the same village in 1804 reported that he had visited an old farm woman on a Sunday afternoon and had heard her read from Gellert’s *Moralische Vorlesungen* (Moral Lectures).²²

Frustrated by problems in his colonization program, Joseph II brought it to a halt in 1786. It took another full year, with a massive backlog of settlers waiting for placement in Galicia, before the government began to move some Germans from the Palatinate and Württemberg to Bukovina. Various estimates based upon registration lists and church and civil records indicate that 1,750 to 2,080 persons came to Bukovina from German-speaking areas:

- 300-350 from the Zips district of Upper Hungary (now in Slovakia)
- 350-400 from the so-called Swabian regions (the Pfalz, Württemberg, Baden)
- 1,100-1,300 from Bohemia

Sixteen of these families went to Fratautz, where they leased ground from the *Religionsfond*, in the fall of 1787. In July 1788, ten families signed a contract with the St. Ilie estate and settled in Illischestie. The following partial list of villages, settlers and places of origin includes previously cited families from the Pfalz and Württemberg. Massier’s and Dressler’s books contain more details regarding them.

A contrasting picture is presented by the German Bohemian villages. They consisted of distinct, cohesive groups who had lived together in a community in the Bohemian Forest or in the Egerland and had remained united throughout their migration and relocation. This made it easier for them to put down roots in Galicia and Bukovina.

Their earliest settlement was Mariahilf, which was established by thirty-three families in 1811. Another was

Table 4 - Bukovina Villages and Families

<u>Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Previous Registration/Settlement</u>
<i>Alt-Fratautz</i>		
Bessai	Niefern in Pforzheim district	West Prussia, Galicia
Etter	Flözlingen, Rottweil district, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Jäckle	Flözlingen, Rottweil district, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Glass	Gechingen, Kreis Calw, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Kurtz	Völklingen, Kr. Saarbrücken, Pfalz	Galicia
Massier	Hattgenstein, Kr. Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
Reh	Ötisheim, Kr. Vaihingen, near Maulbronn	West Prussia, Galicia
Rein	Böschen, Kr. Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
Schäfer	Gündelbach, Kr. Maulbronn	West Prussia?, Galicia
Schönthaler	Feldrennach, Kr. Calw, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Wagner	Völklingen, Kr. Saarbrücken	Galicia
<i>Arbora</i>		
Leib	Sötern, Kr. Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
Näher	Dürrwangen or Dewangen?	West Prussia, Galicia
Schlotter	Renfritzhausen, Kr. Horb, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Schlotter	Leidringen, Kr. Balingen, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia

Table 4 (cont.) - Bukovina Villages and Families

<u>Family</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Previous Registration/Settlement</u>
<i>Illischestie</i>		
Ast	Pfeffingen, <i>Kr.</i> Balingen, Württemberg	Galicia
Huncker	Vöhringen, <i>Kr.</i> Horb, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Irion	Talheim, <i>Kr.</i> Tuttlingen, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Kerth	Waldgrehweiler, <i>Kr.</i> Rockenhausen, Pfalz	Galicia
Theilmann	Wurmberg, <i>Kr.</i> Vaihingen, Maulbronn area	West Prussia, Galicia
Wendling	Finkenbach, <i>Kr.</i> Rockenhausen, Pfalz	Galicia
Zachmann	Kieselbronn, <i>Kr.</i> Pforzheim, Baden-Durlach	West Prussia, Galicia
<i>Milleschoutz-Badeutz</i>		
Glass	Gehingen (see Alt-Fratautz)	
Hamann	Kleinkarlbach, Kreis Frankenthal, Pfalz	Galicia
Walther	Holbornerhof, <i>Kr.</i> Kaiserslautern, Pfalz	Galicia
<i>Neu-Itzkany</i>		
Hodel	Wartenburg, <i>Kr.</i> Rockenhausen, Pfalz	Galicia
Kornelson	Holstein	
Rau	Zeilhard, <i>Kr.</i> Dieburg, Hesse-Nassau	
<i>Satulmare</i>		
Hubich	Völkingen, <i>Kr.</i> Saarbrücken, Pfalz	Galicia
Mang	Trippstadt, <i>Kr.</i> Kaiserslautern, Pfalz	Galicia
Nunweiler	Mörschied, <i>Kr.</i> Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
Schmidt	Mühlheim, <i>Kr.</i> Frankenthal, Pfalz	Galicia
Schmidt	Durlach, <i>Kr.</i> Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
Weber	Mörschied, <i>Kr.</i> Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
<i>St. Onufry</i>		
Ast	Pfeffingen (see Illischestie)	
Daub/Taub	Alsenz, <i>Kr.</i> Rockenhausen, Pfalz	Galicia
Kohler	Schura, <i>Kr.</i> Tuttlingen, Württemberg	Galicia
Schmidt	Gundersheim, <i>Kr.</i> Worms	Galicia
Schmidt	Ellwangen, <i>Kr.</i> Aalen	Galicia
<i>Tereblestie</i>		
Dirr, Dürr	Simmozheim, <i>Kr.</i> Calw, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Deutscher (Teuscher)	Eggenstein, <i>Kr.</i> Karlsruhe, Baden	Galicia
Glass	Gehingen (see Alt-Fratautz)	
Hehn	Kr. Kaiserlautern, Pfalz	Galicia
Hubich	Völklingen (see Satulmare)	Galicia
Manz	Rorodt in the Hunsrück, Pfalz	Galicia
Massier	Hattgenstein (see Alt-Fratautz)	
Pfeifer	Rinzenberg, <i>Kr.</i> Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
Sauer	Hattengenstein, <i>Kr.</i> Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
Scherle	Zillhausen, <i>Kr.</i> Balingen, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Schrey	Schröck by Leopoldshafen, <i>Kr.</i> Karlsruhe	West Prussia, Galicia

Machliniec, which was founded in 1823. It was located far from the nearest Roman Catholic parish, so the people gathered around a massive oak tree on Sundays and holidays, decorated it with holy pictures, lit candles, and prayed the Rosary together. They had scarcely managed to clear their land when they began to work on organizing their own parish. In one letter to the archbishop in Lemberg, they wrote, "... since we have come into a foreign land where we cannot speak the language, we have had the misfortune of losing our property and our homeland but if we lose our religious faith, our greatest treasure, our holy hope, what a terrible calamity this will be for us and our poor children, whom we cannot help in any other way, and what hopes and expectations could we have for them if this is allowed to happen?"²³ Other Bohemian communities included Teresówka (1818), Machliniec (1823), Zakla (1825), Kornelówka and Josefsthäl (1830), Ludwikówka (1832), and Felizienthal, Annaberg, and Karlsdorf (1835).

Since they arrived a half century after the Pfälzers, they only established five daughter colonies: Flehberg and Rosenheck from Mariahilf, Wola Oblznica and Kontrowers from the Machliniec area, and Leopoldsdorf by Ludwikówka.

Life in the Eastern Austrian Empire

The social reforms of Emperor Joseph II were never fully implemented and were rescinded after his death in 1790. Serfdom, for example, continued for decades. The terms of their *Robot*, or compulsory labor for the landlord/leaseholder were fixed and taxation of the peasants continued to rise. The German colonists also experienced these burdens. Johann Hubich describes nineteenth century in Bukovina, which was then administratively linked with Galicia, in his memoirs²⁴:

... But he [Ludwig Huwig] did not live there [in Satulmare, Bukovina] very long. One winter he walked to Radautz in a big blizzard and in the evening, on his way home, sat down to rest at the cross before you get to Satulmare, and there he froze to death. Then his son Sebastian supposedly sold the estate rights for 40 Fl. and moved to Tereblestie. When exactly that was, I do not know. I just know that I have had in my hands a document stating that he was magistrate in Tereblestie in 1810 and that he had supposedly received the ground and house at Tereblestie #137, which is still in the family's possession, from the Guts- und Domänenpächter [the estate and crown's leaseholder] Sedorovitsch. This land had originally been measured by the government for the Tereblestie colony but the colonists had not taken possession at that time.

Sedorovitsch utilized the opportunity and placed my grandfather in possession. In return, Grandfather had to perform Robot, or compulsory labor, for Sedorovitsch for a specified time although he filed a report stating that the land was not subject to lord-subject conditions but rather belonged to the colony. The report went to the privy councillor, and the colony asked him to review the matter of the properties received from the state but unfortunately they could barely hang on to their fields. This parcel had been

allotted as colony or community land. Seven colonists received their land parcels all in a row. The eighth colonist got his land from this, had objected and claimed exemption from Robot, paying an annual tax of 13 Fl. Ö.W. ...

... I attended what is now the Romanian school but at that time was called the Normalschule. Four times every day I passed the estate building with the Propenation offices on one side and the imperial Cameralamt, the imperial area office of the Mandatar, or the authorized government minister, on the other. The crown's leaseholder was the greatest authority or power in the village. No Romanian passed the building without removing his cap, not even if it looked like the building was empty. If anyone saw the leaseholder or the Mandatar, one had to kiss his hand and if not, then one could be seized and at the very least, receive twenty-five cuts with a rod, stick or cane. The bench upon which this punishment would be executed always stood at the leaseholder's door. If someone complained when four to six Decurats, or services to the lord, were reckoned as a punishment, the leaseholder would simply say, 'Der Himmel ist hoch, der Kaiser ist weit, und die Herren habe ich in der Tasche' (heaven is high, the emperor far, and the gentlemen in my pocket). Then the person would be jailed by the Mandatar for another eight to fourteen days, starving if he did not negotiate with the police to obtain forbidden bread.

This is the way that it was with the Zehnt, or tithe: one-tenth of everything that the farmer produced in his fields and gardens was the property of the estate owner or imperial leaseholder whose agent on horseback come out to question everything. No one dared move any of his harvested crop until the leaseholder's agent, or Auszehner as he was called, rode out on his horse to personally survey the field, measured the pile of grain, and selected what he wanted, whereupon the farmer had to deliver the specified grain to a designated receiver in the farm yard of the leaseholder. If the receiver was not there, then the poor farmer had to wait for him before unloading anything, no matter what the weather was. If it happened to rain, then the wet grain would not be received. Then the farmer had to either dry it there in a room or take it home and dry it there, then bring it back again. Only then could he think about his own grain waiting piled in the field. I remember that in summer, I used to watch as the procession of farmers waited with hats in hand to plead with the Auszehner and kowtow to him. Everyone simply wanted to be done with it because of the weather. It resembled a funeral procession led by the mounted and obviously bored Auszehner, who idly flicked his leather horse whip upon those who followed.

The obligations of the subject who worked for an estate lord were indeed regulated by an imperial patent but it did not help. First, no education was available. No farmer could read or write with any fluency aside from the German colonists who did not have to perform Robot or pay the Zehnt, but rather paid an annual tax of 13 Fl. Ö.W. to the area office. They allowed their children to be taught to read and write by teachers whom they supported out of their own means. Granted, this was inadequate instruction because

the children only went to school in the winter; in the summer they had to herd cattle and do other light work. If the father was poor or if the child was an orphan, then there was no possibility of attending school. The child was simply confirmed by the pastor in the Evangelical Lutheran faith at the age of fourteen years. For this it sufficed if the child knew the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles Creed . . .

The conditions of servitude continued until 1848. Then a law was passed so that the farmer had to buy his land from the authorities in order to be freed from the Robot and the Zehnten. A land release tax was instituted to compensate the crown's leaseholders for their losses . . .

Hubich's memoirs reflect the limited socio-economic conditions in the eastern Hapsburg lands. The government intended to keep the eastern half of the empire agricultural and to encourage industry in western provinces like Austria and Bohemia, which only made matters worse. Galicia was more or less as an internal colony of the empire, a source of food and raw products, and a market for finished goods.²⁵

Although Joseph II had attempted to reform the landlord/peasant relationship, *corvée* or *panshchyna* in Ukrainian continued to exist in less developed regions such as Galicia. *Corvée* required peasants to work on the lands of their lord for two or three days per week for the use of their plots. This caused much dissatisfaction among the Galician peasantry, contributing to a revolution that led to its abolition in 1848.²⁶ But emancipation did not improve the economic lot of the peasants. Although the government had promised land to them and had promised to cover the cost, the financial burden was shifted to the peasants in the form of direct and indirect taxes.²⁷

The peasants were most enraged by the so-called servitudes. Under the conditions of the emancipation, the landlords generally retained ownership of the servitudes, that is, forests and pastures to which villagers had previously had free access. The peasant now had to pay the landlord's price to obtain firewood, building materials, or livestock feed. These figures were often so high that peasants felt that they had simply exchanged one kind of serfdom for another. Their expenses increased and in the process, their land holdings and income dwindled. A major factor was the subdivision of a peasant's land among his children, usually three to four per family. Wealthy estate owners bought up the tiny plots of peasants who could not survive upon their holdings. In 1859, 66% could be classified as poor, or owning less than twelve acres of land, in 1859. By 1902, this had increased to 80%. About 2400 large landowners who held over 40% of the arable land in Galicia and the remainder, 60%, was divided into hundreds of thousands of tiny peasant plots (according to Subtelny, p. 309-310). Over 400,000 peasant holdings in Galicia in 1902 were described as being so small that they could only supply food for the average family for three months of the year (see Davies, *Heart of Europe*, p. 256).

Limited opportunities to earn extra money existed. Laborers on an estate received the lowest wages in the

Hapsburg empire, which were only about a quarter of wages paid in the Austrian heartland. Banks that lent money did not exist and moneylenders charged 150 to 250% annual interest. At such rates, indebtedness only increased and the peasant who could not meet his payment would find that his creditor had the right to confiscate and auction off his property.

An 1887 study titled *The Misery of Galicia*²⁸ paints a grim picture. Rural overpopulation was higher than in all other parts of Europe and was approaching that of China and India so that Galicia's people were in a worse condition than the Irish at the beginning of the potato famine. The productive capacity of a Galician was one-fourth of an average European but his food consumption was one-half. "As compared with the standard of living in England at that time, the average Galician produced only one-quarter of the basic foodstuffs, ate less than one-half of the standard English diet, possessed only one-ninth of the Englishman's propertied wealth, and received barely one-eleventh of the English farmer's return on his land, yet he paid twice as high a proportion of his income in taxes," Davies writes. Alcoholism was a tremendous problem, due in part to the estate owners who monopolized alcohol production and to the tavern keepers who controlled sales. In 1900 in Eastern Galicia, there was one tavern for every 220 inhabitants, but only one elementary school per 1500 inhabitants. Eighty-one percent of the peasantry was illiterate. Health conditions and medical care in Galicia were just as appalling. Although the entire Habsburg empire averaged one hospital per 295 inhabitants in 1900, Galicia had only one per 1200. More than 50% of the children died before age five due to disease and malnutrition. About fifty thousand deaths per year were attributed to malnutrition and/or famine. Of all the three Partitions of Poland, Galicia had the highest birth rate and the highest death. A quarter of the population could have emigrated without significantly improving the conditions - and emigrate they did. Two million left in the twenty-five years before World War I and 400,000, or 5% of the population, left in 1913 alone.

Galician Daughter Colonies in Bukovina

The upper Sereth River valley and northwestern Bukovina up to the Czeremosch River were not affected by the early German colonization but across the decades and with private initiatives, German settlements did arise here. Most colonists were Germans from existing Bukovina communities such as Hliboka (Adancata), Tereblestie, and Illishestie as well as from Bogucice, Bolechow, Kolomea, Konstantowka, and other Galician villages where they had lived among other ethnic groups. Their stories appear in various sources including Konrad Gross's *Alexanderdorf and Katharinendorf: Evangelical Lutheran Communities in Bukovina from 1863 until 1940*, which this author translated for publication in the quarterly *Galizien German Descendants*, and in Edgar Müller's *Die evangelische Kirchengemeinde Neu-Zadowa und Nikolausdorf von ihrer Gründung bis zur Umsiedlung 1883-1940*.

The exact date [of the establishment of Alexanderdorf and Katharinendorf] is not known. It is certain that the first settlers came from Galicia and bought land from Ukrainian farmers without any restriction or impediment. The community was called Heckendorf because of the Hecken (hedges) that covered the land. Before the colonization of the village Alexanderdorf, Heinrich Lindenbach and Georg Gross, the author's uncle, bought land from Ukrainians. If the dates in the Evangelical Lutheran Church records in Czernowitz are correct - and there is no doubt of that - the first settlers were in Heckendorf by 1840. This allegation is based upon the following entry in the Czernowitz parish record: 'On 15 July 1865 Johann Georg Gross, a son of Georg Gross and his wife Katharine Adam, born in Alexanderdorf, age twenty-two years, single, was united in marriage with Katharina Goeres, daughter of Friedrich Goeres and his wife Katharine Pfeiffer, born in Alexanderdorf, twenty years old, single, by the Roman Catholic priest Adalbert Kubinski of Wiznitz. Witnesses were Peter Jagloski and Heinrich Lindenbach.'

A second supporting document is a Lutheran marriage record in Czernowitz. The farmer Karl Kraemer, born in Alexanderdorf, age twenty-one years, married the eighteen-year-old daughter of Friedrich Klein. She had been born in Augustdorf. There must have been other settlers besides Heinrich Lindenbach and Georg Gross in Heckendorf, and they must have become the residents of Alexanderdorf. These include Jakob Kraemer, the father of Karl, as well as Johann Wilhelm Rickerich from Josefsberg, Galicia, and others. Settlements of Heckendorf and Alexanderdorf probably began at about the same time and others joined the first settlers ...

... [The] first settler Georg Gross ... said that others had come from Galicia with him, intending to settle there, but were discouraged by the difficulties presented and moved on elsewhere. Many came and went ... [but others] persevered and thereby attracted ever more settlers from Galicia.

Baron Alexander v. Wassilko sent agents to Galicia to recruit German settlers who would cultivate the land. The neighboring Ukrainians were not prepared to rent and till the land. At first Baron v. Wassilko divided his land into parcels located one kilometer off the Kaiserstrasse in the hope that this would attract settlers. This attempt produced in a sluggish manner. Then he parcelled the land along the Kaiserstrasse and found willing candidates. In time, the communities that bore the name of the baron and his lady were established: Alexanderdorf in honor of the baron, and Katharinendorf for the baroness Katharine v. Wassilko. Since the land parcels were not too small, they attracted families with large numbers of children who hoped to provide each son with his own farm. The land was rented for ninety-nine years, according to early documents. Because of the constant immigration and emigration, the rental contracts were entered in Czernowitz on 27 August 1892 for twenty-five years, expiring on 1 November 1917, according to the imperial county court decree Zl. 19 615/1892.

The hereditary right to the land was secured by each family for their children and grandchildren. The contract was written so that the proprietor incurred no risk and his rights were completely protected ...

Neu-Zadowa was established in the late 1880s on the left bank of the Sereth River on lands from the estates of the lords Joan Baloscheskul, Constantin Baloscheskul, and David Krantz among others. About forty-eight families lived there in 1888. About a kilometer north of Neu-Zadowa was Eichenau, established as a cooperative venture in 1913-1914 on the estate of the de la Scala family. The settlers, about twenty Catholic families, came from Mariahilf and Kolomea, Galicia. About eight kilometers northeast of Neu-Zadowa was Nikolausdorf, established upon the estate of Baron Nikolai Wassilko, for whom it was named. Most of the twenty-six settlers came from Nadworna, Brettheim, Diamantheim, and Ugartsthal, Galicia, as well as some from Tereblestie and Lichtenberg, Bukovina.

But where are the records?

In 1880, Gustawicz noted the locations of various denominational and regional church offices in Galicia:

1. The Roman Catholics were under the jurisdiction of their archbishop of Lwów (Lemberg) and three subordinate bishops located in Kraków, Tarnów, and Przemyl.
2. The Greek Catholics (Uniates) were under the authority of their metropolitan in Lwów and the bishop in Przemysl.
3. The Armenian church had its own archbishop.
4. The Jewish national rabbinate was located in Lemberg with twenty-six district rabbinates. Each community had its own szkolnik, or sexton.
5. The "Churches of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions" are the Protestant churches: Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed. The jurisdiction of the Galician superintendent, who was based in Lemberg, included both Galicia and Bukovina.
 - a) The Augsburg (Lutheran) superintendent had three regions: the west with seven parishes, the central with ten, and the east with five including Radautz, Czernowitz, Jakobeni, and Illischestie, Bukovina.
 - b) The Helvetic (Reformed or Swiss) superintendent had four parishes: Andrasfalva, Königsberg, Josefsberg, and Kolomea (Kolomyja).
6. An Eastern Orthodox chaplain was based in Lemberg.

Remember that the state religion was Roman Catholicism, but from the time that Galicia was annexed by the Austrian Empire, the Greek Catholic or Uniate faith was officially recognized. As stated above, the orthodox monasteries were closed and their properties administered by the Religionsfond. Many German immigrants lived on

Religionsfond lands, in point of fact. While there was freedom of religion and conscience in the Habsburg empire, the Roman Catholic church was officially designated to hold all records of births, deaths and marriages. Therefore Evangelical clergy were required to give copies of their ministerial acts to the local Catholic priest until 1849, when the Evangelical Church of Austria was recognized. You may find that an Evangelical ancestor was baptized by a Greek Catholic priest according to a Roman Catholic parish register. This does not indicate religious conversion. It simply documents that Evangelicals asked local Greek or Roman Catholic clergy to perform ministerial rites if their own pastor lived too far away.

In his article about the L'viv central state archives, Matthew Bielawa writes that "Lutherans began their own record keeping in 1849 while the Jews had to wait until 1868 for their rabbis to keep official documents."²⁹ A clarification must be made here. In point of fact, Lutheran records were kept from the 1791 establishment of the Evangelical parishes in Radautz and Czernowitz. These and other Evangelical records have been filmed by the Family History Library.

The following chart locating Galician church records has been adapted and updated from German Genealogy - genealogy.net at <<http://www.genealogienetz.de/genealogy.html>>.

EAST GALICIA

A. *Evangelical (Before 1870)*

Archiv Alter Akten in Warsaw
Contact: Archiwum Glowne Akt Dawnzych
ul. Dluga 7
PL-00-950 Warszawa
skrytka pocztowa 1005
Poland

Evangelical (1870-1939)

Found in the City Clerk's Office of Central Warsaw
Contact: Urzad Stanu Cywilnego
ul. Dluga 7
PL-00-950 Warszawa Śródmiescie, Poland

B. *Roman Catholic*

1. Lemberg Diocese
Lubaszow-Archiwum Diecezjalne
Kuria Arcybiskupia Lubaszow-ul. Miekiewicza 85
PL-37-680 Lubaszów, Poland
2. Przemysl Diocese
Premysl Archiwum Diecezjalne
Kuria Arcybiskupia Przemysl
Przemysl, Poland
3. Archiwum Alter Akten (see above)
4. City Clerk's Office of Central Warsaw (see above)

5. Archiwum Akt Zaburzanskich in Warsaw
ul. Juzuicka 8
PL-00-281 Warszawa, Poland

C. *Eastern Orthodox*

These books remained in East Galicia and are probably in the local city clerk's office or archives. It has been reported that were filmed and the films kept in Kiev.

II WEST GALICIA

A. *Evangelical*

For communities and parishes still in existence original records are still held in parish offices, duplicate records for the years from 1810-1870 are at State Archives

For communities that have been dissolved, disbanded or closed: records dating from before 1870 are kept in the state archives, records dating from after 1870 are kept in local city clerk's office

B. *Roman Catholic original records*

These are still held in parish offices (*Katolickie Biuro Parafialne* [P]) but those that are 100 years old or more are held at the diocesan archives (Archiwum Archidiecezjalne [P]).

Roman Catholic duplicates

1810-1870 - kept in the state archives
After 1870 - kept in the local city clerk's office

It may also be helpful to note the present location of church denominational and regional offices in Ukraine and in other countries:

1. The Roman Catholic Church has five archdioceses in Ukraine: Lviv, Kyiv-Zhytomyr, Kamjanets-Podolisky, Lutsk, and the Apostolic Administration of Carpathians in Mukacheve. In Poland, an ecclesiastical reform was instituted in 1992 but the archival system, established in 1926, remains in effect. Records dating from before the twentieth century are usually stored at diocese archives but not all churches have submitted their record so check with parish offices before visiting the archives.
2. The Greek Catholic, or Uniate, diocese offices are located in Ivano-Frankivsk, Kolomya-Chernivci, Sambor-Drohobych, Ternopil, and Zboriv.
3. Information about Jewish records from Galicia is available at the <www.jewishgen.org> and <www.avotaynu.com> web sites.
4. Many Evangelical Lutheran church records were taken to Germany during World War II and can be found in one of two archives, both of which have published inventories. Note that the EZA has moved from its former address at Jebenstrasse 3 in Berlin:

Evangelisches Zentralarchiv (EZA)
Bethaniendamm 29
D-10623 Berlin Deutschland / Germany
Telephone: 49 (030) 22 50 45 20
Fax: 49 (030) 22 50 45 40
E-mail: archiv@ezab.de or kirchenbuchstelle@ezab.de
Web site with English option: <<http://www.ezab.de>>

Die Zentralstelle für Genealogie
Sachsischen Staatsarchiv
Schongauer Str. 1
D-04329 Leipzig Deutschland / Germany
Telephone: 49 (0341) 2 55 55 51
Fax: 49 (0341) 2 55 55 55

An additional important center for research regarding Evangelicals is the *Galiziendeutsches Heimatarchiv* in Kaiserslautern, Germany. It is housed at the *Institut für pfälzische Geschichte und Volkerkunde* which is a records repository for over 300,000 persons who emigrated from the Rheinland-Pfalz. They maintain a file with a card for each individual listing name, place of settlement, spouse, date/place of death and burial location, occupation, religion, and the village of origin with date of emigration. This file has proven to be valuable in facilitating Galician and Bukovina research. Furthermore, the preeminent Galician researcher Ernst Hexel organized his files prior to his death in recent years and donated it all to the *Heimatarchiv*. The collection includes his handwritten manuscripts *Gemeinde- und Ortsverzeichnis von Galizien mit Hinweisen auf die zuständigen Pfarrämter* (Galician village list with parish references) and *Verzeichnis der deutschen Siedlungen und Einsiedlungen in polnische und ukrainische Dörfer in Galizien mit Hinweisen auf die zuständigen Pfarrämter* (list of German settlements in Polish and Ukrainian village with parish references). Publication of the latter is planned.

Heimatarchiv Galizien
Institut für pfälzische Geschichte und Volkerkunde
Benzinoring 6
D-67657 Kaiserslautern Deutschland / Germany

Galicia and Bukovina researchers like Schneider, Kaindl, Hexel Dr. Wilhelm Deutscher and others relied upon the civil and church archives in Lemberg for their work. The Galician provincial and governor's archives were housed in the former St. Bernard monastery which had been seized and appropriated as a regional archival site in 1783. The two sections, one for the Galician provincial and another the governor's archives, included land survey registers called cadastral surveys, appraisal books, village summaries, and tax lists, according to Schneider's introduction to his book.

Today the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, the *Tsentralnyy Derzhavnyy Istorychnyy Arkhiv Ukrayiny, umisti L'vovi*, is located in the former Bernardine monastery (see Bielawa, "The Central State Historical Archive in Lviv, Ukraine and Polish Genealogical Research in Rodziny:

Journal of the Polish Genealogical Society of America (Summer 2001). The *TsDial* (pronounced Tseh-dee-ahl) card catalog includes indices for the Roman Catholic and the Greek Catholic church jurisdictions, respectively called an archdiocese and an archeparchy. The Genealogical Society of Utah is filming Greek Catholic Consistory of L'viv registers here as well as in Chernivtsi (Czernowitz), Ukraine, which is the former provincial capital of Bukovina. More about the L'viv project is posted on the Federation of East European Family History Societies web portal at <<http://feefhs.org/ua/lviv/gc/gclviv1.html>>.

Summary

Galicia served as an internal colony for the Habsburg empire from 1772 until 1918. Although Emperor Joseph II envisioned that it would serve as a laboratory for social and economic reform experiments, the initiative had been lost by the time of his death due to inadequate planning and preparations. Deteriorating conditions contributed to disease, famine, and starvation and led people to emigrate to other parts of the Empire, other parts of Europe, and the Americas.

Endnotes

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² The book has been translated in installments and published in a serial format in the quarterly *Galizien German Descendants*. It is posted on the Federation of East European Family History Societies web portal with <<http://feefhs.org/gal/ggd/gkjg/gkjg-idx.html>> as the front page.

³ Immigrant lists are presented and discussed in Johann Christian Dressler's *Chronik der Bukowiner Landgemeinde Illischestie* (Freilassing: Pannonia-Verlag, 1960), Erwin Massier's *Fratautz und die Fratautzer: Vom Werden und Vergehen einer deutschen Gemeinschaft in der Bukowina* (Pleutersbach: by the author, 1957), and Wilhelm Messner's *Die schwäbisch-pfälzische Bauernsiedlung Deutsch Tereblestie von ihrer Gründung bis zur Umsiedlung* in the Kaindl-Archiv publications (Heubach/Württemberg: by the author, 1985).

⁴ See Walter Kuhn's *Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln in Galizien, Ein Beitrag zur Methode der Sprachinselkunde*, which was published in the series *Deutschum und Ausland, Studien zum Auslanddeutschum und zur Auslandskultur in Schriftenreihe der Forschungsstelle für Auslanddeutschum*

und Auslanddeutschum Kunde, e.V., 26/27 Heft. Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930.

⁵ Messner (pages 38 ff) and Massier (7 ff), describe serfdom in the Rhineland Palatinate at this time.

⁶ Kuhn identifies and discusses these Mennonites as does Bronislaw Gustawicz. William F. Hoffman translated Gustawicz's work in "From the *S ownik Geograficzny: Galicia*," in *Rodziny: The Journal of the Polish Genealogical Society of America*, vol. 19, no. 2, Aug. 1996.

⁷ See Kuhn, 44 ff. The following paragraphs are excerpted, translated, and edited in from Kuhn. A map of the Egerland and Bohemian Forest villages appears after p. 56.

⁸ Davies, Norman, in *God's Playground, A History of Poland, Volume II, 1795 to the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 142, and Subtelny, Orest, in *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 215.

⁹ The term *tutejszy* and its significance are discussed by Anna Reid in *Borderland: A Journey Through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 2000) and by Luiza Bia asiewicz and John O'Laughlin in "Re-ordering Europe's Eastern Frontier: Galician Identities and Political Cartographies on the Polish-Ukrainian Border", a paper prepared at the University of Colorado in Boulder and posted at <<http://www.colorado.edu/IBS/PEC/johno/pub/galicjafin.pdf>>.

¹⁰ Kann, Robert A., *A History of the Hapsburg Empire 1526-1918* (New York: Barnes & Noble Inc. by arrangement with the University of California Press, 1992), 606.

¹¹ Kann, 163, and Subtelny, 201.

¹² Subtelny, 23.

¹³ See <www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/Drohobycz/dz_galacialost.htm> and <www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/Svencionys/religious_movements.html>, for example.

¹⁴ Kuhn, 21-22.

¹⁵ Subtelny, 218 and Kuhn, 26.

¹⁶ Raimund Friedrich Kaindl cites data collected by General von Splény, Bukovina's first military governor under Hapsburg rule, in *Das Ansiedlungswesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Österreich* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1902), 4.

¹⁷ Kann, 191, and Subtelny, 217.

¹⁸ Subtelny, 217.

¹⁹ Kuhn, 26.

²⁰ See Dr. Sophie Welisch's translation *Fratautz and the Fratautzers: The Rise and Fall of a German Village Community in Bukovina* (Regina: Saskatchewan Genealogical Society, 1992), 10.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

²² Kuhn, 52-56.

²³ *Ibid.*, 57-59

²⁴ This passage from Hubich's autobiography appears in Messner, 186-187.

²⁵ Subtelny, 218, 309 ff.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 245.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 309.

²⁸ The material in this paragraph is variously cited as S. Szczepanowski, *N dza Galicji w cyfrach* in Subtelny, 310; as S. Szczepa ski, *N dza Galicyjska w cyfrach* in Davies, 145-147; and as Szczepanowski in another work by Norman Davies, *Heart of Europe: A Short History of Poland* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 256.

²⁹ See <<http://www.halgal.com/TsDialarticle.html>>.

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OVERVIEW OF GERMAN COLONIES IN GALICIA
from *Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln in Galizien*, pages 38-41
by Walter Kuhn and translated by Irmgard Hein Ellingson

Key

Settlement Date

- A: formed between 1781-1795
- B: formed between 1796-1810
- C: formed between 1811-1818
- D: formed after 1848

Religion (with towns of mixed population)

- m: Mennonite
- p: Protestant
- k: Roman Catholic

Origins

- a: Pfälzer mother colony
- b: Pfälzer daughter colony
- c. Bohemian mother colony
- d. Bohemian daughter colony
- e. Silesian mother colony

Miscellaneous

- α : independent, self-sustaining community
- β : mother colony established within an existing community of other ethnic group
- : German majority in 1930s
- : German minority in 1930s
- : settlement abandoned

Western Counties

- D e k α Zabnica Kol., ca. 1850, -
- " Hundstal (Psia Dolina), ca. 1880, -
- D e k β Zlatna, ca. 1860, -
- " Rycerka, ca. 1870, -

II. Sandetz Group

A	p β	Deutsch-Lednica	1785
"		Neu-Gawlów	1784
"		Neu-Majkowice	1784
"		Trynitatis	1785
"		Wojtowstwo (Vogtsdorf)	1785
"		Strawawies-Weber	?
"		Hundsdorf (Cēlmiec)	1783
"		Deutsch-Biczyce	1788,
"		Hutweide (Gaj)	1785
"		Deutsch-Dąbrówka	1787
"		Unterbach (Podrzecze)	1783
"		Stadlau (Stadlo)	1788
"		Deutsch Golkowice	1783
"		Deutsch-Gabóń	1783
"		Deutsch-Barcice	1788
A	k α	Neudörfel (Podmajerz)	1783
A	k α	Wiesendorf (Łączki)	1783
"		Zaundorf (Podegrodzie)	1786
"		Bratucice	1783
"		Bogucice	1783
"		Krzeczów	1783
"		Wachendorf (Strzeszyce)	1783
"		Zbikowice	1783
"		Świniarsko	1788
"		Nassendorf (Mokra wieś)	1788
"		Juraszowa	1788

A	p β	Naszacowice	1783	-
"		Olszanka	1784	○
"		Kadschau (Kadcza)	1785	-
"		Laufendorf (Biegonice)	1783	-
"		Rytro	1788	-
"		Kamionka wielka	1788	-
A	k β	Kamionna (Steindorf)	1783	-
"		Książnice (Fürstenau)	1783	-
"		Ernstdorf (Szczereż)	1784	-
"		Zagorzyn	1786	-
"		Mystków	1788	-
B	a p a	Grodzkie	1800	-

III. Gluchoniewmey Group

No colonies.

IV. Vistula-San Triangle

A	a p	Hohenbach	1783	●
"		Padew-Kolonie	1783	○
"		Reichsheim	1783	●
"		Ranischau	1783	○
"		Steinau	1783	○
"		Königsberg	1786	○
"		Gillershof	1783	-
A	a k	Josefsdorf	1783	-
"		Schönanger	1783	●
"		Tuszów-Kolonie	1783	●
"		Deutsch-Ostrowo	1783	-
"		Rauchersdorf	1783	-
A	k α	Dornbach	1786	-
"		Tanefsau		
		(Wólka Tanefská)	1783	○
"		Wildenthal	1783	○
A	k β	Jeźowe	1783	-
"		Jata	1783	-

B a p a	Hirschbach (Baranówka)	1801	-	"	Uszkowice Kol.	1784	
"	Neu-Dornbach	1800	-	"	Dobrazanica Kol.	1786	
C b k	Korziarnia	1812	-	"	Einsingen	1783	
"	Sulichów	1872	-	"	Deutsch-Smolin	1783	
D e k a	Preppendorf	1852	-	A k a	Kaisersdorf (Kalinów)	1783	
				"	Kranzberg	1783	
				"	Neudorf by Sambor	1783	
V. Reichau Group					Brunndorf	1788	
A p a	Reichau	1783	o	"	Burgthal	1788	
"	Felsendorf	1783	-	"	Ebenau	1791	
"	Lindenau	1783	-	"	Vorderberg	1788	
"	Deutschbach	1785	-	"	Weißenberg	1788	
"	Berdikau Kolonie	1783	•	"	Ottenhausen	1788	
"	Kleindorf	1790	-	"	Ernsdorf	1795	
"	Moosberg	1786	-	"	Mühlbach	1786	
"	Schumlau	1785	o	"	Rehfeld	1786	
"	Kuttenberg	1792	-	"	Kimirz Kolonie	1785	
"	Rehberg	1788	-		(VII. Lemberg Group, continued)		
"	Lubaczów	1783	-		A k a	Bruckenthal	
A k a	Burgau	1783	o		"	Mokrotny Kolonie	
"	Freifeld	1783	-		"	Wiesenberge	
"	Münchenthal (Mużyłowice Kol.)	1783	•		B a p a	Walddorf	
"	Fehlbach	1783	•		B e k a	Sygniówka	
A k B	Ostrowiec	1783	-		C b m	Neuhof	
C b p	Niemcy zu Oleszyce	?	-		"	Kiernica Kolonie	
D b m	Trościaniec Kolonie	1870	-		C b k	Müllersdorf	
VI. Bandrów Group					"	Michałówka	
A p a	Bandrów Kolonie	1783	•		"	Kobyła by Krużyki	
"	Obersdorf	1783	•		D b m	Neu-Horożanna	
"	Prinzenthal	1784	•		"	Ehrenfeld	
"	Steinfels	1783	•		"	Podusilna	
"	Siegenthal	1788	•		D b p	Heinrichsdorf	
"	Makowa Kolonie	1783	•			VIII. Brigida Group	
"	k a	Rosenburg	1783	o	A p a	Brigida	
"	Engelsbrunn	1783	o	"	"	Gassendorf	
"	Falkenberg	1783	o	"	"	Neudorf by Drohobycz	
VII. Lemberg Group				"	"	Josefsberg	
A p a	Neu-Burczyce	1785	•	"	"	Ugartsberg	
"	Neu-Kupnowice	1783	•	"	A k a	Gelsendorf	
"	Hartfeld	1783	•	"	B a p β	Königsau	
"	Rottenhan	1785	•	"	B a k β	Dobrohosław	
"	Schönthal	1785	•	"	C c k a	Lużek dolne	
"	Kaltwasser	1783	o	"	D b k a	Korost	
"	Dornfeld	1786	•	"	D b p	Dobrowlany Kolonie	
"	Einsiedel	1786	o	"	"	Podhorce Kolonie	
"	Falkenstein	1785	•			Glinka Zu Wownia	
"	Lindenfeld	1788	•			IX. Ugartsthal Group	
"	Neu-Chrusno	1785	•		A p a	Ugartsthal	
"	Reichenbach	1789	•		"	"	
"	Rosenberg	1786	•				
"	Unterbergen	1785	•				
"	Weinbergen	1785	o				
"	Unterwalden	1784	•				

A k a	Neu-Kalucz	1783	●	D d k	Rosenheck	1866	●
"	Hoffnungsau	1784	●	"	Wola Oblaznica	1868	●
B a p a	Neu-Babylon	1800	●	"	Leopoldsdorf	1870	●
B a p β	Horochoлина	1803	β	"	Kotrowers	1899	●
B a k β	Roslucz	1805	○				
"	Wolcke	1805	○				
C a p a	Engelsberg	1811	●				
C b p	Debelówka	1817	●				
C b p	Baginsberg	1818	●				
"	Mogila	1820	●	A k a	Beckersdorf	1784	●
"	Konstantynówka	1820	●	"	Bedrykowce	1785	-
"	Knihinin Kolonie	1823	○	"	Łopuszno	1785	-
"	Neu-Huziejów	1834	○	B a p a	Hanunin	1797	●
"	Broczków	1835	●	"	Zabawa	1797	-
"	Augustdorf	1836	●	"	Antonin	1797	●
"	Silauerówka	1838	●	"	Sapieżanka	1804	●
"	Neudorf by Ottynia	1842	●	"	Windmühle		
"	Dąbrowa	1845	●		(Szczygielówka)	1806	●
"	Oblizka	1845	●	"	Heinrichsdorf	1810	●
"	Mikulsdorf	1848	●	B a k a	Krzywulanka	1805	●
C b k	Borynia	1818	○	B a p β	Stanin	1797	●
C c k a	Mariahilf	1811	●	B c k a	Jagonia	1803	○
"	Teresówka	1818	●	B e k a	Deutsch-Łany	1804	-
"	Zakla	1825	●	C a p a	Teodorshof	1824	●
"	Machliniec	1823	●	C b p	Romanówka	1815	●
"	Kornelówka	1830	●	"	Polowce Kolonie	1819	●
"	Josefsthal	1830	●	"	Sobolówka	1829	●
"	Ludwikówka	1832	●	"	Zboiska	1836	●
"	Felizienthal	1835	●	"	Bronisławówka	1838	●
"	Annaberg	1835	●	"	Kazimirówka	1838	●
"	Karlsdorf	1835	●	"	Konopkówka	1839	○
"	Pöchersdorf	1836	●	"	Sabinówka	?	●
"	Neu-Mizum	1844	●	"	Swadkowce	?	●
"	Jammersthal	1848	●	C c k a	Angelówka	1829	●
C c k β	Izydorówka	1830	●	"	Maleniska	?	-
"	Nowe Siolo	1830	●	C e k a	Zbaniów		
"	Lubsza	1830	●		(Stanislówka)	1823	●
"	Mazurówka	1830	●	"	Neutitschein	1835	-
"	Smorze górne	1830	●	C e k β	Krasiczyn	1844	○
C d k	Flehberg	1842	●	"	Różanka-Ignacówka	1844	○
D b p	Zbora	1870	●	D b p	Karolówka	1865	○
"	Slawitz	1873	●	"	Rudolfshof	1880	-
"	Bredtheim	1881	●	D d k	Henrykówka	1858	●
"	Rudolfsdorf	1883	-	"	Konstantówka	1872	●
"	Mariendorf	1895	-	"	Rehdorf		
"	Sewerynówka	1889	●		(Sarnówka)	1883	●
"	Diamantheim	1901	●				