



The Bukovina Society of the Americas NEWSLETTER

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Vol. 18, No. 3 September 2008

Editor: Sophie A. Welisch

sawelisch@bukovinasociety.org

Web Site: www.bukovinasociety.org

Webmaster: Werner Zoglauer

zoglauer@bukovinasociety.org

Assistant Editor: O.M. Windholz

windholz@bukovinasociety.org

Assistant Webmaster: Rebecca Hageman

rhageman@bukovinasociety.org

Membership Dues:

Lifetime \$150.00

Annual \$15.00



BUKOVINA PEOPLE AND EVENTS

- The Society is pleased to welcome our new lifetime members : #172 Franz and Gertrude Oswald, Graz, Austria; #173 Nancy Hoedel, Homer, AK; #174 Randy Gaschler, Placerville, CA; and #175 Charlene Minor, Royal Oak, MI.
- The annual meeting of the Bukovina Society was conducted on July 28, 2008. In addition to financial reports, the membership elected Steve Parke, Ralph Burns, Shirley Kuppetz, and Martha McClelland to fill expiring terms on the Board of Directors.

MADONNA AND CHILD

In past issues the *Newsletter* detailed the odyssey of the Bohemian icon donated to the Society by Sophie Welisch. The statue, now on display at the Hays Public Library, rests in a secure location among other international treasures related to local history. Along with the history of the statue, a brief mention is made of the Bukovina German heritage in the local area. Several years ago the Hays Public Library, which draws many visitors from far and near, was rated number one in the nation based on its size.



Eric Norris, Adult Department Librarian, placed the icon in the lobby display.

GERMAN RESEARCHERS

Two researchers from Germany spent the week in the Ellis area studying the German Bohemian dialect of the descendants of

settlers from Bukovina. Dr. Nicole Eller and Dr. Alfred Wildfeuer were also here last year in conjunction with their attendance at the conference of the Society for German American Studies at the University of Kansas. During their



Fred and Nicole enjoying dinner at Board member Norma Lang's home.

projected three-year stay in the United States they plan to visit several other German Bohemian communities as well as to attend the Bukovinafest in Ellis scheduled for September 18, 2009.

NEW PUBLICATION

Claus Stephani, *The Maiden of the Forest: Legends, Tales and Local History of Bukovina*, trans. by Sophie A. Welisch (Ellis, KS, The Bukovina Society of the Americas, 2008), 53 pp., 1 photo, 6 illus.

The Bukovina Society proudly announces the publication of the English translation of a work by Dr. Claus Stephani, prominent author, ethnologist and journalist. Born in Brasov (Kronstadt) Transylvania in 1939, he pursued German and Romanian philology and journalism for more than two decades (1967-1990) and edited the monthly newspaper, *Neue Literatur* (Bucharest). Since 1968 the author has published over 2000 texts, which have been printed in books, newspapers and journals in Belgium, Denmark, England, Israel, Italy, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Russia, Ukraine and now in the United States.

In *The Maiden of the Forest: Legends, Tales and Local History of Bukovina* the author presents 106 vignettes gleaned from

contemporary residents of Bukovina through field work, interviews and questionnaires. These include tales of witches, enchanted forests and elves as well as historic glimpses into the lives and traditions of Bukovina's multiethnic population, which will no doubt charm and fascinate their readers. Such are the stories our grandparents and great grandparents would have heard as children at the end of the day as the family huddled around a wood-burning potbelly stove in a room illuminated by a kerosene lamp or a candle. *The Maiden of the Forest* affords us an opportunity to touch base with our roots and at least for a moment to recapture the all-but-forgotten life and times of our Bukovinian forebears.

The book may be ordered through our Kansas headquarters or on line at www.bukovinasociety.org.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE IN BUKOVINA

by Erich Beck (Sindelfingen, Germany)

Original publication: "Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Deutschen in der Bukowina" in Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina, Veröffentlichungen des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, vol. 16, series B, ed. by Franz Lang, trans. and ed. by Sophie A. Welisch (Munich: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1961), pp. 174-178.

By the time Austria annexed Bukovina the centuries' long Turkish domination had completely destroyed the last vestiges of its former thriving commercial activity so that in the 18th century industry and trade were non-existent. Only in Gartenberg (Sadagora), the site of the former mint of the Russian army, could craftsmen still be found, almost all of whom were Baltic-Germans.

Austria's first measures were aimed at changing this situation. Initially it was necessary to bring in experienced master craftsmen from its western lands. Freedom of trade and a thirty-year exemption from taxation served as inducements. By-and-by German tailors, bakers, carpenters, locksmiths, etc. appeared in the cities. Presumably over 1000 artisans were living in Czernowitz in 1788.

In 1804 the guild system was introduced in Bukovina. The territory was divided into three guild districts: Czernowitz, Suczawa and Sereth. German guild practices were adopted. The guild masters trained apprentices and journeymen and the German craftsman soon reaped the fruits of his calling. After 1848 the guilds, which initially looked very promising, lost their significance and were abolished in 1859. A new free-trade policy and the disintegration of the guilds permitted poorly trained journeymen to become independent contractors. Their rapid increase, however, resulted in intensified competition and in deterioration in the quality of their workmanship. In time the intense competition wiped out the poorly prepared craftsmen. This upheaval soon resulted in the closing of the less competitive shops, and after 1861 a distinct general improvement in the quality of production could be noted.

Until this time industrial production had been almost exclusively in the hands of the Germans; however, due to outside factors, the situation began to change rather rapidly at the expense of the Germans. With the construction of the Lemberg-Czernowitz railroad (1865) the cheaper industrial products of the West began to filter into the land and undercut domestic producers. Although the quality of the craftsmen's products had improved and they were beginning to gain market strength, the characteristic tendency for the Germans to turn to other occupations, above all to government service, became noticeable.

German industry faced the decisive blow about twenty years later when Romania, after the expiration of the Austrian-Romanian trade agreement of 1876, considerably raised tariffs in 1886. This increase resulted in a practical exclusion of imports, causing Austria to close agricultural imports from Romania. Since a considerable portion of Bukovina's industrial production went to Romania, this measure was a hard blow for Bukovina's German producers. In addition, the businessmen of the western Austrian crownlands increasingly looked to and found in Bukovina the markets for their products to replace the lost Romanian markets. The producers could have withstood this setback but as a group they lacked solidarity and engaged in mortal competition among themselves. Thus it came about that the manufacturers had to reduce their production by more than half and their number rapidly declined. When at the turn of the century a definite improvement occurred in the industrial sector, business activities, in particular in the cities, no longer lay in German hands. The Germans had left these occupations, thus opening the field to the Poles, Ukrainians, Romanians and Jews. From this time on German industry could more frequently be found in rural areas where the farmers, due to continued subdivision of their land, had to turn to a side occupation. This development proved favorable in that they were not limited to a particular locality. From the 1890s German masons and carpenters went to Moldavia and Walachia, where they were welcomed into the workforce, while their families tended the small farms at home.

Bukovina's annexation by Romania in 1918 brought the former Austrian crownland new possibilities for trade and commerce. While the agricultural Germans were struggling with increased difficulties in marketing their products, the manufacturers had a larger potential market in the industrially underdeveloped lands of the Old Kingdom of Romania. At first, however, an upswing was not evident; the old economic difficulties persisted, reaching their height with the world economic crisis in 1931/32. Nonetheless, the German national organization, which had earlier been established, was able to prevent the collapse of trade and commerce. The interests of Bukovina's commerce lay with the German Industrial Union for Romania [*Deutscher Gewerbebund für Rumänien*]. From here links were established with commercial counterparts in Germany. It was thanks to these connections that after 1936 German specialists came to Bukovina in order to introduce modern and rational work methods to the Germans of Bukovina as well as to secure apprenticeships and jobs for Bukovinians in Germany.

Disadvantageous economic and geographic circumstances boded ill for a far-reaching industrialization of Bukovina. The land had ample mineral ores and wood but lacked coal. In the Austrian era the industrial products of the West predominated over local production. In the Romanian era domestic producers were aided by tariff protection.

The few industrial enterprises of Bukovina, which had been established in Austrian times, were at a disadvantage. Pioneer efforts, which the Germans had expended in this area, remained without success. One of the significant contributions to the economic life of Bukovina was the mining of ores in the southwestern region and the mining of salt in the adjacent northwest. The great expectation in 1784 that Bukovina's mining industry would be quickly and profitably developed was not realized, since production sank shortly after the opening of the mines. Even linkage with the railroad network did not achieve the desired results; competition with the West brought the mining industry completely to a standstill.

By 1858 the mining installations begun by the Styrian Anton Manz were forced to close followed in 1859 by the silver mine in Jakobeny; the iron mines of Jakobeny, Pozoritta, Freudenthal and Eisenau had already ceased to function by 1849 and 4477 miners, mostly Germans from the Zips (now in Slovakia), were destitute. To be sure some of the iron mines in Pozoritta (1896) and Jakobeny (1873) were reopened but never again produced a yield worth mentioning. An exception is the manganese output during the First World War. The salt mines in Solka and Kaczyka also remained in operation; those in Kaczyka are still today the most significant in Southeastern Europe. Of the glass installations only the one near Putna survived and plays an important role in Romania's glass production to this day.



Glass factory in Putna

Most of the industrial enterprises in Bukovina were in Jewish hands. While the number of independent German business establishments was small, they

were nonetheless among the leading ones of their type in Romania and distinguished themselves by the quality of their products as well as by their ethical conduct and business methods. The sawmills were among the most important, above all the Götz sawmills in Berhomet and Watra-Dorna, which with their large installations, practical furnishings and equipment ranked among the most important in Europe. In addition there were also German sawmills in Jakobeny, Watra-Moldowitz, *et al.* Many sawmills and lumberyards were owned by German associations or by a community to supply local needs.

The largest furniture factory was the Thöner First Bukovina

Furniture Factory [Erste Bukowinische Möbelfabrik Thöner] in Radautz. Starting in 1908 with a capital investment of 500,000 crowns and incorporated in 1919, the company had electrically driven equipment, its own drying facilities and the essential machinery for wood processing. It had branches in Czernowitz and Bucharest. Annual production averaged between 120 – 150 sets of furniture.

Worthy of mention are the chemical plant of *Schmiedt und Fontin* with its main quarters in Czernowitz and several affiliates in the provincial cities, a furniture factory in Gălănești, a wood processing plant in Kimpolung, a wagon factory in Czernowitz, several grist mills, the Beil brewery in Sereth, tanneries and brickyards. To be sure all the German industries in Bukovina were only a fraction of those in the land (status 1931: 210 industries). The reason for the limited participation of the German ethnic group in business activities in general and in trade and commerce in particular lay in the shortage of capital, in a lack of tradition in and affinity for undertakings of this nature, and finally in unscrupulous competition.

In retrospect, nonetheless, it can be said that Bukovina owes its high level of economic development above all to the achievements of the Germans in agriculture, forestry, the crafts and industry.



(Footnotes have been omitted in the interest of space. Ed.)

German women combing hemp in Tereblestie

CREATING FAMILY LEGACIES

by Steve Parke, Pueblo West, CO

The annual Nemechek-Rourke Family Reunion was held at Kirwin Reservoir in north central Kansas on the weekend of July 18-20, the twenty-first year at this location. The gathering includes the descendants of Stephen F. Nemechek and John J. Rourke and primarily those families in which there were intermarriages between the Rourke and Nemechek families. The Nemecheks were from Furstenthal, Bukovina, and the Rourkes from Ireland. Ninety-five people were in attendance, the second consecutive record as increasingly more grandchildren of the baby boomers are in attendance.

Those who came from states outside Kansas include the families of Eugene and Susan Nemechek (North Carolina), Tom and Debbie Daigle (Texas), John and Maria Rourke (Texas), Dan and Henrietta Glatter (Nebraska), Frank and Jennie Mills (Arizona), as well as Helen Jorgenson (Wisconsin), Tommy Nemechek (Iowa), and Steve Parke (Colorado).

Elders in attendance were Eileen Rourke-Nemechek, Lucille Rourke-Nemechek Sr., Margaret Rourke, and Barbara

Nemechek-Parke, all from northwestern Kansas. They made significant personal contributions to the legacy-building activities outlined below.

The usual recreational activities included softball games, swimming, outdoor yard games like “washers,” and evening table games. Playing three softball games was an increase over the usual one game of late. Possibly the aging baby boomers are on their last gasp in this regard. The author admitted that he could no longer effectively swing the 38-ounce bat purchased over twenty years ago.

These softball games are more than sport. Four generations were on the field and sidelines interacting and increasing family bonds. This year the competitive spirit waned as we had no final scores. In one game opposing outfielders, Eugene Nemechek and Jeremiah Burbach spent the whole game in deep right field discussing farming.

Additional weekend cultural activities included the author singing some of his songs on a CD to be released later in 2008 including one about deceased uncle, John G. Rourke. From the prior generation, John J. Rourke’s World War I helmet from the Rolling W Division of the 89th Division of the Army was on site with the indentation from a bullet that deflected off his helmet, probably saving his life. John J. died in Kansas in 1951.

What became very evident this year was an increase in family members taking part in legacy recovery and genealogical activities. Over the last several years over four thousand digital scans have been made. Most of these are photos from the albums of five families but these scans also include newspaper clippings, Mass cards, obituaries, birth announcements, and legal documents. Photos from family albums primarily cover the World War I era through about 1975. At the reunion we scanned more photos, shared related stories and updated the genealogy database.

Leading the digital collection process are Jennie Mills, Kathleen Kazmaier, Regina McFall and Barbie Winston. Several more family albums are now available. The collection and dissemination of family memorabilia, which will continue throughout the next year, would not be possible but for individuals and families bringing forward their material to be scanned. The effort is snowballing and for its participants it is proving to be quite exciting and informative.

Some of this scanning work was done at the annual Sisters Weekend this past April, a three-day gathering of the female double cousins and elders. Thirteen of the sixteen eligible women over fifty attended this year. A highlight of the event at a retreat house was a religious service, which included Celtic prayers dating from c. 1000 A.D.

HEIMAT, UNSER BUCHENLAND

by Hildegard Heimrath-Caruk

Published in *Festschrift zum 20-Jährigen Jubiläumsbundestreffen*, ed. by Paula Tiefenthaler (Planegg/München: Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 1969), p.39.

Heimat, Traum der langen Jahre!
Hingetragen von dem Wind—
Von der Wiege bis zur Bahre
Buchenland: wir treu dir sind.

Wenn auch nur auf Traumes Spuren,
Hingebreitet Wiesen, Hain,
Wandern wir auf deinen Fluren —;
Bist doch niemals ganz allein.

Heimat, herrliches Gefilde!
Innig wir dir zugewandt —
Schenke uns dein Traumgebilde,
Wenn uns Wehmut übermannt.

Jahre kommen, Jahre gehen —
Und wir immer dir so fern.
Wenn wir hier auch Rosen sehen,
Bleibst für uns ein leuchtend Stern.

Heut’ wir alle dein gedenken —,
Senden Grüße zu dir hin.
Sehn die Buchenwälder traumhaft
In dem ersten Frühlingsgrün

BUKOVINA, OUR HOMELAND

trans. by Sophie A. Welisch

Homeland, dream of many years
and carried hither by the wind,
from the cradle to the coffin
our troth we can’t rescind.

Only if in dreams our visions
of expansive groves appear
and we wander in your meadows,
we are never far from here.

Homeland, marvelous broad country
to you turn we in our prayer,
grant us your illusive image
when with longing we despair.

Years will come and years will pass us
and we’re ever from you far.
Even if we roses see here,
you will always be our star.

At this moment thoughts are with you
as we greetings to you bring;
Bukovina, we envision
you in verdant robes of spring.

Over the past year we have reconnected with cousins not regularly seen for thirty-plus years and have gathered genealogical material from those lines including family data, photos and stories. This has been very helpful in filling in some of the blanks in the family history but it has also created even more controversy around distant historical events. Most notable is newfound knowledge of a lost Nemechek family line in America. At this point we have become aware of the existence and general whereabouts of some in this family but have not been able to contact them. Hopefully we will be able to facilitate a “reunion” in the coming year through the Internet and other search techniques.

The increased interest in legacy-related activities has been exciting. This process has created opportunities for story telling that has stimulated the memories of the elders and cousins and now more and more family history is being told and recorded. And as more distant lines of cousins are contacted and included in this process the group dynamics are synergetic. One cousin expects miracles through this process and we have already seen some of these miracles unfold within the family. Stay tuned for next year’s edition.

THE FOUNDING OF THE ZIPSER SETTLEMENT NEAR KIRLIBABA

by Claus Stephani (Baldham/Munich, Germany)

Toward the end of the 18th century, 1797, on the left bank of the Golden Bistritz in the vicinity of the then hamlet of Kirlibaba the Styrian industrialist and landed magnate, Karl Manz, Knight of Mariensee opened a silver and lead mine. By about 1800 the washing and smelting station of the Manz enterprise could be found on the banks of the Kirlibaba Stream.

According to Alois Beldinger, Joseph Kirchdraufer, and Anton Wonthus, the first German miners and craftsmen, whom Manz hired for Kirlibaba, came from the Zipser towns of Käsmark, Dobschau Bartfeld, Deutschproben and Kremnita. They were the forebears of the families of Baierl, Beldinger, Feig, Gailing, Gärtner, Hiebel, Hodel, Keil, Knoblauch (also Knobloch), Lerch, Oswald, Reiss, Schwartz, Watzin, Wonthus (also Gwondhus, i.e., “Gewandhaus”), Feil (also Pfeil) and Greck. Zipsers also came from places other than the historic Zips (now in Slovakia), as for example from Oberwischau, Kapnik-Oberstadt, and Jakoben. The nicknames of the first German settlers on the upper course of the Golden Bistritz, still in use today, also reveal their origin: “Dobschauer” (nickname of the Wenzel Family), “Bartfelder” (Gärtner), “Kaschauer” (Wonthus), “Probener” (Beldinger), whereas, for example the family name of Kirchdraufer stems from the Zipser village called Kirchdrauf.

Between 1810 – 1820 Karl Manz also had German craftsmen from Upper Silesia (Golatzky, Hankjewitsch, Kallowitsch, Mesabrowsky, Muschinsky, Nickelsky, Tscherswensky and others) brought to the province. During the first half of the last century were added German-speaking workers from the region of Radautz and other Bukovinian towns.

Thus by about 1800 there arose on the left bank of the Golden Bistritz next to the Romanian village of Kirlibaba (on the Kirlibaba Stream), the Zipser village of Mariensee, named after the owner of the lead and silver mines, and on the right bank — likewise through Zipser immigrants at about the same time, the village of Ludwigsdorf. But since Ludwigsdorf lay in Transylvania and Mariensee in Bukovina, “the boundary” ran through the middle of the Golden Bistritz River while the bridge, which today connects both communities, was the “boundary crossing.”

In the course of the previous century German foresters also settled in surrounding villages, in Zibau – the families of Feldigel, Kirchdraufer, Limbacher, Schnur and in Jedt – the families of Bosetschuk, Käuser and Wenzel. The workman’s poet, Kubi Wohl, son of a woodcutter, was born in Zibau on August 31, 1911. Kubi Wohl, “an early-silenced poetic voice of the struggling proletariat” according to Alfred Kittner, died on December 21, 1935 in Czernowitz (see “*Neue Literatur*,” No. 4, 1978, pp. 83-84). Worthy of mention is also Ferdinand Weiss, a friend of literature and the arts, who in about 1900 opened a shop in Mariensee where, aside from many colorful postcards of the picturesque region, he also printed several booklets with the texts of ballads.

When in about 1870 the Manz mining enterprises were finally shut down, the Zipsers had to learn another trade; they became woodcutters and rafters and found ill-paid jobs in the sawmill. Rafting took place either to Orth am Schwarzbach and Dorna-Watra or down as far as Bacău. At that time villages and hamlets were established further upstream including Byrschau, Lallathal, Rotunda, Hüttenthal and Schessu. Schessu – a settlement founded by the woodcutters Reitz, Duschek, Hellinger, Lemberger, Schnur, Kulinjak, Muschinsky (from Berschau), Wenzel (from Lallathal) and Häuser (from Hüttenthal), has retained its name: the river winding through the valley looks like a round bowl (*Schüssel*); “*Schessu*” is the word in the Zipser dialect for *Schüssel*.

**Neuer Weg*, (Bucharest), trans. and ed. by Sophie A. Welisch, Vol. 31, Nr. 9232, January 23, 1979, p. 6.

THE COALESCING OF THE GERMAN COMMUNITY IN BUKOVINA

by Hugo Weczerka

Original publication: “*Das Werden der deutschen Volksgemeinschaft*,” *Die Deutschen im Buchenland*, Der Göttinger Arbeitskreis, vol. 51, trans. and ed. by Sophie A. Welisch (Würzburg/Main: Holzner-Verlag, 1955), pp. 30-36.

I. The consolidation of the German ethnic group during the Austrian era. The German input into the advancement of Bukovina appears as a unified effort to the observer; nonetheless, it took a long time before the Bukovina German community emerged as a unified entity.

Since the Austrian government until the end of the 19th century safeguarded and promoted the German language and religious denominations to which the Germans adhered, the German population in Bukovina had not been threatened. As a result a sense of commonality of all the Bukovina Germans had not developed. On the contrary, certain conflicting tendencies between the individual groups of Germans were evident. Above all, the urban middle classes, feeling an affinity with the non-German population of the cities, distanced themselves from the rural German settlers. But even those Germans in the countryside were divided into three groups according to their heritage [Swabians, German-Bohemians, Zipsers], not only spatially but also by their dialects, customs and traditions and in part by their religious persuasions. This distancing continued to a certain extent throughout the entire sojourn of the Germans in Bukovina.

It was the urban sector which first spearheaded the cohesion and political collaboration of the Bukovina Germans. The majority of the clubs (rifle and music) remained confined to urban centers and ethnically mixed. This was likewise true of the political parties. People of liberal persuasion had attracted a large following from among the intellectuals of the various ethnic groups in the cities wherein the Germans played a decisive role. The Germans of the countryside had no part in this political movement, not only because of the scattered nature of their settlements but also because of their social status and an outlook that was particularistic rather than nationalistic.

The first German associations with national overtones emerged from the fraternities after the opening of the University of Czernowitz. In 1875 the German fraternity "Dacia" was established which, however, lasted only briefly. In 1877 there followed the "Club of German Students," from which in 1880 the fraternity "Armenia" emerged. This fraternity, with the motto "honor, freedom, fatherland" and a fraternity song beginning with the words, "Where courage and strength blaze in the German soul . . ." [*Wo Mut und Kraft in deutscher Seele flammen . . .*] reflects a strong nationalist tendency at a time when the ethnic consciousness of the remaining Bukovina Germans was still dormant. Since the fraternity criticized the official policies of the Austrian government, it was forced to dissolve in December 1883. Nonetheless, the "Arminia" soon reemerged in addition to which other purely German fraternities including "Teutonia" and the Catholic German fraternity "Franconia" formed chapters.

The heightened ethnic awareness of other groups in Austria and the growing resistance against it by the German national movement led to a strengthening of the national bond among the Bukovina Germans. Under the direction of German university professors the Association of Christian Germans in Bukovina [*Verein der christlichen Deutschen in der Bukowina*] was founded in 1897. Specifically and at first the only goal of the association was the economic and cultural defense of the Bukovina German identity. In all larger German settlements the Association organized regional chapters. Aside from other

"German houses" a large "German House" was opened in Czernowitz (1907) as a central meeting place of the Bukovina Germans. It was here that German newspapers, journals, and other German publications (after 1904 the People's Calendar [*Volkskalender*]), were published. The midsummer festival [*Sonnwendfeier*], harvest festival [*Erntedankfest*] and other celebrations were organized. These activities strengthened the national bond of the Bukovina Germans and promoted collaboration in particular between urban and rural dwellers. Thanks to the efforts of Raimund Friedrich Kaindl [university professor and historian], an outreach was made to all Carpathian German groups, which found expression in the "Convention of the Carpathian Germans" held for the first time in Czernowitz in 1911.

Other organizations, mainly subgroups of the Association of Christian Germans in Bukovina, included student hostel societies [*Schülerheimsvereine*] established to aid needy students (Czernowitz 1901, Sereth 1905, Gurahumora 1908, Radautz 1912) and "Eichenhort," a youth organization (Rosch, a suburb of Czernowitz 1908). In addition the Association of German Teachers in Bukovina should be mentioned. As a safeguard for the Germans against usury, savings banks [*Raiffeisenkassen*] were created. The German School Association [*Deutscher Schulverein*] of Austria was also active in Bukovina; in 1913 it opened a German private school in Corlata (east of Gurahumora) because the number of children required to maintain a school at state expense could not be reached.

The Association of Christian Germans also represented the Bukovina Germans politically. Most of the German members of the ethnically mixed Liberal Party turned to the German National Union, whereupon the Liberal Party collapsed. In the national curiae of the Bukovina parliament established at the beginning of the 20th century the Germans held fourteen of the sixty-three seats. This representation also encompassed the rural communities. The Bukovina Germans likewise had representatives in the Austrian *Reichsrat* [Imperial Council in Vienna].

The churches also turned to national tasks with the Lutheran Church, through its pastors from Germany, proving especially suited to supporting the cause of the German settlers. They had private schools built and dedicated themselves to work with the youth. Their efforts were aided by the Gustav Adolf Association [based in Germany].

It was otherwise with the Catholic Church. Until about 1900 the Catholic German communities were in the first instance served by Polish priests. Only after the entrance into the priesthood of men from the ranks of the Bukovina Germans could an improvement be witnessed. The attempt of the Association of Christian Germans to separate Bukovina from the bishopric of Lemberg [Lvov, Galicia] and establish an independent bishopric proved unsuccessful. Nonetheless, after 1900 as national differences intensified, there occurred a separation in the Catholic associations across ethnic lines. In 1907 a Catholic German Youth Club was founded in

Czernowitz followed by seventeen others in various communities. In 1913 they were merged into one regional association in Radautz. By the First World War numerous communities had Catholic German literary societies.

II. The altered situation of the Bukovina Germans after 1918.

The situation for the Bukovina Germans underwent basic changes with the collapse of the Dual Monarchy after World War I. The decision as to which state would annex Bukovina lay primarily with the two largest ethnic groups in the land, the Romanians and the Ukrainians. On November 15, 1918 the General Congress of the National Assembly, consisting almost entirely of Romanians, resolved that all of Bukovina be annexed by Romania. The Ukrainians, who held a majority north of the Sereth River, supported the union of northern Bukovina with the newly-established Western Ukrainian Republic.

In the meantime the Bukovina Germans also established their own political organization. On September 18, 1918 under the direction of Anton Keschmann the German People's Council [*Deutscher Volksrat*] convened, which after the final collapse of the Austrian state reconstituted itself as the National Assembly of the Germans of Bukovina [*Nationalversammlung der Deutschen der Bukowina*]. In that the Bukovina Germans were only a small minority far from any compact German linguistic area, they had only the option of choosing one of the two larger ethnic groups in Bukovina. The Council supported a resolution to join Romania, since the politics of the Ukrainians favored a partition of the former Austrian crownland. In addition, the National Assembly also opined that within the state of Romania the union of several German linguistic enclaves [e.g., in Bessarabia, Transylvania, Banat] would be possible.

After the occupation of Bukovina by Romanian troops, who had been called into the territory to counter the Ukrainian legionnaires (beginning of November 1918), the German People's Council began negotiations with the provincial Romanian administration in Bukovina. The fundamentals of these negotiations lay in a memorandum in which the Council made its support for Romanian annexation contingent upon a number of conditions. These included: 1) acknowledgement of Romanian citizenship; representation in the Romanian parliament in Bucharest and in community branches of government; assurances that German be recognized as an official language; the right to establish organizations with ethnic overtones and to conduct public meetings in German; 2) broadest national autonomy in religious matters; 3) recognition of the German People's Diet [*Deutscher Volkstag*] and the German People's Council as its executive authority and representative of said autonomy; 4) separation of mixed linguistic communities with a greater German minority with equitable division of community assets; 5) equal treatment for German farmers in implementing land reform; 6) equal treatment for the Germans based on their population in holding public office; 7) acceptance of the rights of public servants, pensioners, widows, orphans and war wounded by the new state; 8) representation of the Germans in all associations which have authority relating to claims for restitution of war losses and war services as well as to questions of reconstruction; 9) a German university for the Germans of Greater Romania; 10) the right to maintain a German theater.

The Romanians accepted all but point 9 whereupon the spokesmen for the Bukovina Germans on November 26, 1918 voted for annexation to Romania. On November 18 Professor Alois Lebouton presented the German position before the Romanian National Congress.

After its annexation of Bukovina, Romania followed through on its guarantees for the first few years. In addition Romania also had obligations to its minorities as enumerated in the Treaty of Versailles, which stipulated that the successor states "protect interests of people distinct from others by race, language or religion" and made the League of Nations the guarantor of these rights.

However, Romania soon began directly or indirectly to curtail the rights of its minorities. The Romanian constitution did not acknowledge the minorities but spoke only of "Romanians without differentiation of ethnic origin, language or religion." The Orthodox and the Greek Catholic Church "had preference over the other cults." The proposal of the German parliamentary delegates to incorporate minority rights into the constitution was rejected.

The minorities in the newly-annexed territories suffered various setbacks by the government's attempts to apply the legal system of pre-World War I Romania. Organized as a unitary rather than a federal state, authorities assumed the right to influence local government. District lines were redrawn so as wherever possible to assure a Romanian majority in order to affect elections. This specifically impacted the results of town council elections in which two-fifths of the members were appointed by the town council with the state the determining factor; the other three-fifths were elected by the community. In this way the Romanians could also prevail in communities in which they were a minority.

The economic status of the Germans also declined after 1918. A civil service career, chosen by many Bukovina Germans during the Austrian era, became very difficult, if not entirely impossible for the minorities. Agrarian reform beginning in the 1920s hardly affected the Bukovina German farmers, since for the most part they only had small farmsteads; nonetheless, they were impacted, as were the Romanian farmers, by the general downturn of the Romanian economy, which was not spared the effects of the world-wide economic crisis of the post-war period. In its efforts to achieve economic self-sufficiency, the Liberal Party furthered the industrialization of the country while the cost of products from the fledgling industries skyrocketed and the prices for farm products plummeted. During the last years of the 1920s the National Farmers' Party again brought agriculture to the forefront as many industrial enterprises were forced to close and unemployment rose. There were demands for an implementation of the so-called *numerus valachicus* [=Walachia, one of the pre-World War I Romanian principalities,— SW], i.e., all economic enterprises should have a work force reflecting the proportionate number of Romanians in the total population of the country, namely 75 percent. In 1937, before this principle could be enacted into law, the League of Nations in Geneva was able to effect modifications, although the Germans as well as the other minorities, sustained economic setbacks.

Under these circumstances the Germans could best advance their interests through self-employment; unfortunately before the First World War many Germans, having chosen public service over the trades, had already lost out to other groups.

The worst assaults against the German identity in Bukovina came from the Romania's cultural policies. In 1919/20 the University of Czernowitz was Romanized; only high school courses could be conducted in German. From 1922 only Romanian-language performances could be staged in the Municipal Theater in Czernowitz. From 1923 the state carried out the Romanization of all public schools. This development reached its apex in the last years before the outbreak of the Second World War; only six private elementary schools (five Protestant in Czernowitz, Neu-Itzkany, Unter-Stanestie, Katharinendorf and Alexanderdorf; one Roman Catholic in Ludwigsdorf-Kirlibaba) and two only partially state-subsidized high schools (in Czernowitz and Radautz) were conducted in German at that time. Whereas in 1913 there existed seventy-three public elementary schools with German the language of instruction, the number in 1919/20 fell to sixty-four, in 1922/24 to forty-seven, in 1924/25 to twenty-two, and by 1926 not a one remained. And even in the German schools noted above, the language of instruction for geography and history was Romanian.

The sole teacher training institute in Czernowitz was Romanized. Graduates of sectarian German teacher training institutions in Banat and Transylvania could not teach in public schools. By virtue of the Baccalaureate Law the credentials earned in German institutions of higher learning were not recognized; candidates for a qualifying examination from German high schools had to take an examination in the Romanian language before a Romanian commission. The result of this measure caused considerable concern to a large number of students who failed the examination. Similar results were evidenced when older teachers were compelled to take a Romanian language examination. Some teachers left their positions without making the attempt; those who refused were deemed incompetent and dismissed.

As with the schools, so was the entire public life Romanized.

The more intense the nationalistic impulses of the Romanian state, the greater and more difficult were the tasks of providing leadership for the German ethnic group. The fact that the Bukovina Germans had a considerable urban intelligentsia worked in their favor.

The political representation of the Bukovina Germans in dealings with the Romanian state lay with the People's Council in Czernowitz, which, according to the fundamental law of the Bukovina Germans of 1921, included 150 members all of whom stood for election every four years. A union of all the Germans in Romania was effected through the Association of the Germans of Romania [*Verband der Deutschen Rumäniens*]. The People's Council negotiated in all matters with the appropriate state officials; it named the candidates for the parliamentary organizations and reached election agreements with respective governmental parties (setting up a list of candidates would have

been less successful). Nonetheless, the People's Council made decisions involving the internal structuring of the German ethnic group.

In the cultural sphere the Association of Christian Germans in Bukovina, renamed the German Cultural Association in Bukovina [*Deutscher Kulturverein in der Bukowina*] in 1931, remained of great significance. In 1938 it had thirty-eight local community chapters and counted over 5000 members. The scope of the Association's activities increased considerably as did its programs. For the children, who had had no German instruction, it organized language courses as well as educational lectures for adults. While arranging theatrical performances by visiting German actors, the Association also promoted its own lay theatrical groups.

The cooperative movement took a major upswing after 1918; in view of its cultural potential, this was a gratifying sign. Membership in the youth clubs in particular increased dramatically; in 1926 they joined the Bukovina German Youth League [*Bukowiner Deutschen Jugendbund*] as a division of the Association of Christian Germans. By 1931 almost all German communities had youth groups in which German traditions were dutifully cultivated. Neighborhood assistance was likewise instituted and functioned well.

The number of church organizations also increased. The Catholic German People's Association for Bukovina [*Verein der christlichen Deutschen für die Bukowina*] was intended to complement the Association of Christian Germans. In 1932 the Catholic German youth organizations in Czernowitz merged to form a new regional association. Catholic and Protestant women's clubs as well as a Catholic and a Protestant orphanage association were established. A large orphanage, the Josephinum, was opened in Czernowitz in 1934 under the direction of German Franciscans from Westphalia (Saltkotten). The orphanage became the focal point of Catholic German cultural work; here many children learned their German mother tongue in courses offered during school vacations, an undertaking carried out in other localities as well. All these measures contributed to strengthening the unity of the German people.

During the 1930s the German ethnic group in Bukovina, along with other German groups in Romania were deeply disrupted by internal dissension. The issue primarily involved the opposition of the ecclesiastical organizations to the "renewal movement" of the Transylvanian Fritz Fabritius, and secondly the dispute of the Fabritius supporters against an extreme group, the German People's Party of Romania [*Deutsche Volkspartei Rumäniens*], which wanted far to exceed the renewal envisioned by Fabritius. It is noteworthy that in Bukovina the measured orientation of Fabritius, who strove for harmonious collaboration with the ecclesiastical organizations, carried the majority. After years of tension, the rival groups reached a compromise in 1938: the program of Fabritius held sway. At this time Bukovina became one of the seven unified districts of the Romania German ethnic groups represented in the German Ethnic Community of the Romania Germans [*Deutschen Volksgemeinschaft der Rumäniendeutschen*].