

“There is nothing to be gained in Poland”,

Notes on emigration from the Palatinate to Galicia and the German settlements there

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*On the pre-history of the emigration to Galicia from southwestern Germany*

The Peace of Ryswick (or Rijswijk) in 1697 ended the more than eight decades of war (from the Thirty Years' War to the Nine Years' War, which includes the Palatinate and the Orléan Wars of Succession) in the Palatinate (Pfalz) and its surroundings – with all its devastation, destruction, looting, contributions to troops passing through and not least because of the great loss of population, which was not supposed to equalize again until 1725. But the religious peace was again endangered by the so-called simultaneum (i.e. simultaneous regulation for Roman Catholics and Protestants of all confessions; this involved mutual tolerance on the same territory and, in practice, the sharing of a church building for worship). At the end of the 17th century, the slogan “I can not do more” made the rounds, which meant “without me” and reflected the exhaustion of the inhabitants of the Palatinate. Only a small proportion of them had sought an improvement in their living situation to date, such as since the 1670's emigration to North America.

With the exceptionally severe winter of 1708/09 – which the German geologist, paleontologist and Palatine local historian *Daniel Häberle* (1864-1934) describes as follows: “The wine froze in the barrels, the birds fell dead from the air, almost no vine was preserved; for years the viticulture, the main acquisition branch of the Palatinate peasants, was destroyed.” – occurred the first of many extreme weather conditions of the 18th century. An emigration stream from southwestern Germany began and continued, which lasted more than 200 years and was never completely stopped. In 1709 alone, more than 15,000 inhabitants emigrated from the Upper Rhine region and its surroundings, including 8,589 Palatines. Since that year, the authorities tried to influence their subjects' conscience with the slogan “Stay in the country and feed yourself honestly” to prevent them from leaving the southwest of Germany – ultimately without lasting success, as the causes of emigration have not been eliminated.

In the Palatinate area, which was fragmented as an extreme case of the “small- state-ery” in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation in the Electoral Palatinate (Kurpfalz), the duchy Zweibrücken, the *Hochstifte* (secular dominions of the bishoprics, i.e. territories ruled by the bishop as a prince) Worms and Speyer and 44 left-bank (in relation to the river Rhine) small and micro-territories, the emigration readiness of its inhabitants remained unbroken. This is by no means equated with adventurism, because a never-ending vicious circle for economic and social reasons made sure that many only saw in one emigration the possibility for the improvement of their own life situation and especially that of their descendants. The simple man often suffered from hunger, especially after natural disasters, weather damages or cattle epidemics, by the partible inheritance the agricultural yield soon no longer sufficed for self-sufficiency. Lack of alternative employment opportunities led to asset collapse and debt, all in the context of a non-functioning market. On a case by case basis, the authorities imposed export restraints on agricultural products but were unable to cope with the inter-secreting economic and financial crises; continuing administrative and religious disputes did the rest. Due to the inadequately operated population policy – so the promotion of immigration was set by a corresponding tax exemption from 1734 and raised the “collection fee” for the settlement in the communities – the Electoral Palatinate is the only state of the whole Empire in 1789 on a falling population.

The economic hardship of the subjects, however, did not mean that the Elector of the Rhine (who was ruling in Palatinate) or other southwest German rulers questioned their style of living, modeled on the French royal court, in a sustainable way. The German historian *Ludwig Häußler* (19th century) states: “The brighter the contrast between splendor palaces, pleasure gardens, princely hunts, operas, academies, art

collections and between the stunted prosperity of depressed citizens and peasants, the less was a time to be covered, where courtiers, monks and mistresses cheered, the farmer left his fatherland hungry and the name 'Palatine' was long identified to the immigrant and homeless." The authorities in the various southwest German territories responded, if at all, mostly helplessly with prohibitions against the emigration of the "secretly and malicious exiting subjects" and also threats of punishment for these so-called "escapes". The Palatinate government in Mannheim in 1764 enshrined a supreme principle in the state order (i.e. constitution), according to which "no subject without consensus can move under foreign rule or war services", which was subsequently repeatedly announced to the population. This by consensus obtained permission for one's manumission (i.e. expatriation) was granted exclusively by the state government, the emigrants received a so-called manumission certificate as a consensual dismissal from the subject matter relationship. This permission to expatriate (i.e. emigrate) was associated with tax payment, usually 10 percent of the value of the emigrant's possession. The scheme also referred to so-called body-free (i.e. serfs) and poor, but serfs were free outside the Electoral Palatinate territories by the local manor. Another ordinance of May 24, 1770 stated: "Sales for the purpose of desertion and abandonment of the homeland are powerless [...] and this should be published every quarter". So the authorities came, if they could not completely prevent the departure, at least to the possessions of the emigrants.

In Frankenthal, the third residence city of the Electoral Palatinate, the government senior official (Regierungsrat) *von Schmiz* presented on June 16, 1777 a "Memorandum on emigration and the resulting questions for the state". In it he demands for the subjects amongst other things "tolerable taxes and a freedom of trade under the protection of justice", since "inhabitants would not escape so soon from such a country, and a possible emigration of natives could be compensated by the immigration of wealthy strangers". The following is the recommendation, to settle those ready for emigration on barren or desolated places in the Palatinate – and the true admission that the Palatinate is not overpopulated. Von Schmiz accuses the Palatines migration lust ("*Wanderlust*"), this mood for emigration was considered a disease. He sees a crime in unauthorized emigration and calls for a tighter prohibition of the same on punishment of confiscation. Interesting is his suggestion to settle subjects willing to migrate from the left bank of the Rhine in the area of Schwetzingen (the summer residence of the Electors of the Rhine, i.e. of Electoral Palatinate) and give them a financial advance instead of letting them move to Prussian Poland or Galicia. The frequent absence of the Elector from Schwetzingen residence caused local dealers and traders heavy revenue losses and provided for their emigration. All in all, however, von Schmiz leaves it at a very cautious, moderate criticism of the rule of Elector Charles Theodor (Karl Theodor) and avoids accusing him of obvious abuses. Ultimately, none of his suggestions was put into action.

Concerned about the well-being of his subjects, Duke Christian IV of Pfalz-Zweibrücken assigns them the cultivation of potatoes and clover as well as the planting of fruit trees, thus seeking to improve the income and livelihoods of the population. In addition, the Zweibrücken court physician Medicus in 1769 recommended further promotion of immigration through religious tolerance, the dissolution of the goods of the so-called dead hand (i.e. dioceses or monasteries) and the facilitation of entry into civil rights as a way out of serfdom.

As early as 1767, the Imperial court in Vienna affirmed a long-standing agreement by the southwest German princes on a ban on emigration to areas not directly connected with the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Thus, in addition to North America this included the Russian Empire and Hungary. With the first partition of the Kingdom of Poland-Lithuania in 1772, its eastern territories fall to Russia, the western to Prussia and the southern as "Kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria (i.e. Volhynia)" to Austria, which despite the mentioned above agreement advertises in south-west Germany from 1782 to emigrants to "Imperial Poland" (i.e. Austrian Galicia). Among the soon-to-circulate counterparts for renewed emigration is the slogan "there is nothing to be gained in Poland", which goes back to hidden Prussian immigration

advertisers and “evil-minded” among the princes (of whom the Court in Vienna, however, but none openly opposed), including the Landgrave of Hesse-Hanau.

Bindings between the Palatinate on the one hand and the territory of the Austrian kingdoms and the later crown land “Galicia and Lodomeria” on the other hand already existed in the middle Ages. The most important event was the marriage of the Rechyza (or Richeza, approximately 994-1063), daughter of the Count palatine of Lothringen (Lorraine) Ehrenfried (or Ezon or Ezzon, approximately 955-1034), with the Polish heir apparent Mieszko II Lambert in 1013. The preserved medieval City council books (Schöffebücher) of Lviv, written in the then Lower Silesian-German dialect, provide information about new citizens settled there, including in the years 1493-1511 cannon foundry master and gunsmith Peter Wassermann, coming from Landau in the Palatinate.

#### *The emigration to Galicia from southwestern Germany (1782-1785)*

When Galicia was “reclaimed” by Austria in 1772, no one in the responsible authorities suspected anything of the neglect of the country, in which there was a shortage of craftsmen and tradesmen, the level of education was low and also the trade was low. A first colonization measure of the “widowed Empress” Mary Therese (Maria Theresia) in 1774 is directed especially to “dealers, artists, manufacturers, professionals” (freelancers) and craftsmen and had the revival of trade and commerce primarily in the cities of Galicia as the goal. Incidentally, only a few Palatines followed this call to Galicia.

A lasting success in the rural area of Galicia brought only the Josephine colonization in the years 1781-1785. The first addressees of this colonization measure were Germans and other nationalities from the remaining after the first division Polish-Lithuanian territory (living here at that time were still about 35,000 Germans) and again especially intended for urban craftsmen and tradesmen, but the immigration call was not published in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. However, the Josephine Settlement Patent (i.e. law) of September 17, 1781 circulated in the offices of the Austrian authorities. With the Religious Tolerance Patent of Emperor Joseph II of October 13, 1781 non-Catholics can immigrate unrestricted for the first time in the long period of Austrian colonization measures, they are guaranteed complete freedom in the exercise of their religion. Here were addressed protestants, especially Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed. The initiative of an Austrian official (Johann Lem) from the rule (i.e. district or state domain) Sendomir (Sandomierz), which achieved surprisingly fast and good results with his advertising measure in the Rhine-Main areas in the spring of 1782, called the central power in Vienna on the plan, which then took over itself the settlement advertising in southwest Germany.

The possibility of emigration to Galicia was spreading like a wild fire. The representative of the Emperor in Munich, Freiherr von Fehrbach, uses a very clever letter to the Palatinate Government for their subjects ready for emigration to Galicia, whereupon the Elector permits a move to Galicia, but soon restricts this. After the Elector of the Rhine also had become Duke of Bavaria, he tried to direct subjects from the Palatinate to Bavaria, and by decree of February 23, 1779 he promised that “the subjects, who ask to be allowed to move to distant states for want of livelihood, would receive for settlement in the upper Courlands (i.e. Bavaria) all and any support they could ever expect in distant lands ...”. Even then a colonization of the Old Bavarian Donaumoos, an old fen on the southern side of the Danube river, was envisaged, which, however, was not completed until 1802 – with subjects from the left-bank territories of the Electoral Palatinate that fell on France.

From the town of Winnweiler, the capital of the county of Falkenstein, the imperial emigration commissioners direct the recruitment of settlers leaving for Galicia, the corresponding printed “patents go from hand to hand, from village to village”. Also in the village of Duchroth an emigration advertising agency was established. Many Southwest Germans sit on packed baggage, the admission stop for emigration to North America (until 1784) in the wake of the Revolutionary War of the USA and the short-term loss of

Southeast Europe as an emigration destination by the Bavarian War of Succession in the years 1778/1779 steer a large number of emigrants unwilling to take an alternative to Galicia.

The prescribed route for the German colonists from southwest Germany leads first to the Danube, either from the Mannheim through the Kraichgau region, along the rivers Neckar and Fils, over the Swabian Alb mountain range to the Ulm or Günzburg – or from Frankfurt-on-Main via Würzburg and Nuremberg to Regensburg. Then they travel from those three river ports (Ulm, Günzburg and Regensburg) by barge (so-called Ulm box) on the Danube to Vienna to the registration office, the Viennese court chamber under the direction of the court senior official (Hofrat) Johann Weltz. From there it goes later over land by Moravia and Austrian Silesia to Galicia. The costs of this colonization measure were borne by the Austrian state, from the promotion of emigration to logistical support from the military, food and accommodation on the way and then in Galicia, until the houses were completely rebuilt for the people.

Because of the unexpectedly large numbers of settlers at the registration office in Vienna, the number of immigrant colonist families is limited several times, in 1785 there is a first interruption and in 1786 the final cessation of the admission of Galician “patent colonists” (i.e. those according to the imperial patents). Although there were also poor among the immigrants who with scant belongings pull on carts drawn by dogs into the country, the vast majority of Galician-German settlers were wealthy and were endowed according to their assets, so provided with land allocation. However, the long waiting period until the placement of many of them siphons off a considerable part of their money.

According to the documents that have survived in different archives in the years 1782-1785 at least 2,528 families and 289 individual immigrants (all in all 12,281 souls) from 618 places between the Rhine, Saar and Moselle rivers wandered off “to Galicia”, although not all emigrants sought their “dismissal” and some then went to Hungary, Prussia or Russia. In the unfortunately incomplete Viennese settlement lists are in the context of the so-called Josephine colonization from 1782 to 1785 all in all 3,216 families with 14,669 people were detained in Galicia. In addition there were the settlers who immigrated from Prussia and the remaining Polish-Lithuanian territory without registration in Vienna at their own expense, so that the total number of settlers of the Josephine colonization was at least 15,000 people, but rather more, perhaps up to 20,000. As of October 31, 1785, in 15 Galician districts there were 3,108 families with 12,365 people in 101 completely new founded villages (so-called colonies) and in so-called proportionate settlements as a minority part in numerous Slavic villages and also 217 families in the cities. Not included here were Austrian authority officials, civil servants, military personnel or free immigrants.

From 1782 to about 1790, the regularly planned Josephine settlements in the relatively densely populated rural area of Galicia were largely created on state property (later also on aristocratic land), whereby the goal of the pure settlement of land to be cultivated is not pursued, but becomes understood in a qualitative settlement measure. Mostly in Eastern Galicia, in the Ukrainian national area about east of the river San, widely scattered new settlers were to act innovatively here, especially in the field of agriculture, but also in trade and commerce. The Austrian government is mindful of the territorial separation of Protestants and Catholics. In 1784 Anabaptists-Mennonites were also admitted as immigrants (for the first and only time in Austria). But locally, the planning and installation of colonies was constantly lagging behind the influx of settlers, and it is not until 1790 that the last were housed. In the settlements, there was always a diversity of origin of its inhabitants. This mixing was further reinforced by the replacement of individual farmsteads in the context of the so-called Franciscan colonization during the rule of Emperor Francis (Franz) II. Apart from five colonist villages, where the Württemberg-Swabian dialect (four settlements) and the Badonian-Alemannic dialect (one village) had left traces. In the other Galician-German colonies with inhabitants of Southwest German origin, the Palatine dialect prevailed as the vernacular. Later emigrants from Austrian territories like German Bohemia (Deutschböhmen) or Silesia

(Schlesien) came in closed groups, were settled compactly and retained in this homogenous atmosphere also in their traditional German dialects over all generations living in Galicia.

The Austrian state undertook the establishment of relatively small colonies or minority settlements of German families in existing Slavic settlements with corresponding small-scale farms. The government also provided multi-roomed, bricked flue equipped residential and farm buildings including household goods and living inventory (i.e. farm animals). The farm lands given to the settlers either cultivated (i.e. after sowing) or uncultivated together with the last harvest or the seed. The Josephine patents of 1781 exempt the immigrants themselves and their eldest sons from military service, granting them a ten-year tax exemption and six years exemption from socage (*Fronarbeit*). In practice, however, the number of years of exemption has been reduced. By 1790, 130 Josephine settlements were established, and by 1805 the number of Galicio-German villages had increased to 184.

An anecdote from the emigration period was passed on orally and published for the first time in 1914 by *Ferdinand Baumholder*. Like all other emigrants to Galicia, the later inhabitants of the evangelical-lutheran Palatines' settlement of Hohenbach, newly founded in 1783, during their stay in Vienna before moving to Galicia were honored by Joseph II and his wife for a short audience at Schönbrunn Palace. The procedure was studied by imperial officials with the spokesmen of the emigrants, who were overwhelmed by the splendor of the audience hall. On arrival of the ruling couple, the future mayor of the group should exclaim "Long live the Emperor!" and the others should continue. But when the mayor opened his mouth and started to speak, he slipped on the smooth floor and fell down hard. He forgot the Emperor in front of him and all honorable people around him, shrieked and uttered a curse – "that you will become terminally ill!" – using Palatine dialect, of course. The village curator heard that the mayor has said something, so he continued "and the Empress too!" and one of the emigrants added "and the land also!" ... only good that the high gentlemen understood no Palatine dialect.

The colonization of Galicia measure helped directly with the introduction of new, strange crops, fruits and agricultural methods; but were more familiar to the Colonists from the homeland. About a third of the regulations were also printed in Polish, given in oral lectures by the officials or even in pulpit speeches of the clergy supported the state's efforts. The measures also reached the ancestral Slavic population. New crops were potatoes (not entirely new in Galicia, but for the first time widespread), clover, rhubarb, safflower, turnip, canola or hops. Also the planting of fruit trees close to the farm house can be mentioned here. For profit reasons, the state authorities turned increasingly to traditional tobacco cultivation and processing. The Slavs were unfamiliar with washing, keeping, and feeding livestock in the stable; not flogging the horses, and using the manure for fertilization.

The literary subject of the travelogues popular in the 18th century gives us the first information about the Galicio-German settlements apart from the official documents, also about the mentioned special cultures. In addition to mostly positive judgments by various authors, the French-born physician, naturalist and mountaineer *Balthasar Hacquet* (approximately 1739-1815) reported in 1789 from the Galician landslide, where a few houses "were already empty, as the owners were so dissolute that they had to be chased away". In the inn of the nearby town of Kalush – where a female colonist sells "ground pears" (i.e. potatoes) at the market – he happens to meet with the schoolmaster of Landestreu, who admits that "a good farmer rarely left his homeland" and answered the question of his origin "I am a Palatine, as many of the rest of the village inhabitants are also from the Rheingau and other vineyard regions". Hacquet concludes for himself, "that the rabble is not of much use, as wine-growers are seldom of value to grain-countries, and are usually thirsty brethren". The impressions of his encounters with Galicio-German colonists in the first years were rather negative: "As I had already seen several German colonies on other journeys in the kingdom of Galicia, I found most of the same stroke, as in Bukovina, at any rate ill-conceived, most crumbling people, as it is usually the case on the adjoining lower stream of the Rhine, yield

more to the dissolute than to the industrious life. People only believed that they had gone to the realm of El Dorado, where they had nothing to do but reproduce". It was not until 1794 that he judges more favorably about the Galicio-German settlement Mokrotyn colony founded in 1786, where "farmers who emigrated from Palatinate have created a rhubarb plantation that lasts about eight years. When I was there in 1792, they already had 36,000 pieces, of which a few thousands will come out of the earth this year to dry. A few years ago, it was ordered from the court that the physicians in Lviv should make medical experiments with this plant". During all these years Hacquet was the head of department for obstetrics and midwifery at Lviv University.

#### *Franciscan colonization measure (1802-1805)*

During the rule of Emperor Francis II, his brother, Archduke Charles (Karl), as president of the Aulic War Council (Hofkriegsrat), undertook once again from the state side a colonization measure in Galicia. The trigger factor was in Vienna at the end of 1801, requests were received from former Austrian subjects in the left bank of the Rhine, which suffered from 1797 under French occupation and fell with the Peace of Lunéville in 1801 to France. These were to be considered as general beneficiaries of the resettlement measure led by the court senior official (Hofrat) von Stahl in Vienna. Following a call for craftsmen in the Galician district offices, an order was placed for the colonization measure in Galicia via the Austrian Ambassador in Frankfurt-on-Main, von Perminger.

Other powers acted at the same time: Prussia lured migrants from the left bank of the Rhine to Prussian Poland between 1801 and 1806, under Elector Max IV Joseph, Bavaria also took emigrants from his fallen on France left-bank territories in 1802 and founded Palatines' settlements in Old Bavaria, so in the Donaumoos near Neuburg (Ober-Maxfeld, Unter-Maxfeld, Neu-Schwetzingen) and Groß-Karolinenfeld near Rosenheim-am-Inn. While the emigration from Württemberg in the years 1806-1815 was forbidden, many people emigrated from the left bank of the Rhine after the end of the French occupation 1814-1816 to the Prussian and Russian territories of former Poland-Lithuania or to Hungary. The Palatines' migration to Galicia lasted until 1824.

This Franciscan colonization (1802-1805) was carried out under less favorable conditions for the settlers, e.g. they received no more travel costs. Of the 1,232 families who subsequently immigrated to Galicia, 629 families were southwest German and 603 families of domestic Austrian (i.e. Bohemian) origin – thus, the total number of Franciscan colonists reached only one third of the Josephine settlers. Due to a lack of available land, hardly any new colonies were founded. This led to minority settlements on vacant Polish or Ukrainian farms in Slavic villages in the extreme north-east and east of Galicia. Unlike the Josephine colonization, Roman Catholics now formed the majority. The Franciscan colonization was not of lasting success; it often came to a further exodus of the new colonists in existing Josephine Galicio-German settlements. The other settlers ran the risk of assimilating quickly.

Thereafter, the Austrian state was no longer interested in costly colonization measures. The settlement of Germans immigrated to Galicia on private land of aristocratic landowners from the late 18th century and then strengthened in the 19th century concerned mainly German Bohemians, but no Palatines. On aristocratic or communal land as well as through the expansion into existing Slavic settlements, families of the rapidly overpopulated Josephine colonies founded so-called branch or daughter settlements, into which the surplus population flowed. Almost 50,000 Germans (here including Austrian authority officials and military) lived in Galicia in 1810, by 1848 there were already approximately 100,000 (without military) in about 300 settlements. In more than 200 other, mostly neighboring Slavic settlements, there lived a few Germans who mostly practiced an important craft (like blacksmith, cartwright or miller) or were simply farmers. After that, the number of Germans in Galicia steadily decreased. Especially hard was the situation of the Roman-Catholic Germans in Galicia, who suffered from the constant efforts of polonization in church

and at school. There they were often assigned Polish priests and teachers who did not speak German. The Protestants were dependent on the establishment of German-Protestant private schools from their own efforts from the very beginning. Also pastors and teachers had to be found and apprehended by their own efforts. These came from other Austrian countries, such as from Transylvania (Siebenbürgen), the Slovakian Spiš (Zips), Bohemia or Silesia. Only two qualified teachers had settled in Josephine settlements, at the same time three more in cities. Here and there, the Southwest German colonists had received the promise, which was ultimately not kept, of their teacher (and sometimes pastor) to follow them soon to Galicia.

At the end of the 1860s, the emigration of Galicio-Germans began to Russia, the United States or Bosnia to the so-called Austrian military border. Around 1900, the Prussian state promoted considerable parts of the population from many intact German settlements in eastern Galicia to settle in the provinces of West Prussia and especially Posen (Polish: Poznań). It was only after this substance-threatening incident that the Germans in Galicia joined together in 1907 across all denominations to form a self-protection association of their interests and national cultural identity, the "Association of Christian Germans in Galicia" (Bund der christlichen Deutschen in Galizien). In addition, the establishment of a German cooperative system in Galicia with cooperative banks (Raiffeisenkassen) and the establishment of public libraries in the Galician-German settlements were promoted.

#### *More than 150 years of modern Germanness in Galicia ends with the resettlement in 1939/40*

After the short episode of the Ukrainian statehood after the First World War, East Galicia came to Poland. Between the two world wars, minorities, including the Germans, suffered from the intolerant nationality and school policies of the Warsaw government. While Austria did not show any involvement in its former crown land after the First World War, there were still lively contacts between the German Reich and Galicia, as in the Protestant-ecclesial area already mentioned. In addition, they participated in group journeys to Germany organized by the Association for Germanness abroad (Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland, short: VDA), especially to the southwest German homeland of the emigrated from there ancestors. With the German Foreign Institute (Deutsches Auslands-Institut, short: DAI) in Stuttgart and other, also scientific institutions from outside of Galicia and Bukovina for the first time sustainable dealt with the local Germans.

In the 1930s the Galicio-Germans thus regularly received the circular letters of the home office "Palatines Inside and Outside" (Heimatstelle „Pfälzer drinnen und draußen“), then Home Office Palatinate (Heimatstelle Pfalz), later renamed Saar-Palatinate Center "Compatriots Inside and Outside" (Saarpfälzische Mittelstelle „Landsleute drinnen und draußen“) or "Saar-Palatinate Institute for National and Folk Research" (Saarpfälzisches Institut für Landes- und Volksforschung), each in Kaiserslautern under the direction of Fritz Braun. This was information about Germany in the mother tongue, which then could not escape the propaganda of the approaching dictatorship.

With the so-called Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, East Galicia was given to the Soviet sphere of influence in August 1939, and the "German-born" settlers were granted the right to resettle in Germany in another agreement. A part of this area was briefly occupied by German military units, the youth and a part of the intelligence went in view of the forthcoming emigration directly with the German Wehrmacht back behind the demarcation line, in individual cases (for example Einsingen near Rava Ruska) even the entire village population immediately. The resettlement option promised by the Soviet side was not denied to the Galicio-Germans, but often made extremely difficult. The Soviet government tried partly with considerable propaganda effort (cinema screenings, loudspeaker cars, etc.) to persuade the German population in their domain to remain, but at the same time their property was "nationalized", i.e. practically expropriated. In addition, the memory of the Russian occupation periods in the First World War was still too fresh, so that almost all Germans from Eastern Galicia decided to relocate. Only the majority of national mixed marriages

and those who were already largely polonized or ukrainianized remained. With the resettlement more than 150 years of modern Germanness in Galicia came to an end – here Germans lived in peaceful, though not always – because of mostly brought in from outside conflicts – tension-free neighborhood with Ukrainians, Poles, Jews and other minorities in a total of nearly 400 places (albeit not at the same time: some settlements were already gone before others were founded).

During the harsh winter of 1939/1940, almost 56,000 Galician Germans were relocated to transitional camps mostly in Thuringia (Thüringen), Saxony (Sachsen) and the Sudetenland. The large majority was resettled in occupied western pre-war Poland (named „Reichsgau Wartheland“), starting in spring 1940 until spring 1941. Their hoped-for resettlement in the southwest German emigration area of the ancestors was politically unwanted, even the promised briefing on economies in Germany was not granted. Instead, the political leadership in Berlin abused the Galicio-Germans as “defense farmers” in the so-called Warthegau, i.e. annexed western Poland. Also many of the other so-called Ethnic Germans (“Volksdeutsche”) from Volhynia, the Bukovina or Bessarabia, who had been called in at the same time, had Palatine ancestors. The Polish previous owners of the farmsteads were often expropriated in the eyes of the resettlers and deported to the so-called Generalgouvernement (occupied by Germany central and southern Poland). Nor can this injustice be diminished by the fact that, in many cases, German peasants in the province of Posen underwent similar treatment in the reunited Polish state after the end of the First World War, and Polish new settlers, as successors to the expropriated and expelled Germans, only came into possession of the farms, which they had to clear again. In the deliberately dispersed settlement in the Warthegau there was no consideration for grown village communities. School teachers from the old Reich and the destruction of church structures took exactly the support of the Galicio-Germans, which enabled their religious, cultural and national survival among the Slavic people for more than 150 years. Some of the Galicio-German teachers found a new job in Eastern Upper Silesia, others in Krakow district of the General Government in Western Galician schools.

#### *What became of the Galicio-Germans and their settlements*

Soon after the German Wehrmacht invaded East Galicia in June 1941, a few thousand “Ethnic German” and “German-born” people came to the German authorities who remembered their German, also Palatine roots. So it came in the summer of 1941 to another, additional resettlement. In 1943/1944, Russian-German settlers from the Black Sea region (about 1,500 families with 5,000 souls, also predominantly from the Palatinate) occurred in 35 of the formerly German settlements, which were meanwhile occupied by former inhabitants of the Ukrainian neighboring villages. After the evacuation, they moved in direction Upper Silesia but were, in most cases, overtaken by the Red Army and forcibly returned to the Soviet Union – to Siberia and Central Asia.

After the compulsory population shifts of the Second World War, Ukrainians – expellees from Poland and inner Galician new settlers – took possession of the farms in the formerly Galician-German settlements. The looted residential buildings had to be completely or partially repaired, in many cases completely rebuilt. The common buildings (school, village community center, shop, possibly dairy or mill) were quickly adapted and received a different look during renovations and conversions. The former church buildings, largely deserted since the winter of 1939/1940, finally lost their function and served as a storage room, workshop or garage. Especially the solid, dry buildings of the German churches and chapels, also due to their volume, were suitable as grain, seed and fertilizer storage.

In the late, hasty escape from the Warthegau in January 1945, the target areas for the refugee treks were especially in Saxony-Anhalt, but also in Lower Saxony (provinces of Hanover and Brunswick). By no means all treks got through. Many were overtaken by the Red Army and sent back to their last place of residence. There Poles often cruelly took revenge for injustices suffered previously by the Germans and

murdered the few remaining men. Many women and children were held back in Poland until the first half of the 1950s, when forced labor was required. The last Galicio-Germans did not return until 1955-1957 with the last prisoners of war from Siberia.

After fleeing and expelling the greater part of the Galicio-Germans found in the Soviet occupation zone (the later GDR) again, the rest were in the western zones – while France in its own occupation zone until 1947 took no refugees – and landed to a small extent in Austria. Some also went overseas, e.g. to Canada, warned of the poor starting conditions interested compatriots by mail before the move. Even a closed emigration of the Galicio-German ethnic group to South America was considered in the short term, but a decision should only be made when all missing people are back from the East. The division of Germany then destroyed these plans. In the western occupation zones of Germany an organization was possible immediately after the war only under the roof of the churches, so in 1946 the Aid committee of the Galicio-Germans (Hilfskomitee der Galiziendeutschen) was founded in the relief work department of the Evangelical (i.e. Protestant) church in Germany, by the proven network of their pastors and teachers.

In 1949, the so-called Landsmannschaft Weichsel-Warthe joined as a cultural-political representative all Germans from the territory of the Polish state between the two world wars. Galicio-Germans from the GDR ventured from the 1960s, the journey to the old homeland, often leaving the ways allowed by the Soviet state-company Intourist. Sometimes, the reunion with the old Ukrainian neighbors was stopped by the police or the secret service, and most of the subsequent contacts with the authorities came off lightly. Since the end of the 1970s, also Galicio-Germans from Germany, mostly as a bus group, traveled to Galicia. This developed after the political change to a regular, annual custom. Since then, the Aid committee has provided not only extensive humanitarian aid in the old homeland, but also a lively and regular exchange between educational institutions, multipliers and local politicians on both sides.

For the Galicio-Germans as well, Galicia, which was historically a regular theater of war or the passage of foreign armies and peoples, became a “land of graves and crosses” – and this is not the only parallel to the Palatinate. Mainz and Lviv are both on the 50th degree north latitude, the climate of – each lying to the south – Palatinate and the Galician Carpathian foothills are similar, in Galicia noticeably continental, with shorter growing seasons and longer, mostly dry-cold winters. Fine-grained writers from the ranks of Galicio-Germans also coined the term “Carpathian Palatinate”.

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**Many thanks for proofreading to Mr. Neil SASS, Canada.**

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