## Marija Naletilić

The Agency for Pre-Primary, Primary and Secondary Education Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina

## THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES IN HERZEGOVINA AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF THE MONOPOLY ON TOBACCO IN THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY

Abstract: The paper considers the financial policy of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy after the introduction of the monopoly on to-bacco and importance of the organized tobacco production which transformed the lifestyles of Herzegovina people. The paper seeks to clarify conditions that caused changes in the social structure of population and economy of Herzegovina.

**Keywords:** Herzegovina, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, monopoly, tobacco

The cultivation of the tobacco in Herzegovina began during the reign of Ali Pasha Rizvanbegović who encouraged people to plant the culture. Until the end of the Ottoman rule there was no control of production and there was no state monopoly on tobacco. Paid was only the production tax, which would occasionally increase. After the collapse of the Ottoman rule in 1878, Bosnia and Herzegovina found itself within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The time witnessed major changes in the cultivation and production of the tobacco since the state introduced the monopoly and the strict control over processes.

Nevena Krstić, "Rasprava o kafi, duvanu i pićima" u: *Prilozi*, XX-XXI, Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, Sarajevo 1974., str. 88.

Ibrahim Tepić, Trgovina Bosne i Hercegovine od 1856. do 1875. godine, str. 23. (magistarski rad u rukopisu).

The new international position of BiH was regulated by XXV Article of the Berlin Treaty and the Istanbul Convention.<sup>3</sup> The administration over Bosnia and Herzegovina was transferred to the joint finance minister who established a special office in B&H.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the organized tobacco production began in the Austro-Hungarian period. The tobacco was produced in such quantities that it soon became important not only for the economic development of Herzegovina, where most inhabitants lived on planting and processing this culture, but it became one of the vital cultures upon which the economic development of the whole Bosnia and Herzegovina was based. With the opening of the Mostar Tobacco Factory, changes in the social structure of the population were created - in fact, a social class of workers was created.

As part of the agricultural economy, as pointed out by Vlado Smoljan, "the processes were under way, which also indicated the final break up with the practices of feudal age". The introduction of the capitalism brought changes in the villages, because part of the rural population moved to the cities in search for a better existence, which due to transition from agricultural to industrial production changed the urban social structure. Immediately after the occupation, Catholics of different nationalities relocated from Austro-Hungary and other states to B&H while Muslim population immigrated to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>6</sup>

The tobacco production for the needs of the state monopoly, export and personal use was regulated by the various transition orders and basic regulations in early 1880, and the Monopoly Law was adopted. In analysing the financial policy of B&H, Ferdo Hauptmann stressed the importance of the Austrian-Hungarian Law, which was passed at the same time in 1880, determining that B&H was to finance its daily administration costs on its own and that, only in case of the unplanned expenses and investments, B&H was to receive the financial support from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In the period from 1882 to 1903,

Mustafa Imamović, Pravni položaj i unutrašnjo-politički razvitak BiH od 1878-1914, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1976., str. 12.

Dževad Juzbašić, Politika i privreda u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, 2002., str. 28.

Vlado Smoljan, Poglavlja iz ekonomske historije Hercegovine, I., Gospodarska komora Herceg Bosne, Mostar, 1997., str. 236.

Iljas Hadžibegović, Bosanskohercegovački gradovi na razmeđu 19. i 20. stoljeća, Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2004., str. 20-22.

Ambroz Kapor, Proizvodnja duvana u Bosni i Hercegovini od prvih početaka do 1943. godine, Udruženje preduzeća za otkup i obradu duvana "Hercegovina", Mostar, 1953., str. 25.

Ferdo Hauptmann, "Memorandum šefa financijskog odjeljenja bosanskohercegovačke vlade

Benjamin Kallay, as a joint finance minister to Bosnia and Herzegovina, had to convince the delegation of the Austrian-Hungarian Parliament9 that the B&H budget "was fully based on the actual revenues and therefore there was no fear the Monarchy would have to contribute to the costs of the regular administration of these countries". 10 Kallay determined that the planned expenses were always lower than the actual revenues, and, as Hauptmann pointed out, he adhered to that, "no matter how much he personally thought it would be better to go into deficit if that would speed up the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina". 11 With the goal of the self-sustainability of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kallay was aware that he could not count on larger investments so he consumed as many resources as he had at his disposal, being aware that such investments could accelerate the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina and bring it closer to the rest of the Monarchy. The financial sustainability of Bosnia and Herzegovina became the central issue of B&H policy, which meant as Hauptmann noticed, "much larger load, as the new modern administration and getting into the novel economically and socially developed environment demanded high resources, certainly much higher than in former Turkish time". 12 Georg von Plenker, director of the finances in Bosnian Provincial Government, claimed that the budget in the amount of 6 to 7 million forints was a maximum load that the country could handle and that the amount was insufficient to cover the costs of administration in period from 1880 to 1882. 13 By the end of 1883 Plenker could not control the administration districts and districts with unauthorized funds, so-called black funds; these funds were intended for the tax offices. 14 The tax primarily burdened agriculture and livestock as the industry and trade were not developed yet. 15 The development of

Plenkera, o financijskoj problematici Bosne i Hercegovine u prvim godinama austrougarske okupacije", u: *Glasnik arhiva i društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine*, VIII./IX., Sarajevo, 1968./69., str. 512.

- 11 Ibid.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 513.
- 13 Ibid.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 514.
- 15 Ibid, p. 516.

Izaslanstvu se svake godine podnosio završni račun Zemaljske vlade kako bi se utvrdilo u kojoj mjeri proračun odgovara stvarnosti. Usp. M. IMAMOVIĆ, Pravni položaj i unutrašnjo-politički razvitak BiH, str. 44.

F. Hauptmann, "Memorandum šefa financijskog odjeljenja bosanskohercegovačke vlade Plenkera, o financijskoj problematici Bosne i Hercegovine u prvim godinama austrougarske okupacije", str. 512.

the agriculture, which provided living for 87.91% of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1910, was disrupted due to the unresolved agrarian relations. In this regard Hauptmann explains:

The rural communities were not developing fast enough, and from the provincial finances place it meant the main revenues would not come from the direct taxes, but from the group of indirect ones. The group of the indirect taxes (monopolies, excise duties, fees) represented the largest revenue for the provincial finances. The largest revenue - monopolies, did not flow to the national budget as a result of the reciprocal calculations with the Monarchy but owing to the development of the domestic production capacity. In the first place it was the tobacco and starting from 1885. it was the salt too. <sup>16</sup>

The salt and tobacco as monopoly products were taxed indirectly, which supported the improvement of the economy and industrialization of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In view of the fact the production and consumption of these raw materials increased so the processing industry developed, enlarging the number of workers who ensured the existence. As the tobacco reached good quality, there were more cultivators and more land planted with tobacco.<sup>17</sup> This resulted in a higher number of employees in the purchasing offices and Mostar Tobacco Factory.

Ferdo Hauptmann, "Privreda i društvo Bosne i Hercegovine u doba austrougarske vladavine", u: Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine II., 18, Sarajevo, 1987., str. 129.

Peter F. Sugar, *Industrialization of Bosnia-Hercegovina 1878.-1918.*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1963., str. 88.

Table 1. The Number of Employees in the Tobacco Factory Mostar and Purchasing Stations in 1897

		NUMBE	R OF EMPLOYEES AT THE END OF THE YEAR 1897				
TOBACCO STATION MOSTAR TOBACCO FACTORY		ω Controllers	Workers		Children under the age of 14		Total
			Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
			180	422	12	26	649
	Ljubuški	11	141	375	-	5	532
TOBACCO PURCHASING STATIONS	Stolac	3	57	89	-	25	175
	Čapljina	4	67	96	4	26	197
	Trebinje	4	35	54		-	94
	Ljubinje	2	19	26			48
Total		33	499	1,062	16	82	1,695

**Source:** Austrian State Archives, Department of Finance Archives, Vienna, General section of the Ministry of Finance, V Section - Monopoly, Tables of Statistics of BiH Tobacco Dealing in 1897. <sup>18</sup> (Taken from the Master's Thesis of Marija Naletilic<sup>19</sup>).

In the Mostar Tobacco Factory and across all the purchasing offices in Herzegovina in 1897 there were 1,695 employees, mostly women and children under the age of 14. As the number of employees increased, the economic position of the Herzegovinian population improved to some extent <sup>20</sup> Since the old Ottoman rule was retained in the field of land tenure relations, the greatest burden was upon rural population, which by the tithing of 1906 paid another eight kinds

ÖeStA, Abteilung Finanzarchiv, Wien, Allgemeine Abteilung des k.u.k. Finanzministeriums, V. Sektion-Monopol, Tabellen zur Statistik der bosnisch-herzegowinischen Tabak-Regie 1897.

Marija Naletilić, Značaj uzgoja i prerade duhana za društveni i ekonomski razvoj Hercegovine od 1878. do 1918., str. 114. (magistarski rad u rukopisu)

M. Imamović, Pravni položaj i unutrašnjo-politički razvitak BiH od 1878-1914, str. 132.

of taxes.<sup>21</sup> Even though the area of Herzegovina became a part of the Monarchy in 1878, as confirmed by the annexation of 1908, in reality there were no major changes, particularly in relation to the economy, since the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy "opted for gradual changes".<sup>22</sup> As early as 1881, an experimental project of the productive and demonstrative character was launched in Mostar, envisiged to evolve into the advanced tobacco production using the scientific approach. The demonstration fields in Herzegovina were spread over the area from 2 to 6 hectares. However, due to the shortage of the skilled personnel who would combine the fieldwork and science, the project failed and the B&H tobacco policy body, established to control the tobacco monopoly, had only two educated experts. In addition, there was no tobacco institute with a network of experimental labs and sample fields. Hence, the demonstration fields soon became dysfunctional and they were closed in the eve of the First World War.<sup>23</sup>

The Mediterranean climate and fertile land of Hercegovina were favorable for cultivation of the high quality tobacco. <sup>24</sup> Exceptionally favorable were valleys around Trebinje and Ljubinje, while tobacco was also cultivated in Mostar and Stolac district. <sup>25</sup> In this area, several types of tobacco were grown: *ravnjak*, *tanče*, *grljevac*, *virginia light and mreško*. <sup>26</sup>

The high quality of Herzegovinian tobacco was also acknowledged by prizes awarded at the exhibitions in various European centers at the end of 19th century: the Budapest Prize in 1896, Brussels in 1897, Vienna in 1898, and in Paris in 1900.<sup>27</sup>

Alma Leka and Amra Custo described the pavilions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, exhibited at the exhibitions in the mentioned cities, as a real sighting for a large number of visitors who had an opportunity to learn about the history, economy, tradition and culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Austro-Hungarian

Iljas Hadžibegović, Postanak radničke klase u BiH i njen razvoj do 1914., Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1980., str. 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> V. Smoljan, Poglavlja iz ekonomske historije Hercegovine, I., str. 241.

Ambroz Kapor, Duhanska pokusna služba u Bosni i Hercegovini, Udruženje preduzeća za otkup i obradu duvana "Hercegovina", Mostar, 1956., str. 7-14.

Slavko Jelčić, Ekonomika proizvodnje duvana u Hercegovini, APRO Hercegovina, Mostar, 1983., str. 27-31.

Mirko Odić – Slavko Jelčić, Duhan u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1880. do 1979. godine, Mostar, Duvanski institut Mostar, 1980., str. 10-11.

A. Kapor, Duhanska pokusna služba u Bosni i Hercegovini, str. 30-35.

A. Kapor, Proizvodnja duvana u Bosni i Hercegovini od prvih početaka do 1943. godine, str. 15-27.

Monarchy exploited the economic exhibitions to promote the European culture and way of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>28</sup>

The tobacco cultivation changed the way of life in Hercegovina. More people were engaged with the agriculture apart from the cattle breeding, despite the fact the tobacco cultivation was very complex activity. The cultivation of the tobacco plants was demanding, for, it went all year round and required a large number of tobacco workers. As no great physical efforts were constantly needed in tobacco cultivation, easier works would be done by women, children and the elderly. Due to this type of engagement, the excess workforce was employed during the winter time and the tobacco cultivation in Herzegovina gained the economic and social significance. 29 The tobacco production ensured the existence and prevented the poverty. The Hercegovinians were eagerly awaiting the tobacco repurchase because the money they would receive paid for the debts accumulated throughout the year. Yet, in most cases, the villagers were displeased with the tobacco prices set by the Tobacco Control Directorate, what depended on the tobacco quality and class. This fact confirmed the tobacco was a monopoly plant and the producers were never the absolute owners of their product. 30 The producers would not receive adequate compensation for their work. According to Gujica, in 1913, the planters from Ljubuški received one krone and twenty hellers for one kilogram of tobacco and they could buy one kilogram of sugar or two and a half kilograms of rice for that money. 31 In period before the First World War, there would be occasional increases in tobacco prices as well as quality improvements. 32 Compared to previous period, new monopoly regulations increased the tobacco selling prices as well as tobacco taxes, in order to harmonize them with the prices of similar products in Monarchy.<sup>33</sup>

The average prices of tobacco per kilogram in the period 1888 to 1912 in Mostar region were as follows:

Alma Leka – Amra Čusto, "Jedan novi svijet – Bosna i Hercegovina na međunarodnim izložbama", u: Znakovi vremena, Sarajevo, 22-23/2004., str. 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Miloš Bjelovitić, "Duhan u Hercegovini", u: Geografski pregled, 2, Sarajevo, 1958., str. 104.

Ivan Alilović, Duhan i život naroda u Hercegovini, Hrvatsko književno društvo Sv. Ćirila i Metoda, Zagreb, 1976., str. 105-106.

Kasim Gujić, Duhansko pitanje i pitanje krijumčarstva duhana u Hercegovini, Naklada Pivčeva, Zagreb, 1935., str. 6.

Statistički podaci o proizvodnji duvana na području Bosne i Hercegovine, Duvanski institut u Mostaru, Mostar, 1961.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. A. Kapor, Proizvodnja duvana u Bosni i Hercegovini od prvih početaka do 1943. godine, str. 72.

Table 2. Prices of Tobacco in Mostar Region

Year of production	Tobacco average price per kilogram in krones		
1888.	0,90		
1892.	1,02		
1895.	1,15		
1908.	1,29		
1911.	1,42		
1912.	1,55		

Mostar, 1961. **Source:** Statistical Data on the Production of Tobacco in the Territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Tobacco Institute in Mostar, Mostar, 1961. <sup>34</sup>

The lowest average price of tobacco in 1888 amounted 0.90 krones and was increased in the following years to reach the amount of 1.55 krones in 1912. If the data are compared for the stated 14 years, we can see a rise in tobacco prices by 0.66 krones which was probably yet another motive for the growth of the tobacco planting in Herzegovina. During the Austro-Hungarian administration, considerable efforts were made towards improving the tobacco cultivation in Herzegovina and harmonizing its purchasing standards. A high standard was reached regarding the raw material quality and the needs of consumption and exports were balanced.<sup>35</sup>

Although Bosnia and Herzegovina had a special status in the Monarchy, as Kurt Wessely pointed out, its "power and economy were closely related to the Monarchy despite different social, religious, and agrarian relations". Regarding the implementation of the settlement laws on economic processes in B&H, unique reciprocal measures were deteremined, essential for functioning of the commercial processes in a single customs area (common currency, indirect taxes, monopoly on tobacco and salt)". 37

The special table was created based on the data taken from the book: *Statistički podaci o proizvodnji duvana na području Bosne i Hercegovine*, Duvanski institut u Mostaru, Mostar, 1961.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid str 32

Kurt Wessely, "Die Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung von Bosnien-Herzegovina", in: Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Band I., Die Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung, hrsg. von Alois Brusatti, Beč, 1973., 533.

Akos Paulinyi, "Die sogenannte gemeinsame Wirtschaftspolitik Österreich-Ungarn", u: Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918., Band I., Die Wirtschaftspolitik Entwicklung, hrsg. von Alois Brusatti, Beč, 1973., str. 584.

The tobacco purchasing stations were established in Mostar, Ljubuški, Trebinje, Stolac, Čapljina, Ljubinje and Široki Brijeg. At the stations, the tobacco was repurchesed and then despatched for further processing. <sup>38</sup> The village women, popularly called *the weighers*, worked there. They sorted and arranged the purchased tobacco and their work was seasonal. <sup>39</sup> The Austro-Hungarian government, after the opening of the Mostar Tobacco Factory in 1880, built other supporting facilities by 1910, besides the central factory building, warehouses, barracks, kitchen and a greenhouse. <sup>40</sup>

Table 3. The Value of Supporting Facilities of Mostar Tobacco Factory from 1887 to 1910

value	
h	
5	
25	
79	
83	
5	
82	
18	
150.500	
1	
82	
56	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> V. Smoljan, Poglavlja iz ekonomske historije Hercegovine, I., str. 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> I. Alilović, Duhan i život naroda u Hercegovini, str. 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> ÖeStA, AF, Tabellen zur Statistik der bosnisch-herzegowinischen Tabak-Regie 1911.

Drive for rails	1886.	310	56
Fence	1831.1905.1907.	7.806	21
Kitchen	1896.	593	6
Stokehold	1898.	586	78
Fire room	1001	483	43
Stores for tobacco	— 1901.	119	24
Tailor shops, stalls	1902.	617	42
Cellar	1004	411	43
Water system	— 1904.	1.298	
Hothouse	1903.	217	18
Hut 3		6.635	52
Hut 4	1905.	6.635	52
Hut fence		1037	56
Huts for purchase	1906.	391	59
Bathroom for workers	1000	17.000	
Shelter house for bad weather	— 1909.	111	66
Waiting room	1000 1010	47.347	61
Storage for timber	— 1909.1910.	1.430	57

Source: Austrian State Archives Department of Finance Archives, Vienna, General Section of the Ministry of Finance, V Section - Monopoly, Tables of Statistics Bosnian Tobacco Dealing in 1911<sup>41</sup>. (Taken from the Master's Thesis of Marija Naletilic<sup>42</sup>).

öeStA, AF, Tabellen zur Statistik der bosnisch-herzegowinischen Tabak-Regie 1911.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> M. Naletilić, Značaj uzgoja i prerade duhana za društveni i ekonomski razvoj Hercegovine od 1878. do 1918., str. 127

Investments in the Factory started with the construction of the administrative building in 1887 with an investment of 50,489 krones and 5 hellers. After that, in intervals of one or two years, various factory facilities were built. The total funds invested in the Mostar Tobacco Factory until 1910 reached the amount of 911,088 krones and 65 hellers.

The factory, according to Carl Peez, "exclusively produced Herzegovinian tobacco of finest varieties from Trebinje and Ljubuški regions (near Šuma and Vitina)." 43 In the Tobacco Factory the poorest people of Mostar were employed, performing hard physical jobs, while the "skilled workers and managers would come from the developed regions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. 44 Due to the strenuous physical work in improper halls, which was inappropriately paid, the workers would be very exhausted and infected with various infectious diseases and ailments caused by malnutrition. Displeased with the working conditions, the workers went on strike in 1906, gaining an increase in salaries of 20 hellers a day, shortened work-hours from ten to eight hours per day, and a 14-day termination period. 45 The strike of Mostar workers spread to the area of Ljubuški. The four thousand protesters in Ljubuški area made demands in relation to the tobacco repurchase, selection of the appraisers, elimination of the moils, right to vote in elections, freedom of the press, maintenance of the drainage channels and protective embankments, and increased salaries for municipal officials. The five hundred employees of the purchasing station in Ljubuški required 30-40% higher salaries and reduced working hours - eight hours a day, and elimination of money fines. In addition, they demanded the expelled workers, who worked more than 10 years, to be returned to the job; recruitment of workers exclusively from Ljubuški area; half pay as a support for workers unable to work longer who acquired 20 years of service; women to be spared from heavy work such as carrying heavy bales of tobacco; nice manners towards workers and respect for their religious customs; dismissal of workers from other districts and, ultimately, no criminal procedure taken against workers who participated in the strike. After the talks with the competent authority in Ljubuški, all their requirements were met. The salary was increased by 25% while the request for 40% salary increase was passed onto the relevant ministry. 46 During the six-day strike in Ljubuški, which

Carl Peez, Mostar i njegova kultura. Slika jednog grada u Hercegovini, 1891, Crkva na kamenu, Mostar, 22002., str. 56.

O. Hadžiomerović, Istorijski razvoj FD Mostar (1880-1941), (rukopis), Mostar, 1974., str. 8.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, str. 22-25.

Tihomir Zovko, "Radništvo u Hercegovini i njegovo uključivanje u proces hrvatske nacionalne integracije", u: Hum, 10, Mostar, 2013., str. 206-208.

lasted from May 16 to 21, 1906, the army was deployed throughout the entire Ljubuški region and more than 25 people were arrested and detained. After the situation stabilized, there was no need for military presence and the situation was monitored further by the police. <sup>47</sup> The year 1908 was marked by the demonstrations of workers of the Mostar Tobacco Factory due to the decision of the management to reduce the production, what resulted in reduction of the working days and lower earnings. During these demonstrations, incidents and clashes with the police occured and several workers were detained with the criminal charges filed against them. <sup>48</sup>

The criminal records were filed against Fila Bajić and Anđa Lasić for a public incident on August 27, 1908. On that day, about 100 workers of the Tobacco Factory Mostar were protesting on the streets and when ordered to disband the two workers who strongly opposed to the orders were taken to the police.

**Document 1.** The Charges of the Bosnia and Herzegovina's State Security Guard in Mostar Against Fila Bajić and Anđa Lasić (page 105)

Source: Archive of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, National Government, Charges. Fila Bajic and Anda Lasic for Public Disturbance, no. 1139, August 27, 1908, box. 145.

On the same day, charges were filed against Vladimir Bejatovic who was taken to the police for supporting the protests and urging the workers to stay on the streets.

**Document 2.** Charges of the Guard Žagar against Vladimir Bejatovic to Bosnia and Herzegovina's State Security Guard in Mostar (page 106)

Source: Archive of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, Provincial Government, Charges. Vladimir Bejatović from Mostar for the Criminal Conduct Pursuant to 144 of Criminal Law, no. 1137/1908., August 27, 1908, box. 145

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, str. 208.

Arhiv Hercegovačko-neretvanske županije (dalje: AHNŽ), ZEMALJSKA VLADA (dalje: ZV), Prijava. Fila Bajić i Angja Lasić radi javnog izgreda, br. 1139, 27. kolovoza 1908., kut. 145. Vidi dokument 1 u prilogu disertacije. AHNŽ, ZV, Prijava. Vladimir Bejatović iz Mostara radi zločina iz § 144. k. z., br. 1137/1908., 27. kolovoza 1908., kut. 145.

Bos. herc. državna straža sigurnosti u Mostaru. Prijava. Panas n 10° 10= proje podne bio sam spremljen sa više stracara, da racieram padnice n delanske tromice po prilici njeh 100 na broje koje m se skupile u danervaldovoj ulici posi, rajni donge orobe da im se prislanie Ja sam star medju one rudince i kaser im, u me sakona da se snijesta racidju voo da ée biti nhapsena. · jok mi se netemo rasici, haprite nas ako nas smijete" nasto su priele voe radonce vikati nečemo se razici Pajic nlapsanomi proglano te ju uveo u medju ostalih radnice a ratini ju dao jednomu stračaru da ju na poliziju odvede. policiju odvede bim je to vidjela Ingja lasic počela za pocionati oslale sadmice nedaste da ju rode pa su nosljedi toza porcov vagrahli ostele redinice da Fili Pajic otmu pa sam usljedi toza proglacio i daglu lasic ukapicnomi te odne i kyu poveo i preder ju storie se da ju roshi na policiju losto se je skapilo mneogo troca por silli omo roe iajedno da su se ostele) sadmice razici morale aidi! zelinek v.r. Hrvatska dionička tiskarna u Mostam.

ad 10957 4.2 Prepris Bos. herc. državna straža sigurnosti u Mostara Mariar, 27 augusta 1908 Broj 1197 Mostara radi alocino havar I raz. Habit Varnario jarga. Ranas a 10 sate: 305 proje postore akapilo seje whuswaldors when preko 100 nadaries is dahas. Polito sa pomenute radaice bile posirone on strace, do a somjesta mirao racidin, ali porto mirao Atiele poalesati, bile su dire radnice Rod to skupsten radnice nalasis so je me sor na policija sme so radnice maraje pubiati, te il je na toj nocia podraživao na odpor proti straci. Ta sam Bejetorica opomenus, i invertadora. da outi i da ramal inje kui taje a madalje willan radaicam, hajde samo majued one se on sam salua i ince cake an proglasis whaksarim I htjer ga na policija predvesti; 12 Objetave Zamahous rukom, as de me It tim sava kad je isti samahans de mil udare, progratio samge sod ruken i uderas me preduces, to ga seedoes il zatos ris Taj slazaj Kad ja Bejalo vić zamahan rakon de mo laceri, civio je stanou? o racerde. Tiph.

After these events, the organized activities of workers intensified. The number of union members increased, a health fund was established in Mostar and used for mutual aid. The production was considerably modernized by the introduction of the new machines, resulting with redundant workforce. <sup>49</sup>

The tobacco planters in Herzegovina, where 164,785 natives were engaged in agriculture in 1910,50 could not live solely on the tobacco trade so they started with the tobacco smuggle, especially during the First World War. Namely, if the households were running out of the goods, people would go smuggling because the tobacco was much more worthy: up to ten times more valuable than when regularly sold. 51 The tobacco soon crept into the world of the poor who prefered to starve than to stay without the tobacco. In the newspapers of that time, it was noted that the tobacco became expensive and the popular daily habit was constantly expanding, being the reason the tobacco "was expensive sold for expensive money in spite of the fact the daily consumption of the cigarettes and tobacco was limited."52 The war time brought many changes into the life of people. Military capable men were mobilized and women became the main labor force, along with children. Life was getting tougher and prices were going up without any control.53 The smuggling jobs were also affected by the large fluctuation of the population caused by the odds of the war. This was the reason the tobacco production decreased while the demand increased significantly. Equally, the price of the tobacco was going up steadily. 54 Given that men went to the war, women and children could not produce plenty of tobacco for the ever growing market that emerged during the war.

In addition to the war in Herzegovina in 1917, the drought also affected the production of the tobacco, which, for the first time, led to higher tobacco repurchase prices during the First World War, resulting in encrease of trade prices. The prices of the tobacco in the stores, popularly known as newsstands, amounted from 4 to 16 krones in 1917.<sup>55</sup> The demand and the quality of tobacco caused higher prices which amounted 7-26 krones in 1918.

In addition to the aforementioned disasters in 1917, there was also a short-

O. Hadžiomerović, Istorijski razvoj FD Mostar (1880-1941), str. 9-40.

M. Bjelovitić, Duhan u Hercegovini, str. 104.

I. Alilović, Duhan i život naroda u Hercegovini, str. 129-133.

<sup>52</sup> Sarajevski list, br. 11, Sarajevo, 1918.

O. Hadžiomerović, Istorijski razvoj FD Mostar (1880-1941), str. 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> I. Alilović, Duhan i život naroda u Hercegovini, str. 128.

<sup>55</sup> Glasnik zakona i naredbi za Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1917, Sarajevo, 1918.

age of labor, requisition of corn and meat, price increase of provisions, and no money. <sup>56</sup> Because of all this, in 1917 and 1918, a famine happened and "the population ate grass and maple bark bread". <sup>57</sup> In order to provide real bread, people went to smuggle the tobacco into Slavonia, and then into Srijem. <sup>58</sup> The end of the First World War saw the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which, despite all the troubles, related Bosnia and Herzegovina to Europe, partly thanking to the market of the quality Herzegovinian tobacco.

Andrija Nikić, Godine gladi, Naša ognjišta, Duvno, 1974., str. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> I. Alilović, Duhan i život naroda u Hercegovini, str. 128.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid