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Dr Hristo Berov, assistant professor
Faculty of History, Sofia University
hristo.berov@gmail.com

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Social Profiles of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs in Serbia in the late XIX and early XX Century

Abstract: A special moment in development and major argument for the underdevelopment of the Balkan economies in the late XIX and early XX century is the level of industrialization. Of course, there are differences among the separate countries and each one of them has its specific characteristics. The best way to reveal the specific characteristics of the Balkan industrial landscape and development, however, is the comparative analysis of two (or more) economies and their resemblances and differences. The following paper analysis the main figures of the industrial landscape, as a social profile of Serbian industrialists in the late XIX and early XX century, trying to give answers: What is the summarized social profile of the Serbian industrialist and entrepreneur in the late XIX and early XX century? And can we talk about summarized profile at all?

Key words: Balkan, Kingdom of Serbia, industrialization, Serbian industrialists, social profile

It is hard to believe that anyone familiar to the Balkan history and specificity and to the attempts for explanation of the Balkan characteristics in the modern centuries shall be surprised by the statement that the economic reading of the regional development is still seriously underestimated in comparison to political and cultural explanatory schemes. And the reason for the above is that there is no specific Balkan model, which can attract attention like the Japanese for example, there are no globally significant companies, which expanded here thanks to ingenious local managers, there

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is no incredible statistical increase of key indicators like the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)¹ or the GDP per capita for a short period of time. In a word, the Balkans are not as interesting in terms of their economic development as other countries, examples and models worldwide. On the other hand, there is enough political exoticism, in its broadest sense, which attracts the attention of well-wishers and deniers. Still, the economic development on the Balkans deserves more attention particularly as a possible explanation for the “evolution without development” which the local countries undergo.

A special moment in this development and major argument for the underdevelopment of the Balkan economies in the late XIXth and early XXth century is the level of industrialization. Of course, there are differences among the separate countries and each one of them has its specific characteristics. Usually, the industrial achievements of Serbia are presented as an example for not quite successful and typical for the region. There are certain reasons for that. In the reviewed period, the Serbian Kingdom tried to stimulate industry by means of encouraging legislation, which provides benefits for the ones who are willing to take risks in industry. Despite some early attempts like the Law on local industry support dated 1873², in the late 1880s and the early 1890s Serbia had an opportunity for a more independent policy in this direction, but this does not automatically mean favorable environment for industry development. By introducing special encouraging legislation in 1898³ and protective customs tariffs, the Balkan state hoped to stimulate the development of the local industry and to reduce its dependence on imported goods.

The reliefs provided by the law are based on the existing traditions in Serbia, adding some new positions. Article 3 of this law lists any relief which could be received by the companies. Along with the customs relief approved in 1873 regarding import of machines, machine parts, raw materials and other goods necessary for the establishment and operation of the company, exemption from state, district and municipal direct taxes, advantage on use of water sources, permission for free acquisition of materials from state and municipal land (stone, sand, wood, etc.) for the

¹ GDP is a measure for the quantity of goods and services produced in some geographic region (state) for a definite period of time. This is one of the most common economic approaches for measurement of national income and output, more about GDP.

² „Закон о потпомагању индустријских предузећа” adopted on 31.12.1873, published in *Српске новине*, XXXXII, No. 20, 24.01.1874, p. 1, analysis of this law see on Вучо, Никола, *Развој индустрије у Србији у XIX веку*, Београд, 1981, pp. 31–32 (hereinafter: Вучо, Н., *Развој...*); Вучо, Никола, *Привредна историја Србије до првог светског рата*, Београд, 1955, p. 248 (hereinafter: Вучо, Н., *Привредна...*) and Ђунисијевић, В., Ратомир, *Оснивање индустријских предузећа и развој индустрије у Србији до 1918 године*, Београд, 1990, pp. 47–49 (hereinafter: Ђунисијевић, Р. В., *Оснивање...*).

³ „Закон о потпомагању домаће радиности (индустрије)”, *Српске новине*, LXV, No. 158, 23.07.1898, p. 2, see also Архив Србије, Министарство народне привреде (Archives of Serbia, Ministry of National Economy, hereinafter: AS, MNE), 1900, ТФ V – 7.

construction of factories are added. More important – that art. 3, p. XI (И) permits use of the state railway for transport of freights at 25% lower price than the official state tariffs. The following art. 4 ensures market for the production of industrial companies using the privileges the same law. It states that the goods produced by the factories and using the protection of the discussed law, shall be purchased for the needs of the state, district and municipal authorities, even if they cost 10% more than the average prices on the London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna stock exchanges. In addition, in order to provide market for all privileged companies, if a product is manufactured by more than one factory, the contract is distributed among all in accordance with the scale of the enterprise. Companies which can benefit from the protection of this law should meet the following requirements: they should have at least 50 000 dinars invested capital or hire 50 employees; operate according to the modern standards; guarantee that 5 years after starting work, at least half of the employees shall become Serbian citizens; establish a compensation fund for the workers and their families in cases of disease or death and take care of the training of young employees (art. 5). The last two requirements show also certain level of social engagement, which the law tries to imply as an obligation to the future (and the already proven) industrialists. The term of privileges under this law is ten, rarely twenty years, as from the date of issue of Royal Decree for the respective company (art. 6 and 7). Art. 11 ensures preservation of the rights of the already existing concession enterprises in accordance with the Law from 1873 with the right to use the opportunities provided by the new legislation deed.⁴ A very important change which occurred by the adopting of the new law for industrial support is the withdrawal of the right for monopoly production for a definite period of time in a given industry. The new regulations provide more than one concessions (unlike the law from 1873) in the different industrial branches.⁵

Outside the scope of this law are the industries which according to the Serbian state are doing well without the need of special support. Such industries are milling⁶ and brewery⁷, which, especially the second one, are examples for good development without state protection. Mining is also excluded from the group of privileged companies, although art. 2 provides that mining companies may also benefit from

⁴ More detailed analysis of the law dated 1898 see in Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, pp. 9–10, 33–35. See also Вучо, Н., *Привредна...*, p. 248–49, Ђунисијевић, Р. В., *Оснивање...*, pp. 49–52, and Чалић, Мари Жанин, *Социјална Историја Србије 1815–1941*, Београд, 2004, pp. 150–151 (hereinafter: Чалић, М.-Ж., *Социјална...*).

⁵ Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, p. 13.

⁶ More about flour-milling see at Чалић, М. Ж., *Социјална...*, pp. 153–154, Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, pp. 245–272 and Ђунисијевић, Р. В., *Оснивање...*, pp. 208–213 with the quoted literature.

⁷ For more details about the brewery industry see Ђунисијевић, Р. В., *Оснивање...*, pp. 233–235, Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, pp. 272–288 и Palairret, Michael, *The influence of commerce on the changing structure of Serbia's peasant economy 1860–1912*, unpublished PhD thesis, 1976, pp. 358–372 (hereinafter: Palairret, M., *The influence...*).

the privileges granted. Actually for the extraction of precious metals, non-metals and minerals in Serbia, the Law on mining dated 1866 is still active. Practically, mining became the industrial branch which attracts most foreign capitals.⁸

Probably such legislative measures have some effect but the limited market for industrial goods is still the biggest problem. Major part of the population remains permanently connected to agrarian production and the self-sufficient economy of the family farm. The urban population in Serbia in 1874 was 138 710 people, or 10% from the entire population, in 1884, with the expanded territory after 1878 the urban population was 235 887 people or 12,4%, in 1900 it was 351 015 people or 14%, 1905 – 347 418 or 12,9%, 1910 – 384 822 or 13,2%.⁹ Industrial production of any goods relies mainly on implementation amongst the urban population since that population does not rely only on the production within the so-called self-sufficient economy. The last one is characteristic mainly for the traditional communities living in small towns and villages. Serbia, as a country being mainly rural in terms of the population and agricultural in terms of the main occupation of the population, does not offer attractive prospects – with a few exceptions – for the local industry for implementation of its production. The trend is to range the percentage of urban population around 13. Most of the towns are such mainly because of their administrative functions and their population often lives more like the rural part of the Serbian population.

This situation makes the country and its authorities not only desired, but also main consumer of local industrial production since the limited needs of the urban population are often satisfied by imported goods of higher quality than the local ones. The state alone guarantees its leading role as a consumer even at unfavorable prices.¹⁰

The results from the encouraging legislation, which by no means is a Balkan patent, are not simple digits.¹¹ The number of enterprises increased, as absolute val-

⁸ For more details see Милић, Д., *Страни капитал у рударству до 1918*, Београд, 1970.

⁹ *Два века развој Србије. Статистички преглед*, Београд, 2008, pp. 43, 47 (hereinafter: *Два века...*).

¹⁰ Паларе, М., *Балканските икономики 1800–1914: еволуција без развитие*, б.м., 2005, pp. 349–359, 381–392 (hereinafter: Паларе, М., *Балканските...*).

¹¹ After Germany, which in 1879 adopted customs tariffs for limitation of import of agricultural products from Russia and the other part from Eastern Europe, all developed European countries except Great Britain introduced similar protection measures (France in 1881, Italy in 1887) for their own industries. See Lampe, J. R., M. R. Jackson, *Balkan Economic History: From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations*, Bloomington, 1982, p. 264. As ridiculous as it sounds some of the highest tariffs in the world between 1816 and 1945 are those of the USA traditionally considered a bastion of „free trade”. See also Dormois, J.-P., Lains, P., *Classical Trade Protectionism 1815–1914*, London etc., 2006; Zussman A., *The Rise of German Protectionism in The 1870s: A Macroeconomic Perspective*, SIEPR Discussion Paper 01-019, 2002 http://siepr.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/publications/01-19_0.pdf (13.04.2016, 19:00); Magraw, R., *France, 1800–1914: A social history*, London etc., 2002, pp. 65–112; Morris-Suzuki, T., *History of Japanese Economic Thought*, n.a., 1991, pp. 50–53. See also reasoning on

ues, from 22 (not all of them are big companies even for the Serbian dimensions) in the beginning of the 1880s to 465 in 1910¹². However, the matter about the relative share of industry within GDP is still controversial – whether it is increasing or not. The difficulty of determining comes from the unstable data, especially for earlier years. At the end of the reviewed period, i.e. around 1910-1912, the realistic share of industrial production in Serbia is about 14,5 %, taking into account many conditions for including some “enterprises” in the industrial group, hence the calculation of their production as part of the industrial share of GDP.

The state is obviously a serious factor in the stimulation and development of industry in Serbia. But this does not mean that the achievements meet the expectations – effects are rather modest, considering completely quantitative values, although the feeling of contemporaries is for very serious success, dynamic development and building of modern economy. Meanwhile, the denial of achievements, only because it cannot be related to measurement of industrialization and modern economy, characteristic for the development of other parts of the European continent and the world, is mainly a sign for underestimation or misjudgment of the particular situation within the observed period of time. Provided that the state policy performs quite controversial impact on the industrial development in Serbia, and obviously there is certain development in the sphere of industry, attention should be paid on the ones who are risking to establish and progress industrial productions.

Behind the successful and not quite successful industrial initiatives are particular figures, persons, individuals, whose efforts, skills and sense make possible the appearance of factories and industry. Particularly the profile of these persons in a social and partially psychological sense is the subject of this presentation. Since probably behind it is hidden one of the answers of the huge question of the people on the Balkans – “why we are exactly what we are and why we are there where we are?”.

The following hereinafter reasoning and conclusions are based on the information about the main figures of the industrial landscape, included in Appendix 1 (Social profile of Serbian industrialists /late XIX – early XX century/). Although the data gathered is far from exhaustive from statistical point of view, they provide enough reliable information, which on its part is a solid reason for conclusions regarding the specific social profile.

What is the summarized social profile of the Serbian industrialist and entrepreneur in the late XIX and early XX century? And can we talk about summarized profile at all?

the issue of D. Mishkova in Мишкова, Д., “Предимствата на изостаналия” – начало на балканската модернизация”, *Социологически проблеми*, 1995, № 2, pp. 38–40.

¹² See Вучо, Н., *Привредна...*, p. 250, Ђунисијевић, П. В., *Оснивање...*, p. 84, Sundhaussen, H., *Historische Statistik Serbiens 1834–1914*, München, 1989, pp. 312–317; *Извештај о раду и стању индустрије у 1910 години*, Београд, 1911, p. 19.

The analysis based on the data in Appendix 1 requires several preliminary stipulations. On the first place, we cannot talk about a uniform social profile throughout the whole period. No matter how short is the considered period in time, no matter how questionable are the achievements of the Serbian industrial development, we cannot deny dynamics as a characteristic feature of what is happening. It also affects the industrialists themselves. Those who risk to start industrial business in the late 70s and early 80s of XIX century are one type, quite different are the persons tempted by industry in the early XX century. They can be conditionally divided into two groups or two waves, each carrying its specific characteristics.¹³

The first group includes the pioneers, the first-steppers in Serbian industry. These are the ones who start their industrial initiatives from nothing or almost nothing. Their ethnical origin is local, i.e. they were born in Serbia, or they are foreigners who have discovered the opportunities of the Balkan, particularly the Serbian, favorable environment. Local pioneer industrialists are usually 30 or 40 years old. Which is adulthood for that time.¹⁴ They had different occupation before their industrial engagements – they were mainly merchants and craftsmen, i.e. people with some material status and social position, but there were men of science as well. Ranko Godjevac is a typical example, being one of the leading merchants and manufacturers and craftsmen of metal articles in Belgrade, where he has had a workshop and a store from 1842. In 1888 he received a concession for establishment of a factory for production of metal articles.¹⁵ Another similar example is Antonije Popovich from Leskovac. He was one of the largest merchants of woolen braiding (*gajtan*) from Bulgaria to Bosnia and Serbia and was dealing with similar transactions many years before he started implementing the idea of his own factory in the mid-80s of XIX century.¹⁶ Kosta Shonda, known in Belgrade because of his trade with colonial goods, is also an interesting example. In the end of XIX century and the beginning of XX century he oriented himself towards the establishment of a factory for chocolate and confectionery and received the relevant concession in 1902.¹⁷ Yet, in the roots of the most private initiatives for construction of power plants in the early XX century stays the personality of Prof. Djordje (Djoka) Stanojevich. The Professor in Physics from

¹³ Using a different approach, M. Palairret determines three groups of entrepreneurs – local, foreign and immigrants, and as foreign he accepts foreign citizens who want to invest in Serbia aiming to manage the company distantly, while as immigrants he considers foreign citizens, who settle in Serbia and adapt towards the local specificity and environment, see Palairret, M., *The influence...*, pp. 291–292.

¹⁴ The average life expectancy in Europe and the USA in the second half of XIX century is between 40 and 48 years, depending on the region, see. <http://old.positivepress.com/perspective/archive/96-08-04.php3> (14.04.2016, 14:20), <http://www.cepr.org/pubs/bulletin/dps/dp121.html> (14.04.2016, 14:20) and http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr54/nvsr54_14.pdf (10.02.2015, 18:50).

¹⁵ Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, pp. 335–337.

¹⁶ Јоксимовић, Ч. М., *Српски Манчестер Лесковац у 1930*, Лесковац, 1930, pp. 6–7 (hereinafter: Јоксимовић, Ч. М., *Српски...*).

¹⁷ SA, MNE, 1906, ТФ XV – 93.

the Belgrade Great School combines his scientific competence with entrepreneurial spirit and takes active part into the construction of water power plants in Uzice, Nish, Veliko Gradishte, Vuchie up the Leskovac,¹⁸ and along with the Leskovac project, he has been chair of the management board of the local flax and textile factory for several years.¹⁹

Local entrepreneurs from the first wave were not necessary part of the wealthiest circles and weren't obliged to have good reputation amongst people. Significantly, most of the factories of the Serbian entrepreneurs are a result from unification. Thus, the textile enterprise of A. Popovich and partners has initial capital of 72 844 dinars, gathered from five persons, in particular: Mito Teokarevich – 18 481,55 dinars, Gligorije Jovanovich – 18 213,85, Antonije Popovich – 17 737,60, Stefan Boyadzhiev – 10 263,50, Proka Mitich – 8147,50.²⁰ These are serious amounts, however they are far from reflecting the large-scale wealth of the depositors. Meanwhile, the initiator of the establishment of another textile factory in Leskovac, Kosta Ilich, is a soap-maker (*mumdjija*),²¹ but there is information showing that he has gained a greater part of his wealth through money-lending,²² and probably was not quite likeable for his fellow-townsmen.

Education of local pioneers is seldom impressive. They are literate for sure, i.e. they can read and write, although some of them have difficulties to sign. For example, one of the leading industrialists in the wool textile industry in the town of Leskovac, Dimitrije (Mito) Teokarevich, mentioned hereinabove, studied till the age of 9 at the local school of teacher Cha-Mita and after that started working for Antonije Popovich. Later, Teokarevich started his own trade and in 1885 he took part as one of the founders in the first braider factory in the town, initiated by his former

¹⁸ Jovan L. Simovljević, “Astronomija do 1947. godine”, Katedra za astronomiju, Matematički fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu, <http://astro.matf.bg.ac.rs/beta/index.php?lang=lat&dir=about&page=do1947> (10.02.2015, 18:10).

¹⁹ SA, MNE, 1905, ТФ XVI – 10 and documents № 98 Оснивање Првог Лесковачког Акцинарског Друштва за прераду кудеље и лана 1903/1904 године, №123 Извештај комисије Министарства Народне привреде о прегледу фабрике Првог Лесковачког Акцинарског Друштва за прераду кудеље и лана, и стању њој, № 137 Извештај Управног одбора Првог Лесковачког Акцинарског Друштва за прераду кудеље и лана, поднесен VII редовној скупштини акционара на дан 24 фебруара 1911 год., № 138 Извештај Управног одбора Првог Лесковачког Акцинарског Друштва за прераду кудеље и лана, поднесен VIII редовној скупштини акционара на дан 8 априла 1912 год., № 139 Извештај Управног одбора Првог Лесковачког Акцинарског Друштва за прераду кудеље и лана, поднесен IX редовном збор уакционара, 5 мај 1913 год., In: Димитријевић, Сергије, *Почеци модернизације лесковачке привреде*, Лесковац, 2003, p. 280 and following (hereinafter: Димитријевић С., *Почеци...*).

²⁰ Јоксимовић, Ч. М., *Српски...*

²¹ Soap – or candle – maker, in the case with Kosta Ilich – soap-maker.

²² Kanitz, F., *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 272 and http://www.archive.org/stream/dasknigreichse02kaniuoft/dasknigreichse02kaniuoft_djvu.txt (14.04.2015, 16:50).

employer.²³ According to the memories of Gligorije (Gorche) Petrovich, partner in the other big textile factory in Leskovac, established around Kosta Ilich, most the first “industrialists” in Leskovac are less educated,²⁴ which to some extent is confirmed by the bad handwriting of their signatures on different documents, sent on behalf of the factory to the Ministry of National Economy (MNE) /*Министарство народне привреде (МНП)*/ and kept in the archives of the said ministry.²⁵ Obviously, special education is not a prerequisite for success in the industrial initiative. Both factories are developing well and in 1895 they merged and the new joint venture, officially known as “*First Serbian Royal factory for braids, braided and knitted products Popovich, Ilich and friends in Leskovac*”, and unofficially as “*Popovich, Ilich & Co.*”, became the main competitor of the factory of Minch brothers in Paracin.²⁶

Perhaps particularly the ethnic origin or rather the birthplace and the environment in which local people and foreigners grew up with the relevant opportunities, is the main difference within the first wave or group of industrialists and entrepreneurs. Foreigners are not always ethnically foreign, but as a whole their profile differs from that of homegrown Serbian manufacturers. One of the two founders in the *Wagon and Machine Factory* in Belgrade, Stevan Nenadovich, is a Serb from Karlovats. His partner, who became factory manager, Adam Sigmund, is from Novi Sad. The company established by them is one of the most significant investments not only in the sector of machine building, but in Serbian industry in general, with imported capital of 1 250 000 dinars.²⁷

Foreigners in the first wave are interesting since Serbia appears to be a country of unlimited possibilities to them.²⁸ Representatives of this part from the first group became emblems for the Serbian industry and economy from the end of XIX and the beginning of XX century – Djordje Vajfert, Minch brothers, Bajloni family. Djordje Vajfert is the successor of leather and brewing tradition. His grandfather, a German with the same names, was a furrier, who settled in Panchevo, which at that time was part of the Habsburg Empire. There he cooperated and started trading with wheat. Later he made a brewery in the same town. The father of Dj. Vajfert – Ignat – mastered the subtlety of brewery in Munich and began to develop this branch of the family business. In 1865 the Veyferts expanded their activity and took the so-called prince

²³ „Димитрије – Мита Теокаревић”, http://www.vucje.com/html/mita_t.html (14.04.2011, 16:50).

²⁴ Јоксимовић, Ч. М., *Српски...*, pp. 10–11.

²⁵ SA, MNE, 1898, ПФ VI-2.

²⁶ SA, MNE, 1898, ПФ VI-2.

²⁷ Ђунисијевић, Р. В., *Оснивање...*, p. 135.

²⁸ As mentioned by Anton Nemetz to his relative Ignat Bayloni in the mid-50s of XIX century in a letter to him on the occasion of his intention to leave for America – there is no better America than. See Костић, М., *Успон Београда. Послови и дани трговаца, привредника и банкара у Београду XIX и XX века*, књ. 1, Београд, 1994, p. 41 (hereinafter: Костић, М., *Успон Београда 1 ...*).

/knjazhevska/ brewery in Belgrade. In this particular brewery Dj. Vajfert showed his potential for the first time and after he took the business in the mid-70s of the XIX century, he reconstructed and expanded it.²⁹ Henceforth the brewery was the basis of all endeavors of Vajfert in Serbia, mainly in the field of mining.³⁰ Vajfert's influence in Serbian economic circles was so strong that he reached the position Vice-Governor of the Serbian People's Bank (1884-1889), he was its governor twice (1890-1902; 1912-1926) and was honorary chair until his death in 1937.

The Bajlonis had similar fate. The family founder, Ignat Bajloni, was Czech and also worked with leather. In the mid-50s of XIX century he moved with his family to Serbia where his brother-in-law, Anton Nemeč, founder of one of the first modern mills in Serbia³¹, developed his business. The Bajloni's settled in Belgrade where they initially dealt with leather manufacture and hotel-management. Gradually, Ignat and his sons re-oriented to brewery and milling business. First they entered flour mills. In 1869 they bought the state water-mill in the village of Malo Tsrniche, near Pozarevac. Management was taken by Ignat's third son, Anton, who was prepared by Anton Nemetz, mentioned above. After 1871 the family company was called "Ignat Bajloni and Sons" and its owners were Jakov, Ventseslav and Anton Bajloni. Ventseslav (Ventsel, Vasa) took the leather manufacture and the hotel business, which was liquidated after 1878. The eldest son, Jakov, learned brewery in details in Vienna and in the 70s of XIX century started developing particular this part of the family industrial ventures.³² Jakov was the one who enjoyed highest reputation amongst business circles. He was elected as member of the Management Board of the People's Bank of Serbia and stayed on this position until his death in 1902, he was member of the administration for state monopolies and was founder and deputy-chair of the Serbian Shipping Company.

Example for skillful orientation and use of the advantages of the economic situation in Serbia in the 70s and 80s of XIX century are brothers Bertold and Samuel Minch and their partners, again brothers Karl and Joseph Schumpeter. The textile company in the town of Paracin, established in 1882 and managed by them, was leading in the industry until 1904 when a fire destroyed it. Bertold Minch and Joseph

²⁹ Actually, he built a totally new enterprise in Topčider, which at that time was still outside the town borders. See Костић, М., *Успон Београда I ...*, pp. 149–151.

³⁰ Djordje Vajfert stubbornly developed multiple deposits in Serbia, most of them unprofitable, but his greatest success were the coal mine near Kostolats and the copper mine near Bor. See Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, pp. 94, 113–114, Ђуничијевић, Р. В., *Оснивање...*, pp. 104–105, 115–116, „Биографија Ђорђе Вајферт”, *Фондација Ђорђе Вајферт*, <http://www.fonddjordjevajfert.com/%d0%b1%d0%b8%d0%be%d0%b3%d1%80%d0%b0%d1%84%d0%b8%d1%98%d0%b0.html> (22.08.2015, 12:15). (hereinafter: „Биографија Ђорђе Вајферт”...)

³¹ See more in Милић, Даница, „Почеци чехословачко-српске економске сарадње”, *Зборник за историју Матица Српска*, 1981, књ. 24, р. 72.

³² More about the brewery see in Вучо, Н., „Бајлонова пивара у Скадарлији 1880–1941”, *Годишњак града Београда*, 1976, XXIII, pp. 93–106.

Schumpeter are one of the first entrepreneurs in Serbia who used the benefits of Law on Local Industry Support dated 1873. Before they started their Serbian venture, they had a factory in Trieste, Moravia, and made supplies for the Serbian army. This allowed them to orient well in the specificity of the Balkan state. Cleverly taking advantage of the privileges guaranteed to them by law, for a period of 20 years they have developed a successful business.³³

Well-oriented within the Serbian environment was Italian Peter Joseph Klefish who in 1902 opened a modern enterprise processing of animal products in Jagodina. The Royal Decree issued in November 1901 provided to build an enterprise within one year and to invest 100 000 dinars in it. Despite failing to fulfill this condition, which was one of the reasons for taking away the concession and the following privileges and facilities in 1905, only for 1903 Klefish exported meat, animal products (incl. eggs) and fruit worth 304,645 dinars.³⁴ Although slower, the factory kept developing in the following years and stayed one of the most modern enterprises in Serbia and Yugoslavia until the Second World War.³⁵

Kind of example, though different, for a successful career in the industrial development of Serbia, is Bulgarian Stefan Boyadzhiev. He took part in the first textile factory in Leskovac. Before his Serbian adventure, he dealt with production and trading with braids in Karlovo. In 1878 he was briefly member of the Town Council. Later he was elected chair of the braiding company in town, founded in 1884, aiming to „act for the successful production and improvement of the local braid and its trading ”.³⁶ When he failed to develop his potential in Karlovo, St. Boyadzhiev moved to the town of Leskovac, where he apparently had established relations with the local dealers of braids from earlier times.³⁷ The lack of technical knowledge in the initiators of the industrial undertaking lays in the reason for which A. Popovich and partners attracted him. The Bulgarian delivered (as contraband) the first parts for knitting braids in Leskovac, installed them and also took part with some capital in

³³ The factory was managed by Bertold Minch and Joseph Schumpeter till 1887 when the last one died. From this year onwards, the company became property of brothers Bertold, Samuel and Adolph Minch and was known as the Minch Brothers' Factory, more details about its development see document № 183 *Фабрика сукна, штофова, чохе, абе и предива Бертолда Минха и Карла Шумпетера у Параћину*, In: Перуничкић, Бр., *Град Параћин 1815–1915*, Београд, 1975, pp. 1140–1270.

³⁴ Document № 503 *Петар Јозеф Клефиш, трговац из Италије, подиже модерну кланицу за прераду меса*, In: Перуничкић, Бр., *Град Светозарево 1806–1915*, Београд, 1975, pp. 1535–1559.

³⁵ Ђунисијевић, Р. В., *Оснивање...*, pp. 219–221, Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, pp. 304–305, Јовановић, М., “Суђење Теодору Клефишу, индустријалцу из Јагодине”, *Корени*, VI, 2008, pp. 223–238.

³⁶ Александров, В., *Из историјата на град Карлово. Стопански, културни, благоустройствени и други придобивки от 1903 до 1934. Приложения – I. Историја на гайтанджийството, 2. Карлово и карловска околия*, Софија, 1938, p. 96, Унджиев, Ив., *Карлово. Историја на града до Освобождението*, Софија, 1968, pp. 80, 216, *Карлово. Енциклопедичен речник*, Карлово, 2005, pp. 19–20.

³⁷ We can see his photograph along with such merchants in 1877, Јоксимовић, Ч. М., *Српски*

the factory. He remained partner even after merging the groups around A. Popovich and K. Ilich and went out of the partnership in the beginning of XX century.³⁸

Foreigners from the first wave show pretty good education. Dj. Vajfert for example graduated the trade school in Budapest and the agricultural school with brewery profile in Munich. Ferdinand Kren has a diploma for a schooled cooper, just like Jakov Bajloni. Stefan Boyadzhiev has completed second grade in the Karlovo class school. Alfred Hacke and Joseph Finey have engineering education. Perhaps, at first glance, their education was nothing special, but compared to the level of education in Serbia in the beginning of the considered period, it was impressive.³⁹

Foreign entrepreneurs in Serbia are seriously experienced in industrial ventures before their engagements there. As we already mentioned, Bertold Minch and Karl Schumpeter had a factory in Moravia. Evgeni Michel, another textile entrepreneur, arrived in Serbia in 1889 and became manager particularly in the factory of Minch brothers in Paracin, where he was responsible for the weaving process. After he left the Minch's in 1891, he permanently settled in Belgrade and in 1897 got a concession for a textile factory in the capital of Serbia, together with German Karl Wolf.⁴⁰ Two of the three founders of the first sugar refinery in Serbia – Alfred Hacke and Max Weinschenk – presented themselves respectively as an engineer from Magdeburg and an industrialist from Regensburg, and third one, Julius Goldschmit was a banker from Ludwigshafen. All three were major shareholders in a big sugar refinery in Regensburg.⁴¹

Very often foreigners who are risking in Serbia, are younger at the start of their industrial career compare to the local entrepreneurs. The sons of Ignat Bajloni joined the ventures of their father in the late 50s and early 60s of XIX century, when they are at the age of 20 and 25. The only exception is the eldest and the most active son, Jakov Bajloni.⁴² Djordje Vajfert entered the family business in the early 70s of XIX century, at the age of 20 – 22. In 1873 he received a concession for developing the

³⁸ AS, MNE, 1906, ТФ 46 – 37, see also Трајковић, Др., *Историја лесковачке индустрије*, Београд, 1961, Јоксимовић, Ч. М., *Српски...*, *Лесковац: јуче и данас*, уред. Ар. Ристић, Св. Стојановић, Лесковац, 1935, Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, pp. 209–214.

³⁹ In 1884 – only 937 completed secondary education in the Kingdom of Serbia, in 1890 – their number is 1 440, in 1900 – 980; only 91 039 people or 6,7% are literate in 1874 or 6,7% , in 1884 – 177 489 people from 1 901 736, in 1900 – 423 433 literate from 2 492 882, see *Два века...*, pp. 44, 48, 247–248.

⁴⁰ AS, MNE, 1895, ПФ XII – 79; AS, MNE, 1906, ТФ 45 – 6. Karl Wolf was the owner of such factory in Vranska Banja. See also Вучо, Н., “Текстилне фабрике на Карабурми од 1897 до 1941 године”, *Годишњак града Београда*, 1975, XXII, pp. 117–137.

⁴¹ Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, p. 288. Djunisijevic had a little more different information about the joint-stock company, see Ђунисијевић, П. В., *Оснивање...*, p. 216.

⁴² Костић, М., *Успон Београда I...*, pp. 40–47.

mine in Kostolac. Meanwhile he reconstructed the family brewery. At the age of 33, in 1883 he was elected vice-governor of the Serbian People's Bank.⁴³

There is a certain conditionality in determination of the ones who enter the first and the second group. This does not necessarily take place at the same time, i.e., there is a pure chronological discrepancy. Provisionally, persons making up the first group, concentrate their activities during the 80s and 90s of XIX century, but this does not mean that there are some, who, according to their characteristics, belong to this group, no matter that their work has begun a little earlier or a little later. A key feature is the establishment of new factories, whether they are first or consecutive in Serbia. For example, Dj. Vajfert entered this group because he constructed entirely new modern brewery, though he is a successor of a factory-owner tradition. The founder of the first sugar refinery in Serbia – Alfred Hacke, Julius Goldschmit and Max Weinschenk – also fall into this group, despite the fact that their company started operation at the beginning of the XX century. Ferdinand Kren did develop his active business in the Balkan country even before some of these people were born.⁴⁴ This convention within time mainly concerns foreign entrepreneurs since for the local, Serbian, industrialists things looked clearer, their characteristics and their social profile were quite similar and their undertakings generally started in the last two decades of the XIX century

The second wave or group consists mainly of the successors of the first-steppers. These are people who further developed the established positions, expand and modernize the factories. Here we can hardly talk about separation into local and foreign ones since the so called foreign have become “Serbians” to a great extent, i.e. they have adopted the local Serbian customs and adjustments. Probably most indicative is the example with the son of Jakov I. Bajloni – Ignat, named after his grandfather. He was born in 1876 in Belgrade, graduated the trade school in the Serbian capital and later graduated such school in Vienna as well. He had been managing the brewery since 1897, and after the death of his father Jakov in 1902, he took the whole family business. Because of his reputation amongst the Serbian economic and financial circles, Ignat Y. Bajloni was elected member of the management board of the Association of Serbian Industrialists⁴⁵, and later, in 1908 he became its chair. Since 1911 he'd been member of the Management Board, and since 1914 – chair of the Belgrade Industrial

⁴³ „Биографија Ђорђе Вајферт”... (22.08.2015, 14:30).

⁴⁴ Бокарев, М., *Породица Крен – зачетник индустрије у Чачку: њен утицај на развој Чачка у другој половини XIX и првој половини XX века*, Чачак 2008

⁴⁵ AS, MNE, 1904, ТФ II – 102. In 1904 the Management Board of the company also includes: Bozho S. Zhivkovich, Minch Brothers, Mo. Kosovlyanin, brothers R. Godzhevats, Dim. Dzhorich, Rasha Miloshevich, Kosta Glavnich, Atsa Popovich and representatives of factory Popovich, Ilich and Co. Bozho Zhivkovich was elected as chair.

Chamber. Since 1906 onwards he'd been member of the Management Board, a little later he became governor of the Serbian People's Bank.⁴⁶

In terms of education, the second wave of entrepreneurs differs significantly from pioneers. All of them are well-educated, depending on the specific industry they are developing. Serious attention which is paid on education speaks a lot about the mentality of the factory owners from the conditional first wave. Obviously they clearly realize the need of specialized knowledge in different fields from the company management. On one hand, the well-educated heir is a warranty for the successful continuation of the industrial undertaking. On the other hand – it makes dependence on external, foreign people, who in a still patriarchal traditional culture are less fully trusted, far smaller.

The sons of Kosta Ilich got technical education in Austria-Hungary and Germany. Sotir K. Ilich completed technical education in Ljubljana⁴⁷, and Vladimir (Vlada) K. Ilich completed technical education in Germany and from the beginning of XX century he has proven as one of the leading industrialists not only in Leskovac, but throughout Serbia as well. Between 1935 and 1939 r. he has been mayor of Belgrade too.⁴⁸ Mito Teokarevich also sent his sons Vladimir, Lazar and Svetislav (Slavko) to study abroad. They studied in different places in Germany, France, Belgium and England. Later, in the period between the two world wars, the three of them were in charge of a textile factory concern.⁴⁹ Gligorije Jankovich, the son of the soap manufacturer from Krushevats with the same name, completed high school in Serbia and after that completed the trade school in Vienna. Part of his education was the tour in factories in “Czech lands” and “German lands” to master the craft of aroma soaps.⁵⁰ Svetozar Godjevac, son of Ranko Godjevac, completed trade school in Ljubljana.⁵¹ Son of the manufacturer of chocolate and confectionery Kosta Shonda – Aleksandar also received solid education. He graduated in Brounschweig, Germany, in the period 1897-1899, and after that took specialization in different places in Switzerland and Germany, to study the “sugar industry” and master the craft on site.⁵² Michail

⁴⁶ Костић, М., *Успон Београда 1...*, pp. 45–46.

⁴⁷ “Некролог Сотир К. Илић”, *Београдске општинске новине*, број 4, година 53, 1935, р. 282; М. Момчиловић, “Власотинце поносно на Владу Илића”, *Politika*, <http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Drustvo/Vlasotince-ponosno-na-Vladu-Ilica.lt.html> (06.06.2011, 11:30) and Костић, М., *Успон Београда 2...*, р. 128.

⁴⁸ More in Grgašević, Jaša, *Industrija Srbije i Crne Gore*, Zagreb, 1924, pp. 36–37 and Костић, М., *Успон Београда 2...*, pp. 128–130.

⁴⁹ Јоксимовић, Ч. М., *Српски...*, pp. 14, 37–46; Јоксимовић, Ч. М., *Наша текстилна радиност*, књ. II, Београд, 1933, pp. 8–11.

⁵⁰ AS, MNE, 1906, ТФ V – 2.

⁵¹ „Гођевац Светозар”, *Народна енциклопедија српско-хрватско-словеначка*, књига 1, приредно Станоје Станојевић, репринт Нови Сад 2001, стр. 492.

⁵² SA, MNE, 1906, ТФ XV – 93.

Kosovlyanin, son of Jagodina brewer Jovan Kosovlyanin, studied in Bohemia the details of beer production.⁵³

As a rule, people from the second group enter quite soon in business, right after graduating their special education, i.e. between the age of 20 and 30 years and manage to take control of the company in a short period of time. Here we have lots of examples too. Thus, Sotir K. Ilich takes active part in the activities of his father's factory as far back as in the 1890s. Together with one of the older partners in "Popovich, Ilich and Co.", he was the person responsible for the research and delivery of machines for the united textile company in Leskovac.⁵⁴ Already as adult, he headed the factory for processing of linen and hemp in the southern Serbian town, first as deputy-chair of the Management Board 1911-1912, and from 1912 onwards – as chair.⁵⁵ Similar is the case with Sv. Godjevac, who actively helped his father's work from the late 1880s and after 1892 he managed the expanded and renovated factory named "R. Godjevac Brothers". Ignat Y. Bajloni headed part of the family business (the brewery factory) at the age of 21, and when he became 26 he took control of the whole family industry. M. Kosovlyanin took the management of his father's brewery in the late 1880s, right after he came back from abroad.⁵⁶ Brothers Adolf and Julius Minch were included in the family business in the beginning of XX century, when they were under 30. Julius was given the development of the mine near Rtanj.⁵⁷ Gli-gorije Jankovich – son took his father's soap factory, right after he came back from abroad and developed it.⁵⁸

It is almost a rule right after heading some business to start modernization and expansion of the company. Sv. Godjevac modernized and renewed his father's factory in the early 90s of XIX century and turned it to one of the biggest companies in Serbia for the time before the Balkan wars.⁵⁹ M. Kosovlyanin, mentioned above, started mechanization and modernization of beer production in his father's factory

⁵³ Palairret, M., *The influence...*, p. 362.

⁵⁴ Јоксимовић, Ч. М., Српски..., pp. 11–13.

⁵⁵ Document № 137 Извештај Управног одбора Првог Лесковачког Акционарског Друштва за прераду кудеље и лана, поднесен VII редовној скупштини акционара на дан 24 фебруара 1911 год., № 138 Извештај Управног одбора Првог Лесковачког Акционарског Друштва за прераду кудеље и лана, поднесен VIII редовној скупштини акционара на дан 8 априла 1912 год., № 139 Извештај Управног одбора Првог Лесковачког Акционарског Друштва за прераду кудеље и лана, поднесен IX редовном збору акционара, 5 мај 1913 год., In: Димитријевић, С., *Почеци...*, p. 420 and following.

⁵⁶ Palairret, M., *The influence...*, p. 362.

⁵⁷ Рафаиловић, Александар, "Минх, Адолф, власник рудника", In: *Знаменити јевреји Србије: Биографски лексикон*, уред. Гаон, Ал., Београд, 2011, pp. 155–156; Рафаиловић, Александар, "Минх, Јулијус, власник рудника, текстилни индустријалац", In: *Знаменити јевреји Србије: Биографски лексикон*, уред. Гаон, Ал., Београд 2011, pp. 156–157.

⁵⁸ Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, pp. 359–360, Ђунисијевић, Р. В., *Оснивање...*, pp. 138–139.

⁵⁹ Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, pp. 335–342.

almost right after he came back to Serbia.⁶⁰ Vada Ilich and his brothers Blagoje, Milan and Sotir not only expanded their father's companies, but in 1906 started the formation of textile concern "Kosta Ilich & Sons". Partners of old Ilich did not like this, but had nothing to do against the energy of the young Ilich brothers.⁶¹ The son of Antonije Popovich, Milan, obviously also inherited some of the entrepreneurial abilities of his father since he managed to establish and develop one of the modern textile factories in Leskovac, in cooperation with some of his father's partners. For a definite period of time after his father's death in 1896 young Popovich worked at "Popovich, Ilich & Co.", but in 1904 he came out of the partnership. Together with Glirogije Jovanovich, another founder of the first factories in Leskovac, Mika Stamenkovich and Gligorije Kostich, merchants from the same town, established a company and bought up the machines and premises of another representative of the circle Popovich-Ilich, Mihaylo Jankovich. The new factory was named "Yovanovich-Popovich" and turned into one of the most modern equipped textile enterprises in Leskovac.⁶² The sons of Jovan Apel, brewer from Nish, also tried to modernize their father's company, but their efforts gave results hardly in 1912 when they turned the company into a joint-stock company with solid share capital, a greater part of which was spent exactly for modernization of the production capacity.⁶³

Obviously, there is no lack of entrepreneurs in Serbia. Moreover, the successful ones are not only "import".⁶⁴ Ilich, Teokarevich, Godjevac families can easily compete with Bajloni, Vajfert, Minch on the industrial field. The advantage of foreigners, representatives of the first wave of entrepreneurs seems to be mostly because of the higher educational level and respectively the broader vision of the world. This difference or slowing down was quickly passed and the second group of entrepreneurs was far more homogeneous in every respect, including education. And in the field of industrial ventures age not seemed to be a vice – however in this case youth was not a vice.

⁶⁰ Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, p. 280–282.

⁶¹ The beginning of this concern started with the acquisition of the former textile factory of Evgeni Michel and Karl Wolf in 1906 by the newly established company «Kosta Ilich and Sons» of the former textile factory of Evgeni Michel and Karl Wolf, accompanied by transfer of the concession rights used by this factory. There followed a lively exchange of letters between the Ilich partners in Leskovac, who felt cheated and betrayed, MNE, which has to decide whether the act of purchasing the factory of E. Michel was moral or not and the representatives of Ilich family themselves (particularly old Kosta Ilich), who give their explanations before the ministry, see AS, MNE, 1907, ТФ 38 – 3; AS, MNE, 1907, ТФ 38 – 10, see also Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, pp. 228–234.

⁶² Јоксимовић, Ч. М., *Српски...*, pp. 13, 17, 29–36, Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, pp. 238–240.

⁶³ Вучо, Н., *Развој...*, p. 283.

⁶⁴ Based on the data gathered in Appendix 1, it is hard to accept M. Palariet's statement that the first generation of industrial entrepreneurs in Serbia, those who imported new products and manufactures, were mainly immigrants and people of non-Serbian origin. And that the most significant and continuing industrial ventures before 1900 were started by entrepreneurs-immigrants with German or Czech origin, see Паларе, М., *Балканските...*, p. 346. It is true that some of the most successful examples are exactly like that, but they are far from fully covering the characteristics of the Serbian industrialist.

The young educated people were entrusted to manage a greater part of the factories and they were doing more than well. No fundamental difference between Serbs and foreigner can be found here. The able and the cognizant were given an opportunity to realized their potential. Openness towards the world leads to higher technologicalization and demand for cutting edge methods and production machines.

Finally, the big question which should be raised is not why Serbia didn't become in industrial state, but why successful examples remained isolated phenomena? And there are successful examples for successful ventures, and there are even initial stages of industrialization of some settlements, which to some extent is controversial to the main thesis of M. Palairret for the generally unsuccessful economic development of the Balkan national countries after 1878.⁶⁵ Part of these examples definitely demonstrate the advantages of a national economy and industry. To a certain extend the British historian provided explanation why the successful examples remained more as an exclusion and this answer is seriously grounded in the part concerning domination of the political aspect, in general, over the economic pragmatism and partially the corruption environment, existing in Serbia and the other Balkan countries.⁶⁶ However, there is a wide scope of reflection in many terms regarding the other possible explanations such as the influence of entrepreneurs on economic processes; technical equipment and updating machinery in enterprises; the relation state – industry outside the quite problematic protective legislation, etc. Each one of these aspects could be and should be object of special study. The best way to reveal the specific characteristics of the Balkan industrial landscape and development, however, is the comparative analysis of two (or more) economies and their resemblances and differences, and on these ground to outline the typical Balkan problems against the more general problems and advantages of the undeveloped ones.

⁶⁵ Паларе, М., *Балканските...*, pp. 381–392.

⁶⁶ Паларе, М., *Балканските...*, pp. 349–359, 381–392.

Appendix 1 (Social profile of Serbian industrialists /late XIX – early XX century/)

Name	City	Industry	Capital invested	Plants equipment by origin	No. of employees	Starting date of plant's production	Nationality	Education	Children	Children's education	Activities before industrial plant starting	Other economic activities
A. Blaz	Nish	construction materials				1902	?					
August Shene	Paraćin	foods and beverages			34	1903	German ?					
Adam Sigmund	Belgrade	machine constructing	1 250 000			1890	from Novi Sad					
Adolf Minch (1880-1941)	Paraćin	textile	127 000	Germany	518	1880	Czech (Jew)	Secondary high school at Prague, Trade academy in Vienna				Rljanj mine
Alexa Obradovich	Belgrade	paper industry			22	1899	Serbian					textile industry
Alexa Cvetkovich	Nish	foods and beverages		Germany	18	1897	Serbian					
Aleksandar Naydanovich	Zaječar	flour mill				1879	Serbian					
Alfred Hake	Belgrade	sugar			250	1901	From Magdeburg	Engineering			engineer	
Andželkovich	Belgrade	textile				1900-1902	Serbian					Salesman
Andre Nikolich	Obrenovac	timber				1908	Serbian					
Anton I. Bajloni	Belgrade	flour mill		Germany			Czech					
Antonije Popovich (?-1896)	Leskovac	textile	150 000	Bulgaria ?	140	1885	Serbian		Milan, Miko & Petar A. Popovich			Salesman

Aca Popovich	Belgrade	flour mill				22	1908	Serbian						industry
Bertold Minch	Paraćin	textile	127 000	Germany	518	1880	Czech (Jew)					undertaking in Trieste, Moravia		
Božidar Jelichich	Brus	timber			80-85	1902	Serbian							Salesman
Bozho Živkovich	Belgrade	textile		England	39	1895	Serbian							Salesman
Branko Jevremovich	Smederevo	construction materials			38	1896	Serbian							
Browns Brothers	Smederevo	foods and beverages			16	1907								
V. Bader	Belgrade	soap production			12	1895	?							
Venceslav I. Bajloni (1853-1922)	Belgrade	flour mill		Germany			Czech							
Vitomir Simich	Belgrade	soap production	100 000		10	1907	Serbian							
Vlada K. Ilich (1882-1952)	Leskovac	textile		Germany			Serbian		Technical school at Aachen, Germany					
Vladimir Dimitrievich	Belgrade	furniery			18	1897	Serbian							Salesman
Vladimir Boshkovich	Belgrade	paper industry			22	1899	Serbian							lawyer
Gligorje Jovanovich	Leskovac	textile	197 000		50	1907	Serbian							industry
Gligorje Jankovich	Krushevac	soap production			24	1903	Serbian					business school in Vienna, practical work at plants in Moravia	Gligorje Jankovich-son	

Gligorije Jankovitch-son	Krushevac	soap production			24	1903	Serbian	Business school – Vienna, practical work at plants in Moravia				hand-craftsman
Glisha Josipovich	Belgrade	metalworking			10	1906	Serbian					hand-craftsman
Gorcha Kostich	Leskovac	textile	200 000		50	1907	Serbian					
Jovani Forzarili	Belgrade	foods and beverages			48	1904	Italian					
George (Dzhoka) Stanojevich	Belgrade	electricity		Germany		1902	Serbian				Professor at physics at the University of Belgrade	
George Vajfert (1850-1937)	Belgrade	brewery		Germany	20-22	1873	German	Business school – Budapest, Agrarian school – Munich				Kostolac and Bor mines, Serbian National Bank
George Vaskich	Belgrade	foods and beverages			38	1897						
Dimitie (Mito) Teokarevich (1850-1931)	Leskovac	textile	150 000	Bulgaria ?	140	1885	Serbian	Local school at Leskovac		Vladimir, Lazar, Svetislav		
Dimitrie M. Dzhorich	Belgrade	dye production			15	1896-	Serbian					
Dr. Jovan Dzurich	Belgrade	ceramics			20	1898-	Serbian					
Eugenij Michel	Belgrade	textile	200 000	France, Austria, Germany	48	1898	German?					Salesman
Eduard Libman	Paracin	foods and beverages	1 500 000		48	1909	Englishman					

Erzemi (Erazmo) Mario	Lapovo	textile			12	1892-1899	Italian						
Jan Van der Kerkov	Belgrade	matches	150,000			1888-1902	Belgian						
Zhivko Stojlkovich	Nish	metalworking			22	1908	Serbian					Salesman	
Jil Lutfi	Radujevac	meat processing				1901	Frenchman						
Zaharie Popovich	Belgrade	foods and beverages			12	1889	Serbian					Salesman, Belgrade	
Ignat Bajloni (1811-1875)	Belgrade	furriery		Germany			Czech		Jacov, Anton, Venceslav (Vasa), Jovan				
Ignat J. Bajloni (1876-1935)	Belgrade	brewery			25	1883	Czech		Business school at Belgrade and courses in Austria				Governor of Yugoslavian bank
Iliya Licikas	Kraguevac	foods and beverages	60 000		42	1897	Serbian						Enterprise for canned fruits and vegetables
Juliu Bozrtovac	Nish	ceramics			15	1895-1908	Serbian?						
Juliu Minch (1873-1931)	Paracin	textile	127 000	Germany	518	1880-1904	Czech (Jew)						
Julius Goldschmidt	Belgrade	sugar			250	1901	from Ludwigshafen					Banker	
Julius Schmidt	Valevo	electricity	180 000			1902	German?						
Jacov I. Bajloni (1835-1902)	Belgrade	flour mill		Germany	35	1883	Czech						Hotel

Janosh Forjarili	Belgrade	foods and beverages				12	1904	Italian						
Jovan Apel (?-1907)	Nish	brewery					1884	from Austro-Hungary	Josif, Hubert					
Jovan Barlovac	Belgrade	furniry					1887	Serbian						
Jovan Gligorovich	Rpanj	constraction materials				45	1882-	Serbian						Industry and drugstore
Jovan Dzhurich	Belgrade	furniry	300,000			65	1902	Serbian						
Jovan Erh	Belgrade	foods and beverages					1889	?						
Jovan Jovanovich	Vranje	textile				60	1903	Serbian						
Jovan Pordarini	Belgrade	foods and beverages				28	1904	Italian						
Jozef Schumpeter		textile	127 000	Germany		519	1880-1904	German					undertaking in Trieste, Moravia	
Josif Apel (1872-1927)	Nish	brewery					1884	Serbian						
Josif Trebinyac	Bajina Basia	metalworking				12	1907	Serbian						hand-craftsman
Josif Finy	Vajjevo	electricity	100 000				1898	Englishman	Engineering				mine engineer	
Karl Wolf	Belgrade	textile	200 000	France, Austria, Germany		48	1898	German ?						Industry
Karl Schumpeter	Paracin	textile	127 000	Germany		518	1880-1904	German					undertaking in Trieste, Moravia	

Kosta Ilich (1832-1911)	Leskovac	textile	150 000	Bulgaria ?	140	1888	Serbian	Sons - Vlada, Sotir, Blagoe, Milan, Petar, Mihajlo, daughter - Ey- rosima	Vlada - techni- cal school at Aachen Germany, Sotir - tech- nical school at Ljubljana			
Kosta Jovanovich	Kragujevac	textile				1891	Serbian					
Kosta Shonda	Belgrade	foods and beverages	104,951.22		35	1903	Serbian	Alexander	Ger- many and practical work at chocolate and sugar factories			Salesman
Kristijan Fegeli	Belgrade	comb produc- tion	50,000		25	1903	Swiss					
Lazar Jovanovich	Leskovac	textile	198 000		50	1907	Serbian					
Lazar Jovanovich	Belgrade	metal working			10	1887-	Serbian					
Lazar Jovanovich	Popovac	construction materials	56 000		41	1898	Serbian					Salesman, Belgrade
Lazar Najdanovich	Zajechar	flour mill				1879	Serbian					
Max Wamschenk	Belgrade	sugar			250	1901	from Regensburg				engineer	
Manoil Klidis	Belgrade	furniery				1887	Jew					
Mateja Nenadovich	Vajjevo	electricity	100 000			1898	Serbian				entrepreneur	
Mika Stankovich	Leskovac	textile	199 000		50	1907	Serbian					

Milan A. Popovich	Leskovac	textile	196 000		50	1907	Serbian						
Milan Jechemic	Belgrade	textile			42	1901	Serbian						
Milan Obradovich	Belgrade	textile			21	1893	Serbian						
Milivoje M. Popovich	Paraćin	glass industry	150 000	Serbia - from Nacko Jankovich and Avram Pertonjev- ich	96	1907-	Serbian						Salesman
Milosh Savich	Belgrade	timber	191 435.35		35	1902	Serbian						engineer
Mihail Burich	Belgrade	textile			38	1908	Serbian						
Mihail Nachich	Belgrade	sugar			15	1896	Serbian						
Mihailo Kosovjanin (1862-1925)	Jagodina	brewery			29	1891	Serbian	Schools at Medling and Prague	Jovan, Danica and Jelena				
Mihailo Jankovich	Grdelica, Leskovac	textile	planned 80-100 000 , invested 40 000		25	1897-1904	Serbian						Industry
Misha Atanckovich	Uzice	textile	100 000		105	1899/ начало 1901	Serbian						
Morris Tomas	Belgrade	matches			102	1890	Belgian						
Moshe Avram Maca	Belgrade	textile			14	1894	Serbian (Jew)						
Nacko Jankovich (1829-1898)	Jagodina	glass industry	92,000		95-100	1879-1907	Serbian					Dushan	
Nikola K. Mesarovich	Belgrade	timber				1904	Serbian						

Obren Keserovich	Bajina Bashta	timber	10 000			1907	Serbian				Salesman
Pavle Radosavlevich	Belgrade	timber	25 000	15		1889	Serbian				
Pere Velimirovich	Belgrade	soap production		12		1895	Serbian				
Peter Jozef Klefish	Jagodina	meat processing	30 000	50		1902	Italian	Teodor			Salesman
Petar K. Ilich	Leskovac	textile			Germany		Serbian				
Petar Palich	Belgrade	metal working		30		1906	Serbian				
Petar Perich	Rekovac	foods and beverages		18		1906	Serbian				
Pinkas Stein	Belgrade	metal working		24		1898	Serbian				
Rab	Jagodina	foods and beverages		18		1903	from Duisburg				
Radomir Tomich	Belgrade	metal working					Serbian	Machine engineer			
Ranko Godzhevac (1820?-1905)	Belgrade	metal working		50		1889-	Serbian	Jovan, Jevrem, Milosh, Vladimir, Svetozar, Dragutin	Svetozar – business school, Ljubljana		Salesman
Salliyah Arziyani	Belgrade	textile	75 000	35		1900	Foreigner?				Salesman
Samuil Minth (?-1919)	Paraćin	textile	127 000	518	Germany	1880-1904	Czech (Jew)	Juliu, Adolf, Alexander		undertaking in Trieste, Moravia	Aleksinac, Chichevac, Rtañj mining
Svetislav Tutumovich	Belgrade	foods and beverages		12		1889	Serbian				salesman, Nish

Svetozar Vojkovich	Belgrade	timber	191 435.35		35	1902	Serbian					занимљива
Svetozar Godzhevac (1863-1940)	Belgrade	metalworking			50	1889-	Serbian		Business school, Ljubljana			
Svetozar Nikolich	Belgrade	textile	76 840		56	1902	Serbian					«Shtam-pat»
Svetozar Popovich	Valevo	electricity	100 000			1898	Serbian				Salesman	
Simo Obradovich	Belgrade	dye production			25	1896	Serbian					
Solomon Baruh	Belgrade	timber	100 000		50	1906	Serbian (Jew)					
Sotir K. Hlich (1872-1935)	Leskovac	textile		Germany			Serbian	Technical school at Ljubljana				
Stevan Kren (1864-1919)	Chachak	brewery		«from Vienna»		1885	Serbian	Brewery schools at Ausha, Ljotomec and Medling	Sophia, Ljubica, Pavlija, Dushan, Zorka, Franciska, Emilia			Hotel owner
Stevan Nenadovich	Belgrade	machine constructing	1 250 000			1890	from Karlovac					
Stefan Boyadzhiev (1850-1920)	Leskovac	textile	150 000	Bulgaria ?	140	1885	Bulgarian	Second class at Karlovo school			Brader	Rose oil in Bulgaria
Tanasije Ristic	Belgrade	metalworking			30	1906	Serbian					
Urosh Miloshevich	Zajechar	foods and beverages			38	1906	Serbian					
Farkich	Belgrade	textile				1900-1902	Serbian					Salesman

Ferdinand Kren (1825-1894)	Chachak	brewery			«from Vienna»		1885	Serbian	license for pinter?	Stevan, Katarina, Jelena	Stevan – brewery schools at Au-sha, Liotomerec, Medling	pinter, Salesman	spirits
Friedrich Fiala	Kragujevac	furnery					1888	Czech		Fridrich, Visheslav			
H. Finer	Belgrade	paper industry	1,200,000	19			1901	German					
Hector Zhonio	Belgrade	matches	150,000					Belgian				Engineer	
Christian Penders	Jagodina	foods and beverages		18			1903	from Duisburg					
Hubert Apel	Nish	brewery					1884	Serbian					
Chedomir Aleksich	Belgrade	furnery		18			1897	Serbian					Salesman

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Резиме

Др Христо Беров

Социјални профил индустријалаца и привредника у Краљевини Србији крајем 19. и почетком 20. века

Посебан тренутак у развоју и значајан аргумент за неразвијеност балканских привреда крајем 19. и почетком 20. века био је ниво индустријализације. О индустријализацији треба истаћи да постоје различитости међу државама и да је свака држава током развоја индустрије имала своје специфичности и свој пут. Један од фактора индустријализације представљају и привредне елите што је и тема расправе. У раду су анализиране главне фигуре индустријског живота, као и социјални профил српских индустријалаца до Првог светског рата. Закључак јесте да је у Краљевини Србији постојало довољно предузетника, како домаћих тако и странаца, без значајних разлика међу њима. Породице попут Илића, Теокаревића, Гођевца биле су једнаке и конкурентне са Бајлонијем, Вајфертом и Минхом. Предност странаца је постојала само у првој деценији због вишег нивоа образовања и респективно шире визије света. Ова разлика се успорила а убрзо је приспела и друга генерација хомогенијих и образованијих привредника.

Кључне речи: Балкан, Краљевина Србија, индустријализација, српски индустријалци, социјални профил