

STRUCTURE OF FIREARM
HOLDERS IN THE TUZLA
CIRCLE IN 1904

Abstract

When Austria-Hungary occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina, it brought many social and cultural changes. One of them was suppressing the widespread culture of holding and carrying arms that existed in Ottoman Bosnia. Holding arms was still possible but under strict control. Firearm holders were, therefore, a very tiny, privileged group inside society. In this paper, we analyze the ethnic/religious and social structure of this group in the case of the Tuzla Circle in 1904. How large was this group? Were there differences along ethnic and social lines in terms of firearm holding rates? These are the key questions we are seeking answers to in this paper, with an aim to get the first insight into the broader picture of firearm holding in the entire province under the Monarchy's control.

Keywords

firearms, civilians, demography,
Tuzla Circle, Bosnia and Herzegovina,
Austria-Hungary

STRUKTURA POSJEDNIKA
VATRENOG ORUŽJA U
OKRUGU TUZLA 1904.
GODINE

Apstrakt

Kada je Austro-Ugarska okupirala Bosnu i Hercegovinu, donijela je mnoge socijalne i kulturne promjene. Jedna od njih je suzbijanje široko rasprostranjene kulture držanja i nošenja oružja koja je postojala u osmanskoj Bosni. Držanje oružja i dalje je bilo dozvoljeno, ali pod strogom vladinom kontrolom. Oni koji su legalno držali oružje bili su jedna mala, privilegovana grupa unutar društva. U ovom radu analiziramo vjersko-etničku i socijalnu strukturu ove grupe na primjeru Okružne oblasti Donja Tuzla u 1904. godini. Kolika je bila ova grupa? Da li su postojale razlike u stepenu držanja oružja duž etničkih i socijalnih linija? Ovo su ključna pitanja na koja tražimo odgovore u ovom radu, s ciljem sticanja prvih uvida u cjelokupnu sliku držanja oružja u Bosni i Hercegovini pod kontrolom Monarhije.

Ključne riječi

oružje, civili, stanovništvo, Tuzlanski
okrug, Bosna i Hercegovina,
Austro-Ugarska

For many foreign travelers and reporters, Ottoman Bosnia was an unknown and, in a certain colonialist and orientalist discourse, exotic and untamed land. Out of plenty of phenomena noticed by foreigners traveling through this land during its last decades of Ottoman rule, we come across many descriptions of the holding and carrying of weapons by the local civilian population. We do not have accurate Ottoman data on the number of civilians who held weapons in a specific period, so we have to rely on travelogue and chronicle reports, both domestic and foreign – and many of them talk about the wide keeping and/or bearing of weapons, or about the gun culture in general.¹ However, we can only guess how widespread it was indeed. According to an estimate by Gustav Thoemmel, a good connoisseur of the situation in Bosnia, from May 1878, about 100,000 people owned weapons.²

Nevertheless, with the arrival of the new authorities in the summer and early fall of 1878, this situation in Bosnia began to change. Even during the military campaign, the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina was called to hand over their weapons, and similar calls came after the armed resistance was defeated.³ The population responded to calls to surrender weapons, although not entirely, which is confirmed by the very fact that such calls were repeated several times, as some of them decided to hide their weapons,⁴ making illegal possession of firearms a fact, and the fact known to the authorities.⁵ Eventually, however, the Austro-Hungarian authorities succeeded in disarming the local population to a significant extent, simultaneously beginning to gradually build a legal framework for this issue. Through a series of legal measures, the Land Government strictly regulated the civilian keeping and bearing of weapons.⁶ Official statistics show a very small number of registered weapons and registered owners. Although there is no doubt about a certain number of illegal gun owners - we cannot speculate on the exact figures at this time - it could be said that the gun control policy has been successful from the point of view of the Land Government. For example, in 1892, there were only 2111 registered owners in the Sarajevo Circle,⁷ 1690 in Tuzla,⁸ 912 in Mostar,⁹ and 834 in Bihać.¹⁰ Together with two other circles, for which

- 1 Omer Hadžiselimović, *Na vratima Istoka: Engleski putnici o Bosni i Hercegovini od 16. do 20. vijeka*, Sarajevo, 1989, pp. 71, 135, 358; James Creagh, *Over the borders of Christendom and Eslamiah. A Journey through Hungary, Slavonia, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Montenegro, to the North of Albania*, vol II, London, 1876, pp. 67, 69.
- 2 AT-OeStA/KA AhOB MKSM SR 28/3a, p. 41-42; Berislav Gavranović, *Bosna i Hercegovina u doba austrougarske okupacije 1878. godine*, Sarajevo, 1973, 124.
- 3 *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Hercegovina erlassenen Gesetzen, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen*, Band I, Wien, 1880, pp. 379, 388-390, 394.
- 4 Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Izabrana djela IV: prilozi za političku istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine u XVIII i XIX stoljeću*, Sarajevo, 1991, 120; *Die Occupation Bosniens und der Hercegovina durch k. k. Truppen im Jahre 1878*, 1879, 725.
- 5 *Geschichte der Sicherheitstruppen und der öffentlichen Sicherheit in Bosnien und der Hercegowina 1878-1898*, 1898, 22.
- 6 *Sammlung*, 1880, 397.; *Sammlung*, 1880, 411; *Sbornik zakona i naredaba za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Godina 1881*, Sarajevo, 1881, 512-513; *Sbornik zakona i naredaba za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Godina 1882*, Sarajevo 1882, 35-38; *Zbornik zakona i naredaba za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Godina 1884*, Sarajevo, 1884, 79-80; *Zbornik zakona i naredaba za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Godina 1885*, Sarajevo, 1885, 385-389.
- 7 Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (hereinafter: ABH), Zemaljska vlada Sarajevo (hereinafter: ZVS), Opšta građa, 1904, kutija 19, 19-219/15, *Waffenpass-Register Protocol pro Jahr 1904*, 75.
- 8 ABH, ZVS, Opšta građa 1904, kutija 20, 19-220/17, *Nominal Ausweis über erteilte Waffenpässe im Kreise D. Tuzla pro 1904*, 75.
- 9 ABH, ZVS, Opšta građa, 1904, kutija 19, 19-218/18, *Summar Ausweis resp. Recapitulation über die im Kreisbereiche Mostar pro 1904 erteilten Waffenpässe*, 3.
- 10 ABH, ZVS, Opšta građa, 1904, kutija 19, 19-217/12, *Aussweis über die beweiligten Waffenpässe*

data were not available, it was still more than ten times less than what Thoemmel estimated right before the occupation.

In this paper, we are going to analyze the available data on registered gun owners for the area of Tuzla district in the example of 1904 – which we have chosen for the complete data available for this year – with the aim of obtaining the first insights into a broader picture of firearm holding in the entire province under Austro-Hungarian rule.

General demographics of the Tuzla Circle

Since the demographics of the Circle are important reference points, we shall start with them. The closest census data for our chosen year are those from 1895 and 1910. More useful is the 1895 census, since it provides the data more applicable for our purpose. More precisely, it provides the number of foreigners by districts, which is important for our analysis.

Evidently, the difference between the two dates is significant. The fifteen-year gap between the two censuses resulted from the intention of the government to fit the census in Bosnia and Herzegovina to an international schedule (usually at the beginning of a decade).¹¹ In 1895, the northeastern circle of Bosnia had 358,990 citizens. By the 1910 census, the Circle had 425,496 citizens, which makes a difference of 66,506 – too large to be ignored. Out of that number, 57,528 citizens came from natural growth and 8,978 from migrations.¹² Considering the time distance between the two censuses, this would mean that the average annual population growth in the Circle was around 4,433, regardless of the cause. However, every district, and every ethnicity or religious group in them, had its own growth rate, which varied in total from 10.85% in Gračanica up to 24.07% in Vlasenica, as can be seen in Table 1. Following the linear growth, the projected number of citizens in the Circle in 1904 would be around 398,894. In the same way, we were able to make projections for the population numbers in each district, as well as for each of the ethnicities/religious groups in them. By comparing the data from the two censuses, dividing the difference by the number of years between the two censuses, and then adding the average annual growth for each year up until 1904, we came to the projected number of citizens in 1904.

Naturally, linear growth is hard to expect, almost impossible in real-time, but it gives us a glance at the population number in 1904, which has to be much closer to the reality than the numbers from the 1895 census or the one from 1910. Unfortunately, this couldn't be done for the foreigners, since the 1910 census does not provide the exact number of foreigners. Speaking of foreigners, it is important to note that officially foreign citizens were those with Austrian, Hungarian, or third-country citizenship; in other words, citizenship other than Bosnian *Landesangehörigkeit*.¹³ However, some citizens of foreign origin had indeed Bosnian citizenship, which legally made the 'Bosnians' in one way, not foreigners. It is best seen in the 1910 census when Tuzla Circle

und Waffen in den Jahren 1892 und 1904.

¹¹ *Izveštaj o upravi Bosne i Hercegovine 1906*, Zagreb, 1906, 7.

¹² *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina vom 10. Oktober 1910.*, Sarajevo, 1912, XVIII.

¹³ Mustafa Imamović, *Pravni položaj i unutrašjo-politički razvitak Bosne i Hercegovine od 1878. do 1914.*, Sarajevo, 2007, 26.

had 411,519 citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but 414,260 citizens with Serbo-Croatian as a native language.¹⁴ The difference falls between immigrated Serbs and Croats. At the same time, there were citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina with native languages that certainly came due to immigration, such as German (134), Hungarian (40), Czech (19), Polish (10), Ruthenian (5), Slovenian (4), Italian (6), Russian (1). Simultaneously, Serbo-Croatian was a native language for 632 citizens of Austria, 4015 citizens of Hungary, and 511 citizens of third countries in the Tuzla Circle.¹⁵ These important differences between citizenship and native language were caused by the immigration of foreign citizens to Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian rule, with some of them becoming citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina itself. However, in this article, foreigners are understood as citizens of foreign, non-Bosnian origin, regardless of their legal status. Such understanding of the word is necessary for the comparison of native Bosnian ethnicities/religious groups between them.

District	1895	1910	Growth	District	1895	1910	Growth
Bijeljina	47468	58002	22,19%	Maglaj	25028	29569	18,14%
Brčko	49182	57788	17,50%	Srebrenica	27831	31235	12,23%
Gračanica	28776	31898	10,85%	Tuzla	58028	69882	20,43%
Gradačac	49369	57283	16,03%	Vlasenica	24927	30928	24,07%
Kladanj	9395	11215	19,37%	Zvornik	38986	47756	22,50%
In total	358990	425556	18,54%				

Table 1. Population growth rate, 1895-1910¹⁶

Using the methodology described above, we have got some data for 1904 to work with. Understandably, the data does not have to be precisely correct, since the linear growth is almost impossible to expect in real-time, as stated above. Other historical social factors, migrations in particular, especially the emigration of Muslims after the 1908 annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, were not included in the calculation, since the exact data are simply not known. However, again, these projected numbers had to be closer to the real number of citizens in 1904 than those from the 1895 or 1910 census. Therefore, we have these numbers.

Year	Muslims		Orthodox		Catholics		Jews		Total*
1895	155780	43,39%	150814	42,01%	49080	13,67%	1390	0,39%	358990
1904	168901	42,34%	170253	42,68%	55710	13,97%	1526	0,38%	398894
1910	177649	41,75%	183213	43,06%	60130	14,13%	1616	0,38%	425496
Difference	21869		32399		11050		226		66506
Ann. avg	1457,933		2159,933		736,667		15,067		4433,733
Growth %	14,04%		21,48%		22,51%		16,26%		18,53%

Table 2. Projected population number in the Tuzla Circle in 1904, by ethnic/religious groups.¹⁷

* Including others.

14 Die Ergebnisse, XLIX-LI.

15 Die Ergebnisse, LI-LIII.

16 Data from: *Glavni rezultati popisa žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 22. aprila 1895.*, Sarajevo, 1896, 280-385; *Die Ergebnisse*, 72-145. Calculated by author.

17 Data from: *Glavni rezultati*, 280-385; *Die Ergebnisse*, 72-145. Calculated by author.

As can be seen from the table above, the average growth in the Tuzla Circle between the two censuses was 18.53%, with two Christian denominations above the average, and Muslims and Jews below it. The growth of Muslims was the slowest, particularly because of the emigration, but also because of the lowest rate of natural increase.¹⁸ Such growth rate in total caused a major change in the demographic picture of the Tuzla Circle (as well as in the entire province) – the Eastern Orthodox Christians became the most populous group. The data shows that the projected population number in 1904 was already slightly in favor of the Orthodox Christians compared to Muslims, although this change was more likely to happen somewhere around the annexation. Regardless of this, we can be sure that in 1904 the two largest communities were approximately equal, which is important for our analysis of the firearms holding. It is also important to remember that the numbers of Roman Catholics in the census data include not only natives but also foreigners of the same faith who settled in Bosnia during the Habsburg rule.

District	Muslims		Orthodox		Catholics		Jews		In total*
Bijeljina	12888	23,96%	37351	69,44%	1662	3,09%	396	0,74%	53788
Brčko	15370	28,28%	17562	32,32%	21066	38,76%	195	0,36%	54346
Gračanica	17947	58,56%	12381	40,40%	225	0,74%	86	0,28%	30649
Gradačac	17922	33,12%	19500	36,03%	16578	30,63%	87	0,16%	54117
Kladanj	6331	60,37%	3150	30,04%	927	8,84%	76	0,72%	10487
Maglaj	11088	39,95%	14686	52,92%	1936	6,97%	34	0,12%	27753
Srebrenica	15044	50,36%	14626	48,96%	177	0,59%	18	0,06%	29873
Tuzla	43046	66,12%	8654	13,29%	12731	19,55%	393	0,60%	65104
Vlasenica	9574	33,56%	18390	64,46%	169	0,59%	69	0,24%	28528
Zvornik	19691	44,50%	23952	54,13%	239	0,54%	166	0,37%	44248
In total	168901	42,34%	170252	42,68%	55710	13,97%	1520	0,38%	398894

Table 3. Projected number of population in 1904 by districts and per religious affiliation. * - Including others.

In other words, the official censuses don't provide data precise enough for our purposes. More specifically, they don't give us numbers of native and foreign citizens by religious affiliation. As it is well known, the period of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina was marked by significant migrations, both in and out of the province. In 1910, the administration recorded 114591 immigrants,¹⁹ while Pejanović speculates that up to 200000 foreigners migrated to Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1879 and 1910, suggesting that Austria-Hungary tended to hide the exact numbers of both immigrants and emigrants primarily due to political reasons.²⁰ However, we have to work with the data we have, and since we need more specific data for some issues, we have to make calculations.

The methodology described above projected us some 55710 Roman Catholics in the Tuzla Circle. However, we know that not all of them were native Bosnian Roman Catholics. Without any doubt, Roman Catholics were the most numerous immigrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Đaković states that 14580 Roman Catholics migrated to

18 Luka Đaković, *Političke organizacije bosanskohercegovačkih katolika Hrvata (I. dio: Do otvaranja Sabora 1910.)*, Zagreb, 1985, 25.

19 L. Đaković, *Političke organizacije*, 26.

20 Đorđe Pejanović, *Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine*, Beograd, 1955, 42.

the province between 1885 and 1910, suggesting that the number had to be higher as the administration hadn't counted their children born in Bosnia.²¹ Naturally, Catholics had to be the most numerous immigrants as the significant majority of the population in both states of the Monarchy were of that faith. To highlight it better, Đaković refers to the Hungarian statistics from 1910, which says that Roman Catholics comprised 73.61% of all Hungarian citizens who migrated to Bosnia and Herzegovina.²² Apart from Hungarians, Germans, Czechs, Poles, Italians, Croats, and Slovenians were also predominantly Catholic peoples. Therefore, we had to distinguish these foreign Catholics from native ones.

One way to get closer to the real number of native Catholics in the Tuzla Circle is by using the annual rate of natural increase (RNI). For the entire province under Austro-Hungarian rule, the rate was around 1,6%.²³ When we start from the 1879 census data and use that rate to project population numbers, we can see that natural increase would result in more Muslims, and fewer Catholics and Jews than they actually were, with Orthodox Christians being somewhat equal. It means that migrations had a negative influence on the number of Muslims and a positive influence on the number of Catholics and Jews. Surely, it is already known, but it is worth mentioning here, as it is important for our work.

Now, to calculate the approximate number of native Roman Catholics in 1904, we can use two ways. First, we could use the 1879 census data,²⁴ when almost all of the Catholics were native Bosnian, and then raise it by 1,6% for every year. Accordingly, some 39076 native Roman Catholics lived in the Tuzla Circle by 1895. Another way to calculate the approximate number is the following. In 1895, according to the census, there were 49080 Roman Catholics in the Circle.²⁵ Additionally, there were 1796 Evangelical Christians and 121 Christians of other denominations, almost all of them being foreigners.²⁶ Most of these Evangelical Christians (71.83%) – predominantly Calvinist²⁷ – were living in the district of Bijeljina, primarily in their settlement of Franz Josefsfeld. Almost all of them, however, were foreigners.²⁸ Further, the same census stated that there are 10109 foreign citizens in the Circle, most of them being Christians, which sums their total number to 50997. However, there were Jews among these foreigners, too. Now, by the natural growth, by 1895 there would have to be some 470 native Bosnian Jews in the Circle, while the census shows 1390 Jews. It means that roughly one thousand Jews (920) were immigrants, and that number we could take from those 10109 foreigners mentioned above, leaving us with some 9099 foreign Christians, not counting the Eastern Orthodox, of course. Now, subtracting the total number of 50997 Christians for these foreign Christians leaves us with 41898 native Christians, and then subtracting it for the number of Evangelical and other Christians from the census data, we get the approximate number of native Bosnian

21 L. Đaković, *Političke organizacije*, 22.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid, 27.

24 *Ortschafts- und Bevölkerungsstatistik von Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, Sarajevo, 1880, 3-4.

25 Glavni rezultati, LVI-LVII.

26 Đ. Pejanović, *Stanovništvo*, 50.

27 Die Ergebnisse, XXXIX.

28 Glavni rezultati, XXIX-XXX.

Roman Catholics – 39981. Therefore, in both ways, we came to the number of some 39 to 40 thousand native Roman Catholics in 1895, which gives a good ground to our projections. Eventually, when we increase it by 1,6% annually, by 1904 we get some 46120 (or 45077) native Roman Catholics.

Group	1895			1904			1910		
	Census	RNI	Ratio	Project.	RNI	Ratio	Census	RNI	Ratio
Muslims	155780	157805	0.987	168901	182038	0.928	177649	200228	0.887
Orthodox	150814	148582	1.015	170253	171400	0.993	183213	188526	0.972
Catholics	49080	39076	1.256	55710	45077	1.236	60130	49581	1.213
Jews	1390	470	2.957	1526	542	2.815	1616	597	2.707

Table 4. Comparison between census and rate of natural increase.
The ratio shows the approximate effects of migrations.

Statistics of firearms and firearm holders

“We have written more in twenty years than the Turks had in four hundred,”²⁹ said one local administration officer to a British traveler. Whether he was exaggerating or not, the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina indeed kept records on a wide range of issues. Among them were lists of registered arms and their holders, with information on their social standing or profession, place of living, and an arm type they held. These summary lists were made for each circle and each district separately, providing solid ground for recreating the image of gun culture in the province. As shown in Table 4, 2095 citizens had legal and registered arms. Since some of them had more than one arm, there were 2899 registered arms in total in the Tuzla Circle in 1904.

District	Holders	Arms	District	Holders	Arms
Bijeljina	290	336	Srebrenica	160	231
Brčko	196	268	Tuzla (Urban)	145	218
Gračanica	124	151	Tuzla (Rural)	362	584
Gradačac	146	178	Tuzla in total	507	802
Kladanj	192	295	Vlasenica	175	232
Maglaj	64	81	Zvornik	241	325
In total	2095	2899			

Table 5. Number of firearms and their holders, Tuzla Circle, 1904.³⁰

The number of registered holders and their firearms was modest, considering the habits of the Ottoman age when virtually everyone had arms. Only one district had

29 William Miller, *Travels and Politics in the Near East*, New York 1989, 116., O. Hadžiselimović, *Engleski putnici*, 192.

30 Condensed and adjusted table from: ABH, ZVS, Opšta građa, 1904, kutija 20, 19-220/17.

more than 1% of firearm holders in its entire population. When we compare these numbers with those from Table 3, we see that the holding rate varied somewhat significantly among the districts – from 0.23% in Maglaj to 1.83% in Kladanj. However, the district of Kladanj is sort of a deviation here, raising the average number so high leaving all other districts below the average.

District	Holders/pop.	Arms/pop.	District	Holders/pop.	Arms/pop.
Bijeljina	0,54%	0,62%	Maglaj	0,23%	0,29%
Brčko	0,36%	0,49%	Srebrenica	0,54%	0,77%
Gračanica	0,40%	0,49%	Tuzla	0,78%	1,23%
Gradačac	0,27%	0,33%	Vlasenica	0,61%	0,81%
Kladanj	1,83%	2,81%	Zvornik	0,55%	0,73%
<i>Circle total</i>	<i>0,53%</i>	<i>0,73%</i>			

Table 6. Percentage of holders and firearms in population, by districts. Tuzla Circle, 1904.

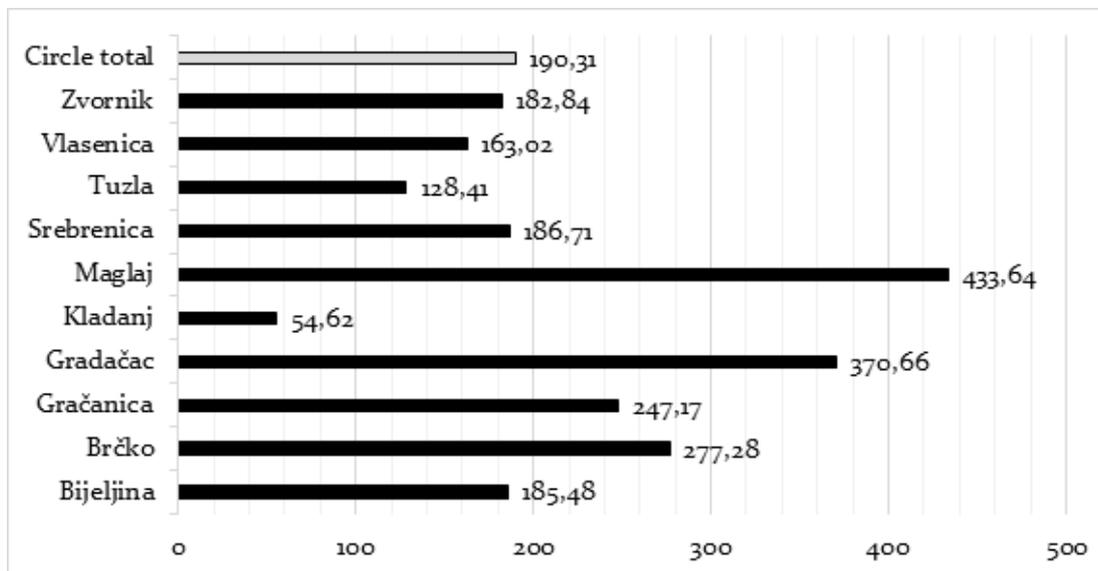


Chart 1. Frequency of firearm holders in population, by districts. Tuzla Circle, 1904.

Since percentages from Table 6 are a little bit tiny, we can put them differently, as shown in Chart 1. The chart shows in how many citizens in each district there was one firearm holder. The firearm holders were most frequent in the district of Kladanj (one in 54.62) and least frequent in the district of Maglaj (one in 433.64). On the level of the entire circle, there was one holder in 190.31 citizens. If we take the median value (one in 186.09), since the average is highly influenced by the deviation in Kladanj, we may see that except for Kladanj, below the median were districts of Zvornik, Vlasenica, Tuzla,³¹ and Bijeljina, with Srebrenica almost on the median level, and other districts being above it. What could be the reason(s) behind this is difficult to say at the moment, but few things come to the forefront at first sight. While Tuzla was the central district of the circle, all others make up the eastern and southern parts of the circle. Apart from geography, we can also easily notice that again except for Tuzla, these dis-

31 The District of Tuzla was split in two – The urban and industrial district of Tuzla, and the rural district of Tuzla in 1897. *Glasnik zakona i naredaba za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Godina 1897.*, Sarajevo, 1897, 45-47. In this paper, we use it both ways, as a single district and as two separate districts, depending on the needs of what we want to analyze.

tricts were predominantly inhabited by Muslims and Eastern Orthodox Christians. As we shall see in the next chapter, these two communities had higher holding rates than Roman Catholics.

Ethnic/religious affiliation of firearm holders

After dealing with the numbers in total, we can proceed with analyzing specific social groups. Since ethnicity and/or religious affiliation was the most important line of division, and both internal and external recognition of Bosnia's society since the 16th century – and remained so during the Austro-Hungarian rule – it's perhaps not bad to start with it.

As shown in Table 3, by 1904. Muslim and Eastern Orthodox communities were approximately equal in number, living throughout the entire Tuzla Circle (Muslims were in no district less than 23% of its population, and Eastern Orthodox Christians had the lowest percentage in Tuzla – 13%), and comprising jointly about 85% of the total population. Roman Catholics, living primarily in northwestern and central parts of the circle, comprised just a little bit less than 14%, leaving the last 1% for the Jews and others. These numbers are important for us to analyze the firearms holding ratio in each religious group.

Although administration officials kept records on firearms and their holders, those lists we found in the state archive in Sarajevo do not contain the religious or ethnic affiliation of the registered holders. However, in the vast majority of cases, it is possible to recognize someone's affiliation based solely on his name and/or surname. Bosnian Muslims have their names and surnames unmistakably different than those of their neighbors. It was even more evident in the age we write about, when they used more "traditional" names than it is, to a certain degree, case today. Jews also have – and had – their specific names. We could also easily recognize foreigners, or non-Bosnians regardless of citizenship, in the lists, as German, Hungarian, or Western Slavic names and surnames were distinguishable from the natives. Naturally, the most challenging task was to distinguish between native Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholics. In most cases, however, it wasn't that hard. First and foremost, there are names and surnames which are typical for one or the other Christian denomination in Bosnia. Although it's perhaps not literally impossible, it's really hard to imagine Roman Catholics named Risto, Lazar, Jovo, Vasilija, Uroš, and so on, just as it is hard to image Eastern Orthodox named Ante, Stjepan, Ivo, Franjo, etc. Similarly goes with surnames. Secondly, in those doubtful cases, when personal identifications could refer to both denominations, we used the official census data from 1895 or 1910. For this purpose, of great assistance was the fact that many Bosnian villages were religiously uniform. If a holder with a name and/or surname used by both denominations came from one of those villages, which was the case quite often, his affiliation was obvious. Eventually, not all cases could be solved in that way, so we ended with sixteen holders we couldn't affiliate as either Eastern Orthodox or Roman Catholic.

As shown in Tables 5 and 7, we counted 2095 firearm holders in the Tuzla Circle in 1904. Out of those 2095, the most numerous were Muslims – 1215, followed by 611 Eastern Orthodox Christians, 138 native Roman Catholics, 110 foreigners, 8 Jews, and

16 unaffiliated. These unaffiliated, however, were either Eastern Orthodox or Roman Catholic, so their numbers had to be a little bit higher, but not for so much that would significantly change the picture. As we can see, more than half the holders were Muslims (58%), with Eastern Orthodox comprising only 29,16%, native Roman Catholics 6,58%, foreigners 5,25%, and Jews 0,38%, leaving the last 0,76% for the unaffiliated.

District	Muslims	Orthodox	Catholics*	Jews	Foreigners	Unaffiliated	In total
Bijeljina	112	157	2	0	19	0	290
Brčko	79	61	45	0	8	3	196
Gračanica	74	39	3	2	6	0	124
Gradačac	54	48	27	0	15	2	146
Kladanj	145	30	10	1	5	1	192
Maglaj	37	20	7	0	0	0	64
Srebrenica	123	31	6	0	0	0	160
Tuzla (Urban)	80	15	7	0	40	3	145
Tuzla (Rural)	282	36	27	0	10	7	362
<i>Tuzla in total</i>	<i>362</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>507</i>
Vlasenica	97	70	2	2	4	0	175
Zvornik	132	104	2	3	0	0	241
In total	1215	611	138	8	110	16	2095

Table 7. Firearm holders by religious affiliation, Tuzla Circle, 1904.³² * Excluding foreigners.

Comparing these numbers with those from Table 3, we can get the holding rate in each ethnic/religious group. As stated earlier, Muslims and Eastern Orthodox Christians were approximately equally populous by 1904, but there were twice as many Muslims than Eastern Orthodox among the firearm holders. The firearm holding rate stood at 0,719% among Muslims, and only 0,359% among Eastern Orthodox Christians. Using the calculated number of native Roman Catholics, their holding rate in the Circle stood between 0.299% and 0.306%. When it comes to the Jews, the table shows their rate to be higher than those of both Christian denominations. However, except in percentages, the number of Jewish holders was quite low and they could hardly affect the firearm-holding picture in real-time.

When we look at the two largest religious groups by district, we can notice the following. Muslims had the highest rates in Kladanj and Vlasenica, and lowest in Gradačac and Maglaj. Among Orthodox Christians, the highest rates had those in Kladanj and Tuzla and the lowest in Srebrenica and Maglaj.

District	Muslims	Eastern Orthodox	Rom. Catholics	Jews
Bijeljina	0,869%	0,420%		0,000%
Brčko	0,514%	0,347%		0,000%
Gračanica	0,412%	0,315%		2,320%
Gradačac	0,301%	0,246%		0,000%
Kladanj	2,290%	0,952%		1,316%
Maglaj	0,334%	0,136%		0,000%
Srebrenica	0,818%	0,212%		0,000%

32 Table created according to: ABH, ZVS, Opšta građa, 1904, kutija 20, 19-220/16.

Tuzla	0,841%	0,589%		0,000%
Vlasenica	1,013%	0,381%		2,890%
Zvornik	0,670%	0,434%		1,809%
Circle total	0,719%	0,359%	0,299%	0,526%

Table 8. Holders to population ratio by religious affiliation, Tuzla Circle, 1904.

Social structure of firearms holders

There is no doubt that, apart from religious affiliation, another highly important line of societal division was social standing. A confirmation of this can be seen in the structure of the Diet of Bosnia and Herzegovina, organized into *curiae* by religious and social background.³³ Under Austro-Hungarian rule, society in Bosnia and Herzegovina began diversifying. Although a class of artisans and merchants existed in the Ottoman age, these urban professions saw significant growth under the Double Eagle. Additionally, a working-class emerged with industrial development, although still in its beginnings.³⁴ The inflow of immigrants from both states of the Monarchy shaped a sort of separate societal class as well, especially regarding the administration officials.³⁵

However, despite this diversification of social standing and occupations, the society remained predominantly agricultural until the end of the Monarchy's rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The last census, held in 1910, showed that 87.9% of civilians were agricultural in the entire province, while it was 90.4% in the Tuzla Circle.³⁶ Out of these 384634 citizens in agriculture, 10444 (2.7%) were landowners (and their family members), with and without serfs. Free peasants comprised 54.9%, full serfs 29.9%, serfs who were also free peasants 9.2%, and other agricultural population 3.4%.³⁷ By their religious affiliation, landowners and free peasants were mostly Muslims (82.8% and 62% respectively), while full serfs and serfs-free peasants were mostly Eastern Orthodox (73.6% and 72.7% respectively).³⁸ When it comes to Roman Catholics, they comprised 2.9% of landowners (with family members), 8.5% of free peasants, 20% of full serfs, and 15.3% of serfs-free peasants.

The remaining 9.6% of the Circle population worked in non-agricultural occupations. Most of these worked in industries, and trade and transport (4.3% and 2.6% respectively), with clothmaking, metal processing, food-producing, wood and carving materials, and construction being the most important industry branches.³⁹ Additionally, 1.4% worked in public services, and 1.1% in domestic services and wage labor, leaving the remaining percentages for various other occupations.⁴⁰ Naturally, it's dif-

33 M. Imamović, *Pravni položaj*, 271-272.

34 Ilija Hadžibegović, *Postanak radničke klase u Bosni i Hercegovini i njen razvoj do 1914. godine*, Sarajevo, 1980, 193; Salkan Užičanin, *Utjecaj industrijskog razvoja na društvenu strukturu u Bosni i Hercegovini (1918-1929)*, PhD dissertation in manuscript, Živinice – Mostar, 2014, 51-53.

35 See more: Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini (1882-1903)*, Sarajevo, 1987, 437-446; Tomasz Jacek Lis, *Službenici u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878. – 1918.*, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 52/2, Zagreb, 2020, 629-656.

36 Die Ergebnisse, pp. 71, 466, 594.

37 Die Ergebnisse, 466.

38 Die Ergebnisse, 68-71.

39 Die Ergebnisse, LVIII. More on the industrial labor force see in: I. Hadžibegović, *Postanak radničke klase*, 135-198.

40 Die Ergebnisse, LVIII.

difficult to trace how many people worked in which occupation up to the 1910 census, but these numbers give us a glance at what the societal structure looked like. As Luka Đaković noticed, in fifteen years between the last two censuses, the share of the agricultural population in the entire province fell barely by 2%.⁴¹ In the Tuzla Circle alone, it hasn't fallen at all but slightly rose by 0.66%.⁴² Therefore, these percentages from the 1910 census, regarding occupation and social standing, can quite surely be a solid ground for our work. Before we move on to the social structure of the firearm holders, it's worth mentioning that the census data in terms of categories of occupation cannot be completely applicable, especially regarding the industries, for what we want to show. Namely, the statisticians of the Austro-Hungarian administration have counted together all persons working in a specific category of occupation – laborers, officials, experts, and managers. They may have worked in the same branch indeed, but their social standing or 'class' was essentially different. Therefore, we had to make our own categories based on what the archive records provided. Different categorization, however, does not affect the most dominant group – the agricultural population.

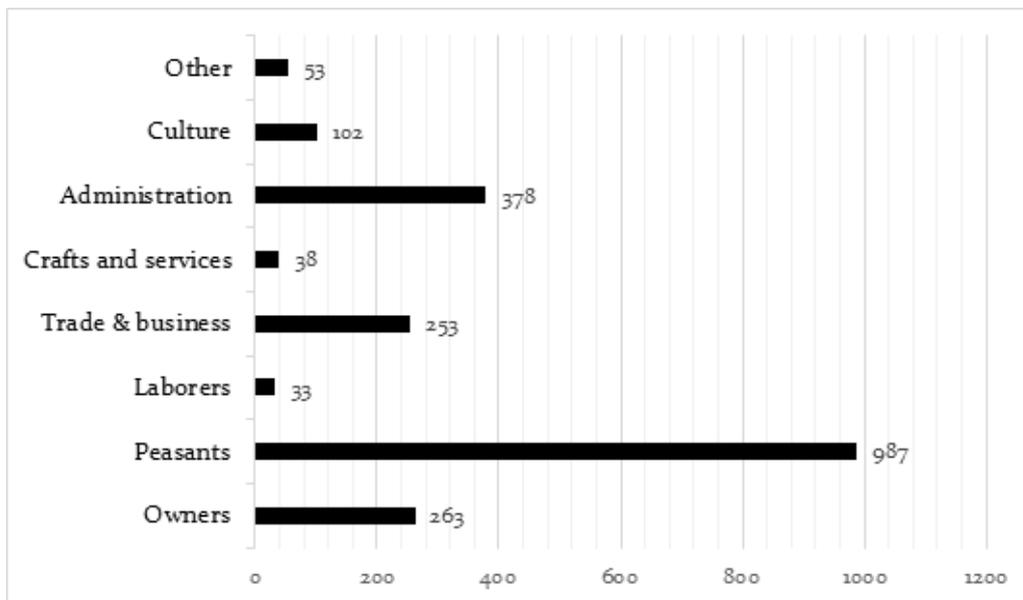


Chart 2. The social structure of firearms holders. Tuzla Circle, 1904.⁴³

As we can see in Chart 2,⁴⁴ the majority of the firearm holders were peasants. Unfortunately, the archive records don't specify to what category of peasants a holder belongs. Almost all of them, with just a few exceptions, are labeled as farmers (*Landmann*). Therefore, we had to group them all into a single category of peasants. After peasantry comes the administration, or broadly speaking public service employees, followed by landowners, traders and businessmen, and then cultural workers (religious and educational). The rest of the holders were laborers, craftsmen and service providers, and workers in various other, rarer occupations. The agricultural population, therefore, comprised some 59.3% of the firearm holders (12.48% landowners,

41 L. Đaković, *Političke organizacije*, 33.

42 Compare: *Glavni rezultati*, XXXV and *Die Ergebnisse*, 594.

43 Chart created according to: ABH, ZVS, *Opšta građa*, 1904, kutija 20, 19-220/16.

44 Total number is higher in Chart 2 than in Table 5, because some holders had two occupations written in the lists. It's not unusual as many citizens had *Nebenberuf*, or additional occupation. See: *Die Ergebnisse*, LXIII.

46.84% peasants), while non-agricultural holders comprised 40.67% of the holders. Landowners and non-agricultural workers, therefore, had a positive ratio (4.62 and 4.23 respectively), while it was negative among the peasants (0.48), which is quite understandable considering their lower economic power. A high ratio of firearm holding regarding its share in the population was among the traders as well (4,62).

Table 9 shows the distribution of the holders by their social standing in the districts. Peasants are the most numerous holders in every district except one, but not as dominant as was the case in the population. In districts like Brčko, Gračanica, and Gradačac, we can see that peasant holders were not far ahead of traders or administration officials. Firearm holders from the agricultural population (landowners and peasants) were most dominant in the Rural district of Tuzla (74.66%), followed by districts of Kladanj, and Maglaj (68.75 % and 67.19% respectively). In the district of Gračanica, the share of agricultural and non-agricultural firearm holders was equal, while Gradačac and the Urban district of Tuzla had more non-agricultural firearm holders (45.89% and 26% respectively). In the entire Circle, 59,33% of the holders belonged to agricultural, and 40,67% to non-agricultural population.

If we look only at the ratio between two agricultural groups (owners and peasants), we notice the unmatched dominance of peasant firearm holders in the district of Kladanj. In this sense, the Rural district of Tuzla, Maglaj, and Srebrenica had a significantly higher ratio in favor of peasants. Expectedly, the Urban district of Tuzla had more landowners among the holders, while the closest ratio was in Brčko and Bijeljina (1.55 and 1.98 respectively). In the entire Circle, 3.75 peasants came to one landowner among the registered firearm holders.

District	Owners	Peasants	Laborers	Trade & Business	Crafts & services	Administration	Culture	Other
Bijeljina	64	127	4	41	5	19	22	8
Brčko	44	68	1	35	1	39	11	2
Gračanica	12	50	2	11	0	30	16	3
Gradačac	14	53	1	20	4	43	10	1
Kladanj	1	131	0	15	2	36	6	1
Maglaj	5	38	0	5	1	7	1	7
Srebrenica	11	76	1	16	1	47	6	3
Tuzla Urb.	33	6	21	50	14	19	3	4
Tuzla Rur.	22	249	2	22	6	30	13	19
Vlasenica	24	86	1	12	0	46	5	1
Zvornik	33	103	0	26	4	62	9	4
In total	263	987	33	253	38	378	102	53

Table 9. The social structure of firearms holders by districts. Tuzla Circle, 1904.⁴⁵

When we look at the ethnic and/or religious affiliation of the firearm holders regarding their social standing in the entire Circle, we can notice that Muslims were most numerous in most of the categories. Exceptions are craftsmen and service providers, cultural workers, and laborers. Although Table 10 shows the same number of Eastern Orthodox and foreigners among craftsmen and service providers, it's worth noticing

⁴⁵ Table created according to: ABH, ZVS, Opšta građa, 1904, kutija 20, 19-220/16.

that at least some of the unaffiliated were also of the Orthodox faith, therefore raising their percentage. They were most numerous among cultural workers as well, while the foreigners were at the top among laborers. It's not unusual, as most skilled laborers in various industrial fields came from abroad to Bosnia. For Muslims, we can notice a clear domination among the landowners, which is expectable and understandable, and a slight majority among peasants, administration officials, and traders, while they were the least represented among laborers. A share of Roman Catholics was highest in the category of crafts and services, followed by those of administration and peasants. It was the lowest among the landowners, which is not a surprise in any way. Jewish firearm holders were, as stated above, very rare, but it's worth mentioning their share was the highest among the traders, which is also not a surprise regarding their important role and skills in the trade. Except for the category of the labor force, foreign citizens were well represented among craftsmen and service providers, and other occupations, while they were very rare among cultural workers and peasants. Considering the social categories, the most 'diverse' was that of crafts and services, where the four major groups were the closest to each other. A similar can be said, except for Roman Catholics' share, for the category of other occupations. Contrary to that were categories of landowners and laborers, where Muslims and foreigners respectively had a clear dominance.

Social standing	Muslims	Orthodox	Catholics	Jews	Foreigners	Unaffiliated
Landowners	86.31%	7.22%	1.90%	0.38%	3.80%	0.38%
Peasants	57.24%	33.23%	7.70%	0.10%	1.22%	0.51%
Trade & business	54.94%	31.23%	4.74%	1.19%	6.72%	1.19%
Crafts & services	15.79%	31.58%	13.16%	0.00%	28.95%	10.53%
Administration	58.47%	26.46%	8.73%	0.00%	5.29%	1.06%
Culture	39.22%	52.94%	5.88%	0.00%	1.96%	0.00%
Workers	9.09%	15.15%	6.06%	0.00%	69.70%	0.00%
Other	37.74%	32.08%	3.77%	0.00%	26.42%	0.00%

Table 10. Religious affiliation of firearms holders regarding their social standing. Tuzla Circle, 1904.⁴⁶

This intersection of ethnic and/or religious affiliation and social standing may also be seen from the opposite perspective. As shown in Table 11, the majority of firearm holders were peasants among Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholics. They were also most numerous among Muslims, but somewhat less than 50%. In the case of two Christian communities, after peasants come administration officials, followed by traders, and cultural workers, as well as craftsmen and service providers in the case of Catholics. When it comes to Muslims, the social categories with a significant share of the firearm holdings were landowners, administration officials, and traders. Of the small number of Jewish holders, most numerous were traders, while the picture is the most diverse among foreigners. Most firearm holders in this group came from among the laborers, closely followed by administration officials, and traders and businessmen. The lowest share came from among the cultural workers.

46 Table created according to: ABH, ZVS, Opšta građa, 1904, kutija 20, 19-220/16.

Group	Owners	Peasants	Laborers	Trade & Business	Crafts & services	Administration	Culture	Other
Muslims	18.68%	46.27%	0.25%	11.44%	0.49%	18.19%	3.29%	1.65%
Orthodox	3.11%	53.77%	0.82%	12.95%	1.97%	16.39%	8.85%	2.79%
Catholics	3.60%	54.68%	1.44%	8.63%	3.60%	23.74%	4.32%	1.44%
Jews	20%	20%	0%	60%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Foreigners	9.09%	10.91%	20.91%	15.45%	10.00%	18.18%	1.82%	12.73%

Table 11. The social structure of firearms holders by their religious affiliation. Tuzla Circle, 1904.⁴⁷

Relation of urban and rural firearm holders

Closely related to the social structure was the ratio of urban and rural populations. As stated earlier, the agricultural population was a huge majority in the Circle, from which follows that a huge majority of the population lived in rural areas. However, these two are not equal, as not all agricultural citizens lived there. For instance, landowners may have had their possessions in the countryside, but a lot of them actually lived in towns.⁴⁸ The census makes it very clear. While in 1910 there were 384634 citizens whose primary occupation was agriculture, 'only' 373828 people lived in the rural areas. This difference roughly corresponds with the number of landowners in the Circle (10444). The majority of the population, however, lived in the rural areas indeed (87.86%), while the urban population numbered the remaining 12.14% or 51668 in absolute number. This number we have got by summarizing the number of citizens in those settlements considered urban in the 1895 and 1910 censuses. In addition to the centers of each district, urban municipalities were Modriča, Bosanski Šamac, and Orašje as well. In 1895, Orašje had the status of a district branch (*Expositur*) inside the district of Brčko, but its urban part was labeled as the trading municipality, which was equal to the urban municipality.⁴⁹ By 1910, it became an integral part of the district of Brčko, but now labeled as an urban municipality.⁵⁰ In the process of calculating the number of urban and rural populations in the Circle and its districts, worth noticing is an administrative change from 1897. The single district of Tuzla was split into two – the urban and the rural part. The Urban (and industrial, officially) district was formed out of settlements of Tuzla proper, Lukavac, and Simin Han, while everything else became part of the Rural district.⁵¹ However, there was a change in defining Tuzla proper, for settlements of Grabovica turska, Rasovac, Solina, and Vršani were separated from the municipality of Tuzla.⁵² Therefore, in order to get the number of urban population of Tuzla as close as possible, we had to subtract the population of these settlements from the 1895 census data and proceed with the calculation without them. Eventually, with all of this in mind and using the methodology as in the previous chapters, we have got the data shown in Table 12.

47 Table created according to: ABH, ZVS, Opšta građa, 1904, kutija 20, 19-220/16.

48 Husnija Kamberović, *Begovski zemljišni posjedi u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1878. do 1918. godine*, Zagreb, 2003., pp. 43, 143, 168, 224-225.

49 Glavni rezultati, pp. 316, XLVIII.

50 Die Ergebnisse, 78.

51 Glasnik 1897, 45-47.

52 Die Ergebnisse, XV-XVI.

District	Urban areas		Rural areas		In total
Bijeljina	9765	18.15%	44023	81.85%	53788
Brčko	6309	11.61%	47039	86.55%	54346
↳ Orašje	998	1.84%			
Gračanica	4083	13.32%	26566	86.68%	30649
Gradačac	3666	6.77%	46028	85.05%	54117
↳ Bosanski Šamac	1858	3.43%			
↳ Modriča	2565	4.74%			
Kladanj	1410	13.45%	9077	86.55%	10487
Maglaj	2658	9.58%	25095	90.42%	27753
Srebrenica	1646	5.51%	28227	94.49%	29873
Tuzla	10479	16.10%	54625	83.90%	65104
Vlasenica	2000	7.01%	26528	92.99%	28528
Zvornik	3149	7.12%	41099	92.88%	44248
In total	50586	12.68%	348307	87.32%	398894

Table 12. Projected number of urban and rural population in Tuzla Circle by districts. 1904.

As we can see, Tuzla, Brčko, and Bijeljina were the largest urban areas in the Circle, while Srebrenica, Maglaj, and Orašje were the smallest. In terms of share of the urban population in the entire population of districts, Gradačac (together with Bosanski Šamac, and Modriča) and Kladanj also come to the top tier, with 14.95% and 13.45% of the district population being urban respectively. By percentages, the districts of Zvornik, Vlasenica, and Srebrenica were the least urban.

District	Muslims		Eastern Orthodox		Roman Catholics		In total*	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Bijeljina	5846	7042	2118	35233	1146	516	9765	44023
	59.87%	16%	21.69%	80.03%	11.74%	1.17%	18.15%	81.15%
Brčko	3849	11521	1761	15801	1426	19640	7307	47039
	47.77%	24.49%	26.99%	33.59%	21.26%	41.75%	13.45%	86.55%
Gračanica	3035	14912	823	11558	140	85	4083	26566
	74.33%	56.13%	20.16%	43.51%	3.43%	0.32%	13.32%	86.68%
Gradačac	5850	12072	1210	18290	939	15639	8089	46028
	72.32%	26.23%	14.96%	39.74%	11.61%	33.98%	14.95%	85.05%
Kladanj	1226	5105	72	3078	65	862	1410	9077
	86.95%	56.24%	5.11%	33.91%	4.61%	9.5%	13.45%	86.55%
Maglaj	2298	8790	177	14509	148	1788	2658	25095
	86.46%	35.03%	6.66%	49.69%	5.57%	0.26%	9.58%	90.42%
Srebrenica	923	14121	599	14027	103	74	1646	28227
	56.08%	50.03%	36.39%	49.69%	6.26%	0.26%	5.51%	94.49%
Tuzla	5512	37534	1673	6981	2865	9866	10479	54625
	52.60%	68.71%	15.97%	12.78%	27.34%	18.06%	16.1%	83.9%
Vlasenica	1440	8134	441	17949	65	104	2000	26528
	72%	30.66%	22.05%	67.66%	3.25%	0.39%	7.01%	92.99%

Zvornik	2068	17623	780	22812	152	87	3149	41099
	65.67%	42.88%	24.77%	55.51%	4.83%	0.21%	7.12%	92.88%
In total	32047	136854	9654	160238	7049	48661	50586	348307
	63.35%	32.29%	19.08%	46%	13.93%	13.97%	12.7%	87.3%

Table 13. Share of urban and rural population in districts by religious affiliation. Tuzla Circle, 1904.

* Counting other groups of the population.

When we apply religious affiliation to the share of urban and rural populations, we get a more diversified picture. As it is well known, in the entire province all religious groups had a clear majority of peasants among them, except the Jews.⁵³ However, a share of each of these groups in urban and rural populations separately has not reflected its share in the total population. As Table 13 shows, Muslims had a significantly higher share in the urban and a lower share in the rural population than their share in the total population. With Eastern Orthodox, it was the other way around, while the Roman Catholics maintained roughly the same share in both parts of the population as it was in the total. Considering the districts separately, we notice that Muslims were the most dominant urban population in all of them, with Brčko as the only exception where they comprised less than 50%. The highest share of Eastern Orthodox in the urban population of a district has been recorded in Srebrenica (36.39%), followed by Brčko and Zvornik far behind. Roman Catholics had a notable share in the urban population of Brčko and especially Tuzla, having in the latter a twice higher share than in the total urban population of the Circle. When it comes to the rural population, there was an absolute Muslim majority in the districts of Gračanica, Kladanj, and Tuzla, and an Orthodox majority in Bijeljina, Vlasenica, and Zvornik. The district of Srebrenica had almost an equal share of Muslims and Orthodox, with the latter having a relative majority in the rural population of the districts of Gradačac and Maglaj. Roman Catholics were a relative majority in Brčko, having a significant share in the rural population of districts of Gradačac, and Tuzla as well.

Summarizing all firearm holders in two groups based on their place of living, we have got data shown in Table 14. Out of 2095 holders, 517 came from the urban areas, while the remaining 1578 came from the rural settlements.⁵⁴ Roughly one-quarter of the firearm holders came from the urban population. It means that the ratio of urban firearm holders to urban population was roughly two to one (1.94). At the same time, naturally, it was the opposite for the rural holders (ratio 0.86). Considering the districts, the highest holders-to-population ratio in urban areas has been recorded in Vlasenica (3.34), followed by Srebrenica and Gradačac (2.84 and 2.66 respectively). The three districts with the lowest ratio were Gračanica (1.63), Tuzla (1.47, combining both districts), and Kladanj (1.39). On the other hand, this ratio in the countryside ranged from 0.71, recorded in Gradačac, up to 0.94, recorded in Kladanj. Above the ratio in the entire Circle were also those in the districts of Gračanica, Maglaj, Tuzla, and Zvornik.

53 L. Đaković, *Političke organizacije*, 29.

54 ABH, ZVS, *Opšta građa*, 1904, kutija 20, 19-220/16

District	Urban			Rural		
	Population	Holders	Ratio	Population	Holders	Ratio
Bijeljina	18.15%	38.28%	2.11	81.85%	61.72%	0.75
Brčko	13.45%	28.06%	2.09	86.55%	71.94%	0.83
Gračanica	13.32%	21.77%	1.63	86.68%	78.23%	0.91
Gradačac	14.95%	39.73%	2.66	85.05%	60.27%	0.71
Kladanj	13.45%	18.75%	1.39	86.55%	81.25%	0.94
Maglaj	9.58%	17.19%	1.79	90.42%	82.81%	0.92
Srebrenica	5.51%	15.63%	2.84	94.49%	84.38%	0.89
Tuzla	16.10%	23.67%	1.41	83.90%	76.33%	0.92
Vlasenica	7.01%	23.43%	3.34	92.99%	76.57%	0.82
Zvornik	7.12%	13.64%	1.92	92.88%	86.36%	0.93
In total	12.79%	24.67%	1.93	87.21%	75.33%	0.86

Table 14. Urban and rural holders to population ratio

Considering the firearm holders to population ratio in urban and rural areas by their religious affiliation, the picture gets more detailed. Speaking of urban population per religious affiliation, the highest ratio was recorded among Muslims in Srebrenica (1.64). Muslims had a ratio higher than one in all but two districts, Eastern Orthodox in three, and Roman Catholics in only one. In the countryside, the highest ratio was recorded among Roman Catholics in Srebrenica (16.95). They also had a significantly higher ratio than usual in Gračanica, Zvornik, and Vlasenica. Muslims, again, had a ratio higher than one in all but two districts, while Eastern Orthodox had it in only two districts. The Jews had very high, in fact, the highest ratio in both urban and rural cases (in Vlasenica and Gradačac respectively), but the sample was very low, so it might not be representative. At the Circle level, Muslims had the highest ratio in the urban population, and Jews in the rural population. Interestingly, the ratio was higher in urban than in rural populations among Eastern Orthodox, while it was the other way around among Roman Catholics.

District	Muslims		Eastern Orthodox		Roman Catholics		Jews	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Bijeljina	1.159	1.222	1.080	0.914	0.000	0.953	0.000	0.000
Brčko	1.243	1.245	0.679	1.098	0.373	0.696	0.000	0.000
Gračanica	0.997	0.992	0.735	0.829	1.080	6.444	1.990	27.388
Gradačac	0.763	0.953	1.498	1.001	0.594	0.769	0.000	74.721
Kladanj	1.022	1.288	0.544	0.548	0.000	0.675	0.833	0.000
Maglaj	1.157	1.401	0.000	0.653	0.000	1.854	0.000	0.000
Srebrenica	1.641	1.481	0.220	0.432	0.000	16.953	0.000	0.000
Tuzla	1.220	1.066	0.628	0.783	0.245	0.384	0.000	0.000
Vlasenica	1.186	1.509	0.442	0.728	0.000	3.807	2.076	0.000
Zvornik	1.107	1.211	1.101	0.823	0.000	4.542	0.000	0.000
Tuzla Circle	1.123	1.375	0.807	0.736	0.251	0.557	0.290	2.821

Table 15. Firearm holders to population ratio in urban and rural areas by religious affiliation. Tuzla Circle. 1904.

Conclusion

In this paper, we analyzed the data on firearm holders in the Tuzla Circle in 1904. We have chosen this year because the archive records are complete, unlike many others. The analysis might have been more statistical, than historical. Its purpose was to reveal the first sight on the picture of firearm holding in the circumstances of the Austro-Hungarian government's control of firearms and to give us a step toward restructuring the whole picture of civilians' holding of firearms in the entire province. This and similar analysis are supposed to be used for explaining the change in, what is today known, as gun culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a change that came when Austria-Hungary set its foot on this land.

What we found out eventually? After having to deal with population projections for 1904 – as two official censuses were significantly far from our specific year – we came to certain potentially important conclusions. First and foremost, we have seen that the number of registered firearm holders was stunningly low, compared to the pre-occupation period. As the rate varied from district to district, on the circle level just 0.53% of the total number of civilians had registered firearms, with central, eastern, and southern parts of the circle having higher rates than northern, and western parts.

One of the key questions was the firearm holding along ethnic and/or religious lines. Using the simple method of affiliating the holders by their name and surname to a specific group – which was successful with just a few exceptions, irrelevant of affecting the whole picture – we have seen that more than half of the firearm holders were Muslims, as twice as more than Serb Orthodox, although they were approximately equal in number by 1904. The holders-to-population rate was also the highest among Muslims, followed by Jews – although on a very small sample – Serb Orthodox, and then native Roman Catholics.

Looking at the firearm holders through the prism of their social standing, we have seen that peasants were the most numerous, not surprisingly as they were a vast majority of the population. However, applying the population data revealed a significantly higher ratio of landowners and non-agricultural citizens in firearm holding, and consequently lower ratio among peasants.

The third perspective we looked at the firearm holders from, was their place of living in terms of urban and rural areas. It might be similar division as previous, as most, if not all peasants lived in the countryside, while most non-agricultural people lived in the towns. However, landowners make a difference here, as most of them lived in towns, although their occupation was linked to the countryside. In this sense, we have concluded that the share of urban citizens among the holders was as twice as high as their share in the total population, making their ratio significantly higher than the one of the rural population. One reason for this, and the conclusion in the previous paragraph as well, could be economic capabilities. Another reason could be mutual distrust between the government and the population in the countryside. However, it has to be investigated furtherly.

STRUKTURA POSJEDNIKA ORUŽJA U TUZLANSKOM OKRUGU 1904. GODINE Sažetak

U ovom radu analizirali smo podatke o posjednicima vatrenog oružja u Okružnoj oblasti Donja Tuzla za 1904. godinu. Odabrali smo ovu godinu jer je arhivska evidencija kompletna, za razliku od mnogih drugih godina. Analiza je bila više statistička nego historijska, a njena svrha bilo je dobijanje prvih uvida u stanje držanja vatrenog oružja u okolnostima stroge kontrole od strane austrougarske vlasti. Ova statistička analiza je ujedno i prvi korak ka restrukturiranju cjelokupne slike držanja vatrenog oružja od strane civila u cijeloj zemlji. Ova i slične analize treba da posluže za objašnjenje promjene u onome što je danas poznato kao kultura oružja u Bosni i Hercegovini; promjene koja je uslijedila kada je Austro-Ugarska uspostavila vlast u ovoj zemlji.

Šta smo na kraju saznali? Nakon što smo se morali pozabaviti projekcijama stanovništva za 1904. godinu – budući da su dva zvanična popisa stanovništva bila značajno udaljena od naše ciljane godine – došli smo do određenih potencijalno važnih zaključaka. Prije svega, vidjeli smo da je broj registrovanih posjednika vatrenog oružja bio zapanjujuće nizak u odnosu na period prije okupacije. Stopa posjedovanja varirala je od kotara do kotara, a na nivou okruga samo je 0,53% od ukupnog broja civila imalo registrovano vatreno oružje, pri čemu su centralni, istočni i južni dijelovi okruga imali veće stope nego sjeverni i zapadni dijelovi.

Jedno od ključnih pitanja bilo je brojno stanje registrovanog vatrenog oružja po etničkim/konfesionalnim linijama. Koristeći jednostavnu metodu povezivanja posjednika po imenu i prezimenu u određenu grupu – što je bilo uspješno uz samo nekoliko izuzetaka, dovoljno malobrojnih da ne utiču na cjelokupnu sliku – vidjeli smo da su više od polovine posjednika vatrenog oružja bili muslimani, čak dvostruko više nego Srbi pravoslavci, iako su do 1904. ove dvije zajednice bile približno jednake po brojnosti. Stopa posjednika prema udjelu te etničke/vjerske grupe u ukupnom stanovništvu također je bila najveća među muslimanima, potom kod Jevreja – iako na vrlo malom uzorku – pravoslavaca, a zatim domaćih rimokatolika.

Posmatrajući posjednika vatrenog oružja kroz prizmu njihovog socijalnog položaja, vidjeli smo da su seljaci bili najbrojniji, što nije iznenađujuće jer su bili velika većina stanovništva. Međutim, proporcionalni omjer daleko je veći kod zemljoposjednika i lica koja nisu pripadala poljoprivrednom sektoru.

Treća perspektiva iz koje smo posmatrali posjednike vatrenog oružja je njihovo mjesto stanovanja, odnosno urbana i ruralna područja. To bi mogla biti slična podjela kao i prethodna, budući da su seljaci živjeli na selu, a lica izvan poljoprivrednog sektora u gradovima. Međutim, zemljoposjednici ovdje prave razliku, jer je većina njih živjela u gradovima, iako je njihovo zanimanje bilo vezano za selo. U tom smislu, zaključili smo da je udio urbanih lica među posjednicima oružja bio dvostruko veći od udjela urbanog stanovništva u ukupnom broju stanovništva. Posljedično tome, taj omjer je kod ruralnog stanovništva bio suprotan. Jedan od razloga za to, a to važi i za prethodni paragraf, mogu biti ekonomske mogućnosti. Drugi razlog može biti veće međusobno nepovjerenje između vlasti i ruralnog stanovništva, nego vlasti i urbanog stanovništva. Međutim, to pitanje zahtijeva daljnja istraživanja.

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