

The Jews of Galicia under Austrian-Polish Rule, 1867-1918.

Piotr Wrobel

Galicia occupied an important place in the history of the Jewish Diaspora. Galician Jews made up a majority of Habsburg subjects of Mosaic faith and formed a cultural bridge between *West-* and *Ostjuden*. Numerous outstanding Jewish political figures and scholars, such as Isaac Deutscher, Karl Radek and Martin Buber, were born or raised in Galicia, where Zionist and Jewish socialist movements flourished at that time. The unique atmosphere of a Galician shtetl was recorded in Hassidic tales, in the books of Emil Franzos, Manes Sperber, Bruno Schulz, Andrzej Kusniewicz and others. Scholarly works on Jewish Galicia are, however, mostly outdated and relatively short.¹ Consequently, scholars who use information on Galicia only as supplementary data often make numerous errors, and even for an educated American or West European Galicia remains a land of mystery.² Marsha Rozenblit is absolutely right when she concludes a review essay, "The Jews of the Dual Monarchy," with the observation: "Indeed, it would be nice to know more about the traditional Jewish population of Moravia, Galicia and Hungary."³ The present article is a contribution to filling that gap with regard to Galicia.

Galicia constituted the largest and simultaneously the poorest and the most retarded province of Austria.⁴ The Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria was created in 1773 out of the territories ceded to the Habsburg Empire after the First Partition of Poland in 1772. Previously, Galicia had no separate identity within the Polish state. The new name of the southern Polish lands, grabbed by Austria, harked back to the medieval principalities of Halich and Vladimir, once claimed by the Hungarian state. In 1795 Galicia was enlarged by the Austrian share of the Third Partition of Poland, which was recaptured by the Duchy of Warsaw in 1809 and after the Congress of Vienna formed a part of the Russian controlled Congress Kingdom of Poland. In 1846, the tiny, puppet Republic of Cracow was added and after this reorganization Galicia, covering about 20 000 square miles, remained unchanged until the end of its existence in October 1918.⁵

Galician history, like that of the entire Habsburg Empire, can be divided into three periods: (1) the absolutist era before 1848; (2) the decade of revolution, counter-revolution and neo-absolutism of 1848-59 and the struggle for democratic changes 1859-67; and (3) the epoch of Galician autonomy 1867-1918. Initially, the monarchs of Austria

thought of exchanging the province for another territory and, as a result, Galicia was ruled more harshly than the neighboring Russian and Prussian provinces of former Poland. Galicia stagnated after 1772 and was exploited economically, cut off from its Polish hinterland, treated as a reservoir of manpower for the Austrian army, burdened with a monstrous bureaucracy and numerous border garrisons. Polish patriots were harassed by the inquisitorial police system, and the entire Polish population was Germanized.⁶

The revolution of 1848 significantly changed the Empire and introduced the unwritten rule that all people should be treated as equals under the law. A new period began in the economic and social history of Galicia: serfdom was abolished and the first changes leading to a capitalist society were introduced. Political change was slowed with the triumph of the counter-revolution and the reestablishment of absolutism in 1851. However, Hungarian rebelliousness, Austrian policy during the Crimean War of 1854-56, the Italian War of 1859 and the loss of the Italian provinces, the defeat in the struggle for supremacy in Germany and several lesser problems pushed the emperor towards new reforms and liberal constitutional experiments. The February Patent of 1861 established a constitutional system in Austria which also brought into being separate administrative institutions in Galicia. In 1867, after the Compromise with Hungary and the reorganization of the Empire as the Dual Monarchy, a broad autonomy was granted to Galicia. The province was administered by the Poles themselves, that is by an oligarchy of Polish nobles. Polish became the official language and Galicia was reshaped into a center of Polish culture, influencing the other parts of partitioned Poland.⁷

The Galician Diet (the) and the entire apparatus of self-government was, however, dominated by the Polish lower nobility. The total number of registered landowners did not exceed 2,000 mostly noble families but among them there were only about 400 families, which (in 1866) owned 42.98% of arable land, 90.45% of forests, and preserved numerous traces of feudalism. By 1890 the supremacy of the Galician nobility came under challenge by new political and economic forces, mostly of peasant origins; but still, representatives of the rich gentry owned 41.3% of arable land and forests (in 1889), almost half of which were held by 161 families.⁸

The Legal Position of Galician Jews .

Austria, like Prussia and Russia, was confronted with a large scale Jewish problem for the first time after acquiring Polish territories. In 1785 there were 150,000 Jews in the Habsburg lands outside Galicia: about 70,000 in Bohemia, Moravia and

Silesia, and about 80,000 in the vast Hungarian Kingdom. No Jews lived in Austria proper: Emperor Leopold I had banished them from Vienna in 1669 and two years later from the whole of Lower Austria. The exiled Jews moved to the West, to Prussia and to Hungary, where Jewish communities suffered heavy casualties during the Turkish wars. Even without counting Galician Jews, Habsburg Jews constituted a relatively large community in eighteenth century Europe: there were about 40,000 Jews in France at this time, Dutch and British Jewries were even less numerous. Galician Jewry was much larger: the Austrian administration listed 171,851 Jews in Galicia after the First Partition of Poland and 215,447 in 1785, which made up almost 9% of the entire Galician population.⁹

Habsburgs' Jewish subjects were dispersed over immense territories, and by the end of the eighteenth century an Austrian Jewish elite entered an era of rapid modernization. A relatively large number of Jews went to secular, non-Jewish schools and started successful big businesses or even converted. A comparatively large group of Jewish entrepreneurs, readmitted to Vienna in the 1690s, lived or conducted business in that city. Some of them made fortunes during the wars against revolutionary France. In the 1780s, Emperor Joseph II ennobled the first Austrian Jews, mostly rich court bankers. Galician Jews were less modernized and their situation was harder. In 1764, Jewish self-government in Poland, the so-called Council of Four Lands, was abolished, but the authority of the Jewish communities and conservative rabbis was so great that it was hard to weaken their power. Poland, falling apart, was not able to protect its Jews, who were oppressed in many ways. The Jews of Galicia were ruined during the devastating wars fought on Polish territories in the eighteenth century. Galician Jews were divided into at least two parts: adherents of orthodoxy and admirers of Baal Shem Tov.¹⁰

Empress Maria Theresa treated Galicia as a bargaining chip and tried to exploit the province as much as possible. The Empress, a bigoted Catholic, detested the Jews.¹¹ Despite this she intended to profit from the presence of the Galician Jews, although that was not easy to do. The new border, which divided partitioned Poland, had negative economic consequences, especially for Jews. Maria Theresa's "Code of Regulations Concerning the Jews" of 1776 proclaimed that Jewish beggars should be expelled from Galicia and that only rich Jews would be allowed to settle there. Jewish artisans were not permitted to work for Christian customers, except in places where no Christian was working at the same time, and Jewish traders could not sell products controlled by state monopoly. Maria Theresa's *Judenordnung* levied several heavy taxes on Jews and

created a new autonomous board of trustees (*Generaljudendirection*) to help collect them. The board was presided over by a chief rabbi and consisted of six district elders and six deputies from different parts of the province.¹²

Maria Theresa's successor and an admirer of Enlightenment, Joseph II, wished to systematize and administratively supervise the entire life of his subjects. They were to be reshaped into loyal citizens and taxpayers, Austrian patriots and potential soldiers. The emperor abolished some feudal privileges, improved the situation of peasants and changed again the status of Jews. They were partially admitted to civil rights, to education, and to numerous previously prohibited professions. Jews were allowed to settle in all cities and to hire Christians. To make Jews more useful to the state, Joseph II intended to terminate the traditional "separatism" of the Jews and to expose them to intense modernization and Germanization. Jews were encouraged to take up agricultural work and to send their children to government schools, established for the education of Jews.¹³ The new position of Galician Jewry was codified in the status of 1785, abolishing the *Generaldirektion* and in the *Toleranzpatent* of 1789. The latter was the most liberal of the Emperor's Decrees of Toleration for the Jews in any of the Habsburg lands. However, the document contained numerous contradictions. The *Patent* abolished the autonomy of the *kahals* (rabbinical courts) but kept the Jewish population in ghettos. Jews were forbidden to hold leases (arenda) of mills, inns, breweries and estates, or even to reside in rural areas except to work on the land or as artisans. Jews had to serve in the army and were declared members of the communities in which they lived, but at the same time special Jewish taxes were retained or even increased. The authors of the *Patent* wanted to limit the increase of the Jewish population, and therefore, among other means, marriage taxes were introduced for the Jews. Fortunately for the Jews of Galicia, the Austrian administration was not able to implement all of these regulations.¹⁴

Joseph II's successors discontinued his policy and opposed the emancipation of the Jewish people. All government schools established by Joseph II for education of Jews in Galicia were closed and the right of the Jews to participate in municipal elections was sharply limited, personal service in the army was abolished and replaced by the old Polish exemption tax. The plan of settling Jews on government-owned land failed, most Jews were excluded from the inner city of Lwow (Lviv)¹⁵, foreign Jews could come to Galicia only for a limited time and, from 1811, all newcomers from Poland had to pay a poll-tax. Joseph II's detailed codification succeeded only in one point: numerous Jewish arenda-holders and

innkeepers lost their businesses, which meant that close to one-third of the Jewish population of Galicia was deprived of its means of livelihood.¹⁶

Many relics of medievalism survived in Galician legislation until the middle of the nineteenth century. Numerous cities had Jewish ghettos or even managed to keep old Polish "privilegia de non tolerandis Judaeis." The burdensome system of Jewish taxation was extended. An imperial order of 1810 sought to limit Jewish marriages by decreeing that no one could marry unless he had passed an examination in religion based on German catechism. Secular education and the abandonment of distinctive dress was encouraged but the system of oppression, which remained unchanged until 1848, preserved the old Jewish social structure, pushed almost a half of the Jewish population in Galicia beyond the limits of poverty and produced crowds of *Luftmenschen*.¹⁷

Jewish emancipation was accelerated during the "Springtime of Nations" in 1848. Habsburg Jews took part in the revolutionary events in the entire Empire, demanding equal rights for themselves. Even earlier, in 1846, Jews participated in the rising at Cracow and a number of them were jailed as a result. That same year Austria incorporated the Republic of Cracow. Jews in Galicia continued a political fight, calling for civil rights, already enjoyed by Jews in other parts of Austria. In spring of 1848, when the first news about the outbreak of the revolution came to Galicia, the Jews ceased to pay taxes on kosher meat and candles. Jewish representatives joined a delegation, which went to Vienna to present to the emperor the Galician postulates. The most important of them included the liberation of peasants and the termination of statutes that singled out Jews. Two Jews from Galicia were members of Kremsier *Reichstag* and Isaac N. Mannheimer, a Vienna rabbi, was elected for Brody. The Austrian constitution of April 1848 granted equal rights and civil liberties to all social groups. However, it did not abolish all Jewish restrictions and taxes. These were abolished in October 1848, when the *Reichstag* declared null and void all the semi-feudal estate taxes. The constitution of March 1849 confirmed these principles. Jews were given full civil rights, were allowed to settle in all Habsburg lands and to buy real estate.¹⁸

The "Springtime of Nations" brought Jewish and Polish elites closer together and introduced the principle of equality into Galician politics. This principle was broken, however, after the defeat of the revolution. At the end of 1851, the 1848 constitution was revoked. Certain anti-Jewish restrictions were reintroduced, while others were enforced by local authorities contrary to the law but with the toleration of the government. Jews of Galicia lost the right to buy land, and they were

frequently restricted to ghettos and driven from town centers. Craftsmen's guilds, public service and university professorships were closed to Jews and their representation on city councils were sharply limited. Special taxes on Jews were collected again, Christians were not allowed to work in Jewish enterprises.¹⁹

The conservative forces, which dominated Austrian political life after 1849, saw their predominance come to an end when the Habsburg Empire was defeated by France and Piedmont in 1859, which led the emperor to introduce reforms. In the same year of 1859, anti-Jewish marriage restrictions were lifted and Jews were allowed to witness in court against Christians, to practice all artisan professions, to work as chemists and tavern owners and to buy real estate anywhere. However, Lwow and Cracow managed to preserve their ghettos until 1867. In 1861, Jews received the right to be elected to the *Sejm* and, in the same year, during the first election, four Jewish deputies entered the provincial parliament. The Austrian constitution of 1867 granted Jews equal rights which meant a termination of all feudal restrictions.²⁰

The principles of the 1867 constitution were realized in different ways in different fields of life. Constitutional theory and everyday practice met in the closest way in municipal self-government. By 1874, the Jews were represented in 261 city councils. Forty five other Galician city councils lacked Jewish deputies. In the second half of the nineteenth century, 10 cities in Galicia elected Jewish mayors. Only a few Jews represented their communities in the largest cities of the province. There were only five Jewish deputies among 100 council members in Lwow and only 11 Jews among 60 members of the city council in Cracow. The number of Jewish representatives in the *Sejm*, consisting of 150-155 members, seldom exceeded five.²¹

Jews were also rarely admitted to the civil service: in 1897 only 5.8% of the Galician judiciary staff were of Jewish origin, 4.7% of them were public notaries. A similar situation prevailed at the universities. New limitations appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century. A state salt-monopoly was introduced in 1910, and as a consequence hundreds of Jews lost their jobs. A year later, Jews were forbidden to sell alcoholic beverages; 15,000 Jewish families lost their livelihoods.²²

In 1867, the Jews of Austria received full civil emancipation as individual citizens. They had not been accorded the status of a "nationality" (*Volksstamm*), but were considered only as a religious group (*Religionsgemeinschaft*). Consequently, Jews were not granted even the limited national rights enjoyed by the recognized "nationalities". Yiddish did not receive official approval for use in schools and

public life. *Israeliten* should seek their places among the non-Jewish "nationalities", and consider themselves Poles or Germans of the Mosaic faith. Majority "nationalities" initiated a campaign to persuade Jews to join their ranks and a Jewish response in one direction or another frequently provoked anti-Semitic reactions. Only in Bukovina, where no nationality had a majority, Jews were recognized as a de facto "nationality". The duties of a *Religionsgemeinschaft* were outlined by the all-Austrian law of March 21, 1890. Previously, there were numerous statutes regulating Jewish life in different ways in particular provinces of the Danubian monarchy. The law of 1890 remained in force until the end of World War I. Each *israelitischer Glaubensgenosse*, regardless of his rite, had to belong to a religious community. They did not create, as in pre-partition Poland, a hierarchic and autonomous organization, settling independently their own internal affairs, but the state supervised and protected individual local communities. Teachers of the Mosaic religion, to give only one example, received permanent positions at schools and were paid from the state budget. *Religionsgemeinschaften* were responsible for the entire religious life of the local Jewish population, they constituted legal bodies endowed with public-law status and privileges, enjoyed the right to tax their members and maintained objects connected with religious life. Specific instructions regulated the internal structure of a community and the activities of its staff members, who had to meet specific educational requirements. In the years 1891-93, there were 206 Jewish religious communities in Bohemia, 15 in Bukovina, 2 in Dalmatia, 253 in Galicia, 1 in Styria, 10 in Silesia, 1 in Vorarlberg, 2 in Kustenland, 50 in Moravia, 14 in Lower Austria and 2 in Upper Austria.²³

Demography of Galician Jews .

All statistical data concerning Galicia should be taken with extreme caution. The first modern census was held there in 1880 and was based on "everyday language" (*Umgangssprache*). Yiddish did not receive this status and qualified only as a "local dialect" (*Localsprache*). Jews, who figured only as a "denomination" in official documents, had to choose one of the eight "official" languages (*Landessprache*) of the Empire. Religious statistics did not give the numbers of Uniats and the people combining Polish national consciousness with the Mosaic faith. Frequently, the Jews disliked and avoided all kinds of censuses and polls and did not register their new-born children.²⁴

The ethnic map of Galicia changed only to a limited extent in the nineteenth century. In 1785 about 215,000 Jews (9% of the whole population)

lived there, in 1821 about 218,000 (5.5%) and in 1830 about 250,000 (6%). The Republic of Cracow was populated by 8,500 Jews (8.4%) in 1818, and by 16,500 (11.5%) in 1843. In 1850 about 333,000 Jews were recorded in Galicia, 449,000 in 1857, and 576,000 (10.6%) in 1869.²⁵ The growth of the Jewish population in Galicia is shown in Table 1.

Before World War I, Jews constituted the fifth largest nation of Cisleithanian Austria (4.68% of the entire population) after Germans, Czechs, Poles and Ukrainians. In 1900 Galician Jews made up 66.9% of all the Jews in the Habsburg Monarchy (excluding Hungary). By comparison, the Jews of Lower Austria (including Vienna!) comprised 12.9%, those of Bukovina 7.9%, those of Bohemia 7.6%, those of Moravia 3.6%, and those of Silesia 1%. Jews in other provinces of Austria constituted only 0.9% of all Austrian Jews.²⁶ Table 2 shows the number of the Jews in the lands of Austria and Hungary in the years 1880-1910.

A majority of Galician Jews, like Jews elsewhere in Europe, but especially in the Eastern and Central part of the continent, lived in cities; however only in Galicia and Russia did the Jewish population form the majority ethnic component in numerous urban centers. In 1900 Jews made up 72.1% of all residents in Brody, 57.3% in Buczacz, 57.1% in Rawa Ruska (Rawa Rus'ka), 52.7% in Sanok, 51.3% in Stanislawow (Stanislaviv), 51.2% in Gorlice, 50.8% in Kolomyja (Kolomyia).²⁷ Table 3 presents the number of Jewish inhabitants of five large cities, located in different parts of Austria.

Galicia, in ethnic terms, consisted of the two halves: predominantly Polish Western Galicia -- west of the river San -- and Ukrainian Eastern Galicia -- east of San. 169,684 Jews constituted 8% of the whole population of Western Galicia in 1880, but at the same time there were 516,912 Jews (13.4% of all residents) in Eastern Galicia. Respective data for 1910 show the number of 213,173 (7.9%) for the West and 658,722 (12.3%) for the East.²⁸

A majority of West-Galician Jews was concentrated in the eastern parts of this region, mostly in the cities. In 1910, Jews constituted 21.3% of the entire population in Cracow, 14.7% in Biala, 17.7% in Wadowice, 16.1% in Wieliczka, 19.2% in Bochnia, 27.9% in Podgorze, 32% in Nowy Sacz (all these towns were located in the western or central parts of Western Galicia) and (in eastern segments of the region) 41.2% in Tarnow, 37.1% in Rzeszow, 22.3% in Jaslo, 28.2% in Krosno, 51.2% in Gorlice.²⁹ Table 4 shows the number of Jewish citizens in particular districts (*powiaty*) of Western Galicia in 1910.

The Jews of Eastern Galicia, more numerous than in Western Galicia, were distributed almost evenly in all parts of the region. In several districts

of Eastern Galicia, especially in the North, the Jewish population held the balance between Polish and Ukrainian groups, almost identical in numbers. In other districts, especially in the South, Jews and Poles formed two minorities similar in numbers, living in the midst of clear Ukrainian majority. In Eastern Galicia a relative numerical decline of the Jewish population was slower than in Western Galicia. Jews were better represented in the villages and composed one of the three equally large ethnic groups in the cities.³⁰ Table 5 shows the number of Jews in particular districts of Eastern Galicia in 1910.

The relative increase of the Jewish population in Galicia sank in the 1880s. However, Jews still had the largest birth-rate: 18.2% in the years 1901-1910, when Ukrainian and Polish birth-rates amounted to 15.9% and 16.3% respectively. Altogether, the Jewish population of Galicia increased more than two times between 1850 and 1914 (Table 6).³¹

Emigration.

Emigration belonged to the most important phenomena leading to the decrease of the Jewish population in Galicia. The bad economic situation, especially in industry and in the cities, and the fact that opportunities for the Jews to enhance their social status were extremely limited, drove many Galician Jews from their homeland. In the years 1881-1910, the United States naturalized 3,091,692 immigrants from Austrian lands. Jews constituted 9.1% of them (281,150) and the Jewish emigration from the Danubian Monarchy was the second largest after that of Russia. The main source of Austrian emigrants was Galicia: 236,504 Jews left the province in the years 1881-1910. These constituted about 85% of all Jewish emigrants from Austria and 30.1% of all emigrants from Galicia.³²

Jews were, in relative terms, three times more numerous among emigrants than their share of the entire population of Galicia. Jewish emigration, unlike that of Poles or Ukrainians, was not predominantly seasonal in character. In the years 1900-1910, as many as 389,338 Poles and 152,811 Jews emigrated, which means that within particular ethnic groups living in Galicia 105 Jews, 71 Ukrainians and 47 Poles emigrated out of each 10,000 of their co-nationalists.³³ Even smaller Galician shtetls were well represented in the "New World". In 1890, there were so many immigrants from tiny Dobromil (1,845 Jews in 1900) near Przemyśl (Peremyshl) in New York that they could establish the "First Dobromil Young Men's Sick and Benevolent Association", continuing well into the 1920s.³⁴

Numerous Galician Jews did not leave the Dual Monarchy but moved from Galicia to other Habsburg lands. In 1787, there were only 83,000 Jews (1% of the entire population) in Hungary. In 1850, about 366,000 Jews (3.2%) lived there, sixty years later there were 910,000 (5.0%). Nearly three quarters of the Hungarian Jewish population came from the neighboring provinces, mostly from Galicia. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Galician Jews increasingly emigrated to Vienna. The Jewish population of this city rose from 6,000 in 1857 (1.3% of all residents of the Danubian capital) to 99,000 in 1890 (12.1%) and 175,000 in 1910 (8.6%). Vienna became the second largest Jewish community in Europe (after Warsaw). In 1910, as many as 47,137 inhabitants of the city were born in Galicia and Jews formed 40% of this group. At the same time, 5% of Jewish residents of Berlin originated from Galicia. In 1846, there were no Jews in Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola. Less than one thousand Jews lived in Tirol and Vorarlberg. The first Jewish settler (of the modern era) came to Graz shortly after 1868. Simultaneously, small Jewish communities were established in Salzburg and Innsbruck. The first Jew moved to Klagenfurt in 1883. Initially, the majority of these immigrants came from Bohemia and Moravia, but Galician Jews started to dominate in the last years of the nineteenth century, when the differences among Austrian provinces - in terms of the Jewish settlement - were partially leveled.³⁵ Table 7 presents the number of the Jews in the particular provinces of Cisleithania in 1846-1880.

Assimilation.

The relative increase of the Jewish population in Galicia was also slowed down by assimilation, which became more popular, especially among Jewish elites. The Jewish progressive intelligentsia, created in the nineteenth century, represented different streams of assimilation, growing or waning in a changing political context. Initially, the so-called German assimilation formed the strongest trend, especially in Eastern Galicia. Its supporters admired German culture, the Viennese way of life and the German *Haskalah* (Jewish Enlightenment movement) and dominated Galician Jewish elites until the 1860s. In the last years of the eighteenth century and in the first decades of the nineteenth century, "Germanophiles" were encouraged and helped by the Austrian administration, which intended to use them as agents of Germanization. In 1792, about one hundred Jewish-German schools, established by the administration of Emperor Joseph, existed in Galicia. In 1806, a court decree decided that all officials of

the larger Jewish communities must understand German. According to a decree of 1810, every Jewish voter in communal elections had to prove that he could speak and write German. These decrees were followed by other Germanizing practices, which officially were to "improve" the Jewish masses. As a consequence, two opposing coalitions emerged in Galicia: Poles and orthodox Jewry versus the Habsburg dynasty and progressive Jews. Some of the latter preserved their allegiance to Deutschtum until the First World War. They formed a veritable cult of the Habsburg dynasty and believed that it was Franz Joseph who protected Austrian Jews from racism and nationalism. German orientation was also very attractive intellectually, and even at the beginning of the twentieth century numerous Galician Jews, who were partly assimilated into the Polish culture, remained actually bi- or tri-cultural, graduated from Austrian universities, spoke German perfectly and were fascinated by the German culture. Initially, "Germanophiles" were not numerous but they vigorously aimed at a modernization of the Jewish life and, in 1846, they scored a symbolic success; they managed to establish in Lwow a Deutsch Judisches Bethaus - a reformed synagogue, led by a rabbi educated in Germany, who preached in German and organized a modern German-Jewish school. A society concentrated around the temple propagated German Enlightenment ideas and emphasized its loyalty to the emperor. In 1867, a group of Lwow's German assimilationists gathered around Dr. Emil Byk founded the first Jewish political organization in Austria Shomer Israel (Guardian of Israel) and its periodical Der Israelit. During the first direct election to the Viennese parliament in 1873, Shomer Israel allied itself with the Ukrainians against the Poles and succeeded in electing four Jewish deputies, three of them from the East Galician districts of Brody, Kolomyja and Drohobycz. Poles answered with a call for economic boycott against the Jews, challenging all Jewish entrepreneurs, regardless of their opinions and political affiliations.³⁶

Shomer Israel, centralistic and hostile towards the Polish national movement, declared with pride: "We are Austrians." In 1873, representatives of the organization told the Emperor, that they were "Austrian patriots" and that it was due to the Habsburg dynasty that Jews received "freedom and equality." "Germanophiles" belonged mostly to the richest Galician Jewish families, kept in touch with Jewish cultural centers in Germany and sometimes were related to progressive rabbinical "dynasties" that originated in that country. Members of Bernstein-Loewenstein family, for example, were active as rabbis and merchants in Amsterdam, Hanover, Prague, Stettin, Lwow and Lubartow. "Germanophiles" were active on Lwow's city council

and several religious communities' executives until the end of the Danubian Monarchy. In 1870, some members of Cracow's kahal demanded that its protocols should be written in German. Other community elders protested that motions of this kind were wrong and provocative towards Polish public opinion. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, German assimilation waned. The Deutsch Israelitisches Bethaus changed its official name into the Polish translation of Progressive Synagogue. German service and sermons were replaced with Polish and even Shomer Israel shifted to Polish patriotic positions. In 1880, 5.4% of Galician inhabitants declared themselves German, in 1910 only 1.1%, although the number of ethnic Germans was small and the Jews made up about 11% of the entire population throughout the period 1880-1910.³⁷

In the second half of the nineteenth century, especially during its last decades, a Polish orientation prevailed among the supporters of assimilation, particularly in Lwow and Cracow. The latter was formally independent until 1846 and progressive Jews there tended towards assimilation into the Polish culture. In 1830, a Polish-Jewish school was established in Cracow. A group of Jews from that city participated in the 1830 insurrection in Congress Poland and in the 1846 Cracow Rising. In 1848, Cracow's Jews participated in all Polish patriotic demonstrations and they disassociated themselves from the Jews of Poznan (Posen), who assumed a clearly pro-German position during the Polish-German conflict in the Grand Duchy of Poznan. After 1848, while the German cultural trend was still very strong in Galicia, and also in Cracow, where a majority of Jews did not speak Polish, Jewish-Polish assimilation started to make progress. "Polonophiles" replaced Moses Mendelsohn with Adam Mickiewicz as an object of their admiration. They recalled the friendly pro-Jewish attitude of the leaders of the 1846 Cracow Rising and harmonious Polish-Jewish cooperation during the "Springtime of Nations" in Galicia. A Polish orientation was supported by Berush Maisels, rabbi of Cracow and Warsaw. A group of Galician Jews joined the guerrillas in the 1863 Uprising in Congress Poland. Some of those who survived returned to Galicia advocating Jewish-Polish assimilation and combatted Shomer Israel. One of the most active partisans of "Polishness", Simon Samelsohn, a member of Galician Diet and a president of Cracow's kahal in the years 1870-1881, sometimes demonstratively wore a kontusz, the Polish national dress and a symbol of the gentry. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, it was not easy to occupy an important position in a larger Galician-Jewish community without a good command of the Polish language.³⁸

Polish assimilation was additionally strengthened thanks to economic changes and the Polonization of Galicia, after it received autonomy in 1867. Jewish elites had to cooperate with the Polish administration and to learn Polish. A young Jewish generation used this language at schools and, unlike in the Polish provinces of Prussia and Russia, Galician Jews had an opportunity to familiarize themselves with Polish culture, which proved to be so attractive, that a part of the Jewish intelligentsia started to identify itself with Poland. From the early 1880s, the pro-Polish group grew larger, dominated the Jewish elites and established new organizations. The best known group *Aguda Akhim* (Covenant of Brothers), was founded in 1882 in Lwow to teach Jews how to be conscious citizens of their country. *Aguda Akhim* organized various educational activities: evening schools, libraries and clubs, which propagated and taught Polish language and culture. One such school existed in Przemysl in the years 1884-1890 and more than 50 students enrolled in it during the academic year 1884/85. A Jewish *Reichstag* caucus, created in 1873, which initially cooperated with Ukrainians and entered a liberal faction, changed its policy during the next election, and from that time on Jewish deputies belonged to the Polish Club. Jewish-Polish assimilation was accelerated by the "red assimilation": the socialist movement in Galicia was dominated by Poles, and numerous Jewish workers learned the Polish language as members of Polish Social-Democratic Party. Even the first Zionist periodicals in Galicia were published in Polish. In the last decades before the First World War, a group of Jews or Poles of the Mosaic religion participated in various organizations working for the resurrection of Poland. Several hundreds Jews fought in Joseph Pilsudski's Polish Legions after 1914.³⁹

Assimilation was also accelerated by a developing system of public education. More and more Jews received secular instruction. In 1830, only 408 Jewish children attended public schools in Galicia, in 1900 the number was 110,269. In 1867 only 556 Jews attended high school (*Gymnasium*), in 1910/11 about 6,600 (20.5% of all students). The number of Jewish students in the *Realschulen* grew from 125 to 735 (21% of all pupils) at that time. In 1867, only 769 Jews studied at all Austrian universities; in 1904 two Galician universities alone (leaving aside Lwow's "Polytechnic") enrolled 904 Jewish students.⁴⁰

A group of Jewish white-collar workers, mainly civil servants and clerks in private enterprises, appeared. They, wrote Franciszek Bujak, "do not fulfill any religious duties and come to synagogues only during state holidays, in their official uniforms."⁴¹ In 1910, Jews constituted 5% of all the civil servants working in Cracow, 17% of Cracow's engineers, 24% of all the physicians, 11% of

pharmacists, 52% of lawyers, 8% of journalists and writers, 8% of actors. It was not identical, however, with a triumph of the assimilationist movement, which, according to Wilhelm Feldman (who did not explain, however, what assimilation meant to him) consisted of around 10,000 persons by the end of the nineteenth century. A majority of emancipated Jews of Galicia combined Polish education and elements of European culture with Jewish heritage, Jewish national consciousness and reformed Mosaic religion. In the years 1897-1902, only 157 Jews left their community in Lwow (68.1% of them converted to the Catholicism, 12.7% to the Greek-Catholic Church, 15.3% to Protestant denominations). At that time the Mosaic faith was abandoned by 444 individuals in Cracow.⁴²

Professional profile and economic situation.

Galician Jewry had an easier path to emancipation than other Jews in Eastern Europe, but the poverty of the Jews of Galicia made them similar to their co-religionist in Russia. The Austrian government was unreceptive to the idea of the industrialization of Galicia. Vienna came to conclusion, that it would be unwise to develop industry in the militarily jeopardized border province. Consequently, Galicia did not have its own railway system for a long time; it lagged behind Bohemia in terms of industrial production and behind Hungary in terms of agricultural output. On the one hand, Galicia was separated from the Austrian provinces by unfavorable railroad rates, on the other hand advantageous tariffs on the border with Russia made it cheaper to buy several agricultural products in the Ukraine.⁴³

The introduction of Galician autonomy in 1867 improved the situation only slightly. Polish leaders were more interested in politics than in economic matters and they did not abandon their conservative attitude towards the economy for a long time. The Galician Diet was afraid of any expenses and maintained an economically detrimental taxation system. The Polish Club in the *Reichsrat* supported the central government and did not fight against its economic policy, which, in the end, only handicapped Galicia. The economic crisis, which started in the early 1870s seriously affected Austrian industry. The Viennese government introduced protective tariffs to save it. The move limited foreign competition but -- at the same time -- facilitated cartelization, which was economically disadvantageous for the Galician weak industry.⁴⁴

Finally, the Galician Diet changed its conservative attitude toward the economy, tried to work out its own economic program and started an intense development of public education. In 1883, the Galician Bank (*Bank Krajowy*) was established, in

1887 the Galician Drainage Bureau was organized and in 1888 the Industrial Committee. Unfortunately, all these institutions supported mostly small industry, incapable of competing with Austrian and foreign mass production. Numerous economists and politicians protested against this situation and insisted that the Galician administration should terminate overtaxation, introduce a liberal economy, protest against the policy of Vienna, and develop credit and transportation. Simultaneously, a portion of the jobless from the overpopulated villages and small towns emigrated, successful emigrants started to send or bring back money, which enlivened the economy and helped peasants to buy land. A slow evolution started. Credit became available, tax-exemptions were more frequent, local self-government worked better, a workers' movement was organized and labor legislation initiated. Landowners finally understood that the development of Galician industry could be favorable to them. Industrial production grew, more and more labor was transferred from agriculture to other sectors of economy.⁴⁵

The Jews, who owned most Galician enterprises, participated in this evolution. A relatively large group of Jews derived its livelihood from agriculture and food production. In 1890, there were already six wealthy Jewish capitalists among the 45 richest landowners, who like the Czartoryskis and the Lubomirskis owned more than 10 000 *Joch* (one Austrian *Joch* = 1.408 acres). In 1897, Jews working in agriculture were almost three times more numerous in Galicia than in the Congress Poland. In 1902, Jews constituted 50% (8,000 persons) of all the citizens of Galicia, who leased farms or estates. That activity offered employment to 1200 Jewish clerks. According to Arthur Ruppin, a Zionist economist and sociologist, 13.6% of all Jews in Galicia worked in agriculture before World War I, however other scholars cite smaller numbers. More than two thirds of Galician Jewry was involved in trade, handicraft and small industry. Several branches of production were almost entirely in Jewish hands. This was the case with flour-mills, alcohol distilleries, small oil-refineries, sawmills, tanneries, brick-yards, soda water factories, and plants producing celluloid and talliths (Jewish prayer shawls). Jews were especially well represented in the liquor trade (before 1911) and they dominated also in trade in cattle, horses, poultry, feathers and bristles.⁴⁶

The majority of Jewish enterprises, led by owners and their families, were economically very weak. Nevertheless, Jewish commerce had no serious competitor until the last years of the nineteenth century, especially in Eastern Galicia. Ukrainians prevailed there in agriculture and Poles in public service, from administration officials at the top to janitors at the bottom.⁴⁷

In 1885, a Polish Society of Farmers' Associations (*Towarzystwo Kolek Rolniczych*) was established, and three years later Ukrainians founded their National Trade Association (*Narodna Tarhowla*). Both these institutions organized credit unions to ease the credit situation of the peasants and created cooperative shops to eliminate the Jewish middlemen. Peasant cooperatives remained, however, mostly weak and usually landed in private hands. The Galician administration supported the cooperative movement financially and by enacting laws unfavorable to Jews in regard to Sunday rest, the salt monopoly and liquor trade. In 1893, an economic boycott of the Jews in Galicia was proclaimed during a Catholic convention in Cracow. The boycott lasted until the First World War. Galician authorities tried to create a Polish bourgeoisie by limiting Jewish participation in trade and industry. Special licenses were necessary for peddling, old-clothes trade, transportation, running an employment agency and owning pharmacy. Persons selling colonial articles and spices, oils and paints had to obtain individual "proof of capability" from the local administration. A new veterinarian law limited Jewish participation in the cattle trade. In 1910, Jews were forbidden to sell alcoholic beverages. By 1900 foreign capital, mostly German and British, started to create competing enterprises and big landowners themselves engaged in trade. The economic crisis of 1912 also weakened Jewish businesses, mostly in terms of credit, which was waning during the pre-war international tension.⁴⁸

Jewish enterprises went, therefore, through a crisis in the years 1900-14. The number of "helping family members" and overstaffing in commerce was constantly growing. The Jews were also forced out of non-commercial branches of industry. In the 1890s, there were 6,000 Jews among 9,000 workers of the Boryslaw oil-fields. In the last years before the First World War, Jewish oilers were replaced by cheaper, Christian labor. The financial help of the Baron de Hirsch Foundation, the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* and of other organizations could not stop the replacement of Jewish workers by Polish and Ukrainian peasants. The occupational structure of the Jewish community in Galicia (Table 8) was less oriented towards commerce and handicrafts than in Russia, but the economic situation of Galician Jewry, nevertheless, grew worse and worse, descending towards poverty.⁴⁹

The Jews of Galicia lived under very difficult housing and health conditions. Jewish city districts, densely built over, were usually dirty and dark. Their inhabitants, subsisting on an unhealthy diet, frequently suffered from various diseases. Even in the capital of Lwow there were only a few paved roads and streets by the late 1860s. A majority of city

streets was covered alternately with drift sand and sticky mud. People unaccustomed to city life were choked by the stench from open sewers and gutters. Cholera epidemics threatened Galician townlets in 1873 and 1894.⁵⁰

Religious life.

The every-day routine of the majority of Galician Jewry was precisely regulated by religious customs. Their execution was supervised by rabbis, who solved, according to the Talmud, all questions and conflicts or administered an oath on the Torah. Rabbinical courts' verdicts were almost always binding. Rabbis had, however, a powerful weapon in extraordinary cases: the act of excommunication. A Jew, who had been excommunicated, automatically was excluded from Jewish society, which could mean a total pauperization or even death. The religious community was the most influential local institution. It cared for its members, arranged their lives in ways different from Christian or secularized society. Prayers and religious customs fixed daily and weekly timetables, ways of dressing, eating and all other activities. Work stopped in shtetls every Friday night as Jews gathered around Sabbath tables. All stores and workshops remained closed on Saturdays. Daily life returned slowly and cautiously to a Jewish district on Sunday, because officially all work places had to be closed on Sundays and Christian holidays. Work was back to normal on Monday. The 1890 law about Judische Kultusgemeinden (see p. 9) defined precisely the competencies of a kahal, which was responsible for the ritual slaughter houses, the ritual bath, the registration of births, marriages, divorces and deaths, the main synagogue and the hospital. A community council controlled the community's incomes (mainly from taxes), paid wages to the rav (rabbi), the shames (beadle), the soifer (scribe), the shoikhet (ritual slaughterer), the chazan (singer) and bath attendants. Most Galician communities, including Cracow and Lwow, had constant financial problems and asked for help from American and West European Jewish organizations. Almost every meeting of a community council was devoted to tax problems, debts and the expenses of a Gemeinde, which was frequently supported and, consequently, controlled by a group of rich members. There was also a long list of less important occupations tied up with religious life and every shtetl maintained, among others, musicians, a badchen (jester), who officiated at Jewish festivities, a shadchen (matchmaker), batlunim (idlers) who recited psalms or kaddish (prayer for the dead), gravediggers and a winkelschreiber, who wrote petitions in Polish or German.⁵¹

Antisemitism and political and economic oppression provoked a feeling of solidarity among

Jews and many charitable organizations operated in every shtetl. The Chevrah Kadisha (Holy Burial Society) arranged funerals, Chevrah Ner Tamid (Perpetual Light Society) made sure that there was always a light burning in the synagogue, Malbish Arumim (Clothing the Naked) collected used clothing from the rich and distributed it to the poor, Tomchei Yesovmim (Help the Orphans) cared for the well-being of orphans. By 1900, ten chevras worked in Limanowa, a small town of a few thousand people, researched by Franciszek Bujak. "All these organizations," wrote Bujak, "do a lot of good things. We have to admit that it is much more bearable to be a poor Jew than a poor Christian in Limanowa."⁵²

Every community maintained several chederim -- religious schools that began at age three. A cheder consisted usually of only one room, employed one melamed and sometimes a belfer (helper). The chederim also played the role of a kindergarten, since many parents were too busy to stay with their children during the day. Chederim got their students used to learning and since they taught Torah with commentaries, they provided their pupils with basic knowledge of Hebrew and some elements of history and geography.⁵³

Galician Jewish communities were not homogenous. Ethnographic differences and local antagonisms existed between West and East Galician Jews, who also spoke different dialects. Cultural differentiation within Jewish society, unknown until the middle of the eighteenth century, grew throughout the next century. Consequently, conflict between progressive and conservative forces in Galician communities became sharper. The Enlightenment schools of Joseph II existed for only 20 years (1787-1806) but they managed to create a group of maskilim who were Jewish intelligentsia fascinated with German-Jewish Haskalah. In 1826, a progressive synagogue was established in Vienna, in the early 1840s the so called temple was founded in Tarnopol (Ternopil') and a group of progressives started to collect money to build a reformed synagogue in Lwow. In 1842 the Austrian administration helped the supporters of modernization to become a majority in Lwow's community Vorstand (Board of Directors), and in 1845, as mentioned earlier, a progressive Deutsch Judisches Bethaus was opened in the capital of Galicia. Lwow, an important center of the Haskalah, included the largest (until the 1880s) Jewish community of the Habsburg Empire. Jews organized around Lwow's temple continued to reform religious life, sent to the Austrian government several plans for the Europeization of Galician Jewry and tried to establish a Gemeindebund, which would unite progressive community boards. Both Shomer Israel

and *Aguda Akhim* were organized in Lwow, where the whole of public life of Galician Jews was concentrated.⁵⁴

Similar changes occurred in Cracow's smaller and more conservative community. Since the 1840s several modern Jewish institutions were created there, like *Klub zur Forderung der geistigen und materialen Interessen der Israeliten*, established in 1848 and politically pro-Polish in spite of the fact, that the older generation of its members did not speak Polish. Both progressive and orthodox Jews competed in 1848 during the election to the parliament. In 1862, a larger temple replaced the small reformed synagogue, founded in the 1840s. In 1865 a group of supporters of modernization acquired for the first time seats on Cracow's community board.⁵⁵ Galician enthusiasts of *Haskalah* spread its principles into Russia. A tsarist ukase of 1803 permitted merchants to store imported goods in Odessa without paying taxes and tolls. About 300 Jewish merchants from Brody transferred their main offices to Odessa and established there a big community of Galician, progressive Jews. In 1841, they founded in Odessa their Brody Synagogue, the first in Russia "maintained according to the model of German temples."⁵⁶

The conservative Jews of Galicia were not able to stop the modernization and growing influences of the relatively small number of *maskilim* for many reasons. Conservative forces were divided: rabbinical orthodoxy had to fight against Hassidism, which appeared in Galicia in the last decades of the eighteenth century. In 1785, *misnagdim*, the "opponents" of Hassidism, fiercely attacked Rabbi Klonymus Kalman Epstein of Cracow, whose son, Aron, founded the first Galician Hassidic synagogue in the city. At the same time, important centers of Hassidism were created by Rabbi Jehiel Michael of Zloczow (Zolochiv) (died in 1786), Rabbi Elimelekh of Lezajsk (died in 1786) and Rabbi Meir of Przemysl (1782-1850). Hassidism spread despite efforts to stop it on the part of the Austrian government and the excommunication of Hassidism by the rabbinical authorities in Cracow. The country was divided among local *tsaddiks*: Shalom Rokeah founded the Belz dynasty in 1816, Haim Halberstam established the dynasty of Nowy Sacz (Zenz or Sandz in Yiddish) in 1830. Other dynasties emerged in Brody, Lwow, Husiatyn, Czortkow (Chortkiv) and Rymanow. The struggle between *Haskalah* and Hassidim reached its peak in the years 1815-1848 and by the middle of the nineteenth century Hassidim dominated Galicia, where 6 out of every 7 Jews were adherents.⁵⁷ Numerous *tsaddikim* started to occupy rabbinic posts. In the 1830s, a new trend appeared among Baal Shem Tov's admirers; a group of *chidushim* (innovators) amalgamated Hassidism with rules of rabbinical

orthodoxy. This unification proved to be very important in the period of modernization as Hassidim and orthodox *misnagdim* were fighting together against *maskilim*. In 1882 a conference of orthodox rabbis and Hassidic *tsaddiks* excommunicated all the progressive Jews in Galicia.⁵⁸

Political Life.

By the end of the nineteenth century, advocates of assimilation were challenged by an additional adversary -- Zionism. Its development was stimulated by three factors: (1) a religious belief in messianic Redemption and the Return to Zion; (2) news about pogroms in Russia; and (3) disappointment with assimilation. The rabbinical "Zionist" tradition was very strong in Central Europe, where rabbis like Jehuda Alkalay, Elijah Gutmacher and Hirsch (Zwi) Kalischer formulated programs of Jewish colonization of Palestine. The first booklets on these plans were published in Austria and Germany decades before the Zionist movement was established. After 1881, when pogroms started in Russia and the tsarist administration assumed a severe anti-Jewish position, a wave of Russian-Jewish emigrants moved west. A part of them went through or remained in the Habsburg Empire. Numerous Russian Jews believed that since the emigration was necessary, the land of Israel would be the most natural destination for Jewish refugees. This idea was accepted by numerous Jews living in Austria, where a new, modern antisemitism was born in the years 1875-1882, causing a deep disappointment among assimilated Jews. They realized that their attempts to assimilate into the Austrian, German-speaking society had failed and they started to look for a new solution to the Jewish problem. In May 1882, the first Austrian association for the colonization of Palestine was established. Named *Ahawath Zion* (Love of Zion) it resembled the Russian *Hovevei-Zion* (Lovers of Zion) organizations and beside modernized Jews it also assembled a group of orthodox rabbis. In 1893, several young, non-orthodox members of *Ahawath Zion* founded a new organization called *Kadimah* (Eastward). It was active among Jewish students and professionals of the Austrian capital.⁵⁹

Most founders of *Kadimah* came to Vienna from Galicia. Some of them preserved connections with their native province. In 1883, a group of Galician *Kadimahner* organized in Lwow the first Jewish-national association *Mikra Kodesch* (Sacred Thing). In 1888, it was renamed *Zion* and became a center of the Jewish national movement in Galicia. In the late 1880s, it was represented by local organizations in most larger Galician towns and it attracted a group of young people, a generation of

"sons", who rebelled politically against their "fathers", who were tied to assimilation. The first Galician Zionists, Ozjasz Thon, Marcus Braude, and Alfred Nossig went back to the traditions of Haskalah. The adherents of Zionism assumed, however, a different attitude towards Hebrew culture. They were fascinated with German culture but they wanted to modernize Jewish life not in a Polish or German but in a European way, with references to the tradition of Judaism.⁶⁰

In 1892, Ojczyzna (Homeland), published by assimilationists, ceased to appear. It was replaced by Przyszlosc (Future) and, from 1900, by Wschod (East), the Zionist newspaper in Polish. Editors of Wschod called Aguda Akhim "a treason against Judaism." The Syjon society's publishing house issued the Program of Jewish Youth, advocating a return to Palestine and declared: "Jews of all countries unite! Down with an easy disguise of assimilation! Down with the servile musician Yankel and his admirers!"⁶¹

The program aroused enthusiasm among the Jewish intelligentsia, which was attested by the creation of Zionist "circles" in the large cities and small shtetls. Activists operated in the country creating libraries, organizing lectures and holding celebrations. The movement was growing very fast, but it was divided into two trends. In 1893, Lwow's members of Zion association founded a "Jewish National Party in Galicia", which emphasized Jewish national emancipation within the Habsburg Empire. Two years earlier, Dr. Abraham Salz, an attorney from Tarnow and a former Kadimahner, established a branch of Ahawath Zion in his city. The organization concentrated on a program of Jewish colonization of Palestine. In 1892, Dr. Salz bought a piece of land in Palestine and founded a Galician colony named Machnayim (Camps, also a name of an ancient city east of the Jordan). By the year 1895, representatives of both trends were active in most larger Galician Jewish communities. The appearance of Theodor Herzl and his formula of "political" Zionism caused additional divisions in the Jewish national movement in Galicia, which eventually was overcome in the last years of the nineteenth century. Herzl, who was considered in Galician shtetls to be a national hero, stimulated the rapid development of Zionism. As Wilhelm Feldman wrote in 1907:

Masses which did not know about the existence of Lwow's Diet, become excited electing delegates to the Zionist Congress in Basle. People, who have no idea about the topography of their homeland, rack their brains for details of international diplomacy and colonial policy.⁶²

After the Second Zionist Congress of 1898, which created the basis of the World Zionist Organization, two and than three districts were founded in Galicia: around Cracow, Lwow and Stanislawow. Their representatives belonged to the most important leaders of Austrian Zionist Federation and, in 1907, they occupied 3 seats in Greater Actions Committee, which headed the entire Zionist movement. Dr Salz was elected a vice-president of the First Zionist Congress, about 10,000 Galician Jews contributed to the Zionist common fund, many more sympathizers, too poor to pay the shekel, also participated in political life. As the movement grew, Zionist organizations and newspapers sprang up in almost all of the larger towns of Galicia.⁶³

Zionists surpassed other Jewish political organizations in initiative and mobility. In 1905, a leader of Ukrainian caucus in the Viennese parliament proposed the creation a Jewish electoral curia. Jewish socialists and Zionists supported the idea but the Polish Club, assimilationists, misnagdim and leaders of religious communities opposed it, and finally the Austrian government rejected the plan. In 1905, Zionists disturbed celebrations of the January Uprising in Lwow's temple. A few months later, they arranged a conference in Cracow to establish an Austrian Federation of Jewish-national parties and associations. The plan came to nothing, but in 1906 the Zionists gathered in Cracow and at the "Cracow Conference" they formulated a new platform called Gegenwartsarbeit ("work of the present time"). In the same year, a general franchise was introduced in the Danubian Monarchy. Jewish politicians intensified their activities. Zionist candidates were put up in 20 electoral districts during the 1907 Reichsrat election. Thirty thousand Galicians voted for Zionists, who offered the program of fighting against assimilation, antisemitism and anti-Jewish persecutions. Three Zionist delegates from Galicia entered the parliament and created there, together with a Zionist from Bukovina, the first Jewish parliamentary club ever, fighting for the recognition of Jewish nationality. The Zionist caucus in the Reichsrat was opposed by three other elected Jewish deputies from Galicia who were tied traditionally to the Polish Club. Galician Jews had their representatives in the Reichsrat during its whole history. Initially, Jewish deputies belonged to the Liberal German Verfassungspartei (Constitutional Party) but then they shifted to the Polish Club.⁶⁴

In 1904, the Poale-Zion (Worker of Zion) party was organized in Austria and Galicia. Poale-Zion groups grew quickly and district organizations were soon established in Brody, Rzeszow, Brzezany (Berezhany), Zolkiew (Zhovkva), Stanislawow and

Przemysl. Favorable conditions for their activities were created earlier by the Jewish workers' movement. The first Jewish trade unions were founded in Galicia in the 1880s. Initially, they were of religious character, centered around their "own" synagogues and their members swore by the Torah. In 1892, a trade union of tallith weavers in Kolomyja organized the first strike of the Jewish workers in Galicia. Jewish trade unions activists were attracted by the Polish Social-Democratic Party of Galicia, founded in 1892. A group of Jews or Poles of Mosaic faith, notably Hermann Diamand, Hermann Liebermann or Max Zetterbaum, was among the Party's leaders, but most of them opposed Jewish "clericalism" and national separatism. They believed that class ties were more important than national consciousness and that the future triumph of the workers' movement would also solve national questions. Polish socialists published newspapers in Yiddish directed at Jews, though, eventually, membership in the Polish Social Democratic Party itself was connected with assimilation.⁶⁵

Nevertheless, the idea of an independent Jewish socialist party was introduced during the 1897 congress of the Polish Social Democratic Party in Przemysl. In the same year, the Bund was created in Russia, and organizers of Poale-Zion started to be visible in the shtetls. A formal resolution to create a Jewish socialist party was moved during the 1904 congress of the Polish Social-Democracy in Cracow. After a discussion a compromise was reached: Jewish committees were to be created in the cities, where the Polish Social-Democracy had its district organizations. The first Jewish committees were organized in Lwow and Cracow. Their leaders started to publish a weekly Yiddishe Arbetertsaytung and they established a Galician Jewish Council.⁶⁶

This palliative did not satisfy the "separatists", who walked in the footsteps of the Bund with greater frequency. In 1905, Jewish socialists, who officially were still members of the Polish Social-Democracy, organized an independent May Day celebration, started to publish a Yiddish paper in Lwow (Der Yiddishe Sotsialdemocrat), which became the organ of the "separatists", and finally, in the same year 1905, they established the separate Jewish Social-Democratic Party of Galicia. Its supporters claimed that the Jewish socialist movement was only an addition to the Polish party and that Polish leaders did not understand the special needs of Jewish workers. Poles tried to stop the separatism of the Jewish socialists. Polish Social-Democracy's leadership founded a Jewish section within its party and blocked the entry of the Jewish socialists into the Austrian federation of social democratic organizations. The Jewish Social Democratic Party overcame these difficulties and

organized its first convention in Lwow in June 1906. Eighty delegates represented 20 Galician towns and 4,000 members. The representatives of the Bund were invited and their program was taken as a model. The convention rejected the "Palestinian platform" and announced cultural autonomy as the only solution to the national question in Austria.⁶⁷

Initially, Jewish Social-Democracy competed with Poale-Zion. During the 1912 economic crisis, both parties faced serious problems and the idea of unification emerged as mutually beneficial. Unification failed, however, partly due to the fact, that already in 1911 a compromise was achieved with the Polish Social-Democratic Party, which permitted its Jewish members to join the Jewish Social-Democrats. The leaders of the Polish Party owed their election to the Reichsrat partly to Jewish votes and were afraid that a growing conflict would strengthen the Jewish National Party. As a result the Jewish section of the Polish Social Democratic Party joined the Jewish Social Democrats shortly before the war.⁶⁸

At the beginning of the twentieth century, several smaller Jewish political organizations were active in Galicia. A new cultural trend appeared in Warsaw at that time. Its supporters referred to it as neoassimilation and postulated that a complete external Europeanization and participation in the political life of a country should be combined with Jewish culture and reformed religion. Cracow's adherents of this stream established the academic association named Unification (Zjednoczenie) and the Berek Joselewicz Society, comprising "Polish youth of Mosaic faith" from high schools and the Jagiellonian University. Simultaneously, a group of "Independent Jews" existed in Cracow. They rejected assimilation and all kinds of party ideologies but demanded the introduction of real democracy and equal rights for the Jews. Since 1900, these "independents" published a newspaper called Tygodnik (Weekly). During the 1900 Reichsrat election and during the 1901 Sejm election, their candidate won against the assimilationist president of Cracow's Jewish community, who was supported by Polish conservatives.⁶⁹

Culture and Language.

Galicia was a major center of traditional Torah education and Talmudic scholarship throughout its entire history. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Haskalah began to flower in Galicia, but the changes of the second half of the nineteenth century reshaped Jewish culture in a way uncomparable to any previous transformation. The liberal arts and literature constituted an arena of confrontation between the new and the old worlds.

Galicia was located far from the political and cultural capital of Austria but Galician elites followed Viennese trends and Galician shtetls formed an important center of Jewish literature.⁷⁰

The Hassidic campaign against *misnagdim* and *maskilim* caused an increase in journalism and political writings, both in Yiddish and in Hebrew. At the same time, however, Hassidim were creating their own literature: stories about Baal Shem Tov and his students, philosophical and religious treatises. Their authors showed the way for more modern writers, who followed West European patterns or just adapted all kinds of literary works from western literature. Numerous authors of minor significance were active in Galicia during the first half of the nineteenth century. They published novels about shtetl life, letters and satirical works (Joseph Perl) or poetry based on folk tradition (Berl Broder). The *Haskalah*, present in Galicia until the end of the nineteenth century, stimulated studies in Jewish history, focusing on antiquity, Talmudic and linguistic research of a serious caliber.⁷¹

The most interesting literary phenomenon of Galicia was formed, however, by a neo-romantic stream of authors, writing in Yiddish and called *Jung Galizia*. The trend appeared at the very beginning of the twentieth century under the influence of a corresponding movement existing in Vienna. Shmuel Jacob Imber, Jacob Mestel, Melech Ravitsch, Uri Zwi Grinberg and David Konigsberger worked mostly in Lwow. Some of them were attached to the *Lemberg Togblat*, the first Yiddish daily established in 1904. They wrote poetry, plays and prose, they followed or translated into Yiddish Stanislaw Przybyszewski, Knut Hamsun, Oscar Wilde and Selma Lagerlof. During World War I they escaped, like a majority of educated Galician Jews, to Vienna, the city of their dreams.⁷²

The development of Yiddish, demeaned by Western Jews as a disgraceful "jargon", occurred on a broader scale outside of literature. Jewish political movements tried to find the common language with the masses and addressed them in Yiddish, which became a language of journalism and political life. Jews started to defend their mother tongue. In August 1908, a conference in Chernovtsy in Bukovina was devoted to the state and development of Yiddish. It was recognized as a native tongue of Jews and ideas for its linguistic development were introduced. In relation to the census of 1910, Jewish political organizations demanded that Yiddish should be recognized as one of the "official" languages of the Empire. Special committees called upon Jews to declare Yiddish as their native tongue in the census. Orthodox leaders opposed this action but more than half the Jews in Galicia, Vienna and Bukovina wrote

down Yiddish in the census documents. They were penalized later with fines.⁷³

Relations with the non-Jewish Population.

Since neither Poles nor Ukrainians (respectively 45.4% and 42.1% of the entire population in 1880) created an absolute majority in Galicia, Jews could hold political balance or even act as an intermediary between both competing nations. This proved, however, to be impossible, as more and more frequently Ukrainians and Poles came out against Jews. The escalation of anti-Jewish policy in Russia since the beginning of the 1880s and growing nationalistic feelings in Europe stimulated traditionally scornful and disrespectful attitudes towards the Jews, shared by numerous Poles, especially those of gentry background. The latter believed that the Jews were obliged to support the Polish establishment against Galician Ukrainians, who visibly accelerated their drive for national and political emancipation during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Antisemitic voices appeared in the *Sejm*, Jewish girls were kidnapped and hidden in Galician monasteries. In 1892, Father Stanislaw Stojalowski founded the Union of the Polish Peasant Party (*Zwiazek Stronnictwa Chlopskiego*). Its populist ideology included antisemitic theories, and the party issued numerous pamphlets and papers depicting Jews as fabulously rich capitalists, who were destroying lower-class morals and finances as innkeepers, and who were parasites and enemies ordered by the Talmud to cheat. Party propaganda raised the spectre that the Jews would one day buy up all of Galicia. Stojalowski and other populist leaders based their electoral tactic on antisemitic appeals and offered an anti-Jewish program as a panacea for all Galician problems, such as economic disaster, alcoholism, illiteracy and political conflicts. Antisemitism was strengthened by antisemitic booklets imported from Austria proper and translated into Polish and the economic activities of the cooperatives, and by the Catholic Church, which, like Austrian conservatism in general, associated Jews with Liberalism and proclaimed an anti-Jewish boycott in 1893. Impoverished and illiterate Galician peasants directed their frustration against the Jews. Antisemitism became also a component of the Ukrainian national movement.⁷⁴

In 1896, the Austrian electoral system, consisting of four curiae, was extended by the addition of a fifth curia, which gave the vote to adult males. Even this limited democratization enlivened political life and propaganda in the country and politicized Galician peasants. After the 1898 by-elections, when Father Stojalowski received a *Reichsrat* seat, anti-Jewish riots broke out in 33

towns of Western Galicia. The riots started in March in the city of Wieliczka, where a crowd of young men attacked a synagogue on Friday evening. Similar events took place later in Kalwaria, Nowy Sacz, Stary Sacz and the Jaslo region. Tumults became more frequent and violent in the summer, during the by-election to the Galician Diet. The majority of taverns and bars were demolished in the regions of Sanok and Gorlice. Rioters, arrested by the police, later claimed that political leaders and the emperor himself called upon them to rob, that they saw "official instructions" and heard that Jews killed Archduke Rudolf and wanted to murder the emperor. After the riots a state of emergency was introduced in Galicia and most Polish political parties condemned anti-Jewish violent acts, but they took place in several towns once again in 1903. It appears, that peasant hostility towards Jews was not motivated by nationalistic feelings but rather by a sense of economic competition, by religious prejudices and by political propaganda. Jews, however, did not find relief in this differentiation.⁷⁵

The Last Years before World War I.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Galician shtetls, until then almost entirely cut off from the outside world and living with their own problems, started to participate more frequently in the dramatic events which disturbed traditional life. Dangerous news came in from Russia. In 1903, reports about the Kishiniev pogrom shocked Galician Jews and in 1904 they followed the course of the Russian-Japanese war. Every defeat of the hated, anti-semitic tsarist Russia was met with satisfaction. In the years 1911-1913, the Beilis ritual murder affair in Russia agitated Galician Jews like nothing else since the Dreyfus trial. Jewish public opinion paid attention also to the Balkan wars, the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the erosion of the Turkish Empire, which could create favorable changes in Palestine.⁷⁶

Assimilated Jews were gradually accepted by Polish society but at the same time Jewish emancipation provoked suspicion among Poles. They demanded that the Jewish electorate vote for Polish candidates during the 1907 *Reichsrat* election. Assimilationists and adherents of orthodoxy, who traditionally cooperated with the Polish parliamentary caucus supported these demands. Jewish national organizations, however, put up their own candidates. This independent action and its success caused a rise of antisemitic feelings. In 1905, a Galician branch of the Polish National Democratic Party was set up and became the main vehicle of antisemitism in the province. Under the leadership of Roman Dmowski, *Endecja* assumed a strongly anti-

Jewish position from its founding in 1897. During the 1907 elections *endeks* used antisemitic slogans and warned that a "third nation" might appear in Galicia. Eventually, *Endecja* won a victory in the elections. Twenty-five of its representatives entered the *Reichsrat* and a leader of Galician National Democrats was elected president of the Polish Club.⁷⁷

In 1911, during the next parliamentary election, Polish politicians tried to exclude independent Jewish candidates, especially Zionists. The electoral campaign was tense. The Polish administration and political establishment wanted to gain the orthodox leaders' support and withdrew regulations that stipulated that officially appointed rabbis were required to graduate from secular high schools and speak foreign languages. Ten Galician Jews entered the parliament but there were no Zionists among them. A new notion appeared in the Central-European political vocabulary -- *Galizische Wahlen* (Galician elections) as a symbol for election fraud and violence. The political atmosphere in Galicia in 1912 was influenced by elections in Russia to the fourth Duma. A National Democratic candidate in Warsaw was defeated with the help of Jewish votes. *Endecja* proclaimed an anti-Jewish boycott, which had repercussions in Galicia.⁷⁸

The First World War.

Assimilated, *Habsburgtreu*, German-speaking Jews of Austria, especially in Vienna, welcomed the outbreak of the war with enthusiasm.⁷⁹ A different atmosphere prevailed among orthodox Jews, particularly in the small shtetls of Galicia, where the Jewish population was politically far less active than in neighboring countries. They read in newspapers about the growing conflict with Serbia, but they consoled themselves, that Franz Joseph needed a war like a *lokh in kop* (a hole in his head).⁸⁰ Galician Jewry was surprised, therefore, with the outbreak of the war, but it was really smitten by the quick Austrian defeats in Galicia. Thousands of its Jews, aware of the Russian army's antisemitism, fled leaving behind all of their property. The huge exodus of refugees resembled the panic after the Chmielnicki pogroms in the seventeenth century. It is hard to establish how many refugees there were, because part of them turned back, escaped again or settled in a different region of the province. Estimates range from 200,000 to 400,000; the latter number would mean 50% of the whole Galician Jewry. An official report by the Austrian Minister of the Interior in the fall of 1915 gave a total of 340,000 refugees, most of whom were Jews.⁸¹

The mass of refugees went to Hungary, Moravia, Bohemia and to Vienna. Local administrations were unprepared for such an influx

and initially did not control the situation. Sometimes there was no help at all, but camps were usually established, where the refugees received food, clothing and shelter. Usually, these were wooden huts without sanitation, where infectious diseases were frequent and the mortality rate was high. Nobody was forced to live in the camps and some refugees tried to find jobs outside of them. During the first months of the war, the local population helped wholeheartedly under the impression that the war would be over soon.⁸²

A large group of refugees went to Vienna, where they had relatives and friends. The capital of Austria was considered in pre-war Galicia to be a "promised land". The refugees hoped, that it would be easier to find jobs, better help and a sense of security in the big city. Vienna, therefore, became the chief refugee center for Jews. They formed 60% (77,000 individuals) of all the escapees (137,000) in the capital and settled in all the districts of the city. Vienna's Jewish community grew by almost 50%. Nevertheless, relief work went quite well. Soup kitchens and additional schools were organized, the refugees received subsidies and a special committee (*Zentralstelle für jüdische Kriegsflüchtlinge*) was established to help Jews.⁸³

As the months went by, the situation of the entire Austrian population grew worse. Food shortages appeared, the previous friendly atmosphere vanished, new refugees were coming to Vienna and to the western provinces. Displaced Jews could not find work and were reduced to roaming the streets in search of some kind of employment. It created in the greater population a feeling of the "Judaization" of Vienna. Antisemites became increasingly active; beginning in 1916 demands appeared to remove the refugees from the capital and to isolate them in special camps in Moravia.⁸⁴

Jews, who remained in Galicia under Russian occupation, faced a worse fate. Their status was "equalized" with the legal position of Russian Jewry. Galician Jews were removed from self-government bodies and the civil service, they could not live in the countryside nor leave their districts. Their civil rights were withdrawn and their religious sensibilities insulted. Frequently, they were accused of spying or siding with the enemy. Almost every Russian unit upon entering a city, and later the last units to depart it harassed and robbed the local Jews. Some of these events turned into regular pogroms, which lasted several days and caused the death of many Jews. Collective responsibility was enforced; Russians took hostages and executed innocent people to terrorize the civilian population. The Jews were harassed also by bandits in "no man's land" between the fighting armies. The chief of the Galician military administration, Count George A. Bobrinskiy, lacking

organizational talents and elementary knowledge of the province, was not able to curb the lawlessness of the worst *chinovniks* (Russian minor officials) sent to Galicia to Russify the country. War operations cut Galicia off from any help from outside. Several towns and many villages were completely quarantined by the Russians to stop epidemics of black smallpox and spotted fever. Schools and synagogues were closed and public meetings forbidden. Tsarist military authorities started the mass deportation of Jews to Russia, but the Minister of the Interior, Prince N. B. Shcherbatov, objected. As a consequence, the commander-in-chief of the Russian army ordered that "upon the occupation of new localities by our troops all Jews should be rounded-up and driven out to follow the enemy troops," because the Russian government already had major problems with the Jews from western regions of the Pale of Settlement, who, crowded in its eastern parts, poured into Russia proper.⁸⁵

In 1915, German and Austrian armies pushed the Russians back, but only a minority of the refugees decided to return to Galicia. The region was devastated during the military operations and it was not able to accommodate the Jewish refugees. Frequently, they were not welcomed by the Polish and Ukrainian people. Jewish property had been seized and the Jews, who decided to return, were destined to live out a wretched existence. A corresponding situation prevailed behind the Russian front. In 1916, Russians re-conquered a part of Galicia. This time their Jewish policy was milder. About 35,000 Jews, who had been deported to Russia, went back. They were not allowed, however, to return to their native cities and they landed in wooden barracks, under bad conditions and without jobs. Their situation improved in 1917, after the March Revolution. Political and economic life enlivened. Galician districts, controlled by Russians, received help and better administration. In June 1917, a congress of Jewish representatives met in Tarnopol. A plan of substantial aid for Jews was prepared. But it came to nothing. After the last Kerensky offensive the whole of Galicia was occupied by the Germans. Departing Russian units organized pogroms in Tarnopol and Kalusz. Several months later, an open Polish-Ukrainian conflict started and each side claimed that its enemies were supported by Jews.⁸⁶

By the end of 1918, about 35,000 Jewish refugees from Galicia still remained in Vienna. A part of them lived together and formed a ghetto within a ghetto. The war also brought Hassidim to the Austrian capital, where there had been none before 1914. During the war many Galician Hassidic courts were founded there. The Czortkower Rebbe reestablished Czortkow-in-miniature in the

Heinestrasse. The refugees did not want to go back to their impoverished homeland. They became a burden on the city and its authorities tried to get rid of them. It was impossible, however, to force out citizens of pre-war Austria. There was a war in Poland, and only after its end in 1920, was it possible to sign an agreement with Polish Republic in which the latter promised to accept returnees. Several thousand Jews, mainly from the poorest districts of Vienna, decided to return. They went back not to their shtetls but to the big cities. The net result of the war and dislocation was that the number of the Jews in Galicia decreased by 20% between the censuses of 1910 and 1921.⁸⁷

During the last months of the war, the attitude of Polish population of Galicia towards the Jews grew steadily worse. Many Poles believed that Jews collaborated with the Austrians and Germans against Polish interests and opposed the re-establishment of an independent Polish state. Despite the extreme poverty of the Jewish masses, many Poles believed that numerous Jews made financial fortunes on war contracts and avoided military service. Wincenty Witos, the future Prime Minister of Poland and a leader of the Peasant Party, who was by himself not friendly toward the Jews, wrote simply about a growing hankering for anti-Jewish revenge.⁸⁸ The explosion of hatred came in November 1918, when Austrian and German power was removed and the new Polish authorities were not yet in control of the situation. Anti-Jewish riots broke out in several towns of Galicia. The biggest pogroms took place in Lwow, where 72 Jews were killed⁸⁹, and in Kolbuszowa, where 8 Jews died.⁹⁰ Isaac Deutscher recalled: "I lived through three pogroms during the very first week of reborn Poland. This is how the dawn of Polish independence greeted us."⁹¹

Conclusions.

Before the Partitions of Poland, its Jewish population was almost perfectly homogenous in terms of culture, religion and way of life. Leaving aside local habits, dialectal differences in Yiddish and the early, limited consequences of the Hassidic movement, Jewish communities of Galicia looked like *kahals* in Lithuania, Belorussia, Mazovia and other parts of the Polish Commonwealth. After World War I, Galicia once again became a part of a Polish state, but at that time Galician Jews, because of their experience under Habsburg rule, differed from their co-religionists living in Polish lands previously occupied by Russia and Prussia. Numerous phenomena, described or only mentioned in this article, reshaped Galician Jewry during the period 1772-1918, when Galicia belonged to the Habsburg

Empire and became a separate, distinct entity on the map of the Jewish Diaspora.

On the one hand, Galicia's poverty, backwardness and provincialism determined the character of its Jewish community and caused its resemblance to Jewish communities in Eastern Europe. A majority of Galician Jews remained in traditional shtetls, separated from the outside world and controlled by orthodox rabbis or even more conservative Hassidic *tsaddikim*. Hassidism was particularly strong and popular in Galicia, which beside Bukovina and some regions of Congress Poland, was probably the most "hassidized" region in the world. The modernization of Galician Jews was delayed by their economic situation and by a geographical and communications separation of the province. Galicia was closer to Central Poland and the Ukraine than to Austria proper not only literally but also in terms of culture, way of life and the social structure of the Jewish population, concentrated in the cities and "traditional Jewish" professions. This similarity between The Jews of Galicia and Russian Empire decided that both these groups (together with Slovak, Moravian, Romanian and less typical Hungarian Jews) were given a common name of *Ostjuden*.

On the other hand, the fact that Galicia belonged to the Habsburg Empire for almost 150 years had numerous positive consequences for Galician Jews. From the 1860s, they could participate in political life and all kinds of economic activities. A relatively large group of Galician Jewish politicians gained experience in local political organizations, in Lwow's Diet and in the *Reichsrat*. Zionist organizations of Galicia constituted the largest segment of Austrian Zionism. Jews participated in the socialist movement and in Polish parties. As a consequence, Jewish-Galician politicians were very important on the political scene of inter-war Poland. During the 1922 parliamentary elections, seventeen Jewish deputies (fifteen in eastern Galicia alone) were elected in Galicia out of a total of thirty-five elected on Jewish lists in the whole country.⁹²

Galician Jews could also engage in professions, which were forbidden to their co-religionists in Russia and Romania. It was easier for the Jews to acquire land in Galicia than in Ukraine or in Central Poland. As a consequence a majority of Jewish farmers of the Second Polish Republic lived in its southern territories, previously administered by Austria. Here, unlike in former Russian lands, a relatively large group of wealthy Jewish farmers dwelled next to Jewish smallholders.⁹³

Inter-war Poland also inherited from Polish-Austrian Galicia a comparatively large group of Jewish intellectuals, members of the intelligentsia, professionals and civil servants. The latter were very

important for reborn Poland. Before World War I, a large number of administrative positions in the Polish lands ruled by Russia and Prussia was occupied, respectively, by Russians and Germans. After 1918, they were frequently replaced by Jewish civil servants from former Galicia, who moved north to work for the new Polish administration.

Galicia was a stronghold not only of Hassidism but also of the *Haskalah* movement, which gave birth to Jewish nationalism and to Jewish strivings for assimilation into German and Polish society. Galician Jews were the most polonized of all Polish *Ostjuden*. In inter-war Poland, the Jews, who

indicated Polish as their mother tongue and identified themselves with Polish nationality, were most numerous in Galicia.⁹⁴

Unfortunately, the Jewish-Polish assimilation was limited after 1918 as a consequence of Polish governments' policy, unfavourable for national minorities.⁹⁵ Twenty five years later, Jewish Galicia disappeared, wiped out by the Germans. The last traces of the Jewish-Galician world survived among Jewish immigrants and Hassidim in New York, Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv, in literature and remembrances, which were sentimental and nostalgic, and frequently also sad and bitter.⁹⁶

Table 1
The growth of the Jewish population of autonomous Galicia

Year	The entire population	Jews	% of Jews within the entire popul
1869	5,418,016	575,433	10.6
1880	5,958,907	686,596	11.5
1890	6,607,816	768,845	11.6
1900	7,315,939	811,183	11.1
1910	8,025,675	871,895	10.9

Source: Bohdan Wasiutynski, *Ludnosc zydowska w Polsce w wiekach XIX i XX* (Jewish Population in Poland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries) (Warsaw, 1930), 90

Table 2
The number of Jews in the lands of Austro-Hungary, 1880-1910

:	1880		1890		1900		1910	
	Number	% of Pop	Number	% of Pop	Number	% of Pop	Number	% of Pop
Galicia	686,596	11.52	772,213	11.7	811,371	11.09	871,895	10.86
Bukowina	67,418	11.79	82,717	12.8	96,159	13.17	102,919	12.86
Lower Austria	95,058	4.08	128,729	4.4	157,278	5.07	184,779	5.23
Bohemia	94 449	1.70	94 479	1.6	92 745	1.46	85 826	1.27
Moravia	44,175	2.05	45,324	2.0	44,225	1.82	41,158	1.57
Silesia	8,580	1.52	10,042	1.6	11,988	1.76	13,442	1.78
Kustenland	5,130	0.79	5,268	0.8	5,534	0.73	6,513	0.73
<i>Cisleithanien (Total):</i>	1,005,394	4.54	1,143,305	4.78	1,224,899	4.68	1,313,687	4.60
Hungary	624,826	4.60	707,961	4.70	831,162	4.90	911,227	5.00
Croatia	13,488	0.70	17,261	0.80	20,216	0.80	21,231	0.80
<i>Transleithanien (Total)</i>	638,314	4.10	725,222	4.20	851,378	4.40	932,458	4.50

Source: *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, vol.3, *Die Volker des Reiches*, pt. 2, ed. by A.Wandruszka and P.Urbanitsch (Vienna, 1980), 882-883.

Table 3.

The contribution of the Jewish inhabitants to the entire population of five large cities, located in different parts of Austria.

Cities:	1857		1890		1900	
	number	% of pop.	number	% of pop.	number	% of pop.
Vienna	6,217	2.16	118,495	8.69	146,140	8.77
Prague	7,706	10.71	17,635	9.67	18,986	9.42
Cracow	12,937	37.82	20,939	28.07	25,670	28.11
Lwow	22,586	40.58	36,130	28.25	44,258	27.68
Cherniovtsy	4,678	21.67	17,359	32.04	21,587	31.93

Source: *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, vol.3, *Die Volker des Reiches*, pt. 2, ed. by A. Wandruszka and P. Urbanitsch (Vienna, 1980), 884-885.

District	Number of Jews	% Jews	% Jews of Village Population	% Land in Jewish Hands (1902)
Biala	2,678	3.1	1.4	0.7
Bochnia	6,633	5.8	2.3	0.9
Brzesko	5,866	5.6	3.3	3.0
Chrzanow	11,442	10.3	3.7	3.9
Cracow (w/o the city)	1,238	1.8	1.8	0.1
Dabrowa	5,632	8.1	3.9	3.4
Gorlice	6,179	7.5	2.8	0.7
Grybow	2,916	5.5	3.7	0.8
Jaslo	5,743	6.5	4.5	
Kolbuszowa	6,251	8.5	4.7	3.7
Krosno	6,253	7.5	3.3	0.3
Lancut	7,032	7.5	4.6	
Limanowa	3,046	3.8	2.6	
Mielec	7,724	10.0	3.8	6.4
Myslenice	1,819	2.0	1.0	
Nisko	5,658	8.2	4.4	3.6
Nowy Sacz	12,240	9.3	3.0	1.6
Nowy Targ	3,327	4.1	2.5	
Oswiecim	6,559	13.1	1.9	
Pilzno	2,988	6.1	3.7	6.1
Podgorze	7,071	11.0	1.6	1.5
Przeworsk	3,948	6.9	2.6	0.1
Ropczyce	6,837	8.5	3.2	3.6
Rzeszow	14,104	9.6	2.1	1.4
Stryzow	4,192	7.2	5.4	6.4
Tarnobrzeg	8,311	10.7	3.5	8.1
Tarnow	17,533	15.1	2.6	3.1
Wadowice	2,957	3.1	0.7	1.2
Wieliczka	2,869	4.2	2.3	
Zywiec	1,905	1.6	1.5	
Total	213,269	7.9	2.9	2.3

Source: Włodzimierz Wakar, *Rozwoj terytorialny narodowosci polskiej* (Territorial Growth of the Polish Nationality), 3 pts. (Kilece, 1918), 1:93, 95-100.

Table 5. The number of Jews in the districts of Eastern Galicia in 1910.

District:		number of the Jews	% of the Jews within the entire population	% of the Jews within the pop.in Jewish of the villages hands in 1902
Bobrka	10,171	11.5	7.4	0.2
Bohorodczany	7,479	10.7	8.5	0.1
Borszczow	13,740	12.6	11.9	9.4
Brody	22,596	15.5	6.7	3.6
Brzezany	10,744	10.3	5.4	4.8
Brzozow	5,325	6.5	5.3	1.8
Buczacz	17,481	12.7	5.3	2.8
Cieszanow	10,780	12.5	8.8	2.2
city of Lwow	57,387	27.8	-	-
Czortkow	7,945	10.4	5.5	2.8
Dobromil	7,575	10.5	7.7	2.9
Dolina	12,812	11.3	5.8	13.8
Drohobycz	29,566	17.2	5.8	7.7
Grodek Jagiel.	6,882	8.6	3.0	1.6
Horodenka	10,114	11.0	7.3	5.6
Husiatyn	11,276	11.7	7.0	3.7
Jaroslaw	14,982	10.0	4.2	1.1
Jaworow	6,353	7.3	4.1	4.3
Kalusz	8,178	8.4	4.3	0.3
Kamionka Strumilowa	14,662	12.7	7.1	4.0
Kolomyja	23,880	19.1	5.0	5.5
Kosow	9,701	11.3	4.8	.
Lisko	13,884	14.1	9.7	12.5
Lwow	14,038	8.7	7.6	1.6
Mosciska	7,230	8.2	4.5	1.8
Nadworna	11,451	12.6	6.3	3.0
Peczenizyn	4,201	9.0	6.0	.
Podhajce	7,316	7.8	4.3	6.4
Przemysl	22,540	14.1	5.6	2.7
Przemyslany	9,548	11.0	5.6	2.5
Rawa Ruska	16,711	14.5	6.7	5.9
Rohatyn	13,548	10.8	5.2	4.1
Rudki	6,392	8.3	2.5	0.6
Sambor	8,829	8.2	3.9	3.1
Sanok	11,149	10.4	5.8	1.4
Skalat	12,621	13.1	4.4	9.2
Skole	5,918	10.7	5.8	in 1902 in Stryj
Sniatyn	10,237	11.6	5.1	1.0
Sokal	16,304	14.9	8.9	3.2
Stanislawow	29,754	18.8	11.1	3.0
Stary Sambor	6,480	10.7	6.3	5.9
Stryj	12,760	15.9	4.1	8.4

Tarnopol	19,722	13.9	3.4	5.2
Tlumacz	9,649	8.3	5.2	2.9
Trembowla	7,278	9.0	5.5	4.0
Turka	11,668	13.6	9.1	3.7
Zaleszczyki	9,237	12.0	8.3	7.7
Zbaraz	5,337	7.5	3.3	7.1
Zborow	6,198	10.2	5.3	
Zloczow	13,586	11.6	6.1	6.6
Zolkiew	9,520	9.6	3.7	3.2
Zydaczow	6,871	8.2	2.8	1.6
Eastern Galicia	659,706	12.4	6.0	4.5

Source: Włodzimierz Wakar, *Rozwoj terytorialny narodowosci polskiej* (Territorial Growth of the Polish Nationality), 3 pts. (Kielce, 1918), 1:105-107, 126-127, 129-130.

Table 6. The change of the share of the Jews within the population of Galicia, 1869-1910.

Period of Time The growth of the entire pop. in % The growth of the Jewish pop. in %

1869-1880	10.0	19.3
1880-1890	10.9	12.3
1890-1900	10.7	5.5
1900-1910	9.7	7.5

Source: Bohdan Wasiutynski, *Ludnosc zydzowska w Polsce w wiekach XIX i XX* (Jewish Population in Poland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries) (Warsaw, 1930), 90

Table 7. The number of Jews in the Lands of Cisleithanien, 1846-1880.

Lands % of the Jews within the whole pop. % of all Jews living in Cis leithanien

	1846	1857	1869	1900	1880	1910	1846	1857	1869	1880
Lower Austria	0.3	0.4	2.6	5.1	4.1	5.23	0.9	1.1	6.3	9.4
Galicia	7.1	9.7	10.6	11.1	11.5	10.86	73.3	2.3	0.0	8.2
Bohemia	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.27	15.6	13.9	10.9	9.4
Moravia	1.9	2.2	2.1	1.8	2.1	1.57	8.9	6.7	5.2	4.3
Silesia	.	0.7	1.2	1.8	1.5	.	0.5	0.7	0.8	
Bukovina	.	6.5	9.3	13.2	11.8	12.86	.	4.7	.8	6.7
other	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.3	0.8	1.1	1.2

Source: A.G. Rabinach, The Migration of Galician Jews to Vienna, 1857-1880, *Austrian History Yearbook*, 11 (1975): 44.

Table 8. Occupational structure of the Jews and Christians within a group of 1,000 persons working in a given profession in 1900.

professions:	Christians	Jews
agriculture, gardening, raising of cattle	990	8
forestry	935	50
fishing	915	85
mining and metallurgy	987	8
stonebreaking	943	51
blacksmithery, locksmiths and foundry	897	85
fabrication of articles of gold, silver, tin and lead	676	320
fabrication of machines, tools and instruments	824	146
chemical industry	825	136
building enterprises	926	69
printing enterprises	822	169
weaving	910	58
leather and paper industries	788	200
timber industry	931	56
food industry	596	396
hotelmen and innkeepers	377	619
fabrication of clothes	743	249
working in industry without a specific profession	844	126
trade	186	810
credit and insurance	693	298
transportation	909	81
river transportation	919	81
other trade and transportation enterprises	332	663

servants and day laborers	771	229
army officers and soldiers	957	24
clerks	883	113
learned professions	638	351
retired persons and welfare	893	99
"living in closed institutions"	937	60
without given profession	713	271
servants living in their masters' houses	888	106

Source: Wilhelm Feldman, *Stronnictwa i programy polityczne w Galicji, 1846-1906* (Parties and political programs in Galicia, 1846-1906), 2 vols. (Cracow, 1907), 2:293-294.

¹George J. Lerski and Halina T. Lerski in Jewish-Polish Coexistence, 1772-1939. A Topical Bibliography (New York, 1986) list about 100 titles on Galicia out of a total of 2778. Most of these works were published before World War I. Encyclopaedia Judaica, 16 vols. (Jerusalem, 1971) gives only 4 titles on Galicia issued after World War II. Although scholarly interest in the Jews of the Habsburg Empire has increased recently and numerous books and articles on this subject have been published, most of them are devoted to partly assimilated German-speaking Jews.

²Graphic examples are the two most recent biographies of Karl Radek, who was born and raised in Galicia: Warren Lerner, Karl Radek. The Last Internationalist (Stanford, 1970) and Jim Tuck, Engine of Mischief. An Analytical Biography of Karl Radek (New York, 1988). Both authors claim that the Sobelsohn family admired German culture and thought Radek "to regard Polish culture as alien and unworthy of study" (Lerner, p.3). Lerner and Tuck fail to explain why the boy was called "Lolek" and his mother - according to Tuck's spelling (p.3) - "Panna Zashia." Both books are full of mistakes on Galician history and geography.

³Austrian History Yearbook , 13 (1992): 160-180.

⁴In 1890, only 9% of the Galician population worked in industry, 77.3% remained in agriculture. Life expectancy was 28 years, and the illiteracy rate (among people older than 6 years) was 67% (in 1870 - 77%). Galicia embraced 26.9% of the entire population of Austria and 26.1% of her territory (in 1880) but only 9.2% of all industrial enterprises and 4% of the whole of Austrian industrial production. In 1875, the Galician share of state revenue amounted to 10.7%, its share of state expenses 16.3%. The data are from: Historia Polski, ed. by Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Historii, 4 vols. (Warsaw, 1970), 3:311, 314, 318, 319, 337.

⁵Norman Davies, God's Playground. A History of Poland, 2 vols. (New York , 1984), 2:139; Piotr S. Wandycz, "The Poles in the Habsburg Monarchy", Austrian History Yearbook, 3, pt 2 (1967): 263.

⁶Davies, God's Playground, 142; Wandycz, "The Poles", 265-266.

⁷Konstanty Grzybowski, Galicja 1848-1914. Historia ustroju politycznego na tle historii ustroju Austrii (Galicia 1848-1914. A History of its political system in the context of the Austrian Empire's political system) (Cracow, 1959), 33-34; Wandycz, "The Poles", 273-278.

⁸Henryk Wereszycki, Historia polityczna Polski 1864-1914 (Paris, 1979), 37, 154; Historia Polski, 296-302; Wandycz, "The Poles", 278; Jozef Buszko, Zum Wandel der Gesellschaftsstruktur in Galizien und Bukowina (Vienna, 1978), 6-7.

⁹William O. McCagg Jr., A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918 (Bloomington, Indiana, 1989), 26-28.

¹⁰Ibid. 11-12; William O. McCagg, Jewish Nobles and Geniuses in Modern Hungary (Boulder, 1972), 53.

¹¹Derek Beales, Joseph II, 2 vols. (New York, 1987), 2:465-479.

¹²Majer Balaban, Dzieje Żydów w Galicji i Rzeczypospolitej Krakowskiej 1772-1868 (A History of the Jews in Galicia and in the Republic of Cracow) (Lwow, 1914), 22-25; Majer Balaban, Historia i kultura żydowska, 3 vols. (Warsaw, 1925), 3:409-410; The Jewish Encyclopedia, 12 vols. (New York, 1907), 4:325; Stanisław Grodziski, W Królestwie Galicji i Lodomerii (In the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria) (Cracow, 1976), 112; Ignacy Schiper, Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich (A History of the Jewish Trade in the Lands of Poland) (Warsaw, 1937), 333.

¹³Artur Eisenbach, The Emancipation of the Jews in Poland 1780-1870 (Oxford, 1991), 55; McCagg, A History of Habsburg Jews, 29.

¹⁴Raphael Mahler, A History of Modern Jewry, 1780-1815 (London, 1971), 330-332; Majer Balaban, Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, 1304-1868, (A History of the Jews in Cracow and Kazimierz), 2 vols. (Cracow, 1936), 2:565-569.

¹⁵Since Polish was an official language of Galician administration, all the geographical names in the article are in Polish, as cited in official documents of the period discussed. I add, however, Ukrainian names in braces, when I mention a city or a town located in Eastern Galicia for the first time. A table, containing mayor Galician place names in four languages, appears in Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism. Essays on Austrian Galicia (Cambridge, Mass.,1982), 323-324.

¹⁶Schipper, Dzieje handlu, 334; Balaban, Dzieje Zydow, 73-83.

¹⁷Simon Dubnow, History of the Jews, 5 vols. (New York, 1973), 5:115-121; Schipper, Dzieje handlu, 334-341.

¹⁸Grzybowski, Galicja, 33; Balaban, Dzieje Zydow, 143-175; Eisenbach, The Emancipation, 330-331, 343-346; Dubnow, History, 124, 286.

¹⁹Balaban, Dzieje Zydow, 175-179; Eisenbach, The Emancipation, 380-383.

²⁰Eisenbach, The Emancipation, 404-406; Balaban, Dzieje Zydow, 192; Dubnow, History, 302; Encyclopaedia Judaica, 10 vols. (Berlin, 1931), 7:64.

²¹Ignacy Schipper, Arieh Tartakower, Aleksander Haftka, eds., Zydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej (The Jews in the Reborn Poland), 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1932-1933), 1:392.

²²Ibid. and Encyclopaedia Judaica, 16:1330.

²³Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, vol.3, Die Volker des Reiches, pt. 2, ed. by Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna, 1980), 894-899; Naftali Schipper, Dzieje Zydow w Polsce (A History of the Jews in Poland), 2 vols. (Lwow, 1927), 2:98; Kurt Stillschweig, "Nationalism and Autonomy among Eastern European Jewry. Origin and Historical Development up to 1939", Historia Judaica, 6 (1944): 35-36.

²⁴Die Habsburgermonarchie, 3, pt 2.: 881-903; Schipper, Dzieje handlu, 337; Bohdan Wasiutynski, Ludnosc zydowska w Polsce w wiekach XIX i XX (The Jewish Population in Poland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries) (Warsaw, 1930), 90;

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²⁵Eisenbach, The Emancipation, 203; Schiper, Dzieje handlu, 436.

²⁶P. G. J. Pultzer, "The Austrian Liberals and the Jewish Question 1867-1914", Journal of Central European Affairs, 23 (1963-64): 133.

²⁷Die Habsburgermonarchie, 3, pt. 2:885.

²⁸Wasiutynski, Ludnosc zydowska, 91.

²⁹Wlodzimierz Wakar, Rozwoj narodowosci polskiej (The Growth of the Polish Nationality) 3 vols. (Kielce, 1918), 1:96-97; Wasiutynski, Ludnosc zydowska, 92.

³⁰Wakar, Rozwoj, 102; Wasiutynski, Ludnosc zydowska, 92.

³¹Zydzi w Polsce, 377-378; A. G. Rabinbach, "The Migration of Galician Jews to Vienna, 1857-1880", Austrian History Yearbook, 11 (1975): 43.

³²Arieh Tartakower, "Jewish Migratory Movements in Austria in Recent Generations", in The Jews of Austria, ed. by J. Fraenkel (London, 1970), 287; Raphael Mahler, "The Economic Background of Jewish Emigration from Galicia to the United States", in East European Jews in Two Worlds: Studies from YIVO Annual, ed. by Deborah Dash Moore (Evanston, Illinois, 1990), 288; Zydzi w Polsce, 378.

³³Tartakower, "Jewish Migratory Movements", 288; Zydzi w Polsce, 378.

³⁴Saul Miller, Dobromil. Life in a Galician Shtetl, 1890-1907, (New York,1980), 1-2.

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³⁶Ezra Mendelsohn, "Jewish Assimilation in Lvov: The Case of Wilhelm Feldman", Slavic Review, 28 (1969): 578; Ezra Mendelsohn, "From Assimilation to Zionism in Lvov: The Case of Alfred Nossig," The Slavonic and East European Review, 44 (1966): 521; Raphael Mahler, "The Austrian Government and the Hassidim during the Period of Reaction (1814-1848)," Jewish Social Studies, 1 (1939): 196-197; Karl Emil Franzos, "Mein Erstlingswerk: "Die Juden von Barnow", in Die Geschichte des Erstlingswerks, ed. by Karl Emil Franzos (Leipzig, 1894), 220; Yehuda Don, George Magos, "The Demographic Development of Hungarian Jewry", Jewish Social Studies, 45, no 3-4 (Fall 1983): 208; Jerzy Holzer, "Zur Frage der Akkulturation der Juden in Galizien in 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Osteuropas, 37 (1989): 218, 223.

³⁷Mendelsohn, "Jewish Assimilation", 579; Wilhelm Feldman, Stronnictwa i programy polityczne w Galicji 1846-1906 (Parties and Political Programs in Galicia 1846-1906), 2 vols. (Cracow , 1907), 2:274-275; Holzer, "Zur Frage der Akkulturation", 217, 224; Archives of Jewish Historical Institute in Poland, Warsaw , Protocols of Cracow's Jewish Community (Protokoly z posiedzen zboru izraelickiego w Krakowie), no 552, entry of February 6, 1870; Joseph S. Bloch, My Reminiscences (New York, 1973), 78.

³⁸Mendelsohn, "Jewish Assimilation", 580; Feldman, Stronnictwa, 269; Holzer, "Zur Frage der Akkulturation", 219-220; Balaban, Historia Zydow w Krakowie, 681-682.

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⁵⁷Mahler, A History of Modern Jewry, 498-525.

⁵⁸Feldman, Stronnictwa, 267-275; Schoenfeld, Stetl Memoires, 75-80; Rabbi J. Heshel, "The History of Hassidism in Austria," in Josef Fraenkel (ed.) The Jews of Austria (London, 1970), 348-252; Mahler, "The Austrian Government", 198-204; Bloch, My Reminiscences, 18-20.

⁵⁹Adolf Gaisbauer, Davidstern und Doppeladler. Zionismus und judischer Nationalismus in Oesterreich 1882-1918 (Vienna and Cologne, 1988), 19-41; Wistrich, The Jews of Vienna, 348.

⁶⁰Mendelsohn, "From Assimilation", 521-530; Zydzi w Polsce, 396; Feldman, Stronnictwa, 285; Gaisbauer, Davidstern, 39-47.

⁶¹Mendelsohn, "From Assimilation", 521-530; Feldman, Stronnictwa, 286; Zydzi w Polsce, 396.

⁶² Feldman, Stronnictwa, 289.

⁶³Feldman, Stronnictwa, 287-289; Schoenfeld, Shtetl Memoires, 122.

⁶⁴Galician Jews had one deputy in the Reichsrat in the years 1867-73, five in 1873-79, four in 1879-91, five in 1891-97, six in 1897-1906, five in 1907-11 and ten after 1911; Zydzi w Polsce, 397; Feldman, Stronnictwa, 287.

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⁶⁶Henryk Piasecki, Sekcja Żydowska Polskiej Partii Socjal-Demokratycznej (The Jewish Section of the Polish Social-Democratic Party) (Warsaw, 1982), passim; Feldman, Stronnictwa, 132-137.

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⁶⁸Zydzi w Polsce, 400-401.

⁶⁹Schipper, Dzieje Żydów, 112; Feldman, Stronnictwa, 309.

⁷⁰Max Waxman, A History of Jewish Literature, 1880-1935, 4 vols. (New York, 1960), 4, pt. 2:633; E. Silberschlag, From Renaissance to Renaissance. Hebrew Literature from 1492-1970, 2 pts. (New York, 1973), 1:109

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⁷⁶Sperber, God's Water, 72; Schoenfeld, Shtetl Memoires, 114-117.

⁷⁷Dubnow, History, 757-760.

⁷⁸Zydzi w Polsce, 398; Schoenfeld, Shtetl Memoires, 126.

⁷⁹D. A. Prater, European of Yesterday. A biography of Stefan Zweig (Oxford, 1972), 68; McCagg, A History of Habsburg Jews, 219; M. Grunwald, Vienna. (Philadelphia, 1936), 459-461.

⁸⁰Schoenfeld, Shtetl Memoires, 129; McCagg, A History of Habsburg Jews, 206.

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⁸²Sperber, God's Water, 74; Zydzi w Polsce, 413;

⁸³Tartakower, "Jewish Migratory Movement", 290; Rabinach, "The Migration", 54.

⁸⁴Tartakower, "Jewish Migratory Movement", 291.

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⁸⁷Heshel, "The History of Hassidim", 352-359; Sperber, God's Water, 146; McCagg, A History of Habsburg Jews, 203.

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⁸⁹Encyclopaedia Judaica, 16: 1331; Henry Morgenthau, All in a Life-time (Garden City, New York, 1923), 410; Jerzy Tomaszewski, "Lwow, 22 listopada 1918", Przegląd Historyczny 75 (1984):279-285.

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⁹¹Isaac Deutscher, The non-Jewish Jew and other essays (Boston, 1982), 11.

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⁹⁴Ezra Mendelsohn, The Jews of East Central Europe between the World Wars (Bloomington, Indiana , 1983), 18, 30; Bronsztejn, Ludnosc zydowska, 31.

⁹⁵Holzer, "Zur Frage der Akkulturation", 226.

⁹⁶ see, for example, a poem by Aba Shtoltzenberg "Galician Winter" written while he was living in New York: Ruth Wise, et al., eds., The Penguin Book of Modern Yiddish Verse (New York, 1987), 598-600.