

## THE INSTITUTE FOR POLISH–JEWISH STUDIES

The Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies in Oxford and its sister organization, the American Association for Polish–Jewish Studies, which publish *Polin*, are learned societies which were established in 1984, following the First International Conference on Polish–Jewish Studies, held in Oxford. The Institute is an associate institute of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, and the American Association is linked with the Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies at Brandeis University.

Both the Institute and the American Association aim to promote understanding of the Polish Jewish past. They have no building or library of their own and no paid staff; they achieve their aims by encouraging scholarly research and facilitating its publication, and by creating forums for people with a scholarly interest in Polish Jewish topics, both past and present.

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Each year since 1986 the Institute has published a volume of scholarly papers in the series *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry* under the general editorship of Professor Antony Polonsky of Brandeis University. Since 1994 the series has been published on its behalf by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, and since 1998 the publication has been linked with the American Association as well. In March 2000 the entire series was honoured with a National Jewish Book Award from the Jewish Book Council in the United States. More than twenty other works on Polish Jewish topics have also been published with the Institute's assistance.

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*'Get wisdom, get understanding:*  
*Forsake her not and she shall preserve thee'*

PROV. 4: 5

# POLIN

## STUDIES IN POLISH JEWRY

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### VOLUME TWELVE

*Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians*  
1772–1918

Edited by  
ISRAEL BARTAL and ANTONY POLONSKY

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*Dedicated by*  
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*to the memory of his sister*  
IRENA KOZŁOWSKA-FISZEL  
*and his brother*  
EDMUND KON

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## *Preface*

*Polin* is sponsored by the Institute of Polish–Jewish Studies, Oxford and by the American Association for Polish–Jewish Studies, which is linked with the Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, Brandeis University. As with earlier issues, this volume could not have appeared without the untiring assistance of many individuals. In particular, we should like to express our gratitude to Dr Jonathan Webber, Treasurer of the Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies, to Professor Jehuda Reinharz, President of Brandeis University, and Mrs Irene Pipes, President of the American Association for Polish–Jewish Studies. As was the case with earlier volumes, this one could not have been published without the constant assistance and supervision of Connie Webber, managing editor of the Littman Library, Janet Moth, publishing co-ordinator, and the tireless copy-editing of Laurien Berkeley. We also owe a debt to Gwido Zlatkes for keeping to a minimum the mistakes in the Polish language.

Plans for future volumes of *Polin* are well advanced. Volume 13 will feature a cluster of articles on the Holocaust on the Polish lands. We are also planning volumes on Jews in smaller Polish towns, on Jews in the Polish borderlands, and on Polish–Jewish relations in the United States. We would welcome articles for these issues, as well as for our New Views section. We would also welcome any suggestions or criticisms. In particular, we would be very grateful for assistance in extending our coverage to the areas of Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania, both in the period in which these countries were part of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and subsequently.

We have made some changes in the organization of our yearbook. Gershon Hundert has resigned from our Editorial Collegium. We very much regret this loss and should like to express our appreciation of his many years of sterling work for *Polin*. We have added two new members to the Collegium, Michael Steinlauf of Gratz College, Pennsylvania, and Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska of the Marie Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin. The Review section will be under the control of ChaeRan Freeze of Brandeis University and Joshua Zimmerman of Yeshiva University.

Finally, we should like to express our sadness at the passing of Professors Chone Shmeruk and Moshe Mishkinsky, both members of our editorial board and pioneers in the development of Polish Jewish studies, and of Dr Teresa Prekerowa, one of the founders of Żegota, a fine scholar and a noble woman.

# POLIN

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# POLIN



Gentle Polin (Poland), ancient land of Torah and learning  
From the day Ephraim first departed from Judah

*From a selihah by Rabbi Moshe Katz Geral  
of the exiles of Poland, head of the Beth Din of the  
Holy Congregation of Metz*

We did not know, but our fathers told us how the exiles of Israel came to the land of Polin (Poland).

When Israel saw how its sufferings were constantly renewed, oppressions increased, persecutions multiplied, and how the evil authorities piled decree on decree and followed expulsion with expulsion, so that there was no way to escape the enemies of Israel, they went out on the road and sought an answer from the paths of the wide world: which is the correct road to traverse to find rest for the soul. Then a piece of paper fell from heaven, and on it the words:

*Go to Polaniya (Poland).*

So they came to the land of Polin and they gave a mountain of gold to the king, and he received them with great honour. And God had mercy on them, so that they found favour from the king and the nobles. And the king gave them permission to reside in all the lands of his kingdom, to trade over its length and breadth and to serve God according to the precepts of their religion. And the king protected them against every foe and enemy.

And Israel lived in Polin in tranquillity for a long time. They devoted themselves to trade and handicrafts. And God sent a blessing on them so that they were blessed in the land, and their name was exalted among the peoples. And they traded with the surrounding countries and they also struck coins with inscriptions in the holy language and the language of the country. These are the coins which have on them a lion rampant towards the right. And on the coins are the words 'Mieszko, King of Poland' or 'Mieszko, Król of Poland'. The Poles call their king 'Król'.

When they came from the land of the Franks, they found a wood in the land and on every tree, one tractate of the Talmud was incised. This is the forest of Kawczyń, which is near Lublin. And every man said to his neighbour, 'We have

come to the land where our ancestors dwelt before the Torah and revelation were granted.'

And those who seek for names say: 'This is why it is called Polin. For thus spoke Israel when they came to the land, "Here rest for the night [*Po lin*]." And this means that we shall rest here until we are all gathered into the Land of Israel.'

Since this is the tradition, we accept it as such.

S. Y. AGNON, 1916

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## *Note on Names and Place-Names*

POLITICAL connotations accrue to words, names, and spellings with an alacrity that is unfortunate for those who prefer to maintain neutrality. It seems reasonable to honour the choice of a people regarding its own name, and of a population regarding the name of its city or town, but what should be done when there is no consensus amongst a people, or when a town changes its name, and the name its spelling, again and again over time? The politician may always opt for the latest version, but the hapless historian must reckon with them all. This note, then, is our brief reckoning; out of consideration for our readers we will use only one name per people and one designation for each city. We hope that our decisions convey our respect for all concerned.

### NAMES OF PEOPLES AND ORGANIZATIONS

Those people living in Galicia, especially in the eastern part, who speak an east Slavic language and are mainly peasants practising Greek Catholicism, go by many names: Carpatho-Rusyns, Ukrainians, Ruthenian Ukrainians, and even occasionally Russians; the official name used by the Habsburgs was 'Ruthenians' (*die Ruthenen*). In their own language they called themselves 'Rusyny'. The majority of this population has considered itself Ukrainian since the late nineteenth century, although a small but vocal minority maintains that they constitute a distinct people and prefers the terms 'Ruthenian' and 'Carpatho-Rusyn' for people and language alike. In deference to the majority view, we shall refer to them as Ukrainians, except where the term 'Ruthenian' is being discussed and in Rachel Manekin's chapter, where this term reflects better the political discourse of the early 1870s. (Their co-nationalists on the other side of the border are sometimes referred to as 'right-bank Ukrainians', leaving the Galician Ukrainians the corresponding designation with all its delightful Parisian connotations.) The ancestral homeland of this people, and of all other Ukrainians and Russians, bears the name Rus'. The apostrophe indicates palatalization; i.e. the 's' is pronounced with the tongue behind the upper teeth. We will also use 'Ukraine' rather than 'the Ukraine' and 'Belarus', 'Belarusians'.

While most Galician Jews called themselves Jews, some used the phrase 'Poles of the Jewish persuasion' or 'Poles of the Mosaic faith'. Here, too, we shall follow the practice of the majority and use the term 'Jew' regardless of political or cultural affiliation.

When referring to various peoples living in one country, we shall use the terms

'people', 'ethnic group', 'ethnicity', 'nation', and 'nationality'. The concept of nationality as reflecting citizenship never reached Galicia, where political rights reflected ethnicity. National consciousness accordingly focused on ethnicity, language, and sometimes religion, rather than on any sense of commonality among members of different peoples sharing a single country. 'National' may thus appear in this text in the sense of 'concerning an ethnic group united by or perceived as sharing a political consciousness'. Thus, 'multinational' and 'multi-ethnic' become near-synonyms, distinguished only by the connotation of political consciousness ('nationalism') implicit in the former. So as to avoid confusion, however, we shall refer to interactions among peoples within a single country as 'inter-ethnic' rather than as 'inter-national'.

Finally, we shall refer to organizations and institutions by their chronologically correct name.

## PLACE-NAMES

There is no problem with those places for which English-language names, such as Warsaw, are acceptable. But every other place-name in east central Europe raises serious problems. A good example is Wilno/Vilna/Vilnius. There are clear objections to all of these names. Until 1944 the majority of the population was Polish; today the city is in Lithuania; 'Vilna', though the least problematic, is an artificial construct. In this volume we have adopted the following guidelines, even though they are not wholly consistent. A table of place-names follows the list of guidelines.

1. Towns whose names have an accepted English-language form will be given in that form; some examples are Warsaw, Kiev, Moscow, and St Petersburg. This applies also to bibliographical references; we refer to publication places as, for example, Munich rather than München.
2. Towns that until 1939 were clearly within a particular state and shared the majority nationality of that state will be named in a form that reflects that situation; some examples are Breslau, Rzeszów, and Przemyśl. In Polish Kraków has always been spelt as such; in English it has more often appeared as Cracow, but the current trend is to follow the local language as much as possible and in keeping with this we shall use the Polish spelling.
3. Towns that are in mixed areas will take the name by which they are known today and which reflects their present situation; examples are Poznań, Toruń, Vilnius, and Kaunas. Galicia's most diversely named city, and one of its most important, boasts four variants: the Polish Lwów, the German Lemberg, the Russian Lvov, and the Ukrainian Lviv. As this city is currently Ukrainian and most of its residents speak the Ukrainian language, we shall follow that spelling. Other towns that are now in Ukraine take their Ukrainian name; for

example, Husiatyn and Tyshmenitsa. The exception to this is Stanyslaviv, whose current name of Ivano-Frankovsk is mentioned only once.

4. Some place-names have different forms in Yiddish. When the subject-matter dictates that this form should be used, the corresponding Polish (Ukrainian, Belarusian, Lithuanian) name is given in parentheses at first mention.

**Table.** Major place-names

Polish	Ukrainian	Belarusian	Lithuanian	Yiddish	German
Bolechów	Bolekhiv			Bolekhov	Bolechow
Borszczów	Borshchiv				
Borysław	Boryslav			Borislav	Borislau
Braclaw	Bratslav			Bratslav	
Brody	Brody			Brod	Brody
Brzeżany	Berezhany			Berezhan	Brzezany
Buczacz	Buchach			Buchach	Buczacz
Chelm	Kholm			Khelm	
Chodorów	Khodoriv				
Czerniowce	Chernivtsy			Czernowitz	Czernowitz
Czorków	Chortkiv			Chortkov	Czortkow
Drohobycz	Drohobych			Drohobich	Drohobycz
Gródek Jagielloński	Horodok			Grodek	Grodek
Halicz	Halych			Halich	Halicz
Husiatyn	Husiatyn				
Jarosław	Iaroslav			Yaroslav	Jaroslau
Kołomyja	Kolomyia			Kolomay	Kolomea
Kraków				Krake	Krakau
Krosno	Krosno				
Liady		Liady		Liady(Lyady)	
Lwów	Lviv			Lemberg	Lemberg
Międzyrzec Podlaski		Mezerich		Mezerich (Mezrich)	
Międzybóž	Medzhybizh				
Przemysław	Peremysliany				
Polonna	Polonne			Polonne	
Przemysł	Peremysl'			Pshemishl	Przemysl
Rohatyn	Rohatyn				
Rużyn	Ruzhyn				
Rzeszów	Riashiv			Reshe	Rzeszow
Sambór	Sambir			Sambor	Sambor
Sienawa	Syenava				
Skalat	Skalat				
Sluck		Slutsk		Slutsk	
Stanisławów	Stanyslaviv <sup>a</sup>			Stanislav	Stanislau
Stryj	Stryi			Stri	Stryj
Szklów		Shklou		Shklov	
Tarnopol	Ternopil'			Tarnopol	Tarnopol
Toporów	Toporiv				

**Table** (*continued*)

Polish	Ukrainian	Belarusian	Lithuanian	Yiddish	German
Tyśmenica	Tyshmenitsa				
Viznic	Vizhnits				
Wilno			Vilnius	Vilna	Wilna
Zablotów	Zabolotiv				
Zbaraż	Zbarazh				
Złoczów	Zolochiv			Zlochov	
Żółkiew	Zhovkva <sup>b</sup>			Zolkva	
Żydaczów	Zhydachiv				

<sup>a</sup> In 1962 Stanyslaviv was renamed Ivano-Frankovsk.

<sup>b</sup> In 1951 Zhovkva was renamed Nesterov. It reverted to its original name in 1991.

# *Note on Transliteration*

## HEBREW

An attempt has been made to achieve consistency in the transliteration of Hebrew words. The following are the key distinguishing features of the system that has been adopted:

1. No distinction is made between the *aleph* and *ayin*; both are represented by an apostrophe and only when they appear in an intervocalic position.
2. *Veit* is written *v*; *het* is written *h*; *yod* is written *y* when it functions as a consonant and *i* when it occurs as a vowel; *khaf* is written *kh*; *tsadi* is written *ts*; *kof* is written *k*.
3. The *dagesh hazak*, represented in some transliteration systems by doubling the letter, is not represented, except in words that have more or less acquired normative English spellings that include doubling, such as Hallel, kabbalah, Kaddish, Kiddush, rabbi, Sukkot, and Yom Kippur.
4. The *sheva na* is represented by an *e*.
5. Hebrew prefixes, prepositions, and conjunctions are not followed by hyphens when they are transliterated, thus *betoledot ha'am hayehudi*.
6. Capital letters are not used in the transliteration of Hebrew except for the first word and proper nouns in the titles of books, important words in the names of people, places, institutions, and generally as in the conventions of the English language.
7. The names of individuals are transliterated following the above rules unless the individual concerned followed a different usage.

## YIDDISH

Transliteration follows the YIVO system, except for the names of people, where the spellings they themselves used have been retained.

## RUSSIAN, UKRAINIAN

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## PART I

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# Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians, 1772–1918

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# Introduction: The Jews of Galicia under the Habsburgs

ISRAEL BARTAL AND ANTONY POLONSKY

There can be few other countries where so many and diverse cultural trends have intersected, where the indigenous thought and culture born out of and inspired by its past have been overlaid with such deep layers of both eastern and western culture.

DAVID HOROWITZ, *My Yesterday*

## THE BEGINNINGS OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN GALICIA

THE great stretch of eastern Europe that extends north from the Carpathian Mountains was known under Austrian rule (1772–1918) as Galicia. In 1919 it became part of Poland and in the words of Abraham Jakob Brawer, geographer and historian of Galician Jewry who was born there, the name ‘has now become history’. Brawer adds: ‘There are few areas for which diplomats drew maps with such unnatural and unhistorical borders as they did for Galicia.’<sup>1</sup> This statement is clearly correct in the larger context of the political and ethnic divisions of east Europe, but Galicia took on a distinct character and had the largest concentration of Jews of any region in east central Europe. The nature of this Jewish community and its relationship with the other ethnic groups of the area, particularly the Poles and Ukrainians, forms the subject-matter of the chapters that make up Part I of this issue of *Polin*.

For centuries the area had a large Jewish population dispersed throughout hundreds of large and small towns, villages, and estates, and the history of this community is inseparable from the history of Polish Jewry: in Galicia, as elsewhere in Poland, the Jews combined the Ashkenazi tradition of study of Mishnah and halakhic literature with mysticism, which played a central role in the Sabbatean movement and the emergence of hasidism. On the other hand, however, several generations of Austrian rule and exposure to the German language and culture left their mark and drew the Jews of the region towards central European culture.

<sup>1</sup> A. J. Brawer, *Galitsiyah veyehudeiha: mehkarim betoledot galitsiyah beme'ah shemoneh-esreh* (Jerusalem, 1956), 11.

The Galician Jews lived among two larger groups, the Ukrainians and the Poles, and relations between these groups determined the character of Jewish economic life. The territory north of the Carpathians was, as it still is, an area of transition between the Polish and Ukrainian populations. The Ukrainians constituted the majority in eastern Galicia, with the Poles a sizeable minority, while in the west, beyond the River San, which contained the city of Kraków, from the fourteenth to the early seventeenth century the capital of Poland, the Poles were the overwhelming majority. The eastern part of the area underwent several political changes of sovereignty in the late Middle Ages and was ruled in turn by the kings of Poland and the princes of Rus' until, in the mid-fourteenth century, the Poles consolidated their rule and maintained it uninterrupted until the Austrian occupation that began with the first partition of Poland in 1772. Each successive regime brought changes that affected the legal status of Galician Jews and had an impact on their spiritual and cultural lives.

Jewish settlement in the eastern part of the region, known as Rus' Czerwona (Red Russia, Rus'), began under Ukrainian princes in the principality of Volodymyr Halych (from which the area later took its name of Galicia) and increased from the fourteenth century onward. The Jews were a key factor in the broad settlement project launched by Polish nobles from the mid-sixteenth century, and they numbered among the founders of towns on the lands owned by the nobility. In these 'private' towns, the Jews acquired extensive rights to practise their religion freely and to engage in commerce without harassment by other urban groups. As in other areas in Poland and Lithuania where entrepreneurial nobles settled the Jews in new towns, the Jews of Galicia fulfilled an important function in managing property and the means of production: they leased stills, breweries, flour mills, and sawmills; marketed agricultural produce; imported luxury goods for the use of the nobility; and served as moneylenders and tax and excise collectors. In the feudal society of Poland the Jews of Małopolska (Lesser Poland) and Rus' Czerwona constituted a distinct stratum with its own religion and customs. While the Poles were nobles with the right to own land, middle-class townspeople, free peasants and serfs, and the Ukrainians were mostly serfs without the right to own land, the Jews leased property and enjoyed equal rights to the town dwellers. Because they had certain interests in common, the Polish nobility protected the Jews from the hostility of the urban population, the periodic uprisings and riots of the Polish and Ukrainian peasants, and harassment by the Catholic Church. A Jewish wine merchant from Bolekhiv, Dov Ber Birkenthal, gave a vivid description of the nature of this economic partnership, which endured for many years after Poland had forfeited its independence and Rus' Czerwona had become eastern Galicia under Austrian rule. Birkenthal recorded the details of his family's business in a private town near the Carpathians:

And [my father] traded there in Hungarian wines and ordered the building of a fine cellar where the wines were laid down. And sold them each year to the 'pritsim' [Polish nobles] . . . at a certain profit and grew rich . . . and since in the mountainous property they have few fields fit for sowing, my father was obliged to enter into negotiations with the uncircumcized [Ukrainians] who were his serfs . . . and came to an agreement with the lessees of the salt trade in the town of Bolekhiv that they would supply him with timber from the forest, and in return for a wagon-load of timber to be brought to the salt factory he was to give them one barrel of good-quality salt, and this they did all through the winter, and when summer came . . . all the uncircumcized from the villages set out with their wagons and they took with them ten barrels of salt, and they travelled to the district of Podolia and exchanged the salt for grain . . . and from the grain they manufactured spirits, which many people purchased and took to the land of Hungary in large quantities . . . thereby making a profit.<sup>2</sup>

This encapsulates the essence of Jewish life in the region in the early eighteenth century, based on a simple economy where people bartered for basic commodities and the Jews served as principal intermediaries, handling exchange and production, export and import. The Ukrainians constituted the workforce and the Polish nobles owned the property and purchased the imported goods. The Jews used skill, initiative, and dynamism to build strong economic foundations for their cultural life. Neither pogroms nor war could undermine their position in the feudal economic system. Even the Cossack wars of the mid-seventeenth century and the deteriorating situation in the kingdom of Poland, which severely undermined their economic strength, did not stem the expansion of the Jewish community. The rapid recovery of the east Galician Jewish community after the Cossack wars has been described by Shmuel Yosef Agnon, who was born in Buchach:

When the land had grown quiet after the riots and the rebellions and the killings and the disruption, some of those who had escaped the sword returned to their towns and to their dwelling places. And so also did the remnants of Buchach. They built themselves homes and shops and, even before that, places for the Torah and for prayer. And they lived for several generations in peace and quiet, apart from the years of war and of uprisings, first in the shadow of the kingdom of Poland, and then in the shadow of Austria.<sup>3</sup>

The Jewish communities in the private towns, particularly Brody, Buchach, and Zhovkva (Nesterov), flourished in the eighteenth century, and their populations swelled to several thousand. (In 1772 Brody was the largest Jewish community in the Polish kingdom.) Their trade links extended as far as Persia, China, and Siberia in the East and Austria, Germany, and Britain in the West.

### KRAKÓW: A CITY CLOSE TO THE JEWISH HEART

Kraków was the seat of the principal line of the Polish royal family from the twelfth century. It became the capital of the united kingdom of Poland in the fourteenth

<sup>2</sup> D. B. Birkenthal, *Zikhronot rabi dov mibolehuv*, ed. M. Wischnitzer (Berlin, 1922), 27.

<sup>3</sup> S. Y. Agnon, *Ir umelo'ah* (Jerusalem, 1973), 13.

century and retained this position until 1609, when the royal residence was moved to Warsaw. It acquired the status of a city on the German model in 1257. Its situation on the Vistula and on the trade route to Prague soon attracted an influx of immigrants from the German lands, including a number of Jews. In 1335 Kazimierz the Great founded the rival city of Kazimierz, then separated from Kraków by branches of the Vistula on what are today Dietel and Starowiślna streets. Jews settled in both towns. In Kraków they were located near the university and Kazimierz himself made frequent use of the Jewish bankers, notably Lewko Jordanis.

The early history of the Jews in Kraków was marked by persistent conflicts with the Christian burghers and the students of the university, the second to be founded in east central Europe. As early as 1369 the city council in Kraków complained to Kazimierz that, because of the high interest rates demanded by the Jews, the urban patriciate and artisans were becoming impoverished. Jews were required to lend money to students at low rates of interest (25 per cent), but this did not prevent anti-Jewish riots on their part. Economic competition and religious differences also led to frequent clashes with the burghers. In spite of these difficulties, the Jewish community prospered and its merchants developed commercial links with Breslau, Danzig, Lviv, and Istanbul, but conflicts with the Christian burghers did not abate and were exacerbated in the fifteenth century by the preacher Jan (Giovanni) Capistrano. In 1485 the Jewish community of Kraków was forced to sign an agreement with the burghers severely limiting Jewish commercial activity and in 1495 the Jews were finally forced out of the town and moved across the river to Kazimierz.

Jews had already established themselves in this city and by the end of the fourteenth century had begun construction on a late Gothic synagogue which was completed in 1407. This adjoined Szeroka Street (Breitgasse), which became the centre of Jewish Kazimierz and where by 1480 there was a market-place, a *mikveh*, and a cemetery. In the early sixteenth century the Bavarian rabbi Jacob Pollack founded the first yeshiva in the town and remained its head until his death in 1552. It was he who introduced to Poland the form of talmudic argument known as *hilukim* (fine distinctions). As early as 1503 he was appointed chief rabbi of Poland by Alexander. At this time the community was divided between the older settlers and newer immigrants from Prague. In 1553 a second synagogue was built and four years later the present Old Synagogue was rebuilt in Renaissance style. In 1564 the Jewish quarter was granted the privilege of preventing non-Jews from acquiring residential and business property. Early Jewish population figures are notoriously unreliable, but by 1570 the Jewish population of Kazimierz is thought to have numbered around 2,000, making it probably the largest community in Poland.

In 1567 Zygmunt II authorized the foundation of a second yeshiva in Lublin and one was also established in Lviv. By now Poland enjoyed new prestige in the

Jewish world. In the fifteenth century a German rabbi had observed of the Jews of Kraków that they were 'unlearned in the Torah'; by the early sixteenth century the Jews of Istanbul were seeking direction from Kraków on halakhic questions. It was also becoming a centre of Jewish publishing. The *Shulḥan arukh*, a codex compiled by Joseph Caro of Safed and printed in Venice in 1565, was reprinted in Kraków in 1570–1. It was then modified for Ashkenazi purposes by one of the leading rabbis, Moses Isserles (1525/1530–72; known from his initials as Rema). His work was described as a *mapa* (meaning both 'map' and 'tablecloth') for the *Shulḥan arukh* (the set table). According to a contemporary source, 'In all the lands of Ashkenaz, we accept and obey the words of our master Rabbi Moses Isserles.'

Isserles was perhaps the most important intellectual figure in sixteenth-century Jewish Kazimierz (the Jewish district of Kraków). Early on he had acquired considerable wealth from trade, but later devoted himself to religious and scholarly concerns. His connections covered the whole Ashkenazi world and he was related to both Meir Katzenellenbogen of Padua (known as Maharam) and Shlomo Levin, a leading Polish talmudic scholar. Isserles was a staunch defender of philosophical study and was convinced that much could be learnt from Aristotle. In his view, 'It is better to study philosophy than to err through kabbalah.' However, he was not hostile to mysticism, which he hoped to reconcile with philosophy. He was also interested in astronomy and was the teacher of David Gans of Prague, the author of one of the most important Jewish histories of this period.

Other distinguished Kraków scholars included Joel Sirkes (1561–1640; known as the Bah, an abbreviation of the title of his major work, *Bayit ḥadash*), who was from 1619 *rosh yeshiva* of Kraków and who opposed the adoption of the *Shulḥan arukh*, and Yom Tov Lipman Heller (1579–1654). Heller, who was born in Wallenstein in Bavaria, had moved to Nemyriv in 1632 after he was condemned to death in Vienna for 'writing against Christianity'. In 1635 he became rabbi in Vladimir in Volynia and in 1643, rabbi of Kraków, succeeding Abraham Joshua ben Jacob Heschel as *rosh yeshiva* in 1647. Like Isserles, his interests included mathematics, philosophy, and Hebrew grammar. His rationalistic inclinations were demonstrated in his praise for Azariah dei Rossi's *Me'or einayim* ('Light to the Eyes'), one of the first Jewish works of critical historiography. He also wrote a kabbalistic treatise close in spirit to Moses Cordovero's *Pardes rimonim*. He was the author of an astronomical treatise on the moon, a Yiddish translation of *Oreh ḥayim* ('Mode of Life'), the first section of Caro's *Shulḥan arukh*, and three *seliḥot* on the Khmelnytsky massacres of 1648. One scholar with more mystical leanings was Isaiah Horowitz (c.1555–1630; known as the 'holy Shelah', from the initial letters of the title of his major work, *Shenei luḥot haberit* ('The Two Tablets of the Law')). He moved to Kraków from his birthplace in Prague and studied there with Solomon Eidlish. As a judge on the Va'ad Arba Aratsot (Council of the Four Lands), the organization of Jewish communities throughout Poland, he

condemned bribes and the misuse of rabbinic office. A strong mystic and kabbalist, he settled in Safed in 1621.

The Jews of Kraków continued to prosper and in 1609 their trading rights were extended. This prosperity occasioned new conflicts with the burghers, which are reflected in the anti-Jewish polemics of Sebastian Miczyński, author of *Zwierciadło korony polskiej* ('The Mirror of the Polish Crown'), an anti-Jewish tract published in Kraków in 1618. By 1644 seven main synagogues had been established, the largest and most impressive being the High and Kupa synagogues, built around the turn of the sixteenth century, and the Ajzyk synagogue, built in the mid-seventeenth century. By this time Kraków had become one of the most important Jewish religious and cultural centres north of the Alps.

The historian Majer Bałaban describes the community in Kraków as being led by four *roshim*, five *tovim*, and fourteen *kahal* members. Each month the responsibility for administration was assumed by one of the *roshim*, who took a public oath to fulfil his duties as *parnas haḥodesh* conscientiously. Other leading members of the community took responsibility for tax assessment, supervision of charity, and maintaining order in the market. The hierarchical nature of this communal organization was reflected in the court system, with its three levels graded according to the amount of money involved in a case. Kazimierz was one of the principal communities in the Council of the Four Lands and was *galil* (head of the province) of Małopolska. These various arrangements for the government of the community were systematized in the ordinance of 1595.

After the pogroms in 1648 the Jewish community shared in the general economic decline of Kraków and experienced growing religious intolerance. In 1663 one of its members, Mattathius Calahora, was burned at the stake after he was accused of desecrating the host. The community got increasingly into debt, partly as a result of the large sums that were being expended on communal defence and partly because of injudicious borrowing. Yet at the same time its involvement in trade and crafts expanded. Jews took a significant part in most of the trading activities in Kraków, including furs and hides, wax, soap, salt, tobacco, haberdashery, and silver and gold; they also worked as goldsmiths and were involved in large-scale import-export trade and in the *arenda* (leasing of estates) system. This economic expansion went along with growing economic disparity within the community.

#### LVIV, A JEWISH MOTHER CITY

Lviv, the principal city in Rus' Czerwona, was, like Kraków, a 'royal' city and, unlike the private towns, the status of its Jews was defined in a charter granted by the king. Jews as well as Karaites had lived there for many generations before the Ashkenazi immigrants arrived, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the newcomers absorbed the old non-Ashkenazi element. The Jews of Lviv



constituted only one of several national groups, including Armenians, who had been invited by the kings of Poland to develop the city as an international commercial centre. For a time there was even a group of Sefardi Jews, many of whom engaged in international wholesale trade; they included rich merchants importing from and exporting to the Ottoman empire through the Balkans. Through their agents in Lviv, Jews from Istanbul exchanged silk and perfumes from the East for goods from western Europe. More prosperous Lviv Jews also provided financial services, gave credit, and collected royal and municipal taxes and excise, while many Jews worked as artisans in fierce competition with Christian guilds.

A description of the houses in Lviv's Jewish quarter is given by Dov Sadan (Shtock):

Polish noblemen, and the German and Armenian merchants who mingled with them, built themselves spacious, luxurious houses. Nearby, in the alleys bordering on the market, which still retained remnants of the past, lived my forefathers, crammed together, their houses touching, the roofs on either side of the alley casting shadows that blocked out the light from the narrow street. Every breath of fresh air was precious . . . and even in these alleyways . . . here and there were traces proving that even in these dire straits there was a yearning for grace and beauty . . . I took pleasure in the sight of gates with Latin inscriptions, the gargoyles, and the carved fountains—but closest to my heart were glimpses of past beauty which had been preserved in the ghetto—a door, a doorknob, a symbol, and suchlike, and in that gloomy atmosphere these relics were like appeals for light and air.<sup>4</sup>

From the beginning two Jewish communities had evolved in the city: one consisted mainly of the richer Jews living within the city walls and the other consisted of the artisans, pedlars, and petty traders living in the outlying quarters. These two communities shared the tax burden demanded by the Polish authorities; at the same time there was often friction between them. As in other towns in the Polish kingdom, several prosperous and aristocratic families dominated society in Lviv. In the mid-sixteenth century the family of Isaac ben Nahman (Nachmanovitz), whose members had extensive business dealings in the region, rose to prominence. In 1571 Isaac built a magnificent synagogue, designed by an Italian architect, next to his home. In the second half of the seventeenth century one of the congregants was R. David ben Samuel Halevi, author of the *Turei zahav*, a commentary on the *Shulḥan arukh*. The synagogue, which survived in all its splendour until the Second World War, bore his name, but was known popularly as 'Di Gildene Roiz' (the Golden Rose) after Isaac's daughter-in-law. The two communities in Lviv dominated all the Jewish settlements in Rus' Czerwona and ran their affairs. Lviv was head of the Va'ad Medinah (Council of the Province) and was also represented in the Council of the Four Lands, and several council meetings took place in the city in the seventeenth century.

Lviv also became an important centre of religious studies and some of the greatest scholars in Poland served as rabbis of the two Lviv communities.

<sup>4</sup> D. Shtock (Sadan), *Mima'agal ha ne'urim* (Tel Aviv, 1944), 178–9.

In our city there was also held a gathering of the wise men of our generation and the leaders of Israel, for in that place there assembled from time to time the sages and leaders of the four lands of Poland, who came together each year to oversee the affairs of the communities and to make arrangements and introduce amendments to strengthen our religion, and to attend to the maintenance of the yeshivas and the appointment of rabbis in each town, and to deal with matters pertaining to halakhah. And they also consulted together on the printing of new books and decided whether they were worthy of the community.<sup>5</sup>

The 1648 pogroms brought tragedy to the Jews of Lviv. The Cossack army, under Khmelnytsky, besieged Lviv, which was packed with refugees from all over the district, and destroyed the suburbs. The Cossacks demanded that the Polish townspeople hand over the Jews, but the Poles refused and in the end the Cossacks left with a huge ransom. Many residents died of disease or in fires during the siege and peace was not finally restored until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

In 1656 the city again came under siege by the Hungarian army and in 1664 there were religious pogroms conducted by Jesuit students, townsfolk, and peasants. Several hundred Jews were murdered and many more injured. Again in 1695 Tartars invaded Lviv and attacked its inhabitants, and a few years later, in 1704, the city was captured by Swedes. The intensification of Catholic hatred of Jews fed the blood libel, in which Jews were accused of using Christian blood for religious rituals, and in its turn the blood libel provided an excuse for pogroms throughout eighteenth-century Poland, including Lviv. Several members of prominent Jewish families were killed in pogroms in 1710 and 1728.

In the early eighteenth century the Christian townspeople waged an increasingly fierce struggle against their Jewish rivals and, except for a brief respite during the reign of Jan Sobieski, succeeded in having rigorous bans imposed on Jewish economic activity. As a consequence, the Jewish community lost its economic power, and its influence over the other Rus' Czerwona communities waned accordingly. Jews left the city and settled in the private towns, where they enjoyed the protection of the nobles. The communities of Brody, Zhovkva, Buchach, Ternopil', and Komarno now competed for authority with Lviv and their leaders ran the regional council. But even then Lviv remained an important centre of religious learning. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the chief rabbis were Tsevi Hirsch Ashkenazi (Hakham Tsevi), father of R. Jacob Emden, and Jacob Joshua Falk, author of *Penei yehoshua*. From the 1730s almost until the Austrian conquest in 1772 R. Hayim Rapoport served as chief rabbi of Lviv. During his term of office Lviv cathedral hosted a disputation with adherents of the Sabbatean messianic pretender Jacob Frank, after which hundreds of Jews who had been secret followers of Shabbetai Tsevi rejected halakhah and converted to Christianity. Frank's appearance in Poland revealed the strength of kabbalistic influence in Rus' Czerwona and of the links between the Jews of that region and the Sefardi Jews across the border in the Ottoman empire.

<sup>5</sup> S. Buber, *Anshei shem: ha'ir levov ugedoleihah* (Kraków, 1894).

## GALICIA UNDER AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN RULE, 1772–1848

In 1772 Austria annexed the districts of Kraków, Sandomierz, and Lublin in Małopolska, and a large part of Rus' Czerwona, and incorporated them into its own territory under the name Galizien. From that time until the end of the First World War Galicia (excluding Kraków, which was a free city until 1846, and areas which became part of the Russian empire after 1815) remained under Austrian rule. In his chapter John-Paul Himka provides an overview of the complex triangular relationship which developed in these years between the Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians. This period saw the shaping of the Galician Jewish community and the development of the cultural and social image of the modern 'Galician' as it endured until the Holocaust. Between the Austrian annexation at the end of the eighteenth century and the establishment of independent Poland incorporating Galicia, the Jews of this region felt the winds of change from western and central Europe on the one hand, and on the other absorbed the beliefs and customs of hasidism, the religious movement grounded in Jewish mysticism. Galician Jews found themselves required to become part of a centralized state, and to forswear communal autonomy and the freedom to conduct their lives in accordance with halakhah. In their chapters, Franz Szabo describes the critical and indeed prejudiced view the Austrian authorities had of Galician society and the place of Jews in it, and Stanisław Grodziski analyses the nature of the reforms imposed on the Jewish community by Maria Theresa and Joseph II. In spite of these attempts at forcible integration, Jews continued to live their lives in accordance with Jewish tradition and to speak Yiddish, their age-old language. They suffered under restrictive economic edicts and other types of discrimination from both Austrian and Polish rulers, but some Jews still proved shrewd and successful entrepreneurs. Though caught in the struggle between the Polish and Ukrainian national movements, as Himka shows, the Jews had to conduct their political and cultural lives under the rule of yet another people, the Austrians. The Jews trod the path to integration in the societies in which they lived, but they also generated their own Jewish national movement, which sought new ways of coming to terms with the changes.

David Horowitz, who spent his childhood and youth in Drohobych and Lviv, has captured the atmosphere of eastern Galicia wonderfully:

The Jewish communities were caught between the pincers of these two alien peoples in their poverty-stricken towns, barely eking out a living on the margins and in the crevices of the economy, in petty trade, in brokerage, and in *luftigesheft* [lit. 'businesses surviving on air'] which were hard to define and from which it was even harder to earn a meagre crust of black bread. This was the fate of thousands and tens of thousands of poor Jews. Yet the spiritual life of this community was rich and varied. It produced spiritual movements which were all-encompassing, as if they sought to compensate for material poverty with richness of spirit and thought, knowledge and learning. Hasidism and the Haskalah, like

streams of living water, nurtured this joyous creativity with mystical experience and with sober rationalism. The young intelligentsia, whose roots lay deep in the soil of popular experience but branched out towards an alien culture, inclined to assimilation on the one hand and Zionist nationalist aspirations on the other. This ferment led to the search for a direction in an alien world and to the burgeoning of ideas that generated influential movements and ephemeral ideologies.<sup>6</sup>

The history of Galician Jews under Austrian rule can be divided into two periods according to their relations with the authorities and their links to the majority populations of the region. In the first period, from the annexation to Austria in 1772 to 1848, the Jewish population experienced constant pressure from the bureaucracy. This was the beginning of the cultural and political influence of the imperial centre in Vienna. At this time Kraków was an independent city-state and developed in its own particular manner. In the second period, which began during the 'Spring of Nations' in 1848 and ended with the First World War, relations between the Austrian authorities and the Jews improved greatly, the latter receiving full political rights in 1867; on the other hand, the Jews now drew closer to Polish political forces, culture, and language. Between 1772 and 1848 the Austrians treated the Jews of Galicia in ways characteristic of European absolutist regimes. In order to derive the maximum economic advantage from their presence and to reduce the non-productive element to a minimum, the Austrian government levied special taxes on the Jews and placed restrictions on occupations connected to the retail trade, peddling, and leasing of property and the means of production. They took over the supervision of Jewish marriages and expelled Jewish beggars from eastern Galicia. All these issues are discussed in Stanisław Grodziski's chapter.

During the reign of Emperor Joseph II (1780–90) the influence of 'enlightened absolutism' manifested itself in 'reforms' imposed on the Jews that were designed to improve their social and economic behaviour and transform them into 'worthy' members of society. The government established schools for Jewish children under the supervision of Naftali Herz Homberg, ended the long tradition of autonomy of the communities, introduced the conscription of Jews into the armed forces, and attempted to set up agricultural settlements for *shtetl* Jews. On the other hand, secondary schools and institutions of higher learning began to admit Jews, and they were encouraged to enter certain professions, especially medicine. However, Joseph II's successors did not carry through his reforms and anti-Jewish restrictions became gradually less 'enlightened', particularly after the end of the Napoleonic wars and the Vienna Congress of 1815. The official attitude towards the Jews only accelerated the gradual detachment of Galicia from the trade routes that linked its cities with the north and the west, a drift begun by the separation of Galicia from the Polish kingdom. Economically Galicia started to lag behind other parts of the Habsburg empire and to import goods from areas where

<sup>6</sup> D. Horowitz, *Ha'etmol sheli* (Jerusalem, 1970), 12.

the Industrial Revolution was already in full swing. While some cities, such as Brody, enjoyed preferential economic status and continued to flourish, most trade centres of the period preceding the divisions, such as Zhovkva, began to decline at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In this period of growing economic difficulty the hasidic movement spread throughout Galicia, winning converts amongst the Jews in towns and villages, and within decades became a decisive element in the religious and social life of the region. The hasidic communities were consolidated around *tsadikim*, charismatic leaders who acted as substitutes for the administrative leadership that had been abolished. The hasidic dynasties, such as Roke'ahs of Belz, the Friedmanns of Ruzhin-Sadgora, Husiatyn, and Chortkiv, and the Hagers of Vizhnits, preserved the traditional lifestyle, costume, and language, and resisted attempts by the regime to Germanize the Jewish population. The early leaders of the Jewish Enlightenment movement, many of whom came from communities such as Lviv, Kraków, Brody, and Ternopil' which maintained trade links with the cities of Germany and Austria, perceived the hasidim as enemies of Enlightenment and fought tenaciously against them. In 1813 Joseph Perl of Ternopil', a prosperous man with contacts in the Austrian bureaucracy who established a modern school in the spirit of the Enlightenment, informed in detail on the damage which the hasidim were causing the state through their irrational conduct and composed a number of savage satires mocking their beliefs and customs. All this was to no avail and the religious movement continued to spread rapidly.

The Austrian occupation, which introduced the principles of enlightened absolutism to the entire regime, also brought change to Lviv. Despite the economic edicts aimed at curtailing the growth of the urban Jewish population, and despite their being cut off from Polish and German markets, commerce and crafts continued to develop. Members of the economic élite, which controlled community affairs, were until the mid-nineteenth century conservative in their religious and cultural outlook. However, an intelligentsia emerged from among the merchants, who were influenced by contact with German Jewry, and from among the members of the liberal professions, and this intelligentsia lent new strength to the liberal elements. Disputes broke out between the reformists and the conservatives and in 1848, at the height of the controversy, R. Abraham Kohn, one of the reformists, died of poisoning.

In 1772, in the first partition of Poland, Kazimierz, which contained the Jewish population of Kraków, had been assigned to Austria, while Kraków itself remained in Poland. An international border now ran along the branches of the Vistula with devastating effects on the economic position of the Jews of Kazimierz, who by now numbered perhaps 3,500. Kraków shared in the patriotic revival of the last years of the reign of Stanisław August and strongly supported the uprising of Tadeusz Kościuszko, who made an appeal for Jewish backing in the Old Synagogue in Kazimierz. After the third partition Kazimierz was annexed

by Austria, but in 1809 became part of the Napoleonic duchy of Warsaw. In 1815 it was established as a free city only to be annexed again by Austria in 1846 following a national revolution there. It remained part of the Habsburg empire until 1918.

During this period Kraków became something of a backwater. Memories of its great past as the historic capital of Poland and the place where the Polish kings were buried gave it special significance in the Polish imagination, but it remained a relatively small town. In 1833 it had a population of 38,000, which grew to 50,000 in 1870, 85,000 in 1900, and 120,000 in 1910. This was considerably smaller than Lviv, which was also the provincial capital. The Jewish population increased from 8,500 in 1818 (28.6 per cent of the population) to 26,000 in 1900 and 32,000 in 1910. In the period of self-rule the Polish ruling class of the free city was divided over the question of whether Jews could be granted civil rights when they had reformed their society or only after political integration had been achieved. In 1817 the Statute for the Followers of the Law of the Old Testament (*Starozakonny*) was enacted. It abolished the *kahal*, which it replaced with a committee for Jewish affairs whose authority extended only to religious and charitable matters, and which was composed of the rabbi, two other Jews, and a civil servant; the Jews were subordinate to the local administration and judiciary. Rabbis were still elected to the community, but had to demonstrate to the civil authorities their knowledge of Polish and German. Jews were not eligible to be elected to the House of Representatives which governed the free city, and the restrictions on their place of residence which had been in operation before the partitions were maintained.

The period in which Kraków was a free city did see some acculturation. In 1839 the Society for the Spreading of Useful Crafts among the Israelites, modelled on a similar body founded ten years earlier in Lviv, was formed, followed in 1840 by the Society for Self-Education among Jews. Amongst the members of the latter society were a number of the Jewish upper class, including Filip Bondy, Jonatan Warschauer, Józef Oettinger, Maurycy Krzepicki, Szachna Markusfeld, and Jozue Funk. In 1830 a Jewish public elementary school had already been founded in Kazimierz and five years later a Jewish public *Realschule* was also set up. In 1837 these establishments were merged and became a craft and commercial school, which by 1849–50 had 375 pupils. In 1831 an ardent Polish patriot, R. Dov Ber Meisels, was elected rabbi and in 1844 a modern Orthodox synagogue, the Tempel, was opened. In its ritual this synagogue followed traditional Jewish practice, but it also introduced some important changes in the organization of worship. The *bimah* was now placed in front of the ark to facilitate the delivery of sermons, at first in German and later in Polish. A place for the choir was also built in the eastern wall and women were seated in a gallery, rather than behind a curtain.

For the most part Jews enthusiastically supported the revolution of February 1846 in the free city. On 23 February the Revolutionary Council had issued an

appeal 'To our Israelite brothers', which promised the abolition of all distinctions between Jews and other citizens, the first such act on the Polish lands. In response some 500 Jews, including Oettinger, Warschauer, Funk, and Krzepicki of the Society for Self-Education, joined the army of insurrection. This was enthusiastically welcomed by R. Meisels, and he and Krzepicki called on Jews to support the revolution 'as befits the free and brave sons of the motherland'. This did not prevent some of the more reactionary Polish *émigrés*, such as Wiktor Szokalski, a member of Adam Czartoryski's entourage in Paris, from accusing the Galician Jews of responsibility for the jacquerie which followed the outbreak of revolution in Kraków and Austrian Poland.

The humiliating collapse of the revolution and the incorporation of Kraków into Austria were followed by Austrian reprisals against those who had supported the revolution. Some Jews were imprisoned and all restrictive anti-Jewish laws re-established. In addition, a fine of 50,000 florins was levied on the Jewish community.

### AUSTRIAN RULE, 1848-1918

The revolution of 1848 formed a landmark in the political, social, and cultural development of the Jews of Galicia, particularly in Lviv and Kraków. Jews were politically divided during the revolution: some took an active part in the struggle, aligning themselves with the Poles, while others did not support the national aspirations of the Poles and adopted a pro-Austrian stand, fearing the increasing strength of Polish antisemitism and an outbreak of anti-Jewish violence. Jews were particularly prominent in the revolution in Kraków. On 3 May 1848, the anniversary of the adoption of the Polish constitution of 1791, the Kraków Society for Self-Education among Jews issued an appeal. At this moment, when the peoples of Europe were freeing themselves from 'oppression by tyrants'; and the Jews, too, were being granted rights for which they had waited so long, it was

the duty of an Israelite to evoke in himself love for the motherland, to immerse himself in patriotism for the country in which he was born and awake among his co-religionists a holy zeal for the cause of freedom . . . We shall show the world that we have the Maccabees' blood in our veins, that our hearts, like the hearts of our forefathers, respond warmly to everything that is noble and sublime.<sup>7</sup>

R. Meisels was elected to parliament in Vienna from Kraków in the autumn of 1848, where he expressed clearly the views of those Jews who supported more moderate Polish aspirations and the revolutionary constitution of April 1848:

the future of our Polish motherland can only be secured through organic work [work to raise the economic, social, and cultural level of the country], not through the dissolution of society . . . Realizing the needs of humanity in its present phase, I am an ardent believer in

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in A. Eisenbach, *The Emancipation of the Jews in Poland, 1780-1870* (Oxford, 1991), 364-5.

the principles of freedom, in the development of political rights, in all citizens having a share in these rights . . . I regard these principles as true democracy, which, far from diminishing, raises everything, which does not destroy but constructs and consolidates the new constitution by love.<sup>8</sup>

As in 1846, these hopes were dashed. The revolution was crushed and, although not all Jewish restrictions were re-established, full emancipation would have to wait another twenty years. It was achieved in 1867 in Cisleithanian Austria and accepted in the following year by the local Galician Sejm, now under the control of the Polish nobles. Legal equality was followed by further acculturation and, in contrast to other Jewish communities in eastern Europe, the Jews in Galicia played a part at all levels of national political activity. They still wavered between identification with the German Austrian central government and the Polish provincial administration in Galicia. In her chapter Hanna Kozińska-Witt describes how Ludwig Gumplowicz, who was to become one of the founders of sociology, saw the problem of Jewish integration and Polonization.

Later, the third, Ukrainian alternative emerged. Advocates of alignment with Austria sometimes supported Ukrainian political forces, as happened in the elections of 1873, described in Rachel Manekin's chapter. Yet, as Yaroslav Hrytsak demonstrates in his chapter, even Ivan Franko, a Ukrainian writer sympathetic to Jewish aspirations, still felt highly ambivalent about Jews in general and in particular about the possibility of Jewish-Ukrainian co-operation.

Galicia anticipated Russia by several decades in modern political organization and association, but traditional elements in society also played their part. Despite the slow pace of their enfranchisement, the Jews adopted German culture rapidly, while increasing their contact with Polish culture. Some aspects of this acculturation process are described in the chapter by Jerzy Holzer. The trend towards Polish culture accelerated with the achievement of full emancipation at the end of the 1860s, but weakened again in the 1880s, when hostile attitudes towards the Jews in the mould of modern antisemitism emerged in Polish society. Józef Buszko explores the complex character of politics in multi-ethnic Galicia.

In 1867 the pro-Austrian section among the advocates of German culture established in Lviv the Shomer Yisrael (Guardian of Israel) association, which augured the beginning of modern political activity in Galicia. Its members disseminated German culture and acted to further the integration of Jews in the local, regional, and imperial political system. They published a German-language newspaper, *Der Israelit*, set up a club and library in Lviv, and supported the *postępowo* (Progressive) synagogue in the city. On the political plane they collaborated with Polish organizations. A second, exclusively pro-Polish group was consolidated at that time and founded the Doreshei Shalom (Peace-Seekers) association, from which developed the Polish Jewish organization Agudas Ahim (Association of Brothers).

<sup>8</sup> Eisenbach, *Emancipation*, 355.



In order to combat the movement towards cultural assimilation, the traditionalists rallied their forces under the leadership of R. Szymon Sofer (Schreiber) of Kraków and R. Joshua Roke'ah of Belz. They adopted modern political modes of action, published their own paper, *Maḥazikei hadat*, and cooperated with the Poles by voting in elections to the Austrian parliament. The role of the Orthodox in the elections of 1873 emerges strikingly in the chapter by Rachel Manekin.

Jewish communal politics was less polarized in Kraków than elsewhere in Galicia and integrationist and pro-Polish views were stronger here than in Lviv. The *gmina* (communal body) was dominated by integrationists under the chairmanship of Szymon Samelson and both they and the Jewish Orthodox were represented on the city council. By 1865 Polish had already been introduced as the language of instruction in the Jewish school in Kazimierz and in the same year it became the language of the *gmina*. In 1868 the Tempel, where most of the integrationists prayed, decided to appoint as its preacher Szymon Dankowicz, a graduate of the Warsaw Higher School (the proto-university established during the liberalization of Russian Poland in the kingdom of Poland which followed Alexander II's accession), who was known for his fervent support for Polish patriotic aspirations and who had taken part in the 1863 uprising. Moreover, as Rachel Manekin shows, in the 1873 elections to the Austrian Reichsrat Szymon Samelson and his Orthodox deputy, Salomon Deiches, refused to participate in the creation of the Central Jewish Electoral Committee, which allied itself with Ruthenian (Ukrainian) politicians. In their view, expressed in a letter to the committee, the goals which they and it both sought could be better achieved through an alliance with 'Polish Christians'. Their stance was applauded by *Czas*, the main organ of the Kraków political leadership, which expressed satisfaction with the way the local Jewish community had rejected Shomer Yisrael's position supporting Germanization of the Jews and the centralization of the monarchy as was favoured by the German liberals.

Jews played a major role in the economic development of Kraków in these years and were in the grocery, haberdashery, leather, textile, and clothing trades; they also participated actively in the import and export of wine, textiles, timber, and feathers. They were an important section of the professional classes and a major element of the artisan classes.

From the 1880s the new Jewish politics began to make its mark on Kraków. The new rabbi of the Tempel, Ozjasz Thon, became the principal spokesman for the Zionists. Socialist ideas also began to make inroads within the community and when in 1905 the Jewish Social Democratic Party was formed, a significant number of its 4,000 Galician members were to be found in Kraków. Neo-Orthodoxy also began to make its mark, with its view that the only way to protect the faithful against the ravages of the modern world was to adopt some of its techniques, both in political organization and in education. R. Shimeon Sofer, leader of the Orthodox Jews in Kraków, sat in the Reichsrat for the Snyatyn-Kolomyia-Buchach area as a member of the Polish club.

The freedom of political association granted to the Jews of Galicia in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the fact that they were granted access to schools and universities and to government posts, opened up several possible routes to integration. Some were drawn to the imperial culture and emigrated to central Europe, particularly to Vienna, in order to practise liberal professions; some assimilated into Polish culture, while others sought to combine an Orthodox lifestyle with an open attitude towards European culture. But notwithstanding these changes, tens of thousands of Galician Jews still adhered to the old way of life, drew their livelihood from the estate economy or from occupations connected with villages and small towns, and suffered greatly from the economic backwardness of the region. At the same time, the abolition of the labour tribute and the restrictions on Jewish landholding led to the emergence of a class of Jewish landowners. As Tomasz Gąsowski demonstrates in his chapter, nearly one-fifth of the large estates in Galicia on the eve of the First World War belonged to Jews. These Jewish landowners had by then become an established feature of Galician society.

Literary and journalistic activity flourished in the first decades after the 1848 revolution and was embraced by the second and third generation of the Galician Enlightenment movement. This included, among others, the writers Reuven Asher Brodes, Mordecai David Brandstaedter, and David Ishaya Silverbusch. Hebrew weeklies and monthlies devoted to Jewish studies, such as *Meged yerahim*, *Otsar hokhmah*, and *Hamevaser*, began to appear, most of them published in Lviv. Yiddish papers also began to come out, the first of them, *Di Tsaytung*, in the revolutionary year itself. Lviv became an important publishing centre, partly because in 1836 Russia had imposed stringent restrictions on the printing of Hebrew and Yiddish books. Kraków also became a publishing centre, especially of Polish books.

The disinclination of large numbers of Galician Jews for cultural assimilation as envisaged by the Poles, together with the growing impact of modern anti-semitism on the political life of Poland, formed the background to the burgeoning of Jewish nationalism in Galicia. The Association for Settlement in the Land of Israel was founded as early as 1875 in Przemyśl, on the border of eastern and western Galicia. Its first members included several active members of the associations for Jewish cultural integration, who were influenced by the moderate Enlightenment trends that had been evident in Galicia since the beginning of the nineteenth century. In this context it is illuminating to read the farewell piece written in 1884 by the editor of *Ojczyzna* ('Homeland'), the paper of the pro-Polish Agudas Ahim association. In it he writes that the Jews had only two possible choices: to convert to Christianity or move to Erets Yisrael.<sup>9</sup> From the 1890s on, Hovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion) groups started springing up throughout the region, and at the beginning of the twentieth century the Zionists began to take

<sup>9</sup> N. M. Gelber, *Toledot yehudei brodi* (Jerusalem, 1955), 84.

part in political life and in elections to the Austrian parliament. The Poles, vehemently opposing independent Jewish political organization, supported the pro-Polish circles in the Jewish communities. Concomitant with the national movement, a Jewish labour movement emerged among the artisans' and workers' unions and continued in the form of Jewish associations affiliated to Polish socialist parties. In 1903 a labour Zionist movement was founded and the following year the Galician Po'alei Zion party was established. As in other segments of east European Jewry, nationalist radicalism and social radicalism came together, creating the infrastructure for the politicization of Jewish life. By the eve of the First World War there was a network of Jewish parties, clubs, and organizations, with branches all over Galicia, where all kinds of political and cultural activity took place. Zionists, socialists, German- and Polish-speaking intellectuals, pious Jews, and Hebrew scholars were to be found in the towns and cities. Despite decades of intensive activity on the part of intellectuals and government functionaries, the Jews remained a separate group with distinct features—a national group among other such groups. Even in the multinational cities of Lviv and Kraków, where Jewish integration went furthest, clearly defined limits maintained a distinct Jewish presence.

Yet the central problem for Jews in Galicia, as for most of Galicia's other inhabitants, remained the struggle to earn a living. Galician poverty became proverbial in the second half of the nineteenth century and caused serious dislocation and disruption to Jewish society; emigration was one of the principal ways out. The favoured destination of most Jews was the New World, but many also made their way to the growing metropolis of Vienna. Klaus Hödl's chapter discusses why they took this course and the problems they faced there.

At the turn of the twentieth century Lviv was among the liveliest centres of Jewish activity in eastern Europe, together with Odessa, Warsaw, and St Petersburg. Its old-style *heders* flourished alongside more modern schools, public libraries, and even a Yiddish theatre, built in 1890. The large number of Jewish students at Lviv University (about one-fifth of the student body in 1897) attests to the intercultural contact that the intelligentsia enjoyed; many Jewish students attended other central European universities. Both Hebrew and Yiddish journals and papers, as well as anthologies in Polish, were published in Lviv. Hebrew authors, including Joseph Hayim Brenner and Gershon Shofman, lived and wrote in Lviv, while Jewish scholars studied and taught Polish literature and classical languages at the local university. Given the strength of Polish culture among Jews and the later importance of Zionism, with its stress on Hebrew, Yiddish culture developed much more slowly than in the tsarist empire, as is described in the chapter by Gabriele Kohlbauer-Fritz. This encounter between the deeply rooted Jewish culture, with its long tradition of autonomy, and the Polish and German manifestations of European culture made Lviv a perfect microcosm for modern historical research on the Jews of the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom. The fathers of modern

historiography conducted a considerable part of their research in the city, although some, such as Mojżesz Schorr and Majer Bałaban, later moved to Warsaw. The antiquities of the Jewish quarters of the city and the treasures of the local synagogues, which had been an inseparable part of the everyday life of the Jews, became sources of inspiration for historical research and national renaissance.

Kraków, too, although smaller and less dynamic, became a major cultural centre less affected by the worsening Polish–Jewish relations found elsewhere in the decades before 1914. The integrationists remained the strongest political force in Jewish politics here, one of them, Jósef Sare, being elected deputy mayor in 1905. But their position was now under threat, not only from the exponents of the new Jewish politics, the Zionists and socialists, but also from the neo-Orthodox. Voices were also being raised within the community against the alliance with the Polish upper class, whose hold on Galician politics was coming under increasing pressure. One of the first Jewish deputies to break with the Polish club in the Austrian parliament was Adolf Gross of Kraków, who from 1903 sat in the Reichsrat as a representative of the Independent Jews, still favouring Jewish integration, but regarding Jewish political support for the aristocratic Polish club as undemocratic and short-sighted. From 1905 this group of Jewish democrats published the weekly journal *Tygodnik*.

#### DAYS OF DISTRESS

During the First World War eastern Galicia was the battleground of the Austrian and Russian armies. The region changed hands several times and tens of thousands of Jewish refugees abandoned their homes and fled to other parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Those who did not leave suffered at the hands of Russian troops, who raped and murdered them and plundered and destroyed their homes; some were deported to Russia. Famine and epidemics claimed many lives. Special committees were established to help the victims of war and Russian Jews set up other committees to put pressure on the Russian military command to stop the pogroms against the Jews. The writer Shai An-ski, who played an important part in these rescue efforts, recorded the fate of the Jews of Galicia at this time in his book *The Destruction of the Jews in Poland, Galicia and Bukovina*:

The outrages committed in Galicia are almost unimaginable. A large area with a million Jews, who only yesterday enjoyed all individual and civil rights, is now surrounded by a fiery wall of blood and iron, cut off from the world and under the domination of animals in the form of Cossacks and soldiers. The impression we gained is that an entire tribe was being severed from the people of Israel.<sup>10</sup>

Not only did the war undermine the Jewish economy in Galicia, but it also affected the demographic structure of the population. Many communities

<sup>10</sup> S. An-Ski, *Hurban hayehudim bepolin, galitsiyah ubukovinah* (Berlin, 1929), i. 14.

dwindled and the proportion of Jews in rural areas dropped. To make matters worse, after the ending of hostilities the Jews found themselves trapped between the Poles, who were about to win political independence, and the Ukrainians, who for a time established an independent republic in the eastern part of the region. 'The sons of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob began to feel that although they were not part of the one camp—with the exception of the small faction of the Association of Poles of the Jewish Persuasion—or the other, the two camps were like upper and lower millstones, and they, the Jews, were being ground between them.'<sup>11</sup> Lviv became the site of a protracted pogrom, during which 100 Jews were murdered and hundreds more injured.

## EPILOGUE

With the end of the war the Jews of Galicia found themselves no longer under the rule of a multinational empire, where they had enjoyed equal rights and official tolerance, but now members of a nation-state with a particularly severe minority problem. This problem was more acute in the east, where the Jewish minority lived alongside a larger Polish minority and a Ukrainian majority in a province ruled by Poles. The economic role of the Jews gradually shifted to the majority groups, and the Polish authorities banned Jews from government posts. During the inter-war period the Jewish community in both regions of Galicia failed to recover from the effects of the war. Their economic plight worsened because of the new Polish taxation policy, which adversely affected commerce, and because of growing economic competition from Polish and Ukrainian cooperatives. In the 1930s the economic boycott of Jewish businesses grew, as did restrictions on Jewish admissions to high schools and universities. Right-wing Polish and Ukrainian parties incited anti-Jewish activity, and in Lviv students occasionally rioted against Jewish businesses. Because of restrictions on emigration to the West, which tightened in the 1930s, and the limited possibility of emigration to Palestine, this was not a feasible solution to the Jewish predicament.

But, as elsewhere in Poland, the economic crisis and the hostility faced by the Jews reinforced their independent spirit and they established a wide-ranging network of welfare, mutual-aid, and economic support associations in the towns of Galicia which helped Jewish artisans and merchants to survive. Jewish political activity also expanded, and the various parties attracted tens of thousands of members. The educational networks of the Hebrew-language, Zionist-oriented Tarbut and the Orthodox Agudas Yisrael set up dozens of schools throughout eastern Galicia. As Jewish political and cultural activity intensified and alienation from Polish society grew, the trend towards Polonization declined.

Immediately after the outbreak of the Second World War on 1 September 1939

<sup>11</sup> Schtock (Sadan), *Mima'agal hane'urim*, 239. This refers to two demonstrations of Poles and Ukrainians that took place in Lviv in the closing days of Austrian rule in Galicia.

the German army invaded eastern Galicia, only to retreat a few days later, but not before wreaking havoc on the lives and property of Jews. The Germans retained control of western Galicia and Kraków became the capital of the General Government, the rump Polish area established by the Germans to serve as a possible bargaining-counter with the Western Powers and as a source of raw materials and slave labour. The Soviet army seized eastern Galicia on 17 September. As in all parts of Poland annexed to the Soviet Union under the Ribbentrop–Molotov agreement, the Jews won a temporary reprieve from the Germans, but paid a price: within a few months hundreds of thousands of Jews encountered the sweeping changes which their co-religionists over the Soviet border had experienced two decades before. There commenced a rapid upheaval in the economic and social structure, and the Jews were particularly affected because of their occupations and social activity.

The leaders of the Jewish community and active members of Jewish national organizations and political parties suffered a grim fate. Jewish political activity was banned and leaders of Zionist parties and of the Bund were arrested and exiled. All educational and cultural activity connected to the various movements was suspended. Some of the pupils transferred to state schools where the language of instruction was Yiddish, but many moved to the general school system. On the other hand, the Soviet regime abolished all restrictive quotas (although some quotas would later resurface) and opened the institutions of higher learning to Jews, and the number of Jewish students increased greatly. While Hebrew culture suffered a heavy blow, Yiddish culture flourished in line with the spirit of the Soviet regime. Among the many refugees who arrived in eastern Galicia from Nazi-occupied Poland were Yiddish writers and actors who joined the local writers and artists. A state Yiddish theatre was set up in Lviv, headed by Ida Kaminska, also a refugee. However, the Soviet authorities placed obstacles in the path of religious practice and all subsidies for religious institutions ceased, but the synagogues continued to be supported by their congregations and religious ceremonies were still held.

The Nazi invasion of June 1941 and the beginning of the 'Final Solution', the mass murder of the Jews of Europe, brought about the effective end of Galician Jewry. The Jews of western Galicia had already been subjected to two years of brutal Nazi oppression and in the three terrible years between the summer of 1941 and the summer of 1944 the Nazis wiped out almost the entire Jewish population of the area. In the first days of the Nazi occupation of eastern Galicia local inhabitants—Ukrainians and sometimes Poles—killed thousands of Jews in pogroms, justifying their actions by charging that the Jews had collaborated with the Soviet regime over the previous two years. In August 1941 the Germans incorporated eastern Galicia into the General Government as the district of Galicia and extended their anti-Jewish edicts to the region. They set up a Judenrat (Jewish self-rule body) in each community and directed men and women between 14 and

60 into forced labour. The mass execution of Jews from the former Soviet region, including Jews from small towns and villages, continued into the autumn of 1941. In the final months of 1941 and the beginning of 1942 the Nazis set up work camps, to which they dispatched tens of thousands of Jews as forced labourers to dig up stones and lay roads under harsh conditions.

The concentration of Jews into ghettos began at the same time. In March 1941 a ghetto had already been established in Kraków, while in Lviv construction of the ghetto began in November. In the same month the Germans began to build the Belżec death camp north-west of Lviv and in the spring of 1942 they began to implement the Final Solution, deporting groups of east Galician Jews classified as 'unfit for work' (children, old people, and the sick) to the camp. Throughout that year the remnants of the population lived in ghettos in large and medium-sized towns. Hunger, cold, and disease killed many and the desperate attempts of Jewish committees to distribute food through public kitchens and to provide medical aid had little impact.

In the summer of 1942 the Germans accelerated the extermination and even sent Jews employed in the war effort to death camps. For two weeks in August SS units and the German police operated in conjunction with the Ukrainian police to send 50,000 of Lviv's Jews to Belżec in the great *Aktion*. The Judenräte, whose members had been forced to take fateful decisions on mass deportations, were liquidated, and during 1943 the Germans turned those ghettos still in existence into labour camps and began to run them directly. (In Lviv the ghetto was converted into a labour camp.) At the beginning of June German and Ukrainian police units began liquidating the ghetto in Lviv, but encountered armed resistance from the remnants of the Jewish population; another camp in Lviv, Janowska, was liquidated in November. By the summer of 1943 most of those left in the ghettos had been killed, with only slightly more than 20,000 remaining in the labour camps; by the end of 1943 they too had been killed. They tried to escape to the forests, seeking hiding-places or crossing over to the 'Aryan' side, but the hostile atmosphere and the thoroughness of the German search for Jews in hiding almost completely ruled out escape. 'In the absence of any possibility of escaping their cruel fate, and after hopeless wandering through the sea of human hatred, most of the unfortunate fugitives were forced to return to the ghetto, where they perished in the subsequent actions,' wrote a Jewish physician who survived the Stanislaviv ghetto.<sup>12</sup>

Quite a few of the Jews who survived did so thanks to Polish or Ukrainian acquaintances who hid them, or to Germans displaying rare qualities of humanity. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, head of the Uniate Church in eastern Galicia, issued an epistle condemning the murder of Jews and through his influence 150 Jewish lives were saved. In Brody the German forest supervisor risked his life to help hundreds of Jews. These and other demonstrations of humanity stood out

<sup>12</sup> A. Liebesman, *Im yehudei stanislavuv biyemei kelayah* (Beit Lohamei Hageta'ot, 1980), 89.

against the background of hostility and the desperate predicament of the Jews in the face of systematic extermination.

When the Soviet army entered Galicia in the spring and summer of 1944, a few thousand Jews came out of hiding, some 2 per cent of the number who had been living in Galicia only three years previously. In Lviv, home to 100,000 Jews in 1931, only 3,400 remained when the Soviets entered at the end of July 1944, including only eighty-five children and adolescents. But these survivors were not yet secure. The Ukrainian underground units led by Stepan Bandera, who had already killed Jews trying to escape to the forests, continued to fight the Soviet regime and to vent their fury on the remaining Jews, most of whom emigrated to other countries. In Kraków, too, only a residual community remained.

In the physical devastation many synagogues had been destroyed; streets in which Jews had lived for centuries had been damaged and *shtetls* reduced to rubble. This was accompanied by the plundering of cultural and art treasures and, when the Soviets returned, they did not permit the renewal of Jewish cultural life even to the extent to which it had been allowed between 1939 and 1941. This marked the end of a centuries-old community distinguished by cultural richness and creativity in its spiritual and everyday life. Galician Jewry, which blended deep-rooted tradition with the cultural influence of the nations among which it dwelt, is gone for ever, but its heritage has been borne by emigrants, refugees, and survivors far beyond the bounds of eastern Europe. Today, too, both in Poland and in Ukraine, Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians have begun to restore this precious legacy. This volume is one small contribution to the task.



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# Dimensions of a Triangle: Polish–Ukrainian–Jewish Relations in Austrian Galicia

JOHN–PAUL HIMKA

THE Austrian crown land of Galicia does not have the best reputation in literature. In Jaroslav Hašek's famous novel *The Good Soldier Švejk and his Fortunes in the World War* Major-General von Schwarzenberg 'had a mania for transferring officers to the most unpleasant places. On the slightest pretext, an officer was already saying goodbye to his garrison and was on his way . . . to some drink-sodden, forlorn outpost in the filthy wilds of Galicia.'

Unpleasant it may have been, but Galicia was not insignificant in east central Europe. With a territory of almost 80,000 square kilometres and a population exceeding 8 million in 1914, it was the largest province in the lands and kingdoms represented in the Reichsrat. Galicia took its name from the medieval Ukrainian principality of Halych, situated north of the Carpathian Mountains in the westernmost extension of Kievan Rus'. Austria acquired the territory from the first partition of Poland in 1772. The Austrian crown land included not only much of the old Galician Rus', but also some ethnically Polish territories in the west that had never been connected with the Galicia of the Middle Ages. In Austrian Galicia Poles and Ukrainians each accounted for over 40 per cent of the population and Jews for over 10 per cent. (See Tables 1–3.) There was also a small German minority in the crown land and, historically, an Armenian minority, which had more or less assimilated to Polish nationality by the nineteenth century. In eastern Galicia, which corresponded more to medieval Galicia, Ukrainians made up about 65 per cent of the population, Poles about 20 per cent, and Jews well over 10 per cent.

In what follows I sketch the relationships between the three major nationalities of Austrian Galicia—Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews—with respect to social and political intercourse, religion, and culture. This is not a sketch of the history of Galicia under Austrian rule, nor of the history of any of the three nationalities; it is restricted to the problem of interaction between these nationalities and much that is important in Galician, Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish history is necessarily omitted. Within these limits I hope to present as full and balanced an account of the Galician triangle as possible.

Table 1. Galician population by nationality, 1825–1857

Year	Poles	Ukrainians	Jews	Total <sup>a</sup>
1825	1,800,000	1,740,000	270,000	3,850,000
1846	1,994,802	2,441,771	335,071	4,875,149
1857	1,981,076	2,085,431	448,973	4,632,866

Note: These early statistics are, of course, very inexact.

<sup>a</sup> Incl. Germans and other minorities.

Source: M. Korduba, 'Rozvii ukrains'koho naselennia v Halychyni za ostannikh sto lit', *Svit*, 2 13–14 (15 July 1926), 4–7.

Table 2. Galician population by religion, 1880–1910

Year	Roman Catholics	Greek Catholics	Jews	Total <sup>a</sup>
1880 <sup>b</sup>	2,706,977	2,518,408	686,596	5,938,461
1890 <sup>c</sup>	2,999,062	2,790,577	770,468	6,607,816
1900 <sup>d</sup>	3,345,780	3,108,972	811,183	7,315,939
1910 <sup>b</sup>	3,731,569	3,379,613	871,895	7,980,447

Sources:

<sup>a</sup> Incl. protestants and members of other denominations.

<sup>b</sup> Korduba, 'Rozvii ukrains'koho naselennia v Halychyni', 4–7.

<sup>c</sup> 'Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31 December 1890', pt. 1: 'Die summarischen Ergebnisse der Volkszählung', *Österreichische Statistik*, 32 (1892), 124, 171.

<sup>d</sup> Volodymyr Okhrymovych, 'Z polia natsional'noi statystyky Halychyny', *Studii z polia suspil'nykh nauk i statystyky*, 1 (1909), 67.

Table 3. Galician population by language, 1880–1910

Year	Polish	Ukrainian	German	Total <sup>a</sup>
1880	3,058,400 <sup>b</sup>	2,549,707 <sup>b</sup>	324,336 <sup>b</sup>	5,938,461 <sup>c</sup>
1890 <sup>d</sup>	3,509,183	2,835,674	227,600	6,607,816
1900 <sup>e</sup>	3,988,702	3,074,449	211,752	7,284,703
1910 <sup>c</sup>	4,672,500	3,208,092	90,114	7,980,477

Note: Yiddish was not recognized as a language in the Austrian censuses, and most Jews reported Polish as their language. Aside from this, the Galician census statistics inflated the number of Polish speakers. For a detailed discussion of the language statistics, see E. Brix, *Die Umgangssprachen in Altösterreich zwischen Agitation und Assimilation. Die Sprachenstatistik den zisleithanischen Volkszählungen, 1880 bis 1910*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs, 72 (Vienna, 1982), 353–89.

Sources:

<sup>a</sup> Incl. persons who reported some other language.

<sup>b</sup> G. A. Schimmer, 'Die einheimische Bevölkerung Österreichs nach der Umgangssprache', *Statistische Monatschrift* (1881), 106.

<sup>c</sup> Korduba, 'Rozvii ukrains'koho naselennia v Halychyni', 4–7.

<sup>d</sup> 'Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31 December 1890', 124, 171.

<sup>e</sup> *Österreichisches statistisches Handbuch*, 20 (Vienna, 1901), 5.

## SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

Galicia belongs to that curious belt of east central Europe extending from Lithuania to Transylvania and composed of the eastern reaches of pre-1772 Poland and pre-1918 Hungary, where there has traditionally been a high degree of congruence between nationality and position in the socio-economic structure. This is also a zone where serfdom profoundly shaped the human environment, most evidently the system of social divisions but also the deep structures of the psychology, culture, and politics of the region.

The gentry of Galicia were Poles. They owned most of the landed estates throughout the province, sharing only a little with Jews around the start of the twentieth century. Of the three major Galician nationalities, the Poles were always the most powerful politically and the most assertive culturally. There was also, however, a substantial Polish peasant population, mainly concentrated in western Galicia, and Poles also inhabited the cities and towns of western Galicia and the larger cities of eastern Galicia; these urban Poles included artisans, merchants, and professionals. The Ukrainians were largely a peasant nation, with a thin layer of clerical and (by the 1840s) secular intelligentsia. The Jews, neither lords nor peasants, occupied the interstices of the feudal economy, intermediary positions between seigneur and serf as well as positions in the money economy, which remained marginal until the 1860s.<sup>1</sup> (See Tables 4 and 5.<sup>2</sup>)

While three nationalities constituted different socio-economic communities, with different cultural levels and interests, their interactions involved more than mere difference. These were antagonistic societies, communities whose economic interests frequently collided. The main axis of this antagonism was the landlord-peasant relationship. The Polish-style serfdom that existed in Galicia until 1848 was based on the coercion of labour rents from the peasantry. Like any system of forced labour, it depended on the systemic exercise of violence against the labourers and inspired profound hatred of the landlord class among the peasantry.<sup>3</sup> For their part, the landlords constructed for themselves an image of the peasants as mere brutes. The emotional energy engendered in this epoch seems to

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the rich variety of Jewish occupations in a small Galician town (Snyatyn) at the turn of the century, see J. Schoenfeld, *Jewish Life in Galicia under the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in the Reborn Poland, 1898-1939* (Hoboken, NJ, 1985), 22-38.

<sup>2</sup> For a well-rounded portrait of Galician society in the late 19th and early 20 centuries, see J. Buszko, *Zum Wandel der Gesellschaftsstruktur in Galizien und in der Bukowina*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Report no. 343 (Vienna, 1978).

<sup>3</sup> The classic studies of Galician serfdom are by L. von Mises, *Die Entwicklung der gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Verhältnissen in Galizien, 1772-1848*, Wiener Staatswissenschaftliche Studien, 4/2 (Vienna, 1902), and R. Rosdolsky [Rozdolski], *Stosunki poddańcze w dawnej Galicji* (Warsaw, 1962); trans. in German as *Untertan und Staat in Galizien. Die Reformen unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II* (Mainz, 1992). On the conflict between landlords and peasants, see the documentary collection O. A. Kupchyns'kyi, A. H. Sisets'kyi, and F. I. Steblii (eds.), *Klasova borot'ba selianstva Skhidnoi Halychyny, 1772-1849: Dokumenty i materialy* (Kiev, 1974).

Table 4. Occupation and nationality of Galicians, 1900

Occupation	Poles		Ukrainians		Jews		All Galicians	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	2,569,386	77	2,880,476	95	116,098	14	5,603,385	78
Industry	327,598	10	58,270	2	232,917	29	641,729	9
Trade	111,406	3	6,078	0	279,571	35	394,622	5
Professions	97,162	3	21,791	1	44,517	6	155,622	2
Other	228,016	7	55,256	2	132,923	16	429,767	6

*Note:* This table contains adjusted figures for Poles and Ukrainians. I have taken the number of Poles and Ukrainians by language and subtracted the number of Jews who gave Polish and Ukrainian as their language of intercourse (respectively, 76.6 and 5 per cent of the Jews). The results are necessarily inexact. These figures include dependants, but exclude those in the military. Based on information from J. Buzek, 'Stosunki zawodowe i socyalne ludności w Galicyi według wyznania i narodowości, na podstawie spisu ludności z 31 grudnia 1900 r.', *Wiadomości statystyczne o stosunkach krajowych*, 20/2 (1905), tables.

Table 5. National structure of the occupations, 1900 (%)

Nationality	Agriculture <sup>a</sup>	Industry <sup>b</sup>	Trade <sup>c</sup>	Professions <sup>d</sup>	Other
Poles	46	51	28	62	53
Ukrainians	51	9	2	14	13
Jews	2	36	71	29	31

*Note:* See note to Table 4.

<sup>a</sup> Incl. forestry, fishing, and related activities.

<sup>b</sup> Primarily artisanal production; also includes innkeeping.

<sup>c</sup> Incl. communication.

<sup>d</sup> Incl. civil service, clergy, and the free professions.

have been accumulated, as if on a flywheel, to be released in deadly spurts over the course of the next century. Even after 1848 the landlord–peasant conflict did not completely abate. Seigneurs and their former serfs struggled bitterly for fifteen years over possession of forests and pastures, and until the very collapse of the empire peasants continued to feel the whip on their back when they worked their former masters' demesnes for wages.

The bad feeling between landlord and peasant accrued primarily to the Polish–Ukrainian relationship.<sup>4</sup> Not only did the Polish manor confront the Ukrainian cottage in eastern Galicia,<sup>5</sup> but Ukrainian nationalism embraced the social

<sup>4</sup> See J. Radziejowski, 'Ukrainians and Poles, the Shaping of Reciprocal Images and Stereotypes', *Acta poloniae historica*, 50 (1984), 116–17.

<sup>5</sup> In 1902 (and again in 1906) agricultural labourers went on strike in eastern Galicia. This was, and was perceived as, both a social conflict between peasants and landlords and a national conflict between Ukrainians and Poles.

antagonism in a way that Polish nationalism never could. From the point of view of the Polish national movement, the antipathy between the gentry and the people was an obstacle, an embarrassment, even a tragedy. This became particularly evident in the insurrection that broke out in western Galicia in 1846. On one side stood the flower of the Polish gentry, ready to unite with and liberate their serfs in the name of a common struggle against national oppression; on the other were resentful and volatile Polish peasants who exploded into ferocious violence against their class oppressors, their would-be liberators and noble brothers. Contemporary Polish patriots found this moment so difficult to accept that they created legends to explain it away: they blamed outside forces—Metternich and his agents—for stirring up the peasants; many also claimed that the peasants who attacked the nobles were not really Poles but Ukrainians.<sup>6</sup> By contrast, in the Ukrainian national mythology peasants rebellions were exalted. The national poet Taras Shevchenko even glorified the cruelty of the *haidamaky*, the peasant and Cossack rebels who slaughtered Polish nobles in the eighteenth century as well as social bandits who were still doing so in the nineteenth (e.g. Shevchenko's poem 'Varnak').<sup>7</sup> From the very first, from 1848, Ukrainian political leaders did not hesitate to integrate the peasantry, with its grievances and aspirations in the socio-economic sphere, into the national movement. With the blessing of their national leaders, every year in May the Ukrainian peasants of Galicia (but not their Polish counterparts) solemnly commemorated the anniversary of their emancipation from serfdom; virtually every Ukrainian village in eastern Galicia conspicuously erected a cross in memory of liberation. The bloody shirt of serfdom was kept in clearer view in Ukrainian Galicia than in Polish Galicia.

The peasantry's grudge against the manor affected Jews as well, since Jews sometimes managed or leased estates from the nobility and in the late nineteenth century even began to buy them.<sup>8</sup> Although at most a few thousand Jews leased or

<sup>6</sup> R. Rosdolsky, *Engels and the Nonhistoric Peoples: The National Question in the Revolution of 1848* (Glasgow, 1987), 57–64. The difficulty of coming to terms with 1846 is still evident in Polish historiography on the subject. T. W. Simons Jr., 'The Peasant Revolt of 1846 in Galicia: Recent Polish Historiography', *Slavic Review*, 30/4 (Dec. 1971), 795–817. Since Simon's article was published, a leading authority on modern Polish history, in a standard reference work, repeated as fact the preposterous claim of Polish nobles of the 1840s that Jakub Szela received a medal from the Austrian government for his leadership of the Galician jacquerie. P. S. Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795–1918* (Seattle, 1974), 135.

<sup>7</sup> Shevchenko came from right-bank Ukraine and remained in the Russian empire all his life. But his poetry had a powerful influence in Galicia after his death in 1861. He was not only the national poet but the greatest hero in the national pantheon for all Galicians who identified with the Ukrainian movement.

<sup>8</sup> On Jews who ran estates, see J. Goldberg, 'Die jüdischen Gutspächter in Polen–Litauen und die Bauern im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in M. Alexander, F. Kämpfer, and A. Kappeler (eds.), *Kleine Völker in der Geschichte Osteuropas. Festschrift für Günther Stökl zum 75. Geburtstag*, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Neue Folge, suppl. 5 (Stuttgart, 1991), 13–21.

owned estates in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,<sup>9</sup> peasants emphatically identified Jews with the manor.<sup>10</sup>

The Jewish innkeeper, prominent in almost every Galician village and the source and referent of stereotypes, became the object of complex animosity. Since innkeepers had to lease the right to purvey alcoholic beverages from the manor, they acted and were perceived as agents of the landlord. The Polish and Ukrainian clergy, and later populist and nationalist activists, accused them of inducing demoralization, and anti-alcohol campaigns often assumed an anti-Jewish colour. Furthermore, the innkeepers, in their primary role as well as in subsidiary capacities (as moneylenders or shopkeepers), represented the new money economy that was changing the village, creating both opportunity and dislocation.

This new money economy, which gathered force after the 1860s, exacerbated socio-economic tensions between Jews, on the one hand, and Poles and Ukrainians, on the other. There were two aspects to this process. First, the Jews were the foremost representatives in Galicia of the money economy, in both its relatively neutral manifestations (such as commerce) and in those the peasantry experienced negatively (such as moneylending, which resulted in peasant debt and loss of land).<sup>11</sup> Secondly, under serfdom Poles and Ukrainians had never been the economic rivals of Jews, since their respective places in the economy were so rigidly defined and discrete; but in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a rivalry did develop, particularly as Poles and Ukrainians entered commerce. Non-Jewish shopkeepers appealed to national solidarity to attract customers and frequently urged the boycott of Jewish-owned businesses.

Both the Ukrainian and Polish national movements fanned socio-economic animosity towards Jews. The Poles in particular found that Jews, as estate lessees, moneylenders, and innkeepers, made excellent scapegoats. The antagonism that Polish peasants might otherwise have directed at the landowning Polish gentry could be deflected onto them and thus the formation of an integrated Polish nation could be postponed.

For their part, the Jews formed in their minds the stereotype of the 'clumsy and stupid peasant who was commonly an object of contempt'<sup>12</sup> and fear,

<sup>9</sup> In the mid-1880s it was estimated that there were about 300 Jewish estate-owners and over 500 lessees, 'Juden als Ackerbauer', *Der Israelit*, 20 (30 Oct. 1885), 6. By 1902 Jews owned 438 estates. F. Fridman, 'Landvirtshaft, kolonizatsye un grundbazits bay di galitsianishe yidn (Arum der helft fun des 19-tn yorhundertn)', *Yunger historiker*, 2 (Warsaw, 1929), 140.

<sup>10</sup> J.-P. Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Edmonton, 1988), 148-9, 151, 154-9. In nearby Moldavia the peasant revolt of 1907 was directed against the landlords but primarily victimized Jews. C. Iancu, *Les Juifs en Roumanie, 1866-1919: De l'exclusion à l'émancipation*, *Études Historiques*, 4 ([Aix-en-Provence], 1978), 230-3.

<sup>11</sup> For a perceptive discussion of peasant antipathy to Jews, see F. Golczewski, *Polnisch-jüdische Beziehungen, 1881-1922. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Antisemitismus in Osteuropa*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa, 14 (Wiesbaden, 1981), 60-3.

<sup>12</sup> C. Shmeruk, 'Jews and Poles in Yiddish Literature in Poland between the Two World Wars', in *Polin*, 1 (Oxford, 1986).

and applied this stereotype to Galicia's pre-eminent peasant people, the Ukrainians.

### POLITICS

The first nation to think and act politically in Galicia was the Poles. Their politics consisted of efforts to restore Polish statehood, at first by alliance with Napoleon and later, in the 1830s and 1840s, by a series of insurrectionary conspiracies. The activities of the Poles, especially the conspiracies of the 1830s, influenced the fledgling Ukrainian movement in Lviv, the 'Ruthenian Triad'.<sup>13</sup>

From the middle of the nineteenth century, with the revolution of 1848-9 and the start of the constitutional era in the 1860s, all three nationalities were drawn into politics. During the 1848-9 revolution Poles, with the exception of the peasantry, allied themselves with the revolutionary forces in Europe and the empire. Although they sympathized with the Hungarian insurrection, the fresh impact of the events of 1846 instilled them with caution. They formed the National Council to represent the Galician population, but found their plans upset by a rival representative body, the Supreme Ruthenian Council, established by the Ukrainians and supported by figures in the Austrian government. During the revolution the Ukrainians formulated their first political demand, the division of Galicia into separate eastern and western provinces, in which, respectively, Ukrainians and Poles would be dominant. The Supreme Ruthenian Council collected hundreds of thousands of signatures on petitions in favour of the partition of Galicia, pursued Ukrainian political and socio-economic aims in the Austrian parliament, and courted public opinion. The Poles were genuinely surprised by the political force of the Ukrainian movement, which had been marginal and largely cultural prior to 1848, and they explained its intrusion onto the political scene as resulting from the intervention of reactionary Austrian politicians. Count Franz Stadion, it was said, invented the Ruthenian nationality as part of the traditional Austrian policy of divide and rule. In reality, however, although the Ukrainian movement in 1848-9 did benefit from the patronage of the imperial authorities, this was not the source of the energy that so astonished contemporaries. The newly emancipated peasants perceived the Polish National Council as an institution of landlords and the Supreme Ruthenian Council as their own. The Ukrainian leadership instinctively and wisely supported the peasantry's aspirations, particularly its demand for a large share of the forests and pastures whose ownership was in dispute. In terms of all-European and Habsburg politics, the Ukrainian movement was counter-revolutionary, but in terms of the concrete situation in east central Europe it had a remarkably radical socio-economic programme. It was in the course of the revolution that the image was born of the

<sup>13</sup> J. Kozik, *The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia, 1815-1849*, ed. L. D. Orton (Edmonton, 1986).

*Habsburgtreu* Ukrainians, the Tyroleans of the east. But this reputation was a product of the peculiar constellation of interests that emerged during the revolution; it had little political meaning thereafter.

Politics as such disappeared for a decade after the suppression of the revolution, until the defeats of 1859 and 1866 forced Austria to reform its political structure. In the constitutional wrangling of the 1860s there was a resurgence of the 1848 Ukrainian-Polish conflict. Ukrainians still championed the partition of Galicia and saw in the German centralists their natural allies. Polish political parties, however, all insisted on the integrity of Galicia. The Polish democrats wanted this large province to enjoy formal autonomy along the lines of the Hungarian kingdom, with Polish political hegemony. By the late 1860s, following demonstrations organized by the democrats and after the appearance of a new and imaginative Polish conservative party, the *Stańczyks*, the Habsburgs settled the question of the status of Galicia: it would be a unified province with far-reaching but informal autonomy under the solid control of the Polish gentry. Vienna's position was understandable: the Polish gentry constituted the only stratum in Galicia with the necessary cultural and material prerequisites for the exercise of power. But Ukrainian political leaders felt betrayed by this settlement, especially in light of their loyalty to the dynasty during the recent revolution, and many now began to look to Russia to champion their interests. The Russophile tendency dominated Ukrainian politics from the 1860s to the 1880s and among its hallmarks was an uncompromising antipathy to all that was Polish.

The Poles, for their part, turned the pro-Russian sympathies of a large part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia to what seemed to be their own advantage. As Austrian-Russian relations deteriorated in the 1870s and 1880s, Polish political leaders pointed to the Russophile Ukrainians as a dangerously disloyal element in a particularly vulnerable location, along the Russian border. They made the case in Vienna that they, the Poles, were the only reliable element in the crown land and that the erstwhile Tyroleans of the east had become traitorous irredentists. In the 1880s the Polish authorities in Galicia conducted a major offensive against Ukrainian Russophilism; in 1882 alone they prosecuted leading Russophiles on charges of high treason and purged suspected Russophiles in the Ukrainian higher clergy.

The persecution of Russophiles accelerated the rise of another Ukrainian political movement, *narodovtsvo* (national populism). The new movement bore no sympathies for Russia, championed the concept of a completely separate Ukrainian nationality, and worked hard and effectively to acquire a solid base among the peasantry. This dynamic movement became hegemonic in Galician Ukrainian politics by the end of the 1880s and remained so until after the collapse of the empire. Although at first national populism was not as fanatically anti-Polish as Russophilism, the conservative gentry of eastern Galicia, the Podolians (or Podolaks), saw the implicit threat. By the early 1890s the influential Podolians had



already decided that the waning Russophile movement was the lesser of two evils, and the Galician lieutenants<sup>14</sup> Leon Piniński (1898–1903) and Andrzej Potocki (1903–8) deliberately supported the Russophiles to counter the flourishing Ukrainian movement proper, national populism.<sup>15</sup>

The rise of national populism meant the spread of the Ukrainian national idea and political consciousness to the broad masses of the east Galician population. But a similar process was also taking place in Polish society. Until the end of the 1880s Polish politics in Galicia was largely the monopoly of two conservative gentry parties, the Kraków-based Stańczyks and the Lviv-based Podolians. The democrats, prominent in 1848–9 and again in the 1860s, were pushed to the margins of Galician political life. At the end of the 1880s, however, a Polish populist movement emerged, inspired by an emigrant from the Congress kingdom, Bolesław Wysłouch. In 1890 a social-democratic party emerged among the Poles. The Galician Social Democrats came ideologically closest to Piłsudski's wing of the Polish Socialist Party, that is, they combined socialism with Polish nationalism. In 1905 right-wing Polish nationalists founded the National Democratic Party, which enjoyed particular popularity among the Polish minority in eastern Galicia. In short, Polish nationalism and political consciousness began permeating new layers of Polish society below the gentry and intelligentsia.

By the turn of the century both Ukrainian and Polish society in Galicia consisted of mobilized, politicized nations, with the result that national antagonisms intensified. The Ukrainians increased their demands: they wanted not only the partition of Galicia but independent statehood if possible;<sup>16</sup> like the Czechs, they wanted their own university in the capital city of their province; they wanted, too, a proportional share of seats in the parliament and the diet. Polish political parties of almost all stripes felt that the Ukrainians were pushing too far too fast and held on to as much as they could of what Poles had traditionally possessed, their *stan posiadania*. From the late 1890s on the Polish–Ukrainian conflict in Galicia broke out into sporadic violence: a shot fired at the Ukrainian writer Ivan Franko, the killing of Ukrainian peasants during elections, rioting and gunplay at the university, and the assassination of Lieutenant Potocki by a Ukrainian student in 1908. Both Ukrainian and Polish political parties, on the left even more than on the right, fostered paramilitary training of youth and prepared the cadres who would confront each other in the Polish–Ukrainian war that was to break out in 1918 within weeks of the collapse of Austria–Hungary.

Although conflict was the main characteristic of Polish–Ukrainian political relations in Galicia, there were also some moments of compromise. Around 1870,

<sup>14</sup> By 'lieutenant' I mean German *Statthalter*, Polish *namiestnik*, Ukrainian *namisnyk*.

<sup>15</sup> J. Gruchala, *Rząd austriacki i polskie stronnictwa polityczne w Galicji wobec kwestii ukraińskiej, 1890–1914*, Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, 981 (Katowice, 1988).

<sup>16</sup> Hrystak, '“Molodi” radykaly v suspil'no-politychnomu zhytti Halychyny', *Zapysky naukovoho tovarystva im. shevchenka*, 222 (1991), 71–110.

when still a minority movement in Ukrainian Galicia, the national populists sought an accommodation with the more progressive of the Polish democrats. But as an unpopular alliance of political marginalities it bore no fruit. From 1890 to 1894 Ukrainian national populists came to an understanding with the Polish club. But this 'new era' ended in mutual recriminations, with the Ukrainians feeling that the Poles were making only superficial concessions and the Poles finding the Ukrainians' demands to be unrealistic and radical. With world war in the air, Vienna sought to make peace between the leading nationalities of its easternmost province, and in 1914 it did in fact engineer an important compromise between Poles and Ukrainians that increased Ukrainian representation in the Galician diet<sup>17</sup> and pledged the creation of a Ukrainian university. But this compromise foundered, along with the empire, in the course of the war. From the late 1870s, when they first appeared in Galicia, Polish and Ukrainian socialists had tried to work together. In fact, however, their relations were at best stormy; they formed separate socialist parties and quarrelled almost as much as they cooperated, with relations deteriorating over time.<sup>18</sup>

Jewish politics began with a struggle for emancipation during the revolution of 1848–9 and the reforms of the 1860s. During the revolution and the Galician diet sessions of 1866–8 Jewish political leaders allied themselves with the Polish democrats and, in the late 1860s, with the modernizing wing of the conservative gentry, the *Stańczyks*. Only these two Galician political currents, however inconsistently and incompletely, supported the efforts of Jews to achieve legal equality with the Christian population. Opposed to Jewish emancipation were those political groups that had remained impervious to the liberal ideas coming to the fore in Austria in that era: the older generation of Kraków conservatives, the Podolians of eastern Galicia, and the Ukrainians. In the last case, the Ukrainians' strong identification with the peasantry (indeed, some of their political representatives were peasants) also inclined them to oppose Jewish emancipation, particularly with regard to Jewish participation in municipal government and ownership of land. By 1868, however, the Jews did achieve formal emancipation.<sup>19</sup>

For most of the nineteenth century the Jews allied themselves unequivocally with the Poles against the Ukrainians. In 1848–9 Jewish political leaders supported the Polish National Council, in the 1860s they supported the movement for a Polish-dominated autonomous Galicia, and in elections to parliament and the diet (with the exception of the 1873 elections to parliament<sup>20</sup>) they supported Polish candidates over Ukrainians in eastern Galicia.

<sup>17</sup> For details, see J. Buszko, *Sejmowa reforma wyborcza w Galicji, 1905–1914* (Warsaw, 1956).

<sup>18</sup> J.-P. Himka, *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism, 1860–1890* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

<sup>19</sup> F. Friedman, *Die galizischen Juden im Kampfe um ihre Gleichberechtigung, 1848–1868*, Veröffentlichungen der Dr S. A. Bettelheim Memorial Foundation, 3 (Frankfurt, 1929).

<sup>20</sup> The Jews and the Ukrainians were both allied with the German centralists in this election, not particularly with each other.

Multiple factors determined this alliance with the Poles. For one thing, the Jews were a small, vulnerable minority in a region where the Poles, especially after 1867, were the dominant element politically, culturally, and socially. For the Jews to hitch their wagon to the politically marginalized, oppressed, and plebeian Ukrainians would have made no sense, even had the latter been well disposed to them. But the Ukrainians were anything but Judaeophiles. Not only was there social antagonism between peasants and Jews, but the Ukrainian political leadership had long lacked the sophistication to understand the Jewish question in ways more consonant with the liberal thinking that had emerged even in some Polish circles. Moreover, until fairly late in the nineteenth century the leadership of the Ukrainian movement consisted overwhelmingly of priests (their importance at the local level continued into the twentieth century) and this clerical influence on the Ukrainian movement did not foster a more enlightened attitude towards the Jewish population. Furthermore, in the formative decades of the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s the Ukrainian movement was dominated by Russophiles, whose leanings reinforced their antipathy towards and alienation from the Jewish community. Characteristically, when the Galician authorities launched their major assault on the Russophile movement in 1882, many east Galician Jews, horrified by the pogroms across the border in Russia the previous year, informed against suspected Russophiles, and in turn the Russophile press raged against them.<sup>21</sup>

Aside from the circumstance that the Poles were powerful and the Ukrainians weak and hostile, the Jewish-Polish political alliance in nineteenth-century Galicia was also determined by the peculiar electoral practices of that place and time. The dominance of the Polish gentry in Galician politics partly derived from the ability of Polish noblemen to be elected by peasants (of both Polish and Ukrainian nationality), with whom, however, they stood in an objectively adversarial relationship. That this was possible at all was due to the electoral law, which divided the electorate into curiae more or less corresponding to social classes. In the peasant curia the franchise was indirect, so that in the final stage of the electoral process only a small number of peasant electors had to be influenced to vote for the gentry's candidate. These electors were, simply and unabashedly, bribed to vote as the gentry wished; and where the political consciousness of the peasantry was too developed to allow the purchase of votes with vodka, sausage, money, or access to woods and pasture, various other forms of electoral chicanery were employed, including the theft of electors' polling cards.<sup>22</sup>

In all these operations Jews, especially the more influential innkeepers and lessees and managers of estates and forests, served as the almost indispensable

<sup>21</sup> This topic has never been researched. However, while looking into the ecclesiastical ramifications of the anti-Russophile campaign of 1882, I came across rich materials regarding the Jewish-Russophile antagonism in both the Ukrainian Russophile press (*Slovo*) and the Tsentral'nyi Derzhavnyi Istorychnyi Arkhiv Ukrainy u m. L'vovi, fond 146 (Halyts'ke namisnytstvo).

<sup>22</sup> 'Electoral sausage' (*Wahlwurst*, or *vyborcha kovbasa*) was a genuine item in the Galician political lexicon.

instruments of the Polish gentry.<sup>23</sup> This fact not only worked to cement the Polish–Jewish electoral alliance but drove deeper the wedge between Jews and the Ukrainian nationalists. This pragmatic alliance has, however, an even greater import. It objectifies the larger social fact that often those Jews who enjoyed influence in their own community by virtue of their exalted social position—and innkeepers and manor Jews did—could not act as entirely independent agents, but rather depended for their status on the favour of the Polish landlords. Competition to lease the right of propination (i.e. running an inn) and competition to lease and manage estates both waxed extremely fierce; one cannot imagine an innkeeper or arendar (*orendar* in Ukrainian) risking the seigneur's good will by refusing to work for the election of a given candidate.

Yet there was still more to it than that. In the latter half of the nineteenth century many of the Jews who were involved in politics were genuine Polish patriots. This represented a peculiar conjuncture in the development of Jewish politics in Galicia. It was not until the very end of the century that any form of Jewish national movement emerged, whether socialist or Zionist, yet nationalism already exerted a powerful attraction from the middle of the century on, and those Galician Jews who because of their education or social position came under its spell quite naturally adopted the Polish variant, especially in this period before the exclusivity of Polish nationalism had crystallized. Furthermore, since early in the century, the Galician Jewish élite had been exposed to the ideas of the Haskalah (the Jewish Enlightenment) emanating from Germany, which called for linguistic, cultural, and civil acculturation to the non-Jewish majority. Although at first this process took the form of assimilation to *German* culture (as was quite reasonable in Austrian Galicia, particularly before the 1860s), already by mid-century it was evolving towards a *Polish* cultural assimilation.<sup>24</sup> The 1880s saw the heyday of the Polish assimilationist movement among educated Galician Jews,<sup>25</sup> which, especially in its early stages, included the adoption of Polish political goals.<sup>26</sup>

Almost all the ties binding Jews to Poles politically began to come apart at the same time, around the turn of the century. One of the most powerful solvents was

<sup>23</sup> For documentation, see J.-P. Himka, 'Ukrainian–Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside during the Late Nineteenth Century', in H. Aster and P. J. Potichnyj (eds.), *Ukrainian–Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, 2nd edn. (Edmonton, 1990), 142–4.

<sup>24</sup> A characteristic transitional figure was Moritz Rappaport, a Jewish doctor in Lviv and enthusiastic Polish patriot who, however, gained fame in the 1840s–1860s for his poetry in the German language.

<sup>25</sup> J. Tenenbaum, *Galitsye, mayn alte heym*, Dos poylishe yidntum, 87 (Buenos Aires, 1952), 73–4. See also E. Mendelsohn, 'Jewish Assimilation in L'viv: The Case of Wilhelm Feldman', in A. S. Markovits and F. E. Sysyn (eds.), *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

<sup>26</sup> The exceptional 1873 elections to parliament, in which the Jews allied with the German centralists against the Poles, represented the last political act of the German-oriented assimilationist movement. Dr Emil Byk of Shomer Yisrael, who played a major role in the 1873 elections, later evolved into a Polish-oriented assimilationist.

the extension of the franchise: first the introduction of the fifth curia, based on universal male suffrage, in 1897, and then the complete replacement of the curial system by general universal male suffrage in 1907. Although these reforms extended to parliamentary elections only, while the curial system was retained in elections to the Galician diet, the reforms still altered the balance of political forces in Galicia, and for that matter in all of Austria. The new electoral politics accelerated the politicization of the masses and broke the monopoly of power traditionally enjoyed by the Polish *szlachta*. The Ukrainians began to make palpable gains; Polish peasants finally entered politics; and for the first time even the Jewish masses joined political movements representing their own specific interests. Of course, the coming of universal male suffrage should be understood not just as a sudden change but also as the culmination of a process that had been going on since at least the 1860s and included the introduction of compulsory education, local self-government, civil freedoms, and representative assemblies with restricted franchise.

The turn of the century also saw a strong dose of antisemitism injected into Galician Polish political culture. Although there had always been anti-Jewish currents in Polish political circles, a new era began with the emergence of 'national democracy'. The National Democrats proudly championed modern political antisemitism and considered it a component of Polish patriotism. Because of the Ukrainian-Polish antagonism, these right-wing nationalists were hegemonic among the Polish minority in eastern Galicia; in particular, the powerful east Galician gentry, the Podolians, supported them. The growing influence of virulent antisemitism in Galician Polish politics cooled the ardour of Polish assimilationists. Whereas at the start of the constitutional era educated Galician Jews might be fervent Polish patriots but barely able to speak the language, by the eve of the First World War Jewish intellectuals all had a mastery of Polish but fewer retained tender feelings for Poland.

In the early twentieth century the Ukrainian movement was also much changed from what it had been in the first decades of the constitutional era. It was now overwhelmingly Ukrainian in orientation; the Russophiles were not entirely gone but they were politically insignificant and snubbed by conscious Ukrainians. Priests were leaders only at the village level; in fact, in the party executives and major editorial boards anticlericals held sway.<sup>27</sup> Ukrainian politics had also gained

<sup>27</sup> The editor of the leading literary review *Literaturno-naukovyj visnyk* was the well-known free-thinker Ivan Franko. The head of the Shevchenko Scientific Society was Mykhailo Hrushevsky, a historian from Russian Ukraine who was antipathetic to the Uniate Church. The first modern Ukrainian political party was the anticlerical Radical Party, founded in 1890. Its right wing broke off in 1899 and formed the National Democratic Party with Hrushevsky and the national populists. The National Democrats constituted the largest and most effective Ukrainian political party in Galicia. (It should be noted that the Ukrainian National Democrats were liberal, democratic nationalists and, except for the accident of their name, had little in common with the chauvinist Polish National Democrats.)

experience and sophistication. It was now firmly placed on the left of the political spectrum, with liberal-democratic and socialist ideas prevailing. Moreover, modern political antisemitism was represented only on the fringes of Ukrainian politics, in the vestiges of the Russophile movement, where the influence of the Russian Black Hundreds could be felt, and in the minuscule Christian Social Party.

Under these new circumstances the possibility finally emerged for political alliances between Ukrainians and Jews. In 1907 the Ukrainian parties and the Zionists entered into an electoral alliance,<sup>28</sup> and Ukrainian and Jewish Social Democrats cooperated against the pretensions of Polish Social Democrats to dominate social democracy in Galicia. When Austria collapsed and a Ukrainian-Polish war broke out over Lviv, the Jews declared their neutrality. The Poles, however, felt the Jews had in fact sided with the Ukrainians and punished them with two days of pogroms once the Ukrainian forces were driven out of the city.<sup>29</sup>

## RELIGION

The three nationalities of Galicia represented, by and large, three separate religious cultures: Roman Catholicism, Greek Catholicism (Uniatism), and Judaism.<sup>30</sup> Relations among them were, and had been even long before the Austrian period, acrimonious.

When Austria acquired Galicia, the Ukrainian Uniate church that existed there was to a considerable degree the product of an earlier conflict between Poles and Ukrainians and between Western and Eastern Christianity. The origins of Ukrainian Uniatism go back to the end of the sixteenth century, when for a variety of reasons, the Orthodox hierarchy of the Belarusian and Ukrainian territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth decided to unite with the Roman Catholic Church. In this first (incidentally, very creative) phase of Uniatism, in which the initiative towards church union sprang primarily from the Ukrainian side, Galicia did not participate, remaining a stronghold of Orthodoxy. The church union in the remaining Ukrainian lands was soon to be shaken to its foundations by the seventeenth-century Cossack revolt under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, which, among other goals, sought to suppress the union and restore orthodoxy as the sole religion on Ukrainian territory. Only at the turn of the eighteenth century, after Poland lost left-bank Ukraine and the remnants of the Cossacks were suppressed on the right bank, did the union extend to the western Ukrainian territories, including Galicia. The Uniate Church in Galicia thus

<sup>28</sup> L. P. Everett, 'The Rise of Jewish National Politics in Galicia, 1905-1907', in Markovits and Sysyn (eds.), *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism*.

<sup>29</sup> Golczewski, *Polnisch-jüdische Beziehungen*, 185-205.

<sup>30</sup> There were, however, some Poles of the Greek rite (Marshal Rydz-Śmigły was one) and some Ukrainian-speaking peasants of the Latin rite (the so-called *latynnyky*). The vast majority of Poles, however, were Roman Catholic, and the vast majority of Ukrainians Greek Catholic.

began as a product of the Polish reconquest. It lacked the dynamism of the earlier Uniatism. In fact, it amounted to little more than a politically safer form of Eastern Christianity, a church suited for the serf population of the eastern borderlands, and, like its faithful, it was, in spite of the efforts of some outstanding bishops, poor, neglected, powerless, and ignorant.<sup>31</sup>

Austria acted in some respects like the handsome prince of fairy tales who rescues the poor relation from drudgery and subservience and restores her to an honourable place. The enlightened absolutists Maria Theresa and Joseph II, immediately upon acquiring Galicia, set to work to elevate the status of the Ukrainian church. Maria Theresa rechristened it the Greek Catholic Church to symbolize its full equality with the Roman Catholic Church. Both she and her son established regular seminaries so that Greek Catholic priests could possess as good an education as their Roman Catholic counterparts. They freed them and their children from all feudal duties and rents, and Joseph II established regular salaries for them so that they were no longer beggars. Under old Poland the Roman Catholics had been led in Lviv by an archbishop and the Ukrainians only by a bishop. Here, too, the Austrians established full equality and in 1808 restored the Greek Catholic metropolis of Halych. These improvements in the affairs of the Ukrainian church were not greeted with sympathy by the Latin-rite hierarchy in Galicia. The Roman Catholic archbishop of Lviv, Waclaw Sierakowski, fought tooth and nail against some of the reforms benefiting the Uniates, making representations to both Rome and Vienna. For its part, the Ukrainian hierarchy developed a great attachment to the Habsburg dynasty. When in 1809 Polish insurgents occupied Lviv and tried to force the Greek Catholic metropolitan Antonii Anhelovych to swear an oath of loyalty to Napoleon, the metropolitan refused and fled the city. The insurgents caught up with him and arrested him, but in the end he received a decoration from the emperor for his steadfast conduct.

The newly educated Ukrainian clergymen, the products of the Austrian Enlightenment, became the first Ukrainian intelligentsia and, in the 1820s and 1830s, the first awakeners of Ukrainian nationality. They also formed the political leadership of the Ukrainian movement during the revolution of 1848–9 and for some decades thereafter. Aside from their participation in the political aspects of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict, whose contours have been sketched in the previous section, they also acted as principals in the more confessional dimensions of this conflict.

While doing the work typical of the first phase of national revivals—researching their history and wrestling with problems of language and national identity—the Ukrainian clergymen quite naturally reflected upon the history and identity of their particular church, with its hybrid status between the Eastern and Western

<sup>31</sup> Particularly two bishops of Lviv: Atanasii Sheptytsky (1715–46) and Leo Sheptytsky (1749–79).

branches of Christianity. Many came to the conclusion that the most valuable elements of their Ukrainian church derived from the Eastern heritage. They initiated a movement to purge their liturgical services of Latin accretions that had accumulated over the long period of unequal coexistence with the Roman Catholic Poles. This movement first emerged in the 1830s, but it resurfaced with more power in the 1860s, by which time it had developed a politically motivated and categorically anti-Polish thrust. Easternizing priests, especially, but not only, those connected with the Russophile movement, modified existing ritual practices to conform with a purer Eastern model, donned the headgear worn by Orthodox priests, and erected the three-barred crosses commonly associated with Orthodoxy. These innovations (or, in the eyes of the Easternizers, restorations) were not only condemned by Rome but fiercely persecuted by the Polish administration in Galicia. Many villages in eastern Galicia in the 1870s and 1880s witnessed confrontations between the parish and civil authorities when the latter arrived to remove three-barred crosses from churches.

The Polish-Ukrainian confessional conflict reached a climax in the Chelm affair of the 1860s and 1870s. Uniatism had been suppressed in most of the Russian empire before the middle of the century. Only one Uniate eparchy survived, that of Chelm, situated within the boundaries of Congress Poland. Here the process of Latinization of the Uniate Church had progressed very far, and the clergy was to a great extent Polonized. Many Chelm clergymen sympathized with Polish patriotic agitation in 1861 and the insurrection of 1863-4. The Russian government determined to combat Polish influence in the Chelm region and to this purpose recruited a few hundred Ukrainian teachers and clergymen from Galicia to purify the Eastern rite in Chelm of Latinizations and to instil in the Uniate population an anti-Polish, Russian consciousness. Although economic motivations played an important and perhaps even paramount role in the emigration to Chelm, confessional and ideological factors also exerted their influence: the Galician emigrants, a youthful group on the whole, were given the free hand they lacked back home to purify the Uniate ritual, and they could also vent their antipathy to the Roman Catholic Poles while enjoying the benevolence of the authorities. Of course the Poles of Galicia and in the other partitions were horrified by this anti-Polish collusion between Galician Greek Catholics and the Russian government. In 1875 matters went further than many of the Galician emigrants originally anticipated: the Russian government pursued the logical conclusion by abolishing the union altogether in the diocese of Chelm. The Galician emigrants faced the choice of entering the Russian Orthodox Church or returning to Galicia. The majority chose to become Orthodox and remain in Russia.<sup>32</sup>

The Chelm affair not only widened the chasm between Polish Roman Catholics

<sup>32</sup> L. Glinka, *Diocesi ucraino-cattolica di Cholm (liquidazione ed incorporazione alla Chiesa russo-ortodossa)*, sec. XIX, *Analecta Ordinaria S. Basilii Magni*, ser. 2, sect. 1: Opera, 34 (Rome, 1975).



and Ukrainian Greek Catholics in Galicia; it also seriously compromised the latter in the eyes of the Vatican—and of Vienna, which worried about the attraction that Russia exercised on the inhabitants of the eastern borderlands. When in 1882 the most radical of the Russophiles, the Greek Catholic priest Ioann Naumovych, encouraged a Ukrainian village to announce its wish to convert to Orthodoxy, the Polish political and ecclesiastical leadership of Galicia had no trouble convincing their superiors in Rome and Vienna to take swift and decisive measures to sanitize the Ukrainian church and put an end to pro-Orthodox, pro-Russian proclivities. The authorities forced the Greek Catholic metropolitan and his closest advisers to resign and they turned the Ukrainian Basilian monastic order over to the Polish Jesuits, whom they also entrusted with missions in the Galician countryside. The church excommunicated Naumovych and appointed a new, carefully chosen hierarchy.<sup>33</sup> All these and other measures did succeed in curbing the Russophile tendencies in the Greek Catholic Church, but they also exacerbated the resentment of the Ukrainians against Polish overlordship, which now seemed to have been extended to their church. Indeed, on the advice of Polish political and religious leaders, the Vatican took steps towards introducing celibacy into the traditionally married Greek Catholic clergy in the 1890s, and the two metropolitans appointed at the turn of the century were a veteran of the Polish National Guard of 1848 and a Polish count who changed from the Latin to the Greek rite in order to enter a Jesuit-controlled Basilian monastery. It is difficult to document, but not unreasonable to suspect, that the wave of anticlericalism that swept Ukrainian Galicia in the 1890s and 1900s was partly due to the Ukrainians' perception that the Poles now controlled their church.

The Polish count, Andrei Sheptytsky, who occupied the metropolitan throne of Halych from 1901 until his death in 1944, became one of the most outstanding figures of twentieth-century Ukrainian history.<sup>34</sup> The background to his appointment has never been researched, but it is likely that the Polish ruling circles in Galicia thought they were putting their own man at the head of the Ukrainian church.<sup>35</sup> In a sense, they were right. No Greek Catholic prelate knew the upper

<sup>33</sup> In connection with his excommunication Naumovych wrote a classic exposition of the anti-Roman position of the Galician Easternizers: *Appelliatsiia k pape L'vy XIII russkago uniatskago sviashchennika mestechka Skalat (I'vovskoi mitropolii v Galitsii) Ioanna Naumovicha protiv velikago otlucheniiia ego ot tserkvi po obvineniiu v skhizme* ([Kiev?], 1883). This 'appeal to Pope Leo XIII' was also serialized, with some omissions, in the Russophile newspaper *Slovo* (1882), nos. 119–37.

<sup>34</sup> P. R. Magosci (ed.), *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Edmonton, 1989). Andrei came from the same Sheptytsky (Szeptycki) family as the 18th-century bishops of Lviv, Atanasii and Leo. In the intervening century the family had gone over completely to the Latin rite. He was named metropolitan by Pope Leo XIII on 17 Dec. 1900 and formally installed on 17 Jan. 1901.

<sup>35</sup> Sheptytsky was only 36 when he was appointed metropolitan. In 1898 the ailing metropolitan Sylvestr Sembratovych wrote to the Oriental Congregation in Rome about the problem of succession. He recommended against Sheptytsky, who was 'a bit young and immature' and enjoyed little sympathy among the Ukrainians. *Tsentral'nyi Derzhavnyi Istorychnyi Arkhiv Ukrainy u m. L'vovi*, 201/4b/1159, 27–8.

reaches of Polish society in the way that Sheptytsky did, and no Greek Catholic prelate ever took up the cause of Polish–Ukrainian reconciliation with such deep personal conviction as he. But Sheptytsky also sincerely embraced Ukrainian nationality and did everything in his power to support those aspirations of his adopted people that he considered just and consonant with a Christian world-view. The result was that those Polish circles which had initially welcomed his accession to the Ukrainian metropolitanate because he seemed to be ‘their man’ soon came to hate him with that special hatred reserved for renegades.

In the Sheptytsky era the Polish–Ukrainian confessional conflict grew more overtly political than ever it had been in the past. The Roman Catholic archbishop of Lviv, Józef Bilczewski, contributed to the National Democrats’ campaign to Polonize largely Ukrainian eastern Galicia by establishing an unprecedented number of new Roman Catholic parishes and chaplaincies there. In the struggle over electoral reform Polish and Ukrainian bishops stood on opposite sides of the barricades. In 1906 a leading spokesman of the Polish episcopate, Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz, publicly opposed universal male suffrage for elections to parliament, while the three Ukrainian bishops travelled to Vienna to lobby the emperor for it.<sup>36</sup> In 1913 Bilczewski, Teodorowicz, and the rest of the Polish episcopate, opposed to concessions to the Ukrainians, scuttled the compromise then being worked out to reform elections to the Galician diet. Not only did the Ukrainian bishops support the reform project, but Sheptytsky picked up the pieces of the shattered compromise and refashioned and promoted it until it was approved by a majority in the diet in 1914. In connection with the census of 1910 the Greek and Roman Catholic archbishops of Lviv issued circulars with blatantly opposing viewpoints. Sheptytsky held that all Roman Catholics who spoke Ukrainian should be counted as Ukrainians, while Bilczewski wanted them counted as Poles.<sup>37</sup> Bilczewski and Sheptytsky also clashed during the Ukrainian–Polish war that followed the collapse of the old order.<sup>38</sup>

Throughout the Austrian period Roman Catholicism and Greek Catholicism competed for adherents. Although the practice was forbidden by Rome, Ukrainian pastors tried to lure Roman Catholics to the Greek rite,<sup>39</sup> while Polish

<sup>36</sup> Teodorowicz was archbishop of Lviv of the Armenian rite. In spite of the difference in rite, Teodorowicz was not only a member of the Polish episcopate but an influential formulator of its stance on political and moral issues. See Buszko, *Sejmowa reforma wyborcza*, 66–7. Interestingly, one of the most distinguished figures among the Podolian gentry was Dawid Abrahamowicz, also a Pole of Armenian extraction.

<sup>37</sup> E. Brix, *Die Umgangssprachen in Altösterreich zwischen Agitation und Assimilation. Die Sprachenstatistik in den zisleithanischen Volkszählungen, 1880 bis 1910*. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs, 72 (Vienna, 1982), 372–4.

<sup>38</sup> This is a topic that deserves separate study. Bilczewski’s correspondence with Sheptytsky during the Ukrainian–Polish war is preserved in Tsentral’nyi Derzhavnyi Istorychnyi Arkhiv Ukrainy u m. L’vovi, fond 358.

<sup>39</sup> This is freely admitted in the memoirs of a turn-of-the-century Greek Catholic priest: O. Prystai, *Z Truskavtsia u svit khmaroderiv: Spomyny z mynuloho i suchasnoho*, 4 vols. (Lviv, 1935–7), ii.

pastors tried to lure Greek Catholics to the Latin rite. Such 'soul-snatching', as it was called, had less to do with religion *per se* than with Ukrainization and Polonization. In 1863 Roman and Greek Catholic bishops signed an agreement, the so-called Concordia, to stop this practice. Probably without it soul-snatching would have been an even more common phenomenon than it was, but otherwise the Concordia cannot be considered an effective piece of ecclesiastical legislation.

Both the Roman and Greek Catholic churches in Galicia shared the traditional Christian attitudes towards Jews. From the beginning of the Austrian period until well past the middle of the nineteenth century, Greek and Roman Catholic bishops issued pastoral letters that reflected medieval Christian prejudices; for example, they barred Jews from appearing on the streets during Corpus Christi processions and forbade Christians from entering into domestic service in Jewish households.

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century the Christian-Jewish conflict also took on more modern forms. Priests active in the anti-alcohol campaign often engaged in anti-Jewish agitation. As local activists of the national movements, priests also tended to support the boycott of Jewish shops. Moreover, in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries both the Christian churches in Galicia began to identify Jews as agents of secularization and anti-Christian doctrines, especially socialism.<sup>40</sup>

## CULTURE

In the early 1840s a German traveller remarked: 'Whoever imagines Galicia to be an uninteresting country is very much mistaken. The mere contemplation of the influence of the different elements of the population upon each other cannot fail to be deeply interesting to every thoughtful mind.'<sup>41</sup>

Austrian Galicia was a rich crossroads of culture. Not only did Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish culture come together here, but the region also enjoyed the strong presence of both Austro-German and Russian culture. The cross-cultural fertilization produced a vibrant cultural life and a great many interesting artists and intellectuals. The capital of Galicia, Lviv, boasts a unique collection of west and east European architectural monuments: here the Polish Romanesque, Renaissance, baroque, and rococo rub shoulders with Austrian classicism and the Secession as well as traditional Byzantine Ukrainian and even Armenian architecture.

<sup>40</sup> A. Kudłaszyk, *Katolicka myśl społeczno-polityczna w Galicji na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Prace Naukowe Instytutu Nauk Społecznych Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 24, Monograph No. 14 (Wrocław, 1980), 154. From a pastoral letter of the Ukrainian episcopate: 'The supreme leaders [of the socialists] are Jews and masons who directly conduct a war with Jesus Christ and His holy church.' *Posłanie pastyr's'ke Andreia Sheptyts'koho . . . Konstantyna Chekhovycha . . . Hryhoriia Khomyshyna . . . do Virnykh svoikh eparkhii o vyborakh do parlamentu* (Zhovkva, 1907).

<sup>41</sup> J. G. Kohl, *Austria, Vienna, Prague, Hungary, Bohemia, and the Danube: Galicia, Styria, Moravia, Bukovina, and the Military Frontier* (London, 1844), 442.

While social, political, and religious differences sharply divided the three major nationalities of Galicia, culture played a more ambiguous role. On the one hand, it did divide, in the obvious sense that the three nationalities had their own individual cultural worlds keeping them apart. On the other hand, there was both a constant process of borrowing and influence encouraged by cohabitation and, beginning about the 1830s and accelerating in the 1860s, a general trend toward Europeanization and Austrianization that affected all three nationalities and created a new cultural common ground among them. The vast majority of Galician intellectuals were, after all, alumni of only two universities, those of Lviv and Kraków.

At the start of the Austrian period the three cultures were relatively isolated from one another. Both the Ukrainians and the Jews lived in deeply traditional, religiously structured cultures at some remove from general European cultural developments. Both of these nationalities spoke languages that were not, or only exceptionally, used in print. Of the three major Galician nationalities, only the Poles, and really only the Polish gentry, had a cultural life approximating that of the rest of Europe, with a written, secular literature on the European model, classical music, sculpture, even familiarity with the major languages of European culture: Latin, French, and later German. But even the Galician Polish culture of the early Austrian period was relatively backward and isolated, sapped by the inward-looking Sarmatianism of the gentry and cut off from the intellectual ferment that leavened what remained of Poland between the first and third partitions. German culture also, of course, had a presence in the province. Even though it was a poor provincial relative of the rest of German culture and a minority culture in Galicia, it was important in the early decades of Austrian rule, partly because of the Germanization policies of Joseph II and the influx of civil servants from Austria proper and Bohemia, but partly too because even in a stunted form it stood out in the cultural backwater of Galicia. Until the end of the empire and even after, Austrian culture remained a factor in Galicia, and in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the region produced a number of notable writers in German, including Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, Karl Emil Franzos, and Joseph Roth. The development of professional theatre might serve as a very rough indicator of the 'Europeanization' of the national cultures in Galicia. A German theatre was established in Lviv in 1776, a Polish theatre in 1809, a Ukrainian theatre in 1864, and a Jewish (Yiddish) theatre (Gimpel's Theatre) only around 1890.

The process of the development of modern national cultures for the Ukrainians and Jews included in each case a transitional period during which the national élite was absorbed into one of the foreign but 'higher' cultures of Galicia. In the case of the Ukrainians this was into the linguistically related Polish culture. In the first half of the nineteenth century Ukrainian seminarians and clergymen spoke Polish amongst themselves and in general immersed themselves in the Polish

cultural milieu. The beginnings of a national revival in the 1830s and 1840s, but particularly the revolution of 1848 and the constitutional struggles of the 1860s, put an end to this process of cultural Polonization and initiated the process of building a Ukrainian high culture equal in all respects to the Polish model with which all educated Ukrainians were intimately familiar. Indeed, it has been suggested that the emergence and break from the Polish cultural milieu was one of the factors leading to the hegemony of the Russophile orientation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the 1860s to 1880s: 'The rupture with Polish society was so difficult that the generation of Ukrainian intellectuals which had effected the break tended to lean to the opposite direction.'<sup>42</sup> In the case of the Jews, as has already been noted, their educated élite identified first with the linguistically related German culture and then with Polish culture. Only towards the end of the nineteenth century, in conjunction with the emergence of modern Jewish politics, were there attempts at creating a modern Jewish culture.

Where possible the three nationalities led separate cultural lives. They each had, for example, their own periodical press (the Jewish press came out in German, Polish, Hebrew, and Yiddish). There was, to my knowledge, only one journal in the history of Galicia that included prominent contributors from all three nationalities: the short-lived *Przegląd Społeczny*, which Wyslouch published in Lviv in 1886-7.<sup>43</sup> Characteristically it appeared in Polish, a language in which educated people of all three nationalities could write; neither Ukrainian nor Yiddish nor Hebrew could have served as a vehicle for a Galicia-wide meeting of minds. In fact, every all-Galician cultural institution had a largely Polish character. The University of Lviv is a case in point, although the Ukrainians preferred to have their own university and agitated vehemently for this from 1901 to 1914. The opera, too, remained largely Polish. For singer Salomea Krusceniski, the daughter of a Greek Catholic priest, to land the title role in Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* at the opera's famous reopening in Brescia she first had to serve an apprenticeship in Polish opera, first in Lviv and then in Warsaw.

Numerous individuals, of course, straddled or crossed cultures. A Jewish doctor, Polish patriot, and German poet could all be invited to dinner with only one place-setting. The same, of course, can be said of a combined Polish count and Ukrainian archbishop. (Andrei Sheptytsky also, incidentally, wrote letters in Hebrew to Galician Jews and in his mother tongue, French, to his family.) The greatest west Ukrainian poet, Ivan Franko, was known to the Polish and Austro-German reading public as a prolific and perceptive journalist; he also translated

<sup>42</sup> L. Rudnytsky, 'The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule', in *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History* ed. P. L. Rudnytsky (Edmonton, 1987), 330. In confirmation of this thesis one might note that Ioann Naumovych had sided with the Poles in 1848.

<sup>43</sup> Contributors included the Poles Ludwik Krzywicki and Zygmunt Balicki, the Ukrainians Mykhailo Drahomanov and Ivan Franko, and the Jews Wilhelm Feldman and Alfred Nossig. Wyslouch's newspaper, *Kurjer lwowski*, also had Ukrainian and Jewish contributors in the 1880s and 1890s.

from Yiddish. Wilhelm Feldman, a product of the Jewish ghetto, became a prominent Polish critic and the author of what for long was the standard history of Polish political thought; he was, moreover, markedly Ukrainophile in his views. Roman Rosdolsky, who became not only an eminent historian of Josephine agrarian policy but a brilliant interpreter of Marx's economic theory, was a nationally conscious Ukrainian who, however, published all his major works in Polish and German; he also wrote a study on Marx, Engels, and the Jewish question and spent time in Auschwitz for having aided Jews in Nazi-occupied Kraków.

These, however, were exceptions. The general tendency towards the end of Austrian rule in Galicia was to increasing cultural division. Whereas at the outset of the Austrian period the isolation of the three national cultures had resulted from long-term historical processes, at the close of the period the cultures isolated themselves rather more by choice. The intensity and growing consciousness of social, political, and religious differences among the nationalities favoured the rise of cultural nationalism and autarky.

### CONCLUSIONS

Galicia was not the only setting for a Polish-Ukrainian-Jewish triangle. A similar national configuration existed across the Russian border in Right-Bank Ukraine. In Russia's Ukraine, however, the Poles constituted a definite minority, almost entirely gentry, without the equivalent of the Polish peasant population of western Galicia. For this reason, and also because serfdom lasted longer and assumed a harsher nature under Russian than Austrian law, the social antagonism between Ukrainians and Poles grew even more acute than in Galicia (at least until the 1860s). The Ukrainians of the Right Bank had been largely Uniate before coming under Russian rule, but the Russian government largely suppressed Uniatism here in the 1790s and completed the process in 1839; thereafter the Ukrainians of the Right Bank were Russian Orthodox. Hence, the religious difference between Poles and Ukrainians became more emphatic in the Right Bank than in Galicia; it was not a rivalry between different rites of the same church under the ultimate jurisdiction of Rome. But the most crucial dissimilarity between Galicia and the Right Bank lay in their respective political environments.

The Russian government persecuted all three nationalities. Although at first the Right-Bank Poles enjoyed considerable advantages in the cultural, especially educational, sphere, these were erased by the retaliatory measures the Russian government took after defeating the Polish insurrection of 1830-1. These measures also included the arrest, exile, and confiscation of the property of thousands of Polish nobles who had participated in the insurrection. (It was also in this context that the Russians completely abolished the Uniate Church in the Right Bank.) After the defeat of the 1863 insurrection the Russian government launched an even more drastic anti-Polish policy in the Right Bank, which

included executions, deportations, the abolition of all Polish organizations, and a ban on the Polish language. Certain advantages accrued to the Ukrainians of the Right Bank as a result of the government's vendetta against the Poles. As part of the 'Russification' programme in the 1830s and 1840s, institutions were established, notably Kiev University and the Archaeographical Commission in Kiev, that played a distinguished role in the Ukrainian revival in the Russian empire. Also, the Ukrainian peasantry in the Right Bank benefited from the coincidence that their emancipation from serfdom was regulated in the aftermath of the Polish insurrection of 1863; here the largely Polish landlords did not enjoy as favourable a reform as landlords elsewhere in the empire. But overall Russian policy was anti-Ukrainian, even going so far as to ban the Ukrainian language from print in 1863 and again, more thoroughly, in 1876; the ban lasted until 1905. The language was prohibited in schools, churches, and government offices altogether. Ukrainian activists, including the poet Shevchenko, a native of the Right Bank, faced arrest and exile, and others were forced into exile abroad. Ukrainian organizations of any sort were illegal until 1905 and still harassed by the police thereafter. As for the Jews, they were hemmed in by numerous legal restrictions, and the state authorities at best turned a blind eye to the activities of pogromists.

The contrast with Galicia is striking. Here, from the 1860s on, the Polish gentry enjoyed the favour of the central authorities; the Ukrainians none the less retained the right to use their language in all spheres of public life and to organize for their political, social, and cultural advancement, while the Jews gained emancipation and state protection of their lives and property. Seen in this context, the triangle in Austrian Galicia, for all its manifold antagonisms, appears relatively healthy.

The national tensions in Galicia increased over time during the period of Austrian rule, but much of their content can be attributed to growing pains. In particular, the whole political dimension of these antagonistic relations, which was superimposed on the existing socio-economic and religious differences in the mid-nineteenth century, represented a tremendous advance for all three nationalities, even for the Poles. The increasing participation of all elements of the population in political life necessarily brought with it an exacerbation of national conflict, but this situation remained much superior to that existing in the Right bank, where political life of the European type was virtually absent. The presupposition of Galicia's national-political antagonism constituted, in other words, a progressive democratization. The politicization of national conflict also meant a relatively orderly working-out of differences. Violent peasant rebellions and pogroms were almost absent in Galicia once conflict shifted to the political plane, where elections, newspapers, and organizations replaced sharpened, straightened-out scythes and heavy cudgels.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> An exception was the wave of pogroms in western Galicia in 1898. Although it had its roots in electoral agitation, it involved one of the least politicized strata of Galician society, the Polish peasantry. On the pogroms, see Golczewski, *Polnisch-jüdische Beziehungen*, 64-84.

Similarly, the Polish-Ukrainian antagonism would never have reached the pitch it did without the socio-economic, ecclesiastical, political, and educational reforms instituted in Austria; these transformed the Ukrainian peasant folk into a well-organized, disciplined nation capable of pursuing its own interests. One need not even look across the Russian border for an apt counter-example. The Ukrainians of Transcarpathia, in the Hungarian half of the empire, were cordoned off from this elevating process and, without political rights and education, remained a mere object of history until after the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy. Transcarpathia thus escaped the tumult of Galician-style national conflict, but the stillness was that of the sickbed or worse.

Even the increase in socio-economic antagonism to the Jews in the second half of the nineteenth century resulted largely from indisputably progressive measures, particularly the legal emancipation of the Jews (the right to own land and the lifting of restrictions on occupation) and economic reform (the abolition of serfdom and the fostering of a money economy).

Moreover, the march towards conflict did not advance inexorably. By the very last years of Austrian rule in the province some signs suggested that the nationalities might work out a *modus vivendi*. Particularly noteworthy were the Polish-Ukrainian compromise of 1914, which might have laid the foundations for a reasonably peaceful coexistence in Galicia had war not intervened, and the beginnings of a Ukrainian-Jewish *rapprochement*.

In the post-Austrian history of Galicia outside interference was more decisive than any natural, internal Galician tendencies of development. When Galicia ended up, not without bitter resistance from the Ukrainians, in an independent Polish state, the balance between Poles and Ukrainians was tipped all the way in favour of the Poles. As a result, possibilities for a peaceful *modus vivendi* became slim if any. As for the Galician Jews, their miserable existence as pariahs in inter-war Poland came to a terrible end when Nazi Germany occupied Galicia. The Soviet occupation of eastern Galicia destroyed the traditional Polish presence in the region and much else besides.



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# Austrian First Impressions of Ethnic Relations in Galicia: The Case of Governor Anton von Pergen

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IN A ceremony held on the main square of Lviv on 4 October 1772 Count Johann Anton von Pergen officially proclaimed on behalf of his Habsburg monarchs, Maria Theresa and Joseph II, that the 'Kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria' had been officially 'reintegrated' into the possessions of the apostolic king of Hungary, who had had legal claim to the Rus' principalities of Halych and Volodymyr since the Middle Ages. This pretext, of course, could hardly disguise the political reality, which Habsburg officials readily admitted to themselves. The Habsburg monarchy, in its capacity as a European great power, had reluctantly participated in the territorial partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the interests of stability and the balance of power in eastern and south-eastern Europe. But, as the great foreign minister of the monarchy, Prince Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietberg, admitted twenty years later, Galicia was 'a land torn from a free republic' whose 'immediate connection with Poland' could hardly be denied.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, no matter how problematic an acquisition on the other side of a natural frontier like the Carpathian mountain chain had been, Prussian and Russian territorial growth now made it imperative that Vienna not only hold on to Galicia indefinitely but also do everything in its power to foster the economic growth and prosperity of the new realm.<sup>2</sup>

Even before the signing of the formal Austrian-Russian-Prussian partition agreement in August 1772 preparations for administering the new province had begun in Vienna. As foreign minister, Kaunitz argued that the domestic and foreign considerations pertaining to Galicia would remain integrally linked for some time, that Galicia remained geographically peripheral to the core of the monarchy, and that its political, social, and economic conditions so radically differed from those of the rest of the monarchy that the new territory should be

<sup>1</sup> Austrian State Archives, Vienna, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv (HHSA), Kabinettsarchiv: Kaunitz Voten zu Staatsratakan box 6, 1791, no. 418, Kaunitz Staatsrat Votum, 11-15 Feb. 1791.

<sup>2</sup> HHSA, Staatskanzlei: Vorträge, box 113, Kaunitz to Maria Theresa, 2 Sept. 1773.

administered on its own for some time, by his own ministry, much like Belgium and Lombardy.<sup>3</sup> Though Maria Theresa granted this request, her son and co-regent, Joseph II, soon had second thoughts and began to express bitter opposition to the plan. Instead of the looser bond envisioned by Kaunitz, Joseph favoured a tighter integration of Galicia with the rest of the monarchy and, instead of subordinating the new province to the foreign ministry, he wished to create a separate chancellery for it in Vienna. In an emotional confrontation with his mother, Joseph succeeded in obtaining the final say on all matters concerning the internal administration of Galicia, but he then rejected Kaunitz's offer to resign this responsibility immediately and instead ordered him to continue overseeing the province's administration for 'a few months'. In fact, Kaunitz remained head of the Galician department until November 1773.<sup>4</sup>

As governor of the new province, Kaunitz nominated the man who had been executive officer of his ministry since 1766, Count Johann Anton von Pergen.<sup>5</sup> Pergen had begun his diplomatic career as a Habsburg agent in the Holy Roman Empire but was moved to Vienna in 1766 during a personnel shake-up of the foreign ministry. A talented and ambitious but devious and unprincipled sycophant, Pergen had soon grown dissatisfied with his position and started bombarding Kaunitz with laments about his unfulfilled career ambitions.<sup>6</sup> There is thus reason to believe that Kaunitz regarded this transfer as providing Pergen the opportunity he had requested. In the event, however, Pergen's tenure as governor proved to be a disaster: prodigious in producing grandiose plans, but with negligible actual achievements, he seemed more enmeshed in the social and public dimensions of his post than in its actual political and administrative purposes, which he left almost entirely to his personal secretary.<sup>7</sup> In fairness to Pergen it must be pointed out that he was aware of the differences of opinion between his nominal superior, Kaunitz, and the young co-regent, Joseph II, and may have been paralysed by uncertainty on how to cope with this situation.<sup>8</sup> Whatever his

<sup>3</sup> H. Rumpel, 'Die Reisen Kaiser Joseph II. nach Galizien', University of Erlangen Ph.D. thesis, 1946, 19.

<sup>4</sup> A. R. von Arneth, *Geschichte Maria Theresias* (Vienna, 1863–79), viii. 414–22; *Die österreichische Zentralverwaltung*, ed. H. Kretschmayr, pt. II: *Von der vereinigung der österreichischen und böhmischen Hofkanzlei bis zur Einrichtung der Ministerialverfassung*, vol. iii: F. Walter (ed.), *Vom Sturz des Directoriums in Publicis et Cameralibus (1760/1761) bis zum Ausgang der Regierung Maria Theresias. Aktenstücke* (Vienna, 1934), 296; H. Glassl, *Das österreichischen Einrichtungswerk in Galizien, 1772–1790* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 27–57; E. Matsch, *Der auswärtige Dienst Österreich (-Ungarn's)* (Vienna, 1986), 65–7.

<sup>5</sup> On Pergen, see P. P. Bernard, *From the Enlightenment to the Police State: The Public Life of Johann Anton Pergen* (Urbana, Ill., 1991).

<sup>6</sup> HHSA, Sonstige Sammlungen: Grosse Korrespondenz, Fasz. 406, Pergen to Kaunitz, n.d. [1770–1].

<sup>7</sup> Glassl, *Das österreichischen Einrichtungswerk*, 71–3.

<sup>8</sup> This is certainly the impression left by HHSA, Sonstige Sammlungen: Grosse Korrespondenz, Fasz. 406, Kaunitz to Pergen, 12 July 1773.

degree of personal culpability, the effect, in any case, was that he fell between two stools and satisfied neither Joseph nor Kaunitz.<sup>9</sup>

The impatient Joseph had considered undertaking an inspection tour of Galicia for some time after its occupation by Habsburg forces but seems to have abandoned the idea by the winter of 1773. Then, while inspecting Hungary and Transylvania that spring, he had a sudden change of heart and descended on Lviv at short notice.<sup>10</sup> As usual, the highly demanding Joseph came with great expectations and anticipated an extensive report on Galician conditions by Pergen. To mollify a zealous emperor, Pergen quickly compiled what he called 'a description of the five classes of local inhabitants in accordance with what I have been able to discover with great effort through written and oral reports'.<sup>11</sup> The description, running to some 150 folio pages and divided into 240 separate sections, was entitled *Beschreibung der Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien, nach dem zustand, in welchem sie sich zur Zeit der Revindicirung durch Ihro Kaisl. Königl. Apostolischen Majestät, und besonders im Monat Julius 1773 befunden haben* ('Description of the Kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria, in accordance with the condition in which they found themselves at the time of the Reintegration by his Imperial, Royal, Apostolic Majesty and particularly in the month of July 1773').<sup>12</sup>

Precisely how much effort Pergen put into it, however, remains open to question. Though the report was first discussed in some detail by Ludwig Finkel and subsequently used by most students of the Habsburg administration of the new province from Brawer to Glassl,<sup>13</sup> what was not clear from these earlier studies was that Pergen was really more a collator than an author. He lifted substantial sections of the submission verbatim from the reports of his own subordinates or from other Austrian observers of the Polish scene. Much of the information had already been gathered the previous summer by military officers in the occupation force under General András Hadik, as well as by two Hungarian officials, Treasury Councillor József Török and Transylvanian Gubernatorial Councillor Alexander Heiter. Pergen had studied these reports, and in August 1772 he had already used this material to produce a brief description of Galicia, the thrust of which did not differ greatly from the *Beschreibung* of 1773.<sup>14</sup> In the fall of 1772 a new group of officials, for the most part extremely assiduous former members of Count Ludwig von Zinzendorf's recently abolished Hofrechnungskammer (Imperial Court of Audit),

<sup>9</sup> HHSA, Staatskanzlei: Vorträge, box 112, Joseph to Maria Theresa, 5 Aug. 1773, and box 113, Kaunitz to Maria Theresa, 2 Sept. 1773.

<sup>10</sup> Arneth, *Maria Theresia*, viii. 413, x. 87–8; Rumpel, 'Die Reisen Kaiser Joseph', 40–3; Glassl, *Das österreichischen Einrichtungswerk*, 68–9.

<sup>11</sup> HHSA, Familienarchiv: Hofreisen, box 5, Pergen to Joseph, 3 Aug. 1773.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> L. Finkel, 'Memoryał Antoniego hr. Pergena, pierwszego gubernatora Galicyi, o stanie kraju', *Kwartalnik historyczny*, 14 (1900), 24–43; A. J. Brawer, *Galizien wie es an Österreich kam* (Leipzig, 1910); Glassl, *Das österreichischen Einrichtungswerk*. Some excerpts were also printed by R. Rosdolsky [Rozdolski], *Stosunki poddańcze w dawnej Galicji* (Warsaw, 1962), ii. 47–60.

<sup>14</sup> Arneth, *Maria Theresia*, x. 76–80; Rumpel, 'Die Reisen Kaiser Joseph', 17–27; Rosdolsky, *Stosunki poddańcze*, ii. 11–12.

was dispatched to Lviv to assist Pergen. These set to work on various investigations of local conditions almost as soon as they arrived. This group included Georg Adelbert von Beekhen, Carl August Eytelberger, Joseph Ignaz Knopp, and Franz Scheiner. In addition, an official from the Prague mint, Ignatz Werner Kendler, had been investigating coinage problems, while numerous other experts had already produced extensive reports on Galician salt mines and crown estates.<sup>15</sup> In June 1773 Kaunitz dispatched one of his most trusted advisers, the cameral estate administrator and agrarian reformer Anton Koczian, to help Pergen set up the local administration in Galicia, and was soon told by the latter that what little had been done in Galicia had been done not by Pergen but by these officials.<sup>16</sup> Beyond this Pergen also relied on unsolicited reports submitted by ambitious locals on the hunt for a government post.<sup>17</sup> The most significant contribution of all, however, was a fifty-page manuscript submitted by a self-styled Habsburg 'patriot' and Bohemian native who had resided in Poland for some seventeen years as a translator attached to the Austrian embassy in Warsaw, the abbé Antonín Václav Betanský (Antoni Wacław Betański), later bishop of Przemyśl, from which Pergen plundered substantial portions.<sup>18</sup> For this reason the impressions captured in Pergen's *Beschreibung* can hardly be regarded as his own perspicacious observations; rather, they represent a compilation and distillation of the views of Habsburg officialdom as a whole.

Although, in typical eighteenth-century fashion, Pergen's *Beschreibung* casts the principal problems of the newly acquired province as social, economic, and political rather than 'national', it nevertheless demonstrates a clear awareness of the ethnic dimensions of the situation. Ethnicity was not an eighteenth-century preoccupation, but awareness of ethnic differences was certainly well developed. The Austrians had few reliable statistics from which to proceed,<sup>19</sup> but their estimate of a population of about 2 million was relatively accurate;<sup>20</sup> that Poles were a minority in this 'reincorporated' piece of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was obvious from the start. Preliminary enquiries showed that over two-thirds of this population consisted of Ukrainians, whom the Austrians carefully distinguished from Poles on three levels: first, the language of the Ukrainians was 'markedly different'; secondly, the ethnic difference coincided with a confessional

<sup>15</sup> HHSA, Familienarchiv: Hofreisen, boxes 5–6, *passim*; Brawer, *Galizien*, 15–17.

<sup>16</sup> Glassl, *Das österreichischen Einrichtungswerk*, 71–3.

<sup>17</sup> Finkel, *Memorial Antoniego hr. Pergena*, 28.

<sup>18</sup> HHSA, Familienarchiv: Hofreisen, box 5, [Antonín Václav Betanský,] *Abregé de l'idée sur le gouvernement relativement aux royaumes de Gallicie et de Lodomerie*. Many of Pergen's most piquant observations and ironic turns of phrase are plagiarized from this report. On Betanský, see F. X. Zachariasiewicz, *Vitae Episcoporum Premisliensium ritus latini* (Vienna, 1844), 176–81.

<sup>19</sup> HHSA, Familienarchiv: Hofreisen, box 5, Graf J. A. Pergen, *Beschreibung der Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien, nach dem zustand, in welchem sie sich zur Zeit der Revindicirung durch Ihro Kaisl. Königl. Apostolischen Majestät, und besonders im Monat Julius 1773 befunden haben*, sects. 1, 3, 4.

<sup>20</sup> *Beschreibung*, sect. 5.

difference between Greek and Roman Catholic, 'except for a few families';<sup>21</sup> and thirdly, Ukrainians had completely different customs and traditions. In addition, small German and Armenian minorities (which the officials estimated at under 1,000 families each) lived in the region. But the most marked feature of the new province was the large number of Jews there. Pergen's report repeated the 1765 official Polish figure of approximately 140,000 Jews organized into 180–90 *kehilot*, for the most part concentrated in the same areas where the peasant population was, according to the Austrians, 'exclusively' Ukrainian.<sup>22</sup>

Ethnic relations, as the Habsburg officials saw them, thus played themselves out on two principal levels: the three-way relationship between Ukrainian peasants, Polish lords, and the Jewish communities between them in the countryside, and the Polish–Ukrainian relations within the framework of the church. A third sphere of interaction was the urban centres, although, in the Austrian assessment, only six towns beyond Lviv could even vaguely be called that: Jarosław, Rzeszów, Tarnów, Krosno, Przemyśl, and Zamość.<sup>23</sup> Here Pergen noted no specific ethnic distinctions, and the Austrian descriptions concern mainly the rivalry between Christians and Jews. The urban Christian populations also included a declining number of Germans and Armenians,<sup>24</sup> but for the most part the report focused on the relationships between Polish and Jewish burghers.

At the apex of this ethnic hierarchy, Pergen claimed, stood the Polish nobility. No hyperbole can begin to convey the utter contempt in which Austrian officialdom held Polish nobles and the degree to which it regarded them as the root of all evil in Galician society. The nobility, which alone enjoyed 'the famous Polish liberty', looked with conceit and contempt on the 'mere abject mortals' who made up the rest of the population, according to Pergen and his sources.<sup>25</sup> Although all Polish nobles were constitutionally equal—and, from the Austrian point of view, the legitimacy of their claims to nobility all equally suspect<sup>26</sup>—it was obvious to Pergen that they really broke down into three tiers with a few magnate families at the top, below them a well-to-do middling nobility, and finally a large, poor gentry class, little better off than peasants.<sup>27</sup> The lesser nobles always served as slaves to those more powerful,<sup>28</sup> but they all shared similar faults: groundless conceit, insatiable pride, boundless arrogance, abysmal ignorance, unlimited greed, and a disposition to drunkenness.<sup>29</sup> Since a Polish noble's 'self-indulgence, vindictiveness, and injustice' knew no bounds,<sup>30</sup> the report claimed, it was not surprising that, with very few exceptions, all classes of Polish nobles indulged in unlimited and arbitrary exploitation of Ukrainians.<sup>31</sup> What little the Ukrainian peasants

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, sects. 10, 81.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., sect. 6.

<sup>23</sup> The Zamość district was lost to the grand duchy of Warsaw in 1809 and fell outside the 19th-century boundaries of Galicia.

<sup>24</sup> *Beschreibung*, sect. 132.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., sect. 30.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., sects. 49, 56, 80.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., sects. 31, 63.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., sect. 50

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., sects. 30–71 *passim*.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., sect. 50.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., sects. 166, 45, 175.

could have for themselves related directly to the extent of demand for their labour.<sup>32</sup> Beyond that, despite theoretical protection for peasants under the law, Polish nobles felt bound by neither 'laws, nor customs, nor promises', gave no consideration to feelings of humanity,<sup>33</sup> and assiduously guarded this status quo by carefully preventing any form of peasant education or even religious instruction in the countryside.<sup>34</sup>

Under these circumstances, Ukrainians had 'sunk into the most miserable slavery', and it was hardly surprising that they were 'impoverished, poorly housed, poorly clothed, given to drunkenness, lazy, and indifferent'—in brief, 'living more an animal than a human existence'.<sup>35</sup> Habsburg officials were prepared to concede that appearances might be worse than the reality because, under circumstances such as these, it was in the peasants' interest to present themselves as poorer than they actually were:

Since anything the peasant saves only excites the greed of the lord or his official, he naturally seeks to conceal or to consume it. Why should he seek to acquire any surplus, as the possession and enjoyment of it is so uncertain? Accustomed to frequent inhumane beatings for petty matters he reacts only to the threat of a raised cane.<sup>36</sup>

This awareness, however, hardly affected the overall assessment. Peasants seemed to be condemned to strategies of passive resistance, and in this arsenal their most effective weapon was flight. They threatened flight constantly, always appeared prepared to depart on a moment's notice, and never kept anything they could not take with them under such circumstances.<sup>37</sup> Effectively this was the only mitigation of exploitation that Ukrainian peasants could count on—and, indeed, the closer to the eastern borders they found themselves, and the more realistic flight from the manor actually was, the better their treatment at the hands of the Polish lords and their officials.<sup>38</sup> Otherwise peasants hardly dared to make complaints, partly because they barely knew what injustice was done them, partly because what remnants of the judicial system existed on paper were wholly ineffectual and even counter-productive in practice.<sup>39</sup> Habsburg officials realized that the exceptions to this rule, the nobles who attempted to treat their serfs in a reasonably just manner, could still not change the tenor of the relationship between Polish lord and Ukrainian peasant. Those fortunate enough to escape the harshest features of noble exploitation had had less fortunate fathers or grandfathers and, whatever one's personal fate, one had every reason to fear the worst for one's children.<sup>40</sup>

In Pergen's view, the extensive Jewish communities in precisely those areas where the peasant-lord antagonism coincided with the Polish-Ukrainian dichotomy complicated these Polish-Ukrainian relations in the countryside further.<sup>41</sup> Pergen perceived the relationship between Polish lords and the Jewish

<sup>32</sup> *Beschreibung*, sect. 167.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, sect. 166.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, sect. 195.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, sects. 191–2, 206.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, sect. 195.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, sect. 167.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, sect. 196.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, sects. 193, 166, 73, 194.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, sect. 168.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, sects. 6, 9.

communities as symbiotic, although he clearly understood that what favouritism Polish lords may have shown Jews resulted rather from self-interest than any philosemitism or even passively benign attitude towards the Jews. At heart the Polish nobles were antisemitic, favouring Jews only because the latter's precarious legal position permitted the lords to extort more from them and because, if the need arose, the whole community could be driven away in short order without even the pretext of legal niceties. Jews could hence serve as more pliable instruments of noble arbitrariness because the nobles could hold them hostage to whim quite effectively.<sup>42</sup>

Jews understood the nature of noble patronage very clearly and realized that it was in their interest to make themselves as indispensable as possible.<sup>43</sup> Here the Austrian officials noted that this interdependency rested on numerous pillars: the *arendar* system (the Jewish lease of monopoly rights), their skill at exploiting a political and social system that rested on wholesale bribery at every turn, their competitive superiority in numerous crafts and trades, and, above all, their extensive recourse to noble and clerical capital at what Austrians considered an artificially inflated interest rate of 7 per cent.<sup>44</sup>

In any case, the respective ethnic communities stayed trapped in a vicious circle of self-interest and survival. Everyone cheated everyone else, and no predictable laws, such as the law of supply and demand, seemed to apply.<sup>45</sup> Thus, for example, Jews sold unripe lumber at extortionate profit in a high-demand market, which they in turn had purchased from Ukrainian peasants who had stolen it from forests, which in turn the Polish nobility had illegally appropriated from royal domains over the years.<sup>46</sup> Anything resembling a public spirit or public conscience was wholly absent. Standards of sanitation, hygiene, and medical care were accordingly abysmal.<sup>47</sup>

These realities determined the relationship between Jews and Ukrainian peasants entirely, and hence Pergen viewed that relationship as exploitative. His observers singled out peasant alcohol-dependency as the most prevalent mechanism of this exploitation, the propensity to drink being regarded as the vice *par excellence* of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>48</sup> Drink and drunkenness permeated all segments of society. They were literally the lubricant of all social

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., sect. 129.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., sects. 209–21.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., sects. 143, 213–16, 221–5. For comparison, during the Seven Years War Austria was forced to have recourse to war loans at 5 and 6 per cent, but undertook an interest-rate reduction in 1766 that left the highest interest rate outstanding on portions of the national debt at 4 per cent. See A. Beer, 'Die Staatsschulden und die Ordnung des Staatshaushaltes unter Maria Theresia', *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, 82 (1895), 18–32; J. Schasching, *Staatsbildung und Finanzentwicklung. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des österreichischen Staatskredit in der 2. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck, 1954), 40–4; P. G. M. Dickson, *Finance and Government under Maria Theresia, 1740–1780* (Oxford, 1987), ii. 51–7.

<sup>45</sup> *Beschreibung*, sect. 150.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., sects. 22, 151.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., sects. 146–9, 155, 161–2.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., sects. 15, 90, 101, 140, 163, 197, 221, 226–7. On this whole problem, see H. Levine, 'Gentry, Jews, and Serfs: The Rise of Polish Vodka', *Review*, 4 (1980), 223–50.

relationships from Polish diets, through municipal assemblies and courts, to guild meetings.<sup>49</sup> Since the libation of choice was highly potent grain-based distilled liquor, and liquor retail rights were unregulated and unrestricted in towns, or were readily leased on the manor, sellers found no difficulty in creating an alcohol-dependency among Ukrainian peasants—both male and female.<sup>50</sup> They generously dispensed liquor on credit until the dependency was established, whereupon the victims frequently fell into unmanageable debt, gave away their possessions down to their missals and rosaries, and even sacrificed the nutritional requirements of their own families in order to support their addiction.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, Ukrainian peasants preferred to work for Jews rather than Christians, not only because the Jews indulged them in their alcohol-dependency more generously, but also because the Jews neither enforced nor even demanded that the Ukrainians fulfil their religious duties.<sup>52</sup>

This absence of genuine Christian piety became a particularly sore point with Habsburg officials. Galician society from top to bottom was rife with external pieties but lacked any real internal devotion, they claimed.<sup>53</sup> This was as true for Polish Roman Catholics as for Ukrainian Greek Catholics and, however bad the rivalry between the two, they shared similar vices: ignorance, selfishness, drunkenness, indifference, and scheming.<sup>54</sup> In the rivalry between Polish Roman and Ukrainian Greek Catholics, however, the latter invariably drew the short straw. All nobles were Roman Catholic. Ukrainian Catholics thus lacked not only the kind of fiscal support their rivals could muster but also the kind of patronage and protection only powerful nobles could provide.<sup>55</sup> They had fewer benefices and other sources of income, and as a result the Ukrainian Catholic clergy and hierarchy grew even more inclined to fiscal abuses than their Latin counterparts.<sup>56</sup> Under the circumstances, there tended to be fewer new recruits, and married Ukrainian Catholic priests degenerated into a self-perpetuating caste without proper clerical discipline whose demeanour—and, particularly, whose propensity to drink—hardly differed from that of a common peasant.<sup>57</sup> The Ukrainian Catholic faithful therefore faced the serious disadvantages of fiscal exploitation and poor pastoral care.<sup>58</sup> In addition, Ukrainian peasants were also condemned to lesser agrarian productivity because the Julian calendar and their own special set of saints created a series of holy days that differed from the Latin rite, effectively causing a supplementary economic waste, since Ukrainians ‘very seldom worked on Latin holy days’ either.<sup>59</sup>

A final area where the *Beschreibung* explores the theme of ethnic relations to some extent is in the discussion of life in urban centres. In the broader economic

<sup>49</sup> *Beschreibung*, sects. 38, 59, 64, 75, 124, 143, 192.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, sects. 17, 124, 127, 140–1.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, sects. 57, 73, 78.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, sects. 96, 99–102.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, sect. 80.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, sects. 226–7.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, sects. 75, 98.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, sects. 101, 105–6.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, sect. 228.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, sect. 81.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, sect. 98.



context Habsburg officials paid special attention to the decline of the towns and the bourgeois class in general in Galicia. The reasons for the decline, of course, were primarily social and economic, but the process also highlighted some particular points of ethnic relations. Here the small Armenian and German minorities also came into play. The Armenians were portrayed by the Austrian onlookers as a cohesive community that largely isolated itself from the rest of the population and whose modest industriousness was exemplary.<sup>60</sup> Germans, on the other hand, tended to assimilate into the Polish bourgeoisie—if not always in language then certainly in the Poles' worse habits—and lost most of the proverbial German virtues in the process.<sup>61</sup> Habsburg officials considered both the Armenian and German minorities statistically insignificant, however;<sup>62</sup> the principal urban ethnic relationship of interest was that between the Polish and Jewish bourgeoisies.

The economic contest between these two groups had already lost much of its competitiveness by the time the Austrians arrived, and Pergen's report noted the virtually complete triumph of Jewish entrepreneurs. Products of Polish craftsmen invariably fell short of those of their Jewish competitors, and many crafts and trades had become or were becoming exclusively Jewish concerns.<sup>63</sup> Although both groups appeared primitive and backward to Habsburg officials, Polish craftsmen and entrepreneurs seemed to be more 'clumsy, lazy, expensive, deceitful, and drunken' than Jewish ones.<sup>64</sup> Again, the officials viewed this bourgeois degeneration as the result primarily of the noble legal and economic assault on municipal autonomy, in which Jews profited and prospered largely because of the already noted beneficial symbiotic relationship with the Polish nobility.<sup>65</sup>

In short, Habsburg officials regarded the society of their newly acquired province as a primitive, economically skewed anarchy, characterized by a complete 'corruption of morals', unchecked baseness and egotism, 'lawless oligarchy', and 'deeply imbedded prejudices'.<sup>66</sup> From the point of view of the Habsburg officials—including Pergen himself, who had arrived in Galicia from the western crown lands—in this society all interaction, whether social or ethnic, seemed to consist mainly of exploitative relationships based on extortion, graft, fraud, and naked force. These views and impressions should not be regarded as simple condescending smugness, and still less as embodying typically 'German' prejudices

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., sects. 8, 86, 132.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., sect. 143.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., sects. 7–8, 132.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., sects. 123, 129–30, 143, 151–2, 154–5, 223.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., sects. 143, 149–50, 155, 163.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., sects. 126–31. The contentious and complex historiography on this relationship has recently been brought into focus by G. Hundert, 'The Implication of Jewish Economic Activities for Christian–Jewish Relations in the Polish Commonwealth', in C. Abramsky, M. Jachimczyk, and A. Polonsky (eds.), *The Jews in Poland* (Oxford, 1986), and by M. J. Rosman, *The Lords' Jews: Magnate–Jewish Relations in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), whose findings corroborate many of these observations.

<sup>66</sup> Rosman, *The Lords' Jews*, introd.

about Poland.<sup>67</sup> Of course, to some extent, the ethnic clichés that did exist in the eighteenth century were bound to play their subconscious role in these officials' assessment. But if we are to judge from the well-known early eighteenth-century *Völkertafel* displayed in the Heimatsmuseum of Bad Aussee,<sup>68</sup> the Pergen *Beschreibung* deviates from the clichés as often as it confirms them. In fact, the key to understanding the bitter tone of the document is the obsession with underdevelopment that permeated Habsburg officialdom in the eighteenth century—and particularly during the era of enlightened absolutism.

Habsburg élites, bureaucrats, economists, and political thinkers had been only too painfully aware of the relative backwardness of their central European commonwealth. The policies and ideology of the Counter-Reformation confessional state that had contributed to the successful 'making of the Habsburg monarchy'<sup>69</sup> in the seventeenth century became unequal to the challenges of the fierce competitive world of proto-national states in the eighteenth. One result was the belated implementation of a cameralist-mercantilist reform programme, based on the model of the 'well-ordered police states' of Protestant Germany, which sought to internalize 'the values and norms of the modern, production-oriented, dynamic political culture' originating in the intellectual revolution of the sixteenth century.<sup>70</sup> The reform pace introduced in the 1740s and 1750s then accelerated and its scope widened by the influx of Enlightenment ideas from the 1760s on, but an awareness of underdevelopment was still uppermost in the political calculations of the Habsburg regime—indeed, some historians have even argued that it was a precondition of 'enlightened absolutism'.<sup>71</sup>

What Habsburg officials thought they encountered in Galicia was nothing short of a vision of their own recent past, of a backward, pre-modern society. In

<sup>67</sup> The same might also be said of the subsequent travel literature of the 1780s and 1790s, which echoes the *Beschreibung* in remarkable detail. This includes F. Kratter, *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien* (Leipzig, 1786); A. H. Traunpaur, *Dreyssig Briefe über Galizien oder Beobachtungen eines unpartheyischen Mannes, der sich mehr, als nur ein paar Monate in diesem Königreiche umgesehen hat* (Vienna, 1787); B. Hacquet, *Neueste physikalisch-politische Reisen in den Jahren 1788 und 1789 durch die dacischen und sarmatischen oder nördlichen Karpathen* (Nuremberg, 1790–6; vols. ii–iv cover the years to 1795); J. Rohrer, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise von der türkischen Gränze über die Bukowina durch Ost- und Westgalizien, Schlesien und Mähren nach Wien* (Vienna, 1804); and S. Bredetzky, *Reisebemerkungen über Ungern und Galizien* (Vienna, 1809). For the assessment of this literature, see W. Gawlitsch, 'Ostgalizien im Spiegel der deutschen Reiseliteratur am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts', University of Vienna Ph.D. thesis, 1943.

<sup>68</sup> A reproduction of the *Völkertafel* was first published in W. Koschatzky (ed.), *Maria Theresia und Ihre Zeit* (Salzburg, 1979), 446. It is now widely available in poster form in central Europe.

<sup>69</sup> R. J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Oxford, 1979).

<sup>70</sup> M. Raeff, 'The Well-Ordered Police State and the Development of Modernity in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Europe: An Attempt at a Comparative Approach', *American Historical Review*, 80 (1975), 1221–43, and *The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600–1800* (New Haven, 1983).

<sup>71</sup> K. O. F. von Aretin, *Der aufgeklärte Absolutismus* (Cologne, 1974), 22–7; D. Kosáry, 'Felvilágosult abszolútizmus—felvilágosult rendiség', *Történelmi szemle*, 19 (1976), 675–720.

consequence they sought, as they had already done in Austria and Bohemia and to a lesser extent in Hungary, to rationalize social structures by imposing a *Sozialdisziplinierung* ('social discipline') on inchoate traditionalist populations, with the intention of increasing both control and productivity.<sup>72</sup> Above all, the continued references to 'idleness' and 'dissipation' (especially alcoholism) and to the lack of genuine religious piety at all levels of society demonstrate a typically cameralist obsession with the need for the 'social disciplining' of a pre-modern agrarian mentality. If the long-range agenda of this effort was 'to foster and give full scope to the creative energies of the individual members of society by means of the state's direction',<sup>73</sup> the key to its success was the populace's internalization of the new rigorous social norms. Yet this could only be achieved by the transformation of mere 'subjects' into more autonomous 'citizens', and here lies the central obsession underpinning Pergen's *Beschreibung*.

As Pergen pointed out in the introduction to his survey of Galicia, his intent was to describe conditions in so far as they were in need of reform. In other words, the report focused on the main priorities of the prospective reform agenda of enlightened absolutism in Galicia. These Pergen summarized very succinctly: they were to bring order to chaos in the interests of justice and prosperity.<sup>74</sup> Pergen's chief, Kaunitz, the initial head of the Habsburg Galician department, articulated clearly what this meant in practice for Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians in Galicia. It was in the interest of Vienna to co-opt rather than confront the Polish nobility, and therefore to approach its social status with as gradualist an integrative process as would be compatible with the emancipatory social, and developmental economic, aims of the monarchy. The Polish nobility had to be re-educated, enlightened, purged of its irresponsible selfishness—in a word, 'socially disciplined'—but not irretrievably alienated.<sup>75</sup> Ukrainians had to be emancipated from 'slavish oppression' and their 'rights of humanity' had to be restored.<sup>76</sup> Their church had to be fostered and placed on an equal footing with the Roman Catholic—and both reformed on the already well-established 'Josephinist' model.<sup>77</sup> Jews had to be 'transformed from a specific nation into a mere distinct

<sup>72</sup> There is a growing literature on this concept, first coined by G. Oestreich, 'The Structure of the Absolutist State', in *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, trans. D. McLintock (Cambridge, 1982), 258–73. See O. Brunner, *Adeliges Landleben und europäischer Geist* (Salzburg, 1947); M. Rassem, 'Bemerkungen zur "Sozialdisziplinierung" im frühmodernen Staat', *Zeitschrift für Politik*, 30 (1983), 217–38; J. van Horn Melton, 'Absolutism and "Modernity" in Early Modern Central Europe', *German Studies Review*, 8 (1985), 83–8, and 'Arbeitsprobleme des aufgeklärten Absolutismus in Preussen und Österreich', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 90 (1982), 49–75; C. Sachsse and F. Tennstedt (eds.), *Sozial Sicherheit und soziale Disziplinierung* (Frankfurt, 1986); and W. Schulze, 'Gerhard Oestreichs Begriff "Sozialdisziplinierung in der frühen Neuzeit"', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 14 (1987), 265–302.

<sup>73</sup> Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State*, 257.

<sup>74</sup> *Beschreibung*, introd.

<sup>75</sup> HHSA, Staatskanzlei: Vorträge, box 113, Kaunitz to Maria Theresa, 2 Sept. 1772.

<sup>76</sup> Rosdolsky, *Stosunki poddańcze*, ii. 27–9, 31–3, 36–7, 62–3.

<sup>77</sup> HHSA, Staatskanzlei: Vorträge, box 114, Kaunitz to Maria Theresa, 12 Jan. 1774. Cf. F. A. J. Szabo, *Kaunitz and Enlightened Absolutism, 1753–1780* (Cambridge, 1995), 235–6.

confession', which should then enjoy the same rights and duties as other faiths in the monarchy.<sup>78</sup> This agenda was, of course, cast primarily in socio-economic terms, though its consequences for ethnic relations were to be far-reaching.

The Enlightenment faith that prosperity and tolerance could 'improve' the 'moral character' and life of all inhabitants of the province was central to a Habsburg eudemonism that regarded ethnic relations as being fundamentally determined by political and economic conditions, and believed the worst features of such relations to be mere ephemeral manifestations of these conditions. Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians in Austrian Galicia thus remained subject to the twin premisses of the Habsburg regime, however difficult the specific details of their implementation were to prove in the subsequent century and a half: the organization and reconstruction of society for ongoing productivity, and the establishment of a framework of impartial justice—in brief, a *Rechtsstaat*. Though the observations of Habsburg officialdom captured in Pergen's *Beschreibung* were seldom very wide of the mark, in some ways their perceptions were even more important than the reality, because it was these perceptions that set the parameters within which Austria's rational constructivism of Galicia's political culture was undertaken.

Subsequent chapters in this issue of *Polin* reveal that Galicia was not to be free of the paradoxes such endeavours generate, but perhaps these observations serve to stress that we should keep sight of the fact that the framework of the theme under review was the Habsburg monarchy, and that the peculiar developments of Galicia in this period could take the course that they did, for better or for worse, only because it was part of the Habsburg monarchy.

<sup>78</sup> HHSA, Kabinettsarchiv: Kaunitz Voten zu Staatsratakten, box 5, nos. 1712 and 2415 from year 1784, Kaunitz Staatsrat Vota, 3 June and 5 July 1784; box 6, no. 3575 from year 1792, Kaunitz Staatsrat Votum, 18 July 1792. See H. Kohn, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreich unter Kaiser Joseph II', University of Vienna Ph.D. thesis, 1919, 112; J. Karniel, 'Fürst Kaunitz und die Juden', *Jahrbuch des Instituts für deutsche Geschichte, Tel-Aviv*, 12 (1983), 22–3.

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# The Jewish Question in Galicia: The Reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, 1772–1790

STANISŁAW GRODZISKI

IN 1772 the Austrian army, carrying out the first partition of the Polish republic, received an order to halt at the banks of the Vistula.<sup>1</sup> This meant that Kraków would remain in Poland, though on its very border. Occupying this part of Małopolska (Lesser Poland), General d'Alton noticed that the river branched in Kraków and that its original course ran between Kraków and Kazimierz; he therefore occupied Kazimierz.<sup>2</sup> For the residents of Kraków, the location of the border literally at the foot of Wawel Castle created an extraordinarily precarious situation: the city's entire southern supply base was severed. For Jews in particular it was catastrophic: they resided in Kazimierz, which was now under Austrian rule, but had stores and workshops in Kraków, which was under Polish rule. Would they be allowed to cross the border and conduct business in Kraków? This state of affairs gave rise to numerous local disputes and the Christian townspeople went to Warsaw to appeal to Great Crown Chancellor Andrzej Młodziejowski to solve the problem. The Jews, by contrast, went to Vienna to petition Joseph II, as co-regent of the empress Maria Theresa. In the end both petitions proved useless; the choice of roads, however, was characteristic.

My focus here is on the reforms imposed by the Austrian authorities, who did not recognize the institutions and legal norms that had been inherited from Polish times in the annexed territory of Galicia. Specifically, I shall examine those reforms that pertained to the legal status of the Jewish population and can be separated quite easily from the wider Theresian–Josephine reforms.<sup>3</sup> The status of the Jews was by no means a secondary issue. The consequences of these

<sup>1</sup> This incident is recounted in M. Bałaban, *Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, 1304–1868* (Kraków, 1936), ii. 358 and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Kazimierz, today a part of Kraków, was established by Kazimierz the Great in 1335 as a satellite town adjacent to Kraków. From the turn of the 15th century it was inhabited by Jews.

<sup>3</sup> The views expressed in this chapter are based to a significant degree on conclusions previously published in my book *Historia ustroju społeczno-politycznego Galicji, 1772–1848* (Warsaw, 1971), 99–130.

reforms may be appraised on several levels, taking into consideration, first, the economic, social, and legal situation of the Jewish population in Galicia; secondly, that population's degree of loyalty to the new authorities; thirdly, Jewish coexistence with the Polish population (and, to the degree that the Ukrainian nationalist movement developed, also with the Ukrainian population); and fourthly, the situation of Galician Jewry in comparison with the position of Jews under the Polish republic before partition and with the situation of those Jews who found themselves under Russian rule after 1795.

The thoughts that follow are limited to an ordered presentation of the reforms regarding Jewish legal status, as well as a few broader, and more or less debatable, reflections. Of necessity, I cover only a modest fragment of the subject.

The legal status of Jews inhabiting Poland slowly began to take shape in the Middle Ages and was based on monarchical privileges which were either general or local. Although such terminology was not used at the time, the Jews effectively constituted a legally separate fifth social estate alongside the nobility, clergy, townspeople, and peasants.<sup>4</sup> Of course they were also a religiously separate group.

In the late eighteenth century, however, Austrian authorities were to make no reference to the existing legal position of Jews arising from the period of Polish rule; if the reforms discussed here improved or worsened the position of Jews relative to Polish times, it occurred more or less by coincidence. This is because these reforms arose out of two premisses: the ideological principles of enlightened absolutism and the total suppression of the old Polish legal institutions, which were seen as irreconcilable with the strong, centralized Austrian system.

Galicia, appropriated at a time when enlightened absolutists had already significantly rebuilt Austria's own socio-legal system, needed to catch up. The Austrians wished to harness the new acquisition securely to the metropolis and to make it resemble other possessions of the Habsburg crown as quickly as possible, and frenetic lawmaking ensued. There were also further goals pertaining to the legal status of the Jewish population.

At the end of the eighteenth century the entire Habsburg empire contained around 1 million Jews, according to official Austrian estimates; half that number lived in Galicia. Directly after the first partition Jews accounted for a significant percentage of the population of Galicia: over 3 per cent in the western part, about 9 per cent in the east, where there were even settlements in which Jews were the majority.<sup>5</sup> This imbalance between eastern and western Galicia reflected the

<sup>4</sup> I deal with the question of the extent to which the Jews of the old republic may be treated as a separate social class in my paper 'The Kraków Voivode's Jurisdiction over Jews: A Study of the Kraków Voivode's Administration of Justice to Jews', in A. Polonsky, J. Basista, and A. Link-Lenczowski (eds.), *The Jews in Old Poland, 1000-1975* (London, 1993).

<sup>5</sup> Compare with M. Stöger, *Darstellung der gesetzlichen Verfassung der galizischen Judenschaft*, i (Tarnów, 1833), 60 (table on the number of Jews by district according to counts in 1789, 1821, 1826, and 1827), 61-2. From tables in M. Bałaban, *Dzieje Żydów w Galicji rzeczywistej Krakowskiej*,

history of private towns and villages in Polish times. Jews who wished to live in private settlements belonging to wealthy nobles and magnates had been eagerly accepted and were granted privileges, while in the western part of Małopolska many towns excluded Jews, maintaining the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* (of not tolerating Jews).<sup>6</sup>

For the Austrian authorities, the presence of such a substantial Jewish population was a new phenomenon. They found the Galician Jews difficult to manage and wished to submit them to a full census and full administrative control, to which Jews were unaccustomed, and to subjugate them to certain laws from which Poland had exempted them. In Austria, from the end of the Middle Ages until the second half of the eighteenth century, Jews had no legal protection and were dependent on the good will of the Christian population. They were also prohibited from settling in particular towns and were ejected from whole provinces, as happened in central Austria in 1496. Generally, however, as so-called *homines fiscales*, they paid their rulers a high per capita tax and in exchange obtained varied privileges binding the local powers.<sup>7</sup> It was not until the second half of the rule of the empress Maria Theresa (1740–80), in the time of the Austrian annexation of Galicia, that the government launched reforms to update the legal status of Austria's Jews.

With only superficial information on the numbers, distribution, and economic situation of Galician Jewry, the authorities reacted reflexly and laws proliferated with the aim of reducing the Jewish population. Austria based its policy on principles already accepted by Prussia, permitting Jews to emigrate to Poland unhindered, while forbidding Jewish immigration into Austria except for those wealthy individuals who could pay a high immigration tax. The same principle held for business trips: it was relatively easy to travel beyond Galicia, but the passport system bound Jews and hindered free movement within the borders of the

1772–1868 (Lviv, 1916), 7–9, it appears that Jews formed the highest percentage of the population (13.2 per cent) in the former Polish provinces of Rus', Belżec, and Lublin and the smallest (2.5 per cent) in Kraków province. However, these figures are only approximate. They are based on annual conscription by the Austrian authorities, but Jews, fearing new taxes and the draft, avoided censuses by any means and more than once the census commissioner's figures were rough estimates. To avoid this, by a decree of 16 Sept. 1784, a *Familienbuch* ('family book') was introduced for each family, in which, it was directed, all changes in family circumstances, as well as tax liabilities, were to be noted. J. Buzek, *Wpływ polityki żydowskiej rządu austriackiego w latach 1772 do 1788 na wzrost zaludnienia żydowskiego w Galicji* (Kraków, 1903), 95.

<sup>6</sup> Frequently, however, in towns with the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, individual Jews were granted permission to reside, as in the case of Żywiec (see the numerous mentions of Jews who lived there in S. Grodziski and I. Dwornicka (eds.), *Chronografia albo dziejopis żywiecki* (Żywiec, 1987), 689, s.v. 'Jews'. This gave rise to complicated legal situations: the town had an old royal privilege of not tolerating Jews but by its own decisions made exceptions for particular families or representatives of specified professions. Accompanying these permits was a description of the quarter in which Jews were allowed to acquire real estate. In this manner a ghetto was formed.

<sup>7</sup> O. Balzer, *Historia ustroju Austrii w zarysie*, 2nd edn. (Lviv, 1908), 330–1.

empire.<sup>8</sup> Foreign Jewish traders who travelled to Galicia faced similar obstacles. At the border they had to present a passport or an affidavit confirming the indispensable nature of their journey, such as an important family matter. During their stay they were considered a suspicious and undesirable element and were subject to surveillance by district authorities.<sup>9</sup>

One method that was to shrink the number of Jews was the forced resettlement of the poor. On 8 March 1773, within six months of taking over Galicia, Austrian officials issued a charter regarding the so-called *Betteljuden* (beggars), but in practice the charter affected all poor Jews who could not afford to pay the toleration tax.<sup>10</sup> These people were to be forcibly expelled across the Polish border. Meanwhile, the Polish republic, which had trouble enough with its own beggars, did not want to accept the poor Jews affected by this decision.<sup>11</sup>

In a radical step conceived in the spirit of absolutism and aimed at reducing the number of Jews, a 1773 prohibition barred Jews from marrying without the permission of the gubernatorial authorities and the payment of a fee to prove the couple's *Steuerfähigkeit* (tax capability). However, Jews paid little attention to the ban, entering into ritually sanctioned marriages unregistered by the authorities,<sup>12</sup> and the magnitude of this evasion eventually forced the Austrian authorities to relax the prohibition with a regulation of 1789, as well as to recognize some of the principles of Judaic marriage law.<sup>13</sup>

The policy to reduce the Jewish population in Galicia, although not successful, was carried out over a long period: during the entire reigns of Maria Theresa and Joseph II (1780–90) and even by their successors. In addition to a series of pan-Austrian laws designed to realize this policy, both the emperor and, on the emperor's recommendation, the province of Lviv issued numerous detailed laws that were binding only in Galicia. All of these laws arose from the legislature's conviction that 'the Jewish population should be rendered as harmless as possible

<sup>8</sup> Any Jew who wished to move from one locality to another had first to obtain a passport, which on arrival at his destination he turned over to the district office, in exchange receiving permission to stay (*Aufenthaltszettel*). The passport, with appropriate endorsement, was returned only at the moment of departure. These were laws that obviously pertained only to Jews. Jews from Poland arriving in Galicia for trade purposes paid a high tax, the *Geleitzoll*. Galician Jews were not allowed to move to Vienna without permission.

<sup>9</sup> Stöger, *Darstellung der gesetzlichen Verfassung*, i. 19–20.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. ii. 49 and elsewhere: 'Anordnungen über das Armenwesen'.

<sup>11</sup> [F. Kratter], *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien* (Leipzig, 1786), ii. 46–7. Eventually, immigration to Galicia required individual permits from the governor. *Continuatio edictorum et mandatorum universalium regnis galiciae et Lodomeriae* (1801), no. XLII, pp. 111–14.

<sup>12</sup> This resulted in laws ordering Jews to follow the same principles of marriage law that obligated Christians (*Continuatio edictorum et mandatorum universalium* (1786), no. XLVI, pp. 194–5) as well as in divorces granted by rabbis. Those who after divorce entered again into marriage were considered bigamists in Austrian law (ibid. (1788), no. V, p. 10).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. (1791), no. XIII, pp. 28–30. This law regulated rather liberally questions of blood relations as a marriage restriction, as well as the institution of writs of divorce.



for Christians';<sup>14</sup> among the justifications for these rules, however, there can be found no attempt to define how the Jews were harmful. Certainly harsh material sanctions were imposed in case of disobedience.

A survey of these laws reveals three distinct aims. The first two were to eliminate Jewish religious differences (i.e. to convert the Jews to Christianity) and to erase their ethnic distinctiveness. These were subordinated to the third, clearly overriding aim: the assimilating Jews were to become similar not to the local Polish population but to the (few) Galician Germans, so as to become in the future an outpost for the third goal, Germanization. It is worth examining more closely in what ways Austrian legislation went about realizing the goals it had set itself.

Austrian government expressions of its intention to erase Jewish religious difference were indirect, because contemporary Austria was theoretically bound to religious tolerance. Thus it rewarded converts to Christianity by granting them town citizenship free of charge, as well as other specific privileges.<sup>15</sup> If the father of a family accepted baptism, then his under-age children were baptized also, even against the will of the mother. The baptism of children at their own request was also permitted, if they had reached their seventh year. (Joseph II later raised the age of consent to 18, and several laws dealt with the rather common phenomenon of baptizing Jewish infants without or against the will of the parents.)<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, conversion was possible in only one direction; once baptized, one could not return to the Jewish faith without facing the severest penalties.

The second objective, to eradicate ethnic difference, emerged clearly in a whole range of laws aimed at expunging external marks of Jewishness in costume, custom, lifestyle, name, and language. These measures stemmed largely from the utopian convictions of Joseph II, who, while still Maria Theresa's co-regent, wanted to eliminate completely certain variations within the Galician population, suggesting that 'It would be very desirable if within the noted time period, that is, a year and a day (*binnen Jahr und Tag*), no one apart from peasants dressed in the Polish style. Everything should be written in German or in Latin, and anyone who serves in the imperial army should *sub conditione sine qua non* [as a necessary condition] be required to accept the French uniform.'<sup>17</sup> Although this rule was intended primarily to counter the Polish nobility's traditional dress, it treated

<sup>14</sup> Bałaban, *Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu*. 35. Conviction of their injuriousness was also expressed in judicial section 217 of the year 1796 for western Galicia, declaring that 'the testimony of a Jew against a Christian' was permissible but suspect. M. Koczyński, *Ustawa sądowa dla Galicji Zachodniej* (Kraków, 1881), 154.

<sup>15</sup> Decree on neophytes, 30 Sept. 1780 (*Continuatio edictorum et mandatorum universalium* (1780), no. VII, pp. 45-7); decree of 16 Aug. 1783 (*ibid.*, no. XXXVI, p. 88); and others.

<sup>16</sup> Decree of 11 Sept. 1775 (*ibid.*, no. XXIV, pp. 162-7); Grodziski, *Historia ustroju społeczno-politycznego Galicji*, 102.

<sup>17</sup> W. Łoziński, *Galicjana* (Lviv, 1872); S. Grodziski, *W Królestwie Galicji i Lodomerii* (Kraków, 1976), 43.

Jewish long gaberline coats identically. Joseph even imagined that all specifically Jewish dress would be eliminated by 1791 except for rabbis.<sup>18</sup>

The most important example of legislators seeking to erase ethnic differences was a law intended to drive Jews from trade and crafts with the aim of settling them on farms. This measure, undertaken in 1784–5 and personally overseen by the emperor, completely failed to persuade Jews to take up agriculture.<sup>19</sup> However, it made much more headway in damaging the traditional position of Jews in the rural economy: it introduced interdictions against the leasing of land by people who did not personally work it, as well as against the leasing of grain mills, groups of villages, inns, breweries, lumber mills, and so on.<sup>20</sup> These laws, harshly enforced through confiscations, considerably reduced the number of Jewish leaseholders and innkeepers in the villages, dislodging close to one-third of the Jewish population from its former livelihood.<sup>21</sup> The regulations did not, however, affect the right of nobles to produce and sell alcoholic beverages, although nobody doubted the harmfulness of these beverages to the village population.

These measures delineate the vision that Joseph II harboured for the Jewish population. He wanted to make Jews into farmers or artisans, and to a lesser degree into traders and brokers, who would not differ from their German environment in any way except in religion, and ideally not even in that.

Finally, there was the third legislative tendency, aiming at the Germanization of the Jews, which would depend on the rapid introduction of the German language not only in everyday trading but also in education. In keeping with the 'desire to make the Jews more suitable [for the empire] by means of better enlightening their minds and customs, a German school is to be founded beside each community, as far as possible, for the Jewish youth'.<sup>22</sup> A decree of 28 August 1787 ordered each father of a family, or each guardian, to take a surname and to undertake that as of 1 January 1788 he and his entire family and everyone in his charge would use that surname permanently and hereditarily.<sup>23</sup> By the same token, on pain of arrest and fines, the decree forbade Jews to use as their surname the name of their tribe or place of origin. In their place the decree introduced German names, obviously non-noble and rather hastily concocted.

<sup>18</sup> Stöger, *Darstellung der gesetzlichen Verfassung*, ii. 193.

<sup>19</sup> Balaban, *Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu*, 38 and later. Stöger, *Darstellung der gesetzlichen Verfassung*, i. 161, cites the numbers of Jewish agricultural settlers in particular districts; these settlers were promised exemption from some taxes. The history of these few colonies in Galicia is discussed by H. Lepucki, *Działalność kolonizacyjna Marii Teresy i Józefa II w Galicji, 1772–1790* (Lviv, 1938), 132 and elsewhere.

<sup>20</sup> Decrees of 9 Feb. 1784 (*Continuatio edictorum et mandatorum universalium* (1784), no. VIII, pp. 26–7) and 24 Jan. 1785 (*ibid.* (1785), no. XII, pp. 14–16); Stöger, *Darstellung der gesetzlichen Verfassung*, i. 150–1.

<sup>21</sup> Buzek, *Wpływ polityki żydowskiej*, 118; I. Schipper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich* (Warsaw, 1937), 334.

<sup>22</sup> Regulation of 7 May 1789, sect. 11; see also n. 30 below.

<sup>23</sup> *Continuatio edictorum et mandatorum universalium* (1787), no. CIII, pp. 168–71.

These efforts to obliterate ethnic differences and Germanize the Jews did not leave out the matter of their self-government, which would certainly have impeded the success of the measures. In the noble Polish republic, in spite of the eighteenth-century dissolution of the Va'ad Arba Aratsot (Council of the Four Lands), a form of Jewish self-rule had lived on, based on general Jewish privileges and confirmed by individual monarchs, then developed by local privileges and sometimes modified by signed agreements with town councils. The basic institution of this system of Jewish self-rule had been the local assembly of elders, with whose internal organization the Polish government did not interfere. Under Austrian rule this system was immediately changed. In 1776 a broad regulation was issued under the title *Allgemeine Ordnung für die gesamte Judenschaft der Königreiche Galizien und Lodomerien* (General Ordinance for the Whole of Jewry of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria).<sup>24</sup> Its purpose was to unify, centralize, and subjugate all local government along the lines of Austrian models. At the head of Galician Jewry now stood a single directorship, the General-Juden-Direction, composed of the *Landesrabin* (national rabbi) and twelve elders chosen from the local assemblies. Of these elders, six, the *Landesältesten*, governed permanently in Lviv while the rest, the *Kreisältesten*, governed in the seats of the six districts into which Galicia was originally to be divided. The national rabbi was nominated for life, and the elders were chosen for six years in indirect elections by the Jewish communities. The local assemblies of elders, however, had at their command a number of votes that depended on the sum of taxes paid. The directorship was obliged to fulfil the instructions of the Austrian authorities in Galicia: to publish laws, assess and collect taxes, and supervise the local Jewish assemblies of elders, the judiciary (rabbinical courts).

This regulation did not endure long. When, in 1782, the administration was reorganized, dividing Galicia into eighteen circuits, Joseph II took advantage of the situation to limit Jewish autonomy further, which he did with the charter of 27 May 1785.<sup>25</sup> He abolished the directorship and the rabbinical courts and limited the authority of the local assemblies of elders by placing them under the strict control of the districts. Each assembly of elders chose six candidates, from among whom the district administrator nominated three elders.<sup>26</sup> These three carried out their functions for three years, exercising authority over the assembly of elders as well as over all Jews residing within the district. A community of over

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. (1776), no. XX, pp. 76–121. It was published solely in German. The patent that legalized it (ibid. 76) announced: 'Die Toleranz der Juden erforderte von allen Dingen, dass dieselben mit dem Christenstand in ein unschädliches Verhältniss gesetzt werden' ('Toleration demands from the Jews in all matters that their relationship with Christendom should not be harmful'). This regulation included forty-one broad articles grouped into five chapters regarding directorship (four articles), rules of order (fourteen), financial and tax matters (five), trade and industry (four), and justice and law (fourteen).

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. (1785), no. XLIX, pp. 89–93.

<sup>26</sup> The most populous Jewish communities in all Galicia, those of Lviv and Brody, submitted lists of fourteen names from which the district nominated seven elders.

100 Jewish families (and most Jewish communities in Galicia were at least this size) had the right to choose a rabbi for itself.<sup>27</sup> Grievances against the rabbis and the assemblies of elders were to be directed to the district administrator.

Only a narrow tier of the most wealthy was permitted to participate in these modest institutions of self-rule. Active voting rights in the Jewish assembly of elders were reserved for male heads of household who owned real estate and paid a certain sum that came to be called the *Lichterzundaufschlag* ('light' tax).<sup>28</sup> Moreover, a Jewish man seeking the right to vote had to be known in the district as being of irreproachable character, to have no criminal record, to speak fluent German, and to pay higher taxes. The Austrian government justified these requirements by the fact that anyone elected elder then became financially responsible for the district's activities.<sup>29</sup>

This reform, too, was shortlived. On 7 May 1789 the decree 'kraft welchen den Juden alle Begünstigungen und Rechte der übrigen Unterthanen gewähret sind' ('in accordance with which the Jews are to be guaranteed the privileges and rights of other subjects') became law.<sup>30</sup> This proved the last in the long series of measures, ending a dozen years of incessant nervous changes. Seen as the codification of previously issued rules, and thus called a regulation (*die josephinische Judenordnung*, the Josephine regulation for the Jews), it rescinded a whole range of prior ones and, supported by the warrant of 1785, arranged matters pertaining to Jews in accordance with the spirit of enlightened absolutism. Modern, severe, and casuistic, it moved the interests of the empire into first place. In permitting the practice of Judaism without any impediments, this regulation looked forward to granting equal political rights to Jews. It accomplished this, however, not without caveats and in words not free from traditional prejudice, as we read in the first section: 'All Jews, *if they agree with the contemporary law and general legislation of the country*, may, without the least hindrance, have the freedom to practise their father's religion and customs instilled since childhood' (emphasis added). This condition—submission to the current Austrian legal system—was explained in the regulation's further contents. It allowed them the freedom to settle anywhere (although still limited by old privileges *de non tolerandis Judaeis*) and lifted the Theresian limitations on marriage. It also took one more step towards weakening Jewish autonomy, however, and subjected Jews in general to the district in admin-

<sup>27</sup> Imperial decrees of 16 Sept. and 16 Nov. 1784, cited in Stöger, *Darstellung der gesetzlichen Verfassung*, i. 72.

<sup>28</sup> This tax was not introduced throughout Galicia until 1797. Earlier tolerance (protectionist) and domestic taxes were paid, as well as a tax on kosher meat.

<sup>29</sup> Stöger, *Darstellung der gesetzlichen Verfassung*, ii. 147.

<sup>30</sup> *Continuatio edictorum et mandatorum universalium* (1789), no. XLIV, pp. 90–111. This extensive law contained sixty-four paragraphs grouped into seven chapters, namely, religion (paragraphs 1–10), education (11–14), community organization (15–22, in the Polish translation of the law mistakenly called 'district regulation'), population issues (23–30), means of livelihood (31–40), administrative matters (41–7), and obligations towards the government (48–64).

istrative matters, and to federal courts in judicial matters. Eliminating the local rabbinical offices, it left only the district rabbis. Of the whole elaborate system of self-rule, all that remained was the power to make decisions about religion and schooling, and certain smaller communities were consolidated so as to reduce the number of Jewish assemblies in Galicia. In addition, several of the economic limitations recently introduced to make the Jews 'as harmless as possible for Christians' were maintained.

Finally, on the basis of the idea that Jews be treated equally with all other subjects, the duty of military service was extended to male Jews within the framework of the obligatory contingent system under the Habsburg monarchy.<sup>31</sup> The obligation to serve in the military—practically lifelong conscription at the end of the eighteenth century—was not universal but weighed on the lowest social classes within Christian society. By this measure Jews were now 'equalized down' to the level of the poorest Christian town-dwellers and peasants.

The authorities made their decision about Jewish military service just before the regulation went into effect in 1788.<sup>32</sup> The law inspired great panic and mass evasion of the first conscription. Military service for the Jews of the former republic was a completely new obligation, without any precedent in their community, and it awoke fear for religious reasons as well. Ritual law forbade Jews from wearing a uniform, eating food not prepared in accordance with *kashrut*, or working on Saturday. Besides this, the custom of early marriage among Jews meant that men eligible for the draft commonly had several offspring to provide for.

All these arguments were listed in extensive petitions, which Jewish representatives managed to present to the emperor, despite bureaucratic barriers. Joseph II did not, however, agree to release the Jews from military service. In a regulation of 1789 he granted them only limited relief, promising not to scatter Jewish recruits among several divisions (although most often they were delegated to providing transport) and allowing them to honour their Sabbath.<sup>33</sup>

The tendency to equalize the rights of Jews and Christians and to meld Jews into the general society, which was the principal concept behind the 1789 regulation, ultimately broke down when it came to taxation. There the Austrian government maintained separate taxes, differentiating Jews from the rest of society. Under the Polish republic, Jews had paid a per capita tax, at a rate settled by the

<sup>31</sup> In each land of the monarchy that was covered by this system, a census was first carried out (*Militärconscription*). After that, supported by the census data (that is, by the 'conscription books') and depending on the needs of the army, a specified number of recruits was demanded of each province. A compulsory draft ensued within the borders of the enlistment region (*Werbbezirk*, a subdivision of the province), and each such region then delivered the number of men needed to create one regiment.

<sup>32</sup> *Continuatio edictorum et mandatorum universalium* (1788), no. XLV, p. 86.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* (1789), no. XLVI, p. 48. Actually, in 1790 Leopold II permitted the payment of a tax in place of military service, but, as a result of the Napoleonic wars, obligatory military service was reinstated in 1804.

Silent Sejm of 1717,<sup>34</sup> as well as certain minor but numerous payments established by regional councils or imposed in private towns by their owners. In 1764 this system was reformed, and the per capita tax became a permanent duty.<sup>35</sup> The moment Galicia came under Austrian rule, taxes increased sharply. A *Kopfsteuer* (per capita tax) of one gulden per person was instituted. In 1776 *Schutz und Toleranzgebühr* ('protectionist' tax) was introduced, at a rate of four guildens per landowner, as well as a *Vermögenssteuer* (property tax) at the same rate. To this were added burdensome marriage taxes.<sup>36</sup> Joseph II altered this system twice, in 1784 and in 1789, owing to what he considered low revenues. The per capita tax disappeared. The new regulations maintained the protectionist tax (also known as the 'tolerance contribution'), together with a 'domestic' tax and marriage taxes, and replaced the luxury tax, which had not brought the imperial coffers the expected revenues, with a new tax on the consumption of kosher meat introduced on 1 November 1784.<sup>37</sup> Many times reformed, raised, and classified according to type of meat, this kosher meat tax brought the Austrian treasury considerable income—at great expense to the poorest levels of the ritually observant Jewish population. Like the subsequently introduced 'candle' or 'light' tax, which attested to the number of lamps and candles lit for holidays,<sup>38</sup> the kosher meat tax was tied to religious rules. These taxes exposed the lie implicit in the principles of the 1789 regulation that set aside the laws differentiating Jews from Christians.

There is no doubt that the Theresian–Josephine legislation, in spite of its inconsistencies, strongly affected the Jews of Galicia. Onto this people—who for generations had lived within a framework of old, modest, but generally respected privileges—fell an avalanche of rules that changed their legal status, limited their autonomy, raised their taxes dramatically, imposed military service, and interfered deeply even in the sphere of private life. In contrast to the much rarer legal changes during the period of the 'noble republic', a powerful administrative apparatus bolstered these legal amendments. It was difficult to evade the laws, dangerous to disobey them. Whereas Jews had previously enjoyed a distant, somewhat ineffective royal custody, or a closer, direct manorial one (from the 1600s many Jews administered and operated the latifundia of the magnates), they now lost that advantage. Instead, they were confronted by a district administration that rigor-

<sup>34</sup> This per capita tax was set on the principle of quotas from the various areas of Poland. Three provinces of the Crown—Wielkopolska (Greater Poland), Małopolska, and Rus'—were to pay 110,000 'sound Prussian currency', and this levy was allocated among the Jewish communities within each province. *Volumina legum* (Petersburg, 1860), vi. 289–90.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. vii. 44–50, 167–70. This tax was to be based on a newly mandated population census.

<sup>36</sup> Stöger, *Darstellung der gesetzlichen Verfassung*, ii. 77–8.

<sup>37</sup> *Continuatio edictorum et mandatorum universalium* (1784), no. LXXVI, pp. 224–9. At the same time, the *krupka*, that part of the fee for kosher meat consumption that was paid out for the needs of the Jewish community administration, was eliminated.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. (1797), no. XXXVI, pp. 52–9; (1798), no. LIII, pp. 84–5.

ously executed the new rules. Particularly difficult was the interference in the economic role Jews had enjoyed until then. Deprived of the possibility of leasing rights to distilleries and other rural industries, like milling, Jews were forced to leave the villages *en masse*, to relocate to the cities and towns, where, as competitors in trade and crafts, they were greeted reluctantly by the burghers and left to swell the ranks of the poor. The Jews did not embrace the alternative of agricultural labour.

Not everywhere, however, did the Theresian–Josephine legislation prove effective. As on many occasions before, legislative policy aimed at erasing the social and ethnic differences between Jews and gentiles did not achieve the intended results. Jewish behaviour, language, and customs remained unchanged. Less scattered than in Polish times, creating more populous if poorer settlements in the cities and towns, Jews could effectively thwart these pressures in spite of their subjugation to the control of the district and the significant weakening of their self-rule, and also in spite of the profound interference with their educational system and the obligation of military service, which was to serve as a tool of assimilation.

Most effective were the Germanization rules. The Jews obediently accepted the ‘German baptism’, the imposition of German-sounding surnames, and used them from then on. Jewish knowledge of the German language, which because of its similarity to Yiddish had been significant even before 1772, made great progress under Austrian rule. And Germanization facilitated worldly advancement: by 1789 Jews were free to take the doctor of law degree and to practise law. The eventual evolution of a significant Jewish intelligentsia enabled close contacts with centres in Prague and Vienna. It was no coincidence that the saying emerged among the Austrian intelligentsia that ‘Wir sind alle, mehr oder weniger, in Galizien geboren’ (‘More or less all of us were born in Galicia’).

But even here the goal of Joseph II, to make the Jews into an outpost of the Germanization of Galicia, was never achieved. In truth, German surnames did not automatically mean Germanization, but it did give these people, settled in Poland for generations while maintaining their separate identity, an even deeper foreign stigma among their Slavic neighbours. This contributed significantly to the widening gap between Jews and Poles, fostering Polish xenophobia, which fed as much on economic as religious undercurrents (although, thanks to an old tradition of tolerance, it did not take on forms as cruel as in many other countries). It was not until this point, and partly also as a result of conflict between Jews loyal to the Austrian invader and the more recalcitrant Polish middle class, that anti-semitism developed in Galicia. It also coincided with the development of national consciousness among the Ukrainian Galicians.

Joseph II did not succeed in his intentions, expressed in his 1789 regulation, to make Jews equal with the Christian subjects of the Habsburg monarchy. In a wide range of rulings—mainly, but not exclusively, tax assessments—as well as in the

daily practice of the whole government apparatus, economic, social, and legal discrimination lived on. Nevertheless, it guaranteed to the Austrians the loyalty of the Jews half a century earlier than they gained it from the landed gentry. While, as is accepted in academic circles, the general effectiveness of the Theresian–Josephine reforms was limited, their impact on the Jewish population was a great deal more pronounced.

*Translated from Polish by Jolanta Goldstein*



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# Ludwig Gumplowicz's Programme for the Improvement of the Jewish Situation

HANNA KOZIŃSKA-WITT

MOST scholarly works about the sociologist Ludwig Gumplowicz (1838–1909) address the ‘older Gumplowicz’, in the period after 1874, when he lived in Graz; what he accomplished before his late thirties is hardly ever taken into account. Yet Gumplowicz arrived in Graz a man of mature ideas, continuing to refine there a theory he had formulated much earlier in Kraków. His ‘Kraków oeuvre’ includes brochures and articles that appeared in various Polish magazines and in his own newspaper, *Kraj*, published in Kraków from 1869 to 1874.<sup>1</sup> In Kraków Gumplowicz was, at least for a while, part of several circles, while in Graz he was to live largely as a recluse; moreover, his time in Galicia was the only period when he was actively engaged in politics. Given these presumably deliberate changes in lifestyle, it seems likely that Gumplowicz would have called upon the experiences of his formative years in his later, more reflective period in Austria.

Gumplowicz's work for *Kraj* was particularly important because Kraków was ruled almost exclusively by conservative, clerical elements. The ideological battle between *Kraj* and *Czas*, the local conservative publication, clearly defined the paper's format. Opposition to the conservative newspaper was not easy but at least as chief editor and political essayist of *Kraj* Gumplowicz did not have to battle against democratic fractions within his own camp, as would have been the case in

This chapter is an expanded version of my article ‘Das Judenverbesserungs programm von Ludwik Gumplowicz in der Krakauer Tageszeitung *Kraj*’, *Archiv für die Geschichte der Sociologie in Oesterreich: Newsletter*, 9 (1993), 3–8.

The main sources for the chapter are articles by Ludwig Gumplowicz in *Kraj*, a daily newspaper published in Kraków from 1869 to 1874. I discuss *Kraj* in ‘The Emancipation of Galician Jews: Contributions to Positivism in the Daily Newspaper *Kraj*, 1869–1874’, Institute for Eastern European History, Tübingen University, MA thesis, 1988.

<sup>1</sup> By Gumplowicz's ‘Kraków oeuvre’ I mean all his works written up through 1874, even those published outside of Kraków. Brochures include: *Osiem listów z Wiednia* (Kraków, 1867); *Prawodawstwo polskie względem Żydów* (Kraków, 1867); *Konfederacja barska: Korespondencja między Stanisławem Augustem a Ksawerym Branickim łowczym koronnym w.r. 1768* (Kraków, 1872); *Stanisława Augusta projekt reformy żydostwa polskiego* (Kraków, 1875). See also his writings in *Dziennik Literacki* (Lviv) and *Jutrzenka* (Warsaw).

Lviv: there existed few democratic groups. Those democrats who disagreed with him lacked the strength to launch a publication of their own. Thus *Kraj* took on the task of gathering 'progressive' individuals from all over western Galicia to create a future liberal-democratic party.

Initially *Kraj* had aimed to popularize the democratic-nationalist platform of re-establishing Polish independence and creating a democracy, but when Gumplowicz became its chief editor, he made it a voice for positivism, in Poland an intellectual movement that went further than the democratic nationalists in daring to criticize the Polish past. To positivists society was an organism whose members had vital functions, and malfunction caused crises. The political demise of the Polish state was to be seen in this light, with the dominance of the *szlachta* over other social groups causing the collapse. They believed that they could lay the groundwork for future success by helping previously neglected social groups, such as the peasants and Jews, to develop their political roles through education and enlightenment, and through the economic and political opportunities that would follow emancipation. The small group of Kraków positivists particularly wanted to win over the Jews to their cause. By contrast, the Warsaw positivists, who were much more numerous and influential, wished first of all to win over the peasants. In both Kraków and Warsaw many positivists belonged to the intelligentsia that had developed from the *déclassé szlachta*.

Gumplowicz, a fervent radical, was clearly susceptible to such positivist ideas, if for no other reason than his own Jewish heritage. They frequently appear in his Kraków oeuvre, where *Kraj* articles often deal with Jewishness and the place of the Jews in Polish history and in the present.<sup>2</sup> Thus, *Kraj* became a voice for both the self-directed reflections of the *szlachta* and the self-criticism of the Reformed Jews. Although both views were to be found among Warsaw publications, they appeared side by side in one publication only in Kraków.<sup>3</sup>

It was in his Kraków period that Gumplowicz developed the basis for his scholarly world-view and for his thoughts about Jewish identity and its relation to the Christian world. That both his first and last works from this Galician period deal with Jewish identity shows how important it was for him. Like most of his contemporaries, Gumplowicz was extremely critical of the current 'Jewish situation'—that is, Jews' living conditions, their place in society, and their morals. Poverty, mismanagement, and disorder were bad enough, but even worse was the cultural and moral corruption of Polish Jews. They lived under the total control of the Jewish traditional élite and suffered from isolation, caused by many factors. *Kraj* sought to help improve the situation of the Jews in Galicia and in the rest of Poland, and devoted much space to the problem. The reform programme it published was closely tied to contemporary events, from the hope for work typical of

<sup>2</sup> The brochures cited in n. 1 all deal with this topic.

<sup>3</sup> The first group, *szlachta*, is represented by *Przegląd Tygodniowy* (1866–1905); the second, Polonized Jews, by *Izraelita* (1866–1915).

the years of contemplation following the January revolt of 1863–4 to the bitter disappointments after the first direct elections to the Austrian parliament. In the following paragraphs I present opinions on the Jewish situation as published in *Kraj*, but, since the articles are unsigned, the author—probably Gumplowicz—can only be deduced from the style.

The basis of Gumplowicz's theory was his vision of history, a vision shared by many of his contemporaries. He regarded history as an ongoing process in which progress spurred further development. In this process, which involved all nations and groups, one could identify certain phases by certain phenomena. For Gumplowicz, one such phenomenon was religion. Unlike individual faith, organized religion of any sort was merely an institutionalized, transitory sign of its own time, and would disappear under the pressure of reason. Judaism, in the form in which it existed at that time, shaped primarily by the long period of oppression, would meet the same fate. At first, in a period of progress and improved conditions, it would have to change, and then, because it lacked any real significance, it would disappear entirely. This model enabled Gumplowicz to explain the Orthodox and hasidic piety of the Jewish masses, as well as the reform attempts by the upper classes. The reformists were more in harmony with the intellectual climate of the times and therefore deserved praise, he believed, while Jews who espoused traditional forms that had been long out of date were irrational and superstitious. In the long term, any institutionalized religion would become a mere instrument of power if it resisted modernization; in the case of the Jews, it was the Orthodox rabbis who were resisting progress and thus delaying the inevitable course of events.

In his earlier writings Gumplowicz had expressed similarly pejorative views about the role of the Catholic Church, especially the Jesuits, in Polish history.<sup>4</sup> He held the Jesuits responsible for the fact that the Polish nation could not absorb the Jews and thus had to succumb to internal weakness: it had not found the strength it needed at the right moment. For tactical reasons his thesis, which ultimately blamed the church for the loss of Polish sovereignty, had to be toned down for a newspaper in such a clerical town as Kraków. He could write freely only about Orthodoxy and hasidism.

For Gumplowicz himself, Jewish identity could only mean ties to the Jewish religion. He denied that Jewishness could be a national identity: although such an identity had existed in the biblical past, it had disappeared over the centuries of Diaspora wandering. He thus fought for unconditional assimilation with the majority. He defined 'majority' as the national group predominant in the surrounding Christian society, not the national group represented by the government. In this regard he was probably influenced by the experiences of the 'stateless' nations of the multinational monarchy. Jews living in Poland should identify themselves as Poles and not Germans, even though German culture and Austrian

<sup>4</sup> L. Gumplowicz, *Prawodawstwo polskie względem Żydów* (Kraków, 1867).

politics had unquestionably been of great service to Galician Jews. Polish Jews, having long lived on Polish soil along with the Poles, were an integral part of Polish history whether or not they realized it. This alone obliged them to be Polish. In wishing to be Germans, they would only deliver themselves to German liberal elements and be exploited by foreign interests; it would not contribute to their own evolution, since they needed to assimilate in Poland, with the Poles. In fact, by identifying with the Germans, they would only further strain this Polish tie, as the Poles among whom they must continue to live would regard it as a betrayal.

According to *Kraj*, anyone who preached a special Jewish nationality was wrong and probably acted from egotistical, materialistic motives. Such a nationalist stance harmed the mass of Jews, who followed slogans blindly. It encouraged them to adhere to outmoded peculiarities and prevented them from integrating into their Christian environment. One of the worst and most persistent peculiarities was the Yiddish language, particularly dangerous because of its similarity to German. To Gumpłowicz, Yiddish was the corrupt product of slavery, and he linked it to the deterioration of the Jewish intellect. He maintained that the Orthodox rabbis found in Yiddish one of their most valuable means of control—and, indeed, that they regarded all Jewish idiosyncrasies as fertile soil for their own purposes.

*Kraj* fought against the point of view that equated Austrian liberalism with Jewish well-being and the Polish *res publica* with Jewish oppression. (Since the Austrian liberals had established real equality despite massive resistance from the Galician parliament, this idea had found support in the Austrian liberal press as well as among some Galician Jews.) The Poles were not solely oppressors, *Kraj* claimed; there were many friends of progress among them, but they could not influence politics because of political domination by obscurantist clergy of all faiths. Only when this obstacle was removed would progressive forces be able to shape an equitable reality. Rather than allowing foreign troublemakers to exploit them, the Jews should strive to improve their own situation by supporting those elements that would secure them at least tacit equality and thereby promote Jewish integration into the immediate society in which they lived. Such improvement could be brought about only by the liberals who thought in national terms, and whose point of view *Kraj* primarily represented.

In accordance with this view, Gumpłowicz sought parallels between the development of the Jewish population and that of other social groups. The development was to follow general rules and phases that, in his opinion, held true for every nation. Although the Jews were already experienced in this respect, their experience was rigid and outdated, and consequently it would be difficult to lead them in a new direction. They should not be expected to descend to an inferior, earlier phase of development such as farming, because they were too highly developed. Thus, unlike the Warsaw positivists, Gumpłowicz did not seek to 'improve'

the lot of the Jews by making them agrarians, but rather to elevate them morally, without asking them to relinquish their existing professional structure. Perhaps he felt that agricultural projects would only alter roles within society, not repair its faulty structure. He believed that the Jews' experiences would allow them to enter the predominant society as a closed group engaged in specific professions. They could thus fulfil a clear function that would complement and support the majority society. *Kraj* paid considerably more attention to educating and elevating the mind than to advocating concrete economic reforms (although Galicia's economic stagnation, with no chance to enact reforms, was seen as contributing to the overall problem) and the newspaper reported even the most insignificant initiatives that would help to civilize the Jews.

Who was to initiate and carry through the task of Jewish self-liberation? Gumplowicz assigned that important role to the small Jewish upper class. He praised those few individuals who had managed to break loose from the Jewish masses and raise themselves to a higher moral and financial level, likening their role to that of the progressive intelligentsia in Polish society. As the only aware, enlightened members of Jewish society, they were destined to lead. He had no doubt that their efforts would be supported by educated Christians, and that both these like-minded groups would be supported by the government. Government could contribute to the Jewish economy, and to Jewish morale, by passing regulatory measures and educational initiatives.

Supporting Gumplowicz's published opinions was the *koło polityczne*, a political circle that included the staff of *Kraj*. Through the activities of this group Gumplowicz hoped to mobilize the voting public in Kraków and convince them of the importance of Jewish social equality. As his share in this historic process, he participated in many pro-education committees, such as the Towarzystwo Oświaty Ludowej (Society for Elementary Education), and also sought election as Jewish representative on the city council. But he believed he should be supported by Christians as well as Jews, and that only his political platform, not his origin, should be the issue in an election. However, his campaign effort was hampered by the fact that he possessed neither popular ideas nor a charismatic personality.

Some of the policies *Kraj* supported were successful, especially when the city government, which was in favour of Polonization, supported the endeavours of those Jewish activists who were willing to assimilate. *Kraj* also contributed to reforms within the Jewish community, particularly the restructuring of communal administration to make it more 'modern' and logical. As a result of these efforts, the Reform synagogue became the real centre of religious life for the Reformed Jews of Kraków, and regular services and lectures were now held there.

But over time the programme advocated by the newspaper became less popular. An article in 1873 blaming Polish society for the partitions and the disappearance of the Polish state started the newspaper's gradual demise by causing many of the publication's nationalist readers to withdraw their support. Although the

conservatives in Kraków propagated the same idea, they were religious, aristocratic, and Polish. In the end Gumpłowicz gave up, sold *Kraj*, and left Poland.

However, the reasons why Gumpłowicz emigrated are complex. First of all, he had been academically unsuccessful in Poland, where the Jagiellonian University had rejected his dissertation on the grounds that it distorted Poland's past, although they considered it stylistically flawless. Secondly, and perhaps even more significant than the rejected dissertation, was the failure of Gumpłowicz's political aspirations for Polish Jews. While many Jews in Kraków seemed willing to Polonize, in general the Jews of Galicia, where many prominent Jews had supported Austrian liberalism and helped its electoral victory, were not. In addition, Gumpłowicz was disappointed by the Polish intellectuals, finding them unwilling to befriend Reformed Jews and relieve their social isolation. At most Poles might accept Jews as partners in political and public life, not as personal or family friends. Furthermore, even those Reformed Jews who had expressed a desire to assimilate into Polish life did not wish to break with Judaism. They sought a different society but not a life without religious connections.

Perhaps most disappointing of all for Gumpłowicz was that, while the wheel of events inevitably turned, it did so too slowly and was crushing his people in the process. He came to realize that Polish history without religion was unthinkable. Non-religious liberalism was suspect not only because of its German origin but also because of its animosity to religion. In Graz Gumpłowicz observed: 'For us, clericalism still has an important task to accomplish, possibly over the next hundred or two hundred years.'<sup>5</sup>

It was absolutely necessary for anyone who hoped to change the course of history in Kraków to understand this. Those who were serious about Polish liberalism went to Lviv, where progressive ideas were more readily accepted. Gumpłowicz preferred a complete break with Poland, however, and the advantage of Graz was that it offered him the chance to engage in scholarly activities. Although the mission he had set for himself still remained unfulfilled, he did not consider his beliefs mistaken. In Austria Gumpłowicz would work to develop and expand the ideas he had originally formulated in Kraków.

*Translated from Polish by Jolanta Goldstein*

<sup>5</sup> Letter to Dr Józef Zaleski dated 17 May 1901, Institute for Sociology, Graz, Archiv für die geschichte der Soziologie in Oesterreich, Konvolet Ludwig Gumpłowicz.

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# Enlightenment, Assimilation, and Modern Identity: The Jewish Élite in Galicia

JERZY HOLZER

THE traditional image of Galician Jewry around the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was of an uneducated and ignorant populace. Karl Emil Franzos captured this image with the term 'half-Asian' in the late nineteenth century. It is significant that Franzos was born in Volynia and grew up in the *shtetl* of Chortkiv. He subsequently moved to Bukovina and his experience of Jewish life in this region was derived from small towns, rather than from the larger urban centres, such as Lviv, Kraków, Brody, or Ternopil'.<sup>1</sup>

This image does not hold up under investigation. The records at the University of Vienna, particularly those of the faculty of medicine, present an entirely different picture. Although Jews were not admitted to the *doctorat* programmes in medicine or surgery or to the master of science programme in pharmacology until 1828, there was a way in through the back door and by 1817 the first Galician Jews had obtained master's degrees at Vienna in surgery and obstetrics. Records from before 1833 reveal at least thirty-eight Jewish Galician master's recipients, and two additional names are possibly Jewish.<sup>2</sup> While most of these individuals came from eastern Galicia, some were from western Galicia (but not from the republic of Kraków, which was then not part of Galicia and even had its own Polish university; it remains to be determined whether any Jewish medical students were enrolled there at the time). An especially large number came from Brody and somewhat fewer from Lviv. Several Jewish recipients of master's degrees at Vienna were born in the eighteenth century. The University of Vienna also awarded midwife diplomas to eleven Galician Jews prior to 1827. Most of these women had been born during the eighteenth century and came from Lviv. After 1828 the first Galician Jews received doctorates from the faculty of medicine; twenty had done so by 1838. At the same time the number of Galician Jews obtaining master's degrees declined from 1833.

<sup>1</sup> K. E. Franzos, *Der Pojaz. Eine Geschichte aus dem Osten* (Frankfurt, 1988), 1893 preface.

<sup>2</sup> University of Vienna Archives, Main Matriculation Register in Medicine, 1779–1833, film 20.

The data from Vienna indicate but a fragment of the entire number of secularly educated Galician Jewish academics and doctors. Biographical data for doctors in the Austrian army reveal that a substantial number of Galician Jews graduated from the universities of Lviv and Budapest as surgeons or obstetricians during the early decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Although the available information concerns army doctors alone, it may be assumed that some of these doctors (especially the obstetricians) maintained civilian practices as well. Non-medical academic disciplines were less accessible to and less popular among Jews. Youths with only a secular secondary education must nevertheless have outnumbered university students, especially in Lviv, Brody and Ternopil', all centres of Jewish secular learning. Medical studies were difficult and costly, and Jewish students were not well liked by either the Jewish or the Christian population.

This information provides some perspective on the failure of the first attempt, by Herz Homberg, to institute a German school system for Jews in Galicia. These schools were established through a regulation enacted in 1787, and over 3,500 children were enrolled in German-language Jewish schools by 1806, the year they were closed. Majer Bałaban's view of Jewish Galicia as culturally isolated seems extreme: 'Hasidim and mitnagedim [non-hasidic Orthodox Jews] have imposed their will,' he wrote in 1916; 'they have long isolated Galicia from the culture of the civilized world.'<sup>4</sup>

In spite of the resistance to secular education among Galician Jews, there were many within the community who wished to allow their children to profit from the new opportunities open to them. In 1813 a school with German as the language of instruction was established in Ternopil' with over 100 students. Two years later a German grammar school was founded in Brody. In 1820 approximately 300 Jewish children attended regular primary schools with Polish, Ukrainian, and Austrian German students. There are even records of Jewish children having enrolled in schools run by convents and churches. Finally, many biographies indicate the popularity of autodidacticism among Jewish youth. It would be difficult to compile statistics on all these types of education, but, they must have been important in such major centres as Brody, Lviv, and Ternopil' and possibly also in lesser towns such as Przemyśl, Zhovkva, and Biała.

Early Jewish secular education in Galicia was based on a distinctive interpretation of the Enlightenment in which German language and culture were unmistakable influences; Majer Bałaban writes that Jews 'secretly read Schiller and Lessing hidden inside volumes of the Talmud'.<sup>5</sup> It is thus interesting that this German-

<sup>3</sup> M. Frühling, *Biographisches Handbuch der in der k.u.k. Oesterreichisch-ungarischen Armee aktiven gedienten Offiziere, Ärzte, Truppen-, Technungsführer und sonstigen Militärbeamten jüdisches Stammes* (Vienna, 1911).

<sup>4</sup> M. Bałaban, *Herz Homberg i szkoły józefińskie dla Żydów w Polsce: Szkice i studia* (Warsaw, 1920), 236.

<sup>5</sup> M. Bałaban, *Dzieje Żydów w Galicji i w Rzeczypospolitej Krakowskiej, 1772-1868* (Lviv, 1916), 91.



oriented trend coincided with the rise of modern Hebraic culture. Although some educated Jews read scientific and literary works in the original German, Jewish enlighteners also translated German texts into Hebrew.<sup>6</sup> In fact, the most prominent figures from the first Galician generation of the Haskalah wrote mostly in Hebrew. Best known among these are Menahem Mendel Levin of Satanov (c.1750–1823), Nahman Krochmal (1785–1840), and Solomon Judah Leib Rapoport (1790–1867; known as Shir), who later became chief rabbi of Prague.<sup>7</sup> Hebrew texts probably served the contemporary Galician Jewish élite better than German works. In time even Yiddish adaptations appeared, serving to disseminate the culture of the modern Enlightenment in the scorned Jewish ‘jargon’ (*žargon*).<sup>8</sup>

The republic of Kraków enjoyed symbolic independence until becoming part of the province of Galicia in 1846, but the story of Jewish acculturation in Kraków is an integral part of the history of Galician Jewish acculturation to non-Jewish languages generally. (Following its incorporation in 1846 Kraków would join Lviv as a leader in Jewish cultural and social affairs.) By the early nineteenth century most of Kraków’s Jewish élite read German while also experiencing some Polish linguistic and cultural influences (unlike in Lviv and Brody, where Polish was less of an influence). Samuel Baum, an enlightened Jewish philosopher from Kraków, began to publish his works in Polish in 1810. A small number of Jewish children attended Polish parochial schools. In 1830 a Polish-language Jewish school was established, and a college and a business school for Jewish students followed several years later. By the late 1840s between 300 and 400 boys and girls attended these schools.<sup>9</sup> This enrolment was substantial for a Jewish community of no more than 12,000.

Gradually, the German language and a tendency towards cultural Germanization gained ground in Galicia and Kraków. German-oriented religious reformers were called Progressives, and later, by analogy with developments in Hungary, Neologs. Supporters of the Haskalah organized during the 1830s and 1840s and the first ‘Progressive’ synagogue in Galicia was established in Ternopil’, with others soon following in Kraków and Lviv. Sermons were given in German in many places: the Kraków synagogue was referred to as the German synagogue; the one in Lviv as the German Israelite temple.

The trend towards Germanization among the élite did not proceed unhindered. Joseph Kohen-Zedek, a preacher from Lviv who resided in London after

<sup>6</sup> See later translations of Schiller’s work, C. D. Lippe, *Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesamten jüdischen Literatur der Gegenwart* (Vienna, 1881), 410, 439, and 487.

<sup>7</sup> Max Weissberg discusses this topic extensively in a study that remains relevant: *Die neuhebräische Aufklärungsliteratur in Galizien* (Leipzig, 1898).

<sup>8</sup> Menahem Mendel Levin, the first Galician Haskalah philosopher, even translated sections of the Bible into Yiddish, N. M. Gelber, ‘Mendel Satanower der Verbreiter der Haskalah in Polen und Galizien’, *Mitteilungen für jüdische Volkskunde*, 1 (1914), 43, 50.

<sup>9</sup> W. Kalinka, *Galicja i Kraków pod panowaniem austriackim* (Paris, 1853), 96 ff.

1879, deliberately published his work in Hebrew, despite his affiliation with Haskalah philosophers.<sup>10</sup> Other Progressives also preferred to hold services in Hebrew. In Lviv Moritz Rappaport, a doctor and leading Progressive who wrote poetry in German and served as chair of the building committee for the city's Reform temple, stated: 'As long as I live, I will resist the mutilation of our prayer-books and the introduction of prayers in German.'<sup>11</sup> The common Jewish populace, for its part, preferred Yiddish sermons and reacted with concern and indignation to preaching in German. A different situation prevailed in Kraków, where young educated Jews demonstrated in favour of Polish in the synagogue. In Kraków, however, the Jewish intelligentsia started a German club during the turmoil of 1848, two years after Kraków became part of Galicia. This club catered to the spiritual and material interests of the 'Israelites', as 'most knew only German and spoke it daily'. (Strictly speaking, this statement applied exclusively to educated Jews; the others only spoke German in so far as Yiddish was considered a German dialect.) In any event, a few months later this so-called German club proclaimed its Polish patriotism.<sup>12</sup>

From 1848 on, the Polish influence on Jewish life was more noticeable in the political than the cultural sphere. This became especially clear in the statements of many Jews supporting the Polish uprising in Russian Poland in 1863. The pro-Polish view was controversial. *Neuzeit*, a Viennese journal linked with moderate Jewish reform, proclaimed indifference towards the Polish-Ukrainian conflict, in accordance with the opinion prevailing among the Jewish élite in Galicia, who identified with German or neo-Hebraic rather than Polish culture. Just around this time, however, Moritz Rappaport, feeling deeply moved by the unsuccessful uprising of 1863, wrote with Polonophile emotion: 'A love of fantasy from the Orient, and passion from the Slavs set my soul ablaze. . . . How nostalgia filled my heart at the soft moans of the Sarmatians [Poles], how the spirit rose heavenward at my father's wondrous utterances. . . . To be both a Pole and Jew is a double crown of melancholy.'<sup>13</sup> Sympathy for the Polish rebels was especially strong among the Jews of Kraków.<sup>14</sup> It is also significant that immediately after the defeat of the uprising, and later, after the rebels' release from exile, many Jewish participants emigrated to Galicia from Russian Poland.

The Hebrew, German, and Polish cultural influences all persisted throughout the final decades of the nineteenth century, although Yiddish remained identified with the uneducated. Nevertheless, the balance between the three factors shifted, with Polonization gaining ground. The main reason was the political transforma-

<sup>10</sup> M. Weissberg, 'Josef Kohn-Zedek, der letzte neohebräische Publizist der galizischen Haskala', *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, NS 15 (1911), 330, 347.

<sup>11</sup> M. Bałaban, *Historia Lwowskiej synagogi Postępowej* (Lviv, 1937), 21.

<sup>12</sup> Bałaban, *Dzieje Żydów w Galicji*, 161, and *Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, 1304-1866* (Kraków, 1936), ii. 681.

<sup>13</sup> M. Rappaport, *Bajazzo. Ein Gedicht* (Leipzig, 1863).

<sup>14</sup> N. M. Gelber, *Die Juden und der polnische Aufstand, 1863* (Vienna, 1923), 143 ff.

tion in Galicia. In 1867 the province had become autonomous under Polish rule and Polish was designated its official language.

Simultaneously, the size of the educated Jewish *élite* suddenly mushroomed. At the University of Vienna, for example, only four Galician Jews out of a total enrolment of 174 had attended the faculty of medicine, where Jews were most likely to study, during the winter semester of 1877; but over the next few years Jewish enrolment from Galicia increased in both absolute and relative numbers. By the winter semester of 1882 there were forty-eight Galician Jewish first-year students out of a total of 508. That same semester forty-three Galician Jews registered in the faculty of law out of an enrolment of 694.<sup>15</sup> Such figures reflect a rapid rise in overall enrolment but an even faster increase in the group of Galician Jews. These students were born in the 1860s and had attended school in the period of Galician autonomy. They came from all over the province but most were from the eastern part, especially Lviv and Brody. Many of them had distinctly Jewish first names and their fathers were even more likely to have Jewish first names than their offspring. (Jewish first names had been unusual among the few Galician Jews who studied in Vienna a half century earlier.) These students were thus the first educated generation of a much broader 'élite' than that represented by previous classes of medical students. Their fathers were merchants, entrepreneurs, and tenant farmers—barely from an educated background, let alone true academics.

The documents from Vienna suggest that Germanization was also crucial to the rising number of Jewish students. Most students reported German as their native language. These personal reports are difficult to interpret, however, as Yiddish was not an official language. Many students probably spoke Yiddish at home with their parents, most of whom had no secular education. The representative value of the Viennese data is also questionable. Jews who moved to Vienna for their studies might have been self-selecting individuals who identified more with German than Polish culture. To determine this, one would have to compare the Viennese records with the archives of the Polish universities in Kraków and Lviv. On the other hand, the two east Galician gymnasiums with the highest Jewish enrolments (the Fourth Gymnasium in Lviv and the one in Brody) retained German as the language of instruction. Another reason why some youths may have opted to pursue university studies in Vienna was family ties to the earlier, often rather Germanized, Galician Jewish migrants to the Austrian capital.

Nevertheless, the number of Galician Jews studying in Vienna decreased over the following years. Complementing that trend was a gradual increase in those Jews reporting Polish as their native language. Jewish disappointment at the surprisingly rapid rise of German, and especially Austrian, antisemitism may have dissuaded them from matriculating as well. Even contemporary Viennese

<sup>15</sup> University of Vienna Archives, Main Matriculation Register, 1882–1883, microfilm; *Nationale*, winter semester 1882–1883.

magazines opined that the Polish intelligentsia was more tolerant of Jews and Judaism.

Although the Hebrew-language culture of the Haskalah was declining, it remained significant. The previous sharp division between educated reformists and Orthodox and hasidim with no secular education ceased to apply in the final decades of the nineteenth century. From Orthodox circles there began to emerge theologians and even orientalists who wrote texts of scholarly value. Solomon Buber of Lviv (the grandfather of Martin Buber) was especially well known. He was highly respected among scholars of the Bible and of oriental studies throughout Europe.<sup>16</sup>

Neo-Hebraic literature in Galicia formed an important link between traditional religious and modern Zionist Jewish culture. To many educated Galician Jews, Hebrew was far from an obsolete religious language. Magazines from the late 1800s in Galicia, as well as in Russian Poland and other Jewish areas of the Russian empire, published original and reprinted Hebrew literature, including novels, poems, and plays. Hebrew texts about the natural sciences were also popular.<sup>17</sup>

A still greater change occurred around the turn of the century. As the wave of antisemitism reached Galicia, the worsening Polish–Ukrainian conflict in eastern Galicia made life especially difficult for the Jews.<sup>18</sup> But the ever-rising pitch of Austrian German antisemitism made a German Jewish identity thoroughly unappealing as well. Accordingly, Jews began to seek a modern, politically unassimilated identity through Zionism and other forms of Jewish nationalism.

The first groups of Galician Zionist youth spoke and wrote in Polish or German while considering Hebrew the Jewish language of the future. The function of neo-Hebraic culture as a link throughout Galicia facilitated its acceptance as part of the Hebrew-based Zionist cultural programme there more than in Germany and German Austria.

The general disapproval of the German and Polish populations for assimilation by the educated Jewish élite was a driving force behind Jewish nationalism. General European trends, which did not escape the attention of the Jewish élite, played an important role as well. The democratization and nationalism that swept across the continent also affected the Jews, and forced the Galician Jewish élites to establish contact with the masses. The masses already considered themselves primarily Jewish (in traditional and religious respects), but much of the élite needed to recapture its previously abandoned Jewish identity. Gradually, the

<sup>16</sup> The most popular German-language Jewish magazines in Vienna, *Die Neuzeit*, *Österreichische Wochenschrift*, and *Die Wahrheit*, frequently ran articles on this subject.

<sup>17</sup> C. D. Lippe, *Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesamten jüdischen und theologisch-rabbinischen Literatur der Gegenwart* (Vienna, 1899), i. 22, 53, 160, 219, 438.

<sup>18</sup> The urge to remain neutral became increasingly obvious among Galician Jews. 'Das Zünglein an der Waage', *Die Wahrheit* (16 Mar. 1906), no. 11, 4 ff.

Jewish populace of Galicia either combined or replaced its religious Jewish identity with a modern, national sense of Jewishness.

Hebrew-language Zionist culture became prominent among segments of the younger generation, but more symbolically than in fact. Part of the Jewish élite also embraced Yiddish culture for the first time in the modern era, especially the socialists, who sought to use it to reach the Yiddish-speaking Jewish proletariat. To appeal to the Jewish masses, the advocates of both Hebrew and Yiddish called for national Jewish autonomy.

But despite the new Jewish nationalist movements, the influence of Polish and German language and culture persisted among Jews. Young proponents of the new trends, such as Zionist historian Ignacy Schiper and the socialist economist Henryk Grossman, studied in Kraków and Vienna, for example, and both were fluent in both Polish and German. In short, the cries for linguistic and cultural adaptation to non-Jewish society coincided with a process of dissociation in politics, ideology, and the vision of the future.

The First World War, its aftermath, and the establishment of the Polish state were all turning-points for Jews and non-Jews alike. They did not, however, alter pre-war trends in Jewish cultural orientation.

*Translated from Polish by Gwido Zlatkes*

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# The Consequences of Galician Autonomy after 1867

JÓZEF BUSZKO

GALICIA received autonomy within the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1867, the same year the constitution was passed. The autonomy resulted from an agreement between two parties: the imperial government in Vienna and the Poles as represented by the major Galician landowners. In the constitutional era that followed, Galicia's Polish population enjoyed certain special rights. As a rule only a Pole could be marshal of the Galician nobility, just as, until 1915, it was only Poles who were appointed imperial governors. A Polish minister always sat in the cabinet in Vienna. There were also two cabinet seats in the Galician provincial government for people of Ukrainian nationality—a representative of the *Landeshauptmann* (chair of the regional diet) and a vice-president of the imperial governorship—but their influence was extremely small. The Ukrainians, not unjustly, accused the governors of pro-Polish, anti-Ukrainian attitudes.

The Ukrainian and Jewish populations together counterbalanced the Polish: in 1869 Galicia had approximately 5,450,000 inhabitants, of whom some 2,510,000 were Poles, 2,316,000 Ukrainians (Ruthenians), and 50,000 Germans and others. With such close numbers of Ukrainians and Poles, it is clear that the Jews with their 575,000, whether they wished to or not, determined the balance of power, resulting in a Jewish political role and in general political consequences that are not to be underestimated.

In 1869 Galicia had proportionally the largest Jewish population in the world outside the kingdom of Poland (which was 13 per cent Jewish), with Jews making up over 10.5 per cent of the total Galician population. Jews were both absolutely and relatively more numerous in eastern Galicia than in the western half. In absolute terms, in 1869 the number of Jews in the east was 428,000, almost three times as many as the 147,000 in the west. Also, the Jews constituted a higher percentage of the overall population in eastern Galicia; in 1869 they formed 12.4 per cent of the total population, which was 65 per cent Ukrainian and 22 per cent Polish. In western Galicia Jews were only 7.5 per cent of the

The names of organizations mentioned in this chapter are spelt as transcribed in the period under discussion.

population, beside 88.2 per cent Poles and approximately 4 per cent Ukrainians and Germans.<sup>1</sup>

When autonomy was first granted, several Polish political groupings could be distinguished in Galicia. A Polish conservative group pursued a utilitarian policy of *realpolitik*. Its leader in the regional diet was Count Agenor Gołuchowski, who for tactical reasons partly supported Jewish demands for equality. This group strove to form a decisive Polish–Jewish majority in Galicia, to outweigh the Ukrainians. Consequently, any antisemitism its members felt was carefully masked. A young-conservative group in Kraków, friendly to the Jews in the regional diet, was supported by the Austrian-oriented ‘Black-Yellows’. Two of its leading politicians, the renowned Polish historian and writer Józef Szulski and Count Stanisław Tarnowski, condemned the anti-Jewish decrees of the Lviv municipal council and the regional diet and called for a solution of the Jewish question along liberal lines. In the regional diet this group often acted in favour of the Jews.

The Podolian nobility (the Podolaks) formed a special group among the conservatives. The Podolaks’ economic and national antagonism toward the Ukrainian peasantry created a fanatical conservatism, often bordering on obscurantism. The type of chauvinism regarding the Ukrainian question in the diet was also noticeable in discussion of the Jewish question. From this group (and in later times from the Partia Wszechpolska—Polish National Democratic party, the ‘All-Poland’ party) came the strongest opponents of Jewish and Ukrainian equality with Poles.

The number of Liberal Democratic representatives in the regional diet was relatively small. In 1869 the Liberal club numbered some forty members, including all four Jewish representatives, who characterized themselves as Jewish Poles (or ‘Poles of the Mosaic faith’). The club’s programme supported equality of all faiths and nationalities. These organizations were not very long-lived however.<sup>2</sup>

The Polish struggle with the Ukrainians dominated the foreground of political discussion. Every month and every year brought new Polish–Ukrainian conflicts. For their part, the Ukrainians consistently took an anti-Jewish position. Perhaps it was natural that they displayed the same callous attitude towards the Jews they had learned in their struggle for existence against the Poles. They saw the Jews as a foreign body, a threat to their young national unity, which was still very weak. But the opposition of Ukrainian politicians to the Jews also had a strong social foundation; as the children of peasants, they saw the Jews as merchants or money-lenders, and therefore the exploiters of the Ukrainian people.

<sup>1</sup> T. Pilat, *Wiadomości Statystyczne o stosunkach Galicji* (Lviv, 1869), i, ii; F. Bujak, *Galicja* (Kraków, 1908–10), ii, 205; F. Friedmann, *Die galizischen Juden im Kampfe um ihre Gleichberechtigung, 1848–1868* (Frankfurt, 1928), 3; P. Wróbel, *The Jews of Galicia under Austrian Polish Rule, 1869–1918*, *Austrian History Yearbook*, 25 (Houston, Tex., 1994), 97–138.

<sup>2</sup> W. Feldman, *Geschichte der politischen Ideen in Polen seit dessen Teilungen, 1795–1914* (Munich, 1917), 115, and *Stronnictwa i programy polityczne w Galicji* (Kraków, 1908), i, ii, 361.

The Ukrainian leadership, at that time the Ukrainian priests of the Lviv metropolitanate, had established the St George Party, which considered the Ukrainians part of the Russian nation. The Ukrainian national movement that arose in the 1860s countered this Russophile position, and the influence of the Russian-oriented politicians gradually waned in favour of the nationalist and socialist-radical groups.<sup>3</sup>

In 1867 a new regional diet was chosen in Galicia. In its first two sessions of 18 February–2 March 1867 and 22 August–10 October 1868 the diet deliberated over whether to recognize the legal equality of the Jews. Only the Jewish representatives and the Liberals sought complete Jewish equality with the other citizens, viewing it as one of the regional diet's most important tasks. During the debate on 30 September 1868 the leader of the Liberals, Franciszek Smolka, said: 'There has been and there will be no more important question since 1848, when the question of compulsory labour service for the peasants was solved. There is no situation that enters so deeply into our national and social relationships as the Jewish question, whose successful solution in the spirit of freedom and unrestricted equality will guarantee the well-being of our future.' In his next speech Smolka went further, characterizing the granting of equality to the Jews as a sacred national obligation that the last four-year Polish imperial diet (the Sejm of 1788–92) had imposed on the coming generations. He declared: 'The national spirit has assigned to us the completion of this, its last request.'<sup>4</sup> The Jewish representatives to the regional diet—members of the thin stratum of the Polish-assimilated Jewish intelligentsia—always supported the Polish nationalist parties in general matters. In addition, they were openly enthusiastic about Polish nationalism.

Negotiations about city statutes opened the door to the general debate about the Jewish question. The conservative side had reservations about unrestricted Jewish participation in the municipality. First, they argued, the local Jewish boards of education would see to the special concerns of Jews, but there would be no corresponding purely Christian authority; rather, special Christian matters would be handled by the municipal council. If the Jews were to enter the municipal council, they would participate in debates that dealt with specifically Christian issues—and, if they formed the majority, they would even make decisions about them. Meanwhile, all exclusively Jewish questions would remain outside the jurisdiction of the municipal council and be reserved to the Jewish local boards of education, which would continue to exist. This would be an intolerable injustice. In addition, certain Polish national interests determined the stance of the conservative nationalist Poles: they feared for the Polish character of

<sup>3</sup> Feldman, *Stronnictwa i programy polityczne w Galicji*, 380, and K. Levytskyj, *Istoria politychnoy o dumku hałytskyth Ukraintsv, 1848–1914* (Lviv, 1926), i, ii, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> *Mowy z dnia 30 września 1868 i z 8 października, 1868* (Lviv, 1869); *Protokoły stenograficzne Sejmu Królestwa Galicji* (Lviv, 1869). Speeches of 30 Sept. and 8 Oct. 1868 in Stenographic Records of the Galician Regional Diet. The minutes of these two meetings also appeared in German translation in a separate printing (Lviv, 1868).



most Galician cities if Jews entered the municipal organizations, and, as was to be expected from their proportion of the urban voters, formed the majority. The Poles wanted to counter this danger by means of restrictions.

Soon after the final approval of the individual municipal statute, however, all these restrictions were rendered irrelevant by the new constitutional laws of 1867, which abolished them. A government bill was drawn up and presented to the Galician governor. The bill had to be accepted; otherwise, contrary to the will of the regional diet, the government would have been forced to eliminate the Jewish restrictions, which were incompatible with the spirit of the new constitutional laws. As this was clearly understood in Galicia, the opponents of the Jews could not be too obstinate. But they did not abandon their position without a fight; in a crucial discussion of the Jewish question that lasted two days, the Podolaks and Ukrainians threw all their passion into the debate. Other speakers—Włodzimierz Gniewosz, Smolka, and the Jewish representatives—viewed the question more from the Polish nationalist standpoint. Smolka spoke last. In a previous speech he had pleaded for the granting of equality to the Jews, connecting it to Polish national interests. Now he presented a historical survey of the Jews' relationship with the Polish state and concluded (according to historian Filip Friedmann) with these words:

This is how we view the Jewish question, which appears to be so complex; we do not know how to approach it, and yet it is so easy. We will solve it, as they say, by the honest granting of equality in practice.

We do not want to delay; we are not seeking any artificial, mystical means for solving the Jewish question; we are writing no thick, obscure legal books, and if we are still not right before the law, if we do not intend to be good politicians, we are at least honest Christians, and we will not do to the Jews what we do not wish to be done to us. Therefore, gentlemen, let us pass the proposal once more without haggling and without amendments.<sup>5</sup>

The house loudly applauded Smolka's speech. All present, with the exception of four representatives, agreed that the proposal just presented by Count Gołuchowski should be accepted in the committee report of the regional diet. 'More Catholic than the Pope', Friedmann writes, the regional diet now passed a 'request for the government to remove all the former provisions concerning the special position of the Jews'.<sup>6</sup> The committee proposal (actually the government proposal) that the regional diet accepted, which eliminated all anti-Jewish restrictions of the municipal statute, became law on 19 November 1868.

After the removal of the final restrictions on the Jews, a group of Jewish leaders suddenly changed their pro-Polish policy. The reorientation became clear at the time of the first direct imperial-diet elections in 1873, when the Jews created an

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> F. Friedmann, 'Die Judenfrage in galizischen Landtag', in *Monatschrift für Geschichte des Judentums*, 72 (1927), 473.

independent campaign organization closer to the Ukrainians than the Poles. The immediate reason for this change was the intervention of the central government with the Galician authorities on behalf of the Jewish cause. Vienna's action accelerated the settlement of the matter. It must be emphasized, however, that in general, especially in the period 1848–70, liberal centralism and German culture found relatively strong support within the Jewish community. This Jewish support may be attributed to the effects of the Viennese government's Germanization policy (from the end of the 1700s to the start of the constitutional era), on the one hand, and the German-influenced tradition of the Haskalah, with its centres in Berlin and Vienna, on the other. Vienna also furnished funds to the growing political activity among the Galician Jews. The focus of the activity was the Schomer Israel (Guard of Israel) in Lviv, which developed a political wing and gravitated towards the German centralists. Schomer Israel was especially active in 1873, when it made a formal electoral alliance with the Ukrainian candidates representing similar centralizing, anti-autonomy tenets, in order to counter the nationally minded Polish candidates.<sup>7</sup>

This new pro-Ukrainian Jewish political orientation was shortlived, however, because it came under fire from a considerable segment of the Jewish intelligentsia.<sup>8</sup> In the next election period, 1879–85, the Jewish leaders had already given up their separatism from the Poles as well as their alliance with the Ukrainians and with the (Liberal) Constitutional Party in the parliament. From then on they loyally supported the Poles, and almost all the Jewish representatives (with the exception of Nathan Kallir of Brody) belonged to the Polish club and ran as its candidates. Although tactical alliances between Jews and other national groups were a feature of Habsburg politics, there is no other period of similarly uninterrupted collaboration with the dominant nationality in the history of the non-German crown lands.

To a great degree the Jews' pro-Polish stance was due to the Polonization of the Galician school system, which took place in the 1860s, especially in the secondary schools and universities. As the first Jewish generations emerged from the special Polish-language secondary schools for Jews, which had been begun under the enlightened Jewish intelligentsia, the influence of Polish culture among Jews also grew. In the 1860s and 1870s, when the number of secondary-school and university youth educated in the Polish spirit became larger, Polish-oriented Jewish assimilation gradually began to crowd out the earlier Germanophile orientation. The Jewish Poles developed the means of intensive propaganda, in the form of

<sup>7</sup> Feldman, *Stronnictwa polityczne*, ii. 274.

<sup>8</sup> The Polish-assimilated Jewish intelligentsia did not approve of this policy. One of its chief representatives, the former regional-diet representative Szymon Samelson, sent to the Jewish central committee on 17 July 1875 a letter in which he rejected these centralizing tendencies as a Polish patriot. Albert Mendelsburg, the fifth Jewish Galician representative to the imperial diet, whom the Kraków chambers of commerce and trade had delegated, also turned to the Polish club. Friedmann, 'Die Judenfrage', 475.

newspapers, pamphlets, and associations. An assimilationist movement arose, represented by Agudas Achim, to propagate the ideas of 'fraternization' between Jews and Poles; that is, Jewish involvement in Polish political, economic, and cultural life, and the Polonization of the Jews, while at the same time they would retain the Jewish religion. From this movement came many prominent politicians, cultural leaders, and scientists, such as Nathan Loewenstein, Tobiasz Aschkenase, Jonas Fraenkel, Wilhelm Feldman, and many others.<sup>9</sup> As Friedmann stresses: 'So many of the Polonized Galician Jews experienced the romanticism of the Polish struggle for freedom and the ordeal of the Polish people very deeply, as is shown not only by the poetry of Moses Rappaport, the activity of a Gumpłowicz, Oettinger, or Meisels, but also by the number of the Jewish participants from Galicia in the Polish uprising of 1863, and many other things.' (Much later, there is evidence of the participation of Polish Jewish youth in the Polish paramilitary movement before 1914 and in the battles of the Pilsudski legions during the First World War.)

In time the Polonization process affected 'almost the entire intelligentsia and a part of the middle class' (in Friedmann's words). However, Friedmann stresses, 'it did not penetrate the lower social strata'.

The spark of Jewish nationalism glowed deeply within the emotions of the Jewish masses. This national feeling was expressed in connection with religious events. The Holy Land and the sacred language remained the unbreakable bonds. *Halukah* gatherings and emissaries from Palestine wove the invisible threads, attachment to the old literature and keen interest in the new Hebraic literature had not let the old language disappear.<sup>10</sup>

Polish-Ukrainian relations took a very different course and were marked by an intense national struggle. In the 1870s and 1880s the Ukrainian national movement grew so strong that the Ukrainian nationalists succeeded in seating some of their representatives in the regional diet despite heavy pressure from the Poles and election officials. Their leader was Julian Romanchuk, who reached an agreement with Governor Kazimierz Badeni shortly after he took office: the Polish-Ukrainian agreement of 1890. In it Romanchuk proclaimed national Ukrainian separateness on the one hand, and fealty to the Catholic religious union and political loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty on the other. Governor Badeni helped the new Greek Catholic metropolitans Sylvester Sembratovych and Andrei Sheptytsky to break away from Russian influences in the consistory court of St George's Church, so that the Lviv metropolitan curia became a stronghold of Ukrainian nationalism.

Also as a result of the agreement with Badeni, the Ukrainian philologist Aleksander Barvinsky joined the regional board of education, which proceeded to

<sup>9</sup> J. Zdrada, 'Wybory sejmowe i parlamentarne, 1861-1889', in *Annual Report of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków*, 1973 (Wrocław, 1974), 78; Feldman, *Stronnictwa polityczne*, ii. 273.

<sup>10</sup> Friedmann, *Galizischen Juden*, 210-11.

carry out a major language reform. Russian and Old Church Slavonic words were purged from Ukrainian, Ukrainian spelling broke from the Russian, and phonetic spelling was introduced. The Shevchenko Cultural Society in Lviv became a centre for scholarly work on Ukrainian history and literature.<sup>11</sup>

Another important cultural moment for the Ukrainians was the appointment of the Ukrainian historian Mykhaylo Hrushevsky from Kiev to the university in Lviv, where in 1894 he began delivering lectures that were to become the focus for the scholarly Ukrainian movement up to the beginning of the First World War. This scholarly movement succeeded in spreading the designation 'Ukrainian' to refer to that part of Galicia instead of the term 'Rus'ki' (Ruthenian), which was still in use at the beginning of the twentieth century. Despite strong protests by Polish nationalists and Russophiles, the new term gained currency. In the struggle for national consciousness, the word 'Ukrainian' played an important role, since 'Rus'ki' suggested 'Russian' (in Ukrainian as well as in Russian): the minute difference between 'Rus'ki' (Ruthenian) and 'Russki' (Russian) frequently led to identification of these Ukrainians with Russians.

The Ukrainian nationalists (also called National Democrats) represented mainly the well-to-do strata of peasants. Their views did not reflect the aspirations of poor villagers or of the Ukrainian proletariat, which was just developing. The spontaneous development of a peasant movement, together with the acceptance of the educational activity of Ukrainian youth (influenced by radical and revolutionary currents), caused a social radicalization of political views among Galician Ukrainians. Leading this agitation were two writers and social activists, Ivan Franko and Michał Pawlik, who for a number of years publicized the common interests of the Polish and Ukrainian masses in their class struggle against the Polish conservatives and the nobility.

In the 1890s Ukrainian nationalism entered a new phase with the foundation of the Ukrainian Social Radical Party and the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party. The Radicals, who opposed ethnic hatred, formed active contacts with members of the Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (Polish Peasant Party) and proclaimed the need for Ukrainian and Polish peasants to collaborate in the struggle against the great landowners and governments.

The two socialist-radical peasant parties distanced themselves from the anti-semitism that populist Christian-socialist groups spread among the rural population. In 1898 the election campaign of the Christian populists, headed by the priest Stanisław Stojałowski in the Nowy Sącz district, led to violence. Riots against the Jewish population broke out in many villages in the six Carpathian districts, and the governor had to declare a state of emergency.<sup>12</sup>

Any discussion of turn-of-the-century ethnic relations in Galicia must also mention the position of the Galician Social Democrats. The Galician Social

<sup>11</sup> Levytskyj, *Istoria politycznoy dumku*, ii. 239–40.

<sup>12</sup> Feldman, *Stronnictwa polityczne*, ii. 121, 247.

Democratic Party, formed in 1890 as an offshoot of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, initially represented the proletariat of all three nationalities inhabiting Galicia: Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews. But heavy support from the majority of the Poles and some of the Polonized Jewish intelligentsia gradually induced the Galician Social Democratic party to become a 'Polish' party. In 1897 it changed its name to the Polish Social Democratic Party of Galicia and Silesia (PPSD). At the same time (1897-9) the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party was established in Galicia while separatist tendencies also became apparent among its Jewish members. These tendencies gradually sharpened until they finally led to a Jewish Social Democratic Party splitting off from the PPSD at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Ignacy Daszyński, a Pole who had become the most important leader of the Galician Social Democrats, strongly advocated the 'Polish' character of the PPSD. 'From the decision of the Brussels Conference', he argued, 'one can see that socialism can certainly be established not only on the level of humanity, but also on that of an individual nation.' He added, 'We intend to struggle, as did the nobility in earlier times, in order to win the freedom of Poland, but on the basis of the guiding principle of socialism.'<sup>13</sup>

Posing the Polish question made it necessary to take a stand on the Ukrainian and Jewish questions. Daszyński maintained that the Ukrainian question was similar in nature to the Polish one, and civil equality could not completely solve it. It had to be addressed from a broader perspective, through the liberation and unification of the fractured Polish nation within the framework of independent statehood. And, in Daszyński's opinion, the call for absolute determination of the boundaries between Polish and Ukrainian lands would make it impossible to maintain a common Social Democratic Party organization.

Daszyński treated the Jewish community as a separate nationality, much as contemporary socialist literature did. He did not, however, advocate forming a separate, nationally based socialist organization for the Jews, as he did for the Polish and Ukrainian workers' movements. Instead, he strongly supported the formation of joint Polish-Jewish political, trade union, and even cultural organizations by the workers of both nations. He believed the Jewish question would be solved neither by complete assimilation nor by emigration but by raising the Jewish working masses out of their cultural and economic backwardness through the common struggle of Polish and Jewish socialists, united by their common organizations as well as by complete civil equality. Daszyński also opposed the founding of a separate Jewish organizational committee. It is noteworthy that this opinion (which he would later reverse) was shared by the overwhelming majority of the Jewish party activists, who were very much under the sway of Polish culture.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Naprzód* no. 2, 15 Oct. 1892.

<sup>14</sup> J. Buszko, *Ruch robotniczy w Zachodniej Galicji, 1848-1918* (Kraków, 1978), 228.

In the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century, the national consciousness of broad masses of people living in Galicia continued to intensify. Among the Jews Zionism began to expand in the 1880s and 1890s as a current opposed to assimilation. It came to Galicia from Vienna, where the newspaper *Selbstemanzipation* and the Kadimah academic association had begun to popularize it. The society Hovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion) was founded in Lviv in 1887. It united many Jewish students, who began to travel to provincial centres, organize lectures, and hold ceremonies in honour of the Maccabees and other historical Jewish figures. Publication of the newspaper *Przyszłość* began at the same time; it advocated the struggle to expand and intensify Jewish consciousness and the future rebuilding of a Palestinian homeland for all Jews. To hasten the goal of a Jewish homeland, the Galician Zionists founded the group Ahavat Zion (Love of Zion), and in 1898 attorney Abraham Salz bought land in Palestine from philanthropist banker Baron Rothschild to begin a 'Galician' colony called Machnayim (Camp), headed by Bromberg, a Polish Jewish writer. The 1895 publication of *Der Judenstaat*, Theodor Herzl's seminal book, gave new impetus to Zionism among Galician Jews. Herzl decided to break with partial colonization (Machnayim was dissolved) and called for a larger-scale movement to create expanded, politically autonomous colonies. Although part of the Jewish population accepted his idea enthusiastically, among the hasidim, who believed in direct intervention by God, it met with disapproval.<sup>15</sup>

In fact, most Jews were not Zionists in this period. The Party of Independent Jews founded by Adolf Gross in Kraków in 1900, for example, was based on neither Zionism nor assimilation but on radical principles of democracy. At the time of the election campaigns of 1901 and 1902, in the name of true democracy, this prominent speaker succeeded in winning over the Jewish masses to his candidacy (with support of the Jewish and Polish socialists), against the chairman of the *kahal*, who was linked with the Polish Conservative Party. The organization of the Party of Independent Jews—independent of the ruling party but also of assimilation and Zionism—took shape from these election campaigns. Its programme demanded a radical democratization of the country as well as actual emancipation and equality for Jews. Steeped in humanism, the programme opposed both the complete assimilation of the Jews and their medieval-style segregation in ghettos. The Folkists, a liberal Jewish nationalist group, also developed at the beginning of the twentieth century, but at that time it played a small role.

The Ukrainian national movement consolidated in the last years of the nineteenth century with the National Democratic Party at its head. The party brought together the majority of the intelligentsia, clergy, craftsmen, merchants, and richer peasants. In its programme for the future it advocated uniting all Ukrainians of the entire Austro-Hungarian monarchy in a separate province with its own regional diet and administration. An inevitable consequence would be the

<sup>15</sup> Feldman, *Stronnictwa polityczne*, ii. 268.

division of Galicia into Ukrainian and Polish sections. This movement worked for the partition of all Galician regional administrative bodies along national lines, with separate seats in Lviv and Kraków, for the introduction of Ukrainian as an official language of internal administration, and for the democratization of state and regional institutions. Economically, the party promoted land purchase by peasants under conditions favourable to them. On issues of culture and education the National Democrats advocated the compulsory teaching of Ukrainian in all schools in ethnically Ukrainian areas (including the Polish and German schools) and the founding of a Ukrainian university in Lviv. They emphasized unity with those Ukrainians under Russian rule and support for their aspirations to transform Russia into a constitutional federal state. In its propaganda activities the party used nationalist slogans and proclaimed the need to expel all Poles 'beyond the San'. It also expressed antisemitic inclinations.

At the core of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (UPSD), on the other hand, was the left-wing group of the Radical Party (Roman Yaroshevich, Sem'on Vityk, Ostop Terletsky). The activity of the UPSD broadened only in the first years of the twentieth century. This party, led by Mikolay Hankeivich, worked actively with Polish and Jewish socialists. It had greatest influence among agricultural workers and organized major strikes in 1902 and 1903. In general, the increasingly prominent role of all Ukrainian separationist parties at the start of the century led to the adoption of the slogan *samoistiyniia Ukraina* (independent Ukraine), supporting the creation of an independent Ukrainian state with eastern Galicia as its 'Piedmont'.<sup>16</sup>

The Russophiles continued to have a certain number of adherents, who were subsidized from within Russia. The Russko-Narodnaya Party, sharply distinguished from the other Ukrainian parties, challenged the idea of an independent Ukrainian nation. It did not recognize a distinct Ukrainian language and culture, and it also resisted radical movements in the villages. In its press and publications, published in what the authors intended to be Russian, it idealized the social and political order of tsarist Russia. The Russophiles promoted the creation of a special crown land from Galicia and Bukovina, beginning with the partition of Galicia into Polish and Ukrainian parts. They also sought tax reforms favouring the peasants. In their vision any future Galicia would be joined with Russia. Their opposition to the nationalist Ukrainian movements and to the nationalist-inspired agricultural strikes appealed to the sympathies of both the Polish National Democrats and the Podolaks and naturally pitted them against the nationalist Ukrainians.

The beginning of the twentieth century saw a further polarization among the three nations living in Galicia. Radical political parties arose whose social and national stances diverged drastically, further complicating ethnic relations. Also affecting events in Galicia were such factors as the increase in political activity (as in the struggle over parliamentary and regional-diet electoral reform), the

<sup>16</sup> K. Levitskyj, *Ukrainy polityky* (Lviv, 1936-7), and *Istoria politychnoj dumku*.

revolutionary events within Russia in 1905–7, and finally the international polarization heralded by the Bosnian crisis in 1908 with the subsequent Balkan wars and the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo. The looming threat of armed conflict between Austria–Hungary and Russia accelerated the crystallization of the Ukrainian groups' positions and their political orientations towards one of the two states. It also affected the nationalist progress of Galicia's Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians.

During the imperial-diet debate on electoral reform in December 1905, the leader of the Ukrainian club proposed the formation of a separate Jewish electoral curia. The Zionists, the Folkists, and certain Jewish socialists campaigned to implement this proposal, while the Polish club, Polish Social Democratic Party (PPSD), Orthodox Jews, and representatives of Jewish communities strongly opposed it. The Zionists, above all, promoted the recognition of an independent Jewish nationality.<sup>17</sup>

After the imperial-diet elections of 1907 there were nine Jews in Parliament: three Zionists, three members of the Polish club, two of the PPSD, and one of the Independent Party. Three Zionist representatives from Galicia, together with the one elected in Bukovina, formed the first Jewish club in a European parliament. They consolidated the struggle for national rights and for the recognition of Yiddish as the Jewish national language.

The next act in the struggle for Jewish national rights was played out in the new parliamentary elections in 1911. In an effort to win over Jewish conservatives and the Orthodox rabbis, the new governor, Michał Bobrzyński, abolished civil regulation of rabbinic certification (such as the required matriculation examination). He succeeded. The Zionists suffered defeat in 1911. Of the ten Jewish parliamentarians, six belonged to the Polish club, two to the PPSD, and one was an independent democrat. In part the result can be explained by the tragic events in the Drohobych election district, where a Zionist and an assimilationist, Nathan Loewenstein, contended for the same seat. Election abuses so irritated the Jewish voters that a large group of them attacked and demolished Loewenstein's campaign office, then moved on to the headquarters of the election commission. The police and their military support fired on the crowd; in addition to the many wounded in front of the election headquarters, twenty demonstrators were killed.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The non-recognition of the Yiddish language, together with the simultaneous predominance of Polish-language education (especially in secondary schools and universities), fundamentally changed the situation in Galicia in favour of Polish, as the following statistics show. In the year 1880, according to an official census in Galicia, by religion there were 2,689,004 Roman Catholics, 2,516,512 Greek Catholics, 685,942 Jews, and 36,077 Evangelicals. As the census shows, approximately half of Galician Jews gave German as their mother tongue. However, by 1910 808,000 Jews gave Polish as their mother tongue, only 26,000 gave German, and 22,000 Ukrainian. T. Pilat, *Podręcznik statystyki Galicji* (Lviv, 1911–13); Friedmann, *Die galizischen Juden*, 206–7.

<sup>18</sup> F. Friedmann, 'Dzieje Żydów w Galicji, 1772–1914', in *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej* (Warsaw, 1932), 396–9.



Simultaneously, Polish–Ukrainian relations started to deteriorate. The election reform enacted by the Vienna parliament in 1907, introducing universal, equal male suffrage, accelerated the process. The number of Ukrainian representatives consequently increased, and of 106 Galician representatives, thirty-four were now Ukrainians. Although their representation was less than their actual fraction of the population, they still had enough votes to make their voice heard.

The electoral process to the Galician regional diet had previously been very unjust to the Ukrainians. Activists of the Polish central election committee were cunning, powerful, and corrupt. Ballots were sold as a commodity and for a high price. The complex curial electoral system and the public ballot-casting facilitated electoral abuses; the autonomous agencies compounded the irregularities. The protests of the Ukrainians were unsuccessful. In 1861 there were forty-nine Ukrainians in the regional diet, as compared to 101 Poles. Immediately after the Polish takeover the number of Ukrainian representatives sank to twelve; after the central government intervened, it rose to twenty-one. The regional-diet elections of 1895 seated only seventeen Ukrainians. During the imperial-diet elections of 1897 eight people were killed, twenty-three wounded, and over 800 arrested in the Ukrainian area of Galicia. Ignacy Daszyński held Count Badeni and the head of the electoral committee, Count Wojciech Dzieduszycki, responsible.<sup>19</sup>

Undoubtedly the parliamentary elections of 1907, followed by the regional-diet elections at the beginning of 1908, fed the deterioration of inter-ethnic relations in eastern Galicia. To eliminate, or at least significantly weaken, the nationalist Ukrainian opposition, the ruling Polish circles tried another trick: at the urging of the current governor, Andrzej Potocki, the government bureaucracy in Galicia supported the Russophiles, who denied the existence of a distinct Ukrainian people. The Russophiles committed numerous electoral abuses and gained many seats in the regional diet—at the cost of nationalist Ukrainian representation. The Ukrainians viewed this policy as a provocation; Miroslav Sichynsky, a Ukrainian student, shot and killed the governor, an incident that poisoned the political atmosphere for a long time.

The aggravation of relations between Austria–Hungary and Russia moved the government in Vienna, and most Polish political parties in Galicia, to try harder to reach a Polish–Ukrainian understanding. The government believed that alleviating the national animosities in Galicia—on the part of not only the conservatives in Kraków (Stańczyks) but also a number of other Polish, Jewish, and Ukrainian parties—would lay the ground for a unified pro-Polish, anti-Russian Ukraine. As a result of these considerations, the ruling circles decided to name as the new governor Michał Bobrzyński, a conservative of the ‘Kraków school’ who supported a settlement with the Ukrainians in accordance with the segment of the Austrian-oriented ruling class that he represented. In Bobrzyński’s opinion, satisfying

<sup>19</sup> I. Daszyński, *Pamiętniki* (Warsaw, 1958), ii. 246; J. Buszko, *Die polnischen Sozialisten im Wiener Parlament* (Vienna, 1987).

certain nationalist Ukrainian demands—creating a Ukrainian university, partially democratizing the process of election to the regional diet, and increasing the percentage of Ukrainians in the regional diet and regional committee—could hasten the settlement.<sup>20</sup> These measures, which the governor undertook, changed the configuration of the Galician parties. Winning over the Jewish Orthodox to his side was one effect. More broadly, there arose the so-called ‘governor’s bloc’, which included the west Galician conservatives, the Liberals, and the members of the Peasant Party, with tacit support from the socialists and most Jewish groups. On the other side was the opposition ‘anti-bloc’, comprising the Polish National Democrats (Endeks) and Podolaks, supported by the Russophiles. These opposed the Ukrainian agreements and were antisemitic. The elections for the imperial diet in June 1911 brought a decisive victory for the ‘bloc’ parties, strengthening the position of the governor in his dealings with the Ukrainian club (which included Ukrainian National Democrats, radicals, and those Russophiles who had gone over to the Ukrainian camp).

The chief problem in Galician internal politics just before the outbreak of the First World War was the issue of regional-diet reform, thought to be key to a Polish–Ukrainian understanding. After many different negotiations, in the spring of 1913 Bobrzyński finally succeeded in preparing a draft compromise that was acceptable to the majority of the Polish, Jewish, and Ukrainian parties. It assured the Ukrainian population (43 per cent of the regional population) of 27 per cent of the total mandates while retaining the curial system. On 16 April, just as the draft was to come up for general discussion in the regional diet (where passage was expected), a pastoral letter from five Polish bishops appeared. This letter sharply condemned the reform as injurious to the Polish population and warned that its passing would cause political radicalization to increase. In this way the ultra-conservative political right destroyed Bobrzyński’s draft and forced him to retreat: as a conservative, he could not exercise the authority of his office against the will of the episcopate. Pressure from Vienna, however, finally forced the Endek–Podolak camp to compromise. The new governor, former finance minister Witold Korytowski, succeeded in passing a new draft of the election ordinance, which differed only slightly from the previous draft. Electoral reform could not fundamentally alleviate the Polish–Ukrainian conflict, however: only partition of the country would make possible a complete solution to the Polish–Ukrainian conflict.<sup>21</sup>

The atmosphere of impending war forced Galicians to reflect on their positions about the major issues confronting the area. Among Galician politicians decidedly anti-Russian feelings prevailed. In the Polish and Ukrainian groups in Galicia, the orientation towards Russia was limited to supporters of the Galician Endeks close

<sup>20</sup> Buszko, ‘Das tragische Ende des Grafen Andrzej Potocki als Statthalter Galiziens’, *Österreichische Osthefte*, 10 (1968), 321–8; *Sejmowa reforma wyborcza w Galicji, 1905–1914* (Warsaw, 1957).

<sup>21</sup> Buszko, *Sejmowa reforma wyborcza*, 285.

to Roman Dmowski, as well as some Russophiles. Most Poles and Ukrainians assumed the fate of their nation would rest on Austria–Hungary, which it was thus crucial to support. The Jews saw in the Danube monarchy a state that could help achieve Jewish cultural autonomy, and they feared their position would deteriorate significantly if Galicia became a Russian prize. The bulk of the Jews, as well as the parties and groups representing them, offered support to Austria in the coming war. This pro-Austrian position was also partly motivated by the antisemitic attitude of Russia's ruling circle, which was known to have provoked anti-Jewish pogroms in a number of cities.

Among Poles, the ideas of the Polish Liberal Democrats from the 1860s and 1870s revived: autonomous Galicia should be the 'Polish Piedmont', which would be the centre for building a Polish state along the same lines as Hungary. Ukrainian nationalists were also attracted by the 'Piedmont' slogan but strove to create their state from the lands of eastern Galicia, Bukovina, and the Ukraine on the Dniepr.

The question of national affiliation clearly emerged as a bone of contention in any future conflict between the Poles and the Ukrainians. Meanwhile, for both these nations, hope for independence was linked to an Austro-Hungarian victory over Russia. Thus, paramilitary organizations arose among both the Poles and the Ukrainians, and these groups were to play a role in the realization of national goals after the outbreak of the war.

*Translated from Polish by Jolanta Goldstein*

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# Politics, Religion, and National Identity: The Galician Jewish Vote in the 1873 Parliamentary Elections

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THE Galician Jewish publicist and writer Gershom Bader relates that when Galician Jewish immigrants to the United States at the end of the nineteenth century were queried by census officials as to their native language, they replied, 'Austrian'. Bader saw in the immigrants' response an attempt to conceal the 'disgrace' of their Galician origins, and to prefer instead what seemed to them 'more respectable' Austrian ones.<sup>1</sup> But the more one explores the dilemma of the national identity of Galician Jews in the second half of the nineteenth century, the more the immigrants' response appears as an expression of genuine nationalist sentiment, rather than of shame or embarrassment.

For the first hundred years after Galicia became part of the Austrian empire (1772), the Jews of Galicia considered themselves loyal subjects of the emperor. But when Polish nationalist aspirations began to be formally recognized in 1867, and with the subsequent Polonization of Galicia, the Jews had to decide whether to support a range of nationalist demands from the Polish leadership. Among the Poles were some who insisted on a federalist solution that would provide Galicia with maximum independence and others who were prepared to be satisfied with a more realistic solution that would ensure a degree of autonomy, especially in the cultural and educational spheres.

The 1867 *Ausgleich* (compromise) with Hungary constituted a model worthy of imitation for the Polish maximalists. By contrast, the Czech refusal to cooperate with the Austrian authorities, and their boycott of the parliament, gave the realists an example of an intractable ideology devoid of any results. Ultimately it was the faction supporting *realpolitik* that prevailed. The Poles participated in the Austrian

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<sup>1</sup> G. Bader, 'Galitsyaner yidn in amerika', in *Tsvantsig Yor Farband*, ed. T. H. Rubinstein (New York, 1926), 3–5.

parliament, and some of their national cultural demands were recognized: Polish became the official language of the bureaucracy, the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences was established in Kraków, and a Polish minister without portfolio was added to the Austrian government with jurisdiction over Galician affairs.<sup>2</sup>

The Jews of Galicia could not remain indifferent to these developments. A change of great consequence for their lives, over which they had no control, was occurring right before their eyes. Now that the local municipalities oversaw the community councils,<sup>3</sup> Jews were required to conduct their written business in Polish, and Polish became the language of instruction for almost all the German schools, most of whose students were Jews. After a hundred years of Germanization, Galician Jewry faced a new reality for which it was not prepared. Would the Jews of Galicia become Polish?

That was the question posed by the Viennese Jewish newspaper *Die Neuzeit* in a series of articles published in 1870.<sup>4</sup> In the very first article the paper declared. 'The Galician Jew neither thinks nor feels in Polish, and is, moreover, consistently opposed to all things Polish.'<sup>5</sup> *Die Neuzeit* pointed out that the nascent Polish literature, which waved the banner of nationalism, was virtually entirely Catholic and was saturated with religious images and motifs. Moreover, the Jewish intelligentsia, mostly lawyers and physicians, had been educated in German, which would gradually disappear from daily life in Galicia to their professional detriment. The newspaper concluded by saying that the Jews of Galicia would become Polish patriots only when Galicia looked upon them as citizens with equal rights—a prospect that was not on the horizon.

With apprehension the Jews followed the deliberations of the Sejm in 1868 over the formulation of a list of demands for greater Galician autonomy in civil and cultural matters. In September of that year the Sejm passed what was known simply as the Resolution, a decision that was intended to express dissatisfaction with the current situation.<sup>6</sup> The Resolution called for granting the Sejm control over the manner in which Galician representatives to the Reichsrat would be elected and for granting it broad legislative authority in civil, economic, cultural,

<sup>2</sup> G. Kolmer, *Parlament und Verfassung in Oesterreich* (Vienna, 1903), ii. 162–3.

<sup>3</sup> In a directive issued by the Galician *Statthalter* (viceroy) on 8 Jan. 1872, the Jewish community of Lviv came under the authority of the city's magistrate. Until then the community had been subject to the district administration, which was an Austrian government agency. The Jewish community council tried unsuccessfully to have this directive annulled. See the State Archive of Lviv Region (Oblast), Lviv, 3-1-2746. The document is available on microfilm at the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, HM2/8286.7. Although this chapter refers to the city as Lviv, in the late 19th century it was better known by its Polish name of Lwów.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Neuzeit* (1870), no. 44, 513–14; no. 46, 538–9; no. 47, 551–2; no. 48, 562–3; no. 49, 575–7; no. 50, 586–7.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Neuzeit* (1870), no. 44, 513.

<sup>6</sup> Passing the Resolution was a moderate alternative to demanding a federalist solution and identifying with the all-or-nothing approach of the Czechs. See P. S. Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795–1918* (Seattle, 1984), 513.

and educational matters. It demanded the establishment of a supreme court, and limited Galician participation in the Reichsrat.<sup>7</sup> The Sejm presented this resolution to the Austrian government with the demand that it be considered in the Reichsrat as a legislative proposal. The Austrians refused this demand, in part because they did not wish to provoke the Russians, who opposed the flourishing of Polish autonomy on their country's borders.

When the Sejm presented the Resolution again in December 1871, the Reichsrat voted to set up a special parliamentary commission to review it, but the commission was also charged to consider the question of electoral reform. The Austrian government wished to change the electoral system for parliament from election by provincial diets to direct though still qualified male suffrage. They hoped thereby to control nationalist aspirations in the various crown lands by playing off groups against each other. Each land would be responsible for dividing up its own election districts, although the Austrians assumed that the number of the representatives from the cities and chambers of commerce would increase, because the rise in income made more people eligible to vote.<sup>8</sup> The new system would potentially grant greater parliamentary representation to ethnic minorities.

The Poles opposed electoral reform because it would curtail the power of the Polish-dominated Sejm to appoint Galician representatives. They argued that the right of the diets to appoint representatives was already an established law, and, as a result, guaranteed by the constitution.<sup>9</sup> The Jews and Ruthenians<sup>10</sup> naturally supported electoral reform, but the latter insisted upon the creation of electoral districts based on nationality and demanded that Galicia be partitioned administratively into eastern and western regions; the vast majority of Ruthenians lived in eastern Galicia.<sup>11</sup>

The parliamentary commission drafted its recommendations in June 1872. These included assenting to the provisions of the Resolution that called for the establishment of banks and chambers of commerce, and promising that Galicia would receive a yearly allocation from Austria for its educational system, which would be administered locally. The commission insisted that the civil rights of all citizens, as stipulated in the Austrian constitution, would not be adversely affected. To this end the commission also recommended that the German communities continue to benefit from the status of German as one of the country's official languages (Polish had already become an official language in 1869), and that German would be the language of instruction in the gymnasiums in Lviv and in the *Realgymnasium* in Brody. At first the commission made the recommendations, which in other respects were favourable to the Poles, contingent upon the

<sup>7</sup> S. Kieniewicz, *Galicja w dobie autonomicznej, 1850-1914* (Wrocław, 1952), 106-9.

<sup>8</sup> Kolmer, *Parlament und Verfassung*, 246-7, 245.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 245.

<sup>10</sup> 'Ruthenians' was the term used for the Ukrainians of Galicia in the 19th century.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 223-4.

passage of the electoral reform bill proposed by the Austrian government, but later that contingency was dropped.<sup>12</sup>

Because the commission released its report just before the autumn parliamentary recess, there was not enough time for the legislature to act upon its recommendations, and the issue was once again postponed. In the meantime the Austrians offered to provide financial guarantees for the expansion of the Galician railway system if the Poles dropped their active opposition to electoral reform. This may explain why, when the electoral reform bill finally came to a vote in the lower house of the Reichsrat, the Poles and the other federalists left the chamber rather than abstain or vote against it. The bill passed with the necessary two-thirds majority of the representatives present.<sup>13</sup> The new law also increased the number of members of parliament from 203 to 351 (and later to 353) by increasing the number of crown land representatives. The number of representatives from Galicia increased from thirty-eight to sixty-three. The law went into effect on 2 April 1873, with elections scheduled for the following autumn.

Although census figures in Galicia from this period address language and religion rather than nationality, religious affiliation was an important demarcator of national identity, and hence it is possible to determine the sizes of the various populations. The Poles were in all cases Roman Catholic; those Ruthenians who had not assimilated into the Polish nation were Greek Catholics, the Germans were generally Protestants, and the Jews, of course, had their own religion.<sup>14</sup> In 1870 there were 2,490,299 Roman Catholics (45.8 per cent), 2,311,909 Greek Catholics (42.7 per cent), 37,125 Protestants (0.6 per cent), and 575,433 Jews (10.7 per cent). The picture is more complex if one takes into account the slightly different breakdown in western and eastern Galicia. In western Galicia the Roman Catholics constituted 88 per cent, the Greek Catholics 4 per cent, and the Jews 7.5 per cent, whereas in eastern Galicia the Roman Catholics constituted only 20.7 per cent, the Greek Catholics 65.8 per cent, and the Jews 12.5 per cent.<sup>15</sup>

What posed the biggest threat to Polish hegemony after the electoral reform was the high percentage of Ruthenians in eastern Galicia and the large concentration of Jews in the cities. To overcome this threat the Poles redrew the lines of the electoral districts so as to ensure the greatest possible representation for the Polish vote. The electoral districts were divided into four categories (*curias*): estates, cities, chambers of commerce, and rural districts. The local authorities in Galicia resolved that twenty representatives (previously thirteen) would be elected from the estates, thirteen (previously seven) from the cities, three from the chambers of

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 228–32.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 246–7.

<sup>14</sup> See J.-P. Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Edmonton, 1988), 124. The Ukrainians were sometimes called by the Poles 'świętojurcy' after the Greek Catholic metropolitan cathedral of St George in Lviv, and the Jews, 'starozakonny' ('the people of the Old Testament').

<sup>15</sup> W. Rapacki, *Ludność Galicji* (Lviv, 1874), 49.

commerce (unchanged), and twenty-seven (previously eighteen) from the rural districts.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, although the Poles had begun their march towards full autonomy, by the early 1870s they saw only part of their national aspirations realized. In particular, the electoral reform law of 1873 stood in opposition to complete Polish domination of Galicia because it enabled free political expression to the other minorities of Galicia, and especially to the large Ruthenian minority. In the past the Polish-dominated Sejm had done everything within its power to limit the representation of other minorities in the Galician delegation to the Austrian parliament, but now that power had been taken away and had been given to the electorate. Of course, the Poles still had sufficient power and resources to influence the results of the elections. Although direct suffrage had changed the rules of the game, the Ruthenian and Jewish minorities would have to create effective political organizations on the popular level in order to change its players.

### JEWISH PREPARATIONS FOR THE 1873 ELECTIONS

The liberal Leipzig newspaper *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* wondered whether the years of living amid numerous political struggles would finally lead the Jewish population to raise its political consciousness. Would the Jews choose an independent political route? They had achieved equal rights with the help of the imperial constitution of December 1867. Independent federal status in Galicia seemed liable to turn back the clock, which is why the political outlook of the Jews was generally liberal-centralist.<sup>17</sup> The new election law, said the paper, would now allow small national groups to become organized, in contrast to the broad national basis that had hitherto characterized the seventeen regional diets in the empire. The only problem would be if the new election districts combined the urban areas with the surrounding villages, for then Jewish representation would be drastically reduced. The paper went on to cite a news item from the liberal Viennese newspaper *Neue Freie Presse* stating that thirty Jewish communities in Galicia had demonstrated their support for the electoral reform law with the help

<sup>16</sup> *Der Israelit* (Lviv) (1873), no. 5, 5. All subsequent references to newspapers are to the year 1873, unless otherwise stated. In the urban districts of western Galicia in 1870, 62 per cent of the population were Roman Catholics, 35 per cent Jews, and 1 per cent Protestants. In the urban districts of eastern Galicia 31 per cent were Roman Catholics, 22 per cent Greek Catholics, 45 per cent Jews, and 1 per cent Protestants. See Rapacki, *Ludność Galicyi*, 54.

<sup>17</sup> In the eyes of the Jews liberal Vienna served as the guarantor of their rights. Still fresh in their minds was the memory of the debates in the Sejm in 1868 over the ratification of the equal-rights clauses of the constitution. The conservatives expressed the opinion that the Jews should not be granted equal rights until they could prove that they had been Polonized. Only after the persuasive speeches of Franciszek Smolka and Eduard Gniewosz was the law annulling discrimination against the Jews passed. See A. Eisenbach, *The Emancipation of the Jews in Poland, 1780-1870* (Oxford, 1991), 502-4.



of the Viennese Jewish representative in parliament, Ignaz Kuranda.<sup>18</sup> The German Jewish newspaper reflected Jewish apprehension over Polish attempts to change the status of Galicia: even limited Galician autonomy was perceived as a threat to their civil status; the coming elections provided them for the first time with the opportunity to take action against this possibility.

A little less than two months after the electoral reform bill was passed, on 28 May 1873, a central elections committee was formed in Lviv for the Jews of Galicia, called the Central-Wahlcomité der Juden in Galizien (CWJG). The committee was comprised of thirty members, most of whom belonged to the local intelligentsia, but also including the preacher of the Temple, Bernhard Loewenstein, and the Orthodox rabbi Isaac Aaron Ettinger, who later became the rabbi of Lviv.<sup>19</sup> The chairman of the committee was Dr Julius Kolischer, and the vice-chairmen, Moritz Lazarus and Dr Josef Kohn. Prior to that date there had not been any organized Jewish political activity in Galicia. Jews of public standing would act on their own initiative in conjunction with the Poles, all the while attempting to receive assurances of some sort of Jewish representation. There were two general election committees: a large one for all of Galicia, with a Polish orientation, and a small one in eastern Galicia, with a liberal, German, centralist orientation. The latter committee lasted only a few months and ceased its operation on 8 June 1873, less than two weeks after the formation of the Jewish elections committee.

The moving force behind the formation of the CWJG was the Schomer Israel society, which had been established in 1868 in Lviv for the express purpose of raising the consciousness of the Jewish public regarding its rights and obligations according to the 1867 constitution. Schomer Israel also aspired to encourage Jewish public and political activity, and to spread the values of the Enlightenment. To this end it founded a German newspaper, *Der Israelit*, through which it hoped to educate the public in the spirit of political liberalism. Most of its members belonged to the urban intelligentsia: physicians, lawyers, pharmacists, and journalists. Like their counterparts in the surrounding bourgeois society, they saw themselves as men with a social and political mission. Josef Kohn, who headed the Schomer Israel delegation to the emperor Franz Joseph, described the purpose of that mission on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the emperor's reign in December 1873. When asked by the emperor about the identity of Schomer Israel, Kohn replied that in its first years the society occupied itself with mainly internal communal Jewish issues, but later it took upon itself political interests. Those interests were not motivated by religious feelings but by

<sup>18</sup> *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums (AZJ)*, no. 6, 89–90: 'They [the Jews] received their civil rights through the December constitution of the Cisleithanian empire; the nullification of this will plunge them back into the old slavery, as the Poles in Galicia have indeed proved. Hence the establishment of a federal state, an independent Galicia, will bring the Jews back under the old yoke. Besides their natural propensity for liberal views, their own instinct for survival requires that they link themselves with the Constitution Party.'

<sup>19</sup> *Der Israelit*, no. 13, 6.

the civil and patriotic sentiments of a group with a particular political orientation. Kohn also added that Schomer Israel was the only political organization that had been established by Galician Jews.<sup>20</sup>

The first official announcement to the Jewish voters of the formation of the CWJG was published on 4 July in *Der Israelit*, and was distributed in the form of posters to the public in German and in Polish. In the announcement the Jewish committee said that it wanted a strong, big, united, and free Austria, one that would enable all the crown lands and all their peoples to live in equality and tranquillity, in accordance with the constitution.<sup>21</sup> The committee emphasized that it did not intend to dissociate itself from the inhabitants. On the contrary, it saw itself as representing the interests of the state and of the emperor in the spirit of liberalism and progress. The committee demanded that each of its potential candidates pledge loyalty to the constitution and to the liberal cause, and likewise disavow any inclination towards federal reorganization.<sup>22</sup>

One of the first actions of the CWJG was to appeal to the Jewish communities in Galicia to join it, and to establish local branches. Lacking a political and organizational infrastructure, the central elections committee sought to enlist the network of community councils as a substitute. The use of religious communities as bases for political activity was commonplace in Galicia: clergymen, some of whom were themselves candidates for political office, preached from their pulpits on the burning issues of the day; churches and synagogues often served as halls for election rallies.<sup>23</sup>

The Galician Jewish communities generally responded to the CWJG's appeal with enthusiasm, but the decidedly negative response of the Jewish community in Kraków received the greatest publicity; it was published in *Der Israelit* in German, with a Polish translation appearing in the Polish press of Lviv and Kraków. The community leaders in Kraków declared that the ruling Liberal Party was interested only in 'moulding all the Austrian crown lands into a united whole' by means of systematically concentrating all financial and political means in its hands. 'In contrast with these tendencies', they wrote, 'we know only one holy interest, namely, the welfare of the [Galician] land on which we lovingly depend, and the future of the [Polish] nation with which we are linked by a centuries-old tradition . . . In contrast to the efforts to consolidate the administrative and political power in the hands of the central government we share a common interest with our Polish Christian fellow citizens.' The community

<sup>20</sup> *Der Israelit*, no. 25, 1: 'The association was established in 1868, and at present numbers 400 members. At its inception it concerned itself with internal matters of the Jewish community, but later it extended its activity to important issues such as the elections for the city council and the parliament, whereupon it declared itself a political association. In this role it took an active part in the last parliamentary elections, and it is to its credit that from Galicia a large number of representatives loyal to the constitution were elected.'

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 14, 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 15, 2.

<sup>23</sup> On the role of the Greek Catholic priests, for example, in the political activity of the Ukrainian national movement, see Himka, *Galician Villagers*, 124-7.

leaders in Kraków saw no reason to join a committee that called for a separate Jewish political position in the coming direct elections. They were convinced that, by joining forces with the Polish Christians, they would achieve the same goals for which the CWJG strove, and hence they felt obliged to decline its invitation. The letter was signed by Dr Szymon Samelson, the head of the community and a member of the first Sejm (1861–7), and by his Orthodox deputy, Salomon Deiches.<sup>24</sup>

*Allgemeine Zeitung* suspected that the position of the Jewish community in Kraków stemmed from fear of anti-Jewish outbursts on the part of the Poles, or from personal motives, or both. The paper felt that this split, following immediately on the first political undertaking by the Jews of Galicia, would have dire repercussions, for 'where forces are divided, power is lost'.<sup>25</sup> But the leaders in Kraków reflected the political and cultural spirit of their city, which was conservative, clerical, and nationalistic.<sup>26</sup> Regarding the Jewish political initiative, the Kraków conservative newspaper *Czas*, which had wielded considerable influence from the moment of its inception in 1848, declared that making religious affiliation a prerequisite for candidacy was illegal. It claimed further that Schomer Israel did not advocate Jewish interests but worked for Germanization and centralization, thus arousing anti-Jewish hatred; it used religion as a social and political battleground. *Czas* expressed the hope that the elections committee in Kraków would not permit Schomer Israel to influence the Jewish voters of the town.<sup>27</sup>

Parallel to the organizational efforts of the CWJG, there were attempts to reach some sort of compromise with the Poles. *Neue Freie Presse* reported meetings whose purpose was to unite the Jewish and the Polish elections committees. According to the paper, the Jews were prepared for a compromise that would be based on full acceptance of the principles of the constitution and on an explicit Polish promise not to put forward candidates who support federalism.<sup>28</sup> To this *Der Israelit* added that the Jews demanded that they be allowed to put forward six Jewish candidates of their own choosing in the urban electoral districts of eastern Galicia.<sup>29</sup>

The Polish press reacted quite negatively to Jewish political activity. The *Neue Freie Presse* noted this, adding that while the Jews themselves harboured resentment against the Poles, Polish animosity towards the Jews was still greater.<sup>30</sup> The most vitriolic attack against the CWJG appeared in the newspaper *Gazeta Narodowa*, one of the strongest advocates of Polish federalism. The newspaper was clearly upset by what it considered a betrayal of the Polish cause by the Jewish

<sup>24</sup> *Der Israelit*, no. 16, 3; *Gazeta Narodowa*, no. 173, 1; *Czas*, no. 65, 20 July.

<sup>25</sup> *AZJ*, no. 32, 519–20.

<sup>26</sup> L. D. Orton, 'The Formation of Modern Cracow, 1866–1914', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 19–20 (1983–4), 105–17.

<sup>27</sup> *Czas*, no. 127, 8 June.

<sup>28</sup> Cited in *AZJ*, no. 26, 424–5. The paper cast doubt on the Poles' acceptance of these conditions.

<sup>29</sup> *Der Israelit*, no. 17, 2.

<sup>30</sup> Cited in *AZJ*, no. 26, 424.

liberals. Josef Kohn was accused of being unduly influenced by the Viennese centralists, and of attempting to put their ideology into practice in Galicia. The paper emphasized that Kohn's father had not behaved in such a fashion.<sup>31</sup> Even though he had not been a native of Galicia, he had understood that the Jews should identify with the Polish people, and he had belonged to the National Council. By contrast, Josef Kohn, who had been born on Galician soil, now betrayed his father's tradition by standing at the forefront of the Galician separatists. By allying himself with the Viennese centralists he had, in effect, identified the Jews with the German nation, and so removed them from the Polish nation. Even if the CWJG did not explicitly say so, its political activity bore an anti-nationalist and anti-Polish stamp. This was not a committee based on religion, but rather a committee serving German interests. The paper concluded significantly that all Poles, without political or religious exception, had formed a solid bloc against the Germans—and whoever left that bloc in order to form another one was a traitor and no Pole.<sup>32</sup>

In the same article the *Gazeta Narodowa* denounced the liberal Polish newspaper *Dziennik Polski* for adopting a more moderate stance towards the CWJG. The *Dziennik* argued that the attacks on the Jews in the Polish press were driving them into the rival camp. It did not accept the position that demanded nationalist solidarity in political matters. According to the *Gazeta Narodowa*, that position was the only legitimate one.<sup>33</sup>

The *Gazeta Narodowa* attacks were cited in the semi-official Vienna newspaper *Die Presse*, which prominently displayed intimations of possible bloodshed in the Polish villages as a reaction to the independent political direction of the Jews.<sup>34</sup> *Die Presse* reported that, despite the threats, the elections committee continued its activity. This was a 'committee of Jews' rather than a 'Jewish committee', commented the paper, because it was willing to compromise on the basis of constitutional principles.<sup>35</sup>

The *Gazeta Narodowa* rejected this distinction entirely. It continued to claim that the new arrangement served nationalist rather than political aims. The

<sup>31</sup> Abraham Kohn had been the preacher of the Temple in Lviv until he was poisoned by Orthodox Jewish extremists in 1848.

<sup>32</sup> *Gazeta Narodowa*, no. 131, 2.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. The *Gazeta* also expressed the hope that the majority of the Jews (the ones who did not earn their livelihood through the stock exchange) would not follow the recommendations of the CWJG.

<sup>34</sup> The *Gazeta Narodowa*, no. 131, 1, recounted a story in which the Jews of a certain town, who received the invitation of the CWJG, sought the advice of their mayor. The mayor responded that he did not have sufficient police to protect each individual Jew from the anger of the villagers. In no. 132, 2, the newspaper tells of a farmer in a village saying to his friend, 'It appears that the Jews are going against us. It is necessary to give them a "bath", since they haven't received one from us since the time of King Kazimierz. So let them start the conspiracy in the towns and villages, and then neither the police nor the army will be able to protect them'. Here we have a clear intimation of pogroms.

<sup>35</sup> The article in *Die Presse* of 1 June 1873 was cited in the *Gazeta Narodowa*, no. 135, 1.

'Jewish angle' was a ruse to bring Jews to the ballot boxes for an allegedly 'Jewish' goal. To prove its point, the paper investigated and found that, even before the formation of the elections committee, letters had been sent to the Jewish communities urging them to support centralist candidates in the elections—Jews or Ruthenians, but not Poles. The return address on the envelopes was that of the Schomer Israel society, the stamp of the society appeared on the envelope, and the letters were signed by Josef Kohn.<sup>36</sup> The newspaper, sarcastically labelling the Jewish activists in Lviv 'Teutono-Jews', concluded by advising that the best way to frighten the Jewish population was not through bloodshed but through economic sanctions, which would solve the problem, as such sanctions had in Bohemia and Moravia.<sup>37</sup>

Diatribes like these did not provoke the liberal Jewish activists nearly as much as the criticism from liberal Polish quarters. When the *Dziennik Polski* began to wonder why it was necessary to organize along confessional lines in an age of emancipation and asked why there was no other Jewish political organization in the empire. *Der Israelit* responded that the Jews of Galicia did not represent a religion alone, but also a political stance. When they demanded Jewish candidates, they did so not in the name of religious conviction, but in the name of political conviction. With great pathos the newspaper wrote: 'The nationality of the Jews is humanity in its entirety; its fatherland the globe, its religion the absence of a creed outside of the four walls of its synagogue, and possibly also outside its kitchen. This global citizenship of the Jews does not affect its patriotism, however.'<sup>38</sup> The political conviction in the name of which the Jews spoke was political liberalism.

According to *Der Israelit*, the fact that the Jews did not have any specific national affiliation did not make them any less patriotic. The Germanism with which they identified was liberalism, emancipation, and the principles of the *Rechtsstaat*, all of which are embodied in the Austrian constitution. They did not have the slightest inclination to identify with the nationalist feelings of the German people, but rather with what was represented by the Austrian empire, of which Galicia was a part.

Years later Jews who supported the politics of Jewish nationalism charged that the Schomer Israel society was no more than a branch of the liberal Vienna Constitutional Party. They accused Schomer Israel of lacking any independent Jewish platform and of being concerned only with parliamentary seats.<sup>39</sup> But this accusation was unjust; the Jews in the various communities did organize as Jews and that alone gave the organization a distinctly nationalist flavour. Evidence for this claim can be adduced from the following sentence in a letter from the representative of the Rohatyn community to the central Jewish elections committee: 'The aspirations of the Poles do not correspond with the national interests of the Jews in Galicia, and so the Jews must work for the election of candidates that can

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., no. 141, 1.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., no. 135, 1.

<sup>38</sup> *Der Israelit*, no. 19, 2.

<sup>39</sup> S. R. Landau, *Der Polenklub und seine Hausjuden* (Vienna, 1907), 5–7.

represent those interests.<sup>40</sup> These 'national interests' included civil equality and the right to conduct Jewish communal life undisturbed, within the framework of the Habsburg empire.

Moreover, Jewish voters who supported the candidacy of other Jews were motivated by Jewish pride and not merely by a desire to support the Constitutional Party. For example, in recommending the candidacy of a Viennese Jewish lawyer, Dr Joachim Landau, the Jews of Brody declared that he would fulfil his parliamentary functions with energy and vigour, 'just as Eduard Lasker [a prominent member of the National Liberal Party and a Jew] does in the German parliament'. By virtue of his dynamic personality, they predicted, Landau would achieve the parliamentary stature of Lasker, and 'will thus bring honour to the Jews of Galicia'.<sup>41</sup>

Although the bourgeois intelligentsia constituted the major social force behind the CWJG, it is noteworthy that some of the more traditional elements of Jewish society also lent their support. Shortly before the elections *Der Israelit* published an appeal to the rabbis and community leaders by the rabbi of Lviv, Josef Saul Nathansohn. In the appeal, written in Hebrew with a German translation, R. Nathansohn called upon them to influence their communities to vote for the candidates proposed by the CWJG.<sup>42</sup> That one of the main candidates was R. Bernhard Loewenstein, the preacher of the Lviv Temple, and that the other candidates were not at all Orthodox did not prevent R. Nathansohn from making his recommendation. The paper also reported that the leaders of the Przemyśl community, headed by R. Isaac Judah Schmelkes, gave their blessing to R. Loewenstein, and promised him their support.<sup>43</sup>

This display of communal unity was not well received by the Hungarian Orthodox Jewish organization Schomrei Hadas, which protested vociferously against the candidacy of R. Loewenstein and Schomer Israel. The Lviv correspondent of the Hungarian Orthodox newspaper *Schewes Achim* reported that the Orthodox Galician Jews would not support the candidates of Schomer Yisrael

<sup>40</sup> Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Lviv, 701-2-809, Jewish Community Archives of Lviv (henceforth CWJG file), 39-40, letter dated 16 July. I found this exchange of letters in a file that included correspondence of a communal charity fund and it is tempting to speculate that the letters were hidden there deliberately. The correspondence is available on microfilm at the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, Inv/7598. (For a similar collection reportedly found in the archives of Maxymilian Goldstein, see M. Goldstein, *Kultura i Sztuka Ludu Żydowskiego* (Lviv, 1935), 125.)

<sup>41</sup> CWJG file, 16-17, letter dated 8 Aug.: 'The Jewish deputy must in every respect be a worthy representative in the Reichsrat, and be able to act with the same force and energy that a Lasker is able to do in the German parliament. Dr Landau, because of his independent position, his love of the truth, his sound and clear understanding, and eloquence will in time become a great parliamentary figure as Lasker is in Berlin and will bring honour to our Galician co-religionists.'

<sup>42</sup> *Der Israelit*, no. 21, 2. It appears that at least until 1879 there was no necessary connection between Orthodoxy and a predilection to vote for conservative candidates.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 20, 3.

because of their non-Orthodox orientation. To this *Der Israelit* replied that in Galicia, unlike in Hungary, there was separation between religion and politics, and they cited R. Nathansohn's appeal as evidence.<sup>44</sup>

### THE JEWISH–RUTHENIAN ALLIANCE IN THE 1873 ELECTIONS

The leaders of the CWJG realized that they had to find political partners if they were to succeed in the parliamentary elections. The most natural candidate was the Rada Ruska, the Ruthenian Council, which was founded in 1870 with the express aim of defending the rights of the Ruthenian people. The means for achieving this goal, as formulated in the charter, included political and social debates, petitions and appeals to the authorities, popular demonstrations, education for the masses, and intensive election campaigns.<sup>45</sup> In the first years following its establishment the Ruthenian Council had already achieved some success in its attempts to weaken Polish hegemony in Galicia. As part of the Polish effort to have the Resolution passed, the council was promised financial support for the Ruthenian theatre, the establishment of a position for a Ruthenian scholar at the University of Lviv, new Ruthenian high schools in Przemyśl and Lviv, greater employment opportunities for Ruthenian teachers and clerks, and the granting of official-language status to Ukrainian.<sup>46</sup>

The Jews and the Ruthenians shared the desire to limit Polish domination of the cultural, legislative, and educational systems, and they were also intensely devoted to the principles of the constitution, which promised equal rights regardless of religion or nationality. It was only natural that they would arrive at some sort of political understanding.<sup>47</sup>

A formal agreement between the Rada Ruska and Schomer Israel has not yet been discovered, but evidence for such an agreement is found in a 'Dear-Sir' letter, written in Ukrainian, that was sent to communities under the imprimatur of the Rada Ruska in Lviv. One of the two signatories to the letter was Teofil Pawlikow, one of the founders of the Rada Ruska and a central figure in Ruthenian dealings with the Jews. The signatories wrote that inasmuch as the Ruthenian candidates did not stand a chance of being elected in the urban districts and there was a danger that candidates from 'hostile parties' would be elected

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., no. 23, 3. The Polish press also intimated that the CWJG was an invention of a small group of careerists, and it predicted that Orthodox Jews would prefer to support the Poles. Ibid., no. 8, 3.

<sup>45</sup> The council by-laws were approved on 20 May 1870; see the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Lviv, Rada Ruska By-Laws, 28628. One can see a great resemblance between the aims of the Rada Ruska and that of Schomer Israel.

<sup>46</sup> Kolmer, *Parlament und Verfassung*, 163.

<sup>47</sup> A literary treatment of the cooperation between Jews and Ukrainians, and, in general, of the 1873 elections, can be found in Karl Emil Franzos's story 'Jüdisches Polen', in *Aus Halb-Asien* (Stuttgart, 1914), 168–82.

instead, the Ruthenian elections committee had decided 'to support the candidacy of —', with the name of the Jewish candidate filled in, according to the addressee's district. The signatories vouched for the candidate's liberal outlook and his support for Ruthenian demands. They also noted the candidate's commitment to persuade his co-religionists living in the villages to support the Ruthenian candidates. They emphasized the need of the addressee to try to counteract the prejudices directed against the non-Christian populace in order to assure the aforementioned candidate's victory.<sup>48</sup>

Before these formal steps were taken by the Rada Ruska in Lviv, there were local attempts of the two parties to sound each other out. A Ruthenian activist from Przemyśl described in a letter to the Ruthenian central elections committee how he was invited to the Przemyśl synagogue by the local branch of Schomer Israel, which offered to support the Ruthenian candidates in the villages in exchange for Ruthenian support of the Jewish candidate in Przemyśl. The leader of Schomer Israel even proposed a meeting with their candidate (R. Loewenstein) at a hotel. The activist did not wish to decide such things on his own and so he passed the proposal along to the central committee.<sup>49</sup>

Several letters from the Jewish community councils of eastern Galicia to the CWJG show that the Jews had no difficulty endorsing Ruthenian candidates, even when the latter were priests. The chairman of the Ternopil' chapter of the Jewish elections committee informed the CWJG of his meeting with Pawlikow; from the writer's remarks, it appears that the Jewish-Ruthenian alliance was secret at this point.<sup>50</sup> He relates that the rabbi of Ternopil' (most probably Joseph Babad, well-known author of the rabbinical commentary *Minḥat ḥinukh*<sup>51</sup>) and its community chairman had already written to the Jews in the surrounding village communities of Zbarazh, Skalat, and Mikulyntse,<sup>52</sup> requesting them to vote only for the candi-

<sup>48</sup> The letter was written on 22 Sept. There are two examples of the letter in the collection, one endorsing Josef Kohn for the Ternopil'-Berezhany district, the other endorsing Heinrich Gottlieb for the Stanyslaviv-Tyshmenitsa district. CWJG file, 5-6. The original draft of this letter is found in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Lviv, 196-1-45 (henceforth Rada Ruska file 1), 48a-b. The draft is signed by Pawlikow. The file is available on microfilm in the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, HM2/8300.17. The *AZJ*, no. 44, 722, informed its readers of the public appeal by the Rada Ruska to voters in the cities.

<sup>49</sup> Rada Ruska file 1, 1-4, letter dated 18 Sept. *Der Israelit*, no. 20, 3-4, tells of an election rally in the Przemyśl synagogue for the preacher of the Temple, R. Loewenstein, in which high-ranking members of the Greek-Catholic clergy were present.

<sup>50</sup> CWJG file, 11-11b, letter from Ternopil', 16 Oct. In June the CWJG still denied that it appealed for the election of Ruthenian candidates in districts where Jewish candidates stood no chance of being elected. The elections committee even published a denial in the *Gazeta Narodowa*. See *Der Israelit*, no. 13, 3.

<sup>51</sup> R. Joseph Babad's name is not mentioned in the letter, but he was the rabbi of Ternopil' that year.

<sup>52</sup> In Zbarazh Ruthenians constituted 61 per cent, Poles 29.5 per cent, and Jews 9 per cent of the population; in Skalat Ruthenians constituted 50 per cent, Poles 36 per cent, and Jews 13.3 per cent of the population. See Rapacki, *Ludność Galicyi*, 48. By running together, the Jews and the Ruthenians could ensure their victory over the Poles.



dates of the Rada Ruska. Since a Jewish candidate had no chance of being elected from these districts, it was important to prevent the election of the Polish candidate and ensure the victory of the Ruthenians, for 'we consider their cause to be our own'.<sup>53</sup> In Kopychynce the candidate endorsed by the Jewish community was a Ruthenian priest, 'because he is loyal to the constitution'.<sup>54</sup> The Jews of Zhydachiv, in the rural district of Sambir–Stryi–Drohobych, also pledged their support to the Ruthenians. Four of the town's most respected Jewish citizens, among them Rabbi Elijah Eichenstein, instructed the people to vote for the town's Greek Catholic priest.<sup>55</sup>

Ruthenian priests found it more difficult to endorse Jewish candidates, a fact that appears in both Jewish and Ruthenian documents. The chairman of the Ternopil' elections committee, in the letter to the CWJG mentioned earlier, goes on to complain that the Ruthenians, who were supposed to stand staunchly behind the Jewish candidates, had not yet begun any political activity in the urban district of Ternopil'. 'The Ruthenian priest sees how the Poles are inciting the Ruthenians against the Jews, and how the Ruthenians are selling themselves to the Poles, and he does not react.' He concludes the letter with a list of names and addresses of influential Ruthenians who, he says, will vote for the Jews when they receive an explicit communication from the Rada Ruska to do so. Often the direct intervention of the Rada Ruska was necessary to convince the priests to persuade their flock to vote for the Jews, and it appears that the Jews made their agreements indirectly with the Rada Ruska rather than directly with the local priests. For example, the Jewish elections committee of Jarosław thanked the CWJG for sending it a letter in Ukrainian for the local influential Ruthenians, but it requested an additional letter for the priests from the Rada Ruska.<sup>56</sup>

The Jews also had to contend with a very active Polish campaign to win over the Ruthenians. According to a report from Jewish activists, the foremen of the Zamoyski landowners in Syenava exerted pressure upon the Ruthenian farmers, or plied them with food and drink, to influence their vote. The Poles invited the farmers to two hotels, where they provided them with free refreshments, while nobles from the Badeni and Zamoyski families circulated among the farmers at the election hall. The activists complained that it was impossible for them to persuade the farmers to vote against their employers' candidates, especially when the Ruthenian leaders did nothing. The failure of the Ruthenian clergy to show

<sup>53</sup> CWJG file, 11–11b, letter dated 16 Oct.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. 30a–30b, letter dated 15 Oct.

<sup>55</sup> Rada Ruska file 1, 15: 'In Zhydachiv they should associate themselves with the party of the Greek Catholic Priest.' This communication is in the form of a note, which was apparently passed on to Rada Ruska as evidence of Jewish support of the Ruthenian clergy. R. Eichenstein was the nephew of R. Tsvi Hirsh of Zhydachiv, and was considered by many to be the *rebbe* of Zhydachiv.

<sup>56</sup> CWJG file, 1, letter dated 18 Oct., contains a list of influential priests, which the CWJG was supposed to transmit to the Rada Ruska so that it could target them. In another place they reported about Ukrainian priests who were leaning towards Poles: *ibid.*, n.d., 13.

up where the elections were being held clinched the victory for the Poles. The only result of the elections, concluded the activists, was intense Polish hatred of the Jews.<sup>57</sup> In a series of telegrams to the Rada Ruska Jewish activists objected strenuously to the movement of Ruthenians towards the Poles as a result of Polish pressure. They requested the immediate intervention of the Rada Ruska, and especially the appearance of Ruthenian religious leaders on election day.<sup>58</sup>

In reaction to reports such as these from the field, the Rada Ruska redoubled its efforts to get the priests' backing for Jewish candidates. Telegrams were sent in increasing numbers as the elections approached. For example, a telegram to Jarosław and a few telegrams to Berezhany, signed by Pawlikow, urged last-minute action on behalf of Josef Kohn, who lacked Ruthenian popular support.<sup>59</sup> In some locales the Jewish–Ruthenian cooperation bore fruit. The Jewish community in Snyatyn sent a letter to the Rada Ruska thanking it for its support and anticipating future cooperation 'in order to defeat the [Polish] opponent'.<sup>60</sup> Jewish activists in Drohobych wired greetings following the victory of the Jewish candidate there.<sup>61</sup>

Ruthenian activists themselves complained of the Polish tactics in the urban districts. An activist from Horodok<sup>62</sup> reported despairingly that their candidate stood no chance of winning: the Poles had enormous financial means at their disposal to spend even on vodka, and many Ruthenians were willing to go over to the rival side in exchange for money and vodka. The Poles used the police and publicly humiliated the priests, and the Ruthenians on their part did not react. The activist added that he was convinced that the religious leadership would go into hiding on election day, fleeing to the fields and forests rather than appearing in the town square. The Ruthenians' only hope lay in the villages, for surely the villagers would vote for their own priests.<sup>63</sup>

The strained relations and mistrust between Poles and Jews can be seen in letters from the Jewish communities to the CWJG. A correspondent from the

<sup>57</sup> CWJG file, 22a–b, letter dated 19 Oct.

<sup>58</sup> Rada Ruska file 1, 42, telegram from Kolomyia, 21 Oct.: 'All the Ruthenian leaders won over by the Poles with dishonest means. Danger great. Immediate strong letter by Rada Ruska to its local leaders.' Ibid. 36, telegram from Jarosław, 21 Oct.: 'Opponents use questionable methods. Their propaganda incredible. Priests powerless. Please send urgently energetic Rada Ruska delegates.' Ibid. 41b, telegram from Berezhany, 23 Oct.: 'All the Jews are voting; the Ruthenians falter.' Ibid. 41b, telegram from Berezhany, 20 Oct.: 'Very necessary for Rada Ruska to telegraph [the names of] six Ruthenian party leaders with appeal for cooperation.'

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 36, telegram dated 9 Sept.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. 32b–33, letter dated 26 Oct.

<sup>61</sup> Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Lviv, 196–1–46 (henceforth Rada Ruska file 11) available on microfilm in the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, HM2/8300.18, 5, letter dated 17 Oct.: 'Thanks to the harmonious cooperation between the Jews and the Ruthenians, the local Constitution Party celebrated its victory on the occasion of its dazzling election [results] of 203 to 39.'

<sup>62</sup> Poles constituted 38 per cent of the population in Horodok, Ukrainians 34 per cent, and Jews 27 per cent. See Rapacki, *Ludność Galicyi*, 54–5.

<sup>63</sup> Rada Ruska file 1, 9–10, letter dated 29 Sept.

Jewish communal council of Golohory wrote that the Polish candidate was an ardent Polish nationalist and Jew-hater, despite his being a doctor of law. He viewed him as indicative of Polish attitudes towards the Jews, and pleaded emotionally in favour of waging a desperate battle against the Poles.<sup>64</sup> In a letter from Syenava the local Jewish elections committee reported that its members themselves travelled to Jarosław and devoted all their efforts to combating the Poles; they noted that they were alone in the struggle, and received no help from the Ruthenians.<sup>65</sup> The Poles, by contrast, moved heaven and earth to reach every corner of the district and every eligible voter in order to get their candidate elected. More than that, the Polish secretary of the district went to the Jewish election activists and attempted to win them over to his side with promises and concessions.

Not all Jews opposed the Poles. Letters from the chairman of the Polish elections committee in the rural district of Sambir–Stryi–Drohobych to a Jewish activist, Hersch Diamant, fell into the hands of the Ruthenians. In the first letter the committee requested that Diamant, whom it called ‘a loyal citizen’, furnish information about potential troublemakers and suggest people who would be good candidates. A month later it invited Diamant to become a member of the Polish committee. Still later it informed Diamant that the Polish candidate for the district would be a certain landowner, and asked him to work on the candidate’s behalf. The committee promised to reimburse him for all his expenses and urged him to spare no efforts to win each and every vote. Finally, he was asked to convince the voters who had made up their minds not to vote for Polish candidates to refrain from participating in the elections. From these letters it appears that Diamant had worked for the Poles in the past.<sup>66</sup> Several Polish newspapers also reported prominently on a Jewish party headed by two Jews in Kolomyia whose aim was to persuade Jews to vote for Polish candidates. These same newspapers reacted negatively to the story that Galician rabbis pronounced bans against Jewish voters who would not vote for the candidates approved by the CWJG, a story later denied by the CWJG.<sup>67</sup>

The Viennese liberal press did not conceal its support for the Jews and the Ruthenians in Galicia. According to the *Neue Freie Presse*, Jewish communities that did not respond to the summons of the CWJG acted out of fear of violent Polish reprisals, such as breaking windows. The paper commented that the Poles sought recognition for their just claims, but the manner in which they related to the Jews and the Ruthenians weakened their position: the time had come for the Jews in Galicia to stand up for their own rights and interests. The newspaper also advised the Ruthenians to stand up for their rights by voting for a candidate loyal

<sup>64</sup> CWJG file, 7b, letter dated 21 Aug.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 22, letter dated 19 Oct.

<sup>66</sup> Rada Ruska file II, 13–16, letters dated 15 July, 28 Aug., 11 Sept. and 10 Oct. Diamant’s name is not mentioned in the letters, but is in the Rada Ruska note preceding the letters.

<sup>67</sup> The story is cited in *Der Israelit*, no. 22, 2.

to the constitution. This was their opportunity to decide whether they wanted to go back and plough the land of the nobility or to take their fate into their own hands and acquire power and status of their own. Such an opportunity would not return again.<sup>68</sup> The paper was well aware of the obstacles facing Jews and Ruthenians who attempted to organize politically. The enemy was not the Polish landlords or a rock-throwing mob, but the Polish officials of the Austrian government (e.g. Galician district commissioners), who determined taxes and allocations, prepared conscription lists, issued travel papers, and paid salaries. What would the head of the Jewish community do when the district commissioner indicated displeasure with the establishment of a separate elections committee? One who was mindful of the Galician reality could only admire those who, despite everything, waved the flag of the Constitutional Party. The role of the liberal press should not only be to encourage the Jews and the Ruthenians but to put pressure on the government to fulfil its obligation and to demand that its officials not violate the law.<sup>69</sup>

Some members of the liberal press were not satisfied to cheer on the liberals in Galicia from the sidelines, but sought to play a more active role. For example, the CWJG received a letter written on *Neue Freie Presse* stationery from a Dr Killian, who wished to recommend a Viennese lawyer, originally a Galician, as an additional candidate for the Jarosław district.<sup>70</sup> The editor of the Viennese newspaper *Morgenpost*, Hermann Mises, wrote to propose his own candidacy for the urban district of Sambir–Stryi–Drohobych. Mises presented himself as an adherent of the principles of liberalism and as loyal to the Constitutional Party. The recommendation for his candidacy may have come from press circles in Vienna, for Mises wrote explicitly that his opinions were not known to the members of the elections committee through personal connections.<sup>71</sup> One can speculate that these were not the only instances of direct and indirect participation in the Galician elections by liberal Viennese journalists, who supported the Ruthenian and Jewish efforts to reduce Polish influence. The partisanship of the liberal Viennese press was so pronounced that the conservative Polish newspaper *Czas* accused it of conspiring against the Poles and their demands for autonomy in Galicia, as it accused Josef Kohn of flattering the centralist press in Vienna.<sup>72</sup>

While the liberal Viennese press lauded the Jewish and Ruthenian fledgling political organizations, predicting political gains for both sides, the German Jewish *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* took a slightly condescending tone: 'Galicia offers us at present an interesting spectacle (*schauspiel*). For the first time, the numerous Jewish inhabitants are called to play a political role in the first direct elections for the Reichsrat. And, indeed, it is no small testimony to the intelli-

<sup>68</sup> *AZJ*, no. 33, 536–7. The citation is from *Neue Freie Presse*, 1 Aug.

<sup>69</sup> *AZJ*, no. 34, 555. The citation is from the *Neue Freie Presse*, n.d.

<sup>70</sup> CWJG file, 26, letter dated 9 Sept.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* 34–5, letter dated mid-Sept.

<sup>72</sup> *Czas*, no. 127, 5 June, no. 137, 18 June.

gence of the Jewish masses that they have recognized their political task and duty so quickly.' The newspaper viewed this political enterprise as a sort of maturing process for the Jews of eastern Europe.<sup>73</sup>

### THE ELECTION AND ITS AFTERMATH

When the final votes of the Galician elections were tallied, the results were a mixed blessing for the Ruthenian-Jewish alliance. Of the twenty-seven seats apportioned to the rural districts, fifteen went to Ruthenian candidates, mostly priests, a sixteenth to a liberal Polish candidate, Eduard Gniewosz, and the remaining eleven to Polish candidates.<sup>74</sup> Schomer Israel attributed the decisive Ruthenian victory to the fact that Jews in rural areas gave their votes to the Ruthenians. In stark contrast, the Jewish candidates won only three of the thirteen urban seats, a meagre result considering that Jews constituted over 40 per cent of the population in the cities. Hermann Mises, the editor of the *Morgenpost*, was elected for the district of Sambir-Stryi-Drohobych, after the election of the Polish candidate was invalidated. Dr Joachim Landau was elected for Zolochiv-Brody and Dr Oswald Hönigsmann for Kolomyia-Buchach-Snyatyn; both were Viennese lawyers. Dr Bernhard Loewenstein, Dr Josef Kohn, Dr Maximilian Landesberger, and Dr Heinrich Gottlieb were not elected for their respective districts of Przemyśl-Horodok, Ternopil'-Berezhany, Rzeszów-Jaroslów, and Stanyslaviv-Tyshmenitsa. Two of the three seats apportioned to the district chambers of commerce were won by Jews: Nathan Kallir from Brody and Albert Mendelsburg from Kraków; the latter joined the Polish Party. Had the Jews run on a Polish ticket, they would have received four seats, or at least so they had been promised by the Poles.

Why did the Jewish candidates fare so poorly in the cities? Doubtless there were several reasons, but the Jews themselves singled out two: the failure of the Ruthenians, who constituted the deciding vote in urban districts, to vote *en masse* for Jewish candidates, and the questionable election practices of the Poles. The head of the Stanyslaviv Jewish community sent the Rada Ruska a partisan account of Polish behaviour on election day in the district of Stanyslaviv-Tyshmenitsa. That community had thrown itself into the election campaign with great enthusiasm, writing to the CWJG that 'now everyone knows that the Jews know not only how to fight, but also how to win'.<sup>75</sup> Now their leader charged that the Polish officials of the Austrian administration had violated every election law during the campaign. He was particularly upset that the struggle against the supporters of the constitution was waged by those who should have been most committed to it,

<sup>73</sup> *AZJ*, no. 39, 635.

<sup>74</sup> The election results given here are based on *Der Israelit*, no. 22, 3 (with corrections in no. 23, 2). According to Himka, *Galician Villagers*, 69, the Ruthenians won sixteen seats.

<sup>75</sup> CWJG file, 32a-b, letter dated 28 Aug.

by virtue of their official role. In that district the list of eligible voters who were loyal to the constitution was drastically reduced, as a result of which the Polish candidate won the parliamentary seat. The writer argued that the right to free elections must be preserved in order to prevent Galicia from being separated entirely from Austria. This could occur only through parliamentary intervention, for all the protests on the local level (through appeals to the governor and government offices) had met with no reaction. The writer requested the Ruthenians to join his protest against the election of the Polish candidate in order to invalidate it and to hold new elections.<sup>76</sup>

Despite these disappointments, the general mood was upbeat. Schomer Israel declared the first organized Jewish political undertaking in Galicia a success. The Jews had displayed solidarity and political maturity, and had managed to overcome their political passivity.<sup>77</sup> The *Neue Freie Presse* was also full of praise for the Ruthenian–Jewish coalition, which had had to overcome strong religious differences, especially in the rural communities. No one would have believed that such an alliance might even be possible until it actually happened, the paper stated, and the results of the elections showed that political exigency was stronger than religious and social prejudice.<sup>78</sup>

In fact, the results of the elections showed the delicacy of the Jewish position in Galicia, for the Poles were quick to retaliate with severe economic sanctions against the Jews.<sup>79</sup> It took time to restore Polish–Jewish relations to a tolerable balance, and the very next elections to the Austrian parliament in 1879 saw the emergence of a politicized and well-organized Orthodox Jewry that attempted to sever the link between Jews and liberals and managed to force a new political alliance with Polish conservatives.<sup>80</sup> In that election Rabbi Szymon Sofer (Schreiber), the Orthodox rabbi of Kraków and a son of the Orthodox Hungarian rabbi Moses Sofer (the Hatam Sofer), was elected to parliament from the Kolomyia–Buchach–Snyatyn district and joined the Polish club. When interviewed by the editor of the *Gazeta Narodowa* about his political orientation, he answered:

I have no choice but to join the Polish club. The Poles are religiously devout, and I have but one goal—to strengthen religion. The Poles support the Crown, and that accords with our religion. Our religion, as taught to us by Jeremiah, tells us to seek the welfare of the

<sup>76</sup> Rada Ruska file 1, 51–2, letter dated 9 Nov.

<sup>77</sup> *Der Israelit*, no. 22, 1–2; no. 25, 2–3.

<sup>78</sup> Cited in *AZJ*, no. 45, 739.

<sup>79</sup> F. Friedmann, *Die galizischen Juden im Kampfe um ihre Gleichberechtigung, 1848–1868* (Frankfurt-on-Main, 1929), 204–5. According to Friedmann it was Jan Dobrzański, the editor of *Gazeta Narodowa*, who advocated economic measures against the Jews as an answer to the centralist direction of their politics in 1873.

<sup>80</sup> A group that advocated Polish patriotism called Dorsze Szulom (The Peace-Seekers, probably based on Jer. 29: 7), was established in 1877, and even published a newspaper, *Zgoda*. But this was a small group that ceased to be active after a short time. The Jews that supported Polish patriotism, like Dr Bernard Goldman and Dr Filip Zucker, were few in number. The Orthodox group *Machsike Hadas* declared its loyalty to the ‘people in whose midst it dwelled’. See its newspaper, *Machsike Hadas* (1880), no. 24,4.

people amongst whom we live. I will go together with the Poles to the parliament, and I will agree with what they consider to be good for the state and the monarchy.<sup>81</sup>

Later in the interview Rabbi Sofer mentioned that he often emphasized to his people the similar fates of Jews and Poles, and that he called upon them to demonstrate their gratitude to the Polish people for providing a haven for the Jews.

Statements like these led the conservative newspaper *Czas* to distinguish between 'Progressive Jews', who were attracted to Viennese Germanism, and the 'hasidim', who were closer to the Poles. Not everyone accepted this distinction, or the idea implicit in it that the Orthodox were more Polish than the liberals. There were Jewish Polonists, such as Dr Jonatan Warschauer, who said that all Galician Jews, including the Orthodox, were attracted to Viennese Germanism. The proof was that Rabbi Sofer, symbol of the new alliance with the Poles, did not speak a word of Polish.<sup>82</sup>

In conclusion, the question raised by *Die Neuzeit* in 1870 as to whether the Galician Jews would become Polish received only a partial answer by the end of the decade. The Galician Jewish support for the Liberal Constitutional Party in the early 1870s was replaced in the 1879 elections by wholesale support for the Polish Party, either because the Jews of Galicia identified with Polish aspirations, or because they recognized the inevitability of Polish political power. The short-lived attempt at independent political organization in the 1873 elections, which possessed elements of ethnic politics, faltered before it developed into a full-fledged force. The great faith in Austrian liberalism proved disappointing, for the end of the decade brought the fall of liberalism. The Galician Jews gradually left the Germanist, centralist camp, but their conduct during the 1873 election campaign had left the Poles suspicious and themselves in search of a new national identity.

<sup>81</sup> *Gazeta Narodowa*, no. 163, 7 July 1879. Rabbi Sofer blamed the liberal Schomer Israel for provocations against the Poles that led to thousands of Jews losing their livelihood. See *Machsike Hadas* (1879), no. 5, 5.

<sup>82</sup> Cited in T. Merunowicz, *O metodzie i celach rozpraw nad kwestyą żydowską* (Lviv, 1879), 23. Merunowicz, it should be noted, occupied himself greatly with the subject of the Jews. In a chapter entitled 'Hasidim and German Jews', Merunowicz tells of Rabbi Sofer's good relations with the Poles: 'Pan Schreiber is one of the most popular figures in the Polish club . . . and so, on the basis of the exchange of mutual compliments, dreams blossom in Vienna about an eternal covenant between Polonia and the hasidic Jews'. Ibid. 19. Warschauer, a Jewish physician from Kraków, was one of the first supporters of Polish patriotism, and he desired to debunk the image of patriotism that the Jewish Orthodox, led by Sofer, had appropriated for themselves. See J. Warschauer, *Agitacye Stowarzyszenia 'Machsike Hadas'* (Kraków, 1883).

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# From *Austeria* to the Manor: Jewish Landowners in Autonomous Galicia

TOMASZ GĄSOWSKI

## FROM *AUSTERIA* TO THE MANOR

‘AND thus Count Jampolski in his old age said goodbye to all luxury, whereas he, a Jew, resided in a manor, surrounded by gold, silver, porcelain, butlers, and servants. He slept in a bed with a velvet canopy, on a mattress of horsehair.’ Thus reflected Kalman Jacobi, the Jewish grain merchant and innkeeper who came to own the estate of the Polish noble family the Jampolskis and settle at the manor with his new wife Klara, in Isaac Bashevis Singer’s novel *The Manor*.<sup>1</sup> The estate’s previous owner had been exiled to Siberia following the 1863 January uprising and his goods had been confiscated. Jacobi took over the estate from its new Russian owner on a long lease.

For the historian, the story of Singer’s Jew illustrates a wider phenomenon: the purchase, by Jews living on Polish territories, of property formerly belonging to the *szlachta*. This phenomenon was one of the symptoms of the deep social changes (the dissolution of old estates of feudal origin, followed by the forming of modern social classes) that in this region accompanied the delayed growth of capitalism in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> These changes took place not only among Christian Poles but also within Jewish society.<sup>3</sup> In the latter case, the modernization of the Jewish social structure led to the formation of a new élite, the Jewish landowners.<sup>4</sup> The spread of Jewish landowning occurred not only in the Congress kingdom of Poland, where Singer’s novel is set, but on an even larger scale in autonomous Galicia. The granting of political rights here culminated with

<sup>1</sup> I. B. Singer, *The Manor* (New York, 1967).

<sup>2</sup> See W. Kula and J. Leskiewicz, *Przemiany społeczne w Królestwie Polskim, 1815–1864* (Wrocław, 1979), esp. introd. by W. Kula under the significant title ‘Rozwój gospodarczy w warunkach rosnącego zacofania’ (‘Economic Development in Conditions of Growing Backwardness’), 11–24.

<sup>3</sup> C. Goldscheider and A. Z. Zuckerman, *The Transformations of the Jews* (Chicago, 1984), 29, 94–115.

<sup>4</sup> In the very general, model-based approach of these authors, who concentrated mainly on west European Jewry, this group, specific to the small territory of Galicia and part of the Russian part of Poland, is not mentioned at all.



the final emancipation of Jews in the whole Habsburg monarchy when it legalized Jewish landowning.<sup>5</sup>

I would like to clarify a terminological issue at the outset. Two concepts with which I deal here are close, but not equivalent: *właściciele ziemscy* (landowners) and *ziemiaństwo* (landed gentry). The difference between them was not always noted in contemporary publications and is not always accepted in modern research. In my understanding, 'landowners' refer to a broader group, in which membership is usually determined solely by economic criteria, i.e. the ownership of a landed estate (of a minimum of about fifty hectares).<sup>6</sup> In the case of Galicia, there was an additional, legal criterion: the property had to be a part of the *folmark* (manor) of a former *szlachcic*, entered into the so-called 'country tabula'.<sup>7</sup> The second, narrower notion, 'landed nobility', connotes the additional existence of historical, cultural, and family ties between the owners and their land. Thus, the landed nobility were a more prestigious subset of all landowners. In addition, as part of the social stratification of the time, contemporaries considered as part of the second group those Poles of noble lineage who no longer owned estates and were only tenants or even administrators of landed property, yet who through social or family ties were still connected with this class.<sup>8</sup> This was a particularly Polish phenomenon, which resulted from the very slow pace of social change on the territory of the old Polish Commonwealth, although similar situations were not unknown in capitalist western Europe.<sup>9</sup>

To end these introductory comments, let me add that I class as Jewish landowners those Jews who owned one or several estates, sometimes spread throughout various parts of Galicia. For my purposes it does not matter whether these estates were the only means of income for their owners. (Such a distinction is hard to make even in the case of ethnically Polish owners. Some landowners had multiple sources of income, as in the example of Count Stanisław Tarnowski, professor and rector of the Jagiellonian University and president of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków, who at the same time was a leading representative of the Galician landed nobility.) Also, I restrict the inquiry to owners (rather than

<sup>5</sup> W. Häusler, 'Das Österreichische Judentum zwischen Beharrung und Fortschritt', in A. Wanduska and P. Urbanitsch (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie, 1848–1918*, iv: *Die Konfessionen* (Vienna, 1985), 644–7. Artur Eisenbach devotes much attention to this problem in *Emancypacja Żydów na ziemiach Polskich 1785–1870 na tle europejskim* (Warsaw, 1988), 366–73, 534–53.

<sup>6</sup> J. Leskiewiczowa and I. Rychlikowa, 'Ziemiaństwo', in *Przemiany społeczne*, 374.

<sup>7</sup> T. Pilat, 'Własność tabularna w Galicji', *Wiadomości statystyczne o stosunkach Krajowych*, 12 (1891), 12, no. 1, 6.

<sup>8</sup> The first notion, which is close to Marxist interpretation, is presented in numerous publications by I. Rychlikowa, most fully in 'Problemy pojęciowe i metodyczne w badaniach nad uwarstwieniem ziemiaństwa królestwa Polskiego w epoce przekształcania się społeczeństwa stanowego w klasowe', in S. Kalabiński (ed.), *Metody i wyniki: Z warsztatu historyka dziejów społecznych* (Warsaw, 1979).

<sup>9</sup> I do not mean to imply that the rural landowners' way of life ceased to be attractive in western Europe, as the example of 19th-century England illustrates. See M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, 1978).

lessees) because, although at the end of the nineteenth century Jews who leased landed property constituted a group of several hundred,<sup>10</sup> legal details such as the periods and areas of lease and the methods of payment are unknown. Finally, it should be mentioned that the two categories 'landowners' and 'tenants' do not exhaust all Jewish connections with land in autonomous Galicia. A considerable amount of land seized from peasants to cover their debts also found its way into Jewish hands, but its size is impossible to determine.<sup>11</sup>

### THE BENEFIT OF EMANCIPATION

Possessing land in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was one of the fundamental prerogatives reserved to the *szlachta* estate. Thus Jews were not legally permitted to buy or lease landed property,<sup>12</sup> despite their long-standing ties with the feudal rural economy as factors, as dealers of agricultural products (including products from manors), and as arendars. These limitations remained in force after the partitions of Poland. In Galicia a governor's circular of 20 March 1793 denied Jews the right to purchase landed property, known as real estate. However, land purchased earlier—during the transition period when the legal system for the new Austrian province had not yet been detailed—could be kept and even inherited.<sup>13</sup> We can therefore assume that at the end of the eighteenth century the first Jewish landowners had already appeared in Galicia.<sup>14</sup>

Further changes occurred during the 1848–9 period known as the Spring of Nations. The emperor's patent of 4 March 1849 declared civil and political rights to be independent of religion. This effectively granted full citizens' rights to Jews in the Habsburg monarchy. Some Jews at once made use of the situation to purchase landed property previously inaccessible to them.<sup>15</sup> It was a moment of great importance, and with lasting effects. Not even the subsequent limitations on the rights of Jews detailed in the emperor's order of 1853 could totally reverse the outcome of the two revolutionary years. A group of Jewish landowners can be traced to the mid-1850s, even though it was small, consisting of just nineteen people.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> F. Morawski, 'Dzierżawcy w obrębie własności tabularnej w Galicji', *Wiadomości Statystyczne o Stosunkach Krajowych*, 15 (1895), no. 2, 17.

<sup>11</sup> T. Zajączkowski, 'Licytacje sądowe posiadłości włościańskich i małomiejskich w Galicji', *Wiadomości statystyczne o stosunkach Krajowych*, 15 (1896), no. 3, table 9.

<sup>12</sup> A. Eisenbach, *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów w królestwie Polskim* (Warsaw, 1972), 126.

<sup>13</sup> Pilat, 'Własność tabularna w Galicji', 7.

<sup>14</sup> Austrian army censuses of 1789 and 1809 name one Izaak Brunstein as the owner of the Uhrynkowce estate in the Chortkiv *cyrkul* (district). K. Ślusarek, *Szlachta w Galicji Wschodniej na przełomie XVIII i XIX w.: Rozmieszczenie i liczebność* (Kraków, 1994), 236.

<sup>15</sup> Pilat, 'Własność tabularna w Galicji', 7.

<sup>16</sup> W. Kula, *Skorowidz wszystkich miejscowości położonych w królestwie Galicji i Lodomerii* (Lviv, 1855), *passim*. At the same time there were twenty-three Jews in the Polish kingdom who owned landed property. A. Eisenbach, 'Dobra ziemskie w posiadaniu Żydów', in *Spółeczeństwo królestwa Polskiego* (Warsaw, 1968), iii. 245.

Several years later, on the initiative of the minister of the interior, Count Agenor Gołuchowski, the emperor issued a decree which applied only to the Austrian part of Poland. According to this decree, Jews who had graduated from gymnasium or trade school or had reached the rank of officer (all considered marks of civilization) could freely purchase and inherit real estate.<sup>17</sup> This order defined a Jewish élite in Galicia, giving them an opportunity to gain equal rights with non-Jews on an individual basis.<sup>18</sup> This small group became visible with the first election to the Sejm Krajowy in Lviv in 1861: thirty-eight Jews now numbered among those entitled to vote in the landowners' curia.<sup>19</sup>

This points to another important aspect of Jewish landowning. The ownership of real estate in autonomous Galicia was not only an economic issue; it also had important political ramifications, as real estate granted its owner a privileged position in the electoral system.<sup>20</sup> This fact greatly influenced public opinion on whether or not to permit Jews to purchase unlimited land. Disputes broke out in parliament during the session of December 1865. The proposal of Agenor Gołuchowski, now governor of Galicia, for 'full equality for Jews in so far as purchase of landed property is concerned' encountered the opposing proposal of another deputy, Father Guszakiewicz, to keep the existing limitations in force.<sup>21</sup> In the end neither of these propositions were submitted to further debate, because the general political situation changed with the granting of the December constitution two years later, when all remaining legal limitations concerning Jews were swept away. In this way Galician Jewry finally received the right to the unlimited purchase of landed property, together with all concomitant civil and political rights.<sup>22</sup>

## STRUCTURE AND DISLOCATION

The group of Jewish landowners, still not numerous at the turn of the decade, grew rapidly in the 1870s. The crash of the stock market in Vienna in 1873 hit many landowners in Galicia badly;<sup>23</sup> the result was a favourable situation for

<sup>17</sup> C. A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790-1918* (London, 1971), 502.

<sup>18</sup> Similar action was taken by authorities in the Russian part of partitioned Poland. Eisenbach, *Kwestia*, 133.

<sup>19</sup> W. Lewicki, *Nasze czy obce żywności* (Lviv, 1899), 7.

<sup>20</sup> According to the law regulating elections to the Sejm Krajowy in Galicia from 1861, electors were divided into four electoral groups, or curiae, in a way that clearly favoured the landowners of the first curia. 'Statut Krajowy królestwa Galicji i Lodomerii z Wielkim Księstwem Krakowskim', in M. Bobrzyński, W. L. Jaworski, and J. Milewski (eds.), *Z dziejów odrodzenia politycznego w Galicji, 1859-1873* (Warsaw, 1905).

<sup>21</sup> W. Koziembrodzki, *Repertorium czynności galicyjskiego Sejmu Krajowego od 1861 po rok 1883* (Lviv, 1885), 25.

<sup>22</sup> This problem was the subject of parliamentary debate also in autumn 1868. See *Mowy posła Franciszka Smolki wygłoszone na posiedzeniach galicyjskiego Sejmu dnia 30 XI i 8 X 1868 r. w kwestii żydowskiej* (Lviv, 1899), *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> Lewicki, *Nasze czy obce*, 8.

affluent Jews to purchase mortgaged property, either privately or at auction. By 1876 in all Galicia 289 landed estates were already in Jewish hands.<sup>24</sup>

The lasting crisis of Galician agriculture steadily worsened the position of Polish landowners, especially the poorest ones.<sup>25</sup> The constant breaking up of large old family estates changed the structure of landownership and promoted this process as well.<sup>26</sup> New people, including some wealthy Jews, took the place of former landowning families of noble lineage. In this situation, the number of Jewish landowners rose continuously, if unevenly (see Table 1). At the beginning of the twentieth century their number exceeded 500, and before the First World War there were 561 Jewish landowners; Jews then constituted 22 per cent of landowners in Galicia.<sup>27</sup>

The concentration of Jewish landowners varied from region to region. There were more in eastern Galicia, especially in Podolia and Pokucie, in the Ternopil', Zolochiv, Stanisławów, and Berezhany districts.<sup>28</sup> In western Galicia, a large concentration existed only in the Tarnów region, but this was the highest in all Galicia. Yet the constant growth of this group, in both absolute and relative terms, was not always accompanied by a parallel growth in the *area* of land owned by Jews. Especially in the last years of the nineteenth century the total Jewish-owned area diminished noticeably (see Table 2). This decrease resulted from the sale of large complexes of land belonging to the Groedl and Zadik cooperatives and to Moritz (Maurycy) Lazarus and Jonatan Laufer, who treated landed property only as speculative goods.<sup>29</sup> But in the following years the total area of Jewish property rose again, in 1912 exceeding 342,000 hectares, or 16 per cent of the total area of privately owned landed estates in Galicia.

On the eve of the First World War there was thus a notable difference between the proportion of Jews among all landowners (22 per cent) and the proportion of Jewish-owned land among all estates (16 per cent). Jewish estates were smaller than average for Galicia. The difference illustrates the place of the Jewish landowners in the general structure of landownership and reflects the small size of the Jewish population, an issue to which I shall return below.

Let us also note the uneven territorial distribution of Jewish property, which only partly fits the image painted above. It was the Stryj district, where Jews

<sup>24</sup> This was not equal to the number of owners, since, as noted, some Jews owned several landed estates at that time.

<sup>25</sup> F. Bujak, *Galicja* (Lviv, 1908), i. 273.

<sup>26</sup> A. Dąbski, *Obecny proces przemiany podziału własności ziemskiej w Galicji* (Kraków, 1905), 13–14.

<sup>27</sup> Here we again omit Jewish *tenants* of estates, for reasons noted above. See Morawski, 'Dzierżawcy', *passim*. Nevertheless, it deserves mention that, according to my investigations, at the end of the 19th century 54 per cent of all leased property was leased by Jews.

<sup>28</sup> This information concerns juridical regions (*obwody sądowe*) that covered 3–8 *powiats*. Some of the statistical information is available only according to this administrative division.

<sup>29</sup> K. Hempel, 'Stosunki większej własności ziemskiej w Galicji', *Wiadomości Statystyczne o Stosunkach Krajowych*, 7 (1881), no. 1, 109.

Table 1. Jewish and Total Landowners in Galicia, 1889–1912

Year	Total Galician landowners <sup>a</sup> (No.)	Jewish landowners	
		(No.)	%
1889	2,331	305	13.1
1902	2,905	533	18.3
1912	2,534	561	22.1

Note: I include individuals, not institutions.

<sup>a</sup>Incl. all owners of landed estates.

Sources: W. Lewicki, *Nasze czy obce żywioty* (Lviv, 1889); S. Gruński (ed.), *Materiały do kwestii żydowskiej w Galicji* (Lviv, 1910); and J. Rutkowski, 'Własność tabularna w Galicji wg stanu z końca, 1912 r.', *Wiadomości statystyczne o stosunkach Krajowych*, 25 (1918), no. 5.

Table 2. Area of Jewish-owned and total Galician landed estates, 1889–1912

Year	Total landed estates (ha.)	Total Jewish-owned estates (ha.)	
		estates (ha.)	%
1889	2,567,327	340,498	13.3
1902	2,385,511	301,619	12.6
1912	2,131,470	342,148	16.0

Notes: I include individuals only, not institutions.

Sources: Lewicki, *Nasze czy obce żywioty*; Gruński, *Materiały do kwestii żydowskiej*; Rutkowski, 'Własność tabularna'; and J. Buzek, 'Własność tabularna w Galicji wg stanu z końca, 1902 r.', *Wiadomości statystyczne o stosunkach Krajowych*, 20 (1905), no. 3.

owned 36 per cent of landed estates, that took first place for Jewish ownership, followed by the Sanok and Ternopil' districts (see Table 3). If we examine Galicia according to its division into *powiats* (districts) (Map 1), the following areas of high Jewish ownership also stand out: Skole (76 per cent of landed estates), Lesko (34 per cent), Horodenka (26 per cent), and Dolina, Turka, Borshchiv, and Skalat (all of them 24 per cent). The percentage of Jewish property in the west Galician *powiats* was minimal; in some it barely reached 1 per cent. This particular distribution of Jewish property was determined by several factors: first, the undiminishing interest in woods and forests, found mainly in the eastern Carpathians; secondly, the general structure of property, as landed estates were initially larger in eastern Galicia; and thirdly, the distribution of Jews in Galicia, whose main centres of concentration were in the eastern part.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> In 1910 eastern Galicia was home to 75 per cent of Galician Jewry. T. Gałowski, 'Jewish Communities in Autonomous Galicia: Their Size and Distribution', *The Jews in Poland*, 1 (1992), 205–22.

Table 3. Jewish landowning in Galicia by juridical region, 1912

Juridical region (district)	Total landed estates (ha.)	Jewish-owned estates	
		(ha.)	(%)
Berezhany	144,733	19,907	13.7
Chortkiv	150,391	21,761	14.5
Jasło	50,200	3,081	6.1
Kolomyia	64,741	11,140	17.2
Kraków	70,671	2,539	3.6
Lviv	252,733	25,931	10.2
Nowy Sącz	55,994	4,549	8.1
Przemyśl	152,455	8,494	5.6
Rzeszów	171,227	13,346	7.8
Sambir	118,023	18,437	15.6
Sanok	126,697	36,363	28.7
Stanyslaviv	146,747	21,896	14.9
Stryi	241,967	87,191	36.0
Tarnów	92,604	16,118	17.4
Ternopil'	100,391	22,564	22.5
Wadowice	99,754	1,195	1.2
Zolochiv	194,313	27,636	14.2

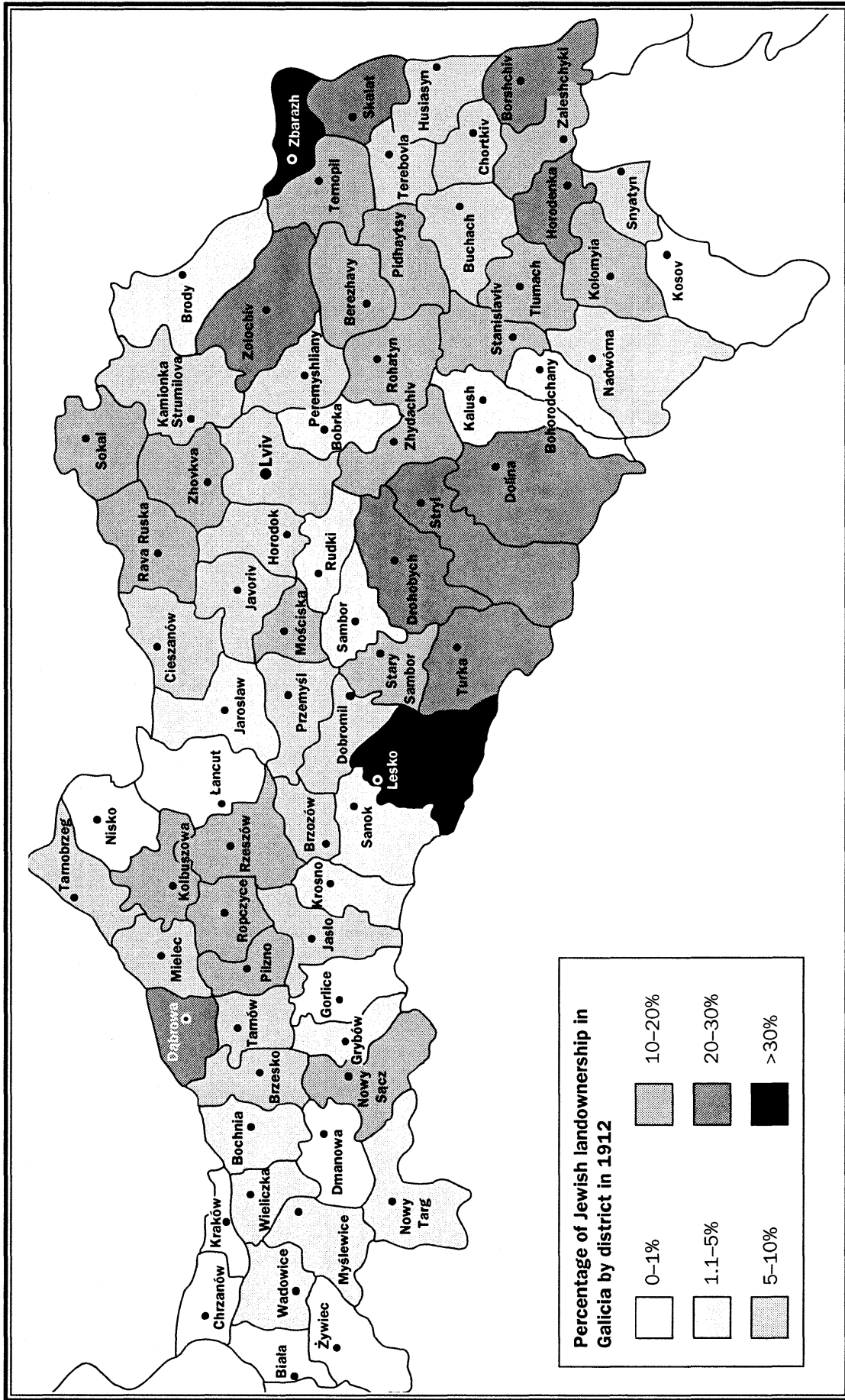
Note: I include individuals, not institutions.

Source: Rutkowski, 'Własność tabularna'.

Jewish landowners were a diverse group. For the sake of closer investigation I shall use one single, economically fundamental criterion: the size of the property owned. The structure of this group by property size is presented in Table 4. As the data indicate, at the turn of the century it was the owners of small estates not exceeding 500 hectares who were most numerous. The percentage of Jewish landowners declined as estate size grew. (Nevertheless, Jews are present in all categories of proprietors, including the owners of great latifundia.) In the first years of the twentieth century this characteristic distribution of proportions grew even sharper. Both supply and demand for small estates continued to grow.<sup>31</sup> This created a mechanism that favoured the fast growth of Jewish landed property in autonomous Galicia.

Let us now compare the differentiation of Jewish-owned property to the general structure of Galician estate-owning. Table 5 brings together relevant data from previous conclusions. Jews constituted the highest percentage among the smallest-scale estate-owners. In 1902 every fifth (and ten years later every fourth) landowner was a Jew. Among the medium-scale landowners, the percentage of Jewish landowners was also considerable, and higher than in the whole group, and it grew over ten years, reaching almost 19 per cent. The table also shows that the percentage of Jews drops as we move towards larger-scale categories of ownership.

<sup>31</sup> F. Bujak, *O naprawie ustroju rolnego w Polsce* (Kraków, 1919), 73.



MAP 1. Jewish large landholding in Galicia. Based on J. Rutowski, 'Własność tabularna w Galicji wg stanu z końca 1912 r.', *Wiadomości statystyczne o stosunkach Krajowych*, 25 (1918), no. 5, table 17

Table 4. Jewish landowners in Galicia by property size, 1902 and 1912

Size of property (ha.)	Jewish landowners, 1902		Jewish landowners, 1912	
	No.	%	No.	%
>5,000	4	0.7	4	0.7
4,001–5,000	3	0.6	3	0.5
3,001–4,000	3	0.6	3	0.5
2,001–3,000	11	2.1	9	1.6
1,001–2,000	44	8.2	50	8.9
751–1,000	18	3.4	20	3.6
501–750	65	12.2	65	11.6
251–500	155	29.1	141	25.1
101–250	148	28.8	158	28.2
<100	82	15.4	108	19.2
Total	533	100.0	561	100.0

Note: I include individuals, not institutions.

Source: Rutkowski, 'Własność tabularna'.

Table 5. Jewish and total Galician landowners by property size, 1902 and 1912

Size of property (ha.)	Landowners, 1902			Landowners, 1912		
	Total	Jewish		Total	Jewish	
		No.	%		No.	%
Latifundia (>5,000)	58	4	6.9	55	4	6.9
Large (2,001–5,000)	156	17	10.9	134	15	11.2
Medium (501–2,000)	846	127	15.0	720	135	18.7
Small (<500)	1,545	385	20.9	1,622	407	25.1

Note: I include individuals, not institutions.

Source: Rutkowski, 'Własność tabularna'.

Analysing the data presented in the tables, we find that at the end of the last century the economic presence of Jews among the Galician landowners was considerable, and was somewhat more striking in the structure of landowners than in land owned. The handful of Jewish landowners was, of course, not representative of Galicia's Jewish population in general.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, its existence was significant in two respects. First of all, it was a sign of growing Jewish interest in agriculture, which represented a break from their former necessarily one-sided economic

<sup>32</sup> In 1912 Jewish landowners in Galicia constituted 0.2 per cent of all professionally active Jews. T. Gąsowski, 'Struktura społeczno-zawodowa Żydów galicyjskich na początku XX w.', *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 1-2 (1988), 69, table 10.



activity. Secondly, the formation of a Jewish landowning group was more advanced in Galicia than anywhere else in this part of Europe.

### THE SOCIAL PROVENANCE OF THE JEWISH LANDOWNERS

We now turn to these Jewish landowners themselves. Who were they? Had some of their paths led from *austeria* (the inn) to manor? What motives were behind their decisions to purchase land? Finally, how did their landowning influence their social status in the eyes of both Poles and Jews?

Jewish landowners initially numbered in the tens and later several hundreds, and I consider them over a period of more than half a century. Their character is hard to determine, owing to the scarcity of sources. We can assume that at the end of 1870s such landowners were mainly people affected by the Haskalah, who accepted some elements of German culture. They derived primarily from financial circles, but some merchants or even occasionally members of the growing Jewish intelligentsia (usually professionals such as doctors or lawyers) became landowners as well. Some, such as Jakub Hertz-Bernstein, Józef Hersz Mizes, and Samuel Horowitz, had played a political role in the 1848 revolution and the later struggle for the constitution and for Galician autonomy.<sup>33</sup>

Among the first Jewish landowners were financiers such as Nathan Kallir, joint owner of the largest Galician bank in the 1870s and president of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Brody; Julius Kolischer, founder of the joint-stock mortgage bank in Lviv; the Lviv merchants Józef Hersz Mizes and Lazar Dubs; the lawyer Emanuel Blumenfeld,<sup>34</sup> and Leon Witz, who was a doctor or lawyer. Regarding another such landowner, Süskind Rosenstock, we know only that he had made a fortune on military supplies during the Crimean War.<sup>35</sup>

In the following decades the group became less homogeneous as it grew, but those who can be identified came from a similar social level to those listed above. However, the newcomers differed from their predecessors in that many were assimilated, Polonized Jews with links to Polish culture. Some had even had certificates of nobility bestowed on them by the emperor Franz Joseph.<sup>36</sup> The lawyers Natan Loewenstein, Arnold Rappoport, and Henryk Kolischer, who were deputies to the regional diet in Lviv and to the Vienna state council;<sup>37</sup> the bankers Moritz (Maurycy) Lazarus, Samuel Horowitz, and Józef Nathanson; Marek Dubs, an industrialist and social activist; and finally Henryk Blumenstock von Halban, a journalist and politician tied to Kraków—these men ranked among the most

<sup>33</sup> F. Friedman, 'Dzieje Żydów w Galicji', in *Żydzi w Polsce odrodzonej* (Warsaw, 1932), i. 386–9.

<sup>34</sup> My information on their careers comes from *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1978), x. 716, 1163, iv. 1139; I. Schipper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich* (Warsaw, 1937), 440–2; and Friedman, 'Dzieje Żydów w Galicji', 386.

<sup>35</sup> M. Rosco-Bogdanowicz, *Wspomnienia* (Kraków, 1959), i. 201.

<sup>36</sup> L. Korwin, *Szlachta mojżeszowa* (Kraków, 1938), 41, 57, 118.

<sup>37</sup> Their life stories are in *Polski Słownik biograficzny* (Kraków, 1935). xxvii. 522, xxx. 583, xiii. 583.

outstanding figures in political, economic, and social life in autonomous Galicia.<sup>38</sup> The Gartenbergs, who founded an oil refinery near Drohobych, were also land-owning industrialists.<sup>39</sup> The following baronial families were among the largest Jewish landowners: the Poppers of Velizh, the Groedls of Skole, the Frankels of Bilcz, the Diamansteins of Volozhin, the Kisslingers of Kryve, the Lidenbaums of Boryslav, the Ottokrons of Verchrata, the Selzers of Zolochiv, the Saphirs of Cieszanov, the Schaffs of Brody, and the Wittlins of Stojanov.<sup>40</sup>

Later, twentieth-century registers of landowners in Galicia list a number of Jews who were among the third generation to become landowners, in addition to mentioning the prominent individuals and families named above. This newest group was from a different social background and did not belong to the enlightened and assimilated Jewish élite. Among them would be men who, like the fictional Kalman Jacobi, started their careers as arendars, innkeepers, factors, or petty merchants and rose to own land themselves. Due to the skill and hard work of the whole family, they managed to acquire sufficient capital to buy land, often part of a manor that was being parcelled out. From the end of the nineteenth century, when land in Galicia became a commodity in which one could trade freely, the road from *austeria* to manor not only was possible but provided some Jewish families with a type of economic advancement.

Two motives were essential in inspiring Jews to purchase landed property. The first was economic. Estates were a secure investment. New landowners could multiply their capital by exploiting woods, alcohol distilleries, mills, brick factories, and sawmills that came with the estate. (Agriculture—both arable and animal husbandry—was less profitable and therefore less attractive. Moreover, it required expertise of a sort initially unknown to most Jews.<sup>41</sup>)

The second motive was of a social character. Purchasing an estate was the best way to try to raise one's prestige, and not only among the Jews. But while the first, economic motive brought about measurable effects, the second was less reliable. If we omit the few cases of totally assimilated, baptized families who were later absorbed into the ethnically Polish landowning class,<sup>42</sup> in most cases Jewish

<sup>38</sup> Based on *Skorowidz przemysłowo-handlowy Królestwa Galicji i Lodomerii* (Lviv, 1906), 46–8; Schipper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego*, 440; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, xii. 866; *Polski słownik biograficzny*, v. 439, ix. 244.

<sup>39</sup> Schipper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego*, 437.

<sup>40</sup> *Skorowidz dóbr tabularnych w Galicji* (Lviv, 1890; Kraków, 1905); *Dodatek do skorowidza* (Kraków, 1909). See also T. Rutowski, 'Przemysł drzewny', in *Rocznik statystyczny przemysłu i handlu Krajowego* (Lviv, 1888), no. 1, 50–1, on the stories of the Popper and Groedl families. Baron Bertalol Popper, at the turn of the century, owned the fifth-largest landed estate in Galicia, an area of 33,000 ha. Groedl's fortune was almost as large, although formally it belonged to a cooperative.

<sup>41</sup> In 1912 woods still covered over 54 per cent of the area of Jewish properties. J. Rutkowski, 'Własność tabularna w Galicji wg stanu z końca, 1912 r.', *Wiadomości statystyczne o stosunkach Krajowych*, 25 (1918), no. 5, p. xiv.

<sup>42</sup> The Brunicki (Brunstein) family is an example of Jews who entered the ranks of Galician landed nobility in the second generation. Rosco-Bogdanowicz, *Wspomnienia*, 124; *Polski słownik biograficzny*, iii. 22.

purchase of landed estates led to conflicts between their social and material status, because, contrary to expectations, their social status did not simultaneously undergo as radical a change as their material condition.<sup>43</sup>

### IN POLISH EYES

Opinions in Polish society about Jewish Galician landowners varied and changed over time. Stanisław Szczepanowski, in his well-known work *Nędza w Galicji w cyfrach* ('The Statistics of Galician Poverty'), noted that

one of the good aspects of the passing of a number of landed estates into Jewish hands—which is so dangerous for us because of the subjection of Jewish owners to *starostas* [Austrian, not local Galician, authorities]—is that slowly a group of people is developing who feel deeper responsibility towards the nation and try to maintain a higher level of character and honour.<sup>44</sup>

Another contemporary journalist, Witold Lewicki, expressed similar views. He, too, regretted the losses of Polish ownership but maintained that Jewish landowners could be assimilated 'in an easy and radical way. They should simply be introduced into the *szlachta*'s salons, which can and should be done.'<sup>45</sup> But in fact, those salons remained closed to Jews. Therefore, there was no repetition of the case of the Armenians who a century earlier had attempted to enter the Galician landowner class and were quickly and fully accepted.<sup>46</sup> The Jews could not break down the barriers separating them from the Polish landowners.<sup>47</sup> Their own salons, if they had them, remained empty of non-Jews; only people from the same group (or to use a contemporary term, the same sphere) visited them. Yet just how much the Jewish landowners genuinely tried to change this mutual isolation remains uncertain, as many lived outside their estates, not even treating them as country residences.<sup>48</sup>

Only a few scattered Jews began to lead a typically rural way of life, working in the country in person and earning themselves at least partial acceptance by their Polish neighbours. Such was the case of Rachmiel Kanarek from Skowierzyn, who owned a large estate in Tarnobrzeg *powiat*, whom Count Jan Tarnowski later

<sup>43</sup> Eisenbach stresses this: *Dobra*, 247.

<sup>44</sup> S. Szczepanowski, *Nędza Galicji w cyfrach: Program energicznego rozwoju gospodarstwa krajowego* (Lviv, 1888), 129.

<sup>45</sup> Lewicki, *Nasze czy obce*, 87.

<sup>46</sup> L. Korwin, *Ormiańskie rody szlacheckie* (Kraków, 1934), 45, 51; K. Krzeczunowicz, *Historia jednego rodu i dwu emigracji* (London, 1971), 60–1.

<sup>47</sup> There was no institution that would work towards such a goal. This role was fulfilled neither by the Sejm Krajowy nor by such other autonomous bodies as the *powiat* councils, the Galician Agricultural Society of Kraków, or the Galician Economic Society of Lviv. The most important economic society, Towarzystwo Kredytowe Ziemskie (Country Credit Society), was especially exclusive.

<sup>48</sup> I. Schipper, 'Żydzi w rolnictwie na terenie Małopolski', in his *Żydzi w Polsce odrodzonej* (Warsaw, 1933), ii. 426, 429.

eulogized as having been an exemplary landowner and citizen.<sup>49</sup> These 'new people' were treated favourably by the more honourable section of Galician society. Franciszek Bujak, who was far from philosemitic, expressed respect for agriculturally active Jews when he wrote:

Jews usually start work without specialized education, and, even later on, the clever conduct of their business and the trade side of their rural economy are foremost, yet they do, slowly, acquire the necessary farming knowledge from books and through observation. Jews are said to constitute 80 per cent of those seeking advice at the experimental agricultural station in Dublany. This proves that they approach their work rationally.<sup>50</sup>

This pragmatic point of view was expressed even by Józef Dziedzic, who wrote several attacks on Jews in Galicia. He acknowledged that the 'traditional rural atmosphere, new but healthy, into which a Jewish landowner entered could create a civic spirit, if not totally then at least in part, which, if not from religion then from tradition and life, would inspire him to perform noble deeds worth preserving in the treasury of social deeds alongside those of Christians'.<sup>51</sup> Thus, it was not only accepted but formulated in writing that an individual Jew could enter into closer contact with the country nobility (at the price of complete acculturation).

Yet, despite these examples of openness, an opposing view prevailed. The passing of land into Jewish hands had aroused uneasiness from the very start. Negative opinions were voiced in the Sejm debates of the 1860s and disseminated through the following decades in political articles and tracts.<sup>52</sup> They touched on a more general problem current in all three parts of partitioned Poland. The 'land struggle', that was so evident in the Prussian and Russian parts of Poland did not pass unnoticed in Galicia. Yet, in the absence of any clear Austrian anti-Polish policy, it was the Jews who were proclaimed the enemy. Such opinions would strengthen in the twentieth century, especially in National Democratic circles, but they were a distortion of the struggle to defend Polishness that was being conducted in the two other sectors of Poland. This is clearly illustrated in the writings of Bogusław Longchamps de Berier, who came from Galician landowning circles and was linked with the most important land institution in Galicia, Towarzystwo Kredytowe Ziemskie, the Land Credit Society. In his memoirs, written years later, he describes the situation in Galician agriculture at the end of the autonomous period:

A foreign element started to force its way among the landowners. At first this element purchased land and did not harm the Polish landowners . . . often enriching it with its people and positive values. Yet [now,] at the beginning of the present century, and in connection

<sup>49</sup> J. Dziedzic, *Żyd we wsi: Z zagadnień przyszłości narodowej* (Lviv, 1913), 161.

<sup>50</sup> F. Bujak, *Galicja* (Lviv, 1908), i. 161.

<sup>51</sup> Dziedzic, *Żyd we wsi*, 31.

<sup>52</sup> T. Merunowicz, *Żydzi: Studium społeczne* (Lviv, 1879), 32; Lewicki, *Nasze czy obce*, 38; J. Cierniewski, *My a Żydzi: Przyczynek do kwestii żydowskiej* (Lviv, 1898), 30. Especially characteristic is a comment by the last: 'Thirty-five years from now not one larger landed property will be in Christian hands, and seventy years from now even peasants shall lose their land.' Cierniewski further maintains that a country arendar is a future landowner.

with the growth of the Jewish nationalist movement, separatist feelings are growing stronger at the very moment when more and more landed estates are passing into foreign hands and the class of Polish land tenants is vanishing almost entirely, and it is the Jews who are almost the only tenants.<sup>53</sup>

In the years just before the First World War the National Democrats played up the landownership problem in their publications and, independently of the alarmism about vanishing Polish landownership, a more strictly political argument appeared. In the final discussions on reform of the law on elections to the regional diet critics pointed out that in some regions the Jewish electorate exceeded one-fifth of those entitled to vote in the large landowners' electoral curia.<sup>54</sup>

It was not only the intelligentsia and landowners who viewed the Jewish landowners with anxiety. Peasants, too, expressed their concern, both individually and at the level of the leaders of the rural movements.<sup>55</sup> Wincenty Witos, recalling the situation in his native Tarnów *powiat*, lamented that the *szlachta*'s place had been 'quickly taken by Maschlerows, Butermans, Hofstädters, and the like, who took landed estates as if to store them, since they either sold them to peasants, earning a fortune, or used them for a few years, to pass them on to others, destroyed and exploited'.<sup>56</sup>

Negative passages like this, written both at the time and years later, suggest that a considerable part of the Polish community in Galicia, especially in the early twentieth century, when nationalist feelings were rising on both sides, viewed the Jewish landowners unfavourably, as insidious intruders trying to penetrate the ranks of the Polish landowners and reduce Polish ownership of land.<sup>57</sup>

As for the mutual relations between Jewish landowners and the rest of the Jewish community, the question is to what extent, if any, did the landowners play the role of an élite in the developing modern Jewish society.<sup>58</sup> The situation varied by case and over time, of course. Members of this group were doubtless well off, often very rich, and in the economic sense did form a sort of élite. Yet the fundamental issue is whether they actually felt any ties to the rest of their co-religionists,

<sup>53</sup> B. Longchamps de Berier, *Ochrzczony na szablach powstańczych: Wspomnienia, 1884-1918* (Wrocław, 1983), 249.

<sup>54</sup> [E. Dubanowicz], *Sejmowa reforma wyborcza: Kuria wielkiej własności* (Lviv, 1913), 9.

<sup>55</sup> 'If Jews decided to settle on their land, and work there, then today all land would belong to them, and they would be complete masters in the country.' J. Słomka, *Pamiętnik włościanina od pańszczyzny do dni dzisiejszych*, 2nd edn. (Kraków, 1929), 145.

<sup>56</sup> W. Witos, *Moje wspomnienia* (Warsaw, 1978), 203.

<sup>57</sup> For example, Dąbski writes: 'Taking land away from people who are nationally conscious, and giving it the attributes of common merchandise, would not appear to be without effect for the fate of the nation.' *Obecny proces przemiany*, 20.

<sup>58</sup> Technical definitions of 'élite' are as diverse as they are numerous. They are discussed by N. Senkowska-Gluck, 'Pojęcie elity i jego przydatność dla badań historycznych', in *Spółeczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX w.* (Warsaw, 1982), vii. 11-17, which provides a rich bibliography. I use the term here in its everyday sense, to connote a small group of people who play a decisive social role in some sphere of life. I am naturally conscious of the imprecision of such usage.

and whether the rest of the Jewish community in turn acknowledged their superior position in the social sphere.

In general two Jewish reactions to the phenomenon of Jewish landowning can be identified. The first trend, already distinguishable in the 1880s, was the approval of enlightened Jews who perceived a need to round out the Jewish socio-economic structure with a segment linked to agriculture. In this context, the appearance of Jewish landowners in Galicia was a positive phenomenon that could be interpreted as the long-awaited 'class change' among the Jews.<sup>59</sup> Supporting this interpretation was the fact that some Jewish landowners were ready to participate in educating other young Jewish farmers.<sup>60</sup> This idea, propagated by the Israelitische Allianz of Vienna, was soon accepted and adapted by the Zionist movement, which considered Galicia optimal for such a task, since Jewish contacts with agriculture were stronger there than in other Austrian lands (not to mention Russia, where the formal prohibition against Jews' owning land was still in force).<sup>61</sup> But no less important was the other side of the problem, namely the price that well-off Jews paid, or were willing to pay, to be closer to the Polish landowners.

A second Jewish response was the conviction, at least partly correct, that landowning Jews were all too ready to loosen their ties with the Jewish community, often going so far as to break with it entirely.<sup>62</sup> Such worries were expressed not only by the Zionists, who saw the problem as one of strictly nationalist interest, but also by Wilhelm Feldman, a socialist advocate of assimilation.<sup>63</sup> Some of the Zionists' proclamations echoed the phrases of non-Jewish nationalists, this time formulated by Jews, for Jews. They considered it necessary to keep land for the sake of the future of the nation; thus, those new landowners who sought only to multiply their fortune and improve their position in non-Jewish society were regarded with mistrust.<sup>64</sup> In this sense, agricultural careers were seen as weakening

<sup>59</sup> Eisenbach, *Emancypacja*, 51–60. The concept of 'normalizing' the Jewish economic structure originated at the end of the 18th century in non-Jewish circles and was partly accepted by Jews only after the emancipation period, in the second half of the 19th century.

<sup>60</sup> The Lviv *Izraelita*, on 1 Dec. 1885, brought news of Jewish landowners who had met in Ulaszkowce and expressed their readiness to accept 248 Jewish boys as students of the farmer's trade, according to the suggestions of the Viennese Allianz Israelitische. Articles similar in spirit had already appeared in another assimilationist newspaper, the Lviv *Ojczyzna* (1882, no. 12).

<sup>61</sup> J. Tenenbaum, *Żydowskie problemy gospodarcze w Galicji* (Vienna, 1918), 97. According to my previous calculations, 13.5 per cent of all professionally active Jews in Galicia in 1910 worked in agriculture: Gąsowski, 'Struktura', table 2.

<sup>62</sup> The case of landowner Rudolf Gall, who was elected deputy in 1908 on behalf of the National Democratic Party, was characteristic, and extensively commented on by the Kraków *Tygodnik*, (21 Feb. 1908), organ of the Niezawisli Żydzi (Independent Jews), a small liberal-democratic party.

<sup>63</sup> The unfavourable characteristics of his protagonist Elias Harmor, who carefully hides evidence of his Jewish descent, testifies to this. See Feldman's novel *Piękna Żydówka* (Kraków, 1890), 152–3.

<sup>64</sup> 'The enriched merchants and industrialists willingly purchased landed property, like the title of landowner, as it guaranteed them a higher social status.' Friedman, 'Dzieje Żydów w Galicji', 405.

national ties, and the sale of land was condemned.<sup>65</sup> Thus, in Zionist opinion, the existence of small or medium Jewish landownership was more favourable than of large latifundia.<sup>66</sup> As a consequence, the developing group of Jewish landowners was not seen as one of the new élites of the modern Jewish nation; in fact, the landowners did not even approach the status that landowners would enjoy in Poland during the Second Republic.

In light of these findings Jewish landowners in Galicia should be seen as a specific social group, suspended between the Polish landowners and the masses of their co-religionists, who distrusted them and with whom their ties slowly dissolved. Of course, not all ties were broken. Religion remained the most important cementing factor. Moreover, individuals often changed their personal attitudes, especially in the face of unbreakable barriers between the Jewish manorial residents and their often poorer and less educated Polish neighbours.<sup>67</sup> After all, material interests determined by economic necessity—which were practically the only meeting-point—could not compensate for the impediments to social advancement in the strictly hierarchical society of pre-war Galicia.

#### THE PLACE OF JEWISH LANDOWNERS IN THE SOCIAL LANDSCAPE

If this analysis is correct, we face one final question. Were the Jewish landowners a new *social class*—people who not only shared a similar material status but also formed a community with a common value system—or were they just a heterogeneous, free group of individuals who all simply happened to be Jewish and own land? It is hard to give a definite answer without investigating the contacts that existed within the group (their social relations and rules for choosing marriage partners) and above all the consciousness of individuals. This is a fascinating area, but one that is difficult to explore because of the lack of primary sources from these circles, such as memoirs, letters, and publications.<sup>68</sup>

For the period of emergence of the new Jewish landowners, the answer is probably negative: they did not make up a new social class. Jewish landowners differed from one another not only in the size of their property but also in the way they acquired it. Varying methods of social advancement were tied to different social

<sup>65</sup> Tenenbaum, *Żydowskie problemy gospodarcze*, 97.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.; see also H. Gabel, *Sily ludności żydowskiej: Rocznik Żydowski* (Lviv, 1901), 68.

<sup>67</sup> Even the strongest advocates of assimilation, such as Arnold Rappoport, Nathan Kallir, and H. Kolischer, backed Jewish settlement in the country, but of course their motives were different from the Zionists'. Also, voluntary charitable foundations of Jewish landowners such as the Parnas and Weissglas families testify to their continued ties with Jewry. The activities of these foundations are in the remains of the archives of the Tarnopol Jewish Community, nos. 20 and 24, now kept in the Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw.

<sup>68</sup> See K. Zamorski, 'Uwagi o pamiętnikach jako źródle poznania poglądów szlachty na wieś galicyjską,' *Acta universitatis lodzensis, folia historica*, 13 (1983), 165–70.

origins. And there were cultural differences as well. At one extreme were members of the Jewish financial oligarchy, descended from families who had participated actively in Polish social and political life for decades; at the other were complete newcomers to public life, Jews who originated in the Orthodox environment of Galician *shtetls*. These differences were important, but not decisive; after all, similar differences existed among ethnically Polish landowners.<sup>69</sup> The most important barrier to cohesiveness among Jewish landowners was time. The period under investigation was short, covering at most two generations, while the formation of a new social stratum is a slow process, requiring many years. Moreover, considerable mobility existed within the group: Jewish ties with the land they owned were still much weaker than those of Polish landowners. Land was not yet a strong binding force in their lives. Only towards the end of the Second Republic would signs appear that Jewish landowners formed a true social group, but then their Galician roots would be stressed.<sup>70</sup>

*Translated from Polish by Annamaria Orla-Bukowska*

<sup>69</sup> The many-levelled, hierarchical structure of the landowners' world was noted by Józef Szujski, co-author of the well-known and widely commented 'Teki Stańczyka' (published in 1869 in *Przegląd Polski*, 4 (1869), 13–14), as well as by diarist A. Mycielski, two generations younger, in his *Chwile czasu minionego* (Kraków, 1976), 7–86.

<sup>70</sup> W. Roszkowski, *Landowners in Poland, 1918–1939* (New York, 1991), 27–8. In 1921 in the Second Republic Jews constituted 1.6 per cent of landowners, but they reached as much as 8.5 per cent, for example, in the Lviv province. In Lviv there was the Związek Małopolskich Rolników (Society of Małopolska Farmers), which published its own paper, *Rolnik Żydowski*, in the years 1933–9. Ibid. 65.



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# A Ukrainian Answer to the Galician Ethnic Triangle: The Case of Ivan Franko

YAROSLAV HRYTSAK

ANNA NASIŁOWSKA, a Pole visiting Lviv shortly after the 1990 elections in Ukraine, has described her view of the monument to Ivan Franko (1856–1916), the location of several anti-Communist mass rallies. She writes:

Beneath the huge stone monument of Ivan Franko . . . the crowd admires an ordinary portrait of [him] framed in wood. One can see . . . a basic difference between these two images: the one placed just opposite the university that bears his name and the second [framed in wood]. How many faces does Ivan Franko have? Some time afterwards, when I began to look for information about him in a [Lviv] library, I realized how complex he was: the information revealed a series of paradoxes. Franko is anti-Polish and pro-Polish; he is a revolutionary and a Ukrainian patriot—yet he quarrels with the Ukrainians. Franko is a peasant but erudite, he has written several novels (in Polish), yet he is a Ukrainian poet . . . He can only be regarded as an inexplicable personality who has many contradictory faces.<sup>1</sup>

One set of contradictions has to do with Franko's relationship to Jews. He was often accused of being an antisemite,<sup>2</sup> yet in the 1890s some Ukrainian clerical newspapers called him (as a leader and co-founder of the Ruthenian–Ukrainian Radical Party) and his fellow Ukrainian radicals 'traitors bought by the Jews, Jewish servants, Jewish collaborators, and brothers of Jews'. Of greater concern to Franko was the accusation by a fervent Ukrainian patriot that 'as a matter of fact, Ivan Franko himself is a Jew; his real name is Frenkel, and he converted to the Christian faith in order to marry a Christian woman'.<sup>3</sup>

These seeming paradoxes do not require any scholarly resolution, for they reflect Franko's own ambivalent views, which he never elaborated into a fully

<sup>1</sup> A. Nasiłowska, 'Ze Lwowa (korespondencja)', *Res publica*, 12 (1990), 104–5.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. I. Franko, 'Eine teuflische und verworfene Aufreizung', in *Zibrannia tvoriv u 50 tomakh*, xlv 1 (Kiev, 1984), 478. For recent examples, see L. P. Everett, 'The Rise of Jewish National Politics in Galicia, 1905–1907', in A. S. Markovits and F. E. Sysyn (eds.), *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 166–7 n. 56.

<sup>3</sup> As cited in I. Franko, *Radykalna partia*, pt. 2: *Radykaly i Zhydy* (Lviv, 1899), 9–11.

developed, coherent system of thought. Although his political statements and actions were at times filled with nationalist emotion and resentment, he never clearly articulated any anti-Polish or anti-Jewish programme, and he consistently struggled against xenophobia and the hostility of his compatriots towards other groups. Indeed, he even acquired a reputation for being pro-Polish and pro-Jewish. Despite these problems, however, it is possible to trace the gradual evolution of Franko's thought about the Galician ethnic 'triangle'.

As a writer, scholar, and political activist, Franko epitomized the intellectual aspect of Ukrainian national revival. His legacy includes some 4,000 writings, in Ukrainian, Polish, and German. Most of these were written in response to contemporary political events and it is often possible to trace the influence of such political events on his literary masterpieces; even his lyrical poetry was to a large extent political. In his political activities, Franko showed a clear ideological evolution, from Marxist socialist to National Democrat,<sup>4</sup> which was largely the result of his changing attitudes towards the Polish and Jewish questions.

Leaders of nationalist revivals often develop their view of national identity as a result of the juxtaposition of conflicting loyalties and incompatible consciousnesses, and historian Paul Magocsi sees this as holding true for the Ukrainian nationalist movement.<sup>5</sup> For Franko in particular, such conflicts assumed the form of mutually exclusive loyalties<sup>6</sup> to the Poles and the Ukrainians, although his feeling for things Polish was more implicit and centred in socialism.

Towards the end of his life Franko summed up his political activities as having been an effort to serve the interests of his own people as well as the progress of all humanity.<sup>7</sup> This general progress, in his view, was embodied in the principles of an ethical socialism, based on the 'ethical, humane education of the popular masses, on the general propagation of knowledge, science, criticism, human, and national freedom'. Thus he tried to unite socialist and nationalist ideas—a combination known as the Ukrainian dualism, and a characteristic feature of Ukrainian political thought in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (Shevchenko, the Ukrainian national poet, described the Kievan Hromada as

<sup>4</sup> There is no relevant general work on the whole of Franko's political activity. For an overview of the development of his political and national ideas, see my book *Dukh, shcho tilo rve do boyu... Sproba politichnogo portretu Ivana Franka* (Lviv, 1990). See also N. Wacyk, *Ivan Franko: His Thoughts and Struggles*, Ukrainian Studies, 38 (New York, 1975); although valuable to a researcher, this work must be approached with some caution. See also A. Zhukovsky, 'Ivan Franko', in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Toronto, 1984), i. 936–42. The best account of the first period of Franko's activity is provided by J.-P. Himka, *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism, 1860–1890* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

<sup>5</sup> P. Magocsi, 'The Ukrainian National Revival: A New Analytical Framework', *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, 16 (1989), 45–62.

<sup>6</sup> P. Magocsi, 'Ivan Franko i status ukrainskoi natsii v mnogonatsionalnom gosudarstvie (koniets xix–nachalo xx veka)', in *Ivan Franko i mirovaya kultura: Tezisy dokladov mezhdunarodnogo simpoziuma* (Lvov, 11–15 sentiabria 1986g) (Kiev, 1986), 82.

<sup>7</sup> I. Franko, 'Perednie slovo Franko I.', in *Iz lit moei molodosti* (Lviv, 1914), 5.

carrying the writings of Father Taras in one pocket and Marx's *Das Kapital* in the other.<sup>8</sup>)

The uniting of national and social motives was not limited to Ukrainians; it was a commonplace of contemporary intellectual life in central and eastern Europe. For those national groups that had not historically been independent nations, however, this unity seemed to be a contradiction in terms. The two separate elements—the national and the social—were difficult to reconcile. Nineteenth-century Marxist ideologists often subordinated the national question to the social one. Socialists thus advocated a just social order that would eventually eliminate national conflicts and cause nations as nations to disappear. But in practice leading European socialists often denied the right of national liberation to groups that had never previously had an independent existence. Such groups, they believed, were destined to assimilate within existing nations, and Ukrainians, like the other Slavs (except for Russians and Poles), had to submit to this destiny.

Thus Ukrainian socialists faced a serious dilemma: whether to submit to the alleged inevitability of historical development, or to fight this so-called destiny. Should they help advance the triumph of the socialist revolution by denying their own national ambitions, or should they work to benefit national revivals and thereby risk conflict with the socialists of the 'historic nations'? These two competing forces continually confronted Ukrainian socialists. (The conflict was encapsulated in a question put to Lenin in 1919 by two well-known Ukrainian communist activists. They asked: 'Can one remain a member of the Russian Communist Party and also defend the independence of Ukraine?' History was to give the answer only too clearly.)<sup>9</sup>

This theoretical dilemma had practical implications for the kind of organizational ties to be established between the Ukrainian socialists and the Russian or Polish socialists active in Ukrainian territory. At least three different structures were possible: a unified party (similar to the Russian Bolshevik model), a federated structure within a single party (like the Austrian Social Democrats), or three or more distinct and separate parties. The choice among these options would probably determine the future political structure of Ukraine under socialist leadership. If the unified or federated structures were chosen, the socialist movement would probably acquire a unified or federated character, as would any socialist state that might emerge. A separate Ukrainian socialist party might serve as guarantor for an independent Ukrainian state. Thus, Ukrainian dualism implied a complex system of interconnected values that under certain conditions could evolve as exclusive, contradictory loyalties.

This was the course Franko followed. Early in his career he considered the

<sup>8</sup> 'Z istorii kyjivs'koji ukrainskoi hromadi: Promova Pavla Zhytets'koho na Shevchenkovykh rokovynakh', *Zapysky naukovoho tovarystva im. T. Shevchenka*, 116 (1913), 183.

<sup>9</sup> S. Mazlakh and V. Shakhrai, *On the Current Situation in the Ukraine*, ed. P. Potichnyj (Ann Arbor, Mich., c.1970), 178.

national question to be second in importance to socialism, and he only paid it attention because of its practical relevance to Galicia. The solution to the Galician problem, he believed, was to be found in 'the broadest federation of all nations based on the separate existence and complete freedom of each'. Accordingly, the Galician socialist movement must retain its federated structure. Under this solution the Polish socialists would be active in ethnically Polish regions of Galicia, leaving the field open to the Ukrainian socialists in Ukrainian regions. In those areas with a mixed population, the socialists would present a united Polish-Ukrainian front.<sup>10</sup>

Franko participated actively in the drafting of the 1881 Galician socialist programme. This document was radically different from other contemporary European socialist programmes—indeed, historians of social democratic movements have regarded it as an early precursor of the 1898 Brno programme of the Austrian Social Democrats.<sup>11</sup> But there is clear evidence that Franko's ideas and those of his spiritual mentor, Mykhaylo Drahomanov (1841–95), influenced the 1881 programme. It was Drahomanov who devised the formula for reconciling national and socialist ideas. He believed that the Ukrainians were a 'plebeian nation', a peasant population that was largely land-poor, and that their exploiters mainly belonged to other national groups; thus, in this region the aims of national and social liberation coincided. In Drahomanov's views, 'Under Ukraine's conditions any Ukrainian who was not radical [i.e. socialist] was a bad Ukrainian; a radical who was not a Ukrainian was a bad radical.'<sup>12</sup> To counter the chauvinism of some Polish and Russian socialists who considered Ukraine to be part of their own historic lands, Drahomanov proposed that Ukrainian socialists cooperate only with those Russian and Polish comrades who advocated drawing the boundaries of the future socialist state along ethnic, rather than historical, lines.

Believing in the Drahomanov solution became almost a moral imperative for Ukrainian socialists until 1917. But among Polish and Russian socialists it found very weak support. Just as Lenin attacked Drahomanov for his federalist views, Felix Kon, a Polish Bolshevik leader who had helped to organize the Galician workers' movement at the start of the century, accused Franko of intending to weaken the socialist movement in the Polish lands by advocating disintegration

<sup>10</sup> 'I. Franko ta in prohrama halyts'-kykh sotsialistiv', in *Zibrannia tvoriv*, xlv (Kiev, 1986), 454, 456. Franko regarded this as the only possible solution to Ukrainian-Polish antagonism. Thus in the first half of the 1880s he wrote: 'We wish the Poles complete national and political liberty . . . But there is one necessary condition: they must, once and for all, desist from lording over us, they must, once and for all, accept as we do the idea of a purely ethnic Poland.' 'Nash pogliad na polskie pytanie', *ibid.* 218.

<sup>11</sup> H. Mommsen, *Die Sozialdemokratie und die Nationalfrage im habsburgischen Vielvoelkerstaat*, i: *Das Ringen um die supranationale Integration der zisleitänischen Arbeiterbewegung, 1867–1907* (Vienna, 1963), 241.

<sup>12</sup> *Mikhailo Petrovich Dragomonov, 1841–1895: Evo iubilei, smert, avtobiografiya i spisok tvoriv*. Zladiu M. Lavlik (Lviv, 1896), 364.

along national lines. Looking back, Kon even regarded Franko as a theoretical precursor of Józef Piłsudski.<sup>13</sup>

Franko adhered to his and Drahomanov's programme through the mid-1890s. In 1880, as a member of the Polish-Ukrainian socialist committee in Galicia, he advocated creating a federated Ukrainian-Polish-Jewish workers' and peasants' party, Robitnycha Spilka. When Franko started to distance himself from the Polish socialists, he spoke of creating a separate Ukrainian peasant party, which would cooperate with a Polish workers' party.

By the early 1890s there were two separate socialist parties in Galicia: the Polish Social Democrats and the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radicals. The Polish Social Democrats sought support from Galicia's urban proletariat, which was overwhelmingly Polish, while the Ukrainian Radicals had their base among the local Ukrainian peasantry. The two parties cooperated closely: for example, from 1891 to 1894 Franko participated in the activities of the Polish Social Democrats.<sup>14</sup> From the beginning, however, the cooperation was plagued by tensions, which at first were minor. At the first congress of the Polish Social Democratic Party (PPSD) of Galicia in 1892, Ignacy Daszyński, the party leader and a close colleague of Franko's, stated that only the Galician Social Democrats defended the local proletariat, while all other parties acted 'against the interests of the toilers'. There was no need for the PPSD to draw up a special agrarian programme, Daszyński felt, because after the workers had won in the cities, the peasants would have no choice but to follow them. At a party meeting in 1894 Daszyński reiterated his belief that the Social Democrats would win over the Galician peasantry despite its protectors.<sup>15</sup> Ivan Franko was very critical of this view.<sup>16</sup>

The ethnic differences between Galicia's urban and agrarian populations were pronounced. Tensions between the populations assumed a national character, which was reinforced by statements by Polish Social Democrat leaders. During the congress of the Austrian Social Democrats in 1892, as well as at conferences of the Second International in Zurich in 1893 and London in 1896, there was a declaration of intent to rebuild the Polish state through the combined action of the Galician and international proletariats. For the Ukrainian Radicals, such statements 'destroyed any illusions about the Galician workers' party having an inter-ethnic character', and they suggested that the Ukrainian urban proletariat create its own independent social-democratic party.<sup>17</sup>

Franko was deeply torn by the growing tensions between the two Galician parties. In 1895 and 1896 changes in the Austrian electoral system took place that enabled both parties to participate in elections, and in 1897 Franko ran against a

<sup>13</sup> F. Kon, 'Dragomanov i Ivan Franko v polskom dvizhenie', *Gryadushchii mir*, 1 (1922), 238-9.

<sup>14</sup> For details, see E. Hornowa, *Ukraiński obóz postępowy i jego współpraca z polską lewicą społeczną w Galicji w 1876-1895* (Wrocław, 1968), 108-9, 126-8.

<sup>15</sup> Ignacy Daszyński, 'Sprawy bieżące', *Nowy Robotnik*, 14 (1894).

<sup>16</sup> I. Franko, 'Pershyi zyzid halytskykh sotsialistiv', *Narod*, 5-6 (1892), 75.

<sup>17</sup> *Poklyk do pobitnykiv Rusyniv* (Lviv, 1896), 2-3.

Polish Social Democrat for a seat in the Austrian parliament. In Drohobych—a city in the centre of Galicia's industrial region with a mixed Ukrainian, Polish, and Jewish population—local Polish Social Democrat leaders broke up a pre-election rally for Franko. They accused him of betraying socialist ideals and expelled him from the hall. Even worse, they beat up his electoral agent, who was a Ukrainian peasant.<sup>18</sup> The elections of 1897 came to be known as the 'bloody elections': in all, nine people were killed, twenty-nine wounded, and some 800 arrested in eastern Galicia. The reaction of Polish democrats and Social Democrats against Ukrainian candidates and the electorate shocked Franko. He later wrote of this period: 'I saw the whole world of ideas or illusions [of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation] that I had tried to transform into reality crumbling around me. So, in a moment of despair, I threw a rock into the abyss and stood aside. I ceased the experiment of working in two fields and vowed to devote all my energies to my own people.'<sup>19</sup> At the time he also expressed this disillusionment in his article 'A Poet of Treason', in which he accused Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz of encouraging and disseminating hypocritical and perfidious ideas among Poles. For Franko, the article marked a definitive break with Polish society.<sup>20</sup>

By revealing the dominance of the national question in the current political climate, Franko's experience with Polish social democracy caused a major shift in his political thinking. As long as the Ukrainian national movement had formulated no explicit political aims and limited its demands to the cultural arena, the national conflict had not been acute; in such an atmosphere Franko could cooperate with Polish socialists without feeling he was betraying his national loyalties. But once the Ukrainian nationalist revival in Galicia had become political, cooperation ceased to be possible. From the turn of the century Polish-Ukrainian relations became a relentless conflict over who would control the area and how the boundaries were to be drawn. The Ukrainians wanted a division along ethnic-linguistic lines, while the Poles wanted to restore the historic boundaries of Poland. These two political programmes were incompatible. In this changed climate Franko wrote that all Poles stood against Ukrainian nationalist aims: 'Now we Galician Ruthenians [Ukrainians] cannot delude ourselves into believing that we suffer from an aristocratically dominated economy. It is becoming increasingly clear that we are opposed by the entire Polish nation, by all its strata, from the gentry and magnates to the representatives of the organized proletariat.'<sup>21</sup> No reconciliation of this Polish-Ukrainian antagonism

<sup>18</sup> I. Franko, 'Zgromadzenie wyborcze w Drohobyczu', *Kurjer Lwowski*, 19–20 Feb. 1897.

<sup>19</sup> I. Franko, 'Rusko-polska ugoda i ukraińsko-polskie bratania', in *Literaturno-naukovii vistnik*, xxxiii 1 (Lviv, 1906), 158.

<sup>20</sup> On this, see M. Kuplowski, *Iwan Franko jako krytyk literatury polskiej* (Rzeszów, 1974), 31–58. In 1897, at the Radical Party's sixth congress, Franko stated: 'Taking all the pros and cons into account, we must admit that the Polish Social Democrats are our most implacable enemies.' Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Lviv, 663-1-179, 21.

<sup>21</sup> I. Franko, 'Do M. Pavlyka, kin. sichnia 1900', in *Zibrannia tvoriv*, I. 148.

was possible in Galicia, he believed. At best, it might become less uncivilized, less inhumane.<sup>22</sup>

The new political constellation also altered Franko's values and loyalties. Although he remained committed to socialism, national issues grew more important to him after 1890. In 1899 he broke with the Ukrainian Radicals and joined the more moderate National Democrats. Franko justified the break by saying he considered himself to be 'primarily a Ukrainian and only secondarily a Radical'.<sup>23</sup> He also began to consider a different solution to the dilemma of Ukrainian socialism. Since federal ties among Ukrainian and Polish socialists were no longer possible, the only reasonable solution would be to separate the Ukrainian movement from the Polish and to accept Ukrainian independence.

This new attitude is exceptionally revealing. Franko had strongly opposed Ukrainian political independence between 1890 and 1894, even though the idea was promoted by the Ukrainian Marxists ('young radicals') in the Radical Party. He had called their programme nonsense, as it was based on 'the fiction of statehood and indirectly on the interest of the Ukrainian establishment, which would profit from independence, while the future of workers in an independent state would become worse'.<sup>24</sup> But by 1900 independence appeared to him to be the sole solution. Now Franko viewed independence 'not just [as] itself containing the ideals of social equality and political freedom, but as the only way to provide the conditions for the full development of these ideals'.<sup>25</sup>

Somewhat modifying Franko's transition from a federalist stance to a pro-independence position was his take on the Jewish situation in Galicia. This was coloured by a populist viewpoint. The Jewish issue was important, he reasoned, because of the density of the Jews: at the end of the nineteenth century almost half the world's Jews were living on Polish and Ukrainian lands. As Franko saw it, this forced Galician peasants (both Ukrainian and Polish) to vie with Jews for land and survival.<sup>26</sup> Jewish 'exploiters' harmed Galicia's villages.

We are not antisemites and we are far from being hostile to anyone because of race, religion, or nationality, but it cannot be denied that historical and social circumstances have permitted the formation of a large and extremely obnoxious stratum of Jewish parasites and shameless exploiters of the peasant's toil in our country. We must say that this is especially true of the majority of Jews who live in the villages as innkeepers, usurers, small merchants, and middlemen. It can also be truly said that the greater the number of such

<sup>22</sup> Franko, 'Rusko-polska ugoda', 155-66.

<sup>23</sup> Franko, 'Do M. Pavlyka'.

<sup>24</sup> I. Franko and M. Pavlyk, 'Ruskie dezhavne pravo i narodna sprava', *Narod*, 1 (1894), 9.

<sup>25</sup> I. Franko, 'Poza mezhamy mozhlyvoho', in *Zibrannia tvoriv*, xlv. 283.

<sup>26</sup> I. Franko, 'Eine teuflische und verworfene Aufreizung', 478. Franko believed that between 1872 and 1886 Jewish landownership had increased from 4.7 per cent of the land to 8.9 per cent. Most of this land, he claimed, was used unproductively, for exploitation and usury.

Jews in a village, the lower its educational level and the poorer, more backward, and more demoralized the people.<sup>27</sup>

Franko supported the agrarian programme, which aimed to collectivize the land and provide 'Polish lands for Poles, Ukrainian lands for Ukrainians'. This programme would generally exclude so-called foreign elements (especially Jews) from owning land.<sup>28</sup> Franko's approach resembled Drahomanov's, and reflected certain features of the Ukrainian context. Unlike in Poland or Hungary, for example, Jewish assimilation was out of the question in the Ukraine, which lacked even a rudimentary national bourgeoisie into which assimilation could take place. There was only a vast sea of peasants with small circles of intelligentsia, no group into which the Jews could possibly assimilate. Thus, Ukrainian leaders decided their approach could not include assimilation for Jews, as that would imply an impossible coordination and collaboration between rival Ukrainian and Jewish communities.<sup>29</sup>

In 'Semitism and Antisemitism in Galicia' (1897), Franko described two possible solutions to the Jewish issue: assimilation and emigration (Zionism). Franko used the term 'assimilation' to mean Jewish political and social integration into the gentile world. He opposed forced assimilation as much as he did the artificial isolation of Jews from the national community.<sup>30</sup> He also opposed in principle any programme like that of German Jewish enlighteners to modernize Jewish life through German culture,<sup>31</sup> fearing that such an emphasis would increase the alienation of Jews from the Ukrainian or Polish people around them. Rather, the objective of any 'assimilationist' programme should be 'civic equality based on equal rights and equal responsibilities'.<sup>32</sup> The granting of civil rights should be based on 'solidarity with popular ideals and working for their realization'.<sup>33</sup> But Franko's notion of what these popular ideals were, and how they should be determined, was vague.<sup>34</sup> In any event, restricting civil rights to those people who worked towards certain ideals would mean that rights could be denied to any Jews who allegedly opposed them.

<sup>27</sup> I. Franko, 'I my v Yevropi: Protest halyts'kykh rusyniv proty Madyars'koho tysiacholittia', in *Zhytie i slovo*, v (Lviv, 1896), 7. Franko wrote this in connection with the celebrations of Hungary's millennium. The article deals especially with conditions in Hungarian Ruthenia (Carpatho-Ruthenia); however, the passage applies to the Jewish-Ukrainian problem in general.

<sup>28</sup> I. Franko, 'Zemelna vlasnist u Halychyni', in *Zibrannia tvoriv*, I, 573.

<sup>29</sup> For details, see I. L. Rudnytsky, 'I. L. Mykhajlo Drahomanov and Ukrainian-Jewish Relations', in *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History* (Edmonton, 1987).

<sup>30</sup> I. Franko, 'Jezuizym w kwestji żydowskiej', *Tydzien: Dodatek literacki do Kurjera Lwowskiego*, 19 (1896).

<sup>31</sup> I. Franko, 'Mozes Mendelson—reformator zhidivskii', *Zoria*, 7 (1886), 115.

<sup>32</sup> I. Franko, *Semitizm i antisemitizm v naumakh u susidiv* (Lviv, 1914), 117.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* 129.

<sup>34</sup> P. Kudryavtsev, 'Evreistvo, evrei ta evreiska sprava v tvorakh Ivana Franka', in *Zbirnik prats evreiskoi istorichno-arkheografichnoi komisii* (Kiev, 1929), II, 78.



Like Drahomanov, Franko advocated a limited integration not only for Jews but for the 'parasitic elements' of other nationalities as well, including Ukrainians.<sup>35</sup> He may have changed his views on this subject in his later writings, however. In 1899, in a debate with one of Drahomanov's followers, he stated that because of the continual national and social oppression of the entire Ukrainian people (which offended its 'parasitic elements' such as priests and police, as well as workers), the national interest required defending Ukrainian rights.<sup>36</sup> Logically, this same reasoning could have applied to the oppressed Jewish nation, and there may be a hint that he did extend it to them in his new interpretation of the historical role of capitalism in Galicia and of its representatives, the Galician Jews. Indeed, in Franko's third revision of his novel *Boa Constrictor* (1907), he portrayed the Jewish capitalist Hermann Goldkrammer as a talented organizer of production and a man of moral virtues,<sup>37</sup> not the parasite or leech of the novel's first version in 1884.

But integrating the Jews could not be the only answer to the Jewish problem. In this he again went beyond Drahomanov. Franko was willing to support partial, gradual, and well-planned emigration, in so far as the Zionists supported this as a basis for future Jewish national independence elsewhere.<sup>38</sup> This indicates an intriguing break with Drahomanov's federalism, and it is unfortunate that Franko did not elaborate on it in his 1887 article.

He supported Jewish national independence more explicitly in an 1896 review of Theodor Herzl's treatise *Der Judenstaat*. Franko's review appeared only three weeks after the treatise's publication, suggesting that the work struck a responsive chord in him. Significantly, in Franko's defence of Ukrainian statehood he advanced arguments that closely parallel those he expressed in the Herzl review: national independence was unrealistic and unattainable for both Jews and Ukrainians in the current political situation. Nevertheless, he believed, the ideal of independence could provide an inspiring beacon for the Ukrainian national liberation movement, and its future realization depended on the dedication of the Ukrainian people to this ideal.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, his ultimate solution to the Galician triangle was the creation of independent Polish and Ukrainian states along ethnic lines. Franko's ideas reflect the doctrine of Ukrainian democratic nationalism, which was widely accepted by leading Ukrainian forces in Galicia. Although he believed Jews should be granted all political and civil rights, he was against any attempt at their forced

<sup>35</sup> Franko, *Radykaly i Zhydy*, 12. On Drahomanov's view, see Rudnytsky, 'Drahomanov and Ukrainian-Jewish Relations', 289-90.

<sup>36</sup> Franko, 'Do M. Pavlyka', 148.

<sup>37</sup> See Kudryatsev, 'Evreistvo, evrei ta evreiska sprava', 64.

<sup>38</sup> Franko, *Semityzm i antysemityzm*, 131.

<sup>39</sup> I. L. Rudnytsky, 'The Problem of Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Nineteenth-Century Ukrainian Political Thought', in *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History*, 308-9; A. Wilcher, 'Ivan Franko and Theodor Herzl: The Genesis of Franko's Mojsej', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 6/2 (June 1982), 223-43.

Polonization or Ukrainization. Ukrainians should support the efforts of Jews to create their own independent state, he felt, and in return he expected the Jews not to impede the struggle for Ukrainian national and social liberation.

Realistically, such an outcome was politically impractical, and it is unlikely that Franko believed Polish and Ukrainian national ambitions could be reconciled in Galicia. Nevertheless, the programme he put forward did provide a basis for an alliance between Ukrainian and Jewish political leaders to be directed against the existing Polish hegemony. The Galician triangle was not at all equilateral: the two longer sides (the Ukrainian and the Polish) were estranged, and the third one (the Jewish) was slowly approaching the Ukrainian as it abandoned assimilation into German and Polish culture and moved towards Zionism.

This three-sided political constellation existed through the early 1930s, until the emergence of Ukrainian 'integral nationalism', which rejected the tradition of inter-ethnic coexistence advocated by the older socialist and national democratic movements. Decades later, in the post-Soviet era, the concept of viable coexistence has again been revived by modern Ukrainian nationalists. For the leaders of this movement, Ivan Franko remains a symbol of their aspirations.

*Translated from Ukrainian by Advanced Linguistic Services*

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# Galician Jewish Migration to Vienna

KLAUS HÖDL

TOWARDS the end of the nineteenth century, socio-economic transformations modernized Galicia in many respects. This chapter addresses two aspects of that development—economic changes and nationalization of the social network—which permanently affected Jewish life in this Habsburg province. Both the economic and social aspects created such hardship for Jews that the effects were apparent internationally, in their massive emigration to western Europe and North America. Here I focus on Vienna as one of the destinations of the Galician Jews, and on the special features of the city. I also discuss the ways in which the Galician Jews adjusted to the local culture and the methods the Viennese Jews used to help them acculturate. Although New York claimed the largest number of Galician Jewish emigrants between 1881 and 1910 (approximately 200,000), the numbers choosing Vienna were not insignificant.

Quantifying the effects of specific social developments raises a methodological issue. While data can measure certain changes brought about by industrialization, a scholar's conclusions based on that data may conflict with the subjective assessments of contemporaries who were directly affected. This discrepancy then raises questions about the validity of the data. However, a careful examination of Jewish emigration around the turn of the century can improve our understanding of this problem. For example, it is assumed that emigration to the United States increased as social conditions and material circumstances in Galicia deteriorated.

According to published statistics, the percentage of emigrants among Galicia's Jews far exceeded that among Galician Poles or Ukrainians, and this has been taken to suggest that the Jews lived under far more oppressive conditions than the other ethnic groups.<sup>1</sup> This reasoning is substantiated by additional data. However, some interpretations of the correlation between material need and emigration are complementary. For example, Stanisław Szczepanowski maintains that, although in terms of earnings and living conditions the Jews lived in worse poverty than the

<sup>1</sup> J. Buzek, 'Das Auswanderungsproblem und die Regelung des Auswanderungswesens in Österreich', *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Sozialpolitik und Verwaltung*, 10 (1901), 468. For example, emigration around 1899–1900 included 46,938 Poles, 2,832 Ruthenians, and 60,764 Jews, who accounted respectively for 45.7, 42.5, and 11.1 per cent of the population. On this subject, see M. Rosenfeld, *Die polnische Judenfrage. Problem und Lösung* (Vienna, 1918), 68.

Poles, their savings were larger.<sup>2</sup> The implication is that the Jews, despite their poverty, were more adept at changing their situation and finding a solution to the consequences of the economic transformation; thus, their material circumstances alone need not have caused disproportionate emigration.

Memoirs of Jewish emigrants reveal a stronger incentive for their departure than immediate material conditions: the lack of prospects for social and economic improvement.<sup>3</sup> The nationalist economic policy which was increasingly being pursued by the dominant Polish group in Galicia not only severely limited their earning potential but held out even bleaker prospects for the future. The policy convinced Jews that, in addition to the consequences of the economic reorganization (which also affected the Poles), they were subject to deliberate professional repression that would not disappear when the economy improved: in fact, it was likely to continue indefinitely. The resulting frustration and feelings of hopelessness may have contributed to the strong incentive to emigrate, derived both from a religious heritage which stressed final objectives and cultural patterns which underlined the importance of at least some material security.

The religious and cultural nature of the emigration pattern cannot be described in figures, and the pattern reveals nothing about material circumstances. It was merely people's prospects for and expectations of the future that guided their actions. The statistics generally substantiate the disproportionate scale of Jewish emigration; however, while Jews did tend to live in worse conditions than gentiles, the statistics alone cannot mark the economic situation as the primary motive for their emigration. In so far as *takhles*, or awareness of the purpose of their actions, which is not quantifiable, was the driving force behind Jewish emigration, the data about economic and social conditions reveal little about motives. Moreover, this unquantifiable motivation throws into question the perceived close correlation between material circumstances and emigration figures.

Below I discuss additional factors, besides poverty, that influenced the Jews' exodus from Galicia. I also deal with the acculturation of Galician Jews in Vienna, which affected the nature of Jewish emigration. A comparison of conditions in Vienna and New York will illustrate the process.

#### CONDITIONS IN GALICIA AND THE DRAW OF MIGRATION

The reorganization of Galicia's economy and society had ominous consequences for Jews. Economic modernization particularly affected Jewish professional life and made impossible the continuation of the earlier patterns of economic behaviour. The 1900 census reveals that 29.4 per cent of working Jews were active in commerce, as opposed to only 1 per cent of working Christians, and that 26.4 per

<sup>2</sup> S. Szczepanowski, *Nędza Galicyi w cyfrach i program energicznego rozwoju gospodarstwa krajowego* (Lviv, 1888), 135.

<sup>3</sup> Biography of Rose Schoenfeld, YIVO Archives, New York.

cent of the Jews, as against 4.2 per cent of the gentile population, worked in the textile industry. Conversely, the agricultural sector included 17.9 per cent of the Jews versus 86.3 per cent of the Christians.<sup>4</sup> Thus Jews were concentrated in the unmodernized sectors of the economy, especially in commerce. Another example of this uneven distribution is that, although Jews in eastern Galicia made up only 12.8 per cent of the population, they accounted for 91.2 per cent of those working in the trade sector (and the figure for western Galicia was 81 per cent).<sup>5</sup> Clearly, they were such a strong presence in their main occupation that it would have been difficult for trade to absorb any more Jewish workers. Because of the demographic increase among Jews—19.6 per cent between 1895 and 1900, or a few percentage points higher than the increase in the general population<sup>6</sup>—they urgently needed some professional diversification, or at least to shift their representative share from trade to other sectors. But this change failed to materialize. In fact, the situation grew even more polarized. As the Jewish population increased, nationalism curtailed employment opportunities further, while new outlets did not open up in industry. Those Jews trying to enter the job market failed to find work, and many who had been gainfully employed also lost their jobs.

Railway construction is one facet of modernization that affected the livelihoods of Jews. The first major railway, the Karl-Ludwig-Bahn from Kraków to Lviv, started running in 1861. It was followed by the Lviv-Khodoriv-Halych-Stanyslaviv-Kolomyia-Zabolotiv-Chernivtsy route five years later.<sup>7</sup> During the next few years the railway network expanded, making the population more mobile. People used this new mobility to buy and sell goods in the larger communities, bypassing the weekly *shtetl* markets that were often the main source of income for a town's Jewish inhabitants.<sup>8</sup> The relocation of commerce to the cities not only hurt many Jewish merchants and small businesspeople; it also hurt innkeepers. Over 20,000 Jews worked as innkeepers, and local farmers visiting the weekly markets accounted for most of their business.

The town of Husiatyn exemplifies the dependence of the local economy on the railway network. Its location on Galicia's Russian border made it a major centre for trade with the East. In the 1870s construction of a railroad from another border town to Ternopil' totally undermined Husiatyn's significance. It lost its economic importance, declined, and would have been doomed except for the construction of a railway from Husiatyn to Stanyslaviv, which began in 1882 and made local economic recovery possible.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 8–9 (1907), 116.

<sup>5</sup> J. Thon, *Die Juden in Österreich*, Veröffentlichungen des Bureaus für Statistik der Juden 4 (Berlin, 1908), 125.

<sup>6</sup> S. Kuznets, 'Immigration of Russian Jews to the United States: Background and Structure', *Perspectives in American History*, 9 (1975), 43.

<sup>7</sup> *Moderne illustrierte Zeitung*, Special Issue on Galicia (1913), 59.

<sup>8</sup> I. Schnayd, 'A Kapitel Galitsie', *YIVO Bleter*, 40 (1956), 175.

<sup>9</sup> Organization of Husiatyn Jews, *Memorialbukh Husiatyn* (Tel Aviv, 1977), 154.

While the railway jeopardized the business of many merchants, shopkeepers, and publicans, it had an even worse effect on coachmen. Over 5,000 Jewish coachmen lost their jobs because of competition from new nearby railways.<sup>10</sup> All told, the expansion of the railway network forced some 200,000 Jews (including dependants) to worry about where they would find their next meal.<sup>11</sup>

The occupational restructuring that resulted from the economic reorganization coincided with a second crucial factor—nationalist economic policy—that helped prevent Jews from earning a living.<sup>12</sup> *Kółka rolnicze* (Polish agricultural cooperatives), for example, which advocated the principle of self-help and numbered 3,000 by 1900,<sup>13</sup> further reduced the need for Jewish merchants and condemned another 50,000 souls to a marginal existence.<sup>14</sup>

Many Jews, seeking alternative employment, began to leave their rural towns for larger towns nearby. If they did not find work there (which was often the case, as Jews were rarely hired by Christian businesses and Jewish ones were too small to support anyone aside from relatives),<sup>15</sup> they had to move on, to larger, more distant cities, or even across the ocean, to America.<sup>16</sup> Actual emigration was often preceded by domestic migration in a quest for job opportunities that involved a trek from the countryside to urban areas and from small towns to larger cities. Usually the decision to cross the ocean followed disappointing efforts to improve one's situation through other means. Only the most adventurous dared to leave home directly for destinations across the border.<sup>17</sup>

The most common destination for the bold ones who, for lack of employment opportunities in Galicia, took the monumental step of emigration was America. When 3,000 Jewish workers in the oilfields in Drohobych were suddenly fired in the 1890s, Theodor Herzl convinced Baron Wilhelm Ritter von Gutmann, a major shareholder of the regional banks and the owner of Drohobych's resources, to promise to 'enable [them] to emigrate to America, where they could start afresh'.<sup>18</sup> As several memoirs show, many even perceived the United States as an opportunity for wealth. For example, Meilech Schiff, a worker born in Boryslav in 1893, writes that his entire family responded enthusiastically to his sister's plan to go

<sup>10</sup> *Jüdisches Volksblatt*, 33 (1904), 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Gerechtigkeit*, 7 (1904), 2.

<sup>12</sup> A. G. Rabinbach, 'The Migration of Galician Jews to Vienna, 1857–1880', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 9 (1975), 51.

<sup>13</sup> S. Fleischer, 'Enquete über die Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung Galiziens', in Alfred Nossig (ed.), *Jüdische Statistik* (Berlin, 1903), 219.

<sup>14</sup> *Gerechtigkeit*, 7 (1904), 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Selbstemancipation*, 9 (1890), 4; J. Twardowski, *Wirtschaftliche Zustände Galiziens in der Gegenwart. Sechs Vorträge gehalten aus Anlass einer Studienreise der Wiener Freien Vereinigung für Staatswissenschaftliche Forschung nach Krakau und Galizien* (Vienna, 1913), 53 ('Industrialisierung Galiziens').

<sup>16</sup> S. R. Landau, *Unter jüdischen Proletariern. Reiseschilderungen aus Ostgalizien und Russland* (Vienna, 1898), 16.

<sup>17</sup> S. L. Tennenbaum, *Złoczów Memoir* (n.p., 1986), 22.

<sup>18</sup> *Stimme*, 72 (1919), 3.

overseas: 'Just imagine, we were going to have a sister in that rich America, so automatically we would get rich.'<sup>19</sup>

It is clear that economic motivations were not the only forces behind Galician Jewish emigration to America. Often it was also seen as an escape from tradition, from the insularity of surroundings steeped in religion and the restrictions of the generally unworldly, conservative hasidic movement. For example, Schiff's sister left to be able to live with her lover, a man who was leaving his wife for her; their cohabitation would have been impossible in Galicia.<sup>20</sup> To others, emigration was tantamount to unofficially abandoning Judaism. One such emigrant wrote: 'Since I don't want to hurt my beloved parents by letting them see me stray from Judaism, and I have no desire to continue suffering the humiliation of Jewish life, I have no other option than to travel overseas in search of an unhindered existence.'<sup>21</sup> There were myriad reasons to emigrate to the New World. However, economic factors were probably the most important.

The deteriorating economy also gave rise to another pattern of displacement, with Vienna as the destination. Migration from Galicia to Vienna had already been taking place, but the spectacular increase from the 1880s marked a new development qualitatively as well as quantitatively. Jews involved in this second wave of displacement included costermongers (merchants who went to the weekly markets in the area),<sup>22</sup> *Dorfgeher* ('village-goers', who moved from *shtetl* to *shtetl* buying and selling their wares),<sup>23</sup> pedlars (who travelled throughout the province), and others. Many Jewish men who had been forced to abandon their original profession had turned to this type of work. Strictly speaking, they were not unemployed and so did not move to the city in search of work. They were, however, unable to practise a profession locally and therefore had to travel to earn a living.

Also among the wave of Jewish travellers were *Wanderbettler* (itinerant beggars), another group in Galician society that expanded dramatically toward the end of the nineteenth century. There were between 50,000 and 60,000 Jewish itinerant beggars,<sup>24</sup> if we include the *Ortsbettler* (local beggars), there were as many as 200,000 beggars.<sup>25</sup> There existed regions where virtually the entire Jewish population consisted of women, children, and old people, because the younger men were travelling around begging.<sup>26</sup> Begging became so widespread in Galicia that the beggar's trade gained official recognition and even acquired an internal hierarchy. The upper stratum, known as the beggars' aristocracy, used modern conveniences and actually travelled from city to city by train.<sup>27</sup> The most lucrative sites

<sup>19</sup> M. Schiff, *Lost Boryslaw: Memories of a Galician Youth* (New York, 1977), 27.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*, 5 (1900), 97.

<sup>22</sup> J. Schoenfeld, *Jewish Life in Galicia under the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in the Reborn Poland, 1898-1939* (Hoboken, NJ, 1985), 28.

<sup>23</sup> *Jüdisches Volksblatt*, 27 (1902), 3.

<sup>24</sup> H. Blumenthal, 'Unter jüdischen Landstreichern', *Hicks jüdischer Volkskalender*, 19-20 (1919-20), 89.

<sup>25</sup> *Jüdisches Volksblatt*, 27 (1902), 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Jüdische Zeitung*, 19 (1910), 2.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 1.

for beggars were the citadels of *tsadikim*, as Jewish men flocked there in massive numbers on pilgrimages—to seek counsel, to be near these sages, or simply to see them in person. The country-fair atmosphere that resulted from this gathering crowd not only did wonders for local businesses; it was also an unequalled windfall for alms-seekers.

People emigrated to the United States because they were unable to find work in Galicia, although they had so much *takhles* that they wanted to control their own destinies without relying on the kindness of others. In Galicia the hordes of beggars made a profession of the activity that caused others to depart for New York: namely, eking out an existence from alms. The likelihood of providing for their needs through this type of work was slim, however, in a country where thousands died annually in typhus epidemics, whose impact was made worse by malnutrition.<sup>28</sup> In the village of Toporiv, near Brody, 80 per cent of the Jewish population had no income, and the people 'living in the wooden shacks were packed tighter than livestock on Russian farmsteads' (according to an account from 1904).<sup>29</sup> In this impoverished region it was exceedingly difficult to obtain the bare necessities through begging. As these destitute souls failed to get sufficient charitable donations near home, they travelled ever farther afield, crossed the borders of Galicia, and finally came to Vienna.

Galicia was filled with spiritual worlds where the Jews sought relief from oppressive reality. In this respect hasidism prevailed as an escape from Vienna's Enlightenment reform efforts. Hasidism gave Jewish men a sense of solidarity that helped them overcome their miserable daily lives.<sup>30</sup> Zionism, too, provided a spiritual refuge, as did socialism, thoughts of emigration, and, last but not least, the lure of faraway places. Over time, as their situation worsened, many set their sights on increasingly remote destinations, and those who had been defeated by reality focused on a mythical land, a refuge for downtrodden Jews that beckoned from beyond the horizon of their own frustrating experiences. The picture of this 'mythical land' grew as hopes dwindled; it eventually crystallized into an image of Vienna.

What characterized the image of Vienna was its geographical concreteness in an otherwise vague, mythical remoteness. Some migrants to the Danube metropolis knew of specific rewards that awaited them, such as a university environment for students, cultural events for artists and the educated, and the emperor as the protector of victims of antisemitism. The majority of those who moved to Vienna, however, based their decision less on this image than on their vague hopes of social improvement. They had drifted about Galicia with the same overwhelming confi-

<sup>28</sup> G. Tuch, *Die Ursachen des galizischen Mädchenhandels und ihre Bekämpfung. Materialien zum Generalreferat der Lemberger Tagung am 15. und 16. September 1903* (n.p., n.d.), 23.

<sup>29</sup> *Gerechtigkeit*, 2 (1904), 2.

<sup>30</sup> R. Mahler, *Hasidism and the Jewish Enlightenment: Their Confrontation in Galicia and Poland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1985), 69 ff.



dence without having any specific goal. In Galicia the idea of a mythical faraway land arose among people who had believed that luck would provide a satisfactory subsistence close by.

Perceptions of New York tended to be more down-to-earth. Although they, too, were often exaggerated and unrealistic, the portraits contained a grain of truth. Jews who considered departing for New York knew of the textile industry, which employed thousands of fellow Jews, and of associations for *Landsleit* (people from one's native town) that included familiar faces and took care of new arrivals. The emigrants were very practical and tended to be skilled workers, generally tailors.<sup>31</sup> In fact, migration destinations were determined by selective expectations, to some extent: skilled emigrants viewed New York as a suitable objective.

Though the impoverished Galicians did not feel that in Vienna any trade was especially open to Jews, or that the city offered assurances of a decent living (in contrast to New York), the travellers did believe they would find institutions there that would help them. They mainly sought the bare necessities, sufficient support to secure their existence. Zallel Weisinger, born in Husiatyn, recalled having heard, both at home and everywhere else he had been, that 'the Viennese religious community is unsurpassed in this world [in terms of] charitable institutions'.<sup>32</sup>

#### THE RECEPTION OF THE IMMIGRANTS IN VIENNA

Vienna's role as the destination of the desperate and destitute was well established long before the wave of Jews arrived from the east late in the century. In 1821 representatives of 'Jews tolerated by the Viennese' had demanded that measures be introduced concerning the other, less desirable Jews in the city, intended to 'drive out the foreign Israelite beggars in the vicinity as far as possible' (in the words of a historian writing a century later).<sup>33</sup> In 1860 the annual report of Vienna's Israelitischen Frauen-Verein (Israelite Women's Association), which aided women who were destitute, sick, or had recently given birth, noted it had become necessary to 'emphasize section 13 of our statutes, which holds that regular beggars must be ignored, and foreign ones heeded only in exceptional situations, such as when forced to approach a local doctor or medical institution'.<sup>34</sup>

As the scale of Galician immigration increased, the issues associated with them grew more pressing. A few decades later extensive reforms took place in Vienna's relief facilities for the poor, explicitly intended to halt 'professional beggary' and 'occupational begging', which were thriving as a result of the recent arrival of

<sup>31</sup> S. Joseph, 'Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910', *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, 4 (1914), 188-9.

<sup>32</sup> Memoir of Zallel Weisinger, Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem (CAHJP) A/W 74.

<sup>33</sup> S. Kraus, *Geschichte der israelitischen Armenanstalt in Wien* (Vienna, 1922), 181.

<sup>34</sup> Israelitischen Frauen-Vereins, annual report (1860), CAHJP A/W 2232, 4.

Galician Jews.<sup>35</sup> Had Vienna become a hotbed of Jewish beggars and the infirm who had come to rely on the kindness of strangers? Was Vienna a sanatorium for Jews suffering material deprivation?

While these problems were not pandemic, among Galician newcomers they were common. And a whole network of organizations arose dedicated to supporting these people. For example, the *Erster österreichischer Hilfsverein für kranke Jüdische* (First Austrian Relief Association for Sick Jewish Arrivals) took in destitute Galicians after their discharge from hospital—and usually joined forces with the associations *Osten* (Eastward) and *Bikur Holim* (Visits for the Sick) to send them back home.<sup>36</sup> Another group, the *Israelitischer Wohltätigkeits- und Krankenunterstützungsverein* (Relief Association for Poor Sick Israelites), which also helped mostly Galician Jews, feared that, confronted with the masses seeking assistance during the mid-1880s, it would no longer have enough funding to fulfil its obligations (some Jewish communities, such as those in Kraków and Tarnów, had stopped paying their annual dues).<sup>37</sup> Public kitchens, such as the *Verein zur Errichtung von Volksküchen* (Association for Public Kitchens), *Einheit* (Unity), and *Achwah-Jüdische Brüder* (Jewish Brethren), were but a few among the charitable associations trying to relieve the suffering of the Jewish arrivals from Galicia and elsewhere.

But without denying the philanthropic significance of the Viennese Jews' efforts, it must also be noted that their charity work served another purpose: namely, to erase from the city the obvious poverty and apparent differences of the arrivals from the Galician *shtetls*. Whether this entailed returning them to Galicia or having them adapt to prevailing cultural standards, the intention was the same: to reduce the threat to the assimilation efforts of local Jews that the newcomers posed. Poverty was clearly visible among the Galician Jewish arrivals. They wore their destitution (along with their cultural idiosyncrasies) in plain view. In an era characterized by racism, this situation caused serious concern among Viennese Jews, for several reasons. First, in the racist view, character could be judged from external appearances.<sup>38</sup> Secondly, certain properties were considered genetic, and therefore hereditary among all Jews, not merely those from the East. Since hereditary defects posed a threat to peoples with a 'superior' physique, racialists condemned full integration and sought to halt the assimilation of all Jews. Thirdly, the Galician migrants' obvious deviance from respectable Viennese standards of conduct and appearance stigmatized them as outcasts. Contemporary views interpreted any cultural deviations as symptoms of abnormality and illness.<sup>39</sup> Illness

<sup>35</sup> CAHJP A/W 1851, 1.

<sup>36</sup> CAHJP A/W 2313, 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*, 13 (1885), 6–7.

<sup>38</sup> G. L. Mosse, *The Culture of Western Europe: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Boulder, Colo., 1988), 88.

<sup>39</sup> G. L. Mosse, 'Jewish Emancipation: Between *Bildung* and Respectability', in Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg (eds.), *The Jewish Response to German Culture: From the Enlightenment to the Second World War* (Hanover, Mass., 1985), 6.

could be contagious and therefore had to be avoided. Both the poor and the seriously ill among Galician Jewish migrants were viewed as intruders, whom even Jews tried to banish, either by sending them back home or by attempting to eliminate their conspicuous, displeasing peculiarities.

Galician Jews who had gone to Vienna because of poor health returned to their *shtetls* with relatively little assistance. Upon their recovery and discharge from hospital they were often eager to return to their families. Those who had flocked to Vienna to escape conditions in Galicia were a different matter, however, as they had yet to fulfil their expectations.

Even though the Jews of Vienna were wealthier and in a better position to give alms, they were reluctant donors, who wanted to impose certain conditions on their financial assistance. They disapproved of supporting those who refused to work (begging, which had been a trade in Galicia, was not acknowledged in Vienna); but they willingly gave charity to the 'deserving' poor, such as the physically disabled. This value system that distinguished between deserving and undeserving poor was based on middle-class conceptions of poverty and achievement.<sup>40</sup> It reflected the cultural context of those Jews who, as members of the upper-middle class, had the financial resources to support charitable associations. According to this line of thought, the deserving poor were entirely different from the beggars. They suffered from material shortages but could ultimately be socially integrated. Their behaviour could be adapted to middle-class standards. The deserving poor had fallen on hard times through no fault of their own, perhaps because of an accident; they had many children or were prevented from earning an honest living for other reasons, which could not preclude 'generous but judicious support'.<sup>41</sup>

It was the cultural views of the bourgeoisie that also shaped the ideology of the Zentralstelle für das jüdische Armenwesen (Central Agency for Jewish Indigence), which served as an umbrella organization for the Jewish charitable associations in Vienna and coordinated their activities. Setting up a central register of poor Jews, the Zentralstelle produced a file of the needy who were receiving assistance, thereby ensuring that they did not receive multiple sets of benefits from separate associations. Its organizers believed that this method would ensure that they provided charitable assistance only to 'deserving individuals' and not to 'professional beggars'.<sup>42</sup> Assistance from the Zentralstelle was supposed to be preventative; previous recipients were not meant to return for more. In addition, the programme was to follow the rules of 'individualized treatment' and 'all principles characteristic of modern poor relief'.<sup>43</sup> Support benefits were thus subject to certain conditions: only the 'deserving' poor would be aided. By imposing conditions on support benefits (and stimulating a work ethic), the Viennese hoped to facilitate social integration.

<sup>40</sup> Mosse, *Culture of Western Europe*, 209.

<sup>42</sup> CAHJP A/W 1847.

<sup>41</sup> CAHJP A/W 1849.

<sup>43</sup> CAHJP A/W 1847.

This system contrasted with the tradition of alms, or conventional charity, which had involved giving on request, quietly, without asking questions or evaluating worthiness. Not surprisingly, then, the new outlook drew criticism from traditional Jewish spiritual thinkers, who called the Zentralstelle un-Jewish because it did not reflect 'the spirit of our Holy Scriptures, which base this form of brotherly love exclusively on idealist and ethical motives'.<sup>44</sup> But in the eyes of the Zentralstelle, such traditional, ethically motivated compassion was to be avoided, as it would include beggars and make Vienna even more attractive to the poor remaining in Galicia, who would flock westwards in still larger numbers, overloading the institution, which would then be unable to achieve its ultimate goal of eliminating the despicable class of paupers.

The new type of poor relief clearly served to promote acculturation and to encourage the Galicians to adapt to prevailing cultural standards. It reflected a desire to strip Galician Jews of their cultural idiosyncrasies so as to eliminate the targets of the antisemites. But it was also intended to expand Viennese Jewry's sphere of action, to move beyond reaction or submissiveness and instead to exhibit Jewish virtues with pride. As one journalist wrote, upon the establishment of the Zentralstelle: 'If our Jewish community provides charity, then as citizens and members of society, we should be eligible for both the rights and the obligations of public and social institutions.'<sup>45</sup> Charity work thus legitimized fully enfranchised citizenship, with participation in the 'rights and obligations' a reward. In January 1905, at a meeting to reform poor relief that eventually led to the formation of the Zentralstelle, one speaker equated poor relief with 'help to restore self-sufficiency' and stated that the relief was therefore 'intended to protect the interests of the taxpayers, as well as those of the needy'.<sup>46</sup> Instead of focusing on the immediate results of poor relief—i.e. helping the needy—the organizers pointed to the social consequences. One of these consequences was relieving the taxpayers, their fellow (gentile) citizens.

Similar motives were behind the introduction of a second new type of philanthropy: well-organized poor relief in Galicia itself. This operation would also benefit the state by promoting good citizenship.<sup>47</sup> The idea of using charity work or other assistance to improve the social circumstances of Jews locally, where they originated, and thereby stop them from leaving their home province in the first place, had strong support among some Viennese Jews. After the first migrants provided them with a glimpse of the social conditions in Galicia, the Jews of Vienna realized that the migration could continue indefinitely unless material circumstances changed. Their newspapers revealed their fear of a continuing deluge of impoverished Galicians.

Things are stirring in Galicia. What used to happen individually has become a mass phe-

<sup>44</sup> *Wahrheit*, 7 (1910), 5.

<sup>45</sup> CAHJP A/W 1847.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> B. Pappenheim, *Zur Judenfrage in Galizien* (Frankfurt-on-Main, 1900), 16.

nomenon. Hundreds of thousands of Jews with nothing more than their walking-sticks . . . want to preserve their empty beings from death by starvation . . . If we do not make our way to the Galician Jews, they will come to us. If we fail to help them now, we will have to give them alms later. Then, however, we will be cultivating beggars and sending them out into the world as international scroungers.<sup>48</sup>

All told, three organizations were devoted to the efforts to alleviate the social misery of the Jews in Galicia. Their programmes and operating procedures offer another example of efforts by Viennese Jews to impose their own cultural values on their fellow Jews from Galicia. They were devoted to 'cultural improvement', with a basis similar to that of the Zentralstelle.<sup>49</sup> Sometimes their programmes went beyond acculturation, however. One—the Baron Hirsch Foundation for the Advancement of Primary Education in the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria—explicitly prescribed a 'patriotic and cultural mission'.<sup>50</sup> To those entrusted with this civilizing duty, it seemed quite reasonable that the Jewish population in Galicia 'probably lived under economic and spiritual conditions that were aeons behind those prevailing among their Jewish counterparts in the West'.<sup>51</sup> The need to compensate for this spiritual and cultural underdevelopment, supposedly the result of popular loyalty to Yiddish, was considered urgent. This motive led to the establishment of a fleet of new schools and kindergartens, as well as to an effort to teach Jewish children the local gentile language and to involve them in manual labour and agriculture. 'The relief of poverty and suffering, the improvement of living conditions and educational standards, were therefore not merely acts of charity,' writes historian Robert Wistrich, 'but rather designed to transform the East European Jews into free, self-supporting, and useful human beings.'<sup>52</sup>

Another organization responsible for charity work in Galicia was the Hilfsverein für die notleidende jüdische Bevölkerung in Galizien (Association for the Needy Jewish Population in Galicia). It dealt with the white slave trade from Galicia to areas overseas, including South-East Asia, an activity that involved many Jews. Antisemites had eagerly seized on this issue and exploited it for political purposes, depicting all Jews as criminal lechers. The Hilfsverein was established to counter such accusations and to eliminate the causes of prostitution, which they ascribed to impoverishment. The association strove to provide young women, the apparent victims of these operations, with other chances to earn a living. It also served poor young males, as did the Baron Hirsch Foundation, by getting them apprenticeships with help from the Verein zur Beförderung des

<sup>48</sup> *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*, 10 (1899), 185.

<sup>49</sup> *Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Hilfsvereins für die notleidende jüdische Bevölkerung in Galizien* (Vienna, 1904), 3.

<sup>50</sup> Baron Hirsch-Stiftung, *Bericht des Curatoriums der Baron Hirsch-Stiftung zur Beförderung des Volksschulunterrichtes im Königreiche Galizien und Bukowina mit dem Grossherzogthume Krakau und im Herzogthume Bukowina* (Vienna, 1891), 7.

<sup>51</sup> *Wahrheit*, 27 (1910), 79.

<sup>52</sup> R. S. Wistrich, *The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph* (Oxford, 1990), 77.

Handwerks unter den inländischen Israeliten (Association for the Promotion of Manual Work among Inland Israelites) and by sending them to Vienna for training.<sup>53</sup>

Finally, the Israelitische Allianz (Israelite Alliance) was a third organization that tried to improve the economic situation of Galician Jews by 'raising the cultural level among broad segments'.<sup>54</sup> Its members were especially determined to modernize the *heders* and wanted to create a new cultural environment by establishing its own schools. The Israelitische Allianz was the best example of the outlook of Viennese Jews who considered their own middle-class culture to be a prerequisite for professional and social success. On this view, poor relief was acculturation assistance. Poverty was a social ailment that tended to afflict people who failed to meet prevailing cultural standards. It was a general cultural category, and the preventive benefits served to provide the needy with the cultural wherewithal to overcome their deplorable circumstances. Such views explain the willingness of the affluent resident Viennese Jews to support poor relief in a manner that surpassed traditional philanthropy.

Because of the size of Vienna's Jewish community, efforts to acculturate the Galician arrivals took several forms, and opinions varied about their effectiveness. The Zentralstelle was not the only institution to promote acculturation: other important organizations included Toynbee Hall and the Beit Ha'am (Jewish Cultural Centre). No institution was more active, however, than the Zentralstelle. It was the only one whose policies the needy could not circumvent. As virtually all charity associations were affiliated to it, its acculturating influence was inescapable, enabling it to become extremely influential.

#### JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN VIENNA AND NEW YORK COMPARED

One might ask why charity work enabled the Jews of Vienna to impart their middle-class cultural standards. In New York there was no such effort to coordinate the activities of individual associations. Instead, New York Jewish institutions reflected the difference in outlook between the longer-established German Jews and the east European newcomers.<sup>55</sup> While there were attempts to unite Jews against antisemitic attacks in Vienna, the scope of such ventures was far narrower than those related to charity work. The differences between New York and Vienna resulted in part from the existing social environments, and also in part from the perceptions of the east European newcomers. Comparing the organizations in the two cities illustrates both these aspects in greater detail and provides more insight into the special significance of poor relief in Vienna.

<sup>53</sup> *Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Hilfsvereins*, 8.

<sup>54</sup> *Neue National-Zeitung*, 13 (1907), 3.

<sup>55</sup> A. A. Goren, *New York Jews and the Quest for Community: The Kehillah Experiment, 1908-1922* (New York, 1970).

One of the most striking differences between the two cities is that while *Landsleit* societies typified the organizational structure in New York, they were insignificant in Vienna (only sixteen of some 300 Jewish associations there).<sup>56</sup> Various explanations are possible. First, the Danube metropolis was the heart of a cultural area that included Galicia on its periphery. Migrants to the city did not need to abandon their usual customs for an entirely unfamiliar way of life. Whereas crossing the sea implied an irreversible decision about one's future place of residence, those who went to Vienna could always return to their native province. Galicia was accessible from Vienna and was a frequent destination for visits, summer holidays, and family reunions. The Galicians in Vienna were therefore not so cut off from their homes or so estranged that they needed groups of *Landsleit* as sociocultural retreats to help them feel less uprooted. New York, however, was a new world where Galician Jewish immigrants had far more difficulty getting settled. In New York factors such as the way of life, the daily circumstances, and the unfamiliar language caused culture shock among many Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe. One method of coping involved joining forces with people from the same province with a similar outlook, people from the same *shtetl*, or occasionally old acquaintances, to form a society of *Landsleit*.

The Galician migrants to Vienna were generally different types from those who sailed for New York, and this suggests a second reason for the absence of *Landsleit* societies in Austria. The earliest organizations established by Galicians in Vienna tended to be religious: congregations. These observed the Orthodox traditions from Poland. All Galicians were thus eligible for membership. This rite distinguished them as a group from the Jews who had come from other areas of the monarchy, and did not divide them internally. Members of the religious congregations in Vienna were first and foremost Galicians, regardless of their more particular local origins. This religious loyalty and its principles of association served in fact to eliminate local differences among Galicians. In New York's societies of *Landsleit*, by contrast, the members were from the same particular *shtetl* or locality, so that a given association consisted primarily of immigrants from Ternopil' or Lviv, for example. In Vienna both the social environment and the primary Galician loyalty of the migrants largely accounted for the absence of *Landsleit* societies.

Over time the Galicians in Vienna gradually lost their interest in religion, and their rites became less distinctive. They retained their pronounced group identity for many years, but the cohesiveness was increasingly based less on religion than on the prejudices against them. Existing associations assumed more of a social character and made less effort to satisfy members' religious needs. New organizations often emphasized their social mission from the outset. Thus, the establishment of the Zentralstelle, aimed at reforming charity associations and increasing their efficiency, fit in with the general organizational tendency to emphasize social

<sup>56</sup> M. L. Rozenblit, *Die Juden Wiens, 1867–1914. Assimilation und Identität* (Vienna, 1988), 200 ff.

aspects of Jewish daily life.

New York's Jewish immigrants tended to be less religious from the start. Instead of concentrating on religious rites to maintain ties with their home, they focused on *yidishkeyt*, their non-religious cultural customs. After the religious criterion that had originally characterized the Jewish immigrants in Vienna eventually vanished, *yidishkeyt* persisted in New York. Yiddish became especially important with the rise of the Jewish labour movement.<sup>57</sup> Combined with the socialist agitation that was primarily directed against Jewish entrepreneurs, Yiddish became a tool used by the counter-culture to oppose another class's cultural perceptions.

Another difference lies in the relationship that east European and Galician Jews in New York had with the resident Jewish community. Socially based conflicts were exacerbated there, as there was no consensus between the groups of Jews about the need for charity work as there was in Vienna. In the city on the Danube a fruitful spirit of cooperation existed with regard to poor relief because such care furthered the intentions of Vienna's liberal bourgeois Jewish community without conflicting with the identity of Galician Jews; the cooperation appeared to benefit both groups. No such congruence of interests existed in New York. Furthermore, east European Jewish immigrants in that city juxtaposed a pronounced Yiddish cultural identity against the cultural influence of the resident Jewish community, a situation that did not prevail in Vienna.

#### THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT AND THE GALICIANS IN VIENNA

There is still another important aspect of the attitude among the Galician Jews in Vienna that not only distinguishes them from their kin in New York but also calls into question assumptions in scholarly literature. Specifically, the religiosity of the Galicians tended to keep them from embracing any political ideology (at least up until the First World War), whereas their counterparts in New York helped the labour movement to achieve its breakthrough. Several factors accounted for the virtual absence of a Jewish labour movement that could have recruited Galician supporters in Vienna. In addition, Zionism as a political force held little attraction for them.

There were two sources of conflict between the Viennese Zionists and the Galician Jews. The first involved a difference in loyalties. The Jewish immigrants tended to arrive in Vienna with a primarily religious outlook, which retained much of its influence. The Zionists usually came from a liberal, assimilationist Jewish background, adopting a sense of Jewishness only after failing to integrate into gentile society. They were more inclined to interpret Judaism in nationalist terms, and were frequently indifferent to, or even disapproving of, religion.

<sup>57</sup> K. Hödl, *Vom Shtetl an die Lower East Side: Galizische Juden in New York* (Vienna, 1991).



For example, when Max Nordau, a leading Zionist, married a gentile (an action not permitted under Jewish law), a fierce debate arose in the press about whether this was permitted to Zionists, and one of the many articles that supported Nordau stated: 'As Zionists, we [are] . . . national Jews, not confessional members of a Jewish religious congregation. Rabbinic rulings, Mishnaic dogmas, and the regulations of prophets rarely affect our lives.'<sup>58</sup> The separation between religion and social life that this quotation portrays as typical reflects the values of Viennese Zionists and their liberal origins; it was far from conducive to gaining support from Galician Jews.

A new climax in the efforts to secularize Zionism occurred in connection with Unitas, a Zionist student association. Its fifteenth anniversary festivities were scheduled to begin on a Friday evening, with a gala student reception, and to conclude the next day, Saturday morning, with a drive to the university. This provocative violation of the Sabbath aroused great indignation throughout the Jewish community. Once again Zionists made several attempts to justify the students' actions in terms of the relationship between Zionism and religion:

Our student associations embrace Zionism and national Judaism. According to their views, observing religious rituals is an individual decision. . . . When free-spirited academics, who have never claimed they observed religious laws, hold private celebrations on Saturday . . . they are not violating the tenets of national Judaism and Zionism. They are not hurting anyone and are merely exercising a right guaranteed by Zionism that ensures freedom in religious affairs. The Zionist Party will always uphold this basic principle.<sup>59</sup>

One Saturday morning soon afterwards Zionists again demonstrated their insensitivity to religious commandments, this time by placing commemorative wreaths on the graves of those who had perished during the March revolution of 1848. The *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*—a non-religious conservative newspaper edited by R. Joseph Samuel Bloch, a native of Dukla in Galicia—vehemently condemned their act:

We personally do not know . . . what could be a greater breach with Judaism or what could be more contrary to Jewish sentiment and tradition than holding a memorial service on Friday night, riding to the main cemetery on Saturday morning, and solemnly placing wreaths on the graves! One might well wonder whether such people have ever visited cemeteries or graves. [To think that] this clear imitation of strange Aryan customs, this obscure monstrosity of blatantly ignorant assimilationism, is labelled as Zionism in Vienna!<sup>60</sup>

The Zionists' strained relationship with religion did little to attract support from Galician Jews. But although their disregard for religious law in daily life may have seemed odd to the east European Jews, it alone never ignited a heated dispute between the two groups. Other incidents did have such an effect, however. One of

<sup>58</sup> *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*, 22 (1898), 425.

<sup>59</sup> *Jüdische Zeitung*, 10 (1909), 3.

<sup>60</sup> *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*, 16 (1909), 279.

these was the Mayersohn affair.

Maier Mayersohn came from Berezhany in Galicia. He became the rabbi of the Beth Israel Congregation in Vienna in 1899, and was appointed honorary president of Machsike Hadas a few years later. In 1914, in a case involving the recognition of a religious marriage performed abroad, his decision upset the Zionists, who accused him of ruling unfairly.<sup>61</sup> The court of arbitration assigned to investigate this charge was unable to find any punishable actions, but Zionist complaints against Rabbi Mayersohn continued. The Galician Jews, whose representative Mayersohn, because of his position, could be considered to be, perceived the Zionist approach as 'intended to expose all Polish Jews' (in the words of one newspaper), and they convened a large meeting as a result of this incident.<sup>62</sup> Shortly afterwards the Zionists reacted by organizing another event, which culminated in violent clashes with the Galicians.<sup>63</sup>

This dispute illustrates some of the reasons why Galicians kept their distance from the Zionist movement. The Mayersohn affair, which some saw as a simple difference of opinion about the conduct of a community rabbi, actually stemmed from a significant cultural rift, and reflected a structural problem. Religion was on the defensive, for the Zionists did not let religious observance hinder their activities (although they did not proscribe its significance to others). While the Galician Jews were not directly affected or confined by Zionist precepts, they did feel threatened by the Zionist emphasis on acculturation. The Galician system of religious values was among the traits that acculturation was intended to counter. Alfred Stern, the chairman of the Israelitische Kulturgemeinde (Israelite Religious Congregation), dismissed Mayersohn's controversial actions as trivial, and because they were commonplace in Galicia, he felt they should not be punishable in Vienna. He believed the Zionists were overreacting. The issue at the heart of the disagreement in this case was whether conduct appropriate to Galician standards was also appropriate in Vienna, or whether other rules should apply that more accurately reflected local cultural norms. The question, as the *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift* put it, was which was preferable: 'civilizing standards' or the 'Ternopil world-view'.<sup>64</sup>

Like the liberal Viennese Jews, the Zionists also hoped to convince their fellow Jews to acculturate (or 'normalize', in their terminology). Toynbee Hall, which was run by Zionists for four years, exemplified their efforts.<sup>65</sup> The difference between Zionists and the other Viennese in this respect was the tenacious radicalism with which the Zionists pursued their objectives, maybe owing to their being an opposition force. This radicalism offended the Galicians and alienated them from Zionist aspirations. The debate that surrounded the establishment of a

<sup>61</sup> *Neue National-Zeitung*, 8 (1914), 59.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* 9 (1914), 67.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 13 (1914), 100.

<sup>64</sup> *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*, 51 (1913), 923-4.

<sup>65</sup> *Wahrheit*, 47 (1910), 7.

community union was only one instance of this alienation. To some extent, Galicians and Zionists were also separated by a lack of common interests (this was apparent in the Viennese Zentralstelle as well as in New York). Indeed, the historiographical assumption—not verifiable from election results—that the Galician Jews in Vienna tended to be Zionists is flawed and requires re-examination.

*Translated from German by Lee Mitzman*

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# Yiddish as an Expression of Jewish Cultural Identity in Galicia and Vienna

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'YIDDISH literature in Galicia is stirring, but for now it is still talking in its sleep.' With this aphorism Isaac Leib Peretz pinpointed the backwardness of Yiddish in the easternmost province of the Habsburg empire. In Galicia Yiddish language and culture developed quite differently and at a much slower pace than in the other parts of Poland and Russia. At a time when the works of Peretz, Mendele Mokher Seform, and Sholem Aleichem were flourishing elsewhere, Yiddish culture in Galicia was still underdeveloped, emerging only fleetingly at the beginning of the twentieth century, inspired by the political and social movements that encouraged Jewish national self-awareness. No doubt one reason for this long period of dormancy was the particular historical situation that resulted from the policies of the Habsburg regime.

A history of the Yiddish-language movement in Galicia and the Austrian capital, Vienna, must also be an account of its failure. It was precisely in Galicia that a thriving cultural symbiosis emerged among the coexisting national groups, and this symbiosis had a substantial impact on the Yiddish cultural movement. Yet competition from the Polish and German languages ultimately ousted Yiddish almost completely.

## GALICIAN BACKGROUND

When the Habsburg regime annexed the kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria from Poland in 1772, about 200,000 Jews were living there. Apart from a small stratum of moderately prosperous merchants, these Jews lived in abysmal poverty, with no secular education. Their everyday language was Yiddish, and normative Judaism (and later hasidism) was the predominant influence on their cultural as well as spiritual life. The empress Maria Theresa's 'regulation of Jewish affairs', the Theresianische Judenordnung, restructured the Jewish communities financially and politically, and the subsequent reforms of Joseph II included an extensive educational programme.

Joseph II's educational policy aimed at Germanizing the Galician Jews through the creation of German-language Jewish schools, but it did not produce the

intended results and most of these schools had to close down in 1806, when the Austrian government cut off financial support. The Germanizing policies continued nevertheless, with often very unpopular measures. For example, a decree of 1806 obliged all official representatives of the Jewish communities in Galicia to prove their proficiency in German; in 1810 the decree was strengthened, and all Jews voting in *kehilah* elections had to demonstrate a knowledge of German; the legal validity of documents written in Yiddish and Hebrew was abrogated in 1814; Jewish couples who wanted to be married had to pass an examination based on the catechism *Bnei Tsion*, issued in German by Naftali Herz Homberg. The Jews found this last decree particularly irksome.<sup>1</sup>

Among Jews, these Germanizing measures found support from only the *maskilim*, who rejected Yiddish as a despicable jargon and strove to spread German language and culture. They themselves wrote mostly in Hebrew, although occasionally they resorted to Yiddish as a necessary evil, in order to be understood by the common people.<sup>2</sup> Yet despite the negative attitude of the *maskilim* towards Yiddish, modern Galician Yiddish literature can be traced to the Haskalah, and specifically to the Jewish folk-song, a genre that the *maskil* Benjamin Ze'ev (Wolf) (d. 1883; known as Velvel Zbarazher), a master of both Hebrew and Yiddish, raised to the level of literature.

The modern Jewish folk-song has its roots in the medieval ghetto and its minnesingers. Among the precursors of the Yiddish folk-singers were the *badkhanim*, who entertained at Jewish weddings with their jokes and songs. But, unlike the *badkhanim*, the Yiddish folk-singers performed everywhere, travelling from village to village, singing their songs at inns.<sup>3</sup>

Since most folk-singers came from rather modest artisan or trader backgrounds, one characteristic of the modern Jewish folk-song was its pronounced social criticism. Berl Broder, for example, one of the first Galician Jewish folk-singers (after whom a whole generation of singers came to be known as the 'Broder singers'), started out singing his songs at work, to entertain his comrades and distract them from the monotony of their labours. The protagonists of his songs represent various Jewish occupations, from water-carrier and *belfer* (teacher's aide) to *melamed* (teacher), *shadkhen* (matchmaker), and *peklmaker* (pedlar, smuggler)—the last a particularly popular profession in the border town of Brody. But Jewish folk-song would reach its greatest glory in the person of Velvel Zbarazher, from the Galician *shtetl* of Zbarazh.

<sup>1</sup> See R. Mahler, *Hasidism and the Jewish Enlightenment: Their Confrontation in Galicia and Poland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1985), 5–6.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, for example, the illustrious Joseph Perl published some of his writings against hasidism in Yiddish. See *Yosef Perl's Yidishe Ksovim* (Vilnius, 1937). Among maskilic Yiddish literature are also some comedies, such as Efroyim Fishlzon's *Teyator fun Khsidim* and an anonymous play *Di Genarte Velt*.

<sup>3</sup> Nathan Gelber describes Jewish folk-singers as the actual originators of Jewish cabaret and theatre. See N. M. Gelber, *Berl Broder. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der jüdischen Volkssänger*, offprint from *Mitteilungen für jüdische Volkskunde* (Vienna, 1913), 5.

The son of well-to-do and sophisticated parents, Velvel Zbarazher was a devotee of Hebrew as well as Yiddish. In his book *Makel no'am* he published songs he had written in Yiddish and Hebrew, the first of which was composed in praise of Hebrew—a gesture typical of Haskalah poets.<sup>4</sup> His poetry and writings reflect an intellectual battle between Haskalah and hasidism; but unlike many other maskilic writers, whose criticism of hasidism was often one-sided or stereotyped, Velvel was equally critical of the Haskalah. He took as many sideswipes at the European-minded *deytsh* (enlightened person) as at the hasid. In the song 'The Hasid Comes to Vienna', for example, a Galician Jew makes fun of Viennese Jewish customs: 'The *shul* they call "temple", when they *daven* they call it "pray", and their *khazen*, whom they call "cantor", cannot sing but squeals like a rat.'<sup>5</sup>

Velvel Zbarazher was famed beyond Galicia's borders. For some years he lived in Romania, and he also performed in Vienna, at the Hotel Mansch in the Kleine Sperlgasse and at the Café Hackl on Taborstrasse. His audience there consisted mainly of Galician merchants, some Jews from old Viennese families, and many *maskilim*.<sup>6</sup>

Zbarazher played an enormous role in the emergence of an autonomous Yiddish literature in Galicia,<sup>7</sup> introducing into modern Yiddish poetry such themes as the transitoriness of life and the poet's isolation from society. But, although he became a model for Galicia's Jewish writers and poets, after his death in Romania in 1883 many years were to pass before a new generation of enthusiastic young writers in Galicia would take up his legacy.

Galicia's multilingual situation went hand in hand with social differentiation. German and Polish were the languages of the upper and middle classes,<sup>8</sup> whereas Yiddish and Ukrainian were considered mere vernaculars that had experienced an evolutionary leap only towards the end of the nineteenth century, in the context of the ascendant political mass movements. The 1880s and 1890s were characterized by a growing trend towards assimilation among the Galician Jewish middle classes and intelligentsia, and increasingly Polish speech and culture ousted German. In eastern Galicia, Lviv became the centre of the Polish Jewish intellectual organization Agudas Ahim, which published the periodical *Ojczyzna*. Its members took up ideas of the Haskalah and fought for equal social and legal rights; but, in contrast to the German-oriented *maskilim*, they thought of themselves as rooted in Polish culture. They wanted to be Polish citizens of the Jewish faith and rejected

<sup>4</sup> V. E. Zbarazher, *Makel no'am* (Vienna, 1865).

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from M. Weissberg, *Wolwel Zbarzher der fahrende Sänger des galizisch-jüdischen Humanismus*, offprint from *Mitteilungen für jüdische Volkskunde* (Vienna, 1909) 31–2.

<sup>6</sup> See also Y. Tiger, 'Velele Zbarzher (Aynike pratim vegn zayn oyfhalt in Vin)', in *Yidish. Khoydesh zshurnal far yidishe kulturinyonim in Vin*, 3–4 (Vienna, 1928).

<sup>7</sup> The German public was introduced to Velvel Zbarazher by G. H. Dalman's 1888 anthology *Jüdisch-deutsche Volkslieder aus Galizien und Russland* ([Vienna?]).

<sup>8</sup> Polish was also the language of the lower orders, however, since Galicia (the western part in particular) had very large, very poor Polish peasant and petty-bourgeois classes.

Yiddish, jargon they felt should be eliminated as a first step towards emancipation.<sup>9</sup> In Austrian western Galicia Polonization was even more advanced than in the east, partly because there was a preponderance of Poles throughout western Galicia, whereas Ukrainians made up the majority in eastern Galicia, especially in the countryside.<sup>10</sup> In the principal city, Kraków, the Jewish middle classes had already Polonized to a large extent.

#### POLITICAL MOVEMENTS AS PROPAGATORS OF YIDDISH

The rise of the Jewish nationalist and socialist movements in Galicia in the late 1800s brought about an enhancement of the status of Yiddish. The first Jewish nationalist organizations in Galicia in the early 1880s followed the prototype of Vienna's Kadimah.<sup>11</sup> Nathan Birnbaum's lecture tour through Galicia in 1892 gave the Jewish nationalist movement an important impetus. Yiddish, however, did not yet play any significant role. The movement concerned itself rather with the advancement of Hebrew and Hebrew literature, though some nationalist party pamphlets and newspapers—for example, Galicia's first Zionist periodical, *Przyszłość*—were published in Polish.<sup>12</sup> Only at a later stage, with the emergence of Diaspora nationalism, did Yiddish language and culture gain in importance. Whereas Hebrew as a national language was the conception of the Zionists, to the adherents of Jewish autonomy in Galicia the key element for creating a Jewish national consciousness was Yiddish.

The first Yiddish daily newspaper in Galicia, the *Togblat*, founded by Gershom Bader in Lviv, began publication in 1904 and continued until the 1930s. While Yiddish had played no part in the Galician Jewish press before the 1880s, in the course of the first two decades of the twentieth century it gradually developed into the predominant language of mass communication. Local Yiddish papers appeared in numerous Galician provincial towns, such as Kolomyia, Stanyslaviv, and Buchach. Even in Kraków, with its heavily Polonized Jewish population, Josef

<sup>9</sup> See Wilhelm Feldman, one of the pioneers of Polonization, and his pamphlet *O żargonie żydowskim* (Lviv, 1891).

<sup>10</sup> Mendel Naygreshl takes this to explain why many more Yiddish writers originate from eastern Galicia, and why it was Lviv, and not Kraków, that became the centre of Yiddish culture in Galicia. 'Di moderne yidishe literatur in Galitsie', in *Fun noentn ovar* ([Israel], 1955), 336. The Ukrainian language never held any particular attraction for the Galician Jews, probably because the Ukrainian population in Galicia was mainly of the peasant class. The emergence of a Ukrainian-speaking middle class took place at a late stage only, along with the origins of the Ukrainian national, linguistic, and cultural movement.

<sup>11</sup> Kadimah, an association founded in Vienna in 1882, had numbers of Galician students and graduates as members, such as Dr Ruben Bierer from Lviv. After his return to Lviv, Bierer founded the association Mikra Kodesch in 1883, to be followed by associations founded in Drohobych, Stryi, Stanyslaviv, and other towns, especially in eastern Galicia.

<sup>12</sup> Maybe this was because many of the nationalist leaders had emerged from the camp of the assimilators, as did Alfred Nossig, a founder and editor of the periodical *Ojczyzna*.

Fischer printed papers in Yiddish.<sup>13</sup> Yona Krepl, who later moved to Vienna and became an official in the Austrian government, edited the first-ever Yiddish daily, *Der Tog*, which started in 1909.

The first Yiddish-language conference in Chernivtsy in 1908 was a milestone in the development of Yiddish culture, not only in Galicia but for the whole of eastern Europe.<sup>14</sup> Participants included the great Yiddish writers Peretz, Sholem Asch, Avraham Reyzen, and Hersch David Nomberg. Also participating were numerous Jewish nationalist and socialist politicians, among them Nathan Birnbaum, the most prominent figure in the Yiddish hasidic movement. Preparations for the language conference had concentrated on philology and literary studies. During the conference, however, controversies about the significance of Yiddish as a national language overshadowed these issues: the Zionists rallied around Hebrew, whereas the Yiddishists and socialist Bundists came out strongly in favour of Yiddish. As a result of the conference, Yiddish was recognized, if not as *the* national language, at any rate as *a* national language of the Jews. Political differences came to the fore in the contempt shown by some delegates from Russia and Poland for the Galicians, whose Yiddish they regarded as 'not genuine'. As Saul Rafael Landau's *Neue Nationalzeitung* recorded: 'The spirit of intolerance prevalent at the conference made itself felt, often very unpleasantly. The participants from Russia expected as a matter of course that everyone would understand [their dialect of Yiddish]. As soon as a Galician spoke, however, some of them would shout: "Yiddish! Yiddish!" Thus a speaker from Buchach, who propounded his views in favour of Hebrew cultural values most matter-of-factly in the Galician dialect of Yiddish, faced repeated interruptions.'<sup>15</sup>

The Chernivtsy conference exerted a considerable influence on Jewish politics in Galicia. All Jewish parties agreed to ask their supporters to name Yiddish as their native language in the Austrian census of 1910,<sup>16</sup> intending their choice of Yiddish as a first step to the acknowledgement of Jewishness as a nationality. But in the event the Austrian authorities proved unsupportive of the demand for the recognition of Yiddish, and the census questionnaires offered a choice between Polish, Ukrainian, and German only.<sup>17</sup>

The struggle for Yiddish also played a role in the evolution of the socialist

<sup>13</sup> At Kolomyia several Yiddish periodicals were actually published. The most important was the paper *Der Folksfraynd*. Der Yudishe Veker in Buchach was the first publishing house to print Shmuel Yosef Agnon's Yiddish writings. On this, see J. Toury, *Die jüdische Presse im österreichischen Kaiserreich: Ein Beitrag zur Problematik der Akkulturation, 1802–1918* (Tübingen, 1983), 122–38.

<sup>14</sup> See *Di ershte yidishe sprachkonferents: barikhtn, dokumentn un ophandlungen fun der Tshernovitzer konferents 1908* (Vilnius, 1931). See also E. Goldsmith, *Architects of Yiddishism at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: A Study in Jewish Cultural History* (London, 1976), 183–221.

<sup>15</sup> *Neue Nationalzeitung*, 35 (1908), 6.

<sup>16</sup> Y. Kisman, *Di geshikhte fun Bund* (New York, 1996), iii. 421.

<sup>17</sup> On the significance of the census in Austria, see E. Brix, *Die Umgangssprachen in Altösterreich zwischen Agitation und Assimilation* (Vienna, 1982).



movement in Galicia, in which Jews participated actively. The Social Democratic Party of Galicia (PPSD) was founded in Lviv in 1882,<sup>18</sup> and right from the beginning the Jews in the social-democratic movement split into two camps, one assimilationist and the other favouring an autonomous Jewish party. The assimilationists were represented by Hermann Diamand, who vehemently opposed all separatist endeavours, and thus also opposed Yiddish. But the PPSD did tolerate Yiddish and Yiddish newspapers during its first years, from purely pragmatic considerations, in order to reach the people at large.<sup>19</sup> In the following years the tensions grew between the assimilationists and autonomists. The PPSD leadership disapproved of an autonomous Jewish party organization, and enjoined members not to circulate any Bundist publications among their ranks.<sup>20</sup> Eventually, the differences became irreconcilable. In May 1905 a split occurred, and the Jewish Social Democratic Party (ŽPSD) was proclaimed in Galicia. The ŽPSD promoted a programme similar to that of the Russian Bund, including the promotion of Jewish cultural activities, the struggle for national cultural autonomy, and the enhancement of Yiddish. Its party paper, *Der Sotsyal-Demokrat*, sought to publish a 'pure' Yiddish, free of Germanisms, and solicited guest contributions from famous Yiddish authors.<sup>21</sup> Mordecai Gebirtig, the Kraków poet, made his debut in that paper with his workers' songs. In vain, however, did the Galician Bund fight for official recognition by the Austrian Social Democrats, and in 1911 the ŽPSD reunited with the PPSD, after the latter agreed to make concessions to the proponents of Jewish self-determination.

Far greater than the influence of the Bundist-aligned socialists in Galicia was that of the Zionist movement Po'alei Zion. Thanks largely to Ber Borochov's stay in Vienna, Galicia became the centre of the Po'alei Zion, and the Yiddish journal *Der Yidishe Arbeyter* the central organ of that movement.<sup>22</sup> Ber Borochov himself was an ardent propagandist of Yiddish, which played a prominent role in the ideology of Po'alei Zion.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The first Jewish workers' association also arose in Lviv. It was followed by additional associations in the larger towns and cities of Galicia, e.g. Kraków, Kolomyia, Buchach, and Drohobych.

<sup>19</sup> From 1893 the Yiddish paper *Der Yidishe Arbeyter*, edited by Karl Nakher, was published in a language-mix of German and Yiddish. Later it was replaced by the *Jüdische Volksblatt*, whose contributors included Max Zetterbaum and Hermann Diamand.

<sup>20</sup> Members of the Bund contacted Galician workers' leaders and attempted to spread their ideas in Galicia as well.

<sup>21</sup> Among the paper's famous guest authors were Avraham Reyzen, who at that period was staying in Galicia.

<sup>22</sup> See R. Glanz, 'Die erste Zeitschrift des proletarischen Zionismus', *Der jüdische Arbeiter*, Jubilee Issue (Dec. 1927). Founded by Saul Rafael Landau, *Der jüdische Arbeiter* appeared from 1898, first in Vienna and later in Kraków and Bratislava (Pressburg at that time), but never longer than one year. From 1903 another publication under the same title came out, first in German and from 1904 in Yiddish, under the editorship of Nathan Gross and Salomon Kaplansky.

<sup>23</sup> B. Borochov, *Di oyfgabe fun der yidishe filologie* (Vilnius, 1913).

## YIDDISH FICTION AND POETRY IN GALICIA

The development of Yiddish in Galicia was thus closely connected with the new political movements of the late nineteenth century, but Yiddish *belles-lettres* would still not begin to flourish until the first decades of the twentieth. After Velvel Zbarazher the literary tradition in Galicia had virtually evaporated. One reason for this was the attachment of Galicia's Jewish youth to German and, even more, Polish culture. World-renowned writers of Galician Jewish background would write their books in German or Polish—for example, the Polish-language poet Julian Tuwim and, at a later period, the authors Bruno Schulz, Józef Wittlin, and the most famous German-language author from Galicia, Joseph Roth. As we have seen, even Jewish nationalist groupings in Galicia were tied, at least at the beginning, to German or Polish. No wonder, then, that two of the pioneers of neo-Yiddish literature in Galicia, Shmul Yakov Imber and Melekh Khmelnsky, had gained renown as Polish writers before turning to Yiddish poetry.<sup>24</sup> Linguistically and culturally the new Yiddish literati had double and even triple identities. Most of them were fluent in Polish and German, and their decision to turn to Yiddish flowed logically from the development of their political identities.<sup>25</sup>

The birth of Yiddish literature in Galicia can be placed at the years 1904 to 1909, according to Mendel Naygreshl, Yiddish literary critic in inter-war Vienna. During that period Yosef Levi and Mordecai Gebirtig published their first songs in Kraków, and in Lviv the year 1909 saw the publication of the first two books of modern Galician Yiddish poetry, *Vos ikh zing un zog* by Shmul Imber and *Farkholemte shoen* by Jacob Mestel, who later made a name for himself as an actor and theatrical producer.

While Galician Yiddish literature produced a prodigious array of lyrical poets, apart from Avrohom Moshe Fuks it produced very few well-known prose-writers. The great paradigms of Galician Yiddish poetry may be found in Polish neo-romanticism and in German and Austrian literature. Heinrich Heine particularly inspired Imber and the Galician Yiddish poet Dovid Kenigsberg, and *fin-de-siècle* Viennese literature held a magical attraction for the Galician Yiddish poets.<sup>26</sup> But that very attachment to German language and literature contributed to one of the most glaring weaknesses of Galician Yiddish poetry, namely excessive Germanisms (termed *deytshmerishkeytn* by the Yiddishists). Again and again, especially in

<sup>24</sup> Imber wrote under the pseudonym Jan Niemiara, and Khmelnsky's pen-name was Achme. Khmelnsky translated, among others, Chaim Nachman Bialik, Avraham Rayzen, and David Aynhorn into Polish.

<sup>25</sup> This does not, of course, apply to all Galician writers. The poet Mordecai Gebirtig, for instance, a son of the Kraków working class, attended only *heder* and had no secular schooling at all.

<sup>26</sup> On the ties between Galician poets and the Viennese culture of the *fin de siècle*, see S. Liptzin, *A History of Yiddish Literature* (New York, 1985), 237–55. David Kenigsberg introduced the sonnet form into Yiddish lyrics, although that form is unsuited for the language, owing to its rigid metre.

the poems of Kenigsberg and Imber, one finds German expressions and figures of speech. Only the second generation of Galician poets, who in the inter-war years published their work in the literary magazine *Tsushteyer*, were able to emancipate their Yiddish from German.

Modern Yiddish literature in Galicia was, at first, created by intellectuals for an intellectual public, but the assimilation of the Jewish intellectuals in Galicia to non-Jewish languages at first limited the compass of Yiddish literature; only gradually, with the enhanced political status of Yiddish, did it gain a broader readership.<sup>27</sup> In this respect, Galician Yiddish writing was an 'artificial literature': the theoretical recognition of its national significance preceded the practical realization of Yiddish as a popular and literary language. It was the spread of political awareness among the broad masses that laid the foundation of Yiddish as a literary language. Yet not one of the modern Galician Jewish authors attained the widespread appeal of Velvel Zbarazher.<sup>28</sup> Paradoxically, while Galicia was the ideological centre of Yiddishism,<sup>29</sup> the strong assimilationist trend ousted Yiddish from many fields.

The First World War interrupted the development of Yiddish literature in Galicia. While it gave new impetus to the Polish and Ukrainian nationalist movements, among Jews it triggered a mass exodus. Vienna was a prime destination for Galician refugees, and for writers and intellectuals in particular. Many Jewish political activists, among them the leadership of Po'alei Zion and other Zionist and socialist groups, moved there, and with political and cultural life in Galicia completely paralysed, Vienna now became the intellectual and political centre for the Jews of Galicia.

### THE YIDDISH COLONY IN VIENNA

Most scholars have overlooked the fact that a flourishing Yiddish culture was able to emerge in Vienna, albeit for only a short while.<sup>30</sup> Because of the mass migration of east European Jews at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, centres of Yiddish culture had begun springing up in European and American cities such as Berlin, London, Paris, and New York. Nowhere did Yiddish writers find it tougher going than in Vienna, then the capital of German letters and journalism. In his memoirs Melekh Ravitch records the fascination that the Habsburg capital exerted on Yiddish writers such as himself:

<sup>27</sup> Naygreshl, *Fun noentn ovar*, 308.

<sup>28</sup> Many Galician Jewish writers managed eventually to attain success in the United States. Equally numerous authors of Galician descent are encountered in modern American Yiddish poetry, such as Moshe L. Halpern, Moshe Nadir, Mani Leyb.

<sup>29</sup> Many important Yiddish linguists and literary researchers were from Galicia, including Solomon Asher Birnbaum, Matthias Mises, Alfred Landau, Max Weissberg, and Nathan Michael Gelber, but all of these scholars wrote in German.

<sup>30</sup> Sol Liptzin is an exception.

My dream was interwoven with the great and world-famous Viennese literature: Schnitzler, Altenberg, Richard Beer Hofmann, Stefan Zweig, Hugo von Hofmansthal—with Viennese art and Viennese beauty and the song-and-dance spirit of Strauss's 'Blue Danube Waltz'; in a word [it was] bubbling, filled with hopeful youth that knows not even exactly what it wants. How it came about that I combined all my Viennese dreams and hopes with an unshaken determination to be and to remain a Yiddish writer—that, I cannot remember today. Must a dream be logical?<sup>31</sup>

Clearly Ravitch sensed that there was little chance of literary survival in Vienna, but nevertheless he nursed the hope that Vienna might allow Yiddish culture some opportunity to unfold.

In the first attempts to make Yiddish culture socially acceptable, before the war, the motivation was mainly political. The Jewish nationalist movement, fighting discrimination against Ostjuden (eastern Jews) and seeking stimuli for the spiritual and cultural renaissance of Jewry as a whole, saw Yiddish as an important means of consolidating Jewish nationality. Nathan Birnbaum and his circle organized Yiddish literary and song recitals, gatherings where Jewish students whose native language was German could encounter and perhaps come to develop a feeling for Yiddish. Birnbaum and the Viennese association Jüdische Kultur helped initiate the Chernivtsy language conference of 1908. Jewish nationalist organizations published translations from Yiddish literature in their German-language periodicals,<sup>32</sup> and Yiddish culture was also encouraged at Toynbee Hall, founded by Leon Kellner.

True, the nationalist endeavours to resuscitate Yiddish culture tended to remain rather academic. As Melekh Ravitch noted: 'In these circles one speaks Yiddish demonstratively—although it is more German than Yiddish. Birnbaum himself, in his speeches, keeps reverting from Yiddish into undiluted German. On the occasion of the Chernivtsy conference he actually gave his speech in German.'<sup>33</sup> German culture was so dominant in Vienna that even Yiddish-speaking immigrants quickly adopted the German tongue.<sup>34</sup> Broad circles among Vienna's Jewish bourgeoisie still considered Yiddish not an independent language but rather a contemptible dialect to be shunned.

The political and academic nature of the efforts to revive Yiddish in Vienna changed with the outbreak of the First World War, when virtually the whole of the Galician Jewish intelligentsia, together with numerous other Jewish refugees, abandoned Galicia and streamed into the imperial capital. Among the newcomers were well-known writers, journalists, and actors, who tried to get established in

<sup>31</sup> Melekh Ravitch, *Dos mayse-buch fun mayn lebn* (Buenos Aires, 1962), 181.

<sup>32</sup> Special note is due here to the weekly *Neue Zeitung*, edited by Nathan Birnbaum (which appeared, with interruptions, through 1906 and 1907), and the monthly magazine *Unsere Hoffnung*, edited 'for the more mature Jewish youth' by writer Marek Scherlag.

<sup>33</sup> Ravitch, *Mayse-buch*, 208.

<sup>34</sup> The *Jüdische Almanach*, published in 1910 by the Galician university graduates' association Bar Kochba, for instance, appeared in German, although many of its texts were translations from Yiddish.

Vienna. There they launched Yiddish periodicals, founded publishing houses, and revived the Yiddish theatre, which until then had only a rather insubstantial existence.<sup>35</sup> Yiddish cultural activities in Vienna reached their peak in the early 1920s—which was rather paradoxical timing given that, in contrast to the pre-war Habsburg empire, the newly created republic of Austria had an almost exclusively German-speaking population.<sup>36</sup> In Vienna now, as in Galicia earlier, it was working-class Jews and Diaspora nationalists who were the chief partisans of the Yiddish cultural renewal for which political journalism had prepared the ground.

### POLITICAL JOURNALISM IN YIDDISH

Although most Viennese Yiddish periodicals were organs of the Jewish labour movement, the very first Yiddish journal to appear in Vienna, in 1900, was the Zionist Association's short-lived *Di Velt*, edited by R. A. Broydes and competing with the similarly named German-language *Welt*.<sup>37</sup> This Yiddish journal suspended publication after a year. From 1907 to 1910 Ber Borochov edited a periodical aligned with Po'alei Zion, *Dos Fraye Vort*, but this paper addressed a Russian Jewish readership and did not particularly concern itself with the situation of the Jews in Austria. In 1910 the Bundist, anti-Zionist *Yidishes Frayland* appeared, featuring a plea by Hermann Kadish for autonomy for the Jews in Austria, but the paper ceased publication after only two issues.<sup>38</sup> Hardly any Galician journalists worked on these papers, which therefore provided no platform for the problems of Galician immigrants in Vienna. Rather, that task was fulfilled by certain German-

<sup>35</sup> There were several 'Yiddish' theatres and cabarets in Vienna, but the language spoken there was often not Yiddish but a mixture of Yiddish and German (Jewish German, or 'Judeln'). Ida Kaminska, the American Yiddish actress who visited Vienna during a European tour, records in her memoirs the devastating impression made on her by one such Yiddish theatre in Vienna: 'It was a dirty room, without even a partition between the stage and the bar. During the performance people sat at the bar, talking loudly. All the time one could hear the noise of soda water squirting from siphons. The stage was small, and from behind the curtain could be heard the prompter, who spoke louder than the actors.' *My Life, My Theater*, ed. C. Leviant (New York, 1973), 38; quoted in J. Hoberman, *Babylon* (1991), 119.

<sup>36</sup> In the Austrian census of 1923 only 2,434 Viennese respondents named Yiddish as their mother tongue. By 1934 the number of self-proclaimed Yiddish-speakers had shrunk to 510. See H. P. Freidenreich, *Jewish Politics in Vienna* (Bloomington, Ind., 1991), 226 (sources: Federal Statistical Bureau, *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich*; *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien 1929 und 1935*). But, as Freidenreich remarks, the number of unreported Yiddish speakers must have been far higher. That so few chose to name Yiddish as their mother tongue points to the social stigmatization of Yiddish in Vienna.

<sup>37</sup> Before this there were no Yiddish periodicals in Vienna, only some German-language periodicals printed in the Hebrew alphabet: for example, the *Wiener Israelit* (issued 1862–96, with breaks) and the Viennese *Jüdische Kikeriki* (issued at least 1876–8), a humorous paper published in retaliation to an antisemitic journal of the same name. Toury, *Jüdische Presse*, 52–4. See also Neygreshl, *Fun noentn ovar*, 378.

<sup>38</sup> H. Kadish, 'Di yidn un di natsionalitetn-frage in Estraykh', *Yidishes Frayland*, 1–2 (1910), 9–10.

language journals—such as Saul Landau's *Neue Nationalzeitung* and Nathan Birnbaum's *Neue Zeitung*<sup>39</sup>—that fought discrimination against eastern Jews.

The outbreak of war, which paralysed the Jewish press in Galicia, brought about an undreamt-of boom for the Yiddish press in Vienna. Po'alei Zion moved its paper, *Der Yidishe Arbeyter*, from Kraków to Vienna.<sup>40</sup> The Bundists suspended publication of their journals during the war, and thus it came about that for a time *Der Yidishe Arbeyter* was the only socialist Jewish periodical in Austria. But the Viennese Yiddish paper with the greatest circulation was the daily *Viner Morgentsaytung*, founded by N. M. Raker; in 1919 it changed its title to *Yidishe Morgnpost* and it continued publication until 1926.<sup>41</sup> Raker's paper dealt almost exclusively with such matters as the consequences of the war in Galicia, the plight of the Galician refugees in Vienna, and the option scandal—the refusal of naturalization, previously promised by law to the refugees—of the first inter-war years. Because the *Yidishe Morgnpost* sympathized with Zionism, it also dealt with Jewish efforts to colonize Palestine and with emigration options for Galician Jews. Most important for our purposes was its feature section, devoted almost exclusively to Yiddish theatre and literature in Vienna. Regardless of their political views, Yiddish authors found a ready platform for their literary and journalistic activity in Raker's newspaper.

Yiddish political writing, too, thrived in the Vienna of the first post-war years. After the split of Po'alei Zion in 1920, its right wing published the periodical *Unzer vort* (1920–1) under the editorship of Berl Loker and Mendel Zinger, and the left wing took over the *Avangard* (1919–21), edited by Mikhal Kon and Alexander Serpov.<sup>42</sup> The Bundists, for their part, put out the bi-weekly *Der Veker* (1919–21). Then another break occurred within the left wing of Po'alei Zion. Eventually some former Po'alei Zion adherents and a few renegade Bundists founded the association Yevseksie, which soon merged with the Austrian Communist Party. This party declared Yiddish the remnant of a bourgeois ideology and eliminated it from its programme.<sup>43</sup>

By the middle of the 1920s not a single Yiddish party journal was left. Jewish workers in Vienna had become completely acculturated to the German language. That Jewish separatists (who were most likely to support Yiddish) abandoned the

<sup>39</sup> See Toury, *Jüdische Presse*, 102–10.

<sup>40</sup> The periodical's editor-in-chief in Vienna, Mendel Singer, was most interested in Yiddish literature and therefore gave it much scope in his paper.

<sup>41</sup> Naygreshl, *Fun noentn ovar*, 381. The paper may be found at the National Library in Vienna, starting with the 1917 volume. From 1920, however, it was no longer published as a daily but as a weekly, and finally only as a bi-weekly—an indication of a declining reading public. According to Naygreshl, the change of title was made for purely pragmatic reasons: Raker had sold the popular title 'Wiener Morgenzeitung' to the Austrian Zionist Party, which from then on published their German-language party mouthpiece under that name.

<sup>42</sup> But, according to Naygreshl, Serpov's socialist ambitions were rather short-lived. Soon afterwards he went to Berlin and entered into a career as a speculator on the stock exchange. *Fun noentn ovar*, 387–8.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

German-speaking Jewish workers' movement may have hastened the assimilation of those workers remaining. In any case, nothing could have prevented their eventual linguistic adaptation.

One of the last Yiddish periodicals to appear in Vienna was the monthly *Yidish*, founded in 1928 and edited by Mendel Naygreshl. It had no political affiliation but focused solely on literary and cultural concerns.<sup>44</sup> The same is true of the journal *Unhoyb*, a 1923 venture to print its Yiddish in the Roman alphabet. The experiment was doomed, and *Unhoyb* ceased publication after the first few issues.

### THE LITERARY AVANT-GARDE

Besides the politically motivated journalism of the Yiddishists, the early post-war years in Vienna also saw the rise of an avant-gardist literary circle. Lyrical poets and essayists in particular published in Moyshe Zilberg's journal *Der Kritik* (put out by the publishing house Der Kval, where the artist Uriel Birnbaum worked as an illustrator). The most important Yiddish authors and journalists active in Vienna at that time were Gershom Bader (1868–1953), Avrohom Moshe Fuks (1890–1974), Moyshe Gros (1891–1973), Ber Horowitz (1895–1942), Shmul Yakov Imber (1889–1942), Dovid Kenigsberg (1898–1942), Melekh Khmel'nitsky (1885–1946), Jacob Mestel (1884–1958), Mendel Naygreshl (1903–65), David Ishaya Silberbusch (1854–1936), Mendel Zinger (1890–1976), and Ber Shnaper (1906–39?). The only important prose author in this group was Fuks, who in his social-critical tales described Vienna's underworld and *demi-monde*—a stratum that, for many Jewish immigrants from the east, constituted the last stage of their social descent.

The Yiddish writers in Vienna took as their model the American Yiddish group Di Yunge, which included a number of authors of Galician descent. Like the members of Di Yunge, Vienna's Yiddish writers followed the trend of modernism. Their main themes were the era of industrialism and technology and the isolation of the individual in the big city.<sup>45</sup> In form, some, such as Melekh Ravitch and later Ber Shnaper, experimented with unusual metaphor, free verse, and a blending of content and form. They also strove to merge visual art with literature, a

<sup>44</sup> During his time in Vienna Naygreshl was an adherent of Jewish autonomy in Soviet Birobidzhan. In the early 1930s in Vienna he edited a magazine called *Gezer*, which campaigned for the cause. But *Gezer* was published in German. This paper, like many other socialist periodicals, had to cease publication with the coming to power of the Austrian fascists. (Communication by Naygreshl's widow, Gusti, in New York.)

<sup>45</sup> This applies primarily to the younger generation. The Yiddish writers in Vienna were by no means a homogeneous group. Imber, for example—who lived there between 1918 and 1921, and ran the publishing house Nayland as well as the literary gazette of the same name—had come to Vienna from Lviv and was a very tradition-bound lyric poet, committed partly to the tradition of Heinrich Heine and partly to Yiddish folk-song. The same was true of Kenigsberg, who had only occasionally resided in Vienna and returned to Galicia immediately after the war.

phenomenon typical of the European avant-garde.<sup>46</sup> Allusions to modern German literature were common. The Yiddish literary periodicals and almanacs devoted many of their pages to translations from German. *Fin-de-siècle* Viennese literature, Yiddish as well as German, abounded in apocalyptic motifs.<sup>47</sup> Khmel'nitsky's near-surrealistic ballad 'Der Karlik', on the blending of death and sexuality, reflects the period's dialogue with psychoanalysis.<sup>48</sup> The Yiddish literati met at the Café Herrenhof, on Herrengasse, where Vienna's German-language writers also gathered. It is therefore possible that there was personal contact between the former and the latter, though this is reflected hardly at all in the memoirs of the Yiddish writers.<sup>49</sup>

The heyday of Yiddish literature in Vienna was very brief, however. After 1921 Moyshe Zilberg left Vienna for Warsaw, where he found better opportunities for his Yiddish cultural activities. Melekh Ravitch soon followed him and in Warsaw founded the Expressionist group Khaliastra, together with Uri Zevi Greenberg and Perets Markish. Many Yiddish writers had to leave Vienna because Austrian citizenship and even residence were denied them under the option procedure—a fate they shared with most Galician refugees.

A number of factors are responsible for the failure of the Yiddish cultural movement in Vienna. In the first place, the dominance of German language and culture there greatly accelerated the process of linguistic acculturation, ousting Yiddish from its place in the political and cultural life of the Galician Jews. Despite the efforts of Birnbaum and the nationalists to make Yiddish pivotal in Jewish identity and national self-awareness, in Vienna it was socially stigmatized. The German-speaking Viennese saw Yiddish culture as a mere subculture at best. In order to rise socially, an eastern Jew had to forsake the language. Only religious hasidic circles retained it in exile in Vienna; but while they escaped linguistic assimilation owing to their social isolation, they took no part in the secular Yiddish cultural movement. The cultural initiative to last the longest was the Yiddish theatre, which was patronized by German-speaking Viennese Jews and even non-Jews and managed to survive until 1938.

*Translated by Lee Mitzman*

<sup>46</sup> Naygreshl coined the term 'picturesque Yiddishism' to describe an interesting variant of the Yiddish-language movement (*Fun noentn ovar*, 385). Uriel Birnbaum, E. M. Lilien, and Ber Horowitz are typical representatives of illustrative Yiddishism.

<sup>47</sup> Apocalyptic motifs particularly characterized Melekh Ravitch's illustrated almanac *Toyt-tsiklus* ('Death Cycle'; Vienna, 1917).

<sup>48</sup> M. Khmel'nitsky, *Der Karlik* (Vienna, 1936). Khmel'nitsky had studied medicine in Vienna and worked as a physician. We may therefore assume that he was in close contact with the Vienna school of psychoanalysis. Regarding Sigmund Freud's relations to Judaism, and to Yiddish in particular, see Y. H. Yerushalmi, *Freud's Moses: Judaism Terminable and Interminable* (New Haven, 1991).

<sup>49</sup> See esp. Ravitch, *Mayse-buch*.



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# Glossary

**Anders' Army** The army established in the Soviet Union in 1941 by General Władysław Anders under the auspices of the Polish government-in-exile in London. This army left the Soviet Union for Persia and the Middle East in mid-1942.

**arenda** A lease of monopoly rights, usually of an estate.

**arendar** The holder of an arenda.

**ban** (Hebrew: *herem*) Denotes the various degrees of religious and social ostracism imposed by rabbinical courts. Frequently used as a deterrent; transgressors would be threatened with the ban when an edict was promulgated.

**beit midrash** (Hebrew: lit. 'house of study'). A building attached to a synagogue where Jewish men assemble to study the Torah.

**Bund** General Jewish Workers' Alliance. A Jewish socialist party, founded in 1897. It joined the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, but seceded from it when its programme of national autonomy was not accepted. In independent Poland it adopted a leftist, anti-communist posture, and from the 1930s cooperated increasingly closely with the Polish Socialist Party (PPS).

**commonwealth** (Polish: *Rzeczpospolita*) The term *Rzeczpospolita* is derived from the Latin *res publica*. It is sometimes translated as 'commonwealth' and sometimes as 'republic', often in the form 'Noblemen's republic' (*Rzeczpospolita szlachecka*). After the union of Lublin in 1569 it was used officially in the form *Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów* (Commonwealth of Two Nations) to designate the new form of state which had arisen. In historical literature this term is often rendered as the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth.

**Congress kingdom** (otherwise kingdom of Poland or Congress Poland). A constitutional kingdom created at the Congress of Vienna (1814-15), with the tsar of Russia as hereditary monarch. After 1831 it declined to an administrative unit of the Russian empire in all but name. After 1864 it lost the remaining vestiges of the autonomy it had been granted at Vienna and was now officially referred to as 'Przyslansky kray' (Vistula territory).

**devekut** (Hebrew: lit. 'cleaving', 'attachment'). A term which became central to hasidism, although it was previously in use. It denotes communion with God, achieved mainly through prayer or meditation through prayer, using the appropriate *kavanot*, the mystical interpretations and meanings given to the words of prayer.

**dybbuk** A wandering soul which enters the body of a human being as a refuge from the demons which pursue it.

**Endecja** Popular name for the Polish National Democratic Party, a right-wing party which had its origins in the 1890s. Its principal ideologue was Roman Dmowski, who

advocated a Polish version of the integral nationalism which became popular in Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century. The *Endecja* advanced the slogan 'Poland for the Poles' and called for the exclusion of the Jews from Polish political and economic life. Its adherents were called *Endeks*.

**felcher** A medical orderly, with limited medical training, who carried out a fair number of less complicated medical procedures in the tsarist empire.

**ga'on, ge'onim** (Hebrew: lit. 'genius'). A term originally used to designate the heads of the academies of Sura and Pumbeditha in Babylon from the sixth to the middle of the eleventh centuries. Later used to describe a man who had acquired a phenomenal command of the Torah.

**General Government** An administrative-territorial unit created in Poland during the Nazi occupation from some of the territory seized by Germany after the Polish defeat. The General Government was established on 26 October 1939 and first comprised four districts: Kraków, Lublin, Warsaw, and Radom. Its capital was the town of Kraków and its administration was headed by Hans Frank. After the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union an additional province, Galicia, made up of parts of the pre-war Polish provinces of Lviv, Stanislaviv, and Ternopil', was added to the General Government. On the territory of the General Government the Germans pursued a policy of mass murder of the Jewish population and reduced the Christian Poles to rightless slaves who were to provide a reservoir of labour for the Third Reich.

**government-in-exile** After the German defeat of Poland in 1939 a government was established made up of the less compromised elements of the *Sanacja* regime and representatives of the democratic opposition and headed by General Sikorski. This government made its headquarters in Angers and after the fall of France moved to London. It attempted to represent the Polish cause, but was abandoned by the Western powers at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, when it was decided that the pro-communist government established in Poland by Stalin be recognized on condition that it broaden its ranks by the addition of democratic politicians from Poland and the West and hold free elections. In practice neither condition was fulfilled in any meaningful way.

**Habad** An acronym derived from the Hebrew words *hokhmah, binah, da'at* ('wisdom', 'understanding', 'knowledge'). It was applied to a sect of *hasidism* founded in the grand duchy of Lithuania by Shneur Zalman of Liozna (Liady). He and his descendants espoused a more intellectualized mystical doctrine than was characteristic of many other hasidic groups. Also known as the Lubavich hasidim, the group was led until recently by the close family of its founder.

**haidamaky** The name used to describe armed groups which were active in the Polish Ukraine in the eighteenth century. The *haidamaky* included both ordinary bandits and peasant insurrectionaries.

**halakhah** (Hebrew: lit. 'the way') A word used to describe the entire prescriptive part of Jewish tradition. It defines the norms of behaviour and religious observance.

**halukah** Charitable funds sent from abroad for distribution among religious Jews in Palestine.



**hasidism** A mystically inclined movement of religious revival consisting of distinct groups with charismatic leadership. It arose in the borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the second half of the eighteenth century and quickly spread through eastern Europe. The hasidim emphasized joy in the service of God, whose presence they sought everywhere. Though their opponents, the mitnagedim, pronounced a series of bans against them beginning in 1772, the movement soon became identified with religious orthodoxy.

**Haskalah** (Hebrew: lit. 'learning' or 'wisdom', but used in the sense of Enlightenment) A movement that arose in the wake of the general European Enlightenment in the second half of the eighteenth century and continued into the second half of the nineteenth century. Its adherents were known as *maskilim*. Its most prominent representative was Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86). The Haskalah was particularly important and influential in German and Slavic lands. It advocated secular education, the acquisition of European languages, the adoption of productive occupations, and loyalty to the state. In eastern Europe there was considerable emphasis on Hebrew as opposed to Yiddish, which was rejected by most *maskilim*.

**heder** (Hebrew: lit. 'room') Colloquial name for a traditional Jewish elementary school, in which teaching was carried on by a *melamed*.

**January insurrection** The ill-fated insurrection against the tsarist monarchy which began in January 1863. After its defeat the Russian government embarked on a determined effort to Russify not only the kresy (the western provinces of the empire, which had been part of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth) but also the Congress kingdom.

**Jewish Agency** The international, non-government body, with its headquarters in Jerusalem, which was set up in accordance with the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine, to assist and encourage Jews to help in the development and settlement of Erets Yisrael. After 1948 it relinquished many of its functions to the government of Israel, but continued to be responsible for immigration, land settlement, youth work, and other activities financed by voluntary Jewish contributions from the diaspora.

**kabbalah** Jewish mysticism, the search for an inner spiritual meaning to the Torah and its commandments.

**kahal, kehilah** (pl. *kehilot*) Although both terms mean 'community', *kahal* is used to denote the institution of Jewish autonomy in a particular locality, while *kehilah* (pl. *kehilot*) denotes the community of Jews who live in the town. The *kahal* was the lowest level of the Jewish autonomous institutions in the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth. Above the local *kehilot* were regional bodies, and above these a central body, the Va'ad Arba Aratsot (Council of Four Lands) for the Kingdom of Poland and the Va'ad Lita (Council of Lithuania). The Va'ad Arba Aratsot was abolished by the Polish authorities in 1764, but autonomous institutions continued to operate legally until 1844 and in practice for many years after this date in those parts of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth directly annexed by the tsarist empire and until the emergence of the Polish state in the kingdom of Poland and Galicia. Here the reorganized communal body, which no longer had the power to punish religious heterodoxy, but administered synagogues, schools, cemeteries, and *mikva'ot*, was often called the *gmina* (com-

mune). In inter-war Poland the legal status of the *kehilot* was regulated by statute in October 1927 and March 1930. The legislation gave them control over many aspects of Jewish communal life with both religious and social functions. All adherents of the 'Mosaic faith' were required to belong to a *kehilah*, and one could not withdraw except through baptism or by declaring oneself an atheist.

**Litvak** A Jew from the territories of the grand duchy of Lithuania (Litwa). In terms of Jewish stereotypes the Litvak was a rationalist, an opponent of hasidism, often a social radical and also a miser. To themselves, the Litvaks were the incarnation of all the finest Jewish values.

**Małopolska** (Polish: lit. 'Lesser Poland' or 'Little Poland') Southern Poland, the area around Kraków. Also referred to under the Habsburgs as (western) Galicia.

**magid** (Hebrew) Itinerant preacher, skilled as a narrator of stories.

**maskil, maskilim** See Haskalah.

**melamed** (Hebrew: 'teacher') A teacher in a *heder*. A distinction is made between a *melamed dardeki*, who taught children of both sexes to read and write Hebrew and also a chapter or two of the weekly lessons from the Pentateuch, and a *melamed gemara*, who taught Bible and Talmud to boys and also, when they were older, the *Shulhan arukh*.

**mikveh, mikva'ot** A pool or bath of clear water, immersion in which renders ritually clean a person who has become ritually unclean through contact with the dead or any other defiling object or through an unclean flux from the body, especially menstruation.

**mitnaged, mitnagedim** (Hebrew: lit. 'opposer') The rabbinic opponents of hasidism.

**musar movement** A movement for the establishment of strict ethical behaviour in the spirit of *halakhah*, which arose in the nineteenth century among the *mitnagedim* of historic Lithuania. Its influence remained strong in the area until the Second World War and it was particularly influential in the yeshivas there.

**piyyut, piyyutim** Jewish liturgical poetry.

**powiat** The basic administrative unit in pre-partition Poland-Lithuania, subordinate to the voivodeship (*województwo*). It remained a basic administrative unit in the various parts of partitioned Poland and in the independent state which emerged after 1918.

**Realschule, Realgymnasium** A secondary school in German-speaking Europe for modern subjects, particularly the sciences.

**rosh yeshivah, rashei yeshivah** The head of a yeshiva.

**royal (free) town** A town directly dependent on the king and subsequently on the government of the different parts of partitioned Poland. Burghers in royal or 'government' towns had greater rights than those in towns controlled by the nobility ('private towns'). The reverse was for the most part the case with the Jews.

**Sanacja** From the Latin *sanatio*: 'healing', 'restoration'. The popular name taken by the regime established by Józef Piłsudski after the coup of May 1926. It referred to Piłsudski's aim of restoring health to the political, social, and moral life of Poland.

**Sejm** The central parliamentary institution of the Polish–Lithuanian commonwealth, composed of a senate and a chamber of deputies; after 1501 both of these had a voice in the introduction of new legislation. It met regularly for six weeks every two years, but could be called for sessions of two weeks in an emergency. When it was not in session, an appointed commission of sixteen senators, in rotation four at a time, resided with the king both to advise and to keep watch over his activities. Until the middle of the seventeenth century the Sejm functioned reasonably well; after that the use of the *liberum veto* began to paralyse its effectiveness. Also used for the local parliament in Galicia as in Sejm Galicijski.

**selihah, selihot** Penitential prayers, perhaps the oldest portion of the synagogal compositions known as *piyyutim*. The word *selihah* is derived from *salah*, ‘he forgave’.

**shtetl** (Yiddish: ‘small town’). The characteristic small town of central and eastern Poland, often with a Jewish majority. These were originally ‘private’ towns under the control of the *szlachta* (see royal towns).

**Shulhan arukh** (Hebrew: lit. ‘The Set Table’) The last comprehensive code of *halakhah*, it was written by Joseph Caro (1488–1575) in Palestine. The custom arose of publishing it together with the *mapah* (‘tablecloth’), the commentary of Moses Isserles (1525–72) of Kraków, who supplemented the work of the Sefardi author by adding reference to Ashkenazi practice.

**sofer** A Jewish scribe.

**starosta** A royal administrator, holder of the office of *starostwo*. From the fourteenth century there were three distinct offices covered by this term: the *starosta generalny* (general *starosta*) in Wielkopolska, Rus’, and Podolia represented the Crown in a particular region; the *starosta grodowy* (castle *starosta*) had administrative and judicial authority over a castle or fortified settlement and its surrounding region; and the *starosta niegrodowy* (non-castle *starosta*) or *tenutariusz* (leaseholder) administered royal lands leased to him.

**szlachta** The Polish nobility. A very broad social stratum making up nearly 8 per cent of the population in the eighteenth century. Its members ranged from the great magnates, like the Czartoryskis, Potockis, and Radziwills, who dominated political and social life in the last century of the Polish–Lithuanian commonwealth, to small landowners (the *szlachta zagrodowa*) and even to landless retainers of a great house. What distinguished members of this group from the remainder of the population was their noble status and their right to participate in political life in the dietines, the Sejm, and the election of the king.

**tov, tovim** (Hebrew: lit. ‘The Good Ones’) One of the titles of those who held office in the *kahal*.

**tsadik, tsadikim** (Hebrew: lit. ‘righteous man’) The leader of a hasidic group was called a *tsadik* or *rebbe*. Often his hasidim credited him with miraculous powers, seeing him as mediator between God and man.

**voivode** (Polish: *wojewoda*) Initially this official acted in place of the ruler, especially in judicial and military matters. From the thirteenth century the office gradually evolved into a provincial dignity; between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries the voivode

conducted the local dietine, led the *pospolite ruszenie*, the *levée-en-masse* of the *szlachta* in times of danger to the commonwealth, and occasionally governed cities and collected certain dues. The assistant sub-voivode (*podwojewoda*) often acted as Judge of the Jews. By virtue of his office the voivode sat in the senate.

**voivodeship** (Polish: *województwo*) A province governed by a voivode.

**Wielkopolska** (Polish: lit. 'Great Poland' or 'Greater Poland') Western Poland, the area around Poznań.

**yeshiva** A rabbinical college; the highest institution in the traditional Jewish system of education.

**Zohar** (Hebrew: lit. '[Book of] Splendour') The fundamental work of kabbalistic literature comprising various related compositions in Aramaic and dating mainly from the last decades of the thirteenth century in Spain. Scholars consider the main author to have been Moses ben Shem Tov de León.

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