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GALICIAN JEWISH EMIGRATION, 1869-1880

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January, 1996

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to determine how Galician Jewish emigration during the period 1869-1880 was affected by the Austrian Constitution of 21 December 1867, and in particular by Article IV of said constitution's Fundamental Law Concerning the General Rights of Citizens which granted freedom of movement for the first time to Habsburg subjects. Various demographic, economic, political and societal factors particular to migration, to Galicia and to Galician Jewry are examined in order to establish the effect of the 1867 Constitution on Galician Jewish emigration.

RÉSUMÉ

L'objet de la présente étude est de déterminer comment l'émigration des Juifs de la Galicie entre 1869 et 1880 a été affectée par la constitution autrichienne du 21 décembre 1867, et tout particulièrement par article IV de son Fundamental Law Concerning the General Rights of Citizens, lequel octroyait pour la première fois la liberté de mouvement à ses sujets du Habsbourg. Différents facteurs démographiques, économiques, politiques et sociétaux spécifiques à la migration, à la Galicie et aux Juives de la Galicie serons examinés afin d'établir l'effet de ladite constitution de 1867 sur l'émigration des Juifs de Galicie.

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INTRODUCTION

An unprecedented migration of Europeans occurred throughout the nineteenth century and continued, with the exception of the First World War (1914-1918), during the twentieth century's initial three decades until the onset of the Great Depression (1929). This migratory phenomenon, if it can so be called, acquired mass proportions during the early 1800s in the British Isles and developed on an east- and southward paradigm with England as the starting point; mass emigration from Central Europe and Scandinavia commenced in the mid-1800s, while in Southern and Eastern Europe it began during the nineteenth century's final quarter. Said migration was predominantly a movement of people from rural to urban areas, as well as from non-developed to developed, in particular to industrially developing regions. Although intracontinental migration was common, the overwhelming majority of European migrants, an estimated sixty million individuals[1], went overseas; most of them to the Americas and particularly to the United States of America.

Emigration from Habsburg Galicia, like emigration in other areas neighbouring the Austrian[2] crownland, assumed mass proportions in the period 1880-1910. During this period of mass Galician emigration almost a third (30,08%)[3] of all Galician emigrants were Jewish. Accordingly, a wealth of scholarship concerning the subject of Galician Jewish emigration has been produced; various economic, political and

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[1]Dudley Baines, Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930 (London, 1991), p. 7.

[2]The terms "Austria" and "Austrian" in this work apply to both the geographic region of Austria proper, that is the regions of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Salzburg *et cetera*, as well as the empire ruled by the Habsburgs.

[3]Max Rosenfeld, Die polnische Judenfrage, Problem und Lösung (Vienna-Berlin, 1918), p. 81.

societal factors particular to Galicia and its Jews have been extensively studied to determine what caused Jewish emigration from the Habsburg possession. Despite the availability of information, there exist several deficiencies in the study of Galician Jewish emigration. Among these there is a lack of scholarship dealing with the emigration of Galician Jewry prior to 1881. In particular, there is a lack of research treating the effects of the 21 December 1867 Austrian Constitution, specifically Article IV of the Fundamental Law Concerning the General Rights of Citizens which provided complete, yet conditional freedom of movement for the first time to all Habsburg's subjects, the Jews included.

Therefore, the purpose of this work is to determine the effect, i.e. the relative significance Article IV of the Fundamental Law Concerning the General Rights of Citizens had on Galician Jewish emigration in the period immediately following the 1867 Constitution's enactment (1869-1880). This work will also establish whether significant emigration, when 1% or more of a given population emigrates during a specific time, occurred in the period under study. Although the treatment of where Galician Jews emigrated is better dealt with by Anson Rabinbach and Marsha L. Rozenblit[4] and is not one of this work's principal concerns, the use of records about Galician Jews in one destination to where they immigrated will provide invaluable insight into the identity of Galician Jewish emigrants during 1869-1880.

This work is divided into six chapters each dealing with a specific theme relevant to the subject being discussed. The first chapter will look at the study of migration, as well as devote attention to particularities of Jewish migration during the century and a third of mass European migration. The second

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[4]See Anson Rabinbach, "The Migration of Galician Jews to Vienna, 1857-1880," in Austrian History Yearbook, XI (1975); Marsha L. Rozenblit, "A Note on Galician Jewish Migration to Vienna," in Austrian History Yearbook, XIX-XX (1983-1984).

chapter contains a history of legislation dealing with the freedom of movement in the Habsburg Empire. The third and fourth chapters, respectively, will discuss Galicia's and Galician Jewry's socio-economic conditions from the mid nineteenth century until the First World War. The fifth chapter will provide data on the number of emigrants, Jewish and non-Jewish, who departed Galicia 1869-1910. An appendix accompanies this chapter to show how the number of Galician emigrants was calculated. The sixth chapter focuses specifically on the period following the 1867 Constitution's proclamation. In this final chapter the 1867 Constitution's relative significance will be determined by focusing on other contemporary factors also affecting Jewish emigration from Galician in the period 1869-1880. The final product, which demonstrates how Galician Jewish emigration during 1869-1880 was effected by Article IV of the Fundamental Law Governing the Rights of Citizens, included in the 21 December 1867 Austrian Constitution, is intended to fill a gap in Jewish and particularly Galician Jewry's history.

CHAPTER I
MIGRATION

The study of migration evolved in three stages. The first stage studied migration in terms of how events particular to a specific region or people affected migration. The second stage examined migration as the result of general trends common to different regions and peoples. The third stage of migratory studies expanded on the second, proposing theories categorising the various types of migration. It should be noted that the development of these stages was not so much chronological as it was the development of a *façon de penser*.

The purpose of this chapter is to detail the three stages of migratory studies and expose the differences in and the development of the subject's scholarship. In addition, since the theme of this work is Galician Jewish emigration, various facts concerning Jewish migration during the nineteenth century and the twentieth century's first third will be presented.

* * *

The first stage of scholarship studied migration in what could be considered microcosmic terms. Forces and factors particular to a specific region or people were considered to affect migration; unlike later studies migration was not viewed in a global context. Events such as the Irish potato famine (1848 and subsequent years), the California Gold Rush (1848), the pogroms perpetrated against the Jews in Czarist Russia (1880s, 1890s and 1903-1906) and mass unemployment of African-Americans in the southern United States of America during the Great Depression (1930s), were seen as catalysts for migration.[1] In this stage of study, migration was

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[1]The information provided in this paragraph refers to Robert J. Kleiner, Tom Sorensen, Odd Stefan Dalgard, Torbjorn Moum and Dale Drews, "International Migration and Internal Migration: A Comprehensive Theoretical Approach," in Migration

generally viewed in negative terms, since migration was often the result of some catastrophe such as famines, bloodshed or economic problems.

This first stage of studies was challenged. An opposing camp of scholarship asserted migration was not the result of events particular to a specific region or people, but resulted

> from the spontaneous decision of individuals on the ground of personal motives. Even when the current appears to be a collective, it is seen on closer investigation to be only a very loose association of interested individuals.[2]

This opposing camp's perspective never achieved much credence, since the following stage of studies disproved that migration was the result of individuals with vaguely related interests.

The second stage of studies approached migration in a more general, rather global context. Migration ceased being understood as the result of events particular to a specific region or people. Instead, migration came to be understood as the result of either similar or related circumstances common to various regions and peoples. During this second stage the understanding of migration was furthered as migratory stimuli were classified and studied in terms of "pushes" and "pulls"; *pushes* being the circumstances indigenous to a region which made the local population emigrate, while *pulls* being the phenomena attracting immigrants to a land.

Various pushes and pulls were recognised as the catalysts of the mass European migration which occurred during the

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across Time and Nations: Population Mobility in Historic Contexts (New York, 1986), p. 306. Although Kleiner et al consider these factors macrostructural, these migratory impetuses are also microstructural since they affect only a particular region or people.

[2]Imre Ferenczi, International Migrations Volume I: Statistics (New York, 1929), pp. 81-82.

nineteenth century and twentieth century's first third. These pushes and pulls included economic, political, societal, and even familial and psychological factors common at different times and places throughout the European continent.

i- *Economic and industrial modernisation*

Scholars of the second stage of study recognised that in order for migration to sustain long-term and large-scale proportions, as Europe experienced (early 1800s until 1914, then 1919 until the Great Depression), certain strains and pressures had to exist and be compounded to the extent that a significant[3] portion of a certain population would be induced to migrate.[4] One of the paramount circumstances affecting migration, whether in Western Europe mid-way through the nineteenth century, Eastern and Southern Europe in the last quarter of the same century[5] or any area of migration, was the effect of economic modernisation.

The transition of an economy from an agrarian to an industrial and capital base provided the impetus for profound change. Modernisation, particularly the mechanisation of production modes, had a twofold effect on a region's socio-economic structure. First, traditional occupations such as handcrafts were unable to compete with and made obsolete by mass produced factory goods, which were less expensive to

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[3]For a definition of what constitutes "Significant" migration see this work's introduction.

[4]Simon Kuznets, "Immigration of Russian Jews to the United States: Background and Structure," in Perspectives in American History, IX (1975), pp. 83-84. Although Kuznets' information applies to Russian Jewry, his work can be applied in general terms to all Eastern European Jewry.

[5]It should be remembered there was a "time lag" between Western and Eastern/Southern Europe. In aspects such as economics, industrialisation, politics, thought their development in the former region of Europe predated the latter by between a quarter and three-quarters of a century.

produce and thus sold at lower prices. Second, given mechanisation, fewer workers were required to make an equal quantity of a similar product. Similarly, the technological advancements in farming implements also reduced the number of individuals required to work the soil.

Depending on a region's population size and the speed at which economic modernisation occurred, varying results ensued. In densely populated areas where industrialisation did not proceed at a fast enough rate to absorb workers displaced by mechanisation unemployment, mass unemployment often resulted. In regions where economic growth and industrialisation occurred at a pace at which the domestic population was unable to satisfy the number of required workers, foreign labourers, i.e. immigrants, were sought to fill the vacancies.

Scholarship produced during the second stage of migratory studies emphasised the importance of economic factors, especially employment opportunities and economic stability, and how they affected migration. The United States of America,[6] the country which absorbed the largest number of immigrants during the period of European migration is the primary example of how an immigration land's economy affected immigration. The industrial expansion in the northeastern part of the country following the U.S. Civil War (1861-1865) attracted, with few annual exceptions until the First World War, either a constant flow or an ever increasing number of immigrants.

Similarly, other opportunities in an immigration land affected migration. For example, the unattended expansive

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[6]Although the statistics kept both on immigration to and about immigrants in the United States of America are not as complete as one would like, said data provide the best known information about migration. Statistics on U.S. immigration will be used in this study as a guide to general trends in immigration. Since the U.S.A. absorbed more immigrants than any other area, the data offer a more general insight into migration and migrants.

tracts of land throughout the Americas attracted various peoples, who were accustomed to agrarian life but who perhaps had no accessible land in their native regions. The remotest and often the least hospitable parts of the Americas were settled and the land cultivated because they provided immigrants with an otherwise unattainable possibility: owning land.

Diminished prospects in immigrant lands had the inverse effect. The aftermath of the economic depression in the U.S.A. during the year 1907 is an excellent example[7] of how economic problems in an immigration land slowed migration. Between 1907 and 1908 the number of immigrants decreased by 502,479, from 1,285,349 to 782,870, a reduction of 39.1%. The following year, 1909, immigration figures decreased even further to 751,786 a decrease of 41.5% from a decennial high in the year 1907.[8]

The importance of economics and related opportunities was understood in the second stage of migratory studies' scholarship as having a profound influence on migration. The movement and direction of migration was greatly influenced by the prospects offered by an immigration land.

ii- *Demographic changes*

A fundamental change was not particular only to Europe's occupational structure, as scholars of this second stage of migratory studies realised. There was also a transformation in the continent's demographic composition. This demographic

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[7]Mark Wischnitzer, To Dwell in Safety: The Story of Jewish Migration Since 1800 (Philadelphia, 1948), p. 111.

[8]Samuel Joseph, "TABLE XXXI: Total Immigration and Jewish Immigration, 1881 to 1910, by Year and Percentage of Jewish Total," and "TABLE XXXII: Total and Jewish Immigration, 1881-1910, by Number and Percentage of Increase or Decrease," in Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910 (New York, 1967), pp. 174-175.

change was related to modernisation[9] and what is known as a "population explosion".

Rapid population growth was the result of several factors. An improvement in sanitary conditions, especially in urban areas, the realisation of the importance of personal hygiene, coupled with advancements in medical practises are usually used to explain increased birth rates, a decrease in infant mortality and longer life expectancy. Also considered are the reduction of wars in the post-Napoleonic Europe and a lessening in the frequency and fatality of diseases. Together, all factors mentioned allowed the population a chance to multiply without man-made or natural disasters severely hindering its growth. Population explosions initially occurred among the urban and middle classes of a specific region, then among the rest of the population.[10]

Demographic changes also affected places of residence. Urbanisation resulted from land parcelling and what were known as "enclosure movements". In the latter instance peasants were evicted from the land. In the former instance continually dividing already subdivided plots of land, among inheritors, succeeded in creating tiny plots insufficient to sustain their owners.[11] Usually without much reserve capital, displaced agrarian workers went to urban areas seeking employment or to other areas where land was available.

Accompanying economic modernisation, demographic changes

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[9]Roberto Bachi, Population Trends in World Jewry (Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 13-18.

[10]Bachi, pp. 18, 26.

[11]Józef Buszko, "Zum Wandel der Gesellschaftsstruktur in Galizien und in der Bukowina," in Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Volume 343 (Vienna, 1978), p. 7; John-Paul Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside During the Late Nineteenth Century," in Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Prospective (Edmonton, 1988), p. 120.

serves as an integral part of the second stage's understanding of migratory causes. Rapid population growth resulting in overpopulation and the relocation of people from rural to urban areas often worsened circumstances in areas either having not undergone or only beginning to undergo economic modernisation. An increase in population enlarged the number of employable persons and intensified competition in the job market.

iii- *Advances in transportation*

Modernisation, i.e. technological advances, in transportation services were credited with having a twofold effect on migration. The modernisation of transportation and the ever increasing amount of railway track mileage rendered the services of carriage and wagon drivers unnecessary in many instances. The railroad also served as a primary means of bringing to remote regions less expensive factory made goods, which undersold local manufacturing and further contributed to the dislocation of many handicraftsmen.

Similarly, improvements to transportation services just after the mid nineteenth century facilitated the movement of people. The railroad and steamships respectively replaced horse drawn transportation and sailing ships, resulting in reduced travelling times as well as cheaper fares. For example, trans-Atlantic travel by steamship from a northwestern European port to a port in the northeastern U.S.A. "seldom exceeded twelve days,"[12] whereas the same trip by sailboat could have required more than three weeks if unfavourable weather conditions hindered the voyage.

Scholarship produced during the second stage of migratory studies recognised that technological advancements in transportation services assisted and expedited migration. In

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[12]Philip Taylor, The Distant Magnet: European Emigration to the U.S.A. (London, 1971), p. 151.

terms of the actual travel, migration became less of an arduous undertaking. Travel was safer and quicker and, perhaps, this incited individuals who were wary of travelling to migrate.

iv- *Government policy*

The effect of government policy on migration stimulates one of the most interesting debates in migratory studies, and a debate relevant to this work. Basically, there are two camps in this debate. One camp maintains that mass migration did not begin until restrictions on civil liberties, including the freedom of movement, were removed.[13] The second camp claims that legal disabilities were of little importance in affecting migration. If migration was illegal, this second camp contends, the law was often circumvented; officials responsible for enforcing the law could on occasion be bribed[14] and emigration could be clandestine.

Varying governmental policies had different results depending on the time, the place and the socio-economic conditions of a certain land. The first camp's position is correct in reference to the beginning of Western European migration, while the second camp's position reflects the popular opinion of emigration from Czarist Russia and other areas in Eastern Europe. Granting civil liberties, particularly the freedom to go to foreign destinations, may not have resulted in the immediate departure of migrants, but it did facilitate matters for individuals with aspirations to emigrate.

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[13]Ferenczi, p. 83.

[14]Shaul Stampfer, "The Geographical Background of East European Jewish Migration to the United States before World War I," in Migration across Time and Nations: Population Mobility in Historical Contexts (New York, 1986), p. 222.

v- *Promotion and Sponsorship*

The influences of promotion and sponsorship on migration are considered in the second stage of migratory studies. Promotion and sponsorship were performed by various institutions and individuals for either business purposes or philanthropic and familial reasons.

Among those who actively promoted emigration were the shipping and affiliated railroad companies, since they had the most to profit from the movement of people. Transport companies' agents were responsible for disseminating the idea of migration, particularly to the Americas and specifically to the U.S.A.. Agents promoted the prospects of higher wages and better living conditions, as well as the availability of land;[15] propaganda on emigration prospects was accordingly adjusted depending upon whom these agents were trying to entice to emigrate. A thriving promotion industry existed, especially during the three decades preceding the First World War in Eastern Europe, as potential emigrants were lured from their humble existences by prospects abroad. The wide extent of migratory propaganda resulted in competition among rival shipping lines and price wars reducing fares,[16] which made travel affordable to a poorer stratum of migrants.

Another type of sponsorship appeared in the form of benevolent organisations. Numerous associations were created and existed to foster a specific people's emigration from or immigration to a certain region. For example, European Jewry had the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and the Jewish Colonisation Association. These two benevolent institutions attempted to remove Jews from politically and economically unstable regions, particularly in Eastern Europe, and to resettle them where the socio-economic conditions were better.

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[15]Ferenczi, p. 86.

[16]Wischnitzer, p. 44.

To cite another example, Galician Poles had the Polish Colonisation and Commercial Association (*Polskie Towarzystwo Kolonizacyjno-Handlowe*, established in 1897), which tried to relocate Polish agrarian workers in Brazil's Parana province at the twentieth century's beginning.[17]

Various immigrant groups in immigration lands also functioned as philanthropic institutions. These groups sponsored their members' relatives and persons from their places of emigration to join them.[18]

Familial help must also be discussed here. Usually in the form of financial aid, relatives having immigrated elsewhere would send either money or transportation tickets to relatives "back home". This process was an excellent way of keeping the family together while transposing it in a new environment.

The subject's scholarship also realised the shortcomings related to benevolent efforts. With the exception of familial help and immigrant groups, aid associations' effectiveness was limited. The extent of these associations' success was based on the amount of capital they could procure from philanthropists willing to finance their causes; achieving sufficient funding usually proved difficult.[19] Although nobly praised in the annals of history, the actual number of migrants assisted by such institutions was minuscule in comparison to the total number of emigrants from Europe in the period under discussion.[20]

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[17]Benjamin Murdzek, Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought, 1870-1914 (New York, 1977), pp. 82, 180.

[18]Salo W. Baron, Steeled by Adversity: Essays and Addresses on American Jewish Life (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 287. Although Baron is referring to the Jewish *Landsmannschaften* (literally countrymanships) in the U.S.A., these types of associations were common among many immigrant communities in the Americas and throughout the world.

[19]Wischnitzer, pp. 72, 94-95, 99.

[20]Murdzek, p. 108; Wischnitzer, p. 99.

Promotion and sponsorship of migration allowed migration to come to fruition by making emigration financially possible. In other words, it generally provided individuals with the means to emigrate as well as a destination.

vi- *Psychological factor*

The psychological impact of migration on potential migrants was also considered in the second stage of migratory studies. The infiltration of the idea of the possibility of migration, either by transportation companies' propaganda, talk, or letters received from relatives and friends having emigrated, may have created a disposition among younger people to imitate their predecessors. This factor is speculative and opens the possibility of further discussion about how migration had an effect on itself.[21]

vii- *Dissemination of information*

The acquisition of knowledge and information also influenced migration. The introduction of new ideas fostered the realisation among societies' less fortunate elements that their accustomed ways of living, if unfavourable, were unacceptable.[22] This "education" coupled with the fact that living standards and employment opportunities were better elsewhere, especially for many European peasants, allowed migration to occur.

With the acquisition of knowledge and information, emigration became possible for people in formerly isolated regions; individuals learned about conditions and opportunities abroad. Although the acquisition of knowledge was not recognised as a major force affecting migration by scholars, it was of paramount importance to the people it

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[21]Much of the information in this paragraph is based upon: Baron, p. 275; Murdzek, pp. 139-140.

[22]Baron, p. 275.

inspired to attempt to improve their lives through emigration.

Having, as briefly as possible, outlined the factors discussed in the second stage of migratory studies, it appears this stage of study tried to be extremely comprehensive. Migration ceased being perceived as a microcosmic occurrence particular to a specific region or people. Particularities and similarities in migration from various places were studied to acquire a broader knowledge of what caused migration.

Current migratory studies, reviewed by Dudley Baines, have furthered the understanding of migration. In this stage the study of migration uses specific theories or "models" to categorise migration.

Two of the principal models which explain migration are the "international economy" and the "core-periphery" models.[23] The international economy model, using Europe in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century as an example, asserts

> that the industrialisation of Europe led to an increase in the interdependence of Europe and some of the overseas countries [i.e. colonies]. Industrialisation affected transport and communications, the availability of European capital for overseas investment and the growth of markets in Europe for overseas products...[As a result, in] the international economy model, the direction...[in which] migration flows is determined by the relative availability of factors of production. In general, the European countries in the nineteenth century had an abundant supply of capital and labour relative to the available resources (widely defined) but there were overseas countries where resources were scarce relative to capital and labour. At the margin, investment was likely to be more profitable in theses countries and incomes higher than in Europe.

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[23]Dudley Baines, Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930 (London, 1991). pp. 11-12. Baines' work is one of the most comprehensive studies on migration, synthesising the work of other scholars in a concise, yet very insightful, work.

The international economy model states that this is what led Europeans to emigrate to overseas destinations.[24] The core-periphery model provides an alternative view; this model claims

> advanced capitalist development [i.e. industrialisation and economic growth] in 'core' countries increases the demand for unskilled labour. The demand is often met by immigrants from 'peripheral' countries,[25]

who fill the vacancies in unskilled jobs.

This third stage of migratory studies also considered the difference among migrants, distinguishing between "labour migrants" and "settlers". Based on pre-emigration expectations, labour migrants only intended to sojourn away from their home, perhaps, for a specific period of time and to return with the money they earned; whereas settlers intended to permanently reside in the land where they immigrated.[26]

This stage of migratory studies expanded on the psychological aspect of deciding to emigrate. The "multiple approach-avoidance conflict situation" theory incorporates as many of the possible push and pull factors which could persuade or deter an individual from migrating. The theory tries to explain how the decision to migrate is made and what factors potential migrants have to consider before deciding whether or not to emigrate.

The three stages of migratory studies evolved inductively, on a paradigm examining the subject from a specific to a general understanding. Early studies viewed the effects of migration in microcosmic terms, while the second

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[24]Baines, p. 11.

[25]Baines, p. 12.

[26]Baines, p. 12.

stage of studies attempted to find the causes common to migration regardless of region or people. The third and latest stage proposes theories by which various types of migration and the decision to migrate can be understood.

The one remaining question is: Who migrated? The apparent response would be those individuals displaced by economic modernisation. Those with exportable skills tended to emigrate, such as agrarian, manual and domestic labourers, as well as those involved in manufacturing and mechanical trades like carpentry, handicrafts and tailoring, because they had a better chance of being absorbed into the economy where they immigrated. Individuals with non-exportable skills, such as professionals and teachers, did not have the propensity to emigrate. Successful merchants, although relatively wealthy, did not emigrate; a departure from familiar territory and an established clientele frequently proved financially crippling.[27] With the exception of adventure seekers and the sort, migration during the nineteenth century and the twentieth century's first third was usually limited to the dislocated agrarian and urban worker, upon whom the influences of modernisation and demographic changes had profound effects.

* * *

This chapter's discussion will now change to focus on a few particularities distinguishing Jewish from non-Jewish migration during the period under study. Immigration statistics to the United States of America will be used, since this data is the best available information and the overwhelming majority of Jewish migrants went there.

The demographic composition concerning gender and age of Jewish immigrants to the U.S.A. proves there was a familial nature to Jewish migration. Jews had the second highest percentage of female immigrants at 43.4% (the Irish had the highest at 52.1%) and Jewish female immigration was 12.9%

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[27]Kuznets, pp. 105-106, 122; Stampfer, p. 224.

higher than the average of other European nationalities with at least 100,000 persons arriving in the U.S.A..[28] With regards to age, among all Jewish immigrants nearly one quarter (24.8%) were under the age of 14 years; the average for other European nationalities was 12.3%. In fact, between the years 1899 and 1909, of all the immigrants to the U.S.A. under the age fourteen, a total of 1,013,974, Jewish immigrants numbered 245,787 or 24.2%. This is truly remarkable; during the period 1899-1909 990,182 or 12.1% of the total 8,213,034 immigrants were Jewish! Similarly Jewish immigrants had the lowest average of persons of the ages 14-44 (69.8%); the average for other European nationalities was 82.6%, or 12.8% higher than the Jews.[29] This fact further reinforces the familial nature of Jewish migration and proves how Jewish migration was somewhat different from their non-Jewish counterparts, whose migrants were predominantly young adult males.[30]

A second familial aspect to Jewish immigration is in migratory sponsorship. Six-tenths of Jews as compared to three-tenths of non-Jews had their passage paid for by their relatives. In addition 94% of Jewish migrants compared with 78% of non-Jews planned eventually to join their relatives.[31]

If statistics on Jewish immigration to the U.S.A. can be used as an accurate reflection of overall Jewish migratory

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[28]Joseph, p. 179.

[29]Joseph, p. 180.

[30]Baines, p. 14. Statistics on immigration to the U.S.A., 1899-1910, show the number of male immigrants was double the number of female immigrants (69.5% to 30.5%). See Joseph, "TABLE XXXVIII: Sex of European Immigrants, 1899 to 1910," p. 179.

[31]Kuznets, p. 113.

patterns,[32] several facts can be learnt about Jewish migration. Considering the number of Jewish immigrant youths and females, male Jewish immigrants had a higher number of dependents than their non-Jewish counterparts.[33] In addition, the large number of under fourteen year old and female immigrants attests to the fact that Jewish migration assumed a permanency; migration was not a sojourn, as it was expected to be by some other nationalities. Rather, migration was a transposing of the family unit to a new environment where it would resettle permanently.

The permanency of Jewish migration, especially immigration to the U.S.A. is discussed in detail by the subject's scholars, and supported by data kept by the U.S. government. During the period 1908-1914, when statistics on repatriation were first kept by the U.S. government, only 7% of Jews as compared with 32% of non-Jewish immigrants returned whence they came.[34] The Jews' comparatively low repatriation rate is frequently used to emphasise the permanency of Jewish migration and distinguish it from that of non-Jews. However, the accuracy of the Jews' rate of repatriation has been challenged by a small opposing camp of historians.[35] This

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[32]Liebman Hersch, "Jewish Migration During the Last Hundred Years," in The Jewish People: Past and Present Volume I (New York, 1946), p. 414. According to Hersch's information five-sixths of Jewish migrants went to the U.S.A.. Therefore, using U.S. immigration data is a relatively accurate means of assessing Jewish migration.

[33]Kuznets, p. 100.

[34]Kuznets, pp. 122-123.

[35]Johnathan D. Sarna, "The Myth of No Return: Jewish Return Migration to Eastern Europe, 1881-1914," in American Jewish History, LXXI (1981-1982), pp 256-268. This camp also includes Jacob Shatzky, "Polish Jews Emigrate from America," (in Yiddish) YIVO Bletter, 20 (IX, 1942) pp. 125-127; Irving A. Mendel, "The Attitude of the American Jewish Community Toward East-European Immigration, 1880-1890," (Unpublished Rabbinic thesis, Hebrew Union College, 1947), pp. 60-61; Zosa

camp maintains that discussion of Jewish repatriation has been neglected, and done so in order to preserve the image of Jewish migrants as "refugees to freedom".[36] In fact, these historians claim that there was a strong and vocalised desire by a significant number of Jewish immigrants in the U.S.A. to return whence they came.[37] This fact applied particularly to the period prior to the Kishnev pogrom (1903),[38] and is learnt from Jewish newspapers in New York City and various individuals' memoirs. Among the repatriation statistics available, this camp warns that the data should be used with some caution. First, this camp believes, Jews returning to their *homelands* from the U.S.A. were counted among the other people repatriated to the same region.[39] Second, Jewish repatriation varied upon certain factors: the economic situation in the U.S.A., an individual's sentimental attachment to birth place, and whence the immigrant came.[40] The essence of this camp's argument is that the emphasis of Jews not being repatriated is an exaggeration.

Two impediments to Jewish migration are also worth noting. Opposition to emigration was voiced by certain religious and communal leaders. They believed emigration would result in Jewish emigrants "straying" from Judaism, because it would be more difficult to maintain Jewish traditions in an

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Szajokowski "Deportation of Jewish Emigrants and Returnees before World War I," in American Jewish Historical Quarterly, 67 (VI, 1978), pp. 291-306.

[36]Sarna, pp. 267-268.

[37]Sarna, p. 257.

[38]Sarna, p. 267.

[39]Sarna, pp. 258-259.

[40]Jews from different regions of Europe has different repatriation rates. Sarna, p. 257.

immigration land.[41] In the earlier stages of migration, Jewish communal institutions were not as well established as they were in Europe, and opponents feared this would result in Jews forsaking their heritage. In addition, immigration of their coreligionists was viewed by local Jews, especially in communities in the U.S.A. during the earlier years of Jewish entry to the country (1860s and 1870s), as potentially dangerous. Already established Jews were afraid an inflow of their coreligionists could jeopardise their favourable status. Fearful that negative perceptions of Jews would develop as the size of the Jewish community grew via immigration, certain Jewish communities during the period of European emigration opposed their coreligionists' arrival because of the impact they believed it might have. The success of already established Jewish communities preventing more Jews from arriving, if successful at all, was extremely limited.[42]

Another interesting and final note on Jewish migration in general is the fact Jewish migrations, throughout history, have popularly been blamed on anti-Semitism.[43] However, if the Pale of Settlement in Czarist Russia is studied, the results prove this popular belief to be incorrect. In fact, there was a greater emigration from the Pale of Settlement's northwestern region, where there was less violence and the economic situation was worse, than in the south where pogroms occurred.[44]

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[41]Raphael Mahler, "The Economic Background of Jewish Emigration from Galicia to the United States," in YIVO, VII (1952), p. 267; Stampfer, pp. 228-229.

[42]Elias Tcherikower, "Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1881-1900" in YIVO, VI (1951), pp. 158-164; Wischnitzer, p. 31.

[43]Stampfer, p. 221.

[44]Stampfer, pp. 227-2228. This data are based on percentage membership in *Landsmannschaften* in New York City.

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Having reviewed the study of migration and particularities of Jewish migration, attention will turn to focus on the legislative evolution of the freedom of movement in the Habsburg Monarchy.

CHAPTER II
LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

The enactment of civil liberties was slow to occur in the Habsburg Empire. With the exception of Joseph II's reign (1780-1790), until the mid nineteenth century there were no noteworthy legislative changes improving the status of the monarchy's subjects. Frequent military conflicts and the crown's profound concern with internal dissent, expressed in conservative and oppressive governing,[1] prior to and during nearly two decades following the *Vormärz* (1848) prevented the possibility of enlightened tendencies being followed by the monarchs.

Control was the operative word with regards to domestic policy. The imperial family considered the empire a private enterprise[2] which could be administered however it decided was necessary. The crown's subjects were thought of as the state's most important natural resource for military and economic purposes, and it was in the crown's interest to restrain the movement and limit the liberties of its subjects.[3]

The purpose of this brief chapter therefore, is to discuss the various civil liberties extended to the Habsburg's subjects, focusing particularly on the regulations concerning freedom of movement and emigration.

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Prior to the emancipation of the serfs (1848) by Kaiser

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[1]John A. Hawgood, Modern Constitutions (New York, 1939), p. 248. For information on Kaiser Franz's policies see the following chapters for more detail.

[2]Hawgood, p. 250.

[3]Dudley Baines, Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930 (London, 1991), p. 50; Charlotte Erickson, "Introduction," in Emigration from Europe 1815-1914 (London, 1976), p. 17; Felix Klezl, "Austria," in International Migrations Volume II: Interpretations (New York, 1931), p. 393.

Franz Joseph (1848-1916) there were no improvements in the status of the Austrian Empire's subjects. Although the 1848 reform was unprecedented and ended the lord-vassal relation, for several ensuing decades it was only a theoretical change. The peasants were required to compensate their respective lords for their *freedom;* without capital they were forced to retire their debts in work or kind. In practise, until the late 1870s or early 1880s many peasants remained bound to the land, thus the crown maintained control over them as their freedom of movement continued to be restrained.

In the Austrian Empire prior to 1867, the crown's policy on freedom of movement was clearly defined by the ordinance of 1784 and the emigration law of 1832. The former

> treated emigration as normally forbidden because of feudal obligations and military considerations, and allowed it only exceptionally by royal permit...[The 1784] ordinance defined an emigrant as one who "who absconds from the collective patrimonial dominions with the intention of not returning."
>
> The emigration law of 1832 defined an emigrant in similar terms as one who "departs the country to a foreign country with the intention of never returning;" but... [this law] was milder in that it used "departs" instead of "absconds" and did not declare emigration to be fundamentally forbidden but merely distinguished between "lawful" and "unauthorized" emigration. Magistrates were directed to issue the permit [for emigration] whenever it was shown that the petitioner was not a dependent and that neither military nor other public duties were an obstacle.
>
> According to both laws, emigration, whether sanctioned or not, entailed the loss of citizenship.[4]

The first two decades of Franz Joseph's rule were noted for a series of contradictory laws being enacted and enforced

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[4]Klezl, p. 392.

according to the monarch's discretion.[5] Residential restrictions were lifted in specific areas for certain ethnic, national and religious groups in the empire, including Vienna becoming *tolerandis Iudaeis*. However, the crown remained intent on maintaining control over its populace and restricting any outflow of persons.

Reforms in civil liberties occurred in the Austrian Empire as a result of its defeat by Prussia in the Seven Weeks' War (June-July 1866). The Habsburg's quick military routing ended Franz Joseph's, the Habsburg's centuries old designs on dominating the other German states[6] and turned the kaiser's attention away from imperial intentions to domestic affairs.[7] The rights and freedoms extended to Habsburg subjects in the Fundamental Law Concerning the General Rights of Citizens, which was part of the 1867 Austrian Constitution and the *Ausgleich* with Hungary, were attempts to win for the crown the support of various ethnic, national and religious groups in a state endangered by numerous centrifugal forces.[8]

In comparison to previously enacted legislation, the Fundamental Law Concerning the General Rights of Citizens was liberal in nature.[9] Among the many reforms were included: freedom of religion (Article XIV), equality of all citizens before the law (Article II), the freedom of assembly (Article XII) and freedom of thought (Article XIII).

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[5]Hawgood, p. 255; C.A. Macartney, The Habsburg Empire, 1790-1918 (London, 1968), p. 517.

[6]Hawgood, p. 252.

[7]Artur Eisenbach, The Emancipation of the Jews 1780-1870 (Cambridge, 1991), p. 19; Howard Lee McBain and Lindsay Rogers, The New Constitutions of Europe (New York, 1922), p. 243.

[8]Eisenbach, p. 19; Hawgood, p. 257.

[9]Walter Farleigh Dodd, Modern Constitutions Volume I (Chicago, 1909), p. 70.

The 1867 Constitution also lessened the constraints the crown had enforced on the movement, particularly emigration of its subjects. Article IV of the Fundamental Law Concerning the General Rights of Citizens stated

> The freedom of passage of persons and property, within the territory of the state, shall be subject to no restrictions.
> ...Freedom of emigration is limited by the state only by the obligation of military service.[10]

Emigration became legal in Cisleithania, the Vienna governed part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire,

> only on the ground of the subject's duty to fulfil his military obligations. Failure to...[complete] this duty as a result of emigration resulted in the loss of citizenship. In a word, freedom of emigration was limited only by the liability to do military service.[11]

The enactment of this law marked a theoretical turning point in the crown's control of its subjects. Together with the other laws enacted there was a noticeable movement toward more democratic political tendencies.

* * *

Only when centrifugal forces seemed to threaten the Habsburgs' reign over their domains were civil liberties extended to the empire's subjects. The privileges in the 1867 Constitution were enacted by the crown in an attempt to gain the loyalty of selected groups within the state that were believed to be potentially seditious.

Granting the freedom of movement was consistent with the liberal nature of the Fundamental Law Concerning the General

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[10]Dodd, pp. 71-72.

[11]Benjamin P. Murdzek, Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought, 1870-1914 (New York, 1977), p. 118.

Rights of Citizens. Despite the crown continuing to consider emigration harmful, unlike prior to 1867 when it attempted to completely suppress emigration, the crown tried to confine emigration within bounds it considered acceptable.[12] Except for military obligations, the crown

> did not put any great impediments to emigration, neither did it in any way try to facilitate or encourage emigration. The official policy throughout most of the second half of the nineteenth century concerning prospective emigrants was to regard it as *gemeinnützige Unternehmungen* [, i.e. a charitable endeavour.]

Although the crown also offered information on emigration, what it provided was sparse in content and infrequently made available. The crown itself did not want to act as an agent inciting its subjects' departure[13] since it realised their value to the empire's economy and existence.

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[12]Klezl, p. 390.

[13]Murdzek, p. 119.

CHAPTER III
GALICIA

Austrian Galicia originally consisted of the territory seized by the Habsburg crown in the first and third partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1772 and 1795). Galicia's boundaries were altered by land exchanges with Czarist Russia during the nineteenth century's first two decades, and later by the annexation of the Republic of Cracow (1848). Geographically speaking, Galicia extended across the territory north of the Carpathian Mountains; its frontiers stretching in the west to nearly the Oder and Wisłock Rivers and in the east to the Zbruch and Cheremosh Rivers. The region covered an expanse of about 20,000 square miles[1] and, excluding Hungary, was the Habsburg's largest possession, comprising 26.1% of the empire's land and slightly more than a quarter of its population.[2]

Galicia, its name "derived...from the ancient Ruthenian principalities of Halicz (Galicia) and Włodzimierz (Lodomeria),"[3] was divided into halves (west and east) by the San River. Western Galicia was predominantly populated by Poles; Eastern Galicia consisted of a Ukrainian majority, which was mostly peasant farmers, and a Polish landed gentry. Galicia was also home to a significant Jewish minority, of which three-quarters resided in the eastern half. As well, an even smaller German minority was dispersed throughout the

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[1]Norman Davies, God's Playground: A History of Poland Volume II: 1795 to the Present (Oxford, 1981), p. 139 and map p. 140; Paul Magocsi, Galicia: A Historic Survey and Bibliographic Guide (Toronto, 1983), p. xiv.

[2]Józef Buszko, "Zum Wandel der Gesellshaftsstruktur in Galizien und in der Bukowina," in Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Volume 343 (Vienna, 1978), p. 14. These statistics apply to the year 1880.

[3]Davies, p. 139.

territory. In the half century prior to the First World War, the crownland's population was approximately 44% Polish, 41% Ukrainian, 11% Jewish (8% in the west and 12% in the east) and 3% German.

The Galicia seized by the Habsburg Empire was in a ruined state. Poverty was endemic to the region, not only among the peasants but also among the urbanites and even the gentry. Galicia had suffered as a result of frequent wars and natural disasters during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1772, 1793 and 1795) severed Galicia from its traditional trading partners,[4] which became possessions of the Russian or the Prussian crown. Until the arrival of the railroad in the early 1870s, the region was isolated by inadequate communication lines. Despite the railroad, Galicia continued to be an outlying territory having neither national, linguistic, nor cultural affinities with the central authorities in Vienna.

Throughout the Habsburg reign over Galicia its economy essentially remained resource based.[5] An estimated 75%[6] to 85%[7] of the crownland's inhabitants found their livelihoods in *Landwirtschaft* even as late as the 1910s. Prior to the emancipation of the serfs and for at least several ensuing decades, the modes of production were primitive; hand manufactured goods were all that was available. The home tended to be a self-sufficient unit, when possible, clothes and other wares were made by family members. Also, peasants as opposed to urbanites had the advantage of growing their own

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[4]William O. McCagg Jr., A History of the Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918 (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1989), p. 115.

[5]Filip Friedman, Die Galizischen Juden in Kampfe um Ihre Gleichberechtigung (1848-68) (Frankfurt am Main, 1929), p. 15.

[6]Abraham Korkis, "Die Wirtschaft Lage der Juden in Galizien," in Der Jude, VII (1917), p. 532.

[7]Buszko, p. 5.

food.[8] Although trade was needed because "the dearth of locally-manufactured goods made a constant demand for imports,"[9] trade was also primitive and remained concentrated in a few hands[10] until national industry/economy movements were initiated by both the Poles and the Ukrainians.

While serfdom lasted, and even while its final vestiges affected Galician society, industrialisation was virtually impossible. The state did not invest in industry,[11] and there was a "shortage of bourgeois entrepreneurs,"[12] while the landed nobility "developed only those branches of industry that served to increase the profits from their vast estates."[13] In addition, with no or almost no free labour, the means of developing industry and commerce were nonexistent in Galicia.

The abolition of serfdom did not effect an immediate introduction of a capital-industrial based economy in Galicia. Small-scale manufacturing continued without large-scale production being established. In fact,

> from 1848 until the turn of the century, capitalism as such did not exist in Galicia. Instead, the

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[8]Buszko, p. 5; John-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century (Edmonton, 1988), p. 167.

[9]McCagg, p. 116.

[10]Buszko, pp. 5-6.

[11]Stella Hryniuk, Peasants with Promise: Ukrainians in Southeastern Galicia 1880-1900 (Edmonton, 1991), p. 5.

[12]Richard Rudolph, "Social Structure and the Beginning of Austrian Economic Growth," in Economic Development in the Habsburg Monarchy and in the Successor States (New York, 1990), p. 133.

[13]Raphael Mahler, "The Economic Background of Jewish Emigrants from Galicia to the United States," in YIVO, VII (1952), p. 256.

> economy was based on petty producers, and therefore a fundamental precondition of capitalism- the separation of the labourer from the means of production- was lacking...[The Galician] economy was transitional, at least in the abstract, between feudalism and capitalism, but it did not correspond to either.[14]

Transitional is the best word to describe the state of Galicia's economy during the nineteenth century's second half. While the above passage particularly refers to Galicia's rural economy, in urban areas services and goods continued to be exchanged in kind even when money was commonly being used in other regions of the empire.

The relatively late emancipation of the serfs, in comparison to Western European states, and the remaining ties to feudalism, hindered Galicia's economic-industrial development.[15] In comparison to other Habsburg areas Galicia fell further behind because of more rapid development, i.e. industrialisation, elsewhere during the period 1840-1880.[16] Galicia's "level of mechanisation was the lowest in the Empire,"[17] and its growth lagged as much as an estimated three decades behind other parts of the monarchy.[18] In reality, Galicia was typical of a region with an underdeveloped economic structure:[19] it was an importer of finished goods because production was limited and antiquated,

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[14]Himka, Galician Villagers..., p. 160.

[15]David Good, The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750-1914 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984), p. 6.

[16]Buszko, p. 14.

[17]Alan S. Milward and S.B. Saul, The Development of the Economies of Continental Europe, 1850-1914 (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), p. 283.

[18]Good, p. 148.

[19]Good, p. 24.

and natural resource harvesting remained the economy's primary basis.[20]

Much of Galicia's economic woes were related to the lack of capital and credit available in the three decades following the serfs' emancipation.[21] The peasantry was forced to borrow money at exorbitant interest rates to pay for the usage of manorial facilities.[22] This situation put many peasants into debt, and often resulted in the loss of possessions or even of their land to repay what they owed. Similarly, many nobles had financial problems and also had to resort to usurers to acquire money, often with disastrous consequences.

Galicia was the empire's poorest region. The cost of living was higher and wages lower,[23] and "income-tax figures [demonstrate] the per capita income of the Galician population was one-tenth that of the rest of"[24] the empire. Whatever wealth was possessed came in three forms: usually small peasant land holdings, extremely limited reserves of money, or a store owner's stock which on the average was worth no more than a few dollars.[25]

The material state of Galicia's inhabitants was directly related to the region's unfavourable economic situation. Living conditions reflected the regions's poverty and privation. Housing was primitive, particularly in rural areas.

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[20]Buszko, pp. 15, 22.

[21]Benjamin Murdzek, Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought, 1870-1914 (New York, 1977), p. 87.

[22]Buszko, p. 9.

[23]Buszko, pp. 21, 25.

[24]Mahler, p. 257.

[25]John-Paul Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside during the Late Nineteenth Century," in Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective (Edmonton, 1988), p. 120; Mahler, p. 257.

Many homes, which were often huts, had only straw insulation and were unequipped with chimneys.[26] It has even been suggested toward the nineteenth century's end "Galicia was in a worse predicament than Ireland at the start of the potato famine."[27] An estimated 50,000 to 55,000 people died annually because of starvation or "near-starvation" conditions,[28] while the prescription for most ailments was food.[29] Similarly, during just the three decades following serfdom's abolition, disease and crop failures repeatedly devastated the region. The most noted of these were the cholera epidemics of 1853, 1855[30] and 1872-1873. The latter two years experienced

> the worst cholera epidemic in the recorded history of Galicia. According to official statistics...the year 1873 represented one of the few years in the second half of the nineteenth century when the death rate exceeded the birth rate in

the crownland: 309,019 deaths to 245,027 live births.[31] The early 1870s were also scarred by potato (1871-1873) and general crop (1875) failures.[32] The resulting food shortages strained, for the most part, an already poorly fed society which had an excessive amount of annual deaths related to malnourishment.

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[26]Buszko, p. 9.

[27]Davies, p. 145.

[28]Davies, p. 145; Mahler, p. 257.

[29]Himka, "Ukrainian...," p. 120; Mahler, p. 264.

[30]Anson Rabinbach, "The Migration of Galician Jews to Vienna, 1857-1880," in Austrian History Yearbook, XI (1975), p. 48.

[31]Murdzek, p. 81n; Statistisches Jahrbuch (1863), pp. 38, 71.

[32]Murdzek, p. 88.

Except for a number of wealthy, usually aristocratic families, the overwhelming majority of Galicians, regardless of their ethnic, national and religious backgrounds, lived in or nearly in poverty. The destitution of the region was so ingrained in the populace it was reflected in both humour and art. For example, it "was a standing joke among schoolboys that they lived in the land of 'Golicia and Glodomeria'- *Goły* meaning 'bare', and *głód* meaning 'hunger'."[33] The poem *Galician Winter* by the Galician-born Yiddish writer Aba Shtoltsenberg (1905-1941) is an excellent, yet sombre, artistic reflection of Galicia, which succeeds in portraying the region's unfortunate conditions:

Bad at the bourse
Shares at mud level.
Banks bleed,
the merchant throws himself under a train.
Bankrupt Jews abandon the world.
All treasuries hang by a hair.

A bad winter,
typhus among gentiles,
crosses sprout in their graveyard.
The gentile walks, stooped.
Priests trudge through snow with the host,
and gentile women with candles.
Pelakh's eyes flare through sick villages.

At Passover: beggars.
Clouted feet, hooded head.
Sprawl in ditch, or on church steps,
squat for weeks, get no alms.
Cellar doors are forced.
Clothes die in their closet.
Stilt-high Germans strut.
From sleds, through night, inhuman song carries.[34]

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[33]Davies, p. 143.

[34]Aba Shtoltsenberg, "Galician Winter," Translated by Dennis Silk, in The Penguin Book of Modern Yiddish Verse (New York, 1987), pp. 598, 600. Although Shtoltsenberg spend the second half of his life living in New York City, much of his work deals with Galicia.

Galicia's problems were further compounded in the nineteenth century's second half by a rapid population growth. In the period 1850-1900 Galicia's population grew by 60.6%, increasing from 4,555,477 to 7,315,939 inhabitants. This population explosion, so to speak, affected Galician urban and rural life and resulted in the further impoverishment of the region's populace. In an area where traditional occupations prevailed and there were few, if any, alternative livelihoods to absorb the excess of persons, the economic-employment situation became even more tenuous than it previously had been for the empire's most densely populated possession: 102 inhabitants per square kilometre.[35] For peasants this meant a continuing parcellisation and a reduction in the size of landholdings, until individual plots were so small many peasants did not have enough land to sustain themselves.[36]

> According to the estimates of the Galician Executive Department, the average peasant landhold in 1892 was five *morgs*, in 1896 it was 4.2 *morgs*, and by 1910 it was only 3.6 *morgs*.[37]

For urbanites rapid population growth meant increased competition both in the market place and for the limited number of available jobs. This intensification of competition resulted in reduced revenues, particularly among artisans and merchants, and in turn, further increased the difficulty individuals had supporting themselves and dependents.

Galicia's population explosion is somewhat of an enigma. As mentioned in chapter 1 of this work, rapid population

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[35]Korkis, p. 532. The Statistics apply to Galicia during the years 1881-1910.

[36]Himka, "Ukrainian...," p. 120.

[37]Murdzek, pp. 143-144. Two morgs are equivalent to approximately one hectare.

growth was the result of modernisation and the accompanying technological improvements which supposedly bettered and prolonged the quality of life. Galicia, unlike many other European regions, never experienced said modernisation process. The region remained overwhelmingly rural and agrarian, plagued by crop failure, disease, and an extremely high annual death rate related to malnourishment until the late nineteenth century. Thus Galicia did not profit from modernisation and its benefits, which foster rapid population growth.

The socio-economic woes Galicia experienced were not passively accepted during the nineteenth century's second half. The years immediately following Galicia receiving full autonomous status (1873) witnessed the development of national economy-industry movements among the Poles and the Ukrainians. The intention of these *national movements* was to foster business, industry, and most importantly employment opportunities among members of their respective communities. The establishment of credit facilities providing low interest loans to potential entrepreneurs were considered the means to stimulate the economy, and change traditional occupations which posthumously maintained feudalism.

Both the Poles and the Ukrainians tried to compete with the Jews, Jewish middlemen and merchants, who nearly dominated trade in Galicia. By establishing their *own* shops for their respective co-nationals to patronise instead of Jewish ones, and avoiding Jewish middlemen, Poles and Ukrainians attempted to eliminate Jewish competition and acquire control of the crownland's economy.[38]

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[38]The information in this and the above paragraph is based on: Himka, "Ukrainian...," pp. 123-124; Himka, Galician Villagers..., p. 172; Mahler, pp. 260-261; Rabinbach, pp. 51-52.

The Poles by the 1880s[39] and the Ukrainians in the following years[40] reportedly succeeded in competing with their Jewish counterparts. Despite the success, Galicia in 1880, which comprised approximately a quarter of both Austria's territory and population, only boasted 9.2% of Austria's industry and 4% of its heavy industry,[41] while about "one-third of the mechanized industry... consisted of beer breweries, distilleries and mills."[42] It was not until the turn of the twentieth century when foreign capital was invested in Galicia, that the region started to develop large-scale industry, which provided large-scale employment opportunities.[43]

* * *

During most of Galicia's subjection to the Habsburg crown, whether it was the intention of the latter or not, Galicia maintained a colonial status. Unlike other continental powers which had their imperial possessions abroad, Austria had among others, Galicia in Europe. Like other colonies, Galicia remained predominantly an agricultural society, functioning as a supplier of raw materials and needed resources, while serving as a market for goods produced in the empire's other regions.

The inability of Galicia's economy-industry to develop fully prior to the Habsburg Monarchy's dissolution was not the sole responsibility of the latter's reign. The region's profound ties to agriculture and the reluctance to abandon traditional occupations, partially due to an ingrained notion

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[39]Rabinbach, p. 53.

[40]Himka, Galician Villagers..., p. 175.

[41]Buszko, p. 14.

[42]Mahler, p. 256.

[43]Buszko, pp. 19, 24.

among the peasantry that non-physical labour was not productive work, damaged the crownland's chances of economic development.

Too often Galicia's history in the Habsburg Monarchy is viewed as a doomed one. The question 'What possibilities did Galicia have being a peripheral part of an ill-fated empire?' is asked in many different ways. Galicia's development however, was what could be expected. Considering its isolation in relation to the empire's centre, the entrenchment of feudalistic ways, the relatively late abolition of both serfdom and introduction of a capital-market economy, no Manchesters could have germinated in the region.

CHAPTER IV
GALICIAN JEWRY

The arrival of Jews in Galicia began as early as the mid fourteenth century, and was encouraged by the Polish crown as the latter expanded its dominions over regions of the Ukraine. Similar to other Polish governed lands, Jews mainly resided in cities and towns; their occupations were also similar: "trade and finance, small handicrafts, the collecting of taxes, and the leasing of magnate-owned lands, mills, and breweries." By 1538 Galicia's Jewish population numbered approximately 3,500, while a century later it increased to about 54,000.[1] At the time of the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by conservative estimates 200,000 Jews lived in the region; during almost a century and a half of Habsburg rule the Jewish population grew to nearly 872,000.

The incorporation in 1772 of such a large Jewish community into the Habsburg Empire was viewed unfavourably by Maria Theresa (1740-1780, the archduchess of Austria and the queen of Hungary and Bohemia). The Jews in Galicia were alien in every imaginable way to the central authorities in Vienna. The xenophobia, i.e. Judeophobia which manifested itself as a result of these differences, dominated the crown's policy concerning Galician as well as all of the empire's Jewry prior to the *Ausgleich*. For the most part, "officials viewed Polish [i.e. Galician] Jewry as a plague, [and deemed them] useful to the state only as a source of profit."[2] Until the reforms following the uprisings in 1848, the crown found it most effective to exact money from the Jews by taxing their religious practices. Among the usually exorbitant taxes were

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[1]Paul Robert Magocsi, Galicia: A Historic Survey and Bibliographic Guide (Toronto, 1983), pp. 227-228.

[2]William O. McCagg Jr., A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918 (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1989), p. 110.

a kosher meat tax (the original tax was imposed in 1784, with subsequent increases occurring in 1789, 1810 and 1816) and a candle tax (1797), both of which proved to be "a heavy burden for the pauperized Jewish" community.[3] In addition, there were taxes and limitations on Jewish marriages and births.

During the early years of Habsburg rule, in addition to the taxes imposed, Galician Jewry was subjected to Kaiser Joseph II's "Jewish policy", which attempted to alter, as the kaiser deemed fitting, the Jews' socio-economic situation. With regards to residence and occupation, Joseph II tried to remove Jews from rural areas by allowing only Jews who either settled on the land or produced handicrafts to reside there. Joseph II also banned a common occupation among Galician Jewry, proscribing them from either the manufacturing or the selling of alcohol and the managing of taverns and inns where spirits were sold. Similarly, the kaiser sought to have German replace Yiddish as the Jews' vernacular and language of instruction, while reforming Jewish students' curriculum and introducing them to secular subjects. Joseph II's reforms even extended into "fashion"; he advocated Jews abandoning their traditional attire for German-style dress in order that Jews adopt an outwardly German appearance. The *Toleranzpatent* for Galicia (1789) gave Jews the same rights and duties to the state as other peoples in the region, which included military obligations. Theoretically, as opposed to what local officials actually practised and permitted, Jews were granted municipal citizenship and those meeting specific qualifications were allowed to purchase property.[4]

The motivation of Joseph II's Jewish policy remains uncertain. Were the rights and obligations he extended the

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[3]Artur Eisenbach, The Emancipation of the Jews in Poland, 1780-1870 (Cambridge, 1991), p. 57.

[4]The information in this and the preceding paragraph is based on: Eisenbach, pp. 55-57; McCagg, pp. 110-111.

Jews a product of the enlightened thinking, the first inklings of "modern" and "liberal" thought, which influenced certain European leaders during the late 1700s and early 1800s? In the annals of history Joseph II is generally regarded as one of the enlightened autocrats, who tried to incorporate more "modern" and "liberal" trends into governing. There is one camp of historians which advocates Joseph II's Jewish policy was inspired by the enlightened ideologies emerging in Europe at the time of his reign. This camp maintains Joseph II's policies were benevolent in nature and a sincere attempt to help Galician Jewry ameliorate their socio-economic situation. Another rather less optimistic camp finds no benevolence in Joseph II's Jewish policy. Joseph II's reforms were, as this second camp interprets them, an attempt to reform or rid Jews of the alien and undesirable characteristics they were popularly believed to possess.[5] This second camp also views the kaiser's Jewish policy as an extension of Maria Theresa's designs to create a united empire, which would be homogeneous and defined by a single identity, an identity to which the Jews did not conform. Joseph II's Jewish policy was thus a means of making Jews abandon their accustomed lifestyles not for their own but for the crown's benefit. Whether inspired by benevolent intentions or enacted with ulterior motives, it appears, Joseph II's Jewish policy was to Germanise and assimilate the Jews as quickly as possible by having them abandon their traditional ways of life.

The short-lived era of "enlightened absolutism" in the Habsburg Empire was succeeded by a reactionary period during the reign of Kaiser Franz (1792-1835). Franz's rule was marked by an increase in crown control. There was a noticeable intensification of press censorship in order to prevent the dissemination of information which could lead to discontent

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[5]Jews were unfavourably viewed as usurers, exploiters and being "Asiatic".

and revolution, a possibility the crown feared.[6]

Franz's policies did not help create any affinities among the Jews for the crown. In general, most Jews were already suspicious of and reluctant to comply with Habsburg policy and received any directives from Vienna with caution. During his reign, Kaiser Franz abolished whatever liberties his uncle Joseph II had extended the Jews. As part of his profound concern with controlling his subjects, Franz legislated more hardships on the Jews to regulate their activities. Among the legal disabilities enacted, Franz prohibited Jews from owning land and reinforced the proscription of managing estates or leasing estate monopolies.[7]

Although Habsburg policy dealt with Galician Jewry as a collective unit, the community was not a monolith. Throughout the Habsburg reign, various types of thought permeated and influenced Galician Jewry. Hasidism, originating during the eighteenth century's second half in the neighbouring region of Podolia, increased in popularity and influence throughout the nineteenth century's first half. This mystical-religious-revivalist movement appealed to those who sought to escape the hardships and deprivation of Galician life by immersing themselves in pious devotion. The *Haskalah*, the Jewish Enlightenment, gained importance among another portion of the Jewish community which aspired either to broaden their experiences and knowledge or to ameliorate their social status

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[6]Kaiser Franz was profoundly concerned with the threat of a Jacobin revolutionary element gaining power in the empire. See: C.A. Macartney, The Habsburg Empire, 1790-1918 (London, 1968), pp. 162-163; McCagg, p. 47.

[7]Supposedly the restrictions on tavern- and inn-keeping, as well as with leasing other estate monopolies or managing estates, were laxly enforced. However, such occupations remained legislatively forbidden to Jews until their emancipation (1868). As for owning land, Jews were permitted to do so in 1860. See: John-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century (Edmonton, 1988), pp. 154, 157-158; McCagg, p. 110.

by delving into non-Jewish domains. Strong assimilationist movements existed. During the nineteenth century's first two-thirds, Germanisation was popular among upwardly mobile Jews. Following Galicia receiving autonomous status resulting in its political domination by the Poles, many Jews supported a process of Polonisation. Toward the nineteenth century's end, Zionist as well as emigrationist, labour-socialist, and national autonomy movements developed among Galicia Jewry.[8]

Despite the differences among Galician Jewry, they formed their own society in Galicia. In terms of religion, vernacular, occupation, residence, and dress, the Jews were different from their Polish and Ukrainian neighbours;[9] perhaps the Jews had more in common with their sovereigns in Vienna, since Yiddish is a Germanic language. The one, perhaps only, common thing the Jews and their neighbours shared was the poverty endemic to the region.

As already mentioned in this work, Galicia was an overwhelmingly rural and agricultural region. However, the Jews had been estranged from the land in Europe since medieval times. The few crown-initiated efforts to establish Jewish farmers and farming communities, or the "peasantization" of the Jews,[10] resulted in failure; acquiring the necessary funds to bring to fruition Jewish agricultural projects tended to be one of the main problems. As a result, the Jews remained a predominantly urban people whose livelihoods were concentrated in commerce and small-scale, hand- manufacturing, as well as in service industries. Typical Jewish occupations

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[8]Jewish autonomists in Galicia advocated the Jews receiving autonomous rights within the empire.

Unfortunately, there are no available statistics telling us what percentage of Galicia's Jewish population were Hasidim, Zionists, assimilationists, *et cetera*...

[9]This statement does not consider the differences between Poles and Ukrainians.

[10]McCagg, p. 114.

included tailoring, shoe making, shop keeping, brokerage, coach/wagon driving and, despite the proscriptions (1780s-1868), management of estates and estate monopolies.

Compared to their Polish and Ukrainian neighbours, the Jews had an inverted occupational structure.[11] The earliest available and most detailed data reinforcing the difference in occupational structures was gathered in the census for the Austro-Hungarian Empire for the year 1900. The difference is self-evident in the
numbers.

TABLE 1[12]
OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF JEWS AND CHRISTIANS 1900
(RATE PER 1000)[13]

OCCUPATION	JEWS	CHRISTIANS
1- Agriculture, gardening and cattle rasing	8	990
2- Forestry	50	935
3- Fishing	85	915
4- Mining and metallurgy	8	987
5- Stone breaking	51	943
6- Blacksmith, locksmith and foundry	85	897
7- Fabrication of gold, silver tin and lead articles	320	676
8- Fabrication of machines, tools and instruments	146	824
9- Chemical industry	136	825
10- Building enterprises	69	926
11- Printing enterprises	169	822
12- Weaving	58	910
13- Leather and paper industries	200	788
14- Timber industry	56	931
15- Food industry	396	596
16- Hotel- and innkeepers	619	377

[11]Josef Tennenbaum, "Wirtschaftspolitische Postulate der Jüden in Ostgalizien," in Der Jude, I/II (1919), p. 7.

[12]Wilhelm Feldman, Stronnictwa i Programy Polityczne w Galicyi, 1846-1906 (Cracow, 1907), pp. 293-294; Piotr Wróbel, "The Jews of Galicia Under Austrian Polish Rule, 1869-1918," in Austrian History Yearbook, XXV (1994), p. 121.

[13]The rows do not add up to 1,000 in the original source.

17- Fabrication of clothes	249	743
18- Working in industry without a specific profession	126	844
19- Trade	810	186
20- Credit and insurance	298	693
21- Land transportation	81	909
22- Water transportation	81	919
23- Other trade and transportation enterprises	663	332
24- Servants and day labourers	229	771
25- Army officers and soldiers	24	957
26- Clerks	113	883
27- Learned professions	351	638
28- Retired persons and welfare recipients	99	893
29- "Living in closed institutions"	60	937
30- Without a given profession	271	713
31- Servants living at their masters' houses	106	888

As the data show, Jews played an important role in Galician trade. Beginning in the mid nineteenth century, the most important of Galicia's exports and produce: alcohol, eggs, flour, various livestock, lumber and petroleum, to mention a few, "were nearly all monopolised in Jewish hands."[14] As a result of this occupational pursuit, i.e. trade and brokerage, Galician Jewry was to a great extent "an urban population with a rural function."[15]

Numerous problems existed for the Jews because of their near domination of commerce and trade. The economic-financial situation for many Jews engaged in such occupations was tenuous. For Jewish middlemen, their work and thus their income, were based on speculative endeavours. They depended greatly on the success of certain crops or produce, and on being able to secure a sale between the producer and a

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[14]Filip Friedman, Die Galizischen Juden im Kampfe um Ihre Gleichberechtigung (1848-68) (Frankfurt am Main, 1929), p. 10, "...sind fast sämtlich in jüdischen Händern Monopolisiert."

[15]Anson Rabinbach, "The Migration of Galician Jews to Vienna, 1857-1880" in Austrian History Yearbook, XI (1975), p. 50.

purchaser. The failure of any part of their business paradigm could easily lead to financial ruin;[16] the better part of a family's, perhaps families', annual revenue could be lost, leaving them penniless, hungry and dependent on assistance from communal welfare organisations. Similarly, there was too much competition among Jewish shop keepers.[17]

> According to unofficial but trustworthy figures derived from a private economic inquiry, there was in some districts one merchant or broker to every eight or ten families. Even in the villages the ratio was not much lower: in a village of 80 peasants there were generally six or seven dealers and shopkeepers...This plethora of petty trade in such a poor land reflects the misery of the largest occupational group among the Jewish population in the country. According to reports from the end of the 19th century the stock of the average Jewish shop in Galicia was worth about $20, and frequently no more than four dollars.[18]

With the exception of a few individuals involved in trade and commerce, it is a relatively safe assumption that most of them struggled to eke out an existence.

Galician Jewry's disadvantageous situation was further compounded by three problems. First, a population explosion; in the nineteenth century's second half, the Galician Jewish population grew by 143.3%, increasing from 333,451 to 811,173 individuals. The result of this rapid population growth was overcrowding in residential areas and the limited employment

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[16]Rabinbach, p. 50.

[17]Abraham Korkis,, "Die Wirtschaftliche Lage der Juden in Galizien," in Der Jude, VII/VIII/IX (1917), p. 538; Raphael Mahler, "The Economic Background of Jewish Emigration from Galicia to the United States," in YIVO, VII (1952), p. 263.

[18]Mahler, p. 257.

fields in which Jews worked.[19] Second, family members frequently worked in the same business; there were no individual salaries and the entire family lived from the profits.[20] The failure of a business could result in the ruin of not only one nuclear family but also the families of siblings, children, or in-laws. Third, Jews were unable to supplement their incomes the way their Polish and Ukrainian neighbours could. As already mentioned, Jews were urban and did not, could not before the 1860s, own a plot of land where they could grow a small crop[21] for personal consumption.

Galician Jewry's economic situation was further worsened by the effects of modernisation on the region's economy. The gradual

> penetration of capitalism into the Galician economy during the last quarter and particularly the last decade of the 19th century aggravated still further, both directly and indirectly, the poverty of the Jewish population...It affected adversely the most important occupations in which Jews were engaged. Capitalist concentration of trade, which was accelerated by the expansion of railroad communication, cut into the business of the Jewish shopkeepers in small towns. Larger purchases were no longer made in the small towns but in the larger district cities...The growth of modern forms of business organisation also reduced greatly the economic opportunities of a large number of Jewish brokers and middlemen. The same process which brought the consumer in direct contact with the larger city also reduced the economic importance of the fairs and market days in the small towns, and thousands of Jewish families were thus deprived of their livelihoods.
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> In a similar manner, the beginnings of

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[19]For more information about the effects of rapid population growth on Galicia, see the previous chapter of this work.

[20]Max Rosenfeld, Die polnische Judenfrage, Problem und Lösung (Vienna-Berlin, 1918), p. 113.

[21]Mahler, p. 263.

> capitalism and the development of modern communications led to the great impoverishment of Jewish artisans, particularly tailors. The more prosperous townspeople and the landed gentry now had their clothes made in the larger cities instead of by the small town tailor. Furthermore, Austrian, especially Viennese, firms opened branches in Galician cities and flooded the market with ready-made clothes. Viennese shoe manufacturers, furniture makers, and tinware manufacturers likewise opened branches in the larger cities of Galicia and thus deprived the Jewish artisan of their livelihood. The expansion of the railroad system also rendered superfluous the large number of Jewish coachmen and drivers.
>
> The development of modern banking, mortgage banks, and savings and loan associations practically did away with private moneylending, which had become particularly widespread among Galician Jews, especially among the village shopkeepers, after the abolition of serfdom...The most powerful competitors of the Jewish moneylenders in the villages were the rural co-operative plan associations...[Likewise,] co-operative stores bought up the agricultural products from the peasants. This resulted in the elimination, in many sections, of the Jewish country shopkeepers, the village peddlers, and the Jewish grain and cattle dealers. Jewish trade in agricultural products in the cities also suffered greatly.[22]

With regards to industrialism, the

> new factories that were established were inadequate to absorb any considerable number of the pauperized Jewish artisans and tradesmen. Jewish workers as a rule could find employment only in Jewish industrial enterprises, and these were limited in size and scope.[23]

In retrospect, concluding on the theme of economic modernisation, the "beginning of capitalist development in

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[22]Mahler, pp. 259-260.

[23]Mahler, p. 261.

Galicia did not bring to the Jewish masses the economic compensation" known to accompany capitalist development.[24]

Galician Jewry's economic situation was also worsened in the nineteenth century's last quarter by the development of Polish and Ukrainian nationalism, which fostered national economy movements to challenge the Jews' near monopolisation of trade and commerce in the crownland. As mentioned in the previous chapter, these national economy efforts attempted either to eliminate[25] or at least considerably reduce Jewish competition. Where the Jewish broker, estate leaseholder, middleman or shopkeeper once existed Poles and Ukrainians began to be employed, as well as to replace Jews. Jewish businessmen lost Polish and Ukrainian clients, who preferred to patronise businesses managed by and institutions established for their respective co-nationals. The Polish and Ukrainian national economy movements only led to increased competition in the marketplace among Jewish and non-Jewish entrepreneurs, and the further pauperization of an already impoverished people.

Despite the poverty, the overcrowding in both cities and certain occupations, and the ever worsening economic situation, not everything in Galician Jewry's lives was doom and gloom. There were individual Jews and Jewish families who owned either large tracts of lands, if not estates, or successful businesses. Galician Jews also contributed to the arts; works by the two authors Karl Emil Franzos (1848-1904, born in Czortków) and Joseph Roth (1874-1939, born in Brody), are still in publication today.

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The purpose of this chapter, despite mentioning a few of

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[24]Mahler, p. 261.

[25]Mahler, pp. 260-261; Rabinbach, pp. 51-52. Although the citations refer to Polish efforts, it is imaginable the Ukrainians had the same intentions and made the same efforts.

the distinctions among various groups in the Jewish community, is to demonstrate the general situation of Galician Jewry. It should be noted that regional residential differences and differences in the degree of adherence to Jewish tradition affected, or could have affected an individual Jew's socio-economic situation.

Whereas in Czarist Russia's Pale of Settlement the Jews' history was regularly epitomised by the pogroms perpetrated against them, there was only one such act in Galicia during the Habsburg reign. In 1898 in western Galicia, the predominantly Polish populated part of the crownland, the attack focused more on the destruction of Jewish property than on Jewish lives. Instead of violence, the history of the Jews in Habsburg Galicia is epitomised by the crownland's poverty.

The dependence on traditional occupations as well as ones speculative in nature, coupled with the effects of substantial population growth, severely impaired Galician Jewry's economic situation. As a result, a class of "*Luftmenschen*- people who were said to live off air because they had no means of sustenance"[26] developed. Generally, with small incomes and little to eat, economic competition from within the Jewish community and later from the Poles and Ukrainians, the average Galician Jew's situation was tenuous at best and increasingly so toward the nineteenth century's end.

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[26]McCagg, p. 112.

CHAPTER V
GALICIAN EMIGRATION

Prior to the nineteenth century's last three decades, emigration from Galicia was extremely difficult. As previously mentioned, full freedom of movement was granted to Habsburg subjects in 1868, yet Galicia remained an isolated region due to inadequate communication lines until the early 1870s,[1] when construction of the crownland's first railway was completed. With the obstacles hindering movement alleviated, mass emigration became possible.[2]

Migration became a part of Galician life in the decades immediately following the peasants' emancipation. In the form of temporary migration, many Galicians[3] sojourned away from their homes to capitalise on employment opportunities elsewhere. Poles and Ukrainians tended to go to neighbouring lands where seasonal employment could be found.[4] Working abroad was a means of supplementing or creating an income[5] for many Galicians. Similarly, some individuals involved in trade and commerce had the opportunity to travel in order to conduct

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[1]See map Herbert Matis, Österreischs Wirtschaft 1848-1913 (Berlin, 1972), p. 189.

[2]This does not deny clandestine emigration occurred. However, clandestine emigration was supposedly very limited since it had no effect on Galicia's population growth.

[3]There are no numbers given, but from what Benjamin Murdzek suggests, it seems as though *significant* numbers of Poles and Ukrainians were departing on a temporary basis to work outside Galicia. Benjamin Murdzek, Emigration in Polish Socio-Political Thought,1870-1914 (New York, 1977), p. 115.

[4]As a note of interest, Galicians found work within other regions and especially outside of the Habsburg Empire. The type of work usually secured was in the harvesting of natural resources.

[5]Stella Hryniuk, Peasants with Promise: Ukrainians in southern Galicia 1880-1900 (Edmonton, 1991), p. 204; Murdzek, pp. 116-117.

business. It must be remembered this type of migration was short-lived, ranging from a few days to several months, and ending with the migrant worker returning home.

Although seasonal and work-related sojourns continued, the four decades preceding the First World War witnessed an unprecedented emigration from Galicia. In this period of emigration (1869-1910), a total of 906,843 Galicians departed the crownland.

The most important questions asked about Galician emigration are: Who were these Galician emigrants? and Why did they choose to emigrate? Unfortunately, the answers are not so simple. The limited information available creates much guesswork. It is safe to assume that Galician emigrants, like other European emigrants, came from diversified socio-economic backgrounds.[6] The key to determining who emigrated, without the luxury of surveying the emigrants themselves, is to consider Galicia's socio-economic situation and discover what other domestic factors might have influenced emigration. As well, it would be wise to consider foreign influences on Galician emigrants.

As mentioned in the previous two chapters, prior to and particularly during the period of emigration Galicia's economy stagnated while the crownland experienced a significant growth in population. These two problems, which compounded and intensified in each decade following the peasants' emancipation, jointly created increasingly greater socio-economic troubles in Galicia toward the nineteenth century's end. The crownland's agrarian based economy was unable to

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[6]It is can be assumed Galician emigrants, like other European emigrants, were individuals displaced by the effects of modernisation; however, this displacement was not necessarily caused by modernisation occurring in Galicia. For more information on workers displaced by modernisation see Dudley Baines, Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930 (London, 1991), p. 9.

absorb the ever increasing population.[7] In rural areas, the average peasant's landholding was continually decreasing in actual size due to the repeated subdivision of plots through inheritances. In addition, there were few if any plots of land available for purchase.[8] The result was a profound "land hunger" in agrarian Galicia.[9] Furthermore, the crownland's economic and industrial base could not compete with foreign industry. The antiquated modes of production were made obsolete by foreign competition,[10] causing many Galicians to lose their jobs or have their incomes drastically reduced. In addition, the rapid population growth intensified competition within the job market and the "business world".

Because of Galicia's lack of development, the growth of other regions' economies, especially large-scale industry where substantial numbers of labourers were required, must have attracted Galicians in search of employment; i.e. if we accept emigrants from underdeveloped regions tended to immigrate to industrially developing regions.[11] The availability of land was also of crucial interest to many Galician emigrants and was the principal reason why so many

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[7]Anson Rabinbach, "The Migration of Galician Jews to Vienna, 1857-1880," in Austrian History Yearbook, XI (1975), p. 50.

[8]There were parcels of land for sale. However, what was available was usually large tracts of land, i.e. estates, undoubtably beyond the financial capacities of the generally impoverished peasantry.

[9]Hryniuk, p. 205; Murdzek, p. 96; Alan S. Milward and S.B. Saul, The Development of the Economies of Continental Europe 1850-1914 (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), p. 283.

[10]John-Paul Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside During the Late Nineteenth Century," in Ukrainian Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective (Edmonton, 1988), p. 120; Murdzek, p. 81.

[11]Baines, pp. 11-12.

emigrated to the Americas.[12]

Other factors must also have affected emigration. However, one can only speculate what these factors were and what their influence was. The curious are left wondering: How did information about immigration lands entice Galicians to leave? What consequences did letters[13] from those having emigrated and the fact others already emigrated, have on potential emigrants? How did the crownland's political situation influence emigration? After 1873, when Galicia was granted autonomy and the Poles had political control of the crownland, what were the Ukrainians', Jews' and Germans' respective reactions to this in terms of emigration? Likewise, how did the Poles react? Is there any correlation between the political situation and emigration at all? Unfortunately, less is known than is hypothesised.

Therefore, the only way to determine who emigrated from Galicia and why they chose to do so is by making inferences from the socio-economic situation at the time. During the period of mass emigration, there was a great displacement of the region's work force resulting from the consequences briefly mentioned above and discussed in the two preceding chapters. It was this displaced portion of Galicians, whose opportunities in the crownland were extremely limited, who must have comprised the majority of emigrants.

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Emigration from Galicia, as TABLE 1 shows, began in the decade immediately following the constitutional reforms in the Habsburg Monarchy. Prior to 1869, Galicia was an immigration

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[12]Hryniuk, p. 205.

[13]For a detailed work on the role of letters see William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an Immigrant Group 5 Volumes, (Boston, 1918). This multi-volume series provides samples of, and explains the purposes and effects of letters in a socio-historic context.

land with 10,608 more persons entering than departing during the period 1862-1869. Before the 1890s, when the number of both Polish and Ukrainian emigrants dramatically increased, there is no evidence of mass emigration from Galicia. In the period 1891-1900, 108,000 Poles and 76,000 Ukrainians emigrated, whereas between 1881-1890 Polish and Ukrainian emigrants together totalled only 24,761 persons.[14] From a population of 6,504,766,[15] this meant only 0.38% of the combined Polish and Ukrainian population emigrated.

TABLE 1
GALICIAN EMIGRATION[16]

YEARS:[17]	NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS:	PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION WHICH EMIGRATED:
1862-1869	-10,608	-----
1869-1880	54,180	0.91
1881-1890	61,421	0.93
1891-1900	302,826	4.14
1901-1910	488,416	6.09

The general socio-economic conditions among Galician Jewry were as unfavourable as they were for the region's other inhabitants. By the late 1870s, overcrowding was reaching near disastrous proportions for the vast majority of Galician Jews. Basically, they were an economically handicapped people in an

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[14]Max Rosenfeld, Die polnische Judenfrage, Problem und Lösung (Vienna-Berlin, 1918), pp. 81-82.

[15]This is the total population for non-Jews in 1890 in Galicia.

[16]Rosenfeld, pp. 81-82; Statistisches Jahrbuch 1863-1880.

[17]The data in this study only extend back chronologically to 1862, since the information required to calculate emigration is not entirely available prior to said year.

impoverished land[18] where there was little opportunity to improve one's overall welfare. The conditions in Galicia were so poor that Galician Jews consisted of 85% of all Habsburg Jewry who immigrated to the United States of America[19]: 236,504 Jews in a span of thirty years (1881-1910) from a population which reached 871,804[20] in 1910.[21]

TABLE 2
GALICIAN JEWISH EMIGRATION[22]

YEARS:	JEWISH EMIGRANTS:	PERCENTAGE OF JEWISH POPULATION WHICH EMIGRATED:	JEWS AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL EMIGRANTS:
1881-1890	36,660	4.79	59.68
1891-1900	114,000	14.05	37.64
1901-1910	85,844	9.85	17.96
TOTAL:	236,504	27.13	30.08

Unfortunately, there are no statistics available to determine the number of Jews who emigrated from Galicia prior to 1881. It is accepted there was an outflow of Jews from the crownland prior to the 1880s;[23] however, there is no evidence to prove mass emigration occurred before the Habsburg

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[18]Arieh Tartakower, "Jewish Migratory Movements in Austria in Recent Generations," in The Jews of Austria (London, 1967), p. 287.

[19]Rabinbach, p. 54.

[20]Rosenfeld, p. 84.

[21]In the year 1910 Galician Jewry comprised about two-thirds of the Jewish population in the Austrian, as opposed to Hungarian, half of the Habsburg Empire. See William O. McCagg Jr., A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918 (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1989), p. 184.

[22]Rosenfeld, pp. 81, 84.

[23]The articles by Anson Rabinbach and Marsha L. Rozenblit support Jewish emigration from Galicia occurred prior to 1881. However, they provide no numbers and differ on wither Galician Jewry emigrated.

Monarchy's Constitutional era. The data available show significant Jewish emigration began a decade earlier than the rest of the Galician population.

Some caution is advised when using the data provided in TABLE 1 and TABLE 2 since they are incomplete in several ways. First, they do not consider the number of repatriated emigrants. Therefore, the number of individuals calculated as having emigrated might actually be less than those who permanently departed Galicia. Second, there is no means of determining either the emigrants' motive for departing or their chosen destination. Third, they do not provide information on regional difference in emigration. It is impossible to know whether there were more individuals leaving Galicia's Cracow, Lwow, Stanislawow or Tarnopol provinces (*Województwa*). Similarly, there is no means of knowing the differences in emigratory patterns between rural and urban Galicia. Finally, we do not know if the numbers included Jews who converted or no longer practised any religion, *Konfessionslos*,[24] as emigrants.

* * *

Mass emigration from Galicia was principally the result of various socio-economic factors which compounded to have detrimental effects on the entire crownland. Before these factors heightened to the point where they were a cause for emigration, Galicia was actually an immigration land. The 1870s marked the beginning of a sizeable emigration; as the socio-economic situation worsened, emigration increased during each decade until the empire's final census (1910).

The pattern of Galician Jewish emigration was slightly different than that of the region. Mass emigration began earlier for the Jews than for the Poles and the Ukrainians. As well, Jewish emigration reached its acme in the period 1891-

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[24]*Konfessionslos* is the category in Austrian statistics for people who admitted to practising no religion.

1900, while overall Galician emigration continued to increase.

Considering Galicia's impoverished situation and the problems thus created in the crownland, it is remarkable only 908,843 Galicians including 236,504 Galician Jews elected to emigrate.

CHAPTER VI
GALICIAN JEWISH EMIGRATION, 1869–1880

The question remains: How did the 1867 Austrian Constitution, particularly Article IV of the Fundamental Law Concerning the General Rights of Citizens which provided freedom of movement, affect Jewish emigration from Galicia in the period 1869-1880?

Calculations provided in TABLE 1 of the previous chapter show only 0.91% of the entire Galician population emigrated in the period immediately following the 1867 Constitution's enactment (1869-1880); thus, significant emigration did not occur among the crownland's general population. It must be remembered however, Galician Jewry constituted a separate "society" within the crownland. In addition to the Jews having their own socio-economic structure, their migratory trends also differed. Unfortunately, there are no statistics providing the data necessary to calculate the number of Galician Jews who emigrated during the period under study. Therefore, some inferences based on migratory patterns and averages have to be made in order to determine what percentage of the 54,180 Galician emigrants during 1869-1880 were of Jewish origin.

During the period of mass emigration from Galicia (1881-1910), Jewish emigrants comprised 30.08% of all the crownland's emigrants. If this percentage is used to reflect Jewish emigration in the period 1869-1880, then 16,584 Jews or 2.37% of Galicia's Jewish population emigrated. Thus, significant emigration did occur.

Using the 30.08% figure, the average percentage of Jews among Galicia's total emigrants during 1881-1910, may not be the most accurate means of determining how many Jews left Galicia in the period under study. As TABLE 2 in the previous chapter shows, in each of the decennial periods following

1881, the proportion of Jews among the total number of Galician emigrants declined. Perhaps, then, the 30.08% figure does not serve as an accurate guideline in calculating the number of Jewish emigrants in the period immediately after the 1867 Constitution's enactment. Perhaps the percentage of Jews among the total number of Galician emigrants during 1881-1890 would provide a more accurate basis for calculating the number of Jewish emigrants in 1869-1880. During the decade 1881-1890, Jews comprised 59.68% of all Galician emigrants. Rounded to 60%, this would mean 32,508 Jews or 4.74% of the Jewish population emigrated in the 1869-1880 interval. Once again, it appears that significant emigration did occur.

The two methods of calculation show significant emigration seemingly occurred among Galician Jewry following the 1867 Constitution's enactment. Using each method of calculation, the percentage of Jewish emigrants exceeded 1%- the defining percentage for whether emigration was or was not significant.

Nota bene: the percentages and the numbers of Jewish emigrants calculated for the period 1869-1880 are based on ensuing emigratory trends among Galicians and Galician Jewry. The given percentages and numbers are guesstimates, trying to provide some insight into Galician Jewish emigration during 1869-1880, and are not precise.

* * *

Despite the given percentages and numbers, which assume significant emigration occurred, it is necessary to investigate whether other factors beside the 1867 Constitution itself might have been responsible for this emigration.

Although there is a wealth of scholarship dealing with the subject of Galician Jewish emigration, there is very little research devoted to the pre-mass emigration period, i.e. emigration prior to 1881. However, the available scholarship dealing with the subject leaves no doubt emigration did happen before the freedom of movement privilege

was legislated on 21 December 1867. Works by both Anson Rabinbach and Marsha L. Rozenblit[1] acknowledge emigration from Galicia occurred prior to 1881. In fact, Jewish communal records from Vienna prove Galician Jews were immigrating in small numbers to the *Hauptstadt* as early as the 1850s.[2]

What is known is slightly more than 2,050 Jews departed Galicia "at the outset of migrations" in 1857.[3] It is not mentioned however, whether this number remained constant or fluctuated until 1881. Hypothetically speaking, if an average 2,050 Jews emigrated from Galicia each year it would mean during the period 1869-1880 some 24,600 Jews or 3.58% of Galicia's Jewish population emigrated. Once again, it would seem significant emigration occurred.

In order to determine the effect of Article IV of the Fundamental Law Concerning the General Rights of Citizens on Jewish emigration from Galicia, it is necessary to once again discuss the Jews' socio-economic conditions during the nineteenth century's second half. Examining first the 1880s and 1890s, what was mentioned in previous chapters should be remembered. During the nineteenth century's last two decades the socio-economic problems germinating among Galician Jewry compounded to worsen the Jews' overall conditions. Population pressures, the dependence on antiquated and unprofitable traditional occupations, Polish and Ukrainian nationalism and the economic rivalry these movements created, among other

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[1]Anson Rabinbach, "The Migration of Galician Jews to Vienna, 1857-1880," in Austrian History Yearbook, XI (1975); Marsha L. Rozenblit, "A Note on Galician Jewish Migration to Vienna," in Austrian History Yearbook, XIX-XX (1983-1984).

[2]Rozenblit, pp. 147-148.

[3]Abraham Korkis, "Zur Bewegung der jüdische Bevölkerung in Galizien," in Jüdische Statistik (Berlin, 1903), p. 314; Rabinbach, p. 44.

factors,[4] exacerbated the Jews' conditions to the extent emigration was a necessary solution to escape the existent socio-economic woes. During the period prior to and immediately following the proclamation of the 1867 Constitution however, the strains from rapid population growth, nationalism, and Galicia's industrial and economic retardation were, as mentioned just above, only "germinating". The effects of stock market and economic woes, and the ensuing depression in the early 1870s had a negligible immediate impact on Galicia. In the 1870s, and more so in later years, Galicia was a *de facto* economically depressed region; the stock market's instability and depressions could do little damage to the region's underdeveloped economy. Whereas other regions in the Habsburg Empire began to develop their respective economies and industries following the problem plagued 1870s, Galicia did not experience the same degree of economic troubles but, nonetheless, failed to develop its economy and its industrial base. It is this failure which caused problems with Galicia's economy during the post 1881 period and created the catalyst for mass emigration from the crownland. Thus, in the period 1869-1880 there was no such need to emigrate. Galicia was perhaps only beginning to experience the socio-economic pressures which later created an impetus to emigrate.

Since there were no great economic stimuli affecting emigration in the period under study, as there were in the post 1881 era, there must have been some other reason for emigration having occurred. Therefore, other contemporary factors affecting Galicia and Galician Jewry, and whatever information is known about Galician Jewish emigrants during 1869-1880 should be considered.

One factor which should not be overlooked is the railroad. As mentioned earlier in this study, the early 1870s

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[4]See chapter four of this work.

marked the completion of Galicia's first railway line. For the first time in history, locales in the region were connected with each other, the rest of the world, and particularly Vienna by adequate communication lines. Galicia's isolation ended; travel beyond the crownland was facilitated and ceased being an arduous endeavour.

What is known about the period's Galician Jewish emigrants? The primary source of information is the Viennese Jewish community's tax records. These records inform us that Galician Jewish immigrants to Vienna 1869-1880 were a generally wealthy group, and definitely wealthier than Galician Jewish immigrants to Vienna in the following decades.[5] The fact these Galician Jewish immigrants to Vienna were wealthy, proves that they were not refugees from Galicia's tenuous socio-economic situation like later Galician Jewish emigrants; instead, they utilised their financial resources to capitalise on socio-economic opportunities in Vienna.[6]

It is during the period following *Ausgleich* when substantial numbers of Galician Jews began immigrating to Vienna,[7] which was result of the city finally being legally "open" to Jews. In terms of actual numbers, there were a total of 4,747 individuals from Galicia and Bukovina in Vienna in 1869. By 1880, as a result of an unprecedented increase in immigration during the 1870s, the *Hauptstadt* was home to 17,110 Galician Jews, or 18% of the city's total Jewish

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[5]The tax records are taken from Vienna's *Israelitische Kultsgemeinde*. Rozenblit, p. 148.

[6]Rozenblit, p. 150.

[7]William O. McCagg Jr., A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918 (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1989), p. 148.

population.[8]

Less is known about Galician Jewish immigration to other destinations. Cities such as London and even more so New York, which received large numbers of Galician Jews in the post 1881 period, recorded no significant or unprecedented influx of Galician Jewry during the period under study. Immigration to London and England, in general, was limited,[9] as indicated by "the paucity of 'Austrians' [i.e. Galicians] mentioned by contemporaries and the few immigrant societies which bore place names from those regions."[10] Similarly, immigration to New York City and the U.S.A., in general, was minimal.[11]

It is accepted in the subject's scholarship that Galician Jews did immigrate to England and the U.S.A.,[12] however small their numbers may have been during 1869-1880. The problem of identifying Galician Jewish immigrants in this period, as the scholarship suggests, is that they may have been united into one aggregation with either German Jews, who comprised the

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[8]McCagg, p. 148. Although McCagg states that Galician Jews comprised 18% of Vienna's Jewish population in 1880, the total number of Jews in Vienna which he puts at 72,590 (p.228) in 1880 would mean otherwise. Instead of 18%, Galician Jews would have comprise 23.57% of Vienna's Jewish population. Similarly, the carefully calculated number of 73,222 Jews in Vienna in 1880 provided by Marsha L. Rozenblit, The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity (Albany, 1983), p. 17, would suggest that according to McCagg's number 23.37% of Vienna's Jewish community was of Galician origin.

[9]Lloyd P. Gartner, The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914 (Detroit, 1960), p. 220.

[10]Gartner, p. 34.

[11]Klaus Hödl, Vom Shtetl an die Lower East Side: Galizische Juden in New York (Vienna, 1991), p. 91; Raphael Mahler, "The Economic Background of Jewish Emigration from Galicia to the United States," in YIVO, VII (1952), p. 266.

[12]Hasai R. Diner, The Jewish People in America Volume II: A Time for Gathering: the Second Migration, 1820-1880 (Baltimore, 1992), pp. 32, 52-53.

overwhelming majority of England's and the United States' Jewish communities prior to 1881, or Austrian and other East European immigrants.[13]

Not much is known about the Galician Jews who immigrated to England and the U.S.A.. What we learn about Galician Jewry in England is derived indirectly. During the 1870s most of the Eastern European Jews England received were from Czarist Russia.[14] Recent arrivals during the 1870s formed a minority of the welfare assistance applicants received by Jewish communal agencies,[15] and of those recent arrivals who applied for assistance 90% were from the Russian Empire.[16] Thus, Galician Jews in England were neither noticeably poor nor large in number. It also difficult to acquire information concerning Galician Jewry in England because England was used by them, as by many other Eastern European migrants, as a way station en route to the U.S.A.. Concerning Galician Jewish immigrants to the U.S.A. during 1869-1880, all that is known is that they were supposedly poor. The cost of passage is the reason offered for them having insufficient financial resources to establish themselves upon arrival.[17]

Unfortunately the information on Galician Jewish emigrants during 1869-1880, with the exception of those who immigrated to Vienna, is insubstantial. For a deeper

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[13]Rudolph Glanz, Studies in Judaica America (New York, 1970), p. 4; Hyman B. Grinstein, The Rise of the Jewish Community in New York, 1654-1860 (Philadelphia, 1945), p.209; V.D. Lipman, A Century of Social Services, 1859-1959: the Jewish Board of Guardians (London, 1959), p. 4.

[14]Lipman, p. 33.

[15]Recent arrivals were considered to be anyone in England longer than six months, but less than seven years. See Lipman, p. 33.

[16]The 90% statistic is taken from data available for the year 1880. See Gartner, p. 41.

[17]Diner, p. 64.

understanding of who these migrants were and what inspired them to leave Galicia an extremely comprehensive study would have to be performed. Much detail would have to be added to what is presently known: Areas near or neighbouring Galicia such as Bohemia and Moravia received Galician Jewish immigrants during the period under study.[18] Unfortunately, the number of migrants and further details are unknown. There was supposedly an "enormous emigration" of Galician Jews to Transleithania, the half of Habsburg Monarchy politically controlled by Hungary; by the time this migration diminished about 1880 "Galician immigrants comprised a large part of Hungarian Jewry."[19] In addition, it seems as though 'stage migration'[20] occurred among certain Galician Jews who first immigrated to Hungary, usually Budapest, and later went to Vienna and/or elsewhere. Two of many notable Jews whose families 'participated' in this stage migration were those of Theodor Herzl and Sigmund Freud. All matters concerned, a thorough study of why and where Galician Jewish emigrants went during 1869-1880 is still awaited. In order to complete such a work numerous memoirs and any available letters would have to be examined to achieve a better understanding.

* * *

It would be convenient, as well as simple, to compare Galician Jewry with their brethren in the Russian Empire where the freedom of movement was never enacted and emigration

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[18]Mahler, p. 266; Rabinbach, p. 45. It is even suggested that perhaps very small numbers of Galician immigrants were arriving in said regions prior to the *Ausgleich* period.

[19]MCCagg, pp. 112, 125, 139. McCagg suggests that Polish, i.e. Galician Jewry possibly began immigrating to Hungary as early as 1772 at the time of the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

[20]For an explanation of stage migration see Dudley Baines, Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930 (London, 1991), pp. 33-34, 54-57.

theoretically remained a punishable offence,[21] until the end of Czarist rule. The example of Russian Jewry shows that even without any legislation allowing the freedom of movement, mass emigration did occur; an estimated 1,119,059 Russian Jews immigrated to the U.S.A. in the period 1881-1910 alone![22] However, it is impossible to know whether emigration would have occurred in Galicia during the period under study had the legislation not been enacted. The socio-economic conditions in the Pale of Settlement where Russian Jewry resided, although similar to those in Galicia, are distinguished by the respective regions' sovereigns, the Romanovs and the Habsburgs, and each empire's Jewish policy.

Instead of making comparisons, Galician Jewish emigrants during 1869-1880 must be examined in terms of who they were and what circumstances were involved in their departure. Who these emigrants were is best demonstrated by the Jewish communal tax records in Vienna and the information relating to Galician Jews having immigrated to the *Hauptstadt*. The Galician Jews in Vienna were wealthy and, because of that fact, part of a privileged group able to benefit from opportunities previously nonexistent: the railroad's existence, the ability to afford passage, the never-known-before facility of movement away from Galicia made possible by the train, and the actual freedom of movement.

Similar to those who immigrated to Vienna, Galician Jews who went to England and the U.S.A. had their departure from the crownland facilitated by the same various and previously unknown 'freedoms' of movement. However, the scant details of Galician Jews who immigrated to England and the generalisation about those who went to the U.S.A. make it more difficult to

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[21]Hans Rogger, "Tsarist Policy on Jewish Emigration," in Soviet Jewish Affairs, II (1972), pp. 27, 29, 33.

[22]Samuel Joseph, Jewish Immigration to the United States From 1881-1910 (New York, 1967), p. 164.

determine who these people were. Perhaps, as in the case with those who opted to immigrate to the U.S.A. they were not as wealthy as their counterparts who went to Vienna, because their financial resources were exhausted by the cost of travelling across a continent and an ocean, and perhaps sojourning in a way station until connecting transportation could be secured. Obviously, the expense was greater the further an individual travelled; the money with which a Galician Jew had to establish himself in Vienna perhaps would have be spent by another immigrating to the U.S.A. to cover various transportation, room and board expenses incurred en route.

Significant emigration from Galicia apparently did occur in the period immediately following the enactment of the Habsburg Empire's 1867 Constitution; an estimated 2.73-4.74% of Galicia's Jewish population, some 16,584-32,508 individuals emigrated. In determining the effect of the Fundamental Law Concerning the General Rights of Citizens' Article IV on Jewish emigration from Galicia 1869-1880 the Jewish emigrants themselves, their general background, and the railway's establishment can not be ignored. What is consequently learnt is Article IV, the article providing freedom of movement, was one of three factors, including the emigrant's ability to afford passage and the founding of the railway in Galicia, responsible for allowing and facilitating Jewish emigration from Galicia during the period 1869-1880.

APPENDIX

The purpose of this appendix is to present information which was not included in this work's text. It is relevant as well as important to show tables with Galicia's and the crownland's Jewish population, and tables showing how the number of Galician emigrants was calculated.

The first two tables respectively show Galicia's and Galician Jewry's population in the period 1850-1910.

TABLE 1
GALICIAN POPULATION[1]

YEAR:	POPULATION:
1850	4,555,477
1857	4,632,866
1862	4,939,118
1869	5,418,016
1880	5,951,954
1890	6,607,816
1900	7,315,939
1910	8,024,524

TABLE 2
GALICIAN JEWISH POPULATION[2]

YEAR:	POPULATION:	% OF GALICIAN POPULATION:
1850	333,451	7.3
1857	448,973	9.7
1869	575,433	10.6
1880	686,596	11.5
1890	770,468	11.7
1900	811,173	11.1
1910	871,804	10.9

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[1]Tomasz Gasowski, "Jewish Communities in Autonomous Galicia: Their Size and Distribution," in The Jews in Poland (Cracow, 1992), p. 208; Max Rosenfeld, Die polnische Judenfrage, Problem und Lösung (Vienna-Berlin, 1918), p. 84; Statistisches Jahrbuch (1863), p. 15, (1869), p. 15, (1880), p. 12, (1891), p. 7; Bohdan Wasiutynski, Ludnosc Zydowska w Polsce w wiekach XIX i XX (Warsaw, 1930), p. 90.

[2]Gasowski, p. 208; Rosenfeld, p. 84; Statistisches Jahrbuch (1880), p. 3, (1891), p. 8; Wasiutynski, p. 90.

There is a simple method to calculate emigration from a region during a specific period of time. First, the excess number of deaths subtracted from births must be obtained. Then, from this "excess number" the actual/real population growth is subtracted; actual or real population growth is the difference of the population from one year minus the population of an earlier date. The number calculated, provided it is a positive not negative one, shows the number of emigrants.[3]

For Galician emigration figures during the period 1881-1910 Max Rosenfeld's[4] calculations were used. For the period 1862-1880, however, Galician emigration statistics had to be calculated. Fortunately, the birth and death records kept by the Habsburg's statistical compilers are adequately detailed. Fortunately also, the birth and deaths figures were available for 1862-1880, however, there was one exception. For some unexplained reason the birth figures for the year 1874 were never published in Statistisches Jahrbuch. The yearly birth figure was thus calculated as the decennial median;[5] i.e. the median birth number for the 1870s.

TABLE 3
CALCULATION OF EXCESS POPULATION[6]
(BIRTHS MINUS DEATHS)

PERIOD:	BIRTHS:	DEATHS:	EXCESS:
1862-1869	1,869,937	1,401,647	468,290
1869-1880	3,040,104	2,451,986	588,118

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[3]Rosenfeld, p. 81. Rosenfeld's formula: *Überschuß der Geburten über die Todesfälle* minus *Faktischer Zuwachs* results in *Differenz zwischen faktischem und natürlichem Zuwachs*, or the number of emigrants.

[4]Rosenfeld, p. 81.

[5]Serge Robert, Méthodes Quantitative (Mont-Royal, 1993), p. 134.

[6]Statistisches Jahrbuch 1863-1881.

TABLE 4
CALCULATION OF ACTUAL OR REAL GROWTH[7]
(THE LATTER YEAR'S POPULATION MINUS THE FORMER'S)

YEAR:	POPULATION:	YEAR:	POPULATION:
1869:	5,418,016	1880:	5,951,954
1862:	4,939,118	1869:	5,418,016
ACTUAL GROWTH:	478,898		533,938

TABLE 5
NUMBER OF GALICIAN EMIGRANTS CALCULATED
(EXCESS POPULATION MINUS ACTUAL GROWTH)

	1862-1869:	1869-1880:
EXCESS POPULATION:	468,290	588,118
ACTUAL GROWTH:	478,898	533,938
NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS:	-10,608	54,180

[7]Statistisches Jahrbuch (1863), p. 15, (1869), p. 15, (1880) p. 12.

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