Jews from the East, Global Migration, and Habsburg Galicia in the early 1880s

D I S S E R T A T I O N
of the University of St.Gallen,
School of Management,
Economics, Law, Social Sciences,
International Affairs and Computer Science,
to obtain the title of
Doctor of Philosophy in Organizational
Studies and Cultural Theory

submitted by

Oleksii Chebotarov

from

Ukraine

Approved on the application of

Prof. Dr. Ulrich Schmid

and

Prof. Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, PhD

Dissertation no. 5097

Difo-Druck GmbH, Untersiemau 2021

The University of St.Gallen, School of Management, Economics, Law, Social Sciences, International Affairs and Computer Science, hereby consents to the printing of the present dissertation, without hereby expressing any opinion on the views herein expressed.

St.Gallen, May 28, 2021

The President:

Prof. Dr. Bernhard Ehrenzeller

Acknowledgment

I am grateful to many people and institutions for help, support, and advice, without which this dissertation could not have been realized. The University of St. Gallen (HSG) provided me with enriching training and excellent facilities (even a special room for a nap), a challenging environment, and generous support over the five years of my doctoral research. Staff from many of the university's departments, most notably the library and Ph.D. office, and especially Felix Keller, executive director of the DOK program, supported me along the way.

My gratitude also goes to the HSG's Department of Russian Studies and the Center for Governance and Culture in Europe, where I worked during my Ph.D. studies. I received generous support for many archival and conference trips and pleasant research stays in Vienna from the "Austrian Galicia and its Multicultural Heritage" doctoral program at the University of Vienna. I am very grateful to this program and especially wish to thank Christoph Augustynowicz, Kerstin Susanne Jobst, Lars Fredrik Stöcker, and Olaf Terpitz. In addition, over these years, I have been involved in the work of the Center for Urban History in Lviv, of the Center for Interethnic Relations Research in Kharkiv, and the "Migration and Postcoloniality Meet Switzerland" doctoral program at the University of Fribourg. Colleagues from all the institutions mentioned above supported me in the research and created opportunities for my personal growth.

Like all historical studies, my dissertation would not have been feasible without the help of archivists. Employees of the Austrian National Library, the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, the Archive of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris, State Archives of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York, the Brody Museum of Local History, the Volochysk Historical And Ethnographic Museum, the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv, and the Scientific Library of Franko Lviv National University, Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine, and the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv were kind enough to help in the archival search, provide advice and respond to all my requests. Particularly, I wish to mention the

directors of the archives in Lviv and Paris, Diana Pelts and Jean-Claude Kuperminc, who warmly and cordially hosted me at their institutions.

My teachers Viktor Mokhov, Viktor Hudz, Serhiy Naumov, and Yaroslav Hrytsak gave me much courage to undertake Ph.D. studies and to keep going all the way to completion. On various occasions, I received advice, criticism, and encouragement from numerous colleagues around the world, to whom I am very thankful. Regretfully I cannot list all of them, but the persons below especially helped me at different stages of this research: Laura Almagor, Gur Alroey, Eugene Avrutin, Tobias Brinkmann, Tim Buchen, Raul Carstocea, Sofia Dyak, Thomas Faist, Mayhill Fowler, Alexis Hofmeister, Elisabeth Janik-Freis, Tomasz Jankowski, Artem Kharchenko, Sandra King-Savić, Rebecca Kobrin, Börries Kuzmany, Vladyslava Moskalets, Steven Nafziger, Eugene Polyakov, Julia Richers, Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, Marjolein Schepers, Steven Seegel, Bohdan Shumylovych, Yannay Spitzer, Anastasiia Strakhova, Maria Vovchko, and Mirjam Zadoff. Special gratitude goes to Ann-Marie Kilgallon for significantly improving the language of my dissertation.

I truly feel ineffable gratitude and appreciation to my supervisors Ulrich Schmid and Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern. Their mentorship, dedication, generosity, and friendship guided me along the path to accomplishing my dissertation.

My mother, Nina Chebotarova, who is always secretly proud of me, did her best for my education and supported me in choosing an academic career. Mom, I promise that one day I will get a “real job.”

As in other journeys, the people who walk with you along the entire road are extremely important in doctoral studies. My beloved wife, Anna, accompanied me on this journey by reading my texts, listening to my presentations, traveling with me on long archival trips, believing in me, and supporting me every day. This doctoral dissertation became possible thanks to her.

August 2021 Oleksii Chebotarov

Table of Contents

Acknowledgment I
List of Figures, Tables, and Maps V
Summary VII
Introduction 1
Pogrom Refugees in Galicia as a Turning Point 1
Jewish Great Departure 3
Major Gaps in the Field 5
Theoretical Approaches 8
Sources and Methods 13
Structure of the Thesis 16
Note on Definitions 17
Chapter 1. Anti-Jewish Violence and Jews Leaving the Russian Empire 19
The Pogroms of 1881-1882 20
Jews on the Move and the Empire 24
Forced Jewish Migration 28
Chapter 2. The Border Zone Becomes a Point of Passage 36
Border Management Bodies 38
Infrastructure and Transportation 41
Border Crossing 47
Jews from Imperial Russia Arrive in Galicia 50
The case of Volochisk and Podwołoczyska 52
Chapter 3. Governing the Refugee Crisis 60
State and Non-State Migration Actors 62
Activities of Local Authorities 65

Jewish International Aid Network 75
Chapter 4. Pogroms Refugees and Transmigrants 83
Newcomers in Galicia 84
Background and Socio-Demographic Profile 92
To the West or Backward 100
Chapter 5. Political Dimensions of the Galician Crisis 106
Jewish Question in Galicia in the early 1880s 109
Galician Crisis and the Imperial Center 122
Conclusion 132
Bibliography 135

List of Figures, Tables, and Maps

Maps

Major Pogrom centers in the Russian Empire 23

Jewish Communities in the Pale of Settlement 1897 26

Railway and post connection of the Austro-Hungarian Empire 43

The main border crossing points for Jewish refugees in 1881 and 1882 51

Figures

The border checkpoint in Brody 39

Plan of the railway station in Volochisk 45

“Vienna - Podwołoczyska - Kiev - Moscow and back” 46

View from Podwołoczyska to Volochisk 57

List of Jews from the Russian Empire staying in Brody 71

Identification cards issued by the Aid Committee
for persecuted Russian Jews in Breslau 77

International relief action representatives in Brody 81

“Russian-Jewish emigrants,” June 1882 88

“The list of members of Committee for support of Jewish emigrants
from Russia in Brody” 90

The list of Jews from the Russian Empire in Galicia 94

Age structure of refugees 95

Number of family members 96

Gender structure of refugees 97

Scale of pogroms in places of origin of refugees 1881-1882 98

"Austro-Russian border. Camp of interned Jews in Brody awaiting their repatriation." 108

Samples of caricatures published in *Zerkalo* newspaper 120

Summary

This dissertation focuses on the Refugee Crisis in the early 1880s Habsburg Galicia caused by the mass arrival of the Jews from the Russian Empire. It examines the role of the Crisis in the history of the border region, the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires, and the Global Jewish Migration. The research explores refugees' migration patterns influenced by the imperial border, local and central imperial authorities, non-state institutions, and international actors. The study analyses the effects of the Crisis on the transit regions and border security, migration policy, and political life of two Empires. The research examines multiple horizontal and vertical models of migration governance. The transnational ideological and political dimensions of the Crisis are studied on the example of press publications as well as domestic and international political debates. Methodologically the study applies global micro-historical and multiple-level migration analysis. It combines several interdisciplinary theoretical approaches and mixed qualitative and quantitative methods. The conducted analysis is based on an extensive multilingual pool of archival sources of different origins. The dissertation's novel contribution consists of the multifactorial analysis of the causes, conditions, and consequences of the refugee crisis on the local, regional, imperial, and transnational levels. The research results challenge and contribute to the existing state of arts in the history of modern empire, Eastern European Jewish history, and migration history of East-Central Europe.

Zusammenfassung

Juden aus dem Osten, globale Migration und das habsburgische Galizien in den frühen 1880er Jahren

Die Dissertation befasst sich mit der Flüchtlingskrise im habsburgischen Galizien in den frühen 1880er Jahren, die durch die Masseneinwanderung von Juden aus dem Russischen Reich verursacht wurde. Sie untersucht die Rolle der Krise in der Geschichte der Grenzregion, des österreichisch-ungarischen und des russischen Reiches sowie der globalen jüdischen Migration. Die Forschung untersucht die

Migrationsmuster der Flüchtlinge, die von der Reichsgrenze, lokalen und zentralen Reichsbehörden, nichtstaatlichen Institutionen und internationalen Organisationen beeinflusst wurden. Die Arbeit analysiert die Auswirkungen der Krise auf die Transitregionen und die Grenzsicherheit, die Migrationspolitik und das politische Leben der beiden Imperien. Die Forschung untersucht mehrere horizontale und vertikale Modelle der Migrationssteuerung. Die transnationalen ideologischen und politischen Aspekte der Krise werden am Beispiel von Presseveröffentlichungen sowie nationalen und internationalen politischen Debatten untersucht. Methodisch wendet die Studie eine globale mikro-historische und mehrstufige Migrationsanalyse an. Sie kombiniert mehrere interdisziplinäre theoretische Ansätze sowie gemischte qualitative und quantitative Methoden. Die durchgeführte Analyse stützt sich auf einen umfangreichen mehrsprachigen Korpus von Archivquellen unterschiedlicher Herkunft. Der neuartige Beitrag der Dissertation besteht in der multifaktoriellen Analyse der Ursachen, Bedingungen und Folgen der Flüchtlingskrise auf der lokalen, regionalen, imperialen und transnationalen Ebene. Die Forschungsergebnisse stellen den bisherigen Forschungsstand zur Geschichte des modernen Imperiums, zur Geschichte der osteuropäischen Juden und zur Migrationsgeschichte Ostmitteleuropas in Frage und leisten einen weiteren Beitrag dazu.

Introduction

Pogrom Refugees in Galicia as a Turning Point

Today, such cities as Radyvyliv, Volochysk, Brody, Pidvolochysk, and both Husiatyns are small provincial towns in the western part of Ukraine. The history of these places is usually only a matter of interest for local historians. Although there are, indeed, important exceptions, which are mainly limited to the German-language historiography of Habsburg Galicia, again, these are a small number of narrowly specialized studies. The refugee crisis in Galicia that lasted for one and half years in the early 1880s, and related to Jews who arrived uncontrolled from the Russian Empire, could also be one of those topics of local history known only to researchers of the former imperial border areas. In reality, what happened was the opposite. The story of refugees in Galicia has been retold, often uncritically, in numerous studies of the history of Jewish migration, of the history of anti-Jewish violence, and in general histories of Jews in Central and Eastern Europe.

Why did the events of 1881-1882 on the Austro-Russian border-line gain such significance? Since its beginning, the refugee crisis was a subject of discussion in the high-ranking cabinets and in the press of both empires and of many other countries. This was primarily because it quickly became part of the debate about pogroms in the Russian Empire, which remained on the pages of European and American newspapers for a long time. The issues were also considerations of Vienna policy in the sphere of state security and relations with its neighboring empire, and in debates about

the Jewish question. In addition, due to the involvement of international Jewish organizations in the crisis, this issue began to have an effect on the states from where these organizations allocated resources to deal with the crisis. Furthermore, for the countries of western Europe and the United States, the issue of events in the Galician border zone appeared almost immediately in the sphere of policy formation about migration and in political debates about readiness to accept Jews from the east as immigrants.

American Jewish historians, who most often had a migrant background, played a significant role in forming the idea of importance of the crisis in Galicia. A number of studies of Jewish migration to the United States, published in the 1940s and 1950s, explicitly stated that the mass migration of Jews from the Russian Empire to the United States and other Western states began with the pogroms and their consequences, namely with the arrival of refugees in Galicia.[1]

It is crucial to make it clear that such an argument had several relevant grounds. The first was that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was indeed an intensification of transatlantic migration, and the Jews, like other nations of Central and Eastern Europe, were becoming an important part of this process. The second ground for the authors was the fact that a section of these Jewish migrants actually experienced the pogroms of 1881-1882 and later manifestations of anti-Jewish violence, as well as growing antisemitism. Last but not least, the third ground was in the sources of these studies, which mainly consisted of materials from the Jewish press and documents from international Jewish aid organizations. Together with a few existing ego documents of migrants, these sources create an image of a persecuted nation whose members rescued their own lives by escaping from the Russian Empire. Moreover, it is notable that such arguments were very easily integrated into the traditional Jewish historical narrative, for which exodus from the countries in which Jews suffered persecution was an essential part.

[1] For example: Zosa Szajkowski, "How the Mass Migration to America Began," *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 4, no. 4 (1942): 291-310;
Mark Wisznitser, *To Dwell in Safety: The Story of Jewish Migration since 1800* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1948);
Elias Tcherikover, "Jewish Immigrants to the United States," *Yivo. Annual of Jewish Social Science*, vol. VI (1951): 157-176.

One of the fundamental aims of the present research is to revise the historical model of Jewish migration described above. However, this does not decrease the significance of Galicia's place in migration history. In the early 1880s, because of the refugee crisis, Habsburg Galicia seemed to be at the center of entangled histories of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires and of a number of other states. These include not only the history of the crisis itself and its consequences, but also ideas and myths that it raised for state officials, intellectuals, and possibly refugees and migrants themselves.

Jewish Great Departure

The 'age of mass migration'[2] became possible due to the coincidence— in time— of the desire of masses of people worldwide to migrate to distant lands, of developments in communication and transportation, and of the favorable migration policy of numerous states. Demographic growth and resulting economic difficulties were factors motivating migrants. Natural growth led to an excess in population. Persons who were unable to find place in their own country's economic system were driven to seek it elsewhere. One more important factor was the significant improvement in the media, which speeded up information exchange and allowed migration businesses to advertise their services. Moreover, during the nineteenth century, railroads expanded and connected small and remote towns with large cities. A crucial technological development was the transition from sailing to steamships. The latter significantly shortened the duration of journeys across the ocean from Europe to America. Similar to other states, the Russian and Habsburg Empires, which were not able to fully secure their borders, allowed a large number of emigrants to leave without any official permission. Simultaneously, before the First World War, most of the destination countries did not have any special restrictions on immigration[3] (except

[2] Hatton.T.J And J.G.Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[3] For example: Hatton.T.J And J.G.Williamson, *Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance* (Boston: MIT Press, 2005). Philip Taylor, *The Distant Magnet: European Emigration to the U.S.A* (London 1971);

particular restrictions for Chinese immigrants to the United States), and their borders, generally speaking, were open to everyone. The factors of Jewish migration did not have many differences from the motivations of other groups of emigrants. However, they were completed by other contexts exceptional for Jews: violence, and a specific category of migration aimed at creating a "land for the Jewish people" in Palestine or in other territories.

Around two and a half million Jews left Eastern Europe between the early 1880s and the First World War, and moved to diverse destinations. A similar number of Jews, as scholars assumed, moved within Eastern Europe to rapidly growing cities. Scholars identify four main stages of Jewish migration. The first two, in the 1880s and early 1890s, include migration of over half a million people. The third stage, in 1904-1914, was the largest in scale. Of the 1'700'000 Jews who migrated to the United States from 1881 to 1914, about 70 percent arrived during this period. The fourth period came after the First World War and lasted until the United States closed its borders to free immigration in 1924. During this period, over 400'000 Jews arrived in the United States.[4]

The great departure of Jews and other Eastern Europeans led to the establishment of multiple diasporas in the United States and other countries.[5] Mass migration

---

Timothy J. Hatton, Jeffrey G. Williamson, "What Drove the Mass Migrations from Europe in the Late Nineteenth Century?", Population and Development Review Vol. 20, No. 3 (Sep., 1994), pp. 533-559;

Jose C. Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850–1930* (London 1998);

Drew Keeling, "The Transportation Revolution and Transatlantic Migration, 1850-1914," *Research in Economic History* 19 (1999): 39–74.

[4] Arthur Ruppin, *Soziologie der Juden* (Berlin, 1930), Vol. 1, pp. 68–84;

Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted – European Refugees in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 53–77;

Vincent J. Cannato, *American Passage: The History of Ellis Island* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2010), pp. 45-46.

Liebman Hersch, "International Migration of the Jews," Imre Ferenczi, Walter Wilcox (eds.) *International Migrations* (New York 1931), pp. 471 – 520.

Gur Alroey (2013), Jewish migration, 19th century to present, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444351071.wbeghm326

[5] For example: Tara Zahra, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2016);

challenged the world's border security systems, and resulted in a significant complication of border-control and migration policy in the first half of the twentieth century.[6]

Major Gaps in the Field

Nowadays, scholarship on migration in the humanities and social sciences is dominated by the recent crises that Europe has experienced. Consequently, historical studies of migration governance, migration policy, border regimes, and the experiences of refugees and migrants tend to focus on the period after the beginning of the First World War, which is considered to have explanatory potential even today. The topic of migration policy before the Second World War has been studied mainly with regard to the case of the United States. For this reason, the Ellis Island perspective is prevalent in most scholarly attempts to examine the history of migration policy in Europe. The novel point of view of this thesis about migration policy formation from the perspective of the Austro-Russian borderland certainly does not offer new models for understanding the issue on a global scale. However, it shows how situational, complex, and multidimensional the policy-making process was regarding border crossing and migration in the two empires.

The scope of literature on Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe is exceptionally voluminous, but it remains relatively narrow, mainly exploring the migration of Jews in the context of the history of destination countries, but more rarely of departure lands.[7] Research on Jewish migration until 1914 focuses on the post-arrival period.

Rebecca Kobrin, *Jewish Bialystok and Its Diaspora*, *Jewish Bialystok and Its Diaspora* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010);

Znaniecki Florian; Thomas I.William, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Pressan, Boston: Gorham Press, 1918 -1920).

[6] Adam M. McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

[7] For example: Simon S. Kuznets, "Immigration of Russian Jews to the United States: Background and Structure," *Perspectives in American History* (1975): 35-124;

Perlmann J. "What the Jews Brought: East European Jewish Immigration to the United States, c. 1900", in Hans Vermeulen and Joel Perlmann (Eds.) *Immigrants, Schooling, and Social Mobility: Does Culture Make a Di erence*, (New York, NY & London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000);

For the most part, scholars analyze community building, cultural life, and assimilation of the immigrants.[8] What is overlooked in these studies is the question of how huge masses of the population moved to another part of the globe in half a century, and the influence of these people on the transit regions through which they migrated. In the case of Eastern Europe, studies of migration through certain regions, as well as the impact of migrants on these territories, are rare. Few studies have investigated the reasons behind this significant migration, and even fewer studies track the journey of migrants from the *shtetl* to distant regions.[9]

In recent years, researchers have been working to fill this lacuna, and more and more new research on the transit experience of migrants in parts of Europe has emerged. These studies focus on the migration of Jews across Western and Northern Europe, especially through Germany. These studies consider transportation, population mobility, migration businesses, illegal practices, and other aspects of the phenomenon[10]. Such an approach is fundamentally new to Jewish historiography and was rather influenced by other disciplines, such as economics[11] or infrastructure and transportation history[12].

Following a shift to studying the role of borders and borderlands,[13] this present

---

Alroe G. *An unpromising land: Jewish migration to Palestine in the early twentieth century* (Stanford University Press. 2011).

[8] Tobias Brinkmann, "The Dynamics of Modernity: Shifts in Demography and Geography," in Mitchell Hart and Tony Michels (Eds.) *The Cambridge History of Judaism. Volume 8: The Modern Period (c. 1815-2000)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 915–923.

[9] For example: Joel Perlmann, "The Local Geographic Origins of Russian-Jewish Immigrants, Circa 1900," Working Paper No. 465, The Levy Economics Institute of Bard College (August, 2006), esp. 11-25.

[10] Tobias Brinkmann (ed), *Points of Passage: Jewish Migrants from Eastern Europe in Scandinavia, Germany, and Britain 1880-1914*. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).

[11] Yannay Spitzer, *Pogroms, Networks, and Migration. The Jewish Migration from the Russian Empire to the United States 1881–1914*. Unpublished manuscript (2016), https://yannayspitzer.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/pogromsnetworksmigration_160727.pdf. Accessed 2 September 2018.

[12] Nicole Kvale Eilers, Emigrants Trains: Jewish Migration through Prussia and American Remote Control, 1880-1914. In Brinkmann T. (ed.) *Points of Passage: Jewish Transmigrants from Eastern Europe in Scandinavia, Germany and Britain 1880-1914* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).

[13] For example: Barbara Lüthi, *Invading Bodies Medizin und Immigration in den USA, 1880 - 1920* (Frankfurt a.M: Campus-Verlag, 2009).

research proposes a view of global migration from the perspective of the eastern provinces of the Habsburg Empire and the Austro-Russian border. This approach allows analysis not only of international migration actors on a macro level but also of the role of a variety of actors from micro and meso levels of transmigration in Europe. Moreover, the proposed framework facilitates study of the efficiency and dynamic of border institutions, the direct impacts of migrants on the places of their transition, and the lasting political effects of migration on transit countries.

Habsburg Galicia, approached from numerous standpoints, can be described as one of the most studied regions in Eastern Europe. Amid this broad range of perspectives on the eastern province of the Danube Monarchy, one of the blank areas is the role of the border and the neighboring Russian Empire in its history. The Galician border is often seen by researchers as a political phenomenon, and is usually considered in the context of imperial geopolitics.[14] Social and economic aspects remain the most studied in the history of the Austro-Russian border zone.[15] At the same time, this border, which became a gateway to the West in the late imperial period for migrants from the Romanov Empire, has not been approached in a fundamental way in migration history.

Scholars have analyzed the political contexts and consequences of Jewish transit migration and immigration in relation to several Western countries, especially to Germany.[16] These studies most often examine how the emergence of Jews from the east determined existing political debate around the Jewish question and how migration directly and indirectly affected relations between Jews and non-Jews in these countries. In addition, researchers often trace the role of Jewish migration in the development of antisemitism, scholarship which has actively exploited the topic of Jews from the east. There also exists quite an extensive historiography about the

[14] For example: Shaul Stampfer, "The geographic background of East European Jewish migration to the United States before World War I," *Migration Across Time and Nations* (1986): 220-230.
Christoph Augustynowicz, Andreas Kappeler (Hg.), *Die galizische Grenze. Kommunikation oder Isolation?* (Wien, 2007).

[15] For example: Paulus Adelsgruber, Laurie Cohen, Börries Kuzmany. *Getrennt und doch verbunden. Grenzstädte zwischen Österreich und Russland 1772–1918* (Wien, Köln, Weimar, 2011).

[16] For example: Jack Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers. East European Jews in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Jewish question and antisemitism in Austria-Hungary, and especially in Galicia.[17] However, this present research constitutes one of the first attempts to investigate how pogroms in the Russian provinces and the crisis in Galicia influenced politics and public opinion in the Habsburg Monarchy.

One of the main challenges of the present study is related to the already mentioned scholarly argument about the direct link between anti-Jewish violence and Jewish migration. Several parts of the present research question the understanding of refugees as direct victims of pogroms, or their motivations for migrating to the West. More specifically, by analyzing diverse sources, most of which have not been explored previously, this thesis explores the heterogeneity of Jews who arrived in Galicia in the 1880s. The influence of multiple actors on the further migration of these Jews, as well as many patterns and vectors of their movement are within the focus of the study.

Theoretical Approaches

Considering the variety of topics analyzed in this study, identifying its disciplinary background is a rather complex issue. Respectively, it belongs to several research fields at the same time - imperial history, Central and Eastern European Jewish history, borderland and migration studies.

New imperial history provides important principles for this thesis. First of all, a transnational approach to the study of imperial subjects is applied, encompassing the history of different linguistic, religious, cultural, and ethnic groups[18]. Other vital

[17] Tim Buchen, *Antisemitismus in Galizien: Agitation, Gewalt und Politik gegen Juden in der Habsburgermonarchie um 1900* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2012);
Marcin Soboń, *Polacy wobec Żydów w Galicji doby autonomicznej w latach 1868 – 1914* (Warszawa: Verso, 2011).

[18] Gerasimov I., Kusber J., Mogilner M., Semyonov A. "New Imperial History and the Challenges of Empire," In Ilya Gerasimov, Jan Kusber, and Alexander Semyonov (eds*.) Empire Speaks Out: Languages of Rationalization and Self-Description in the Russian Empire*. (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 3–33;
Willard Sunderland, *Empire without Imperialism? Ambiguities of Colonization in Tsarist Russia*, Ab Imperio, no. 2 (2003): 101–114.

focuses are vertical and horizontal structures of the empire, as well as the relations between the empire and its subjects[19]. For the present research, the issues of the mobility of the population, as well as the efforts of the imperial administration to control/limit this mobility, are also very important[20]. Furthermore, it applies the approach of revision of relations between center and periphery. It allows for a study of the multiple contexts of the activities and relations of imperial institutions. Moreover, this approach intends to examine empire and its subjects through the study of knowledge and information exchange[21].

Migration studies are traditionally viewed as an area of quantitative research, closely connected to cliometrics, as well as to socio-economic history[22]. At the same time, the current trend in migration studies is towards the wider contextualization of the phenomenon (mostly cultural and political). Contemporary scholarship in this field often focuses on individual experiences, analyzing the socio-cultural impacts of migration on a person or a group of people. The important research focus in the present thesis is transmigration from the perspective of the regions where it took place, as well as in terms of logistics and infrastructure of migration[23].

The socio-economic approaches to the migration process are often centered around

[19] Burbank J. An Imperial Rights Regime: Law and Citizenship in the Russian Empire, *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, no. 3(2006): 397–431;
Steinmetz G. (ed.), Sociology and Empire: The Imperial Entanglements of a Discipline (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).
[20] Muller, Sven Oliver and Torp, Cornelius (eds.) *Imperial Germany Revisited: Continuing Debates and New Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011);
Cooper Frederick, Burbank Jane, *Empires in World History. Power and the Politics of Difference*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).
[21] Ann Laura Stoler, Frederick Cooper, (eds.) *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004);
Cvetkovski R., Hofmeister A. (eds) *An Empire of Others. Creating Ethnographic Knowledge in Imperial Russia and the USSR* (Budapest andNew York: CEU Press, 2014).
Stephen Howe (ed.) *The New Imperial Histories Reader* (London: Routledge, 2010).
[22] Hatton T. J., Williamson J. G. *The Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
[23] Brinkmann (ed), *Points of Passage*.

neoclassical theory,[24] which remains popular among some economists.[25] One of the most commonly used approaches within this theory is the so-called 'push-pull' theory. It proposes analyzing the causes of migration processes as a combination of factors that force people to leave their native country ('push factors') and factors that attract migrants to the destination ('pull factors'). 'Push factors' usually refer to economic instability, low living standards, repression and violence; 'pull factors' refer to land availability, social and economic opportunities, and democratic order[26].

Another important approach to explaining the migration process is historical and structural. This approach focuses on the actors of migration as well as on the political, geographical, social, and other contexts of their activities, which are interconnected. Despite criticism, this approach remains dominant among researchers of migration history. However, it has obvious shortcomings by focusing on the macro-level and often ignoring socio-economic contexts.[27] The present study critically applies both neoclassical theory and the historical-structural approach.

An essential component of migration studies is research on systems and

---

[24] Leah Platt Boustan, "Were Jews Political Refugees or Economic Migrants? Assessing the Persecution Theory of Jewish Emigration, 1881-1914," in imothy T. J. Hatton, Kevin H. O'Rourke, and Alan M. Taylor (eds.) *The New Comparative Economic History: Essays in Honor of Jerey G. Williamson* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2007).

[25] Hatton T. and Williamson J. (eds.) *International Migration: 1850-1939: An Economic Survey," Migration and the International Labor Market 1850-1939* (London: Routledge, 1994);
Drew Keeling, *The Business of Transatlantic Migration between Europe and the United States, 1900-1914*. (Zurich: Chronos Verlag, 2012).

[26] Stephen Castles Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration International Population Movements in the Modern World* (Macmillan Press, 1998), 20-21;
Borjas, G. L. Economics theory and international migration, In *International Migration Review Special Silver Anniversary Issue*, 23:3(1989): 457-485;
Chiswick, B.R. Are immigrants favorably self-selected? An economic analysis. In Brettel, C.B. and Hollifield, J.F. (eds.) *Migration theory: Talking Across Disceplines* (New York and London: Routledge, 2000): 61-76.

[27] Perlmann J. (2001) "*Race or People: Federal Race Classifications for Europeans in America, 1898–1913*." Jerome Levy Economics Institute Working Paper No. 320;
Michael Just, *Ost- und südosteuropäische Amerikawanderung 1881 - 1914*. (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verl. Wiesbaden, 1988);
Sydney Stahl Weinberg, "The Treatement of Women in Immigration History: A Call for Change." In Donna Gabaccia (ed.) *Seeking Common Ground: Multidisciplinary Studies of Immigrant Woman in the United States*. (Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1992).

networks of migration. The contemporary theory of migration offers three levels of analysis of migration networks: macro (states, markets, labor, capital)[28]; micro (networks, social and cultural capital)[29]; and meso-level (organizations, communities)[30]. Such a three-level scheme is a common model of analysis[31]. At the same time, all three levels are considered as intertwined in the migration process, with no clear dividing lines between them. All three levels of analysis are applied to the issues raised in the present research.

To approach the topic, the present research adds to migration studies a group of several approaches that have been borrowed from transcultural and gender studies. For instance, the intersectional approach focuses on multiple social markers (identifiers) of the individual. The approach analyzes group and individual social phenomena.[32] Thus, the present research uses a large number of markers ("Israelites," "Russian Jews," "Ostjuden," "Russian citizens") and analytical characteristics (border-crosser, refugees, transmigrants, migrants, immigrants), which are used to describe the same group. Each of these markers and characteristics brings a new context to the subject of analysis. Moreover, for the study of refugees and migrants and their stay in transit regions, this thesis applies the model of differential exclusion. The latter provides an opportunity to study long and short term belonging to the

[28] Bohning, W.R. *Studies in International Labor Migration* (London: Micmillan; New York: St. Martin Press, 1984);
Mitchell, C. "International migration, international relations and foreign policy," *International Migration Review* 23:3 (1989): 681-708;
Hollifield, J. "The emerging migration state," *International Migration Review*, 38:3 (2004): 885-912.
[29] Boyd, M. "Family and personal network in migration," *International Migration Review*, 23:3 (2004): 638-670.
[30] King, R. Towards the new map of European migration, *International Migration Review* 8:2 (2002): 89–106;
Castles S. "The factors that make and unmake migration policy," *International Migration Review,* 38:3 (2004): 852–884.
[31] For example: Portes A., Bach R.L. *Latina Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigration in the United State*. (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1985).
[32] Irene Browne and Joya Misra, "The Intersection of Gender and Race in the Labor Market," *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 29 (2003): 487-513;
Antonio Pastrana, Jr., "The Intersectional Imagination: What Do Lesbian and Gay Leaders of Color Have To Do With It?" in *Race, Gender & Class*, vol. 13, No. 3/4 (2006): 218-238.

contexts of sending, transit, and receiving societies and states.[33]

Frederic Turner's classical frontier paradigm[34] serves as one of the starting points for studies of borderlands. Turner formulated the idea of the multidimensionality of the border and the importance of its spatial understanding, which is highly relevant for the present project. The major drawback of Turner's approach was the one-sided consideration of the frontiers between colonists and indigenous peoples from a colonial (national-American) standpoint. Conversely, the present research focuses on common border space and regards it as a cultural, political, and sociological transitional zone. Therefore, this project is grounded on the concept of the *border as a space* formulated and elaborated by the Annales school and based on French historical tradition.[35]

It is important to point out that the present research, while focused mainly on the border zone of the two empires, does not belong to local history. As an alternative, by linking events in these territories to multiple international contexts, the project aims at global micro-history.[36] Therefore, the research project applies a post-comparative historical approach[37] and a microhistorical approach that proposes exploring "common with the help of the small."[38]

---

[33] Castles, S. "How nation-states respond to immigration and ethnic diversity," *New Community*, 21:3(1995): 852-884.

[34] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The frontier in American history (*Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1986). (Originally published in 1920).

[35] Lucien Febvre, *Pour une histoire à part entière (* Paris: Armand, 1953).

[36] Drayton Richard, David Motadel. "Discussion: the Futures of Global History." Journal of Global History 13, no. 1 (2018): 1–21;

Jan de Vries, "Playing with Scales: The Global and the Micro, the Macro and the Nano," *Past & Present*, Volume 242, Issue 14 (2019): pp. 23–36.

[37] For example: Michael Werner, "Bénédicte Zimmerman, Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity," in: *History and Theory* 45 (2006): 30-50;

Jani Marjanen, "Undermining methodological nationalism: Histoire croisée of concepts as transnational history," in Mathias Albert, Gesa Bluhm, Jan Helmig, Andreas Leutzsch & Jochen Walter (eds.), *Transnational Political Spaces: Agents – Structures – Encounters*, (Frankfurt/New York: Campus 2009 (Reihe Historische Politikforschung 18): 239–263;

Ther, Philipp The Transnational Paradigm of Historiography and its Potential for Ukrainian History, in Georgii Kasianov, Philipp Ther (eds.) *A Laboratory of Transnational History. Ukraine and Ukrainian Historiography since 1991* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008), 81-116.

[38] Giovanni *Levi,* "On Microhistory," in Burke Peter (ed.) *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, (Oxford: Polity Press, 1991): 93–113.

Sources and Methods

To a certain extent, the extensive archival research conducted for this project follows the journey of Jews from the Russian Empire, who in the 1880s arrived in Galicia and later traveled through Europe and across the Atlantic Ocean. At the same time, all the archival collections, that were discovered over the course of this research, were formed by state bureaucracies and international Jewish organizations, which define and limit the project's research perspective.

The Russian imperial bureaucracy is represented by the document collections of the Chancellery of the Governor-General of Kiev, Podolia, and Volhynia, which were studied in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv.[39] The collections contain police and court documents that deal with cases of pogroms and the correspondence of the Governor with border-guards and police about the crisis in the border area.

The study of the activity of local Galician officials is based on sources from the Galician viceroyalty archive. Today, the latter is a part of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv.[40] It stores the largest pool of documents, among other analyzed collections. They represent the roles of police, border guards, and of local and provincial administration in the refugee crisis. Moreover, this collection contains essential testimonies about the activities of local aid committees and international Jewish organizations.

Analysis of the role of the Habsburg imperial center in crisis studies relies on the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Today, this collection belongs to the House, Court, and State Archives of the Austrian State Archives.[41] The archive's documents collection contains correspondence from central and local institutions and from the Austro-Hungarian diplomatic mission to the Russian Empire.

It was possible to investigate the international aid campaign and journeys of Jewish migrants from Galicia to the West during research at the State Archives of the Free

[39] TsDIAK, Fond 316.
[40] TsDIAL, Fond 146.
[41] HHStA, Ministerium des Äußern

and Hanseatic City of Hamburg,[42] the Archives of Alliance Israélite Universelle,[43] and the Archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.[44]. Documentation of work of international Jewish organizations preserved in these archives allows the present study to combine the bureaucratic perspectives of states with a viewpoint of non-state actors.

Additional archival research was conducted at the Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv, Scientific Library of the Franko National University of Lviv, Austrian National Library, Jagiellonian Library, Brody and Volochyska local history museums, and several online databases[45] and digital archives[46].

The diverse range of consulted sources includes the following items: legal acts, documentation of Government and diplomatic correspondence; bureaucratic documents of local authorities; border guard and police documents, and court rulings; documents of international Jewish organizations; memoirs, diaries, and private correspondence; press materials; visual and cartographic materials.

Legal acts, governmental and diplomatic correspondence of both the Russian Empire, and of the Austro-Hungarian Empire are important for studying the political debates and state policy on migration processes that form the grounds for decisions of local authorities. These documents make it possible to integrate the perspective of the Habsburg imperial center into the study, as well as to examine the place of the crisis in diplomatic relations between empires.

The range of bureaucratic documents of local authorities is very wide. The documents literally repeat the stages on the migrants' road. On the Russian side, these are documents of the Governor's administration and of the border guards. On the Austrian side, the documents derive from border guards, police departments, city, and provincial administrations. The study of these sources combined allowed the reconstruction in significant detail of the events and actors of the refugee crisis in Galicia, and to view the functioning models of the micro-level of imperial bureaucracy.

[42] StAHH, Auswanderungsamt.

[43] AAIU, URSS collection.

[44] YIVO, Collection RG406, MKM 1.1, 420, 422.

[45] For example: JewishGen, Ancestry, Gesher Galicia.

[46] For example: Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe, Jagiellonian Digital Library, Urban Media Archive.

The American, French, German, and Austro-Hungarian international Jewish organizations left behind an array of documents about their involvement in arranging the stay of migrants in Galicia and their further migration to the West. These sources show the organization of relief for migrants. Moreover, it allows the study in the present research of the financial contributions of international organizations to help the migrants continue their journeys.

One of the most vital and smallest groups of sources is ego documents. Research for the present thesis has uncovered several diaries and memoirs of migrants. In addition, the study uses personal correspondence and memoirs of members of international Jewish organizations. In contrast to other groups of sources, ego documents contain information about the details of migrants' everyday lives and details of their travels that cannot be found in state documents.

The research uses press materials from Russia, France, the United States, and Austria-Hungary. They contain information about the refugee crisis and the activities of its actors. But more importantly, the press allows for the study of public opinion about anti-Jewish violence, refugees, and migrants.

In contrast to and combined with textual sources, visual and cartographic materials provide a possibility for expanding the view of the research subject. These sources have allowed the present thesis to gain in richer spatial analysis and to utilize cartographic research methods.

The pool of sources includes documents in languages used by imperial bureaucrats (Russian, German, Polish) and international Jewish organizations (French, English, and German). Moreover, ego-documents and newspapers add Ukrainian and Yiddish to this list.

To process and analyze the collected source materials, the thesis applies a mixed-method approach, which allows a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodology: historical descriptive analysis used to process the range of sources according to chronological order, institutional and society structures, and spatial dimensions; descriptive statistics used for analyzing demographic data and migration volumes and directions; qualitative content and discourse analysis used to analyze press materials and ego-documents; geospatial analysis used to study

the relationship between events, different groups, and actors in their interactions with the spaces of the border zone.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the pogroms in the south-western provinces of the Russian Empire, and addresses the question of their influence on the mobility and migration of the Jewish population. It identifies the critical phases of the riots, which is essential for understanding the events and phenomena studied in the following chapters. The chapter explores the migration and migration restrictions that existed for Jews in the Romanov Empire. The concluding section examines the historiography of the question of how pogroms affected Jewish emigration.

Chapter 2 presents the central place of action of this study - the Austro-Russian border zone. It discusses the formation and development of the imperial border. The structure and functions of state border institutions of both Empires are reviewed in detail. The chapter investigates the main transport and communication infrastructure developments and examines how this affected mobility and cross-border movement in the region. It continues with an analysis of the arrival of the first refugees to Galicia in 1881. The main structure, and central location, of the border-crossing of refugees are identified. The final section analyses the pogrom in Volochisk and its aftermath on the Austrian side of the border. It explores the role of the border-line in the events, and the interconnection between towns separated by the imperial border.

Chapter 3 centers on the actors in the Galician refugee crises. It explores the importance of state and non-state authors of migration management. The key actors are identified, and their role in the crisis is analyzed. The activities of the local authority towards the arrival in Galicia of Jewish newcomers are studied. The second section analyzes the hierarchy and relations between the state institutions involved in crisis government. The main spheres of activity of local officials are explored. The chapter concludes with a section on the international Jewish aid organizations and their intervention in the Galician crisis. The motivations and forms of their activity in Galicia are studied.

Chapter 4 explores the stay of pogrom refugees in Galicia. It looks at the communication between migrants and actors of the crisis. The chapter examines the number of refugees and locates the places of their stay. It defines the stages of the crisis and shows the conditions under which migrants were at different stages. In the case of Brody, the chapter explores Galicia as a refugee camp and transition zone for newcomers. The chapter provides a socio-demographical portrait of the refugees. The chapter concludes with a section that analyses the origin and strategies of Jews from the east. It stresses the question of the influence of pogroms on their arrival to Galicia and explores their migration intents. The concluding section turns to the solution of the refugee crisis in Galicia. It analyses the actors and international contexts of this process. Moreover, the chapter presents the complex factors of refugee repatriation and migration to the west.

Chapter 5 deals with the political dimensions of the crisis and public discussions in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It studies the provincial (Galician) and central (Austrian) public sphere, reactions to the riots in the Russian Empire, and the arrival of refugees on Habsburg territories. The first section examines debates and the Jewish question in the Galician press. The second section analyzes the positions of governmental institutions and their involvement in crisis governance, and political debates and public opinions in Vienna. It defines the types of press coverage and identifies the main groups and trends in this reaction.

Note on Definitions

The term *pogrom* is commonly used in different contexts of East and Central European history. Beyond its original meaning, which is Anti-Jewish attacks in the Russian Empire in 1881-1882 and 1905-1906, scholars actively use this definition to describe the events of anti-Jewish violence during the Civil War in the Russian Empire, attacks against Jews in the Lwów of 1918, and even Nazi anti-Jewish actions. Moreover, the non-academic use of the term in literature and media went far beyond Eastern European and Jewish History. This research employs the term *pogrom* only in its original historical sense. As synonyms, the thesis also uses *anti-Jewish violence* and *riots*.

The groups of Jews arriving in Galicia from the Russian Empire in the early 1880s might appear in this research as *refugees, migrants, emigrants, immigrants*, and *transmigrants*. The heterogeneity of these groups and their multidirectional movement creates terminological confusion, which, regrettably, is unavoidable. However, the choice of definitions in the thesis often refers to the context in which they are used. For example, *emigrants* for the Russian Empire, *immigrants* for the United States, and other terms, respectively. Nevertheless, in many cases, *migrants* and *refugees* are used simultaneously and denote the same people. This happens because they belonged to different categories at the same time, their status has not been determined, or sometimes the thesis simply assumes that a *migrant* was a *refugee* and a *refugee* was a potential *migrant*.

Another problematic term is *antisemitism*, which many authors use abundantly nowadays to describe various anti-Jewish acts or sentiments. As used in the present work, antisemitism has a rather specific meaning and refers to new intellectual traditions, as for the 1880s, that researchers differentiate from traditional Judeophobia. Consequently, anti-Jewish appeals or movements described in this study were not always *antisemitic* by default.

Chapter 1. Anti-Jewish Violence and Jews Leaving the Russian Empire

The history of pogroms and of refugees in the Galician border zone are typically viewed as closely linked phenomena both in the sources and in available scholarly literature. The following chapters of this study demonstrate that the course of anti-Jewish riots in the Russian Empire directly affected both the situation in Galicia and the international context of the region's refugee crisis in the 1880s. However, this study does not explore anti-Jewish violence as a phenomenon. Both the anti-Jewish violence that occurred in the Russian Empire in 1881-1882 and its consequences are important to this research primarily as a circumstance, or even as a cause, for the arrival of Jews from the east to Galicia. The research also approaches this anti-Jewish violence as a point of reference in the political debates as well as in the ideas and myths that emerged around pogroms. The latter shaped the motivations of the majority of actors involved in the Galician crisis, and even influenced the future of Jewish newcomers in the border zone.

Both anti-Jewish violence in the Russian Empire and Jewish migration to the West are pillars of Jewish historiography. The connection between these phenomena has been debated and criticized but remains the subject of numerous studies. The role of the refugee crisis in Galicia is crucial to the argument about this connection. Moreover, it is meaningful with regard to the general perception of migration in the traditional Jewish historical narrative.

This opening chapter briefly summarizes the main characteristics of the pogroms of the 1880s. It also examines the position of the Russian Empire towards Jewish mobility and migration, which is a central context for the thesis as a whole. Moreover,

the chapter analyzes how a refugee crisis on the borderland of two empires became a historiographical myth, and how in-depth studies can challenge this mythology and provide a new research perspective.

The Pogroms of 1881-1882

Traditionally, authors begin the history of the pogrom with a narrative about the assassination of Alexander II on March 1, 1881.[47] The fact that the organizers of the assassination of the Russian emperor, a squad of nihilists associated with the "Narodnaya Volya" organization, included a Jew, was considered a cause that provoked anti-Jewish violence. This explanation for the beginning of the riots has been employed for almost a century and a half. However, it has been questioned repeatedly by scholars. The complex causes of the violence, demonstrated by researchers, suggest that the emperor's assassination was merely the catalyst for the pogroms.[48]

Researchers have pointed out that anti-Jewish sentiment in different parts of the empire was reported even before the riots, that is, during the Easter celebrations. A reflection on the scope of the pogroms and their geographical coverage may even raise a question as to whether a particular political incident could have caused such unrest in parts of the empire that were not even always connected. At the same time, numerous scholars argue that it was rumors and propaganda that provoked the violence in many places.[49] For example, when asked in court what motivated the anti-Jewish violence, participants of the riots in the border town of Volochisk, claimed that they had heard about Alexander III calling out "to punish the Jews for killing his

[47] The dates of events that took place in the Russian Empire are provided according to the Julian calendar.

[48] Michael I. Aronson, *Troubled Waters. The Origins of the 1881 Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Russia* (Pittsburgh, PA 1990);
John D Klier*, Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms of 1881–1882* (Cambridge 2011).

[49] For example: John D. Klier, Shlomo Lambroza (ed.) *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (New York, 1992);
Darius Staliunas, *Enemies for a Day: Antisemitism and Anti-Jewish Violence in Lithuanian under the Tsars* (Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2015).

father."[50] The events of the pogrom in Volochisk are examined in chapter 2.

In the period 1881-1884, 259 pogroms were recorded. The first of them took place from April 15 to 17, 1881 in Elisavetgrad. The violence quickly spread to large cities, towns, and even villages in Yekaterinoslav, Taurida, Kherson, Poltava, Kiev, Chernigov, and other governorates. It was the named provinces, which became the regions of highest spread of anti-Jewish riots. However, only a few pogroms were recorded in the Volynia and Podolsk governorships, which bordered Habsburg Galicia (See Map 1.1).[51]

The wave of anti-Jewish violence, which researchers see as having ended in the riots of summer, 1884, mainly happened in 1881-1882. The first wave of violence took place in the spring-summer of 1881. At first, the pogroms mostly occurred in Yekaterinoslav and Kherson governorates in the second half of April. From late April to mid-May, the unrest was concentrated in the Kiev, Tauride, and Yekaterinoslav governorates primarily. In this period, in the Podolsk and Volynia governorates, pogroms occurred only at two of the railway stations in those areas, that is in Volochisk and Zhmerinka. From late spring and throughout the summer, the Russian government suppressed most riots with the engagement of the army. The second wave of pogroms began in the winter of 1881-1882. Its most crucial moment was that of the pogrom events in Warsaw, which began with the celebration of Catholic Christmas. As a whole, this wave did not have a clear geographical structure because the violence occurred in different western and southern provinces of the Empire. It culminated in the riots in March, following Orthodox Easter celebrations. The Balta pogrom was the largest of these.[52]

It should also be noted that, in most cases, the riots ended without any fatalities, bearing in mind that the key target was Jewish property. In many cities, various

[50] Tsentralny Derzhavnyi Istorychnyi Archiv Ukrainy, m. Kyiv (TsDIAK), F. 316, O. 1, S. 121, pp. 5-6.

[51] John D. Klier, *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms of 1881-1882* (Cambridge, 2011);
Rogger, Hans, "Conclusion and Overview," in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza (eds.) *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*, (Cambridge and New-York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[52] Klier, *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms*;
Wiese, Stefan, *Pogrome im Zarenreich. Dynamiken kollektiver Gewalt* (Hamburg 2016).

rumors circulated, and appeals for pogroms were voiced, but in the end, no physical violence took place. Moreover, in some locations, riots were prevented or immediately stopped by police or Jewish self-defense.[53] In general, the geography of the anti-Jewish violence was quite complex, and often researchers cannot explain why the unrest led to violence in one city, or failed to do so in another place.[54]

Today, some of the most effective and compelling explanations concerning the conditions of the pogroms include reference to the availability of the railway service, which not only transported the rebellious masses and agitators but also facilitated the spread of information. This explanatory model is certainly not applicable to all cases, but it allows attention to be directed to the structure of riots and explains their features. In the current day, scholars generally define pogroms as short-term actions in which men from the working class were the driving force. The social and economic portrait of the pogroms has attracted the interest of researchers, and has even included attempts to explain the unrest by increased unemployment rates. Moreover, violence often involved people coming from other places. The pogromists were most frequently a multiethnic group, which is easier to define by class or religion than by ethnicity. The religious context is quite important because, in many cases, it involves a link to religious holidays, such as Orthodox Easter, a prelude to the riots in 1882. It is also important to note that despite many tragic circumstances, the pogroms generally did not change the social structures or systems of relationships in the areas where they occurred.[55]

[53] Staliunas, *Enemies for a Day*;
Le Foll, Claire, "The Missing Pogroms of Belorussia, 1881–1882: Conditions and Motives of an Absence of Violence", in Dekel-Chen, David, Gaunt, David, Meir, Natan M., Bartal, Israel (eds.) *Anti-Jewish Violence. Rethinking the Pogrom in East European History* (Bloomington, Indianapolis 2011).

[54] Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (University of California Press, 2004), 84-101.

[55] Dekel-Chen, Gaunt, Meir, Bartal (eds.) *Anti-Jewish Violence*;
Staliunas, *Enemies for a Day*;
Klier, *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms;*
Wiese, *Pogrome im Zarenreich.*



Map 1.1. Major Pogrom centers in the Russian Empire, 1881-1884. From Shlomo Lambroza and John Klier, eds., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 43.

One of the most controversial debates in historiography has long concerned the state's role in organizing and overcoming the wave of violence. While contemporary studies have discarded the argument that the state authorities of the Russian Empire were centrally involved in the organization of pogroms, the question of the state's response to violence remains debatable. Multiple cases of the connivance of local officials and the lack or delayed response of government bodies to pogroms provide grounds for hypotheses that components of the Empire's ruling circles allowed the wave of

violence to happen.[56] At the same time, the actions taken by the provincial authorities by engaging the army, and by furthering both police investigations and trials of pogromists, do not prove to be an argument for direct involvement of the imperial authorities in the pogroms or lack of justice for the perpetrators.[57]

The historiography of anti-Jewish violence in the Romanov Empire encompasses a broad range of topics that are not covered in this thesis. The important issue of reaction to pogroms in other states is addressed in the following sections of the research, and the issue of the impact of pogroms on Jewish emigration is not only discussed further in this chapter but also comprises one of the main subjects of the entire thesis.

Jews on the Move and the Empire

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Russian Empire remained one of the most conservative states as far as migration legislation was concerned. In comparison with most European countries, Russian laws and regulations pertaining to the departure of subjects from the Empire and to the entry of foreigners implied many restrictions and complicated bureaucratic procedures. At the same time, these regulations, or their practical enforcement, often varied for different population groups. This differentiation not only concerned ethnic or religious groups but also social status, economic opportunities, and even literacy of Russian citizens.[58]

The distinctions in imperial policies regarding different parts of society cannot always be observed by analyzing legislative acts only. The empire tried to strictly regulate both the internal and international migration of its subjects. Nonetheless, as scholars demonstrate in empirical cases, the authorities were not always successful in achieving this objective.[59] General legislation and procedures for international

[56] Michael I. Aronson, "The Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Russia in 1881," pp. 44-61;
Michael I.Aronson, *Troubled Waters*. pp. 230-233.
[57] Dekel-Chen, Gaunt, Meir, Bartal (eds.) *Anti-Jewish Violence*, pp. 1–18.
[58] Hans Rogger, "Tsarist Policy on Jewish Emigration," *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 3 (1973): 26–36.
[59] Eric Lohr, *Russian Citizenship: From Empire to Soviet Union* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 83-114.

migration in the Russian Empire are described in more detail in chapter 2, as part of an analysis of mobility at the Austro-Russian border. This section solely describes the specific aspects of Russian migration legislation that provided for Jewish people.

The primary and most prominent restriction as to the internal mobility of Jews in the Russian Empire was the so-called Pale of Settlement. The pale was a territory of "compact settlement of Jews." (See Map 1.2) Its existence was certainly not visible for the majority of the non-Jewish population of the empire. In the context of Jewish mobility, the pale has not received due scholarly attention for many years. More in-depth recent research on short- and long-term internal migration, urbanization, social structures, trade, and the labor market indicate a blurry aspect to the pale's border, and many legal or illegal ways for Jews to cross this line.[60] However, existing legal restrictions limited the majority of the Jewish population in movement, and in economic and social activity. It is also worth noting that both within and beyond the pale, the rights of Jews to mobility or resettlement were quite variable. In this sense, the Kingdom of Poland and some southern provinces of the empire were markedly diverse.[61]

For many years, the settlement of Jews was prohibited in large, rapidly growing cities like Kiev or Kharkov.[62] This created cases in which, besides "legal" communities, these cities had a significant "illegal" Jewish population. Scholars have observed this phenomenon not only in cities near the pale but also in other urban centers of the empire.[63] One important element to consider is that those responsible for internal

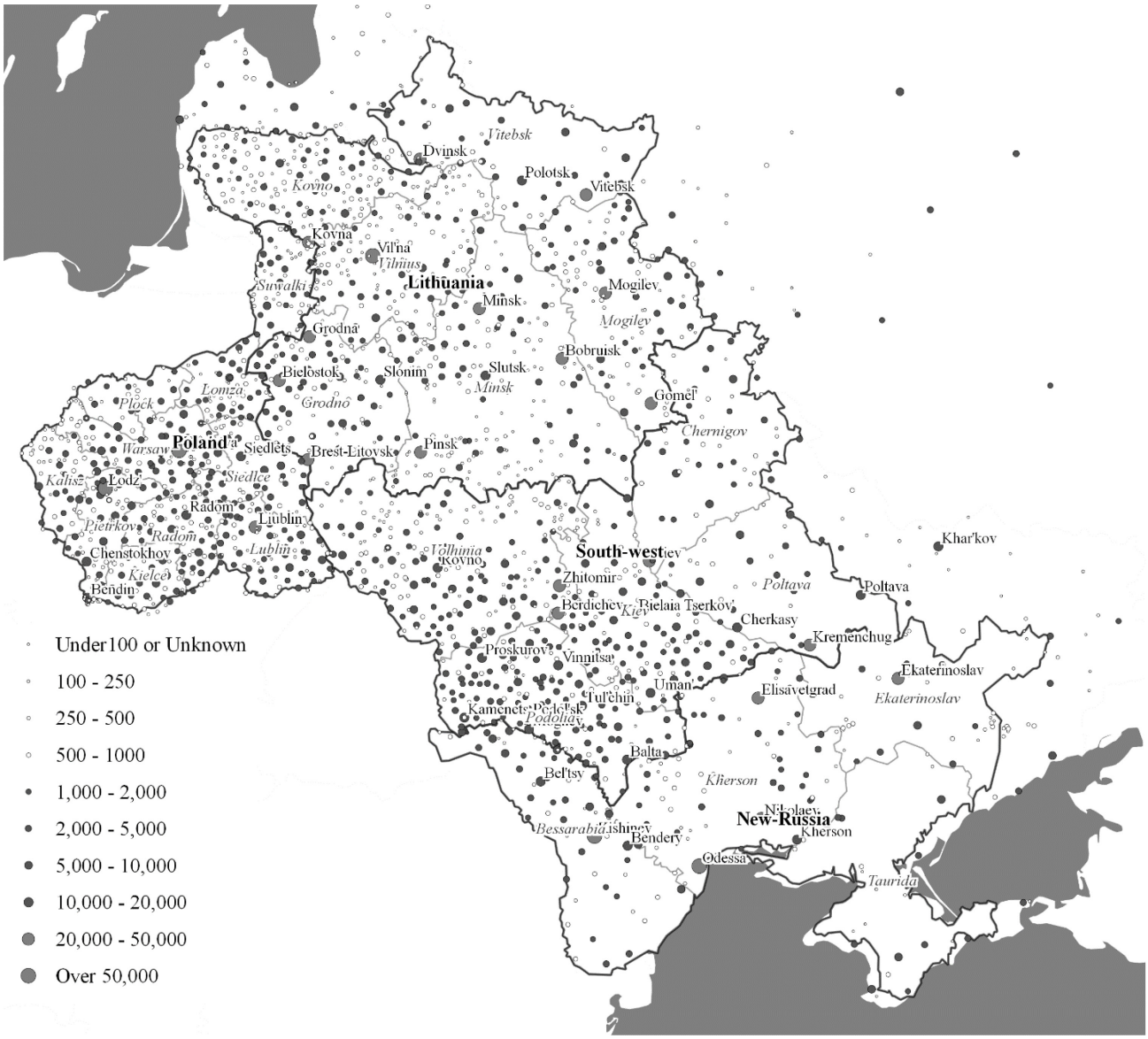
[60] For example: ChaeRan Y. Freeze, *Jewish Marriage and Divorce in Imperial Russia*, (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2002.);
Eugene M. Avrutin, *Jews and the Imperial State: Identification Politics in Tsarist Russia* (Cornell University Press, 2010);
Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, *The Golden Age Shtetl: A New History of Jewish Life in East Europe*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

[61] Barbara A. Anderson, *Internal Migration During Modernization in Late Nineteenth-Century Russia*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

[62] Natan M Meir, *Kiev, Jewish Metropolis: A History, 1859-1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), pp. 23-58;
Artem Kharchenko, "Yevreyskoi hromady yak yurydychnoi osoby ne isnuye: yevrei v neevreiskomu otochenni mista ostannioi tretyny 19 - pochatku 20 stolittia," in Sehiy Naumov (ed.) *Yevrei v Etnichniy mosaitsi ukrainskykh zemel:* 81-92. Kharkiv, 2015;

[63] Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale*, 84-101.

Jewish migration regulations were mainly a small number of city officials and police. Consequently, when the phenomenon of mobility became massive in scale, the officials were not in a position to fully control these processes. For the most part, as researchers have pointed out, this trend was clearly visible at times of social catastrophes, including during the pogroms of 1881-1882.[64]



Map 1.2. Jewish Communities in the Pale of Settlement 1897.
From: Yannay Spitzer Pogroms, Networks, and Migration The Jewish Migration from the Russian Empire to the United States 1881–1914. Working Paper (2015): 62.

[64] Shaul Stampfer, "Patterns of Internal Jewish Migration in the Russian Empire," in Yaacov Ro'i ed. *Jews and Jewish Life in Russia and the Soviet Union* (Tel Aviv: Frank Cass, 1995), 28-37.

It was not infrequent that the imperial mobility restrictions also affected foreign Jews traveling to the Russian Empire. This can be seen specifically in the cross-border movement within Habsburg Galicia. Merchants were the largest group that regularly crossed this border—and the main trade across the borders was carried out by Jews. Accordingly, the Galician Jews involved in this trade were also indirectly affected by various restrictions in the Russian Empire.

Particular rules for foreign Jews, especially those who were engaged in trade, were rendered very strict in the 1830s and remained so until the early twentieth century. Consequently, the period of stay for foreign Jews was limited to three months, while for Christians, this period was six months. Jewish merchants were required to provide documentary proof for the purpose of their trips, permits from various authorities, as well as financial and tax documentation. The Russian consulate in Brody was required to bring the new rules to the attention of Jews in Galicia, who applied for permission to enter the Russian Empire. In addition to merchants, several restrictions existed for other foreign Jews. Among them, for example, doctors and rabbis were obliged to provide documents stating that their services were required by subjects of the Romanov Empire. However, the most important aspect of these restrictions was that Austrian Jews, especially merchants, were not allowed to travel beyond the pale of settlement without special permission from the governorate authorities.[65]

In general, the special rules for foreign Jews, which in some periods even included an entry permit requirement from the Russian ministry of internal affairs, show the general suspicions of the Russian authorities regarding Jewish mobility and economic activity. Their suspicions can be viewed as a way of explaining many other restrictions that the empire applied to Jews. In the nineteenth century, one of the largest scale ideas of the kind was the project of Nicholas I to resettle Jews from the 50-kilometer zone near the border. The document aimed at preventing smuggling, and considered the Jews as its main cause. However, this project

[65] Kuzmany Börries. *Brody: A Galician Border City in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Brill, 2017), pp. 27-43;
Paulus Adelsgruber, "Abgrenzen – Bewahren – Überwinden: Genese, Funktion und Wahrnehmung der Grenze zwischen Galizien und Wolhynien/Podolien von 1772 bis in die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts." (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2017), pp. 382-383.

was not implemented.[66]

As for departure of Jews from the Russian Empire, there was a great difference between the legislative situation and how migration appeared in reality. Jews, who were leaving the Empire, had to go through a number of bureaucratic procedures. The most expensive and difficult of these was obtaining a passport. At their base, these requirements were the same for all citizens of the empire, except those who had debts, had pending criminal records, or were obliged to military service. However, in the case of Jews, there was a tendency by the state representatives to allow undocumented migration. To explain this phenomenon, researchers offer various arguments ranging from ineffective bureaucracy and security systems to the desire to rid the location of Jews as an "unreliable" part of society.[67]

The events of 1881-1882 on the Austro-Russian border became a vivid example of the state's attitude towards Jewish emigration when one considers that even a proportion of Jews, who crossed the border at the checkpoints, often did so without any documents. This situation is discussed in more detail in the following chapters of the thesis. However, the phenomena of the early 1880s cannot be regarded unconditionally as a common pattern in the behavior of border officials. Here, it is also worth considering the general instability of the situation in the empire. For example, at the same time, one may observe that the police and local authorities, did not react to internal movements of Jews[68] in the immediate aftermath of the pogroms either.

Forced Jewish Migration

Examining the role of migration in Jewish history, Lloyd Gartner wrote: "Migration is not part of Jewish history, it is Jewish history itself. Voluntary or compulsory

[66] Adelsgruber, Cohen, Kuzmany. *Getrennt und doch verbunden*, pp. 158-159;
Adelsgruber, Abgrenzen – Bewahren – Überwinden, pp. 384-385.
[67] Simon Kuznets, "Immigration of Russian Jews to the United States," pp. 35–43;
Rogger Hans, "Tsarist Policy on Jewish Emigration," *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 3 (1973): 26–36;
Lohr, *Russian Citizenship*, p. 95.
[68] Shaul Stampfer, "Patterns of Internal Jewish Migration in the Russian Empire,"pp. 28-37.

migration from one land to another was integral to the Jewish experience in past ages of oppression and limited opportunity."[69] The Jews are considered in historiography as a group that migrated more actively and massively than any other nation. Indeed, demographic analysis shows that in nineteenth century Europe Jews had the highest migration rates.[70] However, statistical evidence was not the only reason for the emergence of the historiographical image of a "nation of migrants." In the historiography of Central-Eastern European Jewry, the issue of migration has been central from the very beginning of its history, specifically when one discusses the beginning of Jewish settlement in the East. The influence of this narrative can be explained by its connection to the Judaic tradition, for which the narrative of Babylonian exile and Exodus is one of the most central. In addition, Zionism, with its idea of migration to Palestine as the end of being part of the diaspora, only increased the importance of this approach to Jewish history.[71]

Despite the fact that Jewish historiography has always been deeply connected to Eastern Europe, the scholarship on Jewish migration has a clear western perspective. As mentioned above, this situation is typical for migration history in general. It has two quite obvious explanations. The first is in the sources upon which studies were based, in cases where research was most often conducted by Western immigrant diasporas or receiving states. The second explanation is in the researchers themselves, because until recently, most of them originated from diaspora communities. Even though several generations of scholars have been actively involved in the study of Eastern European sources and have considered the sending states in their research,[72]

---

[69] Llyod Gartner, 'The Great Jewish Migration: Its East European Background', *Tel Aviver fur deutsche Geschichte*, 27 (1998): 107–108.

[70] Jacob Lestschinsky *Jüdische Wanderungen im XIX Jahrhundert*, (Roma: Liberia 1931).

[71] Gur Alroey, Two Historiographies: Israeli Historiography and the Mass Jewish Migration to the United States, 1881–1914, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 105.1(2015): 99-104.

[72] For example: Jacob Lestschinsky, *Jewish Migration For The Past Hundred Years*, (New York: YIVO, 1944);
Simon Kuznets, "Immigration of Russian Jews to the United States: Background and Structure," pp. 35–124;
Simon Kuznets "Economic Structure and Life of the Jews." In: Kuznets S., Stephanie L. E., & Weyl G. (Ed.), *Jewish Economies: Development and Migration in America and Beyond*, vol. 1 (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2011), pp. 143–232;
Spitzer, *Pogroms, Networks, and Migration*.

the western perspective remains dominant for the field.

Presently, it can be observed that the scholarship of Jewish migration has passed through many stages of development, and today it is an interdisciplinary field that explores a variety of topics. For instance, it includes studies on human trafficking, sex workers, religious life, business, and many other issues.[73] However, the connection between anti-Jewish violence and migration remains one of the most debated. Notably, recent studies have been questioning increasingly frequently the statement that pogroms in the Russian Empire were a direct and main cause of mass migration. Nevertheless, despite the long tradition of explaining migration by social and economic factors[74], and contemporary cliometrics studies,[75] this critical approach has been introduced mainly in the forms of hypotheses and discussion questions.[76]

The introduction to this thesis raises the question, "Why did the events of 1881-1882 on the Austro-Russian border-line gain such significance?" A short provided answer indicates that one of the main reasons for this significance is in historiographical factors. The earliest publications that examined the refugee crisis in Galicia in detail used notable epithets: "beginning of mass migration,"[77] "turning point of general immigration to the United States."[78] The main argument of these publications was that the aftermath of pogroms in Galicia constituted a "starting point of exodus from Europe to a New World."[79]

In his book *To Dwell in Safety: The Story of Jewish Migration since 1800*, Mark

---

[73] EdwardJ. Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery, 1870-1939* (Oxford, 1982);
Mir Yarfitz*, Impure Migration: Jews and Sex Work in Golden Age Argentina* (Rutgers University Press, 2019);
Andrew Godley, *Jewish Immigrant Entrepreneurship in New York and London 1880-1914* (New York: Palgrave, 2001);
Rebecca Kobrin, "Too Big to Fail in 1930: The Failed Bank of United States and The Long Shadow of East European Jewish Immigrant Banking," *American Jewish History,* Volume 103, Number 4 (2019): 457-483.

[74] Kuznets, "Immigration of Russian Jews."

[75] Spitzer, Pogroms, Networks, and Migration.

[76] Scott Ury, "Jewish Migration in Modern Times: The Case of Eastern Europe," *East European Jewish Affairs* 47 (2017): 127–132.

[77] Zosa Szajkowski, "How the Mass Migration to America Began, pp. 291-292.

[78] Mark Wisznitser, *To Dwell in Safety*, p. 66.

[79] Ibid.

Wisznitser created a fundamental historical narrative concerning the long-lasting Jewish migration from the early eighteenth century until the mid-1940s. Wisznitser identified the main causes of Jewish migration for each historical period. While for a larger part of the nineteenth century he considered complex factors, he mainly focused on violence and anti-Jewish policy after 1881. In the same period, in the 1940s and 1950s, several articles by Zosa Szajkowski appeared. These articles explored debate between Jewish intellectuals about possible solutions to the crisis in Galicia, and the position of Jewish organizations was central to the work of the author.[80] Wisznitser and Szajkowski referred primarily to the American Jewish press and to documents from New York organizations that assisted migrants financially. Consequently, these studies frequently repeated the terminology and perspective from that particular press on the events of the 1880s in Galicia. As to newspaper publications of the 1880s about events in Eastern Europe, they were often aimed at collecting donations from the Jewish diaspora, which influenced their content accordingly.

Among his numerous studies in Jewish history,[81] another important author, Elias Tcherikover, wrote an article entitled "Jewish Immigrants to the United States."[82] This text also begins its history of emigration with an episode about refugees in Galicia. The arguments of this article are quite similar to those of Szajkowski and Wisznitser, but in contrast to the above-discussed publications, this study looks more closely at the activity of the French organization, Alliance Israelite, and its role in the refugee crisis.

As in many other cases, the biographies of these authors are crucial for understanding their works. Tcherikover was a close friend of Szajkowski. Both of them, with

[80] Zosa Szajkowski, "How the Mass Migration to America Began," pp. 291-310;
Zosa Szajkowski, "The European Attitude to East European Jewish Immigration (1881-1893)," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (December, 1951): 127-162; Zosa Szajkowski. From: Zosa Szajkowski, "The attitude of American Jews to East European Jewish immigration (1881-1893)," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (March, 1951): 221-280.

[81] For example: Elias Tcherikover (ed.) *Geshikhte Fun Der Yidisher Arbeter-Bavegung in Di Fareynikte Shtatn,* Vol. I. (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1943).

[82] "Jewish Immigrants to the United States," *Yivo. Annual of Jewish Social Science*, vol. VI (1951): 157-176. (originally published in Yiddish in 1943).

Wisznitser, were involved in the work of the Yiddish Scientific Institute (Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut or YIVO),[83] which had moved to the United States a number of years previously. All three authors migrated to the United States shortly before the Second World War. Earlier, Tcherikover and Szajkowski had lived in Paris and worked on the archival collections of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) in that city. When conducting their studies about the Galician crisis, this experience with the YIVO and AIU collections defined the focus of these authors with regard to Jewish organizations. However, Wisznitser mainly consulted the press as a source. The great achievement of these studies is that they paid attention to extensive collections of Jewish international organizations. However, since the current archive collections in the YIVO and AIU were formed later, it is not always clear which documents were used by scholars. Besides, authors referred to sources from their private collections, and the questions about the origin and future history of these documents call for a detailed analysis.

The view of Jewish history as a series of persecutions and exoduses, which was typical for the authors of the 1940s, was a continuation of the narrative proposed by Simon Dubnov. Salo Baron defined this tradition as "the lachrymose conception of Jewish history"[84] In his text "Yidishe martirologiye un yidishe historigrafiye" ("Jewish Martyrology and Jewish Historiography"), Tcherikover clarified the position of his own generation of Jewish historians. Being highly self-reflective, he wrote about the place of Jewish scholars in between "Judaism and secularity," as well as in between "martyrology and historiography."[85] Social catastrophes and the persecution of Jews in Europe, that were witnessed by historians, undoubtedly determined the agendas of the texts. Moreover, the emigrant experiences of Wisznitser (from Rovno), Tcherikover (from Poltava), and Szajkowski (from Zaręby) made the topic of forced migration particularly relevant for them.

---

[83] Yiddish Scientific Institute (Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut).

[84] Salo Baron "Ghetto and Emancipation: Shall We Revise the Traditional View?" *The Menorah Journal* XIV, no. 6 (June 1928): 515–26;
Ismar Schorsch, "The Lachrymose Conception of Jewish History." In *From Text to Context: The Turn to History in Modern Judaism,* in Ismar Schorsch, 376–88. Boston: Brandeis University Press, 1994.

[85] Elias Tcherikover, "Yidishe martirologiye un yidishe historigrafiye." *YIVO Bleter* 17, no. 2 (March-April, 1941): 97–112.

The impact of the first few publications on further studies about Jewish refugees on the Austro-Russian border was significant. The later authors not only extensively quoted sources after Szajkowski and Tcherikover but also generally followed their arguments and understanding of the process of Jewish migration.[86] Revisionist scholars of the pogroms of 1881-1882 also addressed the topic of the crisis in Galicia and referred mainly to the sources proposed by historians in the[87] However, unlike many of their colleagues, they no longer followed the narrative of the first publications on the subject. In these studies, the refugee crisis was understood as a humanitarian catastrophe that mobilized Jewish elites in western countries to support emigration.[88]

Numerous studies have examined the topic of refugees in the 1880s, but it is only in recent years that researchers have gone beyond the perspectives of Western Jewish organizations proposed in the 1940s. Thus, Benyamin Lukin can be considered as discoverer of the document collection of the Galicia governorate in the Lviv archive. In co-operation with Olga Shraberman, he published an overview of the documents copied by him in Lviv for the History of the Jewish People Central Archives in Jerusalem. Authors have been quite categorical in their interpretation that the refugees in Galicia were direct victims of pogroms. Nevertheless, for the first time in historiography, this article drew attention to the local Galician context. This perspective extracted the topic from the explanatory model of Jewish migration that approaches the process as a movement from persecution-stricken

[86] For example: Ronald Sanders, *Shores of Refuge: A Hundred Years of Jewish Emigration*. (New York: Doubleday Publishing Group, 1988);
Hadassa Kosak, *Cultures of Opposition: Jewish Immigrant Workers, New York City, 1881-1905* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000).
[87] Stephen M. Berk, *Year of Crisis, Year of Hope: Russian Jewry and the Pogroms of 1881-1882* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1985);
Jonathan Frankel, "The Crisis of 1881–82 as a Turning Point in Modern Jewish History," in, David Berger, ed., *The Legacy of Jewish Migration: 1881 and Its Impact* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983);
Aronson, *Troubled Waters*;
Klier*, Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms*.
[88] Ibid, pp. 368-383.

regions to democratic states.[89]

The Galician context of the phenomenon was also placed as central to recent studies on urban history and antisemitism. Scholars connected the considerable impact of pogroms in the Russian Empire and the arrival of refugees in Galicia to anti-Jewish sentiment and antisemitism in the region.[90] With regard to "situating" the topic in the Galician context, the analysis of Börries Kuzmany is important, although he mainly utilizes documents from the Paris Alliance and the Habsburg central bureaucracy. The author examines the crisis from the perspective of the history of the border town of Brody, and offers an important perspective on the town as a refugee camp site.[91]

* * *

For most scholars, the trends described above do not diminish the importance of anti-Jewish violence as a factor in Jewish migration. As Gur Alroey wrote: "Migration for the Jews was often not only a question of improving their quality of life but in certain periods also a question of life and death."[92] As far as the present thesis is concerned, it is not aimed at proving that violence was not a factor; neither does it reject the concept of forced migration. At the same time, the research specifically challenges the teleological approaches in historiography and the linear understanding of the migration processes. Consequently, the key objective of the thesis is to study the

[89] Benyamin Lukin, Olga Shraberman, "Documents on the Emigration of Russian Jews via Galicia, 1881–82, in the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem," in: *Gal-Ed. On the history of the Jews in Poland.* (2007), 101–117.

[90] For example: Buchen, *Antisemitismus in Galizien*, pp. 92-100.

[91] Börries Kuzmany, *Brody: Eine galizische Grenzstadt im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Böhlau, 2011), pp. 237–46;
Börries Kuzmany, "Jüdische Pogromflüchtlinge in Österreich 1881/82 und die Professionalisierung der internationalen Hilfe," in: Börries Kuzmany, Rita Garstenauer (ed.) *Aufnahmeland Österreich. Über den Umgang mit Massenflucht seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, Mandelbaum 2017), pp. 95-125;

[92] Gur Alroey G. (2013), *Jewish migration, 19th century to present*, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444351071.wbeghm326.

multidirectional movement of migrants,[93] the multiplicity of factors in the causes of migration, and the multi-contextuality of these phenomena.

The refugee crisis in Galicia is largely understudied. This is especially visible from the perspective of the Habsburg and Romanov empires, as well as from vast collections of sources from the archives of Central and Eastern Europe. This thesis not only relies on these collections but also connects them to sources from western countries. This approach to the events in Galicia provides grounds for a substantial revision of the research approaches described above.

[93] Jonathan D. Sarna, "The Myth of No Return: Jewish Return Migration to Eastern Europe, 1881–1914," *American Jewish History* Vol. 71, No. 2 (December 1981): pp. 256-268.

Chapter 2. The Border Zone Becomes a Point of Passage

The state border between the Austrian and Russian empires came into existence as a result of the partitions of Poland. From the First Partition of Poland in 1772 to the creation of the Three Emperors' Corner in 1846, the formation of this border-line was a long process. Both empires made significant efforts to establish and develop new border management bodies. Natural, military, and economic factors played a role in the location of the border-line, a large part of which was laid along the Zbruch riverbed. The flat terrain of the border area near the Carpathian Mountains looked advantageous from a military point of view. Moreover, the border provided both empires with control over important trade routes. In places the dividing line between the two empires was drawn without providing for any corresponding border infrastructure.[94]

Even if the states appeared to be the only actors in drawing the borders, the local population demonstrated their quality as actor through formal and informal border practices. The border-line divided a region of the former Polish-Lithuanian state that was homogeneous in its economic and social structure, but heterogeneous in its ethnic-cultural and religious composition. The newly created border-line brought enormous political, social, and cultural change for the local population. The everyday

[94] Christoph Augustynowicz, Andreas Kappeler (Hg.). *Die galizische Grenze. Kommunikation oder Isolation?* (Wien, 2007), pp.7-11;
Svjatoslav Pacholkiv. "Entstehung, Überwachung und Überschreitung der galizischen Grenze 1772-1867," In: Augustynowicz, Kappeler (Hg.): *Die Galizische Grenze*, pp. 519-521;
Kuzmany. *Brody*, pp. 18-43.

life[95] of Poles, Ukrainians, Jews, and other groups came to be divided between the great powers. For historians, however, it is still relevant to ask how far this division went, and how much the idea of the Galician border as a dense boundary between the former Polish territories functioned.[96]

The establishment of the state border in Galicia can be explained using terms of border demarcation—border surveillance, infrastructure development, and border crossing. Unlike many other European borders, which had expanded into economic and cultural zones, the border between the Austrian and Russian empires was created by an act of political will. The border interfered in a profound way with everyday life, bringing a division into growing local structures. The separation of fields, dioceses, entire villages and cities, and the mixing of diverse groups of population on both sides of the border demonstrated the problems caused by the new demarcation. The complex of these issues provided impulses to an enormously high level of cross-border activities that challenged state border management bodies throughout their existence.[97]

At the same time, the establishment of border management bodies in the Galician border zone was in no way exceptional. During the long nineteenth century, the development of customs and border services, as well as general securitization, bureaucratization, and even medicalization, took place at all European borders.[98] This chapter provides an overview of the structure and evolution of border management bodies, the development of infrastructure, and mechanisms of border crossing. It analyzes the role of the border as an instance of imperial power and as a space in the arrival of Jews from Russian territories to Galicia in the early 1880s. The latter is illustrated by the micro-historical case of the border-towns Volochisk and Podwołoczyska.

---

[95] For example: Heiko Haumann. "Lebensweltlich orientierte Geschichtsschreibung in den Jüdischen Studien: Das Basler Beispiel," *Jüdische Studien* (2003), pp. 105- 122.

[96] See Adelsgruber, Cohen, Kuzmany. *Getrennt und doch verbunden.*

[97] *Svjatoslav Pacholkiv*, Entstehung, Überwachung und Überschreitung, pp. 520-521

[98] For example: Barbara Lüthi. Invading Bodies Medizin und Immigration in den USA, 1880 - 1920 (Frankfurt a.M: Campus-Verlag, 2009);
Brinkmann (ed.) *Points of Passage*.

Border Management Bodies

On the Austrian side, both customs offices[99] and the border guard[100] were under the control of the ministry of finance. This subordination shows that control over cross-border economic activities was a much higher priority for the state than political aspects, such as espionage or deserters. Due to instructions to border officials, the counteracting of smuggling was the primary aim of their service.[101]

In the 1820-1830s, over the course of indirect taxation reform, the most of the lands of Empire were unified into united customs and trading area. The border services were restructured also. The views of the civilian authorities took precedence, and the military border guard was re-established as a civil guard corps[102]. The dualism of military and civil authorities was ended. The tasks of the border guard were divided into three spheres:

- Prevention of smuggling, and violation of the finance laws;
- Passport control and entry denial, if necessary;
- Prevention of the departure of deserters and other persons not authorized to leave Austrian territory.[103]

The border guard service was divided into companies, which were headed by a high commissioner (as company commander). In Galicia, there were 15 such companies as well as a department for Lemberg, which had a command level. Both Brody and Husiatyn were company centers (with high commissioners). The largest of all Galician companies was located in Brody. The total number of Galician border guards was over 3'000 employees. It was the most numerous border guard of all the Crown Lands, in absolute figures. At the same time, Galicia had the fewest border guards per mile (under ten employees) in the entire empire.[104]

---

[99] *Zollämter*

[100] *Grenzbewachung*

[101] Adelsgruber, Cohen, Kuzmany. *Getrennt und doch verbunden*, pp. 113-126.

[102] *Wachkörper*

[103] Adelsgruber, "Abgrenzen – Bewahren – Überwinden: Genese, Funktion und Wahrnehmung der Grenze zwischen Galizien und Wolhynien/Podolien von 1772 bis in die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts." (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2017), 203-205.

[104] Ibid, pp. 204-205.

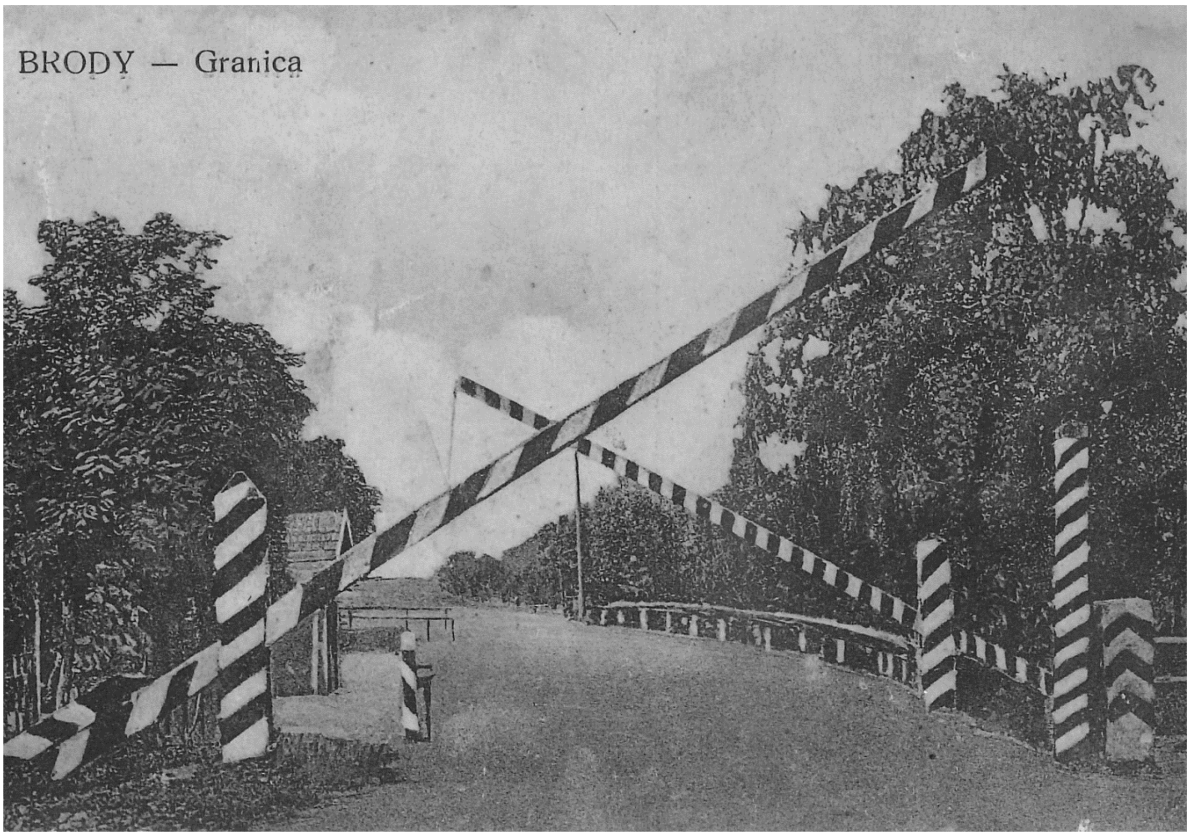


Figure 2.1 The border checkpoint in Brody, late nineteenth – early twentieth century, postcard, A&O Chebotarov private collection.

The border guard[105] of the Russian Empire was founded as a separate military corps in the mid-eighteenth century. For many years, regular border protection was not among the priorities of imperial policy. It was only at the end of the eighteenth century that a separate customs chain and customs guard was established, and sections of the border were assigned to horseman patrols. From 1796, the St. Petersburg authorities ordered daily lists of arrivals and departures to be sent to them in order to obtain a general idea of movement across the border. This obligation of the customs offices was still in force eighty years later, although the lists were then only sent twice a month.[106]

[105] *Пограничная стража.*

[106] Lev Markov, *Ocherki po istorii tamozhennoj sluzhby.* (Irkutsk : Izd-vo Irkut. universiteta, 1987), pp. 142-144;
Mykola Barmak, *Formuvannja vladnih institucij Rosijs'koï imperiï na Pravoberezhnij Ukraïni naprikinci XVIII – v pershij polovini XIX st.* (Ternopil', 2007), pp. 265-266.

Since the end of the eighteenth century, a system of customs offices[107] and subordinate customs posts[108] had existed on the border between Podolia and Galicia. Radzivilov was the most important center of all customs offices on the Russian border with Galicia. This customs office had a special role, and most categories of foreign goods were allowed to be imported there. Aside from Radzivilov, Husiatin (eastern) and Volochisk—which had bridges across the border river Zbruch— were the most active customs posts until the Second World War on this part of the border.[109]

In contrast to the Austrian case, Russian border structures maintained a dualism between the military and financial administrations. The reform of Emperor Nikolai I divided the border guard into brigades, companies, and units. The border guard[110] was subordinate to the military authorities, but customs offices and customs posts remained under the authority of the minister of finance. About 3,200 employees were posted across the entire length of Russia's borders with Europe. Consequently, it can be observed that on the Russian side of the border with Galicia, there were much fewer state servants than on the Austrian. Furthermore, only one section near Radzivilov was patrolled more actively than the rest of the border. The latter can be explained by the high level of legal and illegal economic activity on this part of the border-line[111].

The specifics of the Russian side were in the existence of a second border-line a few kilometers away. This line was mainly patrolled by Cossack horsemen, who had been removed from service from the first line. They were often accused of being unreliable and corrupt. This kind of accusation then re-echoed for decades, and was directed also against border guards recruited from the regular army. Similar arguments were leveled against Jewish personnel, but in an even more determined way. In 1845, Jews (who constituted a significant part of the border zone population at the time) were

[107] *Таможня*

[108] *Таможенные заставы*

[109] Markov, *Ocherki*, pp. 144-145.

[110] *Пограничная стража*

[111] V.M. Orlik, "Mitna politika Rosijs'koï imperiï ta organizacija mitnogo kontrolju v ukraïns'kih gubernijah u doreformenij period (1795 - 1861 rr.)." *Problemi istoriï Ukraïni XIX - pochatku XX st.* (2003): 70-77;
Markov, *Ocherki*, pp. 43-44;
Kuzmany, *Brody*, pp. 44-73.

banned from serving in the border guard, since it was claimed they might cooperate with the borderland population.

The use of firearms was not readily envisaged for the border guard of either empire. In Austria, according to regulations of the 1840s, it was mostly limited to cases of self-defense and defense against larger groups of smugglers. Authorization to use live ammunition against smugglers was also granted to the Russian border guards. Their restricted power to use firearms and the fact that the Austrian, and elements of the Russian, border guards were under the control of the ministries of finance explain the extremely high degree of unsanctioned border crossings.[112]

Infrastructure and Transportation

In order to describe the condition of transport infrastructure in the region immediately after the border was established, it is worth considering the impressive horseback ride of Joseph II through his newly annexed territory. In 1773, the future "great Reformer" traveled from Hungary to Galicia via the Carpathians. He went by carriage to Lemberg, but then had to transfer to horseback to inspect the new borders. In 23 days on horseback, Joseph II covered about 1'000 kilometers along the border, whose final shape was still being settled. The imperial delegation rode along the route leading from the Moldavian border to Krakau at a pace of about 40 kilometers per day. Local officials were preparing for the arrival of the inspection, and even constructed several bridges over the River Zbruch. Despite this, the imperial travel journal noted that most of the land around the new border had no road connections, and the carriage would not pass that way, even in good weather.[113]

Austrian and Russian officials and officers who were traveling across the border in the late eighteenth, and in the first decade of the nineteenth, century also reported many times the terrible condition of the roads or their complete absence in the

[112] Adelsgruber, Cohen, Kuzmany. *Getrennt und doch verbunden*, pp 117-118;
Adelsgruber, Abgrenzen – Bewahren – Überwinden, 244.
[113] H. Rumpel "Die Reisen Kaiser Joseph II. nach Galizien. " (Dr. diss., the University of Erlangen, 1946), 89-95.

region.[114] In the first half of the nineteenth century, most infrastructure projects for the construction of roads and postal systems in the border area failed to be completed due to lack of funding. However, by the middle of the nineteenth century, a road connection had been built on most sections of the border. The greatest amount of construction activity took place in the areas of the main customs points described above.[115]

The railway operated a fundamental revolution in the transportation of goods and passengers. Space and time—key constraints until then— increasingly came to lose their meaning. Indeed, the railroad was considered by some as a panacea to overcome the disadvantageous geography of the Austrian Empire. Even the early plans conceived by railroad experts for the railway network of the entire monarchy already included the route beginning from the Russian border near Brody to Vienna to Lemberg. In the Russian Empire, alternatively, Egor Kankrin[116], long-serving Minister of Finance, had a particular distrust of the railroads, especially if they led to western border areas. He feared constantly that they might increase imports, which would run counter to his strict protective tariff policy. Strategic military considerations also played a significant role. For example, around 1870, the expansion of railroad connections from Hungary via the Carpathians was considered a matter of state security.[117]

In both empires, modernization ran from center to periphery. A rail connection between Vienna and Krakau was established in 1847, and with Warsaw – in 1848. Lemberg was connected to the rail network in 1861. In Russia, the first major route was opened in 1851, and it was the 650-kilometer long connection between St. Petersburg and Moscow.[118]

---

[114] For example: , Ignacy Wachtel, K.: *Komunikacya, gościńce i drogi w Galicyi* (Lwów 1856); Владимир Б. Броневский. *Путешествие от Триеста до С.-Петербурга в 1810 году*. Ч.2 (Москва: Унив. типогр., 1828), pp., č. 2, Moskva 1828, S. 111f., 121.

[115] Benjamin Schenk. *Russlands Fahrt in die Moderne : Mobilität und sozialer Raum im Eisenbahnzeitalter* (Steiner, 2014), pp. 14-19, 40.

[116] Count Georg Ludwig Cancrin was head of the Ministry of Finances from 1823 to 1844.

[117] Schenk, *Russlands Fahrt in die Moderne*, pp. 109-113.

[118] *Ibid,* p. 19.



Map 2.2. Railway and post connection of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (fragment of the map), 1887, Digital library *Gallica* of the National Library of France.

The railway reached the eastern Galician border in the late 1860s. The border-town pairs of Brody/Radzivilov and Podwołoczyska/Volochisk quickly functioned as hubs

for goods and passenger traffic between Central and Eastern Europe. Metropolises such as Berlin, Warsaw, and Vienna now moved closer to important Russian trading centers such as Odessa and Kiev.[119]

Initially, planning the route across the border in Brody was postponed due to financial insecurity on the Russian side over a number of years. In 1867, an agreement was finally reached between Austria and Russia to build two rail-lines through Brody/Radziwill and Podwołoczyska/Volochisk. In general, the 1860-1870s period was characterized by a railway boom, while in previous years, construction in the border zone was insignificant, with few exceptions, due to a poor financial situation.[120]

Initially, both states considered the connection via Brody to be more vital. For Austria, it was a matter of maintaining the Brody transit trade. On the Russian side, the possibility of a faster connection to Kiev was discussed, but this position changed, and Russian authorities began to speak more strongly in favor of the route via Volochisk. The Russian government realized that the transportation of heavy and oversized goods was easier to manage at Volochisk. For this reason, the merger of the above-mentioned Galician Karl Ludwig Railway and the Russian Kiev-Brest Railway took place in 1871 in Podwołoczyska and Volochisk— and it took two years more before it was possible in Brody and Radzivilov. Shortly afterwards, Brody and Podwołoczyska were connected to Lemberg by a direct railway line.[121] (Map 2.2.)

The border stations were double-track on both sides, that is, they were equipped with regular and Russian track widths. (Figure 2.3) It meant that the trains could cross the border, and only then be unloaded. Austria also offered to build common border stations directly on the border-line. The Russian side showed no interest—they feared economic disadvantages for Radzivilov as well as referring to technical obstacles. However, negotiations to facilitate "customs relations" and a possible merger of international customs services began in the 1870s.[122]

---

[119] Ihor Zhaloba, *Infrastrukturna polityka avstrijs"koho uryadu na pivnichnomu sxodi monarxiyi v ostannij chverti XVIII - 60-x rokax XX st*. (Chernivci: Knyhy-XXI, 2004), p. 297.
[120] Ibid, p. 354, 430-431.
[121] Adelsgruber, Cohen, Kuzmany. *Getrennt und doch verbunden*, pp. 44-45, 61-62.
[122] Adelsgruber, Abgrenzen – Bewahren – Überwinden, pp. 437.

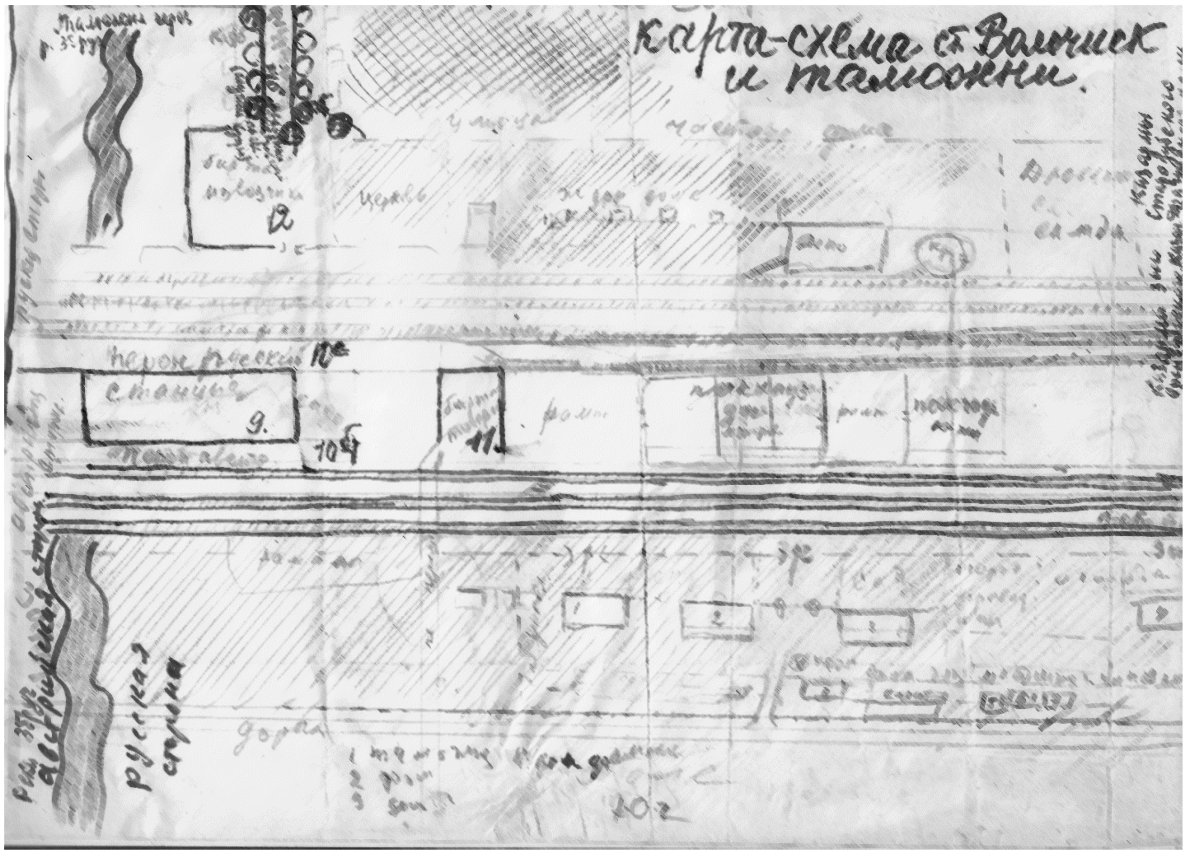
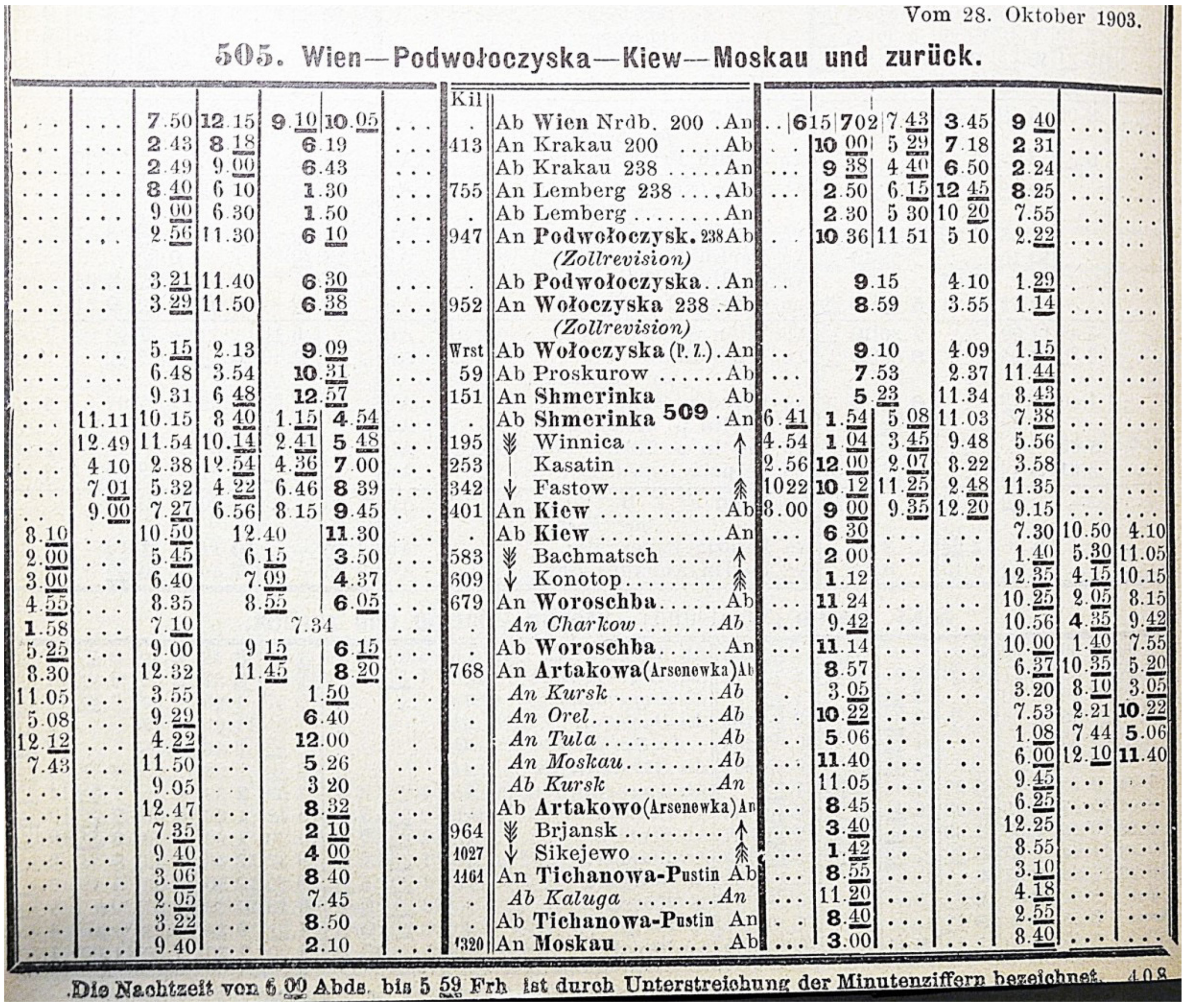


Figure 2.3. Plan of the railway station in Volochisk, early twentieth century, Volochysk Historical and Ethnographic Museum.

In addition to the construction of the railway, telegraph communication infrastructure was expanded across the border. Brody had already been connected to the Austrian telegraph network in 1857. Connection with the Russian town of Radzivilov was carried out in 1865. It became the first cross-border telegraph line between the two states. Podwołoczyska and Volochysk were connected in 1879.[123]

Over the following decades, train connections between the center and periphery and vice versa improved consistently. For border cities, international railway construction brought a great development boost, which was accompanied by strong population growth and a change in social structure. The railway stations, with their reloading and

[123] Adelsgruber, Cohen, Kuzmany. *Getrennt und doch verbunden*, p. 148.



Vom 28. Oktober 1903.

505. Wien—Podwołoczyska—Kiew—Moskau und zurück.

							Kil										
...	...	7.50	12.15	9.10	10.05	...	.	Ab **Wien** Nrdb. 200 An	..	615	702	7.43	3.45	9.40	...	...
...	...	2.43	8.18	6.19		...	413	An Krakau 200 .... Ab	. .	10.00	5.29	7.18	2.31	...	..
...	...	2.49	9.06	6.43		...		Ab Krakau 238 ..... An	...	9.38	4.40	6.50	2.24	...	.
...	...	8.40	6.10	1.30		...	755	An Lemberg 238 .... Ab	...	2.50	6.15	12.45	8.25	...	...
...	...	9.00	6.30	1.50		...	.	Ab Lemberg ..... An		2.30	5.30	10.20	7.55	..	...
...	...	2.56	11.30	6.10		...	947	An **Podwołoczysk.** 238 Ab	. .	10.36	11.51	5.10	2.22	...	..
								(Zollrevision)								
...	...	3.21	11.40	6.30		...	.	Ab **Podwołoczyska** .. An	..		9.15		4.10	1.29	. .	..
...	..	3.29	11.50	6.38		...	952	An **Wołoczyska** 238 . Ab			8.59		3.55	1.14	...	...
								(Zollrevision)								
...	...	5.15	2.13	9.09		...	Wrst	Ab **Wołoczyska** (P. Z.) . An	..		9.10		4.09	1.15	...	..
...	...	6.48	3.54	10.31		...	59	Ab Proskurow ..... Ab	...		7.53		2.37	11.44	...	...
...	..	9.31	6.48	12.57		...	151	An **Shmerinka** Ab	...		5.23		11.34	8.43	...	..
...	11.11	10.15	8.40	1.15	4.54	...	.	Ab **Shmerinka** 509 An	6.41	1.54	5.08		11.03	7.38	...	...
...	12.49	11.54	10.14	2.41	5.48	...	195	Winnica	4.54	1.04	3.45		9.48	5.56	...	.
...	4.10	2.38	12.54	4.36	7.00	...	253	Kasatin	2.56	12.00	2.07		8.22	3.58	...	...
...	7.01	5.32	4.22	6.46	8.39	...	342	Fastow	1022	10.12	11.25		2.48	11.35	...	...
..	9.00	7.27	6.56	8.15	9.45	. .	401	An **Kiew** ..... Ab	8.00	9.00	9.35		12.20	9.15	...	...
8.10	...	10.50		12.40	11.30	...	.	Ab **Kiew** ..... An	...	6.30	...		...	7.30	10.50	4.10
2.00	...	5.45		6.15	3.50	...	583	Bachmatsch	...	2.00	...		. .	1.40	5.30	11.05
3.00	...	6.40		7.09	4.37	...	609	Konotop	...	1.12	...		...	12.35	4.15	10.15
4.55	...	8.35		8.55	6.05	...	679	An **Woroschba** ..... Ab	...	11.24	...		...	10.25	2.05	8.15
1.58	...	7.10		7.34		...	.	*An Charkow* ..... *Ab*	...	9.42	...		...	10.56	4.35	9.42
5.25	...	9.00		9.15	6.15	...	.	Ab **Woroschba** ..... An	...	11.14	...		...	10.00	1.40	7.55
8.30	...	12.32		11.45	8.20	..	768	An **Artakowa** (Arsenewka) Ab		8.57	...		...	6.37	10.35	5.20
11.05	...	3.55	...		1.50	...	.	*An Kursk* ..... *Ab*	.	3.05	...		...	3.20	8.10	3.05
5.08	...	9.29	...		6.40		.	*An Orel* ..... *Ab*	. .	10.22	...		. .	7.53	2.21	10.22
12.12	...	4.22	...		12.00	.	.	*An Tula* ..... *Ab*	..	5.06	..		...	1.08	7.44	5.06
7.43	...	11.50	...		5.26	...	.	*An Moskau* ..... *Ab*	...	11.40	...		..	6.00	12.10	11.40
...	...	9.05	..		3.20	...	.	*Ab Kursk* ..... *An*	...	11.05	...		...	9.45	...	..
...	...	12.47	...		8.32	...		Ab **Artakowo** (Arsenewka) An	...	8.45	...		...	6.25	...	...
...	...	7.35	...		2.10	...	964	Brjansk	...	3.40	...		...	12.25	...	...
...	..	9.40	...		4.00	..	1027	Sikejewo	...	1.42	..		...	8.55	...	...
...	..	3.06	...		8.40	..	1161	An **Tichanowa-Pustin** Ab	...	8.55	...		...	3.10	...	...
...	...	2.05	..		7.45	...	.	*Ab Kaluga* ..... *An*	...	11.20	...		...	4.18	...	...
...	...	3.22	...		8.50	...	.	Ab **Tichanowa-Pustin** An	. .	8.40	...		..	2.55	...	...
...	...	9.40	...		2.10	...	1320	An **Moskau** ..... Ab	...	3.00	...		...	8.40	...	...

Die Nachtzeit von 6.00 Abds. bis 5.59 Frh ist durch Unterstreichung der Minutenziffern bezeichnet. 4.08

Figure 2.4 Vienna - Podwołoczyska - Kiev - Moscow and back, 1903. From: *Der Conducteur* (1904), p. 408.

cattle areas, factory, and warehouse buildings, created jobs for railway workers and stimulated trade. This was especially favorable for the small towns of Radzivilov, Podwołoczyska, and Volochisk that benefited markedly. Mobility of the masses and faster spread of national and revolutionary ideas were a direct consequence of this development. A previously inconspicuous border town like Podwołoczyska could now be found in the international train schedules (see Figure 2.4), alongside cities like Vienna and Moscow. In both empires, the lower-priced train tickets were affordable even for poorer parts of society. The latter was no coincidence and was related to the needs of industrializing cities.

Border Crossing

Border management bodies registered and observed both individuals and differently defined groups of people crossing the border-line. Most individuals crossing the border could be divided into three broad groups: (1) traders, (2) "illegal" categories, (3) people with religious motives. In addition, there were many smaller groups, such as noble landowners, teachers, civil servants, and other traveling professionals, as well as persons of various professions who traveled on family business.[124] Traders were the most prevalent group by number of border crossings. Jews traditionally conducted trade in this region, but at the same time, this group was subject to various restrictions in Russia. The government decided that trade activities of foreign Jews should be regulated as well. Stricter regulations also applied with regard to travel to attend court hearings or to accept an inheritance. The legal rules applicable to Jews within the empire also indirectly affected foreign Jews. The restrictions on Jewish internal mobility and border crossing that were in use in the Russian Empire are discussed in Chapter 1.

Jewish merchants who were Austrian subjects often complained to officials in Galicia and Vienna about discrimination by Russian authorities. In 1840, Brody merchants complained that for them was forbidden to enter the larger fairs and markets in the Russian Empire. Ten years later, merchants from the Austrian town of Husiatyn complained to Lemberg that their rights were regularly violated at the Russian Husiatin customs posts. Numerous attempts by the Austrian authorities (from customs offices to the government) to impact these situations did not produce any immediate results. Meanwhile, the Russian side claimed that such appeals were an intervention into the internal affairs of the state.[125]

Further, this section examines the legislation of both empires with regard to border-crossing and travel document regulations. Until the eighteenth century, the issuing of travel documents meant that one was allowed to travel freely and safely within a country or from a place. The concept was applied in the sense of supporting letter, and later, a passport. Passport documents took various forms in early modern times.

[124] Adelsgruber, Abgrenzen – Bewahren – Überwinden, pp. 444-445.
[125] Kuzmany, *Brody*, pp. 50-52.

They ranged from letters of convoy, which identified nobles and couriers, passports of goods for merchants, and special passports for beggars, peddlers, and traveling musicians. More often than not, what the document entailed was consent to leave regional dominions. Special regulations for travel abroad played only a minor role initially.

Until the twentieth century, legal crossing of the Austrian-Russian border was based on presentation of a state travel document. It caused all kinds of inconveniences and delays. In this context, there was a significant difference between much of Western and Central Europe, where wide freedom of movement and travel prevailed in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Following the catastrophic Crimean War and the change of emperor in Russia, changes also occurred in passport policy. In the mid-1850s, Alexander II reduced the high fees previously charged for passports for foreign travel. This rather ordinary law, which dealt only with passport fees, had a significant impact. Until that time, many had been prevented from traveling by the high cost of passports. According to Prince Obolenskiy, "everyone suddenly left Russia." Oppositionists were able to avoid Russian censorship and printed magazines and books abroad. However, issuing visas for a long stay was still a time-consuming bureaucratic procedure. For example, the Russian consul in Brody was recalled to St. Petersburg in the late 1850s because of complaints about delays in issuing visas.[126]

By the end of the nineteenth century, the estimated number of passports issued for leaving the Russian Empire was 3.48 million, and 3.45 million for entry.[127] In 1907, the number of border crossings between Empires was about 4 million. At the Russian-German border, the volume of trips was more than three times higher, which can be explained by seasonal labor migration. Generally, the era of mass travel was initiated and favored both by facilitating passport issuance and by improving transport connections. For example, statistics from the Volochisk customs service show that the number of travelers was only a few dozen per month in 1859. However, soon after

[126] Valentina Chernuha, *Pasport v Rossii. 1719–1917 gg.* (SPb., 2007), pp. 214-217, 255-256. Sandok Barącz. *Wolne miasto handlowe Brody* (Lwów 1865).

[127] Otto Handtmann (Hg.). *Russisches Paß-Büchlein. Paß- und Aufenthaltsbestimmungen für Reisende nach Rußland* (Leipzig, 1901).

the opening of international railway communication in 1871, their number was measured in thousands.

Governors-General issued foreign passports for Russian subjects. As an alternative, furnishment of a passport was also possible through governors or city mayors. The usual period of validity of foreign passports was six months. Russian citizens could stay abroad for a total of five years—in such cases, passports had to be extended abroad.[128] Additional regulations for Jews are examined in Chapter 1.

After the Revolution of 1848, the Habsburg Empire significantly simplified its passport regime, both for domestic and foreign travel. Passport controls were typically limited to external borders. Exceptions applied for the borders of "closed cities" (mainly Vienna and provincial capitals). The reforms were based on the model of the German Passport Card Association, founded at the Dresden Conference of fourteen German states in 1850, which enabled unhindered travel between member states with the sole requirement of a passport, without need for a visa. Austria joined the association in 1859. However, at the Austrian-Russian border, it was still mandatory to present a state travel permit to cross the border-line. For only a short period, from 1903 to 1905, the ministry of trade and foreign affairs of the Austro-Hungarian Empire implemented a project to cancel the visa regime unilaterally. The project aimed at tourism development. However, because of the revolutionary situation in Russia and no noticeable increase in tourism, the visa requirement was re-introduced in 1905.[129]

[128] Adelsgruber, Abgrenzen – Bewahren – Überwinden, pp. 379, 391;
Chernuha, *Pasport v Rossii, pp*. 82-84 ;
Serafim Patkanov, *Vneshnee passazhirskoe dvizhenie mezhdu Rossiej i drugimi gosudarstvami za period vremeni 1897—1907 gg.* (SPb, 1909).

[129] Hannelore Burger."Paßwesen und Staatsbürgerschaft", In Waltraud Heindl, Edith Saurer (Hg.): *Grenze und Staat. Passwesen, Staatsbürgerschaft, Heimatrecht und Fremdengesetzgebung in der österreichischen Monarchie 1750–1867* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2000), p. 3-9;
Adelsgruber, Abgrenzen – Bewahren – Überwinden, pp. 393-394.

Jews from Imperial Russia Arrive in Galicia

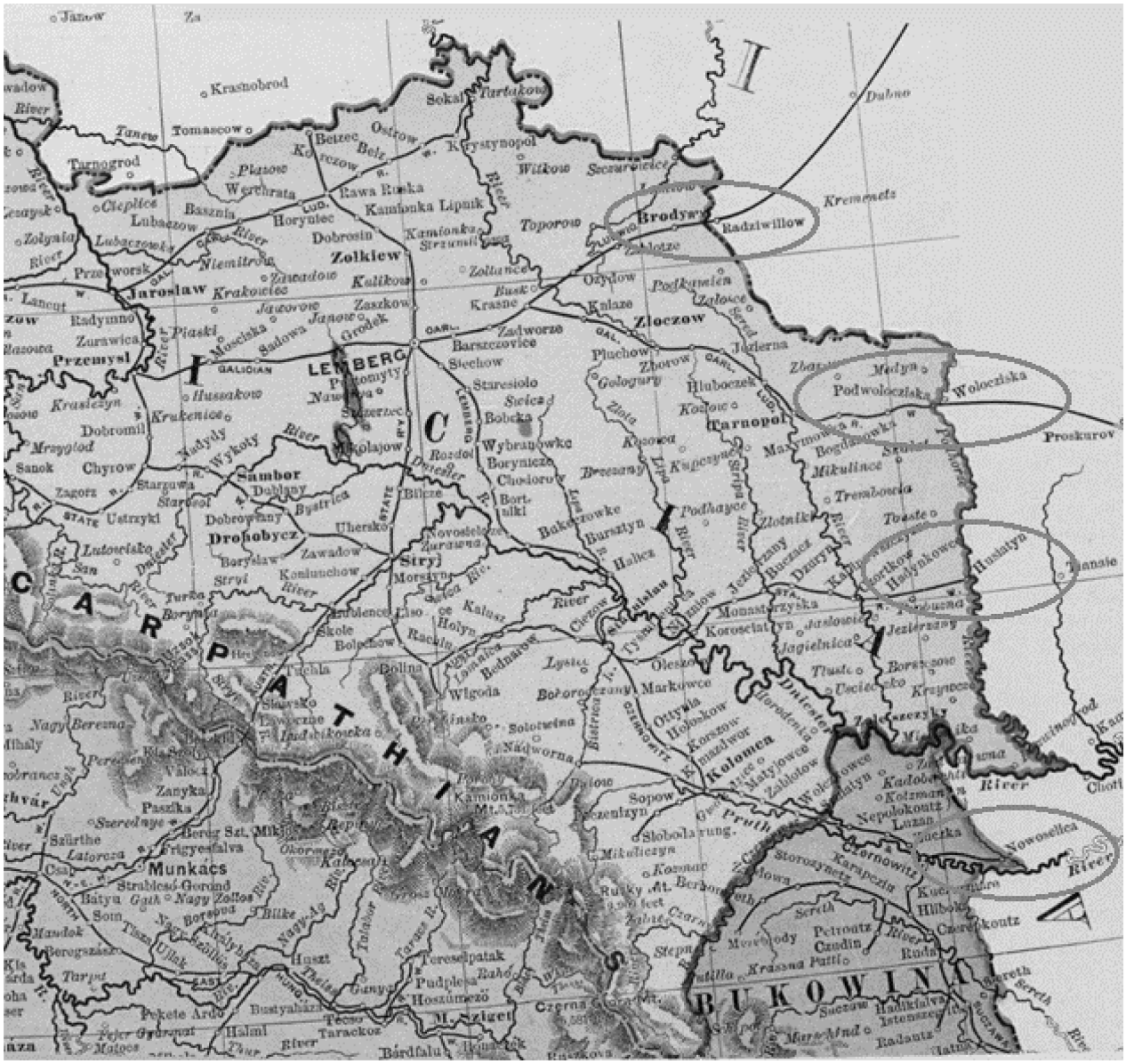
From the earliest weeks of anti-Jewish riots in South West provinces of the Russian Empire, both victims and other Jews sought refuge in other regions. The longer the pogroms and atmosphere of insecurity continued, the greater numbers of Jews left their homes. Many of them fled to neighboring Galicia. The questions of whether all refugees were victims of pogroms and how exactly anti-Jewish violence affected their flight to Galicia are analyzed in Chapter 4.

The first refugees to Austrian lands appeared in a border town, Podwołoczyska. A few days later, they were joined by Jews from the neighboring Russian town of Volochisk, where a pogrom was raging. This episode is explored in detail below. While the Russian border guards tried to stop them, "Austrian border control allowed them to cross the border without any objection."[130] As described above, crossing the border required a travel document. However, this rule was broken over the following months and even more so in May 1882, when the refugee crisis reached its second peak.[131] Moreover, according to Austrian officials, Russian border guards were instructed "not to provide any obstacles for Russian Israelites who want to cross the border-line at the Radzivilov railway station or who try to sneak into Austria on secret ["illegal"] routes."[132]

Most refugees lived in the South Western Russian provinces and indeed reached Austria through one of the three railway stations at the border, namely, Volochisk or Radzivilov on the border with Galicia, and Novoselitsa—with Austrian Bukovina. In addition, Russian Husiatin, which was not connected to the railway, became one of the major points of border crossing. (Map 2.5) However, approximately three-quarters of the refugees pressed through the Russian border at Radzivilov, and at Austrian Brody, illegally and without a passport check.[133]

---

[130] *Neue Freie Presse*, 19.05.1881, p. 8;
Ibid, 20.05.1881, p. 7;
Ibid, 21.05.1881, p. 5-6.
[131] Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), Ministerium d. Äußern (MdÄ), PA X, K. 141, I, p. 100, 102.
[132] Ibid, f. 98.
[133] TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3101-3115;



Map 2.5. The main border crossing points for Jewish refugees in 1881 and 1882.

Kuzmany "Jüdische Pogromflüchtlinge," pp. 98-99.

The case of Volochisk and Podwołoczyska

A case study offers a perspective on the way in which populations materially experienced pogroms and what was at stake during these threatening events. This section looks closely at the pogrom in Volochisk on May 3-6 (15-18),[134] 1881, and its aftermath. Materials of the court[135], which dealt with pogrom cases in November 1881, began with a description of one of the criminal acts from these days:

"*The pogrom began on May 4* [16 - Gregorian calendar] *at nine o'clock in the evening. A crowd led by Austrian subject, Petlevannyi, carrying bats, crowbars, and hoes, attacked the tavern of Jewish man, Simha Roizen. According to his information, the damage amounted to 3'000 rubles. The peasants beat his wife and stole a string of pearls, rings, and 435 rubles, which she had hidden in her stocking. Their best clothes, two samovars, and copper pots were stolen. Then, the crowd moved to the house of Mordko Portselian, whose property was partly destroyed and partly looted. According to him, the damage was 10'000 rubles. The crowd beat his wife and children and stole 225 rubles from the wife and 412 and 575 rubles from the sons*."[136]

The pogromists mostly came from the town and surrounding villages and consisted mainly of peasants, reserve soldiers, and railway workers, among others, including men from outside the town. The wait-and-see attitude of some officials also played a significant role. For instance, the stationmaster refused to allow Jews to hide in the station building during the violent attack.[137] Instead, he declared that the pogrom was a "punishment for prices set by Jewish traders." Later, he even participated in the pogrom. Similarly, witnesses also described the attitude chief of Railway Police. In court, neither of them wanted to remember their involvement in the riots. It is

[134] The dates of events that took place in the Russian Empire are provided according to the Julian calendar. The Gregorian calendar dates in such cases are given in brackets.
[135] The main source is court records: Trials by "Kiev Military Court" took place in November 1881 in Volocisk. (TsDIAK, f. 316, Opys 1, Sprava 121).
[136] TsDIAK, F. 316, O. 1, S. 121, pp. 1–2.
[137] Ibid, p. 13.

noteworthy, that several victims, who were beaten and robbed, were unable or unwilling to name the perpetrators.[138] It can be assumed that this was due to their awareness of the need to further coexist with the perpetrators.

In the case of Volochisk, resistance also came from a "compact group of 500 Jews" who, on the night of May 3 (15 - Gregorian calendar), "simply stood in the way of the crowd as it entered the town."[139] The attackers were affected and abandoned their plans that night. Still, the next night the attacks described above occurred.[140]

Scholars of the pogroms argue about specific "formalization and ritualization of violence." It was a tradition to attack directly only that the houses and property of Jews, while life and health were to be spared. Conversely, Jews were required not to defend themselves with firearms. The pogrom in Volochisk was stopped only by the arrival of regular troops on May 6 (18).[141]

For the movement of the refugees through the border to Galicia, two phases can be distinguished: a phase shortly before the pogrom and a phase after the riots began. Indications of imminent riots intensified shortly before the riots. Victims reported a "strong disquiet" among railway workers who were drinking alcohol in the station restaurant and planning an "action" for May 3 (15).[142] Jews were receiving explicit threats. The forebodings were even mentioned in the Viennese newspapers. On May 15, they published short messages about the robbery by "peasant gangs," which was to take place on the next day.[143] In Podwołoczyska at the same time, there had been increasing numbers of refugees. On May 14, troops from Lemberg were ordered to the border. Newspapers in Vienna published brief reports about these events. It is clear from these publications that there was a general awareness of the planned pogrom:

---

[138] Ibid, p. 11-13.
[139] Ibid, p. 2v.
[140] Ibid, pp. 2–2v.
[141] John D. Klier, *Russians, Jews and the Pogroms of 1881-1882* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 58-88;
Adelsgruber, Cohen, Kuzmany, *Getrennt Und Doch Verbunden*, p. 202.
[142] Adelsgruber, Abgrenzen – Bewahren – Überwinden, pp. 552-553.
[143] *Neue Freie Presse*, 15.5.1881, p. 5.

" [...] Yesterday afternoon, the General Command ordered an infantry unit to be sent to Podwołoczyska, where more and more refugees are flocking as a result of the unrest that has erupted in neighboring Russian provinces. The mission was ordered in response to a complaint from the political authorities. Reports from district captains and commissariats at the border indicated that preventive measures would be desirable, and many people, especially Jews, expressed concern that without timely warning, the movement spreading like a storm […] [and] *could cross the Austrian border and, in particular, reach Podwołoczyska* […]. *According to a statement widespread in Jewish circles, Volochisk is, in fact, the target of a robbery planned by Russian peasant gangs for next Monday. "*[144]

As Paulus Adelsgruber noted, in Austrian newspapers, both pogroms and displacements of refugees were presented as uncontrollable natural phenomena. Refugees were "flocking" to the Austrian border town. The small size of the border area in its physical and geographical form and the direct consequences of riots in the Russian Empire are obvious.[145] The press publication also shows that the arrival of the refugees in Podwołoczyska was primarily caused not by the upcoming riots in Volochisk, but by pogroms that occurred in other regions two weeks previously.

The sources also provide evidences that some of the most affluent Jews from Volochisk moved the Austrian side to Galicia before the riots: "*Due to the lack of support from the Russian authorities, a rich part of the population fled, and those who stayed took the necessary steps to deal with this event* [...]."[146] It is necessary to mention that besides Podwołoczyska, Russian Jews were already in Brody and Husiatyn at that time.

Scholars argue about spatial proximity and the close coexistence of Jews with Cristian neighbors in this region.[147] The sources also demonstrate this tendency in the case of the pogrom. Gerchberg, a burgher, had an apartment in the house of a peasant, Daniil Volich. During the attacks, Gerchberg was already on the Austrian side of the border.

[144] *Wiener Zeitung*, 15.5.1881, p. 1.
[145] Adelsgruber, Abgrenzen – Bewahren – Überwinden, p. 555.
[146] *Neue Freie Presse*, 20.5.1881, p. 7.
[147] Adelsgruber, Cohen, Kuzmany, *Getrennt Und Doch Verbunden*, pp. 201-202.

He knew the names of the criminals only from the words of his landlord.[148] Mordko Friman, a merchant, had already received a warning about impending riots. As early as May 1 (13), after a controversy about money, one of his customers, Adam Belinsky, threatened that he would attack his business and other property. The next day, Vasily Kirilov, one of the pogrom leaders, came and suggested to Mordko to sell the store because "*otherwise he will be robbed. However, the witness* [Friman] *did not agreed and took most of his valuable belongings […] He does not know who took part in the robbery because he was in Austria on the night of May 6* [18 - Gregorian calendar]."[149] In this case, it is not clear whether Kirilov wanted to save Jewish property from pogrom or threatened Freeman in this way.

The few cases mentioned above relate to Jews who fled to Austria before the pogrom started. It is instructive to consider how escape looked after the start of the riots in Volochisk. Border crossings during the pogrom were almost invisible in court materials, but they were described in newspaper reports. On May 18, a Viennese newspaper reported riots against Jews in Volochisk and surrounding villages, for the first time. The report was based on a telegram from Podwołoczyska on May 5(17). The newspaper reported that two people had been killed and that peasants had committed robberies. Escape movement to the Austrian border town was very active:

"*Almost all towns along the southwest railroad were badly hit by the plunderers. Refugees and their belongings are continually arriving here* [in Podwołoczyska]*, and large quantities of food supplies have also been brought here. The place is crowded with refugees. The assailants from Volochisk have weapons purchased here* [in Podwołoczyska]*; more distant raids are to be feared. "*[150]

On the same day, the evening issue of *Neue Freie Presse* wrote about two hundred children and their mothers in the trading facilities at Podwołoczyska, "while most of the Jews [from Volochisk] had to spend the night outside."[151] The press publications

[148] TsDIAK, F. 316, O. 1, S. 121, p. 12.
[149] Ibid, pp. 12-12v.
[150] *Neue Freie Presse*, 18.5.1881, p. 7.
[151] Ibid, 18.5.1881 (evening issue), p. 3.

on May 19 even claimed that "not a single Jew has stayed in Volochisk."[152] Considering that the Jewish community numbered about 1,600 people,[153] one can get the impression that the provoked escape must have been catastrophic. However, it is difficult to calculate how many people crossed the border eventually. A report published two days later suggests a peak of four hundred people from Volochisk.[154]

The Austrian border authorities did not place any obstacles in the way of the refugees. At the same time, there had been delays on the Russian side, which intensified the chaotic situation and caused injuries. This information can be gathered from the first long article about the event that appeared in the press on May 20:

"*From Volochisk, around midnight on May 15* [May 3 - Julian calendar], *there were cries of lamentation and screams for help, followed by storm bells with three intervals. […] Hundreds of women, mostly half-naked, mostly poorly dressed, with babies in their arms, and the rest of the children with them, were rushing towards the Austrian border, groaning and shouting, but the Russian border service would not let them cross. As a result, there was chaos, and they ran into each other, several of them broke hands; it was a sad scene. Finally, the barrier was raised, and a massive crowd* […] [of Jews] *rushed to our city, where in part they camped on bare ground, wandering the streets.*"[155]

The night-time exodus was highly chaotic, and all belongings were left behind. Along with physical violence and plundering, the reports from the Austrian press show elements of sexual violence against Jewish women. However, since the issue is not mentioned in the materials of the trial of the pogromists or in any other sources, it is not possible to analyze this aspect of the riots. Surprisingly enough, on the following morning, many Jews returned to their Volochisk to collect their belongings and then return with them to the Austrian side:

[152] Ibid, 19.5.1881, p. 8.
[153] Adelsgruber, Cohen, Kuzmany, *Getrennt Und Doch Verbunden*, p. 202.
[154] *Neue Freie Presse*, 21.5.1881, p. 7.
[155] Ibid, 20.5.1881, p. 7.

"*A long row of peasant wagons, loaded with grain, household items, and bedding, were moving along the road. Between them, there were wagons of women with children's beds, sick people, older people, and children accompanied by refugees. The threatening attack of that day did not disappear without trace. A stronger crowd than the day before, armed with revolvers, axes, and crowbars, stormed into the city with screams of "Hurray!," and they smashed windows and doors.*"[156]

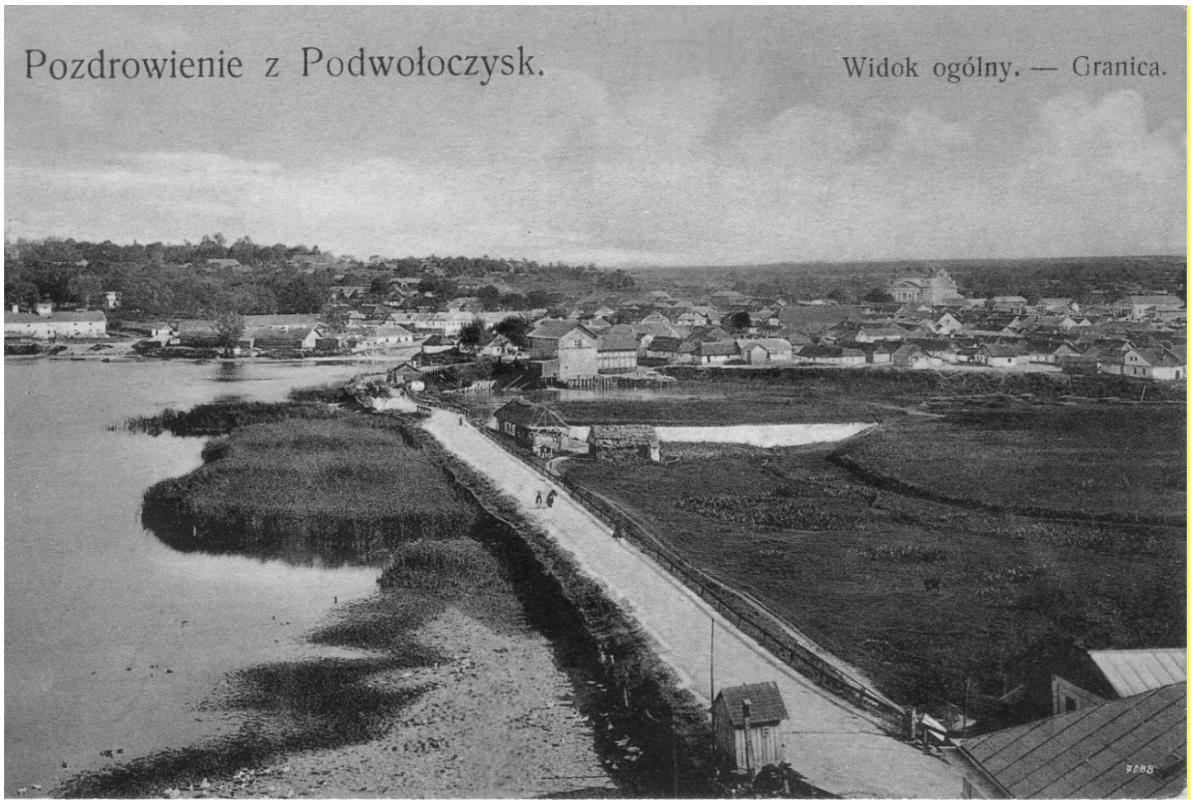


Figure 2.6. View from Podwołoczyska to Volochisk, 1905, postcard, Volochysk Historical and Ethnographic Museum.

The pogrom led to an increased movement towards Austria and suffering on the bridge (Figure 2.6) to Podwołoczska:

" […] *Almost all of the women and children of the poorer part of Volochisk, who had stayed behind in Volochisk, rushed towards the Austrian border scared to death,*

[156] Ibid.

shivering and freezing; here they spent the night in the field; misery and hardship were constantly growing."[157]

The Galician border town continued to receive refugees from neighboring locations and the other regions affected by pogroms. The newspaper wrote: "arriving Russian trains are continually bringing refugees."[158] When riots were stopped by the army, many Jews from Volochisk quickly returned to their home town. A report to Vienna at the end of May stated that "the refugees are returning. Out of the 400 people, about 250 remained here.[on the Austrian side]"[159] As is shown in Chapter 4, the repatriation of the majority of arriving Jews was one of the results of the Galician crises of 1881-1882.

In the case of Volochisk, one can assume that the rate of return was above average, even though the Russian authorities sometimes did not allow Jewish refugees to return without further investigation, and insisted on confirmation of citizenship.[160] However, the statistics show that the population of Volochisk in 1885 was about the same level as in 1881. In the following decades, the population even grew strongly, and this is especially noticeable in the case of Jews.[161] In spite of the events described above, Volochisk remained *shtetl*, a Jewish market town.

The question of the role of the Galician population in pogroms on the Russian side of the border requires further analysis. However, it is worth mentioning that one of the Austrian subjects involved in the pogroms even received a prison term from the Russian court and was imprisoned in Tarnopol.[162] This case and various kinds of violence perpetrated against Jews in different Galician cities caused great concern among the authorities about the possibility of repetitive pogroms on Austrian territory. These concerns and the activities of Galician officials against anti-Jewish attitudes are examined in Chapter 3.

[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid, 21.5.1881, p. 5.
[160] HHStA, MdÄ, PA X, I, K. 179, p. 238.
[161] Adelsgruber, Abgrenzen – Bewahren – Überwinden, pp. 557-558.
[162] HHStA, MdÄ, PA X, I, K. 179, p. 202-203.

* * *

The border was not new in the 1880s. The establishment of border management bodies took a long time and had quite specific procedures for crossing the border-line. However, as the events of 1881-1882 showed, these procedures often lost their meaning in cases of crisis and were ignored or adapted to the situation.

The border zone was a periphery of transport modernization in both empires. Despite this fact, in the 1860s-1870s, the region was directly connected to the main transportation arteries of East-Central Europe. Later, it was one of the factors in the refugee crisis in Galicia. The latter escalated not only because of those who fled from neighboring cities across the border but rather as a consequence of the masses of Jews arriving from other regions of the Russian Empire.

The events of the pogrom in Volochisk and the escape of refugees across the border in May 1881 present a rather unique case in that the border assumed a rescue function. This situation significantly distinguishes the pogrom in Volochisk from movements in other regions of Russia. At the same time, similar to riots in most other cities, these pogroms did not radically change the existing social structure and the role of Jews therein. The relatively fast return of refugees to their homes confirms yet again the scholar's arguments about role of Jews in pogroms as "enemies for a day."[163] As for the border zone, the pogrom and its aftermath showed that even after almost one hundred and ten years of separation, the situation in border towns remained interdependent.

[163] Staliunas Darius, *Enemies for a Day*.

Chapter 3. Governing the Refugee Crisis

The arrival of groups of newcomers poses a new challenge and at times requires activity from state authority. In modern history, many crises have been caused by the movement of peoples. The Ottoman-Austrian[164] and Ottoman-Russian[165] borderlands, the countries of Western Europe[166], and many other cases could be mentioned as providing examples of such a phenomenon. For scholars of imperial bureaucracy, these cases are significant because they demonstrate the efficiency and hierarchy of state institutions, as well as highlighting practical cases of law enforcement and relations between centers and peripheries of empires.

Differences in state policy and in the activities of "ordinary" civil servants gain visibility in micro-historical studies. They offer sure ground for scholarly debate about the correctness of images of state mechanisms that are constructed on the basis of law analysis and on evidence from imperial centers. However, combining local and central perspectives is crucial for researchers to avoid generalizing conclusions from micro-level studies or from an image of unique patterns shown by state representatives in particular parts of the empire.

---

[164] For example: Jared Manasek, "Protection, Repatriation and Categorization: Refugees and Empire at the End of the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 30, no. 2 (2017): 302–17;
Jovan Pesalj, "Monitoring migrations: the Habsburg-Ottoman border in the eighteenth century" (PhD thesis, University of Leiden 2019).

[165] For example: Andrew Robarts, *Migration and Disease in the Black Sea Region: Ottoman- Russian Relations in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).

[166] For example: Christina Reimann, "People on Lists in Port Cities: Administrative Migration Control in Antwerp and Rotterdam (c. 1880–1914)," *Journal of Migration History* 6, no. 2 (June 15, 2020): 182–208;
Caroline Shaw, *Britannia's Embrace: Modern Humanitarianism and the Imperial Origins of Refugee Relief* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Moreover, crises provide an excellent case for investigating how, and in what conditions, state institutions are ready, or even have, to delegate functions and share authority with non-state actors. Scholars tend to be drawn to such subjects as informal practices undertaken by state representatives, and governance of migration by non-governmental institutions. However, most existing studies are devoted to the period of the short twentieth century[167] and to recent migration crises in Europe[168].

Analyzing the interaction of different actors with migrants, and the activity of these actors with regard to migrants, goes far beyond migration governance history. It even extends to shedding light on socio-cultural issues, such as the language of communication between officials and migrants. Moreover, archival evidence allows us to explore the knowledge of Habsburg bureaucrats about the neighboring Russian Empire and their perception of Jews across the eastern border.

This chapter aims to identify the core actors involved in the border zone refugee crisis, and to explore their types of interaction, as well as to analyze their strategy, activities, and impact on the crisis. To reach this objective, the chapter explores two groups of actors, that is, state and non-state. Since both groups were remarkably heterogeneous and belonged to a variety of historical contexts, this analysis is limited to the period 1881-1882 and focuses mainly on Galician cities that became the places of concentration for Jews coming from the east.

[167] See: Kevin O'Sullivan, "Humanitarian Encounters: Biafra, NGOs and Imaginings of the Third World in Britain and Ireland, 1967–70," *Journal of Genocide Research* 16, no. 2–3 (July 3, 2014): 299–315;
Gregory Mann, *From Empires to NGOs in the West African Sahel* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[168] For example: Franck Düvell, Irina Molodikova, and Michael Collyer, eds., *Transit Migration in Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014);
Ibrahim Sirkeci, "Transnational Mobility and Conflict," *Migration Letters* 3, no. 1 (2006): 3–14;
Nataliya Nikolova, "Immigration and Refugee Policies of Bulgaria as Part of the Accession Process to the EU," *Der Donauraum* 49, no. 1–2 (December 2009): 33–44.

State and Non-State Migration Actors

Today, there is an ongoing debate involving scholars from many disciplines about the role of governmental institutions and NGOs in European, North-American, and global migration governance.[169] However, even intensive academic investigation of the field does not yield a clear understanding of informal state practices, the role of NGOs, and shared governance mechanisms. The historicizing of the field of migration governance in the present research has no particular aim of contributing to any of the discussions concerning the recent refugee crises in the Mediterranean Sea. At the same time, the questions addressed in this chapter are highly relevant for academic debates in the field.

In the late 1990s, criticism of the explanatory potential of a migration regimes framework developed into the broad concept of migration management.[170] Later, the notion of management was transformed into that of governance so as to incorporate civil society institutions.[171] The concept of migration governance is defined as the "process of governing by governance and other organization (including NGOs and business), through the law, norms, and discourses."[172] The importance of this concept is in focusing on decision-making and interaction among different actors.[173]

With regard to the Habsburg monarchy of the 1880s, the first determining factor of historical context that must be mentioned is an absence of imperial or international migration law in the contemporary definition of those terms. Intergovernmental agreements usually defined border crossing between European states. The legal

[169] See: Martin Geiger and Antoine Pécoud, "International Organisations and the Politics of Migration," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40, no. 6 (June 3, 2014): 865–87;
Mathias Czaika and Hein De Haas, "The Effectiveness of Immigration Policies," *Population and Development Review* 39, no. 3 (September 2013): 487–508.
Tineke Strik, "NGOs and the Making of EU Migration Policy," *Journal of Migration History* 5, no. 2 (September 11, 2019): 353–83.

[170] Alexander Betts, ed., *Global Migration Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[171] François Crépeau and Idil Atak, "Global Migration Governance," *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights* 34, no. 2 (June 7, 2016): 113–32.

[172] Marlou Schrover, Teuntje Vosters, and Irial Glynn, "NGOs and West European Migration Governance (1860s until Present): Introduction to a Special Issue," *Journal of Migration History* 5, no. 2 (September 11, 2019): 190.

[173] Mark Bevir, *Governance: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

framework for border crossing between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires is examined in Chapter 2. For the position of local authorities, what was crucial was the lack of law in the sphere of transmigration. Apart from existing border crossing treaties, instructions issued by the viceroyalty of Galicia[174] were the only regulations that could be approached as a legal basis for the activities of civil servants towards Jewish newcomers.

The ministry of foreign affairs was the only actor of the imperial center involved in the crisis of 1881-1882. The main undertaking of the ministry was to coordinate the activities of Galician authorities and the Russian government. In effect, these bodies were primarily the border authorities and the Russian consulate in Brody. The Galician migration crisis is analyzed in Chapter 5 from the perspective of the Habsburg imperial center.

In such a legal situation, the activities of officials with regard to refugees were mainly directed by the directorate of police, which was part of the presidium of the viceroyalty.[175] Police officers were tasked with executing the instructions of the presidium of the viceroyalty and were responsible for resolving the crisis. In the provinces, they were mainly supervised by district governors,[176] and in the cities, by mayors. Consequently, it was the police and local officials who created an array of documents, which allows the activities of the various actors in the crisis to be traced in historical detail.[177]

When the state was challenged by a lack of human and material resources for governance of the migration, the situation created "windows of opportunity" for NGOs and migration businesses to become more prominent and active.[178] In the early 1880s, the imperial resources that were involved in crises were barely sufficient to monitor the situation. Furthermore, state resources were eventually inadequate to ensure the stay of Jewish refugees in Galicia or to organize their return to

[174] *Namiestnictwo Galicyjskie*
[175] *Prezydium Namiestnictwa*
[176] *Starosty*
[177] Tsentralnyi Derzhavnyi Istorychnyi Archiv in Lviv (TsDIAL), F. 146, O. 4, S. 3001-3116, 7615-7624.
[178] For example: Peter Gatrell, "Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War," *Immigrants & Minorities* 26, no. 1–2 (March 2008): 82–110.

Russian territories.

Habsburg Galicia was already an essential area of international migration business. Human trafficking, illegal trade, and the crossing of Russian and German borders without required documents by persons staying in Galicia typically depended on smugglers, so-called "migration agents," and corrupted officials.[179] At the same time, the authority of the Habsburgs was never involved in such agreements with migration businesses as the German government had with steamship lines. In the German case, the HAPAG (Hamburg-Amerikanische Packetfahrt-Actien-Gesellschaft) and Lloyd (Norddeutscher Lloyd) lading steamship lines de facto privatized eastern border control because it had proved challenging to manage and would require extensive investment by the state. As a result, the migration business controlled major migration routes in Germany.[180]

In the case of a crisis in Galicia involving Jews from the east, the leading role in migration governance was assumed by several international Jewish non-state organizations. They organized international relief action, jointly. The representatives of these organizations became intermediaries not only between migrants and businesses but also between migrants and the empire. The crucial role of Jewish organizations was made possible by the concentration of expert, moral, and logistical authority.[181] Expert authority was given to these organizations by the state, which did not have adequate resources to deal with newcomers. Moral authority relied on ideas of international Jewish philanthropy and was connected to discourses about

[179] Nancy M. Wingfield, *The World of Prostitution in Late Imperial Austria* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).
Aleksandra Jakubczak, *Polacy, Żydzi i mit handlu kobietami* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2020);
Magdalena Baran-Szołtys, Olena Dvoretska, Nino Gude, Elisabeth Janik-Freis (Hg.), *Galizien in Bewegung. Wahrnehmungen – Begegnungen – Verflechtungen* (Vienna: Vienna University Press at V&R unipress, 2018);
Grzegorz Maria Kowalski, *Przestępstwa Emigracyjne w Galicji 1897-1918. Z Badań Nad Dziejami Polskiego Wychodźstwa* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2003).
[180] Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers*, pp. 75–119;
Tobias Brinkmann, "Why Paul Nathan Attacked Albert Ballin: The Transatlantic Mass Migration and the Privatization of Prussia's Eastern Border Inspection, 1886-1914," *Central European History* 43, no. 1 (2010): 47–83.
[181] Michael Barnett, Thomas G. Weiss, *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 38-48.

persecuted Russian Jews, which were spreading in the Western European and North American press.[182] Logistical authority was guaranteed by negotiations with local administrations as well as by large volumes of financial resources raised by Jewish organizations for the establishment of relief action.

Activities of Local Authorities

In early May 1881, Galician officials learned for the first time about Jews from the Russian Empire who had crossed the border and were staying in Galicia. On May 8, police in Podwołoczyska reported on a group of Jewish newcomers without documents.[183] This group was unrelated to the pogrom in Volochisk and its aftermath, which is examined in Chapter 2. A few days later, the presidium of the viceroyalty received similar reports from police in Brody and Husiatyn.[184] These documents demonstrate that the police were aware of the ongoing pogroms in the Russian Empire. It is important to point out that police reports about the early stage of the crisis show that newcomers were being monitored only, without action being taken against them.

The first response of the viceroyalty was to issue several instructions to police officials in border towns. The key objective of the instructions was to prevent the possibility of Jewish refugees settling in the region. The second objective was to prevent the spread of anti-Jewish riots in Galicia.[185] At this point, the viceroyalty's directorate of police noted a connection between Jews coming from the east and the beginning of anti-Jewish propaganda and riots. The idea that Eastern Jews could become the cause of anti-Jewish violence was not new and already circulated in the

---

[182] Sam Johnson, *Pogroms, Peasants, Jews. Britain and Europe's "Jewish Question," 1867-1925* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011);
Sonja Weinberg, *Pogroms and Riots: German Press Responses to Anti-Jewish Violence in Germany and Russia (1881-1882)* (Frankfurt am Main - Berlin - Bruxelles - New York - Oxford - Wien: Peter Lang, 2010);
Berk, *Year of Crisis, Year of Hope.*

[183] TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3102, pp. 5-5v.

[184] Ibid, p. 6.

[185] Ibid, p. 21-22, 24-27.

Galician press. Both riots in the Russian Empire and the refugee crisis of the early 1880s influenced the Jewish question in the Galician public sphere, and this is discussed in Chapter 5.

Provincial authorities were concerned about the settlement in Galicia of Jews from the Russian Empire and about the spread of anti-Jewish violence in the region—this largely determined the activities of local officials regarding the crisis. Thus, district governors, city mayors, and police focused on identifying newcomers from Russia, on facilitating—even on organizing—their return to Russian territories, as well as on counteracting anti-Jewish propaganda among the local population, and preventing possible violence against local Jews and newcomers.

The attitude of Galician officials towards the refugee crisis can be illustrated by a letter from one district police department to the directorate of police in Lemberg:

"[…] *The more intense the anti-Jewish unrest in Russia's neighboring empire, the Russian administration has shown an unwillingness to stop the wild riot of the crowd and has wholly abandoned the protection of the law to ensure fair justice for the hated Jews.* […] *Mass emigration began consequently.*

Our land at the border will be affected by the arrival of hungry masses. Obviously, they try to escape torture and death. It is problematic to stop these crowds from entering our land. […] [Austrian] *resident will not let these Jews resettle in Galicia. No one wants to increase the already overabundant Jewish population in our cities. Russian Jews are poor, illiterate, and unskilled. They are not even ready to work. […] resettlement of the Jewish refugees in Galicia will increase the number of Jews, who benefit from equal civil rights with Christians, even though they will form a society inside a society, a state inside a state. They will never blend in with the rest of the neighboring nation* […] *and will not want to blend in. However, they consider themselves to be the chosen people of God, and others to be just tools that they can use with total impunity. We must protect the interest of the country and [have] no compassion. This interest certainly requires that we do not allow the settlement of Jewish refugees from Russia in Galicia.* […]"[186]

[186] Ibid, F 146, O. 4, S. 7615, p. 3-4.

The above quote demonstrates a quite representative understanding of the problems caused by the arrival of Jews from the Russian provinces. The internal statements of the authorities concerning refugee crises were always closely related to the Jewish question in Galicia. In the quoted letter, one can see a clear anti-assimilation position, which was widely presented in the Galician press. This approach to the Jewish question was based on a critique of Habsburg emancipatory policies as far as Jews were concerned and a belief that they were not capable of being a fully emancipated part of Christian society. On the contrary, another statement, no less common in the correspondence of the officials, was about the significant difference between "civilized" Galician Jews and Jews in Russia.

In correspondence between the directorate and local police departments, tasks for the police and the authorities of districts were clearly stated:

"*1) Jewish refugees from Russian* […] *need to be temporarily accommodated in cities along the border.*

2) The responsible provincial authorities should compile precise lists of emigrants and keep an eye on them. Consequently, they do not wander the hinterland far from the cities they are assigned to stay in.
3) The emigrants should be forced to come back to their homeland when the riots in Russia end. If they cannot return, they should be forced to cross the western border."[187]

It was the police officers who came to be the only officials who had regular direct contact with Jewish newcomers. Police forces became the primary tool of the empire in governance of the migrants. At the same time, they were not prepared for such activities. Sources provide many cases of disagreement among policemen themselves, as well as with the local authorities. It is also clear from the existing documents that the police did not prove able to establish effective communication with migrants. In order to find a common language, local Jews were even involved

[187] Ibid, F. 146, O. 4, S. 7615, p. 4.

as translators from Yiddish to Polish.[188] Yiddish was native to most Jews from Russia, while Polish was the primary language in the work of police and other Galician officials.

Following a wave of refugees, who had been allowed to pass without formal checks in late spring and summer of 1881 by Austrian border guards, preventing the arrival of a new group of Jews from a neighboring empire became one of the police force's main tasks. For this purpose, police officers even started monitoring checkpoints and the border-line in conjunction with border guards. From late summer 1881, this joint activity was reported numerous times, mostly from Brody and Podwołoczyska.[189] After such actions, police acknowledged their incapacity to control movement across the border. The head of the police department in Brody wrote to Lemberg in October 1881: "smugglers, who help Russian Jews, know the holes in the border much better than our border guards."[190]

The place of railway transportation systems in transmigration and in control over migrants in Europe is one of the topical subjects among historians of migration. These issues have attracted the attention of researchers for more than a century.[191] At the same time, this subject has been raised mainly in publications about the history of Prussian transit. Scholars have even emphasized the role of German trains and railway stations in the transmigration of Eastern European Jews.[192]

The most comprehensive research on this topic has been conducted in recent years. Scholars have shown the role of Jewish migration from Eastern Europe in the

[188] TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3103, pp. 14v, 40.
[189] Ibid, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3105, pp. 23-40v,76-79;
Ibid, S. 7615, pp. 4-9v, 13-21;
Ibid, S. 7616, pp. 57-59.
[190] Ibid, S. 7615, p. 9v.
[191] For example: Bernhard Karlsberg, *History and importance of the German control of emigrants in transit* (Hamburg 1922);
Hans Wichmann, Die Auswanderung aus Österreich in Russland über die Detschen Häffen (Berlin 1913).
[192] Zosa Szajkowski, "Sufferings of Jewish Emigrants to America in Transit through Germany," *Jewish Social Studies* 39, no. 1–2 (1977): 105–16;
Just Michael, *Ost- Und Südosteuropäische Amerikawanderung 1881 - 1914. Transitprobleme in Deutschland Und Aufnahme in Den Vereinigten Staaten* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiedbaden GmbH, 1988).

transformation of Prussian railway management.[193] Tobias Brinkmann argues that since the 1880s, railway stations have been one of the essential points of control of migration through Prussia. This control was carried out in cooperation between the state, migration businesses, and, in the case of Jews, aid organizations.[194] Later, such activity led to the establishment of special railway stations for migrants (*Auswandererbahnhof*). Nicole Kvale Eilers went even further than her colleagues and analyzed how migrant trains functioned and how the transport system carried out the role assigned to it in transmigration governance.[195]

From June 1881, police organized special patrols at railway stations in the Galician border zone. The work of patrols at train stations was not documented well, but some general information can be found about it in the reports of local officials or in press materials.[196] At railway stations in the border towns and in Lemberg, police met trains and inspected passengers. In a letter to Lemberg, the district governor of Złoczów wrote:

"[…] *to avoid [...] the unrestrained entrance of Russian Jews […], we have ordered police officers to be posted to every train arriving at the station in Złoczów […] [officers] should check documents and verify the identity of Jews from Russia […] before [they] can set foot into town*."[197]

If migrants from the Russian Empirewere found without documents, they were taken into custody, and the local police department decided where to send them. In most

[193] Tobias Brinkmann, "Strangers in the City: Transmigration from Eastern Europe and Its Impact on Berlin and Hamburg 1880-1914," *Journal of Migration History* 2, no. 2 (2016): 223–46;
Brinkmann, "Why Paul Nathan Attacked Albert Ballin," pp. 47–83;
Allison Schmidt, "'The Long March through Leipzig': Train Terminal Chaos and the Transmigrant Registration Station, 1904–1914," *Journal of Migration History* 2, no. 2 (September 30, 2016): 307–29.
[194] Brinkmann, "Why Paul Nathan Attacked Albert Ballin," pp. 47–83.
[195] Nicole Kvale Eilers, "Emigrant Trains: Migratory Transportation Networks Through Germany and the United States, 1847-1914" (University of Wisconsin–Madison, 2009).
[196] TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 7615, pp. 4-6, 80-80v;
Ibid, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3105, pp. 6-10.
[197] Ibid, S. 7615, p. 5.

reported cases, police officers sent migrants to Brody, and from there, newcomers were further deported to Russian territory or sent by direct train to Prussia. By at least late spring 1882, police patrols were working regularly at major train stations,[198] but with the beginning of action by international Jewish organizations, this order changed significantly.

Police forces in the border area were quite efficient in monitoring Jewish newcomers.[199] The preserved documents of the presidium of the viceroyalty include hundreds of local police reports about Jews from the Russian Empire. These reports contain detailed information about the activity of police forces faced with the appearance of newcomers in Galicia. To many of the reports, police officers attached lists of migrants including detailed information about each migrant, such as origin, age, occupation, family status, and migration destination. Quite often, these lists even had information usually collected by the police about criminals, namely, hair and eye color, height, and other distinguishing marks. (see Figure 3.1)

A central part of monitoring of migrants was collecting information on whether they had passports and money to continue their journey. In most cases, Jewish migrants did not have any travel documents or their own money for migration. Comparison of police reports with documents about migrants who had received assistance from the international Jewish relief network[200] shows close cooperation between police and representatives of organizations in Galicia.

In the documents of the Galician viceroyalty, the topic of the accommodation of Jews from the Russian Empire in cities and of their provision appears very rarely. As mentioned above, most of the documents came to the viceroyalty from police structures, which did not often mention the living conditions of Jewish refugees. From the rare reports of city administrations, it can be seen that the local authorities were concerned about the presence of refugees in the cities. However, they only provided

[198] Ibid, S. 3013, pp. 17-18.
Ibid, S. 3014, p. 21.
[199] Lukin, Shraberman. Documents on the emigration, p. 104.
[200] Lists of Jews in Galicia from the Russian Empire were also found in the collections of the Institute for Jewish Research (YIVO) and in the *Alliance israélite universelle* archives. The documents are very similar to those compiled by the local police. A small part of the lists even follows the same order of migrants.

accommodation facilities for small children and women in rare cases[201]. Several cases of extension of humanitarian assistance to newcomers were also documented, but this only concerned the most vulnerable of refugees.[202]

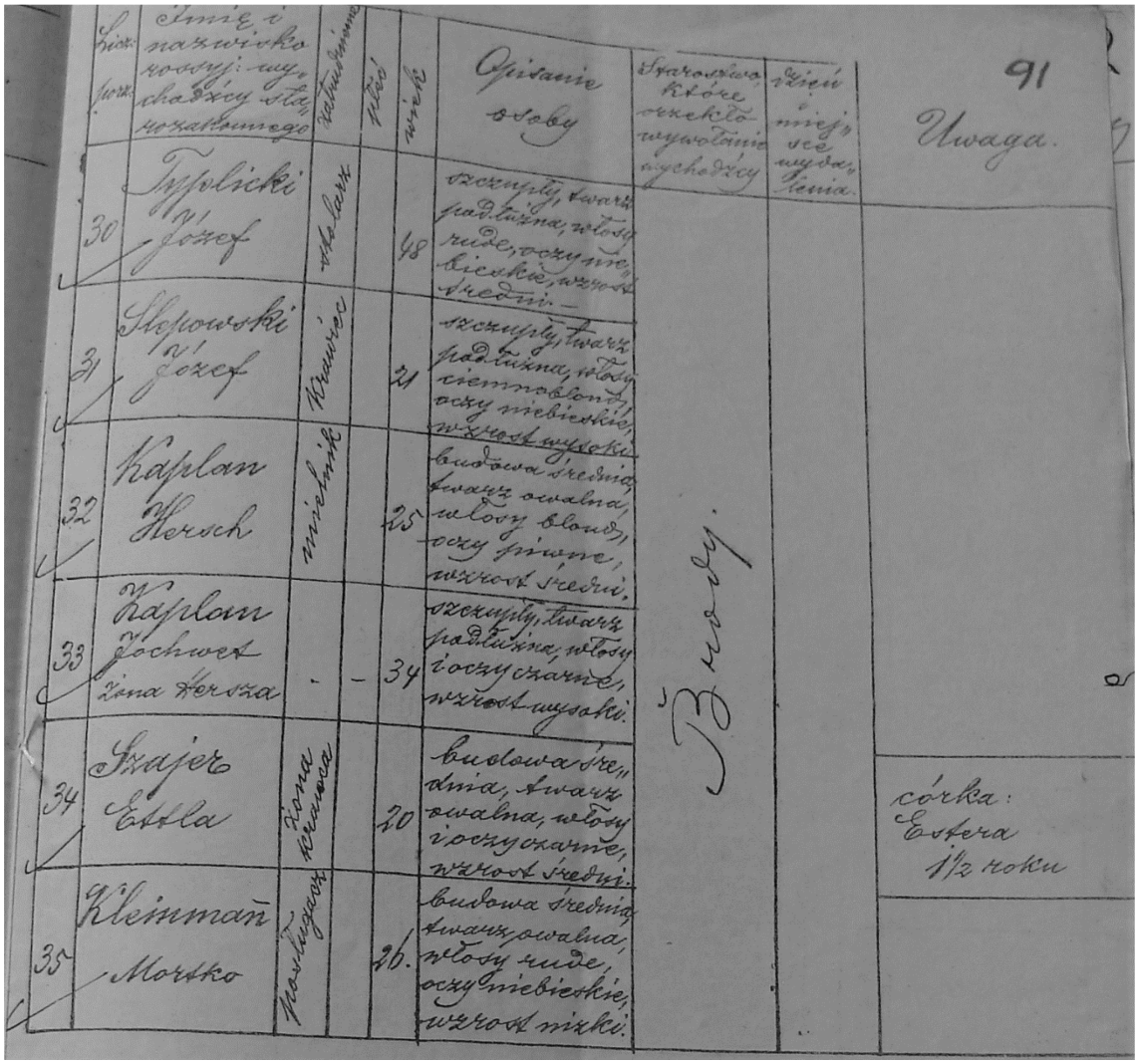


Figure 3.1. List of Jews from the Russian Empire staying in Brody (Attachment to the police report), July 9, 1882, TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3106, p. 91.

City authorities understood the enormity of the problem but were unwilling or unable to allocate city resources for the support of refugees. The local officials sought to pass on this responsibility. Their first choice was the Jewish communities. For example,

[201] For example: TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3112, pp. 33-33v.

[202] For example: Ibid, S. 3110, pp. 33-33v.

in Brody, the authorities even tried to order local Jewish organizations to take care of food and settlement for newcomers. In September 1881, local civil servants wrote in a joint letter to the governor of Galicia, Alfred Potocki:

"[...]the destitution of these people provokes our deep empathy [...] they [refugees] are poor and hungry [...] among them are those who do not need help at all. Having left their rich properties at home, they came here in the hope of being provided. [...]

Only our Brody Jews are supposed to help their fellow believers. [...] we have already obliged to give a roof over their heads to families with babies [...] to give food once a day to children [...]"[203]

In this letter, officials also asked the governor to help them and to force the community to take responsibility for the refugees' stay. This correspondence does not contain information about whether the governor responded to the petition. Still, in this case, the community refused to bear such duty.[204] At the same time, there are sufficient cases in which local Jews helped the refugees. However, the central role in supporting Jews from Russia was taken by representatives of international Jewish organizations, which are discussed below.

When in spring 1882, Galicia faced the arrival of a second wave of refugees, the activity of the authorities became more determined. Police raids to identify undocumented Jews from Russia were now followed much more frequently by them being sent back to Russian territory.[205] Force was used in an increasing number of cases. In Brody, for example, police beat refugees to force them to board a train that took them across the border to Radzivilov.[206] In summer 1882, the police directorate in Lemberg sent instructions to local police departments that all identified Russian Jews should be inspected for availability of documents and funds for further migration. If they did not pass this check, the police must send them back to Russia

[203] Ibid. S. 3103, pp. 10-11.
[204] Ibid, S. 3103, pp. 13.
[205] Ibid, S. 3107 (multiple pages).
[206] Ibid, S. 3109, pp. 22-23

by force.[207] Apart from the increasing number of refugees, such changes in the policy of the authorities were caused by the fact that in 1882 it became clear that even with the help of international organizations, only a proportion of Jews arriving from the neighboring empire would be able to further migrate to the West.[208]

The danger of anti-Jewish riots was also present in Galicia and was taken seriously by the authorities. The closeness of events in Volochisk and the participation of Austrian subjects in the riots caused fears about possible attacks on Galician Jews. However, the main concern of the authorities was anti-Jewish propaganda. The latter intensified in all parts of Galicia, even those that were not close to the border, with the beginning of pogroms in the Russian Empire.

The police registered cases of anti-Jewish violence in Krakau and Lemberg. For example, in Lemberg, there took place the arrest of an "alleged traveling baker" who "affirmed proclamations that provoked excesses against the Jews."[209] Similar incidents occurred in smaller towns, such as Złoczów, Husiatyn, and Drohobycz. In the second half of 1881, police reports showed the regularity of such actions. In most cases, propaganda was anonymous and circulated in the form of posters or flyers (*ulotki*). However, there is no evidence in official sources from 1881 that this propaganda led to anti-Jewish riots among the local population[210]

From spring 1882, police officials reported several incidents of physical violence against Jews. It is important to note that, in most cases, the victims of violence were local, rather than Russian, Jews. However, police investigations proved that the perpetrators of violence were mainly motivated by calls for pogroms or rumors about "Tsarist Jews" who wanted to settle in Galicia. For example, in a village near Czortków, a group of Jews was set upon and beaten by young male peasants. These Jews came from a Galician village and were on their way to a fair in nearby Czortków. It emerged during the police investigation that the reason for the violence was the

[207] Ibid, S. 3112 (multiple pages).
Ibid, S. 3113 (multiple pages).
[208] Lukin, Shraberman. "Documents on the emigration," pp. 106-107;
Kuzmany, "Jüdische Pogromflüchtlinge," pp. 114-116.
[209] *Neue Freie Presse*, 21.5.1881, p. 7.
[210] For example.: TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3104, pp. 3-5.
Ibid, S. 3102 (multiple pages).

offenders' belief that these Jews came from the western Russian provinces. As the offenders stated during the interrogation, they would not have committed a crime if they knew that the victims were "our Jews."[211] The brief testimony of the peasants looks extremely interesting in the context of propaganda about the dangers of Jews arriving from the Russian Empire. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the offenders were unable to distinguish Galician from Russian Jews, yet they were assured of significant differences between these groups.

Generally, local police officials were quite active in preventing and investigating anti-Jewish propaganda. In summer 1881, a group of men was arrested and punished in Sambor for calling for Jews to be killed.[212] Extensive investigations were conducted against the Russophile Kachkovsky Society.[213] Its members distributed anti-Jewish printed propaganda and were accused of organizing beatings of Jews in several villages. In the printed materials produced by the society, police found statements of support for the pogroms in the Russian Empire and appeals to follow the Russian experience of anti-Jewish violence.[214] A closer examination of the Jewish question in the Russophile press is presented in Chapter 5.

In spring 1882, the provincial authorities had to engage a military unit to assist police forces. The episode took place in Podwołoczyska. Earlier, in 1881, the army had already been called there, as discussed in Chapter 2. This time the reason was not in the riots on the Russian side, but in the fact that the police reported the danger of violence on Austrian territory not only against Jewish newcomers but also against local Jews. Anti-Jewish feeling in the town heightened "due to the significant number of Jewish refugees who gathered at the railway station in Volochisk" on the other side

[211] Ibid, S. 3106, p. 34;
Ibid, S. 7615, p. 141;
Ibid, S. 7616, pp. 4-6.
[212] Ibid, S. 3104, p. 58.
[213] For the Kachkovsky Society, see: Anna Veronika Wendland, *Die Russophilen in Galizien: Ukrainische Konservative Zwischen Österreich Und Russland, 1848-1915* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001);
Marian Mudryi and Olena Arkusha, "Rusofil'stvo v Galichini v Seredini XIX – Na Pochatku XX Stolittya: Geneza, Etapy Rozvitku, Svitoglyad [Russophilia in Galicia in the Mid 19th – Early 20th Centuries: Genesis, Stages of Development, Ideology]," *Visnyk L'vivs'kogo Universytetu. Seriya Istorya* 34 (1999): 231–268.
[214] TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3102, pp. 21-23.

of the border. The involvement of the military forces prevented any anti-Jewish activities by the local population on the Austrian side of the border.[215]

Jewish International Aid Network

As discussed above, after the first wave of pogroms, the Austrian authorities allowed Jewish refugees to arrive in Galicia in late spring and summer 1881, almost without restriction. The border guards permitted Jews to enter Galicia without any checks. Moreover, when the border guards, together with the police, decided to increase control over the border, it did not bring any significant results. It is essential to mention that the border guards knew the places where smugglers crossed the border illegally with large quantities of goods, but merely crossing the border without passing the checkpoints did not present any great difficulty. This can be explained by the priority accorded to the customs function within the Austrian border guard, as is discussed in Chapter 2. The police, concerned about the settlement in Galicia of Jews from Russia, did not immediately begin their active deportation. In total, these circumstances created an opportunity for Jews from the Russian Empire to remain in Galicia's border towns. Nevertheless, since most of the newcomers did not have the financial means and the city administrations did not take active steps to support the refugees, a "window of opportunity" emerged. It was used by a number of international organizations, which sent representatives to Galicia, or supported local initiatives in helping refugees.

It is necessary to examine the history of the international Jewish aid network before the 1880s. Its organization was connected with the Damascus affair of 1840, in which the Ottoman authorities executed a group of Jews on false accusations of murdering a priest. The inability of Jews from Western Europe to defend the falsely inculpated Jews led to a debate about the need for a system of international protection against persecution and discrimination. First and foremost, the situation in the Russian Empire and the Middle East was discussed in these debates. When these discussions went to press, they reached Jewish elites in many European countries. As a

[215] Ibid, S. 7615, pp. 75-79.

consequence, the Alliance Israélite Universelle was created in Paris in 1860.[216] In this way, the protection and support of Jews in the Ottoman and Russian empires and in other regions shifted from the sphere of individual initiatives to organized and systematic activity.

The organization of aid action for migrants was not among the main goals of the Alliance. Nevertheless, as early as 1869, the organization faced the first refugee crisis on the Prussian-Russian border. Jewish refugees from the Russian Empire's Lithuanian lands were accepted by Prussian communities, which was not tolerable for the authorities.[217] The Alliance mediated between Prussian officials and the Jewish communities. The crisis was overcome through this intervention and the funds raised by the Alliance. A small number of refugees migrated to the West, and the rest returned home.[218]

The Alliance was engaged in supporting Jews in different countries, not by encouraging them to migrate, but on the contrary, trying to improve their living conditions in their homelands.[219] The Alliance's archive collections contain correspondence with Jews from almost all parts of the Russian Empire, and even Central Asia. Most of these letters are about financial support of communities such as building schools, publishing newspapers, supporting the poor.[220] However, not least, the reason the Alliance was cautious about helping migrants was to avoid transferring hostility towards Jewish migrants onto the Jewish elites of Western European societies. Anti-Jewish sentiment and propaganda about the danger of Jews from the east (*Ostjuden*) in the second half of the nineteenth century spread widely across many European countries, especially in the press.[221]

---

[216] Jonathan Frankel, *The Damascus Affair: 'Ritual Murder', Politics, and the Jews in 1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[217] Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers*, 42–46.

[218] Mark Wischnitzer, *To Dwell in Safety*, pp. 29–36.

[219] Aaron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israèlite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860–1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

[220] *Archives de l'Alliance israélite universelle* (AAIU), URSS collection.

[221] Johnson, *Pogroms, Peasants, Jews*, pp. 182-205.
Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers*, 23–41.

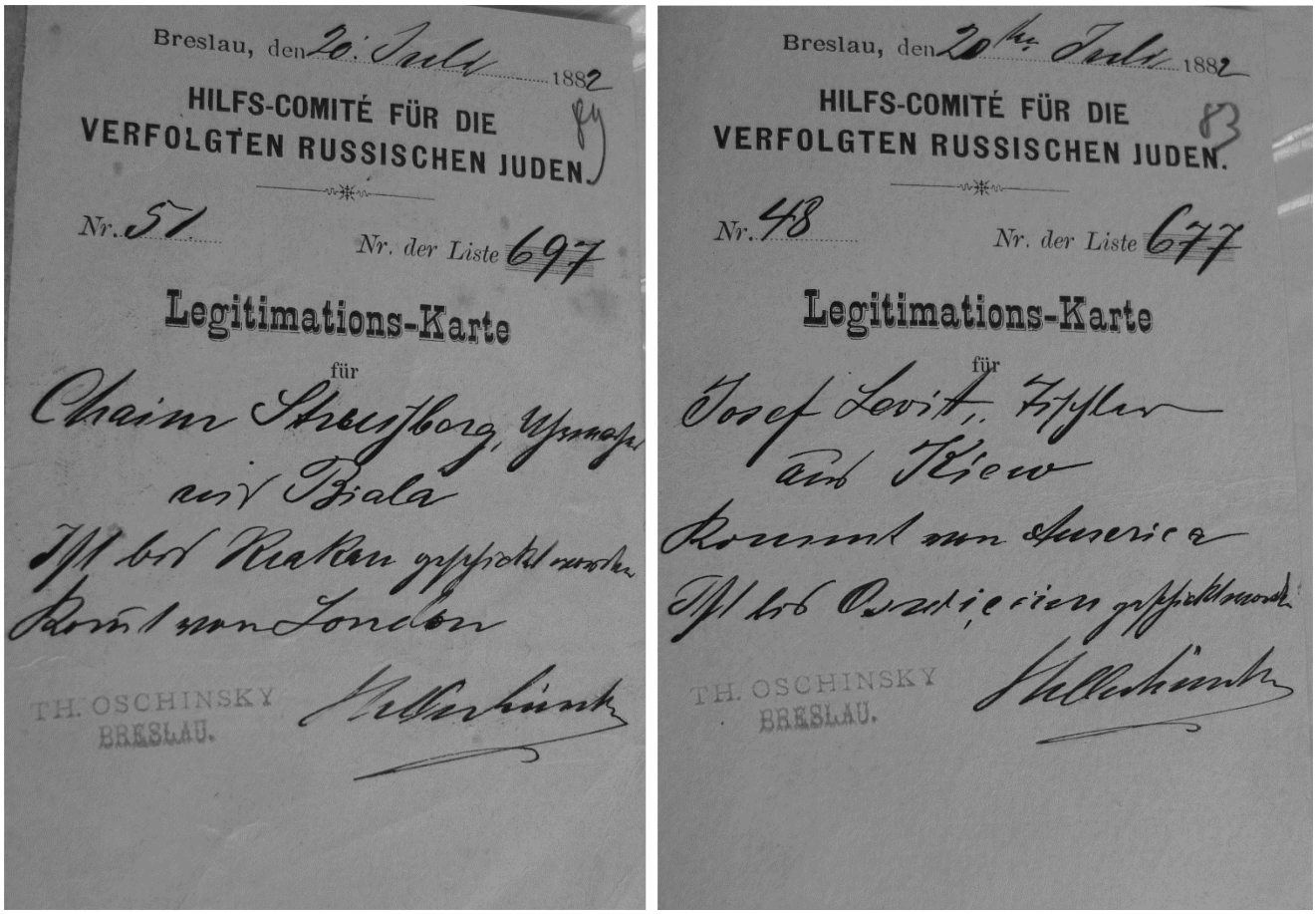


Figure 3.2. Identification cards issued by the Aid Committee for persecuted Russian Jews in Breslau, TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, p. 3108.

The international private aid initiative provided organizational and financial support to refugees who came to Austrian border regions during the year and a half crisis. Israelitische Allianz zu Wien provided funds in the Habsburg Empire.[222] The Viennese organization was closely associated with the Alliance in Paris but was not a full subsidiary. Local aid committees were also established in several cities of the Habsburg Empire, notably in the spring of 1882 when the second wave of pogroms occurred in the Russian Empire.

The total amount of funds allocated for this purpose cannot be reconstituted, as many different participants were involved. This is mainly because some aid committees did not document all their activities or were restructured several times. The largest donor was the Paris Alliance, which allocated several million francs. The financial

[222] Kuzmany, Jüdische Pogromflüchtlinge, 104-105.

contribution of the Anglo-Jewish Association, the so-called Committee on Mansions, was significant also. From May 1881, a vital aid committee operated in Leipzig. In the following months, similar initiatives started to be implemented in many other German cities. Thus, committees were established in Breslau, Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, Berlin, Düsseldorf, and other cities.[223]

For instance, in Hamburg, the Assistance Society for Russian Jewish Refugees was founded in 1882. In a public statement, the committee condemned the "barbaric persecution" in Russia. The statement declared that the organization would be established to "move all" refugees "somewhere else." In a letter to the Hamburg city government, the committee promised that no migrant would become a "burden" on society.[224] Hamburg's case shows that when the number of Jewish and other Eastern European migrants increased sharply in the early 1880s, Jewish humanitarian organizations and their local representatives in Central and Eastern Europe began to work closely with officials. This cooperation was underpinned by the statements of Jewish organizations that they would assist Jewish migrants and cover potential costs.[225] This strategy was also aimed at protecting local Jewish communities. Along with the traditional commitment to support and protect their fellow believers, Jews in Central and Western Europe protected their own status as recently emancipated citizens. The commitment to cover the potential costs of travel for migrants also had practical advantages. Representatives of Jewish communities were able to access migrants and to lobby on their behalf.

The Alliance in Vienna regularly published a register of donations in the daily newspaper *Neue Freie Presse*. It is not clear whether all donations were included in these publications, but it still provides the opportunity to learn about the relief action donors. It is essential to mention that in the earliest weeks of the refugee crisis, donations from individuals were crucial. From examining the names of donors, it can be noted that assistance to refugees of the pogroms was widely considered an internal Jewish problem. At the same time, Christian names are also presented on the list. The

[223] Szajkowski, "The attitude of American Jews to East European Jewish immigration," pp.221-280. Kuzmany, Jüdische Pogromflüchtlinge, 94-123.

[224] Staatsarchiv Hamburg (StAHH), Auswanderungsamt, II B I 3, *Überwachung des Rückwanderverkehrs über Hamburg durch die Polizeibeh*.

[225] Ibid.

register of donations shows the active participation of Jewish noble and banking houses. Thus, donations to support refugees in Galicia became part of the prestigious philanthropy of the Königswärter, Ephrussi, Gutmann, Rothschild, and other families.[226]

The donors include the Nathansohn & Kallir company[227], which also served as a contact point for private donations. The place of this company is highly significant for an understanding of the relief action. In his study of Brody, Börries Kuzmany discovered the networks in which the company was involved. Nathansohn & Kallir was founded in Brody. The head of the company was Nathan Edler von Kallir, who also represented the Brody chamber of trade and commerce in the imperial council. The roles of these political and economic networks in managing the refugee crisis were crucial.[228]

Jewish aid action in Brody was overwhelmed, and *the Israelitische Allianz in Vienna* could not organize support. With arrival of Charles Netter, one of the founders of the Paris Alliance, in Brody in August 1881 the situation stabilized. He assumed responsibility and organized transport of refugees to the West, taking advantage of the Alliance's extensive network in Europe and the United States.[229]

At the time of Netter's arrival in Brody, H. Shafierd from the Paris Alliance was already there. Shafier was sent to Russia in the spring of 1881. On his way, he passed Brody, where the refugees were already present. Under unknown circumstances, he decided to stay in Brody and help the Vienna Alliance. The representative of the Vienna Alliance, Moritz Friedländer, had also been regularly coming to Brody. After the crisis, Friedländer published a brochure, "*Fünf Wochen in Brody unter Jüdisch-russischen Emigranten*,"[230] which is cited in various parts of the present thesis. These

---

[226] Siegel Björn, *Österreichisches Judentum zwischen Ost und West. Die Israelitische Allianz zu Wien 1873–1938* (Frankfurt a. Main, New York, 2010), 99-101;
Neue Freie Presse, 14.05.1882, p. 4;
Ibid, 21.05.1881, p. 5;
Ibid, 22.05.1881, p. 4.
[227] Ibid, 21.05.1881, p. 5.
[228] Kuzmany. *Brody*, pp. 75-76, 116-117.
[229] Leo Goldenstein, *Brody und die russisch-jüdische Emigration. Nach eigener Beobachtung erzählt* (Frankfurt am Main, 1882), pp. 15-16.
[230] Moritz Friedländer, *Fünf Wochen in Brody unter jüdisch-russischen Emigranten* (Wien, 1882).

three men (See Figure 3.3) made the leading decisions about the activities of aid action in Galicia in 1881. It was precisely because of their efforts that Brody became the largest refugee gathering center. Thus, as described above, even the police sent Jewish newcomers to Brody from other cities. The practical activities of the international organization representatives in Galicia are examined in Chapter 4. In Galicia, local aid committees for Russian Jews also operated. Research for the present thesis has not yielded any documentation of these organizations, but the police materials available in the viceroyalty collection contain some information about their activities, including that local committees operated in Lemberg,[231] Krakau,[232] Podwołoczyska,[233] and Brody.[234] Police reports even contain lists of members of these organizations. Committee members were mostly, but not exclusively, Jews.

Local committees also held fundraising campaigns in Galicia. One of them, organized in Lemberg in early spring 1882, was permitted by the city administration and reported by the local police.[235] However, the primary source of funding was international organizations with which they worked closely. The letters of Moric Diamand, an active member of the Lemberg Committee, were found preserved in the manuscripts collection of his son, Herman Diamand[236] in the Stefanyk Library in Lviv. Moric Diamand exchanged correspondence with the Vienna and Paris alliances and their representatives in Brody. These letters are mainly devoted to financial issues.[237] It is noteworthy that the Lemberg Committee was not directly subordinate to the Vienna Alliance, but the Parisian Alliance, and Charles Netter in Brody asked Diamand to address his requests directly to Vienna.[238] The latter shows the existing areas of influence of the two alliances, which are difficult to define clearly.

[231] TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3105, p. 90-92.
[232] Ibid, S. 7615, pp. 10-14, 24-25.
[233] Ibid, S. 3101, 75-76v.
[234] Ibid, S. 7615, p. 70-74.
[235] Ibid, p. 13.
[236] Herman Diamand (1860-1931), lawyer and politician.
[237] LNNB im. Stefanyka, Viddil rukopysiv, F. 44, S. 53 Listy do Diamanda –1889, pp. 1-36.
[238] Ibid, p. 23-23v.

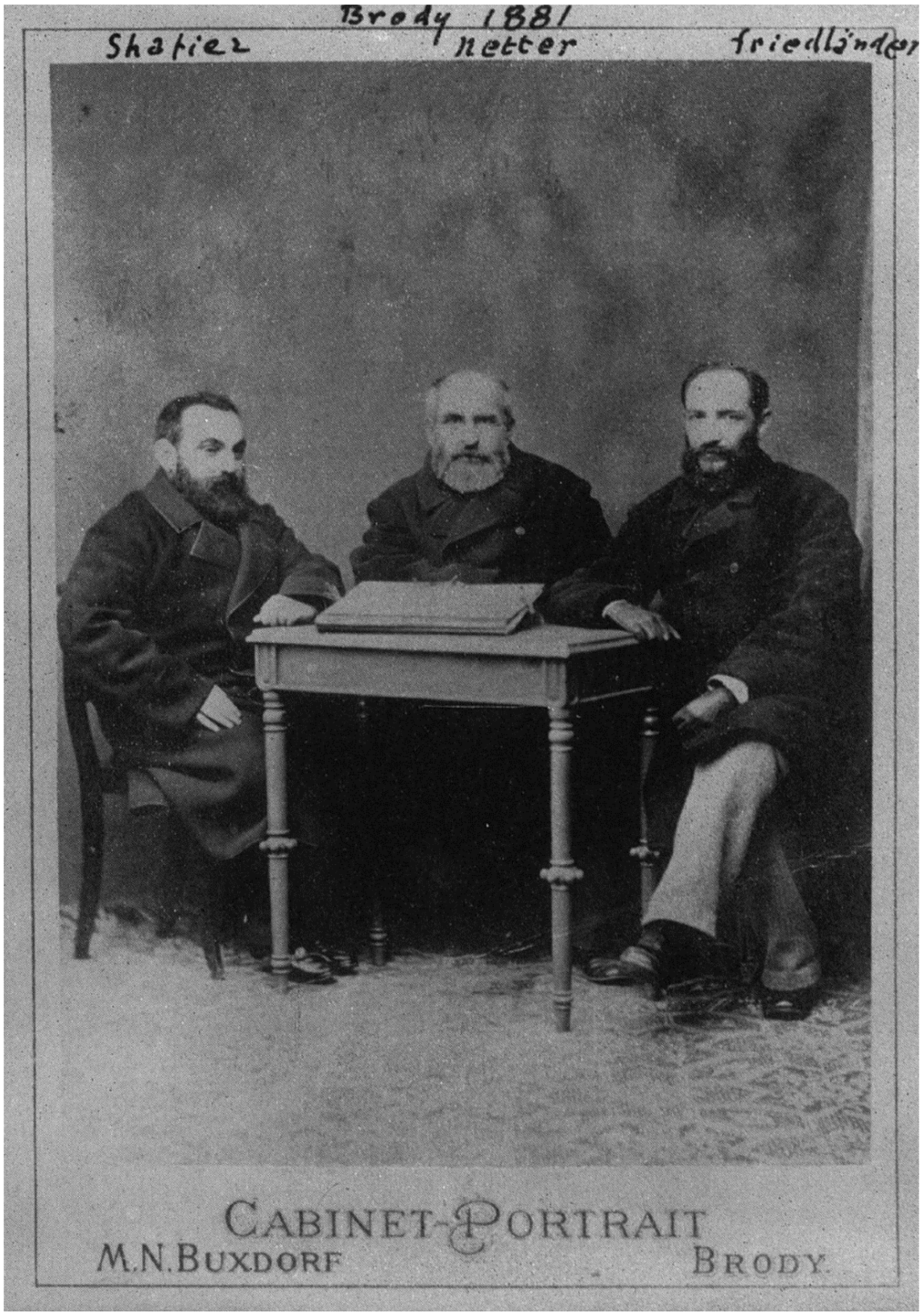


Figure 3.3. "*International relief action representatives in Brody. From right to left: Moritz Friedländer, Charles Netter, H. Shafierd*." Estate of Zosa Szajkowski. From: Zosa Szajkowski, "The attitude of American Jews to East European Jewish immigration (1881-1893)," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (March,1951): 221.

As for the practical activities of the committees, they were involved in supporting the stay of refugees in Austrian cities. At the same time, the Lemberg and Cracow committees sent refugees to Brody if possible. In research for this thesis, no information was found about how the committees influenced the policy of the local authorities. Nevertheless, they tried to do so by addressing the governor.[239]

In general, the aid network carried out a responsibility for supporting refugees in Galicia (see Chapter 4), but they primarily saw solutions to the crisis in the resettlement of Jews to the West. The latter became the primary goal of the international relief campaign. The arrangement of further westward migration of refugees from Galicia is examined in Chapter 4.

* * *

The Galician crisis caused by Jewish refugees from the Russian Empire was most apparent for provincial authorities. Having neither experience nor resources to deal with the crisis, the local bureaucracy tried to control the situation and prevent an outbreak of violence against Jews on the Austrian side of the border. In this situation, the emergence of an international Jewish aid network in Galicia was favorably accepted by the authorities. In general, the activity of state officials and Jewish organizations was parallel, but there was also notable cooperation. In fact, the international aid network even partially took over the role of the state authorities, as it was a powerful international force able to influence the situation with regard to refugees in the region. The Jewish organizations became not only intermediaries between refugees and the empire but also a governing force in this crisis. It was the aid network that contributed to governance of the chaotic movement of Jews from the east. As a result of the relief actions, this movement developed a clear westward orientation.

[239] TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 7615, pp. 12-14.

Chapter 4. Pogroms Refugees and Transmigrants

The previous chapters have identified the main actors of the crisis on the local level. However, what has been mainly visible for Jew from the east is the activities of those actors who had direct contact with refugees. Thus, the police mainly dealt with refugee monitoring and security issues, and tried to counteract anti-Jewish sentiment. The main actors officially responsible for addressing the crisis situation in the cities were local administrations. As mentioned earlier, they partially tried to assign migrant care functions to local Jewish communities. Although the latter generally supported the most vulnerable refugees, they did not always agree to bear the costs. That is why representatives of international organizations, who arrived in Galicia with the help of local committees and Jewish activists, rapidly became responsible for Jews who continued to arrive from the Russian Empire.

A research attempt to view refugees themselves and their stay in Galicia is necessarily linked directly to the activities of members of the international relief action. This connection is not only due to the fact that migrant voices are mostly absent in the sources but also to the determinant role of international Jewish organizations. Therefore, it is unavoidable that refugees are portrayed in this chapter through the aid action organized for them.

Despite the limitations of the available pool of sources, this chapter attempts to study the socio-demographic portrait of refugees. Based on this analysis, the complexity of determining a boundary between the phenomena of refugees from pogroms and Western-oriented transmigrants is presented. Although Galicia was an asylum for the first and a point of passage for the second, their experiences on the Austro-Russian borderland were often very similar.

This chapter concludes with the analysis of crisis solution and explores the main

means of further movement of refugees and migrants. The process of return of Jews to the Russian territories, and the conditions and actors of westward migration are examined.

Newcomers in Galicia

From May 1881 onwards, progressively more refugees arrived in Galicia; and they typically stayed in border towns. Most of these places were shtetls with several thousand inhabitants. Consequently, the situation rapidly became catastrophic in these sites. According to press reports, there were over 1,500 refugees in Podwołoczyska at the end of May 1881. The high numbers of newly arrived Jews almost doubled the city's population.[240] The same situation occurred in other towns, and even in the much larger urban area of Brody.[241] The city hosted about twenty thousand refugees over the years 1881-1882.[242] As indicated in the previous chapters, the police also facilitated this development in Brody, since they learned that an aid campaign had been launched there. Police actively sent refugees from other places to Brody.

Besides being the center of the aid campaign and the support of the authorities, the city was located a few kilometers from the section of the border that was known for smuggling and for illegal crossing of the border-line, and this factor also contributed to the increase in the number of refugees. According to Börries Kuzmany, Brody became a "refugee camp."[243]

The city quickly gained the reputation of a crisis center. It was described in this way in documents produced by the Galician authorities,[244] in the correspondence of

[240] *Neue Freie Presse*, 20.05.1881, p. 7.
[241] More on Brody: Börries Kuzmany, *Brody. A Galician Border City in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Leiden/Boston, Brill 2017).
[242] Kuzmany, *Brody*, pp. 229-230.
[243] Ibid, 228.
[244] TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3104, p. 52-55.

members of the Paris Alliance,[245] and in the Vienna press.[246] The events in Brody are covered in most sources that depict the stay of Russian Jews in Galicia. Moreover, the city also came to have a central part in the few rare memoires of migrants and of representatives of aid organizations.

In late May 1881, a local committee was established in Brody and tried to organize the refugees' stay. This committee received the first funds from the Vienna Alliance and later became the basis for organizing an aid action.[247] Zosa Szajkowski pointed out that the Paris Alliance sent its representatives to Brody at the invitation of this local committee.[248] However, no confirmation of this information was found in Alliance sources. The arrival circumstances in Brody of H. Shafierd, an employee of the Paris organization, in the spring of 1881, remain uncertain. It was in response to his reports on the situation at the border that the Paris Alliance sent to Galicia Charles Netter.[249]

Moritz Friedländer, a representative of the Vienna Alliance, later published detailed memoirs about his stay in Brody in the fall of 1881. One of his first memories of Brody was of refugees who "camped out on the street near the railway station." He described in more detail how even young women with small children lived in this camp. In his memory, these refugees "did not have warm clothes and suffered from cold and hunger."[250] Though it is difficult to state with certainty how many Jews from the Russian territories lived in such camps, the local committees were primarily engaged in accommodating refugees, and significant private donations from western countries were used for this purpose.

Committee representatives rented premises where migrants were placed. A small group of them even lived in the synagogue building for a short period.[251] A large settlement and a field kitchen were also organized in military tents. (See Figure 4.1).

---

[245] AAIU, URSS I C, no 381, 511-512.
[246] *Neue Freie Presse,* 11.05,1882, p. 7.
[247] Siegel, *Österreichisches Judentum zwischen Ost und West*, pp. 120-122.
[248] Szajkowski, "How the Mass Migration to America Began," pp. 291-292.
[249] Goldenstein, Brody, pp. 5–7.
[250] Moritz Friedländer, *Fünf Wochen in Brody unter jüdisch-russischen Emigranten* (Wien, 1882)., p. 14.
[251] *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, 2e semestre 1881–1er semestre 1882, pp. 9-11.

In October 1881, Abraham Cahan, a young Jew from Vilnius, arrived in Brody, intending to migrate to America. He provided the following description of the housing provided by the committee, which he shared with several families: "a number of houses - all ruins [...] one single room that survived the destruction of the walls of the house."[252]

Towards the end of spring 1882, in view of a new wave of refugees, the issue was raised of building a permanent settlement for them. However, when philanthropist Baron Hirsch learned about this situation, he bought a non-operational factory, which accommodated several thousand migrants at a time.[253]

George Price, an 18-year-old Jew from Poltava, who stayed in Brody from May to July 1882, dramatically described events that took place at this factory:

"Approaching the entrance to the textile factory, I see thousands of people running back and forth. When I entered the courtyard, I beheld a mass of hungry and thirsty tattered humans. […]

The half of the building where the machines are situated and which is not occupied by the emigrants has 30 windows. The exterior of the building seems to be plastered with people. Since a hill made of sand stretched upward from the yard to the wall the heads of the people seem to join a series of steps… When one sees the picture from a distance, it looks as if the walls are plastered with ants moving one on top of another. Upon closer observation one is chilled by what he sees. Here a Jew clad in rags and perspiring, who seems to have been here many hours, managed, thank God, to get to the middle. He tries to figure out a way to get to the window as quickly as possible. […] He is beaten, his clothes are rent and finally, still alive, he nears the window, only to be pushed back by a strong armed man who has tried to clear a space. He falls and drags others with him. Immediately, the space is occupied by others. In such an attempt, one is trampled by the mob. The mob pays no attention and goes on fighting and mawling each other in order to get closer to the windows.

[…] inside the building a member of the committee walks pompously from window to

[252] Abraham Cahan, *Bleter fun mein Lebn* (New York: Forwerts, 1926), Vol. 2, p. 25.
[253] Goldenstein, *Brody*, p. 20-29.

window and distributes cards at random. He gives a ticket to one man at one window and to several at another[…].”[254]

A significant problem that arose in Brody was that of food supply. To provide the refugees with meals, the local committee initially received funds from the Vienna Alliance.[255] At the end of 1881, representatives of the Brody Committee wrote to Paris that the food situation remained difficult.[256] Nevertheless, because of regular financial support, the supply did not reach a critical level, and as one may see from the sources in 1882, the situation even improved. The press reported in the summer of 1882: “[...] the conditions in Brody [...] are not as bad as commonly thought. Housing is relatively good, the food is enough to protect people from hunger; sanitary conditions are also acceptable [...].”[257] George Price wrote in his diary: “we [...] ate in the community kitchen. We even received money and provisions, checked baggage, and were ready to leave on the following day.”[258]

Representatives of the aforementioned aid action insisted that there were no incidents related to refugees in Brody and that they did not commit any criminal acts.[259] However, local police investigated a number of crimes committed by migrants. Moreover, an extensive investigation dealt with smuggling activities of refugees.[260]

Regrettably, sources do not contain any information about refugee relations with the local population. Assistance committees, to which Christians also belonged, were the only organizations whose communication with refugees was documented. Therefore, no information exists about the role of the Jewish arrivals from the east in the life of

[254] Leo Shpall, The Diary of Dr George Price. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* Vol. 40, No.2 (December, 1950), p. 177.
[255] Siegel, *Österreichisches Judentum zwischen Ost und West*, pp. 121-122.
[256] AAIU, URSS I C, No 364.
[257] *Neue Freie Presse*, 11.06.1882, p. 2-3.
[258] Cahan, *Bleter fun mein Lebn*, p. 25.
[259] Friedländer, *Fünf Wochen in Brody,* pp. 32-34, 43-45.
[260] TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3112, 60, 68-70;
Ibid, 146, O. 4, S. 7615, 14-15.



Figure 4.1. “Russian-Jewish emigrants,” June 1882, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Bildarchiv, Porträtsammlung und Fideikommißbibliothek, Pk 2926

the city. The documents produced by the city authorities also lack information about attempts to interact with Russian Jews. Most likely, refugee children did not attend local schools because when the Alliance decided to send a group of boys to Palestine, a separate school was established to teach them.[261]

The organizers of the aid action were not a homogeneous group. As mentioned in the previous chapters, there was competition between the Vienna and Paris Alliances. The campaign in Brody led to many controversies. The Vienna Alliance initially insisted on the subordination of the Brody Committee. But the massive financial support from Paris and the presence of Charles Netter created a conflict over the zones of influence of the two Alliances.[262] In its correspondence with Paris, the Brody Committee repeatedly complained about the inactivity of the Vienna Alliance. They considered financial aid from Vienna to be vastly insufficient.[263] In fact, the financial resources of the Israelitischen Allianz zu Wien were already constricted in the autumn of 1881. The reason was that they tried to fund several committees at once, while the Paris Alliance directed its several times larger resources to Brody.[264]

Charles Netter became not only the Paris Alliance representative in Galicia but also the main administrator of the crisis on the border. He organized several offices that registered migrants. Jews continued to arrive from Russia. For this reason, starting from August 1881, Netter began sending them to the United States.[265] Sources provide different numbers for this migration, but in general, by the end of November, it was possible to organize the transfer to the United States of between 1,500 and 2,000 migrants.[266] This activity proved to be an extremely difficult task for Jewish aid organizations on both sides of the ocean. Therefore, the transfer of migrants stopped, and representatives of both Alliances left Galicia in the late fall. As a consequence, as soon as in December, a new "Committee for the Support of Emigrants of Mosaic Faith from Russia" appeared in Brody (See Figure 4.2).[267]

---

[261] AAIU, URSS I C, No 765.

[262] Goldenstein, *Brody*, pp. 19-21.

[263] For example: AAIU, URSS I C. N° 903-905, 1004-1005.

[264] Friedländer, *Fünf Wochen*, pp. 12-13.

[265] *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, 2e semestre 1881–1er semestre 1882, pp. 11-12.

[266] Ibid.

TsDIAL, 146, O. 4, S. 3104, p. 9.

[267] TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3105, p. 70-72.

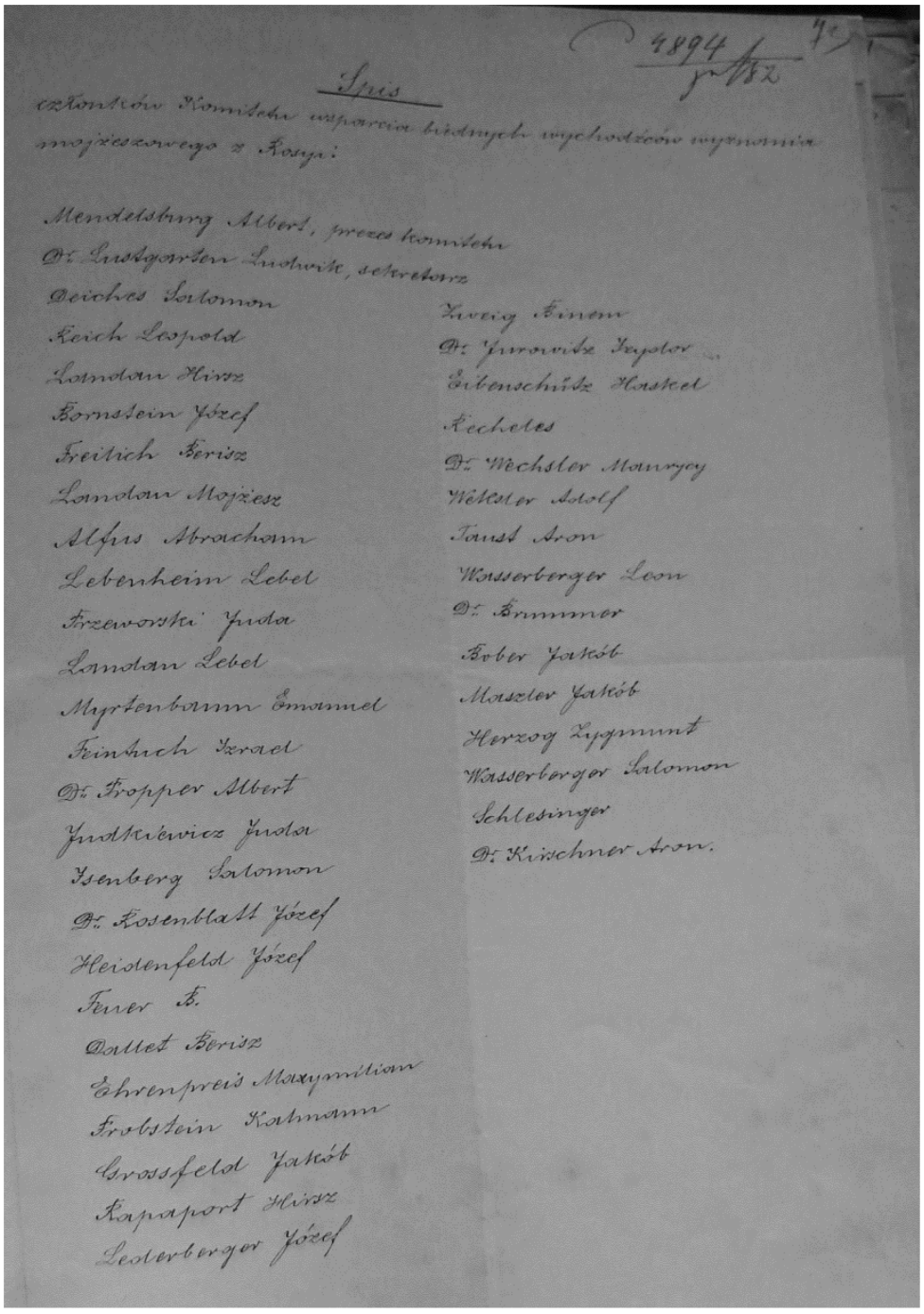


Figure 4.2. “The list of members of Committee for support of Jewish emigrants from Russia in Brody”, TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3105, p. 74.

In spring, another mass outbreak of anti-Jewish violence took place in the Russian Empire. There were “12,404 refugees registered in Brody on 15 June 1882. During the first two weeks in June alone, 2,063 refugees arrived; whereas in the same period, only 1,717 people had left for America, 383 had returned to Russia,

and 30 had died."[268]

George Price, who arrived in Brody on May 10, 1882, described the situation as follows:

"We arrived in Brody yesterday, God! What a pandemonium! 15,000 Jews are stranded here awaiting their turn. For lack of accommodation many are quartered in factories situated on the outskirts. Many of them have been here since the last winter. ... Jews in different attire and from various cities crowd the streets and their chattering pierces the heavens.[...]

There is a factory in the city which lodges about 3,000 emigrants and a stable which accommodates 300. In both dwellings the condition of the emigrants is unbearable. They sit on the floor, huddled together, hungry and thirsty. Besides, there are many emigrants on the streets of Brody and in private homes."[269]

The Paris Alliance decided to send a new representative, Emmanuel Veneziani, to Brody. His activity in the border town in the early summer of 1882 was greatly admired in the reports of the Alliance.[270] Veneziani managed to regularly send migrants to the West, thus starting the process of solving the Galician crisis. In addition, he organized a new type of infrastructure for migrants in the city. For instance, a special maternity house for refugees was created in response to a very high mortality rate among newborns and women in labor. Further activity on the part of Veneziani in Brody is discussed below.

[268] Kuzmany, *Brody* 231-233
[269] Shpall, The Diary of Dr George Price, pp. 174, 179-180.
[270] AAIU, URSS I C, No 1212, 1215.

Background and Socio-Demographic Profile

When discussing characteristics of the profile of Jews from the Russian Empire arriving in Galicia in the early 1880s, one should begin with the vital question of how large this group was. By comparing data from the Paris and American Jewish organizations, scholars argue that the total number of refugees reached 25,000 people.[271] Most likely, the press did not undertake any precise calculations, but it reported on "fifty thousand Jews from Russia."[272] Unfortunately, scholars' calculations based on aid action sources, have an obvious limitation. Even if one assumes that they are precise, these records refer only to Jews who received help from the committees. This disregards the accounts of all those who organized their stay in Galicia on their own, had relatives with whom they could stay, or remained in the Austrian provinces for a short time.

In this thesis, any attempts to answer the question more accurately, with data from the local Galician bureaucracy, have not yet brought significant results. During the entire period of the crisis, the police regularly reported on the number of refugees in different locations. At the same time, these reports are markedly chaotic, and most often do not have enough information to identify migrants.[273] Moreover, there is no possibility of finding out how many refugees from the police reports were included in the statistics of Jewish organizations. In addition, in a situation of permanent movement of Jews across the border and between border towns, it is impossible to conduct accurate calculations without personal identification.

The situation of uncertainty about the exact number of Jews from the east and scant personal information in the sources does not allow for a comprehensive socio-demographic analysis. For this reason, it was considered important during research for this thesis to develop a database in order to analyze the refugee profile. The database, which has been created as part of the present research, currently consists of

[271] Szajkowski. The European Attitude to East European Jewish Immigration, pp. 127–165;
Kuzmany, *Brody*, pp. 230-231.
[272] *Batkivshchyna*, №2, 1883. p. 9.
[273] For example: TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3004 (multiple pages);
Ibid, S. 3012 (multiple pages);
Ibid, S. 7015 (multiple pages).

5,964 records, and is based on documents of the viceroyalty of Galicia. Namely, lists of migrants (Figure 4.3) were compiled by the police in different parts of Galicia in 1881-1882.[274] Starting approximately from summer 1881, most of these lists were compiled jointly with representatives of Jewish organizations. Some of the lists, which provide precise directions for further migration, may have been prepared by staff at the Brody refugee registration offices mentioned above.

The developed database covers only a proportion of the refugees and is not representative of the entire group. At the same time, it provides an opportunity to view the general characteristics of this group, and could be highly informative in correlation with other sources. The uniqueness of this created database lies in the fact that currently, it is the only extensive migrant database that has been formed based on data other than from authorities of the receiving countries or from western European shipping companies. The first results of descriptive statistical analysis are presented later in this section. Further analysis of the data collected at the Austro-Hungarian border has the potential to revise certain canons in the history of migration.

The age structure of Jews who arrived in Galicia shows that most of them were between 20 and 39 years old. This tendency was typical during this period for most international migrants in Europe and globally.[275] The number of persons under 19 years of age differs from classical migration structures. A more in-depth analysis of this group shows many small children (even under one year), especially among the 1882 wave of refugees. This may indicate that migration routes through Galicia quickly became known as safe and convenient, even for families with children. If one assumes that refugees were direct victims of pogroms, the number of this age group can be explained by the desire to protect the most vulnerable family and community members from violence. (See Figure 4.4).

[274] TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3001-3112, 7615-7618.

[275] Yannay Spitzera, Ariell Zimran, Migrant self-selection: Anthropometric evidence from the mass migration of Italians to the United States, 1907–1925, *Journal of Development Economics,* Volume 134 (September 2018): 226-247;
Adam M. McKeown, *Melancholy Order*, pp. 43-65.

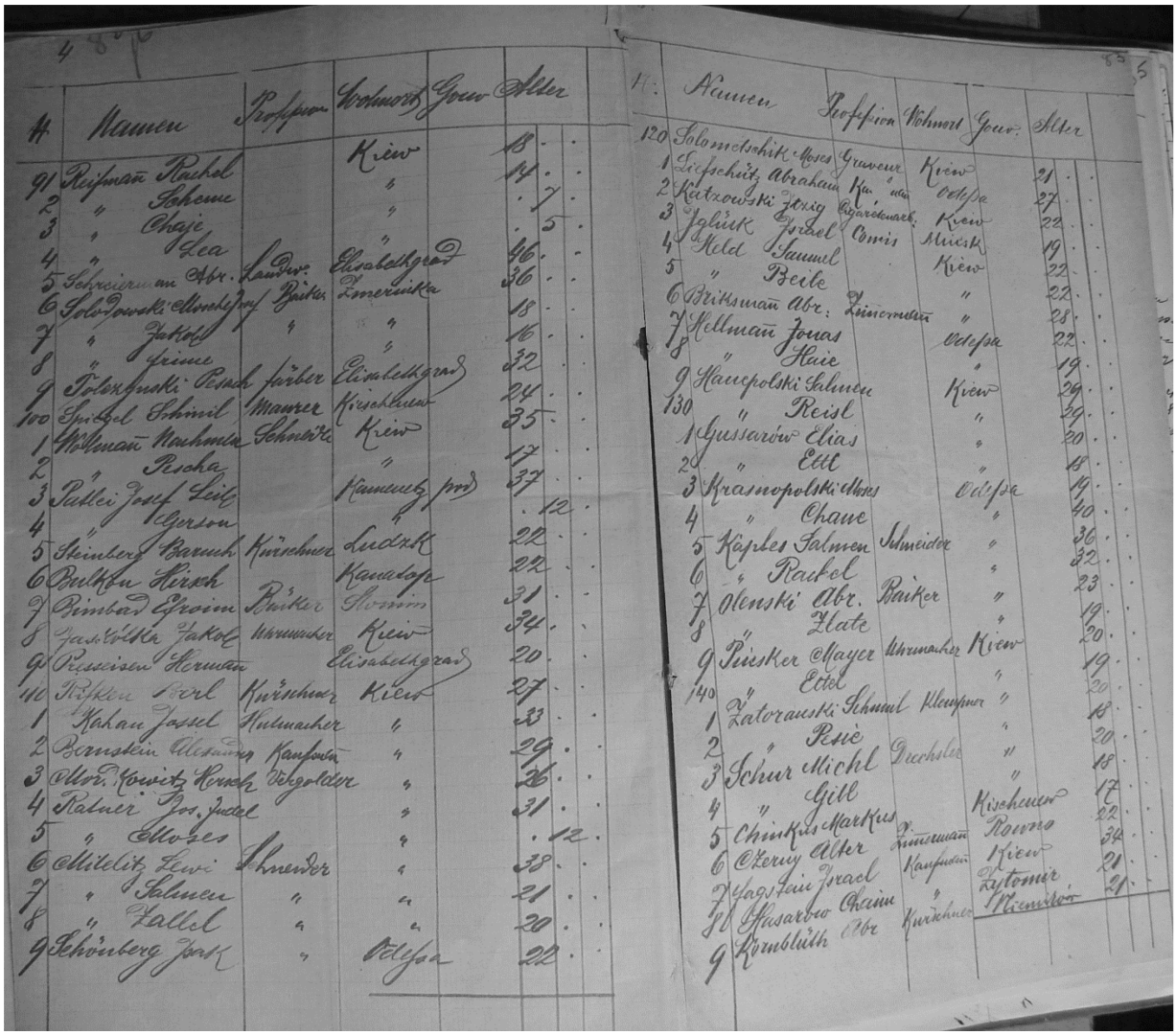


Figure 4.3 The list of Jews from the Russian Empire in Galicia, November 1881, TsDIAL, F.146,O.4, Spr. 3104, pp. 82v-83.

Most refugees were registered as single men or as families of three or more members. (See Figure 4.5) There was also a significant difference between 1881 and 1882 in this regard. In its letters to the Paris Alliance in the autumn of 1881, the committee in Brody indicated that the majority of refugees were young men.[276] During the spring and summer of 1882, the Alliance increasingly described difficulties with the stay of children and women in reports.[277] These trends have been presented generally in the results of the statistical analysis in the accompanying graphs. During the entire

[276] AAIU, URSS I B, No 411, 460.
[277] Ibid, URSS I C, No 669, 1215.

period of the crisis, men amounted to 57% (3,387 persons) of the total number of the group. (See Figure 4.6).

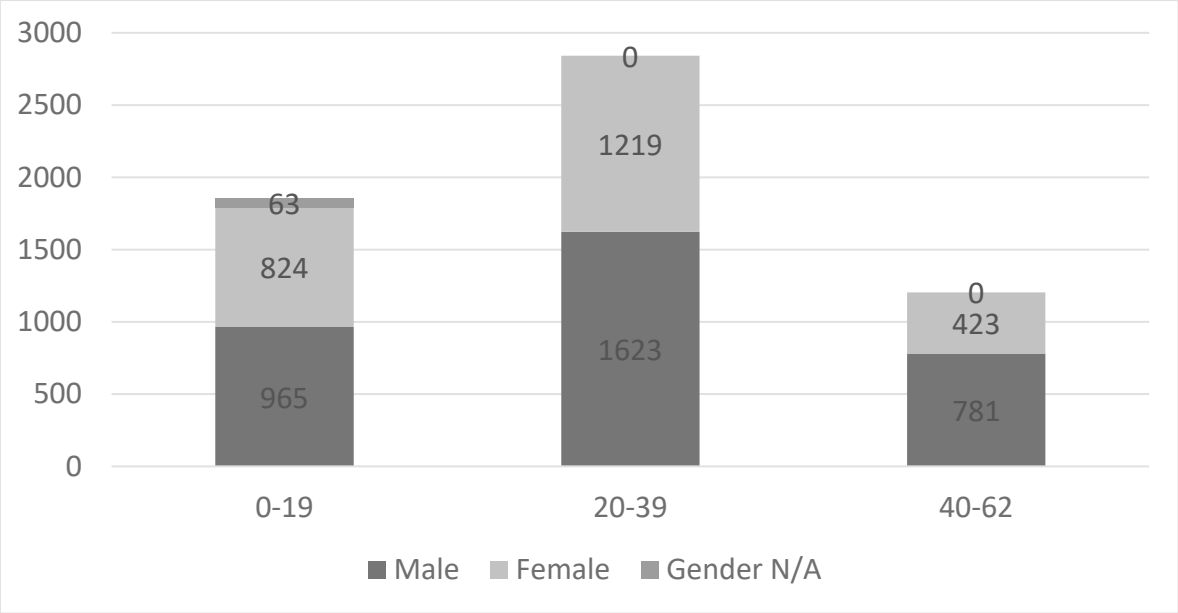


Figure 4.4. Age structure of refugees (Total: 5,964).

The gender composition of refugees is a particularly interesting example for the global conceptualization of migration processes on the Austro-Russian border in the 1880s. The demographic analysis shows the dependence of migrants' journeys on men. Relation to the man as wife, daughter, mother, or sister was sometimes used to classify female migrants, even without providing their names. 42% of the Jewish migrants in the database were women. (See figure 4.6). This corresponds to tendencies of westward Jewish migration. This characteristic strongly distinguishes Jews from the migrants of other nations in Eastern Europe, among which men make up about three-quarters of migrants.[278]

[278] Gur Alroey, "And I Remained Alone in a Vast Land': Women in the Jewish Migration from Eastern Europe, "*Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society* n.s. 12, no. 3 (Spring/Summer 2006): 39-72.

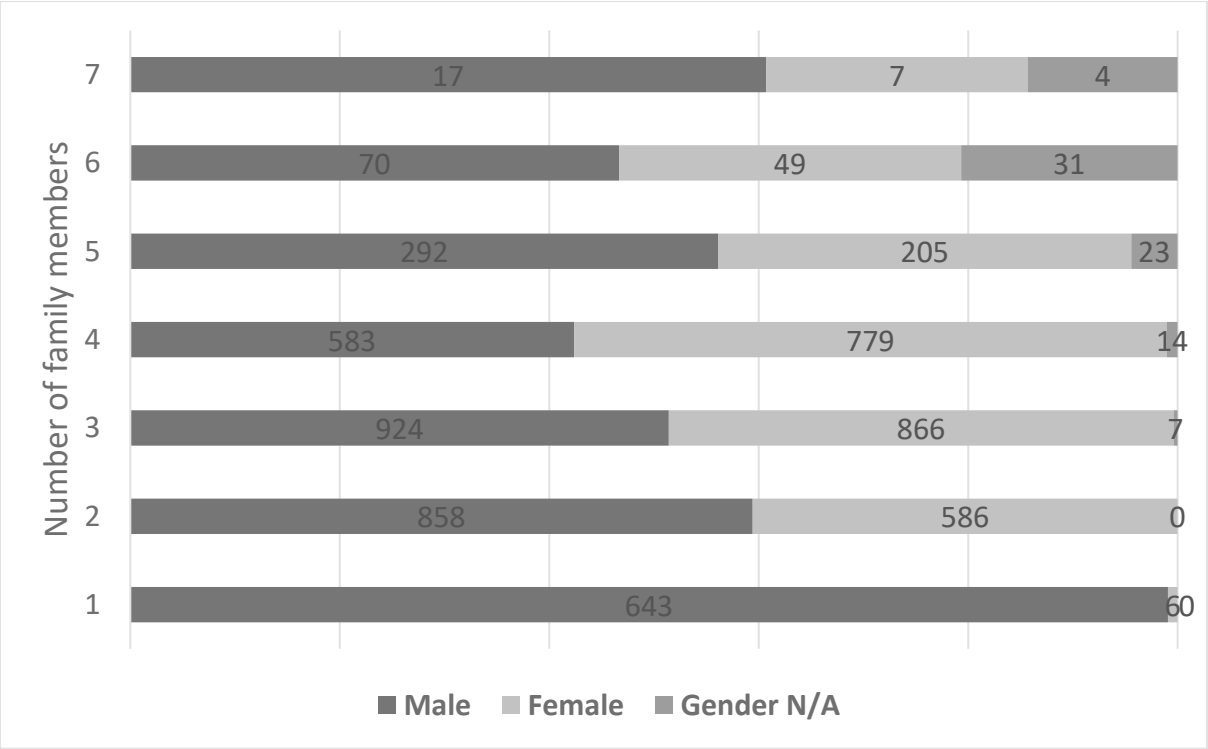


Figure 4.5 Number of family members (Total: 5,964).

In the list of migrants compiled in Galicia, women were rarely registered first among the members of their families. However, the database presents a number of cases of so-called "wives of Americans." They were women whose husbands had successfully migrated to the United States—and their status as wife of an accomplished immigrant provided their whole families with the possibility to emigrate. However, the majority of these women traveled as accompanied by a male relative. There was only a rare exception to this pattern. Thus, 20 year old Shifre Grusser left Odessa at the beginning of 1882. In April and May, she stayed in Brody with two children, aged 5 and 1 ½ years.[279] Alliance Israelite organized her trip to the United States, and in August 1882, she arrived in New York.[280] Most of the women traveling with children and without men are found in the 1882 sources. Explaining this situation in its correspondence with the Alliance in Paris, the Brody Committee, stated that the husbands of

[279] TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 7615, p. 40.

[280] Institute for Jewish Research (YIVO), RG 406, MMK 1.2, p 1769.
New York Passenger Arrival Lists (Ellis Island), 1892-1924, http://www.ancestry.de [Accessed on June 3, 2017].

many of these women had been transferred from Galicia to the United States by Netter in 1881.[281]

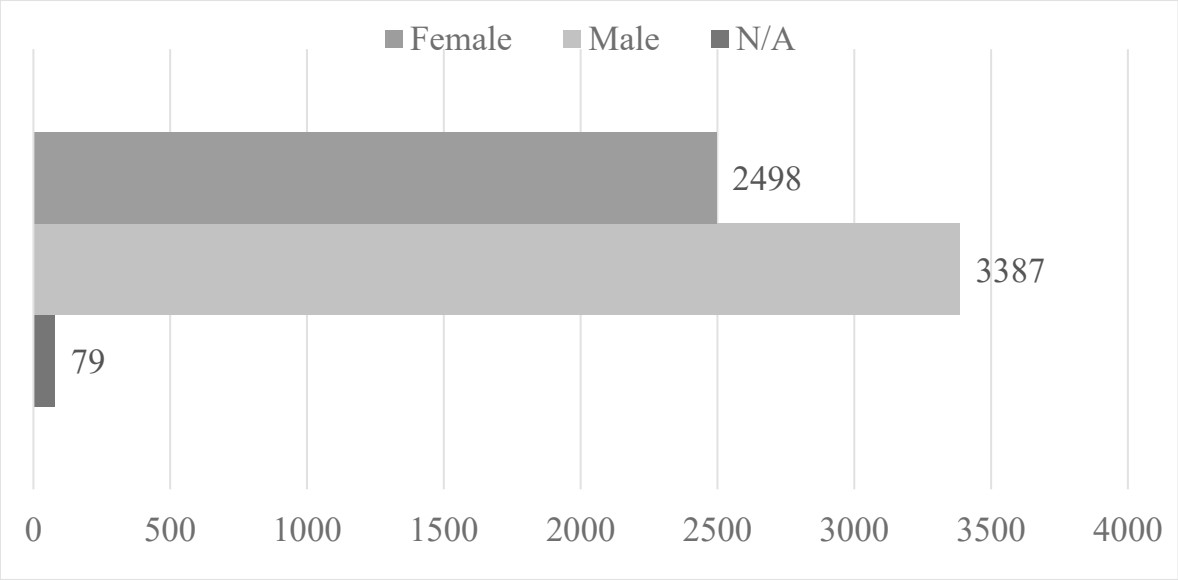


Figure 4.6. Gender structure of refugees (Total: 5,964).

By far the greatest terminological difficulty of this study is associated with the application of the terms *refugee* and *migrant*. In the absolute majority of cases, these groups cannot be distinguished. As a matter of fact, the answer to the differentiation question lies in multiple factors. Among them are the following: the difficulty of identifying links between the events of pogroms and the arrival of refugees; the lack of information about the knowledge and motivations for migration; the difficulty of identifying the subjectivity of migrants due to the dominance of international Jewish actors; the diversity and variability of individual and group mobility patterns.

The statistical analysis of the places of origin of refugees shows the following correlation with the pogroms:

- 73% of Jews arrived in 1881 from places where pogroms occurred; in 1882, this indicator was 53%;
- The number of arrivals from places where rumors, calls for pogrom, or

[281] AAIU, URSS I B, No 399.

violence were reported was about 15% throughout the entire period;

- The section of those who came from places with no information about pogroms, or their attempts, increased from 12% to 30% from 1881 to 1882.

It should be noted that in the case of the origin of migrants, the probability of incorrect data is very high. Moreover, a lack of data does not always mean the absence of anti-Jewish sentiment or violence in certain areas. Thus, the non-representative nature of the data does not allow for characterization of the entire group of refugees in Galicia. However, the tendency shown by the analysis is that the longer the crisis lasted, the higher the percentage of Jewish refugees coming from areas unaffected by the pogroms.

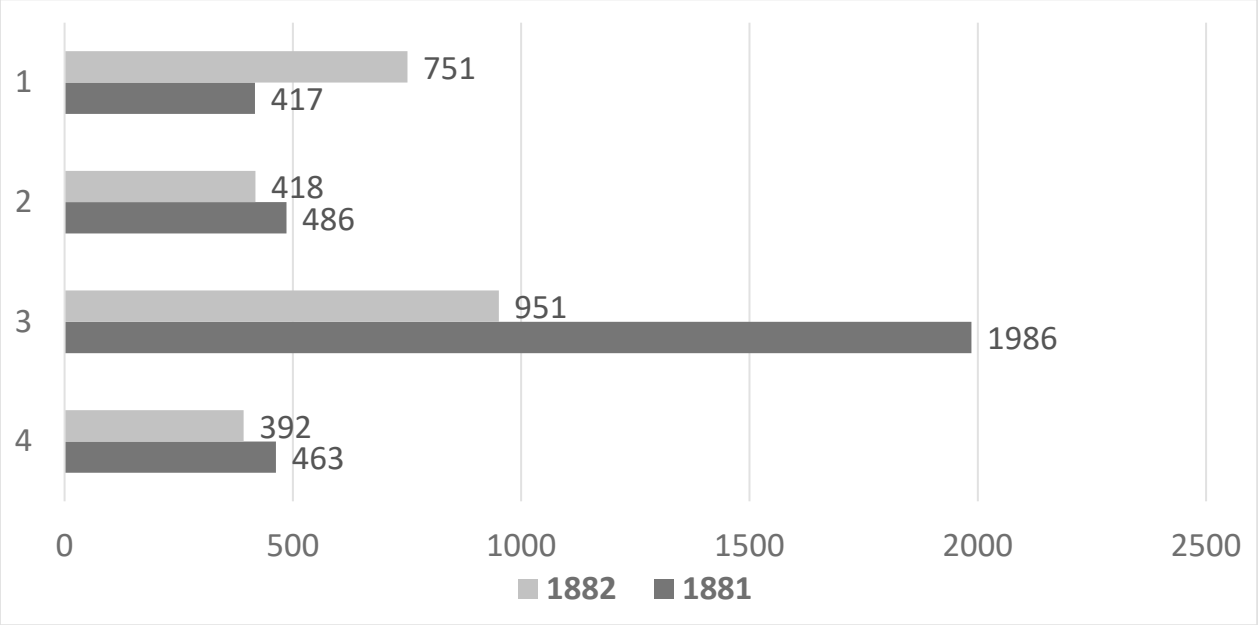


Figure 4.7 Scale of pogroms in places of origin of refugees 1881-1882 (Total: 5,964) Scale of pogrom: 4 -Casualties, 3 – Property damage, 2 - Rumors, agitation, prevented riots, 1 – No information about riots.[282]

From the police reports, one can learn that many migrants, who arrived in May and

[282] Scale of pogrom based on Michael I. Aronson, *Troubled Waters. The Origins of the 1881 Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Russia* (Pittsburgh, PA 1990), John D Klier, *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms of 1881–1882* (Cambridge 2011).

June of 1881, did not have any knowledge about further migration possibilities.[283] This situation changed quickly because of the migration opportunities created by the international aid action. Yankel Morozovsky, a migrant from Kiev, explained his arrival in Galicia in early autumn 1881 as follows: *"I heard that the "Alliance Israélite" association is organizing an expedition to America free of charge and that there are agents in Brody who are registering the emigrants."*[284]

The desire to migrate tended to grow among newcomers. George Price, who had a clear migration goal, described his stay in Brody in June 1882 as follows:

"We planned to leave Brody in a few days, but here I am for three weeks…At least we are more fortunate than some of the others. The emigrants who arrived in Brody last Sunday were in for a surprise. Upon their arrival, they were welcomed at the station by the police. The policeman met the arrivals, placed them in carriages and their belongings in wagons and led them away. The emigrants did not know what was happening. They most probably thought that they were being transported directly to America."[285]

Aid committee representatives were also concerned that their action was perceived as a free opportunity to travel to the West. They discussed attempts by Galician Jews who pretended to be refugees from the Russian Empire. Moritz Friedländer even described attempts to check the Russian language literacy of migrants, which, as he believed, could help distinguish Jews from the Russian Empire.[286]

[283] For example: TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3101, pp. 25, 40.
[284] AAIU, URSS I B, No. 8828.
[285] Shpall, The Diary of Dr George Price, pp.175.
[286] Friedländer, *Fünf Wochen in Brody*, pp. 22-23.

To the West or Backward

As has already been pointed out, refugees from imperial Russia stayed in several border towns in Galicia, and even in some cities of Bukovina. Because of the organization of aid action from the end of summer 1881, the attention of both provincial and central authorities of the Habsburg Empire turned to Brody. For the same reasons, the extensive documentation in the archives of Jewish organizations in Paris and in New York, as well as the press, also present the crisis in Galicia from the perspective of this city. Even the Russian side followed the crisis via reports of border guards and of communications from the Russian consulate in Brody. This situation with regard to sources certainly limits the researcher's view and does not always allow for an analysis of the situation in the entire region. In historiography, one can even find the term "Brody refugee crisis." Further archive searches may lead to discovery of the committee's documentation from Podwołoczyska or another town, and this would change the view on the phenomenon as a whole.

As the analysis in other chapters shows, both provincial and central authority insisted that the newcomers must either return to the Russian territories or cross the western border. The official position of the Russian authorities in correspondence between the office of the governorate-general in Kiev and the Radzivilov customs office was as follows: "Because of the regular appeals to the Austrian authorities [...] [we have to] ensure the return of our Jewish subjects is necessary."[287] In practice, Russian border guards often prevented the return of Jews. The reason was that many of them did not have passports. Galician officials reported this to the ministry of foreign affairs as a serious problem with a request to influence the Russian side.[288]

Besides the groups of refugees who stayed in Galicia for a long time, which are mentioned in the first section of this chapter, in different places, the police constantly reported Russian Jews who stayed for a few days or were just passing through.[289] Most of them were without documents. Some of these Jews were forced back to the border or transferred to Brody by the police. What happened to the others remains

[287] TsDIAK, F. 442, O. 535, S. 206, p. 3.
[288] HHStA, MdÄ, PA X, K. 141, p. 211-212.
[289] For example: TsDIAL, F. 146, O. 4, S. 3103, pp. 9, 17, 24-26v.

unknown. Most likely, though, most of them returned to the Russian Empire.

The representatives of international Jewish organizations, who arrived in Galicia in summer 1881, saw solutions to the crisis in transporting refugees to America. Not all Jewish elites supported the idea of resettlement of refugees from Galicia to western countries. Among the possible options was a project for the resettlement to Palestine of Jews staying in Galicia. However, the Alliance in Paris and its American partners were immediately against this project. The main argumentation was that the economic conditions in Palestine were too poor to "absorb such a large number of immigrants." Since the Alliance had concentrated resources for a crisis solution, the Palestinian project was downplayed in favor of the United States.[290]

As soon as in late autumn - early winter of 1881, after sending about 2,000 Jews to America from Brody alone, financial and logistical difficulties emerged in the implementation of this plan. The American Jewish committees were concerned about the potential number of immigrants. They claimed that many of them did not meet the American criteria for immigration.[291] Indeed, the United States was primarily interested in the immigration of young people who were able to work physically. However, demographic analysis shows (See Figure 4.4) that young people were prevalent among migrants. The latter threw into question the argument used by the American side of the international aid action. Between December 1881 and mid-spring 1882, the transatlantic transit of refugees decreased constantly. This is evidenced by the fall to almost one half in the number of refugees who departed from Brody.[292]

Alliance Israélite Universelle hired an agent from Antwerp to organize travel to the United States. Thus, in August-September, migrants went to the United States through Liverpool. However, the path to New York via Hamburg quickly became more popular, and it was used by most of the migrants sent from Galicia.[293]

---

[290] Berk, *Year of Crisis, Year of Hope,* pp. 120-129.

[291] YIVO, RG 406, MMK 1.1, p 1769.
Gilbert Osofsky, "The Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society of the United States (1881-1883)," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 49 (1960): 175–177.

[292] Kuzmany, Jüdische Pogromflüchtlinge, 105-107.

[293] AAIU, France I A 6, N° 9573-9575.

The choice of migration routes and the priority given to Hamburg was a direct consequence of the commercialization of the aid efforts of many European committees. German shipping companies lobbied their interests through German aid committees.[294] A representative of the Leipzig committee, for instance, arranged for embarkment in Hamburg instead of Antwerp, though superficially he denied any commercial interests behind this move. And then, there were various activities that managed to be added on through legal interests and corruption. Members of the Brody relief committee placed an emigration advertisement from a Hamburg shipping agency in press. Paris Alliance tried to prevent these attempts at commercializing the aid action, and the problem was understood as "dangerous for the future of Jewish international solidarity."[295]

In the Russian Empire, publications and campaigns began to appear in pre-press that advertised the possibility of "free migration from Brody."[296] In January 1882, the police reported on advertisements brought to Rovno from Hamburg. In the "Our Brothers" leaflet, the persecution of Jews was described, and emigration was proclaimed as the only way out for Jews.[297] One may assume that such a campaign was much more massive in Russia than is known to date, but this topic requires a specialized study. Active discussions about emigration as a response to the pogroms were circulating among Jewish intelligentsia in the Russian Empire at that time.[298] Paris Alliance even sent numerous letters to Russian rabbis with a request to campaign against migration so as to "prevent the catastrophe" on the Austro-Russian border.[299] Information dissemination and direct campaigning can be considered as key factors for growing migration motivation among Jews arriving in Galicia.

The active distribution of information about the aid campaign in Brody among Russian Jews coincided in time with the second stage of pogroms. In the spring of

---

Tobias Brinkmann, „Introduction," in Tobias Brinkmann (ed.) *Points of Passage: Jewish Migrants from Eastern Europe in Scandinavia, Germany, and Britain 1880-1914* (Berghahn Books, 2013), pp. 13-14.

[294] Brinkmann, "Why Paul Nathan Attacked Albert Ballin," pp. 50–58.

[295] Goldenstein: *Brody*, p. 11.

[296] TsDIAK, F. 442, O. 535, S. 267, p. 22-23.

[297] Ibid. pp. 22-23.

[298] Klier, *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms*, pp. 255-296.

[299] Friedländer, *Fünf Wochen*, S. 26-27.

1882, Brody and other cities received a new wave of refugees. The government in Vienna actively discussed ways of Jewish repatriation with Russian officials.[300] The local police became much more active against the new arrival of Jews. George Price, in early summer 1882, describes police behavior as follows:

[…] *Upon their arrival, they were welcomed at the station by the police. The policeman met the arrivals, placed them in carriages and their belongings in wagons, and led them away […] In the meantime, they were taken by the soldiers to the border; there they were met by the Russian guards and were taken across. In the prairies near a forest, the Russians order the emigrants to get out and walk with their belongings back to Radzivilov, a distance of 2 ½ miles.*[301]

Emmanuel Veneziani, who at that moment was in charge of the aid action in Brody, offered a program to solve the crisis, which was the following three steps:

"1. Financial support for the repatriation of 3,000 refugees who can only find work in their own country;
2. Temporary care for 1,000 refugees in Brody who can later be sent to their families in America;

3. Transportation of the 8,000 remaining refugees within the European communities, including financial support for these communities to care for these refugees for a few months."[302]

The Paris Alliance accepted this proposal, but many European and American committees have opposed this initiative. The Vienna Alliance was especially ardent in campaigning against the program.[303] The Alliance did not manage to receive support from the European states for the transit of migrants nor from the American

[300] HHStA, MdÄ, PA X, K. 141, pp. 226-238.
[301] Shpall, The Diary of Dr George Price, pp. 175-176.
[302] *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, 2e semestre 1881–1er semestre 1882, p. 15v.
[303] Siegel: Israelitische Allianz, S. 99;
Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle, 2e semestre 1881–1er semestre 1882, pp. 16-21.

committees to accommodate immigrants. Under these conditions, representatives of the aid action in Galicia were obliged to organize the repatriation of most refugees. In the second half of 1882, only a small part of Jews stayed in Galicia for further transfer to America. They were mostly individuals who proved that they had been subjected to reprisals or arrested.[304] Two major stages of refugees' arrival that also correspond to the waves of pogroms in the Russian empire, can be identified: the first lasted from late spring until the beginning of fall 1881; the second, from spring until the beginning of summer 1882. The majority of newcomers stopped in Brody. Over 7'000 to 9'000 people migrated to the United States, and another 1'000 to 1'500 were placed in various European countries. The largest number of migrants within Europe resettled in France.[305]

Most of the Jews from the east, who remained in the border zone, moved back to the Russian Empire. This was complicated by the unwillingness of the Russian authorities to re-admit subjects who had left the Empire without formal permission. However, after the irritation of the Austro-Hungarian government, the imperial Russian consulate in Brody had to hand over travel documents to all returnees as soon as their citizenship was asserted. A small section of Russian Jews remained in Galicia until the beginning of 1883. The police continued to watch over them, and the government received a commitment from the Alliance that they would cross the empire's western border.[306] Thus, the Galicia crisis was resolved due to the intervention of multiple international actors.

* * *

The analysis of the stay of Jewish refugees in a border zone shows all the complexity of the crisis situation, both for border cities and for the region as a whole. Jewish aid

[304] Ibid, pp. 25-32, 37.
Kuzmany, *Brody*, 242–246.
[305] *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, 2e semestre 1881–1er semestre 1882, 41-47;
Szajkowski, The European Attitude to East European Jewish Immigration, pp. 137-136;
Kuzmany, Jüdische Pogromflüchtlinge, 101-102.
[306] HHStA, MdÄ, PA X, K. 141, p. 230.

organizations were responsible not only for the stay of Russian Jews in Galicia but also for finding solutions to the crisis. The refugees were in transit and were not always able to influence their future.

A study of the refugee profile shows the main characteristics of this group and leads to the core question as to how refugees became transmigrants and how transmigrants benefited from refugee status, both intentionally and unintentionally; that is, even if they were the same group of people. Migration processes in the border zone were multi-directional and multiple factors influenced whether Jews took part in global migration or repatriated back to the Russian Empire.

Chapter 5. Political Dimensions of the Galician Crisis

The term "Jewish question" (*Judenfrage*) began to circulate in German-language publications in the mid-nineteenth century. Many authors immediately resorted to its active use to refer to a wide range of issues in the relations of Jewish people with their surrounding communities and to their place in society. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Jewish question was one of the pressing matters under discussion in most European countries. It resulted from general changes in political life, such as in mass media, parliamentary debates, and other developments. Compared to other "questions" (such as those relating to women, the "east," Poland, the "social") addressed by the European press and politics in the nineteenth century, the concept of the Jewish question has many limitations, as tackled by researchers.[307]

The term Jewish question is used in this chapter not as an analytical category, in the first place, but rather as an historical term widely occurring in the sources of the 1880s. John D. Klier has proposed one of the most inclusive and universal definitions of the notion of the Jewish question. According to Klier, it includes a complex of socio-economic and cultural-religious problems related to Jews, with specific transposition onto the public and political spheres. The scholar suggested an approach to studying the Jewish question based on the idea of its determining role for the intellectual platform in which it was raised.[308] Among others scholars,

[307] Holly Case, *The Age of Questions: Or, A First Attempt at an Aggregate History of the Eastern, Social, Woman, American, Jewish, Polish, Bullion, Tuberculosis, and Many Other Questions over the Nineteenth Century, and Beyond* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018).

[308] John D. Klier*, Imperial Russia's Jewish Question, 1855–1881* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Theodore R. Weeks proposed the following characteristic of the Jewish question in late imperial Central and Eastern Europe. In particular, he identified two key components of the Jewish question: the problems of emancipation/assimilation, and the political articulation of modern antisemitism based on Judeophobia.[309] The use of the term in this chapter follows the definitions proposed by the above authors.

The political debate in many European countries and in the United States on the subject of pogroms in the Russian Empire in 1881-1882 and the subsequent Galician refugee crisis constitute a specific and extensive topic of study.[310] It is important to note that both in discussions within the Romanov Empire itself, and in many Western countries, it was often not so much a question of discussing pogroms as events or phenomena, but rather as a politicized myth. Pogroms became a topic that was actively utilized by both philosemites and antisemites. More importantly, discussions about pogroms frequently raised existing debates about the Jewish question. Sam Johnson notes this tendency in the case of the British Empire.[311] The German press featured wide discussion about the possibility of a similar wave of anti-Jewish violence occurring in German territories—especially those bordering the western provinces of the Russian Empire—akin to events in that Empire.[312] In Habsburg Galicia, discussions about pogroms and refugees were also integrated into discussions of the Jewish question in the local context, as shown further in this chapter.

[309] Theodore R. Weeks, "Assimilation, Nationalism, Modernization, Antisemitism: Notes on Polish–Jewish Relations, 1855-1905" in Robert Blobaum (ed.) *Antisemitism and Its Opponents in Modern Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 20–38;
Theodore R Weeks, *From Assimilation to Antisemitism: the "Jewish Question" in Poland, 1850–1914* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois UP, 2006).
[310] For example: Johnson, *Pogroms, Peasants, Jews*;
Sonja Weinberg, *Pogroms and Riots: German Press*;
Stephen M. Berk, *Year of Crisis, Year of Hope*;
Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers*;
Szajkowski, "The attitude of American Jews to East European Jewish immigration," pp. 221-280.
[311] Johnson, *Pogroms, Peasants, Jews,* 41-66.
[312] Weinberg, *Pogroms and Riots*, 145-182.



Figure 5.1. "Austro-Russian border. Camp of interned Jews in Brody awaiting their repatriation." *Le monde illustré*, 18.11.1882, p. 320.

In the United States, the topics of pogroms and refugees were discussed in the highest state institutions, not only in light of issues related to the Russian Empire and Jewry but also as part of migration policy.[313] The American Jewish press covered events in the Russian Empire widely, not least for fundraising purposes in support of European aid committees and to lobby in the United States for the immigration of Eastern European Jews. To achieve these specific goals, newspapers such as *American Israelite* and *Jewish Messenger* reported on the refugee crisis in Galicia, especially on the situation in Brody, as well as on the activities of aid committees in the United States and in European countries.[314] During the events involving Russian Jews in Galicia, the interest of the press was often inspired by activities of Jewish organizations providing assistance to refugees. For that reason, in cities where committees were actively operating such in as Paris (see Figure 5.1.), New York, Vienna, and Hamburg, one can find a series of articles in the press about these events.

This chapter focuses on political and public reactions to the anti-Jewish riots in the Russian Empire and to the Galician refugee crises. It is striking that the existing research literature does not contain any attempt at a comprehensive analysis of international reactions and debates in multiple countries. Such a project is particularly ambitious and indeed could not be fully implemented in the present research. Therefore, analysis in this chapter is limited to press and political debates in Galicia and in Vienna. This chapter is underpinned by the belief that these two case samples are crucial for understanding the political contexts of events in the Austro-Russian borderland in the early 1880s. The chapter aims to show the heterogeneity of these political contexts but, at the same time, their interplay and interconnections.

Jewish Question in Galicia in the early 1880s

Both formation of the Galician public space and the emergence of the Jewish question therein are related to broader contexts. They include the general politicization of the Austro-Hungarian Empire's eastern provinces due to the emergence of elected

[313] Berk, *Year of Crisis, Year of Hope*, 64-70.
[314] For example: *Jewish Messenger*, 20.05.1881, p. 4;
American Israelite, 11.11.1881, p. 4.

authorities. The latter significantly accelerated the formation of political organizations within the society. During the period under research, the public sphere was concentrated in the press and literature. In the final three decades of the nineteenth century, newspapers and magazines based in the cities were the key drivers in shaping public opinion.[315] This part of the research focuses on Lemberg which, as capital of the province, was the center of political life in the region.

As discussed in chapter 3, when police documented the earliest refugees in the spring of 1881, news about pogroms in the neighboring Russian lands was already known in Galicia. One can only assume that besides articles in the press, many rumors circulated about the situation in the Russian Empire and about Jews arriving from there. Police action to prevent anti-Jewish propaganda and to avert any repeat in Galicia of pogroms was generally successful.

From late spring 1881, antisemitic agitation appeared in print in Galicia. The police held regular actions to confiscate materials, but since they were mostly anonymous and circulated as flyers, police files usually do not record cases of punishing particular individuals.[316] It is also highly likely that the police only confiscated a proportion of such tracts and notices, that sought to agitate. Moreover, as shown below, the Lemberg police censorship committee actively limited the publication of anti-Jewish content in the newspapers.

Awareness about pogroms, the manifestations of anti-Jewish sentiment in Galicia, as well as the arrival of Jewish refugees made the issue of pogroms highly current and much debated in the public sphere. It is noteworthy that in the press, pogroms and refugees from the Russian Empire were considered in close connection with existing debates on the Jewish question in Galicia. In the early 1880s, there was a significant increase in the number of articles on the Jewish question in the press. The concepts of "pogrom," "pogromist," and "victim of the pogrom" came into common use.
However, growing debate about the Jewish question in the context of the riots in the Russian Empire and their aftermath was not an entirely new phenomenon for Galicia. All the debates of the early 1880s took place in already-established groups of authors

[315] Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1996).
[316] Tsentaralnyi Derzhavnyi Istirychnyi Archive, Lviv (TsDIAL), F. 146, O. 4, S. 3102 (multiple pages).

and newspapers. Anti-Jewish proclamations were not a novelty for the Galician population, and they were even actively used as part of political campaigning during elections to the regional Parliament (the Sejm Krajowy).[317] The most common aspect raised in campaigning was to criticize the Austro-Hungarian emancipatory law of 1867.[318] Moreover, as early as in the 1870s, modern antisemitism was introduced into Galician political life.

One of the first prominent representatives of modern antisemitism in the province was Jan Matejko, who for this reason was even called the "Kraków Wagner."[319] In Lemberg, journalist, publicist, and local politician, Teofil Merunowicz, was one of the first authors to link modern antisemitism with local eastern European problems of Christian-Jewish relations. Merunowicz had close familiarity with German-speaking Judophobic and antisemitic traditions and actively committed to such actors as Johann Eisenmenger and Wilhelm Marr. He was especially active in following and admiring anti-Jewish texts such as August Rohling's *Der Talmudjude,* and Carl Wilmanns's *Die "goldene" Internationale und die Nothwendigkeit einer socialen Reformpartei*.

In his antisemitic publications, Merunowicz relied on the ideas of the above-mentioend authors, and his works contain descriptions of the relationship between Christians and Jews in Galicia. Insisting on the complexity of these relations and the specifics of local Jews, he argued that a European emancipatory policy towards Jews would not bring positive results in Galicia. His main works on the topic were the brochure *O metodzie i celach rozpraw nad kwestyą Zydowska*[320] and the book *Żydzi. Studium społeczne*[321]. Furthermore, Merunowicz, who himself signed his publications in newspapers as the "antisemite from Lemberg" (*anysemita ze Lwowa*), was a member of the Galician parliament. He belonged to a group of Polish deputies who actively campaigned from the stands of the Sejm for abolition of

[317] Buchen, *Antisemitismus in Galizien: Agitation*, pp. 92-100;
Tomasz Gąsowski, *Galicja - żydowski matecznik* (Rzeszów, 1995), pp. 125-135.
[318] Buchen*, Antisemitismus in Galizien*, pp. 93-118.
[319] Ibid, pp.104-108.
[320] Teofil Merunowicz, *O metodzie i celach rozpraw nad kwestią żydowską* (Lwów, 1879).
[321] Teofil Merunowicz, *Żydzi. Studium społeczne* (Lwów, 1879).

the emancipatory law for Galician Jews.[322] The latter was strongly criticized by the Jewish emancipatory press.

In the early 1880s, the press demonstrated radically different interpretations of the anti-Jewish violence in the neighboring Empire. Condemnation of pogroms was not always part of the discourse of philosemitism. For example, socialist newspapers criticized the riots in terms of unacceptability of conflict "between the lower parts of society, despite their religion."[323] At the same time, they also used references to Old Testament stories and searched for links between pogroms and the persecutions of Jews in previous historical epochs. Later, this continued in articles of the *Ojczyzna* newspaper.[324]

Religious motifs were also represented by extracts from literature and variations on Jewish folklore. In the Ukrainian-Jewish context, the most interesting of this group of publications are the poems by Ivan Franko, published under the title *Jewish melodies*[325] (*"Жидівські мелодії"*). Although not all pieces in this collection were philosemitic, they nevertheless became "a frank expression of sympathy for Jews as victims of the pogrom."[326] "Feathers," one of the poems in *Jewish melodies*, particularly reflected the motif of compassion for the Jews. It evoked the image of feathers from vandalised Jewish feather-beds rising to heaven, and bearing witness to violence:

"[…] As the hardened peasant's hands	*"*[…] *Як грубі мужицькії руки*
Tear our possessions for no good reason	*Рвуть наше добро без причин*
And causing to us pangs and torments,	*І нам завдають люті муки,*
Oh, feathers from Jewish feather-beds.	*О, пір'я з жидівських перин.*

[322] Elżbieta Horn, *Kwestia żydowska w obradach Galicyjskiego Sejmu* (Przemysl, 1991), pp. 170-172.
[323] *Praca*, 23.05.1882. p. 3
[324] *Ojczyzna*, №2, 1883. p. 6.
[325] Franko claimed that these poems were recorded by him from Jewish folk songs.
[326] Yaroslav Hrytsak *Prorok u svoiiy Vitchyzni. Franko ta iogo spilnota* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2006), p. 352.

How they tear apart our houses	*Як наші хати розкидають*
So that no planks are left behind,	*Аж геть до послідніх делин1,*
How they destroy our shops,	*Як наші шинки розбивають,*
Oh, feathers from Jewish feather-beds!	*О, пір'я з жидівських перин!*
The entire town, far and wide, –	*Весь город від краю до краю –*
is in ruins, lamenting is all around!	*Руїна одна, плач один!*
Look at those savage vandals,	*Гляди-ж на тих варварів зграю,*
Oh, feathers from Jewish feather-beds!	*О пір'я з жидівських перин!*
Look at all our losses,	*Гляди, що ту нашої страти,*
At all the tears we have shed –	*Що наших ту впаде слезин –*
So that you can tell it all to God,	*Щоб Богу це все розказати,*
Oh, feathers from Jewish feather-beds! [...]"	*О, пір'я з жидівських перин! [...]"*[327].

Some of the authors who reacted to the pogroms assumed a fundamentally opposite position in regard to this anti-Jewish violence. Thus, Anna Veronika Wendland describes the reaction of the Russophiles: "with undisguised pleasure, the Russophilian press commented on Russian pogroms after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II." As well as other attacks against Jews, *Prolom* and its Ukrainian-language supplement *Veche* published reports about the persecution of Jews, "the meaning of which was obvious to every reader: the expulsion of nine hundred Jewish families from Orel was greeted no less than the acquittal of the pogromist in Zhmerinka."[328] In the article concerning events in Orel, *Veche* tried to name the

[327] Ivan Franko. *Mosaika tvoriv, shcho ne uviishly do Zibrannia tvoriv u 50* tomakh (Lviv: Kameniar, 2001), pp. 32-33.

[328] Anna Veronika Wendland, Rusofily Halychyny: Ukrianski koservatory mizh Avstrieiu i Rosieu, 1848-1915 (Lviv: Litopys, 2015), pp. 213-262.

"reason" for pogrom sentiment: "the Jews themselves are to blame for their own fate." In the *Veche* article one may find usual anti-Jewish arguments about Jews as "deceitful capitalists" and "men without a homeland":

"Now all [people] *over the world are set against the Jews, and Russia is forced to deal with them because they are more strongly nihilist, which is spreading rapidly in Russia. That is why a Jew has no homeland—money is his homeland, materialism. The same is proclaimed by nihilists: Homeland is nothing, faith is nothing, nationality is nothing, and all you do is just eat, drink, have fun!"*[329]

However, these messages, as well as other similar texts, only reached a few readers because the police confiscated the publications[330].

All issues of the Lemberg newspaper *Batkivshchyna*, that was very active in reporting anti-Jewish violence in the Russian Empire, were also confiscated. The authors of *Batkivshchyna* sympathized on the occasion of the death of Alexander II. Explaining the outbreak of pogroms, they insisted on the direct involvement of Jews in the assassination of the emperor. The authors of *Batkivshchyna* considered it a great danger that the Jews "decided to confront the Emperor." They saw it as Jewish ingratitude towards the nations and states that "tolerate them on their lands."[331].

The position of *Batkivshchyna* on the issue of anti-Jewish violence fully corresponds to the general orientation of the newspaper during 1870-1880s. Russian pogroms, in this case, served as a drive toward, rather than as a reason for, anti-Jewish rhetoric. Even in representing the position of those who organized the emperor's assassination, *Batkivshchyna* wrote about "constitutionalism and freedom" as concepts "exploited by Jews."[332]

In describing the course of the pogroms, the *Batkivshchyna* writers did not hide their desire to validate those same pogroms:

---

[329] Cited after Wendland, *Rusofily Halychyny*, pp. 239-240.
[330] Ibid.
[331] Batkivshchyna, № 6, 1881. p.51.
[332] Ibid, №7, 1881. p. 59.

"The destruction came from a fight in a tavern when a Jewish man hit a bourgeois in the face, and the Jew was beaten from both sides [...] *About 200 houses were demolished; all kinds of drinks, vodka, rum, and beer were poured out onto the street, into the ditch* [...] *Nobody took anything for himself, and nobody slaughtered Jews themselves, so only one Jew died, and several were injured."*[333].

An openly anti-Jewish orientation was typical for the majority of *Batkivshchyna* newspaper articles, which dealt with anti-Jewish riots in the Russian Empire:

"It is senseless to suspect who instigated the Russian people in Ukraine against the Jews. Some say the nihilists [...] *Others say on the contrary that the Russian Government itself instigated the people; others say the Germans did—German colonists, factory workers, and artisans did it. After what the Jews are doing with the Russian people, no one even need to be incited, but on the contrary, no one would have been able to incite the people if there was not so much reasonable hate towards Jews among the people*."[334]

The above quotation illustrates attitudes that were common among the activists who grouped around *Batkivshchyna*. At the same time, it should not be assumed that such materials were representative of the entire Lemberg public sphere. On the contrary, such radical rhetoric was limited to a few newspapers and was punished by the authorities. The anti-Jewish sentiment in *Batkivshchyna* led to regular censorship of the newspaper.

An important factor for public opinion was the presence in Galicia of many Jewish migrants from western regions of the Russian Empire. For example, *Kurjer Lwowski* regularly reported on Jews from Russia in border towns, neutrally and briefly.[335] *Batkivshchyna*, in contrast, appealed to all to "unite against the danger of Jewish

[333] Ibid. №10, 1881, p. 83.
[334] Ibid, №11, 1881. p. 85.
[335] For example: *Kurjer Lwowski,* 04.06.1881, p. 44.

migration" to Galicia.[336] The press also published opinions that many Jews were leaving Russia to receive financial assistance or to settle in Galicia. Newcomers were accused of "being a bad example for [Galician] Jews," and the latter "would rob Christians more than ever."[337] These writings often referred to the experience of Brody, which, according to press articles, had already fallen under the "colonization of Russian Jews."[338] It is worth noting that statements in the press often corresponded to the concerns of Galician police about the possible resettlement of refugees in Galicia. These concerns, presented in internal police documents, are described in detail in chapter 3. Together these facts give grounds for arguing that such ideas were indeed widely circulating in Galicia.

The following wave of articles about pogroms and Jews in the Russian Empire appeared in the winter of 1881-1882. This was primarily caused by anti-Jewish violence in the Kingdom of Poland. It culminated in the Warsaw pogrom, which was widely discussed by Polish intellectuals in both empires. Bolesław Prus wrote at the end of December 1881 that this antisemitic unrest should be considered an "expression of moral degradation" into which Polish society had been placed due to "a state of national captivity."[339]. Theodore Weeks argues that the Polish Catholic press generally denounced violence as "acts of the wicked and mad." At the same time, another idea appeared in the press—that Polish and Jewish cultures could never coexist. Accusations were also spreading about a conspiracy between a Warsaw rabbi and a bishop for "provocation of the pogrom."[340] Anti-Jewish violence on Polish lands also had a strong impact on Galician intellectuals. The closeness of Lemberg's political actors to Warsaw's intellectual circles became apparent in new trends in the perception of pogroms. The authors assumed increasingly regularly that anti-Jewish violence was possible in Galicia and relied, in their reflections, on this same perspective.

At this time, several publications were produced by authors united around *Ojczyzna*,

[336] *Batkivshchyna*. № 11, 1881, p. 86.
[337] Ibid, p. 85-86.
[338] *Gazeta Narodowa,* № 225, 1881, p. 3.
[339] Agnieszka Friedrich, *Bolesław Prus wobec kwestii żydowskiej* (Gdańsk: Uniwersytet Gdański, 2008), p. 89-90.
[340] Weeks, *From Assimilation to Antisemitism*, pp. 117–118.

a newspaper and group of assimilated Jewish intellectuals focused on Polish culture. Their position was that anti-Jewish violence was a consequence of the tension in relations between Jews and surrounding communities. The authors of *Ojczyzna* believed the pogroms served as a means of solving the problems that caused this tension. These written materials discussed different ways of changing the situation in Jewish-Christian relations as alternatives to the pogroms. The most common message in these texts was the idea of assimilation, which was to reduce existing differences and prevent a repetition of anti-Jewish violence in the Russian Empire and other regions. The articles which contained appeals, published by the editorial board of the *Ojczyzna* newspaper*,* may be considered as representative of the editors' opinions. The most substantial among them was a program to prevent pogroms in 1882. The editors saw a way out in the "general emancipation" of Jews, the destruction of "internal and external barriers [in Jewish communities] to integration with the world around them."[341] It is noticeable that the authors of the program ignored religious issues, focusing on the economic and social spheres of society. Antisemitic propaganda regularly referred to, and quoted, this article. It was perceived as a text "by one [group of] Jews for others, to protect themselves from pogroms."[342]

The view of violence as an instrument of change in the relationship between Jews and surrounding communities was also present in the texts of the narodnik press. According to John Paul Himka, despite positive responses as regards the actions of pogromists in Russia and Poland, the narodnik press considered the pogroms "immoral and illegal." Moreover, the narodniki were convinced that despite the fact that the violence represented an attempt to resolve the Jewish question in the interests of Christians, it had no chance of solving the problems that existed in the relations of Jews with other communities[343].

Acts of blood libel and anti-Jewish violence occurred in the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1882-1884. The new aspect of this wave of riots was that it was preceded by political debates about the role of Jews in Hungarian society and the

[341] *Ojczyzna*, №11 1882, pp. 2–3.

[342] Soboń, *Polacy wobec Żydów w Galicji doby autonomicznej*, p. 237.

[343] John Paul Himka "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside during the Late Nineteenth Century," in Peter J. Potichnyj, Howard Aster (eds.) *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective* (Edmonton, 1988), pp. 128–129.

possibility of pogroms.[344] Similar discussions also took place in the Galician Sejm. In addition, rumors began to appear in Galicia of ritual murders of Christians, who had been executed by Jews. In 1883, the local Sejm even appointed a commission of deputies to deal with these cases. Teofil Merunowicz, a deputy, known for his antisemitic articles and speeches, tried to gain admission as a member to this Sejm commission. For that purpose, he started a campaign in which he appealed to provincial authorities and even to the government in Vienna, raising the Jewish question in Galicia as part of his approach. Merunowicz's campaign was linked to the desire to bring to life his belief that there was a need for legal and economic restrictions for the Jewish population. Merunowicz also proposed several petitions to local parliament to restrict Jews from being elected to local authorities, but the petitions did not receive any support.[345]

The Lemberg press considered anti-Jewish riots on Hungarian territory as a continuation of the pogroms in the Russian Empire. The reaction was a new wave of anti-Jewish publications close to Merunowicz's antisemitism. These tendencies manifested themselves most vividly in articles of the *Zerkalo*[346] and *Dilo* newspapers.[347] The idea that responsibility for the pogroms lay with Jews and that they inspired the riots in order to achieve their goals became the cornerstone of the writings published in these newspapers during 1883. Articles with such content were based on a belief in the negative social and economic role of Jews and their unwillingness to integrate into society. Yaroslav Hrytsak characterizes the meaning of Ivan Franko's articles in *Dilo* in 1883 as follows:

"*Franko was particularly focused on Galician contexts, as he believed that the pogroms here* [in Galicia] *could have reached a much larger scale than even in Russia. The geography of the antisemitic movement brought him to the conclusion*

[344] Robert R. Nemes "Hungary's Antisemitic Provinces: Violence and Ritual Murder in the 1880s," *Slavic Review*, 66(01), (2007): 20–44.

[345] Andrzej Żbikowski Rozwój ideologii antysemickiej w Galicji w II połowie XIX w.: Teofila Merunowicza atak na żydowskie kahały, *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (1994): 21-39.

[346] The *Zerkalo* newspaper was established in 1882 and, in 1883, it was renamed as *Nove Zerkalo*.

[347] The *Dilo* newspaper was founded in 1880.

that this movement was gaining a universal character, and therefore the reasons could not be sought in local circumstances only. Franko did not reduce these reasons to racial or religious hatred, but saw the root cause of the mass pogroms in economic aspects, believing the Jews to be responsible for the pogroms in the sense that they themselves provoked the pogroms for their own benefit."[348].

In general, Ivan Franko proposed a program, the implementation of which, in his opinion, could protect Galicia from anti-Jewish pogroms. The program implied legal restrictions and a "fight against Jewish capital."[349]

In early 1883, *Batkivshchyna* published an article explaining that anti-Jewish violence in Galicia did not occur as a result of the "return of Jewish migrants to Russia." The authors explicitly stated that Jewish migrants themselves had a role in the violence against them because they hoped to receive benefits and support of all kinds from the Austrian. Moreover, it is most likely that in this article, *Batkivshchyna* intentionally overstated the number of Jews from the Russian Empire staying on Galician soil in the early 1880s. The article, therefore, refers to "about 50 thousand Jews from Russia."[350] According to estimates calculated for the present research, based on data from police and international Jewish organizations, the number had been exaggerated almost twice as high as the real number of Jewish refugees in Galicia.

Generally, anti-Jewish writings featured the topics of pogroms and Jewish refugees as elements of anti-Jewish agitation. A vivid example of this tendency was a series of articles in *Nove Zerkalo* newspaper in 1882-1883. These, mostly anonymous, cartoon-illustrated pieces explained how Jews "provoked the local population [of Galicia] to pogroms, with their activities." According to the authors, the pogrom was "not drastically negative," but was perceived with certain reservations, because it could "first of all harm the Christian population."[351]

---

[348] Hrytsak *Prorok u svoiiy Viychyzni*, p. 352.
[349] Ibid, pp. 352–353.
[350] *Batkivshchyna*, №2, 1883. p. 9.
[351] *Zerkalo*, № 12, 1882, p. 2;
Ibid, № 3, 1882. p. 8.
Ibid, № 8, 1882, p. 8;
Ibid, № 20 1882, p. 8.



Figure 5.2. Samples of caricatures published in *Zerkalo* newspaper. From *Zerkalo*, No 2, 1881, No 10, 1883.

Until 1881, the Jewish question was presented in the press and in literature as isolated appeals about mainly social and economic issues associated with Galician Jewry. Reaction to pogroms in public life provides a much more evident opportunity for tracing groups of texts that upheld the same position on the Jewish question. The position gained qualitatively new characteristics as far as political thought was concerned at that time.

Based on analysis of the response of Galician intellectuals to anti-Jewish violence in the Russian Empire, and to the arrival of refugees, it is possible to identify the following three stages of this process:

- The first is related to the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence in the south-western regions of the Russian Empire and the arrival of Jewish refugees to Galician border towns. Chronologically, this period covers press articles in the spring-autumn of 1881. It was characterized by a focus on the situation in the Romanov monarchy offering interpretation causes for the anti-Jewish violence;
- The second stage of reaction is connected with anti-Jewish riots on the territory

- of the Kingdom of Poland, which took place in the winter of 1881-1882. Pogroms in Polish lands incited Lemberg intellectuals to define their position with regard to anti-Jewish violence, causing all political factions to finalize their orientation. The geographical and political proximity of Galicia to the Kingdom of Poland contributed to consolidating the idea of possible pogroms in the eastern provinces of Austria-Hungary among Lemberg intellectuals. During this period, debates about pogroms became actively integrated into the Galician context.
- The third stage of reaction came after the end of the refugee crisis, and the debate on the Jewish question in the press intensified due to a wave of violence against Jews on Hungarian territories in 1883-1884. The events in Hungary gave rise to new questions about the nature of the pogroms, diffused the characteristics of the phenomenon, and actualized ideas about the possibility of repeated riots in Galicia.

It is possible to distinguish between the three main types of perception of pogroms in the Galician public space, noting that they function in various ways at different periods of reaction. The first approach was in condemnation of pogroms with a message of sympathy for the Jews. The most active authors with such an attitude were responding to the earliest news about Russian pogroms in Galicia in 1881. The second type of response to anti-Jewish violence was the perception of pogroms as an instrument for solving Christian-Jewish tensions. In general, intellectuals did not believe in the possibility of such consequences for pogroms, referring to alternative means of neutralizing confrontation between Jewish and non-Jewish communities. The third type of reception of anti-Jewish violence was to demonstrate Jews as the cause of pogroms. In general, these authors were convinced that the actions of the pogromists were justified. This cohort of texts was the most anti-Jewish and, although it had existed since 1881, it actively manifested itself in the final stages of the reaction.

Consequently, anti-Jewish violence, which bypassed Galicia in the geographical sense, activated and differentiated the Jewish question among intellectuals and found a strong reaction. The arrival of Jewish refugees, caused either directly or indirectly by pogroms, increased concerns in the press and became the subject of anti-Jewish propaganda. Influenced by pogroms, Galicia came to be re-considered as a region

with the potential for an explosion of anti-Jewish riots, and in the public sphere, a period of pogrom anticipation began.

These trends brought new meanings and characteristics to the Jewish question. In the 1880s, in Galicia's public sphere, groups of texts upholding a common position on the Jewish question became much clearer. Communication between texts, and the division of intellectuals into groups as to the perception of Jewry and pogroms, indicates the formation of discursive practices around the Jewish question. Different ways of perceiving pogroms and applying the concept of pogroms to Galician contexts became part of complex and long-lasting discourses. In a simplistic and generalized way, these latter can be divided into philosemitic (or emancipatory) and antisemitic (or Judophobic) discourses of the Jewish question in the Galician public space.

Galician Crisis and the Imperial Center

The government in Vienna was aware of events in the neighboring empire and closely monitored the anti-Jewish riots. The Austrian-Hungarian ministry of foreign affairs document collections, stored in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, are the main primary source of information about the position of the imperial center.[352] The ambassador and consuls in the Russian Empire, and the local Galician authorities regularly reported to the government on the situation in the Russian Empire.[353]

Reports from 1881 mention the flow of refugees only rarely. In fact, the expansion of the refugee crisis caused by new pogroms in the spring of 1882 strongly preoccupied the Austrian-Hungarian ministry of foreign affairs. Nevertheless, the ministry considered a direct appeal to the Russian government in connection with the anti-Jewish riots as politically inappropriate. The ministry chose a "more appropriate approach to express their concerns." The ambassador in St. Petersburg was instructed to "draw the attention of the Russian Government and the Tsar to the difficult situation in which Austro-Hungary found itself due to the large number of

[352] HHStA (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv), Ministerium des Äußern (MdÄ).
[353] Ibid, IB, K. 141 (multiple pages).

disadvantaged Russian Jews seeking refuge in border provinces."[354] After lengthy negotiations, the Russian side indeed promised to prevent Jews without passports from leaving the country. However, the active illegal border crossing could not be stopped by such diplomatic interventions.[355]

From the lowest ranks in local police stations to the intermediate level of provincial governors, and the ministry of the interior, the Austrian authorities were greatly concerned about the number of refugees. Regular monitoring and registration of refugees became routine topics in the correspondence of the Galician authorities with the government in Vienna. The imperial government encouraged and insisted on the continuation of this work. The organization of police patrols at railway stations and joint police and border guard patrols along the state border were particularly important in the correspondence between Lemberg and Vienna. This type of police activity is described in detail in chapter 3.

One of the main tasks of the Galician police force was to limit the places where refugees could stay, namely to ensure a compact space for their sojourn in Brody. As is argued in chapter 3, Brody became a hub for refugees and a crisis management center. This happened not only because of the city's geographical location and transport infrastructure, but primarily because of representation by international Jewish organizations there and due to actions of the Galician authorities. When the crisis reached its second peak in May 1882, police and military units not only escorted refugees to Brody but even contributed to the registration procedures of the relief committees.[356] Several provincial officials and even the governor, Alfred Potocki, inspected the city so as to report to the central government and to the emperor.[357]

The Austrian government was fully aware and agreed that the international Jewish community was organizing large-scale worldwide relief action. However, it was aware that the "longer the refugee crisis continued," the higher the possibility that the "state would eventually incur some certain costs."[358] Furthermore, besides these financial considerations and the loss of control over part of the state border, the

[354] Ibid, pp. 30–34.
[355] Ibid, pp. 110–111.
[356] *Neue Freie Presse*, 30.05.1882, p. 3.
[357] Ibid, 1.06.1882, p. 3.
[358] HHStA, MdÄ, PA X, K, pp. 126–128.

highest Austrian authorities were concerned that anti-Jewish sentiment might spill over onto Austria-Hungary.

This issue was of concern to the highest officials of the Habsburg Empire. For example, in May 1882, Interior Minister, Eduard von Taaffe wrote the following to Foreign Minister, Gustav Siegmund Kálnoky:

"If the refugees who remain in Galicia in this way are forced to stay there for a longer period of time, it is obvious that the notorious prejudice of the rural population against the Jews could easily lead to regrettable excesses there as well."[359]

The documentation of the ministry of internal affairs indicates that both the foreign ministry and interior ministry were aware of the counteraction of anti-Jewish propaganda in Galicia described in chapter 3. The foreign ministry instructed the local authorities to take action in this regard. Another important aspect for government was investigating the involvement of Austrian subjects in anti-Jewish riots in the Russian Empire.[360]

The Austrian press also commented on anti-Jewish violence in the neighboring empire and on the crisis involving Jewish refugees on the eastern borderland. This reaction represents different parts of the Austrian public sphere. For instance, further, this chapter looks at the press articles that targeted liberal circles, Catholic newspapers, and press that represented conservative aristocracy. The Catholic press, which adopted a marked radical position, is principally interesting because it was almost uncensored. Many of the materials it published most likely could not have been printed in other newspapers.[361] The exact opposite was the liberal *Neue Freie Presse*, which practiced highly professional journalism, and had a network of correspondents and large circulation. This made it one of the most influential and popular German-language newspapers in the entire Empire.

[359] Ibid, pp. 1–2.
[360] HHStA, MdÄ, IB, K. 141 (multiple pages).
Ibid, PA X, K. 141 (multiple pages).
[361] For example: *Grazer Volksblatt*, 17.05.1881, p. 3;
Das Vaterland, 15.05. 1882, p. 5.

The importance of the position of the Austrian press was not only in its influence on readers but also in its active direct participation in the political life of the empire. Thus, representatives of the press took part and actively covered debates in the Austrian parliament (*Reichsrat*). Moreover, the role of the press was often crucial in the collection of signatures for petitions to the supreme institutions of the empire. In the case of the political debate about the refugee crisis in Galicia, both the liberal and conservative press cooperated closely with members of parliament. Such cases are described below.

In May 1882, ninety-three members of parliament signed a request to the government, which was triggered by the second wave of pogroms in the Russian Empire and its aftermath for Galicia. The request appealed to the government to influence the Russian authorities and, in this way, to prevent the continuation of riots against the Jews. The minister of the interior, attaching a petition[362] to his letter, addressed the minister of foreign affairs:

"*Considering the difficulties that these events have brought to our state, does the Government intend to use its influence in an appropriate manner to ensure a timely and effective end to these ongoing violations of all commandments?"*[363]

Neue Freie Presse supported this request and urged other deputies to sign it,[364] but this campaign did not succeed. The newspaper explained the position of various groups in the parliament to its readers and stated that the document had the "general approval of deputies," but could not be supported by them due to the "existing political conjuncture." Thus, *Neue Freie Presse* reported that the Polish members of parliament were concerned about this issue, but due to the history of lack of support in parliament for such "requests to the Russian government regarding the Polish question," they did not want to put their signatures to this document.[365]

[362] HHStA, MdÄ, PA X, K. 141, p. 8.
[363] Ibid, p. 7–8.
[364] *Neue Freie Presse*, 11.05.1882, p. 3.
[365] Ibid, 10. 05.1882, p. 3.

Catholic political circles did not object to the deputy's request either. They explained their refusal to support it directly for similar reasons to Polish deputies, namely, that there were no such initiatives to "help persecuted French Jesuits."[366] Similarly, in the debates of the early 1880s, the conservative press repeatedly used the argument that there was no "support from the Austro-Hungarian Government for vulnerable Christian groups." The latter, for instance, was used as an explanation for support of the Vienna municipal council's decision not to allocate funds for the transport of Jewish refugees[367].

Parliamentary petitions were by no means always sympathetic to refugees and, in some cases, they were the opposite. For instance, Georg Ritter von Schönerer, a deputy, appealed to "prevent the immigration of Russian Jews" to Austria-Hungary. In the petition, he spoke on behalf of several small towns in central Austria, where the citizens, according to the author, were "concerned about the possibility of Jews coming from the east." The conservative press covered the deputy's activities extensively, but this petition received no support. The same happened to other von Schönerer petitions, which openly expressed an antisemitic attitude.

The liberal press was much more actively involved in commenting on those riots and refugees, which accordingly affected the number and volume of published articles. Most of the reactions in the Austrian press occurred in 1882, and only about a fifth of the articles date to 1881. It is noteworthy that all newspapers agreed that the pogroms were "inappropriate" and caused a "humanitarian disaster." At the same time, although they often condemned the progroms, conservative newspapers explained that Jews themselves were also responsible for riots, as they "provoked the hate of the pogromists."[368] Conservative newspapers openly positioned themselves against liberal public opinion and accused the "Jewish press" of excessive bias and exaggeration of pogroms.[369] Moreover, one can clearly observe the negative attitude in their articles towards Jewish citizens of the Habsburg Empire. Like the anti-Jewish

[366] *Grazer Volksblatt*, 12.05.1882, p. 1.
[367] *Das Vaterland*, 15.05.1882, p. 4.
[368] For example: *Das Vaterland*, 14.05.1882, p. 2.
[369] *Ibid*, 11.05.1882, p. 6-6v;
Ibid, 10. 06.1882, p. 2;
Ibid, 14. 06.1882, p. 1.

publications in Galicia described above, they used typical antisemitic expressions such as “the excessive spread of Jews,” “evading hard work,” “the rich and [...] not in need of help,” “life at the expense of Christians,” “unproductive traders” and so on.[370]

The accusations of bias voiced by the conservative press concerned a number of newspapers in the liberal spectrum. However, *Neue Freie Presse* was the main object of this criticism. The reason for this harsh criticism may have been indeed in the dramatic coverage of the events in Volochisk and Podwołoczyska in May 1881, which are quoted extensively in chapter 2. *Neue Freie Presse* was actually involved in supporting refugees in Galicia. The newspaper published calls for donations to the Vienna Alliance as well as lists of contributors.[371] Moreover, the newspaper was one of the collection points for these donations.[372] This had an effect on the character of the newspaper's writers about the subject of the refugee crisis. Thus, these articles focused on the activities of local committees, private funding of relief action, and the importance of the role of international organizations in the crisis. The latter was crucial to public opinion. Because, as this thesis has already noted several times, it was concern about the possible need to fund aid to refugees that was the fear of local and Vienna officials, and such concerns were the grounds for anti-Jewish publications in the press.

The *Neue Freie Presse* was not always complimentary about the aid action that was being organized, and it even wrote about the problem of coordination and competition between representatives of the aid committees. But in general, the newspaper wrote in highly positive terms about the work of the committees, and it insisted on their crucial role in crisis governance. In early 1883, the editorial board summarized the results of the crisis in the following way:

---

[370] *Grazer Volksblatt*, 25.05.1881, p. 6;
Ibid, 12.05.1882, p. 1;
Ibid, 21.05.1882, p. 1;
Ibid, 26.07.1882, p. 5;
Das Vaterland, 15.05.1882, p. 4.
[371] For example: *Neue Freie Press*, 22.05,1881, p. 4v;
Ibid, 31.05.1881, p. 5.
[372] Siegel, *Österreichisches Judentum Zwischen*, 98.

"*After fifteen months of work, the relief action for Jewish-Russian emigrants ended today when the local committee sent* [to the west] *the last 39 people in need. Thus, the difficult task of establishing safe asylum for more than 15,000 refugees at a distance* [in western countries] *or returning them to their homes was accomplished without incident and without financial support from the state.*"[373]

The liberal press also repeatedly characterized the Russian Empire as "barbaric." The authors of such articles were confident in the "cultural superiority" of the Habsburg Empire. Among the reasons for the pogroms, the newspapers often listed the low morality of Russian society, or an aloofness from progressiveness and humanity on the part of the Russian state. For example, this can be seen in newspaper articles declaring support for the government's position in debates concerning the necessity of deporting refugees and closing the border:

"[…] [The Austro-Hungarian] *government will not accept this position because it knows very well that these refugees come to Austria only because they want to protect their lives, through escaping, and it would be unworthy of a civilized state to bring people to their inevitable death by such barbarism*."[374]

The conservative press accused their liberal counterparts of harsh criticism of Russian politics and saw no significant disadvantages in the activities of the Russian government. However, conservative newspapers did not support closing the border either and stated that they accepted the temporary accommodation of Jews in Galicia as a "manifestation of Christian mercy."[375]

The attitude of the conservative press towards aid committees and refugee assistance activities was often quite contradictory. Representatives of international Jewish organizations and local aid committee members were described mainly as "courageous and decent people," who took responsibility, were highly organized, and

[373] *Neue Freie Press*, 02.01.1883, p. 1.
[374] Ibid, 31. 05, 1881, p. 2
[375] *Grazer Volksblatt*, 25.05.1881, p. 6.

ready to cooperate with the state.[376] At the same time, they could also be portrayed sometimes as "pretending to be oppressed," "arrogant," or "bold."[377] In articles about the crisis in Galicia, the conservative press insisted that the state was not "obliged to pay for living essentials and expenses for the "emigration of Russian Jews." They insisted that these expenses were the responsibility of Jewish communities and "wealthy Jewish individuals."[378]

As already mentioned, the refugee crisis coincided with accusations of ritual murders in the Hungarian part of the Empire, which from spring 1882, revolted against Jews. At its sessions, the Hungarian parliament discussed the issue of the arrival of Jews from Russia and the risk of anti-Jewish violence on Hungarian territories. Similarly to Galicia, the Austrian press became more involved in commenting on Jewish matters under the influence of these events. The conservative Catholic press openly supported Hungarian concerns about the possible settlement of refugees in other parts of the empire.[379] Meanwhile, the liberal press strongly criticized "harsh antisemitic statements" during parliamentary debates on the issue of refugees in the Hungarian parliament.[380] The newspapers engaged in a long discussion about this Hungarian debate.

Despite many controversies, all political actors agreed on potential solutions to the refugee crisis. Both conservatives and liberals, as well as other groups, were strongly opposed to the settlement of Russian Jews in Austria. Therefore, in different forms, all parties to public opinion regarded as proper, both the private organization of further migration and the deportation of refugees back to Russian territories.

Thus, the Galician crisis, which may be seen as a local issue, represented a significant challenge for the Austrian government. The imperial center was not directly involved in managing the situation in the affected border towns. However, correspondence between Vienna and Lemberg clearly shows that the government was not only monitoring the situation in the eastern province but also instructed local officials so

[376] Ibid, 21.05.1882, p. 1.
Ibid, 10.06.1882, p. 3.
[377] Ibid, 14.05.1882, p. 3.
[378] *Das Vaterland*, 15.05.1882, p. 4.
[379] *Grazer Volksblatt*, 02.06.1882, p. 1.
[380] *Neue Freie Presse*, 8. 06.1882, p. 3;

as to ensure their efficiency. The issues of border security and relations with the Russian Empire were also significant for the government. Moreover, potential financial losses for the state and extension of the crisis to the other parts of the empire were vital issues for the central imperial institutions.

The Austro-Hungarian foreign ministry was an institution in charge of diplomatic ties with the Russian Empire. It meant that even communication between local officials on both sides of the border officially proceeded through correspondence between imperial centers. Such a complex and bureaucratized system did not allow the local authorities of the two empires to cooperate effectively. That is why communication between the police, border guards, and local administrations in the border zone operated in an informal sphere and, therefore, was not covered by the official sources.

The press evaluated the impact of various actors in the crisis, especially the government. Thus, shaping public opinion on these issues, the press greatly influenced the context in which decisions were made in the imperial center. Similar to the case of Galicia, the press reacted to the situation in the Russian Empire, and was also influenced by events on Hungarian territory. The Jewish question in Austria-Hungary was not as crucial in this debate as one sees it in the Galician press. Nevertheless, the conservative press tried to transpose an image derived from the Russian situation onto the relationship between Jewish and Christian populations of the Habsburg Empire.

* * *

Anti-Jewish riots in the Russian Empire led to intense discussions not only in the Russian public sphere but also in many other countries. Discussions that were most visible in the press were often linked to local Jewish questions and, in many cases, became a factor in polarizing public opinion. This was particularly noticeable in the context of growing antisemitism and its political presentations. The Galician crisis was often discussed as part of the debate on migration policy.

In the Galician press, there was a clear activation in debate on the Jewish question.

Moreover, despite the different ways of interpreting pogroms, the idea that there was a high possibility of the repetition of riots in Galicia was widespread. The debates of the 1880s played a determining role in influencing the positions of different political groups on the Jewish question. The Vienna perspective on the crisis shows the events of the emergency in a more global context. The issue in the imperial center was highly dependent on international affairs and the situation in different parts of the Empire.

Conclusion

The influx of Jews from the East, who crossed the border of Habsburg Galicia in early May of 1881, caused the refugee crisis in the Austro-Russian borderland. These events rapidly gained global significance. The crisis had humanitarian, migration, security, and political dimensions. The events in Galicia had considerable reverberations on local, imperial, and international levels.

At the same time, the pogroms became a powerful impetus for a population with complex reasons to emigrate. The anti-Jewish riots and the Galician refugee crisis did not mark the beginning of mass Jewish emigration. However, the events of 1881-1882 pushed Jewish migration to a new transnational level. The involvement of international Jewish organizations became one of the key factors in this process. They took the crisis under control and contributed to solving it through their resources and moral authority. Furthermore, they launched an international debate among Jewish elites in western countries to deepen understanding of the problems of Jews in the Russian Empire. Therefore, the crisis in Galicia, together with the international debate about Jews in Eastern Europe, made a priority of the issue of migration for Jewish organizations and communities around the globe for several subsequent decades.

As this study shows, anti-Jewish violence triggered the arrival of refugees in Galicia, although it had not affected a significant proportion of them directly. Evidently, the pogroms were not the reason for which Jews left the Russian Empire.

The crisis exposed the flaws in the security function of the Austro-Russian border and in the efficiency of the border control systems of both empires. The research confirms the existing hypothesis that even at the end of the nineteenth century, the

border regions of the two empires, separated by the border-line, remained interdependent. Moreover, as demonstrated in the case of the crisis, the importance of this line came to be significantly reduced. It also reflected the lack of preparedness of the Habsburg and Romanov Empires to face the challenges entailed by the era of mass migration. The inefficiency of officials and the Empire's inability to influence the situation on its borders was the main conclusion to be drawn from the crisis for Austro-Hungary. The events of the early 1880s show how far the migration order in Eastern Europe departs from the historiographical canon.

The Galician refugee crisis was a vivid example of mixed migration. The study argues that the multiplicity of factors, the multidirectional movement of migrants, and their heterogeneity has yielded an intersectional identification of Jews from the east as refugees and as several categories of migrants. Their transit experience was determined by different actors, and had a direct impact on the region of transit. The border zone adopted characteristics and functions simultaneously of a point of passage and of a place of asylum. These findings challenge the linear approach to migration processes, which dominates scholarship on Jewish history.

The case studies of border towns influenced by the arrival of Jews from the east demonstrate the global entanglement of Galicia's history. The crisis significantly contributed to that by igniting interest in the region and increasing international debate about the eastern Habsburg province.

Multilevel analysis that combines imperial bureaucracy sources from the center and from the periphery shows that the vertical imperial power structure was not able to adapt to the crisis. It was only a horizontal model of joint governance by state and non-state institutions on the local level that provided the possibility to overcome a humanitarian catastrophe. The informal performance of official state functions by Jewish aid organizations was the primary condition for solving the Galician crisis.

The pogroms and the refugee crisis were debated in the press internationally. However, in the Habsburg Empire, these debates were closely interwoven into state policy and into public opinions. The analysis of public political life in the center and in the periphery of the Empire demonstrates how issues of pogroms and refugees were quickly integrated into various societal discourses. The research finds that the pogroms as well as the stay of refugees in Galicia had a lasting impact on the Galician

Jewish question and the growing antisemitic political tradition.

The case studies of border towns influenced by the arrival of Jews from the east demonstrate the global entanglement of Galicia's history. The crisis significantly contributed to that by igniting interest in the region and increasing international debate about the eastern Habsburg province.

* * *

Remarkably, the Jews who came to Galicia from the Russian Empire did not become subjects in these events, despite the global consequences of their decisions. To the great regret of the present author, due to the lack of sources, most of them remain voiceless, even after this research. For scholars, they will always be part of police records as well as statistical and financial reports of aid committees. Moreover, we will never be able to read their own version of the 1881-1882 events, although it could differ significantly from what we know from the written sources.

Bibliography

Archival Sources

Austria

AUSTRIAN NATIONAL LIBRARY

Bildarchiv

AUSTRIAN STATE ARCHIVES / HAUS-, HOF- UND STAATSARCHIV (HHStA)

Ministerium des Äußern

France

LES ARCHIVES DE L'ALLIANCE ISRAÉLITE UNIVERSELLE (AAIU)

USSR

France

Germany

STAATSARCHIV DER FREIEN UND HANSESTADT HAMBURG (StAHH)

Auswanderungsamt

Ukraine

SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY OF THE FRANKO NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF LVIV

Department of periodicals

STEFANYK NATIONAL SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY OF UKRAINE IN LVIV

The Department of Manuscripts

THE CENTRAL STATE HISTORICAL ARCHIVE OF UKRAINE IN KYIV (TsDIAK)

f. 442, *Chancellery of the Governor-General of Kiev, Podolia, and Volhynia*

THE CENTRAL STATE HISTORICAL ARCHIVE OF UKRAINE IN LVIV (TsDIAL)

f. 146, *Galician Viceroyalty / K.k. Galizische Statthalterei / C. k. Namiestnictwo* Galicyjskie

USA

ARCHIVES OF THE YIVO INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH RESEARCH

RG 406: Borenstein-Eisenberg Collection

Digital archives and online databases

Ancestry

Gallica (National Library of France)

Gesher Galicia

Jagiellonian Digital Library

JewishGen

Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe

Urban Media Archive

Museum collections

VOLOCHYSK HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM

Periodical Literature

American Israelite

Batkivshchyna

Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle

Das Vaterland

Dilo

Gazeta Narodowa

Grazer Volksblatt

Jewish Messenger

Kurjer Lwowski

Neue Freie Presse

Ojczyzna,

Praca

Wiener Zeitung

Zerkalo

Primary Literature

Cahan, Abraham. *Bleter fun mein Lebn.* New York: Forverts, 1926.

Franko, Ivan. *Mosaika tvoriv, shcho ne uviishly do Zibrannia tvoriv u 50 tomakh*. Lviv: Kameniar, 2001.

Friedländer, Moritz, *Fünf Wochen in Brody unter jüdisch-russischen Emigranten*. Wien, 1882.

Goldenstein, Leo. *Brody und die russisch-jüdische Emigration. Nach eigener Beobachtung erzählt.* Frankfurt am Main, 1882.

Merunowicz, Teofil. *O metodzie i celach rozpraw nad kwestią żydowską*. Lwów, 1879.

Merunowicz, Teofil. *Żydzi. Studium społeczne*. Lwów, 1879.

Shpall, Leo. "The Diary of Dr George Price." *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* Vol. 40, No.2 (December, 1950), pp. 173-181.

Secondary Literature

Abramitzky, Ran, Leah Platt Boustan, and Katherine Eriksson. "A Nation of Immigrants: Assimilation and Economic Outcomes in the Age of Mass Migration." *Journal of Political Economy* 122, no. 3 (2014): 467-506.

Adelsgruber, Paulus, Laurie Cohen, Börries Kuzmany. *Getrennt und doch verbunden. Grenzstädte zwischen Österreich und Russland 1772–1918*.Wien, Köln, Weimar, 2011.

Alroe, Gur. *Bread to Eat and Clothes to Wear Letters from Jewish Migrants in the Early Twentieth Century.* Stanford University Press, 2011.

Alroe, Gur. *An unpromising land: Jewish migration to Palestine in the early twentieth century.* Stanford University Press, 2011.

Alroey, Gur. *The Quiet Revolution: Jewish Emigration from the Russian Empire 1875-1924* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 2008.

Alroey, Gur. "Two Historiographies: Israeli Historiography and the Mass Jewish Migration to the United States, 1881-1914." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 105, no. 1 (2015): 99-129.

Alroey, Gur. "Jewish Migration, 19th Century to Present." *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration*, ed. by Immanuel Ness. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2013.

Alroey, Gur. "And I Remained Alone in a Vast Land": Women in the Jewish Migration from Eastern Europe." *Jewish Social Studies, New Series*, 12, no. 3 (2006): 39-72.

Alvarez, Robert R. "The Mexican-Us Border: The Making of an Anthropology of Borderlands." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 447-70.

Anderson, Barbara A. *Internal Migration During Modernization in Late Nineteenth-Century Russia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.

Aronson, Michael I., *Troubled Waters. The Origins of the 1881 Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Russia.* Pittsburgh: PA, 1990.

Augustynowicz, Christoph, Kappeler, Andreas (Hg.) *Die galizische Grenze. Kommunikation oder Isolation?,* Wien, 2007.

Avrutin, Eugene M., *Jews and the Imperial State: Identification Politics in Tsarist Russia* Cornell University Press, 2010.

Baines, Dudley. *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Bandiera, Oriana, Imran Rasul, and Martina Viarengo. "The Making of Modern America: Migratory Flows in the Age of Mass Migration." *Journal of Development Economics* 100 (2013): 23–47.

Baran-Szołtys Magdalena, Dvoretska Olena, Gude Nino, Janik-Freis Elisabeth (Hg.) *Galizien in Bewegung. Wahrnehmungen – Begegnungen – Verflechtungen*, Vienna: Vienna University Press at V&R unipress, 2018.

Barnett, Michael, and Thomas G. Weiss, eds. *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics.* Cornell University Press, 2008

Baron, Salo W., Nachum Gross, and Arcadius Kahan, eds. *Economic History of the Jews.* New York NY: Schocken Books, 1975.

Baron, Salo. *The Russian Jew under Tsars and Soviets.* New York, NY: Macmillan, 1976.

Baron, Salo. *Ghetto and Emancipation: Shall We Revise the Traditional View?* New York, 1928.

Bartal, Israel. *The Jews of Eastern Europe, 1772-1881.* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.

Bergner, Hinde. and Justin Daniel Cammy. *On Long Winter Nights--: Memoirs of a Jewish Family in a Galician Township (1870-1900).* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Betts, Alexander. ed., *Global Migration Governance.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Bevir, Mark. *Governance: A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Jordan, Bill, and Franck Düvell. *Irregular migration: the dilemmas of transnational mobility.* London: Courier Corporation, 2002.

Bohning, W. R. (1984) Studies in International Labor Migration. London: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin Press.

Böhning, W. R. *Studies in International Labour Migration.* London: Macmillan, 1984.

Borjas, George J. "Economic Theory and International Migration." *The International Migration Review* 23, no. 3 (1989): 457-85.

Boustan, Leah Platt, "Were Jews political refugees or economic migrants?: Assessing the persecution theory of Jewish emigration, 1881-1914," *The New Comparative Economic History* (2007): 267-290.

Boyd, Monica. "Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas." *The International Migration Review* 23, no. 3 (1989): 638-70.

Brinkmann, Tobias. "From Immigrants to Supranational Transmigrants and Refugees: Jewish Migrants in New York and Berlin before and after the Great War." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30, no. 1 (2010): 47-57.

Brinkmann, Tobias. *Migration und Transnationalität.* Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 2012

Brinkmann, Tobias, ed. *Points of Passage: Jewish Migrants from Eastern Europe in Scandinavia, Germany, and Britain 1880-1914.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2013.

Brinkmann, Tobias. "Travelling with Ballin": The Impact of American Immigration Policies on Jewish Transmigration within Central Europe, 1880–1914." *International Review of Social History* 53, no. 3 (2008): 459-84.

Brinkmann, Tobias. "Strangers in the City: Transmigration from Eastern Europe and

Its Impact on Berlin and Hamburg 1880-1914," *Journal of Migration History* 2, no. 2 (2016): 223–46.

Brinkmann, Tobias. "Why Paul Nathan Attacked Albert Ballin: The Transatlantic Mass Migration and the Privatization of Prussia's Eastern Border Inspection, 1886-1914," *Central European History* 43, no. 1 (2010): 47–83.

Bristow, Edward. *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery, 1870-1939.* Oxford, 1982.

Browne, Irene, and Misra, Joya. "The Intersection of Gender and Race in the Labor Market." *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 29 (2003): 487-513.

Buchen, Tim. *Antisemitismus in Galizien: Agitation, Gewalt und Politik gegen Juden in der Habsburgermonarchie um 1900.* Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2012.

Burbank, Jane. "An Imperial Rights Regime: Law and Citizenship in the Russian Empire." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 7, no. 3 (2006): 397-431.

Burger, Hannelore."Paßwesen und Staatsbürgerschaft." Waltraud Heindl," in Edith Saurer (Hg.): *Grenze und Staat. Passwesen, Staatsbürgerschaft, Heimatrecht und Fremdengesetzgebung in der österreichischen Monarchie 1750–1867.* Wien: Böhlau, 2000.

Shaw, Caroline. *Britannia's Embrace: Modern Humanitarianism and the Imperial Origins of Refugee Relief.* Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Case, Holly. *The Age of Questions: Or, A First Attempt at an Aggregate History of the Eastern, Social, Woman, American, Jewish, Polish, Bullion, Tuberculosis, and Many Other Questions over the Nineteenth Century, and Beyond*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018.

Castles, Stephen. "How Nation-states Respond to Immigration and Ethnic Diversity." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 21, no. 3 (July 1, 1995): 293–308.

Castles, Stephen. "Migration and Community Formation under Conditions of Globalization." *The International Migration Review* 36, no. 4 (2002): 1143-168.

Castles, Stephen. "The Factors That Make and Unmake Migration Policies." *The*

International Migration Review 38, no. 3 (2004): 852-84.

Castles, Stephen. Hein de Haas, and Mark J. Miller. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Freeze, ChaeRan Y. *Jewish Marriage and Divorce in Imperial Russia*. Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2002.

Chernuha, Valentina, *Pasport v Rossii. 1719–1917 gg.* SPb., 2007.

Chiswick, Barry R. "Are immigrants favorably self-selected." *Migration theory: Talking across disciplines* (2000): 61-77.

Cohen, Gary B. *Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861-1914.* West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2006.

Cooper, Frederick, Burbank Jane. *Empires in World History. Power and the Politics of Difference.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Crépeau, François and Atak, Idil, "Global Migration Governance," *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights* 34, no. 2 (June 7, 2016): 113–32.

Cvetkovski, Roland, and Hofmeister, Alexis, eds. *An Empire of Others: Creating Ethnographic Knowledge in Imperial Russia and the USSR.* Central European University Press, 2014.

Czaika, Mathias, de Haas, Hein. "The Effectiveness of Immigration Policies," *Population and Development Review* 39, no. 3 (September 2013): 487–508.

Cannato, Vincent J. *American Passage: The History of Ellis Island.* New York: Harper Perennial, 2010.

David Berger, ed., *The Legacy of Jewish Migration: 1881 and Its Impact.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

Dekel-Chen, Jonathan. "East European Jewish Migration: Inside and Outside." *East European Jewish Affairs* 44, no. 2–3 (2014): 154–70.

Dekel-Chen, Jonathan, David Gaunt, Natan M. Meir, and Israel Bartal, eds. *Anti-Jewish Violence: Rethinking the Pogrom in East European History.* Illustrated Edition. Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press, 2010.

De Vries, Jan. “Playing with Scales: The Global and the Micro, the Macro and the Nano,” *Past & Present*, Volume 242, Issue 14 (2019): 23–36.

Diner, Hasia. “Before the Promised City: Eastern European Jews in America Before 1880.” In *An Inventory of Promises: Essays on American Jewish History in Honor of Moses Rischin*, ed. by Jerey Gurock and Marc L. Raphael, 43-62, New York: Carlson, 1995.

Drayton, Richard, and David Motadel. “Discussion: the Futures of Global History.” *Journal of Global History* 13, no. 1 (2018): 1–21.

Dubnow, Simon. *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, from the Earliest Times Until the Present Day*, trans. by Israel Friedlaender, Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1916.

Düvell Franck, Irina Molodikova, and Michael Collyer, eds., *Transit Migration in Europe* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014.

Eilers, Nicole Kvale. *Emigrant Trains: Migratory Transportation Networks Through Germany and the United States, 1847-1914.* Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 2009.

Febvre, Lucien. *Pour une histoire à part entière.* Paris: Armand, 1953.

Feldman, David. *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture 1840–1914.* Yale University Press, 1994.

Frankel, Jonathan. *Prophecy and Politics: Socialism, Nationalism, and the Russian Jews, 1862-1917.* New York, Cambridge University Press. 1981.

Frankel, Jonathan, “The Crisis of 1881–82 as a Turning Point in Modern Jewish History,” in, David Berger, ed., *The Legacy of Jewish Migration: 1881 and Its Impact.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

Frankel, Jonathan, *The Damascus Affair: ‘Ritual Murder,’ Politics, and the Jews in 1840* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Friedrich, Agnieszka. *Bolesław Prus wobec kwestii żydowskiej.* Gdańsk: Uniwersytet Gdański, 2008.

Gabaccia, Donna and Hoerder, Dirk, eds. *Connecting Seas and Connected Ocean*

Rims: Indian, Atlantic, and Pacific Ocean and China Seas Migrations from the 1830s to the 1930s. Brill, Lieden – Boston, 2011.

Gabaccia, Donna, and Zanoni, Elizabeth. "Transitions in Gender Ratios among International Migrants, 1820—1930." *Social Science History* 36, no. 2 (2012): 197-221.

Gartner, Llyod. "The Great Jewish Migration: Its East European Background," *Tel Aviver fur deutsche Geschichte*, 27 (1998): 107–108.

Gąsowski, Tomasz. "Jewish Communities in Autonomous Galicia: Their Size and Distribution," in *The Jews in Poland*, vol. 1, Paluch A.K. (ed.). 205-221. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński:1992.

Gąsowski, Tomasz. "From Austria to the Manor: Jewish Landowners in Autonomous Galicia," *Polin* vol. 12 (1999): 120-136.

Gatrell, Peter. "Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War," *Immigrants & Minorities* 26, no. 1–2 (March 2008): 82–110.

Geiger, Martin, Antoine Pécoud. "International Organisations and the Politics of Migration," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration* Studies 40, no. 6 (June 3, 2014): 865–87.

Gerasimov, Ilya, Jan Kusber, and Alexander Semyonov (eds.) *Empire Speaks Out: Languages of Rationalization and Self-Description in the Russian Empire*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Glazier, Ira A., De Rosa, Luigi, eds. *Migration across Time and Nations: Population Mobility in Historical Contexts* New York, London 1986.

Godley, Andrew. *Jewish Immigrant Entrepreneurship in New York and London 1880-1914.* New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Gould, John D. "European Inter-Continental Emigration. The Road Home: Return Migration from the U.S.A.," *Journal of European Economic* History 9:1, 1980.

Guesnet, François. "Migration et Stéréotype. Le Cas Des Juifs Russes Au Royaume de Pologne à La Fin Du XIXe Siècle." *Cahiers Du Monde Russe* 41 (January 1, 2000): 505–18.

Gutiérrez, David G. “Migration, Emergent Ethnicity, and the “Third Space”: The Shifting Politics of Nationalism in Greater Mexico.” The Journal of American History 86, no. 2 (1999): 481-517.

Handtmann, Otto, ed. *Russisches Paß-Büchlein. Paß- und Aufenthaltsbestimmungen für Reisende nach Rußland.* Leipzig, 1901.

Hatton, Timothy. “The Cliometrics of International Migration: A Survey.” *Journal of Economic Surveys 24* (May 1, 2010): 941–969.

Hatton, Timothy J., and Jeffrey G. Williamson. *Migration and the International Labor Market, 1850-1939.* London: Taylor & Francis, 1994.

Hatton, Timothy J., and Jeffrey G. Williamson. *The Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Hatton, Timothy J., and Jeffrey G. Williamson. *Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2008.

Hatton, Timothy J., and Jeffrey G. Williamson. “What Drove the Mass Migrations from Europe in the Late Nineteenth Century?” *Population and Development Review* 20, no. 3 (1994): 533-59.

Haumann, Heiko. “Lebensweltlich orientierte Geschichtsschreibung in den Jüdischen Studien: Das Basler Beispiel,” *Jüdische Studien* (2003): 105-122.

Haid, Elisabeth et al. eds. *Galizien: Peripherie der Moderne - Moderne der Peripherie?:* Marburg: Verl. Herder-Inst, 2013.

Liebman, Hersch. “International Migration of the Jews,” Imre Ferenczi, Walter Wilcox (eds.) *International Migrations* (New York 1931): 471 – 520.

Himka, John Paul. “Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside during the Late Nineteenth Century,” Peter J. Potichnyj, Howard Aster (eds.) *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*. Edmonton, 1988.

Himka, John-Paul. “Dimensions of a Triangle: Polish-Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Austrian Galicia,” *Polin* vol. 12 (1999): 25–48.

Hödl, Klaus. “Galician Jewish Migration to Vienna,” *Polin* vol. 12 (1999): 147–163.

Hoerder, Dirk. *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.

Hoerder, D., Nagler J. (eds.) People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective 1820–1930. Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Hoerder, Dirk, Jörg Nagler, eds. *People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820-1930.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002.

Hollifield, James F. “The Emerging Migration State.” *The International Migration Review* 38, no. 3 (2004): 885-912.

Holmes, Colin. “Jewish Economic and Refugee Migrations, 1880–1950.” In R.Cohen ed. *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Horn, Elżbieta*. Kwestia żydowska w obradach Galicyjskiego Sejmu.* Przemysl, 1991.

Howe, Stephen, ed. *The New Imperial Histories Reader*. London: Routledge, 2010.

Hrytsak, Yaroslav *Prorok u svoiiy Vitchyzni. Franko ta iogo spilnota.* Kyiv: Krytyka, 2006.

Wertheimer, Jack. *Unwelcome Strangers. East European Jews in Imperial Germany.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Lestschinsky, Jacob. *Jüdische Wanderungen im XIX Jahrhundert.* Roma: Liberia, 1931.

Lestschinsky, Jacob. *Jewish Migration For The Past Hundred Years.* New York: YIVO, 1944.

Jakubczak, Aleksandra. *Polacy, Żydzi i mit handlu kobietami.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2020.

Johnpoll, Bernard. “Why They Left: Russian-Jewish Mass Migration and Repressive Laws, 1881-1917,” in *American Jewish Archives* 47:1, 1995.

Johnson, Sam. *Pogroms, Peasants, Jews. Britain and Europe’s “Jewish Question,” 1867-1925.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Joseph, Samuel. *Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910.* New York, NY: Columbia University. 1914

Just, Michael. *Ost- und südosteuropäische Amerikawanderung 1881 - 1914.* Stuttgart: Steiner-Verl. Wiesbaden, 1988

Kahan, Arcadius. "The Urbanization Process of the Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe." *Essays in Jewish Social and Economic History*, ed. by Roger Weiss, 70-81. Chicago, IL & London: University of Chicago Press, 1986:

Kahan, Arcadius. "Economic Opportunities and Some Pilgrims' Progress: Jewish Immigrants from Eastern Europe in the U.S.: 1890-1914." *Journal of Economic History* 38(1978): 235-251.

Karlsberg, Bernhard. *History and importance of the German control of emigrants in transit.* Hamburg 1922.

Keeling, Drew. *The Business of Transatlantic Migration between Europe and the United States, 1900-1914.* Zurich: Chronos Verlag, 2012

Keeling, Drew, "The Transportation Revolution and Transatlantic Migration, 1850-1914.," *Research in Economic History* 19 (1999): 39–74.

Kharchenko, Artem, "Yevreyskoi hromady yak yurydychnoi osoby ne isnuye: yevrei v neevreiskomu otochenni mista ostannioi tretyny 19 - pochatku 20 stolittia," in Sehiy Naumov (ed.) *Yevrei v Etnichniy mosaitsi ukrainskykh zemel:* 81-92. Kharkiv, 2015.

King, Russell. "Towards a New Map of European Migration." International Journal of Population Geography 8 (March 1, 2002): 89–106.

Klier, John D. *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question, 1855–1881.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Klier, John D. "Emigration mania in late-imperial Russia: legend and reality." *Patterns of Emigration 1850-1914*: 21-30.

Klier, John D. *Russia Gathers Her Jews: The Origins of the Jewish Question in Russia, 1772-1825*, Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986.

Klier, John D., Shlomo Lambroza (eds.) *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History.* Cambridge and New-York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Klier, John D. *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms of 1881-1882,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2011.

Klier, John D. "What Exactly was a Shtetl?." *The Shtetl: Image and Reality*, ed. by Gennady Estraikh and Mikhail Krutikov, Papers on the Second Mendel Friedman International Conference on Yiddish (Studies in Yiddish), Oxford: Legenda: 23–35, 2000.

Kobrin, Rebecca. *Jewish Bialystok and Its Diaspora.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University press, 2010.

Kobrin, Rebecca. "Too Big to Fail in 1930: The Failed Bank of United States and The Long Shadow of East European Jewish Immigrant Banking." American Jewish History 103, no. 4 (2019): 457-483.

Kofler, Oskar. *Dwory żydowskie. Wspomnienia z Galicji Wschodniej od początku XIX wieku do wybuchu I wojny światowej*, red. Ewa Koźmińska-Frejlak, Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 1999.

Kosak, Hadassa. *Cultures of Opposition: Jewish Immigrant Workers, New York City, 1881-1905.* New York: State University of New York Press, 2000.

Kowalski, Grzegorz Maria. *Przestępstwa Emigracyjne w Galicji 1897-1918. Z Badań Nad Dziejami Polskiego Wychodźstwa*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2003.

Kuzmany, Börries. "Center and Periphery at the Austrian-Russian Border: The Galician Border Town of Brody in the Long Nineteenth Century" *Austrian History Yearbook* 42 (2011): 67–88

Kuzmany, Börries. *Brody: A Galician Border City in the Long Nineteenth Century.* Brill, 2017.

Kuzmany, Börries. "Jüdische Pogromflüchtlinge in Österreich 1881/82 und die Professionalisierung der internationalen Hilfe," in: Börries Kuzmany, Rita Garstenauer (ed.) *Aufnahmeland Österreich. Über den Umgang mit Massenflucht seit dem 18. Jahrhundert.* Vienna, Mandelbaum 2017.

Kuznets, Simon, E. Glen Weyl, and Stephanie Lo. *Jewish Economies: Development*

and Migration in America and Beyond. New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 2011.

Kuznets, Simon. "Immigration of Russian Jews to the United States: Background and Structure," *Perspectives in American History*, 9 (1975): 35–124.

Lederhendler, Eli. "Classless: On the Social Status of Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe in the Late Nineteenth Century" In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, (2008): 509–534.

Lefebvre, Henri. *Writings on Cities.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1996.

Leiserowitz, Ruth. "The Traders of Wystiten: The Border as a Modernization Factor for Litvaks in Transnational Space in 19th. Century." In *Central and East European Jews at the Crossroads of Tradition and Modernity,* ed. by Jurgita Siauciunaite-Verbickiene and Larisa Lempertiene: 319-331 Vilnius, Vilnius: Centre for the Studies of the Culture and History of East European Jews, 2006.

Leiserowitz, Ruth. "To Go To or Through Prussia? Litvak Migratory Decisions in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century and Their Consequences," *Jewish Culture and History* 11:1(2009): 268–280.

Lestschinsky, Jacob. "Jewish Migrations, 1840-1956," in *The Jews: their History, Culture and Religion,* ed. by Louis Finkelstein, 3rd ed., vol. 2, New-York: Harper & Row Publishers New-York, 1961.

Levi, Giovanni, "On Microhistory," in Burke Peter (ed.) *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*: 93–113, Oxford: Polity Press, 1991.

Lohr, Eric. *Russian Citizenship: From Empire to Soviet Union.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Löwe, Heinz-Dietrich. The Tsars and the Jews. Reform, Reaction and Anti-Semitism in Imperial Russia, 1772–1917, Chur. 1993.

Löwe, Heinz-Dietrich. *The Tsars and the Jews: Reform, Reaction, and Anti-Semitism in Imperial Russia, 1772-1917.* Chur, Langhorne, Pa: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993.

Löwe, Heinz-Dietrich. Pogroms in Russia: Explanations, Comparisons, Suggestions.

Jewish Social Studies. 11(2004): 16-23.

Lüdtke, Alf. "Alltagsgeschichte: Aneignung und Akteure. Oder - es hat noch kaum begonnen!," Werkstatt Geschichte (6, 1997): 83-91.

Lukin, Benyamin. *Documents on the emigration of Russian Jews via Galicia, 1881-82, in The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem*. Vol. 21, 2007.

Lüthi, Barbara. *Invading Bodies. Medizin und Immigration in den USA, 1880 – 1920.* Frankfurt a.M: Campus-Verlag, 2009.

Manasek, Jared. "Protection, Repatriation and Categorization: Refugees and Empire at the End of the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 30, no. 2 (2017): 302–17.

Marjanen, Jani. "Undermining methodological nationalism: Histoire croisée of concepts as transnational history," in Mathias Albert, Gesa Bluhm, Jan Helmig, Andreas Leutzsch & Jochen Walter. eds., *Transnational Political Spaces: Agents – Structures – Encounters*: 239–263. Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 2009.

Mann, Gregory. *From Empires to NGOs in the West African Sahel.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Markov, Lev. *Ocherki po istorii tamozhennoj sluzhby.* Irkutsk : Izd-vo Irkut. universiteta, 1987.

McCagg, William. *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918* Bloomington, 1992.

McKeown, Adam M. *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

Meir, Natan M. *Kiev, Jewish Metropolis: A History, 1859-1914. The Modern Jewish Experience.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010.

Mendelsohn, Ezra. ed. *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, Volume 15: People of the City: Jews and the Urban Challenge. New York. 1999.

Barmak, Mykola. *Formuvannja vladnih institucij Rosijs'koï imperiï na Pravoberezhnij Ukraïni naprikinci XVIII – v pershij polovini XIX st.* Ternopil', 2007.

Mironov, Boris. *Social'naja istorija Rossii perioda imperii (XVIII — nachalo XX vv.):*

genezis lichnosti, demokraticheskoj sem'i, grazhdanskogo obshhestva i pravovogo gosudarstva. SPb, 2003.

Mitchell, Christopher. "International Migration, International Relations and Foreign Policy." The International Migration Review 23, no. 3 (1989): 681–708.

Motzkin, Leo. *Die Judenpogrome in Russland*, Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1910.

Mudryi, Marian and Arkusha, Olena. "Rusofil'stvo v Galichini v Seredini XIX – Na Pochatku XX Stolittya: Geneza, Etapy Rozvitku, Svitoglyad," *Visnyk L'vivs'kogo Universytetu. Seriya Istorya* 34 (1999): 231–268.

Muller, Sven Oliver and Torp, Cornelius (eds.) *Imperial Germany Revisited: Continuing Debates and New Perspectives.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2011.

Marrus, Michael R. *The Unwanted – European Refugees in the Twentieth Century* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Moya, Jose C. *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850–1930.* London 1998.

Nathans, Benjamin. *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia.* University of California Press, 2004.

Nemes, Robert R., Hungary's Antisemitic Provinces: Violence and Ritual Murder in the 1880s, Slavic Review, 66(01), (2007): 20–44.

Nikolova, Nataliya. "Immigration and Refugee Policies of Bulgaria as Part of the Accession Process to the EU," *Der Donauraum* 49, no. 1–2 (December 2009): 33–44.

O'Sullivan, Kevin. "Humanitarian Encounters: Biafra, NGOs and Imaginings of the Third World in Britain and Ireland, 1967–70," *Journal of Genocide Research* 16, no. 2–3 (July 3, 2014): 299–315.

Olien-Grausz, Evelyne. "Networks and Communication in the Sephardi Diaspora: An Added Dimension to the Concept of Port Jews and Port Jewries." In *Jews and Port Cities 1590-1990: Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism*, ed. By David Casarana and Germma Romain. Vallentine Mitchell, London - Portland, OR, 2006.

Orlik, V.M. Mytna politika Rosijs'koï imperiï ta organizacija mitnogo kontrolju v

ukraïns'kih gubernijah u doreformenij period (1795 - 1861 rr.). *Problemi istorii Ukraïni XIX - pochatku XX st*. (2003): 70–77.

Osofsky, Gilbert, "The Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society of the United States (1881-1883)," Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society 49 (1960): 173–187.

Pastrana Antonio, Jr., "The Intersectional Imagination: What Do Lesbian and Gay Leaders of Color Have To Do With It?." *Race, Gender & Class*, vol. 13, No. 3/4 (2006): 218–238.

Adelsgruber, Paulus. *Abgrenzen – Bewahren – Überwinden: Genese, Funktion und Wahrnehmung der Grenze zwischen Galizien und Wolhynien/Podolien von 1772 bis in die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. (PhD Dissertation)* Vienna: University of Vienna, 2017.

Perlmann, Joel. *Ethnic Differences: Schooling and Social Structure among the Irish, Italians, Jews, and Blacks in an American City, 1880-1935*. Cambridge University Press,1988.

Perlmann, Joel. "Race or People: Federal Race Classifications for Europeans in America, 1898–1913." *Jerome Levy Economics Institute Working Paper* (2001) No. 320.

Perlmann, Joel. "What the Jews Brought: East European Jewish Immigration to the United States, c. 1900," in Hans Vermeulen and Joel Perlmann, eds. *Immigrants, Schooling, and Social Mobility: Does Culture Make a Difference*, New York, NY & London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.

Perlmann, Joel. "The Local Geographic Origins of Russian-Jewish Immigrants, Circa 1900," *Levy Economics InstituteWorking Paper* No. 465, 2006.

Pesalj Jovan. *Monitoring migrations: the Habsburg-Ottoman border in the eighteenth century.* PhD thesis, University of Leiden 2019.

Petrovsky-Shtern Yohanan. *The Golden Age Shtetl: A New History of Jewish Life in East Europe*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Petrovsky-Shtern, Yohanan. *Jews in the Russian army, 1827-1917: Drafted into Modernity*, Cambridge and New-York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Boustan, Leah. “Were Jews Political Refugees or Economic Migrants? Assessing the Persecution Theory of Jewish Emigration, 1881-1914.” In Hatton T. J., O'Rourke K. H., Taylor A. M.(eds) *The New Comparative Economic History: Essays in Honor of Jerey G. Williamson*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press: 2007. 267–290.

Portes, Alejandro, and Robert L. Bach. *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States.* University of California Press, 1985.

Praszałowicz, Dorota. “Overseas Migration from Partitioned Poland: Poznania and Eastern Galicia as Case Studies.” Polish American Studies 60, no. 2 (2003): 59-81.

Reimann, Christina. “People on Lists in Port Cities: Administrative Migration Control in Antwerp and Rotterdam (c. 1880–1914),” *Journal of Migration History* 6, no. 2 (June 15, 2020): 182–208.

Robarts, Andrew. *Migration and Disease in the Black Sea Region: Ottoman- Russian Relations in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017.

Rodrigue, Aaron. *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israèlite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860–1925.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Rogger Hans, “Tsarist Policy on Jewish Emigration,” *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 3 (1973): 26–36.

Rogger, Hans. *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing Politics in Imperial Russia.* Los Angeles, CA 1986.

Rowland, Richard H. “Geographical Patterns of the Jewish Population in the Pale of Settlement of Late Nineteenth Century Russia.” *Jewish Social Studies* 48, no. 3/4 (1986): 207-34.

Rowland R. H. “Urbanization and Migration Data in Russian and Soviet Censuses.” In *Research Guide to the Russian and Soviet Censuses,* ed. by Ralph S. Clem, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986.

Rumpel H. *Die Reisen Kaiser Joseph II. nach Galizien.* Erlangen, 1946.

Sanders, Ronald. *Shores of Refuge: A Hundred Years of Jewish Emigration.* New

York: Doubleday Publishing Group, 1988.

Sarna, Jonathan D., "The Myth of No Return: Jewish Return Migration to Eastern Europe, 1881–1914," *American Jewish History* Vol. 71, No. 2 (December 1981): 256-268.

Schenk, Benjamin. *Russlands Fahrt in die Moderne : Mobilität und sozialer Raum im Eisenbahnzeitalter.* Steiner, 2014.

Schiller, Nina G. et al., eds. *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1998.

Schmidt, Allison. "'The Long March through Leipzig': Train Terminal Chaos and the Transmigrant Registration Station, 1904–1914," *Journal of Migration History* 2, no. 2 (September 30, 2016): 307–29.

Schorsch, Ismar. "The Lachrymose Conception of Jewish History." *From Text to Context: The Turn to History in Modern Judaism:* 376–88. Boston: Brandeis University Press, 1994.

Schrover, Marlou, Vosters, Teuntje, and Glynn, Irial. "NGOs and West European Migration Governance (1860s until Present): Introduction to a Special Issue," *Journal of Migration History* 5, no. 2 (September 11, 2019): 189-217.

Seegel, Steven. *Mapping Europe's Borderlands: Russian Cartography in the Age of Empire.* The University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Shanes, Joshua. *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia.* Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Siegel, Björn, *Österreichisches Judentum zwischen Ost und West. Die Israelitische Allianz zu Wien 1873–1938*. Frankfurt am Main, New York, 2010.

Sirkeci, Ibrahim. "Transnational Mobility and Conflict," *Migration Letters* 3, no. 1 (2006): 3–14.

Slezkine, Yuri. *The Jewish Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Soboń, Marcin. *Polacy wobec Żydów w Galicji doby autonomicznej w latach 1868 – 1914.* Verso, 2011.

Spitzer, Yannay "Pogroms, Networks, and Migration The Jewish Migration from the Russian Empire to the United States 1881–1914." Working Paper (2015): https://yannayspitzer.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/spitzer_pogromsnetworksmigration_150529.pdf

Spitzer, Yannay, and Zimran Ariell. "Migrant Self-Selection: Anthropometric Evidence from the Mass Migration of Italians to the United States, 1907–1925." *Journal of Development Economics* 134 (September 1, 2018): 226–47.

Spitzer Yannay, *The Dynamics of Mass Migration Estimating the Effect of Income Differences on Migration in a Dynamic Model of Discrete Choice with Diffusion.* Brown University, 2014.

Staliunas, Darius. *Enemies for a Day: Antisemitism and Anti-Jewish Violence in Lithuanian under the Tsars*. Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2015.

Stampfer, Shaul. "The Geographic 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*, ed. by Ira A. Glazier, New York: Holmes and Meier: 220–231, 1986.

Stampfer, Shaul. "Patterns of Internal Jewish Migration in the Russian Empire," in Yaacov Ro'i ed. *Jews and Jewish Life in Russian and the Soviet Union*: 28-47, London, 1995.

Steidl, Annemarie, E. Stockhammer, and H. Zeitlhofer. "Relations among Internal, Continental, and Transatlantic Migration in Late Imperial Austria." *Social Science History* 31, no. 1 (April 2007): 61–92.

Steinmetz, George (ed.) *Sociology & Empire: The Imperial Entanglements of a Discipline. Politics, History, and Culture.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2013.

Stephen Berk M. Year of Crisis, Year of Hope: Russian Jewry and the Pogroms of 1881-1882 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1985).

Cooper, Frederick, and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.) *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World.* University of California Press, 1997.

Strik, Tineke. "NGOs and the Making of EU Migration Policy," *Journal of Migration*

History 5, no. 2 (September 11, 2019): 353–83.

Sunderland Willard. “Empire without Imperialism? Ambiguities of Colonization in Tsarist Russia,” Ab Imperio, no. 2 (2003): 101–114.

Szajkowski, Zosa. “How the Mass Migration to America. Began,” *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 4, no. 4 (1942): 291-292.

Szajkowski, Zosa. “The attitude of American Jews to East European Jewish immigration (1881-1893),” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (March, 1951): 221-280.

Szajkowski, Zosa. “Sufferings of Jewish Emigrants to America in Transit through Germany,” *Jewish Social Studies* 39, no. 1–2 (1977): 105–116.

Szajkowski, Zosa. “The European Attitude to East European Jewish Immigration (1881-1893),” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (December, 1951): 127-162.

Tcherikover, Elias. “Jewish Immigrants to the United States,” *Yivo. Annual of Jewish Social Science*, vol. VI (1951): 157-176. *(originally published in Yiddish in 1943)*

Tcherikover, Elias (ed.) *Geshikhte Fun Der Yidisher Arbeter-Bavegung in Di Fareynikte Shtatn.* Vol. I. New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1943.

Tcherikover, Elias. “Yidishe martirologiye un yidishe historigrafiye.” *YIVO Bleter* 17, no. 2 (March-April, 1941): 97–112.

Ther, Philipp. “The Transnational Paradigm of Historiography and its Potential for Ukrainian History” in Georgii Kasianov, Philipp Ther (eds.) *A Laboratory of Transnational History. Ukraine and Ukrainian Historiography since 1991.* Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008.

Thomas, William Isaac, Znaniecki Florian. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America.* Boston: The Gorham Press, 1918.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The frontier in American history.* Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1986. *(Originally published in 1920).*

Unowsky, Daniel. “Local Violence, Regional Politics, and State Crisis: Anti-Jewish Riots in Habsburg Galicia in 1898.” *In Sites of European Antisemitism, 1880–1918,*

ed. by Daniel Unowsky and Robert Nemes. Brandeis University Press, 2014.

Ury, Scott. “Jewish Migration in Modern Times: The Case of Eastern Europe,” *East European Jewish Affairs* 47 (2017): 127–132.

Wachtel, Ignacy. *Komunikacya, gościńce i drogi w Galicyi.* Lwów 1856.

Weeks, Theodore R. *From Assimilation to Antisemitism: the “Jewish Question” in Poland, 1850–1914.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois UP, 2006.

Weeks, Theodore R., “Assimilation, Nationalism, Modernization, Antisemitism: Notes on Polish–Jewish Relations, 1855-1905” in Robert Blobaum (ed.) *Antisemitism and Its Opponents in Modern Poland*: 20-38. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Weinberg, Sydney Stahl. “The Treatement of Women in Immigration History: A Call for Change.” In Donna Gabaccia (ed.) *Seeking Common Ground: Multidisciplinary Studies of Immigrant Woman in the United States.* Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1992.

Weinberg, Sonja. *Pogroms and Riots: German Press Responses to Anti-Jewish Violence in Germany and Russia (1881-1882)* Frankfurt am Main - Berlin - Bruxelles - New Yourk - Oxford - Wien: Peter Lang, 2010.

Weinberg, Sonja “The Treatement of Women in Immigration History: A Call for Change.” In *Seeking Common Ground: Multidisciplinary Studies of Immigrant Woman in the United States.* ed. by Donna Gabaccia. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, London, 1992.

Wendland, Anna Veronika. *Rusofily Halychyny: Ukrianski koservatory mizh Avstrieiu i Rosieu, 1848-1915.* Lviv: Litopys, 2015.

Werner, Michael, “Bénédicte Zimmerman, Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity.” *History and Theory* 45 (2006): 30-50.

Wertheimer, Jack. *Unwelcome Strangers: East European Jews in Imperial Germany. Studies in Jewish History.* New York: Oxfod Univ. Press, 1991.

Wichmann, Hans. *Die Auswanderung aus Österreich in Russland über die Detschen Häffen.* Berlin 1913.

Wiese, Stefan. *Pogrome im Zarenreich. Dynamiken kollektiver Gewalt.* Hamburg, 2016.

Wilson, Thomas M., ed. *Culture and Power at the Edges of the State: National Support and Subversion in European Border Regions.* Münster: Lit, 2005.

Wilson, Thomas M. "Borders and Border Studies." In *A Companion to Border Studies*, ed. by Thomas Wilson and Hastings Donnan, 1-26. Oxford: Blackwell, 2012.

Wilson, Thomas M. and Donnan, Hastings. *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State*. Oxford: Berg, 1999.

Wilson, Thomas M., and Hastings Donnan, eds. *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers.* Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Wimmer A., Schiller N. G. (2002) Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences." Global Networks 2 (4): 301 – 334.

Wimmer, Andreas and Glick Schiller, Nina. "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and The Social Sciences." *Global Networks*, v.2 (2002), 301-334

Wingfield, Nancy M. *The World of Prostitution in Late Imperial Austria.* Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Wisznitser, Mark. *To Dwell in Safety: The Story of Jewish Migration since 1800* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1948.

Wróbel, Piotr. "The Jews of Galicia under Austrian-Polish Rule, 1869–1918." *Austrian History Yearbook* 25 (1994): 97–138.

Wüstenbecker, Katja. "Von Hamburg nach Amerika. Hilfsorganisationen für jüdische Auswanderer. 1880–1910." *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* (2005): 77–102.

Yarfitz, Mir. *Impure Migration: Jews and Sex Work in Golden Age Argentina.* Rutgers University Press, 2019.

Yoshida, Chisato, and Alan Woodland. *The Economics of Illegal Immigration.*

London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005.

Zahra, Tara. *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World.* New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2016.

Żbikowski, Andrzej. „Rozwój ideologii antysemickiej w Galicji w II połowie XIX w.: Teofila Merunowicza atak na żydowskie kahały." *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (1994): 21-39.

Zhaloba, Ihor. *Infrastrukturna polityka avstrijs"koho uryadu na pivnichnomu sxodi monarxiyi v ostannij chverti XVIII - 60-x rokax XX st*. Chernivci: Knyhy-XXI, 2004.

Zipperstein, Steven J. *The Jews of Odessa: A Cultural History, 1794 - 1881.* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1986.

CV



Name:	Oleksii Chebotarov
Correspondence address:	University of St. Gallen
	Müller-Friedberg-Str. 6/8
	CH 9000 St. Gallen
E-Mail:	oleksii.chebotarov@unisg.ch, ochebotaryov@gmail.com
Nationality:	Ukraine
Date and place of birth:	8 July 1992, Melitopol, Ukraine

Employment

* June 2021 – present, Research Associate, Center for Governance and Culture in Europe, University of St. Gallen

* March 2021 – present, Digital Forum Assistant, European Association for Jewish Studies (EAJS)

* September 2015 – May 2021, Research Assistant, Department of Russian Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of St. Gallen

* September 2020 – January 2021, Lecturer, Contextual studies program, University of St. Gallen

* October 2016 – May 2021, Managing Editor, online open-access Journal '*Euxeinos. Governance and Culture in the Black Sea Region*' (*euxeinos.ch*)

* May 2014 – September 2015, Coordinator and Researcher, Urban Media Archive, Center for Urban History of East-Central Europe, Lviv, Ukraine

Education

* September 2015 – September 2021, Ph.D. Studies in Cultural Theory and Organizational Studies, University of St. Gallen

* 2016 – 2019, Associate doctoral fellowship of the Doctoral Program *Austrian Galicia and its Multicultural Heritage* at the University of Vienna, Austria

* 2017 – 2021, Associate member, Transdisciplinary Doctoral Program *Migration and Postcoloniality Meet Switzerland* at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland

* 2014, Four-month fellowship at the Department *Artes Liberales,* University of Warsaw, Poland

* 2013 – 2015, MA in History, School of Humanities at the Ukrainian Catholic University, Ukraine

* 2009 –2013, BA in History with Honors, School of History at the V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine