1. Introduction

The politics of Galicia in the second half of the nineteenth century exhibited many specific features which were not to be found on the remaining Polish lands. In the first place, this was the only area of Poland which was governed by Poles. Far-reaching autonomy was conceded to the province in the 1860s, and created a situation where the area became a haven for Poles unable to express freely their national and political ideas.

The leading political stratum in Galicia at the time of the achievement of autonomy was the nobility and the province, which was largely rural and backward, remained under Polish aristocratic control down to the First World War. Yet this aristocratic control was challenged with the widening of the franchise both by the developing Ukrainian national movement in the eastern part of the province and by the new social forces - populism, socialism and nationalism - which we have already observed playing an increasing role in the political life of Russian Poland from the turn of the century. From the 1890s, the most important conflict in the area was the struggle of the emerging and increasingly politically mature Ukrainian national movement with Polish hegemony in the predominantly Ukrainian part of the province.

These developments had very serious implications for the Jews of Galicia. The Austrian-Hungarian monarchy was the home of the second largest Jewish population in the world. On the eve of the first world war, nearly two million Jews were subjects of the
Emperor Franz Joseph and the largest concentration of Jews in the monarchy was found in Galicia, where they made up over 10 per cent of the population. Full equality had been granted to the Jews in the 1860s and although, political integration was not always followed by social integration, the Jews were generally satisfied with the situation in the Danubian monarchy. A popular saying held that the monarchy was governed by Poles, defended by Hungarians and financed by Jews. Jewish politics in Galicia from 1868, when full equality was granted to them, was characterized by an alliance between the Jewish elite and the moderate Polish aristocratic conservatives. This came under challenge in the last years of the century, because of the weakening of the hegemonic position of the aristocratic conservatives and the emergence of new forces in Jewish society.

Galicia was an area of mixed nationality. In the West, where the Polish element had been strengthened by the incorporation into the province of the Free City of Kraków in 1846, the rural population was largely Polish, while the urban population was Polish and Jewish. In the eastern part of the province, the rural population was largely Ukrainian (Ruthenian), although the landowners were overwhelmingly Polish and there was a significant Polish or Polonized peasant population. The towns were, as in the western part of the province, primarily Polish and Jewish although a significant Ukrainian urban population was to be found in the provincial capital L’viv and in some smaller centres. Nationality, religion and social stratum tended to overlap, with the largely rural Ukrainian population adhering to the Greek Catholic Church, the Poles being overwhelmingly Roman Catholic and the Jews naturally espousing Judaism. These facts are clearly to be seen in the following tables.
Table 1. Galician Population by Religion, 1880–1910

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

Table 2. Galician Population by Language, 1880–1910

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

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

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a G. A. Schimmer, ‘Die einheimische Bevölkerung Österreichs nach der Umgangssprache’, *Statistische Monatschrift* (1881), 106.


c ‘Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31 December 1890’, 124, 171.

d *Österreichisches statistisches Handbuch* 20 (1901), p. 5.
Table 3. Occupation and Nationality of Galicians, 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Poles</th>
<th>Ukrainians</th>
<th>Jews</th>
<th>All Galicians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>2,569,386 (77%)</td>
<td>2,880,476 (95%)</td>
<td>116,098 (14%)</td>
<td>5,603,385 (78%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>327,598 (10%)</td>
<td>58,270 (2%)</td>
<td>232,917 (29%)</td>
<td>641,729 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>111,406 (3%)</td>
<td>6,078 (0%)</td>
<td>279,571 (35%)</td>
<td>394,622 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professions</td>
<td>97,162 (3%)</td>
<td>21,791 (1%)</td>
<td>44,517 (6%)</td>
<td>155,622 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>228,016 (7%)</td>
<td>55,256 (2%)</td>
<td>132,923 (16%)</td>
<td>429,767 (6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. National Structure of the Occupations, 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Agriculture(^a)</th>
<th>Industry(^b)</th>
<th>Trade(^c)</th>
<th>Professions(^d)</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poles</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainians</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Agriculture: Also includes forestry, fishing and related activities.

\(^b\) Industry: Primarily artisanal production; also includes inn- and tavernkeeping.

\(^c\) Trade: Also includes communication.

\(^d\) Professions: Includes civil service, clergy, and the free professions.

Table 4 contains adjusted figures for Poles and Ukrainians. I have taken the number of Poles and Ukrainians by language and subtracted the number of Jews who gave Polish
and Ukrainian as their language of intercourse (respectively, 76.6 and 5.0 percent of the Jews). The results are necessarily inexact. These figures include dependents, but exclude those in the military. Based on information from J. Buzek, ‘Stosunki zawodowe i socjalne ludności w Galicyi według wyznania i narodowości, na podstawie spisu ludności z 31 grudnia 1900 r.’, Wiadomości Statystyczne o Stosunkach Krajowych, vol. XX, no. 2 (Lviv, 1905), ‘tablice’.
Note way religion, language and class overlapped.

The Economic Situation of Galicia.

1. In 1866, the province was still overwhelmingly agrarian. Its unfortunate geographic position. Its lack of raw materials.
2. Developments after 1866

2. From 1848 to the Achievement of Galician Autonomy

1. Aftermath of 1848

1. Austrian government wins by default
2. Noble/peasant conflict in West Galicia in 1846. Poles had previously believed that they could restore their statehood by insurrectionary conspiracy. These hopes now dispelled. Led to very cautious Polish reaction to 1848 revolution.
3. Emergence of Ukrainian nationalism as a major political force. Ukrainians (called at this time Ruthenians) form Supreme Ruthenian Council. This opposes Polish claim to rule eastern Galicia and collects hundreds of thousands of signatures in support of its position.
4. The Jews were granted full legal equality during the revolution. Some, though not all previous restrictions, were re-introduced after the re-establishment of the power of the Austrian government.

5. Most important social consequence was the abolition of the robot (the compulsory labour tribute). This was annually celebrated in Ukrainian villages. Form of peasant emancipation did not, however, end peasant/noble conflict, either in western or in eastern Galicia. Decree of Stadion on abolition of labour dues maintained. Final terms settled in April 1849. But still much dispute over forest rights. Land hunger in Galicia - Only 0.2% of wood and pastures go eventually to peasants.

Polish political leadership in Galicia divided. Count Agenor Gołuchowski, the Provincial Governor, argued that only complete and absolute obedience to Austrians could help Polish cause. Distrusted by Austrian centralist Bach, but had some success with Emperor, particularly during Crimean war, when Ruthenians seem as potential allies of Russia.

The Kraków aristocrats, whose leader was Count Adam Potocki, express their views through their newspaper, Czas, which had been founded in 1848 and also this favoured collaboration with Austrians. The aristocratic circles in L’viv headed by Prince Adam Sapieha rejected collaboration and favoured rather the building up of Polish economic strength through Savings Bank, land credit society, agricultural school and railway construction. Finally the bourgeois liberals, headed by the veterans of 1848, Franciszek Smołka and Florian Ziemalkowski upheld the traditional liberal demands for equality and freedom.

In 1859, under pressure of foreign defeat, the Bach centralist system collapsed.
The dynasty had two alternatives – it could bring German middle-class into government, which would preserve centralism or it could form an alliance with regional aristocracies. The Emperor Franz Joseph at first favours former. Gołuchowski thus called to Vienna as Minister of State to devise a solution. This the October Patent (1860) which proposed a Central Reichsrat and local diets to advise provincial administration. It broke down over the opposition of Hungarians and Gołuchowski was dismissed.

The February Patent introduced a few months later in 1861 made provision for a far more centralized system. Local Diets were introduced. But in Galicia, fifty per cent of mandates given to peasantry. In fact this proved unimportant because of the maintenance of open voting. Ruthenians favour centralization – thus supported by Austrians. Two chairs in the Ruthenian language established at the University of L’viv, where there was still no class in Polish. Ukrainians hope for division of Galicia. They looked to German centralist liberals to help them achieve their objectives.

2. Establishment of Galician Autonomy

Attempts to gain autonomy here had been set back by widespread sympathy shown here for 1863 uprising. February 1864 state of emergency proclaimed in Galicia. But attempts to reach compromise continued. The electoral law of 1861 provided for division of Galicia into four estates: The first was made up of landowners and was granted 44 seats, the next two represented towns and commercial-industrial chambers were assigned 26 seats, while smallholder were granted a majority of 74 seats. In practice, because of aristocratic influences and open voting, aristocrats still able to dominate the political
The situation in Austria changed radically after the defeat at the hands of Prussia in 1866. A new political settlement – dualism – now established in 1867. Beginning of dualism. Rule of German centralist liberals in Vienna until 1878. The new government sought the support of Poles, who were granted wide-ranging autonomy, particularly after 1873. Aspects of Galician Autonomy:

1. Polish minister sat in cabinet in Vienna
2. Only a Pole could be marshal of the nobility
3. Only a Pole could be provincial governor (*namiestnik*) - until 1915
4. Ukrainians granted two seats in provincial cabinet
   a. representative of Landeshauptman
   b. Vice-president of provincial governorship

   Galician school system Polonized, together with entire civil service and courts

In 1872 an Academy of Science and Letters established in Kraków and the universities of Kraków and L’viv were Polonised.

Politics were dominated by ‘Galician conservatives. 1869 *TeKA Stańczyka* published (Hence Stańczycy) – took its name from a jester in the reign of Zygmunt August. Their views were also expressed in the daily newspaper, *Czas*.

Emergence of Kraków historical school. While in the Russian-controlled part of Poland, the anti-Romantic revision was accomplished by Positivists who were strongly imbued with the discipline of the natural sciences, in Krakow, however, the reaction to Romanticism came from scholars in the humanities, particularly from historians. Convinced conservatives who proclaimed their loyalty toward the Hapsburg dynasty,
they invoked the successive rebellions, which had brought down a series of misfortunes upon the country, as an example of the irresponsibility typical of a revolutionary zealot. Erudite, good writers, they meticulously investigated the history of Poland and substantiated their theses with careful, scholarly analysis. For the failure of the old Respublica, they detected causes rooted in a remote past. According to them all evil stemmed from the weakness of Poland’s royal power and from the political anarchy born out of the gentry’s parliamentary system. To these ills, some historians added religious tolerance. They condemned unequivocally the uprising of 1863 and were completely opposed to any search for guidance among the Polish emigres in Paris or to any pinning of hopes on hypothetical aid from Western powers. As politicians, they voiced the opinions of the Conservative Party, which was backed by rich landowners and sent deputies to the parliament in Vienna. The leaders of the Krakow School were Józef Szujski (1835-1883), a professor of the Jagiellonian University from 1869, secretary general of the Krakow Academy of Sciences, as well as author of many valuable studies; and Michał Bobrzyński (1849-1935), professor of law and, for a while, governor of Galicia. Bobrzyński’s *History of Poland* (1879) remains one of the best book on the subject even today, in spite of his clearly presented bias.

III. The Heyday of Galician Autonomy

Dominant position of Polish szlachta in new political system. Ukrainians reacted with great bitterness to granting of Galician autonomy. Look to Russia. Russophile tendency
dominates Ukrainian politics from the late 1860s to the 1880s. Pro-Polish and ‘Ukrainian’ orientations much weaker.

Yet, in spite of the achievement of autonomy, Galicia remains poor and backward. Lack of raw materials. Little industry apart from oil in the East. Moreover the agrarian issue had not been satisfactorily solved. The way in which serfdom abolished left woods and pastures to manor. Continued pressure on land. Large scale emigration. From 1875, peasants begin to organize. Role of Stanislaw Stojałowski

Another feature of Galician autonomy was the granting of equal rights to the Jews of the province and the creation here of a Polish-Jewish political alliance.

1. Granting of Emancipation

1. In 1848 and in Galician Diet sessions of 1866-8, Jewish leaders allied themselves with the Polish democrats and the Stańczycy.

2. Became clear to the Polish conservative opponents of Jewish emancipation (Podolacy) that, even if they opposed the granting of equal rights to the Jews, these would be made a condition of Galician autonomy by the Central government and by the German Centralist liberals who dominated the Reichsrat.

2. Polish-Jewish Alliance.

1. This was favoured by the electoral law
Curia represented the different social classes. This meant that Jewish votes were very important in the towns. In the peasant curia, the franchise was indirect. Bribery was notorious in Galician elections. Role of ‘electoral sausage’. As innkeepers, Jews were a crucial element in the countryside. Electoral alliance widened gulf between Jews and Ukrainian political leadership.

2. Integrationist currents within Galician Jewry

1. In Kraków and West Galicia

Strength of pro-Polish sentiment here

2. East Galicia (principally L’viv)

a. Pro-German Orientation

Integrationists here originally oriented towards German culture. The organisation, Schomer Israel began to publish Der Israelit in 1868. This provoked some orthodox opposition. Belzer rebbe founds first modern Orthodox political organisation Called Mahzike hadas. Chairman was Rabbi Simon Sofer. He sat in the Reichsrat between 1879 and 1873.

Last dying kick of pro-German orientation was in first election to the Reichsrat after the establishment of Galician autonomy in 1873. In this election, the German-
oriented assimilationists allied themselves with the Ukrainians against the Poles. How this worked out in practice.

b. Pro-Polish Orientation.

After the debacle of 1873, the Jewish elite came out firmly in favour of the alliance with the Poles. From now on, Jews in Reichsrat belonged to the Polish club and ran as its candidates. Polonization was aided by the Polish control of the secondary schools and universities in the province in the 1860s. As the first generation of Jews emerged from the special Polish-language schools created for them, there was much more support for a Polish orientation. Establishment of Agudas Achim.

IV. The Impact of Mass Politics in Galicia

1. Emergence of Ukrainian National Populism

Russophilism was strongly persecuted in the early 1880s. This accelerated the rise of a new Ukrainian political movement, ‘National Populism’ (narodvstvo). This had no sympathy for Russia and championed the concept of a completely independent Ukrainian nationality.

The movement worked hard to establish a following among the peasantry. This alarmed the Polish ruling elite. Two successive governors of Galicia, Leon Pniński (1898-1903) and Andrzej Potocki (1903-1908) now began deliberately to support the Russophiles as a counterweight to the growing influence of the Populists.
2. New Polish Movements

1. Until the end of the 1880s, Polish politics in Galicia were dominated by the StańczyCy and the east Galician Conservatives (the Podolacy). The Democrats were pushed to the margins of political life.

2. From the end of the 1880s, new movements begin to emerge (Austria was a constitutional state).
   a. Peasant Party led by Bolesław Wysłouch
   b. 1890 – establishment of PPSD under Ignacy Daszyński
   c. From 1905, the Endecja begins to establish itself in the area, particularly in the East.

3. Increasing Violence of National Conflict

1. Ukrainians now demanding:

   a. division of the province into its Polish and Ukrainian areas (hope even of ultimate Ukrainian independence).
   b. Ukrainian university in L’viv
   c. A parliamentary representation which would reflect the Ukrainian percentage of the population.
2. Examples of the growing violence

a. Shots were fired at the Ukrainian poet when he addressed a meeting
b. Violence during elections led to frequent casualties among Ukrainian peasantry.
c. Violence and rioting at universities.
d. Assassination of Governor Potocki by a Ukrainian student in 1908
e. Establishment of paramilitary formations by both Poles and Ukrainians.

3. Some attempts at compromise

a. In the 1870s, the National Populists, when they were still a minority movement, sought an accommodation with the progressive Polish Democrats.
b. In 1890, the National Populists do reach an accommodation with the Polish Club. This breaks down in 1894.
c. Polish and Ukrainian Socialists do establish some links
d. In 1914, just before the outbreak of the war, the Austrians do succeed in brokering a Polish-Ukrainian compromise. An important role in the achievement of this agreement was played by the Governor, the Kraków conservative, Michał Bobrzyński. According to its terms:
1. There was to be more Ukrainian representation in the Reichsrat and the Galician Sejmik.
2. A Ukrainian University was to be established.
4. Weakening of Polish-Jewish Alliance

1. Impact of new political developments

1. Timetable

1. 1897. Introduction of a fifth electoral curia, based on universal manhood suffrage.
2. 1907. Replacement of curial system by universal manhood suffrage for Reichsrat, though not for Sejmik. At this time, there was some debate about how Jews should exercise their vote. The leader of the Ukrainian club in the Reichsrat proposed the establishment of a separate Jewish electoral curia. This was supported by the Zionists, the Folkists and some socialists. It was opposed by the Polish Club, the PPSD, Orthodox Jews and the representatives of the Jewish kehillot

2. Effect

Ended political monopoly of szlachta

2. Rise of antisemitism among Poles

1. Increasing power of Endecja in East Galicia
2. Christian Populism. Stanisław Stokałowski in Nowy Sącz district
3. Impact of the ‘New Jewish Politics’

1. Rise of Zionism in Galicia

Began in 1880s

1887, foundation of a branch of *hovevei tsion* in Lviv

Newspaper *Przyszłość* propagated Zionist views.

1898. Abraham Satz establishes *makhnayim*, a Galician colony in Palestine.

2. Other Jewish parties


Called for democratization of county and Jewish equality. But came out against the assimilationists.

4. Increasing political sophistication of Ukrainians.

This leads to some Ukrainian-Jewish cooperation

a. 1907 - electoral alliance of Jews and Ukrainians

b. Cooperation between Ukrainian and Jewish Social Democrats

5. Impact of these developments
1. Reichsrat elections of 1907

9 Jews elected to parliament

3 Zionists

3 members of the Polish Club

2 members of PPSD

1 Stronnictwo Niezawisłych Żydów (Adolf Gross)

2. Election of 1911

Strategy of Michał Bobrzyński to strengthen Jewish supporters of pro-Polish orientation.

Tries to win over Orthodox by abolishing civil qualifications for the rabbinate.

10 Jews elected to parliament

6 member of Polish Club

2 PPSD

1 SNŻ (Gross)

Violence in Drohobycz

5. Galicia on eve of First World War