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## THE IMMIGRATION OF GALICIAN JEWS TO HUNGARY IN THE AGE OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY, 1867-1914<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

This study is concerned with the immigration of Galician Jews to Hungary. The first section examines the newspapers in circulation in the counties along the border and asks: What rhetorical devices did they use, and what commonplaces did they employ to justify their stereotypical and biased lines of argument in relation to the coexistence of Jews and established local societies. This section is followed by a description of the central government's efforts to regulate migration. The study concludes with a study of the different types of migration (temporary, circular, repetitive, etc.) and provides an opportunity to interpret the contradiction between statistical data and contemporaries' perception of "reality."

**Key words:** Galician Jews, migration, cross-borders, antisemitism, security of borders

**Słowa kluczowe:** Żydzi galicyjscy, migracja, forsowanie granic, antysemityzm, bezpieczeństwo granic

The era of the Dual Monarchy is typically considered a period of emancipation, assimilation and financial success in the history of Hungarian Jewry. However, the Jewish community in Hungary, with a population of up to 910,000 (or 5% of Hungary's total population) in 1910, constituted a highly stratified community in terms of geography, culture and religious affiliation. Having migrated from Bohemia beginning in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, gentrified and assimilated Jews embraced Neology and supported religious reforms. On the

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other hand, those arriving from Galicia following the First Partition of Poland in the 1770s and settling in Northeastern Hungary, were affiliated with Orthodox, more specifically, Hasidic Judaism and rejected acculturation and the adoption of Magyar ways.<sup>2</sup> Recent research has modified this model-like view,<sup>3</sup> long popular with historians. Since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, scholarly emphasis on the juxtaposition of Jews of “Western” and “Eastern” origins has shifted to the realm of ideological and political discourse.

The interpretation of migration of Jews from Galicia features a unique dual nature. Demographical statistics and census data show that between 1869 and 1910 the natural population growth of Hungarian Jews exceeded the actual increase in number, which suggests that the number of emigrants was higher than that of immigrants. On that basis, the relevant academic literature described the issue of immigration in the era of the Dual Monarchy as negligible or indeed, a “myth.”<sup>4</sup> Contrary to that belief, the “experience” of contemporaries evoked a “deluge” of Jews from Galicia up to the start of World War I (and during that conflict), which provided sensible arguments for anti-Semitism even in the following decades. Several “rational” explanations were proposed to resolve the contradiction: The immigration of a large number of Jews from Galicia and Bukovina (Bucovina) evoked “the specter of a potential latter-day Mongol invasion.”<sup>5</sup> Owing to a high birth rate, the Jewish population of the counties along the border increased significantly and people started to migrate to the country’s interior populated with Hungarian majorities, especially in cities. That is when the presence of the newcomers became tangible reality.<sup>6</sup>

This study will examine the immigration of Galician Jews in the era of the Dual Monarchy. First, stock will be taken of the attitude of the printed media, especially those papers in circulation in the counties along the border: What rhetorical devices did they use, what commonplaces did they employ to justify their stereotypical and biased lines of argument in relation to the coexistence of Jews and established local societies. This will be followed by a description of the central government’s efforts to regulate migration, which provide a better understanding of the strained connection between the liberal doctrine and nationalization of ethnic borderlands.<sup>7</sup> Then the focus will shift to the different groups of new

<sup>2</sup> E. Mar ton, *A magyar zsidóság családfája. Vázlat a magyarországi zsidók településtörténetéhez*. Kolozsvár 1941, pp. 5-70.

<sup>3</sup> T. Cs íki, *Városi zsidóság Északkelet- és Kelet-Magyarországon. A miskolci, a kassai, a nagyváradi, a szatmárnémeti és a sátorlajújhelyi zsidóság gazdaság- és társadalomtörténetének összehasonlító vizsgálata 1848-1944*. Budapest 1999; K. Kecskeméti, Homályzónák. A zsidók közép-európai történetének néhány tisztázandó kérdése. *Aetas* 2006, 21, 1, pp. 120-130.

<sup>4</sup> M. Konrád, A galíciai zsidó bevándorlás mítosza. *Századok* 2018, 152, 1, pp. 31-58.

<sup>5</sup> L. Varga, Zsidó bevándorlás Magyarországon. *Századok* 1992, 126, 1, p. 73.

<sup>6</sup> W. Pietsch, Die jüdische Einwanderung aus Galizien und das Judentum in Ungarn. In: G. Rhode (hrsg.), *Juden in Ostmitteleuropa. Von der Emanzipation bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*. Marburg 1989, pp. 271-280.

<sup>7</sup> About the xenophobic nationalism in Galicia during the First World War see A. Prusin, *Nationalizing a Borderland: War, Ethnicity, and Anti-Jewish Violence in East Galicia, 1914-1920*. Tuscaloosa 2005.

arrivals and on the potential interpretations, from the perspective of social history, of the contradiction between statistical data and contemporaries' actual perception of "reality."

## Journalistic Representations of Immigration

The Hungarian conservative and right-wing newspapers repeatedly called their readers' attention to the "devastating" consequences of migration from Galicia. Here is a sample of their oft-mentioned complaints: "Pitiless Jewish usurers" employ the most deceitful tricks to fleece uneducated peasants (most of all members of the God-fearing Ruthenian community<sup>8</sup>), thus contributing to their impoverishment and emigration en masse. Charging usurious rates in business deals involving merchandise, cash, liquor, or the lease of pastures is as common a practice as bootlegging. The plague of jobless "sponger plebs" is a hotbed of moral depravity (habitually making use of bribery and perjury). Their mere settlement is usually achieved by corrupt methods<sup>9</sup> and they often commit serious crimes.<sup>10</sup> Not only do Galician Jews jeopardize the livelihood of Hungarian and faithful Ruthenian peasants, but those migrating into towns and their descendants also cause immense damage, which calls into doubt the feasibility of their social integration. As a columnist of *Nyírvidék* (*Nyírség Countryside*) put it, the first generation of fecund Polish Jews, typically marrying young, "throws itself on towns and gentrifies." They constitute a peculiar agent type that finds his home in "dingy coffee houses then the glamorous bourse." Members of the second generation, profiteering capitalists or commoners holding white-collar jobs, elbow out tens of thousands of Hungarian youths from trade and intellectual occupations.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Ruthenians were an East Slavic people living in the northeastern part of Hungary, which was struck by migration.

<sup>9</sup> The official gazette of Bereg County, titled *Bereg* (*Bereg*), reported that between 400 to 500 identification credentials were issued annually in Munkács (Mukacsevo), which made possible a "massive influx of kaftan wearers." *Bereg*, December 2, 1894, p. 1. The Hungarian new conservative paper *Hazánk* (*Our Country*) ran a story about Jews giving the name Kahan to authorities instead of their own (*Kohanites*) to improve the chances of settlement for other "Kahans," even though they were unrelated to the latecomers. *Hazánk*, January 9, 1902, pp. 5-6. Sándor Lónyay, Lord Lieutenant of Bereg County, witnessed entire caravans arriving from Galicia year in and year out, staying in the Jewish quarters of settlements along the border: "A couple *forints* to the local Sheriff or a shot, or two, of *pálinka* as a bribe and the penniless immigrant can stay. The officer in charge does not report the case to the High Sheriff." *Esztergom* (*Esztergom*), February 14, 1897, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> In Máramaros (Maramureș) County, Ábrahám Husz committed murder and robbery and was described as "the archetype of Galician immigrants: rapacious, spiteful, uncivilized, uneducated and definitely not law-abiding. He does not make his son enlist into the armed forces because he could not even have his birth registered." To quote a correspondent of the Hungarian conservative paper *Szatmár* (*Satu Mare*), "there is no major case of burglary, embezzlement or counterfeiting activity without the involvement of Galician migrants of the same communion either as receivers or perpetrators." *Szatmár*, July 13, 1907, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Nyírvidék*, July 23, 1905, p. 1 (*Nyírvidék* was the official gazette of Szabolcs County, which is situated in the northeastern part of the Great Hungarian Plain).

Those Jews fleeing from race riots or pogroms could not expect to receive a more heartfelt welcome either. The events of 1898 in Galicia<sup>12</sup> were widely reported in the press. The Christian conservative paper *Alkotmány* (*Constitution*) took sides with “embittered, rebellious” Polish and Ruthenian peasants who had been “sponged with all means of usury” by their Jewish neighbors.<sup>13</sup> This attitude was incompatible with any sympathy for the persecuted (indeed, generated a strong aversion). It also worked against potential chances of inclusion or support, which could only materialize in charities organized by individuals or religious communities.<sup>14</sup>

The papers did not fail to report on the fact that the living standards, customs, attire and language of Galician Jews were alien to and totally different from their Hungarian neighbors. This especially stood out in Subcarpathian towns, where the newcomers congregated in the largest numbers. Reporters complained that if you were to walk across the market of Beregszász (Beregovo), you could hear Hungarian spoken by perhaps one person in every ten. All the rest were chattering away in some “German-Volapük gibberish making the listener believe he was in Galicia, where you could hear hardly any Hungarian word at all.”<sup>15</sup> Major Leó Kovács (ret.), member of the Szatmár Town Council, was of a similar opinion.<sup>16</sup> He had moved to the town thirty years before and could not remember having seen any kaftan-wearing Jew or bewigged Jewess. Around 1900, however, the town was teeming with them and they were procreating relentlessly. Most of these people were not employed, did not pay taxes and their peculiar behavior was an affront to Hungarian public morals. They were invariably characterized by indolence, humility, uncleanness, selfishness, cowardice, and thirst for vengeance.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Peasants ransacked and torched Jewish-owned businesses and bars in several settlements and skirmished with military units. D. Unowsky, *The Plunder: The 1898 Anti-Jewish Riots in Habsburg Galicia*. Stanford 2018. About the Jewish question in Galicia: T. Buhen, *Antisemitism in Galicia. Agitation, Politics, and Violence against Jews in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*. New York–Oxford 2020.

<sup>13</sup> *Alkotmány*, June 25, 1898, p. 8; June 28, 1898, p. 4. The Deputy Lieutenant of Zemplén County ordered High Sheriffs to deploy gendarme possies to the borderland in order to intercept migrants. *Budapesti Hírlap* (*Budapest Newspaper*), July 17, 1898, p. 7 (*Budapesti Hírlap* was a Hungarian conservative nationalist daily paper).

<sup>14</sup> From the town of Újszandec (Nowy Sącz), 60 families fled to Eperjes (Prešov). Sztropkó (Stropkov) in Zemplén County received Jewish migrants via the uncontrolled Dukai Pass. A lot of them traveled on towards the interior of the country. Jewish families in Sztropkó typically donated 2 to 3 *forints* to help them. The local religious community even established a charity fund, from which each migrant received 25 *krajcárs*. *Pesti Hírlap* (*Pest Newspaper*), August 1, 1898, p. 6; *Budapesti Hírlap*, June 28, 1898, p. 4. *Pesti Hírlap* was a Hungarian paper with a moderately conservative orientation.

<sup>15</sup> The author of the article added that, according to official statistics, the population of Beregszász was 96% Hungarian and only 4% belonged to other ethnicities. *Bereg*, February 17, 1895, pp. 1–2.

<sup>16</sup> Szatmár (Satu Mare) was located in Northeastern Hungary.

<sup>17</sup> Kovács pointed out that people arriving with the mass migration of Galician Jews typically tried to elude law enforcement by getting off the train in the station of Batiz (Botiz) and walking to town camouflaged

Galician Jews were also considered a threat to the Christian religion. Public opinion started to be dominated with the usual commonplaces of anti-Semitism building on instinctive fears, superstition and religious bias. Sándor Várlaki, Catholic priest of Céke (Cejkov), wrote about “vandalized crosses” which “must have been destroyed by conceited and restless immigrant folks from Poland [...] who, in speech, writing and images, mock and defile everything we consider holy and precious.”<sup>18</sup> Károly Huszár made an even more serious accusation in the journal of the Catholic League suggesting that typhoid fever, killing large numbers of Hungarians in 1908, was imported by Galician Jewish rag and bone-pickers.<sup>19</sup>

Lóránt Hegedüs studied immigration from a strictly academic perspective (particularly sociologically and economically). A staffer of the Ministry of Finance, he cited Hungarian and Polish statistical data and called attention to the fact that, contrary to common belief, migration from Galicia did not only involve Jews. Between 1900 and 1910, 120,000 Jewish and 135,000 Polish people left the province.<sup>20</sup> In addition to Hungary, their target destinations included Prussia, Silesia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and, last but not least, the Americas.<sup>21</sup> Hegedüs emphasized the “relative overpopulation” in northeastern counties (i.e. immigrants sapping scarce natural and economic resources). He vulgarized the era’s popular organic views of society – without specifically naming the Jewish population. Immigration, he pointed out, resulted in “unhealthy encounters between nations,” which had Ruthenian peasants, deprived of their power of nationhood and resistance capabilities, “face starved newcomers forced to depend on petty trafficking.”<sup>22</sup> Hegedüs, who studied the migration in the United States at the turn of the century, correctly realized that the mobility of Jews based in the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy neatly fit into a larger system of Transatlantic migration, yet he used the linguistic codes of anti-Semitism.

There existed closely intertwined ethnic, societal and moral arguments against immigrants. The archetypal figure of a Galician Jew (“Khazar”) was, at the same time, a settled village usurer, an alien perpetually wandering, part of the masses overwhelming towns, and the immigrant, albeit not worthy of any sympathy. All this, supplemented with the perception of a crisis of traditional country lifestyles, offered sensible arguments for a naïve

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by the shadows at twilight. On one occasion, he asked them what they were up to in Szatmár and got the answer, “they were visiting relatives and children or doing some shopping.” *Heti Szemle (Weekly Review)*, April 11, 1900, pp. 9-10.

<sup>18</sup> *Zemplén (Zemplén)*, June 24, 1900, p. 11. The Hungarian paper had a conservative orientation. Céke was located in Zemplén County, in Northeastern Hungary.

<sup>19</sup> Károly Huszár was appointed to serve as Hungary’s Prime Minister in fall 1919. *Új Lap (New Journal)*, March 13, 1908, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Hegedüs did not mention the Ruthenian emigrants. Approximately 125,000 Rusyns immigrated to the United States before the World War I.

<sup>21</sup> In New York State, for instance, 43,650 Jewish immigrants were registered in 1899-1900 and 15,670 Polish ones in Pennsylvania.

<sup>22</sup> *Budapesti Hírlap*, December 16, 1902, pp. 1-2.

anti-capitalist attitude.<sup>23</sup> This image of a certain type of Jew, however, involved a strong general bias against the jobless poor including “roving” beggars. Even more pointedly, a turn-of-the-century issue of a local paper in *Szatmár* published a dehumanized description of Galician Jews (as an inferior and parasitic race) with the obvious aim of instigating violence against aliens and not even recoiling from their potential destruction.<sup>24</sup>

It was not uncommon that the immigration of Galician Jews was the target of complaints from their brethren already established in Hungary. In 1902, the leaders of the Status Quo community<sup>25</sup> in Sátoraljaújhely sought to consult the most learned Jewish elders of the region. They complained that the majority of Jews settling in the northeastern counties were living in the “spiritual darkness” of Hasidism and the number and influence of followers of religious fanaticism was continuously increasing. As a sad example they cited the case of a wonder rabbi who had migrated from Galicia to Homonna (Humenné), usurped the community’s rights and anathematized the sexton, who had his child study secular subjects in addition to religious instruction.<sup>26</sup>

A report from Ungvár (Užhorod)<sup>27</sup> included a description of long-lasting inner conflicts, written by a member of the Orthodox community. Immigrant and not yet naturalized Sephardic Jews<sup>28</sup> gained a firm hold over the leadership of the community and managed to prevent the introduction of sermon delivered in Hungarian. They also succeeded in their efforts to ban Hungarian-speaking graduates of the Rabbinical Training College of Budapest to provide religious instruction for Jewish students of the Catholic high school. The author concluded that “kaftan and *shtreimel*-wearing” immigrants had used their steadily increasing numbers to have a majority in the synagogue and this would hinder intelligent and patriotic Jews’ efforts to express their love of their nation and demand for education and progress.<sup>29</sup>

Adherents of Neology from communities in the capital city also took a firm stand on the issue in the press. As Miksa Szabolcsi, editor of *Egyenlőség* (*Equality*), put it,

<sup>23</sup> Developed after the Partition of Poland by German-speaking Jews settled in the Habsburg Monarchy, the original stereotype of a “Galitzianer” was similar: a profiteer and troublemaker, opportunist, miserly and religious fanatic. T. Manekin, Galitsianer. In: G. Hundert (ed.), *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*. New Haven 2008, pp. 567-568.

<sup>24</sup> “Offspring of Israel // Are coming from Galicia, // Again and again, like plagues of locusts // We have been deluged. // How disgusting, filthy race this is, // A disgrace of humanity, // God has brought them upon this town // To pound it into the ground.” *Szatmár*, July 22, 1899, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Following the Hungarian General Jewish Congress of 1868-1869, Hungarian Jewry split into three branches based on organization and denominational tenets, representing Neology (progressive), Orthodox Judaism (conservative) and Status Quo Ante (trying to maintain the previously established state of affairs).

<sup>26</sup> Leaders of the religious community of Újhely were of the opinion that Hungarian schools were to be employed as a defense against uncivilized behavior and zealotry. *Zemplén*, March 29, 1902, p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> Ungvár was one of the largest cities of the Transcarpathian Region in Austria-Hungary.

<sup>28</sup> Alternative term used for Hasidic Jews.

<sup>29</sup> *Ung* (*Ung*), April 16, 1905, pp. 2-3; July 2, 1905, p. 4. *Ung* was the official gazette of the Economic Association of Ung County.



“Galitzianism” had gained ground in the proudest of Hungarian towns and cities (e.g. Nagykálló, Debrecen, Nyírbátor, Mátészalka and Nagykároly [Carei]).<sup>30</sup> This was transforming, indeed slowly erasing, pure Orthodox Judaism in the country. Hungarian-speaking Jews were adopting “Polack ways” – in other words, being assimilated by new arrivals from Galicia. It is not clear from Szabolcsi’s line of reasoning whether he put the blame on continuous turn-of-the-century immigration or the fact that Hasidic Jews had moved to towns and cities. It is obvious, however, that he found the phenomenon unacceptable from the viewpoint of Jews loyal to the motherland. He argued that the Hungarian state and society were also responsible for the expansion of Galitzianism<sup>31</sup> and urged Orthodox Jews to take systematic action in order to segregate from their Hasidic counterparts.<sup>32</sup>

The journalistic attitude towards Galician Jews at the turn of the century was dominated by covert (or very much overt) threats but the occasional supporting article would also appear. Simon Klein, a physician from Ágcsernyő (Čierna)<sup>33</sup> and well versed in village ways of life, refuted the most frequently-used accusation, the stereotype of the Jewish usurer. He did not deny, however, that Jewish bar owners and merchants in Upper Hungary did grant credits to their clients, sometimes for years. “He could do it because it took little to satisfy him. Waiting was no problem. Today, banks and societies don’t wait. Three months passed, no security, and the property is sold, no questions asked.”<sup>34</sup> To quote Ármin Kaufman, a school teacher from Sátoraljaújhely, only poverty-stricken or workless Galician Jews set out to find a new livelihood abroad but they would take available jobs indiscriminately (to become hired men, coachmen, herdsman, rafters, or farmhands).<sup>35</sup>

Lipót Róthmann, a liquor merchant from Ungvár, did not only use the publicity offered by newspapers. In 1901, he and several associates petitioned the Deputy Lieutenant to ban gendarmes from intercepting Jews, stipulating that the practice would further deteriorate the commercial activities, already in dire straits, of the town and the whole of Ung County. Róthmann added that there was no one more interested in stopping mass migration from Galicia than “us Jews of the Hungarian motherland.”<sup>36</sup>

<sup>30</sup> These cities were located in the northeastern part of the Great Hungarian Plain.

<sup>31</sup> “There lived a man in the Nyírség region, a member of the landed gentry, who used to say, ‘If the poor fellow was born to be a Jew, he’d better wear sidelocks and talk gibberish. Those sitting up there – at least that’s what I’m hearing – don’t want Orthodox communities to get magyarized. It doesn’t hurt if a blob of yellow color remains.’”

<sup>32</sup> *Egyenlőség*, November 13, 1910, pp. 1-2; November 27, 1910, pp. 1-5.

<sup>33</sup> Zemplén County.

<sup>34</sup> *Zemplén*, January 19, 1902, pp. 3-4.

<sup>35</sup> *Zemplén*, May 2, 1897, p. 1.

<sup>36</sup> The Gendarme Commander firmly rejected the unfounded allegation that he would use a law enforcement problem to create an issue rooted in differences between religious groups. He said it was unacceptable in view of the fact that “leaders of Christian communities had never tried to interfere with the law on behalf of tramps belonging to their denominations” and detained by his officers. The editor of *Ung* was

Ábrahám Steuer, a religious teacher based in Szatmár, argued in a similar way. Since the Kőrösmező (Jasyna) and Munkács–Sztrij (Stryj) railway lines opened, Galician Jews, despised and hated by many, had made Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare) the most important commerce-oriented town of the northeastern part of the country. They were trading in products in bulk (at a price of 60-70 *krajcárs* steeper than that of domestic merchants) that could not be sold in Budapest because of their inferior quality.<sup>37</sup>

The defense of Galician Jews occasionally materialized in press polemics along the lines of a well-defined scale of values. Áron Székely, a lawyer based in Sátoraljaújhely, addressed an open letter to Sándor Várlaki, the parish priest of Céke, mentioned above. Székely pledged allegiance to the Hungarian motherland, but he rejected “clericalism” and its organic partner, anti-Semitism, which – as he put it – the borders of a liberal Zemplén County had guarded against. The author brought up the historic merits of Hungarian Jewry.<sup>38</sup> He also mentioned that Várlaki accused of defiling the Cross a religious community which had given Christianity, and the human race, Moses, Jesus, a psalmist, the Apostles, as well as the Old and New Testaments.<sup>39</sup> Áron Székely, who had magyarized his name, interpreted the priest’s writing as incitement against his religious community and took a stand for Galician Jews in the name of equity of the law as well as the love of Christ and tolerance.

Other voices of solidarity were also given space in the press. Zsigmond Stein, a religious instructor from Nyírmada,<sup>40</sup> identified the majority of arrivals from Galicia as wandering paupers. He linked begging, which had been considered by many as a much despised feature of vagrancy and immorality, to century-old ostracism and Middle-Age “ghetto existence.”<sup>41</sup> He believed that beggars might be supported by establishing industrial enterprises along the border to provide them with permanent employment. This, he argued, would be more efficient than the project initiated in Upper Hungary<sup>42</sup> and would offer a means of livelihood for Ruthenian nationals as well.

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of the opinion that Róthman and his associates, instead of petitioning, ought to warn their Galician business partners to always carry their state-issued credentials to remove any grounds for complaint. *Ung*, September 1, 1901, p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> *Szamos* (*Szamos*), August 23, 1900, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> In the 1848-1849 War of Independence, for instance, 9,000 Jews fought in the ranks of the Hungarian military.

<sup>39</sup> *Zemplén*, June 24, 1900, pp. 11-12.

<sup>40</sup> The town lies on Northeastern Hungary.

<sup>41</sup> “Famished, exhausted and pitiful specters are dragging their spent bodies in the alleys. Eyes hollow and dying, cheeks mirroring the curse of homelessness, they feebly accept their fate with quiet resignation. They just scrape by knocking on doors and begging for alms.” *Nyírvidek*, March 23, 1902, p. 2.

<sup>42</sup> At the turn of the century, the government initiated reforms to mitigate the abject poverty of Ruthenians and modernize their farming practices (such as the leasing of public land, establishing model farms, developing animal husbandry in alpine regions by providing breeding stock, supporting fruit production



Náthán Wolf wrote a letter to the editor-in-chief of *Budapesti Napló* (*Budapest Journal*) in February 1900. He admitted that he was also a Galician Jew and had been based in Hungary for only a few years as a representative of a foreign company. He had mastered the Hungarian language and taken a liking to the “chivalrous and freedom-loving nation.” He argued that anti-Semitism was a mere economic battle fought against Jewish rivals. He also added that “mercenary spirit” had not become dominant in Hungary and the society was strong enough to harbor and magyarize a couple hundred persecuted Galician Jewish drifters. Therefore, it would not be right to close the borders or expel those already settled in the country. He concluded his argument by stating that the process of assimilation should be facilitated by enforcing compulsory education and increasing the number of state-run schools.<sup>43</sup>

The commenters taking a stand for Galician Jews were invariably Jewish themselves (Neologs or adherents of Orthodox Judaism, intellectuals, merchants, religious workers, with or without roots in Galicia) who typically did not deny the phenomenon of immigration. Their lines of argument, however, tended to vary: equity before the law, rejecting the trend of strengthening anti-Semitism at the turn of the century, individual or mutual interests (commercial and other business relations), solidarity with the poor, or simply memories of their old communities.

## The Regulation of Immigration

Migration between the countries and provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was not limited by law, and up to the turn of the century there existed no regular border-control authority. The settlement of foreigners was regulated by the Municipal Law of 1886, which defined three distinct periods of immigrant status. If a person wanted to stay in a certain municipality for more than three months, he had to apply for a residence permit (which was granted under the condition that he could fend for himself and his family and his morals were beyond reproach). Permanent permission to reside could be issued to him after two years. He could only become a fully-fledged member of his new community if he had been residing in the country for five years and got naturalized.<sup>44</sup>

The Municipal Law established the legal basis of settlement and, although linked to certain conditions of livelihood and morals, its scale of values favored reception rather

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and launching credit societies). J. Gyurgyák, *A zsidókérdés Magyarországon. Politikai esztörténet*. Budapest 2001, pp. 350-351.

<sup>43</sup> *Budapesti Napló*, February 19, 1900, p. 4. *Budapesti Napló* was a Hungarian liberal daily paper.

<sup>44</sup> Act L of the Law of 1879 stipulated that Hungarian citizenship could be granted to a person who had been residing in the country for five years without interruption, was a registered taxpayer and whose conduct was beyond reproach.

than exclusion. (Final decisions were nevertheless made by local governments.) A paradigm shift came along with the introduction of Act V of the Law of 1903, which regulated “the residence of foreigners in the countries under the jurisdiction of the Hungarian Crown.” If a foreigner took a room in somebody’s house for however short a period, the landlord was obliged to report his arrival and departure within 24 hours so the authorities could keep records. If he could not provide identification papers, could not fend for himself and his family, or his presence was otherwise “perilous to the state or its public order,” he could be ordered to leave the country, even forcibly removed by police. The focus, previously placed on controlling migrants and their morals, had been shifted to the national interest and public order, as well as the conditions of potential expulsion. On the first reading of the bill, Prime Minister Kálmán Széll argued:

I hereby confess that the result of this bill, no matter how much I’ve tried to strip it off of any anti-Semitic tone, will target elements considered foreigners, indeed aliens, flocking in from Galicia and Russia and now hiding in the northeastern borderland and not assimilated to the customs of their hosts [...]. But this is not because they’re Jews per se, but rather because they don’t belong here, being appendages on the nation’s body, suspicious elements to be thrown away because of economic, social and national interests.<sup>45</sup>

Although Kálmán Széll was careful to avoid the appearance that the control of migrants or residing “aliens” would be determined by religious affiliation, his line of argument as well as his choice of words clearly displayed his government’s foremost wish to curb any “deluge” of Galician Jews.

The law maintained discretionary jurisdiction to representatives of local governments and commanders of the border police established in 1903. Certain “misuses of authority” were reported in the paper titled *Egyenlőség*. The articles describe events linking migration to people’s actual life stories. Dávid Hoffmann, a merchant who moved to Körösmező (Jasyna) in 1887, was to be expelled on the Chief Constable’s suggestion in 1910, although he had been naturalized and even got his name magyarized. Initially, the officer suggested that the accused did not have any means of livelihood, but later amended his statement to allege he had practiced usury.<sup>46</sup> József Schwingerkrug had migrated from Neuszandecz (Nowy Sącz) to Tiszakerecseny, Bereg County in 1891. He had been running a footwear workshop, got married but, because he lacked papers, could only be ritually wed, rather than officially. He applied for a residence permit in 1908 so he could get his children legitimized. The Chief Constable, however, rejected the application and started the expulsion procedure. Down to 1911, the shoemaker illicitly returned to his

<sup>45</sup> *Képviselőházi Napló (Parliamentary Diary)*, January 10, 1903, pp. 232-233.

<sup>46</sup> *Egyenlőség*, July 3, 1910, pp. 3-4; September 17, 1911, pp. 4-5.

family in Hungary some 20 times, for which he was repeatedly imprisoned and kicked out of the country.<sup>47</sup>

The incident which received the most publicity was the case of Mór Tkács, who had settled in the border village of Hunfalu (Huncovce) in 1899. The same year, he moved to Eperjes then later on to Sztropkó. Active in the joiner trade, he received a resident permit, but Chief Constable Tamás Malonyai launched expulsion proceedings against him in 1911 on the basis that he was “undesirable” and a “recidivist.”<sup>48</sup> Tkács appealed to the Deputy Lieutenant then fled to Budapest, where he found influential supporters. In the meantime, his wife and child had been expelled. MPs Miksa Szabolcsi and Pál Farkas<sup>49</sup> intervened on Tkács’ behalf with the Prime Minister (also the head of the Ministry of Interior Affairs), which made it possible for the joiner to stay in Sztropkó and his family to return.<sup>50</sup>

## The Different Groups and Motivations of Immigrants

This section examines the nature of Jewish immigration as characterized in various newspapers published during the Age of Dualism, the political and ideological prejudices of which cannot be disregarded. In addition, the decisions of local authorities and the complaints of business and economic interest groups, which often included statistical information concerning Jewish migration, were regularly reported in the papers and are also surveyed in this section. Taken together, the reading and scholarly analysis of these articles illustrate not only the different types of in-migration, but also how they are interrelated.

Based on reports of Deputy Lieutenants or gendarme officers, newspapers ran stories on the expulsions of Jews who had been wandering (“tramping”) and begging in border counties and could not guarantee any means of a self-support.<sup>51</sup> Misdemeanor charges were leveled against agents or traffickers involved in organizing illegal overseas migration routes via Galicia and supporting emigrants traveling without passports.<sup>52</sup> The intelligence web of

<sup>47</sup> *Egyenlőség*, September 17, 1911, p. 4.

<sup>48</sup> His only offences were that he stored his stock of lumber in his backyard and would work on Sundays.

<sup>49</sup> An author and sociologist, Farkas was born into a Jewish family and went on to co-found the Association of Social Sciences.

<sup>50</sup> *Egyenlőség*, August 20, 1911, pp. 1-2.

<sup>51</sup> The Criminal Code of 1879 provided that jobless vagrants who begged without a license were to be detained for up to eight days and could be expelled from the country. *Zemplén*, August 7, 1898, p. 5; August 20, 1898, p. 3; December 16, 1900, p. 4; October 20, 1901, p. 3; June 17, 1902, p. 1; July 12, 1902, p. 2; November 13, 1902, p. 2; August 21, 1908, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> The Deputy Lieutenant of Zemplén County reported that up to 300 migrants were waiting in the apartments of Galician traffickers. Márkusz Gelb, a formerly penniless cabdriver, had opened an emigration office in Musina (Muszyna) and purchased several houses from the proceeds. Júda Markovics of Nagygejőc (Veliki Gejevci) was also well-known to the authorities. He and his accomplices were involved in human

the Commissioner of Budapest's Metropolitan Police had provided accurate information on the network of receivers in the country. They typically came from the ranks of the "masses migrating" from Galicia to the nation's capital importing their "profiteering spirit."<sup>53</sup>

The Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Kassa (Košice) called the attention of the Deputy Lieutenants to a similarly alarming phenomenon in 1897. Its officials alleged that Galician peddlers were flooding the markets of border counties "like locusts" to sell their merchandise without valid licenses. They did not pay taxes and used the fanciest slogans (worthy of prime-quality goods from Vienna or Budapest) to swindle people with the cheap, low-quality goods of Galician manufacturers. In other words, they conned gullible domestic customers and caused tremendous damage to businesses based in Upper Hungary. The chamber, therefore, petitioned the Minister of Commerce to regulate peddlers' activities so they could only sell their own products guaranteed by proper licenses.<sup>54</sup>

In 1895, several farmers based in Upper Hungary addressed an open letter to Sándor Andrassy, President of the Alliance of Agribusinesses in Zemplén County, to complain about different problems of trade. In the early 1890s, the country's borders had been closed due to contagious diseases menacing livestock, which effectively brought the cattle trade with Galicia to a halt. This jeopardized the major income (and livelihood) of farmers based in Zemplén, Szepes, Sáros and Ung Counties. Sealing the frontiers also resulted in increasing the smuggling trade, which also posed a moral problem. As soon as the outbreaks had been contained, the farmers, therefore, petitioned for reopening the cattle trade and called for intervention from the alliance.<sup>55</sup>

The situation of Galicia-bound wine export had also been reported in the newspapers. In Beregszász<sup>56</sup> in autumn 1884, sales of wine had been stopped and a large part of the

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trafficking activities helping migrants (including draftees and young women) leave for the United States. He had been sentenced several times, then fled to Galicia – all the while staying in touch with other traffickers in Upper Hungary. Markovics was certainly a member of the human trafficking networks of Poles, Hungarians, Slovaks and Jews which linked Western Galicia and Northeastern Hungary. *Zemplén Vármegye Hivatalos Lapja* (Official Journal of Zemplén County), June 27, 1907, p. 359; *Ung*, January 20, 1909, p. 2; May 1, 1909, p. 3; *Felsőmagyarországi Hírlap* (Upper Hungary Newspaper), April 13, 1910, p. 2; November 16, 1910, p. 2; *Ung*, January 20, 1909, p. 2; May 1, 1909, p. 3. A. Steidl, *On Many Routes: Internal, European, and Transatlantic Migration in the Late Habsburg Empire*. West Lafayette 2020, p. 199.

<sup>53</sup> *Budapesti Hírlap*, April 24, 1908, pp. 3–4.

<sup>54</sup> *Ung*, September 19, 1897, p. 4; *Magyarország* (Hungary), January 16, 1897, p. 10; *Zemplén*, February 16, 1902, p. 7.

<sup>55</sup> *Zemplén*, October 20, 1895, pp. 1–2. Newspapers started to report on an uptick in the turnover of livestock markets. In Ungvár, for instance Galician dealers purchased 200–300 head of cattle on a typical market day. Town officials benefited from this because they "expected" 10 *koronas* in exchange for translating into German and authenticating cattle licenses, which should have been a service free of charge by law. *Ung*, February 14, 1909, p. 1. It was also Galician dealers who gave a boost to business at the horse and cattle markets of Munkács. *Kárpátalja* (Transcarpathia), August 31, 1890, p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> Beregszász was located in the Transcarpathian Region in Austria-Hungary.

year's harvest remained in the cellars. The region's regular market had been Galicia but, to quote from an article, "[...] it seems Polish Jews have deserted us this season. This came as a terrible blow to our vintners and played havoc with our bottom lines."<sup>57</sup>

Reports on the "machinations" of foreign wine dealers were not scarce either. Galician merchants congregating in the Nyírség region formed a cartel and bought up wine stockpiles at a low price.<sup>58</sup> In 1908, *Borászati Lapok* (*Wine Magazine*) called the authorities' attention to a dangerous scam. It reported that Galician Jews, disguised as beggars, were prowling around in wine-producing regions (there may have been more than 200 of them patrolling the countryside) and using uncalibrated casks, that is false standards of measurement.<sup>59</sup> Ferenc Buzáth, a vintner from Beregszász, aired his personal grievances and inside information to the public: He alleged that rabbi Salamon Schreiber had used his "international connections" to ban not only local but even Galician merchants from buying wine from him. Jewish bar owners did not sell his wine either, because in the House of Representatives Buzáth took a stand against the "mass migration" of Jews and argued for enhancing border control.<sup>60</sup>

Others arrived in Hungary with totally different intentions. It was not infrequent that immigrant *bochers* taught in unlicensed schools "devoid of the humanistic spirit of modern education." The school of Nagytapolcsány (Topolčany) in Nyitra County was frequented by Galician boys.<sup>61</sup> In addition to unskilled educators, so-called "wonder" rabbis were also included in the ranks of those arriving in Upper Hungary. Whenever they turned up, hundreds of Jews from faraway lands would congregate in various venues to listen to the rabbis' teaching or ask them for advice on everyday issues. On one occasion, Kabolapolyána (Kobiletkaja Poljana), Máramaros County received 700 Jewish visitors, who made a noisy by-night tour of the village and even skirmished with the Greek Catholic locals.<sup>62</sup> Rabbi Eizig, who visited Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica),<sup>63</sup> was said to possess mind-reading and seeing-the-past skills. His devotees were willing to wait up to five hours before they

<sup>57</sup> *Bereg*, November 23, 1884, p. 3. The economics correspondent of *Ung* bitterly noted that should Galician Jews not come to Ungvár and its neighborhood to buy fruit in bulk, it would surely rot because no one else would resell it anywhere, for instance, in Galicia. *Ung*, April 1, 1906, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup> *Pesti Hírlap*, September 20, 1908, p. 16.

<sup>59</sup> *Borászati Lapok*, September 13, 1908, p. 553.

<sup>60</sup> *Képviselőházi Napló*, June 20, 1902, pp. 345-347; *Alkotmány*, August 14, 1902, pp. 1-2.

<sup>61</sup> *Zemlén*, December 8, 1889, p. 6; *Alkotmány*, April 26, 1903, p. 2.

<sup>62</sup> *Kárpáti Lapok* (*Carpathian Papers*), July 15, 1900, p. 4. The journalist of *Görög Katholikus Szemle* (*Greek Catholic Review*) mockingly noted that the activities of the rabbi had included a wide range of exciting tricks, from clownery to sword swallowing. His temporary residence had been surrounded with "wire fencing" onto which village folks stuck hamburgers, rashers of bacon and similar objects. *Görög Katholikus Szemle*, July 29, 1900, p. 4. He probably meant *eruv* poles and wire which, in the enclosed area, allowed certain activities normally prohibited on *Shabbat*.

<sup>63</sup> Besztercebánya was located in North Hungary.

were granted an audience with him.<sup>64</sup> The burial site of Mózes Teitelbaum, the wonder rabbi of Sátoraljaújhely (also with Galician roots), who had passed away in 1841, became a site of an annual pilgrimage for thousands of followers. On such occasions, the streets leading to the cemetery were crowded with beggars as well as vendors peddling prayer books, religious calendars, *tallit* and *tefillin*.<sup>65</sup> Sometimes law enforcement officers had to intervene to restore order. In September 1892, the Minister of Interior Affairs warned the Deputy Lieutenant of Zemplén County that Jews based in Upper Hungary, with the holidays approaching, were about to descend on Galicia (as they would do every year) to listen to the teaching of a “wonder” rabbi. He decreed that in the given year the event could not take place because of the cholera epidemic and banned any visitors from Galicia or Bukovina to enter Hungarian territory with similar goals.<sup>66</sup>

Although the exact numbers of the various immigrant groups are impossible to ascertain, some statistical data from local sources is available. In summer 1909, the Chief Constable of Nagyberezna (Velikij Bereznij) District, Ung County, reported to the Deputy Lieutenant that territories along the border had been “flooded” by aliens from Galicia, roaming the countryside as emigration agents, peddlers, petty buyers, or tramps. He stated that the influx had increased since the deployment of border police in the region because its officers were issuing temporary and permanent residence permits without consulting village authorities.<sup>67</sup>

Antal Úsz, Police Commander of the district along the border, rejected the charges in the press. The Chief Constable, in return, cited data from the official immigration register: Between March 1906 and August 1909, 687 foreigners had been registered in Nagyberezna including 451 Jews (or 66% of the total number of incomers). The Commander, for his part, added more data to the mix: Of 451 Jews, only 21 were issued residence permits (2 tradesmen, 3 journeymen, 9 servants, 5 factory workers, 1 farmer and 1 lumberyard agent). Therefore, as the argument went, the border police had been doing its job with due foresight. He added that of the registered Jews, a total of 310 persons (198 merchants, 102 travelers and wedding guests, 2 rabbis, 2 kosher butchers, 3 scribes, 2 musicians and 1 *Talmud* teacher) had stayed in Nagyberezna for a few days, and 42 servants had remained for up to a year.<sup>68</sup> All this suggests that the authorities did account for

<sup>64</sup> *Az Újság* (*The Newspaper*), March 14, 1912, p. 12.

<sup>65</sup> I. Goldberger, Zsidó búcsú Újhelyen. *Az Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat Évkönyve* 1908, 25, pp. 251-256.

<sup>66</sup> *Zemplén*, September 18, 1892, p. 4.

<sup>67</sup> *Ung*, August 11, 1909, pp. 2-3.

<sup>68</sup> *Ung*, August 15, 1909, p. 3; September 5, 1909, p. 3; September 12, 1909, p. 2. It is possible that the servants were actually members or acquaintances of previously-registered families. T. C s í k i, A megtelepedés útján. A nagytárkányi zsidóság a 18-19. században. In: G. V i g a (szerk.), *Nagytárkány. Tanulmányok a község településtörténetéhez és néprajzához*. Somorja–Komárom 2006, p. 182.



Jewish people migrating to Hungary but they interpreted their data in different ways. The Chief Constable had looked at his register and the actual crowds in the streets and started to talk about mass migration. The Police Commander, on the other hand, pointed out that very few of these people wanted to permanently settle in Nagyberezna or any other part of the country.<sup>69</sup>

## Conclusions

Traditional interpretations hold that 19<sup>th</sup>-century anti-Semitism, which embodied the complaints of various elements of society suffering losses from unequal economic modernization (i.e. the landed gentry and Christian members of the lower-middle-class of villages and towns), aimed at hindering or turning back the process of Jewish emancipation and questioned the legitimacy of efforts at assimilation. To follow this argument, anti-Semitism – no matter if it targeted a successful city-dwelling businessman or a village money lender – stemmed from the anti-capitalism of losers broken by the economic changes in the era of the Dual Monarchy. This notion of anti-Semitism, in turn, got spiritual reinforcement by way of political Catholicism serving as a mouthpiece for Christian culture.<sup>70</sup>

The rhetoric employed against Galician immigrants, although containing similar motifs, typically emphasized different lines of argument. Strict border-control was deemed necessary lest “penniless plebs” overcrowd the countryside because they “would not offer anything to our nation, on the contrary, they would exist at her expenses and sap her resources.” Furthermore, people inhabiting the borderland did not identify themselves as part of the Hungarian nation to the extent that they would conform to its customs, morals and institutions.<sup>71</sup> Consequently, immigrants weakened not only the process of nation-building, but the nation itself as an ethnic and cultural entity. They also threatened the livelihood of Hungarian and Ruthenian communities living along the northeastern borders, prompting a deepening social crisis. This threat was easily identified with the character of the Galician Jew, unmistakably alien in attire, customs, culture and language, dirt poor and, at the same time, morally stigmatized.<sup>72</sup> To put it another way, in this new type of

<sup>69</sup> Data gleaned from records of the entire area under the jurisdiction of the border police of Ungvár verified this. In 1909, 7,075 foreigners arrived, 6,656 departed and 320 were granted resident permits. Legal measures were taken against 134 people for failing to report temporary residence, but only 29 were expelled from the country. (The data covered members of all religious communities.) *Határszéli Újság* (*Frontier Journal*), February 14, 1910, pp. 2-3.

<sup>70</sup> A. Prepuk, Az újkori zsidóellenesség mint politikai ideológia. In: i d e m (szerk.), *Mozaikok. Előadások a magyar holokauszt 70. évfordulóján*. Debrecen 2015, pp. 29-53; M. Konrád, Az antiszemitizmus zsidó percepciója Magyarországon az első világháború előtt. *Múlt és Jövő* 2005, 16, 3, pp. 70-72.

<sup>71</sup> *Ung*, January 14, 1906, pp. 1-2. (József Nagy, the author of the article, served as Sheriff of Ungvár District.)

<sup>72</sup> On as similar mechanism of scapegoating see R. Girard, *The Scapegoat*. Baltimore 1989, pp. 12-23.

anti-Semitism, ethnic nationalism and the ostracism of poor people endangering the social cohesion of communities had become closely intertwined.

As far as liberal doctrine was concerned, the issue of immigration managed to bring the national interest into conflict with morality. A good example of this can be found in a petition by János Andrásy, Deputy Lieutenant of Esztergom County, which he addressed to the Minister of Interior Affairs in 1904. In Andrásy's opinion, immigration imperiled the Hungarian character of the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual nation, and

[...] neither the freedom of individuals and the nation nor genuine liberalism can require Hungary to become, at her own cost, the cesspit of the plebs of East and North [...]. Immigration from Galicia hasn't been advantageous to us in any respect. There is only one excuse for us to be fool enough to suffer its consequences: it is called compassion. After all, the poor Khazar from the East who has not been blessed with a glorious homeland of his own deserves his fellow humans' heartfelt sympathy.<sup>73</sup>

The Hungarian government adopted a similar position in 1903, when it initiated restrictive legislation on immigration and the control of aliens by referring to the interests of the motherland and the Hungarian nation (including assimilated Jews).

The notion of "mass migration" cannot be supported with official statistical data. What is more, in 1922, contemporary statistician Alajos Kovács, who could hardly be accused of philo-Semitism, based his conclusion on Jewish demographical records (registered births and deaths), combined with data on actual population growth, came to a "surprising" conclusion, "almost totally contrary to common knowledge," that "there has not been any Jewish immigration since 1869, or the number of Jews emigrating has always surpassed that of immigrants."<sup>74</sup> Kovács was a firm believer in the scientific objectivity of statistics and was, therefore, unlikely to be depending on (subsequently) emerging epistemological concerns. Census questions, for instance, did not include Yiddish as a language of choice, even though its eastern (Galician) variety remained the everyday dialect preserving and maintaining the cultural identity of Hasidic Jews in Northeastern Hungary.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, there must have been people, just as in Galicia, who were wary of censuses and did not even register their newborns.<sup>76</sup> Immigration statistics cannot be fully trusted either because they recorded information on people to whom residence permits (after passage of Act V of the Law of 1903, residence "certificates") had been

<sup>73</sup> *Esztergom*, October 19, 1904, pp. 2-3.

<sup>74</sup> A. Kovács, *A zsidóság térfoglalása Magyarországon*. Budapest 1922, pp. 13-14.

<sup>75</sup> Sz. Komoróczy, *Nyelvhasználat*. In: V. Bányai, Cs. Fedinec, Sz. Komoróczy (szerk.), *Zsidók Kárpátalján*. Budapest 2013, pp. 38-39.

<sup>76</sup> P. Wróbel, *The Jews of Galicia under Austrian-Polish Rule, 1869-1918*. *Austrian History Yearbook* 1994, 25, pp. 102-103.

issued. The chance of receiving these papers – exactly because of the intentions of the statute – may have been problematic.<sup>77</sup>

The immigration of Galician Jews to Hungary was part of migration patterns within the entire Austro-Hungarian Empire and between continents. Between 1880 and 1910, for example, 236,000 Jews settled and got naturalized in the United States (30.1% of all emigrants). In 1910, 47,000 Galician-born people resided in Vienna, about 40% of whom were Jewish.<sup>78</sup> Their migration to Hungary was on a different scale. The number of those who had got naturalized or been born in Galicia was 6,393 in 1869, 19,969 in 1890, 45,684 in 1900 and 63,806 (13,693 in Budapest) in 1910. According to Alajos Kovács's estimation, the proportion of Jews (in 1900) was 27.4%.<sup>79</sup>

Information on temporary and seasonal, short-distance and repetitive migration patterns, probably considered by contemporaries as part of a "massive influx," did not appear in statistical analyses. The motivations of these incomers can only be inferred from the sporadic data presented above.<sup>80</sup> Merchants and dealers regularly visited Northern Hungary, peddlers traveled from town to town, tradesmen sold their wares with (or without) licenses. In the Subcarpathian region, Jewish building contractors and lumber mill owners typically employed unskilled workers from Galicia at extremely low wages. Their working conditions were also unregulated: their hours were irregular and, because of an oversupply of labor, could often work for only a few months at a time.<sup>81</sup> The railway lines connecting Galicia to Hungary helped strengthen regional trade relations in the era of the Dual Monarchy.<sup>82</sup> While this provided certain chances for entrepreneurs, the everyday patterns of migration along the border were usually forced by pauperism, masses becoming *déclassé* and their struggle for subsistence.

<sup>77</sup> Expulsions were sometimes enforced on the basis that certain immigrants, often having resided in Hungary for years, had not registered with local authorities and thus no records of their arrival and settlement existed. *Report & Annual Book of Statistics on the Workings of the Hungarian Government, 1907*. Budapest 1909, p. 89\*; Ung, March 25, 1906, p. 3.

<sup>78</sup> For more details see P. Wróbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104; H. Haumann, *A History of East European Jews*. Budapest–New York 2002, pp. 175-181.

<sup>79</sup> L. Varga, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72; M. Konrád, *A galíciai zsidó...*, p. 57; A. Steidl, *op. cit.*, p. 89. Reporting on this tendency in 1912, Alajos Kovács stated that "infiltration" from Galicia to the northeastern counties, from Liptó (Liptov) to Máramaros, was gradually increasing, but it was mostly agricultural in nature, given that immigrants usually represented the classes of smallholders and farmhands. A. Kovács, *Népesedésünk újabb jelenségei. Közgazdasági Szemle* 1912, 36, 47, p. 791.

<sup>80</sup> A. Steidl, *op. cit.* Migration studies oriented to aspects of society and cultural history considers these as important as long-haul international migratory movements.

<sup>81</sup> Y. Jelinek, *The Carpathian Diaspora: The Jews of Subcarpathian Rus' and Mukachevo 1848-1948*. New York 2007, p. 49.

<sup>82</sup> It was in the 1870s that the first Hungarian Galician railway line (Nagymihály [Mihalovce]–Homonna–Mezőlaborc [Medzilaborce]–Lupkow–Przemysl) opened, as did the line linking Eperjes and Tarnow. The Munkács–Sztrij line was completed in 1887.

Characteristic types of repetitive or circular migration patterns included the following: pilgrimages bound for either Galicia or Hungary; travels from village to village of rabbis, *bochers*, copiers of *Torah*, *tallit* makers and kosher butchers;<sup>83</sup> Yiddish theatre troupes evoking old-time “*shtetl* romance” in border towns and Budapest.<sup>84</sup> Hasidic Judaism, therefore, although inciting feuds in religious communities, also played a role in maintaining cultural exchanges. Finally, it is worth noting that family reunions also helped preserve interpersonal relations between the migrants and their home communities, as well as strengthened the cultural identities of those living in diaspora on both sides of the frontier.

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<sup>83</sup> Joseph Roth called them “intellectual plebs.” J. Roth, *Juden auf Wanderschaft. Ein Essay*. Berlin 2016, pp. 31-32.

<sup>84</sup> The most popular was a cross-dressing female singer, Pepi Littman, and her troupe. *Szatmár-Németi (Satu Mare)*, May 5, 14, 1911, p. 4; *Miskolczi Napló (Miskolcz Journal)*, May 4, 1912, p. 3.

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