

The Galitzianer

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Electronic Distribution

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Do you have a story to tell that will interest our readers?

Please get in touch with the Editor!

(See back page for address)

Coordinator's Column

Shelley Kellerman Pollero

September 11, 2001. As we watched the tragic events unfold at the World Trade Center in New York, at the Pentagon, and in Pennsylvania, waves of shock and disbelief reverberated throughout the world. Almost immediately, messages from family and friends, both here and abroad, flew through phone lines and cyberspace. "Are you OK?" It was a relief to learn that most of us were not directly affected by the terrorist attacks, although many were so indirectly, having lost friends or acquaintances. At the same time, we thought of our members, family, and friends in Israel who have suffered so many losses from terrorist attacks over the years. We have yet to hear of any Gesher Galicia members directly affected by these events. If you have any information about our members, please contact **Shelley Pollero**.

We slowly emerged from the aftermath of September 11 and, once again, returned to our familiar routines of work, family, play, and genealogy! Gesher Galicia resumed its efforts to further refine the procedures to offer the opportunity for electronic distribution of *The Galitzianer* newsletter via e-mail and payment of membership dues via Internet.

In this issue, **Edward Goldstein** explains the optional electronic distribution of *The Galitzianer*. Earlier this month, Edward contacted members with current e-mail addresses to offer them the option of receiving the November issue via e-mail instead of by postal mail. Also in this issue is a brief explanation of the PayPal option for paying dues by credit card via Internet. Thanks to the newsletter advisory team – **Edward Goldstein, Peter Zavon, Peter Jassem, and Eva Rosenn**—for their efforts with the electronic distribution of *The Galitzianer*, and to **Peter Zavon, Mark Heckman, and Leon Gold** for their invaluable assistance with PayPal. These projects have involved a great deal of behind-the-scenes teamwork. Thank you!

"No man is an island." We all stand together sharing our joys and sorrows. Happy New Year to you and yours! Shalom!

**10th Anniversary Gesher Galicia
Gala in 2003**

**Volunteers needed for several committees -
Luncheon or Dinner, Cookbook, Tee-shirt
Contact Shelley Pollero NOW!**

**Video Clips of Galicia Wanted
Contact Sam Eneman
Member #227 (See GGFF)**

From the Editors' Desks

Edward Goldstein

Eva Rosenn

Many of you will have received this issue of *The Galitzianer* via an email attachment instead of through postal mail. As of the time the issue went to press, 101 of you had opted for electronic delivery.

Several members responded by asking what the advantages of electronic delivery were. Good question. Let me try to suggest just a few answers:

1. Copies arrive sooner.
2. Less paper to store.
3. Issue can be searched electronically.
4. Issues can be stored on hard disk or assembled into CD-ROM.
5. Pages for filing in paper form can be printed out as needed.
6. No involvement with postal mail distribution system.
7. Lower cost to Gesher Galicia, which translates to possibility of more pages per issue and fewer dues increases.
8. Some people just prefer electronic text to paper text.

You should be aware that the email attachments could be quite long—one or two files of up to 1 MB in length. If you have a slow internet connection you may want to consider that fact in making your decision. On the other hand, remember that *The Galitzianer* is published only four times a year.

We hope that this initial distribution via email went without a hitch. If there were problems, please let us know, and we'll fix them.

We know we missed some of you when we sent out the mass email on November 5/6 offering the electronic distribution option; for example, we received a number of notifications of email addresses that had no real persons attached to them. So, if you want to receive *The Galitzianer* as an email attachment, here's what you do:

- Be aware of the following restriction: Electronic files of *The Galitzianer* are for members' use only. The files, and printed copies derived from them, may not be distributed to non-members without express permission of Gesher Galicia.
- Send an email to Edward.TheG@verizon.net. In the Subject line enter "Electronic Distribution of *The Galitzianer*." In the body of the message, enter "I agree with the Restriction specified on page 2 of the November issue of *The Galitzianer*" and sign your full name.

New Option for Paying Dues

We have been looking into options for payment of membership dues or organizational subscriptions via the Internet, partly in response to requests from our overseas members and partly because of the high fees we incur when processing checks on foreign banks, even in US dollars. We believe that we have found a viable solution, which should be easier and less costly for our Canadian and overseas members and for GG. We have selected PayPal, a secure international on-line payment service.

With your PayPal account, you may send and receive money with no fee. GG pays a very small fee to receive your PayPal payment. You may continue to send your personal check or money order, provided that payments are in US Dollars on a U.S. bank.

PayPal requires an e-mail address in order to send you payment confirmation. You may sign up for a free email address (hotmail, yahoo, junio, for example) from your own computer, from a cyber café, or from another's computer. If you are not familiar with using the Internet, ask for assistance from someone who is.

To pay your membership dues via PayPal, just follow these steps:

1. Go to www.jewishgen.org/galicia/paypal.html
2. Renewing members must use the renewal form mailed to them by GG. New members must print out and complete the GG Membership Form available at www.jewishgen.org/galicia/mem_form.html
3. One-year memberships or organizational subscriptions (2001-2002) are \$30 for U.S./Canada and \$37 for other countries (International). Click on the appropriate logo on the GG PayPal page.

Note to Canadian members: Although you pay the same dues as U.S. members, you must follow the PayPal instructions for "Outside the U.S." when you sign up for your PayPal account.

4. If you already have a PayPal account, log in your email address and password. If you are not yet a PayPal member, you may sign up for a free Personal U.S. or International Account via the link provided.
5. You must verify your account, following PayPal's instructions, using your bank name, checking account and routing number. The account verification process will be completed in a couple of days, after which you can finish the payment transaction.
6. Renewing members must mail the renewal form (and new members the membership form) with the PayPal transaction ID on it in order for Geshher Galicia to confirm that you have paid via PayPal.

For information about membership, contact Leon Gold at ljg218@worldnet.att.net. For questions about the Geshher Galicia PayPal account, contact Shelley K. Pollero, Coordinator, pollerork@home.com.

Call for Speakers

22nd International Conference on Jewish Genealogy
August 4-9, 2002

The Jewish Genealogical Society of Canada (Toronto) will hold the 22nd International Conference on Jewish Genealogy at the Sheraton Centre Hotel in downtown Toronto on August 4-9, 2002. Peter Jassem, a member of the Geshher Galicia Steering Committee, is the Program Chair.

The conference will cover topics such as genealogy, history, cultural heritage, genetics, geography, database management, and publishing.

Peter has issued a call for papers to be presented at the conference. Here's your chance to make sure that topics of special interest to Galician researchers will be included in the program.

Peter suggests that you do not limit your imagination. All submissions will be carefully evaluated and innovative subject matter will be very welcome. Those of you who wish to repeat past presentations are asked to provide updates and new visual material. He is also open to suggestions for speakers on subjects that may not have been sufficiently explored in previous conferences.

Your proposal should include the following information:

- Complete name, address, telephone and email information;
- Title(s) of proposed presentation(s);
- A preliminary summary not to exceed 150 words;
- A brief biographical sketch of approximately 150 words, highlighting your expertise on the subject of your proposed talk, and listing any publications and past presentations, including subject and year of delivery;
- Preferred method of presentation (for example, slide show) and special needs.

An official web site for the conference is in preparation. In the meantime, news about the conference is available at the web site of the Jewish Genealogical Society of Canada (Toronto): www.jgstoronto.ca (click on Conferences). Registration will start in about two months.

Submissions should be sent by e-mail to: 2002program@jgstoronto.ca or by post to: JGS of Canada (Toronto), P.O.Box 446, Station A, North York, Ontario M2N 5T1, Canada.

Please do not contact Peter with registration or general inquiries. General questions should be addressed to: info@jgstoronto.ca.

Kolomyya

Alan Weiser (alanboy@erols.com)

There is good and bad news in numbers. Some good news is that membership in our Research Group has risen to 56 from 51 of last report. The bad news is that donations to the JRI-PL AGAD Project/Kolomyya for online vital records indexing have hit a stone wall at \$780. Our goal is slightly over \$6,000. Some other good news is that a benefactor has stepped forward to pledge 25% of our goal, **but** only if the amount of other donations has reached 75% (\$4,500) of goal by December 31, 2001. If anyone can help with donations so that we can take advantage of this benefactor's pledge, please email me for details on the AGAD project and where to send donations.

We have several on-going research projects. The results will be posted to our web site (<http://www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/kolomea/kolomad.htm>) as results are completed. Research questions under study are:

- **Who were some of the victims of the Holocaust in Kolomyya and what were the circumstances of their murders?** KRG member Paul Auster continues providing German-to-English translations of war crime hearings to obtain answers to this question. Some postings have been made on our web site.
- **What clues may be provided about our forebears from their surnames?** KRG member Saul Zeichner continues researching this question. He has posted online over 150 origins and meanings of surnames of interest to KRG members. As new members join and make known their surnames of interest, Saul does the research.
- **What happened to the Kolomyya Jewish Cemeteries that existed prior to WWII?** Information is being collected. New KRG member Aleksander Bilewicz plans to make inquiries on this question in Kolomyya during a forthcoming visit. KRG member Ellyn Stern has provided some reports to help answer this question.
- **Why do some siblings from Kolomyya have different surnames from each other and from their father?** KRG member Ron Lahav has studied this question and has supplied considerable insight for an answer. The KRG Coordinator is arranging the information for posting online. Its understanding will aid in tracing family members.

If anyone is interested in joining the Kolomea Research Group, please refer to our Member Data Form posted on our web site.

Krakowiec

Kim Donnelly and Kurt Gluck

We are new volunteer town leaders for the administrative center Krakowiec (Krakovets).

Both of Kurt's paternal grandparents were from this area. Though most of the extended family perished in the Shoah, Kurt's grandfather Jack Gluck lived to see the birth of his first great-grandson, whose fourth grade "ethnic pride" project first involved us with Gesher Galicia.

The Krakowiec administrative center included the towns: Budzyn, Chotyniec, Gnojnice, Hruszowice, Huki, Kochanowka, Krakowiec, Mlyny, Morance, Przedborze, Rehberg, Ruda Krakowiecka, Ruda Kochanowska, Samy, Wola Gnojnicka, Wulka Rosnowska.

The AGAD phase 2 project will enable us to index the births in this area from 1877-1894 and the deaths from 1827-1889. Current estimates indicate that there will be about 2900 records indexed and that total cost will be \$430.

If you are interested in this area, please contribute to help raise part of the \$430. Your contribution, no matter how small, will help. Contact us at kimdonnelly@iname.com for more information.

Ulanow

Melody Katz (melodykatz@aol.com)

Our Ulanow group has been working on two major projects. The first project was the securing of the 1939 Census of the Jewish Inhabitants of Ulanow by Jacek Proszyk (a Polish researcher) from the State Archives in Przemysl. The census has the following informational categories: House number, Surname, Given Name, Date of Birth, Place of Birth, Parents' Names (including wife's maiden name and her mother's maiden name in many cases), and Other Information (such as occupation). There are 1365 entrees (individuals) in the census, not including the parents' names. There are people listed in this census born in the 1840s, and the list contains their parents' names, too. I am working right now on getting all the information on a spreadsheet for internet access for all.

The second project, also provided by Jacek Proszyk from the State Archives in Przemysl, is an index of all Jewish notary records from Ulanow. The records date from 1875-1934. The index will contain Surname, Given Name, Name of Notary, Notary Act, Classification Number, and the year the notary was done. The people who had made a contribution to the

project were rewarded with actual copies of notary pages for the people they were researching. This resulted in over 165 records being copied in their entirety, many of which were two or more pages. Eventually, the Notary Index will be entered on a spreadsheet and uploaded to the internet for all to share. Obtaining these records are especially significant, since there are no known surviving Jewish vital records for Ulanow.

JRI-Poland AGAD Project Update

Mark Halpern – Archive Coordinator

As you may recall from previous updates, the AGAD project will be indexing vital records for 87 Administrative Towns in Eastern Galicia where Jewish records were registered. The table below shows the status just prior to publication.

AGAD PROJECT STATUS REPORT	
as of 26 October 2001	
Administrative District Towns	87
Towns with Town Leaders	71
Town Leaders Needed	16
Fully Funded Towns	39
Partially Funded Towns	33
Towns with No Funding	15
	87
Indexing Completed	22
Indexing Partially Completed	2
Indexing Guaranteed	24
Indexing Not Yet Guaranteed	39
	87
Indices online	100,000

Lemberg/Lwow Archive Indexing Project

Josef Herz – JRI-Poland Lemberg/Lwow Project

The goal of the JRI-Poland Lemberg/Lwow project is to index the ~107,000 19th-century Birth, Marriage, and Death (BMD) records that are available in the Polish State Archive. In order to accomplish that goal we need to raise \$16,078. To date (15 Oct. 2001), we have raised \$1,160—only 7.2% of the total.

Once the Lemberg/Lwow records have been indexed they will be readily available for searching online and well as facilitating the process of ordering copies from the Polish State Archive.

Because of the large number of records to be indexed and the financial goals that must be met, the project has been broken into more manageable phases to allow us to initiate the indexing project on some portion of the records as these smaller phases meet their target goals.

Information about the project, its goals, how to contribute, and its current status can be found at <http://lwow.jaherz.com>.

If you are interested in 19th-century BMD records from the Lemberg/Lwow and the towns under its administrative control, I urge you to support this project.

My email address is josef@jaherz.com. Those of you that do not have Internet access and are interested in getting additional information about this project can contact me at:

Josef Herz
 13705 SE 144th Street
 Renton, WA 98059
 425-235-8280

In Memoriam

The members of Geshher Galicia extend their deepest and most heartfelt sympathy to the families and friends of the victims of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York, the Pentagon, and in Pennsylvania. Our thoughts and prayers are with them.

JRI – Poland 1929 Business Directory Project

Status Update, October 2001

Howard Fink

Phase 1 of the huge Jewish Records Indexing – Poland (in cooperation with JewishGen) project to index the 1929 Polish Business Directory is nearing its end; more than 78% of the town index pages have been entered. This index of towns to page numbers, identified by province, and either *województwo* or *powiat*, is larger than almost any of the individual town vital records databases in the JRI – Poland database. This town index is merely the precursor to the real abundance of information. Phase 2 will encompass the entry of all of the business names (typically named after the owner) and details into an online searchable database. To appreciate the scope of this project, consider that the total sum of records for *all* towns in the current JRI – Poland vital records database passed the one million mark within the past year. It is estimated that there will be about three-quarters of a million entries in this Business Directory database.

Prior to the launch of Phase 1, Deborah Baseman completed entry of the thousands of business type categories in Polish, French and English. Another pre-launch step was the scanning and conversion into Adobe PDF files of each of the almost 3000 directory pages. The latter will enable everyone with internet access to view the original data. This is a major step beyond what JRI – Poland has been able to provide in the past with vital records indexing. When users find entries of interest they will no longer need to order microfilm, wait weeks for delivery, and then scroll through page after page on a viewer during limited hours at a remote site. Think of the amazement you felt the first time you viewed an original manifest via the Ellis Island web site; a similar experience will be available with the Polish 1929 Business Directory. Because it is part of JRI – Poland, searching will have

built in support for matches via the Daitch-Mokotoff Soundex system.

As with most JRI – Poland projects, this has been a truly international effort, with town index work performed by volunteers in Australia, Canada, Israel, Japan, Poland and the United States. Special praise goes to Josef Holender in Sweden, who not only provided high quality entry of many, many pages, but then went on to take on further pages that other volunteers had signed up for but were unable to complete. Roni Seibel Liebowitz is the volunteer coordinator for Phase 1. All of the remaining town index pages have been assigned and we hope to have this data edited, merged and on-line before the end of November 2001. The full list of Phase 1 volunteers is at: www.jewishgen.org/JRI-PL/bizdir/townindex.htm.

A very detailed set of instructions has been written for interpretation of the directory entries, along with many examples. Entry of this data will not be as simple as that involved in entering tabular vital records, although the fact that it is printed rather than handwritten should ease the work. While original plans were to assign the work in minimum block sizes of ten pages, the experience in the town index phase has led to the decision to reduce the minimum assignment to five pages. Of course, we hope many people will volunteer for more. There are about 2500 pages in the Phase 2 effort.

For more details about the project as well as actual examples of information in the directory, please refer to www.jewishgen.org/JRI-PL/bizdir/start.htm.

Howard Fink is Database Manager, JRI – Poland Polish 1929 Business Directory Project.

**Gesher Galicia Urgently Needs a
Treasurer!**

Contact Shelley Pollero for Details

A Visit to the AGAD Archives

Valerie Schatzker

I have recently returned from Warsaw where I was fortunate to have had the opportunity to do some work in the AGAD (Archiwum Główny Akt Dawnych) and briefly visit the Urząd Stanu Cywilnego, the two archives in Warsaw which keep Galicia birth marriage and death records. I would like to share this experience with you and help you understand what a treasure these records are and how important they are to understanding Jewish history in Galicia.

The AGAD archives are housed in a lovely, old (probably rebuilt), small palace very close to Old Square in Warsaw. The rooms are bright and pleasant to work in and the staff, although mainly not fluent in English, is most helpful. The security is strict. One is not allowed to take large bags or materials other than a pencil and notepaper into the reading room.

Permission is given to people to search the records for their families only. I would hope that if historians at some time wished to see the records they might be given permission since there is much demographic information that would be of interest to Jewish history in the area.

Books may be ordered from the stacks before 1:00 p.m. in order to be in the reading room on the same day and are offered to the researcher one at a time. Many of the books I ordered were refused because they are in very bad condition. In a discussion with the chief archivist, I was told that the neglected state of the books was apparent when the AGAD received these books from the former lands of Poland. The archive has not had money to restore and microfilm them, although it hopes to be able to do this in the near future.

I wish I had had more than three days to work there. There were so many leads I would like to have followed for my own research. But I limited myself to some of the available books from Drohobycz, Sambor and a couple from Rawa Russka and Sokal.

The metrical books of births, marriages and deaths are large volumes. The pages are numbered, as is each record, which is entered by hand in a section ruled out horizontally across two pages. In a few, especially earlier, death records, the entries are brief and occupy a section of a single page. The vertical columns on each page indicate the information that could be filled in by the clerk for each birth, marriage or death. In the earlier books these headings are in German, but closer to the end of the nineteenth century they are written in German and Polish.

Since earlier entries are also written mainly in German and later ones in Polish, it helps to be able to read these languages. I am fluent in German and have a smattering of Polish, enough to be able to navigate through the records; I find the old German script difficult to read, however.

It is fascinating to see how an entire book or large sections may be written by one clerk. After a while, one begins to become acquainted with each clerk's personality. Some wrote in a very elegant and careful script, some scratched their information on the page, leaving inkblots or forgetting to dip their pens in the ink frequently. I am grateful to the careful ones, who tended to put more information in the columns, and impatient with the sloppier ones, who tended to write only the most necessary facts. I have not seen enough books to know this for certain, but it seemed to me that the earlier entries were made by less well-schooled clerks and that the quality of clerk improved as the decades passed.

I scanned the pages of these books rapidly because I wanted to cover as much ground as I could. I wished I could have stopped many times to dwell on some of the fascinating details. Causes of death such as "exhaustion" or "excessive thinness" remind one of the limitations of nineteenth-century medicine. My cursory scan noted the many young infants and children who died and marveled that some people lived to ripe old ages when health care was so primitive.

Patterns could be observed. Because I had once visited the archive in Lwow where I was able to look through books from Drohobycz and on this trip was able to see many more, I came to feel that I was getting to know the Jewish families of this town fairly well. I observed how families tended to marry with the same families, how many married couples shared the same family names, how some families tended to use only one midwife and how the wealthier families, the lumber barons and oil magnates would cement alliances through their children.

It was interesting to see that a few families had undergone marriages recognized by the state while most had not done so. This began to change at the end of the nineteenth century. In the birth records of the so-called illegitimate children, especially those born to the wealthier families, there are many witnessed statements testifying at much later dates to the legitimacy of the child in question, probably in order to secure inheritance or for other legal purposes. In

the latter decades of the nineteenth century, it becomes apparent that a civil marriage is important and one sees older couples, no doubt married for many years, recorded as having a marriage ceremony. In one line of my husband's family I found the marriage record of his great-grandparents a few weeks after the marriage record of his grandparents.

My work was very successful. When I started this genealogical journey to find my husband's family, I knew very little. He and his mother, both survivors of the Holocaust, never discussed their murdered family because the subject was too painful. Now, because of my research in Warsaw, I have the names of great-great-grandparents in four lines of the family.

The information I found in the AGAD archives is of inestimable value to researchers. The information in the marriage records of one town may also connect with other towns when a bride or groom came from another place. I myself discovered information in the books on Drohobycz about a branch of the family from Rzeszow.

I hope that all these records will soon become available to researchers through JRI Poland's efforts to index them. It seems, however, that some of the towns whose books I saw have not yet joined this campaign.

A visit to the Urząd Stanu Cywilnego is very much different. The section which deals with the records of the former Polish territories, like former Galicia, is now no longer located in the center of Warsaw but is accessible by the subway system. This archive is the repository of recent records, those under 100 years old, and is part of the state service for providing valid metrical records. The people who help you there are not archivists. They have little time to help you read a record and from my own experience, seem not to be able to do the kind of research needed to find family records unless they are supplied with a fairly exact name, date and place of origin. One is not allowed to peruse the record books alone since any information on the page other than that of your family is protected.

A very helpful lady found some time to help us read a few important family records, but it was apparent that she would not be able to help us with all of them. The Urząd Stanu Cywilnego seems to be reluctant to photocopy the records.

For Jewish families who lost relatives during the war, the contents of this archive are very important and yet the least accessible. It is to be hoped that some way can be found to have access to these records without compromising the privacy and rights

of living citizens and families. There must be thousands of names in these books of victims of the Holocaust, for whom the issue of privacy has become moot.

Comments by Mark Halpern

Valerie Schatzker's article is an excellent description of the Polish archives. It mentions the JRI- Poland efforts to index those records.

The AGAD Archives project, which I coordinate for JRI-Poland, is moving forward. The project covers all the vital record holdings of the AGAD Archives, including records for 87 Administrative towns in the former Galician territories of Lwow, Stanislawow, and Tarnopol. Almost all of these towns (84 of them) are now in western Ukraine. Sixteen towns' records have been indexed and another 33 other are on a priority list awaiting indexing. Due to Poland's strict privacy laws, records less than 100 years old are housed at the USC (civil registration office) and are not available to JRI-Poland for indexing. For more information about the AGAD project, please refer to our website at www.jewishgen.org/JRI-PL/agad/index.htm.

Following is the current status of the towns Valerie mentions in her article that are part of the AGAD project:

- **Drohobycz:** Not yet on the Indexing Priority list. For further information please contact Town Leader Carole Glick Feinberg at feincgs@cs.com.
- **Sambor:** On the Indexing Priority list (#31 of the 33 towns on that list). Thanks to Town Leader Rochelle Kaplan for her efforts in ensuring the indexing of Sambor records.
- **Rawa Ruska:** Not yet on the Indexing Priority list. Nobody has stepped forward as Town Leader to coordinate activities. Please contact me if you are interested in coordinating the initiative.
- **Sokal:** Not yet on the Indexing Priority list. For further information, please contact Town Leader Josef Herz at josef@jaherz.com.

The indexing of the vital records housed at the AGAD archives means that researchers will be able to perform their research from the comfort of their own home using the JRI-Poland online database www.jewishgen.org/JRI-PL/jriplweb.htm. They will also be able to order a copy of the record from AGAD for \$11 per record. Copies will be made from all the vital record books that are housed at AGAD.

To help ensure the indexing of your Galician town's records, please consider a contribution to the AGAD project. Information on contributing is available at www.jewishgen.org/jri-pl/agad/visa.htm.

Galician Roots – Deep and Wide

Edward Gelles

Editor's Note: We do not ordinarily publish the results of individual members' research. But we thought our readers would find Edward Gelles's article, with its references to many distinguished Galician rabbinical families, of special interest.

My Galician roots go back to a time long before this area became part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. I have found that the roots span the width of the province from Krakow in the west to well beyond Lemberg (Lviv) in the east. My study could thus be presented as a lesson in the geography as well as the history of the region.

I began this work about four years ago. The starting points were my parents' marriage certificate and some other Jewish community records in Vienna. The former contained the names of my grandparents and the latter included some vital data on my father and grandfather, who are both buried in that city. The inscriptions on their tombstones spelled out that this Gelles line was a rabbinical one, originally based in Brody, and they also gave me the names of my paternal great-grandfathers. I then embarked on a prolonged search of encyclopedias, Hebrew reference books and genealogical monographs, and specialist journals of all kinds. The standard works on the Galician Rabbinate had entries for my grandfather, and for my two great-grandfathers.

My mother was a Griffel, a name frequently mentioned in reference books on Stanislaw. Much information can be gleaned from various memorial books, such as those for Nadworna and Brody. One maternal grandmother was a Wahl, from a family whose complex pattern of descent from ancient roots is to be found in the work entitled *The Unbroken Chain* by Neil Rosenstein.

I initiated searches at Jewish community offices and of municipal records of births, deaths, and marriages, not only in Vienna, but also in Poland and the Ukraine, and in France, Italy, Switzerland, and elsewhere. Vital primary source material came from tombstone inscriptions in Brody. I corresponded with keepers of national and municipal archives, and with librarians and others in many countries. I cast my net as widely as possible and explored every available avenue until pieces of the "jig-saw" puzzle began to fit together. Thus, the death records of a newly discovered great-aunt in Strasbourg led to maternal ancestors in Tarnobrzeg. A cousin's marriage lines found in the Bologna town archives gave me the clue I needed to trace her family to Krakow. The archives

of Livorno furnished me with data on the Italian branch of one ancient ancestral line, the Chayes of Brody, which led me to the National archives in Lisbon and details of the ennoblement of a member of the family, who had acted as Portuguese consul in Livorno at the beginning of the 20th century. Among other leads were obituaries in Viennese journals, but undoubtedly the most fruitful was my discovery of a postcard sent by a cousin to my mother in Vienna during the First World War. This led via the Austrian Army Museum and the Wellcome Library of the History of Medicine to the Low family in America, and hence to my Taube cousins, and to long-lost Griffels.

It was at this stage that I brought in the resources of the Internet. The Jewish Gen *JRI-Poland* Project yielded much new information, and not only from the Krakow birth and marriage records. References on the Internet to the Friedmans of Czortkow led me back to the Jewish Museum in Vienna and new genealogical contacts.

My father, Dr. David Gelles, was a lawyer in Vienna. He was born in *Kudrynce* in 1883 as the eldest son of Nahum Uri Gelles, who was the last of a long rabbinical line. The latter was born in *Narajow* and became Rabbi of *Solotwina* near Stanislaw, where he succeeded his father-in-law Rabbi Zvi Aryeh Weinstein. The Gelles (or Gellis) Rabbis were in *Brody* for two centuries or more. Records go back to Moses Gelles who was a noted scholar of the *Klaus* in the 18th century. His progeny included a rabbinical line, which ended with my grandfather, who died in 1934, and a line of cousins who were rabbis in Podolia and allied by marriage to the families of some noted Chasidic sages.

My mother, Regina Griffel, was born in *Nadworna*. I marked the centenary of her birth last year. Her grandfather, Eliezer Griffel, was the patriarch of a large clan, who dominated the social and economic life of that town and the surrounding area. He owned oil wells and saw mills and ran a large timber exporting business. Many members of the clan worked in one or other of these enterprises. Eliezer's wife was Sarah Chayes of *Kolomea*. Her father, Isaac Chaim Chayes, sprang from the *Brody* family of that name, which produced many famous Rabbis through five centuries, culminating in the Chief Rabbi of Vienna, who died in office in 1927. My great-grandparents had ten children including my

grandfather David Mendel Griffel. He married Chawa Wahl of *Tarnobrzeg*, and they made their home in *Stanislau*.

Chawa Wahl's parents were Shulim Wahl and Sarah Safier of Tarnobrzeg. The families of Loew of *Sedziszow*, Taube of *Lemberg*, and Ohrenstein of *Krakow* were connected by marriage to her siblings.

The wife of my mother's younger brother, Edward, was a Manson. She was related to the rabbinical Friedman dynasty, as indeed was my paternal grandfather, at least according to my father's obituary. Rabbi Nahum Uri Gellis certainly had a strong *Czortkow* connection. My mother's elder brother, Zygmunt, married the granddaughter of

Salomon Meir Wohl of *Krakow*. The Wohls of Krakow and the Wahls of Tarnobrzeg both claimed descent from Saul Wahl, scion of the Katzenellenbogens who were Rabbis of Padua and Venice in the 16th century.

Help with the Ukraine archives involving Rabbi Kolesnik and Alexander Dunai has been noted above. Access to the Sandomierz archives was provided by Tadeusz Zych of Tarnobrzeg, and I am indebted to Rabbi Dov Weber of New York and Yissochor Marmorstein of London for finding important documents and translation of Hebrew texts.



**"Jews from Galicia"
A famous drawing by E. M. Lillien**

Ruth Finds Her Father

Jerry Fields

I am one of the early members of Gesher Galicia (#40), having joined the year it was formed. It took me two years, working some amount of time virtually every day, to finish my genealogical study of the Finkenthal family (my last name when I was born). In 1989 I published *The Finkenthal Family History*, a professionally printed, hard cover book of 202 pages. It contains maps of Borszczow, now Borshchev in Ukraine (where my family came from), and the Galicia area, historical stories, photographs, ships' manifests, etc.

At one point in my research, I paid \$35 or so to one of those companies that will send you a print-out of everyone in the U.S. with a particular last name. They sent me a list of about a dozen names and addresses, including two of close relatives who had not changed their names. I wrote and eventually talked to all the others, but with the exception of a family in Cleveland, never found a connection. That was mostly because none of them seemed to know anything about their families' roots.

Now, fast-forward about nine years to the start of my current story.

One day I received a call from an Israeli living in Orange County, not far from Los Angeles (where I live). He asked, "Are you the Jerry Fields who was born Jerry Finkenthal?" When I said "Yes," he replied, "Oh my gosh, I've found you!" He explained: "I have a friend in Israel whose mother is the illegitimate daughter of a Finkenthal who, soon after fathering her, moved away."

About fifty years later, the friend urged his mother to contact what turned out to be the same company that I had dealt with. When she agreed the son asked the Israeli who had called me to make the contact. When the Israelis from Orange County got the list of Finkenthals (probably pretty much the same list I had received) he contacted them all. Up comes the family from Cleveland. He wrote them and they replied that they themselves had no information, but that there was a Jerry Field in Los Angeles who had been researching the Finkenthal family.

It turns out that there are about fifty G. or J. Fields in the Los Angeles telephone directory. He told

me I was his 50th call. He asked me to call his friend's mother, which I did the next morning. Her name was Ruth and she spoke excellent English. I reassured her I would do all I could to help, but told her that, first, she would have to send me everything she knew about her father, down to the smallest detail. At this point she was calling him Mendel Finkenthal, but that name didn't mean much to me. A few weeks later, up shows a letter from her, with details such as his birth date which she somehow knew, the fact that he had left Borszczow for Switzerland, and a few more small facts.

I hadn't looked at her letter for more than ten seconds before I realized that her father was, in fact, Emil Mendel Finkenthal, my father's first cousin, who had lived in L.A. My family and I had known him before he died, at too young an age, of heart trouble.

So I called Ruth and told her that I would send her a copy of my book, which contained a photograph of her father and many other details of his life. A week later she called to tell me, through tears, that the book had arrived on her birthday and that it was the best birthday present she had ever received. She thanked me profusely and told me that she and her husband and children never thought anything would come of her searching after all these years.

My book not only has pages on her father but also on his parents and brothers and sisters, none of whom Ruth had known anything about. By the way, Mendel had never married. Nor, as far as I know, had he ever told anyone about his daughter.

Ruth and I have written and talked to each other many times since that phone call. She has shared with me a few more details about her mother's liaison that resulted in her, and I have sent her photos of her father's grave and information about his life beyond what is in my book. Two of my newly found cousin's family have come to L.A. for visits, and she has gotten in touch with several of our mutual relatives.

Of course, I never thought when I started my research that anything like this would happen. But, with the help of her persevering friend in Orange County and the family in Cleveland, it has made a lady named Ruth and her children very happy.

A Trip to Tarnobrzeg

Gayle Riley Schlissel

For many years I had desired to see the town my family came from, which I could only envision through the eyes of my twenty-five antique postcards.

Ten years ago I made contact with the president of the Tarnobrzeg Historical Society and those postcards had begun to bloom. With his help, I collected photographs of the two houses/businesses my family owned. They were in color. The yellow two-story house with snowflake white shutters became more colorful, with its carved mural over the back door. The house was located on the north end of the town square, next to the Catholic Church. My great-grandfather bought this home in 1902; his name was Chaim Josef Eder.

From the 1880 census I knew he sold flour, and who his children were and what their names were. They all followed their uncle Motel Eder to America, except David Eder, who with his family died in the Holocaust.

On the southwest corner stands the home of Moses Isaac Schlissel, my other great-grandfather. This tiny ugly corner business, along with the triangle median patch of land, with shrubs, still stands today, although it is being remodeled.

In 1994, I had planned to make my pilgrimage but the realities of life interfered. The town kept growing, as I could see through the pictures on the internet.

In 2001 my trip became a reality.

The old synagogue, which I saw through the eye of the *yizkor* book, is now a Library, containing only a Holocaust plaque by which to remember its Jewish community. Except for its rectangular shape and the original front door, the library looked nothing like the synagogue. The old cemetery, which stood behind the synagogue, had become an ugly old metal market, which is no longer in business. One lonely tree remains. The building that contained the *mikveh* still stands, though it is a business.

Along the east side of the town square were the homes of the Jewish population, now colorfully painted. The Jews were initially only allowed to live in town, so the little villages of Dzikow, Miechoan, Wymslow, Bozow, Wielowies, Tryesn, Zupawa, Kajmow and Zakrzow housed the Poles.

To the north of Dzikow stands the manor house of the Tanowski family, just blocks away. The family wants to make it a museum; it is currently an agriculture school.

I am told that the children of my Schlissel family stood guard in the treetops of the orchards so that no one would steal the fruit.

In the part of the square called the little square, just to the east of Moses Isaac Schlissel's store, once stood the only gas station in town. It was owned by Mendel Schlissel.

Many blocks from the town square stands the only Jewish cemetery now in Tarnobrzeg. It looks much like a jungle, proudly guarded by its keeper across the street. He likes it like a jungle; he says it would be difficult to keep the seedlings trimmed. No one provides this 80 year-old man any maintenance funds. He planted zinnias on the cemetery grounds.

There is an *ohel*, now painted sunny yellowish orange, with three plaques locked inside. The cemetery contains about 18 tombstone pieces. At the town's historic museum, one solo tombstone from the old cemetery remains. Also to be found at the museum is a beautiful Seder plate.

The miracle of my trip home was when my friend introduced me to the photo historian of the town. I had been discouraged at not find more records that day. So that evening we all climbed the five stories of the old communist era apartment building to be welcomed with ice cream cake and the old Jewish death register for the town, containing deaths from 1903 until 1928. As I held this book to my heart, I shed a tear. Later, I would warmed with the knowledge the book contain all four of my second great-grandparents; Chaim Josef Eder and his wife Hudesza, and Moses Isaac Schlissel and his wife Glika Eder Schlissel. The next day this book, all 300 pages, was being photocopied in its 11x17-inch size.

On the 24th of July, my trip back in time was over. As I drove out of town, I sadly waved goodbye to the Synagogue, to the Jewish cemetery, to Tarnobrzeg..

Crying in Krakow

Alan Weiser

My wife, Paula, and I recently completed a 15-day highlight tour of Vienna, Budapest, Krakow, Warsaw, Berlin, and Prague. Our group was not Jewish-oriented, so visits to Jewish sites of interest was limited to what we could squeeze in on our own. Much to our surprise and delight, the group's dinner was in the Jewish District in Krakow. The restaurant advertises itself as Jewish Style Cooking, which of course means not Kosher but directed to Jewish taste buds. Their chicken soup was just like my mama used to make. So why the crying?

We had a few free hours the next afternoon in Krakow, so in response to a request to visit the New Cemetery (Nowy Cmentarz Zydowski) and photograph a relative's gravestone, we took a cab to the cemetery.

The New Cemetery was established in 1800 and replaced the old cemetery that was located within the Jewish District next to the Remuh Synagogue. The Remuh's Cemetery at ulica Szeroka 40 operated in the Years 1552-1800. It has been reported that some tombstones date back to the mid-16th Century. It contains the tomb of Rabbi Moses Isserles and his family. Rabbi Isserles was the rabbi of the Krakow Jewish Community in the years 1547 to 1572. Tombs of rabbis following Isserles through the 16th, 17th, and into the 18th Centuries are also located in the Remuh's Cemetery.

New Cemetery is a relative term. It is newer than the old cemetery, but probably has been in use for over 150 years. Several thousand tombstones are preserved in the New Cemetery with the oldest ones dating back to the 1840s. Burials are still performed there to this day. Some of the notables buried there are Dr. Ozjasz Thon (1870-1936), rabbi and leader of a Zionist Organization in Krakow and a deputy to the Polish Parliament in 1922-1935; Leon Sternbach (1864-1940), expert in classical philologies, lecturer at the Jagiellonian University; painters Maurycy Gotlieb (1856-1879) and Arthur Markowicz (1872-1934); Kalman and Aaron Epstein, leaders of the Hasidic movement in Krakow at the end of the 19th Century; Szymon Schreiber, a Krakow rabbi in 1860-1883. (Refs 1 and 2). The New Cemetery was vandalized during the Nazi occupation. It was reconstructed in 1957.

I had my first cry upon entering the walled cemetery. The accompanying pictures show why. The entire cemetery was covered with weeds and vines. Pathways were almost completely overrun. The

smaller headstones were almost completely wrapped in vines. Some headstones had toppled over and some were broken. I cried for the souls who lied beneath this horrible vegetation and wondered if they rested in peace.

We tried for some time to find the gravestone of the person we were asked to find and photograph. There were no site markers to identify most burial sites. What markings that did exist appeared to be handpainted in white on the gravestones. Fortunately, my wife did find the gravestone in question. The photographs were taken and later sent to the person asking for them. While we searched wildly for this particular gravestone, I had my second cry. I cried for those who wanted to come to the cemetery to visit relatives' graves. To leave some stones on the gravestones and to say a prayer. Would these visitors be able to find their relatives final resting place?

While standing among the fallen and broken headstones and vines and weeds in that Krakow Cemetery, I had my third and final cry. The next day we were to visit Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. I stood and cried for those souls that perished in the camp and had no proper burial site and headstone at all. I cried for those poor souls who would never have a visitor come and leave some stones and say a prayer.

Why, I asked, was this New Cemetery not being taken care of?

There was no one to ask. No office, no caretakers. There must be somewhere out in the Jewish World a group that could help in restoring this cemetery to a picture of decency. A place where due respect can be paid to the souls buried there. We expect that when visiting a cemetery you will cry. Crying for the beloved relatives is normal, but crying for the deplorable condition found in this cemetery is not what I expected.

Some Comments from Peter Jassem:

The Jewish Cemetery on Miodowa Street in the Kazimierz district of Krakow has been known as the New Cemetery since its establishment in 1800. In that year, it replaced the Old Cemetery on Szeroka Street, officially closed to burials in 1799.

The original grounds were purchased by the Jewish congregation from the Augustinian Order. Additional purchases led to further enlargement in 1836 to take the current shape between Miodowa, Siedleckiego, Daszynskiego Streets and the railway

escarpment. The area of 3.3 hectares now includes more than 10,000 graves.

The cemetery is still in use by the small Jewish community of Krakow led by Mr. Jakubowski. The last burial took place in June this year.

I visited it a few years ago and found the graves of several members of my family. Some of the pre-War gravestones had been inscribed with the names of family members who later perished in the Shoah; this was not an uncommon practice. A complete computerized inventory of all tombstones will therefore become not only a very important genealogical resource but also a source of information for Holocaust research.

Fortunately, a project led by Dr. Leszek Hondo of Jagiellonian University of Krakow is under way. He has successfully indexed the Old Cemetery and published two books about the Szeroka Street graveyard. Inventory of Miodowa started in 1989 as part of Judaica Research Program of the Inter-Faculty Institute of History and Culture of Polish Jews at the university. There was no good systematic method in place at the time and only small portion of graves were photographed and described before 1992. Mr. Hondo then introduced new procedures that allowed

him to complete the Old Cemetery inventory and resume the Miodowa project. The date of completion is not established yet. With sufficient funds he would be able to complete it within two years.

In reference to Alan Weiser's article, I can confirm, based on local sources, that part of the cemetery was vandalized by a group of hooligans in 2000; as a result more than 30 graves were damaged. I also heard that a group of school youth had once cleaned the cemetery, or part of it, of weeds and overgrown vegetation. Both opposing incidents seem to be isolated.

The cemetery is under the care of the small Jewish community of mostly elderly people; they are not able to keep up with the maintenance and the cemetery therefore falls into further decay. To my knowledge no foundation or any official body plans to renovate it at this point although some other cemeteries in Poland undergo such work (most notably Europe's largest Jewish Cemetery in Lodz thanks to Nissenbaum Foundation). Further neglect of the graveyard and insufficient funding may lead to permanent loss of an important piece of heritage and resource of genealogical information.



Some Gravestones in the "New" Cemetery, Krakow

What Shall We Tell Miriam?

Rafael F. Scharf

Editor's Note: Rafael F. Scharf was born in Krakow in 1914 and graduated from the Hebrew High School. He obtained a law degree from the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. He emigrated to England, served in the British Army during World War II and was a member of a War Crimes Investigation Unit. He was a co-founder of The Jewish Quarterly, a literary-political magazine, and one of the founders of the Institute of Polish-Jewish Studies in Oxford. He is a recipient of the Commander's Order of Merit of the Polish Republic. The following article appeared in his book, "Poland, What I Have to Do with Thee..."

I have given my little piece a title that might strike you as quaint. I call it "What shall we tell Miriam?" It is thus entitled on the assumption that there must be many Miriams and Sarahs and Samuels and Josephs and Daniels everywhere in the world where Jews have set foot (which means virtually everywhere) who are or very soon now will be asking their parents and grandparents questions to which hitherto they have seemed strangely indifferent: What was life really like in that country where you were born, in that incredibly distant past, before the Second, before the First World War? What were these people like, the grandparents and the great-grandparents, how did they live, what did they do, what did they think, what did the places look like, what did they smell of? In the words of the historian Ranke: "*Wie es wirklich gewesen.*" Posing such questions is part of a natural cyclical process: indifference—then curiosity.

I think it is important to tell them—for our sake and for their sake. Who will, if we won't? Ours is the lost and vanishing generation of living witness. The point arises how to do it, as the young have little patience, their concentration span is short. Of course it would be simple enough to use the precept of the Sage Hillel—"tseh ul'mad"—go to the library, read and learn, there is no shortage of sources. But that, I fear, is a counsel of perfection, rarely followed.

There is another, more personal way, and I would like to give an example how this might be done, bringing it home through the story of one's own family. I am somewhat reticent about introducing an autobiographical note—the personal pronoun is the most suspect part of speech—but I think in the event it is justified, since my family, in its mainstream and offshoots, serves as a not untypical illustration of the many aspects of Jewish life in Western Galicia, that

is, the "Austrian" part of Poland, in and around Krakow at the end of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century.

I am descended on my father's side from a long line of rabbis or, the less snobbish would say, *melameds*—religious teachers—who would surely be horrified at what has happened to their issue. My father was the youngest of fifteen children. They did not all have the same mother and, of course, did not all survive to adulthood. To give a thumbnail sketch of the family, one would need a very large thumb indeed.

The grandfather, a white-bearded patriarch, by trade an innkeeper, in his youth reputedly an oak of a man, with proof of virility for all the world to see, as I remember him, was already a shadow of himself, bent in half, toothless, shrunken with incessant toil, worry and the blows of fortune. He died at what was then a good age, certainly less than "three score years and ten." The saying at the time was "*a yingerer zol nysh shtarben*"—let never a man younger than him die—and this tells its own story.

The Scharfs were so thick on the ground in that part of the land, in the villages, townlets like Chrzanow (the headquarters), Kalwaria, Alwernia, Zwicz, Bochnia and the environs of Krakow, that it is a wonder there was room for anybody else. (Incidentally, if you are interested in statistics, the great majority of the Jewish population inhabited localities of less than 20,000 people.)

This vast clan was seething with activity and appeared to be in a state of perpetual motion, travelling with trunks, cases, parcels, by train or horse-drawn carts in feverish pursuit of their affairs big and small, and also to family gatherings—the weddings, the circumcisions, the funerals. I remember the colorful, noisy crowd passing at various times through our house in Krakow, en route to their next port of call, to rest awhile, to exchange family news, to seek advice from my mother or a loan from my father, and refreshing themselves with a cup of tea—but no more, as my mother's kitchen was suspect to them, and rightly so. Even though the meat was kosher and ham was never eaten inside the house, the dessert after goose could well be wild strawberries and cream, in defiance of the ritual command.

The spectrum of religious orthodoxy, belief and practice, was wide. There was my oldest uncle, Motl,

almost forty years my father's senior, an ascetic and forbidding figure, a follower to distraction of the *Rebbe* of Belz and not on speaking terms with his younger brother Saul, who was not—God forbid—an anti-Hassid but, ridiculously, a follower of another "wonder rabbi," not nearly as holy. As a boy, I firmly refused to visit him after the day when he pinched my cheek in a supposed sign of affection, but, as I well knew, in retribution for the fact that, as he discovered to his disgust, I was not wearing *tsitsit*—the four-cornered garment which a Jewish male is enjoined to wear through the waking hours.

Then there was Cousin Hymie, a dreamer and a schemer, frantically engaged in projects which, if successful, would shed enormous benefits on the whole family, but in the meantime required continuous injections of cash, a figure modeled to a T, in the way life imitates or rather parodies art, on Sholom Aleichem's Menachem Mendl.

There *was* Aunt Rachel, an early widow, with as many children as there had been years in her happy marriage, making a living in an otherwise male preserve as a marriage-broker. Since that involved continuous travel in search of information, developing connections, soothing anxieties and supervising *bekucks* (the preview to which the couple was entitled)—a subtle and sophisticated pursuit—she was also a ministering angel to the sick in the family wherever she found them (and she found them aplenty), applying her uncanny knowledge of folk remedies and deep psychological insights. Long before the name was invented, she understood the nature of psychosomatic illness, which featured in her sources as *anredinish is arger vi a krenk*—meaning that you can talk yourself into an imaginary illness, worse than a real one.

There was, before my time, deeply secreted in the tribe's common memory, the allegedly beautiful Auntie Rosa, her yellowing photograph buried in my mother's knickknack drawer, safe—but not from my probing hands—who, I can only piece the story together, eloped with an "Austrian" officer, and after he had had enough of her (as he would), finished up in the gutter as a streetwalker. There is no evidence for this, but it was felt that the story could not have ended otherwise. Her parents, of course, cut her out and went through the ritual of mourning the dead and were until their dying day, which came all the sooner for it, consumed by grief and shame.

This motif, which with slight variations recurs frequently in Yiddish and also Polish literature until it becomes a stereotype, is proof enough that such

skeletons rattled in many families' cupboards.

Traumas of this kind tore the guts out of the community; no worse thing was conceivable. Yet in the limited interaction of the group with the surrounding world, menacing yet alluring, an occasional crossing of the barrier was inevitable. Revulsion against what was seen as suffocating obscurantism also played its part. The convert remained in the eyes of his contemporaries an abhorrent and despised figure. No Jew could believe that the change of faith was genuine (a suspicion shared widely, I think, by the receiving side). How could it be? It was generally considered that, with minuscule exceptions, the convert—indifferent to the old religion and dissimulating the new—was in it merely for personal advantage of one sort or another.

A case less dramatic than that of Auntie Rosa, but probably no less typical, revolved around my Uncle Joshua. His, and my mother's, stepmother decided that the parental home was no longer the place for him, and he was packed off, just like that, to go to America. This, as we know, was not an uncommon practice in those days, and that migration as a whole, proved to be the most timely and beneficial of all. But Joshua—what would he have been? fourteen, fifteen years of age?—was not concerned with History, other than his own—a lost, castaway boy. What were the mechanics of these journeys? I presume he had a *Schiffskarte* sewn into his pocket and was supposed to sail from Liverpool; how he was to get there in the first place I do not know. In the event, he didn't make it—first time round. En route, it transpired, he met fellow travelers who knew the family and considered it wicked of them to send the boy away, thus depriving him of his "portion," the inheritance (of which, no doubt, they had a vastly exaggerated notion). He turned back, and on his return journey, I gather, he must have been spotted by some members of a missionary society, in whose eyes (mistakenly I think) the conversion of the Jews must precede the Coming (Second Coming if one accepts their reckoning) of the Messiah and they decided that Joshua's destiny was to speed Him on his way. Anyway, a hot meal and a few kind words could—then as now—do wonders. I can still sense the horror with which my mother related the story—half a century on—of how people, neighbors and friends, came rushing into the house utterly scandalized to tell his father and stepmother and the other children that Joshua was standing in the central square selling missionary tracts! There was heartbreak, remorse and dread of scandal. In the end—by bribery, persuasion

or force—the boy was dispatched again, this time effectively, to reach the Other Shore. Virtually nothing was heard of him after that—until shortly before the last war some members of the family started digging for his address to write to him to plead for an "affidavit." It was too late.

My father was an early rebel. Feeling constrained by the life in the *shtetl* he cut his jacket "short" and changed his hat from the round black velvety kind, part of the Orthodox uniform, for one of lighter color, fashionable but not very. This declaration probably required more courage than we imagine. He arrived in Krakow in search of wife and fortune—and soon succeeded in his first objective beyond his wildest dreams. The second became somehow less important. He retained of course, a total attachment to Judaism. He knew nothing else, felt not the slightest need for anything else.

I see him on a Saturday afternoon reaching for a volume of the Talmud, and from the way he handled it, the caress, one knew the book was holy. Bending over an open folio he would slowly turn the pages, as if feeling his way through an embarrassment of riches, and then, with a familiarity that breeds contentment, he would settle down to the study of a chosen passage. He was no scholar—he had the mandatory few years of *cheder* behind him and was quite unable to make his own way through the undergrowth of commentaries, sprinkled with the poppy seed of glosses. But no matter, he was not looking for solutions to problems or rulings of law, but seeking to wash away the triviality and harshness of everyday existence in the waves of the eternal. He believed, simply, that the book contained the truth and that it was good to touch it.

He wished to persuade me to share his outlook but we did not know how to talk to each other, and he realized that an argument with a precocious know-all only led to an aggravation of spirit. Only once, I remember, he exploded when I asked him: "What is all this *for*?" "What is this for, fool? The whole of life is for *this*!"

He saw his role at home as that of the breadwinner, and even though he genuinely believed that all he had aspired to was for our sake, the bringing up of children would not have been part of his conscious concern. What little modicum of success he had as a merchant and small-time manufacturer was brought about by ceaseless hustle and total immersion in the task at hand. He would provide for all our needs—and be the sole judge of how these were defined. While spending money on

books was grudgingly approved, there was much pursing of lips and shaking of the head. Novels, in his eyes, were *narishkeiten*, foolishness and frivolity. How could adult men and women give serious attention to the imaginary misfortunes of nonexistent people! I argued that they nourish the sources of feeling and imagination, open the door to experience beyond one's personal orbit and give a glimpse of the many facts of truth. Where else could knowledge of the ways of the world come from? Were not the scandalous infidelities of Mrs. G. next door made comprehensible through the reading of Madame Bovary?

My father understood perhaps more of these matters than he thought fit to concede. He and I maintained a brittle truce that lasted till just before the outbreak of war, when I left home and hearth for a foreign land. I never saw him again: he died in 1942, felling trees at the Arctic Circle, a task for which he was ill prepared.

There was, in those days, a yawning, unbridgeable "generation gap" by comparison with which our contemporary conflicts are puny. The rebellion against the old order was gathering momentum. The tribe was bursting at the seams and moving in all directions. It proliferated into a human landscape of great diversity. Some young members of the family became communists, card-carrying members. Now, that was serious business, illegal and dangerous. It could and often did end badly. Police searches at home, to the dreadful distress of parents; arrests, prison sentences. In spite of that, or rather because of that, this attracted some very good people indeed. The idea was irresistible—it was offering a solution not only to the Jewish question, which seemed trivial by comparison, but to all other questions of social injustice and exploitation, in the trail of its historically inevitable victory of the proletariat. The brotherhood of nations would come naturally, as a bonus. This idea deserved sacrifices—and there were many, including the ultimate, and massive, under Stalin's execution wall. My favorite cousin Moishe, later Misha, a brilliant linguist and chess player, perished thus.

Some of the clan gave their allegiance to the Jewish Workers Movement, the *Bund*, but the large majority was swept by the liberating wind of Zionism, in all its hues. You could say that by the late twenties and early thirties the *shtetl*, the Jewish townlet, had been left behind, and most of the members of the family had migrated to larger towns, mainly Krakow, where they embraced and penetrated and intermingled

with other families, to the extent that virtually everybody was or became a relative: the black-bearded Schwarzbarts and the red-bearded Rotbarts, the ubiquitous Landaus, Grosses and Kleins, Schusters and Schneiders, Wolfs and Schaffs, Sperlings and Spatzes, Spiras, Schapiras, Kohns and Kahans and Kohens (here also belong the Loewys), Sonntags, Montags, Freitags and Sonnabends, Zuckers and Pfeffers, Gruens and Brauns, Golds and Silvers, Nussbaums, Rosenbaums, all the other baums, and Aschkenase and Gumpłowicz. I have named only those of whom I have direct knowledge of a bond with the Scharfs.

It was an interesting community, of a mixed profile. I was told a story that describes it nicely. A man goes to Krakow and on return tells his friend: "The Jews of Krakow are remarkable people. I saw a Jew who spends all his nights dreaming and all his days planning the revolution. I saw a Jew who spends all his time studying the Talmud. I saw a Jew who chases every skirt he sees. I saw a Jew who didn't want anything to do with women. I saw a Jew who is full of schemes how to get rich quick." The other man says: "I don't know why you are astonished: Krakow is a big city and there are many Jews, all sorts of people." "No," says the first, "It was the same Jew."

But I also want to draw another profile of a Jew of those days. It comes from a little verse called "Avi" (My Father) by Itzhak Katznelson, the author of what is possibly the greatest poem written during and about the Shoah: "The Song of the Murdered Jewish People." He writes: "When did he [my father] learn the Bible by heart? The translations of Onkelos and Martin Luther? The Talmud, Codes, Midrash, Shakespeare and Heine? When did he read Gogol, Thucydides and Plutarch? When did he study the Holy Zohar? When did he sleep?"

If not for the fact that all these people lived, and soon after died, in apocalyptic times, some of that profusion of humanity would have overspilled into other streams, all over the map, and with their diverse talents, energy and purposefulness they would have enriched the world. As it is, from my closest family (and that, as has been said, included hundreds of individuals)—there was not a single survivor except, blissfully, my mother.

When talking about Polish Jewry before the War, before the Wars, it is important to steer a clear course between nostalgia and reality. In mourning the past it would be wrong to idealize it. The literature of that time, the only authentic descriptive record, in Yiddish and Hebrew, is sharply and mercilessly critical, even

though the criticism is tempered by compassion, as behooves the prophetic tradition. Mendele, Sholom Aleichem, Peretz, Opatoshu, portray the sordid conditions—the poverty, the powerlessness, the oppression, the obscurantism—and lash out against it, that is the function, or the mission, of literature. If you want to know, for instance, what the position of women was in that society, a short passage from the book *Debora* by Esther Kreitman, the sister of the Singer brothers (and brushed by the talent so prodigiously bestowed on them) will tell you more than a dozen learned tracts.

Once, when she overheard her father saying proudly of Joshua, "One day he will be a brilliant Talmudic scholar," she asked, "And Father, what am I going to be one day?" Her father looked as if he didn't quite understand the question. "What are you going to be one day? Nothing, of course!" Do you need to know any more?

It is true to say that poverty was dire and widespread. But it is well to remember that it was not a specifically Jewish poverty, which contrasted with non-Jewish well-being. On the contrary, urban squalor knew no boundaries and the gentile unemployed workman suffered the same, if not worse, hardship and degradation. The countryside could be harsher still: the small holder and landless peasant led, in a bad year, a pitiful existence.

On the other hand, the idea that Jewish life in Poland was always one of unredeemed gloom and oppression is ill founded. There were lights as well as shadows: the rich fabric of Jewish existence is woven of many strands, and some of its brightest and most life-enhancing manifestations took place on Polish soil. When faced with the bleakness of the picture one can well ask the question: if it was so bad, why was it so good?

The structure of what somebody has called "The Jewish Nation in Poland" was diverse. It had its urban proletariat with its industrial workers, tradesmen and craftsmen (mainly tailors and shoemakers) its *Luftmenschen* with no visible means of support, a large and amorphous middle class of shopkeepers and business people of all categories, its free professions—doctors, lawyers, scholars, and its plutocracy of manufacturers, bankers, big industrialists.

The community's religious administration lay in the hands of the *kahal*, with considerable autonomy and a wide range of competence. There were Jewish and Hebrew schools of all grades: *yeshivahs* and high schools, scholarly institutes—among them the famous

YIVO in Vilna and the Institute of Jewish Studies in Warsaw, which had university status. A Jewish press flourished, in Yiddish, Polish and Hebrew (in 1939, according to a recent study, there were thirty Jewish daily newspapers and 130 periodicals of all kinds). There were innumerable trade and professional associations, of writers, journalists, doctors, lawyers, engineers, merchants, homeowners (in the late thirties, forty percent of town property was in Jewish hands).

There was a network of charitable institutions, hospitals, orphanages, provident funds and summer camps to help the disadvantaged. There were sports clubs giving scope to aspiring and actual record-holders in all disciplines. Above all, there were the political parties, with their affiliated youth organizations, with a vision of a better future. Jewish deputies represented the whole spectrum of political life in both chambers of the Polish legislature.

The community was fragmented and torn by internal strife, but there was one unifying factor—a sense of sharing a common fate that transcended social and political differences. There was a marked spirituality, even among the non-religious, an instinctive allegiance and response to what was felt to be the Jewish ethos; a deeply ingrained, universal conviction that, beyond the mundane, man had to aspire to higher things, however defined.

It is also important to remember that there existed a considerable area where the division between the Polish and the Jewish world was blurred and the long cohabitation resulted in mutual acceptance, tolerance and harmony. This produced a cross-fertilization with an untold enrichment of both cultures. Polish literature of the time glitters with illustrious names—Lesmian, Tuwim, Slonimski, Wittlin, Bruno Schulz, to name but a few. A civilization flourished here with its traditions, language, folklore, literature and music, and with roots deeper than Polish civilization. Did it ever occur to a Pole that, in the neighboring town or for that matter on the very same street, something was happening that could engage his attention and deserved his interest? With a few notable exceptions, the answer is no. The Jewish population was commonly regarded as a "dark continent," backward and primitive, evoking feelings of aversion and repugnance. The Poles automatically regarded themselves as infinitely superior—each Pole superior to each Jew, be he a rabbi, a writer, a merchant, a shoemaker. The Jews requited it with a shrug of their shoulders: what could you expect of "them"?

To complete the picture, here are three snapshots from memory that illustrate the pressures of growing up and living as a Jew in a country where Catholicism dominated and filled the atmosphere like ether.

Once, a very long time ago, our housemaid, out of affection for me and genuine concern for my soul, took me with her to church and confronted me with that huge human figure stretched on His Cross, nails piercing hands and legs, droplets of blood oozing from open wounds. She whispered urgently: "This is God Jesus and He loves you, though you are a Jew and your forefathers crucified Him—and you mustn't tell your mother about it!" I was struck with terror and nausea. On coming home I sobbed inconsolably but would not let on why. (Perhaps this experience left me with my lifelong interest in theology. Many years and many learned books later, with the clock ticking ever faster, I remain an unregenerate agnostic, thank God. This serves me reasonably well by day, if not so well by night.)

When the street urchin from next door wanted to chase me and harm me, it was not with a stick or with a stone (that also, sometimes) but with what he felt was a much more potent weapon: he used to make his index fingers into a sign of the Cross—I was supposed to cower in the face of it and run. I did, too.

I think that in this image alone, there is enough food for thought to make one ponder what happened, no, what was bound to happen in the future to the generation of both boys—the one making the sign of the Cross and the one who was made to run away from it.

On returning to Krakow for the first time after the war, I avoided the street where we used to live. But in time, it seemed, the wounds partly healed and I was overcome by an irrepressible impulse to cast a glance over the place where we lived—was the old furniture there, my bookcase, the paintings on the walls?

The house stood facing the Planty, the park around the old city center, in a district which was then respectable, reasonably prosperous, and later fell into neglect, decay, nobody's property.

I entered the familiar entrance hall. I struck a match to discover from the list of tenants the name of the owner of flat 4. As I was gathering courage and composing my thoughts on how to explain my ghostly visit, the doors opened on the ground floor, and a man—menacing, crass and angry, as is the habit of the land—came close to me: "What are you looking for? There is nothing here for you!" Indeed, I thought. How well he put it. There is nothing here for me.

Finally, a scene from my recent visit to Krakow. Usually, as dusk falls, I am in the habit of leaving my favorite seat in the Cafe Noworolski under the arcades of the Sukiennice, to stroll across the square, the Rynek, into the Church of the Holy Virgin Mary, from whose tower, the taller of the two, there sounds the famous, hourly trumpet call. I spend there a quiet hour or so, contemplating the altarpiece by Wit Stwosz, a magnificent example of religious art. I also listen to the quiet evening service.

On my last visit some months ago, my neighbor in the pew happened to be a youngish man of fine face, who prayed silently with great concentration. At the end of the service, as we were leaving the church together, we got talking, with growing sympathy and

openness—two authentic Krakovians, spanning two generations. After complimenting me on my Polish, which oddly has not gone rusty after half-a-century away from the country, he confided in me thus: I am a believer, as you see, and a practicing Catholic. I am also a student of ancient history. I know, and it no longer causes me any difficulty to accept this, that Our Lord Jesus was a Jew. But in no way am I able to accept that Our Holy Virgin Mary, the Queen of the Crown of Poland, as we like to call her, was a Jewess."

I didn't know what to say. To understand these things, on a level that does justice to the depth and complexity of these predicaments, is too difficult for me, for most of us.



Krakow, 1979
Entrance to the Courtyard of Rema Synagogue
Built in 1553 and Still in Service

The Jews of Galicia under Austrian-Polish Rule, 1867-1918: Part III

Professor Piotr Wróbel

Editor's Note: This is the last of three installments.

Relations with the Non-Jewish Population

Since neither Poles nor Ukrainians (respectively 45.4% and 42.1% of the entire population in 1880) created an absolute majority in Galicia, Jews could hold political balance or even act as an intermediary between both competing nations. This proved, however, to be impossible, as more and more frequently Ukrainians and Poles came out against Jews. The escalation of anti-Jewish policy in Russia since the beginning of the 1880s and growing nationalistic feelings in Europe stimulated traditionally scornful and disrespectful attitudes towards the Jews, shared by numerous Poles, especially those whose background was of the gentry. The latter believed that the Jews were obliged to support the Polish establishment against Galician Ukrainians, who visibly accelerated their drive for national and political emancipation during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Anti-Semitic voices appeared in the *Sejm*, Jewish girls were kidnapped and hidden in Galician monasteries. In 1892, Father Stanislaw Stojalowski founded the Union of the Polish Peasant Party (*Zwiazek Stronnictwa Chlopskiego*). Its populist ideology included anti-Semitic theories, and the party issued numerous pamphlets and papers depicting Jews as fabulously rich capitalists, who were destroying lower-class morals and finances as innkeepers, and who were parasites and enemies ordered by the Talmud to cheat. Party propaganda raised the specter that the Jews would one day buy up all of Galicia. Stojalowski and other populist leaders based their electoral tactic on anti-Semitic appeals and offered an anti-Jewish program as a panacea for all Galician problems, such as economic disaster, alcoholism, illiteracy and political conflicts. Anti-Semitism was strengthened by anti-Semitic booklets imported from Austria proper and translated into Polish and the economic activities of the cooperatives, and by the Catholic Church, which, like Austrian conservatism in general, associated Jews with Liberalism and proclaimed an anti-Jewish boycott in 1893. Impoverished and illiterate Galician peasants directed their frustration against the Jews. Anti-Semitism became also a component of the Ukrainian national movement.

In 1896, the Austrian electoral system, consisting of four curiae, was extended by the addition of a fifth

curia, which gave the vote to adult males. Even this limited democratization enlivened political life and propaganda in the country and politicized Galician peasants. After the 1898 by-elections, when Father Stojalowski received a *Reichsrat* seat, anti-Jewish riots broke out in 33 towns of Western Galicia. The riots started in March in the city of Wieliczka, where a crowd of young men attacked a synagogue on Friday evening. Similar events took place later in Kalwaria, Nowy Sacz, Stary Sacz and the Jaslo region. Tumults became more frequent and violent in the summer, during the by-election to the Galician Diet. The majority of taverns and bars were demolished in the regions of Sanok and Gorlice. Rioters, arrested by the police, later claimed that political leaders and the emperor himself called upon them to rob, that they saw "official instructions" and heard that Jews killed Archduke Rudolf and wanted to murder the emperor. After the riots, a state of emergency was introduced in Galicia and most Polish political parties condemned anti-Jewish violent acts; but they took place in several towns once again in 1903. It appears that peasant hostility towards Jews was not motivated by nationalistic feelings but rather by a sense of economic competition, by religious prejudices, and by political propaganda. Jews, however, did not find relief in this differentiation.

The Last Years before World War I

By the end of the nineteenth century, Galician shtetls, until then almost entirely cut off from the outside world and living with their own problems, started to participate more frequently in the dramatic events which disturbed traditional life. Dangerous news came in from Russia. In 1903, reports about the Kishiniev pogrom shocked Galician Jews and in 1904 they followed the course of the Russian-Japanese war. Every defeat of the hated, anti-Semitic tsarist Russia was met with satisfaction. In the years 1911-1913, the Beilis ritual murder affair in Russia agitated Galician Jews like nothing else since the Dreyfus trial. Jewish public opinion paid attention also to the Balkan wars, the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the erosion of the Turkish Empire, which could create favorable changes in Palestine.

Assimilated Jews were gradually accepted by Polish society but at the same time Jewish emancipation provoked suspicion among Poles. They demanded that the Jewish electorate vote for Polish candidates during the 1907 *Reichsrat* election.

Assimilationists and adherents of orthodoxy, who traditionally cooperated with the Polish parliamentary caucus supported these demands. Jewish national organizations, however, put up their own candidates. This independent action and its success caused a rise of anti-Semitic feelings. In 1905, a Galician branch of the Polish National Democratic Party was set up and became the main vehicle of anti-Semitism in the province. Under the leadership of Roman Dmowski, *Endecja* assumed a strongly anti-Jewish position from its founding in 1897. During the 1907 elections *endeks* used anti-Semitic slogans and warned that a "third nation" might appear in Galicia. Eventually, *Endecja* won a victory in the elections. Twenty-five of its representatives entered the *Reichsrat* and a leader of Galician National Democrats was elected president of the Polish Club.

In 1911, during the next parliamentary election, Polish politicians tried to exclude independent Jewish candidates, especially Zionists. The electoral campaign was tense. The Polish administration and political establishment wanted to gain the orthodox leaders' support and withdrew regulations that stipulated that officially appointed rabbis were required to graduate from secular high schools and speak foreign languages. Ten Galician Jews entered the parliament but there were no Zionists among them. A new notion appeared in the Central-European political vocabulary—*Galizische Wahlen* (Galician elections) as a symbol for election fraud and violence. The political atmosphere in Galicia in 1912 was influenced by elections in Russia to the fourth Duma. A National Democratic candidate in Warsaw was defeated with the help of Jewish votes. *Endecja* proclaimed an anti-Jewish boycott, which had repercussions in Galicia.

The First World War

Assimilated *Habsburgtreu*, German-speaking Jews of Austria, especially in Vienna, welcomed the outbreak of the war with enthusiasm. A different atmosphere prevailed among orthodox Jews, particularly in the small shtetls of Galicia, where the Jewish population was politically far less active than in neighboring countries. They read in newspapers about the growing conflict with Serbia, but they consoled themselves, that Franz Joseph needed a war like a *lokh in kop* (a hole in his head). Galician Jewry was surprised, therefore, with the outbreak of the war, but it was really smitten by the quick Austrian defeats in Galicia. Thousands of its Jews, aware of the Russian army's anti-Semitism, fled leaving behind all of their property. The huge exodus of refugees resembled the panic after the Chmielnicki pogroms in the

seventeenth century. It is hard to establish how many refugees there were, because part of them turned back, escaped again or settled in a different region of the province. Estimates range from 200,000 to 400,000; the latter number would mean 50% of the whole Galician Jewry. An official report by the Austrian Minister of the Interior in the fall of 1915 gave a total of 340,000 refugees, most of whom were Jews.

The mass of refugees went to Hungary, Moravia, Bohemia and to Vienna. Local administrations were unprepared for such an influx and initially did not control the situation. Sometimes there was no help at all, but camps were usually established, where the refugees received food, clothing and shelter. Usually, these were wooden huts without sanitation, where infectious diseases were frequent and the mortality rate was high. Nobody was forced to live in the camps and some refugees tried to find jobs outside of them. During the first months of the war, the local population helped wholeheartedly under the impression that the war would be over soon.

A large group of refugees went to Vienna, where they had relatives and friends. The capital of Austria was considered in pre-war Galicia to be a "promised land". The refugees hoped that it would be easier to find jobs, better help and a sense of security in the big city. Vienna, therefore, became the chief refugee center for Jews. They formed 60% (77,000 individuals) of all the escapees (137,000) in the capital and settled in all the districts of the city. Vienna's Jewish community grew by almost 50%. Nevertheless, relief work went quite well. Soup kitchens and additional schools were organized, the refugees received subsidies and a special committee (*Zentralstelle für jüdische Kriegsflüchtlinge*) was established to help Jews.

As the months went by, the situation of the entire Austrian population grew worse. Food shortages appeared, the previous friendly atmosphere vanished, new refugees were coming to Vienna and to the western provinces. Displaced Jews could not find work and were reduced to roaming the streets in search of some kind of employment. It created in the greater population a feeling of the "Judaization" of Vienna. Anti-Semites became increasingly active; beginning in 1916 demands appeared to remove the refugees from the capital and to isolate them in special camps in Moravia.

Jews, who remained in Galicia under Russian occupation, faced a worse fate. Their status was "equalized" with the legal position of Russian Jewry. Galician Jews were removed from self-government bodies and the civil service; they could not live in the

countryside nor leave their districts. Their civil rights were withdrawn and their religious sensibilities insulted. Frequently, they were accused of spying or siding with the enemy. Almost every Russian unit upon entering a city, and later the last units to depart it, harassed and robbed the local Jews. Some of these events turned into regular pogroms, which lasted several days and caused the death of many Jews. Collective responsibility was enforced; Russians took hostages and executed innocent people to terrorize the civilian population. The Jews were harassed also by bandits in "no man's land" between the fighting armies. The chief of the Galician military administration, Count George A. Bobrinskiy, lacking organizational talents and elementary knowledge of the province, was not able to curb the lawlessness of the worst *chinovniks* (Russian minor officials) sent to Galicia to Russify the country. War operations cut Galicia off from any help from outside. Several towns and many villages were completely quarantined by the Russians to stop epidemics of black smallpox and spotted fever. Schools and synagogues were closed and public meetings forbidden. Tsarist military authorities started the mass deportation of Jews to Russia, but the Minister of the Interior, Prince N. B. Shcherbatov, objected. As a consequence, the commander-in-chief of the Russian army ordered that "upon the occupation of new localities by our troops all Jews should be rounded-up and driven out to follow the enemy troops," because the Russian government already had major problems with the Jews from western regions of the Pale of Settlement, who, crowded in its eastern parts, poured into Russia proper.

In 1915, German and Austrian armies pushed the Russians back, but only a minority of the refugees decided to return to Galicia. The region was devastated during the military operations and it was not able to accommodate the Jewish refugees. Frequently, they were not welcomed by the Polish and Ukrainian people. Jewish property had been seized and the Jews who decided to return were destined to live out a wretched existence. A corresponding situation prevailed behind the Russian front. In 1916, Russians re-conquered a part of Galicia. This time their Jewish policy was milder. About 35,000 Jews, who had been deported to Russia, went back. They were not allowed, however, to return to their native cities and they landed in wooden barracks, under bad conditions and without jobs. Their situation improved in 1917, after the March Revolution. Political and economic life enlivened. Galician districts, controlled by Russians, received help and better administration. In June 1917, a

congress of Jewish representatives met in Tarnopol. A plan of substantial aid for Jews was prepared. But it came to nothing. After the last Kerensky offensive the whole of Galicia was occupied by the Germans. Departing Russian units organized pogroms in Tarnopol and Kalusz. Several months later, an open Polish-Ukrainian conflict started and each side claimed that its enemies were supported by Jews.

By the end of 1918, about 35,000 Jewish refugees from Galicia still remained in Vienna. A part of them lived together and formed a ghetto within a ghetto. The war also brought Hassidim to the Austrian capital, where there had been none before 1914. During the war many Galician Hassidic courts were founded there. The *Czortkower Rebbe* reestablished Czortkow-in-miniature in the Heinestrasse. The refugees did not want to go back to their impoverished homeland. They became a burden on the city and its authorities tried to get rid of them. It was impossible, however, to force out citizens of pre-war Austria. There was a war in Poland, and only after its end in 1920, was it possible to sign an agreement with Polish Republic in which the latter promised to accept returnees. Several thousand Jews, mainly from the poorest districts of Vienna, decided to return. They went back not to their *shtetls* but to the big cities. The net result of the war and dislocation was that the number of the Jews in Galicia decreased by 20% between the censuses of 1910 and 1921.

During the last months of the war, the attitude of Polish population of Galicia towards the Jews grew steadily worse. Many Poles believed that Jews collaborated with the Austrians and Germans against Polish interests and opposed the re-establishment of an independent Polish state. Despite the extreme poverty of the Jewish masses, many Poles believed that numerous Jews made financial fortunes on war contracts and avoided military service. Wincenty Witos, the future Prime Minister of Poland and a leader of the Peasant Party, who was by himself not friendly toward the Jews, wrote simply about a growing hankering for anti-Jewish revenge. The explosion of hatred came in November 1918, when Austrian and German power was removed and the new Polish authorities were not yet in control of the situation. Anti-Jewish riots broke out in several towns of Galicia. The biggest pogroms took place in Lwow, where 72 Jews were killed, and in Kolbuszowa, where 8 Jews died. Isaac Deutscher recalled: "I lived through three pogroms during the very first week of reborn Poland. This is how the dawn of Polish independence greeted us."

Conclusions

Before the Partitions of Poland, its Jewish population was almost perfectly homogenous in terms of culture, religion and way of life. Leaving aside local habits, dialectal differences in Yiddish and the early, limited consequences of the Hassidic movement, Jewish communities of Galicia looked like *kahals* in Lithuania, Belorussia, Mazovia and other parts of the Polish Commonwealth. After World War I, Galicia once again became a part of a Polish state, but at that time Galician Jews, because of their experience under Habsburg rule, differed from their co-religionists living in Polish lands previously occupied by Russia and Prussia. Numerous phenomena, described or only mentioned in this article, reshaped Galician Jewry during the period 1772-1918, when Galicia belonged to the Habsburg Empire and became a separate, distinct entity on the map of the Jewish Diaspora.

On the one hand, Galicia's poverty, backwardness and provincialism determined the character of its Jewish community and caused its resemblance to Jewish communities in Eastern Europe. A majority of Galician Jews remained in traditional shtetls, separated from the outside world and controlled by orthodox rabbis or even more conservative Hassidic *tsaddikim*. Hassidism was particularly strong and popular in Galicia, which beside Bukovina and some regions of Congress Poland, was probably the most "hassidized" region in the world. The modernization of Galician Jews was delayed by their economic situation and by a geographical and communications separation of the province. Galicia was closer to Central Poland and the Ukraine than to Austria proper not only literally but also in terms of culture, way of life and the social structure of the Jewish population, concentrated in the cities and "traditional Jewish" professions. This similarity between the Jews of Galicia and Russian Empire decided that both these groups (together with Slovak, Moravian, Romanian and less typical Hungarian Jews) were given a common name of *Ostjuden*.

On the other hand, the fact that Galicia belonged to the Habsburg Empire for almost 150 years had numerous positive consequences for Galician Jews. From the 1860s, they could participate in political life and all kinds of economic activities. A relatively large group of Galician Jewish politicians gained experience in local political organizations, in Lwow's Diet and in the *Reichsrat*. Zionist organizations of Galicia constituted the largest segment of Austrian

Zionism. Jews participated in the socialist movement and in Polish parties. As a consequence, Jewish-Galician politicians were very important on the political scene of inter-war Poland. During the 1922 parliamentary elections, seventeen Jewish deputies (fifteen in eastern Galicia alone) were elected in Galicia out of a total of thirty-five elected on Jewish lists in the whole country.

Galician Jews could also engage in professions, which were forbidden to their co-religionists in Russia and Romania. It was easier for the Jews to acquire land in Galicia than in Ukraine or in Central Poland. As a consequence a majority of Jewish farmers of the Second Polish Republic lived in its southern territories, previously administered by Austria. Here, unlike in former Russian lands, a relatively large group of wealthy Jewish farmers dwelled next to Jewish smallholders.

Inter-war Poland also inherited from Polish-Austrian Galicia a comparatively large group of Jewish intellectuals, members of the intelligentsia, professionals and civil servants. The latter were very important for reborn Poland. Before World War I, a large number of administrative positions in the Polish lands ruled by Russia and Prussia was occupied, respectively, by Russians and Germans. After 1918, they were frequently replaced by Jewish civil servants from former Galicia, who moved north to work for the new Polish administration.

Galicia was a stronghold not only of Hassidism but also of the *Haskalah* movement, which gave birth to Jewish nationalism and to Jewish strivings for assimilation into German and Polish society. Galician Jews were the most polonized of all Polish *Ostjuden*. In inter-war Poland, the Jews who indicated Polish was their mother tongue and who identified themselves with Polish nationality were most numerous in Galicia.

Unfortunately, the Jewish-Polish assimilation was limited after 1918 as a consequence of the Polish government's policy, which was unfavorable for national minorities. Twenty five years later, Jewish Galicia disappeared, wiped out by the Germans. The last traces of the Jewish-Galician world survived among Jewish immigrants and Hassidim in New York, Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv, in literature and remembrances, which were sentimental and nostalgic, and frequently also sad and bitter.

Przeworsk Yad Vashem Listings

Leon Gold

Following is a listing of pre-WWII residents of Przeworsk for whom Yad Vashem has pages of testimony. I have arranged the list alphabetically for easier use. There are names that appear more than once, which could mean that more than one page of testimony was submitted for the same individual or that there were two or more residents with the same name living in Przeworsk at that time

Individual pages of testimony can be obtained from Yad Vashem. A small donation is usually requested to cover costs. You can contact Yad Vashem by either e-mail at archives@yad-vashem.org.il or by regular mail to P.O. Box 3477, Jerusalem, 91039, Israel.

Adler		Adolf	Sara	Brand	Mordekhai	Fingerhut	Brandel
Adler	Abraham	Adolf	Shije	Braten	Dawid	Fliegel	Jakob
Adler	Abraham	Adolf	Shmuel	Brener	Aharon	Fliegel	Male
Adler	Abraham	Adolf	Shmuel	Brener	Hersh	Fliegelman	Chinka
Adler	Beila	Appel	Mirjam	Brener	Josef	Fliegelman	Mair
Adler	Berl	Atlas	Efraim	Brener	Mair	Fliegelman	Rachel
Adler	Berl	Atlas	Hinda	Brener	Ozyasz	Flieglman	Reizel
Adler	Berl	Atlas	Hinda	Brener	Smuel	Fligel	Gitle
Adler	Busha	Atlas	Rosa	Brener	Towa	Fligel	Kaja
Adler	Chana	Banda	Pinchas	Briner	Mendel	Fligelman	Hinda
Adler	Chana	Bang	Rifka	Broner	Brandel	Fligler	Zvi
Adler	Gitel	Bas	Hena	Broner	Miriam	Fraifeld	Raica
Adler	Gizela	Basches	Sara	Broner	Rywka	Frajfeld	Rojze
Adler	Hinda	Basches	Sara	Broner	Shmuel	Frankel	Elimelech
Adler	Jakow	Baseches	Gela	Brumberg	Lev	Freiberg	Sara
Adler	Jankel	Baseches	Mendel	Byrenbach	Abram	Freifeld	Elimelech
Adler	Jicchak	Baseches	Pinchas	Charitan	Chaya	Freifeld	Monisz
Adler	Lajbish	Basekhes	Rivka	Cherytan	Bluma	Frenkel	Chaim
Adler	Lea	Basseches	Baruch	Cyerman	Natan	Frenkiel	Chawa
Adler	Mendel	Basseches	Berish	Didner	Abraham	Frenkiel	Hawa
Adler	Mina	Basseches	Esther	Didner	Majlech	Frider	Eliezer
Adler	Mirl	Basseches	Giela	Didner	Shlomo	Frider	Khaia
Adler	Mordechaj	Basseches	Lazar	Didner	Wolf	Frider	Malka
Adler	Rachel	Basseches	Necha	Diler	Daniel	Frider	Yehuda
Adler	Rachel	Basseches	Pesha	Diler	Etila	Frieder	Gerschon
Adler	Rechel	Basseches	Rifka	Diler	Szeindla	Friedmann	Lea
Adler	Reizel	Basseches	Tzvia	Diler	Szmuel	Frommer	Avraham
Adler	Riwka	Bassechus	Sala	Diler	Szmul	Frommer	Breindel
Adler	Roze	Bauseckes	Baruch	Diler	Yochwet	Frommer	Ethel
Adler	Rywka	Bebciuk	Esther	Drugs	Bajla	Frommer	Hersh
Adler	Rywka	Belc	Lea	Drugs	Sara	Frommer	Moshe
Adler	Sender	Beller	Amalia	Dydner	Chaja	Frommer	Wolf
Adler	Shmuel	Belz	Naftali	Einhorn	Baruch	Frostek	Golda
Adler	Simche	Belz	Sara	Einhorn	Chana	Fryder	Chaja
Adler	Symcha	Berger	Ester	Einhorn	Israel	Frydman	Ezril
Adler	Yosef	Berger	Zacharja	Einhorn	Sara	Zyhdman	Zelda
Adolf	Batja	Bergmann	Samuel	Engelberg	Rachel	Fuks	Ester
Adolf	Beila	Biar	Bezalel	Englard	Iosef	Gamss	Aharon
Adolf	Brakha	Biar	Chaim	Englard	Isack	Gamss	Blima
Adolf	Chaja	Biar	Ester	Englard	Josef	Gamss	Leibish
Adolf	Chaja	Biar	Gila	Englard	Lea	Gamss	Paya
Adolf	Chana	Biar	Keila	Englard	Leah	Gamss	Yehoshua
Adolf	Jakow	Biar	Moshe	Englard	Malka	Garber	Moshe
Adolf	Jankel	Biar	Sruel	Erdman	Abraham	Garber	Shmuel
Adolf	Josel	Biar	Yechiet	Erdman	Zlata	Geler	Chaim
Adolf	Josel	Bier	Chaim	Fajfeld	Sara	Geler	Gecyl
Adolf	Lea	Bier	Malka	Faust	Hinda	Geler	Gershon
Adolf	Menakhem	Blau	Golda	Feldmaus	Zelig	Geler	Wittl
Adolf	Menakhem	Bleichfeld	Lajbish	Feldstein	Efraim	Gelernter	Berta
Adolf	Mojzesz	Bleichfeld	Malka	Feldsztajn	Efraim	Geller	Vittel
Adolf	Mojzesz	Bleichfeld	Miryam	Feldsztajn	Fajga	Gerber	Berta
Adolf	Moshe	Bleichfeld	Perel	Feldsztein	Pesla	Gerber	Sara
Adolf	Roza	Bleichfeld	Sara	Felsenstein	Zelig	Glanzman	Berha
Adolf	Roza	Bloch	Golda	Felzenshtein	Zelig	Glanzman	Berel
Adolf	Rywka	Bojrn	Natan	Felzenstein	Kopel	Glanzman	Berl
Adolf	Rywka	Brand	Gusta	Fingerhut	Beirish	Glanzman	Brucha

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Glanzman	Hena	Kaner	Toba	Liberman	Tamar	Reizfeld	Lea
Glanzman	Hene	Kanner	Zisel	Lichtensztein	Dawid	Renner	Chana
Glanzman	Moshe	Karp	Beila	Lichtensztein	Feiga	Renner	Jankel
Glanzman	Taubas	Karp	Chana	Liebling	Chaicia	Richter	Awram
Gleich	Adela	Katz	Sische	Liebling	Wolff	Richter	Perel
Gold	Mania	Kejshtecher	Abraham	Luchtman	Chaim	Rischter	Yosef
Goldberg	Dawid	Kejshtecher	Berl	Mandelzaft	Mania	Rosenbaum	Josef
Goldberg	Miriam	Kesten	Abraham	Mandelzaft	Shymon	Rosenbaum	Nachman
Goldberg	Muryam	Kesten	Bajla	Mandelzaft	Zelig	Rosenberg	Hersz
Goldberg	Shyja	Kesten	Chaja	Mania	Jakub	Rosenberg	Josef
Goldszlag	Erna	Kesten	Hinda	Margulies	Gitel	Rosenblueth	Dawid
Gruen	Kreindl	Kesten	Liba	Margulies	Gitla	Rosenbluth	Aharon
Gruenblatt	Mozes	Kesten	Osiasz	Margulies	Salomon	Rosenbluth	Dawid
Grynblat	Bunia	Kesten	Sheindel	Mendelzaft	Chajim	Rosengers	Lea
Grynblat	Hersh	Kesten	Simcha	Mersel	Lea	Rotenshtreich	Hersh
Grynblat	Sejrel	Kesten	Zisel	Merzel	Perl	Rotenshtreich	Josel
Haar	Hanna	Kesten	Zlata	Miller	Szeindel	Roter	Shaja
Harbsman	Chana	Kleiman	Baruch	Milrad	Shaja	Roter	Sluwa
Harbsman	Lea	Kleiman	Bayla	Nagar	Bajla	Rottenshtreich	Alexander
Hasenfeld	Feiga	Kleiman	Chana	Nat'l	Basia	Rottenshtreich	Israel
Hass	Jakob	Kleiman	Hena	Neger	Aharon	Rottenshtreich	Tzvi
Hasz	Frimet	Kleiman	Sara	Neger	Bajla	Rottenshtreich	Tzvi
Herbsman	Chaja	Klotz	Fesel	Neger	Chana	Rottenshtreich	Hersch
Herbsman	Gitel	Klotz	Shlomo	Neger	Cirela	Rottenshtreich	Lea
Herbsman	Gitel	Korn	Eizik	Neger	Eleonora	Rottenshtreich	Udel
Herbsman	Lajbis	Korn	Margalit	Neger	Ester	Rottenshtreich	Udi
Herbsman	Lea	Korn	Marguly	Neger	Frانيا	Rotter	Aliyahw
Herbsman	Lejcia	Korn	Moshe	Neger	Iechak	Rotter	Eata
Herbsman	Lycia	Korn	Mozes	Neger	Josef	Rozenberg	Hersel
Herbsman	Miriam	Korn	Naftali	Neger	Josel	Rozenberg	Lazer
Herbsman	Pinchas	Korn	Rebeka	Neger	Leah	Rozengarten	Leah
Herbsman	Rywka	Korn	Yitzchak	Neger	Malka	Rozenshtreich	Reizel
Herbsman	Sarah	Kufer	Lea	Neger	Natan	Rozenshtreich	Rywka
Herbsman	Wolf	Kufer	Roza	Neger	Reizel	Santman	Chaim
Herbsman	Wolf	Kupfer	Lea	Nejger	Chaja	Santman	Hersch
Herbsman	Wolf	Kupferman	Chaim	Nejger	Cyrel	Santman	Nachum
Herbsman	Yosef	Kupferman	Ita	Nejger	Yosel	Santman	Scheindel
Herbstman	Masha	Kupferman	Ita	Nejgr	Yosel	Schafner	Malka
Herbstman	Pinhas	Kupferman	Leja	Orensztajn	Riwka	Schifman	Alte
Herzlich	Zippora	Kupferman	Libcha	Ornsztajn	Lipa	Schifman	Chaim
Hiel	Kesiel	Kupferman	Tovchia	Ornsztajn	Ahron	Schifman	Miszet
Hilferding	Czarna	Lachs	Bluma	Ornsztajn	Fajge	Schifman	Mosze
Hilferding	Izak	Landau	Jehoszua	Ornsztajn	Fajge	Schifman	Szewa
Hirschfeld	icchak	Landau	Jeremiahu	Ornsztajn	Malka	Schopf	Meyer
Hirschfeld	Mania	Landau	Lea	Ornsztajn	Sara	Schopf	Yosef
Hirschhorn	Herman	Landau	Mala	Peperman	Nehama	Schopt	Perel
Hirschhorn	Herman	Landau	Sara	Posztr	Mosze	Schueller	Hela
Hochberg		Landau	Yaacov	Przemysl	Moshe	Schwarz	Czarne
Hochberg		Landau	Yichezkel	Przemysl	Perel	Shavzinski	Keila
Hochberg	Yaacov	Lang	Idel	Rajfer	Chajim	Shifman	Pinchas
Hochdorf	Dawid	Lang	Jtta	Rajfer	Lajb	Shindelheim	Shlomo
Hochdorf	Etel	Lang	Jtta	Raps	Chaim	Shop	Chana
Horenshtein	Bajla	Lang	Szaul	Raps	Cirl	Shop	Kajla
Hornshtein	Ber	Langsam	Chaim	Raps	Eidl	Shop	Mair
Hornshtein	Ber	Langsam	Clara	Raps	Fisl	Shop	Mendel
Hornshtein	Jankel	Langsam	Eiga	Raps	Sara	Shop	Natan
Hornshtein	Lajb	Langsam	Rochel	Reifer	Josef	Shop	Perel
Hornshtein	Yosel	Langsam	Shlomo	Reifer	Kajla	Shop	Rywa
Hornstein	Brajna	Langsam	Yehoshua	Reifer	Necha	Shop	Shlomo
Hornsztein	Lipa	Langzam	Aigi	Reifer	Necha	Shop	Yosel
Hornsztein	Malka	Langzam	Frida	Reifer	Rajzel	Shtein	Moshe
Hornsztein	Rywka	Laszkowicz	Lea	Reifer	Shaindel	Shtein	Rywka
Jaroslawicz	Smuel	Leshkowicz	Israel	Reifer	Szajndel	Shtojser	Fajga
Jaroslawicz	Smuel	Leshkowicz	Israel	Reinfeld	Baruch	Shtojser	Fajga
Kacbach	Feiga	Leshkowicz	Sara	Reiselfeld	Reizel	Shtojser	Mira
Kalech	Cyna	Leshkowicz	Sara	Reisfeld	Ajzyk	Siegel	Aharon
Kalech	Lea	Leshkowiez	David	Reisfeld	Etel	Siegel	Isac
Kalech	Michael	Leskowiec	Berek	Reisfeld	Mendel	Silberman	Moshe
Kaner	Salomon	Leszkowicz	Wolf	Reisfeld	Mendel	Sonntag	Nchemia
Kaner	Scheindel	Liberman	Czarna	Reizfeld	Etel	Sonntag	Nchemia

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Stoelzer	Brandla
Strasler	Nekhemia
Strassler	Bracha
Sudenfeld	Jacob
Szer	Feiga
Szloser	Eli
Sznejbaum	Dawid
Sznejbaum	Lejb
Sznejbaum	Mosze
Sznejbaum	Mosze
Sznejbaum	Szejdel
Sznejbaum	Szajndel
Sznjbaum	Jecheskel
Szpigler	Chaja
Szpigler	Chana
Szpigler	Lejbis
Szpigler	Menia
Szpigler	Mirjam
Szpigler	Mosze
Szpigler	Mosze
Sztelcer	Fridza
Sztelcer	Hersz
Sztelcer	Melech
Sztoser	Buni
Sztoser	Eizik
Sztoser	Feiga
Sztoser	Slomo
Sztoser	Symche
Sztoser	Yisrael
Szup	Perl

Taumim	Berl
Tee	Abraham
Tee	Getcel
Tee	Hinda
Tee	Moische
Teicher	Rachela
Tencer	Ajzyk
Tencer	Chaim
Tencer	Chana
Tencer	Chana
Tencer	Chane
Tencer	Hersh
Tencer	Icchak
Tencer	Lajb
Tencer	Rywka
Trahtenberg	Bronia
Trincher	Chule
Trincher	Leib
Trincher	Mendel
Trincher	Tauba
Trinczer	Chule
Trinczer	Tauba
Trynczer	Jaffa
Tuchmann	Berl
Turm	Abraham
Udem	Samuel
Udem	Shlomo
Udem	Yokheved
Unger	Beila
Unger	Chaja

Unger	Jankel
Unger	Malka
Unger	Malka
Unger	Masha
Unger	Mendel
Unger	Mina
Unger	Rywka
Unger	Towa
Unger	Zlata
Verstaendig	Faiga
Wachtel	Akiba
Wachtel	Israel
Waks	Ahron
Waks	Lea
Waks	Mala
Wald	Sara
Waldman	Abraham
Waldman	Abraham
Waldman	Jakob
Waldman	Mosche
Waldman	Mosze
Waldman	Rachel
Waldman	Rachel
Waldman	Rywka
Waldman	Rywka
Waldman	Salamon
Waldman	Shlomo
Waldman	Shlomo
Waldman	Szlomo
Wang	Brandl
Wang	Ita

Wang	Miryam
Wang	Mosche
Wang	Mosche
Wank	Chana
Wank	Eljahu
Wank	Hersz
Wank	Ita
Wasersztein	Jehoszua
Weinberger	Osias
Weinberger	Sara
Weitz	Feiga
Wyplich	Pesach
Yaroslawicz	Ruty
Zantman	Chaim
Zantman	Chanoch
Zantman	Cyla
Zantman	Mania
Zantman	Mosze
Zantman	Nochum
Zibcener	Feivel
Zibcener	Rivka
Zigman	Wolf
Zontag	Chana
Zontag	Chemja
Zontag	Nechemia
Zontag	Syma
Zuker	David



Postcard from Przeworsk

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