From the Editor’s Desk

Mark Jacobson

The First Habsburg Census

Börries Kuzmany

Jewish Deputies from Galicia

Reuven Liebes

Looking for My Parents

Peter Bein

My Grandmother’s Kitchen

Jay Osborn

Map Corner

Barbara Krasner

A Day with Murray

Shelley K. Pollero

Membership News
Gesher Galicia

Gesher Galicia is a non-profit organization that promotes and conducts Jewish genealogical and historical research on Galicia, a province of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, which is today part of southeastern Poland and western Ukraine.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Steven S. Turner, DDS  
President
Andrew Zalewski, MD  
Vice President
Charlie Katz  
CFO and Treasurer
Milton Koch, MD  
Secretary
John Diener
Mark Jacobson
Tony Kahane
Shelley Kellerman Pollero
Michał Majewski
Renée Stern Steinig

THE GALITZIANER
Jodi G. Benjamin, Editor

KEY ASSOCIATES
GG Secretariat in Poland
Piotr Gumola, Warsaw
GG Representative
Pawel Malinowski, Warsaw
Archival Inventories Manager
GG Representative in Ukraine
Mykhailo Zubar, Kiev
Digital Maps Manager
Jay Osborn, Lviv
IT Manager
Laura Laytham, Orlando
Jewish Galician Heritage
Marla Osborn, Lviv

ACADEMIC ADVISORS
Michal Galas  
Department of Jewish Studies, Jagellonian University, Kraków
Sergey R. Kravtsov  
Center for Jewish Art, Hebrew University, Jerusalem
Antony Polonsky  
Brandeis University, Waltham
David Rechter  
Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies
Dariusz Stola  
Collegium Civitas, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw
Wacław Wierzbieniec  
Department of History and Jewish Culture, Rzeszów University

GESHER GALICIA

PARTNER ASSOCIATES
Sofia Dyak  
Center for Urban History, Lviv
Joanna Król  
POLIN Museum, Warsaw
Jakub Nowakowski  
Galicia Jewish Museum, Kraków
Anna Przybyszewska-Drozd  
Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw

ARCHIVAL ADVISORS
Agnieszka Franczyk-Cegła  
Ossolineum, Wrocław
Magdalena Marosz  
National Archives in Kraków
Kateryna Mytsan  
State Archive of Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast (DAIFO), Ivano-Frankivsk
Fedir Polianskyi  
State Archive of Ternopil Oblast (DATO), Ternopil
Sławomir Postek  
Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD), Warsaw
Igor Smolskyi  
Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv (TsDIAL), Lviv

CONTACT US
Gesher Galicia, Inc.
40 W. 72nd Street, #161C
New York, NY 10023, USA

WEBSITE AND EMAILS
www.geshergalicia.org
For general information: info@geshergalicia.org
For journal submissions: submissions@geshergalicia.org
For membership queries: membership@geshergalicia.org

Submissions Policy

The Galitzianer accepts material broadly linked to Galicia, from 1772 to 1918, and may also include topics pertaining to earlier or later periods. The journal contains family stories, information about unique records, tutorials regarding genealogy research, articles on the history and geography of Galicia, book reviews, and more. The editorial committee reserves the right to revise or reject a submission or to defer its publication until a later date. For more detailed information about our submissions policy and author instructions, please consult the Gesher Galicia website at www.geshergalicia.org/the-galitzianer/#submissions.
From the Editor's Desk

As 2019 ends, Gesher Galicia is bustling with scores of membership renewals, a flurry of research activity, and of course, a new issue of the Galitzianer. Our big research news this fall was the launch of the Przemyśl Identification Project. Its goal is to identify the towns of origin for 577 Jewish index books from the Przemyśl State Archive in Poland—and Gesher Galicia members are exclusively invited to participate in the process. To date, some 30 members have volunteered, and 22 books from 16 towns have been identified for the benefit of our members and the genealogical community.

But Przemyśl is only one of many research projects. The Research Corner in this issue provides an update on another, the Jewish Taxpayers Project. And several others are listed on page 33 of the journal, with more details available on our website. From early Galician population surveys to Holocaust-period data, from vital records to archival student documents, our researchers are expanding the database of information.

We’re also sharing information by holding programs at educational and cultural institutions. I attended one such program this fall, led by board member Andrew Zalewski at Gratz College in Pennsylvania. The room was packed; the attendees were engaged; and the questions continued until well after the program’s scheduled end time. To hold a program in your area—in the US or other countries—contact info@geshergalicia.org.

And the learning continues through this journal. Andrew enlightens us with his article on the first Habsburg census, which offers a surprising amount of information on the Jewish community in Galicia at the time. Börries Kuzmany, from the University of Vienna, follows up on an article from the last issue on Jewish political representation in Galicia. Two Gesher Galicia members—Reuven Liebes and Peter Bein—lead us on journeys to recreate the lives of their murdered family members, one in Lwów and one in Gorlice. And, writer Barbara Krasner gives an honest account of her interview with a Holocaust survivor from Zborów. Finally, our membership chair, Shelley Pollero, wraps up this issue with a brief article on membership news.

Through the support of our members, we are able to conduct and provide access to archival research, operate our Members Portal, publish this quarterly journal, and more. So, as you renew your membership for 2020, ask a friend or family member to join too. Or, consider giving someone the gift of a Gesher Galicia membership. Happy holidays!

jodi B. Benjamin
Research Corner
Successes and Hurdles

by Mark Jacobson,
Gesher Galicia Board Member

ONE OF MY DUTIES as a Gesher Galicia board member has been to supervise the indexing of Jewish taxpayer lists from the 1930s as part of our Jewish Taxpayers Project. Because of the information contained in these lists, they are valuable resources for genealogical researchers. In this article, I will update readers on the status of this project. I will also address an unrelated but concerning research development: a change in Polish law that may stymie our access to some vital records in the Polish archives.

Galician Taxpayer Lists

Through the Jewish Taxpayers Project, Gesher Galicia has indexed taxpayer lists from about 25 former Galician towns in the Stanisławów and Tarnopol regions (present-day Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil, Ukraine, respectively). The Stanisławów lists are held in the DAIFO archive in Ivano-Frankivsk, and the Tarnopol records are held in the DATO archive in Ternopil. The towns we have indexed are listed on our website at www.geshergalicia.org/inventories/taxpayers/. We expect to complete the indexing of all known 1930s Jewish taxpayer record sets from these regions in 2020. Currently, we are working on towns from the Tarnopol area.

Our indexes are freely accessible to researchers through the All Galicia Database. More specific information, such as images of the original records and completed spreadsheets of the indexes, are available to Gesher Galicia members only, via the Members Portal.

The taxpayer lists offer a trove of useful genealogical information, even though some basic questions remain unanswered, such as what is being taxed and why is it that only Jews appear on these lists. Mostly from the mid-1930s, the lists, as indicated in the image above, are generally alphabetical by name (second column) and often include occupation (third column), town, or more likely village in the district (fourth column), and sometimes address. Many also include a spouse’s name or the name of a child or parent. The last column on the snippet above is the amount of the tax. The records are either typed or handwritten, and since numerous records have survived in duplicate, we have the benefit of comparing copies when something is unclear.

I am assisted on the Jewish Taxpayers Project by volunteer Eddy Mitelsbach, who is the fastest indexer I have ever encountered. Gesher Galicia is grateful to him for his diligent efforts.

Hurdle to Galician Record Access

In 2015, a law was passed that placed vital records held in Poland under relaxed access restrictions. This law permitted birth records older than 100 years and marriage and death records older than 80 years to be released from the civil records
The Galitzianer

December 2019

The marriage record from Stryj for the author’s great-uncle and his wife; AGAD, Warsaw

offices (in Polish, urząd stanu cywilnego, or USC) to archives like AGAD in Warsaw, where eastern Galician records are held. Over the past few years, many records have been released, including a large number, now in AGAD, for eastern Galician towns through 1937. The archive created digital images and placed them online, making them available for all to use.

The marriage records have been particularly valuable to Jewish researchers since many of the people identified in these records perished in the Holocaust. Personally, I found the 1932 Stryj marriage record for my grandmother’s brother Maks Tuchfeld, and for the first time, I learned his wife’s name: Cywje Marjem Kammermann, as well as her age and birthplace and her parents’ names. As a result, I was able to file a Page of Testimony in her memory with Yad Vashem and to find her birth record in Stryj so that I could trace her family history. The new records for Stryj have not yet been indexed, but I found the Tuchfeld/Kammermann marriage record by searching the images of Stryj marriages on the AGAD website: www.agad.gov.pl/inwentarze/Mojz300x.xml.

We were expecting more records to be released to the public this year and believed that by next year, we would have available almost all the surviving pre-World War II Jewish marriage and death records for Galicia. Unfortunately, we recently learned that the Polish Ministry of the Interior and Administration quietly amended the 2015 law on access to records early this year, making the release of records much more complex. The change, which took effect on February 21, 2019, apparently reflects the ministry’s interpretation of an EU regulation on protecting data for people who are still alive.

The full impact of this change on the availability of records is still unclear, but the new regulation includes an ominous clause: before the further release of an 80-year-old marriage record or a 100-year-old birth record, the USC offices must prove that everyone in the volumes containing the record in question is deceased. Since USC offices don’t release individual records, but rather, digitize entire volumes and place them online, they must ascertain that the volumes don’t contain information on living people before posting them. Besides placing an enormous burden on the USC office staff, this new requirement will cause long delays in the future release of records.

Obviously, many Jews throughout Poland who were born after 1917 and married after 1937 perished in the Holocaust, and there is no way to prove their deaths. Even if proof were possible, attaining it would consume an incredible amount of time because many record books contain hundreds of births or marriages for any given year. In addition, a marriage record includes both a bride and a groom, doubling the search.

The amended law does contain a clause allowing for the release of record books if after a search, no death record can be found for specific individuals, but at best, this will delay future releases by years. Death records are not affected by this new regulation and should continue to be released, but so far this year, no new Galician records, including death records, have been transferred from the USC archive in Warsaw to AGAD. It remains to be seen what happens going forward.
The First Habsburg Census

by Andrew Zalewski,
Gesher Galicia Board Member

Toward the End of 1772, plans for a quick survey of the Jewish population were announced. The governor’s order, printed in Latin and Polish, stipulated the inspection of Jewish communities in newly formed Austrian Galicia (see “Becoming Habsburg Galitzianers,” in the September 2019 issue, page 12). The three-page directive was to be read, presumably after being translated into Yiddish, “in public, aloud, from the beginning to the end, in a kahal and in a synagogue.” The information collected by the rabbis and the elders of each community was expected to be swiftly delivered to Lemberg a month later, in January 1773.

In his instructions, the governor acknowledged that many Jewish communities had been protesting their share of the poll tax (literally, the head tax; in German, Kopfsteuer), which had been set before the arrival of the Habsburg administration in Galicia. Therefore, a better understanding of the population size and living conditions was needed. In the new census, each Jewish communal council (kahal) was to identify its location, name its leaders, indicate the synagogues under its oversight, and describe previously granted privileges and the state of its finances. This alone would have provided a fascinating window into the times at the outset of Habsburg Galicia. The census, though, demanded much more—all Jews were to be listed by name and age, along with their hometowns, living conditions, occupations, marital status, and estimated wealth. The kahals were to identify where all Galician Jews lived, from towns to suburbs to villages.

The census was not limited to Jews. Between October 1772 and April 1773, separate instructions were repeatedly sent to the owners of landed estates in the hands of the nobility and the Church, as well as to former royal treasury dominions, which until recently, had been leased out by the Polish crown. A simple count of all non-Jews was demanded, with the focus there on the land and its use, to determine the taxes for the Gentiles.

Two Communities Revealed

At the Ossolineum Institute in Wroclaw, Poland, a document was discovered whose significance was unclear at first glance. Its densely written text seemed to refer to several Jewish names and Galician towns, scribbled in a difficult-to-decipher German cursive. Expert translations by Anne Schmidt-Lange and Gesher Galicia member Joshua Grayson brought to light that this document represents the responses by the Galician towns of Jazłowiec and Zaleszczyki (today’s Yazlovets and Zalishchyky, Ukraine) to the 1773 census.

As we discover in the reports, these two communities were situated on royal treasury estates, from which the revenues belonged to Baron Peter Nicolas Gartenberg. From other sources, we learn that Gartenberg was born in Denmark, though he didn’t spend much time there. Moving first to Saxony, Gartenberg fell from grace after allegations of graft. Then in the 1760s, he tried his luck in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where he established royal mints. In return for his service, Gartenberg was awarded lucrative tenancies of several royal possessions.

The census document says that Gartenberg managed the two estates, which were about 30 miles apart, through the royal representative Commissioner Lesseur. Frederick Lesseur was a Frenchman, who had served in the area for the past 10
years and was ennobled for his services to the crown. Strangely, this remote place that became a part of Austrian Galicia seemed accustomed to the presence of foreign-born administrators.

As described in the record, the Jazłowiec kahal oversaw the affairs of the Jews who were spread through the town, its suburbs, and the neighboring 24 villages. They had one synagogue, with six community elders discharging their functions before a rabbi, the ultimate arbiter in legal disputes among the Jews. Only the cases of capital punishment were referred to Commissioner Lesseur. Besides the rabbi, the kahal also employed two cantors and two teachers. The Zaleszczyki kahal was smaller, covering the town and only six nearby villages. The three-man council oversaw Jewish affairs, employing an adjunct rabbi, a cantor, two teachers, and a night watchman.

The document also succinctly describes the historical events of the preceding years. The Bar Confederates (see September 2019, page 12) extorted taxes and other contributions from the Jews in both towns, but this did not save Zaleszczyki from being plundered and set afire. With the conflict in the region spinning out of control, the invading Ottoman Turks then seized Zaleszczyki, killing many Jews and Christians. The town’s taverns and stores were emptied, and more fires caused additional damage. When the refugees returned home, they found no single window or door left intact in their city. Then, the spread of the bubonic plague forced everyone to flee Zaleszczyki. Many Jewish families camped in the fields for months. Others fled to Jazłowiec, which had been spared the Turkish invasion and the scourge of the disease. The refugees remained trapped there for nine months because of the quarantine in 1770, which prevented anyone from leaving. Lastly, before Austria took possession of the territory, Russian forces were keeping a military presence in Zaleszczyki, causing more hardship for the locals.

Both kahals reported having debts. In Jazłowiec, several interest payments on the debt were due to members of nobility and the Catholic Church. In Zaleszczyki, money was owed to the Jews from Jazłowiec for their assistance during the plague’s outbreak and to the royal treasury for rebuilding destroyed homes. Then, there were always taxes to be paid—the poll tax (now owed to the Habsburg treasury) and a local tax on Jewish butchers paid to each municipality. In Jazłowiec, a stone bridge had already been built from the butcher tax, while in Zaleszczyki, the needs of the general population were so great that all the revenue from this tax had already been consumed.

The description of the Jewish community of Jazłowiec in the 1773 census; Ossolineum, Fond 525, folio 7
Meeting Ordinary People

The list of local Jews from Jazłowiec in the census opens with Berco Scheiowiz, a 50-year-old innkeeper born in Zalesie (21 miles away). His 48-year-old wife, Blima, was born locally. The couple seemed well-off, living in a masoned house and having a distillery, with their value estimated at 1,800 Polish guldens. Their household included their son Abraam and his wife, Edl, from Bar szczów (44 miles away). They also employed a Christian female servant.

Scrolling down, we come to Berco Moscowiz, a 20-year-old goldsmith from Leśniów (22 miles away). He and his 26-year-old wife, Dwore, from Mielnica (50 miles away), and his mother-in-law, Edl, moved to Jazłowiec two years earlier. They lived in a wattle-and-daub house, meaning it was made of wooden sticks plastered together with mud or clay and straw; it was valued at 100 Polish guldens. The couple had no children.

Toward the bottom of the economic ladder was a 30-year-old peddler of pottery dishes, Meyer Josephowiz and his 25-year-old wife, Schoena, were both born locally. The couple, their two children (Hersch and Rachel), and the wife’s mother, Dina, lived in a little hut worth only 18 Polish guldens.

In Zaleszczyki, the census starts with 38-year-old Scmul Bercowiz, who had lived in the city for the last 10 years and served as assistant rabbi, hearing legal cases concerning Jews. He was married to his second wife, 24-year-old Dressl, from Śniatyn (46 miles away). Besides receiving 100 Polish guldens from the kahal, the rabbi owned a general store worth 6,000 Polish guldens. His household of 13 people included five children, among them a married daughter, Henje, her husband, Löb, and the couple’s 14-day-old daughter. There were also two servants, 16-year-old Oscher from Bohorodczyn (40 miles away) and 50-year-old Sura, who had come with her daughter from Poland. They all lived in a mud- or clay-covered dwelling, valued at 700 Polish guldens (the record shown below).

The census entry for the household of Scmul Bercowiz from Zaleszczyki; Ossolineum, Fond 525, folio 28

Looking further, we find Sclama Mortcowiz, a 40-year-old peddler, originally from Horodenka (29 miles away), who had lived for more than two decades in Zaleszczyki. His 34-year-old wife, Cypre, was from Śniatyn. The couple and their three children lived in a wattle-and-daub house worth 500 Polish guldens. Not far away was the household of Pesje, a 32-year-old widow with five children and stepchildren, who supported her family with sewing.

Elsewhere, we find the musician Hersch Löbowitz and two men named Löb Abramowiz. One man was a surgeon who lived with his wife, Güttl, and their four small children in a wooden house, which was a rare finding in the town. The other man had come from Berlin 12 years earlier, and until recently, had made a living supplying goods in Russia.

On account of arranged marriages or earning opportunities, Jews from a wide area of not only Galicia but also Wallachia (today’s Romania), Prussia, and eastern Ukraine (separated by a new border) came to live in those two communities. Others were itinerant families, labeled as vagabonds.
At the end of the listings in the census, there are summaries that provide a revealing snapshot of Jewish life at the time. These summaries are extracted in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
<th>Jazłowiec</th>
<th>Zaleszczyki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charity supported</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vagabonds</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women*</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Occupations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Jazłowiec</th>
<th>Zaleszczyki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arendators**</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakers/Butchers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furriers/Tailors</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innkeepers</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagon drivers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Property (houses)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property (houses)</th>
<th>Jazłowiec</th>
<th>Zaleszczyki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owned (city)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons/house***</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range (from–to)</td>
<td>2–26</td>
<td>1–16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*married and widows; **holders of a lease on noble monopolies (alcohol distilleries, mills, inns); ***derived the most common (median)

**Linguistic Quagmire**

The census highlights the linguistic challenges faced by anyone venturing into 18th-century Galicia. For one, to satisfy the new rulers, the names of towns and villages were phonetically transcribed from Slavic words (Polish or Ukrainian) or their Yiddish variants to German words. Some are easy to recognize: Brody was recorded as Broode, Śniatyn as Scnettin, and Stanisławów as Stanislav. Others create more difficult puzzles. For example, Polish Kuty, known as Yiddish Kitev, was recorded as Kittov. Similarly, Monasterzyska in Polish and Monasbrishtsh in Yiddish became Manostriz in its German-like variation.

Even greater linguistic confusion was represented by variable spellings of Jewish names, which continues to this day to confound anyone interested in Jewish Galicia. As an example, let’s examine the entries for a Jewish artisan from Zaleszczyki who made fabric trimmings:

1773: Zacharias SIMONIZ → 1787: Zacharias SZY-MONOWICZ → 1820: Zachariasz SCHACHNER

These variations in the name of the same person not only reflect the transition from the patronymic to the hereditary surname (post-1788) but also show the influence of Yiddish, German, and Slavic languages on the recording of first and last names over time. For Galician Jews, Yiddish, with its Hebrew script, was the primary language. The Jews had little interest or understanding in how their names were recorded phonetically by local non-Jewish clerks in another language, using the Latin alphabet. The issue was not limited to variable transliterations of Yiddish names. After Jews adopted German surnames, Polish or Ukrainian census takers often struggled with German spelling as well. The result of this multilingual milieu was the creation of myriad name variations during the early period of Galicia.

**Galician Panorama**

Looking at the reports from the two communities, one can imagine a painstaking process of tallying all the handwritten results. From the governor’s report, though, we surmise that the results of the first Habsburg census were already known in the summer of 1773.

The Galician population resided in the royal-chartered cities (numbering 187, with Jazłowiec and Zaleszczyki being two of them), in market towns (numbering 93), and in numerous villages (5,567).
While the majority of Jews (about 75 percent) were found in urban settlements, the Gentiles lived mostly in the countryside. The largest numbers of Jews were recorded around Sanok and Lemberg, while the smallest numbers were recorded outside Kraków in western Galicia.

The occupational entries show that Galician Jews were mainly engaged in trade (mostly petty trade) and in various crafts. The more affluent lived in brick or stone buildings or wooden houses. In poorer communities, homes plastered with mud or clay, and often without chimneys, were most common. Jews who leased the monopolies owned by noblemen, such as distilleries, inns, or mills, typically resided in the buildings owned by the noblemen. Even affluent Jews could not own land.

Although the first Habsburg census was imperfect, missing several towns and villages, the picture of the Jewish population it provided was the most accurate until the mid-19th century. The table below shows a puzzling decline in the number of Jews in Galicia in 1776, 1780, and 1840, when looking at the percentage of the overall population. There were forced expulsions of poor Jews that began in 1774, border adjustments in western Galicia in 1776 and 1815, and early Jewish emigration to Hungary and Bukovina. But even these factors do not fully explain the low numbers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Jews</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1773</td>
<td>2,307,973</td>
<td>224,981</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>2,580,796</td>
<td>144,200</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780</td>
<td>2,797,119</td>
<td>151,302</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>4,718,991</td>
<td>283,599</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>5,418,016</td>
<td>575,433</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>5,958,907</td>
<td>686,596</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>8,024,524</td>
<td>871,804</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The more likely explanation is that Jews, for many reasons, intentionally avoided the census takers after 1773, resulting in the underreporting of the Jewish population. In 1774, the imperial treasury doubled the Jewish poll tax, with additional taxes being imposed selectively on Jews in the regulations of 1776 (Allgemeine Ordnung für die gesamte Judenschaft). Not surprisingly, Galician Jews viewed with suspicion the repeated focus on their numbers, interpreting it as state interference in their autonomous affairs, which typically had fiscal consequences. When Jewish leaseholders were banned from the villages in 1784, many of them remained unaccounted for in the countryside. The landed estate owners turned a blind eye to their presence, needing Jews to run local operations. Finally, the military draft introduced in 1788 aggravated Jewish suspicions that names on a census could end up on potential conscription lists.

We can also glean from the last pages of the Jazłowiec and Zaleszczyki reports that after the 1773 census, the Jewish population was not “counted” with the same precision. Instead, its size was estimated by using the additions to and departures from each community. Even when certain communal records became mandated by law, as was the case with vital records in 1784, Jewish communities were slow in following through on the new requirements, making them initially unreliable sources. Only the first modern Austrian census in 1869 yielded more precise data.

Thus, the 1773 census provides a unique panorama of Jewish life in newly established Habsburg Galicia, from its account of recent events and the state of the communities to its details about individual families, occupations, and living conditions. With few sources available about this period, the information about Jazłowiec and Zaleszczyki and the overall results of the first Habsburg census in Galicia enable us to discover a wealth of information about Galician Jewry.
**Jewish Deputies from Galicia**

***Vienna and Lemberg***

by Börries Kuzmany, University of Vienna

**THE LAST ARTICLE** in this two-part series focused on Jewish participation on the municipal level in Galicia (see “Jewish Political Rights” in the September 2019 issue, page 18). In this issue, we follow up with the theme of political rights and representation of Galician Jewry on two other levels: the central parliament in Vienna and the provincial assembly in Lemberg.

The Habsburg Monarchy of the 18th century consisted of ethnically diverse lands held together mainly in the person of the emperor. The enlightened rulers created a central bureaucracy in order to fashion their realm into a modern state. Being absolutist monarchs, however, they did not intend to create central representative institutions. This situation changed only in the middle of the 19th century.

**Representation on the State Level**

For the first time, the revolution of 1848 led to the creation of a central representative body in the Austrian Empire. The holding of general elections was already a success that competed against rising national claims at the provincial level. The newly elected National Diet (Reichstag), originally in Vienna and later in the Moravian city of Kroměříž (in German, Kremsier), consisted of 383 members from all non-Hungarian and non-Italian parts of the Austrian Empire. Only the cities of Brody, Tarnopol, and Stanisławów elected Jewish representatives among the 108 Galician deputies. While the latter two towns elected local pro-Polish candidates, Brody maintained its pro-German and centralist attitude by nominating the famous progressive rabbi Isaak Noah Mannheimer from Vienna.

The key concerns of the Jewish deputies were the free practice of religion, the elimination of any property restrictions (including on land ownership), and the abolition of special taxes paid by Galician Jews. After a stirring speech by Mannheimer, the Reichstag abolished taxes on kosher meat and candles in October 1848. However, before the parliament could vote for the full legal emancipation of Austria’s Jews, the emperor dissolved the assembly. The young Emperor Franz Joseph enacted a constitution in March 1849, which essentially continued to accept the notion of equality for all citizens. Even this constitution was suspended at the end of 1851, though, and the neo-absolutist governments that followed turned back to the many discriminatory practices of the period before the revolution. Still, they did not reintroduce the Jewish special taxes.

After a disastrous military campaign in Italy and a tenuous budgetary position, Emperor Franz Joseph had to accommodate demands for political participation among the rising Austrian bourgeoisie. The return to constitutionalism began in 1860, but it was only in 1861 that the parliamentary assembly, the so-called Imperial Council (Reichsrat), opened its doors in Vienna. After the loss of the Italian provinces and the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (Auszgleich) in 1867, the Imperial Council consisted of 203 representatives. Among its 38 Galician representatives, there were no Jews until 1868, when Maximilian Landsberger, representing Kolomyja, Stanisławów, and Stryj, became the first Jewish Galician representative in the Imperial Council in Vienna.
Until 1873, the provincial diets nominated the deputies to the central parliament. This favored members of the Polish nobility and bourgeois upper classes who dominated the Galician Diet (Landtag in German, Sejm in Polish) in Lemberg. Therefore, not only Jews but also Ruthenians were heavily underrepresented. Further, peasants, workers, and craftsmen rarely made it to Vienna, not to mention women. Finally, Galicia as a whole was underrepresented. Although Galicia accounted for about 28 percent of the population in the Austrian half of the empire, deputies from Galicia made up only about 18 percent of the Imperial Council, with a slight increase to 20 percent after the introduction of universal male suffrage in 1907.

The Imperial Council (Reichsrat) in Vienna in 1900

The first direct elections to the central parliament in 1873 gave way to the emergence of Jewish political mobilization. Not only did Jewish candidates present themselves in overwhelmingly Jewish voting districts but also the Lemberg-based society Shomer Israel (Guardian of Israel) started to act as a political organization. Its mostly Germanophile, liberal Jews formed an electoral alliance with Ruthenian parties, and their three successful candidates later joined the Imperial Council’s liberal parliamentary club. This electoral coalition, however, did not last, and in later decades, Galician Jews elected to the Imperial Council joined the Polish parliamentary club—except for the deputy elected in Brody’s chamber of commerce, who until the mid-1880s stuck to the liberals. The Polish Club became a key ally of the conservative Austrian governments after 1879. Because of the club’s conservative standing, deputies from the Orthodox Makhzikey ha-Das (Upholders of the Faith) movement from Galicia joined this parliamentary group in Vienna. In the last two decades of the 19th century, the Polish Club always allowed a couple Jewish candidates to run on its election lists. Eventually, anywhere from two to five acculturated and progressive Jews would get their ticket to Vienna via the Polish Club.

With the rise of political mass mobilization, the call for universal suffrage increased. The first step to achieve this goal was reached in 1896 when the Austrian Minister-President Kazimierz Badeni added a fifth voting group to the electoral system that enfranchised even those citizens who did not fulfill the taxpaying requirements in the other four voting classes. The final breakthrough came after the 1905 revolution in Russia, when Emperor Franz Joseph agreed to introduce universal and equal male suffrage for the central parliament in the Austrian part of Austria-Hungary. Austria was far behind France and the German Empire, which granted universal male suffrage in 1848 and 1871, respectively, but still before the many countries that introduced it only in or after 1918, like Great Britain, Italy, and Sweden.

The first elections to the Imperial Council conducted under universal male suffrage took place in 1907 and altered the composition of the parliament, with the Christian Social Party and the Social Democratic Party becoming the largest political camps. Galicia delegated 10 Jews to the Vienna Imperial Council. Now Jews accounted for a fair 10 percent of all 106 Galician deputies to the parliament, which largely reflected the Jewish share of the crownland’s total population.
Universal male suffrage not only enlarged but also diversified Jewish representation. Broadly speaking, we can identify three political camps in which Jews were represented. First, there was the Polish Central Election Committee, which was a platform of conservative and moderate liberal parties in Galicia that pre-selected potential candidates who would later join the Polish parliamentary group in Vienna. This camp appealed to the wealthy and acculturated Jewish bourgeoisie on the one hand, and to the conservative Orthodox and Hassidic Jews on the other. In order to compete with rival Jewish candidates in constituencies predominantly inhabited by Jews, Jewish assimilationist politicians called on the Central Election Committee to nominate more Jewish candidates. Their pressure was partly successful when four Jews were elected from these lists.

We can observe a similar phenomenon among Galicia’s Social Democrats, the second important political camp with a Jewish presence. By 1899, the Social Democrats had split into a Ukrainian branch (USDP) and a de facto Polish branch representing Polish workers from Galicia and Austrian Silesia (PPSD). Many Jewish party members were unhappy with the far too openly assimilationist and anti-Yiddish stance of the Polish branch. Still, only a small group broke away in 1905 and formed a separate organization, the Jewish Social Democratic Party (ŻPSD). This new party was not officially recognized, and its two leading Jewish functionaries, Herman Diamand and Herman Lieberman, stayed within the structure of the Polish Social Democrats. The Polish party allowed them to run in constituencies where a Social-Democratic candidate had a good chance to succeed. Diamand and Lieberman were elected in 1907 and reelected in 1911 in Lemberg and Przemyśl, respectively. With the silent support of the Social Democrats, the independent Jewish candidate Adolf Gross won in the Kazimierz voting district in Kraków in both elections.

The Zionists were the third political movement to nominate Jewish candidates in the 1907 elections. The election campaign was tumultuous, including assimilationist denunciations of illegal Zionist activities and police raids against Zionist political gatherings. Eventually, candidates of the Zionist Jewish National Party (JNP) were successful in three cities: Brody (Adolf Stand), Podhajce (Heinrich Gabel), and Czortków (Arthur Mahler). Together with one deputy from Bukovina, they for the first and only time fulfilled the necessary quorum to officially establish a Jewish parliamentary club in the Vienna Imperial Council. The Zionists owed their success to an alliance with other “underdog parties.” The JNP, the Social Democrats, and the Ruthenian National Democrats agreed to support each other in those cases where one of their candidates made it into the second round of the general elections, which was the case if no candidate won an absolute majority in the first round. This electoral coalition was risky because it tied together two electorates that viewed each other with suspicion. Galicia’s Zionists—who despite their national Jewish identity, felt closer affinity to Polish language and culture—were very

A chaotic scene from the Imperial Council, with the proceedings disrupted by the Czech deputies; Das Interessante Blatt June 14, 1900

We can observe a similar phenomenon among Galicia’s Social Democrats, the second important political camp with a Jewish presence. By 1899, the Social Democrats had split into a Ukrainian branch (USDP) and a de facto Polish branch representing Polish workers from Galicia and Austrian Silesia (PPSD). Many Jewish party members were
wary of Jewish public opinion regarding their agreement with the Ruthenians, who were perceived as eternal anti-Semites. Eventually, this alliance did not last, and in the next general elections in 1911, none of the three Galician Zionists were reelected. Nevertheless, like in 1907, the last legislative period of the Austrian parliament again included 10 Jewish representatives from Galicia.

The introduction of universal and equal male suffrage for the central parliament not only increased the number of Jewish candidates but it also widened the political spectrum of what Jewry meant or should mean to Jews. Arguably, the diversification of Jewish opinions had a much stronger democratizing impact than the sheer growth in the number of Jewish representatives. It increased the political mobilization and participation of Jews in Galicia in general, even though on the provincial level, equal suffrage was never introduced.

**Representation on the Crownland Level**

The revolution of 1848 increased political activity among Galicia’s Jews. They often disagreed on how far they should strive for full legal emancipation as Austrian citizens and how far they should support the national autonomy claims of their Polish fellow Galicians. Although the enlightened Jewish intelligentsia disagreed on whether to support Austria’s central institutions or Galicia’s revolutionary movement, which sought weaker ties with Vienna, the majority considered it important to solidarize with the Polish national movement.

Galician Jews also debated about state interference in the Jewish community councils, or kahals. How they came down on this issue depended largely on where they stood on the conflict between supporters of the Haskalah (maskilim), the Jewish Enlightenment movement, and supporters of Orthodox and Hassidic Judaism. Orthodox rabbis tried to regain a hold in the kahals, which were dominated by the Jewish upper class and staunch maskilim, who were often appointed by the state. This conflict eventually reached its peak when the progressive chief rabbi of Lemberg was poisoned by an Orthodox Jew in September 1848.

The Galician Diet convoked by the emperor and elected in April 1848 would have seen among its ranks four Jewish deputies as well as the chief rabbi of Lemberg as an honorary member. However, this parliament never convened because the elected Polish deputies challenged its legitimacy and created a National Council (in Polish, Rada Narodowa) instead. Besides its national rhetoric, this council also pledged to emancipate the Jews, and therefore, three of the earlier elected Jewish deputies joined the Rada Narodowa. Only Brody’s representative objected to participating in this Polish assembly because of Brody’s centralist—and thus pro-German—orientation. The Ruthenian equivalent to the Rada Narodowa, the Supreme Ruthenian Council (in Ukrainian, Holovna Ruska Rada), established in May 1848, never attracted any Jews. Eventually, by the beginning of the following year, the revolution together with any form of representation ended when Emperor Franz Joseph restored his absolute authority.

During the following period of neo-absolutism, the only institution allowing some political participation in Galicia were the three chambers of commerce installed in 1850 in Kraków, Lemberg, and Brody. As all chamber members irrespective of their religion had the same rights, the Jewish economic elite could advance their interests. When Austria returned to constitutionalism in 1861, these chambers of commerce became one of the four electoral bodies (curiae) to the newly introduced Galician Diet; they sent one deputy each to the 150-member provincial parliament. The other curiae of the diet were the great landlords (44 deputies), the larger cities (23 deputies, later 26, and in 1900, 31), and the rural communities (74 deputies). There were also nine (later 12) honorary seats reserved for the Catholic clergy and university
rectors; neither Lemberg’s nor Kraków’s chief rabbis held one of these ex officio seats. In the first legislative period of the Galician Diet, there were four Jewish representatives, from Kraków (Symeon Samuelsohn), Lemberg (Marcus Dubs), Brody (Mayer Kallier), and Kolomyja (Lazarus Dubs).

Besides the chambers of commerce, Jews’ only other chance to be elected was through the curia of the larger cities. Thus, only wealthy and acculturated pro-Polish Jews were represented in the Galician Diet, ignoring the Jewish working class and the rather small but growing Jewish national or Zionist groups. Yet even the Jewish bourgeoisie was not very well represented. Until 1914, Jews never gained more than six representatives out of the 164 members of the provincial parliament.

The sphere of influence of Austria’s provincial assemblies was rather limited compared to the central parliament. Their responsibilities embraced agricultural, cultural, welfare, and most importantly, educational issues. Even though there was never any constitutional regulation granting Galicia self-rule, the crownland’s Polish elites were able to gain maximum autonomy during the decades that followed the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867. Their dominant position in provincial administration and in the diet was increasingly contested by the Ruthenian national movement.

In summary, other than at the municipal level, there were no institutions of political representation in Habsburg Galicia before the revolution of 1848. But even at the local level, Jews did not achieve adequate representation, with the sole exception of the Brody municipal advisory board. Austria’s central parliament, which was founded in 1848 and re-established in 1861 as the Imperial Council, usually included a few Jewish deputies from Galicia. It was only after the introduction of universal male suffrage in 1907 that the number of Galician Jews on the Imperial Council largely reflected the Jewish percentage of Galicia’s total population. These Jewish deputies also represented the breadth of Jewish political views at the time.

This article also describes Jewish representation on the provincial level in the Galician Diet (Landtag, Sejm). Between 1861 and 1914, the number of Jewish deputies in the diet never amounted to more than 4 percent. A new electoral law for the Galician Diet was enacted in 1914 but was never implemented due to the outbreak of the First World War. Nevertheless, it would have only slightly increased Jewish representation. The provincial diet in Lemberg was mainly a representative body for the interests of the ruling economic and political classes. The dominant Polish elites were prepared to consider the interests of the urban Jewish bourgeoisie to a certain extent if they were pro-Polish and non-socialist, which largely corresponded to the position of the province’s Jewish establishment.

Editor’s note: The above article has been adapted from Börries Kuzmany’s original publication “The Rise and Limits of Participation: The Political Representation of Galicia’s Urban Jewry from the Josephine Era to the 1914 Electoral Reform,” East Central Europe 42 (2015), 216-248. Published with the permission of the author and the publisher.
Looking for My Parents

Their Lives Rediscovered

by Reuven Liebes, Gesher Galicia Member

I WAS BORN in Lwów, Poland, in 1934. On a snowy morning in the winter of 1941–1942, my father smuggled me through the ghetto gate—with my parents’ wedding rings, diplomas, and other documents—and handed me over to a Polish man, who hid me in his home for the duration of the war. I never saw my parents again.

For the last 20 years, I have been researching my parents’ and grandparents’ past and gathering information about their lives. I have been greatly assisted in this endeavor by the JRI-Poland and Gesher Galicia websites. I have collected documents and other materials about my family’s history from Polish and Ukrainian archives and from the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. I have also been able to supplement these dry fragments of information with visits to my birthplace—now, Lviv, Ukraine. But I still have some lingering questions that I will never be able to answer.

In Hiding during the Holocaust

Before World War II, my parents were considered part of the assimilated Jewish intelligentsia. My father was an engineer; my mother had a medical degree and worked as a dentist. Being dedicated to their careers, they were not home often, so I was raised by my grandmother and a nanny. I didn’t see my parents much and remember little, but after the war, I learned more about them from some of their friends.

In September 1939, Lwów was occupied by the Soviet army. Having been deemed “bourgeois,” my parents, grandmother, and I were deported to Kazakhstan. In the spring of 1941, we were permitted to return to Lwów, a move that proved to be fatal.

At the end of June 1941, Lwów was occupied by the German army. We were eventually driven into the ghetto, which was surrounded by a wall. The conditions in the ghetto were awful. There were shortages of water and food, and several families were cramped into a single room. I remember there was a false wall in our room, where women, children, and those lacking proper papers hid. If the Gestapo discovered the hideout, we would all face the same destiny. In 1943, my uncle and his family perished in Belżec, and my parents were murdered in the Janowska camp in Lwów. (For more on the Lwów Ghetto, see “Surviving in Lwów,” in the June 2019 issue, pages 31–34).

My father saved my life by giving me to a Polish man named Witalis Łukasiewicz. During the war, my father and Witalis worked as engineers in the railway workshops in Lwów. My father worked there as a Jewish slave, emerging from the ghetto every morning with the other Jewish slaves and returning every evening. Witalis agreed to hide me in his apartment, located in a building with other apartments that were occupied by German officials and Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans living in Nazi-occupied Poland and considered to be German collaborators). My hideout was at the same time a safe place and a very dangerous place for me, made riskier by the fact that Witalis was a member of the Home Army (Armia Krajowa, the Polish underground military organization). Although I was well treated, fear was my daily companion. I hid in a rear room—in a wardrobe, underneath a bed, or in a closet.
After Witalis received a few letters from people threatening to reveal that he was hiding a Jewish child, I was transferred to the home of an older woman and her adult daughter, relatives of Witalis’ wife, Łucja. During the day, I remained hidden in a small back room. At night, I helped prepare bundles of vegetables to be sold by the older woman in the market square. I eventually returned to Witalis’ home and remained there until the Red Army liberated Lwów in July 1944. Expecting to be arrested by the Soviet secret police, Witalis sent me to an orphanage, from where I was released to friends of my parents who had survived the war. I returned with them to Poland.

In 1950, I emigrated to Israel. In 2009, Witalis and Łucja were posthumously honored as Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem for saving my life.

**My Quest**

Over the last two decades, I have been trying to uncover the details of my family’s past. My quest began after finding my parents’ and grandparents’ names on a JRI-Poland database. I unearthed details about their families through the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (AGAD). I discovered the birthdates, death dates, and marriage dates of family members I had never known, as well as the addresses of where my relatives had once lived. I also found my mother’s name listed in a commemorative book of Polish dentists.

From Poland’s Military Historical Office, I obtained 11 pages of records about my father’s service in the Austrian army during World War I and his later service as an officer in the Polish army. Through the Jewish Historical Institute, I discovered a short biography of my father in the Jewish Almanac, along with a small photo.

Via the internet, I made contact with a Ukrainian woman in Lviv named Irene, a translator who assisted me during my visits there. She was particularly helpful in the Lviv archives, where the catalogue was handwritten in Ukrainian in Cyrillic script. The files in the archives revealed treasures for me: a photo of my father, samples of my mother’s and my father’s handwriting, and documents from the schools my parents attended.

With all the information I gathered, I have been able to piece together my family’s history, which had previously been lost to me.

**My Paternal Grandparents**

My grandfather was a man named Józef Liebes, who was born in 1856. He married his first wife, Jetty/Jita, who gave birth to two children: Wiktoria (1882) and Cudek (1886). Jetty died in childbirth,
and my grandfather later married my grandmother, Róża (Rejzel in Yiddish) Bick. My grandparents had three children together: Zuzana (1891), Bernard, (1892), and my father, Maurycy (1897).

Different records identify different jobs for my grandfather, from accounting to brokerage to wood commerce. I wonder how he was able to support my grandmother and their five children in their modest apartment in a Jewish neighborhood on Żółkiewska Street. On my father’s side of the family, I only remember Uncle Bernard and his son Felek, both of whom were murdered at Belzec.

**Who was Maurycy Liebes?**

Although my father’s family was religious, my father attended public schools. He studied at the Świętego Marcina Elementary School for four years and at a trade school for two years. At 14, he entered high school in a non-Jewish area of the city that was far from home and in 1916, graduated with a high school diploma.

After high school, my father volunteered to serve in the Austrian army during World War I and was sent to an officer’s course, likely because of his education. He fought on the Romanian and Italian fronts and rose to the rank of officer. He was wounded in combat and was awarded three medals.

The war ended on November 11, 1918, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire was dissolved. However, by that time, violence had already broken out in Lwów between Polish and Ukrainian forces vying for control of the city. Once the Polish army seized Lwów later that month, my father was able to return to his family.

In June 1919, he volunteered to serve in the Polish army as a lieutenant. On leave in the fall of 1919, he enrolled in the polytechnic university in Lwów, but at the end of February, he was called to active duty again to fight in the Polish-Soviet War. He

---

Maury Liebes’ enrollment document from the polytechnic university in Lwów was discharged in November 1920 and continued to serve as a reserve officer until 1925.

During his studies, my father lived with his parents and earned money by giving private lessons. It appears from the records that he was active in the Jewish community. His name is on the Jewish community voters list as well as on the membership lists of the Jewish Students Association, the Jewish Student Union, and the Jewish Engineers Association. In 1925, he graduated with a degree as a transportation and bridge engineer. He took a job as chief engineer with the Maximilian Kogut construction company.

One subject I wish I could have discussed with my father was his experience with anti-Semitism at different stages in his life. The records indicate that the public schools he attended in his youth served predominantly Poles and Ukrainians, and these schools sometimes created a hostile environment for Jewish students. I wonder whether my father experienced such hostility when he was a student. Since Jews also faced some anti-Semitism in the military, what motivated my father to volunteer for both the Austrian and Polish armies? Finally, Polytechnic would become notoriously anti-Semitic in the 1930s, where Jewish students were beaten by Endeki, members or sympathizers of the National Democrats, a right-wing political party.
with a strong anti-Semitic platform (see the June 2019 issue, pages 5–6, detailing anti-Semitic acts by similar groups at Lwów University). Did my father experience anti-Semitism as a university student in the 1920s or as a professional in the 1930s?

Who was Ida Rosenberg?

Born in 1902, my mother, Ida Rosenberg, was the only daughter of Morche/Markus Rosenberg and Rachel Sokal. The Rosenberg family was large, and I can imagine my mother having had a lively family life with her cousins. My grandparents seemed to have been financially sound, making it possible for them to live a comfortable life with my mother in a modest apartment at 3 Rybia Street. The apartment had been steps away from the Tempel, the magnificent Progressive synagogue that was blown up by the Nazis. I wonder whether my mother and her parents used to go there to pray. (Not only were synagogues destroyed by the Nazis but so was the large Jewish cemetery in Lwów, whose matzevot [tombstones] were used for paving sidewalks. And during the Soviet rule, a city market was built on the cemetery’s former site.)

When I was in Lviv, I located my mother’s apartment, which has not changed since the days she lived there with her parents. When the current residents invited me in, it was hard to believe that I was standing in the place where my mother had lived from birth until her marriage!

From 1912 to 1920, my mother attended the Józefa Goldblatt-Kamerling school on Asnyka Street, which was a well-regarded private gymnasium for Jewish girls. The school had been operating in Lwów since 1899. My mother was a student there during years marked by the turmoil of war, pogroms and riots.

From 1920 to 1927, my mother studied medicine at Lwów University. Although she practiced as a dentist, she graduated in 1928 as a Doctor of Medicine, presumably because there were no separate dental schools at that time. Students interested in becoming dentists graduated from medical school and then specialized in dentistry. My mother worked as a dentist in Professor Antoni Ciesyński’s clinic and had a private clinic as well. Many of her cousins were also physicians.

Lingering Questions

My trips to Lviv were very emotional for me. They provided real-life context for the information I uncovered in my research. In addition to visiting my mother’s old apartment, I located the place where my father had lived with his family. I also saw the building where my parents and I lived in the Lwów center before the war, in a multi-room apartment that I can still remember. And, I visited the schools and universities where my parents once studied.

I ended my visits to Lviv by walking under the bridge on Zamarstynowska Street, where the entrance to the ghetto was. I walked along the ghetto streets where we had lived and past the former Janowska camp—the site of my parents’ murder, which is now used by the Ukrainian army. I continue to ask myself how my parents and other Polish Jews failed to see the imminent danger from the persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany and why they didn’t emigrate when they still had the chance. These are questions I cannot answer.
My Grandmother’s Kitchen

Return to Gorlice

by Peter Bein,
Gesher Galicia Member

A SUITCASE HIDDEN for 40 years in my childhood home sent me on a journey to meet my past. It was the suitcase my father carried in 1938 on Kristallnacht when he fled from Leipzig, Germany. I did not realize then how far back this journey would take me, where I would go, and what rough terrain I would travel along the way.

Origins in Gorlice

My paternal grandmother, Malka, née Kalb, was born in 1886. As was common at the time, my grandmother took her mother’s last name because her parents’ Jewish ritual marriage was not recognized by the state. The family lived in western Galicia in the town of Gorlice.

Gorlice, on the slopes of the Carpathian Mountains, was founded in 1354 and is approximately 63 miles from Kraków. Although the town had a ban against Jews beginning in the 16th century, by the middle of the 1700s, there were some Jewish families living in Gorlice near the rynek (the village square), and by the later 1800s, nearly half the inhabitants of the town were Jewish. During that time, Jews were significantly involved in the growth of the oil industry in Gorlice, which also boasts the installation of the world’s first kerosene streetlamp.

In 1874, a devastating fire destroyed much of the city, which was quickly rebuilt, only to suffer heavy damage again during World War I. During the interwar period, Jews not only owned most of the shops in town but also played a political role as representatives in municipal government. In 1939, the population of the city was approximately 9,000. According to estimates, about half those inhabitants were Jewish, among them, many observant and religious Jews, with Zionists represented as well.
From a Yizkor book that I purchased in Jerusalem, I learned that my family had operated a bakery in Gorlice for generations. I also discovered that my great-grandfather, Menasche Frauwirth, had been a cantor and had been granted the right to sell cheesecake and "l’chaim," (a reference to alcohol) to the congregation during the week.

In about 1905, my grandmother left Gorlice and immigrated to Leipzig, Germany, with my grandfather, Hersch Bein. My grandparents raised three children in Germany; my father, Max, was the middle child, born in 1911. Unbeknownst to my grandmother then, world events would eventually bring her back to the place of her birth.

The Polenaktion

According to family lore, on October 27, 1938, my father returned home from work to find a police car in front of the Leipzig apartment he shared with his mother. Afraid to go upstairs, he hid across the street and soon saw the police emerge from their home and put his mother into the car. She was taken to the main railway station in Leipzig, where Jewish deportees were reportedly packed into cattle cars for their train ride into exile. Since my grandfather had died in 1929, she made this journey alone.

My grandmother’s deportation was part of the Polenaktion, when as many as 17,000 Jewish Poles living in Germany—men, women, and children—were deported to Poland (see “In My Grandfather’s Words” in the December 2018 issue, page 22). The underlying cause of this sudden deportation was that Poland, fearing an influx of Polish Jews from Germany, had decreed that Poles who had resided abroad for a certain length of time were required to have their passports validated by October 29, 1938, in order to maintain their Polish citizenship. The German response was to take Polish Jews by train from all across Germany, dump them at the Polish border, and leave them to fend for themselves. The largest group of deportees—including my grandmother—ended up in the Polish town of Zbąszyń. Having no accommodations, many lived in horse stables, old army barracks, a flour mill, and other places.

The deportation was so sudden that according to documentation in the Underground Warsaw Ghetto Archives, some people arrived in Zbąszyń wearing slippers and pajamas. The deportees received assistance from Jewish communities and organizations like the Joint Distribution Committee, as well as from the Polish Red Cross. Somehow, my grandmother managed to make her way to Gorlice, even though any money carried by the deportees in excess of 10 German marks was confiscated by the Germans. Resettlement of the deportees was slow, with the refugee camp in Zbąszyń finally emptied by the end of August 1939.

There was a direct link between the Polenaktion and Kristallnacht. A young man named Herschel Grynszpan was so angry to learn of his family’s plight during the Polenaktion that he entered the German embassy in Paris and shot a German diplomat. Under the guise of retaliating for this action, the Nazis incited the riots of Kristallnacht on November 9–10, 1938.

On Kristallnacht, traveling alone, my father flew from Boblingen, in the south of Germany, to Zurich and then on December 8, boarded a steamship at Boulogne-sur-Mer in the north of France. The SS Nieuw Amsterdam carried him to safety at Ellis Island, where he was bailed out by a cousin, who posted a $500 surety bond on his behalf. My grandfather’s sister had immigrated to the United States some years earlier.

Letters from My Grandmother

From 1939 to 1941, my father and grandmother corresponded, while he was in New York and she was in Gorlice. Imagine, the Nazis occupiers in
Poland were delivering mail to the Jews! I found the now-tattered letters bound with old shoelaces in my father’s weathered suitcase that I discovered some years ago in my childhood home. The suitcase had been buried at the bottom of his closet for about 40 years. Some of the letters were stamped Geöffnet, meaning opened, in German, and imprinted with the German eagle and a swastika. Other letters coming from family and friends in other parts of Europe were marked censored. However, after December 7, 1941, the letters from my grandmother stopped coming and the letters from my father were returned to him, because mail service was suspended after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the declaration of war with Germany.

After discovering the hidden letters, I wanted to know what they said, but my father would have nothing to do with translating my grandmother’s German. When I gave him a letter to translate, he would say, “Take these letters away. I never want to see them again.” So, every Tuesday, I met a friend at the Aurora Café in Atlanta, Georgia, where he translated a letter, and I scribbled down my grandmother’s words as quickly as I could.

Some of the letters read just as you might expect of a letter from a mother to her son. For example, in one letter, she asked my father to send her his picture. In the next letter, she told him he looked thin and should eat more, “not just vegetables, but eat a lot of noodles.” Similarly, on November 14, 1938, after learning that my father was in Zurich, my grandmother wrote, in typical maternal fashion, “Did you take your watch? Are all the papers in the cabinet?” More bleakly she added, “You can imagine how painful this is for me. I don’t believe any more in going home, now the way things look.”

About a month later, she said in another letter:

“I also hope that you my dear boy will be Metzlich [successful] because you have always been good to me and saw to it that I didn’t lack anything. You should have happiness in your life. You can already see how lucky you are that you had G-d’s praise that you have gotten out of the fire. I greet you and kiss you countless times and wish you lots of luck in your new home with all the relatives. Your loving mother who hopes for your happiness.”
In some of her letters, my grandmother wrote about how well her relatives treated her in Gorlice. She also mentioned the people she had seen, some of whom were family friends from Leipzig. In January 1939, she informed my father that she had moved into an apartment in Gorlice after having stayed with her brother, where five people had slept in the same room: “Thanks to G-d I slept the first night in my apartment,” she wrote. “I have a nice one. As big as our room was but not furnished in the same way. … The kitchen is also nice and betampte.” Betampte literally means tasty in Yiddish, but in this case, I think she meant cozy or homey. Her apartment was on Piekarska Street. Ironically, piekarz means baker in Polish, and my grandmother came from a long line of bakers.

In another letter, she wrote about the weight of the memory of what she left behind in Germany:

I would like to forget about the things I left at home. When I can’t sleep I think about what I don’t have. I’ve adjusted to it and tell myself that my things burned down, but after 30 years of having a household one can’t forget that easily.

In April of 1941, she wrote about Passover:

I bought 2 kilos of matzoh from the money Lola [my father’s fiancé] gave me for my birthday. I hope G-d will allow us to be together with dear Lola. I dreamed you came for a visit. I hope you are thinking of me as I am thinking of you. It may be a while until we can be together. I was invited by my landlady to eat. You can imagine my feeling to have Passover with a stranger, but I take it.

When I realized I had envelopes with return addresses, a crazy idea popped into my head: one day I could go visit my family’s apartment on Uferstrasse in Leipzig and my grandmother’s apartment on Piekarska Street in Gorlice. I knew that someday I had to see that betampte kitchen in the apartment from where the letters in the suitcase had come. But first, I had to overcome an internal resistance to traveling to Germany and Poland, to the places where so many in my family perished. I especially did not want to go to Belżec, the concentration camp where my grandmother, many other family members, and another estimated 500,000 people were murdered. But I did.

**Seeing It for Myself**

When I learned that November 2008 would be the 70th anniversary of Kristallnacht, I became obsessed with the idea of being at my father’s apartment in Leipzig, 70 years after he had fled. I don’t know why; I just had the feeling I had to go. I flew to Berlin and took the one-hour train ride to Leipzig. Through JewishGen, I had made a contact who turned out to be the secretary for the one synagogue in Leipzig—of the original 12—to have survived Kristallnacht. When I went to her office, she handed me the membership cards of my father and grandmother from 1935. My family had belonged to this synagogue—at that moment, I no longer believed in the word coincidence.

The following summer, I returned to Leipzig to dedicate a Stolperstein at my grandmother’s doorstep. Stolperstein is a project of the German artist Gunter Demnig, who was taken with the thought of how many victims had become nameless and wanted to do something about it. He inscribes the top of a four-inch brass cube with the victim’s name and embeds it in the cobblestones in front of the victim’s home. Passersby then “stumble” upon the memory. A friend said that those who bend to read the inscription look as if they are bowing to the memory of the victim.

A year later, I flew to Warsaw, met a friend (the one who had translated my grandmother’s letters), and drove to Gorlice to see my grandmother’s apartment. Before my trip, I reread her letters for the umpteenth time. There was one that hadn’t been translated yet that I brought with me. My friend translated it for me from a café in Gorlice with a view of my grandmother’s apartment.
On the internet, I was able to find Piekarska Street, near the rynek, but then, I noticed something I hadn’t realized before: nearly all my grandmother’s letters had the Piekarska return address, except for the last few, which came from an address on Krotka Street. I found the location of Krotka online, not far from Piekarska. I also found a hand-drawn map of the area, which contained a heavy dashed line labeled Granica, which means border. This dashed line marked the border of the Gorlice Ghetto, confirming that my grandmother had been forced to move into the ghetto created by the Nazis in October 1941. Surprisingly, her letters said nothing of it—at least not the ones that got through the Nazi censors.

In Gorlice, we were able to find Piekarska 1, where my grandmother had lived. My excitement piqued, as I had been planning this moment for years. I entered the building and walked up the stone stairs, worn and chipped. They looked as if they might have been the same ones my grandmother walked when she went up to her apartment with the betampte kitchen in 1939. But inside the apartment, I had quite a surprise. My imagination was saying, “Shabbos candles on doily-covered dark wooden furniture, maybe challah baking in the oven.” Reality said, “The woman sitting under the hair dryer with bits of foil in her hair had come to the hairdresser 70 years after my grandmother had lived there.” Later, I found the apartment at Krotka 2, inside the border of the old ghetto. The red flowers in the first-floor window box of that building didn’t fit the image in my mind of the dark ghetto.

I also drove to the site of the Bełżec concentration camp near the border with Ukraine, where my grandmother and other family members had been murdered. That horrible place, where about half a million people were killed and buried in mass graves, is not of this world. There are markers for each town that sent victims to Bełżec. I pulled a sheet of paper from my pad and wrote my grandmother a note. I placed it under a rock near the Gorlice marker and looked around to see if anyone was watching. Was it a crazy idea? I just wanted her to know that I had come.

A large part of what I know about my family history did not come from my father’s mouth, as he was reticent to say much about his past. But when I realized that his past was also my past and that he didn’t own it, I decided I had to go find out for myself. I did research. I traveled. I pieced together my puzzle from whispered tales. I relived the journey to America through my father’s old passport and listened to the stories of my family in a stack of letters. I am grateful to have received this precious gift from my grandmother—whom I can say I know but have never met.

**Editor’s Note:** This article was adapted in part from Peter Bein’s memoir, Maxwell’s Suitcase, Journey Home Press 2018, chronicling his 10-year journey to discover his family’s past, which began after he opened his father’s hidden suitcase. For more information, see PeterBein.com.
Map Corner

1850 Cadastral Map of Gorlice

by Jay Osborn,
Gesher Galicia Digital Map Manager

THERE ARE MANY avenues we can follow to explore the history of places where our ancestors lived. These different approaches enable us to create and enrich context for our family stories and for the scraps of records and data we collect in our research. In his article beginning on page 20 of this journal, Peter Bein describes his journey of discovery to the former Galician city of Gorlice, today in southeast Poland, where his grandmother was born and where she returned during World War II after being deported from Leipzig, Germany. With the help of a historical cadastral map and other resources, I will add further details about some of the places and events in Mr. Bein’s article.

For much of its history, Gorlice was a small city. Galician and Polish censuses from the mid-19th century until the 1920s show a steady population count between four and five thousand. Although the number of houses declined significantly as a result of severe damage during World War I, most of the people stayed and rebuilt. Gorlice has since swelled to six times its earlier population, but the center still retains most of its historical structure and layout.

On the next page is an excerpt of a very detailed 1850 cadastral map that was recently posted to the Gesher Galicia Map Room. By comparing satellite images of the modern city with this map, it is possible to contrast city features across 170 years. Locating the rynek (market square) becomes a starting point for virtual exploration of both the contemporary and historical landscapes.

Walking the Neighborhoods on Foot or Online

During his visit to the modern city, Mr. Bein found two buildings that matched return addresses on letters from his grandmother. Using web-mapping services (OpenStreetMap, Google, HERE, etc.), these locations can also be found and transferred to the 1850 map to further investigate the neighborhood in history. On the map excerpt shown on page 27, I have circled Mr. Bein’s two building locations, which are west of the rynek and quite close to each other, just a few minutes’ walk apart.

This excerpt of the historical map reveals other important features of the neighborhood as well. The large building numbered 263 and colored in dark red (signifying a masonry building of significance) is the Great Synagogue, one of several built on this site over two centuries. Today the building still stands, re-purposed as a bakery after the war and the destruction of Gorlice’s Jewish community. Further research, using information from Virtual Shtetl and JewishGen KehilaLinks, shows that a smaller Hasidic synagogue was built nearby. The synagogue survived until very recently, now marked by a memorial plaque at the site. The two synagogue sites are identified with squares on the map excerpt on page 27. During the later 19th and early 20th centuries, about half of Gorlice’s population was comprised of Jews. It’s easy to see that this area was a significant Jewish neighborhood. Not surprisingly, as Mr. Bein relates, it also formed part of the ghetto, where Jews were imprisoned during the Nazi occupation of the city.
Although the 1850 map was surveyed a bit too
Markers of the Early Oil Industry

The 1850 map was surveyed a bit too early to indicate the oil fields in Gorlice. However, it is possible to locate the street intersection where the world’s first kerosene streetlamp was installed, as mentioned by Mr. Bein. It’s across the Ropa River from the rynek, shown in detail in the adjacent map excerpt. Today, next to the building numbered 462 on the historical map and drawn in red hash lines (indicating it was built after the original survey of 1850), the city has erected a monument and a replica of the first lamp. On the face of the building, a mural depicts the lighting of the lamp, which took place a few years after the 1850 map was made, as well as scenes from the region’s oil fields.

The river’s name also relates to petroleum, which was collected from seep points on the ground in the region before the development of drilled wells. Ropa is the Polish word for oil.
Elsewhere around the City

Just east of the rynek, both on the large 1850 map on page 26 and in the modern city, there is a large Roman Catholic church. The building shown on the map was destroyed in the 1874 city fire but was rebuilt; a church there has served the community since the 14th century. To the west of the rynek, and beyond the residential core of the city in 1850, a large Christian cemetery is visible, which is significantly more expansive today.

No Jewish cemetery appears on the 1850 map because the Jewish cemetery was established just outside the Gorlice cadastral (property tax) area, to the northwest, in the direction of the adjacent village of Stróżówka. Like in many towns and villages in former Galicia, this cemetery was heavily damaged during World War II. The Jewish headstones were stolen and used in roadwork and building foundations. After the war, a Jewish descendants group worked to recover several hundred of the stones and return them to the cemetery, where several memorials were erected.

Also not featured on the 1850 map are the many cemeteries for soldiers killed during World War I that dot the landscape in and around Gorlice, whose entire population was affected by the war. Military cemetery No. 91 includes the graves of Jewish soldiers who fought and died nearby during the intense Gorlice-Tarnów Offensive, which lasted from spring to autumn of 1915, a Central powers success that pushed the opposing Russian Empire out of Galicia—for a while.

There are many more features on the 1850 map to explore. For example, circled on the map excerpt on this page, there’s a large mill numbered 255, just outside the residential area on a branch of the river. This mill may have been operated by Jews, as many mills in Galicia were.

Historical maps like the 1850 map of Gorlice add another layer of context to online and traditional resources. Hopefully, these brief examples will inspire others to explore the Gesher Galicia Map Room as a component of their research.

FACES of GALICIA

Isak Moses Knisbacher (1887–1918) and his sister Sura (circa 1893–1941), standing behind their mother, Cirl Banner (?–1941), and their father, Dov Berl (1862–1925). Photo circa 1910 in Stanisławów; submitted by Isak’s grandson Jeffrey Knisbacher (Gesher Galicia member).
A Day with Murray

by Barbara Krasner

ONE MIGHT THINK this old man at the Marina del Rey Farmer’s Market is in his last days. But the twinkle in his eyes gives away his joie de vivre. He is dressed in a gray herringbone suit, a white shirt with gold cufflinks, and a necktie. Not the usual hey-I’m-going-to-the-farmers-market attire. He could afford the suit. Before he retired, he was a furrier. Now he’s a widower on the prowl. His hair is white, where he has hair. He is mostly bald with ears that fall from his head like rose petals. He speaks with a heavy Yiddish accent. And behind the accent, behind the eyes, he holds secrets. It’s my job today to get at those secrets.

This man, Murray Adler, my Grandma Eva’s first cousin, knew the very house where my grandmother was raised, whom she resembled, why she came to America alone. He knew the tenor of her voice, the way she held her tea or coffee, her kindnesses. He knew her. I did not. I never knew her. She died six years before I was born, and I want him to fill in the gaps. He would know her in a way even my father, her eldest, never could have.

Our Meeting

It is Sunday, January 13, 1991. Murray waves hello to me, so I must remind him of someone. My grandmother? My grandfather? Either of my parents? I don’t know whether to hug him, shake his hand, or do the European one-kiss-per-cheek thing. While I’ve been waiting for this moment, I am frozen in place the way a Passover matzah ball sticks to the stomach. I never knew my grandmother, my father’s mother, but here today, I get to meet her cousin Murray.

My mother had Murray’s Los Angeles address in her ancient address book. I wrote him a letter, and then we spoke on the phone when I learned I had to take a business trip to San Diego. I finally had a business reason to travel to southern California! He sounded excited. I wonder if my grandmother sounded like him, or did she lose her accent over the years? And I wonder about his life too, and about his personal losses.

This is what I know—or what I think I know—about him based on my one year of research into my family history: He is the son of my grandmother’s Aunt Frieda. He and his younger brother, Bernhard, escaped from Vienna and went first to Switzerland and then to London around 1938. My father met up with them in 1945 and had photos of them at Trafalgar Square to prove it. Murray’s parents and sister, Eva, were exterminated during the Holocaust. Another cousin had been with the US Army and found a note tacked to their apartment door saying that they had been removed to Minsk.
Serendipity has brought me to southern California, and I know the highlight of my trip is Murray. We arrange to meet at 10 am. It’s a balmy day, the kind of day you could spend hour after hour sipping cocktails poolside. But here there is no aroma of chlorine, and it’s too early to drink. The place, a blend of inside counters and outside turquoise awnings, is already busy. We sit at a round table covered with a linen cloth.

I suspect Murray’s been a regular farmer’s market customer for years. Maybe it reminds him of market day back in his Austro-Hungarian shtetl, where peddlers shrieked their wares one day a week—pots and pans, fish, fowl, books, ribbons—everything one might need for daily existence. Even I visited the market every Saturday morning in Konstanz, Germany, during my junior year abroad to buy fresh flowers for my stuffy dorm room and a sausage because I can’t resist them.

He takes my hand in his before we sit down. “Chava Pesia,” he says, “you are the granddaughter of Chava Pesia.”

“Why do you call her that?” Pesia was her mother’s name. We take seats close enough to talk and far enough to face each other.

He leans back in his chair and smiles. “Because I had a sister Chava [in English, Eva], and there was Chava Pollack. So many girls named Chava after their grandmother. She died, you know, in an accident over the river.”

“So you attach the mother’s name to each of the girls?”

He nods.

I take out a legal pad with my list of prepared questions. But my questions seem too rigid, too boring for the likes of him. He’s an imp, a leprechaun, and I’m certain he has stories to tell.

“I was born in Zborów [present-day Zboriv] in 1910,” he says. “That’s in Galicia, now the Ukraine. But it was Poland before. During the First World War, I must have been not even 10 yet. Bombs were falling over our heads; we were on the front, so we moved to Vienna, the five of us.”

I wonder if it pains or pleases him to talk about family so long ago, family that decided to stay in Vienna.

Fast-forwarding to the late 1930s, he says, “My parents decided we boys should leave.”

“That must have been one heck of a family discussion.”

I can imagine them around a dining room table, his mother wringing her hands and her daughter comforting her. Voices raised in Yiddish. Lots of hand gestures. Yes, the boys must go. They may never see each other again.

But I am determined to get through my questions about my grandmother. I fire my first question: Any idea when Herman and Pesia Zuckerkandel (my great-grandparents) died or how old they were when they died? I see him as a stand-in for my grandmother, not as the man who somehow made his journey after the war to Holland and then back to Vienna. I don’t ask him where he was during the war.
He tells me my grandmother gave a party for him when he finally arrived in the US in 1948 on the SS Queen Elizabeth from Southampton. She sponsored and paid for his immigration, just like she did in 1951 for her own baby brother, the only surviving member of her birth family. Other relatives, he says, didn’t want to help, but they attended the party nonetheless. I could probe here, but I don’t. Is it because I don’t want to hurt him, I don’t want him to think of unpleasant events, places, and people? Or, am I just inexperienced and holding on too rigidly to my own agenda?

I take notes in my genealogy notebook. I don’t think to record our conversation for posterity—to preserve his stories, his voice, his laughter, his sadness. I now ask about all the cousins named Eva: Eva Pollak, Eva Zuckerkandel (my grandmother), Evelyn Sass, and Eva Adler (Murray’s sister). Who was the eldest? When was the eldest born? I start mapping out a family tree, starting off with their grandparents, whose daughters each named a daughter after their mother.

Murray is obliging. He answers my questions, but he wants to tell me his own story and stories about the family. He explains that his mother and Aunt Tschantsche Pollak (she called herself Jenny in America) were like twins. He says, “In our house, there was always talk of the Pollaks.”

Murray applied to come to America in 1938, to be sponsored by Adler cousins who belonged to the Zborówer Society, which was a landsmanschaft, an organization of Jewish immigrants from the same town who helped their own and maintained their culture. They never sent an affidavit, though. When Murray finally arrived in America 10 years later as Moses Adler, he was sponsored by my grandmother, and he lived with the Pollaks. He says Aunt Tschantsche, a widow, did button and fur piecework. His cousin Izzy Pollak would give her a few dollars too. Aunt Tschantsche didn’t want her children—Eva, Izzy, and Sarah—to have a stepfather, and at least one daughter didn’t want her to remarry, although according to Murray, she’d had opportunities. Murray became a furrier, and my grandmother ordered Persian lamb from him. He only stayed in the New York area for a year and a half.

“I came to California the end of 1949,” he says. “It was a vacation, and I liked it here. I never returned to New York.” He married Mary Marofsky in 1951. She died of a heart attack in 1986, and he still misses her terribly.

He tells me my grandfather was a small man. Sure, at 5’6”, my grandfather was short, but Murray is two inches shorter. Still, Murray insists, “He must have been a good businessman, but Eva was the boss.” Murray gives me contact information for my grandmother’s sister-in-law in Florida, the surviving wife of her youngest brother.

We promise to stay in touch, and we did exchange letters for a while. I think it pleased him to correspond with “Chava Pesia’s” family. He sent me a change-of-address form in 1995. He was getting married again at 85 and moving to Miami Beach. Between his move and my job and single motherhood, we lost touch. According to Ancestry.com, he died at age 100 in 2010. All those years I could have—should have—been in touch. But I wasn’t. Murray had no children.

**Twenty-Six Years Later**

After our face-to-face meeting, I thought I got what I came for—names and dates, glimpses of my grandmother. But it’s taken me years to realize that I didn’t. It’s now 2017, and I’m still appalled at what I didn’t ask. I never asked Murray what happened to him during the war, or how it felt when he learned of his family’s fate. I am nauseated by my inability to have asked the penultimate and most difficult question: What was it like to survive the worst tragedy in modern history?
I am embarrassed at what I did ask. Rookie questions. But then I had only been working on the family history for about a year. I hadn’t yet done any archival research, hadn’t yet hired researchers in Lviv and Warsaw. On the legal pad that I brought to the interview, there were questions about family members’ names, birthdates, birthplaces, and jobs. There were inquiries about the existence of old photos, letters, diaries, documents, and family stories. I never even asked how the heck to spell Tschantsche. I did not uncover Murray’s secrets. I think I skipped the questions about the Holocaust. I did not record the interview. I failed as an interviewer and family historian.

I have since found an Austrian website with the Holocaust testimony of Murray’s brother, Bernie Adler. He never mentions Murray, only their parents and their sister, Eva. I am horrified at what I learn. In August 1939, three days before Hitler invaded Poland, Eva and her parents tried to emigrate from Austria to Switzerland and were turned away at the border. The previous year, the family’s bakery was destroyed during Kristallnacht. Bernie says that he traveled to England with a Kindertransport on November 12, 1938. No one wanted to adopt him; he lived in a training camp for youth for a year and eventually moved to London. In 1940, he received his last letter from his parents and Eva.

In his testimony, Bernie notes that their father worked with the Alliance Israelite and got two tickets for the Kindertransport for Eva and him. He says she was three years older than he—a claim defied by my photos of the three children and the birth information I have. Eva was 14 years older than Bernie and was already 30 years old in 1938. Murray was 12 years his senior and was 28 in 1938. I have to question whether Bernie’s memory had been tainted. Still, his words feel true when he refers to his parents’ last letter. He describes the letter as saying that his parents and sister were brought to Russia, where they would live in their own Jewish state—or so they were told. He learned later—I don’t know how—that they were removed to Minsk, where they were forced to dig their own graves and were shot in the head. Bernie told his interviewer that they had thought this crazy Hitler would soon disappear.

I am filled with remorse. I should have kept in touch with Murray. I should have asked him about his own life. But I was so wrapped up in trying to find out about my grandmother that I ignored the courageous person sitting across from me at the farmer’s market in Marina del Rey. I look through my box of family photos, and now I can’t find one of him with my father and Bernie. But I do have one of him cutting challah at a naming ceremony for my cousin’s daughter in Marina del Rey. He is wearing a blue plaid suit jacket and an embroidered yarmulke. I wonder if the challah brought back memories of his father’s bakery. Even though
I dropped the ball, my cousin maintained connections, at least for a while.

I have another photo of Murray with his brother and sister, probably from the mid-1920s (see photo on preceding page). They are all dressed in their finest. He’s wearing a buttoned-up celluloid collar and necktie with his suit. Eva is holding a bouquet of flowers, and Bernie, in his knee pants and white leggings, looks like the Jewish-Viennese version of Little Lord Fauntleroy (a character in a 19th-century novel of the same name that created a fashion craze for boys, especially in the US). I also have a photo of them with their parents taken in the 1930s that seems to refute the testimony Bernie gave because he looks much older than a child eligible for the Kindertransport (see photo on page 30).

And then there was the photo I remember seeing in my grandmother’s velvet photo album. It was a picture of Murray as a young boy, when he was still called Moische. He is dressed in a Russian peasant tunic and is standing with his sister, Eva, and their cousin Izzy Pollak. As children posing before the photographer in Zborów, Murray and Eva never could have imagined that one day they would be living in two different countries and that Eva would be murdered in the Holocaust.

Photos are all I have left to remind me of my day with Murray. I don’t know what to do with my remorse. His generation is gone, and most of the next one is gone too. But at least I had that one day and can still feel the warmth of his hands and that twinkle in his eyes.

Editor’s note: This article was first published in August 2017 in Drexel University’s publication The Smart Set. Coincidentally, the author was a former editor of the Galitzianer (1998–2000).
WITH DECEMBER HERE, it’s officially membership season at Gesher Galicia. That means it’s time for individuals to renew their Gesher Galicia memberships and for organizations to renew their Galitzianer subscriptions.

Having been involved with Gesher Galicia for many years, I remember when this organization was nothing more than an idea. While at my first Jewish genealogy conference in Philadelphia in 1989, I attended a small meeting led by fellow Galitzianer Suzan Wynne. The goals set at the meeting were to determine the level of interest in Galicia, to promote Galician programming at conferences, and to network with other Galitzianers.

These goals were realized in 1993 when Suzan founded Gesher Galicia. The organization’s steering committee was formed in 1995, and I took on the role of membership. Now, 30 years since Philadelphia, thanks to the dedication of our volunteers and the generous contributions of our members, Gesher Galicia is a thriving organization, with over 1350 members, representing 25 countries and 42 US states.

We have researchers working on our behalf throughout Poland and Ukraine, exploring new archives and expanding our research into some fascinating and unique document collections. And, we are supporting family researchers worldwide with our award-winning digital Map Room, our Galician archival inventories, and our All Galicia Database, featuring over 634,000 records from over 500 different data sources—freely available to all. In fact, we are regularly adding new records, so if it’s been awhile since you last looked at our collection, check out the databases on our website.

Because membership dues contribute to all this important work, individual members also receive exclusive benefits in exchange for their support, including an annual subscription to the Galitzianer and access to the Members Portal. The Members Portal is a gateway to additional valuable resources. It makes special archival materials available to members, including many vital records, landowner and house-owner records (Josephine and Franciscan surveys), documents from Galician towns during the Holocaust, Jewish taxpayer records from the 1930s, the extensively annotated database of the Galician Medical Students and Doctors Project, and other special record sets.

The Members Portal also provides access to 27 years of back issues of the Galitzianer and to the Gesher Galicia Family Finder, which enables members to connect with others researching the same Galician towns or surnames. Having researched my family for decades before there was a Gesher Galicia website or a Members Portal, I can’t underscore enough their value to my research.

There are some exciting new benefits for members as well. Members can now order digital versions of maps from the Gesher Galicia Map Room. In addition, Gesher Galicia will order scans for members of some late 19th- and early 20th-century Austrian ministry records from the Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD) in Warsaw.

A very recent and exciting development is the Przemyśl Identification Project, in which Gesher Galicia members are invited to collaborate with the Przemyśl State Archive to help identify 577 Jewish index books of unknown origin located in the archive’s collections. With privileged access to information, participants in this new project will
have the opportunity to make discoveries important to their own research and to the greater Jewish genealogical community.

Finally, this summer, Gesher Galicia signed a partnership agreement with Gratz College, the oldest independent and pluralistic college for Jewish studies in North America. As a result, Gratz is offering Gesher Galicia members a 25% reduction in enrollment fees on their wide selection of online classes (www.gratz.edu/academics).

Going forward, Gesher Galicia is planning to create our own periodic online webinars, which will be available exclusively to our members on Galician topics of interest. Stay tuned for more information on this project.

As part of our ongoing relationship with our members, we communicate via email on a variety of issues. We send out acknowledgments of dues payments and donations, membership renewal notices, and of course, the quarterly issues of the Galitzianer. If you’re a member who hasn’t heard from us lately, please check your spam, junk mail, or archive folders—or in the case of gmail users, your "social" or "promotions" folders—and then identify our “@geshergalicia.org” email addresses as safe in your email account.

If you’ve checked these folders and still haven’t found expected correspondence from us, please contact us at info@geshergalicia.org.

For more information on renewing your membership or becoming a member, go to our website at www.geshergalicia.org/membership. Or, contact me directly at membership@geshergalicia.org. We look forward to supporting your ongoing efforts to learn more about your Galician roots.

Gesher Galicia Membership 2020—Time to Renew!

Our new membership year begins January 1, 2020.

Individual Annual Membership
• Electronic delivery of the Galitzianer: $36
• Printed copies: $50 (USA); $65 (elsewhere)

Organizational Annual Subscription—Printed copies only
• $50 (USA)
• $65 (elsewhere)

For details on how to renew or join, go to www.geshergalicia.org/membership.

Please support Gesher Galicia’s efforts to collect archival records and maps and to add new indexes to the All Galicia Database (AGD), which holds over 634,000 records for the benefit of family researchers worldwide. Because of your support, we are continually expanding our research efforts into unique document collections in Poland and Ukraine.

Please renew your Gesher Galicia membership today!