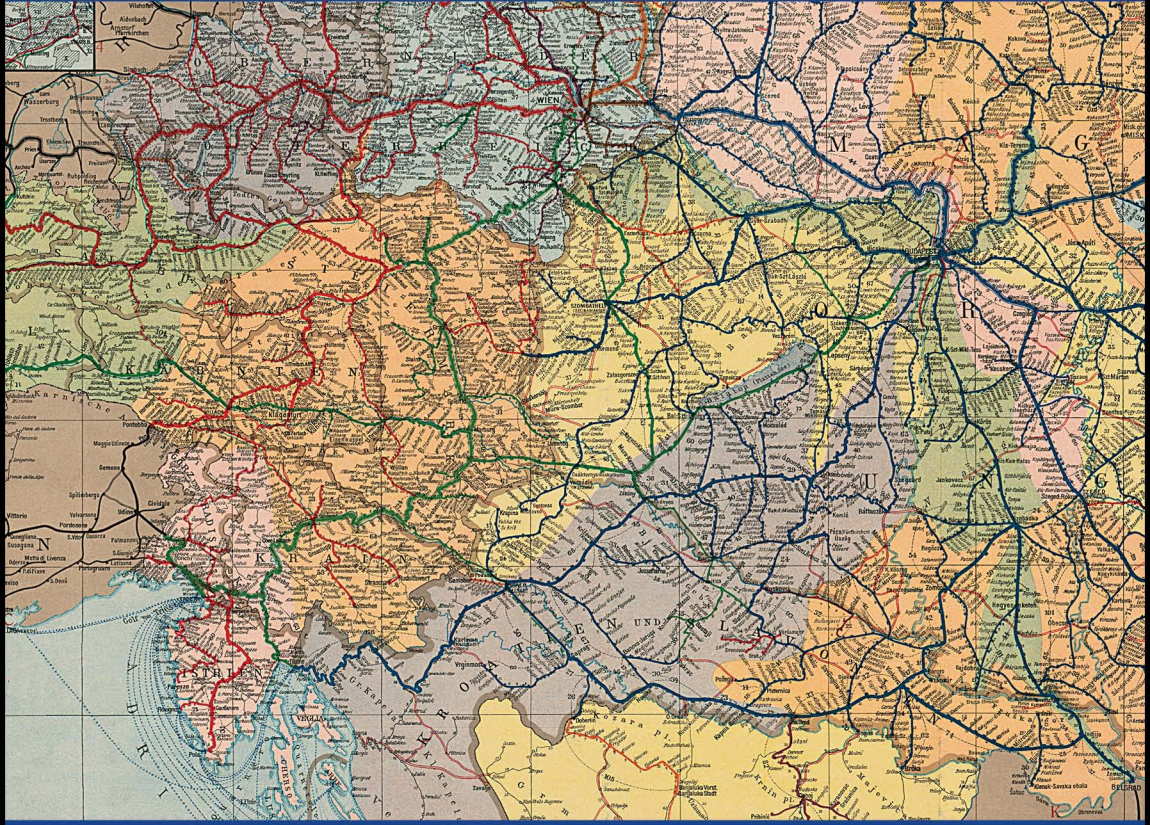


# ON MANY ROUTES

*Internal, European, and Transatlantic  
Migration in the Late  
Habsburg Empire*



**Annemarie Steidl**

# ON MANY ROUTES

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# INTRODUCTION

**H**UMAN MOBILITY HAS the potential to take on a multitude of forms. Individuals move over shorter and longer distances, pass over administrative, geographic, and cultural borders, travel back and forth between rural and urban areas, move to neighboring countries, and even cross oceans. While some migrations consist of a one-time move from one place of residence to another, other movements, even across national borders, are temporary, circular, repetitive. Migrants may leave their home country permanently and remain in one or more host regions for long stretches of time. Migration has been an omnipresent characteristic of all human societies, but can differ considerably in terms of frequency, purpose, distance, intended duration, and individuals involved. While migration might be a rare phenomenon in some societies, spatial movement was not only common in others, but might even have been expected. Migration rates in some regions can be quite high, and more or less absent in others. Over time, different mobility patterns emerge, change, and might disappear in response to changing social, demographic, economic, and political circumstances. Regional mobility within the vast empires of nineteenth-century Europe has proven particularly difficult to classify as internal on the one hand or international on the other. Consider, for example, the up to thirteen million individuals who moved within the Tsarist Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These people bound for Siberia covered thousands of kilometers and crossed into another continent, but even so, scholars usually classify those movements as internal migration.<sup>1</sup> Large migrations might take place between the territories of individual empires, yet other migrations that seemed strictly local or regional in character might cross imperial borders.



Modern social sciences focused on contemporary issues in migration and integration tend to define migration as a move that crosses international borders, and scholars rarely engage in deeper theoretical considerations regarding this definition. According to this rationale, it is the state that produces *real* migrants, who move long distances and cross administrative borders with the intention to settle in foreign countries permanently, or at least for an extended period of time.<sup>3</sup> Scholarly research on migration begins with the establishment of modern nation-states: “Without the formation and existence of modern nation states, there would be no migration and integration research in the sense we know it today.”<sup>3</sup> It is the logic of modern territorial states and their bureaucracies that create categories such as internal and international migration, with administrators in need of clear guidelines by which to classify migrants—to document, tally, and ultimately officially manage these individuals.<sup>4</sup> These administrative classification systems not only obscure the complex daily practices that comprise migration, but diminish the term *migration* itself by defining it in terms of the state. Innovative research approaches should aim to liberate migration studies from national containers, instead finding ways to integrate them within more open conceptions of spatial mobility.<sup>5</sup> As European history has proven, migration was triggered by neither the emergence of nation-states nor nineteenth-century industrialization.<sup>6</sup> Humans were spatially mobile long before official administrators began counting them, but an unprecedented number of individuals left Europe for the Americas between the era of mass migration that spanned from the 1840s to the 1920s.<sup>7</sup>

The term *migration* itself was created to describe a nineteenth-century social phenomenon that took place in the context of empires and developing nation-states. As the administrative focus on this activity was bound by state borders, migration was originally defined as the crossing of administrative borders. Traditional studies have characterized regions, nation-states, and empires as territories of emigration or territories of immigration, and exhibit an inflexible characterization of individuals as either emigrants or immigrants, therewith presuming permanent settlement as the primary grounds and objective of human mobility.<sup>8</sup> However, the definition of migration is far from straightforward. Apart from the fact that migration necessarily involves physical movement through space, there is little further agreement regarding what exactly constitutes migration, and most historical scholars fail to provide precise definitions of what they mean by *migration* and *spatial mobility*. The terms are often used interchangeably, but *mobility* is a more open-ended defined term. It is not easy to draw a strict line between *simple* spatial mobility and *real* migration, be it on analytical or descriptive empirical levels. While international migration can have a particularly profound cultural impact on migrants as well as their receiving countries, and is often accompanied by conflict and integration difficulties, scholars have assumed that spatial mobility was a more common element of everyday life.<sup>9</sup>

In recent years well known migration historians Jan and Leo Lucassen have criticized the absence of precise scientific definitions for migration and mobility, which make it nearly impossible to conduct broader global comparisons across space and time. As a result of these terminological shortcomings, human migrations are mostly absent from broader debates on economic growth, inequality, and social change. In order to overcome nationally confined approaches, these authors plead for an open and integrative definition of migration that allows for the incorporation of international and continental as well as temporary movements, such as seasonal migration within rural regions, the movement of agricultural servants from villages to towns, and those of traveling artisans and highly mobile soldiers during wartime.<sup>10</sup> Janine Dahinden argues that a deeper integration of concepts from mobility studies into migration research would help to loosen strong current associations between the term *migration* and the nation-state logic. The focus of mobility studies is much broader, in that mobility is considered a fundamental aspect of social life, and analysis of the phenomenon takes into consideration a wide spectrum of movements.<sup>11</sup> In his newest research, British historian Colin Pooley is interested in multifaceted linkages and interactions between mobility, migration, and transport technologies, the latter of which is a subject that up until now has largely been neglected by historical migration research. Pooley's focus is on the entanglement of migration and everyday mobility, but still he provides us with no comprehensive definition for his use of those terms. He describes *migration* as a change of residence independent of distance, and *mobility* as daily or short-distance movements, but enters into no further discussion regarding the overlap of the two as characterized by, for instance, nomadic lifestyles.<sup>12</sup>

In this book, I define *migration* in the widest sense, including all changes of residence, irrespective of distance moved or durations of any given stay. A broad definition of *migration* is one that includes all permanent or semipermanent changes of residence with no restriction on distances moved. It can describe short-term and permanent changes of residence, as well as frequently recurrent patterns of seasonal, circular, or permanent mobility, such as vagrants or traveling people.<sup>13</sup> The term *migration* will be applied to international and administrative border crossings, as well as to short-distance and transoceanic movements. Not all movements can be easily characterized as either emigration out of one country or immigration into another. Within the field of migration studies, the definition of permanent settlement is inevitably nebulous, and it can be difficult to establish the intentions behind bygone movements. While transatlantic moves could be permanent, and would by any definition be classified as emigration, some such moves were in fact conceived as temporary periods of overseas employment and were accompanied by an unflinching intention to return to Europe. The differentiation between European emigrants and immigrants to non-European countries needs to be reformulated into a distinction between those Europeans who

permanently settled elsewhere and those who moved back and forth, in some instances even several times.<sup>14</sup> In this book, I speak not of *emigrants* and *immigrants*, terms which suggests one-directional moves in a teleological context, but rather of *migrants*. Studies that focused on the national level, and on immigration or emigration, fail to capture the wide range of moves in which individuals regularly engaged during and before the nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup> These studies suggest that people are settled and that migration is an exception to the rule, that when spatial mobility occurs the aim is inevitably to create a new situation of settledness. I am convinced, however, that spatial mobility is as ordinary as settledness. The term *migrant*, on the other hand, is much more open and indicates the potential of individuals to move in various directions and assume different modes of mobility at different times. In order to avoid arbitrary distinctions between regions or countries of emigration on one hand and immigration on the other, all spatial mobile individuals will be termed *migrants*.

Administrative state borders were and are subject to and the result of processes of political negotiation.<sup>16</sup> New borders emerge while others disappear; borders themselves are mobile and move across people's homes. The twentieth-century political history of Europe provides ample proof of the creation of new geopolitical borders in the wake of, for example, the post-World War I collapse of four empires, or the formation of nation-states that followed the Yugoslav Wars. Following 1918, hundreds of thousands of Slovene and Italian-speaking seasonal labor migrants whose paths of migration had previously fallen within the Habsburg Empire were suddenly confronted with an international border and status as foreigners, while the previously international movements of Poles from the Kraków/Krakau region who commuted to work as miners or steelworkers in nearby Katowice/Kattowitz in the German Reich, became internal migrants following the formation of a Polish nation-state. In everyday practice, neither public administrations nor migrants themselves always heeded those changes. The emergence of new European nation-states at the beginning of the twentieth century substantially increased the significance of state borders, and within migration research it is important to consider whether spatially mobile individuals themselves perceived the difference between moving within a state or to a neighboring village on the other side of the border.<sup>17</sup> Katrin Lehnert's elaborate study addresses the living and working conditions of individuals living in the border region between Saxony and the Habsburg province of Bohemia during the nineteenth century, and gives special consideration to the way these individuals conceived of the border in the context of the process of modernity. She convincingly describes the lives of individuals who regularly crossed this border, their various practices when dealing with the differing administrations in the two empires, and the agency of all actors involved—be it the migrants themselves or the states and their administrations—in this Upper Lusatia and Bohemian border region.<sup>18</sup>

Social scientists and historians have developed a rich body of studies on the demographic, socioeconomic, and cultural dimensions of regional and global migrations, but this interdisciplinary field continues to be largely divided into analysis of internal and international migrations (be it within or beyond a given continent). These divided fields are characterized by different literatures, concepts, methods, and policy agendas.<sup>19</sup> We continue to cultivate more knowledge about spectacular international long-distance moves, and tend to neglect frequent shorter-distance moves that were more characteristic of everyday lives of nineteenth-century Europeans. Most individuals moved—for a bundle of reasons and with different intentions, without being forced or pushed—from one location to the other. Recent international discussions have shown that internal, European, and overseas migration was not in essence a separate phenomenon, and should be viewed as an aspect of spatial mobility.<sup>20</sup> Regions and countries that have been the source of large-scale out-migration may also experience significant levels of migration within their borders. The massive pre-World War I movement of over 60 million Europeans overseas was itself part of much larger-scale migrations that were taking place within Europe during the same period. In 1910, 1.04 million individuals arrived in the United States of America; 12.5 percent of the individuals comprising the total US population of 92.4 million were foreign-born. That same year, the German Reich, then as now the second-most importer of labor by absolute numbers, experienced an in-migration rate of 0.7 million and an out-migration rate of a similar volume, with nearly 2 percent of the individuals comprising the total German population of 64.9 million being foreign-born.<sup>21</sup> There is no question that transatlantic migration was an important phenomenon during the second half of the nineteenth century; at the same time, however, there were roughly four times as many individuals who moved from Eastern and Southern Europe to Central and Western Europe. In the wake of accelerated urbanization and industrialization that characterized the decades preceding the war, multidirectional labor migrations swept through Central and Eastern Europe. Between the 1870s and 1914, roughly two million Poles left Europe for the direction of the Americas, but even these two million constituted just about one-third of the mass movement of Polish laborers who migrated to other European regions and countries during that period.<sup>22</sup>

Researchers working on migration patterns in the Habsburg Empire have come to similar conclusions, namely that internal migration rates in 1910 were about three times higher than international (both within Europe and overseas) migration rates; only a fraction of these highly mobile individuals traveled to the United States.<sup>23</sup> In light of this overall high mobility, it is important to link all scales of human movement and perspectives—from local to regional, national, and global. In comparing the volume of internal and intra-European migration to that of intercontinental movement, we come to realize that a unidirectional path to the Americas was not even a



paradigm in the late nineteenth century, when transatlantic migratory connections were at their peak.<sup>24</sup> As Hungarian statistician Imre Ferenczi emphasized as early as the 1930s:

Before the World War, the different voluntary internal and international migration patterns did not interfere but instead complemented and replaced each other, according to the law of lowest pressure. The hundred thousand Slovaks, who moved from their mountain homes to the rich Hungarian central plains each year for the harvest, were temporarily replaced by even poorer Ruthenians (Ukrainians), while the Hungarians, attracted by higher wages, migrated seasonally to the German Reich and to Lower Austria. There, they often replaced Czechs, who then turned to America. In this way, the waves of migration, which started as small continental streamlets, often flowed into the large ocean of intercontinental moves.<sup>25</sup>

Migration rates among the Central European population were high at the end of the nineteenth century, but was this really a new phenomenon? Historical migration research has traditionally assumed that there was a link between spatial mobility and modernity. The Industrial Revolution is supposed to have acted as the means of detaching a largely rural population from the land, and transforming those formerly sedentary individuals into restless wanderers. Rural dwellers were believed to have been irreversibly drawn into growing urban agglomerations, inaugurating a transition from traditional agricultural societies to modern, industrialized, and urbanized societies.<sup>26</sup> Much of this approach has been based on Wilbur Zelinsky's 1971 paper in which he developed the idea of a European "mobility transition" from an "immobile pre-modernity" to a "mobile modernity."<sup>27</sup> Historians have long criticized Zelinsky's concept of "mobility transition."<sup>28</sup> Today, migration scholars are questioning this notion of a sedentary preindustrial Europe and the traditional emphasis on the disruptive nature of modern migrations, arguing instead in favor of a society characterized by a high level of internal and international mobility. In recent decades new theoretical approaches and important shifts in the study of international migrations have begun to emerge that understand European spatial movements during industrialization not as exceptional, but rather as historical processes embedded within larger migration pattern contexts that have existed for centuries.<sup>29</sup>

Recently, Jan and Leo Lucassen have collected a massive amount of data on European cross-cultural migrations that have taken place between 1500 and 2000. Their data show that early modern European spatial mobility was indeed much more widespread than traditionally assumed, and that the apparent increase in migration rates during industrialization resulted from improved transportation technologies, such as railways and steamships.<sup>30</sup> Even transatlantic voyages can be interpreted as extensions and

augmentations of spatial mobilities that had existed for centuries. Migration rates were considerable well before industrialization, and only slightly lower than the high levels that characterize the first decade of the twenty-first century. In response to their tremendous work, Josef Ehmer has suggested that even their broad methodical approach may underestimate premodern migration rates, and that the inclusion of rural to rural moves may well reveal even higher levels of short-distance mobility.<sup>31</sup> Human migration is an ongoing process shaped by social, economic, and cultural frameworks. Spatial mobility is a phenomenon that has occurred throughout time and human cultures, and migration rates were already high in premodern Europe. In the process of managing their everyday lives, individuals moved around their home districts, crossed provincial borders, and even made their ways to neighboring countries. Pooley characterizes humans as “naturally restless creatures.”<sup>32</sup> Nonetheless, up until the end of the nineteenth century, the majority of individuals in Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary would have considered transatlantic travel an exceptional circumstance.

My own approach assumes a high interdependence between and entanglement of various patterns of human movement. This book will explore the dynamics of internal, European, and transatlantic migration as well as the connections between these patterns, and it will link these to the broader movement of Central Europeans from the middle of the nineteenth to the first decades of the twentieth centuries. During the era of the late Habsburg Empire, movements from rural to urban areas or vice versa, internally or over state borders, and transcontinentally were fundamentally interrelated phenomena. My aim is to systematically reconstruct all of the types and patterns of spatial mobility that occurred within and between the two administrative units comprised of Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary, as well as from these to neighboring European countries and across the Atlantic, in particular the United States of America. By analyzing socioeconomic and demographic patterns and consequences of migration within Central Europe, to other European regions, and to the United States in broad comparative terms, and with the help of mostly quantitative methods, this book departs from much of the previous research and provides a model for studying spatial mobility as a multifaceted historical process that includes the different types of migration that developed within a specific region over time.

Traditional European migration research tends to focus on the experiences of individual ethnolinguistic or national groups, often within restricted geographic territories and short periods of time, and lacks broader comparative dimensions. For more than a century, migration studies and the social sciences as a whole have been dominated by a kind of “methodological nationalism.” Within the field of migration studies, this tendency has been reinforced by the fact that migration scholars often have relied on sources produced by the individual state administrations. Historians working on the history of European migration to the United States have likewise tended

to focus on individual national groups—a choice facilitated or even dictated by the categories that governments and immigration administrators created to organize their statistical data.<sup>33</sup> These categories often helped to reify and naturalize national categories rooted in nineteenth-century racist thinking.<sup>34</sup> Scholarly fixation on the histories of individual nations and state boundaries has resulted in a strict classification of migration types, such as internal, transatlantic, emigration, and immigration. Given these scientific shortcomings, our knowledge of internal and transatlantic movement is more developed than that regarding international migration that has taken place within Europe. Since the turn of the century, this nation-state historiography has come under increased criticism.<sup>35</sup> Innovative scholars have begun to develop new theoretical approaches and methods that counterbalance the nation-state-dominated historiography and support a more “transnational historiography.”<sup>36</sup> Transmigration, originally defined as a historically new phenomenon, which appears only marginally if at all in the past, now appears as a critical factor in overseas migration circa 1900.<sup>37</sup> Some authors even predict that the history of transnational movement will form a locus of the new social history of Europe.<sup>38</sup>

Given the numerous historical studies we have on European migration patterns during industrialization, including a considerable body of work on transatlantic moves from Central Europe, it is rather surprising that the state of international research remained biased until just recently: we have long known substantially more about historical migration patterns in Western Europe than we have known about patterns in Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>39</sup> Historiographical surveys that claim to address Europe as a whole tend to predominantly concentrate on migrants in the west or northwest. Important topics such as regional variations and migrants’ multiple connections beyond the North Atlantic space remained relatively unexplored by historians.<sup>40</sup> The reasons for this lack of focus on migration in Central and Eastern Europe are rooted in a widespread knowledge transfer disconnect between Western, Central, and Eastern Europe. The spatial mobility of Eastern Europeans is usually underestimated as a result of presumed restrictions on migration during the era of “second serfdom” and the gradual process of industrialization that followed.<sup>41</sup> In reality, around 1900, East Central Europe formed the greatest reservoir of inexpensive labor for commercialized agriculture and the growing industrial sectors of Western Europe and North America. Nonetheless, international research has only recently begun to expand its focus to include Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>42</sup>

In their recent study on the multiple types of migration that took place in twentieth-century Russia during this era of ongoing political transformation, Leslie Page Moch and Lewis Siegelbaum analyze how the movements of the country’s population, be they forced or voluntary, influenced Russian society in ways that have remained for the most part unnoticed by the general public and scientific research alike. With

past research into Russia's migrants overwhelmingly focused on early twentieth-century international movements to the Americas and Western Europe on one hand, or on Soviet-era deportations on the other, the authors broaden our understanding of the many migration roads and paths that existed within the enormous Russian territory. As the authors show, classifications between internal and international patterns were blurred, individuals required passports and other travel documents for journeys from one Russian region to another, and given the high level of ethnic and linguistic diversity, migrating from one region to another might feel as if one had traveled to another country anyway. According to the authors' analysis of migrants' agency, the dichotomy between internal and international spatial mobility is quickly losing its explanatory value for modern migration research.<sup>43</sup>

The overwhelming focus of recent studies on mobile Central Europeans is still on international and transcontinental migrations, a fact that is largely due to the assumption that these movements would have a deeper impact on these societies, while short-distance everyday movements were presumed as having little impact on economies and political cultures. Ulf Brunnbauer's recent book on the global migration patterns of Southeastern Europeans focuses on ongoing connections between historical movements and their effect on concurrent migration in light of the late nineteenth- to mid-twentieth-century political transformation of the region. From 1890 to 1914, nearly 200,000 individuals left Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia for North America, but that era is in truth a relatively short episode in the long and extremely diverse migration history of Southeastern Europe.<sup>44</sup> From the middle of the nineteenth century onward, Balkan men and women moved to North Africa—Alexandria and Cairo—to work as construction workers on the Suez Canal and as domestic servants in middle-class households.<sup>45</sup> Brunnbauer connects new transcontinental labor migration routes to traditional patterns of seasonal movement within Habsburg-ruled territories, and emphasizes the similarities between turn-of-the-century movements along the Dalmatian Coast to North Africa and across the Atlantic. Depending on the distances covered, spatial mobility has the potential to have quite different implications for migrants, their families, and the societies in their countries of origin and destination.<sup>46</sup>

Tara Zahra's study on the international movements of Central and Eastern European populations from the late nineteenth century up until the 1990s presents an integrative approach to mobility, be it a result of work, deportation, or flight. Her analysis focuses on millions of transatlantic workers, Jews who fled pogroms and National Socialist persecution, the German-speaking populations who were expelled from Eastern Europe following World War II, Cold War-era deserters, and young Polish laborers who moved west after the fall of the Iron Curtain.<sup>47</sup> Zahra discusses complex entanglements of deported and displaced individuals, refugees, and other migrants, and analyzes how states and other transnational organizations bureaucratically managed



these individuals. While governmental institutions at the national and supranational level attempt to draw sharp distinctions between political and economic migrants, we have decades of studies that demonstrate that the motivations that drive migration are highly complex and entangled.<sup>48</sup>

Kristina Evans Poznan's recent doctoral dissertation also addresses transatlantic migrations from the Habsburg Empire; however, her primary interest is how the processes of identity transformations were experienced by what were originally multilingual migrants upon arrival in the United States, in the context of complicated international relations. She has convincingly demonstrated that transatlantic migration and migrants' heightened awareness regarding national belonging had serious implications with regard to the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire into nation-states after World War I.<sup>49</sup> Nicole Phelps recently authored a major study of US relations with the Habsburg Empire between 1815 and 1918. The primary focus of her study is on diplomatic relations, but as a result of the late nineteenth-century increase of US-bound migration from Habsburg-ruled territories, she necessarily addresses migration. As she has shown, American consuls in the empire were often confronted with issues of citizenship, and were responsible for protecting naturalized transatlantic migrants who were pressed into Habsburg military service following their return to Europe, in particular on the eve of World War I. Travel was comparatively inexpensive in the early twentieth century, meaning that thousands of Habsburg migrants returned for business and personal reasons.<sup>50</sup>

Comparative evaluations of states and nations have allowed migration research to overcome the limitations of national historiography and the self-referential evaluations thereof. As Dirk Hoerder contends, migration needs to be viewed as part of a worldwide migration system and as the life project of individuals and families on trajectories between cultural spaces.<sup>51</sup> Certain regions (rather than countries) were targets of movement, and regions are the best level to study migrations because the vast majority of human movement occurred within regions. Movements within a region, even when intersected by national borders, might still be referred to as *internal migration*.<sup>52</sup> Migration networks between two regions frequently developed as a result of shared socioeconomic systems; such regions—even when separated by national borders—often formed integrated labor markets. Jan Lucassen's widely acclaimed concept of "migration systems," developed to describe continuous and long-standing networks between two or more regions, appears frequently in recent international migration research.<sup>53</sup> My own methodical approach is limited, in certain senses, by the necessity of working within the source-dictated confines of the Habsburg Empire as a nation-state. Most of the documents used in the following analysis are official statistics generated by administrators in Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary. In contemporary Austria, international migration has been a subject of special interest for more than a decade at least, but despite growing interest in

European migration research, we have few recent historiographies on the subject from Austrian historians.<sup>54</sup> I plan to fill in this gap in the research, and more importantly, to foster a more engaged discourse between individual, nationally oriented migration studies that, in their isolation from one another, tend to underestimate the importance of past international movements between neighboring European states.

## IMPERIAL AUSTRIA AND THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY—THE TERRITORIES UNDER ANALYSIS

From the late seventeenth century up until the end of World War I, the Habsburg-ruled territories comprised one of Europe's vast empires. As a multinational state, we know that it displayed a high level of social and cultural diversity, in particular following the rise in national consciousness from the 1870s onward.<sup>55</sup> Administration of the empire was likewise complex. Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary were two quasi-states that enjoyed considerable autonomy, and within each, the former in particular, local and regional political institutions exercised greater authority than did the central government.<sup>56</sup>

The Habsburg provinces and lands exhibited a broad range of economic development, and despite the relatively early onset of industrialization, the empire has nevertheless often been described as economically "backward" as a result of its comparatively slow nineteenth-century economic growth.<sup>57</sup> This growth, in both the industrial and agricultural sectors, was strongly determined by regional economic processes. There was a large socioeconomic gap between the more technologically advanced western regions and the less industrialized areas in the east and southeast of the empire. Income and industrialization levels in the Alpine and Bohemian Lands were one and a half times higher than those of the southern lands, and twice those of the Hungarian territories. The diffusion of industrial development throughout the eastward regions quickened after the mid-nineteenth century, and by the 1870s sustained growth became noticeable throughout most of the Hungarian lands. By the 1900s, limited industrialization was apparent in the far reaches of the eastern provinces and lands of Imperial Austria as well as the Kingdom of Hungary, and economic growth began to penetrate Transylvania, Galicia, and Bukovina. This slow economic progress notwithstanding, Habsburg Empire economies grew more rapidly in the late nineteenth century than those of most other European countries and, until 1914, even the comparatively limited industrial output of Croatia-Slavonia and Transylvania tended to be higher than that of their neighbor countries to the southeast.<sup>58</sup>

Circa 1900 the empire, and Imperial Austria in particular, was one of Europe's most socioeconomically inhomogeneous states. While during the second half of the nineteenth century there were some Austrian territories that ranked among the most highly industrialized regions in continental Europe, others continued to be rather agricultural, and remained little affected by industry. The Czech Lands and the provinces of Bukovina and Dalmatia lie at opposite ends of the spectrum in terms of economic development. Within the former, the northern districts of Bohemia and parts of Moravia and Austrian Silesia had undergone an early transition to mechanized production, and formed the empire's industrial core. Around 1900, the northwestern districts of Bohemia (Erzgebirge) were characterized by high levels of urbanization and industrialization as a result of brown coal mining.<sup>59</sup> Other regions of concentrated industrial production included the areas surrounding the cities of Prague, Plzeň, and Ostrava/Ostrau in Moravia.<sup>60</sup>

Vienna and its environs were also important industrial centers, albeit dominated by small-scale production. The southern regions of the empire, including Trieste and the province of Carniola, had undergone early industrial development during the first half of the nineteenth century, and by the end of that century the number of laborers employed in agriculture had dropped to about two-thirds, but the Dalmatian economy continued to be predominantly agricultural.<sup>61</sup> With the exception of the westernmost part of the empire (Vorarlberg) and a few industrialized provincial cities and areas such as northern Styria, agriculture continued as the major economic activity in the Austrian territories into the early twentieth century. Galicia, Bukovina, and Dalmatia were the least economically developed regions. The livelihoods of nearly 80 percent of all peasants in these three provinces, for example, were dependent on parcels of farmland comprising no more than five hectares. Compared with other Polish territories in the German Reich and the Russian Empire, Galicia was the least economically developed, and it was only at the end of the nineteenth century that newly built railroads, which facilitated trade with other Habsburg regions, brought economic growth to the region.<sup>62</sup>

The Hungarian Kingdom has often been characterized as a "late bloomer" with regard to most aspects of economic and technological development.<sup>63</sup> By Western standards and in comparison to Imperial Austria, the Kingdom remained economically underdeveloped—in many respects still feudal—for most of the nineteenth century. The same regional disparities that characterized the empire as a whole were more or less present in the Hungarian Kingdom as well. Within the Habsburg-ruled territories the role of the Hungarian lands had, since the eighteenth century, been that of supplier of agricultural commodities. By the mid-nineteenth century the rate of industrialization there was still low, with up to 85 percent of the population reliant on agriculture, while just half a million of its thirteen million inhabitants had found employment in mining, industry, commerce, or transport.<sup>64</sup>

The revolution of 1848/49, which introduced legal equality and property ownership for all male citizens, also served to initiate the modernization of the Hungarian territories. In the wake of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867, the multinational Hungarian Kingdom became a single constitutional unit. The Austro-Hungarian Compromise marked the beginning of industrialization in the kingdom, and a food industry (e.g., flour milling, sugar refineries, alcoholic beverages) began to take shape in parts of the country. The new political, economic, and social order that characterized the second half of the nineteenth century did not immediately result in new ownership structures. The switch from a feudal to a mixed agrarian-industrial society resulted in an extremely uneven distribution of land, with a few thousand families controlling more than half of the country's territory, while nearly 70 percent of Hungary's rural population owned plots of land too small to provide for their maintenance.<sup>65</sup> Between 1880 and 1910, the number of factory workers in the Kingdom more than doubled, and the number of individuals working in manufacturing nearly tripled. Agricultural production also underwent industrialization; between 1840 and the 1890s crop production trebled, and by the end of the century Hungary's most dynamic leading economic sector was export-oriented agriculture. As early as 1848, two-thirds of all Hungarian sugar beets were being produced in the northern lands, which had largely been settled by Slovak speakers.<sup>66</sup>

The Hungarian Kingdom followed its own uneven pattern of economic progress, and in 1906, the wage levels of agricultural day laborers were still distinctly higher in the south than in the north and east.<sup>67</sup> Industrialization arrived earliest in the interior Hungary, with Budapest in its center, somewhat later to the northeastern territories (contemporary Slovakia) and Croatia-Slavonia, and last to Transylvania (contemporary Romania). By 1890, the economically less developed areas of Hungary's east, not to mention western and central Hungary, had reached higher levels of industrial development than Galicia and Bukovina.<sup>68</sup> Between 1870 and World War I, the Hungarian population, including Croatia-Slavonia, increased from 15.5 to 20.9 million individuals, resulting in a sudden rise in the number of young men and women in need of employment. The majority of the rural population was in need of income to supplement agricultural labor, and nearly 25 percent of these individuals were freely wandering laborers who owned no property. The late introduction and limited nature of industrialization in the Kingdom of Hungary created a disparity between supply and demand of laborers, men as well as women, and initiated even more movement within the country, as well as the arrival of labor migrants from other European regions.

In the year 1910, the vast territories of Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary, with a population of more than 51 million individuals, could hardly be described as a nation-state. Its inhabitants spoke at least ten official languages in addition to many others such as Yiddish, Ladin, and Aromanian, and followed a variety of religions and

denominations, among which Roman-Catholic, Protestant, Serbian-Orthodox, and Jewish were the most dominant, and was characterized by broad socioeconomic and cultural diversity. German and Hungarian speakers were always the politically dominant groups.<sup>69</sup> In Budapest, for example, announcements for labor organization meetings were usually published in four or five languages.<sup>70</sup> The Habsburg population was multilingual, and many individuals were capable of communicating in two or even several languages. Multilingualism was a fact of everyday life for migrants from Imperial Austria and the Hungarian Kingdom, and religious and regional belonging were far more salient for most migrants than ethnolinguistic belonging, especially those from rural areas.<sup>71</sup>

In this book, I will attempt, as much as possible, to refrain from using terms such as *ethnicity* or *ethnic identity*, as I have no wish to proceed from the premature assumption that any given individual or group of individuals naturally belongs to any state-defined group. As genetic research did not begin developing until the early twentieth century, “race” was more often understood as a conflation of ethnic, linguistic, and national characteristics rather than the biological associations with the term that began to take hold in the 1920s. Most often, ethnolinguistic and ethnoconfessional groups had little in common with individuals’ senses of belonging, but were rather definitions created and projected as a result of the interests of national governments. As Rogers Brubaker argues, we should be careful not to conflate classification systems with the actual existence of ethnic groups, because the institutionalization of ethnolinguistic and ethnoconfessional categories also cannot tell us anything about the extent to which these groupings resonated with the broader public.<sup>72</sup> It is not my goal here to investigate or define ethnolinguistic or ethnoconfessional group assignments in more detail, and thus I will provide little reflexive discussion regarding these important issues of which there is a great deal of existing literature;<sup>73</sup> rather, the goal here is to take the sources available, concurrent group assignments included, in order to analyze and compare differences in migration behaviors of people in the Habsburg Empire.

Ethnolinguistic and ethnoconfessional groups comprising the Habsburg Empire took shape as the result of the conscious efforts of individuals and entities, official administrations, national censuses, and ethnic leaders (such as politicians, priests, or writers), who consolidated, managed, and maintained them.<sup>74</sup> I am aware, of course, that in choosing census surveys and other statistical material created by state officials as the basis for this research, the scientific analysis will in some senses serve to perpetuate these artificially constructed ethnolinguistic and ethnoconfessional groups. To understand the public management of these groups, especially on both sides of the Atlantic, we have to keep in mind that Habsburg and US American administrations used different logics when recording its inhabitants.<sup>75</sup> Ethnolinguistic and ethnoconfessional groups created by the Austrian and Hungarian administrations were, for example, also

based on religious affiliations, while the US administration based its national attribution of migrants on mother tongue.<sup>76</sup> Chapter 4 will provide a descriptive example of these different logics for Jewish and Yiddish-speaking migrants.

The multifaceted migration patterns of the Habsburg population provide an excellent field for a comparative study. At the beginning of the twentieth century, no less than one-third of the adult agrarian population of the vast Central European territory that included Hungary proper, the Slovak territories, Transylvania, Croatia-Slavonia, the Austrian provinces of Galicia, Bukovina, and the Mediterranean provinces (Carniola, Littoral, and Dalmatia) had lived or worked in places other than those of their birth.<sup>77</sup>

THIS BOOK REFERENCES many places within and beyond the Habsburg Empire. In acknowledgement of the range of languages spoken within the different regions comprising the empire's territories, place names will often be given in more than one language. As a rule, all places are referred to using the current name used in the primary language of the country in which it today resides, with the exception of major towns and capitals, such as Vienna and Prague, which have English-language names. Upon initial reference to a place, its contemporary name is given first, with its historical name in either German or Hungarian given second, such as Loket/Elbogen or Košice/Kassa. In recognition of the many languages spoken in some regions there are also some instances in which a third name of the location in another prominent language spoken there at that time is also given, such as Trieste/Triest/Trst or Bratislava/Pozsony/Pressburg. All subsequent references to each location, and all tables and graphs, will utilize only its current name. With regard to locations outside the empire, the current spelling is given, followed by its German or, if it exists, English translation, such as Poznań/Posen.

## METHOD AND DATA

The analyses in this book predominantly take a quantitative approach, and in as far as the sources render it possible, I seek to transcend simple descriptive statistical methods. Relationships between internal, continental, and transatlantic migration will be tested by means of multiple regression models. Cartographic maps are furthermore used as a research tool. The complex relationships between migration paths are oftentimes most clearly conveyed by visual representations.<sup>78</sup> The intention of this macro-level focus and quantitative approach is not intended to revive the rather materialistic structuralism of the "old" social history, or to deny the indispensable contributions of new perspectives in migration history since the 1980s.<sup>79</sup> Rather, in linking migration to economic,

social, and cultural characteristics, the intention is to cultivate a more complete understanding of the timing, selectivity, and nature of various migration patterns. There are some questions that can only be answered by numbers.

A range of quantitative sources will be utilized in this systematic analysis of the spectrum of migration types that occurred in Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary. The principle resource that will be used to provide insight into internal migration will be the published results of the official censuses from 1869 to 1910 taken by the Austrian and Hungarian administrations.<sup>80</sup> These will be supplemented by census materials from neighboring states, in particular data from the 1910 population census taken by the German Reich.<sup>81</sup> While censuses provide insight into the movement of the population within a given state territory, movements beyond that territory remain largely neglected. In this sense, the volume on the international movement of Hungary's population, published by the Hungarian Statistical Office in 1918, which provides data on European and US migration, can be considered a particularly valuable resource.<sup>82</sup> In many respects, the history of Europe's transatlantic migration is more thoroughly researched than its history of internal migration. One reason for this is the survival of a more detailed and complete range of sources. Analysis of transatlantic migration to the United States from Imperial Austria is based on a sample of 1910 ship passenger manifests from Bremen and Hamburg to New York.<sup>83</sup> The collections of systematic data that describe the Hungarian and Austrian population will be complemented by smaller regional surveys, including statistics on seasonal migration from the province of Bohemia in 1913, and a 1907 questionnaire sent out by the Polish Catholic Church to gather information regarding the international movement of individuals from the bishopric of Tarnów/Tarnau in Western Galicia.<sup>84</sup>

I should stress here that the analyses in the present volume are largely dependent on the same official statistics used in the past by other researchers, and that we need to recognize the limitations of these resources. First of all, the statistical analysis is based on a mix of stock and flow data. The stock data utilized here were recorded by state administrations, while flow data were compiled by public statistical offices as well as religious organizations, transatlantic shipping companies, and the US Immigration Office, and were therefore recorded for a variety of different reasons and uses. All statistics were designed for purposes other than historical migration research. Those who produced the sources were, almost without exception, not concerned with explaining why individuals moved, and thus the explanatory and contextual evidence these statistics are capable of providing with regard to migration is necessarily limited.

Population registries and censuses taken by state authorities are examples of stock data that provide us with a snapshot of a particular moment in time and the size, demographic, socioeconomic, and cultural composition of a given population. These are rather poor substitutes for everyday practices of internal migrants, conflating



long-distance moves from one part of Imperial Austria and the Hungarian Kingdom to another, with short-distance moves across boundaries of political districts and counties, ignoring movements within districts and counties, and giving no inkling of individuals' residential histories. Censuses—the most common form of stock data—were taken in the Habsburg Empire at fixed, rather lengthy intervals of ten years, and thus neglect movements that took place between those ten-year periods; they were never simple measures of net migration, but rather a complex composite reflecting a wide array of population dynamics. European states commenced census taking at different times in history and administered their surveys at different intervals. Questions contained in these different national censuses and the resulting data are far from uniform—especially with regard to the interpretation of information applying to countries other than their own. In addition, Central European censuses rarely provide insight regarding nonpermanent seasonal migration because, with few exceptions, they were carried out in winter,<sup>85</sup> while seasonal migration peaked in the spring and summer. Even the 1907 census of the German Reich, carried out in June, was taken too early to capture the actual annual number of employed foreigners, which was at its height in late summer.<sup>86</sup>

Even this flawed evidence, however, offers indication of the extent to which individuals were mobile in the past, and demonstrates that migration was a common experience for a large proportion of the Austro-Hungarian population.<sup>87</sup> Censuses provide complete spatial coverage of data on all Habsburg territories, but the nature and quality of this information varies from census to census, and in calculating mobility rates from population figures we run the risk of uncovering just one dimension of the many layers comprising migration processes. For much of their history, the published censuses from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary collected data that can be used for migration research only indirectly, in the form of individuals' places of birth and their places of residence on census night. Thus, these censuses record the gross movement of individuals from their places of birth to their residences at an arbitrary point of their lives, again presenting a random snapshot of gross movement rather than a more complete picture of lifetime migration.

International migration cannot be studied in depth on the sole basis of censuses from a single empire (i.e., Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary). While censuses created by empires or nation-states lend themselves to detailed and systematic analysis of people arriving from foreign countries even on a district level, this method is insufficient for the analysis of citizens leaving the country. Out-migration from districts was documented only in instances in which borders of the empire were *not* crossed. Because censuses fracture the depiction of existing migration relationships between regions at state borders, they are only capable of depicting sections of larger historical migration networks. International moves, both within Europe and transatlantic, will therefore be measured using flow data with one exception: information on



movements between Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary will be taken from census stock data, because the censuses of each recorded individuals born in the other who were found to be living in one of their administrative units (political districts or counties) on census night.

Flow data is somewhat different from stock data compiled by censuses. While stock data measures people, flow data measures migrations. Flow data enumerates entries, exits, embarkations, disembarkations, emigrations, and immigrations of mobile individuals, typically counted at the beginning or end of a journey or voyage, as in the case of transatlantic migrants. Flow data counts bodies on the move, and observes or estimates their characteristics as they cross a border. Most surveys of flow data collect numbers on border crossers over a specific period of time. Instead of individual moves, flow data measures gross mobility, recognizing that an individual may cross a border more than once, traveling in multiple directions and being counted at each border. When migrations are seasonal, circular or repeated, and multidirectional, as was the case of most regional mobility in Central Europe, flow data exaggerates both the total number of migrants and the number of individuals who transfer more permanently from one place to another.<sup>88</sup> Although historical flow data is by no means perfect, there are no alternative sources to measure international moves for the whole Habsburg Empire.

While passenger ships manifests, collected by US immigration authorities and stored in the National Archives in Washington, DC, and New York, have long been used as sources in migration studies, we have little research on transatlantic voyages from the Habsburg Empire to the United States that has made use of these documents.<sup>89</sup> Since nearly two-thirds of all migrants from Austria-Hungary chose a German port for their transatlantic move, information on all passengers aboard twenty *Norddeutsche Lloyd* ships leaving Europe from Bremen, and two *Hamburg-Amerikanische Packetfahrt-Actien-Gesellschaft* ships in 1910 were stored in a database.<sup>90</sup> Since 1910 was a census year for Imperial Austria, the Kingdom of Hungary, and the United States, we chose the sample of passenger lists in the same year for the database. Every ship entering a United States port has been required to submit manifests with a list of all passengers aboard the vessel since the 1819 Manifest of Immigration Act. Initially, these manifests recorded just basic details, such as name, sex, age, and occupation. Over time, the lists expanded to include more details, among them the nationality of each passenger based on their country of origin. In 1899 it became customary, and in 1903 mandatory, to report one's ethnicity and last place of residence.<sup>91</sup> By choosing a sample of these manifests from the first decade of the twentieth century, I have been able to avoid problems that have occurred in transatlantic migration studies in the second half of the nineteenth century based on American passenger records.<sup>92</sup> In addition to each individual's name, date of arrival, sex, age, marital status, professional qualifications, and information regarding accompanying family members, the records also contain information

regarding spatial mobility. Upon arrival in the United States, migrants were asked to name their birthplace, last place of residence, and the addresses of their closest relatives in Europe, as well as those of relatives and friends who had previously migrated to the United States. As an example: Wilhelm Kaestl, an unmarried, twenty-seven-year-old beer brewer left Europe from Bremerhaven on the SS *Kronprinz Wilhelm* on May 18, 1910. He had been born in Munich and named Plzeň/Pilsen in Bohemia as his last place of residence. He gave the name of his father, Andreas Kaestl, who was a resident of the small village of Anif, just outside the city of Salzburg, for his nearest European relative. In the United States, he intended to move to Chicago, where he was supposed to meet a friend.<sup>93</sup>

At the first decade of the twentieth century, transatlantic ships from Europe to the Americas accommodated between 500 and 2,000 passengers, and the passage lasted between seven and ten days. My own 1910 sample of ships' records includes data for 23,996 individuals.<sup>94</sup> For the purposes of this study, I have excluded all passengers who did not hail from Imperial Austria and whose last place of residence could not be identified. The size of the remaining sample is 5,966 passengers, which accounts for approximately 5 percent of the total migration from Imperial Austria to the United States in 1910. About 5,600 of the remaining passengers originated from the Kingdom of Hungary, nearly 2,000 were citizens of the German Reich, and about 1,600 left from the Russian Empire en route to the United States.

The statistical office in the Hungarian Kingdom systematically collected stock and flow data on all individuals under Hungarian rule from 1899 to 1913.<sup>95</sup> The administration was primarily concerned with transatlantic migration, but also collected data on movements to other European countries. The basic geographical unit for this data was the county (*comitatus*), and the previously described special migration volume provides elaborate statistics on migration and return migration in all seventy-one Hungarian counties. The analyses of international movements, be they within Europe or overseas, are based on this collection of data.

## VOLUME OUTLINE

It is not always easy to distinguish between internal, continental, and transatlantic migration paths; however, the chapters in this volume have, with few exceptions, been organized along the lines of these traditional classifications of migration types. The chapters are more or less distinguished by the different stock and flow data used for the analyses. In addition, findings on Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary presented in each chapter will be compared and contrasted with relevant secondary literature on other parts of Europe.

The manuscript is divided into four chapters. Following this introduction, the first chapter presents the long history of internal migration within Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary. It is important that readers understand that inhabitants of Austria-Hungary had a centuries-long history of interacting with many different peoples and nationalities. That history of moving for work opportunities was the essential backdrop that informed the decisions made by millions of Europeans at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to move some six thousand kilometers across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas for more enticing employment opportunities. This chapter, which is based on the Austrian and the Hungarian censuses, will provide a broad overview of mobility patterns employed by individuals from both parts of the Habsburg Empire. During the second half of the nineteenth century, urbanization was a characteristic process in Austria-Hungary, but not all movements were from rural to urban areas. This chapter will also challenge traditional approaches that argue that the move to the city was the dominant form of mobility associated with industrialization.

In the second chapter, I take a closer look at the international destinations of migrants from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary. The movements of Central European laborers to neighboring countries were the most numerically conspicuous paths, but Habsburg citizens can be found in all European regions, and women even traveled unaccompanied as far as Egypt. This chapter will present international migration as a regional phenomenon, including the circular and seasonal wandering of laborers around the predominantly German-speaking greater region of Switzerland, Baden, Swabia, Tyrol, and Vorarlberg, or the movements of the Galician agricultural population around the Galician region of Podolia and Russian territories that today comprise parts of Ukraine. Most women and men involved in agricultural and industrial labor moved in circular, temporary patterns to other European countries and often returned for the winter months. In this chapter I am thus mindful of the high frequency of seasonal migrations during the nineteenth century. The Austrian and Hungarian administrations treated movements between the two parts of the empire as international border crossings, so I will pay attention to the large number of Austrian and Hungarian citizens who moved to one or the other parts of the empire. Many Habsburg inhabitants left the country temporarily or for good, but at the same time these territories also attracted migrants from other European countries. In the last portion of this chapter I present an overview of migration into Habsburg territories, with a special emphasis on Italian-speaking individuals from both within Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Italy.

The third chapter will take a closer look at the transatlantic migrations of inhabitants of Austria-Hungary, and will discuss the onset of increased transcontinental movement, as well as the overseas migrations of nearly four million individuals from

the 1850s up until World War I by region of origin. As a historian, I stress the importance of chronology—time—in uncovering the quantitative history of millions of migrants. The analysis of sources ranging from Hungarian statistics to ship passenger manifests demonstrates that there was a chronology for the arrival of different groups of Austro-Hungarian migrants in the United States. The first migrants came between 1850 and 1890, from the Bohemian Lands in particular, and settled in both urban agglomerations and in the countryside, where they began climbing the agricultural ladder to family farm ownership. The second and larger groups of migrants from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary arrived after 1890, especially following the 1893–1896 economic slump in the United States. While from predominantly agricultural origins, these newcomers rarely sought or obtained US farmland to rent or to buy. Instead, these men and women overwhelmingly found work in cities and rural mining districts as wage laborers in US industry. When considering individuals' decisions to migrate transatlantically, we must also think about their intentions with regard to return, which fundamentally inform the shape of the migration plan itself. I therefore close this chapter with a look at the bounded profit to be gained from the use of terms such as *emigration* and *immigration* when up to 40 percent of Austro-Hungarian migrants to the United States returned to Central Europe.

In the fourth chapter, I move away from studying single migration patterns to look instead at the entangled quality of mobility types. The chapter begins with a historiography of concepts of connectivity between migration patterns since the second half of the twentieth century. I use methods from inferential statistics, such as multiple regression analysis, to test the impacts of internal and European migration patterns on migration to the United States. In the early twentieth century, relations between internal and international migration in both Imperial Austria and the Hungarian Kingdom were highly complex, the results of inferential statistics have their limits, and findings present a mixed picture of the connections between various migration patterns. I therefore pay particular attention to local migration patterns, and present descriptive case studies that help elaborate our understanding of how these various types of movement intermingled within individual regions. The conclusion discusses the results of the study and provides an outlook on changes in European migration patterns during the interwar period.



# 1

## BACK-AND-FORTH WITHIN IMPERIAL AUSTRIA AND THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

**I**N NINETEENTH-CENTURY CENTRAL Europe, most people moved over relatively short distances. They might move to and from long-established urban areas, and to and from newly developing industrial centers, but they also moved between agrarian regions and rural communities. Although migration scholars have challenged the concept of a rural exodus, that idea still continues to dominate collective perceptions. Newly developing economic structures are believed to have destabilized the countryside, corrupted peasants, and “uprooted” the landless rural population, who in response fled to growing urban centers. Contrary to such a scenario, in his innovative study on the movements of the French population during the nineteenth century, historical demographer Paul-André Rosental convincingly demonstrates that most migration within France took place between villages, and that it was primarily individuals from small towns who moved to Paris.<sup>1</sup> He introduces the concept of *micromobility* “to characterize villagers who moved without affecting larger migratory trends because they did not move very far and essentially stayed in the rural world.”<sup>2</sup> Different data structures render it infeasible to replicate Rosental’s study of spatial mobility in the Habsburg Empire; however, it can be presumed that the majority of Austrian and Hungarian inhabitants also preferred to move short distances. Migrants were

not necessarily longing for alien urban environments. Many moved within the same community, to a nearby place, or to a settlement with similar features farther afield. They left villages for other villages or for a nearby small town; they went back and forth between rural and urban areas. And it was not uncommon for any one of this great variety of movements to take migrants across district, provincial, or state borders.<sup>3</sup>

Modern migration research has revealed that the intensity of nineteenth-century internal mobility far exceeded that of overseas migration. As early as the first half of the century, average migration rates to selected German cities were twenty to twenty-five times higher than the rate of transatlantic moves, and after the turn of the twentieth century, internal regional mobility within the German Reich increased by about five hundred times.<sup>4</sup> The popular assumption is that crossing the Atlantic was the dominant migration pattern from the second half of the nineteenth century up to the outbreak of World War I;<sup>5</sup> however, Gustav Thirring, a leading Hungarian statistician and demographer, showed just the opposite in his work on migration in the Hungarian Kingdom in as early as 1902. Based on Hungarian census records, he calculated that exactly 1,034,203 people had left their place of birth between 1881 and 1900, nearly two-thirds or 654,228 of which had migrated internally.<sup>6</sup> About ninety years later, Heinz Faßmann concluded in his studies on various migration patterns in the Habsburg Empire that in this area internal migration was numerically far more important than international moves.<sup>7</sup> Their work is based on census data, and since censuses almost never provide information on temporary seasonal migration, it is safe to presume that the preponderance of internal migration was, in fact, even higher.

Migrations within Central Europe over both short and longer distances had become common phenomena by the mid-nineteenth century, before the beginning of mass overseas traffic. There had always been a considerable amount of geographical mobility within Central Europe. All regions of the Habsburg Empire present a long tradition of various migration patterns. Large numbers of people were involved in regular and less visible everyday movements. Men and women had moved to find work in agriculture, either as servants or maids on larger farmsteads or as seasonal farm laborers to sow and harvest crops or to take care of livestock since the early modern period. Many left less productive regions for more fertile valleys, or moved up the hillsides to uncultivated backwoods. With an increasing intensity of cultivation and a growing demand for seasonal labor, the harvest migrations from the hills to the plains added to the mobility.<sup>8</sup> Servant work in agriculture could be done by young, unmarried people, who changed their employment frequently in order to climb up the social hierarchy, but there also were rural areas where working as a servant could be a lifelong engagement.<sup>9</sup> Farmhands and maidservants usually moved within smaller regions, rarely crossing administrative borders. By the beginning of the twentieth century, up to two-thirds of all young people from the Alpine provinces of the Habsburg Empire were engaged as agricultural servants for at least a portion of their lives.<sup>10</sup>

From the late Middle Ages onward, European agriculture was gradually transformed into capitalist modes of production. Regions specialized in the cultivation of specific crops, dairy products, or meat production for super-regional markets, and for the most part employed seasonally mobile agrarian labor forces.<sup>11</sup> Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, smallholders and cottagers from Switzerland, Tyrol, and Vorarlberg had migrated to the Bavarian and Swabian grain fields in order to work as mowers, harvesters, or fruit pickers.<sup>12</sup> Day laborers from Carniola moved seasonally to Vipavska dolina/Wippachtal/Valle del Vipacco for the wine grape harvest, to the region around Postojna/Adelsberg/Postumia for the wheat harvest, to Styria in the summer months in order to pick hops, and to the district of Tolmin/Tolmein/Tolmino for logging during the winter.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, migrations of itinerant workers to do seasonal farmwork on the central Hungarian plains was a traditional part of the agricultural system there.<sup>14</sup> Jan Lucassen has estimated that by around 1800 more than 300,000 Europeans were moving as seasonal agricultural laborers.<sup>15</sup> In the nineteenth century, the cultivation of new cash crops, such as sugar beets, combined with the industrialization of agricultural techniques brought new rhythms into the workload. Seasonal migration patterns primarily comprised temporary labor migration for harvesting sugar beets, other roots, and wine grapes. More and more Central Europeans, especially women, began moving all over Europe in order to harvest sugar beets.<sup>16</sup> Hundreds of thousands of labor migrants moved seasonally in search of work in agriculture. Peasant workers from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary incorporated seasonal migration into their regular cycle of activities that made up the agricultural year.

One of the oldest migration patterns that was still in existence in the nineteenth century was the so-called transhumance—the seasonal migration of herders with their livestock, mostly sheep but cows as well, to different meadows for winter and summer terms. This special mode of migration can be traced back to ancient societies in the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and the Caspian Sea regions, and linked societies in the mountains with those in the flatlands via economic relations.<sup>17</sup> From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, transhumance was practiced in southeastern Europe in areas close to the Mediterranean as well as in the western European Alps, and could involve mobility over hundreds of kilometers, with shepherds and cattle herders spending weeks moving in a (semi-)nomadic pattern with their cattle at least two times a year.<sup>18</sup> A short-distance variation of transhumance was common in the Alpine regions: peasants had their residence in local villages and sent their cattle with a herder to pastures high up in the mountains during the summer months and to meadows in lower areas during the winter.<sup>19</sup> As mentioned, it is primarily sheep that were driven in this way between South Tyrol and the *Ötztal*, and the practice continues to the present day.<sup>20</sup> Within the Kingdom of Hungary, the Transylvanian



cattle-breeding society members who lived along the border regions to the Austrian province of Bukovina and the Kingdom of Romania represent another example of a traditional agrarian mobility pattern.<sup>21</sup>

From the early modern period up until to the first decades of the twentieth century, people from the Habsburg Empire developed migration strategies that linked them to specific labor markets in other regions and countries. More generally, a substantial number of people in different professions in the Alpine area made their livings as migrant laborers or as peddlers who traveled through vast parts of Central Europe. It is only recently that studies on such specialized and highly mobile groups have been integrated, albeit insufficiently, into mainstream migration history.<sup>22</sup> The multifaceted routes taken by itinerant peddlers of various goods are just one pattern of labor mobility that has existed in Central Europe for ages.<sup>23</sup> The existence of mobile dealers was part of the local and village economy, and a response to the growing demand of the quickly expanding population for merchandise and special services. Mobile peddlers also connected local economies with transregional markets and therewith contributed to an early aspect of globalization. Perhaps most widely known is the population of peddlers from the Alpine regions at the border between Imperial Austria and areas of Italy, who could be found all over Central Europe and as far as the borders of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>24</sup> In the early nineteenth century, up to 80 percent of the male population of some villages in the Ticino/Tessin region was temporarily absent as a result of their work as traveling vendors or mobile laborers.<sup>25</sup> Another characteristic feature of Alpine peddling was that local valleys specialized in certain products or services, such as the mobile dealer in oil and herbs from the Zillertal.<sup>26</sup> Other examples of mobile activities or entertainment were musicians from Bohemia or Bosnians who performed with animals (*Bärenreiber*).<sup>27</sup> A more profitable case of mobile merchants were the glass dealers from Bohemia, who founded branches of their trade in all of the most important cities of preindustrial Europe.<sup>28</sup>

From at least the mid-eighteenth century onward, seasonal migrations within Hungarian lands and to neighboring countries were widespread mobility patterns among Slovak speakers. While some moved permanently, others sought temporary work in industry and construction or as farm laborers. Especially in Upper Hungarian counties, temporary migrations had become part of their everyday life and vital to family economies. Tinkers (*Drotári*) from Trenčín/Trencsén/Trentschin County traveled throughout the Hungarian regions and repaired household items and farm implements. Masons from Liptó/Liptov/Liptau County found employment at Budapest's construction sites; still others sold wares. Seasonal migration of farm laborers to work in the fields in the central Hungarian plains was a traditional and long-lasting part of the economic system as well.<sup>29</sup> The Hungarian-speaking *Székelyek* (*Szekler*) from Transylvania were well known among their contemporaries across Transylvania and

Romania not only as peddlers in wooden products and mineral water, but as agricultural laborers as well.<sup>30</sup> Another group of mobile individuals from the Hungarian Kingdom were coppersmiths, who moved all over Europe and were traditionally termed *Kalderasch* or Gypsies.<sup>31</sup> Preindustrial European roads were also frequented by beggars and other vagrants.<sup>32</sup>

Tramping artisans were a common feature from the late Middle Ages until the beginning of the twentieth century; these skilled working men moved between settlements in search of suitable employment.<sup>33</sup> Despite some recent studies attempting to establish connections between traditional artisan migration and nineteenth-century mass migration, not enough work has been done in this area.<sup>34</sup> An extended period of wandering and migration had formed a standard part of artisan life since the sixteenth century. The economic logic of journeymen's migration during the early modern period may be seen as a key mechanism in regulating the artisan labor market. Extant research on preindustrial Western and Central Europe has uncovered the existence of distinct migration circuits, whereby the direct hinterland was often the main supplier of apprentices, domestic servants, day laborers, and other relatively unspecialized labor, while specialized artisans and white-collar workers generally moved between different cities and over greater distances.<sup>35</sup> Artisan journeying constituted a period of circular mobility that lasted several years or more, and during which the time spent traveling was interrupted by longer or shorter intervals of employment in a town. It can certainly be presumed that searching for work was the main priority for most artisans, but we should not forget that there were also a number of other reasons for embarking on a journey.<sup>36</sup> The world of small enterprise was a world in motion; around three-quarters of the journeymen and most of the masters and apprentices in urban locations were migrants.<sup>37</sup> In nineteenth-century Central Europe, journeymen migration increased in volume while retaining many of its traditional structures and functions.<sup>38</sup> Regional mobility was especially high within certain trades, such as building (bricklayers, stonemasons, or carpenters), while members of other trades developed special connections to their place of origin, such as silk weavers who originated from Lombardy or chimney sweeps who moved from the Swiss cantons of Grisons/Graubünden and Ticino all over Europe, but retained ties to their regions of origin up until the twentieth century.<sup>39</sup>

The expansion of a bourgeois lifestyle in European towns and cities in the eighteenth and even more so in the nineteenth century brought about a growing demand for female and male domestic servants.<sup>40</sup> According to José Moya, the feminization of domestic service forms part of a broader process of modernization and social massification. While in Europe and parts of the Americas such a trend began as early as the nineteenth century, similar tendencies can be seen on a global scale in the twentieth century.<sup>41</sup> At the turn of the twentieth century, working as a domestic servant was almost the exclusive domain of women, and 80 to 98 percent of domestic servants were

female in nearly all European urban areas.<sup>42</sup> Given the labor-intensive nature of household chores, the sizeable demand exerted by urban middle- and upper-class families for domestic servants often caused women to outnumber men at the bottom of the migration pyramid. Indeed, most migrating women entered the city as domestic servants.<sup>43</sup> Many if not most left the city again after working and saving for a few years, but another significant proportion ended up marrying and settling in the city, and moved on to unspecialized jobs such as innkeeper, laundrywoman, or shopkeeper that were compatible with a married status.<sup>44</sup> Domestic service in the households of the growing towns and cities of the Habsburg Empire was the most common occupation for young women. Many young Slovenian women, for example, moved to Trieste and Gorizia/Görz/Gorica to find employment as maids, housekeepers, or nurses. Other women from Slovenian villages delivered bread to Trieste or worked as seamstresses for the urban population.<sup>45</sup> In Transylvania, meanwhile, young, unmarried girls and widows moved to nearby towns and to București/Bucharest in the Kingdom of Romania to make a living as domestic servants.<sup>46</sup>

Most of young women walked short distances to find employment in urban households. In her migration study for Western Europe, Leslie Page Moch has estimated that two-thirds of all domestic servants moved on a yearly basis, primarily over short distances.<sup>47</sup> Similar migration patterns can be found in the Alpine regions of Central Europe. In 1794, nearly one-third of the domestic servants in Salzburg originated from the city itself, while another 39 percent were born in either the province of Salzburg or nearby Bavaria.<sup>48</sup> Although the number of servants in urban households was slowly decreasing in the second half of the nineteenth century, around 12 percent of all Vienna's inhabitants were engaged in domestic service during the 1880s.<sup>49</sup> In addition to these individuals, members of the intellectual and commercial elites also were in constant circulation between cities and towns.<sup>50</sup>

During the nineteenth century, major public works that frequently entailed huge earthworks spatially mobilized unskilled rural laborers. The increased internationalization of production and trade, development of new traffic routes, and improvements in the transport of goods and people via the construction of canals, roads, and railroads, as well as the loosening of the individual's legal right to migrate rendered it more and more possible for all Europeans to move. The construction of infrastructure created a sudden demand for a large labor force. Experts and skilled workers usually were brought in from the outside, but the digging, shoveling, and carting was done by local men who earned cash wages, some for the first time in their lives. Once a project was completed, many of the local laborers became mobile by continuing to work with their crews on other railroad, river-regulation, or canal-building projects.<sup>51</sup> All over Europe enormous building sites, such as the expansion of towns and cities and the construction of new industrialized factories that had begun during the nineteenth

century, created demand for hundreds of thousands of labor migrants. Up to 13 percent of the population of Northern Italy, for example, which included also parts of Imperial Austria, moved seasonally, predominantly as construction workers. According to René Del Fabbro, about 454,000 labor migrants from Friuli (Italy) found temporary employment in the German Reich, while the number of seasonal labor migrants from Northern Italy and from Carniola and Littoral in Imperial Austria was nearly twice that (about 895,000 from 1872 to 1915).<sup>52</sup> In the Balkans as well, the male population of entire villages were involved in construction, with some specialized as masons in building with stone, others building bridges, mosques, and churches, while the next village might be the home of renowned woodcutters.<sup>53</sup> Industrialization created new jobs for migrating women as well, who found employment in the leading sector—the growing textile factories—or worked at construction sites and in brick production alongside men.<sup>54</sup>

## 1.1 BACK-AND-FORTH BETWEEN DISTRICTS AND COUNTIES

One major problem in the analysis of regional mobility relates to the ways in which geographical units are defined. Most historical data are primarily available for administrative regions, but while individuals may identify with such units for some purposes, it can be suggested that for many purposes administrative divisions have little real meaning.<sup>55</sup> In the past, physical barriers may have been of much greater importance with regard to the movement of people. These can in part be defined in terms of distance, but might also relate to the extent to which a region is divided from other areas by topographic features such as mountain ranges or major rivers. Regions may also have had economic and associated social distinctiveness based on a particular way of life, which meant that interaction might have been necessary with other regions because of complementary resources.<sup>56</sup> People moved in specific directions because they were, for example, not able to cross a river when going in the other direction, or because it was not possible for them to climb a steep mountain. Political administrations do not always take into account geographical barriers such as these. Moves within political districts and counties, from village to village and between villages and small towns, were seldom recorded by national censuses; or at least such numbers are not available in the published metadata for Imperial Austria and the Hungarian Kingdom. The structure of the study at hand has been fundamentally shaped by the available data, which is structured according to political administrative units. That said, we must bear in mind that relating such units to the regions with which people identified can at times be problematic.

The following statistical results regarding internal migration are based on census materials in which spatial mobility is defined by moving from one political district within Imperial Austria to another, and from one county (*Komitates*) within the Hungarian Kingdom to another. When trying to compare the two administrative parts of the Habsburg Empire, we run into methodological problems. Even if both parts were nearly the same size—the fifteen provinces of Imperial Austria covered 300,004 km<sup>2</sup> and the nine different regions of the Hungarian Kingdom spread over 325,411 km<sup>2</sup>—the division of administrative units differed considerably, which makes a direct comparison of the results rather difficult. The published results of the Cisleithanian and Hungarian censuses, which were conducted at the same time, are aggregated at the level of 406 political districts for Imperial Austria, while the Hungarian statistics are represented at the level of 71 counties, plus the city of Rijeka/Fiume and its surrounding district, which maintained a semiautonomous status.<sup>57</sup> This being the case, the political districts of Imperial Austria allow a fundamentally more refined analysis than the much larger geographical units of the Hungarian Kingdom. Nonetheless, and keeping these shortcomings in mind, it should be possible to carry out a cautious comparison.

Based on the 1910 census of Imperial Austria, 37.6 percent of the population had migrated at least beyond their home municipal boundaries, and nearly 25 percent had crossed the borders of a political district, but only 8.6 percent had moved over provincial borders and just 2.2 percent had left the country.<sup>58</sup> On average, the spatial mobility of Austrian inhabitants tended to be high; however, the rates varied across different regions. In the large and populous province of Galicia, nearly 80 percent of the people lived within the municipal boundaries of their birthplaces. The ratio of sedentariness was much lower in more industrialized areas, such as Lower Austria (47 percent) and Bohemia (55 percent).<sup>59</sup> According to official numbers, inhabitants of the Hungarian Kingdom appear to be less mobile than people from the Austrian provinces; the proportion of people in Hungary with a place of residence other than that of their place of birth was only 30 percent.<sup>60</sup> As previously indicated, however, the lower apparent internal mobility might be a result of larger administrative units, which allowed migrants to cover greater distances before crossing even county borders. While 88.5 percent (89.2 percent for women and 87.8 percent for men) of Transylvania's entire population had not crossed county boundaries, the ratio of stayers within counties of the Right Bank of the Tisza, today in the Republic of Slovakia, was lower, 83.9 percent (84.9 percent for women and 82.2 percent for men). The two notable exceptions in the Kingdom of Hungary were Rijeka, the town and surroundings, which constituted a political unit of its own (54 percent of its population has crossed the district's border), and the Danube-Tisza Basin, including the capital Budapest, which comprised the heart of the kingdom. The ratio of sedentariness of its people in the Danube-Tisza Basin was less than 72 percent for both women and men.<sup>61</sup>

According to net-migration rates in the different provinces of Imperial Austria that are based on census figures from 1870 to 1910 in figure 1.1, there are only a few provinces that experienced population growth as a result of migration. The province with the highest nonnatural increase of inhabitants was Trieste, which is little surprise considering that the territory of this province was primarily the city itself. While Lower Austria's population, which included Vienna, showed the next highest increase until 1900, its growth rate slowed down in the following decade (to 1910). Salzburg and Vorarlberg followed in population gain; both were rather small territories on the western edges of the empire in which many non-natives lived. According to Habsburg administration, *foreign* refers as well to citizens, which will be dealt with in the next subchapter. The populations of Dalmatia, Bukovina, and Styria increased at the beginning of the period under examination, but decreased after the 1890s. Inhabitants from the Mediterranean crown lands, Carniola, Görz, and Gradiska, which were the provinces with the highest net-migration loss, primarily moved to Trieste—a rural-urban migration pattern that will be discussed in further detail in the following subchapters. All other provinces, most of which were in the east of Imperial Austria, experienced population loss, with more people leaving than migrants arriving. During the first decade of the twentieth century, Galicia was the province with the highest loss in net-migration.<sup>62</sup>

According to an 1890 analysis of internal movements in Imperial Austria, the picture did not differ much. According to a study of the contemporary statistician Heinrich Rauchberg, regional mobility is characterized as an active exchange of population between the political districts and provinces. Taking a step back to consider the larger picture of in- and out-migration between political districts and provinces alongside in-migration to bigger cities and towns, it is not possible to determine clearly directional migration paths. Instead, people of Imperial Austria were in constant crisscrossing motion. Lower Austria, Vienna included, was already at the center of in- and out-migration to and from all other parts of the empire. The populations from some smaller Austrian provinces and Dalmatia were the only exceptions in that sense, because they did not participate in the crisscrossing movements across the region. Lower Austria was exceptional not only with respect to in-migration, but also as the source of out-migration to all other parts of the empire. As early as 1895, Rauchberg emphasized that the province was characterized by numerous out-migrants in all directions. Bohemia gained migrants from Moravia and Lower Austria, with return migrants from Vienna, while Moravia attracted people from the southern parts of Bohemia, Austrian Silesia, and the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>63</sup>

As shown in figure 1.2, political districts in the middle of Bohemia, the west of Moravia, and the north and southeast of Lower Austria near Vienna were the main centers of out-migration to other political districts in 1910. These areas formed the geographical and economic core of late Imperial Austria; they were in quantitative

terms at the center of internal migration activity. More than half of the Bohemian people who were born in Sedlčany/Seltschan, Týn nad Vltavou/Moldauthein, and Benešov/Beneschau had taken up residence in another district of Imperial Austria by 1910. During the second half of the nineteenth century, out-migration in the Bohemian Lands was inevitably higher than in-migration. About 1.6 million people left Bohemia and Moravia between 1850 and 1914, with half of them moving to other parts of Imperial Austria, primarily to the central areas of Lower Austria and the capital Vienna. From the middle of the nineteenth century to 1910, about 20 to 27 percent of Vienna's population was either born in Bohemia or Moravia. The Viennese labor market mainly attracted artisans and merchants from small towns in Moravia. However, the capital was not the only destination for Czech-speaking migrants; nearly 5 percent (7,000 people) of city residents in Kraków in Galicia originated from the Bohemian Lands.<sup>64</sup> While rural districts dominated the picture of internal out-migration, the number of out-migrants was likewise high in most urban agglomerations. Smaller provincial towns such as Celje/Cilli in Southern Styria, Waidhofen an der Ybbs in Lower Austria, Klagenfurt/Celovec in Carinthia, and Prague and its surroundings shared similarly high rates of out-migration.

As is obvious from figure 1.3, the regions with the highest rates of in-migration were the large, industrialized cities such as Vienna, Prague, Budapest, and Ostrava in Northern Moravia. Alongside larger cities, the most attractive centers for in-migration from other districts were industrialized areas such as those surrounding Vienna in Lower Austria, the mining region of northern Styria, the areas outside of Prague, and the northern parts of Bohemia. The most industrially developed regions in central Imperial Austria were the valleys along the rivers Mur and Mürz in Styria with their steel production and coal mining, the southeastern part of Lower Austria that bordered the Hungarian Kingdom and was known as the "industrial quarter," and the valley along the river Ybbs where water power allowed for the emergence of a regional ironmongery industry.<sup>65</sup> In particular, it was labor migrants from Upper Austria, Carinthia, and Carniola that moved to the Styrian industrial region. In 1910, the most numerous groups of foreigners in the southeast of Vienna were labor migrants from the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>66</sup>

In Upper Austria, people moved to the urban agglomerations of Linz and Steyr, where they could find jobs in industry and service.<sup>67</sup> In Tyrol in the west, in-migration from Littoral played a surprisingly minor role, while more and more Bohemians were there searching for jobs. The growing industry attracted more laborers from the north and east than from the south.<sup>68</sup> According to the 1910 census, only 79 out of 100 inhabitants of Vorarlberg were born in that province, a factor that is a result of its high in-migration rate. Rather than internal in-migration, most migrants in Vorarlberg had been born in the neighboring countries of the Kingdom of Italy, Switzerland, and the German Reich.



Within Bohemia, internal migrants moved from central, mainly Czech-speaking areas to the north of the province, where the German-speaking minority dominated. Prospering lignite mines offered labor migrants numerous job opportunities. Newcomers to Prague mainly moved from agrarian regions in central Bohemia to the urban agglomeration. Czech-speaking temporary migrants worked in factories (textile, metal, electrical, and chemical industries) in the Vienna Basin, and from 1860 onward were attracted to the Vienna environs and south of the city by major building sites and jobs in brick production, respectively. In the mining regions of Upper Austria and Styria, metal and steel production, railroad construction, and ship building provided work for migrants from the provinces of Bohemia and Moravia.<sup>69</sup>

In the Hungarian Kingdom, internal migrants predominantly traveled from the northern parts of the territory to the southern, with a clear preference for Budapest and its surroundings. People also moved to smaller urban agglomerations. Gustav Thirring first spotted regional movements from the Kingdom of Hungary to Croatia and Slavonia as an important internal migration pattern in the census returns in the 1890s. The number of inhabitants of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia who were born in Hungary increased from 82,260 to 112,041 between 1880 and 1890.<sup>70</sup> These southwestern migration patterns were still in existence in 1910, and most counties had a positive net-migration rate from other Hungarian areas.

In comparison to Imperial Austria, nearly all parts of the kingdom continued to be dominated by agriculture in 1910. Slovak- and Ukrainian- (Ruthenian-) speaking migrants had been moving seasonally as agricultural laborers from present day Slovakia to the central Hungarian plains for centuries.<sup>71</sup> Most likely to move south were people from the counties of Heves/Hewesch, Novohrad/Nógrád/Neograd, and Nyitra/Nitriansky/Neutra (all today in Slovakia) in the north, and people from the county of Fejér/Stuhlweiß in the west. The Hungarian lowland plain proved to be highly attractive to internal migrants. In most counties with a Slovak-speaking majority, agriculture continued to be the major economic activity into the early twentieth century, while at the same time itinerant laborers continued to migrate to the central Hungarian plains for seasonal works as part of the kingdom's economic system.<sup>72</sup> A way of life based on migration had been established among Slovaks and Ukrainians long before the 1867 *Ausgleich*.<sup>73</sup> This migration pattern continued into the second half of the nineteenth century, with movements to industrial urban areas gaining importance at the end of the century. By that time, about 300,000 people born in counties that are now part of Slovakia had moved to other parts of the Hungarian Kingdom. Within these territories, internal mobility and urbanization seemed to be more closely linked than in the Austrian districts, and networks of migration were more concentrated in the central region around Budapest.



Whereas dominant regions for in-migration developed in both administrative parts of the Habsburg Empire, inhabitants from the more distant areas at the borders preferred different routes. Internal out-migration rates were significantly lower in the Austrian east, in the provinces of Galicia and Bukovina, in the southeastern Hungarian territories of Transylvania and Banat, which nowadays are part of Romania, in the south, in most parts of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, and in the province of Dalmatia. People from these borderland territories cannot be described as more sedentary or geographically persistent; rather, they took part in other continental and transatlantic migration processes, most often crossing national borders to neighboring countries or finding their ways to other continents.

Border regions, such as Galicia and Dalmatia, experienced both low internal out-migration and low internal in-migration rates. The east of Galicia was characterized by small peasant holdings, which by the end of the century were being increasingly downsized. Whereas the size of peasant holdings was on average about five hectares in 1859, that size had decreased by about half by 1900. As a result, most of the rural population had to find other, more industrialized, jobs. One important Galician area of industrialization was near Drohobytch/Drohobycz (today in Ukraine), where petroleum was produced. After the United States and the Russian Empire, Austria-Hungary was the third-largest oil-producing region of the world, in 1909, accounting for 5 percent of world production. In the small town of Boryslaw/Borislau/Boryslaw alone, 204 different companies were engaged in the search for and extraction of bitumen in 1881. These companies accounted for 547 wells under construction and 1,237 wells in operation; together with the already abandoned wells, there were at least a total of 3,327 large holes in the ground. These numbers show a clear picture of a terrain full of pits, mines, shacks, derricks, and high hopes for large profits.<sup>74</sup>

Indeed, at the beginning of the twentieth century, urban agglomerations were the most important centers of a positive net-migration, as clearly can be seen in figure 1.4; nearly all larger cities had a net-migration rate of over 20 percent of its inhabitants. In the case of Budapest and the county of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun, it was often not only the city territory itself, but its surrounding districts and counties that gained people as a result of higher in- than out-migration. The districts surrounding Vienna to the west, such as Hietzing, Korneuburg, and Tulln, had a high net-migration rate, while the regions to the east of the city, such as the districts of Gänserndorf and Floridsdorf on the left bank of the Danube (*Transdanubia*), lost population to migration. Not surprisingly, the districts of Ostrava and Královské Vinohrady/Königliche Weinberge, today a district of Prague, had exceptionally high net-migration rates, and could hardly be described as rural in 1910. While in 1860, over 75 percent of the industrial labor force in the Ostrava-Karviná/Karwin/Karwina region originated from within a distance of 30 miles, by 1880, this proportion had decreased to

less than 40 percent. Besides Czechs and Germans, Slovaks from Hungarian territories and over 80,000 workers from Galicia were employed in the mines and at the forges. In 1901, about 31 percent of the miner and 39 percent of the laborers in coking plants were either Poles or Ukrainians.<sup>75</sup> Other districts with a high net-migration were Teplice/Teplitz-Schönau in the northwest of Bohemia bordering the German Reich, or the district of Pula/Pola at the south end of the Istrian peninsula. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Pula's large natural harbor became the main naval base of Imperial Austria and a major shipbuilding center.<sup>76</sup> In addition to soldiers and military personnel who were ordered there from all over the country, the prospering city also attracted labor migrants from other districts in Littoral and Carniola.

As can be seen by numerous rural districts with a positive net-migration rate, a lot of Habsburg inhabitants also moved to the countryside. As already mentioned, the primary internal migration direction for citizens of the Hungarian Kingdom was to the south. Nearly all counties in the north, especially regions with a Slovak-speaking majority, lost population, while the counties bordering Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Romania gained people via higher in-migration rates. Within Imperial Austria, it was only the southwestern parts of Bohemia that were characterized by an exceptionally high negative net-migration rate: the political districts of Sedlčany, Týn nad Vltavou, and Pelhřimov/Pilgram in the south of Prague each lost nearly a quarter of their entire populations.

## 1.2 DIVIDING PEOPLE INTO LOCALS AND FOREIGNERS

As rulers and their administrations became increasingly interested in the whereabouts of the population, they developed strict state control systems for spatial mobility. As part of their mid-eighteenth-century state building efforts, Maria Theresa and Josef II inaugurated an official migration monitoring program in the Habsburg Empire. The *Codex Theresianus* and later on the *Josephinische Gesetzbuch* from 1786 introduced the first distinction between Habsburg subjects and foreigners. With regard to international and internal migration, there were different regimes that were built on different rationales of inclusion and exclusion. The government attempted to attract new migrants with special skills on the one hand, and on the other to prevent its own subjects from leaving the country.<sup>77</sup>

At the end of the eighteenth century, the French Revolution changed attitudes toward foreigners from abroad and extended possibilities for surveillance. The Habsburg government prohibited fairs and public assemblies, and the *Maßregel-Gesetz* of 1832

enabled the prosecution of political opposition members. Hence, many members of the opposition were forced to leave the country.<sup>78</sup> At the same time, the Habsburg government eased restrictions on the spatial mobility of its own citizens. Beginning in the 1860s, Austria-Hungary's population was allowed to move freely around the empire's territory without identification documents, and even into other Western European countries and overseas. It was only for journeys to the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire that an official visa was required. Passports for internal travel had been abolished in 1857, and an act in the Constitution (*Staatsgrundgesetz*) of 1867, which applied only to Imperial Austria, entitled every inhabitant to a free choice of residence. According to the new constitution, the Kingdom of Hungary was largely independent, with its own government and parliament, and the liberal monarchic constitution from 1848 was restored. It took the Hungarian government another twelve years before it passed a law of nationality.<sup>79</sup> Simultaneously to the liberalization of free movement, however, the Austrian government expanded the observation of aliens and stepped up the practice of deportation. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the official migration control was based on individual patents that were aimed at three objectives: the classification of migration into useful and useless moves, the construction of a bureaucratic registration system, and the systematic exclusion of special groups of people from legally permitted regional mobility.<sup>80</sup>

To control internal movements in Habsburg-ruled territories, state administration developed the so-called *Heimatrecht*, or right of domicile, as the most efficient instrument that divided the inhabitants of a community into locals and foreigners independent of their citizenship, for Habsburg citizens also could be considered foreign in a place where they did not have the right of domicile. A principle of domicile (*Heimatprinzip*) for the Habsburg territories, which made communities responsible for the maintenance of its locals, had existed since the middle of the sixteenth century, but it was not until the *Conscriptionspatent* of 1804 that the term *Heimatrecht* was first defined and legally described.<sup>81</sup> According to this law, it was the "hometown" that was responsible for taking care of old-age persons and paupers in instances in which there was no private support available. Residency was acquired by birth, marriage, or by voluntary presence in a community over the period of ten—and later four—years.

Several amendments to the legislation on the right of domicile resulted in vague rules for granting the same, created an artificial group of foreigners, and divided the local residents into two legal and as well as social groups: locals and foreigners.<sup>82</sup> Two previously distinct personal rights of Habsburg subjects were now linked: the unconditional right to free choice of residence according to the *Staatsgrundgesetz* and the rightful demands of citizens for poor relief from their communities of residence. The existing law developed into a crucial barrier against the integration of foreigners, but also against the inclusion of Habsburg subjects into a new community.<sup>83</sup> An 1863 amendment

revoked the ability to obtain right of domicile after living in the same place for ten years. Aside from being born in a community where the father maintained the right of domicile, marriage in the case of women, or entrance into a public office, the only way for individuals to gain the status of a local person was by explicit official acceptance by the community.<sup>84</sup> These restrictions prevented most people from taking on a new right of domicile, and therefore, internal movement within the Habsburg Empire generally resulted in taking on the status of foreigners. Individuals from the lower strata of society experienced especially limited mobility, and in instances of impoverishment risked forced deportation to their domicile community.<sup>85</sup>

Statistician Rauchberg complained as early as 1892 that, with the exception of a few options, there was little legal possibility of becoming localized after 1863.<sup>86</sup> During the 1880s and 1890s nearly two-thirds of all people in Imperial Austria did not have a right of domicile in their place of residence. The difficulty of establishing right of domicile is demonstrated by the thousands of official letters that the administration sent all over Imperial Austria and the Hungarian Kingdom that document yearslong negotiations between different communities about the residence status of individuals, mostly of paupers.<sup>87</sup> Women were particularly affected by the patriarchal mode of residency, because marriage inherently involved adoption of the male partner's right of domicile. If a local Viennese woman married a Bohemian migrant in Vienna with a right of domicile in some small Czech-speaking village, she "married" his local status as well, and in case of impoverishment could be transported there without even speaking the language or knowing any of the locals.<sup>88</sup> This could have happened to the whole family after the husband died.

The *Heimatrecht* was finally reformed in 1896 and 1901, and migrants regained the right of domicile after ten years of residence in the same community.<sup>89</sup> Many residents of Vienna were "localized" in 1901; nearly 88,000 Viennese people acquired the right of domicile by adverse possession without even needing to apply for it, and another 1 percent of Vienna's population followed the procedure for application. In 1902, another nearly 20,000 inhabitants received the right of domicile by adverse possession, and in 1909/10, about 45,000 residents of Vienna were "localized."<sup>90</sup> The right of domicile was closely intertwined with citizenship. It was Emperor Josef II (1764–1790) who initiated the first attempts to legally regulate the right of citizenship. The term *Staatsbürger* (citizen) was defined in the sense of citizenship for the first time in the *Allgemeinen Bürgerlichen Gesetzbuch (ABGB)* of 1811. The close bond between the right of domicile and citizenship existed into the first decades of the twentieth century with, for example, only people with a right of domicile in an Austrian location being able to obtain a citizenship in the First Austrian Republic. Before its final abolition in 1938, the right of domicile, attested by the *Heimatschein* (this document was issued by the responsible authorities), was, beside citizenship, the most important document

for Austrians, and one that guaranteed the right to unimpeded residence in a community as well as support for the elderly and unemployed.<sup>91</sup>

The Kingdom of Hungary passed its own law of nationality; it did not alter the previously applicable Habsburg legislation on the right of domicile and, although its interpretation was not as strict as Imperial Austria's, likewise divided its population into "locals" and "foreigners." According to the instructions of the 1870 Hungarian census, all individuals who had maintained residence in a locality for more than one year were to be considered locals. Permanent inhabitants without a fixed right of domicile were also counted as locals.<sup>92</sup> The Hungarian census provided figures for place of birth and residence permit status from 1880 onward. It divided the Hungarian people into locals who had a right of domicile in the same political district or in another, people with the right of residency in Budapest or Rijeka, people with the right of domicile in Croatia-Slavonia, and people who were citizens of another state, including citizens of Imperial Austria.<sup>93</sup>

The law regarding domicile rights empowered the state to forcefully accompany individuals to their place of legal domicile within Austria-Hungary or beyond its borders, the so-called *Schubwesen*.<sup>94</sup> As the Austrian historian Peter Becker argues: "Deportation was the vicious complement to the residence rationale and a costly and inefficient answer to the question how the economic advantages available in a particular area were to be divided up, whether these involved access to work or to poor relief."<sup>95</sup> It was not just a matter of moving people outside the Habsburg territories; people could also be redistributed within the country. Linking the right of domicile with laws regarding paupers provided authorities with a tool, albeit a somewhat inefficient one, with which to control migration. According to these regulations, mobile people were divided into two different classes: the ones who moved for economic reasons in order to sustain their living and primarily associated with trade and crafts, which were welcomed by the government as these were seen as essential to national progress; and the others who were mobile without having a permanent place of residence. It was this latter class of people, who made the streets their home, whom the government wanted to manage using social discipline from above.<sup>96</sup> Paupers and men and women who violated legal norms or police regulations were the groups most often targeted for deportation.

As early as the eighteenth century, Habsburg authorities had begun deporting people at fixed dates in the summer and autumn (*Hauptschub*), both as individuals (*Particularschub*) and groups, to their places of legal domicile—either abroad, primarily to Bavaria, or to the Hungarian lands. Between 1716 and 1740, for example, vagrants and prostitutes were put on boats to Timișoara/Temesvár/Temeswar two times a year.<sup>97</sup> Later on, during the nineteenth century, another route of forceful transport was established between Bohemia and the other provinces. In 1871 a new amendment to the law, the *Reichsschubgesetz*, regulated the deportation of "foreigners" in all Austrian

provinces.<sup>98</sup> During the nineteenth century, the actual number of people who were forcefully transported to their place of domicile increased. In 1818, for example, *only* 695 “foreigners” were deported from Vienna in group transports. In the mid-nineteenth century, Vienna had about half a million inhabitants, and on average about 3,000 people without a right of domicile were deported each year. By 1867, the annual number of forcefully transported people had risen to 10,118.<sup>99</sup>

The authorities in Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary tried to control internal movements of its people and of foreigners; however, as Rauchberg noted early on, their tools were not very efficient. In his critique of the legislation he noted that the stabilization of the right of domicile was not equivalent to a social stabilization of the population. The legislation prevented people from enjoying the rights of locals in their host communities, but could not restrict their movements.<sup>100</sup> As a result, the data on right of domicile, which the Austrian census from 1869 to 1910 and the Hungarian census from 1880 to 1910 often provided in more detail than place of birth, is not an adequate measurement for accessing spatial mobility, and can only provide information on the residence status of the respective populations.<sup>101</sup>

### 1.3 URBANIZATION IN IMPERIAL AUSTRIA AND THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

Until the end of the nineteenth century, Vienna, the capital of the empire, was the only major urban agglomeration in the Habsburg-ruled territories. By 1910, the city’s population had grown to over two million people, followed by Budapest, Trieste, and Prague.<sup>102</sup> The official census of Imperial Austria counted 34 urban districts, only eight of which were cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants (Vienna, Trieste, Prague, Lwiw/Lemberg/Lwów, Kraków, Graz, Brno/Brünn, and Ústí nad Labem/Aussig). Of Imperial Austria’s population of more than 28,570,000 individuals, only about 14 percent lived in these city districts.<sup>103</sup> According to current statistics, about 58 percent of Austria’s population is living in communities with more than 10,000 inhabitants.<sup>104</sup> The rate of urbanization has been much lower in the Kingdom of Hungary: the Hungarian census of 1910 listed 30 separate units, only two of which—Budapest and Szeged/Szegedin/Сегедин—had a population of more than 100,000 people. All other Hungarian towns were found at the bottom of the Habsburg Empire’s list of cities by population, with Varaždin/Varasd/Warasdin in last place with only 12,149 inhabitants. In 1910, a total of 8.6 percent of the Hungarian population (25,713,722) was living in urban areas, which is only slightly more than half the proportion in Imperial Austria.<sup>105</sup> As of 2018, the urbanization level for Hungary is given as 71 percent, and that of the Republic of Croatia is currently 57 percent.<sup>106</sup>

The multifaceted internal mobility of people from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary resulted in the growth of cities and smaller towns as well as in population gains in more industrialized rural areas. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the population of the majority of central and western European cities consisted of more than 50 percent of in-migrants, and the national averages of individuals living in places other than their birthplace were in the range of 40 percent. Economic and administrative centers, such as Vienna, Prague, Budapest, Trieste, and Graz, attracted migrants from all over Austria-Hungary. Budapest led as the city with the highest number of inhabitants born outside of the city, but other, smaller towns, such as Timișoara, Oradea/Nagyvárad/Großwardein, and Arad (today in Romania) or Zagreb/Zágráb/Agram, were other destinations selected by mobile people. After Prague, Vienna was second in attracting migrants from the Bohemian Lands, while most mobile Slovaks, by contrast, headed for Budapest.<sup>107</sup> Only Vienna had enough magnetism to pull migrants from all over the empire; the other cities functioned primarily as provincial centers. Even so, the plain numbers of internal in-migrants were higher in cities other than Vienna (42.4 percent), such as Olomouc/Olmütz in Bohemia (72.2 percent) or Komárno/Komárom/Komorn in the area along the right bank of the Danube (67.4 percent). Most in-migrants in the bigger cities such as Prague and Lwiv tended to originate from the surrounding provinces.<sup>108</sup> Even Trieste, the main port city of Imperial Austria, tended to primarily attract men and women from its hinterland in the Littoral.

The highest number of internal in-migrants in Vienna had been born in Bohemia, followed by short-distance migrants from surrounding Lower Austria and people from Moravia (see table 1.1). Most international migrants to Vienna had moved from the Kingdom of Hungary or the German Reich. After the turn of the century, in-migration from Bohemia decreased, while more and more people from the surrounding countryside began moving to the city.<sup>109</sup> Budapest, meanwhile, was not only the fastest-growing city of Central Europe, but it also had the highest number of internal migrants. The number of people from outside the Hungarian Kingdom who were attracted to the capital was rather small (5 percent) in comparison to Vienna and Trieste. In 1910, most international inhabitants of Budapest had been born in Imperial Austria. Prague, today the capital of the Czech Republic, received the highest number of individuals who had been born in other parts of Imperial Austria; Bohemians comprised the vast majority of that population. According to the 1910 census, more than 93 percent of all migrants gave a birthplace somewhere else in the same province, with just 3 percent having been born in Moravia. Prague pulled in very few mobile laborers from outside Imperial Austria. Trieste, in contrast, can be described as the most cosmopolitan city of Austria-Hungary, even if most international urban dwellers had originated from the nearby Italian Kingdom. Nearly 12 percent of its population had crossed an



TABLE 1.1 In-migration rates and distribution of migrants in Vienna, Prague, and Trieste, 1910

	Vienna		Prague		Trieste	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Population 1910	2,031,421		223,741		229,510	
Internal migration	857,503	42.2	138,623	62.0	71,940	31.6
International migration	182,761	9.0	3,469	1.6	26,842	11.7
Bohemia	241,987	28.2	129,357	93.3	1,374	1.9
Lower Austria	220,399	25.7	2,115	1.5	1,785	2.5
Moravia	205,034	23.9	4,600	3.3	674	1.0
Littoral	3,403	0.4	115	0.1	42,332	58.8
Carniola	4,931	0.6	92	0.1	11,183	15.5
Galicia	40,898	4.8	723	0.5	452	0.6
Styria	28,494	3.3	198	0.1	3,940	5.4
All others	112,357	13.1	1,423	1.0	10,200	14.2

Source: *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910, 1912.*

international border; however, the number of internal migrants was rather small in comparison, with most of these stemming from the surrounding hinterland of Littoral and Carniola.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Budapest had only about 50,000 inhabitants. In comparison to Vienna, with its population of more than 230,000, the later capital of the Hungarian Kingdom was still a small town rather than an urban agglomeration.<sup>110</sup> In the period that began with the unification of Pest, Buda, and Óbuda in 1873 and ended with the onset of World War I, migrations in and out of the multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual Kingdom of Hungary produced a vivid, lively, and flourishing cultural climate. Budapest competed with Vienna and became a symbol of “national vanity.”<sup>111</sup> The newly established capital city played a formidable role as magnet for migrants and developed into a center of economy, culture, and learning.<sup>112</sup> By the first decades of the twentieth century, the city’s population had grown to nearly 900,000 inhabitants. Budapest was unique in all of Central Europe with regard to city growth.<sup>113</sup> This enormous increase in population was primarily driven by migration. In the middle of the nineteenth century, nearly a quarter of all migrants had been born abroad, in either the Alpine provinces of Imperial Austria, in Bohemia, or in regions of the later German Reich (see table 1.2). By the first decade of the twentieth century, the number of international migrants had fallen to just 5 percent. In 1910, about 30,000

Poles and Ukrainians from Galicia and more than 50,000 Serbs and Croats from within Hungarian territories made a living in the city.

Internal migrants mostly moved from north to south, either from the right bank of the Danube or from the *Felvidék* (the northern Hungarian highlands) counties in what is present-day Slovakia.<sup>114</sup> The attractiveness of Budapest for Slovak-speaking migrants was comparable to the pull of Vienna for Czechs. More than 93,000 Slovaks had moved to Budapest by 1910, about 80 percent of whom had been born in western and central regions of today's Slovakia. In contrast, labor migrants from Eastern Slovakia preferred other industrialized cities in Hungary, such as Miskolc/Mischkolz.<sup>115</sup> According to the census, more than 150,000 Slovak-speaking migrants had moved to other Hungarian towns.<sup>116</sup> Leo Lucassen describes Budapest as a city with ethnonationalist opportunity structures, with virulent forms of discrimination against national minorities, such as demonstrated by the post-1867 politics of *Magyarization* (especially of Slovaks), having had lasting consequences for migrants' settlement processes in the city.<sup>117</sup>

Prague, or more specifically the city and its surrounding districts, has been described as the one large urban agglomeration in the Czech Lands that differed from the rest of the Bohemian and Moravian towns in its economic, social, and cultural characteristics. Although the city had already become a center for artisan production and commerce in the nineteenth century, its population growth was comparable to that of other rural areas in the province. The northern parts of Bohemia aside, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the larger Prague agglomeration was by far the most advanced industrial center of the province and attracted many migrants. As in Vienna, Prague's inner city was contained by walls, and thus newcomers settled in the periphery—primarily in the political districts of Karlín/Karolinenthal and Smíchov/Smichow (both of which are today part of the city). While Vienna incorporated its suburbs first in 1850 and then in 1890, there was no administrative unit of greater Prague until after World War I.<sup>118</sup> During the nineteenth century, the greater Prague agglomeration developed as the urban fringe of industrialization in Bohemia. Karlín was famous as the most important center for textile production, while most of Bohemia's heavy industry, including fifteen of its twenty-two machine factories, were clustered in Smíchov.<sup>119</sup> Up until the construction of railways during the nineteenth century, internal in-migration to Prague was dominated by industrial entrepreneurs, merchants, and public servants from districts in the northern and western portions of Bohemia, where a majority of the population spoke German. Czech and German-speaking migrants alike made their livings with small-scale enterprises. According to the Austrian census of 1910, 8.4 percent of Prague's residents spoke German, and 8.1 percent were categorized as Jewish, many of whom were counted among the German-speaking minority.<sup>120</sup> Migration from

TABLE 1.2 In-migration rates and distribution of migrants in Budapest, 1910

	n	%
<b>Population 1910</b>	880,371	
Internal migration	222,676	59.0
International migration	44,102	5.0
From Imperial Austria	35,076	79.5
Right Danube Bank	170,027	32.7
Danube-Tisza Basin	126,720	24.4
Left Danube Bank	92,380	17.8
Left Tisza Bank	42,413	8.2
Right Tisza Bank	33,040	6.3
Tisza-Mura Basin	23,452	4.5
Transylvania	25,551	4.9
Croatia-Slavonia + Fiume	5,840	1.2

Source: *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.

other parts of the Habsburg Empire or from abroad was marginal. Toward the end of the century, more and more people from the rural areas in the south of Bohemia and from Moravia began to arrive in the city; after the turn of the century however, that population increase began to slow down.<sup>121</sup>

As mentioned, the port city of Trieste was the most cosmopolitan of all major Habsburg urban agglomerations with regard to inhabitants who had been born in other countries. According to Dominique Kirchner Reill, Trieste's cosmopolitanism was not characterized by individuals, but rather by a city of many distinct yet connected communities.<sup>122</sup> Today Trieste is a middle-sized Italian town on the border to the Slovenian Republic, but the city had been part of the Habsburg Empire from the fourteenth century up until 1918, and was declared a free port in 1719. Since that time, the population of that city was exempted from military service, from the obligation to consign their private property for public use, and enjoyed religious tolerance. Beginning in the eighteenth century, migration was a common denominator among the inhabitants, with Protestant, Orthodox, and Jewish traders settling in the port city.<sup>123</sup> The so-called *acattolici* (non-Catholics: Jews, Greeks, and Serbs) dominated trade and

commerce in nineteenth-century Trieste. From the eighteenth century onward the Jewish population (up to 6 percent of its residents) became especially integrated into the city's economy, directing some of its major business concerns, banks, and insurance houses, and adding to its European cosmopolitan flavor, which will be discussed in further detail below.<sup>124</sup>

During the course of the century, the city was transformed from a small, walled-in communal town into a maritime center of commerce and a modern, rapidly growing urban agglomeration.<sup>125</sup> The building of a railway connection between Vienna and Trieste—the *Südbahn*, opened in 1857—allowed large quantities of goods to be transported from the Mediterranean to the empire's capital, with commerce increasing apace as a result.<sup>126</sup> This made the port city even more attractive to migrants, and population doubled between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The ties between the Mediterranean port and its hinterland were especially close. The most important provinces for in-migration were Littoral and Carniola; in 1910, for example, 22,192 of Trieste's inhabitants had been born in either Gorizia or Gradisca d'Isonzo/Gradis am Sontig/Gradišče ob Soči.<sup>127</sup> After 1848, more and more people from the Slovenian-speaking region of Dežela Kranjska/Krain and Gorizia, many of whom were shepherds, day laborers, and labor migrants from the younger generation of servant-class rural dwellers, decided to make a living in the nearby urban center. Many of these individuals moved on a temporary basis. So many young women went to the city to work as domestic servants that some of the small villages in Trieste's hinterland even had a male surplus. Once customs duties were eliminated (*Zollfreiheit*) in 1891, even more South Slav labor migrants were attracted to the city. Between 1891 and 1900 nearly 5,000 people from that area, most of whom were Slovene-speaking, moved to the impressive Habsburg port city.

In terms of migration to Trieste, Italian-speaking migrants from the Kingdom of Italy were just as numerous as Slavic-speaking people, and Italians from Friuli in the north were particularly drawn to the Mediterranean port. By 1913, nearly 50,000 Italian-speaking foreigners were making a living in Trieste as dressmakers, waiters, ice cream sellers, water carriers, or umbrella makers; all these were classic occupations for peddlers from the Friuli Alpine areas.<sup>128</sup> During the first decade of the twentieth century, the city grew by 50,000 people; with an increase of nearly 30 percent in this period, it topped the list of quickly growing cities in Imperial Austria.<sup>129</sup> While the majority of Trieste's population was Italian-speaking, its international migrants, attracted mostly by commerce, consisted of Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Serbs, and other Europeans, including French, Reich Germans, and a few English and Swiss individuals as well.<sup>130</sup>

Major urban agglomerations, Vienna in particular, have long attracted the attention of historians because of their exceptional role as centers of imperial administration and government.<sup>131</sup> We have few studies that deal with migration to smaller cities or even

more rural places.<sup>132</sup> Southern Bohemians, we find, made their way to not only Vienna or Prague, but also to other internal destinations such as Upper Austria and Styria. As a result of its long history of metal production Steyr, a small industrial town in Upper Austria, was the most attractive center of in-migration in that province. In 1910, for example, nearly 8 percent of its population had been born in Bohemia.<sup>133</sup> The construction of the first railway line between Linz and České Budějovice/Böhmisch Budweis, beginning in 1825, initiated labor migrations of Czechs to Linz. Around 1900, about 7,000 residents of the Upper Austrian capital spoke Czech as their official everyday language, which in many instances was something other than their mother tongue.<sup>134</sup>

#### 1.4 BACK-AND-FORTH BETWEEN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

In the early modern period, only a fraction of the overall high mobility was directed toward towns, but these migrations were of great importance for urban economic and demographic development.<sup>135</sup> Because there were, as a rule, more deaths than births in early modern cities, most of them relied on a permanent influx of newcomers in order to maintain their population size, let alone grow. During the second half of the nineteenth century, migration to cities increased, but overall mobility levels were already quite high long before industrialization. Rural to urban migration routes mostly favored cities, with net-migration rates higher from countryside to city. According to George Gmelch, who in 1980 argued that the massive urbanization that occurred in most parts of the world “led to a ‘rural-urban’ analytical framework in which geographical movements were viewed as occurring in one direction only—rural to urban.”<sup>136</sup> Nevertheless, city-born people were also highly mobile, and moved not only among urban regions, but also between cities and countryside. This in mind, rural and urban areas should not be considered as opposed or different economic and sociocultural entities. Towns and the countryside were not autonomous economic spaces, but rather complemented one another. Migrants moving back-and-forth between them linked urban agglomerations with the surrounding hinterland. Until the end of the nineteenth century, urban labor markets mostly offered seasonal jobs, and as a result, migrants remained in towns for only a portion of the year. Employment perspectives, for artisans for example or in the building sector, remained uncertain and unstable, and for many young migrants work in the city was part of a rural-urban life cycle. Mobile artisans and servants went back-and-forth between agricultural and urban areas. Peasants who came to work in towns usually spent six to eight months a year there. In spring and summer they abandoned their factory jobs and returned to work in the fields. Thousands of seasonal industrial laborers crowded into the suburban “industrial villages” that sprang up

around cities, where they maintained their village customs and lifestyles. The sociologist Ewa Morawska describes the process of urbanization as accompanied “by a parallel ‘ruralization’ of cities, to which the peasant-migrant inhabitants added a distinctly rural aura and out-look.”<sup>137</sup> These links with the countryside only started to weaken when agriculture underwent further mechanization and the urban labor market began offering year-round jobs.<sup>138</sup>

In industrializing Europe, rural areas were not exclusively characterized by agricultural production. Most studies on continental Europe stress the importance of rural industrial development in generating labor migration both within and between regions.<sup>139</sup> In many European regions, villagers had been making their livings in proto-industrial production since the eighteenth century. Small entrepreneurs in towns organized, for example, the purchase of raw materials for textile production and the vending of final products, while nearby rural dwellers manufactured not only textiles, but numerous other products as well.<sup>140</sup> Proto-industrial production was important for the economy in, for example, the northern parts of Bohemia, where it resulted in a quick transition to regional industrialization, with intense urbanization and numerous industrialized rural areas. Former agrarian villages such as Kladno/Kladen, in the middle of Bohemia near Prague, and Felixdorf, near Wiener Neustadt in Lower Austria, developed into so-called *Industriedörfer*, or industrialized villages.<sup>141</sup> According to the Austrian census of 1900, rural districts in Bohemia had high numbers of in-migrants, with at least 10 percent of the rural population having migrated into the area. More and more factories were built in the countryside during the second half of the nineteenth century, and formerly agricultural areas such as northern Styria and the Vienna Basin were now dominated by industrial production.<sup>142</sup>

Neither were towns, on the other hand, exclusively inhabited by people who made their livings in commerce and trade. Up until the twentieth century, urban dwellers had cultivated their own crops either within the city limits or on property they owned or rented in the surrounding countryside. Many urban artisans and merchants ran some sort of agricultural production on the side. In many Lower Austrian cities such as Wiener Neustadt and even Vienna, for example, citizens owned vineyards.<sup>143</sup> During the nineteenth century, city governments rented out small plots of undeveloped urban property to their poor inhabitants in order to allow for the cultivation of vegetables or breeding rabbits and chickens; these so-called *Armengärten* later became known as *Schrebergärten*. During economic crises, urban gardening became an indispensable means of nourishing the urban populations. Shortly after World War I, in the 1920s, the initial number of small agricultural plots within Vienna’s city limits had grown to 55,000.<sup>144</sup>

In traditional migration research, the second half of the nineteenth century has primarily been associated with processes of industrialization and urbanization. Many contemporary observers linked high rates of urban growth to the observable process of

rural to urban migration. Ernest Ravenstein's "Laws of Migration," which was published in 1885 and is the most often-cited scholarly work in migration research to date, opens with a first "law" on movements to towns:

1. We have already proven that the great body of our migrants only proceed a short distance, and that there takes place consequently a universal shifting or displacement of the population, which produces 'currents of migration' setting in the direction of the great centres of commerce and industry which absorb the migrants. In forming an estimate of this displacement we must take into account the number of natives of each county which furnishes the migrants, as also the population of the towns or districts which absorb them.<sup>145</sup>

With the movement of labor migrants from rural to urban areas and newly built factories forming the center of attention, other aspects of internal mobility were long neglected. Scholars assumed that during the nineteenth century rural to urban moves dominated regional mobility across Europe. Much of classic literature has, moreover, confused gross and net in-migration rates.<sup>146</sup> A substantial portion of research on late Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary continues to be devoted to one-way movements to cities.<sup>147</sup> William Hubbard's analysis of spatial mobility in Graz, the provincial capital of Styria, is unusual in that it includes migration *to* as well as *from* the city. He mentions the importance of internal migration as the dominant pattern and demonstrates, in addition, how occupational skills influenced patterns of mobility.<sup>148</sup> The following will challenge the urban-centered view of migration, and census data will be used to demonstrate the complexity of migration systems, with rural to urban moves being merely one of many different migration experiences. All places were affected by migration, and all gained and lost people over time, but imbalances between in- and out-movements could have a significant effect upon demographic and community structures.<sup>149</sup>

The historians Leslie Page Moch and James Jackson criticized conventional analysis of links between migration and urbanization, which declared that nineteenth-century city growth was overwhelmingly caused by the movement of rural dwellers. These people were irreversibly drawn from their sedentary villages into urban centers, which signaled a transition to the modern urban-industrial era.<sup>150</sup> The industrial and agrarian revolutions combined to produce an unprecedented growth of the European population and accelerated urbanization levels. This spectacular rise in urbanization should not, however, be interpreted as primarily the consequence of increased mobility.<sup>151</sup> German-speaking migration research in particular has traditionally had an intense focus on the close link between rural-urban migration, urbanization, and industrialization as the main factors in city growth.<sup>152</sup> Urban population growth in German

territories presents an interesting case study because of the high-quality primary sources on internal migration.

The importance of carefully distinguishing between in- and out-migration rates has been emphasized in debates on the effects of internal migration on urban population growth for German territories. As early as the 1930s, the German sociologist Rudolf Heberle challenged the narrow approach that assumed that most internal migration occurred from the countryside to cities. Human mobility was much more diverse and differentiated; there was always a back-and-forth migration pattern, and age and gender are furthermore important considerations when analyzing mobility.<sup>153</sup> More recent studies have challenged Wolfgang Köllmann's 1974 assertion that "urbanization emerged from internal migration."<sup>154</sup> When scholars such as Horst Matzerath and James Jackson analyzed late nineteenth-century net-migration rates in relation to rates of natural population increases (the net of birth and death rates), they found much smaller contributions of migration to urban population growth.<sup>155</sup> Neither was internal migration the primary cause of urbanization in English cities during the second half of the nineteenth century; about three-quarters of that population growth was a result of natural increase.<sup>156</sup> Birth rates could exceed the effect of net-migration in even fast-growing cities. Andreas Weigl has found, for example, that from 1900 to 1910 the balance of births and deaths among the Viennese population was considerably higher than the balance of in- and out-migration.<sup>157</sup> Up until the 1870s, population increase in Budapest was, similar to the Vienna case, largely a result of in-migration, and in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, natural growth as a result of more births in comparison to deaths became more and more important. Between 1900 and 1910, 45 percent of the growth of Budapest's population was a result of a surplus of births over deaths.<sup>158</sup> This being the case, we see that urban growth should not be exclusively attributed to net-migration surpluses from the countryside, and that it also depended upon migration from other cities and from the surplus of births over deaths in the cities themselves.

There was also a substantial amount of movement *out* of cities, and Moch and Jackson suggested with regard to nineteenth-century European cities that "migration may have been much less important to the growth of some important administrative and commercial capitals than contemporary observers believed."<sup>159</sup> Up until the 1980s, the majority of historical migration research characterized urban out-migration as unimportant, abnormal, or even as a failure in data analysis. Results of modern research debates on urban growth in nineteenth-century Europe make it clear that both directions have to be taken into account in order to understand overall migration processes.<sup>160</sup> While people did in fact move to large towns, and the biggest towns attracted the most migrants, nearly as many people also moved in the other direction. A significant number of these would have been people who had begun their lives in the countryside. As Bert De Munck and Anne Winter have stated with regard to the early



modern period: "As most migration was temporary, the total volume of urban immigration and emigration was much higher than the number of urban immigrants at any given moment might suggest, and the total proportion of persons engaged in urban migration patterns at some point of their lives was substantial throughout the early modern period."<sup>161</sup> A reconstruction of nineteenth-century total mobility rates based on arrivals *and* departures in German cities concludes that "the efficiency of migration was always low" for urban population growth.<sup>162</sup> Similarly, Colin G. Pooley and Jean Turnbull suggest in their study on British migration that in-flows to towns were nearly matched by out-flows.<sup>163</sup>

Recent approaches indicate that cities and countryside were linked in a relationship of exchange. Urban migration cannot accurately be described as a constant flow of incoming people, but rather as a back-and-forth of migrants who entered and left towns. Studies of journeymen tramping in early nineteenth-century Vienna point very clearly to the high fluctuation of arrivals and departures.<sup>164</sup> Up until the twentieth century, rural migrants in search of work in urban centers typically maintained tight bonds to the countryside. Within German regions, for example, even during phases of advanced industrialization, return migration and counterflows *from* urban *to* rural areas were nearly as high as in the other direction. Dieter Langewiesche's study of the *Statistical Yearbook of German Cities*, which contains data for every in- and out-migration into German cities of more than 50,000 inhabitants, found that Berlin had an in-migration of 1.5 million people from 1880 to 1890, but at the same time 1.16 million individuals left the city. In order to experience an increase in population of 1,000 in that period, Berlin needed a total migration volume (in- plus out-migrations) of more than 6,000 individuals.<sup>165</sup> In his work on late nineteenth-century Duisburg, Jackson emphasized that before and during the era of mass migration, streams of in- and out-migration into and from the city were fairly well matched. He argues that "Duisburg's migrants did not abandon contacts with home areas but were animated by a powerful ideology of return."<sup>166</sup> Cities like Duisburg and Kaliningrad/Königsberg needed to exchange large numbers of people with the countryside in order to see a comparatively small net gain. Similar rates of in- and out-migration were counted by scholars examining other cities in Germany and the United States.<sup>167</sup> A rural-urban dichotomy explains neither length of residence nor number of local moves within a year of arrival. As noted earlier, migration flows and counterflows were counterpoised both before and during industrialization. This reciprocity points both to continued contact with rural roots and to the power of return migration patterns.<sup>168</sup> Internal migration was not a unilinear movement from rural to urban areas; net changes involved enormous population exchange.

At the turn of the twentieth century, in- and out-migration rates to and from Vienna were comparable to those for Berlin. Movements of Czech-speaking people from the Bohemian Lands to Vienna and the surrounding region of Lower Austria were

especially prominent patterns in the late nineteenth century. In 1910, some 1,040,000 of a total of 2,030,000 Viennese inhabitants had been born in other provinces or outside late Imperial Austria, and about 470,000 of these in-migrants had come from the Czech provinces. There is much research devoted to this topic that highlights in-migration to Vienna but makes little mention of return migration or the movements of Bohemians and Moravians from the countryside to cities other than Vienna.<sup>169</sup> According to calculations by Michael John and Albert Lichtblau, from 1900 to 1910 only one out of six in-migrants from the Bohemian Lands remained in Vienna.<sup>170</sup> Monika Gletler compared the Viennese Czech community at the end of the nineteenth century to a hotel that was always booked, and always with different people.<sup>171</sup> In his demographic history of Vienna, Weigl described the city at the turn-of-the-century as a passage-way: as many as 900,000 migrants were only temporarily Viennese.<sup>172</sup> Vienna also exchanged population with other parts of Imperial Austria; between 1891 and 1900, for example, 1,717 Viennese-born migrants could be found in Upper Austria, while 2,288 people born in Upper Austria moved to Vienna.<sup>173</sup> According to the Austrian census of 1910, more than half of Vienna's two million inhabitants were born outside the city, about 200,000 of whom were citizens of other countries, including the Kingdom of Hungary. At the same time, another 200,000 Viennese-born people had moved to other parts of Imperial Austria.<sup>174</sup> Although in-migration from various provinces of Imperial Austria clearly exceeded out-migration from the city, the number of departures was unfailingly high, even during phases of high population growth. Most other cities in late Imperial Austria also experienced a high rate of migrant turnover; Linz, for example, the provincial capital of Upper Austria, is described by John as a "clearing house," from which many in-migrants soon moved on.<sup>175</sup>

Table 1.3 represents the population size, in-, out-, and net-migration rates of the five towns in Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary with the highest levels of people arriving and leaving the urban space, based on the 1910 censuses. In addition to Olomouc in Moravia, the southern Imperial Austrian towns in the provinces of Carinthia (Klagenfurt) and southern Styria (Celje and Ptuj/Pettau) also had exceptional high mobility rates. In the year 1910, more than 70 percent of their inhabitants had been born somewhere else in Imperial Austria, while between 34 and 50 percent of native people were living in other districts. The overall mobility (in and out) was also high in the small Lower Austrian provincial town of Waidhofen an der Ybbs at the border to Upper Austria, which exchanged the bulk of its population with the next bigger town of Amstetten. The 1910 Imperial Austrian census provides details on in- as well as out-migration to and from the most common destination districts for each political district. According to those numbers, Vienna was the most attractive destination for migrants from Amstetten. Such a movement could be interpreted as stepwise migration: people from Waidhofen moved first to the next bigger town,

TABLE 1.3 Austrian and Hungarian towns with the highest in- and out-migration rates, 1910

City	pop.	in-mig.	out-mig.	net-mig.
Olomouc	22,245	76.2	42.5	33.8
Celje	6,919	74.0	50.5	23.5
Klagenfurt	28,911	71.1	41.8	29.3
Ptuj	4,625	71.6	34.4	37.2
Waidhofen an der Ybbs	4,884	69.2	43.6	25.6
Komárno	18,863	67.4	33.8	34.1
Oradea	61,034	64.4	22.2	42.2
Osijek	28,505	62.9	21.2	41.7
Košice	40,476	62.8	22.6	40.2
Pécs	47,844	62.1	20.9	41.2

Source: *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912; *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.

Amstetten, and might later on move to the capital.<sup>176</sup> Because of the localized nature of geographical mobility, smaller towns and regional centers such as Amstetten or Linz acted as gateways to the urban scene for migrants who moved in stepwise fashion from villages, towns, and then to cities; they also moved in reverse directions back to villages. Stepwise migration findings must be placed in a broader context, as preliminary studies have shown that only a minority of urban migrants traveled in such regular patterns.<sup>177</sup>

As mentioned, the mobility of people and overall migration rates were lower in the Kingdom of Hungary than in Imperial Austria. Thus, the five towns in the former Hungarian territories in table 1.3 also had lower rates of in- and out-migration. There were urban areas in which more than half of the population had been born somewhere else in the Hungarian territory spread across the country, in places that are today parts of the Republic of Croatia (Osijek/Eszék), Slovakia (Košice and Komárno/Komárom), Romania (Oradea/Nagyvárad), as well as in Hungary (Pécs/Fünfkirchen) itself. In comparison to Imperial Austria, however, Hungarian urban areas had noticeably lower rates of out-migration.

These circumstances might on one hand be due to different levels of economic development and urbanization in the two parts of the Habsburg Empire. The high level of urbanization in Imperial Austria supported a great deal of mobility between various towns. A number of Austrian provinces also developed areas of rural industrialization

(northern Bohemia, for example, and Styria), while the economy in the Kingdom of Hungary continued to be dominated by agriculture. There were more rural industrial areas in Imperial Austria for townspeople to move to. According to census material, about 52 percent of the entire Imperial Austrian population (family members included) were engaged in agriculture in 1910, while the percentage of Hungarian population in agriculture was still 65 percent (family members included).<sup>178</sup> On the other hand, different mobility levels might also, as was discussed in the opening of this chapter, be an artifact of measurement. As shown in table 1.3, the populations of towns within the Hungarian territory that were counted separately in the census were, on average, higher than those of Imperial Austria.

To get a clearer picture of links between in- and out-migration rates, I decided to apply correlation analysis for urban units in both parts of the Habsburg Empire. We want to know if there is a statistical relationship between people arriving in any Habsburg town and those leaving that town. Statistical techniques make it possible to investigate such relationships with some precision, and to investigate the strength and nature of the same. Statistical analysis can indicate the statistical probability of a relationship; however, the identification and assessment of relationships between variables involves historical judgment and common sense.<sup>179</sup> In the scatter diagrams in figures 1.5 and 1.6, the pairs of in- and out-migration variables are plotted against one another. If the two variables move roughly together and in the same direction, the points on the graph will line up along a positively sloping line, indicating the presence of a positive relationship. If the points are widely dispersed across the graph, there is no indication of a linear relationship between the variables. The correlation coefficient, which is the most commonly used measure of statistical relations between two variables, is given underneath the figures. The value of the correlation coefficient always lays between +1 and -1, with +1 indicating a perfect positive correlation and -1 indicating that the perfect correlation is negative. The nearer the correlation coefficient is to + or -1, the closer the relationship. If the correlation coefficient is zero, there is no statistical relationship at all.<sup>180</sup> Despite strong correlation results, we have to be careful not to jump to conclusions about causality, as in our case we do not know if high rates of in-migration affect high rates of out-migration or vice versa. We are only able to statistically prove whether there is a correlation between these two migration directions or not.

If we follow a traditional approach of migration research that most mobility should occur from rural to urban areas, then in- and out-migration to urban districts ought to be negatively correlated. Figure 1.5 plots out-migration and in-migration rates for urban districts in Imperial Austria, and figure 1.6 shows the same numbers for thirty towns in the Hungarian territories. Rather disturbing is the fact that the two figures represent opposite results. With a correlation coefficient of +0.76, the correlation for Imperial Austria is unambiguously positive, while the correlation coefficient for the

Hungarian towns is  $+0.007$ , meaning that there was almost no link between in- and out-migration rates. These disturbing results could, of course, be the effect of some common factors. After checking for data entry errors, the first obvious candidate is the different sizes of the urban areas. Smaller towns might have had higher rates of out-migration simply because of fewer employment opportunities, whereas larger towns might attract more in-migrants and experience fewer out-movements. Second, by the first decade of the twentieth century, Imperial Austria and the Hungarian Kingdom had different levels of industrialization and urbanization. Third, we cannot not forget that migration decisions were likewise influenced by various cultural factors that can hardly be measured using quantitative methods.

In the cartographic analyses of internal in- and out-migration (figures 1.2 and 1.3) we might find some support for the traditional approach that internal migration was dominated by moves from the countryside to cities and commercial and industrial centers. According to a more detailed study, however, we find that the number of out-migrants from urban areas was always high, and it is hard to make a differentiation between regions of immigration and regions of emigration.<sup>181</sup> In some cases, migration networks between two regions were evenly reciprocal in the sense of nearly equal exchanges in the number of migrants. Some 12,000 people born in the district of Tulln (30 km west of Vienna), for example, lived in Vienna in 1910, while on the other hand some 10,000 people born in Vienna lived in Tulln.<sup>182</sup> A similar pattern can be found in northwestern Bohemia: 3,248 people migrated from the political district of Duchov/Dux to the district of Most/Brüx, as compared with 4,561 from Most to Duchov.<sup>183</sup> Based on Austrian census data from 1910, this pattern of migrant exchange in both directions was especially prevalent in the vicinity of Prague and other major Imperial Austrian cities such as Vienna, Graz, and Lwiw. Territories in Imperial Austria with an above-average in-migration also evidenced above-average out-migration.<sup>184</sup> This suggests that connections among regions of origin and destination remained strong. It is important to realize that migration flows operated in both directions, even if migration routes between two regions were not evenly reciprocal in the sense of a balanced exchange, but instead asymmetrical and unequal. It is worth examining the balance between movements into and out of the census regions. Migration into and out of the regions was very evenly balanced in some areas, while other regions experienced more in-migrations than out-movements and vice versa.

As shown in figure 1.4, which illustrates net-migration rates of people in Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary in 1910, there was a small net flow of individuals toward larger towns, and when gross flows are examined, we see that there were also substantial movements from large cities to smaller settlements, which would become a prominent trend in the twentieth century. The traditional idea has been that country people moved to towns and stayed there, and those originating from towns did not

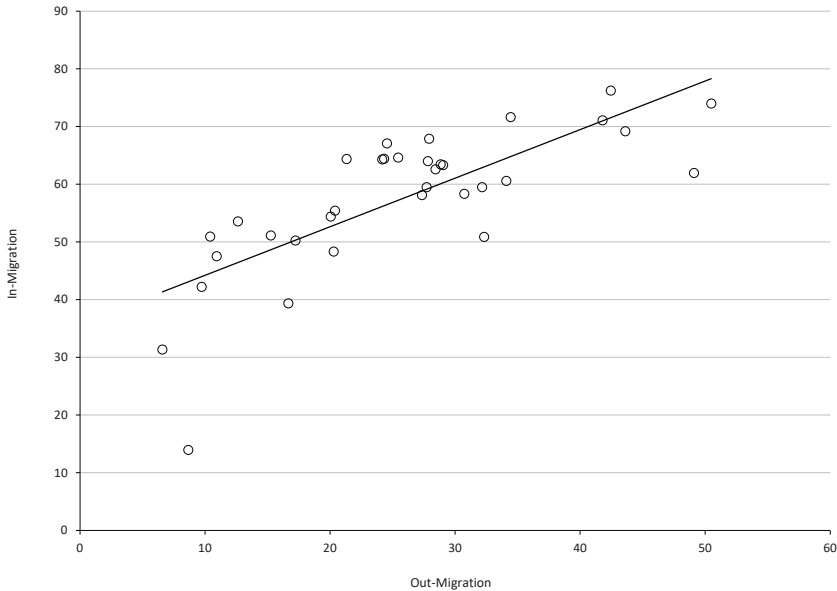


FIGURE 1.5 Correlation of in- and out-migration rates for thirty-four urban districts of Imperial Austria, 1910

Source: *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912.

Correlation coefficient: 0.76 (significant or strong correlation).

move out. Ravenstein, for example, suggested that urban dwellers were less migratory than those from the countryside.<sup>185</sup> Hundreds of thousands of men and women from all over the Habsburg Empire moved to urban agglomerations, but this was only one aspect of the total spatial mobility. There is no evidence of difference in the propensity to migrate by region or settlement size.

To some extent, historical migration research still has yet to challenge this urban-centric perspective. To date, we still lack research on migration within rural areas. High levels of migration among rural farming areas represent a final snag in the commonly accepted view of rural-urban migration. An important exception is Rosental's study on rural migration in France. According to his analysis, movements of French rural dwellers throughout the countryside formed the dominant pattern in the nineteenth century. The false assumption of a rural exodus is rooted in the incomplete and inaccurate analyses of urban migrants' birthplaces.<sup>186</sup> With regard to German territories, Steve Hochstadt has emphasized the important role of movements between rural locations and the exchange of population between villages in preindustrial times and the age of industrialization. According to the Prussian census of 1900, only one in five

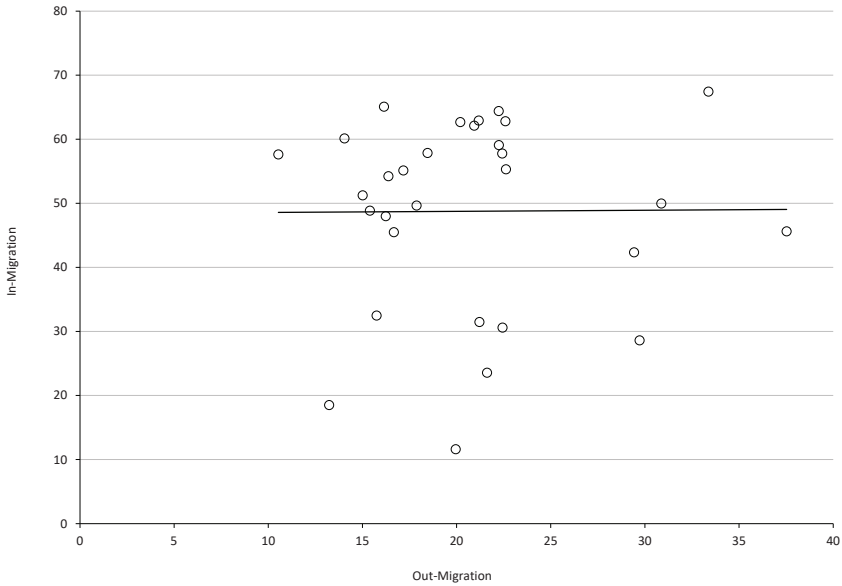


FIGURE 1.6 Correlation of in- and out-migration rates for thirty urban districts of the Hungarian Kingdom, 1910

Source: *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.

Correlation coefficient: 0.007 (no correlation).

individuals who had left their places of birth resided in a German city.<sup>187</sup> New studies on other European regions also recognize the high numbers of people moving within and to rural destinations. One of these is Javier Silvestre's work on internal migration in Spain, in which he mentions migrations within rural Catalonia as a result of a search for better paid agricultural jobs.<sup>188</sup> In his study on migration systems in industrializing Portugal, Marcelo Borges also emphasizes the crucial role of rural areas for internal migration patterns.<sup>189</sup>

Josef Ehmer's and Hermann Zeitlhofer's 2005 study on rural migration patterns in the Bohemian Lands presented a new approach in migration research.<sup>190</sup> Internal mobility rates were exceptionally high in late nineteenth-century Bohemia and Moravia in comparison with those of other Habsburg territories, with the inhabitants of the former making use of various options to move. Ehmer and Zeitlhofer identified several internal and international migration patterns: over shorter and longer distances, seasonal and permanent, from the countryside to cities and back, and between various urban regions. Their analysis showed that locally migrating Bohemians did not necessarily



move to Prague or heavily industrialized Plzeň (the latter's tenfold population growth between 1843 and 1910 notwithstanding).<sup>191</sup> Internal migration patterns were, rather, more complex. Along with movements from countryside to industrialized cities, destinations in neighboring districts that were still dominated by agriculture were usually the most frequent. Nearly one-third of all 104 political districts in Bohemia experienced out-migration rates of at least 20 percent of all migrants to rural areas, with over 40 percent of the mobile population in ten districts making its way to an agricultural region within Imperial Austria.<sup>192</sup>

## CROSSING INTER- EUROPEAN BORDERS

**M**OST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES that have been the source of large-scale overseas traffic also have experienced significant levels of migration within their borders and to other European countries. As became obvious in the previous chapter, internal movements within Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary were common patterns of spatial mobility during the late nineteenth century. Some regions were linked with others inside the Habsburg Empire via a dense network of people moving back-and-forth, while the inhabitants of other areas were considerably less involved in internal migration patterns. In the course of my research it became evident that different types of international short- and other longer-distance moves were more important in these latter areas than originally anticipated. People from Austria-Hungary could be found in nearly all regions of Western, Northern, Eastern and Southern Europe. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the neighboring countries of Switzerland, the Kingdom of Italy, the German Reich, the Russian Empire, and the Kingdom of Romania attracted the most Habsburg Empire migrants, with others moving as far as, for instance, Sweden, France, and Denmark in search of work. Administration of the empire was divided between Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary, with each part of the Dual Empire maintaining its own census bureau, and spatial mobility between the two treated by administrators as international movement. The following analysis, which is based on those sources, will follow that structure.

With the exception of transatlantic mobility, the history of international migration of people from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary remains little investigated.<sup>1</sup> This is all the more surprising for the fact that at the beginning of the twentieth century, Imperial Austria, including the Hungarian Kingdom, was one of the main centers of migration to other European countries. As early as the interwar period, Imre Ferenczi and Walter F. Willcox published a two-volume compendium on international migrations that provided exit and entry data for more than 40 countries. They do not give details on how the data was collected; however, their publications document undeniably a substantial fraction of nineteenth-century long-distance migrations.<sup>2</sup> According to their data, which was based on records of the frontier police, the number of continental migrants leaving Imperial Austria more than tripled from 1906 to 1911 (from 110,639 inter-European migrants to 343,224).<sup>3</sup> Between 1876 and 1910, at least five million Habsburg citizens, nearly 10 percent of the population, migrated internationally.<sup>4</sup> Continental migration within Europe was far from quantitatively unimportant; it has been estimated that circa 1910 the number of people from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary living in other European countries was approximately 1.5 million, and about 860,000 migrants from other countries were counted in the Habsburg Empire (approximately 583,000 of whom were in Imperial Austria). There are several reasons, however, that these national numbers, which are based solely on stock data from official census numbers, underestimate the numerical importance of in- and out-migration within Europe. In the first place, up until World War I the effective date of Austrian and Hungarian censuses was December 31, and thus the data fails to reflect the extensive range of temporary movements that occurred between spring and the beginning of December. Well aware of this problem, Heinz Faßmann included an additional number of “some 200,000 wanderers” for 1910, but we can now presume that this number is far too low.<sup>5</sup> There are also substantial gaps in the history of migration networks to some European countries, such as the Russian Empire. In 1880, some 11,654 Russian citizens lived in the Habsburg Empire, and the provinces of Galicia and Bukovina in particular, whereas according to the Russian census of 1897, 121,559 Austrian citizens lived in the Russian Empire.<sup>6</sup>

## 2.1 MOVING FROM IMPERIAL AUSTRIA AND THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

Leading up to the beginning of World War I, Central and Eastern Europe formed the greatest reservoir of cheap labor for the commercialized agriculture and the growing industrial sectors of Western Europe. The Austro-Hungarian territories were particularly significant areas for the recruitment of seasonal migrants. In 1910, the number of seasonal laborers from Imperial Austria that crossed European state borders was

estimated at 330,000.<sup>7</sup> According to the internal in- and out-migration maps in figures 1.2 and 1.3 in the previous chapter, inhabitants of border districts and counties—people from Galicia, Bukovina, Dalmatia, Croatia-Slavonia, and Transylvania—were less likely to take part in internal migration processes. These people cannot, however, be characterized as more sedentary or geographically immobile than other citizens of the empire. Poles, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Hungarians, Romanians, Italians, Czechs, Moravians, Jews, and German-speakers took part in different kinds of migration patterns that took them across both international borders within Europe and the Atlantic Ocean. According to late nineteenth-century census data, the small province of Carniola in the south of the empire near the Mediterranean had the highest international migration rates: 574 of every 10,000 inhabitants left the Austrian territories between 1890 and 1900; Galicia was next highest, with 416 migrants for every 10,000 inhabitants. The province of Styria was at the opposite end of this international migration scale, with just 73 international migrants per 10,000 inhabitants.<sup>8</sup>

Few continental migration patterns can be accurately described as reflecting long-distance mobility. Most people moved from a border region into a neighboring state—labor migrants from Bavaria to the province of Salzburg for instance, agricultural workers from Northern Hungary to Lower Austria, or Italian-speaking migrants from Friuli to Tyrol.<sup>9</sup> In the decades before World War I, European labor migration led to either permanent industrial employment in factories or mines or resulted in seasonal work patterns that alternated between agricultural work in the spring and fall and logging or mining in the winter.<sup>10</sup> While there were of course some individuals from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary who decided to move to another European country for good, the majority of continental migrations were more temporary in character.

Seasonal migrants moved to other countries in cyclical patterns for portions of the year in order to earn a living or to supplement income made in their regions of origin. As will be demonstrated with regard to transatlantic migration in the following chapter, these absences from home could last weeks, months, or even years.<sup>11</sup> The demand for female and male agricultural laborers often followed the natural harvest or sowing seasons, while that for some handicraft products followed some other seasonal pattern, such as the need for heavier clothes and shoes when the weather cooled, the building and construction boom in warmer months, and other fluctuations in the demand for market goods according to annual fair schedules. Seasonal patterns also could be found in small trades, for example, Slovenian merchants who sold roasted chestnuts on Viennese streets during the winter months.<sup>12</sup> Other examples of temporary migrants are the peddlers from Austrian Silesia who sold linen in German territories; the Czech lace traders and Bohemian glassblowers and grinders who moved over the border to Prussian Silesia, Saxony, and Brandenburg;<sup>13</sup> the Tyrolean miners who spent portions of the year in the Rhineland mining regions; and the construction diggers from the

Littoral and South Tyrol who worked in the German Reich. A particularly mobile group of professionals were the musicians and singers who traveled all over Europe during the summer months to earn supplemental income through entertainment, and best-known of these were music troupes from Bohemia and Moravia.<sup>14</sup>

### 2.1.1 Women as Continental Migrants

Traditional migration research has for the most part characterized internationally mobile humans as adventurous men seeking new experiences and a new start in life. As early as 1885, however, Ernest Ravenstein postulated in his frequently cited “laws of migration” that women comprised a greater proportion of migrants than men. Based on the 1871 and 1881 Great Britain population census data, he stated that the movements of women were mostly internal and over short distances, while men ventured beyond the country of their birth.<sup>15</sup> A more recent study undertaken by an interdisciplinary research group headed by historian Donna Gabaccia and sociologist Katharine Donato have criticized the so-called “feminization of migration,” which is said to have begun in the 1960s, arguing instead that long-distance travelers included females as well as males even in historical times.<sup>16</sup>

Contrary to the assumption that men dominated international moves, Sylvia Hahn’s research has concluded that even young women covered considerable distances when looking for work in middle-class households or on farms.<sup>17</sup> Young female migrants who moved around rural areas for work as maidservants in agricultural households or who ventured beyond district borders to surrounding towns for work as domestic servants constitute one of the most frequent European migration patterns. Distances involved in this type of movement were typically underestimated, primarily characterized as short-distance migration to nearby areas or neighborhoods, with the movements of women who traveled to other countries on their own being often ignored. According to statistics from 1890 in Imperial Austria, 5.5 percent of all 400,000 servants and maids had originated from abroad. Nearly 25 percent of these migrants from abroad took jobs in regions just over the border. Lower Austria was an exception of sorts, with just 10 percent of its 13,553 servants and maids having a job in a bordering region.<sup>18</sup> During the second half of the nineteenth century, nearly half of all Transylvanian migrants to the Kingdom of Romania were female. The movement of Romanian-speaking women from southeast Hungarian territories to work as domestic servants in middle-class households in București, the capital of Romania, had a long tradition. In 1870, 19 percent of the population of the county of Brașov/Brassó/Kronstadt (83,090 people) in Transylvania were counted as absent and in a foreign country. Nearly all of them (97 percent) had moved to the Kingdom of Romania, and 24 percent of those continental migrants were women.<sup>19</sup>

TABLE 2.1. Migrants from Imperial Austria in the Ottoman Empire and North Africa, 1900

	absolute	percent female
European Ottoman Empire	4,222	43.6
Asian Ottoman Empire	2,488	47.2
Egypt	4,505	63.3
Other Africa and Asia <sup>a</sup>	285	36.1
Total	11,500	51.9

Source: K. K. statistische Zentral-Commission ed., *Die Ergebnisse der Völkzählung vom 31. December 1900 im Reichsrate vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern* (Vienna: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1902/05), 2; see Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, 134.

<sup>a</sup> Tunis, Tripoli, Morocco, Tehran, Japan, China, Bangkok.

While young women from German territories along the North Sea and Baltic Sea moved to, for example, the Russian Empire to work as domestic servants in St. Petersburg, others crossed the Atlantic Ocean. A very special case in this sense were young Slovene-speaking women from Mediterranean regions in the provinces of Carniola and Littoral who moved to Egypt, primarily Alexandria and Cairo, to work as domestic servants in middle-class European households. Since many of them chose Alexandria as their destination, *Alexandrinke* became the special term for these long-distance female travelers. This pattern began in the mid-nineteenth century when, in order to supplement family income, young Slovene women began traveling with their employers via Trieste to North Africa. Others followed their successful model, and this pattern of international long-distance movement continued until after World War II. By 1871, fifty maids and wet nurses from the Bilke parish in Vipavska dolina, a province of Carniola (today in Slovenia), worked in Alexandrian households.<sup>20</sup> Around 1900, nearly two-thirds of all migrants from Imperial Austria living in Egypt were female—72 percent of whom lived in Alexandria and 61 percent in Cairo (see table 2.1). In numeric terms, their numbers were sizeable. Marjan Drnovšek has estimated that about 7,700 Slovenian women and 300 men lived in Egypt in 1897, while official Habsburg statistics counted merely 2,434 people from Carniola and Littoral residing in Egypt in 1900.<sup>21</sup> At an international meeting on migration in Vienna in fall 1912, the number of young single Slovenian girls and married women working as maids, cooks, nannies, wet nurses, and sometimes even governesses and teachers in either Alexandria or Cairo was estimated at 3,000. The majority of these women were born in the hinterland of Trieste, in small villages dominated by meager agriculture in Carniola and Littoral.<sup>22</sup>

### 2.1.2 From Vorarlberg and Tyrol

Seasonal migration patterns had existed in Central Europe for centuries, and the mobile people who had created these patterns performed numerous occupations. Up until the nineteenth century, construction workers from Vorarlberg and the district of Trento/Triest in southern Tyrol (today a self-governing Italian province) were among the most sought-after labor migrants in all of Europe. A look into the death records (*Totenbuch*) of the village of Baselga di Piné/Wasilig-Pineid near the city of Trento offers a glimpse into their widespread migration pattern: in 1870, Francesco Giovannini died in Innsbruck, Eduardo Vidman in Brescia (Lombardy), Andrea Ferrari was killed by an explosion in a mine in Calw (Baden-Württemberg), and Giovanni Rizzolago died while building a tunnel in Galicia. In 1873, Domenico Moser was victim of an accident in Istria. And in 1874, Francesco Broseghini died in Westfalia, Francesco Anesi was the victim of a gas explosion in Ostrava, and Vigilio Moser died during railroad construction in the Hungarian Kingdom. The list continues; death rates were high in mines and at major construction sites.<sup>23</sup>

There is a long tradition of laborers temporarily moving from the most western province of Vorarlberg to other European regions. Since the late sixteenth century, individuals (primarily men) working as masons and construction workers had moved from Vorarlberg to Switzerland, France (e.g., Alsace) and other small German-speaking countries nearby (e.g., Swabia).<sup>24</sup> It has been estimated that in the seventeenth century about 12 percent (7,000 to 8,000 people) of Vorarlberg's population migrated seasonally. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries more than 1,000 construction workers, master builders, and artists from the narrow area of *Bregenzer Wald* moved all over Europe—in particular the southwestern parts of Germany and to France—to build churches, monasteries, and palaces.<sup>25</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century, Tyrolean builders could still be found during the summer months, working beside migrants from Vorarlberg, in cities and at larger building sites in *Oberallgäu* in Bavaria and Grisons in Switzerland.<sup>26</sup>

Vorarlberg had been part of the Swiss region that was dominated by linen textile production and concentrated around St. Gallen since the middle of the eighteenth century. Vorarlberg's economy was, much like that of the bordering Swiss regions, dominated by proto-industrial production relations, while agricultural production was characterized by smallholders—a situation hardly suited to providing jobs for servants or agricultural laborers. The province had become the major center of the empire's textile production as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century. Many Vorarlbergers were engaged in small-scale production and worked as skilled artisans, and it was these individuals who established dense migration networks with the neighboring areas of Switzerland, the Grand Duchy of Baden, and the later Kingdom of Württemberg. The process of industrialization did not alter those labor movement patterns. Each spring, seasonal migrants, many of them children, headed from Tyrol and Vorarlberg



to southwestern regions to find employment in agriculture or as construction workers.<sup>27</sup> The people of Vorarlberg did not stop at state borders; their labor market likewise extended to other European textile regions.<sup>28</sup> The tradition of labor migration patterns of Vorarlbergers has long been a topic of historical interest; today local museums represent the story of these migrations, and there are microstudies on local patterns.<sup>29</sup>

As mentioned, even children took on seasonal employment as shepherds and agricultural servants in southwestern German regions. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, many families in the Austrian western provinces sent their children a few months each year over the border to the German territories of Württemberg, Ravensburg, Baden, Bavaria, or Swabia to work as farm laborers. These young labor migrants who added to the family income were called *Schwabenkinder* or *Hüttekinder*.<sup>30</sup> These boys and girls who left in February and worked until November as shepherds, farm laborers, and maids were primarily from families of the lower social strata. On average, the children were between eight and fourteen years old, and beginning at age twelve they were expected to perform at the level of adult agricultural servants. Special markets where prospective employers could hire young servants developed in the southwestern parts of the later German Reich.

The earliest descriptions of such a migration pattern date back to 1625, and up until the eighteenth century as many as a few hundred children were involved in these Central European movements. During the 1830s, the annual number of girls and boys who migrated as *Schwabenkinder* was estimated at several thousand. In 1832, between 1,800 and 2,000 children from Vorarlberg, 2,500 from West-Tyrol, and 600 from the Tyrolian district of Reutte (also called *Außersfern*) were counted as herder-children in the Swiss district of Grisons.<sup>31</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, the number of children moving seasonally from western parts of Imperial Austria into the German Reich had declined to between around 600–800. Even so, this system of child labor migration between Vorarlberg and Tyrol on the one side, and southwestern German territories and Switzerland on the other, existed on a smaller scale up until World War II. In his study on *Schwabenkinder*, Roman Spiss describes the annual movement of children as an anachronism; there was no longer an economic need for it, but the population retained this special migration practice as a matter of tradition.<sup>32</sup>

While the economically driven continental movement of girls and boys in the western part of Imperial Austria has attracted some scholarly attention, there are other historical migration patterns carried out by children that have been nearly forgotten. Children moved from the province of Salzburg to work as agricultural laborers to Bavaria, from Lower Austria and Moravia to the Kingdom of Hungary, and the so-called *Sachsen-* and *Preussengänger* from Galicia were also accompanied by children. On the other side of the empire, Hungarian inhabitants of the border territories sent their children to Lower Austria to work as shepherds and to learn the German language.<sup>33</sup>

Most Imperial Austrians who made a living in Switzerland in the second half of the nineteenth century had originated in Vorarlberg and Tyrol. Although the number of people from Imperial Austria in Switzerland was never large in comparison to migration to the German Reich and the Kingdom of Italy, the number of Austrians counted in Switzerland nonetheless increased threefold over the course of the period from 1888 to 1910—from 14,181 to 41,422. Nearly 6,000 of the Austrian citizens who had been recorded by the Swiss administration originated from the small province of Vorarlberg.<sup>34</sup> Around the middle of the nineteenth century, France developed into a major center of attraction for skilled (and even some unskilled) migrants; nearly 40 percent of Vorarlbergers who requested migration permits named France as their destination, and more than one-third of these worked in the building industry as masons, plasterers, quarrymen, painters, or carpenters. There were also other artisans involved in the “French migration pattern.”<sup>35</sup> Vorarlbergers and Tyroleans who dealt in textiles traveled as far as Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Movements within Europe were in some instances extended by the next generation over the Atlantic to America, and thus it is little surprise that early intercontinental migrants traveled to the United States via French harbors.<sup>36</sup>

While Vorarlberg was on the one hand an important center of migration to the neighboring countries of Switzerland and the German Reich, on the other hand, thousands of foreign laborers were attracted by its booming economy. At the end of the nineteenth century, thousands of Italian-speaking women and men arrived as laborers in the province each year, either internal migrants from Trento or international laborers from Northern Italy. Meanwhile, Austrian citizens of Trento were moving into German regions and to Switzerland. While there has been little work done on movements in the opposite direction, that is from Austrian regions to the Kingdom of Italy, we know that around 1880 some 16,000 Austrian citizens lived in the province of Lombardy alone.<sup>37</sup>

### 2.1.3 To the Russian Empire

By the middle of the nineteenth century, numerous migration paths had developed from the Czech Lands, and people from the provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia had their choice among these possibilities for regional mobility. Internal rural-urban migration reached its first peak in Bohemia in the 1870s; however, international migration from the area appears to have been important as an economic factor during the entire length of the nineteenth century. Between 1850 and 1914, 1.6 million people migrated from the Czech Lands, to Vienna and surrounding areas, to the German Reich, across the Atlantic, and even the Russian Empire attracted migrants from the Bohemian provinces.<sup>38</sup> The Russian government invited people from the Bohemian Lands, who were considered industrious, loyal inhabitants, to settle in Russian territories in order to counterbalance the local anti-Russian Polish nobles.<sup>39</sup>

In the late 1860s and 1870s, Czech-speaking migrants moved across the border to the Russian Empire and founded a community of settlers in the province (*gubernia*) of Volýn' /Wolhynien, today in Ukraine. Czech newspapers reported regularly about Czechs living in Russia from 1868 onward. While the liberal papers stressed the advantages of moving to Slavic-speaking Russia in comparison to a long transatlantic journey, conservative, pro-Austrian newspapers published articles about the difficult living conditions Czechs faced in the Russian territories. The Imperial Austrian government's arguments against migration to the Czarist Empire notwithstanding, around 15,000 Czech-speaking men and women had acquired cheap property in Volýn' by the end of the 1870s. The first Russian census of 1897 counted 50,385 Czech-speaking inhabitants, more than half of whom resided in Volýn'.

Most of the newcomers worked in agriculture; however, their level of education was, on average, much higher than that of the local population (59 percent of the Czech migrants were able to read and write, while this was the case for only 9 percent of the Ukrainian-speaking locals).<sup>40</sup> Within the Habsburg Empire, it was Bohemians and Moravians, whether they spoke Czech, German, or both languages, that demonstrated the highest literacy ratios; according to the 1880 and 1910 censuses, more than 90 percent of individuals over six years of age were capable of reading and writing.<sup>41</sup> Based on Russian census numbers, it seems that on average it was the less literate portion of the Czech migrant population that was attracted to Russia. Among adult Czech transatlantic migrants, in comparison, US passenger records noted a literacy rate of more than 99 percent.<sup>42</sup> Did the less literate rural population from the Bohemian and Moravian east travel to the Russian Empire, while the more educated populations from the southwestern portion of the Czech Lands decided to go overseas? Such questions regarding selectivity require more detailed local studies. We do know, however, that Czech settlers introduced modern methods of agricultural production and contributed to the development of these less economically advanced Russian regions. It wasn't just Bohemian settlers who were attracted to the Russian Empire.

Ukrainian peasants from Galicia tried their luck in the neighboring east as well. In the decades before World War I, the most populous province of Imperial Austria was characterized by national conflicts among Poles and Ukrainians. Catholic Poles dominated the western part of the province, and in the rural eastern part an urban Catholic Polish upper class ruled over an Orthodox Ukrainian-speaking majority. It was thus an easy task for the Russian government to convince Ukrainian teachers and Orthodox priests from Galicia to move to the then Russian-ruled Kingdom of Poland, and the region of Chelm/Cholm in particular. Similar to the Czech newcomers, the Russian administration supported the settlement of Slavic-speaking migrants who opposed Polish dominance in Imperial Austria, and hoped that in attracting this population they could likewise strengthen opposition to Polish nobles in their empire.<sup>43</sup> In these eastern

regions of the Habsburg-ruled territories, the movement of people from each empire across the 400-kilometer-stretching border had a long tradition, and communication networks linking Ukrainians and Russians on either side were well established. As in the border region between Imperial Austria and the German Reich, smuggling and illegal border crossings were common practices in the Galician and Russian borderland, and resulted in a lively correspondence between the Austrian and Russian administrations.<sup>44</sup> While during the nineteenth century it was mostly high-end products such as textiles and colonial goods (tobacco) that were prohibited from being imported into both countries that were smuggled across the borders, early twentieth-century smuggling was dominated by human trafficking (refugees, deserters, and girls and young women),<sup>45</sup> counterfeit currency, illegal publications, and alcohol. To provide just one example based on reliable data, there were up to 74,000 instances of smuggling across the border between the years 1894 to 1899.<sup>46</sup> Public discourse at the time portrayed the majority of smugglers working on the Russian border as Jews; however, Börries Kuzmany's study on the border town Brody/Brod has clearly demonstrated that it was Orthodox Russian peasants who were most active in this field.<sup>47</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, the region of Podillja/Podolien/Podole in the southeast of Galicia remained overwhelmingly agricultural. The majority of people lived in hamlets, villages, or small towns that differed little from one another. In 1880, 80 percent of the circa 250 settlements in the area had populations of lower than 2,000 individuals. Up to two-thirds of the Podilljan population spoke Ukrainian, and of these the majority were Greek-Catholics (*uniert*) with a small minority of Russian-Orthodox; 16–20 percent were Polish-speaking Catholics; and another 14 percent consisted of Jews who spoke either Yiddish, Polish, or German. Late nineteenth-century Podillja was a region of marked social contrasts. Great mansions shared the countryside with peasant villages and small, largely Jewish market towns; extensive estates adjoined small peasant plots. In the 1880s about 80 percent of the area's population was dependent on agriculture and forestry, while the remaining 20 percent resided in small towns and provided services for the surrounding rural areas. Many smallholders supplemented their income with seasonal occupations: spinning, weaving, woodcarving, basketmaking, or embroidery. Toward the end of the century, more industry entered the region and a slow process of urbanization began to alter social structures. Particularly noteworthy was the transformation of the Tschortkiw/Tschortkau/Czortków area into a railway and garrison town, including some light industry.<sup>48</sup> According to contemporary rumors, travel agents actively tried to convince people from the Galician district of Snjatyn/СНЯТИН/Śniatyn to move seasonally to the Kingdom of Romania.<sup>49</sup> While in the 1890s most Galician labor migrants moved west to the German Reich, to Moravia, and further on to Vienna, or south to the Kingdom of Hungary and further on to the Kingdom of Romania, people from eastern Galicia began moving east, to the Russian Empire.<sup>50</sup>

As a result of its length, the border to Russia was almost impossible to monitor, and on August 6, 1892, the local government received a report that a few people from the district of Zbarazh/Sbarasch/Zbaraż had illegally crossed into the Russian Empire without passports or visas.<sup>51</sup> The group of 25 migrants had been led by a bricklayer from the village of Shyly/Szyly, who for years had been trying to get a passport to move to Brazil.<sup>52</sup> Authorities had denied his application for overseas migration, so he decided to leave Galicia via the Russian border and invited relatives and friends to come along. Shortly thereafter, rumors spread in the Podillja districts that the Russian government welcomed Ukrainian peasants and agricultural workers and would provide the newcomers with free land.<sup>53</sup>

What began with 25 people from a small southeast Galician village soon spread all over the Podillja region. By November 1892, inhabitants from seven political districts had taken part in these movements and officials counted a total of 6,111 Galician migrants. Authorities face obvious difficulties in recording migrants who cross borders illegally, so the numbers involved may even have been much higher. Recent research estimates that the number of Ukrainian peasants who crossed borders to the Russian Empire was up to 10,000 people.<sup>54</sup> Most of these individuals were day laborers, farm laborers, maidservants, or smallholders who had incurred substantial debt, and nearly all of them spoke Ukrainian. Instead of making their fortunes in Russian territory, however, more than half of these people returned within the same year, sometimes even within weeks (see table 2.2). According to contemporary reports, most Ukrainian migrants were arrested in the Russian Empire, were housed in old barracks, and gained only minor support from the Russian officials. The contemporary scholar Thaddäus Pilat, who reported this case, does not mention if any of the migrants who remained in Russia actually received the free property that the Podilljan people had hoped for.<sup>55</sup> Not all late nineteenth-century European migration patterns ended in improved living conditions. Nevertheless, as demonstrated by the bricklayer who initiated the movement with his decision to migrate to the Russian Empire instead of to Brazil, migrants had agency and made decisions.

Contemporary observers reported on the Podilljan people moving to Russia in 1892 as if those migrants were “crowds of helpless people,” moving in a disorganized fashion into completely unknown territory. On the contrary, migration to the Russian Empire was not a new experience for inhabitants of Imperial Austria. Nearly four million foreigners entered the Russian Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century, and about four-fifths of these originated from the German Reich or the Habsburg Empire.<sup>56</sup> It has been estimated that from the 1860s up until the beginning of World War I, more than 830,000 people traveled from Austria-Hungary to the Russian Empire, most of them (about 700,000) before the 1890s. After the turn of the century, the number of people crossing the border from Imperial Austria or the Hungarian Kingdom into

TABLE 2.2 Migrations from Galician Podillja to the Russian Empire, 1892

Political districts	migrants	return-migrants	net-migrants
Zbarazh	2,600	1,821 (70.0)	779
Skalat	702	376 (53.5)	326
Ternopil	156	127 (81.4)	29
Husjatyn	416	216 (51.9)	200
Borschtschiw	1,513	418 (27.6)	1,095
Salischtschyky	334	171 (51.2)	163
Sokal	390	154 (39.5)	236
Total	6,111	3,283 (53.7)	2,828

Source: Thaddäus Pilat, "Die Auswanderung aus den podolischen Bezirken nach Russland im Jahre 1892," *Statistische Monatsschrift* (1893): 64.

Russian territories decreased, and more people returned than left. The number of newcomers to the Russian Empire grew considerably in the years leading up to World War I, but only about 10 percent of that population remained. Large numbers of landless laborers from Galicia (*bandos*) and people from the Carpathian Mountains (*góral*) entered the Russian territories during the harvest seasons, resulting in a steep rise in the volume of migration to the Russian Empire and decrease in the rate of net-migration.<sup>57</sup>

#### 2.1.4 From the Kingdom of Hungary

Imperial Austrian administrations were not overly concerned with the international mobility of their inhabitants, so detailed written records of migration rates are the exception; however, the Hungarian statistical office systematically collected flow data on all people under Hungarian rule from 1899 to 1913. The statistical office did not publish data for 1914 and thereafter as a result of the start of World War I, which had serious implications for migration rates. The Hungarian administration was primarily concerned with transatlantic migration, but also collected data on movements to other European countries. In 1918 the Hungarian Statistical Report published a special volume on emigration and return migration from the Hungarian territories that contains stock as well as flow data.<sup>58</sup> The (never promulgated) 1904 Hungarian draft law for emigration defined emigrants as all inhabitants and accompanying family members of the kingdom who traveled to another country in order to earn income. Stock data based on national censuses were created by comparing place of birth with place of residence and termed as indirect sources, while flow data or direct sources on

the release of citizenship and the statistics of passport issues were gathered from statistical materials and complemented by data exchange with emigration officials in the various destination countries. The authors of the volume emphasize the limits of the data, since most migration routes led to countries such as the United States or Imperial Austria, where no official travel documents were necessary. An even larger issue was the collection of data on return migration, as there was no registration requirement following return from another European country or overseas. According to these statistics, 1,390,525 people left Hungarian territories between 1899 and 1913.<sup>59</sup>

In addition to Imperial Austria and the Americas, inhabitants of the Hungarian Kingdom moved to many European countries, but the German Reich, the Kingdoms of Romania and Serbia, and the other Balkan states were the most often recorded destinations for regional mobility.<sup>60</sup> Among European choices, the second most attractive option was crossing the border into the Kingdom of Romania. Similarly to the Kingdoms of Serbia and Bulgaria, Romania was a migration destination at the beginning of the twentieth century, receiving several thousand migrants from the Kingdom of Hungary, most of whom spoke Romanian.<sup>61</sup> Written documentation of migration patterns to the south can be traced back to the thirteenth century, when the primarily male population of herders from the Transylvanian cattle-breeding society—known as *Gebirgswalachen*, *Mokanen*, or *Zuzujanen*—drove their cattle to milder climates with fertile grasslands in Romania and Bessarabia (today mostly in the Republic of Moldova) each winter. In the summer months cattle were driven up the Carpathian Mountains; during the winter sheep, cows, and horses were moved to the lowlands along the Danube. At the end of the sixteenth century transhumance increased within these regions, and contemporary scholars estimated that in the early nineteenth century up to one million sheep and nearly 300,000 cows and horses were driven every year. In 1782, the General Consulate of the Habsburg Empire in București decided to regulate the movement of cattle and people between these regions. At the end of the nineteenth century, about 200,000 Transylvanian inhabitants were still making a living with transhumance.<sup>62</sup>

Scholar Johann Hintz had studied the movement of Romanian-speaking people from Transylvania to the Kingdom of Romania as early as 1876, and described these as local movements, with people traveling back-and-forth between border districts. According to his study, Romanians from the Hungarian Kingdom migrated as either seasonal agricultural laborers or as peddlers who marketed wooden products and other items, such as cheese and leather goods, in Romania, Bulgaria, and Bessarabia. Hintz estimated that in the second half of the nineteenth century about 16,000–30,000 people from Transylvania had moved to other Danubian countries.<sup>63</sup> Most of our knowledge about that migration pattern continues to be based on historical studies, which tend to assume that migration to Romania increased considerably as a



result of an 1886 tariff war with the Hungarian Kingdom. Up to 50,000 people have been estimated to have crossed the state border between 1880 and 1890; this number decreased to 20,000 in the following ten years. It is possible that xenophobic governmental policies in Romania resulted in high return migration rates (nonnationals were now forbidden to buy property and to start a business). According to official statistics, which provide detailed numbers from 1899 to 1913, a total of 102,378 Hungarian-born individuals had moved to the Kingdom of Romania. Most of these people had left from the Hungarian-majority territories, with only a few thousand migrating from Croatia-Slavonia. The overwhelming majority of this population had, moreover, been born in Transylvania, with the counties of Sibiu/Szeben/Hermannstadt (12.8 percent), Târnava Mare/Nagy-Küküllő/Groß-Kokel (12.5 percent), and Alba de Jos/Alsó-Fehér/Unterweißenburg (12.1 percent) sending the highest number of migrants to the Kingdom of Romania. As mentioned, up until 1913 the numbers of mobile women rose as a result of growing demand for domestic servants, and service workers received comparatively higher wages in Romania.<sup>64</sup>

By the eighteenth century, more and more Hungarian-speaking people from Transylvania, the so-called *Székelyek* or *Szekler*, had joined Romanian speakers in this migration pattern. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the majority of Hungarian-speaking migrants who traveled internationally to neighboring countries originated in the counties of Ciuc/Csík/Tschick, Trei-Scaune/Háromszék, and Mureș-Turda/Maros-Torda, each of which was close to the Romanian border and populated by a Hungarian-speaking majority, the so-called *Ținutul Secuiesc/Székelyföld/Szeklerland*.<sup>65</sup> Most of these migrants found employment as farm laborers, maids, cooks, wet nurses, coachmen, or domestic servants in Romanian peasant and urban households. Others worked as porters for larger-scale merchants of southern fruits, as construction workers, or as unskilled laborers in various commercial enterprises in the booming river ports along the Danube. Some of these migrants even rented local inns and, as innkeepers, ended up employing others. In the spring and summer months hundreds of Hungarian-speaking seasonal migrants from Transylvania worked in Romanian fields as plowmen or mowers or as day laborers for the wine harvest.<sup>66</sup>

At the end of the nineteenth century some continental routes had long traditions, while others were just beginning. One of the rather new paths was the northward migration of German-speaking Transylvanians, so-called *Siebenbürger Sachsen* and *Schwaben*, to Württemberg and Hesse in the German Reich during harvest seasons.<sup>67</sup> In the 1890s, agricultural laborers from the counties of Torontál/Torontal and Bačko-Bodroška/Bágs-Bodrog/Batsch-Bodrog at the border to the Kingdom of Serbia, where about a quarter of the population was recorded as German-speaking, joined the movement to German fields. Scholars at the time argued that this pattern was a result of relations between the German-speaking populations in the Kingdom of

Hungary and German Reich. Additional migrants to the German Reich originated in the county of Tolna/Tolnau, in central Hungary south of Budapest, from which 5,030 people left between 1899 and 1913. Most migrants who traveled the long distance to German territories originated from regions in the south of the Hungarian Kingdom, with smaller numbers from Transylvania, and most of these individuals spoke German. According to the statistics, the overwhelming majority of these people moved as temporary laborers in agriculture, mining, and industry.<sup>68</sup>

Other directions, such as the Kingdom of Italy, the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Serbia, and other Balkan countries, were of more minor significance as destinations for migrants from Hungary. There were very few South Slavs from Croatia-Slavonia who decided to move to other European countries, with movement across the border to the Hungarian part of the Kingdom being rare. As will be discussed later in the chapter, the only numerically substantial crossings were those between the Croatia-Slavonia and Imperial Austria border regions. During the interwar period, France became the most relevant importer of labor in Europe, and tens of thousands of Hungarians took to the road to try their fortune in Paris or another industrial region. While the community of Hungarian-speaking migrants living in France was never as numerically large as the Polish-, Russian-, or Italian-speaking communities, there were some 50,000 Hungarians living in France at the end of the 1920s and early 1930s. The majority of Hungarians who moved to France originated from the eastern borderlands and the central industrial region.<sup>69</sup>

### 2.1.5 To the German Reich

Apart from finding work overseas, the German Reich represented the most prominent possibility for employment for potential migrants from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary. According to recent estimates, up to two million people from Galicia moved seasonally to German territories in the last three decades before World War I; this is twice the number of transcontinental migrants.<sup>70</sup> In 1880, up to 150,000 Habsburg citizens were recorded as labor migrants in German territories, which was more than one-third of the total number of foreigners there (see figure 2.1). By 1900, this number had increased to 370,900 individuals, most of whom were from Imperial Austria, and in 1910 the German census recorded 622,655 foreigners from Austria-Hungary.<sup>71</sup> Even so, up until recently, historical scholars have paid little attention to back-and-forth movements between the borders of the Habsburg Empire and the German Reich—the previously German-settled territories included. Our knowledge of the numerous movements within and between the territories comprising Imperial Austria, the Kingdom of Hungary, and the German Reich remains limited to little more than raw statistical data. In recent decades, the history of arriving

labor migrants and asylum seekers has dominated migration research in the German Republic, while the focus on nineteenth-century German out-migration has been limited to transatlantic routes.<sup>72</sup>

There is an immense number of publications on the history of foreign workers in the nineteenth-century German Reich; however, the focus of these is almost inevitably on Polish, and to a lesser degree Italian, labor migrants.<sup>73</sup> These studies make only marginal mention of the high proportion of migrants that came from Imperial Austria and the Hungarian Kingdom. One notable recent exception in this sense is the innovative research that Katrin Lehnert is carrying out on short-distance nineteenth-century migration patterns between Saxony and Bohemia. Official statistics rarely recorded movements between villages on either side of the state border, and Lehnert's book, based on a richly diverse collection of qualitative sources and contemporary public discourses, such as reports by local priests, letters of complaint by individuals, or administrative debates, provides a microstudy of the in- and out-migrations of a small community in Saxony during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>74</sup>

Austrian scholars have likewise largely ignored the history of movement from Habsburg provinces to German territories and vice versa. Up until the beginning of the nineteenth century, migrants from German-speaking territories were the most numerous foreigners among the Viennese population; in the middle of the eighteenth century, for example, the majority of Viennese artisans were international migrants born in German territories.<sup>75</sup> In 1910, migrants from the German Reich still formed one of the largest groups of foreigners in Vienna (nearly 23,000 individuals, second only to migrants from the Hungarian Kingdom). Nonetheless, Michael John and Albert Lichtblau failed to address that migration pattern in their detailed study on in-migration to Vienna, instead including chapters on the comparatively small groups of Armenian and Greek migrants.<sup>76</sup> One possible reason for historians' disinterest may lie in the political misuse of studies on early modern migration from German regions to Austrian territories during the era of National Socialism.<sup>77</sup>

While researchers have recognized the existence of some—though not all—migration patterns that linked Habsburg territories to regions across the borders, there have been very few detailed studies on the subject. While the temporary labor migration of individuals from Northern Bohemia to Saxony and Prussia (*Sachsengängerei*) had a long tradition that extended throughout the early modern period, the seasonal movement of individuals from the Austrian province of Galicia to Prussia and other territories in the German Reich peaked in the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>78</sup> Agricultural labor migration from the southwestern districts of Bohemia to the Kingdom of Bavaria was noted as early as the second half of the seventeenth century, with people, primarily from northern Bohemia, crossing the border to Saxony and Prussia in search of farmwork.<sup>79</sup>

Labor migrants from the Habsburg Empire were the largest numbers of people arriving in the German Reich in the second half of the nineteenth century. More than 42 percent of all foreign citizens living there in 1885 had originated from Imperial Austria. According to the official census, there were 156,762 migrants from Austria-Hungary, nearly all of whom (97 percent) were born in Cisleithania or the western half of the empire. Figure 2.2 maps the ratio of Austrian-born people among the population in each district of the German Reich. The map, authored by the contemporary demographer Heinrich Rauchberg, is based on 1885 German census data. As easily can be seen, most migrants from Austria-Hungary traveled to bordering regions in the German Reich. Nearly half of all migrants originated from Bohemia; the other half cited the provinces of Austrian Silesia (16 percent), Galicia (16 percent), Moravia, Tyrol, and Vorarlberg as their places of birth. These laborers moved over short distances to the bordering regions of Silesia, Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden. Not surprisingly, about one-third of these migrants made a living in the border regions of Bavaria, while another 28 percent could be found in Saxony, and 27 percent in Prussia.<sup>80</sup> For example, 19,000 Bohemians were counted in Upper Bavaria alone; in addition, Bohemian workers traveled in comparatively large numbers to the coal mines in the Swabian districts of Augsburg and Sonthofen.<sup>81</sup> Other German territories with higher rates of migration from Imperial Austria were Württemberg and Baden. While most migrants decided to cross the border and attempt to find work close by, more distant regions became attractive in instances in which there was a special need for manpower, such as the urban areas of Hamburg, Braunschweig, or along the Rhine up to Wiesbaden. Other attractive areas for Czech-speaking people were the cities of Bremen and Berlin.<sup>82</sup>

TABLE 2.3 Imperial Austrian migrants in the German Reich by employment sector, 1885

	absolute	% sector	% female
Agriculture and forestry	3,879	14.6	43.3
Mining, industry, and building trades	14,942	56.1	15.3
Trade and commerce	3,759	14.1	19.0
Domestic service and other paid labor	2,852	10.7	61.2
Military, public service, and free occupations	1,214	4.6	36.7
Dependent	14,855		70.3
Total	41,501		41.7

Source: Rauchberg, "Die österreichischen Staatsangehörigen," 321.

According to data on migrants' work in the German census of 1885, migrants from Imperial Austria did not always travel alone. Many moved with their family members, and more than one-third (36 percent) were counted as dependents, presumably wives and children (see table 2.3). Mining, industry, and building trades were common fields, with more than half of migrants making a living in these industries. About 14 percent of migrants worked as either agricultural laborers or in trade and commerce. Only 11 percent were employed as domestic servants in urban households. Not surprisingly, women, many of whom originated from the Czech Lands, worked predominantly as domestic servants. Female migrants also worked in German fields, but made up only 15 percent of the industrial labor force, while more than 61 percent of those working as domestic servants were women. A bit more than half of the Austrian labor population was male, a population that was disproportionately present in industrial work, while 70 percent of dependent family members were women. Up until the middle of the 1880s, the German Reich attracted an above-average number of miners. Many Bohemians, women among them, also found employment in the German textile industry.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, labor migrants from the Bohemian Lands were still moving in great numbers to the German Reich. Between 1900 to 1913, Bohemian international out-migrants outnumbered in-migrants by as many as 500,000.<sup>83</sup> This finding with regard to international movement is rather astonishing, for in 1910, Bohemia formed the industrial core of Austria-Hungary and was responsible for over 70 percent of Imperial Austria's manufacturing production.<sup>84</sup> A contemporary estimate that drew on the 1910 census found that about 330,000 people born in Bohemia were living in another European country, with about two-thirds of these in the German Reich, compared to about 183,000 that were reported for the United States in the same year. Bohemian migrants clearly dominated the foreign labor population in the heavily industrialized bordering region of Saxony; in 1907, more than 99,000 of Saxony's inhabitants had been born in Bohemia.<sup>85</sup> According to an official Prussian survey in 1913, there were 33,000 foreign laborers who had been born in the Bohemian Lands in that year. These statistics included only Czechs and non-Bohemian German-speaking individuals who moved back-and-forth across the border. In the years leading up to World War I, Bohemians were primarily attracted to the German territories of Bavaria, the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen, the Rhineland, and the Ruhr Valley. Bohemian construction workers and brickmasons moved to Saxony, miners preferred the Rhineland and Ruhr Valley, while agricultural laborers primarily headed for Bavaria. Others who performed itinerant activities, such as musicians and peddlers, moved from the Bohemian Lands to the Hungarian Kingdom or even as far as France.<sup>86</sup>

Between 100,000 and 130,000 migrants from the Bohemian provinces were working in the Ruhr Valley mines in 1914. In the decades before World War I, coal mining flourished in the German Reich as well as in the North Bohemian regions. While the

number of miners and smelters in Bohemia had decreased by nearly 15 percent from 1900 to 1910, the number of miners in the Ruhr Valley had risen by 82 percent. In comparison to the high number of predominantly unskilled Poles that moved from east to west within the German Reich, the Czech-speaking miners and their families, who came from northwest Bohemia and from the coal mining regions in the middle of the province around the city of Kladno, came with experience and were well-equipped for the German mining town environment. Depending on their Bohemian district of origin, it can be estimated that about half of these migrants spoke Czech, while the other half were German speakers. From 1904/05 on, better working conditions and higher wages began attracting thousands of Bohemians to the Ruhr. During the economic boom, wages for miners working in the German territories were about two to three times as high as those paid in Bohemia, and mine owners in the west of the German Reich provided much better employee housing.<sup>87</sup>

In 1913, the Bohemian administration recorded seasonal labor migration and collected data for 117,698 persons who temporarily moved from the political districts of Bohemia.<sup>88</sup> The regional centers of seasonal labor migration were in the south and the west of the province. The turn of the twentieth century had little effect on these peoples' employment preferences for industry, mining, and trade. Between 1906 and 1914, about 90 percent of all Czech-speaking migrants in the German state of Prussia were engaged in industry.<sup>89</sup> Before World War I, many male Bohemians worked as brickmakers, while women predominately worked in Saxony's textile sector. Day after day Bohemian commuters crossed the border to Saxony to labor in factories and construction, such as the textile workers at a factory in Zittau who traveled a distance of between five and seven kilometers daily from and to their homes in the small village of Oldřichov na Hranicích/Ullersdorf in Bohemia. It has been estimated that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, up to 3,000 textile workers moved daily from villages and towns in this border region between the Habsburg Empire and the German Reich.<sup>90</sup> Some of these commuters decided to stay for good, and settled more permanently in the villages and towns of Saxony. In 1906, a priest from Zittau reported that three-fifths of the inhabitants of his parish were from Imperial Austria, and another one-fifth had migrated from Silesia.<sup>91</sup>

Entire families from Bohemia moved from building site to building site. Up until the end of the nineteenth century, mobile male and female construction workers constituted an indispensable element of the Saxon railroad construction workforce. Saxony's developing glass industry recruited skilled glassblowers from neighboring regions in Bohemia and Silesia, and glass factory owners themselves were often migrants from the Habsburg Empire.<sup>92</sup> Only a small proportion of these migrants worked in agriculture. The most frequent internal seasonal labor migration in this region was the annual movement of thousands of harvest workers each August to the hop-growing region of

Žatec/Saaz in central Bohemia, west of Prague. Some 2,500 Bohemians also crossed the border to work in the Bavarian hop fields as well.<sup>93</sup>

It wasn't until comparatively late, at the end of the nineteenth century to be specific, that people from the Habsburg province of Galicia began seeking seasonal employment in German agriculture. In the 1880s labor shortages began to emerge as a pressing issue for agricultural landowners in the German Reich, and a rapidly increasing number of Eastern European laborers, including an increasingly large number of Galicians, started to arrive. Far-reaching changes in agricultural production resulted in a higher demand for seasonal day laborers in Western, Northern, and Central Europe. The use of newly invented engines transformed farming from land-extensive to capital-intensive production methods. On the one hand, the introduction of threshing machines obviated the need to hire large numbers of laborers after the harvest. In the East German province of Poznań/Posen (today in Poland), for instance, the number of threshing machines multiplied from 5,651 in 1882 to 52,508 in 1907.<sup>94</sup> On the other hand, increasingly industrialized agriculture was accompanied by an intensification of cultivation varieties, in particular a heavy increase in the cultivation of root crops. Shifting from the growing of mere grains to sugar beets promised considerably higher profits, and many opted for this change. The area used to cultivate sugar beets in Poznań, for example, tripled between 1893 and 1913.<sup>95</sup> While threshing machines facilitated the winter work with grains, the mechanization of root crop harvesting took place rather slowly on large estates east of the river Elbe/Łaba. The cultivation of sugar beets was labor-intensive; much of the work had to be done by hand, leading to a growing demand for agricultural labor.

Both forms of modernization—the intensified use of machinery and the mass cultivation of sugar beets—increased the need for short-term laborers during the sowing and harvest periods. Whereas threshing machines reduced the demand for laborers in the winter, sugar beet cultivation increased the demand for manpower to carry out planting, weeding, and harvesting during the growing season. With extra hands needed only during certain portions of the agricultural year, most landowners, and especially those east of the river Elbe, hired workers on short-term contracts, and began recruiting inexpensive and willing laborers, mostly Poles, from close-lying regions in the Russian Empire and Imperial Austria.<sup>96</sup> Growing seasonal demand resulted in increased rates of regionally mobile male and female agricultural workers. Rapid industrialization within the German Reich led to the internal migration of Polish-speaking individuals from rural areas in the east to industrial areas in the west, and resulted in a real dearth of manpower in the former, where much of the agriculture was located. More and more Polish-speaking laborers moved from the east to the west, where they were offered better paid jobs, more labor mobility, and better living conditions, especially in the Ruhr Valley. This westward movement left job opportunities for new migrants



from the Russian Empire and Imperial Austria. Initially, the Polish-speaking population tended to move from western Galicia over the border to Silesia, the province of Poznań, and Saxony; later on, these labor migrants were spread all over the Prussian territories.<sup>97</sup>

German state officials took little notice when Poles began arriving in the west as internal migrants or in the east as transnational migrants during the 1870s and early 1880s, and anti-Polish sentiment among the German-speaking majority was limited. As Polish migration increased from the middle of the 1880s onward, however, attitudes quickly changed. Many within the German government and general public grew concerned about the “danger” this “foreign element” posed to the demographic and moral health of society. Fears surrounding Polish migration began to emerge in German society at large, resulting in what was referred to as the “Polish question.”<sup>98</sup> In response, the German administration expelled all Polish-speaking Austrian and Russian citizens in 1885. Around 40,000 people were forced to leave the country, about one-third of whom were Jewish. Women who had originally possessed German citizenship and married a foreign Pole—and their children—also had to leave the country. Nearly two-thirds of the people removed from the Katowice district, for example, had moved there from Galicia.<sup>99</sup> In the following years, the Prussian government prohibited the employment of Poles from the Russian Empire or Imperial Austria, and attempted to control the migration of foreign laborers. Even so, the noble landowners east of the river Elbe would rather pay penalties than surrender cheap labor, and over the next five years the number of illegal migrants grew.<sup>100</sup>

In 1890, the prohibition of foreign Polish labor was abolished in order to support German agricultural interests, those of the noble landowners east of the Elbe in particular, and an official system of seasonal migration was established. Thereafter, Polish-speaking labor migrants from Imperial Austria and Russian territories were allowed to remain in the German Reich from April 1 to November 15, and later this period was extended from February 1 to December 20.<sup>101</sup> A similar system was established for Czech-speaking migrants, with journeymen and apprentices having to leave the country at the end of every year. In addition to their requisite return to Galicia or the Russian Empire at the end of each year, foreign Polish laborers were also required to arrive as single migrants, meaning that they were not allowed to bring their families into the Reich. Children were prevented from crossing the border, men and women had to migrate in separated working gangs, and becoming pregnant could result in deportation.<sup>102</sup> The fact that unwanted pregnancies were not uncommon among seasonally migrating young women is shown by the fact that even Roman Catholic priests filed reports to the Kraków diocese about the dangers of destinations such as Silesia, Saxony, Brandenburg, Westphalia, Poznań, and Budapest. In 1907, the priest of the Galician village Suski lamented that each six to ten illegitimate children were born to girls in



the parish who had undertaken seasonal work in Prussia. Mobile young women were accused of partaking in forbidden sexual intercourse, while young men were said to come back with heavy drinking habits.<sup>103</sup>

Large East Elbian demesne farms usually hired foreign agricultural laborers via foremen in the nearby Russian Empire or Imperial Austria. In the 1890s, a growing demand for manpower resulted in the establishment of a commercial traffic in labor at the eastern Prussian border. The government agitated against such trafficking, which it referred to as the “trade in human flesh” or *Agentenunwesen*.<sup>104</sup> At the end of the century, about 7,000 commercial placement agents, working for the most part without official sanction, traded in foreign labor for agriculture and industry in the German Reich. These agents even advertised their “goods” in *Vorwärts*, the official newspaper of the German Socialist Labor Party: “20,000 Galician men, girls, boys for cultivation, brickworks, factory, for hourly, daily, or monthly wages, also piece rates, available under favorable conditions.”<sup>105</sup> The German government regarded private placement agents as a nuisance and attempted to establish legal offices for the recruitment of foreign labor. In 1905, the *Deutsche Feldarbeiter Centralstelle* (German agency for agricultural laborers) was established as a private agency regulated by the Prussian ministry for agriculture. The German agency for agricultural laborers, which acted as a coordination center, was responsible for hiring foreign manpower and, later on, for the registration and supervision of labor migrants in the German Reich.<sup>106</sup> Up until 1907, the German government maintained a system to supervise and restrict foreign laborers through the *Legitimationszwang*, *Rückkehrzwang*, and *Karenzzeit*.<sup>107</sup> The *Legitimationszwang* required agricultural laborers to carry personal documentation at all times, the *Rückkehrzwang* forced Polish laborers to leave the German Reich during the winter months, and the *Karenzzeit* referred to the mandatory period spent outside the Reich following the *Rückkehrzwang*. It was in this way that the Prussian administration established a system for regulating the supply of foreigners for their labor market.

By strictly controlling foreign labor migration, the government hoped to prevent migrants, especially Polish-speaking ones, from moving to the German Reich more permanently. The obligation of migrants to leave the country during the winter months also corresponded with the seasonal rhythms of root crop cultivation. At the end of 1906, only 7 percent of the Polish-speaking migrant population remained in the German Reich. In comparison, 53 percent of all other foreigners stayed during the winter months and most often longer than a year.<sup>108</sup> The German system for recruiting foreign labor effectively maintained the seasonal character of that migration pattern, and it could even be argued that German law was responsible for constructing the temporal character of labor migration from the Habsburg and the Russian Empire.

During the period from the 1870s to 1910, about half of all foreigners recorded in the German Reich had been born in either Imperial Austria or the Kingdom of Hungary; this number was followed by migrants from the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Italy, and the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In 1910, six times more people had crossed the Austro-Hungarian borders into the German Reich than had in 1871, with numbers having grown from 75,702 to 667,159. At the beginning of that period this population had amounted 35.6 percent of all foreigners, while by 1910 more than half of all international migrants in the German Reich had originated from Habsburg territories. The German labor market predominantly attracted people from Western Galicia, and the number of labor migrants from the Kingdom of Hungary was rather small; the census conducted in 1910 by the German Reich counted just 32,107 Hungarian-born individuals.<sup>109</sup> The number of Polish-speaking women and men who moved annually to North, West, and Central Europe in the first decade of the twentieth century has been estimated to have ranged from 300,000 up to 600,000; 85 to 90 percent of these individuals found employment in the German Reich.<sup>110</sup> The majority of foreign laborers worked in Prussia, east of the Elbe. In the first five months of 1912 alone, around 275,000 people from Galicia who were either looking for work or traveling on to Denmark and Sweden crossed the border into the German Empire. On the eve of World War I, the German Reich had a foreign population of 1.5 million, with 900,000 of these individuals living in Prussia alone. It has been estimated that in 1914 more people from Imperial Austria and the Russian Empire took part in seasonal migration to Germany than in overseas migration.<sup>111</sup>

TABLE 2.4 Employment distribution of migrants from the Habsburg Empire in the German Reich, June 12, 1907

	Habsburg Empire <sup>a</sup>	% profession	% all <sup>b</sup>	% foreigners
Agriculture and forestry	98,155	25.8	40.2	33.4
Industry, mining, and building trades	243,454	64.0	45.7	56.8
Trade and commerce, including restaurants	38,784	10.2	14.1	9.8
Total	380,393	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: "Gewerbliche Betriebsstatistik, 1914"; see Ulrich Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland. Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter, Flüchtlinge* (Munich: Beck, 2001), 24.

<sup>a</sup> Including migrants from Lichtenstein and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

<sup>b</sup> Percentage of all people undertaking paid employment in the German Reich.

As table 2.3, demonstrates for 1885, the majority of Austro-Hungarian migrants working in Germany were active in industry and mining. According to the official employment census in 1907, foreign laborers from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary were overrepresented in these fields (see table 2.4). About 46 percent of all wage-earners in the German Reich found employment in industry; however, 64 percent of Austro-Hungarians worked as industrial laborers, miners, or in the construction sector. Laborers from Habsburg territories were, on the other hand, underrepresented in agriculture; although agriculture and forestry accounted for the employment of around 40 percent of all individuals in the German Reich, only a quarter of the migrant population from Austria-Hungary labored in German fields.<sup>112</sup>

In 1907, nearly 48 percent of all foreigners (51,567) from the Imperial Austrian border districts who moved to the province of Saxony were women.<sup>113</sup> Although 82 percent of these women were documented as dependents without wage work (*Hauptberuflose Angehörige*), those women who were listed with an occupation were predominantly working in the factory textile industry, for example weaving or dyeing, or in smaller workshops or at home as seamstresses and laundresses. Women also made up 72 percent of foreign labor working in the German tobacco factories. A 1909 study of labor contracts for Galician seasonal workers describes the range of contracts for women, who worked as jute spinners and weavers, in linen spinning mills, at straw rope and paper factories, and processing beets into sugar.<sup>114</sup> According to that employment survey, 14,800 migrants were registered as domestic servants, with the overwhelming majority of these being women; men accounted for less than 2 percent of foreigners who found employment in middle-class households. José C. Moya has asserted that the growth of the domestic service industry resulted from a long-standing economic inequality between regions, that the feminization of domestic service varied across different European regions but was more or less complete by the end of the nineteenth century, and that there was an intimate relation between migration and domestic service. It was primarily young women who migrated from rural regions across Europe to cities in order to work as domestic servants.<sup>115</sup>

Many women from the eastern central Habsburg territories ventured beyond state borders, to the German Reich or Denmark, for example, where they spent the summers laboring in the fields. By the turn of the century the seasonal migration of women working in agriculture had become commonplace. In 1899, for instance, young women accounted for 14 percent of the seasonal migrants from the village of Maszkienice in western Galicia; twelve years later, the absolute number of mobile women had tripled and increased to 20 percent.<sup>116</sup> A bit more than half of all Polish-speaking foreigners working in German fields were women. Female farmhands tended to be relegated to the more physically demanding tasks associated with the seasonal cultivation of root crops, in particular sugar beets and potatoes. These women usually worked in

gangs supervised by male overseers who most often spoke Polish and German. Similar systems for organizing seasonal work could also be found in southern Sweden and Denmark. Grain harvesting represented the second most significant agricultural sector for foreign laborers, but in this case it was primarily men working in gangs, the so-called *Schnitterkolonnen*, who mowed the German fields.<sup>117</sup> According to the German Reich's census taken at the end of December 1910, 41 percent of all migrants from Imperial Austria were women.<sup>118</sup>

The work of seasonal labor migrants from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary was characterized by flexibility with regard to both occupation and regional mobility. Wage earners alternated between agricultural and factory employment as necessary and in accordance with labor market needs. Working with sugar beets might serve as the primary source of income in one year, and in the following year the same person might make a living through factory or mine work while still maintaining close ties to agriculture. Different economic sectors required varied amounts of work, and thus seasonal employment had the potential to range from several weeks to ten months.<sup>119</sup> Late nineteenth-century Central Europeans could not be easily categorized as urbanites or rural bumpkins, agriculturalists or industrial workers. While agricultural employment might be relegated to very short periods during harvesting, other farm laborers might remain with the same employer from sowing-time to harvest. Growing industrial sectors provided more stable employment, but even so, some industrial workers continued to follow seasonal flows. Work on major building sites, such as railroad or canal construction, was also characterized by seasonality, with jobs beginning in the early spring once the soil had defrosted and ending with the onset of winter. In the late 1960s, scholars began describing German Reich inhabitants who made a living from combined agricultural and factory work as "worker-peasants."<sup>120</sup>

Most migrants working in German coal mines, such as those found in the Ruhr Valley, had moved internally, from the east to the west of the Reich. The German mining industry also relied on foreign labor and, as discussed with regard to migrants from the Czech Lands, offered job opportunities to Habsburg Empire inhabitants. At the beginning of the twentieth century, 5 to 6 percent of all international migrants in the German Reich worked in coal mining.<sup>121</sup> The coal mining region around Aachen, for example, at the border to Belgium and the Netherlands, employed miners from Croatia-Slavonia, the Habsburg-annexed province of Bosnia, and east Galicia as well as from Northern Italian regions. Small numbers of workers from several small villages in the bordering regions of Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Croatia-Slavonia arrived in March 1907. This South Slavic recruitment area originally extended over about twenty square kilometers, and stretched north into Bosnia and Croatia just before World War I. Larger groups of South Slavic-speaking migrants arrived in Aachen in spring, when the need for miners was greater. In 1908, the owners of mines in the *Eschweiler Bergwerks-Verein*

in the Aachen region started to hire workers from the Galician district of Brody. Most Italian- and Serbo-Croatian-speaking migrants left the German Reich as a result of the war in 1914 to support their own countries; however, the majority of workers from Galicia remained and were recorded as Russians in the September 1914 list of foreigners.<sup>122</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century, in response to growing xenophobia against Polish-speaking individuals (be they internal migrants or Poles from Imperial Austria and the Russian Empire) and in order to simultaneously meet the growing demand for cheap labor, the German government endeavored to stimulate in-migration from other European countries. Ukrainians from Galicia were seen as particularly desirable migrants for jobs in German industry and agriculture.<sup>123</sup> According to the German consul in Lwiv, if it was necessary to recruit foreign workers, it was politically preferable to hire Ukrainians rather than Poles.<sup>124</sup> Ukrainian men and women considered moving to the German Reich and making money from agricultural work on East Elbian noble demesne estates an attractive possibility; wages in the German east were at least twice as high as those paid by most Polish owners of large estates in Galicia. The number of Ukrainian-speaking labor migrants in the German Reich thus rose from nearly zero in the 1890s to around 7,000 at the turn of the century, and to more than 100,000 people just before World War I.<sup>125</sup>

In 1905, a central recruitment agency was even established in Bieruń/Berun in Upper Silesia to promote the migration of Ukrainian labor, and Greek Catholic and Orthodox clerics were asked to recruit workers from their local villages. The number of Ukrainians who passed through the recruitment agency rose from 50,000 in 1905 to 200,000 in the second decade of the twentieth century. The Galician Polish-speaking upper class initially approved of this Ukrainian-speaking lower-class labor migration pattern, because many returned and invested their earnings in the Galician economy. Later on, however, Polish estate owners began to fear that they might lose their cheap Ukrainian laborers. By 1914, Ukrainians from Galicia were the second-largest group of foreign Slavic-speaking individuals working in German industry and agriculture after Poles from Imperial Austria and the Russian Empire. At the turn of the century, Kasimir Kumaniecki has compared the mass of Ukrainians who moved from Galicia to the German Reich to the “feverish” migration to South America spurred by the “unhealthy” agitation of migration agents.<sup>126</sup>

According to German records on the in- and out-migration of foreign labor, the number of Ukrainians in Germany grew eightfold between 1905 and 1914, from 12,700 to nearly 102,000, while the number of Galician Poles declined by more than 10 percent. From 1909 on there were fewer and fewer Polish-speaking laborers who arrived from Galicia, while more and more Ukrainians traveled to the German Reich. Xenophobic-inspired measures taken by the German government to reduce the number

of foreign Poles working in that country and to support the employment of Ukrainians appear to have come to fruition in the years directly preceding World War I. In 1914, German businesses employed nearly twice as many Ukrainians as Galician Poles.

Most traditional official and public discourses regarding Polish migrants in the German Reich have only addressed farm employment, and thus up until recently, most scholars have assumed that migrants, and Galician Poles in particular, were primarily employed in agriculture.<sup>127</sup> Following the turn of the twentieth century, agriculture remained an important employer for mobile laborers, but more and more migrants began searching for work in new industrial enterprises. In the 1890s, industrial entrepreneurs in the west of the German Reich were forbidden to hire foreign Poles. Later on, however, after much political discussion and with special permission, Poles from Imperial Austria and the Russian Empire were engaged as diggers to build the longest artificial waterway in Central Europe, the German Midland Channel (*Mittellandkanal*), which connects the Rhine and the Oder.<sup>128</sup> Despite the general tendency of more industrial jobs, farming continued to be the primary field of employment for Polish-speaking men and women: in 1907, 367,711 laborers from Galicia worked in German fields, and 41,319 were engaged in construction work. According to data from the 1911 German

TABLE 2.5 Number of Ukrainian- and Polish-speaking laborers from Imperial Austria in the German Reich, 1905–1914

	Ukrainians	% industry	% perm.	Poles	% industry	% perm.
1905	12,766	51.1	27.5	88,208	34.5	9.5
1906	22,733	60.2	31.0	87,811	31.6	7.5
1907	35,977	67.2	36.8	98,519	35.6	4.2
1908	55,925	56.3	24.0	99,696	30.1	3.2
1909	60,963	55.5	25.4	88,922	26.0	2.0
1910	69,594	49.2	28.7	82,680	21.2	1.6
1911	78,622	50.9	27.7	74,237	20.3	1.6
1912	83,258	56.8	32.8	72,225	22.5	1.6
1913	102,158	56.4	30.2	71,302	24.2	1.2
1914	101,846	46.2	31.9	70,203	20.7	73.1
Total	623,842	55.0	29.6	833,803	26.7	3.6 <sup>a</sup>

Source: Armin Mitter, "Die ukrainische Erwerbsmigration nach Preußen (1900–1914)," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte* 34 (1987): 177 f.

Note: % industry = percent working in industry; % perm. = percent of workers remaining more than one year.

<sup>a</sup>Only 1905 to 1913.

*Feldarbeiterzentralstelle*, Poles and Ukrainians comprised the largest groups of agricultural laborers (34.2 percent and 33.8 percent, respectively), followed by German- and Czech-speaking migrants (23.9 and 8.1 percent, respectively).<sup>129</sup>

According to table 2.5, more than half of all Ukrainian migrants found employment in German industry, while less than one-third of Galicia Poles worked as industrial laborers. Upper Silesia, with its smokestack industries, provided the most jobs for Ukrainians, who worked in bituminous coal mines and steel manufacturing. The region surrounding Katowice, just across the border from Imperial Austria, was within easy reach and promised considerably higher wages than agriculture.<sup>130</sup> In contrast to the Poles, Ukrainian-speaking migrants were not required to leave the country before Christmas, and as the majority of these individuals were factory workers and miners, it is no surprise that nearly 30 percent remained in the German Reich year-round. Polish laborers, in comparison, were required to migrate seasonally, and almost all of them complied. In the four years leading up to the Great War, less than 2 percent of Galician Polish migrants remained in German territories during the winter months (see table 2.5). This seasonal pattern changed immediately with the onset of war: the German Reich closed its borders and, in response to demands from the armaments industry, obligated Galician Poles to remain as forced labor. In 1914, 73 percent of Galician Poles remained in the German Empire.

### 2.1.6 Temporary Migrations to Other European Countries

Temporary and circular migration patterns were of special importance for modern-era Europeans; however, they have been neglected by migration research for decades. In the 1980s, Jan Lucassen and Klaus Bade researched individuals who moved around Europe on a seasonal basis in search of work, primarily in agriculture.<sup>131</sup> According to their research, spatial movements were not linear, nor restricted to direct moves from a point of origin to a destination. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the German Reich developed into the most significant employer of European seasonal migrants. These individuals worked in Germany's growing industrial sector as well as in agriculture. At the end of the nineteenth century, continental migrants from Imperial Austria and the Hungarian Kingdom might have found their neighbor in the northwest the most attractive destination, but German industry and agriculture were far from the only European markets in search of cheap seasonal labor.<sup>132</sup> During the period that the German Reich was hiring seasonal migrants from Galicia, many other Western and Northern European countries were also engaging with large foreign populations. France, Denmark, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, and even Romania competed for agricultural workers from Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>133</sup> In the 1880s, France was the European country with the second-largest



population of in-migrants: 1.2 million of its 38 million inhabitants were international migrants who spoke Italian, Polish, Flemish, Spanish, Russian, Czech, and several other languages.<sup>154</sup>

By the 1890s, Danish beet growers and sugar producers had begun hiring people from Russian Poland and Galicia. The number of Polish labor migrants in that country rose from 6,600 in 1907 to 18,000 in 1913.<sup>155</sup> In the first decade of the twentieth century, about 85 percent of Polish-speaking seasonal workers in Denmark had originated from Galician districts in which this particular route had become a socially approved and supported migration pattern.<sup>156</sup> The legal position of Polish laborers in Denmark was significantly better than in the German Reich. While the German administration sought to hinder permanent Polish migration, the Danish government issued an order in 1908 to ensure improved treatment of laborers in agriculture and forestry that likewise affected seasonal migrants. The cultivation of sugar beets, turnips, and chicory were important aspects of the Danish economy, and it can be presumed that the government wished to attract labor from abroad. Danish employers were even responsible for holding special casualty insurance policies for each of their laborers, natives and foreigners alike.<sup>157</sup> No other European country had enacted laws to protect foreign laborers.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Swedish and Swiss sugar producers and French beet growers began competing for seasonal workers from the three sections of the Polish partition. Imre Ferenczi estimated that in 1910, the number of Galician seasonal workers in France was 40,000, while the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway employed another 80,000 Polish and Ukrainian laborers from the Habsburg Empire. Within Europe international competition for migrant workers grew quickly, and recruitment became increasingly directed to areas on the outskirts of agrarian capitalist centers. By 1910, even the Hungarian Kingdom was competing with the German Reich for seasonal labor from Galicia. People in northern Galicia moved to neighboring Polish territories in the Russian Empire, and a small number of individuals moved from Imperial Austria to Great Britain and the Kingdom of Italy.<sup>158</sup>

While the German administration's high interest in controlling seasonal migration from abroad led it to collect and publish detailed numbers on the subject, data for other European countries can only be estimated. In the first decade of the twentieth century, about 5,000 individuals from Imperial Austria took up temporary work in Sweden,<sup>159</sup> up to 8,000 in Denmark, and about 5,000 Austrians (mainly Polish-speakers) were engaged in French agriculture. An additional 4,000 migrants from the Habsburg Empire moved in yearly rhythms to Switzerland and the Kingdom of Italy. The main route for seasonal migrants from the province of Bukovina and the Hungarian Kingdom was to Romania in the south, with 12,000–15,000 foreign laborers working in the fields there. Even contemporary scholars, however, estimated that



these figures were too small. In a short paper presented in 1913, Franz Markitan maintained that by 1911 there were likely around 380,000 seasonal migrants from Imperial Austria working annually across Europe, and predicted that an even higher number, around 450,000 migrants, would be recorded for 1912.<sup>140</sup>

## 2.2 MOVING BETWEEN IMPERIAL AUSTRIA AND THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

From 1899 up until World War I, the Hungarian statistical office collected flow data (where available) for international movements to the United States, the Kingdom of Romania, the German Reich, and other European countries, and migrations between Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary as special cases. The Habsburg Empire had been administratively separated into Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary since the Constitution Act of 1867 (*Staatsgrundgesetz* or *Ausgleich*), with offices in Vienna and Budapest responsible for the census of the respective populations. People moving back-and-forth between the two parts of the Dual Monarchy were considered neither internal nor international migrants. With no border control between Imperial Austria and the Hungarian Kingdom, migrants needed no documents such as passports or visas to travel, and it was thus impossible to count those who crossed from one part of the empire to the other. As neither the Hungarian nor Austrian statistical offices prepared flow data on the number of Hungarian- or Austrian-born individuals who moved annually to the other side, the statistical analyses that follow are based on stock data from national censuses.<sup>141</sup>

People from Imperial Austria and from the Hungarian Kingdom moved regularly, whether as permanent migrants or, as was more often the case, as seasonal laborers, to the other part of the Dual Monarchy. According to censuses, the number of Hungarian citizens who crossed over to Imperial Austria was always greater than those who crossed in the other direction. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Hungarian-born individuals topped the list of “foreigners” in the Austrian provinces. As early as 1869, the Austrian census listed around 91,000 migrants from the Hungarian Kingdom, while the Hungarian census of 1870 recorded around 68,000 migrants from Imperial Austria. At the end of the century, an even higher number of individuals from the Hungarian territories began moving west and north, spurred by the fact that Imperial Austria offered better paid jobs in industrial sectors. The Hungarian census of 1910 recorded 235,475 Austrian foreigners, nearly 100,000 fewer individuals than the 324,495 Hungarian-born people recorded the same year in Austria. In 1910, about half of all “international” migrants living in Imperial Austria were born in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>142</sup>

Figure 2.3 provides numbers that convey the growing attractiveness of Imperial Austria for Hungarian migrants from the period of 1857 to 1910. By 1910, the Austrian census recorded six times more newcomers from the Hungarian Kingdom than it had in 1857 (53,047). At the same time, the ratio of Hungarian migrants in Imperial Austria rose from 4.45 to 51.6 percent.<sup>143</sup> The number of men and women who took part in this migration pattern within the Habsburg Empire was nearly equal; in 1869, the female ratio was 47 percent, falling only slightly to 46 percent just before World War I. As censuses rarely recorded seasonal migration, there may well have been a lot more women and men who regularly moved short distances across the administrative border to make a living.

As demonstrated in figure 2.4, most of these individuals originated from the western Hungarian counties that bordered Imperial Austria, and the overwhelming majority likewise moved only short distances to Imperial Austrian political districts close to the border. There were four Austrian provinces on the north and east bordering Hungary: Moravia, Austrian Silesia, Galicia, and Bukovina. On the west, another five provinces shared borders with the Hungarian Kingdom: Lower Austria (including the capital of Vienna), Styria, Carniola, Littoral, and Dalmatia. In 1910, the Hungarian counties with the highest percentage of individuals who moved to Imperial Austria were Sopron/Ödenburg, Moson/Wieselburg and Vas/Eisenburg/Železna županija (today a large portion of these counties comprise the Austrian province of Burgenland). In these counties, more than 10 percent of the population left for Imperial Austria, and it is no surprise that many of these people spoke German (for instance, more than half of the population of Moson County spoke German). Austrian border regions were the overwhelming destination for migrants from Hungarian territories.

It was not only German-speaking individuals who decided to go west; migrants from predominantly Slovak-speaking counties followed the same route, with Vienna as the favored destination. The counties of Bratislava, Nyitra, and Trenčín/Trencsén/Trentschin, today all in the Republic of Slovakia, had high rates of more than 5 percent each of migration to Imperial Austria. The census recorded nearly all of the inhabitants of Trenčín (92 percent) as being Slovak speakers, followed by Bratislava where the language of everyday use (although not necessarily the mother tongue) of more than two-fifths of the population (42 percent) was Slovak.<sup>144</sup> It is not an easy task to gauge the number of Slovak-speaking migrants as this population was often either confused with Czechs or recorded as Hungarian-born; however, it has been estimated that in 1910 about 92,000 of the migrants in Imperial Austria had been born in counties with a Slovak-speaking majority, and at least 46,000 of these lived in Vienna.<sup>145</sup> Each year a number of seasonal Slovak agricultural workers migrated to Lower Austria, and there were no doubt simultaneous movements in opposite directions, from Moravia and Bohemia, for example, to Hungarian regions.<sup>146</sup> With very few exceptions, namely

Budapest and the counties of Sibiu and Braşov/Brassó/Kronstadt in the southeast of Transylvania (the two latter of which had a considerable German-speaking minority of more than 20 percent of the population), overall migration to Imperial Austria from the Kingdom of Hungary was rather low.

According to official census data, in the second half of the nineteenth century 71 percent of all migrants from the Hungarian Kingdom were living in Lower Austria; by 1910 this ratio had decreased slightly to 66 percent, and 12 percent of the Hungarian-born population was living in the province of Styria. Smaller numbers of internal Habsburg migrants moved over the border into Moravia, Littoral, Galicia, Bukovina, and further on to Bohemia. Like the Slovak-speaking migrants, others from the Hungarian Kingdom also had a preference for the Austrian capital, and by 1890, 7.4 percent of the Viennese population, or 100,666 individuals, had been born in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>147</sup> In 1910, Vienna's Hungarian-born population had reached 147,856 individuals, followed by Graz (10,048 Hungarian migrants) and Trieste (3,773, most of whom had come from Croatia-Slavonia).<sup>148</sup>

Wiener Neustadt, about 80 kilometers south of Vienna, was second only to Trieste in terms of Imperial Austrian urban districts with the highest number of international migrants. In 1910, over 14 percent of Wiener Neustadt inhabitants were born in the Kingdom of Hungary, and another 2 percent had moved there from another country. The number of inhabitants who had come from Hungarian territories in the surrounding political district referred to as the Wiener Neustadt Umgebung was nearly 8 percent. The machine-building and tool-making industries had been expanding sectors in this area since the 1840s, and population growth in Lower Austria was higher than the national average, from about 10,000 inhabitants in 1840 to nearly 25,000 in 1880.<sup>149</sup> The growing industrial agglomeration had long attracted mobile individuals from the nearby Hungarian county of Sopron, and by as early as 1869, more than 6 percent of the region's population had originated from Hungary. The numerous small and larger textile, metal, and paper factories in the town and its surroundings provided jobs for internal and international migrants. According to the 1869 census, nearly two-thirds of all laborers in a local paper factory had originated from Bohemia, while 13 percent had been born in the Kingdom of Hungary; in 1880, more than 10 percent of all workers in the machine-building industry had moved from Hungary.<sup>150</sup>

On the eve of World War I, about three million Serbo-Croatian-speaking individuals were living in the Habsburg Empire. Most of these were inhabitants of the Hungarian-ruled Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, with the others dispersed across the Austrian provinces of Littoral and Dalmatia. In 1910, the primary source of income for these individuals still came from agricultural work as smallholders and farm laborers; about 80 percent of all Croats made a living in farming. Since as far back as the sixteenth century, Croatian men had made up a significant number of those who traveled north

as peddlers, selling spices, various wooden products (spoons, colanders, or wooden bowls), and southern fruits. Peddling provided crucial additional income to families with small plots of land. The so-called *Krawaten* moved along the main route from the south via Styria and Lower Austria to Vienna and Prague in the north.<sup>151</sup>

The largest group of Austrian-born people living in the Hungarian Kingdom stemmed from the province of Galicia. A study of Hungarian census records shows that there was considerable movement of people back-and-forth over the mountain passes on the northern ridge of the Carpathian Mountains, which divided Galicia from the Hungarian-ruled territories. Although the censuses provide no information on seasonal migration, analysis of the growing number of Galician-born people living in Hungary indicates an increase in the attractiveness of that destination (see figure 2.5).

According to contemporary observation, a considerable movement of seasonal Galician workers to the Kingdom of Hungary and further on to Romania began around the 1890s.<sup>152</sup> From 1870 to 1910, the number of Galician-born people living in the Kingdom of Hungary increased more than tenfold; the ratio of women who partook in this pattern rose from 31 percent in 1870 to 46 percent. Migrants from Galicia to Hungarian territories were concentrated in Budapest. Of the 200,000 Imperial Austrian individuals who had moved to Hungary by 1890, nearly 30,000 chose Budapest as their place of residence. Other Galicians moved to a handful of other counties along the Carpathian frontier, including Zemplín/Zemplén/Semplin, Spiš/Szepes/Zips, and Šariš/Sáros/Scharosch, today in the Republic of Slovakia. Internal and overseas migration rates were high in these frontier counties, which were primarily populated by Slovak speakers. People from Galicia were attracted by the agricultural and developing industrial jobs in these areas. Following the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Bosnia-Herzegovina was ruled by the Habsburg governments and fully annexed in 1908. Between 1895 and 1905, some 380 Polish-speaking peasant families settled in the Bosnian Krajina, in Županija posavska/Posavski kanton/Posavina, and in Central Bosnia. According to the census of 1910, about 11,000 Polish-speaking individuals were living in Bosnia-Herzegovina, primarily in more rural areas. The native population referred to these newcomers as *Galizier*.<sup>153</sup>

Men and women from the province of Galicia proliferated on routes from Imperial Austria to the Hungarian Kingdom, but those from other Austrian territories also took part in this migration pattern. Industrialization in Hungary occurred late in comparison with certain areas of Imperial Austria, and the growing demand for skilled laborers in the new Hungarian industrial centers, Budapest in particular, spurred the in-migration of many Czechs and Jews. Around 1870, about half of all industrial laborers in Budapest had been recruited in Moravia, followed by qualified foreign workers from Bohemia. In 1910, around 20 percent of all Imperial Austrian migrants originated from the province of Bohemia, followed by 15 percent from Moravia.<sup>154</sup>

According to the Hungarian historian László Varga, the Jewish population of the Hungarian Kingdom rose from 126,620 individuals in 1805 to nearly one million in 1910 as a result of heavy in-migration from Austrian provinces. The proportion of that population living in the Kingdom of Hungary peaked in 1869 at 4.6 percent, and continued at that rate on through the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire. Varga distinguishes between three different nineteenth-century Jewish migration patterns. In 1850, more than 77,000 Jewish people living in Hungarian territories were Galician-born. In the second half of the nineteenth century more Jewish individuals from western Galicia and Austrian Silesia crossed the mountains, settling for the most part in the counties of Orava/Árva/Arwa, Liptov/Liptó/Liptau, and Trenčín (today Slovakia). A third group of Jewish migrants who moved to Hungarian territories had originated from Moravia.<sup>155</sup> The Jewish population was especially concentrated in the Hungarian counties along the frontier to the Austrian provinces of Galicia and Moravia, which had a majority of Slovak- and Ukrainian-speaking populations.

During the second half of the century, this Jewish in-migration pattern reversed, with more and more people moving from Hungarian territories to Imperial Austria, Vienna in particular. Following the decree of 1860, which allowed Jews to acquire property, and the interconfessional equalization of 1868, which granted Jewish citizens of Imperial Austria the same legal rights as Christians, the Jewish population in Vienna began to increase considerably. In 1857, about a quarter of all Jewish inhabitants in Vienna had been born in Hungarian territories, most of whom were short-distance migrants from Bratislava.<sup>156</sup> Nearly 28 percent of all Viennese Jews (72,588) recorded in the census of 1880 had originated from the Kingdom of Hungary, and by 1910, around one-fifth of all Hungarian migrants in Imperial Austria were Jewish.<sup>157</sup>

## 2.3 MOVING TO IMPERIAL AUSTRIA AND THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

Millions of people from the Kingdom of Hungary and Imperial Austria crossed borders into other European countries, but it would be misleading to reduce the late nineteenth-century Habsburg Empire to a “country of emigration.” There were many European regions that offered people from Austria-Hungary a range of opportunities, and at the same time, citizens of other nations were also attracted to the Habsburg territories. It was not just Habsburg natives who came and went, but others as well. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, by the end of the nineteenth century statistical offices in a number of European countries had counted up to 1.5 million Habsburg migrants, and there were around 860,000 foreign nationals living in Austria-Hungary, approximately 583,000 of whom had been counted in Imperial Austria.<sup>158</sup> Despite these

numbers, there has been little research into the nineteenth- and twentieth-century movement of people into Habsburg territories.<sup>159</sup>

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Imperial Austria began to attract more and more “international foreigners.” The number of these individuals, which included Hungarian citizens, grew from 200,000 people around 1850 to 350,000 foreign nationals in 1880, and by the end of the century amounted to more than half a million. The ratio of international foreigners in Imperial Austria increased in relation to the growing population. From the mid-nineteenth century up until the beginning of World War I, some 1.5 to 2 percent of the overall population had been born abroad.<sup>160</sup> The greatest number of “foreigners” stemmed from the Kingdom of Hungary, followed by international migrants from the German Reich (126,000), the Kingdom of Italy (nearly 80,000), and the Russian Empire (40,500). Up to 90 percent of all international migrants in Imperial Austria had originated from these three countries, with the remainder having been born in Great Britain, France, or the United States of America. This last group was mostly comprised of former migrants from Habsburg territories who had returned after being nationalized in the United States, or their children who had been born overseas.<sup>161</sup> Between 1869 and 1910, the ratio of women among these in-migrants rose from 45 percent to 50 percent. In 1880, Switzerland, France, Portugal, Montenegro, and the German provinces of Prussia and Bavaria predominantly sent women. Among other foreigners from Western Europe, such as France and Great Britain, women working as governesses and domestic servants made up the majority of migrants.<sup>162</sup> Data on deported foreign nationals and deportation countries evince a similar picture. In 1888, for example, Imperial Austria deported undesirable aliens to the Kingdom of Hungary, the German Reich (Bavaria, Prussia, Saxony, Baden, and Württemberg), the Russian Empire, and the Kingdom of Italy; a small number of individuals were forcefully accompanied to Romania, the Ottoman Empire, Switzerland, England, France, the United States of America, Montenegro, Belgium, Bulgaria, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Most of these “forcefully disposed” people were artisans and day laborers, 85 percent of whom were male.<sup>163</sup>

The number of foreign nationals in the Kingdom of Hungary was much the same. At the end of the nineteenth century, 2 percent of Hungary’s population had been born in another country; by 1910, this number had decreased to 1.6 percent. Migrants from Imperial Austria were the leading number in this group, followed by individuals from the German Reich and smaller numbers of people originating from the Kingdoms of Bulgaria and Romania. During the nineteenth century, Bulgarian migrants arrived in the Habsburg Empire to work as gardeners, while those from Montenegro moved to the province of Styria to work in factories, to Trieste to work as dockworkers, and all across the empire for railway work.<sup>164</sup> According to the 1910 census, Croatia-Slavonia on the Mediterranean attracted foreigners from countries other than the Kingdom of

Hungary. While about half of the foreigners in other Hungarian regions were German nationals, 90 percent of the “international” in-migrants in Croatia-Slavonia had crossed the border to Imperial Austria as short-distance migrants from nearby Mediterranean provinces. Migrants from the Kingdoms of Italy and Serbia also traveled to those south-eastern territories, which rarely attracted people from the German Reich.<sup>165</sup> This was the case in, for example, 1906, when the Serbian pork trade was experiencing economic problems and smallholders from the Mačva region crossed the Save River to take up seasonal farm labor on large landholdings in Slavonia; some 1,500 to 2,000 young men were reported to have taken part in that migration pattern.<sup>166</sup>

It must once again be emphasized that official statistics are inadequate for capturing the internal and international movements of seasonal migrants.<sup>167</sup> It can safely be presumed that the actual number of individuals moving back-and-forth over Habsburg borders was much higher than that provided by official enumerations. Most foreign nationals moved short distances, from a border region abroad to a border region in Imperial Austria or the Kingdom of Hungary. We see this, for example, in the case of German nationals who migrated to border districts in Bohemia, Austrian Silesia, Upper Austria, Salzburg, and Vorarlberg. Migration from German territories to Vienna had a long tradition. In the mid-eighteenth century, for example, nearly 90 percent of all foreign artisan masters in Vienna had been born in German territories.<sup>168</sup> This notwithstanding, a comparatively high proportion of German-speaking international migrants seem to have had a preference for regions of Bohemia close to the Bavarian and Saxon border, and regions of Moravia and Austrian Silesia bordering on Prussia.<sup>169</sup> In 1910, about 57 percent of all foreign nationals (71,602) in the Habsburg Empire had originated from the German Reich, Saxony and Bavaria in particular. Another 14 percent had come to the province of Bohemia from the Kingdom of Hungary, and smaller numbers came from elsewhere, such as the Russian Empire (1.7 percent).<sup>170</sup>

In 1900, most foreigners from the German Reich found accommodation in the northern and western Bohemian districts of Cheb/Eger, Aš/Asch, and Liberec/Reichenberg. There had been strong migration ties between these areas for centuries. This region, which spans Imperial Austria and the German Reich, had undergone industrialization at an early point toward the end of the nineteenth century and was one of the most important industrial centers of Europe. There was a large number of laborers in more or less constant circulation within this region.<sup>171</sup> East of that area, the coal mining and metalworking district of Ostrava in Moravia and Austrian Silesia attracted not only Czech-speaking labor migrants, but also German- and Polish-speaking workers from the German Reich and the Russian Empire. In Galicia at the turn of the century, the district of Kraków and the city itself registered significant numbers of both in- and out-migration, with a catchment area that extended into German Poland and the



Kingdom of Romania. By 1910, the number of inhabitants in Kraków had grown to 151,886, 7 percent of whom were foreign nationals of Romanian (82 percent) or German (12 percent) origin.<sup>172</sup> It was not only labor migrants who moved from the Russian Empire to Galicia. When Russian Poland initiated pogroms against their Jewish neighbors in 1881, many Jews arrived as refugees in Galicia, illegally crossing the green border near the town of Brody. At the end of that year there were around 2,300 Jewish refugees in Brody, but, due to the local benefit society that supported the repatriation of these people, by February 1882 their numbers had fallen to 1,200.<sup>173</sup>

When taking a closer look at the data on a regional level, we begin to more fully appreciate the implication of foreigners migrating into the Habsburg territories. In 1910, for example, foreign nationals comprised more than 5 percent of the population in each of the 38 Austrian districts, and in seven of those districts the ratio was even higher than 10 percent. Cities aside, as these tended to attract more foreigners than rural areas, Vienna's surrounding areas and the political districts of Mödling (15 percent) and Baden (12 percent) also demonstrated exceptionally high migrant populations. In addition to Wiener Neustadt, a high number of Hungarian nationals also made a living in the urban district of Bruck an der Leitha/Lajtabruck (13 percent) that bordered the Kingdom of Hungary. In the south of Imperial Austria, the urban district of Roverto/Roveredo, today in the Italian province of Trento, was noteworthy for its high number of Italian nationals (10 percent).<sup>174</sup> Migrants from the Kingdom of Hungary preferred close-lying regions in Lower Austria, Styria, and Carniola, while Italian-speaking labor migrants from abroad went to Gorizia, Trieste, Littoral, Carinthia, and Tyrol. The comparably small number of international migrants in Galicia had primarily crossed over from the Russian Empire.<sup>175</sup>

In comparison to Imperial Austria, the ratios of foreign nationals in Hungarian counties were much more evenly distributed: only two towns, Rijeka and Zagreb, had attracted a more significant number of international migrants, and in 1910, more than 10 percent of the inhabitants of these towns had been born abroad. There were fourteen other Hungarian counties with a higher than 2 percent ratio of foreign nationals, with not even Budapest attracting a substantial in-migration population from other European countries. Only 2.7 percent of all of Budapest's inhabitants had originated from another country—evidently, cities such as Graz in Styria (8.4 percent) were more attractive for foreign in-migrants. Prague's population was even less international, with only 1.1 percent its inhabitants being foreign-born. Not surprisingly, in all other parts of the empire international migrants tended to live and work in border regions. As, for example, in the county of Požeška/Pozsega/Poschegg at the border to Bosnia-Herzegovina, where half the population spoke Serbo-Croatian, most migrants originated either from the Kingdom of Serbia or Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Hungarian counties of Spiš, Užská župa/Ung, and Trenčín, all of them bordering to Galicia and



TABLE 2.6 Population growth and migration to Rijeka, 1870 to 1910

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Stable population		59.0	49.4		35.0
From Budapest		0.4	0.6		1.0
From other counties		12.4	14.9		24.2
From Imperial Austria	16.3	24.3	31.5	36.6	32.5
From other countries	4.5	3.9	3.6	7.3	7.3
Population total	17,884	20,981	29,494	38,057	48,492

Source: Kgl. Ungarisches Statistisches Bureau ed., *Statistisches Jahrbuch für Ungarn / Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* (Budapest, 1872–1892); *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.

Moravia, attracted most migrants from these Austrian provinces. Other counties with more than a 2 percent ratio of foreigners were Bratislava, Sopron, and Moson, all on the border to Lower Austria and Styria, which had high numbers of individuals born in Imperial Austria.<sup>176</sup>

It should be little surprise that the port towns were the most “globalized” communities in Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary. Trieste and Rijeka counted exceptionally high numbers of foreign nationals among their inhabitants. As mentioned, Trieste was an important harbor that attracted migrants from the world over. As the home of Austrian Lloyd, the major shipping company that was founded in 1833, even other continents were in easy reach.<sup>177</sup> Most of the city’s foreign nationals, however, had not traveled so far, and came from the neighboring Kingdom of Italy. Between 1880 and 1910, the number of Italian migrants in Trieste increased from 16,178 to 29,439, and amounted to nearly 80 percent of the city’s foreign-born population.<sup>178</sup> Pula, on the other hand, which was on the tip of the Istrian peninsula, had a rather moderate percentage of 5.3 foreign nationals. Until 1918 this Mediterranean town was the main Habsburg naval port, hosting multitudes of internal migrants and military personnel from across Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary, and was thus of little interest for migrants from other—in particular hostile—countries.<sup>179</sup>

Rijeka was a free port from the eighteenth century onward.<sup>180</sup> The city was especially prosperous during the second half of the nineteenth century, and between 1870 and 1910 its population more than doubled.<sup>181</sup> The Hungarian government had been particularly supportive of Rijeka as its international hub to the Americas beginning in 1906, when it signed a contract with the British Cunard Line to transport all US-bound migrants from the Kingdom of Hungary via that Croatian port.<sup>182</sup> Rijeka’s increased

economic significance aside, it was of little interest to migrants from other parts of Croatia-Slavonia and the Hungarian Kingdom. As mentioned, it was, however, the city in the empire with the highest number of foreign nationals. According to census data, the number of foreign-born individuals who made a living in the port town increased from 21 percent in 1870 to 40 percent in 1910 (see table 2.6). Most of these individuals originated from Imperial Austria, but the numbers of people from other European countries were also exceptional.

### 2.3.1 The Continental Movements of Italian-Speaking Migrants

As a case study of continental migration to the Habsburg Empire, the following subchapter addresses the movements of individuals from Italian-speaking regions. Italian speakers made up a portion of the native Imperial Austrian population, such as many of those from the districts of Trento and Trieste, and thus the migration patterns we will consider were both internal and international. While there were a number of routes to Imperial Austria that played an important role in the history of Italian migration, we have few studies on the subject of migration relations between the Kingdom of Italy and the Habsburg Empire.<sup>183</sup> Austrian research has concentrated on isolated migration patterns, such as the movement of artisans from Northern Italy, but has yet to capture the broader panorama of late nineteenth-century movement of labor.<sup>184</sup> Between 1876 and World War I, there was a significant increase in the number of Italian-speaking migrants both within Europe and to destinations overseas. Approximately 14 million Italian-speaking people moved internationally, about 6.1 million of whom traveled within Europe, primarily as seasonal migrants.<sup>185</sup> Swiss-born nationals comprised a substantial portion of the in-migrating population of Imperial Austria, but this too remains an underresearched topic in migration history. What little knowledge we have on the subject tells us that Swiss migrants were well represented in some professions in Imperial Austria and in large parts of Central Europe. As indicated in the previous chapter, for example, most of the chimney sweeps in nineteenth-century Vienna had originated from a smattering of Italian-speaking villages in Switzerland's Grisons and Ticino.<sup>186</sup>

Open labor markets across Europe attracted workers from Northern Italy and neighboring regions, and during the nineteenth century up to 13 percent of Friuli's population took part in seasonal migration.<sup>187</sup> According to official Italian statistics (which tended to underestimate continental European movements in comparison with transatlantic moves), the Habsburg Empire was the second most frequent destination for Italian labor migrants (1.4 million) after France (1.7 million), followed by Switzerland (1.3 million) and the German Reich (1.2 million). Italian temporary migrants, among

them masons, stonecutters, diggers, brickmakers, plasterers, and terrazzo and asphalt layers, found employment as industrial laborers, in gangs of construction workers at major building sites, and in railroad construction. Europe-wide this population dominated among the hundreds of thousands of diggers and transport operators working in the construction industry. Much of this work was originally skilled labor, but the rise in migrants resulted in a devaluation of their skills. By the end of the nineteenth century, most Italians were working as handymen and were considered “unskilled” laborers.<sup>188</sup> Contemporary observers referred to these Italian-speaking labor migrants as the “Chinese of Europe.” They were denigrated in a manner similar to that of the Chinese labor migrants working in the western United States and both groups carried out similar types of employment.<sup>189</sup>

In the seventeenth century, Italian-speaking gangs of construction workers had begun moving all over Europe, and the groups of masons from the valley Mesolcina/Misox in Switzerland, who migrated seasonally to the northern parts of Europe and returned for the winter months, were especially renowned.<sup>190</sup> During the nineteenth century, Italian-speaking construction workers dominated international labor migration within Central Europe, and the fact that their primary centers of employment were located in Imperial Austria was a result of the entangled histories of those territories.<sup>191</sup> So long as Lombardo-Venetia was part of the Habsburg Empire (from 1815 to 1866), migration networks including the Austrian Alpine provinces were especially dense, and they persisted up until the twentieth century. There was, however, only a small number of Italian-speaking laborers who made their way to the Kingdom of Hungary.

Italian men were considered specialists in building tunnels for railway construction in the Alpine areas. Many were employed in the construction of the *Semmering Bahn*, the world’s first railway line to cross high mountains, designed by Venetian engineer Carl Ritter von Ghega as a direct connection between Vienna and Trieste and built from 1848 to 1854.<sup>192</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, Italian speakers labored alongside other seasonal workers, mainly from Dežela Kranjska in Carniola, from April to September in railroad construction. In the 1880s, work gangs largely comprised of Italian speakers were also responsible for constructing the *Arlbergbahn*, which crosses the Alps in the west of the empire.<sup>193</sup>

During the second half of the nineteenth century in Imperial Austria, large technical projects for waterways and flood control, comparable to large German construction projects such as the digging of the Emperor Wilhelm Canal in Schleswig Holstein, created jobs for hundreds of thousands of Italian-speaking construction workers.<sup>194</sup> During the Revolution of 1848, around 10,000 diggers, most of whom had been born in Northern Italy, were deported from Vienna, but by 1857 the number of peddlers and construction workers from Friuli working in the city was again estimated at 10,000.<sup>195</sup> These Italian-speaking construction workers were easily discernable as a result of their

distinctive pushcarts, which contained their tools. They arrived for the most part in gangs that worked under supervision of a foreman, referred to as the *Capo Lavoro* or *Padrone*, and remained at the same construction site for weeks and sometimes even months. When their work was completed, they either returned home or continued on to the next construction site. Few of these workers understood or spoke German, so the foremen acted as translators and middlemen who negotiated wages, board, and lodging. The construction season lasted from March until October, and as soon as the ground froze these migrants returned to their North Italian villages, arriving just in time for the wine grape and olive harvests.<sup>196</sup> The regulation of the Danube, the construction of the Danube Canal within the city, and larger construction sites in Vienna's expanding city districts attracted diggers from Northern Italy. The masons from Friuli and the province of Belluno, who worked on the opulent buildings such as the Votive Church and Town Hall situated on Vienna's *Ringstrasse* that were built following the 1858 demolition of the city walls, were considered the aristocracy of Italian labor migrants.

Up until the twentieth century, the streets of Vienna and other Imperial Austrian cities bustled with Italian-speaking merchants, noisily promoting their goods and services, during the warmer months. Typical Italian peddlers were the so-called *Figurini*, who dealt in small plaster figures, or the traveling pewterers, who migrated from Forno, in Piedmont, to all over Europe.<sup>197</sup> The collection of rags, an important resource for paper production, was another activity undertaken by Italian migrants.<sup>198</sup> Before World War I, there were more than one hundred knife grinders with workshops in Vienna, nearly all of whom had come from the Val Rendena, north of Lago di Garda. These groups were, as mentioned earlier in chapter 1, part of an Alpine peddling system that had existed for centuries.<sup>199</sup> Italian merchants were also known for their gastronomic specialties, such as gingerbread and *Mandoletti* (sweets made with almonds), the latter of which was developed by Venetian confectioners. Perhaps the best known were the *Salamutschis*, who sold salami and cheese in Vienna's numerous beer gardens and on the streets. These sausage peddlers left their villages in Friuli on foot in spring and walked to Vienna. During the warmer months they sold sausages that they produced in Viennese butcher shops and left the city again at the close of summer. Without products to transport, these migrants were known for their ability to quickly cover long distances. Precluded by lack of money from making use of other means of transportation, these migrants walked the 430 kilometers between Friuli and Vienna in eight to nine days. Even what is now considered the famous Hungarian salami had been introduced to Budapest by migrants from Udine and Gemona del Friuli.<sup>200</sup> Today, it is only Italian ice cream makers from the North Italian province of Belluno, who first established shops across Western and Central Europe in the nineteenth century, who continue to seasonally cross the borders between Italy and Austria.<sup>201</sup>

While people from eastern provinces of Imperial Austria primarily migrated to other European countries, the so-called Austrian Alpine regions—most of which are today in the Republic of Austria—were characterized by in-migration from other European countries. From 1819 to 1913, the population of those Alpine provinces increased by 3.9 million, about 35 percent of which resulted from a positive net-migration from abroad. On average, about 14,680 migrants reached that area annually and more than half of these were women.<sup>202</sup> The rapid nineteenth-century industrialization of Vorarlberg rendered this region attractive to an especially high number of foreign laborers. During this era Vorarlberg was—aside from Lower Austria, Vienna included—the most industrialized region of the Alpine provinces and had, at least in 1910, the highest share of foreign nationals. In 1890, less than half of the population of Vorarlberg was still make a living in agriculture, and by 1910, this already low level fell to under 30 percent.<sup>203</sup> Italian-speaking individuals moved there either internally from the Tyrolean district of Trento or internationally from the Kingdom of Italy and the Italian-speaking regions of Switzerland. Seasonal labor migrants who primarily spoke Rhaeto-Romance dialects began migrating with their families from Grisons as early as the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1840, for example, about half of all pupils enrolled in primary school in the small town of Feldkirch had originated from Grisons.<sup>204</sup> Up until the 1880s, the majority of Italian-speaking migrants in Vorarlberg had originated from either the Kingdom of Italy or Switzerland; that pattern changed at the end of the century, when the increase of infrastructure and growth of industrial production began attracting more and more internal laborers from Trento.<sup>205</sup>

From 1870 to 1914, labor shortages in the textile industries led Vorarlberg's entrepreneurs to begin recruiting migrants—among these were numerous women from Trento.<sup>206</sup> These recruitments were the start of frequent movements back-and-forth within the southwestern Habsburg territories. In the first decade of the twentieth century, more than half of all labor migrants from Trento found employment in Vorarlberg, and another 15 percent traveled to other Imperial Austrian provinces. Previous to leaving their Italian-speaking region, the overwhelming majority of these individuals were farm laborers, smallholders, and construction workers, such as masons, quarrymen, or diggers; women were engaged as either “unskilled” laborers or domestic servants. Their regional mobility was often accompanied by a shift of employment from agriculture to industry. In Vorarlberg, most of the women and men from Trento made a living as textile workers. Labor in industry, railroad work in particular, was the second most common form of employment for men, the so-called *Eisenponeri*.<sup>207</sup> In 1910, 21 percent of Vorarlberg's population had been born elsewhere, in either another Habsburg province or a different country (8.5 percent); 5,857 of these had originated from Trento, and an additional 1,449 foreigners had been born in the Italian provinces of Veneto and Lombardy. Individuals from the Kingdom of

Italy comprised the third-largest population of international migrants (12 percent), preceded only by migrants from the German Reich (65 percent) and Switzerland (18 percent).<sup>208</sup>

The number of foreign nationals among the Vorarlberg population was higher yet in the district of Bregenz. In comparison with all other urban and rural districts of Imperial Austria, it had the sixth highest portion of internal and international migrants. Its ratio of international migrants was even higher than in Vienna (9 percent). According to official statistics, Vorarlberg's migrants were coming and going, with the foreign population demonstrating the highest level of fluctuation. Between 1900 and 1910, for example, there were more than 2,000 migrants who arrived in the industrialized village of Kennelbach in the district of Bregenz, but the resident population increased by only 227 inhabitants.<sup>209</sup> Industrialized communities in the Rhine Valley offered many textile jobs for mobile women and men. At the beginning of the twentieth century some of those villages, such as Hard, Rieden, and Kennelbach, which boasted a cotton-spinning mill, were populated by an exceptionally high number of Italian speakers. According to the 1910 Austrian census's survey of languages in everyday use, 34 percent of Kennelbach's population spoke Italian, and an exceptionally high number of these migrants were women who worked in textile production.<sup>210</sup> An analysis of local documents in the district of Bludenz shows that at least 57 percent of migrants there worked in textile factories, and more than 70 percent of these individuals were women.<sup>211</sup> While Italian-speaking men crowded into *wälsch colonies* (small, exclusively Italian-speaking settlements), most young, single women were housed in church-organized dorms.<sup>212</sup> The number of Italian-speaking laborers was so exceptionally high that the Socialist Party even held political events in Italian, such as the 1907 "*Propaganda frag li italiani del Vorarlberg*" in Bregenz.<sup>213</sup> This small town was not only an attractive destination for Italian-speaking laborers, but also a hub for transmigrants, who moved from Northern Italy each February, March, and April via Vorarlberg on to the southern regions of Germany and to Switzerland. The local train station and harbor at Lake Constance had a special waiting hall known as the *Italiener-Halle*, and there was always an officer there who spoke Italian. According to a local newspaper, there were more than 1,200 Italian-speaking transmigrants arriving daily in 1899.<sup>214</sup>

In the years leading up to World War I, the number of Italian-speaking seasonal migrants to the German Reich increased, and the attraction of the Habsburg Empire faded, with fewer and fewer construction workers arriving from Friuli and other northern Italian regions. Statistics for 1910/11, which were collected during the winter months and thus document only a fraction of total migrants, record only 80,000 Italians in Imperial Austria, while numbers for the German Reich listed 104,000 workers.<sup>215</sup> The migration ties that existed between Imperial Austria and Northern

Italy were severed by World War I, and were never revived. The Republic of Italy lost its relevance as a catchment area for migrants to the Republic of Austria, with the number of Italian migrants to the latter remaining low even in the 1960s through the early 1970s, when the Federal Republic of Germany recruited thousands of Italian “guest workers.”<sup>216</sup>

## TRANSATLANTIC MIGRATION PATTERNS

**B**ETWEEN 1890 TO the 1930s, nearly eighteen million people left Europe for the United States, the vast majority of whom had been born in Eastern and Southern Europe. US immigration records show that at 27.9 percent, individuals from the Habsburg Empire formed the largest national group of US-bound migrants between the years 1902 and 1911, followed by migrants from the Kingdom of Italy and the Russian Empire. The beginning of World War I led to the decline of the great transatlantic movements of Central, Southern, and Southeastern Europeans, and as a result of new immigration laws implemented by the US government, US-bound migration never again regained the level it had attained during the century's first decade. Still, there were 1.8 million Europeans who arrived in the United States in the five years following 1914, and another million arrived in the second half of the 1920s, some of whom were family members following earlier migrants. According to Adam McKeown and José C. Moya, it was not World War I that served as a turning point in the European transatlantic migration pattern, but rather the Great Depression of the 1930s.<sup>1</sup>

Nineteenth-century industrialization, the urbanization accompanying it, and political and economic liberalization encouraged and facilitated these massive, voluntary transatlantic migrations. From the mid-nineteenth century on, overseas migration was triggered by growing demand—particularly in the United States—for low-skilled labor in mines, factories, construction, and urban services.<sup>2</sup> More and more jobs, the majority of which were short-term, began attracting Europeans to a more labor-intensive American economy in which even urban service jobs and factories were heavily reliant



on temporary employment. This provided the perfect conditions for the growing internationally mobile labor force from Southern and Eastern Europe. We must remember, however, that the majority of the mobile population moved either internally or to other European countries. Although the economic advantages of moving to the Americas circa 1900 were on average quite high in comparison to staying at home, and the cost of moving rather low, the overwhelming majority of individuals remained in Europe.<sup>3</sup>

Technological advancements in steam-powered transportation and navigation facilitated transatlantic travel. By the 1870s, sailing vessels had been almost entirely replaced by steam-powered ships, cutting travel times and increasing comfort. By the end of the century, ocean transit time from Northern European ports to North America had been reduced to just over one week. In addition, the widespread expansion of the railroad network on both continents during the second half of the nineteenth century made Atlantic ports accessible from nearly all parts of Europe.<sup>4</sup> According to Drew Keeling's extensive research on the transatlantic transport business, the post-1880s growth in migration rates was not simply a response to falling ticket prices, but more specifically to reductions in the overall cost of overseas migration.<sup>5</sup> Technical innovation rendered moving to the Americas a familiar, feasible, and accessible possibility for millions of Europeans. The inclusion of landless peasant and agricultural laborer households in the market economy and the rapid proletarianization of an ever-increasing portion of Central European rural society also introduced new cultural values and social patterns into rural culture.<sup>6</sup> Previous studies have found that rising per capita income in many European regions was a powerful impetus for transatlantic migration. In particular, Blanca Sánchez-Alonso's work on Spain has shown that rising income as a result of post-1900 economic modernization allowed individuals to more easily finance movement, and was thus positively associated with a rise in overseas traffic.<sup>7</sup> These structural and cultural changes also triggered transatlantic moves from Imperial Austria and the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>8</sup>

At the end of the nineteenth century, rising literacy rates supported the spread of information on working and living conditions in destination countries, while travel agencies, labor recruiters, and the growth of social networks prepared many for journeys to, and new lives on, the American continent.<sup>9</sup> In order to migrate, individuals needed financial support and information regarding new employment and housing opportunities. Regular transatlantic schedules of steam ships reduced travel times and provided a reliable conduit for letters, savings, and prepaid tickets that supported the development of a transatlantic information network. By the end of the century, knowledge of the New World and the advantages of migrating overseas had become widespread across Europe. According to official statistics of the transatlantic mail service, more than 50 million letters were delivered from the United States to regions east of the German Reich and the Habsburg Empire in 1900 alone.<sup>10</sup>

Intercontinental migration spread from economically and technologically more advanced countries in the west and north to Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe. The inhabitants of Austria-Hungary were, in comparison with those from other European regions such as western Germany and Scandinavia, latecomers to transatlantic migration. In the first half of the nineteenth century, overseas migration was dominated by individuals from Great Britain (Ireland included) and German territories, with smaller populations originating from France, Scandinavia, and Switzerland. Between 1492 and the 1820s, for example, close to one million Spaniards left for the American colonies, and during the first half of the nineteenth century there were some 70,000 Europeans, mostly from Spain, who arrived in Cuba.<sup>11</sup> This multitude of early European transatlantic voyages notwithstanding, there were only a handful of Central and Eastern European pioneers who left the continent before the 1850s.<sup>12</sup> International migration from Great Britain and the German Reich peaked in the 1880s, and while moves from German territories reduced thereafter, transatlantic moves from the British Isles rose again following the economic depression of the early 1890s (see figure 3.1). When the number of transatlantic crossings from the German Reich declined, Europe's great steamship companies sought to maintain business by attracting new international migrants, and redoubled efforts to inform South and Southeastern Europeans about the favorable conditions and wages to be found on other continents. Following the 1890s depression, the Kingdom of Italy, the Habsburg Empire, and the Russian Empire became the most significant European centers for overseas migration. Italians and a growing number of Habsburg nationals dominated transnational traffic during the first decades of the twentieth century. People from the Kingdom of Italy were in the majority of overall intercontinental moves, with many moving to South America and the United States, while Austro-Hungarian migrants overwhelmingly chose the latter.<sup>13</sup>

The comparatively "new" United States of America was in a favorable position to attract Europeans, and the overwhelming majority of international migrants chose this as their destination. There was a tremendous amount of land that anti-native American agrarian legislation had rendered readily available. The new capital industry, which developed apace during the nineteenth century, also offered more and better-paid employment. Large movements from the Atlantic ports of arrival to the US West expanded both agrarian and industrial possibilities. Later on, quality control measures for transatlantic passages encouraged more and more individuals to migrate.<sup>14</sup> Between 1819 and 1910, over eight million migrants moved from the British Empire (including England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland) to the United States, and just under 5.5 million left the German Reich in the same direction. From the 1870s onward, over 90 percent of all new US arrivals originated from just three European countries: the Kingdom of Italy, the Russian Empire, and the Habsburg Empire; from each of these countries between three and four million individuals went overseas. Between 1900 and 1914,

more than a quarter of all European migrants originated from either Imperial Austria or the Kingdom of Hungary; between 24 and 25 percent of the newcomers were born in the Kingdom of Italy.<sup>15</sup>

Figure 3.2, a graphic representation of the number of international migrants who left Imperial Austria between 1876 to 1910 for different overseas locations, demonstrates the significance of the United States as a destination. A total of 1,845,382 Imperial Austrians migrated overseas during those years; the number of transatlantic migrants from the Hungarian Kingdom, 1,702,248 individuals, was not much smaller.<sup>16</sup> On average, 83 percent of transcontinental migrants from Imperial Austria chose the United States as their destination, followed by Canada (8 percent), Argentina (5 percent), and Brazil (3 percent). The number of US-bound migrants only fell below 70 percent in 1895 and 1896, when Brazil rose in significance (24 to 25 percent of all overseas migrants). The government of São Paulo promoted immigration and, up until 1905, financed a number of European passages. Austro-Hungarians ranked fifth in a tally of European migrants to Brazil between 1890 to 1914. As early as the sixteenth century, Portugal had a presence in Brazil and continued to be the country's largest migrant group, with Poles forming the third-largest non-Portuguese European ethnic group in the country's southern regions.<sup>17</sup> In the 1890s, a so-called "Brazilian Fever" induced some 60,000 Poles from the Kingdom of Poland in the Russian Empire, and some from Imperial Austria as well, to move to Brazil. The first migrants, who originated from Galicia, arrived as early as the 1870s; the pattern peaked in the early 1880s, and again between 1907 and 1914.<sup>18</sup>

More and more Imperial Austrians began moving to Canada, and in 1897 this population accounted for over 15 percent of all overseas movements, settling thereafter at about 10 percent. From 1901 to 1910, Canada received over 11 percent of all transatlantic migrants from Habsburg territories.<sup>19</sup> Canada and Latin America played comparatively smaller roles in Hungarian migration. The United States received up to 85 percent of all Hungarian international migrants between 1899 and 1913, and, given the significance of the United States as a destination for migrants from Austria-Hungary, this will form the focus of the following analysis.

### 3.1 FROM AUSTRIA-HUNGARY TO THE UNITED STATES

There is a long history of migration patterns within, to, and from the Habsburg Empire, but it wasn't until the 1880s that transatlantic movement became a characteristic feature of that mobility. The preconditions for significant overseas traffic developed rather late in the Habsburg Empire, with the process of transatlantic migration becoming

easier only toward the end of the century as a result of the circulation of knowledge about the wider world. Although people from some Austrian provinces moved overseas as early as the eighteenth century, a new type of international movement began to emerge in the final decades of the nineteenth century. We have early traces of international migrants from territories later incorporated into Imperial Austria from as early as the first half of the eighteenth century. One publication from 1734, for example, narrates the long-distance migration of Protestant refugees from the Salzburg bishopric to the British Colonies.<sup>20</sup> The expulsion of Protestants from the Salzburg territories also affected other neighboring regions, including the Salzkammergut. During the first half of the eighteenth century, around 620 Protestants were forced to leave this region, some of whom are supposed to have followed their neighbors to North America. In the 1850s, people from the Salzkammergut were among the first in the empire to travel in great numbers to the “new” continent. Between 1848 and 1860 some 1,500 individuals from Upper Austria joined that transatlantic migration. By the 1880s, another 470 had left the villages of Goisern, Hallstatt, Obertraun, and Ischl to settle in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Missouri.<sup>21</sup>

According to official surveys, only 14,255 individuals left Austrian provinces for overseas destinations between 1821 and 1830; between 1831 and 1840 the total was a mere 7,536. The number of overseas migrants from the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia was even smaller—just a few hundred a year. Between 1851 and 1860 the number of transcontinental migrants from Imperial Austria suddenly jumped to 27,045, with the United States becoming a major destination,<sup>22</sup> and between 1821 and 1890 US statistics listed 138,125 arrivals from the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>23</sup> One noteworthy ground for transatlantic migration from Imperial Austria as well as the German Reich were the Revolutions of 1848. Political refugees began fleeing Imperial Austria over the Atlantic, in some cases with their families, in 1849. That migration pattern peaked between 1852 and 1854, and from that point on was in decline until 1857/58. These early movements continued up until the Long Depression in Europe and the United States of 1873 to 1879 and the emergence of anti-migrant xenophobia in the US.<sup>24</sup>

US migration from Imperial Austria and the Hungarian Kingdom was still low in the 1870s, but grew apace in the following decade. According to seaport statistics, 7,862 migrants from the Hungarian Kingdom crossed the Atlantic between 1871 and 1879. In the following decade this number soared to 164,119. Between 1876 and 1880, an average of 2,500 individuals left the Kingdom of Hungary annually for intra-European destinations or North America.<sup>25</sup> There was an early peak in migration at the beginning of the 1890s, with migrants from Imperial Austria in the lead; however, this number declined sharply between 1893 and 1895 when an economic recession led to unemployment and labor unrest in the United States.<sup>26</sup> Habsburg nationals postponed

transatlantic migration to the second half of the 1890s. At the end of the century there was a modest increase in migration, and this number quadrupled between 1900 and 1914, with the emergence of a much higher level of long-distance migration. Booming US industrial centers stimulated transatlantic traffic with a seemingly insatiable demand for cheap labor.<sup>27</sup> By the first decade of the twentieth century, the Habsburg Empire had become a major source of labor migrants, who joined Irish, Italian, and German workers in transforming industrial labor in the Americas. Overseas migration had now become a generally accepted means of improving one's living situation, an instrument for social advancement, and the number of individuals who moved over long distances increased in proportion to the information available regarding particular destinations. Contemporary observer and social and economic scientist Arthur Salz, who himself migrated to the United States in the 1930s, used the term *reserve army* to describe the unskilled migrants who moved from the Habsburg Empire to work in US industry.<sup>28</sup> While the images and visions of "America" as a land of milk and honey corresponded little with reality, they nonetheless influenced migration decisions.<sup>29</sup>

In the 1900s, US immigration records show that individuals from the Habsburg Empire comprised the largest group of new arrivals. Between 1890 and 1910, for example, seaport statistics report 1,433,172 North America-bound passengers from the Kingdom of Hungary. In 1910, a peak year for US migration, 113,218 Austrian subjects crossed the Atlantic.<sup>30</sup> In the first decade of the twentieth century, the absolute number of US-bound migrants from the Hungarian Kingdom outstripped those from Imperial Austria. The peak years for US migration were 1905–1907, when a combined total of nearly 550,000 individuals departed the Hungarian Kingdom for the United States. The year 1908 was one of retrenchment; migration from both parts of the empire fell from more than 350,000 in 1907 to 50,000.<sup>31</sup> The effects of the US economic crisis, which began at the end of 1907, were sudden and severe (see figure 3.3). According to the *New York Times*, this resulted in "the most violent reaction in the history of transatlantic travel."<sup>32</sup> The sudden decrease in demand for foreign labor led to a steep decline in overseas migration from Europe. US economic recovery in 1909 prompted a rise in out-migration from the Hungarian Kingdom and Imperial Austria, but migration numbers from the Habsburg Empire failed to approach 1905–1907 levels for the rest of the prewar period. Nonetheless, migration from Imperial Austria reached a new record in 1913, and the onset of war in Europe in summer 1914 resulted in a dramatic drop in US-bound migrations. While in 1914 there were still around 1.4 million people who arrived on US shores, this number fell to 300,000 in 1916. The British blockade of the Central Powers made wartime travel for German and Habsburg citizens to and from Europe highly difficult if not nearly impossible.<sup>33</sup>

Given the 21,791 Imperial Austrians recorded by Austrian statistics to have entered the United States between 1821 and 1840, the number of 946 migrants from "Austria"

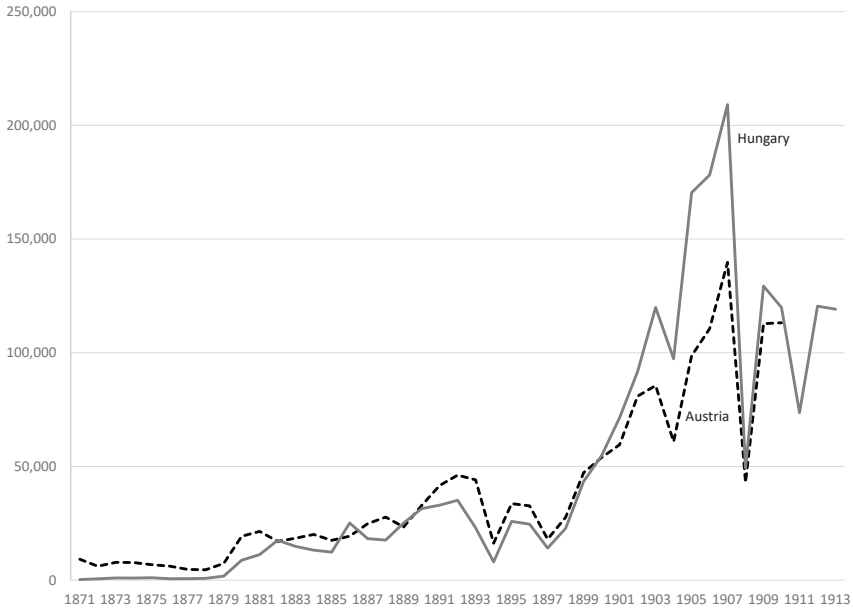


FIGURE 3.3 Migration from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary to the US, 1871–1913  
Source: Chmelar, “The Austrian Emigration,” 285; *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918.

recorded by the 1850 US census and shown in table 3.1 is surprisingly low, even if some migrants did die en route or returned to Europe.<sup>34</sup> The numbers seem to be more realistic beginning in 1860. Thereafter, the rate of Habsburg nationals who chose to make a living in the United States rose constantly. Between 1900 and 1910 there were more than a million people born in the Habsburg Empire who traveled to the United States, and the percentage of this group in the overall US population also grew. While only 0.08 percent of the US population had declared itself to have been born in Austria-Hungary in 1860, by 1920 this number had risen to 1.7 percent. In 1920, once the empire had ceased to exist, the US census began counting this population according to individual assertions of birth country.<sup>35</sup>

### 3.2 THE RIGHT TO MIGRATE

Sending countries could either encourage or discourage international migrations. Migration was on the one hand a diffuse form of ambassadorship, in the sense of the spread of “civilization” and investment in a foreign region, but on the other hand

TABLE 3.1 Austro-Hungarian-born US inhabitants, 1850–1920

	US pop.	Austria and Hungary	% of US pop.	Austria	Bohemia	Hungary	Austria-Poland	Yugoslavia
1850	23,191,876	946	0.00	946				
1860	31,399,300	25,061	0.08	25,061				
1870	41,609,000	74,534	0.18	30,508	40,289	3,737		
1880	50,155,783	135,550	0.27	38,663	85,361	11,526		
1890	62,622,250	303,812	0.49	123,271	118,106	62,435	? <sup>a</sup>	
1900	76,303,387	638,019	0.84	276,702	156,999	145,815	58,503	
1910	101,115,487	1,670,582	1.65	1,174,973		495,609		
1920 <sup>b</sup>	117,823,165	2,021,926	1.72	575,627	214,841	397,283	543,146	163,631

Source: *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853); *Population of the United States: 1860* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864); *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Ninth Census: 1870* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872); *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census: 1880* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1881); *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895); *Population, Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901); *Population, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913); *Population, Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921).

<sup>a</sup> The 1890 US census reports a number of individuals born in Poland, but as there was no Polish nation-state at that time, it remains unclear who would have been counted in that category.

<sup>b</sup> In the 1920 US census, Central and Eastern Europeans were allowed to name their birthplaces as they saw fit. This census thus documents more regions than in any other before or after: Bosnia and Herzegovina (5,911), Fiume (384), Slovakia (144,507), and Croatia-Slavonia (73,506).



lamented as a drain on the population and resources. John Torpey argues that the freedom to leave was connected to a free labor market, and dates modern notions of free departure to the French Revolution.<sup>36</sup> Citizens of the Habsburg Empire agitated between two extreme poles when it came to the right to cross international borders. During the eighteenth century, Habsburg administrations attempted to hinder the population from crossing international borders. The government of Emperor Joseph II prohibited the international emigration of Habsburg subjects with the Viennese Decree (*Wiener Dekret*) of July 7, 1768, and the *Auswanderungspatent* of 1784. A large population was considered the foundation of national power and well-being during the mercantilist era. The patent of 1784 strictly forbade emigration, and illegal migration could result in severe punishment. Even the promotion of migration over state borders was considered a crime.<sup>37</sup> These restrictions represent the traditional pole. The constitution of 1867, on the other hand, defined the right to emigrate—provided men had first performed their military duty—and represented modernity.<sup>38</sup>

During the first half of the nineteenth century, every Habsburg national was obligated to register and procure permission for each international journey. As with many other citizenship rights, free mobility was restricted in practice according to social class, gender, nationality, religion, age, and marital status.<sup>39</sup> A law passed in 1832 more or less echoed the emigration prohibition of 1784, making it illegal to leave the country without a so-called *Emigrationskonsens*.<sup>40</sup> Nationals who illegally left the country now lost their affiliation (i.e., citizenship) to the Habsburg dominions. The ability to procure permission to travel (*Reiseerlaubnis*) was dependent upon applicants' social status. Traveling was easy for nobles, students, merchants, or even journeymen, but a challenge for most of the rural majority, and restricted the regional mobility of that population. In 1852 the Habsburg Ministry of the Interior published a decree prohibiting the advertisement of emigration through pamphlets, flyers, brochures, or newspapers.<sup>41</sup>

The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 established the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. As noted, Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary shared a military and joint foreign and economic policy from that point onward, with domestic affairs regulated by separate parliaments. It was impossible to categorize migration as a wholly domestic or foreign affair.<sup>42</sup> In Imperial Austria, the Constitution (*Staatsgrundgesetz*) of 1867 guaranteed every citizen the right to migrate to other countries and continents.<sup>43</sup> That same year, the North German Confederation passed a passport law that guaranteed freedom of travel and confirmed the European shift toward liberal migration policies.<sup>44</sup> In the middle of the nineteenth century the majority of European border controls were abolished, and Europeans only needed a passport or visa to cross Russian or Ottoman state borders. This time is largely remembered as a golden age of unhindered mobility, but not for the Austrian administrations, which took a paternalistic position on potential international migration. With the state no

longer capable of openly restricting transatlantic crossings, it attempted to hinder the same by prohibiting migration propaganda and agencies. With the law of 1897, which stipulated that transatlantic tickets could only be issued by authorized agencies, the Austrian government officially wanted to protect migrants from fraud and exploitation. The unauthorized issue of tickets or violation of regulations governing these agencies was considered a petty offense and prosecuted by district courts.<sup>45</sup> These measures remained largely ineffective, however, and by the end of the century an informal network of bureaus and agencies for transatlantic journeys had taken shape. The policing of travel agents became one of the most common means of hindering migration, and over 3,000 agents faced criminal charges in Imperial Austria in 1914 alone. It has been estimated that at the beginning of the twentieth century up to 6,000 agents from the major German shipping lines *Norddeutsche Lloyd* (NDL) and the *Hamburg-Amerikanische Packetfahrt-Actien-Gesellschaft* (HAPAG) advertised transatlantic voyages in Galicia. Letters to the government from a group of self-designated “loyal Austrians” accused travel agents of “selling slaves” and “sapping the blood from the humanity of the monarchy like nibbling worms.”<sup>46</sup> However, as Tara Zahra emphasizes, “it was clearly not emigration agents who stimulated emigration, but barriers to mobility that stimulated a demand for emigration agents.”<sup>47</sup>

When the rate of transatlantic migration began slowly growing in the late nineteenth century, the Austrian government did not consider anti-international migration legislation necessary. There was a lively public discussion regarding the pros and cons of migration, but the administration chose not to restrict those movements.<sup>48</sup> In the years leading up to World War I, Imperial Austria was, in fact, one of the only major European country with high overseas migration rates that chose not to implement laws regulating international migration. People made their ways to the Americas from across the Habsburg territories, and transatlantic moves were part of a broader pattern of high spatial mobility. The Imperial Austrian administration was incapable of coping with international migration, and the national statistical bureau stopped counting migrants in 1885 upon realization that the number of those who left the country illegally was at least as high as those who left legally. All data on international migration that appears in official Austrian statistical volumes published after 1885 are based on the records of the receiving countries, which were passed on to Imperial Austria by its consulates.<sup>49</sup>

Whereas previously the Imperial Austrian government had attempted to regulate international migration by regulating the advertisements and agencies driving it, in the first decade of the twentieth century, the government began strengthening efforts to legally regulate migration itself. Between 1891 and 1907, representatives in Vienna’s *Reichsrat* proposed a total of fourteen amendments concerning the protection of Austrian international migrants. The government, however, considered the “question of emigration” overly complicated, and they failed to reach an agreement

regarding the legal organization of such a protection. In particular, the government could not resolve the issue of whether it was emigration in itself that would result in the loss of citizenship, or rather the act of obtaining citizenship in a new country.<sup>50</sup>

The Hungarian administration invested much more in supervising and controlling the international mobility of its citizens. The Hungarian government had been highly interested in international migration processes since 1867, when it had acquired the power to promulgate its own laws, and the Foreign Ministry used several methods to address the challenges accompanying migration.<sup>51</sup> Petitions were sent to the parliament, for example, from the administration in Moson and Šariš County, which agitated against migration to the United States. As in Imperial Austria, the government's primary concern was agitation created by unofficial agents. In the eyes of many Habsburg public officials, propaganda by unscrupulous agents was considered a major impetus for transatlantic migration.<sup>52</sup> In 1881, the Minister of the Interior presented a legislative proposal that restricted not emigration itself, but rather agents and speculators. Numerous Hungarian counties also punished international migration without permission or passport, and allowed railroad authorities to issue tickets to the ports of departure only to those who presented legal permission.<sup>53</sup> The efficacy of these regulations should not be overestimated; however, many people left the country without permission and illegal migration was a common practice.

Up until the turn of the century, the Hungarian government may have attempted to prevent illegal international migration and restrict shipping line representatives and travel agents, but did not disapprove of migration per se. In her book on Central European transatlantic migration, Zahra argues that "as policymakers recognized that they could not completely seal their states' borders, they increasingly sought to control and redirect emigration for the good of both migrants and the state."<sup>54</sup> Migration policy and nationalist strategy were developed side by side in the Kingdom of Hungary. The administration tried to prevent the departure of nationals on one hand, while on the other hand national rivals, such as non-Hungarian speaking Slovak, Croat, and Romanian speakers, were encouraged to leave. Emigration policy was used as a successful means of building a more unified and homogeneous Hungarian nation-state. The government demonstrated a very clear preference for nationals of Hungarian origins and those willing to assimilate at the expense of other groups within the kingdom, and official policy favored the politics of *Magyarisation* by raising the proportion of Hungarian speakers within the population.<sup>55</sup> In the 1870s there were only some ethnic groups from certain Hungarian regions that took part in US-bound migration. Emigration was seen as a solution for the "problem of nationalism." A secret 1902 memorandum from the Hungarian Undersecretary of State to the Prime Minister clearly explained that "for the institution of national statehood it is absolutely necessary that the ruling race [. . .] become the majority of population. . . . This important new factor is the mass

emigration of the non-Hungarian population.<sup>56</sup> Slovaks, Croats, Romanians, and other non-Hungarian speakers had a better chance of attaining emigration permits, a circumstance that served to lessen the country's proportion of minorities. Julianna Puskàs has speculated that this was the main reason why the Hungarian government refrained from interfering with international movements until the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>57</sup> After years of rhetorical opposition to transatlantic migration, the government understood that migration could not be stopped and was in the country's economic interest, with about a hundred million crowns entering the economy yearly from migrants living in the United States or returning to the Kingdom.<sup>58</sup>

Following the rapid increase of overseas migration from Hungarian territories, and that of Hungarian speakers in particular, the government became more and more concerned with maintaining its modest statistical Hungarian majority. Given the record migration of 1907, the Hungarian government was prompted to enact a further amendment to the 1903 migration law in 1909. After World War I, the Hungarian 1909 migration law, which was one of the most restrictive in all of Europe, became a model for legislation across East Central Europe.<sup>59</sup> Both the 1903 and 1909 regulations addressed the transport of migrants, sanctions against agencies, and punishment for illegal migration. Overseas journeys were now more regulated, but the number of individuals traveling to the United States continued to rise. The Hungarian government used legislative methods to control legal departure and channel migration through sanctioned routes.<sup>60</sup> It also implemented measures to simplify the return of Hungarian speakers. Transatlantic traffic had the potential to support the Hungarian economy, provided overseas passengers were redirected from foreign (primarily German) ports to the local port of Rijeka. The government attempted to guarantee Hungarian capitalists a portion of profits derived from migrant transportation, and attempted to form an independent Hungarian shipping line between Rijeka and New York. When nothing came of negotiations with German shipping lines, the government signed a contract with the British Cunard Steamship Company Ltd. of Liverpool, and shipping on the Hungarian-American Line began in November 1903. This development set off a "ticket war" with other shipping lines, and German ones in particular, which began selling tickets from Bremen and Hamburg under cost.<sup>61</sup> The Hungarian government promoted migration via Rijeka with half-cost railway tickets to the Croatian coast, only Cunard Line passengers were granted permission for transatlantic migration, and tickets from other companies were even confiscated. Still, the project did not succeed; the Cunard Line lacked the capacity to conduct all Hungarian overseas traffic, and US-bound migrants continued to prefer the traditional route via the German Reich. Forcing migrants along the Rijeka route had increased international conflict to such an extent that the Hungarian administration was forced to abandon its ambitious plan; its attempt to regulate the point of international embarkation had failed practically, politically, and diplomatically. In 1910,

after almost a decade of negotiation, the government accepted that it was only capable of supervising the transport of overseas migrants as far as its own national border and signed a contract with German shipping lines.<sup>62</sup>

Freedom of the seas was perhaps the first casualty of the war, and between the summer of 1914 and 1919, it was nearly impossible for Central Powers citizens (from the German Reich and the Habsburg Empire) to leave Europe. The era of free overseas movement came to an end sometime between 1914 and 1924. With the onset of war, the British Navy, and soon the German Navy, rendered transatlantic transport or movement from Mediterranean and North Sea ports unsafe, if not impossible. Even if transatlantic shipping had been possible, Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary drafted the very men (generally young and unskilled) who made up the majority of the early twentieth-century migrant population into military service, and with that the freedom to leave the country disappeared at the start of the war.<sup>63</sup>

### 3.2.1 On the Road to the United States

While it was possible for transatlantic migrants from Imperial Austria and the Hungarian Kingdom to organize their own departure and travel, this was more often arranged by migration agents, who were numerous in even the more rural Habsburg territories. Organizing a transatlantic journey was a challenge for the growing number of predominantly landless and mostly inexperienced people when migrating from the east and south of the empire. By the end of the nineteenth century, both governments had licensed travel agencies that were assigned to specific regions. Agents contracted subagents, and by 1900 it was commonplace to be able to book passage in the local village. These local travel agent representatives might be innkeepers, schoolteachers, or even priests. The major travel agency in Galicia and most Hungarian lands was, for example, the Mißler Agency, which had a close working relationship with NDL. The Mißler Agency had offices in nearly all Central and Eastern European towns, and minimized travel times by likewise coordinating the rail trip to the port of departure. These agencies rendered it possible to book passage and prepay for all travel to a final US destination. In addition to legal transatlantic crossings, most of these agencies also organized illegal and undocumented exits.<sup>64</sup>

The advent of steam-driven ships made the transport of European passengers into a highly lucrative business. While overseas migrants from the Habsburg Empire had initially left via the ports of Belgium (Antwerp), France (Le Havre), or the Netherlands (Rotterdam), Bremen and Hamburg were the major ports of embarkation for the growing number of Austro-Hungarian passengers from the 1880s onward. By the 1900s, NDL in Bremen had developed into the largest transoceanic passenger carrier in the world, followed by the Hamburg-based HAPAG.<sup>65</sup>

According to port statistics gathered by Imre Ferenczi and Walter Willcox, nearly 70 percent of all US migrants from Habsburg territories who left Europe in the 1870s traveled via the two competing German ports, followed by 15 percent from Antwerp, and 6 percent from Rotterdam. Proximity to southern, central, and eastern Europe, and early advertisement in those territories, had made NDL and HAPAG more popular than British (Cunard and White Star), Belgian, or Dutch shipping lines.<sup>66</sup> Travel via a French port, which had served as a popular route in the middle of the century, or via the Mediterranean, which served millions of Italian migrants, were options that by this point had become less popular among Habsburg subjects.

As we see in table 3.2, government-promoted travel through domestic ports via Austrian Lloyd, Austro-Americana, Canadian Pacific Railway, and Hungarian-American steamship lines represented only a small portion of all transoceanic migration in the decades before World War I. Neither Trieste nor Rijeka were geographically well-positioned or sufficiently expanded enough to develop into primary ports of embarkation. Although the role of Austrian and Hungarian national ports in international migration was modest, new studies have shown that the figures provided by Ferenczi and Willcox substantially underestimate the number of passengers.<sup>67</sup> A regular passenger transport was established from the port of Trieste to New York in 1903, and to New Orleans in 1904.<sup>68</sup> The transportation of migrants constituted a significant source of capital that up until the first decade of the twentieth century had flowed to foreign ports, and in 1904 the new Austrian Americana passenger service, largely owned by HAPAG and NDL, was founded with government support.<sup>69</sup> The Austrian government, like the Hungarian government, wanted some control over overseas passage, which was until then mainly monitored by NDL and HAPAG. Austrian Americana could hardly compete with the powerful German and British companies, but it nonetheless wanted to secure its share in the migration business.<sup>70</sup>

The ports of Trieste and Rijeka grew in importance with regard to businesses, commerce, and migration in the early twentieth century, but the quantity and economic success of these industries remained far below those of the German Reich ports. Despite extensive state publicity and promotion, Trieste continued to attract only a small portion of US-bound migrants, but was a more attractive port of departure for journeys to South America.<sup>71</sup> The long train ride from Galicia and Bukovina (major centers of early twentieth-century transatlantic migration) added to already significant travel times, rendering Mediterranean ports unattractive to migrants. Trips from Trieste or Rijeka departed every two weeks and took eighteen to twenty days to get to New York, while steamers left the German ports every week, and made the trip in eight to ten days.<sup>72</sup> Previous to World War I, there were also US delegates who screened potential migrants for fitness at the Habsburg Mediterranean ports. There was thus a combination of reasons that Austro-Hungarian migrants choose to travel via German ports,

including geographic proximity to the northern and western portions of the empire, lower German ticket prices, and to avoid exit screening. In 1907 alone, nearly 4,700 potential migrants who had already purchased tickets were rejected in Rijeka, which was about 20 percent of all Hungarian US migrants who wanted to board a ship there.<sup>73</sup> About 290,000 passengers were processed between November 1903, when the first steamship with US-bound migrants left the port of Trieste, to August 1914, when World War I stopped transatlantic migration; 40 percent of these passengers had originated from Imperial Austria, and 73 percent of the same were bound for the United States.<sup>74</sup> According to official Hungarian data, 305,299 passengers crossed the Atlantic on a Cunard ship from Rijeka to New York between 1903 and 1913, and 48,400 made a return voyage.<sup>75</sup>

### 3.2.2 Arrival on the US East Coast

In the United States, as elsewhere, the law is a key tool that structures and regulates both migration patterns from abroad and racial hierarchies. Migrants have been excluded and restricted on the basis of, among other factors, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, moral standing (especially relevant with regard to suspected polygamists), health, and political affiliation. The 1920s quota laws represented the first time that the US federal government imposed a numerical limit on European immigration. From the colonial era up until the end of the nineteenth century, individual states bore the responsibility for regulating immigration. Previous to 1891, the United States had no federal apparatus for processing migrants; however, there were a number of individual states that introduced various qualitative controls.<sup>76</sup> Britain and other European nations had initially transported paupers and convicts to the North American colonies, but after independence there were several states that chose to prohibit this practice.<sup>77</sup> While hardworking and wealthier Europeans were presumably welcomed, those suspected of posing a public burden were to be avoided.

Between the 1840s and 1850s, the predominance of US migrants came from the British Empire (Ireland and Scotland included) and German territories. In 1855 that migration dropped precipitously as a result of, according to Raymond Cohn, the rise of nativism. The growing number of Europeans, among them many Catholic Irish, who arrived in the middle of the century engendered an outbreak of US nativism that resulted in violence against newcomers. In 1854 the Know-Nothing Party, the locus of rising intolerance, enjoyed major and unanticipated success at the polls. Cohn argues that their popularity and the growing intolerance associated with the nativist movement led potential migrants to reconsider moving to the United States.<sup>78</sup> During the height of the nativist movement there was discussion of preventing migrants, Catholics in particular (first Irish, and later Central and Southern Europeans), from entering the



TABLE 3.2 US migration from the Habsburg Empire by port of embarkation, 1871—1913

Port	Number	Percent
Bremen	889,163	38.7
Hamburg	678,501	29.5
Antwerp	335,505	14.6
Rotterdam	128,570	5.6
Genoa	80,261	3.5
Le Havre	79,799	3.5
Amsterdam	9,084	0.4
Marseilles	5,408	0.2
Cherbourg	3,429	0.1
Other European ports	2,860	0.1
Trieste <sup>a</sup>	78,181	3.4
Rijeka <sup>a</sup>	9,638	0.4
Total	2,300,399	100.0

Source: Imre Ferenczi and Walter F. Willcox, *International Migrations, vol. 1, Statistics* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1929), 593.

<sup>a</sup> The data from Ferenczi and Willcox substantially underestimate transatlantic migration from Trieste and Rijeka; see Aleksej Kale, “Trieste as a Port of Emigration from East and Southeast Europe,” in *East Central Europe in Exile. Volume 1: Transatlantic Migrations*, ed. Anna Mazurkiewicz (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 127–40, 130.

country. Nonetheless, nativist attempts to curtail tolerant policies toward European migrants continued to fail until the 1920s with the enactment of the quota laws.<sup>79</sup>

Over time, the US administration began taking a more active interest in those who crossed into its borders, using various means of classifying international migrants as “desirable” or “undesirable,” but without intention of actually slowing migration from Europe.<sup>80</sup> The Page Law of 1875, which aimed to exclude Chinese women suspected of prostitution, was the country’s first regulation of immigration on the federal level. This was followed by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, intended to exclude Chinese migrants and repeal the right of Chinese to US citizenship.<sup>81</sup> This first major immigration law also prohibited the entry of “lunatic, idiot, or any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge.” The Immigration Act of 1891 replaced this formulation with “likely to become a public charge,” and likewise excluded those who suffered from loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, felons, polygamists, and those guilty of moral turpitude; a 1901 amendment included anarchists,

which were joined in 1903 by those with epilepsy and the “insane.” “Imbeciles,” “feeble-minded persons,” “idiots,” and unaccompanied minors were all barred in 1907. That same year, an informal “gentlemen’s agreement” to prevent the US migration of Japanese people was negotiated, if not ratified, between the US and Japan.<sup>82</sup> The United States asserted its sovereignty and reinforced its national identity through the admission or exclusion of foreigners, and its immigration law expanded steadily, in particular with regard to those with mental defects.<sup>83</sup>

The era of so-called “free migration” from Europe to the United States to acquire land through the Homestead Act ended when more and more Eastern and Southern Europeans began to arrive in the 1880s. “Cheap land” remained available until at least 1917, and the agricultural sector, as measured by cultivated acres and the number of farms, increased every ten years between 1790 and 1930.<sup>84</sup> However, the development of heavy industry, construction, and manufacturing, all of which attracted unskilled European labor, paralleled the expansion of the agricultural sector. A movement by American labor unions to obtain legislation to ban the contract labor system accompanied this shift in migrants’ origins and rising numbers of newcomers. The contract labor law of 1864 encouraged immigration by supporting companies who paid workers’ passage in exchange for labor.<sup>85</sup> Up until the 1880s, US mining operators and building entrepreneurs had recruited countless unskilled and inexperienced Europeans—if not on preliminary contract, at least under conditions devised to undermine skilled American workers’ efforts toward unionization and better wages. The Foran Act was passed in 1885 in response to US union workers’ fears of being displaced by an “alien workforce.” According to the act, newcomers who already had a contract with a US company prior to their journey were not allowed to enter the country.<sup>86</sup> The new contract labor law did not, however, halt transatlantic migration.

Even before the end of the century, the port of New York had become the destination for the vast majority of newcomers from Europe, and once there, they were received and processed at Castle Garden, a modest central depot at the tip of Manhattan. Some of the city’s best railroad connections were to upstate New York, New Jersey, and the Great Lakes region. Ticket prices to popular destinations were low and transportation schedules convenient.<sup>87</sup> From 1900 to 1914, at least 90 percent of all reported migrants entered the United States via Atlantic ports, and the vast majority (80 to 85 percent) via New York. Meanwhile, an even more selective attitude toward the acceptance of migrants appeared. US Congress representative Henry Cabot Lodge believed migration was a “great and perilous change in the very fabric of our race,” and favored migration restriction.<sup>88</sup> In 1891, he argued that Slovak migrants were “not a good acquisition for us . . . since they appear to have so many items in common with the Chinese.”<sup>89</sup> The Chinese exclusion provided a powerful framework to restrict others, and Southern and Eastern Europeans were denounced as “coolies,” “serfs,” and “slaves” like the Chinese.<sup>90</sup>

With the Immigration Act of 1891, the federal government took direct responsibility for migration to the states, and stationed US immigration inspectors responsible for screening the newcomers at the nation's major ports of entry. Within the same year, the Ellis Island immigration station was opened, replacing Castle Garden. Smaller stations were opened at other US ports in the following months.<sup>91</sup>

At the turn of the century, in the migrants' imagination, the move to the United States was always tied to the port of arrival: Ellis Island. Since its opening in 1892, Ellis Island served as the first stop for European migrants traveling steerage or third-class, who had to pass strict medical evaluations and, later on, education evaluations as well. While first- and second-class passengers were superficially inspected on board the ocean liners and could enter New York immediately without the Ellis Island detour. Ellis Island, the most prominent point of entry, set medical inspection standards. During the first decades of the twentieth century, immigration inspectors on the small Hudson River island processed up to 5,000 people a day.<sup>92</sup> According to the new immigration law, the United States Public Health Service was in charge of medical inspections and the Immigration Service made admission decisions. The Public Health Service was responsible for preventing the entrance and spread of disease, but many officers interpreted their duty more broadly, admitting only those "who would make good citizens" and barring "undesirables."<sup>93</sup> After spending eight to ten days in the belly of an ocean liner, steerage passengers faced painful and degrading inspections at entry ports. The clause "likely to become a public charge," the most commonly used exclusionary provision in US immigration law, served as a basis for refusing individuals with physical and mental defects as well as those suspected of sexual perversion. Both newcomers and foreigners living in the United States alike could be refused or deported for sexual perversion. The pseudoscience of degeneracy linked racial difference with sexual deviance among Asians and Europeans, and was a construct used by the Bureau of Immigration to exclude poorer migrants.<sup>94</sup>

Most individuals traveled without standardized identity documents. In order to pass inspection at Ellis Island, European steerage passengers dressed in their best clothes and showed marriage and training or professional certificates or employment logs (small books recording individuals' employment histories) to demonstrate proof of social respectability. Information from passenger manifests recorded by the ship's employees before or during the journey was the only standardized information collected on the newcomers. Migrants were first required to carry official passports or other standardized identification from their countries of origin in 1917.<sup>95</sup>

One way to get around inspection and ensure a better chance of admission was to travel as a second-class passenger rather than in steerage, and this became an increasingly popular option for those who could afford it. Another way to avoid inspection had been to enter the United States via Canada, as the border between the two was

usually unmarked and unguarded, and the opening of Ellis Island served as special impetus for transmigration via Canadian ports.<sup>96</sup> Europeans landed in Newfoundland, Halifax, Montreal, and Ottawa, and they continued their journeys to the United States by rail and ship via the Great Lakes. By the end of the century, the US government had signed a treaty with Canada, and United States officials had likewise begun inspecting migrants at Canadian ports of arrival.<sup>97</sup>

Up until World War I, although the official regulations at the US border rendered it legally possible to deny a great number of people, migration representatives refused only a modest number of Europeans who were considered likely to become public charges as a result of having failed exams for mental, physical, financial, and moral fitness.<sup>98</sup> This population amounted to a rather small relative share of 2 percent that, given the more than three million individuals who arrived from the Habsburg Empire between 1892 and 1913, would have resulted in an absolute number of some 60,000 rejections. While the amount of repatriated Central Europeans seems rather low, these restrictions affected a diverse population in disconcerting ways, such as in consideration of single women with no apparent family or community ties, who were subject to refusal on suspicion of immorality and prostitution. With the expectation that women tended by nature toward dependence on male providers, single women were almost by definition subject to rejection on the grounds of their perceived high potential to become a public charge. Moreover, dependency in women had the potential to be associated with immorality, if not exactly perversity, such as in instances of prostitution.<sup>99</sup> Unaccompanied women of all ages, marital status, and backgrounds were subject to questioning regarding their likelihood of becoming a public charge. Indeed, women traveling on prepaid tickets to join husbands in New York were regularly detained by Ellis Island officials when the men failed to show up in person to claim their “dependents.”<sup>100</sup> Most migrants were denied entry at Ellis Island because of mental or physical “defects,” and immigration inspectors considered them “likely to become public charges.”<sup>101</sup> The precise number of those turned away each year for physical and mental defects is difficult to pin down, because these were conflated with exclusions based on “likely to become a public charge.”<sup>102</sup> Rejection rates also were higher for Cunard Line passengers traveling from the Hungarian port of Rijeka, and one can only speculate that other shipping lines used their power to influence US migration inspections.<sup>103</sup>

The primary reason for the relatively low number of European migrant rejections was that the shipping lines were responsible for transporting only those who would make good American citizens and were considered fit for the US labor market. An agreement with US immigration allowed HAPAG, NDL, Cunard, and White Star Line shipping lines to recruit new labor, and from the mid-1880s on the lines were also responsible for the return journeys of those rejected at the US border.<sup>104</sup> These negotiations shifted the selection of “fit” migrants from the US border back to Europe, and

by the end of the century led to some disquiet in the German Reich, which was a key transit country for Central and Eastern Europeans. Prussian authorities, who were already troubled by the great number of Eastern Europeans traveling through their territories to reach Hamburg and Bremen, were concerned that the steady increase of return migrants would pose a threat to the German Reich.<sup>105</sup> Cholera broke out in the port city of Hamburg in 1892, and more than eight thousand people lost their lives. After finally quelling the disease in 1893, German officials began seeking answers and preventative measures. In order to filter out “unsuitable” migrants and guarantee quicker travel times, the German Reich worked with NDL and HAPAG to establish migration inspection points at the borders to the Russian Empire and Imperial Austria in 1894/95, and installed a system for transporting transatlantic migrants within nonstop closed trains from the borders to the port towns via Ruhleben (now a part of Berlin). The Galician border inspection point was conveniently located in Oświęcim/Auschwitz, at the crossroads of the Prussian, Russian, and Austrian railway lines, and since the 1880s thousands of Central Europeans had passed through the small town on their way to the ports of Hamburg and Bremen. These control stations, which were run by private shipping lines, were intended to guarantee that only healthy people crossed through the German Reich. The Hungarian government also carried out strict medical examinations before embarkation in Rijeka. Medical personnel screened transatlantic migrants for trachoma, skin disease, tuberculosis, physical disability, and other potential grounds for rejection at Ellis Island.<sup>106</sup>

As these conditions suggest, most transatlantic migrants were screened and deemed fit for the United States before they even boarded ships in Europe, and thus the less than 2 percent US rejection rate must be considered in light of the fact that each year thousands of would-be migrants never made it farther than Germany or Hungary.<sup>107</sup> It has been estimated that about ten times as many were refused transportation for medical reasons as were barred at US ports.<sup>108</sup> Since shipping companies had strong incentives to reject the transport of “unfit” migrants, they instructed travel agents not to sell tickets to people likely to be rejected at the US border. Those who finally did arrive had already passed several screenings.

When the United States entered World War I in 1917, the relatively open policy toward European migrants immediately became more restrictive. That year immigration authorities introduced a new literacy test and passport requirement for all migrants over the age of sixteen. Beginning in April 1917, migrants were also required to obtain a passport stamp from a US consul in Europe before departure.<sup>109</sup> The freedom to move to the United States, whether temporarily or permanently, became far more restricted, and new US laws jeopardized the freedom to come and go as a noncitizen migrant from Austria-Hungary. Noncitizens who left the country, even for temporary visits home, might be denied reentry to the United States. Upon US

entry to World War I, the freedom of capital, and migrants' savings in particular, also became an important point of contention. The west to east remittances that had continued across the Atlantic while the United States had remained neutral slowed to a halt, and US authorities and vigilante groups exerted considerable pressure on migrants from Austria-Hungary to invest their savings in US Liberty Bonds.<sup>110</sup> The US government issued a confidential executive order, which authorized the discharge of employees deemed "inimical to the public welfare by reason of . . . conduct, sympathies or utterances, or because of other reasons growing out of the war." As for example, the Smithsonian Institution dismissed the Austro-Hungarian anthropologist Leo Frachtenberger for his "un-American behavior."<sup>111</sup>

After the war, migration from Europe was made even more difficult by increasingly restrictive legislation, Americanization laws, and the Americanization efforts of US trade unions. In May 1921, US Congress passed the first quota law that applied to all European migrants. The Emergency Quota Act limited the total number of newcomers to 355,000 annually and determined a fixed number of migrants from each country (as suggested by the Dillingham Commission, 3 percent of that group's total in the 1910 US census) who would be allowed to enter each year. The Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 permanently restricted migration into the United States to 150,000 individuals a year, with fixed nationality quotas for Europeans (2 percent of the total of each group as listed in the 1890 census) that was based on race nativism and favored Northern and Western Europeans over the "undesirable races" from Eastern and Southern Europe. The law constructed a "white American race." Europeans became acceptable migrants, while non-Europeans, among them Japanese, Chinese, Mexicans, and Filipinos, were considered ineligible for citizenship. The Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 denied non-Europeans the right to citizenship, rendering Mexicans and Asians living in the United States at best nationals without the legal recourse of full citizens. While over the next decades a legal foundation for Europeans to become Americanized was established, Mexicans were cast as illegals and Asians as permanent foreigners.<sup>112</sup> The former Habsburg Empire had by this time been divided into new nation-states, and the US immigration quotas were based on a complicated interpretation of the 1890s US census.<sup>113</sup> The quota laws remained in effect until 1965, when the Immigration and Nationality Act was passed.<sup>114</sup> As sociologists, demographers, and early migration scholars Alexander and Eugen Kulischer commented in their 1932 survey of global migration, World War I marked the end of the

era of large anarchic and free migration. . . . The Gate of the Promised Land, which presented itself as an asylum for the poor and persecuted of this world, has closed with a loud bang, and it is ever more tightly locked. But at the same time, many new immigration restrictions and work restrictions have been enacted along many old and new borders in Europe.<sup>115</sup>

### 3.3 WHO WERE THE MIGRANTS?

By the late nineteenth century, the United States had, as noted, become the preferred destination for a rapidly increasing number of migrants from Austria-Hungary, and their regions of origin were dramatically different from those of the earlier migrants. While in the second half of the nineteenth century German-, Czech-, and Yiddish-speaking people from the Bohemian Lands and Vorarlberg accounted for more than 80 percent of all international migrants, at the end of the century the new US migrants were primarily Poles, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Romanians, Rusyns, and Yiddish speakers from Galicia and Bukovina.<sup>116</sup> In Central Europe, the awareness and feasibility of transatlantic migration, to the United States in particular, appeared at the end of the nineteenth century, and served as an alternative to long-established flows of internal and international medium-distance movements. At the turn of the century, many people from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary who had traditionally moved to other parts of the empire or other European countries in order to improve their resources now extended their circuits of labor migration overseas. The primary difference between these modes was that, as a result of the distance and resources involved, these labor migrants stayed abroad for longer periods of time.<sup>117</sup>

Transatlantic migration from Austria-Hungary cannot be reduced to just one mode of mass movement. There were divergent overseas mobility patterns that emerged along various regional, ethnic, and cultural lines and during different stages of economic development, and mobility patterns were closely linked with migrants' social status, gender, and religious and ethnic affiliations. Many moved as family groups, such as Czech migrants in search of free land in the 1870s and 1880s, while others left their families in Europe with the intention of returning with their savings. Most US migrants were young, and many of these men and women were single and hoping to find a profitable job or suitable marriage partner.<sup>118</sup> From the end of the nineteenth century onward, most Habsburg subjects moved within well-developed transatlantic communication and migration networks of family and friends, but there were also adventurous pioneers who made their way to the less populated areas of the Southern and Western United States.<sup>119</sup>

While there is little differentiated data on nineteenth-century US migrants that provides insight regarding the whole of Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary, detailed twentieth-century census records and ship passenger records present a broad overview on the demographic and social composition of the migrant population. Table 3.3, a comparison of Austro-Hungarian migrants to the United States organized by language group percentage of the overall population, reveals differences in participation in overseas traffic. During the first decade of the twentieth century, Polish-speaking



men and women from Galicia demonstrated the highest rate of US migration, followed by South-Slavs (Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs) and Slovak speakers from the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>120</sup> In 1900 and 1910, the participation of Ukrainian speakers from the east of the empire was in fact roughly equivalent to their percentage in the overall population, while the ratio of German speakers, Hungarians, Czechs, and Romanians in transatlantic traffic was much lower than their share of the overall population.<sup>121</sup> At the start of the twentieth century, Czech and German speakers, who had been pioneers in the nineteenth century, demonstrated a comparatively low participation in overseas migration. Austrian and Hungarian censuses documented religion and confession; however, as discussed in the introduction, the Habsburg administration did not recognize Yiddish as an official language, and thus it is not possible to correlate the relationship between religion and language in that migrant population, as can be done with regard to other religious groups.<sup>122</sup> We are able, with caution, to compare the number of Jewish migrants with Yiddish speakers who arrived in the United States in 1910. While US statistics documented 152,590 Yiddish-speaking Habsburg migrants, or 7 percent of all Habsburg arrivals, Habsburg censuses listed only 4.5 percent of the migrant population as being of Jewish denomination in 1900, and 4.4 percent in 1910.<sup>123</sup> This being the case, it is possible that the participation of this group in overseas migration was overrepresented.

The thematic map in figure 3.4 represents the spatial distribution of US-bound migrants in relation to the populations of the Imperial Austrian political districts and Hungarian Kingdom counties in the year 1910. While the Hungarian statistical bureau produced published reports on its overseas migrant population, the data for Imperial Austria is based on a 5 percent sample of passenger lists from New York-bound ships that sailed from Bremen and Hamburg, and should be interpreted accordingly. Data on passengers leaving via Trieste are not included, and thus the overseas migration rates given for South Slavs from Imperial Austria are particularly biased. Nonetheless, more than 60 percent of all transatlantic migrants from Austria-Hungary purchased tickets through NDL and HAPAG, in other words, migrated via Bremen and Hamburg, and those data deficiencies granted, the picture this sample provides should be fairly accurate.

In 1910, West Galicia was the primary nexus for overseas migration from Imperial Austria. An exceptionally high number of people left for the United States from the political district of Nowy Targ/Neumarkt on the border to the Hungarian Kingdom; when that sample is extrapolated to 100 percent, we see that more than 5 percent of the district's overall population was involved in overseas travel. The regions with the next highest level of migration were the districts of Dąbrowa/Dombrowa and Mielec in the northwest of Galicia, bordering on the Russian Empire. These areas were populated by a Polish-speaking majority, with US-bound migration noticeably lower in eastern

TABLE 3.3 Habsburg Empire migrants to the United States by language group, 1902–1911

Language group	US migrants	% US migrants	% only Hungary <sup>a</sup>	% pop. 1900	% pop. 1910 <sup>b</sup>
Poles	405,574	19.9	—	9.6	10.0
Serbs, Croats, Slovenes	351,473	17.2	17.6	10.4	11.0
Slovaks	321,584	15.8	28.4	4.6	3.8
Hungarians	321,086	15.7	28.2	19.5	20.2
Germans	267,696	13.1	16.0	25.5	23.9
Ukrainians	153,252	7.5	2.2	8.6	7.9
Czechs	97,938	4.8	—	13.4	12.6
Romanians	80,766	4.1	7.3	6.8	6.4
Italians	17,107	0.8	—	1.6	2.0
Others	22,669	1.0	0.3	0.0	2.2
Total	2,039,145	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Chmelar, *Höbepunkte der Österreichischen Auswanderung*, 92–95; Robert A. Kann, *Das Nationalitätenproblem der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1964), 390–92; Puskás, *From Hungary to the United States*, 28; *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912; *A Magyar szent korona országinak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.

<sup>a</sup> 1899–1913.

<sup>b</sup> In 1900 the population of Austria-Hungary was 46,974,000; by 1910, the population had grown to 51,390,223.

Galicia and Bukovina. The Galician US migration center in the west was linked to the northeast of the Hungarian Kingdom, where the majority of the population spoke Slovak. As can easily be seen from the map, information and migration networks did not stop at official borders, and news of job opportunities spread between Poles and Slovaks alike. Czech speakers accounted for only 4.5 percent of total US migration from 1902 to 1911, but there were some small territories in Bohemia and Moravia, such as the districts of Čáslav/Tschaslau and Humpolec/Humpoletz in southeast Bohemia and Uherský Brod/Ungarisch Brod in eastern Moravia, from which higher percentages left for the new continent.

According to the map, US-bound migration rates were rather low in the west of Imperial Austria, where many had left before the turn of the century, and in the south, where South Slavs from Dalmatia most often traveled from Trieste, or Genoa in the Kingdom of Italy. It was only those from the districts of Kočevje/Gottschee and Črnomelj/Tschernembl, both with significant German-speaking populations, who chose to take the long train ride to the ports in Bremen and Hamburg. In the south and east, people from Torontál and Făgăraș/Fogaras/Fogarasch in the Hungarian Kingdom left for the United States, and Modruško-riječka/Modrus Fiume/Modruš-Rijeka County at the border to the Austrian province of Carniola was the leading Croatian and Slavonian region for US-bound migration—little surprise considering its vicinity to Rijeka. There were relatively few migrants from the plains area in the center of the country.

### 3.3.1 US Migration from Vorarlberg

Most historical research on transatlantic migration from the Habsburg Empire has concentrated on the late nineteenth century and the spectacular so-called mass migration that occurred in the decades before World War I, while the numerically rather hesitant start of overseas traffic from Habsburg territories remains largely ignored. In the first half of the century, it was, in addition to political refugees, primarily those from the Bohemian Lands, the mountainous regions of Upper Austria, and the most western province of Vorarlberg who “discovered” that the “new continent” provided a promising destination for long-distance migration.<sup>124</sup> Habsburg-born pioneers originated from regions that had either a long tradition of migration networks (from the Bohemian Lands for instance to Saxony and Bavaria) or had already developed into industrial centers (such as Vorarlberg, which was part of a greater economic area that included the east of Switzerland, southwestern German territories, and northern Italian regions).<sup>125</sup> Following the Napoleonic Wars, South Tyrolians faced with the high cost of living in their province became some of the earliest pioneers to the Americas. A considerable number of people left the country in 1816 and 1817, following rumors

that agents in Genoa were recruiting settlers for Spain and America and guaranteeing free passage. 1819 statistics recorded 1,323 South Tyrolean intercontinental and continental migrants.<sup>126</sup>

Regional mobility had a long tradition in families of artisans and industrial laborers from Vorarlberg, and the new continent seems to have been more accessible to this population than to individuals from the east of the Habsburg Empire. Migrant laborers from Vorarlberg had been moving from the west to the north, for the most part seasonally, since the seventeenth century, and had established migration networks with the neighboring areas of Switzerland, the Grand Duchy of Baden, and the later Kingdom of Württemberg. Vorarlbergers and Tyroleans dealing in textiles traveled as far as Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Eventually these seasonally mobile individuals extended their routes via Switzerland, the German territories, and France Western across the Atlantic.<sup>127</sup> Markus Hämmerle has described US-bound migration from Vorarlberg as part of an ongoing regional mobility that was already extant at the start of the nineteenth century when artisans and others began leaving rural areas.<sup>128</sup> This being the case, it is not surprising that the majority of transatlantic migrants were skilled workers, primarily from the building trades; in the 1850s, most of these migrants declared their occupations as quarrymen, masons, and carpenters.<sup>129</sup> Scholars have hypothesized that it were cyclical crises in the economy that triggered movements from some Swiss cantons to the US, according to Hämmerle, however, this was not the case in Vorarlberg. Contrary to conventional beliefs that transatlantic migration was motivated by crises such as crop failure or recessions in the rural textile industries, we find that it was overwhelmingly skilled individuals from more industrialized regions such as Vorarlberg, where the economy was in full swing, who decided to leave the Habsburg Empire.<sup>130</sup>

In the first half of the century France had become the major center of attraction for skilled migrants; nearly 40 percent of Vorarlbergers who requested migration permits named France as their destination.<sup>131</sup> Around the same time, Basel in Switzerland developed into the major hub of US-bound migration in the greater southern German-speaking area. National and international travel agencies and public information centers were headquartered there and drew migrants from the southwest German regions and Alsace into travel groups which were sent either via train to Le Havre in France or by ship down the Rhine to Antwerp or Bremen.<sup>132</sup> Migration agencies from Basel even organized advertising events in Vorarlberg that convinced many to travel overseas. It was as a result of these Swiss and French information channels that the journeys of nearly all early intercontinental migrants to the US were organized by Swiss shipping companies via French harbors. According to local historian Meinrad Pichler, who has carried out the most extensive research on the transatlantic movements of Vorarlbergers, up until the middle of the century, all US-bound

migrants left via French ports. These were individuals such as Johann Öfele, an early migrant who left in 1780, Franz Martin Drexel who migrated in 1817, Franz Saler, who in 1834 took the route via Lorraine to St. Louis (Missouri), and Kaspar Moosbrugger who in 1844 accompanied a master builder from Paris to Montreal and later moved to St. Paul in Minnesota, all of whom were engaged in the building trades.<sup>133</sup> These individuals received early information on the excellent opportunities in the United States via networks with Swiss, France, and the German territories.<sup>134</sup> Later on former migrants such as Saler, who had left Montafon and established a lucrative construction business in St. Louis, Missouri, supported other migrants from their birth region in their search for employment.<sup>135</sup> From 1851 to 1860, 565 Vorarlbergers left Europe for the US; 144 people migrated in 1853, making this the year with the highest migration ratio.<sup>136</sup> According to shipping records, there were about 2,000 adults and up to 300 children who made their way to the US between 1848 and 1880. This accounted for about 2 percent of Vorarlberg's population, which between 1869 and 1880 had grown from 103,036 to 107,373.<sup>137</sup>

The most successful US migrant from this area was perhaps John Michael Kohler, born in 1844 and the fourth child of a dairy farmer in Schnepfau, a little village in the Bregenzer Wald. Following the death of his mother, the whole family migrated to the US in the early 1850s and settled in Minnesota. After some time as a traveling salesman in Chicago, John Michael and his wife Lilli Vollrath, daughter of a local industrialist, founded the Kohler Company, which fabricated bathroom and kitchen products, in Sheboygan, Wisconsin. Kohler served as mayor of Sheboygan and died as a prosperous industrialist in 1900. Today the Kohler Company, which remains a private family business, has around 32,000 employees.<sup>138</sup>

In the second half of the nineteenth century Dornbirn, Hohenems, Wolfurt, Bregenz, Bludenz, and Frastanz were Vorarlberg's most developed industrial communities and the centers of US-bound migration. Textile manufacturing, which was restructured from a proto-industrial to factory-based industry during the nineteenth century, was the most prominent economic driver in these communities. People did not leave these areas because of poverty or a lack of economic opportunity; quite the contrary, they left to make use of the new opportunities opened up by industrialization.<sup>139</sup> Growing US prosperity had created a greater demand for European luxury goods, such as embroidered items from the Swiss textile region, and the 1883 US recession had a deep impact on Swiss and Vorarlberger textile sales and production, in particular because the US government implemented protectionist tariffs on foreign imports. The so-called McKinley Tariff Act of 1890 increased custom duties for luxury products such as embroidery to 60 percent.<sup>140</sup> One way to avoid US trade obstacles was to transport entire factories, skilled labor included, to the US. Some of the larger embroidery manufactories in St. Gallen, Switzerland opened US factories,

particularly in New Jersey. These were later joined by entrepreneurs from Vorarlberg, such as Johann Bösch from Lustenau, who established an embroidery factory in the Bronx, New York.<sup>141</sup> After artisans working in the building sector, it was textile workers, many of whom were embroiderers, who comprised the next largest population of overseas migrants from Vorarlberg between the 1890s and 1914. There were roughly 600 individuals, many from Lustenau and Höchst in the political district of Feldkirch, who crossed the Atlantic and the overwhelming majority of these settled in New Jersey, where they worked as embroiderers. This pattern between Vorarlberg and New Jersey continued even after World War I, with migrants arriving in 1922/23 and 1927/28. In total there were up to 10,000 individuals who left Vorarlberg for the Americas between 1800 and 1938.<sup>142</sup>

### 3.3.2 US migration from the Bohemian Lands

The Imperial Austrian provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia formed the so-called Bohemian or Czech Lands. During the second half of the nineteenth century, it was individuals from these territories who comprised the bulk of international migrants. Their dense migration networks with the German territories, Saxony, Prussia, and Bavaria provided an early opportunity for transatlantic travel. As early as 1848 the ministry of trade issued a decree requiring the regional governments of Bohemia, Lower Austria, and Trieste to file reports regarding the increasing numbers of US-bound migrants.<sup>143</sup> In the 1850s and 1860s, three out of every four international migrants from Imperial Austria originated from Bohemia. Regional government surveys reported that some 75,931 individuals left Imperial Austria between 1876 and 1885, and that no less than 55 percent of these had originated from that province. The 1880 Austrian census recorded a population of about twenty-two million inhabitants, and a quarter of these lived in the Czech Lands.<sup>144</sup>

The northern districts of Bohemia, Austrian Silesia, and some regions of Moravia had undergone an early transition to mechanized production, ranked among the most highly industrialized regions of continental Europe, and formed the industrial core of the nineteenth-century Habsburg Empire. In 1880, the Czech Lands, which represented only a quarter of Imperial Austria's total territory, were responsible for nearly two-thirds of its industrial production; in 1910, the inhabitants of the Czech Lands were still performing over 70 percent of the empire's production.<sup>145</sup> Around 1900, the northwestern districts of Bohemia (Erzgebirge) were characterized by high levels of urbanization and industrialization, bituminous coal mining in particular. Other regions of concentrated industrial production were those around the cities of Prague, Plzeň, and Ostrava in Moravia. In the year 1910, the small city district of Ostrava, with only 3.6 percent of its population engaged in agriculture, was one of the most industrialized

areas in the Habsburg provinces, and was exceeded in terms of in-migration only by Vienna and Prague.<sup>146</sup> As a result of their high degree of industrialization, the Czech Lands maintained the highest literacy rate and percentage of skilled laborers in the empire. The area was quite diverse in economic terms, and despite regional industrial developments, some areas continued to be primarily agricultural. This sector was made up of middle-class peasant dwellings, numerous small landholdings, and a scattering of large demesnes.<sup>147</sup> In southern Moravia, the most successful agriculturalists practiced a highly developed form of commercial animal husbandry that afforded exceptional opportunity for economic stability and permanent settlement.<sup>148</sup>

For centuries the Bohemian Lands had, to various extents, been inhabited by individuals who spoke dialects that in the course of time came to be identified with one of two standard languages, Czech or German, and the majority spoke varieties of both. The most numerous group were individuals who declared themselves to be first and foremost Czech speakers, but the German-speaking minority, which included most of the urban Jewish population, was especially influential among middle-class city dwellers.<sup>149</sup> According to the census from 1880 and thereafter, German speakers represented a steady one-third of the total population of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia. In 1910, 34.7 percent of the Bohemian population gave German as their official everyday language, and 2.5 percent spoke Polish or another everyday language. Between 1840 and 1930, 1 to 1.4 percent of Bohemia's population was Jewish, the majority of whom spoke German, with smaller numbers of those who spoke Czech or both languages.<sup>150</sup>

Transatlantic movement from the Bohemian Lands began when a handful intellectuals left Bohemia following the Revolution of 1848. Although the revolution had failed to help landless Bohemian peasants acquire the landholdings they desired, it did secure them the right to migrate out of the Habsburg Empire. In the 1850s, roughly 20,000 Bohemians applied for passports to legally migrate to North America, and the actual number of individuals who left may have been as many as 64,000.<sup>151</sup> In 1851, a group of Czech-speaking Protestants moved to Texas, and the following year a group of German-speaking Catholics moved to the area near Waterloo, Wisconsin, where most of the new settlers spoke German. In the 1850s and early 1860s, Southern Wisconsin became an especially popular destination for German- and Czech-speaking Catholics, while later migrants pushed westward into northwestern Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota.<sup>152</sup>

According to some estimates fewer than 500 Czech-speaking migrants arrived in the United States before the mid-nineteenth century, but some 56,000 arrived between 1850 and 1870. We have no surviving reliable data from Imperial Austria regarding the pre-1870 absolute number or proportion of migrants, but the 1870 US census records more than 40,000 Bohemian-born residents.<sup>153</sup> Between 1820 and 1920, US census records and arrival statistics recorded roughly 367,000 migrants who had originated



from either Bohemia or Moravia, and the actual number of arrivals may have in fact been even higher. Whereas transatlantic migration from other parts of the empire (Galicia in particular) rose dramatically during this time, the proportion of Czechs was in steady decline. By 1890 the US census recorded 118,106 natives of Bohemia (see table 3.1), and some of the 123,271 listed as “Austrians” may also have been Czech-speaking Bohemians or Moravians. By that point Polish speakers had begun to displace Czech speakers as the largest Slavic migrant group in the United States, with the latter remaining the most literate and economically privileged subset of Slavic migrants.<sup>154</sup>

TABLE 3.4 Migrants from the Habsburg Empire  
to the United States, 1886–1914

Period	Austria- Hungary	Austria	Bohemians/ Czechs <sup>a</sup>	% Bohemians/ Czechs
1886–1890	205,129	128,624	20,610	10.0
1891–1895	277,438	181,874	29,982	10.8
1896–1900	315,269	179,604	12,579	4.0
1901–1905	944,239	385,624	42,436	4.5
1906–1910	1,201,027	556,219	50,991	4.2
1911–1914	870,916	440,059	36,597	4.2

Source: Jiří Kořalka, “Some Remarks on the Future Model of Czech Emigration (1848–1914),” in *Overseas Migration from East-Central and Southeastern Europe 1880–1940*, ed. Julianna Puskás (Budapest: Akad. Kiadó, 1990), 9–20, 16 f.; Chmelar, “The Austrian Emigration,” 285.

<sup>a</sup> Pre-1899: individuals from Bohemia only; post-1899: all Habsburg Empire Czech speakers, Moravia included.

From the early 1850s to 1914, there were several thousand people (from around 2,000 to a maximum of 13,000) who moved from Bohemia over the Atlantic each year. At the beginning of that era this population represented around 75 percent of the total US migration from Austria-Hungary, but by the end had dwindled to just about 4 percent (see table 3.4). By the time that overseas movement from other parts of the empire began, US migration from the Bohemian Lands was a fully thirty years old. By 1914, the number of US-bound movements from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary was ten times greater than it had been in 1882, but the number of Bohemians headed toward the United States had only doubled.

Transatlantic migration from the Bohemian Lands was never evenly distributed over the territory. The majority of migrants originated from the Bohemian-Moravian highlands and southern Bohemia. According to a gendarmerie report to the viceroy,

there were 683 families that applied for migration to the United States in 1854. More than 70 percent of the total 3,844 individuals came from three areas (the Plzeň, České Budějovice, and Pardubice/Pardubitz districts), 17 percent from two predominantly German-speaking districts in the north (Cheb and Česká Lípa/Böhmisch Leipa), and 11 percent from two relatively affluent Czech-speaking lowland districts (the greater Prague area and Jičín/Titschein). German speakers tended to be the most socioeconomically established of the linguistic groups that comprised the Habsburg Empire, and thus German-speaking US migrants were, on average, wealthier than others from Imperial Austria. As early as the mid-nineteenth century, the Habsburg government, eager to assure that its migrants would not end up posing a public burden, began requiring adults and children to travel with at least 200 and 150 *Gulden*, respectively. The wealthiest international migration applicants, who carried on average 345 *Gulden* per person, originated from the German-speaking region of Cheb, while migrants from Czech-speaking regions traveled only with 224 *Gulden* in Prague to just 147 *Gulden* in České Budějovice (southern Bohemia).<sup>155</sup>

There are a few quantitative studies on the post-1850s transatlantic movement of Bohemians, which suggests that there continued to be a significant number of migrants from the south and the Bohemian-Moravian highlands. With regard to the regional distribution of Bohemian migrants in the 1860s, we see that 50 to roughly 70 percent originated from four regions in the southern and southwestern portions of the province—a finding confirmed by Czech microhistorical studies on local migration to the United States.<sup>156</sup> During the second half of the century, most US-bound migrants originated from the more rural south and the Bohemian-Moravian highlands in the southeast. In the early 1890s, for example, an overwhelming majority of Czech-speaking households in the Nebraskan counties of Saunders and Saline had migrated from an area that stretched from southwestern Bohemia to eastern Moravia.<sup>157</sup>

The Minnesota Population Center provides data on the entire US population for the census year 1880. As mentioned, about two-thirds of US inhabitants born in Austria-Hungary had declared Bohemia or Moravia as their place of birth (see table 3.5). The 1880 US census did not record mother tongues, so we do not know the percentage of Bohemian- and Moravian-born individuals who spoke Czech, German, or both languages.<sup>158</sup> Many migrants from the Bohemian Lands aimed to settle in the rural territories, and thus tended to cross the Atlantic in family groups. More than 60 percent of this population were married, and their gender ratio is nearly balanced (48.6 percent women) in even the earliest years of transatlantic migration.<sup>159</sup>

In contrast to most other groups that arrived in the United States after the 1880s—many of which were also Slavic-speaking—more than half of the Bohemian migrants settled in rural communities.<sup>160</sup> Not all Bohemian families ended up with US farmland (nearly 43 percent did not), but most had set out with the intention to permanently

TABLE 3.5 Social and demographic characteristics of Habsburg Empire migrants to the United States, 1880

	Bohemia and Moravia	Austria	Hungary
Total	89,699	36,028	11,234
Percent	65.5	26.3	8.2
Ratio female	48.6	40.9	38.0
Ratio married	60.6	58.5	51.5
Ratio rural	53.5	51.0	29.4
Ratio farmers	42.9	30.3	11.8
Ratio laborers	30.3	30.1	33.2

Source: US census of 1880, in Minnesota Population Center, North Atlantic Population Project: Complete Count Microdata. Version 2.0 [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: Minnesota Population Center, 2008.

remain in the United States. As Emily Greene Balch perceived even at the time, in the first decade of the twentieth century, more than half of all Czech-speaking male migrants were living in rural America and either owned property or were engaged in other businesses and trade.<sup>161</sup> In her popular novel *My Antonia*, Willa Cather describes in great detail the hard work carried out by Czechs from Imperial Austria living in the Midwest.<sup>162</sup>

In the early twentieth century there were also numerous transatlantic male and female migrants from the Czech Lands who traveled unencumbered by families, looking for a better future in a faraway country. These mostly young migrants were used to spatial mobility as artisans, industrial laborers, miners, or in other jobs in agriculture. Young women were even more mobile as industrial laborers in textile, cigar, and other factories, or as domestic servants in the growing number of urban middle-class households.<sup>163</sup> For centuries these employment activities were linked with regional mobility.<sup>164</sup> For the highly mobile groups of young people from the Bohemian Lands, going overseas during the second half of the nineteenth century represented, as it did for the Vorarlbergers, an expansion of the migration radius. In the sample of 1910 ship passenger manifests from Bremen and Hamburg to New York, we find that more than a quarter of Czech-speaking passengers had worked as artisans before leaving Imperial Austria, and twice as many Czechs as, for example, Poles were engaged as laborers in various industries (12 percent versus 6 percent).<sup>165</sup> The number of Czech-speaking professionals who entered the United States between 1902 and 1911 was even higher, with more than 41 percent skilled laborers.<sup>166</sup>

### 3.3.3 Yiddish-Speaking and Jewish Migrants to the United States

Constructing a group of Jews from the Habsburg Empire for descriptive statistical analysis is not an easy undertaking, in particular considering the fact that the empire itself was comprised of two different administrations.<sup>167</sup> During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, we find that the censuses carried out by Imperial Austria, the Kingdom of Hungary, the United States, the US Immigration Bureau, and social scientists all had different and evolving conceptions regarding the nation as a concept and in practice those comprising Central and Eastern Europe in particular. The Imperial Austrian census had recorded its inhabitants' *Umgangssprache*, or official everyday language, since 1880. Yiddish, which was considered a German dialect, was not recognized as an official language.<sup>168</sup> Hebrew, which was primarily used in the liturgical context, was likewise denied official recognition. Habsburg's population censuses, which collected religious affiliation, demonstrate that Imperial Austria's Jewish population spoke a variety of official everyday languages. Most Jewish individuals in Bohemia and Moravia were recorded as speaking German, while others spoke Czech; Jews in Bukovina were likewise recorded as German speakers. In Galicia, the majority of the German-speaking upper-class urban population was Jewish, while poorer Jews and those living at the countryside spoke Polish. As described in the introduction, late Imperial Austria regarded its Jewish population as a religious community rather than a national group, and censuses, which collected data on religious adherence, recorded those who followed the Jewish denomination as Jews.<sup>169</sup> The Hungarian Kingdom likewise conceived of Jewishness as a religious rather than ethnic or racial category, and reported that the majority of its Jewish population (76 percent) spoke Hungarian as their primary language. Austro-Hungarian-born Yiddish speakers were considered ethnically German and treated as such in Hungarian censuses.<sup>170</sup> This was in contrast to most other European countries, which, in the census, identified Jews with an ethnic nation. In terms of self-awareness and public perception, Jews were seen as a religious group in Western Europe and a national group in Eastern Europe. Even within the Habsburg Empire itself, Jews were divided not geographically, but socially and politically. Religious and regional identities were far more salient for most migrants than ethnolinguistic ones, especially those with a rural background from the east of the empire. Therefore, Börries Kuzmany introduced the term *ethnoconfessional groups* to characterize the different populations that make up multiethnic empires such as the Habsburg Empire.<sup>171</sup> With regard to Jews in Austrian and Hungarian censuses, the term refers to religion more so than ethnicity, meaning that the many Jews in the west of the empire who had converted to Catholicism or Protestantism are not included.

In the United States, by contrast, the classification of foreigners often contributed to the nationalization of migrants by requiring them to articulate a single “race,” nationality, mother tongue, or other marker of national identity.<sup>173</sup> Over the course of US American history, various Europeans have emerged as ethnic “others” who have been considered “racially” different from the Western European majority.<sup>173</sup> The Jewish population in the United States was not initially a focus of racial discourse, but by the 1890s, as Jewish migrants from Central and Eastern Europe began to arrive in more significant numbers, “Hebrew” caricatures became an increasingly familiar racial stereotype. Censuses recorded the “race” of US inhabitants, and immigration was unrecorded before 1820 and not classified according to origin until 1899.<sup>174</sup> From 1899 to 1920, US immigration authorities classified new migrants at Ellis Island according to forty-eight “races or people,” which were generally determined by language.<sup>175</sup> The US administration began tabulating mother tongue data for (foreign-born) whites and their children in 1910, further underlining the strength of ideological links between language and ethnic group. In the sample of ship passenger manifests, the term “Hebrew” is used to refer to those of the Jewish “race,” while in the 1910 US census, Jewish migrants can only be identified among those listed with the mother tongue of “Yiddish” or “Jewish,” meaning that Jews from Habsburg territories, who declared German, Czech, Polish, or other languages as their mother tongues, cannot be identified as such.

Jews began forming a significant portion of the US-bound European migrant population around the middle of the nineteenth century. According to the US government, there were nearly two million Jewish migrants who arrived on its shores between 1881 and 1914, almost two-thirds of whom originated from the Russian Empire; it has been estimated that 8 to 9 percent of all European migrants in this period were of Jewish descent.<sup>176</sup> Jews and non-Jews from Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe set out from the same small towns and villages, traveled to the harbors of Hamburg, Bremen, or other European ports in the same railway cars, shared steerage bunks on the same steam ships, and were subjected to the same questions and medical inspections at Ellis Island; however, their transatlantic migration stories still tend to be treated as separate phenomena. On the one hand, Jewish migration has largely been considered a symptom of political and religious persecution, and on the other hand, historical studies have failed to consider Jewish migration patterns as part of the overall high spatial mobility of their time. Recent studies have portrayed Jewish transatlantic migration as having been for the most part economically driven, not unlike the mass migrations from other European countries, and new findings show that the temporal patterns of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Jewish migrations paralleled those of other Europeans and were more closely correlated with US business cycles than periods of persecution.<sup>177</sup>

In contrast to other ethnolinguistic groups that comprised Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary, which generally settled in specific territories, Jews were scattered all over Austria-Hungary, from Hohenems in the west<sup>178</sup> to Tscherniwzi/Czernowitz in the far east, and from Liberec in the north to Zagreb and Timișoara in the south.<sup>179</sup> This subchapter is thus devoted to Jewish migrants and organized according to the Imperial Austrian or the Kingdom of Hungary regions from which they originated.

In the west of Imperial Austria, Jewish communities were rather small and found only in more urbanized areas and bigger cities. As can be seen in figure 3.5, the Jewish proportion of the population increased to more than 10 percent in the eastern provinces of Galicia and Bukovina. In the Hungarian northeast, Maramureș/Máramaros and Bereg/Berg County, both of which bordered former Austrian provinces, demonstrated exceptionally high ratios of Jews (18 percent and 14 percent, respectively). Around 1900, there was less than 1 percent of the Jewish population that had settled in rural regions, with slightly higher percentages in the smaller communities and rural areas of Bohemia and Moravia.<sup>180</sup> Jews were among the early transatlantic migrants from the Bohemian Lands and, according to estimates, there were some 280,000 Jews among the three million individuals who left Habsburg territories between 1890 and 1914.<sup>181</sup> By the 1820s, Jewish individuals had begun moving from the southern German principalities (Bavaria and the Rhine region in particular) to America, and likewise influenced broader communication networks such as that with southern Bohemia. The first association to support Bohemian Jews traveling across the Atlantic, named *Auf nach Amerika*, was founded in 1848. Only a few hundred people took up this call, settling alongside other Jewish migrants from German territories.<sup>182</sup>

There were a few Jews who left the western province of Vorarlberg—especially from the small community in Hohenems—to cross the Atlantic around the same time. Until the Austrian Constitution of 1867, the number of Jewish nuclear families in Hohenems was legally limited to 90, which had already been reached by the 1820s, and therefore many of those among the younger generation of Jews born in Hohenems had to move to other regions. Mainly young women and men did not get a permission to marry and therefore decided to migrate. The United States, with its liberal constitution and openness to various religions, was a highly attractive alternative for young Jews. Between 1846 and 1860, there were up to 30 Jews—or roughly a quarter of the small town's overseas migrants—who left Hohenems for the United States.<sup>183</sup>

Between 1881 and 1910, about 18 percent of all European Jewish migrants to the United States originated from the Habsburg Empire, with the number steadily increasing toward the end of the century. Letters and remittances sent from kin, friends, or neighbors who had gone before convinced more and more individuals that other places around the world offered better jobs and more personal freedom.<sup>184</sup> In the first decade of the new century between 16,000 and 20,000 Central European Jews left for the

Americas annually, most of whom moved to the United States from communities at the edges of the empire. Nearly 85 percent of Jewish migrants from Imperial Austria had originated from Galicia.<sup>185</sup> In the final decades of the nineteenth century, Jewish transatlantic migration was twice as high from western Galicia as from the east; however, the number of migrants per capita from the latter was three times higher. The sample of ship passenger manifests suggests that by 1910 the centers for transatlantic migration had shifted to the southeast of Galicia. This is consistent with Marsha Rozenblit's finding that in the early twentieth century most Jewish migrants in the United States had originated from the southeast of the province, while Jews from the northeast were more likely to move to Vienna.<sup>186</sup>

Jews formed a conspicuous part of Galician overseas migration, albeit a small one in comparison to Poles. Tobias Brinkmann has argued that the extent to which Jews differed from all other migrants from a given country or region remains wholly unclear. According to his study on Jews from the German Reich based on comparisons between small groups (Jews) and large groups (Germans or Poles), there is a scholarly tendency to overemphasize migration differences between the two, and even to eliminate apparent regional similarities.<sup>187</sup> Since administration categorized Jewish ethnoconfessional groups not only by religion or language, but by ethnic and cultural attributes as well, it appears plausible to carry out a comparison between this population and other groups of migrants from Austria-Hungary.<sup>188</sup>

According to the sample of ship manifests, about 40 percent of the Yiddish-speaking Habsburgs who crossed the Atlantic in 1910 were women. There were many young Jewish women who left Galicia to find work in Chicago, in urban areas on the East Coast, or in New York's sweatshops. There also were many wives who either accompanied or followed husbands who had set out for the new continent. Many men intended to start a new life in the United States, sending for their wives and children after having built a new home, but not all of them managed to do so. The most striking difference between Yiddish speakers and other ethnoconfessional migrant groups from East Central Europe was social and economic status. While, in 1910, more than three quarters of Poles, Slovaks, Slovenes, Ukrainians, and Croats who migrated had worked as farm laborers and domestic servants in Austria-Hungary, less than a quarter of Yiddish-speaking US migrants had been engaged in agriculture or as servants.<sup>189</sup> Jews clustered in urban centers, and only a small minority settled in rural areas such as in the Czech Lands or ran rural businesses and trades in Galicia and the Hungarian Kingdom. More than a quarter of the Yiddish speakers in the 1910 passenger sample reported a skilled occupation as artisan; 22 percent had been engaged as industrial laborers. Nearly 30 percent of Jewish migrants were either merchants or held more highly qualified occupations, such as medical doctors or teachers.<sup>190</sup>



### 3.3.4 Polish and Ukrainian Speakers, Back and Forth between Galicia and the United States

An appreciable movement from Galicia to the United States began around 1890. Between the early 1890s and 1914, about 1.1 million Polish-speaking Habsburg subjects migrated to the United States, approximately 700,000 to 800,000 of whom remained there.<sup>191</sup> According to Yannay Spitzer, the late start of transatlantic migration from the Eastern European periphery resulted in a gradual geographical diffusion of communication networks. It is possible that Southern and Eastern Europeans had migrated to the United States in previous decades, but there were no transnational communication networks connecting these earlier migrants with those from those regions who remained in Europe.<sup>192</sup> From the end of the nineteenth century up until World War I, Central and Eastern Europe represented the greatest reservoir of cheap labor for the expanding North American industrial sectors. Between 1890 and 1913, Galicia, the biggest and most populated Habsburg province, formed the center of international movement, and was the origin of the greatest number of US-bound (and later Canada-bound) transatlantic migrants.<sup>193</sup> The extraordinary economic growth that characterized the end of the century, in the United States in particular, offered peasants and laborers opportunities to realize aspirations for social advancement.<sup>194</sup> Between 1870 and 1914, over two million Poles from the three partitions (German Reich, Russian Empire, and Habsburg Empire) permanently left their countries via continental or overseas migration, and leading up to World War I there were at least up to 600,000 individuals yearly who participated in seasonal labor migration to Western and Northern Europe. About a quarter of all Europe's Polish-speaking population was either directly or indirectly dependent on economic migration, and 7 to 8 percent of them moved to North America.<sup>195</sup>

Galicia, along with Bukovina and Dalmatia, was the least economically advanced Habsburg province and the most poorly developed of the Polish-inhabited territories. Although home to one-third of Imperial Austria's total population, it produced only one-twelfth of its income, and its per capita production and consumption were both nearly 40 percent lower than those of the Alpine provinces. Around 1900, 80 percent of the Galician population was still living in rural areas, as opposed to the 40 percent in Alpine provinces. In 1910, over one-half, and in smaller regions up to two-thirds, of landless agricultural laborers and dwarf-holding owners were incapable of making a living from agriculture alone, and thus regularly worked for additional outside income and relied wholly or in part on wage labor. It was likewise difficult to make a living from Galician industry, which employed about 10 percent of the population.<sup>196</sup> In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the province received considerable net transfer payments from the imperial government in Vienna. These, and the new railroads, helped initiate industrialization.

Galicia had been an autonomous Austro-Hungarian province with Polish and, to a much lesser degree, Ukrainian (Ruthenian) as official languages since 1873. According to the 1910 Austrian census, Galicia's inhabitants had grown to 8,026,000 people. The west of the province was primarily populated by Polish speakers, while Ukrainian speakers comprised the majority in the east. In addition, Greek Catholic Carpatho-Rusyns who spoke Rusyn had settled the south of the province on the border to Hungary.<sup>197</sup> Turn of the century statistics from Western Galicia identified 79 percent Poles, 13 percent Ukrainians, 8 percent Jews, and just 0.3 percent German speakers. Data from Eastern Galicia show the following numbers: 65 percent Ukrainians, 21 percent Poles, 14 percent Jews, and 0.3 percent German speakers.<sup>198</sup>

An appreciable movement from Galicia to the United States began around 1890 as the result of the modification and adaptation of extant labor migration patterns. Several factors intervened in the formation and consolidation of this movement, including, among others: the attraction of the US labor market; the existence of differential economic opportunities, and increased knowledge regarding the same; advancements in transatlantic transportation; open and welcoming migratory policies; and the development of communication networks and the associated flows of people, information, and remittances.<sup>199</sup> Contacts with previous migrants, the increasing number of travel agents who combed the villages, and peddling merchants and pilgrims had made rural Galicians well aware of job availability abroad and the earnings they could expect in different areas.<sup>200</sup> It was mostly the more well-off individuals from Galician villages who pioneered transatlantic migration, and these were followed by smallholders and farm laborers. Impoverished people from the Galician countryside had neither the financial means nor the knowledge to take part in US migrations.

The turn of the century arrival of Southern and Eastern Europeans in the US coincided with a boom in the country's economy. A build-up of heavy industry, construction, and manufacturing paralleled the extension of expanding agricultural sectors, and the new industrial sector required large quantities of low-skilled manpower. Steamship companies primarily recruited laborers from Southern and Eastern Europe. The number of would-be farmers who had been attracted by cheap US land and had accounted for a significant portion of the pre-1880s migrant population was slowly overtaken by that of unskilled workers.<sup>201</sup> From 1890 on, the majority of migrants from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary made their living in more urban US areas. In 1912, for example, only 8 percent of that population was employed in agriculture.<sup>202</sup> Once in America, Poles generally took on low-skilled work in factories and mines. Three-quarters of men concentrated in three major branches of industry: coal, metal, and slaughtering and meatpacking.<sup>203</sup> The vast majority with agricultural ambitions hoped to earn money in the rapidly expanding American industrial sectors to send back to their villages and later use to purchase farmland in Galicia. Fragmentary

Polish sources indicate that in the 1880s and 1890s, 60 to 70 percent of Polish-speaking migrants returned after two or three years; and during the first decade of the twentieth century, up to 40 percent of migrants made their way back to Europe.<sup>204</sup> People from Galicia helped change the face of transatlantic migration. They did not—as a rule—migrate in order to become US residents, but rather to work for a few years and return home with their savings.

Knowledge about new destinations and opportunities to earn a living on the continent also spread to Podillja in the southeast of the province, which was predominantly populated by Ukrainian-speaking peasants, farm laborers, and Jews.<sup>205</sup> Around 1890 the Ukrainian press carried frequent reports on migration to Brazil and Ukrainians began moving there, especially from Terebovlya/Trembowla County. Rumors that Archduke Rudolph, deceased heir to the Habsburg crown and supporter of the Ukrainian language, was still alive and living in Brazil further galvanized interest in the area. It was perhaps these rumors that, alongside free voyages subsidized by the Brazilian government, encouraged Ukrainian settlers to travel to the unknown country.<sup>206</sup> In the mid-1890s, migration to Canada presented itself as an alternative to Brazil and the United States, with the area surrounding Winnipeg becoming a particularly favored destination. More and more Ukrainians began leaving southeastern Galicia, even if they had to pay for their own trip. Canada attracted these migrants with its farmland, recently taken from Native Americans, which could be cultivated for a very small price. With farming as their main goal, Ukrainians who migrated to Canada left mostly in family groups. It has been estimated that 200,000 to 430,000 Ukrainians left Galicia and Bukovina for the Americas between 1881 and 1914.<sup>207</sup>

With the exception of Jewish migrants, those who left Galicia were, from a social and economic perspective, a rather homogeneous group with regard to overseas migration patterns. The majority of Poles, Ukrainians, and Carpatho-Rusyns who crossed the Atlantic were landless rural laborers; the remainder were peasants with small- and medium-sized holdings. Most Poles and Ukrainians moved to the new country without wives or children to find employment in the growing industrial sector. Small numbers of unwed East Central European women migrated to industrial areas to seek husbands among the well-paid single men, but there were few job opportunities for these women. This might explain the rather low rates of Polish and Ukrainian female migrants in comparison to Czechs and Germans.<sup>208</sup> As Ferenczi and Willcox have said: “The typical representative of mass emigration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is the proletarian—an industrial or agricultural worker without means, though previously in many cases a small holder of land.”<sup>209</sup> According to occupations declared in the 1910 sample of ship passenger records, over 80 percent of Polish, Slovak, and South Slav men and women had worked as agricultural laborers before migration, while this was the case for only about half of the German speakers. In comparison to Czechs and

German-speaking transatlantic migrants, there was only a very small number of individuals who had been engaged as skilled workers before leaving Galicia.<sup>210</sup> The transatlantic movement of people from Galicia is no “rags-to-riches” story of success, and perhaps not even a “rags-to-respectability” story. If we pose the question of whether post-1890s migrants from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary were part of a sort of “mudsill” class of proletarian laborers in US factories, mills, mines, and kitchens, the answer appears to be largely yes. That said, people from Austria-Hungary who arrived at the turn of the twentieth century, the ones who accepted wage-labor employment in an industrializing America, did so at what was perhaps the most favorable time in US economic history for those selling their (especially unskilled) labor power.<sup>211</sup>

### 3.3.5 US Migration from Mediterranean Territories

The Mediterranean coastal regions of Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary were primarily populated by South Slavic-speaking people, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, and Bosnians. In 1910, south coastal regions were, as demonstrated in figure 3.4, focal points of US-bound migration. Transatlantic migration from Mediterranean territories was a phenomenon that was largely relegated to the three decades leading up to World War I, from 1889 to 1914, during which up to 450,000 Slovenes and Croats left Europe.<sup>212</sup> According to table 3.3, which summarizes these different language groups, South Slavs were the second-largest population to leave for the United States between 1902 and 1911. Imperial Austria administered the provinces of Carniola, the southern districts of Styria, Littoral, Dalmatia, and the port city of Trieste, while the nominally autonomous Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia was associated with the Kingdom of Hungary. A Serbian-speaking minority populated the Vojvodina/Vajdaság region in the south of the Hungarian Kingdom. An official border divided the greater region of South Slavic speaking individuals, but migration networks did not heed state borders, and thus the following subchapter addresses the transatlantic migration story from the region as a whole. As Gusztáv Thirring discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century, information networks regarding overseas opportunities had spread across South Slav-speaking settlements: US-bound migration diffused from the Slovenes, who were in the west and therefore closest to Imperial Austria, toward the Balkan Peninsula to Croats and Serbs.<sup>213</sup> Italian speakers who populated Habsburg territories also left for the United States. The area from which most South Slavs left for the Americas can be imagined as a triangle between Trieste (52 percent of Trieste’s population spoke Italian in 1910),<sup>214</sup> Zagreb, and Split/Spalato, that is, maritime rather than inland regions with South Slavic-speaking populations. From an ethnocultural perspective, the Istrian peninsula, Imperial Austria’s province of Littoral, represents a territory full of complexity—a land where Italians, Slovenes, and Croats had lived beside

each other for centuries. By 1914, about 65,000 migrants from this area had left for the United States. In day-to-day practice, most of these individuals spoke at least two or three languages, and it would be difficult to make a clear distinction between representatives of different language groups.<sup>215</sup>

Slovenian-speaking US migrants usually originated from the coastal areas of Primorska/Slovenian Littoral, Carniola (today roughly identical with the Republic of Slovenia and the small Italian region around Trieste), Southern Styria, and Carinthia. According to European estimates until World War I, at least 250,000 Slovenes had moved to the United States; the 1910 US census reported about 183,000 Slovene speakers.<sup>216</sup> The Serbo-Croatian speakers had predominantly originated from Croatia-Slavonia (Kingdom of Hungary) and Dalmatia (Imperial Austria). Linguistically speaking, Serbo-Croatian is one language, and thus the factor between the two was confessional denomination, either Roman Catholic or Serbian Orthodox. The fact that there were two religions makes it rather difficult to distinguish ethnic belonging based on statistical data, especially as Austrian censuses did not distinguish between Croatian and Serbian speakers, and the Hungarian statistical administration counted each separately.<sup>217</sup> In 1910, the population of Dalmatia was 646,000, 92 percent of which spoke Serbo-Croatian, 5 percent German, and 2.8 percent Italian; 83 percent of the total population was recorded as Roman Catholic, and 16 percent as Greek Orthodox.<sup>218</sup>

Transatlantic migration from this region began in Imperial Austria, Carniola bordering on the Alpine provinces, and Dalmatia where there had been generations of seafaring men. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the territories of today's Republic of Slovenia, with their traditionally close economic ties to neighboring Italian- and German-speaking areas, relatively developed agrarian markets, and expansion of specialized industries—particularly wood and construction—were progressing at a steady rate. During the first decade of the twentieth century, a general increase of about 50 percent in the number of Carniolian industries can be compared with the similar increase in the Alpine provinces.<sup>219</sup> Approximately 38 percent of the US-bound Slovene migrants were women, who moved with their husbands to settle as farmers in areas such as central Minnesota. Slovene women began arriving in greater numbers after the 1890s, either to join husbands who had moved before or to seek employment in mining communities and industrial cities such as New York. Between 1900 and 1910 there were nearly 34,000 individuals who moved from Carniola to the United States, and Cleveland, Ohio, became a major Slovenian settlement.<sup>220</sup>

In the late 1870s, a few individuals from the Kočevsko district, where about half of the population spoke German, decided to follow other Habsburg territory German speakers to the new continent.<sup>221</sup> These men and women were used to seasonal migration, and it was easy to expand that distance overseas. In 1889, migrants in Cleveland established an association to support newcomers (*Erster Österreichischer Unterstützungsverein*).<sup>222</sup>

The influence of their German heritage is well represented by the fact that the majority of them had chosen to migrate via Bremen and Hamburg in Germany, even though Trieste and Rijeka had been just a stone's throw away. Estimates presume that up to 8,600 German-speaking individuals left the greater Kočevsko area for the United States between 1875 and 1910. During the first half of 1914, the local district government issued around 700 passports to German-speaking people wishing to cross the Atlantic.<sup>223</sup> As mentioned, the ship passenger sample from 1910 only includes passengers via Bremen and Hamburg, and thus US migration from the Mediterranean territories of Imperial Austria is underestimated in figure 3.4. According to the 1910 sample, Kočevsko topped the list of districts of origin in Carniola, contributing more than 20 percent of the 216 migrants; 65 percent of these migrants declared their ethnicity as German, and fewer who were either Slovene or Croatian. Half of these fifteen women and twenty-two men were between the ages of eleven and forty-nine, were married, and, with one exception, were able to read and write; most of them had made a living as farm laborers and servants before leaving Europe. In comparison, the next most significant political district for US migration was the area surrounding Ljubljana/Laibach, from which a Slovene majority moved overseas. None of these migrants declared German as their language or ethnicity; most of the individuals were single men (79 percent) between the age of seventeen and forty, and had worked as farm laborers before leaving Habsburg territories.<sup>224</sup>

The first reports of overseas migration from Habsburg Mediterranean territories originated from Dalmatia. Seafaring Dalmatians had begun leaving Europe in the eighteenth century, and early messages from South Slavs in New Orleans date to 1820, when Habsburg seamen jumped ship to become dock workers on the city's waterfront. Later, the gold fever prompted other Dalmatians to travel to California. The first Croatian bank was established in Pennsylvania in 1867. Initially it was coastal Croatians who migrated to the United States, but later on, after 1900, there were more and more migrants who left from the interior.<sup>225</sup> By 1899, the most significant counties in Croatia-Slavonia for overseas migration were Modruš-Rijeka and Zagreb, from which migrants also moved to the province of Carniola in Imperial Austria.<sup>226</sup>

As in other Hungarian-ruled territories, there was a new type of migration that emerged in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia at the end of the nineteenth century, but there were only about 50,000 Croats who migrated overseas between 1880 and 1890. While up until the 1890s the majority of international migrants from Croatia and Slavonia had gone to the Kingdom of Serbia or to the Kingdom of Romania, ten years later the overwhelming majority traveled to America.<sup>227</sup> The first large-scale movement began in the direction of Bosnia and Herzegovina directly following its 1878 occupation by Austria-Hungary.<sup>228</sup> At the end of the century, the direction of migration changed, and according to passenger lists there were 257,212 individuals from Croatia-Slavonia who took a transatlantic trip between 1900 and 1913.<sup>229</sup> Until

1910 US immigration administrators recorded these individuals as simply “Austrians” or “Austro-Hungarians,” so we can in fact presume that these numbers were actually even higher.<sup>230</sup> Croatian historians have estimated that there were up to 40,000 individuals who left for the United States annually, and the total number of Croats going overseas may have been as much as 400,000 individuals.<sup>231</sup> Between 1900 and 1910, equivalent numbers for Dalmatia document 31,814 migrants. Total migration from the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, the semiautonomous region within the Kingdom of Hungary, was at a level of about one-half that of Slovak and Hungarian speakers.<sup>232</sup> As mentioned, Hungarian public policy fostered transatlantic movement from Croatia-Slavonia as a means of diminishing tensions surrounding nationality and supporting *Magyarization*. Between 1880 and 1914, there were up to 600,000 Croatian speakers who moved internationally, either overseas or to other European countries, while at the same time there were nearly 200,000 Hungarian and German speakers who settled in the region.<sup>233</sup>

The great majority of Serbs who arrived in the United States had originated from the Dalmatian province and not, as might be presumed, from the counties of Bačko-Bodroška, Sremska/Szerém/Syrmien, Torontál (the present Vojvodina region), or from Serbia proper. Although Serbian speakers were the relative majority in Torontál County (34 percent in 1910), US-bound migrants from there overwhelmingly spoke German (more than 50 percent between 1911 and 1913).<sup>234</sup> A contemporary Hungarian statistician estimated that 61,000 Serbs left the Kingdom of Hungary between 1905 and 1913.<sup>235</sup> What was true of Serbs was true for most of the Serbo-Croatian-speaking migrants: nearly all Croat migrants, and later on Yugoslav as well, originated from coastal areas—in particular the Dalmatian Islands, Istria, and the Croatian and Slovenian Littoral, a narrow coastal strip between both entities known as *Primorje* in Croatian, *Primorska* in Slovene, and *Küstenland* in German. The fact that most Serbs were from the Dalmatian coast may have influenced contemporary reporting in migration records: a substantial number of these individuals must have declared themselves as Croatian or Dalmatian in the shipping lists, or at least this is what US immigration officers deemed them.<sup>236</sup> According to Ulf Brunnbauer, going overseas was just a short episode in the long history of Southeastern European migration patterns, but its consequences remain noticeable even today.<sup>237</sup>

### 3.3.6 US Migration from the Kingdom of Hungary

In comparison to other migration patterns with long traditions, such as movements between rural Hungarian counties, to and from Budapest from small towns, and over the borders to Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Romania, transatlantic migration started late and remained a minor phenomenon until the late 1880s. Unlike economically



developed Western Europe, the overwhelming majority of Hungary's inhabitants were reliant on agriculture, even at the end of the century. The role of Hungarian possessions within the Habsburg lands had always been that of a supplier of agricultural products to the more industrialized provinces in the west and north. At the mid-nineteenth century, up to 85 percent of the population was dependent on agriculture, and industrialization only began to take place toward the end of the century.<sup>238</sup> Despite the rapid growth of Budapest in the decades leading up to World War I, most of the countryside remained largely agricultural. Less than 25 percent of the population was urban by 1910, and the distribution of landholdings among the rural population was highly unequal, with the wealthiest 200 families owning one-third of the kingdom's land. The rural peasantry who did own land tended to have dwarf holdings, with more than half of that population owning less than five acres, an amount insufficient to support a family. Around 1900, more than one-fourth of the population were agricultural laborers, without property and freely wandering. Agriculture as a primary source of income was not, however, homogeneously distributed between the Hungarian ruled territories. In the regions of today's Hungary, about 60 percent of the population still relied on agriculture for their primary income. In comparison, in counties with a Slovak-speaking majority, this ratio was even higher, at 68 percent. The reliance on agricultural income was especially high in Subcarpathian Rus' (today Ukraine) and Transylvania (with 94 percent and 83 percent, respectively). Around the turn of the century up to 79 percent of the Croatia-Slavonia population was still engaged in agriculture.<sup>239</sup>

At the end of the nineteenth century, industrialization began in portions of the Hungarian territories and machinery was introduced into agricultural processes, such as the production of beet sugar. In 1910, nearly one-fifth of all Hungarian industries were in the north, today the Republic of Slovakia, and produced a corresponding proportion of the total industrial output.<sup>240</sup> As Julianna Puskás has noted, the number of overseas US-bound migrants increased in the first decade of the twentieth century when the Hungarian Kingdom began to industrialize, and this rise in international migration almost completely coincided with the economic development of the kingdom. As evidence of this we find, for example, that in 1905 and 1906, years of high overseas migration, the harvest was good and agrarian wages on the rise.<sup>241</sup>

Hungarian speakers dominated among the many groups that inhabited that land's counties. In 1880, Slovaks, the largest Slavic-speaking group, accounted for about 12 percent of the population.<sup>242</sup> According to 1910 census data, Hungarian speakers accounted for 43 percent of the population, Romanian speakers for 14 percent, followed by Slovak and German speakers, each of which accounted for just less than 10 percent of the population. The roughly 9 percent Croat- and 5 percent Serbian-speaking portions of the population were most prevalent in Croatia-Slavonia. Ukrainian speakers comprised 2 percent of the population, and less than 1 percent spoke Slovene or another language such as Romany.<sup>243</sup>

Puskás' research, which has primarily focused on the Hungarian-speaking portion of that population, has provided us with a good understanding of Hungarian transatlantic migration. As has been demonstrated, Hungarian-speaking migrants were not highly active in transatlantic migration, and it was primarily those from the northern Hungarian counties, where people spoke Slovak, Rusin, German, and Yiddish, who left for America.<sup>244</sup> Up until 1910, the rationale of the US census figures, which recognized only Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia as place of birth and made no record of ethnic or linguistic affiliation, masked the ethnic composition of this migrant population (see table 3.1). The US Department of the Interior, the Hungarian prime minister's office, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry, and its consulates in the United States were all well aware that Hungarian speakers comprised the minority of migrants.<sup>245</sup> Between the years 1899 to 1913, the percentage of Hungarian-speaking migrants exceeded 36 percent of the total annual number of migrants. In 1900, when about half of the Kingdom's population was recorded as speaking Hungarian, this population accounted for just over one-fourth of all US-bound migrants.<sup>246</sup>

The first people to migrate overseas were not just rural folks, but shopkeepers and artisans. Many combined agriculture with commerce, smallholders who supplemented their income with practicing a trade, and this mixture had lent them a certain degree of mobility even before crossing the Atlantic. Few of the initial migrants were day laborers, who would have lacked the funds for a transatlantic trip. Following the turn of the century, however, the vast majority of migrants declared themselves farmworkers, unskilled laborers, servants, or unemployed. Thus, although the migration of nearly two million people from the Hungarian Kingdom to the United States, which began in the 1890s, would undoubtedly be considered a rural phenomenon, it would be a mistake to overemphasize the social homogeneity of those migrants.<sup>247</sup> Early US migrants from Hungarian-ruled territories departed in family groups, much like those from Imperial Austria had, and in 1878/79, for example, the proportion of female and male migrants was nearly equal. While between 1899 and 1913 the average proportion of women was one-third, this number rose continuously from 1907 onward, and in 1913 nearly 59 percent of all Hungarian transatlantic passengers were women. The growing demand for women in US industry from 1910 onward, in particular in the tobacco and textile industries, were strong stimuli for long-distance migration.<sup>248</sup>

Most Hungarian transatlantic migrants intended to earn money in the United States in order to improve their lot at home. Sending savings back to Europe was part of the migration process from the start. In addition to money for tickets and travel fare, earlier migrants sent remittances to provide financial assistance to relatives and friends. Between 1900 and 1906, the New York City post office, which handled most overseas transactions, reported sending 12,304,485 money orders to Europe which amounted to \$239,367,047. Approximately half of this sum traveled

to the Habsburg Empire, the Russian Empire, and the Kingdom of Italy, with the remaining half divided between several other countries. US migrants also relied on banks to forward money. In 1903, Hungarian banks reported receiving \$17 million, while a reliable estimate for Croatia-Slavonia was around \$10 million. This was only a portion of transatlantic funds in circulation; money was also transferred via other banks and in ordinary letters. In the 1910s, the amount of money sent home was estimated at between \$30 and \$80.6 million.<sup>249</sup> Families from the Hungarian Kingdom used money earned in the United States to pay off debts and purchase goods they could not have afforded otherwise, and migrants' remittances had a beneficial effect on capital formation in the Kingdom. The counties with high numbers of transcontinental migrants profited the most from this increase in foreign capital, which brought about a higher standard of living:

Here at home the savings of the American emigrant practically works miracles. It produces economic benefit unmatched by Hungarian capital. It makes the villages bloom, covers the lovely thatched houses with tile roofs, brings machinery to an agricultural production that earlier had subsisted on the most primitive tools. It provides the poor with their own land and houses.<sup>250</sup>

In the 1870s, early US migrants from the Hungarian territories were characterized as Slovak-speaking individuals from the north and prosperous, German-speaking, and Jewish, educated, and resourceful merchants and artisans from western and southeastern parts of the country. The majority of the population in the counties Moson, Sopron, and Vas, large parts of which form today's Austrian province of Burgenland, spoke German, while a smaller minority spoke Croatian, and a yet smaller group exclusively Hungarian.<sup>251</sup> German speakers, traditionally called *Danube Swabians* or *Transylvania Saxons*, had also settled in the Hungarian east in Transylvania and in Banat, bordering the Kingdom of Romania.<sup>252</sup> Although the rate of Hungarian speakers in the Kingdom of Hungary rose constantly from 1880 onward, as late as the 1900s they made up just 33 to 40 percent of the migrant population.

As demonstrated in table 3.3, German speakers were underrepresented among Habsburg overseas migrants during the first decade of the new century. After 1900 there was only a small number of individuals who migrated from the Alpine provinces (today Austria), but a surprisingly large number of German speakers left the Hungarian territories. For example, German speakers, many of them Jewish, originated from a minority in Bukovina where most people either spoke Ukrainian or Romanian. Another example were members of the German-speaking minority in the district of Kočevje in Carniola who left for the United States in surprisingly large numbers.

In fact, German-speaking, US-bound migrants primarily originated from areas in which Germans comprised the linguistic minority; these included, for instance, Bukovina and Carniola. Between 1901 and 1910, an average of about 25,000 German speakers from the Habsburg Empire undertook a transatlantic journey each year; two-thirds of whom originated from Hungarian counties.<sup>253</sup> Between 1902 and 1907, the proportion of this population among US migrants was almost twice that of their domestic population.<sup>254</sup> This is all the more unexpected a finding when we consider that their settlements, economic situation, and social status were all significantly better than those of Hungary's other ethnic and language groups. According to the US government, between the years 1902 to 1911, German speakers entering the country possessed more money than any other migrant group from Austria-Hungary. When arrivals were asked by immigration officials whether they possessed \$50, or more than that or less, nearly a quarter of adult German speakers in the 1910 sample of ship passenger lists declared \$50 or more, while over 80 percent of Slovaks or Croats entered the United States with less than \$50.<sup>255</sup>

Most individuals from the three counties that now form the Austrian Burgenland regarded their migration to the United States as temporary. After earning a certain amount of money, they intended to return to their home communities, where they would buy property and run an inn or other small business. In many instances, however, they changed minds and settled in the United States. Of the estimated 26,000 German speakers who migrated across the Atlantic from western Hungarian regions from 1899 to 1913, or some 13 percent of the overall population of those counties, less than 15 percent returned to the Kingdom—a much lower return rate than that of Austria-Hungary.<sup>256</sup>

These people moved in chains. Pioneers from western Hungarian villages began migrating overseas and were followed by others. The term *chain migration* refers to a social process of networks among kin, neighbors, and friends by which individuals from one location follow previous migrants from the same area.<sup>257</sup> American success stories spread and inspired relatives, friends, and neighbors to leave as well. The migration stories of Karl Krenn and Karl Reichl demonstrate the influence of network formation and chain movements in the history of migration. Krenn and Reichl, two peasants from the village of Limbach/Hárspatak, moved to Allentown, Pennsylvania, in 1888. By 1920, 74 parishioners from Limbach, which consisted of only a few hundred people, had likewise made their ways to Allentown. In total, there were more than one thousand people from today's Burgenland who migrated to Allentown from 1888 to the 1920s. There were similar chains of migration between Coplay, Pennsylvania, and the western Hungarian villages of Gerersdorf-Sulz/Németszentgrót-Sóskút, Neustift/Újtelep, and Inzenhof/Borosgödör near Güssing. The majority of German speakers from western Hungary chose Chicago for their new residence, making this the

“biggest Burgenländer city” in the world.<sup>258</sup> In contrast to most Habsburg territories, US-bound migration from what would later become Burgenland did not stop with World War I. In 1923, for instance, 6,683 overseas migrants, or 72 percent of the Austrian total for that year, originated from Burgenland.<sup>259</sup> Estimates show that even in the 1970s, there were more than 30,000 individuals (and descendants thereof) living in Chicago who had been born in Western Hungary and Burgenland. This was more than twice the population of Burgenland’s capital, Eisenstadt/Kismarton/Željezno.<sup>260</sup>

Once Jews and other German speakers had initiated overseas migrations they were followed in quick succession by Slovaks, Hungarians, Croats, Serbs, and other language groups. Thirring was the first to explain the process of information diffusion throughout the Kingdom. According to his studies, word of the opportunities in the United States was brought back by Slovak-speaking miners who crossed into Imperial Austria to work in Galician salt mines. Thirring went on, “America was looking for workers, they said, and anyone who went to work in a mine or factory there would make wages he could not dream of making in any part of the monarchy.”<sup>261</sup> Slovaks met recruitment agents who were searching the coal, salt, and petroleum regions of Galicia for cheap and unskilled European laborers for the rapidly developing US industries. By the terms of their contracts, the first US migrant miners could only leave the Pennsylvania coal mines if they found someone else to replace them, a requirement that played a large role in their urging others to migrate.<sup>262</sup> In her contemporary studies, Emily Greene Balch mentioned that Catholic Slovak speakers became aware of opportunities in America via Jewish neighbors who had migrated earlier.<sup>263</sup> Information on overseas opportunities spread from village to village and encouraged migrations from regions encompassing a series of neighboring towns and villages. International migration from Hungarian territories occurred, in general, in areas in which “the idea of emigration had penetrated [...] deeply into people’s minds.”<sup>264</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, migration had become an accepted and firmly entrenched custom among Slovaks wishing to supplement their income.<sup>265</sup>

After Galician Poles, Slovaks were both the second-largest group of US-bound Austro-Hungarian migrants, and the second-largest Slavic-speaking European group of migrants.<sup>266</sup> There were political and cultural reasons that Slovaks left the Kingdom of Hungary aside from economic opportunity and the US need for cheap laborers. Following the Compromise of 1867, the new Hungarian government began pressuring its minorities to *Magyarize*. In the 1870s, for example, all Slovak-language high schools were closed.<sup>267</sup> Officials in the Hungarian prime minister’s office and in the ministry of interior were well aware of increasing numbers of Slovaks migrating internationally, and initially welcomed the trend. Soon enough, however, Budapest officials began to worry about rising Slovak nationalist sentiment and Pan-Slav political

activity among those living in the United States.<sup>268</sup> Even so, Puskás concluded that she found no explicit correlation between the various ethnic groups' inclination to international migration and discrimination toward them.<sup>269</sup>

Agents for American railroads, coal mines, and the Pennsylvania iron and steel industries began to recognize the potential for sourcing laborers from Upper Hungary in the 1870s, and company representatives paid one-way fares to American for a few hundred Slovaks. For the past century at least, these people had grown accustomed to obtaining supplemental income from seasonal employment outside their region, and traveling to America was a continuance of that tradition. Now they began packing bags for a journey that differed in length, but not objective.<sup>270</sup> In an adjustment to earlier forms of temporary mobility, it became customary for Slovaks to take several trips between Europe and America. At least 19 percent of Slovaks who entered American ports between 1899 and 1910 had been in the United States before. It took the first arrivals only about six months to repay their \$80 trip by rail from the Hungarian Kingdom, then ship via Hamburg and Bremen, and then again by rail to their final US destination. These people sent letters, along with remittances, to family back home, urging others to join them in finding work in the New World. Younger folks were sometimes even accompanied by parents, who did not want to live in the Kingdom without them. Mark Stolarik has estimated that between 1870 and 1914, over 750,000 Slovaks crossed the Atlantic, and about one-third of them returned.<sup>271</sup> After decades of crossing the Atlantic, nearly a quarter of all Slovak-speaking people lived in the United States by 1914.

The first Slovaks who migrated to the new continent originated from the north-eastern counties of Spiš, Šariš, and Zemplín, all of which bordered western Galicia, the center of US-bound migration in Imperial Austria, and all rather industrialized in comparison to other Hungarian-ruled territories. Slovaks who were leaving the county of Šariš were better off with regard to property than most Hungarians.<sup>272</sup> By 1881, there were Zemplín natives working in Allegheny City laying tracks for the Pennsylvania Railroad. Slovak migrant John Lesniansky from Zemplín County was a "stable boss" for the railroad, and soon more and more migrants from these northern Hungarian counties arrived in Allegheny. The ability to secure a job through a fellow countryman clearly encouraged others to migrate overseas.<sup>273</sup> Slovaks who migrated to Philadelphia originated from the villages Palota and Borov, from the small town of Medzilaborce/Mezőlaborc in Zemplín County, and from Hutka in the county of Šariš. In the years that followed, inhabitants of the eastern county of Berehowe/Beregszász (today in Ukraine) began arriving in larger numbers.<sup>274</sup>

Within the fifteen years between 1899 and 1913, around 350,000 people left the counties on the right bank of the Tisza in Upper Hungary, totaling more than a quarter of all US-bound Hungarian migrants during that period. In the two years between 1905

and 1907, for example, almost 600 people left the city of Košice (population of 40,102 in 1900), which was an important industrial and cultural center in the Slovak-speaking territory.<sup>275</sup> The contiguous counties of Užský (today partly in Ukraine), Abov-Turňa/Abaúj-Torna, Liptov, Orava, Turiec/Turóc/Turz in the north, and Gemer/Gömör in the south all also had consistently high numbers of overseas migrants.<sup>276</sup> By the early 1900s, inhabitants from Upper Hungary's central and western counties had begun migrating to the Steel City—Pittsburgh—prominent among individuals from the counties of Nyitra and Bratislava.<sup>277</sup> Although Slovaks made up 43 percent of the overall movement from the Hungarian Kingdom to the United States, it should not be assumed that higher Slovak percentages of population necessarily equate to higher migration numbers. There were many areas in eastern and western Slovakia, especially more traditional and poor rural areas, from which there was no or almost no transatlantic migration. In areas where it was easy to find work year-round, on the other hand, the Slovak population left to make money in the United States.<sup>278</sup>

Up until 1903, Slovak speakers were in the lead in terms of US-bound migration; in 1904, they were outstripped by Hungarians speakers, followed by German speakers. Overseas migration among Romanians in the kingdom's southeast developed rather late and in an unusual manner. For the majority of the period under examination, their participation in transatlantic migration was much lower than their overall percentage of the population. Up until the turn of the century, the majority of Romanians in Transylvania were attracted to the Kingdom of Romania. It was only in the 1910s that their participation in US-bound migration became nearly proportional to their population ratio.<sup>279</sup> By 1907, the number of Romanian migrants traveling to the United States from the Hungarian Kingdom had nearly outpaced Slovaks and Hungarians. German-speaking inhabitants of Transylvania, so-called "Transylvania Saxons," were typically the first to leave the villages bordering the Kingdom of Romania in the Carpathian foothills. This pattern spread to Romanian peasants from ethnically mixed villages in Sibiu County, and to the German and Romanian populations of more than eight area villages.<sup>280</sup> The three other counties with an out-migration rate of more than 1.2 percent of their total population were Târnava Mare in Transylvania, and Veszprém/Wesprim and Tolna County in the right bank of the Danube, north and west of Lake Balaton.<sup>281</sup>

Hungary's south emerged as a prominent region for international migration in the years leading up to World War I, the counties of Torontál and Timiș/Tamiš/Temes in particular, the former of which is now largely part of Serbia and the latter in the Romanian Republic. Torontál County had perhaps the highest US-bound movement of all the Hungarian-ruled territories: the number of international migrants from that southern county, with a mixed population of Serbo-Croat, German, Hungarian, and Romanian speakers, shows that just 216 individuals left for America in 1899, and 268 in



1901; but by 1905, the number had soared to 6,715 migrants, and two years later tripled to 17,558 individuals crossing the Atlantic, nearly 3 percent of the county's total population. In 1908, when the US economy crashed, just 2,403 individuals left for America. By 1911, out-migration had leveled at about 4,000, and in 1913, the last complete year for statistics, there were 3,550 individuals who migrated to America.<sup>282</sup>

### 3.4 BACK TO AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Migration routes never have been one-way streets. As early as the end of the nineteenth century, scholar Ernest G. Ravenstein devoted one of his laws of migration to the principle of return migration: "Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current."<sup>283</sup> In the case of internal European migration patterns—whether inside the Habsburg Empire or beyond its national borders—many movements were impermanent, with a temporary, often seasonal, character. One sailed quite a distance in crossing the Atlantic, and for many this journey included one or more long train rides; nonetheless, there were still many intercontinental moves that were circular. Return migration to Europe is as old as European settlement in the Americas.<sup>284</sup> A full appreciation of return migration is a prerequisite for understanding the nature of transatlantic migration from Central Europe.

The subject of return migration and the social and economic consequences thereof was and is a vital component in the story of human mobility, but one which has only recently begun to attract serious attention from scholars, and there are few studies that address nineteenth-century return migration.<sup>285</sup> Given the high number of return migrants, it is surprising that this subject has not received more interest from migration history scholars. This might be because returnees have in some senses been viewed as "failures," who did not adapt to the host country or culture. On the contrary, it seems that the decision to return was just as likely the result of a positive reason as a negative, and rather than being viewed as failures, return migrants should be recognized as simply a part of a global migration system in which some people circulated around the world as easily as others moved frequently within circumscribed local areas.<sup>286</sup>

The motivation to undertake regional mobility is seldom determined by a single factor, and migrants returned home for a variety of reasons. Some came back with their pockets empty, health ruined, and their illusions shattered, but not all were bankrupt, ailing, or disaffected. Some who had left home with no thought of returning simply revised their decisions. A significant number of migrants went overseas with no intention of settling permanently, but rather with the goal of repatriating the income they hoped to make and therewith improving the economic situation of family in their home country. Migrants who intended to return based their intentions on not only their

immediate and prospective circumstances in the host economy, but also on expected future returns in their countries of origin.<sup>287</sup> In his study on transatlantic returnees, Mark Wyman summarized five major reasons that migrants returned: success or failure in the new home, homesickness, a call to take over the family farm or other property, and inability to integrate overseas.<sup>288</sup> Decision-making processes were often embedded in social relations. Family networks, networks of neighbors, and clientele were all highly influential when it came to migration, and the decision to return was likewise embedded in family and extended social networks.<sup>289</sup>

At the end of the nineteenth century, the increased globalization of the labor market allowed transcontinental migration to shift from a lifelong commitment to a temporary movement.<sup>290</sup> The majority of transatlantic migrants from Southern, Central, and Southeastern Europe crossed the Atlantic in search of employment in the growing industrial sector. The rapid industrialization of the United States was, by definition, linked with extensive changes in the labor market. In the 1870s, mines and factories began to outpace agriculture as the most dynamic economic sectors.<sup>291</sup> Europeans who had moved to the United States from the mid-nineteenth century up until the 1880s had been in search of land for farming, but later newcomers from East-Central Europe were looking to benefit from the higher pay to be earned in heavy industry, mining, and construction, and they returned with their savings to their home country.<sup>292</sup> Distance and communications were clearly important factors that affected rates of return, but so too was the intention driving the move overseas. By the early twentieth century, work-related moves all over the globe exhibited high return rates, because there was little intention of permanent settlement and innovations in travel had made return much easier.

As the expansion of railways and steamships made transportation more efficient, back-and-forth trips between Europe and the Americas became faster and, more importantly, cheaper. There were now millions of laborers en route within the Atlantic space for temporary and seasonal employment in North American mines and factories, or the Argentine Pampas. Individuals returned, in different numbers and eras, from all areas of settlement. Italian and Spanish agricultural laborers have been termed “birds of passage” or “golondrinas” as a result of their frequent seasonal Atlantic crossings.<sup>293</sup> Before World War I, the percentage of return migration among Italian, Spanish, and Southeastern European workers was very high. Temporary long-distance movements were well-suited to their household strategies, which were based on a tradition of income pooling and seasonal moves. The only difference by the end of the century was the scale of their fields of migration.<sup>294</sup> The 1904 steamship company ticket war that reduced ticket prices by nearly half did not result in an exceptional rise in westbound voyages from Europe, but rather increased eastbound return rates from the United States.<sup>295</sup> Previous transatlantic migrants took the opportunity for a cheap return trip

or for an affordable visit to the old country. Because it was becoming relatively easy to return, the decision to leave could be taken somewhat more lightly. It was more manageable for migrants who had problems adjusting to the new environment to turn back. In a memoir written by one Polish transatlantic migrant, the son of a Galician smallholder, he detailed how this influenced his decision to leave in the first place:

I was receiving letters from my sister, my uncle, and aunts from America; they also sent pictures. They were dressed so nicely that I could not understand how simple workers could afford such things. For a long time I was deliberating about America—what a strange country it is. A photograph shows that they are well fed, and in addition they send money to their relatives. . . . After prolonged deliberation I decided to risk my savings for a ticket to America, if only to see it with my own eyes and try my luck there. Were I to fail, I thought, I was planning to return to Poland.<sup>296</sup>

According to studies carried out by Dudley Baines, between a quarter and one-third of all late nineteenth-century transatlantic migrants returned to Europe, and he emphasizes the significant influence that repatriates had on society in their native countries.<sup>297</sup> Between 1870 and 1914, an average of up to 40 percent of all transcontinental migrants from England and Wales returned to the British Isles; likewise, more than 30 percent of migrants from Scotland (which was, beside Ireland and Norway, one of the countries with the highest number of overseas migrants per capita) returned from North America.<sup>298</sup> Less than half of the southern Italians who left in the first decade of the twentieth century remained in the United States.<sup>299</sup> Even in the case of the Russian Empire, which officially banned international migration, we find that between 1908 and 1914, up to 35 percent of those who left illegally returned.<sup>300</sup> In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the United States and Canada considered those who arrived in their countries as immigrants, even though the vast majority of those individuals came as temporary laborers who eventually intended to return to their countries of origin. In 1908, US officials began tabulating the number of passengers on eastbound ships to Europe; however, migrants who left via Mexico or Canada were of course not included in this number. Between 1908 and 1957, 15.7 million new arrivals were documented in the United States, and during the same period, 4.8 million left and most often returned to their places of origin.<sup>301</sup> This is flow data, so the US administration was counting migrations, not individuals, and since many individuals moved back-and-forth multiple times, they were likely recorded more than once. Official US government data and shipping company passenger statistics show that between 1900 and 1914 nearly half of all migrants between Europe and America crossed the Atlantic more than once.<sup>302</sup> It is very difficult to establish how many individuals returned from the Americas, because statistics are particularly inconsistent in this regard.<sup>303</sup> According

to US Immigration Bureau records, the return rate to Imperial Austria was 39.5 percent, and the percentage of those who returned to the Hungarian Kingdom was slightly lower, at 37.9 percent. For many, that had always been the plan. About 1.2 million Austro-Hungarians moved to the United States between 1908 and 1913, and about 460,000 returned. According to US Department of Labor data, more than half of all Croats and Slovenes left between 1908 to 1923. The return ratio for Hungarian speakers was 66 percent, 57 percent for Slovaks, and about 40 percent for Poles. In 1902, for example, the rate of individuals who returned to Hungarian-ruled Liptov County has been estimated at 50 percent.<sup>304</sup> 42 percent of all individual who moved to Argentina between 1857 and 1920 returned to Imperial Austria.<sup>305</sup>

Between 1900 and World War I, most of those who left Austria-Hungary for the United States had little intention of settling there for good. According to Adam Walaszek's study on the transatlantic labor migrations of Poles, the majority of these individuals intended to return to their places of origin.<sup>306</sup> They planned to stay only temporarily, and they made use of opportunities to earn money that would relieve financial difficulties back home. "Most of the Bohunks came to America intending to stay two or three years . . . work to the limit of their endurance . . . and then, returning to the Old Country, pay the debt on the old place, buy a few additional fields and heads of cattle, and start anew," recalled Louis Adamic, who left Imperial Austria in 1913 at the age of sixteen.<sup>307</sup> An oral history survey of Yugoslav migrants in the United States found that two-thirds of the migrants who arrived before 1910 had planned to return.<sup>308</sup> Many desired financial independence, or at least an improvement in their economic lot, and hoped a few years of work in America would allow them to realize these dreams. It was a common mobility pattern for married men to leave their families behind in Europe and return to join them again after a few years in America. Young couples planned to build houses of their own, others wanted to buy a few acres of land so that they could work for themselves, or save up enough to buy a small store or a shop and necessary tools. In the early twentieth century, the cost of living was much cheaper in Central Europe, and it was economically rational for migrants to spend and invest money earned abroad back in Europe. Repatriates also made use of skills acquired in the US labor market. The ability to cope with new technologies and faster production processes were qualifications in high demand in many industrializing European regions.<sup>309</sup>

The majority of countries gathered information on incoming aliens, but not citizens who returned. As mentioned, the Imperial Austrian administration ceased to record data on citizens who left and entered the country in the second half of the nineteenth century, while the Hungarian administration recorded the international moves of its subjects. According to Puskás, the Hungarian administration's data on return migration are the weakest among its statistical records, but the simple existence of data on repatriates for every year between 1899 and 1913 nonetheless represent an

invaluable resource.<sup>310</sup> These data on migrant returns from America are even exceptional in a European-wide context. Figure 3.6, which is based on return records from the Hungarian statistical office, compares the numbers of migrants and return migrants from the Hungarian Kingdom with the number of unemployed individuals in the United States between 1899 to 1913.

The number of individuals who migrated to the United States from Hungarian-ruled territories constantly increased from 1899 through 1904, with return rates following that growth until 1903, when the latter fell slightly until 1905. Of all eras, it was between 1905 and 1907 that the most individuals left the Hungarian Kingdom, when more than 550,000 passengers crossed the Atlantic; this accounted for more than a quarter of all US migrants between 1871 and 1913. Although unemployment rates began growing in 1906, and culminated in a downturn in the US economy in late 1907 and 1908, 1907 was in fact the year with the highest number of new arrivals (209,169 individuals). In 1908, only 52,942 migrants from the Hungarian Kingdom boarded ships for Ellis Island, while 53,770 individuals who had originated from Hungarian-ruled territories left the United States for Europe. In 1908, the Cunard ship *Carmania* arrived in Rijeka with 1,700 return migrants and reversed westbound to New York with only 239 passengers on board.<sup>311</sup> The 1907/8 economic depression stands out as a time during which factories and mines from Pittsburgh to St. Louis laid off tens of thousands of European labor migrants who flooded back to Europe, permanently reducing the number of European newcomers. After the recovery of the US labor market, Hungarian patterns more or less resumed the old trajectory of 1899 to 1904, never again to rise to the levels of 1907, while the number of returnees remained slightly higher. Although US unemployment rates were closely connected to transatlantic migration from Europe, the return ratio only resembled unemployment in 1908, meaning that men and women returned in other years for myriad other reasons.<sup>312</sup>

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Europeans who wanted to cross the Atlantic were well informed about the economic and social conditions overseas. They were highly aware of their own economic interests, and sensitive to even small shifts in the labor market abroad, which affected the high rate of return migration.<sup>313</sup> In addition to advice from relatives and friends in the United States, and jobs advertised via shipping company agents, migrant groups also developed their own ethnic presses aimed at keeping its members up-to-date about developments in the homeland. The transfer of information also traveled in the opposite direction as well. American migrant papers made their ways to Europe, and the European press published information on conditions in the United States.<sup>314</sup> In this way, the press fulfilled its function by enabling migrants to plan and manage their (return) migration projects.<sup>315</sup> When there was an economic downturn in the United States, the number of Europeans crossing the Atlantic went down.

Because Imperial Austria did not keep records for repatriates from the United States, it is difficult to obtain information on the return rates of diverse ethnolinguistic groups. At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, passengers who crossed the Atlantic in third or steerage class were asked if this was their first trip, and, if not, where and how long they had previously been in the United States. Italians and Spaniards are well known for their frequent crossings, but Central Europeans also tended to travel back and forth several times. According to estimates from that time, at least 23 to 25 percent of transatlantic laborers from the Kingdom of Hungary had traveled overseas and back at least twice. Some long-distance travelers from Hungarian-ruled territories crossed the Atlantic as many as eight times. A man named Branko Grado from Dalmatia is reported to have undertaken seventeen trips to the United States.<sup>316</sup> Between 1899 and 1910 the Immigration Commission reported that 19 percent of all Slovak-speaking migrants and 11 percent of all Hungarian-speaking migrants had previously been in the United States.<sup>317</sup> A study on transatlantic mobility in the village of Babica, in Rzeszów County, Western Galicia, reported, for instance, that 34.5 percent of the total number of pre-World War I return migrants had traveled to America more than once, 20.7 percent went twice, and 13.8 percent crossed the Atlantic three times.<sup>318</sup>

As demonstrated in table 3.6, in 1910 transatlantic migrants from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary demonstrated different rates of multiple transatlantic trips according to ethnolinguistic characteristics. The lowest number of repeated Atlantic crossings can be found among Czech-speaking migrants and Jews from Habsburg-ruled territories; only around 10 percent of these passengers had embarked upon a transatlantic steamship three or more times, whereas among other groups this rate might be as high as 34 percent for migrant who spoke Croatian or even 40 percent for the case of the Slovak speakers. In addition to economic and personal reasons, return rates also related to the extent to which movements were a component of broader migration and settlement processes.<sup>319</sup> Thus, those who migrated to the US to acquire cheap land via the Homestead Act had a distinctly lower rate of return, whereas those who migrated for industrial jobs tended to participate in a higher rate of repeated moves. During the second half of the nineteenth century, individuals from the Czech Lands were first among Habsburg citizens to cross the Atlantic in relatively high numbers.<sup>320</sup> As the main goal of early transatlantic migrants from Bohemia and Moravia was to acquire and cultivate their own land, it is not surprising that Czech-speaking men and women, who tended to leave Europe in family groups and settle in the US countryside for good, were less likely to journey back-and-forth.<sup>321</sup> The ratio of repeat crossings also was low among Central European Jews. Although they were often persecuted and suffered discrimination in Europe, nonetheless, up to 20 percent chose to return. Wyman mentions the story of a Galician Jew who around 1900 described the return of his uncle as a traditional pattern.<sup>322</sup>

TABLE 3.6 Repeat US-bound migration from the Habsburg Empire by ethnic group, 1910

Ethnic group <sup>a</sup>	Number <sup>b</sup>	Percentage of repeat migrants <sup>c</sup>	Women among repeat migrants
Poles	3,861	20.8	15.8
Slovaks	2,295	40.0	18.0
Germans	1,258	21.5	29.9
Ukrainians	1,034	23.0	14.7
Czechs	935	9.6	41.1
Croats	510	33.7	2.3
Hungarians	497	30.2	24.7
Jews	397	10.1	30.0
Romanians	217	30.3	10.4
Slovenes	186	32.3	8.3
Total	11,190	25.2	19.5

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1891–1957. [Record Group 85]. Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, NY, 1897–1957. T715. National Archives and Records Administration [NARA] Microfilm Publication. Calculated from a sample of twenty-two voyages selected from calendar year 1910.

<sup>a</sup> Ship passenger classifications are largely language-based.

<sup>b</sup> Migrants 15 years of age and older.

<sup>c</sup> All repeat migrants are included, regardless of how often they crossed the Atlantic.

The high number of multiple trips taken by Slovak speakers vividly demonstrates the temporary character of transatlantic labor migrations during the first decade of the twentieth century; about 40 percent of Slovaks in the 1910 sample of ship passenger lists moved back-and-forth between Europe and the United States. For many Slovaks, traveling to America initially represented a continuation of their tradition to seasonal mobility, and they intended to remain only temporarily. The Dillingham Commission discovered that between 1908 and 1910 more than half of all Slovaks (59 percent) returned to Europe after five to ten years in the United States.<sup>323</sup> According to Hungarian statistics, it was common for individuals from this group to make several trips between Europe and the United States; at least 19 percent of Slovak international migrants who entered US ports between 1899 and 1910 had been there before.<sup>324</sup>

While the Hungarian government continued to discourage its citizens from moving overseas, its officials began actively promoting repatriations, in particular the repatriation of what the government considered the most desirable “patriotic”



Hungarian-speaking nationals. The rationale behind the so-called “American Action” was part of the overall politics of *Magyarization*, which aimed to create a “homogeneous Magyar nation-state.” The government supported the repatriation of “loyal” Hungarian speakers with direct subsidies for their return journeys, while Slovaks, Romanians, Jews, and others were more or less encouraged to leave the country. These repatriated citizens were just one side of the coin, however, as return migrants also had the potential to pose an economic risk to the state. Individuals might have failed or families lost their main breadwinner in industrial or mining accidents, and came back home penniless. In the end, most people who returned based their decisions on family, economy, and work-related causes, not on invitations by the Hungarian government.<sup>325</sup>

The Polish and Slovak individuals arriving in the United States after the 1890s were employed in the same factories and sweatshops, but the frequency of their Atlantic crossings differed. The fact there were about twice as many Slovak speakers as Polish speakers who took repeated trips in 1910 will require additional analysis. According to Frances Kraljic’s studies on Croats who moved to the United States, new arrivals showed higher return rates than others who had gone before. Return rates among Croats from hinterland districts such as Zagreb were higher than among those from the coastal districts of Dalmatia. Croats from Dalmatia had cultivated knowledge about migration as a temporary solution earlier than Croats living in the interior. As a result, Croats and others from Dalmatia had already begun undertaking temporary migrations to the United States in the second-half of the nineteenth century and by the early years of the twentieth century, and were becoming more permanent settlers with families.<sup>326</sup> This type of settlement pattern may have been common. Poles, for instance, who had begun crossing the Atlantic in higher numbers in the 1890s, had established a more permanent pattern by 1910, while the newly arriving Slovaks were still moving back-and-forth.

Repeat transatlantic crossing rates were likewise high among Croats and Slovenes in 1910; up to 40 percent returned to Europe, and about one-third undertook several steamship voyages.<sup>327</sup> The high number of US repatriates who arrived at Mediterranean ports supports this finding, even if not all of these individuals were South Slavs.<sup>328</sup> The migrants from Mediterranean coastal regions of the Habsburg Empire were overwhelmingly men, many of them married, and intending to find temporary employment in Pennsylvania’s steel factories and mines or on the Iron Range in Minnesota. Many decided to go back home after a few years of working under harsh conditions in the United States.<sup>329</sup> Not all of them remained in Europe following their return: some went back to Austria-Hungary to find a spouse with whom to return to the United States, others returned to the United States because they did not succeed as repatriates. Between 1908 to 1914, the overall return rate of Croats was 44 percent.<sup>330</sup>

Return migration was largely a men's movement. As demonstrated in table 3.6, there was a clear and overwhelming tendency for repatriates to Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary to be men. This finding emphasizes the idea that men moved on their own for employment reasons, potentially leaving their families behind, and if this was the case it is little surprise that they were more likely to return. Women, in comparison, participated in repeat transatlantic crossings in much lower numbers. It was predominantly male laborers who embarked upon multiple steamship journeys, with the participation of female Croats, Slovenes, and Romanians (10 percent and less) being exceptionally low. The opportunities provided by the US labor market differed by gender, but by the turn of the century there were also many jobs available for women. South and Southeastern Europe had fewer job opportunities for women, and a return to Europe might involve a sharp decline in economic standing.<sup>331</sup> Besides, at the beginning of the twentieth century, men were in the clear majority of the US population in the age cohort of eighteen to thirty years. These surplus men, when still single, formed a "lucrative" marriage market. Unlike the high number of married men who migrated temporarily, young single women were more likely to leave Europe with the intention of permanently settling on a new continent and starting a family of their own.<sup>332</sup> According to Marita Krauss, the decision made by many young women to move on their own can also be interpreted as a process in the replacement of old, largely patriarchal traditions with a new way of living. These routes women took were often difficult to reverse, because a return to their society of origin implied a return to patriarchy.<sup>333</sup>

For those who left, migration implied a fresh start in a new environment, but for those who stayed behind, the loss of a family member or friend might have other implications. The social and economic positions that migrants had formerly held became vacant and had to be filled; social configurations needed to be rearranged. Larger-scale migrations could initiate extensive social changes in communities of origin.<sup>334</sup> Demographic consequences of spatial mobility are a subject that continues to be largely ignored in historical studies. What happens to the other gender when a predominance of men or women leave?<sup>335</sup> The ones left behind, most often women with children, might have had difficulty coping without a male breadwinner present. Not all migrants were able to obtain (or keep) a decent job in the United States, and they might not have been able to support families in Europe. This situation had the potential to be aggravated by uncertainty regarding whether the husband would return.<sup>336</sup> Literacy rates were high among US-bound migrants. While about 58 percent of Ukrainian and Croat speakers were able to read and write, these rates were much higher among the Czech-speaking (99 percent) and Jewish migrants (91 percent). Those left behind did not always welcome those who returned with open arms, and might be distrustful of returnees' new perspectives or broadened horizons. This was the experience of the Polish-speaking migrant Walek, who moved to Scranton, Pennsylvania,

and later on to the Ruhr Valley in Germany. Upon return to Poznań, in the German Reich, Walek found that his experiences abroad aroused suspicion. Local village leaders, particularly priests, were generally upset by the penchant repatriated Poles had for challenging their authority, and warned compatriots about corrupt ways of westernized Poles.<sup>337</sup> The Imperial Austrian and Hungarian Kingdom administrations might likewise view the return of transatlantic migrants with some scepticism, even if they returned with financial means. Repatriates might return with political ideas that were considered undesirable or threatening. The reservations expressed in a 1904 report of the sub-prefect of Heves County in the Hungarian Kingdom were not uncommon.

The international ideals of the New World corrupt the moral purity of decent Hungarians, reshape their typical character, destroy their sober common sense, their respect for others and their self-control. Familiarity with the more efficient and highly developed government of America, greater individual rights, more efficient bureaucracy, and smaller tax burdens make them dissatisfied with what they find here on their return, and it is to be feared that if they come back for good they will become the incendiaries of passions and disaffections, enemies of law and order; the foreign spirit consumes the emigrants' soul in secret, and at home the family hearth becomes a wasps' nest.<sup>338</sup>

Migrants might be treated by the sedentary or persisting population as “traitors” who had abandoned them on the one hand, or might on the other hand be seen as shining beacons of a better future for the entire community. As mentioned, migrants who had spent time working in a more industrialized society may have learned alternative or more efficient production methods.<sup>339</sup> Even so, the transfer of new skills and experiences was not a simple process. Local authorities, estate owners, and even those who stayed behind opposed the new methods of industrial production that repatriates attempted to introduce. It was not uncommon for return migrants to be mockingly labeled—the term *chuligani pruscy* was used to refer to Polish migrants who had returned from the German Reich, and *amerykanie* was used to refer to US return migrants.<sup>340</sup> Not all migrants introduced new skills and ideas into their home communities. South Italian migrants to the United States, for example, sent remittances and brought back financial support to improve their individual lifestyles, but these did not remedy the social and agricultural difficulties of South Italian communities.<sup>341</sup>

The freedom to move, and move again, was a liberty that inhabitants from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary exercised within their territories, within Europe, across the North Atlantic, and within the United States. The freedom of a transatlantic voyage came to a sudden end in the summer of 1914 with the beginning of World War I. The 1914 report of the US Commissioner of Immigration tracked changes in “alien arrivals” that summer as compared to the two previous years. In July 1913, there

were more than 157,000 international migrants who arrived at US ports; in August 1913, there were more than 146,000, and in September of that year, more than 159,000. In 1914, in contrast, the number of new arrivals dropped to fewer than 75,000 in July, and 15,607 in the first six days of August before the British imposed a blockade of Central Powers seaports. Thereafter, arrivals at US ports for the rest of August and all of September fell to a rate of just one-third that of the same months in 1913.<sup>342</sup> In 1915, the Immigration Bureau documented 326,700 migrant arrivals and 204,074 departures; the first figure was just one-fourth the rate of fiscal year 1914, and the second figure was two-thirds higher than fiscal year 1914. By the end of the war in 1918/19, the number of arrivals was almost completely offset by departures, and both figures were at only about 200,000 per year, not even one-sixth the level of arrivals in the final year before the war.<sup>343</sup> Even some of the most successful Central European migrants were traumatized by their professional and social treatment in the United States during the war, and it is no surprise that many chose to go back to Europe. The anthropologist Franz Boas, for example, who had migrated from Berlin in the mid-1880s and had become one of the leading figures in his field, wished that he had moved back to the German Empire when he still had a chance in 1916, because of the anti-German sentiment once the United States entered the war.<sup>344</sup>

Although the United States remained neutral in the Great War until April 1917, the global conflict had an almost immediate effect on international migration. The freedom that individuals from Habsburg-ruled territories had enjoyed in working and living on two continents abruptly ended, never to be fully restored. Congress sought to restrict the admission of new arrivals even before the United States had entered the war. The US Commissioner of Immigration wrote in his 1920 report about the effects of the war:

The formerly large annual exodus to Austria-Hungary, Russia, and other eastern European countries almost entirely ceased. . . . [I]f normal conditions had continued during the last five years it may be presumed that approximately 1,500,000 aliens would have returned to Europe, instead of the 530,000 who actually did return. It is natural to suppose that many whose home-going has thus been deferred will depart whenever steamship facilities are available. . . . [R]eports have reached the Department, however, which indicate the disturbed conditions prevailing in Europe have led many to postpone if not abandon that purpose.<sup>345</sup>

In the fiscal year 1920 return migration grew to more than 288,000, and almost one-quarter of a million individuals left the United States the following year. In 1921 and 1924, however, Congress passed additional laws restricting immigration that had the effect of discouraging would-be repatriates who had not been naturalized and were thus not guaranteed readmittance to the United States upon subsequent westbound voyages.<sup>346</sup>



## ON MULTIPLE ROUTES FROM, TO, AND WITHIN CENTRAL EUROPE

**W**ITHIN MIGRATION RESEARCH as a whole, diverse fields of internal, continental, and transatlantic movements were long studied in isolation from one another. Transatlantic migration, in particular, has often been regarded as a single path, with all migrants treated as part of the same migration pattern. As a result, regionally mobile individuals have been inaccurately lumped together into a one-dimensional phenomenon.<sup>1</sup> Most countries and regions that have been the source of large-scale out-migration have also experienced substantial levels of spatial mobility within their borders. Take, for example, the massive movements between 1840 and 1940 of up to 60 million Europeans to the Americas, which itself was part of the still higher rate of intra-European migrations taking place during the same period.<sup>2</sup> Between 1891 and 1914, there were up to two million individuals who moved from Galicia to the German Empire; this was about twice as many as those who went overseas in the same years.<sup>3</sup> Generally speaking, migration research has long persisted in restricting its attention to movements of large numbers of people over long distances and across international borders. Historians thus have failed to recognize the implications of short-distance mobility and underestimated earlier population mobility. Most studies have also examined transoceanic migration patterns in isolation, without linking these to other internal or long-distance movements. This chapter, therefore, will pull various migration paths into conversation, and in so doing will address a series of questions regarding the relationships and linkages between the same.

According to new approaches in migration studies, the field is still characterized by numerous binaries, such as the classifications of forced and voluntary moves, seasonal and permanent movement patterns, legal and illegal migration, and the bifurcation of migration itself into the separate fields of emigration and immigration.<sup>4</sup> One of the most basic of these contrived dualities is that of internal and international migration. With regard to late nineteenth-century Europe, this has resulted in the estrangement of intranational, international, and transoceanic migration patterns. In most recent social science surveys of world migration, the term *migration* is most often used to refer to international migrations, and the authors of these studies more or less ignore intranational movements.<sup>5</sup> Earlier migration studies, on the other hand, such as Ravenstein's "Laws of Migration" were primarily about internal migration and touched little on international movement.<sup>6</sup>

Contrary to what scholarly classifications and dogmatic pigeonholing might tell us, the boundaries between internal and international migrations are in fact far from clear. Distance, for instance, is in no way a criterion by which to distinguish the two. At the end of the nineteenth century, labor migrants from West Galicia crossed over the Austro-Hungarian border to work in the industrial region surrounding Katowice in the German Reich in the course of a journey amounting to less than 50 kilometers, while Slovene- and Italian-speaking construction workers walked for hundreds of kilometers without crossing any state borders to work at Vienna's larger building sites. As a result of political changes, internal migration might, furthermore, become international migration, and vice versa. World War I led to the end of the Habsburg Empire, and after 1918 what had previously been the internal migration of Bohemians in Vienna became a matter of international migration from Czechoslovakia. Today, the European Union has created a frontier-free *Schengenland*, a borderless zone within which mobility bears more of a resemblance to internal than international migration.<sup>7</sup> State boundaries were far from self-evident and in an ongoing process of being redrawn.<sup>8</sup> Borders change over time—they appear, disappear, and move across human settlements. The new nation-state boundaries that were drawn following the 1918 collapse of European Empires provide an elaborate example of how international borders move across people. The self-establishment of nation-states in nineteenth-century Europe led in many senses to an increase in the relevance of borders, but there are several examples of administrations and migrants themselves refusing to acknowledge alterations of this kind.<sup>9</sup> It is, therefore, essential to the development of migration history to ask whether migrants themselves recognized cultural differences between a move within a state and one to a neighboring village on the other side of that state border.<sup>10</sup>

Recent research in migration studies stresses the fact that international moves often include crossing linguistic and cultural barriers. This is not always the case, however, and in some instances, such obstacles are and were similarly evident in internal moves, such



as those within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with its more than ten official languages, mix of religions (Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Ukrainian Orthodox, Muslim, etc.), and diverse socioeconomic conditions—such as highly industrialized portions of the north and west, and largely agricultural regions in the east and south. Movement within the Habsburg Empire entailed crossing linguistic, cultural, and socioeconomic borders, and serves to argue the idea that there is no a priori reason why internal, continental, and overseas migration should be treated as separate phenomena.<sup>11</sup>

There is a notion within historical migration research that it is important to be able to capture various migration patterns within a single research design, and there are few studies on links between internal and international movements. In the 1960s, British historian Frank Thistlethwaite began arguing the interdependence of transatlantic and other migration activity:

In short, trans-oceanic migration was only one aspect of a bewilderingly complex pattern of tidal currents which carried not merely Norwegian settlers to Minnesota homesteads and Irish immigrants to New York tenements, but Polish peasants to *and from* East German estates, Appalachian coal mines and Silesian steelworks, Italian labourers to and from Chicago, Illinois, and Homécourt, France, Italian hotel workers to and from Lausanne, Nice and Rio de Janeiro, Scotsmen to and from London and Buenos Aires and Spaniards to and from Marseilles and Santos. We are a long way from a simple case of “American fever.”<sup>12</sup>

In order to understand transatlantic moves, it is necessary to study migration patterns within Europe and to explore correlations between internal and outward migration, between continental and intercontinental migration, between permanent and seasonal migration, and the relationships of all of these to social mobility more generally. Thistlethwaite’s call to combine research on internal and transatlantic migration was taken up and expanded by pioneering Scandinavian scholars, most of whom concentrated on the issue of stage migration: how many urban transatlantic migrants had come originally from rural areas? Migrants from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland may have made frequent moves within their own countries, and transatlantic migration rates from Scandinavian towns tended to be higher than those from rural areas. One commonly expressed view is that the towns drew migrants from surrounding rural areas, and later some of these went overseas.<sup>13</sup> In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, for example, less than half of all transatlantic passengers from Bergen, Norway had been born there.<sup>14</sup> Figures like these underscore Sune Åkerman’s statement that “the decision to migrate overseas was made most commonly by persons who had previously taken part in internal migration.”<sup>15</sup> Scandinavian historians now generally accept the idea that many of the transatlantic migrants from cities were stage migrants born in rural areas.

A few decades ago, scholars began to reexamine interwoven patterns of transatlantic, continental, and internal migration.<sup>16</sup> In the early 1980s, Klaus J. Bade adopted the concept of *interwoven migration patterns* for his examination of spatial mobility in the German Reich. Using a new approach in social-historical migration research, he argued that in order to understand human mobility we must analyze the diverse migration patterns that occur within individual socioeconomic contexts.<sup>17</sup> In contrast to the abovementioned Scandinavian research, with its stepwise moves from villages to towns to other continents, Bade established a rather formal sequence of a preindustrial migration pattern that was followed by regional mobility during industrialization in the German Reich's northeast. Bade's emphasis lies upon alternating trends in migration patterns: "the framework of the migration process itself was characterized by the intrinsic coherence and mutual interactions of overseas emigration, internal migration out of agriculture, and continental immigration,"<sup>18</sup> and thus "the currents of migration, pointing overseas before, by the mid-1890s became part of the internal German migration streams, while Germany as a whole experienced the period of rapid transition to industrial mass society."<sup>19</sup> He furthermore observed that "the waves of overseas emigration, internal migration, and continental immigration developed differently and began at varying times."<sup>20</sup> The conclusion we should draw from his work is that it would be highly problematic to treat migration to the Americas as separate from other spatial mobility patterns, if for no other reason than that migration is not a single, isolated event, but rather part of a medium- and long-term process.

Taking up approaches from migration research carried out in Germany, Heinz Faßmann's study on regional mobility in the Habsburg Empire also deals with emigration, immigration, and internal migration. He defines four phases of Central European spatial mobility patterns. According to his approach, these phases are characterized by increased mobilization of the population accompanied by increased migration distances. In the decades before World War I, a new migration pattern emerged: transatlantic movements.<sup>21</sup> Rather than recognizing these mobility patterns as parts of the same phenomenon or as a formal sequence as did Bade, Faßmann concludes that "internal migration was numerically far more important than emigration or even immigration; [. . .] The differences between internal migration and emigration in Cis- and Transleithania support the second conclusion that it was a question of separate migration systems with different mechanisms and demographic-social structures."<sup>22</sup> In his article summary Faßmann asserts that:

Internal migration and emigration were two separate phenomena which were not linked in any time sequence. Regions with a high proportion of internal migration had a low rate of emigration. For example, the population of Bohemia was highly involved in internal migration but only slightly in overseas migration. The situation was the exact opposite in Galicia.<sup>23</sup>

In a pioneering study on nineteenth-century transatlantic migration from Great Britain, Brinley Thomas argues that periods of high internal migration and high international migration reoccur in cyclical intervals over a long time span.<sup>24</sup> Based on Brinley's analyses, the economic historian Dudley Baines is interested in relations between internal and international moves in England and Wales during the second half of the nineteenth century. In contrast to the idea that people leave because a lack of industrial development, as has been argued with regard to the German Reich where overseas migration decreased toward the end of the nineteenth century when industrial growth provided sufficient impetus to remain in the country, Baines observes exactly the opposite for England. There, the rate of international mobility rose as the country became more urban and industrial. He argues that, in theory, potential migrants were faced with the options of moving to another part of the country, moving to another European country, or going overseas. According to him: "A model that ignores internal migration assumes that emigration and internal migration were not alternatives."<sup>25</sup> Instead of taking the full spectrum of movement types into account, however, Baines restricts his approach to single-direction movements from the countryside to the city. He argues that "the relation between urban growth and emigration has been an important issue in the literature on European emigration. Migration to the cities and emigration have often been thought of as substitutes because a potential emigrant had the option of moving to a city within his own country."<sup>26</sup> In his detailed statistical analyses of rural and urban counties, Baines concludes that, in general, there is no evidence of a significant relationship between rates of international and internal migration.<sup>27</sup>

Contrary to earlier studies on the relationship between internal and international migration patterns in the German Reich and Great Britain, Ewa Morawska's path-breaking studies on transatlantic migration from East Central Europe conducted in the 1980s describe the "American option" as an opportunity to extend seasonal and permanent labor migration across the Atlantic. This opportunity appeared in Central Europe during the last decades of the nineteenth century at the time of the mobilization of the peasantry:

Their [East Central Europeans'] movements did not necessarily follow a sequential pattern that increasingly took them farther and farther away from home and tradition: first seasonal migrations within the region and the breakdown of village isolation, then movement to western Europe and changes in attitudes, and finally a trip to America. All these trends coincided in time; they occurred simultaneously and mutually reinforced one another. [...] Moreover, the decision of any one individual was the result of a number of complex calculations and a variety of complementary motives.<sup>28</sup>

Leslie Page Moch's article on European migration perspectives also poses questions about linkages between pre-1914 temporary movements within Europe and the patterns of permanent relocation that shifted populations to European cities and the Western Hemisphere more broadly, as well as whether different destinations had the potential to be part of the same migration itinerary. Moch asks if people moved from town to cities or from cities to the Americas in step migration systems, and if men and women chose alternate destinations.<sup>29</sup> She concludes with the proposition that in Europe, "the proliferation of migration streams and choices of destinations was not a difference in kind from past movement; it was rather a difference in distance traveled."<sup>30</sup>

In his study on Spanish migrants in Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1850–1930, José Moya also discusses linkages between different migration patterns. He discovers that (1) industrialized areas in Spain simultaneously attracted internal migrants and sent natives overseas, (2) that those industrialized areas often served as stepping stones in stage migration, and (3) that there is an element of delay in stage migration—that is, members of one generation migrated from the countryside to industrial centers, while those of the next generation moved from the industrial towns of their birth to overseas. According to Moya, in the context of developing capitalism, internal migration to industrial centers and transatlantic movement were part of similar spatial mobility processes, but it is difficult to pinpoint the relative timing and causation of these two patterns.<sup>31</sup> He further emphasizes that "internal migration may have at times curbed the overseas streams by offering alternatives to it [. . .] On another level, however, internal movements clearly fostered overseas emigration by loosening traditional ties to the soil and by abetting the propagation of information about overseas opportunities."<sup>32</sup> Moya's innovative study concludes that short- and long-range internal mobility facilitated overseas migration in more than one way.<sup>33</sup>

A more recent publication by Marcelo Borges on the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century transatlantic migrations of Portuguese to Argentina questions the connectedness of different migration patterns. While the majority of transatlantic migrants from Portugal moved to Brazil, people from the Algarve went to Argentina. These migrants in the direction of Argentina took part in different migration patterns: internal to southern Spain and Gibraltar, continental to northern Europe, and transatlantic to the Americas and Africa. Based on Jan Lucassen's concept of migration systems, Borges states that their transatlantic patterns "emerged in the context of a long regional migratory tradition and as part of broader systems of labor migration that included overlapping circuits of internal, medium-distance, and international migration."<sup>34</sup> Borges understands transatlantic labor migration as an extension of previous migratory practices, and he believes that individuals use the experiences, knowledge, and resources acquired during the one to realize the other. Movements to new continents did not occur in a vacuum, and in order to understand the development of those movements it is necessary to recognize their connection to previous and extant migration strategies.<sup>35</sup>

Ulf Brunnbauer's recent scholarship also addresses stages of Southeastern European labor migration, from spatial mobility within regions, to the eastern Mediterranean, and on to transatlantic journeys.<sup>36</sup> Mobility traditions, for example, supported the readiness of young Macedonians to expand their migration radius and travel to the United States.<sup>37</sup> According to Brunnbauer's study, seasonal migration produced socioeconomic effects similar to international migration, and both paths were caused by similar socioeconomic and cultural factors. It was not a given, however, that temporary, short-distance steps would result in longer-distance travels or overseas movement. Seasonal movements remained the dominant migration patterns in the eastern part of the Balkans, even as late as the late nineteenth century when thousands of individuals were undertaking transatlantic journeys from the Adriatic and Ionian coastal areas. In some areas, migration patterns even interconnected, such as was the case when seasonal migrants took over the jobs of those who had headed to the United States. The geographic expansion of migration distances were most often gradual processes, however, which included the crossing of international borders and also implied cultural and political changes. International migration paths demanded official documents, more in-depth inspections by police or other administrative bodies, and the observation of specific rules for foreigners in destination countries.<sup>38</sup>

Since the second half of the last century, relationships between internal, European, and transatlantic migration patterns have alternatively been described as sequences, as parts of different independent systems with no apparent connection, as alternatives by virtue of which individuals chose to move either within a country or overseas, as overlapping opportunities, as supporting one another in such a way that internal movements clearly fostered transatlantic movements, and as simultaneous and mutually reinforcing components of the same phenomenon. Rather than defining a formal sequence of different migration paths, like Bade, or classifying migration systems as alternately internal and overseas, like Faßmann, more recent approaches recognize different routes as part of similar systems and extensions of the high mobility that had been present in Central Europe for centuries.

My approach will attempt to circumvent straight classifications and the simple adoption of extant theoretical positions. Inspired by new approaches of social scientists, who are primarily interested in the theoretical linkages between internal and international migration systems, I presume that the two migration patterns do not contradict each other, and that in order to illuminate the causes and consequences of each, different migration patterns must be seen as interrelated components of similar processes.<sup>39</sup> I assume that internal, intra-European, and transatlantic migration patterns were part of the same phenomenon, and that the nature of their relatedness is complex. Rather than a drastic change from previous patterns, I consider overseas migration from the Habsburg Empire more or less a modification of existing patterns.<sup>40</sup> While internal and international migration might

occur in sequences in some regions of Imperial Austria and the Hungarian Kingdom, they might emerge simultaneously in others. In some districts and counties, people might have the option of either moving within the country or going overseas, while in other areas, short-distance movements might clearly have set the stage for longer transatlantic travels, and inhabitants from Habsburg-ruled territories might also have moved stepwise from rural to more industrialized urban areas, either as individuals or over the course of generations. Some Austro-Hungarian migrants moved once, from their place of birth to their final destination, while others moved back-and-forth between rural and urban areas between countries and continents. Rather than attempting to describe one clearly defined model for connectedness, my approach remains open to various types of linkages that might occur between internal, European, and transatlantic migration.

Instead of treating transatlantic mobility as a unidirectional phenomenon, the following statistical results and case studies will demonstrate that Central European migrants had several destination choices in the decades before World War I: within one's own country, to another European country, or to another continent.<sup>41</sup> In fact, Central Europeans participated in various spatial mobility patterns over diverse timescales, including medium-distance, long-distance, and overseas migration on a seasonal, temporary, or permanent basis. These patterns linked people from Habsburg-ruled territories to different regions and provinces within the empire, to other European countries, and to destinations in the Americas as well as other continents. I want to offer a perspective that many—perhaps the majority—of spatial movements were temporary rather than permanent, and that most migrants moved within national borders. Even during periods of intensified urbanization, one-time moves from the countryside to central cities were not preponderant; migrants from Central Europe had especially high turnover rates.<sup>42</sup> Frequent movements between towns and back to predominantly agrarian regions were common patterns across Europe. Inhabitants of expanding cities and rural dwellers likewise took part in the extensive process of spatial mobility.<sup>43</sup> There were regions from which a substantial number of individuals left, and many migrants simultaneously arrived from other areas. Migration was and is a multidirectional phenomenon, not a one-way motion from rural to urban areas, and regression analysis, a statistical method that allows us to calculate the effects of multiple variables on US migration, will present some new and innovative insights into this phenomenon. In order to emphasize the connections between different types of migration, and to place transatlantic migration within the context of the overall high level of spatial mobility that characterized the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the following analyses will be based on regression models of political districts in Imperial Austria and for counties in the Kingdom of Hungary. At the same time, several detailed case studies of different areas in the Habsburg Empire will provide a more descriptive demonstration of the different paths taken by migrants.

## 4.1 RELATIONS BETWEEN INTERNAL, EUROPEAN, AND TRANSATLANTIC MIGRATIONS

My aim is to perform a detailed investigation of the statistical relationships between internal, European, and transatlantic movements and the determinants of migration to the United States, and thus I have chosen to create new data sets by combining the data discussed throughout the previous chapters: stock data from the 1910 Austrian and Hungarian censuses, flow data from the 1910 Bremen and Hamburg ship manifest samples, and migration data from the Hungarian population statistics from 1899 to 1913.<sup>44</sup> These new data sets will allow us to link overseas migration rates with demographic and socioeconomic information from the political districts of Imperial Austria and counties of the Kingdom of Hungary. As with the correlation analysis carried out in chapter 1, our focus here will be on the presence or absence of statistical relationships and/or contrasts. As with most historical processes, transatlantic movements were the result of a complex web of interacting variables.<sup>45</sup> The questions to be explored here are thus: How did internal and European mobility affect transatlantic migration to the United States? Were these mutually exclusive migration paths or did internal and European mobility in fact support overseas migration? Did districts and counties with high internal or European mobility exhibit less transatlantic migration or did the probability of overseas migration increase alongside higher numbers of internal and/or European migrants? We will also test the effect of demographic and socioeconomic variables on US migration by way of statistical linear regression models.

In cases in which several causal variables have an effect on the same set of units of analysis, such as is the case with migration to and from political districts and counties, multiple regression models allow for the investigation of associations between changing variables. By observing large numbers of units with various combinations of characteristics and estimating the impact of each characteristic, we hope to isolate the effect of certain variables on the result of interest. The aim is to identify causalities by disentangling observed effects, “all other things being equal.”<sup>46</sup> Statistical packages make multiple regressions relatively easy; however, it is a good idea to be aware of the downfalls of such models. As historians, we have to take into account that effects are always linked to a limited set of observed variables and that potentially significant explanatory variables might be omitted from the model, because that data is not available, such as in our case with information on migration networks with former migrants from kin and friends.<sup>47</sup> Other researchers have used regression models to study the effect of pogroms on the migration of Jews from the Russian Empire, migrant self-selection in the Italian mass migration to the United States, the migration of Hessians to either Australia or



South America, and the socioeconomic assimilation of migrants in the United States during the Ellis Island era.<sup>48</sup>

Regression models need clear causal hypotheses, and in our case the hypotheses are as follows: H<sub>1</sub>—an increase in internal migration results in a higher rate of transatlantic migration, and H<sub>2</sub>—an increase in intra-European migration results in a higher rate of transatlantic migration. The counterhypotheses are H<sub>0</sub> of H<sub>1</sub>—an increase in internal migration results in a lower rate of transatlantic migration, and H<sub>0</sub> of H<sub>2</sub>—an increase in intra-European migration results in a lower rate of transatlantic migration. Within the following regression models the dependent variable, the one that needs to be explained, is the ratio of individuals moving to the United States from political districts in Imperial Austria and counties in the Hungarian Kingdom in the year 1910.

#### 4.1.1 Regression Analysis for Imperial Austria<sup>49</sup>

This regression analysis is based on data for 306 out of a total of 406 political districts in Imperial Austria in 1910.<sup>50</sup> The dependent variable—the one to be explained—is based on the sample of passenger records from 1910. The dependent variable in the regression, also referred to as USMIG, is the ratio of individuals who came to the United States from each political district in the year 1910. This variable was created in the following way: the information on individuals' places of residence, towns and villages taken from the 5 percent sample of ship passenger lists was summed up at the level of political districts, and in each instance these numbers were divided by the total number of individuals living in the respective district in 1910. For better readability and to simplify comprehension, USMIG was then multiplied by 100,000, which scales the coefficients but has no other effect on the regression results.

A comparison of individuals' birthplaces and places of residence in the 1910 Austrian census is the indicator for a systematic investigation of internal mobility: the percentage of residents born outside of the political district in which they live serves as an indicator of in-migration rates. Out-migration is the proportion of individuals living outside their district of birth. Although scholars usually make use of either net or gross migration rates when explaining human mobility, we chose yet another indicator to represent internal migration, opting to create a variable that has yet to be used in historical research. THRUMIG is the *minimum* of in- and out-migration for a certain district. Consider, for example, the Bohemian districts of Teplice-Šanov and Roudnice nad Labem/Raudnitz an der Elbe. Teplice had an out-migration rate of 33.1 and an in-migration of 27.6 percent of the population, while out-migration from Roudnice was 27.3 and in-migration 51.1 percent. Both districts have a similar rate of THRUMIG, 27.6 and 27.3, respectively. THRUMIG is a measure of spatial mobility in the sense of migrant turnover. High spatial mobility occurs within any given population when

there is a high percentage of individuals both arriving and departing. Mobility is thus independent of a district's positive (Roudnice 23.8) or a negative net inflow (Teplice -5.5). As noted, both districts thus have similar rates of THRUMIG, despite different structures of underlying gross flows. THRUMIG is, then, a useful measure of spatial mobility because it measures both "coming *and* going" in a district. It is a measure of the pure turnover of migrants without the distortion of districts' net migration positions. Roudnice and Teplice exhibit the same degree of "mobility" in the sense that in both districts some 27 percent of the population left and were "replaced" by newcomers.

HUNGMIG and PRMIG are the rates of migration to the Kingdom of Hungary and Prussia, respectively, calculated based on census data for 1900.<sup>51</sup> There are two major problems with the European migration data source for Imperial Austria. First, the only data available was gathered at the provincial level, rather than the district level, and is therefore much less precise than the data on internal and transatlantic migration. Second, in the early twentieth century censuses were taken in the winter months; however, the overwhelming majority of temporary labor migration occurred between spring and the end of autumn, meaning that census data do not generally reflect seasonal movements. Our indicator for European migration thus measures only migrants who remained in either the German Reich or the Kingdom of Hungary for longer than a single season. Seasonal migration rates from Imperial Austria to its neighboring countries varied considerably between districts; HUNGMIG and PRMIG cannot capture these variations. As a result, our model greatly underestimates the number of individuals who moved to other European countries.

The population numbers from each district and other demographic and socioeconomic variables derive from the Austrian censuses from 1880 to 1910.<sup>52</sup> All of these variables are based on migrants' most recent district of residence. POPG is the rate of population growth between 1880 and 1900, and thus what we refer to as "lagged" population growth, meaning that we are looking at the increase of population with a time lag. AGSHARE is the share of people working in agriculture in 1910, including not only peasants, but also servants, agricultural laborers, and their family members. The higher the percentage of individuals in the agricultural sector of the economy, the lower the percentage of individuals in the industrialized and skilled workforce; AGSHARE is therefore an inverse indicator of each district's degree of industrialization. The third data source for Imperial Austria are two government surveys, one from 1893 and the other from 1908, that contain detailed information on regional wages.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately for our purposes, these document only agricultural day laborers' wage ranges, and are neither organized according to political districts nor provide indication of wage averages at the regional level. Granted no other alternative, the categorical variable WAGE, which classifies districts according to very low, low, medium, and high wage levels, is based on these studies. This variable is transformed into dummy variables, whereby WAGE2, WAGE3, and WAGE4 indicate districts with low, medium, and high wage levels, respectively.

TABLE 4.1 Description of dependent and independent variables used in the analysis of Imperial Austria

No.	Variables for Imperial Austria	Short description
DEPENDENT VARIABLE		
1	USMIG	percentage of gross migration to the US
INDEPENDENT ECONOMIC VARIABLES		
2	AGSHARE	percentage of individuals working in agriculture
3	WAGE <sub>2</sub>	1 = low wage level, 0 = all others
4	WAGE <sub>3</sub>	1 = medium wage level, 0 = all others
5	WAGE <sub>4</sub>	1 = high wage level, 0 = all others
INDEPENDENT DEMOGRAPHIC AND GEOGRAPHIC VARIABLES		
6	POPG	percentage of population growth from 1880 to 1900
7	CITY	1 = city district, 0 = all others
8	NOVY TARG	1 = district of Novy Targ, 0 = all others
9	THRUMIG	percentage of minimum of in- and out-migration
10	HUNGMIG	percentage of migration to the Kingdom of Hungary per province in 1900
11	PRMIG	percentage of migration to Prussia per province in 1900
12	GALICIA	1 = province of Galicia, 0 = all others
13	CARNIOLA	1 = province of Carniola, 0 = all others
14	BOHEMIA	1 = province of Bohemia, 0 = all others
15	BUKOVINA	1 = province of Bukovina, 0 = all others
16	MORAVIA	1 = province of Moravia, 0 = all others
17	AUSTRIAN SILESIA	1 = province of Austrian Silesia, 0 = all others
18	STYRIA	1 = province of Styria, 0 = all others
19	LOWER AUSTRIA	1 = province of Lower Austria, 0 = all others
20	UPPER AUSTRIA	1 = province of Upper Austria, 0 = all others

Inferential statistics, such as regression models, are only capable of working with numeric data. In order to integrate categorical variables, or variables that provide qualitative information, they can be recoded as numerical dummy variables. Dummy variables take the value of either 1 or 0. For categorical variables that have more than one value, such as the values accorded each Austrian province, we must create a dummy variable of 1, which refers to the province in question, and 0, which will refer to all other provinces.<sup>54</sup> US migration from Novy Targ in Galicia was about twenty times higher than the average of that of all other Austrian political districts. The regression includes a dummy variable for the district of Novy Targ because, being some eight standard deviations above the mean of the dependent variable, this district is a clear outlier.<sup>55</sup> CITY is a dummy variable for political city districts.<sup>56</sup> Since these urban districts differed from more rural districts in, among other respects, size, population density, and industrial structures, it is customary to use a dummy variable as a control.

TABLE 4.2 Descriptive statistics for the dependent and independent variables used in the analysis of Imperial Austria

Variables	mean	median	standard deviation	minimum	maximum
USMIG	16.37	5.26	31.86	0.00	309.55
AGSHARE	50.58	52.85	25.98	0.47	88.27
POPG	1.16	1.12	0.18	0.88	2.02
THRUMIG	17.65	16.59	9.04	4.44	63.16
HUNG MIG	1.35	0.97	1.05	0.22	4.38
PRMIG	0.31	0.21	0.41	0.05	1.86

Table 4.2 shows descriptive statistics for the quantitative variables in the regression model for Imperial Austria. The dependent variable values ranged between 0 percent and 309.55 percent. The unusual higher value of more than 100 percent is a result of the multiplication by 100,000. Lower percentages indicate fewer individuals migrating to the United States. Because the median value (5.26) is smaller than the mean value (16.37), USMIG is positively skewed, indicating that there were more political districts with a smaller percentage of migration in Imperial Austria. As is indicated by the small standard deviation of 0.18, population growth between 1880 and 1900 was rather homogeneous among different Austrian districts; however, districts varied greatly in the share of individuals working in agriculture. While in the Bukovinian district of Sastawna/Zastawna (today in Ukraine) more than 88 percent of all individuals were still working in agriculture, cities like Vienna and small towns like Waidhofen

an der Ybbs and Olomouc demonstrated agricultural population shares of less than 1 percent. THRUMIG, the measure for internal mobility in Imperial Austria, ranged between 4.4 and 63.2 percent. In 1910, an average of about 18 percent of all individuals in Imperial Austria were mobile and were living in a district other than that in which they had been born, and while there were some districts with very high levels of internal regional mobility, there were others in which there was almost no movement.

Before we proceed, it is important to first establish the relationship between the dependent and independent variables. Table 4.3 reports the partial correlation for the quantitative variables used in the regression analysis, that is, the correlation between the dependent variable and the quantitative independent variables. Inspection of table 4.3 reveals that three of the independent variables have a significant relation to gross migration to the United States. The bivariate results show mixed correlations for the relationship between USMIG and the variables AGSHARE and THRUMIG. As shown in the table, there is a distinct positive and significant ( $r = 0.429$ ,  $p < 0.000$ ) relationship between AGSHARE and USMIG. This positive correlation suggests that as the share of individuals working in agriculture increased, so too did migration to the United States. There is also a distinct and significant inverse ( $r = -0.373$ ,  $p < 0.000$ ) relationship between THRUMIG and USMIG, suggesting that movements to the United States increased in political districts with a low ratio of internal migrant turnover, and US migration decreased in districts with a high ratio of internal migrant turnover. The result for the correlation between the measurement of migration to the Hungarian Kingdom is mixed, with the correlation coefficient ( $r = -0.101$ ,  $p < 0.077$ ) demonstrating a weak and significant inverse relationship between HUNG MIG and USMIG, meaning that US migration rates were lower in provinces with more people moving to the Kingdom of Hungary. The correlation between population growth from 1880 to 1900 and the percent of gross migration to the United States was insignificant, as was the correlation between USMIG and migration to Prussia, or PRMIG.

TABLE 4.3 Partial correlation for quantitative variables in the Austrian regression analysis

	USMIG	p-value
AGSHARE	0.429	0.000***
POPG	-0.059	0.300
THRUMIG	-0.373	0.000***
HUNG MIG	-0.101	0.077*
PRMIG	0.014	0.802

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

The correlation analysis suggests that the percentage of US migration in each political district increased as the percentage of overall internal mobility decreased, and that the percentage of US migration in each political district increased as the percentage of people working in agriculture increased. The following regression models help us to gain a better understanding of the patterns seen in the descriptive analyses.

Table 4.4 reports estimated results of the regression models. Model 1 includes dummy variables for each of the provinces under consideration. Among these, the dummy variable for GALICIA is significantly higher (i.e., a much smaller negative number and not statistically significantly different from zero) than the others. Here, the term “significance” is not used in the common sense. A variable is considered “statistically significant” in the regression model when the observed effect is likely due to something other than chance alone. In the model, low probability (prob. value) of less than 0.000 is statistically significant at the one percent level and less than 0.005 at the five percent level.<sup>57</sup> CARNIOLA is substantially lower than the others. As discussed in the previous chapter, many individuals left this area via Mediterranean ports, and thus our data will result in an underestimation of migration from Carniola. As most of the other dummy variables have similar coefficient estimates, the other models include regional dummy variables only for GALICIA and CARNIOLA, to give more parsimonious specifications. In statistics, parsimonious models stand for simple models with great explanatory, predictive power. The information criteria indicate that no important information is lost by doing so, and the coefficient estimates for the other variables change little. Model 2 gives results of the more parsimonious specification. As can be readily seen, results differ little and the statistical significance of the coefficient estimates is virtually identical.

We first turn to the economic and demographic variables. AGSHARE, the inverse measure of industrialization, has a positive coefficient estimate that is statistically significant at the one percent level. All other variables being equal, the more individuals within a political district working in agriculture, the higher the probability of migration to the United States. The dummy variables for the wage levels are all statistically significant at the one percent level, and show positive and declining values for WAGE levels 2, 3, and 4. Our findings support a nonlinear effect of the wage level on transatlantic migration, meaning that migration to the United States is lowest from districts with a very low wage level, and highest from districts with low and medium wage levels. If income increases above the medium income level, it results in lower rates of transatlantic migration. Even if we find that US migration increases in certain districts with medium wage levels, this does not statistically prove that individuals with medium wages were more likely to migrate overseas, as it may just as well have been their neighbors who migrated.<sup>58</sup> Population growth has a statistically significant (at the five percent level) positive effect on US migration. The coefficient estimate for CITY, the dummy variable for city districts, has a positive sign and is statistically significant at the five percent level.

TABLE 4.4 Predicting migration from Imperial Austria to the United States, 1910<sup>a</sup>

Dependent variable: USMIG

Method: ML—Censored Normal (TOBIT) (Quadratic hill climbing)

Included observations: 306 after adjustments

	(1)		(2)		(3)	
	coefficient	prob. value	coefficient	prob. value	coefficient	prob. value
AGSHARE	0.567	0.000	0.387	0.002	0.401	0.001
WAGE4	32.579	0.002	33.225	0.000	32.169	0.000
WAGE3	38.901	0.000	32.648	0.000	34.534	0.000
WAGE2	39.789	0.000	39.076	0.000	39.939	0.000
POPG	25.365	0.021	21.585	0.041	24.789	0.019
CITY	20.767	0.019	15.548	0.069	16.638	0.053
NOVY TARG	242.538	0.000	242.966	0.000	242.744	0.000
THRUMIG	-0.676	0.005	-0.975	0.000	-0.974	0.000
HUNG MIG					-1.002	0.787
PRMIG					-13.490	0.119
C					-57.025	0.005
GALICIA	-29.994	0.167	47.301	0.000	46.518	0.000
CARNIOLA	-58.014	0.013	18.411	0.041	41.411	0.008
BOHEMIA	-69.297	0.001				
BUKOVINA	-72.448	0.002				
MORAVIA	-77.956	0.000				



AUSTRIAN			
SILESIA	-77.699	0.001	
STYRIA	-94.219	0.000	
LOWER			
AUSTRIA	-87.058	0.000	
UPPER AUSTRIA	-93.517	0.000	
Mean dependent			
var	22.332	22.332	22.332
S.D. dependent var	38.586	38.586	38.586
S.E. of regression	24.915	25.098	25.122
Sum squared resid	178782.900	185186.200	184289.500
Log likelihood	-1132.343	-1139.023	-1137.643
Avg. log likelihood	-3.700	-3.722	-3.718
Akaike info			
criterion	7.519	7.523	7.527
Schwarz criterion	7.738	7.669	7.697
Hannan-Quinn			
criterion	7.606	7.581	7.595

Notes: Reported coefficients are based on Tobit estimations. Columns entitled "prob." report the probability of the estimated coefficient being equal to zero. The Tobit model refers to a class of regression models in which the observed range of the dependent variable is censored in some way. In our case, the dependent variable USMIG is censored with 0 = cannot be less than 0.

<sup>a</sup> This regression does not include five provinces in the western part of the empire (Salzburg, Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Carinthia, and Littoral) because the numbers of US-bound migrants from these regions in our sample data set for 1910 were extremely low.

The variable THRUMIG, our indicator for internal mobility, is statistically significant at the one percent level with a negative coefficient. Thus, all other things being equal, the probability of migration to the US decreases in districts where the ratio of internal migrants was high. In other words, in late Imperial Austria, internal mobility had a negative effect on movement to the United States. Thus, inhabitants of Imperial Austria's districts had alternatives, either to move within the empire or to go on a transatlantic journey. Finally, model 3 in table 4.4 provides results for international migration from Imperial Austria to the Kingdom of Hungary and to Prussia. Neither of the results were statistically significant, meaning, given all other variables being equal, neither migration to the Kingdom of Hungary nor to Prussia had an effect on US migration. One possible reason for this result is that HUNGMIG and PRMIG are crude and unsatisfactory proxies for European migration. These variables were the best measures available but, as mentioned, both underestimate movement between provinces and within European countries.

The major finding of the regression model is that internal mobility within Imperial Austria had a negative impact on transatlantic migration during the period preceding World War I. The probability of transatlantic migration was lower in political districts with high internal mobility, such as Bohemia and Moravia, and higher in political districts such as Galicia that exhibited low internal mobility. Crude measures of international migration within Europe were included in the regression analysis; the estimates were statistically insignificant, a fact that most certainly reflects poor data quality rather than a genuine lack of effects of intra-European on US migration.

There are two possible explanations for differences in regional migration rates to various destinations. These differences may simply indicate that inhabitants of some Austrian districts had more reasons to undertake an Atlantic crossing than those of others. Alternatively, the selection of migration paths may have reflected the amount of information available in different districts to the people.<sup>59</sup> Due to a lack of data, our models do not include the effect of information provided via networks with friends and relatives who had already migrated to the United States, and thus the model cannot address this issue.<sup>60</sup> This model appears capable of predicting the likelihood of US migration from individual districts in Imperial Austria; however, we should avoid generalizing or jumping to premature conclusions. Further research will provide us with a more robust understanding of the impact of European migration paths on transatlantic movements.

#### 4.1.2 Regression Analysis for the Kingdom of Hungary

When attempting to compare regression models of Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary, we run into several methodological problems. First and most importantly, the two portions of the Habsburg Empire were nearly the same size—fifteen provinces of Imperial Austria covered 300,004 km<sup>2</sup> and the nine regions of the Hungarian Kingdom

spread over 325,411 km<sup>2</sup>—but the size per km<sup>2</sup> of administrative units differed considerably, making a direct comparison of the regression results rather difficult. Both administrative units conducted censuses at about the same time, however, published results for Imperial Austria were aggregated at the level of 406 political districts, while the Hungarian statistics were aggregated at the level of 71 counties (*Komitate*), plus the city of Rijeka and its district, which maintained a semiautonomous status.<sup>61</sup> Political districts of Imperial Austria allow a fundamentally more refined and comprehensive analysis than the much larger geographical units utilized in the censuses conducted in the Hungarian Kingdom. Nonetheless, it is still possible to generate and interpret a regression model for the Hungarian counties as well.<sup>62</sup>

During the nineteenth century, most western nation-states developed instruments to collect personal data on their populations that were akin to the modern census.<sup>63</sup> The questions posed in both administrative parts of the empire were more or less standardized and recorded roughly similar information on their inhabitants. The 1910 censuses for Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary were uniformly conceived and taken on December 31, but the two Central Statistics Bureaus performed the data processing separately. As emphasized in the previous chapter, as a result of the official campaign of linguistic *Magyarization*, the Kingdom's census clerks recorded some population characteristics in more detail than the Austrian census bureau, counting, for instance, Croat and Serbian speakers separately in order to arrive at smaller group totals than that of the Hungarian speakers. In addition, the Hungarian census bureau had a deeper interest in the goings and comings of the Hungarian population.<sup>64</sup>

The data set for the following regression analysis is based on the 1910 Hungarian census and on the Hungarian census bureau's special volume on migration. The Hungarian statistics, like the Imperial Austrian census, provide demographic and socioeconomic information that allow us to create variables regarding migrants' most recent county of residence. The 1910 census data includes the 71 counties that comprise the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia, and moreover the autonomous city of Rijeka. Table 4.5 lists the dependent and independent variables used to analyze migration patterns within as well as to and from the Kingdom of Hungary. In this case, and in contrast to the Austrian regression model, the dependent variable USMIG—the one to be explained—is not based on a sample, but rather on the 1910 percentage of gross migration to the United States for each county as listed in the Hungarian census bureau's special volume on migration.<sup>65</sup> It also would have been possible to use net-migration rates for the transatlantic movements but, in order to allow for easier comparison and as Julianna Puskás has argued that return migration records form the weakest point of Hungarian statistics, we have decided to rely on gross migration rates.<sup>66</sup> USMIG has been calculated by multiplying the number of US migrants listed in the 1910 census by 100, and then dividing this figure by the number of inhabitants in each county that year. Increases in USMIG percentage values per county therefore indicate an increase in individuals from those counties who traveled to the United States.

TABLE 4.5 Description of dependent and independent variables used in the analysis of the Kingdom of Hungary

No.	Variables Kingdom of Hungary	Short description
DEPENDENT VARIABLE		
1	USMIG	percentage of gross migration to the United States
INDEPENDENT DEMOGRAPHIC AND GEOGRAPHIC VARIABLES		
2	EUROMIG	percentage of gross migration to Imperial Austria, Kingdom of Romania, and German Reich
3	TOTMIG	sum of percentage of in- and out-migration
4	POPG	percentage of population growth between 1900 and 1910
5	FOREIGN	percentage of foreigners
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES FOR ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION		
6	JEWS	percentage of Jews
7	CROA	percentage of Croat-speaking individuals
8	ROM	percentage of Romanian-speaking individuals
9	SLOV	percentage of Slovak-speaking individuals
10	HUNG	percentage of Hungarian-speaking individuals
11	GERM	1 = relative majority German speakers, 0 = all others
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES FOR GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS		
12	LDB	1 = Left Danube Bank, 0 = all others
13	RDB	1 = Right Danube Bank, 0 = all others
14	DTB	1 = Danube-Tisza Basin, 0 = all others
15	RTB	1 = Right Tisza Bank, 0 = all others
16	LTB	1 = Left Tisza Bank, 0 = all others
17	TMB	1 = Tisza-Mura Basin, 0 = all others
18	TS	1 = Transylvania, 0 = all others
19	R+CS	1 = Rijeka + Croatia-Slavonia, 0 = all others

As foreign nationals were more likely to move to urban and more heavily industrialized areas where jobs were available, we created a variable measuring the percentage of international migrants living in each of the 72 counties as an indicator of urbanization in the Kingdom of Hungary. FOREIGN captures the effect of an urban environment. Areas with higher numbers of foreign nationals likely benefited from more robust information networks regarding circumstances in the United States and elsewhere, and thus demonstrated a higher likelihood of overseas migration. The presence of foreign nationals suggests cosmopolitanism and a promise of knowledge regarding opportunities for migrants to foreign countries, the United States in particular. The FOREIGN variable provides a more sensitive measure of urbanization than that of the Hungarian census, which considers only Budapest and Rijeka as urban counties. As in the previous analysis, we use the rate of population growth between 1900 and 1910, POPG, as an additional indicator of demographic change within each county.

This model also contains variables for the different languages spoken in the Kingdom of Hungary, which are important indicators of the different ethnolinguistic groups present in each county. These variables have been included in the analysis in order to find out whether the presence of various ethnolinguistic groups can be considered a significant contributing factor in a region's migration patterns. CROA, ROM, SLOV, and HUNG indicate the percentage of individuals in each county speaking Croat, Romanian, Slovak, and Hungarian, respectively, in the year 1910. Because there were two counties—Moson and Tárna Mare—with a German-speaking relative majority, GERM has been included in the regression as a dummy variable. In the Kingdom of Hungary, as in the Austrian Empire, Yiddish was not recognized as an official language. As discussed in the previous chapter, in 1910 most Jews were reported as speaking Hungarian, and the remaining Yiddish speakers were counted with the German speakers.<sup>67</sup> To create the variable JEWS as an ethnoconfessional group, we used the census information regarding religion. The Hungarian administration divided its greater territory into eight political units, plus the autonomous city of Rijeka. These regions differ in several socioeconomic and cultural aspects, and in order to capture these variations we have created a set of dummy variables based on the administrative units that control for the impact that the regions in the Kingdom of Hungary might have on US-bound migration. These dummies are described in table 4.5.

Table 4.6 presents descriptive statistics for the quantitative variables. For the dependent variable, USMIG, values ranged between 0 percent and 1.73 percent. The lower percentages indicate fewer individuals migrating to the United States. USMIG is positively skewed because the median value (0.36) is smaller than the mean value (0.47), meaning that there was a low percentage of migration from numerous counties in the Kingdom of Hungary to the United States. The variable EUROMIG ranges between 0 and 0.55 percent, indicating that the number of individuals who left the Hungarian

TABLE 4.6 Descriptive statistics for the dependent and independent variables used in the analysis of the Kingdom of Hungary

Variable	mean	median	standard deviation	minimum	maximum
USMIG	0.47	0.36	0.42	0.00	1.73
EUROMIG	0.07	0.02	0.12	0.00	0.55
TOTMIG	27.75	26.17	10.40	11.21	56.78
POPG	7.40	6.79	5.16	-7.37	27.86
FOREIGN	1.66	0.55	4.76	0.03	39.83
JEWS	3.80	2.90	3.43	0.01	18.37
CROA	7.93	0.02	20.75	0.00	97.73
ROM	15.63	0.10	26.23	0.00	88.72
SLOV	13.00	0.42	24.93	0.00	91.73
HUNG	44.35	38.40	33.73	0.01	99.59

territories via neighboring countries was rather low. All language variables have exceptional high ranges, up to more than 99 percent in fact, and all except HUNG are positively skewed, indicating US-bound migration from only a small number of counties in which there were a high number of Slovak-, Romanian-, and Croat-speaking individuals.

As with the Austrian regression model, it is important to establish a relationship between the dependent and independent variables before we proceed any further. Table 4.7 reports the partial correlation of the quantitative variables used in the regression analysis—that is, the correlation between the dependent variable and the quantitative independent variables. Three of the independent variables are significantly related to gross migration to the United States. The bivariate results show mixed correlations for the relationship between USMIG and the migration variables EUROMIG and TOTMIG. As shown in the table, there is a weak but positive ( $r = 0.255$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) relationship between EUROMIG and USMIG. This positive correlation suggests that as migration from counties in the Kingdom of Hungary to Europe increased, so too did migration to the United States. The resulting correlation between TOTMIG and USMIG was not significant, meaning that there is no relationship between moving within the Kingdom of Hungary and moving overseas.

The results were also mixed for the correlation between the measurements of the general population composition and migration to the United States. First, the correlation coefficient ( $r = -0.594$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) demonstrates a distinct and significant inverse relationship

between moving to the United States and population growth between 1900 and 1910, POPG. However, the correlation between percent foreign, FOREIGN, and the percent of gross migration to the United States was not significant. Finally, the language-based ethnic composition variables demonstrated no significant relation to gross migration to the United States. However, being Jewish was positively and significantly, if only moderately, correlated with US-bound migration ( $r = 0.488$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), meaning that in counties with a higher number of Jewish population, more people were leaving for the United States.

TABLE 4.7 Partial correlation for quantitative variables in the Hungarian regression analysis

	USMIG	p-value
POPG	-0.594	0.000***
EUROMIG	0.255	0.042*
TOTMIG	-0.178	0.159
FOREIGN	0.066	0.604
JEWS	0.488	0.001**
CROA	0.133	0.297
ROM	-0.020	0.875
SLOV	0.082	0.521
HUNG	-0.095	0.453

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

The correlation analysis suggests that the percentage of US-bound migration increased in each county as the percentage of population growth decreased. There are the following possible interpretations for this result: first, a decrease in population growth coincided with increased migration to another country within Europe; second, a decrease in population growth coincided with an increase in internal migration from county to county within the Kingdom of Hungary; or third, a decrease in population growth coincided with an increase in international migration to the United States. It is not possible to ascertain which of these alternatives is occurring on the basis of the bivariate correlation. The following OLS regression analysis helps us gain a better understanding of the patterns found in the descriptive analyses.

Table 4.8 presents the ordinary least squares (OLS) regression results for the dependent variable—gross migration to the United States or USMIG—regressed on the relevant independent variables discussed in the data section above. This regression model



supports the second hypothesis, namely that an increase in intra-European migration resulted in an increase in transatlantic migration. More specifically, table 4.8 shows a positive and statistically significant relationship between EUROMIG and moving to the United States ( $r = 1.297, p < 0.001$ ) while controlling for the effects of other factors, such as general population composition, the population's ethnic composition, and geographic regions. The higher the number of individuals moving from the Kingdom of Hungary to Imperial Austria, the Kingdom of Romania, or the German Reich, the higher the probability of transatlantic migration. In other words, people from Hungarian counties did not either migrate to other European countries or overseas, but rather both mobility patterns were high within the same counties. This is a surprising finding that supports Ewa Morawska's approach that different migration patterns had the potential to be temporally coincident, occurring simultaneously and mutually reinforcing one another.<sup>68</sup> It is quite possible that the movement of Hungarian nationals to neighboring countries fostered overseas traffic by adding to the pool of migration experience and by supporting the propagation of information regarding opportunities in the United States. It was only possible to mobilize considerable numbers of transatlantic migrants in historically mobile regions and regions in which regional mobility had already gained acceptance as behavioral pattern.<sup>69</sup> TOTMIG, the indicator of internal migration in the Kingdom, is statistically insignificant, indicating that the movement of individuals from Hungarian counties to the United States had no relation to internal mobility rates.

The OLS regression results also show that, controlling for other important factors and all things being equal, changes in population growth, POPG, have a statistically significant but negative effect ( $r = 0.0464, p < 0.001$ ) on migration to the United States. After controlling for variables of migration patterns, ethnolinguistic and ethnoconfessional composition of the population, and geographic region, this model predicts higher rates of transatlantic migration from counties with feeble population growth. There is a long-standing debate on causes of nineteenth-century movements from Europe to the United States. Traditional push and pull models emphasize the role of demographic factors: population growth pushing the population beyond regions' "carrying capacity" has often been considered as exercising pressure to leave that region.<sup>70</sup> In the last decades, however, doubts have been voiced against these Malthusian explanations, and demographic arguments in general have come under increased criticism.<sup>71</sup> New approaches understand population growth as an indication of prosperity rather than a cause for poverty, a position supported by the negative correlation found here between population growth and US migration.<sup>72</sup> In addition, we have to take issues of measurement and of causation into consideration; for instance, higher US-bound migration rates may just as well have resulted in lower population growth in Hungarian counties. Controlling for other factors, FOREIGN, a nuanced indicator for urban living, demonstrates no effect ( $r = 0.0128, p < 0.148$ ) on the likelihood of US migration.

TABLE 4.8 Predicting migration from the Kingdom  
of Hungary to the United States, 1910

Dependent variable: USMIG

Method: OLS regression

Included observations: 72 counties

Variables	Unstandardized coefficient	std. error	Standardized coefficient	prob. value
EUROMIG	1.297	0.322	0.387	0.000***
TOTMIG	0.006	0.005	0.137	0.232
GENERAL POPULATION COMPOSITION				
POPG	-0.046	0.009	-0.572	0.000***
FOREIGN	0.013	0.009	0.145	0.148
ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION				
JEWS	0.043	0.017	0.352	0.017*
CROA	0.001	0.004	0.049	0.803
ROM	-0.000	0.004	-0.021	0.927
SLOV	0.006	0.004	0.332	0.159
GERM	0.058	0.137	0.054	0.672
HUNG	-0.001	0.004	-0.067	0.821
GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS (DTB IS THE OMITTED CATEGORY)				
LDB	-0.273	0.180	-0.237	0.135
RDB	-0.131	0.133	-0.137	0.336
RTB	0.486	0.163	0.368	0.004**
LTB	0.113	0.146	0.085	0.443
TMB	0.075	0.181	0.046	0.678
TS	-0.048	0.164	-0.047	0.771
R+CS	0.258	0.394	0.206	0.515
Intercept	0.303	0.352		0.393
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.696			0.000

\* p < 0.10, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001.

Table 4.6 demonstrates that some Hungarian-ruled counties were fairly ethnically diverse, yet none of the major official language groups recorded in the Hungarian census appear to have been statistically significant predictors of migration to the United States. All other relevant factors being equal we find that, for instance, the percentage of Croats (CROA [ $r = 0.001$ ,  $p < 0.803$ ]) in a county was not a significant predictor of US migration, nor was the percentage of Romanian, Slovak, German, or Hungarian speakers. There was a high percentage of Slovak speakers in counties on the Right Tisza Bank, and although this linguistic group generally demonstrated a high level of US mobility, in this particular region, they appeared to have no statistical effect on the likelihood of movement overseas. There are many examples of eastern and western counties of what is today Slovakia, especially the poorest regions, from which there is evidence of almost no transatlantic migration. In areas in which it was easy to find work during the entire year, on the other hand, the Slovak-speaking population left to make money in the United States. We can presume that other ethnolinguistic groups must likewise have left these counties. As Puskás emphasized about twenty years ago, there was little explicit correlation between ethnic discrimination and the international migration of specific ethnic groups, such as the Slovak-speaking population being pushed out of the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>73</sup>

There is one exception here. After controlling for internal and European migrations, general and ethnic population composition, and geographic regions, the variable JEWS demonstrates a statistically significant positive effect ( $r = 0.043$ ,  $p < 0.017$ ), meaning that the higher the percentage of Jewish residents in a county, the more likely were its inhabitants to move overseas. By 1910, the total number of the Hungarian Jewish population approached one million individuals, and most of this population was concentrated in cities. This population comprised nearly 20 percent of the total population of Budapest, at that time the European city with the second-largest concentration of Jews. The proportion of Jews in other Hungarian cities was likewise considerable, for instance, 16.5 percent in Satu Mare/Szatmár-Németi/Sathmar and 12 percent in Timișoara (both today in Romania), and up to 11 percent in Bratislava and Košice. According to Raphael Patai's study, the number of internationally mobile Jews was much higher than that of any other ethnolinguistic or ethnoconfessional group in the Kingdom. Between 1871 and 1910, there were no fewer than 175,000 Jews who left the northeastern counties of Hungary alone (now parts of the Republic of Slovakia, Ukraine, and Romania).<sup>74</sup> The regression data provides not the number of Jews who migrated overseas, but rather the percentage of US-bound individuals in correlation to the percentage of Jews living in each county.<sup>75</sup> Thus, a higher ratio of US-bound migration within a county with a high ratio of Jews does not necessarily indicate that it was, in fact, Jewish individuals who migrated. As several scholars have recently shown, Jewish populations were more spatial and economically mobile than

other Hungarian populations, had cultivated broader communication networks, and could thus be presumed to have greater access to information on migration opportunities.<sup>76</sup> In 1910, for example, about 19 percent of all Hungarian transportation businesses were owned by Jews, and many travel agents who sold transatlantic tickets and organized trips to North Sea ports were also Jewish.<sup>77</sup>

The OLS regression model for the Kingdom of Hungary includes dummy variables for the different regions. Among these variables, it is only the “RTB—Right Tisza Bank” region that, taking into account the other relevant analysis variables, appears as statistically significant ( $r = 0.486$ ,  $p < 0.004$ ) in comparison with the central Danube Tisza Basin region. These counties are in the northeast, bordering on Galicia with Košice in the middle, and a Slovak-speaking majority population. Individuals from this region were statistically more likely to move overseas than those from any other Hungarian regions. Finally, the regressions perform reasonably well overall, with an adjusted  $R^2$  of 0.696, which gives the explanatory power of our regression model, meaning that the variables included in our regression model explain about 70 percent of the variance.

THE STUDY OF migration to the United States from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary provides an excellent opportunity for interesting comparisons. First, the biggest difference between the two regression models is the efficacy of internal mobility rates in predicting overseas migration. By comparing the relationship between late nineteenth-century movements within England and Wales and of international migrations, Baines was able to distinguish between counties in which internal and international migration appeared to have been to some degree substitutes for one another, and those in which international and internal migration were positively correlated. He concludes that “it is obvious, therefore, that the relation between internal migration and emigration was very complex.”<sup>78</sup> When considering his main research questions—was internal migration a substitute for international moves because it removed the need for it, or did it make international migration more likely because it created a taste for it?—with regard to the Habsburg Empire, we must answer each with a *yes*. In the case of Imperial Austria, internal migration can be interpreted as a substitute for transatlantic movement; meanwhile, intra-European movement supported overseas migration within the Kingdom of Hungary, perhaps because the intra-European movement aroused curiosity regarding the new continent and prepared individuals for longer-distance migration.

The regression results for the Kingdom of Hungary in table 4.8 differ in several respects from the results for the Imperial Austrian districts. The analysis in the former table, for instance, omitted results for the economic indicators AGSHARE and WAGE because they had no significant effects in predicting US migration from Hungarian territories. The Hungarian regression model does, in contrast, include the percentage

of individuals speaking a given language in any one county as an indicator of the presence of specific ethnolinguistic groups. The Kingdom of Hungary differed considerably from Imperial Austria with regard to nineteenth-century economic development. The Austrian provinces displayed a very heterogeneous country with a broad range of degrees of industrialization, such as in the northern districts of Bohemia and Vienna and its environs being industrialized, and eastern Galicia, Bukovina, and Dalmatia as still mostly agricultural provinces. As a result, Imperial Austria's provinces provide an excellent field for testing the influence of different economic developments on migration patterns. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Hungarian counties, on the other hand, including Croatia-Slavonia, were still largely agricultural, and demonstrated low overall rates of industrialization. More than 65 percent of the population of all Hungarian counties were still working in agriculture, and there were only five counties with an agricultural population of less than 50 percent; the percentage of individuals working in agriculture in Imperial Austria, in contrast, ranged from 0.5 percent in the city district of Liberec to 88.3 percent in Sastawna (172 Austrian districts had an AGSHARE of less than 50 percent). Thus, the average agricultural day laborer wage rate has no significant effect in predicting US migration from Hungarian territories.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, there were a couple of promising industrial centers within Imperial Austria that attracted internal labor migrants, meaning that the population had opportunity to move both within the empire and overseas. With the degree of industrialization still rather low in the Kingdom of Hungary (with the exception of course of Budapest and some counties in the north that are today part of Slovakia), most Hungarian regions offered their populations no alternative to international movement (either to Imperial Austria, to the German Reich, the Kingdom of Romania, or overseas to the Americas). As discussed in chapter 1, inhabitants of these Hungarian territories appeared to have been less mobile than those of the Austrian provinces. However, Hungarian counties comprise much larger areas than Austrian districts, and thus migrants in the former had the potential to move around within a larger area before crossing administrative borders. The different internal migration rates may thus be a result of variations in regional data structuring.

## 4.2 IN MULTIPLE DIRECTIONS FROM BOHEMIA

As discussed in chapter 3, people from Bohemia and the province of Moravia began migrating overseas during the second half of the nineteenth century. While in the 1850s individuals from the Bohemian Lands accounted for about three-quarters of US-bound migration from the Habsburg Empire, this population had dwindled to less

than 5 percent in the years leading up to World War I. The relative share of Bohemians among US-bound migrants from Imperial Austria was drastically declining at the end of the century, but their absolute numbers were still growing. As demonstrated in figure 3.4, in some Bohemian districts the rate of transatlantic moves was still high in 1910.

In his detailed study on late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Bohemian migration patterns, Hermann Zeitlhofer was able to identify two loci of overseas migration on the basis of a sample of ship passenger manifests from 1910: one in the southwest and one in the east. Within these two areas, he selected seven political districts that demonstrated high rates of transatlantic migration in order to conduct a more detailed analysis of spatial mobility patterns. The following empirical analysis will be based on the same seven districts. Four of these districts were in the southwest: Klatovy/Klattau, Strakonice/Strakonitz, Blatná/Blatna, and Domažlice/Taus; and three in the east: Čáslav, Chotěboř/Chotieborsch, and Ledec nad Sázavou/Ledetsch.<sup>79</sup> Most inhabitants in these seven districts lived in rural environments and worked in agriculture. According to the 1910 Austrian census, on average 36 percent of Bohemia's population was engaged in rural employment, while in Zeitlhofer's selected districts the share of individuals employed in agriculture was about 20 percent higher. Their central towns and places of jurisdiction within these districts were small urban areas with less than 10,000 inhabitants, the overwhelming majority of whom spoke Czech (with the exception of Klatovy, where nearly a quarter of the population was recorded as German-speaking), and the number of Jewish inhabitants was also rather low (less than 2 percent of the population).<sup>80</sup>

There were many individuals from these districts who decided to move overseas—especially from the region around Čáslav and the southwestern districts, which seem to have been loci of transatlantic mobility since at least the 1870s<sup>81</sup>—however, internal movements and intra-European migrations, in particular the German Reich, were clearly far more represented. There are estimates that there were some 330,000 Bohemian-born residents living in other European countries in 1910, compared with some 183,000 living in the United States that same year.<sup>82</sup> In each of those districts there were between 10,000 and 23,000 individuals who had left their district of birth in order to settle elsewhere within Bohemia, while just 4,600 to 11,500 lived outside the province but within Imperial Austria.

In table 4.9 US migration ratios for the seven districts are extrapolations from the 5 percent sample of ship passenger manifests from 1910, while the main source used for internal migration patterns was 1910 official census reports from Imperial Austria. In addition to census reports from the Austrian Central Statistical Office, the local Bohemian Statistical Office published another volume with more detailed analyses. The “snapshot” provided by the census allows for the reconstruction of in- and out-migration rates in individual districts; however, it is only a weak indicator of

TABLE 4.9 In multiple directions from seven Bohemian districts, 1910 and 1913

Districts	Population 1910	US-mig. 1910 <sup>a</sup>	Our-mig. <sup>b</sup> 1910	Vie mig. <sup>c</sup>	In-mig. <sup>d</sup> 1910	Seasonal mig. 1913
Blatná	47,563	1.1	34.8	15.4	15.3	4.8
Čáslav	64,224	1.2	37.4	15.4	21.3	3.0
Chotěboř	46,790	1.0	36.8	5.2	15.0	1.7
Domažlice	48,680	1.0	26.6	22.8	13.0	4.9
Klatovy	78,383	0.8	33.4	21.3	17.3	3.5
Ledeč	49,839	0.9	37.3	18.7	17.0	2.1
Strakonice	73,903	0.7	32.5	26.5	14.0	5.4

Source: *Passenger and Crew Lists; Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910, 1912; Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes, 1916, 48–54; see Zetthofer, "Bohemian Migrants," 195.*

<sup>a</sup> US-mig. = Extrapolated number of individuals who migrated to the United States divided by the population of the respective district. Exact comparisons between internal and transatlantic migration at the district level are not possible because figures for transatlantic migration are flow data, while internal migration rates are stock data from the 1910 Austrian census.

<sup>b</sup> Our-mig. = number of individuals living in another district of Imperial Austria than that in which they were born divided by native-born population, 1910.

<sup>c</sup> Vie-mig. = Percentage of out-mig. who moved to Vienna.

<sup>d</sup> In-mig. = number of individuals born in another district of Imperial Austria than that in which they lived divided by population, 1910.



regional mobility, especially as it does not provide any figures on seasonal migration patterns. Fortunately, the local Statistical Office edited a special volume on seasonal migration in Bohemia in 1913. In March of that year, the Bohemian administration conducted a preliminary inquiry in which every municipal office had to provide the number of seasonal migrants in their community, the destination for this temporary mobility, the sector in which the migrants were employed, and when they were expected to return to the community. In total, the administration recorded 117,698 seasonal migrants. However, numbers for seasonal migrants are missing for most of the urban districts, such as Prague, Liberec, or České Budějovice, and further 80 rural communities were not recorded. Another more detailed and complete inquiry was planned, but it was cancelled as a result of World War I.<sup>83</sup>

Each of the seven districts was a rather small political unit with a population of between roughly 47,000 to 78,000 individuals. Their ratios of transatlantic migration were high in comparison to other Bohemian areas, but even so, their ratios of internal movements were clearly higher. Each of the districts had a higher rate of out- than in-migration, which is no surprise given their rural and less-industrialized qualities. Internal mobility rates were high within Bohemia, and people had various choices to move within the province. In each district other than Domažlice, more than one in three native-born inhabitants had left their district of birth to reside elsewhere in Imperial Austria. The majority of Bohemians moved only short distances to neighboring districts, such as from Chotěboř to Německý Brod/Deutschbrod or from Domažlice to Klatovy. Smaller industrialized Bohemian cities, such as Kolín/Kolin or Pardubice also attracted internal migrants.<sup>84</sup> Inhabitants of these seven districts also moved to other regions in the province, both industrialized and agricultural.

The most frequently mentioned destination for individuals who left Ledec was Prague. As discussed with regard to internal migration patterns in chapter 1, some districts demonstrate nearly equal population exchange; in this case, 1,498 people born in Ledec moved to Prague, while 1,225 migrants left their birthplace of Prague to move to Ledec.<sup>85</sup> This is a clear indicator that regions were linked via individuals who moved back-and-forth, and that these connections could remain strong. As Steve Hochstadt has emphasized, "Migration linked city and countryside in a symbiotic relationship."<sup>86</sup> Migration to Prague, however, was not the dominant type of internal mobility, and most individuals in the districts under consideration did not just move from the countryside to the next town. Their migration stories were more complex, and neighboring districts that were overwhelmingly agricultural were common destinations. Movement from one rural district to another, or from an urban to a rural area, was an option available to all individuals in the province. Nearly half of all internal migrants from ten Bohemian districts chose the countryside as their destination, and at least 20 percent of individuals in about a third of all 104 political districts chose to move to agricultural regions.<sup>87</sup>

TABLE 4.10 Destinations of seasonal migrants from seven Bohemian districts, 1913

Destinations	Blatná	Čáslav	Chotěboř	Domažlice	Klatovy	Ledeč	Srakonice
Bohemia	88.7	87.8	61.9	35.3	38.3	78.2	15.2
Moravia	—	2.2	16.2	—	—	6.4	—
Vienna	1.2	0.1	1.4	3.8	5.3	2.3	12.0
Other Imperial							
Austrian	2.1	—	18.9	1.4	—	3.0	5.7
Saxony	2.9	—	—	6.0	28.1	3.4	32.5
Bavaria	—	—	—	35.0	0.3	—	4.5
Prussia	0.4	—	—	0.3	0.2	1.1	1.7
German Reich	2.6	—	0.1	7.0	9.2	—	21.7
Other							
European	—	0.4 <sup>a</sup>	—	—	—	—	2.7 <sup>b</sup>
Unknown	2.1	9.6	1.5	11.0	18.6	5.6	3.9
Total	2,274	1,895	784	2,371	2,769	1,046	3,996

Source: *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes*, 1916, 77–132 and table X, 36–48; Zeitlhofer, “Bohemian Migrants,” 201.

<sup>a</sup> Hungarian Kingdom and Kingdom of Bulgaria.

<sup>b</sup> France, Kingdom of Serbia, Hungarian Kingdom, Russian Empire, Sweden, Belgium.

According to earlier studies on internal migration from Bohemia, Vienna was often a more common destination than any region within the province.<sup>88</sup> For this reason, table 4.9 includes the ratio of out-migrants who were living in Vienna in 1910. On average, the majority of all internal migrants stayed within Bohemia, and about 10 percent moved to Vienna. Less than a quarter of all individuals who left their places of birth moved to Vienna but, with the exception of Strakonice, where the relative majority crossed internal borders to the neighboring district of Písek/Pisek, the capital was the most frequently mentioned target in relative shares. A significant number of Bohemian-born individuals also moved to other districts in Lower Austria.<sup>89</sup>

Some Bohemian regions had remarkably high shares of internal migrants (i.e. people born somewhere else in Imperial Austria but living in this district in 1910), such as the district of Slaný/Schlan, north of Prague, where about 70 percent of residents had been born in another district, or the city of Liberec in the far north, which had an in-migration ratio of more than 50 percent. In contrast, the shares of in-migrated residents were rather small in the seven districts under analysis: between 13 and 21 percent in 1910; the overwhelming majority of these populations had been born in another Bohemian district, and were therefore short-distance migrants. However, there may well have been a significant amount of seasonal mobility associated with fieldwork, which is seldom reported in census data.

Temporary migrations, especially for harvest work in Bavaria and Saxony, the so-called *Sachsengängerei*, were well-established strategies among rural Bohemians that dated back to the late seventeenth century.<sup>90</sup> The last column of table 4.9 provides relative numbers of seasonal migrants for each district, regardless of whether those individuals moved within Bohemia, within Imperial Austria, or crossed international borders. In each of the districts under analysis we find a clear preference for temporary movements within Europe rather than to the United States. In 1910, less than 1 percent of Strakonice residents were recorded as passengers on a cross-Atlantic ship, but more than 5 percent made a temporary move within the European continent. Bohemians had several options for seasonal labor migration. While seasonal workers in four of the districts stayed largely within the province, most temporarily mobile inhabitants of Domažlice, Klatovy, and Strakonice opted to move to Bavaria, Saxony, or other parts of the German Reich. Seasonal migrants from eastern Bohemia often stayed within Imperial Austria, but individuals from the southwest, with the exception of Blatná, tended to move to the German Reich. Vienna was the most frequently recorded destination for internal migrants from nearly all seven districts; however, this pattern does not appear to have been seasonal; only 12 percent of temporary migrants to Vienna moved back-and-forth from Strakonice.

Up until the middle of the nineteenth century, most seasonal migrants were harvest workers or agricultural day laborers. Thereafter, the majority of seasonally mobile men

sought employment as masons, brickworkers, or builders (59 percent of all seasonal laborers) on large construction sites, in railroad construction, or on river regulation projects. The second most prominent sector for temporary employment was the service industry; mobile women found employment as maidservants in spa towns such as Karlovy Vary/Karlsbad, Mariánské Lázně/Marienbad, and other urban areas. In the first decades of the twentieth century, Bohemians in Saxony worked either as brickmakers or in the booming textile industry. Gender was a notable factor in the Saxon migrant job market. Unlike Vienna, where women and children were part of the Bohemian brickmakers population, the Saxon job market was more gendered, with men working as brickmakers and women in textile factories.<sup>91</sup>

Occupational specialization was focused at the local level, and the majority of seasonal workers in all seven districts were men who moved to large construction sites. Agricultural laborers from Chotěboř harvested sugar beets in Lower Austria or worked in the malt house in Stadlau, just outside of Vienna. People from Domažlice crossed the border to Bavaria and Westphalia or went as far as Galicia to work either in agriculture or as artisans, while others went to Prague as chimney builders or to find employment in cement factories; 180 men from the small village of Bezděkov/Besdiekau, for example, were chimney construction specialists living in Prague.<sup>92</sup> Seasonal laborers from Strakonice were the most “adventurous” job-seekers. While some worked in construction in the Kingdom of Serbia, others traveled around Europe as mobile musicians or spent part of the year as circus workers in France.<sup>93</sup> Not all seasonal jobs were male-dominated. More than half of all temporary migrants from the district of Loket, for example, were women who worked as domestic servants in nearby spa towns or in Prague.<sup>94</sup>

Zeitlhofer’s study shows impressive and complex Bohemian migration structures. Alternative mobility patterns, such as traditional seasonal patterns of harvest work, coexisted alongside US migration, and new routes emerged, such as movements to large construction sites. The seven districts presented a great deal of diversity of migration options, and transatlantic paths were just one of these. Bohemians did not just move in one direction, but they moved short and long distances, either seasonally or permanently, from rural to urban areas and back, and among rural areas. During the second half of the nineteenth century, individuals from Bohemia moved to North America to take advantage of the inexpensive farmland; by the first decade of the twentieth century, many Bohemian migrants worked in the building or food industry, either in Europe or in the United States. These mobile individuals could clearly choose from labor market alternatives in the industrial and service sectors on both continents, moving to Chicago, for instance, to work in meatpacking or Lower Austria to work in a malt house, going to New York to work as a cigar maker or to Vienna to work as a maidservant.<sup>95</sup>

### 4.3 IN MULTIPLE DIRECTIONS FROM HUNGARY

The supplementary volume 67 of the Hungarian Statistical Reports, *Kivándorlása es Visszavándorlása* [emigration and return migration], is an invaluable resource on the profusion of mobility patterns from the Kingdom of Hungary. The work provides numerous tables on transatlantic moves to the United States and other destinations within Europe.<sup>96</sup> The Hungarian administration was highly interested in the whereabouts of its citizens, and as part of its 1910 census, the Central Statistical Office contacted other statistical bureaus all over the world for the results of their censuses and the number of Hungarian migrants within their respective populations. While it was little problem to obtain accurate data on the number of Hungarian-born individuals in Imperial Austria and Bosnia-Herzegovina, other European countries were less interested in the origins of their populations. Most neighboring European countries recorded Austria-Hungary as the birthplace of these migrants, but made no distinction between citizens of the Kingdom of Hungary and Imperial Austria. The numerical information provided in table 4.11 is largely based on national censuses, but the numbers of Hungarian nationals are estimates from the Hungarian Statistical Office. As no birthplaces were provided in the 1910 national census by the Kingdom of Romania, the number of 200,000 Hungarian citizens cited as living there is based on estimates of border crossings provided in the Hungarian statistics. In instances in which there was no census data available, statisticians from the Hungarian Statistical Office contacted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the respective foreign nations, such as for example in the case of the Ottoman Empire. The Hungarian Statistical Office entirely overlooked Hungarian nationals who lived in the Russian Empire.

Given the high number of individuals from Hungarian-ruled territories who moved overseas to the United States, representatives of the Statistical Office were especially interested in obtaining detailed information regarding the out-migrant population. They challenged the high number of Hungarian-born inhabitants (495,609) listed in the official 1910 US census, and accused the United States Census Bureau of asserting an erroneous notion of Hungarian nationality.<sup>97</sup> The Hungarian administration refused to acknowledge the US principle of the right to citizenship based on place of birth (*ius soli*), which recorded children born to Hungarian-born women, men, and couples as US citizens, and established their own means of calculation. Based on official records of individuals who had left the Kingdom for the United States, transatlantic port statistics kept by the shipping lines, return migrant estimates, and estimates on Hungarian migrants who may have died in the United States, Hungarian statisticians concluded that the number of Hungarian-born individuals living in the US must have reached at least 800,000 by 1910.<sup>98</sup> The data on other American destinations and other continents are estimates based on information regarding the number of Hungarians abroad compiled by the Hungarian Mission in each respective country.

TABLE 4.11 International migrants from the Kingdom of Hungary, 1910

Destinations	number	percent
Imperial Austria	324,495	21.5
Balkan Peninsula <sup>a</sup>	296,431	19.6
German Reich	32,107	2.1
Other European countries <sup>b</sup>	7,620	0.5
USA	800,000	53.0
Other Americas <sup>c</sup>	50,000	3.3
Other continents <sup>d</sup>	477	0.0
Total	1,511,130	100.0

Source: *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, 121.

<sup>a</sup> 200,000 in the Kingdom of Romania; 78,444 in Bosnia-Herzegovina; 10,745 in the Kingdom of Serbia; 6,219 in the Kingdom of Bulgaria; 250 in the Kingdom of Greece; 773 in the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>b</sup> 2,363 in Switzerland; 932 in Italy; 2,400 in France; 100 in Spain; 1,562 in Great Britain; 179 in the Netherlands; 84 in Denmark.

<sup>c</sup> 25,000 in Canada; 25,000 total in Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay.

<sup>d</sup> 455 in Egypt; 14 in Persia; 8 in Japan.

According to official Hungarian statistics, more than 1.5 million individuals born in Hungarian-ruled territories were living in other countries in 1910. Transatlantic mobility was a common characteristic among this population, and more than half of all international migrants choose the United States. As with other Central European regions, overseas traffic from Hungary emerged following decades of internal movements.<sup>99</sup> By the first decade of the twentieth century, workers moved back-and-forth between agricultural and industrialized areas both within and across national borders. The industrial core of the western world stretched from northwestern Europe to as far as the American Midwest. The majority of international migrants from Hungarian-ruled territories went to the United States, but there was also a significant number of Hungarian migrants who traveled to less industrialized countries, such as the Kingdom of Romania and Imperial Austria, where labor scarcity made for higher wages.<sup>100</sup> The percentage of individuals involved in transatlantic movements slightly outnumbered those involved in migration paths within Europe (56 to 44 percent). The western Hungarian population predominantly moved within the Habsburg Empire to Imperial Austria, while individuals from the southeast had for centuries been crossing borders to Romanian territories. In contrast to labor migrants from Galicia, seasonal laborers from the Kingdom found little attraction in working in German fields or in the newly established industrial centers of the German Reich, and it was largely German-speaking individuals who decided to transmigrate via Imperial Austria to German territories.<sup>101</sup>

In addition to broader overviews of international migration numbers, Hungarian statistics also provide details on internal, intra-European, and transatlantic moves made by the populations of each county. The following three examples are taken from different geographic areas of the Hungarian Kingdom, chosen somewhat randomly, and each should provide a more detailed understanding of the various possibilities available to residents from these counties interested in migrating. As demonstrated in the previous chapter in figure 3.4 on the regional distribution of US migrants, the counties on the Right Tisza Bank evidenced the highest ratio of transatlantic migrants. At the end of the nineteenth century, this area, which bordered West Galicia, was the most prominent region for US-bound migration in all of Imperial Austria. Information about lucrative opportunities to make money overseas spread from southern Galician districts to people in northern Hungarian counties. Notwithstanding the administrative border between the two parts of the empire, a communication network within this broader region developed between Poles, Slovaks, Jews, Hungarians, Ukrainians, and German speakers. Up to 6 percent of the populations in the counties of Užský, Zemplín, and Spiš undertook the long journey overseas. In the first decade of the twentieth century, nearly all international migrants (up to 99 percent, if Imperial Austria is not included) decided on the United States as their destination.

Table 4.12 provides a more detailed picture of the various paths of migration from Spiš County, which was located in the north of the Hungarian Kingdom bordering Galicia, and is today part of the Republic of Slovakia. The neighboring Galician district was Novy Targ, which, according to the sample of passenger lists from transatlantic ships, had by far the highest ratio of US-bound migrants. Most people in Spiš County spoke Slovak, but representatives of other language groups had likewise made a living there for centuries. In comparison to other counties in the Right Tisza Bank, Spiš County was also home to a German-speaking minority of more than 20 percent of its total population.

Nearly one-fifth of the locally born population of Spiš had left before the census was taken in 1910, either for another county within the Hungarian-ruled territories or for another country. Most migrants moved short distances to the region west of the river Tisa/Tisza/Theiß; Šariš, the next county to the east, was the most common destination. Individuals from Spiš also migrated to Budapest in the basin of the Danube and Tisa rivers, and to other areas with Slovak-speaking majorities. Eastern Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia attracted only smaller numbers of migrants from Spiš. The number of individuals who chose to undertake international migration projects was rather small in comparison to those who moved internally, totaling just 16 percent of those who left. The United States may have been the most common destination, and certainly the one that promised the highest wages, but there were nearly as many mobile laborers who opted to migrate to another country within Europe. Imperial Austria, in particular

TABLE 4.12 In multiple directions from Spiš  
County in northern Hungary, 1910

Internal		European		Transatlantic	
Right Tisza Bank	10,069	Vienna	795	USA	2,479
Danube-Tisza Basin	6,609	Galicia	329		
Left Danube Bank	3,320	Aust. Silesia	157		
Left Tisza Bank	2,010	Lower Austria	141		
Tisza-Mura Basin	1,122	Other Austria	441		
Transylvania	831	Russian Empire <sup>a</sup>	488		
Right Danube Bank	701	German Reich	5		
Croatia and Slavonia	193	Romania	10		
Total	24,855		2,366		2,479

Source: *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918; *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.

<sup>a</sup>1911–1913.

Vienna, was the most common destination in this regard, and the majority of migrants to this area likely stemmed from the German-speaking Hungarian minority.<sup>102</sup> Other common Habsburg destinations included Galicia and the more industrialized area of Austrian Silesia. There is little evidence of interest in employment in the German Reich; however, 488 Spiš-born individuals left for the Russian Empire between 1911 and 1913.

According to Puskás, Hungarian loci for overseas migration were characterized by a long tradition of regional mobility. The fascination of Hungary's Slovak-speaking population with the United States as a destination was influenced by the century-old tradition of seasonal migration to the Hungarian plains and agricultural regions in Lower and Upper Austria. During the nineteenth century, most of these individuals moved between rural areas, but at the end of the century, that migration radius expanded to the Americas.<sup>103</sup> The economic and political conditions in Spiš County were like those in many other regions in the Hungarian Kingdom; however, the exceptionally high number of US-bound migrants who originated from this county indicates that the history of general spatial mobility in that area supported the emergence of new transatlantic migration paths.<sup>104</sup>

Vas County, the westernmost Hungarian county in which more than a quarter of the population spoke German, provides another example for multiple migration routes. Historically, Vas shared borders with the Austrian provinces of Styria and



Lower Austria, and today its territory is partitioned between Hungary, the Austrian province of Burgenland, and the eastern corner of the Republic of Slovenia, which is called Prekmurje/Muravidék/Übermurgebiet. Its population of 435,000 individuals was characterized by a high level of multilingualism: majority groups comprised of Germans, Hungarians, and Slovenes lived next door to minorities of Croats, Roma and Sinti; much of the population spoke different combinations of these languages.

TABLE 4.13 Coming and going from and to Vas County, 1910

Destination (going to)	n	%	Origin (coming from)	n	%
Styria	20,436	18.7	Zala County	8,896	24.3
USA	19,038	17.4	Imperial Austria	8,125	22.2
Budapest	16,083	14.7	Sopron County	7,514	20.5
Vienna	13,671	12.5	Veszprém County	3,329	9.1
Zala County	11,026	10.1	USA	1,478	4.0
Lower Austria	9,916	9.1	Budapest	1,455	4.0
Veszprém County	5,609	5.1	Győr	1,183	3.2
Sopron County	5,287	4.8	Komárno	863	2.4
Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County	3,773	3.4	Somogy County	769	2.1
Sopron	1,672	1.5	Győr County	679	1.9
Somogy County	1,573	1.4	Fejér County	634	1.7
Bratislava	907	0.8	Moson County	605	1.7
Győr County	553	0.5	Komárno County	547	1.5
			Sopron	502	1.4
Total	109,544	100.0	Total	36,579	100.0

Source: *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918; *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916; I would like to thank Tamas Faragó for the Hungarian data.

Table 4.13 presents data on individuals coming and going from Vas County. The table gives destinations such as the very large territories of the United States, smaller regions such as Styria, rather small areas such as Hungarian counties, and within these counties urban areas such as Sopron and Komárno. While such a comparison might initially appear confusing, it provides a great deal of insight into the movements of

the Vas-born population and those born elsewhere but living in Vas at the time of the census. More than 100,000 individuals—about a quarter of all residents in 1910—had left the county for another Hungarian region or town, Imperial Austria, or the United States. As discussed in the previous chapter, US migration rates were high among the German-speaking population of modern-day Burgenland during the years before World War I; even so, in absolute numbers more Vas inhabitants moved to Austrian Styria than overseas. With its growing industry and mining, northern Styria was particularly an attractive destination for labor migrants from across the administrative border; other migrants might have chosen the provincial town of Wiener Neustadt in Lower Austria.<sup>105</sup> Transatlantic migration was the next most common option for Vas County migrants. The administrative, economic, and cultural centers of Vienna and Budapest attracted people from all over the Habsburg Empire, and it is no surprise that many Vas-born migrants tried their luck in these nearby capitals. With the exception of the area surrounding Budapest, which was known as Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County and offered several opportunities for employment, all other Hungarian destination counties that appear in table 4.13 were in the direct neighborhood of Vas County, south of the Danube (Right Danube Bank). In comparison to other Hungarian regions, the number of more than 25,700 internal migrants from Vas County was high.

The second column of table 4.13 lists the birthplaces of individuals who migrated to Vas County. The 36,500 individuals recorded in the 1910 Hungarian census as in-migrants stemmed from various regions as well; however, the number of migrants arriving in Vas was much smaller than those who left. With the exception of people from Budapest, all other internal in-migrants had been born in the immediate vicinity of Vas. Although Vas was a rural county, it attracted migrants from urban areas including Budapest, Győr, and Komárno. Habsburg inhabitants were not confined to east-west movements; a small number of individuals also crossed borders from Imperial Austria into the Kingdom of Hungary. There were around 1,500 individuals who traveled to Vas from the United States, perhaps the US-born children of Hungarian overseas migrants or former migrants turned US nationals who decided to return to Central Europe.

A third example of the many roads available to Central European migrants is given in table 4.14 for Mureș-Turda County and its main town, Târgu Mureș/Marosvásárhely/Neumarkt. Today a region in the Republic of Romania, Mureș-Turda was an eastern Hungarian administrative unit in Transylvania, close to Bukovina and the Kingdom of Romania. Industrialization had left that eastern corner of Hungary nearly untouched, and almost 70 percent of the county's population was dependent on agriculture for their main source of income. Individuals in this county for the most part spoke Hungarian, Romanian, or both, with some German speakers and Jews residing in Târgu Mureș.

TABLE 4.14 Coming and going from and to Mureş-Turda and Târgu Mureş, 1910

	Mureş-Turda County			City of Târgu Mureş		
	n	%_fem.	%_mig.	n	%_fem.	%_mig.
Population in 1910	193,865			23,728		
Right Danube Bank	153	49.7	0.5	55	47.3	1.2
Left Danube Bank	343	35.6	1.1	62	33.9	1.3
Danube Tisza Basin	2,932	55.4	9.1	856	52.2	17.9
Right Tisza Bank	323	31.6	1.0	85	50.6	1.8
Left Tisza Bank	747	45.4	2.3	280	50.7	5.8
Tisza-Mura Basin	575	37.0	1.8	208	47.1	4.3
Transylvania	26,933	49.0	83.9	3,230	50.8	67.4
Rijeka	22	22.7	0.1	7	14.3	0.1
Croatia-Slavonia	76	46.1	0.2	9	44.4	0.2
Internal out-migration, 1910	32,104		16.6	4,792		20.2
To Imperial Austria, 1910	358		0.2	96		0.4
USA	1,719		48.0	183		67.4
Romania	1,808		50.5	71		26.3
German Reich	11		0.3	0		0.0
Others	44		1.2	17		6.3
International migration, 1899–1913	3,582		1.8	271		1.1
Right Danube Bank	319	64.3	2.0	321	42.1	2.2
Left Danube Bank	172	40.1	1.1	186	40.3	1.3
Danube Tisza Basin	429	46.9	2.8	680	44.7	4.6
Right Tisza Bank	239	39.7	1.5	225	45.3	1.5
Left Tisza Bank	1,621	27.7	10.4	1,116	32.0	7.5
Tisza-Mura Basin	258	36.8	1.7	312	44.6	2.1
Transylvania	12,520	49.0	80.3	11,993	46.3	80.6
Rijeka	2	0.0	0.0	4	25.0	0.0
Croatia-Slavonia	24	37.5	0.2	35	28.6	0.2
Internal in-migration, 1910	15,584		8.0	14,872		62.7
From Imperial Austria, 1910	339		0.2	219		0.9
Return Migration, 1899–1913	640		0.3	0		0.0

Source: *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918; *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Völkzzählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.

Not surprisingly, the majority of men and women from Mureş-Turda County moved either within the Hungarian Kingdom or crossed borders to neighboring counties in Transylvania. The next most common destination within Hungary was the Danube Tisza Basin on either side of Budapest. Women were more likely to move to more urbanized regions than men, and townsfolk from Târgu Mureş in particular tended to travel the longer distances to the capital. Other Hungarian-ruled regions appear to have been of little attraction to those from Mureş-Turda County. In the 1900s, individuals from eastern Hungary who wished to leave the country traveled either overseas or to the Kingdom of Romania. Routes to the neighboring country had existed for a century, but transatlantic travel was an option that only entered into the awareness of this population at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>106</sup> In 1910, there were slightly more migrants from Mureş-Turda County who moved to the Kingdom of Romania as those who moved overseas, with townspeople being more likely to undertake a transatlantic journey. Like many Hungarian-ruled regions, this county was not a locus for in-migration, and most migrants who lived there when the census was taken originated from nearby counties in Transylvania.

#### 4.4 IN MULTIPLE DIRECTIONS FROM WEST GALICIA

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the populations of Galicia, located in the eastern province of Imperial Austria, were most likely to cross international borders, either traversing through the German Reich bound for the North Sea ports of Bremen and Hamburg or working temporarily for months at a time in the German Reich. In 1912, estimates list the annual number of Galicians who undertook transatlantic travel to the United States at nearly 100,000, while there were about 300,000 Galicians moving seasonally within Europe, and to the German Reich in particular. About 5 percent of the total Galician population migrated internationally.<sup>107</sup> There was a high number of Poles among this population, and the Polish Roman Catholic Church was highly interested in their whereabouts. With so many Polish speakers on the move, church administration suspected that they were in need of religious guidance. Church officials wanted to make sure that Poles were guided on their way by a Roman Catholic priest, and also were interested in building new churches in major destination countries, where members could attend masses given by Polish-speaking priests and confess in their mother tongue. At the end of the century, the Polish Catholic Church even sent priests along on transatlantic ocean liners to give a Sunday service and provide onboard guidance for Catholic passengers.<sup>108</sup> Correspondence between episcopal deaneries underlines the importance of religious guidance for migrating Poles. A Polish priest

writing to the bishop in Kraków in 1908, for example, emphasized the ever-growing number of thousands of Polish laborers in Budapest, and requested a new Roman Catholic church building for Polish-speaking churchgoers.<sup>109</sup>

In order to ensure the religious maintenance of Catholic migrants, the Polish Church conducted an inquiry into regional mobility among its Galician bishoprics in 1907. The Episcopal administration required each priest to tally the number of migrants among his parishioners and to complete a questionnaire with the following queries: How many Roman Catholics in the community were regionally mobile? Where did those migrants go? Did they move permanently or seasonally? Did they move singly or in larger family groups? And what caused these individuals to leave their villages?<sup>110</sup> Because the Roman Catholic Church administration was solely interested in fellow church members, there is no data on other groups within those parishes, which included Jews, members of Orthodox Churches, Greek Catholics, and Protestants. In 1910, 46.5 percent of the Galician population belonged to the Roman Catholic confession, 42.1 percent of the population (and primarily Ukrainians) were members of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church—a small minority of which (6.1 percent) followed the Ukrainian Eastern Church—and another 10 percent were Jewish.<sup>111</sup> Since the overwhelming majority in the diocese of Tarnów spoke Polish, it can be estimated that the Catholic survey captured nearly all regionally mobile individuals in its territories. The Roman Catholic Church administration divided Galicia into deaneries and parishes, while the smallest administrative units in published census materials are political districts, meaning that it is not possible to draw a direct comparison between the two measures of mobility.

Table 4.15 is based on the migration survey of parishes in the Tarnów diocese of West Galicia. According to the replies to the Consistory's questionnaire, more than 42,000 Catholic Galicians migrated from the Tarnów diocese, or almost 6 percent of its entire population. While rather high, this might even be lower than the actual number, because some priests failed to provide detailed reports. Individuals from all parishes left the province, and it has been estimated that in some villages up to 15 percent of the entire population participated in international migration.<sup>112</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century, a large number of Galicians chose to partake in transatlantic travel, notwithstanding the availability of alternative routes within Europe.<sup>113</sup> Those who remained in Europe had the choice of moving either within Imperial Austria or heading for the Kingdom of Hungary or another European country further abroad. Many, of course, decided to remain at home and not travel at all.<sup>114</sup> There is no clear picture of one migration pattern to be gained from the comparison of different transatlantic and European migration rates provided in table 4.15. With few exceptions, migrants from Wielopole deanery traveled to other continents, while the overwhelming majority of mobile individuals in Radłów made their ways to other European countries; about

TABLE 4.15 In multiple directions  
from Tarnów diocese in Galicia, 1907

Deanery	Transatlantic		European	
	n	%	n	%
Bobowa	623	78.3	173	21.7
Bochnia	245	8.5	2,639	91.5
Brzesko	338	15.9	1,783	84.1
Czchów	397	56.0	312	44.0
Dąbrowa	4,863	72.1	1,885	27.9
Kolbuczowa	1,131	38.3	1,824	61.7
Limanowa	1,932	81.7	434	18.3
Łącko	958	48.7	1,010	51.3
Mielec	5,952	87.5	853	12.5
Nowo Sącz	43	58.9	30	41.1
Pilzno	225	97.4	6	2.6
Radłów	215	6.7	3,017	93.3
Radomyśl	400	80.0	100	20.0
Ropczyce	1,866	93.3	134	6.7
Tarnów	500	74.2	174	25.8
Tuchowa	523	75.0	174	25.0
Tymbark	335	25.1	1,002	74.9
Stary Sącz	439	98.4	7	1.6
Wielopole	1,330	99.8	3	0.2
Wojnicz	599	14.2	3,607	85.8
Total	22,914	54.5	19,167	45.5

Source: Piech, "Emigracja z Diecezji Tarnowskiej," 151–57.

Note: Only Roman Catholic migrants.

half of all international migrants from the parishes of Łącko and Czchów moved to the United States, while the remainder moved within Europe.

In addition to migrant numbers, officials of the Polish Roman Catholic Church were also interested in detailed descriptions of migrant destinations both within Europe and overseas. Although we no longer have questionnaires representing each of the deaneries, those that do survive provide information regarding the destinations of migrants from 25 parishes in the bishopric of Tarnów. Individuals from these communities moved

to 58 different destinations, some of which were clearly more attractive for Polish migrants than others. Chicago, for example, is at top of the list of US destinations for migrants from twenty different parishes, followed by New York (14); Buffalo, NY (9); and Detroit, MI (6). According to the local priest, Catholics of Czermin parish went to Chicago, Chicopee (located in Massachusetts), and New York City, while transatlantic migrants from some other parishes were scattered across the East Coast and Midwest. Even if these individuals originated from the same village and left around the same time, there is no clear pattern that suggests they moved in migration chains bound for the same destinations. The community of Borowa, for example, held the distinction of the migrant population dispersed across the highest number of US locations:

Adams, Mass., (24 emigrantów), Albany, N. Y. (3), Bloomfield, N.Y. (7), Brooklyn, N.Y. (26), Buffalo, N.Y. (51), Chester, Pa. (2), Chicago, Ill. (13), Chicopee, Mass. (27), Philadelphia, Pa (30), Floryda, N.Y. (5), Gilbertville, Mass. (3), Holyoke, Mass. (6), Lawrence, Mass. (50), New Bedford, Mass. (4), Nowy Jork, N.Y. (59), Oil City, Pa. (1), Pittsburgh, Pa. (28), Rockville, Conn. (2), Schenectady, N.Y. (22), Syracuse, N.Y. (6), Troy, N.Y. (62), Waare, Mass. (2), West Seneca, N.Y. (7), Wilkes Barre, Ps. (10)<sup>115</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century, transatlantic migrants from West Galicia headed in many directions and could be found living in most industrialized US agglomerations. The distribution of seasonal laborers was similarly wide, but relegated to European destinations. Table 4.16 illustrates the frequency of which reference to specific geographical locations occurs in the survey of Tarnów parishes. Not surprisingly, the German Reich was the second most common destination for labor migrants from this West Galician region; Prussia tops the list with 67 references. According to the survey, Denmark was the third most popular destination for West Galician labor migrants. Sweden also appears as another common destination.<sup>116</sup> A considerable number of temporary migrants from Tarnów moved within Imperial Austria and to the Kingdom of Hungary; in 1907, Catholic priests from 23 parishes reported that members of their church were headed for the Kingdom of Hungary.

According to detailed target entries from 137 parishes, seasonal migrants from more than a third of these parishes moved in only one direction. Roman Catholics from the village of Olszówka in the deanery of Tymbark migrated to Austrian Silesia for a portion of the year, while those from the neighboring village of Szyk went to Denmark to harvest sugar beets. Seasonal migrants from about a quarter of all parishes took part in one of two recurrent migration traditions; individuals from Sromowce Niżne in Łącko deanery, for example, traveled to either the Kingdom of Hungary or Prussia in search of temporary employment. In one parish, migrants' destinations were scattered throughout Western and Central Europe. Members of the Rajbrot parish near the town

TABLE 4.16 European destinations for seasonal migrants from the Tarnów bishopric, 1907

Destination	frequency
Prussia	67
Saxony	53
Silesia	23
Hanover	14
District of Poznań	13
Westphalia	8
Pomerania	5
Thuringia	5
Bremen	5
Other German Reich	22
Denmark	56
Sweden	14
Kingdom of Hungary	23
Austrian Silesia	30

Source: Piech, "Emigracja z Diecezji Tarnowskiej," 151–57.

Note: Only Roman Catholic migrants.

of Bochnia/Salzberg moved as seasonal laborers to Austrian Silesia, Brandenburg, Saxony, and Silesia in the German Reich. One of the largest parishes in the bishopric of Tarnów was the small town of Baranów Sandomierski on the Wisła/Weichsel River. Aside from Denmark, the local priest named eight different German provinces as potential destinations for these small-town migrants.<sup>117</sup>

Similar to the Tarnów study, a comparative analysis of ten villages in West Galicia published in 1911 demonstrated that, in addition to US-bound migration, the population also traveled along several different seasonal migration paths: within Galicia, to other parts of Imperial Austria, as well as to provinces in the German Reich and Kingdom of Denmark. 84 percent of labor migrants in one village found employment within Galicia, but only 7 percent from another village. Other destination regions evidence similar ranges, more than a third of individuals from one area were employed in other Imperial Austrian provinces, but just 1 percent in another; in the German Reich, these numbers ranged from 4 to 49 percent; and in the Kingdom of Denmark, from zero to 17 percent.<sup>118</sup> Migrants from the village of Maszkienice in Brzesko County east of Kraków, for example, were dispersed throughout Central Europe and the United



States: 20 percent traveled overseas, another 20 percent went into German agriculture, and 28 percent crossed Habsburg internal borders to Ostrava's coal mines in Austrian Silesia, with the remainder scattered in small groups across different cities throughout Galicia.<sup>119</sup>

Traditional historical migration research has favored rather limited notions regarding the diversity of varieties of migration paths, but these examples from West Galicia suggest a different reality. Migrants from this area had several destination options, even within small individual communities. Some labor migrants headed for the harvest on the large Prussian estates east of the river Elbe, while their neighbors moved to Ostrava or south to the Kingdom of Hungary to work in coal mines; others had the financial means to cross the Atlantic for work in the Pennsylvania steel industry, Pittsburgh's coal mines, or New York City's textile industry.<sup>120</sup> There were many individuals in the late Habsburg Empire who participated in chain migration, but it would be misleading to automatically presume that all migrants followed earlier migrants. There were certainly villagers who oriented themselves according to established routes, but there also were others who headed in directions that no relative or neighbor had taken before.<sup>121</sup> Regional mobility in the Habsburg Empire was a multidirectional phenomenon and can hardly be described as one-directional from an origin to a destination region.<sup>122</sup> In fact, as demonstrated by the analysis of West Galicia, regions even had the potential to be linked with numerous other regions via reciprocal movements of migrants.

#### 4.5 A REGIONAL APPROACH TO MIGRATION PATTERNS

We must take a regional approach in order to understand the connectedness and complexity of migration patterns. As Moch has emphasized, this approach is well-suited to the study of migration because the majority of human movements occurred at the regional level, and there is a high potential for a great deal of variation from region to region.<sup>123</sup> Systems of shared knowledge developed among individuals sharing similar cultures and economic opportunities within individual regions. As people moved between villages, towns, and neighboring countries, they established links with shared knowledge communities. There is much interest in the notions of migration cultures and regions, and many agree that these would likely be the ideal level at which to focus migration analyses; however, most migration studies continue to be based on data organized at the state and national levels.<sup>124</sup> My own study, which is primarily based on official migration surveys and census data collected by state administrations, is no exception. Most of the results that have been presented here have pertained to a single

empire, the Habsburg Empire; however, its various regions were populated by many ethnolinguistic and ethnoconfessional groups, and it can therefore be described as a multinational empire.

Take, for example, the small Austrian province of Vorarlberg, which was part of a much larger migration region that stretched across state borders from the Swiss textile area surrounding St. Gallen, to the Grand Duchy of Baden and the later Kingdom of Württemberg, to Italian-speaking regions in Switzerland, the Veneto in the Kingdom of Italy, and the Habsburg region of Trentino. Between the 1840s to the 1860s, there were at least 40 Vorarlbergers that left the small village of Schoppernaut in the *Bregenzerwald*, which had less than 500 residents in 1869: seventeen of these individuals moved northwest to France, five crossed the border to Switzerland, four migrated to the German Rhineland, two undertook the transatlantic trip to the United States, another six found employment in Vienna, one traveled to Bavaria, and another to the Kingdom of Hungary. We unfortunately have no records regarding the gender of these migrants. Pichler emphasized that this result can be applied to the entire *Bregenzerwald* region in Vorarlberg.<sup>125</sup>

Since early modern times, temporary laborers working in construction had migrated from Vorarlberg to Switzerland, France, and the German territories, while other children and young women and men known as *Schwabenkinder* crossed southern national borders of the German states to work seasonally for German peasants. All of these individuals were part of larger western European migration networks. Centuries later, information regarding new opportunities in the Americas spread throughout these networks. This information was put to use by a group of Vorarlbergers who, as early as the first half of the nineteenth century, established a new route for transatlantic migration via France. Later that century, migrants from the Rhine Valley's most industrially developed textile centers began traveling overseas to investigate opportunities in New York and New Jersey. Given the long tradition of international movements within the region, it would be easy to describe Vorarlberg as a "province of emigration." While over the course of the nineteenth century Vorarlbergers tried their luck abroad, Italian-speaking laborers from Trentino, Grisons in Switzerland, and Veneto in the Kingdom of Italy came to work in Vorarlberg. The persistence of migration traditions is demonstrated by the fact that the Austrian province of Vorarlberg continues to this day to be a focal region for in- and out-migration. According to *Statistik Austria* data for the beginning of the year 2019, Vorarlbergers top the list of migrants leaving the Republic of Austria, and more than 21 percent of Vorarlberg's current population is foreign-born; the province is above the Austrian average in this regard, and second only to Vienna (36 percent).<sup>126</sup>

## OUTLOOK AND CONCLUSION

ON JULY 22, 1914, the British Cunard Line ocean liner *Ivernia* landed in New York harbor with 211 passengers who had boarded the ship twenty days earlier in Rijeka. On July 27 the *Ivernia* left the harbor with 290 people on board for a return trip to the Dalmatian Coast. Around ten days later the *Carpathia*, which was owned by the same company and had arrived in New York with no transatlantic migrants on board, returned to Europe with 351 individuals. This would be the last ocean liner to make the transatlantic trip between New York and Rijeka for years to come; between those two journeys, on July 28, 1914, the Habsburg Empire had declared war on the Kingdom of Serbia, leading to what would soon become World War I.<sup>1</sup>

The political circumstances of World War I drastically reduced overseas migration options and dramatically shifted centuries-old European migration paths. During the war the British imposed a blockade of Central Powers seaports and controlled all other transatlantic ships for passengers from Central Powers states. Therefore, it was nearly impossible for Habsburg nationals to cross the Atlantic.<sup>2</sup> After the war, the Paris Peace Conference outlined new Central European geopolitical borders, and the United States introduced restrictive immigration legislation and border control measurements. The new Republic of Austria, which consisted of most of the former Alpine provinces and was predominantly populated by German speakers, was established in 1919. Other former Habsburg provinces were split into the successor states of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, later renamed Yugoslavia. According to the peace treaties, South Tyrol, the Trento district,

and Trieste, along with the province of Littoral (the Istrian peninsula) were allotted to the Kingdom of Italy. Eastern Galicia was incorporated into the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. In 1920, the former Kingdom of Hungary was divided into the independent Hungarian nation-state; Transylvania was incorporated into the Kingdom of Romania; the northern Slovak-speaking regions of Hungary and Transcarpathia Rus became part of the newly established Czechoslovakia, today part of the Republic of Slovakia; other Hungarian regions in the south and southeast, Croatia and Slavonia in particular, became part of Yugoslavia. The Habsburg Empire was reshuffled in heterogeneous new nation-states with numerous minority populations.<sup>3</sup> Kristina Evans Poznan convincingly argues in her doctoral dissertation that in order to understand the experiences of postwar migrants, we must consider new Central European state borders alongside new United States immigration legislation, and I would like to extend that argument to assert that we must likewise consider the new border and immigration legislation implemented by European states.<sup>4</sup>

This combination of new state borders and restrictive migration surveillance had a powerful impact on the spatial mobility of Central Europeans. In light of the new geopolitical situation, individuals who had become stranded on internal or international roads during the war were now forced to decide between returning to their birth countries or remaining in other nation-states as foreigners. In the immediate postwar period, thousands of individuals and entire families quickly migrated in order to reunite war-torn families. Nearly 145,000 Czech speakers, for example, left Vienna in the direction of the newly established Czechoslovakia, as did about 5,000 Slovak speakers who wanted to be part of communities in the new nation-state.<sup>5</sup> In addition to returning migrants from the Republics of Austria and Hungary, the Czechoslovak administration hoped for the arrival of at least 100,000 individuals from the United States. Hungarian officials initially estimated that 300,000 migrants would return from the United States, and also hoped for large sums of remittances from US-based Hungarian nationals and an influx of capital that had been earned in the US labor market.<sup>6</sup> Some former migrants returned, but even more left the new nation-states. In 1925 the Slovak-American newspaper *Obrana* even reported that a steady stream of the Slovaks who had returned to Czechoslovakia eventually trickled back to America.<sup>7</sup> Many had returned to Europe with high hopes for their newly created nations, but returned disappointed to their “old” lives in the Americas. Similar interwar back-and-forth movements between Vienna and the new Czechoslovak nation-state can likewise be observed among Czechs. The new Central and Eastern European governments were determined to create nationally homogeneous populations, and hoped to reverse late nineteenth-century migration patterns to the west by encouraging the return of “desirable” individuals.<sup>8</sup> The nations promoted the return of their supposed nationals who spoke the dominant language and belonged to the dominant confession or religion, and sought to convince those already

there that it was not necessary to move overseas in order to make a living. Even if the new nation-states did not prohibit emigration, the number of people leaving Central Europe declined dramatically in the interwar period.<sup>9</sup>

World War I profoundly changed migration routes within Europe. Former paths that allowed for internal short- and long-distance mobility now ended at the new international borders. Movement on these routes either came to a nearly complete stop, such as that of north Italian construction workers who used to move seasonally to Lower Austria,<sup>10</sup> or transformed into international migration, such as the movement of women and men from what had been Bohemia, Moravia, and the Hungarian Kingdom, but after 1918 was the Czechoslovak Republic, who moved to Upper and Lower Austria for seasonal harvest work. The direction of migration of Central European labor migrants shifted from North America to destinations that were closer to home, France in particular. With the German Weimar Republic having restricted foreign immigration, France became the world's leading importer of international labor during the interwar period. Former transatlantic migrants now worked in mines and metal factories in northeastern France. Once the Weimar Republic lifted the ban on recruiting foreign workers in the 1930s and German men were drafted for the *Wehrmacht*, individuals from the former Habsburg-ruled territories migrated to Germany to fill those vacant jobs.<sup>11</sup> Westphalian mines and French reconstruction projects attracted Hungarian workers who stayed abroad as long as sixteen or even twenty years. Even so, when the economic depression began to affect the French economy in the 1930s, migrants who had spent years working in France returned penniless to Poland and Czechoslovakia in increasing numbers.<sup>12</sup>

Post-1918 migrants from former Habsburg territories continued to travel overseas, but in much smaller numbers. US immigration laws have changed dramatically and turned large-scale movements to the Americas into a thing of the past. As early as the late nineteenth century, people who remained in Europe perceived migrants from Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe who lived in the United States as a link to the American way of life. After the war, new regulations restricted the number of migrants from the new Central and Southeastern European countries who were allowed to travel to the United States, and Northern and Western Europeans became the largest immigrant groups from Europe. According to the Emergency Quota Act of 1921, the annual quota of migrants allowed from the Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs (the later Kingdom of Yugoslavia) was set at 6,405 individuals. A few years later in 1924, with the Johnson-Reed Act, which limited total annual immigration to 165,000 individuals, that quota was reduced to just 671 individuals a year. With regard to other former Habsburg territories, we see that following the Johnson-Reed Act annual quotas were reduced to 785 individuals from Austria, 3,073 from Czechoslovakia, 473 from Hungary, 5,982 from Poland, and 603 from Romania. Despite the quota laws, US Congress still allowed European migrants to arrive in the 1920s to join family members already living in the

United States. Since US Congress believed in the importance of family reunification, they created different categories for family members with regard to visas and allowed wives and children to immigrate irrespective of quotas.<sup>13</sup>

The new European borders had a tremendous impact on former US migrants' decisions regarding whether to return to Europe, as many had originally intended, or to stay in the United States. Between 1919 and 1939, nearly 85 percent of all international migrants from the new Kingdom of Yugoslavia left from Croatia, Slovenia, Dalmatia, and the Vojvodina. According to official statistics, nearly 350,000 individuals left the Kingdom of Yugoslavia during that period, and about 200,000 returned from abroad. Only 72,000 Yugoslav citizens managed to move to the United States, and most of these in the first three years after the war, before the quota laws came into effect.<sup>14</sup> In the Republic of Austria, migrants from Burgenland, the small former West Hungarian territory that had been transferred following the war, made up about half of the country's quota during the 1920s. Faced with a dearth of work in areas of Central and Eastern Europe, other would-be migrants were tempted by opportunities in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and even Australia.<sup>15</sup> European migration to Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile increased; however, the total number of migrants remained low, with the exception of Argentina. According to statistics, nearly 40,000 people from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia migrated to Argentina between 1921 and 1930, making this the second most popular migrant destination after the United States.<sup>16</sup> European migrations to Canada continued nearly without a break after World War I until the summer of 1930, at which point a severe economic crisis prompted the Canadian government to introduce restrictive immigration measures.<sup>17</sup> During the Great Depression of the late 1920s and 1930s, migration to nearly all overseas destination countries became severely limited. The high level of unemployment that accompanied the Great Depression intensified xenophobic public discourses throughout Europe and the Americas; labor migrants were seen as a threat to native workers in relentless competition for scarce jobs and resources. In the 1930s, American and Western European countries restricted immigration even more tightly, unemployment numbers increased, and more and more migrants returned to Central and Eastern Europe without funds.<sup>18</sup>

Brunnbauer describes the interwar years as a period in which there was a "reversal of globalization," former migration paths were disrupted, never again to flourish up until now. The international migration of millions had been the prime driving force behind globalization, and in the wake of World War I a clear trend emerged toward nation-state protectionism.<sup>19</sup> I argue that this was predominantly a European development. While European migration patterns were severely altered during World War I and the interwar period, many global paths of migration remained little touched by these developments.<sup>20</sup> Since the middle of the nineteenth century most Europeans

had, with few exceptions, been free to move around between villages and towns within their countries, within Europe, and overseas, with only limited legal restrictions, visas, or passports. Border control is an important task of modern states. After World War I most European nation-states closed their international borders and, following the US model, introduced passports and visas.<sup>21</sup> This implementation of stringent identification requirements resulted in a much higher degree of legal restriction of migration within Europe than had been the case before 1914.

THERE CAN BE little doubt that the relationship between internal and international migration patterns is a notably neglected topic within historical and more general social science migration research. We have, however, little scientific evidence of a fundamental difference between migrants' decisions to move within a given country or internationally, either within Europe or across the Atlantic. These decisions involved many of the same considerations and were dependent on many of the same conditions. Nineteenth-century industrialization generated numerous innovative technologies for traffic and communication, which led to the emergence of new migration paths and destinations, while some more traditional paths persisted, and others disappeared. That notwithstanding, spatial mobility as a labor strategy, and its function within household economies and larger communities, were nothing new. We have few studies on historical and more recent international migration that examine the effect of internal movement on movements across national borders. These studies offer strikingly different findings: some detect strong connections between the two, and others only almost none.<sup>22</sup>

As this study of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Habsburg Empire migration conclusively presents, migration patterns—traditional and new paths, within and beyond state borders, one direction or back-and-forth—were highly entangled. Internal movements of the Habsburg populations had the potential to lead to international migration, or vice versa, or even some complex combination of the two. Central Europeans had a wide selection of opportunities to choose from in migrating, and the choice in favor of internal rather than international migration, or vice versa, can alternately be viewed as either competing or complementary strategies. As Dirk Hoerder writes, there was always a “range of destinations from which potential migrants selected the one that best suited their aspirations.”<sup>23</sup> The same individual could also travel on multiple migration paths, while members of the same family might choose others. In many instances, however, migrants chose a single destination, one that followed either circuits of temporary mobility or linear paths to permanent resettlement.<sup>24</sup> Internal migration within Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary may have been alternative and complementary to international moves, either to other European countries



or overseas to the United States of America, and it is possible that these different choices were often in response to the same set of conditions. Focusing on just one type of migration to the exclusion of the others, as has too often been done in previous studies, is to focus on only one part of the whole story, and has largely resulted in partial and unbalanced interpretations.<sup>25</sup>

The Habsburg territories constituted a multiethnic empire. The provinces and regions comprising Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary were characterized by marked differences in economic development during the nineteenth century, and inhabited by linguistically, religiously, culturally, and economically diverse groups of individuals and power structures. While German speakers generally comprised the politically dominant ruling class throughout the empire, Polish speakers were socially and politically dominant in Galicia, and Hungarian speakers in the Hungarian territories. Patterns of mobility varied considerably from region to region within these territories. These diverse ethnoconfessional, linguistic, and cultural groups developed mobility strategies that linked each with specific labor markets in other regions and countries. Central European migrants were neither aimless or clueless wanderers; on the contrary, they often possessed fairly accurate information regarding their potential destinations. Communication and migration networks were shaped by a constellation of local and global forces. People moving back-and-forth between certain territories established networks that could last for centuries, such as those between the textile regions of Vorarlberg and Switzerland, or just a couple of decades, such as those of Ukrainian workers who traveled to the German Reich from the early twentieth century up until World War I. Thousands of labor migrants were active in these patterns. While cross-border areas were primarily linked via seasonal moves, other Habsburg districts and counties were joined by long-distance movements to faraway countries and continents. People from Western Hungary went to Chicago to work in meatpacking factories or as waiters in newly built hotels and established communication networks, which still exist between Burgenland's population and the Burgenländer community in the big US city. Slovak-speaking labor migrants from northern Hungarian territories overwhelmingly ended up in the smokestack industry of Pennsylvania, and moved back-and-forth between Košice and Pittsburgh. On the one hand, millions of people moving back-and-forth established links and networks between different regions. On the other hand, the specific types of regional mobility practiced by smaller groups resulted in new destinations without establishing intense networks, such as the movement of Slovene women to Egypt, for example, or the multiple migration routes traveled by peddlers. Some Habsburg regions were characterized by short-distance internal migration, while individuals from other regions predominantly moved overseas, and those from yet other territories traveled to both, the United States and other European countries.



For as culturally fascinating and dramatic as a transatlantic migration was, as important as rural to urban movement was in contributing to the growth of modern cities, and as remarkable as the quick uptake of the temporary migration of Galician Poles and Ukrainians to work in German factories and mines was, the typical experience of migrants from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary was much more ordinary and local, often taking place within local districts and counties.<sup>26</sup> As this study demonstrates, during the early twentieth century, most spatially mobile individuals moved internally, to the next district or county perhaps, and generally within rural areas. Few migrants crossed the borders of the political districts or counties in which they had been born, and many of those who did came from, or went to, a neighboring province. Short-distance moves predominated, but there were also well-established seasonal migration systems that moved workers over considerable stretches, and large industrial and capital cities had the potential to attract migrants from long distances. More industrialized areas of the empire, such as the northern districts of Bohemia, northern Styria, and the Hungarian central plains surrounding Budapest, drew a considerable number of internal labor migrants. Individuals from southern Bohemian districts and Moravia went to Vienna, Slovak speakers moved south to Budapest, and South Slavs found employment in Trieste. Urban populations skyrocketed at the end of the nineteenth century, but the paths that led to these cities were not one-way streets. In fact, urban populations experienced high turnover rates, and were characterized by constant comings and goings, including those who moved back to their areas of origin. Most cities within the Habsburg Empire functioned predominantly as regional centers, and it was only Vienna that consistently attracted large numbers of individuals from further abroad.

During most of the twentieth century, the focus of the predominance of historical migration was on spectacular transatlantic voyages; however, the movements of the majority of the population were carried out within the European continent. There were some regions of Austria-Hungary, such as most districts of Lower and Upper Austria or the Danube-Tisza Basin in the center of the Hungarian Kingdom, in which there is virtually no evidence of transatlantic migration. In the late nineteenth century, only small numbers of inhabitants from these regions undertook transatlantic journeys. By the nineteenth century, international movements within Europe already had a long tradition, and we also have examples of instances in which long-term mobility patterns shifted from internal to international. Groups of individuals in Transylvania, for example, had been driving their cattle south in the winter toward warmer climates near the Black Sea for centuries. Up until the end of the seventeenth century, these seasonal migrations took place within lands comprising the Ottoman Empire. Following Habsburg victory in the Great Turkish War, however, Transylvania was incorporated into the Habsburg Empire, and these stockmen and their cattle now needed to cross

an administrative border in order to access Romania and Bessarabia—in other words, this pattern of transhumance shifted from internal to international migration. There were a number of international migration types within Europe that were seasonal in character. Some of these with longer traditions were quite well known, such as the *Sachsengängerei*, while newer routes emerged as a result of industrialization, such as the migration of female gangs to the German Reich in order to harvest sugar beets. At the end of the nineteenth century, the German Reich was the top European employer of Austro-Hungarian seasonal labor migrants in industry and agriculture; other mobile individuals, in particular from Galicia, found employment in Scandinavia, France, and even in the Hungarian Kingdom.

Transatlantic migration did not take place in a vacuum, and paths to the Americas emerged as new options in the context of previously established migration strategies. In previous centuries regional mobility rates were high, and would-be migrants established new routes based on previous traditions, making use of knowledge gained from their own past experiences and those of others. Overseas migration can, in fact, be described as an extension of long-distance internal migration. When migrants from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary joined millions of laborers from other Southern and Eastern European countries in search of opportunities beyond the Atlantic, they did so in the context of existing labor mobility traditions and by applying past experiences to new circumstances. Beginning around the middle of the nineteenth century, the number of overseas travelers from the more industrially advanced regions of Bohemia and Vorarlberg steadily increased. This trend continued to gain momentum from the 1890s on, and reached unprecedented levels in the years just before World War I. In the first decades of the twentieth century, most transatlantic migrants from the Habsburg Empire spoke either Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, Yiddish, or Hungarian.

This increase in transatlantic traffic accompanied a generally high level of regional mobility within Central Europe. Europeans were highly mobile long before the modern era, but there can be no question that there was indeed a jump in migration rates after the mid-nineteenth century. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the population of Central Europe grew massively, from about 36 million in 1869 to more than 51 million in 1910, and the absolute number of individuals who migrated likewise increased. Rising migration rates should first and foremost be understood as a result of an acceleration in international *long-distance* mobility. Industrialization introduced new technologies, such as steam engines for trains, iron-hulled ships, and screw propellers, a reliable transcontinental mail service to send letters written on cheap, machine-made, wood-pulp paper, the telegraph, and later telephone, all of which added to the ease and convenience of travel and migration.<sup>27</sup> More expedient and less expensive transportation combined with the spread of information made it possible for 4.4

million individuals from Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary to move to another continent between 1850 to 1914. These men and women were attracted to the United States by new opportunities and an incredibly fast-growing economy: cheap land and well-paid jobs in heavy industry, mines, and urban factories.

As Moch and James Jackson suggested in their review of past European migration, we need to pay more attention to migration systems, especially to return migration and multiple or circulatory moves that take place within the context of all forms of spatial mobility.<sup>28</sup> In order to develop a fuller understanding of migration behavior, we must take both comings and goings into account. Roads, once taken, were not irreversible. On the contrary, this study establishes that there were many migrants who chose to return to their places of origin, and that movements back and forth between the United States and Central Europe were common. The journey from one continent to another covered a long distance, but during the early twentieth century, up to 40 percent of all migrants from both parts of the Habsburg Empire nonetheless returned to their country of origin within a few years of migrating to the United States. Men most often opted for only temporary stays across the Atlantic, while for the majority of women who undertook journeys to the “New World,” the move was more likely a permanent one.

Given the high number of back-and-forth movements within Europe and beyond, classic designations such as “emigration country” and “immigration country” are beginning to lose their scientific explanatory value. While some migrants were leaving, others were arriving. As more and more Slovak speakers from northern Hungary migrated overseas, people from Galicia—Ukrainian and Polish speakers—crossed the border to northern Hungarian counties. Similarly, mobile laborers from Northern Italy and the district of Trento went to work in Vorarlberg’s textile factories, while residents of Vorarlberg traveled to New Jersey and New York to take up jobs in the US textile industry. As demonstrated with respect to North Italians, the rapid development of infrastructure that characterized the nineteenth century, including the construction of railroads, regulation of rivers, and expansion of cities, provided a number of employment opportunities for international labor migrants. Many left the Habsburg-ruled territories; however, it would be misleading to describe the empire as primarily a country of emigration, as its industry and agriculture simultaneously attracted migrants from other European countries. On a more global level, however, we need to be careful about prematurely categorizing regions as either migrant senders or receivers. Between the 1840s and 1920s, migration for all its back-and-forth movements, resulted in a major transfer of population from the most to the least densely populated temperate regions of the planet.<sup>29</sup>

Spatial mobility is not a modern phenomenon. The focus of this particular study of migration patterns in Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary is the second half of the nineteenth century, but it likewise elaborates on the importance of the

centuries-long history of many of those patterns, and the ways in which these were linked with newer patterns. This research contributes to the growing number of historical studies that show us that the population mobility of previous generations was just as high, and perhaps even higher, as European population mobility today. These studies urge us to question the apparent novelty of a contemporary “mobile society.” That said, there can be no question that the long-distance mass mobility which began in the middle of the nineteenth century is indeed a modern phenomenon. Transatlantic crossings did not take place before 1492, and it wasn’t until the 1840s that millions of migrants began voluntarily crossing the Atlantic or the Pacific, with the only exception of the African slave trade in the eighteenth century. And even then, there were more individuals who crossed the Atlantic from 1900 to 1905 than had done so in the three centuries between 1500 and 1800. This focus on the migration pattern as a whole illuminates the mobility transition of modern times.<sup>30</sup> While some types of spatial mobility such as transhumance and the movement of peddlers did actually decline, others such as long-distance overseas migration, rural-to-urban movement, and later on tourism, became commonplace for the first time in human history.

# NOTES

## INTRODUCTION

1. See Lewis H. Siegelbaum and Leslie Page Moch, *Broad is My Native Land. Repertoires and Regimes of Migration in Russia's Twentieth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014); Donna R. Gabaccia and Dirk Hoerder, "Editor's Introduction," in *Connecting Seas and Connected Ocean Rims. Indian, Atlantic, and Pacific Oceans and China Seas Migrations from the 1830s to the 1930s*, eds. Donna R. Gabaccia and Dirk Hoerder (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1–11; José C. Moya and Adam McKeown, *World Migration in the Long Twentieth Century* (Washington DC: American Historical Association, 2011).
2. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Measuring and Quantifying Cross-Cultural Migrations: An Introduction," in *Globalising Migration History. The Eurasian Experience (16<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> Centuries)*, eds. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 3–54, 6.
3. Janine Dahinden, "A Plea for the 'De-Migrantization' of Research on Migration and Integration," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39, no. 13 (2016): 2207–25, 2208.
4. Ulf Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe. Emigrants, America, and the State since the Late Nineteenth Century* (Lanham: Lexington, 2016), 9.
5. Dahinden, "A Plea for the 'De-Migrantization,'" 2214–17.
6. Wilbur Zelinsky, "The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition," *Geographical Review* 61, no. 2 (1971): 219–49; Wolfgang Köllmann, *Bevölkerung in der Industriellen Revolution. Studien zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte Deutschlands* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 41, 48; Hartmut Kaelble, "Einführung und Auswertung," in *Arbeiter im Industrialisierungsprozess*, eds. Werner Conze and Ulrich Engelhardt (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979), 18–30, 19.

7. Moya and McKeown, *World Migration in the Long Twentieth Century*.
8. See Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick-Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology," *International Migration Review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 576–610; Harald Kleinschmidt, *People on the Move. Attitudes Towards and Perceptions of Migration in Medieval and Modern Europe* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003); Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Alte Paradigmen und neue Perspektiven in der Migrationsgeschichte," in *Über die trockene Grenze und über das offene Meer. Binneneuropäische und transatlantische Migrationen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Mathias Beer and Dittmar Dahmann (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2004), 17–42, 33 f.; on terminology in recent migration research, see Tomas Hammar and Kristof Tamas, "Why do People Go or Stay?" in *International Migration, Immobility and Development: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, eds. Tomas Hammar et al. (Oxford: Berg, 1997), 1–20, 14 f.
9. Lucassen and Lucassen, "Measuring and Quantifying Cross-Cultural Migrations," 6–7; Katrin Lehnert, *Die Un-Ordnung der Grenze. Mobiler Alltag zwischen Sachsen und Böhmen und die Produktion von Migration im 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2017), 23–24, 35.
10. Lucassen and Lucassen, "Measuring and Quantifying Cross-Cultural Migrations," 14.
11. Dahinden, "A Plea for the 'De-Migranticization,'" 2215.
12. Colin G. Pooley, *Mobility, Migration and Transport. Historical Perspectives* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 1.
13. Josef Ehmer, "Migration in der historischen Forschung—Themen und Perspektiven," in *Migrations- und Integrationsforschung—multidisziplinäre Perspektiven*, eds. Heinz Faßmann and Julia Dahlvik (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2011), 89–102, 96; see also Colin G. Pooley and Jean Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1998), 8.
14. Bernard Bailyn, *Voyages to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986).
15. Gabaccia and Hoerder, "Editor's Introduction," 6.
16. A good example of early processes of administrative border formation and control is provided by the research project led by Josef Ehmer, "The Control of Mobility of Ottoman Migrants in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1739–1791. The Rise of the Modern State?"; see Jovan Pešalj, "Monitoring Migrations: The Habsburg-Ottoman Border in the Eighteenth Century" (PhD diss. University of Leiden, Leiden, 2019); Jovan Pešalj et al. eds., *Borders and Mobility Control in and between Empires and Nation-States* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2021).
17. Katrin Lehnert and Lutz Vogel eds., *Transregionale Perspektiven. Kleinräumige Mobilität und Grenz Wahrnehmung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Dresden: Thelem, 2011); see also Andreas Gestrich and Marita Krauss, eds., *Migration und Grenze* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998); Waltraud Heindl and Edith Saurer, eds., *Grenze und Staat. Passwesen, Staatsbürgerschaft, Heimatrecht und Fremden gesetzgebung in der österreichischen Monarchie 1750–1867* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2000).

18. Lehnert, *Die Un-Ordnung der Grenze*, esp. 34–44.
19. Russell King, Ronald Skeldon, and Julie Vullnetari, “Internal and International Migration: Bridging the Theoretical Divide,” accessed November 12, 2019, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.689.6331&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.
20. See Annemarie Steidl et al. eds., *European Mobility. Internal, International, and Transatlantic Moves in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2009); Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, “Mobilität,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, vol. 8, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008), 624–44, 626.
21. Dirk Hoerder, *People on the Move: Migration, Acculturation, and Ethnic Interaction in Europe and North America* (Providence: Berg, 1993), 5; Ulrich Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland. Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter, Flüchtlinge* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2001), 25.
22. Klaus J. Bade and Jochen Oltmer, “Polnische landwirtschaftliche Arbeitskräfte in Preußen-Deutschland vom späten 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg,” in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa. Vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, eds. Klaus J. Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen, and Jochen Oltmer (Paderborn: Schöningh 2007), 879–85, 879.
23. Heinz Faßmann, “Emigration, Immigration and Internal Migration in the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy, 1910,” in *Roots of the Transplanted. Volume One: Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century East Central and Southeastern Europe*, eds. Dirk Hoerder and Inge Blank (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 253–308, 276 f.
24. Hoerder, *People on the Move*, 23.
25. Author’s translation from the original German: “Die verschiedenen, aus dem freien Willen der Einzelnen, entstandenen inneren und äußeren Wanderungsströme gingen bis zum Weltkriege kaum behindert ineinander über, ergänzten und ersetzten einander nach dem Gesetz des geringsten Druckes. Die hunderttausend Slowaken, die jährlich aus ihren Bergen in die reiche ungarische Tiefebene zum Schnitt herabstiegen, wurden oft von den noch ärmeren Ruthenen ersetzt, während die Ungarn, von den höheren Löhnen angezogen, vielfach zur Saison nach Deutschland und nach Niederösterreich zogen. Hier haben sie oft die Tschechen verdrängt, die sich dann nach Amerika wandten. So mündeten oft die von einem kleinen festländischen Wanderungsbächlein ausgehenden Wellen irgendwo in den großen Ozean der interkontinentalen Wanderung.” Imre Ferenczi, *Kontinentale Wanderungen und die Annäherung der Völker. Ein geschichtlicher Überblick* (Jena: Fischer, 1930), 18.
26. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, “Introduction,” in *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, eds. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997), 9–38, 28; James H. Jackson and Leslie Page Moch, “Migration and the Social History of Modern Europe,” in *European Migrants. Global and Local Perspectives*, eds. Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 52–69, 53.
27. Zelinsky, “The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition,” 219–49.

28. David I. Kertzer and Dennis P. Hogan provide an early critical approach on the relation of regional mobility and modernity in "On the Move: Migration in an Italian Community, 1865–1921," *Social Science History* 9, no. 1 (1985): 1–23, 8.
29. See Douglas S. Massey et al., "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 431–66; Marcelo J. Borges, *Chains of Gold. Portuguese Migration to Argentina in Transatlantic Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 75 f.; Ehmer, "Migration in der historischen Forschung," 89–102.
30. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "The Mobility Transition Revisited, 1500–1900: What the Case of Europe can Offer to Global History," *Journal of Global History* 4 (2009), 347–77; Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Theorizing Cross-Cultural Migrations: The Case of Eurasia since 1500," *Social Science History* 41, no. 3 (2017): 445–75.
31. Josef Ehmer, "Quantifying Mobility in Early Modern Europe: The Challenge of Concepts and Data," *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011): 327–38; see also Leo Lucassen, "Cities, States and Migration Control in Western Europe: Comparing Then and Now," in *Gated Communities? Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities*, eds. Bert De Munck and Anne Winter (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 217–40, 221; Bert De Munck and Anne Winter, "Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities: An Introduction," in *Gated Communities?*, 1–22, 1.
32. Pooley, *Mobility, Migration and Transport*, 3.
33. Rudolph J. Vecoli, *Italian Immigrants in Rural and Small Town America: Essays from the Fourteenth Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association* (Staten Island: American Italian Historical Association, 1987); Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845–80* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990); H. Arnold Barton, *A Folk Divided. Homeland Swedes and Swedish Americans, 1840–1940* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1994).
34. See Nicole M. Phelps, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations from 1815 to the Paris Peace Conference* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 280.
35. For a critical discussion of nationally oriented research approaches, see Jürgen Osterhammel, *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaates* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001); Jürgen Osterhammel, "Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Erweiterung oder Alternative?," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27 (2001): 464–79.
36. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration," *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (1995): 48–63; Ludger Pries, ed., *Transnationale Migration. Soziale Welt* (Baden Baden: Nomos-Verl.-Ges., 1997); Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der Histoire croisée und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28 (2002): 607–36; Dirk Hoerder, "From National History to Many Texts: Deprovincialized, Transcultural, Internationalized Historiographies of the United States," *Amerikastudien* 48, no. 1 (2003): 11–32; Kirian



- K. Patel, "Transatlantische Perspektiven transnationaler Historiographie," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 30, no. 4 (2004): 625–47.
37. Ludger Pries, "Transnationalisierung der Migrationsforschung und Entnationalisierung der Migrationspolitik. Das Entstehen transnationaler Sozialräume durch Arbeitswanderung am Beispiel Mexiko–USA," *IMIS-Beiträge* 15 (2000): 55–77, 61; Christoph Parnreiter, "Theorien und Forschungsansätze zu Migration," in *Internationale Migration. Die globale Herausforderung des 21. Jahrhunderts?*, eds. Karl Husa, Christoph Parnreiter, and Irene Stacher (Vienna: Südwind, 2000), 25–52; Ewa Morawska, "Immigrants, Transnationalism, and Ethnicization: a Comparison of this Great Wave and the Last," in *E pluribus unum? Contemporary and Historical Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*, eds. Gary Gerstle and John Mollenkopf (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001), 175–212; Peggy Levitt, Josh DeWind, and Steven Vertovec, "International Perspectives on Transnational Migration: An Introduction," *International Migration Review* 37, no. 3 (2003), 565–75, 569.
  38. Osterhammel, "Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte," 468.
  39. Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans. Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact. World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002); Klaus J. Bade, *Europa in Bewegung. Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 2002); Julianna Puskás, *Ties that Bind, Ties that Divide. One Hundred Years of Hungarian Experience in the United States* (New York: Holmes & Meir, 2000); Ewa Morawska, *For Bread with Butter. Life-Worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
  40. See Massimo Livi-Bacci, *Europa und seine Menschen. Eine Bevölkerungsgeschichte* (Munich: Beck, 1999), 152–59; Bade, *Europa in Bewegung*, 24–42 and 66–69, migration to or from East-central Europe (Austrian Galicia, Russian Poland) receives only brief mention in these works.
  41. For a case study on regional mobility during the period of "second serfdom," see Josef Grulich and Hermann Zeitlhofer, "Migrace jihočeského obyvatelstva v období před třicetiletou válkou a po jejím ukončení" [Migration of the South-Bohemian Population Before and After the Thirty-Years' War], *Historická Demografie* 22 (1998): 79–105.
  42. See, for example, Klaus J. Bade et al. eds., *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe. From the 17<sup>th</sup> Century to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); the collection of European migration data for the twentieth century made by Lucassen et al. is titled "In Western Europe" but includes data on Albania, Croatia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Baltic countries, Poland, and Yugoslavia; only Russia and some of the former Soviet countries (Ukraine, Belarus, etc.) are excluded; see Leo Lucassen et al., "Cross-Cultural Migration in Western Europe 1901–2000: A Preliminary Estimate," accessed November 18, 2019, <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper>

- /Cross-cultural-Migration-in-Western-Europe-a-Lucassen-Lucassen/631b60b03bb3a3988c81112aa395f265e869ed30.
43. Siegelbaum and Moch, *Broad Is My Native Land*, 4.
  44. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*.
  45. For more information on Slovenian women who migrated to Egypt, see Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik, ed., *From Slovenia to Egypt. Aleksandrinke's Trans-Mediterranean Domestic Workers' Migration and National Imagination* (Göttingen: V & R unipress, 2015).
  46. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 23.
  47. Tara Zahra, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europa and the Making of the Free World* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016).
  48. Just consider the case of politically persecuted individuals from eastern Turkey who went to Western Germany as so-called guest workers in the 1960s. With the end of recruitment in Western Germany in 1973, labor migration dwindled, and more and more individuals from the same Turkish regions began applying for asylum in Western Europe; see Marlou Schrover and Deirdre Moloney, "Introduction. Making a Difference," in *Gender, Migration and Categorization. Making Distinctions between Migrants in Western Countries, 1945–2010*, eds. Marlou Schrover and Deirdre Moloney (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013), 7–54, 8–9.
  49. Kristina Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation-Builders: The Development of Austria-Hungary's National Projects in the United States, 1880s–1920s" (PhD diss. College of William & Mary, 2018).
  50. Phelps, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations*, 219–20.
  51. Hoerder, "From National History," 23.
  52. Moch, *Moving Europeans*, 9; Dudley Baines, "European Labour Markets, Emigration and Internal Migration, 1850–1913," in *Migration and the International Labour Market, 1850–1939*, eds. Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson (London: Routledge, 1994), 35–54, 36.
  53. Jan Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe, 1600–1900. The Drift to the Northern Sea* (London: Croom Helm, 1987).
  54. Traude Horvath and Gerda Neyer, eds., *Auswanderungen aus Österreich. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996); Frederick C. Engelmann, Manfred Prokop and Franz A. J. Szabo, *A History of the Austrian Migration to Canada* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1996); Peter Melichar, Andreas Rudigier, and Gerhard Wanner, eds., *Wanderungen. Migration in Vorarlberg, Liechtenstein und in der Ostschweiz zwischen 1700 und 2000* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2016); while there are few new empirical studies on this subject of international migration and migrants, the number of exhibitions organized on the topic seems to be increasing; see, for example, Michael John and Manfred Lindorfer, eds., *migration (1)—eine zeitreise nach europa* (special issue of *kursiv. eine kunstzeitschrift aus oberösterreich* 10, no. 1/2 (2003); Hakan Gürses, Cornelia Kogoj, and Sylvia Mattl,

- eds., *Gastarbeiteri: 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration* (Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2004); Arif Akkiliç et al., *Schere Topf Papier. Objekte zur Migrationsgeschichte* (Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2016).
55. See Pieter M. Judson, "Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe: Introduction," in *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe*, eds. Pieter M. Judson and Marsha Rozenblit (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 1–18.
  56. David F. Good, "The Economic Lag of Central and Eastern Europe: Income Estimates for the Habsburg Successor States, 1870–1910," *The Journal of Economic History* 54, no. 4 (1994): 869–91, 880; Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 3–17.
  57. See David F. Good, "Modern Economic Growth in the Habsburg Monarchy," *East Central Europe* 7 (1980): 248–68.
  58. David F. Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750–1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).
  59. Jiří Kořalka, "Tschechische Bergarbeiter in Nordwestböhmen und im Ruhrgebiet, 1900–1914," in *Westmitteleuropa—Ostmitteleuropa. Vergleiche und Beziehungen*, eds. Winfried Eberhard et al. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992), 251–60, 253.
  60. Even the Czech Lands were not homogeneous provinces, for in spite of these industrial developments most parts were still dominated by various agricultural activities; see Josef Ehmer and Hermann Zeitlhofer, "Ländliche Migration in Böhmen vor dem 1. Weltkrieg," *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* 53, no. 1 (2005): 40–58; Josef Ehmer, *Heiratsverhalten, Sozialstruktur, ökonomischer Wandel. England und Mitteleuropa in der Formationsperiode des Kapitalismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 142.
  61. Good, *The Economic Rise*, 135.
  62. Ewa Morawska, "Labor Migrations of Poles in the Atlantic World Economy," in *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives*, eds. Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 170–208, 177 ff.
  63. See, for example, Peter S. Biegelbauer, *130 Years of Catching Up with the West. A Comparative Perspective on Hungarian Industry, Science and Technology Policy-Making since Industrialization* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 41; Iván T. Berend and György Ránki, "Ungarns wirtschaftliche Entwicklung 1849–1918," in *Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung. Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, Bd. 1, ed. Alois Bursatti (Vienna: Öst. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973), 462–527.
  64. László Katus, "Transport Revolution and Economic Growth in Hungary," in *Economic Development in the Habsburg Monarchy in the Nineteenth Century. Essays*, ed. John Komlós (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1983), 183–206, 183; Good, *The Economic Rise*, 136.
  65. Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 4 f.
  66. Katus, "Transport Revolution and Economic Growth"; Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 6 f.; Good, *The Economic Rise*, 143.

67. *Ungarisches Statistisches Jahrbuch*, n.s. XIV, (Budapest: Arthenaeum, 1906); David F. Good, "Uneven Development in the Nineteenth Century: A Comparison of the Habsburg Empire and the United States," *The Journal of Economic History* 46, no. 1 (1986): 137–51, 140.
68. David F. Good, "Economic Union and Uneven Development in the Habsburg Monarchy," in *Economic Development in the Habsburg Monarchy in the Nineteenth Century. Essays*, ed. John Komlós (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1983), 65–80, 75.
69. On the many nationalities within the Habsburg Empire see Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire. A New History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 3.
70. Hoerder, *People on the Move*, 23.
71. Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation-Builders," 13–24.
72. Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 53–54.
73. On ethnolinguistic and ethnoconfessional policies, see, for example, Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*.
74. "... classification efforts that accompanied the modernization of the Habsburg state were in fact key to establishing, promoting, and perpetuating national categories of identification." Rok Stergar and Tamara Scheer, "Ethnic Boxes: The Unintended Consequences of Habsburg Bureaucratic Classification," *Nationalities Papers* 46, no. 4 (2018): 575–91, 576; see also Annemarie Steidl, Wladimir Fischer-Nebmaier, and James Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire to a Nation of Nations. Austro-Hungarian Migrants in the US, 1870–1940* (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2017), 27; Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans. A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).
75. See Phelps, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations*.
76. On the US administration's classification of migrants see Joel Perlmann, *America Classifies the Immigrants: From Ellis Island to the 2020 Census* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).
77. Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*, 28.
78. In order to create the maps, I have fed the geographic-related migration information obtained from various databases into a geographical information system.
79. See Leo Lucassen, "Bringing Structure Back In: Economic and Political Determinants of Immigration in Dutch Cities, 1920–1940," *Social Science History* 26, no. 3 (2002), 503–29.
80. K. K. statistische Zentral–Commission, ed., *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1869 im Reichsrath vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern* (Vienna: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1870); K. K. statistische Zentral–Commission, ed., *Vorläufige Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1880 in den im Reichsrath vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern* (Vienna: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1881); K. K. statistische Zentral–Commission, ed., *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1890 im Reichsrath vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern* (Vienna:

- Kaierlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1892); K. K. statistische Zentral-Commission, ed., *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1900 im Reichsrate vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern* (Vienna: Kaierlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1902/05); K. K. statistische Zentral-Commission, ed., *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910 im Reichsrate vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern* (Vienna: Kaierlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1912); on the history of censuses in the Habsburg Empire, see Wolfgang Göderle, *Zensus und Ethnizität. Zur Herstellung von Wissen über soziale Wirklichkeiten im Habsburgerreich zwischen 1848 und 1910* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2016); the results of Hungary's 1910 census were published in ten volumes in both Hungarian and German; see A magyar kir. küzponti statisztikai hivatal, ed. *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910. Évi népszámlálása. Ötödik rész. Részletes Demografia* / Kön. Ungarisches Statistisches Zentralamt, ed. *Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone im Jahre 1910. Fünfter Teil. Detaillierte Beschreibung der Bevölkerung* (Budapest: Pester Buchdruckerei-Aktiengesellschaft, 1916); Kgl. Ungarisches Statistisches Bureau, ed., *Statistisches Jahrbuch für Ungarn / Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* (Budapest, 1872–1892); for more information on the Hungarian census, see Petér Öri and Levente Pakot, "Census and Census-like Material Preserved in the Archives of Hungary, Slovakia, and Transylvania (Romania), 18–19<sup>th</sup> Centuries," MPIDR Working Paper 2011–020 (2011), accessed November 16, 2019, <https://www.demogr.mpg.de/papers/working/wp-2011-020.pdf>.
81. "Hauptergebnisse der Gewerbezahlung im Deutschen Reich vom 14. Juni 1895," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik / Journal of Economics and Statistics* 15, no. 70.5 (1898): 662–65; "Gewerbliche Betriebsstatistik. Berufs- u. Betriebszählung vom 12. Juni 1907," *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs* 220/221 (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1914); *Die Deutschen im Ausland und die Ausländer im Deutschen Reiche* (Ergänzungsheft 1: Vierteljahrshefte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reiches, vol. 14, 1905); Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, ed., *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, vol. 246 (Bewegung der Bevölkerung im Jahre 1910) (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1913).
  82. Kön. Ungarisches Statistisches Zentralamt, ed., *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung der Länder der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone in den Jahren 1899–1913*, Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen, new series, vol. 67 (Budapest: Pester Buchdruckerei-Aktiengesellschaft, 1918).
  83. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (n. d.), *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, NY, 1897–1957*. National Archives Microfilm Publication T715, Record Group 85, National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, DC.
  84. Statistisches Landesamt, ed., *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes des Königreiches Böhmen*, vol. 24 (Prague: Calvel, 1916), 48–54; Ks. Stanisław Piech, "Emigracja z Diecezji Tarnowskiej w Świątle Ankiel Konsystorza z Lat 1907 I 1910 [Emigration from the Tarnów Diocese in the Light of Consistory Surveys from 1907 and 1910]," *Nasza Przeszłość* 65 (1986): 151–57; in the case of the German Reich, which according to migration numbers

was by far the most often frequented neighboring state, Steve Hochstadt's study on German migration has clearly demonstrated the value and usefulness of statistical series published by regional statisticians and statistical offices of cities; see Steve Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820–1989* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

85. In Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary censuses were administered on December 31, whereas in the German Reich and the Kingdom of Italy, for example, the date of the census was often December 1.
86. Klaus J. Bade, "Arbeiterstatistik zur Ausländerkontrolle: die 'Nachweisungen' der preußischen Landräte über den 'Zugang, Abgang und Bestand der ausländischen Arbeiter im preußischen Staate', 1906–1914," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 24 (1984), 163–284, 167.
87. For more information on the limits of historical migration data, see, for example, Dudley Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, 3.
88. For a discussion of the pros and cons of stock and flow data, see Katharine M. Donato and Donna R. Gabaccia, *Gender and International Migration: From the Slavery Era to the Global Age* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2015).
89. Heinz Faßmann's studies, for example, used data from the departure harbors in Europe; see Heinz Faßmann, "Auswanderung aus der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie 1869–1910," in *Auswanderungen aus Österreich. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*, eds. Traude Horvath and Gerda Neyer (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996), 33–55.
90. See Johann Chmelar, "The Austrian Emigration, 1900–1914," *Perspectives in American History* VII (1973), 275–378; transatlantic migrants from the south of the empire (Slovenes, Dalmatians, and Croatians in particular) tended to opt for the Mediterranean ports, indicating that one must remain aware that the database does not provide a fair representation of overseas migrants from the southern provinces of the monarchy.
91. Yannay Spitzer, "The Dynamics of Mass Migration. Estimating the Effect of Income Differences on Migration in a Dynamic Model with Diffusion," research paper, accessed October 31, 2019, <https://yannayspitzer.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/spitzer-the-dynamics-of-mass-migration-150527.pdf>, 14–15; Perlmann, *America Classifies the Immigrants*; Patrick Weil, "Races at the Gate: A Century of Racial Distinctions in American Immigration Policy (1865–1965)," *Georgetown Immigration Law Journal* 15, no. 4 (2000): 625–48.
92. Charlotte Erickson, *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Simone A. Wegge, "Occupational Self-Selection of European Emigrants: Evidence from Nineteenth Century Hesse-Cassel," *European Review of Economic History* 6 (2002): 365–94, 367.
93. Annemarie Steidl, "Transatlantic Migration from the Late Austrian Empire and its Relation

to Rural-Urban Stage Migration,” in *European Mobility*, 207–28.

94. Images of the original ship passenger manifests are stored on microfilm at the National Archives in Washington, DC, and New York City. US Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1891–1957; calculated from a sample of twenty-two voyages selected from calendar year 1910. The data entry was financed by a research grant from the FWF (Austrian Research Funds). I would like to thank project leader Josef Ehmer for his help and comments, and Imogen Zimmer and Joachim Stowasser who were responsible for data entry.
95. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918.

#### BACK-AND-FORTH WITHIN IMPERIAL AUSTRIA AND THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

1. Paul-André Rosental, *Les Sentiers Invisibles: Espace, Familles et Migrations dans la France du 19<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1999), 42.
2. Paul-André Rosental, “Between Micro and Macro: Theorizing Agency in Nineteenth-Century French Migrations,” *French Historical Studies* 29, no. 3 (2006): 461.
3. For an innovative discussion of small-scale labor migrations across a state border, see Lehnert, *Die Un-Ordnung der Grenze*, 245–374.
4. Karl Obermann, “Die Arbeitermigrationen in Deutschland im Prozess der Industrialisierung und der Entstehung der Arbeiterklasse in der Zeit von der Gründung bis zur Auflösung des Deutschen Bundes,” *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (1972): 161; James H. Jackson, *Migration and Urbanization in the Ruhr Valley 1821–1914* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1997).
5. See, for example, Julianna Puskás, *Ties that Bind, Ties that Divide. One Hundred Years of Hungarian Experience in the United States* (New York: Holmes & Meier Pub, 2000), 21, in which she notes that “the number of external emigrants is two and one-half times greater than the number of migrants to internal industry.”
6. Gustav Thirring, “Die Auswanderung aus Ungarn. Beiträge zur Statistik und topographischen Verteilung der Auswanderung,” *Bulletin de la Société Hongroise de Géographie XXX* (1902): 4.
7. Heinz Faßmann, “Emigration, Immigration and Internal Migration in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, 1910,” in *Roots of the Transplanted. Volume One: Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century East Central and Southeastern Europe*, eds. Dirk Hoerder and Inge Blank (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 267.
8. Dirk Hoerder, *People on the Move. Migration, Acculturation, and Ethnic Interaction in Europe and North America* (Oxford: Berg, 1993), 11.
9. For more information on servant migration in Europe, see Christer Lundh, “Servant Migration in Sweden in the Early Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Family History* 24, no. 1 (1999): 53–73; Therese Weber, ed., *Mägde. Lebenserinnerungen an die Dienbotenzeit bei Bauern* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1991), 14 f.



10. Norbert Ortmayr, ed., *Knechte. Autobiographische Dokumente und sozialhistorische Skizzen* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1992), 14.
11. Ehmer, "Migration in der historischen Forschung," 99 f.
12. Manfred Scheuch, *Geschichte der Arbeiterschaft Vorarlbergs bis 1918* (Vienna: Verl. d. Österr. Gewerkschaftsbundes, 1961), 19.
13. Marina Cattaruzza, "Die Migration nach Triest von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Gesellschaft, Politik und Verwaltung in der Habsburgermonarchie 1830–1918*, eds. Ferenc Glatz and Ralph Melville (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1987), 284.
14. Ján Sirácky, "On the Problems of Lowland Slovak Emigration in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century," in *Overseas Migration from East-Central and Southeastern Europe 1880–1940*, ed. Julianna Puskás (Budapest: Akad. Kiadó, 1990), 205.
15. Jan Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe: The Drift to the North Sea* (London: Croom Helm), 1987.
16. Elisabeth Spanischberger, "Die Rübenzuckerindustrie und ihre Auswirkungen auf Raum und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert: eine Fallstudie aus dem östlichen Weinviertel," (Phil. Dipl., University of Vienna, 1999); Helga Jaretz, "Wanderarbeit in der Zwischenkriegszeit: Slowaken und Heinzen als Saisonarbeiter in der niederösterreichischen Landwirtschaft," (Phil. Dipl., University of Vienna, 2001).
17. See Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediteranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 85–102; Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Mobilität," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, vol. 8, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008), 627.
18. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 17.
19. Wolfgang Jacobeit, *Schafhaltung und Schäfer in Zentraleuropa bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Akad.-Verl, 1987).
20. Hans Haid, *Wege der Schafe. Die jahrtausendealte nomadische Hirtenkultur zwischen Südtirol und dem Ötztal* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia Verlagsanstalt, 2008).
21. Johann Hintz, *Das wandernde Siebenbürgen. Eine statistische Studie* (Kronstadt: Verl. der Handels- und Gewerbekammer, 1876).
22. Laurence Fontaine, "Migration and Work in the Alps (17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Centuries): Family Strategies, Kinship, and Clientelism," *The History of the Family* 3/3 (1998): 351–69; ARGE Alpenraum, ed., *Gewerbliche Migration im Alpenraum* (Bozen: Verl.-Anst. Athesia, 1994); Thomas Busset and Jon Mathieu, *Mobilité Spatiale et Frontieres–Räumliche Mobilität und Grenzen* (Zurich: Chronos-Verl., 1998); Dolf Kaiser, *Fast ein Volk von Zuckerbäckern? Bündner Konditoren, Cafetiers und Hoteliers in europäischen Ländern bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg: ein wirtschaftsgeschichtlicher Beitrag*, 2nd ed. (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1988); Annemarie Steidl, "Rege Kommunikation zwischen den Alpen und Wien. Die regionale Mobilität Wiener Rauchfangkehrer," *Histoire des Alpes–Storia delle Alpi–Geschichte der Alpen* 14 (2009): 25–40.



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24. Laurence Fontaine, "Les Alpes dans le Commerce Européen (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles)," *La Découverte des Alpes*, Itinera 12 (1992): 131 ff.
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27. Leo Lucassen, "Bosnische Bärenführer in West- und Mitteleuropa von den späten 1860er Jahren bis zum Beginn des Zweiten Weltkrieges," in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa. Vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, eds. Klaus J. Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen and Jochen Oltmer (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2007), 415–17. For an excellent overview of various labor migrants in Central Europe, see Hanns Haas, "Wandergewerbe und Wanderhandel aus den und in die Alpen. Ein wirtschaftlicher Funktionstypus im sozialen Umfeld," *Jahrbuch für Regionalgeschichte* 35 (2017), 33–66; Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Land-Stadt-Wanderung," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, 454.
28. Klaus Weber, "Böhmische Glashändler in Europa vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert," in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa*, 413–15.
29. June Granatir Alexander, *The Immigrants Church and Community. Pittsburgh's Slovak Catholics and Lutherans, 1880–1915* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987), 7.
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31. Leo Lucassen, "Ungarische Kupferschmiede in Europa von den 1860er Jahren bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa*, 1067–69; see also Leo Lucassen, "The Clink of Their Hammer Was Heard from Daybreak till Dawn: Gypsy Occupation in Western Europe," in *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups. A Socio-Historical Approach*, eds. Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems, and Annemarie Cottaar (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 153–73.
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55. On the history and significance of state borders, see Lehnert, *Die Un-Ordnung der Grenze*, 30–38.
56. See Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain*, 79.
57. In his analysis of migration patterns in the Habsburg Empire, Heinz Faßmann divides the Hungarian territory into 71 counties and 32 municipal towns, or 103 *Komitate*; see Faßmann, "Emigration, Immigration," 253 f.
58. K. K. statistische Central-Commission, ed., *Österreichische Statistik*, n.s. 1, 2, 3 (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1912–15).
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60. *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.
61. *Ibid.*
62. Wilhelm Hecke, "Volksvermehrung, Binnenwanderung und Umgangssprache in den nördlichen Ländern Österreichs," *Statistische Monatschrift* 40 (1913): 336.
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65. For more information on industrialization and migration in Lower Austria during the nineteenth century, see Elisabeth Loinig, Oliver Kühschelm, Willibald Rosner, and Stefan Eminger eds., *Niederösterreich im 19. Jahrhundert* (St. Pölten: Verlag des NÖ Instituts für Landeskunde, forthcoming 2020).
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79. Benno Gammerl, *Staatsbürger, Untertanen und Andere. Der Umgang mit ethnischer Heterogenität im Britischen Weltreich und im Habsburgerreich 1867–1918* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 49.
80. Becker, “Governance of Migration,” 37.
81. Kurt Klein, “Österreichs Bevölkerung 1754–1869,” *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft* 113, no. 1/2 (1971), 38.
82. Sylvia Hahn, “Österreich,” *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa*, 179.
83. Becker, “Governance of Migration,” 32.
84. Harald Wendelin, “Schub und Heimatrecht,” in *Grenze und Staat. Pflanzwesen, Staatsbürgerschaft, Heimatrecht und Fremden gesetzgebung in der österreichischen Monarchie 1750–1867*, eds. Waltraud Heindl and Edith Saurer (Vienna: Böhlau, 2000), 181 and 213.
85. Sylvia Hahn, “Wie Frauen in der Migrationsgeschichte verloren gingen,” in *Internationale Migration. Die globale Herausforderung des 21. Jahrhunderts?* eds. Karl Husa, Christof Parnreiter, and Irene Stacher (Vienna: Südwind, 2000), 77–96.

86. "Hiervon abgesehen gab es ein Recht auf Aufnahme in den Heimatverband überhaupt nicht." Heinrich Rauchberg, "Die Heimatverhältnisse der Bevölkerung Oesterreichs nach den Ergebnissen der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1890," *Statistische Monatsschrift* 18 (1892), 355, and Hahn, "Wie Frauen," 80.
87. Gammerl provides descriptive insight into just such a case of negotiations regarding a girl born in Vienna who, after years of correspondence between various Austrian and Hungarian communities, was accorded Hungarian citizenship. See, *Staatsbürger, Untertanen*, 54 f.
88. See also Hahn, "Wie Frauen," 82.
89. Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, 44.
90. Sylvia Hahn, "Fremd im eigenen Land. Zuwanderung und Heimatrecht im 19. Jahrhundert," *Pro Civitate Austriae. Informationen zur Stadtgeschichtsforschung in Österreich* 10 (2005): 38.
91. Maren Seliger and Karl Ucakar, *Wien, politische Geschichte 1740–1934. Entwicklung und Bestimmungskräfte großstädtischer Politik* (Vienna: Jugend & Volk Verl.-Ges., 1985), 737, and Hahn, "Fremd im eigenen Land," 23.
92. Hintz, *Das wandernde Siebenbürgen*, 16.
93. Kgl. Ungarisches Statistisches Bureau, ed., *Statistisches Jahrbuch für Ungarn / Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* (Budapest, 1872–1892).
94. Wendelin, "Schub und Heimatrecht," 173–343.
95. Becker, "Governance of Migration," 39.
96. For the German term *Sozialdisziplinierung*, see Martin Dinges, "Frühneuzeitliche Armenfürsorge als Sozialdisziplinierung? Probleme mit einem Konzept," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 17, no. 1 (1991): 5–29.
97. On the so-called *Temeswarer Wasserschub*, see especially Stephan Steiner, *Rückkehr Unerwünscht. Deportationen in der Habsburgermonarchie der Frühen Neuzeit und ihr europäischer Kontext* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2014), 135–40.
98. Wendelin, "Schub und Heimatrecht," 235–42.
99. *Ibid.*, 286; and Michael John and Albert Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien – einst und jetzt. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart von Zuwanderung und Minderheiten*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Böhlau, 1993), 12.
100. "[. . .] aber die Stabilisierung der Heimatverhältnisse ist noch nicht gleichbedeutend mit jener der Bevölkerung. Jene wirtschaftlichen Momente, welche die Wanderbewegung hervorgerufen und [. . .] gesteigert haben, äussern ihre Wirkung ganz ohne Rücksicht auf die Heimatgesetzgebung. Die starren Bestimmungen dieser letzteren vermögen die Wanderbewegung nicht zu hemmen. Wohl aber hindern sie daran, die Heimatverhältnisse in einer derselben entsprechenden Weise umzubilden und die neue tatsächliche Heimat auch zur rechtlichen zu machen." Heinrich Rauchberg, "Zur Kritik des österreichischen Heimatrechts," *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Socialpolitik und Verwaltung. Organ der österreichischen Volkswirte* II (1893), 91.
101. See also Sylvia Hahn, *Migration – Arbeit – Geschlecht. Arbeitsmigration in Mitteleuropa*

- vom 17. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2008), 37.
102. Prague and its surroundings were still registered as discrete regional units in the 1910 Austrian census. If one sums up all inhabitants with the surrounding districts (504,571), the Bohemian city was much larger than Trieste; K. K. statistische Central-Commission, ed., *Österreichische Statistik*, n.s. 1, 2, 3 (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1912–1915).
103. K. K. statistische Central-Commission, ed., *Österreichische Statistik*, n.s. 1, 2, 3 (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1912–1915); by as early as the middle of the nineteenth century, over half of the population of Britain lived in towns, and ten cities had exceeded a population of 100,000; see Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain*, 93.
104. See Rate of Urbanization in Austria 2008–2018, accessed October 3, 2019, <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/217716/umfrage/urbanisierung-in-oesterreich>.
105. *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.
106. See European Union: Urbanization Level of its Member States in 2018, accessed October 3, 2019, <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/249029/umfrage/urbanisierung-in-den-eu-laendern>.
107. Zeitlhofer, “Tschechien und Slowakei,” 272–87.
108. For more examples of the attraction of small Bohemian towns for migrants, see Hermann Zeitlhofer, “Zwei Zentren temporärer kontinentaler Arbeitsmigration im Vergleich: der Böhmerwald und das Friaul um 1900,” in *Übergänge und Schnittmengen*, 45–75; Josef Ehmer, “Urbanisation, Migration and Urban Labour Markets in Germany and Austria in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Living in the City (14<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, ed. Eugenio Sonnino (Rome: Casa Editrice Università La Sapienza, 2004), 97–114.
109. The ratio of Lower Austrian-born people in Vienna increased from 576 to 598 per thousand inhabitants, while the ratio of Bohemian-born migrants decreased from 140 to 126 per thousand; Hecke, *Volksvermehrung, Binnenwanderung*, 346.
110. Steidl, *Auf nach Wien*, 74.
111. Faßmann, “Emigration, Immigration,” 263.
112. Tibor Frank, “Approaches to Interwar Hungarian Migrations, 1919–1945,” *Hungarian Historical Review* 1, no. 3–4 (2012), 340 f.
113. Tamás Faragó, “Die Budapester Bevölkerungsentwicklung und die Zuwanderung 1840 bis 1941,” in *Wien. Prag. Budapest. Blütezeit der Habsburgermetropolen. Urbanisierung, Kommunalpolitik, gesellschaftliche Konflikte (1867–1918)*, eds. Gerhard Melinz and Susan Zimmermann (Vienna: Promedia, 1996), 60.
114. *Ibid.*, 66 f.
115. Zeitlhofer, “Tschechien und Slowakei,” 278.
116. Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*, 38.
117. Leo Lucassen, “Population and Migration,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, ed. Peter Clark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 666.

118. Jaroslav Láník, "Urbanisierung in Böhmen und die Entwicklung der Prager Agglomeration," in *Wien. Prag. Budapest*, 48 f.
119. Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Wien – Prag. Metropolenforschung* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1993), 19 and 54.
120. For more information on the German-speaking minority in Prague, see Gary B. Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914*, 2nd ed. (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2006).
121. Láník, "Urbanisierung in Böhmen," 54; Lichtenberger, *Wien – Prag*, 71, and Jan Havránek, "Social Classes, Nationality Ratios and Demographic Trends in Prague 1880–1900," *Historica. Historical Sciences in Czechoslovakia XIII* (1966): 188.
122. Dominique Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation: Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).
123. Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "City-Ports in the Eastern and Central Mediterranean from the Mid-Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century: Urban and Social Aspects," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 26, no. 2 (2011): 153 and 159; see also Aleksej Kalc, "Migration nach Triest im 18. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropas* 8 (2007), 101–31; idem, "Immigration Policy in Eighteenth-Century Trieste," in *Gated Communities? Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities*, eds. Bert De Munck and Anne Winter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 117.
124. Lois D. Dubin, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste: Absolutist Politics and Enlightenment Culture* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).
125. Kalc, "Immigration Policy," 117.
126. See Detlef Löffler, *Wien – Triest: der Drang in den Süden. Von den Anfängen der Kronprinz-Rudolf-Bahn bis zum heutigen Ausbau der Südbahn und der Pontebbana* (Klagenfurt: Styria Verl., 2008).
127. Cattaruzza, "Die Migration nach Triest," 275.
128. *Ibid.*, 300 f.
129. *Ibid.*, 274.
130. Sylvia Hahn, "Kroatische und slowenische Arbeitswanderer in Österreich im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert," in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa*, 753–55; Franz von Meinzingen, "Die Wanderbewegung auf Grund der Gebürtigkeitsdaten der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1900," *Statistische Monatsschrift* (1903), 134; Rauchberg, *Die Bevölkerung Österreichs*, 119; Katsiardi-Hering, "City-Ports in the Eastern," 158.
131. For Vienna, see John and Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien*; Andreas Weigl, *Demographischer Wandel und Modernisierung in Wien* (Vienna: Pichler, 2000).
132. Sylvia Hahn, Wolfgang Maderthaner, and Gerald Sprengnagel, *Aufbruch in der Provinz. Niederösterreichische Arbeiter im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Verl. für Gesellschaftskritik, 1989); Hahn, *Migration - Arbeit*; John, *Bevölkerung in der Stadt*.
133. Meinzingen, "Die Wanderbewegung auf Grund," 137–38.



134. Glettler, "Tschechische Arbeitswanderer," 1042–44.
135. Bert De Munck and Anne Winter, "Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities: An Introduction," in *Gated Communities?*, 1.
136. George Gmelch, "Return Migration," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9 (1980), 135.
137. Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*, 37.
138. Steve Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820–1989* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).
139. See Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly, *Poverty and Capitalism in Pre-Industrial Europe* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1979); Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Moch, *Moving Europeans*.
140. See, for example, Marcel Boldorf, *Europäische Leinenregionen im Wandel. Institutionelle Weichenstellungen in Schlesien und Irland (1750–1850)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2006).
141. Sylvia Hahn, "Migranten als Fremde – fremd als Migranten. Zuwanderung in Wien und Niederösterreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," in *Walz, Migration, Besatzung. Historische Szenarien des Eigenen und des Fremden*, eds. Ingrid Bauer, Josef Ehmer, and Sylvia Hahn (Klagenfurt: Drava-Verl., 2002), 87 f.
142. Jaroslav Laník, "Urbanization and Industrialization in Bohemia before 1914," *Hospodářské dějiny / Economic History* 18 (1990), 317–33; idem, "Urbanisierung in Böhmen," 47; Zeitlhofer, "Tschechien und Slowakei," 277; Josef Ehmer and Hermann Zeitlhofer, "Ländliche Migration in Böhmen vor dem 1. Weltkrieg," *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* 53, no. 1 (2005): 40–58; Hahn et al., *Aufbruch in der Provinz*; Andreas Resch, *Die alpenländische Sensenindustrie um 1900. Industrialisierung am Beispiel des Redtenbacherwerks in Scharnstein, Oberösterreich* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995); Kurt Greussing, ed., *Die Roten am Land. Arbeitsleben und Arbeiterbewegung im westlichen Österreich* (Steyr: Museum Industrielle Arbeitswelt, 1989).
143. On the Early Modern Period, see Annemarie Steidl, "Von Bürgern und Handwerkern. Wiener Neustadt im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Die Wienerische Neustadt. Handwerk, Handel und Militär in der Steinfeldstadt*, eds. Sylvia Hahn and Karl Flanner (Vienna: Böhlau, 1994), 369–96; Erich Landsteiner, "Weinbau und bürgerliche Hantierung. Weinbau und Weinhandel in den landesfürstlichen Städten und Märkten Niederösterreichs in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Stadt und Wein*, ed. Ferdinand Oppl (Linz: Österr. Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1996), 17–50.
144. Peter Huber, "'Der letzte Luxus': Die Ökonomie des Schrebergartens," *Die Presse* (Vienna), April 30, 2013.
145. See, for example, Ernest Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 48 (1885): 198; for recent critique of Ravenstein, see J. Trent Alexander and Annemarie Steidl, "Gender and the 'Laws of Migration': A Reconsideration of Nineteenth-Century Patterns," *Social Science History* 6, no. 2 (2012): 223–41; Katharine M. Donato and Donna R. Gabaccia, *Gender and International Migration: From the Slavery*



- Era to the Global Age* (New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 2015).
146. As Dudley Baines argues in his study on England and Wales: "A [...] serious [...] problem is the failure of many studies to distinguish between gross and net emigration." Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy. Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 21.
147. As an example of nineteenth-century migration research, see Heinrich Rauchberg, "Der Zug nach der Stadt," *Statistische Monatschrift* 19 (1893): 125–71; and for a modern example, see Heinz Faßmann, "Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung 1850–1910," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. IX Soziale Strukturen, 1. Teilband, eds. Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Verl. der Österr. Akad. der Wiss., 2010), 159–84. Faßmann describes internal migration at the end of the nineteenth century as people being pushed out of agriculture as a result of insufficient opportunity to earn a living, and being pulled into growing urban agglomerations in need of manpower, see 172 f.
148. William H. Hubbard, *Auf dem Weg zur Großstadt. Eine Sozialgeschichte der Stadt Graz 1850–1914* (Vienna: Verl. für Geschichte u. Politik, 1984).
149. Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain*, 4 f.
150. James H. Jackson and Leslie Page Moch, "Migration and the Social History of Modern Europe," in *European Migrants. Global and Local Perspectives*, eds. Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch (Boston: Northeastern University Press 1996), 53.
151. Lucassen, "Population and Migration," 669.
152. See Josef Ehmer, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte und Historische Demographie 1800–2000* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2004), 82.
153. Rudolf Heberle and Fritz Meyer, *Die Großstädte im Strome der Binnenwanderung. Wirtschafts- und bevölkerungswissenschaftliche Untersuchungen über Wanderung und Mobilität in deutschen Städten* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1937), 38.
154. Wolfgang Köllmann, *Bevölkerung in der Industriellen Revolution. Studien zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte Deutschlands* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 130, 141, and 146–49.
155. Matzerath declared that the population growth in the German province of Prussia was primarily caused by natural increase. See Horst Matzerath, *Urbanisierung in Preussen, 1815–1914* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1985), 304–11; see also Jackson, *Migration and Urbanization*, 309; Stephan Bleek, "Mobilität und Seßhaftigkeit in deutschen Großstädten während der Urbanisierung," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 15 (1989): 5–33.
156. Between 1844 and 1911 about 40 percent of population growth in English cities was a result of migration and 60 percent a result of natural increase; see Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy*, 217 ff.
157. Weigl, *Demographischer Wandel*, 67.
158. Faragó, "Die Budapester Bevölkerungsentwicklung," 60 and 64.
159. Jackson and Moch, "Migration and the Social History," 60.

160. See, for example, Harold Lind, "Internal Migration in Britain," in *Migration*, ed. James A. Jackson (Cambridge: R. C. Taylor, 1969), 78.
161. De Munck and Winter, "Regulating Migration," 1 f.
162. Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity*, 136 and 112 ff.
163. Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain*, 94 f.
164. See Ehmer, "Tramping Artisans," 164–85; Steidl, *Auf nach Wien*, 269–75.
165. Dieter Langewiesche, "Wanderungsbewegungen in der Hochindustrialisierungsperiode. Regionale, interstädtische und innerstädtische Mobilität in Deutschland 1880–1914," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 64, no. 1 (1977): 5 and 13.
166. Jackson, *Migration and Urbanization*, 262.
167. Ehmer, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte und Historische Demographie*, 80–86; numerous US studies show the same phenomenon for 1850 onward, see Cornelis Minnen and Sylvia Hilton, *Nation on the Move: Mobility in U.S. History* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2002); Neil Shumsky, *Social Structure and Social Mobility* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Joseph Ferrie, "History Lessons—The End of American Exceptionalism? Mobility in the US since 1850," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19, no. 3 (2005): 199–215.
168. See Jackson, *Migration and Urbanization*.
169. Láník, "Urbanisierung in Böhmen," 46–57.
170. John and Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien*, 14 f. and 91.
171. "... mit einem Hotel, das zwar stets besetzt war, aber immer wieder von anderen Leuten." Monika Gletler, *Die Wiener Tschechen um 1900. Strukturanalyse einer nationalen Minderheit in der Großstadt* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1972), 41.
172. Weigl, *Demographischer Wandel*, 109.
173. Meinzingen, "Die Wanderbewegung auf Grund," 134–35.
174. K. K. statistische Central–Commission, ed., *Österreichische Statistik*, n.s. 1, 2, 3 (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1912–1915). I am grateful to Hermann Zeitlhofer who prepared the data for the analyses.
175. In the 1850s and 1860s, the city recorded only around 30,000 inhabitants; however, John's research tells us that in the twelve years between 1854 and 1866 there were in fact no less than 130,000 people living there, at least temporarily; around 11 percent of these individuals originated from Bohemia. See John, *Bevölkerung in der Stadt*, 78.
176. Census material alone does not provide the means of analyzing such a hypothesis for all Imperial Austrian districts. K. K. statistische Central–Commission, ed., *Österreichische Statistik*, n.s. 1, 2, 3 (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1912–1915).
177. Jackson, *Migration and Urbanization*; Langewiesche, "Wanderungsbewegungen in der Hochindustrialisierungsperiode," 1–40.
178. *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912; *A Magyar szent korona orszá-gainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.

179. Pat Hudson, *History by Numbers. An Introduction to Quantitative Approaches* (London: Arnold, 2000), 138.
180. For more discussion on the statistical relationship between variables, see Hudson, *History by Numbers*; see also Claire Lemerrier and Claire Zalc, *Quantitative Methods in the Humanities. An Introduction* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019).
181. For a more detailed analysis, see Annemarie Steidl and Engelbert Stockhammer, "Coming and Leaving. Internal Mobility in Late Imperial Austria," in *Department of Economics Working Paper Series* 107. Inst. für Volkswirtschaftstheorie und -politik, University of Economics and Business, Vienna (August 2007), accessed October 5, 2019, <http://epub.wu.ac.at/768/1/document.pdf>.
182. K. K. statistische Central-Commission, ed., *Österreichische Statistik*, n.s. 1, 2, 3 (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1912–1915).
183. Likewise, 1,407 people born in Klatovy/Klattau lived in neighboring Domažlice/Taus, and 1,478 people born in Domažlice lived in Klatovy; Hermann Zeitlhofer, "Bohemian Migrants: Internal, Continental, and Transatlantic Migrations in Bohemia at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," in *European Mobility. Internal, International, and Transatlantic Moves in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, eds. Annemarie Steidl, Josef Ehmer, Stan Nadel, and Hermann Zeitlhofer (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2009), 196.
184. Faßmann, "Emigration, Immigration," 277.
185. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," 196.
186. Rosental, *Les Sentiers Invisibles*.
187. Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity*, 71 ff. and 114; Ehmer, "Urbanisation, Migration," 97–114.
188. Javier Silvestre, "Temporary Internal Migrations in Spain, 1860–1930," *Social Science History* 31, no. 4 (2007): 539–74; for internal migration in Great Britain, see Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain*; for the German Reich, see Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity*; and for Sweden, see Martin Dribe, "Migration of Rural Families in Nineteenth Century Southern Sweden: A Longitudinal Analysis of Local Migration Patterns," *History of the Family* 8 (2003): 247–65.
189. Marcelo J. Borges, "Migration Systems in Southern Portugal: Regional and Transatlantic Circuits of Labor Migration in the Algarve (Eighteenth-Twentieth Centuries)," *International Review of Social Science History* 45 (2000): 171–208.
190. Ehmer and Zeitlhofer, "Ländliche Migration," 40–58.
191. For more information on Plzeň, see Ronald Smelser, "German-Czech Relations in Bohemian Frontier Towns: The Industrialization/Urbanization Process," in *Studies in East European Social History*, vol. 2, ed. Keith Hitchins (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 62–87.
192. Zeitlhofer, "Bohemian Migrants," 204; Ehmer and Zeitlhofer, "Ländliche Migration," 40–58.

## CROSSING INTER-EUROPEAN BORDERS

1. On the history of international migration from territories in present-day Austria, see the final report of eds. Traude Horvath and Gerda Neyer, eds. *Auswanderungen aus Österreich. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996).
2. Imre Ferenczi and Walter F. Willcox, *International Migrations*, vol. 2 (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1929); see also Donna Gabaccia and Elizabeth Zaroni, "Transitions in Gender Ratios among International Migrants, 1820–1930," *Social Science History* 36, no. 2 (2012): 197–221.
3. Ferenczi and Willcox, *International Migrations*, 596.
4. Heinz Faßmann, "Auswanderung aus der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie 1869–1910," in *Auswanderungen aus Österreich*, 44; Gerda Neyer, "Auswanderungen aus Österreich. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart," *Demographische Informationen* (1995/96), 61.
5. He seems to have taken into consideration only labor movements from Galicia, disregarding other parts of the Monarchy; see Faßmann, "Emigration, Immigration," 253–308.
6. Henning Bauer, Andreas Kappeler, and Brigitte Roth, eds., *Die Nationalitäten des Russischen Reiches in der Volkszählung von 1897*, vol. A–B (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991).
7. Lars Olsson, "Labor Migration as a Prelude to World War I," *International Migration Review* 33 (1996): 875–900; Franz Markitan, *Auswandererverkehrswege in Österreich* (Vienna: Opitz, 1912).
8. Meinzingen, "Die Wanderbewegung auf Grund," 161.
9. Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung* (Frankfurt: Campus Verl., 2012), 119; Zeitlhofer, "Zwei Zentren temporärer kontinentaler Arbeitsmigration," 45–75.
10. Hoerder, *People on the Move*, 18.
11. For a definition of temporary migration patterns, see Lucassen and Lucassen, "Mobilität," 627 f.
12. On the seasonal migration patterns of Viennese journeymen, see Steidl, *Auf nach Wien!*, 262–68; and Franz Markitan, *Oesterreichischer St. Raphael-Verein zum Schutze der Auswanderer. Die österreichische Saisonwanderung* (Wien: Opitz, 1913).
13. On peddlers in the border region between Saxony and Bohemia, see Lehnert, *Die Un-Ordnung der Grenze*, 344–74.
14. Heinrich Rauchberg, "Die österreichischen Staatsangehörigen im Deutschen Reich unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Österreicher im Preussischen Staate," *Statistische Monatschrift*, XV. Jg. (1889): 323 f.
15. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," 198.
16. The term "feminization of migration" even has its own Wikipedia page: accessed July 18, 2019, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women\\_migrant\\_workers\\_from\\_developing\\_countries#Feminization\\_of\\_migration](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women_migrant_workers_from_developing_countries#Feminization_of_migration); for a critical discussion of this subject, see Katharine M. Donato et al., "Variations in the Gender Composition of Migrant Populations: How They Matter," *International Migration Review* 45, no. 3 (2011):

- 495–526; Alexander and Steidl, “Gender and the ‘Laws of Migration,’” 223–41; Donato and Gabaccia, *Gender and International Migration*.
17. Hahn, *Migration–Arbeit–Geschlecht*.
  18. Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, 119–20.
  19. Hintz, *Das wandernde Siebenbürgen*, 9.
  20. See Aleksej Kalc, “Aleksandrinke–Alexandrian Women: An Eminent Phenomenon of Female Emigration from Slovenia to Egypt,” (unpublished paper from 2014, cited with permission of the author).
  21. Marjan Drnovšek, “Fragments from Slovenian Migration History, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries,” in *Transnational Societies. Transterritorial Politics: Migrations in the (Post-)Yugoslav Region 19<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> Century*, ed. Ulf Brunnbauer (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009), 51–72, 64.
  22. Markitan, *Oesterreichischer St. Raphael-Verein*, 24; Hahn, *Migration–Arbeit–Geschlecht*, 217.
  23. See Reinhard Johler, *Mir parlen Italiano und spreggen Dütsch piano. Italienische Arbeiter in Vorarlberg, 1870–1914* (Feldkirch: Rheticus-Ges., 1987), 37 f.
  24. Meinrad Pichler, *Auswanderer. Von Vorarlberg in die USA 1800–1938* (Bregenz: Vorarlberger Autoren-Ges., 1993), 45; Hannelore Berchtold, “. . . in Frankreich ihr Fortkommen zu gründen . . .” Die Arbeitsmigration von Vorarlberg nach Frankreich im 19. Jahrhundert” (PhD diss. University of Innsbruck, 2001); Johler, *Mir parlen Italiano*, 11; Steidl, “Übers Land und über das offene Meer,” 77–101.
  25. Michael C. Maurer and Anton Schindling, “Italienische, Graubündner, Tessiner und Vorarlberger Baumeister und bildende Künstler im barocken Europa,” in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa*, 687.
  26. Reinhold Reith, “Tiroler Bauhandwerker in Mitteleuropa vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa*, 1034–36.
  27. Josef Muther, *Die Wanderung der Schwabenkinder in Tirol und Vorarlberg* (Vienna: Zeitschrift f. Kinderschutz u. Jugendfürsorge, 1912); Otto Uhlig, *Die Schwabenkinder aus Tirol und Vorarlberg* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1978); Josef Märk, *Schwabenkinder aus Rankweil* (Feldkirch: Rheticus-Ges., 1981); Roman Spiss, *Saisonwanderer, Schwabenkinder und Landfahrer* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1993); Karl Heinz Burmeister and Robert Rollinger, eds., *Auswanderung aus dem Trentino–Einwanderung nach Vorarlberg. Die Geschichte einer Migrationsbewegung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Zeit von 1870/80 bis 1919* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995); Johler, *Mir parlen Italiano*.
  28. Pichler, *Auswanderer*, 45; Ehmer, *Heinatsverhalten, Sozialstruktur, ökonomischer Wandel*, 133–34; Peter Gutschner, “Aus kalter Zeit. ‚Etablierte‘ und ‚Aussenseiter‘ in Vorarlberg am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Walz, Migration, Besatzung. Historische Szenarien des Eigenen und des Fremden*, eds. Ingrid Bauer, Josef Ehmer, and Sylvia Hahn (Klagenfurt: Drava-Verl., 2002), 127.
  29. The website for the small museum for textile printing in Mittelweiherburg refers to the area’s long history of labor migration; another example is the Jewish museum in Hohenems,

- which captures the diaspora of rural Jewish communities, accessed October 13, 2019, <http://www.vorarlbergmuseen.at/museen>; in 2013/14 the local folk museum in Schruns displayed an exhibition on US migration from the valley of Montafon; see Meinrad Pichler, *Aus dem Montafon an den Mississippi. Amerika-AuswandererInnen aus dem Montafon* (Schruns: Heimatschutzverein Montafon, 2013); on the international migration of children, accessed October 13, 2019, <http://www.schwabekinder.eu>.
30. Sabine Mücke, *Schwabekinder: Vorarlberger, Tiroler und Graubündner Kinder als Arbeitskräfte in Oberschwaben* (Ravensburg: Volksbank Ravensburg, 1998); Hahn, "Österreich," 172.
  31. Uhlig, *Die Schwabekinder aus Tirol*.
  32. Roman Spiss, "Tiroler und Vorarlberger ‚Schwabekinder‘ in Württemberg, Baden und Bayern von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa*, 1036–39.
  33. Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, 129; Maria Papatthanassiou, *Zwischen Arbeit, Spiel und Schule. Die ökonomische Funktion der Kinder ärmerer Schichten in Österreich 1880–1939* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1999), 101.
  34. *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz* 1919, 54–55; Madelyn Holmes, *Forgotten Migrants: Foreign Workers in Switzerland before World War I* (London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1988), 32; Franz Mathis, "Vorarlberg als Zuwanderungsland für italienische Migranten: Ursachen und Voraussetzungen," in *Auswanderung aus dem Trentino*, 102.
  35. Markus Hämmerle, *Glück in der Fremde. Vorarlberger Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert* (Feldkirch: Rheticus, 1990), 167–72.
  36. Othmar Aschauer, "Tirolerische Wander-Bauhandwerker aus dem Außerfern im 17.–19. Jahrhundert," in *Künstler, Händler, Handwerker. Tiroler Schwaben in Europa*, ed. Tiroler Landesmuseum (Innsbruck: Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, 1989), 190–204; according to Pichler, all known US migrants who left Vorarlberg before the middle of the nineteenth century embarked at a French port; see Pichler, *Auswanderer*, 45–63.
  37. Rupert Pichler, *Italiener in Österreich–Österreicher in Italien. Einführung in Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft und Verfassung 1800–1914* (Vienna: Eichbauer, 2000), 158 f.; Gutschner, "Aus kalter Zeit," 121–43; Albert von Randow, "Über die Wanderbewegung der central-europäischen Bevölkerung," *Statistische Monatsschrift* (1884), 303.
  38. Jaroslav Láník, "Urbanization and Industrialization"; Zeitlhofer, "Tschechien und Slowakei," 272–87; Zeitlhofer, "Zwei Zentren temporärer kontinentaler Arbeitsmigration," 45–75.
  39. Kerstin S. Jobst, "Ukrainische Arbeitswanderer aus Galizien im Zarenreich im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert," in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa*, 1061–63.
  40. Jaroslav Vaculík, "Tschechische Siedler in Wolhynien von den 1860er bis zu den 1940er Jahren," in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa*, 1044–47.
  41. In 1910 in comparison, literacy rates were the lowest in Dalmatia (26.4 percent); 72.6 percent of Imperial Austria's total population over the age of six years could read and write, and 59 percent of the population in the Kingdom of Hungary were literate; see

- Martin Seger, "Räumliche Disparitäten sozioökonomischer Strukturen in der Spätphase der Habsburgermonarchie. Die Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918, Band IX/2: Soziale Strukturen*, eds. Helmut Rumpler and Martin Seger (Vienna: Verlag der öst. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 27–44; for a broader discussion on literacy rates in border regions, see Stephen D. Corsin, "Literacy Rates and Questions of Language, Faith, and Ethnic Identity in Population Censuses in the Borderlands," *Polish Review* 43 (1998): 131–60.
42. Steidl, "Transatlantic Migration from the Late Austrian Empire," 215.
  43. Jobst, "Ukrainische Arbeitswanderer aus Galizien," 1061–63.
  44. See Börries Kuzmany, *Brody. Eine galizische Grenzstadt im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2011), 253–58; see also Lehnert, *Die Un-Ordnung der Grenze*, 156–76.
  45. On the history of trafficking of young women in Imperial Austria, see Peter Becker, "Von Jannica nach Kapstadt und Buenos Aires. Anna Königsberg und der Mädchenhandel in der Habsburgermonarchie," in *"Ostjuden"–Geschichte und Mythos*, eds. Philipp Mettauer and Barbara Staudinger (Innsbruck: StudienVerl., 2015), 139–72.
  46. See Paulus Adelsgruber, Laurie Cohen, and Börries Kuzmany, *Getrennt und doch verbunden. Grenzstädte zwischen Österreich und Russland, 1772–1918* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2011), 94 and 113–23.
  47. Kuzmany, *Brody*, 256–57.
  48. Stella Hryniuk, *Peasants with Promise: Ukrainians in Southern Galicia 1880–1890* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), 4–31.
  49. Matthias Kaltenbrunner, *Das global vernetzte Dorf. Eine Migrationsgeschichte* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2017), 199.
  50. Julius von Trzciński, *Russisch-polnische und Galizische Wanderarbeiter im Grossherzogtum Posen* (Stuttgart: Union Dt. Verlag-Ges., 1906), 43.
  51. On the history of border control in Imperial Austria and the Russian Empire, see Adelsgruber, Cohen, and Kuzmany, *Getrennt und doch verbunden*; Kuzmany, *Brody*.
  52. During the early 1890s Brazil was a popular destination for transatlantic migrants from Galicia; there were 25,000 Galician emigrants to Brazil documented in that period; see Anna Dvorak, "A Hidden Immigration: The Geography of Polish-Brazilian Cultural Identity" (PhD diss., University of California, 2013), 108–15.
  53. Thaddäus Pilat, "Die Auswanderung aus den podolischen Bezirken nach Russland im Jahre 1892," *Statistische Monatschrift* (1893): 61–87.
  54. Jobst, "Ukrainische Arbeitswanderer," 1062.
  55. Pilat, "Die Auswanderung."
  56. Ralph Melville and Thomas Steffens, "Kapitel VIII: Die Bevölkerung," in *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands. Band 3: 1856–1945. Von den autokratischen Reformen zum Sowjetstaat*, ed. Gottfried Schramm (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1992), 1009–188, 1038.
  57. *Ibid.*, 1039 f.



58. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918.
59. *Ibid.*, 11.
60. Gustav Thirring, *Hungarian Migration of Modern Times* (New York: NBER, 1931), 430.
61. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 48.
62. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, 7 and 88 f.; Hintz, *Das wandernde Siebenbürgen*, 6, 12 and 33.
63. "Es befinden sich immerwährend Siebenbürger in grosser Menge auf allen Plätzen der benachbarten Donauländer. Seit einigen Jahrzehnten nimmt man deren stehende Zahl zwischen 16000 bis 30000 an. Sie suchen daselbst für kürzere und längere Zeit ihren Erwerb in fast allen Gebieten der wirthschaftlichen Volksthätigkeit," see Hintz, *Das wandernde Siebenbürgen*, 3.
64. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, 90–96.
65. Hintz, *Das wandernde Siebenbürgen*, 7.
66. *Ibid.*, 41 f.
67. Thirring, "Die Auswanderung aus Ungarn," 16; for more information on the *Siebenbürger Sachsen*, see Mathias Beer and Konrad Gündisch, *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Munich: Langen-Müller, 1998).
68. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, 7–10 and 97; Márta Fata, "'Donauschwaben' in Südosteuropa seit der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa*, 538.
69. Balázs Ablonczy, "Instead of America: Immigration and Governmental Influence in the Hungarian Émigré Community of France between the Two World Wars," *Hungarian Historical Review* 1, no. 3–4 (2012), 326–28.
70. Kaltenbrunner, *Das global vernetzte Dorf*, 200.
71. Leopold Caro, *Auswanderer und Auswanderungspolitik in Österreich* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot Verlag, 1910), 40; Hahn, "Österreich," 181.
72. One exception is the movement of North German laborers working as *Hollandgänger*, see Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe* and the recent survey in Ehmer, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte und Historische Demographie*.
73. Modern research on labor migration in the German Reich began with the study carried out by Johannes Nichtweiss, *Die ausländischen Saisonarbeiter in der Landwirtschaft der östlichen und mittleren Gebiete des deutschen Reiches. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der preussisch-deutschen Politik von 1890–1915* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1959); see also Klaus J. Bade, "Vom Auswanderungsland zum 'Arbeitseinfuhrland': Kontinentale Zuwanderung und Ausländerbeschäftigung in Deutschland im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert," in *Auswanderer, Wanderarbeiter, Gastarbeiter: Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Klaus J. Bade (Ostfildern: Scripta-Mercaturae-Verl., 1984), 433–85; Johann Woyd, *Ausländische Arbeitskräfte in Deutschland: vom Kaiserreich zur Bundesrepublik* (Heilbronn: Distel Literaturverlag Gm, 1987); and Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik*. For case studies on specific migration



- systems, see Del Fabbro, *Transalpini*; Hannelore Oberpenning, *Migration und Fernhandel im ‚Töddensystem‘. Wanderhändler aus dem nördlichen Münsterland im mittleren und nördlichen Europa des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Osnabrück: Rasch, 1996); and Panikos Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany: Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Turks and Others* (Munich: Longman, 2000).
74. Lehnert, *Die Un-Ordnung der Grenze*, esp. 268–70.
  75. Viktor Thiel, “Gewerbe und Industrie,” in *Geschichte der Stadt Wien* (reviewed by Anton Mayer), vol. IV, ed. Alterthumsverein zu Wien (Vienna: Verl. d. Alterthumsvereines zu Wien, 1911), 430; Steidl, *Auf nach Wien!*, 61–66; Annemarie Steidl, “Ein attraktiver Anziehungspunkt für Zuwanderer aus ganz Europa. Wanderungsmuster nach Wien, 1740–2010,” in *Sozialgeschichte Wiens 1740–2010. Soziale und ökonomische Ungleichheiten, Wanderungsbewegungen, Hof, Bürokratie, Schule, Theater*, eds. Andreas Weigl, Peter Eigner, and Ernst Gerhard Eder (Innsbruck: StudienVerl., 2015), 375–434.
  76. John and Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien*; more recent studies on migration to Vienna address the South German territories as a point of departure; see for example, Andreas Weigl, *Demographischer Wandel*, 131–34.
  77. Studies during this time tried to prove, for example, that despite foreign influence (*‘fremd-völkische’ Einflüsse*, primarily of Jews and Slavs), Vienna essentially remained a German city; for more on this, see Steidl, *Auf nach Wien!*, 61 f.
  78. Martin Lezius, *Das Problem der Sachsengängerei in seiner jüngsten Entwicklung* (Neudamm: Neumann, 1912); Julius Ludwig, *Die polnischen Sachsengänger in der badischen Landwirtschaft und Industrie* (Karlsruhe: G. Braunsche Hofbuchdruckerei und Verlag, 1914); Manuela Obermeier, *Die Sachsengänger. Wanderarbeiter im Rübenbau 1850–1915* (Berlin: Bartens, 1999); this pattern is also well-documented in autobiographies, see Wenzel Holek, *Vom Handarbeiter zum Jugenderzieher: Lebensgang eines deutsch-tschechischen Handarbeiters* (Jena: Diederichs, 1909); Heinrich Holek, *Unterwegs: eine Selbstbiographie* (Vienna: “Bugra,” 1927); see also Klaus J. Bade, “Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt im deutschen Nordosten von 1880 bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg. Überseeische Auswanderung, interne Abwanderung und kontinentale Zuwanderung,” *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 20 (1980): 265–324; Klaus J. Bade, “‘Preussengänger’ und ‘Abwehrpolitik’: Ausländerbeschäftigung, Ausländerpolitik und Ausländerkontrolle auf dem Arbeitsmarkt in Preussen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg,” *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 24 (1984): 91–162; Zeitlhofer, “Zwei Zentren,” 45–75.
  79. Eduard Maur, *Gutsherrschaft und ‚zweite Leibeigenschaft‘ in Böhmen. Studien zur Wirtschafts-, Sozial- und Bevölkerungsgeschichte (14.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Vienna: Verl. für Geschichte u. Politik, 2001), 78 and 105; Zeitlhofer, “Zwei Zentren,” 45–75.
  80. Rauchberg, “Die österreichischen Staatsangehörigen,” 302, 307, and 323.
  81. *Beiträge zur Statistik des Königreichs Bayern*, vol. 63, (Munich, 1902); Kofalka, “Tschechische Bergarbeiter in Nordwestböhmen,” 251–60.

82. Karl Barfuss, "Foreign Workers in and around Bremen, 1884–1918," in *People in Transit. German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820–1930*, eds. Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler (New York: German Historical Institute, 1995), 201–24; Stefi Jersch-Wenzel, ed., *Von Zuwanderern zu Einheimischen: Huguenotten, Juden, Böhmen, Polen in Berlin* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1990); Markitan, *Auswandererverkehrswege*, 25.
83. Dušan Drbohlav, "Die Tschechische Republik und die internationale Migration," in *Ost-West-Wanderung in Europa*, eds. Heinz Faßmann and Rainer Münz (Vienna: Böhlau, 2000), 163.
84. Good, *The Economic Rise*, 132.
85. "Saisonauswanderung aus den Gemeinden Böhmens nach den Erhebungen des Jahres 1913," *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes des Königreiches Böhmen* 24, no. 2 (Prague 1916); Zeitlhofer, "Bohemian Migrants," 199.
86. Zeitlhofer, "Tschechien," 279.
87. Kořalka, "Tschechische Bergarbeiter in Nordwestböhmen," 253 ff.
88. *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes*; see Ehmer and Zeitlhofer, "Ländliche Migration in Böhmen," 40–58.
89. Zeitlhofer, "Zwei Zentren," 59 f.
90. Lehnert, *Die Un-Ordnung der Grenze*, 287–88; see also Frank Nürnberger, *Die Geschichte der Oberlausitzer Textilindustrie. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Spitzkunnersdorf: Oberlausitzer Verlag, 2007), 112.
91. Lehnert, *Die Un-Ordnung der Grenze*, 289.
92. *Ibid.*, 282–86.
93. Anton Knoke, *Ausländische Wanderarbeiter in Deutschland* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1911), 24.
94. John J. Kulczycki, *The Foreign Worker and the German Labor Movement. Xenophobia and Solidarity in the Coal Fields of the Ruhr, 1871–1914* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), 22.
95. Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik*, 18; Olsson, "Labor Migration as a Prelude," 875–900.
96. Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik*, 15.
97. For more information on migration in the province of Poznań, see Dorota Praszalowicz, "Local Community and Nineteenth Century Migrations: Poznanian Kleszczewo and Zaniemyśl (Prussian Poland)," in *European Mobility*, 175–87.
98. For an excellent recent study on the integration of Poles in the German Reich, see Brian McCook, *The Borders of Integration. Polish Migrants in Germany and the United States, 1870–1924* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2011), here especially, 121–45; in his book on the integration of old and new immigrants, Leo Lucassen describes the German public discourse on Poles as a "threat to the nation," see Leo Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat. The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 50–73. The term "Polish question" refers to difficulties that were caused by the attempt to reconstitute a Polish nation-state.
99. Andrzej Pilch, "Migrations of the Galician Populace after the Turn of the Nineteenth and

- Twentieth Centuries,” in *Employment-seeking Emigrations of the Poles World-wide 19 and 20 C*, ed. Celina Bobińska (Krakow: Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1975), 82–99.
100. Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik*, 17 ff.
101. Adrzej Brożek, “Polish Immigrant Workers in Europe and the Labor Movement,” *Polish American Studies* 46, no. 1 (1989): 63; Armin Mitter, “Die ukrainische Erwerbsmigration nach Preußen (1900–1914),” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte* 34 (1987): 151.
102. Bade and Oltmer, “Polnische landwirtschaftliche Arbeitskräfte,” 881; Kasimir L. Kumaniecki, “Die galizische Saisonauswanderung im Licht ausländischer Arbeitsverträge,” *Statistische Monatschrift* (1909): 537.
103. Mark Wyman, *Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 19.
104. Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik*, 33; for more information on public discourse regarding travel agents, see Tara Zahra, “Travel Agents on Trial: Policing Mobility in East Central Europe, 1889–1989,” *Past and Present* 223 (2014), 161–93; Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 23–64.
105. “20 000 Galizier, Männer, Mädchen, Burschen für Feld, Ziegelei, Fabrik, auf Stunden-, Tage- oder Monatslohn, auch Akkord, kann unter sehr günstigen Bedingungen stellen,” in *Vorwärts*, February 21, 1909, see Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik*, 34.
106. *Ibid.*, 35.
107. Bade and Oltmer, “Polnische landwirtschaftliche Arbeitskräfte,” 880.
108. Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik*, 25 f.
109. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, 110 f.
110. Bade and Oltmer, “Polnische landwirtschaftliche Arbeitskräfte,” 879.
111. Markitan, *Oesterreichischer St. Raphael-Verein*, 5–6; Klaus J. Bade, *Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland? Deutschland 1880–1980* (Berlin: Colloquium-Verl., 1983), 29–51; Ewa Kępińska and Oded Stark, “The Evolution and Sustainability of Seasonal Migration from Poland to Germany: From the Dusk of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century to the Dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” *International Review of Economics and Finance* 28 (2013): 3–18.
112. See also Knoke, *Ausländische Wanderarbeiter*, 13.
113. “Gewerbliche Betriebsstatistik,” 1914.
114. Kumaniecki, “Die galizische Saisonauswanderung,” 541 f.
115. Similar processes took place on a global scale, albeit at different speeds in different regions of the world; see Moya, “Domestic Service in a Global Perspective,” 559–79; see also Raffaella Sarti, “Notes on the Feminization of Domestic Service. Bologna as a Case Study (18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> Centuries),” in *Le phénomène de la domesticité en Europe, XVIe-XXe siècles*, eds. Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux and Ludmila Fialova (Prague: Česká Demografická Sociologický Ústav av CR, 1997), 125–63.
116. Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*, 53.

117. Bade and Oltmer, "Polnische landwirtschaftliche Arbeitskräfte," 881 f.
118. *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, 1913; *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912.
119. Paul Grund, *Die ausländischen Wanderarbeiter und ihre Bedeutung für Oberschlesien* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1913), 33.
120. Samuel Harvey Franklin, *The European Peasantry: The Final Phase* (London: Methuen, 1969), 22; Jean Quataert, "Combining Agrarian and Industrial Livelihood: Rural Households in the Saxon Oberlausitz in Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century," *Journal of Family History* 10 (1985): 145–62; Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity*; a similar phenomenon of workers alternating between farm and factory labor has been described with regard to other northern Italian regions; see Douglas R. Holmes, "A Peasant-Worker Model in a Northern Italian Context," *American Ethnologist* 10 (1983): 734–48; Kertzer and Hogan, "On the Move," 1–23.
121. Kristin Klank, "Stammebelegschaft oder Fluktuationsreserve? Ausländische Beschäftigte im Aachener Steinkohlenrevier, 1900–1960," in *Perspektiven in der Fremde? Arbeitsmarkt und Migration von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart.*, eds. Dittmar Dahlmann and Margrit Schulte Beerbühl (Essen: Klartext-Verl., 2011), 215–39.
122. *Ibid.*, 224 ff.
123. See Bade, "Arbeiterstatistik zur Ausländerkontrolle"; Jochen Oltmer, "Grenzüberschreitende Arbeitsmigration von und nach Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Perspektiven in der Fremde?*, 31 f.
124. "... soweit ein Zuzug ausländischer Arbeiter überhaupt notwendig ist, die Anstellung von Ruthenen anstatt der Polen aus politischen Rücksichten als vorteilhaft zu betrachten sei," in *Bericht Spesshardts*, October 18, 1903, see Mitter, "Die ukrainische Erwerbsmigration," 154.
125. Mitter, "Die ukrainische Erwerbsmigration," 148–50.
126. *Ibid.*, 160–76; Kumaniecki, "Die galizische Saisonauswanderung," 546; on migrations from Galicia to South America, see José C. Moya, "The Jewish Experience in Argentina in a Diasporic Comparative Perspective," in *The New Jewish Argentina. Facets of Jewish Experiences in the Southern Cone*, eds. Adriana Brodsky and Raanan Rein (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 7–29; Dvorak, "A Hidden Immigration."
127. Kumaniecki, "Die galizische Saisonauswanderung," 522.
128. Oltmer, "Grenzüberschreitende Arbeitsmigration," 25–48, 34.
129. Ulrich Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerbeschäftigung in Deutschland 1880 bis 1980* (Bonn: Dietz, 1986); Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik*, 35.
130. Mitter, "Die ukrainische Erwerbsmigration," 167; Kaltenbrunner, *Das global vernetzte Dorf*, 198.
131. Bade, "Vom Auswanderungsland zum 'Arbeitseinfuhrland,'" 433–85; Lucassen, *Migrant Labour*; see also Dirk Hoerder, Jan Lucassen, and Leo Lucassen, "Terminologien und Konzepte in der Migrationsforschung," in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa*, 38.

132. Olsson, "Labor Migration," 875–900.
133. Ulrich Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880–1980: Seasonal Workers–Forced Laborers–Guest Workers* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1991).
134. Hoerder, *People on the Move*, 22.
135. Knoke, *Ausländische Wanderarbeiter*, 69; Brożek, "Polish Immigrant Workers," 62 and 64.
136. Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*, 67.
137. Markitan, *Oesterreichischer St. Raphael-Verein*, 6–17; Kumaniecki, "Die galizische Saisonauswanderung," 529.
138. Olsson, "Labor Migration as a Prelude," 892 f.; Hahn, "Österreich," 181.
139. For a detailed case study on labor migration to Sweden, see Lars Olsson, "From Galicia to Sweden: Seasonal Labour Migration and the Ethnic Division of Labour at the IFÖ Kaolin-Works in the Early Twentieth Century," in *European Mobility*, 39–49.
140. Markitan, *Oesterreichischer St. Raphael-Verein*, 5.
141. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, 111–16.
142. *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916; Hahn, "Österreich," 179 ff.
143. Faßmann, "Emigration, Immigration and Internal Migration," 285.
144. For more information on the counting of language use and dialects in the Austrian and Hungarian censuses, see Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*, 28–31.
145. John and Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien*, 18; see also Monika Gletler, "Tschechen und Slowaken in Wien," in *WIR. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart der Zuwanderung nach Wien* (217. Sonderausstellung des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien) (Vienna: Eigenverl. d. Museen d. Stadt Wien, 1996), 102–13.
146. Tajtak, "Slovak Emigration and Migration," 45–86; Jaretz, "Wanderarbeit in der Zwischenkriegszeit"; Spanischberger, "Die Rübenzuckerindustrie und ihre Auswirkungen"; the Calvinist minority in Bohemia had traditionally maintained strong migration networks with Hungarian cities, see Antonin Městan, "How Hungarians became Czech Patriots," *Cross Currents* 6 (1987): 473–77.
147. John and Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien*, 14 and 48–51.
148. Thirring, *Hungarian Migration*, 413; *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, 113.
149. Hahn, "Migranten als Fremde," 89.
150. Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, 166; Hahn, *Migration–Arbeit–Geschlecht*, 397; the number of Hungarians was topped only by the 14 percent of migrants who originated from Bohemia; see Hahn, Maderthaner, and Sprengnagel, *Aufbruch in der Provinz*, 94.
151. Hahn, "Kroatische und slowenische Arbeitswanderer," 753–55.
152. Trzciński, *Russisch-polnische und Galizische Wanderarbeiter*, 43.
153. Husnija Kamberović, "Polnische Siedler in Bosnien und Herzegowina seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa*, 889–90.

154. Zeitlhofer, "Tschechien und Slowakei," 277.
155. László Varga, "Zsidó Bevándorlás Magyarországon [Jüdische Einwanderung in Ungarn]," *Századok* 126, no. 1 (1992): 59–79; see also Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*, 54–57.
156. Jean-Paul Bled, *Wien. Residenz–Metropole–Hauptstadt* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), 161; see also Steidl, "Ein attraktiver Anziehungspunkt."
157. John and Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien*, 33–36; Weigl, *Demographischer Wandel*, 140–43; *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, 115.
158. Faßmann, "Emigration, Immigration and Internal Migration," 284 ff.
159. Michael John's study, "Zuwanderung in Österreich 1848–1914. Zu ökonomisch und psychologisch bedingten Faktoren der Zuwanderung," *Archiv 1988. Jahrbuch für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung* (Vienna: Verein für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, 1988), 102–32, for example, for the most part addresses internal migration from the Bohemian Lands to Vienna.
160. Hahn, "Österreich," 177; "Ausländer in Österreich," *Statistische Monatschrift* (1881): 80 f.
161. On international complications between the Habsburg governments and US administration resulting from US citizens who returned to their former country of origin, see Phelps, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations*, 219–20.
162. Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, 173.
163. "Mittheilungen und Miscellen. Ausweisungen aus Oesterreich im Jahre 1888," *Statistische Monatschrift* XV Jg. (1889): 464–68.
164. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 17–20.
165. *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.
166. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 20.
167. For a detailed discussion on the complexity of documenting seasonal and short-distance migrants in the statistic of the German Reich, see Lehnert, *Die Un-Ordnung der Grenze*, 268–69.
168. For more information on German migrants in Vienna during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, see Steidl, *Auf nach Wien!*, 61–66.
169. On short-distance migration between Bohemia and Saxony, see Lehnert, *Die Un-Ordnung der Grenze*.
170. Heinrich Rubner, "En Forêt de Bohème: Immigration et Émigration, 1500–1960," *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1970): 135–42; *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes*, 1916, 43 ff.
171. Zeitlhofer, "Tschechien," 276 f.
172. *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912; *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.
173. Kuzmany, *Brody*, 241.

174. These statistics are based on my own calculations gathered from the 1910 Austrian census; in January 2001, the proportion of foreign citizens in Austria amounted to 9.4 percent, see Michael John, "Von der Anwerbung der 'Gastarbeiter' bis zu den Folgen der Globalisierung: Arbeitsmigration in Österreich," in *migration (1) – eine zeitreise nach europa*, eds. Michael John and Manfred Lindorfer (special issue of *kursiv. eine kunstzeitschrift aus oberösterreich* 10, no. 1/2) (2003), 13.
175. Hahn, "Österreich," 179.
176. *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.
177. Dieter Winkler and Georg Pawlik, *Der Österreichische Lloyd 1836 bis heute* (Graz: Weishaupt, 1989, 2. Aufl.); Aleksej Kalc, "Trieste as a Port of Emigration from East and Southeast Europe," in *East Central Europe in Exile. Volume 1: Transatlantic Migrations*, ed., Anna Mazurkiewicz (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 127–40; see also Katsiardi-Hering, "City-ports in the Eastern and Central Mediterranean," 151–70.
178. Marina Cattaruzza, "Population Dynamics and Economic Change in Trieste and its Hinterland, 1850–1914," in *Population and Society in Western European Port-Cities 1650–1939*, eds. Richard Lawton and Robert Lee (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 176–211.
179. On the history of Pula as naval port, see Zeman, *Pola, Verlorene Heimat*.
180. Since the Renaissance some European states opened their ports to foreign merchants and their goods due to the growing competition in the Atlantic trade area.
181. Anna Lindner, *Die werden lachen in Teplitz-Schönau! Die wechselvolle Geschichte der berühmten k.u.k. Städte* (Vienna: Metroverl., 2013), 192–95.
182. Drew Keeling, *The Business of Transatlantic Migration between Europe and the United States, 1900–1914: Mass Migration as a Transnational Business in Long Distance Travel* (Zurich: Cronos, 2013), 107 ff.
183. Recent volumes on Italian migration and integration in host countries have, for example, ignored the Habsburg Empire; see Piero Bevilacqua, Andreina De Clementi, and Emilio Franzina, eds., *Storia dell' Emigrazione Italiana* (vol. I: Partenze; vol. II: Arrivi) (Roma: Donzelli, 2001–2002); similarly, a recent volume on migration within Italy, specifically urban movements to Rome, Naples, and Torino, fails to address the former Habsburg territories of the peninsula, see Angelina Arru and Franko Ramella, eds., *L' Italia delle Migrazioni Interne: Donne, Uomini, Mobilità in Età Moderna E Contemporanea* (Rome: Donzelli, 2003). Nevertheless, earlier local and regional migration studies provide evidence of dense migratory relations between some Italian regions and the Habsburg provinces and offer rich statistical material; see Gino Di Caporiacco, *Storia e Statistica dell' Emigrazione dal Friuli a dalla Carnia*, vol. I, II (Udine: Edizioni Friuli Nuovo, 1967); Bianca Maria Pagani, *L' Emigrazione Friulana della Metà del Secolo XIX al 1940* (Udine: Arti grafiche friulane, 1968).



184. Theodor Veiter, *Die Italiener in der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie. Eine volkspolitische und nationalitätenrechtliche Studie* (Vienna: Verl. für Geschichte u. Politik, 1965); Ferdinand Oppl, *Italiener in Wien. Kleinausstellung des Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchivs* (Vienna: Veröffentlichungen des Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchivs, 1987); John and Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien*, 52–56; Ehmer, “Worlds of Mobility,” 172–99.
185. During this period, 6,137,250 Italians migrated within Europe, and 7,894,360 migrated overseas. Gianfausto Rosoli, ed., *Un Secolo di Emigrazione Italiana: 1876–1976* (Rome: Centro Studi, 1978), 19.
186. Steidl, “Rege Kommunikation zwischen den Alpen,” 25–40; Annemarie Steidl, “Historische Entwicklung der italienischsprachigen Wanderungen nach Wien,” in *Italienische Anteile am multikulturellen Wien*, eds. Josef Ehmer and Karl Ille (Innsbruck: StudienVerl., 2009), 16–35.
187. Zeitlhofer, “Zwei Zentren,” 45–75.
188. René del Fabbro, Italienische industrielle Arbeitskräfte in West- und Mitteleuropa im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert, in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa*, 689–96, 690 f.
189. “Die Italiener als Arbeiter sind in unserem Oesterreich im Kleinen das, was die Chinesen im großen Stile in Nordamerika bedeuten, wo sie in Massen einwandern und durch ihre Billigkeit alle Arbeiten an sich reißen,” from *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, March 23, 1881, in John and Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien*, 140; see also Donna Gabaccia, “The ‘Yellow Peril’ and the ‘Chinese of Europe’: Global Perspectives on Race and Labour, 1815–1930,” in *Migration, Migration History, History. Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, eds. Jan and Leo Lucassen (Bern: Lang, 1997), 177–96.
190. Maurer and Schindling, “Italienische, Graubündner, Tessiner,” 685.
191. Zeitlhofer, “Zwei Zentren,” 49.
192. Günter Dinshobl, *Die Semmeringbahn. Der Bau der ersten Hochgebirgsbahn der Welt* (Vienna: Verl. für Geschichte u. Politik, 2003).
193. Jöhler, *Mir parlen Italiano*, 18 f.
194. Del Fabbro, *Transalpini*.
195. John and Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien*, 52ff.
196. *Ibid.*, 53. For more information on the organization of the Italian-speaking labor migration, see Jöhler, *Mir parlen Italiano*, 43f.
197. Markus Walz, *Region–Profession–Migration. Italienische Zinngießer in Rheinland-Westfalen 1700–1900* (Osnabrück: Rasch, 2002).
198. Luisa Ricaldone, “Italien in Wien,” in *WIR. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart der Zuwanderung nach Wien* (217. Sonderausstellung des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien), ed. Peter Eppel (Vienna: Eigenverl. d. Museen d. Stadt Wien, 1996), 55.
199. John and Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien*, 55; Haas, “Wandergewerbe und Wanderhandel.”
200. John and Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien*, 54; Steidl, “Historische Entwicklung der italienischsprachigen Wanderungen,” 16–35.



201. Frank Bovenkerk and Loes Ruland, "Italienische Eismacher in Europa seit dem späten 19. Jahrhundert," in *Enzyklopädie. Migration in Europa*, 675–78.
202. Hahn, "Österreich," 176.
203. Pichler, *Italiener in Österreich*, 158–60.
204. Jöhler, *Mir parlen Italiano*, 12; and Gutschner, "Aus kalter Zeit," 124.
205. Robert Rollinger, "Die trentinisch-italienische Einwanderung nach Vorarlberg. Ein Überblick," in *Auswanderung aus dem Trentino*, 27.
206. Gutschner, "Aus kalter Zeit," 121.
207. Jöhler, *Mir parlen Italiano*, 40; Friedrich Schön, "Der Vorarlberger Eisenbahnbau und die Trentiner Zuwanderung," in *Auswanderung aus dem Trentino*, 356–78.
208. Jöhler, *Mir parlen Italiano*, 11 and 23; *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912; *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916; even today Vorarlberg continues to attract more migrants than any Austrian province other than Vienna. According to statistics from January 1, 2019, for example, 21 percent of Vorarlberg's population was born in another country, while the foreign-born population in Lower Austria, for example, is only 12.8 percent; accessed July 30, 2019, Statistik Austria, [https://www.statistik.at/web\\_de/statistiken/menschen\\_und\\_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung\\_nach\\_staatsangehoerigkeit\\_geburtsland/index.html](https://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung_nach_staatsangehoerigkeit_geburtsland/index.html).
209. *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912; Meinzingen, "Die Wanderbewegung auf Grund," 147; Mathis, "Vorarlberg als Zuwanderungsland," 120.
210. Pichler, *Italiener in Österreich*, 158–60.
211. Anton Rohrer, "Trentinisch-italienische Migrationsbewegung im Raum Bludenz-Klostertal," in *Auswanderung aus dem Trentino*, 200.
212. Ferdinand Ulmer, "Das Eindringen der Italiener in Vorarlberg. Eine historische Reminiszenz," *Vorarlberger Wirtschafts- und Sozialstatistik* 2, no. 1 (1945): 24.
213. Jöhler, *Mir parlen Italiano*, 7.
214. *Vorarlberg Volksblatt*, March 5, 1899, see Jöhler, *Mir parlen Italiano*, 7 and 9.
215. Del Fabbro, "Italienische industrielle Arbeitskräfte," 689 f.
216. Roberto Sala, "Vom 'Fremdarbeiter' zum 'Gastarbeiter.' Die Anwerbung italienischer Arbeitskräfte für die deutsche Wirtschaft (1938–1973)," *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 55, no. 1 (2007): 93–121.

#### TRANSATLANTIC MIGRATION PATTERNS

1. Adam McKeown, "Periodizing Globalization," *History Workshop Journal* 63, no. 1 (2007): 218–30; Moya and McKeown, "World Migration in the Long Nineteenth Century," 7–19; for a traditional periodization of European transatlantic migration, see Chmelar, "The Austrian Emigration," 275–378; Michael John, "Push and Pull Factors for Overseas Migrants from Austria-Hungary in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries," in *Austrian Immigration to*

- Canada. Selected Essays*, ed. Franz A. J. Szabo (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1996), 55–81, 59.
2. On the dual labor market theory, which argues that international migration is caused by a permanent demand for immigrant labor and inherent to the economic structure of developed nations, see Michael J. Piore, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor in Industrial Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
  3. Keeling, *The Business*, 33 and 22; on the history of staying, see Andreas Gestrich and Marita Krauss eds., *Zurückbleiben, der vernachlässigte Teil der Migrationsgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006).
  4. David Turnock, “Railway Development in Eastern Europe as a Context for Migration Study,” in *Patterns of Migration, 1880–1914*, eds. Aubrey Newman and Stephen W. Massil (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 293–311, 300 f.; Ferenczi and Willcox, *International Migrations*, 86.
  5. Keeling, *The Business*, XVII and 2 ff.
  6. Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*, 22 f.
  7. Blanca Sánchez-Alonso, “Those Who Left and Those Who Stayed Behind: Explaining Emigration from the Regions of Spain, 1880–1914,” *The Journal of Economic History* 60, no. 3 (2000): 730–55, 736 ff.; idem, “European Emigration in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Paradoxical Case of Spain,” *The Economic History Review* 53, no. 2 (2000): 309–30; see also Brinley Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth: A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 117; for Italy, Riccardo Faini and Alessandra Venturini, “Italian Emigration in the Pre-War-Period,” in *Migration and the International Labor Market, 1850–1939*, eds. Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson (London: Routledge, 1994), 72–90, 86 ff.
  8. See Engelbert Stockhammer, Annemarie Steidl, and Hermann Zeithofer, “The Effect of Wages and ‘Demographic Pressure’ on Migration from the Habsburg Monarchy to the United States of America in 1910,” *Economic History Yearbook* 2 (2010): 201–21.
  9. See Tara Zahra, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europa and the Making of the Free World* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016), especially 23–63; Annemarie Steidl, “The ‘Relative and Friends Effect’: Migration Networks of Transatlantic Migrants from the Late Habsburg Monarchy,” in *Maritime Transport and Migration. The Connections between Maritime and Migration Networks. Research in Maritime History* 33, eds. Torsten Feys et al. (St. John’s Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2007), 75–96.
  10. John, “Zuwanderung in Österreich,” 105.
  11. José C. Moya, “Cuba: Immigration and Emigration,” in *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration*, vol. 3, ed. Immanuel Ness (St. Albans: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 1126–34, 1127–29.
  12. For a general discussion of comparative views on the larger European Great Migration that occurred between 1880 and 1924, see Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, 331–65; on the

- timing of overseas migration from German territories, see Bade, "Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt"; see also Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy*; Camille Maire, *En Route pour l'Amérique. L'Odyssée des Émigrants en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1993); Harald Rundblom and Hans Norman eds., *From Sweden to America: A History of the Migration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976); Ingrid Semmingsen, *Norway to America: A History of the Migration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978); Bruno Abegg and Barbara Lüthi eds., *Small Number—Big Impact: Schweizer Einwanderung in die USA* (Zurich: Verein Migrationsmuseum Schweiz, 2006).
13. Fernando Devoto, ed., *La Inmigración Italiana en la Argentina*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Buenos Aires: Ed. Biblos, 2000); Gloria La Cava, *Italians in Brazil: The Post World War II Experience* (New York: P. Lang, 1999); Samuel L. Baily, "The Adjustment of Italian Immigrants in Buenos Aires and New York, 1870–1914," in *The American Historical Review* 88, no. 2 (1983): 281–305; on the history of Spanish migration to Argentina, see, José C. Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850–1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
  14. Ferenczi and Willcox, *International Migrations*, 84.
  15. Keeling, *The Business*, 23.
  16. Johann Chmelar, *Höhepunkte der Österreichischen Auswanderung. Die Auswanderung aus den im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern in den Jahren 1905–1914* (Vienna: Verl. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., 1974), 73; Julianna Puskás, *From Hungary to the United States, 1880–1914* (Budapest: Akad. Kiadó, 1982), 19 ff.
  17. The first- and second-largest groups were German- and Italian-speakers. See Ursula Prutsch, *Das Geschäft mit der Hoffnung. Österreichische Auswanderung nach Brasilien 1918–1938* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996), 41 ff.
  18. Anna Dvorak, "A Hidden Immigration: The Geography of Polish-Brazilian Cultural Identity" (PhD diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 2013), 116–30; Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 73–74; see also Elisabeth Sylvia Janik-Freis, "Netzwerke transatlantischer Migration. Galizische Auswanderung nach Südamerika, 1870–1914" (PhD diss. University of Vienna, forthcoming); Argentina was another destination chosen by Imperial Austrians, but only in certain years and periods, such as 1881, 1885, 1889, and in the middle of the 1900s.
  19. On the history of Austrian migration to Canada, see Szabo, *Austrian Immigration*; Engelmann, Prokop and Szabo, *A History of the Austrian Migration*.
  20. "Das V. Capitel meldet von denen Emigranten, welche nach Georgien in Amerika gereiset seyn," see Christoph Sancke, *Ausführliche Historie derer Emigranten oder Vertriebenen Lutheraner aus dem Erz-Bisthum Salzburg, und anderen Römisch-Catholischen Ländern* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1734), 109 ff.; for more information on the eighteenth-century expulsion of Protestants from Habsburg territories, see Stephan Steiner, *Rückkehr unerwünscht*.

- Deportationen in der Habsburgermonarchie der Frühen Neuzeit und ihr europäischer Kontext* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2014). The Salzburg Archbishopric expelled about 22,000 Protestants from its possessions in 1731/32. Most of these forced migrants moved to Prussian-Lithuania, a smaller number to southern and northern German territories and the Netherlands, and between 1734 and 1741 the few hundred who remained migrated, by invitation of English officials, to the newly established colony of Georgia in North America, where they founded the city of Ebenezer near Savannah; see Charlotte E. Haver, *Von Salzburg nach Amerika. Mobilität und Kultur einer Gruppe religiöser Emigranten im 18. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2011); for more information on Protestants from Salzburg in North America, see George Fenwick Jones, *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans along the Savannah* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984); Mack Walker, *Der Salzburger Handel. Vertreibung und Errettung der Salzburger Protestanten im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997); William O'Reilly, "Emigration from the Habsburg Monarchy and Salzburg to the New World, 1700–1848," *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 5, no. 1 (2005): 7–20.
21. Michael Kurz, "Nun ist die Scheidestunde da . . . Die Emigration aus dem Salzkammergut im 19. Jahrhundert nach Nordamerika" (MA thesis, University of Salzburg, 1999).
  22. John, "Push and Pull Factors," 55.
  23. Chmelar, *Höhepunkte*, 22.
  24. K. K. Direction der administrativen Statistik, ed., *Tafeln zur Statistik der österreichischen Monarchie*. Wien 1828–1865; on the transcontinental migration of political refugees, see Gerda Neyer, "Auswanderung aus Österreich. Ein Streifzug durch die ‚andere‘ Seite der österreichischen Migrationsgeschichte," *Auswanderungen aus Österreich*, 11–34; Hahn, " . . . über die Grenze getrieben," 115–39; Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, 109; on the influence of xenophobia on migration to the United States, see Raymond L. Cohn, "Nativism and the End of the Mass Migration of the 1840s and 1850s," *The Journal of Economic History* 60, no. 2 (2000), 361–83.
  25. Puskás, *From Hungary*, 18; John Kosa, "A Century of Hungarian Emigration, 1850–1950," *The American Slavic and East European Review* 16, no. 4 (1957): 501–14, 504.
  26. Keeling, *The Business*, 62.
  27. Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 3–6.
  28. Arthur Salz, "Auswanderung und Schiffahrt mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der österreichischen Verhältnisse," in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaften und Sozialpolitik* 39, no. 1 (1915): 110–11.
  29. Ernő Deak, "Die Auswanderung—eine Massenbewegung," in *Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs, 2. Teil: 1830–1916*, ed. Harry Kühnel (Vienna: Amt der Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung, 1984), 25–38, 34.
  30. Karl Englisch, "Die österreichische Auswanderungsstatistik," *Statistische Monatsschrift* 39 (1913): 65–167.

31. David A. Souders, *The Magyars in America* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1922); Emil Lengyel, *Americans from Hungary* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1948), 94–155; Steven Bela Vardy, *The Hungarian-Americans* (Boston: Twayne, 1985), 18–29; Julianna Puskás, “Some Results of My Research on the Transatlantic Emigration from Hungary on the Basis of Macro- and Micro Analysis,” in *Overseas Migration from East-Central and Southeastern Europe 1880–1940*, ed. Julianna Puskás (Budapest: Akad. Kiadó, 1990), 43–58; Albert Tetzla, *The Hazardous Quest: Hungarian Immigrants in the United States, 1895–1920: A Documentary* (Budapest: Eigenverlag, 1993).
32. “1,300,000 People Cross the Atlantic This Year,” *New York Times*, December 19, 1909; quoted in Keeling, *The Business*, 197 f.
33. Daniel J. Tichenor, *Dividing Lines. The Politics of Immigration Control in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 138; Torsten Feys, “Transoceanic Shipping, Mass Migration, and the Rise of Modern-Day International Border Controls: A Historiographical Appraisal,” *Mobility in History* 7, no. 1 (2016): 151–62.
34. *Tafeln zur Statistik, 1821 to 1840*, aggregated by John, “Push and Pull Factors,” 55.
35. For more information on the enumeration of Habsburg nationals in US censuses, see Annemarie Steidl, Wladimir Fischer-Nebmaier, and James Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire to a Nation of Nations. Austro Hungarian Migrants in the US, 1870–1940* (Innsbruck: StudienVerl., 2017), 31–35; Annemarie Steidl, “Managing Migrants’ Identities with Population Censuses. The Representation of ‘Nationalities’ of Migrants from Austria-Hungary in the US Census, 1870–1930,” *Przegląd Polonijny* (2016): 43–63.
36. According to Torpey, “The freedom to move about internally or to emigrate beyond the borders of one’s country has remained a matter of the greatest significance in political struggles down to our own days.” See John Torpey, “Leaving: A Comparative View,” in *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation*, eds. Nancy L. Green and François Weil (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 13–32, 13; see also Nancy L. Green and François Weil, “Introduction,” in *ibid.*, 1–9, 2.
37. *Handbuch aller unter der Regierung des Kaisers Joseph II. für die K.K. Erbländer ergangenen Verordnungen und Gesetze*. Bd. 6 (Vienna: Moesle, 1786), 279–307.
38. Markus Holzweber, “‘Auswandererschutz’ in der Habsburgermonarchie: ‚St. Raphael‘ als Begleiter und Beschützer der Reisenden, Auswanderer und Pilger,” in *Migration und Reisen. Mobilität in der Neuzeit*, eds. Elena Taddei, Michael Müller, and Robert Rebitsch (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2012), 111–25, 113.
39. Zahra, “Travel Agents on Trial,” 164.
40. Stefan Malfer, “Zwischen Verbot, Laisser-faire und Hilflosigkeit. Rechtliche und sozioökonomische Aspekte der österreichisch-cisleithanischen Auswanderungspolitik bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg,” *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 10, no. 2 (2010): 89–105, 90.
41. Zahra, “Travel Agents on Trial,” 161–93.
42. Evans Poznan, “Migrant Nation-Builders,” 52.

43. Exceptions to this were that men had to have served their military time, and exit visas were required for the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire; Hahn, "Österreich," 171–88, 180.
44. Torpey, "Leaving," 18.
45. Becker, "Governance of Migration," 23–64.
46. Zahra, "Travel Agents on Trial," 169 and 183; see also Wyman, *Round-Trip to America*, 27.
47. Zahra, "Travel Agents on Trial," 172 f.
48. On the public discussion regarding transatlantic migration in Austria-Hungary, see *ibid.*, especially 171.
49. Malfèr, "Zwischen Verbot," 99; find information on numbers of international migrants, to the United States in particular, in the *Statistische Monatsschrift*, 1885–1913.
50. Caro, *Auswanderer und Auswanderungspolitik*, 174; for more information regarding the lively discussion on transatlantic migration from Imperial Austria, see Malfèr, "Zwischen Verbot," 89–105.
51. Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation Builders," 51–53.
52. Zahra, "Travel Agents on Trial," 169.
53. Puskás, *From Hungary*, 93 ff.
54. Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 69.
55. Zahra, "Travel Agents on Trial," 170; the Hungarian Nationality Act of 1868 recognized just one political nationality and one official language: Hungarian; see Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 6; Frances Kraljic, *Croatian Migration to and from the United States, 1900–1914* (Palo Alto, CA: Ragusan Press, 1978), 56; for more information on the politics of *Magyarisation* see, for example, Joachim von Puttkamer, "Magyarisierung! Sprachliche Assimilation und nationale Mobilisierung in Ungarn um 1900," in *Grenzüberschreitungen. Traditionen und Identitäten in Südosteuropa. Festschrift für Gabriella Schubert*, eds. Wolfgang Dahmen, Petra Himstedt-Vaid, and Gerhard Ressel (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 480–93; Catherine Horel, "Wem gehört die Stadt? Multikulturalismus versus Magyarisierung am Beispiel dreier Städte Transleithaniens 1880–1914," in *Nation, Nationalitäten und Nationalismus im östlichen Europa*, eds. Marija Wakounig, Wolfgang Mueller, and Michael Portmann (Vienna: Lit-Verlag, 2010), 225–48.
56. Quoted in Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 90; see also Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation-Builders," 9.
57. Puskás, *From Hungary*, 108; Kosa, "A Century of Hungarian Emigration," 505 f.
58. Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation Builders," 58.
59. For example, male Hungarian citizens over the age of sixteen needed permissions from the ministries of interior and defense; Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 27; Zahra, "Travel Agents on Trial," 172; see also Nicole M. Phelps, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations from 1815 to the Paris Peace Conference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 185.
60. Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation Builders," 52.
61. For more detailed information on the business of transatlantic transportation, see Keeling,

- The Business*, 102 ff; see also Tobias Brinkmann, "Why Paul Nathan Attacked Albert Ballin: The Transatlantic Mass Migration and the Privatization of Prussia's Eastern Border Inspection, 1886–1914," *Central European History* 43, no. 1 (2010): 47–83, 49 f.
62. Brinkmann, "Why Paul Nathan," 77; Puskás, *From Hungary*, 103 ff; see also Phelps, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations*, 185; Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation Builders," 63.
  63. See Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*.
  64. David Dreyer and Anton Kraemer, "Pan World War I Migration Patterns of Banat Germans to North America," *The Foundation for East European Family History Studies, FEEFHS Journal*, vol. X, accessed November 2, 2019, <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Pan-World-War-I-Migration-Patterns-of-Banat-Germans-Kraemer/3e41c83654870f8b1f7c14bbad10e2079c82a88c>; Dorothee Schneider, *Crossing Borders: Migration and Citizenship in the Twentieth-Century United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 43.
  65. For a history of the business of transoceanic passenger carriers, see Kelling, *The Business*; for more details on the success of HAPAG, see Brinkmann, "Why Paul Nathan," 47–83.
  66. Kelling, *The Business*, 27.
  67. See Kalc, "Trieste as a Port," 132.
  68. The regular service from Trieste to New Orleans was cancelled within a year of its inauguration; Zahra, "Travel Agents on Trial," 181.
  69. Keeling, *The Business*, 117; Ronald E. Coons, *Steamships, Statesmen, and Bureaucrats: Austrian Policy towards the Steam Navigation Company of the Austrian Lloyd, 1836–1848* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1975); Franz Markitan, *Triest als Auswandererhafen* (Vienna: Verlag d.Österr. St.-Raphael-Vereines, 1911).
  70. Chmelar, *The Austrian Emigration*, 286.
  71. Kalc, "Trieste as a Port," 133.
  72. Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation Builders," 60–61; Kraljic, *Croatian Migration*, 55.
  73. Kalc, "Trieste as a Port"; Schneider, *Crossing Borders*, 43 f.
  74. Kalc, "Trieste as a Port," 129 f.
  75. See *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, table 65, 75.
  76. Gerald L. Neuman, "Qualitative Migration Controls in the Antebellum United States," in *Migration Control in the North Atlantic World. The Evolution of State Practices in Europe and the United States from the French Revolution to the Inter-War Period*, eds. Andreas Fahrmeir, Oliver Faron, and Patrick Weil (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 106–19; Paul Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 257.
  77. Farley Grubb, "The End of European Immigrant Servitude in the United States: An Economic Analysis of Market Collapse, 1772–1835," *The Journal of Economic History* 54, no. 4 (1994): 794–824; Christopher Tomlins, "Reconsidering Indentured Servitude: European Migration and the Early American Labor Force, 1600–1775," *Labor History* 42, no. 1 (2001): 5–43; John Donoghue, "Indentured Servitude in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century English



- Atlantic: A Brief Survey of the Literature,” *History Compass* 11, no. 10 (2013): 893–902.
78. See Cohn, “Nativism and the End of the Mass Migration,” 361–83.
79. Tichenor, *Dividing Lines*, 46 and 57.
80. See Andreas Fahrmeir, Olivier Faron, and Patrick Weil, Introduction, in idem, *Migration Control*, 1–7, 2; Tichenor, *Dividing Lines*, 49.
81. Erika Lee, *At America’s Gates. Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 24; Mae M. Ngai, “The Architecture of Race in American Immigration Law: A Reexamination of the Immigration Act of 1924,” *Journal of American History* 86, no. 1 (1999): 67–92, 81.
82. Tichenor, *Dividing Lines*, 115 f.
83. Douglas C. Byton, “Defectives in the Land: Disability and American Immigration Policy, 1882–1924,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 24, no. 3 (2005): 60–73, 62; Spickard, *Almost All Aliens*, 63; Lee, *At America’s Gates*, 22.
84. Between 1900 and 1917 the US administration sold or gave farmers at least one hundred million acres of what had previously been Indian reservation; see Paul W. Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), 495–530.
85. Michael C. LeMay, *Guarding the Gates: Immigration and National Security* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006), 67.
86. Chaterine Collomp, “Labour Unions and the Nationalisation of Immigration Restriction in the United States, 1880–1924,” in *Migration Control*, 237–52, 245.
87. Schneider, *Crossing Borders*, 79.
88. See John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 142.
89. Henry Cabot Lodge, “The Restriction of Immigration,” *North American Review* (1891): 27–36, 35, as cited in Lee, *At America’s Gates*, 35.
90. Lee, *At America’s Gates*, 30.
91. Tichenor, *Dividing Lines*, 67–70; Brinkmann, “Why Paul Nathan,” 56; Asian migrants arriving on the West Coast were likewise screened; see Erika Lee and Judy Yung, *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
92. On the history of Ellis Island as a port of arrival, see Nancy Foner, *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York’s Two Great Waves of Immigration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Schneider, *Crossing Borders*, 81.
93. Robert Leslie: An Oral History—Interviewed by Dana Gumb [transcript]. *Ellis Island Oral History Project*. August 15, 1985. Library at Ellis Island Immigration Museum; quoted in Alison S. Bateman-House and Amy L. Fairchild, “Medical Examination of Immigrants at Ellis Island,” *Virtual Mentor: American Medical Association Journal of Ethics* 10 (2008): 235.
94. Byton, “Defectives in the Land,” 60–73; Margot Canaday, *The Straight State. Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 21–22.



95. Schneider, *Crossing Borders*, 78 and 83.
96. See Keeling, *The Business*, 167 ff.; on the term *transmigrants*, see Tobias Brinkmann, "From Immigrants to Supranational Transmigrants and Refugees: Jewish Migrants in New York and Berlin before and after the 'Great War,'" *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30 (2010): 47–57.
97. Schneider, *Crossing Borders*, 65, 78, and 89.
98. Tichenor, *Dividing Lines*, 115 and 123; Patrick Weil, "Races at the Gate. Racial Distinctions in Immigration Policy. A Comparison between France and the United States," in *Migration Control*, 271–95, 273; Schneider, *Crossing Borders*, 84.
99. Canaday, *The Straight State*, 26.
100. Donna Gabaccia, *From the Other Side: Women, Gender, and Immigrant Life in the U.S., 1820–1990* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 37; Schneider, *Crossing Borders*, 86; Michael Bass, *Das „Goldene Tor“. Die Entwicklung des Einwanderungsrechts der USA* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1990), 61.
101. Spickard, *Almost All Aliens*, 240.
102. Byton, "Defectives in the Land," 68.
103. Keeling, *The Business*.
104. For more information on shipping line negotiations, see Keeling, *The Business*.
105. See Brinkmann, "Why Paul Nathan," 54 f.
106. Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation Builders," 64.
107. Brinkmann, "Why Paul Nathan," 79 ff.; Keeling, *The Business*, 28.
108. Edith Abbott, *Immigration. Selected Documents and Case Records* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), 71; Byton, "Defectives in the Land," 69.
109. Act of February 5, 1917, Statutes at Large of the United States, 39. Washington 1920, 874–98; Schneider, *Crossing Borders*, 54.
110. On negotiations between the US government and Austria-Hungary during the Great War, see Phelps, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations from 1815*, 219–57; for more information on Austro-Hungarian migrants in the United States, see Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*.
111. The confidential executive order 2587A-Federal Employees Removal on Security Grounds was issued by Woodrow Wilson on April 7, 1917; see Catherine Brooke Penaloza-Patzak, "Guiding the Diffusion of Knowledge: The Transatlantic Mobilization of People and Things in the Development of US Anthropology, 1883–1933" (PhD dissertation, University of Vienna, 2018), 228–41.
112. Ngai, "The Architecture of Race," 69–70.
113. The new Republic of Austria had a quota of 1,413 individuals; 2,874 migrants were to be accepted from Czechoslovakia, and only 869, 845, and 295 from Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Romania, respectively, while 6,524 migrants from the new Polish nation-state were allowed each year. The quota for the new German Weimar Republic, in comparison, was

- nearly 26,000 people, and more than 65,700 migrants from Great Britain and Northern Ireland were permitted; see *ibid.*, 74.
114. Schneider, *Crossing Borders*, 56 f.; Tichenor, *Dividing Lines*, 128–41; for more information on the influence of US immigration law, see also Erika Lee, “Immigrants and Immigration Law: A State of the Field Assessment,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18, no. 4 (1999): 85–114; for a list of all US national legislation on migration, see Leonard Dinnerstein and David H. Reimers, *Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), Appendix B; while World War I stopped international migration from Europe, the number of migrants from other continents, such as Asia, continued to increase; see, for example, Adam M. McKeown, “Global Migration, 1846–1940,” *Journal of World History* 15 (2004): 155–89; *ibid.*, “Periodizing Globalization,” 218–30.
  115. Alexander and Eugen Kulischer, *Kriegs- und Wanderzüge: Weltgeschichte als Völkerbewegung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1932), 202; trans. Brinkmann, “From Immigrants,” 56.
  116. Heinz Faßmann, “Auswanderung aus der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie,” in *Auswanderungen aus Österreich*, 33–55, 39 f.
  117. Borges, “Migration Systems in Southern Portugal,” 199.
  118. Annemarie Steidl, “Young, Unwed, Mobile, and Female. Women on their Way from the Habsburg Monarchy to the United States of America,” *Przegląd Polonijny* 4 (2005): 55–76; *idem*, “Transatlantic Migration from the Late Austrian Empire and its Relation to Rural-Urban Stage Migration,” in *European Mobility*, 207–28; Annemarie Steidl and Wladimir Fischer-Nebmaier, “Transatlantischer Heiratsmarkt und Heiratspolitik von MigrantInnen aus Österreich-Ungarn in den USA, 1870–1930,” in *Heiraten nach Übersee* (special issue), *L’Homme. Europäische Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 1 (2014): 51–68.
  119. Jochen Krebber convincingly demonstrates that not all European transatlantic migrants moved within migration chains using the late nineteenth-century example of individuals from Württemberg; see Jochen Krebber, “Creed, Class, and Skills: Three Structural Limitations of Chain Migration,” in *European Mobility*, 69–77.
  120. According to Hans Chmelar, there are no detailed numbers available on the transatlantic migration of South Slavs; see Chmelar, *Höhepunkte*, 95.
  121. Faßmann, “Auswanderung aus der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie,” 40.
  122. Hillel J. Kieval, *Language of Community. The Jewish Experience in the Czech Lands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); see also Gary B. Cohen, “The German Minority of Prague, 1850–1918,” in *Ethnic Identity in Urban Europe: Comparative Studies on Governments and Non-Dominant Ethnic Groups in Europe, 1850–1940*, vol. III., eds. Max Engman et al. (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1991), 267–93; Annemarie Steidl, “‘There are no cats in America . . .’ Zur Teilnahme von Juden und Jüdinnen an transatlantischen Wanderungen aus den österreichischen Ländern der Habsburgermonarchie,” *Aschkenas. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 17, no. 1 (2009): 13–34.

123. Chmelar, *Höhepunkte*, 92–95; *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912; *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.
124. See also Steidl, “Übers Land und über das offene Meer,” 77–101.
125. For more information on the heterogeneous industrialization of the Habsburg Monarchy, see Good, “Modern Economic Growth,” 248–68.
126. Ferenczi and Willcox, *International Migrations*, 89.
127. Aschauer, “Tirolerische Wander-Bauhandwerker,” 204; Pichler, *Auswanderer*, 45.
128. “[...] eine Fortsetzung der schon zu Beginn des Jahrhunderts relevanten Form von Abwanderung aus landwirtschaftlich dominierten Gebieten, die aber vor allem Handwerker erfaßte und nicht so sehr landwirtschaftlich Berufstätige betraf”; see Hämmerle, *Glück in der Fremde*, 216; a similar argument can be found in the studies by Meinrad Pichler: “Die Auswanderung aus dem Montafon folgte eigenen Gesetzmäßigkeiten und ist ganz im Zusammenhang mit der traditionellen Frankreichgängerei zu sehen”; Pichler, *Aus dem Montafon*, 14.
129. Pichler, *Die Vorarlberger Amerikawanderung*, 62; artisans in the building trades were not only overrepresented in overseas migration from the Habsburg Monarchy, but also from England and Scotland, as we can see from Charlotte Erickson’s analysis of passenger lists; see Charlotte Erickson, “Emigration from the British Isles to the U.S.A. in 1831,” *Population Studies* 25 (1981): 175–97, 175 f.
130. See Markus Hämmerle, “Die Auswanderung aus Vorarlberg von 1915 bis 1914. Dokumentation und Analyse” (PhD diss. University of Vienna, 1982), 136; Heinz Faßmann, for example, assumes that most transatlantic migrants were victims of agricultural crises or industrial reorganizations, and left peripheral, economically underdeveloped regions; see Faßmann, “Auswanderung aus der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie,” 47 f.
131. Hämmerle, *Glück in der Fremde*, 167–72.
132. On the eighteenth-century development of transatlantic communication via agents, see Georg Fertig, “Die mit dem Juden-Spieß so oft aus- und einfahren: Transatlantische Kommunikation, territoriale Bürokratie und pietistische Moral im 18. Jahrhundert,” *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 27 (1998): 31–46.
133. Pichler, *Auswanderer*, 45–63.
134. On early transatlantic migrant communication networks, see Fertig, “Transatlantische Kommunikation,” 31–45.
135. On the life of Franz Saler see Pichler, *Aus dem Montafon*, 34–39.
136. Hämmerle, *Glück in der Fremde*, 51.
137. K. K. statistische Zentral-Commission, ed., *Vorläufige Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1880 in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern* (Vienna: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1881); Pichler, *Auswanderer*, 47.
138. Members of the Kohler family served as governor of Wisconsin. Many thanks to Günter Bischof for mentioning the example of John Michael Kohler; see Marylin Bender, “The

- Kohlers of Wisconsin,” *The New York Times*, May 6, 1973, accessed October 16, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/1973/05/06/archives/the-kohlers-of-wisconsin-the-kohlers-of-wisconsin-mostly-a-family-a.html>.
139. Pichler, *Auswanderer*, 24 and 63.
  140. Douglas A. Irwin, “Higher Tariffs, Lower Revenues? Analyzing the Fiscal Aspects of ‘The Great Tariff Debate of 1888,’” *The Journal of Economic History* 58, no. 1 (1998): 59–72.
  141. Pichler, *Auswanderer*, 32, 297.
  142. *Ibid.*, 50, 137 f.; Pichler, *Aus dem Montafon*, 9.
  143. Becker, “Governance of Migration,” 46.
  144. *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Statistik* 17, no. 3 (1870), 81 f.; “Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika,” *Statistische Monatschrift* 11 (1886): 423–24; Jiří Kořalka, *Tschechen im Habsburgerreich und in Europa 1815–1914. Sozialgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge der neuzeitlichen Nationsbildung und der Nationalitätenfrage in den böhmischen Ländern* (Vienna: Verl. für Geschichte u. Politik, 1991), 79; *Vorläufige Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1880*, 1881.
  145. Jiří Kořalka, “Tschechische Bergarbeiter in Nordwestböhmen und im Ruhrgebiet, 1900–1914,” in *Westmitteleuropa—Ostmitteleuropa. Vergleiche und Beziehungen*, eds. Winfried Eberhard, Hans Lemberg, Heinz-Dieter Heiman, and Robert Luft (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992), 251–60, 253; Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire*, 132.
  146. Gary B. Cohen, “Ethnicity and Urban Population Growth: The Decline of the Prague Germans, 1880–1920,” in *Studies in East European Social History*, vol. 2, ed. Keith Hitchins (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 3–26.
  147. Ehmer and Zeitlhofer, “Ländliche Migration in Böhmen,” 40–58.
  148. Josef Ehmer, *Heiratsverhalten, Sozialstruktur, ökonomischer Wandel. England und Mitteleuropa in der Formationsperiode des Kapitalismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 142; for more information on industrial and agricultural developments in nineteenth-century Bohemia, see also Zeitlhofer, “Bohemian Migrants,” 189–206.
  149. See Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival*; King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans*, 6.
  150. *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912; Oskar Krejčí, *Czechoslovak National Interests. A Historical Survey of Czechoslovak National Interests*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 9; for more information on ethnicity in the Bohemian Lands, see Cohen, “*The German Minority*”; Jiří Kořalka, “Nationality Representation in Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia, 1848–1914,” in *Governments, Ethnic Groups and Political Representation*, eds. Geoffrey Alderman, John Leslie, and Klaus E. Pollmann (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1993), 85–122; King, *Budweisers*.
  151. Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 11.
  152. Zeitlhofer, “Bohemian Migrants,” 189–206; David Z. Chroust, “Bohemian Voice: Contention, Brotherhood and Journalism among Czech People in America, 1860–1910” (PhD diss. Texas A&M University, 2009).

153. Jiří Kořalka, "Some Remarks on the Future Model of Czech Emigration (1848–1914)," in *Overseas Migration*, 9–20, 11 f.
154. Chroust, "Bohemian Voice," 1 and 50.
155. *Ibid.*, 57.
156. See *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Statistik*, 81 f.; between 1855 and 1890, for example, some 200 individuals migrated each decade from the small south Bohemian district of Týn nad Vltavou to America; see Eva Barborová, "Vystěholectví obyvatelstva na Vltavotýnsku v letech 1850–1914" [Emigration of the Population of Týn nad Vltavou in the Years 1850–1914], *Jihočeský Sborník Historický* 37 (1968): 98–107.
157. Štěpánka Korytová-Magstadt, *To Reap a Bountiful Harvest. Czech Immigration Beyond the Mississippi, 1850–1900* (Iowa City: Rudi Publishing, 1993), xv–xxi, 15, 129–31; Chroust, "Bohemian Voice"; Steidl, "Transatlantic Migration," 207–28.
158. For more information on the US census, see Steidl, "Managing Migrants' Identities," 43–63.
159. von Meinzingen, "Die Wanderbewegung auf Grund der Gebürtigkeitsdaten," 140.
160. In the NAPP data the variable URBAN indicates whether a household's location was urban or rural. The term *URBAN* generally denotes all cities and incorporated places with over 2,500 inhabitants. All areas not classified as *urban* are designated *rural*; see Minnesota Population Center, North Atlantic Population Project: Complete Count Microdata. Version 2.0 [Machine-readable database] (Minneapolis: Minnesota Population Center, 2008).
161. Emily Greene Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizen* (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1910), 320.
162. Willa Seibert Cather, *My Antonia* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918).
163. Ehmer, *Heiratsverhalten*, 136–44; Steidl, "Young, Unwed, Mobile, and Female," 55–76.
164. In the second half of the nineteenth century, most journeymen in Vienna had originated from Bohemia or Moravia; see Ehmer, "Tramping Artisans in Nineteenth Century Vienna," 164–85; Steidl, *Auf nach Wien!*, 193–213; for additional information on Czech female migrants as domestic servants in Vienna see Hahn, "Nowhere at Home?," 108–26.
165. Steidl, "Transatlantic Migration," 215.
166. Chmelar, *Höhepunkte*, 113.
167. Benedict Anderson explicitly states that all group identities that go beyond village structures, be they national, social, or political are imagined, irrelevant; see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Editions, 1983). I would like to suggest that in this specific instance religion, which Anderson himself pays little attention to, is indeed highly relevant.
168. See Stergar and Scheer, "Ethnic Boxes," 575–91.
169. See Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*, 29.
170. Óri and Pakot, *Census and Census-like Material*; Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*.

171. Kuzmany, *Brody*, 24 ff.; see also Evans Poznan, “Migrant Nation-Builders,” 40.
172. Evans Poznan, “Migrant Nation-Builders,” 25.
173. On the late nineteenth-century American racial discourse on Jews, see Eric L. Goldstein, “The Unstable Other: Locating the Jew in Progressive-Era American Racial Discourse,” *American Jewish History* 80, no. 4 (2001): 383–409.
174. Ngai, “The Architecture of Race,” 71.
175. In the enumerator’s instructions for the 1910 census, the list of principal foreign languages spoken in the United States only mentions languages spoken in Europe; accessed November 4, 2019, <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/voliii/inst1910.shtml#P134> and Jennifer Leeman, “Racializing Language. A History of Linguistic Ideologies in the US Census,” *Journal of Language and Politics* 3, no. 3 (2004): 507–34, 519; see also David I. Kertzer and Dominique Arel, “Censuses, Identity Formation, and the Struggle for Political Power,” in *Census and Identity. The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Language in National Censuses*, eds. David I. Kertzer and Dominique Arel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1–42, 3.
176. Lloyd P. Gartner, “The Great Jewish Migration—Its East European Background,” *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* XXVII, no. 1 (1998): 107–33; see also Hasia R. Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).
177. Tobias Brinkmann, “Jewish Mass Migrations between Empire and Nation State,” *Przegląd Polonijny* 13, no. 1 (2005): 99–116, 101; Spitzer, “The Dynamics of Mass Migration,” 14–15; on resemblance of Jews to all other overseas migrants, see also Diner, *Roads Taken*, 21–23.
178. Eva Grabherr, ed., *Juden in Hohenems: „ . . . eine ganz kleine jüdische Gemeinde, die nur von den Erinnerungen lebt!“ Katalog des Jüdischen Museums Hohenems* (Hohenems: Jüdisches Museum, 1996).
179. By the eighteenth century, East European Jews had developed their own distinct identity and culture, and thus it seems warranted to classify them as an ethnicity; see Heiko Haumann, *A History of East European Jews* (Budapest: Central European Press, 2002).
180. William O. McCagg Jr., *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670–1918* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 207; Wolfgang Häusler, “IV. Toleranz, Emanzipation und Antisemitismus. Das österreichische Judentum des bürgerlichen Zeitalters (1782–1918),” in *Das österreichische Judentum. Voraussetzung und Geschichte*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., eds. Anna Dabrek et al. (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1982), 85.
181. Faßmann, “Auswanderung aus der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie,” 33–55.
182. Tobias Brinkmann, *Von der Gemeinde zur ‘Community’. Jüdische Einwanderer in Chicago 1840–1900* (Osnabrück: Rasch, 2002), 45 and 63; see also Diner, *Roads Taken*, 29.
183. Pichler, *Auswanderer*, 46 and 209; see also Grabherr, *Juden in Hohenems*.
184. Diner, *Roads Taken*, 3.
185. Chmelar, “The Austrian Emigration,” 320; Caro, *Auswanderer und Auswanderungspolitik*,

- 16–20; Klaus Hödl, *Vom Shtetl an die Lower East Side. Galizische Juden in New York* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1991); on alternative routes for Jewish transatlantic migrants, see Moya, “The Jewish Experience.”
186. US Immigration and Naturalization Service (n.d.), Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, NY, 1897–1957. National Archives Microfilm Publication T715, Record Group 85, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC; Marsha Rozenblit, “A Note on Galician Jewish Migration to Vienna,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 1 (1983/84): 143–52; *ibid.*, *Die Juden Wiens: 1867–1914. Assimilation und Identität* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1988).
187. Brinkmann, “Jewish Mass Migrations,” 105 f.
188. Haumann, *Geschichte*, 56.
189. See, for example, Raphael Mahler, “The Economic Background of Jewish Emigration from Galicia to the United States,” *Yivo. Annual of Jewish Social Science*, vol. vii (1952): 255–67, 257; Maria Anne Knothe, “Recent Arrivals: Polish Immigrant Women’s Response to the City,” in *Peasant Maids—City Women: From the European Countryside to Urban America*, ed. Christiane Harzig (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 299–338.
190. For more information see Steidl, “There are no cats in America . . .,” 13–34.
191. Brożek, “Polish Immigrant Workers,” 61 f.; Morawska, “Labor Migrations of Poles,” 318–30.
192. Spitzer, “The Dynamics of Mass Migration,” 2 f.
193. On the migration patterns of Ukrainians from Galicia, see Kaltenbrunner, *Das global vernetzte Dorf*, 91–101.
194. Adam Walaszek, “Preserving or Transforming Role? Migrants and Polish Territories in the Era of Mass Migration,” in *People in Transit. German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820–1930*, eds. Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 101–25, 104.
195. Morawska, “Labor Migrations of Poles,” 184.
196. Iván T. Berend and György Ránki, *Economic Development in East Central Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 115–22; Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*, 25; *ibid.*, “Labor Migrations of Poles,” 177–78.
197. Paul Robert Magocsi, *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); Elaine Rusinko, ed., *Committing Community: Carpatho-Rusyn Studies as an Emerging Scholarly Discipline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).
198. *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912; Piotr Eberhardt, *Ethnic Groups and Population Changes in Twentieth-Century Central-Eastern Europe: History, Data, Analysis* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2003), 92 f.
199. Keeling, *The Business*; Borges, *Migration Systems*, 203.
200. Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*, 45.
201. Hoerder, *People on the Move*, 19.
202. John, “Push and Pull Factors,” 67.



203. Morawska, "Labor Migrations of Poles," 183 f.; see also McCook, *The Borders of Integration*.
204. Morawska, "Labor Migrations of Poles," 185; Steidl, "Transatlantic Migration," 218.
205. Hryniuk, *Peasants with Promise*, 204.
206. Dvorak, "A Hidden Immigration," 116–30; Janik-Freis, "Netzwerke transatlantischer Migration."
207. Hryniuk, *Peasants with Promise*, 204 ff.; Golczewski, "Ukraine," 340 f.
208. Steidl, "Transatlantic Migration," 215–18.
209. Ferenczi and Willcox, *International Migrations*, 82.
210. Steidl, "Transatlantic Migration," 215–18.
211. Regarding job opportunities for migrants from Austria-Hungary, see Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*, 249–90.
212. On the history of US migration from the Balkans, see Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*; and Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik and Jernej Mlekuž eds., *Going Places: Slovenian Women's Stories on Migration* (Akron, OH: University of Akron Press, 2014), 3.
213. Thirring, "Die Auswanderung aus Ungarn," 4; Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 29.
214. *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912.
215. Javier P. Grossutti, "Croats, Slovenians or Italians? Giving Nationality to Istrian Emigrants Overseas (1880s–1930s)" (unpublished paper from 2016, cited with permission of the author).
216. *Population, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913); Hladnik and Mlekuž, *Going Places*, 3.
217. "In sociolinguistic terms, the language standard of Serbo-Croat has been used in the past 150 years by people who would call the varieties they were using either Croatian, Serbian, Serbo-Croatian or even Serbian or Croatian and Croato-Serbian. This means that several Croat, Serb, and Yugoslav identity projects made claims on the same language and on the right to give it a proper name. The cultural distinguishing factor that was (and is) practically meaningful in this case, has been the confessional denomination, either Roman Catholic (Croats) or Serbian Orthodox (Serbs). Of course, there are linguistic ways of distinguishing oneself (or not) as well, but what is important about this for the historian is that this situation does make it hard to distinguish ethnic belongings in the statistical data," see Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*, 144.
218. Chmelar, *The Austrian Emigration*, 333 f.; *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912.
219. Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*, 31.
220. Hladnik and Mlekuž, *Going Places*, 4.
221. On the history of the Gottschee people, see Thomas F. Bencin, "Gottschee: A History of a German Community in Slovenia from the Fourteenth to the Twentieth Century" (MA thesis, University of Louisville, Kentucky, 1995); Mitja Ferenc, *Kočevska, pusta in prazna. Nemsško jezikovno območje na Kočevskem po odselitvi Nemcev* [Kočevska, Empty

- and Deserted. The German Language Speaking Area in Kočevska after the Emigration of the Germans] (Ljubljana: Modrijan, 2005).
222. Erich Petschauer, *Das Jahrhundertbuch der Gottscheer* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1980), 83 f.
  223. *Ibid.*, 104.
  224. Passenger and crew lists.
  225. Kraljic, *Croatian Migration*, 7 ff.
  226. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, 56.
  227. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 43.
  228. Ivan Čizmić, “Emigration from Croatia, 1880–1914,” in *Overseas Migration*, 143–67, 143.
  229. Kraljic, *Croatian Migration*, 15.
  230. Since Croats opposed their Hungarian rulers, they sometimes referred to themselves as “Austrians” in order to ward off the label “Hun” given to them by American officials; see Kraljic, *Croatian Migration*, 33; Hahn, “Kroatische und slowenische Arbeitswanderer,” 753–55.
  231. Kraljic, *Croatian Migration*, 59 f.
  232. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, table 13.
  233. Kraljic, *Croatian Migration*, 56.
  234. *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916; *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918.
  235. Thirring, *Hungarian Migration of Modern Times*, 438; after World War II, Serbian US migrants did not originate from Serbia proper, but primarily from the regions of Lika, Kordun, Banija, and Kninska Krajina in Croatia; see Šime Balen, “Naši iseljenici u stranom svijetu [Our Emigrants in the Foreign World],” in *Rodnoj grudi. Iseljenici Jugoslavije svom “starom kraju”* [To the Native Bosom. Emigrants of Yugoslavia to their “Old Country”], Šime Balen ed., (Zagreb: Matica iseljenika Hrvatske, 1951), 10.
  236. Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*, 144–45.
  237. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 15.
  238. On economic developments in the Habsburg Empire, see Klemens Kaps, “Gescheitertes Aufholen in Zentraleuropa. Der Abstieg der Habsburgermonarchie zu einem semiperipheren Wirtschaftsraum im Spiegel ihrer Außenhandelsstruktur 1791–1880,” *Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte* 9, no. 1 (2008): 103–22; David F. Good, “Modern Economic Growth,” 248–68; and idem, *The Economic Rise*.
  239. Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*, 26.
  240. *Ibid.*, 31.
  241. Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 3–35.
  242. Granatir Alexander, *The Immigrant’s Church*, 3 f.
  243. *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.
  244. Evans Poznan, “Migrant Nation Builders,” 18.

245. See Phelps, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations from 1815*, 197–218.
246. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, table 11; Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*; Puskás, *Ties*, 25.
247. Lengyel, *Americans from Hungary*, 99–101; Bela Vardy, *The Hungarian Americans*, 27–28; Puskás, *Ties the Bind*, 29 and 119–30.
248. Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 25 f.
249. Puskás, *From Hungary*, 76 f.; Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 119.
250. Bertalan Neményi, *A magyar nép állapora és az amerikai kivándorlás* [The Condition of the Hungarian People and Emigration to America] (Budapest: Athenaeum Irod. és Nyomdai Részvényt, 1911), 46 f.; Puskás, *From Hungary*, 79; see also June Granatir Alexander, *Daily Life in Immigrant America, 1870–1920* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 28 f.
251. Rainer Münz, “Zwischen Assimilation und Selbstbehauptung. Sprachgruppen und Minderheitenpolitik im Vergleich,” in *Identität und Lebenswelt: ethnische, religiöse und kulturelle Vielfalt im Burgenland*, eds. Gerhard Baumgartner, Eva Müllner, and Rainer Münz (Eisenstadt: Prugg, 1989), 24–45; Engelbert Rauchbauer, “Das Kroatische als Amtssprache im Burgenland,” in *Identität und Lebenswelt*, 46–52; Gerhard Baumgartner, “Idevalósi vagyok’ —, Einer, der hierher gehört: Zur Identität der ungarischen Sprachgruppe des Burgenlandes,” in *Identität und Lebenswelt*, 69–86.
252. Lucy B. Marcus, “The Carpathian Germans,” in *German Minorities in Europe. Ethnic Identity and Cultural Belonging*, ed. Stefan Wolff (New York: Berghahn, 2000), 97–108; Patrick Stevenson, “The Ethnolinguistic Vitality among German Speaking Communities in Central Europe,” in *German Minorities*, 109–24; Peter H. Nelde, “Bilingualism among Ethnic Germans in Hungary,” in *German Minorities*, 125–34.
253. Chmelar, *Höhepunkte*, 93.
254. In 1910, about 10 percent of the Hungarian population (exclusive of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia) spoke German, while, according to Hungarian statistics between 1899 and 1913, 16.7 percent of the US migrants spoke German, and 17 percent of Hungarian-born individuals were recorded as speaking German in a sample of the 1910 US census; *A magyar szent korona országaiban 1910; Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, table 13; Steven Ruggles, J. Trent Alexander, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Matthew B. Schroeder, and Matthew Sobek, *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0* [Machine-readable database] (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010).
255. Quoted from Chmelar, *Höhepunkte*, 116 f.; Passenger and Crew Lists.
256. Walter Dujmovits, *Die Amerikawanderung der Burgenländer* (Stegersbach: Dujmovits, 1975); Siegfried Gollatz, “Die burgenländische Amerikawanderung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Mischendorf” (PhD Dissertation, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 1993).
257. See, for example, Jon Gjerde, “Following the Chain: New Insights into Migration,” *The Immigration and Ethnic History Newsletter* XXXIII (2001): 1–8.

258. Philipp L. Strobl, "'Too Little to Live and Too Much to Die.' The Burgenländers' Immigration to the United States during the Interwar Period" (MA thesis, University of New Orleans, 2010), 37.
259. Ernest W. Spaulding, *The Quiet Invaders: The Story of the Austrian Impact upon America* (Vienna: Österr. Bundesverl. f. Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1968), 84.
260. Dujmovits, *Die Amerikawanderung*; Philip V. Bohlman, "Austrians," in *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, accessed September 12, 2019, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/195.html>.
261. Thirring, *Die Auswanderung*, 4.
262. Puskás, *From Hungary*, 34 f.; *ibid.*, *Ties that Bind*, 29.
263. Greene Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, 97 ff.
264. Puskás, *From Hungary*, 15; see also June Granatir Alexander, "Staying Together: Chain Migration and Patterns of Slovak Settlement in Pittsburgh Prior to World War I," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 1, no. 1 (1981): 56–83, 58 f.
265. Granatir Alexander, *The Immigrant's Church*, 7.
266. For more information on Slovak US migration, see Tajták, "Slovak Emigration and Migration," 45–86; Monika Glettler, "The Hungarian Government Position on Slovak Emigration, 1885–1914," in *Overseas Migration*, 107–18; M. Mark Stolarik, "Immigration and Urbanisation: The Slovak Experience 1870–1918" (PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1974); June Granatir Alexander, "Slovak Americans," accessed September 12, 2019, <http://www.everyculture.com/multi/Pa-Sp/Slovak-Americans.html>.
267. Tajták, "Slovak Emigration," 74–88.
268. M. Mark Stolarik, "Immigration and Eastern Slovak Nationalism," *Slovak* 26 (1976): 13–20.
269. Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 34; see also Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation-Builders," 17.
270. Granatir Alexander, *The Immigrant's Church*, 7.
271. M. Mark Stolarik, *Where Is My Home? Slovak Immigration to North America (1870–2010)* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), 1–11; Zeitlhofer, "Tschechien und Slowakei," 280.
272. Josef J. Barton, *Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians, and Slovaks in an American City, 1890–1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 32.
273. Granatir Alexander, "Staying Together," 60 f.
274. Robert Zecker, "'The Same People as Over Here': The Fluidity of Slovak and Rusyn Identity in Philadelphia," in *Committing Community*, 313–41, 315.
275. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, 43–46.
276. For more information, see Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*.
277. Granatir Alexander, "Staying Together," 69.
278. Glettler, "The Hungarian Government," 107–17.
279. Puskás, *From Hungary*, 32.
280. Barton, *Peasants and Strangers*, 50–57.

281. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, 78–80; Francis E. Clark, *Old Homes of New Americans: The Country and People of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Their Contributions to the New World* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913); Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, 37–62.
282. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, 64 f. I would like to thank James Oberly for his detailed analysis of the Hungarian data; see Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*.
283. Ravenstein, “The Laws of Migration,” 199 and 187 ff.
284. Mark Wyman, “Emigrants Returning: The Evolution of a Tradition,” in *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600–2000*, ed. Marjory Harper (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 16–31, 17.
285. For works that do address this theme, see Gestrich and Krauss, *Zurückbleiben*, 11; Walter D. Kamphoefner, “The Volume and Composition of German-American Return Migration,” in *A Century of European Migrations, 1830–1930*, eds. Rudolf J. Vecoli and Suzanne M. Sinke (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 293–312; Karen Schniedewind, *Begrenzter Aufenthalt im Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten: Bremer Rückwanderer aus Amerika 1850–1914* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994).
286. Studies on more recent twentieth century return movements suggest that most repatriates were clearly not failures, but neither were they great successes; Alexia Grosjean, “Returning to Belhelvie, 1593–1875: The Impact of Return Migration on an Aberdeenshire Parish,” in *Emigrant Homecomings*, 216–32; Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, 278; Gmelch, “Return Migration,” 141.
287. Marjory Harper, “Introduction,” in *Emigrant Homecomings*, 1–14; Christian Dustmann and Yorma Weiss, “Return Migration: Theory and Empirical Evidence from the UK,” *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 45, no. 2 (2007): 236–56.
288. Wyman, “Emigrants Returning,” 21 f.; see also idem, *Round-Trip*.
289. On extended social networks, see Fontaine, “Migration and Work in the Alps,” 351–69; and Steidl, “The ‘Relatives and Friends Effect,’” 75–96; Gmelch, “Return Migration.”
290. See Dirk Hoerder, “Immigration and the Working Class: The Remigration Factor,” *International Labor and Work Class History* 21 (1982): 28–41; Kamphoefner, *The Volume*, 293–312.
291. See, for example, Edward K. Muller, “Industrial Suburbs and the Growth of Metropolitan Pittsburgh, 1870–1920,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 27 (2001): 58–73.
292. Studies on current migration patterns have likewise confirmed that the decision to return is most often made within the first five years of arrival. When migrants remain at their destination for longer than five years the move tends to be permanent; see Dustmann and Weiss, *Return Migration*.
293. Piore, *Birds of Passage*; Dino Cinel, “The Seasonal Emigrations of Italians in the Nineteenth Century: From Internal to International Destination,” *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 10,

- no. 1 (1982): 43–67; Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, 56 f.
294. Lucassen, “Population and Migration,” 669.
295. Keeling, *The Business*, 126
296. Trans. by Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*, 77 f.
297. Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy*, 28 and 126.
298. J. D. Gould, “European Inter-Continental Emigration: The Road Home. Return Emigration from the USA,” *Journal of European Economic History* 9, no. 1 (1980): 41–112; Thomas Martin Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700–2000* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), 475 f.
299. See Dino Cinel, *The National Integration of Italian Return Migration, 1870–1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
300. Melville and Steffens, “Kapitel VIII: Die Bevölkerung,” 1052.
301. Hoerder, “Immigration and the Working Class,” 29; Hoerder, *People on the Move*, 5 f.; Guillermina Jasso and Mark R. Rosenzweig, “Estimating the Emigration Rates of Legal Immigrants Using Administrative and Survey Data: The 1971 Cohort of Immigrants to the United States,” *Demography* 19, no. 3 (1982): 279–90.
302. Kelling, *The Business*, 43.
303. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 111; Puskás, *From Hungary*, 27.
304. Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 22; Evans Poznan, “Migrant Nation Builders,” 93.
305. Neyer, “Auswanderung aus Österreich,” 16; Hahn, “Österreich,” 181; Ferenczi and Willcox, *International Migrations*, 91.
306. Walaszek, “Preserving or Transforming Role?,” 101–224; Puskás came to the same conclusion regarding the intention of US migrants from Hungary; see Puskás, *From Hungary*, 27; see also Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 14; Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 53.
307. Louis Adamic, *Laughing in the Jungle: The Autobiography of an Immigrant in America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932), 104; cited from Zahra, “Travel Agents,” 169.
308. In the late 1960s, Colakovic interviewed 500 US citizens born in the territory of Yugoslavia; Branko M. Colakovic, *Yugoslav Migrations to America* (San Francisco: Reed, 1973), 58.
309. Gould, “European Inter-Continental Emigration,” 51; Puskás, *From Hungary*, 27.
310. Puskás, “Some Results,” 45–50.
311. See Evans Poznan, “Migrant Nation-Builders,” 100; Wyman, “Emigrants Returning,” 16.
312. See also Dirk Hoerder, “Migration and the International Labor Markets in the Atlantic Economies,” in *Overseas Migration*, 21–42; likewise, the migration and return rate of Italians is highly correlated with the number of unemployed. In 1908, 131,000 Italians moved to the United States, while in the same year 240,000 returned; see Dino Cinel, “Land Tenure Systems. Return Migration and Militancy in Italy,” *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 12 (1984): 55–74, 56 f.
313. Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 44.
314. For instance, public letters written by priests from the empire; see Ivan Čizmić, “Letters of Croatian Priests from the United States to Croatia about the Life of Croatian Immigrants,

- 1894–1940,” in *The European Emigrant Experience in the U.S.A.*, eds. Walter Hölbling and Reinhold Wagnleitner (Tübingen: Narr, 1992), 127–44.
315. For more details on the role of the migrant press, see chapter 5 in Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*, 149–201; Robert M. Zecker, “Negrov Lyncovanie’ and the Unbearable Whiteness of Slovaks: The Immigrant Press Covers Race,” *American Studies* 43, no. 2 (2002), 43–72; Peter Conolly-Smith, *Translating America: An Immigrant Press Visualizes American Popular Culture, 1890–1918* (Washington, DC: Peter Conolly-Smith, 2004).
316. Kraljic, *Croatian Migration*, 38; Puskás, *From Hungary*, 18; Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 22 f.; Kosa, “A Century of Hungarian Emigration,” 505.
317. William P. Dillingham, ed., *Reports of the Immigration Commission: United States: Immigration Commission (1899–1910)* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911).
318. Krystyna Duda-Dziewierz, *Wieś Malopolska a Emigracja Amerykańska. Studium Wsi Babica Powiatu Rzeszowskiego* [Ein Dorf in der Region Malopolska und die amerikanische Auswanderung. Eine Dorfstudie von Babica im Kreis Rzeszów] (Warszawa: Polski Instytut Socjologiczny, 1938); for more information on transatlantic migration from Babica, see Adam Walaszek, “Migration from a Galician Village: Babica before World War I,” in *European Mobility*, 79–87.
319. See Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, 285.
320. “Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten,” 423–24; Kořalka, *Tschechen*, 79.
321. Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizen*, 320.
322. Wyman, “Emigrants Returning,” 20 f.; Steidl, “There Are No Cats . . .”
323. Dillingham, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*.
324. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918; Granatir Alexander, *The Immigrant’s Church*, 8.
325. On Hungarian government programs for repatriation, see Evans Poznan, “Migrant Nation-Builders,” 93–121.
326. Kraljic, *Croatian Migration*, 103.
327. Morawska, “Immigrants, Transnationalism, and Ethnicization,” 182.
328. Kraljic, *Croatian Migration*, 29.
329. Ivan Čizmić, George J. Prpić, and Ivan Miletić, *From the Adriatic to Lake Erie: A History of Croatians in Greater Cleveland* (Eastlake, OH: American Croatian Lodge, 2000); Marjan Drnovšek, “Fragments from Slovenian Migration History, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries,” in *Transnational Societies, Transterritorial Politics*, ed. Ulf Brunnbauer (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009), 51–72.
330. Kraljic, *Croatian Migration*, 95; Chmelar, *The Austrian Emigration*, 335.
331. See Steidl, “Young, Unwed, Mobile, and Female,” 55–76, 85.
332. Steidl and Fischer-Nebmaier, “Transatlantischer Heiratsmarkt,” 51–68; and Suzanne M. Sinke, “Moved to Marry: Connecting Marriage and Cross-border Migration in the History of the United States,” in *Heiraten*, eds. Lanzinger and Steidl, 11–29.



333. Marita Krauss, "Frauen und Migration. Eine einleitende Problemskizze," in *Frauen und Migration*, eds. idem and Holger Sonnabend (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001), 9–19, 13.
334. The expulsion of Huguenots from France and Protestants from Salzburg, for example, both resulted in far-reaching changes in those communities; see Gestrich and Krauss, *Zurückbleiben*, 9–24.
335. For a newer approach on gender ratios in international migration, see Donato et al., "Variations in the Gender Composition"; Donato and Gabaccia, *Gender and International Migration*.
336. Letters from and to migrants who originated from the German Reich provide numerous examples of the struggles of women and children with a male breadwinner in the United States; see Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich, and Ulrike Sommer eds., *Briefe aus Amerika: Deutsche Auswanderer schreiben aus der Neuen Welt, 1830–1930* (Munich: Beck, 1988); see also Claus Rech, "Zurückbleiben im 'Weiberdorf'—Frauen von Arbeitsmigranten und ihre Lebensverhältnisse in Eisenschmitt / Eifel, 1830–1925," in *Zurückbleiben*, 125–54; Linda Reeder, *Widows in White: Migration and the Transformation of Rural Italian Women, Sicily, 1880–1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
337. Brian McCook, "Becoming Transnational: Continental and Transatlantic Polish Migration and Return Migration, 1870–1924," in *European Mobility*, 151–73, 153 f.; idem, *The Borders of Integration*.
338. Report of Heves County subprefect in 1904, see Puskás, *From Hungary*, 84.
339. Gmelch, "Return Migration," 150 f.
340. Michael G. Esch, "L2 Migration: Transnationale Praktiken, Wirkungen und Paradigmen," in *Handbuch einer transnationalen Geschichte Ostmitteleuropas. Band I. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, eds. Frank Hadler and Matthias Middell (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 131–88.
341. Dino Cinel has described the migrants who returned to the Kingdom of Italy as "conservative adventurers," since they brought back money to support the traditional way of agriculture; Dino Cinel, "Conservative Adventurers: Italian Migrants in Italy and San Francisco" (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1979); idem, *The National Integration*.
342. *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, 1914* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), 68 f.
343. *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, 1919* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), 228 f.
344. See Penaloza-Patzak, "Guiding the Diffusion of Knowledge," 226–27.
345. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1920* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921), 245.
346. Susan B. Carter, "Labor Force," in *Historical Statistics of the United States: Millennial Edition Online*, eds. idem et al., accessed November 11, 2019, <https://hsus.cambridge.org/HSUSWeb/HSUSEntryServlet>; see Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*; and Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation-Builders," 120.

## ON MULTIPLE ROUTES FROM, TO, AND WITHIN CENTRAL EUROPE

1. For a critique of traditional approaches in migration history, see Lucassen and Lucassen, "Migration, Migration History, History," 9–38; Jan Lucassen, Leo Lucassen, and Patrick Manning, "Migration History. Multidisciplinary Approaches," in *Migration History in World History: Multidisciplinary Approaches*, eds. Jan Lucassen, Leo Lucassen, and Patrick Manning (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 3–37.
2. Moya and McKeown, *World Migration in the Long Twentieth Century*, 8.
3. Kaltenbrunner, *Das global vernetzte Dorf*, 200.
4. See King, Skeldon, and Vullnetari, "Internal and International Migration," 2; Bruno Ramirez, "Leaving Canada Behind: Continental and Intercontinental Migrations in the North Atlantic Economy, 1900–1930," in *Migrations et Migrants dans une Perspective Historique—Migrations and Migrants in Historical Perspective*, ed. René Leboutte (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2000), 141–63; see also Schrover and Moloney, "Introduction."
5. For recent studies in the social sciences, see Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1993); Robin Cohen, *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); *World Migration Report 2013* by IOM, accessed October 10, 2019, [http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/WMR2013\\_EN.pdf](http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/WMR2013_EN.pdf); see also Moya and McKeown, *World Migration in the Long Twentieth Century*.
6. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," 167–235.
7. However, it has to be emphasized that the Schengen Agreement did not abolish all administrative barriers; King, Skeldon, and Vullnetari, "Internal and International Migration," 3 f.
8. On the historical process of border formation and supervision, see, for example, the University of Vienna-based research project "The Control of Mobility of Ottoman Migrants in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1739–1791. The Rise of the Modern State?" led by Josef Ehmer.
9. Gestrich and Krauss, *Migration und Grenze*; Heindl and Saurer, *Grenze und Staat*; Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan, "Borders and Border Studies," in *A Companion to Border Studies*, eds. Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).
10. Kleinschmidt, *People on the Move*, 15 and 43; Lehnert and Vogel, *Transregionale Perspektiven*; Lehnert, *Die Un-Ordnung der Grenze*, especially 34–38.
11. On transnational movements within one empire, see Siegelbaum and Moch, *Broad Is My Native Land*.
12. Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries (reprinted from XI<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Uppsala 1960)," in *A Century of European Migrations, 1830–1930*, eds. Rudolph J. Vecoli and Suzanne M. Sinke (Urbana-Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 17–57, 28.
13. Reino Kero, *Migration from Finland to North America in the Years Between the United States Civil War and the First World War* (Turku: Turun Yliopisto, 1974), 54; Runbloom and Norman, *From Sweden to America*, 134–36.

14. Semmingsen, *Norway to America*, 156–57.
15. Sune Åkerman, “Swedish Migration and Social Mobility: The Tale of Three Cities,” in *Social Science History* 1, no. 2 (1977): 178–209, 206.
16. Dirk Hoerder, “Segmented Macrosystems and Networking Individuals: The Balancing Functions of Migration Processes,” in *Migration*, 73–87, 81.
17. Klaus J. Bade, *Sozialhistorische Migrationsforschung*, ed. Michael Bommers and Jochen Oltmer (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2004).
18. Klaus J. Bade, “German Emigration to the United States and Continental Immigration to Germany in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries,” in *Central European History* 13 (1980): 348–77, 349; see also idem, “Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt,” 265–323.
19. Bade, “German Emigration,” 362.
20. *Ibid.*, 351.
21. Faßmann, “Emigration, Immigration and Internal Migration,” 265; see also Heinz Faßmann, “Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung,” 159–84.
22. Faßmann, “Emigration, Immigration and Internal Migration,” 267.
23. *Ibid.*, 304.
24. See Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth*.
25. Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy*, 23.
26. *Ibid.*, 213.
27. *Ibid.*, 248.
28. Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*, 63.
29. Leslie Page Moch, “The European Perspective: Changing Conditions and Multiple Migrations, 1750–1914,” in *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives*, eds. Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 115–40, 131 f.
30. *Ibid.*, 132.
31. Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, 33.
32. *Ibid.*, 113.
33. With regard to Spanish overseas migrations, Blanca Sánchez-Alonso has also emphasized that “results for the urbanization variable support the view that, for many Spanish provinces, internal migration provided a clear alternative to emigration overseas. Historians who emphasize the role of cities ‘pulling’ migrants from the countryside appear to have a point.” Sánchez-Alonso, “Those Who Left,” 746.
34. Borges, *Chains of Gold*, 4; see also Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe*.
35. Borges, “Migration Systems in Southern Portugal,” 171–208.
36. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 15.
37. Keith S. Brown, *Loyal unto Death: Trust and Terror in Revolutionary Macedonia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 59.
38. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 23.
39. See, for example, King, Skeldon, and Vullnetari, “Internal and International Migration,” 24 f.

40. Moch, *Moving Europeans*; Lucassen and Lucassen, "Migration"; Borges, "Migration," 199.
41. See Annemarie Steidl, Engelbert Stockhammer, and Hermann Zeitlhofer, "Relations among Internal, Continental, and Transatlantic Migration in Late Imperial Austria," *Social Science History* 31, no. 1 (2007): 61–92.
42. Hoerder, *People on the Move*, 7; Moch, *Moving Europeans*, 18; Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity*, 136.
43. Ehmer, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte und Historische Demographie*, 19–33.
44. *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912; *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916; *Passenger and Crew Lists; Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918.
45. Hudson, *History by Numbers*, 159.
46. On statistical correlation and causality, see Lemerrier and Zalc, *Quantitative Methods in the Humanities*, 72–87; see also Hudson, *History by Numbers*, 159–61.
47. Michael J. White and Erica Jade Mullen, "Socioeconomic Attainment in the Ellis Island Era," *Social Science History* 40 (2016), 147–81, 82.
48. Yannay Spitzer, "Pogroms, Networks, and Migration: The Jewish Migration from the Russian Empire to the United States 1881–1914" (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2018), accessed October 10, 2019, [https://yannayspitzer.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/pogromsnetworksmigration\\_182505.pdf](https://yannayspitzer.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/pogromsnetworksmigration_182505.pdf); Yannay Spitzer and Ariell Zimran, "Migrant Self-Selection: Anthropometric Evidence from the Mass Migration of Italians to the United States, 1907–1925," *Journal of Development Economics* 134 (2018): 226–47; Simone A. Wegge, "Different Profiles, Different Choices. Mid-Nineteenth Century Hessians Who Emigrated to the Southern Hemisphere," *Social Science History* 41, no. 3 (2017): 415–44; White and Jade Mullen, "Socioeconomic Attainment."
49. I am very grateful to my colleague and good friend Engelbert Stockhammer for his help in calculating the regression results in Istanbul and Vienna (thanks for all the time spent sitting at the computer!). An earlier version of the regression results on Imperial Austria has been published in: Steidl, Stockhammer, and Zeitlhofer, "Relations among Internal."
50. It was necessary for a number of reasons to exclude one hundred Austrian districts from this analysis. First, a lack of data regarding agricultural wages rendered it necessary to exclude the entire province of Dalmatia (14 political districts). Second, it was necessary to exclude an additional 27 districts because alterations to district borders rendered it infeasible to reconstruct population growth. Third, five provinces in the western portion of the empire (Salzburg, Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Carinthia, and Littoral) were excluded because their numbers of transatlantic migrants were either too insignificant in 1910 to allow for statistical analysis, or the sample of ship passenger manifests are biased, as in the case of the Austrian Littoral (discussed in the introduction).
51. *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916; *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1900*, 1902/05.

52. *Vorläufige Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1880*, 1881; *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1890*, 1892; *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1900*, 1902/05; *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912.
53. Karl Inama-Sternegg, "Die landwirtschaftlichen Arbeiter und deren Löhne," *Statistische Monatsschrift* 2 (1895): 319–59 and 387–431; K. K. Arbeitsstatistisches Amt im Handelsministerium, ed., *Die kollektiven Arbeits- und Lohnverträge in Österreich. Abschlüsse und Erneuerungen des Jahres 1908* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1910).
54. Hudson, *History by Numbers*, 147.
55. The inclusion or exclusion of this dummy variable has, however, little effect on the coefficient estimates for the other variables.
56. The *CITY* variable is based on the classification made by the 1910 Austrian census, which divides the 406 political districts into 372 largely rural districts and 34 city districts.
57. Lemerrier and Zalc, *Quantitative Methods in the Humanities*, 78.
58. A more in-depth discussion of these issues can be found in Stockhammer, Steidl, and Zeitlhofer, "The Effect of Wages," 201–21.
59. Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 32–58; Simone A. Wegge, "Chain Migration and Information Networks: Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Hesse-Cassel," *The Journal of Economic History* 58 (1998): 957–86.
60. In response to a request for systematic archival material on advertising ship passages in the Habsburg Empire by agents from NDL and HAPAG, Hapag-Lloyd informed me that most of their documents were destroyed during World War II.
61. Heinz Faßmann's analysis of migration patterns in the Habsburg Empire divides the Hungarian territory into 71 counties and 32 municipal towns = 103 *Komitate*; see Faßmann, "Emigration, Immigration and Internal Migration," 253 f.
62. Many thanks to my colleague and friend Vincent Louis for his help with the Hungarian regression model.
63. On the history of census-taking in Austria-Hungary, see Göderle, *Zensus und Ethnizität*; the German Reich's census, which was inaugurated in 1875, was conducted uniformly for all territories, see Ehmer, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte*, 4; a short history of nation-states' growing interest in documenting their populations can be found in Josef Ehmer, "Historische Bevölkerungsstatistik.' Demographie und Geschichtswissenschaft," in *Herausforderung Bevölkerung. Zu Entwicklungen des modernen Denkens über die Bevölkerung vor, im und nach dem "Dritten Reich"*, eds. Ursula Ferdinand and Jürgen Reulecke (Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaft, 2007), 17–29; on the history of the US census and global census data, see also the Minnesota Population Center, accessed October 10, 2019, <https://www.pop.umn.edu>.
64. For a critical approach on Hungary's aggressive national politics and campaign of linguistic *Magyarization*, see Joachim von Puttkamer, "Kein europäischer Sonderfall. Ungarns

- Nationalitätenproblem im 19. Jahrhundert und die jüngere Nationalismusforschung,” in *Das Ungarnbild der deutschen Historiographie*, ed. Márta Fata (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004), 84–98.
65. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918.
  66. Puskás, “Some Results,” 45–50.
  67. Öri and Pakot, “Census and Census-like Material”; for more information on Jews living in the Kingdom of Hungary, see Raphael Patai, *The Jews of Hungary: History, Culture, Psychology* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1996), esp. 429–41; Mordechai Breuer, “Orthodox Judaism in Eastern and Western Europe,” in *Religion, State and Ethnic Groups. Comparative Studies on Governments and Non-Dominant Ethnic Groups in Europe, 1850–1940*, vol. II, eds. Donal A. Kerr et. al. (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1992), 79–93.
  68. Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*, 63.
  69. Puskás, *From Hungary to the US*, 55; see also Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, 113.
  70. See Wolfgang von Hippel, *Auswanderung aus Südwestdeutschland. Studien zur württembergischen Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1984); Richard Easterlin also found a strong positive correlation between emigration and past population growth for European countries during the period 1861–1910, see “Influences in European Overseas Emigration Before World War I,” *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 9 (1961): 331–51; more recently, Hatton and Williamson argue that past population growth may have substantially increased the proportion of the population that later comprised the primary migration age group, see Hatton and Williamson, *The Age*, 42; idem, “What Drove the Mass Migration from Europe in the Late Nineteenth Century?” *Population and Development Review* 20, no. 4 (1994): 533–59, 537.
  71. For a critical approach, see Josef Ehmer, “Migration und Bevölkerung—Zur Kritik eines Erklärungsmodells,” *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für Deutsche Geschichte* (1998): 5–29; and Stockhammer, Steidl, and Zeitlhofer, “The Effect.”
  72. Mary Kritz found that most migrants to the present-day United States come from countries with low to moderate population growth, and other recent studies even indicate that there were no causal connections at all between the development or density of population on the one hand and migration rates on the other, see Mary M. Kritz, “Population Growth and International Migration: Is There a Link?” in *Global Migrants, Global Refugees: Problems and Solutions*, eds. Aristide R. Zolberg and Peter M. Benda (New York: Berghahn, 2001), 19–41, 25.
  73. Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 34; Glettler, “The Hungarian Government Position,” 107–18.
  74. Patai, *The Jews*, 429–41.
  75. A bias in the sample of ship manifests underestimates the number of passengers who were Jews from Hungarian territories. East European Jews preferred *HAPAG* for transatlantic travel as a result of their better Jewish facilities, such as kosher food and a synagogue at Hamburg’s *Auswandererhallen*; see Brinkmann, “Why Paul Nathan Attacked Albert

- Ballin,” 47–83. The sample consists of twenty ships from Bremen (*NDL*) and only two ships from Hamburg; *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels*.
76. Diner, *Roads Taken*; Spitzer, “Pogroms, Networks, and Migration”; Brinkmann, “From Immigrants to Supranational Transmigrants.”
  77. Patai, *The Jews*, 438; see, for example, Zahra, “Travel Agents on Trial,” 161–93; Lars Olsson has provided an excellent case study of international labor migration organized by Jewish agents, see: “From Galicia to Sweden,” 39–51; on Jewish transatlantic migration from Central Europe, see Brinkmann, “From Immigrants to Supranational Transmigrants,” 47–57.
  78. Baines, *Migration*, 235 and 228 ff.
  79. Zeitlhofer, “Bohemian Migrants,” 193 f.; see also Ehmer and Zeitlhofer, “Ländliche Migration in Böhmen,” 40–58.
  80. *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912.
  81. Kořalka, “Some Remarks on the Future Model,” 9–20.
  82. *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes*, 1916, 48–54.
  83. Zeitlhofer, “Bohemian Migrants,” 200; a copy of the original questionnaire is provided in *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes*, 1916, 20–43 and 77–132.
  84. See Zeitlhofer, “Bohemian Migrants,” 196.
  85. *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes*, 1916, table IV., 8–21.
  86. Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity*, 46; Jackson, *Migration and Urbanization*; Zeitlhofer, “Bohemian Migrants,” 197.
  87. Ehmer and Zeitlhofer, “Ländliche Migration,” 40–58; see also Rosental, “Between Micro and Macro,” 461.
  88. See Meinzingen, “Die Wanderbewegung auf Grund,” 134–35; Glettler, *Die Wiener Tschechen um 1900*; John and Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien*, 14 f. and 91.
  89. Jaroslav Vaculik, “Die Tschechen in Niederösterreich in den Jahren 1880 bis 1921,” in *Kontakte und Konflikte. Böhmen, Mähren und Österreich: Aspekte eines Jahrtausends gemeinsamer Geschichte*, ed. Thomas Winkelbauer (Horn: Waldviertler Heimatbund, 1993), 325–36.
  90. See Holek, *Lebensgang eines deutsch-tschechischen Handarbeiters*; Lezius, *Das Problem der Sachsengängerei*; Obermeier, *Die Sachsengänger*; see also Zeitlhofer, “Zwei Zentren,” 45–75.
  91. Marie Toth, *Schwere Zeiten. Aus dem Leben einer Ziegelerbeiterin* (ed. by Michael Hans Salvesberger) (Vienna: Böhlau, 1992); “Wien um 1900: Über ‚Ziegelbehm‘ und ‚Maltaweiber,“ in *Die Presse*, September 27, 2011, accessed October 10, 2019, [http://diepresse.com/home/wirtschaft/hobbyoekonom/693694/Wien-um-1900\\_Ueber-Ziegelbehm-und-Maltaweiber](http://diepresse.com/home/wirtschaft/hobbyoekonom/693694/Wien-um-1900_Ueber-Ziegelbehm-und-Maltaweiber); *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes*, 1916, 97; Zeitlhofer, “Bohemian Migrants,” 201 f.
  92. *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes*, 1916, 45 f.; Zeitlhofer, “Bohemian Migrants,” 203.
  93. *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes*, 1916, table XI, 48.
  94. *Ibid.*, 38.
  95. On Czechs in Chicago, see, for example, Richard Schneirov, “Free Thought and Socialism in the Czech Community in Chicago, 1875–1887,” in *“Struggle a Hard Battle”: Essays on*



- Working-Class Immigrants*, ed. Dirk Hoerder (DeKalb, IL.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), 121–42; Ehmer, *Heiratsverhalten, Sozialstruktur, ökonomischer Wandel*, 136–44; Steidl, “Transatlantic Migration from the Late Austrian Empire,” 215; Steidl, “Young, Unwed, Mobile,” 55–76.
96. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918; the following table is based on these statistics; I would like to give my sincere thanks to Tamás Faragó from Budapest for his help in calculating the tables relating to the Hungarian counties.
  97. On the “long arm” of the Hungarian government in the United States, see Evans Poznan, “Migrant Nation Builders,” 51–57; Phelps, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations*, 197–218.
  98. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, 118–19.
  99. On global migration paths, see Moya and McKeown, *World Migration in the Long Twentieth Century*, 7–18.
  100. Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 35.
  101. On the term *transmigrant*, see Brinkmann, “From Immigrants to Supranational Transmigrants,” 47–57.
  102. According to estimates, 19 percent of all inhabitants left the county of Spiš between 1881 and 1890; the number of emigrants between 1890 and 1911 was 46,007, of these 7,666 were German speakers. Many of these individuals traveled to the United States, while others went to Budapest and Vienna; see Rainer Rudolf, Eduard Ulreich, and Fritz Zimmermann, *Zipser Land und Leute. Deutsche Siedlungsgeschichte unter der hohen Tatra* (Vienna: Verl. d. Karpatendt. Landsmannschaft in Österreich, 1982), 132.
  103. Puskás, *Ties that Bind*, 32.
  104. Granatir Alexander, *The Immigrant’s Church*, 8.
  105. See, for example, Hahn, Maderthaner, and Sprengnagel, *Aufbruch in der Provinz*; Annemarie Steidl, “Vielfältige Wege—regionale und überregionale Migrationen in Niederösterreich,” in *Niederösterreich im 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Elisabeth Loinig et al. (St. Pölten: Verlag des NÖ Instituts für Landeskunde, forthcoming 2020).
  106. *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, 7 and 88 f.; Hintz, *Das wandernde Siebenbürgen*, 95.
  107. Markitan, *Oesterreichischer St. Raphael-Verein*, 7.
  108. Keeling, *The Business*.
  109. Documents and letters between priests and the Roman Catholic bishopric are preserved in the Archive of the Episcopal Curia in Kraków, Poland: Congregation of Priests, November 28, 1907, part IV.
  110. Piech, “Emigracja z Diecezji Tarnowskiej,” 145–97; see also Wyman, “Emigrants Returning,” 18 f.
  111. Rudolf A. Mark, *Galizien unter Österreichischer Herrschaft. Verwaltung—Kirche—Bevölkerung* (Marburg: Herder-Institut, 1994), 80.
  112. Piech, “Emigracja z Diecezji Tarnowskiej,” 197.

113. See Prasałowicz, "Local Community and Nineteenth Century Migrations," 175–88.
114. See Gestrich and Kraus, *Zurückbleiben*.
115. Piech, "Emigracja z Diecezji Tarnowskiej," 162 f.
116. On Galician laborers recruited in South Sweden, see Olsson, "From Galicia to Sweden," 39–51.
117. Piech, "Emigracja z Diecezji Tarnowskiej," 171–74.
118. Franciszek Bujak, *Maszkienice: Wieś Powiatu Brzeskiego. Stosunki Gospodarcze i Społeczne* [Maszkienice: Wirtschaftliche und soziale Beziehungen des Dorfes der Grafschaft Brest] (Kraków: Akademii Umiejętności, 1914), 91; see also Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*, 65.
119. Morawska, "Labor Migrations of Poles," 189; Steidl, Stockhammer, and Zeitlhofer, "Relations," 61.
120. Morawska, *For Bread with Butter*; McCook, *The Borders of Integration*.
121. For a critical approach on the concept of "chain migration" see Jochen Krebber, "Kettenwanderung als migrationshistorisches Paradigma: Überprüfbares Konzept oder metaphorischer Bezugspunkt?," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 19, no. 1 (2008): 43–59.
122. Dirk Hoerder, "Introduction," in *People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820–1930*, eds. Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1–16, 7.
123. Moch, *Moving Europeans*, 9.
124. Leslie Page Moch, "From Regional to Global Repertoires of Migration," *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011): 321–25.
125. Maria Katharina Strolz, "Umwelt und Persönlichkeit Franz Michael Felders (1839–1869). Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Hinterbregenzerwaldes" (PhD diss. University of Vienna, 1976), 343–47; Pichler, *Auswanderer*, 20.
126. See *Statistik Austria*, accessed September 2, 2019, [https://www.statistik.at/web\\_de/statistiken/menschen\\_und\\_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung\\_nach\\_staatsangehoerigkeit\\_geburtsland/index.html](https://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung_nach_staatsangehoerigkeit_geburtsland/index.html).

#### OUTLOOK AND CONCLUSION

1. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 126.
2. Steidl, Fischer-Nebmaier, and Oberly, *From a Multiethnic Empire*, 73.
3. On state-building in Central Europe after 1918, see Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 385–440; see also Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation-Builders," 166 ff.
4. Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation-Builders," 200.
5. Steidl, "Ein attraktiver Anziehungspunkt," 375–434.
6. Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 106–8.
7. Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation-Builders," 193.
8. Zahra, *The Great Departure*; Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*; Steidl, "Ein attraktiver Anziehungspunkt."

9. Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 107.
10. Steidl, "Ein attraktiver Anziehungspunkt," 398.
11. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 130; on foreign labor migration politics in the Weimar Republic, see Jochen Oltmer, *Migration und Politik in der Weimarer Republik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 344–63.
12. Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 139.
13. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 129–30; Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation-Builders," 174–76.
14. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 126–27, 216.
15. Evans Poznan, "Migrant Nation-Builders," 191–94; Aleksej Kalc, "'Semo stadi sai contenti de sentir le vostre vosi.' Emigrazione e comunicazione: il caso di una famiglia triestina emigrata in Australia ['We are happy to hear your voices.' Emigration and communication: The case of a family from Trieste who emigrated to Australia]," *Qualestoria* 35, no. 1 (2007): 13–35.
16. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 130; on international migration patterns during the interwar period, see also Moya and McKeown, *World Migration in the Long Twentieth Century*, 7–16.
17. On twentieth-century migration to Canada from former Habsburg territories, see Kaltenbrunner, *Das global vernetzte Dorf*, 555–56.
18. Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 137.
19. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 134; see also Sebastian Conrad, *Globalisierung und Nation im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Munich: Beck, 2010), 13; Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 385–441.
20. McKeown, "Periodizing Globalization," 218–30; Moya and McKeown, *World Migration in the Long Twentieth Century*, 7–16.
21. John C. Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport. Surveillance, Citizenship and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
22. George J. Borjas, "Native Internal Migration and the Labor Market Impact of Immigration," *The Journal of Human Resources* 41, no. 2 (2006): 221–58, 222; see also Pooley, *Mobility, Migration and Transport*.
23. Hoerder, "Introduction," 5.
24. See also Borges, *Chains of Gold*, 72.
25. King, Skeldon, and Vullnetari, "Internal and International Migration," 47 f.
26. See Jackson, *Migration and Urbanization*.
27. See Lucassen and Lucassen, "The Mobility Transition Revisited," 347–77; Ehmer, "Quantifying Mobility," 327–38; Stockhammer, Steidl, and Zeithofer, "The Effect of Wages," 201–21.
28. See Jackson and Moch, "Migration and the Social History," 52–69.
29. On global international migration patterns, see Moya and McKeown, *World Migration in the Long Twentieth Century*.
30. Lucassen and Lucassen, "The Mobility Transition Revisited."

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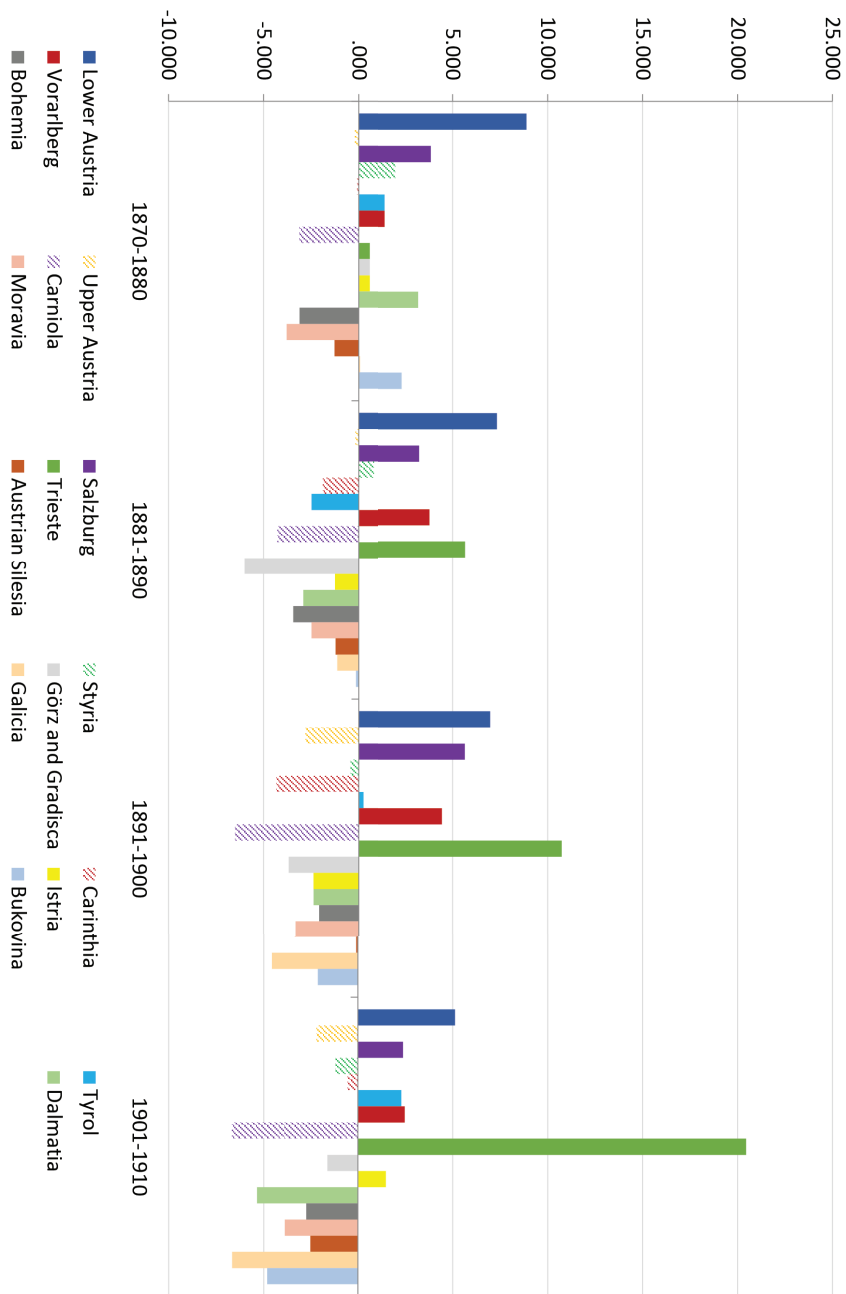


FIGURE 1.1 Population growth gain and loss according to internal migration in the Imperial Austrian provinces, 1870–1910

Source: Wilhelm Hecke, “Volksvermehrung, Binnenwanderung und Umgangssprache in den nördlichen Ländern Österreichs,” *Statistische Monatsschrift* 40 (1913): 336.

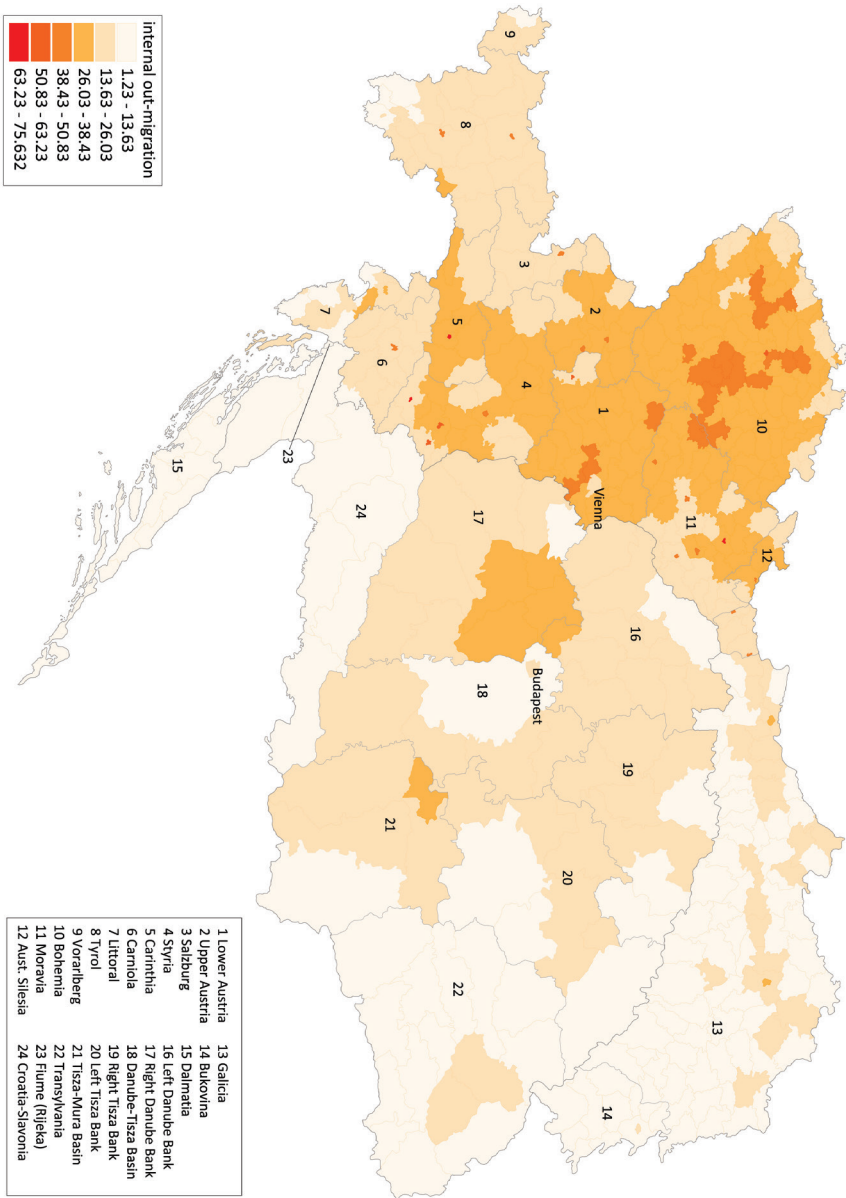


FIGURE 1.2 Spatial distribution of internal out-migration in the Habsburg Empire, 1910 (political districts and counties)

Source: *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910, 1912; A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910, 1916.*

Note: Imperial Austria is divided into political districts, the Hungarian Kingdom into counties. Internal out-migration = percentage of the entire population of a district or county that has moved to another district or county within Imperial Austria or the Hungarian Kingdom.



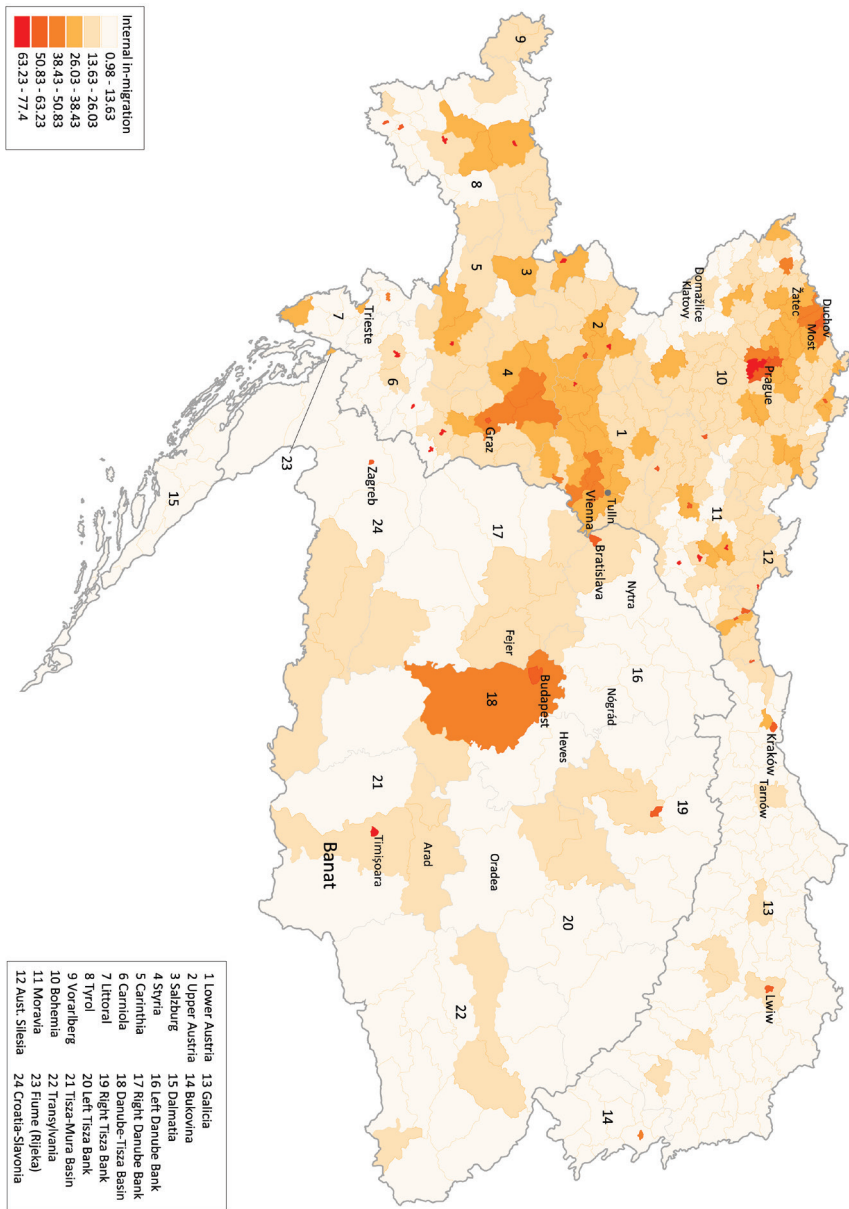


FIGURE 1.3 Spatial distribution of internal in-migration in the Habsburg Empire, 1910 (political districts and counties)

Source: *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910, 1912; A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910, 1916.*

Note: Imperial Austria is divided into political districts, the Hungarian Kingdom into counties. Internal in-migration = percentage of the entire population of a district or county that was born in a different district or county inside Imperial Austria or the Hungarian Kingdom.

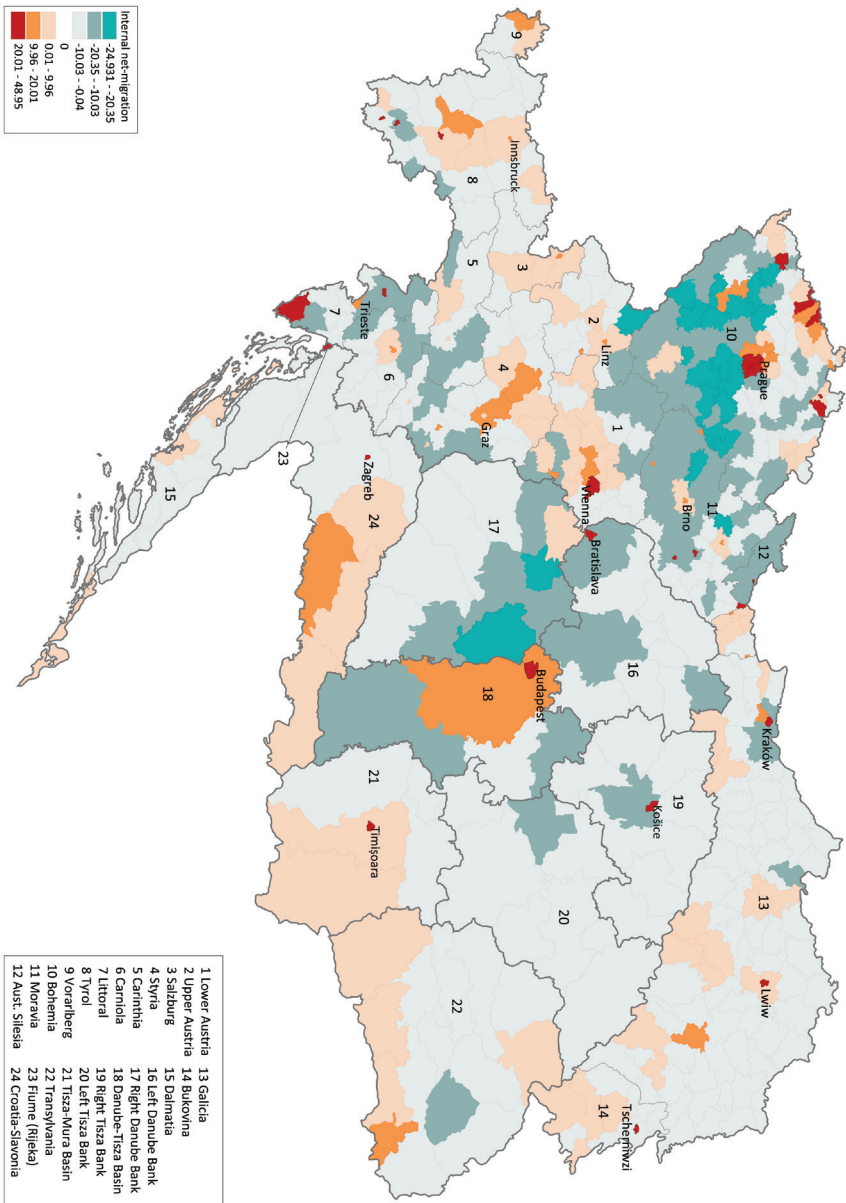


FIGURE 1.4 Spatial distribution of internal net-migration rates in the Habsburg Empire, 1910 (political districts and counties)

Source: *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910, 1912; A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910, 1916.*

Note: Imperial Austria is divided into political districts, the Hungarian Kingdom into counties.

\*Internal net-migration = internal in-migration minus internal out-migration.

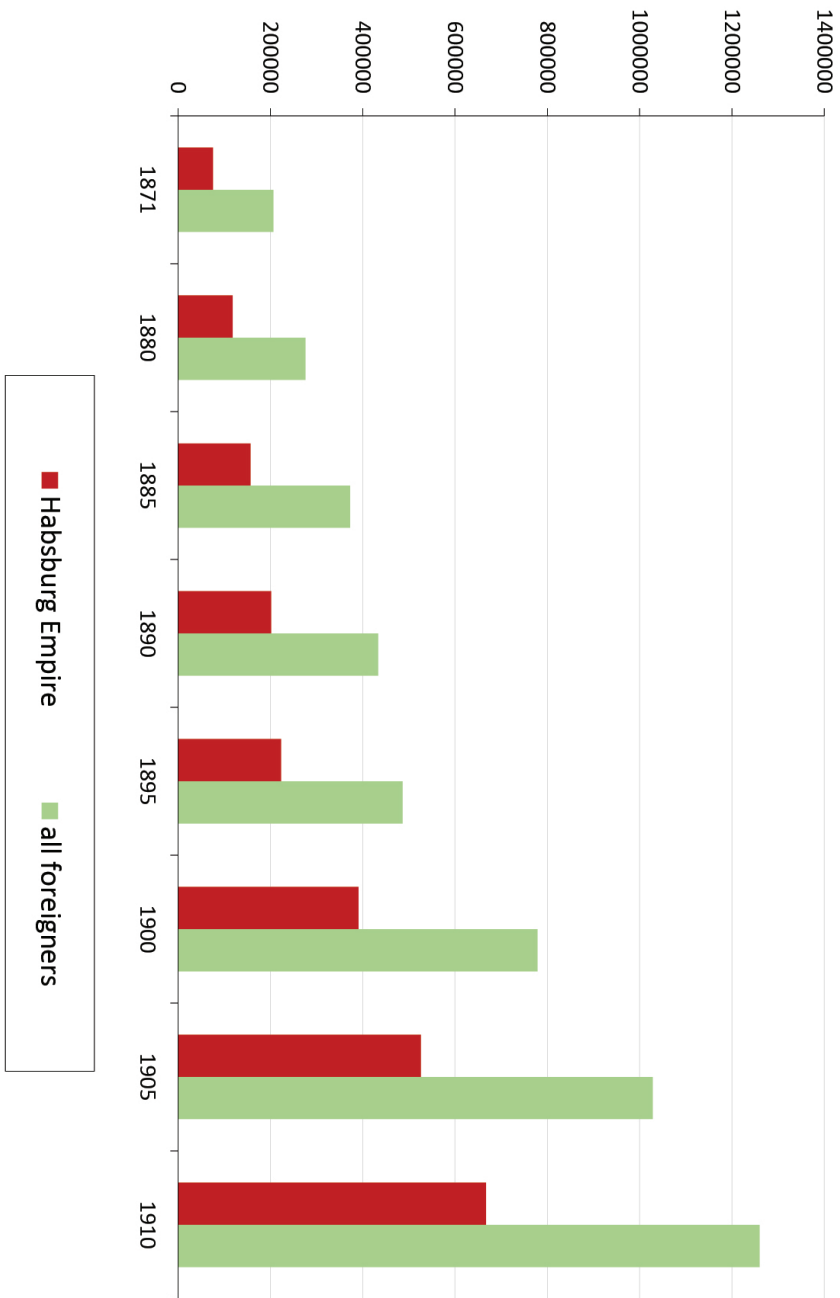


FIGURE 2.1 Migrants from the Habsburg Empire in comparison to all foreigners in the German Reich, 1871–1910

Source: *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, 1813; see Ulrich Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland. Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter, Flüchtlinge* (Munich: Beck, 2001), 23.

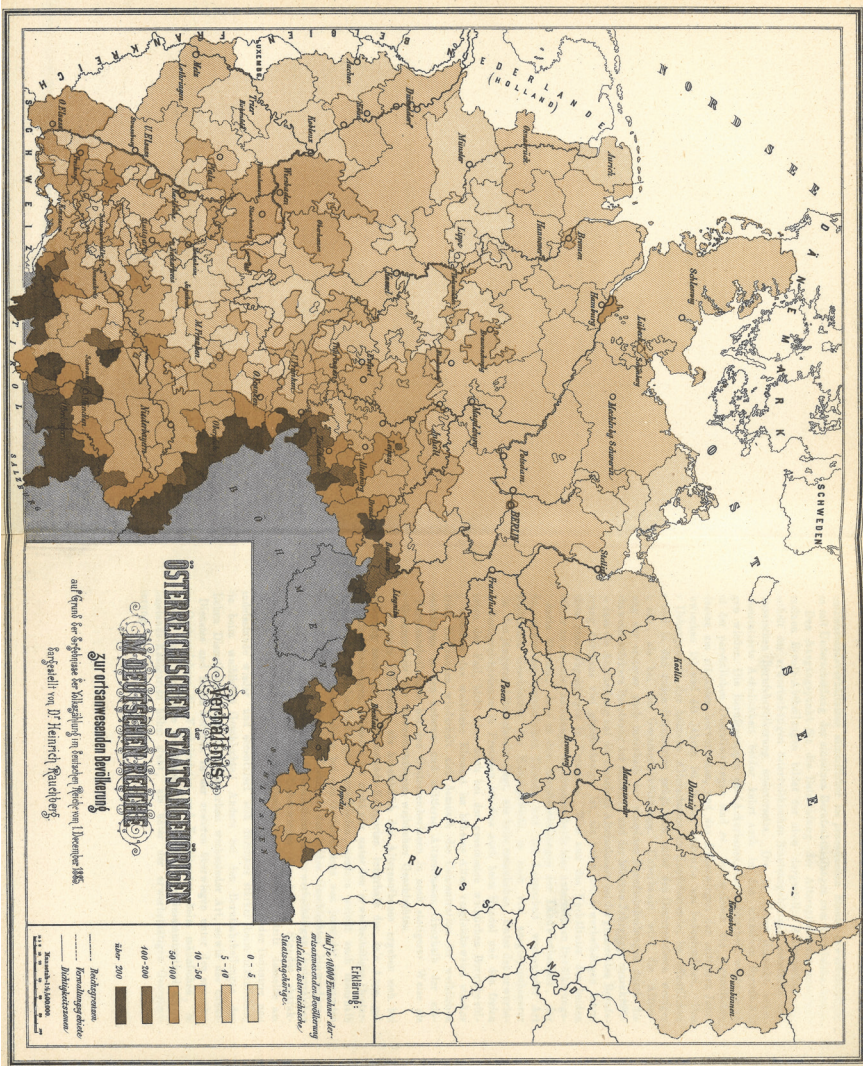


FIGURE 2.2 Migrants from Imperial Austria in the German Reich, 1885  
 Source: Heinrich Rauchberg, "Die österreichischen Staatsangehörigen im Deutschen Reich unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Österreicher im Preussischen Staate," *Statistische Monatsschrift* XV. Jg. (1889): 301-31.

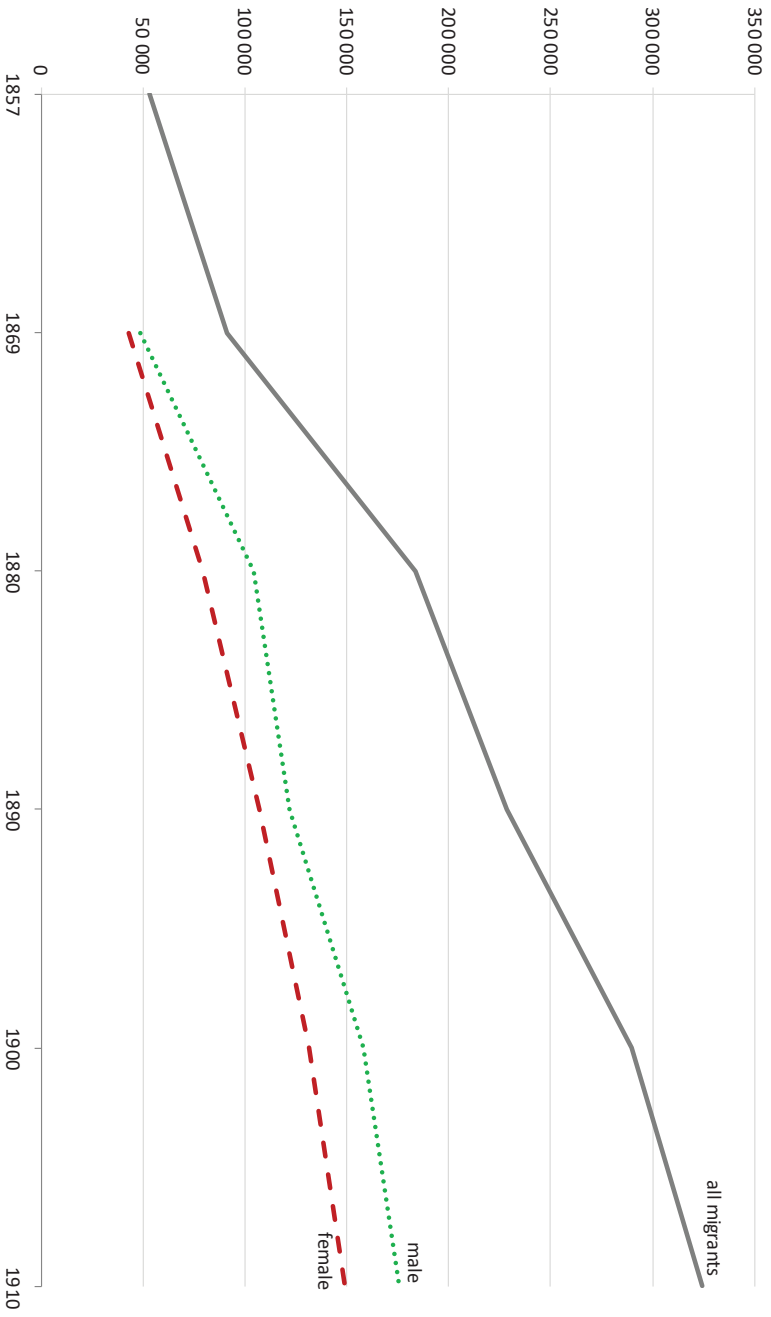


FIGURE 2.3 Number of Hungarian-born people in Imperial Austria, 1857–1910, by gender  
 Source: *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918, table 101, 100.



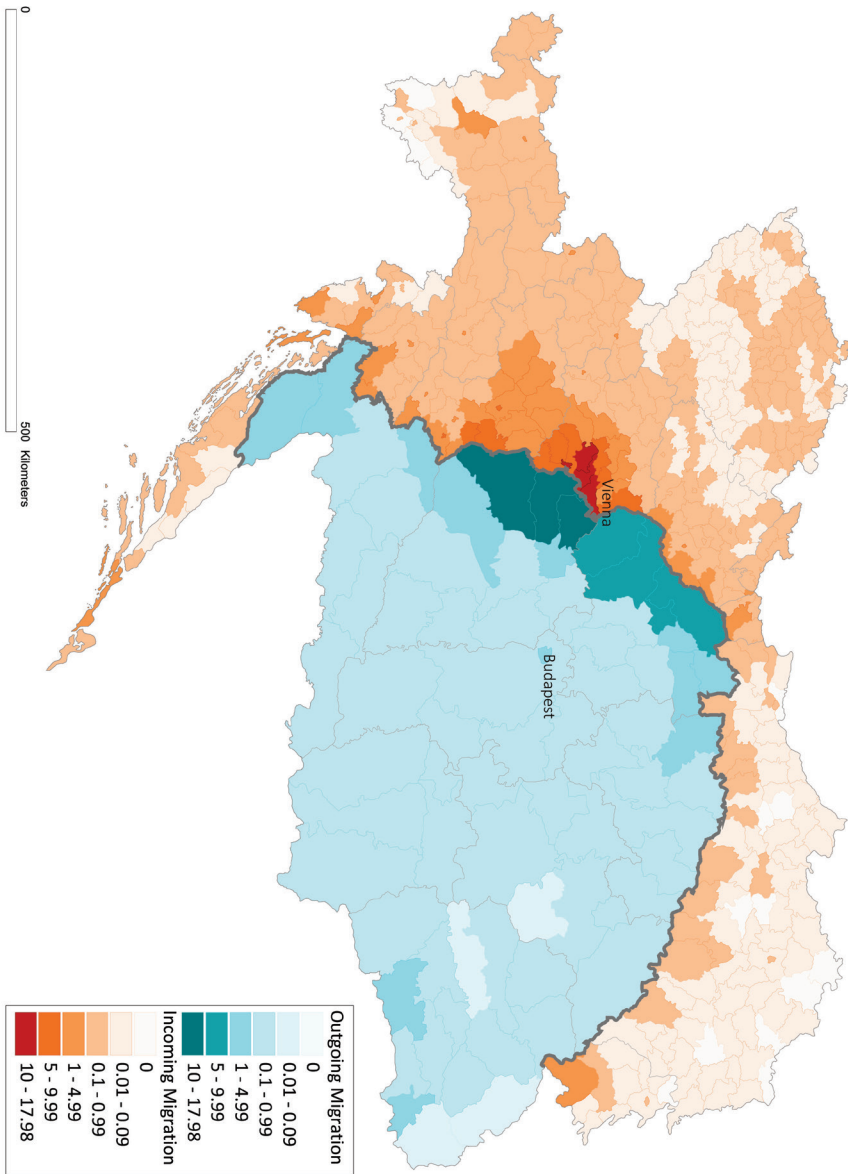


FIGURE 2.4 Spatial distribution of out-migration from the Kingdom of Hungary and in-migration to Imperial Austria, 1910 (political districts and counties)

Source: *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910, 1912; A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910, 1916.*

Note: Imperial Austria is divided into political districts, the Hungarian Kingdom into counties. Outgoing migration = percent of population in Hungarian counties that has moved to Imperial Austria. Incoming migration = percent of population in Imperial Austrian districts with an Hungarian birthplace.

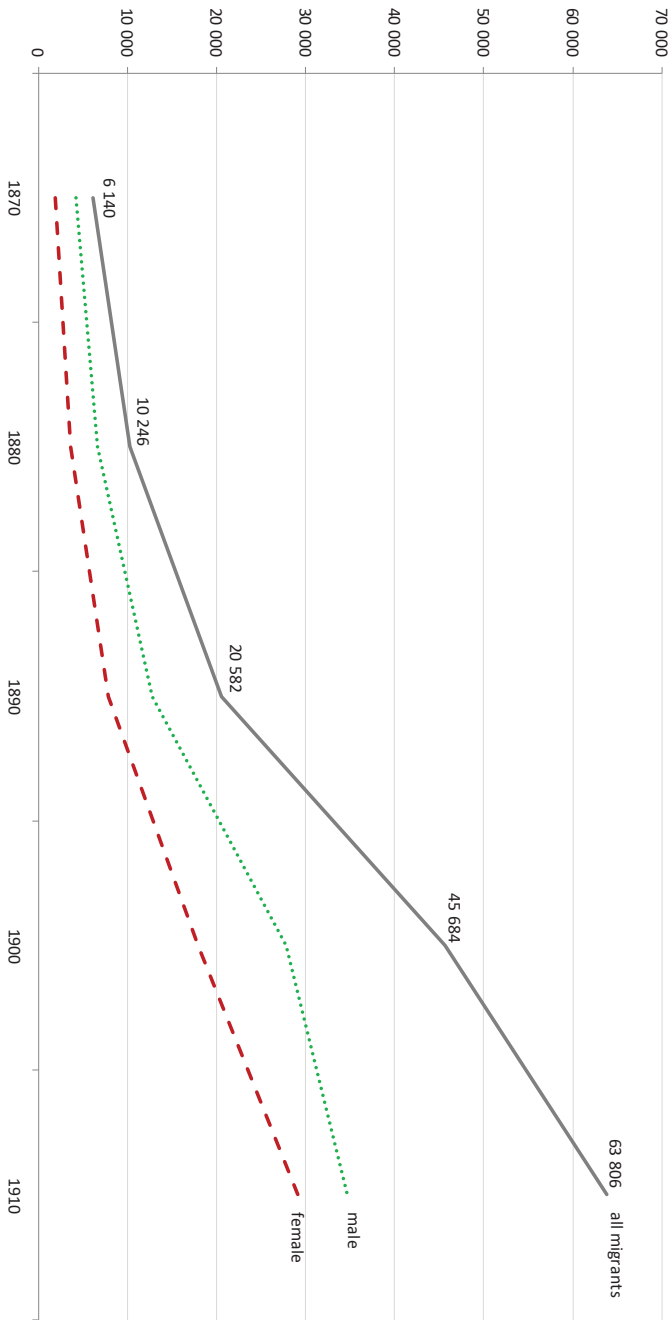


FIGURE 2.5 Galician-born people living in the Hungarian Kingdom, 1870–1910

Source: *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916, table 5. “A külföldi honosok részletezése.”

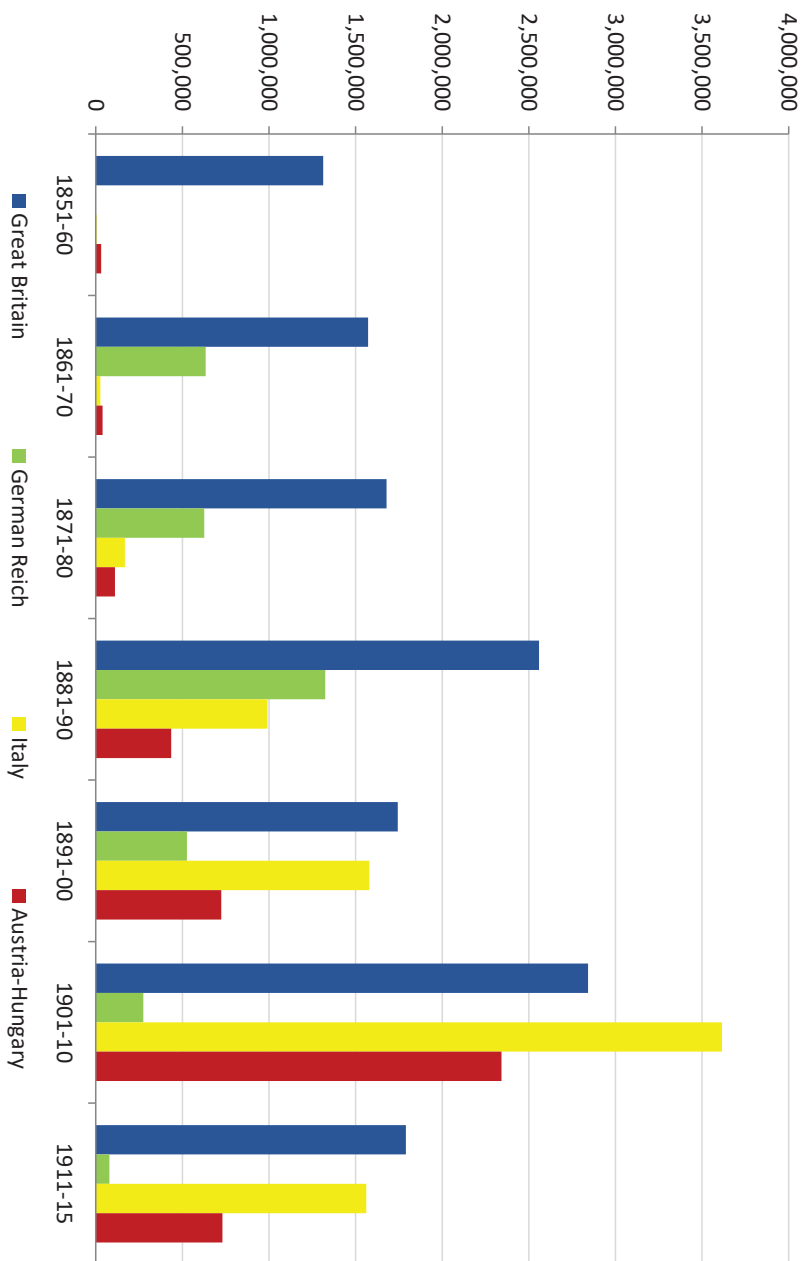


FIGURE 3.1 Transatlantic migration from the Habsburg Empire in comparison to the German Reich, Great Britain, and the Kingdom of Italy, 1851–1915

Source: Wolfram Fischer, “Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Europas 1850–1914,” in *Europäische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, ed. Wolfram Fischer (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985), 29.



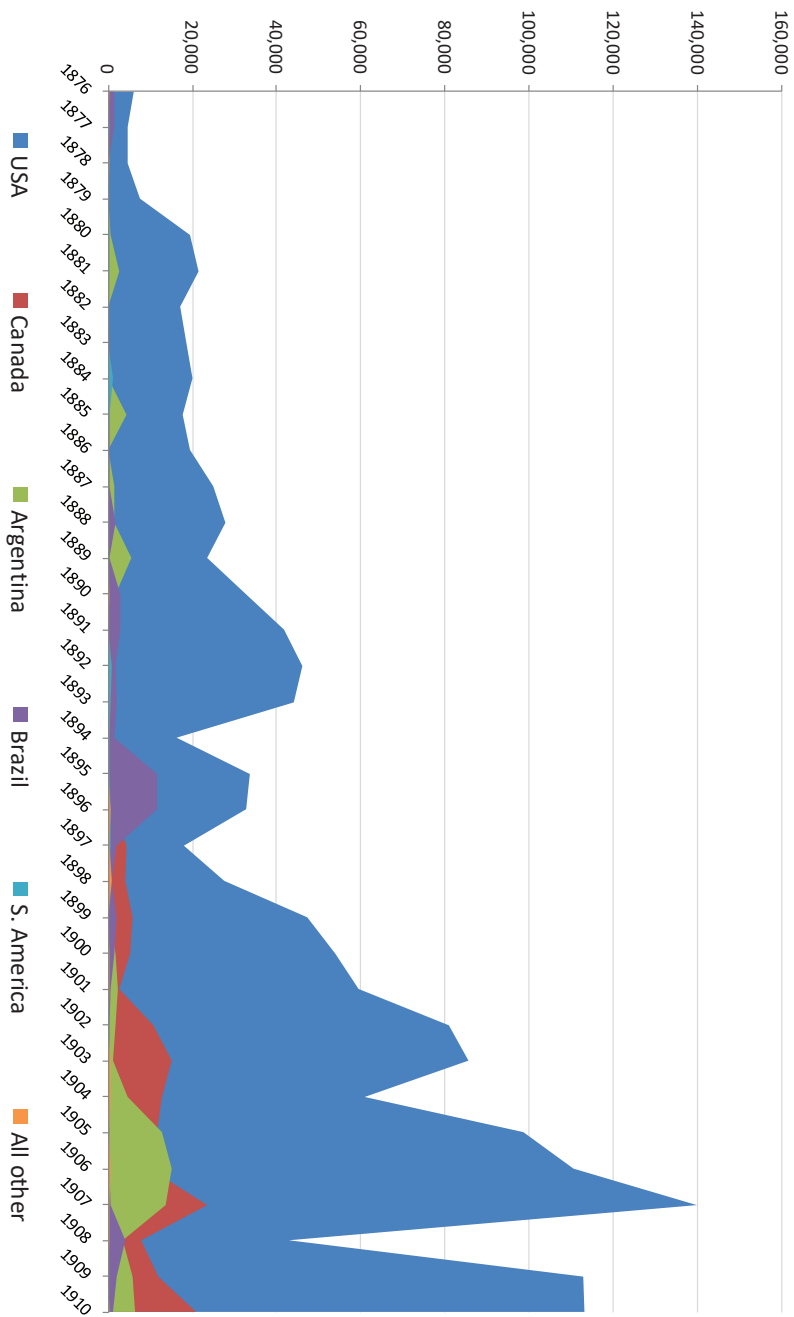


FIGURE 3.2 Overseas migration from Imperial Austria to different destinations, 1876–1910  
 Source: Johann Chmelar, “The Austrian Emigration, 1900–1914,” *Perspectives in American History* VII (1973), 275–378, table 2.1.

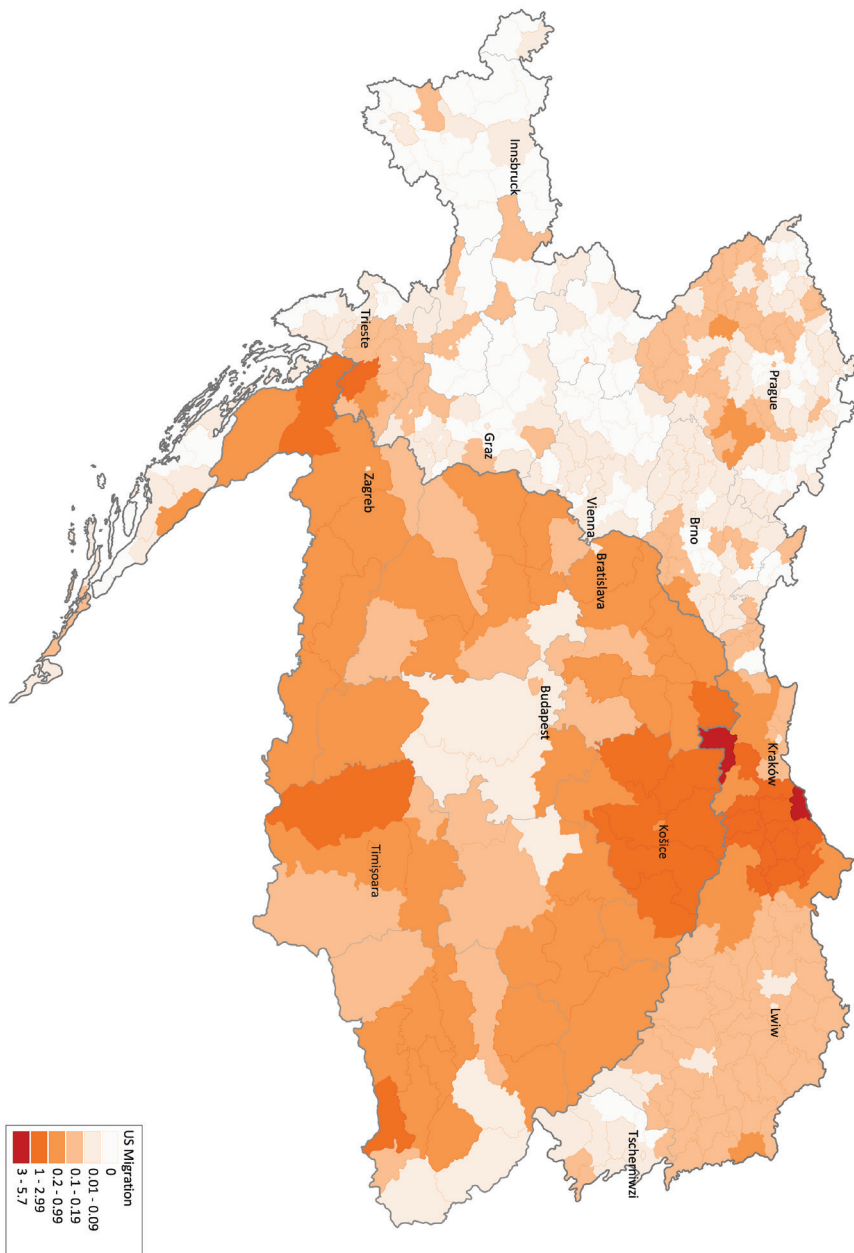


FIGURE 3.4 Spatial distribution of US migration from the Habsburg Empire, 1910

Source: US Immigration and Naturalization Service, "Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, NY 1897–1957," *National Archives Microfilm Publication T715*, Record Group 85, National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, 1910; *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910*, 1912; *A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910*, 1916.

Note: The US migration ratio in Imperial Austria is based on a 5 percent sample of ship passenger lists from Ellis Island. The Austrian sample was extrapolated to 100 percent in order to draw a comparison with the Hungarian data, which is based on flow data from the Statistical Office. US migration = number of individuals who migrated to the United States divided by the population of the respective district.

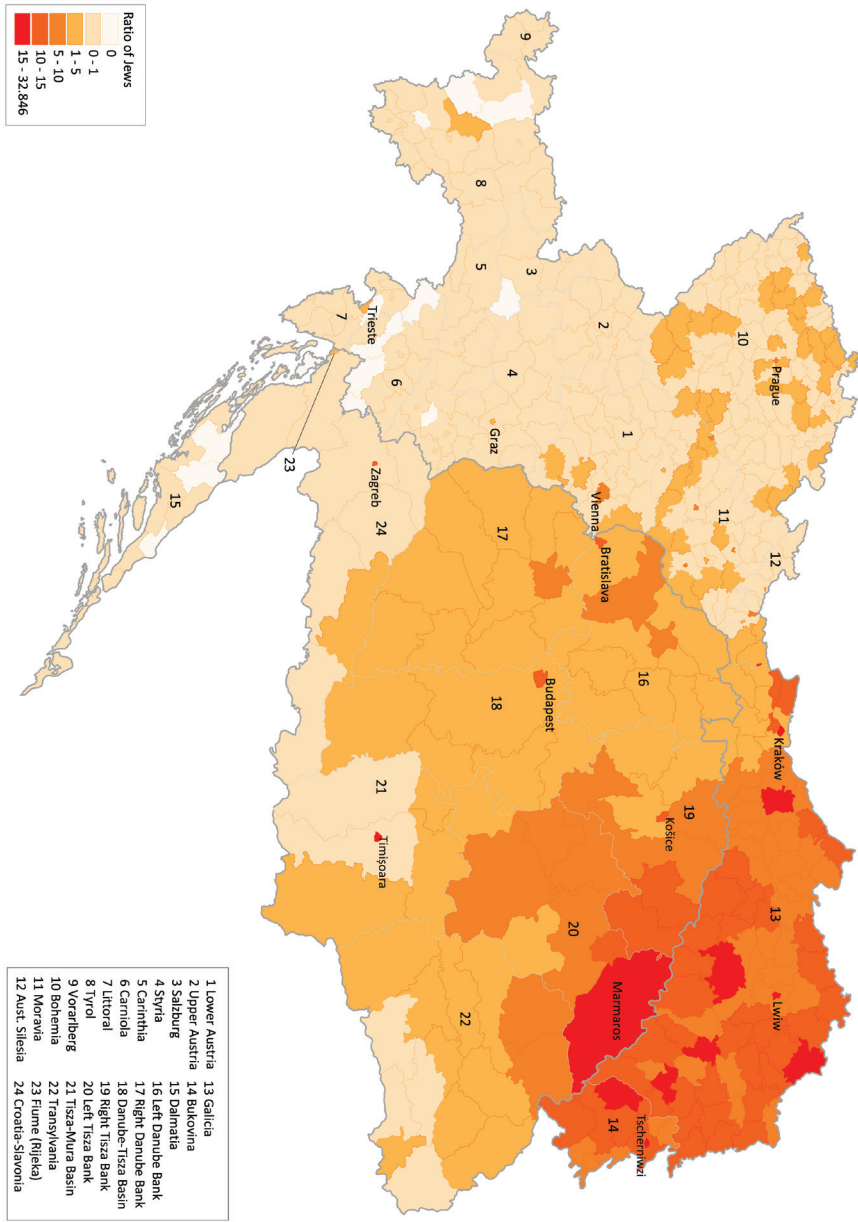


FIGURE 3.5 Ratio of Jewish population in the Habsburg Empire, 1910  
 Source: *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1910, 1912; A Magyar szent korona országainak 1910 / Volkszählung in den Ländern der Ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1910, 1916.*

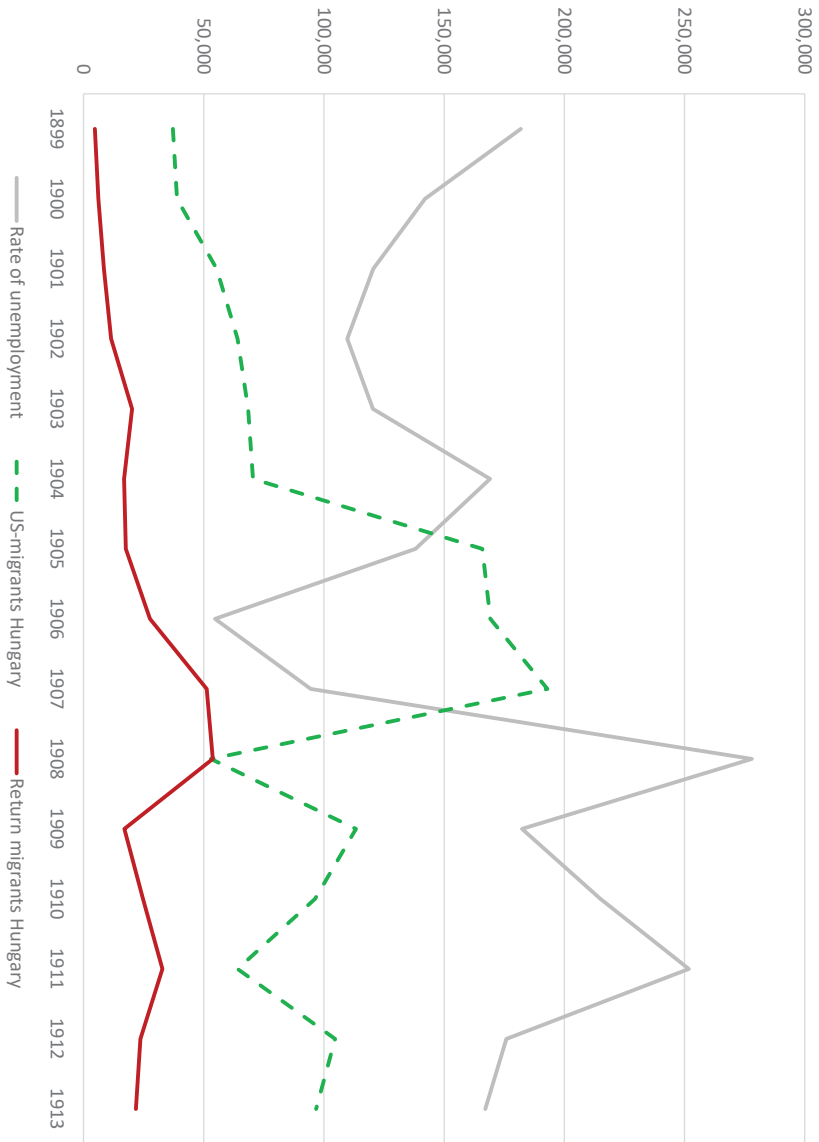


FIGURE 3.6 Rate of Hungarian migration and return migration to and from the United States in comparison to US unemployment, 1899–1913

Source: *Auswanderung und Rückwanderung*, 1918; Heinz Faßmann, “Auswanderung aus der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie,” in *Auswanderung aus Österreich. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*, eds. Traude Horvath and Gerda Neyer (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996), 35; Susan B. Carter et al., *Historical Statistics of the United States, Millennial Edition Online* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), table Ba470–477: Labor force, employment, and unemployment: 1890–1990.

Note: For reasons of comparison, the rate of US unemployment has been divided by 10.

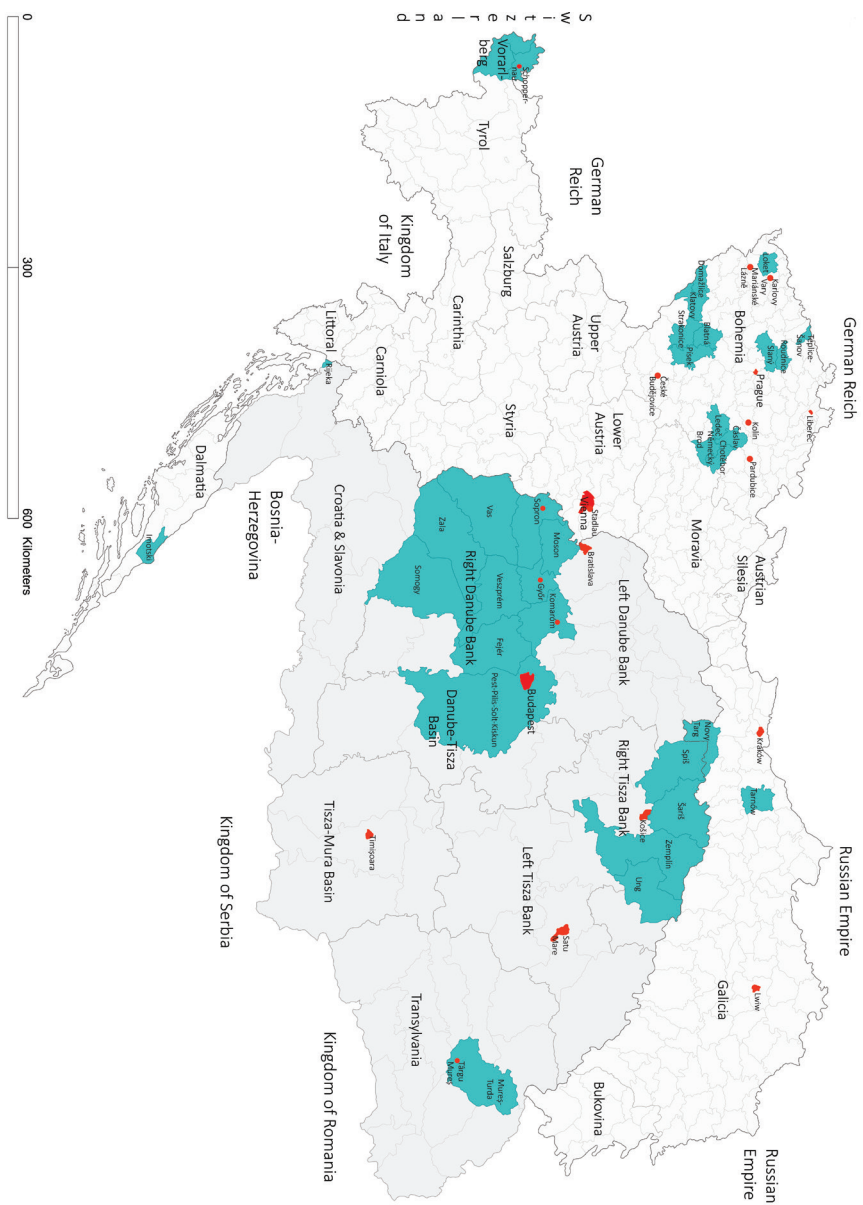


FIGURE 4.1 Political districts, counties, and towns of Imperial Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary, 1910  
 Made by the author.

