

INTRODUCTION

In 1926, the Warsaw newspaper *Haynt* published an article entitled "Drohobych, the city of Jewish paupers". In a way, it was an obituary for the Jewish Drohobych¹ of the past — the active, energetic Galician city whose industry, tempo and wealth had attracted local and non-local Jews not so long before. Describing Drohobych as an adventurous city where it was possible to become rich overnight, the journalist tells the story of Moshe Gartenberg, an entrepreneur who went from rags to riches thanks to oil. According to the author of the article, "50 or 40 years ago" Moshe Gartenberg was a tavern keeper's assistant; he also sold milk, which enabled him to save enough money to buy a small parcel of land. When Gartenberg began to farm his land, he noticed that the soil was getting more and more black and rich; eventually he understood that there was oil. This is how Moshe Gartenberg woke up rich and famous — at first throughout Galicia, then throughout the whole Austro-Hungarian empire —and was nicknamed "the little Rothschild"².

His case was not an isolated one: "Today a tailor's apprentice or a rustic shoemaker who managed to buy a patch of land or a dilapidated hut — tomorrow a millionaire, a great industrialist, the first gabbai in the synagogue and an "Emperor's counsellor"³. Despite his dismissive intonation, the author noted the advantage of wealth, namely the Jewish charity (the wealth of Drohobych allowed the local Jews to contribute more money for religious and non-religious purposes)⁴.

This article is indicative of how the memory and the myth about the former glory of the rich city and its protagonists — Jewish entrepreneurs — was being formed after World War I.

¹We will use modern English transliteration for Drohobych, Boryslav and Lviv, keeping the Polish name along with modern for the rest of places.

²M.G.Ts. "Drohobitch – di shtot fun yidishe yordim...," *Haynt*, 27 December 1926, 3.

³The author tells the story of a non-guild shoemaker who became burgomaster and head of the qahal thanks to his money (probably a hint at real entrepreneur from Drohobych Hirsch Goldhammer).

Ibid.,3

⁴Ibid., 3.

Almost every ‘fact’ of this story is a myth. The author wrote about Jews growing rich due to oil but fails to mention that the initial source of their wealth was the wax business. In 1874 Moses Gartenberg was already a member of *Erste Boryslawer Petroleum-Compagnie* and not a milkman. Moreover, the journalist omits the role of his brother, Leiser Gartenberg, as well as the roles of other business partners who helped Moses⁵ gain his fortune step by step. In 1932, the newspaper *Chwila* goes even further in its mythologisation, linking the beginning of the wax industry to the renowned Zionist artist Ephraim Lilien whose father worked at Gartenberg’s factory. The author of the article joins in the creation of a Jewish industrial myth (as opposed to the Polish one which features Ignacy Łukasiewicz as protagonist). Jewish associations, which at the time were criticised as mafia cliques, became, in Pachtman’s eyes, prototypes of cartels and self-help organisations⁶.

The history of Jewish entrepreneurs in Boryslav and Drohobych is the history of great success and great defeat. In my research, I will try to depart from the mythical image of the Jewish capitalist and trace the dependencies and causes of this success and defeat; I want to understand how new economic elites were created, how their self-awareness was formed and in what ways the community’s life depended on the new conditions of an industrial city. The example of Jewish industrial elites of Drohobych shows the importance of familial and personal connections to the formation of the elite milieu.

My research question is, firstly, how participating in the oil industry and establishing a network of connections helped to transform Drohobych Jewish community and create new Jewish business elites and to form their self-awareness, and, secondly, how their personal history fits into the general history of the East European Jewry.

My research object is the milieu of Jews connected to the oil and ozokerite business. I

⁵ There is no unified system of spelling Jewish names. I have accepted German versions (Moses, not Mojżesz; Moritz and not Maurycy), except of quotations of the sources.

⁶M.Pachtman, "Zapomniani wynalazcy żydowscy", *Chwila*, 5 November, 1932, 7.

focus on a few dozen families which were the most active in the oil industry and the most prominent in the public life of Boryslav. In my research, however, I would like to problematise the term "elite" and understand the exact mechanism of gaining status in the community via a network of connections.

In my work, I would like to use the term "economic elite" which will include several categories. The first category is property status as determined by owning a large firm or co-managing it. Another category is social status within the community; which we can find out about from the records of the community's activity. The third category is blood relation to somebody who falls within the first two categories⁷. We can say that the Jewish elite milieu was formed by the 1870s — it is in this period that Jewish financiers began playing an important part in the economic and political life of Drohobych.

The time frame of the research covers the period 1860—1900. The lower limit is determined by the rise of the industry and appearance of the first Jewish oil producing companies and refineries. The upper limit is the moment when the industry reforms began and entrepreneurs, both small and large, left the Boryslav oil industry, thus putting an end to the so called "Jewish industry". This research does not focus on the heyday of Boryslav industry in the early 20th century, because the role of Jewish entrepreneurs was limited in that period.

The territorial scope of the research covers Boryslav and Drohobych. Boryslav and the adjoining villages were the place where the main oil fields were situated. Drohobych was an administrative centre of Galicia and the place where wealthy families lived. Some

⁷ Werner Mosse proposes the use of three criteria to define German-Jewish economic elites — status, wealth and position — that determine them as a specific group Werner E. Mosse, *The German-Jewish Economic Élite, 1820-1935: A Socio-cultural Profile* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). Cornelia Aust, in her dissertation on commercial elite of the early modern period, defines them as merchants who belonged to the richest strata of their communities Cornelia Aust, *Commercial Cosmopolitans: Networks Of Jewish Merchants Between Warsaw And Amsterdam, 1750-1820*. Dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, 2009). Łukasz Sroka divides elites into old and new, the new ones being defined — among other things — by their access to modern education Łukasz Tomasz Sroka, *Żydzi w Krakowie: studium o elicie miasta 1850-1918* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego w Krakowie, 2008), 13.

enterprises, such as Gartenberg's company, expanded their activity to West Galicia and Kolomyia/Kolomea. In such cases, I try to trace the history of the company's activity without focusing on the industry in that region in general. It often happened that the third generation of industrialists left Boryslav for Lviv or Vienna; in such cases I also try to trace the history of the family.

Sources

The diversity of source documents is due to the complicated nature of the research questions which required both economic materials and texts on cultural and social life. The documents that I have used can be divided into following groups:

- **Archival records**

- The Kraków National Archive (ANK) materials on the Boryslav oil industry. Among these, the largest subgroup consists of materials of Starostwo górnictwa w Krakowie (Mining Department) which supervised the Boryslav oil fields from the 1880s up to the 1920s⁸. These include cases regarding permits for oil drilling, creation of the cadastral register, creation of "fraternal aid funds" and control over them, territorial arguments, labour issues. These documents are highly valuable in that they originate from the most productive stage of the first period of Boryslav industry (when the local business was already quite highly developed but not yet marginalised by the foreign businesses), this allowing the reader to understand how Jewish industrialists functioned in the economy of Boryslav.
- Archival records from the Central State Historical Archive of Lviv (TsDIAL) regarding property in Drohobych (the so called tabular books)⁹. These

⁸ANK, Collection 298.

⁹TsDIAL, Collection 166 Inventory 1 Files 1464-1471.

documents have enabled me to understand the origins and status of some entrepreneurial families before the oil boom. The collections related to banking activity and credits have allowed me to trace the history of the entrepreneurial families after their departure from the industry¹⁰.

Both TsDIAL and the microfilm collection at the Central Archives of Jewish People (CAHJP) allowed me to collect data on how the Jewish communities, charities and cultural organisations in Drohobych and Boryslav functioned; this data has become the basis for the third section of my dissertation, which focuses on cultural and charitable activity of the entrepreneurs¹¹.

- 1) Archival records of the The Lviv National Vasyl Stefanyk Scientific Library of Ukraine (LNSL) (Herman Diamand Collection) have helped me clarify the issue of Jewish participation in the oil industry of Drohobych and Boryslav after World War I.
- 2) Part of my research was conducted at the Central Zionist Archives (CZA). In particular, I have worked with the collection of Leo Lauterbach, descendant of an entrepreneurial family; this enabled me to trace the private history of the family¹².
- 3) While working at the Austrian State Archives, I found information on the activity of the Drohobych Savings Bank, one of the most important institutions where Jewish entrepreneurs accumulated their capital¹³.
- 4) "Sznajder's files" (Teki Sznajdera) in the ANK Department I contain valuable documents on the industry as well as on the Jewish communities of Drohobych and Boryslav, including poll books which date back to 1867¹⁴. The files also contain a

¹⁰*Delo o pereformlenii kredita v sviazi s ponizheniem protsentnoj normy i ustanovleniem novykh srokov platezhej naslednikam Golgamera Artura v imeniach Golobutuv i Zavaduv (1934-1937)*" TsDIAL Collection 288 Inventory 1 File 5858, 35.

¹¹TsDIAL Collection 165 Inventory 10a File 296, 298, 301; 639/1/185.

¹²Central Zionist Archive Collection 166 File 4.

¹³AT-OeStA/AVA Inneres MdI Allgemein A 720.10 Sparkasse Drohobych, 15/11

¹⁴ANK, Department I, Collection Teki Sznajdera, 176, 433, 434, 435, 436, 441

collection of newspaper clippings on oil industry.

1) Published sources

Legal documents and prescriptions

The information on legal regulations of the oil industry in Boryslav can be found in the press which published some of the prescriptions and in stenographic records of discussions in the Seym (Lower house of parliament) about oil industry regulations¹⁵. The information from these documents helps the reader to understand the role of the State in the transformations of the industry and how these transformations shaped the possibilities of participation. However, it is crucial to remember that a prescriptive document presented the preferred vision of the industry rather than the real situation.

Inspector reports on industry situation

Inspectors' reports from Vienna and Kraków who visited Boryslav provide information on the real problems and challenges of the industry, technical improvements and security conditions in the industry¹⁶. Those reports often concerned questions of technical equipment, but allow the reader to understand the specifics of how the industry was functioning and the role of Jewish entrepreneurs and workers. Authors of the reports, for example, mark "small Jewish mines" and compare the activity of those small Jewish entrepreneurs with the activity of large firms. One of the most complete descriptions of the wax extracting industry is the work of Josef Muck, which consists of information of technical specifics of the wax extracting process as well as about gaining new land by entrepreneurs, including Jewish¹⁷.

¹⁵ *Sprawozdanie Wydziału krajowego o naglej potrzebie uregulowania przemysłu naftowego. Alegata do Sprawozdań Stenograficznych z Szóstej Sesyji Trzeciego Peryodu Sejmu Krajowego Królestwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi Wraz z Wielkiem Księstwem Krakowskiem z roku 1875. Alegat 35* (Lwów: Sejm Krajowy Królestwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi wraz z Wielkiem Księstwem Krakowskiem, 1875) 1.

¹⁶ Edward Windakiewicz. *Olej i wosk ziemny w Galicji* (Lwów, 1875); *Berichte der k.k. Bergbehörden über ihre Tätigkeit im Jahre 1892* (Wien: Druck und Verlag der k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1894) (for years 1892-1904).

¹⁷ Joseph Muck, *Der Erdwachsbergbau in Boryslaw; Mit 53 Textfig. U. 2 Taf.* (Berlin: Springer, 1903).

Sermons and religious publications

Sermons from Drohobych synagogues, as well as funeral speeches represent religious and social life of the community. Sermons usually consisted of two parts, one of which was religious (e.g. Chanuka holiday) and connected to some significant political holiday (Emperor's jubilee) or local event (death of benefactor baron Hirsch). They are very useful sources for understanding the worldview of the Drohobych Jewish community, loyalty to the state among its members or hierarchy of the values among new Jewish economic elites¹⁸.

Indexes and schematisms

Indexes helped to recreate the image of the participants of the Galician oil industry. They consist of useful information, including the size of firms and the name of their owners. However, the indexes of Galician oil industry start to appear only at the beginning of 20th century¹⁹. Each of the indexes was structured in its own way, while some of them specify owners and directors, others provide only general information. For example, the Financial year book *Compass*, which is one of the most important sources on trade and industry in Austrian-Hungarian empire, starts mentioning Drohobych enterprises only from 1884. The only Drohobych oil firm which appears there is the *Gartenberg and Goldhammer* factory, though at that moment there were a few dozen other small enterprises²⁰. Because of the inconsistency of the sources it is crucially important to combine them.

¹⁸ Aleksander Schorr. *Dem Andenken des am 15. December 1891 in Gott entschlafenen verdienstvollen Gemeindegliedes Samuel Abel Apfel: in Pietät und Dankbarkeit gewidmet vom Ier. Cultus-Vorstand in Drohobych* (Drohobycz: A.H. Zupnik. 1891); Schorr Alexander. *Ein Gedenkblatt dem gesegneten Andenken des am 21 April 1896 verschieden grossen Philantropen Baron Moritz Hirsch in Dankbarkeit gewidmet* (Drohobycz: A.H. Zupnik, 1896); Bernard Goldberg. *Mowa miana w Synagodze drohobyckiej podczas Nabożeństwa odprawionego na dniu 18 Sierpnia 1879 r. na na cześć urodzin Najjaśniejszego Pana Cesarza i Króla Franciszka Józefa I* (Samborz: Nakładem autora, 1879) and others.

¹⁹ For example Skorowidz przemysłowo-handlowy królestwa Galicyi (Lwów, 1912).

²⁰ *Compass. Finanzielles Jahrbuch für Österreich-Ungarn 1887* (Hrsg. von S. Heller . 20. Jg. Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1887).

Schematismes which concern Galicia are an important source to analyse participation of Jews in city halls or saving banks, since they indicate names of the member. The schematismes which show information on Drohobych start in 1870²¹. They are a very important source for this research, because they help to trace participation of the Jewish entrepreneurs in the political and financial life of the town.

Memoirs and ego-documents

There are very few memoirs on Drohobych and Boryslav which describe the researched period (1860-1900) and even less of those which mention Jewish participants. Among the works, where Jews do appear we should mention the memoirs of Polish socialist Ignacy Daszyński²², Ukrainian priest Oleksa Prystai *Z Truskavtsia u svit hmaroderiv* (From Truskavets to the world of scyscrapers)²³. A more detailed description of the religious life of the Jews in Drohobych and Boryslav can be found in yizkor books, memoirs of natives of these towns, which appear after Holocaust²⁴. The memoirs and letters from the archive of Leo Lauterbach, descendant of one of the Drohobych oil families provide information on the private life of the Drohobych oil elites²⁵. Still, the source materials is too limited and represents only a small part of the community.

There are a few narrative sources which come from the milieu of oil entrepreneurs of

²¹ *Szematyzm królestwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi z wielk. Księstwem krakowskiem na rok 1870* (Lwów: Z c.k. galicyjskiej drukarni rządowej, 1870); *Szematyzm królestwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi z wielkiem Księstwem krakowskiem na rok 1879* (Lwów: Z drukarni "Dziennika Polskiego", 1879); *Szematyzm królestwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi z wielkiem Księstwem krakowskiem na rok 1882* (Lwów: Nakładem c.k.Namiestnictwa z drukarni Władysława Łozińskiego, 1882).

²² Ignacy Daszyński. *Pamiętniki, T. 1* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1957).

²³ Prystay Oleksa. *Z Truskavtsya u svit hmaroderiv* (Drohobych: Kolo, 2010)

²⁴ *Memorial to the Jews of Drohobych, Boryslav, and surroundings (Drogobych, Ukraine) Translation of Sefer zikaron le-Drohobych, Boryslav ve-ha-seviva*". Accessed from <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Drohobych/dro105.html#P105-3r> //28.08.2011.

²⁵ Lauterbach, L. *The lives of my parents, Pinkas and Anna Lauterbach :two memoirs : to commemorate the 100th anniversaries of their births* (Jerusalem. 1956); *Chronicle of the Lauterbach Family* (Jerusalem: The Lauterbach Family Fund), 1961.; CZA, A166. Personal collection of Leo Lauterbach.

19th century, in example "Autobiography" of Ascher Selig Lauterbach, or funeral sermon by Alexander Schor, written on death of Abel Apfel²⁶. These texts come from maskilim, who were oriented towards German speaking or Hebrew enlightened culture. There is no such narrative, coming from the milieu of orthodox Jewish entrepreneurs, also present in 19th century Drohobych, which also narrows our perspective.

Press

Press publications in Polish, Hebrew and German have made up a substantial part of the source materials for the research. Below follows a short overview of its structure.

Jewish press

Hebrew newspapers *Ha-Magid* (1856-1903), *Ivri anokhi* (1864-1890), *Habazeleth* (1863, 1870-1911) covered the life of Jewish communities in Galicia, including Drohobych and Boryslav, concentrating mainly on cultural events, philanthropic activities, community elections. They rarely covered everyday life or events, not connected with the life of the religious community, that is why these newspapers provide us with information on the life of the entrepreneurs from a communal perspective.

Among important non-Hebrew editions in Galicia we should mention the Lviv German-language newspaper *Der Israelit* (1869-1893), which represented acculturated German speaking Jews from the society Shomer Israel, the Polish-language *Izraelita* (1866-1915), which transformed from being integrationist to nationalist. The newspaper *Hamaor* (1895-1904) was the herald of Baron Hirsh schools and covered the initiatives of the Baron Hirsch school in Boryslav. One of the most important sources for the research was Drohobych Jewish

²⁶ Selig Lauterbach. "Autobiografia," in *Sefer Zikaron leDrohobycz ve-ha-Sevivah*; ed. N.M. Gelber (Irgun Yotse Drohobits, Borislav ve-ha-Sevivah, 1959). ; Aleksander Schorr. *Dem Andenken des am 15. December 1891 in Gott entschlafenen verdienstvollen Gemeindegliedes Samuel Abel Apfel: in Pietät und Dankbarkeit gewidmet vom Ier. Cultus-Vorstand in Drohobycz* (Drohobycz, 1891).

German-language newspaper *Drohobycter Zeitung/Drohobycter Handels Zeitung* (1883-1914), published in Hebrew characters. The important characteristic of the newspaper was its dedication to economic issues, which makes it a unique source on the trade and industrial life of the city. The newspaper was financed by local entrepreneur Ascher Selig Lauterbach and it was connected to the milieu of oil businessmen being researched. In the interwar period the Lviv newspaper *Chwila* (1919-1939) contained information on the activity of firms which survived the crisis.

The German-language Jewish newspapers from outside of Galicia present the wider context of Jewish life. Viennese Zionist newspaper *Die Welt* (1897-1914) was dedicated mainly to Zionist initiatives in Galicia, also among the Jewish workers in Boryslav. Liberal newspaper *Die Neuzeit* (1861-1903) also published accounts on Jewish life in Boryslav, including economic and social aspects.

There is no Yiddish press for the researched period which would have covered the events in Boryslav and Drohobych. However, memories about 19th century Drohobych and its industry appear in Warsaw's Yiddish newspaper *Haynt* (1908-1939), *Literarische bleter* (1924-1939),

Polish and Ukrainian press

Polish and Ukrainian local press is important for the polyethnic context to the history of Jewish entrepreneurs, as well for the providing important information on economic and political facts, not covered in the Jewish press. One of the basic sources for this work became the leftist-liberal Polish-Ukrainian newspaper *Gazeta Naddniestrzańska* (1884-1888). This paper was published under the auspices of Drohobych lawyer Edmund Solecki and paid a lot of attention to the local affairs connected with the oil-industry. *Gazeta Naddniestrzańska* tried to protect workers' interests, not regarding their ethnicity, and harshly criticised local Jewish entrepreneurs, claiming they were exploitative capitalists. Despite its emotional character,

the newspaper helps to recreate the political atmosphere in the 1880s in Drohobych. Also, the newspaper registered accidents which occurred in the mines, providing unique data on workers and their ethnicity²⁷.

Three other Drohobych editions *Kurjer Drohobycki* (1889-1900), *Nowy Kurjer Drohobycki* (1899-1900), *Głos Drohobycko-Boryslawsko-Samborsko-Stryjski* (1900-1906) did not have such ideological ambitions as *Gazeta Naddniestrzańska*, but contain useful information of local events and conflicts. Each of these Drohobych newspapers was in its own way biased against Jewish entrepreneurs, that is why it is important to fix this bias.

Polish socialist newspaper *Praca* (1878-1892) published numerous accounts of the situation of workers in the Galician oil industry and is relevant to the Boryslav case.

Polish and Ukrainian dailies, such as Polish *Kurjer Lwowski* (1883-1926) or Ukrainian *Dilo* (1880-1937) covered court cases and events in Galicia of resonance, and they allow the reader to understand how important what happened in Boryslav and Drohobych was for the region.

To better understand the industrial context, it is important to use the economic press, dedicated to the oil industry, which was appearing along with industry development. During the first period 1860-1890s, which was characterized by intensive involvement of the Jews, this press is not very numerous. Newspaper *Górnik* (1882-1886) wrote about Boryslav oil and ozokerite extraction and industry development. From 1892 the newspaper *Nafta* (1893-1914), which was focused mainly on Boryslav industry, provided information not only about economics and industry development but also about social and philanthropic activities of some of entrepreneurs.

²⁷More about the newspaper see Yaroslav Hrytsak, "Zabutyj polskyj perekładach T.G. Shevchenka – E.L.Soleckyj" in *Materiały zasiadan Istorychnoji ta Arheografichnoji komisij NTSh v Ukraini* (Lviv, 1999) Vol. 2, 111 – 116.

Fiction

Though I do not analyze fiction in my research, it is important to be aware of the rich and various literature on industrial Boryslav, which started appear from 1880s. Fictional literature of the 19th century shaped the myth of the Jewish entrepreneur from Boryslav as capitalist. One can see such portraits in works of Polish writer Józef Rogosz *In the Galician Hell* (*W piekle galicyjskiem*) or in short stories of a Ukrainian writer, who was the director of Boryslav primary school, Stefan Kovaliv. In Rogosz' and Kovaliv's texts, Jewish entrepreneurs and overseers usually appear as negative characters, which exploit Polish and Ukrainian peasants coming to Boryslav for seasonal work²⁸. Ukrainian writer Ivan Franko wrote his novels *Boryslav is Laughing* (*Boryslav smijetsia*) (1880-1881) and *Boa Constrictor* (in three versions 1881, 1884 and 1907 years) during the high time of Jewish entrepreneurship in Boryslav, when Hirsch Goldhammer and other representatives of the Jewish elite occupied high positions in city council and newspapers *Strażnica* and *Gazeta Naddniestrzańska* tried to debunk the activity of the “clique”. The description of Jewish oil magnats in Franko novels are multi-dimensional and more interesting, but they still reflect the images and stereotypes about the group of Drohobych entrepreneurs and can provide an understanding what was the “clique” in the imagination of local non-Jewish intellectuals²⁹. In some of the novels, the main characters are Jewish oil entrepreneurs, who can be recognised as literary descendants of real persons, due to the use of real names (Israel Lieberman in *W piekle galicyjskiem* by Józef Rogosz) or pseudos, which one can associate with real names (Herman Goldkremer and Leon Hammershlag in *Boryslav is Laughing* by Ivan Franko, which remind the reader of the real Hirsch Goldhammer and Leiser Gartenberg.

²⁸Józef A. Rogosz, *W piekle galicyjskiem: obraz z życia* (Gródek, 1896), 272; Stefan Kovaliv. *Hromadski promyslovtsi. Opovidannia*. (Lviv, 1899), Ivan Franko, "Boa Constrictor," in Ivan Franko, *Zibrannia tvoriv u 50-ty tomach* (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1978), 370-441; Artur Gruszecki, *Dla miliona* (Warszawa: Nakład Gebettnera i Wolffa, 1900).

²⁹About transformation of Jewish characters in Ivan Franko “Boa Constrictor” see Hrytsak, *Prorok u svoij vitchyzni: Ivan Franko i yoho spilnota*, 294.

At the turn of the century, there appeared positivist novels on the industry, which also use Boryslav and Drohobych cases as the examples. Among them one should mention *For the Million (Dla miliona)* by Artur Gruszecki and Stanisław Antoni Mueller *Henryk Flis*³⁰.

Methodology

Due to the complicated and diversity of my source materials and research questions which concern both social and cultural aspects, I used methodology which combines cultural and social history in my dissertation. Research of the specifics of the involvement of the Jews in economic activities, dependence of the community on economic conditions may help understand their everyday life, transformation of social structure, contacts with non-Jews, level of solidarity and trust within the community, and, in particular, their involvement in modernization processes. My approach may be characterised as the economic history of Jews. The research of Drohobych and Boryslav industry is conducted as a case-study, which is especially important for understanding the economic history of the Jews, because it allows the researcher to compare the behaviour and position of the Jews in various situations and states and allows to compare its dependency on social conditions.

I rely mainly on qualitative methods of the research. The main method will be prosopography and research of the collective biographies of some groups, which will help to find common patterns of development. In my case, the group will include around ten entrepreneurial families and their close connections. I focus on the research of their biographies and analysis of economic activities, life style and ideological orientations. I examine the role of the connections in the industrial milieu in two ways. Firstly, I analyse the marriage contracts to understand the kinship and family connections. Secondly, I use the network theory to reconstruct contacts of the entrepreneurs in 1889. I trace the people with the highest level of

³⁰Artur Gruszecki, *Dla miliona*; Stanisław Antoni Mueller, *Henryk Flis* (Księgarnia Polska Bernarda Połonieckiego: Lwów, 1908)

connections and compare if they were new participants in the industry.

Literature review:

In my research I pay attention to different aspects of life of entrepreneurs, including their professional life, modernization, acculturation etc.. Understanding of their milieu demands including wide range of literature and methodologies, both from social and cultural history. In the literature review I will try to overview the main research problems and existing studies on Jewish economic and cultural life.

Economic history:

Studying the Jewish industrial history brings the researcher to the problem of the economic element of the historical research. The term "economic history", however, might be interpreted in different ways. Iván Berend's typology divides it into two sub disciplines: economic history (based on the narrative descriptions of the historical material which also includes social, cultural or political element), and historical economics (which consists in using the economic methodology –quantitative methods in particular – to study historical issues). The latter should rather be regarded as a sub discipline of the general economics³¹. Researchers who tend to use economic theory in historical research claim that, despite methodological difficulties, it makes the analysis of certain phenomena far more productive. Economic historians do not delude themselves into thinking that historians delve into economic theory and understand it; as they remark, its use is often selective and aimed at explaining empirical material³². For historians, economic theories are useful in that they are able to show unexpected connections between

³¹ Iván Berend, T. *An Economic History of Nineteenth-century Europe: Diversity and Industrialization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 15.

³² Gary Richard. Hawke, *Economics for historians* (Cambridge: Cambridge university press, 1980), 206

phenomena and explain them in a way that is more correct³³. However, the methodological framework that economic historians use requires special training. Moreover, economic history is macro-history. The Jewish economic history that has been developing over the past years fits into the general context of economic history but offers certain new approaches. In my research, I have used the first sub discipline, economic history, regarding economics as a background and an essential element of social changes in the Jewish community without going into a more detailed analysis of the economic transformations of Galicia.

Jewish economic history:

In the post-war period of the 20th century, there were relatively few researchers interested in Jewish economic development. The reasons for such lack of interest were, firstly, historians' focus on other aspects (cultural history, history of political movements, history of antisemitism) and, secondly, the negative association of Jews solely with economics, reminiscent of theorists of antisemitism. In the 1970s, Jewish economic history was a subject researched by a narrow circle of scholars, such as Arcadius Kahan or Nachum Gross. These historians tried to conceptualise and generalise the research that had already been done, and also to define the principal problems and questions of this sub discipline. Academic interests of the scholars of that period, cited in the foreword to the collective work entitled *Economic History of the Jews* (1975), were also focused, first and foremost, on the specific structure of Jewish economics and its integration into the general social scheme. According to the authors of the book, researching Jewish economics is important inasmuch as economics has long been the field in which Jews interacted with their environment more than in any other domain. The researchers single out business history as a separate important branch. They also speak about the fragmentary nature of the source documents which often make no reference to the religious

³³Thomas G. Rawski, *Economics and the historian* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 13.

or ethnic affiliation of those participating in business³⁴.

After the 1990s, researching Jewish history was often aimed at diversifying or deconstructing great narratives, such as Werner Sombart or Karl Marx. In his book *The Jews and modern capitalism* (1911), Sombart tried to show the key role of Jews in the rise of capitalism, the role that could be explained by Jewish cultural and spiritual particularities³⁵. As Muller notes, in his comparison of different theoretical studies on connection between Jews and capitalism Karl Marx emphasised the internal similarity between Judaism and capitalism, claiming that the Jewish emancipation consists in the society's emancipation from Jews³⁶. Marx regarded Jews as merchants unable to fit into the modern economics. Paradoxically, in this concept Marx departs from his own principle — primacy of the material over the spiritual — asserting that Judaism is the reason why Jews fail to integrate into capitalism³⁷. In cases when Jews start up an industry, they withdraw from it at later stages, as it becomes more modern³⁸. One of the most radical and debatable versions of the research of interrelations between economics, modernity and Jews can be found in the work of Yuri Slezkine, a Russian-born American historian of Russian Jewry who considers Jewish economic qualities of the pre-modern period to be the first forerunners of modernity and early capitalism. Jewish commercial capabilities, which developed on the basis of their status (middleman minority), are the very qualities everybody aspires to in the capitalist era³⁹. Such essentialist theories concerning Jews are, however, rarely based on research or empirical material.

In the past decades, new historiographic research methods have developed as part of

³⁴Nachum Gross, "Introduction", in Salo W. Baron, Arcadius Kahan, and Nachum Gross. *Economic history of the Jews* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), x.

³⁵Werner Sombart, *The Jews and modern capitalism* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1951). Jerry Z. Muller, *Capitalism and the Jews* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

³⁶Muller, 41.

³⁷Jonathan Karp, "Can Economic History Date the Inception of Jewish Modernity?" In Gideon Reuveni and Sarah Wobick-Segev, *The economy in Jewish history: new perspectives on the interrelationship between ethnicity and economic life* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 35.

³⁸Tomasz Gąsowski, *Między gettem a światem. Dylematy ideowe Żydów galicyjskich na przełomie XIX i XX wieku* (Kraków: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1996), 146.

³⁹Yuri Slezkine, *The Jewish century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Jewish studies; scholars who work with these methods suggest using case studies to avoid generalisation and simplification. The symbolic meaning given to Jews by society goes beyond their economic functionality⁴⁰. Their wish to find a personality inside the financial activity is also characteristic of the subsequent attempts to write an economic history of Jews.

To understand how the scientists of the 19th century reconsidered the role of Jews in economics, I have studied the works of economists. Polish authors, such as Stanisław Szczepanowski, considered that Jews should be included into the Polish society, inasmuch as their isolation is the very reason why Jews have to exist in an economic ghetto, exploiting non-Jews⁴¹. Jewish authors of the early 20th century, such as Joseph Tenenbaum or Max Rosenfeld, viewed the Jewish integration into the Galician economy pessimistically because of the education problems, assimilation problems and lack of vocational schools; all of that made Jews unable to compete with Christians⁴². The abovementioned works also contain considerable statistical and factual information on the participation of Jews in the Galician economy.

Over the recent years, there has been a growing interest in the economic aspect of history, and a number of successful research works have been published. According to the scholars, one of the reasons for that is the lack of tension and fear to be accused of antisemitism when studying such issues as Jewish domination of the sector and Jewish influence on capitalism⁴³. The subject has lost its provocative power and is no longer a tool of ideologies; now it is of interest to historians. This change is relevant to my work in particular, since my

⁴⁰ Raphael Freddy, "Preface" In Chantal Bordes-Benayoun, Alain Médam, Pierre-Jacques Rojzman, *Les Juifs Et L'économique: Miroirs Et Mirages* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires Du Mirail, 1992), 12.

⁴¹ Stanisław Szczepanowski. *Nędza Galicyi w cyfrach i program energicznego rozwoju gospodarstwa krajowego* (Lwów: Gubrynowicz i Schmidt, 1888) 119.

⁴² Josef Tenenbaum. *Żydowskie problemy gospodarcze w Galicyi* (Wiedeń, 1918), 65. For more information on literature and reaction to the industrialisation of Galicia, see Wnęk, Jan. *Rozwój Ideologii Przemysłowej W Galicji 1866-1918* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa IHN PAN, 2015).

⁴³ Rebecca Kobrin and Adam Teller, *Purchasing power: the economics of modern Jewish history* (Philadelphia: Penn, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 17; Gideon Reuveni "Prolegomena to an "Economic Turn" in Jewish History" in Reuveni, Gideon, and Sarah Wobick-Segev, *The Economy in Jewish History: New Perspectives on the Interrelationship Between Ethnicity and Economic Life* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 8.

research is focused on how a part of Jewish industrialists dominated political life in Drohobych — a subject which used to be debatable.

In the 1990s, new research papers on Jewish economic history of the region were published. Jewish economy in Central and Eastern Europe was studied in the context of the "backward economies" research. One of these works is a collection of articles on the Jewish role in the Hungarian economy (Jewish economic elites in particular). In his foreword, Michael Silber remarks that explaining Jewish success solely by their "middleman minority" status is too primitive; he shows how important it is to take into account the economic and political context in which the Jewish minority existed in every particular case. Such a way of researching the Jewish economy includes both the analysis of the isolation of Jews as a group and the analysis of opportunities their environment provides⁴⁴.

Over the past few years, scholars researching Jewish economic history have developed a general tendency towards interdisciplinarity. In his foreword to the collection of texts focused on the role of Jews in economy, Gideon Reuveni⁴⁵ pointed out that the term "economic life" does not only mean participation in the processes of production and consumption; it also includes other spheres (cultural, religious, political). The very ability of the economy to function depends on people's ability to communicate and define values and standards, so the new economic history should be as inclusive as possible. Reuveni proposed to solve the problem of existence of a general "Jewish" economic history by means of singling out multiple "Jewish economies"⁴⁶ of different regions.

Authors of a recent collection of essays entitled *Purchasing Power: The Economics of*

⁴⁴ Michael K. Silber, "A Jewish Minority in a Backward Economy: an Introduction," in Michael K. Silber ed. *Jews in the Hungarian Economy* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1992), 6.

⁴⁵ Gideon Reuveni "Prolegomena to an "Economic Turn" in Jewish History" in Reuveni, Gideon, and Sarah Wobick-Segev, *The Economy in Jewish History: New Perspectives on the Interrelationship Between Ethnicity and Economic Life* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 2.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 12

*Modern Jewish History*⁴⁷ take a similar approach, seeing economic activity as part of a wider context of cultural, political and religious life. Rebecca Cobrin and Adam Teller, editors of the book, emphasise the necessity to link the research of Jewish history to the research of economics, studying conditions under which Jews lived within the society surrounding them — society that limited and shaped their economic behaviour. The essays analyse specific cases, so as to understand how the outer environment determined Jewish choices⁴⁸.

In the past few years, several important works on Jewish economic activity in Poland have been published⁴⁹. For instance, two collections of articles published by the University of Łódź focus almost exclusively on the economic aspects of Jewish life, such as their participation in the banking industry, chambers of commerce, industrialisation etc. One of these books, *Rola Żydów w rozwoju gospodarczym ziemi łódzkiej*, concerned with the role of Jews in developing industry in Łódź and supports Sombart's point about the exceptional role of Jews in capitalism.

I, too, consider it appropriate to study the economic behaviour of Jews in a specific environment in my research, so as to take a wider view of the subject. I will try to show a contextualised portrait of Jewish entrepreneurs of Drohobych and Boryslav, whose economic success became the basis for their political activity and charity work, and helped them reconsider their role in the society.

Modernisation

In this research, I consider the concept of modernisation in two contexts: that of a community and that of industry in general. To avoid viewing a Jewish community merely as an

⁴⁷ Rebecca Kobrin and Adam Teller, *Purchasing power: the economics of modern Jewish history* (Philadelphia: Penn, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 2

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 3

⁴⁹ *Rola Żydów w życiu gospodarczym ziem polskich*. Edited by Janusz Skodlarski, Andrzej Pieczewski (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego: Łódź, 2014); *Rola Żydów w rozwoju gospodarczym ziemi łódzkiej*. Edited by Janusz Skodlarski, Rafał Matera, Kamila Lutek, Andrzej Pieczewski, Kamil Kowalski. (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego: Łódź, 2014).

object of modernisation, I am trying to understand how it became an agent of modernisation in the region. As for the industry modernisation, it can be viewed as a complex of practices aimed to upgrade the industry technically. One should note that the actual participants of the industrial modernisation and those who observed these changes from outside perceived the whole process differently.

The research of the relations between Jews and modernity in 19th century should be based on the specific nature of Jewish studies. As Gershon Hundert remarked in his article⁵⁰ on redefining modernity in Jewish history, it would be a mistake to apply the general historical periodisation to the Jewish history, regarding the modernity as some kind of "westernisation" of Jews; rather, it is important to consider the internal changes of a Jewish community. However, industrialisation is often viewed as an external factor which helped Jews to introduce changes into their community. Taking a closer look at the industrialisation in Eastern Europe, one can see that modernity may have helped Jews to integrate into the surrounding society and to improve their quality of life; for instance, economic historian Theodore H. Friedgut wrote about this in the context of the Jewish participation in the coal industry of Iuzovka (later Donetsk)⁵¹. Jonathan Karp⁵², analysing Jewish activity in the process of industrialisation, claims that modernity helped Jews become themselves. Despite the mass impoverishment that resulted from industrialisation, those Jews who succeeded managed to distinguish themselves from the general population surrounding them.

The case of Drohobych and Boryslav Jews should be regarded in the context of Galicia, which was renowned as an agricultural province of the Austro-Hungarian empire with a

⁵⁰ Gershon David Hundert, "Re (de) fining Modernity in Jewish History" in Cohen, Jeremy, Rosman Moshe (ed.). *Rethinking European Jewish history* (Oxford; Portland: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2008), 133.

⁵¹ Theodore H. Friedgut, *Iuzovka and revolution: Vol. 1. Life and work in Russia's Donbass, 1869-1924* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 205.

⁵² Jonathan Karp, *The Politics of Jewish Commerce: Economic Thought and Emancipation in Europe, 1638—1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 266.

relatively poor Jewish population⁵³; however, the very particularity of the Galician Jews (their political equality for one thing) enabled the entrepreneurs to take part in the industrial development, as well as in the political life, of Drohobych and Boryslav.

In the case of the Boryslav industry, one can also talk about limitations that the industrial modernisation imposed. In his work on the technological improvement of the Galician industry, Piotr Franaszek asserts that the technological progress was made due to the achievements of the educated Polish elite, i.e. engineers⁵⁴, in late 19th century. However, the real modernisation of industry started only at the beginning of the 20th century. In her book on the oil industry of Boryslav — which is one of the most thorough researches on this subject — Alison Fleig Frank wrote about the crisis that happened when the oil industry, instead of bringing prosperity to the province, brought yet more depression instead⁵⁵. Frank's research enables one to put Jewish participation into a wider context, regarding it as part of the East European economy and of the causes which led the Boryslav industry to a crisis (first and foremost, lack of organisation and centralisation among the entrepreneurs⁵⁶). Moreover, industry modernisation is also related to the crisis of Jewish businesses. Teresa Andlauer⁵⁷, who wrote about the ethnic aspect of Jewish participation in the Boryslav industry, traced the influence of business consolidation on the professional structure of the society (among other things, business consolidation resulted in a crisis among Jewish workers). Some articles from Polin's volume on the industrialisation of Łódź — Kazimierz Badziak's research⁵⁸ in particular — try to analyse the fate of Jews in the

⁵³ To learn more about the life of Galicians Jewry and the reform attempts, see Antony Polonsky, Israel Bartal, "Introduction: The Jews of Galicia under the Habsburgs" in Antony Polonsky, Israel Bartal, ed. *POLIN: Studies in Polish Jewry, Vol. 12. Jews, Poles and Ukrainians in Galicia 1772-1918* (London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1999); William O. McCagg, *A History of Habsburg Jews: 1670 - 1918* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1992)

⁵⁴ Piotr Franaszek, *Myśl techniczna w galicyjskim wiertnictwie naftowym w latach 1860-1918*. (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1991).

⁵⁵ Fleig Frank, *Oil Empire*, 7.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵⁷ Teresa Andlauer. *Die jüdische Bevölkerung im Modernisierungsprozess Galiziens (1867-1914)* (Frankfurt am Main; New York, 2001), 205

⁵⁸ Jews in Łódź, 1820-1939 Badziak, Kazimierz. "Great Capitalist Fortunes in the Polish Lands before 1939 (The Case of the Poznanski Family)." *Polin* 6 (1991): 57–87.

industrialised city.

Another issue to be studied is Jewish engagement in discussions about the economic role of Jews in the community. Jonathan Karp looks for the origins of theories on Jews and their economic roles in the early modern concepts which described Jews in terms of their commercial skills and on the basis of the productivisation discourse (according to which, commerce is an economically useless occupation)⁵⁹. Derek Penslar analyses 17th - to 20th century changes in reasoning about the economic role of the Jews — reasoning which arose in response to accusations against Jews as parasites and economic dominators; in his analysis, Penslar points out how Jews internalised the concepts of liberal economics and accepted middle-class norms but, at the same time, despised the poor⁶⁰. The works of Penslar and Karp are, however, mostly based on West European examples; it is thus highly important to trace the appearance of similar concepts in Central and Eastern Europe. In research of this kind, Western Europe looks economically backward and non-industrialised, while its Jews look incapable of reforms and steeped in ignorance. In this case, economic backwardness and lack of education enhance each other⁶¹. The problem with such assertions is their excessive theory and frequent lack of thorough research. Among other things, because these historians view industry as the main element of modernity, they use Jewish participation/non-participation in industrialisation as a tool for labelling Jews as a backward group (this attitude was typical of 19th century theorists). And this is exactly why it is so important to consider specific cases of Jewish participation in industry and understand how exceptional/typical such behaviour was and how it depended on the context.

The role of Jews in the industrialisation, as well as their connection to banks, often proved to be mythically exaggerated. For instance, in 19th century France, Jews (including the

⁵⁹ Karp, *The Politics of Jewish Commerce: Economic Thought and Emancipation in Europe, 1638—1848*, 269.

⁶⁰ Derek Penslar, *Shylock's Children: economics and Jewish identity in modern Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 6.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 127.

Rothschild family) failed to play any significant part in the development of banking — unlike Catholic and Protestant bankers — thus being deprived of influence on the industrialisation process⁶².

For my research, it is important to define the scope of modernisation and its influence on the group of elites. In this case, by modernity I mean the Jewish elites' use of new possibilities/opportunities, gaining economic and political influence beyond the community and engagement in economic discussions in the 19th century.

Socialism and workers' question

The workers' question is not a central question in my study, I refer to it, though, in the first chapter on the industry crisis. Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish workers in Boryslav created a multi-cultural environment for interactions and conflicts. It caught the attention of several researchers who tried to understand the role of economic position in relations between members of different ethnic groups.

Social historians often looked at the oil industry in Drohobych to analyse the position of labourers, class conflicts, and inflow of foreign capital⁶³. Yaroslav Hrytsak refers to the question of the oil industry in Drohobych and Boryslav in his two studies. In his PhD dissertation he looked at the situation of labourers at the beginning of the workers' movement. Even though he does not focus on ethnic divisions in the industry, he stresses the significance of the origin of ethnic tensions⁶⁴. In his other study *Prorok u svoij vitchyzni: Ivan Franko i*

⁶² Pierre Birnbaum, "Le Role Limite des Juifs dans l'industrialisation de la société Française," in Bordes-Benayoun, Chantal, Alain Médam, and Pierre-Jacques Rojzman. *Les Juifs Et L'économie: Miroirs Et Mirages*. (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires Du Mirail, 1992), 170.

⁶³ Yakiv Honigsman, *Pronyknennia inozemnoho kapitalu v ekonomiku Zahidnoyi Ukrayiny w epohu imperializmu (do 1918 r.)* (Lviv: Vydavnytstvo Lvivskoho Universytetu, 1971), 254; Oleh Mykulych, *Naftovyy promysel Schidnoji Halychyny do seredyny XIX st. Vydannia druhe, dopovnene* (Drohobych: Kolo, 2004).

⁶⁴ Yaroslav Hrytsak. *Rabochie Boryslavsko-Drohobychskogo neftyanogo bassejna vo vtoroj polovine XIX-nachale XX weka: Formirovanie. Polozhenie. Klassovaja borba*. (Lviv: Institut obshchestvennykh

yoho spilnota 1856-1886 (Prophet in his fatherland. *Ivan Franko and his community (1856-1886)*)⁶⁵, he defines the community of Boryslav as the social context which influenced Ukrainian national writer, Ivan Franko. Two peculiarities of the oil industry in Boryslav were especially important for Yaroslav Hrytsak: flexible divisions between entrepreneurs and labourers as well as the limited influence of socialist ideas on the latter.

John Paul Himka sees the town as a field for conflict between Christian and Jewish workers. To him, the nature of “war of Boryslav” was a conflict between professional guilds, rather than religious groups⁶⁶. Slawomir Tokarski sees the question in a similar way to Himka. In his work on Jews in agriculture, ethnic tensions in 19th century Galicia are rooted in economics⁶⁷.

Family history

The study of kinship involves both social and demographic history. Wheaton, who attempted to define the history of kinship in 1987, says it should be regarded through quantitative and demographic lenses. This perspective allowed the researchers to see the past in a completely new way, for example to blur social divisions. Classes, as defined by Marx, did not fit well real (quantitatively measured) social diversity.⁶⁸ The empirical approach is still valid today. Richard Grassby claims that use of general economic, network and modernisation theories should be avoided in favour of analyses of low level cases, though providing extensive statistical evidence. To him, every theory which assumes the predictability of human behaviour

nauk, 1986).

⁶⁵ Yaroslav Hrytsak. *Prorok u svoij vitchyzni: Ivan Franko i yoho spilnota* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2006).

⁶⁶ John-Paul Himka, *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism, 1860-1890* (Cambridge, MA: Distributed by Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1983), 118.

⁶⁷ Slawomir Tokarski, *Ethnic Conflict and Economic Development: Jews in Galician Agriculture 1868-1914* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo TRIO, 2003), 20.

⁶⁸ Robert Wheaton, "Observations On the Development of Kinship History, 1942-1985," *Journal of Family History* 12, no. 1-3 (1987): 294.

does not consider psychological factors. From this point of view, a family is not a structure but a process.⁶⁹

The theory of social networks, which turned popular in social sciences in the 1980s, allowed the researchers to see society as based on individual relations. Frequency of relations defines kindreds and multidimensional structure of selected community.⁷⁰

One of the most important questions which a researcher of economy of ethnic minorities has to face is the basis for mutual trust between sides signing business agreements. The prevailing point of view in historiography of business activity of minorities is that the main basis for cooperation was religious / ethnic solidarity. Jacob Katz explains that social background and conditions into which the Jews were put, encouraged their activity in selected spheres of economy, for instance trade, in which they formed closed groups.⁷¹ Lack of **social or economic** confidence reinforces the importance of group identity of business partners. Transfer of goods and services between members of same group demands less effort, even though membership means requirements imposed by limits. Such limits – as e.g. Jewish kashrut – allowed for self-identification with distinct values.⁷² The larger the group, the less trust there was between the members. Explaining marriage strategies among Jews requires from the researcher familiarity with the specific context in which the community lived. Prejudice against non-Jews and professional and family relations limited the social circle within which Jews could look for spouses.⁷³

In recent years, several important studies of international Jewish trade networks in early

⁶⁹ Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English Speaking World, 1580-1740* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2001), 389.

⁷⁰Wheaton showed the how the research of networks may be useful for social historians and historians of kinship Robert Wheaton, "Observations On the Development of Kinship History, 1942-1985," *Journal of Family History* 12, no. 1-3 (1987): 294.

⁷¹Jakob Katz, *Ishod iz Getto: sotsialny kontekst emansipacii evreev, 1770-1870* (Moskva: Mosty kultury, 2007), 216.

⁷²Jack L. Carr and Janet Tai Landa, "The Economics of Symbols, Clan Names, and Religion," *Economic Success of Chinese Merchants in Southeast Asia*, 2016, 154.

⁷³ Mosse, *The German-Jewish Economic Elite 1820-1935*, 110.

modern times have been published. These studies revise the traditional view of religious and ethnic solidarity⁷⁴. They trace the role of individual relations in trade, marriage strategies and the question of trust in multi-ethnic dimensions. Francesca Trivelatto in her study on Sephardic merchants in early modern Palermo, based on extensive sources found that that religious identification did not play a role in selection of business partners. Trivelatto also subdues the widespread thesis on the common acculturation of economic elites. Trivelatto considers the social, cultural and economic context which supported the existence of an international trade network. Such an approach to the context seems important also in a study of one place, as it allows the researcher to understand how the environment influenced the behaviour of the Jews.⁷⁵

Trivelatto claims that economic and cultural relations could develop on different levels in which successful economic cooperation did not necessarily mean cultural exchange.⁷⁶ Her study shows that trade networks in medieval and early modern times were effective and could compete with international companies thanks to mutual trust and long lasting partnership. As there are only a few studies of trade networks, it is also worth mentioning an article of Adam D. Mendelsohn on colonial merchants in 19th century England. He compares two merchants, one who depended on his family network and was less successful than another one who depended on modern business relations.⁷⁷ In any case, it is important to remember that the existence of networks was characteristic not only in international trade.

The generation gap and change is an important approach in research of economic milieu

⁷⁴Francesca Trivellato, *The familiarity of strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno and Cross-Cultural Trade in Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Cornelia Aust, "Daily Business or an Affair of Consequence? Credit, Reputation, and Bankruptcy among Jewish Merchants in Eighteenth-Century Central Europe," in Rebecca Kobrin, Adam Teller (eds.). *Purchasing Power: The Economics of Jewish History*. (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia 2014).

⁷⁵ Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period*, 22

⁷⁶Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period*, 103

⁷⁷Adam D. Mendelsohn, "From Moses to Moses: Jews, Clothing and Colonial Commerce in Eighteenth-Century Central Europe," in Rebecca Kobrin, Adam Teller (eds.). *Purchasing Power: The Economics of Jewish History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

of 19th century entrepreneurs. Arcadius Kahan noticed professional change and abandoning the Jewish community among the members of the second generation of entrepreneurs.⁷⁸ Werner Mosse proposed a three-generational approach defined by change in marriage patterns and leaving Jewish community.⁷⁹ Shaul Stampfer, a family historian, argues that changes in marriage patterns were related to acceptance of non-Jewish lifestyle and could be noticed among the elites as early as in the 18th century.⁸⁰

Balancing out economic and political influence of the Jews is especially important for the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Economic power was usually, though not always, associated with political influence. Michael Silber claims that the importance of political influence of the Jews should not be overestimated. A significant part of Jews passed the quota and had a significant voice in elections, though only at municipal level.⁸¹ Leonid Tymoshenko and Bohdan Lazarak study the role of Jewish economic elites in the power structures of Drohobych of 19th century. Similarly, Łukasz Tomasz Sroka researches the role of the Jews in the municipality of Kraków. He shows that politically active Jews did not always defend the interests of the Jewish community.⁸² Waclaw Wierzbieniec emphasized the important role of Jews in Galician municipal governments in interwar period⁸³ Joshua Shanes, a historian of Jewish national movements, claims the influence of economic elites on the political situation in Drohobych remained strong even when the election procedure became more democratic.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Arcadius Kahan, "Noted on Jewish Entrepreneurship in Tsarist Russia," in *Essays in Jewish Social and Economic History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 88.

⁷⁹ Werner E. Mosse, *The German-Jewish Economic Elite, 1820-1935: A Socio-cultural Profile*, 2.

⁸⁰ Shaul Stampfer. *Love and Marriage in Families, Rabbis and Education: Traditional Jewish Society in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Europe* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2010), 36.

⁸¹ Michael K. Silber, "A Jewish Minority in a Backward Economy: an Introduction," in Michael K. Silber ed. *Jews in the Hungarian Economy* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1992), 18

⁸² Łukasz Tomasz Sroka. *Żydzi w Krakowie: studium o elicie miasta 1850-1918* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego w Krakowie, 2008), 123

⁸³ Waclaw Wierzbieniec "Lwów, Przemyśl and Rzeszów: Jewish Representation in Municipal Self-Governments," in *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook* 10 (2011), 271.

⁸⁴ I want to express gratitude to the author of the article, who agreed to share it with me before publishing. Joshua Shanes, "The 'Bloody Election' in Drohobych: Violence, Urban Politics and Ethnicity in an Imperial Borderland" (Manuscript)

The industrial milieu of Drohobych and Boryslav provides an opportunity to study a world of professional relations in more closed urban conditions. Such a comparison begs a question whether the strong role of family relations in the oil industry and trade can be treated in terms of early modern times, or whether it was well adapted to the conditions of the 20th century. In my study I show that marriage strategies allowed family business to continue even in the conditions of modern competitiveness.

Assimilation

The questions of assimilation and acculturation are one of the best researched problems of Galicia. In recent years, researchers of Jewish history in Eastern Europe have tried to revise the term “assimilation” and restructure it. Researcher of assimilation of Warsaw Jews Agnieszka Jagodzińska relies on the definition of social historian Todd Endelmann. According to his approach assimilation is a complicated phenomenon, which combines four factors – acculturation, emancipation, integration and secularization⁸⁵. In such a scheme, acculturation means acceptance of some of the cultural norms of the environment. At the same time, there appears to be a contradiction between use of the term "assimilation" in the sources at the end of 19th -beginning of 20th centuries and its current academic use. The need of "national assimilation" means more need of emancipation and gaining equal rights, than rejection of one's Jewish identity. In Galicia, during the second half of the 19th century, the choice of cultural model varied between German (German-language, loyalist) and Polish options. Polish researcher of Jewish-Polish relations Tomasz Gąsowski noted two stages of acculturation to Polish culture. The first one, which lasted till the end of the 1880s can be characterised as the "creation" of the Pole of Mosaic religion. The second one involving young Jews who received a secular education in gimnasiums, started from the 1890s and means the integration of the

⁸⁵Agnieszka Jagodzińska, *Pomiędzy: Akulturacja Żydów Warszawy w drugiej połowie XIX wieku* (Wrocław: Wydawn. Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2008), 111

Jews with Polish society, based on language and culture⁸⁶ In Chapter 3 of this dissertation I show how Drohobych Jewish entrepreneurs used these options.

The questions of cultural activity among Galician Jewry in the period of Galician autonomy is raised in the work of Waclaw Wierzbieniec⁸⁷. The research of the Kraków community and its ideological transformation was conducted by historian Michał Galas⁸⁸. Those research studies focus on the activity of separate Jewish societies and organisations. In my dissertation, however, I try to look at the cultural activity from the perspective of the separate social group of Jewish entrepreneurs.

In the context of this research, acculturation was an important process for Jewish entrepreneurs, because of their material status, possibilities of inter-ethnic communication and openness to new influences. One of the main research issues concerning the acculturation of the businessmen is trying to understand whether their economic activities made them more susceptible to the acculturation. Researchers who work with large empirical data usually reject the thesis that the adaptation of the entrepreneurs was easier and faster. Economic historian of the Jews Arcadius Kahan claimed that Russian Jewish entrepreneurs rather operated in two separate worlds, because rejection of tradition did not give them advantages and did not save them from antisemitism⁸⁹.

The research of German social historian Werner Mosse on German-Jewish economic elites tries

⁸⁶ Gąsowski, T. *Między gettem a światem. Dylematy ideowe żydów Galicyjskich na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*. Krakow, 1996. More about the choice of Polish or German acculturation options in Galicia Mendelsohn, E. (1969). Jewish Assimilation in Lvov: The Case of Wilhelm Feldman. *Slavic Review*, 28(4), 577.; Rachel Manekin, "The debate over assimilation in late nineteenth-century Lwów," in Richard I. Cohen, Jonathan Frankel, and Stefani Hoffman ed. *Insiders and outsiders: dilemmas of East European Jewry* (Portland: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2010), 120–130

⁸⁷ Waclaw Wierzbieniec, "The Process of Jewish Emancipation and Assimilation in the Multiethnic City of Lviv during the 19th and 20th Century," in Czaplicka, John ed. *Lviv a City in the Crosscurrents of Culture*. (Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2002), 223-250.; Waclaw Wierzbieniec, "Życie kulturalno-oświatowe Żydów przemyskich w okresie autonomii Galicji" in *Żydzi w Małopolsce*, Feliks Kiryk ed. (Przemysł: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyślu, 1991), 207-222.

⁸⁸ "Three Views of Jewish Acculturation to Polish Culture in the 19th and Early 20th Twentieth Century Kraków", in: *Jewish Lifeworlds and Jewish Thought. Festschrift presented to Karl E. Grözinger on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), 245-251.

⁸⁹ Arcadius Kahan, "Noted on Jewish Entrepreneurship in Tsarist Russia," 88.

to analyse marriage strategies among Jews in the context of their wish for acculturation and predisposition to inter-ethnic marriages. According to his conclusions, such a predisposition and susceptibility to acculturation is exaggerated⁹⁰. The German researcher Rainer Lindner in his monograph on entrepreneurs in Russian Empire in the 19th century, wrote that acculturation became the condition of “selective integration” in Russian society and was rather the embodiment of the desire to become modern than the wish to join the Russian culture. He also states that it was more probable for elites than for the middle class⁹¹. However, the economic position was still an important stimulus for exploring possibilities of acculturation. Israeli social historian Ezra Mendelsohn in his research on Drohobych Jewish artist Maurycy Gottlieb emphasized that the involvement of the artist family in the oil industry was crucial for possibilities of education and the later acculturation of artist⁹². While attempting to research the complicated issue of Jewish integration, I came across the work of historian Todd Endelman, in which he, analyzing the biographies, concludes that "Jewish identity" was an important feature of the successful and acculturated Jews or converts in emancipation period.⁹³

Part of the research seeks to explain the peculiar behaviour of the Jews in their limited role of the mediator in premodern societies and use economic history to explain the mechanism of assimilation. Such a role not only encouraged their separateness, but also developed qualities (calculation of risks, use of the information) needed for creation economy (l'economie de creation). Transition to reproduction economy (l'economie de reproduction) made acculturation faster⁹⁴.

⁹⁰ Mosse, *The German-Jewish Economic Elite 1820-1935*, 185.

⁹¹ Rainer Lindner, *Unternehmer Und Stadt in Der Ukraine, 1860-1914: Industrialisierung Und Soziale Kommunikation Im Südlichen Zarenreich* (Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2006), 166; More about the term "selective integration" and acculturation of entrepreneurs in Russian Empire see Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: the Jewish encounter with late imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

⁹² Ezra Mendelsohn, *Painting a people: Maurycy Gottlieb and Jewish Art* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2002), 20.

⁹³ Todd Endelman, *Broadening Jewish History. Towards a Social History of Ordinary Jews* (Oxford; Portland: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2011), pp. 368.

⁹⁴ Maurice Obadia, "L'Economie, Facteur de différenciation ou d'assimilation du Juif?," In Bordes-

Specifics of social organisation which define the economic activities can be found among other minorities. In his research on old ritualists in Russia, historian Alfred Rieber states that social organisation and dispersion around the empire stimulated creation of the network of contacts and future trade activity⁹⁵.

Research of Drohobych and Boryslav

There are a number of research studies on Drohobych and Boryslav written as local history projects. One example is Stanislaw Niceja's book *Kresowe trójmiasto. Truskawiec - Drohobycz – Boryslaw (Triple city in Kresy: Truskavets, Drohobych, Boryslav)*⁹⁶, which tells the history of Drohobych, Truskavets and Boryslav. The book is written in a nostalgic manner, paying a lot of attention to local people's stories, but it also contains an interesting set of sources. There are few similar research studies dedicated to important people in Drohobych and Boryslav history, written by people who come from the region or are interested in family history⁹⁷. One of the most interesting researches of that type is the introductory chapter by Valerie Schatzker, written as a commentary to the English translation of the book *The Jewish Oil Magnats*⁹⁸ by Julian Hirschout. Valerie Schatzker has conducted research of Jewish community of Drohobych, focusing on its industrial history and she dedicates a substantial part

Benayoun, Chantal, Alain Médam, and Pierre-Jacques Rojzman. *Les Juifs Et L'économie: Miroirs Et Mirages* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires Du Mirail, 1992), 339.

⁹⁵ Alfred J. Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 140.

⁹⁶ Stanisław Niceja *Kresowe trójmiasto. Truskawiec - Drohobycz – Boryslaw* (Opole: Wydawnictwo MS, 2009.)

⁹⁷ Tomasz Wrobel, *Ludzie Boryslawia, Tom I-III* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2005, 2008, 2010); Aleksander Skotnicki. *Historia rodziny Lauterbachów: Drohobych, Kraków, Los Angeles* (Kraków: AA, 2013); Michael I. Karpin, *Tightrope: six centuries of a Jewish dynasty* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2008) Jerome Segal, the descendant of Drohobych entrepreneurial family makes the conclusions, that for authors "East and West" the entrepreneurs from Galicia became the symbol of social mobility. Segal J. *Schwarzes Gold und gelber Stern: Mobilitätsformen galizischer Juden, die in die Ölindustrie investierten*// <http://www.davidkultur.at/ausgabe.php?ausg=84&artikel=109> Accessed 24.08.2016.

⁹⁸ Valerie Schatzker, Valerie Schatzker, and Julien Hirshaut, *The Jewish oil magnates of Galicia: the Jewish oil magnates: a history, 1853-1945 by Valerie Schatzker and the Jewish oil magnates: a novel by Julien Hirschhaut, translated by Miriam Dashkin Beckerman, edited by Valerie Schatzker* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015).

of her introductory article to the transformation of the elites and importance of the marriages for economic connections.

Limitations

The main limitations of my research concern incompleteness or lack of sources. The period of the 1860-1870s, which was the most important for the shaping of industry and involved most of the Jewish participants has left few documents concerning industry. Because of the specifics of the first stages of industrialization, a lot of the trading operations or contracts were not legal and we do not know about their details or existence. We can only guess and build hypotheses of what was left behind the stage. The second problem is the limited sample of businessmen who were working in Boryslav industry at all. It does not allow the researcher to make wider generalisations and rather leaves Boryslav as one of the exceptions in Galician industry.

Structure

The thesis consists of three chapters. In the first chapter, I try to overview the general situation regarding the participation of the Jews in the oil industry, to understand how the industry structure shaped the possibilities/opportunities of participation, trace the reasons for domination in the industry at the first stages and leaving in later and to follow the transformation of ethnic solidarity based on the example of competition of the small firms with the large. An important element is research of ethnic-professional structure of the industrial Boryslav, which linked Polish, Ukrainian and Jewish workers, Jewish overseers and entrepreneurs, Polish and Jewish landowners.

In the second chapter, I follow the formation of the contacts among the group of the most successful entrepreneurs in Drohobych and Boryslav to understand the reason for their

lasting in the business and economic success. The main object of the research is the network of connections around the firm *Gartenberg, Lauterbach and Goldhammer*, which combined business contacts with kinship. The wider research question is that of the interconnection in the network, which has strong ethnic features and the general character of Boryslav economics, namely how this clan system defined the situation of Boryslav industry in the 19th century.

The third chapter is dedicated to cultural and communal activities of Jewish entrepreneurs, their intellectual environment and their perception of the transformation of the Jewish economic role changes. I trace how they articulate these transformations and how they express their power in the Jewish community through philanthropic activities. I analyse the *Drohobyczer Zeitung* newspaper as the embodiment of entrepreneurs' interests and queries.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would have been impossible without the inspiration and ideas of my supervisors, professor Michał Galas from Jewish Studies Institute of Jagiellonian University in Kraków and professor Yaroslav Hrytsak from Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv. I am very grateful to professor Yaroslav Hrytsak, who drew my attention to the interesting case of the Jews in Boryslav and Drohobych, shared sources, books and advice about methodology as well as my excitement about the oil industry and supported me during the whole period. I wish to thank professor Michał Galas for his advice about methodology, literature and sources and his constant support during my study at the Jagiellonian University.

I am grateful to the foundation Jewish Galicia and Bukovina, which enabled the beginning of this research, particularly to Dr. Ilia Lurje, who gave me confidence about my abilities to conduct this research. During my study I was an external candidate at the program Doktorats Kollegien Galizien at Vienna University, whose financial support gave me the opportunity to attend workshops abroad and work in Vienna libraries. I want to thank in particular my mentor Dr. Patrice Dabrowski for thorough reading of my texts and methodological advice, so important for me. I am sincerely grateful to Prof. Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, who, despite being my official mentor carefully read my text, gave valuable recommendations on literature, stylistics and research questions and always motivates me to further research.

This research would be impossible without courses and consultations with researchers of the Jews in Eastern Europe — Prof. Israel Bartal, Prof. Gershon Hundert, who gave me several important books, Prof. Rachel Manekin, Dr. Semion Goldin, Prof. Shaul Stampfer, Dr. Ostap Sereda, Dr. Joshua Shanes, Prof. Krzysztof Zamorski, Prof. Marcin Wodziński, Dr. Svjatoslav Pacholkiv, Dr. Efim Melamed, Dr. Böries Kuzmany, Dr. Oleh Mykulych. I also want to express my deep gratitude to the Center for Urban History of East-Central Europe, particularly to Dr. Sofia Dyak and Dr. Iryna Matsevko who helped me to implement the results