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Migration Patterns in Late Imperial Austria

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Migration to North America, Internal Migration, and Demographic Structures in Late Imperial Austria

1.1. Project aims

The aim of this research project is to analyse the relationship between migration to North America and other types of mobility, such as internal migration and short-distance migration across state boundaries, in the period 1850-1914. Migration from the Austrian Empire to North America will be examined within the context of long-standing patterns of migration, population development in the 19th century and the changing socio-economic structure of the Habsburg Monarchy.

The focus of our investigation into migration patterns will be provided by the provinces of Upper and Lower Austria (in today's Austria), and Bohemia and Moravia (now in the Czech Republic). We have restricted the geographical scope of the project for a number of reasons. Firstly, this area formed the Monarchy's geographical and economic core. Secondly, these regions were in quantitative terms at the centre of migrational activity. Thirdly, it is neither feasible nor worthwhile to include other provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Expansion of the area under examination would extend the project's time-scale, while simultaneously necessitating a greater range of language skills than is at our disposal.¹ More importantly, a research group in Budapest under the direction of Tibor Frank and Julianna Puskás is at present already working on migration from Hungary to the U.S.A. at the start of the 20th century, using much the same kinds of source material – shipping companies' passenger lists – that we plan to use ourselves (see 4.1.). We are in close contact with this group and we hope that the two projects will complement each other.

The provinces selected for our project were initially particularly significant as the starting-point for large-scale migration to the imperial capital, Vienna, during the period 1850-1900. Certain parts of southern Bohemia, Moravia, and northern Lower Austria proved to be the most frequent exporters of migrants. At the same time, other forms of migrational networks were particularly dense in these regions. Although various forms of internal migration to other parts of the monarchy were also important,² the majority of migrational activity seems to have taken place between these four neighbouring provinces. Focusing on this territorially contiguous area will enable us to investigate in detail the manifold types of migration occurring here, as well as their interdependence over the course of time. The changing importance of migration to North America will nevertheless be at the centre of our attention. At the beginning of the period under examination, Bohemia and Moravia were major

* This paper is based on two applications to the Austrian Science Fund (FWF, Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung). The first project on transatlantic and internal migration was funded for 3 years (2001-2004, P-14733-G01). Chapter 1.6 of this paper is based on the brief project report. The second project on transnational migration has been funded for 2 years (2004-2006, P-17614-G08). In both projects Josef Ehmer has been project director and Annemarie Steidl and Hermann Zeitlhofer have been research assistants. For further information contact Josef.Ehmer@sbg.ac.at, Annemarie.Steidl@sbg.ac.at or Hermann.Zeitlhofer@univie.ac.at.

¹ Between 1901 and 1910, nearly 20 percent of the monarchy's overseas migrants came from the Austrian part of Poland; however, our lack of knowledge of the Polish language means we have decided to exclude this region. Compare Heinz Faßmann, *Auswanderung aus der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie 1869-1910*, in: Traude Horvath, Gerda Neyer (eds.), *Auswanderungen aus Österreich. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart* (Wien-Köln-Weimar, 1996), 33-56.

² See Dirk Hoerder, *Migration and the international labor markets in the Atlantic economies*, in: Julianna Puskás (Ed.), *Overseas migration from East-central and Southeastern Europe 1880-1940* (Budapest, 1990), 32ff.

centres of emigration to North America. In the mid-19th century, for example, Czechs accounted for more than 80% of overseas migrants from the Austrian Empire; this proportion then declined to less than 5% by 1900, despite an increase in absolute numbers.³

1.2. Historiographical overview and formulation of research questions

Within migration research as a whole, the diverse fields of overseas migration, internal migration, and continental immigration were for a long time studied in isolation from one another. The need to study transatlantic emigration and other migrational activities as a compact whole was first argued by Frank Thistlethwaite in the 1960s,⁴ but his ideas were more or less ignored until taken up and expanded by Klaus Bade in the early 1980s. In his pioneering study of transatlantic emigration, internal migration, and continental immigration in the German North-East,⁵ Bade convincingly demonstrated that a comprehensive analysis of migrational behaviour can only be achieved by investigating the different, simultaneous, alternating, successive, and merging movements involved in the migrational process.⁶ The conclusion we must draw from this work is that treating emigration to America separately from other forms of migration would be highly problematic, if for no other reason than that emigration is not a single, isolated event, but much rather part of a medium or long-term process. As Bade states, "transatlantic emigration, internal migration, and continental immigration were obviously interdependent and characterised by marked shifts from one to the other."⁷ Walter Kamphoefner has likewise picked up on the suggestions made by Thistlethwaite. In a widely acclaimed study, he analysed Westphalian emigration to America during the 19th century as a process of chain migration, in which migration was organised according to the social relations existing between migrants, and above all, through the ties they had to earlier migrants. In adopting this approach, Kamphoefner not only wrote the history of immigration to, and emigration from, Westphalia, he also very lucidly demonstrated the connections between the two.⁸ What Bade and Kamphoefner have in common is the fact that, when dealing with individual aspects of migration, they always take account of the social process as a whole, beginning with emigration from the point of departure and following it right through to the target area. Where Kamphoefner confined himself to transatlantic migrations, Bade elaborated in more profound fashion the full range and context of migrational activities in a given area.

³ Jiří Kořalka, Some remarks on the future model of Czech emigration (1848-1914), in: Puskás, *Overseas migration*, 9-20.

⁴ Frank Thistlethwaite, *Migration from Europe overseas in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (reprinted from XI^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Uppsala 1960), in: Rudolph J. Vecoli / Suzanne M. Sinke (Eds.), *A century of European migrations, 1930 – 1930* (Urbana-Chicago, 1991), 17-58, esp. 21.

⁵ See: Klaus J. Bade, *Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt im deutschen Nordosten von 1880 bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg. Überseeische Auswanderung, interne Abwanderung und kontinentale Zuwanderung*, in: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 20 (1980): 265-323; *Ibid.*, *German emigration to the United States and continental immigration to Germany in the late 19th and early 20th centuries*, in: *Central Europea History* 13 (1980): 348-377.

⁶ Bade, *Massenwanderung*, 268 ff.

⁷ Klaus J. Bade, *Labour, migration, and the state: Germany from the late 19th century to the onset of the Great Depression*, in: *Ibid.*, (Ed.), *Population, labor and migration in 19th and 20th-century Germany* (Leamington Spa-Hamburg-New York, 1982), 61.

⁸ Walter Kamphoefner, *Westfalen in der Neuen Welt. Eine Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert (= Beiträge zur Volkskultur in Nordwestdeutschland, H. 26)* (Münster, 1982).

Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, subsequent historical research has shown little interest in the connections made by these two authors between transnational and internal migration. One of the rare exceptions is the work of Hans Ulrich Pfister, who looked at emigration from Zurich to America in the 17th and 18th centuries in close relation to migration to the Rhineland Palatinate and internal movements within the canton of Zurich itself.⁹ Generally speaking, however, migration research has persisted in restricting its attention to movements of large numbers of people across international borders and over long distances. Historians have thus failed to recognise the significance of short distance mobility, as well as underestimating the mobility of the population in earlier periods. Only very recently have scholars started anew to deal with the interwoven patterns of emigration, immigration, and internal migration.¹⁰ For example, Axel Lubinski's research on Mecklenburg-Strelitz combines an analysis of emigration to America with an appreciation of long-standing traditions of migration in the 18th and 19th centuries.¹¹

The process of industrialisation and urbanisation, which gathered pace in the mid-19th century and accelerated towards its end, increased the dynamics of regional mobility.¹² The intensification of existing migration patterns affected already established urban areas, the newly developing industrial centres, and also agrarian regions and rural communities. The majority of migrants moved across short distances: only a few crossed provincial or international borders, and transatlantic migration remained something of an exception in the Austro-Hungarian Empire until the end of the 19th century.¹³ Although many studies on migration from European countries to North America still assume that this constituted the majority of spatial movements, we should in fact assume that the greatest mobility was caused by internal migration.¹⁴ In view of this situation, our project will aim to avoid the danger of concentrating exclusively on overseas migration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and will seek to locate the various forms of migration within the complex and long-term process by which both rural and urban societies were transformed. In short, transatlantic migration must be seen as an integral part of spatial mobility as a whole. By taking this approach, the project's goal is to fill the considerable gaps in historical research on emigration from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and to compare and contrast population movements overseas with internal migration and short distance moves across international boundaries.

⁹ Hans Ulrich Pfister, *Die Auswanderung aus dem Knonauer Amt 1648 – 1750. Ihr Ausmaß, ihre Struktur und ihre Bedingungen* (Zürich, 1987), esp. 203-228.

¹⁰ Cf. Dirk Hoerder, *Segmented macrosystems and networking individuals: the balancing functions of migration processes*, in: Jan Lucassen / Leo Lucassen (Eds.), *Migration, migration history, history. Old paradigms and new perspectives* (Bern, 1997), 73-87, esp. 81 ff.; Georg Fertig, *18th-century transatlantic migration and early German anti-migration ideology*, in: *Ibidem*, 271-290, esp. 277 ff.

¹¹ Axel Lubinski, *Entlassen aus dem Untertanenverband. Die Amerikaauswanderung aus Mecklenburg-Strelitz im 19. Jahrhundert* (= *Studien zur Historischen Migrationsforschung*, vol. 3) (Osnabrück, 1997).

¹² For the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire it has been calculated that those who possessed the right of residence in the communities where they lived still constituted 80% of the population in 1869. By 1880, however, this percentage had fallen to 70%, and in 1890 the proportion was only 65%. On this, see: Heinz Faßmann, *Migration in Österreich: 1850 - 1900. Migrationsströme innerhalb der Monarchie und Struktur der Zuwanderung nach Wien*, in: *Demographische Informationen* (1986), p. 23.

¹³ For a detailed overview of different forms of mobility in 19th and 20th-century Germany, see: Steve Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820-1989* (Michigan, 1999).

¹⁴ See also: Dieter Langewiesche / Friedrich Lenger, *Internal migration: persistence and mobility*, in: *Bade, Population*, 91.

1.3. Austrian historiography on migration

Inhabitants of the Habsburg Monarchy had already started migrating to North America from the 18th century onwards,¹⁵ but in the decades preceding the outbreak of the First World War there emerged a new type of migration. Particularly in the first decade of the 20th century, Austria-Hungary became a major source of migrants to the United States of America. According to the port records of Bremen and Hamburg in Germany, in 1876 only 7,626 inhabitants of Austria-Hungary headed overseas, yet by 1900 the numbers had leapt to 62,605.¹⁶ In the period 1890-1914 approximately 15 million people left Europe in the direction of the U.S.A.: the vast majority of these people were born in southern and eastern Europe,¹⁷ but more than 20% came from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹⁸ This great wave of population movement overseas declined sharply with the outbreak of the First World War.

The specific characteristics of Austro-Hungarian migration to the U.S.A. varied according to the demographic, social, and national composition of the population concerned. For example, across the monarchy as a whole, two thirds of all migrants were male. In the case of transatlantic migrants from Bohemia, however, the gender proportions seem to have been substantially different: between 1850 and 1860 at least, the ratio between the sexes was nearly equal.¹⁹ Over half of the migrants from Austria-Hungary came from the agricultural sector, and nearly 30% were workers. Again, there were significant differences as regards Bohemian and Moravian emigrants, many of whom were predominantly artisans.²⁰ In the decade 1901-1910, 18% of all migrants from Austria-Hungary were Galician Poles, 7% were Jewish, 16% Croats, Serbs or Slovenians, and 15% Slovaks. As compared with their proportion of the Austro-Hungarian population, migrants from Bohemia and Moravia (who made up 4% of the total) and German-speaking migrants (12%) were therefore significantly underrepresented.²¹

In looking at the process of migration, it must be realised that migration routes never operate in one direction only, be they short distance or transatlantic. As labour markets became more and more international at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, transatlantic movements no longer exclusively meant a permanent change of residence, but to an increasing extent, temporary

¹⁵ See, for example: Michael Kurz, "Nun ist die Scheidestunde da..." Die Emigration aus dem Salzkammergut im 19. Jahrhundert nach Nordamerika (unpub. MA thesis, Salzburg, 1999). On the expulsion of religious fugitives, see: Heinz Duchhardt, Glaubensflüchtlinge und Entwicklungshelfer: Niederländer, Hugenotten, Waldenser, Salzburger, in: Klaus Bade (Ed.), *Deutsche im Ausland - Fremde in Deutschland. Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (München, 1992), 284 ff. The U.S.A. also became a place of refuge for many liberals and democrats after the failure of 1848-49 revolutions in from Austria; see: Gerda Neyer, *Auswanderung aus Österreich. Ein Streifzug durch die "andere" Seite der österreichischen Migrationsgeschichte*, in: Traude Horvath / Gerda Neyer (Eds.), *Auswanderungen aus Österreich. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart* (Wien-Köln-Weimar, 1996), 14.

¹⁶ Faßmann, *Auswanderung*, 33.

¹⁷ Angelika Schwarz, "Send the homeless, tempest-tost to me"? Das viktorianische Amerika und die "neue Einwanderung" am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts, in: *IMIS-Beiträge* 7 (1998), 37.

¹⁸ Faßmann, *Auswanderung*, 34.

¹⁹ Franz v. Meinzingen, Die Wanderbewegung auf Grund von Gebürtigkeitsdaten der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1900, in: *Statistische Monatsschrift*, NF vol. 8 (1903), 140.

²⁰ Richard v. Pflügl, Die überseeische Auswanderung in den Jahren 1899-1901, in: *Statistische Monatsschrift*, NF vol. 8 (1903): 496-532.

²¹ Heinz Faßmann, Emigration, immigration, and internal migration in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy 1910, in: Dirk Hoerder / Inge Blank (Eds.), *Roots of the transplanted. Late 19th-century East-Central and Southeastern Europe* (New York, 1994), 55.

labour migration.²² A number of contemporary authors already estimated a rate of return as high as 40%,²³ but it was not until 1908 that the authorities began to keep records on re-migration.²⁴ The return rate from the U.S.A. was 39.6% for migrants from the Austrian half of the Habsburg Monarchy, and 37.9% for Hungary.²⁵ In this respect, an important aim of the research project will be to determine to what extent migration between Austria-Hungary and the United States can still legitimately be described as ‘emigration’, when for many migrants the passage across the ocean implied only a temporary stay in the ‘new country’.²⁶

There is by now a vast amount of literature available on various aspects of spatial mobility to North America, including data aggregations from national and local samples, ethno-cultural investigations of entire communities, micro-studies of selected villages or towns with high rates of migration, or analyses of migrants’ influence upon their places of origin, as well as their eventual destinations.²⁷ Austrian migration to America features only very modestly within this corpus of literature, despite the fact that more than five million people moved from the Austria-Hungary to the U.S.A. between 1876 and 1910. One of the main reasons for this deficiency has been that, in the United States, Austria-Hungary was not always perceived or classified as a single state entity.²⁸ However, research on this subject has been influenced by several other important factors, including the difficulties in finding source material, the comparatively extensive and time-consuming amount of research required, and the uneven reception accorded to new approaches towards the history of migration. Compared to Germany,²⁹ England,³⁰ or Italy,³¹ Austrian research on migration to North America shows an alarming

²² See also Klaus J. Bade, *Die deutsche überseeische Massenauswanderung im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Bestimmungsfaktoren und Entwicklungsbedingungen*, in: Bade (Ed.), *Auswanderer - Wanderarbeiter - Gastarbeiter. Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Vol. 1 (Ostfildern, 1984), 278.

²³ Anton Friedmann, *Arbeitsmangel und Auswanderung* (Wien, 1907), 6 ff.

²⁴ Ernő Deák, *Die Auswanderung - Eine Massenbewegung*, in: Amt der niederösterreich-ischen Landesregierung (Ed.), *Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs* (Wien, 1987), 25-39.

²⁵ Neyer, *Auswanderung*, 16.

²⁶ Cf. Dirk Hoerder, *Immigration and the Working Class: the Remigration Factor*. In: *International Labor and Work Class History*, vol. 21 (1982), pp. 28-41, and Walter D. Kamphoefner, *The Volume and Composition for German-American Return Migration*. In: Vecoli / Sinke (eds.), *A Century of European Migrations*, pp. 293-312.

²⁷ To cite just a few recent titles: Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (Ed.), *Immigration reconsidered: history, sociology, and politics* (1990); Nicolas Canny (Ed.), *Europeans on the move. Studies on European migration, 1500-1800* (New York, 1991); Vecoli / Sinke (Eds.), *Century of European migrations*; Dirk Hoerder / Joerg Nagler (Eds.), *People in transit: German migrations in comparative perspective 1820-1930* (New York, 1995); Lucassen / Lucassen (Eds.), *Migration*.

²⁸ People coming from the non-German-speaking parts of the Habsburg Monarchy described themselves upon arrival as Hungarians, Polish, Slovaks, Ruthenians (Ukrainians), etc. German-speaking migrants usually referred to themselves as ‘Germans’, and often soon associated with existing German populations in their areas of settlement. From 1861 onwards, ‘Austria’ formed a distinct category within American immigration statistics, but immigrants from Hungary and Galicia were still registered separately. See: Faßmann, *Auswanderung*, 37.

²⁹ See, for example: Dirk Hoerder, *People on the move: migration, acculturation and ethnic interaction in Europe and North America* (Oxford, 1993); Georg Fertig, *Lokales Leben, atlantische Welt. Die Entscheidung zur Auswanderung vom Rhein nach Nordamerika im 18. Jahrhundert* (= *Studien zur Historischen Migrationsforschung*, vol. 7) (Osnabrück, 1999); Uwe Reich, *Aus Cottbus und Arnswalde in die Neue Welt. Amerika-Auswanderung aus Ostelbien im 19. Jahrhundert* (= *Studien zur Historischen Migrationsforschung*, vol. 5), (Osnabrück, 1997).

³⁰ See, for example: Dudley Baines, *Migration in a mature economy. Emigration and internal migration in England and Wales, 1861 - 1900* (Cambridge, 1985); Peter A. Clark / David Souden (Eds.), *Migration and society in early modern England* (London, 1987); C. Erickson, *Leaving England. Essays on British emigration in the 19th Century* (Ithaca-New York, 1994).

³¹ See: Anna Maria Martellone, *Italien mass emigration to the United States, 1876 – 1930: a historical survey*, in: *Perspectives in American history*, New Series, Vol. 1 (1984): 179-223; Donna Gabaccia, *The ‘Yellow Peril’ and the ‘Chinese of Europe’: global perspectives on race and labour, 1815-1930*, in: Lucassen / Lucassen, *Migration*, 177-196.

number of gaps. From this point of view, the proposed research project should be understood as an attempt to catch up with international trends.

1.3.1. *Austrian research on migration to North America*

Hans Chmelar's doctoral thesis provided us with a general survey of migration in the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the 19th and start of the 20th twentieth centuries.³² Chmelar's work, together with that of Heinz Faßmann, concentrated primarily on establishing a statistical outline of migration, and drew on the lists of migrants compiled in various seaports around Europe.³³ While this study remains rather general in nature, it nevertheless comes up with some interesting results, particularly as regards population movements to Canada, and it thus offers some valuable points of comparison with our project.³⁴ In overall terms though, Austrian migration research has focused on the post-1918 period. Owing partly to the sensitivity of migration as a political issue in contemporary Europe, detailed attention has been given to migration during and after the Second World War.³⁵

As regards research on the Alpine provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy (in effect, the area more or less covered by today's Austria), we only have in-depth studies of migration to the United States from Burgenland and Vorarlberg.³⁶ Some work has also been done on Upper Austria, one of the proposed regions of study, a good example being Michael Kurz' essentially qualitative analysis of emigrants from the Salzkammergut.³⁷ Transatlantic migration movements from Lower Austria (including Vienna) have not to date received specific attention, even though migrants from Austria-Hungary to America would often have broken their journey into stages, making a stop in Vienna along the way. While there have been a number of works on Czech migration to North America,³⁸ including several

³² Hans Chmelar, *Die Auswanderung der im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreiche und Länder in den Jahren 1905-1914* (unpubl. Ph. D. Thesis, Vienna, 1972).

³³ See: Heinz Faßmann, *Emigration, Immigration und Binnenwanderung in der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie 1910* (unpub. MS, Vienna, 1988); *Ibid.* / Rainer Münz, *Austria: a country of immigration and emigration*, in: Faßmann / Münz (Eds.), *European migration in the late 20th century. Historical patterns, actual trends, and social implications* (Aldershot, 1994); Faßmann / Münz, *Einwanderungsland Österreich? Historische Migrationsmuster, aktuelle Trends und politische Maßnahmen* (Wien, 1995).

³⁴ See: Frederick C. Engelmann et al. (Eds.), *A history of the Austrian migration to Canada* (Carlton University Press, 1996); Franz J. Szábo (Ed.), *Austrian immigration to Canada. Selected essays* (Carlton University Press, 1996).

³⁵ On this point, see the final report of a research project carried out in the 1990s: Horvath / Neyer (Eds.), *Auswanderungen*.

³⁶ For Burgenland, see: Walter Dujmovits, *Die Amerikawanderung der Burgenländer* (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Vienna, 1980); Siegfried Gollatz, *Die burgenländische Amerikawanderung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Mischendorf* (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Graz, 1993); Traude Horvath, *Burgenländerinnen und Burgenländer in den USA* (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Vienna, 1994; "...nach Amerika". Ausstellungskatalog (= Burgenländische Forschungen, Sonderband IX) (Eisenstadt, 1992). On Vorarlberg, see: Markus Hämmerle, *Glück in der Fremde? Vorarlberger Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert* (Feldkirch, 1990); Meinrad Pichler, *Auswanderer. Von Vorarlberg in die USA 1800-1938* (Bregenz, 1993); *Ibid.*, *Die Vorarlberger Amerikawanderer bis 1938*, in: Horvath / Neyer, *Auswanderungen*, 57-82.

³⁷ Kurz, *Die Emigration*. See also: Hans Sturmberger, *Die Amerika-Auswanderung aus Oberösterreich zur Zeit des Neoabsolutismus*, in: *Mitteilungen des oberösterreichischen Landesarchivs* 7 (1960): 520-571.

³⁸ A survey of sources and the older literature is given by: František Kutnar, *K pramenům a literatuře počátků hromadného vystěhovalectví z Čech do zámoří* [On the sources and literature about the start of mass overseas emigration from Bohemia], in: *Bulletin Komise pro dějiny krajanů, Čechů a Slováků v zahraničí* (1963), 12-17. Works in English include: Thomas Čapek, *The Czechs. Bohemians in America* (Boston, 1920); *Ibid.*, *Czechs and Slovaks in the United States Census. With references to all Slavs* (New York, 1939). The monograph by Vlastimil Kybal, *Jižní Amerika a Československo* [South America and Czechoslovakia] (Prague, 1928), deals with migration to Southern America in the 1920s. For Moravia, see: G. Strakosch-Graßmann, *Die deutsche Auswanderung aus Mähren in der Vergangenheit*, in: *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Mährens und Schlesiens* 20 (1916): 140-197.

micro-historical studies at the level of individual districts or communities,³⁹ no general survey yet exists, aside from a brief introductory article.⁴⁰

On balance, therefore, it would be misleading to claim that emigration from Austria-Hungary has been completely ignored as a subject for historical research: the problem is much rather that the monarchy is hardly ever treated as a coherent political whole. Indeed, there are numerous publications on migration by Austria-Hungary's various nationalities, which have appeared in the Habsburg Monarchy's successor states; it is thus often simply language problems that have prevented the wider international reception of research carried out in these areas.⁴¹

1.3.2. *Austrian research on short distance migration*

If we turn now to the state of research on general spatial mobility in Austria-Hungary, we again find substantial gaps in our historical knowledge. Current research tends to concentrate on the movement of workers from rural areas to urban centres and their newly built factories, but thereby overlooks the fact that older migration routes were by no means abandoned during the period of industrialisation.

Owing to its exceptional importance as the centre of imperial administration and government, Vienna has always attracted historians' attention.⁴² Few studies deal with migration to other cities,⁴³ and William Hubbard's study of spatial mobility in Graz is alone in including migration *from* - as well as *to* - the city.⁴⁴ Of the regions selected for our project, studies exist on the substantial immigration that took place from the Bohemian provinces to Vienna from the 1850s onwards.⁴⁵ To date, there has been

³⁹ Jaroslava Hoffmannová, *Vystěhovalectví z Polné do Severní Ameriky ve druhé polovine 19. stol.* [Emigration from Polna to Northern America in the second half of the nineteenth century] (Havlíčkův Brod, 1969); Eva Barborová, *Vystěhovalectví do Ameriky v Táborském kraji v letech 1855-1862* [Emigration to America from the district of Tabor in the years 1855-1862], in: *Jihočesky sborník historický* 35 (1966): 24-32. In the South Bohemian district of Tyn n. V., for example, around 200 people emigrated to America every decade in the period 1855-1890; see: Eva Barborová, *Vystěhovalectví obyvatelstva na Vltavotýnsku v letech 1850-1914* [Emigration of the population of Tyn n. Vltavou in the years 1850-1914], in: *Jihočesky sborník historický* 37 (1968): 98-107.

⁴⁰ Kořalka, *Some Remarks*.

⁴¹ For some examples of research carried out in Austria-Hungary's successor states, see the wealth of publications on Polish emigration from Galicia (and Congress Poland): W.I. Thomas / F. Znaniecki (Eds.), *The Polish peasants in Europe and America* (New York, 1984); J.J. Bukowczyk, *And my children did not know me. A history of the Polish-Americans* (Indiana, 1987); Ewa Morawska, *For bread with butter. The life of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890-1940* (New York, 1985); *Ibid.*, In defense of the assimilation model, in: *Journal of American Ethnic History* 13 (1994): 76-87. On the migration of Galician Jews, see: Klaus Hödl, "Vom Shtetl an die Lower East Side". *Galizische Juden in New York* (Wien-Köln-Weimar, 1991). For migrations from Hungary, see: Julianna Puskás, *From Hungary to the United States, 1880-1914* (Budapest, 1982); Monika Glettlér, *Pittsburg-Wien-Budapest. Programm und Praxis der Nationalitätenpolitik bei der Auswanderung der ungarischen Slowaken nach Amerika um 1900 (= Studien zur Geschichte der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie)* (Wien, 1980).

⁴² See: Michael John / Albert Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien - einst und jetzt. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart von Zuwanderung und Minderheiten* (2nd ed., Wien-Köln-Weimar, 1993); Roman Sandgruber, *Ökonomie und Politik. Österreichische Wirtschaftsgeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Wien, 1995), esp. 264-67.

⁴³ See, for example: Sylvia Hahn / Wolfgang Maderthaner / Gerald Sprengnagel, *Aufbruch in der Provinz. Niederösterreichische Arbeiter im 19. Jahrhundert* (Wien, 1989); Tamás Faragó, *Die Budapester Bevölkerungsentwicklung und die Zuwanderung 1840 bis 1941*, in: Gerhard Melinz / Susan Zimmermann (Eds.), *Wien - Prag - Budapest. Blütezeit der Habsburgermetropolen. Urbanisierung, Kommunalpolitik, gesellschaftliche Konflikte (1867 - 1918)* (Wien, 1996), 58-72.

⁴⁴ William Hubbard, *Binnenwanderung und berufliche Mobilität in Graz um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in: Hans J. Teuteberg (Ed.), *Urbanisierung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Köln, 1983), 117-129.

⁴⁵ See, for example: Monika Glettlér, *Die Wiener Tschechen um 1900. Strukturanalyse einer nationalen Minderheit in der Großstadt* (Wien-München, 1972); Christoph Parnreiter, *Vom Land zum Hinterland zum Abwanderungsland. Migration und ungleiche Entwicklung in der tschechisch-österreichischen Grenzregion*, in: Andrea Komlosy et al. (Eds.), *Kulturen an der Grenze. Waldviertel - Weinviertel - Südböhmen - Südmähren* (Wien, 1995), 349-60.

no real analysis either of re-migration by migrants to Vienna, or of the movements of Czechs from the countryside to cities other than Vienna.

Many migration routes between cities had already developed in the pre-industrial era. To give just one example, merchants frequently sent their sons to other cities to learn the trade and to establish new business contacts.⁴⁶ However, we still know very little about the links and relationships between urban centres in the Habsburg Monarchy. Nor has artisan migration attracted much interest until now, although recent path-breaking studies by Josef Ehmer⁴⁷ and Annemarie Steidl⁴⁸ have tried to establish the connections between artisans' 'traditional' migrational behaviour and 'industrial' migration. In addition, there are a handful of works on the mobility of young women, who often migrated in greater numbers than their male counterparts in order to enter domestic service in urban households.⁴⁹

Whereas many historians still tend to concentrate on migration from rural areas to urban centres during industrialisation, other research indicates that mobility between agrarian regions could also be very high, as the case of France suggests.⁵⁰ While the spatial movements of domestic servants have already been analysed in considerable detail for other European countries,⁵¹ relatively little work has been done on Austria-Hungary.⁵² Seasonal labour movements between rural areas at harvest-time had been part of European migrational activities for centuries, and often involved trips over hundreds of kilometres. Seasonal labour rhythms are observable in many other economic sectors too.⁵³ Labour migration of this kind in the regions to be studied has attracted comparatively little attention, aside from isolated studies of migrant workers for the sugar-beet harvest in the Marchfeld (Lower Austria),⁵⁴ or temporary movements across international borders, such as labour migration from northern Bohemia to Saxony.⁵⁵ At the same time, it should not be forgotten that, for many people, marriage

⁴⁶ Leslie P. Moch, *Moving Europeans: migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington, 1992), 43-58.

⁴⁷ Josef Ehmer, *Räumliche Mobilität im mitteleuropäischen Handwerk*, in: *Ibid.*, *Soziale Traditionen in Zeiten des Wandels. Arbeiter und Handwerker im 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt-New York, 1994), 101-129; *Ibid.*, *Tramping Artisans in 19th-century Vienna*, in: David Siddle (Ed.), *Migration, mobility and modernisation in Europe* (Liverpool, 2000), 164-185.

⁴⁸ Annemarie Steidl, *Die regionale Mobilität der städtischen Handwerker. Die Herkunft Wiener Lehrlinge / Lehrlingmädchen, Gesellen und Meister im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Vienna, 1999).

⁴⁹ See, for example: Sylvia Hahn, *Fremde Frauen, Migration und Erwerbstätigkeit von Frauen am Beispiel von Wiener Neustadt*, in: *Zeitgeschichte* 20 (1993): 139-157.

⁵⁰ Paul-André Rosental, *Espace, familles et migrations dans la France du 19^e siècle. Les sentiers invisibles* (Paris, 1999).

⁵¹ See, for example: Ann Kussmaul, *Servants in husbandry in early modern England* (Cambridge, 1981); Penelope Wilcox, *Marriage, mobility and domestic service*, in: *Annales de démographie historique* (1981): 195-206; Christer Lundh, *Servant migration in Sweden in the early 19th Century*, in: *Journal of Family History* 24 (1999), 53-73.

⁵² Compare: Eduard Maur, *Das Gesinde in Böhmen in der frühen Neuzeit*, in: Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux / Ludmila Fialová (Eds.), *Le Phénomène de la domesticité en Europe, XVI^e-XX^e* (Prague, 1997), 75-94.

⁵³ See: Jan Lucassen, *Migrant labour in Europe 1600-1800* (London, 1987); Piet Lourens / Jan Lucassen, *Arbeitswanderung und berufliche Spezialisierung. Die lippischen Ziegler im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (= *Studien zur Historischen Migrationsforschung*, vol. 6) (Osnabrück, 1999).

⁵⁴ See: Elisabeth Spanischberger, *Die Rübenzuckerindustrie und ihre Auswirkungen auf Raum und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert. Eine Fallstudie aus dem östlichen Weinviertel* (unpub. MA thesis, Vienna, 1999).

⁵⁵ Martin Lezius, *Das Problem der Sachsengängerei in seiner jüngsten Entwicklung* (Neudamm, 1912). On rural seasonal mobility, see also: Bade, *Massenwanderung*, 274 ff.

meant moving to their partner's household, as studies on marriage mobility in early modern Bohemia indicate.⁵⁶

In conclusion, therefore, it remains the case that none of the migrational activities mentioned above has created as much historical interest as migration to North America - and none has been connected with so many myths and misconceptions.

1.4. Sources

Our project intends to utilise different types of source materials. In addition to published works, the main sources for analysing regional differences in migration to North America will be samples from the passenger lists of ships sailing to the United States in 1906. These have been collected by the Centre for Immigration Research (hereafter, CIR) at the Balch Institute, Temple University, Philadelphia.⁵⁷ The quantitative analysis of various forms of internal migration and short distance mobility across international borders will be based on the population statistics published in Austria-Hungary in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁵⁸

1.4.1. Passenger lists

Previous quantitative studies of overseas migration from the Austro-Hungarian Empire have recognised the importance of the statistics produced by the ports of departure,⁵⁹ yet historians have paid little attention to the countries of destination, which also kept statistics on immigration. Indeed, the statistics compiled by the ports of arrival in the U.S.A. (which for New York was Castle Garden up until 1890, and Ellis Island thereafter) have until now never been used to investigate migration from Austria-Hungary. The CIR holds the relevant passenger lists for our project and the data are available on microform for the period 1897-1914. Over the past few years, historians based at the CIR have - in co-operation with partners from Europe - been entering these lists into a computer data base.⁶⁰

After discussion with the CIR, we have decided to take samples of passenger lists from the year 1906 for the creation of our own computerised database. By extending co-operation with this institute, it will then be possible to analyse the computerised data already available in Philadelphia.⁶¹ Around the

⁵⁶ See, for example: Blanka Štěrbová, *Sňatečnost a sňatková migrace ve farnosti Sřelecké Hoštice v letech 1645-1890* [Marriages and marriage migration in the parish of Sřelecké Hoštice in the years 1645-1890], in: *Jihočeský sborník historický* 58 (1989): 125-136; Josef Grulich / 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], in: *Historická Demografie* 22 (1998): 79-105.

⁵⁷ The current project proposal has been presented at the European Social Science History Conference, 12th- 15th April 2000, Amsterdam, during the session on 'Passenger lists as a research tool for migration history'. Organised by Prof. Glazier (Philadelphia) and Prof. Ehmer (Salzburg), the discussion was attended above all by historians who have already worked with passenger lists for research on emigration. Prof. Sune Akerman concluded the intense discussion by stating that, 'we always have to combine the passenger lists with other sources'.

⁵⁸ A survey of published population statistics is given by: Christel Durdik, *Bibliographischer Abriß zur Bevölkerungs- und Sozialstatistik der Habsburgermonarchie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Wien, 1974).

⁵⁹ Faßmann, *Auswanderung*, 38.

⁶⁰ In Hungary, a research group directed by Julianna Puskás and Tibor Frank is working on this material. See: Julianna Puskás, *Hungarian Migration Patterns, 1880-1930: from macroanalysis to microanalysis*, in: Ira A. Glazier / Luigi De Rosa (Eds.), *Migration across time and distance. Population mobility in historical contexts* (New York-London, 1986), 231-254. Passenger lists have also been used in research on British and Irish migration; see: Charlotte Erickson, *The uses of passenger lists for the study of British and Irish emigration*, in: Glazier / De Rosa, *Migration*, 318-35.

⁶¹ Aside from the creation of computerised data bases, the Balch institute has also been responsible for publishing several editions of passenger lists. See, for example: Ira A. Glazier / P. William Filby (Eds.), *Germans to America. Lists of passengers arriving at U.S. ports*,

beginning of the 20th century, ships sailing between Europe and North America conveyed between 500-2,000 passengers, depending on their size. Our project will enter the lists from twelve ships into a data base, and we will select one ship from each month of the year in order to trace seasonal variations. The most important European ports in this period were Bremen, Hamburg and Cuxhaven in Germany, and Cherbourg in France; all these different departure points will be taken into consideration. In this way, the project will set up a sample of some 10,000-15,000 people. A data-set of this size is sufficiently representative of the monarchy as a whole and will enable us to establish the differences between the prospective regions under investigation. We believe that the compilation of a comparatively large database is justified on the grounds that this material will be worked on for the first time as a source for Austro-Hungarian migration history: we therefore expect to obtain significant new results. In addition, a large-scale database will enable comparison with other regions of the Habsburg Monarchy, beyond those which are of specific interest to us.

Aside from each individual's name, date of arrival, details on accompanying family members, sex, age, marital status, and professional qualification, the passenger lists also contain information on nationality, the last place of domicile, and destination.⁶² Despite the existence of certain source-based technical problems regarding the places of origin⁶³, this information will nevertheless enable us to calculate the regional distribution of Austro-Hungarian migration to America. The passenger lists will help us to answer a series of questions about family networks, i.e. whether people travelled alone or with their families, and whether they had relatives already living in the U.S.A.. In addition, it should be possible to assess the extent of re-emigration, because passengers were also asked whether they had been to the U.S.A. before. Lastly, we can analyse immigrants' social networks and subsequent professional careers in the U.S.A. by taking samples from the American censuses compiled and computerised by the University of Minnesota, which are accessible on the Internet.⁶⁴

1.4.2. Published statistics

The main sources for analysing population development in the period under consideration are the published results of the official censuses carried out between 1857 and 1910.⁶⁵ The censuses also contain valuable information for the reconstruction of internal migration and short distance migration across international borders. Data on fertility and mortality are available at the district level from 1870

1850-1855. Vol. 1, January 1850 - May 1851 (Willmington, 1988); Gary J. Zimmerman / Marion Wolfert (Eds.), German immigrants. Lists of passengers bound from Bremen to New York, 1847-1854 (Baltimore, 1985). The current project team is fully aware of the criticisms raised especially by German historians relating to the publication of already computerised passenger lists; any mistakes made in the first phase of entering data can, however, easily be avoided. On this point, see: Antonius Holtmann et al., Germans to America, Bände 1-50 (1988-1996). Fallstricke für Genealogen, in: Genealogie 45 (1996): 274-280; Michael P. Palmer, Published passenger lists: A review for German immigrants to America, Vol.s 1-9 (1850-1855). See also online in the Internet, at: <http://w3g.med.uni-giessen.de/gene/www/emig/gta-revu.html> (last update 29.10.1998).

⁶² Compare Ira A. Glazier / Robert J. Kleiner, Comparative analysis of emigrants from southern and eastern Europe from U.S. ship passenger lists: 1910, in: Aubrey Newman / Stephen W. Massil (Eds.), Patterns of migration, 1850-1914 (London, 1996), 255-265.

⁶³ Friedrich Probst, Die überseeische, österreichische Auswanderung, insbesondere in den Jahren 1889 bis 1890, in: Statistische Monatsschrift XVIII (1892), 4.

⁶⁴ See: <http://www.ipums.umn.edu>. We plan to work with the material in Minnesota for a number of weeks, in order to maximise the expertise of the people there.

⁶⁵ The results from the first two censuses in 1857 and 1869 appeared as separate publications. From the 1880 census onwards, the results were published in 'Österreichische Statistik' (Wien, 1882 ff.).

onwards,⁶⁶ while systematic data on migration exist for the period after 1850⁶⁷ (in some cases, it is even possible to obtain such data for earlier periods as well).

On the basis of this data, contemporaries developed a lively publishing activity, notably in the journals which had close links to the official bureaux of statistics, such as the *Statistische Monatsschrift*.⁶⁸ In addition, the annual reports made by the Bohemian Chambers of Commerce and Trade also constitute a rich mine of information on emigration.⁶⁹ Similarly, many of the regional archives in Southern Bohemia possess valuable holdings on migration to America.⁷⁰

In order to address properly the issues raised by our project, it will nevertheless be necessary to make re-calculations of some of the results drawn from the original data and to create a new database. In summary, we can conclude that the available statistical material is sufficient to describe demographic development and migrational activities within Austria-Hungary, but that a more sophisticated and up-to-date use of the data is required if we wish to obtain a more complete picture of migration in the provinces under study.

1.5. Detailed discussion of research problems

Given that different forms of spatial mobility were so widespread throughout Austria-Hungary, the question as to why people were mobile almost loses its relevance. Or to put it another way, if so many people were on the move anyway, it should not surprise us – at a general level - that emigration to America was one of the routes taken by migrants. Within this overall context, the aims of our project should thus be two-fold. Firstly, it is undoubtedly worthwhile to attempt a precise, ‘thick description’ (Clifford Geertz) of migrational behaviour as a whole, and to try and establish the connections between that behaviour and broader demographic and economic structures.⁷¹ Secondly, using our regional case-studies, we will seek to explain the immediate social and economic causes for mobility and to ascertain why, when and how an essential willingness to move was – or was not - transformed into action.⁷² Above all, it will be necessary to bear in mind the entire range of migrational activity if we are to achieve a full understanding of overseas migration. Particularly relevant here is Faßmann’s contention that internal and overseas migration in Austria-Hungary were essentially separate phenomena.⁷³ To test the value of this hypothesis, we will have to ask a set of related questions. For

⁶⁶ Geburten und Sterblichkeitsverhältnisse in Österreich während der Jahre 1819-1899 (Wien, 1902) (off-prints of the supplements to No. 4 and No. 37 of ‘Das österreichische Sanitätswesen’).

⁶⁷ Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Statistik, vol. 17,3 (1870) and vol. 19,2 (1872); thereafter: *Statistische Monatsschrift*, vol. 2-15 (1876-1910).

⁶⁸ See, for example: Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika, in: *Statistische Monatsschrift* 5 (1879), 423-424; Karl Englisch, Die österreichische Auswanderungsstatistik, in: *Statistische Monatsschrift*, NF., vol. 18 (1913), 65-167; Leopold Caro, Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik in Österreich, in: *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik*, vol. 131 (Berlin, 1909); Otto Neurath, Zum österreichischen Auswanderungsgesetzentwurf, in: *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Sozialpolitik und Verwaltung* 23 (1914): 297-378. On the former Bohemian lands, see: *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes des Königreiches Böhmen*, vol. 7 (1905), vol. 24 (1910).

⁶⁹ For migration to America, see: *Jahresbericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer in Budweis über Industrie, Handel und Verkehr im Jahre 1852* (Budweis, 1853).

⁷⁰ For example, in the Státní oblastní archiv Třeboň.

⁷¹ Compare: Lubinski, *Entlassen aus dem Untertanenverband*, esp. 261 ff.

⁷² Bade, *Massenwanderung*, 269.

⁷³ According to Faßmann, countries with a high proportion of emigrants displayed less internal migration, and vice-versa. See: Heinz

example, did the temporal rhythms of migration to America and internal migration run in parallel or in alternating fashion? Did the marked increase in overseas migration have any effect on the intensity and direction of internal migration? How useful is the often made distinction between ‘emigration regions’ on the one hand and ‘immigration regions’ on the other? Is it not actually the case that there were regions with substantial emigration, yet with simultaneous immigration from other areas? What was special about the great ‘emigration wave’ from 1890 to 1914? How did long distance movements – whether overseas or to the larger urban centres - influence short distance migration across district boundaries?

If we look briefly at the Habsburg Monarchy’s Czech-speaking provinces, it is possible to establish a rough outline of the complex relationships between these various kinds of migrational activity. Within Bohemia, there were distinct regional differences both in terms of demographic development and migrational activities during the period under consideration.⁷⁴ In the second half of the 19th century, it was southern and south-western Bohemia that formed the main centre of overseas migration.⁷⁵ At the same time, these regions displayed the highest level of migration to Vienna. It is not yet entirely clear whether or not this resulted from stagnation in the region’s rural economy,⁷⁶ but the possible connections to the decline in the textile-based ‘cottage industry’ must certainly be borne in mind. An interesting contrast is provided by southern Moravia, a region which also sent a very high proportion of migrants to Vienna. Here, the social structure was dominated by a highly commercialised husbandry system, which in practice offered exceptionally good opportunities for settling down.⁷⁷

While migration to Prague was lower in the south than it was in northern and central Bohemia, at the end of the 19th century people from Southern Bohemia not only migrated to Vienna or the U.S.A., they also travelled to other places as well, such as Styria.⁷⁸ In Northern Bohemia, it was labour migration to Saxony that had traditionally been of greatest importance. Aside from these various forms of emigration, however, late 19th century Bohemia also had considerable numbers of immigrants from Moravia and Lower Austria,⁷⁹ while in Austrian Silesia, immigration from Galicia clearly outweighed emigration to the monarchy’s central regions.⁸⁰

According to Alfred Hoffmann, Upper Austria was characterised by a process of ‘re-agrarianisation’ in the 19th century, caused by the decline of its cottage industry. Hoffmann suggests that the modernisation of husbandry started comparatively early in the more prosperous rural areas, whereas

Faßmann, *Emigration, Immigration und Binnenwanderung in der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie 1910* (unpub. MS., Vienna), 73.

⁷⁴ See: Fialová, *Dějiny*; Jaromír Korčák, *Vylidňování Jižních Čech [The Depopulation of Southern Bohemia]* (Prague, 1929).

⁷⁵ Jiří Kořalka, *Tschechen im Habsburgerreich und in Europa 1815-1914* (München, 1991), 79.

⁷⁶ Peter Heumos, *Agrarische Interessen und nationale Politik in Böhmen 1848-1889* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 77.

⁷⁷ Josef Ehmer, *Heiratsverhalten, Sozialstruktur, ökonomischer Wandel* (Göttingen, 1991), 142.

⁷⁸ According to the censuses of 1890 and 1900, more than 13,000 Styrians had been born in Bohemia. See: Franz v. Meinzingen, *Die Wanderbewegung auf Grund von Gebürtigkeitsdaten der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1900*, in: *Statistische Monatsschrift NF*, vol. 8 (1903), 133-161, here 152ff.

⁷⁹ Heinrich Rauchberg, *Die Bevölkerung Österreichs auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1890* (Wien, 1895).

⁸⁰ Meinzingen, *Wanderbewegung*, 140.

urban areas industrialised relatively late.⁸¹ This economic situation is usually considered to have been the cause for the strikingly low growth in population from 1869 to 1910, as compared with other regions of the monarchy. However, neither the regional frequencies of migration nor its social structure have yet been examined in sufficient detail. For the time being, it can only be noted that there was a remarkable decline in the number of inhabitants in several places in the northern part of Upper Austria in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, while there was also an uneven drop in the numbers of servants throughout the whole province around 1900. The fact that some statistics seem to indicate that migration to the Upper Austrian cities of Linz and Steyr was not especially high is probably due to the fact that these places acted as a kind of ‘clearing centre’, with many migrants soon moving on to Vienna.⁸²

Taking this background information into account, the main indicators of migration (i.e. the migrant rate of the population as a whole, subdivided into internal and overseas migration) will be systematically compared with the basic demographic variables of the selected provinces (increases or decreases in population, age structure and sex ratios). As Faßmann’s study has shown, there were distinct regional differences in Austria-Hungary as regards population development, the balance of migration and the balance of births (the difference between the numbers of births and of deaths).⁸³ An important aspect of this overall analysis will be a discussion of gender-specific differences in migrational behaviour. In the case of internal migration, for example, men and women from certain areas obviously had specific preferences as to their eventual destinations.⁸⁴ In particular, we will try and establish to what extent the choice of migration routes was influenced by gender, age and social background within a context where new migration routes were emerging and older ones were beginning to lose their significance.

When looking at the relationship between migration and demography, our aim is not to verify or falsify one way or the other the ‘overpopulation’ model of migrant activity. Instead, our concern will be to determine whether areas with high or low rates of migration display similar demographic characteristics.⁸⁵ How did overseas migrants differ in demographic and social terms from other migrants and from the stationary population? In answering this question, the project will also throw light on the hitherto largely unexplored demographic development of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. While historical studies of population development are available for many European countries⁸⁶, the

⁸¹ Alfred Hoffmann, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Landes Oberösterreich*. 2 Bände (Linz-Salzburg, 1952).

⁸² Helmut Lackner, *Die oberösterreichische Landeshauptstadt Linz und ihre Beziehungen zu Böhmen und Mähren während der Industrialisierung*, in: *Opera Historica* 2 (1992): 116-20.

⁸³ Faßmann, *Emigration*.

⁸⁴ Compare the many examples given by: Rauchberg, *Bevölkerung*, 123.

⁸⁵ For a critical assessment of the relationship between migration and demography, see: Josef Ehmer, *Migration und Bevölkerung. Zur Kritik eines Erklärungsmodells*, in: *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 27 (1998): 5-29.

⁸⁶ For a detailed study of the history of German ‘Population science’ (*Bevölkerungswissenschaft*), including a bibliographical survey, see: Bernhard von Brocke, *Bevölkerungs-wissenschaft quo vadis? Möglichkeiten und Probleme einer Geschichte der Bevölkerungs-wissenschaft in Deutschland* (Opladen, 1998). For England, see: Edward A. Wrigley / Roger Schofield, *The Population History of England* (Cambridge, 1981); Michael Anderson (Ed.), *British population history. From the Black Death to the present day* (Cambridge, 1996). On France, see: Jacques Dupâquier (Ed.), *Histoire de la population française*. 4 vol. (Paris, 1995). For a recent survey of Europe, see: J.-P. Bardet / J. Dupâquier (Eds.), *Histoire des populations de l’Europe* (Paris, 1997).

discipline of historical demography has still failed to establish itself in Austria. Nor do we have a population history of the Habsburg Monarchy, even if the situation is noticeably better regarding Austria-Hungary's successor states.⁸⁷

1.6. Preliminary results

The aim of the research project was a detailed analysis of both migration from the Austrian part of the Habsburg Empire to the United States of America and internal migration within the monarchy from the mid-19th century up until 1914. This was meant to fill in substantial gaps, since the subject - in contrast to other European countries - has long been neglected by Austrian historical research. The project attempted to systematically describe the quantitative significance of overseas and internal migration at district level. Migration to North America was examined within its local context(s), and migrant profiles were compared with the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the overall population in each of the provinces under investigation. Following recent international discussions in migration history, our approach conceived migration to America as part of a much larger set of inter-related, multifarious migrational activities, embedded in the social structures of the target and departure areas. This approach enabled us to detect new relations in the changing patterns of migration activities at the turn of the 19th century. During the research process there were only minor changes to the concept of our research project: we decided to analyse a sample of passenger lists of 1910 rather than of 1906 as originally planned, because for 1910 both an Austrian and an American census were available. We furthermore extended the geographical scope of our study, focussing not only on the provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, Upper Austria and Lower Austria (including Vienna) as originally planned, but due to the advice provided by one of the anonymous peer-reviewers of the original application included also most of the other provinces of the monarchy. Especially the province of Galicia had to be included due to its dominant role in overseas migration. However, these changes had no significant effects on the time schedule of the research project.

1.6.1. Transatlantic migration

In several aspects the project broke new scientific ground. For the first time in Austrian historical research a representative sample of passenger lists of ships transporting migrants from the harbours of Hamburg and Bremen to the main port of arrival, New York, was used as a source for analysing migration to the USA. To study internal migration in the Austrian part of the Habsburg Empire, the published results of the Austrian censuses 1880 to 1910 were analysed (see attached list of data bases). Compared with previous work on internal migration, these investigations, too, were based on a more systematic analysis than ever before in Austrian migration history. Our research did not focus on a few dominant migration routes; rather, we tried to reconstruct all forms of migration at the district level as far as it was recorded in the published results of the censuses. Methodologically the research project treated emigration and immigration as being closely related to one another, not least in that emigration

⁸⁷ For Bohemia and Moravia, see: Ludmila Karníková, *Vývoj obyvatelstva českých zemí 1754-1914* [Population development in the Czech Lands 1754-1914] (Prague, 1965); Ludmila Fialová et al. (Eds.), *Dějiny obyvatelstva českých zemí* [Population History of the Czech Lands] (Prague, 1996). For Hungary, consult the work of: Rudolf Andorka, *The historical demography of a proper Hungarian village*, in: *Journal of Family History* 19 (1994), 311-31.

and immigration occurred simultaneously in the same regions. Our approach leaves us with a much more complex picture of overseas emigration in particular and of migration processes in general.

Project results on overseas migration from the Austrian Empire indicate significant changes during the period under observation. People from the Czech lands were the first among Habsburg citizens to migrate to the USA in relatively high numbers. Between 1876 and 1885 more than half of all transatlantic migrants of the Empire were from Bohemia. Their dominant role during the early phases of transatlantic movements is the reason why Czech overseas migrants deserve major attention in our analysis. During the last two decades of the Austrian Empire, however, dramatic changes took place with regard to the dominant provinces of overseas migration. This change in patterns, already recognized by other researchers, is strongly confirmed by our sample of the passenger records in 1910. Nearly 70 percent of all migrants to the U.S. in 1910 were born in Galicia. Poles, Jews, and Ruthenians from this province formed an important part of the so called 'New Immigration' to the USA.

Comparisons of Czech and Galician overseas migrants make up one of the central parts of analysis. Transatlantic migrants from the Czech Lands differed considerably from those from Galicia: the sex ratio of overseas migrants from Bohemia in 1910 was nearly balanced, although 70 percent of the Bohemian passengers over 14 years of age were single. Their age structure suggests two different migration patterns. On the one hand, a family migration pattern: one member of the family went first, and after he or she had settled, the relatives followed. On the other hand, a relatively high percentage of young unmarried people of both sexes decided to move from Bohemia to the United States of America. In comparison most of the Galician migrants were single men at an age between 15 and 49. Differences between the selected groups can also be seen in the distribution of occupations. Nearly a quarter of the migrants from Bohemia were trained artisans and only 49 percent had been employed as farm labourers or maids before emigration, whereas Galician migrants were overwhelmingly dominated by servants and labourers working in agriculture.

A gendered view on overseas migrants from the Austrian Empire not only disproves the dominant image of transatlantic migrants as being predominantly young and male, but enables us to recognize different causes and chances of male and female migrants. Many young unmarried women took part in the new wave of labour migration to America around 1900, but whereas men to a large degree migrated only temporarily, women more often stayed in the U. S. for good. A higher percentage of women went to the cities of North America where they found work in the expanding textile industries. Compared to their job possibilities at home, where most of them had to work in domestic or agricultural service, this meant a social improvement to them.

In addition to descriptive statistics, the project team applied a series of new methods. With the aid of a cartographic computer programme, several cartographic maps on migration patterns were created. We furthermore used a multiple regression approach in order to achieve a concise statistical interpretation of the causes of overseas migration – a statistical method which has only seldom been used in historical research in the German-speaking countries up to now. A transdisciplinary cooperation with the economist E. Stockhammer guaranteed a sophisticated use of these methods. Several hypotheses

widespread in literature were tested and in part disproved. Older hypotheses arguing that emigration was driven by ‘overpopulation’ are not supported by our findings. Also, our results show no evidence of a negative linear relation between wages and emigration. Rather, a non-linear relation is supported. This suggests that it were not the poor, but intermediate income groups that emigrated most. By linking information on overseas and internal migration at the district level, we were able to develop a new hypothesis: transatlantic migration cannot be viewed in isolation from other types of migration; rather, our results give evidence of a negative relationship between internal migration density and transatlantic migration.

1.6.2. *Internal migrations*

As a second major part of the research project, a systematic analysis of internal migrations within the Austrian Empire has been undertaken. Also for this part of the project, important new insights can be presented. Although our results partly confirm established views of higher in-migration to cities and industrialized regions compared with agricultural areas, they indicate much more complex migration patterns. First, rates of out-migration seem to have been connected to rates of in-migration: regions with high rates of in-migration usually also had comparatively high rates of out-migration. Thus, the population of districts which were attractive for migrants was very mobile. The evidence of the project disproves common assumptions that migration during the industrial period was nearly exclusively a rural-urban movement. Instead, often neglected urban-rural migrations and in general out-migration from the cities seem to have been a regular part of mobility. For example, Vienna was not only the centre of in-migration, but also the most important centre of out-migration in the Monarchy even during a phase of rapid population growth. In quantitative terms, another important but often ignored pattern of internal migration in the Austrian Empire seems to have been an ‘extended inner-urban mobility’, meaning movements from the inner districts to suburban areas outside the borderlines of the cities, quite often to neighbouring districts which later on were integrated in the cities. Sometimes, migration networks between two regions were even reciprocal in the sense of nearly equal exchanges in the number of in-migrating people. Relationships between urban centres of the Austrian part of the Empire, however, were important only in a few cases. In analysing internal migration within the Habsburg monarchy based on the censuses, a few shortcomings of this method caused by the limitations of the sources became evident. First, in many regions different types of transnational short-distance migration were more important than anticipated. These types of migration could not be studied sufficiently by using only censuses of one single state. While censuses created by a nation state lend themselves to detailed and systematic analysis of in-migration even on a district level, this method is insufficient to record out-migration. Emigration from a district was only documented when the borders of the Monarchy were *not* crossed. Second, because Austrian censuses were always taken on December 31, the censuses do not reflect the whole range of temporary movements occurring between spring and the beginning of December. We had to expand our analysis beyond census material, and had to additionally examine a few surveys carried out on seasonal migrations. For these reasons we made a new application to the FWF to fund a new research project focussing especially on transnational short-distance migrations between the Habsburg monarchy and its neighbouring countries.

We hope that the project results will have a strong impact on studies of contemporary migrations as conducted by sociologists and demographers. Reconstructing historical migration patterns is of great importance to contemporary discussions of the issues. The project results confirm approaches arguing that in historic times, too, migration was no exceptional and disruptive phenomenon caused by processes of industrialization in a few places, but rather, had many different destinations, and has to be seen as a regular option for the majority of people in every region.

2. Transnational migration in Central Europe. Migration systems across the state boundaries of the Late Austrian Empire, 1860-1914.

2.1. Project aims

The aim of this research project is to systematically reconstruct the manifold forms and patterns of migration between the Austrian part of the Habsburg monarchy and its neighbouring states during the period of 1860-1914. The project will analyse the changing importance of various types of movements across state boundaries in both directions as well as their interdependence over the course of time. Current discussions around the forms and patterns of migration have sparked new interest in the history of migration in many European countries.⁸⁸ Although in contemporary Austria migration has been of particular relevance for more than a decade and despite the growing interest in research on migration in other European countries, few historiographies on the subject have been published recently in Austria.⁸⁹ We plan to fill in this gap, and more importantly, we hope that our contribution will help to establish a closer link with the current national migration historiographies, which are, for the most part, carried out in isolation from each other, and as a result tend to underestimate the importance of historical transnational migration movements, in particular between neighbouring states.

⁸⁸ Cf. for Germany: Klaus Bade, *Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland: Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. München 1993 (3rd ed.); *Ibid.*, *Auswanderer – Wanderarbeiter – Gastarbeiter. Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Ostfildern 1984; *Ibid.*, *Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt im deutschen Nordosten von 1880 bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg. Überseeische Auswanderung, interne Abwanderung und kontinentale Zuwanderung*, in: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 20 (1980), pp. 265-323; *Ibid.*, *German Emigration to the United States and Continental Immigration to Germany in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, in: *Central European History* 13 (1980), pp. 348-377 and *Ibid.*, *Transnationale Migration, ethno-nationale Diskussion und staatliche Migrationspolitik im Deutschland des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Ibid.*, (Ed.), *Migration – Ethnizität – Konflikt*. Osnabrück 1996, pp.403-430; J. J. Kulczycky, *The Foreign worker and the German labor movement. Xenophobia and solidarity in the coal fields of the Ruhr, 1871-1914*. Oxford 1994, pp. 14-47. On Italian migration to European countries, see: G. Rosoli, *Italian migration to European countries from political unification to World War I*, in: D. Hoerder (Ed.), *Labor migrations in the Atlantic economies. The European and North American working classes during the period of Industrialization*. Westport-London 1985, pp. 99-103.

⁸⁹ Whereas only a few new empirical studies have been carried out, the number of exhibitions organised on the topic seems to be increasing. See, for example: Michael John/Manfred Lindorfer (Eds.), *Migration. Eine Zeitreise nach Europa (Ausstellungskatalog)*. Linz 2003; Hakan Gürses/Cornelia Kogoj/Sylvia Mattl (Eds.), *„Gastarbeiter“. 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration*. Wien 2004.

The impetus for this proposed research project came out of previous work done by the research team.⁹⁰ In the previously carried out research project transcontinental migration to North America was analysed in relation to internal migration, which made up – in quantitative terms – by far the most important migration type. When we examined the connections between various types of migration, a number of new insights arose. The experience and knowledge acquired from the former project paved the way for additional research to be undertaken which asks new questions and uses different methods. Therefore, the aim of this application is to launch a completely new research project, which builds upon the results of the former one.

By analysing internal migration within the Habsburg monarchy, it became evident that in many regions different types of transnational short-distance migration were more important than anticipated. However, these types of migration can not be studied sufficiently by using only censuses of one single state (i.e. the Habsburg monarchy). While censuses created by a nation state lend themselves to detailed and systematic analysis of in-migration even on a district level, this method is insufficient to record out-migration. Emigration from a district was only documented when the borders of the Monarchy were *not* crossed. Because the depiction of existing migration relationships between regions is broken off at the state borders, censuses are only able to show sections of larger historical migration networks. We have restricted the geographical scope of the planned project to migration activities between the Austrian part of the Habsburg monarchy and its neighbouring countries Switzerland, Italy, Imperial Germany, the Russian empire and the Hungarian part of the Habsburg monarchy,⁹¹ thereby limiting the area of our investigation to nearly the whole of Central Europe, along with parts of Eastern and Southern Europe. Transnational migration networks will be examined within the context of interdependences with other types of migration, such as internal and transcontinental migration.

2.2. Theoretical background and formulation of research questions

The terms emigration and immigration were coined as a result of administrative needs by nation states when establishing themselves during the 19th century. Since then migration has been defined as

⁹⁰ Cf. Austrian Research Council (FWF), 'Migration to North America, Internal Migration, and Demographic Structures in Late Imperial Austria' (P14733 – HIS). For the results of the project, see: Annemarie Steidl/ Josef Ehmer/ Stan Nadel and Hermann Zeitlhofer (Eds.), 'Relations between internal, continental, and transatlantic migration in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century' (Conference proceedings; Göttingen Vandenhoeck/Ruprecht unipress 2005). Cf. also Annemarie Steidl, Migration to North America and Internal Migration in Late Imperial Austria, in: Matthew Wollard (Ed.), History and Computing (forthcoming); Ibid., Migration to North America and Internal Migration in Late Imperial Austria. A Comparison between Migrants from Bohemia und Galicia (Paper presented at the European Social Science History Conference in Den Haag 2002); Ibid., Migration to North America and Internal Migration in Late Imperial Austria (Paper presented at the XVth International Conference of the Association for History and Computing in Poznań/Poland 2001); Hermann Zeitlhofer, Internal and Transatlantic Migration in Late Imperial Austria (Paper presented at the 28th annual meeting of the Social Science History association in Baltimore 2003); Annemarie Steidl/Engelbert Stockhammer/ Hermann Zeitlhofer, Relations between continental and transatlantic migration from the late Habsburg monarchy: building a regression model (Paper presented at the workshop 'Relations between internal, continental, and transatlantic migration in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century' in Salzburg 2003); Hermann Zeitlhofer, Internal Migration in Imperial Austria before World War I: a few general remarks on migration patterns during the industrial era (Paper presented at the workshop 'Relations between internal, continental, and transatlantic migration in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century' in Salzburg 2003). Additionally several articles and a monograph have been prepared as a result of the knowledge accumulated during this project.

⁹¹ While the Austrian part of the monarchy shared borders with Romania, Montenegro and the annexed Bosnia, we have decided to exclude migration networks between those states from our study. Not only did these countries have a vastly different socio-economic and cultural background compared to Central Europe, but also they seemed to have belonged to separated migration systems.

crossing state or regional (administrative) borders. Migration history has tended to focus on one single nation state; this emphasis on the nation state has caused historians of migration to study primarily the movements of people who were crossing national borders, be it either as emigrants or as immigrants, or with population movements within a state. Consequently, only whole states – and not regions – were defined as migration areas. The adherence to state boundaries have resulted in researchers' strict analytical separation of the different forms of migration such as emigration, immigration or internal migration. For more than a century some kind of 'methodological nationalism' has dominated 'migration studies' and the social sciences as a whole.⁹² This tendency was strengthened by the fact that the sources used in migration history were almost exclusively produced by nation states. Only recently international discussions have shown that internal, continental, and overseas migration were not essentially separate phenomena, but instead should be viewed as an integral part of spatial mobility.⁹³

State boundaries were far from self-evident; rather they were often the product of continuously changing processes of demarcation. Indeed, there are several examples of either administrations or migrants themselves not acknowledging changes of this kind.⁹⁴ We, therefore, believe it is essential to the development of migration history to ask whether migrants themselves did in fact see any difference between a move within a state or to the neighbouring village on the other side of the state border.⁹⁵ Until recently, the traditional focus on nation states has resulted in the knowledge of some migration patterns, like internal or transcontinental migration, to be far better developed than short-distance migration across state boundaries.

In recent years alternative methods and theoretical approaches have been developed to counter-balance a nation state dominated historiography. Within contemporary US-American migration studies, researchers have stressed a phenomenon referred to as 'transnationalisation of space and identities', creating a particular type of migrant (the so-called 'transmigrant'). Transmigrants simultaneously living in two or more societies form a transnational community that transcends state borders as well as traditional identities and consequently assimilation does not occur.⁹⁶ While many authors define transmigration as a historically new phenomenon, which if it is to be found in the past appears only marginally,⁹⁷ more recently other researchers mention transmigrants as a critical factor of overseas

⁹² Cf. Andreas Wimmer/Nina Glick Schiller, *Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the study of migration: An essay in historical epistemology*, in: *International migration review* 37, 3 (2003), pp. 576-610.

⁹³ These were the results of an international workshop on „Relations between internal, continental, and transatlantic migration“, organized by the project team in December 2003 (cf. footnote 3).

⁹⁴ Harald Kleinschmidt, *Menschen in Bewegung. Inhalte und Ziele historischer Migrationsforschung*. Göttingen 2002, p. 15. In many ways, the self-establishing nation states in 19th century Europe led to an increase in the significance of borders. Cf. Andrea Komlosy, *Grenze und ungleiche regionale Entwicklung. Binnenmarkt und Migration in der Habsburgermonarchie*. Wien 2003; Andreas Gestrich/Marita Krauss (Eds.), *Migration und Grenze*, Stuttgart 1998; Wolfgang Schmale/Stauber, Reinhard (Eds.), *Menschen und Grenzen in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Berlin 1998; Waltraud Heindl/Edith Saurer (Eds.), *Grenze und Staat. Passwesen, Staatsbürgerschaft, Heimatrecht und Fremden gesetzgebung in der österreichischen Monarchie 1750-1867*. Wien-Köln-Weimar 2000.

⁹⁵ Kleinschmidt, *Menschen*, p. 43.

⁹⁶ Cf. Christoph Parnreiter, *Theorien und Forschungsansätze zu Migration*, in: Karl Husa/Christoph Parnreiter/ Irene Stacher (Eds.), *Internationale Migration. Die globale Herausforderung des 21. Jahrhunderts?* Wien 2000, pp. 25-52, here pp. 38-41; Lutger Pries (Ed.), *Transnationale Migration (Soziale Welt, Sonderband 12)*. Baden-Baden 1997; Heinz Fassmann, *EU-Erweiterung und Arbeitsmigration. Quantitative Vorhersagen und aktuelle Entwicklungstendenzen*, in: *IMIS-Beiträge* 19 (2002), pp. 65-88.

⁹⁷ Lutger Pries, *Transnationalisierung der Migrationsforschung und Entnationalisierung der Migrationspolitik. Das Entstehen transnationaler*

migration around 1900.⁹⁸ When faced with large numbers of seasonal labour migrants crossing national borders within Central Europe annually at the beginning of the 20th century, we have to ask whether transnational identities were already widespread within these communities.⁹⁹ New approaches, furthermore, have been recently acquired to attempt to expand upon the traditional historiography towards a ‘transnational historiography’.¹⁰⁰ Some authors predict that the history of international movements will be at the centre of a newly developing ‘Social History of Europe’.¹⁰¹ To date, two important monographs on migration history written from a European and a global perspective have been published.¹⁰²

Because people act within concrete social, geographical and time spaces,¹⁰³ transnational migration was developed according to concrete destinations. Concrete regions, rather than countries, were targets of movements.¹⁰⁴ Migration networks between two regions frequently came about as a result of one socio-economic system; such regions – even when separated by a frontier – often formed an integrated labour market. Jan Lucassen’s widely acclaimed concept of ‘migration systems’, which was developed in order to describe continuous and long-standing migration networks between two or more regions, is commonly used in recent international migration research.¹⁰⁵ Regions connected by one migration system have to be studied as one unit of analysis. It has even been argued that movements within an integrated – but separated by national borders – region could be called ‘internal migration’.¹⁰⁶

The current state of international research on European continental migration is largely biased: we know substantially more about historical migration patterns in the western part of Europe than in East-central or Eastern Europe. Historiographical surveys, claiming to cover migration history of the whole of Europe, in fact predominately concentrate on western or north-western European migration systems.¹⁰⁷ The reason for excluding east-central European migration is not rooted in its lesser

Sozialräume durch Arbeitswanderung am Beispiel Mexiko – USA, in: IMIS-Beiträge 15 (2000), pp. 55-77, here p. 61.

⁹⁸ Peggy Levitt, Josh DeWind, Steven Vertovec, International perspectives on transnational migration: an introduction, in: *International migration review* 37,3 (2003), pp. 565-575, here p. 569. Ewa Morawska, Immigrants, Transnationalism, and Ethnicization: a comparison of this great wave and the last, in: Gary Gerstle/John Mollenkopf (Eds.), *E pluribus unum? Contemporary and historical perspectives on immigrant political incorporation*. New York 2001, pp. 175-212.

⁹⁹ There are some indications for this. See for example: Reinhard Haller, dass ich selbst nicht weiß, ob ich ein Baier, oder ein Böhme sey!’. *Böhmische Einwanderer im Bayerischen Wald*, in: Helge Gerndt (Ed.), *Stereotypvorstellungen im Alltagsleben. Beiträge zum Themenkreis Fremdbilder – Selbstbilder – Identität*. München 1988, pp. 210-223.

¹⁰⁰ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaates*. Göttingen 2001; *Ibid.*, *Trans-nationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Erweiterung oder Alternative?*, in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27 (2001), pp. 464-479; Dirk Hoerder, *From national history to many texts: deprovincialized, transcultural, internationalized historiographies of the United States*, in: *Amerikastudien* 48, H. 1 (2003), pp. 11-32; Michael Werner/Bénédicte Zimmermann, *Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der Histoire croisée und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen*, in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28 (2002), pp. 607-636; Kirian K. Patel, *Transatlantische Perspektiven transnationaler Historiographie*, in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 30, H. 4 (forthcoming 2004).

¹⁰¹ Osterhammel, *Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 468.

¹⁰² Klaus Bade, *Europa in Bewegung. Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*. München 2000; Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact. World migrations in the second millennium*. Durham, NC 2002.

¹⁰³ Kleinschmidt, *Menschen*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Leslie P. Moch, *Moving Europeans. Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, Bloomington 1992, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Jan Lucassen, *Migrant labour in Europe, 1600-1900. The drift to the Northern Sea*. London 1987.

¹⁰⁶ Dudley Baines, *European labor markets, emigration and internal migration, 1850-1913*, in: Timothy Hatton/ Jeffrey Williamson (Eds.), *Migration and the international labor market*. London/New York 1994, pp. 35-54, here pp. 36f.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Massimo Livi Bacci, *Europa und seine Menschen. Eine Bevölkerungsgeschichte*. München 1999, pp. 152-159. Cf. also: Bade, *Europa*, pp. 24-42, 66-69, for historical perspectives which focus predominately on Western Europe; migration from or to East-central

quantitative significance but rather in the widespread lack of knowledge concerning this area. Historical migrations in Eastern European societies are usually underestimated because of presumed restrictions on mobility during the period of 'second serfdom' and the low degree of industrialization afterwards.¹⁰⁸ In actuality, around 1900 east-central European migration systems were among the most important in Europe. Before the outbreak of World War I Eastern Europe formed the greatest reservoir of cheap labourers for the growing industrial sectors of Western Europe as well as for commercialised agriculture. In 1910 the number of seasonal labour migrants from the Austrian part of the monarchy crossing state boundaries was estimated at 330,000.¹⁰⁹

2.3. The state of research on transnational migration in Central Europe around 1900

With the exception of overseas migration¹¹⁰ the historiography of in- and out-migration in the Habsburg monarchy to this day has barely been investigated.¹¹¹ On the history of immigration in the Habsburg monarchy in the 19th and early 20th century nearly no research has been undertaken.¹¹² This is all the more surprising because the Habsburg monarchy was one of the main European centres of emigration at the beginning of the 20th century. Between 1876 and 1910 at least five million Austro-Hungarian citizens, nearly ten per cent of the population, emigrated.¹¹³ European continental migration was far from quantitatively insignificant. Austrian researchers, like Heinz Fassmann, estimated that the number of 'Austrian' citizens living in other European countries during this year was approximately 1,5 million whereas at the same time only 860,000 foreign citizens lived in Austro-Hungary (approximately 583,000 of them in the Austrian part of the monarchy).¹¹⁴ However, for several reasons these national numbers based solely on censuses underestimate the numerical significance of both in- and out-migration within Europe.¹¹⁵ When looking at this data on a regional level, we begin to see the importance of immigration in some parts of the monarchy. For example, in 1910 in 38 districts of the Austrian part of the monarchy the proportion of people born in another state was higher than five percent, and in 12 districts more than nine percent of the population were foreign

Europe (Austrian Galicia, Russian Poland) is only briefly mentioned.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Moch, *Moving Europeans*. For a case study on mobility during the period of 'second serfdom', see Josef Grulich, 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], in: *Historická Demografie* 22 (1998), pp. 79-105.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Lars Olsson, *Labor migration as a prelude to World War I*, in: *International migration review* 33 (1996), pp. 875-900; Franz Markitan, *Auswandererverkehrswege in Österreich*. Wien 1912.

¹¹⁰ Among many others see Hans Chmelar, *Die Auswanderung der im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreiche und Länder in den Jahren 1905-1914* (unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, Vienna, 1972); Traude Horvath, *Burgenländerinnen und Burgenländer in den USA* (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Vienna, 1994); Meinrad Pichler, *Auswanderer. Von Vorarlberg in die USA 1800-1938* (Bregenz, 1993); Traude Horvath/Gerda Neyer (Eds.), *Auswanderungen aus Österreich. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart* (Wien-Köln-Weimar, 1996).

¹¹¹ On the history of emigration from territories of present-day Austria, see the final report of a research project carried out in the 1990s: Horvath/Neyer (Eds.), *Auswanderungen*.

¹¹² The study of Michael John, *Zuwanderung in Österreich 1848-1914*, in: *Archiv 1988. Jahrbuch für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung*. Wien 1988 mainly deals with internal migration from the Bohemian lands to Vienna.

¹¹³ Heinz Fassmann, *Auswanderung aus der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie 1869-1910*, in: Horvath/Neyer (Eds.), *Auswanderungen*, here p. 44; Gerda Neyer, *Auswanderungen aus Österreich. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*, in: *Demographische Informationen* 1995/96, pp. 60-70, here p. 61.

¹¹⁴ Heinz Fassmann, *Emigration, Immigration und Binnenwanderung in der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie 1910* (unpubl. manuscript, Vienna, 1988), p. 55.

¹¹⁵ Fassmann, *Emigration*, p. 46.

citizens.¹¹⁶ The effective date of Austrian censuses before the period of 1914 was December 31 and therefore the censuses did not reflect the whole range of temporary movements occurring between spring and the beginning of December. Although Fassmann, aware of this problem, included an additional number of ‘some 200,000 wanderers’ for 1910, our research group strongly believes that this number is still far too low.¹¹⁷

While the existence of some, though not all, migration systems linking regions of the Austrian part of the monarchy to regions across the borders is recognised by researchers, for the most part detailed studies have not been conducted. Temporary labour migration predominately from North Bohemia to the German provinces of Saxony and Prussia (‘Sachsendängerei’) have a long-standing tradition throughout the early modern period¹¹⁸ whereas seasonal movements from the Austrian province of Galicia (present-day Southern Poland and Western Ukraine) to Prussia and other regions in Germany only culminated at the beginning of the 20th century.¹¹⁹ German territories since the 1890s faced a rapid increase in the number of in-migrating Eastern European labourers¹²⁰, included in this pattern was a continuously growing number from Galicia.¹²¹ Another long-standing tradition of work migration across the border existed in the most western part of the monarchy, in the provinces of Tyrol and Vorarlberg, where each spring people, many of them children (‘Schwabenkinder’), headed to Southwest-German regions in search of work.¹²² The province of Vorarlberg was a centre for both in- and out-migration¹²³, with target regions such as Switzerland which until recently have been largely unexplored.

¹¹⁶ These statistics are based on our calculations gathered from the Austrian census of 1910. In January 2001, the proportion of foreign citizens in Austria amounted to 9.4 percent. Cf. Michael John, Von der Anwerbung der ‘Gastarbeiter’ bis zu den Folgen der Globalisierung, in: John/Lindorfer, Migration, p. 13.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Fassmann, Emigration, p. 57. He seems to have taken into consideration only labour movements from Galicia, disregarding other parts of the monarchy.

¹¹⁸ Martin Lezius, Das Problem der Sachsendängerei in seiner jüngsten Entwicklung. Neudamm, 1912; this pattern is well-documented in autobiographies: Wenzel Holek, Lebensgang eines deutsch-tschechischen Handarbeiters. Jena 1909; Wenzel Holek, Vom Handarbeiter zum Jugenderzieher: Lebensgang eines deutsch-tschechischen Handarbeiters. Jena 1921; Heinrich Holek, Unterwegs: eine Selbstbiographie. Wien 1927. On the German Magdeburger Börde, see: Manuela Obermeier, Die Sachsendänger. Wanderarbeiter im Rübenbau 1850-1915. Berlin 1999.

¹¹⁹ Klaus Bade, ‘Preussendänger’ und ‘Abwehrpolitik’: Ausländerbeschäftigung, Ausländerpolitik und Ausländerkontrolle auf dem Arbeitsmarkt in Preussen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg, in: Archiv für Sozialgeschichte 24 (1984), pp. 91-162; *Ibid.*, Massenwanderung; Cf. Imre Ferenczi, Kontinentale Wanderungen und die Annäherung der Völker. Ein geschichtlicher Überblick. Jena 1913; Julius Ludwig, Die polnische Sachsendänger in der badischen Landwirtschaft und Industrie. Karlsruhe 1914.

¹²⁰ Cf. Josef Ehmer, Bevölkerungsgeschichte und Historische Demographie des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, (=Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte), München 2004 (in print).

¹²¹ In 1910 approximately 165,000 Galician workers were counted in Imperial Germany, but in the last years before World War I seasonal labour migration from Galicia expanded to Sweden, Denmark and France. Cf. Olsson, Labor migration; Kasimir Kumaniecki, Die galizische Saisonwanderung im Lichte ausländischer Arbeitsverträge, in: Statistische Monatsschrift 1909, pp. 521-567. Especially on “Ruthenian” migration from Galicia, see: Armin Mitter, Die ukrainische Erwerbsmigration nach Preussen 1900-1914, in: Jahrbuch für Geschichte 34 (1986), pp. 147-78.

¹²² During the 1830s the annual number was estimated at several thousands of people, but in 1910 the number had declined to only a few hundred. Cf. Otto Uhlig, Die Schwabenkinder aus Tirol und Vorarlberg. Innsbruck 1978, pp. 104-8; Markitan, Auswandererverkehrswege, p. 23. Cf. Sabine Mücke, Schwabenkinder: Vorarlberger, Tiroler und Graubündner Kinder als Arbeitskräfte in Oberschwaben. Ravensberg 1998; Roman Spiss, Saisonwanderer, Schwabenkinder und Landfahrer. Innsbruck 1993; Josef Märk, Schwabenkinder aus Rankweil. Feldkirch 1981; Josef Muther, Die Wanderung der Schwabenkinder in Tirol und Vorarlberg. Wien 1912.

¹²³ Cf. Hannelore Berchtold, ‘... in Frankreich ihr Fortkommen zu gründen ...’: die Arbeitsmigration von Vorarlberg nach Frankreich im 19. Jahrhundert (unpubl. Ph. D. thesis Innsbruck 2001).

Little until now was known about other migration systems connecting Austrian regions with territories of Imperial Germany. Although seasonal movements are not covered by censuses taken during the winter, the German census of 1910 calculated more than 600,000 Austrian citizens living in German territories. In 1885 more than 42 percent of all foreign citizens living in Imperial Germany stemmed from Austro-Hungary.¹²⁴ Our knowledge of numerous migration systems between Austrian and German regions is nevertheless limited to nothing more than raw statistical data. In 1885, for example, some 19,000 Austrian citizens lived in Upper Bavaria alone, some of them most certainly stemmed from Bohemia. Bohemian workers in comparatively large numbers also went to the coal mines in the Swabian districts of Augsburg and Sonthofen.¹²⁵ In 1914 the number of people from the Bohemian lands in the Ruhr area was estimated between 100,000 and 130,000.¹²⁶ In Bremen and Berlin, too, Czech in-migration was imperative.¹²⁷ In 1910, some 40,000 to 50,000 Czech seasonal labourers migrated at least temporarily to different parts of Imperial Germany.¹²⁸

The history of exchanging movements of migration between Imperial Germany and the Habsburg monarchy to date has been studied neither by Austrian nor German researchers in sufficient detail. In Germany, migration research during the last decades has been dominated by the history of in-migration whereas emigration foremost has been documented by the history of overseas migration.¹²⁹ Despite the immense number of publications on foreign workers in Imperial Germany, the focus throughout is largely on Polish and to a lesser degree on Italian immigrants. The substantial proportion of immigrants from the Austrian monarchy is only marginally mentioned.¹³⁰ One possible reason for Austrian historiographers' disinterest in the history of movements between German and Austrian regions¹³¹ may lie in the political misuse of studies on early modern immigration from German regions to Austrian territories during the period of 1939 to 1945.¹³²

¹²⁴ Nearly half of the people born in Austria but living in Prussia in 1885 stemmed from Bohemia, some 16 percent from Galicia and 15.9 percent from Austrian Silesia. Cf. Heinrich Rauchberg, *Die österreichischen Staatsangehörigen im Deutschen Reich unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Österreicher im Preussischen Staate*, in: *Statistische Monatschrift* 1889, p. 323.

¹²⁵ Cf. *Beiträge zur Statistik des Königreichs Bayern*, Vol. 63. München 1902.

¹²⁶ Jiří Kořalka, *Tschechische Bergarbeiter in Nordwestböhmen und im Ruhrgebiet, 1900-1914*, in: Winfried Eberhard, et al. (Eds.), *Westmitteleuropa - Ostmitteleuropa. Vergleiche und Beziehungen*. München 1992, pp. 251-260.

¹²⁷ Only mentioned briefly in Karl Barfuss, *Foreign workers in and around Bremen, 1884-1918*, in: Dirk Hoerder/ Jörg Nagler (Eds.), *People in transit. German migrations in comparative perspective, 1820-1930*. New York 1995. pp. 201-224, here p. 201; S. Jersch-Wenzel (Ed.), *Von Zuwanderern zu Einheimischen: Hugennotten, Juden, Böhmen, Polen in Berlin*. Berlin 1990.

¹²⁸ Markitan, *Auswandererverkehrswege*, p. 25.

¹²⁹ Cf. the recent survey in Ehmer, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte*.

¹³⁰ Cf. Klaus Bade, *Vom Auswanderungsland zum „Arbeitseinfuhrland“: kontinentale Zuwanderung und Ausländerbeschäftigung in Deutschland im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, in: *Ibid.* (Ed.), *Auswanderer*, pp. 433-85; Ulrich Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerbeschäftigung in Deutschland 1880-1980*. Berlin 1986; Johann Woydt, *Ausländische Arbeitskräfte in Deutschland: vom Kaiserreich zur Bundesrepublik*. Heilbronn 1987. Panikos Panayi, *Ethnic minorities in nineteenth and twentieth century Germany. Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Turks and others*. Harlow/Munich, et al. 2000. For case studies on specific migration systems, see: René Del Fabbro, *Transalpini. Italienische Arbeitswanderung nach Süddeutschland im Kaiserreich 1870-1918*. Osnabrück 1993; Hannelore Oberpenning, *Migration und Fernhandel im ‚Töddensystem‘. Wanderhändler aus dem nördlichen Münsterland im mittleren und nördlichen Europa des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*. Osnabrück 1996.

¹³¹ Although in 1910 German citizens (approximately 23,000) together with Hungarians formed the largest group of foreigners in Vienna, in a detailed study conducted by Michael John and Albert Lichtblau on the history of immigration in Vienna, immigration from German territories was not discussed. Instead, the researchers included chapters on the comparatively small groups of Armenian, Turkish and Greek immigrants. See: Michael John/Albert Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien - einst und jetzt. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart von Zuwanderung und Minderheiten*. Wien-Köln-Weimar 1993 (2nd ed.). Compare with more recent studies on Vienna, including immigration from South German territories: Andreas Weigl, *Demographischer Wandel und Modernisierung in Wien*. Wien 2000, pp. 131-134; Annemarie Steidl, *Auf*

Comparatively high proportions of immigrants from German territories seem to have lived, besides in Vienna, in the regions of Bohemia bordering on Bavaria¹³³ and Saxony, and in the regions of Moravia and Silesia bordering on Prussia. On both sides of the borders these regions underwent early industrialization; indeed, at the end of the 19th century this area was one of the most important industrial centres in Europe. A large number of workers seem to have more or less continuously circulated within these regions, but empirically well-grounded studies are still to be done on this topic. East of this area, the coal-mining and metalworking district of Ostrava in Moravia was at the centre of work-migration not only for Czech-speaking workers but also for German and Polish immigrants from across the borders. The region around Krakow, too, faced substantial figures of both in- and out-migration around 1900, with a catchment area reaching into Russian-Poland and the Hungarian part of the monarchy.

Although migration plays a very important role within Italian historiography, there are very few studies concerning migratory relations between Italy and the Habsburg territories.¹³⁴ Also Austrian research paid attention only to few groups of Italian immigrants, such as the Northern Italian artisans in Vienna.¹³⁵ Italian immigration to the province of Vorarlberg is well-established, but this movement to a large degree was internal migration from the province of Trentino which then belonged to the Habsburg monarchy.¹³⁶ However, Austrian citizens of Trentino moved into regions in Germany and Switzerland as well. As long as Lombardo-Venetia was part of the Austrian monarchy, it had dense migration networks with the Austrian Alpine provinces, as the Austrian census of 1857 reveals.¹³⁷ Official Italian statistics counted about 2,6 million emigrants, between 1876 and 1914, from the Veneto to other European countries, a considerable part of them being temporary labour migrants to the Habsburg Empire.¹³⁸ However, movements in the opposite direction – from Austrian regions to the

nach Wien! Die Mobilität des mitteleuropäischen Handwerks im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Haupt- und Residenzstadt. Wien-München 2003, pp. 61-66.

¹³² Studies during this time tried to prove, for example, that despite ‘fremdvölkische Einflüsse’ Vienna essentially always remained a German city. For more detail, see: Steidl, Wien, p. 61f.

¹³³ Cf. Heinrich Rubner, *En forêt de Bohême: immigration et émigration, 1500-1960*, in: *Annales de démographie historique* 1970, pp. 135-142.

¹³⁴ The two most recent scholarly volumes on Italian emigration and on the integration of Italians in their new homelands, for instance, completely exclude the Habsburg monarchy; cf. P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina (eds.), *Storia dell’ emigrazione italiana* (vol. I: Partenze; vol. II: Arrivi), Roma 2001-2002. The most recent seminal volume on internal Italian migration concentrates on urban immigration to Rome, Naples and Torino and also does not touch the former Habsburg territories of the peninsula; cf. A. Arru, F. Ramella (eds.), *L’Italia delle migrazioni interne*, Rome 2003. Nevertheless, earlier local and regional migration studies provide evidence on dense migratory relations between particular Italian regions and the Habsburg lands and offer rich statistical materials: Gino Di Caporiacco, *Storia e statistica dell’ emigrazione dal Friuli a dalla Carnia*, vol. I, II, Udine 1967/Milano 1975; Bianca Maria Pagani, *L’emigrazione friulana della metà del secolo XIX al 1940*, Udine 1968.

¹³⁵ Cf. John/Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel*, pp. 52-56. Ferdinand Oppl, *Italiener in Wien* (Wiener Geschichtsblätter 42, Beiheft 3). Wien 1987; Theodor Veiter, *Die Italiener in der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie. Eine volkspolitische und nationalitätenrechtliche Studie*. Wien 1965; Josef Ehmer, *Worlds of mobility: migration patterns of Viennese artisans in the eighteenth century*, in: Geoffrey Crossick (ed.), *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500-1900*, Aldershot 1997, 172-199, here 183 f.

¹³⁶ Nevertheless in 1910 12 percent of the foreign citizens in the province of Vorarlberg originated from the Kingdom of Italy. Cf. Rupert Pichler, *Italiener in Österreich – Österreicher in Italien. Einführung in Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft und Verfassung 1800-1914*. Wien 2000, p. 158f; Peter Gutschner, *Aus kalter Zeit. ‚Etablierte‘ und ‚Aussenseiter‘ in Vorarlberg am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in: Ingrid Bauer/Josef Ehmer/Sylvia Hahn (Eds.), *Walz, Migration, Besatzung. Historische Szenarien des Eigenen und des Fremden*. Klagenfurt 2002, pp. 121-43.

¹³⁷ Komlosy, *Grenze*.

¹³⁸ Del Fabbro, *Transalpini*.

Kingdom of Italy – have never been extensively studied. In spite of this lack of research, we know that around 1880 some 16,000 Austrian citizens lived in the province of Lombardy alone.¹³⁹

Furthermore, there are substantial gaps in the history of migration networks between the Austrian and the Hungarian part of the Habsburg monarchy, as is the case with migration relationships with the Russian Empire. In 1880 some 11,654 Russian citizens lived in the Monarchy, particularly in the provinces of Galicia and Bukowine. Immigrants from the Hungarian territories overwhelmingly lived in Austrian border regions. The Austrian census of 1910 estimated that around 92,000 people were born in Slovakian regions (which were part of the Hungarian part of the monarchy).¹⁴⁰ Additionally, each year numerous seasonal Slovak agricultural workers migrated to Lower Austria.¹⁴¹ Undoubtedly, there were simultaneous movements in the opposite direction, for example from Bohemia to Slovakian and Hungarian regions.¹⁴²

Migration ties between Switzerland and the Austrian monarchy form another blind spot in migration history. Nonetheless, extended research reveals that in the monarchy and in large parts of Central Europe some professions were dominated by Swiss migrants. In 19th century Vienna, for example, most of the Chimney sweepers came from a small number of Italian-speaking Swiss villages.¹⁴³ More generally, in the Alpine area a substantial number of people in different professions made their living as migrant labourers or as peddlers by travelling through vast parts of Central Europe.¹⁴⁴ Only recently have studies on such specialized and highly mobile groups been integrated, albeit insufficiently, into mainstream migration history.¹⁴⁵ The same is true for artisan migration which, compared to migrating peddlers, is in quantitative terms much more significant. Despite some recent studies attempting to establish connections between traditional artisan migration and nineteenth-century mass migration,¹⁴⁶ not enough work has been done in this area.

¹³⁹ Cf. Pichler, *Italiener*, 158f.; A. Randow, *Über die Wanderbewegung der central-europäischen Bevölkerung*, in: *Statistische Monatsschrift* 1884, pp. 285-304, 602-632, here p. 303.

¹⁴⁰ Ladislav Tajtak, *Slovak emigration and migration in the years 1900-1914*, in: *Studia historica slovacica* 10 (1978), pp. 45-86.

¹⁴¹ Helga Jaretz, *Wanderarbeit in der Zwischenkriegszeit: Slowaken und Heizen als Saisonarbeiter in der niederösterreichischen Landwirtschaft* (unpubl. MA thesis, Vienna 2001); Elisabeth Spanischberger, *Die Rübenzuckerindustrie und ihre Auswirkungen auf Raum und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert. Eine Fallstudie aus dem östlichen Weinviertel* (unpubl. MA thesis, Vienna, 1999).

¹⁴² Cf. Tajtak, *Slovak emigration*. The Calvinist minority of Bohemia traditionally had strong migration networks with Hungarian cities. Cf. Antonin Městan, *How Hungarians became Czech patriots*, in: *Cross Currents* 6 (1987), pp. 473-7.

¹⁴³ Cf. Steidl, *Wien*, p. 140. Cf. also Dolf Kaiser, *Fast ein Volk von Zuckerbäckern? Bündner Konditoren, Cafetiers und Hoteliers in europäischen Landen bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg: ein wirtschaftsgeschichtlicher Beitrag*. Zürich 1988 (2nd ed.).

¹⁴⁴ Laurence Fontaine, *Migration and Work in the Alps (17th – 18th Centuries): Family Strategies, Kinship, and Clientelism*, in: *The History of the Family*, vol. 3, nr. 3 (1998), pp. 351-369.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. e.g. ARGE Alpenraum (Ed.), *Gewerbliche Migration im Alpenraum*. Bozen 1994; Thomas Busset/Jon Mathieu, *Mobilité spatiale et frontières – Räumliche Mobilität und Grenzen*. Zürich 1998; Andrea Komlosy/Hubert Weitensfelder, *Regionen vergleichen. Am Beispiel Vorarlbergs und des Oberen Waldviertels (ca. 1750 bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg)*, in: *Geschichte und Region* 6 (1997), pp. 197-240, here p. 222f.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Josef Ehmer, for example: *Journeymen's migration as nineteenth-century mass migration*, in: René Leboutte (Ed.), *Migrations et migrants dans une perspective historique. Permanences et innovations / Migrations and Migrants in Historical Perspective. Permanencies and Innovations*, Bruxelles 2000, pp. 97-109; *Ibid.*, *Tramping artisans in nineteenth century Vienna*, in: David Siddle (Ed.), *Migration, mobility, and modernisation*. Liverpool 2000, pp. 164-85; *Ibid.*, *Worlds of Mobility*; *Ibid.*, *Die Herkunft der Handwerker in überregionalen städtischen Zentren: Zürich, Wien und Zagreb zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in: Klaus Roth (Ed.), *Handwerk in Mittel- und Südosteuropa*. München 1987, pp. 47-69.

2.4. Detailed discussion of project aims

By utilising sources from different states – an approach which enables us to examine migration systems from *both sides of the border* –, by including seasonal migration movements, and by a regional approach, our investigation will re-evaluate the importance of historical migrations across state boundaries within Central Europe. We hope to detect numerous ‘forgotten’ transnational migration systems. Migration, whether short distance, continental or transatlantic, generally did not follow a unilateral movement. Despite common distinctions drawn between so-called ‘immigration regions’ on the one hand and ‘emigration regions’ on the other hand, many areas were characterized by both forms simultaneously. As a result of the previous research project, an analysis of more than 300 districts of the Habsburg monarchy in 1910 has shown a strong correlation between in- and out-migration.¹⁴⁷ In respect to transnational migration, we will now ask whether simultaneous in- and out-migration occurred across the board or only in certain migration systems. For example, it seems highly plausible that in the border region between Saxony and Bohemia concurrent movements in both directions took place, whereas seasonal labour migration from Galicia to Prussia, one might argue, was most likely dominated by a ‘one-way’ movement.¹⁴⁸ Migration in Europe was a “multidirectional phenomenon”,¹⁴⁹ and as such we will investigate the relations and connections between different migration systems. For instance, it will be necessary to ask what effect the increase of labour migration from Galician to German territories had on the traditional labour movements from this province to the central parts of Hungary.¹⁵⁰ More generally, it will be necessary to explore whether transnational migration in Central Europe started to decrease at the beginning of the 20th century, as Steve Hochstadt has recently suggested for migration as a whole.¹⁵¹

The project team will use a quantitative approach. In as far as the sources are suitable, we seek to go beyond simple descriptive statistical methods. The project team, furthermore, will create and use cartographic maps as a research tool. Complex migration relationships are analysed best by recording the results visually. Thus, we plan to feed the geographic information obtained from our databases into a cartographic computer programme. The project team already has considerable expertise in this kind of work, including experience gained from the previous project funded by the FWF (P14733 – HIS).

¹⁴⁷ Steidl, Stockhammer, Zeitlhofer, Relations; Zeitlhofer, Internal Migration.

¹⁴⁸ Even in this case of ‘one-way’ migration, we have indications for counter-flows. In the early 1870s seasonal movements predominately took place in the opposite direction, with Prussian agricultural workers migrating eastwards to Congress Poland and Galicia. The direction changed during the 1880s. Cf. Bade, Massenwanderung, 312f. Around 1900, while approximately 160,000 Galician workers headed for Imperial Germany each year, German agricultural workers in small numbers were still to be found in Galicia, see Markitan, Auswandererverkehrswege, p. 28.

¹⁴⁹ Dirk Hoerder, *People on the move: migration, acculturation, and ethnic interaction in Europe and North America*. Providence/Oxford 1993, p. 7.

¹⁵⁰ Julianne Puskas, Hungarian migration patterns 1880-1930. From Macroanalysis to microanalysis, in: Ira A. Glazier/Luigi De Rosa (Eds.), *Migration across Time and Distance. Population Mobility in Historical Contexts*. New York/London 1986, pp. 231-254, here 240f.

¹⁵¹ Based on his findings for internal migration in Imperial Germany. Cf. Steve Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820-1989*. Ann Arbor 1999.

2.5. Discussion of Sources

Our project intends to utilise two different types of sources for the systematic analysis of migration systems crossing the state boundaries of the Austrian Empire and its neighbouring states. These are the published results of the official censuses, especially those by statistical offices of provinces and cities during the period of 1860 to 1914, and additional published statistics on temporary migrations.

2.5.1. National censuses

In the first phase of our systematic survey of migration networks between the states, we will analyse the published results of censuses for the Austrian¹⁵² as well as the Hungarian part¹⁵³ of the monarchy, for Imperial Germany¹⁵⁴, the Kingdom of Italy¹⁵⁵, Switzerland¹⁵⁶ and the Russian Empire.¹⁵⁷ Several methodological problems and limitations arise when investigating migration systems across state boundaries based on censuses. First, European states developed censuses at different historical moments and these censuses were administered at different intervals. In addition, the questions and data contained in these censuses are far from uniform – especially when they concern people born in foreign countries. Second, usually censuses do not cover non-permanent, seasonal migration because Central European censuses were, with some exceptions, carried out in winter¹⁵⁸ whereas seasonal migration culminated in spring and summer. Even the census carried out on June 12, 1907 in Imperial Germany was too early to document the maximum annual number of employed foreign citizens, culminating in late summer.¹⁵⁹ Third, although foreign citizens and immigrants often were subject to extensive surveillance, state authorities usually were not interested in their exact place of birth or place

¹⁵² For the Austrian part of the monarchy, we already have a computerized sample of census-based data on people born outside the monarchy. The census of annexed Bosnia will only be drawn on as a comparison. Cf. *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Bosnien und Herzegowina vom 10. 10. 1910*. Wien 1912.

¹⁵³ The results of the census of 1910 for Hungary were published in 10 volumes partly in German, partly in Hungarian, in: 'Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen'. Cf. for the census of 1900: *A magyar korona országainak 1900*. Budapest 1902ff.. Cf. also: *Statistisches Jahrbuch für Ungarn*. Budapest 1878ff. (1894 renamed: *Ungarisches Statistisches Jahrbuch*).

¹⁵⁴ Cf. *Statistik des Deutschen Reiches (1873ff.)*. Cf. also: 'Die Deutschen im Ausland und die Ausländer im Deutschen Reiche' (Ergänzungsheft 1 zu: *Vierteljahrshäfte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reiches* Vol. 14, 1905). We may additionally draw on the detailed statistics on the naturalization of individuals recorded by Imperial Germany at the district level. Cf. *Statistik des Deutschen Reiches*, Vol. 2. 2.

¹⁵⁵ Some of the Italian censuses were administered in February and in June and others in winter. This should provide us with greater insights into the fluctuations of temporary movements. Cf. *Censimento della popolazione del regno 10/2 1901*. Roma 1903; *Censimento della popolazione del regno 10 giugno 1912*. Roma 1913; *Censimento del regno d'Italia al 1. dicembre 1921 (1925)*. Cf. some of the statistical series: *Statistica del regno d'Italia*, e.g. vol. 16 (1911); *Annuario statistico italiano* (from the 19th century up to recent history). Cf. *Istituto nazionale di statistica (Ed.), Sommario di statistiche storiche*. Roma 1965 (historical time series on migration).

¹⁵⁶ Published in: *Schweizerische Statistik*. Bern 1860-1919, e. g. Vol. 1-3 (Census 1860), Vol. 57 (Census 1880), Vol. 84 (Census 1884), 212 (Census 1910), Vol. 204 on foreign citizens in Switzerland. Cf. also Thomas Busset, *Zur Geschichte der eidgenössischen Volkszählung*. Bern 1993.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. on the census of 1896: N. A. Troinitskii (Ed.), *Pervaia Vseobshchaia perepis naseleniia Rossiskoi Imperii*. St. Petersburg 1899-1905; *Statisticeskij ezegodnik Rossii [Annual Russian statistics]*. St. Petersburg 1911-1914. Cf. the bibliography on statistics in the Russian Empire: *Aperçu bibliographique des publications du comité central de statistique de l'empire de Russie*. St. Petersburg 1895.

¹⁵⁸ In Austro-Hungary the censuses was always administered on December 31, in Imperial Germany and Italy the effective date of the censuses was often December 1.

¹⁵⁹ Klaus Bade, *Arbeiterstatistik zur Ausländerkontrolle: die 'Nachweisungen' der preußischen Landräte über den 'Zugang, Abgang und Bestand der ausländischen Arbeiter im preußischen Staate', 1906-1914*, in: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 24 (1984), pp. 163-284, here p. 167.

of last residence. Despite these shortcomings, censuses are the primary source of every systematic analysis of transnational migrations in Central Europe.

The most important indicator censuses provide for the systematic investigation into migration is a comparison of people's birthplace and residence at the time the census was taken. However, in several countries the earliest censuses neglected to gather information concerning individual's place of birth. In Imperial Germany, for example, this information was not collected until 1871, in Switzerland not until the census of 1880 and in Austro-Hungary not until 1890.¹⁶⁰ When this information was solicited, the published censuses reveal – depending on the country and the census – some variation in how complete the results of these variables were. For the census of 1871 in the German province of Bavaria, for example, we are able to establish the exact number of people born in the Austrian Empire at the district level,¹⁶¹ but in later censuses these numbers were no longer published for all districts. Often in censuses, particularly in cases of people born in a foreign country, only the country or province of birth was documented. Nevertheless, by using the censuses of the above mentioned countries, we will be better able to obtain an overview of the development of the number of people living in the provinces of the neighbouring countries differentiated by their Austrian province of birth, and vice versa.

The proposed project can be called methodologically innovative because of the consequent combination of data from different state censuses which will be analysed. The rare cases in which such combinations were utilised have demonstrated the value of this method. For example, while Austrian censuses provide detailed information on Hungarian citizens living in Austrian districts at the time, these same censuses contain no data on their places of birth. By examining the 1910 censuses of both parts of the monarchy, Hungarian statisticians were able to present tables indicating the Hungarian places of origin of Hungarians living in Austria as well as their places of residence in Austria.¹⁶² This method has also provided us with information about people born in Slovakian territories but living in Austria in 1910. We not only know that the majority lived in Vienna, but also that these migrants largely stemmed from western and central Slovak districts, such as Bratislava, Nitra and Trenčín.¹⁶³

In order to reconstruct migration networks between smaller regional units, such as districts, we must use separately published statistical series from provinces and cities, rather than national-wide publications, because the results these series present for their own territory tends to be more comprehensive. Although this is true for most provinces and cities, a few may either not have kept records of such statistics or when these records are available their quality may be below standard. However, in the case of Imperial Germany – which according to migration relations was by far the most important neighbouring state – the study by Steve Hochstadt on German migration¹⁶⁴ has clearly

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Randow, *Wanderbewegung*. However, occasionally there was a time difference between gathering information on people's birthplaces and publishing these data. Although in the Austrian part of the monarchy this information was collected in the censuses since 1869 it was not published before the census of 1890.

¹⁶¹ Cf. *Beiträge zur Statistik des Königreiches Bayern*, Vol. 32 (München 1876).

¹⁶² Cf. *Ungarische statistische Mitteilungen NS*, Vol. 67.

¹⁶³ Tatjak, *Slovak emigration*, p. 58f.

¹⁶⁴ Hochstadt, *Mobility*.

shown the value and calibre of statistical series published by regional statisticians and statistical offices of cities. We will limit our investigation to the provinces directly neighbouring the Austrian Empire, and to some selected cities and other territories. We intend to analyse in depth some cities, like Berlin and Bremen, and the provinces of Bavaria, Baden, Hesse, Saxony, Silesia as well as the Ruhr area of Imperial Germany.¹⁶⁵ Rich regional statistical series based on census material for not only German territories, but also the Austrian Empire¹⁶⁶, Hungary,¹⁶⁷ the Kingdom of Italy¹⁶⁸ and Switzerland¹⁶⁹ are at our disposal. In order to reconstruct migration networks of the regions of the Russian Empire, mainly territories of present-day Poland and Ukraine will be examined.¹⁷⁰

2.5.2. *Additional statistical sources on transnational migrations*

In order to reconstruct the whole range of border-crossing migration systems by including especially temporary movements, it is essential that we expand our analysis beyond census material. We will, therefore, examine surveys carried out on seasonal migrations. Such material exists, albeit in varying frequency and quality, in every Central European country for the period under observation; however, occasionally such surveys were only carried out in certain provinces or regions. After an evaluation of the material, we will incorporate into our investigation a substantial part of the diverse sources mentioned in the following:

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Preussische Statistik, e.g. vol. 234 (census 1910), vol. 46 and 188 (Austrian citizens according to the censuses); A. Freiherr v. Fircks, Die preussische Bevölkerung nach ihrer Muttersprache und Abstammung, in: Zeitschrift des Königl. Preussischen Statistischen Bureaus 33 (1893), pp. 189-196; T. Bödiker, Die Auswanderung und die Einwanderung des preussischen Staates, in: Zeitschrift des Königlichen Preussischen Statistischen Bureaus 13 (1873); E. Engel, Die Aus- und Einwanderung im Preussischen Staate, in: Zeitschrift des Königlichen Preussischen Statistischen Bureaus 1 (1861); Alexis Markow, Das Wachstum der Bevölkerung und die Entwicklung der Aus- und Einwanderungen, Ab- und Zuzüge in Preussens Einzelnen Provinzen, Bezirken und Kreisgruppen von 1824 bis 1885. Tübingen 1889; Bayern und seine Gemeinden unter dem Einfluß der Wanderungen während der letzten 50 Jahre (Beiträge zur Statistik des Königreichs Bayern, Vol. 69). München 1912. Hans Pfeiffer, Die Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung des Großherzogtums Baden nach der Gebürtigkeit auf Grund der Volkszählung vom 1. Dezember 1900. Stuttgart 1909; Württemberger Jahrbücher für Statistik und Landeskunde 1902; Beiträge zur Statistik des Großherzogtums Hessen. Darmstadt 1862-1928; Zeitschrift des k. sächsischen Bureaus 1902; Statistical series of German cities: Statistisches Jahrbuch deutscher Städte. Breslau 1890ff.; Jahrbuch für die amtliche Statistik des bremischen Staates. Bremen 1875ff.; Jahrbuch für bremische Statistik 1905-1912. Bremen 1906-1912; Berliner statistisches Jahrbuch. Leipzig 1853-1856; Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Berlin 1876-1918, Vol. 4-34. Berlin 1878-1920 (on migration esp. Vol. 13-15, 19, 23, 26); Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Leipzig 1911-1918, Vol. 1-5. Leipzig 1913ff.; Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Nürnberg 1910ff.; Breslauer Statistik (esp. Vol. 5-12, 1880-1889); Magdeburger Statistik (esp. Vol. 2-4, 1887-89); Arthur Steinhart, Untersuchung zur Gebürtigkeit der deutschen Großstadtbevölkerung. Berlin 1912.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. e. g.: Schlesiens Bevölkerung auf Grund der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910. Troppau 1912; Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes des Königreiches Böhmen; Vorarlbergische Statistik. Bregenz 1907ff.; Mitteilungen des statistischen Landesamtes des Herzogtums Bukowina.

¹⁶⁷ Especially regarding Hungarian cities, see: Statistisches Jahrbuch der ungarischen Städte. Budapest; Vjensnik kr. Statistickoga ureda u Zagrebu [Messenger of the statistical office in Agram] Zagreb 1891; Magyar statistikai közlemények. Uj sovzat. Budapest, Vol. 67 (emigration on a regional level for the period 1900-14).

¹⁶⁸ Among others: Picoti, Guido, L'emigrazione nel circondario di Udine, in: La Patria del Friuli. 27. 10. 1909; Gli emigranti del Trentino-Rovereto. Rovereto 1909.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Die Wanderbewegung im Kanton Basel-Stadt seit 1911, in: Mitteilungen des statistischen Amtes des Kantons Basel-Stadt, Vol. 57. Basel 1935; Mitteilungen des Statistischen Bureaus des Kantons Bern, e.g. in Vol. 1885/2 and 1901 there are detailed analyses of census results. Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in der Stadt Zürich vom 1. Juni 1894. 2 Vol., Zürich 1897ff. and Statistik der Stadt Zürich. Zürich 1904ff.; Cf. also Madelyn Holmes, Forgotten Migrants. Foreign migrants in Switzerland before World War I. London 1988.

¹⁷⁰ Migration networks in these territories may be covered at least partly by the published regional statistical series for the provinces of Galicia and Bukowina: Cf. Lwow w cyfrach. Leopold en chiffres. Miesiecznik statyskycny. Bulletin mensuel de statistique municipale. Lwow 1906-1914; Statystyka miasta Krakowa zestawiono przez biuro statystyczne miejskie [Statistics of the town of Krakow]. Krakow 1887ff.

The Kingdom of Italy often administered separate censuses on Italians living abroad.¹⁷¹ In some cases journals written about national minorities abroad include vital statistical information.¹⁷² Crucial, too, is the extensive material on the employment of foreign citizens and seasonal immigrants in Imperial Germany based on data recorded by a semi-official institute called ‘Preußische’ and later ‘Deutsche Feldarbeiterzentrale’.¹⁷³ We will also examine singular surveys on seasonal labour migration across state boundaries for the other regions under study.¹⁷⁴ In some cases data recording the annual number of people crossing borders on every frontier crossing-point was collected by police officials. This material includes estimations of the proportions of places of origins and destination of migrants.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, the Reports of the Chambers of Commerce and Trade, which already existed in many Central European provinces, constitute a rich source of information on both in- and out-migration.¹⁷⁶ Finally, the extensive contemporary literature on seasonal transnational labour migration will also provide us with valuable statistical material.¹⁷⁷

In order to properly address the issues raised by our project, it will be necessary to re-calculate many of the results drawn from the original data. To catalogue these results, we will need to create several new databases. In summary, we project that the available statistical material is sufficient to reconstruct

¹⁷¹ Statistical evidence on permanent and temporary Italian emigration is provided by the Italian General Statistical Office (Direzione Generale della Statistica) since 1876. Comprehensive data on emigration were also published by the Commissariato Generale dell’Emigrazione, which belonged to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Bollettino dell’ emigrazione, 1902 ff.; Anuario statistico della Emigrazione italiana dal 1876 al 1925, Roma 1926). Contemporary social scientist promoted a critical discussion of official migration statistics. (Cf. Francesco Coletti, Dell’ emigrazione italiana, Milano 1912; Giovanni Cosattini, L’ emigrazione temporanea del Friuli, Roma 1904). Valuable additions and corrections of official statistics can be found in statistical surveys of railway companies, which counted reduced tickets for seasonal labour migrants; cf. Del Fabbro, Transalpini. Cf. also Censimento degli italiani all’ estero (Dicembre 1881), Roma 1884; Statistica della emigrazione italiana per l’estero negli anni 1902 e 1903.

¹⁷² Such journals also existed for Czech and German minorities residing in other countries. ‘Česky vystěhoavec’, for example, includes data on Czechs living in the Ruhr area. For Imperial Germany, cf. Vierteljahreshefte des Vereins für das Deutschtum im Ausland. Berlin 1910-1914. Clearly, such journals had political motives; they strove to strengthen national identities of ethnic minorities living abroad and thus were not written solely for migrants. For this reason, we will only use the statistical information provided in these journals if the numbers given undeniably reflect movements of migration.

¹⁷³ For more on ‚preussische Nachweisungen über Zugang, Abgang und Bestand der ausländischen Arbeiter‘, see Bade, Arbeiterstatistik.

¹⁷⁴ Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes des Königreiches Böhmen, Vol. 24, 1 („Saisonauswanderung aus den Gemeinden Böhmens nach den Erhebungen des Jahres 1913‘). Prag 1916. Cf. also Julius Ludwig, Die wirtschaftliche und soziale Lage der Wanderarbeiter im Großherzogtum Baden: dargestellt auf Grund der Ergebnisse einer von dem Verfasser vom Juli 1911 bis Mai 1912 veranstalteten Enquete. Karlsruhe 1915.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. for the Austrian monarchy: Markitan, Auswandererverkehrswege.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. e.g. Nordböhmische Arbeiter-Statistik. Tabellarische Darstellung der Ergebnisse der von der Reichenberger Handels- und Gewerbekammer am 1. Dezember 1888 durchgeführten Erhebung. Reichenberg 1891; Jahresbericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer zu Reichenberg. Reichenberg 1853ff.; Bericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer in Eger. Eger 1852-1895; Bericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer in Krakau. Krakau 1852ff.; Bericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer in Brody an das K.K. Ministerium. Lemberg 1889; Bericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer in Troppau. Troppau 1853ff.; Bericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer in Debreczin. Debreczin 1854ff.; Bericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer in Ödenburg. Wien 1853ff.; Bericht der Handels- und Gewerbekammer für Kroatien. Agram 1853-1859; Bericht der Pest-Ofner Handels- und Gewerbekammer. Pest 1854.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. K. Kraeger, Die Sachsengängerei. Auf Grund persönlicher Ermittlungen und statistischer Erhebungen, in: Landwirtschaftliches Jahrbuch 19 (1890), pp. 239-522; Max Weber, Die Verhältnisse der Landarbeiter im ostelbischen Deutschland. Dargestellt auf Grund der vom Verein für Socialpolitik veranstalteten Erhebungen. (Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik 55). 1892 [Re-print: Vaduz 1989]; J. Trzcinski, Russisch-polnische und galizische Wanderarbeiter im Großherzogtum Posen, Stuttgart 1906; A. Mytkowicz, Ausländische Wanderarbeiter in der deutschen Landwirtschaft. Posen 1914; T. Grund, Die ausländischen Wanderarbeiter und ihre Bedeutung für Oberschlesien, Leipzig 1913; A. Knoke, Ausländische Wanderarbeiter in Deutschland, Leipzig 1911; Max von Stojentin, Die ausländischen Wanderarbeiter in der Provinz Pommern. Stuttgart 1906; Vekoslav Haber, Příčiny vystěhoavectví ze severních Čech [Causes of emigration from North Bohemia]. Duchcov 1906; Benno Karpeles, Die Arbeiter des mährisch-schlesischen Steinkohlereviere. Sozialstatistische Untersuchungen. Leipzig 1894; Georg Froehner, Wanderungsergebnisse im erzgebirgischen Industriegebiet und in der Stadt Chemnitz. Chemnitz 1909; more literature cited in Bade, Massenwanderung, p. 267f. For archival sources, see: Reinhard Frötschner, Zwischen Bayern und Osteuropa: Migration und Migranten vom 18. Jahrhundert bis in die Nachkriegszeit; ein Inventar der relevanten Archivalien des Bayerischen Hauptstaatsarchivs München. München 2000.

the manifold and complex migration relationships between the Austrian monarchy and their neighbouring states. The source material will first need to be collected, and sophisticated, up-to-date methodology and software will be needed to complete the picture of migration relations in the regions under study.

2.6. Expected implications of the project results

The expected project results will have a strong impact on studies of contemporary migrations as conducted by sociologists and demographers. Reconstructing historical patterns of international migration is of great importance to contemporary discussions on the issues. Historical migration networks seem to have long-standing traditions, persisting even territorial changes such as the formation of new state borders. Migration networks between certain regions which were formerly significant may have experienced a revival, even if they were interrupted for decades. A recent Austrian study on future immigration from the post-communist countries of Eastern Central Europe has labelled the present-day situation as a 'comeback of historical migration patterns'.¹⁷⁸ Perhaps the same could be said in the case of increasing migration from Eastern to Western Europe during the last decade.¹⁷⁹ However, historical continuities should not be overemphasised. Many historically important migration patterns have never been re-established. Moreover, because very little research on historical migration networks has been conducted, there is still no clear evidence as to whether these same local networks are being utilised in present-day East to West migration. The project results will contribute to current political debates on transnational migration, insofar as common assumptions on historical migration patterns will be tested.

¹⁷⁸ Heinz Fassmann/Christiane Hintermann, et al., ‚Arbeitsmarkt Mitteleuropa‘. Die Rückkehr historischer Migrationsmuster. ISR-Forschungsberichte 18. Wien 1999.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Heinz Fassmann/Rainer Münz (Eds.), Ost-West-Migration in Europa. Wien-Köln-Weimar 2000, esp. p. 13.