Refugees and Population Transfer Management in Europe, 1914–1920s

Edited by Kamil Ruszała

First published 2025

ISBN: 978-1-032-75162-7(hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-032-75165-8(pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-003-47274-2(ebk)

Chapter 5

National mobilization, humanitarian agency from below, and wartime authorities: Polish refugees from Galicia in Salzburg during the First World War

Kamil Ruszała

DOI: 10.4324/9781003472742-8

The Open Access version of chapter 5 was funded by Jagiellonian University.

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

5 National mobilization, humanitarian agency from below, and wartime authorities

Polish refugees from Galicia in Salzburg during the First World War*

Kamil Ruszała

Introduction

WWI broke out in the late summer of 1914, with Central and Eastern Europe, including Habsburg Galicia, becoming a battleground for the armies of the Central Powers in the Eastern Front. Galicia's destiny as a potential future battlefield had already been determined by prewar decisions taken by the monarchy's military staff, which designated this northeastern crown land as a buffer zone protecting the interior of the state. For its defense, fortresses of significant military importance were created around two cities: Przemyśl and Kraków. The former closed off the potential attack toward Budapest, while the latter protected the direction toward Moravia and, subsequently, the heart of the monarchy, Vienna.

The military actions of the autumn of 1914 unfolded very dynamically. Despite the initial successes of the Austro-Hungarian army in the Kingdom of Poland (Battle of Kraśnik: August 23–25, 1914, and the battle after Komarów: August 26–September 2, 1914), the Russian army efficiently achieved victories in Galicia. They first captured its capital, Lviv (September 3, 1914), and then proceeded toward Przemyśl. They besieged Przemyśl twice: unsuccessfully between September 17 and October 10, 1914, and then again from November 5, 1914, to March 20, 1915, this time forcing the fortress garrison to surrender. During the assault on the fortress, the Russians penetrated deeper into Galicia, cutting off Przemyśl from the rear. They gained control over an increasingly vast territory, reaching the outskirts of the Kraków Fortress. Nevertheless, after the Battle of Kraków (November 16–25, 1914) and subsequently the Battle of Limanowa (December 1–15, 1914), the Russian offensive was halted, pushing them back beyond the Dunajec River. The front in the Galician sector remained stagnant until the beginning of May 1915.

* The research was realized within the framework of the grant "Forgotten refugee camps in Austria-Hungary in the years 1914–1918" (NCN UMO-2021/43/D/HS3/02533) funded by the National Science Centre, Poland.

DOI: 10.4324/9781003472742-8

However, we will be returning to the beginning of the war and its civilian experiences since the conflict disrupted the daily reality of Galician residents in every respect. Besides mobilization, provisioning issues, interaction with the military, occupation, and military administration, experiences during the war period also included escape and evacuation.[1] From the very beginning of the war, Galician life came to a standstill, i.e., in the summer of 1914 when the population learned about the assassination of the heir to the throne in Sarajevo on June 28. Throughout this tense month, there were debates about the likelihood of war which many dismissed as a real prospect. After a month-long ultimatum, posters calling for military mobilization were seen on the streets of the monarchy's cities, including Galicia. While there were whispers and discussions about the war, few were truly aware of what this actually meant. It was associated with literature, on one hand evoking fear and uncertainty, and on the other hand, enthusiasm. There are notes in personal documents where witnesses excitedly describe the observation of shots and billows of smoke. Only when the war became more audible to them – indicating its direct approach, and when the war became more visible to them – eliciting fear, primarily due to the sight and groans of wounded soldiers and refugees moving from east to west, narrating gruesome stories about what the war truly meant.

At the end of August 1914, questions arose in Lviv: why were Austrian troops moving from east to west instead of the opposite? Not only in the capital but also in smaller towns in Galicia, panic and chaos began, heightened by rumors, gossip, or speculations. People awaited the reaction of local authorities. The local authorities, constrained by instructions from above, were obliged to maintain calm among the population. Local authorities became the last guarantor of stability. However, when even they had to flee, the civilian population desperately made the decision to escape on their own.[2] Simultaneously, the state authorities provided evacuation trains for the population in cities connected by railway hubs (although it was a challenging task since the railway was reserved primarily for military purposes). At that time, a significant number of people were transported either deeper into Galicia or into the interior of the monarchy (this can be estimated at around half a million people in the first wave, although any exact figure during the chaotic early days of the war is difficult to ascertain). This escape was supposed to be purely temporary, counting on the rapid course of military operations, and consequently, the defeat of Russia and the swift return of refugees. However, the actual course of the war changed these calculations, and the short-term transportation of the population into the interior of the monarchy turned into a challenging experience of war displacement for every party involved: the fleeing and evacuated population, the local population, and the Austrian state.

Initially, the inhabitants of Galicia were unaware that this armed conflict would personally affect them. In reality, however, everyone became direct participants in the war: some were mobilized into the army, some fled or were evacuated, and some remained, experiencing the war firsthand in Galicia, either directly on the front lines or in the immediate rear of the military operations. It was this

second group that found themselves inside the Austrian state, meaning they were both internally displaced persons within their own monarchy and war refugees. This term was not so much new for the masses fleeing, the state administration, or the population hosting refugees. Primarily, it was a new wartime reality in which hundreds of thousands of people had to exist. War refugees were defined as the population that had left their previous places of residence due to wartime activities. Some people fled on their own initiative, using carts or forming pedestrian convoys, heading to the nearest possible area within reach. Others were evacuated by state authorities using appropriate evacuation trains, the conditions of which were far from ideal. The refugees themselves were not fond of the term adopted from the German language, which, in their perception, carried pejorative and stigmatizing meanings. They preferred to refer to themselves as 'war exiles' or using many other synonyms, often emphasizing the richness of the Polish language. How they integrated with the local population will also be evident in the case of Salzburg.

War displacement, therefore, fits into the overall scale of war – it brings about mass mobilization, exodus, and numerous soldier deaths.[3] It is often forgotten that war displacement had a tremendous impact on the life of the average inhabitant, turning their lives upside down. Within this mass experience of displacement and forced war migrations, this chapter will present a case study of a specific region and a particular group of people, individualizing the mass wartime experiences. The situation in the initial period of the war was dynamic, and state authorities were not always able to respond efficiently to the humanitarian crisis. Therefore, the experience of war displacement is often a lesson in humanitarianism for each party, including the refugees who, by self-organizing, worked for the benefit of their communities in flight.[4] Before the state developed practical tools, a significant role in shaping attitudes and reflecting on humanitarianism in the early period of the war was played by grassroots mechanisms and instincts shaped by authorities and leaders during wartime. This chapter will focus on Polish war refugees from Galicia who found themselves in the Salzburg region, mainly in the city of Salzburg and its immediate vicinity, in the early stages of WWI. It will explore how, thanks to the efforts of local authorities, they managed to overcome stigmatizing attitudes toward them as refugees, negotiate a shared space in the city, and were able to self-organize their humanitarian, cultural, and daily existence in the urban environment. It is essential to remember that the inhabitants of prewar Galicia were citizens of a multinational and multicultural crown land, representing various ethnic and religious groups. Thus, the social structure of war refugees was diverse, including Poles, Jews, Ukrainians (initially referred to as Ruthenians), and Germans residing in Eastern Galicia (descendants of 18th-century colonists during the reign of Emperor Joseph II). Nevertheless, this outline will mainly focus on Poles, as local communities in prewar Galicia (and likely beyond) often lived within their religious and national frameworks as categorized by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy,[5] and this also functioned in wartime exile. Likewise, the experience of exile affected all social strata in Galicia:

intellectuals, urban and town residents, as well as the rural population. Although their financial status also determined their fate – the wealthier ones could afford to rent their own apartments in larger cities of the monarchy – in the vast majority of cases, they were dependent on the state and reliant solely on its care.

The Austrian state had to rise to the occasion and organize assistance for war refugees from the outset. Because no one was adequately prepared for civilian care during the war, most regulations were published on an ongoing basis, depending on needs and existing precedents. Faced with the mass exodus of war refugees on September 15, 1914, the Ministry of Internal Affairs issued a special instruction regarding the transportation and accommodation of refugees from Galicia. The guidelines were sent to state authorities throughout Austria. In the introduction, the necessity of implementing appropriate directives was explained because, in many cases, the previous evacuations and population transports were organized hastily, leading to numerous complaints and problems for the authorities. The instruction specified principles for the placement of refugees while maintaining balance, whether in terms of their financial means (and thus their ability to support themselves independently) or in terms of nationality. The instruction also identified places for the collective settlement of refugees in specially prepared barracks camps (*Flüchtlingssammelniederlassungen*) or individual refugee municipalities (*Flüchtlingsunterbringungsgemeinde*).[6]

Considering the topography of the monarchy, refugee camps were established in Moravia (Mikulov, Kyjov, Pohořelice, Moravská Třebová), the Czech Republic (Choceň, Havlíčkův Brod), Lower Austria (Gmünd, Hollabrunn, Bruck an der Leitha), Styria (Wagna), Carinthia (Wolfsberg). According to the instruction from September 15, 1914, Poles were accommodated in Czech Choceň and Styrian Wagna, Ukrainians in Lower Austrian camps in Gmünd, Hollabrunn, and Carinthian Wolfsberg, and those suspected in Styrian Thalerhof as internees. Jews found lodging places in Moravian Kyjov, Mikulov, Pohořelice, as well as in Havlíčkův Brod in the Czech Republic.[7] The practice and wartime chaos verified the assumptions mentioned in the above instruction, and it became necessary to relocate the settled population, but this only happened later in the war. These changes were related to the influx of a new wave of refugees after the war broke out between Austria-Hungary and Italy, and the opening of the fronts in the Soča (Isonzo) River Valley and Tyrol in late spring 1915. New barracks camps were then established (including Mittendorf, Pottendorf, Steinklam, Mistelbach, Braunau am Inn, Grödig, Sankt Leonhard, Niederalm, etc.). As is evident, not every part of the crown land had organized refugee camps, and this had purely pragmatic, economic, or political explanations: locating refugee camps in the Tyrolean regions would have been uncertain given the potential for war with Italy to break out and which, as it turned out, erupted in May 1915. This area was also more challenging in terms of communication and economic aspects due to its high-altitude character. Therefore, in Tyrol or Vorarlberg, refugee camps did not emerge. In the Salzburg region, there was literally only one, established later in

Grödig near the city of Salzburg, where the civilian camp infrastructure (mainly for refugees from Volhynia in 1916) resulted from the organized restructuring of a prisoner-of-war camp. Nevertheless, the fact that the Alpine or sub-Alpine countries were not the primary destination for refugees from Galicia at the beginning of the war (they predominated in the areas of Moravia, the Czech Republic, Lower Austria, as well as in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola) does not diminish the significant role played by Salzburg as a city where Polish refugees found themselves during WWI.

Refugees from Galicia in Salzburg (Crown land and city)

Let us first take a look at the distribution of refugees in the Crown land of Salzburg, which primarily became a refuge for railway workers and their families. The local press kept the public informed about the continuous influx of new transports to the city, with a significant group of 1500 people arriving on September 25 and 26, 1914. This was not the end of planned transports – the press continued to report that there was a need to prepare space for an additional three thousand evacuated individuals, as evidenced by a press note:

> In Upper Austria and Salzburg, a large number of Galician arrivals are currently staying. They mostly arrived there last week. These are predominantly families of railway workers from the Lwów–Janów [railway line] area. Thousands of children came along with their parents. All these newcomers are experiencing great hardship. They mostly speak only Polish, with only a small portion speaking some German. The local population has warmly welcomed the arrivals from Galicia. They mainly reside in the following locations: Kefermarkt, Zell am See, Enns, St. Florian, Aschach an der Donau, Peuerbach, Mondsee, Braunau, Mauerkirchen, Mattighofen, and Uttendorf.[8]

A considerable group of Polish war refugees from Galicia also arrived in the city of Salzburg, which they referred to themselves as "Solnogród", an old-fashioned Polish name for the city harkening back to the old Polish term for the city. It is difficult to provide a specific number related to Galician refugees in Salzburg, especially the Polish contingent. This group consisted of families of clerical and railway workers, whose heads of families often experienced changes in work assignments or returned to fulfill their duties in Galicia.[9] Some of their families stayed, while others moved to different places in Austria. An accurate record during this period of wartime chaos was not maintained, and the statistics are highly fluid. In the early months of 1915, there were between 3000 and 5000 individuals of Polish nationality in the city who had arrived since the previous autumn.[10] They stayed in private quarters in various parts of the city. As a result of multifaceted changes, such as the return of refugees in the summer of 1915 (the changes on the military line after May 1915 and liberation of Western and Central Galicia from Russian troops), the

non-recognition of Salzburg as a refugee municipality (which automatically meant not paying allowances to those residing there), or the relocation of refugees to barrack camps, these numbers decreased. By October 1, 1915, there were only 283 Poles and 18 Ukrainians in the entire crown land of Salzburg, with 166 Germans and over 2300 Italians. Only in mid-1916, when the camp in Grödig was established, a few kilometers south of Salzburg, did these areas record significantly more refugees, predominantly Ukrainians, mainly refugees from Volhynia (a few words about this place are placed at the end of the chapter without a broader analysis), comprising over 10,000 Ukrainians until mid-1918. Data from May 1917 show that out of nearly 10,400 people accommodated at that time, over 92% were Ukrainians. This ratio persisted until May 1918, with Polish and Jewish residents remaining in the minority and leaving the camp month by month. In January 1918, refugees from Volhynia were relocated to Grödig. In the early summer of 1918, the camp was closed, and the statistics from June 1, 1918, only report 23 refugees living there. Jews (remaining in less than 1%) maintained a relatively stable number in 1917 and early 1918, around 230–240 people. In May and June 1918, their number significantly decreased to 38 and then only 4 individuals, respectively. The decrease in the number of Poles in Grödig was already discernible in the spring of 1917: then, out of 683 people recorded in June 1917, their number dropped to 120 in the next month. In September, only seven Poles were noted there. By May 1918, there were an average of about 10 Poles there; from June onwards, no presence of Poles was registered in the camp. Also, in official lists of refugees located in the Salzburg region in 1917 and 1918, Galician Jews are found. From May 1917 to March of the following year, there were on average just under 1800 people. In May 1918, a decrease in their number was noted by almost half, with a further downward trend (from 930 Jews in May to 134 in June 1918). The last registered Jewish refugees in this area were six individuals on August 1, 1918.[11]

Strangers or who?

One of the main questions regarding migration research, including wartime migrations, was the extent of mutual understanding between two interest groups: refugees and the local population on whose native lands the temporary newcomers found themselves. These relations, both in the past and today, leave many points for analysis when observing migratory movements and display a certain ambiguity in this correlation.[12] It is worth examining how the situation looked in the analyzed case study of the encounter between the inhabitants of Galicia and the arriving war refugees.

The distance between the capital of the Habsburg monarchy, Vienna, and the capital of Galicia, Lviv, is almost 800 kilometers. Extending further west, measuring the distance from Salzburg results in over a thousand kilometers, which, given the realities of that time, translated into a train journey lasting several days. This considerable distance reflects not only the physical separation but also a functioning mental distance. Galicia had been referred to as

semi-Asia since the end of the 18th century, and these stereotypes deepened throughout the 19th century, lasting until the beginning of the 20th century. Hence, despite the fact that both the residents of Austria, including Salzburg, and the inhabitants of Galicia were citizens of the same state and subjects of the same Habsburg dynasty, they often knew little about each other.[13] While grand projects uniting the Habsburg Empire, originating from the Austrian administration or intellectuals, served as examples aimed at uniting the multinational state and its inhabitants, the reality and everyday life in the face of the wartime crisis revealed the opposite side of a socially disintegrated empire. On October 7, 1914, an article titled ambiguous "Galicia–Worthless, Valuable Land" was published in the "Salzburger Volksblatt", as a reprint of the German correspondent R. Bermann's account of his stay in Galicia. Although the author describes the activity and bravery of Poles fighting against the Russians, the civilian casualties, and their fate as refugees, he does not spare descriptions of Galicia as a semi-civilized country. He cites stereotypical terms such as 'dirty Galicia' and does not hesitate to depict Galicia as 'on the most eastern edge of the province, where there may be people who are pro-Russian and pro-Asian, individuals with a hostile attitude towards Central Europe. In Galicia, our culture exists, but only in a diluted form'. He concludes with chauvinistic words, stating that 'this semi-cultural country must become a fully cultural country. Purified, economically elevated Galicia'.[14]

It is thus unsurprising that, fed with such messages, public opinion showed a negative attitude toward newcomers. As a consequence, trains arriving in Salzburg with evacuated residents from Galicia were referred to as transports with 'Galician cholera'. Stereotypes were often relied upon: there was talk about suspicious Slavs and Poles collaborating with enemy Russia (often confusing Poles with Russians, not to mention the lack of knowledge about Ukrainians/Ruthenians). There were also mentions of engaging in illegal trade practices and abuses. Suspicion and interpersonal distance were harmful to the needy refugee population, especially in the early stages of the war when humanitarian efficiency was not yet established.

Every coin has two sides, and the same is true here: this wartime experience caused the population of Galicia, on a massive scale for the first time (in many cases for the first time), to leave their own microcosm organized on the principles of local community. At that time, war migration as temporarily evacuated refugees was the first opportunity for many to find themselves in a new space. Undoubtedly, the transport of Galician refugees was the first experience of traveling such a long distance for many of them. Rev. Józef Dziedzic wrote (Figure 5.1):

> The war brought me to this place [i.e., to Salzburg – K.R.]. Throughout my life, I never left the borders of Galicia, except for a few trips to the mountains of Northern Hungary. For the first time, I see German lands, feel German culture beside me. For the first time at the age of forty-six. During my studies, I learned German and always practiced this language

Meine Flucht aus Galizien.

Von Pfarrer Josef Dziedzic.

Mit dem Gefühl innigster Dankbarkeit dafür, daß ein deutsches Blatt seine Spalten einem Polen öffnet, der in Verbannung hier lebt, will ich mich den Lesern der „Salzburger Chronik" hiemit vorstellen. Man möge entschuldigen, daß ich mit einer persönlichen Note hier auftrete; jedoch ganz eigenartige Verhältnisse zwingen mich dazu. Ich bin nicht lediglich ein Verbannter, wie viele meiner Landsleute, sondern ich bin von allen Seiten bestürmt worden, für die Verbannten in diesem Lande Seelsorger zu sein. Dadurch sehe ich mich in eine gewisse Oeffentlichkeit gerückt und glaube der deutschen Oeffentlichkeit schuldig zu sein, ihr zu sagen, wer ich bin und mit wem sie es zu tun hat.

Wie allgemein bekannt sein dürfte, wurde hier ein polnisches Hilfskomitee gegründet. Ich bin noch immer nicht Mitglied dieses Komitees,

Figure 5.1 Reflection of Rev. Josef Dziedzic on his flight from Galicia published in "Salzburger Volksblatt" (October 1914).

Source: ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online.

> in such a way that I can speak it quite well. However, I did not need it in Galician villages, where I dedicated my entire life to work. I believe, however, that I have proven not only that I feel Polish but also Austrian: a citizen of this country. As a Pole and an Austrian citizen, I had to flee myself.[15]

This limited mobility, primarily arising from the needs of people at that time, sparked the interest of refugees in the surrounding area. In the case of Salzburg, these were beautiful Alpine landscapes, picturesque rivers and lakes, as well as historical landmarks. On the other hand, they were entirely unfamiliar with the local population, and the local people were equally unfamiliar with the newcomers. The scattered population during the wartime crisis tried to maintain community contact with each other. In Vienna, a publishing project emerged

to create a book containing addresses of the temporary residences of war refugees, along with memories of wartime experiences that were collectively compiled.[16] In this way, the aim was not only to maintain social contacts, identity, and a sense of community during the wartime crisis and escape from native lands, but it was also an expression of the awareness of the breakthrough in which people found themselves during the war. It was a documentation of their experiences and memories. These memories also included descriptions of the places where Galician refugees found themselves. For example, such a description was dedicated to the city of Salzburg, paying attention to its history from ancient times, briefly outlining the city's history as a significant cultural and administrative center of the Habsburg Empire, and simply highlighting the aesthetic aspects of the city, as seen in the following words:

> The city with 36,000 inhabitants is one of the most beautiful cities in the world. Situated on both banks of the Salzach River, whose gray-white glacial waters flow through a wide bed to join the Inn, Salzburg lies in a basin formed by the sloping, almost vertical walls of 'Festungsberg,' 'Mönchsberg,' and 'Kapuzinerberg.' Frequent fires and the penchant for construction by the residing archbishops have given the city the characteristic features of a flourishing princely residence from the 17th or 18th century. The architectural monuments of Salzburg predominantly show Italian influences. The focal point of Salzburg's life is 'Residenzplatz,' adorned with a beautiful well built in the 17th century according to Anton Dario's plans. At this square stands the imperial palace, currently inhabited by the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, and further the seat of the government and the higher regional court, finally a beautiful building in the early Baroque style. Salzburg, also being the birthplace of Mozart, encompasses within its borders a whole range of other magnificent architectural art monuments.[17]

However, after this very picturesque description, indicating the potential, significance, and aesthetic values of the city, the bitter reality in the clash between newcomers–war refugees and the local population also emerged:

> In the first days of October 1914, as a result of the evacuation of central Galicia, when our refugees arrived here, they were not very warmly welcomed. It's not surprising – the inhabitants of Salzburg, accustomed to affluent tourists visiting their beautiful city, were not very eager to welcome our poor, hungry, poorly dressed refugees who arrived not in splendid sleeping cars but in unheated freight cars of the trains. Moreover, they were preceded by transports of imprisoned pro-Russian individuals from eastern Galicia, and news of cholera. Therefore, at the alpine stations, already falling into a winter lethargy, there was an unfriendly attitude towards these belated tourists. Phrases like 'Cholerakranke' (Cholera patients) and 'Politisch Verdächtige' (politically suspicious) were whispered to each other,

> mysteriously looking at neighbors… Despite everything, those wealthier easily found accommodation in the city, whose hotels and inns were built for thousands of vacationers but now stood empty.[18]

It seems that the reception of refugees was far from friendly, and the reasons for this can be attributed to the habits of the local population, i.e., the inhabitants of Salzburg, who were accustomed to seeing affluent tourists as newcomers and were ready to welcome them. The contrast between the previous tourists and the arriving refugees is evident, intensifying the community's reluctance toward poorly dressed and hungry newcomers traveling in difficult conditions, described as animal-like wagons in personal documents from that experience. Despite the unfriendliness, wealthier individuals had easier access to accommodation in the city, which was originally designed for thousands of vacationers. This situation highlights social inequalities and the possibility of rejecting those who did not have sufficient financial strength to compete for limited resources. In this situation, to overcome the uncomfortable situation for both actors in this story, i.e., refugees and the local population, and in the absence of established humanitarian mechanisms, models created by leaders had to step in.

The attitudes of authorities (leadership) during the wartime crisis: Franz Kulstrunk

In the face of wartime crises, the role of authorities becomes crucial in shaping the attitudes of society. It is precisely the individuals who, in extreme situations (and war is undoubtedly such a situation), provide examples of determination, empathy, and action, that become a source of inspiration for others, especially in societies based on local connections. Through their attitudes, society can engage in humanitarian actions aimed at helping those in need, thus mobilizing itself in terms of organizing relief efforts. In this context, authorities become not only leaders but also catalysts for change, shaping attitudes that are an integral part of building a humanitarian reality. Authorities become role models, guiding paths of behavior, and their values and attitudes are often adopted by society. Effective communication from authorities lends credibility to the information conveyed, often correcting misconceptions or simply debunking common falsehoods. Authorities also have the ability to shape the narrative of a crisis, influencing how society understands and responds to the situation. An analysis of the situation of war refugees in Salzburg on both sides of the interest groups provides an example. As an example, a local authority and an authority among war refugees will be analyzed. The former is Franz Kulstrunk, and the latter is Eleonora Lubomirska. In the early autumn of 1914, disoriented, tired, and frightened Galician residents who found themselves in Salzburg encountered ambiguous attitudes from the very beginning when they disembarked at the train station. As mentioned above, these were examples of how the population, through the prism of stereotypes, lack of

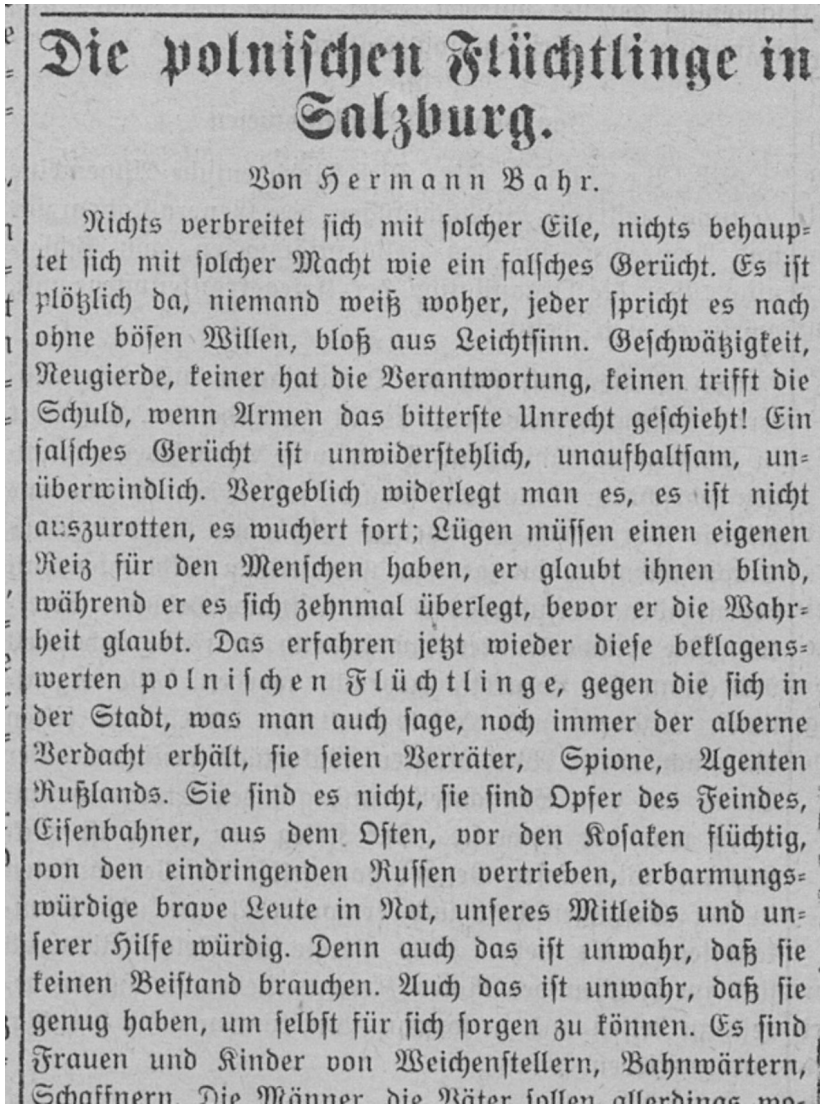
knowledge about Galician residents, and often associating them with hostile Russia, and finally also a sense of competition during the wartime crisis, reacted negatively, indifferently, and even disdainfully, stigmatizing the war refugees:

> When, in the first days of October, due to the evacuation of central Galicia, the refugees arrived in the Alpine countries, they were not very warmly welcomed here. Their arrival was preceded by the transport of Moskalophiles imprisoned in eastern Galicia, and the label 'traitors' was transferred by the uninformed local population of the Salzburg region to the poor, temporarily deprived of their own land, Galician refugees. In Salzburg, they were not spared this shameful name, and it was necessary to leave it to the wisdom of time to correct the false, completely erroneous opinions circulating among the local population.[19]

The excellent description of these moods was published in the Salzburg press, specifically in relation to the approach to war refugees from Galicia, by the writer Hermann Bahr with the following words (Figure 5.2):

> Nothing spreads with such speed, nothing persists with such force as false gossip. Suddenly it appears, no one knows where, everyone repeats it without ill will, only out of thoughtlessness, talkativeness, curiosity. No one bears responsibility, no one is guilty when the worst harm befalls poor people! False gossip is irresistible, unstoppable, invincible. Even when attempts are made to refute it, it cannot be eradicated, it grows further; lies must have their own power in the eyes of people who blindly believe in them, while ten times they ponder before believing in the truth. This is what the poor Polish refugees are experiencing now, in the city, whatever it is called, where absurd suspicion still prevails against them, that they are traitors, spies, agents of Russia. Yet, they are none of these; they are victims of the enemy, railway workers from the east, fleeing from the Cossacks, driven out by the advancing Russians; they are poor, honest people in need, requiring our compassion and help, deserving our compassion and help. Furthermore, it is also untrue that they do not need help. It is also untrue that they have enough to sustain themselves independently. These are women and children of railway workers (…).[20]

Narratives of this kind not only depict the moods prevailing among the population of Salzburg at the beginning of the war but also have the primary task of breaking the thinking based on stereotypes, gossip, and unchecked news, and critically considering who were these refugees from Galicia. These exhausted wanderers in a new, unfamiliar space didn't know what to do upon arriving at their temporary shelter (in this case, the city of Salzburg). Initially, they had no assistance, felt a lack of understanding from the locals, and faced a clear language barrier. All of this caused them to feel like they were not inside



Die polnischen Flüchtlinge in Salzburg.

Von Hermann Bahr.

Nichts verbreitet sich mit solcher Eile, nichts behauptet sich mit solcher Macht wie ein falsches Gerücht. Es ist plötzlich da, niemand weiß woher, jeder spricht es nach ohne bösen Willen, bloß aus Leichtsinn. Geschwätzigkeit, Neugierde, keiner hat die Verantwortung, keinen trifft die Schuld, wenn Armen das bitterste Unrecht geschieht! Ein falsches Gerücht ist unwiderstehlich, unaufhaltsam, unüberwindlich. Vergeblich widerlegt man es, es ist nicht auszurotten, es wuchert fort; Lügen müssen einen eigenen Reiz für den Menschen haben, er glaubt ihnen blind, während er es sich zehnmal überlegt, bevor er die Wahrheit glaubt. Das erfahren jetzt wieder diese beklagenswerten polnischen Flüchtlinge, gegen die sich in der Stadt, was man auch sage, noch immer der alberne Verdacht erhält, sie seien Verräter, Spione, Agenten Rußlands. Sie sind es nicht, sie sind Opfer des Feindes, Eisenbahner, aus dem Osten, vor den Kosaken flüchtig, von den eindringenden Russen vertrieben, erbarmungswürdige brave Leute in Not, unseres Mitleids und unserer Hilfe würdig. Denn auch das ist unwahr, daß sie keinen Beistand brauchen. Auch das ist unwahr, daß sie genug haben, um selbst für sich sorgen zu können. Es sind Frauen und Kinder von Weichenstellern, Bahnwärtern, Schaffnern. Die Männer, die Väter sollen allerdings wo-

Figure 5.2 Press article on Galician refugees in Salzburg by Hermann Bahr published in "Salzburger Volksblatt" (October 1914).

Source: ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online.

their own country at all. Moreover, everyone in Salzburg knew each other well before WWI; the residents of the city created their microcosm, disrupted by the wartime reality. It's not surprising that the influx of foreign people into the city in the autumn of 1914 created distance, uncertainty, and fear of newcomers, who were brought to their city and crown land by the war from a distant

northeastern province of the Habsburg monarchy. They knew nothing about each other and were unsure how long the incoming population would stay in the city. They probably were not fully aware that the refugees came from the crown lands where mobilized soldiers also marched from Salzburg, many of whom would not return to their native lands. Breaking this contact between refugees and the local population had to come from intellectual and higher spheres, which helped understand who the refugees are, why they had to flee, and called for providing help and compassion to the newcomers. In addition to texts like this one by Bahr published in the press, actions had to follow. And so it was: the person who stepped forward with practical humanitarian aid was the Salzburg artist, painter, and educator Franz Kulstrunk.[21] This was a figure remembered by the Galician refugees by the following words:

> The poorest, often penniless, gathered in goods wagons pulled to the freight station, waiting for mercy, or they stood for the night in nearby brickworks. And then, among the poor, stripped of their own homes, a man who didn't know their language, full of noble impulses and great virtues, Professor Kulstrunk appeared. He walked for several days, bearing what he could buy or collect from good people, begged for shelter for the homeless with a public appeal. In an article published in the 'Salzburger Volksblatt,' he informed his unaware compatriots about who these poor people really were – victims of war – and called on behalf of humanity to help them.[22]

Kulstrunk, as a local authority, reaches out to the Galician newcomers, understanding their plight as war victims deserving understanding rather than additional barriers. Thanks to his efforts and the publicity of his activities through the press, there was an understanding from the local population, marking real assistance and grassroots humanitarianism, not necessarily inspired by state structures but by human instincts. Similarly, Hermann Bahr, already mentioned, who accompanied Kulstrunk, described his activities with the words:

> The red knight, our brave Professor Kulstrunk, my excellent fellow countryman. He happened to come across them [refugees – K.R.], saw their misery, and immediately decided to help them, entirely on his own. He doesn't speak Polish; he can only communicate with them in the universal language of compassion. He organized their rescue overnight. This is our fortune in Austria; we can't organize, but we are unrivaled in improvisation. We see it everywhere now: what was calmly and methodically prepared for years is now, due to enthusiasm, mercy, and love, sprouting from the ground overnight.[23]

It should be noted that such opinions, especially when published in the press for a wider audience, could have been perceived in an ambiguous way. On the one hand, they demonstrate a bridge of understanding between newcomers

and locals; on the other hand, they reveal the lack of appropriate assistance mechanisms from the state – thus, as Bahr speaks of it, this improvised action had to serve as a substitute for organized government action.[24] However, this is also characteristic of the early period of war – chaos prevails, human instincts and reflexes take over, and the state must still develop certain mechanisms for providing humanitarian aid.

Despite unwavering grassroots humanitarian efforts, opinions among the residents remained ambiguous, as evidenced by the ongoing debate in the local press. It should be remembered that total war is a total crisis in many respects, showing a sense of competition even in critical situations. Taking care of war refugees convinced some to create a common humanitarian effort, while others were still antagonized, especially those who felt that newcomers were privileged compared to the local population. There was also a sense of superiority toward the arriving war refugees. An example of these debates is a letter from an anonymous reader, signed as a 'state official' (*ein Staatsbeamter*) representing Austrian authority in Salzburg, which will be quoted here *in extenso*:

> Painter Kulstrunk, who generously takes care of the Poles, was, I believe, also the one who proposed taking care of the Polish education for refugee children. In Salzburg, there may be Polish-speaking priests who could conduct lessons. So why can't the children be taught in German schools in Salzburg? Of course, it will be difficult to adapt them to the curriculum. But wouldn't Polish children gain at least one thing, namely a partial knowledge of the German language? This demand does not arise from any national chauvinism. Of course, no one would think of having poor refugees 'feel the German spirit.' Which Slavic Austrian has ever experienced it at all? But isn't it strange that Austrian railwaymen, government officials, cannot answer a question posed in German unambiguously? Often the author of these words himself has experienced this; it applies not only to women and children, but men in railway uniforms themselves do not understand a German word! How can these people feel a sense of community with us, and if they do, should we not be surprised? Perhaps it is only because these people unexpectedly found themselves among Germans, who despite various rumors treat them sympathetically, for the first time feel a sense of belonging to the nation that laid the foundation for the monarchy over the Danube, defended this bastion of European culture for centuries against Asian barbarism with heart and blood, and at the same time took care of it with peaceful civic effort. So maybe this is the right patriotic call at the right time when the residents of Salzburg are called upon: not only show the Poles the works of neighborly love but also let them participate in our intellectual and cultural life, give them insight into German spiritual life! This is best achieved in school. And those Polish-speaking clergymen in Salzburg

> who want to dedicate themselves to teaching should use their language skills in Polish to teach Polish children in German. I believe that the Poles will be grateful for this spiritual closeness. However, can there be a few who do not want to know about the spiritual bond that should enable mutual understanding between the multilingual nations of Austria? As for their Austrianness, let each deal with those thoughts on their own. State official.[25]

Although the anonymous state official emphasizes Kulstrunk's assistance to war refugees, he is critical of the establishment of separate Polish schools and the provision of continuity in refugee education. He points out that students should attend German schools in order to integrate with the local population. He also criticizes the fact that adults, including the railwaymen who arrived in the city, often did not know German. While the author of this letter denies being a chauvinist in his statement, the effect is quite the opposite: he shows better and worse inhabitants of Austria, with the worse ones being, as he describes them, 'Slavic Austrians', to whom he has considerable doubts about their 'Austrian-ness'. On the one hand, he appeals for educational efforts to integrate refugees with the locals to maintain national unity, although it seems more keen on following a 'civilizing mission' for the Galician population. Although the anonymous state official suggests providing Poles with access to German intellectual and cultural life, emphasizing German heritage may give the impression of cultural chauvinism, assuming that this is the only acceptable model in a monarchy that was supposed to be multinational, multiethnic, tolerant, and open to diversity. The anonymous official rejects what researchers later defined as hybrid identity, while many conscious and educated individuals recognized themselves in this way, such as the quoted Polish clergyman in Salzburg, Rev. Józef Dziedzic, who described himself as a 'Polish Austrian'.[26] As it is clear, working for war refugees was a very challenging task, especially in terms of overcoming deeply ingrained stereotypes and ignorance toward the incoming population. Therefore, it was crucial for someone within the second group to emerge as a person representing the other side of the bridge.

Female leadership and initiator of refugees' lives: Eleonora Lubomirska

The example of Kulstrunk shows how a local authority was able to break through indifference and call for joint humanitarian work, undoubtedly representing one side of the mentioned bridge. In the group evacuated from Galicia, there was a person who built that bridge from the other side, namely Eleonora Lubomirska from Przeworsk.[27] The role of women during WWI has been noted by researchers as those individuals who often replaced roles that might have seemed reserved for men in the prewar era.[28] In this case, Lubomirska was

Figure 5.3 Eleonora Lubomirska in 1913.
Source: Muzeum w Przeworsku.

still a leader and creator of life in exile for thousands of people. She described her stay in Salzburg and the situation of refugees at the very beginning:

> Three days after my arrival in Salzburg in the early days of October 1914, despite the beautiful nature and weather, despite the curiosity of the city, a true artistic gem, I already despaired over the forced inactivity, the boundless longing for Poland, and the anxiety about everything dear. In a local newspaper, I came across an article by Professor Franciszek Kulstrunk from the local Industrial School, discussing the lamentable conditions of Galician refugees in the Principality of Salzburg and the city, detained for weeks in cattle wagons or hastily erected pavilions without proper care, and in the name of humanity calling on his fellow citizens to take care of them. I went straight to him; I found a man with a warm soul, tender-hearted for every misery, a man our society should

> know and hold in grateful memory. He led me to our poor people; they clung to his hands and clothes, rejoiced at the sight of a fellow countrywoman, and did not cease to repeat that he was their guardian angel and benefactor. (…) We decided to convene a large meeting through Prof. Kulstrunk, a well-known and respected citizen in the city, inviting the authorities, clergy, prominent individuals, and the scattered but already quite numerous colony of Polish intelligentsia. So it happened on October 10th; the invited guests gathered quite numerously, and (…) our committee was constituted, composed of the Polish colony and the invaluable Prof. Kulstrunk. I was elected as the chairwoman. Following the advice of representatives of the local government, it was resolved to ask the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, who was permanently residing there, to be our patroness. By taking our activity under her protection as a member of the imperial family, she would put an end to the suspicions still lingering in wider layers of the local population that every Galician is a traitor.[29]

Indeed, just a few days later, in October 1914, thanks to the combined efforts of two authorities, Kulstrunk and Lubomirska, the Polish Aid Committee for Salzburg (Polnisches Hilfskomitees für das Land Salzburg) was established in Salzburg. The board consisted of three women: Lubomirska herself, Wanda Kłosowska, and Kanterowa (both ladies from Lviv), with Zofia Radwańska from Krakow serving as the treasurer. Two men, Józef Wróblewski and Macherzyński, were also part of the board. Soon, additional members were added to the board, organized structures and action units were established, addressing the needs of assistance for refugees. The committee's board met twice a week. Lubomirska repeatedly emphasized that the collaborative work for refugees taught people values they wouldn't learn in peacetime and also fostered an understanding of egalitarianism:

> We have all forgotten that back in our homeland [i.e., Galicia], we were unfamiliar with each other from different regions, cities, towns, and villages – coming from palaces, manors, and cottages, from large and small offices, from academic institutions and small schools, from workers' apartments and peasant huts. We feel and know one thing: we are forming one big family here, a small particle of Poland. We are responsible for each other, and our group, amid the larger, more powerful ones not favorably inclined towards our distinctiveness, must remain compact.[30]

Lubomirska recalls that they often encountered various difficulties, but her determination and the support around her helped achieve the humanitarian goals, self-organization, and assistance for refugees. In less than two months from the establishment of the committee, a six-class public school was organized in Itzting, on the outskirts of Salzburg. Similarly, outside the city in the village of Hallein, a public school was organized. An eight-class gymnasium course was set up in Salzburg in a rented space where refugee teachers from

Galicia served as the teaching staff. Additionally, a kindergarten was organized for the youngest. For slightly older girls, a sewing workshop was established, where clothes were not only sewn for refugees in the area but also thousands of garments for hospitals or underwear sent to the Vienna Red Cross. Furthermore, a shelter was organized for former Polish legionnaires unfit for further service. For members of the intelligentsia, a 'Hearth' was established at the Stein hotel. The Aid Committee in Salzburg addressed the most pressing issues among the Galician wanderers on refuge.[31] Within its competencies, the Committee primarily focused on providing support to impoverished refugees from Galicia. This included organizing their legal affairs, protecting their honor, securing housing, assisting in finding employment, overseeing education and pastoral care, searching for the missing, providing information about compatriots in enemy captivity, and obtaining coverage in local newspapers, etc. The Committee not only played a role in material assistance but also engaged in organizing educational and leisure activities for Polish refugees. They concentrated their efforts on financing employment courses for high school students, offering them education in private homes. Grants received from both the Ministry of Culture and Education and the regional government enabled the organization of gymnasium courses led by qualified teachers. A significant portion of students were exempted from school fees due to financial difficulties, reflecting societal commitment to providing educational opportunities regardless of economic status. Additionally, the Committee worked toward recognizing Salzburg as an official refugee municipality, opening the way for additional funds for refugee assistance and integration.[32] Cooperation with local authorities, based on transparency and commitment, was a crucial element of these efforts. Decisions regarding funding, educational assistance, or enabling the observation of Polish high school teachers in existing institutions were evidence of the effectiveness of collaboration between civil society and authorities.

The initiative of the Polish Committee in Salzburg not only directed assistance to those in greatest need but also integrated the refugee community through education and cultural initiatives. Its activities serve as an inspiring example of humanitarianism, which, despite the difficult times of war, formed the foundation of social solidarity. The Committee played a role in integrating the community, exploring various ideas that aimed to document the current situation in the context of Polish territories. Therefore, the Committee took the initiative to gather various materials, including clippings from Austrian newspapers that addressed the Polish issue during WWI. This material was later transferred to the War Archives at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakow, but it has not survived to the present day. The Aid Committee also established a center for wounded Polish legionnaires (at the address: Maxglan 34).[33]

The goal of the Committee's extensive activities was, on the one hand, to organize the time of the community of war refugees from Galicia and integrate it with the wider population. On the other hand, it was also part and parcel of the framework of this dual patriotism: working for their own national-social

group, namely the Poles in Galicia, and charitable work through the mentioned sewing workshops, where they worked for the Red Cross in Vienna, aimed to show that this population was not passive in the face of state activities but is part of pro-state propaganda efforts. Another pragmatic aspect is the utilization of human resources and simply providing people with an occupation.

Salzburg domesticated

This activity, both initially through the efforts extended toward refugees by Kulstrunk and later through Lubomirska's work, paved the way for Galician refugees seeking shelter and hospitality in Salzburg to familiarize themselves with the city and the region. They began to create their cultural, social, and community life there, expressing a certain continuity and stability in relationships that originated from the prewar period. Galician refugees made their presence felt in various places within the city of Salzburg. For example, St. Cajetan's Church (Kajetanerkiche) served as a notable location where Polish clergy conducted worship services in the Polish language. There were also places created specifically for Polish refugees, including educational institutions and workshops. In this way, refugees familiarized themselves with urban spaces and negotiated with the local population for places where they could feel at ease during the challenging times of forced migration due to the war. The acclimated space, thanks to understanding from the local population, allowed for the organization and cohesion of life, manifested through various cultural, educational, and religious events, albeit with certain human limitations stemming from the experience of displacement.[34] And so it is known that, for instance, a pre-Christmas gathering (known as 'opłatek') was organized in Salzburg, where a significant role was played by the spiritual leader of Poles in refuge in the city, Rev. Józef Dziedzic.[35] It was Rev. Dziedzic who, in fact, published his memories of the Galician evacuation in the local press, which also served as a means of fostering understanding among the locals.[36] As a clergyman, he did not write them for himself or for the Poles; he wrote them in German and they were published in the local press so that the microcosm of Salzburg, far from the Eastern Front, fully understood the essence of the ongoing war and the reason why thousands of people had to seek refuge in the depths of their country. As mentioned earlier, in addition to religious-patriotic meetings responding to the national needs of the people at that time, cultural meetings also took place in the city. Afternoons were spent reading Polish newspapers in the 'Stein' hotel, and on Sundays, lectures or concerts were organized. As reported by the Polish-language press during WWI, in February 1915, a concert by the well-known Polish singer Mrs. Stanisława Szymanowska took place in the halls of the same hotel. During the concert, a charity collection was organized for the center for wounded legionnaires who were also in the city.[37] In the press, numerous initiatives were also noted, such as lectures for a wider audience. From April 1915, sightseeing trips were also organized. There was also a library for refugees located near the gymnasium, mainly

supported by the People's School Society. The book rental service was also used by hospitalized soldiers of Polish nationality residing in Salzburg.[38] In general, these meetings, beyond serving as a form of integration and leisure, played a crucial role in creating a supportive atmosphere for refugees, significantly influencing their psychological well-being after the hardships associated with fleeing. The organized cultural events served not only as entertainment but also as means of integration, allowing refugees to participate in the community and build connections among themselves and with the local population. Equally important were Polish authorities who promoted the ideas of self-help, self-organization, and community among refugees. These actions not only contributed to the psychological comfort of the refugees but also facilitated integration with the local environment, significantly impacting the perception of Poles as an integral part of the Salzburg community. In this way, and despite difficult wartime conditions, various initiatives contributed to creating a positive memory of Salzburg as a place that not only welcomed refugees but also contributed to their gradual social reintegration, although with some distance between the locals and the refugees (a distance that was not fully overcome until the end of the war and the collapse of the monarchy).

"The Polish Exile Parliament" ("Sejm wychodźczy") in Salzburg in April 1915

The activity of the refugee aid committee in Salzburg fully aligned with the work of similar organizations and committees established in Austria at that time, and there were many of them.[39] As shown earlier, these committees had self-organizational character and tasks; they were to act as intermediaries between state aid and refugees, sometimes serving as a mobilizing force for a wider social circle in support of refugees. In doing so, they aimed to create a humanitarian initiative, streamline assistance processes, and demonstrate the implementation of good practices among people susceptible to antagonisms amid the wartime crisis.

Beyond the standard activities, the Committee in Salzburg organized a distinctive integrative initiative that stood out from any other aid committee. This initiative was the creation of the so-called "Polish Exile Parliament" in Salzburg. In practice, this name, referencing Polish parliamentary traditions and national representation assemblies (hence the term "sejm"), signified a gathering of representatives of war refugees, primarily dispersed in the western part of Austria. The event took place on April 23 and 24, 1915, in Salzburg, and Eleonora Lubomirska described it in her notes:

> Delegates arrived from committees in Linz, Graz, Bregenz, Krainburg, Altenstadt; refugee guests from Gmunden, Ischl, Goslern, Neuhofen; from Vienna, His Excellency Głąbiński and the honorable Mrs. Anna Neumann representing women's organizations there, as well as representatives of the 'Vienna Courier' and 'Vienna News' newspapers, and the

> Polish War Archive. The assembly lasted for two consecutive days, numerous useful resolutions were adopted, and a union of Alpine committees was formed; all external activities and more general demands were to be carried out and put forward jointly; the entire course of the congress, discussions, mutual convergence filled us with new hope and energy.[40]

The meeting was widely reported by both the press published in exile by Poles and the press in Galicia.[41] What was the significance of this meeting? On one hand, the meeting had an integrative character for Poles living in exile, mainly in the western countries of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which was intended to maintain a sense of national community. Lubomirska herself emphasized in her notes that this meeting was guided by the 'idea of unification, of coming together'.[42] On the other hand, the meeting had the character of determining a common direction for aid to refugees in Austria, thus creating mechanisms and grassroots humanitarian assistance initiatives. It was based on state support received from the government for the committee established a few months earlier. Additionally, the invitation extended to representatives of political factions, including the State Councilor Stanisław Głąbiński, aimed to encourage political representatives to act as agents in Vienna and lobby on matters concerning the well-being of refugees. The invitation to representatives of the Polish War Archives[43] illustrates the awareness of the significance of the wartime and refugee experience, which they sought to document and preserve as one of the elements of the experiences of Poles during this period (although it is known that the Archive was destroyed during WWII and the Warsaw Uprising) (Figures 5.4 and 5.5).

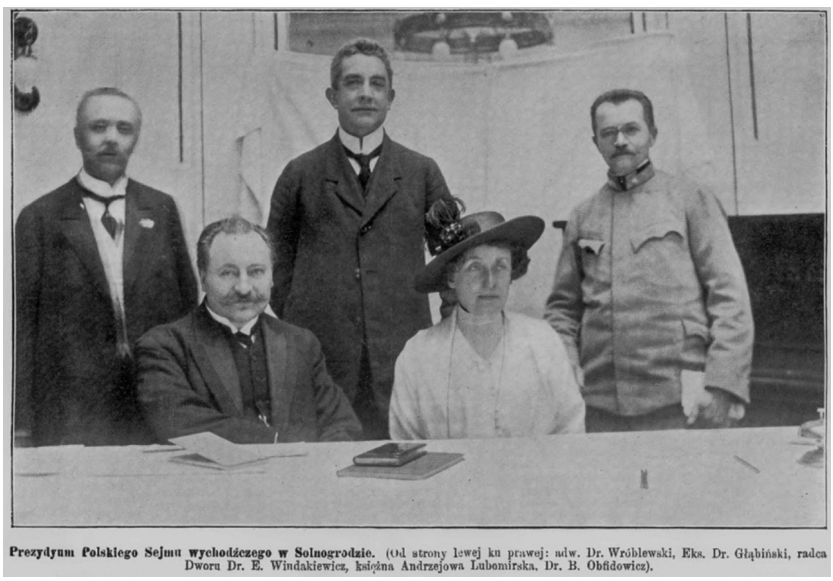
The return of the Princess to Galicia and the end of the Salzburg episode

Shortly after the success of organizing the so-called exile 'sejm' and mobilizing for further work for the needs of refugees, there was a significant change in the theater of war on the Eastern Front. As a result of its breakthrough in the Gorlice–Tarnów sector in May 1915, the unified Central Powers army (i.e., Austro-Hungarian units, along with the German army) advanced aggressively toward the entrenched Russian army, making a significant military move. Consequently, the front line shifted significantly, and the Kingdom of Poland was captured by the Central Powers, which quickly organized a new occupational administration in Warsaw and Lublin (but a serious consequence was also the massive scale of displacement from the eastern regions of the Kingdom of Poland into Russia),[44] as well as a significant part of Galicia being liberated from Russian occupation, the subsequent recapture of Przemyśl (June 3, 1915), and finally Lviv (June 22, 1915), sparked hope for the war refugees within the monarchy to return to their native lands. This also led to the possibility of returns to the western and central parts of Galicia from the summer of 1915

Polski Sejm wychodźczy w Solnogrodzie. (Patrz strona następna i art. „Na wychodźctwie", rozdz. „Solnogród", str. LV. i nast.).

Figure 5.4 Gathering in April 1915 called as the "Polish Exile Parliament" in Salzburg.

Source: Księga pamiątkowa i adresowa wygnańców wojennych z Galicyi i Bukowiny 1914–1915 oraz Album pamiątkowe, część I: Lwów, Wiedeń 1915.



Prezydyum Polskiego Sejmu wychodźczego w Solnogrodzie. (Od strony lewej ku prawej: adw. Dr. Wróblewski, Eks. Dr. Głąbiński, radca Dworu Dr. E. Windakiewicz, księżna Andrzejowa Lubomirska, Dr. B. Obfidowicz).

Figure 5.5 Initiators of the "Polish Exile Parliament" meeting. From left: Weróblewski, Głąbiński, Windakiewicz, Lubomirska, Obfidowicz.

Source: Księga pamiątkowa i adresowa wygnańców wojennych z Galicyi i Bukowiny 1914–1915 oraz Album pamiątkowe, część I: Lwów, Wiedeń 1915.

onwards, although in practice, the matter was still very complicated due to the wartime destruction and the proximity to active military operations in eastern Galicia. The journey back to Galicia seemed difficult and lengthy, with the patience required to wait for the appropriate permits from the state authorities. In agreement with the military command, they determined the actual possibility of return, primarily considering military factors, such as whether a given area was already free from hostile invasion, as well as economic factors related to the state of destruction of those areas and sanitary considerations. The counties of Galicia for the return of refugees were divided into three zones: A, B, and C. Zone A indicated free possibility of return to Galicia, Zone B indicated limited access (primarily calling individuals for the purpose of local economic rehabilitation), and Zone C, where return was prohibited due to ongoing wartime activities. On a formal level, it was necessary to obtain an appropriate permit for the return issued by local authorities.[45] Anyway, the situation on the Eastern Front was a tremendous success, including from a propaganda standpoint. It was widely publicized everywhere, and this information could not go unnoticed among the war refugees residing deep in Austria as it provided prospects for a return to their homeland. This also happened in the case of Salzburg, where from the early summer of 1915 onwards, the number of Poles gradually diminished. In the last days of June, Eleonora Lubomirska also returned to her family estate in Przeworsk, and the aforementioned Rev. Józef Dziedzic, as mentioned earlier, took over the leadership of the Polish committee. Since she was a leader and authority figure among the war refugees in Salzburg, the decision of her return resonated widely, as reported by both Galician and diaspora press:

> (…) bound by duties to her homeland estate in Przeworsk, the princess – wife of Andrzej Lubomirski left the city, and today we remain here alone, unable to reconcile ourselves with the thought that we will no longer see her among us. The dignified lady, who, like the best mother, took care of us as the chairwoman of the Polish Committee.[46]

Further descriptions depicted her farewell with tears, thanking her for all the work for war refugees and expressing hope for a reunion in times of peace. Such eulogies for Lubomirska were common at that time. A manifestation of this gratitude was a thank-you card with a miniature signed by Władysław Witwicki–one of the fathers of Polish psychology, also residing as a war refugee in the depth of Austria. The description presented in the painting not only portrays artistic beauty but also holds deep symbolic significance, drawing attention and provoking reflection on the fate of war refugees during WWI.

The central element of the composition is a woman with a small and older boy, standing as a symbol of aid for lost refugees. Her figure radiates empathy and care, and the allegory of support becomes an angel bringing loaves of bread. This is a clear reference to the invaluable role of humanitarian efforts to alleviate the suffering of refugees. In contrast to this benevolent image, we also

notice the presence of a dark figure in the background, symbolizing indifference and a lack of understanding toward the fate of the displaced in a foreign land. This figure refers to the initial difficulties that war refugees faced, trying to gain support from local communities. However, thanks to the activity and commitment of authorities, refugees managed to attract attention and gain acceptance, illustrating the transformation of the situation from indifference to compassion.

In the background of the painting, we see a clear symbol of smoke and red fire which allegorically represents the war conflagration from which the people of Galicia fled or were evacuated. It is a powerful depiction of the tragic events of war that forced people to leave their homes in search of safety. This scenery serves as the backdrop for the refugees' story, emphasizing the dramatic context they faced. This work not only artistically depicts the scene but also richly expresses profound meaning, highlighting the contrasts between compassion and indifference, hope and suffering, thus creating a multi-layered narrative about the fate of refugees in challenging wartime (Figures 5.6 and 5.7).

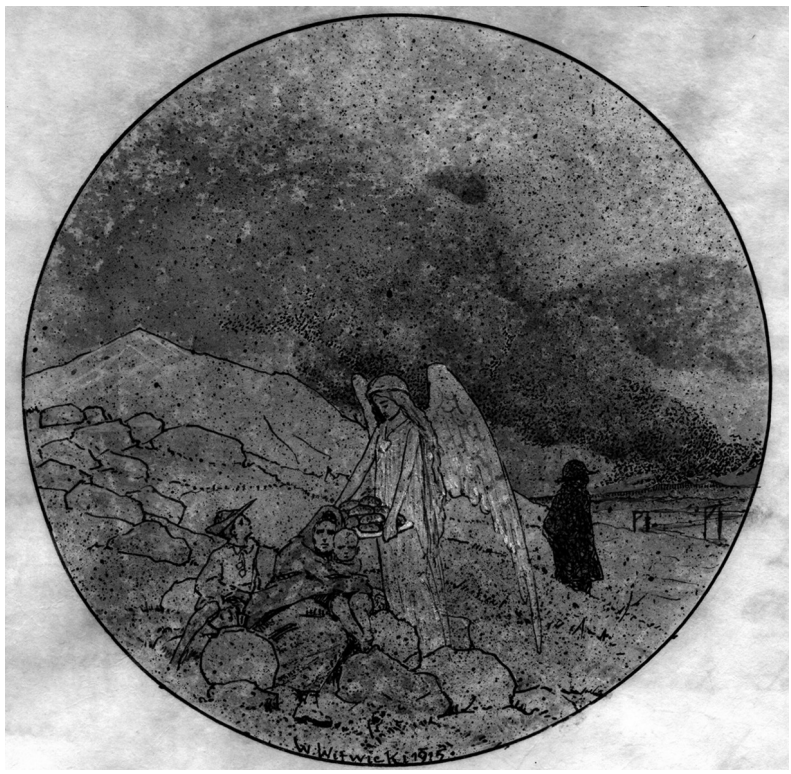


Figure 5.6 Commemorative card created for Lubomirska as a token of appreciation for her work on behalf of Polish war refugees.

Source: Museum in Przeworsk.

Figure 5.7 Detail of the card featuring a miniature of Władysław Witwicki.
Source: Museum in Przeworsk.

Below a eulogy for the Princess was written in Polish, which one can translate as follows:

> For being a merciful mother to homeless wanderers in a distant exile;
> For sweetening the bitter bread of exile with love,
> For feeding the hungry and strengthening the broken by pain,
> For being an example to the working and reconciling the quarreling,
> For when the enemy destroyed native nests, you built a homeland in the hearts of homeless compatriots:
> For this, our gratitude is heartfelt and the honor unextinguished.[47]

This card also contains handwritten signatures of numerous Polish refugees who, at that time, constituted the Polish refugee group and those who identified with it in Salzburg (Franz Kulstrunk signed the card). This list provides us with the names of many Galician intellectuals, often known in the reborn Poland in the world of culture or science, such as Alfred Ujejski (a high school professor, nephew of Kornel Ujejski), Paweł Vogel (a high school professor), Zofia Róża Kozłowska (a landowner activist), Romualda Sembratowa (a pianist and composer from Krakow), Józef Wróblewski (a lawyer), Jan Augustyński (a high school teacher), Stanisław Szurlej (a lawyer), Stanisław Zabrzeski (a high school professor), Józefa Jarosz-Galicowa (a singer), Franciszek Bogucki (director of the Bank of Poland in Krakow), Franciszek Kazimierz Smolka (a historian, grandson of Franciszek Smolka – president of the Austrian parliament in 1848), Wincenty Jan Rawski (an architect), Kazimierz Sosnowski (a professor at the Academy of Commerce in Krakow), Maria Kozłowska (an opera artist), Julian Zuboczewski (a high school professor), Andrzej Głogoczowski (a judge and lawyer), and many others. In this way, they expressed gratitude to the princess for her sacrifice and leadership during a difficult time for many refugees. Beyond this modest material form of assistance, it also had its resonance in memory.

However, this was not the end of the story for war refugees in the Salzburg area. It's important to note that shortly before Lubomirska returned to Galicia, the war between Austria and Italy began. As a result of subsequent waves of evacuation, it forced additional masses of people to flee their homes.[48] Furthermore, a camp for refugees was established a few kilometers away from Salzburg, utilizing the infrastructure of a camp for prisoners of war. The camp mainly housed refugees from Volhynia and, to a lesser extent, from eastern Galicia, in both cases, Ukrainians/Ruthenians, whose statistics were presented in the initial part of this chapter. In some cases, Poles with Russian citizenship (originating from the former Kingdom of Poland) also ended up there, but they were later transferred to the camp in Choceň in the Czech part of the monarchy (Bohemia).[49] The functioning of this camp is a subject for another study, one which is beyond the scope of this chapter.

Conclusion

What does the history from the early period of WWI in Salzburg teach us? Its analysis reveals several aspects. It is associated with exclusion based on stereotypes and ignorance about refugees' temporary arrivals in cities. On the other hand, it also shows how efforts were made to overcome this barrier through the actions of local authorities, who, from their own grassroots initiative, demonstrated the willingness and necessity of helping fellow human beings in extreme situations such as war, its outbreak, and the rapid consequences of turning Galicia into a battlefield. As a result of the war, masses of people were uprooted and had to leave their places of residence. While some refugees ended up in camps, others found themselves outside the camps, remaining in direct contact with the local population. Before the implementation of effective humanitarian aid mechanisms by the state, self-organization within the local community and among refugees was crucial. The chapter analyzes the role of authorities among both the local population and refugees, demonstrating how these forces collaborated to provide effective humanitarian aid. It also highlights the extent to which leader-authorities as individuals influenced public opinion and attitudes toward war refugees. The analysis also includes the actions of self-organizing committees, emphasizing their importance in providing assistance at the local level and influencing public opinion. The case of Salzburg also shows how people were motivated on both sides: among refugees to create aid committees and among the local population, inspired by contemporary authorities, to provide assistance. Although, as emphasized, this distance still existed until 1918, as several years of war, which was actually an option for the mobility of masses within their own country (in many directions), did not change what was said or thought about Galicia and its inhabitants for previous decades.

Notes

1 About Galicia during the war, see, for example, the chapter in the book: Kamil Ruszała, "Galicia as a Theatre of War in All Its Tragedy," in *Art in Uniform. The War Graves Department 1915–1918*, ed. Beata Nykiel, Agnieszka Partridge and Kamil Ruszała (Kraków: International Cultural Centre, 2022): 26–38; Jerzy Pająk, *Wojna a społeczeństwo. Galicja w latach 1914–1918* (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jana Kochanowskiego w Kielcach, 2020).

2 I elaborate further on these psychological aspects in: Kamil Ruszała, *Galicyjski eksodus. Uchodźcy podczas I wojny światowej w monarchii Habsburgów* (Kraków: Universitas, 2020); Kamil Ruszała, "Stay? Run away? How to Survive? Emotions of Refugees from Galicia during the First World War," in *Rurale Perspektiven im Zeitalter des Großen Krieges/Rural Perspectives in the Era of the Great War*, ed. Harald Heppner (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2024).

3 This issue has been given attention in a number of studies, see for example: George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers. Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Alan Kramer, *Dynamic of Destruction. Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Peter Gatrell, *The Making of Modern Refugee* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

4 WWI played a crucial role in shaping modern humanitarianism, as various researchers have mentioned. Summarizing the trends from the literature in one place is a challenging task. See for example: Bruno Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918–1924* (Cambridge University Press, 2014); Heather Jones, *International or Transnational? Humanitarian Action during the First World War*, European Review of History 16/5 (2009): 697–713; Elisabeth Piller and Neville Wylie, eds., *Humanitarianism and the Greater War, 1914–24* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023).
5 See: Tamara Scheer and Rok Stergar, Ethnic Boxes: "The Unintended Consequences of Habsburg Bureaucratic Classification," *Nationalities Papers* 46, no. 4, 575–91.
6 Ruszała, *Galicyjski eksodus*, 103.
7 On refugee camps in the Habsburg Monarchy, see for example, Antje Senarclens de Grancy, "Camps or Cities. The Urbanism of World War I Refugee Camps in the Austro-Hungarian Empire," in *State of Emergency. Architecture, Urbanism and the First World War*, ed. Sophie Hochhäusl and Erin Eckhold Sassin (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2022); Antje Senarclens de Grancy, "Different Housing Spaces – Space, Function, and Use of Barrack-Huts in World War I Refugee Camps," *Zeitgeschichte* 45, no. 4 (2018): 457–82; Doina Anca Cretu, "Child Assistance and the Making of Modern Refugee Camps in Austria-Hungary during the First World War," *Central European History* 55, no. 4 (2022): 510–27; Doina Anca Cretu, "Securitized Protection: Health Work and the Making of Refugee Camps in Wartime Austria-Hungary," in *Out of Line, Out of Place. A Global and Local History of World War I Internments*, ed. Rotem Kowner and Iris Rachamimov (Cornell University Press, 2022), 73–91; Martina Hermann, "'Cities of Barracks': Refugees in the Austrian Part of the Habsburg Empire during the First World War," in *Europe on the Move: Refugees in the Era of the Great War*, ed. Peter Gatrell and Lubov Zhvanko (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 129–55; Ruszała, *Galicyjski eksodus*, 146–66 and passim; Kamil Ruszała, "The Evacuation and Flight of Galician Refugees in the Habsburg Empire during the First World War: An Analysis of the Relocation System," *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* 148 no. 2 (2021): 331–47.
8 *Nowiny Wiedeńskie*, no. 7, 2 October 1914.
9 I followed the fate of one of these railway workers in the book: Kamil Ruszała, *Na torach wojny. Doświadczenia galicyjskiego kolejarza Mieczysława Szwestki (1914–1919)* (Kraków: Historia Iagellonica, 2024).
10 Narrative sources such as Eleonora Lubomirska mention such a number. See: "Z dziejów wychodźstwa. Polski Komitet dla Wychodźców Galicyjskich w Salzburgu" ("From the history of exile. Polish Committee for Galician Emigrants in Salzburg"), manuscript gathered in: Центральний державний історичний архів України у місті Львові/Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy u misti Lvovi (TsDIAUL), fond 835, opys 1, spr. 1169, 2–3.
11 See statistical sources: "Staatliche Flüchtlingsfürsorge im Kriege 1914/15" (Wien 1915, published by Ministry of Internal Affairs); Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA), AVA, MdI, Inneres, Prasidiaele, Varia, Erster Weltkrieg, Kt 31, passim.
12 Many researchers have highlighted the universality of these problems, see for example: Zygmunt Bauman, *Strangers at Our Door* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016); Michael Agier, *Borderlands: Towards an Anthropology of the Cosmopolitan Condition* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016).
13 Regarding these differences and the creation of certain stereotypes from the beginning of Galicia's functioning in the Habsburg Empire, see for example, Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford University Press, 1994); András Vári, "Functions of ethnic stereotypes in Austria and Hungary in the early nineteenth century," in *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict & Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, ed. Nancy M. Wingfield (London: Berghahn Books, 2004).

14 *Salzburger Volksblatt* 1914, no. 226, 7, 7 October 1914.
15 *Salzburger Volksblatt* 1914, no. 268, 25 November 1914, 3.
16 *Księga pamiątkowa i adresowa wygnańców wojennych z Galicyi i Bukowiny 1914–1915 oraz Album pamiątkowe. Cz. 1. Lwów, Cz. 2: Kraków, Cz. 3: Prowincya i Bukowina*, Wiedeń 1915.
17 *Księga pamiątkowa i adresowa wygnańców wojennych z Galicyi i Bukowiny 1914–1915 oraz Album pamiątkowe*, część I: Lwów, Wiedeń 1915, passim.
18 *Księga pamiątkowa i adresowa wygnańców wojennych z Galicyi i Bukowiny 1914–1915 oraz Album pamiątkowe*, część I: Lwów, Wiedeń 1915, passim.
19 *Księga pamiątkowa i adresowa wygnańców wojennych z Galicyi i Bukowiny 1914–1915 oraz Album pamiątkowe*, część III: Prowincya i Bukowina, Wiedeń 1915, 57.
20 *Salzburger Volksblatt* 1914, no. 244, 4 October 1914, 6.
21 Franz Kulstrunk – born in Radstadt (Salzburg) in 1861, a painter, and educator. Initially an elementary school teacher, later a specialized teacher, he was awarded the title of Professor in 1912. As a painter, he received private lessons from L. Reiffenstein and Th. Ethofer. Kulstrunk worked as an art teacher in practice and theory, as a folk and costume researcher (recording the castles in Oberpinzgau, 1896 onwards, works on Salzburg costume studies, sketches in the Salzburg Museum Carolino Augusteum), and as a painter. He passed away in Salzburg in 1944. Among his most well-known works is the panorama of Salzburg from the year 1916. See: Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950, Vol. 4 (19/1968), 344.
22 *Księga pamiątkowa i adresowa wygnańców wojennych z Galicyi i Bukowiny 1914–1915 oraz Album pamiątkowe*, część III: Prowincya i Bukowina, Wieden 1915, LIII.
23 *Salzburger Volksblatt* 1914, no. 244, 4 October 1914, 6.
24 Moreover, the editorial staff added a comment beneath this report stating: 'To what extent his doubts about the state are justified, we are unable to assess. However, we believe that in this case, the state will quickly fulfill its duties. It should be remembered, though, that among the refugees, there are also people who are not entitled to state aid and must rely on the kindness of Salzburg residents. If there is some mistrust towards foreign guests, it is certainly regrettable and unfair'. See: *Salzburger Volksblatt* 1914, no. 244, 4 October 1914, 6.
25 *Salzburger Volksblatt* 1914, no. 227, 8 October, p. 6–7.
26 *Salzburger Volksblatt* 1914, no. 268, 25 November 1914, 3.
27 Eleonora Lubomirska–born in 1866, was the owner of estates in Szczucin (Małopolska) as one of the last representatives of the Hussarzewski counts' family. In 1885, she married Andrzej Prince Lubomirski, a Galician entrepreneur, with whom she lived on the family estate in Przeworsk. She was a philanthropist and a shareholder of the Małopolskie Sugar Company 'Przeworsk' Joint-Stock Company in Przeworsk. From October 12, 1914, to June 22, 1915, she shaped activities for the Poles in Salzburg. She passed away in 1940 at the monastery in Pau, France.
28 On the topic of women during wartime, the research traditions are extensive. See for example works like: Susan R. Grayzel, *Women and the First World War* (London: Longman, 2002); Christa Hämmerle, *Heimat/Front. Geschlechtergeschichte/n des Ersten Weltkrieges in Österreich-Ungarn* (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2014); Maureen Healy, "Becoming Austrian: Women, the State, and Citizenship in World War I," *Central European History* 35, no. 1 (2002): 1–35; Gunda Barth-Scalmani, "Frauen," in *Katastrophenjahre. Der Erste Weltkrieg und Tirol*, ed. Hermann J. W. Kuprian and Oswald Überegger Hermann (Innsbruck: Wagner, 2014), 83–112.
29 TsDIAUL, 835/1/1169, 2–3.
30 TsDIAUL, 835/1/1169, 4.
31 TsDIAUL, 835/1/1169, 5–8 (here extensive description of the committee activity). See further: *Salzburger Volksblatt* 1914, 10 December, no. 280, 9; *Salzburger Volksblatt*, 2 October 1915, no. 224, 5 (summary of the committee's activities upon its closure.); *Salzburger Chronik*,1914, 3 October, no. 225, 12; *Salzburger Wacht*, 17 October 1914, 5. On information about the committee's activities and subsidies, as

well as the vocational-educational workshops established by the committee. See: ÖStA, AVA, Inneres, MdI, Allg., Zl. 40412/15.

32 To officially obtain the status of a war refugee, i.e., to receive support from the state, one had to either reside in a refugee camp or stay in a locality (and be registered with the local authorities) that held the status of a so-called refugee municipality, i.e., a Municipality for Accommodating Refugees (Flüchtlingsunterbringungsgemeinde).

33 ÖStA, AVA, Inneres, MdI, Allg., Zl. 18280/1915.

34 See an analysis of the problem: Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

35 *Wiedeński Kuryer Polski*, no. 78, 1 January 1915.

36 See the article "My Escape from Galicia," published in: *Salzburger Volksblatt*, November 25, 1914, no. 268, 3. The excerpt was published at the beginning of the chapter on prewar immobility experiences. Additionally, in the article, Rev. Józef Dziedzic expresses gratitude to the German periodical for the opportunity to share his life in exile. He points out that he is not only an exile but also a pastor for other Poles in a foreign country. He describes his reception by the German community and the support from German church authorities and the abbot of St. Peter's Monastery. Rev. Dziedzic recalls his social activism in Galicia, founding various initiatives. He narrates his escape triggered by the onset of war and the Russian invasion. He informs about receiving a letter with plans from Russian authorities regarding him and others, as well as a death sentence he managed to evade by escaping with others. He emphasizes gratitude for hospitality and assistance in a foreign country, pledging to focus on pastoral work. He also encourages fellow countrymen to behave honorably in their new place of residence.

37 *Wiedeński Kuryer Polski*, 24 March 1915.

38 About a series of initiatives, see, for example: *Wiedeński Kuryer Polski*, no. 117, 18 February 1915.

39 In 1915, approximately 130 institutions can be identified, and at the peak moment, there were even more, see: Ruszała, *Galicyjski eksodus*, 374.

40 TsDIAUL, 835/1/1169, 9. About these gatherings, the press also reported, see: *Rodak*, no. 12, 8 May 1915.

41 See. *Rodak*, no. 12, 8 May 1915.

42 TsDIAUL, 835/1/1169, 8.

43 See: *Nowości Illustrowane*, No. 39, 25 September 1915.

44 About so-called "*bezhenstvo*"–mass flight from western part of the Romanov Empire to the internal part see: Mariusz Korzeniowski, "Refugees from Polish territories in Russia during the First World War," in *Europe on the move*, 66–87; Mariusz Korzeniowski, Marek Mądzik, and Dariusz Tarasiuk, *Tułaczy los. Uchodźcy polscy w imperium rosyjskim w latach pierwszej wojny światowej* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2007); Korzeniowski, Mariusz, Krzysztof Latawiec, and Dariusz Tarasiuk, eds, *Uchodźstwo polskie w Rosji w latach I wojny światowej w świetle dokumentów* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2018); Aneta Prymaka-Oniszk, *Bieżeństwo 1915. Zapomniani uchodźcy* (Wołowiec: Czarne, 2017).

45 The issue of hard returning home I analyzed deeply: Ruszała, *Galicyjski eksodus*, 313–68.

46 *Rodak*, no. 21, 10 July 1915.

47 Muzeum w Przeworsku, sign. MP-S-738: Diploma for Eleonora Lubomirska with gratitude for her activity in the Polish Committee of Galician Emigrants, Salzburg, 1915, with a miniature by Władysław Witwicki. Thank you to the Museum for providing access to the materials.

48 Cf. Francesco Frizzera, *Cittadini dimezzati: I profughi trentini in Austria-Ungheria e in Italia (1914–1919)* (Bologna: il Mulino, 2019); Francesco Frizzera, "Population displacement in the Habsburg Empire during World War I," in *World War I in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Judith Devlin, John Paul Newman and Maria

Falina (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 60–72; Francesco Frizzera and Marco Mondini, "Beyond the borders: displaced persons in the Italian linguistic space during the First World War," in *Europe on the Move*, 176–96; Hermann Kuprian, "Flüchtlinge, Evakuierte und die staatliche Fürsorge," in *Tirol und der erste Weltkrieg*, ed. Klaus Eisterer and Rolf Steiniger (Innsbruck-Vienna: Österreichischer Studienverlag, 1995), 277–305.

49 For example, in March 1917, there were approximately 630 Poles of Russian citizenship from the Kingdom of Poland. ÖStA, AVA, Inneres, MdI, Allg., Zl. 19852/1917.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Центральний державний історичний архів України у місті Львові/Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy u misti Lvovi (TsDIAUL), fond 835, opys 1, spr. 1169.

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA), AVA, MdI, Inneres, Prasidiaele, Varia, Erster Weltkrieg, Kt 31.

ÖStA, AVA, Inneres, MdI, Allg., Zl. 40412/15; Zl. 18280/1915; Zl. 19852/1917.

Muzeum w Przeworsku, MP-S-738.

Printed sources

"Staatliche Flüchtlingsfürsorge im Kriege 1914/15" (Wien 1915, published by Ministry of Internal Affairs).

Księga pamiątkowa i adresowa wygnańców wojennych z Galicyi i Bukowiny 1914–1915 oraz Album pamiątkowe, część I: Lwów, Wiedeń 1915.

Księga pamiątkowa i adresowa wygnańców wojennych z Galicyi i Bukowiny 1914–1915 oraz Album pamiątkowe, część III: Prowincya i Bukowina, Wiedeń 1915.

Press

Nowiny Wiedeńskie 1914.
Salzburger Volksblatt 1914.
Salzburger Chronik 1914.
Salzburger Wacht 1914.
Wiedeński Kuryer Polski 1915.
Rodak 1915.
Nowości Illustrowane 1915.

Literature

Agier, Michael. *Borderlands: Towards an Anthropology of the Cosmopolitan Condition*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016.

Barth-Scalmani, Gunda, "Frauen." In: *Katastrophenjahre. Der Erste Weltkrieg und Tirol*, edited by Hermann J. W. Kuprian and Oswald Überegger, 83–112. Innsbruck: Wagner, 2014.

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty*. Cambridge: Cambridge Polity Press, 2007.

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Strangers at Our Door*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016.

Cabanes, Bruno. *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918–1924*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
Cretu, Doina Anca. "Child Assistance and the Making of Modern Refugee Camps in Austria-Hungary during the First World War." *Central European History* 55, no. 4 (2022a): 510–27.
Cretu, Doina Anca. "Securitized Protection: Health Work and the Making of Refugee Camps in Wartime Austria-Hungary". In: *Out of Line, Out of Place. A Global and Local History of World War I Internments*, edited by Rotem Kowner and Iris Rachamimov, 73–91. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2022b.
Dohle, Oskar, and Thomas Mitterecker, eds. *Salzburg im Ersten Weltkrieg. Fernab der Front – dennoch im Krieg*. Wien: Böhlau, 2014.
Frizzera, Francesco. "Population Displacement in the Habsburg Empire during World War I." In *World War I in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Judith Devlin, John Paul Newman and Maria Falina. London: Bloomsbury, 2018.
Frizzera, Francesco. *Cittadini dimezzati: I profughi trentini in Austria-Ungheria e in Italia (1914–1919)*, Bologna: il Mulino, 2019.
Frizzera, Francesco, and Marco Mondini. "Beyond the Borders: Displaced Persons in the Italian Linguistic Space during the First World War." In *Europe on the Move: Refugees in the Era of the Great War*, edited by Peter Gatrell, and Liubov Zhvanko, 177–96. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017.
Gatrell, Peter. *The Making of Modern Refugee*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
Grayzel, Susan R. *Women and the First World War*. London: Longman, 2002.
Hämmerle, Christa, *Heimat/Front. Geschlechtergeschichte/n des Ersten Weltkrieges in Österreich-Ungarn*. Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2014.
Hermann, Martina. "'Cities of Barracks': Refugees in the Austrian Part of the Habsburg Empire during the First World War." In *Europe on the Move: Refugees in the Era of the Great War*, edited by Peter Gatrell and Lubov Zhvanko, 129–55. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017.
Jones, Heather. "International or Transnational? Humanitarian Action during the First World War." *European Review of History* 16, no. 5 (2009): 697–713.
Korzeniowski, Mariusz. "Refugees from Polish Territories in Russia during the First World War." In: *Europe on the Move: Refugees in the Era of the Great War*, edited by Peter Gatrell and Lubov Zhvanko, 66–87. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017.
Korzeniowski, Mariusz, Krzysztof Latawiec, and Dariusz Tarasiuk, eds. *Uchodźstwo polskie w Rosji w latach I wojny światowej w świetle dokumentów*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2018.
Korzeniowski, Mariusz, Marek Mądzik, and Dariusz Tarasiuk. *Tułaczy los. Uchodźcy polscy w imperium rosyjskim w latach pierwszej wojny światowej*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2007.
Kramer, Alan. *Dynamic of Destruction. Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
Kuprian, Hermann. "Flüchtlinge, Evakuierte und die staatliche Fürsorge." In *Tirol und der erste Weltkrieg*, edited by Klaus Eisterer and Rolf Steiniger, 277–305. Innsbruck–Vienna: Österreichischer Studienverlag, 1995.
Maureen, Healy. "Becoming Austrian: Women, the State, and Citizenship in World War I." *Central European History* 35, no. 1 (2002): 1–35.
Mosse, George L. *Fallen Soldiers. Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950. Vol. 4 (19/1968), 344.
Pająk, Jerzy. *Wojna a społeczeństwo. Galicja w latach 1914–1918*. Kielce: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jana Kochanowskiego w Kielcach, 2020.

Piller, Elisabeth, and Neville Wylie, eds. *Humanitarianism and the Greater War, 1914–24*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023.

Prymaka-Oniszk, Aneta. *Bieżeństwo 1915. Zapomniani uchodźcy*. Wołowiec: Czarne, 2017.

Ruszała, Kamil. *Galicyjski eksodus. Uchodźcy podczas I wojny światowej w monarchii Habsburgów*. Kraków: Universitas, 2020.

Ruszała, Kamil. "The Evacuation and Flight of Galician Refugees in the Habsburg Empire during the First World War: An Analysis of the Relocation System." *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* 148, no. 2 (2021): 331–47.

Ruszała, Kamil. "Galicia as a theatre of war in all its tragedy." In *Art in Uniform. The War Graves Department 1915–1918*, edited by Nykiel Beata, Agnieszka Partridge and Kamil Ruszała, 26–39. Kraków: International Cultural Centre, 2022.

Ruszała, Kamil. "Stay? Run Away? How to Survive? Emotions of Refugees from Galicia during the First World War." In *Rurale Perspektiven im Zeitalter des Großen Krieges/ Rural Perspectives in the Era of the Great War*, edited by Harald Heppner, 249–67. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2024a.

Ruszała, Kamil. *Na torach wojny. Doświadczenia galicyjskiego kolejarza Mieczysława Szwestki (1914–1919)*. Kraków: Historia Iagellonica, 2024b.

Scheer, Tamara, and Rok Stergar. "Ethnic Boxes: The Unintended Consequences of Habsburg Bureaucratic Classification." *Nationalities Papers* 46(4): 575–91.

Senarclens de Grancy, Antje. "Different Housing Spaces – Space, Function, and Use of Barrack-Huts in World War I Refugee Camps." *Zeitgeschichte* 45(4), 2018: 457–82.

Senarclens de Grancy, Antje. "Camps or Cities. The Urbanism of World War I Refugee Camps in the Austro-Hungarian Empire." In *State of Emergency. Architecture, Urbanism and the First World War*, edited by Sophie Hochhäusl and Erin Eckhold Sassin. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2022.

Vári, András. "Functions of Ethnic Stereotypes in Austria and Hungary in the Early Nineteenth Century". In *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict & Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, edited by Nancy M. Wingfield. London: Berghahn Books, 2004.

Wolff, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994.