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CHAPTER XVI

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF THE JEWS.¹

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It is impossible in this chapter to trace, even in a general way, the numerous migrations which have marked the whole history of Israel. The present theme is a brief survey of the international migration of Jews in the last half-century, so far as positive statistical data make such a survey possible. This last condition limits the field of study still further in space and time. Many Jews, for example in the last two generations left countries of Central Europe and established themselves in Germany, Austria, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, or more recently in France and Belgium. But concerning all these migrations within Europe the available data are sporadic and uncertain. Consequently, the theme will be further limited to the intercontinental migrations of Jews. With the exception of Poland—and for that country the data cover only a few years—the countries of emigration do not have special statistics about their Israelitish emigrants. The only numerical material available is the statistics of certain countries of immigration including the United States, Canada, Argentina, and more recently Palestine and South Africa. Of all these countries only the United States has adequate and detailed statistics about its Jewish immigrants. Canada gives only the totals for this group without even the distinction by sex. The data for Palestine and South Africa, though a little more detailed, cover only the recent years. Those for Argentina are not even directly official. Even the United States statistics have distinguished the Jews only since July 1, 1898, when the classification of immigrants "by race or people" was introduced. Thus it is only since the fiscal year 1898-99 that extensive and

¹[For a fuller discussion of this subject as it stood on the eve of the World War see the author's *Le Juif errant d'aujourd'hui* (1913). That work examines the causes and the effects of Jewish emigration in greater detail and is less statistical than the present study; it did not, however, dwell upon the attempt to establish a home for the Jews in Palestine. With the present chapter compare *International Migrations*, Volume I, pp. 70, 126, 130, 227, 774, 788, 875, 895-899.—Ed.]

detailed statistics are available about the migrations of the Jews. In Canada similar statistics began with the fiscal year 1900-1901, and in Argentina with 1904.

But before the United States adopted a restriction policy Jewish immigrants to the United States were between three-fourths and four-fifths of all Jewish intercontinental migrants. These statistics of the United States now extend over more than a quarter of a century; they embrace the period of most intense Jewish emigration and give us a picture of the vast majority of Jewish migrants, which can not differ greatly from that of the whole.

Under these circumstances, the present study will consist of two unequal parts: one examining in detail Jewish immigration into the United States, and the other giving a general survey of Jewish immigration into other countries beyond the seas.

JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES

Jewish immigration into the United States before 1870 was almost *nil*. In fact, during the half-century 1820-70 the two great empires from which the mass of Jewish immigrants came, the Russian Empire (including Poland) and the Austro-Hungarian Empire sent to the United States about 15,000 immigrants (Russia and Poland 7,000, Austria-Hungary 8,000) only a part of whom were Jews. During the next 10 years more than 125,000 immigrants came to the United States from Russia (with Poland) and from Austria-Hungary, the average annual number increasing about 10-fold over that of the preceding decade. Jewish immigration to the United States on a significant scale began with the last quarter of the nineteenth century. During the decade 1881-90, it must have reached an important figure since the immigration from these two empires increased 5-fold in comparison with 1871-80. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, the immigration from those countries doubled again, reaching about 602,000 for Russia and Poland (Russian Poland only after 1899) and 593,000 for Austria-Hungary (including Austrian Poland after 1899).

How many in this huge migratory flow were Jews? We shall never know exactly.¹ It was only with the fiscal year 1898-9 that the statistics of the United States began to record the number of Jewish immigrants. Out of a total of 123,000 immigrants coming from the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires in that year, the

¹The figures relating to the immigration of Jews into the United States prior to 1899 are quite uncertain and those in the Jewish Encyclopedia generally erroneous.

Jews numbered 35,000 or 28.5 per cent.¹ In 1899-1900, out of 206,000 immigrants from those countries, the Jews numbered 54,000 or 26 per cent. For the two years combined the Jews were 89,000 or 27 per cent. If the same proportion, held throughout the nineteenth century, then of 1,625,000 immigrants to the United States from the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires before 1899, there were 440,000 Jews. Following another method of estimate, the 89,000 Jews who arrived from Russia, Poland and Austria-Hungary during these two years were 91 per cent of the 98,000 Jews who entered the United States during the same years. If the same proportion held for the preceding years 484,000 Jews must have entered the United States before 1899.² Thus, at least 500,000 Jews entered the United States before 1899.

A table in Volume I gives the data for Table 200 (p. 474).³

Table 200 establishes the following facts:

(1) During the 26 years 1899-1924, over 1,800,000 Jews entered the United States of whom 1,500,000 came during the 16 years before the war (1899-1914). They were more than one-tenth of the total immigration into the United States.

(2) The Jews were second in number among the peoples entering the United States, falling below the Italians who were twice as numerous (3,821,000), but exceeding the Poles (1,483,000), the Germans (1,317,000) and the English (1,068,000), the only peoples who contributed to the United States more than a million immigrants each.

(3) The annual average number of Jews entering was more than 70,000, but the actual figures deviated widely from this average ranging between a minimum of 3,000 (in 1919) and a maximum of 154,000 (in 1906).

One can get a general idea of the fluctuations of Jewish immigration by grouping the years as in Table 201 (p. 474).

During the 5 years (1899-1903) preceding the Russo-Japanese war and the first Russian revolution, the number of Jewish immigrants fluctuated about 58,000 per annum. During the 11 years from the Russo-Japanese war to the World War, a period of unprecedented increase in immigration and marked in Russia by

¹[Volume I, p. 464.—Ed.]

²Both of these estimates are probably too low, for earlier in the century the proportion of Jews among the migrants from Russia, Poland, and Austria-Hungary was probably greater; and the proportion of western Jews (especially German Jews) among all Jewish migrants was undoubtedly greater than it was toward the end of the century.

³[Volume I, pp. 432-43, Table X.—Ed.]

TABLE 200.

TOTAL IMMIGRATION AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION, INTO THE UNITED STATES, 1899-1924.

(In Thousands)

Fiscal years	Absolute figures		Jews per cent	Fiscal years	Absolute figures		Jews per cent
	Total immigrants	Jews			Total immigrants	Jews	
1899	312	37	12.0	1915	327	26	8.1
1900	449	61	13.5	1916	299	15	5.1
1901	488	58	11.9	1917	295	17	5.9
1902	649	58	8.9	1918	111	4	3.3
1903	857	76	8.9	1919	141	3	2.2
1904	813	106	13.1	1920	430	14	3.3
1905	1,026	130	12.7	1921	805	119	14.8
1906	1,101	154	14.0	1922	310	54	17.3
1907	1,285	149	11.6	1923	523	50	9.5
1908	783	103	13.2	1924	707	50	7.1
1909	752	58	7.7				
1910	1,042	84	8.1	1899-			
1911	879	91	10.4	1914	13,689	1,486	10.9
1912	838	81	9.6	1915-			
1913	1,198	101	8.5	20	1,603	80	5.0
1914	1,218	138	11.3	1921-			
				24	2,345	272	11.6
				1899-			
				1924	17,636	1,838	10.4

revolutionary movements, atrocious reprisals, and pogroms, as well as by bad crops, the Jewish immigration nearly doubled. During the 6 years of war and revolution (1915-20) immigration was almost at a standstill with an annual average of only 13,000. Once the flood-gates closed by the war were opened, the flow started with

TABLE 201.

AVERAGE ANNUAL NUMBER OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES AT DIFFERENT PERIODS, 1899-1924.

(In Thousands)

Years	Annual Average
1899-1903	58
1904-14	109
1915-20	13
1921	119
1922-24	51
1925-30	11

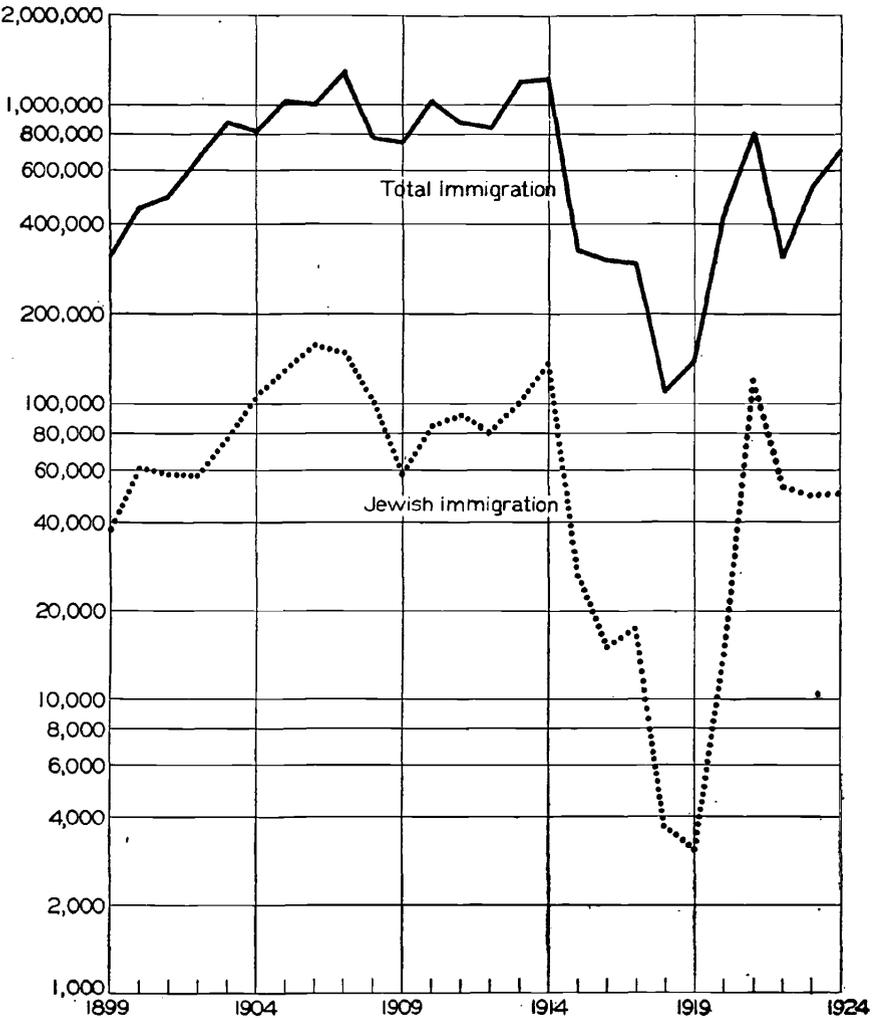
new vigor. Aside from the check to the migratory movement in 1915-20, the desire to emigrate was strengthened by the ruin of the war, by the new frontiers, by the political and social revolutions and counter-revolutions, and by the new series of pogroms which far surpassed all that had previously occurred. In fact, beginning with 1921, the first year of peace—for in Russia and Poland 1920 also was a year of war—Jewish immigration surpassed the pre-war average and almost reached 120,000. But that was the end of free immigration. The first restrictive law (1922-24) reduced Jewish immigration to about 50,000 per annum. In 1925, through the new law, the number of Jewish immigrants was brought down to about 10,000. Thus the United States was closed to Jewish migrants just when the need to emigrate was felt most keenly among the Jews, and when their immigration into the United States was about to take a new and extraordinary spurt.

(4) The wide annual fluctuations in the amount of Jewish immigration arose, partly from general causes which acted on the total immigration into the United States, and partly from circumstances peculiar to the life of the Jews in the countries of their emigration. Thus the minimum of 3,000 for the fiscal year 1919 resulted naturally from the war; but the maximum of 1,101,000 for the fiscal year 1906 was due in part to the terrible scourge of pogroms in Russia immediately following the granting of the constitution of October 30, 1905. In a general way, however, up to 1922 Jewish immigration paralleled the total immigration to the United States, as is shown in Diagram 12. Like the total, it mounted rapidly to 1906 but it reached its absolute maximum a year earlier; then it fell until 1909, following the economic depression which then prevailed in the United States. Both curves rose in 1910, keeping a relatively moderate level in 1911 and 1912. In 1913 both rose again, to a new maximum in 1914. During the war years Jewish immigration dropped even more rapidly than the total, remaining very low in 1920, which was a year of war for eastern Europe. Then both rose suddenly and attained a third maximum in 1921, only to fall again in 1922 obviously due to restrictive legislation. Thereafter the parallism ceased.

Another American table¹ shows how many Jewish emigrants left the United States in each year after 1907. These figures give

¹Volume I, page 477, Table XIX.

Diagram 12. Annual Immigration into the United States, Total and Jewish, 1899-1924.



an idea of the comparative importance of the two kinds of immigration: *temporary* and *permanent*. They establish for 1908-24 the facts shown in Table 202 (p. 477).

The Jews were 9.5 per cent of the immigrants but only 1.5 per cent of the emigrants; in other words, they took only one-sixth as great a part in the repatriation movement as they did in the incoming movement. The emigrants leaving the United States during this period were one-third as many as the immigrants; the

TABLE 202.

TOTAL JEWISH IMMIGRANTS INTO AND EMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED STATES, 1908-24.
(In Thousands)

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Emigrants per 100 immigrants
Total.....	10,657	3,575	33.6
Jews.....	1,009	52	5.2
Per cent Jews.....	9.5	1.5	....

Jews leaving the United States were only one-twentieth (5.2 per cent) as many as the Jews who entered. While the total immigration into the United States was only two-thirds permanent, the Jewish immigration was nineteen-twentieths (95 per cent) permanent.

But if there is such a difference between the permanence of

TABLE 203.

IMMIGRATION AND REPATRIATION OF DIFFERENT PEOPLES WITH RESPECT TO THE UNITED STATES, 1908-24.
(In Thousands)

Races or peoples	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net Immigra- tion	Per 100 immigrants	
				Emigrants	Immigrants (net)
Jews.....	1,009	52	956	5.2	94.8
Irish.....	475	48	427	10.1	89.9
Scotch.....	362	40	323	11.0	89.0
Germans.....	765	121	644	15.9	84.1
Ruthenians.....	174	29	145	16.7	83.3
French.....	353	64	289	18.1	81.9
English.....	801	153	648	19.1	80.9
Scandinavians.....	490	101	389	20.5	79.5
Lithuanians.....	140	35	105	25.0	75.0
Poles.....	808	321	488	39.7	60.3
Greeks.....	372	176	196	47.4	52.6
Croats and Slovenes..	230	115	115	50.1	49.9
Russians.....	220	111	109	50.5	49.5
Italians.....	2,085	1,140	945	54.7	45.3
Slovaks.....	231	128	102	55.5	44.5
Magyars.....	234	150	84	64.0	36.0
Rumanians.....	97	64	33	65.9	34.1
Other peoples.....	1,811	727	1,084	40.1	59.9
Total.....	10,657	3,575	7,082	33.5	66.5

Jewish immigration and that of all immigration into the United States, how much greater must the difference be between Jewish immigration and that of certain other peoples, especially those who come from the south and east of Europe where temporary migration is particularly frequent? This is shown in Table 203 (p. 477) embracing all those European peoples each of which sent at least 250,000 immigrants to the United States, 1899-1924, as well as the Rumanians included because of the many Jews in that country.¹

Table 203 (p. 477) shows:

(1) The Jews furnished between one-eighth and one-seventh (13.5 per cent) of the net immigration into the United States (956,000 out of a total of 7,082,000).

(2) In the amount of net immigration the Jews occupy first place, surpassing even the Italians (956,000 as against 945,000).² Far behind them come the English (648,000) and the Germans (644,000). (This does not mean that Jewish migrants to all countries combined are the most numerous, for both Italians and English go in large numbers, as the Jews do not, to countries other than the United States.

(3) The rate of repatriation (emigrants per 100 immigrants) is much lower for Jews than for any other people or, what amounts to the same thing, Jewish immigration is much more permanent than any other. The rate of repatriation for Jews is one-half that of the Irish or the Scotch, one-third that of the Germans, one-fourth that of the English or the Scandinavians. The difference in this respect between the Jews and the peoples among which the great mass of the Jews in Europe live, as well as between them and the peoples from the south of Europe, is especially marked. The rate of repatriation among Jewish immigrants is one-third that of the Ruthenians, one-fifth that of the Lithuanians, one-eighth that of the Poles, one-tenth that of the Russians, one-eleventh that of the Italians, one-twelfth to one-thirteenth that of the Magyars or the Rumanians.

From what countries do Jewish immigrants go to the United States? The answer is given in Table 204 (p. 479).³ More than two-

¹[See Volume I, pages 432-443 and 476-8, Tables X and XIX.—Ed.]

²The same holds for the whole period 1899-1924, if one assumes for the years prior to 1908 a rate of repatriation (emigrants per 100 immigrants) equal to that established for 1908-24. The figures for net immigration of the Jews for 1899-1924 would then be 1,742,000 and that of the Italians (north and south combined) would be 1,731,000 for the same period.

³[For detailed figures see Volume I, pages 460-470, Table XIII.—Ed.]

TABLE 204.

JEWISH IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF LAST RESIDENCE, 1899-1924.^a

(In Thousands)

Countries	Absolute figures	Per cent of Total Jewish Immigrants
Russia and Poland.....	1,243	67.7
Austria-Hungary.....	260	14.2
Rumania.....	103	5.6
United Kingdom.....	73	4.0
Turkey.....	20	1.1
Germany.....	15	0.8
British North America.....	57	3.1
Other countries.....	67	3.6
Total.....	1,838	100.0

^aThe countries, for each year, are considered within their frontiers of that period. In particular Austria-Hungary here comprises, for the period 1899-1919, all the territory of the former monarchy; and after 1920, the present territories of Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

thirds of the Jewish immigrants came from the former Russian Empire. In addition at least half of the Jews from Austria-Hungary went from Galicia or Austrian Poland.¹ So Russia and Poland together contributed to the United States at least three-fourths of its Jewish immigrants. We say "at least," for beyond doubt at least three-fourths of the Jews whose last country of residence before they entered the United States was the United Kingdom, British America or "other country", had come originally from Russia or Poland. It might be nearer the truth to say that five-sixths of the Jewish immigrants originally came from one of these two countries.²

¹For the five pre-war years, 1910-14, for which United States statistics give figures for Austria and Hungary separately (Vol. I, p. 464) there was a total immigration of 72,000 Jews from Austria-Hungary, of whom 57,000 or 78 per cent, came from Austria and 16,000 or 22 per cent came from Hungary. The vast majority of the Austrian Jews who went to the United States were Galicians. In addition to the fact that Galicia had a much larger emigration than the rest of Austria, two-thirds (66.4 per cent) of the Jews reported by the Austrian census of 1910 lived in Galicia (871,906 in Galicia and 441,792 in the rest of Austria.)

²The restriction of immigration brought about an increase in the number of Jewish immigrants to the United States whose country of last residence was returned as Canada and Newfoundland. In 1924 they numbered 7,421 or 14.8 per cent of the Jewish immigration into the United States.

Rumania must also be considered. From that country during 1899-1924, more than 100,000 Jews (102,548) migrated to the United States. As the total number of immigrants from Rumania during the same period was 133,577, more than three-fourths (76.8 per cent) of all the immigrants from Rumania were Jews. Furthermore the non-Jewish immigration from that country increased greatly after the war as a result of the annexation of former Hungarian crown territories having a large emigration. The proportion of Jews is greater still if only the territory of the former kingdom of Rumania is considered. Out of a total of 72,000 immigrants coming from Rumania to the United States during the sixteen years before the war, 61,000 were Jews. The Jews thus were six-sevenths of the immigrants coming from the former kingdom of Rumania. Still further, only one-third of the immigrants of Rumanian origin but nineteen-twentieths of the Jews were permanent immigrants (Table 203, p. 477).

In order to get an accurate idea of the rate of migration of the Jews, it is necessary to consider the ratio between the number of migrants and the Jewish population in the countries from which they came. But this rate of migration can be computed only very roughly. There are several difficulties. In pre-war Russia there was only one general census of the population, that of 1897, and the number of Jews before the war in the principal parts of that country became more uncertain as the remoteness of that census increased. Some idea of the rate of Jewish emigration is obtained if the average annual number of Jewish migrants, 1899-1914, is compared with the number of Jews recorded in the Russian census of 1897. The inaccuracy involved in such a method is reduced by the fact that, because of the intense emigration and the oppression of the Jews who did not migrate, their number cannot have increased to any great extent between the date of the census and the beginning of the World War. The Jewish population of Austria-Hungary and Rumania has been treated in a similar way. By assuming also that the Jewish immigrants into the United States, 1899-1914, were five-sixths of the whole number who emigrated to countries beyond the seas, approximate figures can be reached for the amount and rate of the overseas emigration of Jews. With these assumptions Table 205 (p. 481) has been prepared, which establishes the following points:

- (1) On the average, of 1,000 Jews in the Russian Empire, 13

came annually to the United States and 15.6 emigrated annually from Russia. This is one of the highest rates of emigration recorded in the history of modern migrations. As it is an average rate for a period of 16 years and as 95 per cent of the emigrants remained abroad, we must go back to the great Irish emigration in the middle of the nineteenth century to find an exodus of equal magnitude. It reached its climax in that terrible year ending June 30, 1906, when 125,234 Jews or about 25 per mille went from Russia to the United States.

(2) The rate of emigration among Austro-Hungarian Jews was also very high, but only about half that among the Russian Jews. The emigration rate of Hungarian Jews was lower than that of Austrian Jews. Thus, during the five years 1910-14 there were 57,000 Jews from Austria and 16,000 from Hungary entered the United States. The number of Jews returned in the Austro-Hungarian census of December 31, 1910, was 1,313,635 for Austria and 932,458 for Hungary. Out of 1,000 Jews returned by that census 8.6 went from Austria and only 3.8 from Hungary to the United States annually. The emigration rate of Hungarian Jews thus was only two-fifths of that of Austrian Jews.

(3) Although the number of Rumanian Jews who left their

TABLE 205.

AMOUNT AND RATE OF JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, AND RUMANIA, 1899-1914.

	Russian Empire	Austria-Hungary	Rumania
<i>Date of Census</i>	1897	1900	1899
Jewish population.....	5,123,065	2,076,089	266,652
<i>Jews entering United States:</i>			
Total.....	1,066,063	240,000	62,813
Annual Average:			
(a) amount.....	66,629	15,000	3,926
(b) rate.....	13.0	7.2	14.7
<i>Intercontinental emigration of Jews:</i>			
Total.....	1,279,276	288,000	75,376
Annual average:			
(a) amount.....	79,955	18,000	4,711
(b) rate.....	15.6	8.7	17.7

native land was low, the emigration rate from Rumania was about 10 per cent higher than that from Russia itself.

The Jewish emigration rate compared with that of the non-Jewish population of the same region varied greatly from country to country.¹ In the Russian Empire the emigration rate of the Jews was about three times as high as that of the Poles or the Lithuanians. In Austria it was almost equal to that of the Poles and double that of the Ruthenians. In Hungary it was less than for most of the surrounding non-Jewish populations. But in Rumania the difference between the rates for Jews and for others was out of all proportion. While, according to the census of December 1899, there was hardly one Jew to 21 non-Jewish inhabitants (4.5 per cent of the total population were Jews), among the immigrants from that country to the United States there were six Jews to one non-Jew. In other words, in Rumania the Jewish emigration rate was about 125 times that of the non-Jewish population, and if permanent emigration alone were considered this ratio would be trebled.

The group of Jewish immigrants is distinguished not only by the great number of its members, but also by its peculiar composition in sex, age, and occupation. Since its composition changed greatly after the war because of the war itself and of the policy of restriction which followed, it is well to examine it during three periods of unequal length and of unequal immigration: the 16 pre-war years 1899-1914, the 6 war years 1915-20, and the four years after the war 1921-24. But the long period of free immigration, 1899-1914, will be given special attention.

A table in Volume I gives the sex composition of the group of Jewish immigrants.² That table furnishes materials for the summary in Table 206 (p. 483).

Table 206 shows that:

(1) Females constitute almost one-half of all Jewish immigrant (44 per cent for the 16 pre-war years and 46 per cent for the whole period).

(2) The proportion of females among Jewish immigrants is more than one-third higher than in the total immigration to the United States (for the pre-war period it was 38 per cent higher and for the whole period 34 per cent higher.)

¹Hersch, *Le Juif errant d'aujourd'hui* (1913), pp. 43-55 and 61f.

²Volume I, pages 432-443, Table X.

TABLE 206.

JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND TOTAL IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES
ACCORDING TO SEX, 1899-1924.

(In Thousands)

	1899-1914	1915-20	1921-24	1899-1924
Absolute figures:				
<i>Jewish immigration:</i>				
Males	832	42	124	997
Females	654	38	148	841
Total	1,486	80	272	1,838
<i>Total immigration:</i>				
Males	9,348	937	1,330	11,615
Females	4,341	666	1,015	6,021
General total	13,689	1,603	2,345	17,636
Per cent females:				
Jews	44.0	47.7	54.5	45.7
Total	31.7	41.6	43.3	34.1
Jewish females per 100 immi- grant females	15.1	5.7	14.6	14.0

(3) The proportion of females among Jewish immigrants, as among all immigrants, increased greatly after the war. In 1921-24 females were a majority of Jewish immigrants.

(4) Every seventh female immigrant who entered the United States during the period was Jewish.

(5) During the 26 years five-sixths of a million Jewish women and nearly one million Jewish men arrived as immigrants.

If the sex composition of the group of Jewish immigrants be compared with that of other European peoples for the most characteristic pre-war years the results are as given in Table 207 (p. 484).

The inferences from Table 207 (p. 484) are like those already drawn about temporary and permanent immigration. Among immigrants from the northwest of Europe the proportion of females is much higher than it is among those from the east and south of Europe. But Jewish immigrants, although coming from eastern Europe, have a larger proportion of females than the northwestern peoples. The Jews have a larger proportion of females among their

TABLE 207.

IMMIGRATION OF DIFFERENT EUROPEAN PEOPLES INTO THE UNITED STATES ACCORDING TO SEX, 1899-1914.

(In Thousands)

Race or People	Males	Females	Total	Per Cent Females
Irish.....	285	300	585	51.3
Jews.....	832	654	1,486	44.0
French.....	110	81	191	42.5
Germans.....	613	434	1,047	41.5
English.....	372	251	623	40.3
Scotch.....	134	89	223	39.8
Scandinavians.....	459	280	739	37.9
Poles.....	940	462	1,403	33.0
Lithuanians.....	171	82	253	32.4
Slovaks.....	326	151	477	31.6
Magyars.....	313	143	456	31.3
Ruthenians.....	177	78	254	30.5
Italians.....	2,473	734	3,207	22.9
Croats and Slovenes.....	374	84	459	18.4
Russians.....	190	31	221	14.0
Rumanians.....	116	18	134	13.1
Greeks.....	344	26	370	7.0
Other peoples.....	1,119	443	1,562	28.4
Total.....	9,348	4,341	13,689	31.7

migrants than any other people except the Irish. But between the Jews and other immigrants coming from the east or the south of Europe the contrast is especially striking. The proportion of females among Jewish immigrants is one-third higher than among the Poles or the Lithuanians, one-half higher than among the Magyars or the Ruthenians. It is double that of the Italians, and more than three times that among the Russians or Rumanians.

In absolute number, Jewish female immigrants occupy the second place among all the races, following immediately after the Italian female immigrants and would hold the first place if the Italians were classified, as they are in the immigration statistics of the United States, into two groups: North Italians and South Italians.

Other tables in Volume I give the materials for a comparison between the age classification of Jewish immigrants and of all immigrants into the United States.¹ We thus get the following picture

¹Volume I, Tables VII and XI, pp. 397-8 and 444-9.

TABLE 208.

JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND TOTAL IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES
ACCORDING TO AGE, 1899-1914 AND 1921-24.

(In Thousands)

Age	Absolute figures		Per 100 Immigrants		Jews per 100 immi- grants
	Jews	Total	Jews	Total	
1899-1914					
Under 14.....	362	1,694	24.4	12.4	21.4
14 to 44.....	1,037	11,281	69.8	82.4	9.2
45 and over.....	87	714	5.8	5.2	12.1
Totals.....	1,486	13,689	100.0	100.0	10.9
1921-24					
Under 16.....	80	434	29.6	18.5	18.5
16 to 44.....	157	1,696	57.7	72.3	9.3
45 and over.....	35	214	12.7	9.1	16.1
Totals.....	272	2,345	100.0	100.0	11.6

(Table 208 above) omitting the war years 1915-20, because of the change in the age-groups in 1918.

The most salient characteristic revealed by Table 208 is the large proportion of children among Jewish immigrants. For the 16 years before the war Jewish children under 14 years of age were one-fourth (24 per cent) of all the Jews, and more than one-fifth (21 per cent) of all the children, who entered the United States. For three adult Jewish immigrants there was one child, for four non-Jewish immigrant children there was one Jewish child. The table further brings out the following facts:

(1) Before the war the proportion of children among Jewish immigrants was twice as great as among all immigrants.

(2) Young adults (14-44 years of age) were much less numerous among Jewish immigrants than among all immigrants into the United States.

(3) Elderly people were somewhat more numerous among Jews than in the total immigration to the United States (5.8 per cent before the war compared with 5.2 per cent; and 12.7 per cent after the war compared with 9.1 per cent.)

(4) The war and the later restrictions increased the proportion of children and elderly people among Jewish immigrants, as well as

in general (a phenomenon analogous to that of the increase in the proportion of females). For 1921-24, children under 16 constituted almost 30 per cent, and old people almost 13 per cent of all Jewish immigrants.

The age distribution of Jewish immigrants during the pre-war period is compared with that of the 16 other European peoples in Table 209 below.¹ This table brings out the following results:

(1) The proportion of children among immigrants from the west and north of Europe is usually higher than among those from the south and east. But the proportion of Jewish children is much higher than that for any other immigrant group, being about 50 per cent higher than among the Germans, the French, the Scotch, or the English; almost three times as high as among the Scandinavians, and more than four times as high as that among the Irish.

(2) In this respect also the difference is especially great between

TABLE 209.

IMMIGRANTS OF DIFFERENT EUROPEAN PEOPLES INTO THE UNITED STATES
ACCORDING TO AGE, 1899-1914.

(In Thousands)

Race or People	Absolute figures			Per 100 Immigrants		
	Under 14	14 to 44	45 and over	Under 14	14 to 44	45 and over
Jews.....	362	1,037	87	24.4	69.8	5.8
Germans.....	181	794	72	17.3	75.8	6.9
French.....	32	140	19	16.7	73.2	10.1
Scotch.....	36	167	21	16.0	74.8	9.2
English.....	96	457	69	15.5	73.4	11.1
Italians.....	371	2,653	183	11.6	82.7	5.7
Magyars.....	50	383	23	10.9	84.0	5.1
Slovaks.....	49	413	16	10.2	86.5	3.3
Poles.....	137	1,232	34	9.8	87.8	2.4
Scandinavians.....	69	635	34	9.3	86.1	4.6
Lithuanians.....	20	228	5	8.0	90.1	1.9
Irish.....	33	525	27	5.7	89.7	4.6
Croats and Slovenes.....	25	418	16	5.5	91.1	3.4
Russians.....	12	205	4	5.4	92.6	2.0
Ruthenians.....	14	233	7	5.4	91.7	2.9
Greeks.....	14	350	6	3.7	94.6	1.7
Rumanians.....	5	118	11	3.7	88.1	8.2
Other peoples.....	189	1,294	79	12.1	82.8	5.1
Total for United States.....	1,694	11,281	714	12.4	82.4	5.2

¹[See Volume I, pages 444ff., Table XI.—Ed.]

Jewish immigrants and immigrants from those stocks among which the Jews in Europe live. Thus the Poles have sent to the United States about 200,000 more young adults than the Jews, but 225,000 fewer children. Polish children who have entered the United States are only one-third as many as the Jewish children who entered. The percentage of children among Jewish immigrants is about three times as high as among the Poles or the Lithuanians, almost 5 times as high as among the Russians or the Ruthenians, and almost 7 times as high as among the Rumanians.

(3) The absolute number of Jewish immigrant children (362,000) is greater than the number for the Slavic peoples, the Lithuanians, Magyars, Greeks, and Rumanians combined.

(4) Because of the high proportion of children and elderly persons the percentage of young adults (14-44 years) is lower among Jewish immigrants than among others. Still their absolute number exceeds a million for 1899-1914, and in rank they are third, immediately after the Italians and the Poles.

The classification of *occupations* used in American immigration statistics has often and rightly been criticized. This classification exists, nevertheless, and serves as a basis for public discussions of the occupational phase of the problem of immigration. So it must first be used and later, perhaps, modified or completed. By it immigrants are classified under four main heads: (1) professional; (2) skilled; (3) miscellaneous; (4) no occupation. Those in some one of the first three divisions may also be combined into one large group "occupied immigrants" or "*breadwinners*,"¹ in contrast with those of the last class the "unoccupied." What was the relative importance, of these two classes of immigrants among the Jews and in the total immigration? In view of the exceptionally high proportion of Jewish women and children it is not difficult to guess that the unoccupied classes, mainly children and women, were especially numerous. The figures of Table 210 (p. 488) confirm this surmise.²

Table 210 permits a series of conclusions like those already drawn about the sex and age of immigrants.

(1) Jewish immigrants have a proportion of persons without

¹ Here and elsewhere in this Volume II the term "*breadwinners*" is employed to designate those productive laborers who have gainful occupations and earn money regularly by the exercise of some reputable calling. Many of them are not only "self-supporting" but contribute to support others. The word has been used in this sense in the publications of the United States Bureau of the Census.

² [Compare Volume I, page 453 of Table XII.—Ed.]

occupation much greater than the average for all immigrants. Before the war it was about two-thirds higher.

(2) The war, and the post-war restrictions on immigration giving priority to the members of families of former immigrants, have considerably increased the proportion of unoccupied persons both in the total immigration and in Jewish immigration. In 1915-20 one-half of the Jewish immigrants were without occupation; during the post-war period this class formed a majority.

TABLE 210.

PERSONS WITH OCCUPATION AND PERSONS WITH NO OCCUPATION IN JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND IN TOTAL IMMIGRATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1899-1924.

(In Thousands and Per Cents)

	1899-1914	1915-20	1921-24	1899-1924
<i>Absolute figures;</i>				
<i>Jewish immigrants:</i>				
With occupation	841	40	124	1,006
With no occupation	644	40	148	832
<i>Total immigrants:</i>				
With occupation	10,088	1,000	1,443	12,531
With no occupation	3,601	603	902	5,105
<i>Per cent with no occupation</i>				
Jews	43.3	50.0	54.5	45.3
Total	26.3	37.6	38.5	28.9

(3) In spite of the enormous proportion of unoccupied Jewish immigrants, however, more than one million (1,005,824) occupied Jewish breadwinners entered the United States during the 26 years.

A comparison between Jewish and other European immigrants gives the pre-war ratios presented in Table 211 (p. 489)

Table 211 shows once more that Jewish immigrants are a peculiar people, this time in the matter of occupation.

(1) Among no other migrants does one find a proportion of unoccupied persons equal to that of the Jews: 43 per cent. This proportion is generally much higher for migrants from the north and west of Europe; but among the Jews it is greater than among the French, the English, the Germans or the Scotch, and two or three times as high as among the Scandinavians or the Irish.

(2) In this respect as in many others the contrast between the Jews and the immigrants coming from the south and east of Europe is especially great. The proportion of Jewish immigrants without occupation is twice as great as that among the Italians, Poles or Lithuanians; more than 3 times that among the Ruthenians; and 4 times that among the Russians or the Rumanians.

(3) The absolute number of Jewish immigrants without occupation (644,000) is more than one-sixth of all the immigrants without occupation entering the United States, although the occupied Jews were only one-twelfth of all occupied immigrants. The unoccupied Jews are more than twice the number of Polish

TABLE 211.

EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES, CLASSED AS
BREADWINNERS OR UNOCCUPIED, 1899-1914
(In Thousands)

Race or People	Bread- winners	Not gainful- ly occupied	Without occupation, per 100 immigrants
Jews.....	842	644	43.3
French.....	114	77	40.1
English.....	378	245	39.4
Germans.....	641	406	38.8
Scotch.....	144	79	35.5
Magyars.....	338	118	25.8
Slovaks.....	363	114	24.0
Italians.....	2,461	746	23.3
Poles.....	1,109	294	21.0
Scandinavians.....	602	136	18.5
Lithuanians.....	206	46	18.4
Irish.....	497	88	15.1
Ruthenians.....	219	35	13.7
Croats and Slovenes.....	399	60	13.1
Russians.....	195	26	11.9
Rumanians.....	118	16	11.8
Greeks.....	337	33	8.8
Other peoples.....	1,124	437	28.0
Total for United States....	10,088	3,601	26.3

immigrants without occupation and yield first place, in this respect, to the Italians alone.

The parallelism between these facts and those previously established about temporary and permanent immigration, and the sex and age distribution of immigrants is such that the phenomena seem clearly related. A further analysis of the facts is needed first.

Are Jewish immigrants specifying an occupation divided among the three large classes (professional, skilled, and miscellaneous) in approximately the same way as in the total immigration? Or is there here also a noticeable difference between Jews and others? An answer can be found in Table 212 below.

The most salient characteristic revealed by Table 212 is the enormous proportion of skilled laborers among the Jews. In this respect the difference between Jewish immigration and total immigration into the United States far surpasses all the differences previously discovered.

(1) Before the war one-fifth of all immigrants, but two-thirds of the Jews specifying occupation, were skilled laborers.

TABLE 212.

NUMBERS OF JEWISH AND OTHER IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES, GROUPED UNDER THE THREE MAIN OCCUPATIONAL HEADINGS OF THE UNITED STATES CLASSIFICATION, 1899-1924.
(In Thousands)

	1899-1914	1915-1920	1921-24	1899-1924				
		Absolute figures:						
<i>Jewish Immigration:</i>								
Professional.....	11	2	6	19				
Skilled.....	574	23	51	649				
Miscellaneous.....	257	15	66	338				
<i>Total Immigration:</i>								
Professional.....	152	54	67	272				
Skilled.....	2,033	269	440	2,742				
Miscellaneous.....	7,903	677	936	9,517				
<i>Per 100 with occupation:</i>								
	Jews	Total	Jews	Total	Jews	Total	Jews	Total
Professional.....	1.3	1.5	4.2	5.4	5.2	4.6	1.9	2.2
Skilled.....	68.2	20.2	57.6	26.9	41.4	30.5	64.5	21.9
Miscellaneous.....	30.5	78.3	38.2	67.7	53.3	64.9	33.6	75.9
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Jews per 100 Immigrants:</i>								
Professional.....	7.4		3.1		9.7		7.1	
Skilled.....	28.2		8.6		11.7		23.7	
Miscellaneous.....	3.2		2.3		7.1		3.6	
Total with occupation.....	8.3		4.0		8.6		8.0	

(2) One-fourth of all the skilled laborers entering the United States before the war were Jews. In other words, for three non-Jews in the skilled trades entering the United States, there was one Jew. The percentage of Jews among the skilled laborers coming into the United States was three times as high as their proportion among all immigrants with occupations.

(3) On the other hand, while the immigrants classed under "miscellaneous" occupations constituted nearly four-fifths of all immigrants with occupations entering the United States before the war, they constituted only three-tenths of the Jewish immigrants with occupations. While one-fourth of all the skilled laborers entering the United States were Jews, only one-thirtieth of the "miscellaneous" group (mainly "laborers") were Jews.

(4) The immigrants practising a profession form among the Jews, as well as in the total immigration, a small group of about 2 per cent of those with occupations. The proportion among the

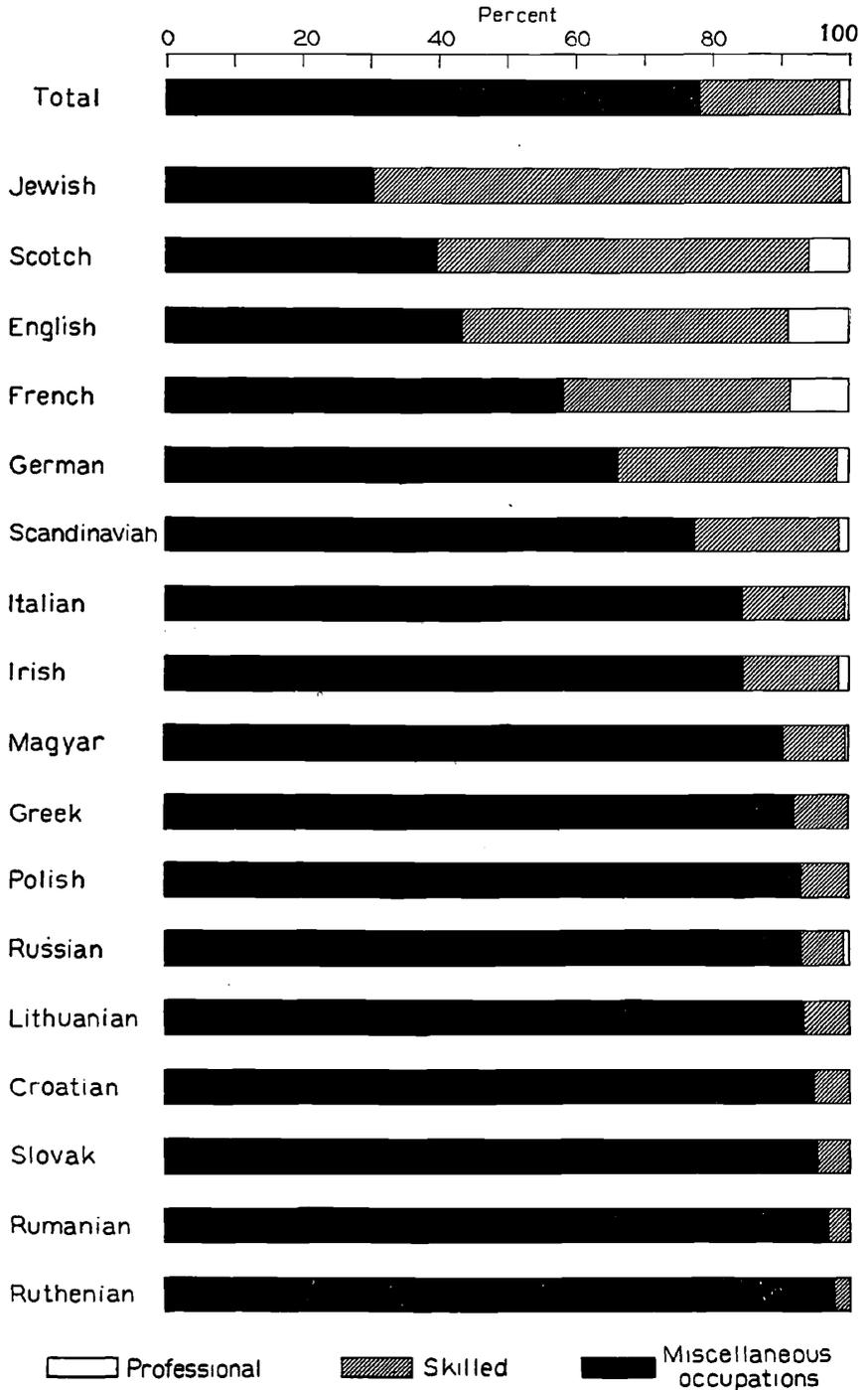
TABLE 213.

NUMBER OF OCCUPIED EUROPEANS ENTERING THE UNITED STATES,
CLASSED BY RACE OR PEOPLES AND BY OCCUPATION, 1899-1914.

(In Thousands and Per Cents)

Race or Peoples	Absolute figures			Per 100 with occupation		
	Profes- sional	Skilled	Miscel- laneous	Profes- sional	Skilled	Miscel- laneous
Jews.....	11	574	257	1.3	68.2	30.5
Scotch.....	9	78	57	5.9	54.3	38.8
English.....	34	179	164	9.1	47.5	43.4
French.....	10	38	67	8.7	33.0	58.3
Germans.....	24	192	425	3.8	29.9	66.3
Scandinavians.....	8	127	467	1.4	21.1	77.6
Italians.....	13	372	2,076	0.5	15.1	84.4
Irish.....	8	68	421	1.6	13.7	84.7
Magyars.....	2	30	307	0.6	8.7	90.7
Greeks.....	1	26	310	0.3	7.7	92.0
Poles.....	2	74	1,033	0.2	6.6	93.2
Russians.....	2	13	181	0.8	6.4	92.8
Lithuanians.....	0.3	13	193	0.1	6.4	93.5
Croats and Slovenes....	0.4	19	379	0.1	4.8	95.1
Slovaks.....	0.2	16	347	0.1	4.3	95.6
Rumanians.....	0.2	3	115	0.2	2.7	97.1
Ruthenians.....	0.2	5	215	0.1	2.1	97.8
Other Peoples.....	26	208	891	2.3	18.5	79.2
Total.....	152	2,033	7,903	1.5	20.2	78.3

Diagram 13. Immigrants into the United States, Classified by People and Occupational Groups, 1899-1914.



Jews, however, is a little smaller than among all immigrants with occupations.

(5) Since the war the proportion of skilled laborers among the immigrant Jews has decreased, while in the total immigration it has greatly increased. But even during 1921-24 the percentage of skilled laborers was much higher among Jewish immigrants with occupations than among all immigrants with occupations. The proportion of immigrants practising a profession has increased, since the war, among the Jews as well as in the total immigration.

A comparison between the number of Jews in the three large occupational groups and the number of other European peoples is presented in Table 213 (p. 491) and Diagram 13 (p. 492), the peoples being arranged in the order of the percentage of skilled workers among their migrants.

Table 213 shows the exceptional character of the distribution of occupations among Jewish immigrants to the United States.

(1) Skilled laborers are much more common among immigrants from northwestern Europe than among those from southern and eastern Europe. For no other people, however, is the percentage of skilled laborers as high as that found among the Jews. The Scotch had a bare majority of skilled laborers among their immigrants specifying occupation, while among the Jews they exceeded two-thirds. The proportion of skilled laborers among Jewish immigrants with occupation was greater by two-fifths than that among the English; it was more than double that among the French or Germans, more than three times that among the Scandinavians and 5 times that among the Irish.

(2) The contrast, in this respect, between Jews and other immigrant folk coming from the east or south of Europe is very great. The percentage of skilled laborers among immigrants reporting occupation is $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as great among the Jews as among the Italians, 8 times as great as among the Magyars, 10 times that of the Poles, the Russians, or the Lithuanians, 25 times that of the Rumanians, 32 times that of the Ruthenians.

(3) In the absolute number of skilled immigrants during the period in question, the Jews far exceeded any other people. This absolute number (574,061) was greater than that for the Italians and Germans combined, or greater than the number of Germans, Scandinavians, Slavs, Magyars, Lithuanians, Greeks and Rumanians combined. Compared with the Poles, the Jews have sent to the United States one-fourth as many immigrants in "miscel-

laneous" occupations and 8 times as many "skilled" immigrants.

(4) The Jews, who hold thus the first place among all peoples in the number of "skilled" immigrants, hold the tenth place in the number of immigrants with miscellaneous occupations. The percentage of immigrants with miscellaneous occupations is much lower among the Jews than among any other people. While for the other peoples of eastern Europe the proportion of migrants with miscellaneous occupations surpassed 90 or even 95 per cent of all the breadwinner group, it constituted only 30 per cent among the Jews.

(5) The professional group among Jewish immigrants is smaller than among those from the northwest of Europe, especially the English-speaking peoples (almost one-half of those recorded as French immigrants are Canadians of French race). Immigrants of the professional group are, however, much more numerous among the Jews than among immigrants from the south or east of Europe. The percentage for the Jews is 2 or 3 times as high as for the Italians, the Russians, or the Magyars, 6 times as high as for the Poles or the Rumanians and 10 times as high as for the Lithuanians.

In order to get nearer the truth, it may be profitable to supplement and make more exact the first general view of the occupational composition of Jewish migrants compared with that of other immigrants to the United States by recourse to two other tables in Volume I.¹ Compared with the total immigration to that country, the Jewish immigration appears as shown in Table 214 (p. 495).

The last column of Table 214 is particularly important. It shows:

(1) The Jews were 10 per cent of all immigrants; but unoccupied Jews were 16 per cent of all unoccupied immigrants. In other words among those without occupation they were three-fifths more numerous relatively than in the total immigration. They were twice as strongly represented among immigrants without occupation as among those reporting some occupation.

(2) The agricultural element among Jewish immigrants was quite insignificant; 2.6 per cent of the Jewish immigrant breadwinners belonged to this occupational group. The Jews made up less than one per cent of the immigrants engaged in agriculture. The proportion of Jews in agriculture was one-tenth of their proportion among all immigrant breadwinners.

(3) The proportion of Jews in general labor and domestic service

¹[Volume I, pages 399 f. and 450-459, Tables VIII and XII.—Ed.]

TABLE 214
 TOTAL IMMIGRATION AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES, CLASSIFIED BY LARGE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1899-1924.
 (In Thousands and Per Cents)

Occupation	Total in Thousands						Per Cent Distribution													
	Jews			Total Immigrants			Jews			Total Immigrants			Per Cent Jews in specified occupation							
	1899-1914	1915-1921	1899-1924	1899-1914	1915-1921	1899-1924	1899-1914	1915-1921	1899-1924	1899-1914	1915-1921	1899-1924	1899-1914	1915-1921	1899-1924					
Agriculture.....	21	0.8	4	26	2809	144	170	3123	2.6	2.3	3.0	2.6	28.1	15.4	25.4	0.8	0.6	2.1	0.8	
Industry.....	544	20	43	607	1771	192	338	2301	65.6	54.0	36.3	61.6	17.8	20.5	24.8	18.8	30.7	10.4	12.8	26.4
Commerce and transportation.....	77	8	20	105	469	123	153	744	9.2	21.5	17.1	10.6	4.7	13.1	11.2	6.1	16.4	6.5	13.4	14.1
General labor and Domestic Service.	177	6	45	228	4777	422	636	5835	21.3	17.7	38.1	23.2	47.8	45.2	46.6	47.5	3.7	1.4	7.2	3.9
Professional.....	11	2	6	19	152	54	67	272	1.3	4.6	5.4	2.0	1.5	5.8	4.9	2.2	7.4	3.7	9.7	7.1
Totals, specified:	830	36	110	966	9977	934	1364	12275	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	8.3	3.9	7.2	8.0
None or unknown.....	656	44	153	852	3712	669	981	5361	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	17.7	6.5	15.6	15.9
Grand Totals:	1486	80	272	1838	13689	1603	2345	17636	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10.9	5.0	11.6	10.4

* [Computed by the Editor.]

also is only one-half the proportion among all immigrant breadwinners in those occupations. So the Jews form less than 4 per cent of this important group of immigrants.

(4) If the groups of "agriculture" and "general labor" are combined, it appears that for the Jews these two groups comprise only a fourth of the immigrant breadwinners and that the other occupations include three-fourths, while in the total immigration the proportions are almost reversed: three-fourths belong to the two groups agriculture and general labor and only one-fourth to all other occupations.

(5) The industrial element holds a dominant place in the Jewish immigration. The immigrants having industrial occupations comprise almost two-thirds of the Jewish breadwinners. The Jews furnished more than a fourth of all the immigrants having industrial occupations who came to the United States between 1899 and 1924. For the pre-war period 1899-1914 this proportion was almost a third. In other words, for two non-Jewish industrial immigrants arriving between 1899 and 1914, there was one Jew.

(6) The commercial group also contains a large proportion of Jewish immigrants. The ratio among Jews is three-fifths higher than in the total immigration. Before the war the disproportion was greater still, the percentage in commerce and transportation having been twice as high among Jews as among all immigrant breadwinners. One-seventh, or before the war one-sixth, of all immigrants in commercial occupations were Jews.

In reality the disproportion between the Jewish and non-Jewish migrants was much greater than as in Table 214 (p.495). Among the Jews laborers are in most cases former, and frequently also future, petty merchants;¹ while among other peoples and especially among agricultural peoples, the laborers are generally former agricultural workers.² If to the Jewish immigrants recorded as having commercial occupations, we add those registered as laborers, it appears that persons engaged in commerce were one-fifth of all Jewish immigrant breadwinners,³ a proportion twice as high as the table indicates.

(7) Among the Jews, the war and the post-war restrictions seem to have reduced especially the immigration of industrial laborers. Thus for commercial occupations as well as for general

¹Hersch, *Le Juif errant d'aujourd'hui* (1913), pp. 119-23.

²Hersch, *L'Émigration des Européens aux États-Unis au point de vue professionnel* (1912), pp. 321-6 *et passim*.

³Hersch, *Le Juif errant d'aujourd'hui*, pp. 126-9.

labor and domestic service, the total of Jewish immigrants during 1921-24 was slightly over a fourth of the Jewish immigrants of the same occupations for the 16-year period 1899-1914, that is, the annual average after the war is somewhat higher than that before the war. For the professions, the annual average 1921-24 is twice as high as that for 1899-1914. In the industries, on the other hand, the annual average of Jewish immigrants 1921-24 was not quite one-third of that for 1899-1914. The industrial elements, which in 1899-1914 formed about two-thirds of all Jewish immigrants with occupations in 1921-24, were scarcely more than one-third.

The average annual immigration of Jewish agriculturalists likewise decreased. But this decrease had little significance because of the few Jewish migrants in this class.

Jewish immigration will now be compared with that of six other European peoples. Three are from countries in the north and west, the English, the Germans, and the Scandinavians ("old immigration"), and three others from countries in the south and east, the Italians, the Poles, and the Ruthenians ("new immigration").¹

The results for the pre-war period are shown in Table 215 (p. 498).

The agricultural element among the Jews is very small, both absolutely and relatively. For the English, who come next to them among the seven peoples, this percentage is three times as high as for the Jews. The Jews and the Slavs stand at the two extremes. Among the Poles the percentage of agricultural workers is 15 times, and among the Ruthenians 20 times, as high as among the Jews.

Table 215 also shows the exceptional importance of the industrial element among Jewish migrants.

No other people sent to the United States a number of industrial laborers approaching that of the Jews. They were 4 times as numerous as English immigrants having an industrial occupation, and 7 times as numerous as the Scandinavians.

The per cent of industrial laborers among the Jews is likewise exceptional. It is more than one-half again as great as that of the English, 5 times that of the Scandinavians, 11 times that of the Poles, and 31 times that of the Ruthenians.

The commercial element does not appear to be larger among the Jews than among the migrants from northwestern Europe. But most Jewish immigrants whose occupation was recorded as

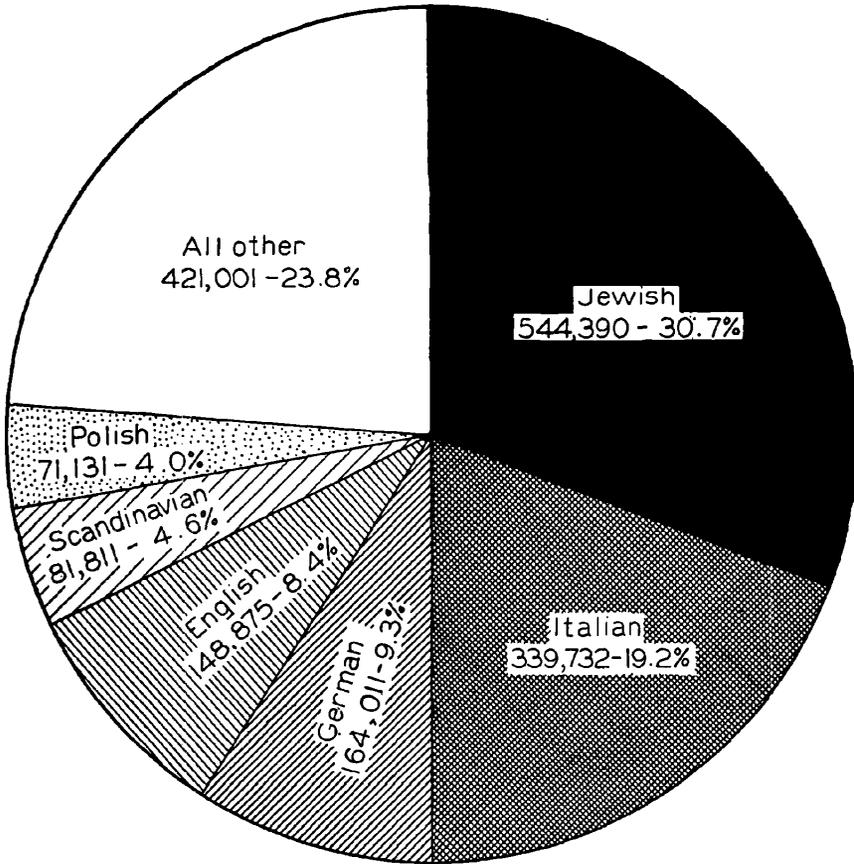
¹[See Volume I, pp. 452f., 456-8, Table XII.—Ed.]

MIGRATION INTERPRETATIONS

TABLE 215.
 IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES, CLASSIFIED BY RACE OR PEOPLE AND LARGE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1899-1914.
 (In Thousands and Per Cents)

Race or People	Occupation specified						No occupation or unknown	Total
	Agriculture	Industry	Commerce and transportation	General labor and domestic service	Professional	Total Occupied		
<i>Totals:</i>								
Jews.....	21	544	77	177	11	830	656	1,486
English.....	26	149	53	94	34	355	268	623
Germans.....	143	164	58	241	24	631	416	1,047
Scandinavians.....	77	82	48	382	8	597	142	739
Italians.....	876	340	58	1,164	13	2,451	756	3,207
Poles.....	427	71	3	604	2	1,107	296	1,403
Ruthenians.....	109	5	0.3	105	0.2	219	35	254
<i>Per Cent of known occupation:</i>								
Jews.....	2.6	65.6	9.2	21.3	1.3	100	...	...
English.....	7.2	41.9	14.8	26.4	9.7	100	...	...
Germans.....	22.7	26.0	9.2	38.3	3.8	100	...	...
Scandinavians.....	12.9	13.7	8.0	64.0	1.4	100	...	...
Italians.....	35.8	13.9	2.3	47.5	0.5	100	...	...
Poles.....	38.6	6.4	0.3	54.5	0.2	100	...	...
Ruthenians.....	49.8	2.1	0.1	48.0	0.1	100	...	...

Diagram 14. Industrially Occupied Immigrants into the United States, classified by Peoples, 1899-1914.



“general labor” should appear in the commercial group which, therefore, is really as well represented among the Jews as among the migrants from northwestern Europe. Moreover, the absolute number of Jewish immigrants having commercial occupations was far the highest, 25 times as high as that of the Poles, and their percentage 30 times as high.

The group “general labor and domestic service” is strongly represented among the Jews, comprising more than a fifth of all their breadwinners, but it is smaller, relatively, among the Jews than among other peoples, even the English or the Germans.

If the groups “agriculture” and “general labor and domestic

service'' are combined the peculiar occupational structure of the Jewish immigrants becomes particularly striking. The per cent of breadwinners in these two groups is given in Table 216.

TABLE 216.

PER CENT OF IMMIGRANT BREADWINNERS OF VARIOUS PEOPLES IN
"AGRICULTURE" AND "GENERAL LABOR-DOMESTIC SERVICE"
GROUPS.

People	Per Cent
Jews	23.9
English	33.6
Germans	61.0
Scandinavians	76.9
Italians	83.3
Poles	93.1
Ruthenians	97.8

The importance of these figures is further accentuated by the fact that laborers, the largest contingent of the second group, are recruited ordinarily from the agricultural workers, while among the Jews they come especially from petty commerce. Thus from the occupational standpoint also Jewish immigration shows characteristics diametrically opposed to those of other immigration from the south and east of Europe. Jewish immigration is essentially a migration of commercial and industrial elements.

The heading "industry" is too broad, however, to give a clear idea of the actual occupation. Are the Jews equally distributed among the different industrial occupations? Are certain industries more strongly represented than others? If so, what are these strongly represented industries?

To answer these questions the industrial occupations recorded in the Annual Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration have been combined into 8 industrial groups or branches, viz., Food, Clothing, Building and Furnishing, Metals and Machines, Textiles, Paper and Leather, Graphic Arts, All Others. Further, within the clothing group the sub-heads of dressmakers, seamstresses, and tailors are distinguished, and under metals and machines, the sub-heads of machines and common metals, watch and clock-making

and precious metals are separated.¹ In this way the figures in Table 217, showing the distribution of Jews by occupation among the different branches of industry, 1899-1914, are reached.

TABLE 217.

JEWISH IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED BY INDUSTRIAL GROUPS; 1899-1914.

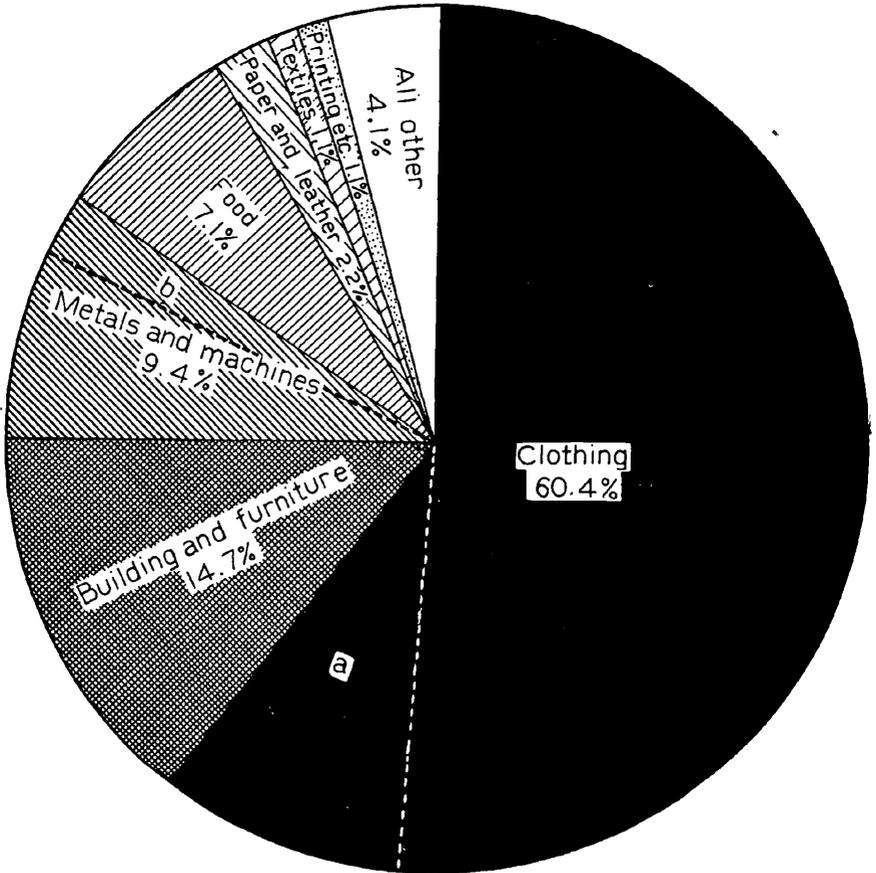
(Thousands and Per cents)

Industrial Group	Number	Per 100 industrial immigrants	Per 100 immigrant bread-winners
Clothing ^a	329	60.4	39.6
Building and furnishing.....	80	14.7	9.6
Machines and metals ^b	51	9.4	6.1
Food.....	39	7.1	4.7
Paper and leather.....	12	2.2	1.5
Textiles.....	6	1.1	0.7
Graphic arts.....	6	1.1	0.7
Other industries.....	22	4.1	2.7
Total.....	522	100.0	65.6
^a Including:			
Dressmakers, seamstresses, tailors.....	279	51.2	33.6
Other clothing workers.....	50	9.1	6.0
^b Including:			
Machines and common metals....	40	7.3	4.8
Jewelers, watch, clock makers....	11	2.3	1.4

A particularly striking feature of Table 217 and of Diagram 15 (p. 502) is the enormous proportion under the heading "clothing." This occupation embraces 60 per cent of all the Jewish industrial immigrants or 40 per cent of all Jewish breadwinners who entered

¹The heading *Food* includes: Bakers, Brewers, Butchers, Cigarette makers, Cigar makers, Cigar packers, Millers and Tobacco workers; *Clothing* includes Dressmakers, Seamstresses and Tailors as well as Furriers and fur workers, Hat and Cap makers, Milliners and Shoemakers; to *Building and Furnishing* belong Cabinet-makers, Carpenters and Joiners, Masons, Painters and Glaziers, Plasterers, Upholsterers, and Woodworkers (not specified); to *Machines and Metals* belong Blacksmiths, Engineers, Iron and steel workers, Locksmiths, Machinists, Mechanics, Plumbers, Stokers and Tinnern (Machines and common metals) as well as Jewelers, Metal workers (other than iron, steel, and tin) and Watch and Clock makers; to *Textiles* belong Textile workers (not specified) and Weavers and Spinners; to *Paper and Leather* belong Bookbinders, Saddlers and Harness-makers, and Tanners and Curriers; to *Graphic Arts* belong Engravers, Photographers, and Printers. The remaining industrial occupations are combined under the rubric *Others*.

Diagram 15. Jewish Immigrants into the United States, classified by Occupations, 1899-1914 (For the significance of sectors 'a' and 'b' see Table 217, page 501).



the United States, 1899-1914. The immigrant Jews following this branch of industry numbered almost a third of a million.

The tailors, seamstresses, and dressmakers alone were a majority of the Jewish industrial immigrants and a third of all Jewish breadwinners who entered the United States. More than 200,000 (205,308) tailors arrived during the period in question forming three-eighths of industrial Jewish immigrants and one-fourth of all Jewish immigrants having occupations.

All industrial branches other than clothing have contributed together scarcely two-fifths (39.6 per cent) of Jewish industrial immigration.

TABLE 218.

JEWS AND NON-JEWS IN INDUSTRY, PARTICULARLY THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY, AMONG IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES, 1899-1914.

(Thousands and Per Cents)

Group	Absolute figures			Per 100 breadwinners		Jews per 100 non-Jews
	Total for United States	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	
Total immigrant breadwinners.....	10,088	842	9,246	100.0	100.0	9.1
Industry in general....	1,771	544	1,227	65.6	13.3	44.4
Clothing industry in general.....	625	329	296	39.6	3.2	111.0
Tailors, seamstresses, dressmakers.....	459	279	180	33.6	2.0	154.6
Tailors only.....	300	205	95	24.7	1.0	215.9

Jewish immigration not only is largely industrial; but above all it is a migration of workers in the clothing industry. The difference between Jewish and non-Jewish immigrants must be specially marked in the clothing industry. In Table 218 above the analysis is carried somewhat further.

The proportion of clothing workers among the Jews is 12 times as high as the average for non-Jewish immigrants. The disproportion is even greater in the case of makers of wearing apparel proper (tailors, seamstresses, dressmakers). Finally, among Jewish immigrants having occupations the proportion of tailors is 25 times as great as among the non-Jews.

Thus the Jews, who form only 9 per cent of the immigrants with occupations, constitute an absolute majority (52.6 per cent) of all immigrant clothing workers. For 100 non-Jewish immigrants in the clothing industry there were 111 Jews in the same branch; in other words, the number of Jewish immigrants in this branch of industry exceeded by 11 per cent the number of all other peoples combined. The number of Jewish tailors, seamstresses, and dressmakers exceeded the number of non-Jews by 55 per cent; the number of Jewish tailors was more than double the number of immigrants of this occupation among all other peoples combined. It is difficult to imagine an occupational structure more extraordinary and more specialized than that of the Jewish migrants.

The industrial branches other than clothing are much more

slightly represented among Jewish immigrants. It must not be believed, however, that the number of Jewish immigrants in these occupations is negligible. With the large number of immigrants, a small percentage may make an important contingent. Table 217 (p. 501) shows that the Jews coming to the United States, 1899-1914, included about 80,000 workers on building and furnishing, 50,000 workers on machines and metals, and 40,000 workers in the food industry.

Of the 47 industrial occupations recognized in the American statistics only those will be examined (see Table 219, below) in

TABLE 219.

OCCUPATIONS TO WHICH JEWISH IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTED MORE BREADWINNERS THAN ANY OTHER STOCK, 1899-1914.

(In Thousands)

Occupation	Number of immigrants		Per cent Jews
	Jews	Total	
Hat and cap makers ^a	6	8	79.8
Furriers and fur workers ^a	5	7	75.0
Tailors.....	205	300	68.3
Bookbinders ^a	4	6	68.0
Watch and clock makers.....	6	10	60.2
Milliners ^a	6	9	60.0
Cigarette makers ^b	0.126	0.223	56.5
Tinners.....	9	16	54.5
Tanners and curriers.....	5	9	49.3
Seamstresses.....	44	91	48.6
Cabinet makers ^a	4	8	48.3
Upholsterers ^a	2	3	45.5
Jewelers.....	2	6	43.5
Painters and glaziers.....	22	50	43.4
Dressmakers ^a	30	68	43.3
Photographers ^a	2	4	37.9
Saddlers and harness makers.....	3	9	37.6
Locksmiths.....	13	37	34.2
Butchers.....	16	48	33.7
Metal workers (other than iron, steel, and tin) ^a	3	9	32.6
Printers.....	4	13	30.7
Bakers.....	15	57	26.7
Woodworkers (not specified).....	2	7	25.8
Carpenters and joiners.....	47	196	24.2
Cigar packers ^b	0.087	0.364	23.9
Blacksmiths.....	11	69	16.0

^aRubric introduced in the *Annual Reports* after 1904.

^bRubric introduced after 1911.

which the Jews hold first place. Out of these 47 industrial occupations there are 26 in which the Jewish immigrants held the first place.

In the first 8 occupations in Table 219, Jewish immigrants are more than half the total. Four of them are branches of the clothing trade, two belong to the metal and machine industry, one to the paper industry, and one to the food industry. In the first of these occupations (hat and cap makers) the Jews are 80 per cent of the whole number or four times those of all other immigrants combined.

In 11 of the other 18 occupations listed, the proportion of Jews varied from one-third to one-half of the total. Only two of these occupations belong to the clothing industry, the others belong to the industries of building and furnishing (3), metals and machines (2), leather (2), graphic arts (1), and food (1). Among the occupations in which the Jews, though occupying first place, were less than one-third of the whole number, none formed part of the clothing branch.

To sum up, the Jews constituted at least half of the immigrants in all the clothing trades except one (shoemaking), in all the paper trades, in all the graphic-art industries, in all the occupations connected with watch and clock making and jewelry, in 5 of the 7 building and furnishing trades, in 4 of the 8 food industries, and in 3 of the 9 occupations connected with machines and common metals.

Among the 26 occupations in which the Jews were most numerous are 10 of the 13 introduced into the statistics for the first time in 1904. In 4 of these the Jews were an absolute majority and in two others their proportion exceeded 45 per cent. Out of the 8 occupations in which the Jews formed an absolute majority, 4 played a negligible rôle in immigration statistics before the arrival of the Jews. Jewish immigrants might be said to have introduced those trades into the United States.

Jews were quite numerous, moreover, in several other occupations in which they did not hold the first place. Thus, in shoemaking they occupied second place, immediately after the Italians, and furnished 23 per cent of all immigrant shoemakers. They likewise occupied second place, immediately after the Italians, as barbers and hairdressers; second place, immediately after the English, as plumbers; second place, immediately after the Germans, as millers; and second place, immediately after the Cubans, as

tobacco workers. Only in the important occupation of mining was their number insignificant.

Conclusions

The principal conclusions of the analysis may now be brought together.

The number of Jews who entered the United States during the first quarter of the twentieth century, in spite of the check upon immigration after 1914, reached the enormous figure of 1,800,000. This is a larger number than was added to the population of the United States during the same period by any other people, even the Italians, if net immigration be the test. Above 500,000 more Jews must have entered the United States before the end of the nineteenth century. In all; therefore, the Jewish immigrants were more than 2,300,000.

At least three-fourths of these Jews came from Russia or Poland, although many came from other countries, notably from Rumania. In pre-war Russia and in Rumania the Jewish emigration rate attained a height rarely observed in the history of modern migration.

This body of Jewish immigrants attracts attention not only by its size, but also by its characteristics. In general it resembles the emigrants from western Europe much more than it does the other emigrants from eastern Europe where it originated. In the low proportion of temporary migrants, in the large proportion of women and children, and of immigrants without occupation, as well as in the unequaled proportion of skilled laborers, the Jewish migrants surpass the migrants from any of the peoples of western Europe, and the contrast which they present in these respects with the emigrants from regions near their home in eastern Europe could hardly be more striking.

The most noteworthy characteristic of Jewish immigration, however, is the exceptional occupational structure of the group. Of all Jewish immigrants specifying occupation, one-third belong to the group of "miscellaneous" occupations. Among the Jews this group is composed of servants or petty merchants, present or future, *i. e.* the so-called *Luft-Menschen*;¹ two-thirds are industrial workers, the greater part of whom (60 per cent) belong to the clothing

¹By the term *Luft-Mensch* is meant a person with no definite trade or steady employment, who avoids severe manual labor and lives from hand to mouth by small occasional jobs and commissions.—L. Hersch.

TABLE 220.

TOTAL IMMIGRATION AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION BY SEA INTO CANADA,
1900-1901 TO 1924-25.
(In Thousands and Per Cent)

Fiscal Year	Total immigrants by sea	Jews	
		Absolute figures	Per Cent Jews
1900-1901	31	3	8.9
1901-2	41	1	2.5
1902-3	79	2	2.6
1903-4	85	4	4.4
1904-5	103	8	7.5
1905-6	131	7	5.4
1906-7	90	7	7.3
1907-8	204	8	3.8
1908-9	87	2	1.9
1909-10	105	3	3.0
1910-11	190	5	2.7
1911-12	221	5	2.4
1912-13	263	7	2.8
1913-14	277	11	4.1
1914-15	85	3	3.7
1915-16	12	0.065	0.6
1916-17	14	0.136	1.0
1917-18	8	0.032	0.4
1918-19	17	0.032	0.1
1919-20	68	0.116	0.2
1920-21	100	3	2.8
1921-22	61	8	13.9
1922-23	51	3	5.5
1923-24	128	5	4.1
1924-25	96	4	4.7
1900 to 1913-14	1,907	73	3.8
1921-22 to 1924-25	335	21	6.2
1900 to 1924-25	2,546	100	3.9

industry. One can say, broadly, that out of three Jewish migrants specifying occupation, there is one *Luft-Mensch* and one tailor. The remaining third, however, includes so many individuals that, even outside the clothing industry, the Jews stand numerically first among immigrants to the United States in most of the other industrial occupations.

COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION OTHER THAN THE UNITED STATES

Two other American countries have exercised a strong attraction upon Jewish migrants, Canada in the north and Argentina in the south.

Jewish immigration into Canada is of recent origin belonging almost entirely to the twentieth century. The census of Canada reported only 6,414 Jews in 1891 and 16,401 in 1901.¹ Beginning with the fiscal year 1900-1901 continuous official data are available on the immigration of Jews into Canada.² This immigration by fiscal years is indicated in Table 220 (p. 507).³

As Table 220 shows:

(1) During the first quarter of the twentieth century almost 100,000 Jews entered Canada.

(2) During the World War, Jewish immigration was insignificant. The average annual immigration of Jews for the pre-war and the post-war years was 5,200.

(3) The Jews were about 4 per cent of all immigrants entering

TABLE 221.

IMMIGRATION OF RUSSIAN AND POLISH JEWS INTO CANADA, 1920-24.

(In Thousands and Per Cent)

Fiscal Year	Jewish immigrants	Russian and Polish Jews	
		Absolute figures	Per cent
1920-21	3	2	68.5
1921-22	8	6	72.2
1922-23	3	2	76.3
1923-24	5	4	80.7
1924-25	4	4	82.3
1920-21 to 1924-25	24	18	76.0

¹[Canada: *Fourth Census, 1901. Vol. I: Population*, (Ottawa, 1902), Table IX, p. 146.—Ed.]

²[*International Migrations*, Volume I, pages 364-367, Tables VI and VIII.—Ed.]

³The figures concerning Jews entering Canada (like those concerning other peoples) do not include Jews who came from the United States. The per cent of Jews among the immigrants is, consequently, computed with reference to the number of immigrants coming from countries beyond the sea, that is, immigration coming from the United States (by land) is disregarded.

Canada by sea, or about two-fifths of the proportion which prevailed in the United States.

(4) Jewish immigration, absolute and relative, was very variable from year to year. The parallelism between the fluctuations of total immigration and of Jewish immigration, which is strongly marked in the United States, is hardly noticeable in Canada before the war. That means that the fluctuations of Jewish immigration into Canada were determined less by the economic situation of the country of immigration than by the circumstances in which the Jews found themselves abroad. The maximum of Jewish immigration, however, like that of immigration as a whole, was reached just before the war, in 1913-14, when the number of Jewish immigrants equalled 11,252. Checked during the war, this immigration rose immediately after and attained a second maximum (8,400 in 1921-22) at the same time that it did in the United States. It decreased later because of immigration restrictions.

In Canada as in the United States, more than three-fourths of the Jews came from Russia or Poland. This is established by the figures in Table 221 (p. 508).¹

Apparently the per cent of Jewish immigrants coming from Russia or Poland has increased rapidly. But it is quite possible that the later figures are merely more exact than the preceding. During the war many Russian and Polish Jews were in other countries, and coming later to Canada they were probably often registered according to the country of last residence (thus in 1920-21 there were 870 immigrant Jews registered as German Jews, while during the last four years only 13 German Jews were recorded). Under these circumstances it seems probable that more than four-fifths of the Jews entering Canada came originally from Russia or Poland.

Jewish immigration into Argentina began during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The first data on this movement relate to the immigration of agricultural elements organized by the Jewish Colonization Association (founded by Baron Hirsch) which sought to establish Jewish agricultural colonies in Argentina. This immigration was limited to some few thousand individuals, however, and very sporadic. A real current of Jewish immigration began to make itself felt in Argentina in the first decade of the twentieth century, at the same time as in Canada, and was composed almost exclusively of industrial and commercial elements.

¹Volume I, page 367, Table VIII.

Unfortunately Jews are not among the "nationalities" recorded in the immigration reports of Argentina and therefore official data are lacking. According to the data of the Jewish Colonization Association,¹ which seem to be accurate, the number of Jewish immigrants into Argentina after 1904 was as given in Table 222 (p. 510).

TABLE 222.
TOTAL IMMIGRATION AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO ARGENTINA,
1904-1924.
(Statistics of the Jewish Colonization Association.)

Year	Total immigrants	Jews	
		Totals	Per cent
1904	125,567	4,000	3.2
1905	177,117	7,516	4.2
1906	252,536	13,500	5.3
1907	209,103	2,518	1.2
1908	255,710	5,444	2.1
1909	231,084	8,557	3.7
1910	289,640	6,581	2.3
1911	225,772	6,378	2.8
1912	323,403	13,416	4.1
1913	302,047	10,860	3.6
1914	115,321	3,693	3.2
1904-14	2,507,300	82,463	3.3
1915	45,290	606	1.3
1916	32,990	.....	...
1917	18,064	.....	...
1918	13,701	.....	...
1919	41,299	280	0.7
1920	87,032	2,071	2.4
1921	98,086	4,095	4.2
1922	129,263	7,198	5.6
1923	195,063	13,701	7.0
1924	159,939	7,799	4.9
1921-24	582,351	32,793	5.6
1904-24	3,328,027	118,213	3.6

¹Rapport de la Direction Générale au Conseil d'Administration, 1905-1924.

Argentina thus presents phenomena like those in Canada. Almost 120,000 Jews entered Argentina, 1904-24 or almost 4 per cent of the total immigration. The curve of Jewish immigration is very irregular. During the war it almost stopped, but later it resumed its progress a little more vigorously than before.

Among the transoceanic countries which have received many Jews, the Union of South Africa must be mentioned.

Many Jews from Russia, especially the Lithuanian districts, went to South Africa, particularly Cape Colony and the Transvaal, beginning with the ~~first~~ decade of the nineteenth century. This immigration became especially important during the first decade of the present century. The figures concerning immigration thither by race or nationality are completely lacking. Still, the first census of the population in the Union of South Africa, taken in 1911, recorded 46,919 Jews. In 1921 the number of Jews recorded was 62,103, of whom 33,515 were in the Transvaal. The recent restrictions have not completely stopped the immigration of Jews.

According to the *Statistics of Migration* published by the Office of Census and Statistics of the Union, out of a total of 5,265 "immigrants intending permanent residence" arriving in 1924, there were 3,724 British citizens and 1,541 aliens: 773 or one-half of all the aliens who arrived were Jews. In the first quarter of 1925, due to the closing of the United States to the great mass of Jewish immigrants, Jews constituted almost two-thirds (63.8 per cent) of all alien immigrants.

TABLE 223.

JEWISH IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA DURING 1924,
ACCORDING TO NATIVITY.

Country of Birth	Absolute figures	Per Cent
United Kingdom.....	67	8.7
Germany.....	12	1.6
Lettonia.....	51	6.6
Lithuania.....	458	59.2
Russia.....	102	13.2
Poland.....	55	7.1
Other countries.....	28	3.6
Total.....	773	100.0

As in the United States, the percentage of repatriations from South Africa is quite insignificant among the Jews and the percentage of women (47.5 per cent in 1924), like that of children (under 15 years, 35.5 per cent for the same year), is very high.

According to country of birth, the Jews who entered in 1924 were distributed as shown in Table 223 (p. 511).

Lithuania thus contributed almost 60 per cent of all the Jews who entered South Africa in that year. From the countries of the former Russian Empire or from Poland, South Africa received six-sevenths (86.1 per cent) of all its Jewish immigrants. The Jews were only 2 per cent of the immigrants born in the United Kingdom, and 4 per cent of those born in Germany; on the other hand, they were 80 per cent of the immigrants born in Poland, 81 per cent of those born in Russia, 92 per cent of those born in Lithuania, and 96 per cent of those born in Lettonia. Almost all the immigrants who came from Lithuania and Lettonia were Jews.

With respect to occupation, out of 100 men who arrived from Lithuania in 1924, only 42 belonged to commerce and only 5 to industry. The expenses of the voyage must have exercised some selective influence, sifting out the laboring element which is less well-to-do, and favoring the migration of the commercial element, which is better off.

Migration to and from Palestine

Between the migration of the Jews to Palestine and their migration to other countries, there is one essential difference. To other countries the Jews are attracted by the chance to better their economic condition. To Palestine, they have been and still are attracted by nationalistic and religious sentiments. Jewish immigration into Palestine has met economic difficulties without number, demanding endless sacrifices both on the part of the migrants and on the part of the Jewish communities of the Diaspora.

At first the moving force of this migration was almost exclusively religious; many of those who went to Palestine were aged Jews who wished to die and be buried in the Holy Land. After 1880, under the influence of the Zionist movement, a new current started with the purpose of creating a Hebrew center in Palestine. After the end of the nineteenth century, and under the influence of Zionism, Jewish immigration set up as an undisguised aim the transformation of Palestine into a Hebrew state. After the World

War, the expulsion of the Turks, the establishment of the British Mandate and the declaration of the British Government in favor of the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine, the Zionist organization became to some extent official and Jewish immigration proceeded on a larger scale.

Before 1880 immigration into Palestine, being an isolated and individual act of piety, was numerically insignificant. After that date it began to be numbered by hundreds of individuals annually and to vary with the persecutions of the Jews in Russia. The pogroms and expulsions occurring there from time to time aroused Jewish national sentiment and stimulated this current of emigration. The principal waves were those which followed the pogroms of 1880-82, the expulsions of 1890-91, and the pogroms of 1905-6. The number of Jewish emigrants from Russia according to the record of the Palestine Committee at Odessa where this emigration was organized, was about 2,000 per annum, as Table 224 shows.

TABLE 224.

JEWISH EMIGRANTS FROM RUSSIA, 1905-10.
(Statistics of the Palestine Committee, Odessa)

Year	Number
1905	1,230
1906	3,450
1907	1,750
1908	2,097
1909	2,459
1910	1,979

The immigration following a Hebraic renaissance in Palestine was, at first, for visionary motives as well as for economic necessities, not only a return to the Holy Land but also a return to the *land*, that is, to *agriculture*. It thus demanded a double sacrifice and it was especially from the intellectuals, notably the young students, that the first colonists were recruited. From the beginning, however, some small proprietors, artisans, and petty merchants, as well as laborers went to Palestine and established themselves in the cities. The current became really important only when those elements began to immigrate in greater numbers after the establishment of the British in Palestine and the closing of the United States to the

TABLE 225.

JEWISH MIGRATION INTO AND OUT OF PALESTINE, 1922-27.

Year	Immigrants	Emigrants	Excess of immigration (+) or of emigration (—)	Emigrants per 100 immigrants
1922	7,844	1,503	+6,341	19.2
1923	7,421	3,466	+3,955	46.7
1924	12,856	2,037	+10,819	15.8
1925	33,801	2,151	+31,650	6.4
1926	13,080	7,464	+5,616	57.1
1927	2,713	5,071	—2,358	186.9
1928	2,178	2,168	+10	99.5
1929	5,249	1,746	+3,503	33.3
1922-29	85,142	25,606	+59,536	30.1

great masses of Jewish immigrants (beginning with the middle of the year 1924). But this great immigration, directed toward the cities of Palestine, which were not capable of absorbing a mass immigration, soon brought on a terrible crisis that paralyzed Jewish migration in this direction.

The official statistics about immigration into Palestine began with 1922. In view of the short period which the statistics cover and considering the experiment with the "new" urban immigration in 1925, the general rule of stopping with 1924—where the figures in Volume I end—should here be abandoned and the statistics given up to the time of writing. These statistics, be it observed, comprise only the immigrants who have come into the country to settle and the emigrants who leave the country permanently. They are brought together in Table 225 above.

Table 225 shows:

(1) During the 8 years 1922-29, 85,000 Jews entered Palestine and almost 26,000 departed. The net immigration was 60,000.

(2) Out of these 60,000 immigrants, 31,650 or 53 per cent entered during 1925, the year of the unfortunate experiment alluded to above. There was a high immigration for the last six months of 1924, when the experiment was begun, and during the first six months of 1926, when it was completed. Before it the net immigration was 4,000-6,000 per annum.

(3) The experiment of 1925 was disastrous: following the increased influx immigration was reduced to a minimum and

emigration was double the highest preceding figure. Beginning with July 1926 and continuing to July 1928 without interruption except for the single month of April 1927, Jewish emigration from Palestine month by month exceeded immigration. During 1927 the emigration of the Jews was about double their immigration.

(4) Considering the whole period 1922-29, Jewish emigration carried off from Palestine 30 per cent of the immigration, a proportion several times as high as that found for the Jews in the United States. This is all the more striking since the Jews entered Palestine, even more than they did the United States, with the intention of staying, and since this enormous rate of return is found in Palestine just when immigration elsewhere was made excessively difficult for the Jews. These facts show what insurmountable economic difficulties stood in the way of the establishment of the Jews in that country and how little Palestine is fitted to absorb an immigration, however small, of non-agricultural elements. For the Jewish emigrants who leave Palestine do not resemble temporary migrants who return to their native country after having amassed a small fortune abroad; they are people who leave all their savings in Palestine as well as the physical and moral force that brought them to the country, persons who are broken materially and morally, living proof of the powerlessness of idealism in the face of economic impossibilities.

CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF MODERN MIGRATIONS OF THE JEWS.¹

The causes of the great amount of Jewish migration are connected with the extraordinary composition of this group of migrants. Its most salient characteristic is the unequal part played by the representatives of different occupations, and notably, the very large proportion of clothing workers and petty merchants, and the small proportion in some other occupations. That indicates that the occupational factor must play a considerable rôle among the forces resulting in movement and that the occupational structure of the Jewish populations in the countries of residence must be examined. The distribution of occupations among Jews in eastern Europe is exceedingly abnormal owing to numerous circumstances, historical, legal, political and other; the number of Jews in certain occupations, notably commerce and the clothing industry, is inordinately great. This disproportionate distribution of occupations, especially among

¹This phase of the subject has been examined more fully in the writer's *Le juif errant d'aujourd'hui* (1913), pages 161-277.

the Jews of pre-war Russia, makes the existence of the Jews dependent upon a vast non-Jewish market open to their commerce and to the product of their industry. The market offered by the regions of residence, insufficient to maintain the existing number of merchants and clothing workers, was further narrowed by the backward economic life in those countries as a result of the crisis through which peasant economy in the east of Europe and especially in Russia was passing. It was being reduced, also, by the exodus of rural non-Jews to the cities, aggravating non-Jewish competition and provoking anti-Semitic organization. Thus losing much of the non-Jewish market and having limited access to new forms of production (owing to legal restrictions and because non-Jewish entrepreneurs consistently preferred the laborer from the fields to the Jewish worker) the Jews, and especially those engaged in the most crowded occupations, were forced to leave their native country en masse. The disproportionate distribution of occupations not only provoked an enormous movement of emigration but also determined the specialized occupational structure of the group of Jewish immigrants. These, even more than the Jews in the countries of emigration, were recruited especially among the crowded occupations, that is, commerce and industry, especially the clothing industry.

But since temporary immigrants are recruited especially among rural emigrants who leave their bit of ground in the home country, among the Jews temporary immigrants are almost a negligible quantity, especially since the reasons which led them to depart would bar their return. The larger the number of women and children among migrants, the more permanent is that migration. It is, therefore, natural that the Jewish immigrants show the largest percentage of women and children. And since the distribution of occupations among Jewish migrants is much more abnormal than among the Jewish population in the countries of their last residence, it is clear that the body of Jewish migrants cannot subsist by itself; it cannot go to countries which are sparsely populated, but must go where there is a numerous population, relatively well-to-do and with rapid progress, and especially where this progress occurs by the numerical increase of elements belonging to occupational branches other than those of the Jewish migrants. Such was notably the case in the United States, where the occupational structure of huge masses of non-Jewish immigrants was quite different from that of the Jews. Such was also the case in Canada and

Argentina, but to a much smaller degree. It was only through much collective and individual sacrifice that a small part of the flood of Jewish migrants was turned toward Palestine, which is much nearer, making the trip much less expensive, and which has for the Jews a particular moral attraction.

Secondary factors and passing circumstances, such as political disturbances, pogroms, variations in crops, and other considerations interfered with the progress of Jewish migration, now accelerating and reinforcing it, now diminishing it or causing it to deviate slightly from its spontaneous advance. It remains true, nevertheless, that among the Jews the occupational structure determined not only the enormous dimensions of the modern migratory movement but also the principal characteristics of the group of emigrants and the direction of their migration.

Still further, the case of the Jews illustrates in a striking way the dominant rôle which the occupational structure plays in migration and the social division of work plays in the whole life of society.

The numerous and far-reaching effects of the immense migration of Jews include the following:

(1) Half a century ago the Jews were shut into the Old World, especially east-central Europe; today they have powerful branches in America and elsewhere. The United States contains today about 3,500,000 Jews,¹ more than any other country in the world, more than Poland (2,772,000 according to the census of 1921) or than Soviet Russia (2,583,000 in Europe and in the Caucasus according to the census of 1926). Canada and Argentina each have more than 100,000 Jews, South Africa more than 60,000.

(2) Emigration has drained Europe of almost all the natural increase of the Jews, but has not diminished their numbers. On the contrary, the Jewish population of Europe has increased slightly. Thus, in Galicia (Austrian Poland) the number of Jews rose from 772,000 in 1890 to 811,000 in 1900 and to 872,000 in 1910. In the area of pre-war Russia the Jews increased, 1899-1920, by at least 150,000.

(3) This emigration of the Jews from eastern Europe does not tend to create a territory populated mainly by Jews. Almost all the Jewish migrants go to America, especially the United States, where, in spite of their great number, they constitute only about 3 per cent of the population. As for Palestine, a net immigration of

¹Lestschinsky estimated the number of Jews in the United States at 4,000,000, but I think that figure is too large. See also Hersch, *Le Juif errant*, pp. 278-315.

some 6,000 Jews a year cannot overcome a numerical superiority of 600,000 non-Jews in that country, and it does not amount to more than a fraction of the annual difference between the natural increase of the non-Jewish population and the much smaller natural increase of the Jews.¹ According to the data of the Palestine Department of Health the natural increase of the population for the years 1923-26 was as presented in Table 226.²

TABLE 226.

ANNUAL EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS IN PALESTINE, 1923-1926.
(Palestine Department of Health)

People	1923	1924	1925	1926	Annual Average 1923-26
Settled non-Jews.....	12,442	14,856	13,685	18,604	14,897
Nomads.....	2,145	2,593	2,418	3,353	2,627
Total non-Jews.....	14,587	17,449	16,103	21,957	17,524
Jews.....	1,966	2,427	2,183	3,517	2,524
Excess in the natural in- crease of non-Jews.....	12,621	15,022	13,920	18,440	15,000

Thus the annual excess of births over deaths in the non-Jewish population exceeds that of the Jews by 15,000. Under these circumstances the present Jewish immigration into Palestine can hardly prevent an increasing numerical preponderance of non-Jews. In other words, not even in Palestine does the Jewish immigration tend to create a territory populated mainly by Jews. In reality, the vast modern migration of the Jews has resulted only in the creation of important Jewish minorities in several new countries or in strengthening weak Jewish minorities in certain countries where they already existed; but not in the development of a territory populated mainly by Jews.

(4) The vast migration during the last quarter of a century has contributed largely toward raising the economic and social level of the Jews. For the three millions who emigrated, the radical improvement of their condition is evident. Of those who have remained in

¹According to the census of October 23, 1922, there were in Palestine 83,794 Jews and 673,388 non-Jews (including 590,890 Mohammedans) out of a total population of 757,182.

²The data of the Department of Health relate only to the settled population. For the nomads, whose number, according to the census, was equal to about one-fifth of the settled Mohammedans (21.2 per cent) we have assumed a natural increase equal also to one-fifth of that of the settled Mohammedans.

the Old World the same is true. Enormous sums of money, of which no accurate account can be had, have been sent from America, South Africa and elsewhere, to Europe both before and after the war to salve the terrible wounds which the war and the later disorders had inflicted on the Jews. Innumerable works of charity, the small coöperative banking associations, the imposing system of common schools, technical education, the numerous agricultural colonies in Russia, the colonization in Palestine, have all been nurtured by immigrants in transoceanic countries, above all by those in the United States. It is no exaggeration to state that it was this last group who raised the Jewish population of Europe out of the great material distress into which the war and following events had plunged them.

Even aside from organized and individual aid, the fact of the mass emigration of representatives of the crowded occupations, must have relieved the distress of those who remained. The decrease in the percentage of skilled industrial workers during the post-war period is partly the effect of this relief.

(5) Jewish immigrants, in their new homes, seek the large urban centers. Out of 1,486,000 Jews who entered the United States between 1899 and 1914, almost two-thirds (928,000) went to New York City, and the percentage of Jewish immigrants concentrated there in the nineteenth century was doubtless much higher. With time this percentage decreased rapidly so that in 1914 only 57 per cent of the Jewish immigrants went to New York, while the percentage had been 62 in 1910 and 72 in 1900.

But of the 500,000 Jews who entered the United States before 1899, perhaps 400,000 remained in New York. More than 1,300,000 Jews thus settled in New York before the World War. Other Jewish immigrants went especially to Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, and a few other cities. The same was true for Buenos Aires in Argentina and for Johannesburg in South Africa.

This concentration of masses of Jewish immigrants in the large cities has had a double effect:

(a) An enormous Jewish urban center has been created in New York, the like of which Israel has never seen and which numbers today about 2,000,000 Jews. This vast Jewish center, which has sprung up not only in the midst of a non-Jewish country but also in the midst of a great non-Jewish city, develops manifold consequences and problems.

(b) The international migrations of the Jews, together with their internal migrations, have transformed them from a village and small-town folk which they were a few decades ago, into a people living for the most part in large cities, transforming the old patriarchal forms of family life and social life. A break in the continuity of the life of the Jewish masses has taken place such as had not been seen for thousands of years, since the Israelites were driven out of their land by the Romans. Their life regulated in its smallest details by their religion a few decades ago, has been largely secularized; a Jewish lay culture has begun to develop and large masses of Jews have been swept into the whirl of modern civilization.

(c) These migrations have greatly hastened, among the Jewish masses, the displacement of traditional occupations such as petty merchants and middlemen, the so-called *Luft-Menschen*, by physical labor (harder but more productive) and by positions as salaried workers.

It seems probable that no people have changed so profoundly as the Jews under the influences of modern world migration.