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CHAPTER XVII

EMIGRATION FROM AND IMMIGRATION INTO RUSSIA.[1]

By

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[The chapter on Emigration from and Immigration into Russia was much longer than any of the other contributions by foreign scholars and too long to be included without abbreviation. Fortunately the Russian text has been printed in full. Under these circumstances the statement of the writer's conclusions has been retained without change, but the explanation of the methods by which they were reached is greatly abbreviated and nearly all the notes citing Russian authorities or discussing methodological details are omitted. Those methods, however, have been carefully reviewed and are endorsed as apparently the best which the material permitted and as adequate to support the conclusions. Those wishing to pursue the subject further are referred to the Russian text published by the Central Statistical Board of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics: V. V. Obolenskiĭ (Osinskiĭ), *Mezhdunarodnïe i Mezhkontinentâlnïe Migrazni v Vovoennoĭ Rossii i S. S. S. R.* (Izdanie zsu S. S. S. R., Moskva, 1928). 137 pages.—Editor.]

Although several million Russians have emigrated within a century Russia[2] has no real emigration statistics. This is due to the fact that the rule of law under which no citizen could leave one country and become a citizen of another without the permission of the country left, a rule which had been in force in many countries of Europe at an earlier date, survived in Russia almost to the present day. If a Russian violated that rule he was banished and his property in Russia sequestrated. Under these conditions true emigration statistics were lacking.

In 1892 the Russian practice was modified by the promulgation of rules to govern the conduct of Russia towards Hebrews emigrating under the auspices of the Jewish Colonization Society, but even these rules provided that departing Hebrews were assumed to have left Russia forever. A few years later the Tsar permitted Dukhobars, a religious sect, to emigrate but not to return. By the beginning of the present century emigration agencies were allowed to function by an "interpretation" of the law; in 1905 port officials

[1][See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pages 773–810—Ed.]

[2][The word "Russia" as used in this chapter means pre-war Russia officially known as the Empire of all the Russias; the phrase "Soviet Russia" means post-war Russia officially known as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Both terms include Asiatic as well as European territory.—Ed.]

were given instructions for their guidance in inspecting emigrant ships and a year later a project of Rules on Emigration was drafted but never put into force.

As a substitute for emigration statistics there are statistics of the departure and arrival of Russian subjects whether the object of the journey was or was not emigration. The totals are classified according to whether the European or the Asiatic frontier was crossed, whether the traveller carried a passport or a certificate issued for those who went abroad temporarily to find employment, and whether the traveller was male or female. Supplementing this meager material the results of two local intensive studies are available, one made in Finland, the other by the Warsaw Statistical Committee into conditions in the former Polish provinces of Russia at two dates, the '80's and early in the twentieth century. There are also some fragmentary statistics about other centers of emigration.

These Russian sources can be eked out by the statistics of countries to which Russian emigrants have gone, notably Canada, the United States and Argentina, and by the statistics of some non-Russian sea-ports—mainly German and British—at which Russian emigrants began their ocean journey. These last sources give a check upon the statistics of Russian immigrants into some American countries and information about the current into other countries which do not publish such statistics.

The statistics of arrivals of foreigners in Russia, classified by the country of which the new arrival is a citizen, are also published and supply indirectly much statistical information about immigration into Russia. Censuses also give the number of Russians by nationality or language in many foreign countries and of foreigners by nationality or language in Russia.

The study has been limited for the most part to migration into or out from Russia within the pre-war boundaries, but the closing section deals with post-war migration. The chapter also examines migration between European and Asiatic Russia although that is not an international movement because, like the migration between Great Britain and Canada or France and Algeria, it is a part of the modern intercontinental current which this volume aims to treat as completely as the statistics allow.

EMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA.

The Russian statistics of travellers crossing the Russian frontier begin with 1828; before that date Russian emigration was insignificant. The number of Russians reported as entering the United States between 1820, when the returns began, and 1828 was less than one hundred.[1] From 1828 to 1915 inclusive the excess of outgoing over incoming Russians was 4,510,000. To this number must be added the clandestine peace-time emigrants and the emigrants when frontier registration was suspended in time of war. But the total number of such additions for the period before the World War probably did not exceed a few hundred thousand. In 1914 the net loss to Russia was 526,000 while during the preceding years it had been between 150,000 and 180,000.[2] These figures for 1914 indicate that from 200,000 to 300,000 agricultural laborers who were not real emigrants although included as such in the preceding figures, were caught in Germany by the war, a number which will perhaps about balance the unrecorded clandestine and war-time emigration of earlier years. If so, we may retain the figure of 4,510,000 for the total net outflow between 1828 and 1915.

These 87 years fall naturally into three periods: first 1828–59, the period before the reforms of Alexander II began, when the peasants were serfs bound to the soil and the city folk were held in the ties of caste; second, 1860–89, when a new economic and social structure was displacing the old and the friction between the two brought about a wave of emigration; and third, 1890–1915 when the rise of capitalistic production in Russia sharpened the antagonism between the old and the new orders and emigration, partly legalized, swelled to a torrent. The amount of the net outflow of Russians in each of these three periods is shown in Table 227.

TABLE 227.

EMIGRATION OF RUSSIANS, 1828–1915.
(In Thousands)

Period	Net Outflow	Annual Average	Per cent of Total
1828–59	33	1	0.8
1860–89	1,129	38	25.0
1890–1915	3,348	129	74.2
1828–1915	4,510	51	100.0

[1] [Volume I, page 379.—Ed.]
[2] [Volume I, pages 795 and 797.—Ed.]

To find whether these statistics are trustworthy they have been compared, for the decade 1901–10, with those of certain American countries. The Russian figures show a net outflow for the decade of 1,559,000 people; the American figures show that 1,597,000 immigrants were admitted to the United States from Russia (including Finland and Russian Poland) during the same period. But the American figures do not take into account departures from the United States for Russia.

This return current began to be measured by the United States in 1908 and on the basis of the figures for 1908–13 it may be estimated as 244,000 for the decade 1901–10. Other Russians left the United States for Canada while Russians in England or Canada moved to the United States. It is necessary to allow also for the balance of movement on the part of non-immigrant aliens. Introducing these corrections we get from the American figures the result shown in Table 228.

TABLE 228.

RUSSIAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1901–10.

(In Thousands)

Immigrants direct	1,597	
Immigrants through Canada	14	
Immigrants through England	36	
Total		1,647
Russian immigrants repatriated	244	
Russian cabin passengers repatriated	15	
Russian immigrants entering Canada from the United States	20	
Total deductions		279
Net Russian immigration to United States		1,368

The net immigration from Russia into the United States 1901–10 has been estimated also by starting with the 640,000 natives of Russia (including Finland and Russian Poland) enumerated in the United States in 1900, assuming that they would have been reduced by deaths to about 535,000 in 1910 and subtracting that number from those enumerated in 1910. This process indicates an influx of 1,197,000 during the decade, but to this number 35,000 should be added because the census interval was not ten full years. The result, 1,232,000, is about 10 per cent less than that derived from immigration figures. As neither method is certainly better than the other,

the average of the two has been adopted and the number of Russian immigrants into the United States 1901–10 set at 1,300,000.

Canadian figures indicate that about 93,000 immigrants arrived from Russia in the decade. But two estimates from the census figures, one reached by subtracting from the Russians enumerated in Canada in 1911 the estimated number of survivors of those enumerated in 1901, the other based on those enumerated in 1911 classified by year of arrival, yielded in the former case 74,000 and in the latter 73,000. These two results can be reconciled with those from the immigration figures by allowing for the unreported repatriates to Russia. In this way the figures in Table 229 are reached.

TABLE 229.

NET RUSSIAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, 1901–10.
(In Thousands)

Russian immigrants		
from Russia	93	
from United States	20	
Total		113
Departures		
to Russia	25	
to United States	14	
Total deductions		39
Net Russian immigration to Canada		74

For Argentina, Brazil, Australia and England, estimates have been made in similar fashion. For South Africa there are the figures of Russians embarking through German ports. The general result follows in Table 230 (p. 526).

This total has been increased by 175,000 to allow for: (1) net Russian immigration into four countries of continental Europe, 75,000; (2) net immigration from Russia into countries of Asia, 60,000; (3) net immigration into minor countries, 10,000; and (4) the fact that the interval between the censuses of the United States was less and that between the Canadian censuses greater than 10 years, 30,000. The total of 1,656,000 thus reached exceeds that derived from Russian figures (1,559,000) by 97,000 or 6 per cent.

The general result is to confirm the Russian figures as approximately correct and, more specifically, to show that the number of clandestine and unrecorded departures from Russia was not great enough to vitiate the official Russian figures.

TABLE 230.

NET RUSSIAN IMMIGRATION BY COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION, 1901–10.
(In Thousands)

Country of Destination	Number
United States	1,300
Canada	74
Argentina	58
Brazil	12
England	30
South Africa (embarkations)	4
Australia (embarkations)	3
Total Russian immigration	1,481

To check the figures for the preceding decade, 1891–1900, by similar methods is more difficult because the information furnished by the various countries is far less complete. The net outflow from Russia appears from Russian figures to have been 724,000 and the question to be answered is: How accurate is this total? The results from the figures of other countries are given in Table 231.

TABLE 231.

NET RUSSIAN IMMIGRATION BY COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION 1891–1900.
(In Thousands)

Country of Destination	Number
United States	444
Canada	23
Argentina	10
Brazil	9
England	50
South Africa (embarkations)	6
Australia (embarkations)	0.3
Total Russian immigration	542.3

This total has been increased, (1) by 40,000 because the 10-year intervals between the two American and the two Canadian censuses differed from the ten calendar years covered by the Russian figures, and (2) by 90,000 for migration from Russia into the countries of

Asia and continental Europe, thus bringing the total to 672,000, still 52,000 or 7 per cent below the Russian figures, and that without any allowance for clandestine emigration from Russia which might be estimated from the figures of 1900–10 at not less than 45,000. There is, then, an unexplained difference between the two sources of about 100,000. The Russian data being confirmed as approximately correct will be used and these 100,000 will be classed as of unknown destination. Table 232 shows the amount of permanent emigration from Russia in the two decades between 1890 and 1910 and its distribution to various countries.

TABLE 232.

DECENNIAL EMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRY OF DESTINATION, 1891–1910.

(In Thousands)

Country of Destination	Emigration			Per Cent Distribution		
	1891–1900	1901–1910	1891–1910	1891–1900	1901–1910	1891–1910
United States	444	1,300	1,744	57.7	78.5	71.9
Canada	23	74	97	3.0	4.5	4.0
Argentina	10	58	68	1.3	3.5	2.8
Brazil	9	12	21	1.2	0.7	0.9
South Africa	6	4	10	0.8	0.3	0.4
Australia	..	3	3	0.3	0.2	0.1
England	50	30	80	6.5	1.8	3.3
Secondary transoceanic countries	10	10	20	1.3	0.6	0.8
Leading countries of continental Europe	35	75	110	4.5	4.5	4.6
Asiatic countries	30	60	90	3.9	3.6	3.7
Others or unknown	112	30	182	14.6	1.8	7.5
Allowance for difference in interval	40	....	....	5.2	....	....
Totals	769	1,656	2,425	100.0	100.0	100.0

Four-fifths of the Russian emigrants settled in some one of the four American countries, and in the case of all but Brazil the proportion was greater in the second decade than in the first. More than nine-tenths of those who migrated to an American country settled in the United States. That the number and proportion settling in England fell in the second decade was due to measures adopted in that country in 1905 against the immigration of indigent Hebrews.

Table 233 (p. 528) shows the number and the proportion of these Russian emigrants who settled in the United States in successive decades.

TABLE 233.

RATIO OF RUSSIANS SETTLING IN THE UNITED STATES TO NET RUSSIAN EMIGRATION BY DECADES, 1861–1915.

(In Thousands)

Decade	Net Russian Emigration	Russians settling in U. S.	Per Cent of Total
1861–70	195	4.5	2.3
1871–80	367	47	12.8
1881–90	412	197	47.8
1891–1900	725	444	61.2
1901–10	1,559	1,300	83.4
1911–15	1,015	730	71.9
1861–1915	4,273	2,722	63.7

These figures indicate that in the '60's the proportion of Russian emigrants who went to the United States was almost negligible, but that in 1901–1910 when it reached its maximum it was five-sixths of the whole. The decrease in the following years was probably apparent rather than real, for if the 300,000 Russians who were caught in Germany or Austria in 1914 are subtracted as not really emigrants those entering the United States were more than nine-tenths of the remainder. For the whole 55 years America absorbed three-fourths and the United States two-thirds of the Russian emigration.

Emigration classified by Linguistic Groups.[1]

Information for all Russia about the districts from which the emigrants went forth is almost lacking. As a result the classification by linguistic groups furnishes the best basis for a study of the causes of Russian emigration. Even this classification is not furnished in the Russian sources but must be derived from the immigration statistics of the United States, where it was introduced in 1899, and of Canada where it began in 1900.[2] Not until ten years later did the

[1][The phrase "linguistic group" has been preferred to "national group" used by the Russian author, and to "race or people" used by the Bureau of Immigration, because it emphasizes the basis of distinction mainly relied upon. "The subdivision of these [five grand divisions of mankind] into a multitude of smaller 'races' or peoples is made largely upon a linguistic basis." (U. S. Immigration Commission Reports: Vol. 5, *Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, p. 3.)—Ed.]

[2][Volume I, pages 432 and 364.—Ed.]

decennial censuses begin to classify the foreign-born population of the United States by language spoken or "mother tongue" as well as by country of birth.

The American immigration figures for the 15 years 1899–1913 classify the immigrants from Russia by linguistic stock. They are given in Table 234.

TABLE 234.

IMMIGRANTS FROM RUSSIA INTO THE UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED BY LINGUISTIC GROUPS, FOR QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS, 1899–1913.
(In Thousands)

Linguistic Group	Number of Immigrants				Per Cent			
	1899–1903	1904–08	1909–13	1899–1913	1899–1903	1904–08	1909–13	1899–1913
Hebrews	185	482	297	964	38	50	32	41
Poles	133	237	305	675	28	25	33	29
Lithuanians	50	82	90	222	10	8	10	9
Finns	61	61	52	174	13	6	6	7
Germans	35	48	55	138	7	5	6	6
Russians	9	45	111	165	2	5	12	7
All others	8	6	9	23	2	1	1	1
Totals	481	961	919	2,361	100	100	100	100

Table 234 shows that the number of Russians by language entering the United States was 12 times and the per cent of the total 6 times as great in the third quinquennial period as in the first; and thus disproves the assertion often made in Russia and elsewhere before the war, that emigration from Russia was a problem only for the minorities or "alien elements" and that genuine Russians did not emigrate. In fact the genuine Russians, namely, the Great Russians, Little Russians and White Russians, did not emigrate in large numbers until after the abortive revolution in 1905. During the 8 years before 1907 only 2,600 Russians a year entered the United States; during the next 7 years that average rose to more than 20,000.

Table 234 shows also that the proportion of Hebrews dropped from one-half in the middle period, darkened by pogroms instigated by the reactionaries, to one-third.

Somewhat similar shifts appear in the importance of the linguistic groups among the Russian immigrants into Canada as shown by Table 235 (p. 530).

TABLE 235.

IMMIGRANTS FROM RUSSIA INTO CANADA, CLASSIFIED BY LINGUISTIC GROUPS, FOR QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS, 1900–1913.[1]

(In Thousands)

Group	Number of Immigrants				Per Cent			
	1900–03	1904–08	1909–13	1900–1913	1900–03	1904–08	1909–13	1900–13
Hebrews[a]	8	25	27	60	33	51	24	32
Poles[a]	0.6	2	12	15	2	4	11	8
Finns	5	5	11	21	19	11	9	11
Russians	11	17	64	92	46	34	56	49
Totals	24	50	114	188	100	100	100	100

[a]For the years 1900–1904, when Russian Hebrews and Russian Poles were not given separately the per cents 82.7 and 46.6 were accepted.

In the middle period the Hebrews were most numerous, but for the whole fifteen years the Russians were one-half and Hebrews only one-third of the total.

The distribution of the gross immigration from Russia into the United States and Canada by linguistic groups, 1908–13, has been compared with the distribution of the net immigration for the same period. The results appear in Table 236.

TABLE 236.

RUSSIAN IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, CLASSIFIED BY LINGUISTIC GROUPS, 1908–13.

(In Thousands)

Linguistic Group	Immigration		Per Cent	
	Gross	Net	Gross	Net
Hebrews	442	412	37	43
Poles	355	263	29	27
Russians	165	97	14	10
Lithuanians	81	62	7	6
Finns	69	48	6	5
Germans	90	87	7	9
Total	1,202	969	100	100

[1][See Volume I, pp. 364 ff.—Ed.]

The proportion of Hebrews and Germans in the net immigration is greater than in the gross because in those groups the repatriates are fewer; the proportion of Russians, on the contrary, is less because more of them return.

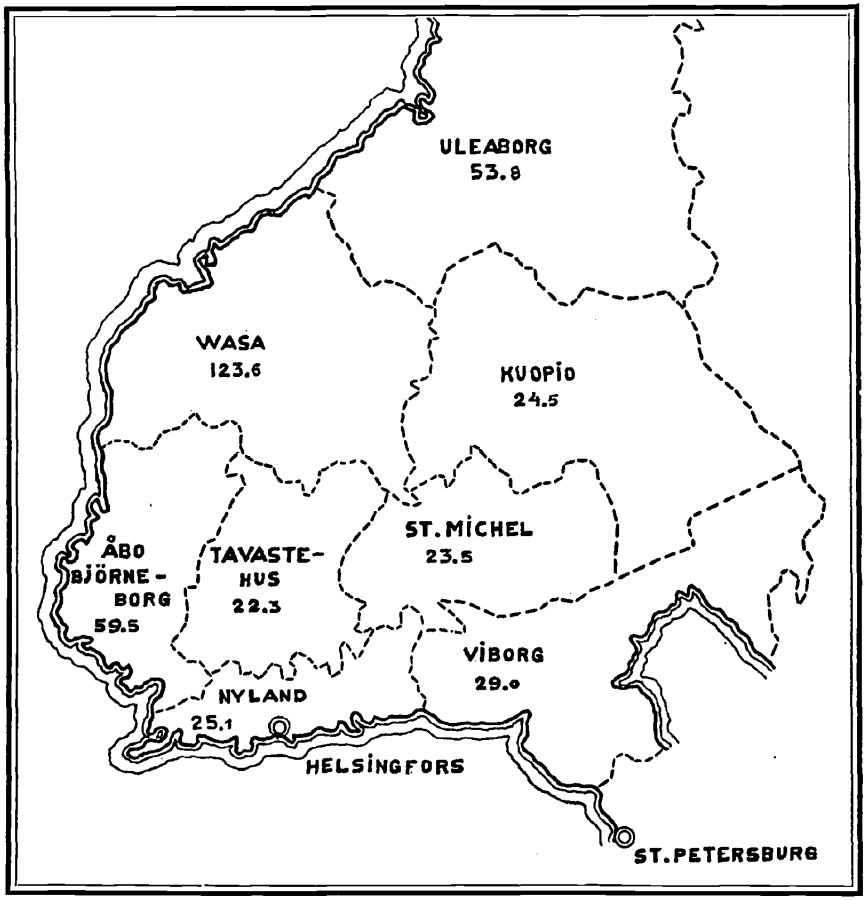
To distribute Russian immigration, gross or net, into the United States and Canada by linguistic groups before 1898 or into other countries at any date would be mere guesswork with existing statistics.

The statistics of the United States Bureau of Immigration throw some light upon the social and economic characteristics of the linguistic groups of Russian immigrants. Among the Hebrews 30 per cent were under 14 or over 44 years of age; in the other groups the proportion was between 9 and 12 per cent. Among the Hebrews the proportion of females was 43 per cent; in the other groups it was 15–34 per cent. Only 2 per cent of the Hebrews had been in the United States before, and not more than 13 per cent were repatriated. Evidently the Hebrew migration to the United States is a family migration and practically permanent. Among the other linguistic groups farm laborers, farmers, laborers and servants were 88–93 per cent of the total; among the Hebrews they were only 25 per cent. Illiteracy was least among the Finns, only 1.3 per cent of the immigrants over 14 years of age, and greatest, 49 per cent, among the Lithuanians who found it very hard under pre-war conditions to acquire even the elements of an education through the medium of their own language. The Hebrews, notwithstanding their poverty, stood next to the Finns in literacy. The Russian and Finnish immigrants with over $19 per capita were better off economically than the others, but after the outbreak of 1905 the average amount among the Russians dropped indicating more wide spread poverty in that swelling current.

Emigration of Finns

Regarding the emigration of Finns special information is available for the period after 1893. The evidence from the American immigration returns, which showed that farm laborers, farmers, laborers and servants were more numerous among Finns (93.3 per cent) than in any other of the 5 groups, is confirmed by Russian evidence that only 8–14 per cent of the emigrants went from the cities of Finland. Children of peasants and of *torpars* (that is, tenants occupying part of a farm with the necessary farm buildings) made up half the emigrants from Finland. Nearly two-fifths more

Diagram 16. Rates of Emigration from the Provinces of Finland, (per 10,000 inhabitants, 1909–1913.



were landless hired laborers or *bobils*. Thus it was an exodus from the farms. The small holdings multiplied and many rich peasants enlarged their holdings. Finnish farms average about 25 acres of improved land while Wisconsin farms under similar agricultural conditions are more than 2½ times as large. Two-fifths of the Finnish farms have less than 8 acres each of improved land. Thus the land is held in small parcels and landless laborers are numerous. These conditions favored mass emigration and the emigration rate rose from 17 per 10,000 annually, 1893–98 to 50 per 10,000 in 1909–13. The rate from the several provinces in the latest period is shown

in the accompanying sketch map (Diagram 16), the data for which have been taken from the *Statistical Year Book of Finland, 1910.*

The emigration rate for all Finland was above the rates for the other divisions of Europe except Sweden, Italy and Austria. The exodus may be ascribed to bad harvests during 1865–70, the spreading use of agricultural machinery and the consequent reduction in the demand for labor, the increase of dairy farming, the displacement of grain crops by grass, the increase in the value of forested land, and the decrease in the clearing of forests. An agricultural laborer working on an American farm received 3 or 4 times as much as on a farm in Finland; if he entered an American factory the difference was even greater.

Polish and Lithuanian Emigration.

The Polish, the Hebrew, and to some extent the Lithuanian emigration from the former Kingdom of Poland was investigated by the Warsaw Statistical Committee. The data it obtained much underestimated Polish and Hebrew emigration, as appears from a comparison with the American material. But the Committee did furnish valuable facts about such problems as the centers of emigration within the frontiers of former Russian Poland, the social status of the emigrants, the proportion of temporary emigrants and the causes of emigration.

The Committee estimated the number of emigrants during 1891–1900, excluding persons going abroad for temporary work, at over 90,000. Of these over 70,000, or 78 per cent, were country folk. During the same decade 444,000 emigrants from Russia settled in the United States and of these not more than 40,000 were Finns. After making generous estimates of the number of Hebrews, Poles, Lithuanians and Russians emigrating from Russian provinces outside of Poland, we must nevertheless reckon that the Warsaw Committee figures give not more than one-half of the true number. The number of Hebrew emigrants during the '90's is set by the Committee at only 17,000, whereas it was several hundred thousand. On the other hand the proportion of country dwellers shown by the Committee's figures is greatly exaggerated.

At the start a few general statements about former Russian Poland are needed. Its population in 1897 was 9,402,000, of whom 2,158,000 or 23 per cent lived in the cities. The proportion of city population was considerably higher than in Finland or in European Russia. Russian Poland was predominantly agricultural, although

in the '80's and '90's industry developed rapidly so that the Polish industrial region stood immediately after that of Moscow and up with that of St. Petersburg. The density of population was much higher than the average in all European Russia and also than that in the Moscow or St. Petersburg regions. This was due in part to more intensive farming and rural over-population.

Turn now to the material about Polish emigration from Russian Poland.

In considering the occupations and social character of the emigrants, a difficulty arises from the fact that Hebrews are not distinguished from non-Hebrews in the occupation tables of the Warsaw Statistical Committee. But the number of non-Hebrews has been estimated indirectly with the result shown in Table 237. That table presents the social structure of the emigration for 1893–1903.

TABLE 237.

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF NON-HEBREW EMIGRANTS FROM POLAND, 1893–1903.

(In Thousands)

Class of Emigrant	Number	Per Cent
Landed peasants	18	24
Landless peasants	31	42
Agricultural laborers	10	14
City workers	9	12
"Others" in city and village	6	8
Total	74	100

Table 237 probably gives a fair picture of the social composition of the non-Hebrew emigration from Poland, more than nine-tenths of it Poles. It was like the Finnish emigration, except for the greater proportion of landless peasants.

Persons connected with agriculture constitute four-fifths of this emigration, 56 per cent are landless peasants or farm laborers, 66 per cent are peasants with or without land, at least 26 per cent are workers in city or country, and 8 per cent at most fall under other classifications. It is evident that an agrarian question lies at the root of non-Hebrew emigration. In what does it consist?

The serfs were emancipated in 1807 but received no land.

After the Polish revolution of 1863 had been suppressed partial reforms were introduced which aimed to win the peasants over to the Tsarist Government. The leaseholds of permanent tenants were assigned to them in fee; homesteads were given to the landless peasants and agricultural laborers.

The peasants who had no rights as permanent tenants and the agricultural laborers with their families included 1,339,000 persons in 1864, or 40 per cent of the village population.[1] According to the Committee, in 1891 the landless population numbered 849,000 or 12.5 per cent of the adult village population. A new investigation in 1901 revealed 1,432,000 landless village inhabitants, or 15.4 per cent of the adult population.

The investigation of 1891 classified the landless population thus: 14 per cent were not occupied with agriculture; among the remaining 86 per cent half were settled family workers for the landlords, receiving a little plot of land which they worked in their free time, and most of the rest were day-laborers working for the landlords or rich peasants.

The landlords, if they did not carry on their own farms themselves, always prefered to let out their land as a whole to big lessees. To the peasants were let only small parcels far from the buildings, or odd plots remaining after the division of the fields. These facts show that Poland, unlike Finland, was largely a country of landlord estates.

The land was classified by ownership in 1887 according to the Central Russian Statistical Committee and in 1907 according to the Warsaw Statistical Committee. The two results are given in Table 238 (p. 536).

Less than half of the land was held by the peasants; private owners, including the nobles, held about 40 per cent. The average size of a nobleman's estate in 1887 was 1436 acres—a big farm, especially as agriculture was carried on intensively with complicated rotations. On the other hand, the average size of a peasant holding was about 19 acres.

A rough classification of peasant holdings by size, for the two dates 1870 and 1899, is given in Table 239 (p. 536).

In addition to the 15 per cent of landless rural inhabitants these figures show that another 15 per cent were peasants with holdings

[1][The word "village" used by the Russian author in his English text to designate the village community or *mir* has been retained. The reader will understand that the Russian *mir* is very different from the English or American village.—Ed.]

TABLE 238.

AREA OF LAND HOLDINGS IN POLAND, ACCORDING TO OWNERSHIP IN 1887 AND 1907.

Classification	1887		1907	
	Thousands of Acres	Per Cent	Thousands of Acres	Per Cent
Peasant holdings	13,620	45.5	13,862	45.6
Private estates:				
Nobles	*10,467*	*35.0*	....	....
Total	12,370	41.3	11,577	38.1
Land of the szlachta (small nobility)	1,339	4.5	1,915	6.1
Other land (State, city, church, etc.)	2,604	8.7	3,111	10.2
Total	29,933	100.0	30,465	100.0

of less than 4 acres who would have to work for wages on big estates or on farms of rich peasants. The number of such holdings diminished in the 29 years by 22,000. The number of holdings of 4–20 acres increased, showing a larger number of peasants with tiny plots. Three-fifths of the peasants in 1899 possessed holdings of less than 20 acres.

With such a social structure, with an almost complete absence of peasant lease-holders, with low wages in agriculture, with industry unable to absorb the surplus population, supplementary work or emigration was a necessity for the agricultural laborer or small peasant.

He began by seeking other work at a distance. In most cases

TABLE 239.

PEASANT HOLDINGS CLASSIFIED BY SIZE, 1870 AND 1899.
(In Thousands)

Size of Holding	Number		Per Cent	
	1870	1899	1870	1899
Under 4 Acres	129	107	21.8	15.0
4–20 Acres	241	319	40.6	44.5
Above 20 Acres	223	291	37.6	40.5
Total	593	717	100.0	100.0

he left Russia because the German labor market was nearer than the South Russian, transportation was cheaper and easier and the American market, although distant, promised very high earnings. Temporary trips abroad often paved the way for emigration. In 1890—when the Warsaw Committee first collected data about temporary emigration into Germany—rather more than 17,000 people went thither. One hundred and fifty thousand people went abroad for temporary work in 1903, and by 1908 the number had increased to 260,000.

Only for two years, 1904 and 1908, is a comparison between temporary and permanent emigration to America possible. It gives the results shown in Table 240.

TABLE 240.

NUMBER OF POLISH EMIGRANTS AND TEMPORARY WORKERS DEPARTING FOR AMERICA, 1904 AND 1908.

(In Thousands)

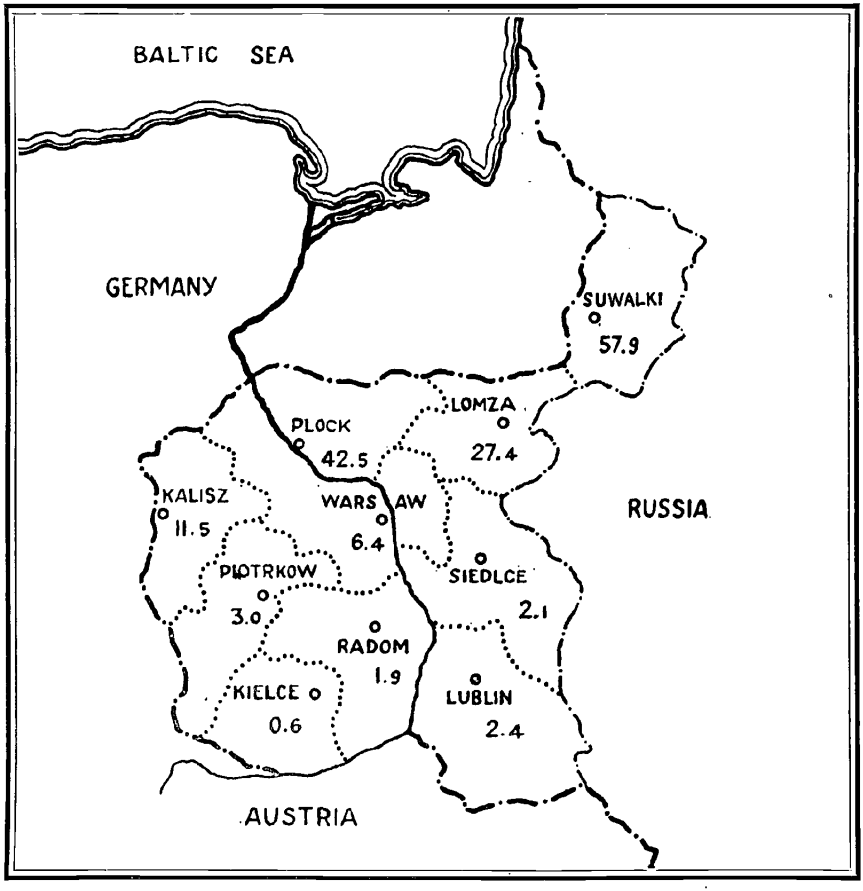
Year	Emigrants	Temporary workers	Total
1904	15	10	25
1908	31	12	43

Although the figures are small they confirm the American statistical data in showing that a large percentage of Poles returned. The Polish small peasant like the Finnish, was tied to his holding (actual or anticipated).

The main centers of emigration from Poland were in the three northern provinces; Suwalki, Plock and Lomza, in which during the 15 years 1890–1904 there were 58, 41 and 27 emigrants respectively, to every 10,000 inhabitants. These centers lay along the German frontier and were exclusively agricultural (see Diagram 17, p. 538).

Of the 158,000 emigrants registered up to 1905 by the Warsaw Committee 50,000 or 32 per cent went from Suwalki Province. The data in the 1897 census regarding the different nationalities living in the counties of that province, when compared with data on the religion of emigrants reported by the Warsaw Committee, indicate that these 50,000 emigrants included 21,000 Lithuanians, or about 42 per cent of those who emigrated between 1890 and 1904. This computation fixes the main source of Lithuanian emigration. Other sources were Kovno and Vilna provinces outside of Poland.

Diagram 17. Rates of Emigration from the Provinces of Poland, per 10,000 inhabitants, 1890–1904.



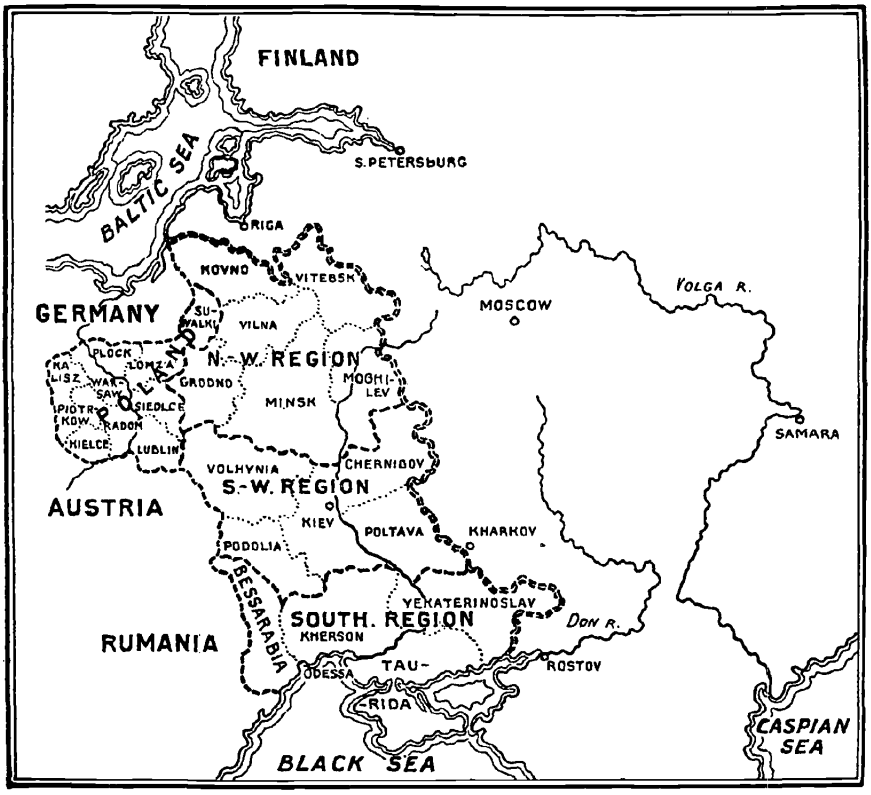
The American statistics include under the Lithuanians the Letts, who were numerous in Courland Province and the southern half of Livonia (the two now constituting Latvia). Lettish emigrants probably were an insignificant fraction of the Lithuanian-Lettish emigration. This is indicated by the high percentage (48.9 per cent) of illiterates reported among the Lithuanian immigrants to the United States. The Letts have a low illiteracy rate (Courland 24 and Livonia 21 per cent). Among the Lithuanians in Suwalki there were 56 per cent illiterate, in Kovno 57 per cent and in Vilna 76 per cent.

Character and Causes of Hebrew Emigration

The Hebrews did not form one-fifth of the population in any Russian province; the proportion was highest in Warsaw Province where it was 18.2 per cent. They were widely dispersed over the 25 provinces of western Russia within the "Hebrew Pale" shown in Diagram 18, and their emigration as a whole was not studied statistically. In only 10 of these 25 provinces—those in Russian Poland—were the statistics of emigration compiled and even there very incompletely. Consequently it is hard to characterize Hebrew emigration from Russia; and yet there is excellent material about its causes.

First some general data are needed. The Hebrews in the Russian Empire in 1897, as determined by religion, numbered 5,215,000. The number who spoke Yiddish, a less satisfactory test,

Diagram 18. Provinces of the Hebrew Pale.



was about three per cent smaller. They were distributed as in Table 241.

TABLE 241.

DISTRIBUTION OF HEBREWS BY RELIGION, 1897.
(In Thousands)

District	Number		Per Cent	
Ten Polish provinces	1,321		25.3	
Fifteen White Russian, Ukrainian or Lithuanian provinces	3,578		68.6	
Hebrew Pale		4,899		93.9
European Russia, outside of the Pale	211		4.1	
Caucasus, Siberia and Central Asia	105		2.0	
Grand Total	5,215		100.0	

These figures show that 94 per cent of the Russian Hebrews lived within the Pale, but only 25 per cent in Poland. More than two-thirds lived in the other fifteen provinces of the Pale.

How many Hebrews lived on territory now included in Soviet Russia? The boundaries of the new states do not follow ethnographical lines and only 45.4 per cent of the Hebrews reported at the census of 1897 lived within the present boundaries of Soviet Russia, 50.2 per cent within the new border states and 4.4 per cent in Bessarabia.

The proportion of urban population in Russia in 1897 was 13.4 per cent; among Hebrews it was 50.5 per cent. This does not mean that the remaining 49.5 per cent lived in villages. Many lived in the *mestechkos* of Western Russia and Poland, *i. e.* settlements of town-type but lacking the legal rights of a town as well as the developed factory industry and trade of a city. Fifteen per cent of the Hebrew population of the Pale, according to the highest estimate, lived in villages, but a safer estimate would be 13.5 per cent, the proportion in Poland in 1893.

As more than 80 per cent of the Hebrews within the Pale lived in cities or boroughs (*mestechkos*), they were in the majority there except in localities on the outskirts of the Pale where they constituted 40.9 per cent of the population. In the central part of the Hebrew Pale, namely, the northwestern provinces of Russia and the

eastern provinces of Poland, the Hebrews were from 50 to 60 per cent of the urban population. In the west (western Poland) and in the east (interior Ukraine) this proportion fell to 30 or 40 per cent; in the south it fell to 10–20 per cent. There was a centrifugal movement of Hebrews: they left the overpopulated center of the Pale and moved to its outskirts or emigrated. The Hebrew population of the outskirts increased much faster than that of the central district.

TABLE 242.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF HEBREWS AND GREAT RUSSIANS, BY OCCUPATION, 1897

Occupations	Great Russians	Hebrews
Agriculture	71.5	3.8
Industry	11.4	34.7
Commerce	5.4	43.4
Public offices and liberal professions	4.1	6.3
Casual hired labor	4.6	6.3
Without occupation	2.3	4.0
Unknown	0.7	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 242 shows that the Hebrews were massed in commerce and industry. Industry usually means handicrafts and not work in factories or big shops. The trades employing most Hebrews were tailoring, shoemaking and carpentering. Commerce includes mainly petty traders and middlemen, the whole value of a merchant's goods sometimes did not exceed a few rubles.

The great poverty of the Hebrews in the Pale is clearly shown by the fact that 19 per cent of them every year received charity. According to the same data the earnings of Hebrew artisans in the southern region of the Pale, where the pay was best and whither there was a flow of Hebrews, amounted to $125–$200 a year. In other regions the average was lower (from $75 to $150 for tailors). The earnings of Jewish factory-workers also were extremely low.

As early as the '90's the artisans were subjected to the intensified exploitation of usurers or worked on contract for big merchants

or depended upon middlemen-dealers, selling their products in distant markets.

On the eve of the Revolution of 1905 this dependence began to pass into complete economic subordination, the artisans being transformed into hired laborers. In Warsaw the Hebrew shoemakers by 1904 had become laborers for the mechanical production of shoes. At this date the artisan's working day in 70 per cent of the cases was 16–18 hours, in 20 per cent of the cases it was 18–20 hours and in 10 per cent 13–13½ hours.

These facts suggest an economic situation which led to Hebrew emigration. Another cause was the legal conditions under which the Hebrews lived and were pauperized. The sole condition nowadays which makes it possible for a worker not to sell his labor as purely slave labor is the right of free migration. Of this right the Hebrews were deprived before 1917. The "Hebrew Pale" was created by a Regulation of 1835. Although a bye-product of serfdom this regulation was preserved after the reforms of the '60's and the Revolution of 1905. It was specially injurious because after 1882 the Hebrews within the Pale but outside of Poland, were forbidden to establish a new residence in a country place or to own or even lease immovable property outside of cities and boroughs. After 1893 limitations in regard to immovable property were introduced into Poland.

As a result of these measures the Hebrew masses were confined to the cities and small towns within the Pale. They were violently urbanized, torn away from agriculture and forced into fierce competition within their own ranks and with the non-Hebrew city population and the landless peasantry flowing into the cities. Hence the pauperization and economic stagnation of the Hebrew masses. The exceptional cheapness of Hebrew labor checked the transition from hand to machine production.

With the denial of the right of free migration went a number of other restrictions barring this people from state service, from election to positions in the local government, from teaching and law, and limiting Hebrew students to 10 per cent of the entire number of students. The Hebrew was constantly treated by officials (*e. g.* in the military service) as a pariah.

The most terrible evil was the *pogrom* or organized massacre. The position of the Hebrew as an outlaw made the pogrom possible and warranted a belief that its leader would not be punished. The competition between Hebrews and non-Hebrews within the Pale

was not the real cause of the pogroms. The real cause was the organized effort of conservatives to strengthen the old régime by stirring up ethnic hatred and thus crushing the revolutionary tendencies of the Hebrews. In most cases the local authorities were passive at the time of a pogrom or actively supported it.

The first wave of pogroms occurred in 1881 (with echoes in 1882–84). It overran Ukraine and Bessarabia, and furnished a powerful motive for the mass emigration of Hebrews to the United States, England, and Palestine. After this wave there was a lull during more than 15 years, broken by a small pogrom in Nikolaev in 1900 and by anti-Hebrew riots in Chenstohov, Poland, in 1902. These events probably stimulated emigration anew. But the bloody Kishinev pogrom of 1903 raised emigration to a peak. In the fall of the following year there was a pogrom in Gomel, the first in the central part of the Pale.

In October, 1905, after the manifesto promising a constitution had been published, an unprecedented wave of pogroms rolled over the country and was clearly counterrevolutionary in character. In the course of 12 days 690 such pogroms occurred, in which at least 810 people were killed, 1,770 were wounded, and 201,000 people suffered pecuniary loss to the amount of more than $30,000,000. At this time pogroms occurred also in 24 places outside of the Pale, including one in Siberia; but there were almost no pogroms in the center of the Pale, and none at all in Poland. In 1906 and 1907 the pogroms continued, although their extent was much smaller; but in the succeeding years and up to the beginning of the World War there were no pogroms and Hebrew emigration decreased.

From what regions of the Pale did the Hebrew emigrants mainly go? We shall try first to outline the most probable hypothesis, and then test it by the incomplete material.

The simplest assumption would be that Hebrew emigrants were drawn in equal proportions from the Hebrew population. The provinces of the Pale have been grouped by official statistics and by private investigators into regions according to the data of the census of 1897, as shown in Diagram 18 (p. 539). The 6 provinces of the northwestern region included 29 per cent of the Hebrews within the Pale, the 10 Polish provinces included 27 per cent, the 5 provinces of the southwestern region embraced 29 per cent and the 4 provinces in the south 15 per cent.

The northwestern region and the eastern provinces of Poland constituted the central part of the Pale in which the Hebrews were

specially crowded and pauperized. In some parts of that region the census of 1897 revealed an absolute reduction of the Hebrew population, in other parts there had been a very slow growth. Some Hebrews had emigrated into industrial regions or to the outskirts of the Pale but more, apparently, had gone abroad.

It is safe to assume, therefore, that in tranquil periods the Hebrews emigrated specially from the northwestern region and from Poland. Poland with 27 per cent of the Hebrew population furnished probably 30 per cent of the emigrants, the northwestern region with 29 per cent of the Hebrew population furnished probably 35 per cent of the emigrants. On the other hand from the southern region, where there had been a rapid growth of the Hebrew population before 1897 and where its economic position was better, fewer emigrants departed in tranquil years.

But political persecution was the strongest incentive to emigration. The pogroms of 1881–84 trebled the Russian immigration into the United States; those of 1903–07 doubled it. The pogroms of the '80's affected only the southwestern and southern regions, the Kishinev pogrom of 1903 affected mainly the south and most of the pogroms of 1905–07 were in the southwest and south. Hence in years following pogroms and in years when they were feared the emigration from the southwest and south swelled. This influence reduced the predominance of Poland and the northwestern region in tranquil years.

TABLE 243.

PROPORTION OF HEBREW EMIGRATION FROM THE REGIONS OF WESTERN RUSSIA (Compare Diagram 18).

Region	Per Cent
Kingdom of Poland	20–30
Northwestern	25–35
Southwestern	25–35
Southern	10–20

So the distribution of the permanent Hebrew emigration probably approximated that of the Hebrew population. If so, the share of these regions in emigration over periods of five to ten years might lie within the limits shown in Table 243.

Let us now compare this theory with the fragmentary statistical evidence.

According to the data of the Warsaw Statistical Committee 28,000 Jews departed from Poland in 1890–1904; of this number 18,000, or 64 per cent, were from the 5 provinces on the right bank of the Vistula. In other words the overwhelming majority of Polish Hebrews went out from the overpopulated center of the Pale. In the "Collection of Materials" published by the Warsaw Statistical Committee emigration from the southern region is not mentioned; there are two reports about emigration from the southwestern region, and a number about emigration from the northwestern region.

After 1905 the material helping to determine the centers of emigration extended over the whole Pale, for after that year the Jewish Colonization Society established a network of agencies and by 1909 the Society's information embraced 90 per cent of emigrant Hebrews. The number of persons who turned to the Society with questions and for help was not the same as the number who emigrated but still these data can be used as an index to the geographical distribution of emigrants.

TABLE 244.

NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS TO HEBREW EMIGRATION SOCIETY AND JEWISH COLONIZATION SOCIETY, AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY REGIONS, 1901–13.

Year	Total Number	Per Cent Distribution By Regions					
		Total	Kingdom of Poland	North-western	South-western	South	Outside the Pale
Persons sent away by Hebrew Emigration Society							
1901–11	2,894	100.0	16.0	25.1	45.7	11.4	1.8
1913	2,526	100.0	41.6	19.7	30.2	7.5	1.0
Applications to Jewish Colonization Society							
1906	12,128	100.0	3.0	29.4	25.4	42.2	...
1907	21,238	100.0	11.4	35.9	24.1	28.6	...
1908	15,477	100.0	20.3	31.9	30.5	17.3	...
1909	33,380	100.0	25.2	30.2	34.2	10.0	0.3
1910	47,088	100.0	22.2	32.4	36.5	8.7	0.2
1911	44,051	100.0	21.9	34.2	34.0	9.8	0.1
1912	49,272	100.0	17.6	32.3	37.7	12.4	...
1913	70,768	100.0	15.2	30.2	43.5	11.1	...

The same remarks apply to the material regarding thousands of emigrants who were sent to the United States by another organization: the Hebrew Emigration Society. An examination of both sources of material by regions yields the results presented in Table 244.

The percentage of Hebrews in Poland who turned to the Jewish Colonization Society during its first years does not represent

their share in emigration; for in Poland the activity of the Society had not then developed. In Odessa the Society had an energetic bureau and an experienced manager; hence the figures for the southern region in 1906 and 1907 are not representative. The rise in the number of Polish Hebrews sent out by the second society in 1913 is apparently accidental. The figures seem to warrant the following inferences: First are the northwestern and southwestern regions; Poland, apparently, a little lower; and the southern region is far behind but increases its share in the pogrom years. In general, the distribution of emigrants from different parts of the Hebrew Pale corresponds roughly with the distribution of population.

Emigration of Russians, Germans, and Other Peoples.

The emigration of persons of Russian speech, the regions from which they started and the proportion from each region, are more difficult questions than the corresponding ones about the Hebrews.

In the United States the question of the number of Russian residents has developed wide differences of opinion. Davis cites four different estimates ranging from less than 300,000 to more than 700,000 persons.[1] The census of 1920 reported 392,000 persons born outside of the United States and having Russian as their mother tongue, and 340,000 born in the United States but with one or both parents having Russian as their mother tongue. However, in a note to his table Davis points out that a considerable proportion of Hebrews were probably included erroneously with the Russians. He might have added that no small number of Ruthenians also were included. We agree with the author of the smallest estimate, I. A. Hourwich, and believe that the Russians in the United States in 1920 were fewer than 300,000.[2]

[1]Jerome Davis, *The Russian Immigrant* (1922), p. 10.

[2]The following considerations speak for this viewpoint. In 1910 the number of Russians by mother tongue born outside the United States was 58,000. By 1920 this group must have been reduced by deaths to 48,000. Subtracting this number from the Russians reported as born outside the United States in 1920, we have an increase of 344,000. For the period 1911-20, 156,000 Russian immigrants arrived in the United States and 78,000 emigrants departed. In other words, only 78,000 settled in the United States during that decade. If we take into account the movement of non-immigrant passengers, this figure would be reduced still more, because the departures of non-immigrants outnumbered the arrivals.

On the other hand, 113,000 Ruthenian immigrants entered the United States between 1911 and 1920 and 20,000 departed. Consequently 93,000 settled. But the census of 1920 reported 56,000 Ruthenians born outside the United States, and comparison with the data for 1910 (with deduction for deaths) gives the incredible result that the number of Ruthenians increased between 1910 and 1920 by only 35,000. Hence it is clear: (1) that the number of Russians, including their children, born in the United States was much overestimated and was probably less than 300,000; and (2) that the number of Ruthenians was underestimated because many of them were classed as Russians.

American statistics do not distinguish between Great Russians, Ukrainians and White Russians, calling them all "Russians." The Canadian statistics in the post-war period began to put the Ukrainians but not the White Russians in a separate class. Hence it is impossible to distribute the "Russian" emigrants reported in foreign sources among these three stocks. But there is reason to suppose that Great Russians and White Russians predominated in the Russian emigration up to 1905, while after that year Ukrainians and White Russians began to predominate and the proportion of Great Russians to diminish.

Up to 1905 adherents of minor religious sects were a large part if not a majority of the Russian emigrants from Russia. The old regime denied freedom of conscience and sternly persecuted its Russian subjects who fell away from the Orthodox Church. As early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sectarians began to flee from these persecutions to the outskirts of the country. Later they went abroad, but not until the end of the nineteenth century did this current become organized emigration.

V. D. Bonch-Bruevitch estimates that about 20,000 adherents of these minor religious sects left Russia for America after 1897. Of these, 18,000—of whom 15,000 were Great Russians, 1,500 Ukrainians and 1,500 Mordvians—departed before 1905. A probable figure for the whole sectarian emigration of this period is 30,000.

As Great Russians predominated among the sectarians, they occupied a prominent place before 1905 among Russian emigrants. Along with them stood the White Russians, who were encouraged to emigration (mostly temporary) by the example of their neighbors, the Lithuanians and Hebrews.

From the southwestern and southern provinces of the former Empire, settled by Ukrainians, and from the central and eastern provinces, where Great Russians predominated, we have no evidence of any considerable emigration before 1905. But after 1905 the picture changes. Emigration of Russians increased. The data about the arrival of Russian immigrants in the United States and Canada are given in Table 245 (p. 548).

Analysis of the fragmentary evidence about several Russian provinces leads to the conclusion that Russian emigration, 1907–13, was recruited predominantly from Ukrainians and White Russians. The Great Russian emigrants in former years has been mainly sectarians and during these years few sectarians departed. As a result of the general growth of emigration, while the number of

TABLE 245.

RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, 1900–13.
(In Thousands)

Year	United States	Canada	Total
Annual average for 1900–04,	2.3	2.6	4.9
1905	3.3	3.4	6.7
1906	5.2	1.9	7.1
1907	16.1	6.3	22.4
1908	16.3	3.5	19.8
1909	9.1	4.6	13.7
1910	14.8	6.6	21.4
1911	17.6	9.8	27.4
1912	21.1	18.6	39.7
1913	48.5	24.5	73.0

emigrants from Great Russia probably did not fall their proportion diminished.

Let us now briefly consider the forces causing the emigration o 1907–13.

There were two regions in pre-revolutionary Russia where th agrarian question was especially acute, although for differen reasons (See Diagram 19, p. 549). One was the group of western prov inces adjoining Lithuania, Poland and Austria, and with Ukrainia or White Russian population. The other was the group of "centra black-earth" or "central agricultural" provinces between th Dnieper and the Volga and between the northern boundary of th black-earth region and the beginning of the southern steppes. Thi was largely inhabited by Great Russians.

In these two groups serfdom had its main development. Th southern steppes were settled after the abolition of serfdom chie ly by free colonists. Into the wooded regions of the north an northeast serfdom could not penetrate; nor did it extend int Siberia. In the non-black-earth provinces around Moscow it wa undermined before 1861, and later its remnants were quickly elim inated by the course of economic development. These two grou of western provinces and of central provinces dominated by serfdo and its after-effects developed the agrarian revolutions followin 1905 and 1917 to the highest degree.

The central agricultural region was the main source of recrui

Diagram 19. "Black-earth" and other Provinces of pre-Revolutionary Russia. Areas of Russian emigration are shaded.

for internal migration. In that region the basic feature of the relations between landlord and peasant was the long survival of the practice, usual under serfdom, of tilling the landlord's land with the help of the peasants' horses and tools. This was done not by hiring the peasants for wages but by leasing to them other parcels of the landlord's land in return for their labor. The peasants had been emancipated with an allotment of land quite insufficient and usually smaller than they had had under serfdom. The pre-requisite of this burdensome and uneconomic system was the existence of a mass of workers with insufficient land, on the brink of ruin, but with at least one horse and the necessary tools.

In the western region the situation was different. There the large feudal estate was a centralized economic unit. Even under serfdom the peasant land commune had vanished, and with it the idea of a special fund of peasant land for the peasants' needs. The landlord decided about the location and amount of land to be given each peasant, freely disposed of the land and labor of his serfs and kept in his own hands enough of his horses and tools to till his own land.

The system of serfdom had left behind a great mass of agricultural laborers bound to the land by a home, garden or tiny allotment and oppressed economically and socially.

Such in general were the agrarian conditions in the provinces of Vilna, Minsk, Moghilev, Volhynia, Kiev and Podolia. These provinces fall into two groups geographically very different: the non-black-earth country and the black-earth country. The first three provinces and a large part of Volhynia belong to the non-black-earth country. The soil is less fertile than in the other provinces and therefore an allotment capable of feeding a peasant family must be larger. Leasing land to the peasants in small holdings was rare. The agricultural Russian population was unable to find supplementary work outside of agriculture because there were few local factories and the pauperized Hebrews flooded the cities and villages.

Turn now to the statistics. American data give the number of "farm laborers" and their per cent of all Russian immigrants to the United States as presented in Table 246.

TABLE 246.

NUMBER OF RUSSIAN FARM LABORERS IMMIGRATING INTO THE UNITED STATES AND PER CENT OF ALL RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS, 1899–1913.

Year	Absolute Number	Per cent of the total
Annual Average, 1899–1904,	40	2.2
1905	200	5.6
1906	1,600	28.0
1907	6,000	34.9
1908	7,000	43.1
1909	5,000	49.8
1910	7,000	42.0
1911	10,000	55.2
1912	13,000	55.6
1913	26,000	50.7

After 1905 the number of farm laborers increased rapidly and after 1907 they constituted about half of the total.

The evidence indicates that the growing exodus of farm laborers from western Russia was a result of the agrarian upheaval of 1905.

In the provinces where hired labor was most used on the landlord's estates the wages were as given in Table 247.

TABLE 247.

WAGES OF A DAY-LABORER WITH BOARD IN TIME OF HARVEST (IN KOPECKS)

(In the U. S. the average wage was more than four times as great)

Province	1901–1905	1906–1910
Volhynia	42	44
Kiev	56	49
Podolia	47	59
Vilna	40	51
Minsk	47	54
Moghilev	48	51
Average for 50 provinces of European Russia	58	66

Wages in these provinces both before and after 1905 were lower than the average for European Russia. Under these conditions the summer of 1906 brought a wave of strikes among the agricultural laborers, which spread over the West and were suppressed with a severity recalling the pogroms against the Hebrews. Such an issue of the struggle pushed the agricultural laborers towards emigration.

In 1911–14 wages in these provinces rose and approached the Russian average. In causing the increase, emigration doubtless played a considerable part by diminishing the supply of workers.

From all the evidence at hand it may confidently be assumed: that landless agricultural laborers, especially those from the western provinces, were the most numerous group among the Russian emigrants; that next to these were the peasants with small land holdings and petty tenants; that independent peasants able to maintain a household were less numerous; and that there were a few industrial workers, especially in 1908 and 1909—the years of industrial depression.

These facts throw light upon the decrease after 1906 in the average amount of money carried by the Russian immigrants to the

United States. The small independent peasants were almost lost among the village paupers of the western provinces. It also explains the large number of "birds of passage." Peasants with small holdings, agricultural laborers with a share of land, and unskilled workers, look upon emigration as a journey in search of temporary work and expect to return.

Russia contained 1,790,000 people in 1897 whose native language was German; of these 900,000 lived in the agricultural German colonies. Emigration from these colonies was never specially investigated, but it is known that the German emigrants from Russia were recruited almost exclusively from them.

The eight provinces in which the colonies lay formed a semicircle in southwestern, southern and southeastern Russia. At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteen thcentury they lay on the frontier, where the steppe began, and were nominally subject to Russia. Immigrants were invited to settle there and numbers came from Germany. Many, like the Mennonites, were members of religious sects which were being persecuted in Germany. These immigrants were given large allotments of land and many privileges.

The Germans, excluding those living in cities, were distributed in these provinces in 1897 as shown in Table 248.

TABLE 248.

DISTRIBUTION BY PROVINCES, OF NON-URBAN GERMANS, IN 1897.
(In Thousands)

Province:	Number	Province:	Number
Bessarabia	58	Taurida	74
Volhynia	169	Don Province	33
Kherson	111	Saratov	153
Yekaterinoslav	79	Samara	223

But in the East also emigration began early and reached large proportions. From Kamishin and Atkarsk counties (Saratov Province) colonists departed *en masse* to America in the '70's, because compulsory military service was introduced in 1874. News of the misfortunes of the first settlers checked the movement, but it began again and in the winter of 1886-87 it became important.

This emigration of Germans went mainly to the United States,

138,000 entering there between 1890 and 1913. In 1909 a Russian envoy in South America reported that "in Brazil there are some thousands, in Argentina as many as 25,000 Volga German colonists."

That Russian Germans went also to Canada appears from the arrival there of Mennonites as well as of Doukhobars at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1911 there were 45,000 Mennonites in Canada but not all were of Russian origin. The exact number of Russian Germans entering Canada is indeterminate.

Among the economic causes of this emigration were: The differentiation among the colonists which resulted in the rise of a large group of landless peasants, who worked for the more prosperous ones; and the difficulty of continuing the extensive grain farming on the steppes after the land had become exhausted.

From other ethnic groups in Russia, a steady current of emigration appeared in the nineteenth century only among the Crimean Tartars, who went into Turkey. The first wave was in 1860–63, when 181,000 departed. Some counties were almost depopulated, and a special order forbade the departure of more than one-tenth of the inhabitants of any settled place. This emigration was a result of the devastation from the Crimean War. A second wave was caused by the introduction of general military service, which had not applied to Tartars. At the beginning of the twentieth century the economic depression in the Crimea, especially among the owners of vineyards, strengthened the movement. In 1904 with every passenger ship some hundreds of Tartar emigrants departed. Landowners made up a considerable percentage of these emigrants, their land being bought in many cases by the German colonists.

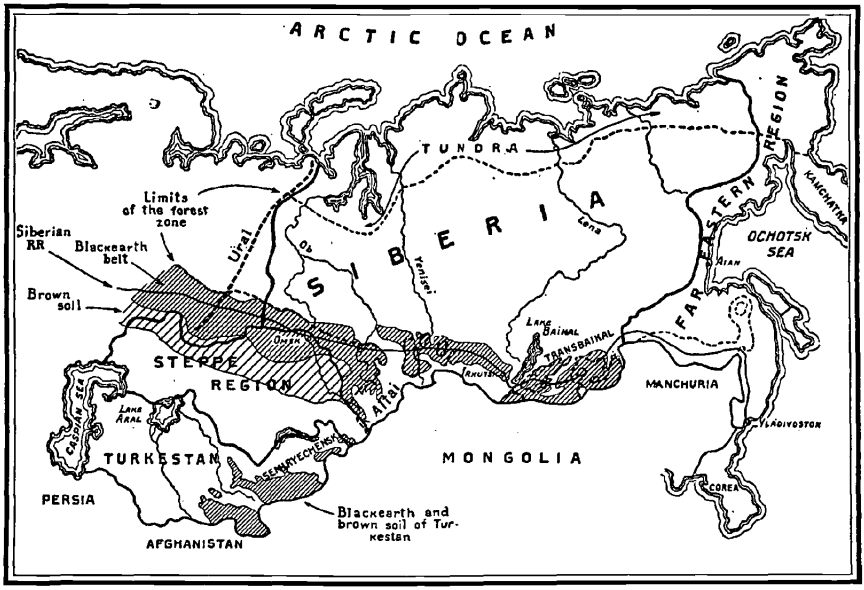
Migration Beyond the Urals.

The phrase "migration to Siberia" has often been used incorrectly in the sense of migration to any part of Asiatic Russia. Russia in Asia included not merely Siberia, but also the Steppe Region (Kirghiz Steppe south of Western Siberia; Turkestan south of the Steppe Region; and the Far East). Therefore migration into each of these regions must be considered.

The main physiographic divisions of Asiatic Russia are shown in Diagram 20, page 554.

Turkestan is a country with an ancient culture, with intensive agriculture of an eastern type based on irrigation, and with a somewhat dense population. The Steppe Region from ancient times has been traversed by nomads moving into Europe, and in recent times

Diagram 20. Physical Divisions of Asiatic Russia.



was thickly settled for a region so occupied. The Mongol herdsmen in the Trans-Baikal and the Turcoman-Tartars in western Siberia, who first resisted the conquerors from Moscow, constituted a large population.

Under these circumstances the forces of the Tsars, following the trail of the Novgorod merchants and conquerors, at the end of the fifteenth century penetrated Siberia in the extreme northwest where the Ob flows into the Arctic Ocean, and during the next two centuries gradually moved eastward towards the Pacific but almost exclusively within the northern wooded zone. The Moscow guests or merchants and the Moscow Tsars who stood behind them were attracted by the wealth of furs in the north. In that region the detachments of Moscow troops and Kossacks met least resistance. Not until the second half of the seventeenth century did the Russians move out of the woods into the park region of western Siberia and the Trans-Baikal. At the beginning of the eighteenth century they occupied the Altai, and then the northern, more fertile part of the Steppe Region. In the '50's and '60's of the nineteenth century Turkestan, in large part, and the Far East were conquered.

Thus no general migration into Asia could begin until the eighteenth century. The Moscow and St. Petersburg rulers were anxious

to send some of their subjects into the conquered regions. But after the seventeenth century opened the development of serfdom began seriously to interfere with these plans. Few settlers volunteered and so recourse was had to compulsory colonization by military settlements of Kossacks and by criminals and exiles. Moreover, many peasants fleeing from their landlords and many adherents of persecuted religious sects removed into Siberia.

In 1796-97 the population of Siberia, apparently including the settled population of the steppes, was estimated at 939,000. This included 363,000 aliens, or Siberian natives, and 576,000 newcomers from beyond the Urals with their families. There were about 36,000,000 inhabitants in all Russia. These figures (although those for Siberia are probably too low) indicate how little success had attended the colonizing activity of St. Petersburg and Moscow. Not until after the fall of serfdom, and not immediately after that, did the population of Asiatic Russia reach large proportions and it did not begin to grow rapidly—through an influx from west of the Urals—until 1897 when the Siberian railroad was opened.

The population of Asiatic Russia at several important dates, viz., at the end of the eighteenth century, the middle of the nineteenth when serfdom was abolished, the end of the nineteenth, the time of the World War, and the present, are given in Table 249.

TABLE 249.

POPULATION OF ASIATIC RUSSIA BY DISTRICTS, 1797–1926.
(In Thousands)

Year	Siberia	Far East	Steppe Region	Turkestan	Totals
About 1797	939	...	...	...	...
About 1858	2,914	22	1,295	...	...
1897	5,387	372	2,466	5,281	13,506
1915	9,409	969	4,017	7,237	21,632
1926	11,771	1,278	3,884	7,016	23,949

In 61 years (1797–1858) the population of Siberia trebled; but this was due to natural increase (about 32,400 or 1.6 per cent a year) more than to immigration. For the following 39 years it grew by 85 per cent (about 63,400 annually), and then for 18 years (1897–1915) the growth was by 68 per cent (about 223,400 annually).

During this last period the whole population of Asiatic Russia increased by 56 per cent.

The highest rate of increase was in the Far East, the region opening upon the Pacific and maritime routes of communication. Next came Siberia (especially the Altai), after it the Steppe Region (more remote from the Siberian railroad), and finally the more thickly populated Turkestan. But in the 18 years before 1915 the population of Turkestan increased by 35 per cent.

Turn now to the data about migration. In Table 250 is given the number of migrants who settled in Asia, decade by decade. Two classes, the migrant peasants and the prisoners and exiles, were registered and figures for them are given although the numbers of the latter were published only in fragmentary form. Those not registered included, besides the illegal migrants under serfdom, city dwellers and industrial workers flowing from former European into Asiatic Russia.

TABLE 250.

RUSSIAN REGISTERED MIGRANTS SETTLING IN ASIATIC RUSSIA, 1801–1914.

(In Thousands)

Period	Total Numbers			Annual Averages		
	Peasants	Prisoners and exiles	Total	Peasants	Prisoners and exiles	Total
1801–50	125[a]	250	375	3[a]	5	8
1851–60	91	100	191	9	10	19
1861–70	114	140	254	11	14	25
1871–80	68	180	248	7	18	25
1881–90	279	140	418	27	14	42
1891–1900	1,078	130	1,185	107	13	121
1901–10	2,257	25	2,282	226	2.5	228
1911–14	696	27	724	174	6.4	181
1801–60	216	350	566	4	6	9
1861–96	1,035	864	1,899	29	25	53
1897–1914	3,458	98	3,556	192	3	195
1801–1914	4,709	1,312	6,021	41	12	53

[a]Includes illegal settlers.

Between the opening of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the World War 6,021,000 migrants from European Russia settled in Asiatic Russia. The omissions from Table 250 and the unreported classes may be estimated for the nineteenth century at not more than 700,000 people, and for the whole period up to 1915

at not more than 1,200,000. The outflow of population from European into Asiatic Russia, then, may be summed up approximately as follows: From 1801 until 1900 about 3,700,000 and from 1801 until 1914 more than 7,000,000.

For the period 1828–1915 the net outflow of Russian subjects to foreign countries, as already determined, was 4,500,000. A comparison of these figures shows that the outflow eastward into Asiatic Russia was somewhat greater than the outflow to the west; before the twentieth century the former tendency dominated, but in the twentieth century the two became equal.

The migration into Asiatic Russia began to assume large proportions in the '80's, a decade later than foreign emigration. The culminating period of migration into Asia was in the first decade of the twentieth century (228,000 migrants a year); in the following decade before the beginning of the war, the movement diminished to less than four-fifths of that total.

Dividing these 114 years into three epochs, less than one-tenth of the migrants went before the liberation of the serfs (1861), more than three-tenths between that date and the opening of the Siberian railroad (1897); and about six-tenths between then and the World War. The difference is made clearer by noting that the average annual number of migrants in the second period was more than 5 times that in the first, and in the third period almost 4 times that in the second.

Table 250 (p. 556) shows, also, the significance of compulsory migration in the settlement of Siberia. Up to the '80's it supplied more than half the migrants, but from that time voluntary migration took the lead.

For the whole 114 years 1,312,000 people, or about one-fifth of the registered migrants, were prisoners or exiles.

Tendencies of migration in the different regions can be shown accurately only for peasant-migrants, 1896–1914, when the statistics were correctly registered. This is the most important period, and the peasants were a large majority of the migrants. The results appear in Table 251 (p. 558).

The main interest lies in the fluctuations. Rising to a great height before the opening of the Siberian railroad (from 1890 to 1895 the number of peasant-migrants was 408,000), the migrants went to Siberia on horseback and sometimes even on foot with their children and baggage on a wheelbarrow. The movement developed still further in the last 5 years of the twentieth century, but then the

TABLE 251.

NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PEASANT MIGRANTS, 1896–1914.
(Balance between outgoing and returning migrants).
(In Thousands)

Period	Numbers					Per Cents				
	Siberia	Far East	Steppe Country	Turkestan	Total	Siberia	Far East	Steppe Country	Turkestan	Total
1896–1900	541	23	131	1.5	696	77.7	3.3	18.8	0.2	100.0
1901–05	141	32	73	0.7	246	57.3	12.9	29.5	0.3	100.0
1906–10	1,204	213	564	30	2,011	59.9	10.6	28.0	1.5	100.0
1911–14	385	80	181	50	696	55.3	11.6	26.0	7.1	100.0
1896–1914	2,244	348	949	82	3,623	61.9	9.6	26.2	2.3	100.0

curve dropped sharply, first under the influence of crop failures in Siberia in 1901 and 1902, later as a result of disturbances in former European Russia by peasants who tried to get a better lot in their native village instead of going to the East, and finally as a result of the war in Manchuria. The peasant disturbances culminated in 1905–06 but did not result, as the peasants expected, in supplementary allotments of land. The "Stolypin Reforms" were equally unsuccessful. The result was a colossal movement to the East, beginning in 1907 and coinciding with a similar increase in the wave of peasant emigration to foreign countries mainly from western Russia. But as early as 1909 the movement began to decline more and more sharply, due to the diminution in the supply of land fit for colonization. In fact, the reserves of land in Asiatic Russia suitable for immediate settlement, without cutting off timber, building roads, drilling wells in the dry steppe, or encroaching upon the lands of the nomad herdsmen, were far from unlimited. The migration literature is full of references to the facts that land ready for settlement had become more and more scarce, that the preparatory work of the migration agents, even in allotting land to say nothing of building expensive irrigation works and other improvements, did not keep pace with the movement and that it became necessary to allot wooded land not satisfactory to migrants from the European steppes.

The figures confirm these statements. The share of Siberia in the migration declined. The share of the Far East, after the beginning of the twentieth century, remained constant. The other

regions were the Steppe Country and Semiryechensk province in Turkestan. In both, land for allotment was obtained only by reducing the possessions of the Kazacks (Kirghiz).

The rôle of the Asiatic steppe and park region in the migration is shown by Table 252, where the provinces and regions in Siberia, the Steppe Country and Turkestan, including steppe and semi-steppe districts, are separated. This table refers only to the married peasant-migrants, 1896–1914.

TABLE 252.

MIGRATION OF MARRIED PEASANTS BY DESTINATION, 1896–1914.
(In Thousands)

Destination	Number	Per Cent
Siberia:		
Tomsk and Western Altai	1,385	66
Yenesei and Eastern Altai	350	17
Tobolsk (W. Siberian parks)	256	12
Rest of Siberia	101	5
All Siberia	2,092	100
Steppe Country:		
Akmolinsk (most of black-earth)	542	59
Turgai (balance of black-earth)	210	23
Rest of Steppes	167	18
All the Steppes	919	100
Turkestan:		
Semiryechensk	59	78
Rest of Turkestan	17	22
All Turkestan	76	100

Of the migrants into Siberia, 95 per cent settled in the foothills of the Altai and in the western Siberian park region; of the migrants to the Steppe region, 82 per cent settled on or near the black-earth country; finally, of the Turkestan migrants, 78 per cent settled in Semiryechensk—in steppes and park regions adjoining the Kazack or Kirghiz country. More than nine-tenths of these migrants went to some one of the six provinces named and less than one-tenth to some one of the other eight.

Let us now ask from what Russian provinces these migrants

Diagram 21. Russian Provinces whence Emigrants went to Siberia.

came. The provinces of European Russia have been grouped (as shown in Diagram 21) into five regions: the Black-earth Central; the West, *i. e.* the "North-West" of the Hebrew Pale and the Ukrainian provinces on the right bank of the Dnieper, these and Poland being the main centers of emigration to foreign countries and the region in which the agrarian movement was predominantly a movement of agricultural laborers and not of peasants; the Southern Steppes and Caucasus, lying to the south of the Black-earth Central; the East which, like the West, had its northern and southern parts, the former wooded and the latter steppe and semi-steppe; and lastly other provinces, which include the remaining

provinces up to the White and Baltic seas, together with the industrial region around Moscow. The figures for the "other provinces" included the very small figures of migration from Poland into Asia. Such a grouping is based not only upon geographical considerations but also upon economic and agrarian differences.

TABLE 253.

PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED MIGRANTS BEYOND THE URALS BY DISTRICTS OF ORIGIN FOR QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS: 1885–1914.

Periods	Per Cent					Totals	
	Black-earth Central	West	Southern Steppes-Caucasus	East	Other Provinces	People (thousands)	Per Cent
1885–89	70	2	..	27	0.5	84	100
1890–94	78	0	0	22	..	283	100
1895–99	65	12	5	14	4	659	100
1900–1904	44	29	15	8	4	447	100
1905–09	46	25	14	9	6	1,838	100
1910–14	35	16	27	16	6	1,069	100
1885–1914	49	19	15	13	4	4,380	100

Table 253 shows that the regions just described as having the most complicated agrarian conditions with survivals from feudalism (the Black-earth Central and the West) supplied more than two-thirds of the mass of migrants, or nearly 3,000,000 people. Half of the migrants came from 11 provinces in the Black-earth Central region.

These two regions preserved their preponderance up to 1910; in the last period they contributed only about half of the migrants. But the share of the Black-earth Central in general diminished, and that of the West, which is more remote from Siberia and which at first hardly participated in the migration, increased.

The Southern Steppes also did not at first participate in the migration movement. From the middle of the '90's migration thence increased and in the twentieth century that region occupied a prominent place. The East played a considerable rôle at the beginning, when migration from the forested Northeast (mainly Vyatka Province) predominated. Later the East participated less, but at the end of the period it again increased. At this time migration from its central and southern provinces, especially Samara, Ufa and Kazan, with steppe or semi-steppe conditions, predominated.

Thus there was a considerable increase of migration from the whole steppe area, especially in the last 5 years.

The overwhelming mass, more than 80 per cent, of the migrants came from the park region and the steppes of European Russia. This helps to explain the fact that most of them settled near the southern boundary of the Siberian forests or on the Asiatic steppe. Their method of farming led them thither, and only persons who had lived in wooded districts at home could be sent into the forested regions.

What has been said in an earlier section about the causes and moving forces of emigration from the western region to foreign countries, applies also to this east-bound migration. It was not agricultural laborers but, for the most part, poor peasants with small land holdings who migrated to Asia. They could manage to pay the expenses of the trip and start farming in a new place. This class of poor peasants with small holdings also contributed most of the migrants from the Black-earth Central.

The statistics of 10 out of the 11 provinces in the Black-earth Central group reveal important differences between these provinces and those in the Western region from which emigrants went abroad. The percentage of landless workers and horseless farms is much lower. While serfdom had not left the agricultural population in these provinces without land or horses, it had left a multitude of peasants with only one horse and so little land that they were compelled to lease additional land on hard terms.

This situation is observed in regions almost devoid of woods and growing cereals under steppe or semi-steppe conditions.[1] In such a region the American farmer hitches to the plough three, four or five horses and reckons that the area of a family farm is not less than 160 acres. Two-thirds of the Russian farmers did not have more than one horse, and in from 36 to 82 per cent of all cases the leasehold did not exceed 22 acres. However, in most cases the farmer continued to be solely a farmer, not more than one-fifth having a subsidiary occupation.

Moreover, 36 to 82 per cent of the households each with less than 22 acres held from 20 to 69 per cent of the leased land. The remaining 31 to 80 per cent was in the hands of the more prosperous groups, who also owned a large part of the purchased land. The amount of leased land diminished in course of time, because the

[1]In 10 provinces of this region (omitting Penza for which there are no data) the woodland was 13 per cent of the entire area (1887). In the Central or prairie states of the United States the corresponding figure is 14 per cent.

richer peasants bought their land from the landlords and the rise of rents (which doubled between 1881 and 1901) threw a large part of the land again into the hands of the richer peasants.

The landlords did not hold so large a percentage of land in this region as they did in the western provinces. Moreover, large estates of more than 2,750 acres except in a few provinces, made up a smaller share of the whole area. Nevertheless the leasing of land played an important rôle. The official data emphasize the collective leasing by peasant communities and give the percentage relation of the improved leased land to the allotted land, and thus greatly understate the facts. The zemstvo data, although unfortunately incomplete and collected at different times, show that the leased land was 15 to 20 per cent, instead of 5 to 10 per cent, of the allotted land.

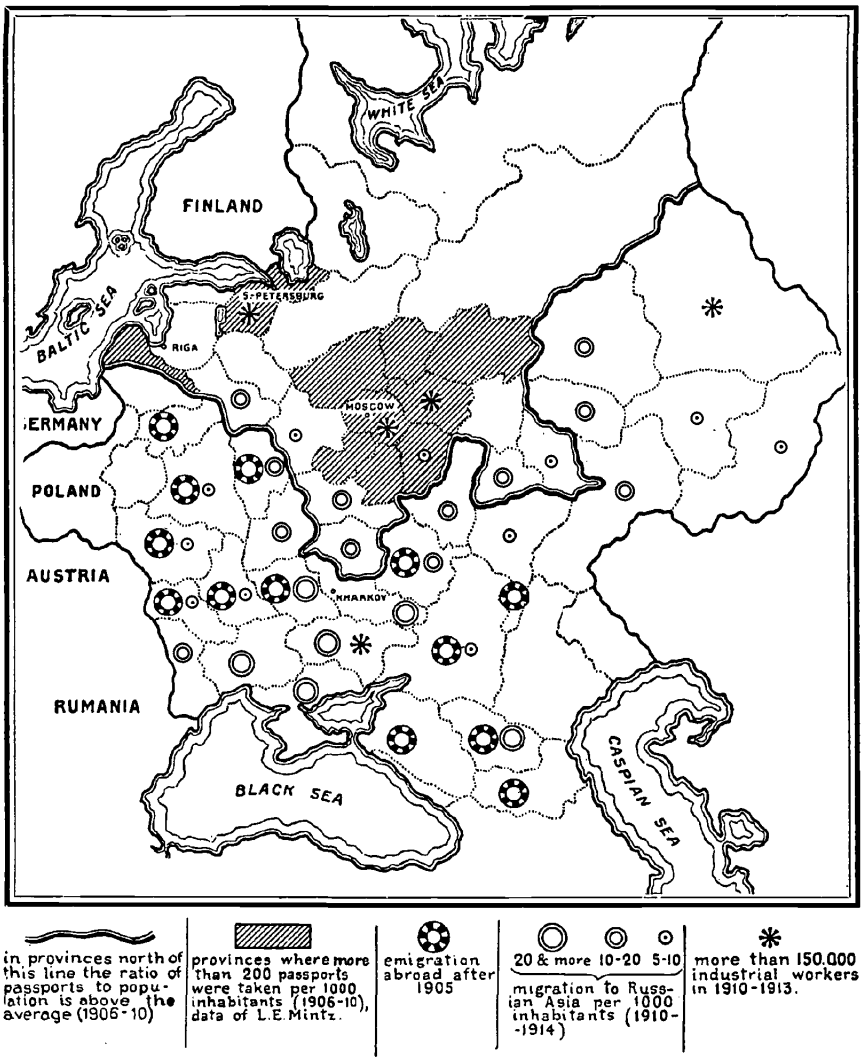
An analysis of the available data about agrarian conditions in these Black-earth Central provinces shows that a large number of peasants suffered from a shortage of land and, having no adequate supplementary earnings, faced complete destitution. This explains their impulse to migrate, especially in localities with inferior soil or affording fewer supplementary occupations. The pauperized small peasant was the nucleus of the group who left their native villages. This type of peasant went into the city or to factories or mines and became a proletarian, or if he was able to continue farming went to Siberia.

Among the migrants from these provinces only 12.5 to 31.2 per cent were peasants who at home had had allotments above or equal to the average; 58.6 to 84.9 per cent had allotments below the average; the remainder had no land at all. If we compare the percentage of landless migrants with the percentage of landless peasants in the same provinces, we find that in all the provinces the proportion of landless peasants among the migrants was greater and in most of them much greater than among the whole population. The migrants had fewer horses than the average, but in the matter of cattle the difference was specially great. In 7 out of 11 provinces the migrants had only about half (from 40 to 53 per cent) as many cattle as the average for all the peasants.

From an examination of the data by provinces we infer that the majority of the migrants belonged neither to the most prosperous nor to the most impoverished peasants, that the proportion of impoverished among the migrants was above the average, and that the peasants of the middle class who predominated in the emigration possessed a number of cattle below the average.

In view of the insufficient statistical material we are obliged to limit ourselves to a general summary of the different forms of migration during the years just before the war. This we do with the help of Diagram 22.

Diagram 22. Types of Migration from Russia just Preceding the War.



The distinctive symbols indicate the different types of migration: such as emigration to a foreign country, migration beyond the

Urals but within Russia, and migration for temporary work. The last class can be estimated only from the number of passports given to peasants; the information is inexact and does not completely separate temporary from permanent migration or industrial from agricultural movements. The industrial centers in particular have been emphasized in Diagram 22 in order to show the direction of industrial migration and the points of attraction for the neighboring population.

All the provinces which sent emigrants abroad lie outside of the group in which the number of passports issued for temporary work abroad was below the average. For the most part, emigration and migration to Asia do not occur together. In all the provinces, except Ekaterinoslav where there were centers of factory industry, there was neither emigration nor migration into Asia.

Diagram 22 thus reveals both the geographical distribution and the interdependence of the centers of migration. This interdependence is negative, amounting almost to mutual repulsion; each type of migration serves to a certain degree as a check on the other.

IMMIGRATION INTO THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

Statistical data about immigration into Russia began in 1828 when the passports of foreigners who entered the country were first registered. By subtracting the number of foreigners departing from the number arriving, the number settling in Russia may be determined. Of course the data for the earlier years are not full or exact.

Between 1828 and 1860 we find 263,000 foreigners settling in Russia, or about 8,000 a year. In the following 40 years, to the end of the nineteenth century, the difference between the arrival and departure of foreigners amounted to 2,638,000, or 66,000 a year. For the first 15 years of the twentieth century it was 1,251,000, or 83,000 a year. These figures indicate the influence exerted on immigration into Russia by the fall of serfdom and the subsequent development of Russian industry and commerce. In the 88 years 1828–1915 there were 4,152,000 foreigners settled in Russia; but only about 6.3 per cent of this number entered before the fall of serfdom. The influx of foreigners was nearly 92 per cent of the outflow of Russians which amounted to 4,509,000 during the same time. However, on comparing the figures for the three periods into which the migration data have been divided, the picture assumes the form shown by Table 254 (p. 566).

In the first and second periods immigration was more than

TABLE 254.

DEPARTURE OF RUSSIANS AND ARRIVAL OF FOREIGNERS, 1828–1915.

(In Thousands)

Movement	1828–59 (32 years)	1860–89 (30 years)	1890–1915 (26 years)
Net departures of Russians...	33	1,129	3,348
Net arrivals of foreigners.....	219	2,147	1,786

twice as great as emigration. In the third (when emigration nearly trebled and immigration declined by one-sixth) emigration jumped ahead of immigration by more than 1,500,000.

A consideration of immigration by decades, as in Table 255, reveals new characteristics.

TABLE 255.

NET IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGNERS INTO RUSSIA, 1828–1915.

(In Thousands)

Period	Across European Frontier	Across Asiatic Frontier	Totals
1828–50	50	18	68
1851–60	131	64	195
1861–70	461	72	533
1871–80	657	119	776
1881–90	766	98	864
1891–1900	243	222	465
1901–10	225	483	708
1911–15	225	318	543
Grand total,	2,758	1,394	4,152

Two-thirds of the immigrants into Russia arrived across the European frontier and nearly all had been inhabitants of European countries; one-third arrived across the Asiatic frontier, most of them having been inhabitants of Asia.

The figures for the first 22 years (1828–50) are evidently too low. It is known that 16,000 Bulgarians settled in South Russia in the '30's, yet the Turkish subjects reported as arriving in that decade were fewer than 3,000. Migration in time of war, even if officially sanctioned, probably was not registered.

In connection with the wars and frontier changes in the '50's, '60's and '70's there are other, but probably smaller, omissions. It is impossible to estimate their general sum, but it can scarcely be more than 150,000.

As early as the end of the '50's immigration considerably increased, and in the course of the next three decades it attained large proportions. During the '90's it greatly diminished, but it rose again with the beginning of the twentieth century.

The decrease in the '90's was due to the diminution of the net inflow along the European frontier. The inflow from Asia doubled, but this did not balance the loss from Europe. The growth of immigration in the twentieth century was due, primarily, to the increased immigration from Asia. True, the annual inflow from Europe, 1911–15, doubled, but even then it did not equal the inflow from Asia.

Thus the latest form of immigration into Russia was Asiatic immigration; the amount of European immigration diminished up to the twentieth century and was only partly re-established before the war. Up to the '90's Russia was an arena over which human masses moved mainly from Western into Eastern Europe; after that time a powerful current appeared, originating in the border countries of Asia and moving from east to west and from south to north.

The nationalities of the foreigners settling in Russia during these 88 years (1828–1915) is shown in Table 256 (p. 568).

The classification of these foreigners into European and Asiatic groups is in agreement with the data about arrivals across the European and Asiatic frontiers. Because Turkey before the World War had considerable possessions in Europe, part of the Turkish immigrants are added to the European group.

About 1,500,000 Germans settled in Russia, or 35 per cent of all immigrants. The majority of these, doubtless, were Germans ethnically, not Poles from German Poland. Among the 900,000 immigrants from Austria—the second largest group—Galicians, Poles and Czechs probably were most numerous. Immigrants from Germany and Austria were more than half of the whole number.

Among the immigrants from Europe the Rumanians were third, but a large part of them arrived in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, in connection with the wars of that period. Most of the Greeks also came at that period, but not the Bulgarians whose early immigration is commonly overlooked.

TABLE 256

FOREIGNERS SETTLING IN RUSSIA, BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, 1828–1915.

(In Thousands and Per Cent)

Origins	Numbers	Per Cent
European Countries:		
Germany	1,459	35.1
Austria	888	21.4
Rumania	59	1.4
England	39	0.9
France	29	0.7
Greece	24	0.6
Italy [a]	15	
Belgium [a]	12	
Bulgaria [a]	9	
Sweden [a]	9	
Denmark [a]	8	1.7 [a]
Holland [a]	7	
Switzerland [a]	–	
Other European Countries [a]	4	
Total European	*2,569*	*61.8*
Asiatic Countries:		
Persia	828	20.0
Turkey	394	9.5
China	290	7.0
Japan	17	0.4
Total Asiatic	*1,528* [b]	*36.9*
United States:	*9*	*0.2*
Other Countries:	*47*	*1.1*
Grand Total:	4,152	100.0

[a] Each less than 0.5 per cent, altogether 1.7 per cent.

[b] Including the negative balance of 1,365 persons from Khiva and Bokhara.

Much British, French and Belgian capital was invested but only a few citizens of those countries settled in Russia. The inflow of British and French in the '70's was noteworthy; during the next decade it fell off. In the '90's the inflow of British was resumed and not a few Belgians appeared. In the twentieth century the arrival of British and also of French again increased, and Belgians continued to filter in. These fluctuations corresponded with changes

in the inflow of industrial capital, bringing in its train engineers, directors and skilled workers.

The inflow from other European countries and from the United States occurred mainly in the twentieth century. But the maximum inflow from Italy was in the '90's, and the small inflow from Switzerland was distributed over almost the whole period.

Among the Asiatic immigrants, Persians stand first and almost equal the number of the Austrian group; after them follow the subjects of Turkey (Turks, Armenians and Greeks), and finally the Chinese. Japanese immigrants began to appear in the twentieth century and are not numerous. As people coming from Persia and Turkey predominated in the immigration from Asia, this inflow moved not only from east to west, but also from south to north. Table 257 shows the fluctuations in immigration by decades from the five states which have been the most important sources, contributing 93 per cent of all the immigrants.

TABLE 257.

IMMIGRATION INTO RUSSIA FROM THE FIVE LEADING COUNTRIES, BY DECADES, 1828–1915.

(In Thousands)

Decade	Germany	Austria	Persia	Turkey	China	The three Asiatic states	Germany and Austria
1828–50	24	13	15	2	....	17	37
1851–60	64	43	41	25	....	66	107
1861–70	271	146	26	60	....	86	417
1871–80	328	267	91	53	0.06	144	595
1881–90	447	287	73	33	0.2	106	734
1891–1900	78	102	173	52	6	231	180
1901–10	188	—11	194	111	152	457	177
1911–15	59	41	214	58	132	404	100

The decline in the '90's for the two leading European states was sharper than it was for the whole inflow of foreigners from Europe. In the revolutionary years 1905–1906 there was a strong return current to Austria. Immigration across the European frontier, 1911–15, equalled that in the preceding decade, while the settlement of Germans and Austrians fell off 44 per cent notwithstanding the fact that some Germans and Austrians were held as civilian prisoners.

Apparently German immigration to Russia is correlated with German immigration to America. After 1890 German immigration into the United States fell by about two-thirds, simultaneously the settlement of Germans in Russia fell by about five-sixths. The same causes probably checked migration from Germany to both countries.

Among the Asiatic countries of immigration Persia for a long time was the leader. The inflow from Turkey increased in the twentieth century. Chinese immigration, the latest of all the currents, did not appear until the twentieth century.

The regions to which immigration was directed are indicated, imperfectly, by the census of 1897 showing the geographical distribution of foreign citizens or of persons speaking foreign languages. Of 158,000 Germans by citizenship, about 3,000, and of 1,790,000 persons with German as their mother tongue only 15,000 were found in the Caucasus, Siberia or Central Asia. Of 122,000 Austrians by citizenship, only 25,000 were outside of European Russia, of 7,500 British less than 500 were outside of European Russia. This clearly indicates that European immigrants settled predominantly in European Russia.

POST-WAR AND ASIATIC MIGRATION

The beginning of the World War ended peace time migration in Russia, but developed new migrations of an extraordinary type. The civil war had even greater significance. But these abnormal changes are outside of our field.

The reported departures and arrivals of Russians and foreigners, 1913–15, are given in Table 258.

TABLE 258.

MIGRATION ACROSS RUSSIAN FRONTIERS AND NET BALANCE, 1913–15.
(In Thousands)

Year	Russians			Foreigners		
	Departed	Arrived	Difference	Departed	Arrived	Difference
1913	9,124	8,965	—159	3,899	4,085	+186
1914	5,245	4,719	—526	1,880	1,980	+100
1915	143	141	—2	231	280	+49

In 1915 normal emigration almost stopped and immigration fell off by seven-eighths. The destination of the emigrants can be judged only from the statistics of Russian immigrants into trans-

oceanic countries. Those figures show that emigration was negligible. Only 2,600 Russian immigrants settled in the United States in 1916 and 6,800 in 1917, while in the following three years Russian departures from the United States exceeded arrivals. Repatriates from Argentina also outnumbered arrivals.

With the end of the Russian civil war and blockade, and the beginning of economic reconstruction, the returns of passengers crossing the frontier were resumed. For the first three years we have only data on the number of permissions to enter or depart; from 1924 there is material also about actual departures and arrivals.

Soviet Russia, as it emerged from civil war, had different western frontiers from those of the former Empire. Not only Finland, Poland and Lithuania, but more than half of the former Volhynia Province and the western part of the former Minsk Province, were separated from the Soviet Union. Of the Hebrew population of Russia in 1897, 55 per cent resided on territory now outside of Soviet Russia. The change in political and social relations caused by the Revolution, the abolition of all discrimination against Hebrews, the liquidation of the great estates and the assignment of land to peasants cut down the number of emigrants from Soviet Russia. The changes of frontiers also created new immigration conditions, because the regions in which immigrants from Germany and Austria-Hungary had mainly settled were not included in the Soviet Union. The data are summarized in Table 259.

TABLE 259.

MOVEMENT OF SOVIET RUSSIANS ACROSS THEIR FRONTIERS, 1921–26.

	1921[a]	1922[a]	1923[a]	1924	1925[a]	1926
Permits granted for:						
Departure	4,400	10,700	50,700	53,900	44,200	27,000
Entrance	111,800	8,600	29,800	37,600	31,800	24,100
Difference	+107,400	—2,100	—20,900	—16,300	—12,400	—2,900
Crossed the frontier:						
Departing	.....	.....	.....	40,000	46,900	39,400
Arriving	.....	.....	.....	32,100	40,000	36,600
Difference	.....	.....	.....	—7,900	—6,900	—2,800

[a]Not including children.

The data regarding permits differ from those regarding crossings of the frontier because: (1) some of the permits were not used;

(2) others were used in a following year; (3) there was a small unrecorded border interchange. In general, however, the differences are not important.

The number of Soviet citizens going to and from foreign countries fell much below that in pre-war time; in 1921 arrivals greatly outnumbered departures owing to the return of former prisoners of war and emigrants. In 1922 this wave fell off and the general movement decreased. But with 1923 it increased again because of the development of foreign trade and the improvement of relations with a number of states. In 1926 there was a further decrease because official travelers abroad were fewer and the passport charges were increased.

The social composition of the emigrants of Russian nationality doubtless changed greatly. Agricultural and industrial laborers, and poor peasants were replaced by the more prosperous layers of the rural population and to some degree by residents of the cities.

TABLE 260.

MOVEMENT OF FOREIGNERS ACROSS SOVIET FRONTIERS, 1921–26.

	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Permits granted for:						
Departure.....	159,200	312,800	25,100	30,800	24,900	28,800
Entrance.....	200	4,000	18,600	31,400	38,400	60,400
Difference....	—159,000	—308,800	—6,500	+600	+13,500	+31,600
Crossed the frontier:						
Departing.....	.....	.....	.....	32,300	36,800	41,200
Arriving.....	.....	.....	.....	25,800	40,500	56,200
Difference....	.....	.....	.....	—6,400	+3,700	+15,000

Let us turn now to the data about immigration into Soviet Russia, or rather about the movement of foreign citizens across the frontier. For the years 1921–26 they were as given in Table 260. The picture is in some respects analogous to the movement of Soviet subjects. In 1921 and 1922 departures were more numerous, former Austrian and German war prisoners doubtless participating to a great extent. "Optants", *i. e.* persons desiring to assume citizenship in one of the new states organized from former Russia, also shared in this movement and after the famine of 1921 many foreign settlers in Russia, becoming disheartened by the economic

TABLE 261.

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES OF FOREIGNERS AND NET BALANCE BY COUNTRIES, 1924–1926.

Country of Citizenship	Arrivals	Departures	Increase (+) or Decrease (—).
Germany	9,545	8,349	+1,196
Austria	1,335	1,154	+181
Czechoslovakia	3,265	2,270	+995
Hungary	385	629	—244
Sub-total	14,530	12,402	+2,128
England	1,947	2,012	—65
France	981	1,115	—134
Italy	763	893	—130
Sub-total	3,691	4,020	—329
Latvia	7,193	8,800	—1,607
Poland	3,484	7,508	—4,024
Esthonia	4,164	3,744	+420
Lithuania	1,613	1,270	+343
Finland	2,592	2,609	—17
Sub-total	19,046	23,931	—4,885
Greece	216	10,235	—10,019
Other European states	3,695	3,557	+138
Europe (total)	*41,178*	*54,145*	*—12,967*
China	47,596	12,942	+34,654
Persia	20,922	28,918	—7,996
Turkey	5,868	6,842	—974
Japan	2,519	2,581	—62
Afganistan	1,924	1,935	—11
Other Asiatic States	447	830	—383
Asia (total)	*79,276*	*54,048*	*+25,228*
United States	1,498	1,604	—106
Other American States	436	324	+112
America (total)	*1,934*	*1,928*	*+6*
Australia	*28*	*1*	*+27*
Africa	*14*	*8*	*+6*
Grand Total	122,430	110,130	+12,300

breakdown, departed. In 1923 the number of departures greatly diminished and that of arrivals increased.

For 1921–23 there are no data about foreigners classified by citizenship, but for 1924–26 there is such a classification on which Table 261 (p. 573) is based.

Citizens of Asiatic countries formed 65 per cent of the arrivals and 49 per cent of the departures. The corresponding percentages for Europeans are 34 and 49.

The enumeration of foreigners at the Russian census of 1926 gives a check upon the passport registrations; the results are compared in Table 262 with those at the census of 1897 for the present territory of Soviet Russia.

TABLE 262.

FOREIGNERS WITHIN THE PRESENT LIMITS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 1897 AND 1926.

Census	Germany	Austria-Hungary	England	France	Italy	Greece	Others	Europe
1897	64,700	35,900	7,500	7,900	4,900	10,800	13,100	144,500
1926	8,000	12,500 [a]	500	700	1,300	46,000	8,700	77,700
Census	China	Korea	Persia	Turkey	Japan	Asiatic States	All Others	Total
1897	47,600	12,900	73,800	119,100	2,600	256,000	3,000	403,500
1926	81,800	84,000	93,300	25,900	1,300	285,300	7,700	370,700

[a] Including: Austria 7,100, Czechoslovakia 3,500, Hungary 1,900.

The number of foreigners in Soviet Russia in 1926 was 8 per cent less than in 1897; but the number of Europeans was less by almost one-half, and now is 21 per cent instead of 36 per cent of the total. The number of Asiatics remained almost unchanged. The number of Germans and of citizens of the former Austria-Hungary decreased greatly, but they still outnumber the citizens of other states of western Europe. Notwithstanding the considerable outflow of Greeks, there are now in Soviet Russia many more Greeks than there were in 1897. Among the Asiatic states the considerable inflow from China and Korea balances the loss of Turks.

In general, immigration into Soviet Russia is reviving. But with the difficult conditions of travel across the western frontier and the impaired business connections with Europe Asiatic immigration has become more important.

The war also checked internal migration beyond the Urals. Peasant-settlers moved into Asiatic Russia, as follows:

1913	*1914*	*1915*	*1916*	*1917*
234,000	242,000	28,000	11,000	6,000

In 1915 the movement fell to less than one-eighth of its former size; in 1916 and 1917 it was smaller yet. The greatest burdens of the war and the revolution fell on the peasant population of the Black-earth Central, which supplied men and food for the Red Armies and was directly under the harrow of military operations. As a result, many peasants migrated after the end of the civil war, for although the free land of western Siberia and the Kazack steppe had been almost exhausted, some homesteads could still be allotted there and more in central Siberia and the Far East.

The data about peasant-settlers for the years following 1917 are given in Table 263.

TABLE 263.

PEASANT-SETTLERS IN SIBERIA AND THE FAR EAST, 1918–27.
(In Thousands)

Year	Number	Year	Number
1918	64	1923	3
1919	no record	1924	13
1920	85	1925	94
1921	71	1926	81
1922	7	1927	74
		Total,	492

For the early years the figures are too low, as many settlers did not register. There was first a rise in the normal and registered cases of migration, followed for three years by a sharp fall, and finally by a new rise but to a point below the pre-war level.

If peasant delegates not included in the preceding tables are added, it appears that after the end of the war more than 500,000 settlers in Asia were registered and less than 100,000 returned. It is impossible to say how many migrants were unregistered, but certainly not fewer than the registered.

Whence came these migrants? Table 264 gives the answer.

TABLE 264.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS FROM EUROPEAN INTO ASIATIC RUSSIA, BY DISTRICT OF ORIGIN, 1918–26.

District of Origin	1918	1920	1921	1925	1926
West	3	..	..	8	19
Black-earth Central	40	80	71	76	53
Southern Steppes	..	..	..	9	8
East	32	1	10	4	12
Other provinces	25	19	19	3	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100

A reply to the further question regarding where the migration goes, is furnished by Table 265.

TABLE 265.

NUMBER OF MIGRANTS FROM EUROPEAN INTO ASIATIC RUSSIA, AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY DISTRICT OF SETTLEMENT, 1918–27.

District of Settlement	1918	1920	1921	1925	1926	1927
Siberia	80	70	75	69	74	62
Far East	1	..	1	5	14	28
Steppe Region and Turkestan	19	30	24	26	12	10
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of persons	64,000	84,000	71,000	94,000	81,000	74,000

The flow to the Far East steadily increased.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The general conclusions to be drawn from the preceding exposition may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) In the nineteenth century, especially after 1860, and in the twentieth century up to the World War waves of long-distance migration appeared in Russia. More than 4,500,000 people left Russia during the 88 years 1828-1915. The American continent received about 3,000,000 after 1860. Most of the others went to

Europe and Asia, the latter probably receiving more. During the same period about 4,200,000 foreigners settled in Russia, so that the inflow almost equalled the outflow. Two-thirds of the inflow came from Europe, mainly Germany and Austria, and one-third from the border countries of Asia, especially Persia, Turkey and China. Immigrants generally settled in localities near the regions from which they started. Only a few European immigrants went to Asiatic Russia.

Finally, from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the war, there was a movement within Russia from Europe into Asia of more than 7,000,000 people, of whom 4,700,000 were peasant-settlers and 1,300,000 prisoners and exiles. These migrants settled predominantly in Siberia (62 per cent of the peasant-migrants for the years 1896–1914 and a large part of the prisoners and exiles), in the Steppe Country 26 per cent, in the Far East 10 per cent, and in Turkestan 2 per cent.

Not less than 16,000,000 people took part in these migrations.

(2) Emigrants from Russia to America may be thus classified by linguistic strains: Hebrews, 44 per cent; Poles, 25 per cent; Russians (Ukrainians, White Russians, Great Russians) Lithuanians, Finns and Germans, each between 6 and 9 per cent. The absolute and relative number of Russian emigrants increased considerably about 1907. Most of the Hebrews were poor city people—artisans, day-laborers and petty traders. Among the other groups the agriculturists predominated. Only among the Germans and, before 1907, the Russians was there a large element of prosperous peasants. Among all the others, including the Russians after 1906, agricultural laborers, poor peasants and small tenants predominated. With the exception of Hebrews and Germans, most of those who went abroad went at first for temporary work. Among the Hebrew and probably among German emigrants the percentage of women was close to normal; among the others male workers predominated.

The social composition of the immigrants into Russia varied with the country of origin. Among the Germans the middle occupational classes prevailed: independent peasant-proprietors, artisans, traders, commercial agents. The Austro-Hungarians were chiefly agricultural laborers and very poor peasants. The Turks were of the same classes (except for Turkish Greeks and Armenians, among whom were many traders and small employers). Among the Chinese and Persians unskilled workers predominated, but there were not a few petty traders and artisans. The immigration from

Europe had a normal or almost normal percentage of females, whereas that from Asia had very few.

Most of the migrants to Asia were small peasant-proprietors, but poorer than the average small Russian peasant.

(3) The trends in migration were as follows: Emigration constantly increased. The periods when sharp rises of the movement were observed are the decades beginning with 1860 and 1890. After 1906 the Ukrainian and White Russian village poor were drawn into the emigration movement, a fact which explains the increase in the emigration of Russians.

For immigration, which also increased after the '60's, the '90's were a period of decrease as a result of the fall in German and especially in Austrian immigration. The growing Asiatic immigration, especially that from China, did not offset this reduction.

The '60's and especially the '90's were periods of pronounced increase in internal migration; but in the years just preceding the war this movement, which had risen in 1908 and 1909, considerably diminished.

(4) The emigration movement was determined by the economic and social conditions in which the particular population group was placed. The emigration of the Hebrews was due to the intolerable economic position of Hebrew artisans and small traders, confined to the cities and villages of the Pale and forced into fierce competition among themselves and with the rest of the city population, to the many restrictions imposed upon them and to the constant menace of the pogroms.

The Finnish, Polish, Lithuanian, White Russian and Ukrainian agricultural laborers and poor peasants emigrated under the pressure of low wages and a burdensome social position resulting from their deprivation of land in favor of the big landlords or of their prosperous neighbors. An "agrarian question" of the type observed in the western part of European Russia was the basic cause of this emigration.

An agrarian question of another type was the basic cause of the migration into Asia, which went predominantly from the agricultural center of the country. There a number of feudal remnants survived, including a mass of small peasants with an altogether inadequate amount of land and usually only one horse per family, forced renting of land paid for either by labor or high money payments, heavy taxes not covered by income from farming, a growing social differentiation among the peasants and subjection of the poor to the

landlords and their rich neighbors. These survivals aggravated and deformed the growing capitalistic relations.

The immediate causes for the several currents of immigration into Russia were diverse, but they all sprang from the development of big industry, commerce and credit, which increased international trade. This growth attracted some groups of the population into less developed countries (Germany to Russia) for the purpose of investing capital, earning profits or receiving higher wages for skilled labor. Other groups moved into a more developed country (*e.g.* Persia to Russia) where the wages of unskilled labor and the earnings of the small artisan were higher. This basic cause also operated on Russian overseas emigration.

(5) The development of big industry and trade in Russia along side of these feudal remnants stimulated emigration and internal migration. But it opened the way for the disintegration of Russia, the break-up of the old régime and of the whole pre-revolutionary economic structure. At the same time the conditions on which long-distance migration depended radically changed.

Russia's loss of the territories which had been the residence of all Finnish, Polish and Lithuanian emigrants, of half the Hebrew emigrants and of part of the Ukrainian and White Russian emigrants, greatly diminished emigration from that country. The elimination of the Pale, the full equality granted to Hebrews, the allotment of land to landless peasants and the revolution in the economic and social position of agricultural laborers were powerful factors contributing to the same result.

Several states recently organized from the western part of the former Empire separate Soviet Russia from the sources of its earlier immigration. The blockade of Soviet Russia, 1918–20, and its aftermath have also impeded immigration from Europe.

The agrarian revolution, the transfer of landlords' estates to peasants and the equalization of the peasants' allotments have weakened but not destroyed the impulse to internal migration.

(6) The migration current died with the beginning of the World War. It increased slightly in the first year of revolution (1917) then it slackened until the end of the civil war and blockade. The repatriation movement was greater after 1917 and reached its maximum in 1921 with the return of the prisoners. Emigration revived in 1922, but to only one-tenth of its pre-war volume. It sank again almost to zero in 1926.

The emigrants, 1922–25, were Hebrews who had left under pressure of the economic crisis in the Pale, not offset by the distribution of the Hebrews throughout the country and the improvement in their general position. German colonists and a few prosperous Russian peasants also participated.

Immigration into Russia over the European frontiers probably stopped and over the Asiatic frontier decreased during the war. Civil war and intervention also interrupted it. In 1921-22 the outflow of foreigners exceeded the inflow because war prisoners and optants were departing, there was a famine in the Volga region and the outlook was gloomy. Conditions changed in 1924 and in 1925-26 the influx, although only a fraction of the pre-war figure, exceeded the outflow.

The internal migration beyond the Urals—also stopped by the World War—flared up again in 1918 and then fell off for several years. These migrants are mainly middle-class peasants from the Black-earth Central and adjoining localities. They go increasingly to the Far East. This has become a normal process of colonization; territory on the outskirts of the country is brought into cultivation and at the same time peasant farms in old settled regions are improved and those regions drained of their surplus population.

(7) Emigration from Soviet Russia is not likely to be heavy. The villages are overpopulated but the superfluous labor flows thence into the cities. This rural overpopulation cannot be immediately corrected by the development of industry and agriculture. But the work is being pushed, and the improvement of agriculture is helped by the efforts of the peasants whose social consciousness and cultural level have greatly risen. The overwhelming mass of the peasants prefer to improve their condition within the country by employing its resources rather than to emigrate.

There are prospects for foreign immigration, not only of the Asiatic but also of the European type, inasmuch as the industrialization of the country attracts skilled workers, foreign specialists and the like. If foreign concessions are developed they also will increase immigration. Internal peasant migration beyond the Urals will continue within its present limits, but become more and more a link in Russia's agricultural and industrial development and contribute to the settlement of her frontier.