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REPORTS OF THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION

EMIGRATION CONDITIONS IN
EUROPE



PRESENTED BY MR. DILLINGHAM

DECEMBER 5, 1910.—Referred to the Committee on Immigration
and ordered to be printed, with illustrations

WASHINGTON
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1911

THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION.

Senator WILLIAM P. DILLINGHAM, <i>Chairman.</i>	Representative BENJAMIN F. HOWELL. Representative WILLIAM S. BENNET. Representative JOHN L. BURNETT. Mr. CHARLES P. NEILL. Mr. JEREMIAH W. JENKS. Mr. WILLIAM R. WHEELER.
Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE.	
Senator ASBURY C. LATIMER. ^a	
Senator ANSELM J. McLAURIN. ^b	
Senator LE ROY PERCY. ^c	

Secretaries:

MORTON E. CRANE. W. W. HUSBAND.
C. S. ATKINSON.

Chief Statistician:

FRED C. CROXTON.

Extract from act of Congress of February 20, 1907, creating and defining the duties of the Immigration Commission.

That a commission is hereby created, consisting of three Senators, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and three Members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and three persons to be appointed by the President of the United States. Said commission shall make full inquiry, examination, and investigation, by subcommittee or otherwise, into the subject of immigration. For the purpose of said inquiry, examination, and investigation said commission is authorized to send for persons and papers, make all necessary travel, either in the United States or any foreign country, and, through the chairman of the commission, or any member thereof, to administer oaths and to examine witnesses and papers respecting all matters pertaining to the subject, and to employ necessary clerical and other assistance. Said commission shall report to Congress the conclusions reached by it, and make such recommendations as in its judgment may seem proper. Such sums of money as may be necessary for the said inquiry, examination, and investigation are hereby appropriated and authorized to be paid out of the "immigrant fund" on the certificate of the chairman of said commission, including all expenses of the commissioners, and a reasonable compensation, to be fixed by the President of the United States, for those members of the commission who are not Members of Congress; * * *

^a Died February 20, 1908.

^b Appointed to succeed Mr. Latimer, February 25, 1908. Died December 22, 1909.

^c Appointed to succeed Mr. McLaurin, March 16, 1910.

LIST OF REPORTS OF THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION.

- Volumes 1 and 2. Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission, with Conclusions and Recommendations and Views of the Minority. (These volumes include the Commission's complete reports on the following subjects: Immigration Conditions in Hawaii; Immigration and Insanity; Immigrants in Charity Hospitals; Alien Seamen and Stowaways; Contract Labor and Induced and Assisted Immigration; The Greek Padrone System in the United States; Peonage.) (S. Doc. No. 747, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 3. Statistical Review of Immigration, 1819-1910—Distribution of Immigrants, 1850-1900. (S. Doc. No. 756, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 4. Emigration Conditions in Europe. (S. Doc. No. 748, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 5. Dictionary of Races or Peoples. (S. Doc. No. 662, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volumes 6 and 7. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 1, Bituminous Coal Mining. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 8 and 9. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 2, Iron and Steel Manufacturing. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 10. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 3, Cotton Goods Manufacturing in the North Atlantic States—Pt. 4, Woolen and Worsted Goods Manufacturing. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 11. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 5, Silk Goods Manufacturing and Dyeing—Pt. 6, Clothing Manufacturing—Pt. 7, Collar, Cuff, and Shirt Manufacturing. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 12. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 8, Leather Manufacturing—Pt. 9, Boot and Shoe Manufacturing—Pt. 10, Glove Manufacturing. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 13. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 11, Slaughtering and Meat Packing. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 14. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 12, Glass Manufacturing—Pt. 13, Agricultural Implement and Vehicle Manufacturing. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 15. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 14, Cigar and Tobacco Manufacturing—Pt. 15, Furniture Manufacturing—Pt. 16, Sugar Refining. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 16. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 17, Copper Mining and Smelting—Pt. 18, Iron Ore Mining—Pt. 19, Anthracite Coal Mining—Pt. 20, Oil Refining. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 17. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 21, Diversified Industries, Vol. I. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 18. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 21, Diversified Industries, Vol. II—Pt. 22, The Floating Immigrant Labor Supply. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 19 and 20. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 23, Summary Report on Immigrants in Manufacturing and Mining. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 21 and 22. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 24, Recent Immigrants in Agriculture. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 23-25. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 25, Japanese and Other Immigrant Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 26 and 27. Immigrants in Cities. (S. Doc. No. 338, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 28. Occupations of the First and Second Generations of Immigrants in the United States—Fecundity of Immigrant Women. (S. Doc. No. 282, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 29-33. The Children of Immigrants in Schools. (S. Doc. No. 749, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volumes 34 and 35. Immigrants as Charity Seekers. (S. Doc. No. 665, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 36. Immigration and Crime. (S. Doc. No. 750, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 37. Steerage Conditions—Importation and Harboring of Women for Immoral Purposes—Immigrant Homes and Aid Societies—Immigrant Banks. (S. Doc. No. 753, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 38. Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants. (S. Doc. No. 208, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 39. Federal Immigration Legislation—Digest of Immigration Decisions—Steerage Legislation, 1819-1908—State Immigration and Alien Laws. (S. Doc. No. 758, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 40. The Immigration Situation in Other Countries: Canada—Australia—New Zealand—Argentina—Brazil. (S. Doc. No. 761, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 41. Statements and Recommendations Submitted by Societies and Organizations Interested in the Subject of Immigration. (S. Doc. No. 764, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 42. Index of Reports of the Immigration Commission. (S. Doc. No. 785, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., December 5, 1910.

To the Sixty-first Congress:

I have the honor to transmit herewith, on behalf of the Immigration Commission, a report entitled "Emigration Conditions in Europe."

Respectfully,

WILLIAM P. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman.

IV

CONTENTS.

PART I.—GENERAL SURVEY OF EMIGRATION CONDITIONS.

	Page.
CHAPTER I.—Introductory:	
Scope of the inquiry.....	3
Statistical review of European immigration, 1819-1910.....	5
Old and new European immigration.....	12
Chart showing European immigration to the United States in each fiscal year 1882 to 1907, inclusive, by class.....	18
Attitude of European countries toward emigration.....	19
CHAPTER II.—Character of European immigration:	
Sex.....	22
Age.....	24
Occupations.....	26
Literacy.....	29
Literacy in Europe.....	31
Money shown by immigrants.....	35
CHAPTER III.—Permanent and temporary emigration:	
Extent and character of the return movement.....	41
Third-class passenger movement, 1899-1909.....	42
Sex and age of emigrant aliens.....	44
Length of residence in the United States.....	45
Occupations of emigrant aliens.....	47
Destination of emigrant aliens.....	49
Permanence of the return movement.....	51
Effects of the return movement in Europe.....	52
CHAPTER IV.—Causes of emigration from Europe:	
Primary causes—	
Economic conditions in Europe.....	53
Wages in European countries.....	54
Cost of living in Europe.....	55
Desire for better conditions.....	56
Political and religious causes.....	56
Contributory causes—	
Letters from friends in the United States.....	57
Influence of returned emigrants.....	58
Mutual savings societies.....	58
Joining friends in the United States.....	59
Contracts to labor in the United States.....	60
Assistance of friends.....	61
Steamship ticket agents.....	61
Assisted emigration.....	64
Jewish emigration societies.....	65
Emigration of criminals.....	67
CHAPTER V.—Inspection of emigrants abroad:	
Effect of United States immigration laws.....	69
Immigrants rejected at United States ports.....	71
The United States quarantine law.....	75
Inspection of emigrants in Europe.....	76
Inspection at ports and control stations—	
Antwerp.....	80
British ports.....	82
Glasgow.....	84
Liverpool.....	85
Londonderry.....	88
Queenstown.....	88
Southampton.....	89
Cherbourg.....	90
Christiania.....	91

CHAPTER V.—Inspection of emigrants abroad—Continued.	Page.
Inspection at ports and control stations—Continued.	
Copenhagen.....	92
Fiume.....	92
German control stations and ports.....	93
Control stations.....	93
Bremen.....	97
Hamburg.....	99
Havre.....	102
Libau.....	104
Marseille.....	105
Patras.....	107
Piræus.....	109
Rotterdam.....	109
Trieste.....	111
Italian ports.....	113
Naples.....	115
Messina.....	117
Palermo.....	118
Genoa.....	120
Summary.....	120
Number of emigrants rejected.....	121
Causes of rejections.....	124
Inspection abroad by American officials.....	125
Opinions of American officials.....	129

PART II.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN ITALY.

CHAPTER I.—Immigration to the United States from Italy:	
Immigration by years, 1820 to 1910.....	137
Immigration by sex and decades, 1871 to 1910.....	138
Italian and other European immigration.....	138
Italians in the United States, 1850 to 1900.....	139
Homogeneity of Italian immigration.....	141
Italian emigration to other countries.....	142
Destination of trans-Atlantic emigration.....	145
CHAPTER II.—Italy's attitude toward emigration:	
The Italian emigration law.....	147
Warning against labor contracts.....	149
CHAPTER III.—Causes of emigration from Italy:	
Density of population.....	151
Wealth and its distribution.....	151
The agricultural situation.....	153
Southern Italy.....	153
Northern Italy.....	155
Agricultural wages.....	156
Allowances.....	156
Official wage statistics.....	157
Cash incomes of farm laborers.....	158
Hours of labor.....	159
Women and child labor.....	160
Agricultural unions.....	160
Housing conditions.....	161
Distance from work.....	162
Methods of cultivation.....	162
Cost of living.....	163
Farm wages and emigration.....	163
The industrial situation.....	164
Employees in industrial establishments.....	166
Industrial development.....	168
Mines.....	168
Quarries.....	168
Furnace and kilns.....	168
Chemical factories.....	168
Paper mills.....	168
Silk mills.....	168
Cotton factories.....	169
Linen, hemp, and mixed stuffs—factories.....	169

	Page.
CHAPTER III.—Causes of emigration from Italy—Continued.	
The industrial situation—Continued.	
Industrial wages and hours of labor.....	170
Mines.....	170
Quarries.....	170
Printing and binding.....	171
Foundries and machine shops.....	171
Chemical factories.....	171
Building trades.....	171
Brass workers and founders.....	171
Paper mills.....	171
Woodworkers.....	172
Furniture factory.....	172
Silk mills.....	172
Woolen factories.....	172
Cotton mills.....	172
Linen and hemp mills.....	173
Female textile workers.....	173
Skilled mechanics in cities.....	173
Common unskilled labor.....	173
Living conditions.....	174
Labor unions and strikes.....	174
Industry and emigration.....	174
CHAPTER IV.—Character of Italian immigration:	
North and South Italians.....	177
Sex.....	178
Age.....	178
Occupations of Italian immigrants.....	178
Physical condition.....	179
General—	
Opinion of Dr. Allan J. McLaughlin.....	181
Opinion of Rev. N. Walling Clark.....	182
Character of Sicilian immigration.....	183
CHAPTER V.—Illiteracy in Italy:	
Illiterates in the general population.....	185
School attendance.....	187
Movement to reduce illiteracy.....	188
Illiteracy among conscripts.....	188
Marriage records.....	190
Illiteracy among Italian immigrants.....	190
Effects of educational test.....	192
CHAPTER VI.—Crime in Italy:	
Character and number of crimes reported, 1880-1906.....	195
Murder and homicide.....	204
Other crimes and offenses.....	206
CHAPTER VII.—Emigration of the criminal classes:	
Effect on emigration.....	210
Passports denied to criminals.....	210
Decree governing issuance of passports.....	211
Instructions to officers issuing passports.....	213
Statement of Egisto Rossi.....	214
Alleged violations of the passport law.....	216
Evasions of the passport law.....	218
CHAPTER VIII.—The effect of emigration on Italy:	
Wages and labor supply.....	222
Loss to proprietors.....	225
Land and rent.....	226
Usury.....	227
Exportation of products.....	227
Morality.....	227
Living conditions.....	228
Returning emigrants.....	228
Causes of the return movement.....	230
Effects of the return movement.....	231
Disease.....	234

PART III.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN RUSSIA.

	Page.
CHAPTER I.—Immigration to the United States from Russia:	
Immigration by years, 1820 to 1910.....	239
Immigration by sex and decades, 1871 to 1910.....	240
Russian and other European immigration.....	241
Natives of Russia in the United States, 1850 to 1900.....	242
CHAPTER II.—The agrarian question—Migration to Siberia:	
The agrarian question in Russia.....	245
Migration to Siberia.....	249
CHAPTER III.—Russia's attitude toward emigration:	
Russian law and emigration.....	251
CHAPTER IV.—Causes of emigration from Russia:	
Causes of peasant emigration.....	265
The large agricultural population.....	266
Unequal distribution of the population.....	267
Distribution of ownership of land.....	267
Land holdings of peasants.....	268
Antiquated system of agriculture.....	269
Wages of agricultural laborers.....	270
Causes of the Hebrew emigration.....	271
Emigration as a result of the legal situation of the Jews in Russia.....	272
Restriction in habitation.....	276
Restrictions on occupation.....	276
Restrictions in education.....	277
Isolation from local self-governing bodies.....	277
Economic condition of the Jews in Russia.....	281
Introduction.....	281
Jewish population.....	281
Occupations.....	289
Agriculture—	
Agricultural colonies.....	294
Truck farming.....	300
Independent farming.....	301
Artisans—	
Number of workers.....	302
Women and children in the hand trades.....	304
Marketing of the products.....	305
Conditions of work.....	306
Wages and earnings.....	307
Organizations of artisans.....	309
Unskilled laborers.....	310
Manufacturing industry—	
Jewish branches of industry.....	313
Jewish industries in Poland.....	315
Jewish activity in the textile industry.....	316
Factory labor.....	316
Female and child labor in the factories.....	320
Wages of factory workers.....	320
Labor organizations.....	321
Commercial pursuits.....	324
Professional service.....	330
Pauperism and charity—	
Pauperism.....	332
Charitable institutions.....	334
CHAPTER V.—Character of Russian immigration:	
Russia's population.....	337
Races entering the United States.....	337
Rate of immigration among various races.....	339
Sex of immigrants.....	340
Occupations of immigrants.....	341
Illiteracy in Russia—	
Educational opportunities.....	342
Illiteracy among immigrants from Russia.....	347

PART IV.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

	Page.
CHAPTER I.—Immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary:	
Immigration by years, 1820–1910.....	351
Immigration by sex and decades, 1871–1910.....	352
Austro-Hungarian and other European immigration.....	352
Emigration from Austria-Hungary.....	353
Natives of Austria-Hungary in the United States, 1850 to 1900.....	354
CHAPTER II.—Attitude of Austria and Hungary toward emigration:	
Austria.....	357
Hungary.....	357
CHAPTER III.—Causes of emigration from Austria-Hungary:	
The agricultural situation—	
Austria.....	362
Hungary.....	364
Methods of cultivation.....	365
The industrial situation—	
Austria.....	365
Size of industrial establishments.....	367
Hungary.....	367
Industrial wages.....	368
Hours of labor.....	368
Contributory causes of emigration.....	369
Standard of living.....	370
CHAPTER IV.—Character of Austro-Hungarian immigration:	
Ethnical elements in the population.....	371
Racial composition of immigration from Austria-Hungary.....	372
Sex of immigrants.....	375
Occupations of immigrants.....	376
Illiteracy in Austria-Hungary.....	377
Austria.....	377
Illiteracy among immigrants from Austria-Hungary.....	379
Causes of illiteracy.....	380
Hungary.....	382
Illiteracy and race.....	383
Elementary schools.....	383
CHAPTER V.—Effect of emigration on Austria-Hungary:	
Economic effects.....	385
Effect on morality.....	387
Living conditions.....	387
Effect on character.....	388

PART V.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN GREECE.

CHAPTER I.—Immigration to the United States from Greece:	
Immigration by years, 1820–1910.....	391
Immigration by sex and decades, 1871–1910.....	392
Immigration from Greece and other European immigration.....	393
Natives of Greece in the United States, 1850 to 1900.....	393
Other emigration from Greece.....	395
CHAPTER II.—Attitude of the Government toward emigration.....	397
CHAPTER III.—Causes of emigration from Greece:	
The agricultural situation.....	401
Methods of cultivation.....	402
Wages of agricultural laborers.....	402
The industrial situation.....	403
Industrial wages.....	403
Living conditions.....	404
CHAPTER IV.—Character of emigration from Greece:	
Racial composition of the population.....	407
Homogeneity of the immigration from Greece.....	407
Occupations of immigrants.....	408

CHAPTER V.—The effect of emigration on Greece:	Page.
Effect on population.....	411
Economic effects.....	412
Social effects.....	414
Returning emigrants.....	414
List of tables.....	417-424

PART I.—GENERAL SURVEY OF EMIGRATION CONDITIONS.

PART I.—GENERAL SURVEY OF EMIGRATION CONDITIONS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY.

In the summer of 1907 Commissioners Dillingham (chairman), Latimer, Howell, Bennet, Burnett, and Wheeler visited Europe for the purpose of making a general survey of emigration causes and conditions in countries which are the chief sources of the present immigration to the United States. The Commissioners sailed from Boston May 18 for Naples and, with the exception of Mr. Wheeler who conducted supplemental investigations for about two months, reached New York on the return voyage September 6.

The Commission landed at Naples May 30 and immediately proceeded to an investigation of conditions surrounding emigration from Italy to the United States. Naples being the chief port of embarkation for Italian emigrants, several days were spent in studying the system of handling and examining emigrants in operations there. On June 5 Commissioners Latimer, Bennet, and Burnett went to southern Italy and Sicily, where emigration conditions were studied at the ports of Messina and Palermo, and at several interior cities and villages which are centers of territory contributing largely to the Italian emigration movement. So far as time permitted the Commissioners visited country districts and the homes of the peasantry, which class furnishes the greater part of Italian emigration. While the above-named gentlemen were in southern Italy, Commissioners Dillingham, Howell, and Wheeler, representing the Senate, House of Representatives, and the noncongressional groups composing the Commission, proceeded to Rome to officially visit and confer with emigration and other officials of the Italian Government. These Commissioners later returned to Naples for further conferences with American consular officers and other officials and again went to Rome to join Commissioners Latimer, Bennet, and Burnett on their return from southern Italy. All members of the committee assembled in Rome on June 17, and on June 18 a meeting was held to perfect plans for continuing the investigation in other parts of Europe. At this time subcommittees were appointed, and the territory to be covered was assigned as follows: Austria, Hungary, and Russia, Commissioners Dillingham and Wheeler; northern Italy, France, and Germany, including ports of embarkation and the German control stations, Commissioners Latimer and Burnett; Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and the Balkan States, Commissioners Howell and Bennet.

Mr. Howell was later assigned to the subcommittee having charge of the inquiry in northern Italy, France, and Germany, and their territory was increased to include England, Ireland, and Scotland. By the terms of the resolution adopted for carrying on the work as above indicated each subcommittee was responsible for the investigation in the territory assigned. No further meeting of the Commission was held until August 18, in London.

In the meantime the various subcommittees visited practically every part of Europe from which immigrants come to the United States. In addition to the itinerary outlined above, Commissioner Bennet spent some time in the interior of Russia, while Commissioner Wheeler visited Finland, Sweden, Denmark, and the ports of Hamburg, Bremen, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Antwerp, and after the return of the other members of the Commission continued the investigation in Great Britain, Russia, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries.

The general plan of the Commission, which was also followed by the various subcommittees, included a study of the causes of emigration, natural and artificial; classes emigrating and the character of emigrants; the attitude of European governments toward emigration; the effects of emigration on various European countries; emigration control and the inspection of emigrants abroad; the emigration of criminals and other classes debarred by the United States immigration law, and the effect of that law on European emigration.

The capital of each country, the principal ports at which emigrants for the United States embark, and, wherever feasible, the chief emigrant-furnishing districts, were visited. Much of the time available was necessarily given to consultation with officials of the various countries included in the inquiry and with American diplomatic and consular officers and others acquainted with the emigration situation in Europe. In the course of the investigation the Commissioners prepared memoranda covering all phases of the question in countries visited. Whenever deemed necessary hearings were resorted to; interviews were recorded in detail or in substance; considerable carefully prepared information, with expressions of opinion by government officials and others, was secured, and a large number of official and other documents and exhibits were collected. All of this material was carefully considered in the preparation of detailed reports upon the various topics presented herewith.

In addition to data secured by the Commission there was made available, by courtesy of the Bureau of Immigration, a digest of unpublished reports by Robert Watchorn, then commissioner of immigration at New York; Dr. George W. Stoner, surgeon, Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, in charge of medical examination of immigrants at New York; T. V. Powderly, now Chief of the Division of Information, Bureau of Immigration; and Philip Cowan, Roman Dobler, Samuel A. Eppler, Charles Sempsey, and John J. D. Trenor, immigrant inspectors, who visited Europe in 1906 to investigate various phases of emigration and immigration, and this information has been freely used and duly accredited. Immediately following the Commission's visit to Italy, the Royal Italian Agricultural Commission investigated emigration conditions in Basilicata and Calabria, and the report resulting from this inquiry was placed at the disposal

of the Immigration Commission by the Italian authorities. This report has been largely used in discussing conditions in Italy. Published data, chiefly official, statistical, and other reports of foreign countries, and in some cases unofficial publications, when considered entirely reliable, have been employed in the preparation of the report. This course was adopted because of the desire of the Commission that the study of the questions involved be as complete and exhaustive as was possible.

The report is divided into two parts, the first being a discussion of recent European immigration to the United States and the more general features of the emigration situation in Europe, as a whole, while the second part deals with emigration from and emigration conditions in Italy, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Greece, which countries have been the source of much of the recent immigration to the United States. It is the purpose of the report to show, as briefly as may be practicable, the character of the present movement of population from Europe to the United States, the causes of the movement, and other matters necessary to an understanding of the situation.

STATISTICAL REVIEW OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION, 1819-1910.

The act of March 2, 1819, entitled "An act regulating passenger ships and vessels," contained a provision to the effect that the captain or master of any ship bringing passengers from a foreign port to the United States should deliver to the proper official at the port of arrival a list or manifest stating the age, sex, occupation, country of origin, and country of intended future residence of each passenger. This provision of the law became effective July 1, 1819, and official immigration statistics date from that time. During the period between the last-mentioned date and June 30, 1910, a total of 27,918,992 immigrants were admitted to the United States. Of this number 25,421,929, or 92.3 per cent, of all immigrants for whom country of origin was reported came from Europe.

The yearly movement of population from the various countries of Europe during the entire period is shown by the following table:

TABLE 1.—*European immigration to the United States, by country of origin, for years ending June 30, 1820 to 1910.*^a

[Compiled from official sources. For 1820 to 1867 the figures are for alien passengers arriving; for 1868 they are for immigrants arriving. The years from 1820 to 1831 and from 1844 to 1849, inclusive, are those ending September 30; 1833 to 1842 and 1851 to 1867, inclusive, those ending December 31.]

Country.	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828
Europe:									
Austria-Hungary.....									
Belgium.....	1	2	10	2	1	1	2	7	2
Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro.....									
Denmark.....	20	12	18	6	11	14	10	15	50
France, including Corsica.....	371	370	351	460	377	515	545	1,280	2,843
German Empire.....	968	383	148	183	230	450	511	432	1,851
Greece.....					5		4		7
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia.....	30	63	35	33	45	75	57	35	34
Netherlands.....	49	56	51	19	40	37	176	245	263
Norway ^b	3	12	10	1	9	4	16	13	10
Poland.....	5	1	3	3	4	1		1	1
Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands.....	35	18	28	24	13	13	16	7	14
Roumania.....									
Russian Empire.....	14	7	10	7	7	10	4	19	7
Spain, including Canary and Balearic Islands.....	139	191	152	220	359	273	436	414	209
Sweden ^c									
Switzerland.....	31	93	110	47	253	166	245	297	1,592
Turkey in Europe.....	1		4	2	2		2	1	6
United Kingdom—									
England.....	1,782	1,036	856	851	713	1,002	1,459	2,521	2,735
Ireland.....	3,614	1,518	2,267	1,908	2,345	4,888	5,408	9,766	12,488
Scotland.....	268	293	198	180	257	113	230	460	1,041
Wales.....		11	13	69	33	11	6		17
Not specified.....	360	1,870	154		261	969	624	1,205	1,559
Other Europe ^d				1		1			
Total Europe.....	7,691	5,936	4,418	4,016	4,965	8,543	9,751	16,719	24,729

^a For detailed statistics concerning immigration to the United States from all sources see *Statistica⁴ Review of Immigration, 1819-1910*. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 3. (S. Doc. No. 756, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)

^b Including Sweden.

^c Included in Norway.

^d Malta.

Emigration Conditions in Europe.

7

TABLE 1.—*European immigration to the United States, by country of origin, for years ending June 30, 1820 to 1910—Continued.*

Country.	1829	1830	1831	1832 ^a	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837
Europe:									
Austria-Hungary.....									
Belgium.....			1			3	1		
Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro.....									
Denmark.....	17	16	23	21	173	24	37	416	109
France, including Corsica.....	582	1,174	2,038	5,361	4,682	2,989	2,696	4,443	5,074
German Empire.....	597	1,976	2,413	10,194	6,988	17,686	8,311	20,707	23,740
Greece.....	1	3		1	1		7	28	5
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia.....	23	9	28	3	1,699	105	60	115	96
Netherlands.....	169	22	175	205	39	87	124	301	312
Norway.....	13	3	13	313	16	42	31	57	290
Poland.....		2		34	1	54	54	53	81
Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands.....	9	3		5	633	44	29	29	34
Roumania.....	1	3	1	52	159	15	9	2	19
Russian Empire.....									
Spain, including Canary and Balearic Islands.....	202	21	37	106	516	107	183	180	230
Sweden.....			63	129	634	1,389	548	445	383
Turkey in Europe.....	1	2			1	1		3	
United Kingdom—									
England.....	2,149	733	251	944	2,966	1,129	468	420	896
Ireland.....	7,415	2,721	5,772	12,436	8,648	24,474	20,927	30,578	28,508
Scotland.....	111	29	226	158	1,921	110	63	106	14
Wales.....	3	7	131		29	1	16	2	6
Not specified.....	916	384	1,867	4,229		9,250	8,423	12,578	11,302
Other Europe.....				2	5			2	
Total Europe.....	12,523	7,217	13,039	34,193	29,111	57,510	41,987	70,465	71,039

Country.	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843 ^b	1844	1845	1846
Europe:									
Austria-Hungary.....									
Belgium.....	14	1	2	106	44	135	165	541	43
Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro.....									
Denmark.....	52	56	152	31	35	29	25	54	114
France, including Corsica.....	3,675	7,198	7,419	5,006	4,504	3,346	3,155	7,663	10,583
German Empire.....	11,683	21,028	29,704	15,291	20,370	14,441	20,731	34,355	57,561
Greece.....	4		3		1	4	3	2	3
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia.....	86	84	37	179	100	117	141	137	151
Netherlands.....	27	85	57	214	330	330	184	791	979
Norway.....	60	324	55	195	553	1,748	1,311	928	1,916
Poland.....	41	46	5	15	10	17	36	6	4
Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands.....	24	19	12	7	15	32	16	14	2
Roumania.....									
Russian Empire.....	13	7		174	28	6	13	1	248
Spain, including Canary and Balearic Islands.....	202	428	136	215	122	145	270	304	73
Sweden.....									
Switzerland.....	123	607	500	751	483	553	839	471	698
Turkey in Europe.....		1	1	6	2	5	10	3	4
United Kingdom—									
England.....	157	62	318	147	1,743	3,517	1,357	1,710	2,854
Ireland.....	12,645	23,963	39,430	37,772	51,342	19,670	33,490	44,821	51,752
Scotland.....	48		21	35	24	41	23	368	305
Wales.....				55	38		3	11	147
Not specified.....	5,215	10,209	2,274	15,951	20,200	4,872	12,970	17,121	18,874
Other Europe.....	1	30		66	1	5	3		4
Total.....	34,070	64,148	80,126	76,216	99,945	49,013	74,745	109,301	146,315

^a Fifteen months ending Dec. 31.

^b Nine months ending Sept. 30.

TABLE 1.—European immigration to the United States, by country of origin, for years ending June 30, 1820 to 1910—Continued.

Country.	1847	1848	1849	1850 ^a	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855
Europe:									
Austria-Hungary.....									
Belgium.....	1,473	897	590	1,080		8	87	266	1,506
Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro.....									
Denmark.....	13	210	8	20	14	3	32	691	528
France, including Corsica.....	20,040	7,743	5,841	9,381	20,126	6,763	10,770	13,317	6,044
German Empire.....	74,281	58,465	60,235	78,896	72,482	145,918	141,946	215,009	71,918
Greece.....		1		2		10	12	1	
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia.....	164	241	209	431	447	351	555	1,263	1,052
Netherlands.....	2,631	918	1,190	684	352	1,719	600	1,534	2,588
Norway.....	1,307	903	3,473	1,569	2,424	4,103	3,364	3,531	821
Poland.....	8		4	5	10	110	33	208	462
Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands.....	5	67	26	366	50	68	95	72	205
Roumania.....									
Russian Empire.....	5	1	44	31	1	2	3	2	13
Spain, including Canary and Balearic Islands.....	158	164	329	429	435	391	1,091	1,433	951
Sweden.....									
Switzerland.....	192	319	13	325	427	2,788	2,748	7,953	4,433
Turkey in Europe.....	2	3	9	15	2	3	15	7	9
United Kingdom—									
England.....	3,476	4,455	6,036	6,797	5,306	30,007	28,867	48,901	38,871
Ireland.....	105,536	112,934	159,398	164,004	221,253	159,548	162,649	101,606	49,627
Scotland.....	337	659	1,060	860	966	8,148	6,006	4,605	5,275
Wales.....	145	348	272	242	211	741	222	816	1,176
Not specified.....	19,344	29,697	47,764	43,186	45,004	1,803	2,481	4,325	2,250
Other Europe.....								2	
Total Europe.....	229,117	218,025	286,501	308,323	369,510	362,484	361,576	405,542	187,729
Europe:									
Austria-Hungary.....							51	111	85
Belgium.....	1,982	627	184	25	53	153	169	301	389
Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro.....									
Denmark.....	173	1,035	232	499	542	234	1,658	1,492	712
France, including Corsica.....	7,246	2,397	3,155	2,579	3,961	2,326	3,142	1,838	3,128
German Empire.....	71,028	91,781	45,310	41,784	54,491	31,661	27,529	33,162	57,276
Greece.....	2	4		1	1	1	5	4	5
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia.....	1,365	1,007	1,240	932	1,019	811	566	547	600
Netherlands.....	1,395	1,775	185	290	351	283	432	416	708
Norway.....	1,157	1,712	2,430	1,091	298	616	892	1,627	2,249
Poland.....	20	124	9	106	82	48	63	94	165
Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands.....	128	92	177	46	122	47	72	86	240
Roumania.....									
Russian Empire.....	9	25	246	91	65	34	79	77	256
Spain, including Canary and Balearic Islands.....	786	714	1,282	1,283	932	448	345	500	917
Sweden.....									
Switzerland.....	1,780	2,080	1,056	833	913	1,007	643	690	1,396
Turkey in Europe.....	5	11	17	10	4	5	11	16	11
United Kingdom—									
England.....	25,904	27,804	14,638	13,826	13,001	8,970	10,947	24,065	26,096
Ireland.....	54,349	54,361	26,873	35,216	48,637	23,797	23,351	55,916	63,523
Scotland.....	3,297	4,182	1,946	2,293	1,613	767	657	1,940	3,476
Wales.....	1,126	769	316	332	610	461	536	705	628
Not specified.....	14,331	25,724	12,056	9,712	14,513	9,477	12,499	40,172	23,228
Other Europe.....			2		1	3			
Total Europe.....	186,083	216,224	111,354	110,949	141,209	81,200	83,710	163,733	185,233

^a Fifteen months ending Dec. 31.

TABLE 1.—European immigration to the United States, by country of origin, for years ending June 30, 1820 to 1910—Continued.

Country.	1865	1866	1867	1868 ^a	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873
Europe:									
Austria-Hungary.....	422	93	692	192	1,499	4,425	4,887	4,410	7,112
Belgium.....	741	1,254	789	14	1,922	1,002	774	738	1,176
Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro.....									
Denmark.....	1,149	1,802	1,436	819	3,649	4,083	2,015	3,690	4,931
France, including Corsica.....	3,583	6,855	5,237	1,989	3,880	4,009	3,138	9,317	14,798
German Empire.....	83,424	115,892	133,426	55,831	131,042	118,225	82,554	141,109	149,671
Greece.....	7	10	10		8	22	11	12	23
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia.....	924	1,382	1,624	891	1,489	2,891	2,816	4,190	8,757
Netherlands.....	779	1,716	2,223	845	1,134	1,066	993	1,909	3,811
Norway.....	6,109	12,633	7,055	11,166	16,068	13,216	9,418	11,421	16,247
Poland.....	528	412	310		184	223	535	1,647	3,338
Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands.....	365	344	126	174	507	697	887	1,306	1,185
Roumania.....									
Russian Empire.....	183	287	205	141	343	907	673	1,018	1,634
Spain, including Canary and Balearic Islands.....	692	718	904	384	1,123	663	558	595	541
Sweden.....					24,224	13,443	10,699	13,404	14,303
Switzerland.....	2,889	3,823	4,168	1,945	3,650	3,075	2,269	3,650	3,107
Turkey in Europe.....	14	18	26	4	18	6	23	20	53
United Kingdom—									
England.....	15,038	3,559	36,972	(b)	35,673	60,957	56,530	69,764	74,801
Ireland.....	29,772	36,630	72,879	32,068	40,786	56,996	57,439	68,732	77,344
Scotland.....	3,037	1,038	7,582	(b)	7,751	12,521	11,984	13,916	13,841
Wales.....	146	23	143	(b)	660	1,011	899	1,214	840
Not specified.....	64,244	90,304	7,944	24,127	40,353	29,216	16,042	18	18
Other Europe.....	2	3					1	15	10
Total Europe.....	214,048	278,916	283,751	130,090	315,963	328,654	265,145	352,155	397,541
<hr/>									
Country.	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882
Europe:									
Austria-Hungary.....	8,850	7,658	6,276	5,396	5,150	5,963	17,267	27,935	29,150
Belgium.....	817	615	515	488	354	512	1,232	1,766	1,431
Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro.....									
Denmark.....	3,082	2,656	1,547	1,695	2,105	3,474	6,576	9,117	11,618
France, including Corsica.....	9,644	8,321	8,004	5,856	4,159	4,655	4,314	5,227	6,004
German Empire.....	87,291	47,769	31,937	29,298	29,313	34,602	84,633	210,485	250,630
Greece.....	36	25	19	24	16	21	23	19	126
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia.....	7,666	3,631	3,015	3,195	4,344	5,791	12,354	15,401	32,159
Netherlands.....	2,444	1,237	855	591	608	753	3,340	8,597	9,517
Norway.....	10,384	5,993	5,173	4,588	4,759	7,345	19,895	22,705	29,101
Poland.....	1,795	984	925	533	547	489	2,177	5,614	4,672
Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands.....	1,611	1,939	1,277	2,363	1,332	1,374	808	1,215	1,436
Roumania.....							11	30	65
Russian Empire.....	4,073	7,997	4,775	6,599	3,048	4,453	5,014	5,041	16,918
Spain, including Canary and Balearic Islands.....	485	601	518	665	457	457	389	484	378
Sweden.....	5,712	5,573	5,603	4,991	5,390	11,001	39,186	49,760	64,607
Switzerland.....	3,093	1,814	1,549	1,686	1,808	3,161	6,156	11,293	10,844
Turkey in Europe.....	62	27	38	32	29	29	24	72	69
United Kingdom—									
England.....	50,905	40,130	24,373	19,161	18,405	24,183	59,454	65,177	82,394
Ireland.....	53,707	37,957	19,575	14,569	15,932	20,013	71,603	72,342	76,432
Scotland.....	10,429	7,310	4,582	4,135	3,502	5,225	12,640	15,168	18,937
Wales.....	665	449	324	281	243	543	1,173	1,027	1,656
Not specified.....	22	16	4	4	4	4	6	4	4
Other Europe.....	10	259	28	45	111	211	411	66	38
Total Europe.....	262,783	182,961	120,920	106,195	101,612	134,259	348,691	528,545	648,186

^a Six months ending June 30.

^b Included in United Kingdom not specified.

TABLE 1.—*European immigration to the United States, by country of origin, for years ending June 30, 1820 to 1910—Continued.*

Country.	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891
Europe:									
Austria-Hungary.....	27,625	36,571	27,309	28,680	40,265	45,811	34,174	56,199	71,042
Belgium.....	1,450	1,576	1,653	1,300	2,553	3,215	2,562	2,671	3,037
Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro.....									
Denmark.....	10,319	9,202	6,100	6,225	8,524	8,982	8,699	9,366	10,659
France, including Corsica.....	4,821	3,608	3,495	3,318	5,034	6,454	5,918	6,585	6,770
German Empire.....	194,786	179,076	124,443	84,403	106,865	109,717	99,538	92,427	113,554
Greece.....	73	37	172	104	313	782	158	524	1,105
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia.....	31,792	16,510	13,642	21,315	47,622	51,558	25,307	52,003	76,055
Netherlands.....	5,249	4,198	2,689	2,314	4,506	5,845	6,460	4,326	5,206
Norway.....	23,398	16,974	12,356	12,759	16,269	18,264	13,390	11,370	12,568
Poland.....	2,011	4,536	3,085	3,939	6,128	5,826	4,922	11,073	27,497
Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands.....	1,573	1,927	2,024	1,194	1,360	1,625	2,024	2,600	2,999
Roumania.....	77	238	803	494	2,045	1,186	893	517	957
Russian Empire.....	9,909	12,689	17,158	17,800	30,766	33,487	33,916	35,598	47,426
Spain, including Canary and Balearic Islands.....	262	300	350	344	436	526	526	813	905
Sweden.....	38,277	26,552	22,248	27,751	42,896	54,698	35,415	29,632	36,880
Switzerland.....	12,751	9,386	5,895	4,805	5,214	7,737	7,070	6,993	6,811
Turkey in Europe.....	86	150	138	176	206	207	252	206	265
United Kingdom—									
England.....	63,140	55,918	47,332	49,767	72,855	82,574	68,503	57,020	53,600
Ireland.....	81,486	63,344	51,795	49,619	68,370	73,513	65,557	53,024	55,706
Scotland.....	11,859	9,060	9,226	12,126	18,699	24,457	18,296	12,041	12,557
Wales.....	1,597	901	1,127	1,027	1,820	1,664	1,181	650	424
Not specified.....	10	71	28	9	4	7	12	19	24
Other Europe.....	36	262	15	60	139	26	17	23	38
Total Europe.....	522,587	453,686	353,083	329,529	482,829	538,131	434,790	445,680	546,085
Europe:									
Austria-Hungary.....	76,937	57,420	38,638	33,401	65,103	33,031	39,797	62,491	114,847
Belgium.....	4,026	3,324	1,709	1,058	1,261	760	695	1,101	1,196
Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro.....								52	108
Denmark.....	10,125	7,720	5,003	3,910	3,167	2,085	1,946	2,690	2,926
France, including Corsica.....	4,678	3,621	3,080	2,628	2,463	2,107	1,990	1,694	1,739
German Empire.....	119,189	78,756	53,989	32,173	31,885	22,533	17,111	17,476	18,507
Greece.....	660	1,072	1,356	597	2,175	571	2,339	2,333	3,771
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia.....	61,631	72,145	42,977	35,427	68,060	59,431	58,613	77,419	100,135
Netherlands.....	6,141	6,199	1,820	1,388	1,583	890	767	1,029	1,735
Norway.....	14,325	15,515	9,111	7,580	8,855	5,842	4,938	6,705	9,575
Poland.....	40,536	16,374	1,941	791	691	4,165	4,726	(a)	(c)
Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands.....	3,400	4,631	2,196	1,452	2,766	1,874	1,717	2,054	4,234
Roumania.....			729	523	785	791	900	1,606	6,459
Russian Empire.....	81,511	42,310	39,278	35,907	51,435	25,816	29,828	60,982	90,787
Spain, including Canary and Balearic Islands.....	4,078	206	925	501	351	448	577	385	355
Sweden.....	41,845	35,710	18,286	15,361	21,177	13,162	12,398	12,797	18,650
Switzerland.....	6,886	4,744	2,905	2,239	2,304	1,566	1,246	1,326	1,152
Turkey in Europe.....	1,331	625	298	245	169	152	176	80	285
United Kingdom—									
England.....	34,309	27,931	17,747	23,443	19,492	9,974	9,877	(b)	9,951
Ireland.....	7,177	43,578	30,231	46,304	40,262	28,421	25,128	(b)	35,730
Scotland.....	51,383	6,215	3,772	3,788	3,483	1,833	1,797	(b)	1,792
Wales.....	729	1,043	1,001	1,602	1,581	870	1,219	(b)	764
Not specified.....					9	25	1	45,123	
Other Europe.....			60	24				6	2
Total Europe.....	570,876	429,139	277,052	250,342	329,057	216,397	217,786	297,349	424,700

(a) Included under Austria-Hungary, German Empire, and Russian Empire.

(b) Not reported separately. Included in total for United Kingdom not specified.

TABLE 1.—European immigration to the United States, by country of origin, for years ending June 30, 1820 to 1910—Continued.

Country.	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Europe:						
Austria-Hungary.....	113,390	171,989	206,011	177,156	275,693	265,138
Belgium.....	1,579	2,577	3,450	3,976	5,302	5,099
Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro.....	657	851	1,781	1,325	2,043	4,666
Denmark.....	3,655	5,660	7,158	8,525	8,970	7,741
France, including Corsica.....	3,150	3,117	5,578	9,406	10,168	9,336
German Empire.....	21,651	28,304	40,088	46,380	40,574	37,564
Greece.....	5,910	8,104	14,090	11,343	10,515	19,489
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia.....	135,996	178,375	230,622	193,296	221,479	273,120
Netherlands.....	2,349	2,284	3,998	4,916	4,954	4,946
Norway.....	12,248	17,484	24,461	23,808	25,064	21,730
Poland.....	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands.....	4,165	5,307	9,317	6,715	5,028	8,517
Roumania.....	7,155	7,196	9,310	7,087	4,437	4,476
Russian Empire.....	85,257	107,347	136,093	145,141	184,897	215,665
Spain, including Canary and Balearic Islands.....	592	975	2,080	3,996	2,600	1,921
Sweden.....	23,331	30,894	46,028	27,763	26,891	23,310
Switzerland.....	2,201	2,344	3,983	5,023	4,269	3,846
Turkey in Europe.....	387	187	1,529	4,344	4,542	9,510
United Kingdom—						
England.....	12,214	13,575	26,219	38,626	64,709	49,491
Ireland.....	30,561	29,138	35,310	36,142	52,945	34,995
Scotland.....	2,070	2,560	6,143	11,092	16,977	15,866
Wales.....	701	763	1,275	1,730	2,503	1,841
Not specified.....				143		
Other Europe.....	18	37	5		13	48
Total Europe.....	469,237	619,068	814,507	767,933	974,273	1,018,365

Country.	1907	1908	1909	1910	1820 to 1910.
Europe:					
Austria-Hungary.....	338,452	168,509	170,191	258,737	3,172,461
Belgium.....	6,396	4,162	3,692	5,402	103,796
Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro.....	11,359	10,827	1,054	4,737	39,440
Denmark.....	7,243	4,954	4,395	6,984	258,053
France, including Corsica.....	9,731	8,788	6,672	7,383	470,868
German Empire.....	37,807	32,309	25,540	31,283	5,351,746
Greece.....	36,580	21,489	14,111	25,888	186,204
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia.....	285,731	128,503	183,218	215,537	3,086,356
Netherlands.....	6,637	5,946	4,698	7,534	175,943
Norway.....	22,133	12,412	13,627	17,538	b 665,189
Poland.....	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	c 165,182
Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands.....	9,608	7,307	4,956	8,229	132,989
Roumania.....	4,384	5,228	1,590	2,145	72,117
Russian Empire.....	258,943	156,711	120,460	186,792	2,359,048
Spain, including Canary and Balearic Islands.....	5,784	3,899	2,616	3,472	69,296
Sweden.....	20,589	12,809	14,474	23,745	d 1,021,165
Switzerland.....	3,748	3,281	2,694	3,533	237,401
Turkey in Europe.....	20,767	11,290	9,015	18,405	85,800
United Kingdom—					
England.....	56,637	47,031	32,809	46,706	2,212,071
Ireland.....	34,530	30,556	25,033	29,855	4,212,169
Scotland.....	19,740	13,506	12,400	20,115	488,749
Wales.....	2,660	2,287	1,584	2,120	59,540
Not specified.....					793,801
Other Europe.....	107	97	46	151	2,545
Total Europe.....	1,199,566	691,901	654,875	926,291	25,421,929

a Included under Austria-Hungary, German Empire, and Russian Empire.

b Including natives of Sweden who arrived 1820 to 1868.

c Not including natives of Poland who arrived 1899 to 1910 and were included under Austria-Hungary, German Empire, and Russian Empire.

d Not including natives of Sweden who arrived 1820 to 1868 and were included under Norway.

It will be seen from the foregoing table that during the ninety-one years considered the United Kingdom furnished more immigrants than any of the continental countries, and that Ireland led England by approximately 2,000,000. Germany, although leading every single country, stands second to the United Kingdom as a source of immigration, while Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia follow in the order named.

OLD AND NEW EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION.

The movement from the three countries last named is almost entirely a development of the past thirty years, during which time the source of the principal European immigration to the United States shifted from northern and western Europe to the southern and eastern countries. In studying the emigration situation in Europe the Commission was not unmindful of the fact that the widespread apprehension in the United States relative to immigration is chiefly due to this change in the character of the movement of population from Europe in recent years. Because of this, European immigration, for the purposes of this report, is divided into two general classes, which for convenience of reference may be designated as the old and the new immigration. The former class includes immigrants from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland, which countries from 1819 to 1880 furnished more than 95 per cent of the movement of population from Europe to the United States. The latter class, or new immigration, includes immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Montenegro, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Servia, Spain, and Turkey, which countries in the decade 1901-1910 furnished about 77 per cent of the total number of European immigrants admitted to the United States.

The number and per cent of immigrants from the two sections of Europe described, and from all other sources, in each year from 1820 to 1910, and by decades during that period, are shown in the two tables which follow:

TABLE 2.—Immigration to the United States from northern and western Europe, southern and eastern Europe, and other countries, 1820 to 1910. [Compiled from official sources. For 1820 to 1867 the figures are for alien passengers arriving; for 1868 to 1903, for immigrants arriving; for 1904 to 1906, for aliens admitted; and for 1907 to 1910, for immigrant aliens admitted.]

Year.	Total number of immigrants.	Number from—				Per cent <i>a</i> from—			
		Europe. <i>b</i>			Other specified countries.	Europe. <i>b</i>			Other specified countries.
		Northern and western. <i>c</i>	Southern and eastern. <i>d</i>	Total.		Northern and western. <i>c</i>	Southern and eastern. <i>d</i>	Total.	
1820.	8,385	7,467	224	7,691	393	201	92.4	2.8	95.1
1821.	9,127	5,696	280	5,976	305	2,890	87.6	4.5	92.1
1822.	6,911	4,186	252	4,438	309	2,154	87.3	4.8	92.1
1823.	6,354	3,726	280	4,006	362	1,682	84.7	6.0	90.7
1824.	7,912	4,550	455	5,005	580	2,887	82.0	7.9	89.9
1825.	10,199	8,170	373	8,543	845	806	87.2	4.0	91.2
1826.	10,837	9,252	519	9,771	582	1,294	83.9	4.8	88.7
1827.	18,875	16,241	478	16,719	2,069	2,571	77.1	1.9	79.0
1828.	27,882	24,461	278	24,739	2,302	6,695	77.4	1.5	78.9
1829.	22,520	12,256	237	12,493	2,308	15,807	75.4	.4	75.8
1830.	23,322	12,973	43	13,016	2,577	7,397	85.7	.4	86.1
1831.	22,653	12,973	66	13,039	2,577	7,397	85.7	.4	86.1
1832.	60,482	33,990	606	34,596	2,586	23,342	80.6	9.2	89.8
1833.	58,940	56,096	389	56,485	2,788	26,243	81.6	.8	82.4
1834.	65,365	47,184	326	47,510	5,069	5,069	94.6	.8	95.4
1835.	45,374	41,645	372	42,017	3,343	4,046	92.9	.5	93.4
1836.	76,242	70,083	412	70,495	3,641	4,660	92.9	.5	93.4
1837.	79,940	73,684	371	74,055	3,061	1,840	93.9	1.0	94.9
1838.	38,914	33,699	311	34,010	3,697	1,803	93.7	.9	94.6
1839.	68,069	59,583	104	60,114	3,822	1,138	92.5	.8	93.3
1840.	84,006	79,952	662	80,614	3,446	624	94.5	.8	95.3
1841.	80,289	76,894	462	77,356	4,004	610	95.0	.9	95.9
1842.	104,965	98,666	379	99,045	2,871	612	92.8	.6	93.4
1843.	52,496	48,682	279	49,011	2,760	110	92.6	.6	93.2
1844.	78,615	74,253	462	74,715	5,045	23	95.2	.4	95.6
1845.	114,871	108,854	467	109,321	5,045	23	95.2	.4	95.6

a Based on number reporting country of origin.

b Including Turkey in Asia.

c Northern and western Europe comprises Belgium, Denmark, France (including Corsica), German Empire, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom (England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales), and United Kingdom not specified. In this group are included also the 2,545 persons tabulated in Table 1, p. 11, as from "other Europe."

d Southern and eastern Europe comprises Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, Greece, Italy (including Sicily and Sardinia), Poland, Portugal (including Cape Verde and Azores Islands), Roumania, Russian Empire (including Finland), Spain (including Canary and Balearic Islands), Turkey in Europe, and Turkey in Asia.

e Fifteen months ending December 31.

f Nine months ending September 30.

TABLE 2.—Immigration to the United States from northern and western Europe, southern and eastern Europe, and other countries, 1820 to 1910—Continued.

Year.	Total number of immigrants.	Number from—				Per cent ^c from—			
		Europe. ^b			Other specified countries.	Europe. ^b			Other specified countries.
		Northern and western. ^c	Southern and eastern. ^d	Total.		Northern western. ^c	Southern and eastern. ^d	Total.	
1846.	154,416	145,826	489	146,315	2,564	96.0	0.3	96.4	3.6
1847.	234,968	228,775	342	229,117	5,537	97.6	1.1	97.8	2.2
1848.	226,527	217,548	477	218,025	5,243	96.2	2.2	96.5	3.5
1849.	297,024	285,880	621	286,501	8,007	96.8	2.0	97.0	3.0
1850 ^e .	369,980	307,044	1,279	308,323	1,605	94.8	4.4	95.1	4.9
1851.	379,466	368,565	945	369,510	38,882	97.2	2.2	97.4	2.6
1852.	371,603	361,549	985	362,484	7,908	97.7	3.3	97.9	2.1
1853.	368,645	359,772	1,804	361,576	6,085	97.9	5.5	98.3	1.7
1854.	427,833	402,554	2,988	405,542	21,633	94.2	7.7	94.9	5.1
1855.	200,877	185,087	2,692	187,729	12,814	92.3	1.3	93.6	6.4
1856.	200,436	183,768	2,315	186,083	13,811	91.9	1.2	93.1	6.9
1857.	251,306	214,247	1,977	216,224	10,971	93.6	9.9	94.4	5.6
1858.	123,126	108,381	2,973	111,354	22,301	88.6	2.4	91.0	7.5
1859.	163,640	138,983	2,469	141,452	1,395	90.5	2.1	92.5	7.5
1860.	91,918	79,752	1,448	81,200	11,945	90.7	1.5	92.2	7.8
1862.	91,985	82,465	1,255	83,710	8,871	90.1	1.6	88.7	11.3
1863.	176,282	162,324	1,409	163,733	448	92.7	1.4	93.5	8.6
1864.	193,418	182,809	2,424	185,233	1,183	94.8	1.3	95.5	6.5
1865.	248,120	210,911	3,137	214,048	3,559	94.8	1.3	95.3	4.0
1866.	318,568	278,649	3,267	281,916	8,298	87.9	1.0	89.3	10.7
1867.	315,722	279,854	3,897	283,751	3,626	87.5	1.2	88.6	11.4
1868.	138,840	128,304	1,786	130,090	3,270	89.6	1.2	90.8	9.2
1869.	352,768	310,792	5,173	315,965	161	92.5	1.3	93.8	10.4
1870.	387,203	318,792	9,834	328,626	36,786	88.1	1.5	89.6	16.1
1871.	321,350	254,755	10,394	265,149	56,550	82.3	2.5	84.9	15.1
1872.	404,806	338,957	13,198	352,155	85	79.3	3.2	82.5	17.5
1873.	459,803	374,898	22,646	397,544	52,487	83.8	3.3	87.0	13.0
1874.	313,339	238,205	24,584	262,789	160,160	81.6	4.9	86.5	13.6
1875.	227,498	160,099	22,863	182,962	128	76.0	7.8	83.9	16.1
1876.	169,986	104,077	16,861	120,928	44,460	70.4	10.0	80.4	19.6
1877.	141,857	87,388	18,810	106,198	36,361	61.2	9.9	71.2	28.8
1878.	138,469	86,689	14,930	101,619	27,632	62.6	13.3	74.9	25.1
1879.	177,826	115,682	18,608	134,290	15	65.1	10.5	75.5	26.6
					43,500				24.5

1880.....	310,624	385,071	345,695	108,469	68	67.9	8.3	76.3	23.7
1881.....	472,784	558,816	528,550	140,778	103	70.6	8.3	79.0	21.0
1882.....	788,992	84,973	645,186	140,707	99	71.4	10.8	82.2	17.8
1883.....	603,322	449,179	522,587	80,556	79	74.5	12.2	86.6	13.4
1884.....	518,952	380,728	453,686	64,808	98	73.4	14.1	87.5	12.5
1885.....	395,346	288,402	355,033	42,192	71	76.5	16.4	89.3	10.7
1886.....	334,203	255,483	329,544	4,866	62	76.5	22.1	88.6	1.3
1887.....	460,109	353,688	483,057	6,999	73	76.5	26.4	88.6	1.4
1888.....	546,889	397,123	538,404	8,424	61	72.6	20.8	98.4	1.5
1889.....	444,427	332,618	435,383	8,974	70	74.9	23.1	98.0	2.0
1890.....	465,302	286,147	446,806	8,434	62	62.8	35.3	98.1	1.8
1891.....	560,319	280,789	548,573	11,676	70	96.7	41.2	97.9	2.1
1892.....	579,663	300,792	570,876	267	8,520	51.9	46.6	98.5	1.5
1893.....	499,790	284,356	428,324	5,233	5	53.9	44.9	98.8	1.2
1894.....	146,714	128,336	277,052	8,509	70	52.1	44.9	97.0	3.0
1895.....	268,596	141,498	258,109	6,427	.....	54.7	43.2	97.9	2.1
1896.....	343,267	187,522	338,206	10,061	.....	40.0	57.0	97.1	2.9
1897.....	280,852	90,118	221,129	9,703	.....	39.0	56.8	96.8	3.2
1898.....	229,249	79,113	222,061	7,238	.....	34.5	62.4	96.8	3.7
1899.....	311,715	89,947	301,785	9,713	217	38.9	68.0	96.9	4.1
1900.....	448,572	103,719	428,943	19,897	13	23.1	72.4	95.9	4.1
1901.....	467,918	116,728	475,019	12,898	1	23.7	72.6	97.4	3.6
1902.....	648,743	138,737	625,291	23,349	103	21.4	76.0	96.4	3.9
1903.....	857,046	203,694	821,025	36,396	26	23.8	72.1	95.9	4.0
1904.....	812,870	217,530	774,168	39,612	40	26.8	68.4	95.2	4.9
1905.....	1,026,499	263,089	980,430	46,908	161	25.9	94.7	95.5	4.0
1906.....	1,100,735	215,863	1,024,719	45,004	38,012	20.9	76.2	94.0	6.0
1907.....	1,285,349	227,958	1,207,619	47,708	72	17.7	70.9	95.0	10.4
1908.....	782,870	178,138	701,694	51,199	4	17.6	68.6	89.5	11.9
1909.....	751,786	187,664	692,381	89,596	4	13.6	68.5	88.1	11.9
1910.....	1,041,570	262,349	941,595	100,024	43	13.4	70.9	90.4	9.6
Total.....	27,918,992	16,062,900	25,528,410	2,137,891	252,691	58.0	34.2	92.3	7.7

^a Based on number reporting country of origin.

^b Including Turkey in Asia.

^c Northern and western Europe comprises Belgium, Denmark, France (including Corsica), German Empire, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom (England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales), and United Kingdom not specified. In this group are included also the 2,545 persons tabulated in Table 1, p. 11, as from "other Europe," (Southern and eastern Europe comprises Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, Greece, Italy (including Sicily and Sardinia), Poland, Portugal (including Cape Verde and Azores Islands), Roumania, Russian Empire (including Finland), Spain (including Canary and Balearic Islands), Turkey in Europe, and Turkey in Asia.

^d Fifteen months ending December 31.

^e Six months ending June 30.

TABLE 3.—Immigration to the United States from northern and western Europe, southern and eastern Europe, and other countries, 1820 to 1910, by decade.

[Compiled from official sources. For 1820 to 1867 the figures are for alien passengers arriving; for 1868 to 1903, for immigrants arriving; for 1904 to 1906, for aliens admitted; and for 1907 to 1910, for immigrant aliens admitted.]

Period.	Total number of immigrants.	Number from—			Other specified countries.	Countries not specified.	Per cent <i>a</i> from—			
		Europe. ^b		Total.			Europe. ^b		Total.	
		Northern and western. ^c	Southern and eastern. ^d				Northern and western. ^c	Southern and eastern. ^d		
1820-1830.....	151,824	103,119	3,389	106,508	11,983	33,333	87.0	2.9	89.9	10.1
1831-1840.....	596,125	489,739	5,949	495,688	33,526	69,911	92.5	1.1	93.7	6.3
1841-1850.....	1,713,251	1,592,062	5,439	1,597,501	62,006	53,144	96.9	.3	96.2	3.8
1851-1860.....	2,598,214	2,431,336	21,324	2,452,660	116,385	29,169	94.6	.8	95.5	4.5
1861-1870.....	2,314,824	2,031,642	33,630	2,065,272	231,383	17,969	88.5	1.5	89.9	10.1
1871-1880.....	2,812,191	2,071,374	209,955	2,272,329	539,072	790	73.7	7.1	80.8	19.2
1881-1890.....	5,246,613	3,779,315	959,951	4,739,266	906,558	789	72.0	18.3	90.3	9.7
1891-1900.....	3,687,564	1,645,613	1,942,164	3,587,777	37,724	14,063	44.8	52.8	87.5	2.5
1901-1910.....	8,795,386	1,910,700	6,302,709	8,213,409	546,454	33,523	21.8	71.9	93.7	6.3
Total.....	27,918,992	16,052,900	9,475,510	25,528,410	2,137,891	252,691	58.0	34.2	92.3	7.7

^a Based on number reporting country of origin.

^b Including Turkey in Asia.

^c Northern and western Europe comprises Belgium, Denmark, France (including Corsica), German Empire, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom (England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales) and United Kingdom not specified. In this group are included in Table 9 as from "other Europe," (Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, Greece, Italy (including Sicily and Sardinia), Poland, Portugal (including Cape Verde and Azores Islands), Roumania, Russian Empire (including Finland), Spain (including Canary and Balearic Islands), Turkey in Europe, and Turkey in Asia.

The crest of the wave in which the old immigration predominated was reached in 1882; the crest of the new in 1907, and a survey of European immigration in those years, as presented in the following table, shows the remarkable change in the character of European immigration, which took place during that period of twenty-six years.

TABLE 4.—European immigration to the United States, fiscal years 1882 and 1907, by country.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration.]

Country.	Year.		Increase.	Decrease.	Per cent distribution.	
	1882.	1907.			1882.	1907.
Austria-Hungary.....	29,150	338,452	309,302	.....	4.5	28.2
Belgium.....	1,431	6,396	4,965	.....	.2	.5
Denmark.....	11,618	7,243	.....	4,375	1.8	.6
France, including Corsica.....	6,004	9,731	3,727	.....	.9	.3
German Empire.....	250,630	37,807	.....	212,823	38.7	3.2
Greece.....	126	36,580	36,454	.....	(b)	3.0
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia.....	32,159	285,731	253,572	.....	5.0	23.8
Netherlands.....	9,517	6,637	.....	2,880	1.5	.6
Norway.....	29,101	22,133	.....	6,968	4.5	1.8
Poland.....	4,672	(a)	(a)	(a)	.7	(a)
Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores Islands.....	1,436	9,608	8,172	.....	.2	.8
Roumania.....	65	4,334	4,319	.....	(b)	.4
Russian Empire.....	16,918	258,943	242,025	.....	2.6	21.6
Servia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro.....	.....	11,359	11,359	.....	.....	.9
Spain.....	373	5,784	5,406	.....	.1	.5
Sweden.....	64,607	20,586	.....	44,018	10.0	1.7
Switzerland.....	10,844	3,748	.....	7,096	1.7	.3
Turkey in Europe.....	69	20,767	20,698	.....	(b)	1.7
United Kingdom:						
England.....	82,394	56,637	.....	25,757	12.7	4.7
Ireland.....	76,432	34,530	.....	41,902	11.8	2.9
Scotland.....	18,937	19,740	803	.....	2.9	1.6
Wales.....	1,656	2,660	1,004	.....	.3	.2
Not specified.....	4	.....	.....	4	(b)	(b)
Europe, not specified.....	38	107	69	.....	(b)	(b)
Total Europe.....	648,186	1,199,566	551,380	.....	100.0	100.0

^a In 1907 Poland is included under Austria-Hungary, German Empire, and Russian Empire.

^b Less than 0.05 per cent.

The following table shows the number of European immigrants admitted to the United States in 1882 and 1907, classified according to old and new immigration, as previously explained:

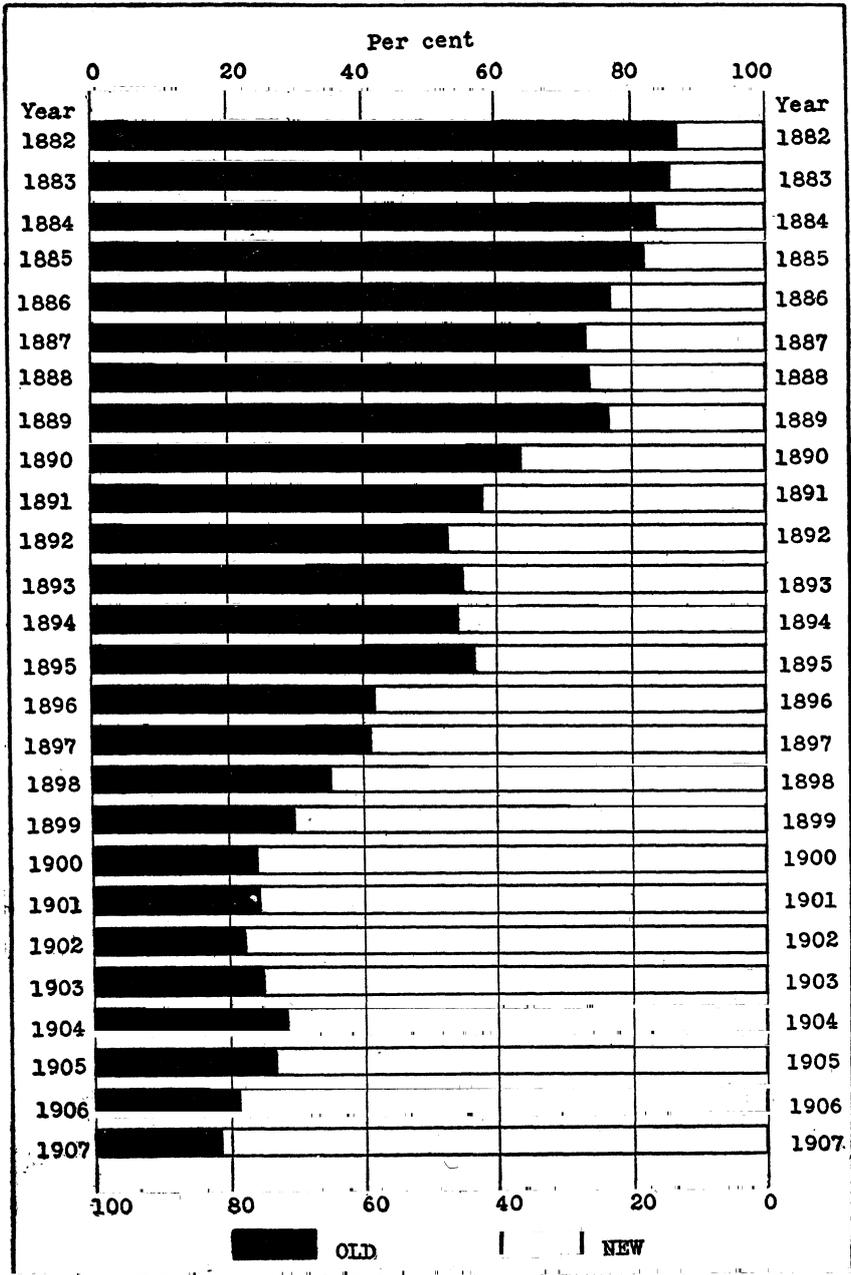
TABLE 5.—European immigration to the United States, fiscal years 1882 and 1907, by class.

Class	Year.		Per cent distribution.	
	1882.	1907.	1882.	1907.
Old immigration.....	563,175	227,851	86.9	19.0
New immigration.....	84,973	971,603	13.1	81.0
Not specified.....	38	107	(a)	(a)
Total.....	648,186	1,199,566	100.0	100.0

^a Less than 0.05 per cent.

The trend of the immigration movement and the relative decrease of the old and increase of the new immigration from 1882 to 1907, inclusive, are clearly shown by the following chart:

European immigration to the United States in each fiscal year 1882 to 1907, inclusive, by class.



Because of the radical change in the character of European immigration to the United States in recent years, the Commission, in its various lines of investigation, paid particular attention to the peoples of southern and southeastern Europe who have come to this country as immigrants. For the same reason, the investigation in Europe was especially directed toward securing information relative to conditions generally in the south and east of Europe, so far as such conditions were in any way related to the subject under consideration. It may be said in this connection, however, that reliable data essential to a thorough study of emigration conditions as previously outlined are less available in most European countries furnishing the newer immigration than in others. In consequence, notwithstanding the special effort made, it has been impossible to treat in all instances the various topics as fully as might be desirable. Nevertheless, the Commission's report will, it is believed, clearly illustrate the causes of emigration from Europe to the United States, the character of the emigrants, and other important phases of the subject under consideration.

ATTITUDE OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TOWARD EMIGRATION.

All European countries, except perhaps Russia and Turkey, recognize the right of their people to freely emigrate. Under the Russian law citizens of the Empire are in general forbidden to leave the country to take up a permanent residence elsewhere, but the fact that Russia is now one of the three most important emigrant-furnishing nations of Europe indicates that the law in this regard is practically obsolete. The same is true as regards the Turkish law upon this subject. From a sentimental standpoint emigration from Europe is, with a few exceptions, a matter of national regret. In some of the countries military reasons inspire a considerable degree of opposition, for the reason that emigrants as a rule are of an age which makes them liable to military service. There appears to be, also, a well-grounded and increasing objection to emigration in some sections of Europe because of the economic loss resulting from the exodus of so many agricultural and other laborers. In general, however, it may be said that emigration is recognized as a phenomenon controlled almost entirely by irresistible economic forces which practically compel an attitude of acquiescence on the part of governments.

Some European countries, notably France, Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium, have experienced no emigration problem of importance in more recent times. In former years Germany was the leading emigrant-furnishing nation of the world, but emigration from that Empire to the United States, and in fact to all countries as well, is now of small importance numerically. During the period when the emigration movement from northern and western Europe to the United States was at its greatest height Denmark was somewhat affected. The movement from Denmark, however, was never so large as from other Scandinavian countries. The United Kingdom is still a source of considerable immigration to the United States, but the movement is more nearly normal than formerly, and the number emigrating is not sufficiently large to create an emigration problem. There is also a considerable movement of population from the United Kingdom, or more particularly from England and Scotland, to Canada and other parts of the British Empire, but this is

encouraged, and in a measure assisted, for England is the only country in Europe which openly promotes, or at least sanctions and assists, in the emigration of public charges and otherwise undesirable persons. Such assisted emigration, however, is directed to Canada or other British colonies rather than to the United States.

In most European countries the Government exercises some measure of control over emigration. Generally this control concerns merely the welfare of the emigrant in protecting him from exploitation and ill treatment before embarkation and during his voyage at sea, although some countries exercise, or attempt to exercise, some measure of control over their emigrants long after they have left the fatherland.

The attitude of some Governments toward emigration is naturally influenced to a greater or less extent by the permanency of such emigration. As stated elsewhere, the newer immigration to the United States from southern and eastern Europe is to a considerable degree a movement of transient industrial workers rather than persons who emigrate with the purpose of becoming actual settlers in another country. While it is a fact that many who come to the United States as intending transients eventually become permanent residents, it is also true that many continue in a transient state, and thus retain a more than sentimental interest in their native countries. Whatever may be the value in an economic sense of this latter class of immigrants to the country in which they may temporarily reside, it is certain that they are an important factor in promoting the general economic welfare of several European countries. The advantage in this regard is in great part due to the large and constant flow of so-called immigrant money into such countries from the United States. The greater part of this money is sent to countries or sections of countries where low economic conditions prevail, and its uplifting effect is generally recognized. Another quite important factor in this regard is the immigrant who returns to resume a permanent residence in his native country with more or less capital acquired in the United States. Through the purchase and development of land or by engaging in other enterprises these returned immigrants have in many instances greatly benefited the communities in which they reside. It may be stated also that the introduction of American ideas and methods has in many cases proved a valuable adjunct to American-earned capital.

On the other hand, emigration from some Provinces of southern and eastern European countries has been so great that a shortage in the common labor supply has resulted. This claim was frequently made to members of the Commission by landowners and others in various countries. It appears also that, as a rule, wages have increased considerably in the localities which have furnished large numbers of emigrants, but it does not appear that this improvement in economic conditions has as yet perceptibly affected the emigration movement from such localities.

In brief, it may be stated that employers of labor may through excessive emigration be affected by a shortage of labor and a consequent rise in wages. But, on the other hand, the economic condition of the laboring classes, from which the great majority of emigrants are drawn, is favorably affected not only by remittances from the United States but, because of a restricted labor supply, by increased wages at home.

CHAPTER II.

CHARACTER OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION.

The present-day immigration from Europe to the United States is for the most part drawn from country districts and smaller cities or villages, and is composed largely of the peasantry and unskilled laboring classes. This is particularly true of the races or peoples from countries furnishing the newer immigration, with the conspicuous exception of Russian Hebrews, who are city dwellers by compulsion. Emigration being mainly a result of economic conditions, it is natural that the emigrating spirit should be strongest among those most seriously affected, but, notwithstanding this, the present movement is not recruited in the main from the lowest economic and social strata of the population. In European countries, as in the United States, the poorest and least desirable element in the population, from an economic as well as a social standpoint, is found in the larger cities, and as a rule such cities furnish comparatively few emigrants.^a Neither do the average or typical emigrants of to-day represent the lowest in the economic and social scale even among the classes from which they come, a circumstance attributable to both natural and artificial causes. In the first place, emigrating to a strange and distant country, although less of an undertaking than formerly, is still a serious and relatively difficult matter, requiring a degree of courage and resourcefulness not possessed by weaklings of any class. This natural law in the main regulated the earlier European emigration to the United States, and under its influence the present emigration, whether or not desirable as a whole, nevertheless represents the stronger and better element of the particular class from which it is drawn.

A most potent adjunct to the natural law of selection, however, is the United States immigration act, the effect of which in preventing the emigration, or even attempted emigration, of at least physical and mental defectives is probably not generally realized. The provisions of the United States immigration law are well known among the emigrating classes of Europe, and the large number rejected at European ports, or refused admission after reaching the United States, has a decided influence in retarding emigration, and naturally that influence is most potent among those who doubt their ability to meet the law's requirements.

In its study of the character of European emigration the Commission confined itself to the ordinary characteristics and conditions of the various races which make for their desirability or undesirability as immigrants to the United States. The character of the various races from an ethnological standpoint has also been given attention, and a comprehensive study in this regard forms a part of the Commission's general report under the title "Dictionary of Races or Peoples."^a

^a Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 5. (S. Doc. 662, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)

In addition to more general observations relative to the character of European emigration, the sex, age, occupation, and degree of education are essential to an understanding of the present-day immigrant.

For the purpose of this discussion, data relative to the above-mentioned items have been compiled for an eleven-year period, 1899-1909, and the results classified according to the old and new immigration previously mentioned. In this instance, however, the classification is by race or people rather than country of origin, which arrangement is necessitated by the fact that the data employed has since 1899 been so recorded by the Bureau of Immigration. In what follows, the old and new immigration will be considered to include the following races or peoples:

Old—Dutch and Flemish, English, French, German, Irish, Scandinavian, Scotch, and Welsh.

New—Armenian, Bohemian and Moravian, Bulgarian, Servian and Montenegrin, Croatian and Slovenian, Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian, Finnish, Greek, Hebrew, North Italian, South Italian, Lithuanian, Magyar, Polish, Portuguese, Roumanian, Russian, Ruthenian, Slovak, Spanish, Syrian,^a and Turkish.

The classification by country of origin previously employed and the present classification by race or people are not entirely comparable, because of the wide geographical distribution of various races, a conspicuous instance of this being the German immigrants, the greater portion of whom now come from Austria-Hungary and Russia rather than Germany. This, however, is compensated for in part by the emigration from north and west European countries of races indigenous to southern and eastern Europe and, on the whole, it furnishes a satisfactory basis for the comparisons made.

SEX.

Classified by sex, there appears a wide difference between the various races of immigrants, as is shown by the following table covering this item in detail for the eleven years, 1899-1909.

^a Nearly all Syrian and a considerable number of Turkish immigrants come from Turkey in Asia, but for convenience and because they are so closely allied to the people of Turkey in Europe, they are classed here as a part of the new immigration from Europe.

TABLE 6.—European immigration (including Syrian) to the United States, by race or people and sex, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Number.			Per cent.	
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
Armenian.....	15,596	5,394	20,990	74.3	25.7
Bohemian and Moravian.....	52,237	39,490	91,727	56.9	43.1
Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin.....	78,947	3,314	82,261	96.0	4.0
Croatian and Slovenian.....	251,919	44,062	295,981	85.1	14.9
Dalmatian, Bosnian, Herzegovinian.....	24,799	1,986	26,785	92.6	7.4
Dutch and Flemish.....	48,889	25,757	74,646	65.5	34.5
English.....	219,222	135,894	355,116	61.7	38.3
Finnish.....	89,565	46,473	136,038	65.8	34.2
French.....	55,502	39,174	94,676	58.6	41.4
German.....	405,863	277,132	682,995	59.4	40.6
Greek.....	169,726	8,101	177,827	95.4	4.6
Hebrew.....	561,616	428,566	990,182	56.7	43.3
Irish.....	189,611	211,731	401,342	47.2	52.8
Italian, North.....	268,123	73,765	341,888	78.4	21.6
Italian, South.....	1,351,719	367,541	1,719,260	78.6	21.4
Lithuanian.....	108,417	44,127	152,544	71.1	28.9
Magyar.....	225,272	84,777	310,049	72.7	27.3
Polish.....	567,992	252,724	820,716	69.2	30.8
Portuguese.....	38,515	26,725	62,240	59.0	41.0
Roumanian.....	62,636	5,869	68,505	91.4	8.6
Russian.....	56,104	10,176	66,280	84.6	15.4
Ruthenian.....	88,416	31,052	119,468	74.0	26.0
Scandinavian.....	327,448	206,821	534,269	61.3	38.7
Scotch.....	71,392	40,838	112,230	63.6	36.4
Slovak.....	242,620	102,491	345,111	70.3	29.7
Spanish.....	37,402	7,812	45,214	82.7	17.3
Syrian.....	34,487	16,105	50,592	68.2	31.8
Turkish.....	11,289	432	11,721	96.3	3.7
Welsh.....	11,996	6,512	18,508	64.8	35.2
Others.....	658	265	923	71.3	28.7
Total.....	5,667,928	2,545,106	8,213,034	69.0	31.0

The rule of disproportion among the sexes does not apply to all races composing the new immigration, but the tendency in this regard is sufficient to create a wide difference between the old and new classes, as is indicated by the following table:

TABLE 7.—European immigration (including Syrian) to the United States, by class and sex, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Class.	Number.			Per cent.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Old immigration.....	1,329,923	943,859	2,273,782	58.5	41.5	100.0
New immigration.....	4,338,005	1,601,247	5,939,252	73.0	27.0	100.0
Total.....	5,667,928	2,545,106	8,213,034	69.0	31.0	100.0

In this regard the Hebrew is a disturbing element statistically, as will be seen from the following table, involving the same data as that preceding, with Hebrew immigrants omitted:

TABLE 8.—*European immigration (including Syrian) to the United States, Hebrews excepted, by class and sex, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Class.	Number.			Per cent.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Old immigration.....	1,329,923	934,859	2,273,782	58.5	41.5	100.0
New immigration (Hebrew excepted)....	3,776,389	1,172,681	4,949,070	76.3	23.7	100.0
Total.....	5,106,312	2,116,540	7,222,852	70.7	29.3	100.0

The fact that more than three-fourths of the newer immigration, Hebrews excepted, is composed of males suggests that there are relatively fewer families than among immigrants of the older class, in which males form 59 per cent of the whole, and, as family immigration is naturally more permanent, it follows that the proportion of actual settlers is much greater among north and west Europeans than among those from the south and east of Europe as a whole. It is well known that Hebrew immigration is essentially a movement of families, and the same, to a great degree, is true of Bohemians and Moravians and Finns, but among the other races composing the new immigration the tendency for men to emigrate without their families is much more prevalent.

AGE.

The element of age among European immigrants of both classes and all races is conspicuous because of the large proportion included in the age group, 14 to 44 years, as shown by the following table, covering European immigration for the eleven years 1899-1909, classified by age groups.

TABLE 9.—European immigration (including Syrian) to the United States, by race or people and age groups, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Number.				Per cent.			
	Under 14 years.	14 to 44 years.	45 years and over.	Total.	Under 14 years.	14 to 44 years.	45 years and over.	Total.
Armenian.....	2,586	17,481	923	20,990	12.3	83.3	4.4	100.0
Bohemian and Moravian.....	18,965	67,487	5,275	91,727	20.7	73.6	5.8	100.0
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....	1,407	78,802	2,052	82,261	1.7	95.8	2.5	100.0
Croatian and Slovenian.....	12,711	273,685	9,585	295,981	4.3	92.5	3.2	100.0
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	662	25,278	845	26,785	2.5	94.4	3.2	100.0
Dutch and Flemish.....	16,121	53,147	5,378	74,646	21.6	71.2	7.2	100.0
English.....	52,459	262,334	40,323	355,116	14.8	73.9	11.4	100.0
Finnish.....	12,623	119,771	3,644	136,038	9.3	83.0	2.7	100.0
French.....	13,227	72,701	8,748	94,676	14.0	76.8	9.2	100.0
German.....	116,416	520,437	46,142	682,995	17.0	76.2	6.8	100.0
Greek.....	7,314	168,250	2,263	177,827	4.1	94.6	1.3	100.0
Hebrew.....	245,787	690,794	53,601	990,182	24.8	69.8	5.4	100.0
Irish.....	30,247	363,797	17,298	401,342	5.0	90.6	4.3	100.0
Italian, North.....	30,645	297,442	13,801	341,888	9.0	87.0	4.0	100.0
Italian, South.....	201,492	1,416,075	101,693	1,719,260	11.7	82.4	5.9	100.0
Lithuanian.....	12,004	137,880	2,660	152,544	7.9	90.4	1.7	100.0
Magyar.....	27,312	270,376	12,361	310,049	8.8	87.2	4.0	100.0
Polish.....	77,963	723,226	19,527	820,716	9.5	88.1	2.4	100.0
Portuguese.....	15,441	44,688	5,111	65,240	23.7	68.5	7.8	100.0
Roumanian.....	1,476	63,997	3,032	68,505	2.2	93.4	4.4	100.0
Russian.....	4,993	59,625	1,662	66,280	7.5	90.0	2.5	100.0
Ruthenian.....	5,537	110,705	3,226	119,468	4.6	92.7	2.7	100.0
Scandinavian.....	51,220	457,306	25,743	534,269	9.6	85.6	4.8	100.0
Scottish.....	17,157	85,123	9,950	112,230	15.3	75.8	8.9	100.0
Slovak.....	32,157	302,399	10,555	345,111	9.3	87.6	3.1	100.0
Spanish.....	4,214	37,695	3,305	45,214	9.3	83.4	7.3	100.0
Syrian.....	8,129	40,492	1,971	50,592	16.1	80.0	3.9	100.0
Turkish.....	263	11,214	1,194	11,671	2.3	96.1	1.7	100.0
Welsh.....	3,317	13,537	1,654	18,508	17.9	73.1	8.9	100.0
Others.....	129	762	32	923	14.0	82.6	3.5	100.0
Total.....	1,013,974	6,786,506	412,554	8,213,034	12.3	82.6	5.0	100.0

The age of European immigrants to the United States during the period considered, classified according to the old and new immigration, is shown by the following table:

TABLE 10.—European immigration (including Syrian) to the United States, by class and age groups, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Class.	Number.				Per cent.			
	Under 14 years.	14 to 44 years.	45 years or over.	Total.	Under 14 years.	14 to 44 years.	45 years or over.	Total.
Old immigration.....	290,164	1,828,382	155,236	2,273,782	12.8	80.4	6.8	100.0
New immigration.....	723,810	4,958,124	257,318	5,939,252	12.2	83.5	4.3	100.0
Total.....	1,013,974	6,786,506	412,554	8,213,034	12.3	82.6	5.0	100.0

The striking feature with regard to the age of immigrants, and indeed one of the most striking and significant features of European immigration to the United States in any regard, is the fact that so many of the immigrants are of the producing and so few of the dependent age.

The Hebrew as a factor in equalizing differences between the old and new immigration is again apparent in this case, as will be seen by the following table, identical with that above, with the Hebrew element excluded:

TABLE 11.—*European immigration (including Syrian) to the United States, Hebrews excepted, by class and age groups, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Class.	Number.				Per cent.			
	Under 14 years.	14 to 44 years.	45 years or over.	Total.	Under 14 years.	14 to 44 years.	45 years or over.	Total.
Old immigration.....	290,164	1,828,382	155,236	2,273,782	12.8	80.4	6.8	100.0
New immigration (Hebrews excepted).....	478,023	4,267,330	203,717	4,949,070	9.7	86.2	4.1	100.0
Total.....	768,187	6,095,712	358,953	7,222,852	10.6	84.4	5.0	100.0

OCCUPATIONS.

Occupation is an important factor in estimating the character of emigration, as it indicates the probable industrial status of immigrants after admission to the United States. For convenience immigrants may be divided into the following general classes as regards occupation: Professional, skilled laborers, farm laborers, farmers, common laborers, servants, miscellaneous, and no occupation; the latter class including accompanying women and children.

The distribution of occupations among European immigrants by race or people during the eleven years 1899 to 1909 is shown by the table next presented.

TABLE 12.—Occupations of European immigrants (including Syrian) to the United States, by race or people, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Number.								Total.
	Profes- sional.	Skilled.	Farm laborers.	Farm- ers.	Common laborers.	Serv- ants.	No occu- pation. ^a	Mis- cella- neous.	
Armenian.....	370	5,971	3,080	377	2,481	1,588	6,385	738	20,990
Bohemian and Moravian...	748	22,601	8,247	1,580	7,341	13,695	36,505	1,010	91,727
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....	107	2,608	36,746	2,782	34,755	683	4,291	289	82,261
Croatian and Slovenian.....	228	13,952	80,167	4,290	146,278	17,558	32,825	683	295,981
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	31	2,523	7,178	569	12,837	668	2,799	180	26,785
Dutch and Flemish.....	1,768	13,111	7,139	3,106	10,579	3,558	32,543	2,842	74,646
English.....	20,041	105,707	4,902	4,954	24,928	27,851	137,662	29,071	355,116
Finnish.....	314	6,380	5,604	1,520	68,243	27,581	25,982	414	136,038
French.....	5,903	20,829	5,372	1,680	8,942	10,331	35,525	6,094	94,676
German.....	14,550	125,594	72,733	12,021	84,531	78,803	266,819	27,944	682,995
Greek.....	594	13,632	33,253	2,092	104,472	3,892	15,935	3,957	177,827
Hebrew.....	6,836	362,936	9,633	908	66,311	61,611	445,728	36,219	990,182
Irish.....	4,264	41,486	15,717	6,047	106,497	161,844	57,033	8,454	401,342
Italian, North.....	3,006	56,854	51,349	5,656	128,579	21,465	69,170	5,809	341,888
Italian, South.....	5,586	199,024	420,262	12,290	587,540	76,440	400,546	17,572	1,719,260
Lithuanian.....	148	8,243	29,918	355	64,174	19,819	29,596	291	152,544
Magyar.....	1,281	20,966	102,456	1,586	82,501	29,558	70,236	1,465	310,049
Polish.....	1,193	41,541	162,372	2,549	320,061	111,100	180,148	1,752	820,716
Portuguese.....	192	3,076	3,023	400	22,363	12,869	21,921	1,396	65,240
Roumanian.....	139	1,852	38,285	217	20,411	1,617	5,723	261	68,505
Russian.....	843	5,348	20,323	862	24,803	2,273	10,965	863	66,280
Ruthenian.....	97	2,095	38,633	322	44,336	18,046	15,858	81	119,468
Scandinavian.....	5,076	86,921	30,060	11,009	158,967	131,760	102,878	7,598	534,269
Scotch.....	4,219	42,589	2,235	1,484	6,353	9,125	38,935	7,290	112,230
Slovak.....	184	12,088	85,419	1,899	124,201	39,417	81,463	440	345,111
Spanish.....	1,504	15,000	2,483	837	6,695	1,808	11,531	5,356	45,214
Syrian.....	396	7,360	9,756	1,762	6,797	3,548	17,731	3,242	50,592
Turkish.....	117	822	3,510	619	4,878	154	1,056	515	11,671
Welsh.....	585	6,517	440	332	1,277	1,426	7,115	816	18,508
Others ^b	2	48	.....	41	434	5	383	10	923
Total.....	80,322	1,247,674	1,290,295	84,146	2,282,565	890,093	2,165,287	172,652	8,213,034

^a Including women and children.^b 119 Austrians, 800 Hungarians, 4 Transylvanians.

TABLE 12.—Occupations of European immigrants (including Syrian) to the United States, by race or people, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive—Continued.

Race or people.	Per cent.								
	Profes- sional.	Skilled.	Farm labor- ers.	Farm- ers.	Com- mon labor- ers.	Serv- ants.	No occupa- tion. ^a	Miscel- laneous.	Total.
Armenian.....	1.8	28.4	14.7	1.8	11.8	7.6	30.4	3.5	100.0
Bohemian and Moravian.....	.8	24.6	9.0	1.7	8.0	14.9	39.8	1.1	100.0
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....	.1	3.2	44.7	3.4	42.2	.8	5.2	.4	100.0
Croatian and Slovenian.....	.1	4.7	27.1	1.4	49.4	5.9	11.1	.2	100.0
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	.1	9.4	26.8	2.1	47.9	2.5	10.4	.7	100.0
Dutch and Flemish.....	2.4	17.6	9.6	4.2	14.2	4.8	43.6	3.8	100.0
English.....	5.6	29.8	1.4	1.4	7.0	7.8	38.8	8.2	100.0
Finnish.....	.2	4.7	4.1	1.1	50.2	20.3	19.1	.3	100.0
French.....	6.2	22.0	5.7	1.8	9.4	10.9	37.5	6.4	100.0
German.....	2.1	18.4	10.6	1.8	12.4	11.5	39.1	4.1	100.0
Greek.....	.3	7.7	18.7	1.2	58.7	2.2	9.0	2.2	100.0
Hebrew.....	.7	36.7	1.0	.1	6.7	6.2	45.0	3.7	100.0
Irish.....	1.1	10.3	3.9	1.5	26.5	40.3	14.2	2.1	100.0
Italian, North.....	.9	16.6	15.0	1.7	37.6	6.3	20.2	1.7	100.0
Italian, South.....	.3	11.6	24.4	.7	34.2	4.4	23.3	1.0	100.0
Lithuanian.....	.1	5.4	19.6	.2	42.1	13.0	19.4	.2	100.0
Magyar.....	4.4	6.8	33.0	.5	26.6	9.5	22.7	.5	100.0
Polish.....	.1	5.1	19.8	.3	39.0	13.5	22.0	.2	100.0
Portuguese.....	.3	4.7	4.6	.6	34.3	19.7	33.6	2.1	100.0
Roumanian.....	.2	2.7	55.9	.3	29.8	2.4	8.4	.4	100.0
Russian.....	1.3	8.1	30.7	1.3	37.4	3.4	16.5	1.3	100.0
Ruthenian.....	.1	1.8	32.3	.3	37.1	15.1	13.3	.1	100.0
Scandinavian.....	1.0	16.3	5.6	2.1	29.8	24.7	19.3	1.4	100.0
Scotch.....	3.8	37.9	2.0	1.3	5.7	8.1	34.7	6.5	100.0
Slovak.....	.1	3.5	24.8	.6	36.0	11.4	23.6	.1	100.0
Spanish.....	3.3	33.2	5.5	1.9	14.8	4.0	25.5	11.8	100.0
Syrian.....	.8	14.5	19.3	3.5	13.4	7.0	35.0	6.4	100.0
Turkish.....	1.0	7.0	30.1	5.3	41.8	1.3	9.0	4.4	100.0
Welsh.....	3.2	35.2	2.4	1.8	6.9	7.7	38.4	4.4	100.0
Others ^b.....	.2	5.2	.....	4.4	47.0	.5	41.5	1.1	100.0
Total.....	1.0	15.2	15.7	1.0	27.8	10.8	26.4	2.1	100.0

^a Including women and children.

^b 119 Austrians, 800 Hungarians, 4 Transylvanians.

According to the old and new immigration classification the distribution of occupations is as follows:

TABLE 13.—Occupations of European immigrants (including Syrian) to the United States, by class, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Occupation.	Number of persons.		Per cent.	
	Old immi- gration.	New immi- gration.	Old immi- gration.	New immi- gration.
Professional.....	56,406	23,916	2.5	0.4
Skilled laborers.....	442,754	804,920	19.5	13.6
Farm laborers.....	138,598	1,151,697	6.1	19.4
Farmers.....	40,633	43,513	1.8	.7
Common laborers.....	402,074	1,880,491	17.7	31.7
Servants.....	424,698	465,395	18.7	7.8
No occupation.....	678,510	1,486,777	29.8	25.0
Miscellaneous.....	90,109	82,543	4.0	1.4
Total.....	2,273,782	5,939,252	100.0	100.0

The relatively large proportion of skilled laborers, the smaller proportion of unskilled, and the almost total absence of farm laborers among Hebrew immigrants practically places that race with the older immigration so far as occupations are concerned, and the elimination of Hebrews from the preceding table makes possible a clearer illustration of the comparative occupational status of the old and new immigration, as shown by the following table:

TABLE 14.—*Occupations of European immigrants (including Syrian) to the United States, Hebrews excepted, by class, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.*

Occupation.	Number of persons.		Per cent.	
	Old immigration.	New immigration (Hebrews excepted).	Old immigration.	New immigration (Hebrews excepted).
Professional.....	56,406	17,080	2.5	0.3
Skilled laborers.....	442,754	441,984	19.5	8.9
Farm laborers.....	138,598	1,142,064	6.1	23.1
Farmers.....	40,633	42,605	1.8	.9
Common laborers.....	402,074	1,814,180	17.7	36.7
Servants.....	424,698	403,784	18.7	8.2
No occupation.....	678,510	1,041,049	29.8	21.0
Miscellaneous.....	90,109	46,324	4.0	.9
Total.....	2,273,782	4,949,070	100.0	100.0

An analysis of this table shows that almost 60 per cent of the new immigration, Hebrew excepted, during the ten years considered was composed of farm and other unskilled laborers; while these classes furnished less than 25 per cent of the older immigration. The per cent of skilled laborers is more than twice as great in the older class, but the reverse is true of servants, which may be accounted for by the fact that females are relatively fewer among the newer immigrants. The percentage of farmers as distinguished from farm laborers is twice as great in the older immigration, but the actual number is so small in either case that it is unimportant except to emphasize the fact that land owners or independent farmers, irrespective of race, do not, as a rule, emigrate to the United States.

LITERACY.

In none of the factors under consideration, unless it be that of permanence of residence, is there so wide a difference between the old and new classes of immigration, as in the matter of degree of education, as will be noted from the table next presented, which shows the extent of illiteracy among the various races or peoples of European immigrants admitted to the United States during the eleven years, 1899-1909.

TABLE 15.—*Number and per cent of illiterates, 14 years of age and over, in each race or people of European immigrants (including Syrian) admitted into the United States in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Total number 14 years of age or over.	Persons 14 years of age or over who can neither read nor write.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Armenian	18,404	4,433	24.1
Bohemian and Moravian	72,762	1,246	1.7
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin	80,854	33,759	41.8
Croatian and Slovenian	283,270	103,156	36.4
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian	26,123	10,789	41.3
Dutch and Flemish	58,825	2,767	4.7
English	302,657	3,419	1.1
Finnish	123,415	1,681	1.4
French	81,449	4,401	5.4
German	566,579	28,854	5.1
Greek	170,513	45,960	27.0
Hebrew	744,395	191,544	25.7
Irish	381,095	10,233	2.7
Italian, North	311,243	36,869	11.8
Italian, South	1,517,768	822,113	54.2
Lithuanian	140,540	68,555	48.8
Magyar	282,737	32,170	11.4
Polish	742,753	263,177	35.4
Portuguese	49,799	33,960	68.2
Roumanian	67,029	23,232	34.7
Russian	61,287	23,607	38.5
Ruthenian	113,931	58,070	51.0
Scandinavian	483,049	2,168	.4
Scotch	95,073	682	.7
Slovak	312,954	69,220	22.1
Spanish	41,000	6,004	14.6
Syrian	42,463	22,978	54.1
Turkish	11,408	6,722	58.9
Welsh	15,191	309	2.0
Others	794	53	6.7
Total	7,199,060	1,912,131	26.6

The above table classified according to the old and new immigration is as follows:

TABLE 16.—*Number and per cent of illiterates, 14 years of age and over, in each class of European immigration (including Syrian) in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.*

Class.	Total number 14 years or over.	Persons 14 years or over who do not read and write.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Old immigration	1,983,618	52,833	2.7
New immigration	5,215,442	1,859,298	35.6
Total	7,199,060	1,912,131	26.6

Contrary to the rule previously noted the elimination of Hebrew immigrants does not essentially affect the relative standing of the old and new immigration so far as degree of education is concerned, for while the percentage of illiterates of that race is considerably below the average of the new class as a whole, the difference is less conspicuous than in the matters of sex, age, occupation, and permanence

of residence in the United States. It will be noted that among the newer immigrants the Portuguese furnish the largest percentage of illiterates, while the Bohemians and Moravians and Finns are almost at the other extreme. The latter exceptions, however, have little effect on the general result.

Whether the high percentage of illiteracy among the newer immigrants is due chiefly to environment or to inherent racial tendencies can not well be determined. The former would seem to be the more equitable explanation were it not for the fact that races living under practically the same material and political conditions show widely varying results. Conspicuous in this regard are the Germans, the majority of whom, as previously stated, now come from Austria-Hungary and Russia, as compared with other races from those countries.

LITERACY IN EUROPE.

Because of the possibility that the literacy of immigrants may be an important factor in the future immigration policy of the United States, the Commission has given some attention to the subject of literacy in Europe as a whole, as well as to the situation in each of the chief immigrant-furnishing countries.

As suggested by the foregoing tables showing the degree of education among the various races of European immigrants coming to the United States, illiteracy exists in the various countries of Europe in widely different degrees. Comparison, however, in respect to the amount of illiteracy which prevails in specific countries is difficult, because of the different means by which data relative to it are secured in the several countries. In the majority of the European States the military recruitment records afford a partial measure of the literacy of the population, but, of course, an illiteracy rate based on such records is open to the objection that it is representative only of a selected class and not of the total population over an age at which they might be expected to read and write. For the purposes of an immigration study, however, data of this nature are valuable, for the reason that immigrants and recruits are, as a rule, drawn from the same classes in the population. Unfortunately data relative to the literacy of recruits are not available for all European countries, the most important omissions being Austria-Hungary and Russia, both of which are among the three largest immigrant-furnishing nations of Europe. However, the following table, which shows the per cent of illiteracy among the recruits of 13 European countries compared with the illiteracy among native white males 21 to 24 years of age in the United States, will be of interest. With the exception noted, the test of literacy in each case is ability to read and write.

TABLE 17.—Per cent of illiteracy among the recruits in various European countries, and for native white males from 21 to 24 years of age in the United States.

Country.	Per cent of illiteracy among recruits. ^a	Date.	Source.
Belgium.....	9.1	1907	Hübner's "Tabellen," 1909, p. 93.
Denmark.....	.2	1897	Do.
France.....	3.5	1906	Statesman's Yearbook, 1909, p. 751.
German Empire.....	.04	1906	Do.
Greece.....	30.0	(^b)	Hübner's "Tabellen," 1909, p. 93.
Italy.....	30.6	1905	Italia Annuario Statistico, 1905-1907.
The Netherlands.....	1.9	1907	Nederland Jaarcijfers, 1907, p. 51.
Roumania.....	69.0	1900-1904	Annarul Statistico al Romaniei, 1907.
Servia.....	52.1	1906	Serbie-Annuaire Statistique, 1906, p. 712.
Sweden.....	.59	1904	Statesman's Yearbook, 1908, p. 1238.
Switzerland.....	c. 31	1907	Statesman's Yearbook, 1908, p. 1255.
United Kingdom.....	1.4	1904-5	Do.
United States.....	3.8	1900	Twelfth Census of the United States, Supplementary Analysis.

^a In the United States the rate is for native white males from 21 to 24 years of age.

^b Date not given.

^c Forty-three per cent could not write; 0.11 per cent could not read.

While not conclusive as to literacy among the total population of the various countries considered, the data above presented tends to substantiate common knowledge that while illiteracy is at a minimum in northern and western Europe it is widespread in the southern and eastern countries, all of which contribute largely to the present tide of immigration to the United States.

Statistics relative to literacy, based on census records, are available for some of the principal immigrant-furnishing countries of Europe. These data are based on such different proportions of the population in various countries that comparisons with each other or with the United States are difficult, and in most cases impossible, but nevertheless they are valuable and interesting for the purposes of this report.

The following table shows the per cent of illiterates among a certain proportion of the population of the countries specified, the test of literacy, except as noted, being the ability to read and write:

TABLE 18.—*Per cent of illiteracy among the populations of specified European countries and of the United States.*

Country.	Per cent of illiteracy.	Date.	Basis.	Source.
Austria.....	23.8	1900	Persons 6 years of age or over...	Oesterr, Statist, Handbuch, 1907 p. 6.
Belgium.....	21.9	1900	Total population.....	Annuaire Statistique de la Belgique. 1906, p. 74.
Finland.....	a 1.2	1900	Population 15 years of age or over.	Statistiske Arsbok, 1907, p. 32.
Hungary.....	41.0	1900	Total civil population 6 years of age or over.	Magyar Statisztikai Evkony, 1905, p. 324.
Italy.....	48.5	1905	Population 6 years of age or over.	Italia Annuario Statistico, 1905-1907, p. 245.
Portugal.....	75.1	1900	.....do.....	Statesman's Yearbook, 1908, p. 1367.
Roumania.....	61.4	1899	Population 10 years of age or over.	Anuarul Statistic al Romaniei 1907, p. 5.
Russia.....	72.0	1897	Population 9 years of age or over.	Rossia-Perepis Naselenia, 1897.
Servia.....	83.0	1900	Total population.....	Statesman's Yearbook, 1908, p. 1485.
Spain.....	63.8	1900	.....do.....	Espana Censo de la Poblacion, 1900, Vol. II, p. xi.
United States.....	10.7	1900	Population 10 years of age or over.	Twelfth Census, United States, Supplementary Analysis.

a Per cent not able to read.

Information relative to illiteracy in Great Britain, France, and Germany is not available, but it is well known that the per cent is low compared with the countries of eastern and southern Europe above considered. In the Scandinavian countries illiteracy is said to be almost nonexistent, and this statement is substantiated by the fact that the percentages of illiterates among Scandinavian immigrants to the United States is smaller than among any other immigrants.^a In Norway no attempt is made to secure statistics relative to illiteracy for the reason that little exists. This fact is interestingly stated by the late Hon. O. Gude, minister of Norway to the United States, in reply to an inquiry from the Immigration Commission relative to the subject. Mr. Gude says:

I have the honor to advise you that the central bureau of statistics at Kristiania has, through the Norwegian foreign office, informed this legation that no statistics have been issued concerning the percentage of illiterate persons in Norway for the simple reason that the bureau has supposed that the persons that can not read nor write hardly will amount to 1 pro mille or less and that they will be found as such very rare exceptions in that country, that the bureau of statistics has not considered it worth while to compute any statistics in that respect.

There is no doubt that race influence and development are intimately connected with the problem of illiteracy. The most striking instance of this is the almost complete literacy of the Germans, not only of the Germans of Germany, but of the Germans of Austria, of Finland, and of Russia. In the latter case they maintain their high standard in the face of great odds. The Roumanians, on the other hand, not only show a rate of illiteracy in their own country which is unparalleled elsewhere, but they likewise push up the illiteracy rate of every other country of whose population they are a part. It should be noted in this connection, however, that some of the races in Europe have a very high illiteracy rate in their native countries, but

^a See Table 15 on p. 30.

in other places where they live under more favorable economic conditions they show a marked improvement in this respect.

• Another characteristic of illiteracy is its greater prevalence in those countries that have a heterogeneous population. For instance, in Russia, Austria, and Hungary the problem of primary education has been hard to solve, because each has a population in which the various elements are unlike in race, language, history, religion, and power, and it is only natural that such a condition should result in lack of education among the people. Switzerland, however, is a conspicuous exception to this rule. In the population of that country there are three distinct groups—German, French, and Italian—each using the native language of their race, and there is practically no illiteracy. The school problem in Switzerland, however, is not complex, for the reason that each Canton controls its own educational system and the largest proportion of the population of each Canton is of the same race or people.

The most general location that can be made of illiteracy in Europe is that it prevails to the greatest degree in the southern and eastern countries, including Spain and Portugal, and that the minimum amount is found in the northern and western countries. Moreover, a study of the illiteracy figures for each country shows invariably a higher rate for the rural population than for the urban. In countries where the rural population predominates, this tends to push up the general rate.

An examination of the illiteracy figures by sex shows that women are more frequently unlettered than men. Moreover, the gap between the sexes in this respect is widest in the countries and in the Provinces where illiteracy is comparatively the greatest. As illiteracy declines the breach narrows, the women making better progress than the men. The greater degree of ignorance prevailing among the female population of some countries which are most backward in their civilization is due mainly to the inferior status of women in such countries. Among the countries of Europe, Russia and the Balkan States are the most notable examples in this regard. In some parts of the former country the proportion of illiterate women is from three to four times as great as that of the men, while in Roumania the proportion of men who can read and write is almost four times that of the women. In the case of the Jews the difference between the literacy of the sexes is due in part at least to the feeling of the parents that it is a religious duty to educate the boys of the family, while less heed is given to the instruction of the daughters. An additional factor is that in the most sparsely settled regions the difference between the school attendance of boys and girls is greater than in the more populated regions. This indicates that the inaccessibility of schools may be the reason of the small attendance of the girls and the consequent greater illiteracy among them.

But probably the most apparent cause of illiteracy in Europe, as elsewhere, is poverty. The economic status of a people has a very decided effect upon the literacy rate. For instance, the difference between the prevailing rates of illiteracy in north and south Italy is to a considerable measure due to the difference in the economic conditions of these two regions. Sweden recognizes that poverty affects

educational facilities, and in order to avoid this she entirely supports the primary schools in a few of the northern districts where the economic conditions are so poor that adequate maintenance by the local municipalities would be impossible. Another phase of the economic factor is the need of children's service at home. This is said to have been especially operative in south Italy and Ireland.

The present aspect of the problem, however, is encouraging, even though the rate of illiteracy in some countries is still alarmingly high. Even in Russia and Roumania the trend is constantly toward greater literacy, and the same is true of other southern and eastern European countries. Emigration undoubtedly has stimulated education. This is repeatedly remarked in Italy and in parts of the Slavic countries, and it probably has had the same effect in some other parts of Europe, particularly if there has been any return movement of population.

MONEY SHOWN BY IMMIGRANTS.

It is impossible to determine with any degree of accuracy the amount of money or the value of the property brought to the United States by immigrants. The only available information upon the subject is contained in the records of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, and results from a provision of the immigration law which directs that there shall be secured from each immigrant the following information:

Whether in possession of \$50, and, if less, how much?

It will be noted that the law does not contemplate a record of the actual amount of money brought, the intent being merely to determine whether immigrants are possessed of a sufficient amount to carry them to their destination or to provide against their immediately becoming public charges. In many cases the amount of money possessed has an important bearing on the admissibility of the immigrant.

Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration show the number of persons of each race or people showing \$50 or over, the number showing less than \$50, and the total amount shown. These data, so far as they relate to European immigrants admitted to the United States during the five fiscal years ending June 30, 1909, are shown by the table next presented.

TABLE 19.—*Money shown on admission to the United States by European immigrants (including Syrian), by race or people, in the fiscal years 1905 to 1909, inclusive.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Total number showing money.	Number showing—		Per cent showing—		Amount per capita of those showing money.
		\$50 or over.	Less than \$50.	\$50 or over.	Less than \$50.	
Armenian.....	10,347	1,190	9,157	11.5	88.5	\$35.43
Bohemian and Moravian.....	43,555	6,763	36,792	15.5	84.5	42.34
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....	69,905	2,124	67,781	3.0	97.0	18.05
Croatian and Slovenian.....	170,604	5,622	164,982	3.3	96.7	15.81
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	20,673	1,325	19,348	6.4	93.6	21.23
Dutch and Flemish.....	33,552	12,914	20,638	38.5	61.5	74.07
English.....	193,759	108,737	85,022	56.1	43.9	79.54
Finnish.....	63,279	5,561	57,718	8.8	91.2	24.06
French.....	49,928	26,997	22,931	54.1	45.9	90.52
German.....	315,332	96,910	218,422	30.7	69.3	60.32
Greek.....	131,215	9,108	122,107	6.9	93.1	24.17
Hebrew.....	310,522	36,341	274,181	11.7	88.3	31.40
Irish.....	191,341	32,308	159,033	16.9	83.1	33.76
Italian, North.....	185,219	25,611	159,608	13.8	86.2	31.68
Italian, South.....	880,126	44,295	835,831	5.0	95.0	18.04
Lithuanian.....	80,669	2,622	78,047	3.3	96.7	13.72
Magyar.....	181,010	7,640	173,370	4.2	95.8	19.37
Polish.....	440,764	12,054	428,710	2.7	97.3	14.60
Portuguese.....	27,477	3,175	24,302	11.6	88.4	23.60
Roumanian.....	56,313	912	55,401	1.6	98.4	15.16
Russian.....	47,542	3,529	44,013	7.4	92.6	21.79
Ruthenian.....	82,934	1,054	81,880	1.3	98.7	12.76
Scandinavian.....	242,657	33,118	209,539	13.6	86.4	31.07
Scotch.....	69,335	34,154	35,181	49.3	50.7	70.60
Slovak.....	167,934	4,357	163,577	2.6	97.4	17.44
Slovenian.....	29,823	11,782	18,041	39.5	60.5	61.41
Spanish.....	20,634	5,038	15,596	24.4	75.6	54.31
Syrian.....	10,076	725	9,351	7.2	92.8	29.65
Turkish.....	9,491	4,716	4,775	49.7	50.3	72.78
Welsh.....						
Total.....	4,136,016	540,682	3,595,334	13.2	86.9	30.14

The difference between the old and the new immigration in the matter of money shown on admission to the United States appears in the following table:

TABLE 20.—*Money shown on admission to the United States by European immigrants (including Syrian), by class, during the fiscal years 1905 to 1909, inclusive.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Class.	Total number showing money.	Number showing—		Per cent showing—		Amount per capita of those showing money.
		\$50 or over.	Less than \$50.	\$50 or over.	Less than \$50.	
Old immigration.....	1,105,395	349,854	755,541	31.6	68.4	\$55.20
New immigration.....	3,030,621	190,828	2,839,793	6.3	93.7	20.99
Total.....	4,136,016	540,682	3,595,334	13.1	86.9	30.14

As previously suggested, the amounts specified in the above tables do not represent the actual amount of money brought, for the reason that immigrants having \$50 or more are not required to state the exact amount in their possession. It will be noted, however, that in

the case of southern and eastern Europeans only 6.3 per cent of those showing money are recorded as having \$50 or more, so that the total amount shown by immigrants of this general class is undoubtedly a close approximation to the total amount in their possession. The fact that 31.6 per cent of the older-class immigrants showing money were possessed of \$50 or more makes it impossible to so closely estimate the total amount brought by such immigrants.

The above tables deal only with the number of persons showing money, and exclude those showing no money at all, which class, of course, includes children and other dependents. The amount of money shown by all European immigrants of the various races, compared with the total number of such immigrants admitted to the United States during the period considered, is indicated by the following table:

TABLE 21.—*Money per capita shown on admission to the United States by European immigrants (including Syrian), by race or people, in the fiscal years 1905 to 1909, inclusive.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Total number coming	Total number showing money.	Total amount of money brought.	Amount per capita.	
				Based on total coming.	Based on those showing money.
Armenian.....	14,569	10,347	\$366,600	\$25.16	\$35.43
Bohemian and Moravian.....	67,194	43,555	1,844,035	27.44	42.34
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....	73,582	69,905	1,261,786	17.15	18.05
Croatian and Slovenian.....	189,097	170,604	2,697,273	14.26	15.81
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	22,271	20,673	438,991	19.71	21.23
Dutch and Flemish.....	56,172	33,552	2,485,099	44.24	74.07
English.....	276,626	193,759	15,410,689	55.71	79.54
Finnish.....	74,598	63,279	1,522,759	20.41	24.06
French.....	74,979	49,928	4,519,278	60.27	90.52
German.....	468,471	315,332	19,019,661	40.60	60.32
Greek.....	143,249	131,215	3,171,625	22.14	24.17
Hebrew.....	700,014	310,552	9,751,679	13.93	31.40
Irish.....	238,619	191,341	6,459,342	27.07	33.76
Italian, North.....	224,329	185,219	5,867,237	26.15	31.68
Italian, South.....	1,104,539	880,126	15,879,590	14.38	18.04
Lithuanian.....	100,499	80,669	1,106,393	11.01	13.72
Magyar.....	227,327	181,010	3,506,264	15.42	19.37
Polish.....	549,732	440,764	6,433,483	11.70	14.60
Portuguese.....	40,985	27,477	648,386	15.82	23.60
Roumanian.....	60,477	56,313	853,725	14.12	15.16
Russian.....	57,477	47,542	1,035,847	18.02	21.79
Ruthenian.....	92,572	82,934	1,057,978	11.43	12.76
Scandinavian.....	302,664	242,657	7,538,958	24.91	31.07
Scotch.....	98,066	69,335	4,895,111	49.92	70.60
Slovak.....	199,326	167,934	2,929,044	14.69	17.44
Spanish.....	36,654	29,823	1,831,356	49.96	61.41
Syrian.....	29,367	20,634	1,120,570	38.16	54.31
Turkish.....	10,709	10,076	298,783	27.90	29.65
Welsh.....	13,675	9,491	690,778	50.51	72.78
Total.....	5,547,839	4,136,016	124,642,320	22.47	30.14

The amount of money shown per capita of all European immigrants included in the preceding table, classified according to the old and new immigration, is indicated in the following table:

TABLE 22.—*Money per capita shown on admission to the United States by European immigrants (including Syrian), by class, in the fiscal years 1905 to 1909, inclusive.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Class.	Total number coming.	Total number showing money.	Total amount of money shown.	Amount per capita.	
				Based on total coming.	Based on total number showing money.
Old immigration.....	1,529,272	1,105,395	\$61,018,916	\$39.90	\$55.20
New immigration.....	4,018,567	3,030,621	63,623,404	15.83	20.99
Total.....	5,547,839	4,136,016	124,642,320	22.47	30.14

According to the Bureau of Immigration records, as indicated in the above tables, the average amount of money shown by all European immigrants admitted to the United States during the six fiscal years ending June 30, 1909, was \$22.47. The race showing the greatest amount of money per capita was the French, with \$60.27, and the Lithuanians were lowest, with \$11.01 per capita. Among the races showing the largest number of immigrants and the smallest amount of money per capita are the Polish, 549,732 immigrants, with an average of \$11.70 each; Hebrew, 700,014 immigrants, with \$13.93 each; and South Italian, 1,104,539 immigrants, with \$14.38 each.

As in other matters previously discussed, there is a wide difference between the old and new immigration in the matter of money brought to the United States, the former showing \$39.90 per capita, or two and one-half times as much as the latter, which was only \$15.83 per capita. The aggregate amount of money shown by all European immigrants during the six years considered was \$124,642,320; the amount accredited to southern and southeastern Europeans being \$63,623,404, which is less than the amount sent by immigrants in the United States to either Austria-Hungary or Italy in the year 1907. The total amount of money sent to European countries by immigrants in the United States in the year mentioned is conservatively estimated at \$275,000,000, or more than twice as much as was brought by all immigrants from Europe in six years.^a

^a Immigrant Banks. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 37. (S. Doc. No. 753, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)

CHAPTER III.

PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY EMIGRATION.

In the matter of stability or permanence of residence in the United States there is a very wide difference between European immigrants of the old and new classes. The fact that under the immigration law of 1907^a a detailed record is kept of aliens leaving United States ports makes possible a study of the tendency of the different races or peoples to leave the country within varying periods after arrival. The departure of aliens from the United States can not fairly be compared with arriving immigrants in the same or another year, but these items contrasted indicate clearly the races or peoples which, in the main, regard this country as a permanent home and those which to a large extent consider it only as a field for remunerative labor during times of industrial prosperity.

The fiscal year 1906-7 being one of unusual industrial activity was marked by the largest immigration in the history of the country, but following the beginning of the industrial depression in October of the fiscal year 1907-8 there was a sudden reversal in the tide, and during the remainder of that year there was a great exodus of European aliens. The participation of the various European races or peoples in the unprecedented immigration of 1907 and in the exodus during 1908 is shown by the following table:

TABLE 23.—*European immigrants (including Syrian) admitted to the United States during the fiscal year 1907, and European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal year 1908, by race or people.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Immigrants admitted, 1907.		Emigrant aliens departing, 1908.	
	Number.	Per cent of total.	Number.	Per cent of total.
Armenian.....	2,644	0.2	234	0.1
Bohemian and Moravian.....	13,554	1.1	1,051	.3
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....	27,174	2.2	5,965	1.6
Croatian and Slovenian.....	47,826	3.9	28,584	7.5
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	7,393	.6	1,046	.3
Dutch and Flemish.....	12,467	1.0	1,198	.3
English.....	51,126	4.1	5,320	1.4
Finnish.....	14,860	1.2	3,463	.9
French.....	9,392	.8	3,063	.8
German.....	92,936	7.5	14,418	3.8
Greek.....	46,283	3.7	6,768	1.8
Hebrew.....	149,182	12.1	7,702	2.0
Irish.....	38,706	3.1	2,441	.6
Italian, North.....	51,564	4.2	19,507	5.1
Italian, South.....	242,497	19.6	147,828	38.8
Lithuanian.....	25,884	2.1	3,388	.9
Magyar.....	60,071	4.9	29,276	7.7

^aSection 12, immigration act of February 20, 1907.

TABLE 23.—*European immigrants (including Syrian) admitted to the United States during the fiscal year 1907, etc.*—Continued.

Race or people.	Immigrants admitted, 1907.		Immigrant aliens departing, 1908.	
	Number.	Per cent of total.	Number.	Per cent of total.
Polish.....	138,033	11.2	46,727	12.3
Portuguese.....	9,648	.8	898	.2
Roumanian.....	19,200	1.6	5,264	1.4
Russian.....	16,807	1.4	7,507	2.0
Ruthenian.....	24,081	2.0	3,310	.9
Scandinavian.....	53,425	4.3	5,801	1.5
Scotch.....	20,516	1.7	1,596	.4
Slovak.....	42,041	3.4	23,573	6.2
Spanish.....	9,495	.8	1,977	.5
Syrian.....	5,880	.5	1,700	.5
Turkish.....	1,902	.2	1,276	.3
Welsh.....	2,754	.2	163	.0
Total.....	1,237,341	100.0	381,044	100.0

The radical difference between the old and new immigration with regard to stability of residence during a period of depression is more clearly shown by the following table:

TABLE 24.—*European immigrants (including Syrian) admitted to the United States during the fiscal year 1907, and European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal year 1908, by class of immigration.*

Class.	Immigrants admitted, 1907.		Emigrant aliens departing, 1908.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Old immigration.....	281,322	22.7	34,000	8.9
New immigration.....	956,019	77.3	347,044	91.1
Total.....	1,237,341	100.0	381,044	100.0

The one conclusion to be drawn from the record of departures from the United States, as shown by the above table, is that as a whole the races or peoples composing the old immigration are essentially permanent settlers, and that a large proportion of the newer immigrants are simply transients whose interest in the country is measured by the opportunity afforded for labor.

Conspicuous among the newer immigrants as exceptions to this rule are the Hebrews, who formed more than 12 per cent of the European immigration in 1907 and only slightly more than 2 per cent of the exodus in 1908, indicating a degree of permanency not reached by any other race or people in either class.

The races or peoples conspicuous as showing the smallest degree of permanency are the Croatians and Slovenians, South Italians, Slovaks, and Turkish.

In both the old and new classes the exodus of 1908 was composed largely of recent immigrants, about 75 per cent of the former and 83 per cent of the latter having resided in the United States continuously five years or less.

EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF THE RETURN MOVEMENT.

From available data it appears that at least one-third of all European immigrants who come to the United States eventually return to Europe. It seems to be a common belief that this outward movement is largely composed of persons who follow seasonal occupations in the United States and who consequently come and go according to the seasonal demands for labor. Such is not the case, however, for as nearly as can be judged from existing data a very large proportion of those who return to Europe do not come again to this country. Prior to the fiscal year 1908 data respecting the number of outgoing aliens were not secured by the immigration authorities. Owing to a provision of the immigration law of 1907 such data are now available for the three fiscal years, 1908 to 1910, and in the table following the number of European emigrant aliens are shown in comparison with immigration from Europe for the same years.

TABLE 25.—*European immigrants (including Syrian) admitted to the United States, who gave Europe or Turkey in Asia as their last permanent residence, and European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by race or people.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Immigrant aliens admitted.	Emigrant aliens departed.	Number depart- ing for every 100 admitted.
Armenian.....	11,440	1,240	11
Bohemian and Moravian.....	25,188	2,653	11
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....	37,286	10,759	29
Croatian and Slovenian.....	78,658	44,316	56
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	10,331	1,990	19
Dutch and Flemish.....	29,004	2,845	10
English.....	101,611	11,152	11
Finnish.....	32,752	5,197	16
French.....	21,298	9,112	43
German.....	192,644	35,823	19
Greek.....	86,257	21,196	25
Hebrew.....	236,100	18,543	8
Irish.....	93,090	5,728	6
Italian, North.....	77,661	47,870	62
Italian, South.....	457,414	255,188	56
Lithuanian.....	51,129	7,185	14
Magyar.....	78,901	50,597	64
Polish.....	269,646	82,080	30
Portuguese.....	18,426	2,436	13
Roumanian.....	30,949	8,275	27
Russian.....	41,578	15,924	38
Ruthenian.....	55,106	6,681	12
Scandinavian.....	113,786	11,193	10
Scotch.....	42,737	3,417	8
Slovak.....	70,717	41,383	59
Spanish.....	10,299	3,646	35
Syrian.....	13,507	3,584	27
Turkish.....	4,261	2,949	69
Welsh.....	5,562	394	7
Total.....	2,397,338	713,356	32

The foregoing data, classified according to the old and new immigration, are as follows:

TABLE 26.—*European immigrants (including Syrian) admitted to the United States, and European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by class.*

Class.	Immigrant aliens admitted.	Emigrant aliens departed.	Number departing for every 100 admitted.
Old immigration.....	599,732	79,664	13
New immigration.....	1,697,606	633,692	37
Total.....	2,297,338	713,356	32

It will be noted that for every 100 European immigrants admitted to the United States during the period 32 departed from the country. There is a striking preponderance of southern and eastern Europeans in the outward movement, and their relative lack of stability of residence as compared with the older immigrant classes is clearly shown by the fact that of the former 37 departed for every 100 admitted, while among the latter the proportion was only 13 departed to 100 admitted.

THIRD-CLASS PASSENGER MOVEMENT, 1899-1909.

While the above tables cover comparatively a short period of time and include at least one year when the outward movement was abnormally large, they, nevertheless, seem to indicate, on the whole, about the normal status of the inward and outward movement of Europeans in recent years. This belief is substantiated by the steamship companies' records of west and east bound steerage passengers between European and United States ports during the years 1899 to 1909, which data are shown in the following table:

TABLE 27.—*Movement of third-class passengers between the United States and European ports during the calendar years 1899 to 1909, inclusive, by years.*

[From reports of the Trans-Atlantic Passenger Association.]

Year.	British ports.			North continental ports.		
	West-bound passengers from.	East-bound passengers to.	Per cent of excess of west bound. ^a	West-bound passengers from.	East-bound passengers to.	Per cent of excess of west bound. ^a
1899.....	115,818	50,740	39.1	188,096	44,661	61.6
1900.....	153,352	59,504	44.1	249,687	68,019	57.2
1901.....	148,706	52,439	47.9	269,567	69,074	63.6
1902.....	211,121	58,307	56.7	359,740	73,842	65.9
1903.....	255,475	78,649	52.9	421,928	87,111	65.8
1904.....	289,144	124,707	39.7	330,298	96,564	54.8
1905.....	273,634	76,955	56.1	483,704	75,034	73.1
1906.....	351,086	94,262	57.7	568,736	120,264	65.1
1907.....	397,247	136,963	48.7	664,633	213,551	51.4
1908.....	164,742	179,138	b 4.2	185,483	223,701	89.3
1909.....	244,647	101,075	41.5	433,860	96,416	63.6
Total.....	2,604,972	1,012,739	44.0	4,155,732	1,159,237	56.4

^a Per cents were figured on the following basis: West + east = divisor; west - east = dividend.

^b Eastbound traffic in excess.

TABLE 27.—*Movement of third-class passengers between the United States and European ports during the calendar years 1899 to 1909, etc.—Continued.*

Year.	Mediterranean ports.			All ports.		
	West-bound passengers from.	East-bound passengers to.	Per cent of excess of west bound. ^a	West-bound passengers from.	East-bound passengers to.	Per cent of excess of west bound. ^a
1899.....	76,678	22,068	55.3	380,592	117,469	52.8
1900.....	99,886	28,014	56.2	502,925	155,537	52.8
1901.....	126,667	28,450	63.3	544,940	149,993	58.9
1902.....	182,034	44,809	60.5	752,895	179,958	61.9
1903.....	209,970	86,152	41.8	837,373	251,912	55.8
1904.....	142,915	149,878	^b 2.4	762,357	371,149	34.5
1905.....	246,587	91,450	45.9	1,003,925	243,439	61.0
1906.....	303,259	123,550	42.1	1,223,081	338,076	56.7
1907.....	316,170	204,694	21.4	1,378,050	555,178	42.6
1908.....	69,325	254,340	^b 57.2	419,550	657,179	^b 22.1
1909.....	271,159	89,200	50.5	749,666	286,691	44.7
Total.....	2,044,650	1,122,605	29.1	8,805,354	3,294,581	45.5

^a Per cents were figured on the following basis: West + east = divisor, west - east = dividend.
^b Eastbound traffic in excess.

The following table presents the same data in a somewhat different form:

TABLE 28.—*Movement of third-class passengers between the United States and European ports during the period 1899 to 1909, inclusive.*

[Compiled from reports of the Trans-Atlantic Passenger Association.]

Ports.	Number of passengers.		Number arriving for every 100 leaving.
	Leaving for United States ports.	Arriving from United States ports.	
British ports.....	2,604,972	1,012,739	39
North continental ports.....	4,155,732	1,159,237	28
Mediterranean ports.....	2,044,605	1,122,605	55
Total.....	8,805,354	3,294,581	37

These figures are not entirely comparable with the Bureau of Immigration statistics previously shown because the latter include only immigrant and emigrant aliens, while the steamship association data are based on steerage passengers of all classes. Moreover, the bureau figures include all immigrants regardless of the class of transportation. However, the fact that nearly all immigrants travel in the steerage, and that relatively few besides immigrants do so makes it entirely safe to employ the figures last presented for the purpose of approximating the extent of the inward and outward movement under discussion.

By comparing the bureau and steamship data it will be seen that the former, covering a longer period of time, show the largest relative outward movement, and indicate that the tendency of European immigrants to leave the United States in large numbers is not peculiar to the three years previously mentioned. The above data are further substantiated by official Italian statistics, which show that from 1887 to 1907, 2,231,961 Italians departed in the steerage from ports of that

country for United States ports while during the same period 972,695 returned in the steerage from the United States.^a

The cause of the large outward movement, and especially that part which apparently leaves the United States permanently, can only be conjectured. That it is not due to lack of opportunity for employment, except in a period of depression, is evident from the fact that there is a steady influx of European laborers who have little or no difficulty in finding employment here. It seems reasonable to suppose that the movement is due to various causes, including dissatisfaction, ill health, the desire to rejoin family and friends, and the fulfillment of an ambition to possess a sufficient amount of money to make life at home less of a struggle.

SEX AND AGE OF EMIGRANT ALIENS.

The following table shows the sex and age of European aliens leaving the United States during the three fiscal years ending June 30, 1910:

TABLE 29.—*European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by race or people, sex, and age.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Number reporting.	Sex.				Age.					
		Number.		Per cent.		Number.			Per cent.		
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Under 14 years.	14 to 44 years.	45 years or over.	Under 14 years.	14 to 44 years.	45 years or over.
Armenian.....	1,296	1,203	93	92.8	7.2	35	1,077	184	2.7	83.1	14.2
Bohemian and Moravian.....	2,693	1,805	888	67.0	33.0	162	2,215	316	6.0	82.3	11.7
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....	10,997	10,684	313	97.2	2.8	77	10,266	654	.7	93.4	5.9
Croatian and Slovenian.....	44,703	35,637	9,066	79.7	20.3	990	40,445	3,268	2.2	90.5	7.3
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	1,993	1,886	107	94.6	5.4	45	1,784	164	2.3	89.5	8.2
Dutch and Flemish.....	3,117	2,286	831	73.3	26.7	272	2,481	364	8.7	79.6	11.7
English.....	15,628	9,991	5,637	63.9	36.1	1,487	11,811	2,330	9.5	75.6	14.9
Finnish.....	5,796	4,550	1,246	78.5	21.5	357	5,005	434	6.2	86.4	7.5
French.....	9,729	5,808	3,921	59.7	40.3	523	7,814	1,392	5.4	80.3	14.3
German.....	37,837	24,422	13,415	64.5	35.5	2,329	30,996	4,512	6.2	81.9	11.9
Greek.....	21,500	20,805	695	96.8	3.2	270	19,571	1,659	1.3	91.0	7.7
Hebrew.....	19,250	14,348	4,902	74.5	25.5	1,416	15,800	2,034	7.4	82.1	10.6
Irish.....	6,491	3,195	3,296	49.2	50.8	275	5,292	924	4.2	81.5	14.2
Italian, North.....	49,060	42,939	6,121	87.5	12.5	2,031	43,219	3,810	4.1	88.1	7.8
Italian, South.....	257,283	230,077	27,206	89.4	10.6	10,978	222,408	23,897	4.3	86.4	9.3
Lithuanian.....	7,190	5,736	1,454	79.8	20.2	357	6,238	595	5.0	86.8	8.3
Magyar.....	50,918	40,470	10,448	79.5	20.5	1,928	44,544	4,446	3.8	87.5	8.7
Polish.....	82,530	65,795	16,735	79.7	20.3	3,397	72,555	6,378	4.1	88.2	7.7
Portuguese.....	2,619	1,787	832	68.2	31.8	208	1,964	447	7.9	75.0	17.1
Roumanian.....	8,345	7,739	606	92.7	7.3	85	7,547	713	1.0	90.4	8.5
Russian.....	17,301	14,555	2,746	84.1	15.9	762	15,212	1,327	4.4	87.9	7.7
Ruthenian.....	6,685	5,690	1,025	84.7	15.3	120	6,056	509	1.8	90.6	7.6
Scandinavian.....	13,939	9,352	4,587	67.1	32.9	758	11,628	1,553	5.4	83.4	11.1
Scotch.....	4,491	2,922	1,569	65.1	34.9	440	3,503	548	9.8	78.0	12.2
Slovak.....	41,693	33,613	8,080	80.6	19.4	1,373	36,809	3,511	3.3	88.3	8.4
Spanish.....	6,094	5,192	902	85.2	14.8	367	5,110	617	6.0	83.9	10.1
Syrian.....	3,913	3,113	805	79.5	20.5	147	3,353	418	3.8	85.6	10.7
Turkish.....	3,022	2,911	121	96.0	4.0	31	2,800	201	1.0	92.3	6.6
Welsh.....	460	315	145	68.5	31.5	34	346	80	7.4	75.2	17.4
Total.....	736,588	608,796	127,792	82.7	17.3	31,254	638,049	67,285	4.2	86.6	9.1

^a See p. 229.

The preceding table with the various races or peoples classified according to the old and new immigration previously described is as follows:

TABLE 30.—*European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by class, sex, and age.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Class.	Number reporting.	Sex.				Age.					
		Number.		Per cent.		Number.			Per cent.		
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Under 14 years.	14 to 44 years.	45 years or over.	Under 14 years.	14 to 44 years.	45 years or over.
Old immigration...	91,692	58,291	33,401	63.6	36.4	6,118	73,871	11,703	6.7	80.6	12.8
New immigration...	644,896	550,505	94,391	85.4	14.6	25,136	564,178	55,582	3.9	87.5	8.6
Total.....	736,588	608,796	127,792	82.7	17.3	31,254	638,049	67,285	4.2	86.6	9.1

The tables show a striking predominance of males in the movement from the United States to Europe, 82.7 per cent of all departing aliens and 85.4 of the southern and eastern Europeans being of that sex. The fact that 86.6 of all departing aliens were from 14 to 44 years of age indicates that the outward movement is largely composed of persons in the prime of life.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES.

The table next presented shows the length of residence in the United States of European aliens who left the country during the fiscal years 1908 to 1910.

The Immigration Commission.

TABLE 31.—European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by race or people and period of residence in the United States.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Number.						Per cent.					
	Un-known.	Not over 5 years.	5 to 10 years.	10 to 15 years.	15 to 20 years.	Over 20 years.	Un-known.	Not over 5 years.	5 to 10 years.	10 to 15 years.	15 to 20 years.	Over 20 years.
Armenian	15	808	368	67	36	2	1.2	62.3	28.4	5.2	2.8	0.2
Bohemian and Moravian	23	2,150	431	34	35	20	.9	79.8	16.0	1.3	1.3	.7
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin	190	10,114	656	22	9	6	1.7	92.0	6.0	.2	.1	.1
Croatian and Slovenian	288	36,585	7,285	310	157	78	.6	81.8	16.3	.7	.4	.2
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian	191	1,652	308	13	11	9	.0	82.9	15.5	.7	.6	.5
Dutch and Flemish	1,738	2,380	402	69	35	40	6.1	76.4	12.9	2.2	1.1	1.3
English	550	11,567	1,502	371	231	219	11.1	74.0	9.6	2.4	1.5	1.4
Finnish	199	3,693	1,281	151	76	45	9.5	63.7	22.1	2.6	1.3	.8
French	1,293	6,581	1,903	361	340	345	2.0	67.6	19.6	3.7	3.5	3.5
German	184	29,146	5,402	699	653	644	3.4	77.0	14.3	1.8	1.7	1.7
Greek	478	18,006	3,051	179	60	20	.9	83.7	14.2	.8	.3	.1
Hebrew	404	16,413	2,102	178	101	52	2.1	85.3	10.9	.9	.5	.3
Irish	661	3,936	1,306	298	212	261	7.4	60.6	20.1	4.6	3.3	4.0
Italian, North	1,325	37,579	9,135	923	500	262	1.3	76.6	18.6	1.9	1.0	.5
Italian, South	284	212,584	38,488	2,846	1,441	599	.5	82.6	15.0	1.1	.6	.2
Lithuanian	370	5,942	1,070	104	57	17	.0	82.6	14.9	1.4	.8	.2
Magyar	1,889	43,924	6,119	367	168	56	.6	86.3	12.0	.7	.3	.1
Polish	48	71,247	9,536	808	438	131	.4	86.3	11.6	1.0	.5	.2
Portuguese	1,153	1,889	562	60	51	57	.0	72.1	21.5	2.3	1.9	2.2
Roumanian	4	7,815	464	11	1	6	.6	93.6	5.6	.1	(a)	.1
Russian	4	14,223	1,633	173	81	38	6.7	82.2	9.4	1.0	.5	.2
Ruthenian	2,398	5,812	750	77	29	13	.1	86.9	11.2	1.2	.4	.2
Scandinavian	770	8,276	2,436	353	285	191	17.2	59.4	17.5	2.5	2.0	1.4
Scotch	286	3,201	353	71	37	59	17.1	71.3	7.9	1.6	.8	1.3
Slovak	62	34,681	5,858	478	273	117	.7	83.2	14.1	1.1	.7	.3
Spanish	72	5,001	697	254	41	39	1.0	82.1	11.4	4.2	.7	.6
Syrian	26	2,584	1,072	133	45	12	1.8	66.0	27.4	3.4	1.1	.3
Turkish	58	2,642	315	32	12	5	.9	87.1	10.4	1.1	.4	.2
Welsh	26	328	41	9	12	12	12.6	71.3	8.9	2.0	2.6	2.6
Total	13,070	600,759	104,526	9,451	5,427	3,355	1.8	81.6	14.2	1.3	.7	.5

(a) Less than 0.05 per cent.

The preceding table with the various races or peoples classified according to the old and new immigration is as follows:

TABLE 32.—European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by class and period of residence in the United States.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Class.	Number.						Per cent.					
	Un-known	Not over 5 years.	5 to 10 years.	10 to 15 years.	15 to 20 years.	Over 20 years.	Un-known	Not over 5 years.	5 to 10 years.	10 to 15 years.	15 to 20 years.	Over 20 years.
Old immigration	7,125	65,415	13,345	2,231	1,805	1,771	7.8	71.3	14.6	2.4	2.0	1.9
New immigration	5,945	535,344	91,181	7,220	3,622	1,584	.9	83.0	14.1	1.1	.6	.2
Total	13,070	600,759	104,526	9,451	5,427	3,355	1.8	81.6	14.2	1.3	.7	.5

OCCUPATIONS OF EMIGRANT ALIENS.

The occupational status of European aliens departing from the United States during the three years under consideration is shown by the following table:

TABLE 33.—*European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by race or people and occupation.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Number reporting.							Total.	
	Profes- sional.	Skilled.	Farm labor- ers.	Farm- ers.	Com- mon labor- ers.	Serv- ants.	No occupa- tion.		Miscel- lane- ous.
Armenian.....	17	201	26	9	832	31	86	79	1,281
Bohemian and Moravian.....	31	460	5	89	1,117	256	676	36	2,670
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....	12	631	79	180	9,518	65	253	69	10,807
Croatian and Slovenian.....	42	7,821	808	887	30,169	792	3,546	350	44,415
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	3	198	43	36	1,493	24	147	49	1,993
Dutch and Flemish.....	134	586	21	136	953	118	834	144	2,926
English.....	1,138	3,783	28	323	1,497	1,035	4,921	1,165	13,890
Finnish.....	18	1,253	9	168	2,375	321	1,039	63	5,246
French.....	887	1,959	120	216	1,442	1,073	2,833	1,000	9,530
German.....	1,486	5,912	107	1,335	11,671	3,867	10,138	2,028	36,544
Greek.....	40	906	157	87	18,073	178	830	1,045	21,316
Hebrew.....	231	6,385	2	64	4,875	910	3,899	2,480	18,846
Irish.....	171	972	12	114	1,255	1,921	1,275	293	6,013
Italian, North.....	453	8,916	2,252	476	28,331	1,180	5,633	1,158	48,399
Italian, South.....	500	11,796	1,402	905	207,505	4,905	26,839	2,106	255,958
Lithuanian.....	10	677	7	35	4,834	161	1,391	75	7,190
Magyar.....	114	4,087	100	867	34,323	2,687	8,070	386	50,634
Polish.....	92	5,491	86	706	58,178	2,969	14,044	594	82,160
Portuguese.....	14	372	6	111	1,055	290	601	170	2,619
Roumanian.....	11	290	24	194	7,084	137	482	75	8,297
Russian.....	116	1,892	39	242	10,711	444	2,229	475	16,148
Ruthenian.....	5	609	11	64	4,911	235	806	40	6,681
Scandinavian.....	376	3,012	53	655	2,759	1,885	2,391	410	11,541
Scotch.....	164	1,472	7	49	345	272	1,202	210	3,721
Slovak.....	37	4,545	76	940	27,204	1,821	6,487	297	41,407
Spanish.....	239	2,124	39	147	1,246	162	1,066	1,009	6,032
Syrian.....	23	274	30	46	1,660	110	660	1,043	3,846
Turkish.....	19	307	25	39	2,314	32	119	151	3,006
Welsh.....	20	139	.....	11	59	30	121	22	402
Total.....	6,403	77,070	5,574	9,131	477,789	27,911	102,618	17,022	723,518

TABLE 33.—*European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, etc*—Continued.

Race or people.	Per cent.								Total.
	Profes- sional.	Skilled.	Farm labor- ers.	Farm- ers.	Com- mon labor- ers.	Serv- ants.	No occu- pa- tion.	Miscel- lane- ous.	
Armenian	1.3	15.7	2.0	0.7	64.9	2.4	6.7	6.2	100.0
Bohemian and Moravian	1.2	17.2	.2	3.3	41.8	9.6	25.3	1.3	100.0
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin .....	.1	5.8	.7	1.7	88.1	.6	2.3	.6	100.0
Croatian and Slovenian .....	.1	17.6	1.8	2.0	67.9	1.8	8.0	.8	100.0
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian .....	.2	9.9	2.2	1.8	74.9	1.2	7.4	2.5	100.0
Dutch and Flemish	4.6	20.0	.7	4.6	32.6	4.0	28.5	4.9	100.0
English	8.2	27.2	.2	2.3	10.8	7.5	35.4	8.4	100.0
Finnish .....	.3	23.9	.2	3.2	45.3	6.1	19.8	1.2	100.0
French	9.3	20.6	1.3	2.3	15.1	11.3	29.7	10.5	100.0
German	4.1	16.2	.3	3.7	31.9	10.6	27.7	5.5	100.0
Greek .....	.2	4.3	.7	.4	84.8	.8	3.9	4.9	100.0
Hebrew	1.2	33.9	(a)	.3	25.9	4.8	20.7	13.2	100.0
Irish	2.8	16.2	.2	1.9	20.9	31.9	21.2	4.9	100.0
Italian, North .....	.9	18.4	4.7	1.0	58.5	2.4	11.6	2.4	100.0
Italian, South .....	.2	4.6	.5	.4	81.1	1.9	10.5	.8	100.0
Lithuanian .....	.1	9.4	.1	.5	67.2	2.2	19.3	1.0	100.0
Magyar .....	.2	8.1	.2	1.7	67.8	5.3	15.9	.8	100.0
Polish .....	.1	6.7	.1	.9	70.8	3.6	17.1	.7	100.0
Portuguese .....	.5	14.2	.2	4.2	40.3	11.1	22.9	6.5	100.0
Roumanian .....	.1	3.5	.3	2.3	85.4	1.7	5.8	.9	100.0
Russian .....	.7	11.7	.2	1.5	66.3	2.7	13.8	2.9	100.0
Ruthenian .....	.1	9.1	.2	1.0	73.5	3.5	12.1	.6	100.0
Scandinavian	3.3	26.1	.5	5.7	23.9	16.3	20.7	3.6	100.0
Scotch	4.4	39.6	.2	1.3	9.3	7.3	32.3	5.6	100.0
Slovak .....	.1	11.0	.2	2.3	65.7	4.4	15.7	.7	100.0
Spanish	4.0	35.2	.6	2.4	20.7	2.7	17.7	16.7	100.0
Syrian .....	.6	7.1	.8	1.2	43.2	2.9	17.2	27.1	100.0
Turkish .....	.6	10.2	.8	1.3	77.0	1.1	4.0	5.0	100.0
Welsh	5.0	34.6	.0	2.7	14.7	7.5	30.1	5.5	100.0
Total .....	.9	10.7	.8	1.3	66.0	3.9	14.2	2.4	100.0

(a) Less than 0.05 per cent.

The above data concerning occupations, classified according to the old and new immigration, are as follows:

TABLE 34.—*European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by class and occupation.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Class.	Number reporting.								Total.
	Profes- sional.	Skilled.	Farm labor- ers.	Farm- ers.	Com- mon labor- ers.	Serv- ants.	No occu- pa- tion.	Miscel- lane- ous.	
Old immigration	4,376	17,835	348	2,839	19,981	10,201	23,715	5,272	84,567
New immigration	2,027	59,235	5,226	6,292	457,808	17,710	78,903	11,750	638,951
Total	6,403	77,070	5,574	9,131	477,789	27,911	102,618	17,022	723,518

TABLE 34.—European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, etc—Continued.

Class.	Per cent.								
	Profes- sional.	Skilled.	Farm labor- ers.	Farm- ers.	Com- mon labor- ers.	Serv- ants.	No occu- pation.	Mis- cella- neous.	Total.
Old immigration.....	5.2	21.1	0.4	3.4	23.6	12.1	28.0	6.2	100.0
New immigration.....	.3	9.3	.8	1.0	71.7	2.8	12.3	1.8	100.0
Total.....	.9	10.7	.8	1.3	66.0	3.9	14.2	2.4	100.0

DESTINATION OF EMIGRANT ALIENS.

The intended future residence of European aliens departing from the United States during the three fiscal years ending June 30, 1910, is shown by the table which follows:

TABLE 35.—European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by race or people and country of intended future residence.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Country of intended future residence.							
	Austria- Hungary.	Bel- gium.	Bulgaria, Serbia, and Monte- negro.	Den- mark.	France, includ- ing Corsica.	Ger- man Emp- ire.	Greece.	Italy, in- clud- ing Sicily and Sardinia.
Armenian.....	53		8		30	2	26	14
Bohemian and Moravian.....	2,590		1		17	32		2
Bulgarian, Servian, and Monte- negrin.....	2,828	10	5,995		33	20	12	31
Croatian and Slovenian.....	43,800		92	2	44	44	14	181
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herze- govinian.....	1,917		12		3			41
Dutch and Flemish.....	71	1,551	1	4	74	65		6
English.....	45	2	2	1	100	42	3	48
Finnish.....	14		2	9		4		1
French.....	73	274	2	1	8,225	47	4	55
German.....	15,999	57	29	7	334	16,466	5	76
Greek.....	139		23		112	4	19,518	306
Hebrew.....	4,565	16	3	1	80	151	8	13
Irish.....	11				23	3		2
Italian, North.....	784	2	5		324	36	14	46,413
Italian, South.....	109	6	6		78	4	68	254,799
Lithuanian.....	137	1	1		1	14		2
Magyar.....	50,333	2	33		13	52	1	69
Polish.....	47,949	3	9	2	15	675	3	39
Portuguese.....	1				3			51
Roumanian.....	6,633		17		21	23		9
Russian.....	991	5	2		59	80	1	28
Ruthenian.....	6,556		1	1	1	1		2
Scandinavian.....	37	4	2	1,548	22	35		4
Scotch.....	3	2		4	2			2
Slovak.....	41,020	2	26		30	67	10	33
Spanish.....	8			1	125	6		36
Syrian.....	20		4		28	1	28	13
Turkish.....	81	1	99		69	2	138	46
Welsh.....	1				7			2
Total.....	226,768	1,938	6,375	1,581	9,873	17,876	19,853	302,324

TABLE 35.—European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, etc.—Continued.

Race or people.	Country of intended future residence.						Sweden.
	Nether-lands.	Norway.	Portugal, including Cape Verde and Azores.	Roumania.	Russian Empire	Spain, including Canary and Balearic Islands.	
Armenian.....	1			7	14		
Bohemian and Moravian.....					8		
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....		1		163	45		
Croatian and Slovenian.....		1		19	49	2	
Dutch and Flemish.....	1,034				6	2	2
English.....	55	5	1	1	50	13	16
Finnish.....		32			5,087		25
French.....	2				4	24	1
German.....	22	1		18	1,249	9	2
Greek.....	1		1	4	12	3	
Hebrew.....	25		2	346	12,723		4
Irish.....		2			6	1	5
Italian, North.....				5	5	9	3
Italian, South.....	1		24		6	22	1
Lithuanian.....	4				6,991		
Magyar.....		1		20	55		
Polish.....	1	1		29	33,313		3
Portuguese.....			2,359		1	18	
Roumanian.....				1,482	34	1	
Russian.....	2	1		2	14,678	1	2
Ruthenian.....				1	118		
Scandinavian.....	2	4,583			204		4,670
Scotch.....		2			2		4
Slovak.....		1		5	135		1
Spanish.....						3,447	
Syrian.....			2		5	3	
Turkish.....				41	13		
Total.....	1,150	4,631	2,389	2,143	74,813	3,555	4,739

Race or people.	Country of intended future residence.						Total.
	Switzer-land.	Turkey in Europe.	United Kingdom.	Other Europe.	Turkey in Asia.	All other countries	
Armenian.....	5	85	4		991	54	1,294
Bohemian and Moravian.....		1			2	57	2,710
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....	12	1,592	2		25	158	10,927
Croatian and Slovenian.....	44	11	12		1	126	44,442
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	1	11			5	1	1,991
Dutch and Flemish.....	1		27		1	240	3,085
English.....	20	1	10,786	3	8	3,279	14,481
Finnish.....			23			411	5,608
French.....	336		58	2	4	510	9,622
German.....	1,415	6	110	1	17	3,926	39,749
Greek.....	5	949	14		105	419	21,615
Hebrew.....	14	61	492		27	418	18,949
Irish.....			5,672		3	681	6,409
Italian, North.....	216	7	34	1	12	779	48,649
Italian, South.....	8	16	31	5	4	2,714	257,902
Lithuanian.....			34			4	7,189
Magyar.....	2	10	3		3	417	51,014
Polish.....	4	2	32			427	82,507
Portuguese.....			2	1		114	2,550
Roumanian.....		48	4		3	121	8,396
Russian.....	1	3	62		6	1,152	17,076
Ruthenian.....						16	6,697
Scandinavian.....	2	1	79			4,409	15,602
Scotch.....			3,396			928	4,345
Slovak.....	13	28	6		6	55	41,438
Spanish.....	1		11	11		1,651	5,297
Syrian.....	1	73	7		3,399	226	3,810
Turkish.....		2,100	9	2	348	61	3,010
Welsh.....			384			77	471
Total.....	2,101	5,005	21,294	26	4,970	23,431	736,835

PERMANENCE OF THE RETURN MOVEMENT.

How large a proportion of the immigrants who return to Europe do not come again to the United States can not be definitely determined. This, however, can undoubtedly be approximated with a fair degree of accuracy by a consideration of the proportion of arriving immigrants who have been in the United States previously. These data for the fiscal years 1899 to 1910 are shown in the table which follows:

TABLE 36.—*Total number of European immigrants (including Syrian) admitted, and total number who have been in the United States previously, during the fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by race or people.*^a

[Compiled from the reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Number admitted.	In United States previously.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Armenian.....	26,498	1,533	5.8
Bohemian and Moravian.....	100,189	4,066	4.1
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....	97,391	7,761	8.0
Croatian and Slovenian.....	335,542	43,037	12.8
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	31,696	2,392	7.5
Dutch and Flemish.....	87,658	9,548	10.9
English.....	408,614	103,828	25.4
Finnish.....	151,774	17,189	11.3
French.....	115,783	33,859	29.2
German.....	754,375	86,458	11.5
Greek.....	216,962	12,283	5.7
Hebrew.....	1,074,442	22,914	2.1
Irish.....	439,724	80,636	18.3
Italian, North.....	372,668	56,738	15.2
Italian, South.....	1,911,933	262,508	13.7
Lithuanian.....	175,258	6,186	3.5
Magyar.....	337,351	39,785	11.8
Polish.....	949,064	65,155	6.9
Portuguese.....	72,897	8,966	12.3
Roumanian.....	82,704	8,984	10.9
Russian.....	83,574	3,451	4.1
Ruthenian.....	147,375	18,492	12.5
Scandinavian.....	586,306	86,700	14.8
Scotch.....	136,842	27,684	20.2
Slovak.....	377,527	71,889	19.0
Spanish.....	51,051	14,797	29.0
Syrian.....	56,909	6,220	10.9
Turkish.....	12,954	861	6.6
Welsh.....	20,752	4,232	20.4
Other races.....	4,253	795	18.7
Total.....	9,220,066	1,108,948	12.0

^a Figures for 1908, 1909, and 1910 are for "Alien immigrants" only.

It will be seen that during the fiscal years 1899 to 1910 12 per cent of all European immigrants admitted at United States ports had been in this country before. As previously shown, the outward movement of European aliens in recent years has been approximately one-third as great as the number of European immigrants admitted to the United States. Comparing this with the fact that only 12 per cent of all European immigrants admitted to the United States have been here previously, it seems clear that a very large per cent of those who leave the United States do so permanently.

EFFECTS OF THE RETURN MOVEMENT IN EUROPE.

In every country of Europe to which large numbers of former emigrants return from America the effects of the return movement are apparent. The repatriates as a rule return with amounts of money which seem large in the surroundings from which they emigrated. Usually, also, their sojourn abroad has made them more enterprising and ambitious and created in them a desire for better things than those to which they were formerly accustomed. This desire usually leads to the adoption of a higher standard of living, improved methods of labor in agriculture and other pursuits. In several parts of Europe visited by members of the Commission the dwellings of the returned emigrants are conspicuously better than those of their neighbors, and their economic status as a whole is higher. Their example, too, is often emulated by their neighbors, and in consequence the tone of whole communities is frequently elevated. This phase of the subject is discussed at greater length in articles on the emigration situation in the various countries of Europe, which will be found elsewhere in this report.

CHAPTER IV.

CAUSES OF EMIGRATION FROM EUROPE.

PRIMARY CAUSES.

The present movement of population from Europe to the United States is, with few exceptions, almost entirely attributable to economic causes. Emigration due to political reasons and, to a less extent, religious oppression, undoubtedly exists, but even in countries where these incentives prevail the more important cause is very largely an economic one. This does not mean, however, that emigration from Europe is now an economic necessity. At times in the past, notably during the famine years in Ireland, actual want forced a choice between emigration and literal starvation, but the present movement results, in the main, simply from a widespread desire for better economic conditions rather than from the necessity of escaping intolerable ones. In other words the emigrant of to-day comes to the United States not merely to make a living, but to make a better living than is possible at home.

With comparatively few exceptions the emigrant of to-day is essentially a seller of labor seeking a more favorable market. To a considerable extent this incentive is accompanied by a certain spirit of unrest and adventure and a more or less definite ambition for general social betterment, but primarily the movement is accounted for by the fact that the reward of labor is much greater in the United States than in Europe.

The desire to escape military service is also a primary cause of emigration from some countries, but on the whole it is relatively unimportant. It is true, moreover, that some emigrate to escape punishment for crime, or the stigma which follows such punishment, while others of the criminal class deliberately seek supposedly more advantageous fields for criminal activity. The emigration of criminals of this class is a natural movement not altogether peculiar to European countries and, although vastly important because dangerous, numerically it affects but little the tide of European emigration to the United States.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN EUROPE.

In order that the chief cause of emigration from Europe may be better understood, the Commission has given considerable attention to economic conditions in the countries visited, with particular reference to the status of emigrating classes in this regard. It was impossible for the commissioners personally to make more than a general survey of this subject, but because an understanding of the economic situation in the chief immigrant-furnishing countries is essential to an intelligent discussion of the immigration question, the

results of the Commission's investigation in this regard have been supplemented by official data or well-authenticated material from other sources.

The purely economic condition of the wageworker is generally very much lower in Europe than in the United States. This is especially true of the unskilled-laborer class, from which so great a proportion of the emigration to the United States is drawn. Skilled labor also is poorly paid when compared with returns for like service in the United States, but the opportunity for continual employment in this field is usually good and the wages sufficiently high to lessen the necessity of emigration. A large proportion of the emigration from southern and eastern Europe may be traced directly to the inability of the peasantry to gain an adequate livelihood in agricultural pursuits, either as laborers or proprietors. Agricultural labor is paid extremely low wages, and employment is quite likely to be seasonal rather than continuous.

In cases where peasant proprietorship is possible the land holdings are usually so small, the methods of cultivation so primitive, and the taxes so high that even in productive years the struggle for existence is a hard one, while a crop failure means practical disaster for the small farmer and farm laborer alike. In agrarian Russia, where the people have not learned to emigrate, a crop failure results in a famine, while in other sections of southern and eastern Europe it results in emigration, usually to the United States. Periods of industrial depression as well as crop failures stimulate emigration, but the effect of the former is not so pronounced for the reason that disturbed financial and industrial conditions in Europe are usually coincidental with like conditions in the United States, and at such times the emigration movement is always relatively smaller.

WAGES IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

The fragmentary nature of available data relative to wages in many European countries makes a satisfactory comparison with wages in the United States impossible. Unfortunately, too, these data are missing for countries which are now the chief sources of European emigration to the United States. It is possible, however, to show the relative wages and hours of labor at a comparatively recent date in some leading occupations in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and France, and as the economic status of wage-workers is much higher in the three latter countries than in southern and eastern European countries the approximate difference between wages in such countries and in the United States may be inferred.

TABLE 37.—Wages and hours of labor in leading occupations in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and France, 1903.

[Compiled from Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor, No. 54, pp. 1120-1125.]

Occupation.	Wages per hour in—				Hours per week in—			
	United States.	Great Britain.	Germany.	France.	United States.	Great Britain.	Germany.	France.
Blacksmiths.....	\$0.30	\$0.17	\$0.12	\$0.16	56.56	53.67	60.19	60.19
Boiler makers.....	.28	.17	.11	.15	56.24	53.67	60.00	61.50
Bricklayers.....	.55	.21	.13	.13	47.83	51.83	56.50	63.00
Carpenters.....	.36	.20	.13	.15	49.46	50.17	55.30	60.00
Compositors.....	.45	.18	.14	.13	49.81	50.00	51.08	60.00
Hod carriers.....	.29	.13	.08	.10	47.98	51.83	59.50	63.91
Iron molders.....	.30	.17	.....	.13	56.80	53.67	.....	60.00
Laborers.....	.17	.10	.08	.10	56.29	52.50	56.36	60.00
Machinists.....	.27	.17	.13	.13	56.12	53.67	60.00	61.50
Painters.....	.35	.18	.12	.13	48.89	51.00	56.25	60.00
Plumbers.....	.44	.20	.11	.15	48.91	49.17	56.68	54.00
Stonemasons.....	.42	.20	.12	.14	48.67	50.17	54.00	60.00
Stonemasons.....	.46	.21	.13	.14	49.54	50.17	56.50	66.00

In the above table the figures for the United States cover a wide area, representing the smaller as well as the larger centers of industry, while those for the European countries were taken in two or three of the larger centers of industry in each country.

As before stated, there are available but little official data relative to wages in southern and southeastern Europe, but it is a well-known fact that they are very much lower there than in Great Britain, Germany, or France. The Commission found this to be true in the portions of Italy, Austria-Hungary, Greece, Turkey, Russia, and the Balkan States visited. In fact, it may safely be stated that in the latter countries the average wage of men engaged in common and agricultural labor is less than 50 cents per day, while in some sections it is even much lower. It is true that in some countries agricultural laborers receive from employers certain concessions in the way of fuel, food, etc., but in cases of this nature which came to the attention of the Commission the value of the concessions was insufficient to materially affect the low wage scale.

COST OF LIVING IN EUROPE.

It is a common but entirely erroneous belief that peasants and artisans in Europe can live so very cheaply that the low wages have practically as great a purchasing power as the higher wages in the United States. The low cost of living among the working people of Europe, and especially of southern and eastern Europe, is due to a low standard of living rather than to the cheapness of food and other necessary commodities. As a matter of fact, meat and other costly articles of food which are considered as almost essential to the everyday table of the American workman can not be afforded among laborers in like occupations in southern and eastern Europe.

DESIRE FOR BETTER CONDITIONS.

Notwithstanding the bad economic conditions surrounding the classes which furnish so great a part of the emigration from southern and eastern Europe, the Commission believes that a laudable ambition for better things than they possess rather than a need for actual necessities is the chief motive behind the movement to the United States. Knowledge of conditions in America, promulgated through letters from friends or by emigrants who have returned for a visit to their native villages, creates and fosters among the people a desire for improved conditions which, it is believed, can be attained only through emigration. Unfortunately, but inevitably, the returned emigrant, in a spirit of braggadocio, is inclined to exaggerate his economic achievements in America. In consequence, some whose emigration is influenced by these highly colored statements, accompanied perhaps by a display of what to them seems great wealth, are doomed to disappointment. The latter, however, naturally hesitate to admit their failures, and consequently there is little to disturb the belief prevailing in southern and eastern Europe that success awaits all who are able to emigrate to the United States.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CAUSES.

It is the opinion of the Commission that, with the exception of some Russian and Roumanian Hebrews, relatively few Europeans emigrate at the present time because of political or religious conditions. It is doubtless true that political discontent still influences the emigration movement from Ireland, but to a less degree than in earlier years. The survival of the Polish national spirit undoubtedly is a determining factor in the emigration from Germany, Russia, and Austria of some of that race, while dissatisfaction with Russian domination is to a degree responsible for Finnish emigration. In all probability some part of the emigration from Turkey in Europe, Turkey in Asia, as well as from the Balkan States, is also attributable to political conditions in those countries. There is, of course, a small movement from nearly every European country of political idealists who prefer a democracy to a monarchical government, but these, and in fact all, with the exception of the Hebrew peoples referred to, whose emigration is in part due to political or religious causes, form a very small portion of the present European emigration to the United States.

CONTRIBUTORY CAUSES.

Contributory or immediate causes of emigration were given due consideration by the Commission. Chief of these causes is the advice and assistance of relatives or friends who have previously emigrated. Through the medium of letters from those already in the United States and the visits of former emigrants, the emigrating classes of Europe are kept constantly, if not always reliably, informed as to labor conditions here, and these agencies are by far the most potent promoters of the present movement of population.

LETTERS FROM FRIENDS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Commission found ample evidence of this fact in every country of southern and eastern Europe. Of the two agencies mentioned, however, letters are by far the most important. In fact, it is entirely safe to assert that letters from persons who have emigrated to friends at home have been the immediate cause of by far the greater part of the remarkable movement from southern and eastern Europe to the United States during the past twenty-five years. There is hardly a village or community in southern Italy and Sicily but what has contributed a portion of its population to swell the tide of emigration to the United States, and the same is true of large areas of Austria, Hungary, Greece, Turkey, and the Balkans. There is a tendency on the part of emigrants from these countries to retain an interest in the homeland, and in consequence a great amount of correspondence passes back and forth. It was frequently stated to members of the Commission that letters from persons who had emigrated to America were passed from hand to hand until most of the emigrant's friends and neighbors were acquainted with the contents. In periods of industrial activity, as a rule, the letters so circulated contain optimistic references to wages and opportunities for employment in the United States, and when comparison in this regard is made with conditions at home it is inevitable that whole communities should be inoculated with a desire to emigrate. The reverse is true during seasons of industrial depression in the United States. At such times intending emigrants are quickly informed by their friends in the United States relative to conditions of employment, and a great falling off in the tide of emigration is the immediate result.

"The greatest influence in promoting emigration," Consul McFarland says of Bohemia,^a "comes from relatives and friends in the United States who write glowing accounts of the enormous wages received, food such as the nobility eat at home, and houses grandly furnished." Letters, current gossip, newspaper stories, and the return of successful emigrants are the influences which bring individuals to the point of believing that the oppressive economic conditions under which they live can be escaped.

In an unpublished report to the Bureau of Immigration Inspectors Dobler and Sempsey, who, as elsewhere stated, visited Europe in 1906, refer to the—

effect produced in peasant villages by the receipt of letters from America containing remittances of perhaps \$60 to \$100 * * *. The cottage of the recipient becomes at once the place to which the entire male population proceeds, and the letters are read and reread until the contents can be repeated word for word. When instances of this kind have been multiplied by thousands, it is not difficult to understand what impels poor people to leave their homes.

The word comes again and again that "work is abundant and wages princely in America." In an Italian village near Milan the Immigration Bureau's inspectors found an English-speaking peasant acting as receiver and distributor of letters from America. Letters are sent from village to village by persons having friends in the United States, and one letter may influence in this way a score of peasants. The comment of another peasant who circulated letters

^a Emigration to the United States. Special Consular Reports, Vol. XXX, United States Bureau of Statistics, 1904.

from "American" friends is significant: "We all like America; it gives us good cheer to think about it." The effect of such a state of mind is obvious.

INFLUENCE OF RETURNED EMIGRANTS.

Emigrants who have returned for a visit to their native land are also great promoters of emigration. This is particularly true of southern and eastern European immigrants, who, as a class, make more or less frequent visits to their old homes. Among the returning emigrants are always some who have failed to achieve success in America, and some who through changed conditions of life and employment return in broken health. It is but natural that these should have a slightly deterrent effect on emigration, but on the whole this is relatively unimportant, for the returning emigrant, as a rule, is one who has succeeded and, as before stated, is inclined to exaggerate rather than minimize his achievements in the United States. In times of industrial inactivity in the United States the large number of emigrants who return to their native lands, of course, serve as a temporary check to emigration, but it is certain that in the long run such returning emigrants actually promote rather than retard the movement to the United States.

The investigators of the Bureau of Immigration were impressed by the number of men in Italy and in various Slavic communities who speak English and who exhibit a distinct affection for the United States. The unwillingness of such men to work in the fields at 25 to 30 cents a day; their tendency to acquire property; their general initiative; and, most concretely, the money they can show, make a vivid impression. They are dispensers of information and inspiration, and are often willing to follow up the inspiration by loans to prospective emigrants.

The Commission was informed that one-third of the emigrants from Syria return for a time to their native country and later go back to the United States; but that in the meantime many of them build houses much superior to those of their neighbors and by such evidence of prosperity add to the desire for emigration among their countrymen. A man who left a little village in Transylvania in 1904 with the proceeds of the sale of two head of cattle came back two years later with \$500, and was the source of a genuine fever of emigration among his acquaintances, which has increased ever since. It is not to be wondered at that young men of spirit and ambition should want to emulate successful friends, and one can easily feel the truth of a statement made by a large land proprietor to the Royal Italian Agricultural Commission, elsewhere referred to: "Emigration is spontaneous. It becomes like a contagious disease. Even the children speak of going to America."

MUTUAL SAVINGS SOCIETIES.

Hon. Horace G. Knowles, American minister to Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria, informed the Commission relative to a system of mutual savings followed in some very poor Bulgarian villages which illustrates the faith in America as the refuge of the poor. Mr. Knowles says:

A number of cases were heard of in nearly every district, where it required the combined savings of years of a score or more of peasants to provide the

means for one person to emigrate to the United States. They have a kind of lottery by which one of the group would have the benefit of the savings of all the others and go. The lucky one would, after a few months in the United States, repay, with interest, the amount advanced by his compatriots, with the result that they all would have a still stronger desire to go to America, and then would fall another drawing and another emigrant.

JOINING FRIENDS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The importance of the advice of friends as an immediate cause of emigration from Europe is also indicated by the fact that nearly all European immigrants admitted to the United States are, according to their own statements, going to join relatives or friends. The United States immigration law provides that information upon this point be secured relative to every alien coming to the United States by water, and the result, so far as European immigrants admitted in the fiscal years 1908 and 1909 are concerned, is indicated by the following table:

TABLE 38.—*European immigrants (including Syrian) going to join relatives or friends in the United States during the fiscal years 1908 and 1909, by race or people.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Total number.	Going to join relatives or friends.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Armenian.....	6,407	6,288	98.1
Bohemian and Moravian.....	17,014	16,703	98.2
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....	24,460	21,605	88.3
Croatian and Slovenian.....	40,653	39,161	96.3
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	15,635	5,221	92.7
Dutch and Flemish.....	17,640	16,304	92.4
English.....	88,077	70,502	80.0
Finnish.....	18,433	17,500	94.9
French.....	32,304	26,710	82.7
German.....	131,572	123,335	93.7
Greek.....	49,070	47,513	96.8
Hebrew.....	160,938	158,246	98.3
Irish.....	67,612	63,907	94.5
Italian, North.....	49,850	46,143	92.6
Italian, South.....	275,795	272,115	98.7
Lithuanian.....	28,974	23,818	99.5
Magyar.....	53,082	51,833	97.7
Polish.....	145,670	143,932	98.8
Portuguese.....	11,415	9,845	86.2
Roumanian.....	17,670	16,618	94.0
Russian.....	27,149	25,503	93.9
Ruthenian.....	28,169	27,543	97.8
Scandinavian.....	67,785	63,416	93.6
Scotch.....	33,460	28,077	83.9
Slovak.....	38,756	38,371	99.0
Spanish.....	11,575	7,722	66.7
Syrian.....	9,188	8,725	95.0
Turkish.....	3,147	2,956	93.9
Welsh.....	4,203	3,693	87.9
Total.....	1,465,703	1,388,310	94.7

It will be noted that 94.7 per cent of the total number of European immigrants admitted to the United States during the two years under consideration had been preceded by relatives or friends whom they expected to join. Only one race—the Spanish, with 66.7 per cent—falls greatly below the average in this regard. It is worthy of note that the percentage of persons going to join relatives or friends is

greater among the newer immigration from the south and east of Europe than among the elder immigrant races from northern and western European countries. The difference between the two groups in this regard is shown in the following table:

TABLE 39.—*European immigrants (including Syrian) going to join relatives or friends in the United States during the fiscal years 1908 and 1909, by class.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Class.	Total number.	Going to join relatives or friends.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Old immigration.....	442,653	395,944	89.4
New immigration.....	1,023,050	992,366	97.0
Total.....	1,465,703	1,388,310	94.7

The above table not only indicates a very general relationship between admitted immigrants and those who follow, but it suggests forcibly that emigration from Europe proceeds according to well-defined individual plans rather than in a haphazard way.

CONTRACTS TO LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES.

The investigation of the Commission in Europe did not disclose that actual contracts involving promises of employment between employers in the United States and laborers in Europe were responsible for any very considerable part of the present emigration movement. It will be understood, however, that this statement refers only to cases where actual bona fide contracts between employers and laborers exist rather than to so-called contract-labor cases, as defined in the sweeping terms of the United States immigration law, which classifies as such all persons—

who have been induced or solicited to migrate to this country by offers or promises of employment or in consequence of agreements, oral, written, or printed, express or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled or unskilled. * * *

Under a strict interpretation of the law above quoted it would seem that in order to escape being classified as contract laborers, immigrants coming to the United States must be entirely without assurance that employment will be available here. Indeed, it is certain that European immigrants, and particularly those from southern and eastern Europe, are, under a literal construction of the law, for the most part contract laborers, for it is unlikely that many emigrants embark for the United States without a pretty definite knowledge of where they will go and what they will do if admitted. Natural instinct dictates such a condition, even though the contract-labor law, in letter if not in spirit, forbids even the semblance of an agreement in this regard.

It should not be understood, however, that the committee believes that contract labor in its more serious form does not exist. Undoubtedly many immigrants come to the United States from southern and eastern Europe as the result of definite, if not open, agreements with

employers of labor here, as is shown by the separate report of the Commission on the subject,^a but, as previously stated, actual and direct contract-labor agreements can not be considered as the direct or immediate cause of any considerable proportion of the European emigration movement to the United States. As before stated, emigrants as a rule are practically assured that employment awaits them in America before they leave their homes for ports of embarkation, and doubtless in a majority of cases they know just where and what the employment will be. This is another result of letters from former emigrants in the United States. In fact, it may be said that immigrants, or at least newly arrived immigrants, are substantially the agencies which keep the American labor market supplied with unskilled laborers from Europe. Some of them operate consciously and on a large scale, but, as a rule, each immigrant simply informs his nearest friends that employment can be had and advises them to come. It is these personal appeals which, more than all other agencies, promote and regulate the tide of European emigration to America.

ASSISTANCE OF FRIENDS.

Moreover, the immigrant in the United States in a large measure assists as well as advises his friends in the Old World to emigrate. It is difficult and in many cases impossible for the southern and eastern European to save a sufficient amount of money to purchase a steerage ticket to the United States. No matter how strong the desire to emigrate may be its accomplishment on the part of the ordinary laborer dependent upon his own resources can be realized only after a long struggle. To immigrants in the United States, however, the price of steerage transportation to or from Europe is relatively a small matter, and by giving or advancing the necessary money they make possible the emigration of many. It is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy what proportion of the large amount of money annually sent abroad by immigrants is sent for the purpose of assisting relatives or friends to emigrate, but it is certain that the aggregate is large. The immediate families of immigrants are the largest beneficiaries in this regard, but the assistance referred to is extended to many others.

Just what proportion of the present immigration is assisted in this way can not be determined. Some indication of this, however, is contained in the probable fact that about 25 per cent of the immigrants admitted to the United States come on steamship tickets paid for in this country. In the calendar year 1907, 27.6 per cent or 64,384 of the 233,489 steerage passengers embarking at Naples for the United States were provided with prepaid tickets. In all probability this is a fair average for all European ports.

STEAMSHIP TICKET AGENTS.

Next to the advice and assistance of friends and relatives who have already emigrated, the propaganda conducted by steamship ticket agents is undoubtedly the most important immediate cause of emigration from Europe to the United States. This propaganda flour-

^a Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 2, Contract Labor and Assisted and Induced Immigration.

ishes in every emigrant-furnishing country of Europe, notwithstanding the fact that the promotion of emigration is forbidden by the laws of many such countries as well as by the United States immigration law, which provides as follows: ^a

SEC. 7. That no transportation company or owner or owners of vessels, or others engaged in transporting aliens into the United States, shall, directly or indirectly, either by writing, printing, or oral representation, solicit, invite, or encourage the immigration of any aliens into the United States, but this shall not be held to prevent transportation companies from issuing letters, circulars, or advertisements stating the sailings of their vessels and terms and facilities of transportation therein, and for a violation of this provision any such transportation company, and any such owner or owners of vessels, and all others engaged in transporting aliens into the United States, and the agents by them employed, shall be severally subjected to the penalties imposed by section 5 of this act.

The penalty referred to in the above-quoted section is \$1,000 for each offense. It is, of course, difficult, if not impossible, to secure a really effective enforcement of this provision of the United States law, but undoubtedly it does supplement the emigration laws of various European countries in compelling steamship ticket agents to solicit emigration in a secret manner rather than openly.

It does not appear that steamship companies, as a rule, openly or directly violate the provisions of the United States immigration law quoted, but through local agents and subagents of such companies it is violated persistently and continuously. Selling steerage tickets to America is the sole or chief occupation of large numbers of persons in southern and eastern Europe, and from the observations of the Commission it is clear that these local agents, as a rule, solicit business, and consequently encourage emigration, by every possible means.

No data are available to show even approximately the total number of such agents and subagents engaged in the steerage-ticket business. One authority stated to the Commission that two of the leading steamship lines had five or six thousand ticket agents in Galicia alone, and that there was "a great hunt for emigrants" there. The total number of such agents is very large, however, for the steerage business is vastly important to all the lines operating passenger ships, and all compete for a share of it. The great majority of emigrants from southern and eastern European countries sail under foreign flags; Italian emigrants, a large proportion of whom sail under the flag of Italy, being the only conspicuous exception. Many Greek, Russian, and Austrian emigrants sail on ships of those nations, but the bulk of the emigrant business originating in eastern and southern European countries, excepting Italy, is handled by the British, German, Dutch, French, and Belgian lines. There is at present an agreement among the larger steamship companies which, in a measure, regulates the distribution of this traffic and prevents unrestricted competition between the lines, but this does not affect the vigorous and widespread hunt for steerage passengers which is carried on throughout the chief emigrant-furnishing countries.

The Commission's inquiry and information from other sources indicates that the attempted promotion of emigration by steamship ticket agents is carried on to a greater extent in Austria, Hungary,

^a Immigration act of February 20, 1907.

Greece, and Russia than in other countries. The Russian law, as elsewhere stated, does not recognize the right of the people to emigrate permanently, and while the large and continued movement of population from the Empire to overseas countries is proof that the law is to a large degree inoperative, it nevertheless seems to restrict the activities of steamship agents. Moreover, there were, at the time of the Commission's inquiry, two Russian steamship lines carrying emigrants directly from Libau to the United States, and the Government's interest in the success of these lines resulted in a rather strict surveillance of the agents of foreign companies doing business in the Empire. Because of this much of the work of these agents is carried on surreptitiously. In fact, they were commonly described to the Commission as "secret agents." Emigration from Russia is, or at least is made to appear to be, a difficult matter, and the work of the secret agents consists not only of selling steamship transportation, but also in procuring passports, and in smuggling across the frontier emigrants who for military or other reasons can not procure passports, or who because of their excessive cost elect to leave Russia without them. This was frequently stated to the Commission, and Inspector Cowan, of the Bureau of Immigration, who investigated emigration conditions in Russia in 1906, makes essentially the same assertion. A Russian official at St. Petersburg complained to the Commission that Jewish secret agents of British lines in Russia had been employed to induce Christians, not Jews, to emigrate. Mr. Cowan also reported that it was learned that some letters had been received by prospective emigrants containing more information than the dates of sailing, etc. (as provided by section 7 of the immigration act), and also that on market days in some places steamship agents would mingle with the people and endeavor to incite them to emigrate.

The Hungarian law strictly forbids the promotion of emigration, and the Government has prosecuted violations so vigorously that at the time of the Commission's visit the emigration authorities expressed the belief that the practice had been effectually checked. It was stated to the Commission that foreign steamship lines had constantly acted in controvention of the Hungarian regulations by employing secret agents to solicit business, or through agents writing personal letters to prospective emigrants advising them how to leave Hungary without the consent of the Government. Letters of this nature were presented to the Commission. Some of them are accompanied by crudely drawn maps indicating the location of all the Hungarian control stations on the Austrian border, and the routes of travel by which such stations can be avoided. The Commission was shown the records in hundreds of cases where the secret agents of foreign steamship companies had been convicted and fined or imprisoned for violating the Hungarian law by soliciting emigration. It was reported to the Commission that in one year at Kassa, a Hungarian city on the Austrian border, eight secret agents of the German lines were punished for violations of the emigration law.

In Austria at the time of the Commission's visit, there was comparatively little agitation relative to emigration. Attempts had been made to enact an emigration law similar to that of Hungary, but

these were not successful. The solicitation of emigration, however, is forbidden by law, but it appeared that steamship ticket agents were not subjected to strict regulation as in Hungary. Government officials and others interested in the emigration situation expressed the belief that the solicitations of agents had little effect on the emigration movement, which was influenced almost entirely by economic conditions. It was not denied, however, that steamship agents do solicit emigration.

The Italian law strictly forbids the solicitation of emigration by steamship agents and complaints relative to violations of the law were not nearly so numerous as in some countries visited. Nevertheless there are many persons engaged in the business of selling steerage tickets in that country and the Commission was informed that considerable soliciting is done. This is confirmed by Hon. T. V. Powderly, of the Bureau of Immigration, who investigated emigration conditions in Italy in 1906. Mr. Powderly states that steamship agents solicit business much as insurance agents do, and that in many instances they do not concern themselves with the character or mental or physical condition of their customers, their sole object being to increase their commissions. He states that one method adopted is to translate editorials and articles from American newspapers relative to the prosperity of the United States, which articles are distributed among prospective emigrants. He also reports a curious method of presenting at church doors cards containing verses and hymns in praise of the United States.

The Commission found that steamship agents were very active in Greece, and that the highly-colored posters and other advertising matter of the steamship companies were to be found everywhere. According to its population Greece furnishes more emigrants to the United States than any other country, and the spirit of emigration is so intense among the people that solicitation by steamship companies probably plays relatively a small part, even as a contributory cause of the movement.

ASSISTED EMIGRATION.

The United States immigration law numbers among the excluded classes—^a

any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another, or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes, and that said ticket or passage was not paid for by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign government, either directly or indirectly.

Emigration from Europe to the United States through public assistance is so small as to be of little or no importance. It is conceivable as well as probable that local authorities sometimes assist in the emigration of public charges and criminals, but such instances are believed to be rare. It is admitted that local officials in Italy sometimes issue to criminals passports to the United States in violation of the decree forbidding it, but even this is not a very common practice. As a matter of fact, European nations look with regret

^a Immigration act of February 20, 1907, sec. 2.

on the emigration of their young and able-bodied men and women, and the comity of nations would prevent the deportation of criminals and paupers to a country whose laws denied admission to such classes, however desirable their emigration might be. Besides, the assisted emigration to the United States of the aged or physically or mentally defective would be sure to result in failure because of the stringent provisions of the United States immigration law. In the earlier days of unrestricted immigration it is well known that large numbers of paupers and other undesirables were assisted to emigrate, or were practically deported, from the British Isles and other countries to the United States. Even at the present time, as shown in the Commission's report on the immigration situation in Canada,^a there is a large assisted emigration from England to Canada and other British colonies, but it does not appear that there is any movement of this nature to the United States.

On the other hand, various nations of the Western Hemisphere make systematic efforts in Europe to induce immigration. The Canadian government maintains agencies in all the countries of northern and western Europe, where the solicitation of emigration is permitted, and pays a bonus to thousands of booking agents for directing emigrants to the Dominion.^a Canada, however, expends no money in the transportation of emigrants. Several South American countries, including Brazil and Argentine Republic, also systematically solicit immigration in Europe.

Several American States have attempted to attract immigrants by the distribution in Europe of literature advertising the attractions of such States. A few States have sent commissioners to various countries for the purpose of inducing immigration, but, although some measure of success has attended such efforts, the propaganda has had little effect on the movement as a whole.

JEWISH EMIGRATION SOCIETIES.

In many cities of Europe are societies whose purpose is to assist the Jews of Russia and Roumania to emigrate and to protect them on their journey to ports of embarkation. It would be strange if some of these societies did not assist emigrating members of the race in violation of the letter of the United States law, although no such instances came directly to the attention of the Commission. From all that could be learned from and about the more important Jewish organization of this nature, however, it appears that they do not assist emigrants to the extent of affording them transportation to the United States.

The Roumanian agent of the Jewish Colonization Association, otherwise the Baron de Hirsch Fund, stated to the Commission that the society does not financially assist any Jew to go to the United States. He said that the organization sends to Canada and Argentina persons who have actually been expelled from farming villages and thereafter refused admission to some large city, in which cases the emigrant pays all the fare he is able to, and the organization pays the rest.

^a The Immigration Situation in Other Countries. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 40. (S. Doc. 761, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)

The foregoing attitude of the organization toward assisting emigration from Roumania to the United States is substantiated by the experience of a member of the Commission in conversation with workers in the sweatshops of the Jewish quarter in Bucharest, which is stated as follows:

I went into each shop, without previous notice,* and in nearly every shop some man or woman expressed a desire to go to America. Whenever such a wish was expressed, I asked, "Why not go to the Jewish Colonization Society?" And in every instance the people told me that the society only helps those who can pay their own way. One young man asked me if a hundred francs would take him to America, and I told him no, but suggested that he take his 100 francs to the society and ask them for the balance, but he said he knew this would be useless. Nearly every worker in these shops would go to America if possessed of the necessary money. At the various houses they brought me pictures of prosperous looking relatives in the United States, but in many instances they said that their relatives either had practically forgotten them, or that they seldom heard from them.

Officials of the Jewish Colonization Association in Paris stated the objects of that organization to the Commission. It was pointed out that every country from which many citizens emigrate was compelled to frame laws regulating this emigration, and protecting the emigrant from various frauds and abuses he is liable to meet with on his way. The Jews alone were up to recent date unprotected, and were easy prey of unscrupulous agents, runners, money changers, etc., and the association endeavored to protect them in this regard. Emigrants leaving Russia and Roumania were assisted in securing passports. In those countries, it was stated, the Jewish Colonization Association has an arrangement with the governments whereby passports are given gratis to Jewish emigrants who are recommended by the association, provided they declare that they will never return to their native land, while in cases where the emigrants themselves apply for passports, the cost is about 30 rubles in Russia, and 25 lei in Roumania. Moreover, when an emigrant applies for a passport, he often has to wait weeks, even months before the document is issued, while the representatives of the association generally get the passport within a few days after applying. It was further stated that many emigrants do not know where it is best for them to go, and that the local committees of the association give such persons advice in this regard. Of late, the officials said, they are advising all those who express a desire to emigrate to the United States to go to the Southern and Western States. The Russian division of the association has issued tracts in the Russian and Yiddish languages describing in detail the resources of such States and the opportunities they offer to immigrants. Previously it was often the case that many emigrants who suffered from contagious eye and scalp diseases sold out all their belongings and went to ports of embarkation intending to embark for the United States. These were rejected by the steamship companies and many families were thus ruined, and often remained in the port cities, becoming public charges on the Jewish communities. To obviate this the Jewish Colonization Association has physicians who carefully examine all those intending to go to the United States, and who apply to them, before leaving their native cities.

The Commission was assured that this is all the assistance rendered to Jewish emigrants to the United States who come in contact

with the association, and that under no circumstances are emigrants going to the United States given any material assistance. In exceptional cases, it was stated, as after an anti-Jewish riot in Russia or Roumania, when material assistance is absolutely necessary, the emigrants are assisted to go to Argentina, Brazil, or, rarely, to Canada, but that the United States as a destination in such cases is out of the question.

Mr. Jaques Bigart, secretary of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, Paris, and executive manager of all the work and activities of the alliance, assured the Commission that the alliance never assists emigrants who are on the way to the United States. In substantiation of this assertion several letters were exhibited which were addressed to the local committees in Roumania, Russia, Germany, and Austria, and in which it is emphatically stated that Jewish emigrants to the United States should only be given proper advice as to cost of transportation, the shortest routes to travel, etc., and should also be aided to procure passports, but that under no circumstances should they be materially assisted. M. Bigart said that persons who are destitute and deserving of material assistance are assisted to emigrate to South America, particularly Argentina and Brazil, and in exceptional cases to Canada.

EMIGRATION OF CRIMINALS.

That former convicts and professional criminals from all countries come to the United States practically at will can not and need not be denied, although it seems probable that in the popular belief the number is greatly exaggerated. This class emigrates and is admitted to this country, and, in the opinion of the Commission, the blame can not equitably be placed elsewhere than on the United States. The Commission is convinced that no European government encourages the emigration of its criminals to this country. Some countries take no measures to prevent such emigration, especially after criminals have paid the legal penalties demanded, but others, and particularly Italy, seek to restrain the departure of former convicts in common with other classes debarred by the United States immigration law. The accomplishment of this purpose on the part of Italy is attempted by specific regulations forbidding the issuance of passports to intended immigrants who have been convicted of a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude within the meaning of the United States law. Under the Italian system local officials furnish the record upon which is determined the intending emigrant's right to receive a passport, and it is not denied that some officials at times violate the injunctions of the Government in this regard, but, as a whole, the Commission believes the effort is honestly made and in the main successfully accomplished. The weakness and inefficiency of the system, however, lies in the fact that passports are not demanded by the United States as a requisite of admission, and although subjects of Italy may not leave Italian ports without them, there is little or nothing to prevent those unprovided from leaving the country overland without passports or with passports to other countries and then embarking for the United States from foreign ports. Thus it is readily seen that the precaution of Italy, however effective, is practically worthless without cooperation on the part of the United States.

CHAPTER V.

INSPECTION OF EMIGRANTS ABROAD.

The practice of examining into the physical condition of emigrants at the time of embarkation is one of long standing at some European ports. In the earlier days, and in fact until quite recently, the purpose of the inspection was merely to protect the health of steerage passengers during the ocean voyage. The Belgian law of 1843 provided that in case the presence of infectious disease among passengers was suspected there should be an examination by a naval surgeon, in order to prevent the embarkation of afflicted persons. The British steerage law of 1848, the enactment of which followed the experiences of 1847, when thousands of emigrants driven from Ireland by the famine died of ship fever, provided that passengers should be examined by a physician, and those whose condition was likely to endanger the health of other passengers should not be permitted to proceed. Similar laws or regulations became general among the maritime nations and are still in effect.

The situation is also affected somewhat by provisions of the United States quarantine law, which require American consular officers to satisfy themselves of the sanitary condition of ships and passengers sailing for United States ports. The laws above referred to are intended to prevent the embarkation of persons afflicted with diseases of a quarantinable nature, and the only real and effective protection this country has against the coming of the otherwise physically or mentally defective is the United States emigration law, which, through rejections and penalties at United States ports, has made the transportation of diseased emigrants unprofitable to the steamship companies. This law is responsible for the elaborate system of examination which prevails at ports of embarkation and elsewhere in Europe at the present time.

EFFECT OF UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION LAWS.

The selection of immigrants by means of national laws denying entrance to the United States to persons of certain classes began in 1875^a with the enactment of a statute which provided that—

It shall be unlawful for aliens of the following classes to immigrate into the United States, namely: Persons who are undergoing a sentence for conviction in their own country of felonious crimes other than political or the growing out of or the result of such political offenses, or whose sentence has been remitted on condition of their emigration, and women "imported for the purposes of prostitution."

It was further provided that—

Every vessel arriving in the United States may be inspected under the direction of the collector of the port at which it arrives, if he shall have reason to

^aAct of Mar. 3, 1875; 18 Stat., pt. 3, p. 477.

believe that any such obnoxious persons are on board; and the officer making such inspection shall certify the result thereof to the master or other person in charge of such vessel, designating in such certificate the person or persons, if any there be, ascertained by him to be of either of the classes whose importation is hereby forbidden. When such inspection is required by the collector as aforesaid, it shall be unlawful, without his permission, for any alien to leave any such vessel arriving in the United States from a foreign country until the inspection shall have been had and the result certified as herein provided; and at no time thereafter shall any alien certified to by the inspecting officer as being of either of the classes whose immigration is forbidden by this section be allowed to land in the United States, except in obedience to a judicial process issued pursuant to law.

The act of August 3, 1882,^a prohibited the landing at United States ports of any—

convict, lunatic, idiot, or any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge.

This act also provided that all foreign convicts, except those convicted of political offenses, should, upon arrival, be sent back to the nations to which they belonged. In 1885^b contract laborers were added to the other excluded classes.

The first really comprehensive immigration law, however, was enacted in 1891.^c This provided for a medical examination of immigrants arriving at United States ports by surgeons of the Marine-Hospital Service, and for the exclusion of idiots, insane persons, paupers, or persons likely to become a public charge, persons suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease, criminals, polygamists, and certain classes of assisted immigrants. The act of 1891 further provided—

that all aliens who may unlawfully come into the United States shall, if practicable, be immediately sent back on the vessel by which they were brought in. The cost of their maintenance while on land, as well as the expense of the return of such aliens, shall be borne by the owner or owners of the vessel on which such aliens came; * * *

This legislation marked the real beginning of the systematic examination of immigrants at United States ports, and the number of rejections which resulted soon compelled steamship companies to exercise some degree of care in the selection of steerage passengers at foreign ports.

The necessity of an examination abroad, however, was greatly increased by two subsequent events. The first of these occurred in 1897, when trachoma^d was classed by the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service as a "dangerous contagious" disease within the meaning of the immigration law of 1891, and the second in 1903, when Congress, by the immigration act of that year,^e provided that a fine of \$100 should be imposed on steamship companies for bringing to a United States port an alien afflicted with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, when the existence of such disease might

^a Immigration act of August 3, 1882; 22 Stat., p. 214.

^b Contract Labor act of Feb. 26, 1885; 23 Stat., p. 332.

^c Immigration act of Mar. 3, 1891; 26 Stat., p. 1084.

^d Granulation of the conjunctiva of the eyelids attended by inflammation.—Webster.

^e Immigration act of Mar. 3, 1903; sec. 9, 32 Stat., pt. 1, p. 1213.

have been detected by a competent medical examination at the foreign port of embarkation.

As already noted, previous to this enactment the law merely provided that steamship companies should return rejected aliens at their own expense, a requirement obviously difficult of enforcement, and, in any event, not very expensive to the carrier. The fine of \$100 in each case of a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease that might have been detected at a foreign port, however, made the elimination of such cases a business necessity, and it was not long until a much more thorough and effective examination abroad was instituted by the steamship companies.

The immigration law of 1907,^a at present in force, increased the causes for which a fine of \$100 may be imposed on steamship companies to include also idiots, imbeciles, epileptics, and persons afflicted with tuberculosis, whose condition might have been detected at the foreign port of embarkation.

IMMIGRANTS REJECTED AT UNITED STATES PORTS.

The effect of the various laws in debarring undesirable immigrants since 1892 is indicated by the following table, which shows the number rejected by years at all United States ports as compared with the total number of immigrants admitted in such years:

TABLE 40.—*Immigrants admitted and aliens debarred at United States ports during the fiscal years 1892 to 1910, inclusive.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration.]

Year.	Immigrants admitted.	Aliens debarred.	Ratio.
1892.....	579,663	2,164	1 to 268
1893.....	439,730	1,053	1 to 418
1894.....	285,631	1,389	1 to 206
1895.....	258,536	2,419	1 to 107
1896.....	343,267	2,799	1 to 123
1897.....	230,832	1,617	1 to 143
1898.....	229,299	3,030	1 to 76
1899.....	311,715	3,798	1 to 82
1900.....	448,572	4,246	1 to 106
1901.....	487,918	3,516	1 to 139
1902.....	648,743	4,974	1 to 130
1903.....	857,046	8,769	1 to 98
1904.....	812,870	7,994	1 to 102
1905.....	1,026,499	11,879	1 to 86
1906.....	1,100,735	12,432	1 to 89
1907.....	1,285,349	13,064	1 to 98
1908.....	782,870	10,902	1 to 72
1909.....	751,786	10,411	1 to 72
1910.....	1,041,570	24,270	1 to 43
Total.....	11,922,631	130,721	1 to 91

It will be remembered that in 1897 the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service classed trachoma as a "dangerous contagious" disease, within the meaning of the United States immi-

^a Immigration act of Feb. 20, 1907.

gration law. The cause of this action is explained in a publication of the Marine-Hospital Service, as follows:^a

The increasing prevalence of trachoma in the United States attracted widespread attention for some years prior to 1897. Cases and outbreaks of the disease, especially among school children and the alien population, were noted by numerous observers, and because of the contagiousness of the disease and the seriousness of its sequelæ, it was regarded as a menace to the public health.

Fewer cases had been observed among native-born Americans, and the increase was attributed to the influx of a large alien population to the congested centers along the Atlantic seaboard and elsewhere.

During the past twenty-five years immigrants have come from as many countries. During the first fifteen years of this quarter of a century the bulk of immigration came from northern Europe, principally Germany, Scandinavia, and the British Isles—countries in which trachoma is relatively infrequent. During the past twelve years the tide of immigration from southern Europe has been steadily increasing, until at the present time the larger part of the alien population arriving at our shores originates in Italy, Austria-Hungary, the Russian Empire, and countries bordering on the northern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean.

This change in the source of arriving immigrants and resulting difference in the character of the people is very significant, and in all probability accounts for the marked increase of the disease noted above.

Prior to 1897 ophthalmologists and representative bodies urged that immediate steps be taken to prevent the further importation of the disease, in the belief that such precautions would be an important factor in the elimination of the disease from the country. Dr. Miles Standish, of Boston, an eminent authority on diseases of the eyes, in an article which appeared in the *Medical Communications of the Massachusetts Medical Society* (vol. 17, No. 11), referred to this question in part as follows:

"I may say in passing that the presence of acute trachoma in the conjunctiva of immigrants should be a good and sufficient reason for turning them back whence they came. A large proportion of these cases within a few months after their arrival become incapacitated and are public charges. And not only this, but were it not for the new cases thus introduced in the great tenement localities of our large cities, it is my opinion that the disease would soon become extremely rare in this part of the country."

No doubt existed as to the seriousness of trachoma. Its contagious character was admitted, and it was believed that fresh importations only served to propagate the disease and cause additional burdens on the State. A communication was therefore addressed to the Commissioner of Immigration, October 30, 1897, declaring that the disease should be classified as "dangerous contagious," in accordance with the immigration law of 1891, thus making mandatory the deportation of all arriving aliens who are so afflicted.

Since that time thousands of aliens afflicted with trachoma have been certified at United States ports and excluded from landing.

The effect of making trachoma a cause for debarring alien immigrants from entering United States ports is clearly apparent in the preceding table. The order, as above stated, was issued on October 30, 1897, or three months after the beginning of the fiscal year 1898, and it will be noted that rejections during that year reached a total of 3,030 as compared with 1,617 in the preceding fiscal year 1897, an increase of 87.4 per cent, while the ratio of rejections to admissions increased from 1 to 143 in 1897 to 1 to 76 in 1898.

As indicated by the table, the proportion of rejections to admissions has decreased notably in some years since 1898, but this is due to causes other than loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, as will be seen from the next table which shows the principal causes for which aliens were rejected in the years under consideration.

^a Trachoma, its Character and Effects. Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service of the United States. Washington, 1907.

TABLE 41.—*Aliens debarred at all United States ports during the fiscal years 1892 to 1910, inclusive, by cause.*

[Compiled from annual reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Year.	Total debarred.	Cause of debarment.				
		Loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases.	Other physical or mental diseases or defects.	Paupers or persons likely to become public charges.	Contract laborers.	All other causes.
1892.....	2,164	80	21	1,002	932	129
1893.....	1,053	81	11	431	518	12
1894.....	1,389	15	9	802	553	10
1895.....	2,419	.....	6	1,714	694	5
1896.....	2,799	2	11	2,010	776	.....
1897.....	1,617	1	7	1,277	328	4
1898.....	3,030	258	13	2,261	417	81
1899.....	3,798	348	20	2,599	741	90
1900.....	4,246	393	33	2,974	833	13
1901.....	3,516	309	22	2,798	327	60
1902.....	4,974	709	34	3,944	275	12
1903.....	8,769	1,773	24	5,812	1,086	74
1904.....	7,994	1,560	49	4,798	1,501	86
1905.....	11,874	2,198	130	7,898	1,164	484
1906.....	12,432	2,273	231	7,069	2,314	545
1907.....	13,064	3,822	218	6,866	1,434	724
1908.....	10,902	2,900	1,246	3,710	1,932	1,114
1909.....	10,411	2,382	726	4,402	1,172	1,729
1910.....	24,270	3,123	696	15,918	1,786	2,747

Year.	Per cent.				
	Loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases.	Other physical or mental diseases or defects.	Paupers or persons likely to become public charges.	Contract laborers.	All other causes.
1892.....	3.7	1.0	46.3	43.1	6.0
1893.....	7.7	1.0	40.9	49.2	1.1
1894.....	1.1	.6	57.7	39.8	.7
1895.....	.....	.2	70.9	28.7	.2
1896.....	.1	.4	71.8	27.7	.....
1897.....	.1	.4	79.0	20.3	.2
1898.....	8.5	.4	74.6	13.8	2.7
1899.....	9.2	.5	68.4	19.5	2.4
1900.....	9.3	.8	70.0	19.6	.3
1901.....	8.8	.6	79.6	9.3	1.7
1902.....	14.3	.7	79.3	5.5	.2
1903.....	20.2	.3	66.3	12.4	.8
1904.....	19.5	.6	60.0	18.8	1.1
1905.....	18.5	1.1	66.5	9.8	4.1
1906.....	18.3	1.9	56.9	18.6	4.4
1907.....	29.3	1.7	52.6	11.0	5.5
1908.....	26.6	11.4	34.0	17.7	10.2
1909.....	22.9	7.0	42.3	11.3	16.6
1910.....	12.9	2.8	65.6	7.4	11.3

It will be noted from the above table that between 1898 and 1909 there was a great increase in the proportion of rejections on account of loathsome and dangerous contagious diseases, as well as on account of other physical or mental diseases or defects, while there was a large decrease in the proportion of those rejected as paupers or persons likely to become public charges. The change in this regard in the fiscal year 1910 was due to the fact that an unusually large number of aliens were rejected as paupers or persons likely to become

public charges, the fluctuation being due, in all probability, to administrative interpretation of the law.

Since the enactment of the immigration law of 1903, when carriers were for the first time subjected to a penalty, other than the obligation of returning those rejected, for bringing diseased aliens of certain classes to United States ports, fines for such action have been assessed in various fiscal years as follows:

1904 -----	\$28, 400
1905 -----	27, 300
1906 -----	24, 300
1907 -----	37, 200
1908 -----	26, 700
1909 -----	27, 400
1910 -----	29, 900

While the amount of fines imposed in any one year has not been large, compared with the rejections of aliens on account of loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, as will be seen by reference to the table on page 73, it is certain that the law in this regard has been exceedingly useful in preventing the embarkation of diseased emigrants at foreign ports.

The two sections of the law of 1907 which are responsible for the steamship companies' interest in an effective medical examination of emigrants at ports of embarkation abroad are as follows:

SEC. 9. That it shall be unlawful for any person, including any transportation company other than railway lines entering the United States from foreign contiguous territory, or the owner, master, agent, or consignee of any vessel to bring to the United States any alien subject to any of the following disabilities: Idiots, imbeciles, epileptics, or persons afflicted with tuberculosis or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, and if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor that any alien so brought to the United States was afflicted with any of the said diseases or disabilities at the time of foreign embarkation and that the existence of such disease or disability might have been detected by means of a competent medical examination at such time, such person or transportation company, or the master, agent, owner, or consignee of any such vessel shall pay to the collector of customs of the customs district in which the port of arrival is located the sum of one hundred dollars for each and every violation of the provisions of this section; and no vessel shall be granted clearance papers pending the determination of the question of the liability to the payment of such fine, and in the event such fine is imposed, while it remains unpaid, nor shall such fine be remitted or refunded. * * *

SEC. 19. That all aliens brought to this country in violation of law shall, if practicable, be immediately sent back to the country whence they respectively came on the vessels bringing them. The cost of their maintenance while on land as well as the expense of the return of such aliens shall be borne by the owner or owners of the vessels on which they respectively came; and if any master, person in charge, agent, owner, or consignee of any such vessel shall refuse to receive back on board thereof, or on board of any other vessel owned or operated by the same interests, such aliens, or shall fail to detain them thereon, or shall refuse or fail to return them to the foreign port from which they came, or to pay the cost of their maintenance while on land, or shall make any charge for the return of any such alien, or shall take any security from him for the payment of such charge, such master, person in charge, agent, owner, or consignee shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall, on conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than three hundred dollars for each and every such offense; and no vessel shall have clearance from any port of the United States while any such fine is unpaid. * * *

The measures taken by steamship companies at the various ports of Europe to avoid the penalties imposed by these sections will appear later.

THE UNITED STATES QUARANTINE LAW.

Mention has been made of the United States quarantine law as a partial safeguard against the embarkation of diseased emigrants for the United States. It is this law which authorizes American consular officials, acting as quarantine officers, to participate with more or less effectiveness, according to circumstances, in the inspection of emigrants abroad, and as the activities of such officers at European ports will be frequently referred to in what follows such parts of the quarantine law of 1893^a as relate to their duties in this regard are given herewith in order that the situation may be fully understood:

SEC. 1. That it shall be unlawful for any merchant ship or other vessel from any foreign port or place to enter any port of the United States except in accordance with the provisions of this act and with such rules and regulations of State and municipal health authorities as may be made in pursuance of, or consistent with, this act; and any such vessel which shall enter, or attempt to enter, a port of the United States in violation thereof shall forfeit to the United States a sum, to be awarded in the discretion of the court, not exceeding five thousand dollars, which shall be a lien upon said vessel, to be recovered by proceedings in the proper district court of the United States. * * *

SEC. 2. That any vessel at any foreign port clearing for any port or place in the United States shall be required to obtain from the consul, vice-consul, or other consular officer of the United States at the port of departure, or from the medical officer where such officer has been detailed by the President for that purpose, a bill of health, in duplicate, in the form prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, setting forth the sanitary history and condition of said vessel, and that it has in all respects complied with the rules and regulations in such cases prescribed for securing the best sanitary condition of the said vessel, its cargo, passengers, and crew; and said consular or medical officer is required, before granting such duplicate bill of health, to be satisfied that the matters and things therein stated are true; and for his services in that behalf he shall be entitled to demand and receive such fees as shall by lawful regulation be allowed, to be accounted for as is required in other cases.

The President, in his discretion, is authorized to detail any medical officer of the Government to serve in the office of the consul at any foreign port for the purpose of furnishing information and making the inspection and giving the bills of health hereinbefore mentioned. Any vessel clearing and sailing from any such port without such bill of health, and entering any port of the United States, shall forfeit to the United States not more than five thousand dollars, the amount to be determined by the court, which shall be a lien on the same, to be recovered by proceedings in the proper district court of the United States. * * *

SEC. 3. * * * The Secretary of the Treasury shall make such rules and regulations as are necessary to be observed by vessels at the port of departure and on the voyage, where such vessels sail from any foreign port or place to any port or place in the United States, to secure the best sanitary condition of such vessel, her cargo, passengers, and crew; which shall be published and communicated to and enforced by the consular officers of the United States. * * *

SEC. 4. That it shall be the duty of the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, to perform all the duties in respect to quarantine and quarantine regulations which are provided for by this act, and to obtain information of the sanitary condition of foreign ports and places from which contagious and infectious diseases are or may be imported into the United States, and to this end the consular officer of the United States at such ports and places as shall be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury shall make to the Secretary of the Treasury weekly reports of the sanitary condition of the ports and places at which they are respectively stationed, according to such forms as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe. * * *

^a An act granting additional quarantine powers and imposing additional duties upon the Marine-Hospital Service. Approved Feb. 15, 1893; 27 Stat. L., p. 449.

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time issue to the consular officers of the United States and to the medical officers serving at any foreign port, and otherwise make publicly known, the rules and regulations made by him, to be used and complied with by vessels in foreign ports, for securing the best sanitary conditions of such vessels, their cargoes, passengers, and crew, before their departure for any port in the United States, and in the course of the voyage. * * *

SEC. 7. That whenever it shall be shown to the satisfaction of the President that by reason of the existence of cholera or other infectious or contagious diseases in a foreign country there is serious danger of the introduction of the same into the United States, and that notwithstanding the quarantine defense this danger is so increased by the introduction of persons or property from such country that a suspension of the right to introduce the same is demanded in the interest of the public health, the President shall have power to prohibit, in whole or in part, the introduction of persons and property from such countries or places as he shall designate and for such period of time as he may deem necessary.

It will be noted from the above-quoted provisions of the quarantine law that consular officers are required to satisfy themselves that ships sailing to United States ports, as well as the cargo, passengers, and crew of such ships, are in good sanitary condition. This is the basis for such consular examinations of emigrants as are in force at European ports.

An important provision of the law is that which authorizes the President to detail medical officers to serve in the office of the consul at any port for the purpose of making the quarantine law effective. This authority has been exercised at various times. In fact, during the winter of 1899-1900 officers of the Marine-Hospital Service were on duty at the American consular offices in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Queenstown, Southampton, Havre, Marseille, Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Naples, Genoa, Barcelona, and Cadiz. This detail was made on account of the appearance of plague in various parts of Europe. The plague having disappeared, these officers were recalled in the summer of 1900, with the exception of four, who were detailed for service for a time in the offices of the American consuls-general in London, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, and one who remained at Naples, where, as will be explained, officers of the Marine-Hospital Service have since been stationed for the purpose of examining emigrants.

INSPECTION OF EMIGRANTS IN EUROPE.

How to prevent the embarkation at foreign ports of emigrants who, under the immigration law, can not be admitted at United States ports, is a serious problem, in which the welfare of the emigrant is the chief consideration. In a purely practical sense, except for the danger of contagion on shipboard, the United States is not seriously affected by the arrival of diseased persons at ports of entry, because the law does not permit them to enter the country.

From a humanitarian standpoint, however, it is obviously of the greatest importance that emigrants of the classes debarred by law from entering the United States be not allowed to embark at foreign ports. This is accomplished in a large measure under the present system of inspection abroad, for in ordinary years at least five intending emigrants are turned back at European ports to one debarred at United States ports of arrival.

In view of the importance of the subject, the Commission made a careful investigation of examination systems prevailing at the ports of Amsterdam, Antwerp, Bremen, Cherbourg, Christiania, Copenhagen, Fiume, Genoa, Glasgow, Hamburg, Harve, Libau, Liverpool, Londonderry, Marseille, Messina, Naples, Palermo, Patras, Piraeus, Queenstown, Rotterdam, and Southampton, from which ports practically all emigrants for the United States embark.

There is little uniformity in the systems of examination in force at these ports. At Naples, Palermo, and Messina, under authority of the United States quarantine law, and by agreement with the Italian Government and the steamship companies, the medical examination of steerage passengers is made by officers of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, who exercise practically absolute control in this regard. These officers examine for defects contemplated by the United States immigration law every intended emigrant holding a steerage ticket and advise the rejection of those whose physical condition would make their admission to the United States improbable. While acting unofficially these officers have the support of both government and steamship officials, and their suggestions relative to rejections are always complied with.

The other extreme, so far as United States control is concerned, exists at Antwerp, where the Belgian Government is unwilling to yield even partial control of the situation, this attitude being due in part to a former disagreement incidental to the administration of the United States quarantine law at that port. At this port not even American consular officers are permitted to interfere in the examination of emigrants. Between these extremes there exists a variety of systems in which, for the most part, American consular officials perform more or less important functions, as outlined in the United States quarantine law previously referred to. As a practical illustration of the value of examinations at the various European ports in preventing the embarkation of diseased or otherwise undesirable emigrants, the Commission, as will appear later, has made a comparative study showing rejections, by cause, at United States ports of emigrants from different ports of Europe.^a

The examination of intending emigrants, however, is not confined entirely to ports of embarkation, but in several instances is required when application for a steamship ticket is made or before the emigrant has proceeded to a port of embarkation. The most conspicuous example of such preliminary examination is the control-station system which the German Government compels the steamship companies to maintain on the German-Russian and German-Austrian frontiers. There are 13 of these stations on the frontier and 1 near Berlin. Germany, as a matter of self-protection, requires that all emigrants from eastern Europe intending to cross German territory to ports of embarkation be examined at such stations, and such as do not comply with the German law governing the emigrant traffic through the Empire or who obviously would be debarred at United States ports, are rejected. During the year ending June 30, 1907, 11,814 out of 455,916 intended emigrants inspected were turned back at these stations. The German control-station system is discussed at greater length elsewhere.^b

^a See p. 80.

^b See p. 93.

In some countries an effort is made to prevent intending emigrants from leaving home unless it is evident that they will meet the requirements of examinations at control stations, ports of embarkation, or of the United States immigration laws. This is particularly true of Hungary, where at several points there is local supervision of the departure of emigrants for seaports. While this supervision is largely due to Hungary's purpose of controlling emigration, particularly where emigrants are liable to military service, the system prevents many from leaving home who would be rejected at ports of embarkation on account of disease. Members of the Commission witnessed an examination of this nature at Budapest and at Kassa, the northern terminus of the Hungarian state railway, where a government control station had recently been established. Formerly the examination at Kassa was controlled by the city police, but at the time of the committee's visit it was under the supervision of the frontier state police. It was the duty of the officer in charge at Kassa to examine all intended emigrants on their arrival at the railway station and to see that their departure was in accordance with both the Hungarian and the United States law. There was no medical examination, but the officer advised those whose physical condition was obviously defective that they would probably be rejected at the port of embarkation or at the United States port of arrival. Such emigrants, however, were allowed to proceed if they were disposed to do so. A case of this nature was observed by members of the Commission at the police-control station at Budapest, where a youthful emigrant who met the requirements of the Hungarian law was allowed to proceed to Fiume with a warning that he would be rejected there.

The numbers of rejections at the police-control stations in Hungary is not inconsiderable. According to the police records, 9,489 emigrants arrived at Kassa during the calendar year 1906 and 262 were rejected, while during the first five months of 1907, 6,526 emigrants arrived and 207 were rejected.

Medical examinations, with a view to determining the admissibility of emigrants under the United States law, are not uncommon in connection with the sale of steamship tickets. A member of the Commission found this to be the practice in Warsaw, where the ticket business is carried on secretly. At Gothenburg it was stated that steamship agents were particular not to sell tickets to emigrants whom they suspected of being diseased until the applicant had passed a private medical examination. The most conspicuous example of examinations in connection with the purchase of United States tickets was found in Greece, and this resulted from a most forcible illustration of the rigidity of the United States law.

In 1906 the Austro-Americano Company, which was then new in the emigrant carrying business, had over 300 emigrants refused admission to the United States and returned on a single voyage. On arrival at Trieste these returned emigrants mobbed the steamship company's office, and the experience resulted in the establishment by the Austro-Americano Company of a systematic scheme of examining intended emigrants in Greece. Agents of the company in that country sent their head physician to study the medical examination of immigrants at United States ports, and physicians were pro-

vided for the forty subagencies of the company in different parts of Greece. Under the system in force in Greece, before any document is given to an intended emigrant he is examined by the physician attached to the subagency. If that physician accepts him he receives a medical certificate, makes a deposit toward the price of his ticket, and space is reserved for him on a steamer. When he goes to the port of embarkation, the emigrant is examined by the company's head physician, and if accepted is permitted to complete his purchase of a ticket. On the day of sailing all emigrants are again examined at the company's office. Following the inauguration of this system of examinations there was a great and immediate reduction in the number of rejections at United States ports of immigrants brought from Greece by the Austro-Americano Line.

In Italy it is the policy of the Government to examine the records of intended emigrants at the time application is made for a passport, and unless the applicant can comply with the Italian and United States laws the passport is refused. But this refers particularly to the cases of criminals and convicts rather than to the physically defective, and usually Italian and many other emigrants are given their first medical examination at ports of embarkation.

From records of steamship companies and official records at ports of embarkation the Commission secured data relative to rejections at most of the principal ports of Europe, and also records of rejections at the German control stations, for the thirteen months ending December 31, 1907. During that period 11,882 intended emigrants destined to the ports of Bremen, Hamburg, and Rotterdam were turned back at the control stations referred to, and 27,799 more were rejected at the ports of Bremen, Fiume, Genoa, Glasgow, Hamburg, Havre, Libau, Liverpool, Messina, Naples, Palermo, Patras, Queens-town, Rotterdam, and Trieste, a total of 39,681.^a It was impossible to secure data respecting rejections at some ports, and at others complete data were not available. Consequently, the total given above undoubtedly falls considerably short of the total number who were turned back.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, a total of 13,064 immigrants were rejected at United States ports, and for the three fiscal years ending June 30, 1909, the total number of immigrants from all sources rejected was 34,377, or 5,304 less than were turned back at the European ports and control stations above mentioned in a period of thirteen months.

The large number of rejections at United States ports is not essentially an unfavorable reflection on the medical examinations conducted in Europe for the reason that the latter are in the main confined to the physical condition of emigrants, while at United States ports the examination is much broader, as may be illustrated by the fact that more are rejected there as paupers and persons likely to become public charges than on account of physical defects.^b It is, of course, in the interest of the steamship companies that persons likely to be rejected at United States ports be denied the privilege of crossing the ocean, for rejected persons must be returned at the expense of the company bringing them, and besides there is the

^a See Table 45, p. 122.

^b See table, p. 73.

likelihood of a fine being imposed for bringing diseased persons. But this is not all, for, in addition to the requirements of the United States law relative to the return of rejected immigrants to ports of embarkation, European laws, as a rule, require that steamship companies forward those returned to their homes, or home countries, which in many cases are at a considerable distance from the ports at which the rejected ones embarked. The Italian law relative to emigrants returned from foreign ports imposes even greater burdens on the carriers. Under that law the returned emigrant is entitled to damages from the carrier if he can prove that the carrier was aware, before his departure from Italy, that he could not be admitted under the law of the country to which he emigrated. A tribunal known as the arbitration commission has been established in each Province of Italy to examine cases of this nature, and the emigrant who has been returned may make a claim before that commission without expense to him. In many cases, besides returning the passage money, the carrier is compelled to pay the returned emigrant for loss of wages incurred by reason of his journey across the sea. For these reasons the transportation of emigrants who can not be admitted to the United States is usually unprofitable, but notwithstanding this fact some companies are willing to assume considerable risk for the sake of increasing their steerage business. In the main, however, the examinations conducted at the various ports are good and effective, so far as concerns the physical condition of emigrants, and as a safeguard against the transportation of the diseased, who are certain to be rejected at United States ports, they are of the greatest importance, a fact which the Commission believes is not always fully realized by students of the immigration problem in the United States.

INSPECTION AT PORTS AND CONTROL STATIONS.

In order that the various systems of examination in force at European ports may be understood, a description of the method of handling and examining emigrants at the principal ports is given herewith.

ANTWERP.

Unlike other European ports, American officials have no part in the examination or embarkation of emigrants sailing from Antwerp for the United States. Belgium will not tolerate the least interference on the part of officials of foreign governments in the matter, and consequently the American consular authorities are not permitted to even perfunctorily perform the duties required by the United States quarantine law in connection with the departure of vessels for United States ports.

The inspection of emigrants departing from Antwerp and bound for the United States is entirely under the supervision of the Belgian commission of emigration, which is composed of a commissioner, an assistant commissioner, a chief surgeon, an assistant surgeon, and nine inspectors. The governor of the Province is ex officio president of this commission. The commission has been in operation since 1884. The object of the organization is to see to the safety and well-being

of emigrants while they are in Belgium; to secure them against unscrupulous exploiters; to inspect their lodging houses; to prescribe necessary sanitary measures; to isolate all cases of contagious disease. The commission is always willing to carry out the inspection in accordance with the requirements of foreign countries as far as they are compatible with the Belgian law, but the Government recognizes no power in any foreign official to exercise authority or supervision.

A few hours before sailing emigrants pass an inspection under Belgian laws by Belgian officials. The steamship line is represented by its chief physician and the surgeon of the outgoing ships. Every emigrant is carefully examined, particularly as to the condition of his eyes and skin. If passed he receives an inspection card which admits him to the steamer and without which he can not go aboard. These cards are stamped by the Belgian inspectors rather than by American consular or medical officers, as is usual at European ports.

On two occasions in recent years officers of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service have been detailed for service at Antwerp in connection with the inspection of emigrants and emigrant-carrying ships sailing for United States ports. Following the cholera epidemic at Hamburg in 1892, Congress enacted the quarantine law of February 15, 1893, and in April of the latter year an officer of the service referred to was stationed at Antwerp, as a few cases of cholera had been reported at that port. This officer was permitted by the Red Star Line to act officially on their ships sailing for the United States, but was allowed to attend the inspection of emigrants on shore only in a nonofficial capacity. The detail ended in December, 1893, when United States Marine-Hospital officers stationed at various European ports were recalled. An officer of this service was again detailed for service at Antwerp in December, 1899, when the plague was prevalent in eastern Europe. This officer was allowed to be present at the inspection of emigrants, but merely as a spectator, and the examination, as before, was exclusively conducted by the Belgian officials.

Only one steamship line, the Red Star, carries emigrants from the port of Antwerp to the United States. This line has a fleet of six steamers, two of which transport emigrants exclusively. Most of the emigrants arrive on the day previous to the sailing and are lodged in the numerous boarding houses for this purpose, which are supervised by the sanitary authorities of the port and the Belgian commission of emigration. Emigration from Belgium is small, and most of the steerage passengers carried by the Red Star line come from eastern Europe.

The Commission did not secure a record of rejections at Antwerp, but as in the case of other ports at which eastern Europeans apply for passage a considerable number are turned back. A large proportion of the emigrants intending to sail from Antwerp, however, pass through the control stations on the German-Austrian frontier, and many, of course, are rejected as a result of the examination there who otherwise would be turned back at Antwerp.

It is interesting to note that, although American officials have no part in the examination of emigrants at Antwerp, the records of rejections at United States ports indicate that the examination there is more effective than at most European ports. During the period

covered by the Commission's inquiry, as will appear later, the per cent of steerage passengers embarking at Antwerp who are rejected at United States ports is much smaller than among emigrants from Bremen, Hamburg, and Rotterdam. Practically the same classes of emigrants embark at these ports as at Antwerp, and at all but the latter American consular officers have a part in the examination.

BRITISH PORTS.

The British aliens act of 1905^a provides that—

An immigrant shall not be landed in the United Kingdom from an immigrant ship except at a port at which there is an immigrant officer appointed under this act, and shall not be landed at any such port without the leave of that officer given after an inspection of the immigrants made by him on the ship, or elsewhere if the immigrants are conditionally disembarked for the purpose, in company with a medical inspector, such inspection to be made as soon as practicable, and the immigration officer shall withhold leave in the case of any immigrant who appears to him to be an undesirable immigrant within the meaning of this section.

It is further provided that—

For the purposes of this section an immigrant shall be considered an undesirable immigrant if he can not show that he has in his possession or is in a position to obtain the means of decently supporting himself and his dependents (if any); or if he is a lunatic or an idiot, or owing to any disease or infirmity appears likely to become a charge upon the rates or otherwise a detriment to the public; or if he has been sentenced in a foreign country with which there is an extradition treaty for a crime, not being an offense of a political character, which is, as respects that country, an extradition crime within the meaning of the extradition act, 1870; or if an expulsion order under this act has been made in his case; but, in the case of an immigrant who proves that he is seeking admission to this country solely to avoid prosecution or punishment on religious or political grounds or for an offense of a political character, or persecution, involving danger of imprisonment or danger to life or limb, on account of religious belief, leave to land shall not be refused on the ground merely of want of means, or the probability of his becoming a charge on the rates, * * *

The above provisions of law, however, afford no protection to the United States, for aliens in transit through Great Britain to another country are not considered as "immigrants" within the meaning of the British law, as will be seen from section 8 of the aliens act, which provides in part as follows:

The expression "immigrant" in this act means an alien steerage passenger who is to be landed in the United Kingdom, but does not include any passenger who shows to the satisfaction of the immigration officer or board concerned with the case that he desires to land in the United Kingdom only for the purpose of proceeding within a reasonable time to some destination out of the United Kingdom; or any passengers holding prepaid through tickets to some such destination, if the master or owner of the ship by which they are to be taken away from the United Kingdom gives security to the satisfaction of the secretary of state that, except for the purposes of transit or under other circumstances approved by the secretary of state, they will not remain in the United Kingdom or, having been rejected in another country, reenter the United Kingdom, and that they will be properly maintained and controlled during their transit. * * *

It is apparent from the above-quoted sections of the aliens act that transmigrants of any class are free to enter Great Britain, provided there is an assurance that undesirables will not be permitted to remain

^a 5 Edw., 7 ch., 13.

in the country. The attitude of Great Britain differs from that of Germany in this regard, for the law of the latter country provides that intending emigrants to the United States shall not be permitted to pass through German territory if it is obvious that they could not be admitted at United States ports.^a The situation in Canada is similar to that in Germany, the Canadian immigration law providing that no immigrant, passenger, or other person, unless he is a Canadian citizen, or has Canadian domicile, shall be permitted to land in Canada, or in case of having landed in or entered Canada shall be permitted to remain therein, who belong to any of the following classes, hereinafter called "prohibitive classes": Idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons, and persons who have been insane within five years previous. Persons afflicted with any loathsome disease or with a disease which is contagious or infectious or which may become dangerous to the public health, whether such persons intend to settle in Canada or only to pass through Canada in transit to some other country.

In assuming no authority over persons in transit the British aliens act puts on the steamship companies the responsibility of turning back at British ports of embarkation emigrants who are deemed as undesirable within the meaning of the United States immigration law.

Under the British merchant shipping act of 1894-1897, however, a medical inspection of emigrants is made at every port of embarkation. This is provided for in the following sections of the act referred to:

Medical inspection.

SEC. 306. (1) An emigrant ship shall not clear outward or proceed to sea until (a) either a medical practitioner, appointed by the emigration officer at the port of clearance, has inspected all the steerage passengers and crew about to proceed in the ship, and has certified to the emigration officer, and that officer is satisfied, that none of the steerage passengers or crew appear to be by reason of any bodily or mental disease unfit to proceed, or likely to endanger the health or safety of the other persons about to proceed in the ship; or (b) the emigration officer, if he can not on any particular occasion obtain the attendance of a medical practitioner, grants written permission for the purpose.

(2) The inspection shall take place either on board the ship, or, in the discretion of the emigration officer, at such convenient place on shore before embarkation, as he appoints, and the master, owner, or charterer of the ship shall pay to the emigration officer in respect of the inspection such fee, not exceeding twenty shillings for every hundred persons or fraction of a hundred persons inspected, as the board of trade determine.

(3) If this section is not complied with in the case of any emigrant ship, the master of the ship shall for each offence be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds.

SEC. 307. (1) If the emigration officer is satisfied that any person on board or about to proceed in any emigrant ship is by reason of sickness unfit to proceed, or is for that or any other reason in a condition likely to endanger the health or safety of the other persons on board, the emigration officer shall prohibit the embarkation of that person, or, if he is embarked, shall require him to be relanded; and if the emigration officer is satisfied that it is necessary for the purification of the ship or otherwise that all or any of the persons on board should be relanded, he may require the master of the ship to reland all those persons, and the master shall thereupon reland those persons, with so much of their effects and with such members of their families as can not, in the judgment of such emigration officer, be properly separated from them.

^a See p. 93.

(2) If any requirement of this section is not complied with in the case of any emigrant ship, the master, owner, or charterer of the ship, or any of them, shall for each offence be liable to a fine not exceeding two hundred pounds.

(3) If any person embarks when so prohibited to embark, or fails without reasonable cause to leave the ship when so required to be relanded, that person may be summarily removed, and shall be liable to a fine not exceeding forty shillings for each day during which he remains on board after the prohibition or requirement.

(4) Upon such relanding the master of the ship shall pay to each steerage passenger so relanded, or, if he is lodged and maintained in any hulk or establishment under the superintendence of the board of trade, then to the emigration officer at the port, subsistence money at the rate of one shilling and sixpence a day for each statute adult until he has been reembarked or declines or neglects to proceed, or until his passage money, if recoverable under this part of this act, has been returned to him.

Similar provisions of law have been in force at British ports for more than thirty years.

It will be noted that the British law is intended solely to prevent the embarkation of emigrants or members of the crew who appear to be by reason of any bodily or mental disease unfit to proceed, or likely to endanger the health or safety of other persons about to proceed in the ship.

While the requirements of the United States immigration law are not taken into account, the examination by British medical officers is of value in preventing the sailing of some undesirable emigrants, but its effectiveness in this regard is greatly impaired by the fact that trachoma is not regarded as a dangerous disease within the meaning of the British law, which, of course, necessitates a thorough medical inspection of emigrants by the steamship companies.

The method of conducting the examination of emigrants at the principal British ports of embarking is shown in what follows:

Glasgow.

The method of medical examination in practice here is identical with the one which prevails at Liverpool. Continental emigrants, upon their arrival at Glasgow, are assigned to the several boarding houses licensed by the city of Glasgow for the purpose, and conducted under the supervision of the steamship companies. As soon as possible after their arrival at the boarding houses they are examined by a resident physician and by an eye specialist, both employed by the steamship companies. The resident physician makes daily examinations of such emigrants until the day of sailing. Whenever the eye specialist finds the emigrant suffering from some eye trouble which, in his opinion, would yield to treatment within a reasonable time he is put under treatment and held at Glasgow until such time as the disease is cured. Those whom he considers incurable are returned to their homes. The expense in connection with this treatment is borne by the steamship companies. It frequently happens that such emigrants are held at Glasgow under treatment for as long as two or three weeks. Emigrants suffering from other diseases which can be cured in a short time are also held and treated at the steamship company's expense until they are fit to sail. On the day of sailing the emigrants are collected and taken to the railway station and placed in a special train which conveys them to Greenock, at which point they embark on the steamer. The final examination takes place

at the gangplank as they proceed from the tender to the steamer. Present at this final examination are the American consul or vice-consul, the British Board of Trade doctor, the doctor of the ship about to sail, and police officers and detectives. The examining officer is the ship surgeon and in doubtful cases he consults with the board of trade doctor and with the American consular officer. This system of examination has been in force at the port of Glasgow for a considerable period, the only departure of importance being that when several passengers were rejected at Ellis Island because of trachoma the steamship companies appointed an eye specialist to examine the eyes of intending emigrants.

The baggage of emigrants is not disinfected. The usual "inspected and passed" label is stamped by an employee of the steamship company, who is furnished a rubber consular seal by the consulate for that purpose.

The American consul at Glasgow stated that he did not give any special attention to the medical examination of emigrants, as he was satisfied that the steamship companies realized their responsibility and that they are honest in their efforts to avoid bringing to America any alien who would be returned because of some loathsome or contagious disease. He said, however, that he had always found the steamship companies very willing to accept any suggestions in the matter.

During the period December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907, there were 40 rejections at Glasgow on account of the Anchor Line, 26 of which were for trachoma. The Allan Line reported only 2 rejections during the same period, both of which were for trachoma. The per cent of rejections at United States ports among immigrants embarking from Glasgow is larger than for any other British port except Londonderry.^a

Liverpool.

Liverpool is one of the four principal ports of Europe for the embarkation of emigrants, the others being Naples, Bremen, and Hamburg. Emigrants from all parts of northern and eastern Europe pass through the port. The majority of the people from the Continent land at Hull or Grimsby, where they are taken in charge by representatives of the Liverpool lines and directed to their port of embarkation. Several agents of the commission employed in the investigation of steerage conditions on trans-Atlantic ships passed through the port of Liverpool in the guise of emigrants. One of these agents describes his experiences there as follows:

On my arrival at Liverpool we were separated into groups once more. Those destined for the White Star Line and the Dominion Line were met by the agents of those companies; we were met by an agent of the Cunard Line. Large busses with a seating capacity ranging from 6 to 25 awaited us right at the depot. Our hand baggage was put on top and off we went to the hotel. On our way we were divided again as to nationality, for the companies named try as far as possible to keep each nationality under one roof, or at least in one part of the hotel, thus avoiding unnecessary difficulties. Here my booted Polish friends and their crying children left me for a time to meet me again on board the _____ . I was sent to the Scandinavian Hotel because they took me for a Scandinavian.

^a See table, p. 126.

The Cunard Hotel system is a village by itself in the center of Liverpool, and consists of several buildings, holding over 2,000 guests if need be. In those hotels second as well as third class passengers may remain until their steamer departs, entirely free of charge. At the Hotel Cunard, where we stayed, we were welcomed by a matron and a hotel keeper in the uniform of the Cunard Steamship Company. We were asked most kindly to eat something before we retired. I said I did not care for anything, but they insisted that I should eat something or at least drink a glass of milk. Then my room was shown to me. It held 10 beds and was well ventilated and provided with steam heat and electric lights. Both beds and floor were clean. I did not see any room in this hotel with more than 15 beds in it. Women are strictly separated from men in the sleeping rooms.

There are two dining rooms, one with a seating capacity of about 500, one with 200. The meals are wholesome. A printed menu was found in several conspicuous places. The Hebrews who stay in a separate hotel get kosher cooked meals.

The toilet and bathrooms were strictly sanitary and every part of them is marble and tile lined. The water-closets have running water. The hotel provided towels and soap. Mostly all the hotel employees were Britonized foreigners, so as to be able to understand the foreign-speaking guests. In our Scandinavian hotel for instance nearly all the employees were Swedes.

The hotel or emigrant boarding-house system above described is similar to those maintained by the other steamship lines carrying passengers from Liverpool. On the arrival of emigrants at the steamship boarding houses they are examined by resident physicians of the steamship companies who visit the houses daily. In cases or suspected cases of infectious or contagious disease the emigrants are either rejected or held for further observation.

While the majority of rejections at Liverpool are made at the boarding houses, a considerable number are turned back at the steamer on the day of sailing. Emigrants are required to board the ship several hours before sailing, and there the final examination is made. At this time emigrants are examined by one of the resident physicians of the steamship company, by the ship's doctor, and finally by a medical officer representing the British Board of Trade. Under the British law one or more board of trade physicians are stationed at every port from which emigrants sail, and at the time of the committee's visit the services of four such medical officers were required in connection with the embarkation of emigrants at Liverpool. When the examination is concluded a representative of the American consulate stamps with the consular seal the inspection cards of those passed. As previously explained, the British Board of Trade doctors do not inspect emigrants for defects contemplated by the United States immigration law, and do not regard trachoma as a dangerous disease within the meaning of the British merchant shipping act. Consequently steamship companies are forced to exercise every precaution to prevent the embarkation of persons likely to be rejected at United States ports. As usual, particular attention is paid to trachoma, and eye specialists are employed by the various lines to examine for this disease.

The various steamship companies at Liverpool endeavor to have their agents on the continent require a medical examination of intended emigrants in connection with the sale of tickets, and it was stated that some of the companies allow a fixed sum to cover the cost of such examination. Cabin passengers are not medically examined at Liverpool.

When cholera, plague, or other infectious or contagious diseases prevail in continental countries from which emigrants come such emigrants are detained at Liverpool for at least five days, and are examined daily by the steamship company's resident physician, who, after the completion of the observation, certifies to the American consul that he has made a daily inspection of the detained persons, that they are free from disease, and that they will sail on the ship specified. Until this certificate is presented the consular bill of health is not issued. On the arrival of passengers from infected districts arrangements are made for the disinfection of their effects under the supervision of the American consulate. This baggage is disinfected in accordance with the United States quarantine laws and regulations. A representative of the American consulate is always present while the disinfecting process is in progress and does not leave the premises until it is completed. The committee was informed that the various steamship companies are always ready to carry out the requirements and suggestions of the consulate.

Hon. John L. Griffiths, American consul at Liverpool, at the time of the Commission's inspection, made the following statement relative to the situation at that port:

I have given a great deal of attention to the matter of the examination of third-class passengers sailing from this port to America and think that the examinations by the medical representatives of the Government and by the ships' surgeons are in the main satisfactory. I have had recently an illustration at this consulate of the rigid character of these medical examinations. An Armenian girl has been detained in Liverpool for over six months on account of trachoma, and has been pronounced cured by the physician attending her, and after such pronouncement has been twice rejected, the first time by the White Star Line, and the second time by the Cunard Company. The fact that the steamship companies are required to bring back all rejected passengers and are penalized for taking them over to America is of course, as you recognize, a most efficient safeguard.

I have talked frequently with the medical officers who conduct the examinations for the Government and for the steamship companies, and have been impressed with their sincere desire to do everything they possibly can to prevent the sailing of any persons who are tainted with a contagious or infectious disease. Each third-class passenger is required to submit to at least three medical examinations before being finally accepted or rejected. I required an affidavit from the ship's doctor as to all rejected passengers and the cause of rejection, so that evidence may be preserved of these facts. There is a representative from the consulate present at the final examination of third-class passengers sailing from Liverpool to American ports, and while he is not a medical expert and does not in any way control the medical examination, he does not stamp the "inspection card" until after the passenger has been medically examined and approved. In addition to this the vice-consul or myself is present from time to time at these examinations. During the three years and more that I have been at the Liverpool consulate there has been no complaint as to ill-treatment of any sort on the part of third-class passengers, or of inadequate accommodations, or inefficient or unpalatable food at the boarding houses in Liverpool which are maintained by the steamship companies.

It is the practice of steamship companies at Liverpool to detain in that city all rejected steerage passengers whose physical disabilities, in the opinion of the company's physician, would be likely to yield to medical treatment within a reasonable time. But this is only done when the company is assured by reliable persons or societies that the emigrant will be produced when demanded by the steamship com-

pany or the inspector appointed under the British aliens act. This act permits the transmigration through England of diseased or otherwise undesirable aliens who would not be permitted to remain in that country, and emigrants other than British finally rejected at British ports are deported to the country whence they came. The British inspector is advised when emigrants are detained for treatment, as above explained, and is also informed as to the final disposition of case. The cost of the detention of diseased emigrants held for treatment is defrayed in various ways. In the case of Hebrews it is sometimes borne by the Jewish board of guardians, and sometimes by other charitable organizations, and in some cases the steamship companies meet the expense.

Londonderry.

Two steamship companies, the Anchor and Allan lines, transport emigrants from Londonderry to the United States. The traffic is not large from this port and there are few rejections. Emigrants are given a rather perfunctory examination by the medical officer of the board of trade when they board the tender which carries them to the ship at Moville, about 16 miles distant, and only in cases where the emigrant is obviously defective physically or mentally is a careful examination made. What is really the principal examination of emigrants sailing from Londonderry is made when they reach the steamer at Moville. Here the ship's doctor examines all passengers as they go on board. The American consular agent at Londonderry attends the first examination. Emigrants embarking at this port are described as unusually strong and healthy. The manager of the Anchor Line stated to a representative of the Commission that according to the records of that company only two passengers had been rejected during the previous six years. The manager of the Allan Line stated that no records of this nature were kept by that company, but that in his opinion not more than six passengers a year are rejected.

Queenstown.

Queenstown is the chief port of embarkation for Irish emigrants. They are brought from all parts of the island by rail and are lodged in boarding houses while awaiting sailing. Every week several ships sailing from Liverpool call at Queenstown for passengers, and usually emigrants do not remain at that port more than one night. As emigrants board the tender which takes them to the ship they are given the usual examination by a British board of trade physician in the presence of the American consul or his deputy. The board of trade doctor and the American consular officer go with the emigrants to the ship, when they are given another examination by the ship's doctor. This includes both second and third class passengers, except those who are American citizens, and the examination is made chiefly for trachoma. The American consular officer then makes inquiry of the ship's doctor regarding the condition of the ship's passengers and crew since leaving Liverpool and issues a supplemental bill of health accordingly. When necessary, emigrants are vaccinated by the ship's doctor during the voyage. Emigrants' baggage is disinfected only when some epidemic disease is prevalent in Ireland.

Under normal conditions the usual "inspected and passed" label is affixed to the baggage and stamped with the American consular seal by an employee of the steamship company. On the whole the examination as witnessed at Queenstown impressed the committee as perfunctory; but, of course, the necessity of a thorough medical examination is not so great there as at ports where southern and eastern Europeans embark. The number and causes of rejections at Queenstown on account of the American White Star and Cunard lines during the period covered by the Commission's inquiry are shown by the following table:

TABLE 42.—Number of emigrants rejected at Queenstown from December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907, by steamship line and by cause.

Cause.	American.	Cunard.	White Star.	Total.
Trachoma.....	2	62	22	86
Sore eyes.....		4	18	22
Other causes.....		15	3	18
Total.....	2	81	43	126

Southampton.

Ships of the American Line have sailed from the port of Southampton since 1882, and during that time emigrants have been examined by the board of trade physician in accordance with the British regulation governing the embarkation of passengers. Emigrants are also examined by the ship's doctor. From the beginning the authority of the United States consul in emigration matters has been recognized, and the American Line has enforced strict rules to protect steerage passengers from the danger of disease on shipboard. A modern disinfecting plant is maintained and when deemed necessary the baggage and clothing of emigrants are thoroughly disinfected. A large, well-located building, erected for the purpose, is used as an emigrant station, and emigrants arriving prior to the day of sailing are housed there. The emigrant station and equipment are inspected by the United States consulate at irregular times, and the consul stated that the station has always been found in excellent order and the disinfecting apparatus ready for immediate use. Particular attention is paid to conditions of health prevailing in the various parts of continental Europe furnishing emigrants to the American Line, and when infectious or contagious diseases prevail the traffic from the affected district is either refused or subjected to a strict examination and thorough disinfection on arrival at Southampton.

The details of the examination at Southampton, furnished to the Commission by Hon. Albert W. Swalm, United States consul there, are as follows:

On the morning of sailing day two of the consular force go on board the vessel. * * * All emigrants coming from noninfected ports are examined by two duly qualified physicians. One is the surgeon of the ship, who makes the first examination. Those he rejects are put in charge of a steward and kept at one side, and those he passes go on to the second physician, who represents the English Board of Trade, and if he finds anything not to his profes-

sional liking, the emigrant is sent to the rejected line and kept there. The final rejection of the ship's surgeon stands absolutely, and such rejected person is not allowed free action thereafter, as the company is held by the governmental authorities responsible for the repatriation of that individual to his former home. The English examination also includes the crew, for the discovery of any disease that might become either infectious or contagious. Emigrants are landed by rail in a large dock shed and the examination takes place always in daylight and in a specially well-lighted passageway, and should they be needed powerful electric lights may be utilized. Thus each emigrant has to pass the critical examination of two physicians, while all the second-class passengers are looked after in practically the same way. No baggage of any emigrant is allowed to be put on board until the emigrant has passed the medical examination. Nor is any such baggage allowed to go on board until it has the inspection label pasted on, and this includes every parcel or box. The emigrant rolls are made up, of course, at the company's office, but where a rejection occurs a yellow certificate is attached to the sheet and the name or names marked out.

This method of inspection has been in vogue in much the same way as far back as 1882 for the American Line, and the English method of examination dates back for about fifty years.

According to the records of the United States consulate, intended emigrants were rejected at Southampton in various years as follows:

1904-----	422
1905-----	594
1906-----	487
1907-----	226
1908 (Jan. 1 to Aug. 29)-----	441

The above figures include rejections for the American and White Star lines, both of which carry emigrants from this port. About 70 per cent of the rejections were on account of trachoma, and practically all rejected had steerage tickets. Under the regulations second-class passengers are also examined, and those sailing first class are examined when necessary, but only five cabin passengers had been rejected during the three years preceding the committee's visit.

In the opinion of Consul Swalm the system of examining emigrants at Southampton can not well be bettered, and a careful enforcement of all the requirements of the law will accomplish all that is humanly possible, unless a control station is established where emigrants can be detained for extended medical observation prior to embarkation. The consul was also of the opinion that if intended emigrants could be compelled to present a medical certificate when applying for a steamship ticket much hardship would be avoided. He said that in a number of cases families had come to Southampton after sacrificing all their possessions in order to buy steamship tickets and had been refused the privilege of sailing because some member of the family did not pass the medical inspection.

CHERBOURG.

The following steamship lines carry emigrants from the port of Cherbourg to the United States: The Hamburg-American, the North German Lloyd, the White Star, and the American. Under the French law emigrants sailing from a French port must be examined by a physician designated by the French Government, and at the time of the committee's inquiry two physicians were assigned to Cherbourg for the purpose of making the examination. The steamship lines pay jointly to the Government the expenses of the examination.

The examination by the government physicians takes place in the waiting room near the dock immediately before sailing time. Besides the two doctors, there are present the post commissioner of emigration and several police officers. This examination is of the most perfunctory order, rejections being rarely made by them. After this the emigrants are taken out to the ship in a tender, and as they go aboard they are examined by the ship's surgeon, especially for trachoma and favus. Emigration through the port of Cherbourg is not large, and complete information relative to rejections was not secured by the Commission. The records available, however, show that one person holding a second-class ticket and 66 holding steerage tickets by the White Star Line were rejected from June 1, 1907, to September 30, 1908, and that a total of 950 persons were rejected by the American Line during a period of about five years preceding the latter date.

Rejections of persons intending to embark on ships of the American Line from 1903 to September 30, 1908, are shown by the following table:

TABLE 43.—*Number of emigrants rejected at Cherbourg (American Line) from 1903 to September 30, 1908.*

Year.	Second class.	Third class.	Total
1903.....	2	37	39
1904.....	6	163	169
1905.....	4	249	253
1906.....	12	216	228
1907.....	11	201	212
1908, Jan. 1 to Sept. 30.....	5	44	49
Total.....	40	910	950

CHRISTIANIA.

The Scandinavian-American Line is the only steamship company carrying emigrants from Christiania direct to United States ports, and a large part of the Norwegian emigration is carried on its ships, while the remainder embark at British and other European ports. Emigrants sailing directly to United States ports are, in accordance with the laws of Norway, examined by an official of the board of health, but this examination is not required for emigrants who leave Norway to embark at foreign ports. The Norwegian emigration law allows the official examination to be held three days prior to the sailing of the ship, but, as a rule, it is made on the day of sailing. The examination takes place in a waiting room near the steamship quay, and second-class as well as steerage passengers are required to undergo it. The eyes, tongue, throat, and hands are carefully examined. The American consul has no part in the examination at Christiania. The steamship company has an American consular seal, and stamps each inspection card and the baggage labels, while the consul issues a bill of health for ships on the certificate of the chief of the board of health that each passenger has been examined and found free from disease. Emigrants' baggage is not disinfected at this port. No record is made of rejections at Christiania, but the chief of the board

of health stated that he had never found it necessary to reject more than 2 or 3 per cent of those applying for transportation by the Scandinavian-American Line. The United States Immigration Service records show that the per cent of rejections is lower among immigrants embarking at Christiania than at most other European ports.^a This, of course, is due in part to the fact that the diseases for which most southern and eastern European emigrants are rejected at United States ports are not prevalent in Norway.

COPENHAGEN.

The Scandinavian-American Line is the only steamship company taking emigrants direct from Copenhagen to the United States, and aside from the fact that special attention is now given to diseases of the eye, the medical examination is practically the same as when this line entered the trade. By an agreement with other lines the Scandinavian-American confines its efforts to secure steerage business to Scandinavia and Finland, but at the time of the committee's visit some Russians were embarking at Copenhagen. Scandinavian emigrants are not examined prior to their arrival in Copenhagen, but agents of the company in Finland are required to have applicants for transportation examined before tickets are sold.

The final examination takes place in the waiting room of the steamship company on the day of sailing. Steerage passengers then pass before a police inspector of the city of Copenhagen, the city physician, and the American consul-general or vice-consul-general. The doctors examine the eyes and scalp, and if passed the emigrant's card is stamped by the inspector of police and also with the American consular seal. When Russian emigrants were carried they were required to present a certificate of good health when applying for transportation. They were also examined by a police surgeon on their arrival in Copenhagen, and again on sailing day, and it was stated that approximately 10 per cent were rejected on account of disease. Very few Scandinavian or Finnish emigrants are rejected. Formerly first and second cabin passengers were examined at this port, but this practice was discontinued.

Baggage of emigrants is inspected by an American consular officer, but disinfection is not required, unless there is an epidemic in the territory from which the emigrant comes.

FIUME.

Emigration to the United States through the port of Fiume began in 1904, when the Hungarian Government contracted with the Cunard Line to send two steamers a month to that port. Previous to that time the large emigration from Hungary embarked at various ports, but a large portion of it was directed to Fiume when a through steamship service to the United States was established. The system of handling and examining emigrants at Fiume is modeled after the system in force at Hamburg. This was adopted after a Hungarian commission had studied the situation at that port. At the time of the committee's visit a new emigrant station, or emigrant hotel, was

^a See table, p. 126.

nearing completion. This building, which is said to have cost about \$300,000, is of steel and concrete construction, and is one of the best emigrant stations in Europe. Railway trains carrying intended emigrants are run directly to the station. Upon their arrival these emigrants are put into what is known as the "unclean" section of the station, and as soon as practicable are given a medical examination by a resident physician in the employ of the steamship company, and whenever deemed necessary they are required to bathe. They are then transferred to the "clean" section of the station, where they are daily inspected by physicians, and remain there until the day of sailing. At the time of embarkation emigrants are marched to the steamer, where they are examined by a physician appointed by the American consul and paid by the steamship company, the resident physician of the steamship company, and by the ship's doctor. The American consul is always present when the final medical examination takes place, and baggage is disinfected and labeled under his direction. The consul stated that every possible facility was afforded to the doctor employed by the consulate. It was stated to the committee that the consulate doctor had not recently found it necessary to make any recommendations for rejections over the decision of the steamship company's resident physician, for the reason that the latter had been unusually severe in rejecting all persons having tubercular affections of any kind, trachoma, scars, favus, cancer, syphilis, and venereal diseases of all kinds, and that but few emigrants from Fiume were rejected at New York. A member of the Commission witnessing the examination at Fiume was satisfied that it was strict in the highest degree, and this is substantiated by the records of the United States Immigration Service at New York, which, as will appear later,^a shows that the per cent of rejections is much smaller among immigrants sailing from Fiume than from any other south European port.

During the period covered by the committee's inquiry, December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907, 4,789 intended emigrants were rejected at Fiume.

GERMAN CONTROL STATIONS AND PORTS.

Control stations.

One of the most interesting instances of emigrant inspection in Europe is the control-station system on the German-Russian and German-Austrian frontier. There are thirteen of these stations located at railway points along the border, and through them passes a great tide of eastern European emigration which embarks at British, French, Dutch, Belgium, and German ports. At these stations emigrants are required by a law of Germany to submit to a medical inspection, and those not meeting the requirements of that country or who obviously can not comply with the physical test applied to immigrants at United States ports are not allowed to pass over German soil, and every year thousands are turned back to the country whence they came.

The system had its origin in the cholera epidemic of 1892, when the port of Hamburg was badly infected, the disease presumably being

^a See table, p. 126.

introduced by Russian emigrants bound for the United States. Immediately following this outbreak it was decreed that such emigrants should not be allowed to pass through German territory and soldiers were stationed along the frontier to enforce the decree. This regulation was in effect for several months and resulted in a great loss to the steamship companies, for by that time the emigration movement from Russia to the United States had become large. The Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd lines were finally able to effect a compromise with the Government whereby the steamship companies were to erect and maintain control stations at frontier railway towns where all emigrants should undergo a thorough examination before being allowed to pass through Germany. The purpose of these stations and the arrangements under which they were conducted in the period immediately following their establishment are shown in an order of the German minister of the interior, dated April 3, 1895, a translation of which was published in the annual report of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration of that year. The text of the order follows:

By reason of the refusal of the American immigration officials to land pauper immigrants, it was necessary to enact measures to prevent the overburdening of the German institutions for the poor with such alien immigrants as had been debarred in the United States and returned to German ports of embarkation. For that purpose it had been ordered that all alien emigrants crossing the Russian-Prussian or the Austro-Prussian frontiers on their way to the seaports shall be subjected to an examination by the police, and those who have been found liable to refusal by the American authorities as paupers shall not be granted permission to continue the trips to the seaports. These measures were compiled for the last time in the decree of October 8, 1893. Furthermore, in order to regulate the transit of emigrants from the Russian and the Austrian frontiers through Prussia to Hamburg and Bremen, and in view of certain guaranties furnished by them, some concessions were recently made to the North German Lloyd, in Bremen, and to the Hamburg-American Company, in Hamburg, as to their contracts for the transport of emigrants coming from Russia and Galicia at their crossing of the frontier. According to that arrangement, so-called control stations were established by the above-named steamship companies on the Russian frontier, viz, at Bajorhen (district of Memel), at Kydtkuhnen (district of Stallupönen), at Prostken (district of Lyck), at Illowo (district of Neidenburg), and at Ottlotschin (district of Thorn).

At these stations all emigrants are subjected to an examination as to their health, and such persons as do not seem liable to be refused admission by the American authorities and whose transportation to America is undertaken by a representative of the above-named steamship companies will be permitted to continue their journey even without the prescribed certificates as to their pecuniary possessions, passports, or cabin tickets still in force, and they shall then be transported by the representative steamship companies, if possible, in separate sections and without being brought in contact with other people, to the ports of embarkation. Similar facilities have been arranged on the Austrian frontier at Myslowitz (district of Kattowitz) and at Ratibor, at which stations, however, a medical examination is not required, but the name of each passenger contracted by the steamship companies is recorded under police supervision in two separate registers. On the other side, the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American companies have assumed the following obligations:

Both companies are to be held responsible severally and jointly for expenses accruing to the State, communities, or institutions for the poor—

(a) From the transportation of immigrants admitted to those stations, respectively, at either Myslowitz or Kattowitz under the easier terms, no matter whether or not the emigrants were actually received in the stations, and in whatever direction or for whatever reason they were transported.

(b) From food, lodging, and medical treatment (and eventually, in cases of death, burying) for such emigrants in transit, no matter whether or not

such expenses were incurred at those stations or somewhere else in Germany, or during the transport to or from the seaports.

These obligations of both steamship companies remain binding toward state, communal, or other institutions for the poor, even if such emigrants as have been admitted at those control stations should purchase tickets from other companies. Whenever, therefore, emigrants in transit of the above-described kind should fail to reach the respective ports of their destination, or should desire to return from America, via Germany, to their original countries, all expenses incurred from sojourn or transportation (eventually also of feeding) to state, communal, or other institutions for the poor must be borne by the steamship companies, which in every case must be notified whether or not the individual case concerns an emigrant who had been received at the frontier by one of the two steamship companies, which will be ascertained by an examination of the emigrant or by the papers in his possession. The minister of the interior will act as agent in the matter of settling the amount of expenses to be borne by those companies in order to get an idea of the number and the amount of such cases. It is hoped and expected that they will not be very numerous, as it is in the very greatest interest of the steamship companies themselves to avert such expenses by using their utmost discretion.

At the time of the committee's visit ^{913:1} control stations were maintained at the following border points: Russian frontier—Bajohren, Eydtkuhnen, Illowo, Insterburg, Ostrowo, Otatlatschin, Posen, Prostken, Tilsit; Austrian frontier—Bingerbruck, Leipzig, Myslowitz, and Ratibor. An interior station was maintained at Ruhleben, near Berlin, where emigrants not passing through the border stations were inspected. These control stations are maintained by the two German steamship lines, the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd, and the Holland-American, Red Star, White Star, Cunard, American, and French lines, for, by a concession of the Government, emigrants booked for passage on the foreign lines mentioned are permitted to pass through the station and over German territory. Emigrants holding tickets by lines other than those mentioned are not permitted to pass the control stations. Rejections on this account are frequent, the total for the year ending June 30, 1907, being 664. If such emigrants are willing and able to purchase tickets by one of the licensed lines, they are of course allowed to proceed, but otherwise they must seek another route to their port of embarkation. The stations are under the supervision of the German Government and police officers are in constant attendance. These officers examine emigrants in accordance with the provisions of German regulations, with especial regard to the matter of steamship tickets referred to.

Members of the Commission visited the control stations at Myslowitz, Otatlatschin, Bajohren, and Eydtkuhnen, but witnessed the inspection of emigrants only at Myslowitz. This is located at the junction of the three countries, Germany, Russia, and Austria, and is one of the most important stations. Like most of the stations it is equipped for the housing of emigrants awaiting transportation to ports of embarkation, and is provided with a steam disinfecting plant which is ready for use at all times. The German regulation formerly required that the clothing and other effects of all emigrants be disinfected at control stations, but at the time under consideration this was done only when the examining physician deemed such a course advisable. Facilities for bathing were also provided, and this was compulsory when advised by the medical examiner. The Myslowitz station was equipped with an emergency hospital with accommodations for about 100 persons, and the commissioners were informed that in cases of contagious or infectious disease afflicted

persons and all those with whom they had come in contact were removed there for treatment or observation.

As witnessed by members of the Commission the inspection of emigrants at control stations is more nearly like the examination at United States ports than is the usual examination at European ports of embarkation. This is due to the fact that the amount of money possessed by emigrants is taken into account there, while at ports of embarkation this is not considered. As usual the medical examination was particularly directed toward the discovery of trachoma and favus.

An agent of the Commission employed in the investigation of the steerage on emigrant-carrying ships passed through the control station at Myslowitz, and her experiences there are recorded in the Commission's report on Steerage Conditions.^a

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, a total of 1,199,566 European immigrants were admitted at United States ports, and during the same period 455,916 intended emigrants were inspected at German control stations. While the above numbers are not strictly comparable it is clear that approximately one-third of all emigrants from Europe to the United States pass through these stations, and that fact emphasizes their importance in the system of emigration selection abroad which the United States immigration law has made necessary.

Through the courtesy of the Hamburg-American Line's officials at Hamburg, the Commission secured an interesting statistical statement relative to activities at the various stations during the year ending June 30, 1907. This is shown in brief in the following table:

TABLE 44.—*Number of emigrants inspected at German control stations, and number and per cent rejected, by stations, year ending June 30, 1907.*

[Compiled from statistics furnished by the Hamburg-American Line.]

Control station.	Number of emigrants inspected.	Emigrants rejected.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Russian frontier:			
Bajohren.....	3,875	282	7.3
Eydtkuhnen.....	21,512	638	3.0
Illwo.....	28,683	1,677	5.8
Insterburg.....	8,948	360	4.0
Ostrowo.....	10,773	380	3.5
Ottlotschin.....	13,221	838	6.3
Posen.....	7,609	1,064	14.0
Prostken.....	22,408	386	1.7
Tilsit.....	10,835	1,048	9.7
Total.....	127,864	6,673	5.2
Austrian frontier:			
Bingerbruck.....	637	78	12.2
Leipsic.....	92,414	454	.5
Myslowitz.....	113,343	1,969	1.7
Ratibor.....	103,215	2,343	2.3
Total.....	309,609	4,844	1.6
Interior: Ruhleben.....	18,443	297	1.6
Grand total.....	455,916	11,814	2.6

^a Steerage Conditions. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 37. (S. Doc. No. 753, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)

During the period covered by the above table 13,064 aliens were debarred for all causes at all United States ports, or only 1,250 more than were turned back at the German control stations alone.

The causes of rejections at the stations are shown in the following table:

TABLE 45.—Number of emigrants rejected at German control stations, by cause, year ending June 30, 1907.

[Compiled from statistics furnished by the Hamburg-American Line.]

Cause.	Number rejected.	Per cent of total.
Medical:		
Trachoma.....	5,000	42.32
Favus.....	510	4.32
Granulosis.....	3,779	31.99
White pox.....	14	.12
Cataract.....	1	(a)
Croup.....	27	.23
Rash.....	50	.42
Consumption.....	3	.03
Lupus.....	4	.03
Blind.....	7	.06
Measles.....	10	.08
Jaundice.....	2	.02
Fever.....	102	.86
Catarrh.....	112	.95
Cripple.....	14	.12
Other diseases.....	281	2.38
Total.....	9,916	83.93
Other than medical:		
Without means.....	755	6.39
Unlicensed lines.....	664	5.62
Other reasons.....	489	4.14
Total.....	1,908	16.15
Grand total.....	11,814	100.00

a Less than one one-hundredth of 1 per cent.

It will be noted from the above table that diseases of the eye are the principal causes of rejection, trachoma and granulosis together accounting for 74.3 per cent of all rejections made. It will also be noted that 1,908 persons, or 16.2 per cent of the whole, were rejected for reasons other than medical, which is a much larger proportion than is shown at ports of embarkation. It would appear, however, that of this class of rejections only 755, classified as "without means," were turned back because of the likelihood that they would be rejected under the provisions of the United States immigration law.

A description of the examinations in force at Bremen and Hamburg follows.

Bremen.

The laws of Bremen relative to emigration through that port are similar to the laws of Hamburg, and the systems of handling emigrants are much alike at both ports. The North German Lloyd is the only steamship line carrying passengers from Bremen, and the steerage business of the company is largely in the hands of F. Missler, a general ticket agent, with headquarters at Bremen and agencies and subagencies in every part of Austria and Hungary, as well as in other emigrant-furnishing countries. Mr. Missler is reputed to be a shrewd and capable business man, and certainly he has achieved success in

securing steerage passengers for the North German Lloyd. In Austria and Hungary the advertising matter distributed by agents selling steerage tickets by this line may or may not contain any reference to the steamship company represented, but invariably the name and picture of Mr. Missler are conspicuously displayed, and he is well known to thousands of the emigrating classes who have never heard of the North German Lloyd.

At the time of the committee's visit emigrants embarking at Bremen were practically in charge of Mr. Missler's agents during their stay in the city. For the most part they were housed in a new emigrant hotel owned jointly by the North German Lloyd and Mr. Missler. This is located on the outskirts of the city and is a model of its kind. Emigrants were maintained at this hotel at a low price while awaiting sailing. Russian Jews were not allowed at the new building, but were housed at one of the older buildings. The Jewish quarters were not so well equipped as the new station, but they were comfortable and, it appeared, were well conducted. It is not compulsory that emigrants patronize either of these stations, however, and, as at Hamburg, some emigrants were lodged at boarding houses in the city. These boarding houses are licensed by the government of Bremen and are closely watched by the Bremen health office. The authorities here, as at Hamburg, are especially watchful in the case of emigrants from Russia, and when an epidemic prevails in that country they are examined on arrival at Bremen and kept under medical surveillance until danger of infection is past.

The final medical examination of all emigrants takes place in a building adjoining the railway station when the train for Bremerhaven is boarded. This examination is conducted by a physician employed by the American consul, who is reimbursed by the steamboat company for expenditures on this account.

Particular attention is paid to the eyes, and in this the consulate's physician is assisted by a specialist. Emigrants are also examined as to their general physical condition. At times when emigration is large several medical assistants participate in the examination, and usually the ship's doctor is present. The American consul or vice-consul always attends the final inspection, and the Commission was informed that the steamship company invariably acted favorably upon the consul's advice in the matter of rejections. At Bremen every emigrant is vaccinated before boarding the ship. Second-class passengers from Russia and Hungary are examined as to the condition of their eyes. As is the case at Hamburg, police officers are always present at the final inspection for the purpose of detecting military deserters, criminals, etc., and the Commission was informed that the German police will, on request, return to Austria-Hungary any Austrian or Hungarian who has not performed the military service required by that country.

During the thirteen months ending December 31, 1907, 3,178 intended emigrants were rejected at the port of Bremen, and 8,110 more intending to embark at Bremen were rejected at the various control stations. This total number of rejections, 11,288, was greater than at any other European port for the period covered by the Commission's inquiry, Naples, with 10,224 rejections, being the nearest competitor.

The causes for which rejections were made at Bremen and control stations on account of the North German-Lloyd Line are shown by the following table:

TABLE 46.—*Number of persons intending to embark at Bremen who were rejected at control stations and at Bremen from December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907, by cause.*

Cause.	Rejected at—		Total.
	Bremen.	Control stations.	
Trachoma.....	1,571	3,998	5,569
Granulosa.....	28	2,751	2,779
Other diseases of eye.....	1,101	348	1,449
Favus.....	34	426	460
Other diseases.....	444	587	1,031
Total.....	3,178	8,110	11,288

It is interesting to note in this connection that during the period covered by the Commission's inquiry the per cent of rejections at United States ports was larger among immigrants sailing from Bremen than from any European port excepting Marseille and the Greek port or Piraeus.^a

Hamburg.

Although emigrants sailing from Hamburg for the United States had been subjected to some sort of medical inspection since 1870, it was not until the outbreak of cholera in 1892 that it became anything more searching than a scrutiny of the emigrants passing in line before the inspectors. At that time those suspected of having contagious diseases, such as smallpox, measles, and scarlet fever, were given a more careful examination, but many cases of favus and trachoma were allowed to pass unnoticed until rejections at United States ports of persons afflicted with these diseases and the impositions of fines upon the steamship companies for bringing them increased the vigilance of the examining officials. After the outbreak of cholera the Hamburg-American Line engaged an American physician to watch the disinfection of baggage at Hamburg and the medical examination of emigrants to the United States. Later a physician of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service was detailed for duty at Hamburg to enforce the United States quarantine regulations, but this officer was recalled, with other officers of the service, and the examination was carried on as before, except that increasing attention was paid to cases of favus and trachoma.

The Auswandererhallen of the Hamburg-American Line, which is the only steamship company carrying emigrants from the port of Hamburg, consists of a small but regularly laid out village on the outskirts of the city. Along the streets of this village, each of which bears a name appropriate to the place and the business conducted there, are various buildings devoted to the housing, feeding, and ex-

^a See table, p. 126.

aming of the many thousands of emigrants who annually sail from that port for the United States.

This station has been in existence for many years, but recently its capacity was greatly increased by the erection of a large number of new buildings, most of which were in use at the time of the committee's visit. The so-called old station is a collection of one-story brick buildings, and the buildings of the newer station are of the same general type, although somewhat larger. The entire village is surrounded by a paling of a height sufficient to prevent persons leaving the grounds except by the regular exits. Within the village are Protestant and Catholic chapels and a Jewish synagogue, in each of which services are regularly conducted.

The Auswandererhallen is sufficiently large to comfortably house 4,000 persons at a time, and is regarded as the most complete emigrant station in Europe. Sleeping accommodations at this station are in large, well-ventilated, and well-kept dormitories. The dining halls are also large, airy, and clean, and the food furnished on the occasion of the committee's visit was plentiful and excellent. The customary rule of separating women and men, except in the case of families, is followed, not only as regards sleeping dormitories but in the dining halls as well.

Emigration through the port of Hamburg originates chiefly in Austria-Hungary and Russia, and, as previously explained, these emigrants, as a rule, pass through the German control stations on the Russian and Austrian frontiers, and the emigrant trains bringing them to Hamburg discharge their passengers at the gates of the Auswandererhallen. Arriving emigrants are first placed in the "unclean" section of the station and, as soon as convenient, are given a thorough medical examination by physicians of the Hamburg-American Line, who must be approved by the Hamburg government. The examination for trachoma is made by an eye specialist, and all are particularly inspected for diseases of an epidemic character. The station is at all times subject to inspection by medical officers of the Hamburg government, and cases of a severe character must be reported to the state authorities. At this examination the examining physician determines whether the emigrant shall be compelled to submit to a bath and to the disinfection of his clothing and baggage. The bath and disinfection were compulsory after the epidemic of cholera in 1892 until May 15, 1907, when the steamship company succeeded in persuading the Hamburg government to modify the regulation to include only such emigrants as were designated by the examining physician. The bath and disinfection house is clean, well arranged, and well equipped for the purpose.

After the medical examination emigrants, with the exception of those from Russia, are free to visit the city and to remain at emigrant boarding houses there if they choose. It was stated, however, that from three-fourths to four-fifths of the emigrants elected to remain at the Auswandererhallen. After passing the examination emigrants are transferred from the "unclean" to the "clean" section of the station, the Russian Jews being housed and fed in quarters separate from emigrants of other races. As previously stated, these Russian emigrants are not permitted to leave the station until the day of sailing, this rule, it was said, being due to a regulation of

the Hamburg government rather than to the initiative of the steamship company. Russian Jews pay a fixed charge covering their entire stay at the Auswandererhallen, whether that stay be long or short, but other classes are charged a fee which at the time of the committee's visit was 2 marks (46 cents) a day. A hotel is maintained in connection with the station where emigrants can have better accommodations at a small advance in price. A hospital is maintained within the grounds, and at the time of the committee's visit a larger hospital was under construction. The new hospital is somewhat removed from the other buildings of the station, and is sufficiently large to accommodate all the occupants of any one of the sleeping dormitories at the station, so that in the event of an epidemic disease breaking out in a dormitory all its occupants can be isolated until danger from contagion is past. This hospital was erected at the instance of the Hamburg authorities, who, since the cholera epidemic of 1892, have enforced stringent regulations governing the handling of emigrants at that port. In fact, the Auswandererhallen, while owned and operated by the Hamburg-American Line, is under the constant supervision of the Hamburg police, a special commissioner of that department being permanently assigned to the station. As an illustration of the care exercised by the government of Hamburg to prevent the introduction of disease by emigrants, it may be stated that the Hamburg-American Company is required to maintain an elaborate disinfection plant where sewage from the Auswandererhallen is thoroughly disinfected before reaching the city sewers. Emigrants quartered in boarding houses in the city are examined daily by medical officers of the Hamburg government as a precautionary measure.

The final examination of emigrants is made on the day of embarkation as emigrants go aboard the tender which carries them to the ship. This is done by medical officers of the Hamburg government, assisted by a resident physician of the Hamburg-American Company. The ship's doctor is usually present also. At this examination emigrants who have been lodged elsewhere than at the Auswandererhallen are carefully examined for trachoma and favus by a specialist employed by the steamship company.

An American consular officer invariably is present at the final examination, and also representatives of the Hamburg emigration service, and officers of the criminal police, whose duty is to inspect for criminals, military deserters, etc. At the time of the committee's inquiry American consular officers did not assume much authority in connection with the examination and embarkation of emigrants, but it was stated that their suggestions or requests were always readily complied with, and that doubtful cases were sometimes submitted to them for decision.

Emigrant baggage of certain classes, such as bedding, not disinfected at a control station is disinfected at Hamburg, and this is done in the case of all baggage coming from districts where epidemic diseases prevail. At the Auswandererhallen the process of disinfection is carried on under the direction of police commissioners stationed there, with occasional inspection under the authority of the American consul-general. The baggage of emigrants housed outside the emigrant station is inspected and disinfected under the direction of the American consul-general.

First and second cabin passengers are not subjected to a medical examination at Hamburg. Emigrants embarking at Hamburg are not vaccinated prior to embarkation, but all steerage passengers except American citizens are vaccinated by the ship's doctor soon after sailing.

All disbursements made by the American consul-general in connection with the examination of emigrants and the disinfection of their baggage are refunded by the Hamburg-American Line.

During the period December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907, covered by the Commission's inquiry, 2,694 intended emigrants were rejected at Hamburg, and 3,233 intending to embark at Hamburg were turned back at the various control stations. The causes for which these rejections were made are shown in the following table:

TABLE 47.—*Number of persons intending to embark at Hamburg who were rejected at control stations and at Hamburg, from December 1, 1906 to December 31, 1907, by cause.*

[Compiled from statistics furnished by the Hamburg-American Line.]

Cause.	Rejected at—		Total.
	Control stations.	Hamburg.	
Trachoma.....	1,768	2,343	4,111
Conjunctivitis.....	1,017	0	1,017
Favus.....	240	324	564
Tuberculosis.....	20	10	30
Other causes.....	188	17	205
Total.....	3,233	2,694	5,927

HAVRE.

The decree of the French Government, May 21, 1861, required all emigrant ships to be inspected by a physician, who had been regularly appointed by the French commissioner of emigration. This decree was the beginning of medical inspection at Havre and it is still in force.

This action of the French Government was supplemented in 1884 by the United States State Department, which instructed the consul at Havre to designate a local physician to act as sanitary inspector for all vessels bound for the United States. His duties were to examine passengers, baggage, and merchandise and to report by cable if any contagious or infectious disease was aboard at the time of departure. This precaution, however, had been occasioned by the appearance of cholera in Europe and was discontinued in 1885 upon the disappearance of that plague.

The medical examination of emigrants as it is now carried on in Havre is based on the requirements of the immigration laws of 1893 and the quarantine regulations of February 24, 1893. It has, however, been slightly modified by changes in our immigration and quarantine laws and supplemented by consular regulations.

Emigrants who depart from Havre for the United States are brought to that port by two special trains which arrive at least four and a half hours before the sailing, so that at least that much time is

afforded for the inspection. One of these special emigrant trains comes from Modane, Italy, and brings Italians, Syrians, Armenians, and Greeks. The last three come from their respective countries by steamers to Marseille, where they are subjected to a medical examination by the French health authorities before they are allowed to land. If admitted they are dispatched by train to Macon, a railway junction in the east of France, where it joins the section from Modane, Italy. The other emigrant train starts from Basel, Switzerland, carrying emigrants from Austria-Hungary, Germany, Roumania, and Switzerland. They congregate at Basel and proceed together to Havre. Upon their arrival at Havre the emigrants are sent to a large waiting room which adjoins the examination room.

The medical examination is made by the resident physician of the Compagnie Generale Transatlantique, assisted by any other surgeons of that line who may be in port, the surgeon of the ship on which the emigrants are sailing, an oculist employed by the steamship company, and a doctor representing the French commissioner of immigration. The American consul also participates in the examination. Each emigrant is vaccinated by one of the company's doctors and given a red card on which is printed the word "Vaccinated." Another doctor then examines his scalp and skin, and a third his eyes. If he is found free from any disease which would be a cause of rejection at New York he is allowed to retain the vaccination card, without which he can not go aboard the ship. If the emigrant is suspected of any disease which might be a cause of rejection he is deprived of his red card and held for a second examination. The final decision in the doubtful cases is made after a consultation of the examining force.

In addition to the medical examination the baggage of emigrants is inspected, and if it comes from countries where epidemics prevail it is disinfected in accordance with the requirements of the United States quarantine laws and regulations. Passengers coming from cholera-infected districts are detained for five days previous to embarkation; those from plague-infected countries for seven days; and those who have been exposed to the infection of typhus fever for twelve days. First and second class passengers sailing from this port are not examined. Exception, however, to this rule is made of second-class passengers who arrive in the emigrant trains.

The following are the number and cause of rejections that were made at the port of Havre during the period December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907:

Trachoma -----	147	Measles -----	5
Pellagra -----	47	Partial paralysis -----	4
Herpes -----	34	Partial blindness -----	3
Conjunctivitis -----	19	Gastritis -----	2
Psoriasis -----	16	Mumps -----	2
Tuberculosis -----	13	Rachitis -----	2
Eczema -----	11	Advanced pregnancy -----	1
Whooping cough -----	9	Cancer -----	1
Chicken pox -----	8	Goiter -----	1
Favus -----	8		
Deformities -----	7	Total -----	340

LIBAU.

A committee of the Commission visited Libau and at that time ships of the Russian East Asiatic Company and the Russian Volunteer Fleet were carrying emigrants from the port of Libau. A little later, however, the service of the latter company was suspended. It was stated to the committee that formerly there was considerable rivalry between the two steamship lines, but differences had been adjusted and both were represented at Libau by one firm of general ticket agents. The committee was informed that applicants for steerage tickets at sub-agencies in the interior of Russia were required to undergo a physical examination by a local physician. If passed by this physician an order is given on the head office of the company at Libau for a ticket. Upon arrival at Libau intending emigrants are examined by a physician employed by the steamship line, and certificates are issued to physically sound persons. Without this certificate the purchase of a ticket can not be completed. There is no emigrant station at Libau where persons could be housed while awaiting embarkation, and this want is supplied by emigrant boarding houses. The committee inspected several of these houses. Some were clean, others exceedingly dirty, and none were provided with facilities for bathing. Occupants pay about 10 cents a night for lodging. Occupants have the use of the kitchen for cooking their own food, or meals will be furnished by the house if desired. All of the boarding houses visited were kept by Hebrews, but in no instance were the guests confined to any one race, and Poles, Hebrews, and Lithuanians were dwelling in apparent harmony under one roof, and in many instances in the same room. The committee was informed that the two steamship companies contemplated erecting conjointly an emigrant hotel or station or possibly an emigrant village similar to Auswandererhallen at Hamburg.

The examination of emigrants by the company's resident physician is supplemented by an inspection by the ship's doctor at the time of embarkation. This official, at the time of the committee's visit, paid little attention to emigrants holding a medical certificate from the resident physician, but confined his attention mainly to those without certificates or whose certificates bore a notation or request for further examination. The municipality of Libau also employs a physician whose duty it is to examine emigrants arriving at Libau. The committee was informed that this examination amounted to little except during an outbreak of cholera in Russia, when the municipal physician carefully examined emigrants on their arrival and daily during their stay in Libau.

The American consular agent at Libau had practically no part in the examination of emigrants at the time of the committee's visit. At the examination witnessed this official was represented at the dock by a clerk who could not speak English, and who mechanically placed the consular seal on every inspection card presented to him without even looking at the person to whom the card had been issued. The committee did not see the consular agent, but was informed that, like his clerk, he could not speak English. It was stated that he never attended the embarkation of emigrants, and in fact only signed the ship's bill of health when it was sent to his house or office.

No records of rejections are kept at the American consular agency, and the manager of the Russian East Asiatic Company stated that no record was made of rejections on account of that line.

Such records were kept for ships of the Russian Volunteer Fleet, however, while that line was carrying emigrants from Libau, and from December 1, 1906, to May 10, 1908, a total of 654 persons were rejected at Libau, from the following causes:

Trachoma.....	402	Rupture.....	6
Trachoma and favus.....	87	Conjunctivitis.....	1
Favus.....	84		
Catarrh.....	56	Total.....	654
Favus and catarrh.....	18		

A member of the committee who embarked at Libau on a ship of the Russian Volunteer Fleet noted that a large force of Russian police was stationed at the dock pending the departure of the steamer, and that a number of police officers remained on the steamer until the outer harbor was reached. On this occasion several hundred friends of the emigrants, who had come to witness the embarkation, were driven from the dock by mounted policemen before the ship sailed, while any attempt on the part of emigrants on board the ship to shout or sing was promptly suppressed by the police on board. It was explained that this is occasioned by the fact that many of the emigrants are revolutionists who feel that once on board a ship bound for America they have taken the first step toward freedom, and accordingly they have in the past given vent to their feelings by singing the Marseillaise and waving red flags. To prevent a repetition of such scenes the police control mentioned was inaugurated.

MARSEILLE.

When a committee of the Commission visited Marseille there was but one steamship line, the Cyprien Fabre, carrying emigrants direct from that port to the United States, and the number carried was small. But notwithstanding this the city is an important emigration center, its importance in this regard being due to the fact that nearly all the Mediterranean lines which carry emigrants from the Levantine and Black Sea regions discharge them at Marseille. Consequently the city is practically a detention camp for thousands of Turks, Syrians, and other peoples of southeastern Europe, some of whom embark at Marseille, while the majority are forwarded by emigrant trains to Havre, Cherbourg, or Boulogne, where they take passage for the United States. Still others embark at St. Nazaire, France, for the port of Vera Cruz, Mexico. Among the latter are many diseased persons who have been assured that they can reach the United States in no other way, while others who doubtless would be admitted at United States ports are deluded into going via Mexico by the spoilers who prey upon ignorant emigrants at Marseille and eastern Mediterranean ports. Immigration of this class through Mexico has for many years been one of the serious problems of the United States Immigration Service. In the annual report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1908 (p. 144), the supervising inspector of the Mexican border comments on the situation as follows:

The influx of Syrians by way of the Mexican border is a matter of long standing, and represents now, as it has for several years past, a constant attempt on the part of members of this race to secure entrance to the United

States through Mexico, as a result either of being refused passage for Atlantic ports of the United States or through advices given by unscrupulous individuals at the various rendezvous of immigrants in Europe to the effect that the route to the United States via Mexico, while longer and more expensive, afforded a surer means of ingress into this country. A very large percentage of Syrian arrivals at Mexican border ports are found to be suffering with diseases of a contagious character, or to have been suffering from same at some time in the past; and practically the entire remainder is made up of aliens who have been told by runners in Europe that they were afflicted with some excludable ailment, when, in reality, no disability of such character existed. Syrian immigration by way of the Mexican border is, therefore, likely to continue in considerable volume until such time as the impression is removed at the seaports of southern Europe that the Mexican route affords a more favorable means for Syrian aliens to secure entry into the United States than by the usually traveled lines leading to the Atlantic coast ports of this country.

Trachoma and other loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases within the meaning of the United States immigration law are particularly prevalent in countries which furnish most of the emigrants traveling via Marseille. In fact the committee was informed by a steamship agent whose territory embraced Greece and the near east that 70 per cent of the people in Syria are afflicted with trachoma, and that on account of the prevalence of the disease his company had given up the idea of getting much Syrian business.

Emigrants gathered at Marseille are quartered in lodging houses, several of which were inspected by the committee and found to be extremely dirty, as were most of the occupants. As a rule the steamship tickets held by emigrants arriving at Marseille entitle them to lodging, without board, during their stay at that port. Emigrants who are unable to meet the requirements of the physical examination to which they are subjected at Marseille often remain there for treatment in the hope of finally being allowed to sail for the United States.

It is the custom of the Fabre Line, and of all other steamship companies having ticket agencies at Marseille, not to sell tickets to the United States to emigrants until they produce a medical certificate from the company's doctor to the effect that their physical condition complies with the requirements of the United States law. The Fabre Line also employs a specialist in eye diseases who examines especially for trachoma. The final examination of emigrants sailing direct from Marseille is made by the ship's doctor in the presence of an American consular officer, and the inspection and disinfection of baggage is under the direction of the American consulate-general in accordance with the United States quarantine laws. The Fabre Line ships have no second-class cabins, and carry only a small number of first-class passengers from Marseille. These are not subjected to a medical inspection before purchasing tickets unless there is reason to believe that they are traveling first class in order to escape the steerage-passenger examination. Emigrants are vaccinated in the presence of an American consular officer.

No record is kept of rejections at Marseille, but the Fabre Company stated that the number of applicants for passage by that line rejected at the preliminary and final examinations was equal to about 30 per cent of the total number transported.

PATRAS.

Direct emigration from the Greek port of Patras to the United States began in 1904, when 13 emigrants departed. The number increased to 429 in 1905, 7,921 in 1906, and 21,207 in 1907. After the initial attempt at transporting emigrants direct from Greek ports several steamship companies entered the business, but as a rule these did not long continue, and at the time the Commission inspection was made the great majority of emigrants sailed on steamers of the Austro-Americano Line. Emigrants embarking at Patras are drawn from Greece, Macedonia, Asia Minor, and the islands of the Archipelago.

There is no provision of Greek law governing the medical inspection of emigrants or members of ships' crews sailing from ports of Greece, and the examination of emigrants is entirely in the hands of the steamship companies and United States consular authorities. Previous mention has been made of the unique system of medical examination prevailing in connection with emigration from the port of Patras. This system, it will be remembered, grew out of the rejection at New York of a large number of Greek emigrants sailing on a ship of the Austro-Americano Line. Following this incident the company inaugurated a system which included not only an examination at the time of embarkation, but also one in connection with the sale of steamship tickets to intended emigrants. At the time of the committee's visit this company had forty ticket agencies and subagencies in various parts of the country and at each of these the company provides for a medical examination of intended emigrants at the time application is made for a ticket. An emigrant accepted by an examining physician is required to make a deposit toward the cost of a steamship ticket, is given a certificate showing that he has passed the first examination, and a reservation on the steamer is made. On reaching Patras the intending emigrant is again examined by the steamship company's head physician, and if accepted is allowed to complete the purchase of a ticket. On the day of sailing all emigrants are brought to the company's office and again examined. As each passes the doctor he is stamped on the wrist with one of seven stamps. No one knows until the morning of sailing which stamp is to be used, and when that is determined the captain of the ship is notified in a sealed envelope just before the final inspection is commenced, and no one is admitted to the ship unless both his ticket and his wrist bear the proper inspection mark. This precaution is taken to prevent the substitution of another person for one who has successfully passed the examination, a practice that is not uncommon at some ports of embarkation. It would seem that the method adopted to prevent this at Patras would make substitution difficult, as the ink used on the stamp is of a special kind, containing a nitrate which makes it indelible and unalterable for some time. The head physician of the Austro-Americano Line had studied the system of examining immigrants at United States ports and was familiar with the requirements of the United States law in that regard. The other examining physicians employed by the company were, according to the United States consul at Patras, well-qualified

medical men. The committee was informed that out of the last 7,000 emigrants sailing from Patras not one had been rejected at a United States port on account of loathsome or contagious diseases. This was attributed to the vigilance of the steamship company at the port of embarkation. The records of the rejections at United States ports, however, do not substantiate the above statement, for during the months of January, February, and March, 1907, a period covered by the statement, seven immigrants out of 1,397 sailing from Patras were debarred at United States ports on account of trachoma, and the per cent rejected for all medical reasons was considerably above the average for all ports of Europe. Notwithstanding this, however, the committee believes the system of examination in force at Patras is, both theoretically and practically, a most excellent one.

Another feature of the examination at Patras not observed elsewhere was that emigrants were required to sign a statement relative to their criminal record, the amount of money in their possession, and other matters referred to in the examination at United States ports.

All baggage brought to Patras by emigrants is placed in a warehouse and subjected to inspection and a thorough disinfection before being transferred to the ship. The United States consul or his assistant receives the key to the warehouse and holds it until the disinfection process is completed, and then issues stamped labels, which are fixed to each article of baggage. At times ships regularly sailing from Patras call for emigrants at the Greek port of Zante, and on such occasions a United States consular assistant is detailed to supervise the inspection of baggage, but the passengers are not examined until the ship reaches Patras. At Calamatta, where a few emigrants occasionally embark, the French consular agent supervises the inspection of baggage and the medical examination.

During the thirteen months ending December 31, 1907, a total of 1,174 emigrants intending to embark at Patras for the United States on steamers of the Austro-Americano Line were rejected. The causes of rejection in these cases were as follows:

Trachoma	1,052
Malarial diseases	29
General debility	19
Loss of hands or fingers	28
Crippled and deformed	35
Disfiguring scars	10
Imbecility	1
Total	1,174

During 1907 emigrants intending to sail by the Prince Line were rejected at various ports as follows:

Patras	191
Calamatta	66
Zante	14
Total	271

During the period covered by the committee's investigation some emigrants sailed from Patras by the Hellenic Transatlantic Steamship Line, but data relative to the number of rejections made on account of that line were not available.

PIRAEUS.

The examination of emigrants at Piræus is conducted by the steamship companies and the system in force at the time the committee's inspection was made was similar to that at Patras. Emigrants were carried from this port on ships of three transatlantic companies, the Prince Line, the Fabre Line, and the Austro-Americano. The examination was conducted by the ship's doctor in the presence of a United States consular officer. Persons applying for passage on ships of the Austro-Americano Line were subjected to an examination under the direction of the ticket agent selling the transportation, but on the whole the inspection at this port appeared to be more perfunctory than at Patras.

Data are not available to show the number of rejections on account of the Austro-Americano line during the period covered by the committee's inquiry, but the representatives of the company at Piræus stated that only about 3 per cent of those applying for passage were rejected. The reasons given for the small number of rejections were that a large number of the emigrants came from Thessaly and Macedonia, where the people are healthy, and that the examination at Piræus was only preliminary to a more careful inspection when the ship reached Patras.

While at Patras a member of the Commission inspected the Greek ship *Moraitis*, which had just sailed from Piræus. This was the first Greek emigrant ship, and was built solely for emigrant and cargo traffic. The ship made but few trips under the original company, which failed, and no record of rejections could be secured.

ROTTERDAM.

The Holland-American Line entered the emigrant-carrying trade from the port of Rotterdam nearly forty years ago. For several years the only medical inspection was a casual one made by the ship's doctor as the emigrants passed in line before him. Later, on account of the prevalence of cholera in Europe, the company employed a resident physician and a more thorough medical examination was inaugurated. Following the epidemic of cholera at Hamburg in 1892 the United States Government detailed an officer of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service for duty at Rotterdam, as was done in the case of several other European ports. This official remained at Rotterdam only until the epidemic of cholera subsided, but during that time he advised with the local physicians relative to the rejection of emigrants in connection with his duties as a sanitary officer. The system of examination at the time of the committee's visit had been in force about fourteen years, except that two physicians were employed as emigration increased, and two eye specialists were added to the staff in 1903 when a more rigid examination for trachoma was necessitated by rejections at United States ports on account of that disease.

Emigrants from the interior of Europe who purchase their tickets at agencies of the Holland-American Line are brought to Rotterdam four or five days before the departure of the steamer on which they expect to sail. Emigrants from Russia are given orders for

tickets by subagents of the company in that country, and if they are passed at the control stations on the German frontier they receive their tickets from other agents in the border towns and proceed to Rotterdam. Emigrants from nearby points usually arrive at the port on the day before sailing. All emigrants for the Holland-American Line are met on arrival in the city by uniformed runners and conducted to the emigrant station or hotel which is maintained by the company. This station was inspected by members of the Commission and by an agent of the Commission engaged in the investigation of steerage conditions, and the impression was that, although erected nearly twenty years ago, it was one of the best of several similar stations in Europe. The building is large, well equipped, and well kept.

Instead of the large sleeping dormitories which are the rule at most European emigrant stations, the Rotterdam station is divided into small rooms similar to steerage staterooms on a steamship. The walls of these rooms extend only part way to the ceiling, and they are fitted with four or six iron berths similar to those used in the steerage. The steerage of Holland-American steamers is, as a rule, divided into staterooms instead of large dormitories, and officials of the company stated to the committee that the similar equipment at the emigrant station accustomed emigrants to the accommodations on shipboard. The building is well lighted and ventilated, and spacious wash and bath rooms are provided. The building is so constructed that should occasion arise it would be possible to effectually quarantine 800 persons. The emigrant station at Rotterdam has been rather severely criticized^a and the committee was informed that in previous years emigrants had not been sufficiently protected from the spoilers who, everywhere and in every way possible, seek to get what little money they may have. It was stated, however, that conditions in this regard were greatly improved at the time of the committee's visit, and that the steamship company did whatever was possible to protect the emigrants.

As previously stated emigrants, as a rule, arrive at Rotterdam several days prior to their embarkation. This gives opportunity for a thorough medical inspection, and each immigrant is examined daily by the company's resident physicians. On the day before sailing emigrants are examined for eye diseases by two specialists employed by the steamship company. The final examination is made from 3 to 6 hours before the departure of the steamer. This is attended by the American consul-general or his deputy, a physician employed by the consulate-general, the ship's doctor, an officer of the state committee charged with the supervision of emigration through the Netherlands, and a Rotterdam police officer whose duty it is to watch for fugitives from justice. According to the United States quarantine regulations the inspection cards of all emigrants permitted to embark are stamped with the consular seal. All second-class passengers, except American citizens having passports, and citizens of the Netherlands and Germany, are subjected to the examination prescribed for steerage passengers. Emigrants are vaccinated as soon as practicable after the vessel sails.

^a See "On the Trail of the Immigrant," Steiner.

At the time the Commission's inspection was made ships of the Russian East Asiatic Line from Libau called at Rotterdam for passengers. Emigrants intending to sail on ships of this line were quartered in so-called hotels maintained by philanthropy or charity, or at private hotels, of which there were several conducted more especially for the accommodation of emigrants. Steerage passengers embarking on boats of the Russian East Asiatic Line at Rotterdam were inspected by a physician who is a member of the state committee on the supervision of emigration. This physician also inspected emigrants who had boarded the ship at Libau.

During the period January 1, 1904, to September 4, 1908, a total of 2,523 emigrants intending to embark on ships of the Holland-American Line were rejected at Rotterdam. The distribution of these rejections by years and cause is shown by the following table:

TABLE 48.—Number of emigrants rejected at Rotterdam (Holland-American Line) from January 1, 1904, to September 4, 1908, by years and cause.

Cause.	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908, to Sept. 4.	Total.
Trachoma.....	739	704	461	228	96	2,228
Favus.....	45	88	59	66	13	271
Other causes.....	7	9	5	3	.....	24
Total.....	791	801	525	297	109	2,523

During the thirteen months especially covered by the committee's inquiry—December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907—303 Holland-American Line emigrants were rejected at Rotterdam, and 555 were turned back on account of the same line at Vienna, the Austrian headquarters of the line, and at the German control stations. Trachoma was the cause of the great majority of these rejections.

Those rejected were distributed according to country or province of origin, as follows:

Russia.....	561	Croatia.....	7
Hungary.....	202	Germany.....	5
Roumania.....	27	Turkey.....	2
Austria.....	22	Belgium.....	1
Galicia.....	17		
The Netherlands.....	14	Total.....	858

No data were secured relative to rejections at Rotterdam on account of the Russian East Asiatic Line.

TRIESTE.

Trieste is the only trans-Atlantic port of Austria, and a considerable number of immigrants embark there on ships of the Austro-Americano and Cunard lines. These emigrants are drawn chiefly from Austria, Hungary, Russia, and the Balkan States. The first ship to carry emigrants from Trieste to the United States sailed on June 9, 1904, and for a little more than a year the medical examination was confined to that made by the ship's doctor, when the Austro-Americano Company employed a resident physician to take charge of the medical inspection of all emigrants. The American consul

at Trieste has attended personally, or by deputy, all examinations since the beginning of the traffic, and Austrian police officers are present for the purpose of inspecting passports and military papers of the emigrants. The Austro-Americano policy of examining prospective emigrants in connection with the sale of tickets, previously described,^a is enforced at Trieste as well as at the Greek ports of Patras and Piraeus, but no records are available to show how many applicants are rejected at such preliminary examinations. Except in the case of American citizens, the medical examination of first and second class passengers at Trieste by the steamship company is the same as that prescribed for steerage passengers, but no American consular inspection is made of cabin passengers.

The Austro-Americano Company owns a large building at Servi-ola, a suburb of Trieste, known as the "Pension of the Austro-Americano Company." This building contains more than 700 beds and emigrants awaiting embarkation are lodged there. The inspection and medical examination take place at the pension. Emigrants are first required to pass before a captain of police, who, with the assistance of detectives, examines their passports, military papers, etc. If these are not satisfactory, all documents are taken from the emigrant and he is detained under police guard for further examination. The police inspection, however, is made solely for local reasons, rather than to prevent the embarkation of persons debarred by the United States immigration law.

After passing the police inspection, emigrants enter a large room, where they are examined by the resident physician of the Austro-Americano Line assisted by a nurse and the physician of the steamship on which the emigrants are to sail. As is the case at all ports, particular attention is given to the eyes. This is the principal and final medical examination, but previous to this the resident physician examines persons lodged at the pension. At the final examination persons likely to be debarred at United States ports for medical reasons are rejected, but those only slightly affected are allowed to proceed if it is thought by the examining physicians that they can be cured during the voyage.

From the medical examination the emigrants pass before the American consul. This official exercises unusual authority in rejecting emigrants, and it was stated to the committee that his request that an emigrant be not allowed to embark on the ground that he was generally or specifically undesirable was invariably respected by the steamship company. The consul pays particular attention to cases of young girls traveling alone, and if they can not show that they are emigrating with the permission of their parents or that they are going to relatives in the United States, they are usually debarred at the consul's request and turned over to the police, who require the steamship lines to return them to their homes. In the case of Austrian girls the police act without the advice of the consul, but they make no effort to stop girls coming from other countries.

The examination system just described applies only to passengers intending to sail by the Austro-Americano Line, but a similar system prevails in the case of those embarking on ships of the Cunard Line.

^a See p. 107.

Emigrants seeking passage on Cunard ships are examined by the company's resident physician on their arrival at Trieste and those clearly not qualified are immediately rejected. The final examination takes place on board the ship just prior to sailing. As passengers board the ship they are examined by the company's resident physician and the ship's doctor. Those rejected are deprived of their tickets and other papers and are required to leave the ship at once. Those passed are then inspected by a police captain and the American consul. First and second cabin passengers, excepting American citizens, are subject to practically the same examination as is given those holding steerage tickets. This method of examination has been in force since 1903, when the Cunard Line began taking emigrants from Trieste.

The baggage of passengers sailing on ships of the Austro-Americano Line is disinfected at the company's pension. While the process is under way the door of the disinfecting room is locked and sealed with the American consular seal. The key is retained by the consular officer in charge until the disinfection is completed.

According to the American consul, Hon. George M. Hotschick, the medical examination of the Austro-Americano Line at Trieste was formerly very superficial and ineffective. He states that during the month of April, 1906, three Austro-Americano ships carrying 1,610 emigrants sailed from Trieste for New York. Of this number 514, or nearly one-third of the total number carried, were refused admission to the United States and were returned to Trieste. This resulted in the immediate adoption of a more rigorous examination at that port which at once reduced the number of rejections to a minimum. Consul Hotschick states that in May and June of the same year, 1906, three ships of the same line sailed with 1,156 emigrants, of whom only two were rejected at New York. With the reorganization of the system the American consul became an important factor in the examination of emigrants at Trieste as previously shown, and it is probable that he exercises greater authority in this regard than the American consul at any other European port. In fact, the situation at Trieste at the time of the committee's visit probably represented the possible maximum of consular control of normal emigration from a foreign port under the present United States quarantine laws and regulations.

During the period covered by the committee's inquiry, December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907, the number of intended emigrants rejected at Trieste on account of the two steamship lines mentioned were as follows:

Austro-Americano Line-----	279
Cunard Line-----	118
Total-----	397

ITALIAN PORTS.

In 1899 Assistant Surgeon Heiser, of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, was detailed, under authority of the quarantine law of 1893, for service at the port of Naples on account of the prevalence of the plague in Egypt. In connection with his quarantine functions Dr. Heiser made an examination

of all emigrants departing for the United States, but later, on the request of the steamship companies, and by agreement with the Italian Government, he began to examine emigrants for defects contemplated by the United States immigration law, and to recommend for rejection those whom he believed would be refused admission at United States ports. This arrangement has since been continued. The Public Health and Marine-Hospital surgeons have no official standing in Italy, except that of quarantine officers attached to American consulates, and the examination of emigrants as conducted by such officers at the above-named ports is in reality unofficial, and is effective only because the Italian Government and the steamship companies invariably accept their decisions in the matter of rejections.

At the time of the committee's visit Passed Asst. Surg. Allan J. McLaughlin was in charge of the examination at Naples, and was assisted by Assistant Surgeon Foster of the service, and Acting Assistant Surgeon Bunocore, an Italian specialist in diseases of the eye. That Doctor McLaughlin's authority, although only delegated by the Italian Government and the steamship companies, was practically absolute, is shown by his reply to an inquiry by the committee as to whether his rejections were accepted by the steamship companies and the Government. Doctor McLaughlin said:

By the company and the Government; by the Italian officer representing the navy who goes on board the ship; by the doctor of the port; by the inspector of emigration; by the entire commission.^a There is never a question. They sometimes ask for a second inspection if the man is rejected by one of my assistants, but that is all, and of course that is always made.

The agreement under which emigrants are examined by United States medical officers at Naples extends also to the ports of Palermo and Messina, and the examinations there are made by Italian physicians, who are acting assistant surgeons of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service. These officers have the same duties and exercise the same authority as do the medical officers at Naples. The expense of the medical examination at these ports is borne by the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, the annual salaries of medical officers, assistants, and clerks at Naples and Palermo being \$11,290, while incidental expenses amount to about \$500 additional.

The inspection and disinfection of emigrant baggage at Naples, Palermo, and Messina is also made under the direction of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital surgeons, but in this they act officially as quarantine officers, and the expense is borne by the steamship companies.

The agreement under which the medical examination of emigrants at Italian ports is made by United States officers was largely possible because of the sincere desire of the Italian Government to protect Italian emigrants. The willingness of the steamship companies to agree to such an arrangement is easily understood, for the United States immigration law, through restrictions and fines, makes a thorough examination at ports of embarkation absolutely essential to the carriers, and the fact that the United States Government con-

^aItalian Emigration Commission.

ducts the examination at Italian ports merely relieves the steamship companies from the expense and trouble of doing it.

The reason for the attitude of the Italian Government, however, is entirely different from that of the steamship companies. Italians constitute the great majority of all emigrants sailing from the ports of Italy for the United States. In this respect the emigration situation there is materially different than in other countries from whose ports large numbers of emigrants sail, and consequently Italy's interest in the emigration movement is unlike that of other nations generally. Only a small fraction of the emigrant traffic to the United States through the ports of England, Germany, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands originates in those countries, and it is only natural that the problem there should be protection from emigration, rather than the protection of the emigrant. Of course the laws of the countries named do, in a measure, promote the welfare of the emigrant, but such is not their primary purpose.

The emigration law of Italy, however, is designed to protect the Italian emigrant not only at the ports of embarkation but on the sea, and after their arrival in a foreign country, and it is the desire of the Government to prevent, so far as is possible, the embarkation of those likely to be subjected to the hardship and disappointment of rejection at United States ports. This is one of the purposes for which the Italian emigration commission was created, and as it is only reasonable that United States medical officers, experienced in the examination of immigrants at United States ports, should be better able than Italian physicians to determine the admissibility of intended emigrants under the United States law, the commission and Government are fully in accord with the present system. Consequently the purposes of both the steamship companies and the Italian Government are served at the expense of the United States, which country, in the opinion of the committee, as will appear later, receives little or no practical benefit that does not accrue under the examination systems in force at other ports of Europe.

The details of the examination at the four Italian emigration ports—Naples, Palermo, Messina, and Genoa—follow:

Naples.

In recent years Naples has led all European ports in the number of emigrants embarking for the United States. At the time of the committee's visit 12 steamship companies, including the White Star, North German Lloyd, Navigazione Generale Italiana, La Veloce, Fabre, Lloyd-Italiano, Hamburg-American, Anchor, Lloyd-Sabaudo, Spanish, Siculo-Americano, and the Prince lines carried immigrants from this port. The above lines are mentioned in the order of their importance as emigrant carriers at the time under consideration. Emigrants arriving in Naples are quartered in boarding houses, which are under the supervision of the Government, and are frequently examined by sanitary officers and emigration officials. Steamship companies are required to board emigrants for one day prior to sailing, and if departure is delayed they must continue to maintain them until the ship sails and in addition must pay each 2 lire (40 cents) a day as damages for his detention.

The medical examination of emigrants at Naples takes place in the Capitaneria, a large building on the water front, just prior to the sailing of the ship. Emigrants pass in line before two surgeons of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, one of whom examines for trachoma and the other for favus and other defects. The inspection is made in the presence of the Italian emigration commission, representatives of the police department, and a detail of carabinieri reali, or military police. Usually there are also present the ship's doctor, a doctor of the port, the Italian naval surgeon, who represents the Government on all ships taking emigrants from Italian ports, and an inspector of emigration. Persons rejected by the United States medical officers are immediately removed from the inclosure. Persons not rejected pass before a police officer, who examines their passports, and if this is satisfactory the emigrant then goes aboard a lighter and is carried to the ship. At the gangway of the vessel emigrants are met by police officers and a representative of the United States medical officials, who sees that inspection cards are properly stamped and baggage labeled to indicate that it has passed the sanitary inspectors. Knives are also taken from the emigrants at this time by the police. If everything is satisfactory at this point the seal of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service is stamped on the inspection card. After passing the first group of inspectors emigrants are again examined for trachoma and favus by the ship's doctor. This supplementary medical visit on this ship was inaugurated at the request of the United States medical officer in charge to prevent substitution, which previous to that time had been quite common. The usual method of substitution was as follows: A healthy man who had no intention of going to the United States would pass through the medical inspection on shore without difficulty and receive the inspection card entitling him to board the steamer. Outside he would pass the card to a waiting diseased man and the latter would go to the ship. Doctor McLaughlin explained the origin of the medical examination by the ship's doctor at the gangway as follows:

* * * This supplemental visit at the gangplank was started by an incident which I will relate. I reported these facts in my annual report July 1, 1906. It is rare to have a case found at New York for which they can fine the company. I reported that it would be impossible to stop this substitution with the force I had. Within two months after that a steamer went into New York with 10 cases of trachoma. She hailed from Naples. The company was fined \$1,000. Any one of the 10 cases could have been detected by a layman, they were so grave. They were not cases which required any skill to detect them. It was palpable that the emigrants had never passed our inspection at all. Doctor Stoner, chief medical officer at Ellis Island, happened to be in Naples at the time, and we had a little conference at the consulate, at which were present the vice consul, Dr. Stoner, and representatives of the steamship companies. The steamship companies were very much worked up over paying the fine, when, as they said, they were doing everything they could to carry out our laws, giving me every support possible. They said it was unjust that the fine should have been inflicted. I said that I could not be responsible; that my visit was only advisory; that I could not police the harbor of Naples; and that the best thing they could do would be to put a doctor at the gangplank and make a supplemental visit, and hold any suspicious cases for my opinion later: that I felt sure the United States would not furnish any more doctors. They accepted the suggestion and put the system into operation. Since that time I have had no complaint whatever from New York.

The United States officers at Naples take no part in the examination of second-class passengers, except that occasionally their advice is sought concerning questionable cases. The second-class passengers are examined by a physician employed expressly for this purpose by the steamship companies, in conjunction with and under the supervision of the Italian emigration commission.

In addition to the medical examination, the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital surgeon in charge at Naples has full control of the inspection and disinfection of emigrant baggage. This is done in a well-equipped plant near the emigrant station, and at the time of the committee's visit one inspector and seven assistant inspectors were employed in the work. These men were under the control of the Marine-Hospital surgeon, acting officially as a quarantine officer, and the expense was borne by the steamship companies.

Emigrants are required to be vaccinated before embarking at Naples. This was done in a station near the place of embarkation at the expense of the steamship companies, but under the supervision of the United States medical officers.

American consular officers have absolutely no part in the examination of emigrants at Naples, the usual consular function being delegated to the Marine-Hospital officer in charge. The consul, however, signs the bill of health in conjunction with the medical officer.

Messina.^a

The medical examination of emigrants at Messina dates from 1905, when the Italian Government decreed that it should be an "emigration port." Previous to that time nearly all emigrants from this district embarked at Naples or Palermo. At the time of the committee's visit the situation at Messina was like that at Palermo. Emigrants embarking on ships sailing direct to United States ports were examined by an acting assistant surgeon of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, while those leaving on ships which touched at Naples were inspected by the Italian authorities and the ship's doctor. The examinations are practically identical. At times when a considerable number of emigrants were embarking the examination was held in a building erected for the purpose and at other times on board the ship. As at all ports, the attention of the examining surgeons was directed toward the discovery of trachoma and favus and other diseases or defects which could be detected by a hurried inspection. Unlike most other ports, first and second class passengers were examined at Messina.

The practice of avoiding the medical examination through substitution formerly prevailed at Messina, as at Naples, but Hon. Charles McCaughey, formerly American consul there, stated to the committee that he had broken up the system by causing each emigrant passing the examination to be conducted to the ship by a police officer. The American consul or vice-consul always attends the examination of emigrants at Messina, and it was stated to the committee that every courtesy was shown them and their recommendations relative to rejections always accepted without question. It was also stated that in

^a The services of the United States medical officer at Messina were discontinued on February 1, 1909, as it had ceased to be a port of emigration on account of the destruction of the city by the earthquake of December 28, 1908.

several instances, owing to private information, criminals were prevented from embarking for the United States through the intervention of the American consul.

The disinfection of emigrants' baggage is carried on under the direction of the American consul.

From December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907, a total of 1,807 emigrants were passed and 194 rejected at Messina. All but 5 of the rejections were for trachoma.

Palermo.

The sanitary inspection of emigrants to the United States was begun at Palermo on the occasion of the outbreak of cholera in 1893, a surgeon of the American Marine-Hospital Service being at that time assigned to Naples, with jurisdiction extending over the Palermo district. Later, and up to 1901, the medical examination was made by a steamship company surgeon or by a local doctor employed by the American consulate at the expense of the steamship company. In February, 1901, the United States Marine-Hospital surgeon in charge at Naples began sending one of his assistant surgeons to Palermo each time there was a departure of a steamer direct to the United States. The voyage between Palermo and Naples, however, being a very fatiguing and often a stormy one of twelve hours by small packets, such visits were discontinued in 1903, and a local doctor was at that time named as an acting assistant surgeon of the Marine-Hospital Service and assigned to duty at this port, and at the time of the Commission's inspection this arrangement was in force.

Emigrants arriving at Palermo are lodged in boarding houses until embarking. On the day of sailing emigrants are examined in a building on the water front. A small room is utilized for the examination, and, unlike the practice at other ports, each is examined separately. An acting assistant surgeon of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service conducts the examination in the presence of an American consular officer, Italian emigration officials, the health officer of the port, a naval surgeon representing the Italian Government, and the ship's doctor. There is also present a resident physician representing the steamship company who attends to the vaccination of emigrants who are passed, and an agent of the company who withdraws the tickets of rejected persons. The examination, as at other ports, is particularly for trachoma and favus. The decisions of the United States medical officer are absolute, but in doubtful cases the other medical men present are frequently consulted with. After passing the examining physician emigrants are vaccinated and then inspected by the American consular officer, who officially stamps the inspection cards. The final inspection is made by an inspector of emigration, who sees that emigrants' passports and papers comply with the Italian law. Inspection cards are taken from emigrants as they board the steamer by a representative of the American consul. This is done in order that they may be compared with the passenger list of the steamer, and the cards are returned to the captain of the ship with that list.

The disinfection of baggage is done by persons employed by the American consulate, the expense being borne by the steamship companies.

There is no formal examination of first and second class passengers at Palermo, and it was frequently stated to the committee that at this and other Italian ports persons clearly of the steerage class frequently embarked second class because they could not pass the physical examination to which steerage passengers were subjected. In this connection Hon. William H. Bishop, American consul at Palermo, made the following statement to the Commission:

Under instructions from Naples there is no inspection by the consulate of first or second class cabin passengers. These are supposed to be looked over by the company's surgeon and are taken at the company's risk. I understand that such passengers were at one time regularly inspected, but there being so many Americans among them, and as most Americans come abroad without any papers to show their nationality, there was no way to distinguish natives from aliens, protest was made by the former as for an indignity suffered and the examination of all alike was dropped. The circumstance adds new force to the argument that all Americans should provide themselves with a passport for their proper identification before leaving their own country.

In my opinion it should be possible to subject alien passengers of the first and second class to the same examination as those in the steerage, for the reason that some of the latter who would be ineligible on the grounds of health or a criminal record now make the sacrifice to pay the higher fare for the very purpose of escaping the consular investigation. For some reason or other the Italian Government does not require its subjects to take out passports in these classes, and their penal record is therefore not inquired into, as it is for the steerage. As a matter of fact nearly all such cases seem to pass our immigration authorities at Ellis Island.

Some of the steamship lines carrying emigrants from Palermo sail direct to United States ports, while others touch at Naples on the outward voyage. This complicates the situation at the former port, for the reason that steerage passengers sailing direct from Palermo are examined by the United States medical officer, while those going via Naples are inspected only by the Italian emigration commission and the steamship companies; the examination by marine-hospital surgeons taking place at Naples. A further complication arises from the fact that by permission of the Italian Government ships of the White Star Line touching at the various Italian ports are regarded as in the coastwise traffic. Because of this arrangement emigrants sailing from Palermo by White Star boats are set ashore at Naples and examined there by both the United States and Italian officials. With regard to the complex situation at that port Consul Bishop in a statement to the Commission said:

Out of all this arises, it is seen, a complex condition of affairs into which simplicity and, if possible, uniformity, should be introduced. In my opinion the entire operation should be done either there or here and not divided.

* * * * *

It is clearly a hardship that emigrants beginning their journey on a steamer continuing to the United States from here and only calling at Naples should have to proceed to Naples before taking their inspection, at the risk of rejection and return from there, and it would also be if an inspection were to take place here under our quarantine laws and were not recognized there, making a secondary one necessary there. In the year 1907 there sailed from this port to the United States direct 28,814 passengers, and by way of Naples in the manner described about 20,000. All these should be handled here uniformly. This would be an advantage to the latter class of emigrants and would be welcomed also by the steamship companies conveying them.

During the period covered by the committee's inquiry—December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907—24,868 emigrants were examined by the United States medical officer at Palermo, and 2,246 of these were rejected. The causes of rejection were:

Suspected trachoma	1,191
Trachoma	883
Other causes	172
Total	2,246

The above figures do not include emigrants who, as previously stated, embark at Palermo, but are examined at Naples.

Genoa.

The examination of emigrants at Genoa at the time of the committee's visit was conducted under the direction of the Italian authorities. At times since its establishment in 1899 the system in force at Naples and other Italian ports has included Genoa, but as a rule United States medical officers have no part in the inspection.

Emigrants awaiting embarkation at Genoa are lodged in boarding houses which, as at all Italian ports, are under the supervision of the emigration commission. The examination occurs, just previous to sailing, in a large waiting room at the pier or, if the number of passengers is small, on board the ship. The actual medical examination is usually made by the ship's doctor in the presence of a physician attached to the office of the captain of the port, and the surgeon of the royal navy, who sails with the ship. The passports of the persons passed by the doctors are then examined by Italian officers. The inspection and disinfection of baggage is made under the direction of the American consul in accordance with United States quarantine laws, the expense being borne by the steamship companies.

From the foregoing it is clear that the steamship companies are in the main responsible for the medical examination of emigrants at European ports of embarkation, and that they are the chief beneficiaries of the system. A study of the situation also shows that the real controlling factor in the situation at every port is the United States immigration law, for without it there would be no examination worthy of the name.

SUMMARY.

Methods of conducting the inspection differ. At some ports the examination as a rule extends over several days, and specialists are employed to detect trachoma, which disease is the chief factor in making a competent examination necessary. At others, and particularly at some ports of call, the inspection is conducted hurriedly and under seemingly unfavorable circumstances. In some instances American officials have absolutely no part in the work and exercise no authority; in others American consuls participate actively, and in the notable case of the Italian ports American medical officers absolutely control the situation. This being the case, it is obvious that any attempt to determine the efficiency of the systems at the various ports must be largely a study of the methods employed.

In this connection it is necessary only to note the real and final authority in determining rejections at the different ports under consideration for causes contemplated by the United States immigration law. In some instances this is difficult on account of apparently divided authority, but the following summary, it is believed, fairly represents the situation at each port:

- Antwerp: Physician employed by steamship company.
- Bremen: Physicians employed by American consul.
- Cherbourg: Ship's doctor.
- Christiania: Physician of the board of health.
- Copenhagen: Municipal physician.
- Fiume: Physician employed by steamship company, who also acts for the American consul.
- Genoa: Ship's doctor.
- Glasgow: Ship's doctor.
- Hamburg: Physicians (including eye specialists) employed by steamship company.
- Havre: Physicians (including an eye specialist) employed by the steamship companies.
- Libau: Physician employed by steamship company.
- Liverpool: Physicians employed by steamship companies.
- Londonderry: Ship's doctor.
- Marseille: Physicians (including an eye specialist) employed by steamship company, and the ship's doctor.
- Messina: Acting assistant surgeon of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service.
- Naples: Officers of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service.
- Palermo: Acting assistant surgeon of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service.
- Patras: Physicians employed by steamship companies.
- Piraeus: Ship's doctor.
- Queenstown: Ship's doctor.
- Rotterdam: Physicians (including eye specialists) employed by the steamship company; a physician employed by the American consulate general, and the ship's doctor.
- Southampton: Ship's doctor.
- Trieste: Physicians employed by steamship company, and the ship's doctor. Police officers. The American consul exercises unusual authority.

Number of emigrants rejected.

Because of the absence of records the Commission was unable to ascertain for any stated period the total number of rejections made at all European ports included in the inquiry. In the case of some ports information was available for only a part of the steamship lines embarking emigrants there, and in other cases the number of persons rejected was found, but the cause of rejections could not be ascertained. Consequently the material at hand is incomplete, but it is sufficient to illustrate the great sifting process that goes on at control stations and ports before emigrants are finally allowed to embark for the United States.

The following table shows such information as was available relative to the number of rejections at the ports and control stations indicated during the thirteen months ending December 31, 1907, which was the period particularly covered by the Commission's inquiry:

TABLE 49.—*Number of emigrants rejected at ports and control stations specified, from December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907.*

Port or control station.	Number rejected.	Port or control station.	Number rejected.
Antwerp ^a		Londonderry ^a	
Bremen:		Marseille ^a	
Control stations	8,110	Messina	194
Port	3,178	Naples	10,224
Cherbourg ^a		Palermo	2,368
Christiania ^a		Patras ^e	1,174
Copenhagen ^a		Piræus ^a	
Fiume	4,789	Queenstown	124
Genoa ^b	382	Rotterdam:	
Glasgow	40	Control stations	538
Hamburg:		Port	303
Control stations	3,234	Southampton ^a	
Port	2,694	Trieste	397
Havre	340		
Libau ^c	654	Total	39,681
Liverpool ^d	938		

^a No data.

^b Includes only North German-Lloyd and Navigazione Generale Italiana lines. Other lines carrying emigrants from Genoa to United States ports are the Hamburg-American, La Veloce, Lloyd Italiano, Lloyd Sabaud, Spanish, and the White Star.

^c Includes only Russian Volunteer Fleet. The Russian East Asiatic Line also carries emigrants from Libau.

^d Includes only American and Cunard lines. Other lines carrying emigrants from Liverpool to United States ports are the Allan, Dominion, and White Star.

^e Includes only Austro-Americana Line. Other lines carrying emigrants from Patras to United States ports are the Prince, Fabre, and Hellenic-Transatlantic.

It will be noted from the above table that Naples leads every other port in the number of emigrants rejected, with Fiume second and Bremen third. However, when rejections at control stations are also taken into account Bremen stands first with 11,288 rejections, as compared with 10,224 at Naples, and Hamburg third with 5,928. With the exception of Naples, data are not available to show the number of emigrants embarking at the various ports during the period considered, and consequently a comparison between the number carried and the number rejected, except at Naples, is impossible. In the number of emigrants embarking, however, Naples is first, followed by Bremen, Liverpool, and Hamburg, in the order named, the number carried from each port during the calendar year 1907 being approximately as follows:

Naples	240,186
Bremen	203,767
Liverpool	177,632
Hamburg	142,794

In the case of Naples, the number stated was taken from the records of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service at that port and is correct. The figures for the other ports are taken from the report of the trans-Atlantic passenger movement issued by the associated steamship lines and represent the number of steerage passengers carried on vessels sailing from such ports for the United States. Not all of these are alien emigrants, however, and the numbers stated include steerage passengers embarking at ports of call

during the voyage,^a but neither of these classes is large compared with the number of real emigrants embarking at the home port of the various lines. Moreover, the figures for Liverpool do not include emigrants destined to the United States who sail from that port to Canadian ports, but the number in this class is not sufficiently large to change the relative standing of the ports as above stated. Data are not available relative to the number of emigrants embarking at Fiume and Patras during the entire calendar year 1907, but the arrivals at United States ports from the ports mentioned during the months of January, February, March, July, August, and September of that year were as follows:

Fiume	22, 085
Patras.....	6, 296

Assuming, what is doubtless correct, that the above figures represent approximately one-half of the number of emigrants carried from such ports during the calendar year 1907, it will be seen that the proportion rejected there is very much larger than at Naples, Bremen, or Hamburg.

As previously explained, it is impossible to state the exact number of intended emigrants who are refused passage to the United States from European ports during any given period. From the preceding table it is seen that of the ports included within the Commission's inquiry no data relative to rejections were available for Antwerp, Cherbourg, Christiania, Copenhagen, Londonderry, Marseille, Piraeus, and Southampton, while for Genoa, Liverpool, Libau, and Patras the record is incomplete. This is particularly unfortunate in the case of Liverpool, which is one of the four great emigration ports of Europe. Moreover, the inquiry did not include the minor ports of Barcelona, Bordeaux, Boulogne, Cadiz, Calais, Dover, Gibraltar, Hull, Leghorn, Plymouth, and Stettin, at all of which some emigrants embarked for the United States during the year 1907. No data whatever could be secured relative to the number of applicants who on account of their physical condition were refused transportation by agents of the various lines requiring a medical examination in connection with the sale of tickets. It is believed, however, that the number rejected in this way is relatively small.

From the foregoing it is clear that while the number of rejections, 39,681, shown in the preceding table in all probability represents the greater part of all rejections at ports of embarkation and elsewhere in Europe, the number would be considerably increased were complete data available. Of course any estimate of the total number rejected would of necessity be largely speculative, but it seems safe to assume that during the period of the thirteen months, December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907, covered by the Commission's inquiry, at least 50,000 intended emigrants were refused transportation from European ports to the United States because of the probability that they would be debarred at United States ports under the provisions of the immigration laws.

^a During the year 1907 steamers of the Hamburg-American Line sailing from Hamburg embarked passengers at Boulogne, Cherbourg, Plymouth, and Southampton; steamers of the North German Lloyd sailing from Bremen, at Cherbourg and Southampton; and ships of the Cunard and White Star lines, sailing from Liverpool, at Queenstown.

Causes of rejections.

Of the 39,681 intending emigrants rejected, as shown by the preceding table, the cause of rejection was available in 34,228 cases. These data for each port classified according to the principal causes of rejection are shown in the following table:

TABLE 50.—Number of emigrants rejected at European ports and control stations specified, from December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907, by cause.

Port or control stations.	Total.	Number rejected for—				Per cent rejected for—			
		Trachoma.	Other diseases of the eye.	Favus.	All other causes.	Trachoma.	Other diseases of the eye.	Favus.	All other causes.
Bremen:									
Control stations..	8,110	3,998	a 3,099	426	587	49.3	38.2	5.3	7.2
Port.....	3,178	1,571	b 1,129	34	444	49.4	35.5	1.1	14.0
Glasgow.....	40	26	0	0	14	65.0	.0	.0	35.0
Hamburg:									
Control stations..	3,234	1,768	c 1,017	240	209	54.7	31.4	7.4	6.5
Port.....	2,694	d 2,343	(e)	324	27	87.0	.0	12.0	1.0
Havre.....	340	147	22	8	163	43.2	6.5	2.4	47.9
Libau f.....	654	g 489	1	102	62	74.8	.2	15.6	9.5
Liverpool h.....	938	814	21	26	77	86.8	2.2	2.8	8.2
Messina.....	194	189	0	0	5	97.4	.0	.0	2.6
Naples.....	10,224	5,116	3,019	576	1,513	50.0	29.5	5.6	14.8
Palermo.....	2,368	938	1,244	0	186	39.6	52.5	.0	7.9
Patras i.....	1,174	1,052	0	0	122	89.6	.0	.0	10.4
Queenstown.....	124	84	22	0	18	67.7	17.7	.0	14.5
Rotterdam:									
Control stations..	535	464	0	60	11	86.7	.0	11.2	2.1
Port.....	303	234	0	66	3	77.2	.0	21.8	1.0
Trieste j.....	118	50	48	10	10	42.4	40.7	8.5	8.5
Total.....	34,228	19,283	9,622	1,872	3,451	56.3	28.1	5.5	10.1

a Including 2,751 for "granulosis."

b Including 28 for "granulosis."

c All "conjunctivitis"

d Trachoma (conjunctivitis).

e See Trachoma.

f Includes only Russian Volunteer Fleet. The Russian East Asiatic Line also carries emigrants from Libau.

g Including 87 for "trachoma and favus."

h Includes only American and Cunard lines. All other lines carrying emigrants from Liverpool to United States ports are the Allan, Dominion, and the White Star.

i Includes only Austro-Americana Line. Other lines carrying emigrants from Patras to United States ports are the Prince, Fabre, and Hellenic-Transatlantic.

j Includes only Cunard Line. Detailed data for Austro-Americana Line not available.

It will be noted that of 34,228 rejections, 19,283, or 56.3 per cent, were for trachoma, and 9,622, or 28.1 per cent of the whole, were for other diseases of the eye which for the most part could doubtless be classified as trachoma. Consequently it may be said that practically 84.4 per cent of all the rejections considered were for a disease which previous to 1897 was not a cause for the debarment of immigrants at United States ports of arrival. The port of Havre shows the smallest per cent, 49.7, rejected for trachoma and other diseases of the eye, and Messina the highest, with 97.4 per cent rejected for trachoma alone. The small proportion of rejections at Havre on account of eye diseases is due to the fact that a considerable number were rejected at that port for pellagra and other diseases not represented in large proportions at other ports. At every other port, except Glasgow, 75 per cent or more of the rejections were on account of trachoma and other diseases of the eye.

It is worthy of note that practically all of the rejections under discussion were for some physical or mental disability. This is per-

haps only natural in view of the fact that the inspection at practically every port is conducted purely from a medical standpoint. In much of the data secured by the Commission the causes of rejection were not given in great detail, the classification "other causes" including a considerable proportion of the rejections at several ports. So far as shown by the data, however, all of the rejections under consideration were for physical or mental causes except in the following instances: Liverpool, 4 "arrested;" Trieste, 2 "without means," 117 "rejected by police;" Queenstown, 1 "refused examination."

It does not appear, however, that the police inspection at Trieste^a is an attempt to prevent the embarkation of persons likely to be excluded from the United States, and consequently it can hardly be considered as a means of protecting the United States against the coming of undesirable classes.

It is of course possible that among emigrants rejected for "other causes" there were some criminals, prostitutes, procurers, paupers, contract laborers, or other classes specifically debarred by the United States immigration law, but if so the number is too small to be worthy of consideration.

At the German control stations on the Russian and Austrian boundaries the amount of money possessed by intended emigrants is taken into consideration and according to the records 755 persons were rejected there during the year 1907 for "want of means."

On the whole, however, the examination abroad as conducted at the time of the Commission's visit and at the present time affords practically no protection from any of the classes debarred by the United States law except the physically or mentally defective, and this notwithstanding the fact that at several ports American consular officers actively participate in the inspection, and are accorded the privilege of rejecting emigrants who are undesirable within the meaning of the United States immigration law.

INSPECTION ABROAD BY AMERICAN OFFICIALS.

The system of emigrant inspection in force at Naples, Messina, and Palermo is of particular interest because of the somewhat prevalent belief that an examination by United States medical officers at ports of embarkation would prevent the sailing of persons who could not be admitted to the United States under the provisions of the immigration law. In his annual report for the fiscal year 1900, Hon. T. V. Powderly, Commissioner General of Immigration, reiterated a recommendation that had been made in the two preceding reports of the bureau, as follows:

That physicians representing the Government be stationed at the foreign ports of embarkation for the purpose of examining into the physical condition of aliens who are about to embark for the United States. Experience of the ability and energy of the surgeons of the United States Marine-Hospital Service leaves no room for doubt that, should they be assigned to such duty, but few cases of this dangerous disease would be permitted to embark, and that, besides accomplishing the most important object of preventing the introduction of trachoma (or other contagious diseases of the nonquarantinable class), the delay and trouble and uncertainty incident to examination at the ports of the United States, where limited accommodations and an ever-increasing and continuous flow of arrivals necessitate a degree of expedition not always consistent with thoroughness, would be avoided.

^a See p. 111 et seq.

The late Frank P. Sargent, for many years Commissioner General of Immigration, was an advocate of this policy, and in annual reports of the bureau repeatedly urged that it be adopted. In 1906 Commissioner General Sargent, in referring to the examination of immigrants, said:^a

The ideal plan for controlling this situation, however, is the one that has been urged by the bureau for years; i. e., the stationing of United States medical officers abroad, with the requirement that all prospective passengers shall be examined and passed by them as physically and mentally fit for landing in this country. This would prevent the emigration, not only of those afflicted with contagious diseases, but also of those afflicted with idiocy and insanity.

Fortunately the plan so long and urgently advocated by Messrs. Powderly and Sargent has been in operation at Italian ports long enough to demonstrate its usefulness, and to make possible a comparison of results between the inspection as conducted there and at other European ports.

Since the only purpose of the medical inspection of emigrants at European ports of embarkation, as here considered, is to avoid rejections and penalties at United States ports, the only fair and adequate test of the efficiency of such examinations is the record of rejections by the United States immigration service. In order to apply this test the commission secured from unpublished records of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization data showing the number of alien immigrants arriving at United States ports from the various ports of Europe and the number of such arrivals who were refused admission to the United States for purely medical reasons. This record covers six months of the year 1907, when the method of conducting medical examinations at the various European ports was as previously described. Thus the results are perfectly comparable.

The following table shows the result of the inquiry referred to:

TABLE 51.—Number carried and number and per cent of persons debarred for medical causes, by port of embarkation, at trans-Atlantic ports, during January, February, March, July, August, and September, 1907.

Port of embarkation.	Number carried.	Debarred.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Antwerp.....	28,267	50	0.18
Bremen.....	80,004	485	.61
Cherbourg.....	2,016	3	.15
Christiania.....	1,764	3	.17
Copenhagen.....	2,560	5	.20
Fiume.....	22,085	37	.17
Genoa.....	7,154	17	.24
Glasgow.....	9,295	36	.39
Hamburg.....	55,877	179	.32
Havre.....	27,354	122	.45
Libau.....	8,979	37	.41
Liverpool.....	57,728	144	.25
Londonderry.....	2,240	9	.40
Marseille.....	746	7	.94
Messina.....	1,172	4	.34
Naples.....	95,000	311	.33
Palermo.....	13,118	61	.47
Patras.....	6,296	36	.57
Piræus.....	2,602	16	.61
Queenstown.....	8,726	16	.18
Rotterdam.....	17,291	62	.36
Southampton.....	9,193	23	.25
Trieste.....	8,594	27	.31
Total.....	468,061	1,690	.36

^a Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1906, p. 63.

As previously stated this table shows the number of alien steerage passengers reaching United States ports from the various ports of Europe specified and the number and per cent of such passengers debarred under the provisions of the United States immigration law.

In the first place it is of interest to note the fact that the number debarred is remarkably small when compared with the total number carried. This alone clearly illustrates the fact that, as a whole, the medical inspection of emigrants prior to embarkation at European ports is thoroughly effective. Only 0.36 per cent of the persons carried were debarred at United States ports for medical reasons, which is a much smaller proportion than were rejected at Italian ports and German control stations for the same causes.

During the year ending June 30, 1907, 5.5 per cent of all emigrants examined by American medical officers at Italian ports were rejected, while 2.2 per cent of all examined at German control stations during a like period were turned back for purely medical reasons.

For the purpose of this study, however, the above table is chiefly interesting as illustrating the relative effectiveness of the examination at the various European ports under consideration. In the beginning it may be well to state that at some ports it is entirely possible for diseased emigrants to avoid the medical inspection by means of substitution, as previously explained, or by surreptitiously boarding the vessel. Moreover, the class of emigrants carried from the various ports may, and doubtless does, affect the situation somewhat. For instance, practically all emigrants from Christiania are Scandinavians, and trachoma and favus, which combined are the principal cause of medical rejections at United States ports, do not prevail in Scandinavian countries. Every other port, however, is to a greater or less extent affected by one or both of these diseases. Copenhagen is perhaps only slightly affected through emigration from Finland, where trachoma is prevalent, and Glasgow, because relatively few continental emigrants sail from that port. Trachoma is not unknown in Ireland, but it does not exist to such an extent as in southern and eastern Europe, and consequently Queenstown and Londonderry can not perhaps be fairly classified with other ports with regard to the particular kinds of loathsome contagious diseases which cause the rejection of so many aliens at United States ports.

Liverpool, Southampton, and the continental ports, with the exception of Christiania and Copenhagen, all draw the greater part of their emigrant traffic from southern and eastern Europe, and while of course the degree to which the diseases under consideration prevail differs in various sections, nevertheless such diseases are sufficiently widespread to require a careful medical inspection of emigrants coming from those sections. Because of this fact the results of the inspections at these ports are fairly comparable, which makes possible a reasonable test of the relative effectiveness of the different inspections.

It will be noted from the preceding table that the percentage of rejections was smallest among emigrants embarking at Cherbourg, only three rejections out of 2,016 emigrants carried being recorded.

This result is particularly noteworthy because Cherbourg draws emigrant traffic from the Levantine countries, where trachoma and favus are widespread, as well as from other southern and eastern European countries. Moreover, it is only a port of call and no elaborate system of medical inspection prevails there, the ship's doctor being the determining factor in the matter of rejections.

The largest percentage of rejections occurs among emigrants embarking at Marseille, which is not surprising because of the fact that steerage passengers sailing from that port are largely drawn from Syria and countries of southeastern Europe, where trachoma is particularly prevalent.

A rather curious situation is found in comparing rejections among emigrants from the four ports of Antwerp, Bremen, Hamburg, and Rotterdam. The steerage business of these four lines is very largely recruited in eastern Europe, and the class of emigrants embarking is much the same at each port. It is true also that the great majority of all emigrants embarking at the German ports, and a large part of those sailing from Antwerp and Rotterdam, are subjected to an inspection at the German control stations. Notwithstanding these facts, however, there is a wide difference in the proportion of persons embarking at the four ports who are debarred at United States ports for medical causes. These proportions are as follows: Bremen, 1 in 165; Rotterdam, 1 in 279; Hamburg, 1 in 312; Antwerp, 1 in 565.

It is necessary to note in this connection that the three ports having the largest proportion rejected each have excellent emigrant stations, superior facilities for handling emigrants, and elaborate and apparently thorough systems of inspection. At Bremen, which port makes by far the worst showing in the matter of debarments at United States ports, it will be remembered that the determining factor in the matter of rejections is a physician in the employ of the American consulate, while at Antwerp, which shows relatively a very small proportion of emigrants rejected at United States ports, American consular or other officials have absolutely no part in the inspection.

Most interesting of all, however, is a comparison between Antwerp and Naples, for it will be recalled that the emigrant-inspection systems in force at these ports represent extremes, so far as American control is concerned, the inspection at Naples being entirely in the hands of United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital surgeons. Measured by debarments at United States ports, however, the inspection at Antwerp is considerably more effective, for while the proportion refused admission to the United States is only 1 in 565 among emigrants embarking at that port, the proportion among emigrants sailing from Naples is 1 in 305. In the case of other Italian ports where American medical officers were in charge the proportion of emigrants debarred at the United States ports is as follows: Palermo, 1 in 215; Messina, 1 in 293; while among emigrants embarking at Genoa, where, during the period under consideration, the medical inspection was made by ships' doctors, the proportion of rejections was only 1 in 421. It may be said, however, that the particular diseases for which emigrants are debarred at United States ports are not so prevalent among classes embarking at Genoa as at the more southern ports of Italy.

A comparison between the Adriatic ports of Trieste and Fiume is interesting. At the latter port the medical inspection is made by a steamship company doctor and a physician employed by the American consul, but the Commission was informed that the examination by the former was so rigid that it had not been necessary for the consulate physician to reject any emigrants for some time previously. The American consul attends the examinations but does not exercise unusual authority. At Trieste the medical inspection is made by resident physicians of the steamship company and the ship's doctor, while the American consul at the time under consideration exercised a greater degree of authority than was exercised by such consular officers at any other European port. The consul informed the Commission that he insisted on rejections not only for trachoma and favus, but for less conspicuous physical defects as well. Experience at United States ports with emigrants from Fiume and Trieste indicate that, notwithstanding the great degree of authority exercised by the consul at the latter port, the inspection at Fiume is much more effective. In fact the proportion debarred at United States ports among emigrants from Fiume is only 1 to 597, or the same as in the case of Christiania, while the proportion debarred among emigrants sailing from Trieste is 1 to 318. The proportion debarred among emigrants embarking at the Greek ports of Patras and Piræus is large, being 1 to 175 in the case of the former and 1 to 163 in the case of the latter.

OPINIONS OF AMERICAN OFFICIALS.

Opinions differ as to the value of an inspection of emigrants by American medical officers at ports of embarkation, but while the committee found some American officials acquainted with the situation who praised the system in force at Naples and other Italian ports, none gave it unqualified approval.

Some of the opinions expressed by such officials are given herewith.

Passed Asst. Surg. Allan J. McLaughlin, of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, who was for several years in charge at Naples, at a hearing before the committee made the following statement:

DOCTOR McLAUGHLIN. This station is unique. It is the only place in Europe where this visit is made. If it was started as an experiment, it has lasted long enough to justify one in drawing conclusions. If it is good here, it ought to exist in every other port in Europe. That looks to me like a plain proposition. It has existed seven years. Why should it exist in Naples and nowhere else? Seven years is a good long while for an experiment. If it is a good thing, it ought to exist in other ports as well.

Senator DILLINGHAM. What do you think about it?

DOCTOR McLAUGHLIN. It is a good thing for a good many people. It largely depends on the humanitarian sentiment and public opinion in the United States. It is of great assistance to the steamship companies.

Senator DILLINGHAM. In complying with the law?

DOCTOR McLAUGHLIN. In complying with the law. It helps them to carry out the law. It encourages them to carry out our law. It is a fine courtesy to the Italian Government in trying to protect their emigrants. It is of great value to the emigrant himself. It is a fine piece of philanthropy.

Senator DILLINGHAM. It prevents the rejection at our ports of an emigrant, and the expenditure of his time and money in the journey?

DOCTOR McLAUGHLIN. Yes, sir. It is a fine piece of philanthropy from a humanitarian standpoint. * * *

It will be noted that, in Doctor McLaughlin's opinion, the system was of value to the Italian Government, the steamship companies, and the emigrant, but he was silent as to its value to the United States.

In reply to an inquiry relative to the effectiveness of the examination at Naples, Mr. Homer M. Byington, for many years American vice-consul at that city, said:

The effect of it has been to eliminate the enormous rejections for physical defects which formerly occurred at New York. Now there are hardly ever more than 10 emigrants returned by one ship, whereas in former years it ran anywhere from 10 to 50. The Government and the steamship companies have heartily cooperated with the medical inspector, with the exception of the matter of first and second class, in regard to which the steamship companies at first endeavored to avoid the inspection of passengers, and so successfully that orders were received from the Surgeon-General of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service that first and second class passengers be not examined. Since then nearly all the friction has occurred over contagious diseases, particularly of the eyes, in the case of first and second class passengers; so that I am of the opinion that the steamship companies themselves would now be very glad to have those classes examined. In fact, some of them have requested it. Until first and second class aliens are examined the same as the third class, there is always a chance for friction to arise. So far as third class are concerned everything has been done that can be done.

Asst. Surg. R. A. C. Wollenberg, of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, who succeeded Doctor McLaughlin as medical officer in charge at Naples, in a statement to the Commission, said:

A foreign inspection alone can never protect the United States against aliens with trachoma, favus, etc. Without the examination at Ellis Island and other ports the examination here would have little value against the unscrupulous persons who make a business of evading our immigration laws. The evils of substitution and other means of evading the inspection here concern the poor emigrant and the authorities whose duty it is to protect him, the steamship companies, and, least of all, the United States. An emigrant so deceived, upon being returned from Ellis Island, often makes complaint to authorities there, stating the amount of money he paid for evading inspection. The steamship companies pay fines for him in these cases and consequently are very much concerned in preventing these evils. The United States is, of course, very anxious to prevent such evasion of its foreign inspection, but is sufficiently protected by the rigid inspection made at our American ports.

Hon. Caspar S. Crowninshield, American consul at Naples, said:

I believe the service to be of great value, both to the emigrant and the United States. This inspection would be still more useful, I believe, if the American physicians were granted more power. At present they act principally in an advisory capacity to the steamship companies. I think that the examination of emigrants should be made by one or more individuals each one being an American medical officer, and also by an inspector with full authority to prevent departures when he sees proper. It seems to me that every important port of emigration should be provided with such a service. Another method would be to employ American inspectors in foreign ports in addition to medical experts. but, in any case, the latter should have the power of rejection in cases of disease the rejection of which is mandatory in America. Under the present system officers of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service are handicapped by responsibility without authority.

Dr. Arthur S. Cheney, American consul at Messina, who later perished when that city was destroyed by an earthquake, did not particularly discuss the system of examination peculiar to Italian ports, but said of the inspection of emigrants in general:

In the medical examination so much attention is directed to determining the presence or absence of trachoma that other equally sound causes for rejection

may possibly be overlooked. If any improvement in this line could be made it would be to have each emigrant introduced, one at a time, into the examining room, in order that further attention might also be given, in those sometimes suspicious cases, to the possible presence of loathsome diseases, such as venereal and skin diseases. Undoubtedly such a procedure would take more time and might be open to objections on other grounds, but, on the other hand, it is just as true that all other medical causes of rejection are now too much neglected to search for the more common cases of trachoma.

Hon. William H. Bishop, American consul at Palermo, at which port, as elsewhere stated,^a the United States Marine Hospital surgeon examines only a part of the emigrants embarking, the remainder being examined at Naples, said:

I recommend that an American medical inspector be stationed here to have entire control of emigration at this port, leaving the consulate free to attend to the development of its large commercial and allied interests. * * * If it not be thought desirable to appoint a medical inspector, I recommend a trial of the plan of abolishing all control of emigrants on this side of the ocean and throwing the entire responsibility for them on the steamship companies, by much increasing their present scale of penalties; largely strengthening at the same time the force at Ellis Island, now perhaps sometimes borne down by sheer weight of numbers, so that it could deal at full leisure with all the new arrivals in one day. It is generally believed that it is on the American side of the water that the really effective control and relief for abuses are to be found.

Hon. Clarence Slocum Rice, American consul at Fiume, said:

I think all consular officers would feel more sure of the benefit they try to effect by conscientious supervision if they had the services of an American surgeon.

Hon. Horace Lee Washington, American consul-general at Marseille, said:

In my opinion, the double examination of intending emigrants, that is to say, examination prior to the departure of the ship from the foreign port and re-examination by the American officers at the port of arrival, is indispensable to the satisfactory enforcement of the law. Personal appreciation of the eligibility of individuals is likely to vary so that it is absolutely necessary to have the first official inspection checked by a second at the port of arrival. Honest doubt may exist at the port of departure in regard to the admissibility of particular subjects, with the result that such persons are permitted to ship for the United States, disease developing during transit, and unless a second inspection is provided at the port of arrival, such persons would undoubtedly be admitted to the country. It is within my knowledge that emigrants are frequently regarded unfavorably by certain specialists and recommended to navigation companies by others.

Hon. Frank D. Hill, American consul-general at Barcelona, said:

I may state that since my connection with this consulate general I have accompanied the sanitary inspector on a number of his visits and have been able to convince myself of the ready cooperation of the ships' surgeons and employees. Furthermore, it appears only natural that any measures tending to alleviate the work of ship's surgeon and lessen the risks of embarking passengers liable to deportation must be welcomed by the shipping companies. It will be remarked that the natural play of the (United States) immigration laws and regulations of July 1, 1907, is to develop a severity on the part of shipping companies and their surgeons which, as regards certain phases of their work, is liable to exceed that of United States immigration officers. The tendency is to reject all passengers about whose admissibility even the slightest doubt may be entertained. For example, instances have come under my observation of the rejection by ships' surgeons of passengers (the individuals in question were bound for Cuba, but for the purposes of the point their destination is indifferent) who were suffering from rather doubtful cases of

^a See p. 119.

trachoma and would possibly have been passed after careful examination by United States or Cuban immigration officers. It is obviously impossible for a ship's surgeon who is obliged to pass on a large number of passengers in a very short space of time to make a thorough examination of doubtful cases, the result being that the existence of the slightest indication may be sufficient to cause rejection. As the majority of passengers thus rejected are poor and ignorant, the possibility of appeal to a more complete examination is practically null.

Hon. Herbert H. D. Peirce, formerly Third Assistant Secretary of State, and later American minister to Norway, made a statement to the Commission, based upon his experience in making inspections of consulates. Mr. Peirce said:

My own opinion is that sanitary inspection of emigrants to the United States should, if possible, be made before they embark for our shores, and that such inspection should be made by properly qualified medical officers of the United States, who should submit their reports to the respective consuls to whose staffs they should be attached, and this inspection should be so thorough and complete as to make it clear that at the time of embarkation the emigrant is not suffering from any disease which he may bring into the United States and communicate to others there.

Under our laws a ship sailing from a foreign port to a port of the United States is obliged to be furnished a bill of health signed by the consul or other competent officer of the United States. I am, for my part, unable to see how the consular or other officer can give a proper and valid bill of health of a vessel unless he knows of his own knowledge, or is in some manner properly assured, as to the sanitary condition of the emigrants she carried. This is particularly the case as regards ships carrying large numbers of third-class passengers huddled together in limited space, and in case of bad weather subjected to conditions favorable for development of incipient disease.

I am aware of the fact that the present system, which amounts to leaving it to the ship officers to decide whether the immigrant will probably be accepted at the port of destination, and there finally deciding his admission or return upon an examination by the inspectors at this port, is regarded by certain officials as the better way of dealing with the question. But, while I recognize the fact that these officials have the advantage of dealing with the question practically, I can not but think that it is better to prevent the shipment of an infected immigrant who has not as yet become a public charge upon the company for his passage rather than to leave the question of his admission until the company has been at the cost of bringing him to our shores, and must, if he is rejected, be at the further charge of taking him back. The carrying of emigrant passengers is a business undertaking, and I am led to believe a profitable one. If I am correctly informed, while the rate of passage, third class, is about \$30, the cost to the steamship company is about \$10 per head. This is a rate of profit which would seem to warrant taking some risks, and it is probable that the ships' doctors are more animated by the interests of their companies than by those of a foreign government. While doubtless it is true, as claimed, that diseases like smallpox, cholera, and other virulent epidemics will develop during the passage, who can say what seeds a tubercular subject whose symptoms are perhaps not very pronounced may not sow among his fellow passengers during a stormy winter passage across the Atlantic?

But there is another class of most dangerous immigrants whose entry into the United States is, so far as I am aware, unprovided against. I refer to the sufferers from the venereal diseases. It has always seemed to me during my observations of immigrant inspection that in keeping the close watch we do, or did when I was conversant with the subject, against trachoma, and paying no attention to possible venereal infection, we were straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

I can not believe that it is a really safe plan to permit vessels carrying emigrants and clearing for ports of the United States to be furnished with a clean bill of health by the consul of the clearing port unless he has good assurance of the health as regards communicable diseases of the passengers. Such assurance can only be given him by a duly qualified and competent medical officer of his own government after a full inspection of the passengers.

And I would remark that the method of standing at a turnstile while the emigrants pass through can give but little information to either physician or layman.

Our law authorizes "the President, in his discretion, to detail any medical officer of the Government to serve in the office of the consul at any foreign port for the purpose of furnishing information and making inspection and giving the bills of health hereinbefore mentioned." Doubtless these functions, if observed to the letter, are such as a medical officer of our Government serving in the office of a consul may be properly detailed so far as regards our relations with foreign powers. But the phrase which permits the medical officer to grant the bills of health has created, at times and at certain ports, no little friction. It gives to the medical officer a superior authority over the consul which has been resented, not only by the consular officers, but where the medical officer has undertaken to enter into relations with the officials of the government to which the consul is accredited, by that government. Governments do not, under consular treaties, generally agree to an interchange of medical inspectors, and on all accounts it is clear to me, from my experience in the matter, that it is better, both for the avoidance of friction and to the end of holding one officer responsible in matters of clearance of vessels, that the consul only should grant and sign the bill of health, guided by the advice of the medical officer who should make his report in each case to the competent department of our Government.

If objection is made that an adequate system of inspection at every port of call would involve great expense in maintaining many medical staffs, it may be answered that, while our country welcomes wholesome, healthy, and desirable immigrants, it is not seeking them, and the maintenance of a reasonably sufficient number of immigrant clearing consulates is all that can be asked. The companies should ship their third-class passengers from those ports, and their tallies on arrival should agree with the consular manifest.

Hon. Henry W. Diederich, American consul-general at Antwerp, who through years of service as consul at Bremen had much experience in connection with the examination of emigrants, made the following statement to the Commission:

I personally looked over and supervised the inspection of about 1,000,000 emigrants and their baggage in the six years of my incumbency of the Bremen consulate, and it is from my experience in this field that I venture to offer the following suggestions:

I consider the idea of having all the inspection of emigrants done at the ports of embarkation by, or at least under the supervision of, a surgeon of the American Marine-Hospital Service as impracticable, for various reasons. To begin with, the consent of the foreign governments would have to be gotten first, but even granted that this could be accomplished, it seems utterly impossible for an American medical officer to perform his functions without clashing with local authorities and also with foreign colleagues who must assist him. Some years ago an excellent young man was sent by the Marine-Hospital Service to Bremen, but at the end of the year he was rather glad to return home, because he found that the inspection was most thoroughly done, and done by German physicians far more competent than himself. Besides, he had kept me quite busy keeping peace between him and the government and steamship officials. In discussing this question it should always be remembered that medical students in the leading countries of this continent get a far more thorough professional training than they do in our own, generally speaking, and that the governments themselves are more strict in issuing licenses to practice medicine. So no American consul will ever have any difficulty in finding competent medical assistance, and I therefore am firmly convinced that if we would avoid much unpleasant experience, not to say downright humiliations, all inspections should be made consular inspections; that is to say, every consul should be authorized to appoint a first-class foreign physician to take charge of the entire work and to be responsible to the consulate only, and all the expenses for such inspection should be charged to the steamship companies. This is practically the way it is done at Bremen.

Quite a number of reports on consular inspection were sent to the department by me during my incumbency of the consulate at Bremen, and in each and every one of them I pointed out the necessity of a uniform practice everywhere. The present lack of system in this most important work is very deplorable, for

obvious reasons. Most inspections, in my opinion, are defective in one respect. The people are not vaccinated on shore, but this is done out at sea by the ship's surgeon. A number of surgeons have admitted to me from their own personal knowledge that such vaccinations performed after the ship has left the port are not only a great hardship to the emigrants, many of whom are suffering all the horrors of mal de mer, but also the results are very unsatisfactory, because the work often can not be properly done. Our quarantine laws require that everything must be done to secure "the best sanitary condition of vessels, cargoes, passengers, and crew before their departure for any port of the United States," and as these aliens oftentimes come from countries where smallpox is frequently epidemic, it is a necessary precaution to vaccinate all steerage passengers, but it should be done before embarkation.

But there is one other reason, and that a most important one, why these aliens should be vaccinated carefully on shore before they are admitted to the steamer. To be vaccinated they must disrobe sufficiently to expose the entire arm to the shoulders, which, in many instances, renders the physician able at a glance to form an opinion as to the physical condition of the emigrant. Besides, the physician in grasping the arm of the person to be vaccinated at once feels whether the temperature is normal or not, and can order in all doubtful cases that the temperature be taken immediately. In this way quite a number of cases of pulmonary and other diseases were discovered at Bremen. To go beyond this and to examine emigrants for venereal diseases would seem to me to be well-nigh impossible without increasing the medical staff enormously, and whether it might pay to do that I am not in a position to express an opinion.

There always was, and still is to-day, a doubt in my mind whether or not the entire inspection of emigrants should not be left with the foreign transportation companies whose self-interest compels them to examine most rigorously all third-class passengers before bringing them to our shores. It must also be borne in mind that most all the aliens starting from Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkan States already undergo, and in some cases repeatedly, a sifting process before they reach the port of embarkation. As already stated, I myself made it my business to be present at most of the inspections at Bremen during all the years I was there as American consul. I did this hard and disagreeable work because I found it was the only way for me to make sure that things were done right, and yet with all the painstaking care my recollection is that we never rejected more than 2,200 people in a year, out of a total of more than 100,000. This always led me to believe that many of our people at home, chiefly through misrepresentations in the press, had exaggerated ideas about the number of diseased persons brought to our country through immigration. I repeat, that of all the American consular officers I myself have seen more emigrants at closest range and have voluntarily undergone more personal hardship than any of my colleagues, and it is my opinion that with all the consular reports sent in on the subject of immigration, with all the discussion in the press and in the Halls of Congress, and with all the official reports by committees and emissaries sent abroad at government expense to look into the conditions of emigration, there is still much of error on this question, and little of the truth known. I think if it would be possible to have the Bremen consular inspection, with some modifications which I might suggest, we would have every reason to feel safe from physically undesirable immigrants entering the country. The results at Ellis Island and other immigration stations fully confirm what I say. With all the admirable system of inspection the number of aliens rejected at the ports of arrival is fortunately exceedingly small, which fact speaks loudly in favor of the inspections at the ports of embarkation. I repeat that while I think we should control inspection at both ends, at the same time I admit that the steamship companies under our present strict rules and regulations, with heavy fines and penalties imposed on them for every undesirable alien they attempt to land on our shores, might be safely intrusted with this work at the ports of embarkation, as is being done here at Antwerp by the Red Star Line, particularly in view of the fact that most foreign governments are strongly opposed to have even our consular officers take charge of emigrant inspection at their ports.

PART II.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN ITALY.

79524°—VOL 4—11 10

135

PART II.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES FROM ITALY.

From July 1, 1819, to June 30, 1910, 3,086,356 immigrants giving Italy as the country of their last permanent residence were admitted to the United States, the number of immigrants from that country during the period mentioned being surpassed only by the number from Great Britain, 7,766,330, of whom 4,212,169 came from Ireland; Germany, 5,351,746; and Austria-Hungary, 3,172,461. The movement of population from England, Ireland, and Germany to the United States, however, is one of long standing compared with that from Italy, for of the total number from the latter country, 97.4 per cent have come since 1880, 87.4 per cent since 1890, and 66.2 per cent since 1900.

IMMIGRATION BY YEARS, 1820 TO 1910.

The growth of the movement from Italy was slow. In the fiscal year 1820 only 30 persons were recorded as coming from that country, and, except for the fiscal year 1833, when 1,699 persons were admitted, the total number in any fiscal year did not reach 1,000 until 1854, while less than 2,000 were recorded for each year prior to 1870. The development of the movement is shown in the following table, which gives the total immigration from Italy in each fiscal year from 1820 to 1910:

TABLE 1.—*Immigration to the United States from Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia, for the years ending June 30, 1820, to 1910.*

[Compiled from Statistical Review of Immigration, 1819-1910. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 3.]

Year.	Number	Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
1820.....	30	1844.....	141	1868 ^a	891	1892.....	61,631
1821.....	63	1845.....	137	1869.....	1,489	1893.....	72,145
1822.....	35	1846.....	151	1870.....	2,891	1894.....	42,977
1823.....	33	1847.....	164	1871.....	2,816	1895.....	35,427
1824.....	45	1848.....	241	1872.....	4,190	1896.....	68,060
1825.....	75	1849.....	209	1873.....	8,757	1897.....	59,431
1826.....	57	1850 ^b	431	1874.....	766	1898.....	58,613
1827.....	35	1851.....	447	1875.....	3,631	1899.....	77,419
1828.....	34	1852.....	351	1876.....	3,015	1900.....	100,135
1829.....	23	1853.....	555	1877.....	3,195	1901.....	135,996
1830.....	9	1854.....	1,263	1878.....	4,344	1902.....	178,375
1831.....	28	1855.....	1,052	1879.....	5,791	1903.....	230,622
1832 ^b	3	1856.....	1,365	1880.....	12,354	1904.....	193,296
1833.....	1,699	1857.....	1,007	1881.....	15,401	1905.....	221,479
1834.....	105	1858.....	1,240	1882.....	32,159	1906.....	273,120
1835.....	60	1859.....	932	1883.....	31,792	1907.....	285,731
1836.....	115	1860.....	1,019	1884.....	16,510	1908.....	128,503
1837.....	36	1861.....	811	1885.....	13,642	1909.....	183,218
1838.....	86	1862.....	566	1886.....	21,315	1910.....	215,537
1839.....	84	1863.....	547	1887.....	47,622		
1840.....	37	1864.....	600	1888.....	51,558		
1841.....	179	1865.....	924	1889.....	25,307	Total...	3,086,356
1842.....	100	1866.....	1,382	1890.....	52,003		
1843.....	117	1867.....	1,624	1891.....	76,055		

^a Six months ending June 30.

^b Fifteen months ending Dec. 31.

This table clearly indicates the remarkable growth of the movement from Italy since 1880, when for the first time the number of immigrants from that country exceeded 10,000, to 1907, when 285,731 were admitted. It is interesting to note also that the number admitted in 1907, as well as in 1906, exceeded the total immigration from Italy to the United States from 1820 to 1887.

IMMIGRATION BY SEX AND DECADES, 1871 TO 1910.

Immigration from Italy from 1871 to 1910, inclusive, by decades and sex, is shown in the following table:

TABLE 2.—*Immigration to the United States from Italy, by sex and decades, 1871 to 1910.*

[Compiled from Statistical Review of Immigration 1819-1910. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 3.]

Period.	Number.			Per cent.	
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1871-1880.....	55,759	41,779	13,980	74.9	25.1
1881-1890.....	307,309	243,923	63,386	79.4	20.6
1891-1900.....	651,893	^a 317,023	^a 106,902	74.8	25.2
1901-1910.....	2,045,877	1,612,996	432,881	78.8	21.2
Total.....	3,060,838	2,215,721	617,149	78.2	21.8

^a Figures by sex not given for 1893, 1894, 1895, and 1899.

This table shows even more clearly the remarkable development of immigration from Italy in recent years, and also the important fact that 78.2 per cent of the immigrants for whom sex was reported during the period considered were men. The facts indicate that the movement has been essentially one of individuals rather than families, and in consequence it follows that the number of permanent settlers has been relatively much smaller than among the English, Irish, and other immigrants who came largely in family groups.

ITALIAN AND OTHER EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION.

The following table shows a comparison between Italian immigration and European immigration as a whole during the period under consideration:

TABLE 3.—*Immigration to the United States from Italy compared with total European immigration (including Turkey in Asia), by decades, 1820 to 1910.*

[Compiled from table on pages 6-11.]

Period.	Total European immigration.	Italian immigration.	
		Number.	Per cent of total European immigration.
1820-1830 ^a	106,508	439	0.4
1831-1840.....	495,688	2,253	.5
1841-1850.....	1,597,501	1,870	.1
1851-1860.....	2,452,660	9,231	.4
1861-1870.....	2,065,272	11,725	.6
1871-1880.....	2,272,329	55,759	2.5
1881-1890.....	4,739,266	307,309	6.5
1891-1900.....	3,585,777	651,893	18.2
1901-1910.....	8,213,409	2,045,877	24.9
Total.....	25,528,410	3,086,356	12.1

^a Eleven years.

It will be noted that in each period previous to 1870 Italy furnished less than 1 per cent of the total number of European immigrants admitted to the United States. The growth in the movement during the decade, 1871-1880, increased the proportion to 2.5 per cent of the whole, and in succeeding decades the relative importance of Italy as a source of European immigration increased to such an extent that in the ten fiscal years ending June 30, 1910, practically one-fourth (24.9 per cent) of the total European immigration to the United States originated in that country.

ITALIANS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850 TO 1900.

Italian immigrants who came to the United States prior to 1870 followed the tendency of practically all immigrants of that period and settled in all parts of the country. Up to that time, however, the numbers were small, and since the movement from Italy began to assume large proportions they have shown a growing tendency to settle in the North Atlantic States. This tendency is clearly indicated by the following tables, the first of which shows the distribution among the various States of persons born in Italy, in census years since 1850, and the second the per cent of Italian-born persons in the larger geographical divisions:

TABLE 4.—Distribution of persons of Italian birth in the United States, by States and Territories, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive.

Geographic divisions.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
Continental United States.....	3,679	11,677	17,157	44,230	182,580	484,027
North Atlantic division.....	1,301	3,267	5,336	22,914	118,621	352,065
Maine.....	20	49	48	90	253	1,334
New Hampshire.....		18	9	32	312	947
Vermont.....	7	13	17	30	445	2,154
Massachusetts.....	197	440	454	2,116	8,066	28,785
Rhode Island.....	25	33	58	313	2,468	8,972
Connecticut.....	16	70	117	879	5,285	19,105
New York.....	833	1,910	3,592	15,113	64,141	182,248
New Jersey.....	31	109	257	1,547	12,989	41,865
Pennsylvania.....	172	625	784	2,794	24,662	66,655
South Atlantic division.....	357	802	781	1,378	4,894	10,509
Delaware.....		4	5	43	459	1,122
Maryland.....	82	229	210	477	1,416	2,449
District of Columbia.....	74	97	182	244	467	930
Virginia.....	65	263	162	281	1,219	781
West Virginia.....			34	48	632	2,921
North Carolina.....	4	27	19	42	28	201
South Carolina.....	59	59	63	84	106	180
Georgia.....	33	48	50	82	159	218
Florida.....	40	75	56	77	408	1,707
North Central division.....	389	2,180	2,767	5,454	21,837	55,085
Ohio.....	189	616	564	1,064	3,857	11,321
Indiana.....	6	421	95	198	468	1,327
Illinois.....	43	224	761	1,704	8,035	23,523
Michigan.....	14	87	110	555	3,088	6,178
Wisconsin.....	10	113	104	253	1,123	2,172
Minnesota.....	1	47	40	124	828	2,222
Iowa.....	1	50	54	122	399	1,198
Missouri.....	125	603	936	1,074	2,416	4,345
North Dakota.....						700
South Dakota.....	a	1	4	71	290	360
Nebraska.....			44	62	717	752
Kansas.....		18	55	167	616	987

Dakota Territory until 1900.

TABLE 4.—*Distribution of persons of Italian birth in the United States, by States and Territories, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive—Continued.*

Geographic divisions.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
South Central division.....	1,396	2,307	3,178	4,385	12,314	26,158
Kentucky.....	144	235	325	370	707	679
Tennessee.....	61	379	483	443	788	1,222
Alabama.....	90	214	118	114	322	862
Mississippi.....	121	114	147	260	425	845
Louisiana.....	924	1,279	1,889	2,527	7,767	17,431
Arkansas.....	15	17	30	132	187	576
Indian Territory.....						573
Oklahoma.....					11	28
Texas.....	41	69	186	539	2,107	3,942
Western division.....	236	3,121	5,095	10,099	24,914	40,210
Montana.....			34	64	734	2,199
Idaho.....			11	35	509	779
Wyoming.....			9	15	259	781
Colorado.....		6	16	335	3,882	6,818
New Mexico.....	1	11	25	73	355	661
Arizona.....			12	104	207	699
Utah.....	1	59	74	138	347	1,062
Nevada.....		13	199	1,560	1,129	1,296
Washington.....		11	24	71	1,408	2,124
Oregon.....	5	34	31	167	589	1,014
California.....	229	2,987	4,660	7,537	15,495	22,777

TABLE 5.—*Per cent of persons of Italian birth in each geographical division of the United States, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive.*

Geographic division.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
North Atlantic division.....	35.4	28.0	31.1	51.8	65.0	72.7
South Atlantic division.....	9.7	6.9	4.6	3.1	2.7	2.2
North Central division.....	10.6	18.7	16.1	12.3	12.0	11.4
South Central division.....	37.9	19.8	18.5	9.9	6.7	5.4
Western division.....	6.4	26.7	29.7	22.8	13.6	8.3

It will be observed that in 1850 there were more persons of Italian birth in the South Central States than in any other geographic division, Louisiana having a larger number than any other State. In 1860 the largest proportion was found in the North Atlantic States, New York leading every other State. In 1870, however, California led in the number of Italian-born persons and the western division of States had 29.7 per cent of the total Italian population of the country, as compared with 31.1 per cent in the North Atlantic division. By 1880 New York again led in the number present, and 51.8 per cent of all Italians were in the North Atlantic States. Between 1880 and 1900 the proportion increased until in the latter year 72.7 per cent of persons of Italian birth were found in the North Atlantic and 11.4 per cent in the North Central divisions. In 1900, of a total of 484,027 Italian-born persons in the United States, 182,248 were found in the State of New York, the other States having a large number being as follows: Pennsylvania, 66,655; New Jersey, 41,865; Massachusetts, 28,785; Illinois, 23,523; California, 22,777; Connecticut, 19,105; Louisiana, 17,431; and Ohio, 11,321. This clearly illustrates the fact that the Italians who came between 1880 and 1900 for the most part settled in States where industrial activity was the greatest and where the largest cities were located. An exception to

this rule, however, is found in the long-established and steadily increased movement to California and Louisiana. Only two States, Virginia and Kentucky, show a decrease in the number of Italians between 1890 and 1900.

HOMOGENEITY OF ITALIAN IMMIGRATION.

As elsewhere explained, the population of Italy is almost perfectly homogeneous,^a and therefore practically all immigrants coming from that country are Italians. As a matter of fact, since 1899, when immigration statistics were first recorded by race or people, not more than one-tenth of 1 per cent of all the immigrants from Italy were of races other than Italian. The Bureau of Immigration, following the general practice of ethnologists, divides the people of Italy into two races—North Italians and South Italians, the former being natives of the compartimenti of Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, and Emilia, and the latter natives of the remainder of continental Italy and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. The character of Italian immigration in this regard since 1899 is shown in the following table:

TABLE 6.—Immigration to the United States from Italy, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by races or peoples.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration.]

Fiscal years—	Number.				Per cent.		
	North Italian.	South Italian.	All others.	Total.	North Italian.	South Italian.	All others.
1899.....	11,821	65,587	11	77,419	15.3	84.7	(a)
1900.....	15,799	84,329	7	100,135	15.8	84.2	(a)
1901.....	20,324	115,659	13	135,996	14.9	85.0	(a)
1902.....	25,485	152,883	7	178,375	14.3	85.7	(a)
1903.....	34,571	195,993	58	230,622	15.0	85.0	(a)
1904.....	34,056	159,127	113	193,296	17.6	82.3	0.1
1905.....	35,802	185,445	232	221,479	16.2	83.7	.1
1906.....	40,940	231,921	259	273,120	15.0	84.9	.1
1907.....	47,814	237,680	237	285,731	16.7	83.2	.1
1908.....	21,494	106,824	185	138,503	16.7	83.1	.1
1909.....	22,220	160,800	198	183,218	12.1	87.8	.1
1910.....	26,699	188,616	222	215,537	12.4	87.5	.1
Total.....	337,025	1,884,864	1,542	2,223,431	15.2	84.8	.1

^a Less than 0.05 per cent.

The estimated population of Italy on January 1, 1907, was 33,640,705, of whom 13,799,473, or 41.1 per cent of the total, were in the compartimenti of Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, and Emilia. Assuming that practically all North Italian immigration originates in these sections of Italy, it will be seen that with 41.1 per cent of the population the compartimenti named furnish only about 15 per cent of the Italian movement to the United States.

It is noteworthy that almost all of the Italians who come to the United States are direct from Italy. The following figures show the total number of North and South Italians who came to this coun-

^b See p. 177.

try during the 11 fiscal years ending June 30, 1909, and the number and proportion that were from Italy:

TABLE 7.—*Total immigration to the United States of races or peoples specified and per cent of such immigration which originated in Italy, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Total number.	From Italy.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Italian, North.....	341,888	310,326	90.8
Italian, South.....	1,719,260	1,696,248	98.7

ITALIAN EMIGRATION TO OTHER COUNTRIES.

Although the northern compartimenti do not contribute largely to the movement to the United States when compared with the south, nevertheless there is a large emigration from them. For the most part, however, this proceeds to France, Germany, Switzerland, and other European countries rather than over seas, although there is a considerable movement of North Italians to South American countries. The following table compiled from Italian data shows the emigration movement from Italy in 1907, by compartimenti and destination:

TABLE 8.—*Emigration from Italy in 1907, by compartimenti and destination.*

[Compiled from Bollettino dell' Emigrazione, anno 1908, No. 23, Rome, 1908.]

Compartimenti.	Emigration to—			Per cent to—	
	Trans-oceanic countries.	Europe and Mediterranean countries.	Total.	Trans-oceanic countries	Europe and Mediterranean countries.
Northern Italy:					
Piedmont.....	26,232	37,012	63,244	41.5	58.5
Liguria.....	6,914	1,760	8,474	79.2	20.8
Lombardy.....	15,506	45,449	60,955	25.4	74.6
Venetia.....	14,703	91,510	106,213	13.8	86.2
Central Italy:					
Emilia.....	10,022	31,076	41,098	24.4	75.6
Tuscany.....	13,778	23,670	37,448	36.8	63.2
Marches.....	13,664	10,925	24,589	55.6	44.4
Perugia (Umbria).....	4,096	11,535	15,631	26.2	73.8
Roma (Latium).....	15,485	3,588	19,073	81.2	18.8
Southern Italy:					
Abruzzi and Molise.....	44,024	6,475	50,499	87.2	12.8
Campania.....	70,228	5,915	76,143	92.2	7.8
Apulia.....	25,313	4,399	29,712	85.2	14.8
Basilicata.....	14,685	403	15,088	97.3	2.7
Calabria.....	46,184	1,045	47,229	97.8	2.2
Islands:					
Sicily.....	91,902	5,718	97,620	94.1	5.9
Sardinia.....	3,365	8,294	11,659	28.9	71.1
Total.....	415,901	288,774	704,675	59.0	41.0

This table, classified according to geographical divisions, is as follows:

TABLE 9.—*Emigration from Italy in 1907, by geographical divisions and destination.*

[Compiled from Bollettino dell' Emigrazione, anno 1908, No. 23, Rome, 1908.]

Geographic division.	Emigration to—			Per cent to—	
	Trans-oceanic countries	Europe and Mediterranean countries.	Total.	Trans-oceanic countries.	Europe and Mediterranean countries.
Northern Italy.....	63,155	175,731	238,886	26.4	73.6
Central Italy.....	57,045	80,794	137,839	41.4	58.6
Southern Italy.....	200,434	18,237	218,671	91.7	8.3
Islands.....	95,267	14,012	109,279	87.2	12.8
Total.....	415,901	288,774	704,675	59.0	41.0

It will be seen from the above tables that 41 per cent of the total emigration movement from Italy in the year considered was destined to neighboring countries, this tendency being much more marked in the northern and central compartimenti. Liguria, geographically a northern, and Roma, a central, compartimento, however, are conspicuous exceptions to this rule, for 79.2 per cent of the total emigration from the former and 81.2 from the latter was transoceanic. More than 90 per cent of the emigrants from Calabria, Basilicata, Sicily, and Campania went over seas, while the other extreme is found in Venetia, 86.2 per cent of the emigration from that compartimento going to near-by countries.

The number of persons emigrating from each compartimento of Italy in 1907 and the relation such emigration bore to the total population of each are shown in the following table:

TABLE 10.—*Emigration from Italy in 1907 compared with population, by compartimenti.*

[Compiled from Bollettino dell' Emigrazione, anno 1908, No. 23, Rome, 1908.]

Compartimenti.	Estimated population, Jan. 1, 1907.	Emigration to—			Number of emigrants to each 1,000 population		
		Trans-oceanic countries.	Europe and Mediterranean countries.	Total.	Trans-oceanic countries	Europe and Mediterranean countries.	Total.
Northern Italy:							
Piedmont.....	3,423,854	26,232	37,012	63,244	7.7	10.8	18.5
Liguria.....	1,157,784	6,714	1,760	8,474	5.8	1.5	7.3
Lombardy.....	4,497,327	15,506	45,449	60,955	3.4	10.1	13.6
Venetia.....	3,368,117	14,703	91,510	106,213	4.4	27.2	31.5
Central Italy:							
Emilio.....	2,510,175	10,022	31,076	41,098	4.0	12.4	16.4
Tuscany.....	2,656,382	13,778	23,670	37,448	5.2	8.9	14.1
Marches.....	1,070,055	13,664	10,925	24,589	12.8	10.2	23.0
Ferugia (Umbria).....	688,078	4,096	11,535	15,631	6.0	16.8	22.7
Roma (Lattium).....	1,278,369	15,465	3,588	19,073	12.1	2.8	14.9
Southern Italy:							
Abruzzi and Molise.....	1,455,086	44,024	6,475	50,499	30.3	4.4	34.7
Campania.....	3,199,158	70,228	5,915	76,143	22.0	1.8	23.8
Apulia.....	2,041,399	25,313	4,399	29,712	12.4	2.2	14.6
Basilicata.....	470,385	44,685	403	15,088	31.2	.9	32.1
Calabria.....	1,411,348	46,184	1,045	47,229	32.7	.7	33.5
Islands:							
Sicily.....	3,571,771	91,902	5,718	97,620	25.7	1.6	27.3
Sardinia.....	841,417	3,365	8,294	11,659	4.0	9.9	13.9
Total.....	33,640,705	415,901	288,774	704,675	12.4	8.6	20.9

This table, classified according to geographical divisions, is as follows:

TABLE 11.—*Emigration from Italy in 1907 compared with population, by geographical divisions.*

[Compiled from Bollettino dell' Emigrazione, anno 1908, No. 23, Rome, 1908.]

Geographic division.	Estimated population, Jan. 1, 1907.	Emigration to—			Number of emigrants to each 1,000 population.		
		Trans-oceanic countries.	Europe and Mediterranean countries	Total.	Trans-oceanic countries	Europe and Mediterranean countries.	Total.
Northern Italy.....	12, 447, 082	63, 155	175, 731	238, 886	5. 1	14. 1	19. 2
Central Italy.....	8, 203, 059	57, 045	80, 794	137, 839	. 6	. 9	1. 6
Southern Italy.....	8, 577, 376	200, 434	18, 237	218, 671	23. 4	2. 1	25. 5
Islands.....	4, 413, 188	95, 267	14, 012	109, 279	21. 6	3. 2	24. 8
Total.....	33, 640, 705	415, 901	288, 774	704, 675	12. 4	8. 6	20. 9

The above tables show clearly that emigration is not peculiar to the southern sections of Italy as might be inferred from that part of the movement which is directed to the United States. As previously explained, the movement from the south is largely trans-oceanic and more permanent, while a large proportion of those leaving the northern and central compartments go temporarily to adjacent European countries. Nevertheless the cause of the movement is practically the same in both cases.

The figures show that the proportion of the population emigrating from Venetia, a northern compartimento, exceeds that of Sicily, and is larger than from any other compartimento except Abruzzi, Calabria, and Basilicata, while emigration from Apulia, a southern compartimento, is relatively smaller than from Piedmont. This shows also that emigration is not peculiar to South Italians in a racial sense, as United States statistics might seem to indicate, and an even stronger illustration of this is found in the fact that Liguria, which is inhabited by the South Italian race, shows a smaller rate of emigration than any other compartimento.

DESTINATION OF TRANSATLANTIC EMIGRATION.

The destination of trans-Atlantic Italian emigration in recent years is shown in the following table:

TABLE 12.—*Number and per cent of trans-Atlantic emigrants from Italy destined to each specified country, 1900 to 1908, inclusive.*

[Compiled from Great Britain Statistical Abstract, 1897 to 1907-8, p. 25.]

Country of destination.	Number.								
	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.
United States and Canada.....	89,400	121,139	193,772	197,855	168,789	316,797	358,569	298,124	131,501
Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Central America, and West Indies.....	.....	3,497	2,951	2,528	4,748	5,930	10,032	10,436	5,988
Brazil.....	2,523	1,418	1,211	1,331	1,828	2,044	2,346	2,626	1,029
Chile, Peru, and Bolivia.....	27,438	82,159	40,434	27,707	19,724	30,079	27,808	21,298	15,558
Argentine Republic, Uruguay, and Paraguay.....	409	739	679	539	1,383	1,034	1,055	1,676	754
Parts of America not distinguished.....	42,720	64,090	37,979	45,160	53,102	88,840	109,538	80,143	82,575
Total America.....	3,137	5,134	5,560	5,293	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total America.....	165,627	278,176	282,586	280,413	249,574	444,724	509,348	414,303	237,405

Country of destination.	Per cent.								
	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.
United States and Canada.....	54.0	43.5	68.6	70.6	67.6	71.2	70.4	72.0	55.4
Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Central America, and West Indies.....	.....	1.3	1.0	.9	1.9	1.3	2.0	2.5	2.5
Brazil.....	1.5	.5	.4	.5	.7	.5	.5	.6	.4
Chile, Peru, and Bolivia.....	16.6	29.5	14.3	9.9	7.9	6.8	5.5	5.1	6.6
Argentine Republic, Uruguay, and Paraguay.....	2	.3	.2	.2	.6	.2	.2	.4	.3
Parts of America not distinguished.....	25.8	23.0	13.4	16.1	21.3	20.0	21.5	19.3	34.8
Total America.....	1.9	1.8	2.0	1.9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total America.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

CHAPTER II.

ITALY'S ATTITUDE TOWARD EMIGRATION.

In a statement to the Immigration Commission at Rome, Cav. Egisto Rossi, Royal Italian commissioner of emigration, defined Italy's attitude toward emigration as follows:

Our Constitution does not permit us to deprive the people of the right to emigrate, but we want the movement to be natural.

In further explanation Commissioner Rossi submitted to the Commission a statement issued by him in 1904 when on an official tour of inspection in the United States. This statement, which appeared in full in the New York Times of March 12, 1904, is in part as follows:

Since my arrival in your country I have been surprised at the belief entertained by many that the Italian Government not only looks with favor upon our emigration to your country, but actually encourages it. I wish to respectfully deny this. While it is true that the constant increase in the population of Italy renders emigration a necessity, it nevertheless is a fact that in certain Provinces the great outflow is becoming a positive harm to us, because, despite the increase in wages, there is a scarcity in the local supply of laborers.

Those who were formerly responsible for encouraging emigration were not in any way connected with the Government, but were the agents of certain steamship lines, whose only interest was the sale of steamship tickets on the largest possible scale. Indeed, my Government, seeing that such agents were trying to foster an artificial emigration over and above the natural outflow, and with the desire of preventing the abuses to which emigrants were exposed, brought before Parliament the law of January 31, 1901, which, while it recognizes the right of expatriation and emigration, so hedges it around with special safeguards that it may well be called a restrictive law. * * * In three years' existence the department has not encouraged emigration toward any definite place. * * * If all emigrants were to follow its advice they would all stay at home. There could be no higher definition of the policy of the department than this. * * * You are aware how promptly and gladly my Government granted to the United States permission to have medical committees at our ports, granting them the right to examine the emigrants and prevent those from sailing who are physically unfit. * * * In conclusion, let me say that the department which I have the honor to represent not only does not encourage emigration, but does everything in its power to fight those who would force its increase. The most recent example is this: Our law allowed steamship companies to have an agent in every commune in the Kingdom, but by an amendment of January 4, 1904, the number of such agents is reduced to one for each company, and only one for every group of 20 to 30 municipalities.

THE ITALIAN EMIGRATION LAW.

The Italian emigration law of 1901, referred to in the above statement, with some amendments, is still in force. The main provisions and the purpose of the Italian law were explained by Commissioner Rossi, in a statement to the Commission, substantially as follows:

The Italian law aims to protect emigrants during the different stages through which they pass from the time of leaving their native village or town until they reach their destination in a foreign country and after landing there.

The law and regulations provide that in all centers of emigration there must be an unpaid committee consisting of various officials and others, which committee is bound to give the emigrant all information about the country to which he intends to go, and the conditions on which he can be admitted. It helps the emigrant in getting a passport, gives him information concerning steamers, the cost of tickets, etc. On the journey to an Italian port the emigrant is very often guided and directed by the same committee. If the number of emigrants is considerable, the steamship company will supply an agent to take charge of them from the home town to the port.

The law directs that emigrants on arriving at Naples, Genoa, Messina, or Palermo shall go to some hotel authorized by the bureau of emigration. This authorization is only given to the best houses, and they are continually under the inspection of a doctor appointed by the prefetto at each port. Lodging and food from the day before sailing are paid for by the steamship companies. With us, however, this is considered as a temporary provision, because when funds are available the Government will provide homes or hotels for emigrants at the ports of Naples, Genoa, and Palermo. These are to be large hotels, with everything necessary for the emigrant.

The protection of emigrants on board ship is intrusted to the commissario regio, a surgeon of the navy medical corps, who must accompany each ship carrying Italian emigrants from Italian ports, and whose salary and expenses must be paid by the steamship companies. This officer acts as an emigrant inspector during the voyage, and it is his duty to see that the quantity and quality of food provided is in accordance with law. He also has to take note of the hygienic conditions of the ship during the voyage and receive all complaints made by emigrants. In the matter of complaints he attempts to adjust difficulties with the captain of the ship; otherwise he transmits the complaint to the Italian consul at the port of landing or to the proper official in Italy upon his return. If the complaint is well founded and involves a violation of our law, the steamship company is liable to a fine.^a

The third and last phase through which the emigrant passes is just when he lands, and it is a time when he needs the special protection which is provided by article 12 of our law in the following terms:

"In all foreign states to which Italian emigration turns with preference the foreign office shall, after coming to an understanding with the local governments, institute bureaus for the protection and information of and supply of labor to emigrants. The foreign office shall, in accordance with by-law, appoint traveling inspectors in transoceanic countries. Officers of the consular service can be appointed to these berths. Such inspectors shall keep the chief commissioner posted with the conditions of Italian emigrants in such countries, whose desires or necessities they shall transmit to the commissioner."

These are the phases through which the emigrant passes as contemplated by our law: First, in the town where he resides and from which he intends to go abroad; then in the large ports, where the inspectors go aboard the steamer to ascertain that it is in the condition required by law, because otherwise the emigrants can not leave on the steamer. Very often telegrams are sent to the commissariato stating that the provisions of a particular steamer are not sufficient or that the hospital lacks certain supplies. Then we have to telegraph that the steamer can not start until the conditions of the law have been complied with.

The new law requires that each adult emigrant must pay a tax of 8 lire (\$1.60).

The law prescribes only four ports of emigration: Naples, Genoa, Palermo, and Messina.^b From other ports there is no emigration. If people want to emigrate to America, they must go through these ports.

There is a special article in the Italian emigration law which prohibits sending an emigrant to a country unless the emigrant can comply with the conditions of the laws of the country to which he seeks to go. Therefore when an emigrant is rejected at a foreign port the responsibility falls upon the steamship company and the emigrant is entitled to be reimbursed and to receive an

^a For further discussion of the Italian system of regulating the carriage of steeage passengers at sea, see Steerage Legislation, 1819-1908. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 39 (S. Doc. No. 758, 61st Cong., 3d sess.).

^b Following the earthquake of December, 1908, Messina was abandoned as an emigration port.

indemnity for the journey he has made. So there are lots of lawsuits against the steamship companies, and very often a company is condemned to pay a large indemnity to an emigrant rejected by the United States. It is a matter of law, and the steamship company is presumed to know the law. We fine the steamship company if through negligence or for some other reason they allow people to start who are not in condition to be admitted at ports of destination. In each Province we have an arbitration commission, which has the right to examine those cases. Every emigrant rejected by the United States has a right to submit his complaint to this commission, which examines the case and gives its decision, and in a proper case fines the steamship company. The law speaks very clearly on that point. It says:

"Art. 24. The carrier is responsible for damages toward the emigrant who may have been refused landing at a port of destination because of provision of foreign laws on immigration, when the emigrant can prove that the carrier was aware before his sailing of the circumstances which determine such refusal."

The emigrant who is returned may make a claim before the arbitration commission without expense to him, and in many cases, besides the passage money, the carrier has to pay all the loss of wages for the thirty or forty days that the man has been on his journey.

Our constitution does not permit us to deprive the people of the right to emigrate, but we want the movement to be natural. Article 17 of our law prevents such artificial movements. It states very clearly that—

"Carriers and their representatives are forbidden from persuading people to emigrate. In accordance with article 416 of the Penal Code, whoever shall, by poster, circular, or guide concerning emigration, publish wittingly false news on emigration or diffuse in the Kingdom news or information of such a nature printed abroad, shall be punished with imprisonment up to six months and with a fine of 1,000 lire. The circulars and advertisements, of whatever nature they may be, made by the carrier, shall indicate the gross and net registered tonnage and the speed of the steamer, the date of sailing, the ports called at en route, and the duration of the entire voyage."

It is well known that the Italian Government not only seeks to regulate emigration in the interest of the emigrant before embarkation and during the voyage at sea, but also that it undertakes to prevent Italians from going to countries or sections of countries where it is believed they will not prosper or receive adequate protection. For several years the Italian authorities have discouraged emigration to Brazil because of a report by an inspector to the effect that Italian laborers were badly treated in that country, and during the recent financial depression in the United States the people were officially advised not to emigrate while the depression continued.

WARNING AGAINST LABOR CONTRACTS.

In 1908 the Italian authorities issued a circular with a view to checking emigration under labor contracts to certain ports of the United States. A translation of this circular is presented herewith for the purpose of illustrating Italy's attitude in this regard.

[Italian official order—Emigration to Southern States—Translation.]

CIRCULAR IN RE EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES.

Circular No. 17.]

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
COMMISSIONER OF EMIGRATION,
Rome, March 15, 1908.

The royal consular authorities for the States of Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, Alabama, and Texas (United States of America) have reported upon the deplorable conditions under which many of our compatriots exist who have emigrated thither in conformity with contract-labor agreements, entered into within the Kingdom between them and not a few unscrupulous farmers and planters.

The unlawful practices of criminal agents that this office sought to stamp out by circular No. 147, dated February 12, 1906, and by other means are still carried on in Italy through subterfuges, which, in the interest of the most ignorant of our compatriots and of those most needing protection, must be combated by every means which the law places at the disposal of the authorities.

Chief among the illegal practices employed by persons interested in this clandestine emigration is that of propagating false information, made to appear as coming to the Kingdom from emigrants already settled in the southern regions of the North American Confederation. By this false information, describing in glowing terms the healthfulness of the country and the high wages paid, the belief is spread that emigrants are summoning from Italy their relations and friends and are sending them prepaid tickets for the voyage.

In reality the fact is that the emigrant who gives ear to such glowing accounts is often put to work in unhealthy places, from which, even should he wish to do so, he can not depart, because he must, by his work, refund the cost of the prepaid ticket, and because the laws of the said States give to the creditor-employer the right to have the debtor-employee arrested and to detain him until, by his work, he has canceled the entire amount of his debt. Quite recently not a few cases of flight on the part of compatriots unable to stand the conditions of existence imposed upon them have been followed by arrest (peonage) and ill treatment. In these cases the local laws have been unable to right the wrongs of our emigrants, bound as they are by contracts forced upon them by criminal agents.

I therefore most earnestly call the attention of you, sirs, to the foregoing facts, and, with the aim of putting a check to this inhuman traffic, pray you to see to it that no passports for the southern regions of the United States, and especially Mississippi, be given to compatriots who do not direct themselves thither upon their own initiative, paying the cost of the voyage with their own money. To those who intend to emigrate to the above mentioned States with a prepaid ticket, a passport should be refused unless (and this must be proved to the authority who grants an application for a passport to be the undoubted fact) the ticket for the voyage has been sent to Italy by a near relative of the prospective emigrant already residing there, who under the law is obliged to provide for the maintenance of the said prospective emigrant, or unless a *nulla osta* from the royal Italian consulate at New Orleans is produced.

However, it will be well that you, sirs, see to it that every application for a passport made by an emigrant whose destination is the Southern States of the North American Confederation be followed by an investigation having for its object the ultimate running to earth of the criminal agent and his accomplice operating in your district.

This office depends upon the active and efficient cooperation of you, sirs, in order successfully to prevent our compatriots from becoming victims of the felony provided against by article 416 of the Penal Code.

A word of assurance would be welcome.

The General Commissioner.

(Signed) REYNAUDI.

To the prefects, subprefects, chiefs of police, and district commissioners of the Realm.

CHAPTER III.

CAUSES OF EMIGRATION FROM ITALY.

The territory comprising Italy has been a part of the civilized world since the dawn of history, but politically the Italy of to-day is among the newer nations of the world. Prior to 1859 what are now the compartimenti of Piedmont, Liguria, and Sardinia formed a part of the Kingdom of Sardinia; Venetia and Lombardy were provinces of Austria; Tuscany was a grand duchy; Marches, Perugia (Umbria), Roma (Latium), and the Provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, Fordi, and Ravenna, in Emilia, were a part of the Papal State, while the Kingdom of Naples (including Abruzzi, Campania, Apulia Basilicata, and Calabria), with Sicily, formed the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. By the peace of Zurich in 1859, Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, obtained Lombardy, and in the following year it was annexed to his Kingdom. Tuscany, Marches, and Perugia were annexed to Sardinia in the same year, and in 1861 United Italy, which included all of the present territory of the Kingdom except Venetia and Roma (Latium) became a fact. In 1866 Venetia was ceded to Italy by Austria, and in 1870 the remaining part of the Papal States, now Roma, was annexed to the new Kingdom, and in the following years the city of Rome became its capital.

DENSITY OF POPULATION.

Italy is more densely populated than any other European country except Belgium, the Netherlands, and England, the number of inhabitants per square mile in 1909 being 310, according to an official estimate of the population in that year. It is said that the population has increased steadily notwithstanding the large emigration of recent years, the total at the beginning of 1909 being estimated at 34,269,764, as compared with 32,475,253 shown by the census of 1901. The birth rate is high, the excess of births over deaths during the five years 1904-1908 being 1,845,775, or an average of 369,155 for each year. As stated elsewhere, there is no general relation between overpopulation and emigration in the case of most European countries, but this is particularly noteworthy so far as Italy is concerned, because the resources of the country are not sufficient, or at least at the present time are not sufficiently developed, to afford means for the adequate support of the large and growing population, and emigration is simply a natural consequence.

WEALTH AND ITS DISTRIBUTION.

Compared with most other European countries, Italy is poor in most of the essentials which make for the material prosperity of a nation. In this regard Prof. Francesco S. Nitti, a well-known econo-

mist and member of the Italian Parliament, and to whom the Commission is indebted for much information respecting the emigration situation in his country, says:^a

Italy, that conquered the world in the Roman epoch, that was the museum of all arts in the middle ages, whose modern civilization is admirable for its efforts toward self-renovation, has been and still remains, a poor country. Above all, it suffers from impecuniosity, from want of money, deficiency of capital. * * *

Not only ignorant people, but also many who are considered learned, and many of them in good faith, think Italy a very rich country. For most Italians our country is the favorite of nature; it wants nothing. God made Italy rich and beautiful. "Ricca, ma ricca assai," says a romantic poem very often repeated. And so he who says that Italy is a naturally poor country is at once classified among the lovers of paradoxes. The most elementary truths are considered as paradoxes intended to impose upon public opinion; there is nothing more offensive for people accustomed to scientific research than to see the conclusions which are the fruit of work and experience considered as eccentricities and exaggerations.

What is Italy? It is, first of all, a small country. Its territory only measures 286 thousand square kilometers, which is much less than half the territory of Austria-Hungary, and little more than half the territory of France. In 20 years Italy will have, perhaps, notwithstanding its emigration, a larger population than either of these countries. Such a small surface gives life to a great number of men, the greatest, perhaps, which Europe has supported from the most remote antiquity to our days. Among large nations (small ones we need not consider) only Great Britain has more inhabitants than Italy in proportion to its territory. But Great Britain still has immense riches in its underground, the Black Indies of coal and of iron; its immense empire of the seas, colonies at least 100 times larger than Italy, which would allow a much more numerous population to live and prosper. The territory of Italy is very small, but it is rendered still smaller by the fact that Italy is the most mountainous of the great countries of Europe. And, moreover, the fertile plain in many places of the peninsula and of the islands is in its turn rendered unproductive by the malaria. Two millions of Italians, at least, are ill of the malaria every year, and agriculture is consequently often rendered impossible in those places where it would produce most. The scarce territory becomes still more limited; the underground is very poor.

The malaria, however, is not invincible; if Italy has no mineral wealth it possesses great hydraulic resources. This is true. But it is also true that under the present methods of production Italy is still a poor country. More than all, it is an impecunious country, with scarce capital and slow accumulation. Individual victories are difficult; the struggle is often hard and bitter, and the victors gain a reward unequal to their efforts.

Prof. Nitti, in the same work, shows that the geographical distribution of wealth in Italy is unequal, the southern *compartimenti* being much poorer than those of the north. He states that northern Italy has 36 per cent of the population, 47 per cent of the total wealth, and about 60 per cent of the national savings, while southern Italy, exclusive of Sicily and Sardinia, has 26 per cent of the population, 20.6 per cent of the wealth, and only 10.3 per cent of the savings.

This, doubtless, fairly represents the difference between the economic situation of the people in northern and southern Italy. In some sections of the north there is considerable industrial activity along various lines and agricultural conditions are good, but in the south there has been comparatively little industrial progress and the agricultural resources in many sections are poor, or poorly developed. Consequently economic conditions in the southern provinces

^a "The Wealth of Italy," Francesco S. Nitti. Translated from the Italian by E. C. Longobardi. Rome, 1907.

are generally much worse than in the north. It would seem, however, that in all parts of the country emigration is an economic necessity; for, as shown by the table on page 142, there is a large annual movement of population, even from the more prosperous northern *compartimenti*, and the fact that the northern emigration is largely seasonal and proceeds to France, Germany, and Switzerland, rather than overseas, does not change the situation.

It is clear, moreover, that practically all emigration from Italy is primarily due to purely economic causes. As in the case of many European countries, some emigrate to avoid the performance of military duty and others leave to escape punishment for crime, but there seems to be little or no emigration for political reasons.

THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION.

In the census of 1901, 9,611,003 persons, or 37.8 per cent of the total population of Italy 9 years of age and over, were reported as being engaged in agriculture, forestry, or cattle raising. Of these, 6,411,001, or 66.7 per cent, were males. It is from this class that much of the emigration from Italy is drawn. The northern Provinces of Italy, generally speaking, are more fertile than those of the south, and more progressive agricultural methods are employed, but on the whole the agricultural development of the country is admittedly poor, the returns for capital invested usually small, and the wages paid farm laborers always low.

In the southern provinces, and in other sections as well, improved methods of agriculture by which the best could be made of the land have as yet scarcely been introduced. As a general thing, crude implements are used and primitive means of cultivation prevail. To this fact, perhaps, even as much as to the character of the soil, may be attributed the small returns for labor which are quite generally reported even in productive seasons. Under the most favorable conditions, the Commission was informed, little more than a bare living can be made by the tenant farmer or small landholder, and his lot is hard indeed when a pest destroys the olives, as occasionally happens, or in the mountain districts floods and landslides ruin the vineyards or the year's crops. The distance from markets is said to be a serious obstacle to success in many parts of Italy, an instance being mentioned, by way of illustration, where a man was obliged to make a four hours' journey to sell a load of wood valued at about 20 cents.

SOUTHERN ITALY.

The Commission was repeatedly informed that, as a rule, agrarian pursuits in southern Italy and Sicily are not largely remunerative even among the large landholders, and that in the case of small owners or tenants the returns are meager indeed. In one province of Sicily the Commission was told that a sufficient number of vines to require the attention of a man, woman, and three or four children would ordinarily yield an income of about \$300 a year, and unless the land was owned by the person who occupied it one-half of the income went to the owner. In such cases, however, it was stated that

the work required only about one-half of the family's time and the remainder of the year they could work for wages elsewhere. In this province, as in most sections of Italy visited by the Commission, every available bit of ground was utilized, and although the work was usually done in a crude way the land was carefully cultivated. It was stated that there was not a single plow throughout the whole of one province visited, the ground being broken by hand implements and cultivated in the same way. The grain was reaped with a sickle and there was no modern farming machinery of any character.

A member of the Commission, accompanied by an official of the Italian emigration bureau, traveled 200 miles through Calabria on a tour of inspection and found some advanced farming methods in practice. The physical characteristics of this province are wild and rugged, and aside from a small number of silk mills and a few other industrial establishments of minor importance agriculture is almost the sole occupation of the people. Here, as in other parts of Italy, a kind of intensive cultivation is found. Vineyards and fields of grain cover the mountains from base to summit, while every foot of the fertile valleys is tilled. The people are evidently industrious, and especially the women, who carry burdens up to 200 pounds on their heads without seemingly great effort. They were seen carrying in this fashion logs, bags of grain, fish, water, all the various kinds of crops, besides great bundles of fagots for firewood.

Emigration from this section had been very large, starting originally because of the absolute necessity of getting bread. Few of the emigrants had returned permanently except those who had contracted disease and came back to their old home to die. As elsewhere in southern Italy, the people practically all live in villages and many go several miles to and from their work daily, sometimes in carts carrying 15 to 20 workers, including men and women and children of both sexes.

In the section of Calabria which was visited, agriculture is carried on by old-fashioned methods, but more plows were seen than in Sicily and some reapers and thrashing machines are in use there. On considerable areas of the ground, however, machinery could not be utilized to advantage and there is much hand tilling. The houses along the way were not thoroughly inspected, but it may be said that in general they are not clean.

There, as elsewhere in Italy, it was reported that wages had increased since emigration reduced the available labor supply; the minimum wage of a day laborer being about two and one-half lire (50 cents) a day, where formerly it was from 60 to 80 centesimi (12 to 16 cents). It was also stated that there had been a large increase in the price of farm products. The roads traversed in Calabria were for the most part excellent. They are largely old roads but where new ones are constructed they are up to the old standard. Everywhere in Calabria it was found that the people had a high regard for America and Americans. In every village visited some one was found who could speak English, and some male member of every family interviewed had emigrated to America. The money sent back from America by emigrants had been of great benefit to the country and had helped to take the people out of the grasp of usurers

who formerly charged exorbitant rates, sometimes as high as 5 per cent a month, for money. Some returned emigrants had bought small parcels of land and thus encouraged the tendency to break up large holdings. The money of emigrants had also gone into improvements until the section visited is unquestionably in a better condition to support a larger population than eked out an existence there at the time the great emigration movement began. Everywhere the expression was heard that emigration was originally to get bread but that now the people went to make and save money.

NORTHERN ITALY.

Following the investigations in the agricultural regions of southern Italy and Sicily members of the Commission proceeded to the more highly developed sections in the northern compartimenti. Although conditions are generally better there than in the south, the returns for labor in agricultural pursuits are small and the large annual emigration to France, Germany, and Switzerland during the summer seasons suggests that the normal labor supply largely exceeds the demand.

In Tuscany the Commission was informed that agricultural conditions are good. There are many small as well as large landowners in this compartimento, as well as many tenant farmers. There are a large number of farms of only 2 or 3 acres, but the land is so carefully cultivated that even this amount will afford support for a peasant family. Many of the peasants have to walk 8 or 10 miles a day to and from their farms and the hours of work are long. It was stated that wages for farm hands average about 50 cents a day. In speaking of conditions in this part of Italy, the American consul at Florence, Hon. Jerome A. Quay, said:

The better class of people do not leave here, because they are prosperous. They are a peaceful people, although hot-headed, and are well satisfied. There is no rioting or discord. I have never seen a drunken man in Italy—that is, a native.

In Lombardy the Commission found that a large part of the land is owned by wealthy proprietors, who let it out in large and small parcels. Some of the tenants in turn sublet to small farmers. The farm buildings generally belong either to the owner of the land or to groups of lessees who have been in the business so long that they have established a practically permanent control of the land they occupy. The small farmer leasing the land from one of the two classes above him pays rent for the buildings, the average rent of farmhouses being about \$6 per year per room. There is no fixed rule governing the terms of contracts for lands, but most of the farmers pay at least a portion of their rent in produce, and it is said that comparatively few pay entirely in cash. The Commission was informed that the value of the land, generally speaking, was from \$250 to \$300 per acre, with a tendency to increase. Few of the small farmers handle much money during the year. They are compelled to lead an exceedingly frugal life, accumulating just enough produce in the summer to carry them and their families through the winter.

The Commission was informed that there is a growing class of farmers who lease large tracts of lands and sublet or employ help to

carry them on. Some of these men are progressive and are introducing modern farming machinery, which up to this time is comparatively little used or appreciated. The large renters have in some cases inaugurated the practice of acting as selling agents for the small tenant farmers who rent from them. In such cases the produce is either purchased outright or sold on commission by the lessor. The Commission was informed that the farm wages in Lombardy average from 30 to 40 cents a day for men and 15 to 25 cents for women and children.

Lombardy leads all other compartimenti of Italy in both the number and proportions of the population employed in industrial establishments, Tuscany being the nearest competitor in this regard. The manufacturing centers have drawn many from the country districts, but notwithstanding the industrial demand 60,955 persons emigrated from the compartimenti in 1907, 45,449 of whom went to other parts of Europe. This movement, as before explained, is largely confined to northern Italy, and although it is for the most part temporary emigration as compared with the transoceanic movement from the southern compartimenti, it nevertheless strengthens the suggestion previously made, that considering its present status, industrially, agriculturally, and commercially, all sections of Italy are overpopulated.

AGRICULTURAL WAGES.

Occasional mention has been made of the wages paid agricultural laborers in various sections of Italy visited by the Commission, but these data are too fragmentary to be representative of the country as a whole or even of the compartimento or province to which the figures relate. The range of wages, according to the Commission's informants, varied widely. It was stated that in some districts of Sicily and Calabria farm hands received from 14 to 20 cents a day, and that even at such rates employment was not continuous. The other extreme was mentioned by a Government official at Rome, who said that one of the largest landholders in the vicinity of that city had been compelled to pay 7 lire (\$1.40) per day for labor in the wheat fields, but this was admitted to be an exceptional case.

The Commission's information as a whole, however, was to the effect that from 2 to 2½ lire (40 to 50 cents) per day was the usual total wage for men employed in agricultural labor, and this was said to be considerably above the general wage rate of previous years, the increase in practically every instance being charged to a reduction of the labor supply through emigration.

ALLOWANCES.

In addition to the money wage paid to agricultural laborers in Italy some allowance of food and drink, or produce, is usually made. The amount and value of such allowances vary greatly, but the fact that the practice is so generally followed throughout Italy makes it a most important factor in any discussion of Italian farm wages. The custom prevails in all parts of the Kingdom, although it is not so nearly universal in the northern as in the central and southern

compartimenti. Out of 102 localities investigated by the Italian Bureau of Labor, food or wine was furnished in 89, and of the 13 localities where such allowances were not made all but 1 were in the extreme northern compartimenti. It appears, however, that in the comparatively few localities where the practice is not followed money wages are sufficiently high to make up the difference. Allowances given vary from a little bread or wine to full board and lodging, and they are almost always larger in summer than in winter. It is probably a fair estimate that the average allowance of food and drink given to farm laborers throughout Italy amount in value to about 10 cents a day in winter and 15 a day in summer, except in the harvest season, when a greater allowance is made than during other summer months, because during the harvest employers may furnish three or four meals a day to the reapers and then the value of food and drink allowed rises to 25 or even 40 cents a day.

It is stated that, as a general thing, allowances of the kind referred to make the average actual wages of farm laborers about 30 per cent higher than the average money wages. An exception may be noted in the compartimento of the Marches, which shows a lower money wage than any other part of the Kingdom, but it is said that allowances of food, etc., are greater there than in other compartimento. This is probably accounted for by reason of the backwardness of the Marches and the fact that less money is handled than elsewhere, although actual wages are said to be about as high there as in other parts of Italy. With the exception noted, allowances are of about the same value in all the compartimenti. The data at hand do not warrant the drawing of any distinction in this regard between the northern, central, and southern sections of the country, in spite of the fact that the practice of making wage payments entirely in money seems to be confined to the north, for even there it is so infrequently done that it does not greatly disturb the computation. The figures given above apply only to men. Women and children, although their wages are much lower, receive much less in allowances of food and drink.

Besides the allowances of food, drink, or produce, workmen engaged regularly on large plantations are generally furnished with some sort of habitation, but these homes, especially in the south, as a rule afford little more than mere shelter.

OFFICIAL WAGE STATISTICS.

Although, as previously stated, the data collected by the Commission relative to wages are fragmentary and therefore unsatisfactory, the general estimate based upon them does not differ greatly from farm-wage statistics gathered by the Italian bureau of labor in 1905, according to the bureau's report upon the subject. In this inquiry the report states no attempt was made to investigate the wages of contract or quasi-contract laborers as is done in the official statistics of France and England, but only the wages of those casual laborers who are so numerous in Italy and who in great part constitute the true proletariat among field laborers.

The result of the bureau's investigation appears in part in the following table, showing the wages of male farm laborers in every Com-

partimento of Italy during each month, and also the mean wage for the entire year:

TABLE 13.—*Daily wages of male farm laborers in Italy (not including value of allowances^a) in 1905, by months and compartimenti.*

[Compiled from "Dati Statistici sul Mercato del lavoro in Agricoltura nel 1905," Roma, 1906.]

Compartimenti.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Min.	Max.	Mean.
Northern Italy:															
Piedmont.....	\$0.25	\$0.27	\$0.33	\$0.39	\$0.56	\$0.70	\$0.70	\$0.52	\$0.46	\$0.42	\$0.40	\$0.27	\$0.25	\$0.70	\$0.44
Liguria.....	.25	.25	.25	.25	.25	.25	.34	.48	.48	.48	.48	.48	.25	.48	.38
Lombardy.....	.22	.29	.31	.33	.41	.42	.40	.37	.24	.27	.25	.23	.22	.42	.31
Venetia.....	.29	.26	.29	.32	.35	.46	.41	.31	.29	.28	.26	.25	.25	.46	.34
Central Italy:															
Emilia.....	.22	.23	.30	.32	.41	.42	.54	.43	.35	.28	.28	.25	.22	.54	.35
Romagna.....	.22	.27	.29	.31	.40	.55	.61	.48	.39	.37	.29	.27	.22	.61	.39
Tuscany.....	.34	.34	.33	.34	.32	.34	.34	.34	.24	.34	.34	.19	.19	.34	.32
Marches.....	.15	.18	.20	.19	.25	.42	.43	.26	.24	.22	.21	.20	.15	.43	.26
Perugia (Um- bria).....	.22	.24	.27	.39	.35	.44	.51	.33	.23	.23	.23	.23	.22	.51	.33
Roma (Latium)	.23	.28	.39	.31	.50	.46	.68	.48	.34	.30	.31	.29	.23	.68	.39
Southern Italy:															
Abruzzi and Molise.....	.29	.32	.37	.39	.39	.46	.42	.40	.32	.31	.32	.36	.29	.46	.37
Campania.....	.25	.28	.31	.35	.39	.42	.33	.38	.33	.39	.32	.27	.25	.42	.33
Apulia.....	.25	.25	.25	.30	.34	.36	.34	.30	.33	.38	.35	.30	.25	.38	.32
Basilicata.....	.31	.29	.36	.36	.35	.63	.41	.42	.33	.30	.32	.31	.29	.63	.36
Calabria.....	.29	.31	.36	.29	.37	.39	.41	.37	.39	.34	.35	.35	.29	.41	.35
Islands:															
Sicily.....	.32	.29	.29	.31	.29	.37	.35	.27	.28	.27	.28	.30	.27	.37	.30
Sardinia.....	.31	.29	.35	.35	.35	.39	.43	.29	.31	.31	.34	.31	.29	.43	.34
Kingdom, mean.....	.26	.27	.31	.34	.37	.44	.45	.38	.33	.32	.31	.29	.26	.45	.34

^aTo these figures should be added, in general, about 30 per cent for allowances of food, drink, produce, etc.

It will be seen from this table that wages ranged from 15 cents a day in the Marches in January to 70 cents a day in Piedmont in June. There is also a wide difference in the mean wage reported for the two compartimenti, it being 26 cents a day in the Marches and 44 cents in Piedmont. It should be remembered, however, that in the former compartimento cash wages are relatively low, and allowances of food, wine, or produce relatively high. The table also shows that as a whole there is not a very wide difference in farm wages throughout Italy, which fact is in accord with the Commission's observations.

CASH INCOMES OF FARM LABORERS.

To find the highest possible monthly income in cash of the average farm laborer in the year 1905, the Italian bureau of labor computed the number of possible working days in each compartimento for each month, i. e., the number of days, not holidays, when the weather permitted farm work. By multiplying this by the average daily wage for the given month in the given compartimento, the average income for that month was obtained, assuming that the laborer worked every possible working day. No statistics of unemployment were obtained. The sum of these products for each of the twelve months then gives the average yearly income for each compartimento on the given assumption.

The result of this computation is shown in the following table:

TABLE 14.—Annual and monthly incomes in cash of male agricultural workers in Italy in 1905, by compartimenti.

[Compiled from "Dati Statistici sul Mercato del lavoro in Agricoltura nel 1905," Roma, 1906.]

Compartimenti.	Annual income.	Minimum monthly.		Maximum monthly.		Mean monthly income.
		Month.	Income.	Month.	Income.	
Piedmont.....	\$103 20	January...	\$4. 01	July.....	\$16. 68	\$8. 60
Liguria.....	78 10	May.....	3. 01	September	13 05	6 51
Lombardy.....	67 59	January...	2. 66	July.....	8. 31	5. 63
Venetia.....	74. 35	November	2. 87	do.....	8. 92	6. 20
Emilia.....	71. 51	February.	2. 55	do.....	13. 51	5. 96
Romagna.....	82 08	January...	2. 44	do.....	13. 37	6. 84
Tuscany.....	70. 98	December.	2. 70	do.....	8. 44	5. 91
Marches.....	50 37	January...	1. 39	do.....	9. 55	4. 20
Perugia (Umbria).....	63 11	November	1. 62	do.....	12 27	5. 26
Roma (Latium).....	91. 90	February.	4. 20	do.....	16. 89	7 66
Abruzzi and Molise.....	80 53	January...	2. 32	do.....	9. 13	6. 71
Campania.....	77. 89	February.	3. 92	do.....	8 20	6. 49
Apulia.....	75 81	January...	3. 26	do.....	7. 77	6. 32
Basilicata.....	81 53	February.	1. 74	June.....	12. 54	6 80
Calabria.....	84. 78	January...	4 05	August.....	11. 46	7 06
Sicily.....	75 51	December.	4 34	June.....	8. 43	6 29
Sardinia.....	89 03	February.	4 92	July.....	11. 29	7. 42

HOURS OF LABOR.

The following table, compiled from the statistics of the Italian bureau of labor, shows the average number of hours per day worked by farm laborers in each Italian compartment. The figures are obtained by deducting rests from the average length of the working day, both of which are given in detail in the Italian figures. The longest hours of actual labor are found in Piedmont, in June, 13 hours 50 minutes; the shortest, in Apulia, in February, 5 hours 45 minutes.

TABLE 15.—Hours of labor on farms in Italy (deducting rests) in 1905, by months and compartimenti.

[Compiled from "Dati Statistici sul Mercato del lavoro in Agricoltura nel 1905," Roma 1906.]

Compartimenti.	January.		February.		March		April.		May		June		July.		August.		September.		October.		November.		December.		Mean for year.	
	H.	m.	H.	m.	H.	m.	H.	m.	H.	m.	H.	m.	H.	m.	H.	m.	H.	m.	H.	m.	H.	m.	H.	m.		
Piedmont.....	8	40	9	45	10	40	11	30	12	13	50	13	40	12	10	30	10	10	8	45	9	45	9	10	52	
Venetia.....	6	15	7	9	9	50	11	11	15	11	15	11	30	11	8	55	8	55	8	55	8	30	9	30	9	14
Lombardy.....	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	30	10	10	30	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	05
Emilia.....	7	15	8	30	10	11	15	11	15	11	45	11	30	10	9	45	9	45	8	30	8	15	9	30	9	44
Romagna.....	6	8	10	8	25	8	55	9	30	10	40	11	45	10	15	9	30	8	45	8	15	7	30	9	9	43
Marches.....	7	50	9	20	9	50	10	35	11	30	11	40	11	20	11	15	9	45	9	15	8	15	7	45	8	57
Umbria.....	8	8	40	10	20	10	50	11	25	12	10	11	40	10	15	9	30	8	45	8	15	7	30	9	03	
Tuscany.....	8	30	9	10	11	11	11	11	11	12	12	10	30	10	8	15	8	15	8	15	8	30	9	30	9	57
Latium.....	8	30	9	10	30	9	45	10	15	13	10	13	10	10	9	30	10	30	9	30	9	8	30	9	20	
Abruzzi.....	7	35	8	55	9	30	10	30	11	55	11	45	11	45	10	10	45	10	8	30	7	35	7	30	9	54
Campania.....	8	25	8	10	9	35	10	10	40	12	11	10	10	45	10	30	9	30	9	30	9	8	15	9	42	
Apulia.....	6	50	5	45	8	30	8	30	9	25	9	35	9	30	9	45	9	55	9	8	7	15	8	15	8	36
Basilicata.....	9	9	9	9	9	30	9	30	11	30	11	30	12	30	10	10	10	9	30	9	30	9	10	10	07	
Calabria.....	8	05	8	35	9	55	10	55	10	40	11	10	11	10	10	9	30	9	45	8	45	8	15	9	49	
Sicily.....	8	55	9	10	15	10	15	10	40	11	05	11	10	11	30	10	15	9	45	9	45	8	45	10	03	
Sardinia.....	8	30	9	9	30	9	30	9	30	9	30	9	30	10	10	10	10	9	30	8	8	8	8	9	13	
Average for Kingdom (circ.).....	8	8	30	9	40	10	10	10	50	11	25	11	30	10	30	10	9	20	8	35	8	10	9	30	39	

WOMEN AND CHILD LABOR.

Female and child labor has become constantly more common in Italian agriculture as emigration has drawn away the able-bodied men, and by some the increasing tendency to employ women as workers in the hardest labor of the fields is regarded as an important evil effect of emigration. In North Italy women and children are very commonly employed in factories, but seldom as hired laborers in agriculture, although they frequently assist the head of the family in cultivating the family's own ground.

From the following table of wages of women and children on farms it will appear that, while men's wages have increased largely in the southern compartimenti of large emigration, Basilicata, Calabria, and Sicily, the wages of women have remained very low. In this regard the south is still far behind the north. The wages of children seem to be quite as high in the south as in the north, in so far as they are employed at all, but most northern provinces do not report child labor on farms.

TABLE 16.—Average daily wages of women and children farm hands in Italy in 1905, by compartimenti.

[Compiled from "Dati Statistici sul Mercato del lavoro in Agricoltura nel 1905," Roma, 1906.]

Compartimenti. ^a	Wages of women.			Wages of children.		
	Mean.	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Minimum	Maximum.
Piedmont.....	\$0.24	\$0.21	\$0.27			
Venetia.....	.21	.15	.25			
Emilia.....	.22	.14	.29	\$0.15	\$0.10	\$0.24
Romagna.....	.23	.12	.30			
Marches.....	.14	.10	.24	.10	.08	.13
Perugia (Umbria).....	.19	.12	.45	.13	.10	.21
Roma (Latium).....	.23	.13	.37	.13	.10	.17
Abruzzi and Molise.....	.17	.12	.37	.12	.12	.12
Campania.....	.15	.14	.19	.13	.10	.15
Apulia.....	.14	.10	.20	.14	.12	.16
Basilicata.....	.15	.14	.17	.15	.12	.21
Calabria.....	.12	.10	.14	.17	.14	.19
Sicily.....	.15	.14	.17	.15	.12	.17
Sardinia.....	.15	.10	.17	.15	.12	.19

^a In Tuscany and Liguria neither women nor children are reported as employed; in Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, and Romagna no children; and in Lombardy returns for women were only made for the first half year.

Liguria and Tuscany do not appear in the above table and it is stated that neither women nor children are employed as field laborers for wages in those compartimenti. According to the Italian bureau of labor these are the only sections of Italy in which such conditions prevail. In Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, and Romagna women but not children are employed. In Abruzzi, Emilia, and Roma children are said to be employed only at certain seasons of the year, while in the remaining compartimenti their employment is almost continuous and they are found in most of the occupations in which men are engaged.

AGRICULTURAL UNIONS.

The system of agriculture prevailing in Italy, with many large estates and many laborers hired by single men or groups of men, has made possible the organization of farm laborers on an extended scale.

The process of organization has been progressing rapidly for a number of years, and has already become an important factor in the agrarian situation in Italy, as will appear from the number of unions recorded, and the large number of agriculturists who have participated in strikes in recent years. These data are shown in the following table:

TABLE 17.—*Agricultural labor unions in Italy, compared with the number of strikes among agricultural laborers, by compartimenti.*

[Compiled from Italia Annuario Statistico, 1905-1907.]

Compartimenti.	Population, 1901	Unions, 1907		Strikes, 1901 to 1904, inclusive.	
		Number.	Member- ship.	Number.	Partic- pants.
Northern Italy:					
Piedmont.....	3,317,401	84	18,616	81	22,415
Liguria.....	1,077,473	9	944		
Lombardy.....	4,282,728	168	24,119	507	104,754
Venetia.....	3,134,467	28	6,205	113	44,742
Central Italy:					
Emilia.....	2,445,035	626	115,194	264	200,995
Tuscany.....	2,549,142	35	3,537	22	8,297
Marches.....	1,060,755	21	4,624		
Perugia (Umbria).....	667,210	29	5,883	29	22,011
Rome (Latium).....	1,196,909	52	7,260	23	12,953
Southern Italy:					
Abruzzi and Molise.....	1,441,551	7	995		
Campania.....	3,160,448	27	5,897	2	500
Apulia.....	1,959,668	59	37,203	32	46,538
Basilicata.....	490,705	3	242	1	800
Calabria.....	1,370,208	15	4,103	1	50
Islands:					
Sicily.....	3,529,799	137	43,787	29	23,035
Sardinia.....	791,754	3	904	1	50
Total for Kingdom.....	32,475,253	1,303	279,513	1,105	487,140

Of the 1,105 strikes among agricultural laborers from 1901 to 1904, as shown by the above table, a large majority were reported as successful or partly successful.

HOUSING CONDITIONS.

The peasants' huts are mostly low, one-roomed hovels, often with no opening except the door. The floor is of earth or sometimes of stone. The furniture is usually one or two beds, and a bench or wooden chest, or perhaps a chair, and fires are built on a stone hearth. Such animals as the family possesses—pigs, chickens, and perhaps a donkey—share the family quarters, but there is said to be a growing tendency to have separate dugouts or lean-tos for the donkey and pigs. But even in 1907, in the village of Scilla, Calabria, where emigration had been extremely heavy and the post-office contained \$120,000 of emigrants' savings, the Royal Italian Agricultural Commission found animals kept in a majority of the houses. The Royal Commission reports one farmer who was more fortunate than many in having a two-roomed house, but in these two rooms lived the farmer, his wife, an unmarried son and daughter, a married son, his wife, and a child, a pig, and some chickens. Often 8 or 10 people of various ages and both sexes sleep in one or two beds, in the midst of

pigs and chickens. Under the beds are stored the produce, usually potatoes and corn, which must support the family through the winter, when there is little or no work.

DISTANCE FROM WORK.

As elsewhere stated, the peculiar location of most villages in Italy, and, indeed, in Europe generally, is responsible for one hardship to the peasants. In medieval times it was unsafe for the people to live in houses widely separated from each other; they were compelled by necessity to live in fortified towns and villages—if possible, on steep hillsides—where they were safe from sudden attack. Though these conditions have passed away, the towns still remain in their old locations, usually on high hills, and always at a considerable distance from the fields, where most of the inhabitants work. Separate homesteads on the American plan, located on the farms worked by the householders, are very rare. The laborers often have to walk 4 or 5 miles to their work in the morning, and sometimes they have to spend as much as four hours a day in walking to and from the fields where they are employed.

Transportation between towns in some sections is very difficult, owing to lack of good roads, although the main thoroughfares of Italy are as a rule excellent. In the south, however, there is only one government provincial road for each province, and the other roads used by the peasants are often grooves that have been washed out by mountain torrents in the rainy season. Wagons, or even carts, are impossible on some of these paths, and in many cases if the peasant wants to carry a load to town he piles it on the back of his donkey or the head of his wife.

Lack of water is another difficulty in many of these hill towns. There are no pipes for carrying it, and very few wells in the country; the town fountain is the only source of supply, and the people must carry it thence on their heads or on their donkeys' backs. Often it has to be carried 1 or 2 miles.

METHODS OF CULTIVATION.

The peasants are further handicapped by antiquated agricultural methods. This is especially true in the south, where wheat is practically the only grain crop, while the practice of planting it alone year after year, without the use of fertilizers, sterilizes a soil which in most parts of Basilicata and Calabria is barren enough at best. The principal tool is the zappa, a kind of hoe, and sometimes there is a spade also. Many peasants have no plow at all, and still more have only a small and ancient one, which scarcely does more than scratch the surface. Consequently it is not uncommon for them to dig the whole field and prepare it for planting by hand. Artificial fertilizers are scarcely used in the south.

In the northern and north-central provinces much more enlightened methods are beginning to be introduced. The principle of rotation of crops is becoming known; chemical fertilizers are more and more used; improved agricultural machinery is being adopted; and the soil, naturally more fertile than that of some southern sections, is being made to yield abundantly.

COST OF LIVING.

While it is well known that the wages paid farm hands in Italy are very much lower than are paid to the same class of labor in the United States, there is a somewhat prevalent belief that the wide difference is in effect materially reduced because of the low cost of living in Italy. As a matter of fact there is but little difference in the cost of food in the United States and Italy, but there is a wide difference in the standard of living in the two countries, and because of this, and this alone, the Italian laborer is able to exist on the small wages earned. Meats, for instance, are as high or higher in Italy, but this has little effect on the Italian peasants for they rarely eat meat because they can not afford it. Sugar is higher in Italy and among the poorer classes is a luxury, and even salt, being a government monopoly, is so expensive that it must be used sparingly. On the other hand, vegetables and fruit are cheaper, and wine, which forms an important part of an Italian laborer's food supply, can be had at extremely low prices. Probably a detailed comparison of all food-stuffs, article by article, would show some advantage in cheapness on the side of Italy, but the advantage would not be large.

The usual diet of the Italian peasantry consists of potatoes, beans, spaghetti, soup, wine, and generally polenta (Indian meal mush), and bread. The bread is usually made of maize, and it is commonly said that only returned emigrants can afford white bread. Even in plentiful times meat is eaten not oftener than once a week. Families have to live most frugally even during the summer in order to save enough of the harvest to carry them through the winter. Moreover, there has been in recent years a large increase in the cost of living in Italy, for farm products as a rule have greatly risen. From the investigation of the Commission it would seem that the cost of living, especially in southern Italy, has risen in as great a proportion as wages, which is conservatively estimated at from one-third to one-half, while in some sections having a high rate of emigration it is said that the increase in wages in ten years has been about 100 per cent.

Viscount Combes de Lestrade ^a thinks that in Sicily the increase is even greater than the increase in wages. Every town reported by the Royal Agricultural Commission, in so far as this matter is mentioned in the report, shows increase. Antonio Mangano ^b says that in visiting Italy recently, after an interval of eight years, he found that all foodstuffs are noticeably higher; that wine, for instance, has advanced 3 or 4 cents a liter, and that vegetables are 20 to 30 per cent higher. This works special hardship upon some professional men, small officials, and petty proprietors, for they have had no corresponding increase in income, as the peasants have, but often the contrary.

FARM WAGES AND EMIGRATION.

In the year 1906, according to the Italian records, 787,975 persons emigrated from Italy. This number includes the emigration to other countries of Europe and to African and Asiatic countries bordering

^a International Economic Review, Aug. 13, 1907; article quoted by Antonio Mangano in "Effect of emigration upon Italy," Charities, Vol. XIX, p. 1484.

^b "Effects of emigration on Italy," Charities, Vol. XIX, p. 1484.

on the Mediterranean Sea as well as to transoceanic countries. This number represented 24 for every 1,000 of the population, and varied from 8 in Liguria and Sardinia to 41 per 1,000 in Calabria.

The average yearly wages paid to farm laborers in the same year varied from \$50.37 in the Marches to \$103.20 in Piedmont, and the mean daily wage from 26 cents in the former to 44 cents in the latter compartimento. The average hours of labor varied from nine per day in Romagna to ten hours and fifty-two minutes in Piedmont. The relation between hours of labor and wages and emigration from the various compartimenti is shown by the following table:

TABLE 18.—*Farm wages and hours of labor in Italy compared with emigration in 1906, by compartimenti.*

[Compiled from "Dati Statistici sul Mercato del lavoro in Agricoltura nel 1905," Roma 1906.]

Compartimenti.	Average hours per day.	Wages per day.	Average yearly wage.	Emigrants.	
				Number.	Number per 1,000 of total population.
Northern Italy:	<i>H. M.</i>				
Piedmont.....	10 52	\$0.44	\$103.20	33,885	21
Liguria.....	10 5	.38	78.10	6,630	8
Lombardy.....	9 44	.31	67.59	20,046	14
Venetia.....	9 14	.34	74.35	16,338	32
Central Italy:					
Emilia.....	9 43	.35	71.51	42,681	17
Romagna.....	9 0	.39	82.08	.....	.....
Tuscany.....	9 57	.32	70.98	37,111	14
Marches.....	8 57	.26	50.37	34,501	32
Perugia (Umbria).....	9 3	.33	63.11	14,786	22
Roma (Latium).....	9 20	.39	91.90	18,507	15
Southern Italy:					
Abruzzi & Molise.....	9 54	.37	80.53	58,032	40
Campania.....	9 42	.33	77.89	89,769	28
Apulia.....	8 36	.32	75.81	33,762	17
Basilicata.....	10 7	.36	81.53	18,098	38
Calabria.....	9 49	.35	84.78	54,084	41
Islands:					
Sicily.....	10 3	.30	75.51	127,603	36
Sardinia.....	9 13	.34	89.03	6,672	8
Average for Kingdom.....	9 39	.34	77.54	.....	24

There seems to be no general connection between low farm wages and emigration, in the different compartimenti. In Abruzzi, Basilicata, and Calabria, where the rate of emigration is the highest, ranging from 38 to 41 per 1,000 population, yearly wages are reported to be higher than in Liguria, where the rate of emigration is only 8 per 1,000. Of the eight compartimenti, Lombardy, Venetia, Emilia, Tuscany, Marches, Perugia, Apulia, and Sicily, which show a yearly wage below the average, only two, Venetia and Sicily, show a rate of emigration in excess of the average for the Kingdom, and, as is well known, the emigration movement from Venetia is largely to other European countries, while Sicilian emigrants practically all go beyond the seas.

THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION.

The economic question in Italy is largely agrarian. In the north, notably in Lombardy, Tuscany, Liguria, and Piedmont, manufacturing has become an important factor in the situation, but in the

central and southern parts of the Kingdom there has been comparatively little development along this line. In Italy as a whole, according to the census of 1901, 9,666,467 persons 9 years of age and over were engaged in agriculture, forestry, cattle raising, fishing, and the chase, while only 3,989,816 were reported as engaged in other industries. In Germany, where the agrarian and manufacturing industries are both highly developed, 9,883,257 persons, according to the occupation census of 1907, were engaged in agriculture, cattle raising, forestry, hunting, and fishing, and 11,256,254 persons in "mining, metal works, and other industries." This illustrates in a general way the relative backwardness of Italy in industry.

The distribution of the industrial population of Italy among the various industries in 1901 was as follows:

TABLE 19.—*Number of persons 9 years of age or over in industrial occupations in Italy in 1901, by sex and industry.*

[From the Statesman's Year-Book for 1907, p. 1130.]

Industry.	Persons engaged.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.
Extractive industries.....	90,680	979	91,659
Mineral, metal, and mechanical work.....	326,082	3,069	329,151
Stone, clay, etc.....	129,400	5,890	135,350
Building.....	558,890	5,908	564,798
Wood, straw, furniture.....	343,139	67,796	410,935
Paper, printing, etc.....	46,628	12,346	58,974
Textile.....	121,479	661,774	783,253
Chemical and animal products.....	54,496	15,558	70,054
Clothing and adornment.....	574,666	539,177	1,113,843
Alimentary.....	270,431	44,069	314,500
Various industries.....	102,439	14,860	117,299
Total.....	2,618,390	1,371,426	3,989,816

EMPLOYEES IN INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

According to the Italian "Annuario Statistico" for 1907, there were 117,278 industrial establishments in the Kingdom in 1905-6. In these were employed 1,412,262 persons, of whom 558,187 were women. The distribution of these establishments and employers by compartimenti is shown in the following table:

TABLE 20.—Number of industrial establishments in Italy and persons employed in such establishments, in 1905-6, by compartimenti.

[Compiled from "Italia Annuario Statistico," 1905-1907.]

Compartimenti.	Number of establishments.	Number of employees.				Total.	Total per 1,000 population.
		Male.		Female.			
		15 years and over.	Under 15 years.	15 years and over.	Under 15 years.		
Northern Italy:							
Piedmont.....	9,611	82,822	5,886	61,539	15,124	165,371	50
Liguria.....	2,936	39,798	2,005	11,179	2,691	55,673	52
Lombardy.....	17,218	142,145	18,136	157,606	39,528	357,415	83
Venetia.....	8,036	62,262	6,850	44,750	12,308	126,170	40
Central Italy:							
Emilia.....	6,840	37,701	4,772	16,500	12,022	70,995	29
Tuscany.....	13,086	88,162	6,210	86,969	26,978	208,319	82
Marches.....	4,090	19,261	2,215	11,078	2,270	34,824	33
Perugia (Umbria).....	2,083	14,883	324	2,658	478	18,343	27
Rome (Latium).....	4,060	25,181	1,599	3,241	374	30,395	25
Southern Italy:							
Abruzzi and Molise.....	5,795	16,460	1,251	2,831	339	20,881	14
Campania.....	10,246	77,332	9,909	24,941	2,668	114,850	36
Apulia.....	6,310	31,860	3,307	1,633	720	37,520	19
Rasilicata.....	1,917	4,027	302	437	68	4,834	10
Calabria.....	6,749	22,634	1,993	5,430	986	31,043	23
Islands:							
Sicily.....	16,232	88,343	16,452	6,649	1,844	113,288	32
Sardinia.....	2,069	19,138	855	2,147	201	22,341	28
Total.....	117,278	772,009	82,066	439,588	118,599	1,412,262	43

The above data, arranged according to the larger geographical divisions of Italy, are shown by the following table:

TABLE 21.—Number of industrial establishments in Italy and persons employed in such establishments, in 1905-6, by geographical divisions.

Geographical division.	Number of establishments.	Number of employees.				Total.	Per 1,000 of population.
		Male.		Female.			
		15 years and over.	Under 15 years.	15 years and over.	Under 15 years.		
Northern Italy.....	37,801	327,027	32,877	275,074	69,651	704,629	60
Central Italy.....	30,159	185,188	15,120	120,446	42,122	362,876	46
Southern Italy.....	31,017	152,313	16,762	35,272	4,781	209,128	25
Islands.....	18,301	107,481	17,307	8,796	2,045	135,629	31
Total.....	117,278	772,009	82,066	439,588	118,599	1,412,262	43

The tables thus given do not of course represent the total number of persons engaged in industry in Italy^a but only such as are employed in industrial establishments. They are interesting, however, as showing how small a proportion of the total population is employed in this way and also how much smaller that proportion is in southern Italy and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia.

The two compartimenti which stand ahead of any others in percentage of industrial workers, Lombardy and Tuscany, also have much the largest percentage of women workers, and a very large percentage of children. The women amount to nearly as many as the men in Tuscany and to considerably more than the men in Lombardy. This suggests a fact, which in general holds good throughout Italy, that wherever industrial development is most marked female and child labor is common. This is indicated by the small proportion of women to men in the south compared with the large proportion in the north. In Sicily, where manufacturing is crude and still largely individualistic in methods, the number of men and boys working in such occupations exceed the number in Piedmont, but of women and girls nine times as many are so employed in Piedmont as in Sicily. This is partly due to the differences in the industries but by no means entirely so. It is characteristic of textile industries that they can employ female labor to good advantage. But great numbers of women are employed in other industries in Italy. The fact that the number of women employed in all industrial labor amounts to about four-sevenths of the number of men shows that women must be generally employed wherever their employment is physically possible.

It is said that the labor of women and children in a very large degree has made possible the present industrial development of Italy. Women and child labor is regulated under law of July 7, 1907, which provides briefly as follows:^b

1. Twelve years is minimum age of admission to industrial establishments generally.
2. For underground work in mines the minimum age is 13 if steam, electricity, or similar power is used, otherwise it is 14.
3. Children under 15 years of age and women under 21 may not be employed at work that is too fatiguing, dangerous, or unhealthful, even though such work is carried on in establishments not subject to the law.
4. In the sulphur mines of Sicily children 14 years of age may be employed to fill and empty ovens.
5. Night work is prohibited for male persons under 15 years of age and for all female persons. The prohibition of night work for females may be suspended at certain seasons of the year and in cases where there would otherwise be an inevitable loss.
6. Children between 12 and 15 must not be employed more than eleven hours per day. Female persons of whatever age must not be employed for more than twelve hours.

^a See table, p. 165.

^b Child Labor Legislation in Europe. Bulletin No. 89, United States Bureau of Labor.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

Statistics relative to the development of some of the leading industries in Italy show that the increase in manufacturing, although marked in some lines, has not been extensive as a whole. However, progress is being made in practically all industries for which data are available and the outlook is regarded as encouraging. The following tables compiled from the Italian Statistical Yearbook for 1905-1907 show the status of several representative industries in the Kingdom at different periods of time:

TABLE 22.—*Number of establishments, number of employees, and value of products, in several representative industries in Italy in the years specified.*

[Compiled from "Italia Annuario Statistico," 1905-1907.]

MINES.

Year.	Number.	Value of products.	Number of employees.
1896.....	1,052	\$9,451,037	46,352
1898.....	1,404	13,858,186	57,849
1901.....	1,619	16,346,113	67,665
1904.....	1,546	16,444,552	62,385
1906.....	1,294	17,894,495	62,558

QUARRIES.

1890.....	5,925	\$9,210,020	39,706
1901.....	11,441	7,179,967	56,948
1906.....	11,565	9,280,599	65,648

FURNACE AND KILNS.

1890.....	12,678	\$19,881,113	85,061
1901.....	11,269	23,204,838	94,313
1906.....	11,344	26,438,743	96,360

CHEMICAL FACTORIES.

1893.....	281	\$5,043,791	3,275
1901.....	412	12,311,482	7,393
1906.....	268	19,748,552	10,397

PAPER MILLS.

1876.....	521	.....	17,312
1896.....	244	.....	15,766
1903.....	405	.....	19,088

SILK MILLS.

1876.....	3,829	.....	200,393
1891.....	2,084	.....	172,356
1903.....	2,162	.....	191,654

TABLE 22.—Number of establishments, number of employees, and value of products, in several representative industries in Italy in the years specified—Continued.

COTTON FACTORIES.

Year.	Number.	Number of active spindles.	Number of active looms.	Number and age of employees.				Total.
				Over 15.		Under 15.		
				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1876.....	650	715,304	26,778	15,558	27,309	11,174	54,041	
1900.....	727	2,111,170	78,306	34,738	82,932	4,358	13,170	
1903.....	769	1,933,953	78,700	34,335	82,056	4,739	17,750	

LINEN, HEMP, JUTE, AND MIXED STUFFS—FACTORIES.

1876.....	241	50,149	5,378	4,578	5,959	2,247	12,784
1903.....	309	106,878	8,016	8,571	13,147	1,047	25,685

These tables seem to indicate that while the industries considered have grown to a greater or less extent during the period of time covered, their progress, as a whole, has perhaps not kept pace with industrial progress in other countries. There was a large increase in the value of mine products, as well as the number of persons employed in mining between 1896 and 1906, but the value of quarry products was practically the same in 1906 as in 1890, although there was a large increase in the number of persons employed.

The output of furnaces and kilns increased in value from 1890 to 1906, and the number of employees was considerably larger in the latter year. The value of chemical factory products and the number of persons employed in that industry increased more than threefold from 1893 to 1906, but the number of persons employed in paper mills was but little larger in 1903 than in 1876.

The number of silk mills and silk mill employees decreased from 1876 to 1903, but there was a considerable increase in the product during that period. The number of silk mills in operation and the number of persons employed in that industry are not available for the years following 1903, but the output increased from 5,651,000 kilograms in 1904 to 6,047,000 in 1906.

Between 1876 and 1903 the number of active spindles in Italian cotton factories increased from 715,304 to 1,933,953, and the number of persons employed was about two and one-half times greater in the latter year. It is interesting to note from the table relative to cotton factories that, between 1900 and 1903, the number of adults employed decreased while the number of children increased. In 1900, 13,170 girls under 15 years of age were employed, and in 1903 the number was 17,750. Women and children constituted more than 75 per cent of the total employees in the latter year.

Among the industries above mentioned cotton factories employ a much larger number of persons than any of the others with the exception of silk mills. Nevertheless the industry is not an extensive one in Italy, for, according to the United States census of 1900, the city of Fall River, Mass., has more than one and one-half times as many spindles as the whole Kingdom.

In the other textile establishment combined under linen, hemp, jute, and mixed stuffs, it will be noted that the number of active spindles and persons employed a little more than doubles between 1876 and 1903.

INDUSTRIAL WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOR.

No general or summary data of wages and hours of labor in industrial pursuits in Italy are given by the Italian bureau of labor, but detailed reports in this regard are available for a few typical establishments in some of the more important industries. From these reports, as well as from some unofficial sources, are compiled the following table, which doubtless is a fairly accurate statement of wages and hours of labor in the industries under consideration. Wherever possible the minimum, maximum, and mean wage is given for 1900-1903 and for 1907, during which period the emigration movement from Italy was very large.

TABLE 23.—Wages and hours of labor in various industries in Italy, by *compartimenti* and occupation.

Compartimenti and occupation.		Mean daily wage in—	
		1901.	1907.
MINES.			
Romagna and the Marshes (sulphur mines):			
Miners.....		\$0.44	\$0.56
Loaders.....		.32	.42
Sicily (sulphur mines):			
Pieceworkers.....		.83	.83
Time workers.....		.52	.58
Sardinia:			
Miners.....		.47	.47
Masons.....		.55	.58
Carters.....		.40	.42
Machinists.....		.56	.58

Hours of labor are generally 8 for underground men and 10 for outside men.

QUARRIES (8 ESTABLISHMENTS).

Occupation.	Daily wages in 1902-3.			Daily wages in 1907.		
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Mean.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Mean.
Miners and diggers.....	\$0.39	\$0.81	\$0.58	\$0.48	\$0.96	\$0.70
Chiselers and stonecutters.....	.38	.66	.50	.48	.75	.65
Helpers.....			.45	.42	.67	.55

Hours of labor average about 9 daily.

TABLE 23.—Wages and hours of labor in various industries in Italy, by compartmenti and occupation—Continued.

PRINTING AND BINDING.

Occupation.	Daily wages in 1907.		
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Mean.
Compositors:			
Master workmen.....	\$0.71	\$1.60	\$1.00
Apprentices.....	.13	.60	.39
Mechanics.....	.71	1.28	1.00
Binders (male).....	.45	.89	.80
Female employees.....	.15	.40	.30

Increase in wages over 1901 said to be from 10 to 20 per cent.
Hours of labor, 9 to 10 daily.

FOUNDRIES AND MACHINE SHOPS (14 ESTABLISHMENTS CONSIDERED, BESIDES SOME GENERAL REPORTS.)

The rate of wages paid employees in foundries and machine shops varies greatly, according to the nature of work done, and no accurate summary can be made with the data at hand. In the various grades of work the mean wage ranges from about 50 cents to \$1.25, or even higher, but the commonest mean is 60 to 90 cents. It is stated that wages increased from 10 to 25 per cent from 1901 to 1907, according to the nature of the work done. Hours of labor are ordinarily 10 daily.

CHEMICAL FACTORIES.

Average daily wages, 60 to 80 cents.

BUILDING TRADES.

Occupation.	Daily wages in 1904.		
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Mean.
Masons.....	\$0.30	\$1.20	\$0.50-\$0.60
Carpenters.....	.30	1.40	.50- .70
Stonecutters (in Turin).....			.60- .70
Bricklayers (in Turin).....			.80- 1.00
Painters and decorators (in Turin).....			.40- .50

BRASS WORKERS AND FOUNDERS.

Mean daily wages in 1903, 60 cents to \$1.

PAPER MILLS (2 ESTABLISHMENTS).

Sex of employees.	Daily wages in 1907.		
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Mean.
Male:			
Establishment A.....	\$0.37	\$0.64	\$0.46
Establishment B.....			
Female:			
Establishment A.....	.16	.21	
Establishment B.....	.40	.44	

Increase in wages over 1902: Establishment A, men, about 10 per cent; women, none. Establishment B, very slight; not over 5 per cent for both sexes. Hours of labor, 10½ daily in both plants.

The Immigration Commission.

WOODWORKERS (2 ESTABLISHMENTS).

	Daily wages in 1907.		
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Mean.
Woodworkers.....	\$0.33	\$1.00	\$0.55

Increase in wages over 1901, 5 to 10 per cent in 1 establishment.
Hours of labor, 8 to 11 daily, according to season.

FURNITURE FACTORY (1 ESTABLISHMENT).

Sex of employees.	Daily wages in 1907.		
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Mean.
Male.....	\$0.58	\$0.93	
Female.....	.19	.35	

Increase in wages over 1901, 25 per cent for males; somewhat less for females.
Hours of labor, 10 to 10½ daily.

SILK MILLS (3 ESTABLISHMENTS OFFICIALLY REPORTED, BESIDES VARIOUS NON-OFFICIAL REPORTS).

Sex of employees.	Daily wages in 1907.		
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Mean.
Male.....	\$0.40	\$0.60	
Female.....	.10	.25	

Comparatively few men are employed. Adult females are paid not less than 16 cents, and their average wage is about 20 cents per day. There has been no important change in wages since 1901.
Hours of labor average from 10 to 11 daily.

WOOLEN FACTORIES (2 ESTABLISHMENTS).

Sex of employees.	Daily wages in 1907.		
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Mean.
Male.....	\$0.46	\$1.00	\$0.70
Female.....	.30	.53	.40

Increase in wages over 1901: Males, 10 per cent; females, 15 per cent. Unofficial data from various sources indicate that the reported wages for 1907 are considerably above the average for the Kingdom.
Hours of labor in two factories reported, 10 daily.

COTTON MILLS.

Sex of employees.	Daily wages in 1907.		
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Mean.
Male.....	\$0.38	\$0.77	\$0.66
Female.....	.15	.40	.30

Increase in wages over 1901: Male, 25 per cent; female, 15 per cent.
Hours of labor average 11 daily.

LINEN AND HEMP MILLS.

Sex of employees.	Daily wages in 1907.		
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Mean.
Male.....	\$0.47	\$0.77	\$0.60
Female.....	.20	.38	.30

Increase in wages over 1901: Male, 25 per cent or more; female, everywhere considerable; in some places as high as 100 per cent.

Hours of labor average about 10½ daily.

FEMALE TEXTILE WORKERS.

Of 155,000 women and girls employed in textile industries in November, 1903, according to "La Douna ell' Industria Italiana," bulletin of the Italian bureau of labor, over 67,000 were paid 1 lira (20 cents) per day or less, while about the same number received over 1 lira, but not over 1.50 lire (30 cents). According to this statement over 86 per cent of the female textile workers received 30 cents or less per day in the year mentioned.

SKILLED MECHANICS IN CITIES.

A summary of the data available shows that in the larger cities skilled workmen, such as master mechanics and those engaged in building trades, etc., are usually able to command from \$1 to \$1.50 per day, while in the smaller cities from 60 cents to \$1 is the usual range.

COMMON UNSKILLED LABOR.

From such information as is available it would appear that the average wages of common unskilled workers in Italian cities and towns is about 50 cents per day. The Commission was informed that 60 cents was the usual rate in Rome and Milan, and from 40 to 60 in Turin.

It is unnecessary to point out that much of the above data is based on a very limited number of establishments and consequently can not be accepted as representing the situation in the Kingdom as a whole. The figures are, however, practically all derived from official Italian publications, and may be taken as representative of the field covered in each industry. As such they shed light on the subject under consideration.

It will be noted that wages paid industrial workers, especially in the more or less skilled occupations, as a rule are considerably higher than are paid agricultural laborers, but all things considered it seems improbable that the difference much more than compensates for the higher cost of living in industrial communities. Certainly the wages paid, and the opportunity to work afforded to skilled laborers is not sufficiently high to prevent the emigration of this class, for from July 1, 1898, to June 30, 1909, 56,854, or 16.6 per cent, of all North Italians, and 199,024, or 11.6 per cent, of all South Italians, admitted to the United States were classed as skilled.

LIVING CONDITIONS.

Living conditions are generally better among industrial workers than among the lower-paid agricultural laborers, but the range of wages paid is sufficient to show that the standard is low compared with the standard usually found in American communities. As previously stated, the cost of food does not differ greatly in Italy and the United States. James E. Dunning, American consul at Milan, stated that in 1907 the cost of commodities was higher in that city than in the United States. Sugar was quoted at 16 cents a pound; beefsteak from 26 to 30 cents; milk 7 and 8 cents a quart, while coffee, tea, beans, chocolate, cheese, and bread cost as much or more than in the United States. All observers agree that the poor in Italy live miserably. Among industrial workers as a rule meat is a luxury, and vegetables, soups, macaroni, and bread are the chief articles of diet. Few of the conveniences of life are within the people's means, the bare necessities have to suffice, and the quality of what they can get is usually of the poorest.

An illustration of the standard of living even in one of the most progressive sections of Italy is contained in the following: Members of the Commission visited a cotton mill near Milan, where a large dormitory was being erected by the proprietor for girls and women employed in the mill. In this building, which the Commissioners found spacious and very well equipped, the proprietor stated that he would furnish full board and room for 8 cents a day. This was intended to merely cover the cost, but in view of the fact that food supplies are not much, if any, lower in Italy than in the United States, it follows that at 8 cents a day for room and meals the actual standard of living would necessarily be very low indeed.

LABOR UNIONS AND STRIKES.

In recent years the labor-union movement has grown rapidly and to large proportions among the industrial as well as the agricultural workers of Italy, and it is said that the activities of the unions have helped to advance wages in both fields. In 1907, according to "Anuario Statistico" for 1905-1907, there were 2,950 industrial unions in the Kingdom, with a total of 362,533 members. From 1901 to 1904, inclusive, there were 3,032 industrial strikes, involving 621,737 workers, and in the various years from 63 to 80 per cent of the strikes were reported as "successful" or "partly successful."

INDUSTRY AND EMIGRATION.

Only 43 persons out of every 1,000 of the total population of Italy were employed in industrial establishments in 1906. In the same year 24 out of every 1,000 of population emigrated. Consequently, Italy lost in a single year through emigration nearly one-half as many people as were employed in the mines, quarries, and factories of the kingdom. This comparison is shown in detail in the table next presented.

TABLE 24.—*Number of industrial establishments and employees in Italy, compared with emigration from Italy, in 1906, by compartimenti.*

[Compiled from "Italia Annuario Statistico," 1905-1907.]

Compartimenti.	Number of industrial establishments.	Employees.		Emigrants.	
		Number.	Per 1,000 of total population.	Number.	Per 1,000 of total population.
Northern Italy:					
Piedmont.....	9,611	165,371	50	33,885	21
Liguria.....	2,936	55,673	52	6,630	8
Lombardy.....	17,218	357,415	83	20,046	14
Venetia.....	8,036	126,170	40	16,338	32
Central Italy:					
Emilia.....	6,840	70,995	29	42,681	17
Tuscany.....	13,086	208,319	82	37,111	14
Marches.....	4,090	34,824	33	34,501	32
Perugia (Umbria).....	2,083	18,343	27	14,786	22
Roma (Latium).....	4,060	30,395	25	18,507	15
Southern Italy:					
Abruzzi et Molise.....	5,795	20,881	14	58,032	40
Campania.....	10,246	114,850	36	89,769	28
Apulia.....	6,310	37,520	19	33,762	17
Basilicata.....	1,917	4,834	10	18,098	38
Calabria.....	6,749	31,043	23	54,084	41
Islands:					
Sicily.....	16,232	113,288	32	127,603	4
Sardinia.....	2,069	22,341	28	6,672	8
Total.....	117,278	1,412,262	43	787,977	24

It will be seen that as a rule the heaviest emigration originated in the compartimenti where the proportion of industrial workers was smallest. This is true of Abruzzi, Basilicata, and Calabria, where the number of emigrants was relatively greatest and the proportion of industrial workers lowest. Of the four northern compartimenti, Venetia has much the smallest proportion of persons employed in industrial establishments and by far the highest proportion of emigrants. Lombardy and Tuscany have the highest proportion of industrial workers and the lowest proportion of emigrants of any compartimenti of continental Italy excepting Liguria. The small proportion of emigrants from the latter compartimento is in part accounted for by the fact that 25.5 per cent of the population there is in the commune of Genova, and it is well known that comparatively little Italian emigration originates in the large cities. The same condition is found in Roma (Latium), where 38.7 per cent of the population in 1901 was found in the commune of Rome. From this it seems clear that industrial conditions to a great degree regulate the present emigration movement from Italy.

CHAPTER IV.

CHARACTER OF ITALIAN IMMIGRATION.

NORTH AND SOUTH ITALIANS.

Ethnologically there are two distinct branches of the Italian race—the North and the South Italian. In the “Dictionary of Races or Peoples”^a which forms a part of the Commission’s general report, these branches are fully discussed from a scientific standpoint and consequently an extended description is unnecessary here. It may be briefly said, however, that the North Italians have a large admixture of Celtic and Teutonic blood, while the South Italians are largely a mixed type in which Greek, Spanish, Saracen, and other blood is more or less prominent. As previously stated the Bureau of Immigration classification, which is generally accepted as the correct one, considers as North Italians all persons who are natives of the compartimenti of Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, and Emilia, and as South Italians those native to Liguria, Tuscany, Marches, Perugia (Umbria), Roma (Latium), Abruzzi and Molise, Campania, Apulia, Basilicata, Calabria, and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. The infusion of the blood of so many races has produced various types in the different sections of Italy. It is said that the people of Piedmont have the largest admixture of Celtic blood, and that they resemble the French in many respects. The Lombards have both Teutonic and Celtic strains and consequently the men are generally tall and of powerful build as compared with most other Italians, while fair hair and blue eyes frequently occur. A different type occurs in the Sicilians, who are said to be largely a mixture of Italian, Greek, Spanish, and Arab with some infusion of Teutonic blood. Sardinians have a considerable infusion of Spanish blood, while the Neopolitans are said to incline slightly toward the African or negro type. The South Italian as a general thing is smaller in stature than those of the north, although in Calabria and Basilicata where Greek blood is prominent some of the men are of powerful build.

To the student of Italian immigration to the United States the South Italian movement numerically and otherwise is of by far the greatest importance. In the 11 years ending June 30, 1909, 83.4 per cent of the total immigration of Italians was made up of South Italians, the number admitted during that period being 1,719,260, while the number of North Italians admitted was only 341,888. The numerical preponderance of the former race when compared with the latter of course adds vastly to its relative importance in this respect, but, in popular opinion at least, it is the character rather than the

^a Dictionary of Races or Peoples. Reports of Immigration Commission, vol. 5. (S. Doc. No. 662, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)

number of South Italians which constitutes the real problem. It is generally accepted that the North Italians make a most desirable class of immigrants. They are more progressive, enlightened, and it is claimed are more easily assimilated than their southern countrymen, who, because of their ignorance, low standards of living, and the supposedly great criminal tendencies among them are regarded by many as racially undesirable.

Something of the character of Italian immigrants may be presented statistically as follows:

SEX.

Reliable data concerning the sex distribution among earlier immigrants are not available, but a computation from old records shows that from July 1, 1819, to June 30, 1910, about 78 per cent of all immigrants from Italy to the United States were males, indicating, as elsewhere suggested, essentially a movement of individuals rather than families. For the twelve years ending June 30, 1910, these data are available for North and South Italian immigrants separately, and it is shown that during this period 78.3 per cent of the former and 78.6 per cent of the latter were males, indicating little change in this regard in recent years.

AGE.

The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization records show that an overwhelming proportion of Italian immigrants admitted to the United States are between the ages of 14 and 44 years. During the eleven years ending June 30, 1909, 87 per cent of the North Italians and 82.4 per cent of the South Italians so stated their age. In both races the proportion under 14 years was considerably greater than the proportion above 45 years.

The following table shows the number and proportion of each race in the various age groups for the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive:

TABLE 25.—*Italian immigration to the United States, fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive, by age groups.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Number.			Per cent.		
	Under 14 years.	14 to 44 years.	45 years and over.	Under 14 years.	14 to 44 years.	45 years and over
Italian, North.....	30,645	297,442	13,801	9.0	87.0	4.0
Italian, South.....	201,492	1,416,075	101,693	11.7	82.4	5.9

OCCUPATIONS OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS.

Nearly all Italians who come to the United States as immigrants are drawn from the laboring classes of their native country, and the great majority are rated as common or farm laborers. The following table shows the occupational status of both North and South Italian immigrants for the eleven years ending June 30, 1909:

TABLE 26.—*Italian immigration to the United States, fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive, by occupations.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration.]

Race.	Profes- sional.	Skilled.	Farm laborers.	Farmers.	Common laborers.	Servants.	Other occupa- tion.	No occupa- tion.
Italian, North	0.9	16.6	15.0	1.7	37.6	6.3	1.7	20.2
Italian, South .....	.3	11.6	24.4	.7	34.2	4.4	1.0	23.3

It will be noted that the proportion of skilled workers is larger and the proportion of farm laborers considerably smaller among North Italians than among those from the south. This is natural, for the reason that the southern compartimenti are so poorly developed in an industrial way that the proportion of skilled laborers in the population is small and the proportion of agricultural workers large. The proportion of servants in the Italian movement as a whole is small when compared with immigration from some other European countries, and the proportion of farmers is also much smaller.^a The proportion of those rated as having no occupation, which classification includes for the most part women and children, is somewhat larger among South Italians, and this may be considered as showing that the number of families is relatively greater among the latter. This is also indicated by a larger proportion of females among South Italian immigrants.

PHYSICAL CONDITION.

Generally speaking, both branches of the Italian race are by nature strong, vigorous, and capable of great physical endurance. As a race they have few vices which lead to physical deterioration. Drunkenness is rare among them, and the out-of-door country life, which is the lot of the great majority of the emigrating classes, has kept them largely free from deteriorating influences. Moreover, the immigration movement to the United States is recruited from the young and most vigorous element in the Italian population. In fact, the situation from the Italian standpoint can not be better described than by quoting from the Sicilian newspaper which, in discussing the emigration from that island, said: "It is the strongest and best arms that are leaving us."

As explained elsewhere,^b United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital surgeons are stationed at Italian ports for the purpose of examining into the physical condition of intending emigrants. This practice dates from 1899, when fear that the plague, then prevalent in Egypt, would be introduced into the United States through vessels from Mediterranean, led to the detail of American surgeons to make a sanitary inspection of ships sailing from Naples, and in subsequent years large numbers of intended immigrants have been turned back at Italian ports, mostly on account of trachoma.

^a See table, p. 27.^b See p. 113.

Exact statistics as to the extent of trachoma are not available, but various scattered investigations have been made, based mainly on school inspections and army recruitments.^a In one public school near Syracuse 36 per cent of the pupils were found to be trachomatous. In another school in Calabria, where there were 34 pupils, 28 were found to be affected with the disease. In 1892 in one of the sections of Palermo it was found that among a school population of 607 there were 160 cases of trachoma. Figures based on army recruitments show a steady increase. They indicate also that the disease prevails more in maritime places than inland, and that, with some exceptions, it becomes progressively more frequent from north to south, assuming a grave epidemic character in Sicily and Sardinia, the climate, topographical conditions, and uncleanly habits of the people in Southern Italy being conducive to the diffusion and persistence of the disease. Dispensary reports from Turin also show that the disease is greatly on the increase in Italy. The Marine-Hospital Report referred to states that:

Valenti, in a critical study of the levy of Italian troops, presents certain conclusions showing the increased proportion of trachoma between the years 1880 and 1894. For instance, the figures for the Province of Lecce are 1 per 1,000 in 1880 and 17.70 per 1,000 in 1894; in Bari, almost no return in 1880 and 12.70 per 1,000 in 1894; and in Sicily and Sardinia, hotbeds of trachoma, the increase is still more marked, reaching in 1894 in Catania 21.5 per 1,000, in Cagliari 28 per 1,000, and in Sassari 38 per 1,000, whereas in 1880 the number of cases was so insignificant as not to be deemed worthy of note.

Professor Fortunato states that from all available means of observation it might almost be said that the entire population of some of the maritime Provinces of Sicily and Sardinia is trachomatous. Professor de Vincentiis, a celebrated Neapolitan oculist, has declared that 75 per cent of the cases that present themselves at the Italian ophthalmic clinic are trachomatous.

In Naples,^b the great number of rejections for trachoma has induced certain medical practitioners and quacks to advertise quick cures for the disease, and the business of "fixing up" trachomatous emigrants has attained considerable proportions.

The second important cause for the rejection of emigrants at Italian ports is favus, but the number turned back on that account is not very large. The inspecting physicians find it in all its stages. Diagnosis is difficult because of the custom which prevails in Italy of smearing infants' heads with a tarry preparation, which is apt to produce a chronic eczematous condition. Seborrhœa, eczema, and ringworm of the scalp are also commonly met with in the inspection, and if severe enough constitute a cause for rejection.

GENERAL.

While in Italy the Commission received many expressions of opinion respecting the general character of Italian emigration to the United States. These included the opinions of Americans who had long resided in Italy, and of leading Italians in various parts of

^a Annual Report, United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, 1903, pp. 377-378.

^b Annual Report of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, 1901, p. 465.

the Kingdom, and almost without exception it was asserted that the country emigrants as a rule represented the best type of the classes from which they were drawn, but that the opposite was generally true of the comparatively few who left the cities.

From the various expressions of opinion above referred to the following are presented as being fairly representative:

OPINION OF DR. ALLAN J. M'LAUGHLIN.

Passed Assist. Surg. Allan J. McLaughlin, for several years in charge of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service station at Naples, in an interview with the chairman of the Commission, said in substance as follows:

Generally speaking, I think the best feature of the Italian emigration is that the bulk of it, I should say over 90 per cent, is made up of country people, or people from small villages. I think most of the trouble makers in America, those who give the bad reputation to Italian immigration, will be found to be former residents of Naples or Palermo. They come from the big cities and form here what is known as the "mala vita" of the cities. They do not emigrate in large numbers, but the element is bad. They will give us trouble, and they do give us trouble in our large cities. They go to the United States not to work, but to live on the other emigrants. You will find them in Mulberry street. Lieutenant Petrosini can tell you about them. The police officers of New York know them. That element is as bad as it can be, and when one of its members commits a crime, of course the whole thing is charged up in the newspapers to the Italian immigrants. But the Italian emigration, the contadino, the man from the country, impresses me as being a healthy animal, ignorant, but with splendid adaptability, quick to learn, bright, considering that he is a descendant of a race ill treated for centuries, quick tempered, perhaps, and passionate. They do what they are told to do. When they are rejected they cry. They make a fuss; but they do not threaten to use the knife or do anything like that as you might expect. Their offenses are not of a serious sort. Physically they are very rugged and strong when they arrive here. They are not large, in fact, rather thin. They are capable of doing a long day's work and possess a great deal of endurance.

I think that it is true that the United States gets the cream of those who have enterprise enough to exercise an initiative. In fact, one of the complaints of the present day of the Italian officials is that the very best young blood of the Italian plebes is going out of the country. They recognize that fact. It is the man with the initiative who leaves. That is the law in emigration. I think all in America—I hope I have gotten over it, although I was the same as everybody else at first—are inclined to think that all immigrants belonging to one race are good and all belonging to another race are bad. In fact, about the worst emigrants we get in America, physically, morally, and intellectually, are those classed as English. So it is not fair to say that because a man belongs to a certain race he is a good immigrant or a bad immigrant, because we all know that if we get the best type of the Englishman he would be the best type of immigrant we could get, but the best Englishman does not come. The immigrant we get, known as the English, is the product of the slums—a Jew, a Syrian, the element from Whitechapel and Liverpool, the dregs of the great city. The country people from England do not go as a rule, but we get a few Cornish miners who are good people. It is a mistake to consider an immigrant bad because he belongs to some one race. The thing is to treat the immigrant as an individual. Treating an Italian from that standpoint, you will find the Italian as good as any of the other races from farther north, with the possible exception of those from Scandinavia and the British Isles. But I do not think the Polacks and the Magyars and the Slovaks, who are considered by some as superior to the Italians, are superior. I think one is as good as the other, but of course it is pretty hard to get people to look at it from that standpoint.

OPINION OF REV. N. WALLING CLARK.

Rev. N. Walling Clark, an American, who for a long period has been in charge of the educational work of the Methodist Church in Italy, and who has had an exceptional opportunity to study Italian character, in a statement to the Commission said in part as follows:

As to the character of the Italian workmen, they are industrious, quite decidedly so. They are ready to work and work hard from early morning until late at night. They are not intemperate, notwithstanding the fact that a great deal of wine is drunk in this country. They drink it as men in foreign countries drink milk, but it is almost an uncommon thing to see a drunken man in the agricultural districts. They are good to their families. The family life, of course, is not developed anything like it is with the laboring classes at home. They do not know much about the home life, and yet they are most affectionate toward their children and reasonably faithful to their wives as a rule. There is, however, a great deal of laxity of marital relation growing out of the lack of a divorce law.

The class of emigrants who go to the United States are unquestionably the more enterprising, the better element; only those would be able to go who have the money to get tickets; many are too poor to go. Educational facilities are very limited. The majority—80 per cent, I have even heard 85 per cent—are illiterate. Comparing the country and the city people—those who emigrate to the United States—I believe that the country people are more desirable than those from the cities. The people from the cities are more immoral, more vicious, and also from the standpoint of hygiene the country people are more desirable. With regard to ability to read and write, a larger proportion can in the city than in the country. In northern Italy the percentage of illiterates is much less than in the south.

I believe the Italians under proper restrictions are the most desirable emigrants to the United States. I think there should be pretty severe restrictions. Their documents should be examined carefully. Nothing is done in Italy until the papers are examined very carefully. When this is done, as far as it can be done, and all possible restrictions are put upon men entering the United States—that is men of vicious character—then I believe the Italian is a very desirable emigrant. There is no emigrant who goes from Europe who is a better worker, a man who has more power of enduring work, and he is a willing worker and has the desire to work. There is no man who is more susceptible to moral and intellectual influence; he is not set in his ways; he has not the stubbornness of some of the northern races; he is easily molded and adapts himself to conditions.

As to the comparative value of the German and Italian emigrants to the south, I would say that the German has desirable qualities which the Italian has not. That is, the German is very solid; very stolid; he does not get angry quickly. He moves slowly; but he is, perhaps, a little surer. In some respects he is more reliable. On the other hand, the Italian, as a rule, is the quicker and more intelligent worker, and would slave like a dog if you get his confidence. He will work for you from morning until night with the greatest devotion.

I think the Italians are quite saving. They are inclined to put money in the savings banks. The postal savings service here is one of the most prosperous branches of the Government. There are not many cases in Italy where a man can save sufficient money to buy a farm, but there are many cases where a man has saved money in America and returned here, bought a farm, and settled down. I think the Italian would save his money and buy farms in the United States if he had the proper opportunity, but perhaps not to so large an extent as do the Germans.

Among prominent Italians interviewed by the Commission, some of whom were students of the emigration situation in their country, the feeling prevailed that Italy had lost and was continually losing much of its best peasant blood. Many expressions of regret were heard from Italian officials and others, but as a rule it was recognized that emigration resulted from an economic necessity which could not be satisfied, and therefore was inevitable.

CHARACTER OF SICILIAN IMMIGRATION.

In a report to the Department of State, dated May 2, 1906, William Henry Bishop, American consul at Palermo, submits quotations from the country correspondents of a leading Sicilian newspaper, which show the local estimate of the character of emigration from that island.

The text of Consul Bishop's report follows:

REPORT ON THE IMPROVED CHARACTER OF THE EMIGRATION FROM SICILY TO THE UNITED STATES.

It seems desirable to report upon competent testimony that a considerable improvement is taking place in the character of the emigration going from Sicily to the United States. The testimony is that contained in the advices of the local correspondents stationed at various small points throughout the island, which appear on the page devoted to country and suburban matters in the *L' Ora*, of Palermo, probably the leading daily paper in Sicily. As these accounts were in no way prepared for the foreign eye, or for any official or polemical purpose, but only by way of a routine chronicle of the happenings of life in the minor communities, they are spontaneous and unbiased and have an authority that can hardly be impeached. While it is not to be supposed that some undesirable subjects do not still succeed in evading all the restrictions imposed against their entering the United States, the intelligence therein gathered at least strikes a more encouraging note and presents a more cheerful side of the great immigration problem, which is so often treated among our people only with pessimistic gloom.

My extracts are nine in number, from widely separated places, and cover a period of about three months, but do not assume to be exhaustive even for the period. I translate from the Italian originals as follows:

"Girgenti (Province of Girgenti), February 6, 1906: The emigration this year is assuming extraordinary proportions. The local ticket agencies are continually crowded with people who would like to depart at once, but can not do so, as the steamers are filled up already for the months of February and March. The part of our population, too, that is emigrating is the youngest, sturdiest, and the soundest morally. It can not be said that they are driven out by dire want and necessity; they are lured away rather by the desire to better themselves in the world and make a possible fortune. Whole families, including old folks, women, and children, and young couples but just married are seen bidding farewell to their homes. Many are of a class possessing some little property, the easy so-called *borghesi* (meaning a lower middle class). All this is coming to be a serious cause of anxiety, as an inevitable shortage of labor is imminent, while labor was never so much needed in our region as now, engaged as we are in the renewing of our vineyards. When and how will a stop be put to this feverish tendency of our steady-going farm population, which till now had remained doggedly obtuse to any suggestions of emigration?

"Raffadili (Province of Girgenti), February 11: Disintegrated by the increasing current of emigration, it has looked lately as if our local pride, the musical band, would have to go to pieces and be abolished. It was greatly feared that we must lose its young and skillful director, Signor Parisi, who had excellent offers from several other towns. However, although many of the musicians have decided to leave for the new world in search of large gains, I am able to announce that the band has now been reconstructed and Signor Parisi will remain.

"Gratteri (Province of Palermo), March 11: The emigration in this district continues, and it is with veritable grief that we see entire families departing, going to take up their residence in distant lands, in search of bread and work. If this state of things continues it will produce the gravest consequences, and it is difficult even now to find sufficient labor to till the ground.

"Raccalmuto (Province of Girgenti), March 12: This year the emigration for America has taken on alarming proportions. Within a few months several hundred laborers have departed, not being able here to properly provide for their families. It is an exodus sorrowful to witness, since it is the best and strongest arms that are leaving us, who will be extremely missed in the sulphur industry. A hundred more are to go in the course of this month and April.

The effects of the emigration are already felt in the enhanced cost of manual labor.

"Montelepre (Province of Palermo), March 14: The growing economic depression has caused the enterprising and robust youth of this place to turn their eyes to distant America. These young men confiding in their strength and the vision of a happy future, are leaving in large numbers, parents often encouraging their sons, wives their husbands, and sisters their brothers, to go. But this emigration, which comprises even people in fairly easy circumstances, is matter of anxious worry with land owners, who see good hands becoming always scarcer and the rate of wages of those that remain every rising. They fear that soon the land will not give a sufficient yield to meet the many heavy demands upon it.

"Falcone (Province of Messina), April 11: The condition of agriculture and landowners in this vicinity is causing much uneasiness on account of the growing evil of emigration. Even from so small a place as this (2,119 inhabitants) not a week passes in which there are not many departures for America, and it is always the stoutest arms, the robust youth, that go. A few days back not less than 30 persons left here in a single day. The country is becoming depopulated; the land is abandoned. Even being willing to concede any advance in wages whatever, it is often impossible to find a man for the most essential farm labors.

"Kaggi (Province of Messina), April 11: For several months past the departures for America from this village follow fast one upon another. It is for the most part the young, in all the vigor of life, who thus adventure beyond the ocean. If you ask them where they are going and to what kind of labor, they answer that they do not know; they are only after a bright and enticing hope of fortune, which, as we know, often proves but a bitter illusion.

"Spadafora (Province of Messina), April 22: The emigration of the Sicilian laborers is a social danger. No one seems to regard the new aspect that emigration has taken on. Why do we not ask ourselves the question: What element is the main body of emigrants now composed of, in comparison with that of heretofore? It used to be the poor and needy, who could not find paying work in Italy; but at present we see the departure in troops of thrifty, forehanded mechanics and laborers, for whom there lacks at home neither steady employment nor good remuneration for it. And these men do not go alone; the most depressing feature of it all is that they take their whole families with them. This constitutes a grave peril for our country, for when an emigrant takes his family along it means that it is his settled purpose never to return. Such emigration exhausts the very lifeblood of the nation. What remedies can we devise for so crying an evil?"

Thus the reports continue to come in, and the burden of them all is the same—namely, the progressive loss of much-needed labor and disastrous increase in the price of that which remains. It is clear from these laments, by those who should be excellent judges of the subject, that the emigration from this quarter is now considered to be of an unusually valuable quality. It would seem to rest with our own people only to keep it from congesting in the cities, and spread it over the large expanses where it can be advantageously used, to derive from it the greatest benefits.

American Consulate, Palermo, Italy, May 2, 1906.

WILLIAM HENRY BISHOP, *Consul*.

CHAPTER V.

ILLITERACY IN ITALY.

ILLITERATES IN THE GENERAL POPULATION.

In common with other southern and eastern European countries the proportion of illiterates among Italians is very high; 48.5 per cent of the total population 6 years of age and over and 52.3 per cent 21 years and over being so classed by the census of 1901. Among the so-called emigrating classes in the southern compartimenti, which furnish the greater part of the immigration to the United States, the proportion of illiterates is considerably higher than in the country as a whole. Data relative to illiteracy among military conscripts as well as among persons contracting marriage are also available for Italy, and these fully confirm the census returns. Data from all these sources, however, show that a rather remarkable change has occurred in the educational status of the people of Italy during recent years and the situation in all parts of the kingdom is steadily improving. This is clearly indicated by the following table, which shows the proportion of illiterates of different age groups in the years 1872, 1882, and 1901.

TABLE 27.—*Per cent of illiterates in the population of Italy in 1872, 1882, and 1901, by sex and age groups.*

[Compiled from "Italia Annuario Statistico," 1905-1907.]

Age groups.	1872.			1882.			1901.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
6 years and over.....	61.9	75.7	68.8	54.6	69.3	61.9	42.5	54.4	48.5
12 years and over.....	60.0	75.2	67.6	53.3	69.8	61.6	42.0	55.5	48.8
21 years and over.....	60.2	77.4	68.7	53.9	72.9	63.4	43.9	60.4	52.3

Apart from showing the large proportion of illiterates in the population, and the marked improvement in the situation between 1872 and 1901, the most significant feature of this table is the relatively higher percentage of illiteracy among females. This, it is claimed, is due to the generally inferior status of women in Italian affairs, the female population, especially in the lower classes, being excluded from all public life.^a If any benefit is recognized as being derived from an education the boy rather than the girl is naturally the claimant for it.

The general decrease in the prevalence of illiteracy is due to a growing appreciation of the value of an education and the gradual extension and improvement of the public-school system. Italy has a

^a "Italy." Prof. W. Deecke, p. 289.

compulsory school-attendance law and the State maintains the secondary schools and universities. The expense of maintaining elementary schools, however, is placed upon the communes and provinces, and many of these are too poor to provide adequate school facilities. Consequently, in many parts of central and southern Italy school privileges are not available to a large part of the population. The effect of this condition is clearly indicated in the following table, which shows the percentage of illiterates, by age groups, in each *compartmento*:

TABLE 28.—*Per cent of illiterates in the population of Italy in 1901, by sex and age groups and compartmenti.*

[Compiled from "Italia Annuario Statistico," 1905-1907.]

Compartmenti.	Per cent of illiterates—					
	6 years and over.			21 years and over.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Northern Italy:						
Piedmont.....	13.8	21.4	17.7	16.8	28.8	22.9
Liguria.....	21.9	31.2	26.5	24.6	38.6	31.6
Lombardy.....	20.4	22.7	21.6	24.0	28.9	26.4
Venetia.....	27.9	42.7	35.4	30.7	52.2	41.7
Central Italy:						
Emilia.....	42.0	50.6	46.3	46.8	59.6	53.1
Tuscany.....	42.0	54.5	48.2	41.7	58.7	50.1
Marches.....	54.1	70.5	62.5	55.4	76.2	66.2
Parugia (Umbria).....	52.0	69.1	60.3	54.0	75.7	64.4
Roma (Latium).....	37.7	50.6	43.8	37.9	55.1	46.1
Southern Italy:						
Abruzzi.....	58.5	79.8	69.8	59.5	85.2	73.4
Campania.....	56.9	72.6	65.1	57.3	76.5	67.5
Apulia.....	63.7	75.3	69.5	63.3	80.3	71.9
Basilicata.....	66.5	83.1	75.4	67.4	87.9	78.7
Calabria.....	69.2	87.0	78.7	67.7	89.5	79.8
Islands:						
Sicily.....	65.2	76.6	70.9	64.9	81.4	73.2
Sardinia.....	61.0	76.1	68.3	59.4	80.5	69.6
Kingdom.....	42.5	54.4	48.5	43.9	60.4	52.3

This table illustrates the wide difference between conditions of literacy in the north and south, the extremes for persons 6 years of age and over being found in Piedmont, where 17.5 per cent, and in Calabria, 78.8 per cent, are unable to read and write. The reason for the wide difference between the northern and southern *compartmenti* in this regard is explained by Egisto Rossi, royal Italian commissioner of emigration, who, in a statement to the Immigration Commission, said in substance:

The classes of Italian emigrants which would be most affected by an educational test in the United States law are those belonging to the agricultural districts of the southern provinces, and I will tell you the reason for that. We have a compulsory educational law, as you know. It makes it the duty of a commune to have a school for a determined number of inhabitants, and those people are supposed to be not very far away from the school and to be able to send their children to the school and have them come back the same day. This is very easy in the cities or in the northern provinces, where all sections are full of people, where the *communi* are near each other. There you have a school corresponding to the needs of our population, and it is very easy for the children to go from their own houses to the school. In addition to that, we must remember that the *communi* in the northern Provinces have better means; they are richer. They can appropriate for the maintenance of elementary

schools larger amounts than in the southern provinces. In the southern country the population is more scattered. You will find a town of 5,000 people. In this town you will find a school, and the boy or girl goes to the school, and they can enforce the law, and every parent who does not send his children to school is subject to a fine. But around these little villages there are fifteen or twenty thousand people, scattered at a distance of 5 or 6 kilometers, and the *communi*, in order to provide instruction for the children of these people scattered over that distance ought to open schools at distances between them not greater than 5 or 10 kilometers in order to reach every part of its jurisdiction. But you can not conscientiously compel these people living at a distance of 15 to 20 kilometers from the school to send their children every morning and bring them back every evening. The poor parents can not send the boy such a distance, and the *communi* is not in position to provide nearer accommodations. This accounts for a great deal of the illiteracy. The General Government bears the expense of universities and of secondary schools, but the expense of common-school education is placed upon the municipalities. Since we have seen the consequences of the present system there is a strong opinion in favor of passing over the elementary schools to the Government and of appropriating money to provide schools as the necessity requires. I have been advocating this change in the system.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

As suggested by Mr. Rossi, the compulsory school law has been very imperfectly carried out in central and southern Italy on account of the inability of the *communes* to furnish the needed instruction. School attendance, however, is rapidly rising, the number of pupils in the elementary schools during the last forty years, allowing for the increase of population, having increased 121.2 per cent. The following table gives the proportion of each sex attending the public elementary schools in the various *compartimenti* in the periods 1883-4 and 1901-2:

TABLE 29.—*Proportion of male and female pupils in Italian elementary public schools per 1,000 of the total population, in 1883-4 and 1901-2, by compartimenti.*

[Compiled from "Italia Annuario Statistico," 1905-1907.]

Compartimenti.	Proportion of pupils per 1,000 population.			
	Males.		Females.	
	1901-2.	1883-4.	1901-2.	1883-4.
Northern Italy:				
Piedmont.....	124.0	127.0	113.1	114.2
Liguria.....	99.3	93.0	89.2	82.1
Lombardy.....	112.1	106.7	99.4	95.1
Venetia.....	113.5	107.2	92.1	82.5
Central Italy:				
Emilia.....	97.3	78.4	84.6	64.9
Tuscany.....	74.2	56.1	60.9	44.8
Marches.....	77.5	57.8	54.1	40.2
Perugia (Umbria).....	78.9	62.0	63.5	48.7
Roma (Latium).....	74.7	56.1	69.0	58.9
Southern Italy:				
Abruzzi.....	71.7	61.8	50.2	43.8
Campania.....	62.6	54.4	45.1	41.7
Apulia.....	53.7	41.8	49.5	40.1
Basilicata.....	57.6	47.9	39.7	32.0
Calabria.....	53.6	49.8	32.5	31.0
Islands:				
Sicily.....	56.9	41.3	53.2	36.7
Sardinia.....	61.4	59.4	57.5	49.6
Kingdom.....	85.1	75.9	71.7	63.6

With one exception, Piedmont, the school attendance for each class has increased to a marked degree, but in spite of a slight falling off in the proportions Piedmont still maintains its lead much in advance of any other compartimento. Calabria has the lowest record both for boys and girls.

MOVEMENT TO REDUCE ILLITERACY.

In 1904 a campaign was begun for the more effectual suppression of illiteracy. By a law enacted that year the former age limit for compulsory school attendance, 6 to 9 years, was continued for communes where there was no higher elementary school, but in communes having the latter the compulsory school age was raised to twelve years. This law also provided that illiterates should be subject to various disabilities; no illiterate born after 1885 will be allowed to carry arms; no one born after 1890 will be allowed to open any establishment under police supervision—tavern, café, etc.—unless he himself is able to draw up formal application for permission; and no one born after 1900 will be admitted to a salaried position in the public administration unless he produces a certificate of primary instruction. Under this law and also that of July, 1906, 5,000 additional evening and Sunday schools were to be provided for the adult illiterate. As stated by Mr. Rossi, there is at present on foot the strongly favored movement to place the maintenance of the elementary school upon the Government, so that they might be provided as necessity required, and thus make possible the enforcement of the compulsory attendance law.

ILLITERACY AMONG CONSCRIPTS.

A study of illiteracy among military conscripts in Italy is of special interest in this connection, for the reason that both emigrants and recruits are largely drawn from the same age groups. The proportion of illiterates among conscripts in the years 1872, 1901, and 1904 is shown in the following table:

TABLE 30.—*Proportion of illiterates among Italian conscripts per 100 enrolled, in 1872, 1901, and 1904, by compartimenti.*

[Compiled from "Italia Annuario Statistico," 1905-1907.]

Compartimenti.	1904.	1901.	1872.
Northern Italy:			
Piedmont.....	8.9	11.3	26.2
Liguria.....	15.5	16.4	35.1
Lombardy.....	14.6	15.3	33.1
Venetia.....	21.5	23.6	51.4
Central Italy:			
Emilia.....	26.8	30.5	58.5
Tuscany.....	29.1	37.2	55.2
Marches.....	40.2	43.2	66.7
Perugia (Umbria).....	40.4	38.6	66.6
Roma (Latium).....	29.8	33.2	59.7
Southern Italy:			
Abruzzi.....	43.6	44.2	66.9
Campania.....	42.5	44.2	71.3
Apulia.....	50.3	53.1	71.2
Basilicata.....	61.1	49.2	75.0
Calabria.....	51.8	54.1	77.1
Islands:			
Sicily.....	51.5	53.3	78.7
Sardinia.....	53.8	52.9	72.5
Kingdom.....	31.2	32.6	56.5

This table clearly shows a rather remarkable advance in literacy among Italian young men, the proportion of those who could not read and write having decreased from 56.5 per 100 in 1872 to 31.2 per 100 in 1904. In Perugia, Basilicata, and Sardinia the proportion of illiterates increased slightly between 1901 and 1904, but there was a decrease in every other compartimento and in each instance the decrease for the longer period, 1872 to 1904, was sufficiently large to show conclusively that great progress has been made.

That literacy has steadily increased among all classes of Italian young men is shown from the following table which gives the proportion of illiterates among military conscripts according to their occupation:

TABLE 31.—*Proportion of illiterates among Italian conscripts per 100 enrolled, in periods specified, by occupation.*

[Compiled from "Italia Annuario Statistico," 1905-1907.]

Period.	Agriculturists and related occupations.	Sailors and fishermen.	Masons, miners, etc.	Workmen of other industries and artisans.	Persons connected with the preparation and sale of eatables.	Tradesmen in general.	Servants in general.	Common laborers not already specified and professional beggars.	Proprietors.	Total.
1871-1875	65.7	60.7	44.0	34.4	30.6	18.3	46.3	75.8	14.0	53.5
1876-1880	63.4	59.4	40.8	32.6	29.7	16.8	46.1	70.2	14.0	50.3
1881-1885	60.5	58.4	39.6	29.9	29.1	11.7	42.0	62.2	13.8	47.3
1886-1890	56.0	54.6	36.5	26.8	25.2	10.1	37.8	61.9	11.5	43.1
1891-1895	52.2	51.4	32.7	25.8	23.7	8.2	32.1	54.7	10.8	39.4
1896-1900	47.8	42.4	28.6	23.0	21.3	5.9	30.3	49.7	9.6	35.4
1901-1905	43.0	35.9	25.3	21.4	19.8	4.0	25.4	42.1	7.9	31.6

The three classes in which inability to read and write has been and continues to be most widespread are agricultural laborers, common laborers, and sailors and fishermen. Of these the first two form the most considerable part of Italian immigration to the United States. It should also be noted that it is in the very three classes where illiteracy is most prevalent that the decline in the rate from 1871-1875 to 1901-1905 has been most marked. During that period the percentage of illiterates among the total number of recruits fell from 53.5 per cent to 31.6 per cent, a difference of 21.9 per cent. For the common laborers and professional beggars the difference in the rates for that period was 33.7 per cent; for the sailors and fishermen it was 24.8 per cent; for the agricultural laborers it was 22.7 per cent. In the other occupations the decline in the percentage of illiterates was less than that for the total number of conscripts.

MARRIAGE RECORDS.

Marriage records are another source of data respecting literacy in Italy, the test in this case being the ability of the contracting parties to sign the marriage register. The record in this regard for the years 1872, 1901, and 1905 is shown by the following table:

TABLE 32.—Per cent of illiterates among persons contracting marriage in the various compartimenti of Italy in 1872, 1901, and 1905, by sex.

[Compiled from "Italia Annuario Statistico," 1905-1907.]

Compartimenti.	Per cent of illiterates.								
	Male.			Female			Total.		
	1872.	1901.	1905.	1872.	1901.	1905.	1872.	1901.	1905.
Northern Italy:									
Piedmont.....	24.1	5.6	4.2	46.6	7.1	5.9	35.3	6.3	5.0
Liguria.....	38.8	12.5	9.4	56.5	16.7	13.8	47.6	14.6	11.6
Lombardy.....	37.7	10.6	8.1	53.5	11.6	9.0	45.6	11.1	8.5
Venetia.....	47.0	18.0	14.6	80.1	32.8	25.9	63.5	25.4	20.3
Central Italy:									
Emilia.....	58.9	32.8	26.2	77.1	42.6	35.3	68.0	37.7	30.8
Tuscany.....	46.1	28.0	25.9	71.9	48.8	43.5	59.0	38.4	34.7
Marches.....	63.6	42.3	36.5	82.2	63.9	59.2	72.9	53.1	47.8
Perugia (Umbria).....	61.2	42.6	38.8	82.1	65.1	61.1	71.6	53.9	50.0
Roma (Latium).....	32.3	30.3	26.9	57.0	49.3	45.6	44.6	39.8	36.2
Southern Italy:									
Abruzzi.....	72.3	45.4	39.9	93.2	73.1	68.6	82.7	59.2	54.2
Campania.....	69.0	46.5	41.8	87.4	67.5	62.9	78.2	57.0	52.4
Apulia.....	80.5	55.1	54.4	93.3	73.3	72.5	86.9	64.2	63.4
Basilicata.....	85.9	63.8	61.4	96.1	79.4	77.6	91.0	71.6	69.5
Calabria.....	81.0	63.9	59.3	94.9	83.8	80.8	88.0	73.9	70.0
Islands:									
Sicily.....	79.5	56.2	52.5	91.5	69.7	65.1	85.5	63.0	58.8
Sardinia.....	70.6	51.1	48.5	87.8	71.7	70.0	79.2	61.4	59.3
Kingdom.....	56.2	32.7	30.3	75.3	46.1	43.5	65.8	39.4	36.9

This table is of particular interest because it includes persons of both sexes who correspond in age to a very large proportion of the emigrant group. It shows also the greater prevalence of illiteracy among women, and the same steady improvement in educational conditions throughout Italy which have been noted in preceding tables. As shown in all other tables, the percentage of illiterates among persons contracting marriage in the northern compartimenti of Piedmont, Liguria, and Lombardy is very much smaller than in other parts of Italy. Moreover, the decrease in illiteracy between 1872 and 1905 was relatively much greater in these compartimenti, the changed educational status of women in this section being especially noteworthy.

ILLITERACY AMONG ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS.

Unfortunately none of the data contained in the above tables are entirely comparable with statistics relative to illiteracy among Italian immigrants admitted to the United States. Table 30, showing the degree of illiteracy among military conscripts, concerns an age group which approximates the emigrant group, but it includes persons of one sex only. Table 32 also concerns persons of what may be called the emigrant age, and both sexes are represented, but in both these tables the data relate to all sections of Italy and to all classes in the

population, whereas by far the greater part of the emigration movement to the United States is drawn from the southern compartimenti and from the peasant class. Moreover, data are not available to show the relative educational status of country and city dwellers in Italy, but it was stated to the Commission that superior school facilities in the cities had considerably reduced the degree of illiteracy prevailing there. This fact further complicates the situation, for it is well known that the country districts furnish by far the greater proportion of immigrants. It is, therefore, impossible to determine from existing data how greatly the educational status of Italian immigrants to the United States differs from corresponding groups in the population of Italy as a whole.

During the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive, 1,829,011 Italian immigrants, 14 years of age and over, were admitted to the United States, and of these 858,982, or 47 per cent, were illiterate. The distribution of these immigrants in the different years, and among North and South Italians, is shown in the following table:

TABLE 33.—*Number and per cent of illiterates among Italian immigrants 14 years of age and over admitted to the United States, fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration.]

Fiscal year.	Number of arrivals 14 years and over.			Number of illiterates 14 years and over.			Per cent of illiterates.		
	North Italians.	South Italians.	Total.	North Italians.	South Italians.	Total.	North Italians.	South Italians.	Total.
1899.....	11,625	53,266	64,891	1,320	30,463	31,783	11.4	57.2	49.0
1900.....	15,742	71,814	87,556	1,804	39,150	40,954	11.4	54.5	46.8
1901.....	20,273	99,910	120,183	3,122	58,493	61,615	15.3	58.5	51.3
1902.....	25,405	135,961	161,366	3,556	76,529	80,085	13.9	56.2	49.6
1903.....	34,025	174,498	208,523	4,283	84,512	88,795	12.5	48.4	42.6
1904.....	33,066	138,434	171,500	4,150	74,889	79,039	12.3	54.0	46.1
1905.....	36,361	169,475	205,836	5,058	95,407	100,465	13.9	56.2	48.8
1906.....	42,293	213,982	256,275	5,042	114,957	119,999	11.9	53.7	46.8
1907.....	47,556	217,607	265,163	4,741	115,803	120,544	9.9	53.2	45.5
1908.....	21,925	92,082	114,007	1,855	46,654	48,509	8.5	50.6	42.6
1909.....	22,972	150,739	173,711	1,908	85,256	87,164	8.3	56.6	50.2
Total..	311,243	1,517,768	1,829,011	36,869	822,113	858,982	11.8	54.2	47.0

As stated elsewhere the United States Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization classifies as North Italians the people who are native to the compartimenti of Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, and Emilia, while natives of the rest of Italy are classed as South Italians. Elsewhere in this report the racial or ethnological difference between North and South Italians is discussed,^a and it is shown that, in popular opinion at least, the North Italians are a superior race. The above table shows that their educational status is much above that of the South Italians just as the tables derived from Italian statistical data show that the proportion of illiterates in the population of North Italy is much smaller than in the southern compartimenti. A comparison of Table 33 with the preceding tables, however, indicates that the line which divides the people of Italy into two general classes, so far as literacy is concerned, can not be drawn

^a See p. 177.

between North and South Italians, as those races are defined by the Bureau of Immigration. This conclusion is based on a consideration of illiteracy in Liguria and Emilia. Geographically, Liguria is classed as a part of Northern Italy, while Emilia is one of the so-called central compartimenti, but according to the Bureau's classification the people of the former are South Italians and those of Emilia, North Italians. Reference to Tables 28, 30, and 32 shows that the educational status of Ligurians, who are South Italians, approximates that of the population of Piedmont and Lombardy, who are North Italians, while the degree of illiteracy prevailing among the people of Emilia, also North Italians, approximates that found in the other central and southern compartimenti. From this comparison it would appear that the degree of illiteracy prevailing in the different sections of Italy was dependent upon economic and other conditions rather than upon race. Liguria, in every way, is one of the most advanced sections of Italy, and Emilia, while more advanced than some of the southern compartimenti, is, nevertheless, generally backward when compared with the more northern parts of the country. Consequently it would seem that backwardness along educational and other lines is not inherent in the South Italian nor progress in the North Italian, as is perhaps the popular belief in the United States.

As before stated, it is impossible from a consideration of the preceding statistical data to determine whether the proportion of illiterates among Italian immigrants to the United States is greater or less than among corresponding classes in Italy. All things considered, however, the group considered in Table 32, which shows the educational status of persons contracting marriage, more nearly corresponds to the immigrant group than any of the others. In the matter of age the marriage group would probably correspond rather closely to the immigrant group, but, as before pointed out, the former is drawn from all sections of the country and from all classes of the population, while immigrants are largely from the peasant class of the more southern compartimenti. Moreover, among the immigrants males predominate, and males are conspicuously less illiterate than females. It will be noted from the two tables referred to that in 1905 36.9 of the total population contracting marriage and 48.8 per cent of the immigrants were illiterate.

EFFECTS OF EDUCATIONAL TEST.

In ascertaining the educational status of immigrants to the United States no practical test is applied, and the data upon the subject result only from an inquiry as to the ability of each individual to read and write. The records of the Immigration Bureau, however, as shown in Table 33 so nearly approximate the Italian records shown in other tables that it is safe to assume that the data relative to arriving immigrants fairly represent the educational status of Italians coming to the United States. Therefore, if illiterates, without exceptions, were denied admission Italian immigration undoubtedly would be reduced to about one-half its present volume.

It is certain that the peasant classes of the southern compartimenti would be severely affected by the application of a literary test, but it

may be doubted whether such a test would very greatly reduce the coming of the morally undesirable. No data are available to show conclusively what sections of Italy furnish the criminal element, which is so prominent among Italian immigrants, but different persons conversant with the subject expressed to the Commission the belief that the great majority of such criminals were products of the cities and towns. The Commission was unable to secure statistics relative to the literacy of criminals in Italy, but all available information leads to a belief that as a rule the worst type of the Italian criminal possesses some degree of education.

Passed Asst. Surg. Allan J. McLaughlin, of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, a well-known writer on immigration subjects, who was in charge of the Naples station at the time of the Commission's visit, made the following statement to the Commission:

The adoption of an educational test by the United States would fall heavier on the *contadini* than on the city population. The city population is smart. The rascal who makes trouble in New York is very apt to be able to read and write, while the innocent, simple, childlike *contadini* are illiterate.

In discussing the relative literacy of city and country immigrants with a member of the Commission, Homer M. Byington, American vice-consul at Naples, said:

There are no statistics as to those coming from the cities, but from my experience I should say that the percentage would be very much larger, because the people in the country have absolutely no facilities for education, whereas in the cities the majority learn to read and write. With regard to the ability of the city criminal to read and write I will say that it depends entirely upon the class you take him from. There are two classes from the cities—the lower class and the higher class. The higher class all know how to read and write and depend upon their wit and ability in crime, whereas the lower class depend upon their physical force. In Naples most of the leaders of the secret societies, like the *Mafia* and the *Camorra*, know how to read and write.

CHAPTER VI.

CRIME IN ITALY.

CHARACTER AND NUMBER OF CRIMES REPORTED, 1880-1906.

Criminality among Italians in the United States has become a matter of such great moment in recent years that a brief study of the crimes of that race in their native country will be of interest. Fortunately official records are available to show the number of crimes of different classes reported to the authorities in Italy for various periods of time from 1880 to 1906, and these data for Italy as a whole, as well as for each *compartimento*, are presented in the tables which follow. It will be understood that in each instance the tables refer to crimes committed and reported rather than to convictions for crimes, the former data obviously being of greater value for the purpose at hand because they more nearly indicate the actual prevalence of crime in Italy.

The first series of tables show the number and class of crimes reported in each *compartimento* in the years specified.

TABLE 34.—*Number and character of crimes on which action was taken by the office of the public prosecutor, and by the praetors, Italy, in various periods from 1880 to 1906, by compartimenti.*

[Compiled from *Statistica Giudiziaria Penale, per gli anni 1905-1906, Roma, 1909.*]

PIEDMONT.

Description of crimes.	1880 to 1886.	1887 to 1889.	1890 to 1892.	1893 to 1895.	1896 to 1898.	1899 to 1901.	1902 to 1904.	1905.	1906.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....		707	813	962	923	955	965	1,078	1,139
Offenses against public faith and credit.....	1,755	824	1,386	1,528	1,599	1,109	1,452	2,000	2,215
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	237	332	282	337	361	383	395	389	418
Murder and homicide.....	258	232	194	235	199	202	187	168	132
Willful personal injuries.....		4,193	3,870	4,674	4,713	4,794	4,690	4,756	4,441
Criminal libel and slander.....		3,756	4,221	4,701	5,224	5,413	5,387	4,721	4,677
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	278	170	231	244	260	214	219	197	263
Larceny.....		7,735	8,871	8,641	9,437	8,578	9,063	10,074	11,097
Swindles and other frauds.....		1,470	1,342	1,541	1,673	1,823	1,593	1,593	1,720
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....		5,412	4,860	5,767	6,262	6,740	7,470	6,833	6,979
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws and in general and local regulations.....		9,908	15,212	14,654	13,990	15,797	14,925	15,499	16,290
Total.....		34,739	41,282	43,284	44,641	46,008	46,346	47,308	49,371

TABLE 34.—Number and character of crimes on which action was taken by the office of the public prosecutor, etc.—Continued.

LIGURIA.									
Description of crimes.	1880 to 1886.	1887 to 1889.	1890 to 1892.	1893 to 1895.	1896 to 1898.	1899 to 1901.	1902 to 1904.	1905.	1906.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....		557	588	741	585	597	694	782	794
Offenses against public faith and credit.....	643	427	686	809	444	390	374	570	800
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	121	158	164	215	193	227	254	257	222
Murder and homicide.....	99	113	109	102	82	79	73	88	80
Willful personal injuries.....		2,390	2,137	2,220	2,253	2,180	2,699	2,964	2,867
Criminal libel and slander.....		2,385	2,870	3,090	3,620	3,511	3,261	3,115	3,448
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	48	97	122	76	89	96	121	137	154
Larceny.....		3,601	4,277	3,993	4,628	5,035	5,316	5,768	6,003
Swindles and other frauds.....		728	768	966	1,023	983	1,030	1,085	1,132
Other crimes foreseen in the penal code.....		2,407	2,668	3,062	3,477	2,771	3,039	3,090	3,390
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws and in general or local regulations.....		7,630	12,602	10,653	12,077	12,808	14,075	15,234	14,637
Total.....		20,493	26,991	25,927	28,471	28,677	30,936	33,090	33,527

LOMBARDY.									
Description of crimes.	1880 to 1886.	1887 to 1889.	1890 to 1892.	1893 to 1895.	1896 to 1898.	1899 to 1901.	1902 to 1904.	1905.	1906.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....		753	793	866	1,009	1,063	1,200	1,256	1,662
Offenses against public faith and credit.....	1,335	998	1,243	1,335	1,550	1,043	1,202	1,796	1,558
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	317	376	313	357	418	430	485	474	476
Murder and homicide.....	126	110	103	120	108	96	121	101	147
Willful personal injuries.....		4,469	3,767	4,267	4,983	5,911	6,256	6,520	6,331
Criminal libel and slander.....		3,788	4,783	5,124	5,357	5,753	6,232	6,103	6,333
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	171	113	179	162	191	272	298	362	367
Larceny.....		8,156	9,795	9,672	11,335	11,040	12,996	14,691	16,196
Swindles and other frauds.....		1,904	1,830	1,833	2,552	2,407	2,546	2,546	2,417
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....		5,437	4,729	5,235	5,902	6,825	8,038	7,916	7,380
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws and in general or local regulations.....		13,191	16,627	16,837	16,548	20,142	20,767	22,460	24,774
Total.....		39,295	44,162	45,808	49,953	54,982	60,141	64,225	67,641

VENETIA.									
Description of crimes.	1880 to 1886.	1887 to 1889.	1890 to 1892.	1893 to 1895.	1896 to 1898.	1899 to 1901.	1902 to 1904.	1905.	1906.
Violence, resistance to and insults against authority.....		933	914	907	1,056	1,131	919	1,090	1,187
Offenses against public faith and credit.....	1,677	734	868	1,046	1,082	674	785	930	1,423
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	260	345	265	287	290	256	295	315	360
Murder and homicide.....	151	132	106	103	85	84	77	65	72
Willful personal injuries.....		3,001	3,245	3,518	3,575	3,657	4,259	4,042	4,266
Criminal libel and slander.....		4,772	5,118	5,344	5,712	5,810	6,190	6,268	5,871
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	101	79	94	104	102	80	79	100	90
Larceny.....		12,107	10,915	9,074	8,478	7,559	8,744	9,135	9,989
Swindles and other frauds.....		1,516	1,266	1,205	1,344	1,443	1,150	1,234	1,287
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....		5,363	4,912	5,141	5,333	5,654	6,184	6,362	6,516
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws and in general or local regulations.....		14,049	16,536	17,344	16,942	18,194	17,859	19,293	29,165
Total.....		43,031	44,239	44,073	43,999	44,542	46,541	48,834	60,226

TABLE 34.—Number and character of crimes on which action was taken by the office of the public prosecutor, etc.—Continued.

EMILIA.

Description of crimes.	1880 to 1886.	1887 to 1889.	1890 to 1892.	1893 to 1895.	1896 to 1898.	1899 to 1901.	1902 to 1904.	1905.	1906.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....		550	788	873	802	747	753	836	842
Offenses against public faith and credit.....	1,447	783	961	1,191	782	773	1,067	1,181	1,259
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	161	204	186	178	218	247	249	284	273
Murder and homicide.....	158	141	141	131	114	98	95	103	118
Willful personal injuries.....		3,037	2,754	2,647	2,661	2,965	2,920	2,891	2,957
Criminal libel and slander.....		2,416	2,769	3,178	3,418	3,376	3,612	3,408	3,420
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	213	135	187	157	180	121	139	144	154
Larceny.....		5,817	6,475	7,181	7,874	7,666	8,834	9,535	9,417
Swindles and other frauds.....		1,045	944	936	1,109	1,094	1,024	1,145	1,048
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....		4,324	4,248	4,055	4,675	5,315	5,729	5,593	6,098
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws and in general or local regulations.....		10,733	14,937	17,166	18,885	21,175	16,903	18,894	21,209
Total.....		29,185	34,390	37,693	40,718	43,577	41,325	44,014	46,795

TUSCANY.

Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....		202	702	894	926	890	927	962	968
Offenses against public faith and credit.....	731	704	911	1,183	1,099	838	1,060	815	472
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	274	288	240	263	254	283	313	255	236
Murder and homicide.....	224	162	131	151	122	101	110	91	90
Willful personal injuries.....		3,600	2,931	3,270	3,466	3,588	4,434	4,838	3,938
Criminal libel and slander.....		3,577	2,951	3,208	3,376	3,225	3,235	3,102	2,823
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	147	124	110	147	207	216	172	153	155
Larceny.....		4,588	5,394	5,429	6,553	7,442	7,201	7,593	8,104
Swindles and other frauds.....		888	831	981	1,199	1,205	1,210	1,012	850
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....		3,566	3,334	4,103	4,716	5,004	5,097	5,184	5,430
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws, and in general or local regulations.....		15,831	17,666	26,490	34,585	32,878	25,888	30,853	30,966
Total.....		33,530	35,201	46,119	56,503	55,670	49,647	54,858	54,032

MARCHES AND UMBRIA.

Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....		519	592	652	718	669	636	651	595
Offenses against public faith and credit.....	847	581	1,052	982	612	487	499	474	506
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	142	170	158	169	183	185	211	186	230
Murder and homicide.....	206	168	162	168	135	101	97	96	106
Willful personal injuries.....		3,886	3,595	3,648	4,006	3,537	3,842	4,321	4,300
Criminal libel and slander.....		1,868	2,408	2,968	3,185	3,121	2,976	2,603	2,585
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	68	40	74	83	84	61	60	60	70
Larceny.....		3,601	4,538	4,874	5,656	5,964	6,015	5,391	5,546
Swindles and other frauds.....		642	635	655	751	694	590	617	618
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....		3,019	3,879	4,070	4,673	4,917	4,982	4,322	4,366
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws and in general or local regulations.....		7,365	8,585	9,102	9,509	9,877	9,569	9,473	9,962
Total.....		21,859	25,676	27,371	29,512	29,613	29,477	28,194	28,884

TABLE 34.—Number and character of crimes on which action was taken by the office of the public prosecutor, etc.—Continued.

ROMA (LATIUM).

Description of crimes.	1880 to 1886.	1887 to 1889.	1890 to 1892.	1893 to 1895.	1896 to 1898.	1899 to 1901.	1902 to 1904.	1905.	1906.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....		1,020	1,308	1,267	1,254	1,362	1,489	1,470	1,539
Offenses against public faith and credit.....	452	617	913	839	743	1,224	1,448	1,124	792
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	188	250	261	278	266	382	461	362	325
Murder and homicide.....	235	250	191	209	143	131	158	136	104
Willful personal injuries.....	4,977	3,821	3,791	3,791	4,696	4,618	4,377	3,976	3,940
Criminal libel and slander.....	1,613	2,298	2,902	2,902	3,670	3,954	3,933	2,907	2,734
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	153	166	166	204	166	121	120	146	120
Larceny.....	6,195	6,674	7,970	7,970	7,982	8,269	8,919	9,580	9,822
Swindles and other frauds.....	1,305	1,385	1,778	1,778	1,772	1,875	1,913	2,081	1,469
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....		4,109	4,525	5,311	6,778	7,072	7,541	6,557	5,530
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws and in general or local regulations.....		16,738	32,101	43,687	79,543	74,697	69,606	78,775	87,599
Total.....		37,240	53,643	68,236	107,013	103,705	99,965	107,114	113,374

CAMPANIA AND MOLISE.^a

Violence and resistance to and insults against authority.....	1,808	2,435	2,562	2,724	2,504	2,502	2,450	2,597
Offenses against public faith and credit.....	1,470	1,509	1,729	1,603	1,646	1,254	1,662	1,159
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	662	575	990	1,095	1,276	1,460	1,694	1,238
Murder and homicide.....	1,139	807	830	802	855	725	673	580
Willful personal injuries.....	18,487	16,279	16,702	17,549	17,264	20,238	19,793	17,672
Criminal libel and slander.....	4,877	8,984	10,798	12,408	11,842	12,410	10,837	11,008
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	524	281	339	382	560	494	954	1,139
Larceny.....	9,913	11,854	12,928	15,805	16,791	16,131	13,951	14,618
Swindles and other frauds.....	2,121	2,616	2,645	3,476	3,388	3,666	3,464	3,560
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....		14,530	16,395	18,758	22,517	24,036	24,964	21,692
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws and in general or local regulations.....		29,808	41,901	38,959	45,351	42,384	48,387	48,649
Total.....		84,716	104,352	107,234	124,167	122,142	133,281	124,952

^a The data for the years 1880-1886 refer not only to Campania and Molise, but also to Basilicata, because the penal statistics up to the end of 1883 do not distinguish the proceedings of the courts of Potenza from that of the court of appeals at Naples.

TABLE 34.—Number and character of crimes on which action was taken by the office of the public prosecutor, etc.—Continued.

BASILICATA.^a

Description of crimes.	1880 to 1886.	1887 to 1889.	1890 to 1892.	1893 to 1895.	1896 to 1898.	1899 to 1901.	1902 to 1904.	1905.	1906.
Violence, resistance to and insults against authority.....		284	224	236	215	247	223	168	167
Offenses against public faith and credit.....		120	162	180	227	135	146	140	220
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....		151	163	174	161	181	170	173	161
Murder and homicide.....		149	125	113	92	86	66	66	58
Willful personal injuries.....		2,721	2,273	2,145	2,201	2,110	2,095	1,874	1,793
Criminal libel and slander.....		1,011	1,297	1,682	1,679	1,611	1,426	1,324	1,176
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....		23	20	21	38	28	20	18	27
Larceny.....		3,512	3,827	3,181	2,950	3,156	3,225	2,731	2,657
Swindles and other frauds.....		246	209	223	272	316	301	281	213
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....		2,504	2,954	3,652	3,677	3,670	3,914	3,382	2,951
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws and in general or local regulations.....		3,788	3,811	3,280	3,121	3,091	3,054	2,758	2,956
Total.....		14,509	15,065	14,887	14,633	14,631	14,610	12,865	12,379

ABRUZZI.

Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....		513	508	528	687	634	672	570	481
Offenses against public faith and credit.....	520	424	536	523	306	294	386	433	372
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	166	167	210	252	341	326	319	357	306
Murder and homicide.....	220	180	180	164	175	158	111	103	97
Willful personal injuries.....	5,442	4,767	4,728	5,186	4,971	5,296	5,246	4,550	4,550
Criminal libel and slander.....	1,733	2,858	3,549	4,325	4,091	3,505	3,354	3,057	3,057
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	43	21	31	47	55	42	29	30	35
Larceny.....	5,018	5,593	5,719	6,068	6,689	7,019	5,755	5,530	5,530
Swindles and other frauds.....		401	352	437	547	608	606	400	371
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....		3,608	4,899	5,596	6,996	6,790	6,476	5,348	5,305
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws and in general or in local regulations.....		8,692	8,900	8,254	8,754	8,742	9,558	9,014	8,564
Total.....		26,199	28,834	29,797	34,040	33,345	33,977	30,610	28,668

^a For the three years 1884-1886 data for Basilicata were recorded separately instead of with data for Campania and Molise, as had been the practice previously. During the three years the character and number of crimes reported were as follows: Counterfeiting and forgery, 116; offenses against public decency and good morals, 106; murder and homicide, 126; robbery, extortion, and blackmail, 27.

TABLE 34.—Number and character of crimes on which action was taken by the office of the public prosecutor, etc.—Continued.

APULIA.									
Description of crimes.	1880 to 1886.	1887 to 1889.	1890 to 1892.	1893 to 1895.	1896 to 1908.	1899 to 1901.	1902 to 1904.	1905.	1906.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....		1,070	948	1,003	1,238	1,214	1,375	1,219	1,290
Offenses against public faith and credit.....	545	419	812	787	754	818	712	510	428
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	216	308	493	596	818	784	775	701	758
Murder and homicide.....	256	249	227	243	289	228	187	152	165
Willful personal injuries.....	7,249	7,017	7,017	7,655	8,402	8,273	8,636	8,265	8,153
Criminal libel and slander.....	3,216	4,999	4,999	6,419	7,316	7,367	6,737	6,088	6,014
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	77	86	112	99	127	133	138	130	151
Larceny.....	6,693	6,640	6,640	7,398	9,788	11,938	13,681	10,816	10,554
Swindles and other frauds.....	978	832	832	1,145	1,494	1,427	1,388	1,178	1,021
Other crimes foreseen in the penal code.....	4,652	6,621	6,621	8,366	10,185	11,039	11,745	10,361	10,609
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws, and in general or in local regulations.....	9,984	10,630	11,107	11,870	11,435	11,788	11,740	11,691	11,691
Total.....	34,904	39,331	44,818	52,281	54,656	57,162	51,160	50,837	50,837

CALABRIA.									
Description of crimes.	1880 to 1886.	1887 to 1889.	1890 to 1892.	1893 to 1895.	1896 to 1908.	1899 to 1901.	1902 to 1904.	1905.	1906.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....		802	801	864	888	898	766	787	790
Offenses against public faith and credit.....	230	267	437	641	585	519	423	533	450
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	373	464	507	549	590	549	634	642	591
Murder and homicide.....	423	358	339	354	267	251	174	166	165
Willful personal injuries.....	9,106	7,890	7,904	7,904	8,048	7,358	7,330	7,048	6,806
Criminal libel and slander.....	3,480	4,869	5,218	5,218	5,616	5,566	5,259	4,476	4,926
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	85	77	83	125	122	82	103	75	75
Larceny.....	5,003	5,702	5,645	7,567	8,717	6,777	5,636	5,931	5,931
Swindles and other frauds.....	865	773	795	992	1,027	887	675	757	757
Other crimes foreseen in the penal code.....	7,824	10,214	10,726	12,124	12,071	11,035	9,132	10,331	10,331
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws and in general or in local regulations.....	12,098	12,446	11,158	12,327	11,568	10,590	9,820	10,441	10,441
Total.....	40,352	44,055	43,937	49,129	48,646	43,957	39,018	41,263	41,263

SICILY.									
Description of crimes.	1880 to 1886.	1887 to 1889.	1890 to 1892.	1893 to 1895.	1896 to 1908.	1899 to 1901.	1902 to 1904.	1905.	1906.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....	1,643	1,696	1,999	2,057	2,050	1,858	1,833	1,610	1,610
Offenses against public faith and credit.....	826	900	1,405	1,615	1,560	1,574	1,438	1,339	1,092
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	570	674	1,058	1,307	1,615	1,774	1,946	1,912	1,901
Murder and homicide.....	939	875	984	954	1,000	918	826	787	727
Willful personal injuries.....	13,217	11,733	12,174	12,174	12,912	12,392	13,207	12,475	11,314
Criminal libel and slander.....	6,897	10,128	12,308	12,308	13,501	13,392	13,900	11,860	11,860
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	515	470	645	841	1,049	1,060	1,114	1,272	1,006
Larceny.....	11,178	12,940	13,793	17,445	19,107	15,980	16,243	14,369	14,369
Swindles and other frauds.....	2,366	2,186	2,696	3,396	3,583	3,152	3,125	2,814	2,814
Other crimes foreseen in the penal code.....	11,545	15,782	19,095	21,587	21,800	21,639	19,446	18,764	18,764
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws and in general or in local regulations.....	15,682	16,254	17,225	18,558	19,781	17,967	20,652	18,347	18,347
Total.....	65,447	74,811	84,007	94,680	97,431	93,027	90,944	83,112	83,112

TABLE 34.—Number and character of crimes on which action was taken by the office of the public prosecutor, etc.—Continued.

SARDINIA.

Description of crimes	1880 to 1886.	1887 to 1889.	1890 to 1892.	1893 to 1895.	1896 to 1898.	1899 to 1901.	1902 to 1904.	1905.	1906.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....		415	421	619	620	638	617	676	593
Offenses against public faith and credit.....	344	138	476	551	531	467	487	428	489
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	102	128	151	177	173	209	211	217	189
Murder and homicide.....	186	164	171	194	209	153	151	145	117
Willful personal injuries.....		2,023	1,906	2,121	2,087	2,180	2,438	2,462	2,265
Criminal libel and slander.....		3,338	4,104	4,331	4,383	4,362	4,500	4,048	3,703
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	97	88	149	202	196	161	131	140	167
Larceny.....		4,887	5,760	6,624	8,075	8,436	8,663	7,777	8,311
Swindles and other frauds.....		865	903	1,298	1,422	1,778	1,778	1,661	1,434
Other crimes foreseen in the penal code.....		6,471	7,050	7,437	8,102	10,035	10,555	9,612	9,534
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws and in general or local regulations.....		6,225	7,575	10,571	8,342	8,958	7,708	7,135	7,327
Total.....		24,742	28,666	34,125	34,140	37,377	37,239	34,301	34,129

The above data are presented for Italy as a whole in the following table, which also shows the relation between the crimes of each class and the total population of the country :

TABLE 35.—Average annual number of crimes on which action was taken by the office of the public prosecutor, and by the pretors, and the proportion of crimes to every 100,000 inhabitants, Italy, in various periods from 1880 to 1906, by class of crime.

[Compiled from Statistica Giudiziarla Penale, per gli anni 1905-1906, Roma, 1909.]

Description of crime	1880 to 1886.		1887 to 1889.		1890 to 1892.	
	Average annual number.	To every 100,000 inhabitants.	Average annual number.	To every 100,000 inhabitants.	Average annual number.	To every 100,000 inhabitants.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....			11,775	39.62	13,531	44.58
Offenses against the public faith and credit.....	12,822	44.70	9,446	31.78	13,577	44.73
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	3,789	13.20	4,590	15.44	5,441	17.93
Murder and homicide.....	4,260	16.10	4,089	13.76	3,993	13.16
Willful personal injuries.....			87,796	295.41	77,985	256.94
Criminal libel and slander.....			48,727	163.96	64,657	213.03
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	2,559	8.89	1,977	6.65	2,536	8.36
Larceny.....			98,005	329.76	109,255	359.97
Swindling and other frauds.....			17,342	58.35	16,872	55.59
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....			84,774	285.23	97,071	319.83
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws or in local and general regulations.....						
Total.....			181,720	611.43	235,780	776.85
Total.....			550,241	1,851.39	640,698	2,110.97

TABLE 35.—Average annual number of crimes on which action was taken by the office of the public prosecutor, etc.—Continued.

Description of crime.	1893 to 1895.		1896 to 1898.		1899 to 1901.	
	Average annual number.	To every 100,000 inhabitants.	Average annual number.	To every 100,000 inhabitants.	Average annual number.	To every 100,000 inhabitants.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....	14,973	48.33	15,704	49.68	15,599	48.38
Offenses against the public faith and credit.....	14,813	47.81	13,521	42.77	11,599	35.97
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	5,234	20.12	7,157	22.64	7,676	23.81
Murder and homicide.....	4,043	13.05	3,874	12.25	3,411	10.58
Willful personal injuries.....	81,464	262.94	86,737	274.38	85,798	266.11
Criminal libel and slander.....	74,820	241.50	82,790	261.89	82,394	255.55
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	2,852	9.20	3,427	10.84	3,221	9.99
Larceny.....	112,121	361.90	130,240	412.00	136,387	423.01
Swindling and other frauds.....	19,134	61.76	23,022	72.83	23,651	73.35
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....	110,374	356.26	127,003	401.76	133,739	414.79
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws or in local and general regulations.....	256,488	827.87	310,402	981.91	311,527	966.21
Total.....	697,316	2,250.74	803,877	2,542.95	815,002	2,527.75

Description of crime.	1902 to 1904.		1905.		1906.	
	Average annual number.	To every 100,000 inhabitants.	Number.	To every 100,000 inhabitants.	Number.	To every 100,000 inhabitants.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....	15,596	47.51	15,828	47.56	16,254	48.60
Offenses against the public faith and credit.....	13,111	39.91	13,432	40.36	13,346	39.90
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	8,412	25.62	7,762	23.32	7,924	23.69
Murder and homicide.....	3,106	9.46	2,847	8.55	2,612	7.81
Willful personal injuries.....	92,717	282.43	91,471	274.83	85,593	255.94
Criminal libel and slander.....	82,563	251.50	74,214	222.98	72,943	218.12
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	3,676	11.19	4,131	12.41	4,391	13.13
Larceny.....	138,564	422.08	134,676	404.64	138,144	413.09
Swindling and other frauds.....	22,884	69.56	22,047	66.24	20,711	61.96
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....	138,408	421.61	124,830	375.06	128,744	384.99
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws or in local and general regulations.....	298,044	909.70	320,249	962.20	354,918	1,061.31
Total.....	817,631	2,490.60	811,487	2,438.15	845,580	2,528.54

A comparison between crimes of each class and the total population of the different compartimenti in the period 1902 to 1906, inclusive, is presented in the table next submitted.

TABLE 36.—Proportion of crimes to every 100,000 inhabitants, based on the average annual number of crimes in the period 1902 to 1906, inclusive, Italy, by compartimenti and class of crime.

[Compiled from Statistica Giudiziarla Penale per gli anni, 1905-1906, Roma, 1909.]

Description of crime.	Proportion of crimes to every 100,000 inhabitants in—					
	Piedmont.	Liguria.	Lombardy.	Venetia.	Emilia.	Tuscany.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....	27.28	56.68	32.50	30.96	31.83	38.85
Offenses against the public faith and credit.....	45.75	38.63	34.69	28.97	45.61	36.84
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	10.63	19.22	11.99	9.60	10.54	11.78
Murder and homicide.....	4.59	6.00	3.05	2.26	4.07	4.21
Willful personal injuries.....	124.18	215.80	157.66	129.70	118.09	182.06
Criminal libel and slander.....	136.42	253.27	155.22	188.91	142.80	128.89
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	5.96	10.15	8.10	2.62	5.77	6.80
Theft (larceny).....	258.11	429.54	348.39	279.02	367.45	307.59
Swindling and other frauds.....	43.20	82.25	62.83	36.74	42.56	45.29
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....	193.33	241.71	196.50	193.34	233.44	213.61
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws, and in local or general regulations.....	408.65	1,117.17	546.15	627.69	734.08	1,150.23
Total.....	1,258.10	2,470.42	1,537.08	1,529.81	1,736.24	2,126.15

Description of crime.	Marches and Umbria.	Roma.	Campania and Molise.	Basilicata.	Abruzzi.	
					Province of Teramo.	Province of Pescara.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....	36.11	121.50	71.07	41.90	56.82	56.82
Offenses against the public faith and credit.....	28.35	101.77	41.98	29.54	36.35	36.35
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	12.01	33.65	44.16	35.14	30.03	30.03
Murder and homicide.....	5.67	11.61	17.17	13.44	9.90	9.90
Willful personal injuries.....	230.63	342.15	555.87	415.28	475.84	475.84
Criminal libel and slander.....	161.59	283.46	334.47	282.83	313.59	313.59
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	3.55	10.18	31.47	4.34	2.83	2.83
Theft (larceny).....	331.77	750.32	435.75	628.46	599.15	599.15
Swindling and other frauds.....	34.38	150.99	102.03	56.16	47.97	47.97
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....	270.57	564.18	691.55	754.19	557.32	557.32
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws, and in local or general regulations.....	551.12	6,098.64	1,442.60	620.66	856.87	856.87
Total.....	1,665.75	8,468.45	3,768.12	2,881.94	2,986.67	2,986.67

Description of crime.	Apulia.	Calabria.	Sicily.	Sardinia.	Kingdom.	
					Province of Cagliari.	Province of Sassari.
Violence, resistance to, and insults against authority.....	66.61	55.60	50.48	76.56	47.74	47.74
Offenses against the public faith and credit.....	30.84	32.33	37.75	58.38	40.02	40.02
Offenses against public decency and good morals.....	37.99	45.02	54.03	25.47	24.77	24.77
Murder and homicide.....	8.81	12.26	22.35	17.55	8.94	8.94
Willful personal injuries.....	424.94	514.39	354.95	295.45	275.54	275.54
Criminal libel and slander.....	324.42	361.36	362.34	521.46	239.00	239.00
Robbery, extortion, and blackmail.....	6.96	6.08	31.46	17.20	11.83	11.83
Theft (larceny).....	626.60	457.78	439.72	1,032.57	416.75	416.75
Swindling and other frauds.....	63.87	58.75	86.17	206.87	67.34	67.34
Other crimes foreseen by the penal code.....	564.28	754.40	577.28	1,246.84	404.81	404.81
Misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, and crimes and misdemeanors provided for in special laws, and in local or general regulations.....	590.30	746.73	520.04	922.33	950.97	950.97
Total.....	2,745.62	3,044.70	2,536.57	4,420.68	2,487.71	2,487.71

While the preceding tables reveal the criminal records of Italy so clearly that an extended analysis is unnecessary, the data respecting some classes of crime are of such great significance in a consideration of Italian immigration to the United States that attention should be directed to them. In this connection the data respecting murder and homicide are the most interesting features of the tables, because of a remarkable decrease in the number reported between the period 1880-1886 and the year 1906, and also because of the striking prevalence of such crimes, even in the later years, in the compartimenti which are the chief sources of immigration to the United States.

MURDER AND HOMICIDE.

Between the period 1880-1886 and the year 1906 the number of murders and homicides in the Kingdom of Italy as a whole decreased from a yearly average of 4,260, or about 16 to every 100,000 of the total population in the former period, to 2,612 in 1906, the proportion of such crimes to the population in that year being 7.8 per every 100,000 persons. Reference to the table below will show that the decrease occurred in every compartimento except Lombardy, where an increase from 126 in the former period to 147 in the year 1906 is recorded. It will be noted, however, that even in Lombardy, with the exception of 1906, the general trend was downward during the period considered. As shown by the following table, the decrease in the number of murders and homicides was not peculiar to any particular section of Italy:

TABLE 37.—Increase or decrease in number of murders and homicides between the period 1880-1886 and the year 1906, Italy, by compartimenti.

[Compiled from Table 34, pp. 195-201.]

Compartimenti.	Number of murders and homicides reported.		Per cent of decrease.
	Yearly average, 1880-1886.	1906.	
Piedmont.....	258	132	48.8
Liguria.....	99	80	19.2
Lombardy.....	126	147	^a 16.7
Venetia.....	151	72	52.3
Tuscany.....	224	90	59.8
Emilia.....	158	118	25.3
Marches and Umbria.....	206	106	48.5
Roma (Latium).....	235	104	55.7
Campania and Molise.....	^b 807	434	46.2
Abruzzi.....	220	97	55.9
Apulia.....	256	165	35.5
Basilicata.....	^c 126	58	54.0
Calabria.....	423	165	61.0
Sicily.....	939	727	22.6
Sardinia.....	186	117	37.1

^a Increase.

^b Yearly average for 1887-1889.

^c Yearly average for 1884-1886.

To what extent emigration is responsible for the remarkable decrease in the number of murders and homicides in Italy, as shown above, obviously can not be mathematically determined. However, in view of the fact that the decrease has been coincident with the emigration movement, and also with the startling growth of Italian

criminality of the same nature in the United States, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the very desirable result in Italy had been due in large part to the emigration to this country of criminals and the criminally inclined. There are of course other elements which should be taken into consideration, such as the advance of civilization and the better enforcement of law in parts of Italy, but in view of the situation above described the responsibility can not in large part be shifted from emigration.

It does not appear in every case that the decrease in crime has been greatest in compartimenti from which the heaviest emigration has taken place, but in Abruzzi, Basilicata, and Calabria, which compartimenti furnish the greatest number of transoceanic emigrants according to the population, there has been an exceptionally large decrease in the number of murders and homicides committed. On the other hand, Sicily, which has a large emigration, and Liguria, which has much the smallest emigration in proportion to population, show nearly the same per cent of decrease in crimes of this class.

A serious aspect of the situation is presented in Table 36, which shows that the prevalence of murder and homicide is as a rule much greater in compartimenti which furnish the largest number of transoceanic emigrants, and consequently are the source of the greater part of the Italian movement to the United States. The following table, compiled from Tables 36 and 10, while not furnishing exact comparison in the case of all compartimenti, nevertheless illustrates the point under discussion.

TABLE 38.—*Murders and homicides in Italy and transoceanic emigration from Italy, in years specified, by compartimenti.*

[Compiled from Tables 36 and 10.]

Compartimenti.	Proportion of murders and homicides to every 100,000 inhabitants—1902-1906 (yearly average).	Transoceanic emigration in 1907.	Number of transoceanic emigrants to each 1,000 population.
Piedmont.....	4.59	26,232	7.7
Liguria.....	6.00	6,714	5.8
Lombardy.....	3.05	15,506	3.4
Venetia.....	2.26	14,703	4.4
Emilia.....	4.07	10,022	4.0
Tuscany.....	4.21	13,778	5.2
Marches and Umbria.....	5.67	17,760	9.9
Roma.....	11.61	15,485	12.1
Campania and Molise.....	17.17	^a 70,228	^a 22.0
Abruzzi.....	9.90	^b 44,024	^b 30.3
Apulia.....	8.81	25,313	12.4
Basilicata.....	13.44	14,685	31.2
Calabria.....	12.26	46,184	32.7
Sicily.....	22.35	91,902	25.7
Sardinia.....	17.55	3,365	4.0
Kingdom.....	8.94	415,901	.....

^a Campania alone

^b Abruzzi and Molise

This table shows clearly that the northern compartimenti which furnish comparatively few transoceanic emigrants in proportion to the population have a much smaller proportion of murders and homi-

cides, while as a rule the opposite is true of the central and southern sections, by far the worst situation appearing in Sicily, which furnished 91,902 transoceanic emigrants in 1907 and had the remarkable record of a yearly average of 22 murders and homicides to every 100,000 of the population during the period 1902-1906.

OTHER CRIMES AND OFFENSES.

The number of crimes classed as "willful personal injuries" also decreased in the Kingdom as a whole during the period considered, but the per cent of decrease was small compared with that of murder and homicide. The decrease, however, was confined entirely to Emilia, Roma, Compania, Basilicata, Abruzzi, Calabria, and Sicily, and it is interesting to note that the five compartimenti last named contribute a larger proportion of their population to the trans-Atlantic emigrant movement than do any other sections of Italy. There was an increase for Italy as a whole in the number of crimes and offenses included in the other classes considered in the tables, but this was not general throughout the compartimenti. Crimes of "violence, resistance to and insults against authority" decreased in the four great immigrant-furnishing compartimenti of Basilicata, Abruzzi, Calabria, and Sicily.

"Offenses against the public faith and credit" increased from a yearly average of 12,822 in 1880-1886 to 13,346 in 1906, but the proportion of such offenses decreased from 44.70 to 39.90 of the population in the former period to 39.90 in 1906. Decreases in the number of offenses of this class are noted in Venetia, Emilia, Tuscany, Marches, Umbria, Compania, Molise, Abruzzi, and Apulia.

The number of "offenses against public decency and good morals" increased in every compartimento except Tuscany, the increase for the Kingdom as a whole being from an annual average of 3,789 in 1880-1886 to 7,924 in 1906. The largest number of these crimes are reported for Sicily, which also shows the greatest increase in the period considered.

The number of cases of "criminal libel and slander" reported increased from an average of 48,727 in the years 1887-1889 to 72,943 in 1906, Tuscany being the only compartimento to show a decrease.

In the class of crimes stated as "robbery, extortion, and blackmail" the number of cases increased from a yearly average of 2,559 in 1880-1886 to 4,391 in 1906, but decreases are noted in Piedmont, Venetia, Emilia, Roma, Abruzzi, and Calabria. It is perhaps worthy of note that of the three classes of crime, "murder and homicide," "willful personal injuries," and "robbery, extortion, and blackmail," which are largely responsible for the criminal reputation of Italians in the United States, the last named is the only one for which a consistent decrease is not shown in the largest emigrant-furnishing compartimenti of Italy. There was a large increase in the number of larceny cases for the Kingdom and decreases only in Venetia and Basilicata. In the crimes or offenses classed as "swindling or other frauds" the increase was smaller, and decreases occurred in Venetia, Tuscany, Basilicata, Abruzzi, and Calabria.

The following table shows the annual average number and the number per 100,000 inhabitants of offenses classed as "misdemeanors" in 1902-1906 for each compartimento and for Italy as a whole:

TABLE 39.—Average annual number of misdemeanors on which action was taken by the office of the public prosecutor, and by the pretors, 1902 to 1906, inclusive, by compartimenti.

[Compiled from Statistica Giudiziaria Penale per gli anni 1905-6; Roma, 1909.]

Compartimenti.	Misdemeanors reported.									
	Total.		Beggary.		Carrying arms.		Drunkenness.		Others ^a	
	Average annual number.	To every 100,000 inhabitants.	Average annual number.	To every 100,000 inhabitants.	Average annual number.	To every 100,000 inhabitants.	Average annual number.	To every 100,000 inhabitants.	Average annual number.	To every 100,000 inhabitants.
Piedmont.....	14,747	393.55	375	10.01	518	13.82	1,631	43.53	12,223	326.19
Liguria.....	13,964	1,081.91	817	63.33	460	35.62	1,458	112.96	11,229	870.00
Lombardy.....	20,796	518.45	946	23.58	780	19.46	2,238	55.80	16,832	419.61
Venetia.....	19,285	593.17	577	17.73	608	18.70	1,873	57.62	16,227	499.12
Tuscany.....	27,637	1,139.52	470	19.37	774	31.92	983	40.55	25,410	1,047.68
Emilia.....	17,928	724.61	295	11.98	596	24.06	853	34.47	16,183	654.10
Marches and Umbria.....	9,337	534.40	97	5.53	910	52.11	478	27.34	7,852	449.42
Roma (Latium).....	74,831	6,081.78	1,731	140.70	884	71.83	1,026	83.40	71,190	5,785.85
Campania and Molise.....	49,255	1,394.34	820	23.22	5,066	143.41	1,026	29.03	42,343	1,198.68
Basilicata.....	2,832	590.95	8	1.75	529	110.46	163	34.00	2,132	444.74
Abruzzi.....	9,011	834.70	35	3.22	627	58.05	558	51.73	7,791	721.70
Apulia.....	10,990	551.67	69	3.46	1,665	83.60	500	25.07	8,756	439.54
Calabria.....	9,910	711.15	47	3.40	1,901	136.39	686	49.23	7,276	522.13
Sicily.....	17,658	494.24	168	4.70	2,112	59.12	357	9.98	15,021	420.44
Sardinia.....	7,413	909.52	19	2.28	396	48.56	537	65.94	6,461	792.74
Kingdom.....	305,594	924.86	6,475	19.59	17,826	53.95	14,367	43.48	266,926	807.84

^a This includes misdemeanors provided for in the penal code, in special laws, and in local or general regulations.

This table is inserted for the purpose of showing how inconspicuous a place drunkenness occupies among the crimes and offenses of Italy. Reference is made elsewhere to the fact that Italians in Italy, and particularly in the southern sections, are a remarkably sober people, and this is substantiated by the above table. When contrasted with more serious crimes a curious situation appears, for a comparison between the above table and Table 36 shows that for Italy as a whole several of the higher crimes occur more frequently than drunkenness. In Sicily even murder and homicide appears to be considerably more common than drunkenness, the proportion of such crimes being 22.35 annually per 100,000 inhabitants in the former case and only 9.98 annually for 100,000 in the latter.

CHAPTER VII.

EMIGRATION OF THE CRIMINAL CLASSES.

An alarming feature of the Italian immigration movement to the United States is the fact that it admittedly includes many individuals belonging to the criminal classes, particularly of southern Italy and Sicily. Moreover, the prevailing alarm in this respect is not occasioned entirely by the fact that a good many actual criminals come to the United States from Italy, but also by the not unfounded belief that certain kinds of criminality are inherent in the Italian race. In the popular mind, crimes of personal violence, robbery, blackmail, and extortion are peculiar to the people of Italy, and it can not be denied that the number of such offenses committed among Italians in this country warrants the prevalence of such a belief. Accompanying a tendency to commit crimes of the nature stated is also a seemingly inherent ability to avoid arrest and conviction, the experience of both American and Italian officials in this respect being much the same.

It is generally and reasonably said that the prevalence of the above enumerated crimes among Italians of the southern compartment and Sicily is due to conditions under which these people lived for centuries. The territory known in earlier times as the "Two Sicilies," which included the southern part of the Italian mainland and the island of Sicily, was almost from the beginning of history subject to the despotic rule of various peoples. The Greeks, Normans, Spanish, French, and Austrians were at different times in possession of all or a part of the "Two Sicilies," and the people were almost constantly under a despotism which retarded progress and even civilization.

Conditions, however, have steadily improved under the enlightened government which has been accorded to the "Two Sicilies" since they became a part of united Italy in 1861. The spirit of brigandage which formerly prevailed has almost disappeared with the passing of old leaders, and the people are said to be slowly losing the old characteristics of lawlessness which have made members of the race so conspicuous in the criminal element of the United States during recent years.

It is certain that many Italian criminals, both those who had served sentences and others who had escaped punishment, have come to the United States during the past 30 years. It was frequently stated to members of the Commission in southern Italy and Sicily that crime had greatly diminished in many communities because most of the criminals had gone to America. An Italian official in Messina who was interviewed by a representative of the Commission stated that southern Italy was a hotbed of crime several years ago; that criminals were in abundance, but that very few of them are left now. When asked as to their whereabouts, he replied: "Why, they are all in the

United States." He illustrated this contention by saying that in the city of Palermo a few years ago there were between 400 and 500 Italians with criminal records continually under police surveillance, but that less than a dozen of this class remained, the rest having emigrated to America. The chief of police at Palermo failed to corroborate this story, although he admitted that the number of criminals in the city had decreased.

Various other persons interviewed by commissioners volunteered information similar to that above quoted. Of course, most of the statements were more or less indefinite, but they were sufficient to show that the emigration of the criminal element is a matter of common knowledge in Sicily and southern Italy.

EFFECT ON EMIGRATION.

A member of the Commission found that some Calabrians and Sicilians of the better class were refraining from emigrating to the United States because of the "black hand," while some had actually returned from the United States to Calabria and Sicily to find safety from it. Instances of this tendency were found in Syracuse, Messina, and in two Calabrian villages, and it was evident that the "black-hand" agitation in this country not only restricted emigration, but drove back to Italy immigrants who felt safer even in Calabria and Sicily than in New York City. At Gallina, Calabria, a prominent Italian asked why the "black hand" was not suppressed in New York, where it was worse than in Sicily. He said there was a man then living in Gallina who had been in a good position on the New York Central Railway. He had received two "black-hand" letters demanding money, and rather than take any chances had come back to Calabria, where he felt safe. The gentleman interviewed expressed the belief that the "black hand" was a real deterrent to emigration.

PASSPORTS DENIED TO CRIMINALS.

It is provided in the Italian law that no subject of Italy shall be allowed to emigrate without a passport, and the law also stipulates that no passport shall be issued if the applicant is not admissible under the laws of the country to which he proposes to emigrate. Therefore the Italian law in effect denies a passport to the United States to any person who has "been convicted of * * * a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude," because the law of this country denies admission to immigrants of that class. From all that could be learned by the Commission the Italian law in this regard is generally well enforced, but as the possession of a passport is not a requisite of admission to the United States the vigilance of Italian officials avails little in preventing the coming of criminals to this country. Passports to other countries whose laws are less rigid than the United States are issued to criminals without question, and once out of Italy there is little to prevent their coming to the United States. Moreover, it is not difficult for Italians to leave Italy overland without passports, in which case they can easily embark for the United States at some French, German, or other port. According to the Commission's information many criminals reach this country by both of the methods referred to.

DECREE GOVERNING ISSUANCE OF PASSPORTS.

As passports play so important a part in the administration of the Italian emigration law, a reference to the laws and regulations governing their issuance will be of interest in this connection. The royal decree of January 31, 1901, "on the granting of passports to foreign countries and instructions relative thereto," as amended by royal decree of November 20, 1902, provides that passports to foreign countries are granted in the name of the King to subjects:

In the Kingdom—by the minister of foreign affairs, and under his authority by the prefects, subprefects, district commissioners, or by the chiefs of police if the latter are especially authorized to do so by the prefects.

In foreign countries—by the royal diplomatic and consular officers, and by royal consular agents, if they are authorized to do so by the consul to whom they are responsible.

Whoever desires a passport in the Kingdom must apply either orally or in writing to the mayor of the commune (town) where he has his usual residence, and the latter shall request the passport of the proper authority by forwarding a certificate of "nulla osta."^a

It is prohibited to act on application for a certificate of "nulla osta" or to issue passports to foreign countries to persons who are shown to be in one of the following classes:

1. Those who are abandoning persons whom they are legally bound to support, and who do not make suitable provisions for their care.

2. Persons who, according to the civil laws, are subject to the authority of others, if they lack the consent of the persons to whom they are subject, or, in the absence of such persons, of the judge of the chief towns of the district, or otherwise of the justice of the peace; and, in the case of persons under 16 years of age, if there are reasons for believing that it is desired to take them abroad for immoral purposes, or in order to perform work in industries which are dangerous or injurious to health.

3. Persons who must serve a sentence in prison for any crime, or against whom there has been issued a warrant of arrest or an order to appear in criminal proceedings begun for an offense punishable by solitary confinement or detention of not less than one year.

4. Persons entered on the recruiting roll for the army, who are in the Kingdom and have attained, or do attain, the eighteenth year of age, except by permission of the prefect or subprefect.

5. Soldiers of the first category of the army, who are in the Kingdom and who have not reached the age of 28 years, except by permission of the commander of the district.

6. Soldiers of the first category of the army, who are in the Kingdom and who have attained the twenty-eighth but not the thirty-second year of age, if notice has not been previously given to the commander of the district of their intention of leaving the Kingdom.

7. Persons inscribed on the recruiting roll of the navy, who are in the Kingdom and have attained or do attain the eighteenth year of age, except by permission of the harbor master.

^a A declaration that there is no legal obstacle to the applicant's receiving a passport.

8. Soldiers belonging to the royal equipage corps, who are in the Kingdom, except by permission of the commander of the corps, and through him of the harbor master.

The permission referred to under paragraphs 4, 5, 7, and 8 will be refused on instructions from the ministers of war and navy whenever there is reason to believe that the person who requests the passport wishes to go abroad in order to escape some military duty. The privilege of emigration may be temporarily suspended in exceptional cases with respect to all soldiers, by royal decree, upon the recommendation of the ministers of war and navy.

9. Citizens of foreign countries who, asking for a passport after the 1st of January of the year in which they reach the twentieth year of age, do not prove their regular status with regard to the obligation to perform military service, persons shirking military duties, and deserters.

10. Persons liable to be denied admission to the country of their intended destination because of provisions of the immigration law of that country.

11. Persons who are expressly prohibited from emigrating by some other order.

The following persons may be inscribed on the same passports:

The head of a family with his wife and relatives in the ascending or descending line habitually residing with him; a guardian with the persons under his charge; a brother who has attained his majority, together with his minor brother and any unmarried sisters residing with him.

Passports to foreign countries, whether issued in Italy or abroad, shall last three years. However, persons who are inscribed on the recruiting rolls shall not have a passport issued to them for a period of time reaching beyond the date on which the recruitment for their class is authorized.

Passports which have expired for not over three months may be directly renewed by one of the authorities competent to issue passports without the formality of securing another certificate of "nulla osta," provided the proper declaration is made on the passport itself, and upon payment of the fee which would be due for a new passport. The renewals shall not be made for a longer period than three years each, and must be renewed every time it is shown that the applicant does not fulfill the conditions under which alone the passport may be issued to him in accordance with the present decree.

Passports for foreign countries shall be subject to the payment of a fee, which shall be, according to the class, 10.2 lire or 2.2 lire.

First-class passports issued to persons in easy circumstances are subject to a fee of 10.2 lire.

Second-class passports issued to persons not coming within the foregoing category are subject to a fee of 2.2 lire.

Passports issued or renewed, either in Italy or abroad, to persons going abroad, or who are abroad for the purpose of obtaining work, and to their families, and those to all persons who are in a condition of destituteness, shall be free of charge.

Royal diplomatic and consular officers in foreign countries may issue or renew passports in accordance with the royal decree when it is evident to them that the applicant fulfills the conditions pre-

scribed in order that passports may be issued to him; or, when this is not known to them, on the basis of a gratuitous declaration that there is no obstacle, issued by the proper prefect.

The minister of foreign affairs, with the consent of the minister of the interior, may, with respect to all or certain classes of persons, temporarily suspend the issuance of passports to certain regions for reasons of public order, or when the lives, liberty, or property of emigrants might be gravely endangered.

All authorities who have the power to issue passports to foreign countries may withdraw them even before their expiration when it becomes known to them that the holder no longer fulfills the conditions required by the royal decree for the issuance of passports abroad.

INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICERS ISSUING PASSPORTS.

As an evidence of the interest of the Italian Government in the matter of passports to the United States, a recent circular of instructions upon the subject, issued by the minister for foreign affairs, is given herewith in part:

CIRCULAR OF THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS No. 13, DECEMBER 10, 1908, TO THE PREFECTS, VICE PREFECTS, DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS, MAYORS, AND ROYAL DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR OFFICERS IN REGARD TO THE GRANTING OF PASSPORTS FOR THE UNITED STATES.

Certain difficulties which recently have arisen concerning the granting of passports to the United States make it advisable for me again to remind the royal authorities in charge of this service of the rules of the Italian regulations as well as the American law on immigration.

Article III of the royal decree dated January 31, 1901 (No. 36), amended by the decree of November 20, 1902 (No. 523), provides that it is forbidden to issue declarations of "nulla osta" (nothing to the contrary) and passports to persons likely to be rejected from the country of destination by reason of the local law of immigration.

The immigration law of the United States dated February 20, 1907, provides as follows:

(Sections 2, 3, and 4 of the United States immigration law quoted.)

This department has already recommended to the competent royal authorities before granting certificates of "nulla osta" or passports to examine diligently and to discover if the applicant complies with the requirements for admission into the United States.

Above all it is necessary to make certain that the applicant for a passport is not a person likely to become a public charge, and that he has not been convicted of crime involving moral turpitude, and that he does not emigrate under a labor contract. In all those cases the passports must be refused.

The royal Government while insisting that all regulations actually in force in the Kingdom in regard to the granting of passports be scrupulously enforced, is firmly decided to cooperate with the Governments of the countries of destination of Italian emigrants for the exact enforcement of their immigration laws.

Nor is it superfluous for me to recall the fact that according to Article IX of the regulations on emigration, officers who do not attend in the granting of passports in the ways prescribed by law will be punished by the department to which they belong as their remissness deserves.

The service of granting passports up to the present, with few exceptions, has been conducted with the care that its importance has demanded, and I regret to be obliged on account of the few exceptions above mentioned to again state the law and urge its enforcement.

I rely strongly upon the diligence and the zeal of the officers to whom the present is addressed in order that this service be conducted always and everywhere according to the exact rules established by our regulations and agreeably with the rules in foreign countries which govern immigration.

STATEMENT OF EGISTO ROSSI.

In a conference with members of the Immigration Commission at Rome, Egisto Rossi, royal Italian commissioner of emigration, explained the Italian passport system and its relation to the emigration of criminals to the United States substantially as follows:

The law prescribes that the emigrant, especially for America, must have a passport before leaving the country, but to get a passport means that he must have nothing pending with the courts and be exempt from military service. If it is found that a man has fallen into some trouble with officers of justice and is under judgment, he can not leave, so when an emigrant arrives in the United States with a passport you may be sure that from our standpoint he is an honest man. Those who can not procure a passport seek to emigrate clandestinely—to cross the frontier and embark at some foreign port. Sometimes they are afraid that on arriving at their destination a passport will be required, and they produce a fraudulent or an old passport pertaining to a period of time when there was no complaint against them. Fortunately or unfortunately, a passport is seldom required at Ellis Island. Sometimes American officials find a man who has committed a crime and who has entered the United States and who had a passport. Then those officials have argued, without further evidence, that we even allow criminals to come into the United States, because this man has a passport and this passport has been given by one of our officers.

Many people who have done something wrong in Italy and find it impossible to get a genuine passport in a regular way cross the frontier and embark at foreign ports, usually at Antwerp, Hamburg, or Havre.

When I was at Ellis Island,^a on the arrival of steamers from Havre and other foreign ports one of my clerks had special instructions to inquire whether arriving Italians had passports. When it was found that a man had no passport he was interrogated as to how he got there without one. The man would say, "I was working in Switzerland or Germany and decided to come to the United States. Of course, being abroad, I could not get a passport from Italy. I could have obtained it by writing or by going myself, but it would have taken too long." Sometimes the story was true, and then my inquiries stopped at once. In other cases I found that the people had come from Italy by crossing Germany or Switzerland, because, having committed a crime or offense, they could not get a passport in Italy, and so tried to escape in that way.

It is required that Italians going to other European countries have a passport, but it is not so necessary as in the case of those who leave for America. A passport for other European countries is easily obtained, but not very often asked for by the French, Swiss, or German authorities.

If a man has served his sentence for a crime, so far as we are concerned he can get a passport. Sometimes this has been misunderstood by the United States. I remember one case; it was that of a man who had committed a very high crime. His family, who were in San Francisco and were in good condition, sent for him as soon as he had left prison, after having served twenty-five years. From the Italian standpoint such a man, having served his sentence, is entitled to a passport, but from the standpoint of the United States he is an ex-convict and can not land.

After the expiration of the sentence the ex-convict is sometimes subject to one or two years of vigilance by the police, and he must remain in the country as long as this vigilance lasts.

Colonel Stump, former Commissioner-General of Immigration, came to Italy in 1897, and in a talk with our minister of foreign affairs complained about the action of people in coming to the United States without having penal certificates. He asked that our Government provide all emigrants to the United States with penal certificates—a clear title—and not to allow anybody to go who was an ex-convict. In accordance with Colonel Stump's request we sent to the prefetti a circular stating the kind of crimes for which emigrants were excluded from the United States, and urging them not to issue passports to any class of ex-

^a From 1895 to 1901 Mr. Rossi was chief of the Italian bureau for the protection of Italian immigrants and was stationed at Ellis Island during a portion of that time. The bureau went out of existence in the latter year, and Mr. Rossi has since been connected with the emigration service in Italy.

convicts. There have been cases where intending emigrants have been imprisoned for fifteen or twenty days, or a month, for some small offense, for petty larceny, such as the stealing of eggs. In those cases the question has been asked whether the prefetti could issue the passport. There has been a good deal of perplexity about the question. So the question was asked of the Commissioner-General of Immigration in Washington whether, if a man had served a sentence of twenty days for a small larceny and we gave him a passport, he would be admitted. The answer came that they could not state. That they wanted to see the man and to talk with him; that the penal certificate must describe the kind of crime he has committed, and if he had served only fifteen or twenty days, when he came before the board of special inquiry they would determine whether there is danger of his becoming a criminal or not.

In Italy there was arrest and imprisonment for debt some years ago (bankrupts), but now it is different, and it has been abolished, unless a bankruptcy is fraudulent. A man can get a passport and leave the country without paying his debts; that is not a part of the examination preliminary to the issuance of a passport.

When an emigrant asks for a passport of the syndic, he sends the demand to the tribunal to examine and determine whether the man is in right condition to go, and then it goes to the commander of the military district, and if he reports that the man is not an ex-convict and has nothing pending against him he can leave. There has been a great deal of prejudice in the United States against criminals from Italy, and the attempt has been made to lay the responsibility upon our Government, but, as I have said before, if Italian criminals have sought entrance into the United States it has been from foreign ports. Under the instructions given to all the prefetti in Italy with respect to the requirement of the American law a passport is not issued in Italy where a man can not comply with the terms of the American law. There is a special article in the Italian emigration law which prohibits sending an emigrant to a country unless the emigrant can comply with the laws of the country to which he seeks to go.

The possibility of an examination of intended emigrants in Italy by United States officials was discussed with Mr. Rossi, and the following extract from the report of the Commission's conference with him at Rome will be of interest in this connection:

The CHAIRMAN. There are many people in the United States of the impression that if there could be an American agent of our department here to advise concerning to whom passports should be issued, when any case arises involving moral turpitude, it would be an advantage. I wish to ask whether such a scheme would be practical under any circumstances?

Mr. Rossi. This question was asked me some time ago by American Ambassador Meyer, the predecessor of Mr. Griscom, and I remember I had a long talk about it. It knew the American Government would like it, especially if by a moral discrimination made at the port the necessity of sending back emigrants could be obviated. For instance, when a man is physically examined and you find he is an able-bodied man, competent of earning a livelihood, if you could certify also to his moral character, it would be an ideal system. But for the moral information we are dependent entirely upon the prefetti. Suppose the man has been in different provinces, so that you would have to get his record from each. In this and other cases it may be that it would take a long time. Then, again, suppose you find an officer who does not do his duty and you can not be sure about his information.

The CHAIRMAN. I was simply asking whether, in your judgment, it could be done practically and conveniently.

Mr. Rossi. No; it would be extremely difficult. The moral character of an emigrant may only be ascertained in some measure by penal certificates before giving the passport. If the penal certificate states that the intending emigrant has committed such and such a crime, he is naturally excluded from emigrating to your country. The prefetti can not give him a passport.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it would not be an advantage and that your own law is sufficient?

Mr. Rossi. Yes; I think it is sufficient in spite of the new Casellario system, or criminal record, according to which no mention is made in the penal certificate of crimes committed a long time ago.

The CHAIRMAN. If I understand you, if a man has behaved well for some years after the expiration of his sentence, you do not mention it for other countries, but you do mention it for the United States?

Mr. ROSS. We do not mention it for any country. But whenever the intending emigrant for the United States has not a clear title, no matter if his crime was committed fifteen years ago, we do not allow him to go to your country, as the American law declares that an ex-convict has not the right to enter there and a passport can not be given him, but as to other countries having no such requirements we give the passports.

ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF THE PASSPORT LAW.

It was stated to members of the Commission by various persons in Italy that the law regulating the granting of passports was not carried out to the letter, but that ex-convicts who had led an upright life for some time after leaving prison would sometimes be furnished with passports to the United States, notwithstanding their criminal record. Others claimed that passports were sometimes furnished to criminals through connivance with minor officials. Undoubtedly instances of this nature occur, but the Commission, after hearing much evidence from various sources, is convinced that the law is administered as thoroughly as is practicable and in perfect good faith on the part of the Government.

In discussing this matter with a member of the Commission, Mr. Homer M. Byington, for a long time American vice-consul at Naples, stated that the Italian Government respects our laws in not giving to ex-convicts a passport for America, but that they will give an ex-convict a passport for any other foreign country. He said it is stated in the passport for what destination the emigrant is leaving, so that an inspector examining the passport at the port of embarkation could readily take note of the same and could advise the officials at United States ports concerning it. When asked whether the Italian Government would be willing to have an officer of the United States stationed at Naples to advise our Government of the leaving of ex-convict emigrants holding passports for other countries, Mr. Byington replied that as long as the officer was attached to the American consulate and subject to the consul it was his opinion that the Italian Government would have no objection whatever, so long as his work was tactfully and inconspicuously performed. Mr. Byington further stated that such an officer would unquestionably be necessary at Havre, where, by an investigation of the emigrant list prepared at the time of sailing, he would be able to ascertain the names of all the Italian emigrants and might call for their passports. In this way any Italian who had escaped over the border without a passport would be detected. He also expressed the belief that passports should be examined at the port of debarkation in the United States. Such frauds as exist regarding passports, said Mr. Byington, could only occur through improper conduct on the part of individual officers and are not in any way traceable to the Italian Government, which has given orders to the contrary.

Mr. Byington was asked the question :

Do you mean that minor officials in the districts are sometimes susceptible to bad influence?

And his reply was as follows:

Yes. I know of a case in Naples where a man had a penal record in which there were four sentences, and he was able to obtain another penal certificate on which there were no sentences noted. That proves that the minor officer can be bribed. This man informed me that he had bribed the officer to give him the certificate.

The sindaco of a small Sicilian town stated that sometimes passports were issued to convicts who had served out their terms and were living proper lives, and to those whose going the sub-prefetto did not object.

It was learned by a member of the Commission at Messina that some Italians who land in America turn their passports over to friends in Italy who can not obtain them by reason of their bad records. This practice could be stopped by stamping on such passports, preferably with a perforated stamp, the word "admitted" and the date. Thus the passport could not again be used. No legislation is necessary for this innovation.

In regard to passports to convicts, the prefetto of the Province of Siracusa assured a member of the Commission that none were issued in that province either to the United States or to Canada, and he cited the Canadian act of August 23, 1900, which excludes convicts, as does the United States law, and also cited the Italian statute, which prohibits the giving of passports to convicts.

An Italian emigration official in Sicily stated that people destined for the United States do not get passports in cases where the laws of the United States exclude them, but that to Canada or other points anybody can get a passport, even those who have committed crimes. He said that when a man came to him with a passport he did not go deeply into the question of how it was obtained, and that when a criminal is going on a Canadian or other passport the police look after him and see that he leaves. He also cited the case of a man who was landed at New York and then sent his passport back to a friend who had been rejected. The latter then went to New York. It was further stated that there is a regular business of this kind, passports being returned to be used by some one else who can not get one. Those obtaining passports to France, or some other European country, he said, find it very easy on reaching some foreign port to proceed to the United States. This official stated that in his opinion the majority of Italians arriving at American ports with passports from any but Italian ports of embarkation are persons with criminal records, to whom the Italian Government has refused passports for the United States.

It was generally admitted that some criminals from Calabria had gone out clandestinely, both as seamen and through Marseille and Havre, but it was denied, where investigation was possible, that passports were issued to criminals.

Hon. Charles M. Caughey, formerly American consul at Messina, in a letter to the American ambassador at Rome, dated May 26, 1906, comments on the situation in substance, as follows:

No man has any difficulty in getting passport unless he still owes a penal debt which must be paid, and sometimes even that is no bar to his leaving, and his departure is discovered (?) too late to stop him. In this case, of course, the formality of a passport is dispensed with, and he reaches New York either by being put upon ship's articles or by enrolling himself under the standard of the pa-

drone. I have personally talked with men who have represented the padroni in Sicily, and have had placed before me absolutely convincing proofs, but unfortunately I could not get possession of the papers, letters, etc. One man who is now here was employed in New York to gather the newly naturalized and take them before a notary, and when the passports were received from Washington they were "loaned," for a consideration, to the padroni. The carelessness (if the word be appropriate) of the notaries in taking the description of the applicant is a great aid to the padrone in indiscriminately distributing the passports. I cite a case in point. A few days ago there passed through my hands two passports, Nos. 4556 and 4557, issued by our passport bureau to Guisepppe Pizzar Ello and Gaetano Puzzarella, brothers, but names spelled differently. In the description both of these men are credited with dark hair, while, on the contrary, both are gray, in fact almost white, and one is very bald.

Let there be a thorough examination of emigrants holding American passports before they land, and the result, I feel confident, will prove that my assertions are far from being mythical. The naturalized Sicilian, when he finds that he can not get his passport on time, has not the slightest hesitancy in taking out an Italian one, and it is no unusual thing to find him furnished with both. If such a man got his just deserts, his act, I respectfully submit, should be regarded as an *ipso facto* renunciation of citizenship, and, if possible, his papers should be confiscated. It is an abuse which, in my opinion, can be stopped in one way only, and that is (if the arrangement can be made with the Italian Government) to require the clerk of each court which issues naturalization papers to furnish the name to the Secretary of State, who, through the Italian embassy, would forward it to the foreign office at Rome, who would, in turn, notify the mayor of the city or commune to which the man belongs to make note of the fact against his name on the records. This method would be most effectual, for in the smallest commune in Italy there is a complete list of every man, woman, and child claiming residence within its limits.

In answer to an inquiry by a member of the Commission, the chief of police of the Province of Messina said that if a convict had behaved well since his release from prison after two years or so had passed a passport to America would be given him. He explained that the emigrant had to obtain from the mayor of the commune in which he lived a "nulla osta" (no obstacle), which he brought to him. He then investigated the man's condition and criminal record. If the applicant was a married man he would compel him to bring evidence of the consent of his wife to his leaving, and if everything seemed satisfactory the passport was issued. He said that he had access to the records of the criminal career of the applicant and could ascertain whether he had been convicted of a crime and also whether he was under surveillance by the police. He admitted that passports had been issued to some convicts, but he did not know how many. The prefect of Messina, however, stated that there was an order restricting the issuance of passports for emigrants to the United States who had committed crimes, but that it did not apply to Canada.

EVASIONS OF THE PASSPORT LAW.

As already suggested the chief problem of the Italian criminal or ex-criminal who desires to emigrate is that of getting out of Italy rather than that of getting into the United States. The law requiring that persons leaving the country be provided with passports, as stated by Mr. Rossi, does not prevent their leaving the country overland, but the movements of the people are so closely watched in Italy that even this method is attended with some difficulty. In any event the law which refuses passports to classes debarred from the United States is sufficiently effective to make its successful evasion a seemingly difficult matter.

Several methods are employed by the criminal classes in leaving Italy and gaining admission to the United States. So far as the Commission was able to ascertain, the most common method is to leave overland without a passport or to secure a passport to some other country and then proceed to the United States. Another common method is that of shipping as a sailor and deserting the ship at some American port. In the latter case the course pursued is as follows: An Italian intending to emigrate, who has been rejected by the Government, either for disease or on account of a criminal record, arranges with the captain of a small Italian vessel to engage him as a sailor, or it is arranged through a shipping agency, or, as in Messina, by a man who makes a specialty of this sort of business. The captain of the ship goes to the captain of the port and says he wants to ship the man, which he is permitted to do. At the next port the captain goes to the captain of the port and takes the man with him and says he does not need the man longer, upon which statement the captain of the port gives him his libretto, or, as it is called in the United States, his discharge. With this discharge the supposed sailor can be shipped as a seaman or in any other capacity on board a ship of any nationality, and, either with or without the consent of the captain of such ship, leave the ship at the American port first touched and becomes a resident of the United States. It is also possible that magistrates or other proper authorities in cities and inland villages give passports to criminals and others rejected for various causes, for political or other reasons, as it is entirely in the hands of the police authorities of those places to certify as to the character of the persons desiring to secure passports.

It appears, therefore, that Italians rejected on account of disease or criminal records may effect a landing in the United States by any of the following means:

By securing passports for Canada and breaking their journey between the port of arrival in the United States and their Canadian point of destination.

By securing passports for France or other European countries, or by going to such countries without passports and sailing from some foreign port to the United States.

By securing passports for South American countries and then proceeding more or less directly to the United States.

By shipping as seamen, firemen, etc., on ships destined to the United States, using the method outlined and deserting at the first American port reached.

By securing passports as a matter of favor from the authorities issuing them.

The opinions above expressed are confirmed by Hon. Charles M. Caughey, American consul at Messina, who, in a statement to the Commission, said in part:

In my fourteen years of experience, studying the question of emigration in its kaleidoscopic phases, I have seen numerous changes made in our laws, all with the aim of restricting the emigration of undesirable aliens, but I regret to say that the greatly desired end has not by any means been accomplished. * * * The vital question is, that notwithstanding the rigor of our regulations, the very worst element of the Sicilian criminal class finds its way to the United States, there to increase the membership of "mano nero" or the "black hand." To-day I see upon the street one of that class who still reeks

with the prison taint surrounded by his boon companions. Suddenly I miss his familiar appearance, and when I ask where he is I am told: "Oh, he is in New York." How did he get there? There is a certain man here whose sole occupation is to guarantee (and I regret to say he fulfills his contracts) to put criminals and rejected emigrants safe beyond the portals of Ellis Island. How is it done? Ask the captain or the purser of any of the large liners how much he was paid to put the man on the ship's articles at Naples or Genoa as an infirmarian, emigrant steward, coal passer, etc., and at New York does he not desert? At Messina they do not try such expedients, for the captains and pursers are afraid since I reported the steamship *Gerty* to Ellis Island, and the former was arrested, fined, and discharged by her owners. There are numerous other ways, which I shall not dilate upon, but would most respectfully suggest as a tentative plan to at least ameliorate the situation, that there be attached to every consulate at a port of emigration one official, or more if necessary, whose sole duty should be to investigate the record of every intending emigrant; and in order that the work be thoroughly done, the steamship companies should be obliged to furnish the consulate with the emigrants' names and all necessary details at least one month prior to the date fixed for their departure, and the expenses of this investigation should be paid by the companies. They no doubt would raise a hue and cry, claiming that such a rule hampers their business, etc. To this I would reply that the United States Government is not the guardian of their interests, but of its own. There is not the slightest doubt that any expense incurred will be added to the price of the ticket.

I have said advisedly that this would be a tentative scheme, for I have no idea that it would be absolutely effective. So far as this port is concerned, I have broken up the old system of substitution by causing each emigrant, after he has passed the inspection, to be conducted personally on board by a carabinieri, or a police officer. The system of putting such men upon the articles is also checked by the medical visit to the crew, but this does not reach the healthy criminal who finds his way, not only in the crew, but also as a third-class passenger, escorted to the ship by the police and furnished with a passport for Canada; but there is one method, all else failing, that would be effective. It is this: At present the responsibility is divided; place it all upon the companies. Let our Government recall every official abroad in the interest of emigration, except one of the Marine-Hospital Service to be attached to the embassy of each country, so as to be on the spot in case of an outbreak of cholera, yellow fever, etc. Let the disinfection of the baggage be absolutely under the control of the consulate, the expenses thereby incurred being as at present defrayed by the companies; let the companies take all the responsibility of those who emigrate, the medical visits being made by their own physicians, Ellis Island requiring that upon every passport there be the photograph of the emigrant, and that he or she bear with them a "fede penale," or penal sheet, issued by the questor of the city, town, or village from which he or she comes. I am confident that with such a regulation in force the companies would be allies by necessity, and the number of those rejected at Ellis Island would be nil, and the criminal classes would no longer contribute to increase our population of Italians, which in New York City alone outnumbers that of the entire city of Florence.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EFFECT OF EMIGRATION ON ITALY.

As noted elsewhere, the extent of the emigration from Italy has not prevented a substantial increase in the population during recent years. In 1881 the population was 28,460,000; in 1901, 32,475,000; and, according to official estimates, it had increased to 34,270,000 on January 1, 1909. The percentage in the population of persons 21 to 50 years of age, however, fell from 40.29 per cent in 1881 to 35.59 per cent in 1901,^a showing distinctly a relative loss of nearly 5 per cent in an age group from which a large majority of the emigrants are drawn. In many towns or localities in southern Italy and Sicily the Commission was informed that the population had decreased—in some instances greatly—because of the large numbers who had gone to the United States and South America, and it would be surprising, in view of the great emigration of the past ten years, if a census at the present time did not show a considerably smaller percentage of young men and women than were present in 1901.

The Royal Italian Agricultural Commission, which investigated migration conditions in Basilicata and Calabria subsequent to the Immigration Commission, found that there had been a large decrease in population in many communities visited, and in every case this was reported as being due to emigration.

In several villages visited by the Commission the smallness of the proportion of young men was plainly noticeable and in some hardly any were to be seen, the population being composed almost entirely of old men, women, and children. Inquiry as to the whereabouts of the young men always brought the reply "gone to America." This movement of population has naturally affected economic and other conditions throughout Italy for the better or the worse, according to the point of view. As will be seen later, the reduction of the labor supply through emigration has resulted in large increases in wages among the laboring classes, and consequently the condition of the nonlandholding peasantry has greatly improved. Landowners, both large and small, however, are seriously affected by the high wages and lack of labor, and many of the smaller proprietors have been ruined.

On the other hand, the money sent from America by emigrants has in many communities lifted the proletariat from abject poverty to comparative comfort, and many returned emigrants have become small landowners and by introducing improved methods have succeeded. Moreover, it was everywhere apparent that the returned emigrants, or "Americans," as they are usually called, have adopted a much higher standard of living. Their houses are conspicuously better than those of the peasants who have not emigrated, and domes-

^a See statement of Egisto Rossi, p. 214.

tic animals are not housed under the same roof, as is common in southern Italy. Some details of the changed conditions resulting from emigration are given in what follows.

WAGES AND LABOR SUPPLY.

It is admitted by all who are familiar with the situation that the enormous exodus of workers from Italy during the past decade has been the chief cause of the increase in wages paid for common labor. There have been other causes, notably the many successful strikes among agricultural and industrial labor unions, referred to elsewhere,^a but in practically every community visited by the Immigration Commission the reduction of the available labor supply by reason of emigration was believed to be responsible for the almost universal increase in wages. A large landholder, who was a member of the Camera dé Deputati,^b stated to the Commission that while in the past emigration may have been of service to Italy by taking away the surplus population, he believed it was not so now, as too many have gone and are going. He frankly admitted that his point of view was to some extent commercial, as he found it impossible to get all the labor needed for his estate, and also was obliged to pay higher wages to his farm laborers. He said that formerly he paid less than 2 lire (40 cents), but at that time was obliged to pay 2½ and 3 lire (50 and 60 cents), and could not get enough men at these prices.

The prefetto of the Province of Siracusa said that since the large emigration began wages had increased from 1 lira (20 cents) to over 2 lire (40 cents); that laborers were hard to get, and that all food products had risen in value.

The sub-prefetto of Reggio stated to the Commission that in his opinion the emigration movement was too great for Italy's good and that he regretted that Columbus discovered America. He said that small landowners were being ruined; that laborers' wages had risen and that they were hard to get.

The prefetto of the Province of Messina said that since emigration began wages had greatly increased, and laborers were scarce.

A physician in the Province of Messina stated that the increased prosperity had favorably affected the professional classes as well as laborers, as where he formerly got a fee of 2 lire (40 cents) for a professional visit, he sometimes got 5 lire (\$1) at present.

As previously mentioned, the Royal Italian Agricultural Commission made an investigation of emigration conditions in the compartimenti of Basilicata and Calabria subsequent to the Immigration Commission's visit to Italy. The line of inquiry followed by both commissions was much the same and, through the courtesy of the Italian officials, the unpublished report of the royal commission was made available to the Immigration Commission. From this report is taken the following information respecting wages and emigration in various sections of the compartimenti named:

Albano di Lucania.—Population, 2,400. About 600, with their families, have emigrated. Workmen are lacking, and during the harvest season proprietors apply to peasants coming from the Province of Lecce. Wages of day laborers

^a See p. 174.

^b Lower house of the Italian Parliament.

which eight or ten years ago were 50 centesimi (10 cents) daily, with food, are now more than doubled, and the quest of day laborers is always more difficult. Small proprietors claim that they have been ruined by the emigration and the consequent augmentation of wages. One small proprietor said that once peasants hired by the day were satisfied with modest food, but that now they pretend to want first-quality food.

Comune di Pignola di Basilicata.—The sindaco (mayor) states that the population is continually diminishing in consequence of emigration. In 1881 Pignola had 4,000 inhabitants; in 1901 there were 2,557, and now (1907) only 2,100. Wages, which until ten years ago were only a few centesimi a day, are doubled as a result of emigration. Now wages of day laborers are 1½ lire (30 cents) a day, with food, and even women earn from 1 to 1½ lire a day, according to the season. A proprietor who possesses 1,500 sheep and 500 she-goats says that in consequence of augmented wages he has difficulty in making between 4 and 5 per cent profit on a capital of 20,000 lire (\$4,000). Times are hard among laborers, however. Many peasants here do not use bread, but live on potatoes and beans. Wages are higher, it is true, but the labor lasts only three or four months yearly.

Potenza.—Dr. ——— has purchased, at the price of 22,000 lire (\$4,400), 200 hectares (494.2 acres) of mountainous land which he cultivates as well as possible by means of modern systems. Notwithstanding great anticipations he can not, in consequence of lack of laborers, cultivate directly and must have recourse to the *mezzadria* (partnership) system.

Laurenzana.—The mayor says that while in 1881 this district had a population of 7,300, in 1901 it was reduced to 4,300, and now (1907) it has about 3,000 inhabitants, the greater part having emigrated, principally to North America. Before, the only cause of emigration was misery, now it is the spirit of imitation and the hope of savings. He states that formerly the small proprietors let their land, a recourse which has gone now because of emigration. They are now obliged to cultivate their fields or abandon them. Day laborers, or peasants, become every day scarcer, notwithstanding the higher wages. In the village there were many closed and abandoned houses. Many were threatening to fall in and others had been demolished. The mayor concluded his testimony by declaring that proprietors of the small and middle classes, who were so much damaged by emigration, should be exempted from the payment of the ground tax for thirty years. A small proprietor and tenant stated that every year lands are abandoned for want of laborers. "The augmented wages and the diminished income ruined us all."

Corleto Perticore.—Population, 4,500. A well-known senator, who was prefect before, recognizes that the emigration at first was useful to the lower classes. In this village there are now very few indigents; everyone pays his taxes and "a shepherd lives better than a schoolmaster." A muleteer earns no less than 800 lire (\$160) yearly. Only the land proprietors, the small and large ones, are damaged by the augmented wages and want of laborers. Every peasant eats white bread. But for the emigration the population would continually increase and the misery would be augmented.

Viggiano.—The mayor states that the population is diminishing; that it was 7,000 in 1881 and scarcely 5,000 now (1907). Two-thirds of the emigrants from Viggiano are street players (*sonatori ambulanti*) and they go to all parts of the world, even to China and Alaska. In the district the property is divided, and every family possesses an orchard or vineyard, and the land is fertile. Day laborers come from the Province of Lecce. Wages vary from 2 to 2.50 lire (40 to 50 cents) per day, without food. A large proprietor, who is a doctor of agrarian science, complains of the scarcity of manual labor, although wages have been doubled in recent years. He says that it is impossible to find people to look after the cattle, and that not even children will mind the sheep. Certainly emigration has improved conditions of living at Viggiano.

Moliterno.—The mayor says that the population of the village was 6,500 in 1881, 5,600 in 1901, and is still diminishing. The emigration consists for the most part of young peasants. A large proprietor says that in consequence of a scarcity of laborers half of the land remains uncultivated. Wages of laborers are 2 lire (40 cents) a day, besides 1½ liters of wine and breakfast without bread. An old peasant, asked why so many people go to America, answered: "Because the tenants obtain too little from the land. One lira and fifty (30 cents), the wages of a day laborer, is not sufficient to maintain a large family."

Loganegro.—Population in 1881 about 6,000, now decreased one-third because of emigration. A large proprietor said that day laborers who earned until

last year 1 lira (20 cents) a day now ask 1.25 lire (25 cents), with food. Women who were before satisfied with 50 centesimi (10 cents) daily now ask between 60 and 75 centesimi (12 and 15 cents). Another proprietor says the land is very poor and gives no profit, so the proprietors do not find it convenient to employ laborers at so high wages.

Latronica.—The mayor says that the population is decreasing; 2,300 inhabitants are in the village and 1,500 are in America. Peasants are now in better circumstances than before. Small proprietors, on the contrary, are ruined; from their poor ground they only obtain enough to pay the ground tax. One proprietor who employs modern systems of cultivation pays peasants who work by the day 2 lire, with a liter of wine. He asserts that he finds as many laborers as he wishes, and that only those who pay low wages complain of the scarcity of workers.

Normanno.—Population, 4,500. Has increased wages of day laborers to between 1.50 and 1.70 lire (30 and 34 cents) a day, with meals, and 2.50 lire (50 cents) during the harvest. Small proprietors claim that they are ruined.

Castrovillari.—Population, 9,900. Between 3,500 and 4,000 have emigrated. The mayor says that wages of day laborers are now more than doubled. Manual labor is wanting to such a degree that the municipality was unable to find an assistant to the street sweeper. Enthusiasm for emigration has become so great that a father refused the hand of his daughter to a young man unless he would first go to America. One proprietor stated that the scarcity of manual labor is such that he found it more convenient to purchase chemical fertilizer in Naples, as he found no men to transport the natural local manure. In consequence of emigration the most distant lands have been abandoned, and stock grazing has been given up for want of shepherds. The largest proprietor in this region says that in the last twenty years his income was reduced three-fourths. Wages have increased two-thirds. During the sowing the peasants demand 3 lire (60 cents) per day with meals, and in the harvest season 5 and 6 lire (\$1 to \$1.20) per day with meals. He adds that for want of men, women are employed in all kinds of agricultural labor; that during the harvest they earn 2 lire (40 cents) per day and for other labor between 1 and 1.25 lire, with meals in both instances.

Spezzano Albanese.—The vice mayor stated that the population is 3,500, but 1,500 of them are in America. Manual labor is wanting and wages are augmented one-third.

Sanfilii.—Population, 4,600. The mayor calculates that about 1,500 have gone to the United States. Wages have increased to 1.50 and 1.70 lire (30 and 34 cents) per day, besides food and wine, and yet manual labor is wanting.

Cellico.—Population, 3,050, of which 1,000 have emigrated. The mayor says that the country has now no peasants. Only 20 of them remained who worked by the day. A baker says that, thanks to emigration, the laborers are now better treated by their masters.

Piori.—A foreman of cowboys said that he earned 200 lire (\$40) a year and received 12 tomoli of corn and a ricotta (whey cheese) daily. "Until now," he said, "we have been quiet, but we will obtain something more. America has awakened us."

Rolliano.—Population, 8,500. Two or three thousand are in America. The mayor was opposed to emigration. He said that wages have doubled and that proprietors do not find any more tenants.

Tiriolo.—The mayor states that the population—4,236, according to the last census—has decreased because of emigration, which had been very strong for ten or twelve years. Wages have risen to between 1.30 and 1.50 lire (26 and 30 cents) and very often to 2 lire (40 cents) per day. Bricklayers earn up to 5 lire per day. And yet young laborers are no more to be found; only old people and boys.

Scilla.—Population, about 7,000. About 2,000 have emigrated, but the secretary of the council states emigration is now stationary. The wages of peasants, which formerly were 3 "carlina" (1.27 lire), are now 2, 2.25, and 2.30 lire (40, 45, and 46 cents), besides wine. Wages of women have also increased.

Other instances respecting the effect of emigration on wages in Italy might be quoted, but the above are sufficient to show that in the sections visited by the Italian Agricultural Commission and the Immigration Commission a relatively large increase has resulted. The details given apply to the compartimenti of Basilicata, Calabria, and

Sicily, all of which have contributed largely to the emigration movement in recent years. The inquiry in southern Italy was largely confined to these compartimenti, but the Commission was informed that the upward wage movement due to emigration affected the whole country, although to a greater degree in the south than elsewhere.

Egisto Rossi, Royal Italian Commissioner of Emigration, said to the Commission, in substance:

The effect upon wages of such large numbers leaving Italy is shown by the fact that for ordinary work wages have increased 50 per cent. Instead of getting 1.50 or 2 lire (30 cents or 40 cents) they got 3 or 4 lire (60 cents or 80 cents) a day. For common labor, if you take the time during the crop season, wages have increased tremendously. One of the largest proprietors of land in the country about Rome says that in order to get men to mow the wheat he had to pay 7 lire (\$1.40) a day, but of course that is during an exceptional period of the year. Ten years ago you could get laborers for 2 lire (40 cents) a day, and you have to work harder now to find the people. In Calabria it is just the same. You can not get the people even if you pay good wages, and so the proprietors are obliged to reduce the areas under cultivation. Where there was the vine, you now find the prairie, because for the prairie you need only the sun and the rain and a mowing once a year. I know a man who offered to divide his property into lots of 50 or 100 acres, and he said: "All you have to pay me for the land is the price you would pay in Argentina." He tried very hard to get the people to stay here. Wages in Italy have increased and are going to increase because of lack of labor. Public opinion is now quite alarmed. In Rome the price paid for common labor and for mechanics is between 3 and 5 lire (60 cents and \$1), and some mechanics get more than 5 lire. In some factories where workmen have to care for machinery they are well paid. In the country districts common labor brings between 1.50 and 2.50 lire (30 cents and 50 cents) a day. This movement has been helped a great deal by the labor party, which has organized in the country districts many agricultural leagues. Whenever a proprietor of land undertakes some special work in an agricultural field he encounters this league, which dictates the scale of wages. That, together with the volume of emigration, makes it not at all surprising that there has been an increase in wages equal to 50 per cent in the agricultural field for common labor.

LOSS TO PROPRIETORS.

Frequent reference has been made to the statements of landowners in southern Italy who assert that they can not profitably cultivate their holdings because of the scarcity of laborers and the prevailing high rate of wages. It was everywhere stated that many small proprietors had literally been ruined. This is undoubtedly true, but the fact that the average wages for farm labor is apparently considerably less than 50 cents a day even in the busy seasons at least suggested a belief that the proprietors' real difficulty is due to reasons other than the wage rate.

Modern agricultural methods are unknown in a great part of Italy, and the land although carefully is not scientifically cultivated. In some sections farm machinery is not used at all. In fact, it was stated to the Commission that in one large section there was not a single plow, and that all cultivation was done with crude hand implements. Commercial fertilizers are but little used, and everything is done in a most primitive way. With a condition like this prevailing it is not surprising that the proprietors failed to succeed. It is the belief of some students of the situation that nothing but the introduction of modern methods of agriculture can solve the agrarian problem of Italy. One landowner at Latronico, who has installed modern systems of cultivation and modern farm implements, and

who pays relatively high wages stated that he finds all the laborers he wants and that it is only proprietors paying low wages who complain.

The royal Italian commissioner of emigration in his annual report for 1904 takes this view, holding that the scarcity of labor should merely stimulate proprietors to use their land more carefully, introducing machinery, fertilizer, and rotation of crops, and paying better wages. In that case, he believes, they will have no difficulty in securing labor and making money.

Most proprietors in South Italy either can not, because of lack of means, or will not adopt the plan outlined by the royal commissioner. Occasionally a landed man buys modern machinery, thus keeping his farm under profitable cultivation, but many are selling their lands piecemeal, while others are discouraged and their holdings practically go to waste. This course seems to be common in Basilicata and parts of Calabria and Abruzzi.

With small proprietors the matter often resolves itself into a question of tilling the fields with their own hands. Even then they can get along only with difficulty because they have not the means of installing modern implements. One such declared to the Royal Italian Agricultural Commission that he could only get an income of 100 lire (\$20) from his estate, while he had to pay 250 lire (\$50) taxes; he had abandoned 50 hectares (125 acres) of mountain lands. Some estates are sold at auction to pay the taxes. Another proprietor said that while until ten years ago he obtained 6,000 lire (\$1,200) yearly from renting his land he can not now get enough to pay the ground tax, which is 4 to 5 lire per hectare (30 to 40 cents per acre), because now no one will either rent the land or work for the owner, all preferring to emigrate. A large proprietor at Castrovillari said that from an estate which twenty-five years ago gave him 24,000 lire a year (\$4,800), he now gets less than 10,000 lire (\$2,000) a year income. Another proprietor in the same place said his income was reduced three-fourths in twenty years. Small proprietors in many places declare that peasants, especially the emigrants and their families, live better than they do. The Royal Agricultural Commission says in its report:

On hearing the depositions of these small proprietors, you receive the impression that they were accustomed to live on the product of small estates when the work cost 50 centesimi (10 cents) daily and still less, so that, while they are cursing against emigration you must see that they were real parasites in damaging the field laborers.

LAND AND RENT.

It was impossible for the Commission to make a thorough study of the Italian land system and the effects of emigration upon it, but in the sections visited by the Commission it was unusual, until emigration set in, that a peasant should own land. Emigration, carrying with it numerous peasant tenants and workmen out of every Province, left few to rent the land or cultivate it. The price of land fell to a minimum, thousands of acres were abandoned, and other estates were sold to satisfy the taxes. Remote and barren fields were deserted. As soon as emigrants returned from abroad with their savings they sought investments and a demand for land set in. Irrigated land

near a village was naturally preferred. The landlords were not slow to take advantage of the new demand and the prices of these lands in good locations rose materially. A landowner at Messina told the Commission very frankly that he had sold for 600 lire (\$120) a piece of land which he had valued at 150 lire (\$30). "This is due," he added, "to the better condition of the country."

Increase in rents as well as in land values occurs chiefly in towns, but only after there has been a considerable return of emigrants. From this there results improvement in business and in the general condition of the people; so that all values, including rents, are increased.

USURY.

The usury which prevailed in south Italy before emigration has disappeared in some places and is everywhere less than formerly. This is partly due to the establishment of postal and agricultural banks and mutual-aid societies, which furnish money to peasants at low rates, but probably emigration has had its influence. Thousands of families receive aid from friends abroad, if they do not themselves emigrate, and the benefit is not restricted either to those who go or to their relatives or immediate friends.

EXPORTATION OF PRODUCTS.

One Italian writer on emigration holds that emigration is of benefit to Italy by creating a demand in America for Italian products used by the emigrants, thus stimulating production. He recognizes, however, that this is largely counterbalanced by the starting of such industries in America, thus supplying the market with American-grown or American-made products of the same sort.

MORALITY.

Family disorganization has naturally followed in some cases upon so many long separations between husbands and wives. In some places it seems to have amounted to very little, while in others many complaints are made. Sometimes the matter has economic causes. A young man leaves his wife, perhaps with one or two children dependent on her, without means of support, for a term of years, or even deserts her entirely. Cases are by no means unknown in which a man marries a second wife in America. The abandoned wife then occasionally has to choose between prostitution and beggary or starvation. The prefect of Cosenza says:

To-day we are confronted with prostitution among a class of women who formerly, in spite of their poverty, were respectable. Then, too, infanticide is rapidly making itself felt—an evil unknown here a few years ago.

The Commission was informed that in some parts of Italy drunkenness had become somewhat prevalent with the return of emigrants. As a rule all Italians drink wine, but drunkenness is very rare in most places. However, it is said that the habit of using stronger drink, acquired in America, is being introduced to some extent by those returning.

LIVING CONDITIONS.

While the proprietors suffer from emigration, the effect on the peasants is very different. The money sent home to relatives by emigrants has set on their feet struggling peasant families, while the higher wages and great demand for labor have helped those who remained at home. From many places in Calabria comes the report that peasants pay their taxes more quickly and live better than do the proprietors. Those who formerly could scarcely keep from starvation now often eat solid meals, with white bread, and have meat more frequently. The post-offices and banks profit by the savings of emigrants, and sometimes towns are partially rebuilt by "Americans" returning home to live.

The effect of these economic changes upon standards of living, however, is not so pronounced as might be expected. Physical needs are better supplied, and in some places where returned emigrants reside in considerable numbers there have been introduced somewhat higher ideals of cleanliness and hygiene among the peasantry as a class. But where the number of returned emigrants has been small, even the better economic situation has not yet prompted the people to improvement in this regard. For example, Scilla, in Calabria, is a town of 7,000 inhabitants, and has 2,000 emigrants in America. A sufficient number of emigrants have returned to perceptibly increase the value of lands near the village, but in 1907 the Royal Italian Agricultural Commission reported that nearly all the houses in the place were disreputable and that animals usually occupied the same rooms as their owners, in spite of the fact that 600,000 lire (\$120,000) of emigrants' savings was lying unused in the post-office. On the whole, the improvement in conditions of living, except where very many emigrants have returned, is slight, although there has been a great improvement in economic conditions.

RETURNING EMIGRANTS.

The number of emigrants who return to Italy from the United States, either permanently or temporarily, is very large. According to Italian statistics 2,231,961 Italian third-class passengers, practically all of whom were emigrants, departed from Italy for the United States in the years 1887 to 1907, inclusive, and during the same period 972,695 of the same class returned from the United States to Italian ports. In other words, 436 passengers of this class returned to Italy for every 1,000 sailing for the United States. This movement by years is shown in the table next presented.

TABLE 40.—*Departures from Italy to the United States and arrivals from the United States in Italy of Italian third-class passengers, 1887 to 1907, inclusive.*

[Compiled from "Bolletino Dell' Emigrazione" 1903-1908, and "Statistica Emigrazione Italiana L' estero," 1897-1908.]

Year.	Departing from Italy for the United States.	Arriving at Italian ports from the United States.	Number arriving for every 1,000 departing.
1887	37,221	3,000	81
1888	32,945	6,072	184
1889	25,434	4,734	186
1890	47,952	2,881	60
1891	44,359	10,170	229
1892	42,953	12,695	296
1893	49,765	22,912	460
1894	31,668	26,845	848
1895	37,851	17,039	450
1896	53,486	20,885	390
1897	47,000	22,292	474
1898	56,375	24,735	439
1899	63,156	31,289	495
1900	87,714	31,966	364
1901	121,139	24,678	204
1902	193,772	92,907	479
1903	197,855	120,645	610
1904	168,789	129,231	765
1905	316,797	68,821	217
1906	292,059	121,620	416
1907	283,671	177,278	625
Total	2,231,961	972,695	436

According to this table the movement varied greatly in the different years, but in all but four instances decreased emigration was accompanied by a relative increase in the return movement, which suggests that as a rule the causes which retard emigration also accelerate the exodus from the United States. It is, of course, impossible to fix the specific cause of every fluctuation of the movement during the period considered, but the effect of financial and industrial depressions in the United States is clearly apparent so far as certain years are concerned. The most conspicuous instance shown by the table occurred in the year 1894, following the industrial depression of that period. In that year the outward movement from Italy decreased and the inward movement increased to such an extent that the number returning was 848 to every 1,000 emigrating. The same tendency was again shown in 1904, immediately following the financial depression of the preceding year.

The most conspicuous example, however, occurred in the fiscal year 1908, the last seven months of which witnessed a financial depression in the United States which had the effect of greatly reducing immigration. No statistics for passenger traffic from and to Italian ports in that year are available, but United States immigration statistics show that from July 1, 1907, to June 30, 1908, 135,247 Italian immigrants were admitted and 167,335 aliens of the same race departed from United States ports. Thus departures exceeded arrivals by 32,088, in spite of the fact that the immigration and emigration movement was normal during the first five months of the period.

It is frequently asserted, however, that the return movement of Italians and other southern and eastern European immigrants is not permanent, but that the same persons come and go and come again

according to the demands of the labor market in the United States. This is a fallacy, at least so far as Italians are concerned, for data are available to show that the great majority of this race who return to Italy do not come again to the United States, and consequently the immigration from Italy is for the most part composed of persons who are coming to the United States for the first time. From the preceding table it will be seen that from January 1, 1899, to December 31, 1907, inclusive, a total of 1,724,952 Italians left Italian ports as steerage passengers for the United States, while during the same period 798,435 of the same class returned. In these years, it will be seen, 463 returned to Italy for every 1,000 who left the country. During a closely corresponding period, July 1, 1899, to June 30, 1908, according to the records of the United States Bureau of Immigration, only 196,838 among the 1,792,020 Italian immigrants admitted to this country had been here previously. It is clear, therefore, that a very large proportion of the number returning to Italy did not again come to this country, and that the movement from Italy to the United States is not composed largely of the class popularly known as "birds of passage" who make Italy their home and America their workshop. On the contrary, it is apparent that the vast majority of Italians coming to this country either settle here or return permanently to their native country.

CAUSES OF THE RETURN MOVEMENT.

The reasons why so many Italians return permanently to their native country are difficult of determination. The immediate reason why many leave the United States is of course a temporary lack of employment, but this is spasmodic only and does not seem to account for the large number of Italians who, regardless of industrial conditions, are constantly moving toward their native country to remain there permanently.

The steamship *Canopic*, on which the Commission sailed from Boston to Naples in May, 1907, carried in her steerage 224 returning Italians, of whom 147 were men, 31 women, and 46 children. During the voyage members of the Commission interviewed 108 of the number, all of whom were male wage-earners, with a view to ascertaining why they were returning to Italy and whether they intended to return to the United States. The reasons for returning to Italy were stated as follows:

Visit.....	61	Dislike of the United States.....	3
Illness.....	14	Illness in family.....	1
For family or to marry.....	13	Business reasons.....	1
Family matters.....	7	Not reported.....	1
To enter army or navy.....	4		
Join family.....	3	Total.....	108

The men interviewed had been in the United States as follows: Under five years, 67; five to nine years, 30; ten years or over, 11.

Seventy-three of the men stated that they expected to return to the United States; 24 did not expect to return, and 11 were undecided. The number of persons interviewed was, of course, too small to be representative of the return movement. It will be noted that no one gave the lack of employment as a reason for leaving the United States, which is not at all strange, as at that time industrial condi-

tions were excellent, and the canvass was made at a season of the year when ordinarily there is a strong demand for labor. A surprising feature of the canvass was the proportion of sick persons among those returning, but the Commission's investigations in Italy disclosed the fact that large numbers go back because of sickness, and that among them are many returning to their native country to die. Of the 14 who gave sickness as the reason of their return to Italy several were afflicted with tuberculosis in a more or less advanced stage. Only three were returning because they did not like the United States, and it would seem that this could hardly be regarded as an important cause on the whole for among returned emigrants in Italy there exists very generally a real affection for America. It is undoubtedly true, however, that while most Italians like the United States, they have a greater and more lasting affection for Italy, and many when they have accumulated enough money to insure them a comfortable existence there prefer to live in their native land. This, in the opinion of the Commission, is the chief cause of the large permanent return movement.

EFFECTS OF THE RETURN MOVEMENT.

The return to Italy of so large a number of former emigrants, many of whom possess savings which to the peasant class seem like fortunes, is having a most pronounced effect on the country in different ways. Moreover, the returned emigrants as a body are much more progressive than their old neighbors who have remained at home, and generally their standard of living is much higher. Italians hold different opinions as to whether the influence exerted by the returned emigrant is good or bad, but the majority of those interviewed by the Commission feel that these repatriates, in common with the money sent home by emigrants, have been of inestimable value to Italy, and especially to the southern compartimenti. That a stay in America has wrought a change in Italian peasants is a fact which is noticeable in every part of the Kingdom where repatriates reside. The experience of the Commission in this respect coincides with that of other observers. John J. D. Trenor, in a report to the United States Bureau of Immigration in 1906, says:

It is not difficult to pick from among the lower classes of Italy individuals who have resided in the United States, their look of prosperity being a reliable guide in that respect.

The same writer observed an illustration of this at the port of Naples, where one ship was disembarking a load of returned emigrants while another was embarking emigrants for the United States, and commented upon it as follows:

To one side could be seen the steerage passengers, all in neat attire, unfastening their well-filled trunks preparatory to the customs inspection, while to the other side were the thousand or more awaiting embarkation, but presenting a severe contrast to their brethren returning from the States.

In the parts of southern Italy visited by the Commission the changed appearance and conduct of the returned emigrant was commented upon. Some among the higher classes regarded the change with disfavor, as it was said the so-called "Americans" had lost all respect for their superiors. Some stated that they were not so re-

spectful to the landed proprietors and bought land for themselves, usually at high prices.

Among the peasants, however, there was no complaint in this respect, for the returned emigrants have pointed the way to better things than the Italian peasant is accustomed to and has demonstrated that they are attainable.

In many instances the Commission observed that the standard of living among repatriated Italians was noticeably higher than among the peasants generally. Their houses were conspicuously better, as was the general appearance of their premises. The pigs, donkeys, and chickens had been banished from the houses, and there was about their homes and themselves an appearance of prosperity which was lacking among their nonemigrant neighbors.

In its report on Basilicata and Calabria the Royal Italian Agricultural Commission frequently refers to the returned emigrant, his changed views of life, and his effect upon his countrymen. The report says that—

The first idea of the emigrants who return is to improve their houses. Many families that in times past have lived in one room only, and perhaps with a pig, now have two or three rooms, besides a kitchen and stable. In America they have had their standard of living raised. Those who return from America purchase a house with a small estate; when this is not sufficient they hire some lands or work on shares. The "Americans" come back improved, more clever, and intelligent.

Some specific instances of the effect on Basilicata and Calabria of returned emigrants, and also of money sent home by emigrants, are mentioned in the report of the royal Italian commission substantially as follows:

Albano di Lucania.—Some people returning from America acquire small estates in the surrounding country. At the post-offices are deposited 60,000 lire as savings of the so-called Americans. * * * Returned countrymen do not adapt themselves to the hardest labors to which they were subjected in other times, except in the case they work on their own estates. Many emigrants, not accustomed to possess money, after returning from America squander it. A young peasant who emigrated some years ago to New York and became a barber had returned to Albano after his parents and sister. The commission asked him why he emigrated. He said: "I earned only 50 centissimi (10 cents) a day in Italy; in New York I earned \$12 to \$14 a week. I sold my barber shop for \$500, and am now going back to buy another one."

Pignola, in Basilicata.—Many of the emigrants have been in the United States before and need no help in buying their tickets the second time. The mayor said: "The greatest impulse (toward emigration) came from the example of those emigrants who send money to their families, and, returning from America after two or three years, they build a little house or acquire an estate near the village." He adds that many returned emigrants squander their savings.

Polenza.—A peasant, after having worked for three years in the United States, returned with 1,500 lire (\$300) and bought a small estate. He is tenant of a larger one, but, as he affirms, the profit is so small that he will be obliged to go back to America, "where the laborer earns much more." He lives in only one room on the ground floor with his father, wife, two sons, and a donkey.

Moliterno.—The mayor says that those who have been to America do not work as willingly now as before.

Lagonegro.—A large proprietor, on being asked why the people emigrate, replied: "They see their countrymen returning well dressed, with an overcoat, a cigar in the mouth, and therefore they all wish to go away." It is evident that "Americans" live better and have cleaner houses. Emigration has created in Lagonegro a small bourgeois class that is called "American." They have returned from the United States and from Argentina; they have an income of from 3 to 5 lire (60 cents to \$1) daily; they don't work; and they live like old employers in retreat, with their only ambition to become either councilors of

the municipality or foreman of some labor society. Of this kind there are about 100 families.

Latronico.—The local emigration is for the most part to the United States. The first savings are employed by the emigrants to pay their debts; afterwards they build a nice cottage. In fact, all improvements of hygiene in these countries are due to emigration. The numerous new houses in every village belong to the so-called "Americans;" generally they have one or two rooms on the ground floor and two rooms on the first floor. They are built with lime and bricks. You don't see the pigs, donkey, or chickens living in the same rooms with the proprietors. For animals there is another small building near the house.

Castrovillari.—The fortunes of returned emigrants are not large, never surpassing 5,000 or 6,000 lire, but no one is willing to work in the fields.

Spezzano Albanese.—Those who return from America purchase pieces of land. The "Americans" buy the houses and dress well. The mayor of San Fili says peasants now live better than proprietors. Those who return from America, accustomed to high wages and good living, do not adapt themselves any longer to the hard labor of the old country * * *. The great advantage of emigration is in the money earned in America. Three brothers who left the country quite poor earned in seven or eight years in America between 200,000 and 300,000 lire (\$40,000 and \$60,000). On their return to San Fili they purchased a large wood, many houses, etc.

Cellico.—Here also those who come back purchase houses.

San Giovanni in Fiore.—The larger part of the houses are very dirty; only in the high quarter of the town are there many new and clean houses, without pigs, asses, or chickens in the interior. These were built by peasants who returned from America, so that one must admit that if a little civilization has penetrated into this large district it is certainly exclusively owing to emigration. Those who return from America do not adapt themselves to work on the fields of other proprietors; they prefer to cultivate the fields purchased by their own savings. Their ambition is, as soon as they return, to build a house by their first savings; afterwards they purchase an orchard or a vineyard. The mayor thinks that emigration is the salvation of the country, and that it has improved economic conditions. "The Americans," he says, "live in new and very clean houses." A peasant says one of his sons brought home 1,000 lire (\$200) which served to build the house, but as half the expense is still to be paid he will emigrate again.

Rolliano.—We have noticed that in these districts only the houses of the so-called "Americans" are wholesome.

Soveria Mannelli.—Emigrants generally save 1,000 lire (\$200) a year, says the mayor. Returning, their first ambition is to purchase a house. Afterwards they acquire an estate and cultivate it, so that they are never idle. The new houses belong to the "Americans."

Titolo.—Peasants go to America and come back from there with the greatest ease; many of them have been there five or six times; they squander their money on travel. "In the interest of the nation," says the mayor, "such a wandering ought to be prevented. A law ought to be passed which would prohibit emigration to those who had already been in America two or three times. In this way they would be obliged to establish themselves in America and their earnings would be larger."

Gimigliano.—Young people come back dressed much better than rich people.

Settingiano.—Among those who return many squander their money, but in every case they have the resources to emigrate again. The secretary of the chamber of labor says very few of the 400 members of the labor league are intelligent except those who have returned from America. Returned peasants desire to have their estates close by the villages.

Monteleone.—The vice-mayor says that between 1,200 and 1,500 lire (\$240 and \$300) is sent from America weekly. A large proprietor says that families, seeing their heads depart for America, are satisfied because they are sure to receive money from there. The houses which were dirty and neglected are now improved. The relations between the proprietors and peasants have changed and there are some peasants whose greetings are surly. Those who return from America purchase a house with a small estate; where this is not sufficient they resort to hiring lands, or to the partnership system. The "Americans" come back improved, more clever, and intelligent. A peasant said to the commission: "The Americans have brought here the paradise."

Taverna.—A railway official says regarding the many new and clean houses in the village: "These, you see, were all built with money that was earned in America."

Maida.—Returned emigrants have a capital ranging from 2,000 to 7,000 lire (\$400 to \$1,400).

DISEASE.

It has been repeatedly asserted that one of the effects of the return movement of emigrants has been the increase in Italy of certain diseases; tuberculosis and syphilis being those most frequently mentioned. A recent writer^a speaks of—

the diseases the Italians contract here in America, especially consumption, a disease which was almost unknown in Italy twenty-five years ago, but is making alarming progress among the southern poor, due largely to the returned emigrant.

As previously stated, many Italians return to their native land afflicted with pulmonary tuberculosis. This fact came to the attention of the commission on board the *Canopic*,^b and later in parts of southern Italy, where it was asserted that in almost every village there were former emigrants who had come home to die; the majority of them having tuberculosis. It was nowhere said, however, that returned emigrants were responsible for the present prevalence of the disease in Italy. As a matter of fact, Italian mortality statistics clearly disprove the assertion that the prevalence of tuberculosis in Italy is of recent origin. This is shown by the following table:

TABLE 41.—Deaths in Italy from disseminated tuberculosis and pulmonary tuberculosis per 100,000 inhabitants, in specified years, by compartmenti.

Compartimenti.	Deaths per 100,000 inhabitants in—		
	1905.	1901-1905.	1887-1890.
Piedmont.....	143	140	160
Liguria.....	175	172	198
Lombardy.....	167	158	175
Venetia.....	132	125	145
Emilia.....	134	130	171
Tuscany.....	152	144	178
Marches.....	92	90	113
Umbria.....	92	92	126
Latium.....	124	124	161
Abruzzi.....	74	74	93
Campania.....	80	78	105
Apulia.....	97	95	106
Basilicata.....	61	57	66
Calabria.....	70	67	74
Sicily.....	88	84	96
Sardinia.....	146	124	134
Kingdom.....	121	116	137

The above table shows not only that tuberculosis was prevalent in Italy nearly a quarter of a century ago, but also that the mortality rate from the disease was considerably greater in 1887-1890 than in 1905, the decrease being from 137 deaths per 100,000 of the population in the former period to 121 per 100,000 in 1905. There was an increase in the mortality rate from 116 to 121 per 100,000 between the

^aAntonio Mangano: "The effect of emigration upon Italy," Charities, Feb. 1, 1908.

^bSee p. 230.

period of 1901-1905 and the year 1905 which may have been due in part to deaths among returned emigrants. This is not apparent from the statistics, however, because the increase was general throughout Italy and not confined to the southern *compartimenti*, which furnish the largest proportion of emigrants and consequently are most affected by the return movement. Moreover, the highest death rate from tuberculosis in 1905 was found in Liguria, which furnishes a smaller number of emigrants according to its population than any other *compartimento*, while the lowest rate was recorded for the Basilicata, which is one of the greatest emigrant-furnishing sections of the Kingdom. It will also be noted one of the three *compartimenti* showing no increase between the period 1901-1905 and the year 1905 was Abruzzi, which furnishes a larger proportion of trans-oceanic emigrants than any other except Calabria.^a

If the death rate from syphilis may be accepted as indicating the prevalence of that disease, there is sufficient proof that Italy has not been seriously affected by returning emigrants in this regard. According to the records the mortality rate per 100,000 of the population from syphilis for the periods 1887-1890, 1895-1900, and 1900-1905 was as follows: 1887-1890, 6.7; 1895-1900, 7; 1900-1905, 6.

It will be seen that the death rate from this disease was somewhat larger in the earliest period considered than in 1900-1905, when the return movement of emigrants was much more pronounced.

In this connection it may be noted that the death rate in the United States from venereal diseases among persons under 45 years was higher in 1900 for Italians than for any other element of the white population, while among persons 45 years and over group the Italians ranked fourth.

A comparison between the death rate from venereal diseases among Italian immigrants and their children and native-born persons whose mothers were born in the United States is shown in the following table:

TABLE 42.—*Death rate in the United States in 1900 from venereal diseases per 100,000 of the population among Italians and native-born persons of native-born mothers, by age groups.*

Birthplace of mothers.	Under 15 years.	15 to 44 years.	45 years and over
Italy.....	16.9	1.7	2.0
United States.....	3.8	.4	.8

If, as previously stated, the mortality rate from this class of diseases can be taken as an index to their prevalence, it would seem from the figures for Italy and the United States that they were much more common among Italians than other races. This being the case the United States is more seriously affected by the coming of Italians than Italy is by their return.

^a See table, p. 143.

PART III.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN RUSSIA.

237

PART III.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN RUSSIA.

CHAPTER I.

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES FROM RUSSIA.

From July 1, 1819, to June 30, 1910, 2,359,048 immigrants giving the Russian Empire or Finland as the country of their last permanent residence were admitted to the United States. The number of immigrants from that country during the period for which data are available were surpassed with the number from Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy.

The emigration movement from Great Britain and Germany has been one of long standing, while the movement of population from the Russian Empire as well as that from Austria-Hungary and Italy has only attained its large volume in comparatively recent years. The above figures do not represent the total immigration from Russia because prior to 1899 immigration from Poland was recorded separately, and a total of 164,696 persons were admitted to the United States from 1820 to 1899 who gave Poland as the country of origin. What proportions of these came from Russia and from the Polish provinces of Austria and Germany are not known. Since 1899 Poland has not been considered as a geographical entity in recording immigration data.

IMMIGRATION BY YEARS, 1820-1910.

In the year 1820 only 14 immigrants from the Russian Empire were admitted to the United States. Less than 200 were admitted in any fiscal year until 1846, when 248 were recorded. That number was not equaled again until 1866, and it was not until 1872 that the number reached 1,000. From that time there was a constant increase in the movement of population from Russia to the United States. The development of the movement is shown in the table next presented, which gives the total immigration to the United States from the Russian Empire in each fiscal year from 1820 to 1910.

TABLE 1.—Immigration to the United States from the Russian Empire and Finland for the years ending June 30, 1820 to 1910.

[Compiled from Statistical Review of Immigration, 1819-1910. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 3.]

Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
1820.....	14	1844.....	13	1868 ^a	141	1892.....	81,511
1821.....	7	1845.....	1	1869.....	343	1893.....	42,310
1822.....	10	1846.....	248	1870.....	907	1894.....	39,278
1823.....	7	1847.....	5	1871.....	673	1895.....	35,907
1824.....	7	1848.....	1	1872.....	1,018	1896.....	51,435
1825.....	10	1849.....	44	1873.....	1,634	1897.....	25,316
1826.....	4	1850 ^b	31	1874.....	2,073	1898.....	29,828
1827.....	19	1851.....	1	1875.....	7,997	1899.....	60,982
1828.....	7	1852.....	2	1876.....	4,775	1900.....	90,787
1829.....	1	1853.....	3	1877.....	6,599	1901.....	85,257
1830.....	3	1854.....	2	1878.....	3,048	1902.....	107,347
1831.....	1	1855.....	13	1879.....	4,453	1903.....	136,093
1832 ^b	52	1856.....	9	1880.....	5,014	1904.....	145,141
1833.....	159	1857.....	25	1881.....	5,041	1905.....	184,897
1834.....	15	1858.....	246	1882.....	16,918	1906.....	215,665
1835.....	9	1859.....	91	1883.....	9,909	1907.....	258,943
1836.....	2	1860.....	65	1884.....	12,689	1908.....	156,711
1837.....	19	1861.....	34	1885.....	17,158	1909.....	120,460
1838.....	13	1862.....	79	1886.....	17,800	1910.....	186,792
1839.....	7	1863.....	77	1887.....	30,766		
1840.....	.....	1864.....	256	1888.....	33,487	Total.....	2,359,048
1841.....	174	1865.....	183	1889.....	33,916		
1842.....	28	1866.....	287	1890.....	35,598		
1843.....	6	1867.....	205	1891.....	47,426		

^a Six months ending June 30.^b Fifteen months ending Dec. 31.

The above table very clearly indicates the remarkable growth of the movement since 1882, a movement which reached its height in 1907, when no less than 258,943 immigrants to the United States reported Russia as the country of their last permanent residence. In fact, the number admitted in 1907 and in 1906 as well exceeded the total number admitted during the fiscal years 1820 to 1899, inclusive.

IMMIGRATION BY SEX AND DECADES, 1871-1910.

The following table shows the immigration from the Russian Empire by decades and by sex from 1871 to 1910, inclusive:

TABLE 2.—Immigration to the United States from the Russian Empire and Finland, by sex and decades, 1871 to 1910.

[Compiled from Statistical Review of Immigration, 1819-1910. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 3.]

Period.	Number.			Per cent.	
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1871-1880.....	39,284	23,419	15,865	59.6	40.4
1881-1890.....	213,282	138,540	74,742	65.0	35.0
1891-1900.....	505,280	^a 202,535	^a 124,268	62.0	38.0
1900-1910.....	1,597,306	1,037,960	559,346	65.0	35.0
Total.....	2,355,152	1,402,454	774,161	64.4	35.6

^a Figures by sex not given for 1893, 1894, 1895, and 1899.

The preceding tables show clearly the recency of the great volume of immigration to the United States from the Russian Empire. Until 1871-1880 the number of immigrants had not reached 3,000 in any decade. During 1871 to 1880, inclusive, 39,284 immigrants were admitted. In the succeeding decade the number admitted was 213,282. During 1891 to 1900 the number more than doubled, and in the last decade 1,597,306 immigrants were recorded.

During the total period 1871 to 1910, inclusive, 64.4 per cent of the immigration from the Russian Empire was of males. The proportion of males was considerably less than in the case of Italy or Austria-Hungary, this being due to the large proportion of females among Hebrew immigrants from Russia.

RUSSIAN AND OTHER EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION.

The following table is a comparison of the immigration of the Russian Empire and European immigration as a whole for the period 1820 to 1910:

TABLE 3.—Immigration to the United States from the Russian Empire and Finland compared with total European immigration (including Turkey in Asia), by decades, 1820 to 1910.

[Compiled from Table 1, pages 6-11.]

Period.	Total European immigration.	Russian immigration.	
		Number.	Per cent of total European immigration.
1820-1830 ^a	106,508	89	0.1
1831-1840	495,683	277	0.1
1841-1850	1,597,501	551	(b)
1851-1860	2,452,660	457	(b)
1861-1870	2,065,272	2,512	0.1
1871-1880	2,272,329	39,284	1.7
1881-1890	4,739,266	213,282	4.5
1891-1900	3,582,815	505,280	14.1
1901-1910	8,213,409	1,597,306	19.4
Total	25,528,410	2,359,048	9.2

^a Eleven years.

^b Less than 0.05 per cent.

Prior to 1871-1880 the immigration to the United States from the Russian Empire constituted less than 1 per cent of the total European immigration. Beginning with that period, however, it gradually becomes an important element, in 1891-1900 forming 14.1 per cent of the total European immigration, and in 1901-1910, 19.4 per cent of the total immigration to the United States from Europe originated in the Russian Empire.

NATIVES OF RUSSIA IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850 TO 1900.

The following tables show the distribution in the United States in each census year from 1850 to 1900 of persons born in Russia (except Poland):

TABLE 4.—*Distribution of persons of Russian birth (except Poland) in the United States, by States and Territories, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive.*

Geographic division.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
AREA OF ENUMERATION.						
Continental United States.....	1,414	3,160	4,644	35,722	182,644	423,726
North Atlantic division.....	825	1,430	2,014	7,400	92,896	279,230
New England—						
Maine.....	2	9	18	54	420	1,021
New Hampshire.....			2	7	188	722
Vermont.....	1	7	1	8	153	377
Massachusetts.....	38	61	154	462	7,325	26,963
Rhode Island.....	1	6	13	25	682	2,429
Connecticut.....	5	46	34	65	3,027	11,404
Southern North Atlantic—						
New York.....	617	1,013	1,473	5,438	58,466	165,610
New Jersey.....	22	38	90	301	5,320	19,745
Pennsylvania.....	139	250	229	1,040	17,315	50,959
South Atlantic division.....	71	92	206	452	5,900	16,472
Northern South Atlantic—						
Delaware.....	1	2	3	9	197	380
Maryland.....	23	15	50	213	4,258	11,301
District of Columbia.....	2	5	22	67	244	807
Virginia.....	8	14	39	39	407	1,242
West Virginia.....			11	19	126	721
Southern South Atlantic—						
North Carolina.....	8	20	11	11	86	253
South Carolina.....	19	19	31	29	178	316
Georgia.....	8	11	32	33	282	1,232
Florida.....	2	6	7	32	122	220
North Central division.....	285	1,056	1,276	25,031	69,907	107,529
Eastern North Central—						
Ohio.....	84	452	181	610	4,576	8,203
Indiana.....	6	101	61	320	576	1,215
Illinois.....	27	134	306	1,276	8,407	28,707
Michigan.....	25	68	194	1,560	11,889	4,138
Wisconsin.....	71	95	102	312	2,279	4,243
Western North Central—						
Minnesota.....	2	59	109	2,272	7,233	5,907
Iowa.....	41	40	96	535	782	1,998
Missouri.....	29	72	140	340	2,414	6,672
North Dakota.....		1	4	6,493	16,496	14,979
South Dakota.....						12,365
Nebraska.....		21	27	3,281	5,454	8,083
Kansas.....		13	56	8,032	9,801	11,019
South Central division.....	179	279	410	767	2,713	8,961
Eastern South Central—						
Kentucky.....	70	38	28	63	390	1,076
Tennessee.....	9	44	74	70	463	927
Alabama.....	10	20	36	44	274	468
Mississippi.....	9	26	21	76	120	414
Western South Central—						
Louisiana.....	65	84	165	158	345	692
Arkansas.....	6	25	24	77	87	276
Indian Territory.....						200
Oklahoma.....						57
Texas.....	10	42	62	279	977	2,259

* Dakota Territory until 1900.

TABLE 4.—*Distribution of persons of Russian birth (except Poland) in the United States, by States and Territories, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive—Continued.*

Geographic division.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
AREA OF ENUMERATIONS—continued.						
Continental United States—Continued.						
Western division.....	54	303	738	2,072	11,228	11,534
Rocky Mountain—						
Montana.....			7	25	719	394
Idaho.....			10	17	113	124
Wyoming.....			5	19	794	90
Colorado.....		1	10	278	1,306	2,938
New Mexico.....	4	2	12	16	73	99
Basin and Plateau—						
Arizona.....			5	25	53	107
Utah.....	1		13	54	290	119
Nevada.....		9	48	41	39	27
Pacific—						
Washington.....		9	21	205	2,118	2,462
Oregon.....	1	22	67	379	2,583	1,753
California.....	48	260	540	1,013	3,140	3,421

TABLE 5.—*Per cent of persons of Russian birth (except Poland) in each geographic division of the United States in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive.*

Geographic division.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
North Atlantic division.....	58.3	45.3	43.4	20.7	50.9	65.9
South Atlantic division.....	5.0	2.9	4.4	1.3	3.2	3.9
North Central division.....	20.2	33.4	27.5	70.1	38.3	25.4
South Central division.....	12.7	8.8	8.8	2.1	1.5	2.1
Western division.....	3.8	9.6	15.9	5.8	6.1	2.7

In each census year from 1850 to 1900 the great bulk of persons in the United States who had been born in Russia (except Poland) were in the North Atlantic and North Central States. Moreover, in every instance except two New York has had the greatest number of persons who were natives of Russia. In 1880 both Kansas and Dakota Territory had a larger number of persons born in Russia than New York. The rapid increase in the United States of the number of persons who were born in Russia began between 1880 and 1890. At the former date they numbered 35,722, at the latter date 182,644. In 1900 the number of persons in the United States reported as having been born in Russia reached 423,726. Of the latter number, 165,610 were reported in New York State. Other States having in 1900 a relatively large number of persons born in Russia were as follows: Pennsylvania, 50,959; Illinois, 28,707; Massachusetts, 26,963; New Jersey, 19,745; North Dakota, 14,979; South Dakota, 12,365; Connecticut, 11,404; Maryland, 11,301; Kansas, 11,019. Six States show a decrease in the number of persons born in Russia—Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, and Oregon.

The great preponderance of Russian-born persons in New York is probably due to the large number of Russian Hebrews who settle in New York City.

CHAPTER II.

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION—MIGRATION TO SIBERIA.

The extent of the migration movement from European Russia to Siberia probably is not generally realized. It is, however, one of the greatest movements of population in all history, as is shown by the fact that in the first ten months of the year 1908 approximately 720,000 persons left their homes in European Russia to settle in the Siberian Provinces of the Empire. This number is nearly as great as the total immigration to the United States from all sources in the fiscal years 1908 or 1909. The movement to Siberia is fostered by the Russian Government, and unlike the emigration from Russia to the United States it is composed of true Russians largely from the central Provinces rather than the so-called "aliens" from the west, who so largely make up the transoceanic movement. Of course, the migration to Siberia is not comparable with the emigration from Russia to America, for in the former case the removal is not beyond the confines of the Empire, but nevertheless both serve to illustrate the fact that the migratory spirit prevails in practically all parts of European Russia.

The migration movement to Siberia serves the double purpose of settling the vast and sparsely populated Provinces in Asiatic Russia and of relieving somewhat the relative overpopulation in the Agrarian Provinces of Russia in Europe. The agrarian question has long been an important economic problem in Russia and an understanding of the situation is necessary to a discussion of the migration and emigration of the Russian peoples. There is much literature upon the subject, much of which is the work of more or less extreme partisans. It is, of course, both impracticable and unnecessary to review or consider much that has been written in this regard, but with a view to showing the prevailing situation there is presented under the next head a brief condensation of a series of lectures delivered in the Imperial University of Moscow by Prof. A. A. Kaufman and published under the title, "The agrarian question in Russia." The Commission is creditably informed that Prof. Kaufman is a leading authority upon this subject, and that the work referred to is an excellent presentation of the question. The review of the work as prepared for the Commission follows:

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN RUSSIA.^a

Five-sixths of the population of Russia are peasants. Their economic condition is of vital importance to the whole country because of their large number and because a normal economic development of the Empire is possible only when the peasants, as producers and as consumers, participate in the movement.

^a Based on Prof. A. A. Kaufman's "Agrarian question in Russia," a course of lectures delivered in the Imperial University of Moscow in 1907.

A brief discussion of the emancipation of the peasants in 1861 is necessary for an understanding of the present situation. Economic and political reasons had led to the emancipation. Many landowners had begun to realize that serfdom did not pay, while the Government had felt keenly that as a tax-paying population the peasants would be more satisfactory when free than when enslaved. The Crimean war, furthermore, had created a widespread discontent in the population, and the Government had felt that it was better to emancipate the peasants from above and thereby win their loyalty than to wait until their discontent would lead them to emancipate themselves from below.

A considerable difference of opinion existed among the landlords in regard to the desirability of granting freedom to the serfs, but the landholding class was practically at one in exerting its influence toward giving the peasants as little land as possible, and preferably no land at all. It was in the interests of the landlords to create a class of land-poor or landless peasants, who would clamor for employment and would reduce the wages of agricultural labor. And since the details of the plan of emancipation were left to the representatives of the landholding classes, whose desire to leave the peasants as little as possible was counteracted only by the Emperor and his representative in the committee, the result was that the freedmen had, by about one-fifth, less land to cultivate after emancipation than during serfdom.

The peasants received their freedom nominally without paying for it, and they received allotments of land which the Government bought from the holders and for which the peasants were to make annual payments for forty-nine years. The size of the allotments was determined upon for each district in accordance with local conditions, but in no case were the landlords to lose more than two-thirds of their holdings. The peasants were given the option of taking one-fourth of their allotments without any payments, and about 640,000 peasants did this, partly under duress and partly because they expected to lease additional land cheaply and to receive good wages for work on the landlords' land. But the peasants were disappointed in this respect, because rents went up rapidly and wages went down. In addition to this class of land-poor peasants there were the former personal servants of the nobility, about 720,000 in number, who had received their freedom and nothing more.

While the peasants were not supposed to pay for their persons, the arrangement was that they were to pay considerably more for the first acre of land than for the others, which practically meant that the price of the first acre included a payment for their persons. This system of payments, furthermore, resulted in an inequitable arrangement by which the rate was highest for the poorest peasants.

The general result of the emancipation was that a considerable proportion of the peasants were in a worse economic condition than they had been while serfdom prevailed.

Since 1860 the number of peasants has increased from 50,000,000 to 86,000,000, while the available land has increased but slightly, so that the average amount of land per person was decreased materially; and furthermore the more prosperous peasants have had a large progeny and the greater increase among them has tended to reduce them to the level of poverty of their poorer neighbors.

There has been a slight increase in the productivity of the land since 1860, but it has not kept pace with the growth of population, and at the same time the prices of agricultural products have declined so that peasants are obliged to sell more of their products to realize the cash needed for their taxes and other necessary expenses, and less remains for their own consumption. The result is very general underfeeding. The peasants live very largely on bread and potatoes and the average amount consumed by them falls far short of what is estimated as the necessary minimum for the maintenance of health and vigor.

And yet the demands on the peasant are growing; his dependence on factory-made goods increases, and the system of indirect taxation continually augments the burden which the poor have to bear in order to support the Government. The actual poverty of the peasants and their mode of life are such that a description sounds like an exaggeration, and during lean years, which occur about three or four times in every decade, there are widespread famines. Gastric and other diseases have taken firm root among the underfed peasants, and their condition is pitiful in the extreme.

Being unable to make a living from their land and having no opportunity, under the existing methods of agriculture, to use to advantage the labor of all the members of a family, many peasants seek employment away from their homes. The demand for agricultural labor has declined in recent years, and the peasants now generally go to the cities to work as drivers and carriers, or in factories, on steamships, and in railroad construction. They engage for the most part in seasonal work, and leaving in the spring they return in the fall with perhaps \$10 or \$15 of savings representing the addition to their budget from their outside labor. The risk connected with such work is great; having no accurate information the peasants often wander about in search of employment; their hours of work when they find employment are long, from twelve to fifteen hours, and the food and surroundings are miserable. After an absence of from three to six months these peasant-laborers often return home with impaired health, and in the meantime their crops have often suffered because frequently only old men, women, and children remain behind to cultivate the land.

Siberian colonization has often been thought of as the best way of relieving the agrarian situation in Russia. Emigration to Siberia has been taking place in considerable numbers for more than a quarter of a century. The attitude of the Government toward this movement has changed several times, but since 1893, when the construction of the Siberian Railroad began, the Government has been encouraging Siberian colonization. In recent years the agrarian uprisings have added another motive to the Government's desire of relieving the peasants. In 1907 about a half a million peasants migrated to Siberia. This movement often results in a benefit to the emigrants, but even that is not always true; nearly 20 per cent of the colonists return to Russia ruined and about as many remain in Siberia as hopeless failures. The best land in Siberia is largely occupied at present, and the current of emigration in that direction can not increase materially. At best the exodus comprises about one-

fourth to one-third of the annual increase in population, and therefore, of course, does not decrease the density of the settlement in European Russia. Under the circumstances Siberian colonization can not be considered as offering a solution to the agrarian situation.

The purchase of land by the peasants through the land bank has done something in the way of increasing peasant landholding but it does not affect a sufficient proportion of the population to be considered as a solution, even in part, of the ominous problem of land poverty.

The situation may be summed up as follows: The peasants are poor and are becoming poorer every year; their landholdings decrease as the population grows, and there is not enough land in Russia now to support her population adequately while the yield of the land remains as low as it is now. In the yield per acre of wheat, of oats, of rye, and of hay, Russia is far and away at the bottom of the list of all civilized countries. Poor harvests are more common in Russia than elsewhere and the difference between fat and lean years is much greater there than in other parts of Europe.

And yet Russia's climate is fairly good, and her soil is of more than average fertility. The reason of the low productivity of Russia's soil is to be found in the antiquated methods of cultivation used by the peasants. The implements used are primitive and irrational, the system of crops is calculated to exhaust the land. Russia's land is still cultivated on the principle that exhausted lands can be abandoned and others found, while the increase of population makes a more intensive and economical system of agriculture imperatively necessary. If the peasants spent part of the effort which they use in trying to obtain new land to cultivating their own allotments in a more satisfactory manner a great step forward would be accomplished. In some of the portions of the Far East Russian colonists fail and starve on allotments five and six times as great as those on which their neighbors, the Chinese and Koreans, prosper.

The peasants can hardly be expected to do otherwise than persevere in their traditional methods of land cultivation as long as their level of education and intelligence remains as low as it is at present. The proportion of persons at school and the per capita expenditure for education are lower in Russia than in any other civilized country. Besides the peasant's ignorance and isolation impede his development; no cooperation, no common action is permitted to him, and the burden of taxation continually increases, leaving less and less margin for attempts at improvements. The decline of prices on cereals, partly through American competition, and the growth of the factory system which has destroyed home industry and made the peasant dependent on manufactured goods, without offering him employment in return, have also contributed to the peasants, misery and consequent inertia.

There is no possible solution of Russia's land problem unless the productivity of the soil increases; there is not enough land in Russia now to support her population as long as the poor crops, caused by primitive methods, persist, and yet the average amount of land per person is greater in Russia than in most other European countries. A campaign of education, together with encouragement of all attempts at cooperation, is essential for an improvement of the condi-

tions of Russia's peasantry. An increase in the holdings of the poorest peasants may be necessary to help the peasants pull through the present acute crisis, but education and modern agricultural methods and machinery are the only means which will place Russia's peasants on the road to economic advancement.

MIGRATION TO SIBERIA.

As stated by Mr. S. Janovsky in an article printed elsewhere in this report^a there has been an uninterrupted migration of settlers from European Russia to Siberia ever since its annexation to the Empire. In the first half of the nineteenth century the Government itself organized the transportation of State peasants from the provinces where land was scarce to Siberia. During the transportation the Government supplied them with provisions, cared for the sick, and previous to their arrival at their destination prepared to provide them with bread, hay, cattle, and agricultural implements. Various privileges were likewise granted them. Under this system of organized migration about 320,000 persons were transported, not all, however, to Siberia, as part of the movement was directed to southeast Russia, where there was also an abundance of land.

In addition to the organized migration of State peasants there was an independent movement the volume of which is not known.

The early state-aided migration to Siberia was not continued and practically the whole movement to that region ceased until about 1880, when coincident with the transoceanic emigration of a considerable number of Russian peasants the migration to Siberia was resumed. The following figures show the migration to Siberia from European Russia from 1881 to 1908:

TABLE 6.—*Migration to Siberia from European Russia from 1881 to 1908, by years.*

[Compiled from figures published in the Journal of the Russian Department of Justice, April, 1909.]

Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
1881.....	36,000	1895.....	120,000
1882.....	33,000	1896.....	^b 200,000
1883.....	(^e)	1897.....	63,000
1884.....	(^e)	1898.....	^b 206,000
1885.....	(^e)	1899.....	^b 200,000
1886.....	(^e)	1900.....	219,000
1887.....	25,000	1901.....	120,000
1888.....	36,000	1902.....	111,000
1889.....	40,000	1903.....	115,000
1890.....	49,000	1904.....	47,000
1891.....	87,000	1905.....	44,000
1892.....	82,000	1906.....	219,000
1893.....	64,000	1907.....	577,000
1894.....	65,500	1908.....	^c 720,000

^a Data not available.

^b Estimated.

^c From January 1 to November 1, 1908.

From the above table may be gained a fairly accurate idea of the very large proportions which the movement to Siberia has assumed in recent years. In 1895 it numbered 120,000 persons and in the fol-

^a See p. 251.

lowing year about 200,000. In 1907 it had exceeded half a million, and in the eleven months of 1908 for which data are available the migration reached its greatest volume, 720,000 persons being recorded. The movement, it will be noted, has been subjected to considerable fluctuations, dropping in 1904 to 47,000, whereas in the previous year it had numbered 115,000. However, except for the three years, 1903 to 1905, the migration of the peasants to Siberia has exceeded the total migration to the United States from the Russian Empire.

Further reference to the movement to Siberia will be found in Mr. S. Janovsky's article on Russian Law and Emigration in the chapter following.

CHAPTER III.

RUSSIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD EMIGRATION.

Broadly speaking, the Russian law does not recognize the right of the people to leave Russia for the purpose of taking up a permanent residence in another country. At times this attitude has been modified somewhat, and at the time of the Commission's visit to Russia the Government had under consideration a proposed law involving the legalization and control of emigration. However, so far as the Commission is advised, no definite action in this regard has been taken. Notwithstanding the fact that Russia does not recognize the right of her people to leave the country except temporarily there has been a large movement of population from the Empire to foreign countries in recent years. In fact, Russia now ranks as one of the three great emigrant-furnishing countries of the world, and if the movement from European Russia to Siberia be taken into account it is by far the most important emigration source.

In order that the legal status of emigration from Russia may be clearly understood there is presented as a part of this report a translation of an article by Mr. S. Janovsky entitled "Russian law and emigration." This article, which follows in full, was published in the journal of the Russian department of justice for the month of April, 1909, and the Commission is assured upon high authority that it is an excellent presentation of the matter:

RUSSIAN LAW AND EMIGRATION.

I.

Until very recently the Russian people manifested no interest whatever in the subject of emigration. No attention was shown to it by either science, public opinion, or the legislature. And this was perfectly natural. Until the beginning of the eighties of the last century there was almost no emigration from Russia. The figures of the United States, whither the largest number of European emigrants go, show that the emigration from Russia in the years between 1820 and 1870 amounted, on the average, to a few dozen persons per year. In 1871 this emigration for the first time exceeded 1,000 persons, thus beginning to show a marked increase. Ten years later, in 1881, the number had increased to 10,655. Ever since that time the flow of emigration has been constantly growing, carrying out of Russia tens of thousands of emigrants every year. But during the period preceding the year 1900 the number of emigrants had only once (in 1892) reached 81,500, while it generally fluctuated between 20,000 and 60,000 per year. Thus in proportion to the total population of Russia the emigration until the very end of the nineteenth century represented but an insignificant quantity (not more than one-third or one-half per mille).

But even this insignificant emigration finds no direct justification in the economic conditions prevailing in Russia. With its vast possessions in the north and east of Europe, and particularly in Siberia and Central Asia, Russia under normal conditions can not be considered as a country of emigration. On the contrary, she ought to be rather a point of attraction for foreign nations, and thus be a country of immigration. This was exactly the point of view of the Russian Government, when it undertook a whole line of special measures in order to encourage immigration of foreigners into Russia. We can mention in this connection the Mennonites, whose immigration into Russia

commenced in 1787. In general during the reign of Catherine II the immigration of foreigners into Russia assumed extremely large proportions. The immigrants were granted religious freedom, exemption from taxation for a certain number of years, freedom from conscription, and a sufficient quantity of land. Only in 1819 was an Imperial decree issued prohibiting the importation of foreigners into Russia.

The Government was soon thereafter brought face to face with another migration. Owing to the increase in population, a scarcity of land began to make itself felt in some of the provinces of Russia. The peasants commenced to migrate in quest of vacant lands. They were particularly attracted by the eastern territories of European Russia and Siberia, which they deemed a promised land. In fact, there was an uninterrupted migration of settlers to Siberia on foot ever since its annexation to Russia. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Government itself organized the transportation of state peasants from the provinces, where land was scarce, to the southeast of European Russia and to Siberia. In the new places portions of land were being parceled out to the peasants—in the steppes not more than 15, and in the fields not more than 8 dessiatines (1 dessiatine is equal to 2.7 English acres) per person. "In the course of their transportation the Government supplied them with provisions, removed difficulties, cared for the sick, and before their arrival at the places of their new settlement, the agents of the Government prepared to provide them with bread, hay, cattle, and agricultural implements."^a The settlers were also being supplied with money and were being granted various privileges. Under these conditions 320,000 persons were transported to Siberia in the years 1831 to 1836.

Besides the organized emigration, there was also a spontaneous migration of the population. Its size was different at different times. Thus, toward the end of the seventies the number of emigrants from the Provinces of Ufa and Orenburg exceeded 100,000. The Government made many attempts to check the independent emigration, but the movement continued notwithstanding.

Disregarding the migration from certain Provinces of European Russia into others, and taking up only the migration into the "Russian colony"—Siberia—then the magnitude of this migration, resembling in a great many respects migrations among other nations, could be characterized by the following data:

Following the cessation of the emigration organized by the Government the movement of settlers into Siberia had almost come to an end. It is only since the beginning of the eighties—i. e., since the time when the Russian emigration, in the proper meaning of the word, had for the first time reached large proportions—that the migration to Siberia was resumed. It is interesting to compare the magnitude of these two phenomena—i. e., the emigration to the East, to Siberia, and the West, to the United States.

Year.	To North America.	To Siberia.	Year.	To North America.	To Siberia.
1881.....	10, 700	b 36, 000	1895.....	36, 000	120, 000
1882.....	22, 000	b 33, 000	1896.....	51, 500	c 200, 000
1883.....	12, 000	.....	1897.....	26, 000	63, 000
1884.....	17, 000	.....	1898.....	30, 000	d 206, 000
1885.....	17, 000	.....	1899.....	61, 000	e 200, 000
1886.....	18, 000	.....	1900.....	91, 000	e 219, 000
1887.....	31, 000	25, 000	1901.....	85, 000	120, 000
1888.....	33, 500	36, 000	1902.....	107, 000	111, 000
1889.....	34, 000	40, 000	1903.....	136, 000	115, 000
1890.....	36, 000	49, 000	1904.....	145, 000	47, 000
1891.....	47, 000	87, 000	1905.....	185, 000	44, 000
1892.....	81, 500	92, 000	1906.....	216, 000	219, 000
1893.....	42, 000	64, 000	1907.....	259, 000	577, 000
1894.....	39, 000	65, 500	1908 (Jan. 1-Nov. 1).....	.....	720, 000

^a A. Kaufman on migration, Encycl. dict.

^b I. Hourwich: Emigration of peasants to Siberia. Moscow, 1889.

^c About.

^d For the years 1898 and 1899, according to figures in Great Enc.

^e D. V. Emigration for 1908. Viestnik Finansov, 1909, No. 5.

The constantly increasing wave of emigration finally forced the Government to take a serious-view upon the question and substitute the occasional measures and separate ukases by a special bill regulating migration, which was enacted into law June 13, 1889. According to this law, "migration is permissible without preliminary leave from the community, but not otherwise than with the preliminary permission of the ministers of the interior and imperial domain, provided that plausible grounds therefor are presented (there is no definition in the law as to the character of the grounds) and that there are vacant parcels of land." The law establishes mainly the conditions and the order of settlement in the new places. It also provides privileges extended to the settlers: First, exemption from certain payments and taxes, and, second, extension of time to perform military service—in European Russia for two years and in Asiatic Russia for three years. Government agents were put in charge of the process of transportation, the aid to the settlers, and their protection on the way.

In order to conduct a constant supervision over the emigration, a special office had been organized, with the rights of a bureau, and subordinated to the department of the interior. The subject of emigration awoke great public interest. Different writers, Yadrinzev, Issaev, Golovatskov, Sushtshinsky, and others familiarized the public with the conditions of the emigrants and with the suffering which they were undergoing on the way, which caused hundreds of deaths among them. To furnish help to the emigrants, private committees had been organized in the central points—Perm, Tyumen, Tomisk, Irkutsk; and an association to furnish assistance to emigrants was organized in St. Petersburg.

Thus, while the migration to the east aroused interest not only of the Government but also of the public, the emigration to the west, on the contrary, attracted no attention whatever. However, as we have seen, the latter has assumed of late considerable proportions. About 200,000 persons leave Russian territory annually to seek more favorable conditions of life elsewhere. Many of them perish before ever reaching the distant shores of their destination. But the hardship and privation which the majority suffer are so great that many among them would have gladly abandoned the intention to emigrate had they only known the conditions of the journey. One of the saddest parts of emigration is the ticket traffic carried on by the "agents." The emigrating mass consists mostly of ignorant peasants and burghers. They are unable to accomplish their purpose unassisted. The vast majority among them have never before left their village or borough, and now they have to undertake a journey over thousands of miles of land and sea, carrying with themselves all their belongings, and frequently accompanied by wife and children. How is it to be done? How shall they reach the port of embarkation? How much will the journey cost? What is to be done with the luggage; what shall they leave and what take along? How shall they obtain a passport? These and a number of other questions are in the majority of cases beyond the intelligence and experience of the emigrant, and to meet the demand a numerous class of middlemen—"agents"—sprang into existence. They act as a medium between the emigrants and the steamship companies engaged in the transportation of emigrants from the European ports to America, Africa, and other parts of the earth. The functions these middlemen perform are of all sorts of form and nature, and they have always and in every country carried on a most merciless exploitation of the emigrants. The "agents" use every opportunity to rob the emigrants; they sell them steamship tickets at an exorbitant price; cheat them in the exchange of their money for foreign money; keep them for weeks in the ports of embarkation waiting for a steamer; and ship them off in crowded apartments together with cattle and horses.

But their principal occupation consists in procuring a foreign passport or in helping them to secretly cross the frontier. Every year scores of emigrants fall under the bullets of the frontier guard, and still the clandestine traffic goes on as usual.

When similar irregularities and abuses crept out with regard to the eastern emigration the Government, as we have indicated in the preceding lines, intervened; but the emigration west has until this very day remained without any control whatever. It is to the composition of the emigrating mass that we must look for the explanation of this indifference on the part of the Government. Out of the 200,000 emigrants about half are Jews, and the other half consists of Poles, Lithuanians, Finns, and Germans. While the element emigrating east, to Siberia, is composed of genuine Russians, the emigration west, abroad, con-

sists of the so-called alien element. "Laissez faire, laissez passer" is the maximum of justice which one would expect from the Government with regard to this situation. A small percentage of the emigrants consists also of Russians; these are mainly the Dukhobors and other sectarians. Neither did the migration of the latter element serve as sufficient reason for the Government to take notice of this phenomenon; consider it from the standpoint of state interests and adjust to it the antiquated legal provisions.

II.

Emigration is a thing unknown to the Russian law. According to the strict meaning of the statutes which deal with the question of leaving the country, emigration—i. e., the leaving of the country for an indefinite period of time, frequently forever, with the purpose of settling in a foreign country—is prohibited by law. Emigration is an offense punishable under sections 325-327 of the penal code, which provide penalties for illegally leaving the fatherland. The following acts are considered to be offenses under the law referred to:

(1) The entering into foreign service abroad without permission of the Russian Government.

(2) The adoption abroad of a foreign citizenship.

(3) Failure to return from abroad in compliance with the call of the Government.

(4) Sojourn abroad after the time fixed by law has expired without sufficient reasons for such a prolonged stay.

The penalty for these offenses consists of forfeiture of civil rights and expulsion forever from the country (pars. 1-3) or of having the delinquent declared a permanent absentee, whereupon his estate is turned over to the board of guardians.

The contents of these sections of the penal code clearly demonstrate the incompatibility of the existing laws with the subject of emigration and the unavoidable conflict between the two. The duration of the emigrant's stay abroad depends primarily on the realization of those economic aims which he pursued at the time when he left his country and not on the limitations as to his sojourn prescribed by law. On the other hand, after having settled, he very frequently becomes a citizen of the foreign country where he has succeeded in improving his conditions of life. Thus emigration must be treated as an illegal abandonment of one's country.^a

However, in the above classification of the kinds of absence from the country which are treated as illegal we find no reference to emigration, but this is perfectly natural. No matter how the makers of the penal code were opposed to emigration, they could not provide a penalty for it once they recognized the legality of going abroad, even though they surrounded it by all sorts of difficulties. In its general features emigration may not be different from going abroad, the *animus emigrandi* not being always easy to establish; and this is the very reason why no penalty was provided for emigration. How strong the opposition of the law is to emigration can be seen from section 326, which established the right of the state to cut at pleasure the stay of the citizen abroad; and this is the very measure which deprives the subject of the possibility to settle legally in a foreign country.

If emigration to a foreign country is prohibited by law, then, according to the general rule, every assistance extended to one in the commission of this illegal

^a For a better comprehension of the attitude of the law toward emigration, we deem it wise to state the opinion of the Government as expressed in one of its acts, which formed the basis for the above-mentioned legislation. The act referred to is the ukase of April 17, 1834, "concerning the limitation upon the right of sojourn of Russian subjects in foreign lands." It contains the following passage: "Under our laws citizens belonging to the nobility or to other free classes are permitted to go abroad furnished with the established passports; but they have never been permitted to leave their fatherland and willfully to settle in foreign lands. However, the information gathered discloses the fact that there were and are cases where persons having obtained passports to go abroad established there their residence for an indefinite time and have thus willfully converted their leave of absence into emigration. This results in harm to their property at home, in squandering their incomes outside the State, in burdening their inherited estates with debts, and in the breaking up of the ties which bind them to their home and country."

act, and, in general, every participation therein, becomes an offense punishable under the penal code. But of all the accessories in such an act the law singles out particularly those that instigate the commission thereof. Section 328 punishes with forfeiture of special rights and exile or imprisonment, under subdivision 5 of section 31, all those "who will instigate any of the subjects of the Empire to emigration abroad." Thus instigation to emigration is from an accessory part in the principal offense made to constitute a separate and independent crime. Consequently, it is not affected by the decisions of the Senate of 1871 (No. 1309) and 1873 (No. 445) and others to the effect that instigators are punishable only in the event where the person instigated commits the crime to the commission of which he was instigated.^a Instigation to emigration is punishable independent of the results which it accomplishes.

This section (328) might very well remain in force even after emigration should be legalized. No state is in a position to permit within its borders a free agitation for emigration. Emigration from a political standpoint is undesirable. It is usually the result of unfavorable economic conditions prevailing in a country, with which it is difficult for the population to struggle. But the hardship, danger, and risk connected with emigration, as well as the natural conservatism of the mass, keep it within certain limits and make it adjust itself to the resources of the country whither it directs itself. But the activity of agents, canvassers, and instigators may operate to swell the current of emigrants beyond the necessary limits and break the natural equilibrium between supply and demand of labor in the country which receives the emigrants. In accordance with the opinion of the imperial council, which had received the imperial sanction, and was promulgated April 26, 1906, section 328 was amended to read that the prescribed penalty shall be inflicted upon one "who will spread among the population obviously false information concerning the advantage of emigration abroad, with the purpose of inducing it to abandon the place of its permanent residence." This new phraseology of section 328 limited the responsibility of the agents to cases where information is spread and such information is knowingly false. All other ways of agitation for emigration are thus recognized as not against the law. In our opinion, as expressed in the preceding lines, the new tenor of section 328 is not in consonance with the correctly understood interests of the population.

Under our law a citizen can leave the country only for a certain period of time. Emigration, in so far as it means the leaving of the country, is governed by this rule. The second part of the passport law, edition of 1903, is devoted to the matter of temporary leaves abroad, and is entitled: "Foreign passports, permission to cross the frontier, and frontier communication." (Secs. 164-244.) This part consists of five chapters. Chapter I, "The issuance of passports for leave abroad," defines the authorities who issue foreign passports (governors-general, governors, and chiefs of police), to whom they are issued ("to Russian subjects of either sex upon reaching the age of 25," sec. 170), and in what order. (Secs. 165-169.) The general rules established by the law are modified by a whole line of exceptions. Thus a special set of rules has been established for the following classes with regard to their going abroad:

- (1) Sailors.
- (2) Clerks and laborers who go on boats or on rafts down the rivers. (Sec. 180.)
- (3) Those that go to the Holy Land to worship. (Sec. 181.)
- (4) Clergy. (Secs. 182-183.)
- (5) Landed proprietors of the western Provinces. (Sec. 184.)
- (6) Landed proprietors of the Provinces of Bessarabia. (Sec. 185.)
- (7) Permanent residents of Poland. (Sec. 186.)
- (8) Pilgrims, Moslems. (Secs. 187-188.)
- (9) Residents of the far distant regions: Transcaucasia, Transcasian territory, and Siberia. (Secs. 189-191.)
- (10) Foreigners. (Secs. 192-193.)

The cost of a foreign passport, as provided in Chapter II, is 15 rubles for every six months; out of this sum 50 kopecks go to the Crown for printing the blanks; 9 rubles 50 kopecks to the pension fund, and 5 rubles represent a temporary tax in favor of the Russian Red Cross Society. Citizens of certain categories are, however, permitted to obtain passports upon payment of 50 kopecks for the blanks and 5 rubles for the benefit of the Red Cross.

^a Penal statute, edition of N. S. Taganzev.

Chapter III states that the period of permitted sojourn abroad is limited to five years. In order to have this time extended an authorization must be obtained from the provincial authorities.

Chapter IV deals with the crossing of the frontier on the way abroad and on the way home.

Chapter V is devoted to frontier communications and contains special rules concerning the crossing of the frontier by residents of the neighboring provinces.

Of these chapters the first three, in so far as they treat of foreign passports, have a bearing upon the subject of emigration. Emigration means first of all the leaving of one's country and in this respect it must be subjected to all the legal provisions pertaining thereto. But there is hardly any part in the code of laws which is less capable of practicable application to the question of emigration than the second part of the passport law. The whole code hardly contains so many obsolete and ambiguous provisions, so many contradictions, as this part. Antiquated rules, which are in obvious contradiction with late enactments, stand side by side. For example, section 170 declares categorically that "foreign passports may be issued to Russian subjects of either sex, only upon their having reached the age of 25," while Chapter II of the same part, which treats of the form of foreign passports and of the fees charged for the latter, provides that "upon payment for the printed blanks only, foreign passports are issued to * * * (7) children below 10 years of age." Every person is entitled to a passport provided that there are no legal objections to it, i. e., "if no legal claims have been filed against those that go abroad by private creditors or Government officers or officials" (sec. 167), while the following sections still reiterate that those who go abroad for medical treatment must produce a doctor's certificate, and "one who goes abroad to receive an inheritance must furnish proof thereof." The proviso to section 170 solemnly declares that "Russian subjects of the male sex from 10 to 18 years of age are granted leave to go abroad irrespective of the causes which prompt such a leave."

Owing to the peculiar character of the law, the practice is devoid of any uniformity. Every Province has its own order of issuing foreign passports. In certain Provinces, as for instance Czernigov, Mohilev, Yekaterinoslav, every family going abroad must pay a passport tax of 15 rubles for every grown member thereof. This practice is undoubtedly in utter contradiction with sections 189, 200, and others, which require a payment for the foreign passport and not a tax upon every individual person; as to section 200 it explicitly states that the cost of a passport is 15 rubles, irrespective of the number of persons noted therein. In view of the fact that the members of one family, when going abroad at the same time, do not receive separate passports, but are entered into the passport of the head of the family (according to the tenor of sec. 204 and in compliance with sec. 11 of the passport law), they must not be subjected to the payment of special taxes. This is the point of view adopted by the provincial authorities, with the exception of the authorities of the mentioned three Provinces, who entertain a distinct view on this question. Another instance, according to section 194, passports issued in the frontier Provinces are valid for three weeks, within which time the holder of the passport has the right to go abroad, as against the three months' validity of passports issued in all other Provinces. The practice has changed this rule; in the Province of Kovno, Courland, and others, situated along the frontier, a passport is valid for three months. In violation of section 164, foreign passports are in practice, being issued not by governors-general, but by governors. Life itself demanded such a decentralization. As to its other demands, they still remain unsatisfied.^a According to section 207, as indicated above, the time of legal sojourn abroad is limited to five years. In case it is necessary to remain there beyond that period, the law prescribes that a petition be sent to the head of the respective Province. The granting of such a petition is within his discretion. In practice, however, a rule has become established that the time of

^a When the Russian steamship companies opened direct communication between Libau and America, and the passengers carried from that port reached the number of 60,000 per annum, the governor of Courland transferred that branch of his office, which was in charge of issuing foreign passports, from Mitau, which is the seat of the Province, to Libau. This change was made in order to meet the demands of the emigrants, but it is hardly possible to find a justification for it in the law.

sojourn abroad is not limited, the person being only subjected upon his return to the payment of a passport tax at the rate of 15 rubles for every six months spent abroad.

III.

We have set forth just a few examples in order to show how unequal the law is to the phenomenon which it is supposed to regulate, i. e., to the going of citizens abroad. Its inadequacy asserted itself with still greater force when it became confronted with the greater phenomenon of the present life emigration.

In western Europe the legislation concerning emigration regulates to a considerable extent the following phases thereof.^a Recognizing the freedom to emigrate, the law imposes certain restrictions thereon with regard to certain categories of citizens. Furthermore, the law defines the rights and obligations of the steamship companies which are engaged in the transportation of emigrants, prescribes the rules controlling the contracts of transportation between emigrants and the companies, and the rights and duties of the agents at the time such contracts are entered into. The central features of these legislative acts are the rules intended for the protection of the emigrants on their way and particularly during the sea voyage.

Finally, in some countries the law points out in detail the legal consequences of emigration, endeavoring to reconcile the apparent alienation of the emigrants from their country and the impossibility to fulfill all the duties toward it with the striving toward the maintenance of the ties between the political body and the separate individuals.

Let us examine the conditions confronting the Russian emigrant with regard to these questions.

To begin with, the Russian law makes it very difficult for a Russian subject to leave his native land in a lawful manner, to say nothing of emigration, which is absolutely illegal. The authority to issue foreign passports, as we have mentioned above, is centralized in those cities which are the seats of the provinces. Therefore, in these places the difficulties are little known. But it is the rural or town resident in the district to whom they make themselves felt. The obtaining of a foreign passport in these places is a matter of several months and of great expense. For instance, a resident of a borough who decided to go to America must first obtain for himself a local burgher passport. Having lived in his native town, he, up till this time, needed no passport whatever. Then, he must procure a certificate to the effect that there are no objections to his going abroad. According to section 167, the local authorities are obliged to issue such certificates, provided that no legal claims have been filed against the applicant by either private creditors or Government offices or officials. All this would seem to be very simple. In reality, however, the intervention of three or four offices is required in order to establish the fact of non-existence of objections. This fact must first be certified by the representative of the class to which the applicant belongs, as, for instance, the elder of the borough, and then only is the certificate issued by the police. This is the beginning of the endless vexations of the emigrant. The petition requesting the issuance of the certificate of nonexistence of objections is first detained by the police constable, then it goes to the police lieutenant, and finally to the police chief of the district. Expedition is not an absolute virtue of these officials, and the poor emigrant is compelled to wait several weeks until the document is issued to him. Besides the loss of time there is also connected with it a loss of money, revenue stamps, and sometimes expenses on traveling to the lieutenant or to the chief to expedite the matter, etc. In the cases where the applicant does not reside in the place where he is registered, the delay is still greater. In such a case the police before issuing the certificate, that there are no objections to the applicant's going abroad, sends an inquiry to the police authorities of the place of registry. A correspondence ensues which lasts for many months. In some places the custom is to make the inquiry by telegraph, the cost of which (3 rubles) is collected by the police from the applicant. In these cases the issuing of the certificate is expedited. The imperial ukase of October 5, 1906, "repealing certain limitations upon the rights of rural residents and other persons belonging to the former taxable

^a S. Janovsky. Emigration from a legal standpoint; same publication March, 1908.

classes⁷⁷ had among other sections of the passport law also repealed sections 46, 48, 52, and 53, which provided that subjects belonging to the taxable classes must apply for a passport at the places in which they were registered, and in such cases they were being subjected to the payment of various imposts. Under section 5 of the ukase permission is granted to obtain passports in the place of residence or domicile, the latter being determined by the place of employment, occupation, trade, or ownership of real property. Thus the bond of such persons with the place of registry has become entirely abolished. Still there are even at present police offices which do not issue certificates of non-existence of objections otherwise than upon a preliminary communication with the authorities of the place of registry.

The described procedure may, however, in certain respects be treated as normal, for in some cases it is considerably more complicated. Take for instance the case of a woman emigrating with her children to her husband, it being of common occurrence among emigrants that the head of the family emigrates all alone, and upon settling in the new place sends for his family. In addition to the usual procedure of obtaining a passport and a certificate of nonexistence of objections, and of payment of 15 rubles and all other expenses, the woman must also procure from her husband an authorization to obtain a foreign passport. But owing to the fact that the resident of some borough while emigrating to America hardly ever thinks of these legal requisites which are seldom known to him, the woman as a rule has no such document, and hence a painful situation is created for the poor woman who is thus unable to procure a passport.

It is therefore no wonder that all these difficulties surrounding the process of obtaining a foreign passport, especially when the applicant is a peasant or a resident of some obscure borough, brought into being a special type of middlemen who take upon themselves the task of procuring all the papers necessary for the crossing of the frontier. There are also middlemen (agents) in western Europe, who bring the emigrants, scattered all over the country, into communication with the steamship companies. But there their activity is under strict control and its scope is clearly defined, so that the work of the agents is confined exclusively to the selling of tickets; while in Russia the activity of the agents is by no means limited to the selling of steamship tickets, their main function consisting of furnishing the emigrants with passports. The agents procure for the emigrant all the necessary documents, but in view of the above-mentioned fact that it is not always easy to procure them, resort is had to private dealings with the police, the officials of the provincial office, etc. If difficulty is encountered in obtaining a legal passport for the emigrant in his native town, or if the police authority of the place of the emigrant's residence refuses to issue a certificate of nonexistence of objections, then the agent does not hesitate to register the emigrant in another district, and hence to obtain there a passport. In such a case the police of the district of course offer no opposition to the emigrants going abroad.

If it becomes impossible to obtain a passport the agent undertakes to convey the emigrant across the frontier without one. To effect this purpose there are entire organizations of agents who bribe the soldiers forming the frontier guard, and with their benignant noninterference they succeed in conveying the emigrants, usually at night, across the frontier. Sometimes the agents use for this purpose the so-called "legitimation" certificates. These certificates are issued to residents of the frontier localities for the purpose of allowing them to go abroad for a short period of time.^a Through the instrumentality of the agents, who have the necessary connections thereto with the proper institutions or officials, the emigrants are entered in the local registers of the population, thus being made to appear as residents of the frontier localities, and in consequence thereof acquire the right of having issued to them a "legitimation" certificate enabling them to cross the frontier.

These are the conditions under which the Russian emigrants leave their country. The law, while extending to a certain degree its operation over the act of leaving the country, absolutely ignores all the other phases of emigration. The activities of the steamship companies engaged in the transportation of emigrants are free from any legal regulation whatsoever. It is the good fortune of the emigrant that the countries of immigration—England and

^a Section 239, of the passport law and section 829 of the code of custom houses and regulation.

America—have many years since established a Government control over the incoming steamers with regard to the maintenance of the emigrants during the passage. It is only because of the stringent demands of the English and American laws that the Russian steamers found themselves compelled to exercise care for the health and safety of the emigrants during the passage and to provide them with a minimum of comforts.

The law is also short of any provisions controlling the officers engaged in the selling of tickets of the different steamship companies. When, owing to the increased emigration, such officers sprang into existence, it became necessary to bring them within the scope of the law governing brokerage offices, the opening of which is regulated by the amendment to section 46 of the commercial code. (Code, Vol. XI, pt. 2, edition 1903.) As it is known, this amendment provides for the opening of offices to engage "in the making of purchases and sales for private persons as well as arranging loans of money, renting houses, and supplying private employers with various kinds of persons." The permission to open such an office is granted by the minister of the interior. The offices are divided into such that transact business with citizens residing outside the place where the offices are situated, through correspondence, and others.

The founders of offices of the first category must furnish security in the sum of 15,000 rubles to secure the satisfaction of claims that might be brought against them. The founders of offices of the second category must furnish security in the sum of 7,500 rubles. The offices of the first category have the right to open branches everywhere; but if more than three branches are opened, the office must furnish security in the sum of 4,000 rubles for each branch so opened, above the permitted three.

At first several merchants from Libau, who in the eighties of the last century were engaged in selling tickets of the English and German lines, availed themselves of the above-outlined concessions. These merchants had for a long time monopolized the trade, and only in later years has the department of the interior permitted other offices to do business in Libau and other cities.

The statute concerning brokerage offices enabled a certain number of agents, engaged in enlisting emigrants and selling them tickets, to legalize their activity. Those agents who did a more extensive business formed relations with the offices at Libau and other cities and became legalized as their branches. In reality they remained perfectly independent; but in order not to arouse the suspicion of the authorities, and also for the purpose of better advertising themselves, they adorned their offices with signs: "Branch of the ———, authorized by the Government office of so-and-so, for the sale of steamship tickets to America, Africa, etc."

It is self-evident that this "legalization" was absolutely insufficient to bring order into the business. Unlike our laws, the laws of western Europe do not treat the business done by emigration offices alike with the usual business done by offices engaged in the purchase and sale of different wares. Enterprises, which deal with tens of thousands of men, who, in the majority of cases are poor and ignorant, and who entrust themselves to them with their lives and all they possess, ought not to be left without the most stringent control on the part of the Government. In the different countries of western Europe, the Governments, before the issuing of a license to a steamship agent, make a preliminary investigation as to the moral qualifications of the future agent; the activity of the agents is thoroughly regulated by the law and is under strict control of the Government, which, in case of necessity, may revoke the issued license. There is of course nothing similar thereto in our statute on brokerage offices. It must also be remembered that only a small number of agents, who are doing an extensive business, have obtained a legal status, while the activity of the vast majority of those who are scattered all over the southern and western parts of Russia are absolutely under no legal control. They work secretly, and the transaction into which they enter with the ignorant emigrants are subject to no control whatsoever. As a rule they are not even in writing, so that the appetite of the agent is given full sway. The only law which has relation to the agents is the previously mentioned section 328 of the penal code, which prescribes a penalty for instigation to emigration. But it utterly fails, especially in its new form, to cover all the multifarious kinds of activity of the agents—that peculiar institution which has grown out of the conditions created by a conflict between the unfolding process of life and the legal forms fallen into desuetude.

Just a few words remain to be said with reference to the consequences of emigration in so far as this can be ascertained from the legislation actually in force. Emigration as a legal phenomenon being ignored by the State, it is but logical that the latter does not deem it necessary to define its rights and duties toward those of its citizens who are forced to emigrate. The State takes no notice of the emigrant, neither when he secretly or openly crosses the frontier, nor even when he settles in foreign country. The first time when it sees in him an offender is when he either refuses to return to his native country upon being called by the Government (sec. 326, penal code), or when he decides to strengthen his relations with the foreign country and become a subject thereof. (Sec. 325.) But until one of these facts occurs, the emigrant continues to be regarded as a Russian subject temporarily sojourning abroad. We can not accept the view of Professor Martens, who claims that "under the laws of many of the states (Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, and others), and according to the practice of the Russian Government with regard to this question, the emigrants, by virtue of the very fact of their leaving their native country, cease to be subjects thereof."^a To prove the truth of his contention, Professor Martens cites two cases where the Russian Government refused to come to the help of emigrants, who found themselves in distress in foreign lands. In the first case, the emigrants were German colonists from the Province of Saratov, who emigrated to Brazil in 1878 in order to escape military service, and to a certain extent also because of false information as to the riches of the country. In the other cases the emigrants were Jews, who ran from the massacres. The only deduction which, in our opinion, can be made from the stated facts is that the Russian Government does not extend sufficient protection to its citizens abroad. This can be illustrated by a great many other examples, and still they would offer no ground for the inference that the emigrants cease to be Russian subjects. On the contrary, they are still under an obligation to perform military service, and for the failure to do it, they are liable to the same punishment as other Russian subjects.

IV.

Life, however, is gradually asserting its rights, which the most backward legislatures are forced to recognize. The Russian Government ignored emigration, regarding it as a phenomenon affecting only its alien element. But the large proportions which the movement assumed brought the Government to the realization of the necessity to make some, although it is true weak, attempts to regulate it. In the beginning of the nineties, as before mentioned, the wave of emigration from Russia had for the first time reached an unprecedented height (about 100,000 persons a year) and the Government thought that it was high time to enter upon the road of regulating the movement.

The first act in which the Government demonstrated its attitude toward emigration, or rather toward a certain branch thereof, was the order of the committee of ministers, concerning the activity in Russia of the Jewish Colonization Association, organized in England, which order received the imperial sanction May 8, 1892.

The Jewish philanthropist, Baron Hirsch, in his desire to alleviate the situation of his co-religionists in Russia, decided to found large colonies of Jews across the ocean. The first colonies were intended to be purely agricultural. With this end in view Baron Hirsch acquired in Argentine big tracts of land, on which he intended to found a whole line of colonies. This plan met with a ready approval on the part of the Russian Government, which allowed the Jewish Colonization Association, organized by Baron Hirsch, to carry on its work in Russia. In the rules defining the scope of activity of the association, we find the first attempts of the Russian Government to ascertain its attitude toward emigration. We refer to the following sections of the rules:

"(15) Under these rules the transportation of Jews is permitted in the following manner: (a) In families, in which case by a family is meant a father, a mother, unmarried sons, and unmarried daughters of any age; and (b) single persons, i. e., those that have neither father nor mother, of either sex and of any age.

"(16) Jews who leave Russia under these rules receive from the local governors outgoing certificates gratuitously.

^a F. Martens. • Modern International Law, Vol. II.

"(17) Jews who leave Russia with such outgoing certificates are deemed to have left Russian territory forever.

"(18) The Jews mentioned in the preceding section are freed from military and other duties and are excluded from the conscription lists.

"(19) The families of these Jews remaining in Russia are not subject to any fines, nor are they obliged to perform military service instead of those of their coreligionists who at the time when they left were of the proper age to serve in the army; but the emigration of Jews mentioned in section 15 of these rules does not operate so as to extend to their relatives that remain in Russia exemptions from military service on the ground of the composition of their families.

"(20) If Jews who obtained emigration certificates at a time when they were due in the army should remain in Russia until the day when the lots are drawn without filing a declaration thereof with the recruiting office, then they shall be conscripted to the army the same as delinquents, without being given the opportunity of drawing a lot; but those who should give timely notice of their having remained in Russia shall be offered the opportunity to draw a lot in accordance with the general rules. Jews who should avail themselves of these rules to leave Russia and who should fail to become naturalized in the foreign country shall upon their return to Russia be compelled to serve in the army according to the general rules."^a

Thus, these rules, following the laws of the western European countries, indicate first of all who may emigrate. But this possibility proves to be very limited in its scope. The rules extend the right to emigrate only to entire families, or to orphans, who are in the given case regarded as separate and independent social units. Opposed to the breaking up of families, the Government intended to protect the interests of those members of the family who should happen to remain in Russia. There may be some danger lest members of a family that have left Russia earlier should upon settling in the new country forget their dependent relatives in Russia, and thus compel them to become a public charge. This consideration undoubtedly merits attention, but this danger could have been prevented in a different way. Other legislatures, as for instance, the Hungarian, prohibit emigration to one who leaves behind him members of his family without having provided them with means of subsistence. The same could be embodied in the rules under discussion. But the Government pursues another purpose, which it does not try to conceal—i. e., to rid itself as much as possible of its Jewish subjects. Every family that emigrates is being stricken out from the records, class as well as military, and is regarded as having abandoned Russia forever, and in such a case as having ceased to be a part of the Russian nation. In the face of such an attitude it is clear that it is impossible to break up a family, and therefore section 15 was phrased in a language absolutely incompatible with the demands of life. In reality emigration is the very thing that tends to break up the family. As a rule it is the head of the family or any other member thereof capable of work that emigrates first. He finds for himself occupation, and only after having permanently settled in the new place sends for his wife, children, or others who have remained at home. Some emigrants, on the contrary, after having earned a certain amount of money in America, return home to their families. It is evident that neither in the first nor in the second case could the emigrant avail himself of the permission contained in section 15 of "the rules." However, those that emigrate under these rules enjoy quite substantial privileges. They receive foreign passports or, as they are called, "emigration certificates" free of charge and are transported by the Russian railroads under an emigration tariff, i. e., on a ticket which costs one-fourth of the usual price.

It is but natural that "the rules," being intended for the Jewish emigrants only, do not touch upon such important questions, in the legislation affecting emigration, as regulation of the activity of the steamship companies and other emigration enterprises, agents, etc., all of which is connected with the protection of the interests of the emigrant. But on the other hand, "the rules" make an attempt to define the legal consequences of emigration. Not even the laws of western Europe contain all necessary indications regarding the consequences connected with emigration—the settling in a foreign, mostly far distant, State for an indefinite, usually very long, period of time. It is only in the

^a Code of laws of 1892, No. 773.

Italian law of 1901 on emigration that we find provisions dealing in detail with this question.

The attitude of "the rules" under discussion toward this question merits, therefore, special consideration. The emigrants who leave Russia under these "rules" are freed from military duty. Of course, if they return to Russia, they are compelled to perform this duty on the same basis as all other subjects. This provision is analogous to the one contained in the Italian legislation, which relieves from military duty those children of emigrants who were born abroad, as well as those who left the country under 16 years of age. But while the Italian law is permeated with a broad political purpose and seeks as much as possible to retain the union between the citizen and the State, the discussed "rules," on the contrary, clearly reflect the desire of the Government not to have the emigrants return to Russia.

Section 325 of the penal code does not extend its operation to the emigrants; on the contrary, "the rules" admit of no doubt, that the Government recognizes the right of the emigrants to adopt foreign citizenship. (Secs. 20 and 25.) This relieves the Jewish emigrant from the restriction which weighs upon all other Russian subjects, and in this respect it can be said that their rights are enlarged. But, extending to the Jewish emigrants such a liberty, "the rules," by section 17, evidently wish to convert this right of abandoning Russian citizenship into an obligation. The emigrating Jews must divest themselves of Russian citizenship, because they are anyhow "regarded as having abandoned Russian territory forever." Emigrants are forbidden to return to Russia, as if they were punished for some crime. It is true that the imperfection of this provision could not help being recognized by the authors themselves of "the rules," sections 23 and 25,^a foresee the possibility of the emigrants returning in certain cases, as, for instance, in the event the adjacent States should refuse to allow the emigrating Jews to cross their territories, or where the immigration countries should deport certain emigrants. On the other hand, keeping within the limits of the law, it is impossible to carry out the wish of the Government as expressed in section 17. The Government can not deny admission into Russia to a returning emigrant who failed to settle and acquire citizenship in the foreign country. Expulsion from the state is a penalty inflicted by law for certain offenses. In the given case, the emigrant committed no offense and consequently is not liable to any punishment. Therefore, section 17 can be regarded only as *pium desiderium* of the Government declared by it at the time when the "rules" of the Jewish Colonization Association were sanctioned. But so far as its legal significance is concerned section 17 has none and can not have any. It simply states one of the conditions on which the association was permitted to carry on its work in Russia; and the noncompliance therewith may result in a withdraw of the concession. As a matter of fact, cases did occur where emigrants returned to Russia after having left furnished with emigration certificates. In view of section 17 the provincial authorities refused to issue to them passports. In one of these cases (Emigrant B. Zlatchevsky, who returned from Argentine), a complaint was brought to the senate. The latter sent an inquiry to the department of the interior, which hastened to reply that the complainant was permitted to resume his abode in his old place of residence. The case was thereupon discontinued and the senate was given no opportunity to state its opinion in the matter, which fact is very regrettable.

^a According to sec. 23 of "the rules" the Jewish Colonization Association was called upon to deposit with the State Bank, preliminary to its opening of activities in Russia, the sum of 100,000 roubles, from which the secretary of the interior is authorized to reimburse the Government for the expense sustained in returning and resettling those Jews who emigrated with the assistance of the mentioned association and have obtained emigration certificates, but who are not allowed to pass through contiguous countries to ports of sailing, or are deported from the country to which they go.

Sec. 25 states: "The secretary of the interior is authorized, if he deems it necessary, to stop the activity of the association in Russia in the following cases: (1) If the adjacent countries should oppose the passage through their territory of the Jews who emigrate with the assistance of the association; (2) if the said Jews would return as persons who have not obtained foreign nationality; and (3) if the sums expended from the indicated above security of 100,000 roubles should not be refunded upon a demand of the secretary of the interior.

We know of another case in the history of Russian emigration when the Government applied the same principle—permission to emigrate on condition of not returning to the native land. In this case the persons involved were not Jews; but still they belonged to a class of people whose presence in the country is, in the opinion of the Government, not desirable. They were dissenters—Dukhobors. Oppressed and driven from place to place in Russia, the Dukhobors decided to emigrate to a country where they expected to enjoy religious freedom. They found Canada to be the most suitable country for this purpose. In the beginning of 1898 they were officially permitted to emigrate on condition of forfeiting their right to return to Russia.^a Unfortunately, we are not in possession of detailed information concerning this act of the Government.

Until very recently no attempt was made to regulate emigration, as a whole, by law. Only two or three years ago did the Government begin to manifest some interest in the subject. In June, 1906, there was organized at the department of commerce and industry an interdepartmental commission for the purpose of drawing a project of law on the regulation of emigration from Russia. The very fact that the commission was attached to the bureau of commercial navigation indicates the reason which prompted the Government to turn its attention to this question. Upon the termination of the Russo-Japanese War the Voluntary Fleet, as well as other private steamship companies, which had been engaged exclusively in traffic with the Far East, turned their attention to the increased emigration from Russia, which for more than twenty years had been furnishing a tremendous income to the foreign steamship companies, especially to the German and English lines. Since the summer of 1906 Russian companies opened direct communications between Libau and New York; and from their very first start the obstacles, which the present legislation puts in the way of a normal development of the business, made themselves felt. The bureau of commercial navigation, which uses all possible means for the development of the Russian commercial fleet, naturally, could not help the home steamship companies in the given matter, otherwise than by advocating the passage of a law regulating emigration from Russia.

The determination of the Government to go into the emigration question was, in our opinion, due also to the fact that the movement assumed exceedingly large proportions and that persons of Russian nationality, principally peasants, began to take part in it. At the present time the emigrating element is no longer confined to Jews, Poles, and Germans, but it comprises also a large number of Russians (in 1906-7, 16,085 Russians emigrated to the United States). All these causes led to the formation of the interdepartmental conference had by the representatives of the following departments: Commerce and industry, interior, foreign affairs, finance, war, navy, and ways of communication. To take part in this conference were also invited the representatives of the Russian steamship companies and of social organizations which have for their aims the protection of the emigrants.^b During the months of June and July the commission thoroughly examined the project of the "law on emigration" submitted to it by the bureau of commercial navigation, and criticised it in all its details. According to the resolutions of the commission, the project was changed and resubmitted to the commission when it assembled in 1907. In view, however, of the disagreement between the departments of the interior and commerce and industry as to which department should have charge of emigration, the sessions of the commission have been suspended and have not as yet been resumed. Therefore, the proposed law has not been perfected by the commission. As a result of its work, however, there was left a printed project which consists of measures suggested at the sessions of the commission in 1906. The project consists of five parts, as follows: I, General rules; II, Enterprises engaged in the transportation of emigrants; III, Agents; IV, Transportation of emigrants; and V, Penalties for the violation of the provisions of the law. The project bears a strong resemblance to the German law of 1897 on emigration, and touches upon all the questions with which the emigration laws of western Europe usually deal.

^a Sulerjitzky—to America with the Dukhobors.

^b Such organizations in Russia exist only among Jews, who furnish the largest number of emigrants. An attempt to form social organizations for the protection of emigrants was also made among Poles, but so far as is known it has not been successful as yet.

It is too early to go into a detailed study of a law the text of which has not yet received its final sanction. But we are in a position to say that the principles on which the law is based are identical to those of all the modern emigration laws of western Europe. It grants to every citizen the right "to emigrate for an indefinite period of time to a foreign country." The State assumes the obligation of extending special protection to the emigrants as such. On the other hand, the project, similar to the German law of 1897, combines the care for the welfare of the large masses of those who emigrate to foreign countries, with the defense of the interests and the promotion of the home steamship enterprises. The inconceivable tendency of the proposed law is to direct, as much as possible, the emigration into the Russian harbors and to the ships carrying the Russian flag. The degree in which this desire is capable of realization at the present time, or in the coming years, is a question which requires serious study. Be it as it may, the proposed law, inasmuch as it meets the demands and immediate needs of life, deserves the strongest support and the making of more headway than that made until now. And yet at the present time there is apparently no hope for its becoming law.

CHAPTER IV.

CAUSES OF EMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA.

As previously shown, 43.8 per cent of the immigrants admitted to the United States from Russia during the fiscal years 1899-1910 were of the Hebrew race. Poles came next, with 27 per cent of the total movement, followed by Lithuanians, 9.6 per cent; Finns, 8.5 per cent; Germans, 5.8 per cent; Russians, 4.4 per cent; and Scandinavians, 0.8 per cent. It will be noted that comparatively few of the immigrants coming during the period under consideration were Russian in race, approximately 95 per cent of the total number being drawn from what is commonly known as the "alien" element in Russia's population. The greater part of this element is confined to western Russia. More than five-sixths of the Poles live in that part of the former Kingdom of Poland, now known as Russian Poland; the greater part of the Lithuanians live in Lithuania, the Germans in the Baltic Provinces, and the Finns and Scandinavians in Finland. German colonies are also found in other parts of the Empire, especially in the south. Another branch of the Finnish people, the Ugro Finns, inhabit northern and eastern Russia. These are related to the Finns, of Finland, but need not be considered in this connection, as Finnish immigration to the United States is confined to the latter people. As is well known, the residence of Hebrews in Russia is for the most part restricted to Poland and certain provinces defined as the "Jewish Pale," the whole territory consisting of 25 provinces—10 in Poland, 3 in Lithuania, 3 in white Russia, and 9 in southwestern and southern Russia.

For purposes of a discussion of the causes underlying the present emigration movement from Russia, it is essential that Hebrew emigration be considered separately from that of other races or peoples. The Hebrews of Russia are for the most part city dwellers by compulsion, while the other elements which contribute to the movement to the United States are very largely drawn from the agricultural districts. For convenience the latter movement will be referred to as "peasant emigration," for those composing it usually are of that class, although comparatively few of them are true Russian peasants in the stricter meaning of that term. The emigration of this class will be first considered:

CAUSES OF PEASANT EMIGRATION.

The chief motive of the emigration of peasants from western Russia to the United States, like that of the movements of the eastern peasantry to Siberia, is economic necessity, and the condition which has made emigration desirable is largely the result of the following general causes:

(1) The agricultural population forms an undue proportion of the total.

- (2) The unequal distribution of the population over the country.
- (3) Only a comparatively small proportion of the arable land is under cultivation.
- (4) The small size holdings.
- (5) Antiquated system of cultivation.
- (6) The prevailing system of taxation.

THE LARGE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION.

The overwhelming extent to which the population of the Russian Empire is agricultural may be inferred from the following table which shows the population (exclusive of Finland) in town and in country:

TABLE 7.—*Estimated urban and rural population of the Russian Empire (exclusive of Finland), January 1, 1907.^a*

[Compiled from the Statesman's Year-Book, 1909, p. 1153.]

Division	Total population.	Number in—		Per cent in—	
		Town.	Country.	Town.	Country.
European Russia.....	111,279,500	13,640,300	97,639,200	12.3	87.7
Poland.....	11,138,700	2,461,200	8,677,500	22.1	77.9
Caucasus.....	10,653,900	1,210,800	9,443,100	11.4	88.6
Siberia.....	6,895,900	611,700	6,284,200	8.9	91.1
Central Asia.....	9,118,000	1,154,100	7,963,900	12.7	87.3
Total.....	149,084,000	19,078,100	130,005,900	12.8	87.2

^a "The low percentage (of population) of urban Russia is due to the narrow conception of the meaning of a city. There are in the Empire 6,376 settlements, with a population ranging from 2,000 to 41,000 (the Izhovskiy works) and aggregating 23.2 millions (18.5 per cent), which are not considered cities, and whose inhabitants are numbered among the rural population. In most of the countries of Western Europe all such settlements would be considered cities. In Russia, however, they are classed with rural settlements. If the inhabitants of these settlements were added to the city residents, the urban population of the Empire would be raised to nearly 32 per cent." (From report of the first general census of Russia, 1897. Translation by Dr. I. A. Hourwich.)

Of the total population of the Russian Empire (exclusive of Finland) only 12.8 per cent dwell in towns, while 87.2 per cent dwell in the country. Furthermore there are in the Russian Empire, not including Finland, only 19 towns having a population of over 100,000. The relatively largest urban population is in Poland, where 22.1 per cent dwell in towns as compared with 77.9 per cent in the country. Siberia, on the other hand, has the smallest proportion of urban population.

It is practically impossible to compare the urban and rural populations of the various European countries because of the different bases on which population is divided into urban and rural. However, from the 87.2 per cent urban population in Russia as compared with 40.2 per cent in the United States, 77 per cent in England, and 54.3 per cent in Germany, may be inferred that the proportion of rural population in Russia is unduly large. This situation is largely the result of the recency of serfdom in Russia, when the peasants were attached to the land. The short space of time that has elapsed since that period has not been sufficient for the development in industry in Russia. Meanwhile the peasants have increased from 50,000,000 to 86,000,000, and since there has been no industry to

absorb them the result is a disproportionately large agricultural population.

UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION.

Russia, as a whole, is the most sparsely settled country in Europe. There is, however, a notable difference in the density of the various divisions of the Empire as is shown by the following table:

TABLE 8.—*Area and estimated population of the Russian Empire (including Finland), January 1, 1907.*

[Compiled from the Statesman's Year-Book, 1909, p. 1149.]

Division of the Empire.	Area (English square miles). ^a	Estimated population in 1907.	Density per square mile.
European Russia.....	1,862,524	111,279,500	59.7
Poland.....	49,018	11,138,700	227.2
Ciscaucasia.....	85,201	4,454,800	52.3
Total Russia in Europe.....	1,996,743	126,873,000	63.6
Trans-Caucasia.....	95,402	6,199,100	64.9
Siberia.....	4,786,730	6,893,900	1.4
Steppes.....	710,905	2,856,100	4.0
Turkestan.....	400,770	5,856,400	14.6
Trans-Caspian Province.....	213,855	405,500	2.0
Total Russia in Asia.....	6,207,662	22,211,000	3.6
Total Russian Empire without Finland.....	8,204,405	149,084,000	b 18.2
Finland.....	125,784	2,925,300	b 23.2
Internal waters.....	317,468		c 17.8
Grand total.....	8,647,657	152,009,300	c 17.8

^a Without inner waters.

^b In proportion to the area from which the inner waters are excluded.

^c In proportion to total area.

In proportion to the total area of the Russian Empire the population is equal to only 17.8 persons per square mile. In European Russia, however, there are 59.7 persons per square mile and in Poland 227.2, the latter being the most densely populated part of the Empire. For the total of Russia in Europe the density per square mile is 63.6, which is less than any of the European countries except Norway and Sweden. In Siberia there are only 1.4 persons per square mile. The density per square mile for the total Russia in Asia is but 3.6.

Obviously no part of the Russian Empire is overpopulated. There is, however, in some parts relative overpopulation, because of the primitive agricultural system and the lack of industrial development there are not sufficient means to support the people, and the result has been migration to Siberia or emigration to North America.

DISTRIBUTION OF OWNERSHIP OF LAND.

In 1905 there were 401,435,000 acres of arable land in European Russia, but reports for 1907 show that only 200,497,000 acres, less than half the total amount, were under cultivation. In Poland, however, out of the 17,739,000 acres of arable land 13,886,000 acres, or more than three-fourths, were reported under cultivation.

The comparatively small proportion of arable land under cultivation is due partly to the three-field system which prevails in Russia, under which one-third of the land is always idle. Another factor of some importance, however, is that the ownership of a large proportion of the arable land is vested in the State, imperial family, towns, etc., who have not the same necessity for cultivation as have the peasants, who comprise about five-sixths of the population and own in European Russia less than one-third of the arable land. The Commission is advised, however, that most of the State lands are located in the extreme north, partly in the arctic region, and are covered with forests, and that in those sections of the Empire where the greatest scarcity of land is felt there is practically no State or crown lands. The distribution of land in European Russia and Poland according to ownership is shown in the following table:

TABLE 9.—*The distribution of ownership of the land in European Russia in 1905 and in Poland in 1907.*

[From the Statesman's Year Book, 1909, p. 1169.]

Ownership.	European Russia proper.		Poland.	
	1,000 acres.	Per cent.	1,000 acres.	Per cent.
The State and imperial family, towns, etc.....	417,618	36.0	2,184	7.4
Peasants.....	374,634	32.3	12,233	41.6
Private owners.....	274,656	23.7	13,726	46.6
Unfit for culture.....	92,456	8.0	1,274	4.4
Total.....	1,159,364	100.0	29,417	100.0

LANDHOLDINGS OF PEASANTS.

As stated by Prof. Kaufman,^a at the time of the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 the landholding class was practically as one in exerting its influence toward giving the peasants as little land as possible, and preferably no land at all. It was to the interest of the landlords to create a class of land poor or landless peasants, who would form a large laboring class and thereby reduce wages. Since the details of the emancipation were almost entirely in the hands of the landowners, the result was that the freedmen had about one-fifth less land to cultivate than during serfdom. The size of the allotment was determined upon for each district in accordance with local conditions, but in no case were the landlords to lose more than two-thirds of their holdings. Instead of accepting their entire allotment and paying for it, the peasants were given the alternative of taking one-fourth of their allotment without any payments. About 640,000 peasants accepted the latter condition, partly under duress and partly because they expected to lease additional lands cheaply and to receive good wages for work on the landlords' farms. In both respects they were disappointed, for rents went up and wages went down.

^a See p. 246.

The number of peasants has continued to increase rapidly, while the amount of available land has increased but slightly, so that the average amount of land per person has decreased materially.

The following table shows the amount of arable land per individual in the different countries of Europe and in the United States and Canada:

TABLE 10.—*The amount of arable land per individual in various countries of Europe and in the United States and Canada.*

[Compiled from the Agrarian Question in Russia, Peter Maslov.]

Country.	Arable land per individual of total population.	Country.	Arable land per individual of total population.
	<i>Acres.</i>		<i>Acres.</i>
Canada.....	5.94	France.....	2.21
United States.....	5.67	Hungary.....	1.97
Bulgaria.....	5.54	Austria.....	1.84
Russia.....	5.43	Germany.....	1.67
Spain.....	3.51	Italy.....	1.67
Denmark.....	2.78	United Kingdom.....	1.30
Sweden.....	2.48	Belgium.....	.76

According to this authority, Canada, the United States, and Bulgaria have a greater amount of arable land per individual than Russia.

Although Russia is relatively rich in land, the agriculturists form such an unduly large proportion of the total population that the individual holdings of that class are smaller than in some countries where there is a scarcity of land in comparison with the total population.

ANTIQUATED SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURE.

A factor which accentuates the relative land shortage of the Russian peasant is the antiquated system of cultivation which is still in vogue.

Partly on account of the ignorance of the peasants, partly because of their poverty, there has been no development in agricultural methods. The modern practice of fertilization and the principle of rotation of crops are unknown. Ground is cultivated on the principle that exhausted lands can be abandoned and others found, whereas the relative land shortage necessitates an intensive, economical system of cultivation. As a rule the implements used are of the most primitive type.

The result of this antiquated system of husbandry is a low productivity of the soil, the yield per acre of the principal grain crops being considerably below that of the other countries of Europe, and especially in those countries where there is intensive cultivation. The table next presented shows the average yield per acre, 1899 to 1908, of wheat, oats, barley, and rye in the various countries of Europe and the United States.

TABLE 11.—*The average yield per acre for 1899–1908 of wheat, oats, barley, and rye in various countries of Europe and in the United States.*

[Compiled from the Yearbook of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.]

Country.	Average yield per acre.			
	Wheat.	Oats.	Barley.	Rye.
	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>
United States.....	13.7	29.3	26.0	a 15.8
European Russia.....	b 9.3	19.7	c 13.7	d 11.5
Germany.....	b 28.7	49.6	34.5	d 25.0
Austria.....	b 18.7	29.1	26.0	d 18.6
Hungary proper.....	b 17.1	30.8	23.2	c 17.7
France.....	a 20.4	31.3	23.5	a 17.1
United Kingdom.....	a 32.6	44.6	34.7	.....
Ireland.....	.....	.....	.....	d 27.0

a Winchester bushel

b Bushel of 60 pounds.

c Average, 1899–1907.

d Bushel of 56 pounds.

In European Russia the average yield of wheat per acre was 9.3 bushels, whereas in the United Kingdom it was 32.6 bushels, or more than three times as much. Likewise in Germany the average yield of wheat per acre was more than three times that in Russia. In a less marked degree the remaining countries show a larger yield of wheat per acre than Russia. Similarly the average yield per acre in European Russia of oats, barley, and rye is smaller than that of any country for which data are available.

WAGES OF AGRICULTURAL LABORERS.

The Commission, during its investigation in Russia, was given the informal estimate of 31 to 36 cents a day as the wages of agricultural laborers. There is almost an entire lack of official wage statistics in Russia but the slight data that are available in general confirm the findings of the Commission. The following figures, which were primarily published in *La Russie a la Fin du 19e Siecle*, prepared for the Paris Exhibition of 1900, show the wages for agricultural labor in 1900:

TABLE 12.—*Average daily wage (without food) of agricultural laborers in the Russian Empire in 1893.*

[Great Britain—Foreign Labor Abstract, 1906.]

Season.	Wages per day—	
	In the "black earth region." ^a	Outside the "black earth region."
During spring sowing.....	\$0.21	\$0.27
During haymaking.....	.29	.35
During harvest of cereals.....	.35	.33

^a The "black earth region" is a district of 260,000,000 acres of great fertility. It lies to the southeast of an irregular line drawn from the south of the government of Volhynia to the north of the government of Ufa.

It will be noted that in the "black earth region" the daily wage of farm laborers ranged from \$0.21 during the spring sowing to \$0.35 during the harvest of cereals. Outside the "black earth region" the range was from \$0.27 during the spring sowing to \$0.35 during hay-making.

In 1903 United States Consul Diedrich, of Bremen, estimated that farm laborers in Russia received from \$0.15 to \$0.35 per day. In 1907 United States Consul Slocum, of Warsaw, reported that in Poland farm laborers received about \$30 per year in cash and lodging and food to the value of \$30, making a total of \$60. The daily wage was from \$0.15 to \$0.25, according to the season.

In addition to receiving a low wage, agricultural laborers are frequently subjected to harsh treatment. They are often abused by their masters. The hours of labor are unreasonably long. Their food is insufficient and poor, consisting usually of brown bread, potatoes, and milk. Often the laborers sleep out of doors, and if sleeping accommodations are provided they are usually hard straw-covered bunks in dirty rooms and with no provision for the separation of men and women.⁴

CAUSES OF THE HEBREW EMIGRATION.

During the twelve years ending June 30, 1910, a total of 1,074,442 Hebrew immigrants were admitted to the United States, and of these 765,531 gave Russia as the country of last permanent residence. These constituted 43.8 per cent of all immigrants admitted from Russia during the period. The movement of the race to the United States has formed an important part in the general movement from Russia and other countries of eastern Europe. It is impossible from immigration statistics to trace the early development of Hebrew immigration from Russia, for prior to 1909 the records do not distinguish between the various races or peoples composing the immigrant tide. Probably they were not the first to come in considerable numbers, for between 1870 and 1880 a large number of Russians settled in the north central division of States. According to the United States census of 1870 there were only 4,644 persons of Russian birth (excluding Poland) in continental United States. In 1880 the number had increased to 35,722, of whom 25,031 were in the north central division, and only 7,400 in the North Atlantic division of States. In the latter year Kansas had a Russian-born population of 8,032; Dakota Territory, 6,493; and Nebraska, 3,281. Very few of these were Hebrews, however, for since the beginning of their immigration the people of this race have for the most part settled in the cities and industrial centers rather than in agricultural States.

The first Russian Hebrew immigration of numerical importance occurred between 1880 and 1890, during which time the total immigration from Russia to the United States increased from 5,014 in the former year to 35,598 in the latter. During that decade there was also a considerable immigration from Poland, but as this geographical term includes parts of Austria and Germany as well as Russian Poland it is impossible to say what proportion came

⁴Maslov, Peter, "The Agrarian Question in Russia."

from the latter. In 1892 a total of 81,511 immigrants were admitted to the United States from Russia, but in the following year it fell to 42,310, and four years later, in 1897, it was only 25,816. In 1899, when immigration statistics were first recorded by race, 60,982 immigrants were admitted from Russia. Of these 24,275, or 39.8 per cent, were Hebrews. This race continued to furnish considerably less than one-half of the total Russian immigration until 1904, when the proportion rose to 53.4 per cent. In the two following years, 1905 and 1906, it also exceeded 50 per cent of the total, but since the latter year its relative importance has declined until in 1909 and again in 1910 less than one-third of the Russian immigrants admitted to the United States were Hebrews.^a

As previously stated the situation of the Hebrews in Russia is a peculiar one, and therefore their emigration can not be altogether attributed to the causes which underlie the emigration of other Russian peoples. As a class, Hebrews are not allowed on the land, and consequently they are forced to follow urban occupations.

Moreover, their residence is restricted to certain towns and cities, so that they can not seek more advantageous fields in which to carry on the occupations which circumstances permit them to engage in. As a result of these restrictions, distressing economic conditions prevail among the Hebrews in many towns and cities, and when to this is added the occasional outbreaks against them, resulting in the destruction of life and property, there is a double cause for emigration. Undoubtedly the anti-Jewish outbreaks have been the direct cause of a considerable part of the Hebrew emigration from Russia, but on the other hand, the movement closely resembles the emigration from other European countries, which is almost entirely the result of economic conditions in such countries and in the United States. This is particularly noticeable in the movement following the depression of 1907-8 in the United States. In 1907 the immigration of Hebrews from Russia to the United States was 114,932, but in common with practically all immigrant peoples, there was a great decrease in the two following years, 1908 and 1909, when 71,978 and 39,150, respectively, were admitted.

However, it is obviously impossible, as well as unnecessary, to determine the relative weight of various causes of emigration. While in Russia the Commission received a variety of opinions upon the subject, but as a whole they constitute but little that would be of value to the discussion. In St. Petersburg members of the Commission conferred at length with officials of the Jewish Colonization Society, otherwise the Baron de Hirsch Fund, and as a result of the conferences officials of that society submitted a memorandum on the effect of the legal situation of the Jews upon their emigration from Russia. This memorandum, in full, follows:

EMIGRATION AS A RESULT OF LEGAL SITUATION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA.

Jews have lived in Russia from very ancient times. There are, for instance, traces of the presence of Jews in Crimea in the first century after the birth of Jesus Christ. They lived still earlier in the Caucasus and in Transcaucasia. In northern Caucasia and on the lower banks of the Volga, in the

^a See table, p. 338.

tenth century was consolidated the Khosar Empire, the rulers and the upper classes of which professed the Jewish religion and among the inhabitants of which were many Jews by race. This Khosar Empire extended over the whole of southern Russia, from the Volga to the Dnieper and from the Black and Caspian seas to the River Oka. In Kieff, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a certain part of the town was inhabited by Jews.

But in later times of Russian history, when the Moscow Empire sprang up, the Jews played no part in it, the Muscovite princes and tsars forbidding the Jews to cross their boundaries. This continued until the end of the eighteenth century. At the time of the first and second divisions of Poland, Russia became possessed of the provinces of White Russia, Volhynia, and Podolia. At the final fall of the Polish Kingdom, in 1795, Russia further gained Lithuania and Kurland. Together with these Provinces the Russian Empire acquired a population of 900,000 Jews. It was then that there arose for the Russian Government the so-called Jewish question.

What attitude did the government assume toward the million new subjects delivered by fate into its hands? Apparently rather an unstable one.

In the manifesto published at the annexation of White Russia in 1772, General Governor Count Chernysheff declared, in the name of the Empress Catherine II, that each and every individual should be guaranteed freedom of religion and inviolability of property.

"It is self-understood," adds the manifesto, "that the Jews inhabiting the lands and towns annexed by the Russian Empire will continue to enjoy the same freedom with regard to their religion and property now enjoyed by them. Her Imperial Majesty, in her great love for humanity, will not suffer them alone to be excluded from the mercy and future blessings of her reign, so long as they, professing themselves her loyal subjects, will continue to occupy themselves as hitherto with trade and commerce, each according to his condition."

In 1784 the Jews of White Russia presented a petition to the Empress, in which they complained of oppression on the part of the administration and begged that the Jews should be allowed equal rights with the rest of the population in the choice of town counselors and judges; also that during the settling of disputes between Jews and Christians in the public courts a certain number of the members of the tribunal should be chosen from the Jewish community. In answer to this petition appeared the senatorial ukase (1786) which partly fulfilled the requests of the Jews.

In this ukase is expressed the following notable decision of the Empress Catherine: "Whereas the above-mentioned inhabitants of Jewish faith (the Jews of White Russia) have, by strength of former ukases, been raised to an equality with others, it is imperative upon every occasion to observe the principle that each, according to his estate and calling, should enjoy the privileges and rights which are his, without distinction of religion and nationality."

However, notwithstanding the proclamation of the governmental principle of Jewish equality, a law regarding those Jews inscribed as citizens and merchants was passed at the end of Catherine's reign (1794), imposing taxes upon them to twice the amount paid by the Christians.

The Government of Emperor Alexander I was likewise not quite free from fluctuations in the Jewish question.

At the beginning of the reign the tendency of raising the Jews to Russian citizenship by measures of enlightenment prevailed. In 1802 Alexander I summoned a committee to discuss the question of the amelioration of the conditions of the Jews in Russia. Two years later, in 1804, the fruit of the committee's labor was sanctioned by the Emperor—"The act regulating Jewish rights."

The project of Jewish enlightenment stands first in the plan of the act. Jews were to be allowed an entry into the Russian educational establishments and encouraged to spread amongst them the use of the Russian tongue. The Jews were divided into four classes—agriculturists, manufacturers, artisans, merchants and townfolk. The agriculturists received considerable privileges with regard to taxation; but inn keeping and land jobbing were two occupations forbidden to the Jews, who were even forbidden to reside in the country.

In the act of 1804 two provinces were added to those allotted to the Jews—Astrakhan and Caucasasia. These provinces collectively were given the name of the "Jewish Pale."

But in the second half of the reign of Alexander I the governmental methods changed in character. The tendency of the Government to assimilate the Jews with the Christian population of the Empire was expressed, not through the

medium of education, not by efforts to attract the Jews to the Russian public schools, but by attempts to spread the Christian religion among them. In the year 1817 was founded the "Society of Israelite Christians," which had missionary aims, but found little success among the Jews. At the end of the reign, in 1825, the Provinces of Astrakhan and Caucasia were again excluded from the number of those which formed the Jewish Pale. The Jews were forbidden even a temporary residence in the interior provinces of the Empire and also to send goods from the frontier custom-houses to the towns of Great Russia. Until this time Jews had little frequented the interior of Russia because of want of acquaintance with the inhabitants, but now this slight intercourse ceased altogether.

Under the Emperor Nicholas I the tendency to assimilate the Jews with the Christian population became more marked and was expressed in various manners. Nicholas I removed the complete interdiction on the Jews of visiting the interior provinces. Such journeys were now permitted, but only to certain classes of Jews—merchants, manufacturers, and artisans—and for a time not exceeding six weeks. In the "Pale" itself certain large towns were proscribed to the Jews (Kiev, Nicholaev, Sevastopol). Polish Jews, like foreign Jews, were forbidden to cross the Russian frontier. The recruiting season hung like an oppressive nightmare over the heads of the Jews. They regarded the recruiting with terror. It tore them away from their surroundings and for a lifetime (the term of service being at that time twenty-five years) and deprived them of all possibilities of living according to the dictates of their religion. The Government on its side regarded the military service as a means of "nearing" the Jews to the Christian population. The Jews were urged by all possible means to join the Christian religion. It is since that time that they have been unable to attain the rank of officers while still remaining Jews. In order to obtain more tangible results in this direction, the Jews were taken from their parents as children and sent to the so-called "Cantonist schools," baptized, and in this manner transformed into Russian soldiers. The Jewish population regarded these institutions with horror and disgust. Children were torn from their parents by force or by ruse, spirited away in the dead of night; homeless Jews and Jews possessing no passport were seized and taken as soldiers.

This gloomy epoch is still retained in the memory of the Russian Jews. Various other laws were passed with the object of attracting the Jews to Christianity. Those condemned by the courts to certain terms of imprisonment were granted freedom on condition of their becoming Christians. Monetary rewards were offered to Jews for accepting the Christian religion. To combat the Jewish "isolation," punishments were inflicted upon Jews, who by their dress or outward appearance were distinguishable from the rest of the population.

Only in the last decade of the reign of Nicholas I the Government became convinced that repressive measures alone were inadequate as a means of solving the Jewish question, and that it was necessary to raise the level of their education. In 1840, at the instigation of the then minister of instruction, Uvaroff, elementary Jewish schools were established with a general course of education, and also two "rabbi colleges" for the preparation of educated rabbis and schoolmasters. But the Jewish masses, terrorized by the repression of the Government, regarded this enterprise also with distrust and animosity, and governmental efforts in this direction had but little success.

A new epoch for Russian Jews commenced with the ascension of Alexander II to the throne.

Alexander II ascended the throne soon after the famous Crimean campaign, which ended in the complete defeat of Russia and the fall of Sevastopol. The new Emperor turned his attention to all sides of Russian life, and his greatest desire was to awaken the latent strength of the country and to lead it forth upon the path of free development. And after the emancipation of the peasants in 1861, which removed the brand of slavery from the Russian Empire, Alexander II earnestly applied himself to judicial reforms and reform in town and country administration. The result of his activity was the "Codes of Procedure" of 1864, famous in modern Russian history. Then it was that public trials, juries, elective justices of peace, town and zemstvo self-government were established. The reign of Alexander II commenced a new era in Russian life, which naturally affected the position of the oppressed and defenseless Jews. The Emperor turned his attention seriously to the position of the Jews and at his ascension to the throne categorically expressed his desire that they should be raised to the *same and equal rights with the rest of the population*. In order to realize his intentions and to break the confines of the "Pale," in which the Jewish popula-

tion vegetated miserably, the "Tzar Deliverer" in 1859 conferred the right of living in any part of Russia upon the Jewish merchants of the first guild, and in 1861 he extended this privilege to all Jews who had passed through the highest educational establishments. (These last were even permitted to enter governmental service.) In 1865 artisans received the right of free residence throughout the Empire for purposes of their trade, and at length, in 1867, retired soldiers received the same right. Jews were allowed to take part in town and zemstvo self-governing institutions. In this manner the greater part of the Jewish population were free to leave the "Pale" and to live in any part of the country on equal terms with the Christians. Under the protection of these new liberating acts a considerable number of Jews began to quit the "Pale," life within which was growing more and more oppressive. More than that, under influence of a tolerant administration which yielded to the liberal tendencies of the times, a large number of Jews began to leave the "Pale" without any legal right at all, some making toward the central towns, others toward the Baltic Provinces. This permeation, commencing at first gradually and cautiously, became in course of time quite a natural phenomena. Restraining laws were applied with less severity than formerly. Toward the end of the reign of Alexander II the Russian population was expectantly hoping for the final establishment of legality in the country and the Jews for their complete emancipation.

The assassination of Alexander II put an end to these hopes. The Russian Government at the accession of Alexander III set out determinedly upon the path of reaction; its medieval institutions were again proclaimed to be sacred and unchangeable, and its reactionary measures placed the whole country, and the Jews especially, in the unbearable situation in which it is to-day. The new reign opened with an outburst of pogroms upon the Jewish population, which preyed upon all the towns of southern Russia and echoed here and there in various other parts. We will touch upon this phenomenon peculiar to Jewish life later on, but now we will resume our short outline of the legislating activity of the Government. At this time Plehve's influence began to be felt, and Pobiedonostzeff became omnipotent at court. Soon after the pogroms, followed on the 3d of May, 1882, the publication of the ill-famed "Temporary laws," which have been in operation since that time and which are chiefly responsible for that continual unemployment from which the Jewish population of Russia suffer so cruelly. The old restrictive laws forbidding the Jews the buying or renting of land even within the Pale, and the right of habitation outside the given towns and boroughs of the Pale, were again brought severely into force. These "Temporary laws," their severity augmented by administrative orders, affected some Provinces to such an extent that nearly the whole Jewish population of the villages of these Provinces were forced to move back to the towns within the Pale, besides which many small towns were "administratively" changed into villages so as to achieve the banishment of the Jews from these parts.

The "Temporary laws" not only ousted the Jews from agriculture (the principal branch of Russian industry), but it hindered them even in their trading and artisanship, which are closely connected with village life.

Not long after the appearance of the "Temporary laws," in 1883, a high commission was founded under the presidentship of Count Palen. It collected rich materials upon the Jewish question, and after a wide investigation the commission, consisting exclusively of highly placed bureaucrats, arrived at the conclusion that the "system of repression and exceptional laws alone has outlived its time and has proved to be wrong. Therefore it is necessary to resort to another, opposite course." "Measures of legislation on the Jews," declared the commission, "should have but one aim—the extinction of any special Jewish legislation—that is to say, the gradual (even if slow) equalization of the rights of the Jews with those of all other subjects of the Empire."

Thus in the first half of the reign of Alexander III representatives of the Russian bureaucracy, remembering the traditions of the preceding reign, still expressed themselves, though timidly, for the emancipation of the Jews.

However, the report of the commission was not approved by the Emperor, and during the second half of the reign of Alexander III not a year passed without some new law limiting the rights of the Jews. Expulsions en masse of the Jews from their places of residence became matters of daily occurrence. In 1886 began the limitation of the admission of Jews into the educational establishments; in 1887 Rostov and Taganrog were excluded from the "Jewish Pale." In 1888 Finland was closed to the Jews. In 1889 the right of becoming

barristers and lawyers was restricted for the Jews. In 1890 obstacles were placed to their participating in share-holding companies. By force of the law of 1891, 30,000 Jewish artisans were expelled from Moscow and the Moscow Province. Similar expulsions took place from all the interior Provinces of Russia, while from the large Provinces of Don, Kuban, and Terek every Jew, without exception, was expelled. In 1895 the Jews were forbidden to give their children Christian names. In the same year Yalta was excluded from the Jewish Pale, etc.

We should have to fill many pages in order to only enumerate the many laws against the Jews issued during the second half of the reign of Alexander III.

The ascension of Nicholas II did not introduce any substantial changes in the method of dealing with the Jews. The restraining legislation continued to increase, although not so rapidly, and the noose thrown around the Jewish people was constantly tightened.

Let us now summarize briefly the legal situation of the Jews in Russia, in order to show the chief causes which make their lives so unbearable and which so forcibly impel them to cross the ocean. All the restrictive laws regarding the Jews may be classified into four groups:

I. RESTRICTION IN HABITATION.

Jews have no right to live freely in all parts of the Empire, but only in the small part of it which constitutes the Jewish Pale. The Pale embraces fifteen Provinces: White Russia, Lithuania, Ukraina, and Novorossia, i. e., the Provinces of Vilna, Kovno, Grodno, Minsk, Mohilev, Vitebsk, Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev, Tchernigov, Poltava, Bessarabia, Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, Crimea, and the ten Provinces of Poland.

Outside these Provinces only some privileged groups of Jews have the right to live, notably, merchants of the first guild, i. e., the biggest traders and manufacturers, Jews who have graduated in the highest educational establishments, artisans, persons who have accomplished the military service according to the old recruiting laws and their (the soldiers') descendants. However, all parts outside the Pale are not free to these privileged persons. For instance, Siberia is almost entirely closed to the Jews. A Jew condemned by the law courts to deportation to Siberia is forbidden to remain there after the expiration of his term, so that habitation in Siberia for a Jew may be only acquired by committing a serious crime. The most numerous group of privileged Jews, the artisans, are forbidden to settle not only in Siberia, but also in the Moscow Provinces and in the Cossack Provinces. And where the Jewish artisan still preserves the right to settle according to law, this right is hedged in by so many formalities that a Jewish artisan outside the Pale lives in complete dependence upon the police, which costs him so much in the way of bribes that few artisans avail themselves of their right. Thanks to these difficulties, in spite of the comparatively favorable condition of things for tradesmen and artisans outside the Pale, there are living now only 6 per cent of the Jewish population in other parts of Russia, and of these about half are aborigines, like the Jews of the Baltic Provinces, Caucasia, and Central Asia. Although the confinement to the Pale is irksome to the Jews, it embraces a considerable territory, and the Jews would be able to find more or less sufficient place within it. But even on that territory only an extremely small part is really accessible to the Jews. Thanks to the temporary laws forbidding them to live in the villages, 3,000,000 of the Jewish population living within the 15 provinces of the Pale are inclosed within a few hundred larger and smaller towns, which are not prominent either for commerce or industry. Kiev, the most important industrial and commercial center of Southwestern Russia, is closed to the Jews, as also the largest health resort, Yalta. Restrictive laws are at work in the two most important ports on the Black Sea, Sebastopol and Nicholaev. Thus the Jews are cut off not only from agriculture, but also, in a large degree, from the other industries, as the larger industrial establishments—for instance, all sugar mills, mines, smelting and metal works, glass works—which are situated outside the towns.

II. RESTRICTIONS ON OCCUPATION.

The most important fact here is that the Jews are entirely cut off from agriculture, the staple industry of three-fourths of the population of Russia. This is brought about not only by the interdiction upon Jews of settling outside the

towns, but also by their being forbidden to buy or rent lands anywhere except in the towns. (In Poland, however, this restriction applies only to lands belonging to the peasants.)

All professions connected in some way with the State are closed to the Jews. The transfer of railways to the State during the last reign has brought with it loss of occupation for a host of Jewish railway employees, from engineers to navvies. By the establishment of spirit state monopoly about 100,000 Jews have lost their earnings. All the branches of state service are completely closed against the Jews, and in the domain of the so-called "free professions" heavy restrictions weigh upon them; so, for instance, pedagogical activity is almost inaccessible to the Jews. The legal profession is also very restricted.

III. RESTRICTIONS IN EDUCATION.

Russia is far from rich in means of education. Two and a half million roubles of the Russian budget is spent upon paying the interest upon loans, on armaments, upon new railways, on exceptionally expensive police and administration—only a small fraction remains for the educational needs of the people. Besides which, the Government until lately has looked upon public enlightenment mistrustfully. The limitations placed upon their education has been one of the heaviest blows aimed at the Jewish population. The Jews, comprising nearly half of the town populations within the Pale, are filled with a great longing for enlightenment. The limitation of the number of Jewish pupils in governmental schools to 10 per cent, together with the small number of educational institutions, is practically a barrier between the great mass of Jewish youth and the enlightenment so ardently desired by them. The percentage of Jewish students in the higher educational establishments is made still smaller. The fixed percentage was removed in 1906 under the pressure of the revolutionary movement, but the victory of reaction has again brought it into force. Not content with forbidding the governmental schools to the Jews, the Government until last year placed every obstacle in the way of their opening private schools of their own, and considering the cultivation of the Jewish masses to be dangerous to itself, has forbidden the teaching of the Russian language in the Jewish religion schools (*heder*) and imposing fines upon teachers who infringe that regulation.

IV. ISOLATION FROM LOCAL SELF-GOVERNING BODIES.

In 1892 reforms were made in the local self-governing institutions, in the sense that the democratic element within them was weakened and administrative tutelage increased. The Jews were entirely shut out from the *semstvo* corporations. In town corporations Jewish representation was limited to 10 per cent and this not elected by the population but appointed by the administration. So that even in towns of which Jews form the majority of the population they are almost entirely deprived of any influence over the affairs of the town.

The above enumerated restrictions placed upon the Jews in Russia are sufficient to demonstrate the distress of the Jewish population. Huddled within the towns of the Pale, which, with the exception of Poland, presents absolutely no field favorable for economic progress, the Jews are forced to seek a miserable livelihood in small trading and artisanship. And even in this they are hampered, because without freedom of movement no regular trade and sale of goods is possible. By these means an amazing situation is obtained; a hundred thousand Jewish traders and artisans, ruined by mutual competition, are starving unemployed, while at the same time in the villages and the towns outside the Jewish Pale trade is at a standstill for want of organization, and sufficient artisans can not be found. Unemployment among the Jews exists, not because here is no work for them to do, but because they are forbidden to work in places where work is waiting to be done.

But the restrictive legislation against the Jews does not mean only the limitation of their rights. Thanks to the peculiar political construction of Russia, the administrative powers are exceptionally strong, and they are very far from always adhering strictly to the paths of legality. The more a certain part of a population is without rights, the more it feels the burden of an oppressive administration. The extraordinary voluminousness, intricacy, and complication of the legislation upon Jews gives a possibility of interpreting it in the various manners, which makes the position of the Jews still more precarious and unstable. For each of their rights, however lawful, the Jews are obliged to bribe

the police. A Jew is authorized to live in the country by virtue of having taken up his abode there before the law of 1882, but is nevertheless obliged to pay for the right, or he is liable at any moment to be banished from the place. Even if by appealing to the Senate he succeeds in a year or so to establish his right of residence in such a spot, he can not repair the damage caused to himself, his home, and property by his former expulsion.

As a Russian writer has recently expressed it, "Each restrictive measure passed against the Jews is a living source of bribes for the Russian policeman," a fact which causes the local administrators to stand firmly for such legislation and upon every occasion to assure the central Government of its necessity. The way in which the arbitrary measures of the Government are applied is exasperating in itself. It is enough to call to mind the famous Kiev "Beats" (Oblavy). "Oblavy" means in Russian a certain form of the hunt in which the hunters close in on all sides upon their prey to slaughter it. This term is very applicable to the method of seizing the "illegally domiciled" Jews in Kiev. In the dead of night the police surround the vicinity in which the Jews are supposed to be living, burst into the houses, sparing neither the peace of mind of inoffensive people nor the shame of women. All those living illegally are dragged to the prisons and afterwards sent under convoy, together with criminals, from prison to prison until they finally reach the place of their "legal" habitation. Needless to say, that the visits of Jews to Kiev, a town situated in the very middle of the Pale and connected with innumerable branches of economic activity, are absolutely inevitable.

While placing the Jews in such humiliating conditions, deprived of every right, the Russian Government nevertheless deems it just that they should be made to fulfill all the obligations of citizenship, even to a greater extent than the Christians, and when they, because of emigration are unable to provide a sufficient number of healthy recruits, being obliged to provide more soldiers comparatively than the Christian population, they are made to pay heavily in proportion to the lack, and are accused of evading the recruiting laws.

But however difficult the legal position of the Jews in Russia, and however heavily the tyranny of the Government may oppress them, these things are not yet the crowning tragedy of their lives to-day.

The most terrible feature of the lives of the Russian Jews is the "pogrom." Protection of life and property are two things which even the rulers of barbarous countries feel called upon to guarantee their subjects. But this protection is not accorded to the Jews in Russia at the present time. The first extensive pogrom took place soon after the Emperor Alexander mounted the throne (Alexander III). The minister of the interior was at that time Count Ignatieff and the director of the department of police the famous Von Plehve. At that time already the pogroms were remarkable for certain peculiar features. The last had taken place not in small out-of-the-way places in which the Government had no armed force at command, but in large towns filled with soldiers. The Government, which in every case of pogrom had displayed a remarkable indifference, in many cases clearly permitted them. During many of the pogroms, especially those of the cruelest nature, disinterested witnesses declared that the soldiers called to the spot not only failed to disperse the pogromists, but even served them as a kind of escort. While the governmental press tried to explain the pogroms as the result of the instinctive hatred of the populace toward the Jews, several of the pogromists themselves declared in a court of law that they bore no hatred whatever toward the Jews, but took part in the pogrom because some persons unknown had assured them that "the Czar had ordered the Jews to be beaten and that no punishment would follow." It was very strange that as soon as Count Ignatieff relinquished the ministry of the interior to Count D. Tolstoy, and a circular was issued that the local governors would be answerable to the central powers for allowing disorders, the pogroms ceased of themselves, without the slightest effort of administration. In view of the public depression which reigned in the country after the victory of reaction, the secret of the pogroms of the eighties remained but little investigated. More than two decades passed.

The minister of the interior was then Von Plehve, the former director of police under Ignatieff in 1881. The Government was engaged upon a struggle with the revolutionary movement, now grown to be a considerable force and much more dangerous to the autocratic régime. Then suddenly, unexpectedly, the Kisheneff pogrom fell like a scourge upon the Jewish population. It differed essentially from the pogroms of the eighties. These latter had been

chiefly confined to attacks upon property, but here, side by side with these, attacks upon the persons of Jews took place. Numerous mutilated corpses, hundreds of persons crippled and women outraged—such horrors as had not occurred since long within the boundaries of Europe. And this time, it was palpable that the police and gendarmes not only patronized but also participated in the pogrom.

The longer the struggle between the Government and the revolutionary movement continued the more frequent were the pogroms. Their deep significance became apparent. In the eighties the town populations were perhaps easily excited to plunder, but during the last few years some degree of culture and consciousness has been spread among them. Participation in pogroms has become less attractive to them, and not seldom have occasions occurred when the more conscientious elements of the Christian population have endeavored to protect the Jews. In order to incite a pogrom it has become necessary to spread a wide Chauvinistic agitation, to give rise to rumors that the Jews have killed Christian children, that they wish to overthrow the church, etc. On the other side, the Jews, despairing of the protection of the authorities, have begun to act in defense of their own lives, property, and honor. There has appeared a danger of the pogromists being overpowered by the Jews, so that troops are summoned to the pogroms not to use their arms against the pogromists, but against the Jewish self-defenders. At a given signal in October of 1905, pogroms began over nearly the whole of Russia. They were each conducted upon a certain plan of one and the same pattern. Bands of pogromists carrying flags, with troops before and behind them, moved through the streets, laying waste to Jewish property and murdering Jews. The attempts of the Jews at self-defense brought upon them volleys of rifles, and even of cannon (in Kishinef). The evident organizers of the pogroms in the ranks of the administration were not made answerable for them, but even received rewards and promotions (the commander of the Bielostock garrison, Colonel Schreiter, Colonel Tikhonovsky, etc.). Those who were brought to trial were generally members of the mob who had but played the rôle of blind tools in the hands of the provocaters. These were usually condemned to some slight punishment, but for the most part were liberated by imperial order through the intercession of the Union of Russian Men (in Ovidiopol, Kertch, Tula, etc.). The rôle of the bureaucrats was in this way revealed, and when the former minister of the interior, Prince Urussoff, in his famous speech in the first Duma acknowledged that he had discovered the existence of a special secret office in the department of police for the manufacture of proclamations inciting the population to pogroms, and from whence instructors in the art of the pogrom were sent out, he openly confirmed before the whole world that which had been suspected long before, and the then minister of the interior, M. Stolypin, could only promise that this shocking state of things should cease to exist. Nevertheless, after that occurred the pogrom in Siedletz.

In order to show in figures the extent of the pogroms, let us mention that from the 17th day of October, 1905, till the end of 1906, 661 towns and cities were devastated, and the 38,000 families, or 162,000 persons, suffered. General loss during the last pogroms amounted to 54,153,853 rubles, 985 persons were killed, 1,492 wounded heavily, while the number of those wounded in a lesser degree amounted to many thousands, 387 women were widowed, 177 children completely orphaned, while 1,474 were deprived of one of their parents.

But one can not estimate the damage done by the pogroms in mere figures. Completely destroying the safety of property, the pogrom ruins credit, brings about an economic crisis, and throws tens of thousands unemployed workmen into the streets. Still more terrible is the effect of the pogroms upon the moral atmosphere prevailing among the Jews. The knowledge that in the full light of day in the sight of everybody, a crowd of the lowest rabble may burst into your house, plundering and murdering, destroying all that you have toiled for, may violate the honor of those who are dearer than life itself, may maim or kill you, while those who are set to preserve your security will at best remain passive spectators of these events and at worst may take active part in them, the knowledge that it is useless to struggle, because behind the pogromists armed force is ranged against you—such knowledge paralyzes the energy of people, causes them to fly without retrospection, without calculation, only to escape from the threatening horrors of the pogrom. And in such conditions the Jewish population has existed for many years. In some towns, such as

Odessa, the pogrom is no extraordinary occurrence, but a chronic phenomenon holding the Jews in a perpetual state of panic.

We have said enough to illustrate the principal reasons of Jewish emigration from Russia. The Jews emigrate to various countries, but principally to the United States. The emigration statistics of the United States give us the exact figures upon the subject.

Though before 1889 we have only the figures of the total emigration (including non-Jewish) from Russia to the United States, those figures fluctuate according to the *difference in the position of the Jews in Russia*.

In 1880-81 (from the 1st July-30th June), notwithstanding the immense number of emigrants which had already passed from Europe to the United States, only 10,500 emigrants came from Russia. In the following year, 1881-82, the year of pogroms and the ministry of Count Ignatieff, the number of emigrants from Russia rose to 21,500. But in the following year, 1882-83, when pogroms were forbidden because of a change of ministry, the number of Russian emigrants suddenly fell to 11,920. However, under the influence of the temporary laws issued on the 3d of May, 1882, forbidding the Jews to reside in the towns and villages outside the Pale and the cultivation of land, the emigration from Russia began to grow. Already in 1883-84 the number of emigrants from Russia had reached 17,000, and grew in proportion with the increase of restrictive legislation. In 1886-87 the number of emigrants from Russia had reached already 31,000. The year 1891-92 was one of the most oppressive for the Jews. Many thousand families were by administrative order exiled from villages and country estates of the southwestern part of Russia. Thirty thousand Jews were banished from Moscow and the Moscow Province and the same expulsions took place in all the interior governments. In this year, 1891-92, the Jewish emigration reached the second considerable maximum of 91,000 persons. Since then the emigration has been on the decrease, reaching in 1896-97 the minimum of 25,816 persons. This was the time when the political tactics of the new Emperor, Nicholas II, had not become sufficiently definite, and the Jewish population was hoping for a better future in Russia. In the following year statistics of the United States give us not only facts about emigration from Russia in general, but immediate figures of Jewish emigration. These figures, as we shall see, are illustrative of the wreck of Jewish hopes in Russia.

Year of emigration.	Number of Jews emi- grating from Russia.	Year of emigration.	Number of Jews emi- grating from Russia.
1898-99.....	24, 275	1902-3.....	47, 689
1899-1900.....	37, 011	1903-4.....	77, 554
1900-1901.....	37, 660	1904-5.....	92, 388
1901-2.....	37, 846	1905-6.....	125, 284

The hopes placed by the Russian Jews in the reign of Nicholas II have not been realized. The restrictive legislation has not grown milder, but even more severe, and the emigration has increased. In 1903-4 it increased with unprecedented rapidity. The reason is known, and it is a political one exclusively. In April, 1903, took place the Kisheneff pogrom, the Jews were seized with a panic and realized more strongly, perhaps, than they had ever done before, that they lacked even the elementary conditions of personal security. In the beginning of 1904 the war broke out and in the beginning of 1905 the revolutionary movement. The war and the revolution together disorganized the economic life of Russia, and the Jews as an industrial and commercial people felt the influence of these events the most keenly. The number of emigrations increased, especially from the most commercial parts of Russia, Poland, from whence, until then, but a small number of Jews had emigrated. At length the pogroms of 1905 and the subsequent events transformed the Jewish emigration from Russia into a regular political stampede.

And so we will conclude. The emigration of Jews from Russia is not the outcome of some deep economical phenomenon. Russia is a comparatively sparsely populated country, and the demand for skilled labor and artisanship

which is now being transferred to the United States is especially great. So that the Jews are emigrating, not because it is impossible for them to find sufficient earnings in Russia, but because the Government deprives them of the most elementary conditions of security of life and property. Thus we can foretell the future of Jewish emigration. It is entwined with the political conditions of Russia. Let but the pogroms cease and the emigration of the Jews will immediately and considerably diminish and will resume those insignificant proportions which it displayed until the pogrom of Kishenev.

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA.

In 1907 the economic condition of the Jews in Russia was made the subject of a special report by Mr. I. M. Rubinow, of the United States Bureau of Labor.^a Data for this study was drawn to a considerable extent from an investigation made by the Jewish Colonization Society in 1898, the results of which were published in 1905 under the title "Sbornik Materialov ob Economicheskome Polozhenii Eyreev v Rossii" (collection of material in regard to the economic condition of the Jews in Russia). This is still the latest source of information on that subject, and the Commission has deemed it wise to include in its report on Russia the following portion of Mr. Rubinow's report:

INTRODUCTION.

The present study of the economic condition of the Jews in Russia is offered as a part of a series of studies in immigration and its relation to social and industrial questions in the United States. One of the most important elements in this problem is the distribution, both geographically and industrially, of immigrants arriving in this country. A study of immigration at the present time would not be complete without special attention to the Russian Jews, forming as they do one-eighth of the total number of immigrants now coming to our shores, and being found so frequently living and working under harmful sweat-shop conditions. Some of the well-known characteristics of these immigrants, such as their tendency to crowd into the great cities and to follow certain definite lines of work to the exclusion of the heavier manual trades and agriculture, will be much better understood after a study of the conditions and restrictions under which they have worked and lived before coming to this country.

JEWISH POPULATION.

As far back as authentic historic records go, Jews are known to have lived within the territory at present included in the limits of the Russian Empire, yet the Russian Empire as it now exists acquired the vast majority of its Jewish citizens at a comparatively recent date. Until 1772 the number of Jews in Russia proper was small, because until then the absolutely prohibitive policy of the Russian Government made any movement across the Polish-Russian frontier practically impossible. The gradual migration of the Jews eastward through Europe resulted in concentrating a large number in the Kingdom of Poland, in which country and in Lithuania Jews are known to have lived as early as the tenth century. The first partition of Poland, in 1792, gave to Russia the section known as White Russia and a part of Lithuania, with a large Jewish population; the second partition, in 1793, and the final partition, in 1795, added the ten provinces which now constitute the so-called region of the Vistula. Since those events the Russian Empire has remained the home of at least one-half of the entire Jewish race. While the total number of Jews in the world is not definitely known, the estimate of 11,000,000 is usually accepted as nearly correct. According to the Russian census of January 28 (February 9), 1897, the total

^a Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor, No. 72, September, 1907.

number of Jews in the Empire was 5,215,805^a or about 50 per cent of all the Jews in the world. Since the total population of the Empire has been determined to be 125,640,021, the proportion of the Jewish to the total population is therefore only a little over 4 per cent; but this percentage has little more than a theoretical value, because of the very uneven distribution of the Jews over the entire territory of the Empire. The policy of the Muscovite Government toward the Jews throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries was that of absolute exclusion, and with a few qualifications the same policy has been enforced within the annexed western territories, which contain the large Jewish population. The law of 1769 definitely limited the Jew's right of domicile to certain provinces, thus establishing the strictly defined Jewish Pale, that law being modified in 1804 by the inclusion of several provinces and the exclusion of others. Several modifications of minor significance have been made in subsequent years. The Pale as it exists to-day was established in 1835 by the "Code of the rights of the Jews." As thus constituted, the Pale consists of twenty-five provinces^b of the eighty-nine provinces and territories constituting the entire Russian Empire. The Pale begins immediately south of the Baltic provinces, stretches throughout the west, and extends over the south as far east as the Don Army territory. The combined territory of the Pale is about 362,000 square miles, or less than 20 per cent of European Russia and only a little over 4 per cent of the entire Russian Empire. The Pale includes:

1. In the Kingdom of Poland (or the region of the Vistula), the Provinces of Warsaw, Kalisz, Kielce, Lomza, Lublin, Petrikau, Plock, Radom, Suwalki, and Siedlec.
2. In Lithuania, the Provinces of Vilna, Kovno, and Grodno.
3. In White Russia, the Provinces of Minsk, Vitebsk, and Mohelev.
4. In southwestern Russia, the Provinces of Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev (except the city of Kiev), Chernigov, and Poltava.
5. In southern (new) Russia, the Provinces of Bessarabia, Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, and Taurida (except the city of Yalta).

At various times many modifications of the absolute prohibition to enter the interior of Russia were made; but the entire Russian legislation in regard to the Jew's right of domicile is much too complicated to be given in detail, and

^aThe problem of determining the number of Jews in Russia presents some serious statistical difficulties, depending upon the different definitions of the word "Jew." In the census of 1897 both the religion and the nationality were taken account of, the latter being based upon the "mother tongue." In the case of the Jews the "Yiddish language" was taken as the decisive feature. Accordingly, the following conflicting statements may be formed: Number of persons of Jewish religion, 5,215,805; number of persons of Jewish nationality as determined by the mother tongue, 5,063,156. A closer examination of the census figures shows that there were enumerated 161,505 persons of Jewish faith who named other languages than the Yiddish as their mother tongue. On the other hand, there were 8,856 persons speaking the Yiddish tongue whose religious faith was other than the Hebrew. As the special legislation in regard to Jews applies to all persons of Jewish faith, 5,215,805 ought to be accepted as the correct figure. Yet in the census many important tables take the nationality (language) basis. The 12,894 Karaites (people of Jewish nationality and faith, but of a different sect and exempt from all special Jewish legislation) must not be disregarded; of these 383 claimed Yiddish as their mother tongue, and are, therefore, included in the preceding groups. The data therefore may be summarized thus:

Persons of Jewish faith claiming Yiddish as their mother tongue.....	5, 054, 300
Persons of Jewish faith claiming other languages as their mother tongue	161, 505
Persons of other faiths claiming Yiddish as their mother tongue.....	8, 856
Karaites claiming other languages than Yiddish.....	12, 511
Total.....	5, 237, 172

It is necessary to add that often in special tables of the census the total number of Jews indicated does not agree with either of the totals given here.

^bThe Russian word "gubernia" has often been translated into English as "government," under the influence of the French translation "gouvernement." preferred.

consequently only the main features will be stated. Its essential principle is that, while the general prohibition remains in force, the following specified classes of Jews are given the privilege of domicile throughout the Empire:

1. Merchants of the first guild—i. e., merchants paying a very high business license—after having paid that license somewhere within the Pale for five consecutive years. This right of living anywhere in Russia, outside of the Pale, lasts only as long as the payment of the license is continued, but after ten annual payments the permanent right of domicile within the city in which the payments have been made is acquired.

2. Professional persons, such as physicians, lawyers, dentists, graduate engineers, army surgeons, midwives, and graduates of universities and higher institutions of learning in general, as well as students in such institutions.

3. Master artisans working at their trades when admitted to their artisans' guild, or possessing the necessary legal evidence of proficiency in their crafts.

In all these cases the acquired right of domicile extends to the members of the immediate family, and in cases of the merchants of the first guild and the professional persons to a limited number of servants and clerks of Jewish faith. In regard to the Jewish artisans, the limitations are much more numerous; and in 1891 their further emigration from the Pale into the interior of the Empire was made exceedingly difficult, and those artisans who were living in the city, as well as those living in the Province of Moscow, were compelled to withdraw.

Another considerable class of Jews that is permitted to live throughout Russia are the discharged soldiers; but this right is granted only to those who served in the army prior to 1874. This class, therefore, can not increase in number.

Besides these general provisions, there are minor exceptions that grant to limited groups of Jews (usually determined as persons or descendants of persons who were living in certain localities before certain dates) the right to remain in specific localities, or, in a few cases, anywhere in the Empire. Among these exceptions are to be found the resident Jews of Siberia, Turkestan, Caucasus, the Province of Courland, and a few other localities.

The temporary sojourn without the Pale of Jews who have no right of permanent domicile is strictly limited by law to from six weeks to two months, and then only in cases of proved necessity, such as a lawsuit, commercial transactions, or probating a will. Moreover, in these cases important limitations have been introduced. Thus, the important city of Kiev has been excepted from the Pale, and even merchants of the first guild may live only in certain districts of that city. In 1893 the city of Yalta was excepted, and the important cities of Rostov and Taganrog, by being transferred from the Province of Yekaterinoslav to the Don Army Territory, were also excluded from the Pale.

How well the object of this legislation was accomplished will be seen from the following official data :

Total population and number and per cent of Jewish population of the Pale, by Provinces, 1897.

[Compiled from Premier Recensement Général de la Population de l'Empire de Russie 1897.]

Province or region	Total population.	Persons of Jewish faith.	
		Number	Per cent of total population.
Vilna.....	1,591,207	204,686	12.9
Grodno.....	1,603,409	280,489	17.5
Kovno.....	1,544,564	212,666	13.8
Lithuania.....	4,739,180	697,841	14.7
Minsk.....	2,147,621	345,015	16.1
Vitebsk.....	1,489,246	175,629	11.8
Mohelev.....	1,680,764	203,946	12.1
White Russia.....	5,323,631	724,590	13.6
Volhynia.....	2,989,482	395,882	13.2
Podolia.....	3,018,299	370,612	12.3
Kiev.....	3,559,229	433,728	12.2
Chernigov.....	2,297,854	114,462	5.0
Poltava.....	2,778,151	110,944	4.0
Southwestern Russia.....	14,643,015	1,425,618	9.7
Bessarabia.....	1,935,412	228,528	11.8
Kherson.....	2,733,612	339,910	12.4
Yekaterinoslav.....	2,113,674	101,088	4.8
Taurida.....	1,447,790	60,752	4.2
Southern (now) Russia.....	3,230,488	730,278	9.0
Warsaw.....	1,931,867	351,942	18.2
Kalisz.....	840,597	71,657	8.5
Kielce.....	761,995	83,221	10.9
Lomza.....	579,592	91,394	15.8
Lublin.....	1,160,662	156,221	13.5
Petrikau.....	1,403,901	222,558	15.9
Plock.....	553,633	51,454	9.3
Radom.....	814,947	112,323	13.8
Suwalki.....	582,913	59,195	10.2
Siedlec.....	772,146	121,135	15.7
Poland.....	9,402,253	1,321,100	14.1
Total in Pale.....	42,338,567	4,899,427	11.6

Total population of Russia and number and per cent of Jews, with per cent of distribution of Jews, by localities, 1897.

[Compiled from Premier Recensement Général de la Population de l'Empire de Russie, 1897.]

Locality	Total population.	Persons of Jewish faith.	Per cent of Jews of total population.	Per cent of distribution of Jews
Fifteen Provinces of Pale.....	32,936,314	3,578,327	10.9	68.6
The remaining 35 Provinces.....	60,506,550	211,121	.3	4.0
Total European Russia, proper.....	93,442,864	3,789,448	4.1	72.6
Kingdom of Poland.....	9,402,253	1,321,100	14.1	25.3
Caucasus.....	9,289,364	56,783	.6	1.1
Siberia.....	5,758,822	34,792	.6	.7
Middle Asia.....	7,746,718	13,682	.2	.3
Total.....	125,640,021	5,215,805	4.2	100.0

Of all the Jews residing in the vast Russian Empire, 93.9 per cent live in the Pale (including the ten Polish Provinces), 4 per cent live in the remaining part of European Russia, and 2.1 per cent live in all the Asiatic possessions of the Empire. The Jews, therefore, constitute almost a negligible part of the population of Russia beyond the Pale. Hence the present study will naturally be devoted almost exclusively to the economic conditions within the Pale.

Even within that limited area the Jews constitute only 11.6 per cent, or about one-ninth, of the entire population. The proportion varies considerably from one Province or region to another, and the reasons for this variation are not difficult to find when the historical line of migration of the Jews is taken into consideration. The southern Provinces, having been thrown open to the Jews at a comparatively recent date, have a smaller percentage of people of that race than has either Poland or Lithuania.

The Jews living in Lithuania, as well as those who live in White Russia, are known as Lithuanian Jews; the Jews of the ten Polish Provinces as Polish Jews, and those who have settled in the southwestern region and in New Russia as southern Jews. From the American point of view the distinctions are not without some practical significance, because the Lithuanian Jews have until recently constituted the vast majority of the Russian-Jewish immigrants to the United States. The general culture of the Polish Jews is considerably lower than that of the Lithuanian Jews. The economic condition of the Jews in the south of Russia is so much better than that of those in the northwest that only since the recent disturbances has the emigration fever touched the Jews of that region. Of all the Jews in the Empire, the northwestern Jews, comprising those in Lithuania and White Russia, constitute 27.3 per cent, the Polish Jews 25.3 per cent, or approximately the same proportion, and the southern Jews, comprising those in southwestern and southern (new) Russia, 41.3 per cent.

Travelers through western Russia have seldom failed to point out the awful congestion of Jews in the cities and towns. The census of 1897 shows, however, that the Jews constitute only from 8 to 18 per cent of the total population of the several provinces. This concentration of the Jews in cities and towns is due to the so-called "May laws," promulgated on May 3 (15), 1882, as a result of the series of anti-Jewish riots in 1881, which prohibited further settlement of Jews within rural districts, i. e., outside of cities and towns. In practice this meant not only prohibition of further emigration of Jews from cities into the country, but an actual elimination of many Jewish households from rural settlements, and their enforced migration into towns and the resultant congestion of the latter. The tendency of the modern age everywhere is toward emigration from the rural districts to the city; the Jewish race, however, has lived under very exceptional conditions and for centuries has inhabited the cities almost exclusively. With the general decline of the prosperity of the Russian and Polish nobility, the making of a living became more difficult for the Jew, and this led to a moderate though unmistakable tendency to remove to the rural districts. Thither went the petty merchant, the liquor dealer, the artisan, and finally the prospective Jewish agriculturist. The May laws not only stopped this movement but forced many of the Jewish families already in the country back into cities. Again, in 1891, thousands of families of Jewish artisans and merchants were forced to leave the city of Moscow and other interior cities and seek new homes in the cities of the Pale. Both the May laws of 1882 and the new executive orders of 1891 caused a considerable increase in the emigration of Jews to the United States.

The proportion of the Jewish population to the total population of the cities of the Pale is shown in the following table:

Jewish urban population compared with total urban population in the Pale, by regions, 1897.

[Compiled from Premier Recensement Général de la Population de l'Empire de Russie, 1897.]

Region.	Total urban population	Jewish urban population.	
		Number.	Per cent of total urban population.
Lithuania.....	595,742	297,980	50.0
White Russia.....	588,051	324,847	55.2
Southwestern Russia.....	1,398,717	502,830	35.9
Southern (new) Russia.....	1,612,613	453,980	28.2
Poland.....	2,158,662	813,375	37.7
Total.....	6,353,785	2,393,012	37.7

These data must be taken with many qualifications, for a great deal of uncertainty exists in regard to the Russian definition of the city. Many localities not dignified by the name of "gorod" (city) are known as "miestechko," and in these settlements the Jews have retained the right of domicile. These "miestechkos" have the economic function of the American village—i. e. they serve as the commercial, and, to a small degree, the industrial centers of the surrounding country. The Russian village, as is well known, is usually an agricultural community, and in these villages the Jew is prohibited from settling.

Interesting data that throw some light upon the concentration of Jews within the cities and the "miestechkos" have been gathered by the agents of the St. Petersburg committee of the Jewish Colonization Society.^a According to the reports of these agents, the urban Jewish population of the Pale at the end of the nineteenth century amounted to 3,809,361, or 77.8 per cent of the total Jewish population of the Pale in 1897.

Jewish urban population in the Pale in 1898 compared with total Jewish population in the Pale in 1897, by regions.

[The figures for 1897 are from Premier Recensement Général de la Population de l'Empire de Russie; those for 1898 are from the Report of the Jewish Colonization Society.]

Region.	Total Jewish population (1897).	Jewish urban population (1898).	
		Number.	Per cent of total Jewish population (1897).
Northwestern Russia (Lithuania and White Russia).....	1,422,431	1,213,054	85.3
Southwestern Russia.....	1,425,618	978,406	68.6
Southern (new) Russia.....	730,278	511,487	70.0
Poland.....	1,321,100	1,106,414	83.7
Total.....	4,899,427	3,809,361	77.8

^a In 1898 an extensive investigation into the economic condition of the Russian Jews was undertaken by agents of the society. As a result of these investigations two volumes were published in the spring of 1905, entitled "Sbornik Materialov ob Economicheskom Polozhenii Evreev v Rossii" (Collection of material in regard to the economic condition of the Jews in Russia). These volumes contain a wealth of statistical information which has been freely used in this study. In fact the statistical data have been taken from these volumes unless otherwise credited.

In the following table is given the percentage which the urban Jews form of the total numbers of Jews in each region embraced within the Pale as shown by the census of 1897. The figures relate only to those cities that are incorporated:

Jewish population of incorporated cities compared with total Jewish population in the Pale, by regions, 1897.

[Compiled from Premier Recensement Général de la Population de l'Empire de Russie, 1897.]

Region.	Total Jewish population.	Jewish population in incorporated cities.	
		Number.	Per cent of total Jewish population.
Lithuania.....	697,841	297,980	42.7
White Russia.....	724,590	324,847	44.8
Southwestern Russia.....	1,425,618	502,830	35.3
Southern (new) Russia.....	730,278	453,980	62.2
Poland.....	1,321,100	813,375	61.6
Total.....	4,899,427	2,393,012	48.8

It is almost certain that the data obtained in the private investigation are far from complete, and that the proportion of Jews living outside of the urban communities is considerably smaller than one-fifth. It is characteristic that the percentage of Jews living in rural districts is highest in the west and in the south-west, where, as will be shown, the Jews have attained considerable success in agricultural pursuits and where their general economic position is better. Of those Jews who have taken advantage of the right to migrate from their old homes in Poland and Lithuania to the new region, a large proportion has evidently preferred the country to the city. This is significant as additional evidence of the fact (if additional evidence were necessary) that the remarkable concentration of Jews in the city is not a result of economic choice, or even economic necessity, but of enforced legislative limitations.

As was stated before, the Jews were a commercial and industrial race before they arrived in Poland, and therefore a strong element in urban population; but perhaps nowhere else have they become such a large part of the urban population as in western Russia.

Jewish population compared with total population of cities investigated by Jewish colonization society, by regions, 1898.

Region.	Total population of cities investigated.	Jewish population of cities investigated.	
		Number.	Per cent of total population.
Northwestern Russia.....	2,093,259	1,213,054	57.9
Southwestern Russia.....	2,565,763	978,406	38.1
Southern (new) Russia.....	1,945,379	511,487	26.3
Poland.....	2,702,846	1,106,414	40.9
Total.....	9,307,247	3,809,361	40.9

The difference between these data and those of the official census is explained by the development of large cities both in Poland (Warsaw, Lodz, etc.) and in the south (Odessa and others). The Jewish "miestechko," with its economic stagnation and almost total absence of industry, is characteristic of the northwestern provinces. These little towns supply a large number of the Jewish emigrants to the United States.

The greatest congestion is found in the six northwestern provinces, where the Jews constitute almost three-fifths of the population of the cities. In Poland the recent development of textile industries has attracted to the cities a considerable element of German and Polish workmen, while the mechanical, iron, and mining industries of the south have drawn upon the surrounding Russian peasantry. The congestion of Jews in the cities of Lithuania has been most acutely felt, especially since the May laws of 1882 and the stringent regulations of 1891, and it is, therefore, no coincidence that the region which shows the greatest percentage of Jews in cities also gives the greatest number of emigrants. Scarcely a Jewish family can be found in Lithuania that has not some members in the New World.

It must be remembered that the census data refer to the beginning of 1897, i. e., ten years ago. The well-known fecundity of the Jewish race on the one hand and the vast migratory element on the other must have introduced many important changes in the statistics of Jewish population, which can not be ascertained with any degree of accuracy. The census of 1897 was the first actual enumeration of population ever undertaken by the Russian Government, and it is therefore impossible to determine even the rate of increase. An official determination of the Jewish population was, however, made for Poland in 1890 and for the remaining fifteen provinces of the Pale in 1881, which gives some basis for comparison of the Jewish population at these dates with that of 1897, and upon which the approximate rate of increase may be computed.

Jewish population in the Pale in 1881 and 1897, with number and per cent of increase, by regions.

[The figures for 1881 and those for Poland in 1890 are taken from official publications of the Russian ministry of the interior.]

Region.	1881.	1897.	Increase in 16 years.	
			Number.	Per cent.
Northwestern Russia.....	1,243,007	1,422,431	179,424	14.4
Southern Russia.....	1,215,393	1,425,618	210,225	17.3
Southern Russia.....	453,765	730,278	276,513	60.9
Total.....	2,912,165	3,578,327	666,162	22.9
Poland.....	^a 1,134,268	1,321,100	^b 186,832	^b 16.5

^a In 1890.

^b Increase in 7 years.

An increase of 22.9 per cent during sixteen years equals about 1.4 per cent per year, a very moderate increase indeed. In Poland the increase (during seven years) in absolute figures was greater than in northwestern Russia during a period more than twice as long, the average annual increase being about 2.4 per cent. The average annual increase in northwestern Russia was less than 1 per cent. This remarkable difference is undoubtedly due to emigration, not only to foreign lands, but also to the southern provinces, since the growth of the number of Jews in the south by 60.9 per cent in sixteen years would have been impossible without considerable immigration from the northwestern region. There is some migration from Lithuania into the industrial region of Poland, notably the textile district of Lodz, but it is not very large, and there is probably a correspondingly large emigration of Polish Jews to the United States. The rate of increase shown by the Jews in Poland may, therefore, be considered fairly normal. The natural annual increase of the Jewish population in Russia would seem to amount to at least 100,000 or 110,000 persons, and in the ten years which have passed since the census of 1897 to a little over 1,000,000, but emigration must have considerably reduced this increase. The number of Russian-Jewish emigrants to the United States alone amounted to many hundreds of thousands, and there was a considerable emigration of Russian Jews to Great Britain, while slighter currents carried them to many other countries of the civilized world. At present the emigration to the United States alone is sufficient to offset the entire natural increase, the total emigration possibly causing a reduction of the Jewish population in Russia, not only in relative but in absolute figures. The last two years, how-

ever, were abnormal in a great many ways and can not be considered a fair measure of the normal Russian-Jewish emigration. During the years 1898 to 1902 the emigration was considerably smaller, and it may safely be assumed that the total Jewish population in Russia at present is about 5,500,000.

No less significant is the tendency of the Jewish population toward wider distribution. It has been shown above that the increase in southern (new) Russia was considerably greater than in the rest of the Pale. The comparison with the increase of the non-Jewish population emphasizes this point.

Per cent of increase of non-Jewish and Jewish population in 15 provinces of the Pale, 1881 to 1897.

Region.	Per cent of increase.	
	Non-Jewish.	Jewish.
Northwestern Russia.....	22.7	14.4
Southwestern Russia.....	22.3	17.3
Southern (new) Russia.....	37.8	60.9
Total.....	26.0	22.9

Another investigator has subdivided the Provinces of the Pale (exclusive of Poland) into western, middle, and eastern Provinces, with the following results:^a

In five western Provinces the Jewish population increased 7.5 per cent; in four middle Provinces the Jewish population increased 29.3 per cent; in six eastern Provinces the Jewish population increased 46.8 per cent.

Notwithstanding the legal difficulties, the eastward pressure of the Jewish population is clearly felt within the limits rigidly prescribed by the Government. This in itself suffices to explain why of all the special legislation affecting the Jew that which limited his right of domicile caused bitter complaints even many years before the present acute struggle for the emancipation of the Jew began. If it be remembered that 125,000 Jews found the means to emigrate to the United States within one year—though the voyage requires considerable capital—it will be understood that upon the destruction of legal barriers there would follow a considerable migration to the interior of Russia, where the prizes offered to business enterprise or skilled trades are no smaller than in the United States. Still stronger is the tendency toward removal to the rural districts, as such movement means a closer proximity to the natural customer of the commercial and the industrial Jew. Notwithstanding the strict supervision exercised by the authorities, the efforts of the Jew to enter the forbidden regions in circumvention of existing legislation are frequent and persistent.

At first glance there appears to be no valid reason why the simple fact of the ethnic and religious homogeneity of 40, 50, or even 60 per cent of the population of some cities of western Russia should be considered a cause of economic distress. But when the involuntary nature of this concentration is understood the problem becomes much clearer.

OCCUPATIONS.

The historical origin of the strict Jewish exclusion laws is to be found in the spirit of religious antagonism which was perfectly natural in the stage of culture that existed in Russia before the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the spirit of isolation which was strong in the Jews of Poland and Lithuania was no less an obstacle to the diffusion of the Jewish population throughout Russia. During the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century gradual efforts were made on both sides to break down the wall between the Jews and the Russians. The Government recognized the advisability of utilizing the commercial talents, the industrial enterprise, and the professional skill of the Jew, which were in

^a See Sbornik Materialov ob Economicheskome Polozhenii Evreev v Rossii (Collection of material in regard to the economic condition of the Jews in Russia). Vol. I, page xxxiv.

some degree lacking in the mass of the Russian people. Western culture gradually forced its way into the Jewish communities and for a time the ideal of Russification had most ardent supporters in the Jewish young generation. Since 1875 the conditions have considerably changed. The Jewish right of domicile throughout Russia has been subject to further limitations, as already mentioned, and these are defended on entirely different grounds. The religious argument was laid aside and the economic argument emphasized instead. The argument is that the entire Jewish race is a race of traders, and therefore exploiters, and that the free admission of the Jews into the interior of Russia would be to the extreme disadvantage of the entire Russian nation. It is argued that when inclosed within the narrow limits of the Pale and enjoined from entering the villages the injury of the exploiting Jew to the economic well-being of the Russian peasant would be reduced to a minimum. This line of argument has been circulated even beyond the boundaries of Russia and undoubtedly not without some influence upon the public mind. This makes the data in regard to the occupations of the Russian Jews important and doubly interesting.

Total Jewish population and number engaged in gainful occupations, by occupations, 1897.

[From the Premier Recensement Général de la Population de l'Empire de Russie, 1897.]

Class No.	Occupation.	Persons engaged in gainful occupations.			Members of their families.	Total.
		Male.	Female.	Total		
1	Administration, justice, and police.....	890	18	908	2,609	3,517
2	Municipal and local civil service.....	1,667	12	1,679	5,844	7,523
3	Private law practice.....	1,028	9	1,037	3,268	4,305
4	Army and navy.....	53,194	.....	53,194	1,083	54,277
5	Clergymen, orthodox.....	173	21	194	510	704
6	Clergymen, other Christian.....	32	2	34	84	288
7	Clergymen, non-Christian.....	6,030	2	6,032	20,182	26,214
8	Persons serving about churches, etc.....	13,907	196	14,103	47,594	61,697
9	Teachers and educators.....	33,609	1,664	35,273	90,241	125,514
10	Science, literature, and art.....	2,704	166	2,870	5,252	8,122
11	Medical and sanitary work.....	6,354	2,916	9,270	16,415	26,185
12	Service for charitable organizations.....	163	34	197	102	629
13	Personal and domestic service.....	61,992	113,740	175,732	159,105	334,837
14	Living on income from capital or supported by relatives.....	33,346	25,074	58,420	113,485	171,905
15	Supported by the treasury or by charitable institutions.....	11,371	8,765	20,136	5,998	26,134
16	Prisoners and convicts.....	3,907	414	4,321	102	4,423
17	Agriculture.....	29,047	4,054	33,101	130,925	164,026
18	Agriculture and sericulture.....	61	5	66	119	185
19	Cattle raising, etc.....	1,789	305	2,094	5,031	7,125
20	Forestry and forest industries.....	3,291	89	3,380	9,496	12,876
21	Fishing and hunting.....	1,955	15	1,970	6,539	8,509
22	Mining.....	1,331	50	1,381	3,873	5,254
23	Metal smelting.....	37	.....	37	92	129
24	Manufactures of animal products.....	20,771	705	21,476	50,744	72,220
25	Manufactures of wood.....	41,506	1,019	42,525	96,951	139,476
26	Textile industry.....	21,454	13,158	34,612	58,686	93,298
27	Manufactures of metal.....	42,828	621	43,449	104,880	148,329
28	Pottery and ceramic industry.....	5,017	341	5,358	15,333	20,691
29	Chemical industry.....	5,137	1,843	6,980	13,742	20,722
30	Production of spirituous liquors.....	3,972	116	4,088	12,225	16,313
31	Production of other beverages.....	2,239	255	2,494	7,170	9,664
32	Production of foods, animal and vegetable.....	38,713	7,443	46,156	137,160	183,316
33	Tobacco, and tobacco manufactures.....	4,432	3,424	7,856	9,690	17,546
34	Printing and paper industries.....	13,487	2,222	15,709	25,804	41,513
35	Scientific instruments, watches, and toys.....	7,143	73	7,216	14,245	21,461
36	Jewelry, painting, articles of luxury, etc.....	6,349	162	6,511	12,026	18,537
37	Manufacture of clothing.....	202,714	51,670	254,384	528,070	782,454
38	Building industry.....	38,847	172	39,019	113,659	152,678
39	Carriage and wooden ship making.....	245	5	250	723	973
40	All other persons employed in manufacturing industry (manufacturers, clerical employees, etc.).....	2,588	474	3,062	5,967	9,029
41	Transportation by water.....	2,020	30	2,050	7,702	9,752
42	Railroad employees.....	1,807	49	1,856	5,128	6,984
43	Carting and draying.....	38,050	337	38,387	132,337	170,724
44	All other means of communication and transportation.....	3,293	32	3,325	9,379	12,704

Total Jewish population and number engaged in gainful occupations, by occupations, 1897—Continued.

Class No.	Occupation.	Persons engaged in gainful occupations.			Members of their families.	Total.
		Male.	Female.	Total.		
45	Post, telegraph, and telephone.....	310	16	326	818	1,144
46	Institutions of credit and insurance.....	2,299	109	2,408	5,376	7,784
47	Commercial middlemen.....	15,423	552	15,975	53,581	69,556
48	General commerce.....	80,637	15,578	96,215	302,722	398,937
49	Cattle trading.....	15,745	172	15,917	62,669	78,586
50	Trading in grain.....	46,483	2,450	48,933	172,624	221,587
51	Trading in all other agricultural products.....	115,343	29,716	145,059	442,048	587,107
52	Trading in structural material and in fuel.....	27,051	662	27,713	94,094	121,807
53	Trading in various goods for domestic use.....	4,810	1,043	5,853	15,967	21,820
54	Trading in metal goods, machinery, and arms.....	6,298	551	6,849	20,899	27,748
55	Trading in textiles and clothing.....	38,470	5,713	44,183	114,700	158,883
56	Trading in furs, leather, etc.....	11,774	777	12,551	42,153	54,704
57	Trading in articles of luxury, science, arts, etc.....	2,776	289	3,065	7,695	10,760
58	Trading in other goods.....	6,953	619	7,572	19,979	27,551
59	Peddlers and hucksters.....	14,812	5,058	19,870	49,850	69,720
60	Hotel and restaurant keepers.....	8,534	1,970	10,504	32,682	43,186
61	Dealers in spirituous liquors.....	10,802	1,334	12,136	44,440	56,576
62	Cleanliness and hygiene.....	5,489	3,508	8,997	18,237	27,234
63	Indefinite occupations.....	12,276	4,430	16,706	25,770	42,476
64	Prostitutes.....	128	1,148	1,276	488	1,764
65	Occupations unknown.....	7,484	7,943	15,427	16,037	31,464
	Total.....	1,204,937	325,370	1,530,307	3,532,849	5,063,156

For a concise and clear statement of the main facts of this table it has been thought desirable to prepare a table that will be, as far as possible, comparable with the occupation grouping of the United States census. For this purpose it was necessary to eliminate several classes that are omitted in United States occupation statistics, namely, class 14, "living on income from capital, or supported by relatives;" class 15, "supported by the treasury or by private charitable institutions;" class 16, "prisoners and convicts;" class 64, "prostitutes;" and class 65, "occupations unknown."

The one deviation from the United States system permitted is the distinction between those occupied in commerce and those in transportation.

With these modifications the distribution of the Russian Jews into the main occupation groups is as follows:

Number and per cent of Jews in the Russian Empire engaged in each group of gainful occupations, by sex, 1897.

[Compiled from Premier Recensement Général de la Population de l'Empire de Russie, 1897.]

Class Nos.	Group of occupations.	Males.	Per cent.	Females.	Per cent.	Total.	Per cent.
17-21	Agricultural pursuits.....	36,143	3.1	4,468	1.6	40,611	2.9
1-3, 5-11	Professional service.....	66,944	5.8	5,006	1.8	71,950	5.0
4, 12, 13, 60-63	Personal service ^a	152,450	13.3	125,016	44.3	277,466	19.4
22-40	Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.....	458,810	39.9	83,753	29.7	542,563	37.9
41-45	Transportation.....	45,480	4.0	464	.2	45,944	3.2
46-59	Commercial pursuits ^a	388,874	33.9	63,319	22.4	452,193	31.6
	Total.....	1,148,701	100.0	282,026	100.0	1,430,727	100.0

^a In order to make figures comparable with figures in the United States census, hotel, restaurant, and saloon keepers are included in personal service.

In view of the theory generally accepted both in Russia and in the United States, that the European Jew is in the majority of cases a merchant and only in America is transformed into a productive worker, it is important to emphasize the fact that of those who were employed in 1897 only one-third of the males and less than one-fourth of the females were occupied in commercial

undertakings, or only 31.6 per cent of all the Jews employed, while the manufacturing and mechanical pursuits claimed almost two-fifths of those engaged in gainful occupations.

The small number of Jews engaged in agriculture is clearly brought out in the table. The economic function of the Jewish population of Russia may be further elucidated by a comparison of the occupation statistics of the Jews with those of the non-Jewish population of Russia.

Number and per cent of Jews and of other persons in the Russian Empire engaged in each group of gainful occupations, 1897.

[Compiled from Premier Recensement Général de la Population de l'Empire de Russie, 1897.]

Group of occupations.	Persons other than Jews.	Per cent.	Jews.	Per cent.
Agricultural pursuits.....	18,204,676	60.5	40,611	2.9
Professional service.....	916,863	3.0	71,950	5.0
Personal service <i>a</i>	4,872,546	16.2	277,466	19.4
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.....	4,627,356	15.4	542,563	37.9
Transportation.....	668,801	2.2	45,944	3.2
Commerce <i>a</i>	804,137	2.7	452,193	31.6
Total.....	30,094,379	100.0	1,430,727	100.0

a In order to make figures comparable with figures in the United States census, hotel, restaurant, and saloon keepers are included in personal service.

According to this table, 60.5 per cent of the non-Jewish population in gainful occupations in Russia were engaged in agriculture, while of the Jews 2.9 per cent were so employed. Of persons other than Jews only 2.7 per cent were engaged in commerce, while 31.6 per cent of the Jews were so engaged. The proportion of Jews in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits was nearly two and a half times as great as that of persons other than Jews employed in those pursuits. Although the Jews constitute only a little over 4 per cent of the entire Russian population, the number of Jews employed in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits is 10.5 per cent of the total population so engaged, and the Jews engaged in commerce represent 36 per cent of the whole commercial class. This table shows, however, that the entire commercial class in Russia constitutes only 4 per cent and the Jews engaged in commerce only 1.4 per cent of the total number of persons in gainful occupations in Russia.

Since the Jews occupy but a small portion of the vast Empire, a comparison limited to that portion seems to promise more practical results.

Number and per cent of Jews and of other persons in the Pale engaged in each group of gainful occupations, 1897.

[Compiled from Premier Recensement Général de la Population de l'Empire de Russie, 1897.]

Group of occupations.	Total employed.	Per cent.	Jews.	Per cent.	Persons other than Jews.	Per cent.
Agricultural pursuits.....	6,071,413	55.9	38,538	2.9	6,032,875	63.2
Professional service.....	317,710	2.9	67,238	5.1	250,472	2.6
Personal service <i>a</i>	2,139,981	19.7	250,078	18.8	1,889,903	19.8
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.....	1,573,519	14.4	504,844	37.9	1,068,675	11.2
Transportation.....	211,983	2.0	44,177	3.3	167,866	1.8
Commerce <i>a</i>	556,086	5.1	426,628	32.0	129,458	1.4
Total.....	10,870,692	100.0	1,331,503	100.0	9,539,189	100.0

a In order to make figures comparable with figures in the United States census, hotel, restaurant, and saloon keepers are included in personal service; hence the totals for commerce in this table do not agree with those given in the tables on pages 290-1.

With a commercial class that amounts to only 5.1 per cent of the working population of the Pale, the claim of the overcrowding of that class would hardly seem justified, and the Jews inhabiting the large cities naturally fill this class. Within the Pale the Jews employed in commerce constitute more than four-

fifths of all persons so employed, and in the industrial class (manufacturing and mechanical pursuits) more than one-third.

In reality the contrast between the number of Jews employed in the various groups of occupations and the number of persons other than Jews employed in the same groups is still stronger than these tables indicate, because of the peculiarities of the Russian occupation statistics. In the class of persons employed all persons actually working are not reported, but only the "self-dependent" ones. Thus, of a large agricultural family, containing from three to six adult workers, only one person—the head of the family—is reported as "employed in family," while in the United States census all persons occupied in farm work would be so reported. If the children and dependents are added, the agricultural class swells considerably, and the percentage of the commercial class is correspondingly reduced.

An analysis of the statistics of the occupations of the Jews by separate regions shows that, while there is a general uniformity, there are characteristic differences in the distribution, especially in the comparative proportions of the industrial and commercial classes. In the northwest, namely, in Lithuania and in White Russia, the industrial occupations claim a much greater proportion of the employed than commerce (44.2 per cent against 23.8 per cent and 42.2 per cent against 27.4 per cent, respectively). This difference is significant in view of the greater congestion of the Jews in the northwest and their lower economic condition, as will be indicated in another section. It will be shown that in these Provinces there is a process of rapid shifting from the commercial pursuits to industrial work, and here also the labor movement is strongest. It is from these provinces that until very recently emigration to the United States was strongest. The following table shows the distribution of Jews in the various occupation groups for each region of the Pale and for Russia outside of the Pale:

Number and per cent of Jews in each group of gainful occupations in the Pale, by regions, and in Russia outside of the Pale, 1897.

[Compiled from the separate reports on Provinces of Premier Recensement Général de la Population de l'Empire de Russie, 1897.]

Groups of gainful occupations.	Lithuania.		White Russia.		Southwestern Russia.		Southern (new) Russia.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Agricultural pursuits.....	8,279	4.0	8,223	4.2	6,427	1.7	9,614	4.5
Professional service.....	10,455	5.1	11,556	5.8	21,226	5.6	10,571	4.9
Personal service ^a	38,819	19.0	31,865	16.1	62,112	16.5	37,473	17.5
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.....	90,322	44.2	83,656	42.2	132,787	35.3	74,361	34.7
Transportation.....	8,053	3.9	8,507	4.3	11,481	3.1	6,202	2.9
Commerce ^a	48,608	23.8	54,359	27.4	142,368	37.8	76,151	35.5
Total.....	204,536	100.0	198,166	100.0	376,401	100.0	214,372	100.0

Groups of gainful occupations.	Poland.		Pale.		Russia outside of Pale.		Russian Empire.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Agricultural pursuits.....	5,995	1.8	38,538	2.9	2,073	2.1	40,611	2.9
Professional service.....	13,430	4.0	67,238	5.1	4,712	4.7	71,950	5.0
Personal service ^a	79,809	23.6	250,078	18.8	27,388	27.6	277,466	19.4
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.....	123,718	36.6	504,844	37.9	37,719	38.0	542,563	37.9
Transportation.....	9,934	2.9	44,177	3.3	1,767	1.8	45,944	3.2
Commerce ^a	105,142	31.1	426,628	32.0	25,565	26.8	452,193	31.6
Total.....	338,028	100.0	1,331,503	100.0	99,224	100.0	1,430,727	100.0

^a In order to make figures comparable with figures in the United States census, hotel, restaurant, and saloon keepers are included in personal service.

^b This total does not agree with that shown in the tables on pages 290-1 for the reason stated in note ^a.

* * * * *

AGRICULTURE.

AGRICULTURAL COLONIES.

Numerically, the farmers do not represent a very considerable proportion of the Jewish race in Russia; but in view of the almost universal conviction that the Jewish character is incompatible with agricultural pursuits, it will be a revelation to many Americans to learn that there are more than 40,000 Jews in Russia who are independently employed in farming and that more than 150,000 persons are supported by them, so that altogether over 190,000 persons of Jewish faith derive their subsistence from agricultural pursuits. This fact makes the data in regard to Jewish agriculture not only interesting, but of practical importance to the people of the United States. The condition of the Jewish farmers in Russia has been the subject of many thorough investigations, the most recent and exhaustive being that made by the St. Petersburg committee of the Jewish Colonization Society. The data for this investigation were gathered by a house-to-house canvass at the end of the last century and the results were published in 1904. This source will be mainly relied upon for statistical information as to agricultural conditions.

When Russia, by the annexation of a portion of Poland, acquired authority over a large Jewish population, the Jews represented the commercial and the industrial classes of Poland. During the first half of the nineteenth century the acknowledged effort of the Russian Government was to break up Jewish exclusiveness and encourage the assimilation of the Jews with the Russian people.

A part of this policy was the effort to attract Jews to agricultural pursuits, and to this end purchase and rental of land by Jews were encouraged by Alexander I and by Nicholas I. During the reign of the former the law of December 9, 1804, was passed, a law which not only permitted the settlement and the buying of land by Jews in new Russia, but created a fund for the settlement of Jews in agricultural colonies in that sparsely settled part of the Empire. Special inducements also were offered to Jewish colonists, as, for instance, freedom from military service for twenty-five and even fifty years. Several colonies were established, and by 1810 about 1,700 Jewish families were settled on the lands of the Province of Kherson.

In that year the transfer of Jews to new Russia was discontinued because of the exhaustion of the funds assigned. In 1823 a grant of 50,000 rubles made possible the further settlement of about 500 Jewish families.

This concluded the experiments of colonizing new Russia with Jews during the reign of Alexander I. During the reign of his successor, Nicholas I, similar efforts, assisted by private benevolence, were directed toward voluntary settlement of Jews in country districts, and in the forties, in accordance with the provisions of the law of April 13 (25), 1835, several colonies were established in the Provinces of Kherson and Yekaterinoslav. These efforts, at least as far as new Russia was concerned, were discontinued in 1865. The experiment of sending Jewish would-be agriculturists to Siberia, which was undertaken in 1835, was abandoned in the following year. In new Russia the number of colonies grew from 15 in 1847 to 371 in 1865. The law of 1835 was also operative in the western provinces, but the condition of the soil and the life of agricultural classes in that region were not such as to attract the Jews. In 1859 the settlement of Jews on government lands in the western region was stopped, and in 1864 the colonizing of Jews on private lands was prohibited.

The attitude of the Government toward the question of colonizing Jews and attracting them to an agricultural life has evidently changed. The reason usually given for this change was the small attendant success. When the radical nature of the experiment is considered, it seems evident that the process could not prove immediately successful. The evidences of the desire to engage in agricultural pursuits were many, and toward the second half of the nineteenth century a general decline of the prosperity of the urban Jew, caused by the Polish insurrection, created the proper conditions for Jewish land settlement, but unfortunately the attitude of the Government had changed. Finally, the May laws of 1882, while they did not affect the colonies as such, put an end to the application of Jewish private enterprise and capital to land ownership and farming, which had been making rapid strides contemporaneously with, but independently of, the colonies. These laws prohibited the Jews from buying or renting lands outside of the limits of the cities and incorporated towns (the so-called "miestechkos"). These temporary rules, which extended to the 15

provinces of western Russia, exclusive of Poland, were never repealed, and in 1891 the Jews were prohibited from buying or renting land from the peasants in Poland.

The size of the homestead is one of the main factors in the economic situation of a farmer. The standard of agricultural technique prevailing in Russia makes intensive agriculture almost an impossibility and demands a large farm. A hundred years ago agricultural methods in Russia were still more primitive than they are now, and it was hardly to be expected that the Jew, as a beginner in agriculture, would immediately excel his Russian neighbor in the methods of tilling the soil. In the province of Kherson, where nearly 25 per cent of all the Jewish "colonists" are located, and where on the whole they have been most successful, the original "colonists" were granted homesteads of 30 dessiatines (81.06 acres), but the increase of population, division of households, etc., have considerably decreased the size of the land holdings of the farmers. In the western region the average size of a lot on which the Jewish colonist started his agricultural career was still smaller, usually about 20 dessiatines (54.04 acres).

The following table shows the total number of Jewish colonies, the number of Jewish peasant families, and the area of land in their possession:

Number of Jewish colonies, households, and members, and acres held by the colonists, by regions, 1898.

Region.	Number of colonies.	Households.		Number of acres.
		Number.	Members.	
Northwestern Provinces.....	188	2,731	18,504	66,012.5
Southwestern Provinces.....	60	2,227	12,155	31,975.5
Southern (new) Russia.....	48	5,592	32,683	171,390.6
Poland.....	(a)	2,509	12,545	36,028.5
Total.....	^b 296	13,059	75,887	305,407.1

^a Not reported.

^b Not including colonists in Poland not reported.

In new Russia the average holding per household is 11.34 dessiatines (30.6 acres), while in the northwestern provinces the average farm is but 8.95 dessiatines (24.2 acres), although the quality of the land is much inferior to that of the black soil of new Russia. In the southwestern provinces, as well as in Poland, the average size of a farm is only 5.31 dessiatines (14.3 acres). The average farm of the Jewish peasant, therefore, contains no more than 8.66 dessiatines (23.4 acres).

Of all the experiments to turn the Jew to an agricultural life the colonies established in the Province of Kherson were placed under the most favorable conditions and gave the best results. These colonies deserve, therefore, detailed description. The colonies were started with an allotment from the Government of 30 dessiatines (81.06 acres) for each family, but under the influence of varying conditions this equality did not persist very long. There began in the Jewish colonies the same process of differentiation that is characteristic of the entire Russian peasantry, so that only a portion of the colonists' households are provided with sufficient land to make a practical success of farming. This is clearly shown in the table next submitted.

Number and per cent of Jewish households and of acres owned, and average size of holding, in the colonies of Kherson, by groups of households, 1898.

Households owning—	Households.		Acres owned.		Average holding (acres).
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	
No land.....	611	19.2			
Less than 13.5 acres.....	483	15.2	4,923	5.1	10.2
13.5 to 27 acres.....	836	26.2	19,172	19.8	22.9
27 to 54 acres.....	728	22.8	30,069	31.0	41.3
54 acres or over.....	529	16.6	42,846	44.1	81.0
Total.....	3,187	100.0	97,010	100.0	30.4

Only one-sixth of the households own at present 54 acres or more per family, and this one-sixth owns 44.1 per cent of the entire land of the colonies. Many of the farmers have extended their activity by renting, since 1,165 households were found to rent additional land, the total area rented in 1898 amounting to 25,203½ dessiatines (68,099.2 acres). On the other hand, 811 households let out a part or the whole of their holdings, the total area let out amounting to but 7,524½ dessiatines (20,331.2 acres). If the amount let out is subtracted from the amount rented there is shown a net increase in holdings due to rentals of 17,678½ dessiatines (47,768 acres), or an average for the 3,187 households of 5.5 dessiatines (14.9 acres).

The following table shows the effect of the renting of land upon the average size of the farming establishments:

Average size of allotments owned, average net increase due to rentals, and average size of total holdings in the colonies of Kherson, by groups of households, 1898.

[The "average net increase due to rentals" is the excess of the amount of land rented over the amount let out.]

Households owning—	Average size of allotment owned (acres).	Average net increase due to rentals (acres).	Average total holdings (acres).
No land.....		25.7	25.7
Less than 13.5 acres.....	10.2	22.4	32.6
13.5 to 27 acres.....	22.9	20.0	42.9
27 to 54 acres.....	41.3	8.6	49.9
54 acres or over.....	81.0	a 3.5	77.5
Total.....	30.4	14.9	45.3

^a Excess of land let out over land rented.

Agricultural pursuits are not congenial to all colonists in the same degree. While there are undoubtedly many who prefer to lease their comparatively large holdings, which they are prohibited by law from selling, there is a sufficient number of others who are anxious to apply their labor to farming on rented land.

If the condition of the surrounding Russian peasantry be taken as a basis of comparison, these Jewish peasants are fairly well provided with working live stock, the average number of horses per family being 2.28. Yet there are 1,018 households that do not possess any horses at all, and 216 that possess only one horse each, so that only 1,953, or 61.3 per cent, of the households own two horses or more.

In the character of their agricultural methods, the kind of implements they use, and the crops they grow, the Jewish peasants of these colonies of the Province of Kherson differ little from their Russian neighbors, from whom they receive their first lessons in agriculture. Like the Russian peasants, the Jews plant more than two-thirds of their land in cereals, the rest being left for grazing purposes; but grass sowing is almost unknown. The climate of

Kherson is well fitted for spring crops, and the colonists plant more than four-fifths of their cultivated land in spring wheat, barley, and other spring cereals, and practically all the rest in winter cereals. According to a comparison made in 1898 by the statistician of the Province of Kherson, the Jewish colonists planted in cereals 98.3 per cent of their land under cultivation; the Russian peasants of the same district, 96.4 per cent; the Bulgarian peasants, of whom a number live in the same Province, 99.9 per cent; and the German colonists, 92.4 per cent.

From the implements these farmers use may be judged the primitive methods of tilling the soil. Sixty-three per cent of the households did not own any implements for plowing the ground and had to borrow them for temporary use. In all the colonies of Kherson there were found only 632 plows and 1,137 so-called "bukkers," peculiar plowing implements of southern Russia which scarcely do more than scratch the soil. Almost 80 per cent of the land under cultivation had been plowed with these "bukkers" and only 20 per cent with regular steel plows. The extremely short time during which the harvest must be gathered in southern Russia made the introduction of harvesting machines an absolute necessity. The thrashing is still done in the most primitive fashion. The harvested grain is spread over a suitable piece of ground and horses harnessed to iron rollers are driven over the straw, the horses' hoofs cooperating with the heavy metal rollers in separating the seed from the straw.

The returns from agriculture can not be very great when such methods are used. According to official statistics the average yield of cereals in the Province of Kherson in 1898 was as follows:

	Bushels per acre.
On private estates.....	9.9
On lands of German colonists.....	9.1
On lands of Bulgarians.....	7.6
On lands of Jewish colonists.....	7.5
On lands of Russian peasants.....	6.8

According to these figures the Jews show better results than the Russian peasants, whose only occupation for many centuries was agriculture.

Whatever the returns, it is important to know that the majority of the colonists make use only of their own labor in tilling their land. Very few colonists, mainly those whose possessions are considerably above the average, employ hired labor all the year round. The number of such households is only 210, or 6.6 per cent of the total, and the average number of laborers employed per household is 1.82. The number of families that are forced to hire additional labor during the season of plowing, or more especially of harvesting and thrashing, is considerably greater, namely, 686, or 21.5 per cent; but many families who also hire permanent laborers are here included. The total number of households employing hired labor, whether permanently or temporarily, is only 704, or 22.1 per cent of all households.

Even if the rental value of land be disregarded, it can not be claimed that the reward of the labor of practically all the members of the family is considerable. By a careful calculation, based upon the average yield of the land and the price of cereals, the average annual income of a household has been estimated at 139 rubles (\$71.59) from grain farming, and with the addition of the products of live stock (dairying and slaughtering), at 200 rubles (\$103). In discussing this estimate an investigator says:^a

"Such an income would scarcely be sufficient for a family of a Russian peasant, who needs about 35 rubles (\$18.03) per capita for his bare subsistence, according to the investigations of the well-known Russian statistician, Mr. Shcherbina. But the standard of a Jewish family is evidently higher. The Jewish population of the colonies has kept certain civilized customs, which they find difficult to give up; thus they do not spare expenses for teaching their children; they are accustomed to better food, and they dress better on holidays, and have considerable expenses for religious purposes, for medical treatment, etc. From data in regard to the budgets of five agricultural Jewish families in the Province of Vilna, it appears that the normal budget of a Jewish

^a See *Sbornik Materialov ob Economicheskoy Polozhenii Evreev v Rossii* (Collection of material in regard to the economic condition of the Jews in Russia), Vol. I, p. 40.

family is not less than 300 rubles (\$154.50). Persons well acquainted with the life of the southern colonists estimate the normal expenditures of a family at the same figure. No matter how approximate our calculations, one may assert with a reasonable degree of certainty that the income from agriculture does not by far correspond to the needs of the population of the colonies, and that subsidiary occupations therefore are a necessity for some part of the families."

Facts seem to support this reasoning, for a considerable number of the families in the colonies have been forced to look for additional sources of income. Of the 3,187 families living in the Kherson colonies, only 1,563, or 49 per cent, have no other occupation but agriculture; 1,194 families, or 37.5 per cent, have an additional occupation; and 430 families, or 13.5 per cent, have abandoned agriculture and have devoted themselves to other occupations. The proportion of the latter is not great enough to support the claim that the Jewish colonists have proved unwilling or unfit to be land tillers. At the same time, the possibilities of profitable employment at commerce and handicrafts for local demand, as well as the demand of the surrounding rural communities, have been utilized by some of the colonists. The amount of available labor in a family seems to have been the decisive factor in the combination of agriculture with other pursuits, for of the families without any adult workers only 21.5 per cent pursue at the same time other occupations than farming; of the families with one worker, 35.3 per cent, and of the families with more than one worker, 47.6 per cent. With the growth of population and the consequent reduction of the available land supply per household, this tendency to pursue other occupations must inevitably grow. A comparative statement is possible for one county (uyezd), the county of Elisabetgrad, where a similar investigation was made some fifteen years earlier. The proportion of households employed at agriculture alone decreased from 65.9 per cent to 47.9 per cent, while the proportion of those who combined agricultural work with other pursuits increased from 24.8 per cent to 32.7 per cent, and the proportion of those who abandoned agriculture rose from 9.3 per cent to 19.4 per cent. These changes took place during the comparatively short period of fifteen years, from 1883-1885 to 1898-99. During the same period the population of the 3 colonies located in this "uyezd" increased more than 50 per cent, and the average supply of land per person decreased from 17.5 to 10.1 dessiatines (from 47.3 to 27.3 acres). In the neighboring Province of Yekaterinoslav 17 colonies were established within the decade 1845-1855 and under conditions very similar to those in Kherson. The allotment of land was the same, i. e., 30 dessiatines (81.1 acres), except for two colonies, where it was 35 dessiatines (94.6 acres) and 40 dessiatines (108.1 acres), respectively. The average amount of land per family in 1897 was 12.5 dessiatines (33.8 acres), or about the same as in the Province of Kherson. In addition to the 17,650 dessiatines (47,690 acres) owned, 7,814 dessiatines (21,113 acres) were rented. A detailed investigation was made in these colonies in 1890, when their condition was described as fairly satisfactory. At that time 749 households were found, of which 524, or 70 per cent, tilled their land by their own labor; 93, or 12.4 per cent, made use of hired labor in addition to their own; 77, or 10.3 per cent, relied upon hired labor exclusively; and only 55 families, or 7.3 per cent, did not occupy themselves with agriculture at all. Like the colonists of Kherson, those of Yekaterinoslav grow cereals, preferably wheat, rye, and barley, to the exclusion of everything else.

In the realization of its object of attracting the Jews toward agriculture the Government pursued two lines of activity. The one consisted in settling the Jews in the sparsely populated lands of New Russia, the other in encouraging voluntary settlement of Jews on state or on private lands. In the latter case the land was either bought or rented. Although the Jewish colonies were entitled to a subsidy at the time of settling in their new homes, the land was usually so poor and the success of the Jewish farmers often so indifferent that many of the colonists were forced to leave their colonies and return to the towns. Nevertheless, the investigation undertaken by the agents of the Jewish Colonization Society in 1899 proved the existence of 248 Jewish agricultural settlements, containing a population of 4,958 families, or 30,659 persons. But the land at the disposal of these families is limited to 36,265 dessiatines (97,988 acres), which gives an average of 7.3 dessiatines (19.7 acres) per family, or 1.2 dessiatines (3.2 acres) per person. How insufficient this area is for grain farming may be judged from the fact that the average plat owned by the Jewish colonist is considerably smaller than the corresponding plat of his peasant neighbor. Thus, in the six northwestern provinces the average amount of arable land per each male person of the peasant class was 2.25 dessiatines (6.1 acres), while

for the Jewish colonists the average was only 1.5 dessiatines (4.1 acres). In the four southwestern provinces of Volhynia, Kiev, Podolia, and Chernigov the comparative areas were 1.75 and 0.7 dessiatines (4.7 and 1.9 acres). This insufficiency of land was mainly due to the activity of various commissions which redistributed the state lands in use by the peasants in the middle of the seventies, and reduced the allotments of the Jewish farmers on the plea that the land was not tilled by the labor of the colonists themselves. More than 33,000 dessiatines (89,166 acres) were taken from the Jewish colonists, and their landholdings reduced by more than 50 per cent. The prohibition against Jews buying land in the nine western provinces, which dates back to 1864, and the laws of 1882, which prohibits the renting of lands by Jews, prevented any compensation for this loss by purchase or by rental.

Under these conditions successful agriculture was hardly to be expected. Only a very small proportion of the farmers is provided with a sufficient area of land, 42.1 per cent of the colonists having less than 2.5 dessiatines (6.8 acres), 39.9 per cent from 2.5 to 10 dessiatines (6.8 to 27 acres), and only 18 per cent more than 10 dessiatines (27 acres). Only a little more than one-half of the colonists actually plow their own land, and the average surface cultivated by a family is equal to 4 dessiatines (10.8 acres) in the northwestern provinces and only 2.5 dessiatines (6.8 acres) in the southwestern region. The methods and the implements, or rather their absence, are similar to those of the ignorant peasants of Lithuania or of White Russia, and practically all these "farmers" without land are forced to look to other fields for support. Thus only 13 per cent of the families devoted themselves entirely to agriculture. In addition to agriculture the handicrafts, commerce, and unskilled labor were the principal occupations of the colonists. The statement that if the families with less than 2.5 dessiatines (6.8 acres) be excluded three-fourths of the remaining families plow their land would seem to show that the utmost use is made of the land. Although the main colonies of Jewish land tillers are located in the Provinces of Kherson and Yekaterinoslav, numerous colonies, as well as individual land tillers, are scattered throughout the Jewish Pale, and even in Siberia may be found several villages inhabited by Jewish peasants. A few words may be added to show the condition of these peasants.

In Bessarabia 9 colonies were established between 1836 and 1853, 5 of them on bought lands and 4 on lands acquired by rentals that run from 25 to 50 years. At the expiration of the contracts it was impossible to renew them in 3 out of these 4 colonies, and only 6 colonies exist at the present time. In many details these Bessarabian colonies differ from those already described. The enforced removal of Jews from villages has crowded into the colonies many families in no way connected with agricultural pursuits, and this has given to the colonies the appearance of commercial towns. Out of 1,500 families only 536 own land, and their average landholdings are but 5.48 dessiatines (14.8 acres), which is a great deal less than the average holdings in Kherson, and also less than the average holdings of the peasants of this Province, 8.2 dessiatines (22.2 acres). On this land grain farming plays a small part, only 67 per cent of the land being under grain, the main cereal being maize. The colonies have a comparatively large grazing area, and several colonies keep large flocks of sheep for commercial purposes. Another distinctive feature of these colonies is a considerable development of various kinds of special crops, such as fruit, tobacco, and grapes. Not only in the colonies, but also in the Russian villages of the Province, do Jews occupy themselves with tobacco culture; in fact, almost all the tobacco growing in Bessarabia is done by Jews. The competition of the world's crop is gradually reducing the profits of this crop and is forcing the planters not provided with sufficient land for grain farming into viticulture. The results of this highly intensive crop are not very favorable, because of the primitive wine-making methods in use.

In Poland Jewish agriculture was encouraged mainly by grants of long periods of freedom from military service, and since that service, before the introduction of the new military system, lasted about twenty-five years the inducement was not inconsiderable. Though this privilege was withdrawn in 1864 many cases of settlement of Jews on farms occurred after that date, especially since the right of the Jew to acquire land remained unassailed in Poland longer than anywhere else in the Empire. Altogether 2,509 families of Jewish agriculturists, living either on separate farms or in small colonies, were found in Poland, who held about 15,000 dessiatines (40,503 acres), or about 6 dessiatines (16 acres) per family.

The results of these experiments furnish sufficient material for a judgment of the social worth of these efforts. In so far as the simple question of the fitness of the Russian Jew for an agricultural career is concerned it seems to have been proved beyond doubt. Within a period of less than fifty years thousands of families have established themselves in rural communities, and tilling the land has been usually their main and often their only occupation. If their economic position is usually precarious, the same is true of the Russian peasant in general. The Jewish peasant suffers from the same cause as his neighbor—namely, an insufficiency of land—but suffers to a still greater degree. Both till their land with antiquated methods and inefficient implements. Both apply methods of extensive agriculture to a plat of land, which, in view of its small dimensions, demands a highly intensive cultivation. It is small wonder that in either case grain farming should lead to economic distress. In addition to these obstacles the Jew has to contend with a great many difficulties of a legal nature, yet it is universally acknowledged that the physical effects of the fifty years of farming have had an excellent influence on the health and muscular development of the colonists. The Jew of Bessarabia, for instance, has none of the physical characteristics that are supposed to be so typical of the Lithuanian Jew. Had the first benevolent efforts of the Government toward the introduction of agriculture among the Jews been continued, agriculture might have become an important occupation of the Jews, especially in view of the many idealistic movements to return to the land which have sprung up several times during the last thirty years, and caused the organization of agricultural colonies of Russian Jews in many parts of the world.

TRUCK FARMING.

It is still the custom in Russia to think of grain farming only when speaking of farming, because of the very slight development of other specialized forms of farming, or to use the inaccurate Russian expression, the cultivation of commercial crops. Therefore the comparative popularity of these special branches of agriculture among Jews, which the official occupation statistics fail to indicate, is the more significant.

Through a private enumeration, which is far from being complete, the following figures were obtained.

Jews employed in special branches of agriculture, by regions and kind of farming, 1898.

Kind of farming.	Southern (new) Russia.	South-western provinces.	North-western provinces.	Poland.	Total.
Fruit growing.....	622	1,641	7,129	1,907	11,299
Tobacco culture.....	1,015	625	40	15	1,695
Viticulture.....	658	117	.....	5	780
Other special farming.....	27	36	.....	30	93
Total.....	2,322	2,419	7,169	1,957	13,867
Dairy farming.....	495	970	3,798	2,191	7,454
Apiculture.....	34	57	59	50	200
Total.....	2,851	3,446	11,026	4,198	21,521

In view of the many difficulties of acquiring land, these specialized branches of farming that require only limited areas and a great outlay of labor are most suitable for the Jews. Altogether the 13,867 farmers had at their disposal only 19,475 dessiatines (52,621 acres), which gives an average of 1.4 dessiatines (3.8 acres) per farmer, and the acquisition of even these small tracts of land was exceedingly difficult, as the May laws of 1882 prohibit the sale or lease of land outside of city limits to Jews. As a result 7,714 dessiatines (20,843 acres), or nearly two-fifths of the entire land of these special farms, are within the city limits, and of the remaining 11,761 dessiatines (31,778 acres) only 1,336 dessiatines (3,610 acres) are the property of the farmers. Some renting of land to Jews outside the city limits continues notwithstanding the strict laws prohibiting it, but the insecure position of the tenant, who is at the mercy of the landlord and without the protection of the law, can not have a very stimulating effect upon Jewish agriculture.

INDEPENDENT FARMING.

Besides Jewish labor, Jewish capital also has been applied to agricultural enterprises. Before the emancipation of the peasants there could have been no inducement for Jewish capital to enter the field of landowning, because the possession of serfs was the exclusive privilege of the nobility, and outside of the serfs there existed no supply of labor to enable the proprietor to cultivate his land. No sooner had the emancipation of the serfs been realized than the Polish insurrection caused the prohibition, in 1863, of land purchases by Jews within nine provinces of the west. Finally the laws of 1882 practically stopped further purchases and greatly reduced the cases of renting of land to Jews, since such tenancy, being unrecognized by law, became a very risky enterprise for the Jewish tenant.

Nevertheless considerable tracts of land are still owned or rented by Jews. The central statistical committee, the main official statistical office of the Russian Government, recently stated the area of land in Jewish hands to be as follows:

	Acres.
15 provinces of the Pale.....	3, 409, 916
10 Polish provinces.....	926, 913
Total in the Pale.....	4, 336, 829
All other European Russia.....	2, 014, 735
Caucasus.....	13, 705
Siberia.....	50, 671
Middle Asia.....	6, 744
Total in the Empire.....	6, 422, 684

Although this area is considerable, it is only a small part of the total area of the country. In the Pale, where Jewish occupancy of estates is most common, it does not exceed 1.5 per cent; and only in Poland, where the restrictions of Jewish land occupation are least stringent, does the proportion reach 2.5 per cent of the land area of more than 5 per cent of the land in private ownership, that is, the land not in the possession of the peasants. In Poland, of the land occupied by the Jews, 86 per cent is owned and 14 per cent is leased; in the remaining provinces of the Pale 32.5 per cent is owned and 67.5 per cent is leased. The difference is evidently to be explained by the differences of the legal conditions in the two regions, caused by the May laws of 1882. Some twenty years ago the central statistical committee published the results of a similar investigation for 12 provinces of the Pale. It is thus possible to make a comparison between Jewish land occupancy in 1881 (before the May laws) and in 1900, for these 12 provinces of the Pale. The provinces of Vilna, Minsk, Mohelev, and the 10 provinces of Poland are not included.

Jewish landholdings in 12 provinces of the Pale, 1900 compared with 1881, by tenure.

Tenure of farms.	Acres in 1881.	Acres in 1900.	Decrease.	
			Acres.	Per cent.
Owned.....	1, 847, 879	1, 022, 418	825, 461	44. 7
Rented.....	5, 400, 374	785, 523	4, 614, 851	85. 5
Total.....	7, 248, 253	1, 807, 941	5, 440, 312	75. 1

The Jewish Colonization Society made an independent investigation of these estates, which included 1,210,796 dessiatines (3,271,571 acres), or practically the entire area owned by Jews. The investigation showed that practically all of the land is in the hands of owners of large estates, and only a small part (less than 1.5 per cent) belonged to those persons owning a farm so small that the proprietor probably gave to it his labor as well as his capital and management.

The following table shows the number and area of farms owned by Jews in 12 provinces of the Pale, by size of farms:

Number and area of farms owned by Jews in 12 provinces of the Pale, by size of farms, 1898.

Size of farms.	Farms.		Area (acres).	Per cent of area.	Average size of farm (acres).
	Number.	Per cent.			
Under 54 acres.....	2,058	45.5	46,796	1.4	23
54 to 270 acres.....	821	18.2	118,183	3.6	144
Over 270 acres.....	1,642	36.3	3,106,592	95.0	1,892
Total.....	4,521	100.0	3,271,571	100.0	724

* * * * *

ARTISANS.

NUMBER OF WORKERS.

The natural difficulties of a removal of an urban people to the rural districts, in conjunction with the legal conditions, have been sufficient to keep the majority of the Jewish population of Russia in other than agricultural pursuits. This is clearly indicated by the occupation statistics of the census of 1897, quoted in a preceding section of this article.

But these figures must be read in the light of Russian economic conditions. When measured by the American standard the factory system in Russia is still in its infancy, and of the many thousands of Jews engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits (to use the familiar phrase of the United States census) the great majority are artisans or handicraftsmen.

Since the Russian census of 1897 does not draw this line, the material gathered by the Jewish Colonization Society remains the best and most up-to-date source of information—at least as far as the statistical study of this problem is concerned.

The agents and correspondents of this society registered 500,986 artisans, and, since the total number of Jews gainfully employed was found to be a little over 1,500,000, the artisans constituted at least one-third. As a matter of fact, however, it was practically impossible for a private statistical investigation to cover the entire Pale, and many artisans undoubtedly were omitted. It is stated that the 500,986 artisans constituted 13.2 per cent of the Jewish population of the localities investigated, and as persons gainfully employed equaled 30 per cent of the Jewish population it follows that the artisans included 44 per cent of the entire Jewish working population. It is not necessary to lay too much emphasis upon this high percentage, which considerably exceeds the percentage of all industrial workers as obtained from the census, because the deduction that a very great proportion of the Jews earn their livelihood by manual labor is beyond dispute. Undoubtedly this is a higher proportion of artisans than any other country shows. The Jewish artisans, however, supply the demand for industrial products not only of the Jewish population, but of the entire population of the Pale.

Nevertheless, the extreme poverty of the Jewish artisans, which will be illustrated by statistical data, and the large proportion of skilled laborers or artisans among the immigrants to this country betray the overcrowded condition of the trades within the Russian Pale. The condition of the clothing trade may be taken as an illustration. Very little factory-made clothing is used in Russia, and practically all the tailors in that country come under the class of artisans, which class, it is necessary to point out, has a legal entity in Russia. The census figures show that in a population of 42,338,567 within the Pale, 458,545 persons are occupied in the clothing trade, or 109 to each 10,000, while in the rest of the Russian Empire there were 700,320 persons in the trade in a population of 83,301,454, or only 84 per 10,000.

The overcrowding of the Pale with artisans, the insufficient number of such workmen in the rest of Russia, the extreme poverty of the Jewish artisans

caused by this overcrowding of the market, and, finally, the usefulness of the Jewish artisans and the desirability of their distribution influenced the Russian Government to raise the barriers of the Pale for some artisans. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century these were principally distillers of spirits, but in 1865 the right to live outside the Pale was extended to all Jewish artisans. The report of the minister of internal affairs accompanying the law of June 28 (July 10), 1865, states that according to the reports of the governors of the provinces of the Pale the extreme poverty of the artisans within the Pale is a result of the enforced overcrowding of that region with artisans; that the overcrowding is caused by the legal limitations of the Jew's right of domicile, and that not only the Jewish but non-Jewish artisans of the Pale suffer from this enforced overcrowding. The Jewish artisans, the minister said, are forced to cut the prices for orders, and the resulting competition affects all the artisans unfavorably. And yet the Jewish artisans were the most useful element among the Jews, and if it was found possible to grant the Jewish merchants the right to live in the interior of Russia, the artisans, it was argued, surely were worthy of the same privilege.

The law of 1865 was the result of these arguments. The natural question will be asked why the Jewish artisans have not overrun Russia, instead of flocking in such numbers to foreign lands, like the United States or the United Kingdom. The prospect of better earnings in foreign lands may serve as a partial explanation; but no less important is the extreme complexity of the law, and the subsequent amendments to it, which makes the legal position of a Jewish artisan in the interior of Russia very insecure. Thus a well-known text-book of special legislation relating to Jews devotes 40 pages to commentaries and decisions regarding the right of the Jewish artisans to live beyond the limits of the Pale. The Jewish artisan is obliged to obtain from the artisans' guild a certificate of proficiency in the trade chosen, which certificate is granted only after an examination; he is obliged to have a certificate from the local authorities, as to his record; in his new place of residence he is strictly bound to his special trade, and not only is he obliged to be actively engaged in his trade, but he is also strictly prohibited from working at anything outside of it. The closest supervision over the fulfillment of these requirements is kept up by the police, and the artisan is liable to summary expulsion from his new place of residence for any infringement of these regulations. He is not permitted to deal in any products not made in his shop; so that a watchmaker, for instance, can not sell any watches unless put together by him, and under no circumstances can he sell a watch chain or fob. Many artisans are forced to return to the Pale when too old to work at their trade, and the children when they reach maturity are required to leave for the Pale unless they have qualified for a trade. The total number of Jewish artisan shops in 15 of the most important provinces of the interior of Russia, according to an official investigation in 1893, was ascertained to be less than 2,000, and the total number of Jewish artisans outside the Pale was estimated at considerably less than 10,000.

The distribution of the artisans through the four main divisions of the Pale, as well as the distribution according to the main classes of occupations, are shown in the following table compiled from the report of the Jewish Colonization Society:

Number and per cent of Jewish artisans in each classified occupation in the four main divisions of the Pale, 1898.

Class of occupation	North-western Russia.	South-western Russia.	South-western (new) Russia.	Poland	Total	Per cent.
Clothing and wearing apparel.....	60,637	56,240	26,223	50,854	193,954	38.7
Leather goods.....	32,292	21,853	9,348	21,813	85,306	17.0
Food products.....	23,174	14,401	5,083	15,229	57,887	11.6
Wood manufactures.....	19,791	16,382	5,276	8,139	49,588	9.9
Metals.....	16,667	15,706	8,553	7,995	48,921	9.8
Chemicals.....	1,535	1,198	322	562	3,617	.7
Building and ceramics.....	14,754	8,007	3,411	5,418	31,590	6.3
Textiles.....	6,993	3,422	809	7,204	18,428	3.7
Paper and stationery.....	3,660	3,640	2,238	2,157	11,695	2.3
Total.....	179,503	140,849	61,263	119,371	500,986	100.0
Per cent of artisans of Jewish population.....	12.6	9.9	8.4	9.0	10.2	.....

When this table is compared with the table on page 284, giving the distribution of the Jewish population, the interesting fact is noticed that the larger the proportion of the Jewish population to the total population the larger is the proportion of artisans to the Jewish population. Thus, in northwestern Russia, where the Jews constitute 14.1 per cent of the total population, the proportion of artisans among the Jews is 12.6 per cent; in Poland the proportions are 14.1 per cent and 9 per cent; in southwestern Russia, 9.7 per cent and 9.9 per cent; in southern (new) Russia, 9 per cent and 8.4 per cent. It is only in Poland that this regularity of decrease is slightly disturbed, which may be due to the fact that the legal rights of the Jews in Poland are less limited than in the rest of the Pale. As a rule, however, a large proportion of Jews are forced into trades, because of the difficulty of earning a living in other walks of life, while their dispersion among other nationalities, especially those of a lower culture, stimulates them to adopt a commercial career. The same difference may be noticed in the United States, when the occupations of the Jews in New York City are compared with the occupations of Jews in the southern cities.

The classification of the artisans into nine main groups shows that the great majority of the Jewish artisans supply the immediate wants of the neighborhood, producing goods mainly for immediate consumption; thus, 38.7 per cent are occupied in the production of clothing and other wearing apparel and 17 per cent in the manufacture of leather goods, i. e., boots and shoes, gloves, and harness. Likewise the workers in the groups of food products, of wood manufactures, and even that of metal manufactures, produce for the immediate demands of the neighborhood, as do most of the artisans belonging to the group of building trades and the ceramic industry.

On the other hand, the last three or four groups include many trades in which a wider market for the products is necessary, and in these the artisan's trade loses the character of a neighborhood industry. In the class of chemical industry are included such trades as the makers of ink, shoe blacking, dyes, soap, candles, turpentine, and tar; the ceramic industry includes brick and tile makers; the textiles group consists of weavers, rope makers, and brush makers; the last group embraces the printing trades and the stationery trades.

Most of the trades enumerated do not manufacture to order only—do not employ the customer's material—and the artisan approaches more nearly the domestic industry, or even the small factory.

It is unfortunately impossible to determine from the data in hand what proportion of the 500,000 registered artisans are working for wages. The authors in the report from which most of the data have been obtained venture to take the proportion between master workmen, journeymen, and apprentices as a measure of the size of an average artisan's shop, evidently on the supposition that the former are usually independent artisans. But their own data frequently furnish convincing refutation of this hypothesis. For instance, in the case of the manufacture of agricultural machinery in the small town of Rakov we find 8 artisans' shops, which employ 23 master workmen, 37 journeymen, and 15 apprentices, or 75 persons, of whom only 8 are the proprietors. Nevertheless, the number of the journeymen is at least indicative of the number of wage-workers. Of the 500,986 artisans, 259,396 were masters, 140,528 were journeymen, and 101,062 were apprentices. The minimum number of wageworkers was, therefore, at least 241,590, or 48.2 per cent; in reality it was much greater. Besides the masters, who are forced to work for other masters, there must certainly be counted as wageworkers those persons who work for a middleman and use his material, as is shown to be the case with the knit-goods makers of Vilna.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE HAND TRADES.

The proverbial sanctity of the Jewish home has for many generations kept the Jewish woman out of industrial life. While it was not unusual for a Jewish woman of the middle class to continue the business after the death of her husband, or under other exceptional circumstances, the appearance of the Jewish girl or woman in the factory or even in the artisan's shop is comparatively recent. Of the 500,000 artisans, there were 76,548 women and girls, who were distributed as follows:

Jewish female artisans compared with total Jewish artisans, by regions, 1898.

Region.	Total artisans.	Female artisans.	
		Number.	Per cent of total artisans.
Northwestern Russia.....	179,503	31,800	17.7
Southwestern Russia.....	140,849	21,233	15.1
Southern (new) Russia.....	61,263	8,581	14.0
Poland.....	119,371	14,934	12.5
Total.....	500,986	76,548	15.3

The difference in the percentages which women constitute of the entire class of artisans in various sections of the Pale is significant, in view of the greater poverty and greater overcrowding of the Jews in the northwestern provinces.

The limitations of a private investigation did not permit a detailed inquiry into the ages of the workers, but the organization of the artisan guild indirectly furnishes information in regard to the extension of child labor. The Russian artisan guild, like the medieval prototype, recognizes three grades—the master workman, the journeyman, and the apprentice—the latter being invariably a minor and usually under 14 years of age at the beginning of apprenticeship. Thus the number of apprentices gives the number of children employed.

Altogether there were 101,062 apprentices, of whom 79,169 were boys and 21,893 were girls. For the entire Pale the proportion was as follows: Men, 68.9 per cent; women, 10.9 per cent; boys, 15.8 per cent; girls, 4.4 per cent. The number and per cent of men, women, boys, and girls employed in the trades in the four different regions of the Pale are shown in the following table:

Number and per cent of Jewish men, women, boys, and girls engaged in the trades in each region of the Pale, 1898.

Class.	Northwestern Russia.		Southwestern Russia.		Southern (new) Russia.		Poland.		Total in Pale.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Men.....	119,481	66.6	99,858	70.9	42,310	69.1	83,620	70.1	345,269	68.9
Women....	21,990	12.2	16,120	11.5	6,010	9.8	10,535	8.8	54,655	10.9
Boys.....	28,222	15.7	19,758	14.0	10,372	16.9	20,817	17.4	79,169	15.8
Girls.....	9,810	5.5	5,113	3.6	2,571	4.2	4,399	3.7	21,893	4.4
Total..	179,503	100.0	140,849	100.0	61,263	100.0	119,371	100.0	500,986	100.0

Here also northwestern Russia makes the poorest showing, having the largest proportion of women and girls, and the number of men falls to two-thirds of the entire number of artisans.

As one might expect, the greater number of the females are found in a limited number of trades. Thus, 49,950 of them are employed as dressmakers and seamstresses (two-thirds of the total number employed), 4,014 are milliners, 5,700 are knit-goods makers, and 1,700 are cigarette makers. These trades comprise over 80 per cent of the total number of females employed.

MARKETING OF THE PRODUCTS.

Although the enumeration of the various trades is in itself sufficient to show that the typical method of the medieval artisan of producing to the order of the individual consumer is not the only method used by the Jewish artisans, a study of the various methods of marketing these products confirms the induction that the artisan is developing into a petty manufacturer. The prohibition of living in the village forces the Jewish artisan—the tailor or the shoe-

maker—to seek his natural and most important customer, the peasant, in a more indirect way. This he does by visiting the many fairs frequented by the peasant; but this method of conducting a business has the serious drawback that it consumes a great deal of the artisan's time. Because of this a class of middlemen has naturally grown up who give large orders. By means of these middlemen the range of the market has gradually extended, so that it is not unusual to find artisans who work for these intermediaries exclusively. The small city of Radom, in Poland, sends out annually shoes to the value of about 1,000,000 rubles (\$515,000); in Vitebsk the tailors work mainly for the dealers in ready-made clothing, a trade condition that approaches the system of contracting which is so familiar to students of economic conditions in New York City; in Dubrovna, a small town of the Province of Mohelev, a large proportion of the population is specialized in weaving "taleisim," peculiar towel-like cloths used for religious purposes, and here about 500 artisans are completely dependent upon three or four middlemen, who buy the entire product of the industry and find a market for it throughout the Pale. Usually many members of the family work at the same trade, which combines all the objectionable features of the sweat-shop and the domestic-factory system. The causes of the growth of the system are the same in the Pale as those which have brought about the development of the domestic system, and later the factory, in many industrial countries, namely, the lack of capital, the impossibility of borrowing, except at usurious rates of interest, and, in addition, the strong competition in many trades of factory-made goods. The poor "independent" artisan often has not the money to buy even the material for a small private order, to say nothing of buying the necessary machinery that has gradually forced its way into the hand trades.

A characteristic instance of this is found in the knitting industry in the city and Province of Vilna. From 1,000 to 2,000 women in the Province are employed in this industry. A very small proportion of them work in factories that are provided with steam power, because the majority of the manufacturers (for the middlemen in this instance are middlemen in name only) prefer not to have the expense of rent and supervision, especially since factory inspection and all labor legislation do not apply to the artisan shops and to domestic industry. These manufacturers, therefore, buy the knitting machines, place them in the homes of the workingwomen, supply the necessary yarn, and pay the women piecework wages. Surely, there is very little of the independent artisan left under such an arrangement of an industry.

With the growth of the market several cities are specializing in one line of trade or other. In the small Polish town of Bresin a large number of tailors work for dealers in ready-made clothing, who visit the town several times a year, coming from all over the south. Several towns of the Polish Province of Siedlec have specialized in brush making. In the Province of Grodno shoe and boot making is the principal occupation of a large part of the Jewish population. In several towns of the Province of Vitebsk the production of agricultural machinery has grown rapidly within the last few years. These artisans' shops, which employ a considerable number of hired laborers, differ little from factories.

CONDITIONS OF WORK.

The artisan's home is the artisan's shop. And while sentimentalists may consider it one of the advantages of the artisan's work, because of its tendency to preserve the home, in reality it is one of the greatest drawbacks in the life of the artisan's family. It is not the function of the home to be the workshop, and the combination is specially harmful where the homes are as small, crowded, and poverty stricken as are the majority of Jewish homes within the Pale. The following is a fair description by a Russian writer of the condition of the Jewish artisans' homes in one of the largest towns of the Jewish Pale, the city of Mohelev, which has a population of about 50,000 and is the capital of the province of the same name:

"The homes of the artisans are small and crowded. But no matter how small and crowded, tenants are often admitted, and there is seldom more than one room for a family. The room serves as kitchen, living and sleeping room, and workshop. And it is not unusual for a tailor to rent the same room for school purposes, so that instruction is served to a small class of private pupils in the same room where the tailor works with his apprentice; the tailor's wife cooks the food and washes the clothes, and the tailor's prolific family mingles

its joyful noise with the monotonous chanting of the Hebrew teacher and the scholars." ^a

It is impossible to expect any regulation of the working-day under conditions such as described above. The independent artisan who works on his own account is only too happy to have any work to do and, unless idle for lack of orders, works as long as it is possible to work. Still worse is (or was until the very recent epidemic of strikes changed conditions considerably) the situation in the larger artisans' shops, which are virtually sweatshops of the worst order. The factory legislation is not applicable to such industrial establishments; the workmen or working women live, eat, and sleep in the work-room and, being under constant supervision, the only limitation upon the working-day is the generosity of the proprietor of the shop. During the busy season the girls in the dressmaking establishments may work from 6 o'clock in the morning until 12 midnight. In Mohelev "the normal working-day of the seamstresses lasts 12 hours, while during the winters it may be prolonged to 14, 16, and even 18 hours."

The organization of the Jewish workmen dates from the end of the last century, and the strikes that followed showed immediate improvement in the condition of the factory workers as well as of the artisans.

In Vitebsk the working-day of all the Jewish artisans, which had been from 13 to 18 hours, was in 1898 reduced to 10 to 12 hours. In Homel the reduction was as great, the 16 to 17 hour working-day of the tailors being reduced to 14 to 15 hours net; of the joiners, from 17 hours to 13 to 14 hours net; of the locksmiths, from 16 hours to 14 hours net; of the shoemakers, from 18 hours to 15 hours net; of the dressmakers, from 16 hours to 13 to 14 hours net.

These long working hours have been until recently a feature of all Russian industry and, as a rule, the hours of work in the artisans' shops which do not come under the provisions of the factory legislation are invariably longer, but, in view of the great changes in the political as well as the economic life of Russia which are taking place at present, it is difficult to say what the average working-day is. Undoubtedly many factories and many more artisans' shops in the interior of the country still keep up a very long day of 13 to 15 hours, yet the work day of 10 and even 9 hours has been introduced in many establishments in St. Petersburg and in Moscow. There is no information of such shortening of the labor day in the industrial centers of the Pale, but even in that section the actual working-day varies greatly.

The following illustrations of successful reductions of the hours of labor for the years 1903 and 1904 by means of strikes have been gleaned from the *Letze Nachrichten*, the official organ of the "Universal Union of the Jewish Workmen in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia," and published until recently in Switzerland. During the last two or three years the extraordinary political activity of this organization has forced it to neglect its economic activity.

In Lodz, the Manchester of Russian Poland, the bakers, in the summer of 1903, struck for the reduction of hours of labor from 15 to 13 and were successful.^b In the small town of Prilooki, in the Province of Poltava, the workmen of the local tobacco factory succeeded in August, 1903, in having the hours of labor reduced from 13 to 10½.^c During the same month the locksmiths of Vitebsk, the capital city of the province of the same name, had their hours reduced from 13 to 12.^d In Radomysl, Province of Kiev, the tailors, as a result of a strike which lasted one day and a half, had the working-day of from 17 to 18 hours reduced to 14 hours.^e

These few quoted instances show that the Jewish workmen, even in the small establishments of the artisans, are fully alive to the gravity of an abnormally long working-day and are persistently striving to shorten it.

WAGES AND EARNINGS.

In the absence of systematic wage statistics in Russia it is futile to try to determine the average wages of the artisans' employees. Still more difficult is it to speak with any degree of accuracy of the average earnings of the

^a See *Die Organisationen des Jüdischen Proletariats in Russland*, von Sara Rabinowitsch. Karlsruhe, 1903.

^b *Letze Nachrichten*, No. 139.

^c *Letze Nachrichten*, No. 144.

^d *Letze Nachrichten*, No. 146.

^e *Letze Nachrichten*, No. 185.

army of small independent artisans, since these earnings must of necessity be subject to great variations, both of place and time and from one artisan to another. Nevertheless, the usual estimates furnished by local correspondents well acquainted with local conditions are of some value. From some reports a number of such estimates were gathered, and these estimates are presented in the following tabular statement:

Earnings of Jewish artisans, by localities and by occupations, 1898.

Locality.	Occupation.	Earnings per annum.
Lithuania:		
Vilna (town of Vilna).....	Knit-goods operatives (women).....	a \$1.29 to \$1.80
Do.....	Knit-goods operatives (men).....	38.63 to 51.50
Do.....	Knit-goods operatives (men, high)....	128.75 to 154.50
Kovno (town of Kovno).....	Shoemakers (high).....	206.00 to 257.50
Grodno (town of Grodno).....	Shoemakers.....	154.50 to 206.00
Do.....	Shoemakers (average).....	77.25 to 103.00
Do.....	Tailors.....	77.25 to 257.50
White Russia:		
Minsk (town of Minsk).....	Knit-goods operatives (women).....	38.63 to 51.50
Minsk (town of Slostsk).....	Shoemakers.....	a 1.55 to 3.09
Vitebsk (town of Vitebsk).....	Blacksmiths.....	a 2.58 to 3.09
Do.....	Carpenters.....	a 2.06 to 2.58
Do.....	Potters.....	185.40
Southwestern Russia:		
Volhynia (35 localities).....	Tailors.....	61.80 to 103.00
Volhynia (26 localities).....	do.....	103.00 to 154.50
Kiev (17 localities).....	do.....	77.25 to 103.00
Kiev (34 localities).....	do.....	115.88 to 154.50
Kiev (9 localities).....	do.....	180.25 to 206.00
Kiev (7 localities).....	do.....	257.50 to 309.00
Podolia (42 localities).....	do.....	51.50 to 103.00
Podolia (32 localities).....	do.....	103.00 to 154.50
Poltava (17 localities).....	do.....	92.70 to 154.50
Poltava (5 localities).....	do.....	180.25 to 257.50
Volhynia (12 localities).....	Shoemakers.....	51.50
Do.....	do.....	51.50 to 77.25
Volhynia (13 localities).....	do.....	77.25 to 103.00
Volhynia (25 localities).....	do.....	103.00 to 154.50
Kiev (24 localities).....	do.....	77.25 to 103.00
Kiev (31 localities).....	do.....	103.00 to 154.50
Kiev (8 localities).....	do.....	180.25 to 257.50
Podolia (16 localities).....	do.....	77.25
Podolia (21 localities).....	do.....	77.25 to 103.00
Podolia (24 localities).....	do.....	118.45 to 154.50
Kiev (31 localities).....	Carpenters.....	103.00 to 154.50
Kiev (9 localities).....	do.....	128.75 to 257.50
Volhynia (35 localities).....	do.....	77.25 to 103.00
Volhynia (12 localities).....	do.....	115.88 to 154.50
Volhynia (7 localities).....	do.....	38.63 to 90.13
Podolia (16 localities).....	do.....	51.50 to 77.25
Podolia (22 localities).....	do.....	84.98 to 103.00
Podolia (20 localities).....	do.....	128.75 to 154.50
Volhynia (13 localities).....	Seamstresses.....	12.88 to 25.75
Volhynia (20 localities).....	do.....	25.75 to 51.50
Volhynia (13 localities).....	do.....	61.80 to 103.00
Kiev (33 localities).....	do.....	25.75 to 51.50
Kiev (18 localities).....	do.....	61.80 to 103.00
Podolia (52 localities).....	do.....	15.45 to 51.50
Podolia (16 localities).....	do.....	64.38 to 103.00
Poland:		
Thirty-three per cent of the localities.....	Tailors and dressmakers.....	Under 128.75
Forty-seven per cent of the localities.....	do.....	128.75 to 154.50
Twenty per cent of the localities.....	do.....	154.50 or over.
Fifty-two per cent of the localities.....	Shoemakers.....	Under 128.75
Thirty-three per cent of the localities.....	do.....	128.75 to 154.50
Fifteen per cent of the localities.....	do.....	154.50 or over.
Town of Lodz.....	Brush makers.....	103.00 to 206.00
Do.....	Weavers (at home).....	a 3.09 to 3.61
Small towns.....	Lace makers (girls).....	23.18 or over.
South Russia:		
Fifty-four localities.....	Tailors.....	128.75 to 206.00
Fourteen localities.....	do.....	206.00 or over.
Fifty-five per cent of all localities.....	Seamstresses.....	51.50 to 206.00
Forty-five per cent of all localities.....	do.....	Under 51.50

a Per week.

These money earnings must not be judged from the standpoint of American prices and the purchasing value of the dollar in the United States, for while the ruble is the equivalent of only 51.5 cents, yet its purchasing value in the majority of the cities of the Pale, with the exception of large cities like Odessa and Warsaw, is about equal to that of the American dollar. Even with this qualification, the earnings of the majority of the artisans are very small, and in view of the determination of the normal Jewish family's budget in a small town as 300 rubles (\$154.50), a vast number of these artisans seem to have considerable difficulty in earning the necessary minimum.

The following table, compiled by the Jewish Colonization Society in its report on the economic condition of the Jews in Russia, gives the earnings of a number of Jewish artisans in the cities of southern Russia:

Jewish artisans reported in the cities of southern Russia receiving each classified amount of annual earnings, 1898.

Annual earnings.	Number of artisans reported in cities having a population of—			Total artisans reported.	
	Under 10,000.	10,000 to 50,000.	50,000 or over.	Number.	Per cent.
\$51.50 or under.....	57	44	.....	101	6.9
\$52.02 to \$128.75.....	379	199	32	610	41.6
\$129.27 to \$206.00.....	176	217	74	467	31.9
\$206.52 to \$283.25.....	57	62	32	151	10.3
\$283.77 to \$360.50.....	12	50	25	87	6.0
\$361.02 to \$437.75.....	.....	10	11	21	1.4
\$438.27 to \$515.00.....	.....	5	13	18	1.2
\$515.52 or over.....	.....	7	3	10	.7

The earnings of the artisans in the southern cities are evidently much higher than in the northwest, and in the larger cities reach a level practically unknown in Lithuania or in White Russia. These data are a sufficient explanation of the movement of the Jews southward, as well as of the absence of any perceptible Jewish emigration from the southern provinces until it was stimulated by other than normal economic causes, namely the anti-Jewish riots.

ORGANIZATIONS OF ARTISANS.

The tendency toward improving the condition of work of the journeymen has been illustrated above. Some information of the Jewish labor movement of the last few years has reached the American press. This broad labor movement under the auspices of the powerful "Universal Union of Jewish Workmen in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia" (the so-called "Bund"), which primarily directs its efforts toward the organization of the factory workers, will be discussed fully in another section of this article. Very little is known outside of the Pale of a peculiarly Jewish organization among the artisans and their employees, which antedated the "Bund" by many decades and must have prepared the way for the broader movement which was to follow. This organization is the so-called "khevera," a word of Hebrew origin, meaning a company, an association.

To a certain extent the "khevera" as it exists to-day is analogous to the artisans' guilds and journeymen's guilds of the Middle Ages in western Europe. Its origin, however, must be sought in the rites of the Jewish religion. Various Hebrew religious functions must be observed in common. In fact, the prayers on certain occasions must be held in the presence of at least ten adults of the Jewish faith. Again, the main accessory of the Hebrew devotional exercises—the "thora" (the Old Testament, written in Hebrew on a long roll of parchment)—is too expensive to be in the possession of any but the richest citizens of the community. Thus, organizations for the express purpose of praying and of owning a "thora" sprung up; and it was easy for these organizations to develop along trade lines, because of the natural leaning of people of the same occupations toward each other. Gradually charitable functions were added to the religious ones; but in the beginning even the charitable acts had a religious basis, such as the execution of the various ceremonies connected with the bury-

ing of the dead members of the "khevra." The members of the "khevra" must not only accompany the body of the dead to its last resting place, but must also assemble daily during the entire month to say the customary prayers. More important from the social-economic point of view is the obligation to stay, in regular turn, with a sick "brother" throughout the night if necessary.

The transition from this service to a sick benefit fund is natural. To make such financial assistance possible, a small entrance fee and still smaller dues are provided, the first being often as small as 1 ruble (51.5 cents) and the latter only 4 or 5 copecks (2 or 2½ cents) or less per week. If this moderate income still leaves a surplus it may be used in granting the members small loans without any interest. This tendency toward mutual assistance leads to a strong bond among the members of the "khevra" and teaches them the advantages of cooperative activity along broader lines. This depends upon the constituency of the organization. The original "khevra" consisted exclusively or primarily of independent master workmen. This is still true of "khevrans" in those industries where the average shop is small and the majority of the artisans employ few or no wageworkers. The few journeymen join the organization and do not of themselves represent any considerable force in it; but as the number of workmen grows, a feeling of dissatisfaction with the management of the "khevra" arises. In the original "khevra" the democratic spirit is manifested by trusting the election of the officers to lot, and thus in a mixed "khevra," i. e., one where both masters and employees are found among the members, the officers may be exclusively given to the employers, which causes the formation of distinct parties in the "khevra." One solution of the difficulty is the breaking up of the "khevra" into two branches—one composed of the employers and the other of the employees. Or again, where the number of the employees is proportionately large and the employers approach the small capitalist, the latter may lose all interest in the "khevra" and it becomes a purely labor organization.⁶

Such development has been noticed in the city of Mohelev, the only town where the "khevrans" have been carefully studied. In that city were found single "khevrans" of independent artisans in the following trades: Shoemakers (from 50 to 60 members); jewelers and watchmakers; and tin, roof, and lock-smiths (about 30 members). Double "khevrans," i. e., separate organizations of the masters and the employees, were found in the trades of the ladies' tailors, carpenters, dyers, and stove builders. The "khevra" of the ladies' tailors' employees is one of the oldest and strongest. It included over 70 workmen and was able not only to conduct a comparatively extensive benevolent activity, but also to influence, to some extent, the condition of labor. Thus, it has put an end to a customary irregularity of payment of wages, has forced wages upward, and has even carried through the principle of the closed shop, in fact if not in name, since only the members of this "khevra" are entitled to employment by the tailors. This "khevra" is open to all workmen above the age of 18 years, but the entrance fee is 10 rubles (\$5.15).

These social tendencies manifest themselves eloquently among the mass of the Jewish workmen even in this country. The large number of Jewish "khevrans," lodges, clubs, fraternities, brotherhoods, and other organizations—frequently under American names and with the introduction of various rites—that are pursuing partly religious and partly charitable purposes, and often possessing national organizations, are in reality only an outgrowth of the primitive "khevrans." It was in this habit of organization that the labor-union propaganda found such fertile soil among the mass of the Jewish workmen in New York City.

UNSKILLED LABORERS.

It has been observed that the Russian Jewish immigrant in the United States takes very unwillingly to unskilled labor. Thus in New York City of the total foreign population (foreign-born and native-born of foreign parentage) 10 per cent are common laborers, while of the Russians only 2.4 per cent are so reported. Similarly in Russia the Jew who finds it impossible to earn a living in commerce chooses some skilled trade. Aside from the low social position of the unskilled laborer, the reasons for this disinclination to enter that field of work are to be found in the inferior physique of the underfed

⁶ Die Organisationen des Jüdischen Proletariats in Russland, von Sara Rabinowitsch. Karlsruhe, 1903.

city-bred Jew. The Jew in southern Russia more frequently lives in the country, is generally of a much more powerful physique, and takes more readily to unskilled or (according to the Russian terminology) "black" labor. Another reason is found in the unlimited supply of unskilled labor furnished by the Russian peasant, especially in northwestern Russia. In the provinces of southern (new) Russia, which are more sparsely settled and often suffer from scarcity of labor, the wages of agricultural labor are higher and the Jew, both of the city and the country, is more often drawn to it.

The data in regard to unskilled Jewish labor are not very satisfactory. No data at all could be obtained in regard to the five large cities of Lodz, Odessa, Kiev, Kovno, and Mohelev. Outside of these five cities the number of unskilled laborers was 97,900, so that the total number was certainly considerably over 100,000. In this number are included many kinds of work which in this country are not classified with unskilled labor, as is shown in the following table:

Number of Jewish unskilled laborers in the four principal divisions of the Pale (not including the cities of Lodz, Odessa, Kiev, Kovno, and Mohelev), by occupations, 1898.

Occupations.	Poland.	North-western Russia.	South-western Russia.	Southern (new) Russia.	Total.
Agricultural laborers.....	882	3,814	5,824	2,381	12,901
Cabmen.....	2,884	4,981	3,520	1,875	13,260
Diggers and stone breakers.....	681	1,379	550	376	2,986
Longshoremen and carriers.....	7,670	7,349	8,044	9,465	32,528
Lumbermen.....	411	2,263	590	1,022	4,286
Raftsmen.....	161	1,975	141	836	3,113
Ragpickers.....	1,155	1,988	1,034	124	4,301
Teamsters.....	3,327	5,916	2,919	6,657	18,819
Water carriers.....	1,404	1,054	1,844	1,076	5,378
Not specified.....	31	111	132	54	328
Total.....	18,606	30,830	24,598	23,866	97,900

Altogether, these occupations employ about 2 per cent of the total Jewish population (equivalent to about 7 per cent of the Jews gainfully employed). For reasons indicated above, the percentage rises to 3.3 per cent in southern Russia (or about 10 per cent of those employed) and falls to 1.4 per cent in Poland (4.2 per cent of those employed). This high proportion is due to the inclusion among the unskilled workers of workmen in trades of a more or less skilled nature, such as lumbermen, teamsters, and agricultural laborers.

The data of the preceding table are mainly interesting as showing that the hardest forms of physical labor are not unfamiliar to the Russian Jews. While some of the occupations are not familiar in this country, such as a water carrier or a ragpicker, comparatively few Jews remain in the other employments above enumerated when they migrate to this country or to England, because they come in competition with workers of other nationalities who are more fit for heavy work in the open air. It is probable that under the influence of economic distress the number of the Jews in these occupations in Russia is increasing, since the turning of city-bred men and women to hired agricultural labor is a very unusual economic phenomenon. It is also probable that the number of Jewish agricultural laborers would have been considerably greater had it not been for the laws of 1882, which preclude the possibility of the Jew wandering very far in quest of such labor, because he has no right to live in the rural districts.

The average daily wage of an agricultural laborer varies considerably from locality to locality and from one season to the other, being highest in the provinces of southern Russia, where it varies from 50 kopecks (25.8 cents) during sowing time to 1.50 rubles (77 cents) during harvest; and lowest in northwestern Russia, where the wages are 25 kopecks and 50 kopecks (12.9 and 25.8 cents). These wages are not supplemented with board, and if board is supplied, the wages are somewhat lower. The standard of living of an agricultural laborer in Russia may easily be judged from the fact that the cost of subsistence is officially estimated at from 45 to 50 rubles (\$23.18 to \$25.75) per annum, which equals about 6 cents per day. The regular daily

ration of an agricultural laborer consists of about 4 pounds of bread, which is sometimes supplemented with a cucumber or a few onions. In the provinces of southern Russia there is often a perceptible shortage of agricultural labor during harvest time. Nevertheless the same restrictions against the Jew furnishing his labor at this time remain in force, which causes the scale of wages to rise, for a short time at least, much above the given limits.

For obvious reasons the number of longshoremen and carriers shown in the table is greatest in southern Russia, and if the data for Odessa had been obtained the number would have been much greater, for many of the Jewish cities, especially Odessa and Nikolaiev, are important ports and conduct a great exporting trade in grain.

Speaking of these laborers a Russian investigator of the conditions in Odessa says:^a

"From their external appearance it is difficult to guess at their nationality, so strong, rough, and muscular do they look. Their wages, besides being very low, rarely more than 50 kopecks (25.8 cents) for a whole day's work, are seldom regular, their employment almost accidental, and the large numbers of these laborers anxiously waiting for an opportunity to earn a few kopecks, and crowding the so-called market (or the open public ground) is one of the most distressing pictures of each and every Russian-Jewish town."

The draymen's occupation was very popular among the Jews of the north-western provinces before the railroads were built, and in the smaller towns of the Pale, especially in the northwest and in Poland, it is still exclusively in the hands of the Jews. An official investigation of the 15 provinces of the Pale (exclusive of the 10 Polish provinces) made in 1887 determined the number of cabmen and teamsters at 18,532, and, according to the above table, the number had grown to 25,868 in 1898-99, and yet this increase of 39.6 per cent within the short period of eleven years did not come because of exceptional prosperity in that occupation. The development of the railway system in western Russia has curtailed the old form of transportation of passengers and to some extent of the freight among the towns of the Pale, which was a profitable business at one time. The rapid construction of electric tram lines in most of the larger cities of the Pale has had a similar effect upon the business of the city cabmen, who, before the advent of the electric lines, controlled the only mode of intraurban transportation. There are still many towns in the Pale not connected by any railroad line, but most of them have lost their commercial importance, and the income of the old teamster, with his large, ugly, and dilapidated wagon, not unlike that used by the American pioneer in his migrations westward, has also fallen considerably. In the large towns the new methods of transporting goods have developed, but in the development of the business the independence of the teamsters has been destroyed. Whether they get a stipulated wage, as do the cabmen in Warsaw, of board and 1 ruble (51.5 cents) a week, or are given a fixed percentage of their daily earnings, or get the residue after a certain minimum has been earned for their employer (as in Odessa), their incomes are invariably smaller than under the old system. The average daily income of a teamster who does not possess his own team has been estimated at from 75 kopecks to 1.5 rubles (38.6 to 77.3 cents), while the teamster or cabman who is the owner of his outfit may earn even from 2 to 2½ rubles (\$1.03 to \$1.29).

A very peculiar occupation, which is rapidly vanishing in the larger cities of the Pale, but which will probably remain for a long time in the middle-sized towns, is that of the water carrier. Ten or twelve years ago even the larger cities of the Pale, such as the seats of the provincial governments, had no other provision for water supply than the river flowing by in the vicinity, and the distribution of water over the entire city was done in a very primitive manner. Often the water carrier did not possess even a horse and wagon and a barrel. This primitive method is still in use in the smaller towns, where the poverty of the people precludes the possibility of constructing a system of waterworks. A water carrier, even though he works incessantly, can not clear much more than 50 kopecks (25.8 cents) a day.

Another specifically Russian occupation is that of the drivers of the sanitary wagons which, in most of the smaller Russian towns, serve as a substitute for a system of sewerage and drainage. Probably because of the objectionable character of the work the daily income of the drivers of these wagons ranges from 80 kopecks to 1½ rubles (41.2 to 77.3 cents).

^a See V Cherte Evreiskoy Osedlosti (within the Jewish Pale), by A. P. Subbotin. St. Petersburg, 1888. Vol. II, p. 228.

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.

JEWISH BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY.

The emancipation of the serfs in 1863 gave to Russia an abundant supply of free labor, which naturally gravitated into the cities, and thus the industrial history of Russia since that time presents a growth of manufactures on a larger scale than was ever before known in that country. In western Russia the growth was most rapid, because the economic condition of the masses of Jews inhabiting the cities of the Pale was especially favorable to the growth of industries. Both Jewish commerce and Jewish hand trades had rapidly become less profitable; therefore Jewish capital and Jewish labor were attracted toward manufacturing. The following data for the two periods 1889 and 1897, separated only by the short period of nine years, illustrate the rapid growth of the industry in the Pale:

Number of manufacturing plants and employees and value of products, by regions, 1889 and 1897.

[From official data published by the Russian ministry of finance.]

Region and year.	Mills and factories.	Employees.	Value of products.
Northwestern Russia:			
1889	1,337	20,080	\$11,466,475
1897	1,962	39,802	26,461,730
Southwestern Russia:			
1889	1,711	a 19,727	26,824,290
1897	2,596	42,613	38,599,250
Southern (new) Russia:			
1889	1,084	25,319	30,382,425
1897	2,562	99,170	119,228,165
The Pale (not including Poland):			
1889	4,132	a 65,126	68,673,190
1897	7,120	181,585	184,289,145
Per cent of increase	72.3	a 150.8	168.4

a Not including employees in the Province of Kiev. In 1897 the number of employees in that Province was 18,270, which number was deducted from the total in calculating the per cent of increase.

The greatest growth of industrial activity according to these official data is found in southern Russia, which is accounted for by the rich mineral deposits in that region. The northwestern provinces are very poor in such deposits, and there the condition of the labor market was probably the greatest stimulus to the growth of the industry and next to it were the efforts of Jewish enterprise. These considerations explain, for instance, why one of the greatest of the Russian tobacco factories grew up in a small and insignificant town like Grodno and why Bialystok, near Grodno, became a great textile center.

But this manufacturing industry is not all the result of Jewish enterprise. In fact, the proportion of Jewish capitalists is not so great as the number of Jews would lead one to expect.

In the first of the following tables, taken from the report of the St. Petersburg Jewish Colonization Society, is shown the number of factories in three regions of the Pale and the number and per cent of such factories operated by Jews; also the number of employees in all factories, the number and per cent of employees in Jewish factories, and the average number in each factory classed as non-Jewish and Jewish. The value of products manufactured by all the factories and the value and per cent of the products manufactured by Jewish factories are also given in the second table, as well as the average value by non-Jewish and by Jewish factories. A study of the figures reveals the fact that, although in northwestern Russia the Jews controlled 51 per cent of all the factories and had 58.3 per cent of the total number of employees, the value of the products manufactured was only 47.6 per cent of the total. In the 15 Provinces the Jews had 37.8 per cent of the factories, employed only 27 per cent of the workmen, and the value of products manufactured in Jewish factories was but 22.5 per cent of the total value of manufactured products. The averages

perhaps indicate more clearly the smaller relative productiveness of Jewish factories as compared with non-Jewish factories. The tables show that, while the average number of employees in each Jewish factory was considerably over one-half of the average number in each non-Jewish factory, the average value of the manufactured products was less than one-half of that of the non-Jewish factory. This discrepancy is fully explained, however, by the fact that among the Jewish factories there is a larger percentage unprovided with any mechanical power.

Number of Jewish factories and employees compared with total factories and employees in three specified regions of the Pale, 1898.

Region.	Factories.			Employees.				
	Total.	Jewish.		Total.	In Jewish factories.		Average.	
		Number.	Per cent of total.		Number.	Per cent of total.	In non-Jewish factories.	In Jewish factories.
Northwestern Russia.....	2,749	1,402	51.0	51,659	30,105	58.3	16.0	21.5
Southwestern Russia.....	3,374	1,143	33.9	108,769	28,142	25.9	36.1	24.6
Southern (new) Russia.....	1,627	388	23.8	74,775	5,262	7.0	56.1	13.6
Total.....	7,750	2,933	37.8	235,203	63,509	27.0	35.6	21.7

Value of products manufactured in Jewish factories compared with total value of manufactured products in three specified regions of the Pale, 1898.

[From Report of Jewish Colonization Society.]

Region.	Value of products manufactured.				
	Total.	In Jewish factories.		Average.	
		Total.	Per cent of total.	In non-Jewish factories.	In Jewish factories.
Northwestern Russia.....	\$32,403,028	\$15,430,894	47.6	\$12,600	\$11,006
Southwestern Russia.....	82,106,141	22,114,049	26.9	26,890	19,347
Southern (new) Russia.....	94,039,309	9,414,560	10.0	68,301	24,264
Total.....	208,548,478	46,959,503	22.5	33,546	16,011

Although in Russia there are no statistics of distribution of wealth and no income statistics, it is still possible to draw the conclusion that, notwithstanding the existence of a few wealthy Jewish manufacturers in northwestern Russia and in southern Russia, the average Jewish manufacturer commands a much smaller capital than does his non-Jewish competitor and that the average Jewish factory is in reality a very small establishment.

Besides the lack of Jewish capital there are undoubtedly other factors of a legal nature which keep the Jews from establishing large industrial enterprises.

One of the reasons why the participation of the Jews in this branch of industry has been so insignificant is the fact that in the cities, where purchase and renting of landed property is permitted to them, for sanitary reasons not all kinds of factories and mills may be established, and the acquisition of real estate beyond the city limits was prohibited by the laws of 1865; furthermore, the May laws of 1882 forbid them the renting of land and even settlement within the villages.

The corporate form of organization is still little used in Russian industry, especially in small establishments, and for a factory with an average produc-

tion valued at 20,000 to 40,000 rubles (\$10,300 to \$20,600) per annum the presence of the proprietor is an absolute necessity. A small Jewish capitalist can not, therefore, establish a factory in a locality in which he is denied the right of domicile.

In Russia Jewish capital has not that tendency to one-sidedness which is so marked in the New World. Such capital may be found in a great variety of industries, though some branches attract it more than others. In the following list only those industries are mentioned in which Jewish capital and enterprise are more prominent than in the others:

Total factories, Jewish factories, and per cent of Jewish factories, by industries.

Industry.	Total factories.	Jewish factories.	
		Number.	Per cent of total factories.
Textile.....	372	299	80.4
Lumber.....	329	199	60.5
Tobacco.....	110	83	75.5
Hides.....	530	287	54.2
Soap.....	139	122	87.8
Brick.....	752	157	20.9
Tiles.....	37	30	81.1
Flouring mill products.....	1,907	542	28.4
Creameries.....	159	80	50.3
Distilling.....	846	57	6.7
Beer brewing.....	381	110	28.9
Mineral waters.....	119	83	69.7

Smaller investments of Jewish capital may be found in dozens of other industries. Its participation in the beet-sugar industry is very great, that being one of the industries in which the corporate form of management has become customary, but the per cent of Jewish capital can not be determined. There are Jewish glass factories and iron and steel mills. More than one-half of the number of match factories and all the brush factories in the Pale belong to the Jews, and there are Jewish paper factories, machine shops, etc. Some twenty years ago the distillery business was almost altogether in the hands of Jews, but the difficulty of establishing themselves outside the limits of the cities has forced many of them out of this industry. The number of small Jewish beer breweries has also rapidly diminished because of the introduction of the government monopoly in the sale of spirituous liquors. No less significant is the almost entire absence of Jewish capital from the mining and metallurgical industry, for reasons indicated above.

JEWISH INDUSTRIES IN POLAND.

The insufficiency of official data in regard to Polish industry leaves the data collected by the agents and correspondents of the Jewish Colonization Society the only source of information. During the last thirty years the industrial development of Poland has been very great, but German capitalists and business men much more than the Jewish were instrumental in fostering this development. A stream of German capital, energy, and experience has constantly flowed across the frontier, and a greater stream of labor has followed until Poland has become the great industrial center of the Russian Empire.

Gradually domestic capital and enterprise and labor drifted into manufacturing industry, and this domestic capital meant Jewish capital. But Jewish factories still remain the weaker and smaller. Of the 4,221 factories officially registered in Poland, the correspondents of the Jewish Colonization Society reported on 1,867 only, of which number 1,416 belonged to Jewish and 451 to non-Jewish capitalists, but this must not be taken as a true proportion of the Jewish factories, because the correspondents devoted themselves especially to the description of the Jewish establishments. Nevertheless, it is significant to find that in a Jewish factory the average number of workingmen was 30, while in a non-Jewish factory it was 102. Moreover, of the Jewish factories only 27 per cent were provided with mechanical power, while of the non-Jewish

factories 69 per cent had such power. If the factories be divided into two classes, those with and those without mechanical motors, it is found that of the factories with mechanical power, the non-Jewish had an average number of 135 workmen and the Jewish only 72; of all the factories without mechanical power, the non-Jewish had an average number of 28 workmen and the Jewish only 15 workmen.

In the following statement is shown the number of establishments in the various branches of industry in which Jewish capital is employed:

Textiles -----	305	Lumber -----	46
Leather -----	162	Beer breweries -----	45
Creameries -----	98	Paper manufacture -----	42
Mineral waters -----	81	Chemical industry -----	29
Flour mills -----	68	Soap manufacture -----	28
Brick factories -----	66	Brushes, etc -----	25
Dry goods -----	63	All other -----	201
Manufactures of wood -----	58		
Glass and pottery -----	50	Total -----	1,416
Metal goods -----	49		

JEWISH ACTIVITY IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY.

The textile industry remains the most prominent industry of Poland, but recently several important centers of textile industry have sprung up in other regions of the Pale. Lodz, a city in the Polish Province of Petrikau, has within the comparatively short time of thirty or forty years become a great manufacturing center, and supplies cotton goods to the entire Russian Empire. Zgierz and Tomaszow, in the same province, have developed into great centers of manufactures of woolen goods. In Lithuania the most important center of the textile industry is Bialystok, where woolen goods are manufactured. In Poland there are 305 Jewish factories of textile goods, of which number 155 are located in the city of Lodz. In the region of Bialystok (Province of Grodno) and its suburbs there are 299 Jewish factories out of a total of 372. Some of the greatest factories in Lodz belong to Jews, such as the cotton factories of Posnansky, Rosenblatt, Silberstein, and others. The first of these employs from 6,000 to 7,000 workmen, and the value of its products is about 12,000,000 rubles (\$6,180,000) each year. A few such establishments may distort any averages; nevertheless, it still remains true that the 155 Jewish textile factories employ 12,848 men, or about 83 workmen per factory, while the 112 non-Jewish factories employ 31,593 men, or 282 workmen per factory, and that of the Jewish factories 37 per cent have no mechanical power, while of the non-Jewish factories 14, or only 12.5 per cent, are without such power.

Even in Bialystok, which is much more of a Jewish manufacturing center than Lodz, the same inferiority of the Jewish factory is noticed. Thus of the 318 factories manufacturing woolen goods, 260 were Jewish and only 58 non-Jewish. The average value of the production of a Jewish factory was 16,800 rubles (\$8,652) and the average number of workmen 17; in a non-Jewish factory the average value of production was 73,000 rubles (\$37,595), and the average number of workmen was 55. In short, it must be admitted that notwithstanding a few individual cases, the number of great Jewish capitalists is small, and that the majority of the Jewish manufacturers are people of moderate means. It will appear presently that this circumstance has some important consequences upon the condition of Jewish labor.

FACTORY LABOR.

Jewish labor appeared in large manufacturing industries much later than Jewish capital and enterprise, and for obvious reasons. In the middle of the last century the majority of the Jews belonged to the middle class; they were either merchants or independent artisans and work in a factory presented to them a considerable downward step in the social scale. So it is natural to find that a strong prejudice existed against such action some 30 years ago, especially when the remuneration of a factory worker and the general conditions of his life and work were very unsatisfactory, as they always are in the initial stages of the development of capitalistic industry. It required a perceptible decline in the economic condition of the Jewish artisan, in the early eighties, to

force him into the ranks of the industrial army. Since then the number of Jewish wageworkers in manufacturing industries has grown rapidly, but owing to the absence of official labor statistics it is impossible to state the number of these factory workers with any degree of accuracy. The only source for even approximate information upon this most important problem remains in the data collected by the agents of the Jewish Colonization Society for their report on the economic condition of the Jews in Russia. While these data are not up to date and are incomplete, they remain the best that may be had. Reports were made for only 3,186 out of 7,750 factories existing in the Pale in 1897. In the factories reported for northwestern, southwestern, and southern (new) Russia 33,933 Jewish factory workers were employed, and in those reported for Poland 12,380 were employed, a total of 46,313 in the factories reported for the Pale.

There can be no doubt that this total is far below the actual number, and an effort may be made to correct the returns of this private investigation, at least approximately, by making the legitimate assumption that in the factories omitted the percentage of Jewish workmen was the same as in the factories reported, which gives the following:

Estimated number of Jewish workmen in three specified regions of the Pale.

Region.	Number of workmen.			Per cent of Jewish of total reported to committee.	Calculated number of Jewish workmen.
	According to census figures (1897).	Reported to Jewish colonization committee.			
		Total.	Jewish.		
Northwestern Russia.....	51,659	41,589	22,279	53.6	27,689
Southwestern Russia.....	108,769	83,280	9,596	11.5	12,508
Southern (new) Russia.....	74,775	33,341	2,058	6.2	4,636
Total.....	235,203	158,210	33,933	21.4	50,033

No such comparison is possible for the 10 Polish Provinces; but if it be supposed that the proportion is about the same and the 12,380 recorded Jewish workmen of Poland be taken to represent about 18,000 workmen in that section, then the total number of Jewish factory workers in the entire Pale would be about 68,000. When it is remembered that the large industrial centers like Lodz and Bialystok are included in this total, its inadequacy becomes apparent. It must be borne in mind that these data at best are over nine years old; that, as was shown in a preceding table, the number of factory workers increased 150 per cent in the eight years, 1889 to 1897, and that Russian industry has developed considerably since the latter date. Then, too, it has been pointed out in a previous section of this article that a great number of the so-called artisans' shops are in reality small factories, therefore a considerable number of so-called artisans are but skilled factory employees. When all these facts are taken into consideration the statement seems plausible that there are at the present time from 100,000 to 150,000 Jewish factory employees in the Pale. It is nevertheless true that while the Jews constitute almost one-half of the city population, and the commercial and industrial half, only about 20 per cent of the factory workers are Jews. A great many reasons, besides those of a historical nature mentioned above, have combined to retard the transformation of the poor Jewish mass in Russia into an army of factory employees; it is because some of these reasons are absent and the others are weakened that this transformation is going on much more rapidly in the United States.

One of these reasons is the strength of the religious convictions of the Russian Jew and his strict compliance with all the rites and observances, especially those relating to the Sabbath. This makes the operating of a factory that employs both Jewish and non-Jewish workmen a rather difficult matter, because the Jewish workmen are forced to stop their work at sunset on Friday night and rest on Saturday, while the non-Jewish rest on Sunday. This difficulty becomes more serious in establishments with mechanical power, since neither the plan of running two days a week on half power nor that of stopping work altogether for two days a week is likely to appeal to the manufacturer. The objection to factory work is much stronger among the older than among the younger gener-

ation and is rapidly losing ground; but it is still much stronger among the Jews in Russia than among the Jews in New York City, where many factors tend to destroy the strict observance of all demands of the Jewish Church.

Another factor over which the Jews have had no control are the rules regarding the right to sojourn beyond the limits of the city. It is shown above how these rules keep back Jewish capital from entering various branches of industry. In the case of the Jewish workingman, this entirely prevents employment in some of the important factory industries. Jewish labor is practically unknown in the sugar-beet factories, nearly all of which are located beyond the city limits. In all such factories there were employed only 531 Jewish workmen out of a total of 65,258, or 0.8 per cent. In lumber mills there were 1,213 Jewish workmen out of a total of 19,239, or 6.3 per cent. Few Jewish workers were found in the large mining industries.

Another peculiar difficulty that the Jewish workingman is forced to meet when in quest of employment is the strong anti-Semitic sentiment existing among many manufacturers, especially among the manufacturers of Lodz, where German capital is strongly represented. This is shown in the following comparison for 1,867 factories reported in Poland:

Total employees and number of Jewish employees in 1,867 factories in Poland, by ownership of factories, 1898.

Ownership of factories.	Employees.		
	Total.	Jewish.	Per cent of Jewish of total.
Jewish.....	43,011	11,954	27.8
Non-Jewish.....	45,925	426	.9

Though the Jew is much more predominant in the textile factories of Bialystok, the same tendency is noticed there.

Total employees and number of Jewish employees in textile factories of Bialystok, by ownership of factories, 1898.

Ownership of factories.	Employees.		
	Total.	Jewish.	Per cent of Jewish of total.
Jewish.....	3,863	2,885	74.7
Non-Jewish.....	3,908	134	3.4

These figures convey the strong impression that there is a decided racial discrimination in the matter of hiring labor. To some extent it may be explained by the difficulty of the Sabbath rest, which may seem much more objectionable to a non-Jewish than to a Jewish manufacturer. This consideration does not change the economic aspect of the fact that the nationality of the manufacturer becomes a matter of serious import to the workingman. If the newly arrived Jewish immigrant finds no great difficulty in obtaining employment in New York City, it may to a great extent be due to the existence of a large number of Jewish employers, and here may be found the true explanation of at least one important cause of the concentration of the Jewish immigrants in a few large industrial centers.

Strange as it is, this racial discrimination may be found in some of the great cotton factories of Lodz, which belong to Jews but are supervised by German master mechanics and foremen who have brought the anti-Semitic feeling along with them from Germany.

Another peculiar reason that works against the Jewish factory worker is the unwillingness to trust him with complicated machinery and mechanical power.

There is a decided difference recorded in the proportion of Jewish workingmen as between factories with and factories without mechanical power, the difference being greatest in Poland, where the supply of German skilled labor comes in competition with Jewish labor.

Total employees and number of Jewish employees in Polish factories, classified as to whether or not power is used, 1898.

Kind of factory.	Employees.		
	Total.	Jewish.	Per cent of Jewish of total.
All Poland:			
With power.....	27,582	5,236	19.0
Without power.....	15,429	6,718	43.5
Lodz (textile industry):			
With power.....	10,967	1,184	10.8
Without power.....	1,881	779	41.4

This distrust probably acts most powerfully in eliminating the Jewish workingman from certain industries, as, for instance, the metal industries and the production of machinery. It may be that the lower muscular strength of the average Jew or his peculiar school training, which lasts through many hours day in and day out for many years and develops his speculative power at the expense of his manual dexterity, makes him unfit for work at many of the machines. Surely it is difficult to suspect the Jew of unwillingness to enter the industries mentioned, when he is usually found in the trades that are most unwholesome and injurious.

The general statistics of occupation may give some information as to the trades preferred by the Jews, but owing to incomplete classification it is impossible to arrive at any definite idea in regard to the kind of factories in which Jewish labor is preferred. The report of the Jewish Colonization Society contains the following table, but unfortunately does not give the actual figures upon which the percentages are based:

Per cent of Jewish employees of total employees in the Pale in each specified industry, by regions, 1898.

Industry.	North-western Russia.	South-western Russia.	Southern (new) Russia.
Gloves.....	100.0	100.0	.....
Brushes, etc.....	96.8		.....
Matches.....	95.2	12.0	
Tobacco.....	92.1	78.4	56.4
Soap.....	84.7	81.1	63.6
Buttons.....	84.2		
Hides and tanning.....	64.6	45.8	68.0
Candles.....	62.4	100.0	
Wool spinning.....	57.7		
Flour milling.....	51.5	34.6	27.3
Beer brewing.....	50.1	36.5	34.8
Brickmaking.....	49.4	8.5	3.0
Wool weaving.....	31.8		
Distilling.....	25.4	4.2	21.4
Lumber mills.....	18.3	18.3	30.1
Cast-iron mills.....	14.9	15.2	.7
Machinery.....	4.2		

In Poland the data refer to the Jewish factories alone, and such calculation of the percentages would be misleading; but there also the same trades have especially attracted Jewish labor. The textiles employ about 4,000 persons; tobacco, 1,300; paper, about 1,000. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that as yet the most injurious trades continue to monopolize Jewish factory labor, and this tendency is most pronounced in the northwestern provinces, where the distress is most acute.

FEMALE AND CHILD LABOR IN THE FACTORIES.

In the section devoted to the artisans it is shown that though female work in the industrial field is still a novelty, yet within the last few decades it has been growing more common. It is to be expected that this growth will show itself in a greater degree in factories than in small artisans' shops, for factory work does not as a rule require the same amount of special training. It might be thought that in view of the cheapness of labor the incentive to employ female and child labor would not be strong, but the data in regard to the Jews in the Pale show the fallacy of the assertion that only dearth or scarcity of labor drives the manufacturer to employ female and child labor.

Number and per cent of Jewish men, women, boys, and girls in the Pale working in factories, by regions, 1898.

Sex.	Northwestern Russia		Southwestern Russia		Southern (new) Russia.		Poland.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Men.....	11,693	57.6	6,746	70.7	1,642	79.8	6,984	62.6
Women.....	5,492	27.0	988	10.4	106	5.1	2,345	21.0
Boys.....	1,389	6.8	860	9.0	158	7.7	867	7.8
Girls.....	1,749	8.6	940	9.9	152	7.4	962	8.6
Total.....	20,323	100.0	9,534	100.0	2,058	100.0	11,158	100.0

The proportion of female and child labor together is seen to be in indirect proportion to the general level of prosperity. It equals 42.4 per cent in northwestern Russia, 37.4 per cent in Poland, 29.3 per cent in southwestern Russia, and only 20.2 per cent in southern Russia, the four main divisions of the Pale being mentioned in the regular scale of economic well-being.

Female and child labor is found in many industries where its application is likely to be the most injurious—in brick factories, in match factories, in textile factories, etc.—and is encouraged by the development of that most pernicious form of industrial work, the domestic system. Thus, in many small towns where match factories have been established, it is customary for girls to do at home work of a nature that can be done there, such as, for instance, packing the matches. In the textile centers of Lodz and Bialystok there exist a great number of weavers who do their work at home on their own looms, usually all the members of the family taking part in the work, though sometimes they are assisted by a hired worker. This feature of industry has been spoken of above in discussing the marketing of products.

WAGES OF FACTORY WORKERS.

Of the conditions of the wage contract those that are of greatest importance are the hours of work and the wages, and of neither of these two problems is it possible to present accurate statistics; that is, properly calculated averages. The best that can be done is to give all available, fragmentary information, which, though it lacks the desirable scientific accuracy, nevertheless conveys some information as to the general level of wages. Of the hours of work and the organized efforts toward their reduction, an account will be given in the section devoted to the labor movement and the Bund, the main organization of the Jewish wage-workers.

Twenty years ago a Russian economist, Mr. A. P. Subbotin, whose work has already been quoted, investigated the economic condition of the Jewish Pale, and stated that the wages of the factory workers, the number of whom was very small at that time, were "quite high." In the tobacco factories of Vilna they reached as much as 5 rubles (\$2.58) per week for the men and 2½ rubles (\$1.29) per week for the women. He commended the Jewish workers, because "one never hears of acute conflicts with the employers, which are becoming so common in the central provinces of Russia." The next section of this article will show how much these conditions have changed within the last twenty years.

In the city of Bialystok, which even at that time had begun to gain great importance as a center of the woolen industry, the best paid workmen, the weavers, sometimes earned from 6 to 8 rubles (\$3.09 to \$4.12) a week, and this income made the Bialystok weaver an aristocrat among the Jewish workmen. A great number of children worked in the tobacco factories, where they earned from 25 kopecks to 1 ruble (13 to 51.5 cents) a week.

Of all the Jewish wage-workers the brush makers are the best organized. As early as 1895 they succeeded in forming a general union of the brush workers, which in 1897 joined the Bund as an independent national union. In its report to the International Socialist Congress in Paris in 1900 this union contributed a table of wages of brush makers in the 12 main towns of the Pale. From this table the following data are taken:^a

The average weekly wages in different towns varied from 2.80 to 5.85 rubles (\$1.44 to \$3.01), the maximum ranging from 5 to 8 rubles (\$2.58 to \$4.12) and the minimum from 5.25 rubles to 75 kopecks (\$2.70 to 39 cents). Even this income was not steady, because the number of weeks of regular employment during a year varied from 46 to 25.

In the two large volumes on the economic condition of the Jews in Russia, published by the St. Petersburg committee of the Jewish Colonization Society, very little information in regard to wages is to be found, because the data were collected from the proprietors of the factories, and it was feared that a question in regard to wages would prevent a truthful answer to all questions asked. The few fragmentary data found therein refer to 1897, and therefore may not have more than a theoretical value. In Warsaw, in the metal industry, the Jewish workers at that time did not earn more than 30 to 35 kopecks (15 to 18 cents) per day, on the average, the maximum being about 1 ruble (51.5 cents) for the men and 70 kopecks (36 cents) for the women. In a trade as skilled as that of a clockmaker the weekly wages of adults were only from 7 to 15 rubles (\$3.61 to \$7.73) and those of children from 2 to 4 rubles (\$1.03 to \$2.06). In the toy factories in Czenstochow, Poland, the wages of adult Jewish workers were stated to be from 3 to 5 rubles (\$1.55 to \$2.58) per week, while girls below 15 years of age, who made up 60 per cent of the employees, received from 80 kopecks to 1.20 rubles (41 to 62 cents) and those over 15 years from 1.80 rubles to 2.50 rubles (93 cents to \$1.29 a week). In Lodz the weavers who are in the employ of the factories, but who do their work at home, earn from 8 to 10 rubles (\$4.12 to \$5.15) a week, but they usually employ help, whose earnings seldom exceed 3 or 4 rubles (\$1.55 to \$2.06). In the woolen factories of Bialystok the weekly wages of the male workers seldom exceed 6 rubles (\$3.09), while those of the women and girls are as low as 1.50 or 2 rubles (77 cents or \$1.03).

It is probable that down to the second half of the nineties the average wages of the Jewish workers did not rise much, if at all. The growing congestion of the cities of the Pale and the increase of special restrictive legislation against the Jews so flooded the labor market that natural competition was all against the wage-workers. From that time on, however, the Jewish labor movement has asserted itself, and while the general level of wages remains low, from the European and especially from the American point of view, the present conditions seem to indicate a strong tendency toward increased wages. The official publications of the Bund, which formerly appeared in Geneva, contained in nearly every number accounts of strikes, usually very small ones, where the demands for both shortening of the labor day and for increase of wages were invariably made and often carried. Unfortunately the correspondents cared a great deal more for the political effects than for the economic results of the strikes, and seldom reported the actual wages and the increases. From private inquiries made of many persons who recently left the Jewish Pale and had either worked in the factories or had the opportunity to observe the life of Jewish workers, it seems a warrantable conclusion that 6 or 8 rubles (\$3.09 or \$4.12) a week is a very fair wage, and that the ordinary wage is probably nearer to 5 rubles (\$2.58).

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

The organization mentioned several times in the preceding pages as having influenced the conditions of work of the Jewish wageworker in Russia is the so-called Bund, or to use its official title, "Der allgemeine Jüdische Arbeiterbund in Littauen, Polen, und Russland."

* *Zhishn*, a Russian magazine which was published for a short time in London.

The economic activity of the Bund is all that concerns us here, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to understand this interesting organization without a few remarks with regard to its general nature, which is a peculiar one, owing to the exceptional political conditions of Russia. In its economic field the Bund endeavors to do the work of the American labor unions, yet it is a very different organization from the American Federation of Labor.

It must be borne in mind that the Russian code does not provide for the existence of labor unions, and that even at the present time, when dozens of labor unions have been formed in the open since October, 1905, a law providing for the existence of such organizations is still in the process of elaboration. Also, it must be remembered that Russian law specifically prohibits the strike, the main weapon of a labor union, as well as any form of collective activity. Thus, every effort at labor organization and collective bargaining is legally a crime, and this prevents the growth of a peaceful labor movement. The low educational standard of the mass of the workmen is another great obstacle to such development. In discussing the "kheveras" in a preceding section it was shown how out of these mutual benefit organizations of the Jewish artisans, whose educational and intellectual standard fifteen or twenty years ago was immeasurably higher than that of the Russian workmen, some semblance of a limited labor movement developed; but these secret and local organizations could not have any great influence over the condition of the working class.

Both the Jewish and the Russian labor movements have grown out of the political revolutionary propaganda and are still closely associated with it.

During the nine or ten years of its existence the history of the Bund, notwithstanding the great obstacles which the necessity of secrecy put in the way of a labor movement, was one of very rapid growth. According to the report presented by the central committee of the Bund to the International Socialist Congress, held in Amsterdam in 1904, the number of organized workmen in 1904 was estimated to be 30,000,^a but any such estimate may have only a general value. Undoubtedly a great many persons must be under the influence of this organization who do not wish to be openly identified with it. Then, too, in hundreds of small towns clubs have been established which are not always in direct communication with the central organization. In the same report 35 large and important cities are mentioned in which organizations of the Bund existed, but the periodical publications of the Bund often contribute news of the activity of the Bund organizations beyond these 35 cities. Thus, within that year alone over 25,000 Jewish workmen struck in the region influenced by the Bund, and in the general strike which swept over Russia during the second half of the year 1905 the number of Jewish strikers went into hundreds of thousands.

This origin of the Jewish labor movement in the socialist and revolutionary movement had very significant consequences, since it led to a close union of efforts: Of the working masses to improve their economic condition; of the Jewish race in Russia to improve its legal standing, and of the revolutionary elements to introduce an entirely different form of government in the Russian Empire. The distinctive feature of the Bund is that it endeavors to do all these things at the same time, and to a certain extent other Russian socialist organizations share this peculiarity with the Bund.

A few data as to the extent of the activity of the Bund will be found suggestive. According to the imperfect registry kept by the central committee of the Bund, there took place during the year, June, 1903, to June, 1904, 429 meetings, in 418 of which 74,162 persons participated; 45 street demonstrations, in 31 of which 20,340 persons took part, and 41 political strikes (including 35 May celebrations), in 31 of which there were 23,035 participants.

The term "political strike" is used when a stoppage of work is ordered by the organization for no specific economic reason, but simply to demonstrate the strength of the movement. Such strikes are usually of brief duration, being ordered for only one, two, or three days, as the case may be. They are especially frequent on the 1st of May, all socialist organizations in Russia celebrating that day with short strikes or with street demonstrations and large meetings.

During the same year 109 strikes were reported, and in 101 of these strikes, for which careful data were furnished, 24,124 persons participated.

^a Die Thätigkeit des Allgemeinen Jüdischen Arbeiterbundes in Littauen, Polen, und Russland ("Bund") nach Seinem V. Parteitag. Geneva, 1904.

The strikes are usually conducted by the local organizations of the bund, together with the assistance of the strikers themselves, although among the strikers many men are often found who are not permanently identified with the organization. In preparation for such a strike the workmen of a certain industry or trade, or even of a certain factory, may combine and keep up some form of benefit fund, but this is far from being a trade union. One of the many interesting features of the Jewish labor movement is the fact that, although the central committees of the bund made every effort to keep up among the workmen the agitation for strikes and other forms of struggle with the employers, they did not encourage the formation of trade unions, not because they doubted the economic efficacy of the trade union in the work of improving the condition of the workmen, but because, so they claimed, the formation of trade unions would narrow down the efforts of the workmen to their own individual or group interests, and thus deplete the ranks of the fighters for the political cause.

The leaders themselves feel that such a policy, aside from its wisdom or unwisdom, can not be carried on when the formation of labor unions shall have been legalized in Russia. Even at the present time the project of a law to legalize unions and strikes is being actively elaborated in St. Petersburg. Immediately after the issuance of the manifesto of October 17 (29), 1905, dozens of labor unions were formed within as well as without the Pale. The question of the attitude of the bund, as a political organization, toward the formation of these unions immediately arose, and the decision reached is significant.

In the official circular published in the last issue of the *Litze Nachrichten* (No. 255), dated December, 1905, the central committee of the bund calls attention to the fact that the conditions caused by the manifesto of October 17 (29), 1905, make the creation of professional (trade) unions both possible and necessary.

According to Mr. M. Gourevitsch, who is a member of the central committee of the bund, the economic activity of the bund is becoming greater each day. The period 1897 to 1900 was one of struggle for a ten-hour labor day (or twelve hours a day with two hours at midday for rest). At present the struggle may be characterized as one for the nine and eight hour day in the higher trades and the larger cities and a ten-hour day in the small towns and lower trades. The strikes for this shortening of the labor day have had unusual success. Out of the 119 strikes which were registered in the year 1903-4, 81, or 68 per cent, ended in a full victory for the workmen; 23, or 19 per cent, in partial victory for the workmen; and 15, or 13 per cent, in failures. Approximately, of the victorious strikes 50 per cent led to the establishment of a ten and one-half-hour (or ten hours net) day, 30 per cent to a nine-hour day, 10 per cent to an eight-hour day, and 10 per cent to an eleven-hour day. While the shortening through each strike is usually equal to one hour, sometimes in very backward trades much more considerable reductions have taken place at once. The female bakers within the last few years have succeeded in reducing their hours of work from nineteen to twelve, the tailors from seventeen to twelve, the shoemakers from seventeen to twelve, and as will be pointed out elsewhere, the salesmen from fifteen or sixteen to ten or eleven. In the latter half of the year 1904 there were registered 56 strikes, of which number 41 were defensive and 15 offensive. Of these 56 strikes, about 70 per cent were successful. An interesting feature of the activity of the bund within recent times is the carrying of the agitation for strikes among those classes of employees in which neither the United Kingdom nor the United States have been used to see any organized efforts for the improving of the conditions of the wage contracts. Of the strikes of the commercial employees more will be said when discussing the condition of that class. Draymen in Pinsk and Berdichev, boatmen in Kovno, hotel attendants in Pinsk and Slonim, and even domestic servants in Warsaw, Grodno, Mohelev, Bobruisk, Pinsk, and Dvinsk have struck for higher wages and shorter hours. Strangely enough, the domestic servants have shown themselves especially susceptible to the agitation of the bund. The following, for instance, were the conditions demanded by the servants during their strike in Dvinsk:

Hours to be from 8 a. m. to 9 p. m., with a recess of one and one-half hours.

On Saturdays the work shall stop at 3 p. m.

Wages to be increased.

The servants to have private rooms.

The employer to provide medical treatment in case of necessity.

The right to receive visitors after working hours.

In case of dismissal without cause the servant shall receive two weeks' salary. The many-sided activity of the Bund, carried on as it was until recently under conditions of great secrecy, did not offer many opportunities for development of original methods of trade-union activity. As has been shown, its activity was mainly in the nature of strikes. Only occasionally were boycotts used, and then almost exclusively for causes which were not purely economic. The Bundists take the ground that the law is against the workingmen, and that the rules of a fair fight forbid the employer from appealing too readily to the police and the military for assistance. Moreover, where striking workmen have been turned over by their employers to the authorities the strikers have been punished not so much for participation in the strike as for belonging to the revolutionary Bund. Such appeals are therefore considered in the nature of informing and are punished by declaration of a boycott. The best known case is that of a shoe manufacturer in Warsaw against whom a boycott was declared soon after the strike wave of January, 1905. The boycott must have threatened him with ruin, since the manufacturer was forced to appeal to the Bund for relief, promising to yield to all their demands. The boycott against him was called off only after he sent the following declaration to the local committee of the Bund in Warsaw, which declaration was published in full in the official organ of the Bund:^a

DECLARATION.

"Recognizing that the boycott declared against me by the Bund for my contemptible treatment of my workmen (as physical assault, and even turning them over into the hands of the police) has been well deserved by me; recognizing that I am actually guilty of the accusations brought against me, and desiring to clear my name of this disgraceful blot, I applied to the Warsaw committee of the Bund with the request to call off the boycott against me, and agreed in advance to all the demands which will be made by the Bund.

"These demands are as follows: To dismiss several objectionable workmen; to reimburse the workmen for all the time during which they were out of employment through my fault; not to give out any work to be performed in the house of the workmen; to employ only those workmen who will be indicated by the Bund; and to publish all these facts in some newspaper.

"Signed) _____

"WARSAW, June 23, 1905."

Only a very disastrous boycott could call forth such a statement; and this effectiveness of the boycott is due to the fact that the influence of the Bund extends beyond the workmen far into the middle classes, among those who are willing to disregard the economic work of the Bund on account of its political work and its defense of the Jew.

COMMERCIAL PURSUITS.

While the general impression that the Russian Jew is a person fit only for commercial life has been shown to be at variance with the facts, it remains true that commerce employs a great number of the Jewish breadwinners in Russia. According to the Russian census, as shown in the table on page 291, 31.6 per cent of the Jews employed in gainful occupations were earning their living from some form of commerce. If, in addition to these persons, the number dependent upon them for a livelihood is considered, it appears that 35.6 per cent of the total Jewish population in Russia belong to the commercial class. In calculating these per cents the hotel, restaurant, and saloon keepers have been omitted from the commercial class in order to conform the classification to that of the United States census. If these occupations with their dependents are included under commerce, the percentage in the commercial class rises to 37.5 per cent of all the Jews in Russia. Therefore, a study of Jewish commerce is a matter of utmost importance. It is to be regretted, however, that very little authentic data in regard to this subject are to be had, the only available data being more than 20 years old, and for that reason scarcely applicable at this time. But while accurate statistical data are lacking, that does not preclude the possibility of drawing a more or less true picture of the condition of the Jewish merchants.

According to the Russian census of 1897, a total of 1,495,087 persons were em-

^a Die Letzte Nachrichten, No. 244, August 5, 1905.

ployed in commercial pursuits in all Russia (including hotel and liquor saloon keepers). Of this total the Jews number 474,833 persons, or 31.8 per cent. But in the Pale the proportion is considerably greater. As is shown in the following table, the Jews constitute nearly three-fourths of the commercial class of the Pale (448,514 out of 618,762, or 72.5 per cent). This proportion between the number of Jews and the total number of persons engaged in commercial pursuits varies considerably from region to region, and from one province to another. In the northwest the Jews constitute almost 90 per cent of the commercial class—in Grodno and in Minsk even over 92 per cent. Practically all the commercial activity in these provinces is in the hands of the Jews. In the southwest the Jews constitute only three-fourths of the commercial class, and in southern (new) Russia a little over one-half. The percentage rapidly declines the farther we go from the center of Jewish congestion, which is found in the northwest; and with the decline of this percentage there was noticeable, at least until the recent disturbances, a rise in the economic condition of the merchants.

The following table gives, by provinces and by regions in the Pale, the number of Jews engaged in commerce compared with the total number of persons so engaged:

Number of Jews engaged in commerce compared with total persons so engaged in the Pale, by provinces and regions, 1897.

Compiled from the separate reports in Provinces of Premier Recensement Général de la Population de l'Empire de Russie, 1897.]

Province and region.	Total persons engaged in commerce. ^a	Jews engaged in commerce. ^a	
		Number.	Per cent of total.
Vilna.....	18,884	16,178	85.7
Grodno.....	20,545	19,005	92.5
Kovno.....	20,662	17,821	86.3
Lithuania.....	60,091	53,004	88.2
Minsk.....	25,555	23,588	92.3
Vitebsk.....	19,781	16,713	84.5
Mohelev.....	19,578	17,641	90.1
White Russia.....	64,914	57,942	89.3
Volhynia.....	39,434	35,172	89.2
Podolia.....	44,660	39,040	87.4
Kiev.....	63,740	45,718	71.7
Chernigov.....	21,015	12,736	60.6
Poltava.....	23,954	13,910	58.1
Southwestern Russia.....	192,803	146,576	76.0
Bessarabia.....	32,253	24,636	76.4
Kherson.....	62,321	37,058	59.5
Yekaterinoslav.....	25,823	11,673	45.2
Taurida.....	25,365	5,987	23.6
Southern (new) Russia.....	145,782	79,354	54.4
Warsaw.....	52,497	32,178	61.3
Kalisz.....	9,305	5,995	64.4
Kielce.....	10,240	8,725	85.2
Lomza.....	6,477	5,454	84.7
Lublin.....	16,019	13,982	87.3
Petrikau.....	28,812	19,860	68.9
Plock.....	5,810	2,579	44.4
Radom.....	11,313	9,946	87.9
Suwalki.....	4,987	4,169	83.6
Siedlec.....	9,712	8,720	89.8
Poland.....	155,172	111,638	71.9
Total in Pale ^a	^a 618,762	^a 448,514	72.5

^a Including hotel, restaurant, and saloon keepers; hence totals do not agree with totals shown for commerce in tables on pages 292 and 293.

In a preceding section a table was given (p. 293), showing the distribution of the Jews gainfully employed into the great occupation groups by separate regions of the Pale. It was shown there that of all Jews engaged in gainful occupations a smaller percentage were in commercial life in the northwest than in the south and southwest. On the other hand, we find here that of all persons engaged in commerce the Jews constitute a larger proportion in the northwest than in the south. Coupled with the fact that the south received most of its Jewish population by immigration from the northwest, these percentages seem to indicate that, until recently at least, southern Russia offered better prospects to Jewish immigrants of the middle classes, while the wage-earners were tending to the New World.

An analysis of the proportion of the Jews in various branches of commercial life presents many interesting features. It shows, first of all, that almost one-half of all the Jewish merchants deal in agricultural products, such as cattle, grain, hides, furs, etc. It also shows a very high proportion of that trade in Jewish hands. Thus over 90 per cent of the grain dealers are Jews—in southwestern Russia as high as 96.7 per cent, and in Lithuania 97.1 per cent. A very large number of Jews is found in general commerce or the group of commercial middlemen and peddlers, which usually means very petty trading. The better paying branches of commercial activity are just those in which the number of Jews is smallest. Thus institutions of credit require some capital, and the Jews constitute only 34.9 per cent of that class in the Pale, while in the south they constitute only 29.1 and in Poland only 18.1 per cent. A bookstore can not be opened without special permission, and as a result less than half of the stores of that group are in Jewish hands. Of the liquor saloon keepers, less than two-fifths and of the hotel keepers less than one-third are Jews. In the southwest the number of Jews employed as liquor saloon keepers is extremely small.

Number of Jews engaged in commerce compared with total persons so engaged in the Pale, by mercantile pursuits and regions, 1897.

Compiled from separate reports on Provinces of Premier Recensement Général de la Population de l'Empire de Russie, 1897.]

Mercantile pursuits.	Lithuania.			White Russia.			Southwestern Russia.		
	Total persons.	Jews.		Total persons.	Jews.		Total persons.	Jews.	
		Number.	Per cent of total.		Number.	Per cent of total.		Number.	Per cent of total.
Institutions of credit.....	797	416	52.2	579	365	63.0	1,783	690	38.7
Commercial middlemen.....	1,255	1,116	88.9	1,478	1,341	90.7	5,173	4,499	87.0
General commerce.....	10,607	9,714	91.6	9,591	8,790	91.6	35,487	29,113	82.0
Dealers in—									
Cattle.....	1,388	1,227	88.4	3,230	2,621	81.1	8,793	6,825	77.6
Grain.....	2,423	2,353	97.1	3,325	3,120	93.8	21,344	20,643	96.7
Other agricultural products.....	21,817	20,134	92.3	23,784	22,264	93.6	57,549	44,168	76.7
Building material and fuel.....	3,424	3,192	93.2	6,486	5,950	91.7	11,154	9,538	85.5
Household goods.....	664	585	88.1	699	605	86.6	2,665	1,878	70.5
Metal goods and machinery.....	710	611	86.1	836	770	92.1	2,593	2,021	77.9
Dry goods and clothing.....	4,066	3,799	93.4	4,160	3,980	95.7	14,976	12,802	85.5
Hides, furs, etc.....	1,401	1,133	80.9	1,578	1,527	96.8	5,583	4,512	80.8
Articles of luxury, books, etc.....	644	416	64.6	577	467	80.9	1,577	634	40.2
Miscellaneous articles.....	1,195	822	68.8	1,312	790	60.2	4,034	2,845	70.5
Peddlers, etc.....	3,321	3,090	93.0	2,077	1,769	85.2	3,825	2,200	57.5
Hotel and restaurant keepers.....	2,794	1,453	52.0	2,545	1,555	61.1	7,757	3,377	43.5
Liquor saloon keepers, etc.....	3,585	2,943	82.1	2,657	2,028	76.3	8,510	831	9.8
Total.....	60,091	53,004	88.2	64,914	57,942	89.3	192,803	146,576	76.0

Number of Jews engaged in commerce compared with total persons so engaged in the Pale, by mercantile pursuits and regions, 1897—Continued.

Mercantile pursuits.	Southern Russia.			Poland.			Pale.		
	Total persons.	Jews.		Total persons.	Jews.		Total persons.	Jews.	
		Number.	Per cent of total.		Number.	Per cent of total.		Number.	Per cent of total.
Institutions of credit.....	1,608	468	29.1	1,622	293	18.1	6,389	2,232	34.9
Commercial middlemen.....	5,726	4,103	71.7	5,870	4,185	71.3	19,502	15,244	78.2
General commerce.....	18,897	10,479	55.5	42,337	32,083	75.8	116,919	90,179	77.1
Dealers in—									
Cattle.....	3,254	1,774	54.5	3,885	3,001	77.2	20,550	15,448	75.2
Grain.....	17,596	14,041	79.9	8,056	7,350	91.2	52,744	47,507	90.1
Other agricultural products.....	42,978	22,865	53.2	40,059	28,776	71.8	186,187	138,207	74.2
Building material and fuel.....	5,942	3,725	62.7	5,328	3,915	73.5	32,334	26,320	81.4
Household goods.....	2,234	1,279	57.3	1,494	1,200	80.3	7,756	5,547	71.5
Metal goods and machinery.....	2,067	1,318	63.8	2,133	1,747	81.9	8,339	6,467	77.6
Dry good and clothing.....	16,025	10,599	66.1	10,534	8,541	81.1	49,761	39,721	79.8
Hides, furs, etc.....	2,511	1,671	66.5	3,416	3,039	89.0	14,489	11,882	82.0
Articles of luxury, books, etc.....	1,333	516	38.7	1,650	790	47.9	5,781	2,823	48.8
Miscellaneous articles.....	2,996	1,283	42.8	2,431	1,548	63.7	11,968	7,288	60.9
Peddlers, etc.....	4,251	2,030	47.8	9,893	8,674	87.7	23,367	17,763	76.0
Hotel and restaurant keepers.....	11,149	1,899	17.0	6,171	1,679	27.2	30,416	9,963	32.8
Liquor saloon keepers, etc.....	7,215	1,304	18.1	10,293	4,817	46.8	32,260	11,923	37.0
Total.....	145,782	79,354	54.4	155,172	111,638	71.9	618,762	448,514	72.5

^a These totals do not agree with those given under commerce in the tables on pages 292 and 293, where the hotel, restaurant, and saloon keepers are included in personal service.

Of the total number of Jewish merchants in the Pale, 213,044, or 47.5 per cent, were dealing in agricultural products (including hides, furs, etc.). Their function evidently is to gather the farm products from the agricultural population of the Pale for shipment and sale in distant localities, and they stand to the surrounding population in the capacity of buyers. With the exception of small groups of large wholesale merchants the majority of the remaining 52.5 per cent are sellers of various kinds of goods to the same population of the villages, and also to the population of the cities. It is a fallacy of old standing that the only occupation of the Jew of the Pale is to sell liquor to the Russian peasant. No matter what the wishes of the average Jew might have been in the matter, it is an important fact that in 1897 only 32.8 per cent of the hotel and restaurant keepers and only 37 per cent of the liquor-saloon keepers were Jews. Undoubtedly this was in a measure due to the legislative restrictions, the laws of 1882 having forced many Jews out of the liquor business by denying them the right to live in the villages. Another factor of no less importance was the introduction of the State monopoly of the sale of liquor. The effect of this measure is only partly reflected in the statistics of 1897, because the census was taken during the time of the gradual introduction of this measure in the Pale. As a result, the proportion of Jewish saloon keepers in southwestern Russia was only 9.8 per cent and in the south 18.1 per cent, while in the northwest nearly 80 per cent of the saloon keepers were Jews. Since then practically all the Jews have been eliminated from this field of commerce, and doubtless the families (nearly 12,000) that lived by this trade in 1897 were forced to swell the army of the unemployed in the cities.

The mass of the Jewish merchants and all persons occupied in some commercial activity, whether or not they deserve to be called merchants, may be classified into two groups—those who stand toward the local population in the capacity of buyers and those who are sellers of goods. The buyers are those who come mostly in contact with the agricultural population. It is this class which is probably meant where the report of the census of 1897 says: "The Jews do not till the land themselves, but exploit the land tiller." In view of this official opinion it is interesting to study the methods which are used by these buyers in dealing with the peasants.

The 213,044 dealers in agricultural products serve in the movement of the crops and other agricultural products from the peasant to the market, which is usually some distance away, and often beyond the borders of Russia. In estimating this function it must be remembered that the commercial methods of the Russian peasants are exceedingly primitive; there are no local elevators and no feeding railroad lines, and the peasant, when forced to sell some of his grain so as to pay his taxes and buy the few simple necessities of life, outside of his food, takes the grain to the market to sell, and in the Pale the buyer in almost nine cases out of ten is the Jew. The Jewish "merchant," whose only capital may be the price of a few bushels of corn, is more anxious to buy than the peasant is to sell, for the latter is sure of his ability to sell all he has, the question being only between a higher or lower price, while the Jew is by far not so sure of his ability to buy, and it is the difference of a few cents more or less that means to him either some profit or a loss. It is therefore the buyer that is anxious to capture the seller, and because he has no legal right to travel from one village to the other buying up grain, and as any such transaction would require considerable capital, he employs on the market day the primitive method of going out as far as possible on the road to intercept the peasant before other buyers reach him. The competition among the buyers is very severe and the Jewish merchant is satisfied with almost any profit. It is true that he has better bargaining ability than the Russian peasant, but it is doubtful whether the peasant could obtain as good prices as he does if this keen competition did not exist. Having bought the few bushels of grain or the small quantities of other agricultural products, the Jew is anxious to sell as quickly as possible, that he may recover his capital, and he sells to a merchant who is in a position to accumulate purchases of a few carloads until he is ready to ship them to the central market or to Germany.

By reason of the peculiar conditions that prevail in Russia the farm products invariably pass through many more hands than they would otherwise have to, but the rate of profit to each is so small that the entire increment is not excessive. Thus the small merchant of this kind runs about the whole day in his effort to buy as much as possible and as cheaply as possible and considers a daily income of from 50 kopecks to 1 ruble (25.8 to 51.5 cents) satisfactory. That sum is scarcely sufficient for his modest living, but it is about as large an income as that of the average artisan without any capital or of the average factory worker; and this merchant is a man with little capital and is of the same social scale as the artisan or the factory worker. This is the condition of the great majority of the grain merchants, though above this class there are the important business men of the centers.

A few decades ago this trade in grain and in other articles of agricultural production was a source of prosperity to many little towns in the northwest. Before the construction of railroads the methods of marketing were different, the competition among the buyers was a great deal less acute, the surplus of the peasants was much greater, and the local market was not so sensitive to the changes of the world market. Thirty or forty years ago the Pale used to ship large quantities of grain, eggs, lumber, etc., along the Niemen and other rivers to the German markets. After making sufficient purchases the Jewish grain dealer or lumber dealer went personally on the rafts to the German markets and sold his merchandise at high profits. But the development of the Russian railroad system and the agricultural growth of the Far East so reduced the grain trade of the northwest, and the increase of the local urban population so affected the surplus, that many families which had accumulated small competencies from this branch of commerce found themselves without any means of subsistence and were forced to migrate into larger cities or to the United States. There are dozens of small settlements all along the Niemen which have fallen from a state of comparative prosperity into one of abject poverty. The few large grain merchants who may be found in most Jewish towns do not in any way disturb the truthfulness of this picture. The very fact—pointed out in a previous section—that the number of artisans and factory workers is rapidly growing, notwithstanding the very large emigration, which to a great extent consists of this class, shows that the earnings of the majority of the business men are probably smaller than the earnings of a busy factory worker, and that in spite of the deplorable condition of the shop and factory workers there is a constant stream from the commercial pursuits into the trades and into the factories.

The other large class of merchants are the retail dealers, who are to be found in such large numbers in every town of the Pale. It is more than probable

that the data of the census are far from complete, the tendency having been to classify among dependents many members of the family who are in reality employed at some trade, especially if it be the same trade in which the head of the family is occupied. The incomes of the majority of the "grain dealers" are so small that the wives are forced to sell something so as to earn a few cents a day.

While a superficial investigation of the trade in the Pale proves the presence of an unnecessarily great number of middlemen, a closer investigation shows that the sufferers are the middlemen themselves and not the consumers. The cheapness of all articles surprises the stranger, and the purchaser who is not a seller profits considerably thereby; but these advantages can not appeal to the Jew very strongly, because most of the purchasers are themselves sellers, and they suffer a great deal more than they profit by the system. The agricultural population seem to be the positive gainers by this competition, and gainers in a double sense—as producers of agricultural products, for which there is always a brisk demand, and as consumers of articles of manufacture, which they obtain at a comparatively low price. It has been acknowledged by many investigators that the average profit of the Jew on the purchase of grain and like products is much smaller than the profit of the Russian middleman in the interior of Russia in similar transactions, and that the general level of prices on manufactured articles in the cities of the Pale is much lower than in the Russian towns. More than this, it is a matter of common observation that even in the same towns the prices in the Jewish stores are lower than in the Russian stores, for, says Subbotin, "The Jewish merchant is satisfied to receive a smaller rate of profit on his turnover, so long as he can turn his capital quicker."

The same observer during his investigation found that in the Province of Minsk the average rate of profit in the stores of the Jewish merchants was 8.07 per cent, while in the stores of the non-Jewish merchant it was 10.02 per cent. In the Province of Kovno the rate of profit to Jews was 4 per cent, while that to the other merchants was 10 per cent. In Kiev the rates were 4.8 per cent and 5.3 per cent, respectively. In Odessa, where the volume of commerce is much larger, the rates of profit were much lower, namely, 2.6 per cent and 3.1 per cent. That the entrance of the Jew into the grain trade of Odessa has diminished the rate of the middleman's profits is acknowledged by so well known a Russian economist as Professor Yanson.^a

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It has been stated above that this competition has been intensified during the last twenty years because of the rapid growth of the number of Jewish merchants. This is shown by the great number of new licenses which are issued to merchants each year. But not all trading requires such licenses. The most distressing feature of the economic situation of the Pale is the large number of "pauper merchants," if one may use this term. The women peddlers have already been spoken of. There is, however, a large number of small store-keepers whose economic condition is in no way better than that of the peddlers on the streets or in the markets. These "stores" are located in miserable holes, with but little light or air, and with very limited space. All the available goods for sale may not be worth more than 5 rubles (\$2.58), empty boxes, bags, and papers being artfully displayed with the intention to deceive the prospective buyer into the belief that the "store" is really a store. How these merchants manage to pay the rent and eke out a living is a mystery that is solved only when the kind of living is known. In these "stores" from early morn until midnight may be seen the storekeeper, usually a woman clothed in rags, patiently waiting for the rare customer.

All this must not be taken to mean that there are no large Jewish commercial houses in the Jewish towns, because it is well known that the origin of some of the fortunes among Russian Jews was due to commerce and not to manufacture. To the Jews belong a number of the better stores in the cities of the Pale, even though the non-Jewish element is much greater in the field of commerce on a larger scale. Not only is the entire commercial class, which, with the children and dependents, numbers almost 2,000,000, far from being economically homogeneous, but within this class an antagonism between the employer and the employee has developed which, though perhaps not so acute, is more extensive than the corresponding conflict between the manufacturer and his wage-workers. With the extremely low profit rate and the usually high

^a See V Cherte Evreiskoy Osedlosti (Within the Jewish Pale), by A. P. Subbotin. St. Petersburg, 1888. Vol. II, p. 218.

rent (a result of commercial competition), the profits of the more prosperous merchants in the Pale are derived from two sources, an unusually rapid turning over of the capital and the low expenses of business management; both factors meaning hard work and small pay for the commercial employees.

Unfortunately the basis of the occupation statistics of the Russian census of 1897 has been the nature of the establishment and not the technical or economic quality of the work. It is therefore impossible to tell how many of the 452,193 Jews reported as employed in commerce were salesmen or other employees of the merchants and not independent tradesmen. But the number is undoubtedly large, probably as large as the number of Jewish factory employees.

Until recently the conditions of work of these commercial employees were more onerous than those connected with work in the factories. The small Jewish retail dealer knows no limitations of his working day, the anxiety to find the buyer being so great that the small stores are kept open from 6 or 7 o'clock in the morning till 12 o'clock at night. Until a short time ago this was also the rule in the larger stores, where, besides the members of the family, additional help is employed. Under the influence of the examples of the many successful strikes of the factory and small-shop workers, the commercial employees became restive; but until the end of the last century they had no hope of active resistance, since the abundance of unemployed labor in the market naturally increased the competition in the Pale for even the poorest paid positions. Nevertheless the principle of collective bargaining which the Bund organizations preached with such energy appealed to them as well as to the factory workers. In many cities the initiative of the strikes among the commercial employees came from the labor organizations, while in other cities the salesmen and clerks sought from the more experienced organizations advice and help.

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PROFESSIONAL SERVICE.

The striving of the Russian Jew for a professional career has so well asserted itself during the comparatively short period of his life in the United States that it is surprising to find in Russia a very small percentage of the Jews in the professions, especially in view of the fact that all the universities in that country are state institutions, the tuition fee being small, and the great majority of the professional students coming from the poorer part of the city population. Altogether the number of Jews in the professions is 57,847 (not including the 14,103 persons who serve around churches, etc., given for comparative purposes in the tables of occupations), or a little more than 4 per cent of the Jews in gainful occupations. Even this number is to a great extent made up of an army of Hebrew teachers, consisting mostly of persons without any special training, who have failed in all other occupations and eke out a more miserable existence than even the average tailor or shoemaker. If the 35,273 persons constituting this army be disregarded, there is a remainder of only 22,574 in all the other professions—law, medicine, the ministry, government service, and service in public institutions.

The real cause of this seeming aversion of the Jew in Russia to a professional career, like so many features of Russian Jewish life, must be sought in the legal conditions of his existence. The relation of the Russian state to this problem, like its relation to the problem of Jewish agriculture, has undergone many changes. The practice of a profession usually requires a thorough special preparatory education. In the first half of the last century it was the avowed object of the Russian Government to attract the Jews into the higher schools of learning, that being rightly considered the best method to break up Jewish exclusiveness and help along the natural assimilation of the Jewish race. For many years this plan met with but moderate success, the older and more conservative Jews considering the Christian schools as institutions destructive of the Jewish religion and traditions, especially since the entering into those schools usually led of necessity to infringement upon the strict Jewish Sabbath and dietary laws. The pioneers of the younger generation, on going into the secular schools, had to meet the strenuous opposition of the other members of their families and often were forced to break family ties entirely.

Gradually, however, these prejudices gave way. But simultaneously with this change of feeling the attitude of the Government toward the problem of

education of the Jews also changed. In the beginning of the eighties the proportion of Jews to be admitted to some schools was limited to a certain percentage of the students admitted. The growing number of Jewish students in the "gymnasiums" (high schools) and universities began to be looked upon with alarm. It was pointed out by opponents that the proportion of Jews was growing to be larger in the schools than in the population at large. The fact was disregarded that, while constituting about 10 to 12 per cent of the population of the Pale, the Jews made up almost one-half of the population of the cities, which alone could be expected to furnish students of secondary and higher institutions of learning.

In the summer of 1887 the minister of instruction was empowered to limit the number of Jewish students to be admitted into the secondary institutions of learning. This limit was defined as 10 per cent for the institutions located within the Pale, 5 per cent in the remaining cities, and only 3 per cent in the two capital cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg. The measure was justified as necessary to maintain a more "normal proportion between the number of Jewish and Christian students." The result of this was that the classes in many classical and technical high schools remained half empty, for in the cities where the Jews constituted from 50 to 75 per cent of the population only 10 per cent of the high-school boys could be of Jewish faith.

A full high-school diploma is required to gain entrance to the university, yet it was found that many more Jewish than Christian boys were clamoring for admission. Besides, the effect of this limitation in regard to entrance into high schools could affect the university only in eight years, the course in the gymnasium lasting that long. The rule was therefore extended to the universities and other higher institutions of learning as well. The temporary rules have been enforced now for almost twenty years, but the number of Jewish applications for admission to the universities is still considerably larger than the number of vacancies provided for them, and hundreds of young men who can afford it, and a great many who really can not, through the universities of Germany, Switzerland, France, Austria-Hungary, and even the United States and Italy. Only a small minority can avail itself of such an expedient.

The granting of so-called autonomy to Russian universities in September, 1905, raised the hope that the restrictions in regard to the admission of Jews to the schools, at least so far as the universities are concerned, would be abolished. As a matter of fact, in the fall of 1905 and 1906 some universities and technical schools disregarded all restrictions as established by the rules of 1887. The practice, however, was not universal. With the establishment of more normal conditions the question came up again. Recently the minister of public instruction has insisted upon the enforcement of the rules as they existed before autonomy was granted. In some institutions the old rules have therefore been applied in their entirety, in others the number of Jewish students admitted was above this legal limit. The ministry of public instruction permitted this accomplished infraction of the rules to stand, while insisting that such exceptions shall not be granted in the future. The situation, therefore, at present is about the same as it was before autonomy was granted.

More direct difficulties stand in the way of the Jews who try to enter the legal profession. While the admission of applicants to the bar, according to the law, depends upon local courts, since 1889 further admission to the bar of Jewish counselors at law is conditional upon a special permit of the minister of justice in each case.

As in the case of the limitation of the right of entering colleges, these restrictions were defended on the ground of the abnormal increase of the number of Jews in the professional schools of the universities. The practical Jew, it was said, did not care for higher education as such, but only for the lucrative profession to which a college education led. The extremely limited number of Jewish students in the purely scientific departments of the universities was claimed to prove this assertion. It should be said that very few can afford a purely scientific course in view of the fact that very few positions in the government service are open to the Jews. The highly centralized system of Russian Government and the enormous administrative machine of Russia necessitate an army of government employees, and government service has always been the most popular profession of the educated classes in Russia. Besides, almost all the educational institutions are either governmental institutions or under government supervision, and teaching in universities, colleges, and secondary and even public schools is included under government employment.

Therefore not only an official but also a scientific or pedagogical career is out of the reach of the Jew in Russia.

Government employ has not been open to the Jews since 1828, but in the sixties some exceptions were made for Jews who received a medical education, the right of service in the medical department of the army having been given to them. Since 1882 the number of Jewish physicians and surgeons to be employed by the department has been limited to 5 per cent. While the law is not clear in regard to the teaching profession, there are no Jewish professors in the Russian universities, only a few docents, and no teachers in high schools and primary public schools for Christian pupils. Jewish teachers practice their profession only in special schools for Jews or in a few private institutions of learning.

It is customary in Russia to make a distinction between "government service," i. e., service in the employ of the central Government, and "public service," i. e., service in local elective bodies or in the employ of the organs of local self-government, the "zemstvos," or the municipalities, etc. These latter institutions of self-government are also under the supervision of the central Government, and the rights of the Jews in the domain of the public service are considerably curtailed. About the only important branch of public service in which Jews may receive appointments is the medical branch. The "zemstvos" (local self-government of the Provinces and counties) employ a large number of physicians, druggists, nurses, and midwives to give gratuitous medical attendance to the peasants, and in this line of work persons of Jewish faith sometimes obtain appointments. These appointments are made by the "zemstvos," but require the approval of the governors.

With so few opportunities in these avenues of employment, private practice of law and medicine remains almost the only field in which the educated Russian Jew may try his fortune. The result is an overcrowding of the professions, which is strongly felt in the towns of the Pale, where the general poverty of the masses reacts upon the earnings of the professional classes. Many graduate lawyers are forced to remain bank clerks at 10 rubles (\$5.15) per week, and it is not unusual for physicians to receive only 30 to 40 kopecks (15 to 21 cents) for a visit at the patient's house. That the earnings of a practicing physician are not large is shown by the anxiety of the Jewish physicians to obtain the "zemstvo" positions spoken of above, which pay only 1,000 to 1,200 rubles (\$515 to \$618) a year. The graduates of the other schools usually make use of the right of living in the large cities outside of the Pale, and devote themselves to literature and journalism, the material returns being very moderate indeed. Cases of official change of religion are more frequent in Russia among professional persons and graduates of universities than among other classes of Jews, not only because the old bonds of religion are weakened, but also because the material advantages to be obtained are greater.

PAUPERISM AND CHARITY.

PAUPERISM.

The insecurity of the earnings of the independent artisans, the low wages of the factory and small-shop employees, the petty business profits of the merchants, and the extreme difficulty of finding employment after it is once lost have all been indicated in the preceding pages, yet observers of the life in Jewish towns state that there are few professional paupers in comparison with the Russian towns, and that the paupers seen are usually either old and decrepit persons or children; that is, people who are unable to make a living.^a

Even if the number of professional paupers, or persons who exist exclusively by private or public charity, is not so great among the Jews in Russia as one might expect, especially in view of the fact that professional pauperism is tolerated in that country, the number of the poor is extremely large, even interpreting the term "poor" in its narrower sense. In the broader sense of a person with an insufficient income, a person unable to make any savings and forced to live from hand to mouth, probably 90 per cent of the Russian Jews are poor. Robert Hunter says:

"Poverty is a much broader term than pauperism. Those who are in poverty may be able to get a bare sustenance, but they are not able to obtain those necessities which will permit them to maintain a state of physical efficiency."

^a See V Cherte Evreiskoy Osedlosti (In the Jewish Pale), by A. P. Subbotin. St. Petersburg, 1888, Vol. I.

Even this definition is perhaps somewhat too broad for our purpose. The poor as described therein are those persons who do not need to apply to charity, yet there are among the Jews in Russia a multitude of persons who occupy a middle ground. Not paupers "who depend upon public or private charity for sustenance" all the time, but persons who are not able to meet all the extraordinary expenses of the daily life, and who are therefore at intervals forced to apply, hateful as it may be to their feeling of self-respect, to public or private charity. Such extraordinary emergencies occur in the life of a poor Jewish family with distressing regularity, due to a peculiar cause, the religious holidays.

The Jewish holidays are not many, but they have an importance and holiness which, for the orthodox Jew at least, make their fitting celebration an absolute law. These obligatory celebrations mean comparatively large expenditures of money, which a considerable number of the Jews are unable to meet, and it is then that the greatest amount of assistance is both given and received. It is noteworthy that so well is the exceptional nature of the occasion understood that the complaint has never been made that this form of charity leads to idleness and pauperism or to destruction of self-respect. Some such principle guides one form of charity in the United States, namely, the Christmas dinners organized for the poor by various charitable organizations, notably the Salvation Army. But those dinners are admittedly for the benefit of the very poor and consist in the direct administration of food in a fashion scarcely acceptable to the self-respecting poor, while in Russia a slight contribution of a few rubles to a family so as to enable it to celebrate in fitting fashion the holy days is considered more in the nature of a religious duty than a charitable act.

Even the ordinary "Shabees" (Sabbath) is a serious function with the orthodox. It demands not only absolute rest, but various observances in the way of special food, etc. The whole thought of the poor Jew, and especially of the Jewish woman, during the week is directed to so manage as to be able to comply with the Sabbath requirements in a manner befitting a good Jew. That requires at least the regulation white bread, the fish, etc.; and the success of the week's work is judged by the ability to observe the Sabbath in the proper way. Then there is the Passover week, which is the only holiday to be compared in holiness to the Sabbath, and this period is a great deal more exacting than an ordinary Sabbath so far as expenditure is concerned. It demands not only several days of interruption in work, but also many special dishes, the preparation of which is costly. Moreover, the demands of the Passover are absolutely peremptory. The religious law not only enjoins the eating of certain things during this week, but absolutely prohibits the eating of ordinary bread. There are other demands no less difficult of observance by the poorer Jews. In fact, the Jewish family that lives from hand to mouth often finds itself facing the approaching Passover absolutely unable to meet it according to the commands of the Hebrew law, and consequently in danger of committing a serious sin. Assistance of Jewish families during this season is the most common form of charitable work. At that time the Jewish people may truly be said to be divided into givers and receivers.

The data in regard to assistance distributed at that critical period are, therefore, the fullest possible measure of distress, the number immediately rising with every general fall in the prosperity of the people. The data were collected by the Jewish Colonization Society in its report, but the serious mistake was committed of broadly defining as paupers the entire number of people who applied for this kind of relief, of whom many often did not apply at all, but customarily received some small sum.

Taken in this limited sense, as a measure of general distress but not of direct pauperism, the number of families receiving help for the Passover is nevertheless very significant. Information was obtained from more than 1,200 localities, containing over 700,000 families, and the families assisted reached the enormous number of 132,855, or almost 19 per cent. The proportion of families receiving assistance varied greatly as between different provinces, most of the Polish provinces showing a percentage as low as 14, while the three provinces of Lithuania gave a percentage of 22. This agrees with the general observation, frequently emphasized in this article, that the Jews in Lithuania are probably lower in the economic scale than the Jews of any other part of the Pale, because the congestion of Jews is greatest there. Still more significant is the fact that the number of families assisted is rapidly growing. From many localities comparative data for several years have been obtained which conclusively show this rapid increase. By adding the data for all the localities for which information has been obtained it is found that within the short period

of five years the number of families assisted had increased from 85,183 in 1894 to 108,922 families in 1898, an increase of 27.9 per cent. The amount of assistance given is usually small, sometimes falling as low as 75 kopecks (39 cents), and, where, the distribution of funds takes place through some organized agency, seldom exceeding 3 rubles (\$1.55), a contribution which is not sufficient to put the recipient into the category of paupers.

Since this group of persons needing some assistance almost equals one-fifth of the total Jewish population of the Pale, all occupation groups have their representatives among them. An investigation in Odessa showed that the unskilled laborers were the most numerous recipients of this charity, but there was also a large number of artisans, such as tailors and shoemakers, as well as many persons who gained a precarious living from retail trade, peddlers, pushcart men and women.

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

The foregoing remarks refer to what might be called normal conditions, such as existed before the present anti-Jewish sentiment manifested itself.

The assistance by means of a small payment before the Passover being the most frequent form of charitable work serves best as a measure of the extent of the need for charity, but it by no means represents all of the charitable work needed or given in the Pale. On the contrary, the charitable institutions are numerous and varied.

It is well known that when two hundred and fifty years ago the first Jews applied for permission to come into North America, namely, into New Amsterdam, they were granted the permission under the condition that they care for their own poor—a condition they have faithfully kept. It was scarcely necessary to exact that condition, for the care of the poor is a characteristic feature of the Jewish people. Though the Russian Jews were an integral part of the population of the region in which they lived long before the time they came under the domination of the Russian Government, the Russian code of laws contains a similar provision in regard to the Jews and their poor.

This demand could have been made only because of the special Jewish communal organizations which exist in the towns of the Pale, and which are not only recognized by law, but intrusted with certain powers and duties, the most important of which, from an economic point of view, being the collection of taxes. A series of special taxes, direct as well as indirect, have been established (the principal one being the tax on meat) for the purpose of supplying the community with means to do charitable work, support schools, hospitals, etc. The amount and the object of the tax, in addition to the indirect tax on meat, are determined by the community under the supervision and with the approval of the authorities, but the tax is not collected directly by the community; it is rented out at auction, also with the approval of the administration. The tax, therefore, must bring an income, not only to the community, but also to the lessor. Moreover, the actual distribution of the sums collected is not intrusted to the Jewish community, but to the local authorities. The budget must be approved by the governor of the province. Unnecessary economy in the distribution of the funds usually results and large sums are transferred to the public treasury, after which an application for these funds to be used for charitable enterprises must have the approval of the ministry of finance.

The income from these special taxes, nevertheless, remains a very important item of the budgets of the various charitable institutions, but no less important are the private contributions and those of the various nonofficial charitable organizations.

The following statement shows the number of each of the most common types of charitable organizations known among the Jews in Russia:

Societies for general relief.....	290
Hospitals and dispensaries.....	112
Committees for the care of the sick.....	665
Homes for the old and the infirm.....	126
Lodging houses and houses of refuge for strangers.....	180
Societies for noninterest-bearing loans.....	350
Societies for distribution of food.....	500
Societies for distribution of clothing.....	72
Societies for assisting poor brides.....	51
Total.....	2,346

The variety and number of relief societies is characteristic not only of the great need for them, but also of the charitable traditions of the Jews.

The divers functions of these charitable organizations are of special interest to the American, because many similar organizations, though usually on a much larger scale than in Russia, have been established in the United States by the Jewish immigrants, who thus introduce types of relief little known to the American charity worker. It is well, therefore, to begin with the description of these specialized institutions.

Perhaps the most important from an economic point of view are the institutions for gratuitous credit. The high cost of credit in the Pale is a serious cause of distress, since the smallest loan may often lead a self-supporting family to financial ruin. It may not be difficult for the petty trader or the artisan to obtain a small loan, but the conditions are usually onerous. The money lender charges exorbitant interest, which may reach 20, 30, or even 60 per cent. The following is a typical case:

An artisan borrows 50 rubles (\$25.75), with an agreement to pay up in weekly installments of 1 ruble (51.5 cents) per week; but the interest, amounting to 12 rubles (\$6.18), is deducted from the loan at the time it is made, only 38 rubles (\$19.57) being actually received by the borrower, and under the plan of paying the loan in weekly installments, covering principal and interest, the rate of interest amounts to about 59 per cent per annum.

In 1895, by a special law, the formation of small societies for mutual credit was facilitated, and by 1902 there were within the Pale 50 societies of that nature, in which the Jews constituted the predominating element. But since that year the authorities have demanded that two-thirds of the board of directors of all such new societies shall consist of Christian men and that the chairman shall be a Christian. These limitations have effectively stopped the increase in the number of Jewish credit societies of the mutual kind, and have emphasized the necessity for the charitable institutions.

It is characteristic that of the 350 loan societies 205, or 58.6 per cent, are found in northwestern Russia, not only because the need for them is greater there, but because the communal feeling and social activity is much greater in that region.

The revenues, and therefore the range of activity, of these societies are very small. Of 253 organizations for which the amount of capital was given, 77 had less than 100 rubles (\$51.50) each, 112 had from 100 to 500 rubles (\$51.50 to \$257.50) each, 38 had from 500 to 1,000 rubles (\$257.50 to \$515) each, and only 26 had over 1,000 rubles (\$515) each. The resources being so limited, the loans range from 3 to 15 rubles (\$1.55 to \$7.73), and seldom exceed 25 rubles (\$12.88). Yet, in its conception, it is a useful method of granting relief. Several large organizations of this kind exist in New York City. Some of these societies require security in the shape of valuables, others require the guaranty of some well-to-do person, but the rule is not to charge any interest for the loan. The most significant feature of these organizations is that they are not established by the private munificence of some one person, but by means of small contributions from almost all the members of the local Jewish community, the contributions sometimes being not greater than 25 kopecks (13 cents) per annum.

There is nothing especially interesting to be said in regard to the 112 Jewish hospitals existing in the Jewish cities of the Pale. Besides the general insufficiency of hospital facilities in Russian towns, there is the important consideration of the religious dietary laws, which make separate Jewish hospitals necessary. There are a few hospitals endowed by private charity, but most of these institutions are supported out of the special taxes spoken of above. Most of the large hospitals are located in the south and southwest, and while northwestern Russia has a greater share of all other charitable institutions, it has only a few hospitals. A hospital is an establishment that annually requires a large sum of money for its support, and few northwestern towns can afford to make the necessary outlay.

The lack of hospitals in the northwest is partly compensated by numerous societies for the care of the sick at their homes. Out of a total of 665 such societies, 349 are located in the northwestern, 143 in the southern and the southwestern, and 173 in the Polish Provinces. The functions of these circles are varied, ranging from financial assistance and hiring of medical help to actual care of the sick by members of the circle. The budget of such a circle seldom exceeds 500 rubles (\$257.50) each year.

The organizations for furnishing food to the needy at a nominal compensation, or absolutely free, are not many and exist mainly in the larger cities. Thus, the dining room for the poor in Vilna distributes during the year about 200,000 dinners, at the average cost to itself of 8 or 9 kopecks (4.1 or 4.6 cents), while the price charged is 3 or 5 kopecks (1.5 to 2.6 cents). This is the result of an effort to substitute organized assistance for the traditional custom of having some poor person at one's table, a custom that is still observed in the smaller towns, and is a form of charity specially popular during the most important holidays, when one or two poor persons are to be seen at the tables of the richest men of the town each Saturday, if not every day. The poor scholars of the "kheders" and of the "eshiboths" (institutions for higher instruction in the Hebrew language and Jewish theology) are the most frequent recipients of this primitive form of charity, but the practice is rapidly dying out. It was customary for such poor students to make their way through the school by boarding at seven places, one day a week at each place. Another form of charity which is rapidly vanishing is the assistance to poor brides. This consists in small subsidies, sometimes limited to 5 rubles (\$2.58) for the purchase of the most necessary household utensils. Since marriage is strongly urged on each and every Jewish youth and maiden, it is considered a holy act to assist poor girls to its consummation.

The more primitive charitable institutions are centered around the local synagogue, because charitable activity has among all nations found its inception in the religious feeling, but the more modern organizations are managed by special boards and committees, and are frequently incorporated. But no matter how the organization is effected, practically each Jewish family, unless it be itself a recipient of charity, contributes to some charitable purpose, even if it be only 2 kopecks (1 cent) a week, this sum not infrequently being the regular dues in some of the societies of the smaller towns. Even a superficial acquaintance with the life of the Russian Jews in the large American cities shows the same tendencies to mutual help and self-help to a marked degree, the desire to take care of its own poor and sick being still strong in the Jewish race.

* * * * *

The facts detailed in the foregoing pages indicate how deeply the lives of the Russian Jews have been influenced by the legal conditions under which they live. A study of these conditions and their economic results seems to be doubly important for a clear understanding of Russian Jewish immigration to this country; not only because these conditions shape the physical, psychological, and economic status of the immigrant, but also because they are of decisive influence in determining the very dimensions of the current of immigration from western Russia to the United States.

CHAPTER V.

CHARACTER OF RUSSIAN IMMIGRATION.

RUSSIA'S POPULATION.

The only complete census of Russia's population was made in 1897, and this was followed by a census of Finland in 1900. The total population of the Empire, including Asiatic Russia but excluding Finland, was 125,640,021. Of this number 102,845,117 were in European Russia with Poland; 9,289,364 in the Caucasus, and 13,505,540 in Asia. The population of Finland in 1900 was 2,712,562.

Approximately 100 races, peoples, or tribes are recorded in the Russian census, about 20 of these being confined almost entirely to Asia. Some of the principal racial elements in the population of European Russia and Finland are shown in the following table:

TABLE 13.—*Population of Russia in 1897 and of Finland in 1900, by race or people.*

[Compiled from Dictionary of Races or Peoples. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 5.]

Race or people.	Population in Russia, 1897.	Population in Finland, 1900.
Great Russian.....	48,825,881	
Little Russian.....	20,750,203	
White Russian.....	5,852,730	
Total Russian.....	75,428,814	5,939
Polish.....	7,865,437	
Jewish (Hebrew).....	4,982,189	
Turko-Tatar.....	4,626,454	
Ugro-Finnic.....	3,417,770	
Lithuanian.....	3,077,436	
Finnish.....		2,352,900
German.....	1,719,462	1,925
Latins.....	1,132,858	
Swedish.....		349,733
All others.....	594,697	1,975
Total.....	102,845,117	2,712,562

RACES ENTERING THE UNITED STATES.

As would be expected from a country of such varied population, the immigration to the United States from the Russian Empire is of a notably heterogeneous character. In the table next presented is shown the number and proportion each race was of the total immigration from the Russian Empire and Finland for each fiscal year from 1899 to 1910, inclusive.

TABLE 14.—Immigration to the United States from the Russian Empire and Finland, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by races or peoples.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

NUMBER.

Year.	Fin- nish.	Ger- man.	Hebrew.	Lithu- anian.	Polish.	Rus- sian.	Scandi- navian.	All others.	Total.
1899.....	6,048	5,383	24,275	6,838	15,517	1,657	1,012	252	60,982
1900.....	12,515	5,349	37,011	10,297	22,500	1,165	1,859	91	90,787
1901.....	9,966	5,643	37,660	8,805	21,475	655	1,025	28	85,257
1902.....	13,854	8,542	37,846	9,975	33,859	1,536	1,727	8	107,347
1903.....	18,776	10,485	47,689	14,420	39,548	3,565	1,571	39	136,093
1904.....	10,077	7,128	77,544	12,707	32,577	3,907	871	330	145,141
1905.....	16,671	6,722	92,388	17,649	47,224	3,278	690	275	184,897
1906.....	13,461	10,279	125,234	13,697	46,204	5,282	937	571	215,665
1907.....	14,311	13,480	114,932	24,811	73,122	16,085	1,416	786	258,943
1908.....	6,303	10,009	71,978	13,270	37,947	16,324	527	353	156,711
1909.....	11,202	7,781	39,150	14,595	37,770	9,099	591	272	120,460
1910.....	14,999	10,016	59,824	21,676	63,635	14,768	1,398	286	186,602
Total.....	148,183	100,817	765,531	168,740	471,378	77,321	13,624	3,291	1,748,885

PER CENT.

1899.....	9.9	8.8	39.8	11.2	25.4	2.7	1.7	0.4	100.0
1900.....	13.8	5.9	40.8	11.3	24.8	1.3	2.0	.1	100.0
1901.....	11.7	6.6	44.2	10.0	25.2	.8	1.2	(a)	100.0
1902.....	12.9	8.0	35.3	9.3	31.5	1.4	1.6	(a)	100.0
1903.....	13.8	7.7	35.0	10.6	29.1	2.6	1.2	(a)	100.0
1904.....	6.9	4.9	53.4	8.8	22.4	2.7	.6	.2	100.0
1905.....	9.0	3.6	50.0	9.5	25.5	1.8	.4	.1	100.0
1906.....	6.2	4.8	58.1	6.4	21.4	2.4	.4	.3	100.0
1907.....	5.5	5.2	44.4	9.6	28.2	6.2	.5	.3	100.0
1908.....	4.0	6.4	45.9	8.5	24.2	10.4	.3	.2	100.0
1909.....	9.3	6.5	32.5	12.1	31.4	7.6	.5	.2	100.0
1910.....	8.0	5.4	32.1	11.6	34.1	7.9	.7	.2	100.0
Total.....	8.5	5.8	43.8	9.6	27.0	4.4	.8	.2	100.0

* Less than 0.05 per cent.

The predominating element of the immigration to the United States from the Russian Empire is Hebrew, that race comprising 43.8 per cent of the total immigration during the period 1899 to 1910, inclusive. Second in importance were the Polish, who furnish 27 per cent of the immigration from Russia. The remaining races furnish only comparatively small proportions. The Russians, it will be noted, were only 4.4 per cent of the total.

However, though the Finns, Lithuanians, and Russians from Russia are only a relatively small proportion of the immigration of that country, nevertheless they comprise practically all of the Finns, Lithuanians, and Russians who come to the United States. On the other hand, the Hebrews from Russia were only 71.2 per cent of the total Hebrew immigration from 1899 to 1910, inclusive; the Polish from Russia were less than half the total Polish immigration; and the Germans from Russia were only 13.4 per cent of the total number of Germans who came to the United States during the period considered. The following table shows for the principal races coming from Russia the total number who came to the United States during the period 1899 to 1910, inclusive, and the number and proportion of each that were from Russia.

TABLE 15.—*Total immigration to the United States of races or peoples specified and per cent of such immigration which originated in the Russian Empire and Finland, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race.	Total number coming to the United States.	From the Russian Empire and Finland.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Finnish.....	151,774	148,183	97.6
German.....	754,375	100,817	13.4
Hebrew.....	1,074,442	765,531	71.2
Lithuanian.....	175,258	168,740	96.3
Polish.....	949,064	471,378	49.7
Russian.....	83,574	77,321	92.5
Scandinavian.....	586,306	13,624	2.3

RATE OF IMMIGRATION AMONG VARIOUS RACES.

An analysis of Tables 13 and 14 shows that while there has been a large immigration from Russia to the United States in recent years some of the most important racial elements in the population have contributed little or nothing to the movement. The following table shows the average annual immigration to the United States in 1899 to 1910, of the Russian peoples which formed the greater part of the movement from that country, and compares such immigration with the population of such peoples in the Empire:

TABLE 16.—*Population of certain races in European Russia in 1897, and in Finland in 1900, compared to the average annual immigration of such races to the United States from Russia and Finland, for the twelve fiscal years 1899 to 1910.*

Race or people.	Population in Russia, 1897, and in Finland, 1900, combined.	Average annual immigration to the United States from Russia and Finland, 1899-1910.	Ratio of immigration to population.
Russian.....	^a 75,434,753	^b 6,530	1 to 11,552
Polish.....	7,865,437	39,282	1 to 200
Jewish (Hebrew).....	4,982,189	63,794	1 to 78
Lithuanian.....	3,077,436	14,062	1 to 212
Finnish.....	^c 2,352,990	12,348	1 to 191
German.....	^d 1,721,387	8,401	1 to 205
Swedish.....	^e 349,733	1,135	1 to 308

^a 5,939 in Finland.

^b Includes Russians and Ruthenians (Little Russian).

^c All in Finland.

^d 1,925 in Finland.

^e Scandinavian, probably nearly all Swedish.

By comparing the preceding table with Table 13, page 337, it will be noted that two important factors in the population of Russia, the Turko-Tatar and the Ugro-Finnic, are not represented in the immigration movement to the United States.^a These races are chiefly

^a For description of these races see Dictionary of Races or Peoples. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 5. (S. Doc. No. 662, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)

interesting in this connection because of the possibility that in the future they may contribute largely to the tide of immigration from Russia. The total number of Turko-Tatars in the Russian Empire, including Russia in Asia, is 13,601,251. It does not appear that any considerable number of them have emigrated to the United States or elsewhere, but in this respect they are peculiar among the peoples of Europe and so far as the Commission could learn there is no assurance that the condition will continue.

The Ugro-Finns of Russia are related to the Finns of Finland, which race has contributed largely to the immigration movement from the Russian Empire to the United States in recent years. The Ugro-Finns for the most part live in European Russia proper, the census of 1897 showing only 84,377 in the Caucasus and Asiatic Russia, and if any have come to the United States as immigrants the number is insignificant.

While there has been a considerable movement of true Russians to the United States in recent years, the number of immigrants is very small when compared with the population. When the three principal branches of the Russian race (Great Russian, Little Russian, and White Russian) are combined, the total population is greater than that of any other race or people in Europe. This affords a practically unlimited source of immigration and one which may reasonably be expected to contribute largely to the movement from Europe to the United States in the future. A total of 77,321 Russians and 1,034 Little Russians or Ruthenians were admitted to the United States from Russia in the twelve years ending June 30, 1910. The great increase in the number of Russians admitted in the latter years of the period, as shown in Table 14, is significant and there is little reason to doubt that the emigrating spirit which in recent years has spread among the people in a great part of eastern Europe, including large sections of western Russia, will continue to spread in the latter country. Up to the present time immigration from Russia has been composed for the most part of Hebrews, Poles, Lithuanians, Finns, and Germans, but in a broad sense the general economic conditions which in large part impel the emigration of these races prevail also among true Russians, and already they are beginning to seek relief through emigration.

The necessity for emigration among the true Russians undoubtedly has been mitigated to some degree by the large migration of peasants from Russia to Siberia, which movement is described in Chapter II.

SEX OF IMMIGRANTS.

During the twelve fiscal years ending June 30, 1910, 69.5 per cent of all immigrants, and about the same proportion of European immigrants, to the United States were males. Of the races which predominate in immigration from Russia the Finns, Lithuanians, and Poles vary but little from the general rule in this regard, but this is not true of the Hebrews, Germans, and Russians, the former two being much above and the latter much below the average. These facts are shown in the table which follows.

TABLE 17.—Immigration to the United States of the races or peoples which predominate in the immigration from Russia, by sex and age, fiscal years 1899 to 1910.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Total number of immigrants.	Number.		Per cent.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Finnish.....	151,774	100,289	51,485	66.1	33.9
German.....	754,375	448,054	306,321	59.4	40.6
Hebrew.....	1,074,442	607,822	466,620	56.6	43.4
Lithuanian.....	175,258	123,777	51,481	70.6	29.4
Polish.....	949,064	659,267	289,797	69.5	30.5
Russian.....	83,574	71,022	12,552	85.0	15.0

The large proportion of females (40.6 per cent) among the Germans, and the still larger proportion (43.4 per cent) among the Hebrews, indicates that the immigration of families is a more important factor among these races than among the others. On the other hand, there are comparatively few families among the Russians, but this is not surprising for their immigration is a development of recent years, and as a rule men constitute the greater part of the early immigration of any race. It should be noted in this connection that the data shown in the preceding table refer to immigrants of the various races from all sources, and consequently represent only approximately the movement from Russia.

OCCUPATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS.

The table which follows shows the number of each race or people predominating in the immigration from Russia who reported some occupation and the per cent of these who reported the various occupations enumerated:

TABLE 18.—Per cent of immigrants admitted to the United States reporting each specified occupation, by races or peoples which predominate in the immigration from Russia, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Number reporting employment.	Per cent who were—				
		In professional occupations.	In skilled occupations.	Farm laborers.	Laborers	In other occupations.
Finnish.....	123,008	0.3	6.0	5.2	62.0	26.5
German.....	458,293	3.5	30.0	17.9	19.8	28.8
Hebrew.....	590,267	1.3	67.1	1.9	11.8	18.0
Lithuanian.....	141,540	.1	6.7	29.5	46.6	17.2
Polish.....	748,430	.2	6.3	30.5	44.8	18.1
Russian.....	69,986	1.4	9.1	39.4	43.3	6.8

The most conspicuous feature of these data is the relatively very low proportion of farm laborers and laborers and the preponderance of persons in skilled occupations among the Hebrews. This is easily accounted for among the Hebrews from Russia, for, as has been explained in previous chapters, their places of habitation are re-

stricted to certain towns and cities and the nature of their occupations are largely determined by this fact.

ILLITERACY IN RUSSIA.

According to the Russian census of 1897, which affords the latest available data on the subject, 78.9 per cent of the total population of the Empire, exclusive of Finland, and 72 per cent of the population over 9 years old were illiterate. The distribution of illiteracy in the five great territorial divisions of the Empire is shown in the following table:

TABLE 19.—Per cent of illiteracy in the population of the Russian Empire (exclusive of Finland) in 1897.

[Compiled from the Statesman's Year-Book.]

Territorial division.	Per cent of illiteracy among—			Per cent of illiteracy among persons of both sexes over 9 years of age.
	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	
European Russia.....	67.4	86.3	77.1	70.0
Poland.....	65.8	73.2	69.5	59.0
Caucasus.....	81.8	94.0	87.6	83.0
Siberia.....	80.8	94.9	87.7	84.0
Steppes.....	92.1	97.8	94.7	93.0
Empire.....	70.6	86.9	78.9	72.0

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES.

In his article on the economic condition of the Jews in Russia,^a which is extensively quoted elsewhere in this report, Mr. I. M. Rubinow discusses the educational opportunities of the Russian people, with particular reference to the Hebrews, as follows:

* * * * *

According to the Russian census of 1897 there were in a population of 125,640,021 persons, 26,569,585 literate persons, or 21.1 per cent. The number of males who could read and write was 18,318,812 out of a total of 62,477,348, or 29.3 per cent, while the number of literate females was 8,250,773 out of 63,162,673, or 13.1 per cent. Thus the degree of Russian illiteracy is not so great as frequent assertions in the press would make it appear, for one often sees the statement that more than 90 per cent of the Russian people can neither read nor write. Moreover, the proportion stated above does not take into consideration the large number of children of tender age, who should certainly be excluded in calculating the percentage of illiteracy.

But the point which must be emphasized here is that the proportion of illiterate persons of Jewish faith is much smaller. Of 5,215,805 persons of Jewish faith there were 2,031,497 literate persons, or 39 per cent, which gives a per cent of literacy almost double that of the total population of Russia. Of 2,547,144 males, 1,259,248, or 49.4 per cent, were literate, while of 2,668,661 females, 772,249, or only 29 per cent, could read. Thus the proportionate literacy of the Jews is about twice as high as that of the entire Russian nation.

A better idea of the degree of literacy and illiteracy among the Jews, in comparison to the entire population of the Russian Empire, may be obtained

^a Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor, No. 72, September, 1907.

by means of a table giving the number and per cent of persons able to read, by age groups. These data are presented in the table following. Unfortunately the basis for this table in the reports of the Russian census is not religion, but nationality as determined by the mother tongue. As a result about two hundred thousand Jews of the higher, more educated classes, who claimed Russian as their mother tongue, have been excluded, which undoubtedly reduces the actual percentage of Jewish persons able to read.

Literacy of the total Russian population and of the Jewish population in each specified age group, by sex, 1897.

[From Premier Recensement Général de la Population de l'Empire de Russie, 1897.]

Age group.	All Russia.			Jews.		
	Total population.	Literates.		Total.	Literates.	
		Number.	Per cent of total population.		Number.	Per cent of total Jews.
MALE.						
Under 1 year.....	2,155,199	•		82,607		
1 to 9 years.....	14,975,808	789,489	5.3	637,496	77,781	12.2
10 to 19 years.....	13,094,402	5,955,693	45.5	563,622	336,863	59.8
20 to 29 years.....	10,145,066	4,552,412	44.9	414,791	294,365	71.0
30 to 39 years.....	7,893,941	3,118,509	39.5	284,037	198,413	69.9
40 to 49 years.....	5,873,596	1,950,533	33.2	196,560	132,620	67.5
50 to 59 years.....	4,110,800	1,087,720	26.5	148,672	91,555	61.6
60 years or over.....	4,202,616	858,322	20.2	142,684	77,452	54.3
Age unknown.....	25,920	6,134	23.7	926	442	47.7
Total.....	62,477,348	18,318,812	29.3	2,471,395	1,209,491	48.9
10 years of age or over.....	45,346,341	17,529,323	38.7	1,751,292	1,131,710	64.6
FEMALE.						
Under 1 year.....	2,136,542			79,270		
1 to 9 years.....	15,071,969	461,097	3.1	639,006	44,222	6.9
10 to 19 years.....	13,359,380	2,915,494	21.8	646,552	282,590	43.7
20 to 29 years.....	10,215,904	1,995,914	19.5	429,693	195,953	45.6
30 to 39 years.....	7,912,107	1,245,535	15.7	294,282	100,458	34.1
40 to 49 years.....	5,832,868	735,910	12.6	214,246	55,013	25.7
50 to 59 years.....	4,210,657	465,619	11.1	159,283	32,029	20.1
60 years or over.....	4,398,724	428,056	9.7	128,588	19,182	14.9
Age unknown.....	24,522	3,158	12.9	841	219	26.0
Total.....	63,162,673	8,250,773	13.1	2,591,761	729,666	28.2
10 years of age or over.....	45,954,162	7,789,676	17.0	1,873,485	685,444	36.6
TOTAL.						
Under 1 year.....	4,291,741			161,877		
1 to 9 years.....	30,047,777	1,250,586	4.1	1,276,502	122,003	9.6
10 to 19 years.....	26,453,782	8,871,187	33.5	1,210,174	619,453	51.2
20 to 29 years.....	20,360,970	6,548,326	32.2	844,484	490,318	58.1
30 to 39 years.....	15,806,048	4,364,044	27.6	578,319	298,871	51.7
40 to 49 years.....	11,706,464	2,686,443	22.9	410,806	187,033	45.7
50 to 59 years.....	8,321,457	1,553,339	18.7	307,955	123,584	40.1
60 years or over.....	8,601,340	1,286,378	15.0	271,272	96,634	35.6
Age unknown.....	50,442	9,292	18.4	1,767	661	37.4
Total.....	125,640,021	26,569,585	21.1	5,063,156	1,939,157	38.3
10 years of age or over.....	91,300,503	25,318,999	27.7	3,624,777	1,817,154	50.1

The following deductions may be made from the above table:

Of those over 10 years of age the illiteracy among the Jews is considerably smaller than for the total population of the Russian Empire, it being 72.3 per cent for the entire country and only 49.9 per cent for the Jews. For the male

population over 10 years of age the comparative figures of illiteracy are: For the total 61.3 per cent and for the Jews only 35.4 per cent. For the female population over 10 years of age the data of illiteracy are: For the total 83 per cent and for the Jews 63.4 per cent.

When, however, the table is examined carefully it is found, both for the total population and for the Jews, that the lower the age of the class the higher is the percentage of literacy. This indicates an improving condition in Russia. The rise is more noticeable in the case of the total population, which seems to indicate that within recent years the cause of education has received greater stimulus among the Russian population than among the Jews.

Some slight rise is noticed also among the Jews, especially among women, the education of the latter being comparatively an innovation. Nevertheless it is worthy of notice that the highest age group among the Jews has a larger percentage of people able to read than the most educated total age group, there being proportionately more literate Jews over 60 years old than literate Russian population of the age of 10 to 19 years. In other words, fifty years ago the educational standard of the Jews was higher than that of the Russian people at large is at present. This comparison is certainly very significant.

It must be added that the data are 10 years old and that the general rise of education must have further reduced the percentage of illiterates among the Jews and among other persons in Russia.

This comparatively high standard of education, achieved, as will be shown presently, without any system of State obligatory schools, is to a great extent due to the religious spirit of the Jews. The ability to read his prayers is as sacred to the Jew of the older generation as it was to the New Englander of the colonial times and had the same effect of stimulating education. It follows that the majority of the Jews first learn to read the Hebrew alphabet; and since the same alphabet is used for the so-called Yiddish (a German dialect, the colloquial language of the Jewish mass), therefore the Jew who can read his prayers has the ability to read and write in his spoken tongue.

The vast majority of the Jews, and especially the Jews in the cities of the Pale, where they constitute the majority of the population, speak this Yiddish, but the mingling with persons who speak other tongues forces upon the average Jew a knowledge of some other language. The enforced use of Russian in all Government institutions makes some knowledge of Russian almost a necessity, and so, *nolens volens*, a great number of the Jews derive what additional culture there is to be obtained from a knowledge of a second language. In the following table are presented the data in regard to the number and per cent of Jews of all the age groups who can read Russian.

Number and per cent of Jews in each specified age group able to read Russian, by sex, 1897.

[From Premier Recensement Général de la Population de l'Empire de Russie, 1897.]

Age group.	Males.			Females.			Total.		
	Total.	Able to read Russian.		Total.	Able to read Russian.		Total.	Able to read Russian.	
		Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.
1 to 9 years	637, 496	40, 385	6. 3	639, 006	31, 520	4. 9	1, 276, 502	71, 905	5. 6
10 to 19 years	563, 622	237, 947	42. 2	646, 552	204, 648	31. 7	1, 210, 174	442, 595	36. 6
20 to 29 years	414, 791	217, 984	52. 5	429, 693	127, 737	29. 7	844, 484	345, 721	40. 9
30 to 39 years	284, 037	137, 615	48. 4	294, 282	52, 484	17. 8	578, 319	190, 099	32. 9
40 to 49 years	196, 560	79, 674	40. 5	214, 246	20, 931	9. 8	410, 806	100, 605	24. 5
50 to 59 years	148, 672	46, 302	31. 1	159, 283	9, 677	6. 1	307, 955	55, 979	18. 2
60 years or over	142, 684	31, 777	22. 3	128, 588	4, 657	3. 6	271, 272	36, 434	13. 4
Age unknown	926	315	34. 0	841	133	15. 8	1, 767	448	25. 4
Total	2, 388, 788	791, 999	33. 2	2, 512, 491	451, 787	17. 9	4, 901, 279	1, 243, 786	25. 4
10 years of age or over	1, 751, 292	751, 614	42. 9	1, 873, 485	420, 267	22. 5	3, 624, 777	1, 171, 881	32. 1

Thus it is found that more than two-fifths of the males 10 years of age or over and almost one-fourth of the females of the same age group are able to

read Russian. This feature of education is comparatively new, since the figures show that the percentage is larger among the lower than among the higher age periods. The age period of from 20 to 29 is the most characteristic among the males, 52.5 per cent being able to read Russian, while among the females 10 to 19 is the age period that shows the greatest proportion, 31.7 per cent being able to read that language.

To appreciate these results achieved by the Jews of the Pale within a very short time it is necessary to know something of the educational system as it exists in Russia. A system of gratuitous education supplied to all by the Government is an institution comparatively new to Russia. High schools and universities were established by the Government long before there were any schools for the common people. The emancipation of the serfs in 1861 found the Russians an illiterate people. It was only after the Government had established the so-called "zemstvos" that an organized effort was made to introduce schools in the rural districts, and the granting of some measure of municipal self-government to the cities gave the first impetus to the city schools. No such institutions were granted to the western Provinces of the Pale, because the foreign population was not trusted with such rights; therefore the Jew in Russia has never enjoyed the benefits of a general gratuitous governmental system of education.

While this may be considered a passive infringement of the Jew's opportunity for an elementary education, there have existed and still exist many other restrictions of a more direct kind. The limitations, by percentages, of Jewish students admitted to universities and high schools have been pointed out in the section on professional service. These restrictions exist even for private high schools, which are subject to governmental supervision in the same degree as governmental institutions.

To provide for the education of the Jewish children, who are thus almost debarred from the general schools, a few special Government schools are established, but these schools depend upon a limited fund and the number is very insufficient. The number of such schools at the end of the last century was determined to be 183, with an average of 113 pupils for each school. Two teachers' institutes for the preparation of Jewish teachers were established, but one of them was subsequently discontinued.

Without the benefits of a system of free education the Jews are forced to depend upon their own resources. Private schools and communal schools established and supported by charitable or other organizations have been opened in many places, the number of such schools with systematic courses being 637, so that the total number of schools in Russia for the Jews is 820.

But the number of schools in itself does not give a proper conception of the lack of educational facilities; much depends upon the size of the schools. The total number of pupils in these schools was determined to be about 50,000, and if the inevitable omissions are considered the number may be as great as 60,000; but if the number of children of school age be estimated at one-seventh of the total population (which is a very small proportion), it follows that out of more than 700,000 children less than 10 per cent enjoy the privilege of schooling in more or less organized schools, which, on the whole, have a course of studies lower in grade than that of a grammar school in the United States.

The Russian Jews owe their comparatively low degree of illiteracy to the peculiar Jewish institution called the "kheder," a denominational school the primary object of which is instruction in the Bible and in Jewish religion and learning. In practice this takes the form of instruction in the Hebrew language and in reading the Scriptures and the many commentaries. If the specific name of these schools has come to be used in the Russian language, it is because of the many peculiarities of their organization, which peculiarities have been preserved from time immemorial.

The "kheder" is a private school. The State interests itself little in the organization of these "kheders" beyond requiring that no person shall teach in them without a permit, and that he shall not teach anything but Jewish subjects. Practically no requirements of an educational nature are enforced. The profession of a "melamed," as a teacher in one of these "kheders" is called, has therefore become the refuge of men who have failed in other occupations. A "melamed" organizes the school, and upon his energy and facilities depends the number of scholars that can be gathered into it.

An investigation conducted by the well-known Imperial Russian Free Economic Society in 1894 determined the number of "kheders" at 14,740, with 202,000 pupils, or an average of 13.7 pupils per "kheder." This gives an idea

of the nature of the school. The Jewish Colonization Society collated data from 507 localities, with a Jewish population of 1,420,000, and found 7,145 "kheders," from which data it estimates the total number of existing "kheders" to be 24,000. Taking the average number of pupils to each "kheder" to be 13.7, these 24,000 "kheders" evidently contained about 329,000 pupils.

The investigation of the Russian Free Economic Society showed that in 1894, out of a total of 201,964 pupils registered in the 14,740 "kheders" reported, there were only 10,459 girls, or 5.2 per cent. It seems, then, that almost all the boys of school age attend a "kheder," while only a few girls do so. It is true that the religious element plays some part in this unequal distribution of the educational advantages, the church duties of the Jewish men being more important than those of the women. For the same reason the old-fashioned Jew of the Pale is readier to send his daughter than his son to a secular, Christian school. As has been shown above, the facilities for giving the Jewish child an education in the governmental schools are extremely limited, and while the percentage of illiteracy among the Jewish women is much higher than among the men, still the data in regard to the number of girls attending schools do not show where the 45 per cent of young Jewish women acquired an elementary education, and, what is still more surprising, where 35 to 40 per cent of them acquired a knowledge of Russian in addition to Yiddish.

The explanation lies probably in the peculiar zeal of the Jewish people for some education, for there is scarcely another race or social group which has succeeded in attaining such a high percentage of literacy without a public school system. The women and girls use every available means to learn to read and write. Private tutoring is very popular in Russia, and because of the general low standard of prosperity such tutoring has been made so inexpensive as to be within the means of even poor families, the average Jewish family being willing to sacrifice a great deal to obtain some education. Then, again, the male members of the family will share their education the best way they know how with their sisters. The very widespread tendency of the educated minority to organize secret classes for the instruction of adult working men and women in combination with secret socialist and other propaganda must not be disregarded, although no statistical accounting of the dimensions of this movement is possible. Yet there is evidence in the tables of the existence of this belated education. It will be noticed that for the total population of Russia the age period of from 10 to 19 is the one that shows the highest percentage of people able to read, while among the Jews it is, on the contrary, the age period of from 20 to 29, and the difference between this age period and the one immediately preceding is 2 per cent among the females and as much as 11 per cent among the males. If the natural progress of educational facilities be taken into additional consideration, it follows that the percentage of persons acquiring the ability to read and write many years after the passing of the school period is even greater than the percentages given above indicate. The same tendency is noticed in the overcrowded night schools of New York City.

Still the "kheder" remains the most important educational institution of the Jewish Pale. In the absence of other and better facilities the "kheder" has an important function to fulfill. It does not follow that it does it in a satisfactory manner, the "melamed" having in the majority of cases neither the fitness nor the facilities for successful teaching. The methods are antiquated and the environments indescribably bad. The facilities of the schoolroom may be imagined, or at least guessed at, if one remembers that the tuition fees from 15 to 20 pupils are the only source of income of the "melamed;" and in view of the poverty of his clients these tuition fees can not amount to much. Yet, while the income of the "melamed" is small, the expense of education is a heavy burden to a poor family with several children of school age. For a half-year term the average tuition fees vary from 10 to 15 rubles (\$5.15 to \$7.73) for the younger pupils, and from 12 to 25 rubles (\$6.18 to \$12.88) for the older and more advanced pupils. The fees are usually higher in the large cities and lower in the small settlements, the average being about 25 rubles (\$12.88) a year in the former and 18 rubles (\$9.27) a year in the latter. Such fees scarcely provide the "melamed" with an income of 200 to 300 rubles (\$103 to \$154.50) a year, therefore the hiring of special premises for school purposes is out of the question, and the dwelling of the "melamed" is at the same time the school. Only in about 20 per cent of the schools investigated was a separate room specially provided in the house of the teacher. In the remaining 80 per cent the schoolroom was the living room of the teacher's family, which was at

the same time the sleeping room, the kitchen, etc. The furnishings of a typical "kheder" are limited to a long table provided on both sides with plain wooden benches, so high that the children's feet hang down without touching the floor, because the teacher can not afford to provide the children of different ages with benches of different heights. Usually there is not even a back to lean on, and the children are forced to bend over the table through the long school day. The air in this improvised schoolroom has often been described as killing. During the winter months the dearth of fuel necessitates keeping the windows closed, and the air is vitiated not only by the overcrowding of the room with pupils, but also by the cooking of food.

All these objectionable features of the typical "kheder" are accentuated by the excessively long hours—almost as excessive as were the hours in the factory before the struggle of the bund for a shorter workday began. The antiquated methods of instruction, together with the zeal of the parents that their son understand the intricacies of Bible exegetics at the time when the American boy has scarcely advanced beyond the second reader, encourage these long hours. The school day begins at 9 a. m. and ends at 5, sometimes at 6 or even at 8 p. m., so that the school day lasts anywhere from eight to eleven hours. Only in the larger cities, especially of the South, where the Jewish traditions are weakened and Jewish learning not held in such esteem, does the school day sometimes fall to seven hours. When the Jewish boy spends the entire day for many years, and practically without any vacation, in this atmosphere in the strenuous mental effort of disentangling the medieval intricacies of the commentators of the Bible, there is little wonder that he leaves the "kheder" an anemic, emaciated youth, with physical powers much impaired.

The "Talmud thora" is a communal school, supported by the Jewish community, in which an effort is made to do away with the hygienic and educational imperfections of the "kheder" system. The Hebrew branches are given sufficient prominence to make the school satisfactory to the orthodox, while at the same time are introduced the Russian language and some general educational subjects. The "Talmud thora" is gradually growing into a national school for the Jews, but the number of these institutions is limited because of their general expensiveness.

An improvement of the school facilities for the Jews in Russia will come only after the many restrictions are abolished and with substantial assistance from the Government funds.

ILLITERACY AMONG IMMIGRANTS FROM RUSSIA.

It is impossible to state just what part of the immigrants from Russia are illiterate for the reason that data in this regard appear in the reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration by race or peoples rather than by country of origin. Therefore it is only possible to present data showing the educational status of the races which predominate in the movement from any given country, and these for Russia are shown in the table which follows.

TABLE 20.—*Number and per cent of immigrants admitted to the United States who were 14 years of age or over and who could neither read nor write, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by races or peoples predominating in immigration from Russia.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Number 14 years of age or over admitted.	Unable to read or write.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Finnish	137, 916	1, 745	1.3
German	625, 793	32, 236	5.2
Hebrew	806, 786	209, 507	26.0
Lithuanian	161, 441	79, 001	48.9
Polish	861, 303	304, 675	35.4
Russian	77, 479	29, 777	38.4

As 97.6 per cent of all the Finns, 96.3 per cent of the Lithuanians, 92.5 per cent of the Russians, and 71.2 per cent of the Hebrews admitted to the United States during the period considered were from Russia, the preceding table is fairly representative so far as those races are concerned. With the Poles and Germans, however, the majority of whom came from countries other than Russia, the status of those who did come from that country can not be so closely approximated. The higher degree of literacy which Mr. Rubinow finds among the Hebrews as compared with other races in Russia is reflected in the immigration movement, for only 26 per cent of the Hebrews 14 years old or over were unable to read or write, while the percentage among Lithuanians, Russians, and Poles was considerably higher. In the matter of literacy the Finns rank among the highest of all immigrant races or peoples, being surpassed only by the Scotch, English, and the near neighbors of the Finns—the Scandinavians.

PART IV.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

PART IV.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

CHAPTER I.

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES FROM AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

From June 1, 1819, to June 30, 1910, 3,172,461 immigrants reporting Austria-Hungary as the country of their last permanent residence were admitted to the United States. The number of immigrants to this country from Austria-Hungary during the period mentioned was surpassed only by the number from Great Britain, 7,766,330, and from Germany, 5,351,746.

IMMIGRATION BY YEARS, 1820-1910.

The immigration movement to this country from Austria-Hungary previous to 1880 was of very slow growth. In the fiscal year 1861 51 immigrants reported Austria-Hungary as the country of their last permanent residence. The number did not reach 1,000 in any fiscal year until 1869, when 1,499 immigrants were admitted. In the following table is shown the number of immigrants to the United States from Austria-Hungary in each year from 1820 to 1910, inclusive:

TABLE 1.—Immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary for the years ending June 30, 1820 to 1910.

[Compiled from Statistical Review of Immigration, 1819^a1910. Report of the Immigration Commission, vol. 3.]

Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
1820.....		1844.....		1868 ^a	192	1892.....	76,937
1821.....		1845.....		1869.....	1,499	1893.....	57,420
1822.....		1846.....		1870.....	4,425	1894.....	38,638
1823.....		1847.....		1871.....	4,887	1895.....	33,401
1824.....		1848.....		1872.....	4,410	1896.....	65,103
1825.....		1849.....		1873.....	7,112	1897.....	33,031
1826.....		1850.....		1874.....	8,850	1898.....	39,797
1827.....		1851.....		1875.....	7,658	1899.....	62,491
1828.....		1852.....		1876.....	6,276	1900.....	114,847
1829.....		1853.....		1877.....	5,396	1901.....	113,390
1830.....		1854.....		1878.....	5,150	1902.....	171,989
1831.....		1855.....		1879.....	5,963	1903.....	206,011
1832.....		1856.....		1880.....	17,267	1904.....	177,156
1833.....		1857.....		1881.....	27,935	1905.....	275,693
1834.....		1858.....		1882.....	29,150	1906.....	265,138
1835.....		1859.....		1883.....	27,625	1907.....	338,452
1836.....		1860.....		1884.....	36,571	1908.....	168,509
1837.....		1861.....	51	1885.....	27,309	1909.....	170,191
1838.....		1862.....	111	1886.....	28,680	1910.....	258,737
1839.....		1863.....	85	1887.....	40,265		
1840.....		1864.....	230	1888.....	45,811	Total.....	3,172,461
1841.....		1865.....	422	1889.....	34,174		
1842.....		1866.....	93	1890.....	56,199		
1843.....		1867.....	692	1891.....	71,042		

^a Six months ending June 30.

The preceding table clearly indicates the remarkable increase in the size of the immigration movement to the United States from Austria-Hungary since 1880. In that year it numbered 17,267, whereas it had never before attained 10,000. Beginning in 1880 there continued to be a remarkable increase in the number admitted until in 1907 338,452 immigrants were recorded as coming from Austria-Hungary, a number not equaled by any other country in any year. It is interesting to note that the number admitted in 1907 alone exceeded the total immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary from 1820 to 1887, inclusive, the number for that period being 298,304.

IMMIGRATION BY SEX AND DECÁDES, 1871-1910.

The following table shows the immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary by decades and sex since 1870:

TABLE 2.—*Immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary, by sex and decades, 1871 to 1910.*

[Compiled from Statistical Review of Immigration, 1819-1910. Report of the Immigration Commission, vol. 3.]

Period.	Number.			Per cent.	
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1871-1880.....	72,969	40,882	32,087	56.0	44.0
1881-1890.....	353,719	236,464	117,255	66.8	33.1
1891-1900.....	592,707	^a 267,814	^a 132,943	66.8	33.2
1901-1910.....	2,145,266	1,511,531	633,735	70.5	29.5
Total.....	3,164,661	2,056,691	916,020	69.2	30.8

^a Figures by sex not given for 1893, 1894, 1895, and 1899.

This table shows even more clearly the recent character of the immigration movement. Furthermore, it shows that more than two-thirds of the total number of immigrants admitted during the period considered were men. The proportion of males, however, varies considerably by decades, the males outnumbering the females to a greater extent in the last decade than in the earlier movement. It is also interesting to note that the Austro-Hungarian immigration includes a greater proportion of females than the Italian immigration, the inference being that the former is more largely composed of families.^a

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN AND OTHER EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION.

The following table is a comparison between the immigration from Austria-Hungary and the total European immigration during the period 1820 to 1910, inclusive:

^a See Table 2, p. 133.

TABLE 3.—Immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary compared with total European immigration (including Turkey in Asia), by decades, 1820 to 1910.

Period.	Total European immigration.	Austro-Hungarian immigration.	
		Number.	Per cent of total European immigration.
1820-1830 ^a	106,508		
1831-1840.....	495,688		
1841-1850.....	1,597,501		
1851-1860.....	2,452,660		
1861-1870.....	2,065,272	7,800	0.4
1871-1880.....	2,272,329	72,969	3.2
1881-1890.....	4,739,266	353,719	7.5
1891-1900.....	3,582,815	592,707	16.5
1901-1910.....	8,213,409	2,145,266	26.1
Total.....	25,528,410	3,172,461	12.4

^a Eleven years.

^b Less than 0.05 per cent.

Until the period 1871-1880 the immigration from Austria-Hungary was barely an appreciable part of the total European immigration. In the succeeding decades, however, the relative importance of Austria-Hungary as an immigrant furnishing country increased to such an extent that during the period 1901 to 1910 it was the source of 26.1 per cent of the total European immigration to the United States.

EMIGRATION FROM AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Complete data are not available concerning the size of the emigration movement from Austria-Hungary. In 1850 official emigration figures began to be published by Austria and these continued to be fairly accurate up to 1867, when freedom of emigration was granted. From the latter date onward, however, the figures became increasingly unreliable, being entirely discontinued in 1884. Since 1889 an attempt has been made by the ministry of the interior to measure the emigration movement from Austria-Hungary by collating the statistics of departures from Austria-Hungary based on information furnished by the authorities at the various ports. In the following table is shown the number of over-sea emigrants from Austria and Hungary from 1902 to 1907, inclusive:

TABLE 4.—Over-sea emigration from Austria and Hungary, by years.

[Compiled from the Statesman's Year Book.]

Year.	From Austria.	From Hungary.	Total.
1902.....	93,687	91,762	185,449
1903.....	102,316	119,944	222,260
1904.....	78,996	97,340	176,336
1905.....	123,729	170,430	294,159
1906.....	136,354	178,170	314,524
1907.....	177,354	209,169	386,523
Total.....	712,436	866,815	1,579,251

It is probable that the foregoing figures are a fairly accurate gauge of the number of over-sea emigrants from Austria-Hungary. Excepting in 1904, there has been a steady increase in the number departing, the movement reaching its height in 1907, when 386,523 left. Furthermore, it should be noted that Hungary contributed a greater number of emigrants than Austria, though the latter had a population in 1900 of 26,150,708, as compared with 19,254,559 for Hungary. By comparing the number of transoceanic emigrants departing from Austria-Hungary in each year with the number of immigrants to the United States who report themselves from Austria-Hungary it will be seen that the great bulk of the movement is to this country. Furthermore, by comparing the racial composition of the Austro-Hungarian immigration to the United States with the principal habitats of these races in Austria-Hungary a general idea can be gained of the provinces which are the chief sources of the over-sea emigration movement.

Unfortunately, there is no means of ascertaining the number of emigrants departing from Austria for other parts of Europe, and, as has been seen in the case of Italy,^a this is a very important phase of emigration.

The following table, however, shows the destination of emigrants from Hungary in 1907, according to passports issued:

TABLE 5.—*Emigration from Hungary in 1907, by destination.*

[Hungarian Statistical Year Book, 1907, p. 66.]

Destination.	Number.
America.....	172,200
Germany.....	7,354
Roumania.....	7,790
Other Balkan States.....	1,454
Other European States.....	2,995
Other parts of the world.....	1,189
Total.....	192,982

Although the above emigration figures fall short of the over-sea emigration from Hungary recorded at the ports of departure, they indicate that the great bulk of emigrants who secure passports intend to go to America. That "America" largely means the United States may be inferred, as has already been said, by comparing the statistics of arrivals in this country with the statistics of departures from Hungary.

NATIVES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850 TO 1900.

The following tables show the geographical distribution of natives of Austria-Hungary in the United States in census years from 1850 to 1900.

^a See p. 142.

TABLE 6.—*Distribution of persons of Austro-Hungarian birth in the United States, by States and Territories, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive.*

Geographic division.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
AREA OF ENUMERATION.						
Continental United States.....	946	25,061	74,534	135,550	303,812	578,512
North Atlantic division.....	272	4,058	10,740	27,138	119,343	299,755
New England:						
Maine.....	3	3	11	26	77	210
New Hampshire.....	1	21	16	54	118	296
Vermont.....		1	2	14	104	392
Massachusetts.....	10	123	379	669	2,118	5,691
Rhode Island.....	1	11	43	62	210	688
Connecticut.....	20	172	279	487	2,510	11,515
Southern North Atlantic:						
New York.....	168	2,438	6,708	19,718	57,872	132,006
New Jersey.....	20	506	1,042	1,565	8,364	30,704
Pennsylvania.....	49	783	2,260	4,543	47,970	118,253
South Atlantic division.....	68	332	1,515	2,393	5,015	9,034
Northern South Atlantic:						
Delaware.....			12	25	166	207
Maryland.....	16	122	1,101	1,641	3,149	4,892
District of Columbia.....	3	32	81	126	181	247
Virginia.....	15	74	99	127	630	1,137
West Virginia.....			65	135	463	1,862
Southern South Atlantic:						
North Carolina.....	2	10	19	28	29	39
South Carolina.....	11	54	17	95	99	110
Georgia.....	13	28	99	159	198	392
Florida.....	8	12	22	57	100	148
North Central division.....	278	18,314	56,544	94,207	152,539	222,163
Eastern North Central:						
Ohio.....	29	1,317	5,362	9,390	21,555	43,169
Indiana.....	17	351	620	894	1,268	3,994
Illinois.....	65	2,106	9,869	16,707	37,840	68,516
Michigan.....	21	660	2,118	3,007	6,587	9,044
Wisconsin.....	61	7,081	15,293	18,896	17,341	22,587
Western North Central:						
Minnesota.....	1	860	5,022	10,722	16,079	22,201
Iowa.....	13	2,709	9,591	12,271	12,856	13,571
Missouri.....	71	3,132	5,609	5,351	6,497	8,813
North Dakota.....			327	1,532	5,105	3,903
South Dakota.....						3,667
Nebraska.....		11	2,142	11,393	21,284	20,492
Kansas.....		87	591	4,044	6,127	7,206
South Central division.....	238	1,519	3,911	7,686	14,963	22,799
Eastern South Central:						
Kentucky.....	12	116	293	232	439	673
Tennessee.....	10	75	236	264	450	596
Alabama.....	33	124	152	220	377	704
Mississippi.....	16	41	104	152	191	299
Western South Central:						
Louisiana.....	156	399	487	339	651	943
Arkansas.....		34	64	232	317	829
Indian Territory.....						247
Oklahoma.....					337	1,811
Texas.....	11	730	2,575	6,247	12,201	16,667
Western division.....	90	838	1,824	4,126	11,952	24,791
Rocky Mountain:						
Montana.....			70	95	1,085	4,026
Idaho.....			31	36	150	412
Wyoming.....			42	40	280	1,391
Colorado.....		9	68	593	3,271	6,928
New Mexico.....		5	16	35	189	408
Basin and Plateau:						
Arizona.....			32	74	117	336
Utah.....	3	51	8	32	140	286
Nevada.....		12	167	192	152	104
Pacific:						
Washington.....		17	23	164	1,453	2,961
Oregon.....		17	97	462	816	1,280
California.....	87	727	1,270	2,403	4,299	6,659

a Dakota Territory until 1900.

TABLE 7.—*Per cent of persons of Austro-Hungarian birth in each geographical division of the United States, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive.*

Geographic division.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
North Atlantic division	28.8	16.2	14.4	20.0	39.3	51.8
South Atlantic division	7.2	1.3	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.6
North Central division	29.4	73.1	75.9	69.5	50.2	38.4
South Central division	25.2	6.1	5.2	5.7	4.9	3.9
Western division.....	9.5	3.3	2.4	3.0	3.9	4.3

CHAPTER II.

ATTITUDE OF AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY TOWARD EMIGRATION.

AUSTRIA.

Notwithstanding the enormous emigration movement from Austria in recent years, there is little or no governmental control, and at the time of the Commission's inquiry the subject apparently was not considered to be one of paramount importance. Legislation similar to that of Hungary had been proposed by the Government but had not received consideration from Parliament. The Commission was informed, however, that the Government felt some apprehension on account of the large emigration movement to the United States and was inclined to discourage it. It was stated that the law required every subject leaving the country to have a passport, and while attempts had been made to enforce the law they availed little for the reason that persons went over the border freely, and the going and coming across the border could not be controlled.

HUNGARY.

For many years there has been a considerable emigration from Hungary; but a noticeable increase began about fifteen years ago, due, it is asserted, to the then unfavorable economic conditions which prevented people from securing employment. Certain districts of Hungary suffered severely from this outward movement and the economic difficulties of the Government were increased. In 1881 the first effort was made to regulate this movement by the passage of a law which forbade emigration agencies to operate without a license. The law, however, was not rigidly enforced; agents influenced emigration; their business thrived under the influence of those who had gone before sending back word to their relatives and friends of the prosperous conditions which existed in other countries. The present Hungarian emigration law was enacted in 1903. This makes it difficult for a citizen to leave the country, except in the way prescribed by the Government, and places all transportation agents under severe restraints; in fact, the Government prescribes the way in which the emigration shall be conducted through regulations which keep emigrant and agent under the closest supervision.

A summary of various articles of the Hungarian emigration law follows:

ARTICLE 2. With regard to emigration the following limitations are to be enforced:

(a) Those who are subject to the laws regarding military service or are liable to serve in the army can not emigrate unless permitted to do so by competent authority.

(b) Those against whom a criminal action is pending punishable by imprisonment, or against whom either the judicial or police authorities have issued a warrant of arrest, are not permitted to emigrate.

(c) Minors can emigrate only if they have legal consent of father or guardian; those under 15 years of age can emigrate only in company of a responsible adult, provided, moreover, that a home is awaiting them at their place of destination.

The following are not allowed to emigrate:

(a) Those parents who intend to leave children under 15 years of age at home without providing for their proper care.

(b) Those who have not sufficient funds for the journey to the place of their destination, or who fail to meet the conditions which are established in regard to immigration into the country to which they wish to emigrate.

(c) Those who are promised by the government of any foreign country, or by any colonization or similar company, or by a private person seeking to organize colonization, free transportation in whole or in part, or any advance of the cost of transportation.

ART. 3. Every emigrant must supply himself with a passport for that country to which he desires to emigrate.

ART. 4. The ministry furnishes emigrants, if they apply for it, full and reliable information as to all conditions concerning those States or countries to which they have the intention to emigrate.

ART. 7. Any person desiring to engage in the transportation of emigrants must have a license granted by the minister of the interior, must prove ability to transport emigrants safely, and deposit in advance as security at least 100,000 crowns.

ART. 12. Higher rates of passage than are approved of by the minister of the interior can not be charged. With the exception of an advertisement concerning time-tables, subsistence, and fares, it is forbidden to issue proclamations or information concerning emigration, or to send any such to individuals.

It is also forbidden for contractors and their agents to attempt to induce emigration verbally, by letter, or to encourage it in any manner, to solicit from door to door, or to ask or accept any reward or service from emigrants.

ART. 14. A license as emigration agent is granted to persons fulfilling the following requirements:

(a) He must be a citizen of Hungary.

(b) He must live within the judicial district in which he is doing business.

(c) He must not have been guilty of a transgression of any law; his morality and reliability must be without reproach.

ART. 21. The license of the transport agent as well as of the emigration agent can be withdrawn at any time by the minister of the interior when sufficient reason is shown to exist.

ART. 23. The transport agent, as well as the emigration agent, must keep intelligible books, as prescribed by the minister of the interior, and a copying book for his correspondence.

The minister of the interior, as well as his authorized substitute, have the right to investigate the management of the business at any time.

ART. 24. The transportation agent can only transport an emigrant upon the authority of a written contract made in advance.

ART. 25. The contract referred to in article 24 must be in duplicate, one copy of which is given to the emigrant, the other remaining with the agent.

The contract must bear (1) the full name, age, and place of residence of the emigrant; (2) the exact route to be taken and the place to which transportation is to be contracted for; (3) the exact time of starting, and in case of an ocean voyage the name of the vessel as well as the day fixed for the sailing; (4) if a railway journey, the class must be stated; if by ship, the place must be designated which the emigrant and his family are to occupy; (5) the exact fare in figures and words; (6) the requirements of this law regarding the duties of the contractor and the manner of settling possible complaints.

ART. 28. Half the fare must be refunded if the emigrant cancels the contract for any reason whatever before starting on his journey.

ART. 30. The transportation agent is obliged to bring back, without extra charge, such persons as, notwithstanding the prohibition contained in article 24, are sent on without a passport, if these persons had no right to emigrate according to article 2.

ART. 32. Before leaving, every vessel is examined, to ascertain whether all the requirements as to accommodation and provisions are provided for accord-

ing to law; and emigrants and crew are inspected by the proper medical authorities.

ART. 34. For the purpose of directing the emigrants abroad, providing them with work, founding benevolent institutions for them, covering, partly or entirely, traveling expenses of the destitute who desire to return to their native home, etc., a special emigration fund shall be created by:

- (a) Appropriations from the Government budget.
- (b) All net unexpended balances received from issuing passports.
- (c) The fees to be paid by the transportation agents obtaining licenses.
- (d) Annual dues fixed by contract, payable by all banking institutions, which may be intrusted with the management of any of the funds of emigrants.
- (e) A head tax of 10 kronen for every adult emigrant and 5 kronen for every child emigrant.

ART. 43. Violation of any provision of this law by either the transportation or emigration agent is punishable by imprisonment not exceeding two months, and a fine not exceeding 600 crowns.

Other articles of the emigration law deal with the organization and administration of the emigration commission, which body is charged with the administration of emigration affairs.

These extracts from the Hungarian emigration law indicate the purpose of the Government to exercise a complete control over emigration, and the members of the Commission who investigated conditions in Hungary were convinced that the law is strictly enforced.

It appears, however, that the Hungarian Government, realizing the impossibility of actually prohibiting emigration, seeks to control it with a view to promoting the country's shipping interests. During the earlier days of the large emigration from Hungary the greater part of the emigrants embarked at German ports. In 1904 the Hungarian Government entered into a contract with the Cunard Steamship Company for the maintenance of a direct steamship service between Fiume and New York. By the terms of this agreement the Cunard Company contracted to run steamers at intervals of two weeks and the Hungarian Government guaranteed that the company should receive the fares of 30,000 passengers each year, whether that number embarked or not. This agreement attracted the attention of the United States authorities, as it was thought that the guarantee of the Hungarian Government might be a violation of the provisions of the immigration law of 1903 which denied admission to the United States to assisted immigrants. It appeared, however, that the Hungarian Government did not specifically assist emigrants to come to the United States but merely sought to divert the stream of emigration from that country away from the German and other ports to the port of Fiume. As a matter of fact, only a small part of the Hungarian emigration was diverted to Fiume, for in the calendar year 1907 only 39,523 emigrants embarked there, while in the fiscal year 1907 a total of 193,460 immigrants giving Hungary as the country of last permanent residence were admitted to the United States. In 1907 that part of the contract between the Hungarian Government and the Cunard Company which related to the number of emigrants to be furnished was annulled, but the exclusive right of the company to take emigrants from Fiume was continued.

At the time of the Commission's inquiry the Government had under construction at Fiume a modern emigrant station. This station has since been completed and is said to be one of the best in Europe.

It cost approximately 1,600,000 kronen (about \$325,000) and will accommodate from 1,800 to 2,000 emigrants.^a

Hungary maintains control stations on the Austrian frontier where emigrants are inspected to determine whether their departure is in accordance with law. There is no medical inspection at such stations, but in doubtful cases emigrants are advised by the officials in charge of the probability that they will be rejected either at ports of embarkation or at United States ports. Emigrants, however, are not forcibly turned back unless their departure is in violation of the Hungarian law. A member of the Commission inspected the control station at Kassa in northern Hungary, from which town emigrants depart by rail for the German ports. The records of the station show that in the year 1906, 9,489 intending emigrants were inspected and 262 were turned back, while during the first five months of 1907, 6,526 were inspected and 207 rejected. In Kassa, in 1906, eight steamship ticket agents were fined and imprisoned for violations of the emigration law.

It is the opinion of the members of the Commission who investigated conditions in Hungary that the large emigration movement from that country is distasteful to the Government, and that determined effort is made to regulate and restrict it. To this end industrial development is fostered, and evidently it is the policy of the Government to bring about an industrial condition which will demand labor and so aid in solving the problem. Several high officials with whom the committee conferred declared that every means possible will be made to prevent a continuation of the enormous exodus of the masses.

^aFor a description of the emigrant station at Fiume, see p. 92.

CHAPTER III.

CAUSES OF EMIGRATION FROM AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The fundamental cause of the large emigration from Austria-Hungary is economic.

In practically every instance the Commission's query as to the cause of emigration was met by the answer "to earn greater wages in America." United States Consul Slocum at Fiume, Hungary, in a report to the Commission on emigration from Hungary says in part as follows:

The emigration from this port to the United States, while undergoing changes incidental to the varying reports of opportunities, is for the attainment of success, which to the average emigrant mind means sufficient wealth to return to the country of nativity and either continue to reside there in a condition and amid surroundings of a social nature bettered through its possession, or sufficient to enable the original emigrant to transport his immediate family and other relatives to the New World, whose value is regarded by the majority with mercenary motives. The base line of this emigrating march of to-day is founded upon, if not avarice, certainly self-interest to the sacrifice of country. * * *

The average earning capacity of these people prior to their departure may be summarized as follows, viz, day laborers, etc., 3 crowns (\$0.609), farm laborers 2 crowns (\$0.406), with board, and that of mechanics 5 or 6 crowns (\$1.02 to \$1.22).

* * * * *
The average daily wage of all the walks in life represented in the emigration is about 2½ crowns, or about 51 cents, per diem, whereas their earning capacity in the United States may be certainly estimated at \$1, if not more. * * *

It has been estimated that of the male emigrants certainly no more than 10 per cent leave their country in order to avoid military service, and it has been maintained by those in a position to inform themselves that even this proportion is excessive.

The backward state of industrial development, the scarcity of available agricultural land, primitive methods of production, generally impoverished resources, when coincident with a constantly growing population, create a situation of which the natural consequence is emigration.

The absence of industrial development and the growth of a population which the land can not support in a large measure account for the present emigration movement from Austria-Hungary. Until about the middle of the last century the legal ownership of all the land in Austria and Hungary was vested in the lords, from whom the peasant held them in fief. In return for this holding the peasant paid certain duties, partly labor, partly produce, to his lord. In 1848 this feudal system was abolished, the peasants becoming the legal owners of the land which they had formerly held and gradually repaying the state the money which it had advanced to the landlords. The peasants had not been allowed to subdivide their holdings, and even when they became peasant proprietors that privilege was only gradually allowed them, finally becoming general in 1869.

In the German Alpine territory the old custom of handing down the holding intact from father to son was continued. In other districts, however, the peasants began to divide their land among their children. The result is that instead of a substantial there is an impoverished peasantry, the holdings being too small to enable them to make an adequate living.

In 1902 of the total 2,856,349 holdings of productive land in Austria 72.3 per cent consisted of holdings of less than 12½ acres. In Hungary there were 2,795,885 holdings in 1905 (not including properties consisting only of wood or pastures), and of these 52.2 per cent consisted of less than 7.1 acres.^a

Available data will not permit comparisons of the size of the holdings in the various provinces, but it is said that the average size of small peasant holdings in Dalmatia is less than 1½ acres.^b In Galicia 80 per cent of the holdings are under 12½ acres and nearly 50 per cent consists of less than 5 acres.^c

Lika Krbava, which district is the source of large emigration from Croatia, had in 1900 a population of 208,000 and only 225,780 acres of arable land; and since there is practically no industrial development in this district, emigration of the surplus population results.

THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION.

AUSTRIA.

The predominance of agriculture in the economic situation may be inferred from the following figures: In Austria, out of a total population of 26,150,708, 13,709,204, or more than one-half, were dependent on agriculture and forestry in 1900; in Hungary, out of a total population of 19,254,559, 13,175,083, or 68.4 per cent, were dependent on the same pursuits. In some districts agriculture is the predominating occupation to an even greater extent than is thus indicated. Eighty-six per cent of the population of Dalmatia are supported by agriculture and forestry, while 77 per cent of the population of Galicia, and in Carniola 72 per cent are similarly employed.

The most obvious phase of the economic situation in Austria is the smallness of the amount paid for labor. Wages are extremely low in comparison with those which are prevalent in the United States. It is impossible to measure exactly the difference in the price of labor, but some idea of its relative cheapness may be gained from the table next presented.

^a The Statesman's Year Book, 1908.

^b Our Slavic Fellow Citizens, Balch.

^c Our Slavic Fellow Citizens, Balch, p. 138.

TABLE 8.—Average daily wage (with subsistence) of farm laborers in Austria in 1897, by season and sex.

[Compiled from Statistische Monatschrift, vol. 30, p. 518.]

Season.	Sex.	Number of districts investigated.	\$0.10 or less.	From \$0.10 to \$0.16.	From \$0.16 to \$0.20.	From \$0.20 to \$0.30.	Over \$0.30.
Winter.....	Men.....	81	3	35	23	17	3
	Women.....	71	17	48	4	2	2
Summer.....	Men.....	88	1	3	13	48	23
	Women.....	85	4	32	31	16	2

Of the 81 "natural districts" reporting the average daily wages of farm laborers in winter, 35 paid from \$0.10 to \$0.16 and 23 paid from \$0.16 to \$0.20. The prevalent daily wages of women farm laborers in more than two-thirds of the districts reporting was from \$0.10 to \$0.16. In summer wages were higher both for men and women. The former were paid from \$0.20 to \$0.30 in the majority of the districts reporting. The prevalent wage paid for women farm laborers was from \$0.10 to \$0.16 and in a slightly smaller number of districts from \$0.16 to \$0.20. When food was not furnished wages were from \$0.17 to \$0.18 higher for men in winter and \$0.20 higher in summer. Women were paid from \$0.12 to \$0.14 more in winter and \$0.15 more in summer when food was not furnished.^a Further evidence of the connection between emigration and low wages is afforded by the following table which gives the average daily earnings of farm laborers in the various provinces of Austria:

TABLE 9.—Average daily wage (with subsistence) of farm laborers in Austria in 1897, by province.

[Compiled from Statistische Monatschrift, vol. 30, p. 516-517.]

Province.	On small farms.				On large farms.				Net loss or gain per 1,000 of population by migration 1891-1900.
	Winter.		Summer.		Winter.		Summer.		
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	
Upper Austria.....	\$0.19	\$0.14	\$0.27	\$0.21	\$0.24	\$0.16	\$0.35	\$0.23	-2.80
Lower Austria.....	.17	.14	.26	.21	.31	.16	.36	.26	+6.97
Salzburg.....	.23	.14	.30	.20	.....	.....	.....	.....	+5.64
Styria.....	.14	.12	.22	.17	.23	.17	.29	.21	- .44
Carinthia.....	.16	.10	.22	.15	.....	.....	.....	.....	-4.32
Carniola.....	.17	.12	.24	.16	.28	.16	.41	.24	-6.51
Tyrol.....	.25	.13	.31	.18	.....	.....	.....	.....	+ .25
Voralberg.....	.37	.24	.50	.36	.....	.....	.....	.....	+4.43
Goritz and Gradisca.....	.21	.15	.26	.19	.22	.17	.30	.23	-3.68
Istria.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.33	.....	-2.38
Dalmatia.....	.20	.16	.30	.16	.....	.....	.....	.....	-2.37
Bohemia.....	.21	.14	.32	.19	.18	.13	.25	.17	-2.08
Moravia.....	.14	.11	.23	.16	.39	.15	.26	.18	-3.32
Silesia.....	.18	.12	.28	.15	.....	.16	.35	.18	- .09
Galicia.....	.13	.10	.23	.16	.11	.08	.20	.15	-4.58
Bukowina.....	.12	.10	.21	.16	.12	.10	.16	.13	-2.11

^a Statistische Monatschrift, vol. 30, p. 466 ff.

In the provinces which have lost most heavily through emigration, that is Carniola, Galicia, Carinthia, relatively low wages were prevalent. In Vorarlberg and Salzburg, which have gained in population, the wages paid to farm laborers are relatively high. Vienna is included in lower Austria, consequently it is not possible to compare fairly the gain in population of that province through migration and the wages of farm laborers.

HUNGARY.

In the following table is shown the average daily wages of farm laborers in Hungary in 1905 and 1906:

TABLE 10.—Average daily wage of farm laborers in Hungary (including Slovakland, but excluding Croatia-Slavonia) in 1905 and 1906, by season.

[Hungarian Statistical Yearbook, 1905, p. 86ff; 1906, p. 95ff.]

Season and year.	Wage with food.			Wage without food.		
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.
1905.						
Spring.....	\$0.19	\$0.13	\$0.09	\$0.28	\$0.19	\$0.13
Summer.....	.32	.19	.13	.44	.28	.19
Autumn.....	.23	.15	.10	.32	.22	.15
Winter.....	.15	.11	.07	.23	.16	.11
Mean.....	.22	.14	.10	.31	.21	.15
1906.						
Spring.....	.23	.15	.10	.29	.22	.15
Summer.....	.41	.25	.16	.54	.34	.23
Autumn.....	.29	.18	.12	.38	.25	.17
Winter.....	.19	.12	.09	.27	.19	.13
Mean.....	.28	.18	.12	.38	.25	.17

The mean daily wage, with food, of farm laborers in Hungary for the year 1905 was 22 cents for men, 14 cents for women, and 10 cents for children. When food was not furnished the additional wage for men was 9 cents; for women, 7 cents; and for children, 5 cents. The highest wages were paid in summer, the lowest in the winter. In the following year the wages of each class of farm laborers had risen, the mean for the year, 28 cents for men, 18 cents for women, and 12 cents for children. These wages were in addition to subsistence. When food was not furnished men received 10 cents more; women, 7 cents; and children, 5 cents. The increase in wages for the ten years preceding 1905 was slight; between 1896 and 1905 it amounted to little less than the increase in the single year 1905.

In the table following is shown the average daily wages of farm laborers in Slovakland and Croatia-Slavonia in 1905 and 1906.

TABLE 11.—Average daily wage of farm laborers in Slovakland and Croatia-Slavonia in 1905 and 1906, by season.

[Hungarian Statistical Yearbook, 1905, 1906.]

Province and year.	Season.	Wage with food.			Wage without food.		
		Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.
Slovakland: ^a							
1905.....	Mean.....	\$0.23	\$0.13	\$0.09	\$0.32	\$0.20	\$0.14
1906.....	do.....	.28	.17	.11	.38	.23	.16
Croatia-Slavonia:							
1905.....	do.....	.27	.20	.11	.39	.27	.16
1906.....	Spring.....	.29	.21	.12	.40	.27	.17
	Summer.....	.35	.25	.14	.48	.32	.19
	Autumn.....	.27	.20	.11	.39	.27	.15
	Winter.....	.24	.17	.10	.33	.24	.14
	Mean.....	.29	.20	.12	.40	.27	.16

^a For wages in the different seasons in Slovakland, see the table for Hungary in general. The figures for the Slovak countries are included in the average figures for Hungary and are not essentially different from them.

It will be noted that the wages of farm laborers in Croatia-Slavonia and Slovakland differ very slightly from the wages for Hungary as a whole.

METHODS OF CULTIVATION.

Added to a scarcity of land there are additional difficulties in the character of the soil and in the antiquated methods of cultivation which are pursued. In the hill country of Galicia the snow sometimes falls in October and lasts until May, making agriculture difficult and uncertain. The Slovenian district—Styria, Carinthia, Upper Carniola—is not only mountainous but much of it is limestone. In Croatia, Dalmatia, and Istria there is an even greater extent of limestone formation.^a The antiquated three-field system is still in vogue. No artificial fertilization is done, and the principle of rotation in crops is unknown, one-third of the soil lying fallow each year, one-third in autumn-sown crops, and one-third spring sown.^b

A peasant's holding is not contiguous territory like an American farmer's, but is divided into strips of lands often widely separated and some distance from the town.

Modern agricultural implements are rarely seen, the wooden plow being the type most commonly used. In those districts, however, where there has been any notable return movement there is a growing demand for American agricultural machinery.^c

THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION.

AUSTRIA.

The industrial situation in Austria-Hungary is pertinent in this investigation only because the backward state and lack of development of industry has made it impossible for it to absorb the excess

^a Our Slavic Fellow Citizens, Balch, pp. 152-153. ^b Ibid., p. 40. ^c Ibid., p. 145.

population of rural districts. Since industry affords no outlet for a population grown too large for the land to support, emigration has been the only alternative. According to the census of 1900 only 26.8 per cent of the population of Austria were dependent on industry.^a Almost one-third of these were dependent on the manufacture of food, drink, and clothing.

The following table shows the number of industrial establishments in Austria in 1902 and the number of workers engaged in them:

TABLE 12.—*Number of industrial establishments and workers engaged in them in Austria, 1902.*

[Compiled from Statistische Monatschrift, Vol. XXV, p. 555.]

Nature of industry.	Undertakings with separate establishments.			Undertakings at home.	Workers at home.
	Principal.	Subsidiary.	Workers.		
Productive industries.....	627,360	23,223	2,824,519	356,995	463,536
Trade and transport.....	360,917	29,593	693,248	.....	.....
Total.....	988,277	52,816	3,517,767	356,995	463,536

In the productive industries there were 627,360 principal establishments, 23,223 subsidiary establishments, and the total number of workers were 2,824,519. In addition to these there were 356,995 "industrial establishments" located in the homes of the workers; 463,536 persons were employed in such "establishments."

Bohemia is the chief industrial center of Austria. In the following table is shown the number of industrial establishments in that province in 1902, and the number of workers engaged:

TABLE 13.—*Number of industrial establishments and workers engaged in them in Bohemia, 1902.*

[Compiled from Statistische Monatschrift, Vol. XXV, p. 537.]

Nature of industry.	Separate industrial establishments.			Industrial establishments at home.	
	Principal.	Subsidiary	Workers.	Number.	Workers.
Productive.....	203,557	8,359	979,732	149,639	203,204
Trade and transport.....	98,634	9,376	171,487	.....	.....
Total.....	302,191	17,735	1,151,219	149,639	203,204

By comparing Table 12 with Table 13 it will be seen that Bohemia has about one-third of all the industrial establishments in Austria and a little more than one-third of all the industrial workers.

Bukowina, the only other province for which data are available, has less than 2 per cent of the total number of industrial establishments in Austria and less than 1 per cent of the total number of industrial workers.^b

^a Statesman's Year Book, 1908, p. 755.

^b Statistische Monatschrift, Vol. XXX, p. 546.

Size of industrial establishments.

In the following table is shown the number of industrial establishments in Austria in which are engaged each specified number of workers:

TABLE 14.—*Industrial establishments in Austria in 1902, by the number of workers.*

[Compiled from Statistische Monatschrift, Vol. XXX, p. 556.]

Establishments of each specified number of workers	Number of establishments.	Total number of workers.
1.....	238 970	238,970
2-5.....	317,001	855,024
6-10.....	29,916	218,449
11-20.....	11,553	164,752
21-100.....	10,317	439,075
101-300.....	2,250	373,343
Over 300.....	831	517,528
Others.....	16,522	17,378
Total.....	627,630	2,824,519

Some idea of the comparatively small scale on which industry is carried on in Austria may be gained from the preceding table. Of the total 627,630 establishments, 555,971 have less than 6 workers. There are only 831 establishments which have at least 300 workers.

HUNGARY.

In Hungary industrial development has been even more backward than in Austria. In 1900 only 14.4 per cent of the total population of Hungary were dependent on industry and mining, as compared with 26.8 per cent in Austria.

Of the 2,767,786 persons dependent on industry and mining 1,184,400 were earning and 1,583,386 were supported. The following table shows the distribution of industrial workers in Hungary in the various industries, not, however, including mining:

TABLE 15.—*Number of persons engaged in the various industries in Hungary, 1900.*

[Compiled from Statesman Year-Book, 1908, p. 772.]

Nature of the industry.	Number engaged.	Nature of the industry.	Number engaged.
Clothing.....	281,320	Leather and skins.....	16,596
Food, etc.....	143,733	Polygraphical.....	17,159
Iron and metal.....	128,205	Chemical.....	14,494
Building.....	125,070	Paper.....	7,727
Wood and bone.....	95,823	Domestic and popular industries.....	43,081
Personal service (in hotels, inns, etc.)..	95,358	Ambulant industry.....	6,823
Machinery.....	72,428	Others.....	870
Earthenware and glass.....	44,887	Total.....	1,127,730
Textile.....	34,156		

It will be noted that the largest number of industrial workers were engaged in the manufacture of clothing, food, etc., about 38 per cent being so occupied. Second in importance was the manufacture of iron and steel and building, more than 10 per cent of the total number of industrial workers being engaged in each of these two branches of industry.

Industrial wages.

Very incomplete data are available concerning the wages of industrial workers in Hungary. The following figures, however, will afford some idea of the relatively low scale of wages in that country.

The following table gives the approximate average weekly wages in the trades named in Hungary in 1900, according to the Hungarian census of that year:

Masons and bricklayers.....	\$2. 85
Painters.....	3. 00
Carpenters.....	2. 65
Other building trades.....	2. 80
Quarry workers.....	2. 00
Iron, steel, and foundry workers.....	2. 75
Blacksmiths and forge workers.....	1. 55

The following figures, based on the report of the Hungarian census of 1900, give the approximate range of wages of workers in textile factories in Hungary in 1900:

Out of 7,723 employees in textile factories, wages were reported for 5,439. Of these—

1,151 received \$1.20 a week or less.
720 received \$1.21 to \$1.60.
975 received \$1.61 to \$2.
1,367 received \$2.01 to \$2.80.
895 received \$2.81 to \$4.
274 received \$4.01 to \$6.
57 received over \$6 a week.

Hours of labor.

The following table shows the hours of labor which were prevalent in the various trades in Hungary in 1900:

TABLE 16.—*Hours of labor in Hungary in 1900, by occupation.*

[Compiled from the Hungarian census of 1900, part 6.]

Occupation.	Number of workers who worked—					
	8 hours and under.	Over 8, up to 9 hours.	Over 9, up to 10 hours.	Over 10, up to 11 hours.	Over 11, up to 12 hours.	Over 12 hours.
Males:						
Building trades.....	1,212	633	7,519	2,698	6,092	1,197
Quarrying trades.....	619	656	1,670	217	631	36
Metal and machine trades.....	6,654	1,861	32,834	7,944	12,139	1,502
Textile trades.....	303	141	2,116	1,164	1,594	287
Clothing trades.....	2,427	751	10,390	2,304	10,246	3,733
Paper and printing trades.....	549	2,132	2,780	568	1,002	147
Woodworking trades.....	1,407	750	9,471	3,178	7,568	1,074
Glass and pottery trades.....	497	320	3,038	987	2,844	705
Food trades.....	3,084	704	8,712	2,530	10,405	2,946
Leather trades.....	150	72	1,613	573	1,000	190
Workers in hotels, baths, etc.....	221	47	697	126	1,607	2,027
Total males (including some not quoted above).....	18,428	8,479	85,623	24,011	58,822	15,056

TABLE 16.—Hours of labor in Hungary, in 1900, by occupations—Continued.

Occupation.	Number of workers who worked—					
	8 hours and under.	Over 8, up to 9 hours.	Over 9, up to 10 hours.	Over 10, up to 11 hours.	Over 11, up to 12 hours.	Over 12 hours.
Females:						
Textile trades	140	97	1,376	1,418	900	110
Clothing trades	733	450	2,850	917	1,282	303
Tobacco manufacture	2,243	3,289	4,269	401	424	15
Total females (including some not quoted above)	4,107	4,722	13,848	4,259	5,129	1,061
Total, both sexes	22,535	13,201	99,471	28,270	63,951	16,117

The hours of labor for both males and females are in the largest number of cases over nine and up to ten hours per day. A relatively large number, however, of both males and females commonly work over eleven and up to twelve hours per day.

CONTRIBUTORY CAUSES OF EMIGRATION.

While it is undoubtedly true that economic necessity is the underlying motive of emigration it is often obscured by particular incidents which are only the expression of that principle. For example, the United States tariff law of 1890 is said to have destroyed the pearl-button industry in Bohemia, thereby throwing many out of work and giving impetus to the emigration movement. In certain districts of Carniola and Croatia the vineyards have been destroyed by phylloxera. The peasants, barely able to eke out subsistence under ordinary circumstances, have been unable to cope with this new difficulty and have been forced to emigrate. In Dalmatia a decline in commercial prosperity, due to the displacement of sailing craft by steam, is said to have given impetus to emigration. Another expression of the economic motive of emigration has been the inability of the Dalmatian wine growers to compete with the Italian wine, which, by a treaty made in 1890, was admitted to Austria-Hungary free for fifteen years.

In laying stress on the economic cause of emigration it should also be noted that the movement is a variable of conditions abroad as well as of conditions at home. With the abatement of the economic attraction to other countries the movement decreases, as was clearly shown in the falling off in emigration from Austria-Hungary during the periods of industrial depression in the United States.

In comparison with the main motive, which is economic, other causes of emigration are of little significance and have been greatly overrated. Compulsory military service has probably impelled relatively few to leave the country.

Great stress has been laid upon the activities of steamship agents in stimulating emigration. In an interview with a member of the Commission an official of the Austro-American Steamship Company complained bitterly of the activities of the English, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hamburg, and Bremen lines, alleging that they employ secret agents who by correspondence and personal solicitation induce

emigration to the United States, Canada, and South America. In an interview with a member of the Commission an official of the chamber of commerce of Krakow stated that the North German Lloyd Line and the Hamburg American Lines had from 5,000 to 6,000 agents in Galicia who sell steamship tickets, and that he believed that this was one of the great causes of emigration. On the other hand Herr Kaltenbrunn, Ministerialrat to the Ministerium des Innern, in an interview with the chairman of the Immigration Commission, stated he did not believe that steamship agents increased emigration very much, and said that in 1904 when the rate war brought the cost of transportation ridiculously low, emigration was even less than it had been previously. He said that the people had been informed that it was not a good time to go to America because of the unsettled industrial conditions there, and consequently low steamship rates had little effect. He added that there was no doubt that by far the greatest part of the emigration was induced by personal letters from relatives or friends in America, who kept their friends at home informed as to the exact conditions of affairs industrially in the United States, and he stated that in his opinion the emigration from Austria was really regulated through that agency. The activities of steamship agents in Hungary are discussed elsewhere in this report.^a

STANDARD OF LIVING.

The low standard of living of the peasants in Austria-Hungary is the necessary accompaniment of their economic condition. The popular impression that the low wages which are prevalent are offset by the low cost of living is misleading. The total expenditure for food may be small when compared with the expenditure of a similar class of laborers in the United States, but the staple food of the peasant in Austria-Hungary is rye bread, potatoes, cabbages, and cornmeal mush, meat being rarely eaten. The necessities of the American farmer would be luxuries for the peasants of Austria-Hungary. The housing conditions of the peasants vary somewhat in the different localities, partly due to a difference in their economic status, partly due to a greater emphasis which some races put on cleanliness. As a rule, however, the peasant lives in a one-room hut without windows and with the earth only for a floor. The furnishings consist principally of an earthenware stove, beds, a chest, and a bench. Domestic animals wander in and out of the house at will. In Galicia conditions are perhaps more primitive than in other provinces.

Some instances are found where improvements have been made in the houses with money sent from the United States, but this is not as general as it is in Italy, probably because the emigration from Austria-Hungary is more permanent than that from Italy.

^aSee p. 63.

CHAPTER IV.

CHARACTER OF AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN IMMIGRATION.

ETHNICAL ELEMENTS IN THE POPULATION.^a

In the Austro-Hungarian census the population is recorded according to the language spoken and this shows clearly the heterogeneous character of the people. According to the census of 1900 the total population of Austria was 26,150,708. The distribution of this population ethnically and geographically is shown in the following table, which gives the per cent of each ethnic factor in each of the various provinces:

TABLE 17.—*Distribution of the population of Austria by language, 1900.*

[Compiled from Die Summarischen Ergebnisse der Volkszählung, p. xxxix.]

Province.	Non-Slavic.				Slavic.				
	German.	Italian-Latinish.	Roumanian.	Magyar.	Bohemian, Moravian, Slovak.	Polish.	Ruthenian.	Slovenian.	Servo-Croatian.
Lower Austria.....	95.0				4.7				
Upper Austria.....	99.4								
Salzburg.....	99.5								
Styria.....	68.7							31.1	
Carinthia.....	74.8							25.1	
Carniola.....	5.6							94.2	
Trieste and district:	5.9	77.4						16.3	
Garcia-Gradisca.....	1.6	36.0						62.4	
Istria.....	2.1	40.5						14.2	42.6
Tyrol.....	55.5	44.3							
Vorarlberg.....	94.7	5.0							
Bohemia.....	37.3				62.7				
Moravia.....	27.9				71.4				
Silesia.....	44.7				22.0	33.2			
Galicia.....	2.9					54.8	42.2		
Bukowina.....	22.0		31.7	1.3		3.7	41.1		
Dalmatia.....		2.6							96.7
All Austria.....	35.8	2.8	.9	.03	23.2	16.6	13.2	4.7	2.8

The total civil population of Hungary, according to the census of 1900, was 19,122,340, of whom 16,721,574 were in Hungary proper and 2,400,766 in Croatia-Slavonia. The distribution of the total in

^a For a discussion of the various ethnical factors in the population of Austria-Hungary, see Dictionary of Races or Peoples, Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 5. (S. Doc. No. 662, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)

these geographical divisions according to language spoken is shown in the following table:

TABLE 18.—*Civil population of Hungary by language, 1900.*

[Compiled from Hungarian Statistical Year-Book, Vol. XIV, p. 20.]

Language.	Kingdom of Hungary, including Croatia-Slavonia.		Hungary proper, exclusive of Croatia-Slavonia.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Magyar.....	8,679,014	45.4	8,588,834	51.4
Roumanian.....	2,785,265	14.6	2,784,726	16.7
German.....	2,114,423	11.0	1,980,423	11.8
Slovak.....	2,008,744	10.5	1,991,402	11.9
Croatian.....	1,670,905	8.7	188,552	1.1
Servian.....	1,042,022	5.5	434,641	2.6
Ruthenian.....	427,825	2.2	423,159	2.5
Other.....	394,142	2.1	329,837	2.0
Total.....	19,122,340	100.0	16,721,574	100.0

It will be noted that German is the predominant ethnical element of the population of Austria, 35.8 per cent of the people speaking that language. Second in numerical importance are the Bohemians, Moravians, and Slovaks, whose language is spoken by 23.2 per cent of the population. Polish is spoken by 16.6 per cent of the people and Ruthenian by 13.2 per cent.

Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Salzburg, and Vorarlberg are almost entirely German-speaking provinces. Also, a relatively large proportion of the populations of Styria, Carinthia, and Tyrol speak German. The Bohemian, Moravian, and Slovak languages predominate in Bohemia and Moravia. Polish is the language most common in Galicia, although 42.2 per cent of the people there speak Ruthenian. The latter tongue is most common in Bukowina. Slovenian is spoken by 94.2 per cent of the people of Carniola and Servo and Croatian by 96.7 per cent of the population of Dalmatia.

In Hungary, including Croatia and Slavonia, 45.4 per cent of the people speak Magyar, while 14.6 speak the Roumanian tongue, and slightly smaller proportions speak German and Slovak.

The ethnical division of the population of Austria-Hungary, on the basis of language spoken, does not permit any determination of the proportion of Hebrews in the total population, but the number is estimated at 2,000,000.^a

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF IMMIGRATION FROM AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The following table shows the immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary in the fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by race or people:

^a See Dictionary of Races or Peoples, Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 5. (S. Doc. No. 662, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)

TABLE 19.—Immigration from Austria-Hungary to the United States during the fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by races or peoples.

[Compiled from Reports of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration.]

NUMBER.							
Year.	Bohe- mian and Mora- vian.	Bulga- rian.	Croatian and Slo- venian.	Dalma- tian, Bos- nian, and Herzegov- inian.	German.	Hebrew.	North Italian.
1899	2,382		8,612	367	4,313	11,071	1,047
1900	3,056	34	17,163	672	6,901	16,920	1,285
1901	3,766	41	17,905	717	7,816	13,006	1,463
1902	5,589	461	30,223	1,004	16,249	12,848	1,711
1903	9,577	4,227	32,892	1,723	23,597	13,759	2,146
1904	11,838	2,088	21,105	2,023	22,507	20,211	1,947
1905	11,593	2,579	34,932	2,552	33,642	17,352	2,319
1906	12,635	3,224	43,157	4,424	34,848	14,884	1,914
1907	13,363	6,223	47,125	7,263	40,497	18,885	1,486
1908	9,899	3,759	19,782	3,685	27,576	15,293	1,112
1909	6,600	11,823	19,473	1,805	21,096	8,431	1,132
1910	8,162	4,640	38,785	4,812	26,324	13,142	1,848
Total.....	98,469	39,099	331,154	31,047	265,366	180,802	19,410

Year.	Magyar.	Polish.	Rou- manian.	Ruthe- nian.	Slovak.	All others.	Total.
1899	4,873	11,660	29	1,371	15,757	1,009	62,491
1900	13,776	22,802	175	2,832	29,183	48	114,847
1901	13,310	20,288	557	5,276	29,243	2	113,390
1902	23,609	32,429	1,735	7,533	36,931	1,667	171,989
1903	27,113	37,499	4,173	9,819	34,412	74	206,011
1904	23,851	30,243	3,851	9,415	27,895	182	177,156
1905	45,871	50,785	7,261	14,250	52,282	275	275,693
1906	42,848	43,803	10,811	15,689	36,550	351	265,138
1907	59,593	59,719	18,429	23,751	41,815	303	338,452
1908	23,826	26,423	8,791	12,100	15,979	287	168,509
1909	27,941	36,483	7,484	15,236	22,374	304	170,191
1910	26,818	60,675	13,459	27,438	32,203	410	268,716
Total.....	333,429	432,809	76,755	144,710	374,624	4,909	2,332,583

PER CENT

Year.	Bohe- mian and Mora- vian.	Bulga- rian.	Croatian and Slo- venian.	Dalma- tian, Bos- nian, and Herze- govinian.	German.	Hebrew.	North Italian.
1899	3.8		13.8	0.6	6.9	17.7	1.7
1900	2.7	(a)	14.9	.6	6.0	14.7	1.1
1901	3.3	(a)	15.8	.6	6.9	11.5	1.3
1902	3.2	0.3	17.6	.6	9.4	7.5	1.0
1903	4.6	2.1	16.0	.8	11.5	9.1	1.0
1904	6.7	1.2	11.9	1.1	12.7	11.4	1.1
1905	4.2	.9	12.7	1.9	12.2	6.3	.8
1906	4.8	1.2	16.3	1.7	13.1	5.6	.7
1907	3.9	1.8	13.9	2.1	12.0	5.6	.4
1908	5.9	2.2	11.7	2.2	16.4	9.1	.7
1909	3.9	6.9	11.4	1.1	12.4	5.0	.7
1910	3.0	1.7	14.4	1.8	9.8	4.9	.7
Total.....	4.2	1.7	14.2	1.3	11.4	7.8	.8

TABLE 19.—*Immigration from Austria-Hungary to the United States during the fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by races or peoples—Continued.*

PER CENT.

Year.	Magyar.	Polish.	Rou- manian.	Ruthe- nian.	Slovak.	All others.	Total
1899.....	7.8	18.7	(a)	2.2	25.2	1.6	100.0
1900.....	12.0	19.9	0.2	2.5	25.4	(a)	100.0
1901.....	11.7	17.9	.5	4.7	25.8	(a)	100.0
1902.....	13.7	18.9	1.0	4.4	21.5	1.0	100.0
1903.....	13.2	18.2	2.0	4.8	16.7	(a)	100.0
1904.....	13.5	17.1	2.2	5.3	15.7	.1	100.0
1905.....	16.6	18.4	2.6	5.2	19.0	.1	100.0
1906.....	16.2	16.5	4.1	5.9	13.8	.1	100.0
1907.....	17.6	17.6	5.4	7.0	12.4	.1	100.0
1908.....	14.1	15.7	5.2	7.2	9.5	.2	100.0
1909.....	16.4	21.4	4.4	9.0	13.1	.2	100.0
1910.....	10.0	22.6	5.0	10.2	12.0	.2	100.0
Total.....	14.3	18.6	3.3	6.2	16.1	.2	100.0

a Less than 0.05 of 1 per cent.

From the above table will be seen the varied ethnical character of the immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary. Of this heterogeneous immigration the most important races from the standpoint of the numbers involved are the Croatsians and Slovenians, the Germans, Hebrews, Magyars, Poles, and Slovaks. It will be noted, however, that the proportion formed by each of these races in the total immigration from Austria-Hungary has varied decidedly in the different years specified. During the earlier part of the period for which data are given the Slovaks comprised about 25 per cent of the total immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary. In 1910, however, that race comprised only 12 per cent. The Hebrews also composed a smaller part of the total immigration in the later years than in the earlier years of the period. The Germans, on the contrary, have formed a larger part of the total immigration of Austria-Hungary since 1903 than in the preceding years.

It should be carefully noted that some of the races or peoples which form a part of the Austro-Hungarian immigration are only a small part of the total immigration of those races to the United States. In the following table is shown the total number of immigrants of each race or people largely represented in Austro-Hungarian immigration, during the twelve years ending June 30, 1910, and the proportion of such immigrants coming from Austria-Hungary.

TABLE 20.—*Total immigration to the United States of races or peoples specified, and per cent of such immigration which originated in Austria-Hungary, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive.*

[Compiled from Reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Total number of immigrants.	From Austria-Hungary.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Bohemian and Moravian.....	100,189	98,469	98.3
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....	97,391	39,099	40.1
Croatian and Slovenian.....	335,543	331,154	98.7
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	31,696	31,047	98.0
German.....	754,375	265,366	35.2
Hebrew.....	1,074,442	180,802	16.8
Italian, North.....	372,668	19,410	5.2
Magyar.....	337,351	333,429	98.8
Polish.....	949,064	432,809	45.6
Roumanian.....	82,704	76,755	92.8
Ruthenian.....	147,375	144,710	98.2
Slovak.....	377,527	374,624	99.2

It will be noted that of the total immigration to the United States of Bohemians and Moravians, Croatians and Slovenians, Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians, Magyars, Ruthenians, and Slovaks at least 98 per cent of each came from Austria-Hungary, while 92.8 per cent of the Roumanian immigrants were from the same country. The Poles, however, who were the predominating element in the immigration from Austria-Hungary for the period mentioned composed less than half (45.6 per cent) of the total Polish immigration. Likewise the Germans, who were an important element of the immigration of Austria-Hungary, composed only 35.2 per cent of the total German immigration. The Hebrews from Austria-Hungary were a considerably smaller proportion, being only 16.8 per cent, of the total Hebrew immigration.

SEX OF IMMIGRANTS.

From July 1, 1819, to June 30, 1910, 68.8 per cent of all the immigrants to the United States from Austria-Hungary were males. This proportion while not as large as that from Italy during the same period nevertheless suggests that the movement to a large extent is one of individuals rather than of families. For the twelve years ending June 30, 1910, data for the sex of immigrants are available by race. In the following table is shown the proportions of males and females of the races which predominate in the immigration from Austria-Hungary.

TABLE 21.—*Immigration to the United States of the races or peoples which predominate in the immigration from Austria-Hungary, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by sex.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Total number of immigrants.	Number.		Per cent.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Bohemian and Moravian.....	100,189	57,111	43,078	57.0	43.0
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin.....	97,391	93,200	4,191	95.7	4.3
Croatian and Slovenian.....	335,543	284,866	50,677	84.9	15.1
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	31,696	29,252	2,444	92.3	7.7
German.....	754,375	448,054	306,321	59.4	40.6
Hebrew.....	1,074,442	607,822	466,620	56.6	43.4
Italian, North.....	372,668	291,877	80,791	78.3	21.7
Magyar.....	338,151	244,221	93,930	72.2	27.8
Polish.....	949,064	659,267	289,797	69.5	30.5
Roumanian.....	82,704	75,238	7,466	91.0	9.0
Ruthenian (Russniak).....	147,375	109,614	37,761	74.4	25.6
Slovak.....	377,527	266,262	111,265	70.5	29.5

It will be noted that there are striking differences in the proportion of males in the immigration of the specified races. In every instance the males outnumber the females, but the most marked difference in the proportions of the sexes is shown by the Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin group, of whom 95.7 per cent were males; the Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian group, with 92.3 per cent; and the Roumanians, with 91 per cent males. Of the first-named group only 40.1 per cent of the total number admitted to the United States came from Austria-Hungary, but of the others nearly all were from that country. The races showing the largest per cent of females are the Hebrew, 43.4 per cent; the Bohemian and Moravian, 43 per cent; and the German, 40.6 per cent.

OCCUPATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS.

The dissimilarities in the elements of the immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary are again emphasized by the varying proportions in the specified occupations. The following table shows the number of immigrants admitted to the United States from 1899 to 1910, inclusive, who were of the races or peoples predominating in the immigration from Austria-Hungary, and who reported some specific occupation, and the per cent of each race or people in each occupation.

TABLE 22.—Per cent of immigrants admitted to the United States reporting each specified occupation, by races or peoples, which predominate in the immigration from Austria-Hungary, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive.

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Number reporting employment.	Per cent who were—				
		In professional occupations.	In skilled occupations.	Farm laborers.	Laborers.	In other occupations.
Bohemian and Moravian	60,489	1.3	40.8	15.9	12.6	29.4
Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin	90,991	.1	3.3	47.7	44.3	4.6
Croatian and Slovenian	298,324	.1	5.0	32.8	53.6	8.5
Dalmatian, Bosnian, Herzegovinian	28,265	.1	9.6	36.3	48.3	5.6
German	458,293	3.5	30.0	17.9	19.8	28.8
Hebrew	590,267	1.3	67.1	1.9	11.8	18.0
Italian, North	296,622	1.1	20.4	18.7	47.8	12.0
Magyar	259,276	.5	8.6	41.2	36.3	13.4
Polish	748,430	.2	6.3	30.5	44.8	18.1
Roumanian	75,531	.2	2.7	59.4	34.4	3.3
Ruthenian (Russniak)	128,460	.1	2.0	43.4	37.2	17.4
Slovak	290,247	.1	4.4	35.3	44.7	15.5

The Bohemians and Moravians, Germans, and Hebrews had relatively larger numbers of professional men and skilled workmen than the other races specified. Of the Croatians and Slovenians, Dalmatians, etc., Roumanians, Ruthenians, and Slovaks, 80 per cent or more were common laborers or farm laborers, while large proportions of the Magyars and Polish were of the same occupational status. The Hebrews and Bohemians and Moravians reported the highest per cent having no occupation, and as immigrants recorded as having no occupation are usually women and children, this is significant of the tendency of these races to come in families.

ILLITERACY IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

AUSTRIA.

Austria is one of the comparatively few European countries that includes in its census an inquiry concerning illiteracy. Figures from the last three decennial returns show that a considerable proportion of the population are unable to read and write, but also indicate that there is a steady decrease in this high rate of illiteracy. Following are the figures for the whole country:

TABLE 23.—Per cent of total population of Austria who were literate and who were illiterate, in 1880, 1890, and 1900, by sex.

[Compiled from Oesterr. Statistik Handbuch 1907. p. 103.]

Year.	Per cent who—		
	Read only.	Read and write.	Neither read nor write.
1880	6.1	49.4	44.5
1890	4.3	55.5	40.2
1900	3.0	61.4	35.6

In 1900, 61.4 per cent of the total population were able to read and write as against 49.4 per cent in 1880. This increase in literacy of 12 per cent in twenty years is strong indication of the progress of elementary education and of the growing intelligence of the people. Further proof of this is the fact that in 1905-6, 91.4 per cent of all the children of school age were attending school.

As might be expected in a country of such heterogeneous population, the degree to which illiteracy prevails differs widely in the various Provinces. The following table was compiled from the census returns for 1900:

TABLE 24.—*Per cent of population 6 years of age or over in Austria in 1900 who could neither read nor write, by sex and Province.*

[Compiled from Oesterr. Statistik Handbuch, 1907, p. 6.]

Province.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Lower Austria.....	4.4	5.8	5.1
Upper Austria.....	4.5	4.6	4.5
Salzburg.....	6.7	6.5	6.6
Styria.....	13.2	15.4	14.3
Carinthia.....	18.2	22.9	20.6
Carniola.....	22.2	21.2	21.7
Coast land.....	32.1	38.8	35.5
Tyrol and Vorarlberg.....	4.4	5.0	4.7
Bohemia.....	3.4	4.8	4.1
Moravia.....	4.3	5.8	5.1
Silesia.....	7.0	7.3	7.2
Galicia.....	52.3	60.0	56.2
Bukowina.....	59.2	69.0	64.0
Dalmatia.....	64.8	80.6	72.6
Total.....	22.1	25.5	23.8

In 1900 the range for illiteracy was from 4.1 per cent in Bohemia to 72.6 per cent in Dalmatia. The proportion of illiterates was least in those Provinces bordering on Germany and Switzerland; it was largest in the Provinces in adjoining Russia, Roumania, and those bordering on the Adriatic Sea. The percentage of illiteracy was above the average for the country in the Provinces of Dalmatia, Bukowina, Galicia, and the coast land.

No classification of illiteracy in Austria by race is available. However, the data at hand shows the population of each province according to language spoken. By comparing the latter with the illiteracy by province the interrelation of race and illiteracy in Austria can be established to some degree.

TABLE 25.—Per cent of population of Austria in 1900 speaking each specified language and per cent who could neither read nor write, by Provinces.

[Compiled from Oesterr. Statistik Handbuch, 1907, p. 5.]

Province.	German.	Bohemian, Moravian, and Slovak.	Polish.	Ruthenian.	Slovenian.	Croatian and Servian.	Italian.	Roumanian.	Magyar.	Total.	Per cent of the population 6 years of age or over who could neither read nor write.
Lower Austria.....	95.00	4.66	0.17	0.05	0.06	0.01	0.05	0.00	.....	100.00	5.1
Upper Austria.....	99.39	.45	.01	.01	.06	.00	.08	.00	.....	100.00	6.5
Salzburg.....	99.52	.30	.01	.00	.08	.01	.08	.00	.....	100.00	6.6
Styria.....	68.71	.06	.01	.00	31.18	.01	.03	.....	.....	100.00	14.3
Carinthia.....	74.82	.05	.01	.00	25.10	.00	.02	.00	.....	100.00	20.6
Carniola.....	5.59	.08	.01	.00	94.24	.03	.05	.....	.....	100.00	21.7
Coastland.....	3.18	.09	.02	.00	90.97	14.31	51.30	.13	.....	100.00	35.5
Tyrol and Vorarlberg.....	75.06	.20	.01	.00	.08	.02	24.63	.....	.....	100.00	4.7
Bohemia.....	37.26	62.68	.03	.02	.01	.00	.00	.00	.....	100.00	4.1
Moravia.....	27.90	71.36	.65	.01	.02	.06	.00	.00	.....	100.00	5.1
Silesia.....	44.69	22.94	33.21	.04	.01	.00	.01	.....	.....	100.00	7.2
Galicia.....	2.90	.14	54.66	42.29	.00	.00	.00	.01	.....	100.00	56.2
Bukowina.....	22.05	.08	3.71	41.17	.02	.00	.02	31.64	1.31	100.00	64.0
Dalmatia.....	.40	.20	.02	.00	.12	96.65	2.61	.00	.....	100.00	72.6
Total.....	35.78	23.24	16.59	13.21	4.65	2.77	2.83	.90	.03	100.00	23.8

Generally speaking, the rate of illiteracy is very low in those Provinces where the population is largely German-speaking. Tyrol and Vorarlberg are the exception to this, 75 per cent of the population speaking German, and the rate of illiteracy being 35.5 per cent. It is also generally true that the number of illiterates is small in those provinces where the large proportion of the population speak Bohemian, Moravian, and Slovak. In two provinces in which illiteracy prevails to an excessive degree, Dalmatia and Bukowina, the language spoken would indicate that in Dalmatia the population is largely Servian and Croatian; in Bukowina that it is Ruthenian and Roumanian. Galicia presents difficulties, 55 per cent of the population speak Polish and 42 per cent speak Ruthenian. The illiteracy rate for that province is third highest, being 56 per cent.

Illiteracy among immigrants from Austria-Hungary.

An indication of the relation of race to illiteracy in Austria and Hungary combined is afforded by the reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration. The table next presented gives the percentage of illiteracy for those 14 years and over of those races which compose almost entirely the immigration to this country from Austria-Hungary.

TABLE 26.—*Number and per cent of immigrants admitted to the United States who were 14 years of age or over and who could neither read nor write, during the fiscal years 1899 to 1910, by races or peoples predominating in immigration from Austria-Hungary.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race or people.	Number 14 years of age or over admitted.	Unable to read or write.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Bohemian and Moravian	79,721	1,322	1.7
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin	95,596	39,903	41.7
Croatian and Slovenian	320,977	115,785	36.1
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian	30,861	12,653	41.0
German	625,793	32,236	5.2
Hebrew	806,786	209,507	26.0
Magyar	307,082	35,004	11.4
Polish	861,303	304,675	35.4
Roumanian	80,839	28,266	35.0
Ruthenian (Russniak)	140,775	75,165	53.4
Slovak	342,583	82,216	24.0

The above table, it will be understood, represents races or peoples rather than country of origin, and, therefore, the figures given do not apply to Austria-Hungary alone. Of the races enumerated, however, Austria-Hungary furnished 98 per cent or more of the Bohemians and Moravians; Croatians and Slovenians; Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians; Magyars; Ruthenians, and Slovaks, and 92.8 per cent of the Roumanians.^a For these races at least the table practically represents Austro-Hungarian immigration.

Causes of illiteracy.

A general cause for the lack of progress in Austria, the undue amount of illiteracy being a feature of this, is attributed to the "confusion of elements and influences and the general complexity of the situation."

The Bohemians rank in development with the races of northwest Europe and there is a very low proportion of illiterates among them. The German population of Austria-Hungary as a rule are literate. The Ruthenians form the peasantry of Galicia and are very primitive in their civilization. This accounts for their being so largely illiterate. Much complaint is heard in Galicia of the lack of schools, but statistics show that illiteracy is decreasing in that Province. Of the Polish men between 30 and 50 years 40 per cent were illiterate, while of those from 10 to 20 years less than 27 per cent were unable to read and write. Of the Ruthenian males between 30 and 50 years 80 per cent were illiterate and less than 37 per cent of those between 10 and 20 years.^b

Geographical situation, as already indicated, seems to have an effect on the prevalence of illiteracy. On the whole, it exists to a much greater degree in those Provinces most removed from the influences of western Europe.

^a See Table 20, p. 375.

^b Emily Balch in "Charities," Vol. XVI, p. 180.

However, the following figures indicate that there is only a slight correspondence between the degree of illiteracy and the density of the population, and that it is not possible to lay it down as a rule for Austria that illiteracy prevails to the greatest extent in the most sparsely settled Provinces.

TABLE 27.—*Comparison of illiteracy and density of population in Austria, by Province.*

[Compiled from Oesterr. Statistik. Handbuch, 1907, p. 6.]

Province.	Per cent of persons 6 years of age or over who could not read or write.	Population per square mile.	Province.	Per cent of persons 6 years of age or over who could not read or write.	Population per square mile.
Lower Austria.....	5.1	405	Bohemia.....	4.1	315
Upper Austria.....	4.5	175	Moravia.....	5.1	284
Salzburg.....	6.6	69	Silesia.....	7.2	342
Styria.....	14.3	156	Galicia.....	56.2	241
Carinthia.....	20.6	91	Bukowina.....	64.0	181
Carniola.....	21.7	132	Dalmatia.....	72.6	120
Coast land.....	35.5	245			
Tyrol and Vorarlberg.....	4.7	86	Total.....	23.8	226

Undoubtedly there is some relation between economic condition and illiteracy. In the more prosperous Provinces, such as Bohemia, Moravia, Upper and Lower Austria, the number of illiterates is insignificant. In Galicia, Bukowina, and Dalmatia, where the struggle for existence is severe, ignorance is widespread.

The following figures show by Province the percentage of children of school age who are attending school:

TABLE 28.—*Per cent of girls and of boys and girls together of school age in Austria who were attending school in 1905-6, by Province.*

[Compiled from Oesterr. Statistik. Handbuch, 1907.]

Province	Girls.	Total	Province.	Girls.	Total.
Lower Austria.....	95.5	95.3	Bohemia.....	98.2	98.1
Upper Austria.....	85.1	93.9	Moravia.....	97.3	97.4
Salzburg.....	85.2	90.8	Silesia.....	88.3	91.9
Styria.....	89.1	91.5	Galicia.....	81.7	82.5
Carinthia.....	93.0	93.6	Bukowina.....	86.8	87.1
Carniola.....	89.8	91.6	Dalmatia.....	87.7	92.7
Coast land.....	81.4	81.8			
Tyrol and Vorarlberg.....	93.7	95.7	Total.....	90.8	91.4

HUNGARY.

The condition of Hungary in respect to illiteracy is worse even than that of Austria. Comparative statistics for the two countries are as follows:

TABLE 29.—*Comparison of the populations of Austria and of Hungary^a in respect to literacy and illiteracy for the years 1880, 1890, and 1900.*

[Compiled from Statesman's Year Book, 1908.]

Year.	Country	Per cent of population who—		
		Read and write	Read only.	Neither read nor write.
1880.....	Austria.....	49.4	6.1	44.5
	Hungary.....	34.5	5.8	59.7
1890.....	Austria.....	55.5	4.3	40.2
	Hungary.....	42.2	3.2	54.6
1900.....	Austria.....	61.4	3.0	35.6
	Hungary.....	49.6	2.6	47.8

^a Figures for Hungary are for civil population only.

In 1900, the latest date for which statistics are available, 35.6 per cent of the population of Austria were unable to read or write, while in Hungary the proportion was 47.8 per cent. It will be noted, however, that relatively greater progress was made in Hungary between 1880 and 1900 than in Austria. In the former the increase in literacy was from 34.5 per cent of the population to 49.6 per cent, while in Austria it was from 49.4 per cent to 61.4 per cent.

Moreover, the illiteracy rate for Hungary is a composite of that for Hungary proper and for Croatia-Slavonia, and these two factors are at considerable variance, as is indicated by the following figures:

TABLE 30.—*Per cent of the total civil population of Hungary and of the civil population 6 years of age or over who could read and write in 1890 and in 1900, by Province.*

[Magyar Statisztikai Evkönyv, 1905, p. 324.]

Province.	Per cent who could read and write—			
	Of the total civil population		Of the total civil population 6 years of age or over	
	1890.	1900.	1890	1900 ^a
Hungary, proper.....	44.5	51.4	53.2	61.2
Croatia-Slavonia.....	26.7	37.0	32.3	44.1
Total kingdom.....	42.2	49.6	50.8	59.0 ^a

The number of those unable to read and write is considerably larger in Croatia-Slavonia than in Hungary proper, but the progress toward greater literacy was more marked in the former than in the latter.

Illiteracy and race.

Some light can be thrown upon the interrelation of illiteracy and race in Hungary by comparing the proportions of the population in the "comitats" according to native language with the degree of literacy. With the exception of Fiume, there is less relative illiteracy in those districts where the native language of the greater number of people is Magyar. In Fiume, which has a polyglot population and but few peasants, 74.9 per cent of the people are able to read and write, as compared with 61.2 per cent for Hungary proper. In the "comitat" where illiteracy is most prevalent the native language of 56.5 per cent of the population is Roumanian.

In Croatia-Slavonia the native language of 61.7 per cent of the population is Croatian and 25.3 per cent Servian. In 1900 only 37 per cent of the total civil population were able to read and write, indicating a high rate of illiteracy for these two races.

While the situation in Hungary in respect to race is not as complex as it is in Austria, it does, nevertheless, present difficulties. A little more than one-half of the population of Hungary proper is Magyar, 17 per cent are Roumanian, 10 per cent German, and about 18 per cent are Slavs. The Magyars are the ruling race and are making a fight for the common usage of their language, even though they represent only 51 per cent of the population. The Government forces its adoption in the churches, courts, schools, and, as far as possible, in daily life. The Slavs object to this on practical as well as sentimental grounds. Their children, it is said, leave school without being able to master the Magyar tongue and without being allowed to learn to read and write in their own languages.^a

Elementary schools.

Every parish or commune in Hungary is bound by law to have a school if the number of children of school age is 30. Compulsory attendance has been on the statute books for children from 6 to 12 years, and repetition courses for children from 12 to 15 years, since 1868. The industrial law of 1884 required a special course for apprentices; by a law of 1891 children from 3 to 6 years may be sent to infant schools unless otherwise provided for.^b The table next presented shows the number of children in Hungary proper who are of school age, and the number and per cent of such children attending school at different periods.

^a Charities, Vol. XV, p. 833, and Vol. XVI, p. 77.

^b The Statesman's Yearbook, 1908, p. 766.

TABLE 31.—*Number of children of school age in Hungary proper, and number and per cent attending school in years specified.*

[Magyar Statisztikai Evkönyv 1907, p. 320.]

Years	Children of school age. ^a	Children attending school.	
		Number.	Per cent.
1896-1901.....	2,929,089	2,350,392	80.2
1901-1905.....	2,037,798	2,456,274	80.8
1906.....	3,153,736	2,507,916	79.5
1907.....	3,202,750	2,546,456	79.5

^aIncludes children required to take repetition courses.

In 1904, 67 per cent of the children of school age were attending school in Croatia-Slavonia, as against 79 per cent in Hungary. The former Province has a free hand in educational matters. The population is almost entirely Croatian-Servian, and there is no forced Magyarization. The reasons, therefore, for the low literacy rate in Hungary proper do not seem to apply for the still lower rate which prevails in the neighbor Province. Croatia requires school attendance of children from 7 to 12 years. These laws, however, are very imperfectly enforced. In Lika Krbava only 37 per cent of the children of school age are receiving instruction. The proportion varies widely in the different sections.

CHAPTER V.

EFFECT OF EMIGRATION ON AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The large emigration from Austria-Hungary in recent years has not prevented an increase in the total population, as is shown by the following table:

TABLE 32.—Population of Austria and of Hungary in the years 1880, 1890, and 1900.

[Compiled from Statesman's Yearbook for 1908.]

Year.	Austria.			Hungary.		
	Total population.	Absolute increase	Per cent yearly increase.	Popula- tion.	Absolute increase.	Per cent yearly increase.
1880.....	21,981,821	1,764,290	0.76	15,739,259	226,880	0.13
1890.....	23,707,906	1,726,085	.76	17,463,791	1,724,532	.99
1900.....	25,921,671	2,213,765	.90	19,254,559	1,790,760	.93

From 1880 to 1900 the population of Austria was increased by almost 4,000,000. During the same period the population of Hungary was increased by more than three and a half millions. This increase in both cases is due to the high birth rate.

Although there has been relatively a large gain in the population of Austria and Hungary, both countries have lost through emigration a large number of people, chiefly from 16 to 45 years of age, and in some sections there is now an undue proportion of the old and the young.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS.

The Commission was informed that there had come to be a serious danger of the depopulation of certain parts of northern Hungary because so many of the lower classes were emigrating to America. It was stated that there were villages with so few able-bodied men among the inhabitants that there was nobody to harvest the crops. The small gentry and landed proprietors were in great trouble, as they had nobody to work their estates for them. Large numbers of Poles and other peoples had to be imported to northern Hungary for that purpose, and it is said that one time the importation of Chinese laborers was seriously considered.

The effects of emigration are less plainly visible in Austria-Hungary than in Italy, largely because the emigration of some races is of a permanent character, while of others it is only a temporary movement. From Bohemia men go with their families to stay, and while the decrease in the supply of labor has probably some effect on wages, there is not the noticeable effect on the character and condition of the people that is apparent in the more backward provinces

where there has been a large return movement and where the necessity for modernizing influences was greater.

Great stress has been laid by Austro-Hungarian officials and investigators on the economic effect of emigration, but because of the incompleteness of the data and the multiplicity of factors which enter into the situation satisfactory conclusions are impossible. However, the general consensus of opinion is that land values have risen and that there has been an advance in agricultural wages due to the large emigration movement. Both of these conditions are most marked in Galicia, Croatia, and the Slovak districts of Hungary. A member of the Commission who visited Krakow when the harvest work was at its height was told that the landowners in that section of Galicia were in dire extremities for help, owing to the emigration to America. Herr Kaltenbrunn, Ministerialrat to the Ministerium des Innern, in an interview with the chairman of the Commission, stated that some districts of Hungary had been so depleted by emigration that it was difficult to find a sufficient number of laborers during certain seasons of the year to properly do the work demanded, and that the result had been an advance in wages in all such districts. In some places the emigration of able-bodied men has increased the number of women farm laborers.

United States Consul Rublee, of Vienna, stated that there has been a great increase in the use of agricultural machinery since emigration took away so many laborers. Formerly, he said, labor was so cheap and common that it was easier for employers to use the wasteful methods of hand labor than to go to the expense of buying machinery. Now they can not succeed by employing hand labor at the increased rates and are importing farm machinery. Allowing for some exaggeration, it is safe to say that in many districts of Croatia-Slavonia, Hungary, and Galicia wages of farm laborers have risen at least 30 per cent since emigration has become so marked, and that in a few districts there has been an even greater increase. In Croatia the Commission was told that farm laborers at the present time receive from 2 to 3 kronen (\$0.41 to \$0.61) a day and that this is a great increase over the wages formerly paid in that district. This increase was said to be the result of the scarcity of labor due to American emigration.

As in the case of Italy the desire of the returning emigrant to invest in land has led to a considerable increase in its value, particularly in Croatia, Galicia, and the Slovak district of Hungary. Doctor Benis, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in Krakow, stated that land in Galicia had considerably increased in value because of the returning emigrants. In Galicia the buying of large estates by associations of returned emigrants has become a common practice. Very often from 50,000 to 90,000 acres a year are thus bought up and subdivided among the peasant purchasers. The money is either contributed from the savings of the associate peasants or borrowed from friends who are still in America.⁶ In some districts of Croatia, where there has been a notably large return movement, the cost of arable land has increased from \$60 and \$80 a yoke (1.47 acres) to \$400 a yoke.

⁶ Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*.

United States Consul Slocum, in a statement to the Commission on the subject of the character of the emigration through Fiume, says in part:

Some of the results locally from unrestricted emigration may be noted in the increased respect given the returned emigrant. The Hungarian or Croatian peasant having left the chrysalis state in America returns to Hungary a butterfly of the world.

More practical results may be noted in Vrata, Croatia, where a whole street may be seen the houses fronting upon which were constructed with the earnings of returned emigrants.

On the other hand, also in Vrata may be seen a factory for the manufacture of bent-wood furniture, the management of which has been forced to import labor, as the youth of the locality otherwise capable of the work had sought their fortune in the United States.

Other results of the emigration may be noted in the comfortable, if not luxurious surroundings of simple peasant families whose sons have emigrated, and, successful, have not forgotten the loved ones at home in far-off Hungary.

EFFECT ON MORALITY.

In the Croatian and Slovak districts, from which there has been a large emigration of individuals, principally men who either expect to return or who send for their wives later, there is heard a good deal of complaint of the family disorganization that has resulted. Most of this criticism is directed against the women who remain at home, but in other cases it has been the man in America who has forgotten his marital claims at home and sometimes even goes as far as to contract a second marriage. A less gross but perhaps more common evil is the lack of sympathy between the wife who has remained in the old environment and the husband who has come under the influences of the new world.

LIVING CONDITIONS.

The changes in the economic status of the peasantry which has resulted in a higher standard of living have been due partly to increased wages consequent to the decreased labor supply which accompanied the large emigration and partly to the money sent or brought home from America. So closely are these related that it is not practicable to consider them separately.

An official of the Bohemian Union Bank at Prague furnished to the Commission an estimate of \$38,700,000 as money remitted home by immigrants in the United States through all banks in Austria for the period from 1892 to 1902. The remittances through his bank went one-third to Bohemia, one-third to Galicia, and one-third to Croatia and Hungary. From 1893 to 1903, \$95,410,000 was remitted to Austria-Hungary, not including the amounts sent through the post-office nor the large sums carried home.* From 1900 to 1909, \$41,208,905.67 was remitted to Austria through money orders issued in the United States and in the same manner \$42,193,906.62 was remitted to Hungary during that period. This enormous influx of money was partly to pay old debts and to bring over families, but most of it was to support relatives at home, to invest in land, to build homes, to make improvements, and to buy agricultural machinery.

* "Immigrant Banks." Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 37. (S. Doc. 753, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)

In some districts the effects of this are evident. Superior "American" houses were pointed out for the Commission, the standard of living was said to be higher, and at least some beginning has been made in town improvements.

EFFECT ON CHARACTER.

A most apparent effect of emigration and repatriation are the changes it has wrought in the character of the emigrant. He leaves his village, a simple peasant in his peasant dress, usually not only unable to read and write, but even not desiring to. Ingrained in him are the traditions of his obligations to the church and to his superiors. Unresisting he has toiled from early morning until late at night for a wage insufficient even for his meager wants. Without money and totally unprepared for the complicated industrial life he comes to the New World. His new environment soon brings about changes in this respect, and when he goes back to his old home he is a different man. He is more aggressive and self-assertive. His unaccustomed money gives him confidence and he is no longer willing to pay deference to his former superiors. Frequently, too, the church has lost the influence it had had with him. Moreover, if he has not learned to read and write himself, he has at least seen the value of that ability and is more anxious than before to send his children to school.

PART V.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN GREECE.

389

PART V.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES FROM GREECE.

IMMIGRATION BY YEARS, 1820–1910.

From July 1, 1819, to June 30, 1910, 186,204 immigrants giving Greece as the country of their last permanent residence were admitted to the United States. This immigration, while small in comparison with that of many other of the European countries, nevertheless is of importance because of its size in comparison with the population of Greece, which is only about 2,500,000, and also because of the recency in which it has attained any considerable proportions. In 1824, 5 immigrants were admitted from Greece, the first to be recorded from that country. During the following years the movement to the United States from Greece continued to be of little consequence, in no year numbering as many as 50 until 1882, when 126 immigrants were admitted. In 1891 more than a thousand immigrants were recorded as coming from Greece. From that time there was, with few exceptions, a steady increase in the number admitted, the movement attaining its maximum proportion in 1907, when it reached 36,580. The following table shows the total immigration from Greece in each fiscal year from 1820 to 1910.

TABLE 1.—Immigration to the United States from Greece, for the years ending June 30, 1820 to 1910.

[Compiled from Statistical Review of Immigration, 1819–1910. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 3.]

Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
1820.....		1844.....	3	1868.....		1892.....	660
1821.....		1845.....	2	1869.....	8	1893.....	1,072
1822.....		1846.....	3	1870.....	22	1894.....	1,356
1823.....		1847.....		1871.....	11	1895.....	597
1824.....	5	1848.....	1	1872.....	12	1896.....	2,175
1825.....		1849.....		1873.....	23	1897.....	571
1826.....	4	1850 ^a	2	1874.....	36	1898.....	2,339
1827.....		1851.....		1875.....	25	1899.....	2,333
1828.....	7	1852.....	10	1876.....	19	1900.....	3,771
1829.....	1	1853.....	12	1877.....	24	1901.....	5,910
1830.....	3	1854.....	1	1878.....	16	1902.....	8,104
1831.....		1855.....		1879.....	21	1903.....	14,090
1832 ^a	1	1856.....	2	1880.....	23	1904.....	11,343
1833.....	1	1857.....	4	1881.....	19	1905.....	10,515
1834.....		1858.....		1882.....	126	1906.....	19,489
1835.....	7	1859.....	1	1883.....	73	1907.....	36,580
1836.....	28	1860.....	1	1884.....	37	1908.....	21,489
1837.....	5	1861.....	1	1885.....	172	1909.....	14,111
1838.....	4	1862.....	5	1886.....	104	1910.....	25,888
1839.....		1863.....	4	1887.....	313		
1840.....	3	1864.....	5	1888.....	782	Total...	186,204
1841.....		1865.....	7	1889.....	158		
1842.....	1	1866.....	10	1890.....	524		
1843.....	4	1867.....	10	1891.....	1,105		

^a Fifteen months ending Dec. 31.

This table clearly indicates how recent is the immigration to the United States from Greece and how rapidly it has attained its present comparatively large volume. It is interesting to note that the number admitted in 1907 was greater than the total number who came during the period 1820 to 1902, inclusive; the number for the latter period being 33,199, while for 1907 it is 36,580.

IMMIGRATION BY SEX AND DECADES, 1871-1910.

The following table shows the immigration from Greece from 1871 to 1910, inclusive, by decades:

TABLE 2.—*Immigration to the United States from Greece, by sex and decades, 1871 to 1910.*

[Compiled from Statistical Review of Immigration, 1819-1910. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 3.]

Period.	Number.			Per cent.	
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1871-1880.....	210	183	27	87.1	12.9
1881-1890.....	2,308	2,169	139	94.0	6.0
1891-1900.....	15,979	a 10,194	a 427	96.0	4.0
1901-1910.....	167,519	158,229	9,290	94.5	5.5
Total.....	186,016	170,775	9,883	94.5	5.5

^a Figures by sex not given for 1893, 1894, 1895, and 1899.

The above table indicates even more markedly how recent has been the immigration from Greece and how rapid has been its development. During the decade 1881 to 1890, 2,308 immigrants were recorded; in the following decade there were 15,979, and during 1901 to 1910 the number reached 167,519, which is 90 per cent of the total recorded immigration from Greece. Moreover, it should be noted that the movement has always been essentially one of males. During the total period for which data are available 94.5 per cent were males and only 5.5 per cent were females. The overwhelming proportion of males indicates that the immigration is one of individuals rather than of families. This apparently is more characteristic of the immigration of Greece than that of almost any other European country; for example, of the total Italian immigration the proportion of males is 77.9 per cent, while of the immigration from Austria-Hungary during the period 1820 to 1910, inclusive, 69.2 per cent were males.

IMMIGRATION FROM GREECE AND OTHER EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION.

The following table affords a comparison between the immigration from Greece and European immigration, as a whole, during the period 1820 to 1910:

TABLE 3.—Immigration to the United States from Greece compared with total European immigration (including Turkey in Asia), by decades, 1820 to 1910.

[Compiled from Table 1, pp. 6–11.]

Period.	Total number European immigration.	Greek immigration.	
		Number.	Per cent of total European.
1820-1830 ^a	106,508	20	(b)
1831-1840	495,683	49	(b)
1841-1850	1,597,501	14	(b)
1851-1860	2,452,660	3	(b)
1861-1870	2,065,272	7	(b)
1871-1880	2,272,329	210	(b)
1881-1890	4,739,266	2,308	(b)
1891-1900	3,582,815	15,979	0.4
1901-1910	8,213,409	167,519	2.0
Total	25,523,410	186,204	.7

^a Eleven years.

^b Less than 0.05 per cent.

Previous to the decade 1891-1900 the immigration from Greece to the United States formed scarcely an appreciable part of the total European immigration, being less than 0.05 of 1 per cent. During 1891-1900 the movement had increased and during the following decade the growth was even more rapid, so that for that decade 2 per cent of the total European immigration originated in Greece.

NATIVES OF GREECE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850 TO 1900.

Previous to 1900 the census enumeration did not show any tendency of persons born in Greece to settle in any particular part of the United States. However, the number of persons born in Greece had up to that time been comparatively inconsiderable. In 1900, when they had attained greater proportions, 50 per cent were found in the North Atlantic States and 26.6 per cent in the North Central States. The tables next submitted show the distribution in the United States at each census period from 1850 to 1900, inclusive, of persons born in Greece.

TABLE 4.—*Distribution of persons in the United States who were born in Greece, by States and Territories, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive.*

Geographic division.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
Continental United States.....	86	328	390	776	1,887	8,515
North Atlantic division.....	35	80	121	189	604	4,255
New England—						
Maine.....		4	3	1	2	7
New Hampshire.....		1	1	1		44
Vermont.....			1	1	1	3
Massachusetts.....	23	25	24	41	59	1,843
Rhode Island.....		4	2	7	16	84
Connecticut.....	1	6	4	1	5	121
Southern North Atlantic—						
New York.....		35	60	94	413	1,573
New Jersey.....	4	2	12	12	27	115
Pennsylvania.....	7	4	14	31	81	465
South Atlantic division.....	2	31	19	58	167	673
Northern South Atlantic—						
Delaware.....			2		1	12
Maryland.....		2	4	3	16	95
District of Columbia.....		2	4	5	5	34
Virginia.....		7	4	7	18	59
West Virginia.....					4	108
Southern South Atlantic—						
North Carolina.....			2	1	1	14
South Carolina.....	1			23	37	62
Georgia.....	1	17		12	49	191
Florida.....		3	3	7	36	98
North Central division.....	7	22	36	138	404	2,264
Eastern North Central—						
Ohio.....		5	4	22	59	213
Indiana.....		2		2	16	82
Illinois.....	4		14	71	254	1,570
Michigan.....	1	5	3	4	10	134
Wisconsin.....	1		4	13	19	63
Western North Central—						
Minnesota.....					14	75
Iowa.....	1	1	1	4	1	18
Missouri.....		9	2	18	16	66
North Dakota ^a			1	1	1	
South Dakota ^a				3		3
Nebraska.....					10	23
Kansas.....			7		4	17
South Central division.....	33	99	100	104	267	477
Eastern South Central—						
Kentucky.....	1		6	3	4	24
Tennessee.....	2	3	4	8	8	38
Alabama.....	7	9	11	8	55	129
Mississippi.....		2	8	6	9	22
Western South Central—						
Louisiana.....	23	18	49	39	44	84
Arkansas.....		65	1	3	1	6
Indian Territory.....						2
Oklahoma.....					1	3
Texas.....		2	21	37	145	169
Western division.....	9	96	114	287	445	846
Rocky Mountain—						
Montana.....			3	3	11	20
Idaho.....			5	1	4	9
Wyoming.....			1	1	1	230
Colorado.....				5	27	37
New Mexico.....		1			1	1
Basin and Plateau—						
Arizona.....			1	4	7	10
Utah.....			1	2	3	3
Nevada.....			5	6	7	4
Pacific—						
Washington.....		2	1	9	47	65
Oregon.....				86	78	95
California.....	9	93	97	170	589	372

^a Dakota Territory until 1890.

TABLE 5.—*Per cent of persons who were born in Greece in each geographical division of the United States, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive.*

Geographic division.	1850.	1860.	1870	1880.	1890.	1900.
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
North Atlantic division	40.7	24.4	31.0	24.4	32.0	50.0
South Atlantic division	2.3	9.5	4.9	7.5	8.9	7.9
North Central division	8.1	6.7	9.2	17.8	21.4	26.6
South Central division	38.4	30.2	25.6	13.4	14.1	5.6
Western Division.....	10.5	29.3	29.2	37.0	23.6	9.9

Prior to 1880 persons in the United States who had been born in Greece were found most largely in the North Atlantic, South Central, and Western divisions. In 1880 and in 1890 they were distributed most largely in the North Atlantic, North Central, and Western. In 1900 it was shown that there had been a tendency among the Greeks to settle in the North Atlantic States, 50 per cent being reported in that division. More than a fourth, 26.6 per cent, however, were reported in the North Central States. The three States which in 1900 reported the largest number of persons born in Greece were Massachusetts, 1,843; New York, 1,573; and Illinois, 1,570. These three States together reported 4,986 persons born in Greece, which was more than half the total, 8,515, reported in the United States.

OTHER EMIGRATION FROM GREECE.

There are no official records of emigration from Greece, but it is said that while some Greeks have gone to South Africa and South America in recent years, by far the greater part of the movement proceeds to the United States. In earlier years there was a large emigration to Roumania and Bulgaria, but it is said that the movement to these countries has practically ceased.

CHAPTER II.

ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD EMIGRATION.

As in the case of most European countries, no restriction is placed upon emigration from Greece, except that military requirements are sometimes temporary obstacles. At the time the Commission's inquiry was made Greece had no general emigration law, although a special commission of the Chamber of Deputies had, in 1906, recommended such legislation, and presented a bill modeled after the Italian emigration law of 1901.

The report of the Greek commission, which accompanied the bill referred to, is distinctly favorable to emigration on the ground that the emigrant, as a rule, does not leave his native land permanently and that during his absence he remains true to the homeland and sends his savings there. The Commission states, in substance, that the term "emigrant" as applied to persons leaving northern European countries can not correctly be applied to persons leaving Greece, for the reason that the former, as a rule, abandon their fatherland to establish a new home in a foreign land, while the emigrating Greek has no such purpose. In this regard the Commission says:

The Greek in departing from Greece to better his fortune not only has a firm determination to return home as soon as he shall have achieved his object, but he intends to maintain a close relation with the fatherland during his absence. In emigrating the Greek relies for success upon his individual efforts, and therefore retains all his property in his own country with the exception of what may be necessary to take him to his destination. Moreover, he utilizes his savings in foreign lands in the improvement and development of his property at home. Conscious of the fact that the less hampered his movements are abroad the more certain he will be to succeed, he leaves the members of his family in the home village, and, thanks to the close bonds which hold Greek families together, these constitute another link with the fatherland. Not only does he not forget his obligations to them, but when fortune smiles upon him he considers it his first duty to send them means for their own support and also for the maintenance and improvement of the family property. By nature ambitious, and, above all else, anxious for the good opinion of the people of his village, he attends to the settlement of his debts, and, having a firm determination to return and live in his own country, he sends there all the savings of his labor abroad to be deposited in the usual manner, or for the purpose of purchasing real estate or making loans to his fellow villagers. The beneficial consequences of such intercommunication between the emigrant Greek and the mother country are admitted by all to-day.

The Greek commission attempts to show the amount of money returned by Greek emigrants, but the result is admitted to be only an estimate. It shows, however, that the number of registered letters from America through the post-office at Athens alone increased from 52,068 in 1901 to 162,286 in 1905. It is further shown that the number of postal money orders from the United States to Greece increased from 409, with a value of 66,475 francs (about \$13,295),

in 1902 to 10,007, with a value of 1,734,967 francs (about \$346,993.40), in 1905.^a

In this connection the commission's report says:

It is manifest from these remittances "that the statements we make concerning the intercommunication of our emigrants with the fatherland are strictly correct, while the small amount, comparatively speaking, represented by each of these remittances—1902, 162 francs; 1903, 159 francs; 1904, 156 francs; 1905, 173 francs * * *—combined with the fact that the total amount has increased in direct proportion to the increase of the Greek population in America, proves that as soon as the emigrant Greek can spare the smallest amount he hastens to send it home for the purposes stated."

The Greek commission quotes an estimate to the effect that the annual remittances from America to Greece, through all the various agencies of transmission, approaches 40,000,000 francs (about \$8,000,000), and while this estimate is not accepted as correct the belief is expressed that such remittances would soon reach and exceed that sum.^b

Concerning the effect on Greece of this influx of money from abroad the commission says:

It is unnecessary for us to extol the effect of the financial assistance rendered to the country by our emigrants. No one can deny that it is to them in a great measure, as well as to the lately achieved development of our merchant marine, * * * that we owe the rise in the value of our paper currency almost to par, which fact is a most conspicuous proof of the healthy tone existing in our financial exchange with other countries. But other signs also denote the financial vigor of those provinces which are the sources of emigration, and place the above conclusions beyond all doubt. Everyone mentions it as a fact that in those provinces, particularly in Peloponnesus, which are the oldest and most prolific sources of emigration to the United States, there has been a striking fall in the rate of interest and a proportionate rise in the value of agricultural real estate, all of which conspicuous signs of financial vigor are due to the financial results of emigration.

The report discusses the financial loss to Greece by emigration, but says that the amount carried away can barely be estimated at one-tenth of that sent home. In this connection the commission says:

But even that money can not be considered as having been sent out of the country, but rather as having been deposited abroad in order that the fruits of the same may be sent to Greece as soon as they are produced. This observation also holds good with regard to the capital represented by the emigrant as an individual.

The report discusses the social as well as the financial benefits to be derived from emigration and the return of emigrants, and says:

But all the benefits which we have enumerated as accruing from emigration will continue only so long as close relations are maintained between our country and our fellow-countrymen across the ocean. Every care must be taken and every effort must be made to remove every cause that might unfavorably influence such relations.

^a According to reports of the Auditor for the United States Post-Office Department the amount of money transmitted to Greece from the United States by international money orders in the years 1906, 1907, 1908, and 1909 was as follows: 1906, \$650,203.87; 1907, \$2,099,843.53; 1908, \$2,358,010.28; 1909, \$2,219,297.09. (See Immigrant Banks. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 37.)

^b It is estimated that \$5,000,000 was sent to Greece from the United States in 1907. (See Immigrant Banks, Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 37.)

The inadequacy of the Greek postal service and the resulting loss of a considerable sum of emigrant money transmitted through that agency is suggested as a possible menace to the desired relations between emigrants and the homeland, and the commission recommends that some action be taken in this regard. It also expresses the hope that the Government will—

Enter into negotiations with our local banks to insure, by a system corresponding to that established in Italy by the law of February 1, 1901, the safe transmission of the savings of our emigrant fellow-countrymen from America to this country.

The Immigration Commission is not informed as to the fate of the bill recommended by the Greek commission, but from all that could be learned in Greece the report above quoted fairly represents the general attitude toward emigration.

CHAPTER III.

CAUSES OF EMIGRATION FROM GREECE.

It may be said without exaggeration that the economic factor is the determining cause of all emigration from Greece. It is, however, a somewhat different phase of that factor than is found in Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary. In the latter countries emigration is often an economic necessity. In Greece there is little abject poverty. The country is not overpopulated in the sense that its resources are not sufficient for the adequate support of the population. The land is fertile and the actual necessities of life are easily obtained. Industrial development, however, is not far advanced, and, in common with other countries of southern and eastern Europe, wages for all kinds of manual labor are very low, and the Greeks emigrate almost solely for the purpose of making money.

The Commission's inquiry in Greece included interviews with Government officials of high rank in Athens and at seats of government in some of the provinces; municipal officials in various parts of the country, as well as American diplomatic and consular officers, and all expressed the opinion that emigration was actuated only by a desire for financial betterment.

The Commission was informed that there was no difficulty in any Greek earning a living on the scale to which parents have been accustomed, but that this no longer satisfied him and no opportunity was afforded him at home for his economic advancement.

Greece is primarily an agricultural and pastoral country. The population for the most part live in small towns and villages which are self-supporting and self-sufficient. To a lesser degree the condition is characteristic of the majority of families. Industry is largely individualistic. Thread is spun and cloth is woven at home; shoes, cooking utensils, and the rude tools used in agriculture are made at small shops in every village. As a result, industry and internal commerce have been little developed. Transportation facilities are inadequate. The highways except a few main roads are so poor as to be almost impassable, and the railway system is as yet very little developed. In 1908 the mileage was as follows: Hellenic railways, 149 miles; Peloponnesus Railway, 468 miles; Thessalien Railway, 127 miles; total, 744 miles.^a

Under these conditions there can be little progress and the Greek seeking his financial betterment is forced to emigrate.

THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION.

The cultivated area of Greece covers about 5,563,100 acres, of which about 1,112,000 acres are under cereals, 1,200,000 fallow, and 2,025,400 covered with forest. In addition, there are 5,000,000 acres under pasture and 3,000,000 acres of waste land. The recent draining of Lake Kopais has made available for agriculture 53,000 acres. Most of the land is in the hands of peasant proprietors and farmers who cultivate

^a United States Daily Consular Trade Reports, October 2, 1908.

the land for a share of its yield, there being comparatively few large proprietors. Although comparatively stony, the arable plains and valleys are nevertheless fertile and yield a fair return even under an antiquated system of cultivation. The most favored crop is the currant, the annual yield being about 150,000 tons. In addition to the currant, there are cultivated wheat, olives, figs, corn, hashish, tobacco, and a variety of garden vegetables.

METHODS OF CULTIVATION.

The cultivation of the soil in Greece is done in a most primitive way. The agricultural implements in common use are heavy iron hoes wielded by hand, pruning hooks, and rude wooden plows. The use of the latter, however, has to some extent given way to light iron plows of native manufacture. Attempts to introduce reaping machines have in most cases met with failure. The harvesting is done by hand and the grain is trodden out by ponies on a circular stone-paved thrashing floor. All these factors combine to make the profits of farming very low in spite of the unusual fertility of the soil.

On the whole it may be said that the Greek is not a good farmer. Grain is thrashed in the same way that it was in the time of Abraham and there is little attempt to introduce modern methods and machinery. The land, also, is not so thoroughly cultivated as in Italy, and on every side there is evidence of waste and neglect. But despite the lack of scientific methods the soil is unusually fertile, and a bare living is easily made.

In order to benefit the agrarian situation the Royal Agricultural Society was founded in 1901 by the King. It is the object of this society to establish agricultural clubs in different parts of the country; to found schools and experiment stations where special attention will be given to wine and silk culture, olive growing, and the production of cheese and honey; and to furnish seeds, plants, and implements to those needing them. Another institution closely connected with the agricultural interests is the privileged society for promoting the production and sale of Corinth currants. This society has established a bureau for carrying advertising and other such work in various countries, especially England and the United States, which are the best markets for Greek currants.^a

WAGES OF AGRICULTURAL LABORERS.

The wage statistics for Greece which are available are very inadequate. Reports of Hon. George W. Horton, American consul-general at Athens, state that in 1895 male farm laborers received from 29 to 44 cents a day, while in 1908 this same class of laborers received from 58 to 72 cents, or almost twice the previous wage. No figures are available to show the wages of female farm laborers in 1895, when women worked in the fields to a considerably less extent than at present, but Mr. Horton reports that in 1908 this class of labor commonly received 39 cents per day. Aside from showing a remarkable increase in the wages these statistics are of little value, since it is not possible to ascertain the yearly or monthly income of farm laborers.

^a Commercial Relations of the United States, 1908, vol. 1, p. 223.

The wages per diem are only paid when the laborers actually work, and the numerous holidays observed in Greece detract considerably from the income of the working classes. Mr. Horton states that there are no less than 180 fast days in the Greek religious year which are rigorously observed by the working classes.

THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION.

As has already been said, industry in Greece is individualistic. A great many of the needs of a family are met at home. The remainder are satisfied in the small shops of the village. There are scarcely any manufacturing establishments worthy of the name except in one or two cities. Those that exist are conducted in antiquated ways and with little machinery. The following table shows the number and kind of industrial establishments in the principal cities of Greece in 1905:

TABLE 6.—*Manufacturing and industrial establishments in 1905 in principal Greek cities (Athens, Piræus, Patras, Volo, Syra, Corfu).*

[From report of Consul-General Horton, of Athens, 1905.]

Nature of industry.	Number.	Nature of industry.	Number.
Steam flour mills.....	28	Olive-oil factories.....	11
Cotton mills.....	13	Straw-hat factories.....	42
Macaroni factories.....	44	Saddle and harness factories.....	36
Machine shops and foundries.....	39	Chair factories.....	50
Tanneries.....	91	Picture-frame factories.....	28
Carriage factories.....	31	Roofing and tiling factories.....	34
Soap factories.....	30	Marble yards.....	76
Steam currant-cleaning factories.....	14	Shoemakers' shops.....	564

INDUSTRIAL WAGES.

The following figures, compiled by United States Consul-General Horton, of Athens, are interesting as to indicating the rates of payment that were prevalent in the various industries in 1895 and in 1908:

TABLE 7.—*Daily wages of industrial workers in Greece, 1895 and 1908.*

[From reports of Consul-General Horton, 1895 and 1908.]

Occupation.	Range. ^a	
	1908.	1895.
Brick and stone layers.....	\$0.96-\$1.35	\$0.33-\$0.55
Common laborers.....	.68- .77	.33- .50
Carpenters.....	1.16- 1.35	.44- .66
Painters.....	.77- 1.35	.33- .55
Plumbers.....	1.25- 1.35	.55
Clothing workers (mostly girls).....	.08- .10	.....
Compositors.....	.68- .77	.....
Machinists.....	1.54	.44- .88
Iron molders.....	1.54	.....

^a Wages are paid in paper money, which is depreciated and fluctuating in value. The figures for 1895 are reckoned on a basis of 1 (paper) drachma=\$0.11. In 1908 the paper drachma had risen in value to nearly par, and the figures in United States money are given as if it were par (\$0.193); the exact values would be less than those stated as 1.08 to 1.

It will be observed that according to these figures the wages commonly paid in Greece in the specified industries are for the most part higher than those which are generally paid in countries of southern and eastern Europe. It is interesting to note in this connection that of all Greeks admitted to the United States in the twelve years ending June 30, 1910, and who reported some employment, only 7.7 per cent were recorded as being in skilled occupations. In the instances where the data afford a comparison between the wages paid in 1895 and in 1908 a remarkable increase will be noted, in many cases the wages in 1908 being more than double what they were in 1895. This increase is attributed largely to emigration.

LIVING CONDITIONS.

Although, as previously stated, the Greek at home is assured of a living in return for his labor, that living, judged by American standards is a meager one, and it is stated that the necessities of life are constantly growing dearer. In 1907 Consul-General Horton reported that although there were 1,000 vacant houses in Athens, the cost of rent had increased 15 to 20 per cent, while the principal articles of food were dearer, and notwithstanding the fall of exchange to 1.08 and 1.09, manufactured articles were the same price in drachmas^a as when the franc was worth 1.55 to 1.60.

In a subsequent report, Consul-General Horton says, in part:

There is not much hope for a laboring man to save money in Greece, where 3 to 4 drachmas a day are good wages and where 7 drachmas are regarded as a high wage for a master workman. The workman's breakfast consists of bread and black coffee; his luncheon of a piece of bread, or, if he can afford it, a piece of bread and some black olives, which he usually takes with him in a little round, covered box. Sometimes he buys a half cent's worth of inferior grapes or a tomato. Thus his lunch would cost, say, 6 cents for bread and 2 cents for olives.

At night the family dines on a few cents' worth of rice, boiled together with wild greens and olive oil, and bread, or wild greens boiled in olive oil and eaten with bread, or some similar inexpensive dish. * * * Meat is eaten by the laboring classes as a general thing three times a year: Christmas, Easter, and on the so-called "Birth of the Virgin," which the church has set down for the month of August. Such a family as I am describing—the average laboring man's family of Greece—rarely, if ever, see such things as butter, eggs, and milk. There are 180 fasting days in the Greek religious year, which are rigorously observed by the laboring classes, without, however, causing any marked degree of abnegation in the matter of diet.^b

The following table of prices of commodities in Athens in 1906 and 1908, taken from two of Mr. Horton's valuable consular reports, shows how impossible it is for a Greek laborer to eat what an American laborer would call necessary food on his small wages. As for saving anything to speak of, that is quite out of the question.

^aAbout 19.3 cents.

^bUnited States Consular Report, 1908.

TABLE 8.—*Prices of commodities in Athens, 1906 and 1908.*

[Compiled from reports of United States Consul-General Horton at Athens.]

Commodities.	1906.	1908.	Commodities.	1906.	1908.
Bread, common . . . per pound . . .	\$0. 035	\$0. 04	Flour pound . . .	\$0. 056	\$0. 047
Bread, white do . . .	. 06		Apples, fresh do . . .	. 13	
Butter, cooking do . . .	. 32		Oranges per dozen . . .	. 22	
Butter, fresh do . . .	1. 30	1. 37	Lemons do . . .	. 12	
Cheese do . . .	. 26		Oatmeal per pound . . .	. 50	
Coffee do . . .	. 23-. 26	. 476	Rice do . . .		. 095
Salmon, canned do . . .	. 54		Eggs per dozen . . .		. 63
Fish, fresh do . . .	. 15-. 33		Potatoes per pound . . .		. 034
Ham, boiled do . . .	1. 04		Corn meal do . . .		. 068
Beef, sirloin do . . .	. 17		Beans do . . .		. 095
Beef fillet do . . .	. 38		Soap do . . .		. 095
Lamb do . . .	. 32		Oil do . . .		. 136
Lamb, yearling do . . .	. 19	. 204	Kerosene (0. 3513 gal.) . . .		. 08
Pork, fresh do . . .	. 15		Wood, fuel per ton . . .	10. 00	<i>a</i> . 0047
Milk, fresh cows' . . . per gallon . . .	. 54		Coke do . . .	10. 00	<i>a</i> . 004
Milk, goats' do . . .	. 43		Charcoal do . . .	30. 00	
Sugar per pound . . .	. 10	. 12	Shoes		2. 11-6. 72
Salt do . . .	. 02	. 027	Ordinary woolen suit		28. 80
Tea, Ceylon do . . .	1. 30		Cheap cotton suit		4. 80
Tea, medium quality . . . do . . .		. 815			

^a Per pound.

The cost of living in Greece is said to be increased by the system of customs duties. Other taxes in Greece are not burdensome; there are agricultural taxes on live stock and on productive plants, but they are not heavy and cause no serious trouble. But the import duties are in some instances very high, and they fall mainly on the necessities of life. The rates on some articles are given in Consul-General Horton's report of 1906, as follows:

TABLE 9.—*Customs duties in Greece on some imported articles.*

[Compiled from report of United States Consul-General Horton, 1906.]

Articles.	Duties.
Bicycles each . . .	\$3. 86
Boots and shoes per oke ^a . . .	2. 90
Coffee per 100 okes . . .	34. 75
Flour do . . .	3. 38
Rice (cleaned) do . . .	3. 28
Soap do . . .	28. 95
Lumber (pine or fir, in boards 20 mm. thick) per cubic meter . . .	3. 86
Saccharine	(<i>b</i>)

^a The oke equals about 2½ pounds.^b Prohibited.

CHAPTER IV.

CHARACTER OF EMIGRATION FROM GREECE.

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION.

Greece does not take its census by race, so that it is impossible to state accurately what proportion of the population is Greek. It is well known, however, that in eastern Greece, even in the Peloponnese, there is a large number of Albanians, usually estimated at about 200,000. These, however, have been practically Hellenized, and it is said that only about 40,000 still speak the language of the Albanians. This is perhaps the chief foreign element that is incorporated into the Greek race. According to the Statesman's Year-Book the total number of Greeks is 8,850,000; of this number 2,200,000 are in Greece, 2,000,000 in Asia Minor, 4,000,000 in European Turkey, and the remainder in Crete, Cyprus, Samos, and other islands. Other estimates, however, place the number of Greeks outside of Greece at a much lower figure.^a Since the total population of Greece is about 2,600,000, it would seem that the very large proportion is Greek.

HOMOGENEITY OF THE IMMIGRATION FROM GREECE.

Because of this unusually homogeneous population of Greece, practically all immigrants coming from that country are of the Greek race. The following table shows the immigration to the United States from Greece in each fiscal year from 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by race:

TABLE 10.—*Immigration to the United States from Greece, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by race.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Year	Number.			Per cent.		
	Greek	Others	Total.	Greek	Others.	Total.
1899.....	2,330	3	2,333	99.9	0.1	100.0
1900.....	3,771	3	3,774	100.0	0.0	100.0
1901.....	5,910	3	5,913	100.0	0.0	100.0
1902.....	8,101	3	8,104	100.0	(b)	100.0
1903.....	14,082	8	14,090	99.9	.1	100.0
1904.....	11,259	84	11,343	99.3	.7	100.0
1905.....	10,390	125	10,515	98.8	1.2	100.0
1906.....	19,398	91	19,489	99.5	.5	100.0
1907.....	36,404	176	36,580	99.5	.5	100.0
1908.....	21,415	74	21,489	99.7	.3	100.0
1909.....	14,059	52	14,111	99.6	.4	100.0
1910.....	25,675	213	25,888	99.2	.8	100.0
Total.....	172,794	829	173,623	99.5	.5	100.0

^a See article on the Greeks. Dictionary of Races or Peoples. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 5.

^b Less than 0.05 per cent.

Of the total immigration to the United States from Greece during the twelve years ending June 30, 1910, 99.5 per cent were Greek, and only 0.5 per cent were of races other than Greek. Furthermore it should be noted that the Greeks from Greece comprise a very large proportion of the total Greek immigration. The following table shows the total number of Greeks who came to this country during the twelve years ending June 30, 1910, and the number and per cent of these that were from Greece:

TABLE 11.—*Total number of Greek immigrants admitted to the United States and the number and per cent who came from Greece, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive.*

[Compiled from reports of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration.]

Race.	Total number.	From Greece.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Greek.....	216,962	172,794	79.6

During the period considered 216,962 Greek immigrants were admitted to the United States. Of that number 172,794, or 79.6 per cent, were from Greece. The remainder came principally from Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia.

In consequence of the lack of any records of departures it is not possible to state accurately from what parts of Greece emigration is drawn. However, the United States consul at Patras reported to the Commission that the emigrants still come largely from the district about Sparta, and from the Provinces of Messenia and Arcadia, which were the starting points in the history of Greek emigration. In addition it is also drawn from northern Greece and the Greek islands.

OCCUPATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS.

Since agriculture is the predominating occupation in Greece it would be expected that a very large proportion of the Greek immigrants admitted to the United States would report themselves farmers or farm laborers. This, however, is not the case, as is shown by the annual reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration. These reports for the fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, show that 216,962 Greeks from all sources were admitted to the United States. Of these 197,718 reported an occupation of some nature, the per cent in each occupation being as follows: Professional, 0.3 per cent; skilled, 7.7 per cent; farm laborers, 19.4 per cent; laborers, 66.8 per cent; other occupations, 5.8 per cent.

It will be observed from the preceding statement that 66.8 per cent of the Greek immigrants to this country during the period considered who reported themselves as having occupations, reported themselves common laborers, while only 19.4 per cent were recorded as farm laborers. In view of the repeated assertions made to the Commission during its investigation in Greece that the emigration from that country was drawn from the peasantry it would seem probable that many of the Greek immigrants who report themselves common laborers are in reality farm laborers.

Weight is given to this theory by a booklet obtained by the Commission in Greece, entitled "Guide for Emigrants, Useful and Indispensable for those going to America." This pamphlet, which is circulated among intending emigrants, consists of the questions the emigrant will be subjected to upon his arrival at Ellis Island and the answers which, it is alleged, will aid him in gaining admission. To the question, "What is your business?" he is directed to reply "the kind of business, but especially he must declare that he is a laborer." It is not unlikely, therefore, that the recorded occupations of Greek immigrants are more or less affected by reason of this instruction.

CHAPTER V.

THE EFFECT OF EMIGRATION ON GREECE.

The recent emigration from Greece has been so large in comparison with the population that it has had a very decided effect upon the country. The Commission was told of a declining birth rate and in some places of an actual decrease in population due to emigration. Economic conditions have been affected both because of a withdrawal from the labor supply and because of the large amounts of money sent back by emigrants. Furthermore, Greek emigrants have been affected by the new conditions under which they have lived in the United States, so that on returning to their native land they have impressed upon it the more progressive civilization of America. The result of this is partly seen in the improved living conditions of the people, the greater stress they put on learning, and their dissatisfaction with the mode of life they had formerly led.

EFFECT ON POPULATION.

Emigration has not, as yet, caused any actual decrease in the population of Greece. There has, however, been a decrease in the rate of increase, which is probably due to emigration and to the decline in the birth rate, which in turn is the result of the prolonged absence of husbands who have emigrated. The following table shows the population of Greece in each census year from 1879 to 1907 and the actual and relative increase:

TABLE 12.—*Population of Greece in census years from 1879 to 1907.*

[Compiled from the Statesman's Year-Book, 1909, p. 919.]

Year.	Population.	Increase.	
		Number.	Per cent.
1879.....	a 1,973,768		
1889.....	2,188,008	214,240	10.9
1896.....	2,433,806	245,798	11.2
1907.....	2,631,952	198,146	8.1

* Including Thessaly.

It will be observed that between 1896 and 1907 the population was increased by 198,146, or 8.1 per cent, whereas between 1889 and 1896 the increase was 245,798, or 11.2 per cent. Furthermore, there has been a relative decrease of males as compared with the females. The table following shows the number and proportion of the males and females at the census of 1896 and at the census of 1907.

TABLE 13.—*Population of Greece, by sex, in 1896 and 1907.*

[Compiled from the Statesman's Year-Book, 1909, p. 919.]

Year.	Total pop- ulation.	Number.		Per cent.	
		Males.	Females.	Male.	Female.
1896.....	2,433,806	1,266,816	1,166,990	52.1	47.9
1907.....	2,631,952	1,324,942	1,307,010	50.3	49.7

At the census of 1896 it was found that 52.1 per cent of the population was male and 47.9 per cent female. In 1907, however, the proportion of males had declined to 50.3 per cent. Undoubtedly this decline in the masculinity of the population is the result of emigration, an overwhelming proportion of which is made up of males.

The Commission were repeatedly told of the serious effect of emigration on the population. The United States consul at Patras stated that "emigration has been a vast drain on the able-bodied male population of certain districts."

At Patras the prefect of the Province reported that in Arcadia whole towns were deserted as a result of emigration.

In Achouria, a village in the neighborhood of Tripolis, the village doctor reported to the Commission that emigration had affected the birth rate.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS.

The most marked effect of emigration in Greece has been on the economic situation. The labor supply has been decreased by the withdrawal of such a large number of men, with the consequence that wages have risen decidedly, in some cases even doubled. In spite of the increased wages, however, it is still impossible to get a sufficient number of men for work in the fields and in some districts it is done entirely by women. Closely related to the dearth in the labor supply and the consequent rise in wages is the increase in capital due to the large amounts of money sent back by the Greek emigrants. The Greek minister of the interior estimated for the Commission that 40,000,000 francs (about \$8,000,000) a year was sent back to Greece, of which about three-fifths, or \$4,800,000, was from America. This money, he affirmed, was being sent back by Greeks to pay off their old debts and mortgages.

According to reports of the United States Auditor for the Post-Office Department international money orders to the sum of \$7,631,535.82 were issued in the United States and paid in Greece from 1900 to 1909, inclusive. As previously stated, it is estimated that in 1907 alone \$5,000,000 was remitted to Greece by Greek immigrants in the United States. This is an estimate of the amount sent home by immigrants, and consequently does not take into account the large sums carried abroad by returning immigrants.

The influx of so much money has of course seriously disturbed the economic conditions at home. Interest rates have dropped to 6 per cent or 8 per cent, whereas formerly they had ranged from 10 per

cent to 15 per cent. The rate of exchange between gold and paper drachmas has fallen to 108 or less, whereas a decade ago it stood at 160.^a

Although much of the money sent home by emigrants is for the payment of old debts and cancellation of mortgages, a considerable part nevertheless is for deposits, loans, the purchase of real estate or the improvement of property already owned.

A member of the Commission visited the mountain village of Kapsa, which has a population of about 1,000 and from which 200 emigrants had gone to America, only 7 of whom were women. It was said here that each of the men sent back about \$200 annually. One of the village officials stated that the emigration had affected industry; that it was almost impossible to get men to work in the fields, and that wages had increased. On every side there were evidences of improvements due to American money. Many houses were pointed out as having been built by money sent back by emigrants.

The American consul at Patras, in a statement to the Commission regarding the effects of emigration in that region, said in part:

There has been such a vast drain on the able-bodied male population of certain districts that only women, children, and old men are left to cultivate the fields. The price of labor has risen greatly, owing to the scarce supply, and Albanians are gradually replacing the absent Greeks in the cultivation of the currants; also as stevedores and in other more laborious occupations. While many Greeks have returned from America, they are few in comparison with the large number who have emigrated. Nor will they alter the local labor situation, since, having become accustomed to American city life, they refuse to return to the agricultural and pastoral pursuits of their ancestors, and, when questioned, declare their intention to return to America at the first opportunity.

In every part of Greece where the Commission's inquiry was carried on similar stories concerning the effects of emigration were heard. In many of the smaller villages, as in the villages of southern Italy, the number of young men had been reduced, and as in consequence the labor supply was not adequate to meet the demand, wages had increased. The benefits of American-earned money were everywhere apparent. In a communication to the Greek emigration commission, previously quoted, Mr. Const. N. Papamichalopoulos, a member of the Greek Parliament, wrote as follows regarding the subject:

In Epidauros-Limira * * * the beneficial influences of emigration have become conspicuous and tangible in many respects. Villages have grown into towns. There has been an increased number of churches built. * * * Property has gone up considerably in value and is being cultivated more systematically, and, chief of all, usury is receding, fleeing from the glitter of abundant gold which has inundated towns and villages. In some of these villages checks for many hundreds of francs remain uncashed owing to the fall in exchange during the past year. Nor is it surprising that the rate of interest should have fallen from 20, 15, and 10 per cent to 6 and 5 per cent. And in other villages where not long ago the appearance of a creditor used to strike terror to the hearts of debtors, to-day the arrival of a would-be debtor in search of a loan invokes the interest of the moneyed villagers, each of whom seeks the privilege of making the loan.

In Tripolis a member of the Commission in an interview with one family who had a son in America was told that the latter had sent back to them about 8,000 drachmas (about \$1,600), and this in spite of the fact that he had had a severe illness which had depleted his savings.

^a Yale Review, August, 1909, p. 186.

In Achouria girls were seen mixing mortar and carrying it to plasterers at work on a new building. The plasterers were from Athens, as there were none in the village, and in this district there appeared to be three women to every man working in fields. In the village the Commissioner was told that women, having learned how, were now doing all the vineyard work.

SOCIAL EFFECTS.

Social conditions in Greece have been affected both by the emigration movement and by the large return movement. The decrease in the labor supply, as has already been mentioned, has resulted in women doing men's work. This fact was repeatedly commented upon in all parts of Greece visited, and it was corroborated by personal observation.

RETURNING EMIGRANTS.

The returning emigrants transmit to their native land many American influences. Greater stress is laid on ability to read and write. Consequently the number of schoolhouses has increased. Living conditions have improved. The Greek upon returning home demands those things to which he has become accustomed in America.

The Greek emigration commission, in the report previously quoted, expressed a belief that the returned emigrants, and especially those returning from the United States, will play an important part in the development of modern Greece.

The sentiment in favor of emigration which appears to be so general in Greece, as has been suggested, is predicated largely on the belief that most of the emigrants will eventually return to the fatherland. This view was entertained by the majority of persons interviewed by the Commission, but in the case of several villages visited in the course of the inquiry it was found that while many persons had gone to the United States few had returned. As a matter of fact the return movement among Greek immigrants to the United States has not been unduly large. During the three fiscal years ending June 30, 1910, 88,205 Greek immigrants were admitted to the United States, and during the same period 21,852 Greek aliens left the country. In other words, 25 departed for every 100 admitted, while this proportion among all races was 32 departed to 100 admitted. Among the European races which exceeded the Greeks in this regard were the following:

	Number departed for every 100.
Croatian and Slovenian.....	56
Italian, North.....	62
Italian, South.....	55
Magyar.....	64
Polish.....	30
Slovak.....	59

It will be noted that the tendency to return to Europe is less pronounced among the Greeks than among other races. This, however, may be due in part to the fact that immigration from Greece has been largely a development of very recent years and that the return movement has not become firmly established. Another probable cause is that a great many Greeks are engaged in street trades and other city occupations which are not seriously affected by depressions in the industrial field. In the latter case it is natural that the return movement should be larger among races which are more generally identified with industrial life in the United States.

LIST OF TABLES.

PART I.—GENERAL SURVEY OF EMIGRATION CONDITIONS.

CHAPTER I.—Introductory:	Page.
Table 1.—European immigration to the United States, by country of origin, for years ending June 30, 1820 to 1910.....	6-11
Table 2.—Immigration to the United States from northern and western Europe, southern and eastern Europe, and other countries, 1820 to 1910. .	13-15
Table 3.—Immigration to the United States from northern and western Europe, southern and eastern Europe, and other countries, 1820 to 1910, by decade.....	16
Table 4.—European immigration to the United States, fiscal years 1882 and 1907, by country.....	17
Table 5.—European immigration to the United States, fiscal years 1882 and 1907, by class.....	17
CHAPTER II.—Character of European immigration:	
Table 6.—European immigration (including Syrian) to the United States, by race or people and sex, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive....	23
Table 7.—European immigration (including Syrian) to the United States, by class and sex, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.....	23
Table 8.—European immigration (including Syrian) to the United States, Hebrews excepted, by class and sex, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.....	24
Table 9.—European immigration (including Syrian) to the United States, by race or people and age groups, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.	25
Table 10.—European immigration (including Syrian) to the United States, by class and age groups, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.	25
Table 11.—European immigration (including Syrian) to the United States, Hebrews excepted, by class and age groups, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.....	26
Table 12.—Occupations of European immigrants (including Syrian) to the United States, by race or people, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.....	27, 28
Table 13.—Occupations of European immigrants (including Syrian) to the United States, by class, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.....	28
Table 14.—Occupations of European immigrants (including Syrian) to the United States, Hebrews excepted, by class, in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.....	29
Table 15.—Number and per cent of illiterates, 14 years of age and over, in each race or people of European immigrants (including Syrian) admitted into the United States in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.....	30
Table 16.—Number and per cent of illiterates, 14 years of age and over, in each class of European immigration (including Syrian) in the fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive.....	30
Table 17.—Per cent of illiteracy among the recruits in various European countries, and for native white males from 21 to 24 years of age in the United States.....	32
Table 18.—Per cent of illiteracy among the populations of specified European countries and of the United States.....	33
Table 19.—Money shown on admission to the United States by European immigrants (including Syrian), by race or people, in the fiscal years 1905 to 1909, inclusive.....	36
Table 20.—Money shown on admission to the United States by European immigrants (including Syrian), by class, during the fiscal years 1905 to 1909, inclusive.....	36

	Page.
CHAPTER II.—Character of European immigration—Continued.	
Table 21.—Money per capita shown on admission to the United States by European immigrants (including Syrian), by race or people, in the fiscal years 1905 to 1909, inclusive.....	37
Table 22.—Money per capita shown on admission to the United States by European immigrants (including Syrian), by class, in the fiscal years 1905 to 1909, inclusive.....	38
CHAPTER III.—Permanent and temporary emigration:	
Table 23.—European immigrants (including Syrian) admitted to the United States during the fiscal year 1907, and European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal year 1908, by race or people.....	39, 40
Table 24.—European immigrants (including Syrian) admitted to the United States during the fiscal year 1907, and European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal year 1908, by class of immigration.....	40
Table 25.—European immigrants (including Syrian) admitted to the United States who gave Europe or Turkey in Asia as their last permanent residence, and European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by race or people.....	41
Table 26.—European immigrants (including Syrian) admitted to the United States, and European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by class..	42
Table 27.—Movement of third-class passengers between the United States and European ports during the calendar years 1899 to 1909, inclusive, by years.....	42, 43
Table 28.—Movement of third-class passengers between the United States and European ports during the period 1899 to 1909, inclusive.....	43
Table 29.—European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by race or people, sex, and age.....	44
Table 30.—European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by class, sex, and age.....	45
Table 31.—European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by race or people and period of residence in the United States.....	46
Table 32.—European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by class and period of residence in the United States.....	46
Table 33.—European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by race or people and occupation.....	47, 48
Table 34.—European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by class and occupation.....	48, 49
Table 35.—European emigrant aliens (including Syrian) departing from the United States during the fiscal years 1908, 1909, and 1910, by race or people and country of intended future residence.....	49, 50
Table 36.—Total number of European immigrants (including Syrian) admitted, and total number who had been in the United States previously, during the fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by race or people.....	51
CHAPTER IV.—Causes of emigration:	
Table 37.—Wages and hours of labor in leading occupations in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and France, 1903.....	55
Table 38.—European immigrants (including Syrian) going to join relatives or friends in the United States during the fiscal years 1908 and 1909, by race or people.....	59
Table 39.—European immigrants (including Syrian) going to join relatives or friends in the United States during the fiscal years 1908 and 1909, by class.....	60
CHAPTER V.—Inspection of emigrants abroad:	
Table 40.—Immigrants admitted and aliens debarred at United States ports during the fiscal years 1892 to 1910, inclusive.....	71
Table 41.—Aliens debarred at all United States ports during the fiscal years 1892 to 1910, inclusive, by cause.....	73

CHAPTER V.—Inspection of emigrants abroad—Continued.	Page.
Table 42.—Number of emigrants rejected at Queenstown from December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907, by steamship line and by cause	89
Table 43.—Number of emigrants rejected at Cherbourg (American Line) from 1903 to September 30, 1908	91
Table 44.—Number of emigrants inspected at German control stations, and number and per cent rejected, by stations, year ending June 30, 1907	96
Table 45.—Number of emigrants rejected at German control stations, by cause, year ending June 30, 1907	97
Table 46.—Number of persons intending to embark at Bremen who were rejected at control stations and at Bremen from December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907, by cause	99
Table 47.—Number of persons intending to embark at Hamburg who were rejected at control stations and at Hamburg from December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907, by cause	102
Table 48.—Number of emigrants rejected at Rotterdam (Holland-American Line) from January 1, 1904, to September 4, 1908, by years and cause	111
Table 49.—Number of emigrants rejected at ports and control stations specified from December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907	122
Table 50.—Number of emigrants rejected at European ports and control stations specified, from December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907, by cause	124
Table 51.—Number carried and number and per cent of persons debarred for medical causes, by port of embarkation, at trans-Atlantic ports, during January, February, March, July, August, and September, 1907	126

PART II.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN ITALY.

CHAPTER I.—Immigration to the United States from Italy:	
Table 1.—Immigration to the United States from Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia, for the years ending June 30, 1820 to 1910	137
Table 2.—Immigration to the United States from Italy, by sex and decades, 1871 to 1910	138
Table 3.—Immigration to the United States from Italy compared with total European immigration (including Turkey in Asia), by decades, 1820 to 1910	138
Table 4.—Distribution of persons of Italian birth in the United States, by States and Territories, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive	139, 140
Table 5.—Per cent of persons of Italian birth in each geographical division of the United States, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive	140
Table 6.—Immigration to the United States from Italy, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by races or peoples	141
Table 7.—Total immigration to the United States of races or peoples specified, and per cent of such immigration which originated in Italy, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive	142
Table 8.—Emigration from Italy in 1907, by compartimenti and destination	142
Table 9.—Emigration from Italy in 1907, by geographical divisions and destination	143
Table 10.—Emigration from Italy in 1907 compared with population, by compartimenti	143
Table 11.—Emigration from Italy in 1907 compared with population, by geographical divisions	144
Table 12.—Number and per cent of trans-Atlantic emigrants from Italy destined to each specified country, 1900 to 1908, inclusive	145
CHAPTER III.—Causes of emigration from Italy:	
Table 13.—Daily wages of male farm laborers in Italy (not including value of allowances) in 1905, by months and compartimenti	158
Table 14.—Annual and monthly incomes in cash of male agricultural workers in Italy in 1905, by compartimenti	159
Table 15.—Hours of labor on farms in Italy (deducting rests) in 1905, by months and compartimenti	159
Table 16.—Average daily wages of women and children farm hands in Italy in 1905, by compartimenti	160
Table 17.—Agricultural labor unions in Italy, compared with the number of strikes among agricultural laborers, by compartimenti	161

	Page.
CHAPTER III.—Causes of emigration from Italy—Continued.	
Table 18.—Farm wages and hours of labor in Italy compared with emigration in 1906, by compartimenti	164
Table 19.—Number of persons 9 years of age or over in industrial occupations in Italy in 1901, by sex and industry	165
Table 20.—Number of industrial establishments in Italy and persons employed in such establishments, in 1905-6, by compartimenti	166
Table 21.—Number of industrial establishments in Italy and persons employed in such establishments, in 1905-6, by geographical divisions ..	166
Table 22.—Number of establishments, number of employees, and value of products, in several representative industries in Italy, in the years specified	168, 169
Table 23.—Wages and hours of labor in various industries in Italy, by compartimenti and occupation	170, 171
Table 24.—Number of industrial establishments and employees in Italy, compared with emigration from Italy, in 1906, by compartimenti	175
CHAPTER IV.—Character of Italian emigration:	
Table 25.—Italian immigration to the United States, fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive, by age groups	178
Table 26.—Italian immigration to the United States, fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive, by occupations	179
CHAPTER V.—Illiteracy in Italy:	
Table 27.—Per cent of illiterates in the population of Italy in 1872, 1882, and 1901, by sex and age groups	185
Table 28.—Per cent of illiterates in the population of Italy in 1901, by sex and age groups and compartimenti	186
Table 29.—Proportion of male and female pupils in Italian elementary public schools per 1,000 of the total population, in 1883-4 and 1901-2, by compartimenti	187
Table 30.—Proportion of illiterates among Italian conscripts per 100 enrolled, in 1872, 1901, and 1904, by compartimenti	188
Table 31.—Proportion of illiterates among Italian conscripts per 100 enrolled, in periods specified, by occupation	189
Table 32.—Per cent of illiterates among persons contracting marriage in the various compartimenti of Italy, in 1872, 1901, and 1905, by sex	190
Table 33.—Number and per cent of illiterates among Italian immigrants 14 years of age or over admitted to the United States, fiscal years 1899 to 1909, inclusive	191
CHAPTER VI.—Crime in Italy:	
Table 34.—Number and character of crimes on which action was taken by the office of the public prosecutor and by the prætors, Italy, in various periods from 1880 to 1906, by compartimenti	195-201
Table 35.—Average annual number of crimes on which action was taken by the office of the public prosecutor and by the prætors, and the proportion of crimes to every 100,000 inhabitants, Italy, in various periods from 1880 to 1906, by class of crime	201, 202
Table 36.—Proportion of crimes to every 100,000 inhabitants, based on the average annual number of crimes in the period 1902 to 1906, inclusive, Italy, by compartimenti and class of crime	203
Table 37.—Increase or decrease in number of murders and homicides between the period 1880-1886 and the year 1906, Italy, by compartimenti	204
Table 38.—Murders and homicides in Italy and transoceanic emigration from Italy, in years specified, by Compartimenti	205
Table 39.—Average annual number of misdemeanors on which action was taken by the office of the public prosecutor, and by the prætors, 1902 to 1906, inclusive, by compartimenti	207
CHAPTER VIII.—The effect of emigration on Italy:	
Table 40.—Departures from Italy to the United States and arrivals from the United States in Italy of Italian third-class passengers, 1887 to 1907, inclusive	229
Table 41.—Deaths in Italy from disseminated tuberculosis and pulmonary tuberculosis per 100,000 inhabitants, in specified years, by compartimenti	234
Table 42.—Death rate in the United States in 1900 from venereal diseases per 100,000 of the population among Italians and native-born persons of native-born mothers, by age groups	235

PART III.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN RUSSIA.

	Page.
CHAPTER I.—Immigration to the United States from Russia:	
Table 1.—Immigration to the United States from the Russian Empire and Finland, for the years ending June 30, 1820 to 1910.....	240
Table 2.—Immigration to the United States from the Russian Empire and Finland, by sex and decades, 1871 to 1910.....	240
Table 3.—Immigration to the United States from the Russian Empire and Finland compared with total European immigration (including Turkey in Asia), by decades, 1820 to 1910.....	241
Table 4.—Distribution of persons of Russian birth (except Poland) in the United States, by States and Territories, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive.....	242, 243
Table 5.—Per cent of persons of Russian birth (except Poland) in each geographical division of the United States, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive.....	243
CHAPTER II.—The agrarian question—Migration to Siberia:	
Table 6.—Migration to Siberia from European Russia from 1881 to 1908, by years.....	249
CHAPTER IV.—Causes of emigration from Russia:	
Table 7.—Estimated urban and rural population of the Russian Empire (exclusive of Finland), January 1, 1907.....	266
Table 8.—Area and estimated population of the Russian Empire (including Finland), January 1, 1907.....	267
Table 9.—The distribution of ownership of the land in European Russia in 1905 and in Poland in 1907.....	268
Table 10.—The amount of arable land per individual in various countries of Europe and in the United States and Canada.....	269
Table 11.—The average yield per acre for 1899–1908 of wheat, oats, barley, and rye in various countries of Europe and in the United States.....	270
Table 12.—Average daily wage (without food) of agricultural laborers in the Russian Empire in 1898.....	270
Tables in "Economic conditions of the Jews in Russia"—	
Total population and number and per cent of Jewish population of the Pale, by provinces, 1897.....	284
Total population of Russia and number and per cent of Jews, with per cent of distribution of Jews, by localities, 1897.....	284
Jewish urban population compared with total urban population in the Pale, by regions, 1897.....	286
Jewish urban population in the Pale in 1898 compared with total Jewish population in the Pale in 1897, by regions.....	286
Jewish population of incorporated cities compared with total Jewish population in the Pale, by regions, 1897.....	287
Jewish population compared with total population of cities investigated by Jewish colonization society, by regions, 1898.....	287
Jewish population in the Pale in 1881 and 1897, with number and per cent of increase, by regions.....	288
Per cent of increase of non-Jewish and Jewish population in 15 provinces of the Pale, 1881 to 1897.....	289
Total Jewish population and number engaged in gainful occupations, by occupations, 1897.....	290, 291
Number and per cent of Jews in the Russian Empire engaged in each group of gainful occupations, by sex, 1897.....	291
Number and per cent of Jews and of other persons in the Russian Empire engaged in each group of gainful occupations, 1897.....	292
Number and per cent of Jews and of other persons in the Pale engaged in each group of gainful occupations, 1897.....	292
Number and per cent of Jews in each group of gainful occupations in the Pale, by regions, and in Russia outside of the Pale, 1897.....	293
Number of Jewish colonies, households, and members, and acres held by the colonists, by regions, 1898.....	295
Number and per cent of Jewish households and of acres owned, and average size of holding, in the colonies of Kherson, by groups of households, 1898.....	296
Average size of allotments owned, average net increase due to rentals, and average size of total holdings in the colonies of Kherson, by groups of households, 1898.....	296

	Page.
CHAPTER IV.—Causes of emigration from Russia—Continued.	
Tables in "Economic conditions of the Jews in Russia"—Continued.	
Jews employed in special branches of agriculture, by regions and kind of farming, 1898.....	300
Jewish landholdings in 12 provinces of the Pale, 1900 compared with 1881, by tenure.....	301
Number and area of farms owned by Jews in 12 provinces of the Pale, by size of farms, 1898.....	302
Number and per cent of Jewish artisans in each classified occupation in the four main divisions of the Pale, 1898.....	303
Jewish female artisans compared with total Jewish artisans, by regions, 1898.....	305
Number and per cent of Jewish men, women, boys, and girls engaged in the trades in each region of the Pale, 1898.....	305
Earnings of Jewish artisans, by localities and by occupations, 1898....	308
Jewish artisans reported in the cities of southern Russia receiving each classified amount of annual earnings, 1898.....	309
Number of Jewish unskilled laborers in the four principal divisions of the Pale (not including the cities of Lodz, Odessa, Kiev, Kovno, and Mohelev), by occupations, 1898.....	311
Number of manufacturing plants and employees and value of products, by regions, 1889 and 1897.....	313
Number of Jewish factories and employees compared with total factories and employees in three specified regions of the Pale.....	314
Value of products manufactured in Jewish factories compared with total value of manufactured products in three specified regions of the Pale, 1898.....	314
Total factories, Jewish factories, and per cent of Jewish factories, by industries.....	315
Estimated number of Jewish workingmen in three specified regions of the Pale.....	317
Total employees and number of Jewish employees in 1,867 factories in Poland, by ownership of factories, 1898.....	318
Total employees and number of Jewish employees in textile factories of Bialystok, by ownership of factories, 1898.....	318
Total employees and number of Jewish employees in Polish factories, classified as to whether or not power is used, 1898.....	319
Per cent of Jewish employees of total employees in the Pale in each specified industry, by regions, 1898.....	319
Number and per cent of Jewish men, women, boys, and girls, in the Pale working in factories, by regions, 1898.....	320
Number of Jews engaged in commerce compared with total persons so engaged in the Pale, by provinces and regions, 1897.....	325
Number of Jews engaged in commerce compared with total persons so engaged in the Pale, by mercantile pursuits and regions, 1897....	326, 327
CHAPTER V.—Character of Russian immigration:	
Table 13.—Population of Russia in 1897, and of Finland in 1900, by race or people.....	337
Table 14.—Immigration to the United States from the Russian Empire and Finland, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by races or peoples.....	338
Table 15.—Total immigration to the United States of races or peoples specified, and per cent of such immigration which originated in the Russian Empire and Finland, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive.....	339
Table 16.—Population of certain races in European Russia in 1897, and in Finland in 1900, compared to the average annual immigration of such races to the United States from Russia and Finland, for the twelve fiscal years 1899 to 1910.....	339
Table 17.—Immigration to the United States of the races or peoples which predominate in the immigration from Russia, by sex and age, fiscal years 1899 to 1910.....	341
Table 18.—Per cent of immigrants admitted to the United States reporting each specified occupation, by races or peoples which predominate in the immigration from Russia, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive.....	341
Table 19.—Per cent of illiteracy in the population of the Russian Empire (exclusive of Finland) in 1897.....	342

CHAPTER V.—Character of Russian immigration—Continued.	Page.
Tables in "Educational opportunities"—	
Literacy of the total Russian population and of the Jewish population in each specified age group, by sex, 1897.....	343
Number and per cent of Jews in each specified age group able to read Russian, by sex, 1897.....	344
Table 20.—Number and per cent of immigrants admitted to the United States who were 14 years of age or over and who could neither read nor write, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by races or peoples predominating in immigration from Russia.....	347

PART IV.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

CHAPTER I.—Immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary:	
Table 1.—Immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary, for the years ending June 30, 1820 to 1910.....	351
Table 2.—Immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary, by sex and decades, 1871 to 1910.....	352
Table 3.—Immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary compared with total European immigration (including Turkey in Asia), by decades, 1820 to 1910.....	353
Table 4.—Over-sea emigration from Austria and Hungary, by years.....	353
Table 5.—Emigration from Hungary in 1907, by destination.....	354
Table 6.—Distribution of persons of Austro-Hungarian birth in the United States, by States and Territories, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive.....	355
Table 7.—Per cent of persons of Austro-Hungarian birth in each geographical division of the United States, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive.....	356
CHAPTER III.—Causes of emigration from Austria-Hungary:	
Table 8.—Average daily wage (with subsistence) of farm laborers in Austria in 1897, by season and sex.....	363
Table 9.—Average daily wage (with subsistence) of farm laborers in Austria in 1897, by province.....	363
Table 10.—Average daily wage of farm laborers in Hungary (including Slovakland, but excluding Croatia-Slavonia) in 1905 and 1906, by season.....	364
Table 11.—Average daily wage of farm laborers in Slovakland and Croatia-Slavonia in 1905 and 1906, by season.....	365
Table 12.—Number of industrial establishments and workers engaged in them in Austria, 1902.....	366
Table 13.—Number of industrial establishments and workers engaged in them in Bohemia, 1902.....	366
Table 14.—Industrial establishments in Austria in 1902, by the number of workers.....	367
Table 15.—Number of persons engaged in the various industries in Hungary, 1900.....	367
Table 16.—Hours of labor in Hungary in 1900, by occupation.....	368, 369
CHAPTER IV.—Character of Austro-Hungarian immigration:	
Table 17.—Distribution of the population of Austria by language, 1900....	371
Table 18.—Civil population of Hungary by language, 1900.....	372
Table 19.—Immigration from Austria-Hungary to the United States during the fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by races or peoples.....	373, 374
Table 20.—Total immigration to the United States of races or peoples specified and per cent of such immigration which originated in Austria-Hungary, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive.....	375
Table 21.—Immigration to the United States of the races or peoples which predominate in the immigration from Austria-Hungary, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by sex.....	376
Table 22.—Per cent of immigrants admitted to the United States reporting each specified occupation, by races or peoples, which predominate in the immigration from Austria-Hungary, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive..	377
Table 23.—Per cent of total population of Austria who were literate and who were illiterate, in 1880, 1890, and 1900, by sex.....	377

CHAPTER IV.—Character of Austro-Hungarian immigration—Continued	Page.
Table 24.—Per cent of population 6 years of age or over in Austria in 1900 who could neither read nor write, by sex and province.....	378
Table 25.—Per cent of population of Austria in 1900 speaking each specified language and per cent who could neither read nor write, by provinces.....	379
Table 26.—Number and per cent of immigrants admitted to the United States who were 14 years of age or over and who could neither read nor write, during the fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by races or peoples predominating in immigration from Austria-Hungary.....	380
Table 27.—Comparison of illiteracy and density of population in Austria, by province.....	381
Table 28.—Per cent of girls and of boys and girls together of school age in Austria who were attending school in 1905-6, by province.....	381
Table 29.—Comparison of the populations of Austria and of Hungary in respect to literacy and illiteracy for the years 1880, 1890, and 1900.....	382
Table 30.—Per cent of the total civil population of Hungary and of the civil population 6 years of age or over who could read and write in 1890 and in 1900, by province.....	382
Table 31.—Number of children of school age in Hungary proper, and number and per cent attending school in years specified.....	384
CHAPTER V.—The effect of emigration on Austria-Hungary:	
Table 32.—Population of Austria and of Hungary in the years 1880, 1890, and 1900.....	385

PART V.—THE EMIGRATION SITUATION IN GREECE.

CHAPTER I.—Immigration to the United States from Greece:	
Table 1.—Immigration to the United States from Greece, for the years ending June 30, 1820 to 1910.....	391
Table 2.—Immigration to the United States from Greece, by sex and decades, 1871 to 1910.....	392
Table 3.—Immigration to the United States from Greece compared with total European immigration (including Turkey in Asia), by decades, 1820 to 1910.....	393
Table 4.—Distribution of persons in the United States who were born in Greece, by States and Territories, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive.....	394
Table 5.—Per cent of persons who were born in Greece in each geographical division of the United States, in the census years 1850 to 1900, inclusive.....	395
CHAPTER III.—Causes of emigration from Greece:	
Table 6.—Manufacturing and industrial establishments in 1905 in principal Greek cities (Athens, Piraeus, Patras, Volo, Syra, Corfu).....	403
Table 7.—Daily wages of industrial workers in Greece, 1895 and 1908.....	403
Table 8.—Prices of commodities in Athens, 1906 and 1908.....	405
Table 9.—Customs duties in Greece on some imported articles.....	405
CHAPTER IV.—Character of immigration from Greece:	
Table 10.—Immigration to the United States from Greece, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by race.....	407
Table 11.—Total number of Greek immigrants admitted to the United States and the number and per cent who came from Greece, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive.....	408
CHAPTER V.—The effect of emigration on Greece:	
Table 12.—Population of Greece in census years from 1879 to 1907.....	411
Table 13.—Population of Greece, by sex, in 1896 and 1907.....	412

