

POGROMS NETWORKS AND MIGRATION

The Jewish Migration

from the Russian Empire to the United States

1881-1914



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PSTC Colloquium
Brown University
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STOP YOUR CRUEL OPPRESSION OF THE JEWS.

Renouvez (to the east)—"Now that you have peace without, why not remove his burden and have peace within your borders?"

I. INTRODUCTION

Questions

- Leading question
 - The causes for the Jewish migration from Russia to the U.S.

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 - Did the 1881-1882 pogroms jump-start Jewish mass migration?
 - Did the 1903-1906 pogroms boost it?
 - Did the 1903-1906 pogroms affect its demographic composition?

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 - Did the 1881-1882 pogroms jump-start Jewish mass migration?
 - Did the 1903-1906 pogroms boost it?
 - Did the 1903-1906 pogroms affect its demographic composition?
- The role of networks
 - Was mass migration expanding in a process of spatial diffusion?

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 - Collect year×district level data on migration and pogroms
 - Test for *local* DID effects to pogroms

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- Findings
 - 1881 pogroms did *not* start mass migration
 - 1903-1906 pogroms had local effects ($\uparrow \geq 10\%$ migration)

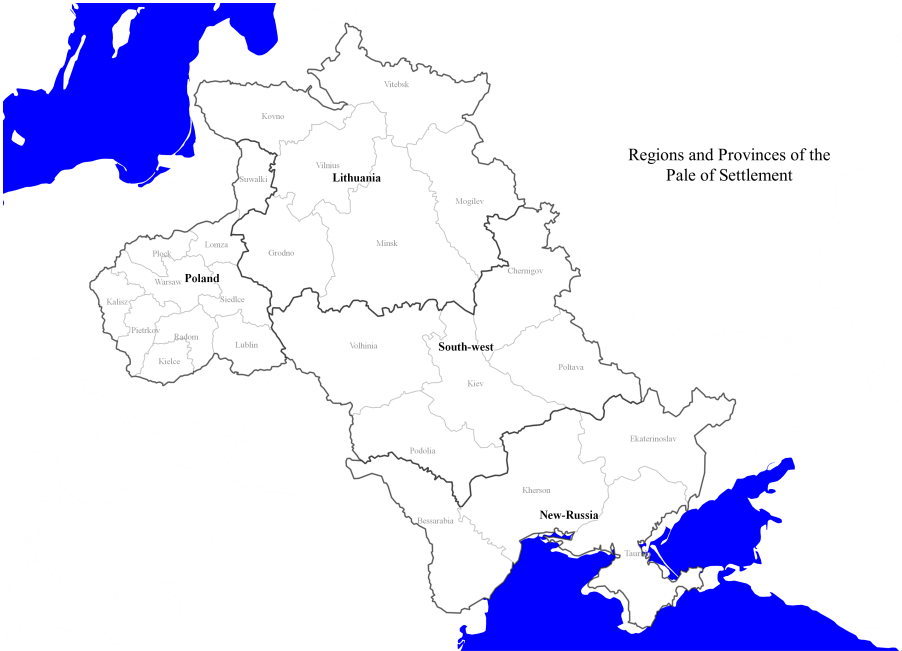
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 - Internal conditions played a secondary role
 - Diffusion of migration networks: a key factor

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- An updated narrative of the Jewish migration
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 - Diffusion of migration networks: a key factor
- A lesson on the economics of mass migration

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND



Regions and Provinces of the
Pale of Settlement

Vitebsk

Kovno

Lithuania

Surwalki

Mogilev

Minsk

Grodno

Loonza

Plock

Poland

Warsaw

Chernigov

Kalisz

Siedlice

Pietrkow

Radom

Lublin

Volhnia

South-west

Poltava

Kiev

Ekaterinoslav

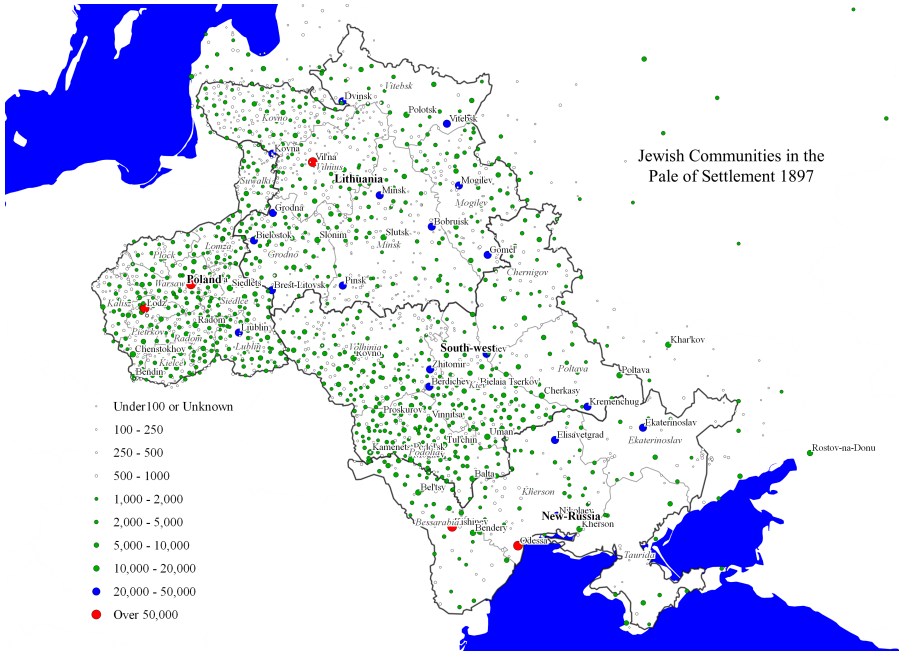
Podolia

Kherson

New-Russia

Bessarabia

Tauris



Overseas Mass Migration 1881-1924

- Magnitude
 - ~ 2m emigrants from Russia; of which 1.6m to the U.S.
 - Other destinations: Argentine, UK, Canada, S. Africa
 - 11% of U.S. immigration 1899-1924
 - ~ 0.5m Jewish U.S. immigrants from other east-European countries
 - Links to friends and relatives

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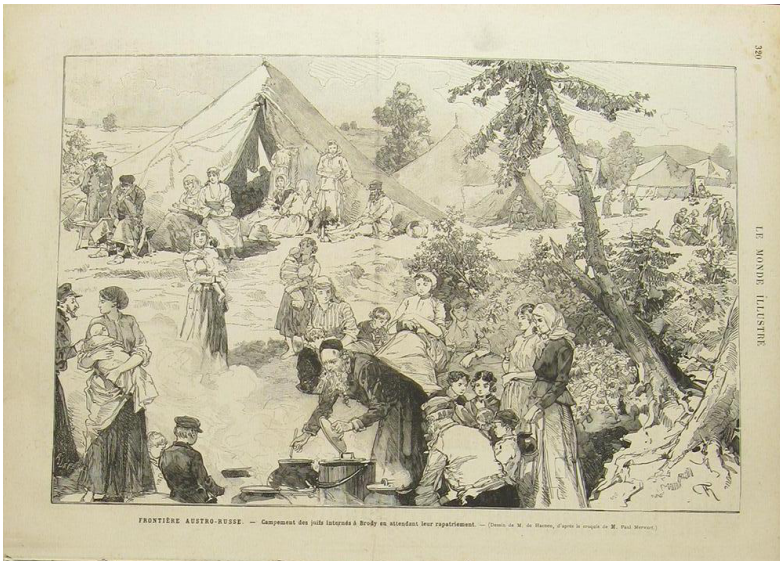
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 - Links to friends and relatives
- Composition, compared to non-Jewish migration
 - High dependency ratio
 - Low rates of return-migration

Causes of Jewish migration: Pogroms and Persecution

- Consistent with...
 - Timing: start (1881) and peaks (1892, 1906)
 - Demographic composition
 - Greater migration compared to total population
 - Low rates of return migration
 - The *Brody Episode*

▶ Figure: Time Series

Causes of Jewish migration: Pogroms and Persecution



Causes of Jewish migration: Pogroms and Persecution

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 - Demographic composition
 - Greater migration compared to total population
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 - The *Brody Episode*
- On the other hand...
 - Mass Jewish migration from Hapsburg Empire
 - Mass minorities migration from Russia
 - Russian internal migration
 - Jewish internal migration
 - Less migration from pogrom areas(?)

▶ Figure: Time Series

III. DATA

Sources and Challenges

- Sources

- 1897 Census of the Russian Empire
- Landsmanshaftn (hometown-based associations) 1861-1920
- Ellis Island arrival records FY 1900-1914
- Pogroms lists 1881, 1903-1906

▶ Example

Sources and Challenges

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[▶ Example](#)

- Challenges

- Geocoding
- Jewcoding

[▶ Details](#)[▶ Details](#)

IV. A CASE STUDY

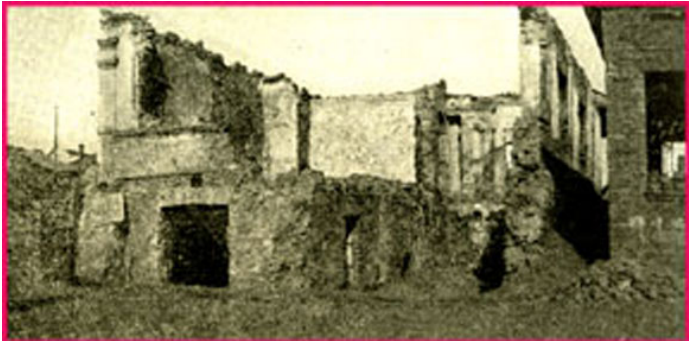
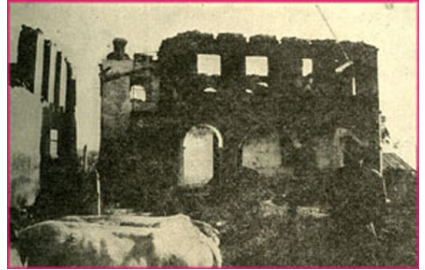
An Example: Kalarash

- Kalarash (Tuzora)
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 - Total pop. 5,153
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- Landsmanshaftn
 - First Kalarasher Benevolent Association (1906)
 - Karalasher Bessarabian Progressive Association (1916)

The Kalarash Pogrom (23-24 Oct. [o.s.], 1905)



The Kalarash Pogrom (23-24 Oct. [o.s.], 1905)

befohlen. So brannten im Laufe von 21 Stunden 230 Häuser mit 412 Wohnungen nieder, und 2500 Personen wurden buchstäblich an den Bettelstab gebracht. Der durch den Pogrom verursachte materielle Schaden beläuft sich auf eine Million. Welch ungeheuere Verluste speziell durch die Brandstiftungen den Juden verursacht worden sind, beweist die Tatsache, dass ein Laden im Werte von 140 000 Rubeln und eine ganze Anzahl im Werte von je 20—25 000 Rubeln in Flammen aufgegangen sind. Von Menschenopfern sind 60 bekannt geworden, von denen 13 ein Raub der Flammen wurden. Wie viele noch unter den Trümmern ihrer Häuser begraben, auf Böden verbrannt, in Kellern erstickt sind, ist nicht festgestellt; 200 Personen sind leicht, 75 schwer verletzt. Zwei Synagogen wurden gänzlich zerstört, wobei Schändungen der Thorarollen vorkamen.

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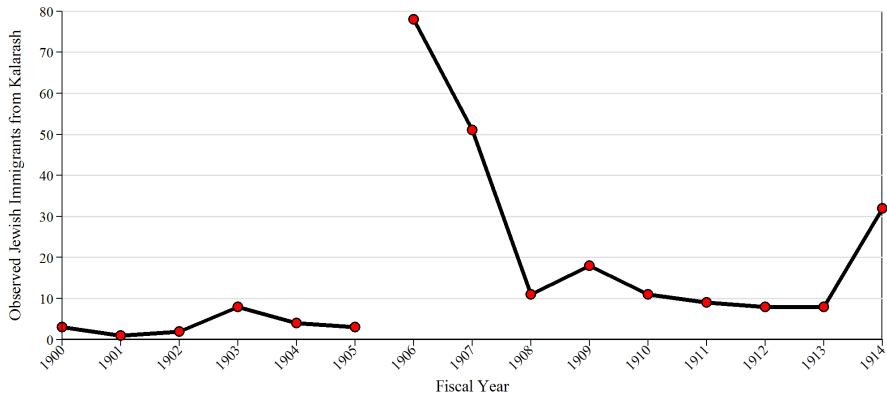
| No. on List. | NAME IN FULL | Age | Married or | Calling or | Able to— | | Nationally, (Country of last permanent residence.) | * Race or People. | Last Residence. (Last permanent resi- dence, Country and City or Town.) |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|----------|--------|--|-------------------|--|
| | | Yrs. Mos. | Sex. or Single. | Occupation. | Read. | Write. | | | |
| 1 | Krelfeld | Hinde 67 | ✓ F | Wid | no | no | Russia | Hebrew | Kalarasch |
| 2 | " | Hgid ^{you} 34 | ✓ M | tradesman | yes | yes | Russia | Hebrew | Kalarasch |
| 3 | " | Chaim 34 | ✓ F | Wid | no | no | Russia | Hebrew | Kalarasch |
| 4 | " | Fidel 8 | ✓ M | S. child | yes | yes | Russia | Hebrew | Kalarasch |
| 5 | " | Fawic 11 | ✓ M | S. child | no | no | Russia | Hebrew | Kalarasch |
| 6 | " | Sure 9 | ✓ F | S. child | yes | yes | Russia | Hebrew | Kalarasch |
| 7 | " | Faubi 7 | ✓ F | S. child | no | no | Russia | Hebrew | Kalarasch |
| 8 | " | Rebeka 3 | ✓ F | S. child | no | no | Russia | Hebrew | Kalarasch |
| 9 | Schwarzman | Kallote 25 | ✓ M | Wid. tradesman | no | no | Russia | Hebrew | Kalarasch |
| 10 | Grinberg | Fandel 34 | ✓ M | tradesman | yes | yes | Russia | Hebrew | Kalarasch |
| 11 | " | Feige ^{you} 34 | ✓ F | Wid | no | no | Russia | Hebrew | Kalarasch |
| 12 | Grobokopatel | Blumme 16 | ✓ F | S. tailoress | yes | yes | Russia | Hebrew | Kalarasch |
| 13 | Spivak | Fandel 9 | ✓ M | S. child | no | no | Russia | Hebrew | Kalarasch |
| 14 | Krelfeld | Fidel 11 | ✓ M | S. child | yes | yes | Russia | Hebrew | Kalarasch |

From an Interview with Ida (Chaika) Waxman-Einbinder Wiesenthal (1977)

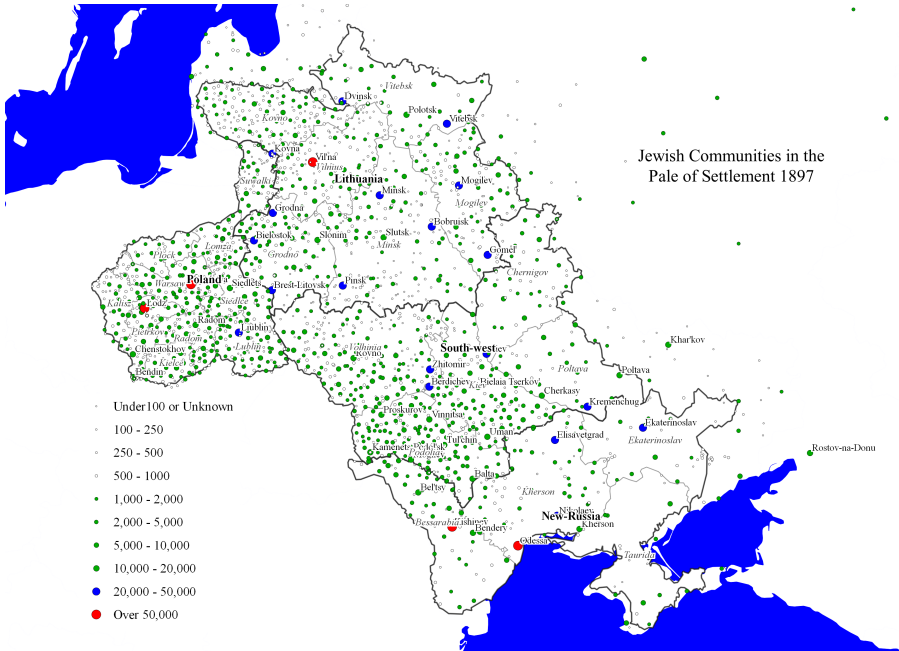
a 1907 Kalarash immigrant

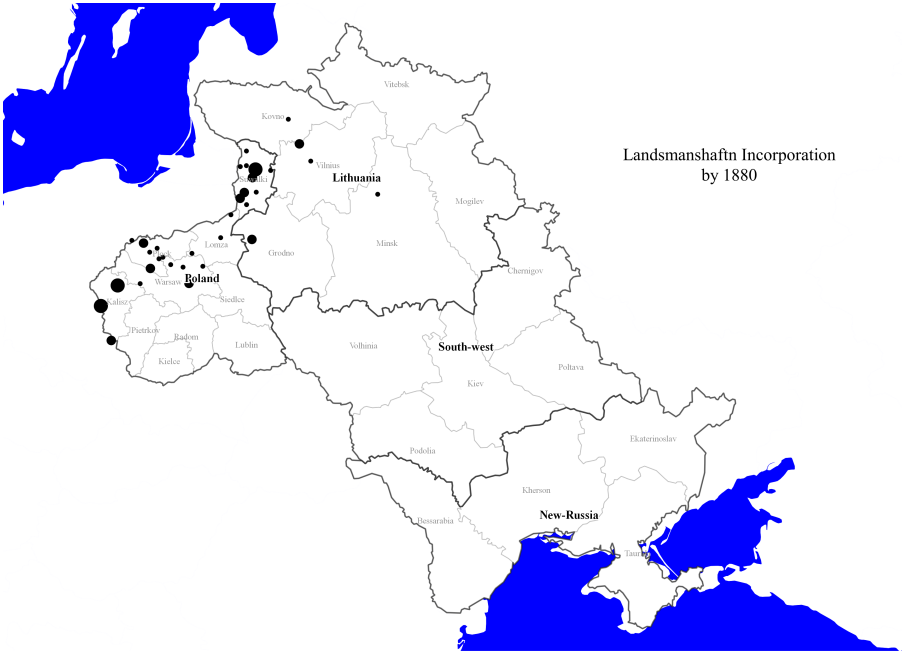
*“[. . .] Then my father wrote again to my mother and he says,
Look, Chaika is getting older and I don't want her to stay there where
today is quiet and tomorrow it could be another pogrom like it was before. ”*

Kalarash immigrants identified from Ellis Island immigration records



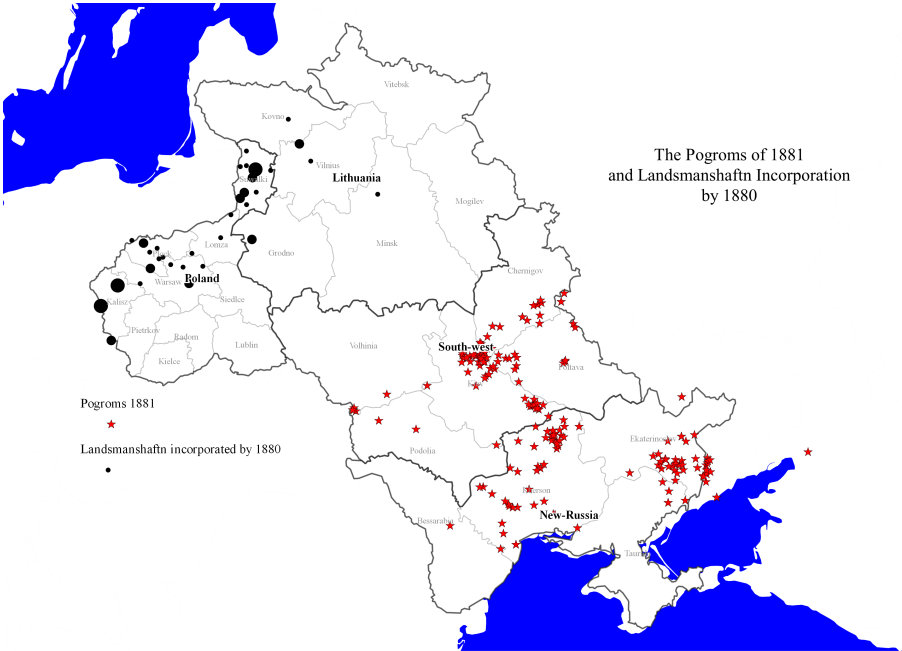
V. RESULTS: FIRST WAVE 1881-1882





Landsmanshaftn Incorporation
by 1880

The Pogroms of 1881 and Landsmanshaftn Incorporation by 1880



Pogroms 1881



Landsmanshaftn incorporated by 1880



The Pogroms of 1881 and Landsmanshaftn Incorporation during 1881-1885

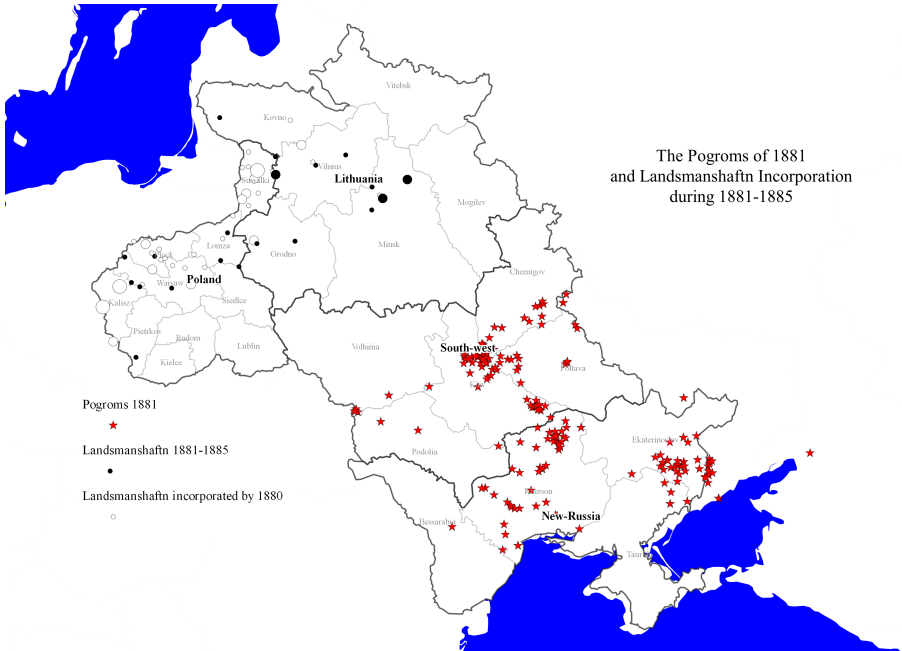
Pogroms 1881



Landsmanshaftn 1881-1885



Landsmanshaftn incorporated by 1880



The Pogroms of 1881 and Landsmanshaftn Incorporation during 1886-1890

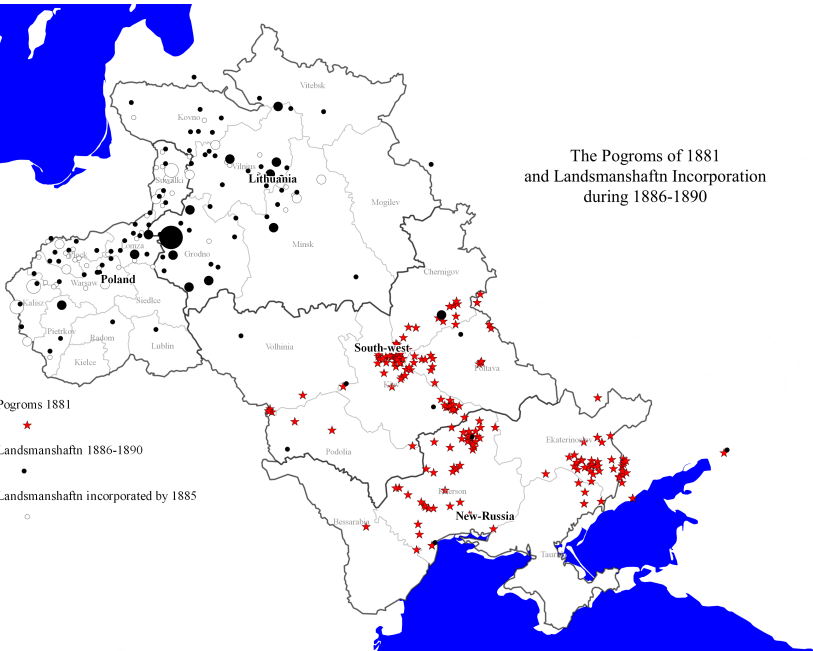
Pogroms 1881

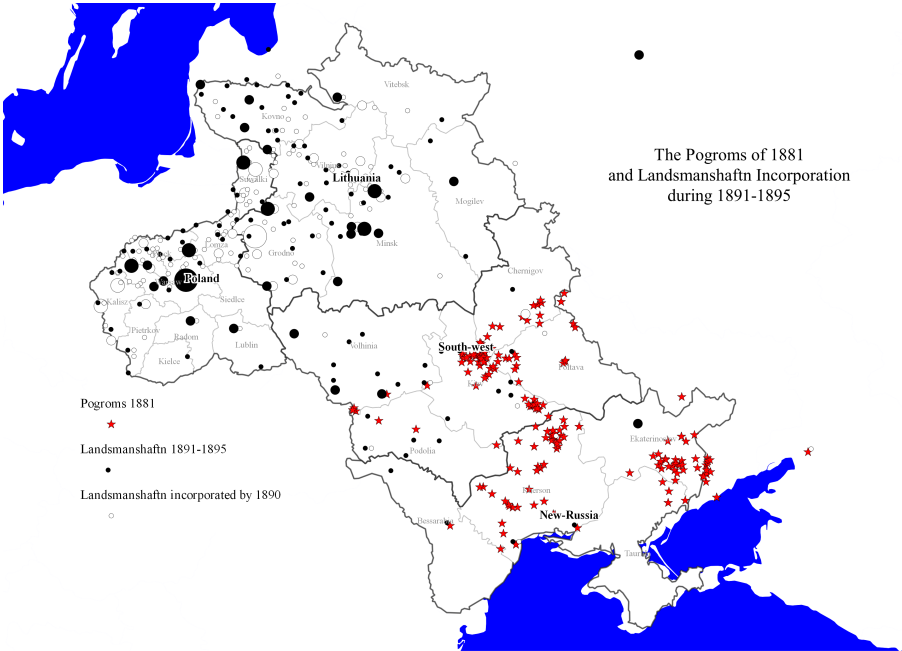


Landsmanshaftn 1886-1890



Landsmanshaftn incorporated by 1885





The Pogroms of 1881
and Landsmanshaftn Incorporation
during 1891-1895

Pogroms 1881



Landsmanshaftn 1891-1895

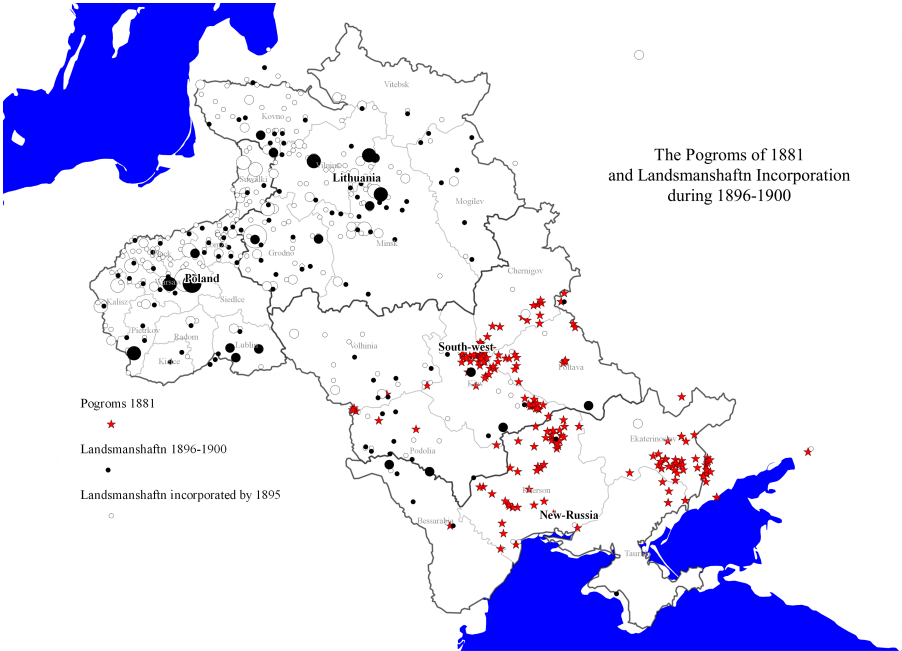


Landsmanshaftn incorporated by 1890



The Pogroms of 1881 and Landsmanshaftn Incorporation during 1896-1900

- Pogroms 1881
- Landsmanshaftn 1896-1900
- Landsmanshaftn incorporated by 1895



The Pogroms of 1881 and Landsmanshaftn Incorporation during 1901-1905

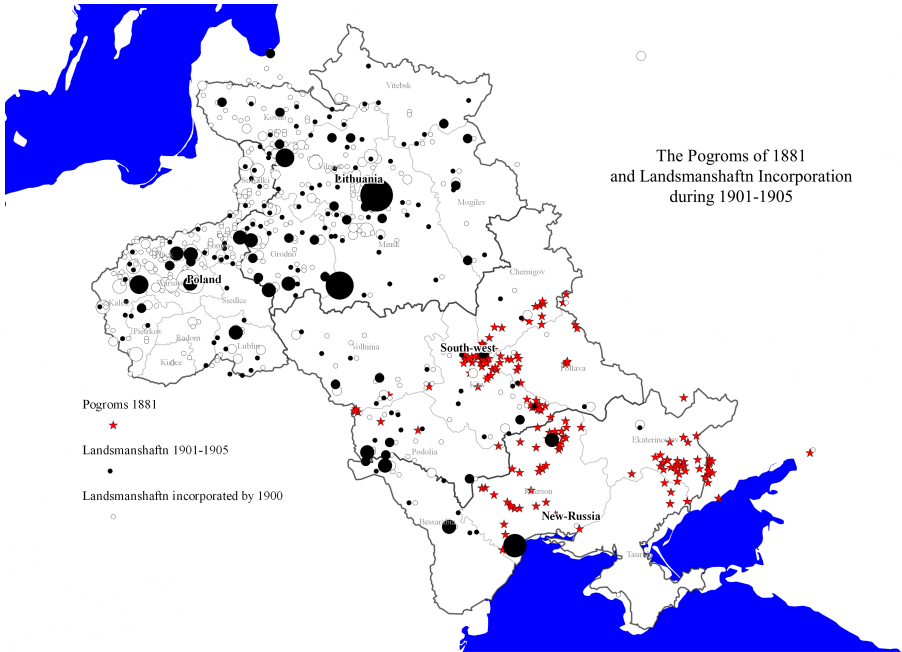
Pogroms 1881



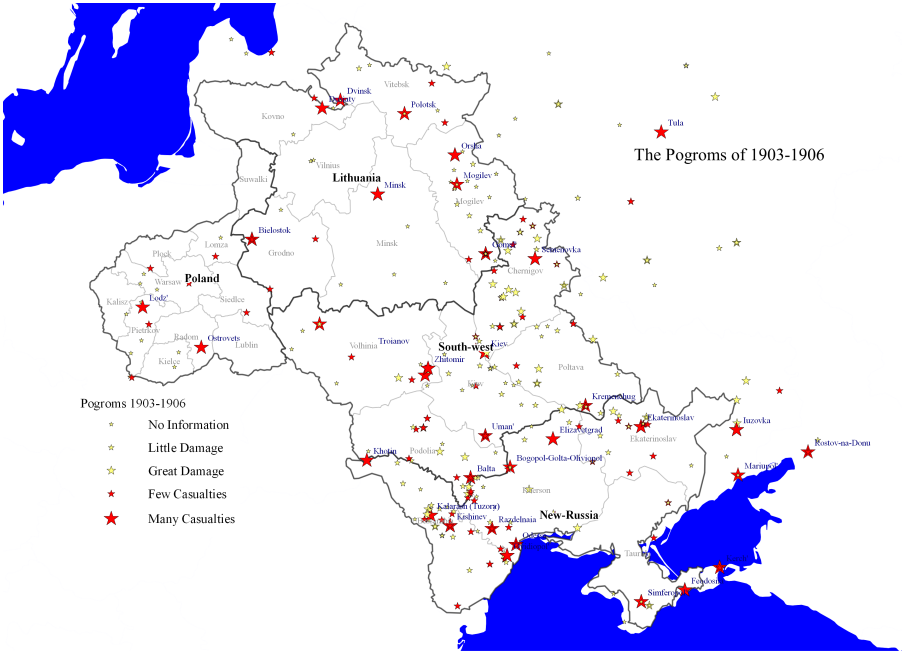
Landsmanshaftn 1901-1905



Landsmanshaftn incorporated by 1900



VI. RESULTS: SECOND WAVE 1903-1906



The Pogroms of 1903-1906

- Pogroms 1903-1906
- No Information
 - ☆ Little Damage
 - ★ Great Damage
 - ★ Few Casualties
 - ★ Many Casualties

Lithuania

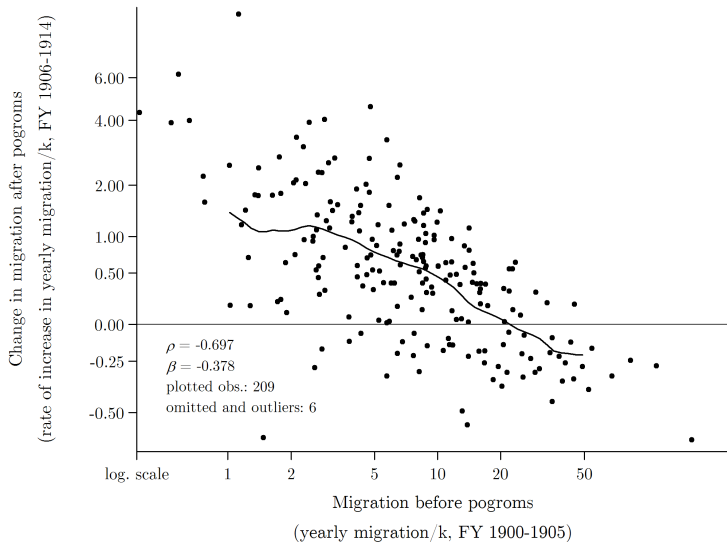
Poland

South-west

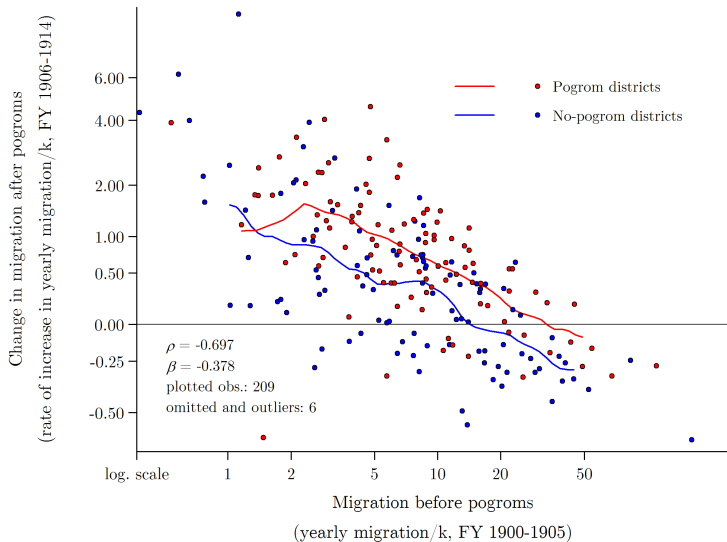
New-Russia

Dvinsk, Kovno, Vilnius, Minsk, Polotsk, Vitebsk, Orsha, Mogilev, Logilev, Slutsk, Starytsya, Chernigov, Minsk, Grodno, Bielsk, Lomza, Plock, Warsaw, Kielce, Piotrkow, Radom, Ostrovetz, Lublin, Volhynia, Troianov, Zhitomir, Kiev, Poltava, Kremenchuk, Uman, Elizavograd, Bogopol-Golts-Olysiapet, Ekaterinoslav, Iuzovka, Rostov-na-Donu, Mariupol, Ruzhica, Khatyn, Podoliar, Balta, Ilsherson, Katsman (Tuzora), Kishinev, Ruzhinaia, Tauris, Simferopol, Fiodosii, Tula, Starytsya, Chernigov, Poltava, Kremenchuk, Uman, Elizavograd, Bogopol-Golts-Olysiapet, Ekaterinoslav, Iuzovka, Rostov-na-Donu, Mariupol, Ruzhica, Khatyn, Podoliar, Balta, Ilsherson, Katsman (Tuzora), Kishinev, Ruzhinaia, Tauris, Simferopol, Fiodosii.

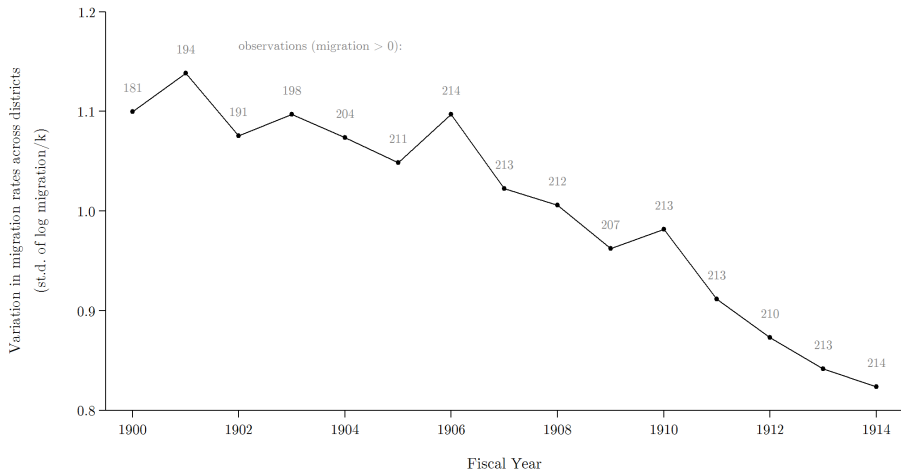
Pre-pogrom migration (1900–1905) and increase in migration (1906–1914)



Pre-pogrom migration (1900–1905) and increase in migration (1906–1914)



Convergence: Cross-district variance decreased over time



DID effects on migration (any pogrom)

| DEP. VAR.: log migration/k (mean = 2.01, std. = 1.26) | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|--|------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| After × pogrom | | 0.358 ^a (0.092) | 0.302 ^a (0.087) | 0.223 ^b (0.089) | 0.154 ^c (0.083) |
| Pogrom (mean = 0.50) | 0.080 (0.138) | -0.148 (0.173) | -0.174 (0.132) | | |
| After | | 0.332 ^a (0.064) | | | |
| Coverage | | | 2.088 ^a (0.390) | | |
| Associations 1861–1881 | | | -0.009 (0.215) | | |
| Associations 1882–1899 | | | 0.102 ^b (0.047) | | |
| Commerce/manufacturing | | | -0.044 (0.105) | | |
| Capital district | | | 0.354 ^b (0.162) | | |
| Constant | 1.971 (0.102) | 1.772 (0.126) | | | |
| Year F.E. (× interaction) | | | Yes | × Reg. | × Prov. |
| Geographic F.E. | | | Prov. | Dist. | Dist. |
| Predicted treat. eff. (treated) | | 0.430 | 0.352 | 0.249 | 0.167 |
| Predicted treat. eff. (all) | | 0.274 | 0.258 | 0.176 | 0.116 |
| R-squared | 0.001 | 0.045 | 0.545 | 0.792 | 0.840 |
| p-value of F-stat. | 0.561 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Observations | 3,225 | 3,225 | 3,225 | 3,225 | 3,225 |

$$(1) \quad \log m_{jt} = \alpha + \beta z_j + \epsilon_{jt}$$

migration =
pogrom
+
ε_{jt}

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$$(2) \quad \log m_{jt} = \alpha + \delta(z_j \times \text{After}_t) + \beta z_j + \gamma \text{After}_t + \epsilon_{jt}$$

$$\text{migration} = \text{pogrom} \times \text{after} + \text{pogrom} + \text{after}$$

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migration = pogrom × after + pogrom + after + dist. controls

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$$(4) \quad \log m_{jt} = \delta(z_j \times \text{After}_t) + \sum_{\{j \in J\}} \theta^j d_j + \sum_{\{k \in K, t \in T\}} \rho^{kt} d_j^{kt} + \epsilon_{jt}$$

migration = pogrom × after + district F.E. + region trends

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| Predicted treat. eff. (all) | | 0.274 | 0.258 | 0.176 | 0.116 |
| R-squared | 0.001 | 0.045 | 0.545 | 0.792 | 0.840 |
| p-value of F-stat. | 0.561 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Observations | 3,225 | 3,225 | 3,225 | 3,225 | 3,225 |

$$(5) \quad \log m_{jt} = \delta(z_j \times \text{After}_t) + \sum_{\{j \in J\}} \theta^j d_j + \sum_{\{k \in K, t \in T\}} \rho^{kt} d_j^{kt} + \epsilon_{jt}$$

migration = pogrom × after + district F.E. + province trends

VII. CONCLUSION

Main findings

- The beginning of the Jewish migration from Russia
 - Pre-1881 migration from Congress Poland's German border
 - Post-1881 migration unrelated to 1881-1882 pogroms
 - Spread from northern Poland to western Lithuania, western southwest

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 - Spread from northern Poland to western Lithuania, western southwest
- The 1903-1906 pogroms
 - By that time, networks saturation in most areas
 - Meaningful local effect of pogroms on migration
 - Lower bound estimates, if there were
 - Country-wide shock
 - Regional spillover effects
 - Probably not a one-off effect
 - Demographic composition not very sensitive to migration

An Updated Narrative of the Jewish Migration

- Beginning
 - The potential for migration existed before 1881
 - Bottle-neck was the availability of networks of chain-migration
 - Networks diffused slowly from the German border
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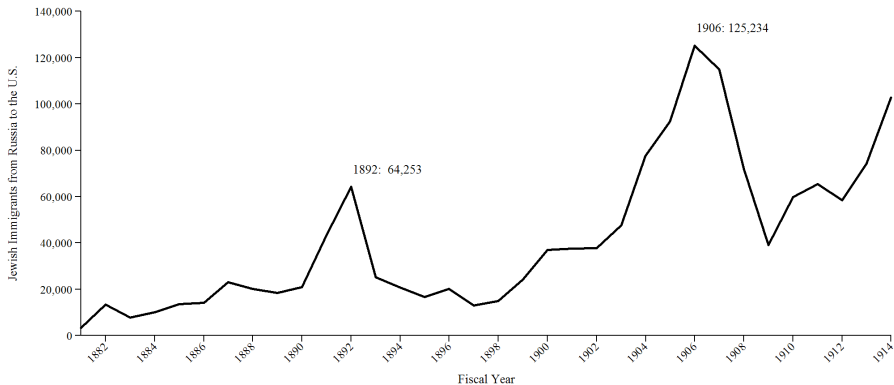
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but they were *not* refugees
- Lesson for the European pattern of mass migration
 - Networks diffusion, **the key factor**
 - Could override internal circumstances



A Happy New Year לשנה טובה

EXTRAS

Russian-Jewish Immigration to the U.S. 1881–1914



CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

- of the -

PIUSKER YOUNG MEN'S BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION

(The word "Piuser" being the name of a City in Russia)

STATE OF NEW YORK {
CITY OF NEW YORK { SS:
COUNTY OF NEW YORK {

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, of full age, being desirous of associating ourselves together for social, benevolent and educational purposes, as hereinafter is more particularly described, pursuant to and in conformity with Acts of the Legislature of the State of New York, relating to membership Corporation, do hereby certify and declare that we are all of full age, two-thirds of us are citizens of the United States and all of us residence of the State of New York. We do hereby certify and declare as follows:

FIRST

That the particular objects for which said Corporation is formed are as follows, viz:

To meet together for social, benevolent and educational purposes; to aid and assist each other contribution in case of poverty or distress and do such other further acts as may from time to time be necessary to benefit

3688
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PIUSKER YOUNG MEN'S BENEVOLENT

ASSOCIATION

RECORDED

Filed in office of Secretary of the State.

1911

Morris B. Lederman

Notary Public

New York County

295 Stanton Street,

New York, City.

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 - Multiple names, or various pronunciations
Warschau, Warszawa, Varshe, Varsovie
Kalarash, Tuzora

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- Solution
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- By Now
 - 308 thousand predicted-Jews (Ca. 50%) are identified
 - Ca. 30% of total immigration

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- It turns out that
 - Some coded manifests did not identify Jews at all
 - Most manifests identified Jews *very* well (under 5% false negatives)
 - Very few ships identified Jews poorly

Ellis Island Records: Who is a Jew?

- Solution: Use distribution of names in manifests that coded “Hebrew”
 - Determine the “Jewishness” of each first and last name (+Soundex)
 - Use each passengers names to predict if he was a Jew

