In any event, all parts of Congress Poland and Galicia (and large portions of the Pale of Settlement as well) felt the demographic weight of historic Polish Jewry: in no other region of Europe did Jews constitute such a high percentage of the general population. Descendants of the Jews of pre-partition Poland make up the bulk of world Jewry.

In cities, the special situation of the Jewish minority stands out even more. Jews had constituted a major part of the urban population of the largely rural Polish commonwealth since medieval times. In the eighteenth century, a significant portion of the Polish Jewish population resided in rural areas on estates of the nobles, but most Jews still resided in communities of 500 or more. In the nineteenth century, an already mostly urbanized Jewish community became almost entirely urban. Two Jewish metropolises arose in Warsaw and Łódź, plus numerous medium-to-large concentrations of Jews in the administrative and industrial centers of Congress Poland and Galicia.

The demographic and economic profiles of the Jewish and Christian populations differed sharply. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Christian population remained overwhelmingly agricultural, with only 15 percent living in cities. By contrast, the Jewish population was already 80 percent urban in 1827, and by 1865 the figure reached 91.5 percent. Jews were concentrated in urban occupations—commerce and manufacturing—and dominated those areas of economic activity. The move toward some urbanization of the Christian population started much later. Only in the 1870s did villagers start to stream to cities, when as the result of agrarian reform they found themselves without land or with lands insufficient to provide a livelihood. Thus the population of Łódź grew six times in the period 1869–1897 (from 50,000 to 315,000), while the Jewish population grew tenfold (from 10,000 to 98,700). A similar pattern was evident in the nearby smaller town of Zgierz (see Table 3).

Within Congress Poland, a general westward shift of the pattern of Jewish settlement was evident, as Jews migrated from the less developed guberniias in the north and east to the more developed ones in the center and west. In the period 1843–1897, approximately one-fourth of the Jews in the Congress Kingdom made this relocation.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, a noticeable number of Jews from the Pale of Settlement moved into the Congress Kingdom. The relative freedom of movement granted to Jews in Congress Poland by the 1862 decree attracted Jews from other parts of the empire who sought greater economic and political freedom. This tendency intensified in the wake of the wave of pogroms in Russia in 1882 and the expulsion from Moscow in 1891. The migrants were called Litvaks by both Poles and Polish Jews, although many of them did not come from Lithuania. Estimates for the size of this influx vary, ranging from 100,000 to 250,000 Litvaks in Congress Poland by World War I. [See Litvaks.]

The new arrivals came mainly to the big cities and participated in commerce and industry. Many used their contacts within Russia to market Polish textiles. Litvaks also made their mark in cultural and political fields. Many of the pioneers of modern Hebrew and Yiddish education, as well as the leadership of the Zionist and Bundist movements in Poland, came from their ranks.

Standard historical works record hostility toward the Litvaks among Poles and Polish Jews alike. The migrants faced some antipathy from local Jews, both as economic and professional competitors and because of cultural differences. They also provided a focus for the antagonism of extreme Polish nationalists, who saw them not only as bearers of Russian culture and separatist Jewish tendencies but also as an element that bolstered Jewish numbers through the Polish Kingdom.

One major result of the internal migration of Polish Jews was the emergence of a large Jewish industrial proletariat. This working class would not fit the classic Marxist definition of the proletariat, since Jewish industry in Poland was based in thousands of small shops and piecework done in private homes. This system of manufacturing through contractors and subcontractors was built on a complicated and perilous combination of promissory notes and letters of credit, which, although it allowed Jewish industry and trade to proceed, collapsed on occasion like a house of cards. Most Jewish workers were employed in small enterprises, concentrated in a few branches of industry. Few were employed in large factories, even those owned by Jewish entrepreneurs. Numerous explanations have been offered for this phenomenon, ranging from Sabbath observance to the antipathy of Polish coworkers.

In the industrializing cities of Congress Poland, Jews became a fixture of the urban landscape. Entire quarters of Warsaw, Łódź, and other cities grew to accommodate Jewish-owned housing and industrial facilities. Jewish entrepreneurs, beginning with such figures as Shmul Zhytkower in the eighteenth century and his descendants, continuing in the nineteenth century with industrialists and financiers such as Leopold Kronenberg, Hipolit Wawelberg, Herman Epstein, Israel Poznański and others, built up an industrial and financial infrastructure that would outlive the great Polish Jewish center itself. Many of these same Jewish captains of industry and finance also func-

Table 2. Jewish Population of Galicia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
<th>Percentage Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>5,418,016</td>
<td>575,433</td>
<td>10.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>5,958,907</td>
<td>686,596</td>
<td>11.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>6,607,816</td>
<td>768,845</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>7,315,939</td>
<td>811,183</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>8,025,675</td>
<td>871,895</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 3. Jewish Population of Zgierz

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
<th>Percentage Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1808</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>1827</td>
<td>4,527</td>
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<td>7.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>8,337</td>
<td>1,637</td>
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<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>19,103</td>
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<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>21,129</td>
<td>3,828</td>
<td>18.1</td>
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