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# DELINQUENCY AMONG JEWS

## A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CRIMINALITY AMONG THE JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH POPULATION OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC

LIEBMANN HERSH<sup>a</sup>

### *The General Ratio of Criminality and the Three Chief Categories of Delinquency.*

1. In this article we shall use the term "general ratio of criminality" to denote the number of persons condemned for any one of the offences covered by the *Statistique Criminelle* in relation to the total of the population (per 10,000 inhabitants). If we compute this ratio for both the Jewish and non-Jewish populations of the two large territories of the Polish Republic which come into question, we get the following table:

TABLE I

THE TOTAL NUMBER OF JEWS AND NON-JEWS CONDEMNED IN EX-RUSSIAN AND  
EX-AUSTRIAN POLAND DURING THE PERIOD 1923-1928

	Ex-Russian Territory			Ex-Austrian Territory		
		Persons Condemned (1923-28)			Persons Condemned (1923-28)	
		Per Year &			Per Year &	
	Population (1921)	Absolute Figures	Per 10,000 Inhabitants	Population (1921)	Absolute Figures	Per 10,000 Inhabitants
Total .....	15,351,182	323,785	35.2	7,623,206	583,346	127.5
Jews .....	2,064,573	23,658	19.1	743,958	27,715	62.1
Non-Jews ...	13,286,609	300,127	37.6	6,879,248	555,631	134.6
	Ratio of Jewish criminality in percentage of ratio of non-Jewish criminality .....		50.8	Ratio of Jewish criminality in percentage of ratio of non-Jewish criminality .....		46.2

According to this information, extending over a period of six years, covering a total population of 23 millions (of whom nearly three millions are Jews) and comprising a mass of over 900,000 condemned persons (of whom 51,000 were Jews) we arrive at the conclusion that *the general ratio of criminality for the Jews of Poland is half that of the non-Jewish population of the same coun-*

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try both in ex-Russian and in ex-Austrian Poland: the general ratio of Jewish criminality being only 51 per cent of that of the non-Jewish population for the ex-Russian territory and 46 per cent for the ex-Austrian territory.

2. For the years 1924 and 1925, the Central Statistical Office of the Polish Republic has itself worked out the proportion of condemned persons to the penally responsible population (or population responsible for their acts in the eyes of the law) for the five chief religions of the country. We shall use the phrase "ratio of penally responsible criminality" to denote this proportion.<sup>1</sup> The results of the computation will be seen in

TABLE II  
PERSONS CONDEMNED PER 10,000 PENALLY RESPONSIBLE INHABITANTS  
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RELIGION (1924 AND 1925)

Religion	Ex-Russian Territory				Ex-Austrian Territory			
	Ratio of Penally Responsible Criminality		Jewish Criminality in % of the Corresponding Criminality		Ratio of Penally Responsible Criminality		Jewish Criminality in % of the Corresponding Criminality	
	1924	1925	1924	1925	1924	1925	1924	1925
Rom. Catholic	53.7	45.4	49.6	47.8	174.3	177.0	42.9	42.3
Gr'k Catholic	...	...	...	...	168.5	203.0	44.4	38.3
Orthodox	28.7	29.3	92.7	74.1	...	...	...	...
Protestant	29.0	24.0	91.7	90.4	133.5	...	56.0	...
Jewish	26.6	21.7	100.0	100.0	74.8	77.8	100.0	100.0
Total	44.5	38.6	59.8	56.2	162.7	177.5	46.0	42.1

We can thus draw the following conclusions:

a. Both in ex-Russian and in ex-Austrian territory, criminality among the Jews is much *less than among the adherents of the other chief religions*.

b. Jewish criminality is *not even half that of the Roman Catholics (Poles, Lithuanians) and Greek Catholics (Ruthenians)*.

c. There is less difference between Jewish criminality and that of the Orthodox and the Protestants, but here, too, the difference is considerable.

d. Taken as a whole, *the ratio of penally responsible criminality among the Jewish population is about half that of the whole population*.

(At first sight, this ratio may seem somewhat higher than the one we gave in the preceding section as the general ratio of crim-

<sup>1</sup> Statistical Yearbook of the Polish Republic, 1929, p. 518.

inality, especially as regards ex-Russian Poland; but this is due to the following causes: 1. In the preceding section we were comparing Jewish criminality with *non-Jewish*, while we are now comparing it with that of the *whole* population (including the Jews). In view of the smaller criminality of the Jews, we must necessarily obtain a proportionately higher figure in the second case than in the first, when the Jews are being compared with non-Jews only.<sup>2</sup> 2. As we see from Table I in our preceding article, Jewish criminality in the ex-Russian part of the country has gradually declined in proportion to the total criminality;<sup>3</sup> the data for 1924-1925 are therefore slightly above the average for the whole period 1923-1928, as found in the preceding section.)

3. But all offences are not of the same kind. We cannot therefore be content merely to compare the totals. We must take into account the *composition* of the mass of crimes committed. We shall get a preliminary idea of this from the grouping of the offences into three main categories, as adopted by the Central Statistical Office of the Polish Republic. The first category is entitled *offences against the rights of the community*; the second, *offences against persons*; the third, *offences against private property*. For the sake of brevity, we shall in future say: 1. crimes against the *State and the social order*; 2. against *persons*, and 3. against *property*. Later on (in Section 5) we shall learn the details of these three categories.

We give below the Jewish and non-Jewish criminality for each of these three categories:

TABLE III

JEWS AND NON-JEWISH CONDEMNED PERSONS, AS DISTRIBUTED UNDER  
THE THREE GREAT CRIMINAL CATEGORIES (1923-28)

Categories of Crime	Ex-Russian Territory			Ex-Austrian Territory		
	Ratio of Jewish Criminality			Ratio of Jewish Criminality		
	Condemned (1923-28) Absolute Figures	in Per Year Per 10,000 % of that Inhabitants	of Non- Jews	Condemned (1923-28) Absolute Figures	in Per Year Per 10,000 % of that Inhabitants	of Non- Jews
I. Against the State and the social order:						
Jews .....	8,211	6.63	} 119	4,877	10.93	} 117
Non-Jews .....	44,528	5.59		34,468	9.32	

<sup>2</sup> Compared with that of the *total* population of ex-Russian territory, the general ratio of Jewish criminality for 1923-28 is 54.3 per cent (instead of 50.8 when compared with the ratio of the non-Jews).

<sup>3</sup> The percentages of Jewish delinquents in 1923 and 1924 were 8.2 and 7.7: in 1925 they were 7.1 and also in 1926; in 1927 and 1928 they were respectively 6.8 and 7.

II. Against persons:								
Jews .....	1,766	1.43	}	31	15,067	33.75	}	62
Non-Jews .....	37,030	4.65			225,510	54.64		
III. Against property:								
Jews .....	13,681	11.04	}	40	7,781	17.43	}	24
Non-Jews .....	218,569	27.42			295,546	71.58		

We thus find that:

a. In the two territories under consideration, the Jews show a *criminality against the State and the social order which is almost one-fifth higher than that of the non-Jews*, the excess being 19 per cent in the ex-Russian territory and 17 per cent in the ex-Austrian territory.

b. In the two territories under consideration, *the Jews show a criminality much lower than that of the non-Jews in respect of the two other categories of crime.*

In respect of the second and third categories, there is a great deal of difference in the two territories. In the *ex-Austrian* territory, the ratio of Jewish criminality against *persons* is still fairly considerable; it is only 38 per cent less than that of the non-Jews. As we shall see later on, in Section 11, this is chiefly due to the large number of "slight physical injuries." On the other hand, the ratio of Jewish criminality against *property*, as compared to that of non-Jews, of the same territory is small; *it is barely one-quarter of that of the non-Jews.*

*In the ex-Russian Territory, the ratio of Jewish criminality against property is only two-fifths (40 per cent) and that against persons only one-third (31 per cent) of that of non-Jews.*<sup>4</sup>

4. How are we to explain the phenomenon that the Jewish population, which on the whole commits much fewer offences than those committed by the surrounding population, shows a considerably higher ratio of offences against the State and the social order? Evidently there is scope for many conjectures and for many subjective interpretations varying according to the sympathies and antipathies of individuals, either for the State and the social order such as they exist today in Poland, or for the Jews.

However, it seems very probable that, to some extent, the

<sup>4</sup> The reader will have noticed the enormous difference in respect of criminality between the ex-Austrian territory and the ex-Russian, and this both among Jews and non-Jews, and especially in regard to offences against property and, even more, to offences against persons. This difference manifestly arises out of the difference in the standards of registration. Hence information obtained for the two territories cannot be compared directly, or figures from them added together.

greater tendency of the Jews to commit offences against the State and the social order has to do with the fact that a very large majority of them live in towns. For the offences against the State and the social order are much more widespread in the towns than in the country. Some idea of this fact will be obtained from the following figures. They refer to the years 1924-25 and to the *non-Jewish* population:

TABLE IV

	Percentage of Urban Inhabitants	Persons Condemned for Offences Against the State and Social Order Per Year and 10,000 Inhabitants
City of Warsaw.....	100	19.5
Department of Warsaw.....	16	2.8
Department of Novogrodek.....	7	1.7

It would truly be incomprehensible if the Jews, three-quarters of whom dwell in towns, should not commit rather more offences against the State and the social order than the rest of the population, four-fifths of whom live in the country.

We may even wonder that in these conditions offences against the State and the social order committed by Jews are not *much* more numerous than those committed by the non-Jewish population; the difference is only one-fifth. In any case, the low degree of criminality, especially in respect of crimes against persons and property, which is shown by Jews in comparison with the rest of the population, is surprising in itself, and becomes even more so when we take into consideration the fact that the Jew is pre-eminently a city-dweller, whereas the non-Jewish population are mainly inhabitants of the country.

But let us examine the criminality of both more closely.

#### *Eighteen Groups of Offences.*

5. In order to take due account of the differences between Jewish and non-Jewish criminality in their great variety, we will first distinguish eighteen groups of offences, before examining more closely those of them which are more important by reason either of the large number of persons found guilty of them, or of the serious nature of certain kinds of crime which form part of them.

Of these eighteen groups, nine belong to the category of offences against the State and social order, five to that of offences

against persons, three to offences against property and one group comprises all those offences which do not belong to any of the seventeen groups. In our Table V we show by the side of each group of offences the corresponding number of the classification adopted by the *Statistique Criminelle*, so that the reader may, if he desires, check our information and examine it more in detail.

We feel it necessary, however, to indicate here what varieties of offences are to be found in those of our groups whose nomenclature is not sufficiently clear.

In the first group (political offences) we have put together high treason, espionage, offences concerned with international relations, participation in meetings or associations which are illegal, individual or collective resistance to the authorities (riots or disturbances) and insults to authorities. (It should be noted that on account of the nearness of the Soviet Union Communists are often tried and condemned for high treason or espionage.) In Group III (abuse and corruption of power) we have put together offences connected with justice (including false witness, false accusations, etc.), corruption, venality, abuse of power and, in general, officials' crimes. In Group IV (forgery of public documents, currency, bills, etc.) we have *not* included the forgery of public documents when committed by officials, this crime being classified in the *Statistique Criminelle* among officials' offences and placed under Group III. Group V (offences against State monopolies) comprises smuggling and the clandestine distillation of alcohol. Group VI (acts of destruction constituting a public danger) covers incendiarism, the blowing up of buildings, etc., damage to railways, bridges, and other means of communication, etc. Group VII (illicit speculation) corresponds to the heading "war profits" of the *Statistique Criminelle*; we have changed the name of this heading, because in 1924 and 1925 Poland was no longer at war, and the term "war profits" is no longer applicable: the chief point was offences against regulations dealing with maximum prices. Group IX (other crimes against the order of social relations) consists almost entirely of the heading No. 26 of the *Statistique Criminelle* which is unfortunately a mixture of very different offences, including press offences, residence without identity papers, violation of sanitary regulations, organization of prohibited games, sale of unstamped gold and silver articles, etc. The other groups do not call for explanation.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Heading 9 of the *Statistique Criminelle* is defined in the said publication as "other offences against public organization." In reality, it consists almost entirely

For many of the groups the summarized information published by the Central Statistical Office for 1923 and 1926-1928 is not full enough. We are therefore obliged to content ourselves with the information for 1924-25 supplied by the *Statistique Criminelle*; these give all the necessary details.

6. The number of Jews and non-Jews condemned for each of the 18 groups will be seen from the table on next page.

We may therefore draw the following conclusions:

a. In these two territories, Jewish criminality is much lower than that of the rest of the population for all kinds of offences against persons, that is to say, for crimes against life, against health and the body, against sexual morality and the family, against individual liberty and against honor. The difference between Jewish and non-Jewish criminality is least for offences against honor in Galicia, the ratio of Jewish criminality in that province being four-fifths (81 per cent) of that of the rest of the population. The difference is greatest for criminality against life in ex-Russian Poland: for this kind of crime, which is much the most serious, the Jews of ex-Russian Poland show a ratio which is only one-seventh of that of the rest of the population (14 per cent). In Galicia this kind of crime is in the case of the Jews one-third of that of the rest of the population.

b. In the two parts of Poland under consideration, Jewish criminality is again much less than that of non-Jews for offences of embezzlement (it is scarcely more than half that of the non-Jews) and particularly for theft; the last-named is in ex-Russian Poland three times and in Galicia six times less frequent among Jews than among non-Jews. It should be noted that this group of offences alone accounts for the absolute majority of all those condemned in the Polish Republic.

c. In the two parts of the country in question, the criminality of Jews is far less than that of non-Jews in respect of acts of destruction constituting a public danger (arson, blowing up of buildings, etc., destruction of bridges, etc.). This kind of crime is among

of persons condemned for "offences against the authorities" and (in the ex-Austrian territory) for individual "resistance to the authorities." We find, according to the full classifications of the *Statistique Criminelle* that, in 1924-25, that of the 815 persons condemned under this heading in ex-Russian territory, 591 (73 per cent) were judged for offences against authorities: in the ex-Austrian territory, of the 4761 condemned under this heading, 4759 (100 per cent) were judged for offences against and individual resistance to the authorities. Heading 9 cannot therefore be separated from Heading 6 (in ex-Russian territory "resistance to the authorities" and in ex-Austrian territories "collective resistance to the authorities"). Hence we have placed it in our Group I.



TABLE V  
Jews and Non-Jews Condemned in 1924-1925 According to Groups of Offences

Order Nos.	Groups of Offences	No. of Headings in the Statistique Criminelle	Ex-Russian Territory					Ex-Austrian Territory						
			Persons Condemned			Ratio Jewish criminality in % non-inhabitants	Persons Condemned			Ratio Jewish criminality in % non-inhabitants				
			Absolute figures	Others	Jews		Absolute figures	Others	Jews					
Offences against the State and Society:														
I.	Political offences	1-3, 6, 9, 15	4,776	533	4,243	12.9	16.0	81	4,993	395	4,598	26.5	33.4	79
II.	Offences against compulsory military service	8	807	137	670	3.3	2.5	132	481	189	292	12.7	2.1	600
III.	Abuse or corruption of public power	5, 7, 10-13	2,490	318	2,172	7.7	8.2	94	1,352	231	1,121	15.5	8.1	190
IV.	Forgery of documents, currency or bills, etc.	31-33	1,474	290	1,184	7.0	4.5	156	194	18	176	1.2	1.3	92
V.	Offences against public monopolies	17-18	2,457	176	2,281	4.3	8.6	50	425	46	379	3.1	2.8	111
VI.	Acts of destruction constituting a public danger	27-29	261	11	250	0.27	0.94	29	273	4	269	0.27	2.0	14
VII.	Illicit speculation	16	829	296	533	7.2	2.0	360	869	399	470	26.8	3.4	784
VIII.	Vagabondage and mendicancy	20	716	127	589	3.1	2.2	141	970	130	840	8.7	6.1	143
IX.	Other offences against the order of social relations	14, 19, 21, 25, 26	3,674	1,011	2,663	24.5	10.0	245	3,119	329	2,790	22.1	20.3	109
Offences against persons:														
X.	Offences against life	34-40	1,603	35	1,568	0.85	5.9	14	2,028	69	1,959	4.6	14.2	33
XI.	Offences against health and the body	41-46	6,826	183	6,643	4.4	25.0	18	65,668	3,977	61,691	267.3	448.4	60
XII.	Offences against individual liberty	49-51	427	41	386	1.0	1.5	69	2,330	63	2,267	4.2	16.5	26
XIII.	Offences against sexual morality and the family	52-59	1,071	43	1,028	1.0	3.9	27	1,185	61	1,124	4.1	8.2	50
XIV.	Offences against honor	60	1,782	135	1,647	3.3	6.2	53	7,973	641	7,332	43.1	53.3	81
Offences against property:														
XV.	Embezzlement	62-63	3,063	233	2,830	5.6	10.6	53	6,487	393	6,094	26.4	44.3	60
XVI.	Theft	64-68	68,425	3,674	64,751	89.0	243.7	37	103,213	1,707	101,506	114.7	737.8	16
XVII.	Fraudulent practices	70	2,897	441	2,456	10.7	9.2	116	1,017	127	890	8.5	6.5	132
XXVIII.	All other offences	{ 4, 22-24, 30, 47, 48, 61, 69, 71-75	415	35	370	0.8	1.4	60	1,059	52	1,007	3.5	7.3	48
Total			103,993	7,719	96,274	186.9	391.3	48	203,636	8,831	194,805	593.5	1415.9	43

the Jews of ex-Russian Poland *three to four times*, and in Galicia *seven times less frequent* than among non-Jews.

d. We also see that in the two territories the Jews commit fewer political offences (one-fifth or 19 per cent less in ex-Russian territory and 21 per cent less in Galicia), and they also commit less frequently "all the other" offences constituting our Group XVIII. The fact that the Jews of Poland show less criminality in political respects is strikingly contrary to received opinion on this point. But it is none the less clear from the court records. This feature merits closer examination, which we will undertake in the following section.

e. Two groups of offence are in ex-Russian Poland less, and in Galicia *more frequent* among Jews than among non-Jews: these are *the group of corruption and abuse of power and that of offences against State monopolies*. On the other hand, the forgery group (documents, currency or bills, etc.) numbers in ex-Russian Poland more, and in Galicia fewer delinquents among the Jews than among the non-Jews. (It should not be overlooked, however, that this group does not include forgeries committed in documents by public officials, who are nearly all non-Jews.)

f. Only for the groups of offences against compulsory *military service, illicit speculation, fraudulent practices, vagabondage and mendicancy*, and for Group IX, a mixed group consisting of other offences against the "order of social relations" do the Jews in the two territories show a *much higher* criminality than that of the rest of the population. We must, however, bear in mind that most of these offences are mainly to be found among merchants (illicit speculation, fraudulent practices, sale of unstamped gold and silver articles, etc.). In order to obtain a just idea of the frequency of these offences, which are a special feature of the mercantile part of the population, we should, strictly speaking, consider it in reference to the numbers of Jewish and non-Jewish *merchants*. In this connection, we must take into consideration the fact that the merchant group in Poland is twenty times larger among Jews than among non-Jews.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> According to the census of 1921, persons engaged in commerce and insurance formed 1.5 per cent of all those engaged in economic activities among non-Jews, and 34.6 per cent among Jews, the latter being 23 times more numerous. (See G. Gliksman, *L'Aspect économique de la question juive en Pologne*. Paris, Rieder, 1929, p. 84.)

*More Detailed Examination of the Chief Groups of Offences:  
Offences Against the State and the Social Order.*

7. The eighteen groups of offences which we have just reviewed enable us to form some idea of the relative importance of the various kinds of crime in the case of Jews and non-Jews. But each group usually comprises offences of very varying kinds and gravity. We will therefore examine the chief groups more in detail, so far as the existing documents permit us to do so. We will begin with *political offences*.

The following table shows us, as already stated in last section, that political criminality as a whole is one-fifth less frequent among Jews than among the rest of the population. But this cannot be said of all the species of offences of this genus. We find that:

a. In both parts of Poland condemnations for *high treason* and *espionage* are much more frequent among Jews than among the rest of the population (as already stated, it is often a question of Communist activities).

b. In both territories, condemnations for *resistance to* and *insulting the authorities* are considerably *less frequent* among Jews than among others.

c. Condemnations for *illegal association and propaganda* are in ex-Russian Poland more, and in Galicia much less frequent among Jews than among non-Jews.

How are we to explain the different composition of the mass of persons condemned for political offences among Jews and non-Jews? Is this difference due to the *condemned persons*, to their psychology and their living conditions, Polish Jews being more inclined than others to clandestine crimes? Or must we attribute it to the mentality of non-Jewish *judges*, who tend to see in illegal political action a conspiracy against the State whenever the prisoner is a Jew, and are less likely to do so when he is not a Jew? Or are *both* these explanations true? In the existing state of our information, these suggestions (and others which we could imagine) cannot be more than conjectural.

But it should be noted that persons condemned for high treason and espionage together constitute only a small fraction of the total of those condemned for political crime. Even among the Jews, they form only one-fifth of the political delinquents (19.7 per cent) in ex-Russian Poland and one-tenth (10.2 per cent) in Galicia.

8. *Abuse and Corruption of Public Power.* This constitutes a second large group of offences against the State. As will have

TABLE VI

JEWS AND NON-JEWS CONDEMNED FOR POLITICAL OFFENCES, ACCORDING TO KIND OF OFFENCE (1924-1925)<sup>1</sup>

	Ex-Russian Territory					Ex-Austrian Territory				
	Illegal meetings, associations & propaganda					Illegal meetings, associations & propaganda				
	High treason	Es-pionage	Resis-tance and in-sults to au-thorities	Total	(1) (2) (6, 9)	High treason	Es-pionage	Resis-tance and in-sults to au-thorities	Total	(1) (2) (15) (6, 9)
Absolute number of condemned.....	{ Total Jews Non-Jews									
Condemned per year and per 10,000 inhabitants.....	{ Among Jews Among Non-Jews									
Ratio of Criminality of Jews in % of that of Non-Jews.....										
Of every 100 condemned for political offence there were. { Among Jews Among Non-Jews										

<sup>1</sup> The numbers between brackets placed under the names of offences denote the headings of the *Statistique Criminelle*. The differences between the headings enumerated and the total in Tables VI to XI form the "Other offences" of the group in question.

TABLE VII  
Jews and Non-Jews Condemned for Abuse and Corruption of Power<sup>1</sup> According to Kind of Offence (1924-1925)

	Ex-Russian Territory				Ex-Austrian Territory			
	Total	Offences against justice (5)	Cor- ruption (7)	Officials' offences (10-13)	Total	Offences against justice (5)	Cor- ruption (7)	Officials' offences (10-13)
Absolute number of condemned.....	{ Total Jews Non-Jews	2,490 318 2,172	868 72 796	516 237 279	1,106 9 1,097	1,352 231 1,121	288 124 164	92 4 88
Condemned per year and per 10,000 inhabitants.....	{ Among Jews Among Non-Jews	7.7 8.2	1.7 3.0	5.74 1.05	0.22 4.1	15.5 8.1	8.3 1.2	0.27 0.64
Of every 100 condemned for abuse and corruption of power there were.....	{ Among Jews Among Non-Jews	100 100	22.6 36.6	74.5 12.8	2.8 50.5	100 100	53.7 14.6	1.7 7.9

<sup>1</sup> Offences of officials who are engaged in the administration of justice, are not included in the group "Offences against justice." They come under the special group for Officials' offences, which also includes venality.

been seen in our preceding article (Section 7), there must be essential differences between Jews and non-Jews from the point of view of the composition of this group of condemned persons. We will therefore examine this group more closely.

Looking at the last lines of this table, we shall see at once that persons condemned for *officials' offences* form only an insignificant fraction of the Jewish delinquents of this group. After what we have stated above (Section 7 of our first article) on this subject, there will be no surprise at this fact; the number of Jewish officials being infinitesimal in Poland, especially in the ex-Russian territory, the number of Jewish officials who have been condemned must be so also. *Venality* and *abuse of power* are therefore systematically recorded under the non-Jew headings. But corruption is to be found much oftener on the Jewish side. Thus, among the Jews condemned for abuse or corruption of power, the absolute majority (53.7 per cent) in Galicia and three-quarters (74.5 per cent) in ex-Russian Poland were condemned for corruption.

The many acts of corruption committed by Jews and the numerous cases of venality to be found among non-Jewish officials, are, of course, the two sides of the same medal. And did they not, to some extent, find a common origin in the de facto inequality with which the Polish State treats the Jews and the rest of the population? It is a question which we may at least ask.

As to those condemned for crimes *against justice* (false witness, false accusations, the concealment of crimes or criminals, etc.), these are much less frequent in ex-Russian Poland among Jews than among the rest of the population (1.7 per 10,000 inhabitants against 3.0, or 57 per cent only; in Galicia, on the other hand, they are slightly more frequent among Jews than among non-Jews (6.9 against 6.3).

It would be interesting to examine more closely Group IX of our Table VII (*Other offences against the order of social relations*); in point of number, this comes next to political offences in the group of offences against the State and social order. Unfortunately, as we have already remarked, this Group is composed almost entirely of Heading 26 of the *Statistique Criminelle*, which is a veritable hotchpotch of very different offences. Hence it is impossible for us to judge more clearly.

*More Detailed Examination of Certain Groups of Offence (Cont.):  
Offences Against Persons.*

9. With the category of offences against persons we reach kinds of crime which are *much* less widespread among Jews than among non-Jews. Moreover, judging from Table V, we shall see that, speaking generally of this class of crime, *the more serious the nature of a group of offences, the lower is the criminality of the Jews as compared with the non-Jews*. This feature is especially striking in ex-Russian Poland: the Jewish criminality ratio against individual liberty is about *two-thirds* (69 per cent) of that of non-Jews: in respect of crimes against honor, Jewish criminality is not much more than *half* (53 per cent) that of non-Jews: as for crimes against sexual morality and the family, the Jewish ratio is only *one-quarter* (27 per cent) of that of non-Jews; while for crimes against health and the body, Jewish criminality is only *one-fifth* (18 per cent) of that of non-Jews; and lastly, it is only *one-seventh* (14 per cent) of that of non-Jews as regards crimes against life.

10. But let us examine more closely the chief groups of crime coming under this category, beginning with the most serious, that *against life*.

The following table shows us:

a. That criminality against life among Jews is *much less* than among non-Jews, not only as a whole, but for each offence in this group.

b. That the difference between Jewish and non-Jewish criminality varies from one kind of crime to another. In the two parts of the country, this difference is the least marked for *manslaughter*; in ex-Russian Poland the ratio of criminality is among the Jews about a quarter of (25 per cent) and in Galicia half (49 per cent) that among non-Jews. Next follows *infanticide*, for which Jewish criminality in the two territories is respectively 14 and 31 per cent of non-Jewish. Then come *intentional homicide and assassination*, for which the difference between Jewish and non-Jewish criminality is the greatest: in ex-Russian Poland this form of criminality is *twelve times* (8 per cent), and in Galicia as much as *twenty-five times* (4 per cent) less frequent among Jews than among the rest of the population.

Thus, within the group of crimes against life, we can make the same statement as that made in the preceding section for the various groups of crimes against persons: *the more serious the nature of an*

TABLE VIII

JEWS AND NON-JEWS CONDEMNED FOR OFFENCES AGAINST LIFE ACCORDING TO KIND OF OFFENCE (1924-25)

	Ex-Russian Territory				Ex-Austrian Territory			
	Total	Inten- tional homicide (35)	Infanti- cide (36)	Man- slaughter (38)	Total	Inten- tional homicide (35)	Infanti- cide (36)	Man- slaughter (38)
Absolute number of condemned.....	{ Total 1,603 Jews 35 Non-Jews 1,568 }	869	197	330	2,028	705	60	1,142
Condemned per year and per 10,000 inhabitants.....	{ Among Jews 0.85 Among Non-Jews 5.9 }	0.27 3.23	0.10 0.73	0.31 1.24	4.6 14.2	0.20 5.10	0.13 0.42	3.9 7.9
Ratio of criminality of Jews in % of that of Non-Jews.....	14	8	14	25	33	4	31	49
Of every 100 condemned for offences against life there were .....	{ Among Jews 100 Among Non-Jews 100 }	31.4 54.7	11.4 12.3	37.1 20.2	100 100	4.3 35.8	2.9 3.0	85.5 55.3



*offence, the less frequently does it occur among the Jews as compared with the rest of the population.*

This leads us to the conclusion that persons condemned for crimes against life are not only much less numerous among Jews than amongst others, but that the mass of persons thus condemned consists more often among the Jews than among others of persons guilty of manslaughter, and much less often of assassins and murderers. We find, in fact, in ex-Russian Poland that of every 100 persons condemned for crimes against life, those guilty of manslaughter were 20 among the non-Jews and 37 among the Jews, while murderers and assassins constituted 55 per cent of the non-Jewish and 31 per cent of the Jewish persons condemned for these crimes. In Galicia, those guilty of manslaughter formed 55 per cent of the non-Jewish and 85 per cent of the Jewish persons, condemned, while murderers and assassins constituted 36 per cent of the non-Jewish and four per cent only of the Jewish persons condemned.

As for intentional homicide (murder and assassination) we shall do well to recall also the absolute numbers of the Jews guilty of this crime. In ex-Russian territory, out of a Jewish population of over two millions (2,065,000) only eleven persons were condemned for it in two years, making an average of *one* per year per 400,000 inhabitants. Similarly in Galicia, out of a Jewish population of almost three-quarters of a million (744,000), three Jews were condemned for intentional homicide in two years, making an average of *one* per year per 500,000 inhabitants. We might show still more clearly the rarity of the crime among Jews by stating that it is as if there were *one intentional homicide* in a population of 1000 once in 400 or 500 years; or again, we might say that in a population of 1000, from 4 to 5 persons were homicides from the beginning of the Christian era to the end of our century. Speaking for ourselves, we wonder if there is any other population among which murder is so extraordinarily rare.<sup>7</sup>

11. The group of offences *against health and the body* is also worthy of fuller study. First of all, the number of persons condemned is, for both Jews and non-Jews, larger than for any other group of offences against persons, this being even more marked in Galicia than in ex-Russian Poland. Furthermore, there is great

<sup>7</sup> Can we fail to see, in this horror of blood, one source of the dislike to the handling of arms and at least a partial reason for the high criminality of the Jews in respect of compulsory military service, as shown above?

TABLE IX  
JEWS AND NON-JEWS CONDEMNED FOR OFFENCES AGAINST HEALTH AND THE BODY ACCORDING TO KIND OF OFFENCE (1924-1925)

	Ex-Russian Territory				Ex-Austrian Territory			
	Physical Injuries <sup>1</sup>				Physical Injuries <sup>2</sup>			
	Total	Very serious (41)	Serious (42)	Slight (43)	Unintentional and in extenuating circumstances (45)	Total	Serious (42)	Slight (43)
Absolute number of condemned.....	{ Total Jews Non-Jews	162 0 162	595 8 587	1,388 20 1,368	1,748 55 1,693	65,668 3,977 61,691	4,564 51 4,513	61,097 3,926 57,171
Condemned per year and per 10,000 inhabitants.....	{ Among Jews Among Non-Jews	4.4 25.0	0.19 2.21	0.48 5.15	1.3 6.4	267.3 448.4	3.4 32.8	263.9 415.5
Ratio of criminality of Jews in % of that of Non-Jews.....		18	0	0	9	20	10	64
Of every 100 condemned for offences against health and the body there were.....	{ Among Jews Among Non-Jews	100 100	0 2.4	3.3 10.4	10.9 22.1	30.1 25.6	1.3 7.3	98.7 92.7

<sup>1</sup>For ex-Russian territory, the *Statistique Criminelle* give three other headings: much the most important as regards number of delinquents is that entitled "Other offences." But as its exact composition is not clear, it does not add much to the total number of offences against health and the body.

<sup>2</sup>For ex-Austrian territory, the *Statistique Criminelle* give only two headings: "Serious injuries" and "Slight injuries." Another, called "Other injuries" only contains 7 non-Jewish persons for the two years.

inequality in the gravity of these offences: it varies according to whether the offence is intentional or not; and it ranges, according to the nature of the offence, from very serious injuries, almost amounting to homicide, to slight damage hardly physical at all. Offences so different in kind must be considered separately. Table IX gives information as to the number of persons condemned for such crimes against health and body as present features of special interest, either from the number of delinquents or the serious nature of the crime.

Here we find phenomena exactly like those we have just noticed for crime against life.

a. In the two parts of Poland, Jewish crimes are *much more rare* than those of the rest of the population not only in the group of offences against health and the body taken as a whole, but also for each kind which forms part of the group.

b. Among both Jews and non-Jews, the more serious crimes against health and the body are the rarer. But in both parts of the country in question, this fall in the frequency of crime in proportion to its gravity is much more accentuated in the case of the Jews than among the non-Jews. Hence we find here once again the feature to which we have already called attention twice in speaking of crime against persons: *the graver a crime, the lower is the Jewish criminality compared with that of the rest of the population*. Thus in Galicia, for slight injuries Jewish criminality is *two-thirds* (64 per cent) of that of non-Jews, while it is *ten times less* (10 per cent) for serious injuries. In the ex-Russian territory, Jewish criminality is *five times* lower than that of the rest of the population for *unintentional physical injuries* (20 per cent): it is *eleven times* lower for *slight injuries* (9.3 per cent) and *twelve times* lower for serious ones (8.6 per cent); as for *very serious injuries*, *not one Jew* out of the more than two million Jewish inhabitants was condemned for this crime during the two years 1924-1925 (against 162 non-Jews).

Thus we find that, for offences against health and the body also, Jewish criminality is not only numerically much less than that of the rest of the population; the mass of condemned persons is also otherwise constituted among the Jews than among the non-Jews: among the condemned Jews there are fewer persons than among the non-Jews who are guilty of serious crimes and more persons who are condemned for less serious offences. (See the last two lines of our Table IX.) In other words, in the two parts

of the country, Jewish criminality against health and the body (as also against life) is not only quantitatively less, but also qualitatively less serious than that of the rest of the population.

Note should further be taken of a fact which is rendered manifest by our last table: in *ex-Russian Poland*, the ratio of Jewish criminality for "slight injuries" (0.48 per 10,000 inhabitants) is even less than that for serious and very serious injuries among the non-Jewish population (2.2 and 0.60 per 10,000 inhabitants respectively).

Such facts, referring to populations living side by side in the same territory, seem to us deserving of the attention of criminologists and sociologists.

And perhaps also that of leaders of men—those who advocate hatred between "races." Perhaps also that of the peoples who are being led by these "leaders."

12. We will pause again on a third group of offences against persons, namely, those *against sexual morality and the family*.

For well-known reasons, only too comprehensible, we are now in a sphere in which statistics in general are very defective. They can hardly be regarded as having more than a symptomatic or representative value. It is from this point of view that we will examine Polish statistics on this kind of crime.

The information given in this table shows that offences against sexual morality and the family are also *much less frequent* among Jews than among the rest of the population. In Galicia these offences are 50% less numerous among Jews, in *ex-Russian Poland* about four times less frequent (27 per cent).

But there is one kind of crime which forms a striking exception to this rule: in *ex-Russian Poland* (there are no data for Galicia) *souteneurs* are *twice* as numerous among Jews as among non-Jews (0.41 per 10,000 among Jews against 0.18 among others). We find that 40 per cent of the Jews condemned for offences against sexual morality and the family were *souteneurs* (against barely 5 per cent among non-Jewish condemned persons).

To understand this blatant anomaly, we must first of all take into account the fact that this is a crime against persons which is at the same time a form of "traffic": it is easy to understand, therefore, that among the Jews, where merchants are 20 times more numerous than among the rest of the population (Section 6), a larger number of those offending against morality will associate business with their criminal activities. On the other hand, the "business" in question is generally concentrated in towns, especially

TABLE X  
JEWIS AND NON-JEWIS CONDEMNED FOR OFFENCES AGAINST SEXUAL MORALITY AND THE FAMILY, ACCORDING TO KIND OF OFFENCE (1924-1925)

	Ex-Russian Territory				Ex-Austrian Territory <sup>2</sup>			
	Unnatural sexual relations <sup>1</sup>		Souteneurs		Unnatural sexual relations <sup>1</sup>		Rape	
	Total	(52-53)	(54)	(57)	Total	(52-53)	(54)	(57)
Absolute number of condemned.....	{ Total 43 Non-Jews	290 6 284	203 2 201	265 3 262	1,185 61 1,124	193 8 185	167 12 155	73 1 72
Condemned per year and per 10,000 inhabitants.....	{ Among Jews 3.9 Among Non-Jews	1.0 1.07	0.05 0.76	0.07 1.00	4.1 8.2	0.54 1.34	0.81 1.13	0.07 0.52
Ratio of Jewish criminality in % of that of non-Jews.....	27	14	7	7	50	40	72	13
Of every 100 condemned for offences against morality and the family, there were.	{ Among Jews 100 Among Non-Jews	14.0 27.6	4.7 20.0	7.0 25.5	100 100	13.1 16.5	20.0 13.8	1.6 6.4

<sup>1</sup> The heading "Unnatural sexual relations" covers paederasty, sodomy, incest, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The heading "Souteneurs" is not to be found in the *Statistique Criminelle* for the ex-Austrian territory.

in large towns and their suburbs; and as the urban population is in the case of Jews four times larger than among non-Jews (74 per cent against 19), it is perhaps not so very surprising that there should be twice as many *souteneurs* among the Jews as among the non-Jews. Finally, we may add that the absolute numbers are very small: in all, 17 Jews and 48 non-Jews are condemned as *souteneurs* during the two years under review; it is possible, then, that chance local circumstances may have had a substantial influence.<sup>8</sup>

As to the other offences against sexual morality and the family, their frequency among the Jews, both in Galicia and in ex-Russian Poland appears to be extremely small in comparison with that of the rest of the population. As for *unnatural sexual relations*, in Galicia Jewish criminality is two-fifths (40 per cent) of that of the non-Jews and in ex-Russian Poland *one-seventh* only (14 per cent). Persons condemned for *rape* were *fourteen times less numerous* among the Jews than among others. Those condemned for *bigamy* were in Galicia *eight times* and in ex-Russian Poland again *fourteen times* more rare among the Jews than in the surrounding population (always, of course, for the same number of inhabitants).

*More Detailed Examination of the Chief Groups of Offences  
(Conclusion): Offences Against Property.*

13. It may have been thought that offences against property would be more numerous among Jews than among others on account of the specific occupational structure of the Jewish population, so very many being engaged in commerce. In reality, however, as we have already seen from Table V, the Jews only show a higher rate of criminality—and even then not a high one—in one of the three groups of offences against property; this being fraudulent practices. As for the two others, embezzlement and theft, Jewish criminality in these is much lower than that of the rest of the population.

We will linger somewhat on *theft*, for this group of crimes alone has a larger number of delinquents than all the other offences of every category put together, and this in both parts of the country. In ex-Russian Poland, there are twice as many persons con-

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<sup>8</sup> Of the 17 Jews condemned as *souteneurs*, 10 came from the department of Lodz alone, and 4 from that of Lublin; in the eight other departments of ex-Russian Poland, only 3 were condemned as *souteneurs* during the two years 1924-1925.

demned for theft as for all the offences of all the other categories put together. In fact, out of a total of 103,993 persons condemned in this part of the country during the two years 1924-1925, 68,425 were condemned for theft and 35,568 for the whole of the other offences.

We may draw the following conclusions:

a. Both among Jews and among the rest of the population the immense majority of those condemned for theft have been guilty of simple theft. But among the Jews this majority is not so outstanding as for the others (nearly three-quarters against about nine-tenths).

b. Recidivists, receivers and traders in stolen goods form a much larger proportion of Jewish thieves than of others (see the last two columns of our table). The composition of the mass of the thieves is therefore substantially different for Jews and non-Jews.

c. The ratio of criminality is however *not so high* among Jews as among others for *all kinds of theft* with barely a single exception; *i. e.*, for receiving and trafficking in stolen goods the Jews of the ex-Russian territory show a slightly higher ratio of criminality (10 per cent) than that of the rest of the population.

But traffic in stolen goods is usually a trader's crime. The exception, therefore, is only apparent. For although merchants are *twenty times* more numerous among Jews than among non-Jews, the general ratio of criminality for traffic in stolen goods among the Jews of ex-Russian Poland is only 10 per cent higher than for non-Jews. In Galicia it is actually 20 per cent lower among Jews than among others.<sup>9</sup>

For the other kinds of theft, we can draw the following conclusions:

a. The difference between Jewish and non-Jewish is least striking for *recurrent theft*. In ex-Russian Poland, this kind of

<sup>9</sup> In dealing with trading in stolen goods, we should, strictly speaking, reckon not the *general* ratio of criminality (*i. e.*, that in proportion to the *total* of the population) but its *specific* ratio in proportion to the population engaged in commerce. The comparison of *general* ratios of this criminality among Jews and non-Jews means as little as that of the general ratios of officials' crimes (also for the total population) in both cases. This is why we have not worked out in Table VII the Jewish criminality in % of that of non-Jews. Unfortunately, the lack of data as to the occupation of the delinquents prevents us from computing the specific occupational ratios for the various offences; this being so, we could not make an exception—it would have been almost pure conjecture—for the heading "receiving and trading in stolen goods." But although, as we have so few documents, any precise figure for the specific ratio of this criminality would be arbitrary, the mere fact of its being less frequent among commercial Jews would seem to support the statement made in our last paragraph.

TABLE XI

JEWS AND NON-JEWS CONDEMNED FOR THEFT, ACCORDING TO THE NATURE OF THE THEFT (1924-1925)

Ex-Russian Territory										Ex-Austrian Territory				
					Receiving & trad- ing in					Receiving & trad- ing in				
					Sacri- le- gious		Brig- and- stolen		Sacri- le- gious					
					Recur- rent		theft		Recur- rent		theft		theft	
					Simple		theft		Simple		theft		theft	
					(64)		(65)		(64)		(65)		(66)	
					(67)		(68)		(67)		(68)		(67)	
					(69)		(70)		(69)		(70)		(71)	
					(72)		(73)		(72)		(73)		(74)	
					(75)		(76)		(75)		(76)		(77)	
					(78)		(79)		(78)		(79)		(80)	
					(81)		(82)		(81)		(82)		(83)	
					(84)		(85)		(84)		(85)		(86)	
					(87)		(88)		(87)		(88)		(89)	
					(90)		(91)		(90)		(91)		(92)	
					(93)		(94)		(93)		(94)		(95)	
					(96)		(97)		(96)		(97)		(98)	
					(99)		(100)		(99)		(100)		(101)	
					(102)		(103)		(102)		(103)		(104)	
					(105)		(106)		(105)		(106)		(107)	
					(108)		(109)		(108)		(109)		(110)	
					(111)		(112)		(111)		(112)		(113)	
					(114)		(115)		(114)		(115)		(116)	
					(117)		(118)		(117)		(118)		(119)	
					(120)		(121)		(120)		(121)		(122)	
					(123)		(124)		(123)		(124)		(125)	
					(126)		(127)		(126)		(127)		(128)	
					(129)		(130)		(129)		(130)		(131)	
					(132)		(133)		(132)		(133)		(134)	
					(135)		(136)		(135)		(136)		(137)	
					(138)		(139)		(138)		(139)		(140)	
					(141)		(142)		(141)		(142)		(143)	
					(144)		(145)		(144)		(145)		(146)	
					(147)		(148)		(147)		(148)		(149)	
					(150)		(151)		(150)		(151)		(152)	
					(153)		(154)		(153)		(154)		(155)	
					(156)		(157)		(156)		(157)		(158)	
					(159)		(160)		(159)		(160)		(161)	
					(162)		(163)		(162)		(163)		(164)	
					(165)		(166)		(165)		(166)		(167)	
					(168)		(169)		(168)		(169)		(170)	
					(171)		(172)		(171)		(172)		(173)	
					(174)		(175)		(174)		(175)		(176)	
					(177)		(178)		(177)		(178)		(179)	
					(180)		(181)		(180)		(181)		(182)	
					(183)		(184)		(183)		(184)		(185)	
					(186)		(187)		(186)		(187)		(188)	
					(189)		(190)		(189)		(190)		(191)	
					(192)		(193)		(192)		(193)		(194)	
					(195)		(196)		(195)		(196)		(197)	
					(198)		(199)		(198)		(199)		(200)	
					(201)		(202)		(201)		(202)		(203)	
					(204)		(205)		(204)		(205)		(206)	
					(207)		(208)		(207)		(208)		(209)	
					(210)		(211)		(210)		(211)		(212)	
					(213)		(214)		(213)		(214)		(215)	
					(216)		(217)		(216)		(217)		(218)	
					(219)		(220)		(219)		(220)		(221)	
					(222)		(223)		(222)		(223)		(224)	
					(225)		(226)		(225)		(226)		(227)	
					(228)		(229)		(228)		(229)		(230)	
					(231)		(232)		(231)		(232)		(233)	
					(234)		(235)		(234)		(235)		(236)	
					(237)		(238)		(237)		(238)		(239)	
					(240)		(241)		(240)		(241)		(242)	
					(243)		(244)		(243)		(244)		(245)	
					(246)		(247)		(246)		(247)		(248)	
					(249)		(250)		(249)		(250)		(251)	
					(252)		(253)		(252)		(253)		(254)	
					(255)		(256)		(255)		(256)		(257)	
					(258)		(259)		(258)		(259)		(260)	
					(261)		(262)		(261)		(262)		(263)	
					(264)		(265)		(264)		(265)		(266)	
					(267)		(268)		(267)		(268)		(269)	
					(270)		(271)		(270)		(271)		(272)	
					(273)		(274)		(273)		(274)		(275)	
					(276)		(277)		(276)		(277)		(278)	
					(279)		(280)		(279)		(280)		(281)	
					(282)		(283)		(282)		(283)		(284)	
					(285)		(286)		(285)		(286)		(287)	
					(288)		(289)		(288)		(289)		(290)	
					(291)		(292)		(291)		(292)		(293)	
					(294)		(295)		(294)		(295)		(296)	
					(297)		(298)		(297)		(298)		(299)	
					(300)		(301)		(300)		(301)		(302)	
					(303)		(304)		(303)		(304)		(305)	
					(306)		(307)		(306)		(307)		(308)	
					(309)		(310)		(309)		(310)		(311)	
					(312)		(313)		(312)		(313)		(314)	
					(315)		(316)		(315)		(316)		(317)	
					(318)		(319)		(318)		(319)		(320)	
					(321)		(322)		(321)		(322)		(323)	
					(324)		(325)		(324)		(325)		(326)	
					(327)		(328)		(327)		(328)		(329)	
					(330)		(331)		(330)		(331)		(332)	
					(333)		(334)		(333)		(334)		(335)	
					(336)		(337)		(336)		(337)		(338)	
					(339)		(340)		(339)		(340)		(341)	
					(342)		(343)		(342)		(343)		(344)	
					(345)		(346)		(345)		(346)		(347)	
					(348)		(349)		(348)		(349)		(350)	
					(351)		(352)		(351)		(352)		(353)	
					(354)		(355)		(354)		(355)		(356)	
					(357)		(358)		(357)		(358)		(359)	
					(360)		(361)		(360)		(361)		(362)	
					(363)		(364)		(363)		(364)		(365)	
					(366)		(367)		(366)		(367)		(368)	
					(369)		(370)		(369)		(370)		(371)	
					(372)		(373)		(372)		(373)		(374)	
					(375)		(376)		(375)		(376)		(377)	
					(378)		(379)		(378)		(379)		(380)	
					(381)		(382)		(381)		(382)		(383)	
					(384)		(385)		(384)		(385)		(386)	
					(387)		(388)		(387)		(388)		(389)	
					(390)		(391)		(390)		(391)		(392)	
					(393)		(394)		(393)		(394)		(395)	
					(396)		(397)		(396)		(397)		(398)	
					(399)		(400)		(399)		(400)		(401)	
					(402)		(403)		(402)		(403)		(404)	
					(405)		(406)		(405)		(406)		(407)	
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criminality is only 14 per cent less among the Jews than among the rest of the population. In Galicia, however, it does not attain to a third of the non-Jewish criminality (30 per cent).

b. *Simple theft*, the crime which is so widespread both among Jews and non-Jews, is nevertheless *three to four times* (29 per cent) less among the Jews in the ex-Russian territory and *eight times* (13 per cent) in Galicia, than in the rest of the population.

c. *Brigandage* is very rare among Jews. This crime, in which violence is added to theft, is in ex-Russian Poland *four times* (26 per cent) and in Galicia *twenty-five times* (4 per cent) less among Jews than among the non-Jews.

d. *Sacrilegious theft* is in general very rare in Poland and among the Jews it is practically non-existent; during the two years under review, two Jews only were condemned for this crime in ex-Russian Poland (in Warsaw) and not a single one in Galicia.

Although to a lesser degree, therefore, we find the same feature in most of the offences against property as we have already found in respect of offences against persons—crime is several times more rare among Jews than among the rest of the population.