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INTERNATIONAL MIGRATIONS

VOLUME II

INTERPRETATIONS

By a
GROUP OF SCHOLARS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

EDITED ON BEHALF OF THE
NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH, INC.

By
WALTER F. WILLCOX

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Resolution Adopted Oct. 25, 1926.

PREFACE

The inquiry which has resulted in the publication of this and a preceding volume originated with the Social Science Research Council. That body, from the time of its establishment eight years ago, interested itself in migration as a field where research was much needed, and early set up a committee on the subject. The committee recommended that a statistical study of international migration, past and present, be organized, the Council approved the recommendation, secured the needed funds, and entrusted the execution of the project to the National Bureau of Economic Research, which enlisted the writer to undertake it.

The plan fell into two parts, the collection and publication of the official statistics of emigration and immigration, past and present, with a fullness and detail not previously attempted, and a critical interpretation of the migration statistics of those countries which have sent out or received the largest number of migrants in a series of studies prepared by persons who were especially familiar with these statistics and several of whom were connected with the office from which they emanated.

The execution of the first part of the plan was handed on to the International Labour Office at Geneva, which had established not long before a section on migration, because migration had become in the modern world largely a response to the requirements of the labor market. This section had entered upon the collection and publication of current international migration statistics, and was in constant and friendly contact with the migration offices of the world. It agreed to meet the wishes of the National Bureau of Economic Research and extend the statistical work back through earlier years to the beginning of continuous records in each country provided the cost of doing so was met. That arrangement was made and the results have recently been published.¹

For the second part of the plan, also, international coöperation was sought but in a different direction. The International Statistical Institute includes within the 32 countries from which its members are drawn many who are admirably qualified to comment upon the migration statistics of those countries. Before the World

¹*International Migrations, Vol. I, Statistics*, New York, 1929. (National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc. Publication No. 14.) 1112 p.

War and during its forty years of life the Institute had contributed perhaps as much as any other one agency to the extension and improvement of international migration statistics. It could not be asked to assume the responsibility for the second part, but it was invited to aid in the delicate task of finding and enlisting the best collaborators. This it graciously consented to do and at the Rome session in 1925 the General Assembly elected on nomination from the section on demography an advisory body of four, Professor Rodolfo Benini, Director Lucien March, Professor Coenraad Alexander Verrijn-Stuart and President Friedrich Zahn, to whom I am glad to express my hearty thanks for their help in the choice of collaborators. Assistance with the same problem was received also from the Japanese Embassy at Washington, from Honorable Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, recently the Chinese Minister at Washington,¹ from E. D. Durand and Louis Domeratsky of the Department of Commerce, from the late Sir Henry Rew in connection with the chapter on Ireland, and from Assistant Secretary A. W. Flux in connection with that on England.

Several of the contributors prepared not a little material dealing with the history of international migration before continuous statistical records began. The editor found that to include these pages would swell the volume unduly and felt obliged to omit them. His main difficulties indeed lay in reducing several of the chapters, which had grown beyond the limit suggested in the preliminary correspondence, and in recasting the translation of several which were submitted in some other language than English.

Those who have tried to establish a long series of comparable figures for immigration or emigration, year by year, as the editor has had to do, will realize that the problem is difficult if not insoluble. In most cases they have been rounded to the nearest thousand, and in many only the ratios or per cents are printed. In all instances of either sort, a reference to an accessible source, often Volume I of this work, makes it easy to find the extended or omitted figures. Those given in different parts of the present volume do not always agree exactly. Where the editor has been able to satisfy himself which figure is more accurate, he has adopted it. No preference has been given to official figures *qua* official. But in a number of cases

¹Unfortunately, the illness first of one and later of another Chinese scholar from whom a discussion of Chinese emigration had been sought has resulted in the omission of that chapter. The editor may refer to Ta Chen, *Chinese Migrations* (1923), published by the Department of Labor at Washington as a valuable contribution to this difficult subject.

the discrepancy has been left to stand, because both of the writers who disagree are believed to be better authorities than the editor about the point at issue, and both probably relied on official figures. These minor differences do not affect any important results.

The delay in the appearance of the present volume may have affected the accuracy of certain statements which were correct when written but have now ceased to be so. In one or two cases it has been possible for the authors, nearly all of whom were given that opportunity, to bring their figures up to date.

The ambiguous word "American" has been used often to mean "relating to the United States," and sometimes to mean "relating to the Western Hemisphere." The context will make it easy to decide in which sense it is meant.

It is a pleasure to express my deep indebtedness to the officers of the National Bureau of Economic Research, and especially to its Secretary, G. R. Stahl, for their very hearty coöperation in the protracted enterprise. Dr. Cleveland Abbe's familiarity with a multitude of publication questions has allowed the editor to shift to his shoulders many burdensome details of both volumes, and even to leave the country in care-free mood while the present volume was going through the press.

WALTER F. WILLCOX.

Ithaca, N. Y.
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE, by Walter F. Willcox	9
INTRODUCTION, by Walter F. Willcox	29

PART I: POPULATION OF THE EARTH

CHAPTER

I Increase in the Population of the Earth and of the Continents Since 1650, by Walter F. Willcox	33
--	----

PART II: STUDIES OF NATIONAL IMMIGRATION CURRENTS

II Immigration into the United States, by Walter F. Willcox	85
III Canada, by R. H. Coats	123
IV Argentina, by Alejandro E. Bunge and Carlos Garcia Mata	143
V Brazil, by Douglas O. Naylor	161
VI Australia—Its Immigrant Population, by E. T. McPhee	169
VII New Zealand—External Migration, by D. J. Cruickshank	179
VIII Migratory Movements between France and Foreign Lands, by Henri Bunle	201

PART III: STUDIES OF NATIONAL EMIGRATION CURRENTS

IX Emigration from Great Britain, by C. E. Snow	239
X Irish Emigration, by D. A. E. Harkness	261
XI Migration Statistics of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, by Adolph Jensen	283
XII Migration across the Frontiers of Germany, by F. Burgdörfer	313
XIII Austria, by Felix Klezl	390
XIV Hungarian Migration of Modern Times, by Gustav Thirring	411
XV Italian Migration Movements from 1876 to 1926, by Dr. Anna Maria Ratti	440
XVI International Migration of the Jews, by Liebmann Hersch	471
XVII Emigration from and Immigration into Russia, by V. V. Obolensky-Ossinsky	521
XVIII Critique of the Official Statistics of Mexican Migration to and from the United States, by Paul S. Taylor	581
XIX Indian Migration, by G. Findlay Shirras	591
XX International Migration of the Japanese, by Yamato Ichihashi	617

APPENDICES

APPENDIX

I Previous Estimates of the World's Population	639
II Critique of Official United States Immigration Statistics, by Marian Rubins Davis	645

BIBLIOGRAPHY	661
------------------------	-----

INDEX	675
-----------------	-----

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1 Estimated Population of China by Provinces (In Millions).....	41
2 Post-War Estimates of the Population of the Earth with Figures for China Revised (In Millions).....	42
3 Present Population of the Earth and the Continents (In Millions).....	43
4 Riccioli's Estimate of the Population of Europe in the Seventeenth Century (In Millions).....	46
5 Vossius' Estimate of the Population of Europe in the Seventeenth Century.	47
6 King's Estimate of the Population of the Earth in the Seventeenth Century.	48
7 Beloch's Estimate of the Population of Europe in the Seventeenth Century.	50
8 Estimated Indian Population North of Mexico before the Whites Arrived.	55
9 Estimated Population of South America in the Seventeenth Century....	62
10 Estimated Population of the Western Hemisphere in the Seventeenth Century (In Thousands).....	62
11 Estimated Population of the Earth in the Seventeenth Century (In Millions)	63
12 Estimated Population of North America, 1750 (In Thousands).....	70
13 Estimated Population of the Western Hemisphere about 1850 (In Thousands).....	77
14 Estimated Population of the Earth and the Continents, 1650-1929 (In Millions).....	78
15 Immigration into the United States and Its Increase or Decrease by Ten-Year Periods, 1820-1930. (In Thousands).....	87
16 Immigrants, Total Aliens Admitted and Departed, Net Migratory Increase and Its Ratio to Immigrants Admitted, 1908-1930 (In Thousands)....	88
17 Reported Total Immigration and Estimated Net Immigration into the United States by Decades, 1820-1930. (In Thousands).....	89
18 Sex Distribution of Foreign-Born Whites and of Immigrants, 1850-1920....	90
19 Rates of Decennial Increase in the Population of the United States.....	94
20 Amount and Per Cent of Increase in the Population of the United States due to Extension of Area of Enumeration, 1790-1900.....	97
21 Population Enumerated on Identical Areas of the United States at successive censuses, 1790-1930. (In Thousands).....	97
22 Rate of Annual Increase per 10,000 People on Identical Areas, 1790-1930..	98
23 Annual Rate of Increase per 10,000 among Whites in the North and South, 1790-1920.....	100
24 Rate of Annual Increase of Population in Districts with Unchanged Boundaries per 10,000 Initial Population, 1790-1860.....	102
25 Net Immigration of Aliens and Emigration of Citizens Compared, 1918-30.	104
26 Per Cent Distribution of Emigrants, Native and Naturalized, by Age, 1929.	105
27 Natives and Citizens of the United States Residing in Specified Foreign Countries, 1917-29.....	107
28 Proportion of Foreign-Born Whites in Urban and in Rural Population, 1900, 1910 and 1920.....	108
29 Proportion of Foreign-Born Whites in Urban and in Rural Population, 1920.	110

LIST OF TABLES

17

TABLE	PAGE
30 Per cent of Foreign-Born Whites in the Urban and the Rural Population of North and West, 1920.....	110
31 Per cent of Males among Immigrants, Classified by Race or People, and its Decrease: 1907 to 1930.....	112
32 Number and Proportion of Married Men and Married Women Among Immigrants, 1910 and 1930.....	113
33 Classification of Immigrants by Age, at Ten-Year Intervals, 1820-1930....	114
34 Foreign Born Distributed by Number of Years in United States.....	115
35 Foreign-Born Whites Classified by Mother Tongue, 1910 and 1920 (In Thousands).....	116
36 Number and Per Cent of Foreign-Born Whites 10 Years of Age and Over Classified by Ability to Speak English, 1910 and 1920 (In Thousands)..	117
37 Ability to Speak English Compared With Length of Residence in the United States, 1900, 1910 and 1920 (In Thousands).....	118
38 Per Cent Illiterate Among Foreign-Born White 10 Years of Age or Over, and Adult Immigrants.....	119
39 Illiterates per Thousand White Children 10 to 14 years of Age by Nativity Classes.....	120
40 Illiterates per 1,000 Children 10-14 Years of Age, 1920.....	121
41 Immigrant Arrivals Through Quebec and Montreal and Increase in Population of Upper Canada Compared, 1832-71 (In Thousands).....	124
42 Canada's Population Balance, 1861-1921.....	130
43 Immigration and Increase of Persons Born Outside of Canada, Compared by Decades, 1851-1921.....	131
44 Canadian-Born in the United States, 1850-1920 (In Thousands).....	133
45 Origins of the People according to the Censuses of 1871, 1881, 1901, 1911 and 1921.....	134
46 Per Cent which the People of Each Racial Origin form of the Total Population, 1871, 1881, 1901, 1911 and 1921.....	135
47 Foreign-Born Arrivals in Argentina, Classified by Intention as to Travel, During 1926.....	144
48 Migration by River of Natives of Countries Adjacent to Argentina, 1921-24 (In Thousands).....	146
49 Migration by River of Natives of non-South American Countries, With Regard to Argentina, 1921-24 (In Thousands).....	146
50 Overseas Immigrants and Emigrants, and Balance, by Decades, 1857-1926 (In Thousands).....	147
51 Argentine Migration and Net Immigration, 1925 and 1926.....	152
52 Overseas Immigrants by Nationality, Number in Thousands and Per Cent, 1857-1926.....	153
53 Overseas Immigrants, by Sex: Number and Per Cent, for Decades, 1857-1926 (Number in Thousands).....	155
54 Overseas Immigrants by Marital Condition, Number by Decades, 1857-1926 (In Thousands).....	156
55 Immigrants Maintained by the State, Number and Per Cent of all Immigrants, by Decades, 1857-1926. (Number in Thousands).....	156
56 Overseas Immigrants by Occupations, Number and Per Cent, 1857-1926. (Number in Thousands).....	158

TABLE	PAGE
57 Immigration Into Brazil by Peoples, 1925 and 1926, and 1820-1926.....	164
58 Population of Australia in 1921 as Enumerated and as Estimated from Census of 1911, and Births, Deaths, Immigrants and Emigrants, 1911-1921.	170
59 Overseas Arrivals from Places beyond Australia, Annually by States and Sex, 1901-1926.....	171
60 Per Cent Distribution of Population not born in Australia, by Place of Birth, 1921.....	173
61 Per Cent Distribution of Population not born in Australia, Classified by Decade of Arrival and Country of Birth, 1921.....	174
62 Country of Birth of Parents of Australian-Born Children having Foreign-Born Fathers, 1925.....	175
63 Per cent of Certain Stocks in Australia, Resident in Rural Districts by Birth and Sex. (Census of April 4, 1921).....	177
64 Immigrant Arrivals, Gross and Net, Compared with Number of Residents not Born in New Zealand Reported as Arriving in Specified Period by Quinquennia 1885-1919 (In Thousands).....	183
65 Numbers of Free or Reduced Passages to New Zealand; 1922-24.....	186
66 Age and Sex Distribution of Adult Immigrants (15 and over) to New Zealand, April 1921-December, 1924.....	189
67 Four Estimates of Average Annual French Emigration, 1854-1890.....	205
68 Average Annual French Immigration Into Certain Foreign Countries, by Decades, 1851-1925 (Foreign Statistics).....	205
69 Average Annual Number of French Emigrants, by Decades, 1851-1925 (In Thousands).....	207
70 Immigration, Gross and Net, of French into Certain Countries, 1901-1924.....	208
71 Per Cent Distribution of French Overseas Emigration, 1870-1890.....	209
72 Proportion of French Emigrants Overseas, to Colonies, etc., by Decades, 1851-1925.....	210
73 Per Cent Distribution by Sex of French Emigrants, 1857-1910.....	214
74 Distribution by Age of Recorded French Immigration, 1857-1890 (French Statistics; in Thousands).....	214
75 Per Cent Distribution of Overseas Emigrants by Occupation (French Statistics).....	215
76 Per Cent Distribution of Immigrants from France into the United States by Occupation (United States Statistics).....	215
77 Foreigners Settled in France at each Census, 1851-1911, (In Thousands).....	219
78 Computation of Net Immigration into France, 1851-1911 (In Thousands).....	220
79 Estimated Immigration into France, based on Belgian Emigration to France, 1851-1911 (In Thousands).....	221
80 Average Annual Immigration into France from Certain Foreign Countries, 1876-1910 (In Thousands).....	222
81 Numbers and Proportions of Aliens in France at Different Censuses, by Peoples, 1851-1911.....	223
82 Numbers of Certain Alien Immigrants Entering France, 1920-25 (In Thousands).....	226
83 Total Number of White Laborers Introduced into France, 1914-1920.....	227
84 Effectives of the Allies and Germans Prisoners in France (In Thousands).....	228
85 Laborers Brought in and Repatriated, 1921-1926. (In Thousands).....	229

LIST OF TABLES

19

TABLE	PAGE
86 Increase in Number of Aliens, by Peoples, 1911-21 (In Thousands and Per Cents).....	231
87 Immigrants Established in France, by Peoples, 1920-25 (In Thousands and Per Cents).....	232
88 Employment of Alien Laborers by Occupation, 1923-26 (In Thousands and Per Cents).....	233
89 Results of Inquiries into Output Efficiency, by Peoples.....	234
90 Average Annual Increase in Population, 1851-1926 (In Thousands).....	235
91 Conversion of Arable Land to Pasture in England and Wales, 1871-1900 (In Thousands of Acres).....	241
92 Population and Average Annual Number of Emigrants in Thousands, with Emigrants per 10,000 Population, 1853-1910.....	244
93 Estimated Number of Irish Emigrants from the United Kingdom, to Various Destinations, 1841-55. (Thousands and Per Cent of Totals).....	265
94 Number and Per Cent of Inhabited Houses, by Classes, 1841 and 1851....	268
95 Number of Holdings of Specified Size (In Thousands).....	268
96 Economic Well-being in Ireland Compared, 1841 and 1851.....	269
97 Amount and Rate of Change in the Population of Ireland, 1821-1926 (In Thousands and Per cents).....	274
98 Emigrants from Ireland, by Sex, 1851-1855 (In Thousands).....	275
99 Number of Agricultural and General Laborers, Classified by Sex, for Census Years, 1871-1911 (In Thousands).....	281
100 Per Cent of British-Born in Population of Ireland 1841-1911.....	282
101 Balance of Population, 1801-1925. (In Thousands).....	287
102 Scandinavian Emigrants for Quinquennial Periods, 1841-1925 (In Thousands)	289
103 Average Annual Emigration to Non-European Countries, Per 100,000 of the Population, 1841-1925.....	290
104 Scandinavian Emigration and Economic Conditions.....	296
105 Emigration to the United States Expressed in Per Cent of Total Emigration to non-European Countries.....	297
106 Scandinavian Immigrants into United States and Quotas for Each Country, 1922-1926.....	298
107 Percentage Distribution of Emigrants to Overseas Countries.....	299
108 Per Cent of Male Emigrants in Total Emigration, 1871-1925.....	300
109 Per Cent of Children under 15 Years Among Overseas Emigrants, 1866-1925	302
110 Per Cent Distribution, by Age and Sex, of Emigrants from Norway to Overseas Countries.....	302
111 Per Cent Distribution of Emigrants from Norway and Sweden by Marital Condition.....	304
112 Number of Emigrant Children per Hundred Emigrant Married Women, 1851-1925.....	305
113 Per Cent Distribution of Emigrants by Occupation, 1891-1925.....	306
114 Number of Immigrants, by Quinquennia; 1876-1925 (In Thousands).....	307
115 Number of Foreign-born Inhabitants of Scandinavia, 1865-1921 (In Thousands).....	308
116 Immigration into Sweden from the United States, and Emigration Thereto, 1881-1925 (In Thousands).....	309
117 Average Annual Emigration Balance per 100,000 Inhabitants, 1861-1925..	310

TABLE	PAGE
118 Swedish Mortality and Migration at Certain Ages (Per 100,000).....	312
119 Population and Rate of Annual Increase in Pre-War Germany, 1840-1910 (In Thousands).....	315
120 Estimated Balance between Emigration and Immigration for Pre-War Ger- many, 1841-1910 (In Thousands).....	316
121 Migration Balance for Post-War Germany, 1910-1925 (In Thousands)....	320
122 Comparison of Net Balance in Total Migration and in Overseas Migration for Pre-War Germany, 1871-1910 (In Thousands).....	323
123 German Emigration Through German and Foreign Ports, 1846-51 (In Thousands).....	326
124 Estimated Amount and Rate of German Emigration Overseas Annually: 1820-70.....	333
125 Comparison of Computed and Recorded German Emigration, 1841-70....	334
126 German Overseas Emigration Rate per 100,000 Inhabitants: 1871-1928....	335
127 German Emigration to the United States and American Immigration Statis- tics Compared, 1871-1928.....	336
128 German Emigration and Brazilian Immigration Statistics Compared, 1871- 1928.....	339
129 German Emigration and Argentinian Immigration Statistics Compared, 1871-1928.....	340
130 Numbers of German Applications to National Emigration Bureau, 1910-27....	346
131 Percentage of Total Emigration by Provinces, 1844-71.....	348
132 Average Annual Emigration Rate per 100,000 Population from the Several Districts of Germany: 1871-1926.....	349
133 Loss by Migration and Excess of Births, 1840-1910 (In Thousands and Per Cents).....	351
134 Residents, 1907, of Westphalia, Rhine Province and Berlin-Brandenburg, According to Birthplace, (In Thousands).....	352
135 Number of German Overseas Emigrants and Proportion going to United States, 1820-1926 (In Thousands).....	353
136 German Migrants to Brazil, 1871-1928.....	355
137 German Migrants to Argentina, 1871-1928.....	356
138 German Emigrants According to Sex, 1871-1928 (Per Cent).....	357
139 Distribution of all German Emigrants and of each Sex into Large Age Groups: 1884-1926.....	358
140 Per Cent of German Emigrants in Family Groups and Singly, 1881-1926....	360
141 Number of Families and of Members of Families Emigrating 1924-26.....	360
142 Annual Average Per Cent of Males and Females Among Overseas Emigrants, Families and Single Persons, 1881-1928.....	361
143 Annual Average Per Cents of Single and Married Males and Females Traveling in Families, 1889-1926.....	361
144 Annual Average Per Cents of Single and Married Males and Females Travel- ing Alone, 1899-1926.....	362
145 Per Cent Distribution of all Emigrants, by Sex and Marital Condition, 1899- 1926.....	362
146 Calculation of the Capital Value of German Emigrants in the Decade 1881-90	369
147 Calculation of Total Capital Loss to Germany, by Overseas Emigration, 1820-1926 (Millions of Marks).....	370

LIST OF TABLES

21

TABLE	PAGE
148 Annual Numbers of Incoming Travelers, at Hamburg, Bremen, and Emden, by Classes, 1904-26	372
149 Age Distribution of Travelers Arriving at Hamburg, 1926	374
150 Age Distribution of Travelers Arriving at Bremen from the Americas, 1926	374
151 Estimated Gain or Loss of Population, by Germany, from "Other" Migration, 1871-1910 (In Thousands)	376
152 Alien Migratory Laborers Entering Germany and Receiving Identification Cards Annually, 1909-26 (In Thousands)	379
153 Average Number of Identification Cards Issued by the <i>Deutsche Arbeiterzentrale</i> to Foreigners of Alien and of German Descent, 1910-18 (In Thousands)	380
154 Identification Cards Issued to Foreigners of Alien and German Descent, 1922-26 (In Thousands)	381
155 Number of Germans Residing in Certain Foreign Countries in the Year Stated	382
156 Numbers and Per Cent of Foreign-Born Whites, and of their Children in the United States having German or a Germanic Mother-Tongue, 1910 and 1920	384
157 Total and German Immigration to the United States 1821-1925 (U. S. Statistics), (In Thousands)	385
158 Distribution of German-speaking Germans, by Continents in 1925 (Winkler) (In Thousands)	386
159 Number of Aliens in Germany, Classified by Country of Citizenship, 1871-1910 (In Thousands)	387
160 Number of Foreign Citizens Residing Within the Boundaries of Germany on June 16, 1925, by Nationality	389
161 Population of Austria Classified by Race or People: 1910	391
162 Emigration from Austria to the United States, 1876-1910 (In Thousands)	396
163 Austrian Emigration According to Austrian Statistics, 1846-1913	398
164 Austrian Overseas Emigrants Classified by Country of Destination: 1876-1910	399
165 Austria-Hungary's Balance Sheet of Emigration, in Thousands of Crowns, 1903-1910	405
166 Austria's Losses by Emigration, 1881-1910 (In Thousands)	407
167 Austria's Repatriates Annually from North America, 1903-1907	409
168 Summary of Hungary's Total Emigration, 1899-1913 (In Thousands)	416
169 Hungarian Overseas Emigration by Ports of Embarkation for Quinquennial Periods, 1871-1913	418
170 Hungarian Overseas Emigration Through German Ports and Into American Countries, Classified by Destination for Quinquennial Periods, 1861-1913	420
171 Hungarian Overseas Emigration Annually to America and to Other Continents: 1899-1913. (Hungarian Statistics)	421
172 Proportion of Females in Emigration from Hungary to the United States, 1871-1913	421
173 Proportion of Hungarian Immigrants of Productive Age Entering the United States, by Sex, 1873-1893	422
174 Proportions of Emigrants to the United States (Hungarian Data), by Age-Classes, 1905-07 and 1911-13	423

TABLE	PAGE
175 Immigrants from Hungary to the United States Classified by Linguistic Stock: 1898-1913. (In Thousands).....	424
176 Emigrants from Hungary to the United States Classified by Linguistic Stock: 1905-13.....	425
177 Annual Emigration Rates of Hungarians Classified by Linguistic Stocks: 1905-13.....	426
178 Emigrants from Hungary to Other European Countries, 1899-1913 (In Thousands).....	430
179 Emigrants from Hungary by Countries of Destination, 1899-1913 (In Thousands).....	431
180 Continental Emigrants from Hungary, According to Age and Destination, 1905-7 and 1911-13. (Per Cents).....	432
181 Emigrants From Hungary by Peoples and Destinations, 1910-13.....	432
182 Hungarian Immigrants to America by Countries, 1914-24. (In Thousands).....	434
183 Emigration From and Repatriation to Hungary (Hungarian Figures), 1921-26.....	435
184 Hungarian Statistics of Repatriations, 1899-1913.....	436
185 Repatriations to Hungary According to Country of Last Residence, 1899-1913.....	437
186 The Balance of Hungarian Migrations, 1899-1913.....	438
187 Rate of Italian Emigration by Individual Districts.....	446
188 European Destinations of Italian Emigration (Per 100 Emigrants from the entire Kingdom).....	448
189 Mean Per Cent of Females Among Emigrants from Various Districts, 1916-26.....	453
190 Overseas Emigrants According to Working Capacity and Sex, 1916-26.....	454
191 Emigrants Classified According to Occupations (By Sex), 1878-1926. (In Per Cents).....	456
192 Variations in Per Cent of Certain Italian Emigrant Categories, By Destinations, 1915-26.....	457
193 Per Cent of Cabin Passengers Among Total Overseas Italian Travelers.....	459
194 Italians Residing Abroad for Specified Years, 1871-1926. (In Thousands).....	461
195 Proportion of Repatriates from the Respective Countries of Immigration. (Per Cent of all repatriates).....	462
196 Repatriates Per 100 Emigrants to Each Country.....	463
197 Total Remittances Through Bank of Naples, for Certain Years.....	467
198 Remittances to Italy by International Postal Money Orders.....	468
199 Italian Postal Savings Deposits, Withdrawals and Balances Held by Non-Resident Italians (Thousands of Lire).....	469
200 Total Immigration and Jewish Immigration, Into the United States, 1899-1924. (In Thousands).....	474
201 Average Annual Number of Jewish Immigrants Into the United States at Different Periods, 1899-1924. (In Thousands).....	474
202 Total Jewish Immigrants Into and Emigrants from the United States, 1908-24. (In Thousands).....	477
203 Immigration and Repatriation of Different Peoples With Respect to the United States, 1908-24. (In Thousands).....	477

LIST OF TABLES

23

TABLE	PAGE
204 Jewish Immigrants into the United States According to Country of Last Residence, 1899-1924. (In Thousands).....	479
205 Amount and Rate of Jewish Emigration from the Russian Empire, Austria-Hungary, and Rumania, 1899-1914.....	481
206 Jewish Immigration and Total Immigration into the United States According to Sex, 1899-1924. (In Thousands).....	483
207 Immigration of Different European Peoples into the United States According to Sex, 1899-1914. (In Thousands).....	484
208 Jewish Immigration and Total Immigration into the United States According to Age, 1899-1914 and 1921-24. (In Thousands).....	485
209 Immigrants of Different European Peoples into the United States According to Age, 1899-1914. (In Thousands).....	486
210 Persons With Occupation and Persons With no Occupation in Jewish Immigration and in Total Immigration of the United States, in Thousands and Per Cents, 1899-1924.....	488
211 European Immigrants into the United States, Classed as Breadwinners or Unoccupied, 1899-1914 (In Thousands).....	489
212 Numbers of Jewish and Other Immigrants into the United States, Grouped Under the Three Main Occupational Headings of the United States Classification, 1899-1924. (In Thousands).....	490
213 Number of Occupied Europeans Entering the United States, Classed by Race or Peoples and by Occupation, 1899-1914. (In Thousands and Per Cents).....	491
214 Total Immigration and Jewish Immigration into the United States, Classified by Large Occupational Groups, 1899-1924. (In Thousands and Per Cents).....	495
215 Immigrants into the United States, Classified by Race or People and Large Occupational Groups, 1899-1914. (In Thousands and Per Cents)....	498
216 Per Cent of Immigrant Breadwinners of Various Peoples in "Agriculture" and "General Labor-Domestic Service" Groups.....	500
217 Jewish Immigrants into the United States Classified by Industrial Groups, 1899-1914. (Thousands and Per Cents).....	501
218 Jews and Non-Jews in Industry, Particularly the Clothing Industry, Among Immigrants to the United States, 1899-1914. (Thousands and Per Cents).....	503
219 Occupations to Which Jewish Immigrants into the United States Contributed More Breadwinners than any other Stock, 1899-1914. (In Thousands).....	504
220 Total Immigration and Jewish Immigration by Sea into Canada, 1900-1901 to 1924-25. (In Thousands and Per Cent).....	507
221 Immigration of Russian and Polish Jews into Canada, 1920-24. (In Thousands and Per Cent).....	508
222 Total Immigration and Jewish Immigration into Argentina, 1904-1924. (Statistics of the Jewish Colonization Association.).....	510
223 Jewish Immigrants into the Union of South Africa During 1924, According to Nativity.....	511
224 Jewish Emigrants from Russia, 1905-10. (Statistics of the Palestine Committee, Odessa).....	513

TABLE	PAGE
225 Jewish Migration into and out of Palestine, 1922-27.	514
226 Annual Excess of Births over Deaths in Palestine, 1923-1926.	518
227 Emigration of Russians, 1828-1915. (In Thousands).....	523
228 Russian Immigration to the United States, 1901-10. (In Thousands)...	524
229 Net Russian Immigration to Canada, 1901-10. (In Thousands).....	525
230 Net Russian Immigration by Countries of Destination, 1901-10. (In Thousands).....	526
231 Net Russian Immigration by Countries of Destination, 1891-1900. (In Thousands).....	526
232 Decennial Emigration from Russia Classified by Country of Destination, 1891-1910. (In Thousands).....	527
233 Ratio of Russians Settling in the United States to Net Russian Emigration by Decades, 1861-1915. (In Thousands).....	528
234 Immigrants from Russia into the United States Classified by Linguistic Groups, for Quinquennial Periods, 1899-1913. (In Thousands).....	529
235 Immigrants from Russia into Canada, Classified by Linguistic Groups, for Quinquennial Periods, 1900-1913. (In Thousands).....	530
236 Russian Immigration into the United States and Canada, Classified by Linguistic Groups, 1908-13. (In Thousands).....	530
237 Number and Per Cent of non-Hebrew Emigrants from Poland, 1893-1903. (In Thousands).....	534
238 Area of Land Holdings in Poland, According to Ownership in 1887 and 1907.	536
239 Peasant Holdings Classified by Size, 1870 and 1899. (In Thousands)....	536
240 Number of Polish Emigrants and Temporary Workers Departing for America, 1904 and 1908. (In Thousands).....	537
241 Distribution of Hebrews by Religion, 1897. (In Thousands).....	540
242 Per Cent Distribution of Hebrews and Great Russians, by Occupation, 1897.	541
243 Proportion of Hebrew Emigration from the Regions of Western Russia (Compare Diagram 18).....	544
244 Number of Applications to Hebrew Emigration Society and Jewish Coloni- zation Society, and Per Cent Distribution by Regions, 1901-13.	545
245 Russian Immigrants into the United States and Canada, 1900-13. (In Thousands).....	548
246 Number of Russian Farm Laborers Immigrating into the United States and Per Cent of all Russian Immigrants, 1899-1913.	550
247 Wages of a Day-Laborer With Board in Time of Harvest (In Kopecks)....	551
248 Distribution by Provinces, of non-Urban Germans, in 1897. (In Thou- sands).....	552
249 Population of Asiatic Russia by Districts, 1797-1926. (In Thousands).....	555
250 Russian Registered Migrants Settling in Asiatic Russia, 1801-1914. (In Thousands).....	556
251 Number and Proportion of Peasant Migrants, 1896-1914. (Balance between outgoing and returning migrants). (In Thousands).....	558
252 Migration of Married Peasants by Destination, 1896-1914. (In Thousands).	559
253 Percentage of Married Migrants Beyond the Urals by Districts of Origin for Quinquennial Periods: 1885-1914.	561
254 Departure of Russians and Arrival of Foreigners, 1828-1915. (In Thou- sands).....	566

LIST OF TABLES

25

TABLE	PAGE
255 Net Immigration of Foreigners into Russia, 1828-1915. (In Thousands)...	566
256 Foreigners Settling in Russia, by Country of Origin, 1828-1915. (In Thousands and Per Cent).....	568
257 Immigration into Russia from the Five Leading Countries, by Decades, 1828-1915. (In Thousands).....	569
258 Migration Across Russian Frontiers and Net Balance, 1913-15. (In Thousands).....	570
259 Movement of Soviet Russians Across their Frontiers, 1921-26.....	571
260 Movement of Foreigners Across Soviet Frontiers, 1921-26.....	572
261 Arrivals and Departures of Foreigners and Net Balance by Countries, 1924-1926.....	573
262 Foreigners Within the Present Limits of Soviet Russia, 1897 and 1926....	574
263 Peasant-Settlers in Siberia and the Far East, 1918-27. (In Thousands)...	575
264 Per Cent Distribution of Migrants from European into Asiatic Russia, by District of Origin, 1918-26.....	576
265 Number of Migrants from European into Asiatic Russia, and Per Cent Distribution by District of Settlement, 1918-27.....	576
266 Racial Composition of the Population of Mexico in the Early Nineteenth Century.....	582
267 Racial Composition of the Native Population of Mexico, 1921.....	582
268 American and Mexican Official Statistics of the Migration of Mexicans to and from the United States, 1910 to 1929.....	584
269 Asiatic Indians Resident Abroad in 1921, or in Later Years. (In Thousands).....	592
270 Emigrants from Japan by Destinations, 1885-1924.....	621

APPENDIX I.

I. Estimates of the Population of the Earth and of the Continents, made between A.D. 1650 and 1850 (In Millions).....	640
II. Estimates, Arranged Chronologically, of the Population of the Earth and of the Continents, based upon O. Hübner's <i>Geographisch-statistische Tabellen</i> Supplemented by Other Sources, 1851-1930, (In Millions)....	643

APPENDIX II.

III. Number of Alien Passengers Arriving in the United States, 1826-1866, as Recorded in Congressional Documents and in State Department Reports.....	646
IV. Classification of Non-immigrant Aliens.....	656
V. Official and "Consistent" Immigration Totals for the United States, 1892-1927.....	657
VI. State Department Reports Containing Immigration Statistics, 1820-1870.	658

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

DIAGRAM	PAGE
1 Population Areas of South America in the 17th Century (Schmieder).....	59
2 Contemporary Estimates and Present Estimates of the Population of the Earth at various dates between 1650 and 1929	79
3 Contemporary Estimates of the Populations of the Continents, after Hübner, 1851-1927	81
4 Census Bureau Rates of Decennial Increase of Population in the United States, 1790-1930.....	95
5 Rate of Annual Increase per 10,000 People, on Identical Enumeration Areas in the United States, 1790-1930.....	99
6 Rates of Annual Increase of Population in four Areas of the United States, with unchanged boundaries, 1790-1860.....	101
7 Map of the United States showing States having at least 10 Per Cent of their Population Foreign Born or Negro in 1920.....	109
8 Immigration into Argentina, classified by Nationalities, 1857-1926.....	153
9 Immigrants into Argentina, classified by Marital Condition, 1857-1926.....	157
10 Immigrants into Argentina, classified by Occupations, 1857-1926.....	159
11 German Overseas Emigration compared with German Immigration into the United States, 1820-1926.....	338
12 Annual Immigration into the United States, Total and Jewish, 1899-1924.	476
13 Immigrants into the United States, classified by People and Occupational Groups, 1899-1914.....	492
14 Industrially occupied Immigrants into the United States, classified by Peoples, 1899-1914.....	499
15 Jewish Immigrants into the United States, classified by occupations, 1899-1914.....	502
16 Rates of Emigration from the Provinces of Finland, per 10,000 inhabitants, 1909-1913.....	532
17 Rates of Emigration from the Provinces of Poland, per 10,000 inhabitants, 1890-1904.....	538
18 Provinces of the Hebrew Pale.....	539
19 "Black-earth" and other Provinces of pre-Revolutionary Russia.....	549
20 Physical Divisions of Asiatic Russia.....	554
21 Russian Provinces whence emigrants went to Siberia.....	560
22 Types of Migration from Russia, just preceding the War.....	564

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATIONS

VOLUME II

INTERPRETATIONS

INTRODUCTION

By

WALTER F. WILLCOX

The voyages of discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries closed what has been called the inland sea period and opened the oceanic period of history. In so doing they opened the modern migratory epoch in which we live. Man had always, to be sure, been a migratory animal, but in earlier centuries his migrations moved mainly overland or across land-locked seas. Such were those which invaded the moribund Roman Empire and contributed to its downfall or spread Hebrews, Arabs or Turks over Europe and northern Africa.

The potamic and thalassic periods of history might also be called the time of human divergence. Then the habitat of man, like that of other land animals, was broken into a few areas separated by oceans or by mountain ranges and deserts almost as pathless. Behind these barriers varieties or races of men, as of other terrestrial mammals, gradually developed and within each area minor differences, physical, linguistic or cultural, arose. If one compares a map of the zoo-geographical regions of the earth with one showing the habitat of the main races of mankind he must be struck with their resemblances and will, perhaps, infer therefrom that the conditions affecting the distribution and the divergence of other mammalian families have influenced also those of the one mammalian family *Homo sapiens*.

The oceanic period or modern migratory epoch has been characterized, unlike its predecessors, by changes of residence occurring increasingly and at last predominantly over the water. Oceans had been barriers; gradually they became highways. The early migrants in this period were mainly Europeans; later Africans and Asiatics swelled the ranks. Shall we find one day that a period of physical convergence has succeeded one of divergence?

Man's new power to traverse the oceans almost at will disturbed the previous equilibrium between him and his surroundings and especially between different human groups, and started currents of migration which grew in volume and spread from area to area until

the second decade of the present century. Associated with these migrations was a great and accelerating increase in the population of the earth, most of which was beyond the reach of statistical observation but which probably resulted in quadrupling the earth's population since the middle of the seventeenth century. It was not until the twentieth century that the increase showed any signs of slackening.

At first these migrations aroused little observation and no measurement, but with their growing importance and with the greater extent, population, wealth and organization of the states from which they sallied forth or to which they removed, public records of these currents were established and improved. The greatest source of these migratory currents was Europe and today one-eleventh of the earth's population consists of Europeans by blood who are living outside of that continent. There are between one and a half and two times as many such European folk living elsewhere as there were living in Europe in the seventeenth century. From these currents of migration within the oceanic period swarming into and multiplying in a sparsely settled region of surpassing natural resources the United States has arisen as the one full-grown child of Europe. Of all the Europeans now living elsewhere three-fifths are in the United States. The aim of the Editor's two chapters is first to measure, as well as present knowledge permits, the growth of the earth's population during this great migratory epoch which is now, perhaps, drawing toward its close, and secondly to interpret the available statistics regarding the greatest single current, that which has set toward the shores of the United States. The attempt has been made in all the chapters to exclude controversial matter but an examination of them may leave in the mind of the reader, as it has in the mind of the Editor, a deeper realization that the subject is not one solely of domestic concern but has great and growing international aspects and implication.

PART I
POPULATION OF THE EARTH

CHAPTER I

INCREASE IN THE POPULATION OF THE EARTH AND OF THE CONTINENTS SINCE 1650

By

WALTER F. WILLCOX

When mankind was in its infancy, the number of persons could probably have been reckoned in no larger unit than thousands. From that remote day to the present the number has grown until now it is reckoned in millions or hundreds of millions. The increase has been irregular and sporadic, but never so great as during the last few centuries when it has depended closely upon the great discoveries and inventions by which wide areas of fertile and sparsely settled land have been opened to human stocks, easily acclimated to their new homes and able to make them produce much more food or many more commodities with which to buy food. This modern multiplication of mankind has been closely related to the growing amount of human migration. It invites examination, therefore, as an introduction to a series of chapters dealing with modern migratory currents.

The examination makes it necessary to determine as accurately as may be the population of the earth at various dates and then the amount and rate of its increase. It involves a critical review of the series of past attempts to estimate the earth's population when each author wrote. The earliest was made by Riccioli in 1661; the next by Süssmilch in 1741, revised in 1762; the third by Dieterici in 1859. Before the middle of the nineteenth century others touched on the subject, but no one else really tried to probe it. Since then the estimates have become numerous, but most of them, including all in English, have been compends of official information or estimates by private citizens without critical appraisal of the results.¹

For Europe and its parts the growth of population during the nineteenth century was carefully measured near its close by Levasseur and Bodio, by Inama and Juraschek and by Sundbärg,² but none of these studies went back into the eighteenth or seventeenth centuries. For Europe also Beloch, who began in 1886 with an examination of its population during the Graeco-Roman period and

¹See Appendix I for a collection arranged chronologically of the attempts to estimate the contemporary population of the earth and the continents.

²For specific references to these and other authorities see *infra* and the Bibliography.

continued with that during the Middle Ages, had ended with that at the opening of the seventeenth century, or for Italy in the eighteenth century, dates so recent that his latest results can be linked with those of Riccioli and other students of the population in their day. Although the growth of population in the United States and in a few other European off-shoots has been measured well enough to furnish a basis for it, no other continent has been treated as those savants treated Europe.

Thus the field is open for surveying the growth of the earth's population as a whole in modern times, applying to other continents the methods developed in Europe and America and using the results of man's widening knowledge about non-European countries and stocks. In the nature of the case the conclusions must be provisional and temporary, to be superseded when better methods and fuller knowledge permit. The method adopted has been first to review and at one important point to modify the estimates of the earth's post-war population, then to determine its population in the middle of the seventeenth century on the basis of present knowledge, and finally to determine approximately also the earth's population in 1750, 1800, 1850 and 1900.

The population of the earth and of its primary divisions, the continents, in the period since the World War has been estimated by Bunle, Dore, Würzburger, Methorst, Loveday, and the French Bureau of Longitudes. The figures from which such an estimate can be constructed are given also in other annuals than those edited by Würzburger and Loveday, like the *Statesman's Year Book* and the *Almanach de Gotha*, but in none of these publications are the figures consolidated into totals for the several continents, so they are of little help. For present purposes the most valuable by far of the pre-war publications are the 13 issues of *Die Bevölkerung der Erde* (1872-1909) and its forerunner the three issues of the *Geographisches Jahrbuch* (1866-70) edited in masterly fashion by Behm, Wagner or Supan. Unfortunately the series has not been revived since the war.

In most of the post-war publications mentioned the totals agree so closely that they may be adopted without further investigation. Not that they are trustworthy, but they are as near the truth as present information allows. Africa, for example, is probably the continent about the population of which least is known, for in default of censuses nearly half of the total rests on estimates. Still, the largest post-war figure for Africa in any of these sources differs

from the smallest by only a few million and much of that difference is due to an actual growth of population within the period. In the case of Asia, however, the estimates differ more widely, and that because of divergent figures for China. Those differences result mainly from different opinions about the meaning and the weight to be attached to the Chinese return of 1910-11. If it is accepted, as was done by *Hübner's Tabellen* in 1921, the population ascribed to Asia is one hundred million less than if it is rejected, as was done by the same publication three years later. Indeed, if the present writer's first interpretation of that return should be accepted,¹ the population of China is less by 200 million than it is according to the more recent figure of Mr. Howard.² Consequently, in order to estimate the present population of the world, the Chinese return of 1910 must be evaluated.

Chinese population returns are made regularly by households and the total population estimated by multiplying the number of households by an assumed average number of members. In 1910 the method was different, two returns were demanded. The first gave the number of households, as before, but it was followed a year later by a second giving the number of persons. Unfortunately the second was left unfinished by the revolution which dethroned the Manchu dynasty and established the Chinese Republic. But fortunately, just before that overturn, the figures for four provinces and large parts of two others were made known. These two returns were translated into English by an attaché at Peking, and forwarded by the American Minister to Washington, where they were published.³ Whether they appeared also in any official Chinese source is doubtful; certainly the publication in Washington is cited in several Chinese works as authoritative. The latest edition of the *Chinese Year Book*, for example, at this point gives "Mr. Raymond Tenney's Report to the United States State Department" as its authority.

The second of the two returns embodied in Mr. Tenney's report gives the number of males, of females, of school children and of able-bodied males, but no totals. Because of that omission the question arises whether all four figures should be added to find the population, as was done by Tenney, or whether only the first three

¹Walter F. Willcox, "The Population of China in 1910" (1928). For fuller references to authorities consult the Bibliography.

²H. P. Howard, "The Present Population of China," in *The China Critic*, June 20, 1929, page 491.

³United States, *Daily Consular and Trade Reports*, July 13, 1911, pages 184-7.

should be added, as was done a year later by Rockhill, or whether only the first two should be added, as a recent examination concludes.¹

Mr. Tenney now admits that the able-bodied males should not have been added because they were included in the males. He also says, and on this point all the evidence except that of Rockhill agrees, that the word which Rockhill translated "men" and "adult males" does not imply any limitation to adults and thus does not exclude either school children or children of pre-school age. Among the four groups the one the meaning of which is most clear is the able-bodied males. All agree that it refers to men of age competent to render military service, "probably of from 16 to 45 years of age," Rockhill wrote. It seems doubtful whether all youth between 15 and 19 would be returned as able-bodied or fit for military service. Perhaps 18 is a better age to adopt as the lower limit. The reported number of Chinese males whom Rockhill called "adult males" was 2.7 times as great as the number of "able-bodied males." Both in Japan and in Asiatic Russia the number of males of all ages is about 2.6 times the number of males between 18 and 45 years of age. If the able-bodied males in China were enumerated completely or even approximately, the males in the other group must include children and youth as well as adults. If the return for males includes persons of all ages, that for females cannot be limited to adults, and the total population would be the sum of these two groups. This interpretation is made more likely by the words "additional investigation" prefacing the figures for school children and able-bodied males and by the instructions to reporting officers recently unearthed in Peking.² This interpretation led to the conclusions that the average size of a Chinese household is 4.3 persons, that the population of China Proper is about 278 million and of all China about 294 million.

Since this argument was published several objections to it have been raised, none of them challenging the interpretation, but all denying the accuracy of the return of 1910. They may be examined by considering three questions: Does the great excess of males in that return establish a presumption that many females were omitted? Does the evidence warrant a belief that many children under two years of age were omitted? Does the exceptional character of the

¹Walter F. Willcox, "The Population of China in 1910" (1928).

²Walter F. Willcox, "A Westerner's Effort to Estimate the Population of China and its Increase since 1650" (1930).

figures from Chekiang Province make it wiser to omit that return when attempting to estimate the average size of a Chinese household?

In the provinces from which returns of persons classified by sex were received, 9,230,000 more males than females were reported. Nearly 56 per cent of the reported population were male, about the same proportion as in Montana or Wyoming. In all countries for which the facts are known, almost as many girls are born as boys. Doubtless the same is true in China. If so, the only way in which to explain the disproportion between the sexes indicated by these Chinese figures is to suppose that the female death rate in that country is much higher than the male. The death rate, unlike the ratio of the sexes at birth, is largely under human control. A higher female death rate might be due to gross neglect of females, especially female children, or to female infanticide on a large scale, or more probably to a combination of two influences. That infanticide is one influence is suggested by a recent news item from Shanghai.¹ Since its publication I have conferred with officials of the Shanghai Burial Society and of the Chinese city of Shanghai and have received a full and illuminating letter from the Public Health Department of the Shanghai Municipal Council, which governs the International Settlement. A health official of the Chinese city informs me that as many bodies are buried by other societies as by the Public Benevolent Burial Society. The evidence laid before me by officials of this last society led me to believe that if it is correct the Society buries annually about 18,000 bodies of infants under one year of age. If these various statements and the estimates of the population of Greater Shanghai are anywhere near the truth the rate of infant mortality in that greatest of Oriental cities is so large as almost to force the conclusion that many of the deaths are due to infanticide.

The explanation is supported by a statement "that the male population is in excess of the female throughout the country as a whole, this being fundamentally due, apparently, to the wide-spread practice of female infanticide and to the neglect of girl children."² Another statement suggests "that there must be many omissions in enumerating the females."³

If many females were omitted at the enumeration of persons in 1910, and if they were in fact 99 per cent of the males, as they

¹*The New York Times*, March 8, 1930. Special Correspondence from Shanghai dated January 30.

²H. P. Howard, "China's Population and the Present Census" (1929), page 471.

³Warren Chen, "Recent Population Statistics" (1929), page 314.

are in Japan, then the average size of a Chinese household was probably 4.7 instead of 4.3 persons.

Regarding children under two years of age, a valued correspondent who has had experience with local population studies has written from Nanking that babies are usually not included when Chinese state the number of persons in their families. If one assumes that all children under two years of age were omitted, their number may be estimated from the ratio between the number of children under two years of age and that of older persons in Asiatic Russia (7.0 per cent) or in Japan (6.4 per cent). If the ratio in China be set at 6.7 per cent, the average size of a household was probably 4.6 instead of 4.3 persons; if both sources of error are taken into account it was 5.0 instead of 4.3 persons.

Chekiang Province has families which, if the returns may be trusted, average less than four-fifths as large as those in Kiangsi and only two-thirds as large as these in Chihli. The range between Chekiang and Chihli in this regard is greater than the range among the 48 American States. The exceptional character of these Chekiang returns arouses suspicion of their accuracy. Persons who have lived long in that part of China and studied the local population problem reject this return emphatically as incredible. For these reasons it may be safer to disregard the Chekiang figures and rely on those from the other three provinces.

If all three coöperating sources of error were at work up to the limit set by the figures, then the resultant size of a household derivable from the two 1910 returns would be 5.4 instead of 4.3 persons. If no other evidence were at hand it might be best to treat 4.3 and 5.4 as limits and assume 4.8 as the average size of a household. Other evidence, however, is found in three recent studies of the farm population in certain selected districts of China embracing about 14,000 families, or one-fifth of one per cent of the entire number, and showing 5.3 persons to a family. This evidence, the high quality and typical character of which make it far more weighty than its limited amount would suggest, perhaps warrants one in putting the average size of a Chinese household at 5.0 persons and as a result setting the population of China Proper in 1910 at 323 million and of all China at 342 million.

The return of 1910 to which attention thus far has been confined, is rejected by some scholars on the ground that it is inconsistent with other important sources of information. The return most highly regarded in China apparently is that published

in 1922 by the China Continuation Committee.¹ But the final conclusion of that committee seems to have been misapprehended. In their table showing the population by provinces, a total of 441 million for China Proper or 453 million for all China is indicated, and these are the figures usually quoted. In the discussion preceding the table, however, they say: "Undoubtedly the exact population of China is considerably lower than most estimates now lead one to believe. . . Perhaps the present population of the Chinese Republic lies somewhere between 350 and 400 millions." In view of that statement 375 million, the average of their two numbers, seems nearer the considered opinion of the committee than the 453 million in their table. In order to facilitate a comparison between their results and the present interpretation of the return of 1910, the estimate for each province in their table has been reduced in Table 1, page 41, so as to bring the whole down to 375 million.

Next to the Chinese return of 1910 and the report of the China Continuation Committee, probably the most important evidence about the population of modern China is contained in the 1901 issue of *Die Bevölkerung der Erde*.² the latest in a series of detailed critical discussions by Behm, Wagner and Supan which began in 1866 with the first issue of Behm's *Geographisches Jahrbuch* and steadily improved down to the World War. Supan started in 1901 with the most recent official returns of each province, twelve for 1894 and six for some earlier year, and amounting in all to 394 million. From a series of provincial returns in Sacharoff he computed that the rate of annual increase in 17 of the 18 provinces in each of four successive periods between 1749 and 1771 was between 0.06 and 9.07 per cent and averaged about 0.9 per cent, but that between 1771 and 1776 it was between 2 and 30 and averaged 5.0 per cent. Sacharoff has an explanation of this incredible bound forward. The Emperor had noted in 1774 that the reported population of China was about the same as in earlier years and directed that in future the returns should be made with more care. Those of 1775 showed an increase of about 44 million, due merely or mainly to an understanding that the Emperor would be pleased by a larger population.³ This fictitious increase, introduced more than a century before, Supan devised a method to eliminate. He assumed that the annual rate of growth in each province except Shantung and Kansu between

¹The Christian Occupation of China, page 12.

²A. Supan, *Die Bevölkerung der Erde*, Vol. XI (1901), 44-51.

³Sacharoff in *Arbeiten d. kais. Russ. Gesandtschaft zu Peking über China*, Vol. II, (1858) 186, 193, and translated as *Rise and Fall of the Chinese Population* (1864), 43.

1771 and 1776 was the same as the average rate in that province during the preceding 22 years and thus derived new figures for 16 provinces in 1776. For Kansu, where the annual rate 1771-6 was less than in the earlier years, and for Shantung where a decrease was reported, he retained the reported 1776 figures. This method gave China a population in 1776 of 219 instead of 267 million. To get its population in 1901, he estimated the increase for each province between 1776 and 1901 by subtracting the population reported for 1776 from that reported at the latest available date and added the remainder to his new 1776 estimate. In this way he reached a total of 346 million in place of Popov's 422 million, a reduction of 76 million, and further evidence led him to reduce the estimate for Shantung by 3.2 million. The figure for Szechwan in 1776 was only 3.2 million, but increases reported after that date, from 8 million in 1783 to 21 million in 1812, and from 22 million in 1842 to 68 million in 1882, he believed were incredible. This last increase of 46 million in 40 years would mean that the province had a rate of natural increase or excess of births over deaths equal to that of Russia between 1889 and 1893 and in addition an amount of immigration three times that which swarmed into the United States between 1850 and 1890. Wagner had accepted 45 million instead of 71 for Szechwan; Supan gave it 45.2 million instead of 75; Rockhill said: "all foreign writers agree that it is quite impossible to believe that any such population [as 71 million or 325 to a square mile] exists or can exist in it," and gave five estimates, four of them by western travelers in the province, which ranged from 30 to 55 and averaged less than 45 million. Supan's final result for all China was 330 million. In Table 1, page 41 the present interpretation of the return of 1910, the revised figures of the China Continuation Committee and Supan's results, which are probably the most important and trustworthy sources for estimating the present population of China, are brought together for comparison.

The return of 1910, it will be noticed, gives figures intermediate between those of Supan nine years earlier and those of the China Continuation Committee twelve years later, but nearer the former than the latter. The three thus serve in some degree to support one another when they are compared as a group with the later and much larger figures now current.

Supan's estimate of 1901 also throws light upon the value of those later figures. It seems likely that they have not resulted from

¹W. Rockhill, "Inquiry into the Population of China" (1905), page 674.

TABLE 1.
ESTIMATED POPULATION OF CHINA BY PROVINCES.
(In Millions)

Province	According to		Supan (1901)
	Return of 1910	China Continuation Committee (1922)	
<i>North China</i>	75.4	69.8	80.0
Chihli.....	26.0	22.6	18.6
Shantung.....	26.9	25.7	33.1
Shansi.....	10.0	9.0	9.9
Shensi.....	8.0	7.5	7.9
Kansu.....	4.5	5.0	10.5
<i>Central China</i>	129.4	145.9	130.4
Kiangsu.....	15.7	27.9	18.3
Anhui.....	15.7	16.6	18.5
Honan.....	23.3	26.9	20.1
Hupei.....	22.7	23.7	28.3
Szechwan.....	52.0	50.8	45.2
<i>South China</i>	117.8	132.9	109.1
Chekiang.....	19.4	19.0	11.3
Fukien.....	11.9	14.2	19.6
Kiangsi.....	17.2	20.3	20.5
Hunan.....	21.4	24.4	15.2
Kweichow.....	8.8	9.5	3.4
Yunnan.....	7.9	7.3	11.7
Kwangasi.....	5.9	9.0	5.2
Kwangtung.....	25.3	29.2	22.2
<i>China Proper</i>	322.6	348.6	319.5
<i>Outlying Provinces</i>			
Sinkiang.....	2.3	1.5	1.0
<i>Manchuria</i>	12.9	16.7	5.5
Fengtien.....	8.0	10.4	.....
Kirin.....	3.7	4.6	.....
Heilung-kiang.....	1.2	1.7	.....
<i>Mongolia</i>	1.8	6.4	1.9
<i>Tibet</i>	2.0	1.8	2.3
<i>All China</i>	342.0	375.0	330.0

entirely new inquiries, but are repeated or revised expressions of the generation-old Chinese tradition on the subject in which are embedded the exaggerations of 1775, and in some provinces swollen and untrustworthy figures for other dates. When the population of China in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is studied, other evidence tending to support the same conclusion will appear. The three returns reproduced in Table 1, while consistent on the whole with one another, are inconsistent with recent official returns, the smallest of which exceeds the largest of these by 65 million; either group of figures or neither may be accepted, but not both. The evidence seems to indicate that the return of 1910 is the best guide to the present population. The main purpose of the present study, it must be remembered, is to determine the rate of growth of the earth's population in modern times, and with that purpose in view it is desirable neither to overestimate the present population nor to underestimate the earlier population, since either error would exaggerate the true rate of increase.

A position has now been reached from which it is possible to revise previous estimates of the earth's population. The results appear in Table 2.

TABLE 2.
POST-WAR ESTIMATES OF THE POPULATION OF THE EARTH WITH FIGURES
FOR CHINA REVISED
(In Millions)

Date of Publication	Source	Earth	Asia	China		Asia Revised	Earth Revised
				Original	Revised		
1919	Ann. Bur. Long.	1,796	934	438	342	838	1,673
1920	Hübner	1,712	895	330	342	907	1,724
1921	Ann. Bur. Long.	1,696	829	330	342	841	1,708
1923	Ann. Bur. Long.	1,696	829	330	342	841	1,708
1923	Bunle	1,818	1,016	445	342	913	1,715
1923	Int. Inst. Agr.	1,824	1,016	444	342	914	1,722
1924	Hübner	1,790	1,007	440	342	909	1,692
1924	Int. Inst. Agr.	1,839	1,021	443	342	920	1,738
1925	Ann. Bur. Long.	1,818	953	440	342	855	1,720
1925	Int. Stat. Inst.	1,895	1,060	433	342	969	1,804
1925	Int. Inst. Agr.	1,853	1,033	445	342	930	1,750
1926	Int. Inst. Agr.	1,871	1,033	445	342	930	1,766
1927	Ann. Bur. Long.	1,818	953	440	342	855	1,820
1927	League of Nations	1,906	1,019	448	342	913	1,800
1927	Int. Inst. Agr.	1,895	1,038	448	342	932	1,789
1927	Int. Stat. Inst.	1,880	1,032	443	342	931	1,789
1927	Hübner	1,867	1,024	440	342	926	1,769
1928	League of Nations	1,927	1,025	448	342	919	1,821
1929	Ann. Bur. Long.	1,888	967	440	342	869	1,790
1929	Int. Stat. Inst.	1,937	1,070	458	342	954	1,820
1929	League of Nations	1,949	1,034	458	342	918	1,833
Average		1,840					1,760

The average of these twenty-one revised estimates is 1,760 million, which is less by 80 million than the average of the original estimates. The average of the eleven estimates published in 1919-25 as revised is 1,723 million, that of those published in 1926-29 is 1,800 million, the increase of 77 million being due partly to an increase of population and partly to more correct returns for areas in which the population had been underestimated. In view of this increase and of the fact that many of the recent figures refer to earlier dates, it is probably safe to conclude that the present population of the earth is not far from 1,800 million.

With this adjustment for China, Table 3 gives the population of the several continents according to the 1929 publications of the League of Nations and of the International Statistical Institute.

TABLE 3.

PRESENT POPULATION OF THE EARTH AND THE CONTINENTS
(In Millions)

Continent	According to	
	International Statistical Institute 1929	League of Nations 1929
Asia.....	954	918
Europe.....	478	520
North America.....	162	161
Africa.....	140	146
South America.....	77	79
Australasia.....	9	9
Total.....	1,820	1,833

The two authorities agree closely except for Europe and Asia. They both include in Asia the islands to the southeast of that continent as far as New Guinea. Their differences are due to the fact that the League has and the Institute has not abandoned the attempt to classify the population of Soviet Russia by residence in Europe or in Asia. For the figures in the last column, therefore, the words Asia and Europe are not quite accurate.

The next step is to estimate the population of the earth in the middle of the seventeenth century with the aid of modern additions to knowledge in this field. The desire for numerical accuracy about population is a modern growth. Ancient and medieval writers could

not have gratified even if they had felt it, for they had no trustworthy material; but if the critical spirit which it presupposes had been theirs, it would have prevented them from accepting and recording many statements now recognized as incredible, like that of Herodotus about the size of the army of Xerxes, 1.4 million men, or that of Tacitus about the population of Rome under Claudius, 6.9 million. Not one exact and authenticated figure for the population of a country or city has come down from the earlier world.¹ "To count," said Samuel Johnson, "is a modern practice; the ancient method was to guess; and when numbers are guessed they are always magnified."²

When the Greek and Latin classics were reopened after the period of darkness, their statements about population were accepted at face value. But if Rome at the Renaissance had only about one-seventieth as many people as in the first century of the Christian era and if other parts of the Mediterranean world had suffered to a similar degree, then the number of people on the earth must have dwindled greatly in the preceding fifteen hundred years. A sentence in Montesquieu: "After a computation as careful as can be made in matters of this kind, I have found that there are on the earth scarcely one-tenth as many persons as there were in ancient times"³ reveals what was probably a widely held and perhaps the prevalent opinion. Its correctness is not now an issue. But in weighing the seventeenth century estimates discussed below, the background of a belief in a dwindling population after the first or second century of the Christian era must be kept in mind.

About the population of the earth, before the seventeenth century saw the dawn of the modern scientific period, only a few guesses have been found based on the traditional Biblical chronology and assumed rates of increase in successive generations after Noah and one suggestion that in the fourteenth century it amounted to about 240 million people.⁴ This originated perhaps with Baas, who asserted that the Black Death had swept away one-fourth of mankind, 25 million in Europe, 23 million in the Orient and 13 million in China.⁵ As he gives neither authority nor evidence, the guess deserves only a mention.

¹Karl Bücher, *Zeitschrift für die Ges. Staatswissenschaft*, Vol. 37, (1881), page 535.

²As quoted by James R. Garfield in 41st Congress, 2d Session, *H. R. Report No. 3* (January 18, 1870), page 29. Garfield perhaps owed it to Edward Jarvis. The original passage has not been found.

³Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes* (1721), Letter 112, end.

⁴F. H. Garrison, *History of Medicine* (1914), page 127.

⁵J. H. Baas, *Geschichte der Medizin* (1876), page 253.

Estimates of the earth's contemporary population made by various writers between 1650 and 1850 have been brought together in Appendix I, Table I, so that they might be reviewed in the light of present knowledge. The only forerunner of such a review is Wagner's historical sketch and chronological list of previous estimates,¹ made more than half a century ago and not including a revision of the estimates which he recorded. Such a revision is the heart of the present study. Wagner's compilation of past estimates, however, is more to the present purpose than the earlier ones by Balbi² and Wappäus³ or the later ones by Levasseur⁴ and Knibbs.⁵ In Appendix I, Table I, the lists of Balbi and Wappäus which were originally arranged according to size have been rearranged according to date, the five lists consolidated, figures from other sources introduced and those for the continents added.

The table shows that attempts to estimate the earth's population were made in the seventeenth century by five writers. Their results ranged from 320 million to 1,000 million:

<i>Data</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Earth</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Asia</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>Oceania</i>
1661	Riccioli	1,000	100	500	100	200	100
1682	Petty	320	—	—	—	—	—
1685	Vossius	500	30	300	—	—	—
1696	King	700	100	340	95	65	100
1696	Nicholls	960	—	—	—	—	—

The evidence on which these writers relied needs a brief examination. Riccioli was the most important because he summarized the knowledge of his day. He was a learned Jesuit priest who had been chosen by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church to explain and defend its attitude towards the heretical doctrines of Copernicus and Galileo. Later he compiled "various conjectures and essays concerning the true number of mankind." He gleaned from many sources statements about the population of European countries, but relied mainly upon Botero, more competent than any previous or contemporary writer on population. For Europe he gave the figures in Table 4, page 46. With the other islands the total would be, perhaps, 100 million.

For Asia his only evidence was about China. In one passage

¹Hermann Wagner, "Historische Entwicklung der Versuche die Gesamt-Bevölkerung der Erde zu schätzen," page 5.

²Adrian Balbi, *Abrégé de Géographie*, page 46.

³Stein und Hirschelmann, *Handbuch der Geogr. u. Stat.*, 7th ed. (1855) Vol. 1, pp. 171 f.

⁴E. Levasseur, "Statistique de la superficie et de la population des contrées de la terre," page 238; and "La Population Française," Vol. 1, page 461, note.

⁵G. H. Knibbs, "Mathematical Theory of Population," page 30.

TABLE 4.

RICCIOLI'S ESTIMATE OF THE POPULATION OF EUROPE IN
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
(In Millions)

Country	Population
Italy (with Sicily and adjacent islands)	10-11
Spain (with Portugal and Sardinia)	10
France	19-20
Great Britain and Ireland	4
Lower Germany, Holland and Zeeland	4
Upper Germany	20
Illyria, Dalmatia, Greece and the Islands	10
Macedonia, Thrace and Moesia	6
Poland, Lithuania, Pomerania	6
Denmark, Gotland, Sweden, Norway, Livonia, and other northern lands	8
Total	97-99

he said: "At the beginning of this century there were [in China] 59 million souls, counting neither soldiers nor officials." A later passage runs: "Father Martini believes that, if those were counted who are not customarily, there would be found about 200 million inhabitants in China." About Africa he wrote: "Although Africa is twice the size of Europe and more, yet the interior is full of great deserts and I cannot believe that it exceeds Europe in multitude of persons nor that it can much exceed 100 million if indeed it reaches that figure." He concluded that the population of the earth was not more than 1,000 million.

Before considering the value of his evidence and the significance of his results, it will be well to note the opinions and arguments of the others.

Petty wrote in 1681 to Southwell: "Supposing the people in England, Scotland and Ireland to be about 9 million, those in Holland and Zeeland about 1 million and in France 16, I say that by comparing the rest of the world therewith there are but between 300 and 400 millions of souls now living." In a work published two years after this was written he said: "The present 320 millions computed by some learned men (from the measures of all the nations of the world, their degrees of being peopled and good

accounts of the people in several of them) to be now upon the face of the earth''; and in a third passage published later still but written probably before either of the preceding, he said: "Some have estimated that there are not above 300 millions of people in the whole world."¹ Hull tells us that "Petty's learned men have not been identified"; I suspect that they were Petty himself.

Vossius suggested four years later that a city's population might be estimated by counting the houses and stated that Paris not having more than 25,000 houses probably contained about 300,000 inhabitants and could not have 2 million as some persons believed. London at that time, he said, had nearly 50,000 houses, but he did not for that reason claim that it had 600,000 or even more than 300,000 people.

He gave the following figures of population in millions for the leading countries of Europe (Table 5), but cited no authority and offered no evidence.

He added that if Muscovy was assigned to Europe, although most of it belonged to Asia, and if Iceland also were included, one

TABLE 5.

VOSSIUS' ESTIMATE OF THE POPULATION OF EUROPE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Country	Population In Millions
Spain and Portugal	2
France	5
Italy, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia	3
England, Scotland, Ireland	2
Netherlands	2
Germany, Bohemia, Hungary	5
Denmark, Holstein, Jutland	0.04
Norway, Sweden, Finland, Lapland	0.6
Poland, Livonia, Lithuania	1.5
Lands between Hungary and the Black Sea including Thrace	2.5
Dalmatia, Illyria, Macedonia, Greece, Crete and the Islands	3
Total	26.64

¹C. H. Hull, *Economic Writings of Sir William Petty* (1899), pp. 295, 463, 467.

would get about 30 million souls. He ended that in his opinion the earth's population did not exceed 500 million.

King, a decade later, wrote a pamphlet on the condition of England which was not published for more than a century but which in the interim was known imperfectly to scholars through the use of the manuscript made by King's friend Charles Davenant. King estimated the population of England from the number of houses "as charged in the books of the hearth office" at 5.5 million and assumed various densities of population for certain other countries. He gave Great Britain and Ireland about 7 million; France 14; Italy 8.5; Holland 2. To the different continents he ascribed densities of population and so populations as given in Table 6. His assumed densities of population combined with correct areas, and rejecting the 100 million assigned to his hypothetical southern continent, would have yielded as shown below a population of about 875 million.

Nicholls in the same year estimated the population of London at thirty times the annual 24,000 deaths, and "London being by common computation the eleventh part of the nation," England had nearly 8 million inhabitants. To Scotland and Ireland together he gave an equal number, or to Great Britain and Ireland 16 million, and to the whole world about 60 times as many, or 960 million.

These are all the seventeenth century writers known to have ventured an estimate of the population of the earth. The guesses of Petty, Vossius and Nicholls may be rejected as unimportant and

TABLE 6.

KING'S ESTIMATE OF THE POPULATION OF THE EARTH IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Continent	Acres per head	Population in Millions	
		According to King	With present measurement of area
Europe.....	17	100	141
Asia.....	20	340	544
Africa.....	64	95	115
America.....	129	65	74
Total,		600	874

attention concentrated on those of Riccioli and King. The former gathered a large body of testimony regarding the population of the different countries in Europe, but his evidence and that of the writers whom he quoted was meager and inadequate. He was merely a compiler and his comments display little critical ability.

King made no reference to any other estimates, but in starting with an assumed density of population he used a wiser method. The fact that his figures and those of Riccioli agree for Europe and Africa tends slightly to confirm their results. Regarding Asia, King's estimate that it had 20 acres per head or was five-sixths as crowded as Europe, is more weighty than Riccioli's based on accepting the larger of Martini's two figures for China unsupported by any evidence for the rest of the continent. On the basis of seventeenth century opinion then, Europe and Africa might be assigned each 100 million, Asia 500 million and America 75 million, or if no account be taken of the unknown parts of the world to which both Riccioli and King assigned 100 million, rather less than 800 million in all.

Modern knowledge points to a different result. For Europe the best source is an article by Beloch,¹ who had carefully studied the population of the Mediterranean world, ancient, medieval and modern, and had used much information unavailable in the seventeenth century. His results for the opening of that century, published in 1900 and including nearly two-fifths of the area of Europe, are summarized in Table 7, page 50.

Beloch adds that eastern Europe was sparsely settled, and the whole continent probably contained about 100 million people. Because of the great losses of life between 1600 and 1650, due on the continent to the decimation during the Thirty Years War and in England to the check to increase resulting from the struggle between King and Parliament and the heavy emigration which preceded it, due also in both areas to the recurrent visitations of the plague, the population of Europe was not much greater in 1661 than in 1600 and therefore the difference in date between the estimates of Beloch and of Riccioli is unimportant.

A comparison of Table 7 with Table 4 shows that the two writers are in substantial agreement. Beloch has much weightier evidence than Riccioli for the same conclusion. The result may be accepted as approximately true and the population of Europe in the middle of the seventeenth century estimated at about 100

¹Julius Beloch, "Die Bevölkerung Europas zur Zeit der Renaissance" (1900), pp. 765ff.

TABLE 7.
BELOCH'S ESTIMATE OF THE POPULATION OF EUROPE IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Country	Area in thousand square miles	Population in Millions	Density per square mile
Italy.....	114	13	114
Spain and Portugal.....	226	10	44
France.....	182	16	88
England and Wales.....	58	4.5	78
Scotland and Ireland.....	62	2	32
Netherlands.....	29	3	104
Denmark.....	16	0.6	39
Sweden, Norway, Finland.....	417	1.4	3.4
Poland with Prussia.....	81	3	36
Germany.....	278	20	73
Total,	1,463	73.5	50

million, or 27 persons to a square mile, a density not far from that of the earth as a whole today or that of the United States in 1900.

The more difficult question of the population of Asia in the seventeenth century may be opened by examining the population of China. A western scholar, Farther Martini, a contemporary and perhaps an acquaintance of Riccioli, studied the subject in China with the aid of Chinese sources and Chinese scholars. Most of Martini's figures indicate a population of 59 million, but there is also a statement about 200 million people in China with which it is difficult to harmonize his figures. The puzzling passage runs:

"The most authoritative books about China if we credit them noting with care and accuracy the number of men who were in each province, city or place (omitting those of the royal line, magistrates, eunuchs, clergy or priests of their superstitions, women and children) yield a total of 58,914,284. Hence it is not surprising that China is said to have 200 million men."¹

¹M. Martini, *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, page 5. The passage is important and the book not easily found, so the sentence in its Latin form is here reproduced. Although it appeared also in Dutch, Spanish and French editions, it was probably first written in Latin:

"quod si libris Sinicis maximeque authenticis credimus, qui diligentissime adnotatum habent singularum provinciarum, urbium aliorumque locorum hominum numerum (seclusis regii sanguinis familia, magistratibus, Eunuchis, militibus, sacrificulis, mulieribus, pueris) sunt ad quinquaginta octo miliones, nongenta et quatuordecim millia, ducenta, octoginta et quatuor, 58,914,284. hinc non adeo mirandum, si quis eam dixerit ducentos hominum miliones continere."

How Martini reached, if he did reach rather than merely report, the figure of 200 million is a problem. Could he have told some friend versed in Chinese lore that Europe was thought to contain about one hundred million people and been gravely assured that China contained fully two hundred million? The households by his figures for each province total 10,128,787 and the men 58,916,783. If the last figure is interpreted as the total population, there would be 5.8 persons to a household. On the other hand, if the figures of 200 million persons and about 10 million households are accepted, there would be about twenty persons to a household. One other passage in Martini uses *homines* meaning adult males, but in more than a dozen cases it means apparently population. He seems to have been regarded until the nineteenth century as the most authoritative western writer upon Chinese questions, and his impressive round figure of 200,000,000 was repeated again and again. Other students of the past population of China have reached results widely different from the larger of his two figures. Rockhill inferred from certain Chinese statistics "that the total population of China Proper in 1651 . . . was about 55 million—just about the number we should have assumed it to be had we to deduce it from the data supplied by history alone."¹ The discussion in Williams leaves the impression that he would estimate China's population in the middle of the seventeenth century at about 60 million.² Sacharoff estimated the population of China in 1661 as 21 million.³ Gowen wrote, "According to the accounts given by the Jesuit fathers, China at this time [A.D. 1644] contained a population of eleven and a half million families. At the end of the reign [A.D. 1661] another estimate was made of nearly fifteen million families or eighty-nine million individuals."⁴ Parker compiled from the annual volumes of the official *Tung-hwa-Luh* the numbers of taxed families for each year in the last half of the seventeenth century.⁵ The average number of such families, 1652-4, was 14,153,000, pointing to a population of about 77 million. Chang-Heng Chen, relying apparently on the same Chinese sources, has stated that during the 60 years of Kang Hsi's reign (1662-1722) the census population "limited to males between 16 and 60 for taxation purposes" stood

¹W. Rockhill, "Inquiry into the Population of China," page 663.

²S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (ed. 1907), Vol. I, page 265.

³T. Sacharoff, *The Rise and Fall of the Chinese Population*, page 42.

⁴H. H. Gowen, *Outline History of China* (1913), Vol. 2, page 15.

⁵E. H. Parker, "Note on Some Statistics regarding China" (1899), pp. 150-156.

uniformly at about 27,350,000.¹ If this figure is correct and if at that time in China, as today in Japan, the males 16-59 years of age were 27.6 per cent of the population, China had a population of about 100,000,000. But if the improbable idea that the population was stationary during those 60 years of prosperity is abandoned and Chang-Heng Chen's figure of 27,350,000 males between 16 and 60 years of age be accepted for the middle of the reign and the rate of increase between the population in that year 1692 and the 177 million reported in 1749 be carried back to the year 1650, then the population at that date was about 66 million.

From these sources the following estimates of the population of China about 1650 have been derived:

<i>Source</i>	<i>Millions</i>
Sacharoff	21
Rockhill	55
Martini	59
Williams	60
Chang-Heng Chen (adjusted)	66
Gowen	69
Parker	77
Chang-Heng Chen	100
Martini	200

Reasons have been given for rejecting Martini's larger figure. It seems likely that Sacharoff's figure was erroneous because he accepted a return of adult males as one of the whole population. If these two extreme estimates are discarded the average of the other seven, about 70 million, may be adopted as the best approximation to the population of China in 1650.

For estimating the population of Japan in the middle of the seventeenth century, two authorities, Droppers² and Yanagisawa,³ are helpful. Evidence offered by the latter leads me to increase his figure for 1732 by one million for the families and servants of the military caste who were omitted, and by 1.6 million for females who were probably omitted. The second omission is indicated by the fact that in 1732 the females reported were only 87 per cent but in 1910 they were 98 per cent of the males, the cause of the difference

¹Chang-Heng Chen, "Changes in the Growth of China's Population in the last 182 years," page 2.

²Garrett Droppers, "The Population of Japan in the Tokigawa Period."

³Yasutoshi, Count Yanagisawa, "Histoire critique des travaux statistiques au Japon," especially page 297.

being probably the omission of many females at the earlier date. After making these corrections Yanagisawa's figure for 1732 becomes 29.5 million. Droppers thinks the omissions were more numerous still and raises the figure to 30.6 million. One will not go far astray if he adopts 30 million. From the returns of population at various earlier dates as given by Droppers for four daimyos, including between 5 and 6 per cent of the population, it appears that their increase and perhaps that of all Japan between 1650 and 1732 amounted to about 30 per cent. Droppers believed for other reasons that the population "increased very rapidly" between 1603 and 1721. So the population of Japan in the middle of the seventeenth century was probably about 23 million, a conclusion supported by Yanagisawa's 24 million as an approximation to the total half a century later.

The population of India at the beginning of the seventeenth century has recently been estimated upon evidence drawn mainly from the reported size of armies and the extent and character of agriculture, with the result: "We shall run no risk of serious error if we take 100 millions as indicating a total . . . rendered probable by a consideration of all the relevant facts."¹ A valued correspondent in India writes about these estimates, "All things considered they seem too high." Still it is probable that, even if for 1600 A.D. they are too high, for half a century later they are not excessive. Thus the following estimates in millions have been reached:

China	70
Japan	23
India	100
	—
Total	193

If these estimates are near the truth and if the three countries included in 1650 as they do now about three-fourths (76 per cent) of the population of Asia, then in the middle of the seventeenth century it supported about 250 million people.

About the population of Africa less is known than about that of any other continent, and the estimates present or past have unstable foundations. In recent years the estimates have been falling,² but still may be too high. No careful study of African conditions is yet possible, so the main current of authority should be

¹W. H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar* (1920), pp. 9-22.

²See Appendix I, Tables I and II, and Diagram 3 on page 31.

followed. A population of 100 million assumed by Riccioli without any evidence to support it would mean 8.6 persons to a square mile, about the density of population in South Dakota or Oregon in 1920. That is more than one would be disposed to ascribe to a continent with extensive areas of desert and primitive agriculture in its cultivated districts. But a comparison with the present population tends to corroborate the estimate. The present area and population of the coastal states, Egypt, Tunis, Northern Algeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Gambia, South Africa, and Zanzibar, which are known to have increased rapidly since the seventeenth century, have been subtracted from the area and population of all Africa. This procedure shows that, if current estimates of the total population are correct, the rest of the continent today has about 8.5 persons to a square mile. So Riccioli's and King's guess of 100 million remains unchanged.

The population of the Western Hemisphere in the seventeenth century furnishes a difficult problem. Riccioli's guess of 200 million unsupported by evidence should be discarded at once. Modern scholars have begun to attack the question. Critical analysis of sixteenth and seventeenth century writings has not yielded and probably never will yield definite results. The archaeological study of ruins, mounds, etc., is faced by the difficulty that these remains can hardly be dated and shown to be contemporary rather than successive and to indicate seventeenth century conditions. The method preferred by Americanists in the United States is to study the various Indian tribes when the whites first met them, or when disturbance in consequence of the arrival of the whites began, attempt to estimate the number in each tribe at or near that time, and so arrive at the Indian population for larger areas. The leading exponent of this method died in 1921, leaving his work unfinished. His monograph has recently been published and the editor says that its "figures though conservative as compared with most earlier undertakings of the kind are still somewhat high."¹ Students of this subject, or at least those using Mooney's method, tend, as this comment implies, to lower their earlier estimates. This is illustrated by Mooney, whose second estimate of the aboriginal population of New England was four fifths of his first, and by Kroeber² whose estimate of the number of Indians in California in 1770 was little more than one-half as large as that of Hart Merriam³ made twenty

¹James Mooney, "The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," page 2. See also Mooney's article "Population" in *Handbook of American Indians* (1910).

²A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, pages 880-891.

³C. Hart Merriam, "Indian Population of California" (1905).

years before. It is illustrated also by Kidder,¹ who lowered Mooney's estimate of the original pueblo population of Arizona and New Mexico more than two-fifths. From these sources Table 8 has been drawn.

TABLE 8.

ESTIMATED INDIAN POPULATION NORTH OF MEXICO BEFORE THE WHITES ARRIVED.

District	Authority	Date of Estimate	Area in 1000 square miles	Population in thousands	Population per 100 square miles
California	Kroeber	1925	156	133	85
Arizona and New Mexico	Kidder & Mooney	1924, 1928	236	58	25
Rest of United States	Mooney	1928	2,582	517	20
Canada and Alaska	Mooney	1928	4,133	294	7
Total			7,107	1,002	14

The Indian population north of the Rio Grande in the middle of the seventeenth century was about one million.

This conclusion is opposed to that of MacLeod, who says: "One may safely estimate for the whole of North America, north of Mexico, a pre-European Indian population of roughly three million."² But apparently MacLeod did not use Mooney's fuller posthumous pamphlet. He is inaccurate in saying that Mooney's earlier study indicated "that there were about 800,000 Indians in North America north of Mexico in the pre-white period," when Mooney's words were "nearly 1,150,000 Indians." MacLeod objects to Mooney's results as "far too small," and yet accepts Kroeber's much smaller figure for California. His new evidence, which is very slight, relates only to Virginia in A.D. 1600. To that region he assigns about two persons to a square mile, while Mooney with fuller evidence make the Virginia Indians less than one-fifth as numerous. For these reasons Mooney is probably the safer guide.

No studies comparable to those of Mooney, Kroeber and Kidder have been made for regions south of the Rio Grande. In default of them, such opinions as have been published will be reviewed, the results of correspondence presented and the writer's tentative conclusions outlined.

¹A. V. Kidder, *Southwestern Archaeology* (1924), page 39.

²W. C. MacLeod, *The American Indian Frontier* (1928), page 16.

Lopez de Velasco, cosmographer and historian to the Council of the Indies, wrote in the latter part of the sixteenth century a description of what is now known as Latin America, "which far surpasses in detail and completeness any official report on the English colonies till the time of Chalmers"¹ more than two centuries later. The Spanish scholar wrote: "In all the discovered and inhabited parts up to the year 1574, when this summary was finished, there are . . . eight or nine thousand towns, nations or tribes of Indians . . . in which there are a million and a half tax-paying or tributary Indians not counting their children and wives nor the aged nor the ones about to be married nor the many who have hidden and did not allow themselves to be counted in the appraisement in order not to pay any tax nor those who are not peaceful."² This 1,500,000 adult males implies about 6,000,000 of both sexes and all ages, for the peaceful or subjugated Indians of Latin America.

Humboldt wrote: "Cuba must have seemed very populous to Columbus and Velasquez if it was as well populated as when the English landed in 1762 . . . but we know that Cuba . . . did not contain over 200,000 inhabitants in 1762." From this one may infer that Humboldt would probably have put the pre-Columbian population of Cuba at less than 200,000, although in a previous passage he had said "no means now exist to arrive at a knowledge of the population of Cuba in the time of Columbus."³ Since Cuba contains nearly half of the area of the West Indies and nearly one-third of their present population, the pre-Columbian population of the archipelago may be estimated at less than six hundred thousand. For Mexico, Humboldt said that the population of New Spain in 1793 as reported to the viceroy by the intendants and governors of provinces was 4,483,000, and "it was supposed that a sixth or a seventh part at least ought to be added to the sum total, and the population of all New Spain was accordingly estimated as 5,400,000 souls." Elsewhere he wrote that New Spain extended from the tenth to the thirty-eighth parallel and so included most of what are now Central America and California. In another passage he declared that "New Spain is much better inhabited at present [1803] than it was before the arrival of the Europeans."⁴ These statements show he estimated the population of Mexico and Central America in A.D. 1500 to be not more than 5 million and perhaps much less.

¹E. B. Bourne, *Spain in America* (1904), pages 195-7.

²Lopez de Velasco, *Geographia y Descripcion Universal de las Indias*, page 2.

³Alexander von Humboldt, *The Island of Cuba*, pp. 233, 236.

⁴Alexander von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, Vol. I,

In an address before the International Congress of Americanists at The Hague four years ago, Professor Sapper said:¹ "If I were to attempt a rough estimate of the number of Indians in America and its parts at the end of the fifteenth century it would stand as follows:

<i>District</i>	<i>Estimated Population in millions</i>
North of the Great Lakes.....	0.5
Between the Great Lakes and the Rio Grande.....	2-3
Mexico.....	12-15
Central America.....	5-6
West Indies.....	3-4
Tropical Andes Region.....	12-15
Tropical eastern South America.....	2-3
Temperate South America.....	1-2
Total.....	40-50

For this total he presented no evidence. His estimate about the regions north of the Rio Grande, it will be noticed, is three times as large as that reached in the present discussion.

In attempting to estimate the seventeenth century population of the West Indies and of the mainland south of the Rio Grande, certain areas may be distinguished in which the density of population was probably greater than in any large region to the north. These well settled areas include the West Indies, Central America, that part of Mexico in which the present density of population is above the average for the whole republic, and the plateau districts of South America as defined by Grubb.² In this way the whole area has been divided as follows:

	<i>Area in thousand square miles of:</i>	
	<i>dense settlement</i>	<i>sparse settlement</i>
Mexico	219	548
Central America	206	
West Indies	91	
South America	460	6817

To make a guess at the population of those densely settled districts it was first assumed that the average density of population

¹Karl Sapper, "Die Zahl und die Volksdichte der indianischen Bevölkerung in Amerika," Part I, pp. 95-104.

²K. G. Grubb, *The Lowland Indians of Amazonia* (1927), p. 15.

south of the Rio Grande, including the West Indies, was equal to the average density in California, the most densely settled area north of the Rio Grande, and so was somewhat less than one person to a square mile. This would give about 7 million Indians south of the Rio Grande compared with one million north of that river. Next it was assumed that outside of the densely settled districts south of the Rio Grande, the average density of population was the same as it was in what is now the United States outside of California, Arizona and New Mexico, namely, one person to 5 square miles. These two assumptions would leave for the densely settled districts of the West Indies, Mexico, Central America and the Andes plateau including nearly one million square miles, about 6.6 million people, nearly 7 persons to a square mile, or a density of population between that of Idaho and of Oregon in 1920.

So far as the densely settled districts are concerned, the foregoing assumptions and density have been retained.¹ But for the sparsely settled districts, subsequent correspondence has indicated that the estimate was too low. Professor Sauer, who has carefully examined the evidence for the distribution of population in Lower California and Sonora,² writes that from an inspection of the baptismal records and chronicles of the missions he estimates that the population of Lower California in the seventeenth century was about one to a square mile. That of Sonora he believes was at least two to a square mile. This would make the average density for the two provinces about 1.6 to a square mile. If a like density should be assumed for the other sparsely settled districts in Mexico, a population of 855,000 instead of 110,000 would be reached. But perhaps it is better to apply the changes in density of population in these two provinces between then and now to the whole region. On the basis of Professor Sauer's estimate, they had a density of population 300 years ago equal to about three-fifths of what it is now. If the same ratio held for the entire sparsely settled area in Mexico, its population then would have been 2,180,000 as compared with 3,480,000 today, a result which seems too large, but which will be adopted nevertheless and partly because of the need not to under-estimate.

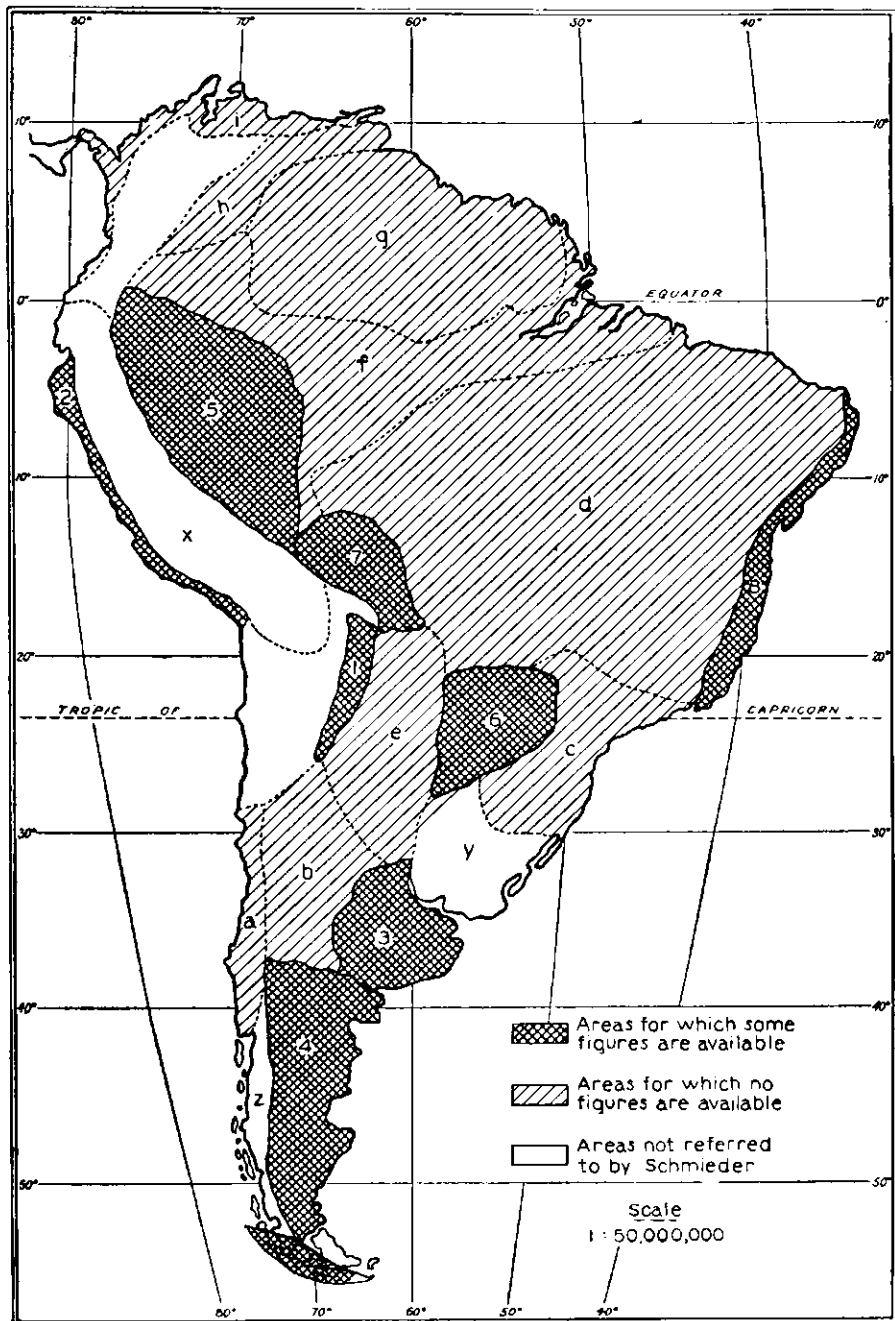
In studying the sparsely settled districts of South America aid has come from Professor Schmieder, who is well acquainted with many parts of that continent.³ He has estimated roughly the

¹See Table 10, page 62.

²Carl Sauer and Peveril Meigs, "Lower California Studies: Site and Culture at San Fernando de Velicata."

³See Oscar Schmieder's four contributions to *Univ. Calif. Publ. in Geography*, Vol. 2 (1926-28).

Diagram 1. Population Areas of South America in the Seventeenth Century, by Schmieder
 (For explanation of estimated populations of the areas see pp. 60ff).



seventeenth century population of eight areas with which he is acquainted and which are shaded on the accompanying sketch map, Diagram 1, page 59.

Three classes of districts are distinguished on that map: the cross-hatched are those for which Professor Schmieder gave some clue to the population, those marked with parallel lines are the ones about the population of which he gave little or no information, and those left white are the ones which he did not mention.

The memorandum elucidating Professor Schmieder's map on page 59 runs thus:

I. Areas for which some figures are at hand (cross-hatched on map):

1. *East Bolivian Front Ranges:*

Chiriguano Indians..... 200,000
Probably a somewhat high estimate, town of Santa Cruz is not included.

2. *Peruvian coast oasis:*

Aboriginal population at arrival of whites, about 200,000. By 1650 reduced to approximately..... 20,000

Lima, 1650:

Spaniards..... 25,000
Negroes..... 30,000
Indians..... 5,000

Minor Spanish settlements..... Not estimated

3. *Argentine Pampa:*

Inhabitants of urban settlements..... 5,000
Free Indians..... 100,000

4. *Patagonia:*

East Patagonia, very sparsely populated. First estimate by Mustas should be valid for 1650 also..... 2,000

In the Southwest Islands:

Alacaluf, first estimate 1880, acceptable for 1650 since there was no previous white influence..... 3,000
Yaghan, ditto..... 1,300

5. *Upper Amazon:*

No data of any kind available for that time. In the "Missions of Maynas," however, there lived in 1727 Indians amounting to..... 160,000

This figure does no justice at all to the number of free Indians from which the neophytes were permanently drawn. Total therefore probably a multiple of the figure given.

6. *Paraguay Mission District:*

The mission movement of the Jesuits started about 1610. There were 50,000 Christian Indians in 1682 and 100,000 in 1768. Even if the latter figure is accepted it will still be a most conservative estimate for the area, since it includes no free Indians..... 100,000

Inhabitants of Spanish towns, particularly of Asuncion, exceeded those of contemporaneous Santa Fe and Buenos Aires, and this is certainly too low a figure..... 5,000

7. *Llanos de Mojos:*

The Missions of the Mojo and Baure alone embraced, at the end of the 18th century, Christians amounting to..... 31,000

Even if this figure should be doubled it would hardly do justice to the entire population, only a small part of which has ever gotten under the missionaries' influence. Archaeological finds indicate that the native population once reached the stage of overpopulation (E. Nordenskjold).

8. *East Brazilian coast plain between Cape San Roque and Cape Frio:*

One figure for Islands of Maranhão, Tupinamba Indians settling in Maranhão in 1712	12,000
Under Dutch occupation (1640-49) the town of Recife had 2000 houses..	10,000
At the same time, there were negro slaves working on the sugar plantations of Eastern Brazil to the number of.....	40,000
The town of Bahia had, as early as 1589, 800 families, and in the surrounding rural districts 2000 families of colonists lived. A period of steady development followed. For 1650 there must have been in this minor district at least	20,000
The Jesuits had numerous mission settlements on the coast plain, about which there are no exact figures for 1650. This year however marked the climax of their success; in 1663 epidemics began to reduce the number of Christian Indians. Not too high an estimate of Christian Indians for 1650 would be.....	40,000
No data about the number of free Indians and Indian slaves are available, nor is anything known about the number of colonists and negro slaves and Indians in the southern capitánias such as Espiritu Santo and Rio de Janeiro.	

Total, 809,000

II. Areas for which no figures are at hand (parallel shading on map):

a. *Central and Southern Chile:*

The number of Araucarian Indians must have been several hundred thousands. To this one would have to add Spanish colonists in Central Chile.

b. *Ancient Tucuman area:*

1657, town of Córdoba, about.....	12,000
1657, town of Salta, about.....	2,000
Tucuman, Rioja, and other Spanish settlements.....	Not estimated
Number of Indians.....	Not estimated

c. *Mesothermal part of Brazil:*

A numerous half-breed population.

d. *Central Brazil, Matto Grosso in the wider sense.*

Population sparse, yet important, due to extent of area.

e. *El Gran Chaco.* Population at present estimated at 50,000, but without any reliable basis. There has been no direct European influence on this part of the aboriginal population of South America. The guess might be accepted as valid for 1650 also.

f. <i>Central and Lower Amazon basins</i>	Not estimated
g. <i>Coast and Mountains of Guiana</i>	Not estimated
h. <i>Llanos of the Orinoco</i>	Not estimated
i. <i>Northern and Northwestern Coast</i>	Not estimated

On measuring the areas of the 20 sections of South America the results in Table 9, column 2, page 62, are reached. For the two groups of sections marked with letters rather than numbers, whatever densities seemed from the meager evidence to be most probable have been adopted, except that Professor Schmieder's central plateau district has been divided into two sections based on Grubb's map and widely different densities have been assigned them.

TABLE 9.
ESTIMATED POPULATION OF SOUTH AMERICA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

District Symbols	Area of districts, thousand square miles	Population per 100 square miles	Population (in thousands)
1	57	351	200
2	73	124	90
3	176	60	105
4	340	2	6.3
5	476	126	600
6	183	57	105
7	139	45	62
8	116	106	122
a	90	660	594
b	258	60	155
c	268	60	161
d	1,968	13	256
e	311	16	50
f	654	13	85
g	726	31	226
h	148	50	74
i	130	50	65
x	920	660	3,036
		460	276
y	183	60	110
z	83	2	1.7
Totals,	7,304	87	6,380

On combining these results for the Western Hemisphere its estimated population in the middle of the seventeenth century stands as in Table 10.

TABLE 10.
ESTIMATED POPULATION OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. (In Thousands)

Regions as now bounded	Area in thousand square miles	Density of population per 100 square miles	Population
Canada and Alaska.....	4,128	7	294
United States.....	2,974	24	708
Mexico.....	767	470	3,630
Densely settled.....	219	660	1,450
Sparsely settled.....	548	400	2,180
Central America.....	225	660	1,485
West Indies.....	93	660	614
<i>North America</i>	8,171	82	6,731
South America:			
Plateau districts.....	460	660	3,036
Rest of continent.....	6,844	49	3,344
<i>South America</i>	7,304	87	6,380
Western Hemisphere.....	15,475	85	13,111

The net result of the analysis is given in Table 11.

TABLE 11.

ESTIMATED POPULATION OF THE EARTH IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
(In Millions)

Continent	Contemporary Estimates	Present Revision
Europe.....	100	100
Asia.....	500	250
Africa.....	100	100
North America.....	75	7
South America.....		6
Australasia.....	100	2
Earth.....	875	465

The population of the earth in the middle of the seventeenth century was about 465 million, less than one-half of the most widely accepted contemporary estimate, that of Riccioli.

As in the seventeenth century there were two scholars, Riccioli and King, so in the eighteenth century there were two, Struyck and Süssmilch, whose work in estimating the population of the earth deserves attention. Before examining their contributions, however, it will be profitable to review the position of their immediate predecessors and contemporaries, a list of whose estimates will be found in Appendix I, Table I.

At the opening of the century Whiston, a distinguished theologian and mathematician, stated: "'Tis now generally owned that the number of souls upon the face of the whole earth at present does not exceed four thousand millions, though I imagine it may come nearer to that sum than many suppose." Starting with eight persons who "doubled themselves in 60 years at a mean from the Flood till David... and thence forward to our own times in 400 years... we shall pretty nearly obtain the sum total of mankind in every corresponding year after the Flood." Apparently Whiston believed, although he gave no evidence for it, that the earth's population was not far from 4,000 million and harmonized that belief with his Biblical history and chronology by assuming certain periods of doubling.

A generation after Whiston another theologian, Canz, assigned Europe 10 million, Asia 20, and the rest of the world 30, a total of 60 million. His guess is the smallest as Whiston's is the largest in the entire series, and no evidence was offered in support of either. Because they were unsupported guesses they are not included in the estimates represented in Diagram 2, page 79.

Three years after Canz one passes with Struyck from a theological to a geographical and statistical point of view. Struyck collated the work of several predecessors, but rested mainly on Riccioli, although he said that the latter's figures for Asia and America were too large. He was the first to reject the current estimate of 200 million for the population of China and to argue that the 59 million reported by Martini and others as adult men were probably the entire population. He displayed more acuteness and sound judgment than Süssmilch, but less patient toil and less range of information. He accepted Riccioli's figure of 100 million for Europe, but reduced his estimate for Asia by half. He said nothing about the other continents, except that one could hardly guess the population of Africa, and suggested 500 million as an alternative to Riccioli's 1,000 million for the population of the earth.

His contemporary Süssmilch, the best known if not the greatest statistician of the eighteenth century, was a theologian like Riccioli, Whiston and Canz. He was a chaplain in the army of Frederick the Great and saw his country's military need for a large and growing population. He wrote to prove that it was the duty and privilege of a ruler to encourage the increase of his subjects and thus collaborate with the Almighty who had commanded mankind to multiply and inherit the earth. The objection that the earth was already well peopled he met by arguing, from the number of persons for whom food could be grown on a square mile, that the earth might easily maintain 14,000 million people and was maintaining not more than 1,000 million, leaving ample room for increase.

Süssmilch found more evidence than Riccioli could and he gathered it with care and patience. But he seems to have been swayed by Riccioli's attractive round figure of 1,000 million. After he had rejected the latter's 100 million for the mythical southern continent and had reduced the figure for America from 200 to 150 million, he added to Riccioli's estimates 50 million for Africa and 50 million for Europe, perhaps to retain his predecessor's total. Süssmilch continued for twenty years to study population and in 1761-2, when he brought out a much enlarged edition of his main

work, he reduced his final estimate for Europe from 150 to 130 million, but added 150 million to his earlier estimate for Asia and that without making any explanation of the change.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, and even into the nineteenth, Süssmilch's arguments and conclusions dominated European thought. Whether Malthus was acquainted with him as early as 1798 is doubtful, but in later editions of the *Principles of Population* he drew largely from his German predecessor.

Voltaire and Morse were the only other eighteenth century writers who made any contribution to the question.

Voltaire reverted, but perhaps without knowing it, to a method outlined by Petty and King and, estimating the inhabited land at 9 million square leagues, assumed for that area the average density of population in five European countries, 100 persons to a square league, thus making the earth's population 900 million. The statements of Balbi, Wappäus, and Wagner that Voltaire set its population at 1,600 million have not been verified. None of them noticed Voltaire's estimate of 900 million; perhaps the mention of a larger figure may have been a mistake of Balbi, repeated by his successors.

Morse, "the Father of American geography",¹ reproduced with little comment the estimates made by European students about the population of countries in the Eastern Hemisphere, but was the first to criticize with acumen current estimates about the population of the western world. In 1789 he had expressed the opinion that an estimated population of 160 million was "exaggerated at least one-half." Four years later, after discussing the suggestions of Riccioli and Süssmilch, he reached an independent conclusion by supposing that the Western Hemisphere, being about fifteen times the size of the United States as then bounded, had about fifteen times as many inhabitants. This indicated a population of about 60 million, and Morse added "The exact number, I presume, is considerably less than this." In the fifth edition of his *Geography Made Easy* (1796). Morse reproduced an estimate from William Carey, "a gentleman in England" who has not been identified. Carey's total of 731 million was distributed only by religions. Morse comments: "This estimate, I apprehend, considerably exceeds the truth. He reckons upwards of 90 millions in America. Dr. Stiles, than whom no man was better informed on this subject, reckoned that the whole number

¹This title was applied to Jedidiah Morse in 1874 by W. B. Sprague in his *Life of Jedidiah Morse*, p. 192, and has been accorded him ever since.

of Indians in all North America did not exceed two millions and a half. Admitting this to be true fifteen or, including the Islands, twenty millions would be the extent of the population of all America." Elsewhere Morse says that this opinion from the president of Yale College was expressed in a personal letter to him.

Subsequent study has added to our knowledge of population in the middle of the eighteenth century. Regarding Europe, the following results deserve attention. Süssmilch, using many contemporary sources of information, finally reached a total of 130 million. The writer has tried twice to revise that conclusion. At first he inferred from evidence most of which was not available until long after Süssmilch's day, that 126 million was a more probable figure.¹ Nearly ten years later he went over the ground again and estimated the population of Europe in 1750 at 137 million.²

The population of Europe and of its several political divisions has been determined by Sundbärg for each decade in the nineteenth century.³ Accepting his figures of 187 million for 1800 and 266 million for 1850, Europe increased in the first half of the nineteenth century by 42.2 per cent. If it increased during the preceding fifty years at the same rate, its population in 1750 was about 131.5 million; if it increased at a lower rate, as it probably did, its population in 1750 was above that.

Another method starts with estimates or so-called "censuses" for various parts of Europe before 1800.⁴ Where such a return has been found, the population of that country in 1750 has been estimated by assuming a rate of annual increase between 1750 and 1800 equal to that derived from the two censuses embracing part of that half-century. Seven countries in different parts of Europe including between one-fifth and one-fourth of its population increased as a whole between 1800 and 1850 by nearly 50 per cent, but in the preceding half century, if the figures reproduced by Bertillon may be accepted, by only 28 per cent or less than three-fifths as fast. If it be supposed that the rates for all Europe in the two periods differed similarly, that continent in the second half of the eighteenth century increased not by 42.2 per cent but only by 24.1 per cent.

¹Walter F. Willcox, "The Expansion of Europe in its Influence upon Population" (1906).

²Walter F. Willcox, "The Expansion of Europe in Population" (1915).

³G. Sundbärg, *Aperçus Statistiques Internationaux, Dixième Année* (1906), p. 28. For our purposes these results are better than the earlier ones of Inama in *Statistische Monatschrift* (1901).

⁴Jacques Bertillon, *Statistique Internationale* (1899), pages 8-34.

On that basis its population in 1750 was a little over 150 million.

The rate of increase in Europe, 1750-1800, may be supposed to have been to the rate 1800-1850 as the latter was to the rate 1850-1900. This assumption points to an increase of 35 per cent in the population of Europe, 1750 to 1800, and so a population in 1750 of about 140 million. This intermediate result should be preferred, perhaps, to the others and so 140 million accepted as the most probable population of Europe in the middle of the eighteenth century.

The probable population of China at that date next calls for consideration. Parker's figure for 1750, as we have seen, is 179 million and Chang-Heng Chen's for 1748 is 177 million. The official returns no doubt showed these totals. If the estimate of 70 million already reached for the population of China in 1650 is accepted, this increase of 156 per cent in a century, or nearly one (0.94) per cent a year, although high, is not incredibly high. Parker gave also the number of families for nearly every year between 1651 and 1734. The number of families in 1653 has been assumed to equal the average for the years 1652-4, and that in 1733 to equal the average for the years 1732-4. The increase in the 80 years is about 80 per cent or three-fourths (0.75) of one per cent annually. If one holds to the figure of 70 million for 1650, and applies this rate of increase derived from the increase of families to the whole century, a population of 148 million in 1750 is reached. If the official figure of 179 million is preferred, one must assume apparently either that after 1734, when the figures available for families end, both families and population increased more rapidly than before, or that through the century population increased faster than families because the families were gaining in size. Since 1712 the population returns are said to have been of no administrative use but to have been maintained for religious or traditional reasons. The figures show that throughout the two centuries since 1712 the reported increase of population in China and in the several provinces has been incredibly regular and almost incredibly rapid. In view of these facts, it may be permissible to adopt the theory that the official figures after 1712 exceeded the truth more and more, and to estimate the population of China in 1750 at 148 million instead of the official 179 million.

Another method is to assume that, after the disorders which began with the Taiping Rebellion in the middle of the nineteenth century or even earlier with the first war between China and Great Britain, there was no steady and regular growth in the population

of China but rather an ebb and flow, the excess of births over deaths in ordinary or normal years being balanced by the excess of deaths over births in the numerous years of civil war, flood, famine, or pestilence.

For the period of two centuries, 1650-1850, the annual Chinese figures of population are given by Parker,¹ those between 1651 and 1734 by families or households and those between 1741 and 1851 by heads. To make of this long record a brief and consistent series, the number of households before 1734 has been multiplied by 6, Parker's figure for the average size of a household, and 5-year averages computed. The results show that between 1660 and 1710 the rate of growth was moderate, but that after 1710 it was much more rapid. The average rate between 1710 and 1850, five-sixths of one per cent, was five times as great as the average during the preceding half-century. The few books upon Chinese history during the Manchu dynasty which have been examined do not reveal any political or economic reason for the change. It does not appear that the production of food in China increased notably or that the consumption of food per head declined. One is brought back to the statement of Sacharoff that the emperor's edict removing fiscal motives for a careful enumeration was an important factor. This left the local officers free to follow the local tradition modified by a local desire, reinforced perhaps occasionally by what was understood to be the desire of the emperor, for a large and growing population. The annual returns of households between 1651 and 1710, also, carry on their face evidences of untrustworthiness. There are 58 returns, purporting to show in thousands the number of households in China. Each contains five integers. Thirteen are exact repetitions of those of the preceding year, in nine only one figure and in eleven only two figures of the five were different. Three-fifths indicate that they were carried over with little change from the preceding year. If the original returns were by provinces and could be found, a similar analysis might be applied to them.

As the case now stands it seems best to adopt the Chinese returns before 1712 not as trustworthy but as better than nothing, to reject those between 1712 when the more rapid increase began and 1910 and those after 1910, to assume that between 1850 and 1930 the population of China has been stationary, and to distribute the increase between 1712 and 1910 over the years between 1712 and 1850 at a uniform annual rate. This method yields 158 million as

¹E. H. Parker, "Note on Some Statistics regarding China" (1899), pages 150-156.

the population of China in 1750. Not only does the method seem preferable to either of the preceding, but the result falls between the 148 million resulting from projecting the rate of increase between 1654 and 1734 and the official figure of 179 million.

If the population of Japan in 1650 was 23 million and if in 1732 it was 30 million, then, assuming a uniform rate of growth, the population in 1750 was about 31.8 million.

The population of India in A.D. 1650, as we have seen, was probably about 100 million, that in A.D. 1850, as will appear later, was about 205 million. Assuming a uniform rate of increase, the population in A.D. 1750 was about 144 million.

If the rest of Asia included in 1650 about 57 million (page 53) and in 1850, according to the revision of Dieterici's figures (page 74), about 91 million then in 1750 it had probably about 72 million and the population of the whole continent would stand as follows:

<i>Population in Millions</i>	
China	158
Japan	31.8
India	144
Rest of Asia	72
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>
Total	406

For Africa and for Australia and Polynesia no evidence has been found warranting a change in the figures already adopted for 1650.

About the Western Hemisphere, also, the evidence is meager. For what was later to be the United States, current estimates are supported by assuming that during each decade between 1750 and 1790, the population increased as it did between 1790 and 1800 by 35 per cent. For Mexico, Humboldt gave figures relating to 1793 and 1803 and believed that the population was doubling in from 30 to 40 years. For Cuba also he gave much evidence, and the writer analyzed the early returns from that island in connection with the Cuban census of 1899.¹ The population of Porto Rico may be estimated from returns for 1775 and 1800. Returns from Jamaica for before and after 1750 exist, and it has been assumed that in 1750 as in 1823 that island contained about 52 per cent of the population in the English West Indies. Similar methods have been used for the

¹U. S. War Department, *Census of Cuba, 1899: Appendix XVII*, "Previous Censuses of Cuba," pp. 702-713.

other West Indian islands. Central America, or Guatemala as it then was named, had early in the last century about one-fourth (26 per cent) as many people as Mexico. Thus the estimates of the population of North America in 1750 set forth in Table 12 have been constructed.

TABLE 12.

ESTIMATED POPULATION OF NORTH AMERICA, 1750

(In Thousands)

Canada.....		60
English continental colonies.....		1,200
Jamaica.....	127	
English West Indies.....		244
Cuba.....	150	
Porto Rico.....	32	
Santo Domingo.....	95	
Spanish West Indies.....		277
Guadeloupe.....	82	
Haiti.....	285	
Dutch, West Indies.....		435
French Danish & Swedish West Indies.....		58
Mexico.....		2,500
Central America.....		650
Independent Indians.....		900
Total for North America,		6,324

If the preceding results are accepted and if South America had in 1750, as apparently it had a century earlier, about 95 per cent of the population of North America, then it had some 6.1 million inhabitants, and the results for the Western Hemisphere in 1750 are:

Population in Millions

North America	6.3
South America	6.1
	—
Total	12.4

By combining the foregoing, the approximate population of the

earth and the continents in 1750 is found to be somewhat as follows:

<i>Continent</i>	<i>Estimated Population of the Earth in Millions about 1750</i>
Europe	140
Asia	406
Africa	100
North America	6.3
South America	6.1
Australasia and Polynesia	2
	<hr/>
Total	660

When the question of the population of the earth and the continents at the beginning of the nineteenth century is opened, it is found that the writers were more numerous but the evidence, at least for the population of Europe, was no better. Volney in 1803 gave it 140-142 million, a gross understatement, and Pinkerton in the following year, perhaps adopting the earlier Süssmilch result, said "150 million may be assigned to Europe." The earliest of Hassel's statements is dated 1809, when he allotted to Europe 179 million inhabitants. Malte-Brun probably published in 1810 that part of his voluminous *Précis* which contains his estimate of the earth's population. In the English translation, dated 1824, his statement reads: "Europe... may contain 170 millions of inhabitants." Graberg de Hemsö in 1813 gave Europe 180 million. Balbi's estimate of 704 million for the earth seems to have included no figures for any divisions of Europe or even for that continent as a whole. His total for the earth was raised later and at that time his figures for Europe were 228 and 229 million. It is probable, therefore, that his earlier figure for Europe, if he had one in mind, was somewhat above 200 million. His reputation as a geographer stood very high and his endorsement of Hassel's *Umriss der Statistik*, published in 1823-4 as containing "the best work that has yet been done in this field," may be used to preface the quotation from Hassel's *Lehrbuch der Statistik* published in 1822, the only work of his I have seen, that "Europe has about 200 million inhabitants," a statement from which Balbi may have taken his earlier idea. No one of these writers presented as much evidence or studied the question with as much care and thought as their American contemporary Morse or their predecessors Riccioli and Süssmilch.

But the survey does show that, early in the nineteenth century, the leading geographers of Europe gave that continent not less than 140 million and not much more than 200 million inhabitants.

Several writers at the end of the nineteenth century sought to estimate the population of Europe at its beginning, in order to determine how much it had increased during the hundred years. Levasseur and Bodio in 1902 gave Europe 175 million inhabitants in 1800; Inama and Juraschek in 1901 gave it 185 million and Sundbärg in 1906 gave it 187 million at the same date.¹ The figures of Levasseur and Bodio cannot easily be compared with the others, because they gave the population of the several countries within the boundaries of 1800 and the others within the boundaries of 1900.

Before consulting these sources an estimate was made by combining figures of Bertillon² and Juraschek,³ and a total of 188 million reached. But it is best to adopt Sundbärg's figure, 187 million, which was made more carefully and by a better authority.

This survey about opinions at the beginning and the end of the century points to two conclusions. First, the problem is one of mixed geography and statistics, and during the first part of the last century no scholars gave it serious attention. Secondly, the evidence towards the end of the nineteenth century was much greater in amount and better in quality than that at the beginning.

Asia has previously been given about 406 million people in 1750. To estimate its population in 1800 the next step should be to ascertain its population in 1850, and that because the earliest careful and significant effort to determine the contemporary population of Asia was made in 1859 by Dieterici.⁴ In his paper he divided that continent into twelve sections; his results for eight may be accepted, but for four they should be changed. About China he had only the evidence of a few western scholars, notably Humboldt, Gützlaff and S. Wells Williams. The last accepted the Chinese return of 1812 and gave China Proper 362 million inhabitants. For reasons already explained, the estimate of the population of all China in 1910 has been reduced to 342 million, and the annual returns of the popula-

¹Levasseur and Bodio, "Statistique de la superficie et de la population des contrées de la terre," p. 106; Inama and Juraschek, "Bericht über die Thätigkeit des statistischen Seminars," p. 596; Sundbärg, *Aperçus Statistiques* (1906), p. 28.

²*Statistique Internationale*.

³In Hübner, *Geographisch-statistische Tabellen*, 1901.

⁴Dieterici, "Die Bevölkerung der Erde." The author had been for twenty-five years professor of political science at the University of Berlin and for fifteen director of the Prussian Statistical Bureau. He was the first man in the nineteenth century to take up seriously the problem of estimating the earth's population, carrying on the work of Riccioli in the seventeenth century and of Süßmilch in the eighteenth.

tion between 1712 and 1910 have been rejected as not furnishing a clue to the changes in the population in those two centuries. It has also been argued mainly from external evidence that the population of China has not increased significantly since 1850. Rockhill, writing in 1904, said: "The present population of China Proper cannot greatly exceed that of 1842."¹ Two years later, and with no knowledge of Rockhill's statement, I expressed a preference for "the earlier conclusion of Dr. Behm that the best basis for an estimate of the present population of China is the census of 1812, namely, 350 million, supplemented by the assumption that the population since that date has been stationary, the calamities of civil war, famine and flood having eaten up the natural increase."² In the intervening years new and better evidence has led to the conclusion that a sounder basis for an estimate of the present population of China is the return of 1910, namely, 342 million, supplemented by the assumption that the population both between 1850 and 1910 and between 1910 and 1930 has been stationary, the calamities of civil war, famine, flood and pestilence in many of the years after the middle of the nineteenth century having neutralized the excess of births over deaths in normal years. So China in 1850 may be assigned a population of 342 million, in place of Dieterici's 367 million.

For Japan also Dieterici's estimate should be reduced, and that from 35 to 32.5 million, because of evidence not available to him. For the Dutch East Indies he had figures of 16 million, and for the Philippines 3.8 million, or 19.8 million for the two. These archipelagoes include less than one-fourth of the entire area of the East Indies. Dieterici assumed that the other three-fourths had a density of population about five-eighths of the average in the Dutch and Spanish East Indies, and so assigned them 57.6 million people. At the present time those three-fourths, namely, Australia, Polynesia and the other East Indies have only about one-sixth as many people as the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies combined, instead of about three times that number, as Dieterici supposed. There is no reason to believe that the ratio in 1850 was greater, but it may well have been less. So they have been given 3.2 million in 1850 instead of 57.6 million, and the whole of Australia and the insular world 23 million, one of which goes to Australia and Polynesia and 22 to the East Indies. For India Dieterici rested upon a careful study two

¹W. W. Rockhill, "Inquiry into the Population of China" (1905), p. 674.

²Walter F. Willcox, "The Expansion of Europe in its Influence upon Population" (1906), p. 56.

years before by Behm, and he upon recent and authoritative publications by Edward Thornton, head of the statistical bureau in the East India House. It seems probable now that both of these writers underestimated the 1850 population of India, the first census of which was not taken until about 1871. Instead of accepting their conclusions it seems better to estimate the population of India in 1850 by assuming that the rate of its increase 1851-71 was equal to the average of the rates of increase 1871-91 and 1881-1901. This method indicates that the population of India in 1850 was 205 instead of 171 million.¹ As a result of these changes, Dieterici's estimate of the population of Asia about 1850 may now be revised thus:

<i>Country</i>	<i>Dieterici</i>	<i>Revision</i>
China	400	342
Japan	35	32.5
East Indies	80	22
India	171	205
Rest of Asia	69	69
	755	671
Total for Asia		

If the population of Asia in 1750 was about 406 million and in 1850 about 671 million, in 1800 it was probably not far from 522 million, the mean of the other two.

For Africa in 1800 the earlier estimate of 100 million for 1650 and 1750 cannot now be improved.

For North America there are the following estimates:

Canada	350
United States	5,300
Louisiana	40
Florida	20
Mexico	5,300
Central America	1,600
Cuba	400
Porto Rico	150
British West Indies	610
French West Indies	200
Dutch, Danish and Swedish West Indies	80

¹Probably even this figure is not large enough because the first census of India, that of 1871, is thought to have suffered from serious omissions. If so, the 1871 base is too small and the 20-year increase 1871-91 is too large, each error tending to make the resulting 1850 estimate too small.

Haiti	350
Santo Domingo	150
Independent Indians	800
	<hr/>
Total for North America	15,350

South America has been assigned in 1650 and 1750 about 95 per cent as many people as North America. In 1823 according to Humboldt it had about 55 per cent as many as the northern continent. In 1800, then, it had perhaps about 60 per cent as many or 9.2 million and the Western Hemisphere about 25 million.

To sum up the results for 1800:

<i>Continent</i>	<i>Estimated Population of the Earth, in Millions</i>
Europe	187
Asia	522
Africa	100
North America	15.4
South America	9.2
Australia and Polynesia	2
	<hr/>
Total	836

The next question is about the probable population of the earth in 1850. For Europe, Dieterici reached a total of 272 million. But his article was published in 1859 and many of his figures spoke for 1857 or later. This is probably the main reason that his total exceeded those of Inama-Juraschek, 265.3, and Sundbärg, 265.9, for 1850. It is difficult to compare his figures with theirs because his speak for countries bounded as in 1857 and theirs for countries bounded as in 1900. Sundbärg's figure of 266 million has been accepted.

For Asia, as already explained, Dieterici's figure has been reduced from 755 to 671 million.

Africa puzzled him greatly; about it he had little more evidence than Riccioli had two centuries earlier. He wrote, "Europe has about 70 to a square mile and Asia 44. Africa is not nearly so densely settled as Europe nor even as Asia... Twenty-five to a square mile might be too many. The returns for single countries

such as Egypt, Algeria and Liberia indicate between 14 and 19 to a square mile; these densities applied to the whole continent would give in the one case 163 million, in the other 217 million." So he assumed as a mean 200 million. This evidence furnishes no reason for departing from Riccioli's guess of 100 million, supported as it is by evidence which has since become known.

For the population of the Western Hemisphere in 1850 much more information is now accessible than Dieterici possessed. He had returns for only three West Indian islands: Haiti, Cuba and Jamaica. He knew the area of the rest and assumed that on them there were about 1,000 persons to a German square mile, which was far above the truth. In revising his estimates use has been made of Humboldt, Stein-Wappäus, Behm and Wagner. The results are given in Table 13, page 77.

For several countries the changes are important, but the net change is negligible. The population of the earth and of these several continents in 1850 may now be estimated as follows:

<i>Continent</i>	<i>Estimated Population of the Earth in 1850</i>
	Millions
Europe	266
Asia	671
Africa	100
North America	39
South America	20
Australia and Polynesia	2
Total	1,098

The population of the earth in 1900 has been carefully studied by many scholars, and only a collation of their results is needed. For Europe there are the following estimates in millions:

Inama-Juraschek (1901)	392
Levasseur and Bodio	401
Sundbärg (1906)	401

More than two-thirds of the difference between the first and third scholars lies in the figures for European Russia. Inama reproduced those of the census of 1897, the only careful enumeration taken in Russia before the World War, while Sundbärg estimated

TABLE 13.

ESTIMATED POPULATION OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE ABOUT 1850
(In Thousands)

Country	Dieterici (1859)	Revision of Dieterici's figures
British America.....	2,571	2,400
United States.....	23,192	23,200
Mexico.....	7,662	7,300
Central America.....	2,150	2,100
Haiti.....	1,133	1,133
Dominican Republic.....		
Cuba.....	1,449	1,186
Jamaica.....	379	400
Other Antilles.....	445	1,154
North America.....	38,981	38,873
New Granada.....	2,250	2,250
Venezuela.....	1,356	1,490
Ecuador.....	900	816
Peru.....	1,700	1,888
Chile.....	1,300	1,287
Bolivia.....	2,326	1,800
Brazil.....	7,678	7,678
Argentina.....	1,235	1,100
Uruguay.....	150	150
Paraguay.....	600	500
Guiana.....	171	100
Wild Tribes.....	320	1,000
Polar regions (South America).....	10	.....
South America.....	19,996	20,059
Total,	58,977	58,932

the increase between 1897 and 1900 probably by adding the excess of births over deaths during that interval. Sundbärg's figures are the more suitable. Levasseur and Bodio reached the same total as Sundbärg, 401 million, although they differed from him not a little in the details.

For Asia there is Supan's report of 1901 which reached a total of 814 million. His results have been adopted in the main, but he

gave the Chinese Empire 330 million while the foregoing analysis points to 342 million. If Supan's results for Asia in 1900, Sundbärg's for Europe, Juraschek's for the rest of the world at the same date, and those of the International Statistical Institute for 1929 are accepted, with the change for China already indicated, the figures in Table 14 are reached.

TABLE 14.

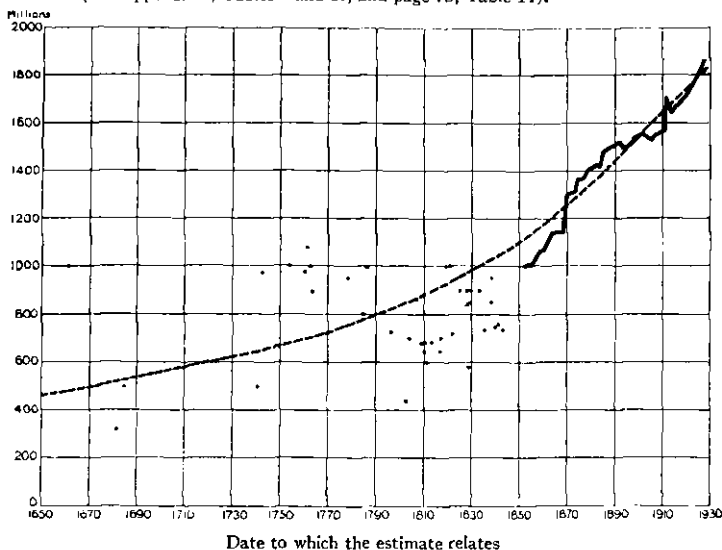
ESTIMATED POPULATION OF THE EARTH AND THE CONTINENTS, 1650-1929.
(In Millions)

Continent	Year						Area ¹ in Million Square Miles
	1650	1750	1800	1850	1900	1929	
Asia.....	250	406	522	671	859	954	16.7
Europe.....	100	140	187	266	401	478	3.8
North America.....	7	6.3	15.4	39	106	162	9.4
Africa.....	100	100	100	100	141	140	10.8
South America.....	6	6.1	9.2	20	38	77	7.3
Australasia and Polynesia..	2	2	2	2	6	9	3.3
Total.....	465	660	836	1,098	1,551	1,820	51.3
Annual Increase per 100,000.....	...	3.51	4.74	5.49	6.93	5.53	...
<i>Per Cent Distribution</i>							
Asia.....	53.8	61.5	62.5	61.1	55.4	52.4	32.6
Europe.....	21.5	21.2	22.4	24.2	25.9	26.3	7.4
North America.....	1.5	1.0	1.8	3.6	6.8	8.9	18.4
Africa.....	21.5	15.1	12.0	9.1	9.1	7.7	21.0
South America.....	1.3	0.9	1.1	1.8	2.4	4.2	14.2
Australasia and Polynesia..	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	6.4
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹Excluding the uninhabited Polar lands; based on International Statistical Institute *Aperçu de la démographie . . . du monde, 1929*, pp. iv, 25-40.

The main results of this Chapter are depicted in Diagram 2. The ascending line represents the population of the earth at various dates since 1650 according to Table 14. The scattered dots represent the contemporary estimates of that population, a record of which will be found in Appendix I, Table I. The annual estimates of the contemporary population of each continent since 1850, according to *Hübner's Tabellen*, are shown in Diagram 3, the figures underlying it being given in Appendix I, Table II. The Hübner figures for Asia have not been revised to bring them into harmony with the present estimates for China.

Diagram 2. Contemporary Estimates (dots and solid line) and Present Estimates (dash line) of the Population of the Earth at various dates between 1650 and 1929. (See Appendix I, Tables I and II, and page 78, Table 14).



This evidence indicates that in less than three centuries the population of the earth has nearly quadrupled and that the rate of its increase accelerated until about 1900 but slackened after that date. Asia seems to have gained at first more rapidly than any other continent; between 1650 and 1800 its proportion of the world's population increased by 10 per cent. Since 1800 the proportion has fallen and it now holds about the same relative position that it did in 1650. Europe and the Americas lost ground relatively between 1650 and 1750, but in the following two centuries North America gained 8.0 per cent, Europe 6.1 per cent, and South America 3.7 per cent, or together 17.8 per cent, these shifts having been offset by a relative loss during the same period of 11.2 per cent in Asia and 6.8 in Africa. Africa has lost in relative population almost without a break, its present proportion being little more than one-third of what it was in 1650. In view of that change and of the diminished importance of tropical America in comparison with its populousness before the whites arrived, it might be held that in modern times man

has become less tropical in his habitat and more a denizen of the temperate, perhaps even of the cold temperate zones.

When this study began the writer believed that a main cause of the unprecedented growth of population in modern times had been the widening influence of Europe.¹ Perhaps for the period since 1750 that contention is correct. But if the foregoing results are accepted, the century before 1750 was characterized by a growth in the relative size of Asia's population at the expense of every other continent. In that century the population of the Americas dwindled, that of Africa and Oceania was stationary, and while the population of Europe increased, it did so at a rate not much more than half that of Asia. Since 1750, on the contrary, Europe's rate of growth has been more than twice that of Asia. May the new evidence be reconciled with the old in the statement that when and where the production of food or of food and other economic goods has rapidly increased, population also has increased and often the standard of economic life has risen? Whether there was a great increase in the production of food in Asia between 1650 and 1750 or 1850, as there almost certainly has been since 1850 both there and in Europe and America, does not appear; but if there was not, it will be found difficult or impossible to accept the present and provisional figures for that part of the world.

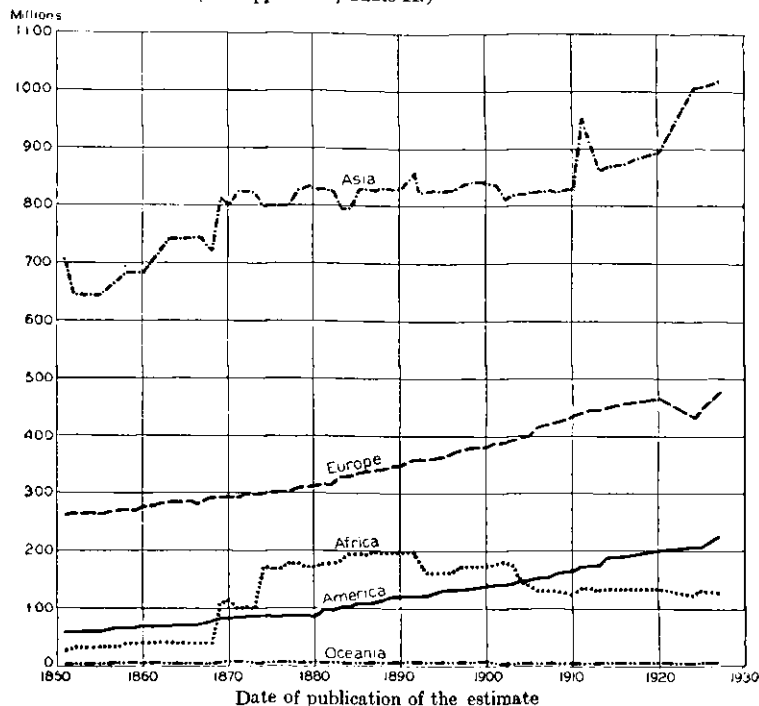
Human races have not yet been defined in a way to receive general acceptance. Until that is done, an effort to determine their number and their rate of growth would be premature. But the present study has some bearing upon the increase of whites and of American Indians or Amerinds.

Whether the number of Amerinds in the Western Hemisphere 500 or 1000 or 2000 years ago was much greater than it was when Columbus crossed the Atlantic, is a question which need not now be considered. Americanists apparently believe that the aboriginal population of America decreased rapidly between 1500 and 1650, and at the later date was near its minimum. If the present estimate of 13 million people, practically all Amerinds, in America in 1650 be accepted, the question whether there are more or less today apparently finds the authorities agreed upon the answer. Spinden estimates the present number at 26 million, two-fifths in Mexico and about half in each of the two continents.² Because persons of mixed bloods were counted in this estimate according to the propor-

¹Walter F. Willcox, "The Expansion of Europe" (1906 and 1915).

²H. J. Spinden, "The Population of Ancient America" (1928), page 643.

Diagram 3. Contemporary Estimates of the Populations of the Continents, after Hübner 1851-1927. (See Appendix I, Table II.)



tion of their Indian blood, it cannot easily be compared with those in which the pure bloods and mestizos are distinguished. Other estimates point to similar results:

Writer	Date	Pure Bloods	Mestizos
Keane ¹	1902	9.9	12.3
Bryce ²	1914	16-17	19
Willcox	1930	14.4	18

Any one of the preceding estimates would indicate that there is more Indian blood now in the Western Hemisphere than there was in 1650 unless the number of Amerinds then was much above 13 million.

¹A. H. Keane, in Mill's *International Geography* (1902), page 106.

²James Bryce, *South America* (1914), pages 458 ff.

The increase of the white or Caucasian races since 1650 can be shown more exactly. In such a rough survey it is unnecessary to take into account the minor Mongoloid or other non-Caucasian stocks in Europe. The general results are brought together below.

*Population of unmixed European Stock
(in millions)*

	1650	1929
Europe.....	100	478
United States.....		95.8
Canada and Newfoundland..		8.9
Mexico.....		2.7
Cuba.....		2.1
Rest of North America.....		0.3
North America.....		109.8
South America.....		30.2
Africa.....		3.4
Asia.....		13.3
Oceania.....		6.9
Total.....		642

There are now about 164 million persons of European stock living outside of Europe, nearly one and two-thirds as many as there were in Europe in 1650, or one-third as many as there are now in Europe. Of these 164 million, nearly three-fifths are in the United States. The non-European stocks in the world have increased since 1650 about 3.2 times; the European stocks about 6.4 times, or twice as fast.

The figures in this chapter may be left with the comment of an eighteenth century predecessor upon his own results. "They are not to be viewed with much confidence but they are a first step towards the truth. The proper way to criticize them is to displace them by more accurate figures. They are like old maps of unexplored parts of the world, useful or even necessary until rectified by new discoveries."¹

¹Moheau, *Recherches et considérations sur la population de la France* (1778), p. 62.

PART II

STUDIES OF NATIONAL IMMIGRATION CURRENTS.

CHAPTER II

IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES¹

BY WALTER F. WILLCOX.

In studying the growth of population there was little need to examine the meaning of that word. But in approaching the subject of migration, it is necessary in the first place to discuss definitions. The word "immigrant" may be defined administratively, because of the wording of a law or of convenience in administering it, or theoretically with regard to the real nature of immigration. In the legislation or regulations of different countries scores of definitions of immigrant and emigrant, immigration and emigration may be found; they have been brought together and reviewed in recent publications of the International Labour Office.² No definition has won general acceptance, but there is a tendency to increase the emphasis upon two characteristics of an immigrant: change of place, and accompanying that change an intent to change the residence. This intent is closely connected with a plan to seek a livelihood in the new abode. What is often called temporary immigration, for example, involving a change of place for a period of weeks, months, or years, but with the intent to retain or return to the former abode, is not real immigration. Traveling for business or pleasure, but with no intent to change the residence, is not migration. Many countries have defined emigrants as those who leave or immigrants as those who arrive over the sea. This definition, used for years by the United States, may be convenient administratively, but has no scientific basis. Recently the United States has broadened its definition of an immigrant so as to include those also who enter over its land frontiers from Canada or Mexico. Some countries define an immigrant as one who has made a special contract for the voyage or for employment after arrival but neither of these characteristics is an element the presence or absence of which should be decisive.

A distinction is to be made between migration and emigration or immigration. Migration, the broader term, includes all changes

¹See *International Migrations*, Vol. I, pages 169 ff., and 374-500.

²International Labour Office, *Migration Laws and Treaties*, Vol. I, *Emigration Laws and Regulations*, Chapter II, Definition of an Emigrant; Vol. II, *Immigration Laws and Regulations*, Chapter II, Definition of an Immigrant, Geneva, 1928.

of abode, even the shifting of animals on land, in water or air. But emigration and immigration by their prefixes imply the existence of an organized state in which the migrant has resided or intends to reside. The words are different names for one and the same change of place, regarded from the point of view now of the state which is left and now of the state which is entered. They are narrower in meaning than migration, because they exclude all forms of life except mankind and exclude also the many cases of migration, a large majority of the entire number, in which the change of residence does not take the individual out of one state or into another.¹

In the United States certainly, and in the majority of other countries probably, there has been a tendency, especially since the World War, for the administrative definition of these words to approach the theoretical definition. Thus, before 1867 the American figures for immigrants included all alien steerage passengers entering the country, whether they did or did not intend to make it their residence; between 1868 and 1891 arriving travelers who did not declare their intent to remain in the United States were not classed as immigrants; between 1892 and 1907 the definition gradually came to include these characteristics: (1) alien; (2) officially admitted; (3) previous residence in foreign country; and (4) declared intention of residing in the United States. After 1907 all these elements were essential. Before 1904 also immigrants were included in the tables only if they traveled in the steerage. Corrections for these omissions would have increased the number of immigrants reported in 1899 and 1903 by about 8 per cent. Perhaps the official figures for other years between 1892 and 1903, inclusive, should be increased by about the same per cent to allow for the omission of cabin passenger immigrants. Before 1904, and perhaps for a year or two after that date, persons arriving by land who had been residents of Canada or Mexico and intended to become residents of the United States were not registered as immigrants. No record could be made, of course, of clandestine immigration and there is little evidence upon which to estimate its amount. It was probably large and increased with the growth of legislative restrictions upon immigration, but the evidence in support of a suggestion recently made by the Bureau of Immigration to the effect that the right of 1,400,000 immigrants now in the United States to continue their

¹In the United States in 1920 there were less than 14 million foreign born but more than 20 million natives living outside of the state in which they were born. There were uncounted millions more living in the state but not in the town or city in which they were born.

residence might be challenged does not stand examination and that figure, no doubt, is much too high.¹

An attempt, explained in full in Appendix II, has been made to introduce corrections for the period since 1892 in order to allow for these variations in the definition of an immigrant and departures from the definition now accepted. The result was to increase the yearly totals between 1892 and 1903, inclusive, by an average amount of about 15,000 and to reduce by smaller amounts the yearly totals between 1908 and 1927, inclusive. The average annual difference between the official figures and the new ones is about 3,000; the maximum difference is 56,500 or about 6 per cent.

The reported immigration of aliens into the United States by ten-year periods during the century and more since the record began in 1820 is shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15.

IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES AND ITS INCREASE OR DECREASE
BY TEN-YEAR PERIODS, 1820-1930.

(In Thousands)

Period	Number of Alien Arrivals	Decennial Increase (+) or Decrease (-)
1820-30	152	.....
1831-40	599	+447
1841-50	1,713	+1,114
1851-60	2,598	+885
1861-70	2,315	-283
1871-80	2,812	+497
1881-90	5,247	+2,435
1891-1900	3,688	-1,559
1901-10	8,795	+5,107
1911-20	5,736	-3,059
1921-30	4,107	-1,629
Total,	37,762	

Reported immigration thus has amounted to 37,762,000 persons in 111 years or an annual average of about 340,000. That the population of the United States, however, has been increased as is usually supposed, by approximately that number of persons, does not

¹See Bureau of Immigration *Annual Report for 1925*, page 12, and the discussion of that passage in the present volume.

follow from the figures, for they take no account of the return current of aliens from the United States, a current which has probably increased both absolutely and relatively with the passage of the years. This current was not recorded until 1908 and for the 23 years since that change was introduced the net increase of population from immigration has been computed by subtracting the number of aliens departing from the number admitted. Even this correction leaves the number of permanent immigrants somewhat too large, because the naturalized American citizens leaving the United States to reside abroad have not been deducted.¹ The number of immigrant aliens admitted, the number of all aliens admitted and departed, the difference between the two or net migratory increase, and the ratio of that increase each year to the number of arriving immigrants are shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16.
IMMIGRANTS, TOTAL ALIENS ADMITTED AND DEPARTED, NET MIGRATORY INCREASE AND ITS RATIO TO IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED, 1908-1930.
(In Thousands)

Year	Immigrants Admitted	Total Aliens		Net Migratory Increase	Ratio Net Migratory Increase to Immigrants Admitted (= 100)
		Admitted	Departed		
1908	783	925	715	210	27
1909	752	944	400	544	72
1910	1,042	1,198	380	818	79
1911	879	1,030	518	512	58
1912	838	1,017	615	401	48
1913	1,198	1,427	612	815	68
1914	1,218	1,403	634	769	63
1915	327	434	384	50	15
1916	299	367	241	126	42
1917	295	363	146	216	73
1918	111	212	193	19	17
1919	141	237	216	27	15
1920	430	622	428	194	45
1921	805	978	426	552	69
1922	310	433	345	87	28
1923	523	673	201	473	90
1924	707	879	217	663	94
1925	294	458	225	232	79
1926	304	496	228	268	88
1927	335	538	254	284	85
1928	307	501	274	226	74
1929	280	479	252	227	81
1930	242	446	272	174	72
Totals	12,420	16,061	8,178	7,883	63

¹Bureau of Immigration, *Annual Report for 1908* (1908), page 6.

The increase of population from immigration during these 22 years was between 15 per cent and 94 per cent, and averaged 63 per cent of the immigrants admitted. It might be thought that, because of the war and the subsequent drastic restrictions upon immigration, this average would furnish only a slight clue to the proportion and number of repatriates before 1908. But if the period since that year is divided into three parts: the years before the outbreak of the war, 1907-14, the years of war and subsequent disorder, 1914-22, and the years of drastic restrictions upon immigration, 1923-30, it appears that the net immigration in the first and most indicative period was 61 per cent of the gross. In estimating net immigration during earlier years it is probably safe to assume that between 1900 and 1907 likewise it was about 61 per cent of gross immigration. Before that it must have been greater. If one supposes that it was 65 per cent for the decade 1891-1900, and that for each decade of the nineteenth century it was 5 per cent above what it was in the next later decade, the series of numbers in Table 17 results.

TABLE 17.

REPORTED TOTAL IMMIGRATION AND ESTIMATED NET IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES BY DECADES, 1820-1930.
(In Thousands)

Period	Reported Immigration*	Reported or assumed (italics) per cent that net immigration was of gross	Estimated net increase from immigration
1820-30	152	100	152
1831-40	599	95	569
1841-50	1,713	90	1,539
1851-60	2,589	85	2,201
1861-70	2,315	80	1,856
1871-80	2,812	75	2,108
1881-90	5,247	70	3,680
1891-1900	3,688	65	2,398
1901-07	6,219	61	3,794
1908-14	6,709	61	4,070
1915-22	2,717	47	1,265
1923-30	2,992	85	2,548
Total,	37,762	..	26,180

*The figures before 1900 are from Immigration Commission, *Statistical Review of Immigration 1820-1910* (1911), page 5.

Crude as the method is, the resulting figure of 26.2 million probably comes nearer to the amount of net immigration since 1820 than the 37.8 million, a total 44 per cent greater, which is commonly accepted as measuring that amount.¹

A less direct method of estimating net immigration results from comparing the proportion of the sexes among immigrants with that among the foreign born.² Table 18 shows the proportion of males and females among the foreign-born whites at successive censuses and among immigrants in successive decades.

TABLE 18
SEX DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES AND OF IMMIGRANTS,
1850-1920.*

Year	Per Cent of Foreign Born Whites		Decade	Per Cent of Immigrants	
	Male	Female		Male	Female
1850	55.3	44.7	1841-50	59.4	40.6
1860	53.5	46.5	1851-60	57.9	42.1
1870	53.6	46.4	1861-70	60.5	39.5
1880	53.7	46.3	1871-80	61.3	38.7
1890	54.3	45.7	1881-90	61.1	38.9
1900	54.0	46.0	1891-1900	62.3	37.7
1910	56.4	43.6	1901-10	69.8	30.2
1920	54.9	45.1	1911-20	61.3	38.7

*For the census figures see *Abstract of the Fourteenth Census*, page 120; for the immigration figures see *International Migrations*, Vol. I, p. 211.

The preceding figures show that the proportion of males among immigrants has been between 4 and 14 per cent greater than among the foreign born, and has tended slowly to increase with a sudden rise in the first decade of the present century and a fall again in the second. The results contained in Volume I of this work can now be

¹The Bureau of Immigration attempted in 1908 (*Annual Report for 1908*, p. 228) to estimate net immigration for the years 1899-1907 and in so doing used the ratio 72.9 derived from the four months July-October, 1907, during which, as it says, "conditions were normal." It is probably better now to use 61 per cent, on which the figures in Table 17 are based, the average ratio for the seven years 1908-14. With the essay of the Bureau of Immigration, an earlier attempt by the writer, printed in the *National Civic Federation Review* for November-December, 1906, (page 17) may be compared.

²There is, perhaps, no important or promising field of American immigration statistics so little worked as the attempt to relate the immigration statistics to the foreign born statistics. Unhappily, neither the Bureau of Immigration nor the Bureau of the Census has gone far in comparing these two series of figures. Perhaps the official tradition venturing into the field of another division and the tendency to subordinate disinterested interpretation to administrative needs may explain the neglect. In so large a field a private student cannot go far.

supplemented by the immigration figures for 1925-29, which show a proportion of only 54.9 male, agreeing exactly and for the first time with the proportion among the foreign born. The proportion in 1930 was less than 49 per cent. The divergence in the earlier results was not due primarily to more numerous deaths among male immigrants after arrival, for there was practically no difference in the death rates of the two sexes.¹ It is due, in the main, to the fact that the males are the more mobile and migratory sex and make up a very large proportion of the birds of passage immigrants or repeaters.

The number of foreign-born females in the United States in 1920 was about equal to the number of females who had arrived as immigrants between 1890 and 1920. But the number of male immigrants during those 30 years exceeded the number of foreign-born males enumerated in 1920 by nearly 4.5 million. This excess is a rough measure of the males who had left the United States during that period, temporarily or permanently either as repatriates or as birds of passage. By following this method permanent immigrants are estimated at about three-fourths (76 per cent) of arriving immigrants. But no doubt many foreign-born females also left the United States during the thirty years. For that reason the 76 per cent must be regarded as an upper limit of the ratio between the net increase from immigration and the alien immigrants arriving. The first method of estimation is probably the more accurate, but perhaps it exaggerates the outflow of aliens from the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century.

This correction, by estimating the repatriates or return current of migrants for the years before 1908, is the most important modification to be made in the official immigration returns. But it is by no means the only one. Canadian and Mexican immigrants coming before 1908 by water or land directly from Canada or Mexico to the United States were unrecorded. As a result, the recorded immigration from those two countries is much less than the actual immigration. The latter has been estimated by assuming that the European-born population in the United States at the date of a census was to the Canadian-born or Mexican-born at the same date as the number of immigrants recorded from Europe during the preceding 10 years was to the unknown number of immigrants from Canada or Mexico during the same decade. For example, the 11.8 million natives of

¹In the 34 registration states including 80 per cent of the population of the country, the death rates of the two sexes among the foreign-born whites in 1919-20 was the same, 17.5 per thousand.

Europe in the United States in 1910 is to the 1.2 million natives of Canada in the United States as the 8.1 million immigrants from Europe, 1900-1910, is to the estimated 814,000 from Canada. Similar estimates have been made for 8 decades, 1840-1920, in six of which the immigration from Canada thus indicated much exceeded the recorded immigration. The two exceptions are for the decades 1871-80 and 1911-20. The earlier was "occasioned largely by Canadians passing back and forth over the border the recording of whom has since been discontinued."¹ The later exception for the decade 1911-20 is due to the fact that overland immigration from Canada began to be recorded shortly before 1910. In the case of Mexico the immigration as thus estimated was greater than that recorded during each decade except 1910-20. The result of these estimates is to increase the figure for the immigration of Canadians into the United States, 1840-1920, from 1,915,000 to 3,040,000, and that for Mexicans from 285,000 to 468,000, an increase of 1,309,000 in all, raising the recorded figure from Canada by about three-fifths and that from Mexico by nearly two-thirds. The result of this correction is to increase the figure for net immigration into the United States, 1820-1929, from 26 million to 27.3 million.

To cover the entire situation, less important changes in the Bureau's administrative definition of an immigrant should be mentioned. Until January 1, 1906, an alien arrival was counted as an immigrant each time he entered the United States, but after that date an alien residing in the United States and returning from a visit abroad was not classed as an immigrant. This change reduced the apparent number of immigrants more than 10 per cent. Before January 1, 1903, an alien traveling in the first or second cabin was not classed as an immigrant; after that date he was. This change of administrative definition increased the number of reported immigrants nearly 12 per cent. Before January 1, 1903, an alien arriving to traverse the United States on his way to some other country was deemed an immigrant, but after that date he was classed as a non-immigrant alien. This change excluded apparently about three per cent of the arriving immigrants. Alien seamen deserting their ship at an American port, even if they were reported by the ship and a head tax paid for them, were not counted as immigrants.²

What has been the effect of the arrival of these 27 million immigrants upon the increase of population in the United States? On

¹Bureau of Immigration, *Annual Report for 1920*, Chart 2.

²Walter F. Willcox, "Our Gain in Population Through Immigration," page 7.

this subject two widely different opinions have been expressed. One is that immigrants, since about 1830 when they began to be numerous, with their children and remoter descendants have constituted a net increase of the population, since earlier residents continued to multiply at a rate little affected by the new arrivals. The other is that the immigrants so checked the birth rate of earlier residents that the increase of population has been about what it would have been without the immigration. Under this view the immigrants displaced and supplanted an equivalent amount of native stock. Between these two extreme views there is room for many intermediate positions.

If the opinion that the swarming of the immigrants has been associated with and the cause of a fall in the birth rate of the native stock is to prevail, it must be established by evidence. That is of two sorts, first, statistical evidence that the two changes occurred together, and secondly a theoretical discussion pointing to the conclusion that the coincidence was due to a causal relation between them.

The classic statement of this opinion was made in 1891 by Francis A. Walker. He said: "Foreign immigration into this country has, from the time it first assumed large dimensions, amounted not to a reinforcement of our population, but to a replacement of native by foreign stock." And in another passage: "As the foreigners began to come in larger numbers, the native population more and more withheld their own increase." During the intervening 40 years the theoretical questions involved have been debated, but little has been added to the statistical evidence which Walker marshalled. That evidence invites a re-examination. It includes the following points:

1. The increase in the population of the United States between 1790 and 1830 was more than 8,900,000 or 227 per cent. The immigration during these 40 years Walker estimated at about 385,000 or 4.3 per cent of the total increase. In the succeeding 10 years the population increased by 4,200,000 and immigration rose to 599,000 or 14.3 per cent of the increase. In the decade 1840-50, the population increased by 6,100,000 and immigration rose to 1,713,000 or 28.1 per cent of the increase. In 1850-60 the increase was 8,250,000 and the immigration was 2,598,000 or 31.5 per cent of the increase. If the estimated net increase from immigration in Table 17 page 89, be

¹Francis A. Walker, "Immigration and Degradation," in *Forum*, Vol. 11 (1891), pages 642 and 638 respectively (also reprinted, see Bibliography).

substituted for the preceding figures of gross increase, the proportion due to immigration was 4.7 per cent in 1820-30; 13.5 in 1830-40; 25.2 in 1840-50, and 26.7 in 1850-60. Yet the decennial rate of growth during the 70 years, 1790-1860, instead of rising after 1830 with the rising tide of immigration, remained approximately uniform through the whole period.

2. The decline in the rate of increase of native Americans began "when foreign immigration first assumed considerable proportions; it showed itself first and in the highest degree in those regions, in those states, and in the very counties into which the foreigners most largely entered. It proceeded for a long time in such a way as absolutely to offset the foreign arrivals. . . . These three facts. . . constitute a statistical demonstration such as is rarely attained."¹

The evidence on which Walker relied for this second statement was never published, I believe, in any fuller form. His assertion remains an assertion, although, coming as it did from the leading authority in the field of Federal statistics, it has deservedly carried great weight.

In the forty years since his statements were made, new evidence and improved methods of analysis have been introduced. With these helps, it is timely to ask again: Were the rates of decennial increase in the population of the United States between 1790 and 1860, as Walker claimed, approximately uniform? They are given in Table 19.

TABLE 19.

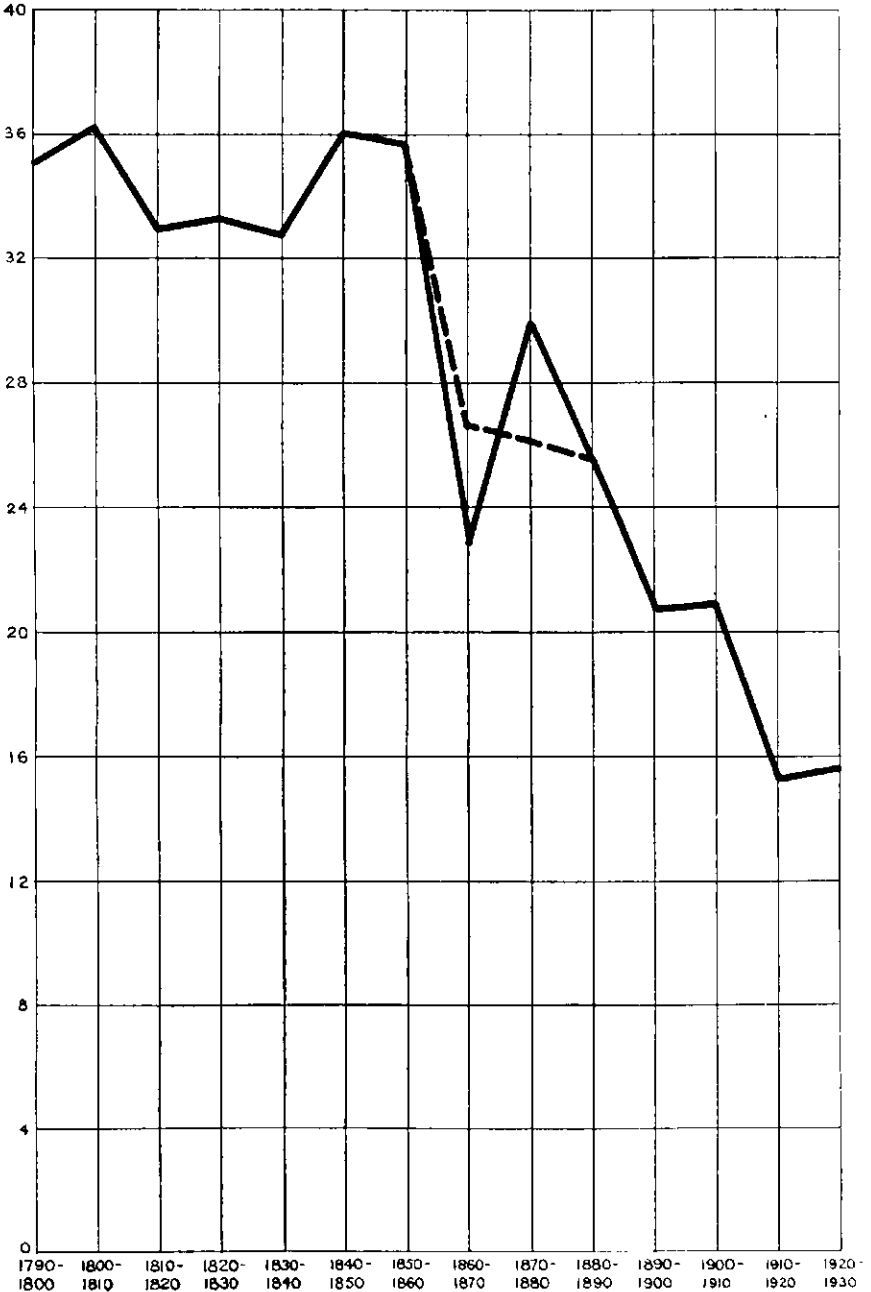
RATES OF DECENNIAL INCREASE IN THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Decade	Rate of Increase
1790-1800	35.1
1800-1810	36.4
1810-1820	33.1
1820-1830	33.5
1830-1840	32.7
1840-1850	35.9
1850-1860	35.6

¹F. A. Walker, "Restriction of Immigration", *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 77 (June 1896), p. 824, col. 2 (also reprinted, see Bibliography).

Diagram 4. Census Bureau Rates of Decennial Increase of Population in the United States, 1790-1930.

Per cent



The foregoing rates are not as uniform as Walker's words might lead one to expect. They were lower in 1810-20, 1820-30 and 1830-40 than in either of the first two or of the last two decades. As immigration, gross or net, in the 20 years 1840-60 was more than one-fourth of the total increase and nearly twice as large relatively as it was in the preceding decade, this fact might naturally be invoked to explain the increased rates of growth towards the end of the 60 years.

The rate of increase in the population at each decade between 1790 and 1920 is illustrated in Diagram 4 (p. 95) which shows also the effect of the Census Bureau's estimate of the errors in the census of 1870 upon the rates of decennial increase 1860-70 and 1870-80.¹ If that estimate of the errors be accepted, the fall in the rate of increase since 1800-1810 has been almost steady and accelerating. The rates of 1840-50 and 1850-60 were higher than any rate in the three decades before 1840 and the rates for 1820-30 and 1900-1910 were slightly higher than those just preceding. These exceptions occurred in periods of heavy immigration, the immediate effect of which was apparently to lift the rate of increase.

Aside from the fact that these rates are not as uniform as Walker's words imply, two other objections to his argument suggest themselves. The first is a minor one. It is not quite accurate to compare the rate of increase 1820-30 with the rates 1810-20 or 1830-40, regardless of the fact that the former interval was 9 years and 10 months and both of the latter were 10 years. The second objection is weightier. At each census between 1800 and 1860 inclusive, except that of 1820, the population was enumerated in certain districts which had not been included 10 years before, and part of the increase was due to an extension of the area of enumeration. In 1830, for example, the population of Florida and in 1850 that of Texas was enumerated for the first time. The figures in Table 20, page 97 show the amount and per cent of the increase due to the extension of the area.

To meet these objections the *annual* rate of increase per 10,000 initial population has been computed, assuming that the rate was constant through each decade. Since Walker wrote the Bureau of the Census has determined the population of each area of enumeration at 10-year intervals between 1790 and 1900. These figures (Table 21) divide the country into 9 areas, viz., that enumerated in 1790, that first included in 1800 and so on, give the population of each of

¹*Abstract of the Census of 1920, Table 4, page 16.*

TABLE 20.
AMOUNT AND PER CENT OF INCREASE IN THE POPULATION OF THE
UNITED STATES DUE TO EXTENSION OF AREA OF ENUMERATION,
1790-1900.

Decade	Total Increase	Increase due to new area	Per Cent of total
1790-1800	1,379,269	61,128	4.4
1800-1810	1,931,398	97,401	5.1
1810-1820	2,398,572	.....	.....
1820-1830	3,227,567	40,048	1.2
1830-1840	4,203,433	49,563	1.2
1840-1850	6,122,423	391,410	6.4
1850-1860	8,251,445	182,528	2.2
1860-1870	7,115,050	.....	.....
1870-1880	11,597,412	.....	.....
1880-1890	12,791,931	258,657	2.0
1890-1900	13,046,861	.....	.....

these areas at each census, and furnish a better basis for determining true rates of increase than that on which Walker relied.¹

The results are shown in Table 21 in which the figures given by the Census publication have been brought down to date. In so doing the population of the Philippine Islands at the date of each American census in the present century has been estimated from the counts of March 2, 1903, and December 31, 1918.

TABLE 21.
POPULATION ENUMERATED ON IDENTICAL AREAS OF THE UNITED STATES
AT SUCCESSIVE CENSUSES, 1790-1930.
(In Thousands)

Date of Census	Population	Date of Census	Population	Increase
1790, Aug. 1	3,930	1800, Aug. 1	5,247	1,317
1800, Aug. 1	5,308	1810, Aug. 1	7,142	1,834
1810, Aug. 1	7,240	1820, Aug. 1	9,638	2,398
1820, Aug. 1	9,638	1830, Aug. 1	12,826	3,188
1830, Aug. 1	12,866	1840, June 1	17,020	4,154
1840, June 1	17,069	1850, June 1	22,800	5,731
1850, June 1	23,192	1860, June 1	31,261	8,069
1860, June 1	31,443	1870, June 1	38,558	7,115
1870, June 1	38,558	1880, June 1	50,156	11,598
1880, June 1	50,189	1890, June 1	62,721	12,532
1890, June 1	62,980	1900, June 1	76,038	13,058
1900, June 1	84,503	1910, Apr. 15	102,144	17,641
1910, Apr. 15	102,253	1920, Jan. 1	118,021	15,768
1920, Jan. 1	118,021	1930, Apr. 1	137,804	19,783

¹Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth* (1909), page 55, Table 9.

At one point the preceding results can be improved. The increase between 1860 and 1870 is understated and that between 1870 and 1880 overstated because no corrections have been introduced for the admitted errors in the census of 1870. Walker studied those errors much more carefully and competently than any other man before or since and I agree with his conclusion that the Census Bureau later in estimating the omissions at about 1.5 million put them much too high. Walker thought them between three-quarters of a million and a million. Probably they were nearer 875,000 than 1,500,000. The figures in Table 21 with this correction furnish the basis for Table 22 and Diagram 5.

TABLE 22.

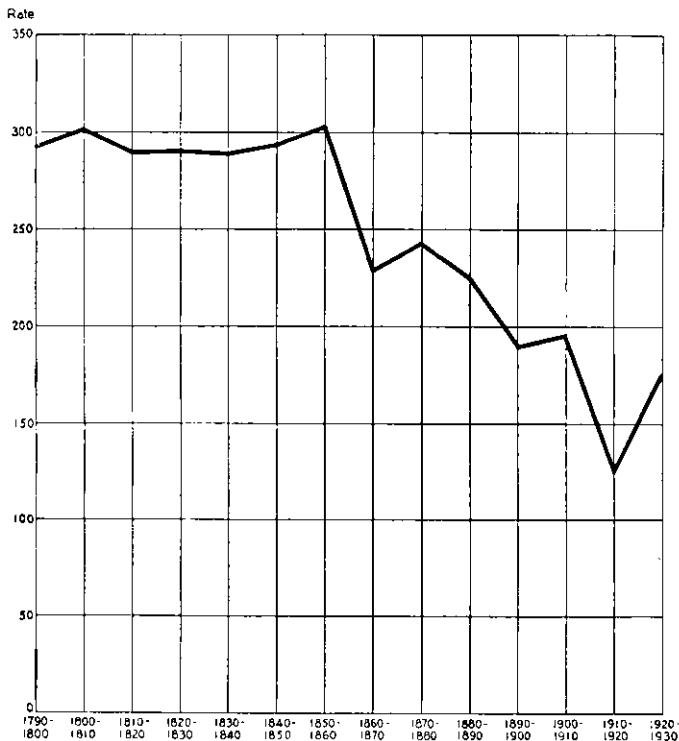
RATE OF ANNUAL INCREASE PER 10,000 PEOPLE ON IDENTICAL AREAS,
1790-1930.

Decade	Rate of Annual Increase
1790-1800	293
1800-1810	301
1810-1820	290
1820-1830	290
1830-1840	289
1840-1850	294
1850-1860	303
1860-1870	229
1870-1880	243
1880-1890	225
1890-1900	190
1900-1910	196
1910-1920	125
1920-1930	175

The results, thus far, strengthen Walker's argument by showing that little of the increase in the rate of growth, 1840-50 and 1850-60, was due to the heavy immigration in those years. The rate in 1840-50 was 10 per cent above that in 1830-40, but about two-thirds of that rise was due to the fact that in 1850 the population on the area which now includes Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, California, Oregon and Washington was counted for the first time.

Walker's statement that "the decline of this rate of increase among Americans began at the very time when foreign immigration

Diagram 5. Rate of Annual Increase per 10,000 People, on Identical Enumeration Areas in the United States, 1790-1930.



first assumed considerable proportions'' is not established by this evidence, because neither then nor now is the "rate of increase among Americans" in the first half of the nineteenth century as distinguished from the general rate known. The decline in the rate among Americans is inferred from the fact that when the ratio of arriving immigrants to population or to increase rose, the general rate did not rise. The validity of the inference may perhaps be tested by examining separately the rates of increase, decade by decade, in the Northern and the Southern States. It is probably better in this comparison to

assume that all foreign born were white,¹ and to compute the rates of increase for the white population North and South. The inflow of immigrants to either section would hardly have influenced the natural increase of the native colored. The results of the computation which has been made for identical areas of enumeration in each decade are shown in Table 23.

TABLE 23.

ANNUAL RATE OF INCREASE PER 10,000 AMONG WHITES IN THE NORTH AND SOUTH, 1790-1920.

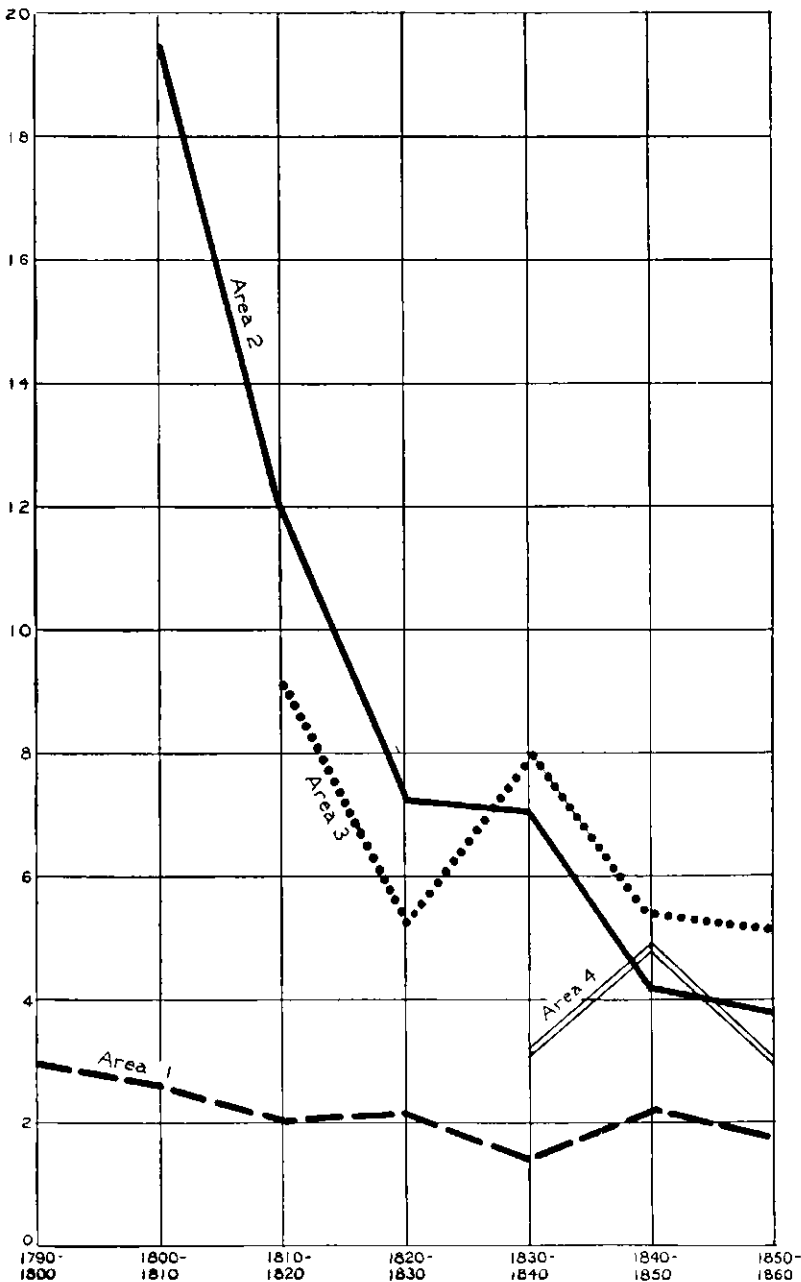
Decade	North	South
1790-1800	299	293
1800-1810	349	238
1810-1820	332	239
1820-1830	354	246
1830-1840	352	196
1840-1850	335	261
1850-1860	339	225
1860-1870	252	112
1870-1880	232	298
1880-1890	225	212
1890-1900	174	227
1900-1910	164	220
1910-1920	129	162

The foregoing rates of increase in the South for 1860-70 and 1870-80 are inaccurate because of serious omissions in the census of 1870. When that inaccuracy is allowed for, the rates of growth in each decade before 1890 are shown to be less among southern whites than among northern whites. In 1790 the southern whites were two-thirds, in 1890 they were one-third as numerous as northern whites. Whether the persistent difference in the rates of increase was due in part to the swarming of the immigrants into the North, where in 1850 the foreign born relatively to the white population were more than three times as numerous as in the South, the figures do not show. They do indicate, however, that before the immigrants began to come in numbers there was no uniformity in the rates of increase in the two

¹In 1920 the proportion of whites among the foreign born was, in the North, 99.3 per cent and in the South 97.6 per cent.

Diagram 6. Rates of Annual Increase of Population in Four Areas of the United States with Unchanged Boundaries, 1790-1860.

Per cent



sections. Why did that rate increase in the North by 17 per cent and decrease in the South by 19 per cent in the second decade compared with the first? The uniformity of the increase in the two main sections of the country and in successive decades is not as great and the influences affecting it are not as few and as simple as Walker's theory would imply.

His theory may be tested also by computing rates of annual increase for each of the unchanging areas, that included in the census of 1790, that added in 1800, etc. In Table 24 and Diagram 6 (p. 101) these rates of annual increase are shown. Allowance has been made for the shortness of the interval between the censuses of 1820 and 1830.

TABLE 24.

RATE OF ANNUAL INCREASE OF POPULATION IN DISTRICTS WITH UN-
CHANGED BOUNDARIES PER 10,000 INITIAL POPULATION,
1790-1860.

Decade	Area first enumerated in			
	1790	1800 ^a	1810 ^b	1830 ^c
1790-1800	293	.....	.....	.....
1800-10	259	1951	.....	.....
1810-20	203	1182	917	.....
1820-30	216	720	522	.....
1830-40	142	706	799	311
1840-50	214	415	539	485
1850-60	174	374	513	295

^aThe area which later became Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Alabama and Mississippi together with western Georgia.

^bThe area which later became Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri.

^cThe area which later became Florida.

The table and figure show that long before immigrants began to swarm in, indeed from the very opening of the century, the increase in the 1790 area of enumeration, which even as late as 1850 included five-eighths of the population of the country, had begun to fall; but that it rose very slightly between 1820 and 1830 and more sharply between 1840 and 1850. The former may be connected with the better times on both sides of the Atlantic after the close of the Napoleonic Wars, the latter more confidently with the inflow of

immigrants between 1840 and 1850. The fall in the earlier decades may be ascribed to the attractiveness of the western lands, north and south, which drained off no small fraction of the increase in the states to the east of them.

The main inferences, however, are that the population of each part of the United States grew in response to its own conditions at the time, and that the apparent uniformity in the rates of growth before 1845, upon which Walker rested his theory, disappears as soon as the different parts of the country are studied separately. That theory had its value as a challenge of the current belief that immigration regularly increased the population by an amount equal to its number. But it is almost equally incorrect to maintain that it did not increase the population at all. In view of the meager evidence obtainable about the growth of population in the United States in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, it may be doubted whether it will ever be possible to determine where between these two extreme views, both of them apparently incorrect, the truth actually lies. It may be noted, however, that the birth rate in the United States as roughly measured by the proportion of children under five years of age to 1000 women of child-bearing age at each census began to fall as early as 1810 and has fallen ever since with one exception, that of the decade 1850-60, an exception probably due to the large immigration just before 1850 and to the high birth rate among the immigrants which more than balanced whatever fall in the birth rate may have occurred among the native population.¹ In the light of the present evidence, it may be surmised that the approximate uniformity in the rate of increase during the early decades of the last century was due largely to the cheapness and accessibility of good agricultural land on the frontier. This conjecture perhaps some future student will be able to confirm or refute.

If one is to survey the whole field, the emigration of American citizens, native or naturalized, from the United States as well as the immigration of aliens must be examined. The former has been registered since 1918. Emigration and immigration therefore may now be compared but only for the 13-year period, 1918-30. In such a comparison it seems best to use the net immigration of aliens or the excess of alien arrivals over alien departures. The results are given in Table 25 on page 104.

¹Walter F. Willcox, "Change in the Proportion of Children" (March 1911).

TABLE 25.

NET IMMIGRATION OF ALIENS AND EMIGRATION OF CITIZENS COMPARED,
1918-30.

Year	Net Immigration of Aliens	Emigration of Citizens	Emigrants per 100 Immigrants
1918	18,585	56,998	306
1919	20,790	39,543	190
1920	193,514	64,564	33
1921	552,132	71,391	13
1922	87,121	79,198	91
1923	472,820	36,260	8
1924	662,557	29,661	4
1925	232,945	25,429	11
1926	268,351	29,182	11
1927	284,493	22,786	8
1928	226,275	21,432	9
1929	226,829	23,443	10
1930	191,039	20,739	11
Total,	3,437,451	519,626	15

For these 13 years emigration was 15 per cent of net immigration. Since the conditions during the first three years of the period were abnormal, attention may be centered upon the figures of the last 10 years, in which the emigration was 11 per cent or one-ninth of the immigration. These citizen emigrants are classified as native and naturalized. Those who were born outside of the United States have, as a class, more ties abroad than native Americans and their emigration rate is probably higher. The following figures show that this anticipation accords with the facts:

Citizen Population	Resident Jan. 1, 1920	Annual Emigrants 1918-30	Emigrants per 100,000
Native	91,789,928	35,075	38
Naturalized	6,493,088	4,896	75

Thus the emigration rate of naturalized citizens is twice that of native citizens. Of the half million citizen emigrants between 1918 and 1929 inclusive, 167,340 or one-third went to some European country and 203,266, or two-fifths, to Canada. It might be supposed

that most of the naturalized citizens who emigrate would go back to Europe as repatriates and that most of the natives would go to Canada as pioneers, but in fact the difference between these two classes is not marked. Of the naturalized Americans 35 per cent and of the native Americans 42 per cent went to Canada. A more important difference between the two classes, that in the age distribution, is illustrated by the figures for the citizen emigrants of 1929 given in Table 26.

TABLE 26.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMIGRANTS, NATIVE AND NATURALIZED, BY AGE, 1929.

Age Period	Emigrants	
	Native	Naturalized
Under 16	27.6	2.3
16-21	9.5	3.9
22-29	22.1	13.1
30-37	16.6	22.0
38-44	10.7	20.6
45 and over	13.5	38.1
Total,	100.0	100.0

Three-fifths of the native but only one-fifth of the naturalized emigrants were less than 30 years of age. The median age of the native emigrants was 25.7 years, that of the naturalized was 40.0 years. The median age of immigrants in the same year was about 22.8 years, so that native emigrants although 14 years younger than naturalized emigrants were three years older, on the average, than immigrants.

Because the short period covered by the statistics of emigration from the United States and the unusual character of the migratory currents in both directions during that period diminish the value of the evidence just summarized, it is unfortunate that no official inquiry has yet been made into the number of persons born in the United States and living in other parts of the world. The nearest approach to it is one by the Department of State in 1929 into the number of American citizens living abroad "whose residence

abroad has a permanent or semi-permanent character." Answers to the Department's letter came from some 330 American consulates, but in many cases, of course, the consuls could not obtain exact figures. More important for present purposes is the fact that an inquiry so framed leaves out of account Americans by birth who have surrendered their American citizenship. Of the foreign born in the United States in 1920, less than two-fifths were aliens and of the American born who were living in Canada in 1921, less than two-fifths retained their American citizenship.

The American citizens residing in the several continents abroad as reported to the Department of State in 1929 were:

<i>Continent of Residence</i>	<i>Number of American Citizens</i>
North America	273,340
Europe	77,063
Asia	24,119
South America	12,136
Africa	3,673
Australasia	2,337
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 392,668

That the preceding figures, however accurate for citizens, seriously underestimate the number of natives of the United States residing in foreign countries is indicated by a compilation of the number of native Americans living abroad, made for this work in the Bureau of the Census. It includes only a small proportion of the countries from which reports were made to the Department of State, and yet the sum is 509,910, or three-tenths larger than the Department of State total. To estimate the approximate number of natives of the United States residing abroad, a comparison has been made between the returns for 24 countries occurring in both lists.

Table 27 shows that the returns compiled at the Bureau of the Census for Americans by birth living in these 24 states gave a total 61.3 per cent larger than the returns for citizens received by the Department of State. On applying this percentage to the other states for which the Census Bureau found no figures, the estimated number of 633,410 natives of the United States residing abroad is reached. It is probably safe to suppose that the number lies between 625,000 and 650,000 and that more than one-half of the native Americans abroad

TABLE 27.

NATIVES AND CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESIDING IN SPECIFIED FOREIGN COUNTRIES, 1917-29.

Country of Residence	Natives	Citizens of United States
Canada.....	374,024	234,039
Great Britain.....	50,738	11,717
France.....	30,948	25,860
Cuba.....	9,555	9,234
China.....	9,356	12,233
Sweden.....	8,694	658
Australia.....	6,604	2,143
Switzerland.....	3,880	1,438
Brazil.....	3,439	2,153
New Zealand.....	1,872	55
Denmark.....	1,742	406
Japan.....	1,700	3,136
South Africa.....	1,549	1,125
India.....	750	3,723
Barbados.....	734	24
Jamaica.....	688	214
Nicaragua.....	571	482
Belgium.....	517	857
Hong Kong.....	470	418
Egypt.....	202	664
Argentina.....	170	3,619
Kenya.....	161	240
Peru.....	160	946
Bahamas.....	503	186
Total.....	509,027	315,560

are in Canada. If this number be compared with the foreign born in the United States in 1920, it appears that there were 46 Americans by birth living abroad per 1000 foreign born living in the United States.

Regarding the regions within the United States in which the immigrants have settled, it should be observed that most of them have remained in the North and West, as, and perhaps in some measure because, most of the Negroes have remained in the South. This geographical separateness of immigrants and Negroes is shown

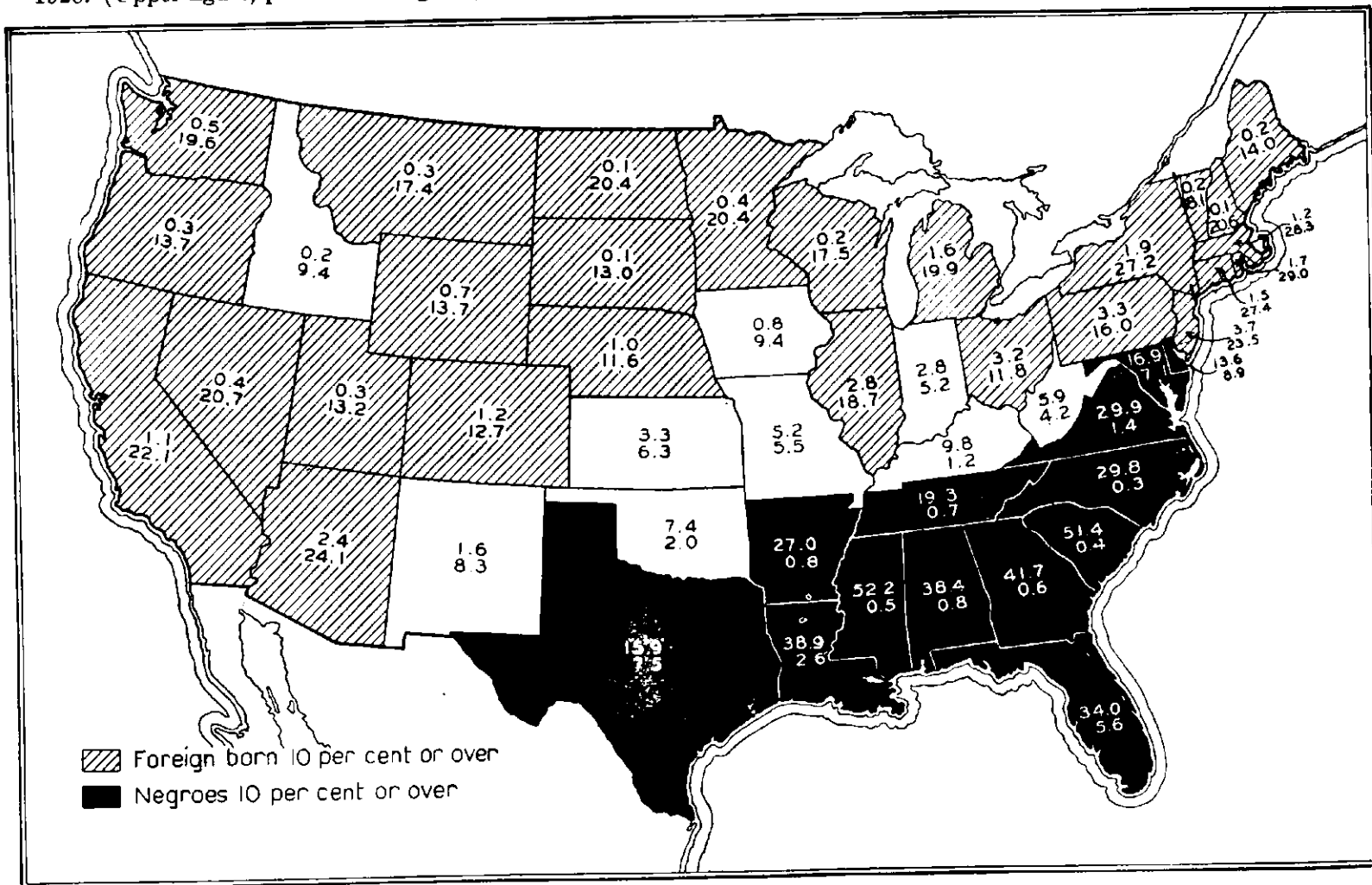
when the states are noted in which either class constituted a considerable fraction of the population. There is not one state, and has not been for 50 years, in which 10 per cent of the population were of foreign birth and 10 per cent also were of African stock. Between 1850 and 1870 there were a few, Missouri and Louisiana in 1850, those two states with Maryland and the District of Columbia in 1860; in 1870 Missouri no longer had 10 per cent of Negroes and Louisiana no longer 10 per cent of foreign born. There are two belts of states, one from Maine to California, in which at least 10 per cent of the population is of foreign birth, the other from Delaware to Texas, in which at least 10 per cent is Negro. The two belts overlap nowhere, but between them is a band from West Virginia to New Mexico, in which neither immigrants nor Negroes constitute 10 per cent of the population. This belt included, in 1920, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma and New Mexico, and to the north of that line also Indiana, Iowa, Kansas and Idaho. (See Diagram 7, page 109.)

Within the last few generations two main currents of migration may be distinguished in the western world; in one the migrants, most of them accustomed to agriculture, have gone to regions in which that occupation could be followed under conditions more favorable than at home; in the other the migrants, for the most part similarly trained, have transferred to industrial districts and industrial occupations. Both sets of motives have drawn immigrants to the United States, but during the last half century the relative importance of the second set has increased. That is reflected in the proportion of the foreign-born population of the United States living in its cities or incorporated places having at least 2,500 inhabitants. The proportion of foreign-born whites in the total population of these cities and of the rest of the country or the rural districts at the last three censuses has been as follows:

TABLE 28.
PROPORTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES IN URBAN AND IN RURAL
POPULATION, 1900, 1910 AND 1920.

Census Year	Per Cent of Foreign-Born Whites		
	Cities	Rural Districts	Ratio of City Per Cent to that of Country
1900	22.2	7.6	2.9
1910	22.6	7.7	2.9
1920	19.1	6.5	2.9

Diagram 7. Map of the United States showing States having at least 10 per cent of their population foreign born or negro, in 1920. (Upper figure, per cent of Negroes; lower figure, per cent of Foreign Born)



The proportion of foreign born in both city and country rose slightly between 1900 and 1910 mainly because of the heavy influx of immigrants, and fell more rapidly in the following 10 years when immigration diminished, but the ratio between the city proportion and that of the country remained about three to one.

Table 29 shows that the proportion of foreign born in the population is greater in the larger cities.

TABLE 29.
PROPORTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES IN URBAN AND IN RURAL
POPULATION, 1920.

Size of Place	Per Cent of Foreign-Born Whites	Ratio of City Per Cent to that of Country
Rural Districts.....	6.5	1.0
Cities with a population of:		
2,500-10,000.....	11.3	1.7
10,000-25,000.....	14.2	2.2
25,000-100,000.....	17.0	2.6
100,000-500,000.....	17.1	2.6
Over 500,000.....	28.2	4.3

Similar figures for 1910 and 1900 show a similar progression in the proportion of foreign born to population.

As the immigrants are massed mainly in the northern and western divisions of the United States, it may be more significant to limit the comparison between city and country to those parts of the United States, as in Table 30.

TABLE 30.
PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES IN THE URBAN AND THE RURAL
POPULATION OF NORTH AND WEST, 1920.

Size of Place	Per Cent of Foreign-Born Whites	Ratio of City Per Cent to that of Country
Rural Districts.....	10.9	1.0
Cities with a population of:		
2,500-10,000.....	14.1	1.3
10,000-25,000.....	16.8	1.5
25,000-100,000.....	19.8	1.8
100,000-500,000.....	20.6	1.9
Over 500,000.....	29.2	2.7

When the figures are thus limited, the differences between city and country become less, mainly because in the rural districts of the North and West the foreign born constitute about one-ninth and in the South less than one-seventieth of the population.

Figures like those of Tables 29 and 30 are often adduced as evidence that the immigrant population of the United States lingers or stagnates in the great cities, especially the cities of the Atlantic seaboard. It must be remembered, however, that the overwhelming majority of immigrants enter the United States through the gateway of a large city. To determine that proportion from the immigration reports is impossible, because a very large number are returned as entering the United States at "land border stations" unspecified. The evidence probably warrants the opinion, however, that not less than 98 per cent enter the United States by way of a city of more than 10,000 people.¹ Yet in 1920 4.4 million foreign born, or one-third of the whole number in the country, were living in the rural districts or in cities of less than 10,000 population. If 98 per cent of the immigrants started their American life in a city, there must have been strong counter currents of population during the last generation by which many native whites migrated from country to city and many foreign-born whites from city to country.

Under ordinary conditions the large majority of pioneers are males, and the nearer one approaches a frontier the larger the proportion of males in the population. For that reason a current of migration, especially in its early years, contains a large excess of males. If it is a long-distance migration, the excess is higher, and if it starts from eastern Europe or from Asia it is greater still, perhaps because females in those regions are less ready than their western sisters to face such a transforming change. To this general rule the Hebrew immigration to the United States constitutes a noteworthy exception, which is examined at length in the chapter devoted to that subject.²

The proportion of males among immigrants into the United States has ranged between 51 and 73 per cent, and is lower now than it was at any earlier date,³ the change being due apparently to the laws restricting immigration passed since the war. Table 31 shows the sex proportion of immigrants by people in 1907, when the proportion of males was greatest (72.4 per cent) and in 1930 when it was least (48.4 per cent), for all those peoples which contributed in either

¹Walter F. Willcox, "The Distribution of Immigrants in the United States" (1906).

²See page 110.

³See page 112.

year more than 10,000 immigrants. The peoples are arranged in the order of decreasing proportion of males in 1907.

TABLE 31.

PER CENT OF MALES AMONG IMMIGRANTS, CLASSIFIED BY RACE OR PEOPLE, AND ITS DECREASE: 1907 TO 1930.

Race or People	Number of Immigrants		Per cent of Males		
	1907	1930	1907	1930	Decrease
Bulgarian.....	27,174	744	97.3	31.7	65.6
Greek.....	46,283	3,793	96.5	41.3	55.2
Rumanian.....	19,200	432	92.6	28.7	63.9
Japanese.....	30,824	796	90.3	68.3	22.0
Russian.....	16,807	1,634	89.8	41.6	48.2
Croatian.....	47,826	1,314	84.7	36.4	48.3
Mexican.....	91	11,915	81.3	53.0	28.3
North Italian.....	51,564	2,822	79.4	34.5	44.9
South Italian.....	242,497	20,494	78.7	38.0	40.7
Ruthenian.....	24,081	473	76.6	49.8	26.8
Magyar.....	60,071	1,542	74.6	43.3	31.3
Polish.....	138,033	4,924	73.0	46.7	26.3
Lithuanian.....	25,884	426	72.3	29.8	42.5
Finnish.....	14,860	556	69.5	37.7	31.8
Slovak.....	42,041	3,214	68.9	42.5	26.4
Dutch and Flemish.....	12,467	4,713	67.1	59.5	7.6
Scotch.....	20,516	28,117	66.6	47.4	19.2
English.....	51,126	34,960	64.8	49.6	15.2
Scandinavian.....	53,425	8,478	64.0	57.0	7.0
German.....	92,936	34,415	60.5	50.5	10.0
Bohemian.....	13,554	653	60.1	46.0	14.1
French.....	9,392	13,771	57.8	53.3	4.5
Irish.....	38,706	34,947	56.5	48.8	7.7
Hebrew.....	149,182	11,526	54.0	41.3	12.7

Table 31 shows that in 1907 each of these peoples contributed more males than females to the population of the United States. The statement is true also of each of the 17 other peoples sending less than 10,000 immigrants, and for the total immigration in every year since the record began in 1820. But in 1930 the proportion of males was much lower than ever before and then, as the table shows, three-fourths of the peoples contributed more females than males, the exceptions being the Japanese, the Dutch, Scandinavians and French, and the Germans. The probable explanation is that in face of the present drastic restrictions upon immigration from Europe divided families are being slowly reunited by the arrival of female members who had remained behind. To test this inference

Table 32 compares the ratio of married women to married men in 1910, the earliest year for which the information is obtainable, and in 1929, for the 24 peoples included in Table 31.

TABLE 32.

NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF MARRIED MEN AND MARRIED WOMEN
 AMONG IMMIGRANTS, 1910 AND 1930.

Race or People	1910			1930		
	Number of Married		Married Women to 100 Married Men	Number of Married		Married Women to 100 Married Men
	Men	Women		Men	Women	
Bohemian etc.	1,590	1,005	63	132	191	145
Bulgarian etc.	9,341	511	5	35	372	1,063
Croatian etc.	18,267	2,545	14	175	504	288
Dutch and Flemish...	2,623	1,812	69	1,040	1,020	98
English.	11,282	8,668	77	6,010	6,257	104
Finnish.	3,213	1,183	37	73	148	203
French.	3,716	3,187	86	2,144	2,298	107
German.	14,588	9,550	65	3,889	5,691	146
Greek.	11,559	958	8	276	1,810	656
Hebrew.	12,464	11,568	93	1,408	2,814	200
Irish.	3,326	2,341	70	2,689	2,607	97
Italian (North).	9,264	3,103	34	180	1,230	683
Italian (South).	76,982	17,685	23	1,667	7,872	472
Japanese.	295	1,758	596	259	151	58
Lithuanian.	4,764	1,818	38	30	193	643
Magyar.	12,107	3,972	33	246	500	203
Mexican.	4,210	2,609	62	1,891	2,293	121
Polish.	41,696	9,557	23	821	1,404	171
Rumanian.	9,436	977	10	35	214	611
Russian.	7,903	1,096	14	240	517	215
Ruthenian.	12,384	1,552	13	42	87	207
Scandinavian.	6,238	3,262	52	769	1,389	181
Scotch.	4,631	3,097	67	3,876	3,627	94
Slovak.	14,953	3,004	20	561	1,001	178

In 1910 more married men than married women immigrated from every people except the Japanese and the excess of husbands over wives among the immigrants from these 24 peoples was over 201,000; in 1930 more married women than married men arrived from every people except the Dutch, Irish, Scotch and Japanese. The proportion of married women to married men increased with every people except the Japanese. This evidence strengthens the inference drawn from Table 31 that many broken families are being reunited.

For nearly 80 years, 1820-98, immigrants to the United States were classified by age, but into only three age groups: "under 15,"

“15-40”, and “over 40.” Between 1899 and 1917 the classification was changed to “under 14,” “14-44,” and “over 44.” In 1918 the limit between children and adults was raised to 16 years. The reasons for these changes, which impair the comparability of the returns for recent years, are not stated. In Table 33 the figures for 1828 and 1851 have been used instead of those for 1830 and 1850, because in 1830 for 58 per cent and in 1850 for 14 per cent of the immigrants the age was not reported, while in 1828 for only 2 per cent and in 1851 for only 0.3 per cent was that true. The figures for 1900, 1910, 1920 and 1930 have been adjusted to the earlier age classification so as to get light upon the changes between 1820 and 1920.

TABLE 33.

CLASSIFICATION OF IMMIGRANTS BY AGE, AT TEN-YEAR INTERVALS, 1820-1930.

Year of Immigration	Number of immigrants				Per Cent		
	Total of known age	Under 15	15-40	Over 40	Under 15	15-40	Over 40
1820	8,895	1,313	6,064	1,518	14.8	68.1	17.1
1828	29,550	8,117	18,397	3,036	27.5	62.2	10.3
1840	91,744	21,727	62,461	7,556	23.7	68.0	8.3
1851	407,672	89,241	274,359	44,072	21.9	67.3	10.8
1860	179,334	28,620	133,919	16,795	16.0	74.6	9.4
1870	387,203	89,129	250,965	47,109	23.0	64.8	12.2
1880	457,257	87,154	327,622	42,441	19.1	71.6	9.3
1890	455,302	86,404	315,054	53,844	19.0	69.2	11.8
1900	448,572	69,427	331,356	47,789	15.5	73.8	10.7
1910	1,041,570	154,881	777,693	108,996	14.9	74.7	10.4
1920	430,001	79,106	287,153	63,742	18.4	66.8	14.8
1930	241,700	39,390	164,724	37,586	16.3	68.2	15.5

The small number of children reported in the first years, 17 in 1823, for example, and 51 in 1822, and the large number with age not stated suggest that the age of adults was deemed more important than that of children. Perhaps for that reason, perhaps because the reporting in the first years was careless and inaccurate in the matter of age—as it certainly was in other respects—the figures for 1820 are quite out of line with those for later years. Beginning with 1828 the proportion of children among immigrants fell irregularly until in 1910 it was only about one-half of what it was at the start, but since then it has been higher.

At each census within the present century the foreign born were asked to report the year of their arrival in the United States,

and answers were obtained from fully nine-tenths of them. The Census Bureau believes that among the tenth who did not answer the length of residence varied much as it did among the other nine-tenths. If it were not for this expression of expert opinion one might have conjectured that failure to reply would be more common among those who had been long in the country and had become thoroughly Americanized. As a rule the more remote an event about which inquiry is made, the less likely it is to be recalled or recalled accurately. But the opinion thus expressed outweighs these general considerations. Even if the error is a biased one, as seems likely, it would affect the tabulations for the different censuses in much the same way, making the actual length of residence in the United States on the part of the foreign born somewhat greater than the computations in Table 34 indicate.

In estimating the distribution, the assumption has been made that the foreign born who had been in the United States say between 3 years 3.5 months and 4 years 3.5 months were evenly distributed over that period, although there is, of course, an annual immigration cycle. In this manner Table 34 has been prepared.

TABLE 34.

FOREIGN BORN DISTRIBUTED BY NUMBER OF YEARS IN UNITED STATES.

Years in United States	Number in Thousands			Per Cent		
	1900	1910	1920	1900	1910	1920
Less than 1.....	201	644	214	2.2	5.3	1.7
1.....	235	461	86	2.5	3.8	0.7
2.....	195	622	116	2.1	5.1	0.9
3.....	172	657	177	1.8	5.4	1.4
4.....	200	562	203	2.1	4.6	1.6
5-9.....	1,360	1,811	1,701	14.6	14.9	19.8
10-14.....	1,597	1,077	2,147	17.1	8.8	17.0
15-19.....	1,566	1,158	1,814	16.8	9.6	14.3
20 or more.....	3,802	5,184	5,398	40.8	42.5	42.6
Total known.....	9,328	12,175	12,656	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median length of residence, in years.....				16.3	15.4	16.4

The figures show clearly the result of recent shifts in immigration. In 1910 after several years of very heavy inflow, nearly one-fourth of all the foreign born had arrived within the previous 5 years; in 1900 after a more normal period, only one-tenth, and in 1920 after almost complete cessation of immigration for several

years, only about one-sixteenth had so arrived. The small amount of immigration just before 1920 was offset by the large amount in the years just before 1915, and in consequence the median length of residence was almost the same in 1900 and in 1920. The heavy immigration just before 1910, on the contrary, had no such counterweight and the median length of residence at that date was a year less than in 1900 or 1920.

Perhaps the most important stage in the assimilation of immigrants is their acquisition of a knowledge of English adequate for communication with other residents who do not use the immigrants' mother tongue. The figures of Table 35 throw some light upon the length of time required for this process.

TABLE 35.

FOREIGN-BORN WHITES CLASSIFIED BY MOTHER TONGUE, 1910 AND 1920.
(In Thousands)

Mother Tongue	Number		Per Cent	
	1910	1920	1910	1920
English.....	3,364	3,008	25.2	21.9
Some other language....	9,982	10,705	74.8	78.1
Total.....	13,346	13,713	100.0	100.0

Thus in the 10 years the proportion having English as their mother tongue dropped by 3.3 per cent. To estimate what proportion of the 10.7 million had learned English after their arrival, the figures should be compared with those of foreign-born persons unable to speak English and to make them comparable the children under 10 years of age must be subtracted. This has been done by assuming that the proportion of children under 10 years of age among the foreign born whose mother tongue was not English was the same as it was among the whole number of foreign born at the same date. In this way the 9,982,000 are reduced to 9,683,000 and the 10,705,000 to 10,537,000. By combining these percentages of mother tongue with those of the foreign born unable to speak English, the figures in Table 36 p. 117 are reached.

Another method of analysis, in which the number of those unable to speak English on landing was estimated from the country

of birth and which has the advantage of being applicable also to the figures of 1900, gives 78.1 per cent for that date and confirms the above percentages for the later dates. The figures indicate that between seven-tenths and nine-tenths of the non-English-speaking immigrants had learned or claimed to have learned English between the time of arrival and a subsequent census.

TABLE 36.

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER CLASSIFIED BY ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH, 1910 AND 1920.
(In Thousands)

	Foreign-Born Whites 10 years of age and over	
	1910	1920
Mother tongue not English.....	9,683	10,537
Unable to speak English at date of census.....	2,953	1,489
Learned to speak English.....	6,730	9,048
Per cent learned English.....	69.5	86.1

But the wide divergence in the results for the three censuses arouses suspicion and should be explained if the conclusion is to be accepted. A possible explanation may lie in the different average length of time that these foreign born, whose mother tongue was not English, had been in the United States at different censuses. To test the hypothesis it is necessary to assume that the distribution of this majority group by years in the United States agreed with that of the total. In that way and applying the per cents previously reached in a study of years in the United States, the results in Table 37 (page 118) are reached.

The figures of Table 37 show that the number unable to speak English among those foreign born at least 10 years of age whose mother tongue was not English, was much below the number who had been in the United States less than 10 years. A distribution of those who had been in the country between 5 and 10 years results in indicating that the number unable to speak English was about equal to the number who had been in the United States:

in 1900 less than 8.9 years,
 " 1910 " " 7.1 "
 " 1920 " " 7.0 "

TABLE 37.

ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH COMPARED WITH LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1900, 1910 AND 1920.

(In Thousands)

Date	Mother Tongue not English	Number having learned to speak English after arrival	Number unable to speak English	Number with non-English mother tongue who have been in United States		
				less than 5 years	5 to 9 years	Less than 10 years
1900	6,584	5,138	1,446	704	961	1,665
1910	9,683	6,730	2,953	2,343	1,443	3,786
1920	10,537	9,048	1,489	664	2,086	2,750

The conclusion apparently is warranted that the number unable to speak English is about equal to the number who have been in the United States less than 7 years. In other words, taking one case with another, it has required about 7 years for the average immigrant ignorant of English on arrival to acquire or at least to claim a speaking knowledge of it. Perhaps one may interpret these figures also as indicating that the interval required to learn English is growing shorter.

By illiteracy is meant inability to write any language, that being the definition used both by the Bureau of the Census and by the Bureau of Immigration. The census enumerators asked the question of all residents over 10 years of age. The Bureau of Immigration asked it of all adult immigrants, the word adult meaning now persons 16 years of age or more, but earlier persons 14 years of age or more. This divergence from the practice of the Census Bureau and change in its own practice on the part of the Bureau of Immigration are probably not of material influence upon the figures. Neither office attempted to verify its answers. That the results do not agree is shown by comparing the per cents in Table 38 (p. 119).

The divergence in the '90's, if it stood alone, might be explained by supposing that there had been much less illiteracy among immigrants before 1893 than after that date. But that assumption would not account for the relatively low and unchanging proportion of illiterates among the foreign born in 1910 and 1920, a period in which illiteracy among arriving immigrants was twice as great. The number and proportion of illiterate immigrants rose irregularly from 17 per cent in 1893 to 30 per cent in 1907, due probably to a

change in the countries from which the bulk of the immigrants came. In 1893 but 43 per cent and in 1907 fully 73 per cent of the immigrants were from Russia, Austria-Hungary or Italy. After 1907 illiteracy dropped to 13 per cent in 1915 with the enactment of a literacy test, and to less than 5 per cent after the war when that test came to be firmly applied.

TABLE 38.

PER CENT ILLITERATE AMONG FOREIGN-BORN WHITES 10 YEARS OF AGE OR OVER, AND ADULT IMMIGRANTS.

Date of Census	Per Cent Illiterate Among Foreign-born whites	Immigration Period	Per Cent Illiterate Among Adult Immigrants
1890	13.1	.....	.....
1900	12.9	1893-99	23.1
1910	12.7	1901-10	27.5
1920	13.1	1911-20	21.1
....	....	1921-29	4.2

Before the literacy test was imposed the proportion of illiterates among the resident foreign born was little more than one-half of the proportion among immigrants, a difference probably due in part to the adult education of illiterate immigrants after their arrival. But it was due in part also to the facts that "birds of passage" immigrants came from countries in which illiteracy was more prevalent than it was in other European countries which sent emigrants to the United States, and that many such birds of passage were counted two or more times in the tables of the Bureau of Immigration but not more than once in those of a census.

A rough measure of the number of illiterate immigrants who learned to read between the time of their arrival and the date of a census may perhaps be found by comparing the illiteracy figures of the two Bureaus. In doing so it is advantageous to examine the returns for the two sexes separately.

The male foreign-born white illiterates reported in the census of 1910 were 866,000. If that group was depleted only by deaths during the following decade and not also by emigration, and if its death rate through the decade was 17.3 per 1000 (that of all foreign-born whites at least 10 years of age in the United States registration

area for 1910), then the survivors in 1920 would number about 728,000. Other illiterate male immigrants to the number of 860,000 entered the United States between 1910 and 1920 and the median interval between their arrival and the census of 1920 was about 7 years. As a result, this group in 1920 would be reduced by deaths to about 756,000. The two groups together would constitute the 1,484,000 foreign-born white male illiterates expected in 1920. Only 867,000 were reported, the difference, 617,000, being apparently made up of those who had learned to write or claimed to have done so during the decade and of those who as birds of passage had been counted more than once or had left the United States. This difference is about two-fifths of the expected number. A similar method indicates that 143,000, or 14 per cent, of the expected number of illiterate females learned to write between the time of their arrival and the following census. If the latter percentage was near the truth, the difference between the two sexes perhaps represents roughly the sum of the birds-of-passage immigration and the return current of males during the war years.

Illiteracy among immigrants who came to the United States before the literacy test was imposed was due in large measure to the restricted opportunities for elementary education in many of the countries from which immigrants came. It is important, therefore, to inquire how far illiteracy continues to prevail in the second generation among the American-born children of immigrants. Perhaps the best clue to an answer is in the prevalence of illiteracy among such children who are young enough still to be in school or to have left it recently, say 10 to 14 years of age. Three classes of white

TABLE 39.

ILLITERATES PER THOUSAND WHITE CHILDREN 10 TO 14 YEARS OF AGE
BY NATIVITY CLASSES.*

Date of Census	Native White of Native Parents	Native White of Foreign-born or Mixed Parents	Foreign-born White
1890	67	16	59
1900	44	9	56
1910	22	6	35
1920	11	5	45

*For figures on which these per cents are based, see *Census of 1900*, Volume II, pages cxv ff., and *Census of 1920*, Volume II, page 1152.

children—native white of native parents, native white of foreign-born parents, and foreign-born white—are distinguished by the census. The number of illiterates in a thousand of each class at successive censuses is shown in Table 39 (page 120).

In these three classes the largest proportion of illiterates is, as one would expect, among the foreign-born whites, but it is surprising to find that illiteracy is only about half as widespread among children of immigrants as among children of native Americans. At dates before 1920 the differences between these two classes were even greater. Why do more children of immigrants than children of native Americans acquire an elementary education? The ratios for different parts of the United States suggest an answer.

Table 40 shows the number of illiterates in 1920 in each thousand white children 10–14 years of age classified as children of immigrants and children of native Americans.

TABLE 40.

ILLITERATES PER 1000 CHILDREN 10–14 YEARS OF AGE, 1920.*

Geographic Division	Native White of Native Parents	Native White of Foreign-Born Parents
New England.....	3	2
Middle Atlantic.....	2	2
East North Central.....	2	2
West North Central.....	3	3
South Atlantic.....	21	5
East South Central.....	27	12
West South Central.....	23	134
Mountain.....	7	11
Pacific.....	2	3

*For figures on which these per cents are based, see *Census of 1920*, Volume II, pages 1161 ff.

In the first four and the last divisions, the proportions of illiterate children of both classes are near the vanishing point. But in the three southern divisions the differences are important. Figures for the several states show that in none of the northern states from Maine to California is there a significant difference in illiteracy (*i. e.* more than 4 per thousand) between the children of immigrants and the children of native Americans. The southern

states from Virginia to Arizona fall into two sections, an eastern from Virginia to Alabama and Arkansas with the greatest difference in Tennessee, in which the illiteracy of the children of native Americans is much more than that of the children of immigrants, and a western from Mississippi to Arizona with the greatest difference in Texas, in which the reverse is true. This second section includes the three states, Texas, New Mexico and Arizona, in which from two-thirds to three-fourths of the immigrants are Mexicans. In the first section the larger proportion of illiterates among the children of native Americans is probably to be connected with the different distribution of the two classes between city and country. In Tennessee, for example, among those at least 10 years of age, less than one-fourth of the native whites of native parents but more than three-fourths of the native whites of foreign-born parents live in cities, and in that state the illiteracy of the native white population as a whole is more than three times as great in the rural districts as in the urban.

An analysis of the figures more extended than there is room for here, would probably establish what the above statements suggest, that under similar conditions and opportunities the proportion of illiterates among children of immigrants and children of native Americans is much the same, and that the difference between the illiteracy of the two population groups substantially disappears in the second generation.

CHAPTER III

CANADA¹

By

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After the fall of Napoleon emigration became for a time a panacea for British social ills. Continuous official records of immigration into Canada begin with 1816, four years earlier than those of the United States. For some years after that date their basis is obscure and possibly variable. The following comparison between the number of immigrants arriving annually at the ports of Quebec and Montreal and the increase in the population of Upper Canada indicated by the annual censuses furnishes some check upon the accuracy of each.

The correlation between the population increases and the immigrant arrivals, 1832-42, shown in Table 41, will be noted at once. It would seem either that a large proportion of the arrivals remained in Upper Canada or that the conditions that brought about immigration also stimulated the natural increase of the population by excess of births over deaths. During the later periods, however, especially 1849-71, there is no such correlation. Attention may be directed particularly to the years 1849-51 and 1852-61. In general the increase of population was greater than the figures of immigration through ocean ports would lead one to expect. No doubt immigration from the United States supplies in part the explanation. The increase 1862-71 was unaccountably low. Emigration is probably the key; the foreign-born population decreased between 1861 and 1871 according to the census returns although in that decade 178,814 settlers entered

¹[See *International Migrations*, Vol. I, pp. 357-70. See also *Canada Year Book*, 1918, pp. 27-31; *Idem*, 1929, pp. 184-202. Before 1897 "the figures of immigration as published cannot be trusted to furnish accurate information respecting the number of new settlers in Canada. Large numbers of immigrant arrivals in Canada were really destined for the United States and the proportion that actually settled in Canada is a matter of estimate rather than of actual statistics, the figures of settlement in Canada being derived from the reports of the Dominion Land Agents" (*Canada Year Book* 1918, p. 29).—Ed.]

TABLE 41.
 IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS THROUGH QUEBEC AND MONTREAL
 AND INCREASE IN POPULATION OF UPPER
 CANADA COMPARED, 1832-71.
 (In Thousands)

Year	Immigration	Year	Increase in Population
1832	52	1831-32	27
1833	22	1832-33	32
1834	31	1833-34	26
1835	13	1834-35	26
1836	28	1835-36	27
1837	22	1836-37	23
1838	3	1837-38	2
1839	7	1838-39	10
1840	22	1839-40	23
1841	28	1840-41	24
1842	44	1841-42	31
Average yearly			
1843-48	34	1843-48	40
1849-51	37	1849-51	75
1852-61	20	1852-61	44
1862-71	30	1862-71	22

Canada. The definiteness, however, with which sharp rises and falls in immigration are accompanied by corresponding rises and falls in the increase of population, as in 1837-40, is outstanding.

Another analysis may be based upon the statistics of persons not born in Canada or immigrants as contained in the censuses of 1851 and 1861. In the latter year there were in Canada in round numbers 580,000 immigrants. Now, the number of immigrant arrivals in Upper and Lower Canada, 1827-61, was approximately 680,000, a figure obtained by applying to the gross returns prior to 1851 the proportion *in transit* to the United States shown from that year forward and deducting the result. The difference of 100,000 between these two figures corresponds roughly to the losses that would have occurred from death. Hence, if the census of 1861 is accepted there had been before that year, apparently little loss through the emigration of immigrants. This is indicated also by comparing the increase of immigrants with the arrivals of intending settlers 1851-61. However, as in the early years, there was a considerable emigration, perhaps the immigration subsequent to 1841 was understated.

Do the statistics of natives throw light on this? In the twenty years following 1841 the increase of population according to the census was over 1,500,000 but the reported immigration without allowing for deaths was less than 500,000, a natural increase in the twenty years of over two-thirds of the total increase, is without parallel for all Canada in any later time though perhaps not higher than the rate at times in Quebec. This evidence also suggests that the immigration records for 1841-61 are too low. The stages in the immigration movement after the Dominion of Canada was organized in 1867, described in the following paragraphs, correspond to the general economic trend. A notable increase occurred until 1873, then came a decrease for three years to a minimum in 1876 followed by a sharper increase until 1883, and then slighter irregular fluctuations until almost the close of the century. An extraordinary expansion followed, 1896-1913, when the West came definitely into the Canadian appeal.

The condition of the Dominion in the years which immediately followed confederation warranted a lively optimism. The stage seemed to be set for a steady and prosperous development. Clearly the need of the hour was men. The population was only 3,500,000, Ontario and Quebec containing more than three-quarters of the whole. That agriculture was the mainstay of the country is shown by the fact that the population was, at the time of the first census in 1871, predominantly rural. An energetic settlement policy was launched by both Dominion and Provincial governments. Propaganda began in Europe. Cheap passages by sea were granted, while at the end of the voyage free railway fares assisted in placing settlers in New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec. Dominion and Provincial governments spent by 1872 over half a million dollars annually in promoting immigration. The homesteading policy of the United States was imitated. The construction of a Pacific railway was approved and plans to open the West were completed. Under such stimulus immigration mounted from about 12,000 in the first year of the Confederation to about 50,000 in 1873, the crest of the early good times. The latter year was the first in over a quarter of a century in which the number of immigrants declaring their intention of settling in Canada exceeded the number passing through Canada to the United States.¹ Ontario received the lion's share. The Canadian West still lagged for lack of transportation.

¹[See Volume I, pp. 361, 363, Tables II and V.—Ed.]

With the world-wide depression that set in soon after 1873, signalized by a downward trend in prices that continued almost without interruption until 1896, Canada entered upon a period that tried the faith of those who had builded the Confederation. Before the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, begun in 1881 and completed in 1886, the West had been Canadian only in name. Manufactures were established under the frankly protectionist policy of 1878. Agriculture was diversifying its operations; Ontario in particular turned to animal husbandry and dairying, in which marked progress was recorded, especially after hostile tariffs closed the United States market to barley.

Notwithstanding these changes, immigration and land settlement were disappointingly slow. A bound upward occurred after 1881 when the West was opened and its fertile prairies were made accessible. Rail connection with the East had been established via St. Paul in 1879, and direct connection via Lake Superior in 1883. The inrush from eastern Canada and the British Isles in 1882 was considerable, the number of immigrants for the first time exceeding 100,000; in 1883 it was larger still and the acreage then homesteaded was not again equalled until 1901. But the hour of the West had not yet struck. After the first rush, tens of thousands of the settlers returned to the East or drifted across the border, swelling that exodus from Canada which was a lamentable feature of succeeding years. The decline in prices through alleged overproduction persisted and struck at the root of agricultural prosperity. Trade in livestock and animal products expanded, and there was some gain in exports of products of the mines, the fisheries and manufactures, but exports of grain and of lumber remained small. In the '90's immigration went back to levels not greatly above those of twenty years before.

This period of probation found its compensation in the recovery which set in soon after 1896, and after 1900 reached the proportions of a "boom." With the advent of the new century came a broadening of credit. Capital in huge amounts began to flow into the undeveloped countries—Argentina, Brazil, Australia, Africa, India, Canada—there to bring larger and larger areas under cultivation. Other countries, like the United States and Japan, made extensive developments on their own capital. Into this movement Canada was rapidly drawn. Of the loans by Great Britain to the whole world during most of these years, Canada received one quarter. Upwards of \$2,500,000,000 were sent to the Dominion be-

tween 1900 and 1914, doubling foreign investments and adding perhaps one-third to the existing capital. The basic motive was the increase of the world supply of cereals, primarily to feed Great Britain's work-shop population. As a preliminary, however, there was need for a huge program of building railways and towns. To meet this the older sections of Canada turned rapidly to industrialism. While agricultural production went up 40 per cent and mining production 65 per cent in the decade 1901-11 there was a doubling of manufacturing output and a trebling of transportation activities, general merchandizing, and banking. The proportion of urban population increased from 37.5 to 45.4 per cent; both railway and municipal facilities were overbuilt, and when the First Balkan War checked the inflow of capital there was serious unemployment, a burdensome cost of living, and other phenomena usual at the close of a trade cycle. Canada in 1914 was in the throes of readjustment.

Of this expansion an unprecedented immigration was the dominant feature. Transportation was made so cheap as to be almost free. Better arrangements were made for the reception and distribution of immigrants. Under such encouragement, arrivals increased by leaps and bounds. After 1902 for 13 years they were steadily over 100,000 a year, over 200,000 in 1907, over 300,000 in 1910, and over 400,000 in 1912.¹ In the decade ending with 1913 over 2.5 million people came into Canada, more than had entered previously in the 36 years since confederation. A century earlier the United States had grown for several decades at the rate of 35 per cent; Canada touched this rate in the decade 1901-11. It is necessary, of course, to distinguish between the permanent additions and those who arrived to work upon the large undertakings and departed when they were finished, fully a third being of the latter class. Aside from the general growth in numbers, an important phenomenon of these years was the redistribution of the Canadian population. In 1901 there were in the three Prairie Provinces but 114,000 persons born in eastern Canada; in 1911 the number was 326,000, nearly three times as many. These settlers, attracted by the free lands, were drawn in large part from the rural districts of the older provinces.

In Canada the immediate economic effects of the World War were beneficial. Many thousands of unemployed were swept into military service. Later came the enormous stimulation of food pro-

¹[Volume I, p. 364 f, Table VI.—Ed.]

duction which turned to full account the outlay upon the new lands; in two years the wheat crop rose from less than 200,000,000 to more than 400,000,000 bushels. Simultaneously the demand for war materials transformed Canadian industrial plants, swelling their output and increasing their efficiency. Government expenditures on the war, amounting to nearly \$2,000,000,000 were financed without outside help in a country which previously had found it necessary to go abroad for a loan of one-twentieth the amount. Immigration declined to a fraction of the pre-war movement; on the conclusion of peace it did not immediately revive, for the first care of the Canadian Government was the re-establishment of its returned soldiery; even the hectic post-war boom of 1920 was accompanied by an immigration of less than 150,000. With the rise of agricultural prices in 1925, joined to a succession of good crops, the turning point apparently was reached. Immigration in 1924 reached the figure of 1921; in 1927 it again was high and in 1928 higher than for any years since 1914, though less than half the pre-war average.

Let us now attempt a trial balance of the Canadian population in successive decades, using as basic materials the census and the immigration data collected for the present review, the main object being to test the latter. For the earlier decades birth and death statistics are wholly lacking; for the final decade they are incomplete, though they give indications. Emigration figures also are lacking. It is with the latter, perhaps, that the discussion may best start: What has been Canada's loss by emigration?

Two methods of estimate have been applied in the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The first is based on the natural increase of the population living at the beginning of a decade, and of the immigrant population arriving from year to year during the decade. To estimate the number of births, the number under one year of age at each census was increased by 10 per cent (to allow for short-count), and to the result was added three-quarters of the estimated deaths of infants in the preceding year. Death-rates were estimated by increasing the average death-rate for Canada, 1921-24, the death rates for earlier years being unknown, by the per cent by which the rates in the United Kingdom in earlier years exceeded its average in 1921-24. The resulting rate of natural increase in each census year was applied to the four preceding and the five subsequent years. The difference between the figure obtained in this way for the final year of each decade and that obtained by the

census was regarded as measuring the emigration of the decade. The method involves doubtful assumptions (notably those of uniformity in birth and death rates), and an error in any one of them is cumulative, but it is of interest as a check.

The second method consists in applying mortality rates derived from Massachusetts life tables to quinquennial age groups from 5-9 to 65-69, that is, calculating in each age group at a census the number expected to be alive at the end of the succeeding decade. Subtracting the number of those 5-69 years old at the beginning of the decade, and expected to be alive at its end, from the number actually found alive by the census in the age-groups 15-79, should give the net decennial increase from immigration. Then subtracting from the total immigration during the decade the deaths among them should give the increase from immigration if there had been no emigration. Finally the subtraction of the net decimal increase from immigration from this computed increase should give the loss through emigration. The method is logical and free from cumulative error. A serious omission is that of those surviving immigrants who were under 15 at the date of the later census. Allowing for this,¹ we obtain the estimate of emigration contained in Table 42 for each decade covered by the census since the Dominion was created. It will be seen that a total emigration from Canada since 1871 of approximately 4,300,000 is indicated. The total obtained by the first method is over 5 million, but this is undoubtedly excessive.

The estimated amount of emigration is large, but the relation between Canada and the United States is unique. They have a common boundary for over three thousand miles, and the more populous country (with its similar language and institutions and with organizations throughout the social and economic fields, many extending into Canada) offers numerous opportunities to a mobile

¹In 1921 the number of British-born and foreign-born under 10 was 13,034. These must have come in during the decade. Further, of 112,424 between the ages of 10 and 15, all must have come in during the decade except those under 5 at the beginning of the decade. Now in 1921 there were 25,947 under 5 years of age, 47,087 of ages 5 to 10, and 112,424 of ages 10 to 15. From these proportions it is safe to assume that of the British-born and foreign-born between 10 and 15 years old between 75 and 80 per cent must have come in during the decade. If the number of immigrants under 15 years of age living in Canada in 1921 who arrived during the decade is thus calculated, and the result subtracted from that obtained without such allowance, the estimate comes very close to one in the latter years based on the number of births, deaths, and immigrants as known. A similar calculation for 1911 (when, however, only the broad age-group 0 to 15 is available for the immigrant-born) gives similar satisfactory results. To avoid over-refinement, a flat rate of 10 per cent is deducted from the number of immigrants arriving during the decade expected to be living at the end as obtained by this method.

TABLE 42.

CANADA'S POPULATION BALANCE, 1861-1921

Decade 1861-71:	
Total Population (1861),	3,156,418
Natural Increase,	727,099
Immigration,	178,814
Emigration,	373,074
Decade 1871-81:	
Total Population (1871),	3,485,761
Natural Increase,	923,077
Immigration,	342,675
Emigration,	426,703
Decade 1881-91:	
Total Population (1881),	4,324,810
Natural Increase,	544,670
Immigration,	886,177
Emigration,	922,418
Decade 1891-1901:	
Total Population (1891),	4,833,239
Natural Increase,	618,692
Immigration,	321,302
Emigration,	401,918
Decade 1901-11:	
Total Population (1901),	5,371,315
Natural Increase,	853,566
Immigration,	1,847,651
Emigration,	865,889
Decade 1911-21:	
Total Population (1911),	7,206,643
Natural Increase,	1,150,659
Immigration,	1,728,921
Emigration,	1,297,740

*[Compare *Canada Year Book 1929*, p. 94.—Ed.]

people. At least 25 million cross the border yearly in either direction between Canada and the United States.

Of course, both immigration and emigration figures may be too large. On the whole, however, it is preferable to seek the explanation in the fluidity of our immigrant population. This view is borne out by the smallness of the increases in the immigrant

population reported by the census decade by decade as compared with the undoubtedly large volume of new immigration. This fluidity, however, appears to be less in the present century than formerly. The comparison is given in Table 43.

TABLE 43.

IMMIGRATION AND INCREASE OF PERSONS BORN OUTSIDE OF CANADA,
COMPARED BY DECADES, 1851-1921.

Decade	Total Immigration ^a	Net Increase in Persons Born Outside of Canada
1851-61 ^b	203,743	192,278
1861-71	178,811	-91,074
1871-81	341,995	11,409
1881-91	886,177	40,887
1891-1901	321,302	51,129
1901-11	1,453,391	981,961
1911-21	1,780,688	368,775

^aExcluding the returning Canadians, cabin passengers, tourists, and immigrants in transit.

^bUpper and Lower Canada only.

Further analysis reveals an interesting and important trait. In 1921 the total population born outside of Canada was 1,956,000.¹ This was made up (as we know from the census rubric on year of immigration) of 855,000 who came in during 1911-21, or 742,000 who came in during 1901-11, and of 332,000 who came in before 1901.² Now, if 1,781,000 immigrants arrived in Canada between 1911 and 1921, while the net increase in population born outside of Canada was only 369,000, clearly a total of 1,412,000 immigrants either emigrated or died during the decade. Again, if 855,000 of the non-Canadian-born in 1921 had arrived during the preceding decade and the total arrivals were 1,781,000, clearly some 926,000 of the 1,412,000 who emigrated or died, 1911-21, had also arrived during that decade. It follows, therefore, that of the total immigrant population who emigrated during this decade, some 400,000 (making allowance for deaths) must have been immigrants who came to the country prior to 1911. The analysis can be carried further back with similar results. In brief, the 332,000

¹[*Canada Year Book 1929*, page 111.—Ed.]

²[*Ibidem*, page 112.—Ed.]

immigrants who were found resident in Canada in 1921 having arrived prior to 1901, are probably not more than one-sixth of the number that might have been of their class in residence. In other words, the tendency in the immigrant to leave Canada is often slow in working itself out; a considerable element in fact may remain for years and then leave. That there are numbers who come in from year to year as short-time labor, leaving their families abroad, is of course immediately reflected in the statistics of the money-order business with countries like Italy, Austria, and Sweden, which undoubtedly represents in large measure the remittance of wages to friends. It is also shown by the surplus of males appearing in the immigration from certain countries.

In fact, a rough measure of the number of Canadian immigrants who enter the country with the intention of remaining may perhaps be obtained by multiplying the number of female immigrants by two. The reasoning is as follows: About two male immigrants come to Canada for every female; if children under 18 are omitted, the discrepancy is still wider. Taken in conjunction with the comparatively small difference between the numbers of the sexes in the total population, one-half of the male immigration is probably transient. This conclusion is buttressed by the fact that over twice as many males as females among the immigrants are reported married. More than half of these married men accordingly did not bring their wives; they may intend to send for them later, but likewise some of the married women may be wives coming to rejoin their husbands.

An inconsistency in the immigration record must be mentioned. From 1866 to 1891 statistics are given for immigrants in transit to the United States, but in later years they disappear. Was the in-transit record based upon the statement of the immigrant? If so, at what point and under what circumstances did these statements, or a record of them, cease? Are in-transit immigrants included in the figures after 1891?

The census counts of Canadian-born in the United States also are of interest. The figures as presented in Table 44 bear out the general trend of emigration already shown. On the whole, we conclude that the immigration figures stand up well under what tests are available.

An interesting addendum is provided by correlating the number of immigrant arrivals from year to year with the number of homestead entries made. Two analyses of the kind have been made.

TABLE 44.

CANADIAN-BORN IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1920.*
(In Thousands)

Census	Total	Census	Total
1850	148	1890	981
1860	250	1900	1,180
1870	493	1910	1,210
1880	717	1920	1,138

*U. S. Census 1920, Vol. 2, page 695. The figures include Newfoundland-born, but the number of the latter was only 13,249 in 1920, and 5,080 in 1910. Prior to the 1910 census no segregation was made of the Newfoundland-born.

It seemed reasonable, first, to suppose that the arrivals of a certain race known to settle on the land in large numbers would show correlation with the homestead entries by members of that race. The Scandinavians were selected and the number of Scandinavian immigrants compared with the number of homestead entries by Scandinavians in the four western provinces, 1891 to 1924. The correlation is not high, presumably because of such interfering factors as settlement on land elsewhere, absorption into other occupations, or emigration to the United States. A second correlation, however, has a stronger bearing upon the point, viz., that between the number of male immigrant arrivals in Canada declaring themselves farmers or farm laborers, and the number of homestead entries made by non-Canadians in the four western provinces. Although interfering factors might be expected here as in the preceding, a remarkably high correlation (over 80) is shown. In effect, the figures reveal that homestead entries by non-Canadians increased on an average by 36 for every 100 arrivals of the type mentioned. This, of course, does not mean that 36 per cent of these arrivals took up homesteads in the four western provinces; that is only one of several possible explanations. The condition which caused the immigration of 100 agriculturists may have been responsible for the increase of 36 homestead entries by non-Canadian agriculturists already in the country, or persons not giving agriculture as their occupation may have taken up some of the homesteads. It is important, however, that the correlation exists, for it indicates that the statement by immigrants of their occupation, past or intended, has value, and this has sometimes been doubted.

The immigration tables show countries of origin, as officially chronicled; for the later years they are given in considerable detail. But the final result of immigration must be read in the decennial census. This reports the place of birth, citizenship, the language of customary speech, the year of immigration for persons born in

TABLE 45.

ORIGINS OF THE PEOPLE ACCORDING TO THE CENSUSES OF
1871, 1881, 1901, 1911 AND 1921.

The figures for 1871 are for the four original provinces (Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia) only. Origins were not recorded in 1891.

Origins	Enumerated in				
	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921
British—					
English.....	706,369	881,301	1,260,899	1,823,150	2,545,496
Irish.....	846,414	957,403	988,721	1,050,384	1,107,817
Scotch.....	549,946	699,863	800,154	997,880	1,173,637
Other.....	7,773	9,947	13,421	25,571	41,953
<i>Total British.....</i>	<i>2,110,502</i>	<i>2,548,514</i>	<i>3,063,195</i>	<i>3,896,985</i>	<i>4,868,903</i>
French.....	1,082,940	1,298,929	1,649,371	2,054,890	2,452,751
Austrian.....			10,947	42,535	107,671
Belgian.....			2,994	9,593	20,234
Bulgarian and Rumanian.....			354	5,875	15,235
Chinese.....		4,383	17,312	27,774	39,587
Czech (Bohemian and Moravian).....					8,840
Dutch.....	29,662	30,412	33,845	54,986	117,506
Finnish.....			2,502	15,497	21,494
German.....	202,991	254,319	310,501	393,320	294,636
Greek.....			291	3,594	5,740
Hebrew.....	125	667	16,131	75,681	126,196
Hungarian.....			1,549	11,605	13,181
Indian.....	23,035	108,547	127,941 ^a	105,492	110,814
Italian.....	1,035	1,849	10,834	45,411	66,769
Japanese.....			4,738	9,021	15,868
Negro.....	21,496	21,394	17,437	16,877	18,291
Polish.....			6,285	33,365	53,403
Russian.....	607	1,227	19,825	43,142	100,064
Scandinavian ^b	1,623	5,223	31,042	107,535	167,359
Serbo-Croatian.....					3,906
Swiss.....	2,962	4,588	3,865	6,625	12,837
Turkish.....			1,681	3,880	313
Ukrainian-Bukovinian.....				9,960	1,616
Galician.....			5,682	35,158	24,456
Ruthenian.....			^d	29,845	16,861
Ukrainian.....					63,788
Various.....	1,222	3,952	1,454	20,652	18,915
Unspecified.....	7,561	40,806	31,539	147,345	21,249
Grand Total	3,485,761	4,324,810	5,371,315	7,206,643	8,788,483

^aIncludes "half-breeds". ^bIncludes Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish; in 1921 they were: 21,124, 15,876, 68,856 and 61,503 respectively. ^cIncluded with Austrians. ^dIncluded with Galicians.

TABLE 46.

PER CENT WHICH THE PEOPLE OF EACH RACIAL ORIGIN FORM OF THE TOTAL POPULATION, 1871, 1881, 1901, 1911 and 1921.

Origins	Per cent of population				
	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921
British—					
English	20.3	20.4	23.5	25.2	29.0
Irish	24.3	22.1	18.4	14.6	12.6
Scotch	15.8	16.2	14.9	13.9	13.4
Other	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4
<i>Total British</i>	<i>60.6</i>	<i>58.9</i>	<i>57.0</i>	<i>54.1</i>	<i>55.4</i>
French	31.1	30.0	30.7	28.5	27.9
Austrian			0.2	0.6	1.2
Belgian			0.1	0.1	0.2
Bulgarian and Rumanian			0.0	0.1	0.2
Chinese		0.1	0.3	0.4	0.5
Czech (Bohemian and Moravian)					0.1
Dutch	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.8	1.3
Finnish			0.1	0.2	0.2
German	5.8	5.9	5.8	5.5	3.4
Greek			0.0	0.0	0.1
Hebrew		0.0	0.3	1.0	1.4
Hungarian			0.0	0.2	0.1
Indian	0.7	2.5	2.4	1.5	1.3
Italian	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.8
Japanese			0.0	0.1	0.2
Negro	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.2
Polish			0.1	0.5	0.6
Russian	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.6	1.1
Scandinavian	0.0	0.1	0.6	1.5	1.9
Serbo-Croatian					0.1
Swiss	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
Turkish			0.1	0.1	0.0
Ukrainian-Bukovinian				0.1	0.0
Galician			0.1	0.5	0.3
Ruthenian				0.4	0.2
Ukrainian					0.7
Various	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.2
Unspecified	0.2	0.9	0.6	2.0	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

other countries, the birthplace of father and mother, and "racial origin," in the sense of original family habitat. It is possible,

therefore, to trace with some clarity the general "melting-pot" process. Tables 45 and 46 will be of assistance.¹

British and French form the basis of the Canadian population, but a basis that is shrinking. In 1871 the British were 60.6 per cent, the French 31.1 per cent, and people of other stocks 8.3 per cent of the population. Fifty years later the British had dropped 5.2 per cent to 55.4 per cent and the French 3.2 per cent to 27.9 per cent, a combined decrease of 8.4 per cent, while people of other stocks had increased from 8.3 to 16.7 per cent of the population, thus doubling their earlier proportion. In the '80's the possibilities of the United States as a source of immigration were emphasized, nearly twice as many entering thence as from the United Kingdom, and six times as many as from the continent of Europe. From the standpoint of ultimate derivation, immigrants from the United States may be divided into those of British and those of other origin—the former perhaps 50 per cent of the whole—but all of them have served an apprenticeship to life in the New World. In the '90's British immigration greatly preponderated. The non-British came in strength only after the beginning of the twentieth century, with the movement previously described, which brought 2,000,000 people during the first twelve years. Of these, only 800,000 were British and, though another 700,000 came from the United States, it would be safe to say that more than a third of the 2,000,000 coming directly or through the United States were of continental European races. In 1901 there were roughly 650,000 of "foreign", or non-British non-French, extraction in Canada; in 1921 there were more than twice as many. The problem which the foreign immigrant presents therefore is new, and of considerable proportions.

The stocks of continental Europe are of many types, but they may be grouped as two: those of north-western Europe (chiefly Scandinavian and Germanic) and those of central, southern, and eastern Europe (Slavic, Latin, Hebrew). The significant fact is that, while in the opening decades of the century the number in Canada of persons born in northwestern Europe increased by 80 per cent, the number born in central, southern, and eastern Europe almost trebled. In 1901 the numbers of the two groups were fairly equal, but in 1921 the foreign-born from central, southern and eastern Europe were two and one-half times those from northwestern Europe. Of course, the accumulated stocks including the

¹[See *Canada Year Book, 1929*, page 114 f.—Ed.]

descendants within the country have not changed in these proportions; those from northwestern Europe remain in excess of the southern, central, and eastern group by approximately 20 per cent, but the gap is rapidly narrowing. In 1900 the excess was more than 5-fold. Next to those of German derivation, if the Scandinavian be divided into Norwegians and Swedes, the Hebrews (who come chiefly from central and eastern Europe) are now the most numerous non-British non-French stock in Canada, followed directly by the Italians and the Russians.

The several nationalities differ widely in their tendency to become naturalized or to "take out papers." Eighty-six per cent of the foreign-born Icelanders are naturalized, but only 5 per cent of the Chinese. The Scandinavians and Germans are among the highest and the southern Europeans among the lowest. Rural dwellers are readiest to naturalize. The percentage of foreign born in the Prairie Provinces who are naturalized is larger by a third than in Ontario or Quebec. Comparing the year of immigration with naturalization, those born in Scandinavia and those born in the United States have naturalized most rapidly, the German and Slavic immigrants more slowly, while the rate for Greeks and Italians is the lowest of all Europeans. Large numbers of these last apparently come to Canada with no intention of becoming citizens.

Deeper indexes than naturalization are racial intermarriage and progress in acquiring the language of the country. The foreign races in Canada show marked differences in the extent to which they have intermarried with one another and with the basic stocks. Orientals, Hebrews, and certain Slavic peoples are practically unassimilable by marriage. Others assimilate readily. Thus 24 per cent of the married males of northwestern European races have married women of British or French origin, but only 5.2 per cent of southeastern and central Europeans have done so. The color barrier is, of course, permanently operative, as the figures of Japanese, Chinese, Indian, and Negro marriages show. Length of residence in the country is another factor. It has had little effect, however, in mitigating the Hebrew aversion to marrying with other races. The Ukrainians likewise, though reckoning 55 per cent of their number as born in Canada, have intermarried racially to an almost negligible extent—not greater than the Negroes or the Chinese—and where they have thus intermarried it has not been with the basic stocks. Much the same is true of the Galicians, Austrians, Poles, and Russians. The Italians have a percentage of

Canadian and American-born about three-quarters that of the Danes, but only a quarter as many Italian men proportionally and only a twenty-fifth as many Italian women have married outside of their race. From the language standpoint, it suffices to say that only three per cent of those belonging to northwestern European races are unable to speak French or English, while 17.5 per cent of the southern, eastern, and central Europeans are unable to do so. The races which intermarry least have shown the least disposition to acquire the national languages.

Two other important characteristics in the immigrant are illiteracy and the tendency to crime. Of the ten most illiterate races in Canada, nine come from southeastern and central Europe, the tenth being Chinese. Those born in northwestern Europe have an illiteracy of under three per cent but the average for those born in southeast and central Europe is 23 per cent, the Ukrainians and Austrians being the highest with 39 and 35 per cent respectively. The good work of the Canadian schools is reflected in the fact that Canadian natives of non-British origin invariably show smaller proportions illiterate than the foreign-born of the same stock. Yet even among the natives, racial tendencies persist over and above the influence of environment; in other words, those races having many illiterates in their native habitat reveal the same pre-eminence (though less marked) in their descendants born in Canada.

Turning to the crime record, reformatory and penitentiary statistics of indictable offenses show that the proportion of convictions for immigrant-born is twice as great as for Canadian-born. Of children in Canada between 10 and 20 years of age and born in northwestern Europe, the Scandinavians had 32 per 100,000 in the reformatories, the Germanic peoples 38, the British 135, the Slavs 166, and the Latins and Greeks had 340. Analyzing by racial strains as distinct from nativity, the percentages of Polish, Russian, and Austrian children in institutions of correction are many times larger than those obtaining for the Germanic and Scandinavian races. The average foreign race shows a marked improvement, however, in the behavior of the children of the second and subsequent generations in Canada. The penitentiary statistics point in much the same direction; crude penitentiary rates per 100,000 for the Canadian-born, British-born, and foreign-born are, in ascending order: 191, 27 and 75. Allowing for sex and age distribution, the problem of law enforcement in respect to major offences is twice as great for the foreign-born as for the Canadian-

born. For males born in the five foreign countries from which the largest number of male immigrants have come in recent years, the penitentiary rates per 100,000 in 1921 were: Russia, 144; Poland, 182; Rumania, 209; Austria, 273; Italy, 337. For males born in northwestern Europe the rate was 59; for those born in south, central, or eastern Europe, 185; for those born in the United States, 159; and for Asiatics, 53. If minor offenses are included, the disparity is about the same, the Canadian-born and British-born being about on a parity, and the rate for the foreign born about twice as high. The relation between criminality and nationalization may be summed up in the statement that of 608 foreign-born inmates of penitentiaries in 1921, the aliens numbered 526 or 87 per cent. Race, however, is undoubtedly a dominating factor in criminality. Irrespective of birth-place, the Negro race is the most criminal in Canada in respect to major offences. The Rumanians, Italians, Greeks, Austrians, Serbians, and Russians scale down from a crude rate of 341 to one of 141, the average for Slavs being 115 and for the Italians and Greeks 252. On the other hand, for Scandinavians the rate was 25, and for the Germanic peoples, 20. These differences persist, though they are reduced in scale, when allowance is made for age and sex distribution.

The point illustrated by several instances above, that racial traits persist, makes the question of relative racial fertility one of importance. From the direct evidence afforded by age distribution, it is apparent that the Slavic, Latin, and Greek races in Canada are much more fertile than British stocks. The French, German, and Scandinavian stocks are also more fertile than the British, but the difference is smaller. These statements take into account both the sex distribution and the infant mortality. Infant mortality rates in 1925 for the average British race were 6.16 per 100 births; for the average Scandinavian race, 5.37; for the average Slavic race, 8.98; for the average Latin and Greek race, 10.73; for the Asiatics, 10.86; and for the French, 11.45. Not only are more immigrants arriving from southern, central, and eastern Europe, but they are reproducing more rapidly after arrival—and this in spite of their higher infant mortality.

From the standpoint of occupation, if to build up the farming class be the aim of immigration then the United States has been the best recruiting ground for Canada. The British immigrant—to about double the extent of the American—goes in for the town trades of manufacturing, transportation, and building. The immigrants

from the continent of Europe enter occupations in proportions very similar to those of the native Canadians. The Asiatics are absorbed in domestic service, fishing, logging, and the lighter forms of agriculture. Of women workers, the largest proportion is found among the Canadian and British-born—in domestic service first, and in manufactures second. Canadian-born women lead in the professions, with women born in the United States second.

An immigration movement of any considerable size sets up certain strains and stresses in the general population. Changes in such particulars as the proportion of the sexes, the marital classes, and age classes, have far-reaching effects on social phenomena. Now, immigrants are preponderantly male, unmarried, and past the age of childhood. Thus for every 100 females there is a surplus of 14 males among the British-born immigrants; of 46 among the southern and eastern European-born; and of 50 among the north-western European-born. As to marital condition, the British-born females show a larger percentage married than the Canadian-born, and the foreign-born a larger percentage than the British-born. Notwithstanding the shortage of immigrant women, the foreign-born males between the ages of 15 and 25 years show larger percentages married than the British or Canadian-born. In age, the proportion of children under 10 is half again as great in the Latin and Greek stocks as in the British, and 25 per cent greater than in the Germanic or Scandinavian. When we speak of race, the varying length of family residence in Canada must be considered. The extent to which the different stocks have their roots in the country is shown by the fact that 97 per cent of the French but only 75 per cent of the British were born in Canada. The Germanic group is the oldest non-British, non-French stock resident in Canada, followed by the Scandinavian.¹ Allowance for these factors has been made in preceding remarks.

The tendency to "urbanization", as measured by the proportion residing in cities of 25,000 or over, is also a factor. In Canada the Hebrews, Greeks, Italians, Chinese, and Negroes, show a pronounced tendency to congregate in populous centers. The British and French races follow, and after them the Slavs, Germans, and

¹This includes Scandinavians born in the United States. Excluding these, the Slavs, Italians, and Greeks, have a larger proportion of Canadian-born. If length of residence creates a racial type, it is interesting to note that in 1921 there were 4,858,000 Canadian-born having both parents also Canadian-born and therefore a Canadian family residence of at least three generations. Of these there were 2,296,000 of French, and 2,256,000 of British origin. Thus of the non-British, non-French races, there were but 325,352 of three generations family residence.

Scandinavians. The range of urbanization is great, from 80 per cent for the Hebrews to 2.6 per cent for the Ukrainians. The tendency to racial segregation in large cities or isolated rural communities is a check on Canadianization. Another general result of the heavy immigration in recent years and of its distribution in Canada is the differentiation it has produced in the racial structure of the Canadian provinces. Quebec of course remains overwhelmingly French. But the proportion of continental European stocks in the three Prairie Provinces is now three times greater than in Ontario or Nova Scotia, and ten times greater than in Quebec, Prince Edward Island, or New Brunswick. Vice versa, the proportion of British stock in Ontario and the Maritime provinces is nearly half greater than on the prairies. From the standpoint of birthplace, the proportions of the foreign-born range from one per cent in Prince Edward Island to nearly 30 per cent in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Ontario alone has as many British-born as the entire west, while the west, with a combined population smaller than Ontario, has three times as many foreign-born. In a word, not only has the west been thrown into a state of rather violent flux, but there has been a progressive differentiation in the population structure of east and west (carrying the seeds of increase as the fertility rates show).

Canadian immigration policy is now the concern of a distinct Department of Government. From the beginning it has run a consistent course, though more cognizant today than in the past of the many-sided nature of its task. Landmarks in legislation are the Immigration Acts of 1869, 1886, 1906, 1910, and 1924. Their direct effect upon the flow is difficult to establish; like the flow itself, they are result as well as cause. For the most part, these acts aimed at three objectives: propaganda, the protection of the immigrant, and the protection of the country from undesirables. Methods have varied in vigor of execution, if not greatly in principle. Today the policy is one of active encouragement, the Department maintaining elaborate machinery in Great Britain, in the western and northwestern countries of Europe, and in the eastern, central, and western parts of the United States. Lectures, advertisements, and assisted passages are the weapons. Undesirable individuals—the criminal, the vicious, the diseased, the imbecile, the pauper—are excluded, but no support has developed for a quota system like that of the United States. Canada's restrictive policy as yet is purely qualitative and applied to the individual immigrant, not numerical or quantitative; agriculturists with capital,

sound farm laborers and domestic servants are the classes desired; all of these who come are welcome. Orientals are virtually debarred—the Chinese by a head-tax of \$500, the Japanese by a "gentleman's agreement" whereby the Japanese Government limits the number of passports issued to Japanese emigrants to Canada, the Asiatic Indian by a provision as to continuous passage—and southeastern Europeans are scrutinized with special care. The abuses of the emigrant ship and the crimp have been eliminated. For handling the immigrant on arrival, there are "Commissioners of Immigration" in the eastern, western, and Pacific divisions of Canada. A "Land Settlement" branch of the Department assists the settler in selecting his farm and protects him from exploitation, while special divisions are devoted to the supervision of female and juvenile immigrants. Other departments of the Government cooperate where they can, and several of the provincial governments as well some large private organizations are engaged in the distribution and settlement of immigrants. *Laissez faire* is gone or rapidly passing. The so-called "Empire Settlement Agreement," under joint direction of the British and Dominion Governments, is designed to encourage dealing with individuals. The broad Canadian objective is so to increase population that the railway problem may disappear and the country may securely dominate its war taxation, as it is already doing.

At what pace will the Canadian population increase? A gain of 2,500,000 or 3,000,000 in the next decade would meet the requirements just mentioned. Not more than half of this can normally come from natural increase. An immigration, therefore, of 200,000 a year would assure Canadian prosperity. Two hundred and fifty thousand would spell "boom." This is not an "optimum" figure, nor is it based on any special theory of population increase. But it may be noted that, projecting the curves which fit best the observed growth of the several provinces from the earliest times, the total population indicated for 1950 approaches 16,000,000. Such calculations have, of course, a mere *interest de curiosité*; the future of so new a country is on the knees of the gods. Canada grew into existence while the rate of human increase was still moderate, though from the beginning she was a symptom of the new expansion. The world's population probably did not quite double during the nineteenth century, but Canada's increased 20-fold. In the future, we may be sure, the vacant spaces of the North American continent will be the habitat of an increasing number of persons and an increasing proportion of mankind.

CHAPTER IV

ARGENTINA¹

By

ALEJANDRO E. BUNGE AND CARLOS GARCIA MATA

The migration statistics of Argentina are generally utilized in order to determine the migratory increase, which, when added to the natural increase of excess of births over deaths gives the total increase in population. But for a study of immigration, which is the present purpose, it is necessary to derive from the official statistics a figure including only those who ought logically to be classed as immigrants, that is, those who come from foreign lands with the intention of settling permanently. Therefore the tourists and those returning to Argentina after an absence abroad have been subtracted from the total number of arrivals. This is the more necessary, inasmuch as the immigration and emigration statistics are scattered through many official publications, in which the totals are raised by the inclusion of second-class passengers along the river between Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

Although it is easy to subtract these river passengers from the total and get the number of those foreigners who have entered the country as second-class or third-class passengers from across the sea (from "ports beyond," as the present law governing immigration phrases it), it is not possible to make finer classifications among them or to distinguish between those who entered with the intention of returning to the country of their origin and those who intended to remain permanently in Argentina. This is especially true if the statistics going back to 1857, when the records of migration began, are to be used. The statistics of these first years were kept by a private society, the Philanthropic Immigration Commission, which became a state organization in 1862 and ceased to function in 1869 when the Central Commission on Immigration was created by the national government. The present General Board of Immigration was created October 19, 1876.

The distinction made in the preceding paragraph between arrivals and immigrants began to be observed by the Board of

¹[See *International Migrations*, Vol. I, pp. 539-547—Ed.]

Immigration in 1924. It is interesting to analyze the statistics of these last years so as to show how much the distinction influences the totals. In the statistics of 1926 the total number of foreign-born who disembarked in the ports of Argentina have been classified under the four heads given in Table 47.

The second column of this table includes all who will be considered "immigrants" in order to carry a uniform criterion through the statistics of the 70-year period to be analyzed; but in reality only 84 per cent of them were true immigrants, the remaining 16 per cent being composed of (a) those who were entering the country not for the first time (13.3 per cent); (b) those who expected to return to their own country within a year (0.9 per cent); or (c) those who were enroute for some other nation (1.8 per cent).

TABLE 47.

FOREIGN-BORN ARRIVALS IN ARGENTINA, CLASSIFIED BY INTENTION AS TO TRAVEL, DURING 1926.

Intention	First-class	Second and third-class
Those en route for other nations	1,809	2,492
Those who declared their stay in the country would be for not more than a year	3,163	1,131
Those who had been in the country before	5,631	18,036
Those who intended to remain	925	113,352
Totals	11,528	135,011

The official statistics on immigration have often been criticised as being inexact or incomplete; a simple comparison will prove that the statement is true. Migration statistics are registered by the Board of Immigration in the Department of Agriculture, and compiled also by the General Marine Prefecture in the Marine Department. A collation of the statistics from the two sources brings out differences which in some cases are considerable; for example, in 1914 the two totals for migration by way of the sea differed by 14,435. This difference is very strange, if it is kept in mind that both offices make their compilations from identical reports received from the steamships.

The figures of the General Board of Immigration are commonly accepted, because that office is especially entrusted with the task,

and because it is in a better position than the other to become acquainted with migration. Its statistics have been adopted in the demographic studies of the General Board of National Statistics, and are those which will be analyzed here.

Besides the immigrants to Argentina from overseas, there is a smaller but important class composed of persons who originally emigrated to an adjacent country, and later came across the frontier into Argentina. This is a difficult matter to probe, because official statistics of the river movement between Argentina and neighboring countries are very deficient and it is almost impossible to base a serious study upon them. The statistical compilations on river traffic differ widely, and one cannot know which is nearer the truth. Between 1914 and 1918--the most important period for this study, because during those years the migration currents of Argentina changed enormously--the Board of Immigration in its figures of river traffic showed a balance of 117,243 in favor of Argentina, but the Marine Prefecture showed a balance of only 4,102. The General Statistical Commission in its recent demographic work adopted the figures of river movement compiled by the Board of Immigration, but it substituted for them during the years 1914-16 the data of the Marine Prefecture, feeling that the balances for these three years given by the Board were incorrect.

From these facts it appears that the official statistics of river traffic have a wide margin of error and that it is not worthwhile to examine them in detail. This conclusion is reinforced if one considers that the figures of entries and departures of the foreign-born have been swollen by those for the citizens of neighboring countries, who enter or leave Argentina but do not belong, strictly speaking, to the stream of immigrants or emigrants.

The Board of Immigration figures for recent years, however, seem to be compiled with greater exactness. A brief analysis of the period from 1921 to 1924 will give an idea of migration along the rivers. The total number of foreign-born (1st, 2nd and 3d class) who entered Argentina by river in the period mentioned was 268,000; of those who left it, 225,000 there remaining in favor of the Republic a difference of 43,000 persons. The analysis of nationalities shows that immigration of the natives of neighboring countries is very slight, and that, on the other hand, the balance in the river migration of the foreign-born who are not South Americans is considerable. The river movement of natives of neighboring countries is given in Table 48.

TABLE 48.

MIGRATION BY RIVER OF NATIVES OF COUNTRIES ADJACENT TO
ARGENTINA, 1921-24.
(In Thousands)

Peoples	Entries	Departures	Net Increase
Uruguayans.....	119	116	3
Brazilians.....	3	1	2
Paraguayans.....	3	1	2

The principal river movement of foreigners born in other than South American countries is given in Table 49.

TABLE 49.

MIGRATION BY RIVER OF NATIVES OF NON-SOUTH AMERICAN
COUNTRIES, WITH REGARD TO ARGENTINA, 1921-24.
(In Thousands)

Peoples	Entries	Departures	Net Increase
Italians.....	33	25	8
Spainards.....	41	36	6
Germans.....	11	7	4

The migration by land across Argentina's Chilean and Bolivian frontiers is unimportant. The migration between La Quiaca¹ and Bolivia shows in many years a balance favorable to Argentina; but this gain is only apparent, since it is due to Indians who enter the country by train and return to their tent villages in Bolivia on foot.

The first migration statistics of Argentina were gathered in 1857. Before that year little evidence is to be had regarding the entrance of foreigners into the country, and no reliable statistics can be obtained. From the declaration of Argentine independence in 1810, immigration was the constant preoccupation of those members of the government who desired to modify radically the Spanish colonial opposition to foreigners; but during the first fifty years of constitutional organization political disturbances prevented the coming of immigrants in appreciable numbers. The decrees and laws which were promulgated in those years with

¹On the railway near the Bolivian frontier.

the purpose of fostering immigration from Europe were numerous, beginning with one enacted by the governmental assembly of 1810, which had granted to the foreign born equal rights with natives. Nevertheless, all the privileges then given to the foreign born were exceeded by the provisions of the constitution adopted in 1853 and inspired by the dictum of the publicist, Alberdi: "In South America to govern is to populate." The constitution is so liberal that its foreign-born are in a better position than citizens, since they have all the advantages that the latter enjoy and are exempt from certain obligations, like military service, that weigh upon the citizens. It may be said that immigration to Argentina began with the constitution which consolidated the political organization of the Republic.

In the 70 years from 1857 to 1926 inclusive, 5,742,000 immigrants (foreigners from overseas, coming second class or third class) entered the country; subtracting from this number the 2,668,000 emigrants who left in the same period, there remains a balance of 3,074,000 immigrants into Argentina (See Table 50).

TABLE 50.
OVERSEAS IMMIGRANTS AND EMIGRANTS, AND BALANCE, BY DECADES,
1857-1926.
(In Thousands)

Periods	Immigration	Emigration	Balance
1857-60.....	20	9	11
1861-70.....	160	83	77
1871-80.....	261	176	85
1881-90.....	841	203	638
1891-1900.....	648	328	320
1901-10.....	1,764	644	1,120
1911-20.....	1,205	936	269
1921-26.....	843	289	554
1857-1926.....	5,742	2,668	3,074

During the 24 years from 1857 to 1880, immigration increased slowly while the political system was being consolidated and the economic conditions of the country were improving with the extension of the railroads and the increase of territory devoted to agriculture and cattle-raising.

During the first decade the annual immigration increased from 4,951 in 1857 to 13,696 in 1866.¹ In this period internal conditions did not favor immigration, because of the antagonism between Buenos Aires and the other provinces; and after 1865, because of the bloody war against the tyrant Lopez of Paraguay.

In 1868 immigration was nearly double what it had been in any preceding year. This date marked the beginning of the administration of President Sarmiento, champion of popular education, under whose rule Argentina followed the straight road of progress. During the 7 years between 1868 and 1874, Argentina received 216,000 immigrants, an annual average of 30,800. To appreciate the significance of this number note that the first census, taken in September, 1869, reported a population of only 1,737,000, so that the annual immigration was nearly two per cent of the population.

During these years immigrant agricultural colonies in the provinces of Santa Fe and Entre Rios developed, and new laws regarding the sale of public lands were promulgated; in 1873 the export of wheat began with 5 tons. Unfavorable conditions in Europe toward the end of this period—civil wars in Spain and Italy and the Franco-Prussian war—contributed to the increase. The decrease of more than one-half in the immigration of 1871, compared with that in 1870, was due to the terrible epidemic of yellow fever which ravaged the city of Buenos Aires; but this did not check the increase during the next three years.

Beginning with 1875 and lasting until 1880 there was an even greater reduction of immigration. The internal economic situation was unsteady as shown by the fact that external commerce, which from 1872 to 1875 had maintained itself above 100,000,000 gold pesos—reaching 120,832,000 in 1873—declined in the following years, remaining in the neighborhood of 85,000,000. The political situation was also disturbed by revolutions in 1874 and 1880, and the issuing of paper money in excessive amounts created a crisis in 1874 that lasted through 1875 and the early part of 1876. In addition, events in Italy caused a decrease of 75 per cent in the Italian immigration between 1873 and 1876.

The following decade, 1881–90, showed a normal increase during its early years; but from 1887 to 1889 immigration attained phenomenal proportions and then declined suddenly in 1890. During the whole of this period immigration was encouraged by

¹[See Volume I, p. 359, Table I.—Ed.]

the government, which in the years 1880, 1881, and 1890, advanced passage money to immigrants. Those who entered the country with this aid numbered 12,000 in 1888; 100,000 in 1889; and 20,000 in 1890. After 1890 this system of aid was finally abandoned.

The internal economic situation of the period followed a course parallel with that of immigration. In 1880 the administration of President Roca began with auguries of peace and progress. Agriculture and cattle-raising increased greatly, and in the first four years exports of wheat developed as follows:

<i>Tons of wheat exported</i>	
1881	157
1882	1,700
1883	60,800
1884	108,500

The increase in the total value of exports in these years was 30 per cent. But this prosperity kindled an excessive optimism, a spirit of speculation, and an unsound expansion in the government and in individuals. The national budget increased 110 per cent in four years; the consolidated public debt, which was 86,000,000 gold pesos in 1880, was raised to 295,000,000 in 1889; easy money led to an increase of private expenses, imports increased, outstripping exports after 1882 and creating an unfavorable balance of trade. All these circumstances caused an extraordinary boom, followed in 1890 by a crash entailing a political upheaval.

The readjustment which followed was long and costly; during the following decade one notes a restriction upon purchases, evidenced by an extraordinary decrease of imports. The year of panic which followed the crisis of 1890 affected immigration—in 1891 only 28,000 persons entered, while 72,400 departed, a net loss of 44,000 persons.¹

The annual averages during the 13 years after the panic were: immigrants 67,000, emigrants 36,000, and an annual net increase from migration of 31,500.

During this period economic conditions were very unstable; and although progress continued, it was slow. Not until 1899 did international commerce regain the position at which it stood just before the crisis. The chief source of injury to business was the inconvertibility of the paper money and this was not remedied

¹[See Vol. I, p. 543-6, Table V.—Ed.]

until the close of 1903 when the Caja de Conversion began to function regularly. Conditions in European countries were favorable to emigration, but Argentina was not offering great inducements and the outflow turned towards Brazil.

With 1904 an extraordinary period of migration opened and lasted until 1914. Those years were marked by great commercial activity, steady extension of railroads, agriculture, and cattle-raising. Imports grew enormously, quintupling their value between 1903 and 1913, and political tranquility contributed its influence to the growth during this period.

Two principal facts are revealed in the migration statistics of these years. First, the size of the immigrant stream—in the ten years about 2,400,000 immigrants entered the country from overseas, an annual average of 240,000, more than three times the 67,000 entering annually in the preceding period. The second fact is the size of the return current, which at the end of the period exceeded 120,000 a year. This was due to the so-called "floating immigration" or "birds of passage" composed of European laborers who went to Argentina in October, November, or December, taking advantage of the cheapness of the rates in those years. As a result of competition between the steamship companies tickets were sold at ridiculous prices. These immigrants worked in the fields during the crop season and in May and June returned to their homes with their savings. This current, which had its principal development between 1907 and 1913, has been estimated at between 50,000 and 70,000 persons. Disappearing in 1914 as a result of causes that we shall explain later, it has not yet revived.

As a result of this extraordinary movement the ten years 1904–13 showed a net migrational increase of 1,484,000 persons—an annual average of 148,000 and in 1913 an increase of 145,000.¹ To appreciate fully the relative significance of this number it is necessary to remember that the total population of Argentina at the beginning of this period was 4,976,000; that by the end of 1913 it had reached 7,482,000; and that it had an annual natural increase of between 103,000 in 1904, and 157,000 in 1913. Consequently, in almost every year of the decade the migrational increase of the population was greater than the natural increase.

This great immigration was more than the country could assimilate and led to a crisis during the first four months of 1914. The composition of the population was clearly shown by the census

¹[Compare Volume I, p. 539, Table I, with p. 512, Table IV.—Ed.]

taken about the middle of 1914. Of the 7,885,000 inhabitants, 2,358,000 or about three-tenths were of foreign birth, a proportion twice as large as that in the United States in 1910 when it reached its maximum. In the group of males over 20 years of age the foreign-born were 52 per cent and in the federal capital, for each native Argentinian over 20 years of age, there were almost three foreign-born of like age; 72 per cent of the business heads and 75 per cent of the owners of business houses were of foreign birth.

These conditions and others toward the end of 1913 had created increasing unemployment and were the determining factors in the change of the migratory currents noted early in 1914. During the first months arrivals decreased and the diminution became more marked in May, June, and July just before the declaration of the World War. At that time, immigration was only 7,000-9,000 persons a month, or about half the volume in corresponding months of former years. Departures increased enormously, becoming 20,000-28,000 persons monthly in April and May. These monthly figures prove that the war was not the cause of the extraordinary emigration in 1914. The declaration of war caused a sudden drop in the departures: from 26,000 in July, emigration fell to 9,000 in August, 1914. Immigration remained stationary and did not show its normal increase toward the end of the year. For the whole of 1914, the country had a net loss of 63,000. These conditions continued and as the war restricted immigration, the steady losses during the 6 years 1914-19 resulted in a decrease of 214,175.¹

The figures show that the whole migratory movement was almost paralyzed during 1917 and 1918, and in the latter year the total movement in and out was only 38,000, about one-twelfth of what it was just before the war.

After the war ended, the stream of immigration revived, but was made difficult at first by the economic situation of the country unbalanced by the world crisis, by the high cost of steamship fares and by the diversion of immigrants to new regions (*e. g.* Italian immigration to France). The supplementary statistics for 1925 and 1926 may be added as Table 51.²

In 1923 the stream of immigration regained its pre-war level, since the net increase in that year was substantially equal to the average annual increase during the period of extraordinary immigration, 1904-13, and if the number of arrivals and departures was

¹[See Volume I, p. 543 ff.—Ed.]

²[See also Volume I, p. 543 ff.—Ed.]

TABLE 51.

ARGENTINE MIGRATION AND NET IMMIGRATION, 1925 AND 1926.

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net Immigration
1925	125,366	49,841	75,525
1926	135,011	55,769	79,242

much less than in the earlier years, it was because they were not swollen by "birds of passage" who cannot travel at the present time because of the high cost of ocean journeys.

In 1924 and 1925 immigration diminished a little, because of the depression in Argentine agriculture, but thereafter the economic situation improved greatly and the figures for immigration in 1926 and 1927 show an appreciable increase in arrivals and net increase over those of preceding years.

The averages for the period 1920-26 are: immigration 132,837; emigration 49,477; net migratory increase 83,345, an annual increase of 9 per 1,000 of population which is approximately half of the natural increase during the same period.

Most of the immigrants who have entered the country during the last seventy years are Latins, natives of south Europe; Italians and Spaniards constitute a little less than 80 per cent of the total; the immigrants from all non-Latin countries scarcely amount to 15 per cent. The fact that Anglo-Saxon emigrants do not come in numbers should not be attributed to climatic conditions, for Argentina is situated almost entirely within the Temperate Zone; and because it extends through 33 degrees of latitude it has a wide range of climate. The Anglo-Saxon emigrants of the last seventy years preferred to go to the United States or to Canada, because they found in these countries an atmosphere, language and religion similar to their own. The situation in Argentina has been modified in recent years by an increase in the immigration of non-Latin foreigners who now constitute more than a fourth of the total. The nationality of immigrants into Argentina during the 70 years 1857-1926 is shown in Table 52.

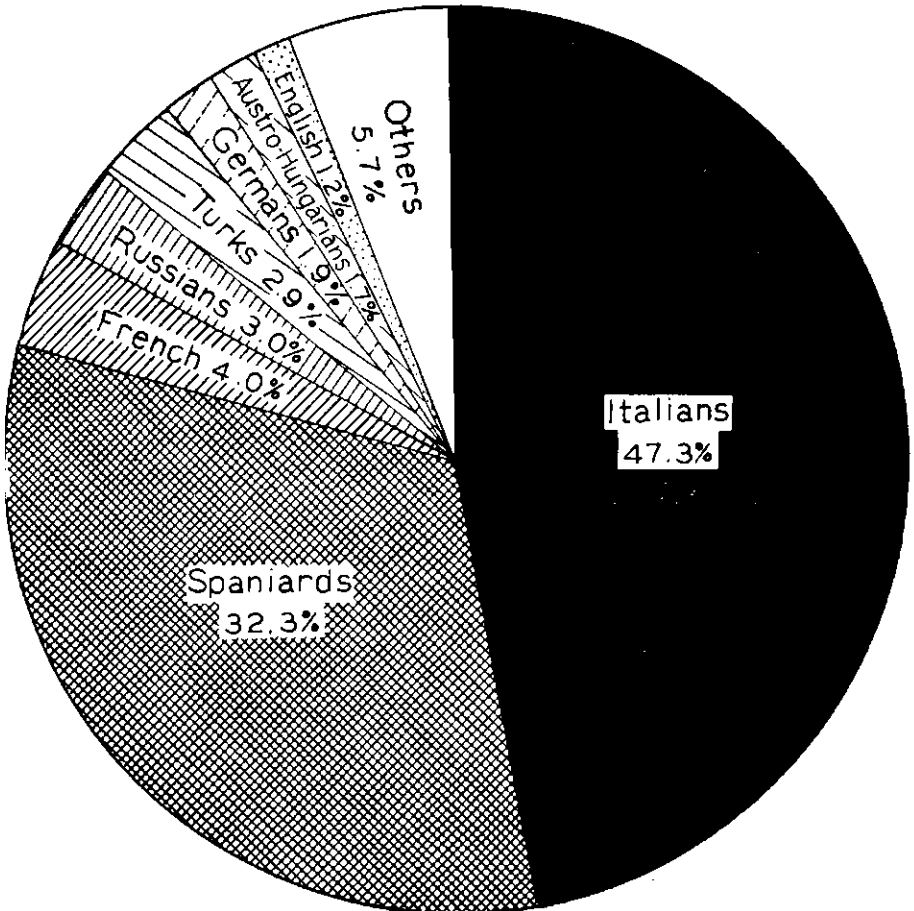
The earliest immigration was from Italy; 70 per cent of the immigrants before 1870 were Italians; later this proportion decreased to 60 per cent, and today it is about 40 per cent. These

TABLE 52.

OVERSEAS IMMIGRANTS BY NATIONALITY, NUMBER IN THOUSANDS AND PER CENT, 1857-1926.

Peoples	Number	Per Cent	Peoples	Number	Per Cent
Italians.....	2,718	47.4	Pollacks.....	48	0.8
Spaniards.....	1,853	32.3	Portuguese.....	43	0.7
French.....	229	4.0	Swiss.....	38	0.7
Russians.....	172	3.0	Belgians.....	25	0.4
Ottomans, Turks.....	169	2.9	Danes.....	14	0.2
Germans.....	111	1.9	Yugoslavs.....	15	0.3
Austro-Hungarians.....	94	1.7	Czechoslovaks.....	12	0.2
British.....	66	1.2	Other Peoples.....	134	2.3
			Total.....	5,741	100.0

Diagram 8. Immigration into Argentina, Classified by Nationalities, 1857-1926.



national proportions are presented graphically in the diagram of Diagram 8.¹

The emigration or repatriation of Italians has amounted to 50 per cent of the total emigration. It increased rapidly in the difficult periods through which the country has passed periodically; in the crisis of 1890 there was an exodus of Italians, and in 1891 only 16,000 entered and 58,000 left. This movement stands in contrast to that of the natives of other lands, for in the same year the total migration decrease was about 44,000, only a little more than that of the Italians alone. Likewise, during the war period from 1914 to 1919, the excess of Italians who left over those who arrived was 97,000.

Spanish immigration, unlike Italian, increased its proportion as the years passed. At the beginning it was only 15 per cent of the total and later, just before the war, it reached 49 per cent. In recent years it has diminished, probably because of the events in Spain; at present it constitutes only 25 per cent of the total.

The large balances of Spanish and Italian immigration in the last 70 years have brought about profound modifications in the population of Argentina; according to the census of 1914, the country contained 930,000 Italians and 830,000 Spaniards, the two together forming 23.5 per cent of the total population.

French immigration has not been important, about one twenty-fourth of the total. Very slight at first, it increased slowly until its maximum in the period from 1888 to 1890; during these 3 years the French immigrants numbered 61,000, or 14 per cent of the total. Later this immigration decreased greatly and in recent years it has remained very small, 1,000 to 2,500 arriving each year, and about as many leaving.

Before the war there was a considerable immigration of Russians and Turks. The Turks were mainly Syrians from the Lebanon. According to the census of 1914 there were 64,000 Ottomans and 94,000 Russians in Argentina. Syrian immigration lately has been reduced, and Russian has almost ceased, the latter being replaced by immigration from Poland which of late has acquired considerable importance, rising into third place after that of Italy and Spain. From 1921 to the end of November 1927, about 83,000 Poles entered Argentina.

¹[Diagrams 8, 9, and 10 are copied by permission from the authors' article "Setenta años de inmigración" (1928).—Ed.]

German immigration has been important from 1920 to the present time; in the last eight years over 50,000 Germans have arrived.

The recent increases in the immigration of natives of non-Latin countries (Poles, Germans, Yugoslavs, Czechoslovaks, Lithuanians), if continued, will modify the ethnic composition of the population. Before the war, non-Latin immigration was only 13 per cent of the total; since the war this percentage has increased rapidly. It was 19 per cent in 1922, rose to 25.2 per cent in 1923 and reached 30 per cent in 1926. The provisional figures for 1927 indicate that it will be still higher in that year.

As to the sex of the immigrants, the annual proportion has been about 71 per cent males and 29 per cent females. The proportion of males was lower during the earlier decades and at present is a little higher, as Table 53 shows.

TABLE 53
OVERSEAS IMMIGRANTS, BY SEX: NUMBER AND PER CENT, FOR
DECADES, 1857-1926.
(Number in Thousands)

Periods	Number			Per cent	
	Total	Males	Females	Male	Female
1857-60	20	16	4	80.5	19.5
1861-70	160	122	37	76.4	23.6
1871-80	261	184	77	70.4	29.6
1881-90	841	585	255	69.6	30.4
1891-1900	648	458	190	70.6	29.4
1901-10	1,764	1,281	482	72.6	27.4
1911-20	1,205	842	363	69.9	30.1
1921-26	843	589	254	70.2	29.8
Totals	5,742	4,077	1,665	71.0	29.0

The number of women, who almost always come with their families, fluctuates less than that of men. In the years of restricted immigration, therefore, the percentage of women is higher.

Of the 5,742,000 immigrants who entered between 1857 and 1926, Table 54 shows that 3,744,000 were single, 1,896,000 were married and 102,000 were widowers or widows.

TABLE 54

OVERSEAS IMMIGRANTS BY MARITAL CONDITION: NUMBER BY
DECADES, 1857-1926.

(In Thousands)

Periods	Single	Married	Widowed
1857-60.....	14	6	0.086
1861-70.....	111	46	3
1871-80.....	183	74	4
1881-90.....	563	263	15
1891-1900.....	426	210	13
1901-10.....	1,207	531	26
1911-20.....	754	429	22
1921-26.....	487	337	13
Total	3,744	1,896	96.086

The proportion of married in the total which during the period 1901-1910 was 30 per cent, and during the following decade was 35 per cent—has now risen beyond 40 per cent (see Diagram 9). The proportion of immigrants who take advantage of the immigration law and are lodged in the Hotel for Immigrants and maintained at the cost of the state has decreased since the war, as Table 55 shows.

TABLE 55

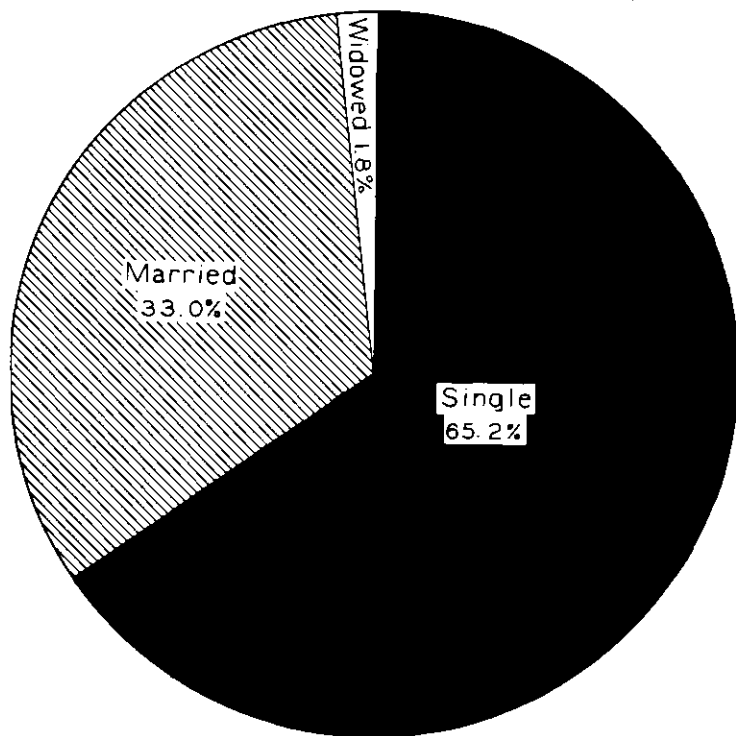
IMMIGRANTS MAINTAINED BY THE STATE, NUMBER AND PER CENT OF
ALL IMMIGRANTS, BY DECADES, 1857-1926.

(Number in Thousands)

Period	Number	Per Cent
1857-60.....	0.6	3.0
1861-70.....	25	15.9
1871-80.....	85	32.7
1881-90.....	419	49.8
1891-1900.....	279	43.0
1901-10.....	831	47.1
1921-26.....	324	38.4
Total	1,969	100.0

The majority of immigrants to Argentina are adults; the proportion of children and aged people is very small. Hence the im-

Diagram 9. Immigrants into Argentina, Classified by Marital Condition, 1857-1926.



migrants help to raise the birthrate, and with their aid the natural increase or excess of births over deaths in Argentina is probably the largest among the important countries in the world. Up to 1924 of the total immigrants who had entered, 84.2 per cent were between the ages of 13 and 60, children under 13 constituted 14.7 per cent, and persons over 60 made up only 1 per cent. The proportion of adults was still greater in the last period 1921-24 when it was 88.6 per cent.¹

The education of the immigrants leaves much to be desired, chiefly because the great majority are from Italy and Spain where primary education has not yet become general. The proportion of

¹[These percentages are based on figures given in Volume I, p. 540, Table II.—Ed.]

illiterate immigrants varies between 23 and 25 per cent. In 1926 a slight improvement was perceptible; the illiterates were only 20.6 per cent of the total, and if we subtract children under 14 years of age, the illiteracy among the adults is reduced to 18.1.

The returns concerning the occupations of immigrants are inadequate, as they must be under the conditions, but deserve some attention.¹ Available figures are given in Table 56.

TABLE 56
OVERSEAS IMMIGRANTS BY OCCUPATIONS, NUMBER AND PER CENT,
1857-1926.
(Numbers in Thousands)

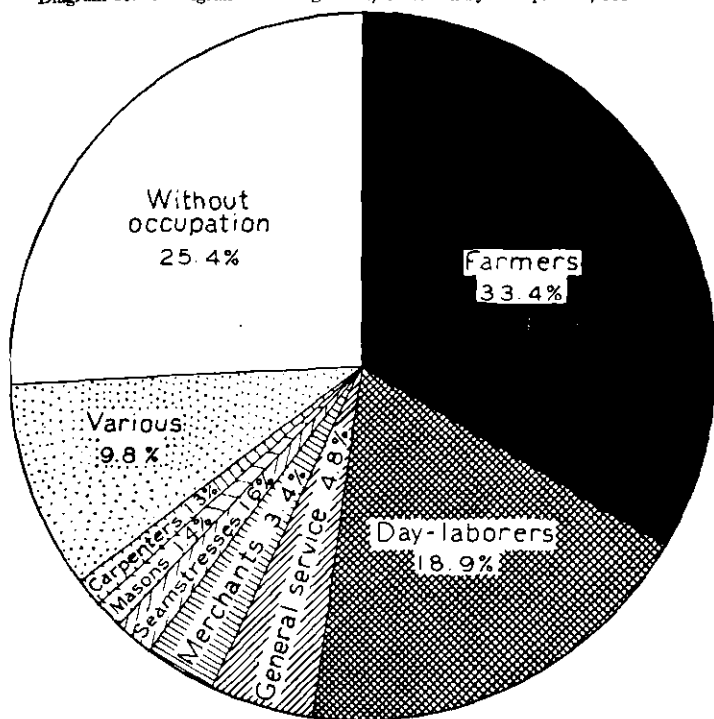
Trade	Number	Per Cent	Trade	Number	Per Cent
Farmers.....	1,912	33.4	Cobblers.....	44	0.8
Day-laborers.....	1,084	18.9	Tailors.....	39	0.7
General Service.....	276	4.8	Mechanics.....	36	0.6
Merchants.....	197	3.4	Blacksmiths.....	31	0.5
Seamstresses, Weavers	93	1.6	Other Professions or		
Masons.....	81	1.4	Trades.....	363	6.3
Carpenters, Cabinet-			With profession or		
makers.....	69	1.2	trade.....	4,273	74.5
Sailors.....	48	0.8	Without definite trade	1,469	25.5
			Total.....	5,742	100.0

The immigrants reported "without definite trade" were most of them women, many of them married and arriving with their families or having been sent for by husbands who had come out earlier. This class also includes children of school age and elderly people. The distribution of immigrants among the occupation-classes is also presented graphically in Diagram 10.

Many of the immigrants returned as "farmers" do not take up that occupation but remain in the cities. According to the national census of 1914, 68 per cent of the foreign born resided in urban centers, whereas half the population of Argentina was rural. The census of business heads shows that 71 per cent of these were foreign-born and that 62 per cent of those in business were likewise foreign-born. On the other hand, of those mentioned in the census as cattle-breeders, plantation overseers, shepherds, farm

¹[See also Volume I, p. 541-2, Tables III and IIIa.—Ed.]

Diagram 10. Immigrants into Argentina, Classified by Occupations, 1857-1926.



laborers, agricultural day-laborers and the like, only 21 per cent were foreign-born.

The immigration of farmers has suffered a notable diminution during recent years. From 1881 to 1890 they formed 55 per cent of the total; but 43 per cent in 1891-1900, 32 per cent in 1901-10, and 18 per cent in 1911-20. During recent years a reaction has appeared; in 1925 farmers constituted 32 per cent of the total, and in 1926 they were 35.1 per cent. These increases are due chiefly to the recent rise in the Polish immigration.

The geographical distribution of immigrants in Argentina has been very uneven. They tend to take root in the littoral zone, and particularly in the city of Buenos Aires. This has produced a

lack of economic balance between the two great topographic provinces of Argentina: the littoral zone of 385,000 square miles with more than 8,000,000 inhabitants, and the richer soils of the interior and southern districts, embracing 770,000 square miles with only 2,000,000 inhabitants. Only 10 per cent of the immigrants have gone to the interior and southern districts; a third of them have settled in Buenos Aires, and the rest in the coastal provinces near the capital.

Immigrants clearly prefer remaining in the cities to going into the country. According to the census of 1914, of the 2,358,000 foreign born there were 1,611,000, or more than two-thirds, in the cities and only 747,000 in the country. The foreign born remaining largely in the cities, engage by preference in commerce and business; and it may be said with some truth that as a rule the natives devote themselves to producing and the foreign born to trading in the products.

CHAPTER V

BRAZIL¹

By

DOUGLAS O. NAYLOR

Brazil was discovered in 1499 (O. S.) by Pinzon, who claimed it for Spain. In the following year Cabral touched there and claimed it for Portugal. For nearly thirty years Portuguese kings neglected the country, but their subjects continued its colonization and combated the Spanish and French who sought to occupy it. In the 1530's John III of Portugal introduced the first organized government. The colonial period lasted for approximately three centuries. During that time the ports of the colony were open only to Portuguese ships. All others were barred, for Portugal, being financially unsound, wished to secure the national resources of Brazil for herself. These consisted principally in mineral wealth, reported to exist in fabulous quantities. But Portugal being small, the Portuguese settlers were too few to fill the colony rapidly.

When the colonial period ended in 1808 the population of Brazil was only 4,000,000, an estimate made then and now considered fairly accurate by Brazilian government officials. At that time the Brazilian colony was raised to the rank of a nation and given equal rights with Portugal; the ports were opened to ships of all nations. A short time later, Brazil secured its independence from Portugal and established a constitutional empire which lasted until the revolution of 1889 and the establishment of a republic.

During the first half of the nineteenth century there was little migration to Brazil. The opening of the ports in 1808 gave no immediate impulse to the movement. The country was well known for its gold and diamonds, but because of its slight industrial expansion, Europeans were not interested.

The present period of Brazilian immigration began in the second half of the nineteenth century. The main economic incentive was found in the expansion of the coffee industry on the inland rolling

¹[See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pp. 171 ff., 209, 261 ff., 548-557.—Ed.]

plateau of the state of São Paulo. About 85 per cent of all immigrants to Brazil have gone either to the state of São Paulo or to the port of Rio de Janeiro. At Santos, the only commercial seaport of the state of São Paulo, they are received by the state authorities; at Rio de Janeiro, by federal authorities, after which this group is usually scattered widely through the east-central region.

The state of São Paulo made the coffee boom a success by stimulating immigration. Steamship passage money was refunded to those who settled there, and their transportation to any part of the state was paid. A very heavy flow of immigration to São Paulo occurred between 1889 and 1915, during which period the state paid the oversea transportation charges of 935,000 immigrants, and 614,000 more paid their own. The Federal Government refunds steamer passage money to the third-class immigrants and provides railway transportation, or coastwise steamship passage, to those among them who settle in the reserved "homestead" areas. The Federal Government and many of the states have surveyed tracts of land and opened them for sale on special terms and offer other inducements to immigrants. The plan is somewhat like the "homestead" system in the United States.

Some of the Italians and most of the Germans in southern Brazil first landed at ports near their present homes; a few Syrians and Italians have gone to the northern ports directly from their ports of embarkation. At the time of the census of 1920, the state of São Paulo had more than 800,000 foreign-born inhabitants, the largest number in any state of Brazil.

São Paulo State and the Federal Government differ in their definition of an immigrant. The São Paulo law classes a foreigner as an immigrant if he is under 60 years of age and has arrived from abroad in third-class accommodations. The Federal law is similar, but includes second-class as well as third-class passengers in its definition. Previous to 1907 it listed only third-class passengers as immigrants. Dr. Piraja de Oliveira, of the Federal Immigration Department, believes that the second-class arrivals up to 1907 probably did not exceed 5 per cent of the third-class. Federal immigration statistics are uniformly accurate in this particular, as the Federal Government maintains a station at Santos and records the second-class arrivals for São Paulo. Government figures are considered fairly accurate, especially those compiled since the Republic was established. There seems to be no doubt about the accuracy of the statistics of present immigration. Brazilian officials

admit that there may have been considerable error in the reports prepared for the early part of the nineteenth century, when immigration began. They believe it probable that some immigrants were not properly registered and so not included in the lists.

A careful study of the federal records for the first half-century of immigration arouses some suspicion of their accuracy, principally because the first record of Portuguese immigrants is as late as 1837 and reports only 120 arrivals. This seems peculiar, because Portuguese immigrants had been arriving in Brazil long before this date, sometimes, it is true, in very limited numbers. The first immigrants recorded were 1,682 Swiss who arrived in 1820.¹

Very few immigrants were listed previous to 1850. It is probable that few arrived, but there seems to be justification for concluding that the records for that period are incomplete, owing partly to lack of care in registration because no attempt was made at accurate classification. A certain employee of the Federal Statistical Department believes that the first recorded arrivals are only those groups which secured grants from government organizations.

The federal law governing immigration prohibits the entry of cripples and persons having incurable or contagious diseases. These restrictions were made in 1921 and 1924. No educational test has ever been required of immigrants. Much importance is to be attached to permitting the entry of illiterates, as a great many of the immigrants have been unable to read and write. For the three nations sending most immigrants, it is reliably estimated that about 80 per cent of the Portuguese and between 70 and 75 per cent of the Italians and Spanish have been illiterate.

The Bureau of Immigration, in the Department of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, reports that 4,167,000 immigrants landed at Brazilian ports between 1820 and the close of 1926. Of that number 1,462,000 were Italians, 1,219,000 were Portuguese, and 565,000 were Spanish, these three Latin countries supplying 78 per cent of all immigrants. This is one of the chief causes of Brazil's serious educational problem. The same department stated that 75.5 per cent of the total population was illiterate, the figures being based on the federal census of 1920.

A direct economic outcome has been an excessive supply of unskilled labor, which at first was of little concern to the investors of capital in industry, as slavery was not abolished until 1888. Up to that time the labor market was glutted with cheap man-power,

¹[See Volume I, p. 549.—Ed.]

and there was small demand for intelligent and trained men. Immigrants from southern Europe had been pouring rapidly into São Paulo for a number of years preceding the abolition of slavery.

The unskilled labor market has been precipitated into an industrial crisis by the Federal Government imposing a very high tariff on manufactured articles, so that capitalists have been enabled to use unskilled labor in competition with the more efficient labor of foreign countries. By this policy Brazil has absorbed these uneducated immigrants, and at the same time has unnaturally shortened the initial economic period of farming and stock raising. Excess production is unknown in these pursuits, except in the cases of coffee and sugar where it is a critical question merely because the regional farmers have not protected themselves by diversified agriculture.

[A long table furnished by Mr. Naylor reproduces figures already printed in Volume I. But as the tables there do not include results for years later than 1924 Mr Naylor's figures for 1925 and 1926 have been introduced here as Table 57.—Ed.]

TABLE 57.

IMMIGRATION INTO BRAZIL BY PEOPLES, 1925 AND 1926, AND 1820-1926

Peoples	1925	1926	1820-1926	Peoples	1925	1926	1820-1926
Albanian.....		2	6	Lithuanian.....	112	6,026	8,149
Argentinian.....	529	602	7,119	Luxemburger.....	5	10	84
Armenian.....	148	79	273	Lybian.....		428	428
Australian.....	2		10	Mexican.....	76	7	175
Austrian.....	2,781	1,078	88,568	Montenegrin.....			2
Belgian.....	88	119	6,042	Moroccan.....	5	8	57
Bolivian.....	13	13	390	Netherlander.....	121	127	4,223
Brazilian.....	2,336	2,883	41,469	Nicaraguan.....		1	1
Bulgarian.....	17	29	139	North American.....	176	172	4,301
Chilian.....	61	33	563	Norwegian.....	10	22	198
Chinese.....	52	106	831	Palestinian.....		91	91
Colombian.....	8	17	55	Panamanian.....	1		9
Costa Rican.....	7	5	25	Paraguayan.....	6	9	46
Cuban.....		5	28	Persian.....	7	26	68
Czechoslovak.....	459	424	2,652	Peruvian.....	59	43	557
Danziger.....	4	9	17	Polish.....	1,819	3,210	10,127
Danish.....	61	141	1,006	Portuguese.....	21,508	38,791	1,219,189
Egyptian.....	55	54	368	Rumanian.....	5,561	15,829	32,374
English.....	578	596	22,776	Russian.....	756	751	110,118
Ecuadorian.....	11	3	41	Serbian.....			287
Estonian.....	1,669	439	2,288	Spanish.....	10,062	8,882	565,238
Finnish.....	15	16	108	Swedish.....	21	29	5,743
French.....	631	525	34,260	Swiss.....	256	334	14,305
German.....	7,175	7,674	189,665	Syrian.....	1,987	3,369	5,356
Greek.....	72	147	2,682	Transvaalian.....			6
Guatemalian.....	3	1	7	Turco-Arabian.....	1,952	3,370	77,324
Haitian.....		1	3	Ukrainian.....	64	398	1,319
Hindu.....	6	9	106	Uruguayan.....	242	251	2,807
Hungarian.....	784	563	5,263	Venezuelan.....	5	1	233
Italian.....	9,846	11,977	1,462,443	Yugoslav.....	6,286	3,128	18,208
Japanese.....	6,330	8,407	49,676	Others.....	24		167,206
Latvian.....	21	289	331				
				Totals.....	84,883	121,569	4,167,439

Federal statistics show that an important number of skilled farmers and factory laborers have emigrated from central and northern Europe. Next in point of numbers after the immigrants from Italy, Portugal, and Spain into Brazil were the Germans, about 190,000 for the period 1820-1926. The Austrians totaled 89,000, the Yugoslavs 18,000 and the Poles 10,000. These groups have settled chiefly in the three southern states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catharina, and Paraná. Southern Brazil has long been known as the Germanic area. The Germans and Austrians prefer this section because of its cool climate. They have engaged in farming on the alluvial plains near the coast and have spread up the principal river valleys into the interior. These peoples have bought small farms and built houses in the style of their native lands.

Italians make up the majority of the immigrants employed on the São Paulo coffee plantations. Unlike the Germans to the south, they did not buy small farms. The coffee industry was started with enormous plantations, each requiring hundreds of laborers to cultivate the soil, gather the berries, and prepare the crop for market. These laborers, or colonos, were permanent residents on the fazendas. They lived in blocks of huts, usually made of sun-dried mud plastered on a framework of poles. Their wages were small, but their economic situation was a decided improvement over that of their previous life in Italy and they were satisfied. Their huts cost them nothing and they were given small plots of ground for growing vegetables. Credit was extended at the fazenda store where the proprietor sold necessities at exorbitant prices and later deducted their price from the annual wages of the laborers. Often there was no balance due them at the close of the season, and sometimes they had to remain for years in order to pay their debts.

The coffee boom grew rapidly and quickly stimulated an Italian immigration that became a steady current during the last third of the nineteenth century. The average yearly immigration from Italy in each of the last four decades has been 540, 6 003, 29 506, and 67 876, respectively. The peak was reached with 132,326 in 1891. Coffee-growing became very profitable and the colonos began to seek better wages; even the plantation owners sent out representatives in search of discontented laborers on adjoining plantations. Under this high labor market the Italian immigrants became floaters, and could not be depended upon to stay more than one season on a plantation. The state government was even forced

to organize a department to fiscalize the contracts between laborers and the plantation owners, in order to protect both parties.

In 1902 the Italian government passed a law restricting emigration to Brazil, and Italian immigration then declined quickly. In 1903 only 13,000 Italians arrived while at least 33,000 departed, and since then the former high peaks have not been equalled. The annual number of Italian arrivals in Brazil since 1903 has varied roughly between 1,000 and 32,000.¹

São Paulo coffee production later reached approximately the limit of consumption. That situation marked the beginning of a new period, now in process of development, characterized by a movement toward smaller plantations and independent ownership of small farms. A railway has been built northwestward into virgin land, and the São Paulo Northwest is now being settled by immigrants who are growing cotton as well as coffee.

Of the Portuguese immigrants a large percentage have settled in Rio de Janeiro, performing much of the unskilled labor of the capital city. They invariably improve their financial status by emigrating to Brazil, as many are close and very shrewd and have a very simple standard of living.

Many of the Spanish go to São Paulo coffee plantations as laborers. It is said that as a rule they do not show much desire or promise of becoming plantation owners.

During the period 1820-1926 the Brazilian government recorded the arrival of 110 000 Russians, 77 000 Turks, 50 000 Japanese, 34 000 French, 32 000 Rumanians, and 23 000 British.

Turks are found as itinerant merchants and owners of small stores in nearly all parts of Brazil. The majority of the Russians are in southern Brazil, with the Germans and Austrians. Many of the Rumanians have settled in the city of São Paulo. The French have preferred to remain in the cities, usually as clerks; and many of the British are working in textile factories.

Japanese immigration has been most variable, beginning with 830 arrivals in 1908² and reaching the highest point of 8,407 arrivals in 1926. The yearly average is about 3,000. Upon the question of Japanese immigration Brazilian public sentiment is divided. The Japanese laborer's standard of living is higher than that of the average Brazilian farm laborer, and Japanese immigrants are better educated than the immigrants from Italy, Portugal, and

¹[See Volume I, pp. 550 ff, and p. 555, Table VI.—Ed.]

²[Compare, however, this volume Chapter XX.—Ed.]

Spain. These two factors seem to have prevented any noticeable spread of anti-Japanese sentiment, to have curbed its growth and minimized its influence. Japanese settlers are nearly all laborers on truck farms near São Paulo or on coffee plantations, but some cultivate rice on small farms. Many have purchased their holdings.

The immigration records classify no other large or important groups. Except for 14,000 Swiss, no nation not already mentioned has sent more than 10,000 emigrants to Brazil. From 1820 to 1926 there were 12,000 arrivals from other South American countries; the largest number 7,000 from Argentina, and the second largest 3,000 from Uruguay. From the United States came 4,000.

The grand total of 4,167,000 contains two more items of importance. The first is 167,000 unclassified immigrants, this number including during the latter half of the nineteenth century, many annual totals as large as 4,000. These immigrants are said to have been principally Italians and Portuguese not correctly registered, the statistical department being in doubt about their nationality. The second is 41,000 Brazilian nationals who have entered a Brazilian port as second- or third-class passengers from a foreign port. The Brazilian government has kept no records of foreign-born immigrants entering Brazil more than once. Such arrivals are not subtracted from the movement for the year, nor from the grand total. Portuguese and Spanish are the immigrants most involved in this movement. Dr. de Oliveira believes that about 60 per cent of the Portuguese immigrants make one visit to Portugal, returning to Brazil third class, and therefore being registered a second time as immigrants. He believes that not more than 10 per cent visit Portugal more than once; and about 30 per cent of the Italians have returned temporarily to Italy. A much smaller proportion of Italians also have visited Italy more than once, and therefore have been registered as immigrants more than twice.

Immigration authorities admit that there have been a small number of foreigners who have entered Brazil by routes not covered in the statistical service. These have come in across the borders of the contiguous countries (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Peru) and have become farmers and cattle ranchers. Cowboys drift across the border during seasons when there is a demand for extra labor. Unregistered arrivals have been very few from Colombia on the northwest, and from Venezuela and the three Guianas on the north, owing to the barrier of forests and mountains. It is possible to reach Brazil from the west coast by crossing the Andes

and descending the Amazon, but entries by this route have been few.

The World War greatly influenced the current of European emigrants to Brazil. The principal streams dropped abruptly. The Italian immigrants declined from 31,000 in 1913 to 1,000 in 1918, the Portuguese from 77,000 in 1913 to 7,000 in 1917, and the Spanish from 41,000 in 1913 to 4,000 in 1918.

The most significant phase of post-war emigration is the failure of Italy, Portugal, and Spain to regain their pre-war rate to Brazil. In no year from the beginning of the war to the close of 1926 have the arrivals from any of these three nations been so numerous as during 1913. Both the Italian and Spanish inflows have remained in the neighborhood of 10,000 a year since the beginning of 1920. Portuguese emigration has recovered more rapidly, jumping to 34,000 in 1920 and to 39,000 in 1926, its annual volume is now as great as it was for some years of the decade preceding the war.

The total alien immigration to Brazil in 1913 amounted to 190,000 and in 1926 to 120,000. Round numbers for 1921 to 1926 have been 58,000, 65,000, 85,000, 96,000, 83,000 and 120,000, showing a steady return toward the pre-war rate.

Emigrants going to Brazil face certain economic risks and cases of tragic failure, possible in all countries where a vast, undeveloped hinterland is being opened for settlement, have not been wanting. Railway transportation continues to be inadequate, and quick, cheap means of hauling crops to market are lacking.

Factory labor is paid much less than in many of the industrially well-developed countries, and the scale of living is much below that of countries like Germany. The economic risk is reduced, however, because skilled labor is in demand, and a common workman of ordinary skill entering a factory in Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo can soon become a foreman.

As a rule, the immigrants go out with their families. There are, however, many exceptions among the Portuguese. A large proportion of the men do not have sufficient funds to pay steamship passage for their entire families, who are therefore left with relatives until the husbands save enough money to bring their families across the ocean. As there is no economic or social bar between Brazilians and the three Latin groups many of those immigrants intermarry with natives. There have been numerous marriages between Japanese immigrants and Brazilians. Germans have been more isolated in their southern settlements.

CHAPTER VI

AUSTRALIA—ITS IMMIGRANT POPULATION¹

By

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In its political development Australia was divided for many years into seven self-governing colonies and each colony made its records of migration in its own way, with the result that there was no uniformity of method among them. The records of the individual colonies included arrivals from and departures to other Australian colonies, as well as arrivals from and departures to extra-Australian countries. These two classes of migration, which are commonly spoken of as "inter-Colonial" (now "inter-State") and "Overseas", unfortunately were not always kept distinct, so that it is impossible to determine with exactitude the results for Australia as a whole. The consequent defects in the earlier records are probably greater in relation to the direction of migration and the nationality or race of the migrants than in regard to the mere numbers.²

The Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics established in 1906 immediately undertook the compilation of Commonwealth statistics of external migration and at the same time continued the records of inter-State migration.

The insular character of Australia simplifies the collection of the statistics of external migration because all such movements have been by sea, and all desired information is readily procured from shipmasters who furnish particulars on prescribed forms. The statistics of inter-State migration are gathered from two sources: (1) from shipmasters engaged in the coastal trade; and (2) from railway authorities who, with one exception, are government bodies.

The net movement overland other than by rail is considered to be relatively unimportant so that no attempt has been made to record it.³

¹[See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pages 942-998.—Ed.]

²The migration figures given in Volume I, pp. 947-998, must therefore be considered subject to serious limitations.

³[The figures for New South Wales and Victoria, given in Volume I, pp. 960 ff. and 990 ff., do not include the interstate migrations by land. These omissions cause certain divergences from figures derived otherwise, e. g. for New South Wales the decade 1915-24 shows a net immigration of 50,096 if land migration is included, but of 43,019 if only migration by sea is considered and the land movement disregarded (see *Statistical Register for New South Wales* for 1924-25 and previous years, Tables 17, 18, 19.)—Ed.]

For the purpose of population statistics every person leaving a ship in an Australian port is counted as an immigrant except such persons as are prohibited from entry into Australia. The latter are allowed to disembark from one ship in order to be transferred to another and thus proceed to their destination outside Australia, but during the interval between disembarkation and departure they are under government surveillance.

All non-prohibited persons, if they make repeated visits to Australia, are counted as immigrants and emigrants respectively each time they arrive in or depart from Australia. An accurate net result is aimed at.

The accuracy of the recent records of the migration to and from Australia is demonstrated by comparing the results of the latest census with those of the previous census augmented by the net immigration as recorded and the natural increase of the population by excess of births over deaths during the intercensal period. Such a comparison is presented in Table 58.

TABLE 58.

POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA IN 1921 AS ENUMERATED AND AS ESTIMATED FROM CENSUS OF 1911, AND BIRTHS, DEATHS, IMMIGRANTS AND EMIGRANTS, 1911-21.

Data	Persons	Males	Females
(1) Population Mar. 31, 1911, based on census of April 3, 1911.....	4,454,361	2,312,659	2,141,702
(2) Births, 1911-21.....	1,313,186	673,430	639,756
(3) Deaths, 1911-21.....	533,083	306,147	226,936
(4) Natural Increase, 1911-21.....	780,103	367,283	412,820
(5) Overseas Arrivals, 1911-21.....	1,165,347	855,134	310,213
(6) Overseas Departures, 1911-21..	952,323	768,218	184,105
(7) Net Immigration.....	213,024	86,916	126,108
(8) Estimated Population, Mar. 31, 1921 based on census of 1911 = (1) + (4) + (7).....	5,447,488	2,766,858	2,680,630
(9) Estimated Population, Mar. 31, 1921, based on census April 4, 1921.....	5,434,933	2,762,506	2,672,427
(10) Numerical error.....	+12,555	+4,352	+8,203
(11) Error in per cent.....	0.23	0.16	0.31

When the net results of migration have been chronicled in the census records, the latter furnish a more convenient field for in-

AUSTRALIA

171

TABLE 59.

OVERSEAS ARRIVALS FROM PLACES BEYOND AUSTRALIA, ANNUALLY BY STATES AND SEX, 1901-26.

Year	New South Wales (b)	Victoria	Queensland	South Aust.	West Aust.	Tasmania	Northern Territory	The Commonwealth (a)
MALES								
1901	19,746	18,625	5,710	1,753	3,179	723	(c)	49,736
1902	23,224	16,029	3,583	1,998	3,880	1,235	(c)	49,949
1903	18,990	5,219	2,097	1,178	2,993	895	(c)	31,372
1904	21,087	5,760	1,448	1,024	2,988	1,208	(c)	33,515
1905	20,089	5,779	1,504	1,134	2,798	1,117	(c)	32,421
1906	20,514	6,339	1,569	1,029	3,207	1,160	(c)	33,818
1907	28,014	8,253	3,046	1,413	3,388	1,641	(c)	45,755
1908	30,637	8,033	3,075	1,889	3,658	1,385	(c)	48,677
1909	35,416	9,041	4,583	2,464	4,527	1,456	(c)	57,487
1910	37,380	9,557	6,940	3,311	7,177	1,380	(c)	65,745
1911	49,040	14,305	11,951	5,510	12,943	3,103	112	96,964
1912	60,607	21,157	7,605	6,528	11,202	3,064	224	110,387
1913	49,245	18,121	6,963	5,085	9,663	1,468	135	90,680
1914	46,039	13,230	5,607	3,225	4,718	1,325	133	74,277
1915	31,629	10,070	2,653	1,516	3,186	1,203	362	(d) 50,619
1916	29,564	12,037	1,990	871	3,311	902	238	(d) 48,911
1917	27,604	19,217	1,601	1,539	4,596	499	208	(d) 55,264
1918	31,475	29,821	1,261	2,109	4,716	.....	148	(d) 69,530
1919	77,108	81,946	5,582	14,865	17,444	1,152	74	(d) 97,721
1920	45,840	11,887	2,594	2,598	4,287	13	75	(d) 67,294
1921	35,162	8,829	2,852	1,896	4,349	103	30	53,221
1922	31,596	13,390	4,249	2,465	6,341	2	14	58,057
1923	27,797	13,919	3,926	2,336	8,339	88	10	56,415
1924	31,973	14,518	4,240	3,269	8,389	3	8	62,400
1925	31,575	13,956	5,030	2,542	6,470	6	23	59,602
1926	35,094	13,299	4,610	3,230	6,489	3	18	62,743
FEMALES								
1901	9,411	7,635	784	652	1,001	370	(c)	19,853
1902	11,068	6,829	570	570	870	632	(c)	20,539
1903	9,051	2,860	249	507	874	458	(c)	13,999
1904	8,981	3,016	244	444	991	617	(c)	14,293
1905	9,766	3,363	288	484	1,011	571	(c)	15,483
1906	10,657	3,671	507	500	1,141	593	(c)	17,069
1907	14,377	5,105	701	685	1,251	764	(c)	22,883
1908	14,370	4,646	1,588	781	1,383	763	(c)	23,531
1909	15,609	4,895	2,316	901	1,729	672	(c)	26,122
1910	15,999	5,457	3,971	975	2,747	798	(c)	29,947
1911	21,365	8,348	6,177	1,912	5,759	1,374	10	44,945
1912	27,309	14,422	4,446	3,583	5,358	1,425	28	56,571
1913	26,014	11,373	3,621	3,252	6,070	890	6	51,226
1914	21,229	7,899	2,992	1,508	2,264	905	12	36,809
1915	12,733	3,602	1,484	552	1,126	784	61	(d) 20,342
1916	10,124	2,110	553	266	525	896	20	(d) 14,494
1917	7,459	1,014	308	97	235	655	57	(d) 9,825
1918	7,269	1,404	233	45	387	.....	57	(d) 9,395
1919	16,168	5,109	557	1,504	1,884	8	5	(d) 25,235
1920	26,675	9,060	1,621	1,849	2,594	7	9	(d) 41,815
1921	22,028	7,149	1,602	1,409	2,471	49	9	34,717
1922	21,730	7,889	1,777	1,371	2,684	.....	5	35,456
1923	20,287	9,004	1,751	1,489	3,791	115	7	36,444
1924	23,093	9,548	2,289	1,947	4,386	3	1	41,267
1925	23,626	9,167	2,090	2,068	3,507	7	8	40,473
1926	27,301	9,739	2,622	2,360	3,151	1	7	45,181

(a) Arrivals from places beyond Australia; (b) including Federal Capital Territory; (c) Northern Territory included with South Australia; (d) including Troops.

TABLE 59 (Concluded)

Year	New South Wales (b)	Victoria	Queensland	South Aust.	West Aust.	Tasmania	Northern Territory	The Commonwealth (a)
TOTAL PERSONS								
1901	29,157	26,260	6,494	2,405	4,180	1,093	(c)	69,589
1902	34,292	22,858	4,153	2,568	4,750	1,867	(c)	70,488
1903	28,041	8,079	2,346	1,685	3,867	1,353	(c)	45,371
1904	30,068	8,776	1,692	1,468	3,979	1,825	(c)	47,808
1905	29,855	9,142	1,792	1,618	3,809	1,688	(c)	47,904
1906	31,171	10,010	2,076	1,529	4,348	1,753	(c)	50,887
1907	42,391	13,358	3,747	2,098	4,639	2,405	(c)	68,638
1908	45,007	12,679	4,663	2,670	5,041	2,148	(c)	72,208
1909	51,025	13,936	6,899	3,365	6,256	2,128	(c)	83,609
1910	53,379	15,014	10,911	4,286	9,924	2,178	(c)	95,692
1911	70,405	22,653	18,128	7,422	18,702	4,477	122	141,909
1912	87,916	35,579	12,051	10,111	16,560	4,489	252	166,958
1913	75,259	29,494	10,584	8,337	15,733	2,358	141	141,906
1914	67,268	21,129	8,599	1,733	6,982	2,230	145	111,086
1915	44,362	13,672	4,137	2,068	4,312	1,987	423	(d) 70,961
1916	39,688	14,145	2,543	1,137	3,836	1,798	258	(d) 63,405
1917	35,063	20,231	1,909	1,636	4,831	1,154	265	(d) 65,809
1918	38,744	31,225	1,494	2,154	5,103		205	(d) 78,925
1919	93,276	86,605	6,139	16,369	19,328	1,160	79	(d) 222,956
1920	72,515	20,947	4,215	4,447	6,881	20	84	(d) 109,109
1921	57,190	15,978	4,454	3,305	6,820	152	39	87,938
1922	53,326	21,279	6,026	3,836	9,025	2	19	93,513
1923	48,084	22,923	5,677	3,825	12,130	203	17	92,859
1924	55,066	24,066	6,529	5,216	12,775	6	9	103,667
1925	55,201	23,123	7,120	4,610	9,977	13	31	100,075
1926	62,395	23,038	7,232	5,590	9,640	4	25	107,924

(a) Arrivals from places beyond Australia; (b) including Federal Capital Territory; (c) Northern Territory included with South Australia; (d) including Troops.

investigating the racial composition or geographical origin of the people than do the records of immigration and emigration. Consequently, except for the years subsequent to the latest census, it has been customary to discard the migration figures for such purposes. The Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics has revised the past records of migration in the light of the results of successive censuses so far as numbers of each sex are concerned, but it has not been considered necessary or desirable to attempt any revision of the numbers in regard to age or race or other attributes. Although these adjusted results are issued in appropriate publications it is, of course, impossible to withdraw the defective figures previously disseminated. All adjustments are made by amending the departure figures because it has been considered that the greatest source of error lies in the unrecorded departures. To rectify the error disclosed in Table 58, it was necessary to increase the emigrant males by 0.566 per cent and females by 4.45 per cent. For the adjustment of current records these factors are modified

to 1 per cent for males and 4.5 per cent for females. As an indication of the improvement which has been made in the records, the corresponding adjustments for the previous decade had been 14.5 per cent for males and 10 per cent for females.

The figures in Table 59 show the number of arrivals in Australia, according to the State or Territory in which they landed, from the inception of the Commonwealth to December 31, 1926.

From the experience of the two years 1925 and 1926 it would seem that nearly 69 per cent of the permanent arrivals (from non-Australian lands) came from Great Britain, 4.7 per cent from New Zealand and about 9 per cent from other British countries, so that about 83 per cent of the permanent new arrivals were from British countries. Italy sent 10 per cent and other foreign countries 7 per cent.

The birthplaces of residents of Australia, as ascertained by the census of April, 1921, showed 84.5 per cent to be natives (*i. e.* born in Australia). Of the immigrant population in Australia at that time the birthplaces were as given in Table 60.

TABLE 60.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION NOT BORN IN AUSTRALIA, BY PLACE OF BIRTH, 1921.

Place of Birth	Per Cent	Place of Birth	Per Cent
British Isles.....	80.5	America.....	1.5
New Zealand.....	4.5	United States.....	0.7
Europe (continent).....	8.3	Canada.....	0.4
Germany.....	2.7	Polynesia.....	0.4
Asia.....	3.5	At sea.....	0.5
China.....	1.7	Total.....	100.0
Africa.....	0.8		
(South African Union mostly).			

The length of time these elements of the population have been in Australia may be determined from the residence records of the census. Thus at the date of the 1921 census (April 4), the number of surviving immigrants was 840,000 of whom 286,000 entered during the decade 1911-20; the next largest decennial contribution

was 174,000 for 1881-90. Of the German immigrants 22,000 were surviving and of these the largest number for any decade was 6,000 arriving during 1881-90. The Greek, Italian, and Russian elements of the Australian population entered the country much more recently. These few figures illustrate the superiority of the census data over the migration statistics.

The proportions according to birthplace, of the immigrants surviving in 1920 who entered Australia after 1870, have undergone no marked permanent change. From Table 61 it appears that only the figures relating to those who entered Australia during the decade 1891-1900 are slightly eccentric, but they indicate the effects of the unusual and world-wide financial depression of the period. Notwithstanding the development of gold fields in Western Australia, the immigration of these ten years added little to the population. The high percentage of Asiatics and the low percentage of persons from the British Isles suggest that conditions in Australia did not attract immigrants from countries with a relatively high standard of living, but continued to be attractive to Asiatics.

TABLE 61.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION NOT BORN IN AUSTRALIA,
CLASSIFIED BY DECADE OF ARRIVAL AND COUNTRY OF
BIRTH, 1921.

Country of Birth	Decade of Arrival and Length of Residence in Years				
	0-9 yrs.	10-19 yrs.	20-29 yrs.	30-39 yrs.	40-49 yrs.
	1911-20	1901-10	1891-1900	1881-90	1871-80
New Zealand.....	4.0	6.5	8.1	4.6	3.4
British Isles.....	83.6	77.4	60.7	82.2	79.5
Other European...	6.9	9.9	11.1	7.7	10.8
Asia.....	2.7	2.2	16.7	3.4	3.0
All others.....	2.8	4.0	3.4	2.1	3.3
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

During the most recent decade the immigration from nearly all countries was greater than it had been before, but the rate of increase from the British Isles was so much greater than from other countries that the composition of the immigrant population be-

came very similar, in this respect, to the composition of the survivors from the immigrants of 30 years earlier.

There is no direct evidence of the rate of assimilation of the foreign born in Australia. Some evidence about the degree of assimilation by intermarriage is furnished by the birthplaces of the parents of native children. If the results for so recent a year as 1925 are of significance, the figures given in Table 62 will be interesting. That table shows, for a representative list of countries, the birthplaces of the foreign-born fathers of children born in Australia during the year. It shows, further, the number of

TABLE 62.

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF PARENTS OF AUSTRALIAN-BORN CHILDREN HAVING FOREIGN-BORN FATHERS, 1925.

Country of Birth of Father	Number of fathers	Number of mothers born in:			Australian-born mothers as per cent of total
		Same country as father	Australia	Another country	
Austria.....	33	4	25	4	75.7
Belgium.....	11	2	7	2	63.6
Czechoslovakia....	9	1	6	2	66.6
Denmark.....	122	10	90	22	73.8
Finland.....	47	6	34	7	72.3
France.....	43	11	26	6	60.5
Germany.....	365	52	289	24	79.2
Greece.....	268	61	179	28	66.8
Italy.....	523	144	347	32	66.3
Yugoslavia.....	56	39	15	2	26.8
Netherlands.....	57	15	31	11	54.4
Norway.....	83	2	71	10	85.5
Poland.....	37	12	9	16	24.3
Russia.....	158	49	76	33	48.0
Spain.....	29	10	13	6	44.8
Sweden.....	84	4	71	9	84.5
Switzerland.....	45	8	27	10	60.0
China.....	111	12	94	5	84.6
Japan.....	24	10	13	1	54.2
Syria.....	105	52	37	16	35.2
Totals.....	2,210	604	1,460	246	66.0

mothers born in the same country as the fathers of their Australian-born children (compatriot parents), and the number of mothers born in Australia or in a country different from either.

Table 62 shows, for example, that in 1925 children were born in Australia to 33 fathers who had been born in Austria, while 25 of the 33 mothers were native Australians and 4 were neither Australians nor Austrians by birth. The assimilation by Australia of the different stocks here represented is best brought out by the last column giving the per cent of the fathers of each stock who find wives in Australia. The total of the figures given in Table 62 indicate that 66 per cent of the non-British fathers in Australia are married to Australian-born women.

The census of 1921 showed that about 258,000 of the Australian people were born of immigrant mothers by fathers born in Australia, and about 716,000 were born of Australian-born mothers by immigrant fathers; in all about 973,000 were the offspring of unions between natives and immigrants.

There are no data about what proportion of the immigrants enter as individuals and what proportion in families.

The volume of net immigration into Australia shows a close relation to the number of assisted immigrants. During the late '90's and the earlier years of the present century the net result in several years was an excess of departures. During the same periods the assisted immigrants were relatively few. Assisted immigrants since 1860 have been 56 per cent of the net immigration into Australia.

There is little direct and reliable statistical evidence of the occupations in which immigrants engage. In the case of those who are "assisted," it is possible to ascertain some indication of the nature of their occupations before entering, and a few figures for the years 1913 to 1924 have been compiled.¹ The figures apply to all immigrants without regard to their racial origin. It is known that many of the Italians are engaged in the sugar industry of Queensland and as wood-cutters for the mines in Western Australia.

The proportion of immigrants resident in rural, rather than urban, areas also has some significance. The census of 1921 showed that 39 per cent of the native population of Australia were residing in rural areas and 61 per cent in urban areas; the proportion of Australian-born males who resided in rural areas was 42 per cent, and of females 36 per cent. Of the immigrants, how-

¹[See Volume I, Australian Commonwealth, Tables IX, X, XI, pp. 957 ff.—Ed.]

ever, only 30 per cent were in rural districts—of males 34 per cent and of females 25 per cent. Some of these details are given by Table 63.

The Greeks and Russians in Australia show a decided preference for life in cities. Of the Greeks 58.5 per cent are in the metropolitan cities where they are engaged chiefly in the retail fruit trade, fish trade, and the restaurant business. Of the Russians, 63.5 per cent are found in metropolitan cities. These are largely Russian Jews engaged in the clothing trade or in finance.

TABLE 63.

PER CENT OF CERTAIN STOCKS IN AUSTRALIA, RESIDENT IN RURAL DISTRICTS BY BIRTH AND SEX.
(Census of April 4, 1921)

Country of Birth	Males	Females	All Persons
Australia.....	42.1	35.8	39.0
Europe:			
British Isles.....	32.1	21.0	27.2
Denmark.....	45.6	37.5	43.5
Germany.....	55.0	52.4	54.1
Greece.....	19.6	16.0	19.1
Italy.....	41.1	42.4	41.4
Malta.....	52.5	16.7	48.1
Russia.....	24.3	17.6	22.1
Sweden.....	40.1	30.9	39.1
<i>Total Europe.....</i>	<i>33.4</i>	<i>26.8</i>	<i>30.0</i>
Asia:.....	38.5	23.6	36.3
All extra-Australians.....	33.4	25.2	29.8

As to the prosperity of immigrants compared with that of persons remaining in the home countries, there is no tangible evidence. Neither have we any direct evidence about the relative economic prosperity of immigrants and natives. A slight clue to the Australian situation is furnished by the average occupational status of the two groups. The census of 1921 showed that of the native males who could be classified according to their grade of occupation, 7.3 per cent were employers of labor and 16.5 per cent were working for themselves, though not employing labor. Of the immigrants born in the British Isles, 7.5 per cent were employers of labor and 16.7 per cent were working for themselves. Among

the natives of other European countries 9.5 per cent were employers and nearly 25 per cent were working for themselves. The full-blooded non-European stocks show 6.2 per cent of employers and 30.5 per cent working for themselves. Since it may be assumed that employers of labor have at any rate considerable credit, and that those working for themselves have some capital, these figures indicate that the immigrant stocks have attained considerable success.

CHAPTER VII

NEW ZEALAND—EXTERNAL MIGRATION.¹

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As a state the area of which is only 103,000 square miles, much of it mountainous and the population of which is not yet one and one-half million, New Zealand has not exercised a major influence on world migration. Its geographical isolation, however, and certain peculiarities in the development of its population lend to its migration statistics, despite their small numbers, an interest and perhaps an importance greater than their size alone would imply.

Discovered by Tasman in 1642, New Zealand remained *terra incognita* until the visit of Captain Cook in 1769. The islands thus brought into notice attracted a small and fluctuating white population of whalers, traders and drifting elements of the South Seas. By 1800 the permanent white population was a mere half-hundred. The aborigines, known as Maoris, were of an unusually fine type. Racially, they were Polynesians whose ancestors had migrated to New Zealand about the twelfth or thirteenth century. They were located principally on the North Island littoral, and numbered at this date perhaps 100,000, but since then a steady decline, followed in the last thirty years by a period of slighter growth, has reduced their numbers to less than 65,000.

By the first quarter of the nineteenth century, whaling, trading, and missionary settlements had prospered sufficiently to stimulate the formation of British colonization companies. One such company actually despatched in 1825 an unsuccessful expedition.

The white population had grown by 1839 to about one thousand and the New Zealand Company had been formed in England with the object of acquiring land and establishing settlements in the far-away islands. Its charter provided for future land grants in return for expenditure on immigration to New Zealand. It would be difficult to over-estimate the part played by this company in the founding of the colony. Its first immigrant vessels arrived at their

¹[See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pages 99-1014.—Ed.]

destination in 1840, the year which marked the proclamation of British sovereignty, and more followed at short intervals. In the next few years other organizations for colonizing purposes sprang into existence. Some, such as the Otago Association and the Canterbury Association, had a semi-racial, semi-religious purpose which was to exert considerable influence on future immigration.

From 1840 to 1853 the net inflow of population yearly was between 2,000 and 3,000. In 1853 a system of responsible government was granted the infant colony, and in 1856 it commenced functioning. A statistical bureau in fact, although not in name, was created. As a result, regular statistics of migration, however imperfect, are available from 1853.

The early statistics of arrivals do not distinguish between immigrants and non-immigrant arrivals. For a time this defect was of little importance, as undoubtedly the great bulk of arrivals were intending settlers, but in later years the distinction became of increasing and finally of vital significance. The source of all migration statistics before April 1, 1921, was the statements furnished to customs officials by the authorities of all vessels arriving in or departing from New Zealand ports, but after some years it became the practice to obtain supplementary returns from departing vessels. These were despatched from the first port of call after leaving New Zealand. The migration statistics thus collected (with exceptions noted later) seem to be accurate, in so far as they can be checked from returns of births and deaths and census returns of the total population.

From 1853 onwards the influence of the colonization associations was replaced by the immigration activities of the newly constituted provincial governments. Up to 1860 the inward stream flowed at a rate of about 6,000 a year, or a little more, as in this period the statistics occasionally omitted returns from one or two ports. Between the censuses of 1851 and 1858, the European population of the colony increased by 122 per cent, and the increase would probably have been greater had it not been for the counter attraction of the Australian gold discoveries.

In 1861 immigration underwent a radical change, due to the discovery in New Zealand of rich and easily worked gold placer deposits. The important fields were in the South Island and their development therefore was little affected by a Maori war (1860-66)

which retarded progress in the North Island. News of the gold fields travelled rapidly and brought immediately a huge influx from Australia. During the quinquennium 1860-64 arrivals (slightly understated) numbered 132,000, and the population of European stock leaped from 72,000 to 172,000; in succeeding quinquennia the ratio of arrivals to population never again reached this level, and until the beginning of the twentieth century their actual number did not surpass it. The excess of arrivals over departures, 87,000, marks the high record for any quinquennium. The 46,000 arrivals in 1863 are the highest number in the history of the country; the 35,000 net arrivals have been exceeded only once.

Although gold production kept up, yet by the end of the next period, 1865-69, the height of the boom had passed. Gross arrivals fell to 63,000 or less than one-half of the level in the preceding quinquennium; net arrivals fell to 29,000 or one-third. The mining reaction was not the sole cause. In the North Island Maori hostility, which had simmered intermittently since the '40's, had blazed out in the wars with the fanatical Hau-Haus. Wool-growing was the main industry, and even a large sheep station provided direct employment for comparatively few. The settlements were isolated by land from one another. In general the mountainous nature of the country, the dense forests and the number of large streams hindered the improvement of land communication. Railways in 1869 extended less than 50 miles. A great deal of land was occupied in large holdings, and to the ordinary settler it could not be regarded as cheap. Native game, to eke out the food supply of the pioneers, was very limited. The capacity for successful absorption of new settlers was at a low ebb.

A new era in immigration opened with the year 1870, which is specially noteworthy on two accounts. A permanent peace was established with the Maoris, and an "Immigration and Public Works Act" was passed which exercised immense influence, both direct and indirect, upon immigration. Its provisions laid the basis for the prosecution of a vigorous policy of immigration and public works, land purchase and settlement. For the "selection, introduction and settlement in New Zealand" of immigrants the sum of £1,000,000 was authorized, in addition to sums appropriated for public works. Provision was made also for the appointment of an Agent-General in London, whose duties included the supervision of immigration activities at that end. The central government took over from the provincial governments all immigration matters.

The policy inaugurated by this statute brought out large numbers of immigrants partly or wholly at Government expense; it provided in the constructional works a ready means of employment upon their arrival; and, by its improvement of transport and communication together with betterment of land settlement conditions, it greatly increased the capacity of the country to absorb immigrants.

The figures for 1870-73 showed increased immigration, but the 44,000 landing in 1874 (including 32,000 who were Governmentally assisted) equalled the sum of those for the four preceding years. The net arrivals (38,000) were not only the most numerous in the whole record, but have never since been approached. The European population in 1874 was 300,000.

Progress continued during the next 5-year period and at the end of 1879 the white population had reached 446,000. During these years the young colony may be said to have entered upon its adolescence. Only some 42 per cent of its European population were natives of New Zealand, but thenceforward the natural increase of population by excess of births over deaths invariably exceeded the migratory increase. Since 1875 migration has provided only one-fourth of the total increase of population.

After 1879 a long and steady decline in the birth rate commenced, which lasted till the close of the century and brought the rate of natural increase down from 30 to 16 per thousand of population. It does not appear that the amount or character of the immigration influenced this change, beyond what economic restraint may have been imposed by the pressure of population in the depression period of the late '80's and early '90's.

The inadequacy of the data concerning the age-constitution of migrants discourages speculation regarding the actual or probable effect of immigration upon the death rate. However, that rate which was never high, fell steadily from a peak of 16 per thousand in 1875 to under 10 per thousand in 1890 and has continued to the present date at that point or lower.

From about 1880 the difficulty of determining the immigrant element in arrivals increased. The colony was then firmly established. Means of inland or of overseas transport were vastly improved; there was an increasing movement, both inward and outward, of visiting tourists, commercial visitors and New Zealand residents. The only available data bearing on this aspect of the immigration statistics are certain tables introduced in the 1901 census,

giving the length of residence in New Zealand of all persons born overseas. Thus of 47,000 male arrivals and 28,000 female arrivals in 1880-84, one finds 14,000 and 12,000, respectively, recorded as living in New Zealand in 1901. For use as evidence of the number of genuine immigrants such figures are open to numerous objections, yet they serve to show that many of the persons arriving, especially among the males, were not intending settlers. The excess of arrivals over departures in 1880-84 was only 32,000.¹ The accompanying Table 64 compares the movement in and out by quinquennial periods up to 1919.

TABLE 64.

IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS, GROSS AND NET, COMPARED WITH NUMBER OF RESIDENTS NOT BORN IN NEW ZEALAND REPORTED AS ARRIVING IN SPECIFIED PERIOD, BY QUINQUENNIA, 1885-1919.

(In Thousands)

Period of Arrival	Arrivals			Excess over Departures			Living in New Zealand at next Census, having arrived in specified period. *		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1885-89	50	25	75	-1	-1	-2	9	6	15
1890-94	65	34	99	8	4	12	11	7	18
1895-99	62	33	95	7	3	10	15	8	23
1900-04	92	44	136	26	12	38	36	17	53
1905-09	124	68	192	30	17	47	39	24	63
1910-14	123	81	204	18	18	36	24	23	47
1915-19	53	43	96	3	4	7	20	18	38

* For the first three quinquennia, in 1901; for the remainder, in 1906, 1911, 1916 and 1921 respectively.

The figures exhibit curious discrepancies, but they certainly suggest that intending settlers were a minority of the arrivals. In the first two periods there was heavy emigration; the last period comes within war influences.

During the period 1885-89 there was an excess of departures over arrivals. The colony at this time was passing through probably the greatest economic depression of its history. The principal industry was wool-growing; manufactures were of little consequence. Gold production had fallen off. The frozen-meat trade

¹[Volume I, pages 1000 f and 1005 f.--Ed.]

initiated in 1882 was assuming importance, but the employment to which it gave rise was largely seasonal. The dairy industry—later to grow with giant strides—was in its infancy. Export prices for the primary products of the colony were low, the public debt was a heavy burden, and a good deal of land was in large holdings.

Recovery from this depression began towards the end of the nineteenth century. Prices of pastoral products rose and the financial situation became easier. Governmentally-assisted immigration, dormant after 1890, revived in 1904 and the arrivals in 1900–1904 constituted a record to be eclipsed by a higher record in 1905. Arrivals in 1910–14 established a still higher level, but net arrivals were affected by the outbreak of the World War in 1914. In the war period immigration naturally fell off, and in 1915–19 the net arrivals were only 7,000. With the adoption of a new system of migration statistics in 1921, a fresh chapter commences and consideration of those data is postponed.

The term “assisted immigrant”, as used in New Zealand statistics, applies to a person whose passage fare to New Zealand as a settler was wholly or partly paid by the New Zealand Government. A considerable number of persons have been “assisted” and are still being assisted in this manner by private or semi-public organizations, but no complete statistics of these are obtainable. The numbers so brought out are small in comparison with those brought by Government effort.

Since the total excess of arrivals over departures between 1870 and 1924 was 357,000 and the number of assisted immigrants introduced by the Government in the same period was 195,000—an annual average of over 4,500 in the 42 years during which assistance was given, and more than one-half of the net arrivals—the importance of Governmentally-assisted immigration is apparent. The first activity of this sort was undertaken by the British Government in the '40's, the cost being refunded by the Colonial Treasury. No data are available, beyond a monetary record which suggests that the number of emigrants was small.

Immigration and emigration statistics do not include the movement of military forces, whether Imperial troops before 1870 or New Zealand Forces in more recent years. In addition, immigrants known as “military settlers” are not included among the assisted immigrants. They comprised discharged soldiers who were granted land in New Zealand in exchange for certain obligations in the

nature of militia service. Some 1,400 of this class arrived from Australia in 1863.

From 1853 to 1870 the assistance of immigrants was a provincial government function and data are incomplete. The General Government undertook this obligation in 1870. From 1871 to 1884 free passages to New Zealand were granted in the majority of cases, and in those 14 years no fewer than 112,000 were carried out, of whom nearly one-half arrived in 1874 and 1875.¹

From 1885 to 1890, after which assistance was discontinued, the principal system in force was that of nomination by a friend resident in New Zealand who paid to the Government £10 for each adult nominated and £5 for each child. The Government provided the remainder of the passage money and made all necessary arrangements. In those 6 years only 4,000 immigrants were brought out, due probably to the financial depression. Beginning with 1900 assistance was granted to men with moderate means desirous of settling in the country, and in minor degree to separated families. In 1904 and 1905 over 3,000 were assisted to emigrate to New Zealand and in the next year the nomination system, in a modified form, was revived and is still in force. Under this system from 1906 to 1924 a total of 76,000 arrived; in the last 5 years the annual average was 7,500.

With the exception of the years 1874-78, when 4,000 came from the continent of Europe, all the assisted immigrants were stated to be residents of Great Britain or Ireland. In the '80's the arrival statistics noted the inclusion among assisted immigrants of small groups of foreign elements, principally from northern countries of Europe. Perhaps these were exceptions to the general rule, or they may have become domiciled in the United Kingdom prior to emigration.

As a general principle assisted passages were given only to persons less than 50 years of age who had passed a medical examination. At times certain occupational classes, principally farmers, farm laborers, and female domestic servants, were preferred.

Since the (Imperial) Empire Settlement Act of 1922 the Imperial and Dominion Governments have coöperated in assisting migration to New Zealand, as Table 65 (page 186) shows.

Under the present scheme the nominator must undertake to make provision for the maintenance and employment of the nominee

¹[Volume I, page 1004.—Ed.]

TABLE 65.

NUMBERS OF FREE OR REDUCED PASSAGES TO NEW ZEALAND, 1922-24.^a

Year	Given by			Total
	Imperial Government	Dominion Government	Both Combined	
1922.....	4,496	3,073	199	7,768
1923.....	676	111	5,394	6,181
1924.....	4	10	8,077	8,091
Totals	5,170	3,194	13,670	22,040

^aNew Zealand. *Statistical Report on External Migration of the Dominion, for 1924: Introductory Report* (Wellington), p. X.

after arrival in the Dominion and must guarantee his residence in New Zealand for five years.

A sidelight upon immigration is thrown by figures giving, for certain years, the amount of capital in the hands of assisted immigrants. Available data end in 1917; in the decade 1908-17 the gross capital recorded was £355,000, an average of £12 among the 30,000 assisted immigrants of all ages and both sexes.

The high degree of homogeneity in the population of the Dominion is probably unique among countries settled in modern times. The 1921 census showed that (exclusive of Maoris) 98.4 per cent were born in New Zealand or in British countries; 1.5 per cent in foreign countries, and 0.1 per cent at sea. The Dominion is therefore upon almost the same footing in this respect as the British Isles. That a similar position has been occupied throughout its history is further evidenced by statistics showing the birthplace of the fathers. Persons born in New Zealand in 1921 were 906,000 or 74 per cent of the population. Of 44 per cent of these the father had been born in New Zealand; of 47 per cent, in the United Kingdom; of 5 per cent, in Australia; and of 3 per cent, in a foreign country. These results are confirmed by the censuses taken since 1851.¹

This condition is to be ascribed mainly to the superior attractions of larger and less distant fields upon European migration.

¹[Volume I, page 1002 f.—Ed.]

There have been no laws restricting foreign immigration (other than that of non-Europeans) or discriminating against foreign residents. Little active governmental assistance in the shape of free passage has been given to residents of foreign countries emigrating to New Zealand. Nevertheless facilities for settling in New Zealand were extended to all foreign immigrants and contemporary public sentiment favored the encouragement of immigrants from northwestern Europe who were regarded as the type most suitable for the Dominion.

Immigration statistics up to 1921 are not altogether a happy means of ascertaining the source of the population increments, since they recorded either the country of embarkation (not necessarily the country of last permanent residence) or the last port of call before reaching New Zealand. Thus immigrants in British vessels calling at Australian ports en route were credited not infrequently to Australia. Again, "Hawaii, South Seas and other places" often disguised arrivals from America, since vessels out of San Francisco usually called at Honolulu before reaching New Zealand. Of 1,360,00 arrivals in the 6 decades 1860-1919 some 30 per cent were from Great Britain and Ireland, 66 per cent from British possessions, and 4 per cent from foreign countries. In only one decade was the direct inflow from Great Britain and Ireland higher than from "British possessions" (a term in New Zealand migration statistics which is almost synonymous with "Australia"). This occurred in 1870-79 in the hey-day of assisted immigration.

This classification of the data must be interpreted in the light of shipping routes and the geographical situation. As an indication of the sources of the immigrants it is to be discounted. Not until 1883 was direct steam communication opened with England. As a result census records, although they deal only with net figures, are a better guide to the sources of immigration. As a case in point, the 1921 census showed in New Zealand 48,000 Australian-born persons. All except 2,000 were classed as possessing a New Zealand domicile. The length-of-residence tables indicated that 13 per cent of these 48,000 had arrived within 5 years of April, 1921; 10 per cent had been in New Zealand between 5 and 9 years; 38 per cent between 10 and 19 years; and 39 per cent 20 years or more.

No large foreign settlements have been established in New Zealand. A small one was made at Akaroa in 1840 by a French colonization company, but soon lost its individual character. From

time to time small foreign communities of national sympathies were formed, but after a rapid process of assimilation little trace of them remains beyond an occasional foreign flavor in the topographical nomenclature of the district. The small colonies of non-Europeans in certain larger towns are a partial exception. The proportion of the population using a foreign language in social life is very small, and the proportion unable to speak English is infinitesimal. The 1916 census states that 0.4 per cent were able to read and write a foreign language but not English.

In 1861 the total population (other than Maori) of 99,000 contained 800 natives of Germany, 700 of the United States, and 300 of France, with a few from other countries. In 1901, with a total (non-Maori) population of 773,000, natives formed 70 per cent, 24 per cent had been born in Great Britain or Ireland, 4 per cent in Australia, and 2 per cent in foreign countries. To the last figure the following countries were the principal contributors: Germany, 4 200; China, 2 900; Norway and Sweden, 2 800; Denmark, 2 100; Austria-Hungary, 1 874. Most of the representatives of Austria-Hungary in New Zealand were Dalmatians, located in one district and engaged in one industry, viz., the extraction of fossil kauri gum.

In 1921 when the non-Maori population was 1,219,000, natives comprised 74 per cent, while 20 per cent had been born in the United Kingdom, and 4 per cent in Australia. Those born in foreign countries were chiefly from China, 3,000; Germany, 2,200; Denmark, 2,100; the United States, 1,900; Yugoslavia, 1,600; Sweden, 1,200 and Norway, 1,000. The great majority of the Germans were residents of long standing, 54 per cent having arrived in New Zealand at least 40 years before. In the case of Denmark, Norway and Sweden the chief period of immigration was slightly more recent; 55 per cent of Yugoslavs were immigrants in the decade 1910-20.

Over the whole period under review (1853-1924) male immigrants have outnumbered the females, and formed 62 per cent of the aggregate. If adults alone (up to 1921 the term connotes persons 12 years of age or over) be considered, males comprised two-thirds, 67 per cent. The only age division tabulated was the distinction between adults and children. The sex proportion of child immigrants remained fairly uniform throughout the whole period, 52 per cent of them being males, partly perhaps because more boy immigrants were taken out by the efforts of various organizations. The proportion of children to adults has been 1 to 7 of the aggregate arrivals.¹ The

¹[Volume I, page 1005, Table IV.—Ed.]

greater mobility of the male sex, the character of the occupations, and the condition of the country readily explained the high proportion of male arrivals in early days. In the decade including the gold boom (1860-69) the immigration of all ages was three-fourths male. In the next decade, which was greatly influenced by assisted immigration, the proportion of males fell to 62 per cent. In each decade between 1880 and 1909 the excess of males was fairly regular, but after 1910 the proportion of females increased beyond previous experience, rising to 40 per cent in 1910-14, 45 per cent in 1915-19, and 46 per cent in 1920-24.

TABLE 66.

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT IMMIGRANTS (15 AND OVER) TO NEW ZEALAND, APRIL, 1921—DECEMBER, 1924.

Age of Immigrants Years	Per Cent of Total Adult Immigration	
	Male	Female
15-24	18	12
25-34	18	17
35-44	11	10
45-59	6	5
60 and over	1	2
All ages	54	46

The proportion of children to adults was at its highest during the great period of assisted immigration, 1870-79. In more recent years it fell considerably, doubtless due to the increasing numbers of tourists and the like included in the figures. Among new settlers landing in New Zealand between April 1921 and December 1924, the proportion of children to total rose to 22 per cent. Unfortunately for comparative purposes, the term "child" after April 1, 1921, implies a person under 15 years of age. Table 66 provides a more detailed examination of the age and sex constitution of the adults. The greatest difference occurs in the first group, indicating that young men outnumber young women among the intending settlers. The preponderance of females at advanced ages may be due to greater female longevity. Females at those ages are usually accompanying relatives.

ASIATIC MIGRATION

Situated in the South Pacific Ocean and isolated by vast distances from the European countries whence her population has been derived, New Zealand has attached great significance to arrivals or departures of members of the great colored races of Asia. It is to restrictive legislation that the small number of Asiatics in the population is principally due. Asiatics are entirely unassimilable elements and are to be distinguished from the native Maoris, who have to a large extent merged with the European and show signs of a complete though gradual assimilation.

At the 1921 census the number of non-Europeans (exclusive of Maoris) was only 5,400, equal to 0.4 per cent of the European population. During no period in the past have the numbers much exceeded this figure. Apart from a few Polynesians who belong to the same race as the Maoris, only three non-European races, by their numbers, merit specific mention.

The Chinese were practically unknown in New Zealand prior to the gold discoveries of 1861, but by 1867 over 1,200 were in the colony. By 1871 their numbers had doubled, and in 1878 had risen to over 4,800—almost wholly males. From 1871 onwards Chinese arrivals and departures were separately reported in the tables. Arrivals annually during the period 1874–81 averaged 600 and departures under 400.¹ In 1881 a poll tax of £10 was imposed on every Chinese arriving, and at once that immigration fell off. In the twelve years 1882–93 the aggregate arrivals were only 1,400 and the departures 2,300.

In 1894 and 1895 the statistics indicated a slight increase and in 1896 an act was passed raising the poll tax to £100 and limiting—on the model of New South Wales legislation—the number of Chinese passengers on a vessel inward bound to one for every 200 tons burden. Once again Chinese arrivals fell to a total of 200 for the next 6 years, while departures for the same period were 800.

A tendency to increase was again manifested in 1903, and in 1908 arrivals reached 500. In that year an enactment came into force requiring Chinese immigrants to read a selected passage of 100 words in the English language. The temporary decline which followed was of short duration, and in the decade commencing with 1910 some 3,500 arrived and 3,400 departed. This movement was composed mainly of residents leaving temporarily or returning.

¹[Volume I, pages 1009 and 1016.—Ed.]

At the present time Chinese immigrants are required to possess a permit issued at the discretion of the Minister of Customs, who must be satisfied about the business to be undertaken, the capital possessed, and other qualifications.

The exceptionally large influx of 1,500 took place in 1920 immediately before the permit requirement was enforced. From 1921 on the aggregate departures of Chinese have balanced the arrivals. Nevertheless in the 3¼ years following April 1, 1921, there were 400 immigrants who arrived intending permanent residence, but only 65 Chinese residents who departed not intending to return. The 1921 census showed a total of 3,300 in the country. The Chinese in New Zealand are for the most part adult males. In 1921 there were only 200 Chinese women (omitting half-castes) and there has been great admixture of blood between Chinese and Europeans or Maoris. Official statistics give the proportion of Chinese half-castes to those of full blood as 5 per cent.

Of the occupations of Chinese before arrival nothing is known. In the earlier periods most of them were from Australia and almost all located on the gold fields. With the exhaustion of the alluvial deposits the majority drifted into other occupations, chiefly market gardening and seed growing, the sale of fruit and vegetables, laundry work and domestic service, and many have attained financial prosperity.

East Indians comprise the second important group of non-Europeans. They are much more recent arrivals than the Chinese and in 1921 they numbered 700. Migration and census returns show that before 1912 scarcely any Indians had taken up residence in New Zealand. In 1912-14 arrivals numbered 700; departures were not recorded separately. In the next two years arrivals and departures balanced.¹ In 1920 new immigration laws demanded a permit to enter New Zealand, and during 1921-24 arrivals and departures of Indians balanced; but 175 new settlers were recorded and only 10 permanent departures of residents. The great majority of these arrivals are from India and departures are usually to India, but within recent years one-fourth of the arrivals are from Fiji and one-eighth of the departures are to the same place.

Unlike the Chinese, the Indian migrants entering New Zealand are British subjects. Like the Chinese, the great majority are adult males. In 1921 half-caste Indians were 9 per cent as many as

¹[Volume I, page 1014. —Ed.]

those of full blood. A few Indians have intermarried with Maoris. Migrants from the northern districts of India have settled as a rule in rural localities where they are employed in clearing land, or have taken up farming on their own account. Those from other parts of India are located chiefly in urban centers where they have entered domestic service, are engaged in the sale of fruit or vegetables or have become peddlers and the like.

The third group of non-Europeans is described in the reports as "Syrian." They are not units from gigantic aggregations of population; they do not form small foreign "colonies"; and they include a much greater proportion of females. The advent of the Syrian immigrant has been by slow infiltration. From 1897, when data became available, to 1920 a few arrivals were recorded in every year but one, yet the total for the period was only 200 males and 100 females. Statistics for 1915-20 mention the departure of only one Syrian. Arrivals, April 1921 to 1924, reached 100, of whom about half were females. One-third of these were new settlers. For the same years departures were 140, of whom 10 per cent were residents departing permanently. The 1921 census showed 700 Syrians in New Zealand, 53 per cent being males. Most of these are in commercial pursuits, particularly in the clothing trades.

IMMIGRATION, 1921-1924

The improved scope and precision of the statistics after April 1, 1921, invite special attention to migration during that period.¹ Upon arriving in or departing from the Dominion, a form of declaration is filled in by every person aged 15 years or over. Particulars about children are furnished by their parents or guardian. One of the first statistical objects of the return is to elucidate the purpose for which individuals have come. The results indicate that the 141,000 persons arriving in the 3¼ years in question may be classified thus: Immigrants intending permanent residence, 36 per cent; New Zealand residents returning, 34 per cent; tourists, 19 per cent; persons on business, 5 per cent; theatrical and other entertainers, 3 per cent; in transit (not including "through" passengers), 2 per cent; all others, 1 per cent.

Since the period was fairly normal the true immigrant may be regarded as usually constituting about one-third of the total arrivals.

¹[Volume I, pages 1010-1013. -Ed.]

But not all of this type are a permanent gain to the population, as the following will illustrate. From April 1, 1921, to December 1924, the classes comprising what may be termed "visitors" numbered in the aggregate 41,000; yet during the same period 51,000 temporary residents departed. Where balancing figures were to be expected, a loss of 10,000—nearly 3,000 a year—is actual experience.

Examination of the figures for individual years, including 1925 and 1926, indicates that the surplus of departures in this class is not a phenomenon due to unusual features in any specific year. The analysis of arrivals into classes is based upon statements of expressed intention. In the case of departures a check is obtained by enquiring the duration of residence in New Zealand from all who do not declare themselves to have been permanent residents in the Dominion. Where the period of residence is five years or more a declaration of temporary residence is overruled; this occurs in some hundreds of cases yearly.

A division of migration statistics derived from statements of intention is open to obvious objections, but despite its limitations it has furnished valuable data and in the absence of practicable alternatives, it has been retained.

To a certain extent arrivals, particularly of transients, are affected by seasonal fluctuations. During the decade ending with 1924, in the quarter ending December 31, the average annual excess of arrivals over departures was 4,200; in that ending March 31, it was 1,800; in that ending September 30, it was 1,100; in that ending June 30 the departures exceeded arrivals by 1,500.

New settlers, especially assisted immigrants, in general prefer to arrive in the summer months of December, January and February. At that season, the weather is more genial and employment more readily obtainable. In the winter months, June, July and August, the number of arriving immigrants falls to one-half or three-fourths of the summer level. A certain seasonal element also in the movements of persons arriving or departing for "business reasons," is introduced by persons carrying on their employment alternately in Australia and New Zealand. Shearers and slaughtermen, for example, form typical classes.

Tourist statistics show an upward curve in arrivals about October, reaching their peak in December or January and falling sharply after March. Three-fourths arrive during this part of the year. Female tourists outnumber male. This arises in part

from the fact that wives and adult daughters accompanying men visiting New Zealand for business purposes usually describe themselves as tourists and are classed as such.

One factor which has a small but appreciable effect in increasing the population is the excess in the crews of vessels entering over those leaving New Zealand ports. In the $5\frac{3}{4}$ years from April 1921 to December 1926, the crews arriving outnumbered those departing by 1,750, an annual difference of 300. This experience is not unusual in an immigration country. Although individuals who "worked their passage" to New Zealand and accepted their discharge in a New Zealand port with the intention of remaining there usually have been required to complete the customary declaration, yet for administrative reasons such cases are not included in the totals of arrivals.

In view of the fact that most of the immigrants into New Zealand come from a highly industrialized country, the similarity between the distribution of previous occupations given by immigrants from 1921 to 1924 and the distribution of occupations in the New Zealand Census of 1921 is remarkable. In that year one-third of the male breadwinners in the population were engaged in agricultural or pastoral industries, mining, fishing or forestry, and the proportion of the adult male immigrants previously engaged in these occupations was only slightly less than one-third. Males following industrial pursuits made up 38 per cent of the male immigrants and only 28 per cent of the male breadwinning population. For the "Transport and Communication" and "Commercial and Financial" groups the proportions among the immigrants were much lower than those shown by the census, but for the "Public Administration and Professional" groups the proportion among the immigrants was slightly higher. In the two remaining occupational divisions, "Personal and Domestic Service" and "Other or Indefinite" occupations, the census and the immigration ratios for men are almost identical.

Statistics on the occupation of the new female settlers and of female breadwinners among the population show less striking similarities except in the professional group where the proportions are about equal. Some 49 per cent of the female immigrants are found in domestic and personal service as compared with 30 per cent in the 1921 population.¹

¹[Volume I, page 1010.—Ed.]

There are no statistics which elucidate the extent to which occupations are changed. The census statistics of duration of residence in New Zealand show that persons born overseas have taken up residence to a greater extent in urban localities than in rural districts, and their occupational pursuits may therefore be envisaged in a very general fashion. The fifteen urban areas representing the fifteen largest centers of population in New Zealand contain within their boundaries 49.9 per cent of the total non-Maori population. Within these urban areas were enumerated 60.2 per cent of all persons born overseas who had resided in New Zealand under twelve months. This group may be dismissed as including transients. Of those whose period of residence in New Zealand was over one year and under five years urban areas claimed 52.1 per cent. The urban percentage for males increases to 56 per cent for residents of 10 to 14 years standing, whence it gradually declines, passing slightly below the average after 30 years residence is reached. The urban tendency is more conspicuous throughout in the case of females born overseas than in the case of males. This "urban drift" is regarded seriously in New Zealand, on account of the national dependence on primary industries. Among the 51,000 new settlers—27,000 males and 24,000 females—landing in the years (April) 1921 to 1924, of the males 74 per cent and of the females 82 per cent were from the United Kingdom. Of these England and Wales contributed 66 per cent, Scotland 27 per cent and Ireland 7 per cent. The tables do not distinguish between North Ireland and the Irish Free State.

Over 80 per cent of child immigrants are from the British Isles.¹ (Over 90 per cent of all child immigrants, irrespective of country or origin, come to New Zealand as member of families. The average number of children in child-accompanied families was two per family.) Australia contributed 15 per cent of the males and 12 per cent of the females; Canada, 3 per cent of the males and 2 per cent of the females.

Only 4 per cent of new immigrants 1921-24 had resided in a foreign country. From five foreign countries came 100 or more, viz.: Yugoslavia, 580; China, 440; United States, 370; Italy, 160; and Switzerland, 110.

Comparing the number of arrivals intending permanent residence from a given country of origin with the number of permanent

¹[See Volume I, p. 1000 f, 1005 f, 1010, 1012.—Ed.]

departures of residents for the same country, a surplus of arrivals is evidenced in each one. It is a substantial one except in the two instances of Australia, where such departures are 78 per cent of arrivals, and the United States, where they are 75 per cent. On the other hand the departure ratio in the case of Italy, Yugoslavia and Switzerland is almost infinitesimal.

The capacity of New Zealand for future assimilation of immigrants presents a problem beyond the scope of migration statistics and probably it is as much psychological as it is statistical. However, the facts that available land hitherto unutilized has become limited in area, that a revolutionary growth of industry seems unlikely, and that the natural increase is 14 per thousand, suggest that immigration on a higher scale than in the past is improbable. The only criterion by which to judge this aspect of past immigration lies in the scanty records of unemployment.

In the early years of settlement, with an abundant supply of land and a shortage of labor, opportunities for new settlers were ample. There has been periodic unemployment since 1860, but no records concerning it before 1891 are available. In that year the Department of Labour was created and thenceforward the numbers it assisted to find employment form a rough index of conditions. From 1892 to 1905 the number assisted annually averaged 2,700, equal to 0.4 per cent of the mean population. From 1906 to 1911 it rose to 7,700, with a peak in 1909 following an economic crisis abroad. From 1912 to 1924 the annual average was 4,600 (0.4 per cent of population) without much yearly variation. These numbers of course do not represent the full amount of unemployment.

The principal factor affecting economic conditions in New Zealand has been the level of world prices of her export produce—chiefly pastoral. As long as prices continued buoyant there was ample scope for immigration on a moderate scale, but falling prices sensibly diminished the opportunities and led to temporary unemployment crises in which new immigrants accentuated an already difficult situation.

NEW ZEALAND EMIGRATION

Judging from the available statistics, actual emigration from New Zealand has been relatively unimportant. Migration has resulted in a net gain in all but three of the years for which records were gathered—1888, 1890 and 1891. In the period 1853-1924

there was a surplus of immigrants numbering 518,000, although 60 per cent of the aggregate arrivals emigrated during these years.

From 1853 to 1859 the 15,000 emigrants, of whom two-thirds were adult males, equalled only one-third of the arrivals despite the counter-attractions of Australian gold fields.

In the '60's departures swelled to 79,000, or 40 per cent of the arrivals. They were most numerous in 1862-64, when the influx to the gold fields was at its height. The outward flow was mainly men (83 per cent), women forming only 10 per cent and children 7 per cent. Apparently the exodus was, for the greater part, composed of unsuccessful gold miners.

In the next decade only 58,000 persons left New Zealand. Among immigrants the proportion of men fell to 66 per cent; women were 20 per cent and children 14 per cent. This was the golden era of assisted immigration and public works construction, and the proportion of departures to arrivals (30 per cent) was the lowest ever recorded.

The serious slump in the latter half of the '80's brought the number departing up to 121,000, and for a few years at this period some thousands of departures were not included in the statistics. As it was, departures were 60 per cent of arrivals and in 1888 there was for the first time a net loss of over 9,000 by migration. The departures for the 10 years included 60 per cent of men, 25 of women and 15 of children.

The slump, continuing in the earlier half of the '90's, resulted in the departures for 1890 and 1891 exceeding arrivals. The departures for the 10 years 1890-99 show increasing figures as do succeeding periods, owing to growing numbers of departing tourists, residents visiting abroad, and similar classes. The total of 172,000 was equivalent to nearly 90 per cent of the arrivals during the decade. A growing proportion (30 per cent) were women, while children fell to 10 per cent.

The first decade of the present century saw 244,000 persons leaving New Zealand, with a ratio to arrivals of 75 per cent, about a normal level. The sex and age constitution differed from that of the previous period only in a slight decrease in the proportion of children.

In 1910-19 the principal feature was an increase in the numbers of women leaving, to 36 per cent of all departures.

An examination of classified statistics of departures for the period for which they are available, *i. e.* April 1921 to December 1924, shows that 46 per cent were New Zealand residents leaving the Dominion temporarily, an equal number were temporary residents, and 8 per cent were residents who intended permanently to relinquish their New Zealand domicile.

Although the first of these classes—if statements of intention were correct and adhered to—should not represent (over a period) an actual loss of population, it appears that such an assumption would not be quite correct. On comparing the numbers of residents who left in 1921–24 with the intention of returning, with those who actually did return to New Zealand, it is observed that the former outnumber the latter by 2,700. This is not a phenomenon due to special features in one year only. It may be said, therefore, that approximately 700 per annum are lost to the Dominion in this way.

In connection with the census of 1921, an attempt was made to ascertain the number of such persons at the census date. The figure was set at 3000–4000, of whom about one-half were in Australia and one-fourth in the United Kingdom. Overseas residents in New Zealand at the same date were 3,300 including 1,700 Australians and 1,100 from the United Kingdom.

The third and smallest group is the most important as it covers the principal loss of population. In sex composition this group is almost equally divided between male and female, and in age constitution 75 per cent are adult (*i. e.* 15 years or over).

Ninety-four per cent of those leaving to take up their residence abroad gave as their country of destination one of the states of the British Empire. Out of a total of 8,300 there were 5,400 bound for Australia, 1,800 for the British Isles, and 300 for Canada. The only other British countries to which 100 or over were bound were South Africa and Fiji. The only foreign countries worthy of mention in this respect were the United States (300) and China (80). It must be kept in mind that the country of destination although in the majority of cases the country of intended future residence is not necessarily so. The distinction applies especially to departures to Australia. The immigration quota fixed by the United States for the period was 300 in the case of New Zealand residents and was fully utilized.

The proportion of children among permanently departing

emigrants was recorded as 15 per cent as against 22 per cent in the case of immigrants. An even greater disproportion might have been expected, since juvenile emigrants would be almost wholly component units of families. Adult emigrants in this group comprised 21 per cent of persons 15-24 years of age; 30 per cent of those aged 25-34 years; 24 per cent of those 35-44 years; 17 per cent of those aged 45-59, and 8 per cent of persons 60 years or over. Only one-half fall within the adventurous years of youth and early maturity. The substantial proportion at advanced ages suggests the return of settlers to their native country for the evening of life. In this connection it is noteworthy that few emigrants return their occupational status as "retired." A very slight male predominance is evidenced except for the group 25-34 years in which the numerical relations of the sexes are reversed. On comparing the age constitution of emigrants with that of immigrants, the former group is found to be an older body than the latter.

The birthplaces of persons emigrating were investigated in 1926 and, since that year presents no abnormal features, the results serve to throw further light on emigration. Those born in New Zealand were 45 per cent of the whole, a proportion much lower than that in the population. Those born overseas were two or three times as large a proportion as that of their respective nationalities in the total population in New Zealand. In all cases (except Chinese emigrants) females were approximately equal to males. Very few New Zealand-born emigrants were of advanced ages, only 7 per cent exceeding 45 years.

Until 1921 the tables showing country of destination were of little value for determining the country of future domicile. Approximately 10 per cent of all departing between 1853 and 1919 proceeded to the United Kingdom, and substantially the whole of the 87,000 involved took up their residence in the British Isles. Some 46,000 in the same period—5 per cent of the whole—left for "Hawaii, South Seas, and Other Places." The majority of these were destined undoubtedly for the United States, but it is impossible to estimate the degree to which that country was merely a way station.¹

The great majority, some 810,000 (85 per cent), were recorded as bound for British possessions—chiefly New South Wales and Victoria. Here again the significance of the figures cannot be stated

¹[Volume I, pages 1007 f, 1009, 1013, Tables V, VI and XII.—Ed.]

with even an approximate degree of precision. Australia is the large country nearest to New Zealand and the one with which there is most interchange of population, so it naturally claims a large proportion of the inward and the outward movement. Undoubtedly, also, many have proceeded to Australia in order to take passage thence. Again, even in the case of overseas vessels leaving New Zealand and calling at an Australian port, it is suggested occasionally in the statistics that all passengers were treated as destined for Australia. The tables exhibit no violent fluctuations and the proportion of those leaving New Zealand for each of the destinations is regular throughout the period.

CHAPTER VIII

MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS BETWEEN FRANCE AND FOREIGN LANDS¹

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FRENCH EMIGRATION

Before 1853 no French emigration statistics were published; the only information regarding French emigration before that date, such as the exodus of Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes or the emigration during the French Revolution, is derived from historical studies. For emigration during the period 1853 to the present day, however, there are official documents as follows:

Annales de Démographie internationale, 1877;

Statistique de la France, 2nd series, vols. X, XI, XVIII;

Mouvement de l'émigration en France, 1865-1874, 1875-1877, 1878-1881;

Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris, 1891;

Annuaire statistique de la France, reproducing information furnished by the Minister of the Department of the Interior.

These sources of information are supplemented by the statistics of French immigration, and the censuses of French citizens abroad taken in countries where such inquiries are effectively carried out and where their results are made public.

Until 1852 the provisions of the Code de Commerce were deemed sufficient for the regulation of French emigration to the colonies and to foreign lands. Two decrees, those of February 13 and March 27, 1852, regulated the immigration and the policing of labor in the French colonies. Emigration commissioners were authorized by a decree of January 15, 1855.² French legislation relative to emi-

¹[See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pages 105-114, 230-232, 296, 303, 334, 338, 348, 397, and 672-685.—Ed.]

²[See Volume I, page 672.—Ed.]

gration from France to the colonies or to foreign countries comprises also:

The statute of July 18, 1860;

The decrees of March 9 and March 15, 1861;

The resolutions, regulations and instructions of May 15, 21, 22 and 25, 1861. These instructions, regulations, resolutions, decrees and statutes have themselves been supplemented by circulars, the most important of which bear the following dates:

July 3, 1862

June 22, 1863

February 9, 1866

June 4, 1867

November 10 and December 9, 1873

August 25, 1874.

For about sixty years these regulations have been unchanged. They were drawn up mainly for the purpose of settling the conditions under which emigrants should embark, of fixing the responsibilities of transportation companies and emigration agencies, and of insuring the protection of emigrants. The statute of 1860 was promulgated, in reality, to lift the ban which the Prussian government had placed on resort to French ports by Prussian emigrants in the absence of French legislation concerning the transportation of emigrants to overseas countries.

The decree of March 9, 1861, defines an emigrant and an emigrant ship. An emigrant is a passenger who does not take his meals at the captain's or the officers' table, and who pays for his passage — meals included—less than 40 francs a week on sailing vessels and less than 80 francs a week on steam vessels. An emigrant ship is a vessel which has 40 emigrants on board.

A transmigrant, or alien emigrant passing through France to an overseas country, must have on arriving at the land frontier 200 francs if an adult, and 80 francs if a child between 6 and 15 years of age; or when arriving by sea, 150 francs if an adult and 60 francs if a child between 6 and 15 years of age; or he must have a transportation ticket across France and to an overseas country.

Special commissioners of emigration were provided for wherever the Minister of the Interior deemed it necessary, and a ship-owner or the captain of a vessel engaged in transporting emigrants was to deliver to the commissioner of emigration, before the boat sailed, a list of the emigrants whom he was to transport with a declaration

of the age, sex, nationality and destination of each. In ports where there was no emigration commissioner the provisions were to be applied under the supervision of the prefects.

This legislation provided the means of obtaining statistics of emigration of citizens and of aliens. How has it been applied?

Promulgated at a time when sailing ships made up the merchant marine, the statute of 1860 is now completely out of date; for many years, in fact, its definition of an emigrant has not been followed. The statistics of emigration are still being furnished by the special commissioners, but each of them interprets the word "emigrant" in his own way. To some an emigrant is one who goes abroad to work for several years (the seasonal emigrant not being counted). For most, an emigrant is a third-class passenger who goes abroad for a long period and is not provided with a round-trip ticket. The French emigration statistics since about 1880 therefore refer to only third-class one-way passengers on board vessels.

Since 1913 statistics of the emigration of French citizens have been kept only at certain ports: Boulogne-sur-Mer, Havre, Cherbourg, St. Nazaire, La Rochelle, Bordeaux and Marseilles. They relate only to French emigrants going to America and do not include: (a) Seasonal emigrants departing by sea; (b) Emigrants going to Africa, Asia or Oceania; (c) Emigrants leaving by land.

Furthermore they do not include all French emigrants to America because of the unsatisfactory definition of an emigrant and the absence of returns from certain ports.

Alien emigrants in transit through France should be better reported. Every foreigner who has an official document, such as a ticket for transportation, establishing his status as an emigrant is deemed to be one. But the statistics of these alien emigrants in transit through France are not gathered or published.

The official French statistics contain two series of figures. The first gives the number separately of French and of alien emigrants leaving France between 1853 and 1891. The second gives, in theory, French emigration in each year from 1853 to 1926.

The series relating to alien emigrants shows a tendency to increase with maxima in 1869, 1874, 1882, 1887-88, and minima in 1871, 1877 and 1885.¹

The most important problem with which we have to occupy ourselves is the determination of the amount of French emigration in the second half of the nineteenth and the first part of the twen-

¹[Volume I, page 677.—Ed.]

tieth century. The figures for these periods, which French official statistics supply, fall into three series:

(1) From 1853 to 1864 they give the number of passports delivered and should include emigrants to all countries: Europe, French colonies, and overseas countries.

(2) From 1865 to 1910 they give the number of French citizens departed for overseas countries from the following five ports: Bayonne, Bordeaux, St. Nazaire, Havre and Marseilles, to which La Rochelle is added for the period 1895-1907.

(3) From 1911 to 1926 they give the number of French emigrants departing for America from the following seven ports: Boulogne, Havre, Cherbourg, St. Nazaire, La Rochelle, Bordeaux and Marseilles.

But the countries of emigration almost always record more immigrants as coming from France than there are emigrants reported by the French statistics. According to Bodio, it would be proper to raise the French totals for the period 1878-1887 by about 80 per cent.¹ If one takes into account that the reported number of French emigrants is lower than that of the immigrants reported as coming from France, it is probable that the French official statistics give results for the American countries 40 to 50 per cent below the true total. Nor do they reveal the emigration to Europe and the French colonies. The total French emigration can be estimated either from the French statistics or from those of foreign countries about French immigrants.

Estimates of the total emigration or of overseas emigration for various periods have already been published. The earliest was by L. A. Bertillon for the period 1854-60. Having satisfied himself that the statistics of passports were incomplete and that the data published by the United States recorded more than twice as many French immigrants as appeared in the French emigration statistics, he estimated the total French emigration previous to 1860 at 30,000 persons annually.²

In his great work on the population of France³ Lavasseur estimated that the average annual number of French emigrants exceeded 30,000 and perhaps 35,000. This number was larger than that put forward by Leroy-Beaulieu a few years before.⁴ The latter

¹Bodio, *Bull. Institut. Internat. Statist.*, Vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 98.

²L. A. Bertillon in *Ann. Demogr. Internat.* (1877), p. 177.

³E. Lavasseur, *La population française*, (1892), vol. III, p. 352 ff.

⁴Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes* (1886).

placed the average annual number of French emigrants before 1880 at 20,000-30,000.

In a critical study of the French statistics relating to the years 1860 to 1880 Dr. G. Lagneau has shown that, on applying appropriate corrections, the yearly French emigration through the four ports of Havre, Bordeaux, Bayonne and Marseilles was then about 11,500 to the overseas countries, 2,900 to the French colonies, and 1,100 deportations, or a total of about 15,500 emigrants.¹ This number is very close to that advanced by F. Charmes who states that "Without impoverishing herself, France can supply from 15,000 to 20,000 emigrants."²

We thus have the four estimates of French emigration given in Table 67. All four estimates greatly exceed the official French

TABLE 67.

FOUR ESTIMATES OF AVERAGE ANNUAL FRENCH EMIGRATION, 1854-90.

Author	Period	Kind of Emigration	Annual Average
Bertillon,	1854-60	total	30,000
Lagneau,	1861-80	oversea and colonies	15,000
Leroy-Beaulieu,	1871-80	total	20,000-30,000
Levasseur,	1881-90	total	35,000

figures. The estimates of Leroy-Beaulieu and Levasseur are not explicit enough to be accepted without further scrutiny. Those by Dr. G. Lagneau are only of emigrants to overseas countries and the French colonies.

An estimate of the total French emigration in each decade of the period 1851-1925 has been made by a new method based on the statistics of French immigration into foreign countries and the census returns of French residing abroad. The censuses of the French in a foreign country do not of themselves make it possible to estimate the French emigration to that country. The census figures are influenced by the births and deaths and by naturalizations; perhaps also by changes in the census instructions.

The annual statistics of French immigration into some 20 foreign countries afford a better starting point. They are adequate in amount but are not kept on a uniform basis. Certain countries

¹G. Lagneau, "L'émigration de France" (1884), pp. 502 ff.

²F. Charmes, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nov. 1, 1883.

give the number of French immigrants; others the immigrants coming from France; and still others, the number of passengers in and out. The following estimates are based on the number of French immigrants, which is always lower than that of the immigrants from France. In some countries in which these figures are not published, they can be deduced from the statistics.¹ In a few others either the number of immigrants from France or the difference between the number of passengers arriving from France and the number leaving for that country has been used. Table 68 summarizes the results.

TABLE 68.

AVERAGE ANNUAL FRENCH IMMIGRATION INTO CERTAIN FOREIGN COUNTRIES, BY DECADES, 1851-1925.

(Foreign Statistics)

Country	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-1900	1901-10	1911-20	1921-25
Overseas:								
United States.....	7,600	3,400	5,800	4,050	2,900	5,870	4,650	4,200
Canada.....			250	200	400	1,600	1,200	300
Mexico *.....					200	170	50	120
Cuba.....						280	230	250
Venezuela.....						400	300	300
Argentina.....	400	1,200	4,500	13,100	3,700	3,420	2,520	1,450
Uruguay *.....		250	250	250	200	450	280	250
Paraguay.....				100	100	30	15	20
Brazil.....	50	250	450	550	500	480	790	650
South Africa.....						50	60	90
Australia *.....						250	200	150
New Zealand.....						140	100	150
China *.....						100	100	100
Japan *.....						10		10
Chile.....	100	150	150	500	450			
French Colonies:								
Algeria.....	5,400	1,500	4,100	4,500	4,350	2,000*		2,000
Tunis *.....				1,600	2,250	650		500
Morocco *.....						500	3,500	6,000
New Caledonia ^b		750	750	600	250			
Guiana ^b	800	800	800	450	900	800	300	1,100
Other Colonies.....		50 ^c	50 ^c					
Europe:								
Belgium.....						10,600	6,200	7,200
Spain.....							400	150
Sweden.....						50	50	50
Russia *.....						1,100	500	

^aNet Immigration. ^bDeportations. ^cDerived from the number of French enumerated at the end of the year.

Table 68 does not include certain countries concerning which no direct information is obtainable. Figures for those countries were estimated in an indirect and approximate way from the num-

¹In the United States for example. See H. Bunle, "L'immigration française aux États-Unis" (1925).

ber of French enumerated abroad at different dates and the reported French immigration to other foreign countries.¹

In Table 69 these estimates have been added to the results ascertained in other countries. The totals furnish, therefore, an average value close to the total annual French emigration in each of the periods considered.

TABLE 69.
AVERAGE ANNUAL NUMBER OF FRENCH EMIGRANTS BY DECADES,
1851-1925.
(In Thousands)

Destination	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-1900	1901-10	1911-20	1921-25
Overseas:								
Ascertained.....	8.2	5.3	11.4	18.8	8.5	13.3	10.4	7.9
Estimated.....	2.9	1.9	2.5	2.5	1.5	2.7	2.0	2.0
Colonies:								
Ascertained.....	6.2	3.1	5.7	7.2	7.8	4.0	3.8	9.6
Estimated.....	0.8	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.5	1.2
Europe:								
Ascertained.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11.8	7.2	7.4
Estimated.....	7.0	7.0	15.0	18.0	10.0	12.2	9.2	9.5
Total.....	25.1	17.7	35.3	47.2	28.6	44.5	33.1	37.6

The average annual number of French emigrants fell from 25,000 in 1851-60 to less than 18,000 in 1861-70. It rose to 35,000 and then to 47,000 in the two following decades only to fall below 29,000 in 1891-1900. In the first 10 years of the twentieth century the annual average rose to nearly 45,000, dropped to 33,000 during the decade of the war and rose above 37,000 in the last period.

¹The rudiments of the method are as follows: The French population abroad in or near 1860, 1880, 1900, 1910 and 1920, according to the censuses, is known. Let A = the number of French enumerated on one of the dates in all the countries having statistics of French immigration, a = the sum of French immigration to those countries in the decade immediately preceding. Let B and b represent the corresponding numbers for all other foreign countries.

We may assume that in the second group of states $b: a = B: A$. We have, therefore $b = a B/A$.

The value of b thus found can be corrected, if need be, by allowing for the different rates of decennial increase of the French population in the two groups of countries, thus obtaining a new value of b , namely b_1 . Bertillon's rule, that the number of French enumerated on a given date equals approximately the amount of French immigration in the preceding 29 years can also be applied. A third value of b , namely b_2 , can thus be found. In some cases the three numbers, b, b_1, b_2 , are very close (e. g. in 1851-70, 1891-1900, 1901-05), in others they differ a good deal. We have adopted the arithmetic mean of the three methods of estimating, as the best figures for the annual French immigration into these countries.

These results can be compared with the estimates in Table 67 (page 205) by other French authors. There is an agreement about overseas and colonial emigration 15.0 and 15.5 in the period 1861-80. About total emigration the differences are of little importance, if the approximate character of the estimates is kept in mind. These figures for 1851-60 are smaller than those of Bertillon, but for 1871-80 and 1881-90 they are higher than those of Leroy-Beaulieu and of Levasseur. For the four decades 1851-90 for which a comparison can be made, they average about one-fourth larger than the earlier estimates already cited.

This method cannot be used in determining the amount of French emigration year by year. But, from the figures in the French statistics, a second series can be reached by footing up for each year the number of French emigrants landed in foreign countries. The curves for these two series are generally parallel. Although the French statistics include only a part of the total French emigration, and of the overseas emigration, they give, nevertheless, an idea of the annual fluctuations in the number of French emigrants.

The statistics of some foreign countries show the total and the net immigration of French for certain periods. A comparison of these two series gives the results in Table 70.

TABLE 70.

IMMIGRATION, GROSS AND NET, OF FRENCH INTO CERTAIN COUNTRIES, 1901-24.

Period	Overseas Countries					Colonies	Europe			Grand Total
	United States	Venezuela	Argentina	Uruguay	Total	Morocco	Belgium	Sweden	Total	
ANNUAL AVERAGE NUMBER OF FRENCH EMIGRANTS										
<i>Total Emigration</i>										
1901-10	5,870	400	3,420	450	10,140	.....	10,600	50	10,650	20,790
1911-20	4,640	.....	2,520	.....	7,160	3,500	6,200	50	6,250	16,910
1921-24	4,200	.....	1,450	.....	5,650	6,000	7,200	50	7,250	18,900
<i>Net Emigration</i>										
1901-10	3,060	150	1,230	110	4,550	.....	5,470	..	5,470	10,020
1911-20	1,700	.....	160	.....	1,540	2,100	2,420	10	2,430	6,070
1921-24	2,840	.....	50	.....	2,790	2,300	2,380	30	2,350	7,440
PROPORTION OF NET EMIGRATION TO EACH 100 OF GROSS EMIGRATION										
1901-10	52.0	37.5	36.0	24.5	45.0	.....	51.5	..	51.2	48.5
1911-20	36.6	.....	.....	.....	22.5	60.0	39.2	..	39.0	38.0
1921-24	67.5	.....	.....	.....	49.2	38.2	33.0	..	32.5	39.5

In the years 1921-25 the net French immigration into all of these countries constituted from 35 to 50 per cent of the total French

emigration. It was smaller during the World War than in the pre-war or post-war periods. In the latest years it rose to 40 per cent. This proportion, ascertained for some countries, probably applies approximately to the total French emigration.

For 1854-60, Bertillon determined from the passports the destination of French departing with the intention of settling abroad.¹ America was the objective of 32.5 per cent of departures (15.3 per cent for North America); 23 per cent were for the French colonies (21.8 per cent for Algeria); 40.9 per cent for European countries (principally Spain, Italy, England, Germany and Switzerland).

In the following years the French statistics gave only overseas emigration, and showed the per cent distribution given in Table 71.

TABLE 71.
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FRENCH OVERSEAS EMIGRATION,
1870-1889.

Periods	United States, Canada	Argentina, Uruguay	Other American Countries	Africa	Asia	Australia	Totals
1870-1874 ^a	24.6	72.7		1.6	1.1	...	100.0
1875-1887 ^b	41.1	43.9	13.7	0.6	0.5	0.2	100.0
1888-1889 ^c	14.4	75.8	9.1	0.1	0.6		100.0

^a*Bulletin de l'Institut International de Statistique*, Vol. I, p. 199.

^b*Idem*, Vol. II, pt. 2, p. 93.

^c*Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris*, 1891, p. 192.

French overseas emigration goes mainly to Latin America. From 1875 to 1887 out of 100 French overseas emigrants (excluding those going to French colonies), 44 went to Argentina and Uruguay, 5 to Brazil, 8 to other countries of Latin America, or 58 to all Latin America and 41 to the United States and Canada.

The estimate of French total emigration previously made² opens the way for an approximate distribution by destination of French going abroad in each decade for the period 1851-1925. From Table 69 (page 207) the per cent distribution given in Table 72 has been computed.

The relative importance of French emigration overseas is thus seen to be diminishing, while that directed towards Europe is growing. The emigration of Frenchmen to their colonies appears to have decreased in the years 1861-1890. But in this period it was checked

¹L. A. Bertillon, "Migrations françaises" (1877), p. 181.

²See Table 67, page 205.

TABLE 72.

PROPORTION OF FRENCH EMIGRANTS OVERSEAS, TO COLONIES, ETC.,
BY DECADES, 1851-1925.

Destination	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-1900	1901-10	1911-20	1921-25
Overseas.....	44.4	40.6	39.4	45.1	35.0	36.0	37.4	26.3
Colonies.....	27.8	19.8	18.1	16.8	30.0	10.1	13.1	28.7
Europe.....	27.8	39.6	42.5	38.1	35.0	53.9	49.5	35.0
Totals.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

by the War of 1870. During the same period Algeria had to face the insurrection of 1871, famine, typhus, and cholera. The occupation of Tunis and the bad condition of French agriculture between 1891 and 1900 explain the resumption of emigration to the colonies. This waned again, however, in the following twenty years, the World War being a sufficient explanation for the diminution 1911-1920 and masking the colonization movement to Morocco, which is more apparent in the last few years.

In the years 1857 and 1858 the Pyrenean departments and Alsace furnished the largest proportion of emigrants to population. Three southern departments (Bouches-du-Rhône, Gironde, Hérault) and two eastern (Haute-Saône and Doubs) came next.¹ Dr. Lagneau prepared a table from the statistics of the Ministry of the Interior² showing for 1857-81 the departments of origin of registered emigrants who embarked at one of the four leading ports on a vessel carrying more than 40 emigrants to foreign lands (excluding the French colonies). The departments which contributed the largest proportion of their population were: Basses-Pyrénées, Hautes-Pyrénées, Gironde, Pyrénées-Orientales, Haute-Garonne, Hautes-Alpes, Savoie, Corse, Bouches-du-Rhône, Doubs, Cantal, all but one of them lying south of a line between Bordeaux and Geneva. Nevertheless, in certain departments of this region the emigration rate was quite small, the proportion being large in frontier or maritime districts. But the registered French emigration includes only a small fraction of the total.

The departments which supplied the greatest per cent of their population as emigrants in the period 1880-89 were: Basses-

¹Legoyt. *L'emigration Européenne* (1867).

²France, *Mouvement de l'emigration en France, 1875-1877*, pp. 58-60; *idem*, 1878-1881, p. 29 f.

Pyrénées, 3.57; Hautes-Alpes, 2.76; Hautes-Pyrénées, 2.72; Belfort, 1.80; Haute-Saône, 0.97; Aveyron, 0.87; Doubs, 0.86; Lot, 0.84; Savoie, 0.83; Pyrénées-Orientales, 0.80. Levasseur wrote:¹ "The departments of the Midi, especially the mountainous departments of the Pyrenees and of the Alps, the basin of the Garonne and the Rhone and the eastern frontier departments supply almost all the emigrants. In the case of the Basques of the lower Pyrenees, the mountaineers of the Alps and of the Cevennes, the emigrants follow an ancient family tradition. Poverty drives the mountaineer out of his native country. The proximity of the sea opens the ocean routes to the Basques, hardy mariners. The phylloxera, in ruining the peasants, has been a cause of emigration from the plaines of the Garonne in the last ten years."

The preceding estimates do not take into account emigration to the colonies. For the most part, however, this gap can be filled. Certain censuses of Algeria and Tunis show the French departments in which persons of French origin enumerated in the colonies were born. From a study of the census of 1896 it appears that the French departments which had contributed to the population of Algeria can be divided into three groups. The first is bounded on the north by a line drawn from Hendaye in southwestern France to Geneva. In all departments but one south of this line, the proportion of natives living in Algeria was more than 50 for each 10,000 inhabitants; in some it rose to 100 and even 190. One only—Basses-Pyrénées—has a smaller proportion (20).² North of this line, only four departments have comparable rates.

The second group of departments is included between this straight line and another line running from south of La Vendée to Givet. It comprises all departments in which the number of natives enumerated in Algeria was between 25 and 50 per 10,000 population. It is less homogeneous than the first region. Finally, the departments of northern and northwestern France are very slightly represented in Algeria.³

The results derived from the censuses of the French civilian population in Tunis are similar.⁴ The departments of the Midi, the Seine, and Finistère are those which have contributed the largest proportions of their population as immigrants.

¹Levasseur, *Population française* (1892), Vol. III, p. 352.

²The inhabitants of Basses-Pyrénées, principally Basques, emigrated in great numbers to South America.

³V. Demontes, *Le peuple algérien* (1906), pp. 81 ff.

⁴*Dénombrement de la population civile française en Tunisie, years 1921 and 1911.*

The reasons which have induced the French to settle in North Africa are geographical, administrative, economic or historical in nature, and have operated together or separately according to the part of France considered. In the north, administrative reasons (the supplying of officials) have played the most important rôle. In the Alsatian region historical reasons growing out of the Franco-Prussian war have been decisive. In the Midi, on the contrary, geographical, administrative and economic reasons have coöperated. These include nearness to North Africa; better communications, similiar climate and crops; colonization under official auspices; and above all, the destruction of the French vineyards by the phylloxera, while the vines in North Africa being immune to the disease could give better yields than those planted on French soil.

So far as they relate to the preponderating importance of French emigration from the departments south of the line Bordeaux-Geneva the results of the Algerian and Tunisian censuses are in accord with the statistics of French recorded emigration. Unfortunately the destinations abroad chosen by Frenchmen going from the various provinces are unknown. Some special monographs, however, have pointed out the peculiar attraction which Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil have had for the Basques and the inhabitants of the Western Pyrenees, and the attraction exercised by Mexico on the natives of the Barcelonnette (Basses-Alpes). These peculiarities may be due to the recruiting of emigrants by relatives already settled abroad.

It is difficult to detect the influence of French economic activity on the imperfectly known annual movement of emigrants. The defective statistics have been replaced by estimates nearer the truth, but made out for 10-year periods.

Nevertheless, the annual totals of French immigrants arriving in certain overseas countries show the same general fluctuations as the totals of overseas emigrants according to the French statistics. In the absence of more precise records it has been taken for granted that they represent the actual fluctuations of French overseas emigration. They have been compared with the annual indexes of French wholesale prices. The values ascertained by the covariant index are:

- 0.12 for the period 1857-1885,
- +0.34 for the period 1886-1914,
- +0.14 for the period 1857-1914.

With the index of French industrial production the value of the coefficient of covariation is fixed at 0.33 for the period 1885-1914.

Before 1885 French overseas emigration does not appear to have increased or decreased with the economic activity of the country, but after 1885 this interdependence became perceptible.

The number of French immigrants into the United States depends on the economic prosperity of the United States more than on that of France, but this dependency is not very great. It is most marked when the number of emigrants from France to the United States is compared with American wholesale prices of the preceding year.¹ That France's economic activity should have little influence on the departure of emigrants need occasion no surprise, especially if one notes the remark of the United States Immigration Commission:² "Emigration from Europe is not now an economic necessity. In the main those who emigrate to the United States are swayed by a desire to better their condition rather than by the necessity of escaping intolerable ones." The same is true of French emigration to other overseas countries and to Europe.

Since France as a whole before 1914 enjoyed good and stable industrial conditions, it is quite natural that those conditions should not have been the determining cause of French emigration. The agricultural crisis between 1875 and 1895 influenced the increase of emigration between 1870 and 1890, as attested by French departures abroad and to the colonies. The phylloxera invasion and the temporary ruin of the French vineyards during that period resulted in a growth of French emigration to the North African colonies and to South American countries where vineyards were profitable.

During the period 1857-90 the statistics of the Ministry of the Interior give the distribution of French emigrants by sex, age, and occupation. They include only about one-half of the overseas emigrants. *A priori*, there is no pronounced reason for supposing that French emigration differs much according to the place of final destination. In an initial approximation, which is doubtless near the truth, the proportion calculated for an important fraction of overseas emigrants can be applied to all French emigrants.

About two-thirds of French emigrants are males (see Table 73). The statistics of the United States show a similar but somewhat smaller proportion for all immigrants from France. During the period 1871-1920 the two series of numbers reveal a slight diminution in the predominance of males.

¹Statistique Générale, *Bulletin*, January 1925, p. 202.

²United States Immigration Commission, *Reports*, Vol. I, p. 185.

TABLE 73.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY SEX OF FRENCH EMIGRANTS, 1857-1910.

Recorded Overseas Emigration (French Statistics)			Immigrants from France to the United States (United States Statistics)		
Period	Males	Females	Period	Males	Females
1857-64	69	31	.....	.....	.....
1865-70	72	28	1869-70	66	34
1871-77	72	28	1871-80	64	36
1878-81	68	32	1881-90	64	36
1882-90	68	32	1891-1900	59	41
			1901-10	59	41

Among French overseas emigrants the proportion between 20 and 50 years of age grew from 582 per thousand in 1865-70 to 660 per thousand in the years 1882-90 (see Table 74). On the other hand, the proportion of individuals who had passed the age of 50 diminished from 82 to 40.

TABLE 74.

DISTRIBUTION BY AGE OF RECORDED FRENCH IMMIGRATION,
1857-1890.¹

(French Statistics; In Thousands)

Ages	1857-64	1865-70	1871-77	1878-81	1882-90
Under one year.	6	12	10	12	138
1-10 years.	73	51	62	104	
10-20 years.	235	273	243	186	162
20-30 years.	350	582	601	639	660
30-40 years.	196				
40-50 years.	85	82	84	59	40
50 and over.	55				
Total.	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

The United States statistics of immigrants from France give similar results, although the age groups are somewhat different. The proportion of the immigrants landed in the United States who were from 15 to 40 years of age increased from 70 per cent in 1871-1881 to 81 per cent in 1891-1900, and the proportion over 40 years of age diminished from 16.5 to 8.8 per cent during the same years.¹

¹Statistique Générale, *Bull. January 1925*, p. 205.

Less than one-third of the French overseas emigrants had an occupation connected with agriculture, and from 34 to 40 per cent worked in industry (see Table 75). The remainder (from 30 to 37 per cent) consisted of emigrants engaged in trade, the liberal professions or public utilities, or without any occupation.

TABLE 75.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF OVERSEAS EMIGRANTS BY OCCUPATION
(French Statistics)

Occupation	1857-64	1865-70	1871-77	1878-81	1882-90
Agriculture.....	24.6	27.2	28.7	25.9	28.0
Industry.....	38.4	40.0	34.8	36.1	42.5
Other Occupations...	37.0	32.8	36.5	31.5	29.5
Without Occupation..	....	....	....	6.5	....
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

These figures show an increase in the proportion of French emigrants occupied in agriculture or industry, and a decrease in the proportion of those in other occupations or without an occupation.

The United States statistics of occupations of immigrants from France (Table 76) show the same trend between 1875-80 and 1881-90. But from 1891 to 1898 the proportion of agriculturists and industrial laborers diminished.

TABLE 76

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS FROM FRANCE INTO THE
UNITED STATES BY OCCUPATION
(United States Statistics)

Occupation	1875-80	1881-90	1891-98	1875-98
Agriculture.....	9.0	20.5	18.0	16.2
Industry.....	51.0	51.0	47.5	50.2
Others.....	40.0	28.5	34.5	33.6
Totals.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The increase in the proportion of agricultural laborers during the period 1881-1900 is perhaps attributable to the severe crisis in French agriculture during those years.

The immediate loss which the emigration of its citizens brings to a country is two-fold: a decrease of population and particularly of adult workers, and a decrease of capital. Besides, a country losing a portion of its marriageable population may find, in the end, that its birth rate is falling.¹

The net loss is less obvious. It is a fact that at the present time emigrants remit to their native country sums exceeding the capital originally carried away and that they develop the exchanges between the two countries.

As the statistics of French emigration are not very accurate or detailed, it is difficult to estimate the decrease among various classes of the population. When one attempts to estimate the monetary value of this emigration the problem is more complicated. There is no agreement regarding the monetary value of an emigrant. If by monetary value is meant the profits which can be made in the country of origin or of immigration, those profits vary with sex, age, occupation, and physical and moral qualities. Again, monetary value may refer to the emigrant's cost to his family and to the nation up to the time of his departure. These different points of view lead to different results.

Taking the average of several American estimates, Levasseur concluded that in 1890 the value of an adult French emigrant was about 4,000 francs.² Gide concluded that in the course of 25 years an infant cost his parents 80,000 francs.³

Starting from a different viewpoint, N. A. Barriol⁴ called the social value of an individual to society the returns which he makes to society in the shape of expenditures of every kind paid out of his personal earnings. He determined the value of a laborer and of an engineer at different ages. At 20 years of age this value is 34,000 francs for a laborer and 350,000 francs for an engineer; at 40 years it is 27,000 francs for a laborer and 490,000 francs for an engineer. At 60 years the corresponding values drop to 7,000 and 270,000 francs respectively. Furthermore, they are different from those calculated under another definition and published elsewhere.⁵

According to the definition adopted and according to a person's position in the social scale, the variation is considerable.

¹All other things remaining the same and supposing for the moment that emigration does not raise or maintain the birth rate of the citizens who remain.

²Levasseur, *La population française*, Vol. III, p. 369, note.

³Gide, *Revue écon. internat.*, March 1910.

⁴*Ibidem*, December, 1910.

⁵*Almanach Hachette*, 1909, p. 215.

Even if it be assumed that French emigrants are all laborers, which will be seen to be far from the truth, the monetary value of an individual would vary according to the definition adopted. Whatever the initial definition adopted, the monetary value of French emigration during a given year is not the same for the country of origin and the country of destination, and varies also with the period.

Putting this moot question aside, let us consider a less involved question, viz., the comparative value of French and other European emigration, basing our statements upon the principal characteristics of the migrants and upon estimates made abroad.

In 1886 the Commissioner-General of Immigration of Argentina wrote: "Among the immigrants from Europe none have better antecedents or more satisfactory conditions than the French."¹ P. Berne judges French immigrants to Argentina as follows:² "There are some agriculturists and vine-growers. But most of them are artisans, engineers, architects, doctors and industrialists. If French emigrants are compared with Italian and Spanish, it would seem that their real influence is much above what their small numbers would normally give them. And A. Latinoque writes: Better educated, often provided with capital, the French belong to the aristocracy of emigration. French economic achievements in Argentina have been considerable. In all branches of production the French emigrants have shown the way. They have established flour mills and breweries. In the cultivation of the vine and in the sugar industry they have been front rank initiators. In the financial world they take second place after the English."

In Mexico, also, the French hold an important position. Although only about 4,000 French were settled in that country in 1910, the financial houses, factories, agricultural or mining enterprises belonging to them numbered 260, with a French capital of more than \$250,000,000. In the world crisis of 1908 not a single failure was recorded among the French colonists.³

In another field the statistics of immigration into the United States corroborate those of immigration into Latin America. In a study of French immigration into the United States⁴ the writer has said that in the liberal professions French immigrants have much the largest proportions. Among wage earners in mining

¹Cited by Levasseur, *op. cit.*, p. 373, note.

²P. Berne, *L'immigration française en Argentine* (1915).

³A. Genin, *Notes sur le Mexique, 1908-1910*.

⁴H. Bunle, *Bull. statist. générale*, January, 1925.

and industry, the annual income of the families of immigrants born in France averages higher than that of the families of other immigrants, although in the former case subsidiary income from subtenants or from boarders is less common. Finally, education is most widespread among French immigrants; the difference is specially notable in the case of individuals born outside of the United States.

Foreign statistics concerning occupations, wages, housing, education and economic conditions concur in revealing the high standard of living of French immigrants. They are fewer than immigrants from some other European countries. It is difficult to question their higher worth.

IMMIGRANTS INTO FRANCE.

As in the case of French emigration, we may distinguish two periods in the history of immigration into France. Until about the beginning of the World War it was almost entirely a movement of individuals and not the subject of any numeration or official statistics. After 1914 the movement into France became more important and put that country in the second place among countries of immigration.

This immigration is, in part, a collective organized current and better known than French emigration. Although not all foreigners who enter France are counted, all who report themselves at the frontier as laborers are. Fragmentary statistics furnish information also about the repatriation of laborers. These official data, although not complete, show a real progress compared with the earlier period, when no record was made on entrance or departure. Finally, France now appeals more strongly to ethnical elements which hitherto have been slightly represented on French soil.

After the period of the great invasions, France became the goal of an alien and spontaneous immigration. The reasons for this were: first, the numerous wars which brought foreign mercenaries (Swiss, Rhenish, Hungarian, Italian, Croatian, etc.); then, the attraction of the elite to the court of France; and finally, importation by the government of foreign experts to create or strengthen new industries. For example, Italians came for the silk, glass and mirror making industries, and Germans for the printing and cabinet-making trades. Later, European conditions led a large number of foreigners to seek refuge in France.¹

¹For example: the expansion of the French Empire under Napoleon I and the Treaties of 1815, political disturbances in Germany about 1830, and the Polish revolution in 1860 and 1863.

Nevertheless, in the eighteenth century this immigration was far from equalling in amount French emigration to foreign countries and the French colonies. At that period there were not more than 50,000 foreigners in France, which would indicate an annual immigration of 2,000 to 3,000 persons.

The influx of foreigners was increased in the first half of the nineteenth century. The census of 1851 found 380,000 foreigners on French soil. This would indicate an average annual immigration, in the previous decade, of approximately 20,000 persons.

The only official French statistics before the World War which permit following the immigration movement, are those giving the number of foreigners settled in France at the date of each population census. These figures are reproduced in Table 77.

TABLE 77

FOREIGNERS SETTLED IN FRANCE AT EACH CENSUS, 1851-1911.

(In Thousands)

Census Year	Number of Foreigners	Census Year	Number of Foreigners
1851	381	1886	1,126
1861	497	1891	1,130
1866	635	1896	1,052
1872	741	1901	1,034
1876	802	1906	1,047
1881	1,001	1911	1,160

France's foreign population grew 1851-91 without a break. About 1886 P. Leroy-Beaulieu wrote: "France is quite as much an immigration country as Argentina or Australia. In good years or bad from 40,000 to 50,000 foreigners go there to settle and found a family."¹ This increase of emigration appears to have been arrested during 1891-1906; it was merely masked by the effects of the laws of 1889 to 1893 concerning naturalization and citizenship.² From 1906 on it was resumed.

The magnitude of France's net immigration is not to be measured by the increase of aliens, especially in the period 1886-1921 when naturalizations were numerous. But one can take as a

¹P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes* (1886).

²France, *Census of 1921*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 41.

basis the number of aliens in successive censuses in order to reach an approximate estimate of net immigration.¹

The results of such calculations for the periods 1851-1911 are given in Table 78.

TABLE 78.

COMPUTATION OF NET IMMIGRATION INTO FRANCE, 1851-1911.
(In Thousands)

Periods	Increase in Foreigners	Naturalizations	Francisations	Excess of Births	Net Immigration
1851-61	116	2	5	10	112
1861-66	138	1	3	14	128
1866-72	106	3	5	16	98
1872-76	61	3	5	18	51
1876-81	199	3	5	20	187
1881-86	126	6	10	25	117
1886-91	3	36	60	28	71
1891-96	-78	61	138	29	92
1896-1901	-18	34	121	36	101
1901-06	13	26	115	41	105
1906-11	113	33	120	41	225

Italian, Belgian and Dutch statistics furnish some information about emigration to France. On using these data as a basis, net immigration into France is found as a rule to be higher than the preceding figures. From these slightly divergent ways of estimating immigration, the round numbers in Table 79 have been derived and represent approximately the minimum estimates of alien immigration into France.

Aside from the aliens who come to settle in France, French agricultural or industrial establishments attract other classes of alien laborers: (a) those who are domiciled abroad but enter France each morning and leave in the evening; (b) seasonal agricultural workers who come into France for several months during the sugar beet season or for the harvest or the vintage, and work the rest of the year in their own country. In 1906 the number belonging to the first class was estimated at 30,000 (including 25,000 Belgians).²

¹To the increase in the number of aliens in a census interval add the number who were naturalized in France by decree (naturalization) or by law (francisation) and subtract the excess of alien births over deaths. The result is approximately the net immigration during the interval. See Sauvy, "La population étrangère en France et les naturalisations," *Jour. Soc. Statist. Paris*, Feb.-Mar. 1927.

²France, *Census of 1906*.

TABLE 79.

ESTIMATED IMMIGRATION INTO FRANCE, BASED ON BELGIAN
EMIGRATION TO FRANCE, 1851-1911

(In Thousands)

Period	Estimated Average Annual Immigration		Period	Estimated Average Annual Immigration	
	Net	Gross *		Net	Gross *
1851-61	12	25	1886-91	20	40
1861-66	26	50	1891-96	22	45
1866-72	20	40	1896-1901	27	35
1872-76	16	35	1901-06	26	70
1876-81	34	65	1906-11	42	120

*On the assumption that the total, or gross, immigration into France is to the net immigration as the total immigration of Belgians into France is to that net immigration.

About 1904, as the result of an inquiry conducted in Belgium, L. Duprez wrote that 40,000 Belgian seasonal agricultural laborers came for several months (generally from May 15 to July 15) to work in the French fields. More than half came from eastern Flanders, a third from western Flanders, and the others were from Hainaut. They were found especially in the northern departments and in the region about Paris.¹ Besides these Belgians there were from 10,000 to 20,000 Spaniards who gathered grapes in southern France and departed as soon as this task was ended.

Both the permanent and the seasonal immigration into France was almost exclusively individual. The first attempts at a collective organized immigration do not date back further than 1908. At that time the Federation of Agricultural Societies of North-eastern France, after an agreement with the Emigration Committee and the Diet of Galicia, introduced about 1,000 Polish agricultural laborers, who were distributed through the eastern departments. This manner of recruiting, continued until 1914, introduced into France about 20,000 Poles distributed over a third of her territory.²

As a sequel to negotiations over a long period, the Iron Workers Committee of Meurthe-et-Moselle was able to recruit from 4,000 to 5,000 Italian workmen in 1912 and 1913.

¹L. Duprez, "L'Emigration temporaire des ouvriers agricoles en France" (1922), p. 452-5.

²N. Raffin, *Le placement et l'immigration des ouvriers agricoles polonais en France* (1911).

These are the only instances of collective organized immigration before the war.

To follow the variations in the racial composition of this stream of immigration is a difficult matter. French data are lacking, but Italy, Belgium and Holland publish more or less complete statistics about emigration from those countries to France. The data have been summarized in Table 80.

TABLE 80.

AVERAGE ANNUAL IMMIGRATION INTO FRANCE FROM CERTAIN
FOREIGN COUNTRIES, 1876-1910.

(In Thousands)

Period	Belgian, ^a		Italian, ^b Gross	Dutch, ^c Gross
	Gross	Net		
1876-80	...	...	36.9	...
1881-85	8.5	3.0	44.5	...
1886-90	7.4	3.9	30.2	...
1891-95	8.8	4.3	26.9	...
1896-1900	7.4	4.2	24.5	...
1901-05	8.0	2.3	54.3	0.2
1906-10	11.6	5.8	60.2	0.3

^aEmigrants born in Belgium, according to official Belgian statistics.

^b*Statistica delle Emigrazione, Bollettino della Emigrazione.*

^cNetherlands statistics.

For the whole period, Italian immigration was about 5 times as great as Belgian. It seems to have been least in 1896-1900 and greatest in the latest years. The total Dutch immigration was very small, not exceeding 300 annually. Both Belgian and Italian immigration seem to have decreased until 1896-1900 and increased notably in the following years. Belgians and Italians furnish more than half of the immigrants into France. The proportion of these peoples to all foreigners in France rose, as Table 81 shows, from 50 per cent in 1851 to 63 per cent in 1872, to 67 per cent in 1881, 66 per cent in 1901 and 62 per cent in 1911.

The figures in Table 81 also show that the largest immigrant groups have always been the Belgians, Italians, Germans (including Austro-Hungarians), Spaniards and Swiss, that is, citizens of countries adjacent to France and ethnical elements which are easily assimilable.

TABLE 81.
NUMBERS AND PROPORTIONS OF ALIENS IN FRANCE AT DIFFERENT
CENSUSES, BY PEOPLES, 1851-1911.

Peoples	Census Year						
	1851	1861	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911
	Number in thousands						
Italian.....	63	77	113	241	286	330	419
Belgian.....	128	204	348	432	466	323	287
German, Austro-Hungarian.....	57	85	110	94	95	102	117
Spanish, Portuguese.....	30	35	53	75	79	82	110
Swiss.....	25	35	43	66	83	72	73
Russian.....	9	9	9	10	14	16	35
Luxemburger, Dutch.....	10	13	17	21	40	29	26
Others.....	59	39	48	62	67	80	93
Totals.....	381	497	741	1,001	1,130	1,034	1,160
	Per Cent Distribution						
Italian.....	16.5	15.6	15.3	24.1	25.4	31.9	36.2
Belgian.....	33.6	41.0	47.0	43.1	41.3	31.2	24.7
German, Austro-Hungarian.....	15.0	17.2	14.8	9.4	8.4	9.9	10.1
Spanish, Portuguese.....	7.9	7.0	7.2	7.5	7.0	7.9	9.5
Swiss.....	6.5	7.0	5.8	6.6	7.3	7.0	6.3
Russian.....	2.4	1.8	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.6	3.0
Luxemburger, Dutch.....	2.6	2.6	2.2	2.1	3.5	2.8	2.2
Others.....	15.5	7.8	6.5	6.2	5.9	7.7	8.0
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

From 1851 to 1872 the proportion of Belgians increased, while that of the Italians, Spaniards and Swiss diminished. From 1872 to 1911 the proportion of Belgians decreased and that of the Italians, Spaniards and Swiss increased.

With the World War, immigration into France entered a new phase. From August, 1914, Frenchmen in good health between 18 and 40 years of age were under arms. For work on the farms only women, youth and old people remained, and they were not enough to provide the country with food. Then too the manufacturing of war material demanded labor on an ever-increasing scale.

When the armistice came, the able-bodied French population had been diminished by 1,250,000 killed, and by almost as many wounded. The country had to face the reconstruction of ten devastated departments where the mines, industrial plants, transportation system, and arable land had been wrecked. Only by bringing in foreign labor could this restoration be brought about rapidly.

French regulations about the admission, sojourn, settlement and change of abode of aliens have always been brief. The statute of July 16, 1912, which modified that of August 8, 1893, required a declaration to the town or city clerk stating the place of residence of any foreigner who came to work in France. It set up a register and certificates of matriculation; every person who employed an alien who had no matriculation certificate was liable to a fine.

The decree of April 2, 1917, instituted a special identification card to be used by any foreigner over 15 years of age staying in France more than two weeks. This card had to be visaed by the mayor or commissioner of police in each place where the foreigner arrived or departed.

According to the present legislation and regulations, the frontier may be crossed by a foreigner provided with a passport. But before he has stayed in France for more than two months he must ask the Commissioner of Police or the mayorality where he resides for an identification card. To obtain it, he must show an employment certificate visaed by the Ministry of Labor or of Agriculture and pay ordinarily 100 francs, but only 40 francs if he is a foreigner regularly brought in,¹ or a savant, writer, or student, or a relative of a wage earner already admitted. If the identification card is refused, the alien must leave within a week. Every change of residence necessitates the visaing of his card by the commissioner of police at his new domicile. Finally, employers can hire only such aliens as are provided with identification cards and have not broken earlier labor contracts.

The immigration of aliens into France thus is really unrestricted. A laborer who does not make known his intention to accept employment can enter without difficulty. Later his status is regularized by his presenting an employer's certificate visaed by the Ministry of Labor and certifying that there were no unemployed French laborers in the same occupation. In an economic crisis or when unemployment prevails, the opportunities are less and the visa of the Ministry is obtained with difficulty.

After the Armistice the French government concluded labor treaties with Italy and with Belgium, and immigration and emigration agreements with Poland and with Czechoslovakia. These were concluded on the basis of complete reciprocity, and provide for a control of collective recruiting by the two governments in order

¹That is, one who has passed a frontier post and received there a safe-conduct, exchangeable for an identification card later at the prefecture of his place of work.

not to disorganize the labor market; for equal wages for Frenchmen and aliens in the same occupation; for the extension of the benefits of French labor legislation to these aliens; and for the supervision of these arrangements by the national administrations rather than by diplomatic or consular authorities.

In Czechoslovakia and Poland, France maintains offices for hiring laborers. At these offices the candidates sent by the Polish and Czechoslovakian employment bureaus are examined with reference to their occupation and their health. In fact, it is the French General Society of Agricultural and Industrial Immigration which supervises the hiring and inspection of laborers to see that they satisfy the employers' joint requirements, after they have been visaed in France by the Ministry of Labor or of Agriculture. This collective immigration is of a peculiar character. It is a spontaneous inflow directed by foreign authorities toward the centers of employment and distribution.¹

There are two central offices: one at the Ministry of Agriculture for agricultural laborers; the other at the Ministry of Labor for those in other occupations. These central offices are in touch with immigration bureaus maintaining depots or loading centers; supplementary frontier posts; regional central stations having interpreter controllers and assisting the regional employment offices charged with the visaing of the individual or the collective demands to introduce alien laborers;² and with labor offices abroad.

The introduction of identification cards for aliens and the use of duplicate cards whose renewal or cancellation is under one control ought to provide for complete and accurate statistics of immigrant aliens. The number of departures would be less well ascertained because some aliens neglect to make a declaration when they leave.

French official statistics are not secured in this way, however. The number of colonial and alien laborers brought in by the Ministry of War or the Ministry of Munitions during 1914-1919, is known. These statistics, though not official, have a real value as they come from the persons who managed the importation of labor during the war. According to the Ministry of the Interior, there is also an estimate of the number of agricultural laborers brought in (or sent out) which can likewise be regarded as accurate.

¹A. Pairault, *L'Immigration organisée et l'emploi de la main-d'oeuvre étrangère en France* (1926).

²The establishment of two new regional control stations is planned at Strassburg and at Bâle St. Louis.

Since 1920 tables have appeared each week in the *Journal Officiel* and in the *Bulletin du Marche du Travail*, which are summed up every quarter in the *Bulletin du Ministère du Travail*. They comprise only a fraction, though a large one, of the aliens entering or leaving France. They set forth solely the number of aliens who have declared at the frontier that they were laborers and have received a safe-conduct to go to their place of work,¹ but they do not give the total number of aliens entering France. In fact, they do not include: (1) members of the laborer's family who do not state that they wish situations as laborers; (2) aliens who have not declared their status as laborers and later made their status conform to the law; (3) tourists, salesmen and travelers. The repatriations from France are shown still less completely, in fact aliens are under no obligation to declare that they are leaving French territory.²

Besides, a complete check-up on all who enter or leave is almost impossible in the case of France which has long land frontiers, some of which—especially the northeastern ones—are completely open. The frontier officials cannot supervise all entering or departing and cannot distinguish laborers from alien travelers.

TABLE 82
NUMBERS OF CERTAIN ALIEN IMMIGRANTS ENTERING FRANCE, 1920-25.
(In Thousands)

Year	Italians		Poles		Czechoslovaks	
	French Statistics	Italian Statistics	French Statistics	Polish Statistics	French Statistics	Czechoslovakian Statistics *
1920	86	120	15	..	1	..
1921	12	36	9	..	..	..
1922	57	86	28	30	1	3
1923	112	191	31	71	4	6
1924	98	231	23	27	10	13
1925	55	174	18	..	6	7

*Number of passports issued for France.

The actual number of alien laborers and of alien immigrants entering France or departing from it is larger than would appear from official statistics. This results from the French method of the enumeration and from the facts explained above. A comparison of French and foreign statistics as in Table 82, gives direct proof of this.

¹That is to say, those who present a labor contract containing a proper authorization to enter the country and accept employment. (*Bulletin du Marche du Travail*, supplém. March 4, 1927.)

²Lebelle, "La main-d'oeuvre étrangère" (1925).

The Czechoslovakian figures are based upon passports issued and exceed the actual departures. The Italian and Polish statistics include non-wage-earning members of the family, who are not counted by the French, and immigrants entering France without a labor contract and without stopping at an immigration bureau or a frontier post. All three report many more emigrants than the corresponding French statistics.

From the beginning of hostilities in 1914 the Ministry of War turned to the French colonies and to China in order to increase the labor supply in France. At the time of the Armistice it had introduced 223,000 colonial and Chinese laborers, divided as follows: North Africans, 133,000 (Algerians, 79,000; Moroccans, 36,000; Tunisians, 18,000); Indo-Chinese, 49,000; Chinese, 37,000; Madagascans, 4,500. A considerable number (principally North Africans) had already been repatriated, and the departures continued the following years.¹

TABLE 83
TOTAL NUMBER OF WHITE LABORERS INTRODUCED
INTO FRANCE, 1914-1920

Period	Italians	Spaniards	Belgians	Poles	Czechoslovaks	Portuguese	Greeks
1914—2nd half	4,500 ^a	52,000 ^b					
1915—1st half							
2nd half	15,000						
1916—1st half		92,400					
2nd half							
1917—1st half	3,700	102,300		1,300		5,600	14,600
2nd half							
1918—1st half	4,100	70,900				26,200	12,300
2nd half							
1919 year	13,700	75,800	5,300	1,000		15,000	4,200
1920	86,100	58,800	28,600	14,000	1,000	6,700	200

^aRefugees from northern and eastern France.

^bNet immigration.

The foreign labor service directed its energies to introducing white alien laborers. Starting in July, 1916, it recruited Italians, several thousand Poles, Dutch, Montenegrins and Scandinavians, but especially Portuguese, Greeks and Spaniards. Many of these

¹B. Nogaro and L. Weill, *La main-d'oeuvre étrangère et coloniale pendant la guerre* (1926).

presented themselves at the Spanish frontier and entered France to work in agriculture or industry. The total number of white laborers thus introduced is shown in Table 83 (page 227).¹

These statistics are incomplete. Those issued by the Alien Labor Service enumerated laborers only and excluded members of their families who did not seek employment.²

These statistics and the classification by sex of agricultural laborers brought in from 1915 to 1920³ together indicate that the number of immigrants who entered France, 1914-20, was at least 1,150,000 (220,000 of whom were colonial and Chinese laborers). The net immigration during the same period was about 600,000 persons, of whom 50,000 were Chinese and Colonials.

The war led to migratory movements between France and foreign countries other than those already mentioned. In August 1914, about 80,000 aliens from enemy or neutral countries departed and 100,000 French residing abroad returned to France. It has also been estimated that at a later period 100,000 aliens left France in order to serve in the Allied armies (60,000 in 1915 and 40,000 between 1916 and 1918).⁴

TABLE 84.

EFFECTIVES OF THE ALLIES AND GERMANS PRISONERS IN FRANCE
(In Thousands)

Date	British	Americans	Italians	Portuguese	Russians	Poles, Serbs, Czechoslovaks	German Prisoners
Aug. 1914	118	....	..	..	..	..	...
July 1915	560	....	..	..	..	..	?
July 1916	1,462	....	..	..	5	..	?
July 1917	1,850	20	..	..	5	..	?
Jan. 1918	1,830	176	50	35	5	..	?
July 1918	1,898	996	50	35	5	20	?
Nov. 1918	1,850	1,993	50	35	5	20	400*

*In the hands of the French and Americans but not including German prisoners in the hands of the British.

¹*Bulletin du Ministère du Travail* (January, 1920); "La main-d'oeuvre agricole" (June 25, 1918 and February 25, 1920). B. Nogaro, "L'Introduction de la main-d'oeuvre étrangère pendant la guerre" (1920).

²Statistique générale, *Bulletin*, October 1921, p. 105.

³*Ibidem*.

⁴*Statistique du mouvement de la population en France, 1914-1919*, p. XVI.

On the other hand, the number of laborers from Allied countries and of German prisoners in France grew steadily from 1914 to 1918 (see Table 84).

France served also as a place of refuge for Alsatians and Lorrainers and for aliens, notably Belgians, Serbs and Montenegrins who had been driven out of their country at its invasion. The number of refugees in the 77 non-invaded departments varied as follows on the first of January in each of the years from 1915 to 1920.¹

Refugees (Thousands)	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
	100	200	210	240	260	90

Among the 150,000 alien refugees who were receiving aid September 1, 1918, there were 144,000 Belgians and 6,000 aliens of other nationalities. Most of them were ultimately repatriated.

According to the statistics of the Ministry of Labor, the number of laborers brought in and repatriated by the Ministry of Labor and Agriculture from 1921 to 1926 was about as stated in Table 85.²

TABLE 85
LABORERS BROUGHT IN AND REPATRIATED, 1921-1926.
(In Thousands)

Laborers	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Introduced.....	80	193	274	265	176	162
Repatriated.....	63	50	60	48	54	49
Apparent Net Immigration:						
Aliens.....	17	143	214	217	122	113
Native Algerians *.....	..	...	22	14	-11	14

*According to information furnished by the Governor-General of Algeria.

Between the censuses of 1921 and 1926, the net immigration of aliens appears to have been about 730,000. It does not include about 40,000 native Algerians who settled in France during the same period and, for reasons previously indicated, it is a minimum estimate of the aliens. A more accurate idea of the actual increase of foreigners can be obtained by adding to the increase of aliens between 1921 and 1926, naturalizations, re-instatements and fran-

¹*Statistique du mouvement de la population en France, 1914-1919*, p. XVI.

²Corrected figures *Bull. minist. travail*, July-September, 1926, p. 263; *Bull. Marché Travail*, Mar. 4, 1927.

cisations. The number of enumerated aliens increased by 948,000 and there were about 90,000 naturalizations, re-instatement and franchisements. A comparison of the census figures of 1921 and 1926 with the excess of births over deaths in the intervening period, shows a net immigration for the whole of France of 1,125,000 individuals during the period. Barring census errors there should have been then at least 87,000 francisations (gallicizations).

If the net immigration in these five years was at least 1,125,000 persons, or about 225,000 per year, the statistics showing the balance between the laborers imported and those repatriated do not reveal more than 65 per cent of the net immigration. But the repatriations are less accurately known than the importations. Immigrant laborers, then, supplied about three-fourths of the total alien immigration into France. As far as the classification of immigrants by peoples is concerned, the statistics are certainly nearer to the truth in the case of aliens whose immigration is for the most part in groups, like the Poles, Czechoslovaks, Russian refugees and Serbs, than they are in the case of Belgians, Italians or Spaniards among whom individual immigration plays a great part.

As laborers are needed more and more in French agriculture the present seasonal immigration ought not to be less than that in the pre-war period. The number of 40,000 Belgian immigrants established by the 1904 inquiry may be taken as a minimum.

The statistics of the Alien Labor Service show the entry of 25,000 Spanish vintagers in 1922, of 16,000 in 1923 and 1924, and of 11,000 in 1925. To this seasonal immigration should be added aliens who live across the frontier and enter each day to work in French industrial plants. According to the census 14,500 Belgians were so situated in 1921.

Collective immigration is now well organized. Between January 1, 1921, and December 31, 1925, recruiting by the Coal Mining Committee and the General Immigration Society brought into France about 270,000 persons (145 000 men, 55 000 women, and 70 000 children). The immigrants were distributed among the different industries as follows: coal mines, 170,000; metalliferous mines and metallurgical industry, 25,000; agriculture, 70,000; other industries, 5,000.¹ Assuming that in all 1,500,000 alien sentered, this recruiting furnished for the 5-year period about one-fifth of the total immigration.

¹A. Pairault, *L'immigration organisée en . . . France* (1926).

The racial composition of alien immigration into France during the war was not the same as after the armistice.

During the war period Spaniards, Portuguese, Greeks, natives of North Africa and Asiatics, together with Belgian refugees, furnished the largest contingents. Italians had been mobilized for the armies or industrial plants at home. Immigration from Switzerland was much reduced; that from enemy countries was *nil*.

When the numbers of aliens of different peoples in 1911 and 1921 are compared, the impression left by the fragmentary statistics of alien immigration into France is confirmed. The German and Austrian colonies in France were considerably reduced in consequence of departures in 1914. The subjects of the Allied or neutral countries were more numerous than before the war. The largest increases were among the Spaniards (100 per cent); the Portuguese (700 per cent); the Greeks (900 per cent); and the Asiatics and French African subjects or protégés (1000 per cent).¹

The relative importance of the different peoples in the net immigration is made evident by the growth in the number of aliens of each different nationality between 1911 and 1921. Table 68 shows this growth.

TABLE 86

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF ALIENS, BY PEOPLES, 1911-21
(In Thousands and Per Cents)

Peoples	Increase 1911-1921	
	Number	Per cent
Belgian.....	58.6	16.3
British.....	6.8	1.9
Spaniard.....	148.8	41.6
Greek.....	9.8	2.7
Italian.....	11.3	3.2
Portuguese.....	9.5	2.7
Roumanian, Serb, Bulgars.....	7.0	2.0
Pole, Russian.....	34.5	9.6
Swiss.....	7.2	2.0
United States.....	3.8	1.1
African.....	34.2	9.5
Scandinavian.....	2.0	0.6
Asiatic.....	25.1	7.0
Total.....	358.6	100.0

¹Statistique Générale, *Bulletin January-March, 1927*, p. 213.

Spaniards, Belgians, Poles and Russians, Africans and Asiatics, contributed five-sixth of the increase; the Spaniards more than four-tenths and the Belgians 16 per cent.

For the period 1920-25, the laborers imported and repatriated have been classified by peoples.¹ The balance between them represents about 65 per cent of the net alien immigration into France. Probably the errors are about the same for the different nationalities. If so, the net alien immigration is apportioned between the races as presented in Table 87.

TABLE 87

IMMIGRANTS ESTABLISHED IN FRANCE, BY PEOPLES, 1920-25
(In Thousands and Per Cents)

Peoples	Number	Per Cent
Belgian.....	223	19.8
Spanish.....	180	16.0
Portuguese.....	6	0.5
Greek.....	1	0.1
Italian.....	325	28.9
Polish.....	222	19.8
Russian.....	15	1.3
Czechoslovak.....	25	2.2
Native Algerian.....	40	3.5
Others.....	88	7.9
Total.....	1,125	100.0

The Italians have furnished the most important contingent (nearly 30 per cent), then come Belgians and Poles (each about 20 per cent) and Spaniards (16 per cent), or more than five-sixths from these four countries. As before the war, the states bordering on France furnished most of the immigrants. But the current from Poland, Russia, and Czechoslovakia has greatly increased, as has that from North Africa (principally Kabyles and Moroccans.)

The variations in the numbers of laborers brought into France will be examined on the assumption that the causes of error already described were of the same relative importance in successive years. The net immigration fell from 181,000 in 1920 to only 17,000 in 1921. It rose to 143,000 in 1922, to 214,000 in 1923 and 217,000 in 1924, but dropped back to 122,000 in 1925 and to 113,000 in 1926. In the first half of 1927 repatriations accounted for 23,500

¹Ministère du Travail, *Bull.* July-Sept., 1926, p. 267 (corrected for Algerians.)

departures. These figures show the influence of the crises of 1921 and of 1927.

The importation of agricultural laborers diminished slightly in the crises of 1921 (63,000 in 1920; 54,000 in 1921; 71,000 in 1922), but much less than that of industrial laborers (131,000 in 1920; 26,000 in 1921; 123,000 in 1922). In the first quarter of 1927 aliens imported for agriculture (1,260) were fewer than those imported for industry (1,506). French agriculture needed more labor, but by temporarily stopping the importation of both types of aliens, France sought to avoid the fraudulent entry, in the guise of agricultural laborers, of wage-earners who would compete with French industrial laborers who were feeling the stress of unemployment.

In the period 1923-26, during which the statistics appear to be comparable, 30 per cent of the immigrants who passed through the control stations and employment bureaus were hired in agriculture. The remainder as shown in Table 88, entered trade, industry or

TABLE 88.

EMPLOYMENT OF ALIEN LABORERS BY OCCUPATION, 1923-26
(In Thousands and Per cents)

Occupation	Number	Per Cent
Coal Mines.....	82.9	7.9
Iron Mines.....	49.8	4.7
Building Construction.....	107.3	10.2
Digging.....	84.1	8.0
Metallurgy, Metals.....	60.1	5.7
Laborers.....	195.2	18.6
Agriculture.....	311.2	29.6
Miscellaneous.....	160.3	15.3
Total.....	1,050.9	100.0

domestic service. In this table the laborers are classified as they were placed. A large number broke their contracts in order to accept other places in the same industry or to enter other occupations. It is estimated that only 30 to 40 per cent of the workers placed in agriculture remained there.¹

At the present time (1927) the number of alien wage-earners in France, not including natives of North Africa, is about 1,000,000. The nationalities do not specialize in certain occupations. Still Italians abound in the building trades, in the construction of public

¹A. Pairault, *L'immigration organisée . . . en France* (1926).

works, and in the hat industry; Poles in the coal mines; Belgians in the metallurgical and textile industries of the north; Spaniards in the chemical trade and in digging.

The distribution of immigrants is governed not only by their occupation but also by their place of origin. Immigrants from countries adjoining France are most numerous in the departments nearest their native country.¹ Poles are grouped especially in northern France and Paris.

The importance of these immigrants for French economy can be judged from their output. Sundry investigations have shown that the output varies with the nationality of the immigrant. In the coal mines, Belgians, Poles and Germans are the best workers, followed by Moroccans, Czechs and Italians. In the iron mines the order of decreasing output would be: Italians, Germans, Poles. In the building trades the Italians and the Czechs are most valuable. The results of two of the most important inquiries have been grouped in Table 89.² The first was made in 258 large metallurgical and metal works employing 60,000 aliens (47,000 were in plants

TABLE 89.
RESULTS OF INQUIRIES INTO OUTPUT EFFICIENCY, BY PEOPLES.

Peoples	First Inquiry (Metallurgical Works)		Second Inquiry (Automobile Factory)
	Percentage of Workers		Number of Points Obtained
	Good	Average or Inadequate	Maximum = 10
British	90	10	...
Belgians .....	..	..	...
Luxemburgers	85	15	9
Italians	70	30	7.3
Poles	65	35	6.4
Spaniards	50	50	6.5
Portuguese	50	50	6.5
Russians	50	50	6.6
Czechs	40	60	6.7
North Africans	15	85	2.9
Swiss .....	..	..	8.5
Armenians .....	..	..	6.3
Chinese .....	..	..	6.2
Greeks .....	..	..	5.1
Miscellaneous	40	60	...

¹See France, *Census of 1921*, Vol. I, part 2.

²A. Pairault, *op. cit.*

having more than 100 workers); the second in an automobile factory with an aggregate of 17,000 workers, of whom 5,000 were aliens.

The results of the two inquiries are not identical but, generally speaking, the best elements seem to be the British, Swiss, Belgians and Italians; then come the Poles, Spaniards, Portuguese and Russians. The workers whose output was much the lowest were the Armenians, Greeks and North Africans. It is not a matter of indifference that the ethnical elements which are most numerous and most like the French, are also those whose industrial value is greatest.

Influence of Immigration on the Growth of the French Population

From the beginning of the nineteenth century the birth-rate in France has continued to decline at about the same rate, and there has been a corresponding fall in the excess of births over deaths. During the same period, however, industry has been transformed and developed. France, extending its colonial empire and increasing its foreign trade, needed a larger number of workers in spite of the progress of machinery. The workers whom she could no longer find on her own soil she sought abroad. As Table 90 shows, from 1861 to 1866 the population of France increased by 125,000 annually, from 1881 to 1886 by 110,000; and from 1901 to 1906 by only 60,000. In the growth of France's population, then, immigration has played a significant rôle.

TABLE 90.
AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE IN POPULATION, 1851-1926.
(In Thousands)

Period	Total	Due to Immigration	
		Number	Per Cent
1851-61	95	12	13
1861-66	125	26	20
1866-72	-80	20	?
1872-76	160	16	10
1876-81	150	34	23
1881-86	110	30	27
1886-91	25	20	80
1891-96	35	22	63
1896-1901	90	27	30
1901-06	60	26	43
1906-11	70	42	60
1911-21	-230	160	?
1921-26	305	225	74

The share of net immigration in the increase of population rose from 13 per cent in 1851-61 to 80 per cent in 1886-91. It fell to 30 per cent in 1896-1901, but since then it has grown steadily and in the interval between the last two censuses attained 74 per cent, an increase due largely to the loss of French population during the World War.

PART III
STUDIES OF NATIONAL EMIGRATION
CURRENTS

CHAPTER IX

EMIGRATION FROM GREAT BRITAIN.¹

By

DR. C. E. SNOW.

General

Concerning emigration from Great Britain prior to 1815, only fragmentary statistics are available, for before that date no regular attempt was made to measure the outflow of population. For some years before the treaty of peace with France, under which Canada in 1763 became a colony of the United Kingdom, a certain number of emigrants from Great Britain to the British North American colonies were reported, but no reliable figures are available. During the five years 1769-1774 there was an emigration, probably approaching 10,000 persons per annum,² from Scotland to North America, and substantial numbers also left England for the same destination. It has been estimated by Johnson³ that during the first decade of the nineteenth century the annual emigration from the whole of the United Kingdom to the American Continent exceeded 20,000 persons, the majority going from the Highlands of Scotland and from Ireland.

Emigration can be considered from two distinct aspects:

(a) from the point of view of the force attracting people to other countries;

(b) from the point of view of the force expelling people from their own country.

There is no doubt that before the nineteenth century, and for a considerable part of the nineteenth century itself, the motive controlling British emigration was mainly the latter, *i. e.* expulsion from the home country. Much of the emigration from the Highlands of Scotland and from Ireland during the eighteenth century was due to the fact that the increase in the means of livelihood did not keep pace with the increase in population, and the standard of living was substantially and continuously reduced. In certain cases emigra-

¹[See *International Migrations*, Vol. I, pp. 97-105, 619-659.—Ed.]

²Stanley C. Johnson, *History of Emigration from the United Kingdom* (1913), p. 2.

³S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

tion was organized by the land owners, and a substantial proportion of the population of a particular village would emigrate under the care of the squire, for the purpose of setting up a new life in North America. Lord Selkirk at the end of the eighteenth century played an important part in this and the Hudson Bay Company also were prominent in facilitating the emigration of surplus population from Great Britain into Canada. The opening of Canada to the British in the last quarter of the eighteenth century fired their imagination and helped to solve the serious social problems of overpopulation in Ireland and the Scotch Highlands.

Many instances could be given of emigration as a result of local overpopulation. One frequently quoted is that of the island of Rum in the Hebrides. The absentee landlord visiting his tenants found them so overcrowded that many were unable to obtain a livelihood. He cancelled their debts and provided money and cattle to enable them to emigrate to Canada. Similar instances occurred in the south of England, where the population had increased by about 15 per cent in ten years, with no corresponding increase in employment. These circumstances led to falling wages, increased parish relief, and general demoralization.

According to some writers, this condition of affairs arose through the lax administration of the Poor Law, which enabled local authorities to eke out the wages of laborers from the local funds. The landlords, who paid most of the taxes, had an obvious interest in getting rid of as many of their indigent parishioners as possible. But the burden of maintaining these men fell largely upon the small farmer, who was also a small taxpayer, and many of them emigrated in order to avoid heavy taxation. A Select Committee appointed by Parliament to report upon the circumstances under which emigration occurred, and publishing its report in 1826 and 1827, gave numerous such instances.

Another cause contributing to the emigration of small farmers was that the growth of population had given a fillip to grain production, and it had been found that grain could be grown more profitably on large farms than on small ones. Many of the small farms were absorbed by the big ones, resulting in a saving of labor and a population surplus which tended to increase emigration. In certain parts of the country, however, by an opposite process occurring through the century but especially during the latter half, arable land was turned into pasture. This change went on most rapidly towards the end of the nineteenth century and continued, indeed was ac-

centuated, in the twentieth. The figures in Table 91 show the movement in England and Wales during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century.

TABLE 91.

CONVERSION OF ARABLE LAND TO PASTURE IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1871-1900.
(Thousands of Acres)

Period	Arable Land	Permanent Grass Land
1871-75	14,766	11,799
1886-90	13,243	14,560
1891-95	12,676	15,116
1896-1900	12,356	15,239

Apart from fragmentary statistics relating to the later years of the eighteenth century, the official records of emigration from the British Isles do not begin until 1815. For a number of years prior to that date much of the country's manhood had been engaged in European wars, and when these men returned home a new movement towards emigration began. For a long period the emigration records made no distinction between passengers of Irish and those of British nationality. It is known, however, that a substantial proportion of the emigrants from the British Isles to the United States were Irish, while Irish emigrants to other destinations were relatively few. The emigration figures to destinations other than the United States therefore approximately indicate the extent of the emigration from Great Britain during the nineteenth century. These statistics reveal a more or less regular ebb and flow for a considerable period. Following the Continental wars the movement reached its maximum in 1819 when 24,000 people left Great Britain for extra-European countries other than the United States, practically all for Canada.¹ The movement died away in 1824 when less than 9,000 people emigrated. Towards the end of the second decade, however, emigration to Australia and New Zealand began, and though towards the end of the third decade this was small compared with emigration to Canada, it was by no means inappre-

¹[Volume I, p. 627—Ed.]

cial. There was a substantial boom in the movement to Canada in the years 1830-34.

The most convenient and logical way of describing the motive forces impelling emigration will be to refer to various factors in turn and trace their effect on migration, although this method may involve a certain amount of repetition. The following main headings will be considered:

- (1) Government action facilitating emigration.
- (2) The effect on migration of agricultural depression and changes in agricultural methods:
- (3) The effect of industrial developments.
- (4) Emigration induced by propaganda and voluntary organizations.
- (5) Emigration promoted by private and semi-private assistance.
- (6) Emigration of women.
- (7) Emigration of children.

Before dealing with these separate aspects of the matter, it may be well to refer to the shortcomings of the available data. They are best stated in the following paragraphs from the final report of the Dominions Royal Commission issued in 1917:¹

The difficulties of obtaining a precise measure of the outflow from the United Kingdom are considerable, and may be described as follows:

(a) Until April, 1912, the returns of passenger movement at the ports of the British Isles did not distinguish permanent migrants from temporary arrivals and departures. The Board of Trade, however, in 1912, started to collect figures intended to distinguish passengers with future permanent residence within and outside the United Kingdom. These new returns are not regarded as trustworthy for various reasons, . . . and they do not of course afford any comparison with the course of migration in earlier years.

(b) The usual practice in dealing with migration questions has been to take the excess of passengers of British nationality from the United Kingdom to non-European countries over the arrivals of such passengers from non-European countries as representing the net emigration from the Mother Country. This course was followed by the President of the Local Government Board of the United Kingdom in discussing the question at the Imperial Conference of 1911. . . . The experience of the Board of Trade in the collection of new returns tends, however, to show that this is an underestimate, and that the excess of permanent emigration from the United Kingdom over permanent immigration may be greater than the excess of outward over inward passengers to non-European countries. . . .

¹[Great Britain, Dominions Royal Commission, *Final Report* (1917), p. 83, §423. —Ed.]

(c) In any case there is a certain amount of unrecorded emigration from the United Kingdom. Emigrants to Canada, Australia and New Zealand often work their passages out as temporary stewards or in other capacities and are consequently not recorded as passengers. Desertion of sailors abroad similarly contributes towards swelling the number of those who elude the recording officials.

In studying the subject of emigration from Great Britain since 1815, three points should be borne in mind:

First, early figures were obtained mainly through local records and related to British persons only. Later on statistics were obtained from steamship companies recording the number of persons carried abroad, and these figures did not differentiate between the British and the foreign elements. Emigration data during the latter half of the nineteenth century were probably appreciably swollen by the inclusion of a number of foreign persons.

Secondly, before 1860 the immigration into Great Britain was comparatively small, but subsequently there was a substantial increase and in certain years it reached large dimensions. It is true that in earlier years there was more or less regular immigration from Ireland into parts of Scotland, but until well after 1850 the volume of immigration from Europe remained small.

The figures of net emigration from Great Britain for the second half of the nineteenth century therefore should not be understood as showing a net loss to the country.

Thirdly, as the population of Great Britain was growing rapidly emigration figures do not measure the rate at which the population was being affected. The ratio of emigrants from the United Kingdom to population in successive quinquennial periods is given in Table 92 (page 244).¹

This table shows, for example, that although a larger number of persons emigrated in 1906-10 than in 1866-70, the proportion of the population leaving the country was only seven-tenths of the proportion in the earlier period.

The first instance of Government acting to facilitate emigration occurred in 1816, when the British War Office arranged for the settlement in Ottawa of certain British soldiers who had been serving in Canada, having in mind, no doubt, the idea that such men would be useful for purposes other than normal settlement. Later on these settlers were joined by families from Scotland, also sent out at the instigation of the War Office, and in this way emigration was

¹[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 348, Table V.—Ed.]

TABLE 92.

POPULATION AND AVERAGE ANNUAL NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS IN THOUSANDS, WITH EMIGRANTS PER 10,000 POPULATION, 1853-1910.

Period	Estimated Population of United Kingdom	Average Annual Emigration	Emigrants per 10,000 Population
1853-55	27,674	232	84
1856-60	28,392	123	43
1861-65	29,459	144	48
1866-70	30,696	171	56
1871-75	32,190	194	60
1876-80	33,929	142	42
1881-85	35,466	258	73
1886-90	36,892	253	69
1891-95	38,445	196	51
1896-1900	40,189	153	38
1901-05	42,703	117	27
1906-10	45,217	179	39

facilitated. Neither group, however, made satisfactory settlers and few of them remained long on the area where they had been placed. The British Government first gave serious attention to emigration in 1820, when it was looked upon as a remedy for social distress. Select Committees of Parliament, appointed to consider this distress and to report upon methods of remedying it, were asked to consider organized emigration as a method of alleviation. One of these committees made detailed recommendations for reducing the surplus population, and expressed its opinion that emigration afforded a far more satisfactory remedy for existing unemployment than any temporary measures which could be adopted. It further advised the Government to make grants to assist emigration.

As a result of this report, an extensive area of waste land in the Eastern Provinces of Canada was specially surveyed and prepared to accommodate about 10,000 people. After considerable progress had been made, it was found that a great deal of the land was not suitable for the purpose and that even if the scheme were successful the emigrants would only be able to repay the loans in

kind, so the Home Government abandoned the project. Substantial grants in aid of emigration of unemployed workpeople to Canada and elsewhere, were made by Parliament, £50,000 being granted in 1818, £69,000 in 1823, £30,000 in 1825, and £20,000 in 1827.¹

In 1818, following the Napoleonic Wars, there was much unemployment in the country, and the Government is said to have received 90,000 applications for advantages afforded by the grant of £50,000 made in that year. Under this scheme 3,700 persons went to the Cape of Good Hope in 1820. Most of them settled in the district of Albany but, owing to obstacles encountered, they got into serious difficulties, and the Home Government increased its original grant to £200,000, while further assistance was afforded by charity. After the settlers had suffered great hardships the scheme succeeded, and ultimately many of the emigrants became larger farmers.

The Home Government turned its attention again to Canada in 1823, and this time the scheme appears to have been successful. Each of 180 families was given 70 acres of land, and after three years only nine of these 180 families had removed to the United States. There were later emigrants under this scheme of 1823, but they do not appear to have met with so much success, and in course of time Parliament refused to vote further funds for this purpose.

In 1829 the Government of Canada placed at the disposal of Mr. Peel 500,000 acres of land for the purpose of settling emigrants.² This scheme was very largely a private enterprise on the part of Mr. Peel, who obtained the land from the government and undertook to pay all expenses of the voyage and to provide the emigrants with satisfactory wages, if they signed a contract to work for him for a period of years. This plan was unsuccessful because the emigrants, on arrival, found that they could obtain other land without conditions; they accordingly broke their contracts and left. Later on, finding that they were much worse off after the change, they returned to the original settlement; but by that time Mr. Peel had been financially ruined.

An Act of the Home Government was passed in 1834 with the object of enabling parishes to mortgage their rates, and to spend the proceeds on assisting emigration of poor people to an amount not exceeding £10 per capita. Emigration agents were appointed in different parts of the country, and for the next thirty years an amount

¹[See Volume I, page 100.—Ed.]

²[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 232.—Ed.]

averaging £25,000 was voted annually by Parliament to assist emigration, mainly to Australia.

In 1830 some new views on the subject of emigration were put before the government by E. G. Wakefield. He claimed that all schemes aiming merely at emigration of needy workpeople were bound to fail because they did not maintain a proper economic balance. He suggested that in any emigration scheme efforts should be made to provide a correct relation between capital and labor, so that the amount of land available for settlers should be in proper economic proportion to the amount of labor available for the land.¹ The discussion on Wakefield's proposals considerably affected the outlook on emigration, which came to be looked upon less as a means of ridding the home country of surplus labor and more as a means of developing Empire resources overseas.

Government committees and commissions were appointed at frequent intervals up to the middle of the century. The commission appointed in 1831 came to the conclusion that, though there had been a good deal of subsidized emigration, the greater proportion of those leaving the country had done so either by their own means or through the assistance of their friends. This commission pointed out that in the ten years following the Peace of 1815, emigration had averaged about 9,000 per annum, but that in the subsequent five years it had increased to 20,000 per year. The commission recommended that Government interference should be reduced to a minimum, and that the Government's function should be mainly one of supplying information.

In 1839 the Government issued a report on an inquiry made by Lord Durham into the unrest among emigrants in Canada, and the friction between the French and British inhabitants. The conclusion was that past Government measures had been defective in that they had failed to remedy the chief evils of emigration, such as the reception of emigrants at their points of destination.

A special Colonial Land and Emigration Department was established in 1840 for the purpose of collecting and distributing information regarding the British colonies, and more particularly for the sale of land in Australia. The proceeds from such sales were to be used to assist emigration. In the twenty-three years 1847-1869 over 339,000 emigrants were sent out under the auspices of the Department at a cost of £4,864,000 a sum practically all derived from

¹Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *A View on the Art of Colonisation*. See also p. 256.

the sale of land.¹ This Board continued in existence until 1873, by which time most of its duties had been handed over to the various colonies as they developed.

In 1845 a Select Committee was appointed which dealt incidentally with a number of problems of emigration, such as the capacity of the British laborers; the extent to which labor might be safely introduced into the various colonies; the effect of an increased supply of emigrants on the value of colonial land; the effect of colonization on the investment of British capital; the effect of such development on industries at home, *e. g.* industries catering for railway development. This inquiry made an important examination of the probable economic effects of emigration, but it did not lead to any definite Governmental action. For the next two or three decades Government interest in assisted emigration waned.

Later in the century (in 1873) the New Zealand Government co-operated with the Emigrant and Colonist Aid Corporation in a scheme for the furtherance of migration to that country. The Government provided 100,000 acres of land and paid the cost of transportation on condition that the Corporation settled 1,500 adults within four years. The latter provided all necessities of life for the emigrants. It is reported that this scheme was highly successful; the settlers remained on the land, and the Company actually paid an appreciable dividend on their investment.

In 1880 the Canadian and British Governments devised a scheme for developing jointly the northwest provinces of Canada. The Canadian Government undertook to provide each settler with 160 acres of land and the British Government was to advance £80 a family on security of a mortgage upon the land, but this scheme was abandoned. Three years later the British Government entered into an agreement with the Northwest Land Company of Canada (acting for the Canadian Government); this project was also given up, on account of unsatisfactory securities for investments. In 1886, as a result of pressure exerted on the Government, the Emigrants Information Office was opened. This Office was under Government control and received a subsidy, but it was managed by a voluntary committee and an account of its activities is included in another paragraph.

In 1888 the British Government developed a scheme for the migration of Scotch crofters to Canada. The Government contributed £10,000, while private enterprise added £2,000. The plan

¹[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.—Ed.]

was successful, and after a time its administration was put into the hands of a Colonization Board consisting of four commissioners appointed by the British Government, the Canadian Government, the private subscribers, and the companies who had provided the land. Regular reports of progress were made, and it appears that the settlers became generally contented and repaid the money advanced.

In 1889 the British Government appointed a Select Committee to inquire into migration schemes and to report whether further facilities should be afforded. The upshot of a lengthy report was that direct interference by the Government in migration schemes was abolished, but further financial assistance was given to the Emigrants Information Office. With the publication of this report in 1891, the Government practically closed its association with emigration projects. Many years afterwards, in 1905, the Unemployed Workmen's Act gave local authorities some power to assist emigration, but in actual practice the amount of help given to migration by either local or central governments was very small and the work for the most part was left in the hands of private organizations.

In 1908 the question of emigration was exhaustively discussed by the Poor Law Commission, but no definite action facilitating emigration followed. At the first Imperial Conference of Dominion Premiers, held in 1911, extensive reports on the development of migration from the United Kingdom to the Dominions were considered. A mass of statistics put before the Conference indicated that the number of emigrants assisted through the Emigrants Information Office had more than doubled in five years. The views of the Conference, however, were that the organization of emigration should be left to voluntary bodies and that the function of the Government was mainly that of oiling the machinery. Some emigration was effected through the local Poor Law Authorities (Boards of Guardians), and is referred to under those paragraphs dealing with the migration of children.

The Dominions Royal Commission was appointed in 1911 under the chairmanship of Sir Edgar Vincent (later Lord D'Abernon). This body exhaustively investigated the whole subject of emigration from Great Britain to all parts of the Empire, and travelled to each one of the self-governing Dominions to take evidence on the spot. The reports and volumes of evidence published by this Commission

contain a vast amount of information on migration from Great Britain before the outbreak of the World War.

The change from arable to pasture land in Scotland has been mentioned as a factor stimulating emigration. Depression in agriculture throughout the island during a considerable part of the nineteenth century contributed to the same result. In the early decades especially wages were falling and after the amendment of the Poor Law Acts in 1834 the laborer's earnings were eked out by the parish. During the 6 years from 1816 to 1822, there were 475 petitions presented to the House of Commons deploring the depression in agriculture, and ultimately a Royal Commission to investigate its causes was appointed.

In Scotland, early in the century, the withdrawal of large areas of land from tillage resulted in decreased employment, and skilled shepherds were brought in from other parts of the country for the new industry. In certain areas this involved the almost complete displacement of the wage-earning classes. A report on Scotland states that 3,000 people who had formerly cultivated arable land migrated to America in 1801. At that time the outflow of population became so great that proposals were made to prevent the number of persons on a particular area of land from falling below a given figure. In certain parts of Scotland this depletion of population during the early part of the nineteenth century was particularly noteworthy, and even late in the century there was little recovery. In spite of the general increase in population in Scotland as a whole, the number of inhabitants in Perthshire fell from 142,000 in 1831 to 129,000 in 1881, in Argyllshire from 101,000 to 76,000 and in Invernessshire from 95,000 to 90,000, the main reason being the change from arable to pasture land.

The report of the Commission of 1822 makes interesting reading now that agriculture in Great Britain is again seriously depressed. The Commission considered that the difficulties arose mainly from the continuous fall of prices after the Napoleonic Wars. In 1793 the price of wheat was 50 shillings a quarter, but increased steadily up to 120 shillings in 1801. At the end of 1813 it was down to 40 shillings and in 1815 the law placed a duty on wheat whenever the price fell below 80 shillings a quarter. Following this there were violent fluctuations in prices and the farmer on sowing his wheat had little idea what price he would get at the harvest, circumstances which naturally produced great dissatisfaction. Under these cir-

circumstances there was a steady flow of farmers and agricultural laborers from Great Britain to the United States and Canada. In 1830 the total emigration from the United Kingdom to North America was 55,000, in 1831 it rose to 71,000, and in 1832 was over 99,000; the average of those years being nearly 4 times that of the previous ten.¹ The south of England, notably the counties of Kent, Hampshire, Somerset and Surrey, were the chief centers of emigration.

A great wave of emigration began in 1847 and continued up to 1854.² The motive behind it was mainly the serious potato famine, which was particularly acute in Ireland, but also to some extent in Great Britain. The potato famine of 1847 has been termed the most potent factor which has ever influenced the flow of emigration. It is interesting at this stage to reflect upon the cumulative nature of migratory movements. The emigrants already settled overseas saved money and sent it to their friends in the home country to assist them also to emigrate, and it was reported that in 1848 the total sum remitted to the United Kingdom in this way was not less than £460,000, an annual amount which increased rapidly during the next 5 years until it reached the figure of £1,400,000 in 1852. This particular movement led to a detailed study of the association between agricultural crops and emigration, and it appears to have been well established that emigration and prosperity were negatively correlated in a fairly high degree.

After the middle of the century the situation greatly improved; wages of agricultural laborers increased and the price of food stuffs and other articles steadily fell. Though emigration from the countryside continued, it was directed mainly towards the towns in England and after the middle of the century the number of farmers and agricultural laborers leaving the country was relatively small. The development of industrialism in Great Britain caused a marked slackening in the volume of agricultural emigration. This state continued up to the outbreak of the World War in 1914. The Dominions Royal Commission reported in 1917 as follows:³

There were clear indications before 1914 that the agricultural population of the United Kingdom, on which the Dominions had drawn so largely in past years, was no longer capable of providing any considerable supply of migrants.

¹[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 47.—Ed.]

²[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 50; but see in this connection, Volume I, p. 99 ff.—Ed.]

³[Great Britain, Dominions Royal Commission, *Final Report* (1917), p. 87, §439.—Ed.]

In the past the coincidence of natural increase of population with a decreased demand for labour (owing largely to the conversion of arable into grass land, and other economic causes) rendered chronic migration either to urban centres or abroad both natural and inevitable. But by 1914 it was generally recognised (and the view is one in which we entirely concur) that the purely rural population of the Mother Country was not in excess of her own necessities. The situation was fully set out in a Memorandum and evidence furnished to the Commission by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. . . . The position as there explained was confirmed by the evidence given by the representatives of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in Canada. They stated that the Company came to the conclusion that an active campaign in Great Britain to remove men from the farms was a mistake and that they had consequently reduced to a large extent their activities in the Mother Country.

It is not only to the condition of agriculture that we must look for the causes of emigration in the first half of the nineteenth century. Industrial circumstances also gave rise to emigration. One of the most noteworthy of these was the development of labor-saving implements in cotton spinning and weaving, creating immediate unemployment which led to emigration. The Select Committee of 1826-27 mentions specifically the distress of the hand-loom weavers. At the same time there was a considerable improvement in methods of production and a smaller demand for the product. The labor market was flooded by Irish immigrants, and this had a marked effect upon wages in industry. The wages of skilled operatives in Glasgow which were 20 shillings a week between 1810 and 1816, fell steadily to only 9s. 6d. in 1838, a reduction of 50 per cent in less than 30 years. Food prices during this period fluctuated strongly and the standard of living of the workpeople must have been very hazardous.

The figures of unemployment among textile operatives at this time show the effect of new methods of production. In 1826 unemployed weavers numbered 15,000 in Yorkshire and 90,000 in Lancashire. The local magazines of that day give frequent accounts of the emigration of bodies of workpeople. This movement, though unorganized, appears to have reached substantial dimensions and must have largely contributed to the increase in emigration shown in the statistics.

The introduction of the steam engine also depressed the labor market and stimulated emigration. Prior to the use of steam power many industries of the country had been located in the south of England, but since the main coal fields were in the north of England the new industries developed there. The new operations could be carried on to a large extent by unskilled boys and girls in place of

skilled men, and this obviously created a surplus of labor which contributed towards increased emigration.

The development of industry in England also led directly to the migration of skilled operatives. About 1830 Great Britain was taking the lead in the new industrialism. Other countries strove to emulate her progress and skilled workmen were offered many inducements to emigrate, particularly to America. For a time the export of machinery was actually forbidden, and it had to be smuggled from Great Britain to America. The American calico-printing trade was founded under these circumstances, special agents being employed to entice the best workpeople to leave England. A Royal Commission, appointed in 1841 to consider the question of the export of machinery, concluded that for the previous 15 years there had been an organized campaign to entice British workpeople to move with their machinery to the United States.

The natural result of these adjustments was that America, having learned the new methods of production, began to produce more than was required for her own consumption and developed an export trade to Great Britain. This affected the output of the latter's industry, unemployment reappeared, and operatives emigrated on their own initiative. The cotton town of Stockport, Cheshire, was particularly and seriously affected by the increasing foreign competition. Emigration from this town was especially brisk during the '50's. Paisley and Coventry also suffered. In the latter town distress among the women weavers was so great that special emigration schemes enabled not less than 11,000 women weavers to leave the district between 1860 and 1863.

After the first half of the century, however, industrial developments in Great Britain had a depressing effect on emigration. The needs of an ever-enlarging industry called for a rapidly expanding labor roll that was not satisfied by the natural increase in the industrial population and stimulated migration from the countryside to the big towns. The flow from the rural areas to the cities was very large indeed from 1850 to 1900, but only a small proportion of this stream left Great Britain.

The earliest recorded organized efforts at propaganda to promote emigration from Great Britain was the formation in 1823 of the American Chamber of Commerce at Liverpool, the object of which was to induce workpeople to migrate to the United States. A few years later propaganda regarding life in Canada was begun,

leaflets being circulated among workpeople advertising opportunities and conditions in that colony. These leaflets are reported to have influenced many people to give up their life in the United Kingdom and to settle in North America. It was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that there was a rapid expansion in the number of organizations aiming at the dissemination of information regarding life abroad, particularly in the British Dominions.

The Emigrants' Information Office, opened in 1886, was controlled by the Colonial Office but it was established as the result of private representations and managed by a voluntary committee. This bureau, almost from its inception to the outbreak of the World War in 1914, was the most important organization for spreading news of opportunities for life in the British Colonies and for promoting emigration. The Government gave a small grant and quarters, and subsequently increased the grant. Although originally formed to assist only those emigrants going to the British Dominions, the bureau's functions were afterwards extended. Moreover it did not confine itself to assisting emigration, but from time to time issued warnings against emigration to certain parts of the world. The accomplishments of this organization were reviewed at the first Imperial Conference in 1911, and it was reported that the work of the Office had doubled in four years, and that more than a thousand public libraries, municipal authorities, and postoffices throughout the country were used by the head office for the purpose of distributing propaganda. The Dominions Royal Commission in its Final Report in 1917 remarked:¹

We feel that hardly sufficient credit has been given to this most useful institution, and we are glad to find that several witnesses in the Dominions acquainted with its methods spoke very warmly in its praise.

The Salvation Army must also be mentioned in connection with private organizations stimulating emigration, though its organized effort did not begin in earnest until near the end of the century. This body, in its endeavors to find employment for the needy, developed an emigration organization. Although most of the emigrants came from the cities, the occupations found for them abroad were mainly agricultural. It was reported that 76 per cent of the occupations found for 5,000 emigrants in two years were on farms. Sir Rider Haggard, who had travelled extensively throughout

¹[Great Britain, Dominions Royal Commission, *Final Report* (1917), p. 88, §442.—Ed.]

the Empire and was a strong advocate of emigration from the Imperial point of view, especially included the Salvation Army in the scheme¹ which he put before the authorities. He proposed that money should be advanced to this organization for the special purpose of transporting town-bred families to farming land in Canada.

The Charity Organization Society, the Salvation Army, the East End Emigrants' Fund, the Self-help Emigrants' Society and the Church Army may be specially noted among the many volunteer bodies mentioned in the literature of the subject as having materially assisted emigration, particularly among the poorest classes, during the last two decennia of the nineteenth century. Most of the other volunteer bodies, such as the Jewish Migration Society and the Liverpool Self-Help Society, were of a local or specialized character.

Voluntary organizations for assisting emigration from Great Britain were not confined to Great Britain herself. Associations with the same object existed in other countries, particularly in the United States and in Canada. In Canada the Canadian Pacific Railway was an important factor, while in the United States the western railway companies and the wealthy land companies of the republic played a considerable part in encouraging emigrants.

The Dominions Royal Commission examined carefully the work of all the societies, and in its final report proposed that the Emigrants' Information Office expand its functions and be made the central controlling authority over societies engaged in the work of emigration.

It is difficult to say what proportion of the migration from Great Britain has been assisted by external help and what proportion has been spontaneous. Undoubtedly, during the nineteenth century and up to the outbreak of the World War emigration was cumulative in its action; that is, emigrants already settled arranged for their relatives and friends to come out to them and often sent them help. Towards the end of the nineteenth century it was computed that 70 per cent of the emigrants coming to the United States had their fares paid by friends already settled there. The percentage settling in this way in Canada was relatively small, owing, doubtless, to the large number of organizations ready to assist emigration to this Dominion, while much of the migration to the United States came from Ireland.

¹See p. 257, footnote 1.

Steamship companies engaged in traffic between Great Britain, the United States, and the British Colonies, have taken an active part in inducing migration. At one time a transatlantic steamship company had no fewer than 3,400 agents arranging passages and advancing money from the United States to emigrants from this British Isles. The Dominions Royal Commission after reviewing exhaustively the work of these agents, concluded:¹

The whole system requires revision and reconstruction. In particular we are convinced that the arrangements under which passage brokers and passage brokers' agents are appointed and are controlled demand radical reform.

In the early days of migration the captains of boats transported poor emigrants to North America without charge on the condition that, on landing, these captains might dispose of their passengers' labor for a number of years to persons already settled. This practice, amounting almost to slavery, existed in both the United States and Canada until the early part of the nineteenth century.

Early records contain many instances of philanthropic individuals assisting deserving persons to emigrate from the Old Country. Again, during the agricultural depression, certain landlords found it less expensive to assist in the emigration of unemployed local laborers than to pay heavy parish rates.

Later on, a number of entirely disinterested individuals associated themselves with migration schemes. One of the pioneers was Baroness Burdett Coutts, who advanced money to Scottish weavers for migration. In this case the emigrants prospered but their benefactress was not reimbursed. Another prominent name was that of Mr. Tuke. Nearly 10,000 people were sent out to Canada and the United States between 1882 and 1884 under his auspices and with money collected by him. The attitude toward emigration at that time is illustrated by the fact that at a public meeting where a collection was made for the purpose of helping emigrants, the Duke of Bedford contributed £8,000.

Lady Gordon Cathcart was prominent in assisting emigration from the Hebrides. In 1883 a number of families sailed from these islands with a loan of £100 each from Lady Cathcart, while, in association with the Northwest Land Company of Canada, 56 families were similarly settled in the following year. Many of the

¹[Great Britain, Dominions Royal Commission, *Final Report* (1917), p. 88, §44.--Ed.]

settlers became prosperous and raised large crops, but only one is reported to have repaid his benefactress.¹

Sir John Rankine secured a substantial acreage in Manitoba, selected 25 families to work the land, and himself bore the whole expenditure, said to have amounted to £32,000. This enterprise proved a failure, and the assisted emigrants ultimately deserted the land, though it is on record that the work which they had done so improved its value that Sir John was able to sell it without loss.

One of the earliest philanthropic efforts was the Colonization Society started by Wakefield. His scheme, already mentioned, was that labor and capital should be emigrated together. His idea was that the capitalists should emigrate to land obtainable at market price in South Australia, and that selected laborers should follow to develop the land. Unfortunately the scheme failed from the outset. The capitalists left their farms and moved to Adelaide, where many of them speculated in urban land and so caused a substantial boom in land round Adelaide. The result was that when the selected laborers came to the colony, the employers whom they expected to find waiting for them had left. Serious difficulties at one time seemed likely to result, but the trouble was settled through the intervention of the Home Government. Although this scheme failed, a very large number of persons—some hundreds of thousands—emigrated in the 23 years from 1847-1869 on lines similar to those suggested by Wakefield.²

A private enterprise in South Africa is associated with the name of Lady Ossington. Twenty-four families were selected with great care to form a settlement near King William's Town, Cape Colony. Although one of the most carefully devised emigration schemes, it also failed completely. These emigrants were so well provided that they employed Kaffirs to look after their farms, and in this way the project was wrecked.

Another private venture was launched by two Canadian clergymen—Archdeacon Lloyd and the Reverend I. M. Barr. The emigrants in this case were drawn from the middle classes and paid their own expenses. They took up land granted by the Canadian Government, but although provisions were made for control of the

¹[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, page 74, 237.—Ed.]

²[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 234.—Ed.]

workers, yet at the end of two years only a quarter of the number were found on the land provided for them. This failure was explained on the grounds that the settlers were very largely ignorant of agricultural life.

Sir Rider Haggard is still remembered as author of a very detailed emigration scheme that called for the coöperation of the Imperial Government, the Colonial Governments, the Municipal and Poor Law Authorities of Great Britain, and many voluntary organizations. This plan was never put into operation, but the discussions arising out of it led to an appreciable amount of emigration.¹

The emigration of women from Great Britain has long been a subject of special study. The earliest recorded special organization is the London Female Emigration Society formed in 1850, when 18 women were migrated to Toronto and their expenses borne by the Society. This original experiment was entirely successful, and in 1859 the British Ladies' Emigration Society was formed. Two years later the Female Middle Class Society was formed and began the transportation of gentlewomen to employment in the Colonies. Later on, the British Women's Emigration Association was formed and in time became the most important body assisting female emigration. This Association selected suitable women and girls to be sent out to chosen families in the various colonies, and arranged for all protection and assistance needed both during the journey and on arrival. In addition, it kept in touch with the emigrants after arrival. It had, throughout the United Kingdom, an organization of honorary workers who examined thoroughly the circumstances of every woman who wished to emigrate with the assistance of the Association. Suitable persons were trained in order to ensure their efficiency in the new country. Special arrangements were made for their reception at their destination, and no stone was left unturned in the effort to ensure the success of this project. The Association undoubtedly played a most important part in the settlement of the British Colonies during the nineteenth century, and assisted a large number of women from all ranks of society.

¹[For the characteristics of Sir Rider Haggard's scheme and the conclusions reached by the committee appointed in 1906 to consider it, see S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 244 ff.—Ed.]

Many of the women who emigrated were domestic servants, for whom there was a special demand. Women trained in other occupations also frequently emigrated, particularly milliners, dress-makers, teachers and nurses. It would be difficult to over-estimate the part played by those organizations aiming at female emigration. Practically no women would have left on their own initiative in the nineteenth century, and the associations helped to solve the double problem of the surplus of women in the home country on the one hand, and the shortage of women in the Dominions on the other.

The Dominions Royal Commission found that female emigration was a much more subtle problem than it appeared on the surface.¹ It was the general impression that there was a large surplus of women in Great Britain who might emigrate if encouraged by suitable organizations. It was found, however, that few of these surplus women were of the type required by the Dominions, and that the emigration of women could not be regarded as a simple means of adjusting the balance between excess of females in the home country and excess of males in the Dominions.

Attention was given early in the nineteenth century to the emigration of children, particularly children maintained under the Poor Law. In the early years of the industrial period these children were placed by the officials in factories where conditions were almost intolerable, and in course of time Acts of Parliament prohibited workhouse officials from sending the children who were under their care away to factories. These Poor Law officials then found that emigration afforded a way out of their responsibility. Magistrates in the big cities also welcomed any action taken towards the emigration of children as tending to reduce juvenile crime. The Children's Friendly Society was founded in 1830 to promote the emigration of Poor Law children. After some training in England these children were sent out to responsible persons in the colonies and became assimilated by colonial life. The emigration of orphans was specially organized, and large numbers were sent to Australia.

About the middle of the century the attitude towards child emigration changed. Though the colonies were anxious to receive

¹[Great Britain, Dominions Royal Commission, *Final Report* (1917), pp. 94-99.--Ed.]

children, the authorities at home discouraged their emigration. Many cases of proved unsatisfactory treatment of the children in their new homes developed a natural opposition to child emigration. This feeling also passed away, and emigration of children began again about 1870. The Poor Law authorities, who were the guardians of a very large number of children, obtained permission from the Central Government to use money raised from local rates for the purpose of emigrating children, and adopted measures insuring their protection.

At the Dominions Conference in 1911, it was stated that in 21 years, nearly 10,000 children had been sent out to the Dominions at a cost to the Rates of more than £100,000. Canada in particular showed a readiness to receive child emigrants, and a formal list of regulations was drawn up between the Canadian Government and the local Government Board in London (the central authority controlling the various Poor Law authorities).

Private organizations also promoted child emigration. One of these societies, "Dr. Barnardo's Homes," was specially prominent in the transfer of destitute children from Great Britain to the Dominions. In about 40 years (1867-1910) it sent over 22,000 children to Canada alone, and smaller numbers to other Dominions. This Society developed a very successful organization which has received high praise from all who have studied the subject of child emigration.¹ Other similar bodies in the large provincial cities dealt with some thousands of suitable child emigrants.

At the beginning of the present century the emigration of children into Canada was about 2,000 per annum. This figure increased later, and large numbers also went to other Dominions.

The Dominions Royal Commission, after listening to a considerable amount of evidence on State-supported child emigration, reported as follows:²

The history of the migration of State children has been marked, like other phases of migration, by violent fluctuations of public opinion. Sometimes the removal of these children to a new sphere and new surroundings has been thought a panacea at other times it has been regarded

[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 284 ff.—Ed.]

[²Great Britain, Dominions Royal Commission, *Final Report* (1917), p. 104, §508.—Ed.]

simply as a condemnation to slavery. Anyone possessing the slightest acquaintance with the conditions of life in the Dominions would indignantly scout the second of these suggestions, and before concluding this branch of our Report we desire to place on record our own views on the question.

Our belief is that, while all young emigrants have great chances of success, those whose surroundings in early life have not been normal, and whose environment has not been healthy, are likely to benefit to an especial degree by the freer life in the Dominions.

In our judgment the risk involved is inappreciable and the gain exceptional. We would therefore urge generally that the Government Departments and local authorities in the United Kingdom should pay greatly increased attention to the whole question of the possibilities which migration offers to the children under their charge, and equally we would call the attention of the Oversea Governments to the advantages of this potential supply

Conflict of interest is absent to a remarkable degree. The migration of such children is of benefit alike to the senders and the receivers.

CHAPTER X

IRISH EMIGRATION¹

By

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During the latter half of the seventeenth century the population of Ireland was variously estimated at from one to one and a half million people. Malthus estimates that it was about 1,250,000 in 1700 and this is probably as satisfactory a figure as can be obtained. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it had considerably more than trebled and was about $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The first census of Ireland in 1821 revealed that there were 6,802,000 people in the country.² In 1831 the numbers were returned at 7,767,000³ and in 1841 at 8,175,000. The population is believed to have reached its maximum in 1845 when the estimated numbers were 8,295,000.⁴ Thus within a century and a half the inhabitants of the country increased more than 6-fold. In England and Wales the population at the opening of the eighteenth century is estimated at approximately $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions. By 1801 it had increased to 8,892,000 and by 1841 to 15,909,000—a total increase of slightly less than 3-fold as compared with more than 6-fold in Ireland. During the eighteenth century the rate of increase in Ireland was approximately four times as great as in England and Wales. Thus even during a period when the industrial revolution was taking place in Great Britain and changing the country from an agricultural to a predominantly industrial one, Ireland which remained unindustrialized and solely dependent upon agriculture for the livelihood of the vast bulk of her population showed a rate of increase in the number of her inhabitants fully twice as great as in England and Wales.

¹[See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pp. 729-736.—Ed.]

²The Census Commissioners considered that this number was "rather below than above the truth." *Census of Ireland, 1851. Pt. VI, General Report* (Dublin, 1856), p. VI.

³This figure is believed to be an overstatement. In 1831 the census was taken at different places at different times, extending over a considerable period. There was thus room for duplication. Further, the enumerators believed that they would be paid—in fact many were paid—in proportion to the numbers they enumerated. There was thus an incentive to over-statement.—*Loc. cit.*

⁴T. W. Grimshaw, "A Statistical Survey of Ireland 1840-1888."

This rapid increase in the population of Ireland may be briefly explained. (1) The standard of living among the Irish peasantry was miserably low. Their staple diet was potatoes and milk—not infrequently buttermilk—and no improvement in the living conditions of the peasantry occurred during the whole of the period under review. In England the first half of the eighteenth century witnessed an important change in the standard of living whereby wheat became the staple diet of the population. In Ireland, on the other hand, during the latter half of the seventeenth century, potatoes replaced cereals as the principal foodstuff. (2) The passage of Foster's Corn Law in 1785 under which a bounty was given on the exportation of Irish grain, the Napoleonic Wars which shut off England from continental grain, and subsequently the Corn Laws of 1815-46, under which Ireland obtained a preference for her cereals in Great Britain, led to a big increase in tillage and a sub-division of agricultural holdings. The absence of settlement laws, such as existed in England, allowed huts or mud cabins to be erected freely and to become the miserable dwellings of an army of cottiers. (3) The low electoral qualification in Ireland prior to 1829 led landowners to create large numbers of small freeholds on their estates on account of the increase in political power it afforded them, since they controlled the votes of their tenants. (4) The Roman Catholic Church, in the interests of morality, encouraged early marriages. The rarity of meeting an unmarried adult member of the community was commented on by Arthur Young in his account of his tour in Ireland in 1776-79.

Where children were an important source of wealth through their labor on the farms, where sustenance could be obtained from the potato crop supplemented by the milk of cows or of goats, and where no obstacle existed to the minute subdivision of holdings¹ and the creation of numerous miserable huts, there was virtually no check except famine to the natural increase of population. This drastic inhibiting factor was in evidence on several occasions in the eighteenth century—in 1727 and in 1739—while towards the close of that century, and during the first part of the nineteenth, shortage of food was an ever-present menace to a large number of the inhabitants.

Actually the increase in numbers was even greater than the

¹Except between 1826 and 1832 when an Act was in force making sub-division illegal unless carried out with the consent of the landlord. The law, however, was easily evaded.

statistics show, for even prior to 1847 Ireland had a surplus of emigrants. Irish emigration during the eighteenth century was of two-fold character: (a) military, and (b) industrial. Large numbers of Irishmen served as mercenary soldiers in the service of France, Austria or Spain in almost every war which occurred during the earlier part of the century. Later in the century large numbers served in the British Army and Navy. The decline in the Irish woolen industry resulted in the emigration of many weavers and their families to France, Germany and Spain, and to the North American colonies. Further, during the depression in the linen trade which occurred after 1770, there was a steady stream of emigration—chiefly from Ulster—to the various British colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1774 estimated, from the tonnage of passenger ships to "America" between July 25, 1769 and June 25, 1774, that fully 43,720 persons sailed from the Ulster ports of Londonderry, Belfast, Newry, Larne and Portrush during those 5 years to different places in North America.¹ The emigrants were drawn from the best and most vigorous elements of the population. There was some slight compensation in a number of foreign immigrants. About 4,000 Palatines were settled in Limerick and Kerry in 1709, while considerable numbers of French Huguenots contributed richly to the economic prosperity of the country, particularly in the North, where their services to the linen industry were of the highest importance. Some English immigrants also arrived. But numerically immigration into Ireland since the seventeenth century has been insignificant.

In the early nineteenth century emigration to Europe had practically ceased, while the expense of a passage to the United States precluded the poorer classes of the country from finding an outlet across the Atlantic. But England was very near and was passing through a stage of development when there was a great opening for unskilled labor. In the eighteenth century the stringency of the Settlement Laws had hampered the movement from Ireland to the sister land. Bands of migratory laborers, however, appear to have begun to cross to England early in the eighteenth century in search of employment in harvesting. With the breakdown of restrictions on migration into England and Wales, as a result of the demand for labor which sprang up during the industrial revolution, and especially after the famine of 1823 the stream of emigrants across the Irish Channel increased. These emigrants to Great Britain were

¹"Historical Chrouicle", *The Gentleman's Magazine* (London), vol. 44, p. 332 (1774).

drawn from the poorest section of the community. Numbers were employed as unskilled laborers in the factories which had sprung up all over the North and the Midlands of England and in the Clyde and Forth valleys of Scotland. Others found employment as navvies during the boom in railway construction. Many, however, remained unabsorbed into industry and the dominant impression on the minds of contemporaries appears to have been one of hordes of Irish vagrants and beggars who constituted a real problem to the English Poor Law Authorities. The United States and the British Colonies also received increasing streams of emigration drawn from the better class of emigrants, since the poorer members of the community were cut off from the New World by the cost of the passage.

By 1845 the population of Ireland had increased to 8,250,000, while large numbers of emigrants had gone from her shores to supply "the chief part of the animal strength by which the great works of our manufacturing districts [in Great Britain] have been executed."¹ This steady increase in population could not be continued indefinitely especially when sustenance was dependant upon a crop so subject to disease as the potato. Moreover, the rapid progress in industrial development which was taking place in Great Britain and the United States was creating a steady demand for labor. Economic influences were making inevitable in the Old World, a flow of labor from agriculture towards industry. Such influences would have become particularly marked in Ireland with its low standard of living and lack of any property tie between the peasant and the land. During the early years of the century political, religious and sentimental reasons restrained emigration, but their influence could not for long have stemmed the development of a steady drift to the New World. The famine of 1845-47 opened the flood gates and hastened a movement which must sooner or later have taken place.

The Famine

Before the calamity of 1845 the potato crop in Ireland had frequently failed, but never before was failure more widespread or more complete than in that and the following year. In 1845 the early crop escaped while the main crop was destroyed, but in 1846 the whole crop was reduced to a mass of decaying vegetation. These years brought a terrible mortality from starvation, illness and

¹Sir George Cornwall Lewis, quoted by George O'Brien in *Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine* (London, 1921), p. 170.

disease. "The recorded mortality for the last five years of the decennial period 1841-51 was as great as 985,366, or very nearly one million."¹ In those years also there was an enormous flow of emigration. Table 93 shows the estimated numbers of emigrants born in Ireland who left United Kingdom ports during the period June 30, 1841, to December 31, 1855. It includes persons born in Ireland but settled in some part of Great Britain at the time of emigrating.

TABLE 93.

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF IRISH EMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM,
TO VARIOUS DESTINATIONS, 1841-55.^a
(Thousands and Per cent of Totals)

Year	United States		British North America		Australian Colonies		All other places		Annual Totals
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
1841 ^b	12	70.4	2	10.7	3	18.8	....	0.1	16 ^b
1842	49	55.9	39	44.0	1	1.1	....	...	90
1843	23	62.4	14	36.2	0.5	1.4	....	...	38
1844	37	68.6	16	30.4	0.5	1.0	....	...	54
1845	50	66.9	25	23.0	...	....	....	0.1	75
1846	68	64.2	38	35.8	...	....	....	..	106
1847	117	54.3	97	45.2	1	0.5	....	...	215
1848	154	86.2	23	13.8	2	1.0	....	...	178
1849	177	82.4	31	14.3	7	3.3	....	...	214
1850	181	86.4	24	11.7	4	1.9	....	...	209
1851	216	86.3	29	11.8	5	1.9	....	...	250
1852	193	87.4	22	9.8	6	2.8	....	...	220
1853	157	81.5	22	11.6	13	6.6	0.50	0.3	193
1854	111	73.9	23	15.3	16	10.8	....	...	150
1855	57	72.4	6	7.9	16	19.6	....	0.1	79
Total, 30-6-1841 to 31-12-1855	1,601	76.7	412	19.7	75	3.6	0.72	...	2,088

^a*Census of Ireland, 1851. Part VI: General Report* (Dublin, 1856), p. iv.

^bFor the 6 months 30 June—31 December, 1841.

It appears that even prior to 1846 there was considerable Irish emigration to places outside the United Kingdom. This emigration enjoyed some government assistance and encouragement. Prior to 1834 state aid to emigration had been confined to occasional money grants, generally with the object of carrying out a definite scheme of

¹*Census of Ireland, 1851. Pt. VI: Tables of Deaths* (Dublin, 1856), vol. I, p. 246.

colonization. In 1834, however, Emigration Officers were appointed at seven different ports in the United Kingdom, of which four—Dublin, Belfast, Cork and Limerick—were in Ireland, and only three—London, Bristol and Greenock—in Great Britain. In 1838 the Poor Law Relief Act gave Irish Boards of Guardians power, subject to the sanction of a special meeting of ratepayers, to levy an emigration rate. The provision for this special meeting was omitted from an Amending Act of 1843, while the Poor Law Relief Act of 1847 empowered the Poor Law Guardians, in certain cases, to assist landlords who were anxious to provide for the emigration of their destitute tenants by defraying one-third of the cost of emigration, two-thirds being paid by the landlords.

The efforts of the government were naturally directed towards encouraging emigration to the British colonies, especially to Australia which had ceased in 1840 to be a convict settlement. The effect of this policy may be read in the relatively high proportion of Irish emigrants to British North America and Australia prior to the famine. At the time of the famine the government appointed a Committee to consider emigration as a remedial measure for the sufferings of the community. The Committee did not prove helpful, however, and the stream of emigration enjoyed little or no government assistance or supervision.

In 1846 the number of emigrants, almost 106,000, for the first time exceeded the 100,000-mark. In 1847 the previous year's figure was doubled and yet these numbers do not give an adequate idea of the total emigration. It is stated¹ that from January 13 to November 1, 1847, 278,000 persons landed at Liverpool from Ireland. Of this number 123,000 sailed from that port to foreign countries. Some of the others probably sailed to the British colonies, but a number remained to swell the Irish colony in Liverpool. Similar migration, on a lesser scale, took place to and from other British ports. Altogether during the 8 years 1847-54 no less than 1,630,000 persons of Irish nationality left United Kingdom ports with the intention of making their homes beyond the sea.

In 1847 out of 215,000 Irish emigrants who left the United Kingdom 97,000 or 45.2 per cent were bound for Canada. This number represented an increase of practically 60,000 on the previous year, and the proportion of the total number of emigrants who sailed for British North America rose by almost 10 per cent, while

¹Rt. Hon. Sir James O'Connor, *History of Ireland, 1898-1924* (London, 1925), vol. I, p. 228.

there was a corresponding decrease in the proportion who sailed for the United States. This great increase of immigration into Canada led to an increase of the head tax imposed upon immigrants,¹ which somewhat diverted the stream of emigration to the United States. This shift was further stimulated by the discovery of gold in California. In 1851 gold was found also in Australia and a greatly increased flow of Irish emigrants to that country resulted. In 1848 the proportion of Irish emigrants who went to the States rose to 86.2 per cent of the total number who left the United Kingdom, as compared with 54.3 per cent in the previous year. It remained at over 80 per cent of the total in each year up to 1853.

Between 1841 and 1851 the population of Ireland declined from 8,175,000 to 6,552,000, a decrease of 19.9 per cent. The density of population fell from 251 to 202 per square mile. The decrease was greatest in the rural districts where the population declined from 7,040,000 in 1841 to 5,334,000 in 1851, or by 24.2 per cent. Meanwhile the population of the civic areas (towns with more than 2,000 inhabitants) increased from 1,135,000 to 1,219,000, or by 6.8 per cent, due to a drift from the country to the towns in an endeavor to escape the effects of the famine. The decrease in population caused by emigration and famine was accompanied by an increase in the area under crops and pasture from 13,464,300 acres in 1841 to 14,802,581 acres in 1851 or 9 per cent. This increase in the cultivated area and decline in population brought about a considerable reduction in the density of the rural population—from 335 persons per square mile of cultivated land in 1841 to 231 in 1851.

During the eighteenth century the emigrants from Ireland had been drawn from the most vigorous and most industrialized sections of the community. The effect of the depopulation in the years after 1846, however, was to remove from the island the poorest inhabitants or those who had been living on the margin of subsistence. Table 94 (page 268) shows the reduction in the number of the poorest class of houses between 1841 and 1851.

Thus while there was a reduction of 356,000 or nearly three-fourths in the number of single-room mud cabins, the dwelling houses of all three superior classes increased in number. The decline in the number of mud cabins was a reflex of the clearance of large numbers of small holdings, upon which the occupiers had eked out a miserable livelihood, and the consolidation of these holdings into larger farms.

¹Report of the Emigration Commissioners for the United Kingdom for 1851, quoted in *Census of Ireland, 1851*. Pt. VII: *General Report* (Dublin, 1856), p. 151.

TABLE 94.

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF INHABITED HOUSES, BY CLASSES,
1841 AND 1851.

Class of House ^a	Number		Per Cent	
	1841	1851	1841	1851
First.....	40,080	50,164	3.0	4.8
Second.....	264,184	318,758	19.9	30.5
Third.....	533,297	541,712	40.1	51.8
Fourth.....	491,278	135,589	37.0	12.9
Total.....	1,328,839	1,046,223	100.0	100.0

^aThe classification was thus described by the Census Commissioners for 1851: "In the lowest or 4th class, all mud cabins having only one room; in the 3rd a better description of cottage, still built of mud, but varying from two to four rooms and windows; in the 2nd a good farm house or, in towns, a house in a small street, having from five to nine rooms and windows, and in the 1st class all better houses." (*Report on Census of 1851*, p. XXIII).

Table 95 shows the changes in the number of different sized holdings which occurred during the two decades.

The reduction of 382,000 in number of holdings of under 15 acres is not far from the reduction of 356,000 in the number of single-room mud cabins. The general result was to effect a considerable improvement in the economic well-being of the population. The Census Commissioners for 1851 prepared Table 96 showing the progress of the country during the previous decade.

TABLE 95.

NUMBER OF HOLDINGS OF SPECIFIED SIZE.
(In Thousands)

Size of Holding	1841	1851	1861	Change
Under 1 acre.....	134	36	42	-92
One to 5 acres.....	310	88	85	-225
Five to 15 acres.....	253	192	184	-69
Fifteen to 30 acres.....	79	141	141	+62
Over 30 acres.....	49	149	158	+109
Exceeding one acre.....	691	570	568	-23

TABLE 96

ECONOMIC WELL-BEING IN IRELAND COMPARED, 1841 AND 1851.

Census Year	Percentage of:		
	Persons (5 years old and upwards) who could neither read nor write.	Families occupying only 4th class accomodation	Families dependent on their own manual labor.
1841	56	43.5	67.9
1851	50	21.8	49.0

In commenting on this table the Commissioners remark: "The great mass of the emigrants from Ireland is composed of the poorer classes who, being withdrawn from the population, must diminish the proportions of the illiterate, of persons occupying fourth class house accomodation, and of those dependent on their own manual labor for support." Unfortunately this improvement in national prosperity was accompanied by a vast amount of individual suffering. The flight from starvation during 1847 and 1848 was followed by years in which the inability of the peasantry to eke out a livelihood on their small patches of land forced them to abandon their holdings either voluntarily or by eviction for the non-payment of rent. In some cases the efforts of landlords to improve their farms by the consolidation of the smaller holdings also led to the dispossession of the small cottier class.

The wave of emigration caused by the famine drove the number of Irish emigrants from the United Kingdom up to 215,000 in 1847, it receded to 178,000 in 1848, increased to 214,000 in the following year and almost maintained this level in 1850 when 209,000 persons emigrated. The maximum figure of 250,000 was reached in 1851. Thereafter the numbers began to diminish, although the annual flow of Irish emigration remained high for, as their prosperity increased, the colonies of Irish settlers abroad attracted large numbers of fresh emigrants. Speaking of the stream of Irish people who were annually leaving the country the Emigration Commissioners for the United Kingdom in their *Report for 1851* remarked:

The misery which they have for many years endured has destroyed their attachment to their native soil, the numbers who have already

¹*Census of Ireland 1851. Part VI: General Report* (Dublin, 1856), p. XXXVII.

emigrated and prospered, remove the apprehension of going to a strange and untried country, while the want of means is remedied by the liberal contributions of their relatives and friends who have preceded them. The contributions so made either in the form of prepaid passages or of money sent home and which are almost exclusively provided by the Irish, were returned to us as in 1848 upwards of £460,000; 1849 upwards of £540,000; 1850 upwards of £957,000; 1851 upwards of £990,000;¹ and although it is probable that all the money included in these returns is not expended in emigration, yet as we have reason to know that much is sent home of which these returns show no trace, it seems not unfair to assume that of the money expended in Irish emigration in each of the last four years a very large proportion was provided from the other side of the Atlantic.

The amount of Irish emigrants' remittance has continued to be considerable and has constituted an important item in the trade balance of the country. During the years immediately after the famine it appears to have been customary for one or two members of a family to emigrate and to work out the passage money for the rest who were sent for as soon as this passage money was available and the prospect of employment in their new home seemed favorable. Later the remittances also took the form of pensions to aged members of the family who remained at home. Large numbers of passages, however, continued to be paid for in America.

Information was obtained in 1904 about the number of emigrants whose passages were pre-paid. During the seven years ending with 1910, there were 226,000 natives of Ireland who left the country with the intention of settling elsewhere. This number included 163,000 steerage passengers to the United States, of whom 58,000 or 35.4 per cent, had their passages paid for in America.²

Statistics collected by the Irish Registrar General from May 1, 1851, onward show the number of emigrants (natives of Ireland) who left the country in each year. The number from May 1 to December 31, 1851 was 152,000 and the Registrar General estimated that the total for that year was 228,000. The numbers steadily declined until 1856 when they were 91,000. In the following year they increased to 95,000 but dropped to 64,000 in 1858.³

The immediate influence of the famine and of the reorganization

¹In 1852 the amount was £1,404,000, in 1853 it was £1,439,000 and in 1854 it had risen to £1,730,000. After that £1,000,000 was not exceeded in any year during the period up to 1878. The amounts refer not exclusively to Irish remittances, but to all sums sent by successful emigrants in North America to friends at home. The Irish contributions, however, were always the most important item.

²*Census of Ireland, 1911. General Report* (Dublin, 1913), p. LX.

³Natives of other countries who emigrated from Irish ports up to the year 1857 were not separately tabulated and are included in the returns prior to 1858. [See Volume I, p. 730, Table I.—Ed.]

of Irish agriculture which followed it appears to have largely worked itself out by 1855 or 1856. Thereafter emigration from the island continued to decrease but periods when a pronounced upward movement was in evidence interrupted, sometimes for several years, the secular trend. The general causes of the decline in emigration are the improved economic condition of the country, the decrease in the number of the agricultural classes from which the emigrants were principally drawn, and towards the close of the century the effect of the various Land Purchase Acts in binding the farming community to the land. The result of these Acts was virtually to turn Ireland into a land of peasant proprietors, a class notorious for their reluctance to leave home. The fluctuations in the numbers departing annually were considerable, due to the operation of temporary causes such as the condition of the Irish harvest and—to a less extent—conditions in the United States, Great Britain and Canada.

The two periods subsequent to 1854 during which the interruption of the downward movement in emigration was most marked, were the years following 1862 and 1879.

A succession of bad harvests preceded the year 1863. The yield of potatoes, which remained an important item in the diet of Irish peasants, probably exerted a greater influence on the flow of emigration than any other crop. It is, therefore, instructive to review briefly the variation in the yield of this crop during the latter portion of the nineteenth century. During the decade 1851-60 the average yield in Ireland was 4.5 tons per acre. During the early years of this decade, however, a considerable portion of the potato crop on the smaller holdings was cultivated by spade labor and was fertilized by abundant applications of fertilizers, including seaweed, sand, and lime, much of which was carted for long distances. During the first 5 years of this decade the average yields were, successively: 5.1, 4.8, 6.4, 5.1 and 6.4 tons. During the next 4 years, 1856-60 the average yields were 4.0, 3.1, 4.2 and 3.6 tons. These latter figures are more representative of the returns secured from the crop during the last 4 decades of the nineteenth century than are the high yields of the early '50's. The decennial averages from 1861 to 1900 were as follows:

	<i>Tons per acre</i>
1861-1870	3.2
1871-1880	3.0
1881-1890	3.5
1891-1900	3.7

In 1860, 1861 and 1862, however, the yields of potatoes were only 2.3, 1.6, and 2.1 tons, respectively. The yields of wheat, oats and barley in 1861, also were all lower than in any other year since 1847, the first year for which agricultural statistics of Ireland were collected. Further, in the case of turnips, mangels and cabbage extremely poor yields were obtained during the years following 1858. During the earlier of these years the American Civil War tended to check emigration, but in 1863 the numbers who left Ireland increased greatly, so that in this and the two succeeding years the number of emigrants exceeded 100,000 annually. In only one subsequent year, 1883, did the number of emigrants again reach this level.

After 1863 the number of emigrants slowly declined but even in 1867, four years later, the number was over 80,000. In 1868 it declined to 61,000; but increased again in 1869 and in each of the years 1870, 1871, and 1872, exceeded the 70,000-level. With the exception of 1866 and 1867 when the potato crop averaged 2.9 tons and 3.1 tons respectively—both slightly below the decennial average of 3.2 tons—the harvests between 1863 and 1870 were all good. Even in the poorest two years—1866 and 1867—the harvest was far from being a failure and had little apparent influence on the number of emigrants. In 1871, however, the yield of potatoes fell to 2.6 tons per acre and in 1872 to 1.8 tons—the poorest crop since 1861. In 1872 the yields of wheat, oats, barley, turnips and mangels were all appreciably below the 10-years average for 1871-80, while in 1871 the yield of flax was the poorest on record. The effect of these bad harvests was to increase emigration in 1873 to 90,000, the highest figure since 1866. The years following 1873, however, witnessed a rapid reduction in the number of emigrants until in 1876 only 38,000 persons left the country—the smallest number before 1894. Thereafter there was a slight annual increase and in 1879 the number was 47,000. The yield of potatoes in the three years 1874 to 1876 was extremely good. In the latter year it was 4.7 tons per acre, the highest yield obtained since 1855. A series of years then occurred during which rather poor crops were obtained. In 1877 the yield was only 2 tons. In 1878 it was 3 tons and equal to the decennial average for 1871-80. In 1879, however, this crop was only 1.3 tons—the poorest return ever obtained from the potato crop in Ireland during the whole period for which agricultural statistics have been collected. The year 1879 was a disastrous one, the harvest of the other crops also being poor. The effect upon emigration was immediate and marked, the numbers who left the

country in 1880 increased to 96,000, or slightly more than double the number in the previous year.

The year 1879 is remembered in British agriculture as the "Black Year." Disastrous in itself, it heralded the coming of a prolonged period of falling prices, intensified trans-oceanic competition, and depression in practically all branches of agriculture. In Great Britain the drift from the land to the town became more pronounced; in Ireland the stream of emigration swelled to volumes unknown since the early '60's. In 1881 and 1882 the numbers of persons who left the country, although lower than in 1880, yet remained very high. In 1882 a rather poor harvest occurred, especially in the case of the potato crop which gave only 2.4 tons per acre—over a ton less than the average of 3.5 tons for the ten years 1881-90. The following year the number of emigrants jumped to 109,000—a figure only exceeded during the years 1851-54, 1863 and 1864. In 1884 the number fell to 76,000 but the flow of emigration remained high, fluctuating between 61,000 and 83,000 during the next 6 years, and did not fall below 60,000 until 1891. It was not until the last decade of the century that emigration from Ireland declined to the level it had reached between 1875 and 1879. In 1894 the emigrants numbered only 36,000, less than any previously returned, but following the poor yield of potatoes in that year—2.6 tons per acre—their number rose to 49,000 in 1895. On the other hand the bad harvest of 1897—2.2 tons per acre—had little immediate effect and the number who left the country in 1898 was the smallest since 1851. The two following years, however, showed increases.

During the first decade of the twentieth century emigration from Ireland was on a smaller scale than at any recorded period during the nineteenth century. The only year in which the number of emigrants exceeded 40,000 was 1902. The outbreak of the War in 1914 restricted emigration, especially during 1917-19. With the restoration of peace came a gradual increase in the number of emigrants; but no such rush as occurred in many European states. In 1920 the numbers from all Ireland rose to 16,000 as compared with 3,000 in the previous year. In 1921 the numbers were 14,000. The statistics compiled by the Irish Registrar-General were not continued beyond that date, and 1924 is the first complete year for which returns are available for the Irish Free State.¹ They show that 19,000 persons emigrated to places out of Europe and not

¹[Volume I, p. 734, Table IV.—Ed.]

within the Mediterranean Sea. In 1925 the numbers were 30,180 and were 30,041 in 1926. Including emigrants from North Ireland, the total emigration from Ireland to non-European countries was 27,000 in 1924, rose to 39,000 in 1925 and attained 43,000 in 1926. This last figure is the highest recorded since 1900 when the number of emigrants was over 45,000 including 6,000 to Great Britain. The figures for the years 1924-26 do not cover emigrants to Great Britain who were included in the tables showing Irish emigration from 1851 to 1921. The increase in emigration which has occurred since the war is thus all the more marked. There can be little doubt that its cause is to be found in the industrial and more especially the agricultural depression which has been experienced during the last few years.

The prolonged stream of emigration from Ireland during the past 80 years has resulted in a progressive decline in the population of the country, as shown by each census since 1841, and presented in Table 97.

TABLE 97.
AMOUNT AND RATE OF CHANGE IN THE POPULATION OF IRELAND,
1821-1926.
(In Thousands and Per Cents)

Census Year	Total Population	Actual Change	Per Cent of Change
1821	6,802	.....	.....
1831	7,767	+966	+14.2
1841	8,175	+408	+5.3
1845 ^a	8,295 ^a	+120 ^a	+1.5 ^a
1851	6,552	-1,623	-19.9
1861	5,799	-753	-11.5
1871	5,413	-387	-6.7
1881	5,175	-238	-4.4
1891	4,705	-470	-9.1
1901	4,459	-246	-5.2
1911	4,390	-69	-1.5
1921	no census was taken in this year		
1926	4,229	-161	-3.7

^aEstimate, see p. 261.

The foregoing account of emigration from Ireland would be incomplete without a reference to the numbers of migratory laborers who left the country for a few months in each year as harvesters

in Great Britain. This emigration of agricultural laborers, chiefly from certain districts of Connaught and Ulster, appears to have been in operation since early in the eighteenth century. The first occasion upon which statistical enquiry was made regarding the numbers involved was in 1841, when it was estimated by the Census Commissioners that approximately 40,000 migratory laborers went to England and Scotland. No particulars are available regarding the intervening period up to 1880 when an annual enumeration was instituted. The number of harvest laborers in that year was approximately 35,000. Between 1880 and 1888 the numbers fell probably as a consequence of the agricultural depression in Great Britain during these years. From 1888 until the end of the century there was an increase, and the number in 1901 was estimated at about 30,000. Since the beginning of the present century there has been a rapid decline in the numbers. During the years immediately prior to the war they had fallen to less than 10,000. No particulars are available regarding the post-war years, but the numbers are now insignificant.

During the seventy years under review there have been several marked changes in the number of emigrants of the two sexes.¹ Immediately after the Famine, and down to 1855 the numbers of males and of females were nearly equal. The following figures (Table 98) for these years reproduce, to the nearest thousand, those in the census of 1871.²

TABLE 98.
EMIGRANTS FROM IRELAND, BY SEX, 1851-1855.
(In Thousands)

Years	Males	Females	Totals
1851	114	114	228
1852	95	95	190
1853	85	88	173
1854	72	69	141
1855	45	47	92

The effect of the famine had been to uproot whole families from their homes and to send them forth to seek a new abode in Great

¹[See Volume I, page 730, Table I.—Ed.]

²*Census of Ireland, 1871. Pt. III: General Report (Dublin, 1876), p. 193.*

Britain or beyond the sea. The exodus had more in common with the flight of refugees from the war smitten and war devastated countries of southeastern Europe and Asia Minor after the recent war than with normal emigration. Women and men shared in this flight from starvation, but the special disadvantages of their sex left large numbers of women still dependent upon the Poor Law Guardians for support. In the early '50's many districts of Ireland found themselves burdened with large numbers of female paupers and under the powers given by the Poor Law Relief Act of 1847 arrangements were made to send several parties of women out to Canada. The results of this system of assisted emigration appear to have been extremely satisfactory, and it was continued for a number of years.¹

Subsequent to 1855 the character of Irish emigration changed. For some years after 1847 the area of land plowed was maintained undiminished, indeed for a few years there was an upward movement. From the late '50's and early '60's onward, however, there was a progressive decline in the area under tillage. Consolidation of agricultural holdings (see Table 95 on p. 268) had practically ceased. The number of holdings exceeding 30 acres in area increased from under 49,000 in 1841 to over 157,000 in 1861, but thereafter remained fairly steady. Emigration of families due to the absorption of the smaller holdings thus declined. But the prosperity of the Irish emigrants in the New World, the tendency towards agricultural decline in the island itself, and the obstacles in the way of subdivision of farms when land owners were endeavoring to improve the value of their estates by the elimination of small uneconomic holdings² led the youth of the country to look across the Atlantic as the principal outlet for ambition and enterprise. In a new country the demand for male laborers was considerably greater than for females, and the excess of males over females in the emigration figures during the decade following 1865 is specially marked. Thereafter the discrepancy in numbers becomes gradually less pronounced, and in 1885 the number of female emigrants exceeded the number of males for the first time since 1855.

Despite the preponderance of male emigration during the previous 30 years it is probable that the number of females who were assisted to emigrate was greater than the number of males. Reference has already been made to the assistance given by the Poor

¹S. C. Johnson, *History of Emigration from the United Kingdom* (1913), p. 256 f.

²The Land Purchase Acts forbid subdivision for two generations.

Law Guardians and it is stated¹ that during the '70's one individual benefactor gave assistance towards the emigration of no fewer than 15,000 women from the poorer districts in Ireland.

After 1892 there followed a period during which the preponderance of female emigrants was as marked as had been the excess of males during the previous years. Later during 1905-15 there was again—except in 1908—an annual excess of male emigrants. Between 1916 and 1921 there was an excess of females.²

The majority of Irish female emigrants, other than married women accompanying or going out to join their husbands, have been attracted by the demand for domestic servants in the country in which they intend to settle—generally the United States. The greater number of emigrants of this class have been young and the Census Commissioners for 1871,³ writing of a time when the proportion of males was particularly high, pointed out that during the previous decade during which 470,000 males and 380,000 females had left the country the female emigrants between 15 and 20 years of age exceeded the males. The totals between these ages were 39,000 males and 50,000 females, and the preponderance of the latter is ascribed to the large number of young girls who emigrated to enter domestic or farm service in the United States or in the British colonies.

The preponderance of emigrants between the ages of 15 and 24 has been a noteworthy feature of the emigration statistics of Ireland since 1856, the year in which an age classification of emigrants was introduced.⁴ Indeed the relative number in this age group has tended to increase. Prior to 1880 the emigrants in this category had never exceeded 50 per cent of the total. From 1880 to 1916, however, more than half of the emigrants from Ireland annually were between these ages. Between 1887 and 1893 the proportion rose to over 60 per cent of the total, but declined somewhat between 1894 and 1903. In 1904 they again numbered more than 60 per cent of the total and maintained this level in each year except 1908 up to and including 1914.

After the Famine the vast majority of Irish emigrants made their way to the United States. Between June 30, 1841 and December 31, 1855, there were 2,089,000 of Irish birth who left the United Kingdom. Of this number 1,601,000, or 76.7 per cent, went to

¹S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.* p. 257.

²[See Volume I, p. 730.—Ed.]

³*Census of Ireland, 1871, Pt. III: General Report* (Dublin, 1876), p. 192.

⁴[See Volume I, p. 732 f., Table III.—Ed.]

the North American republic, the annual ratio from 1848 to 1853 being above 80 per cent and reaching its maximum of 87.4 per cent in 1852. In 1876 when the Irish Registrar-General's returns began to show the destination of emigrants the stream of emigration from Ireland had fallen below the lowest figure previously recorded.⁴ During the next three years, 1876-79, it remained low, the annual number of emigrants to the United States was less than half the total emigration including emigration to Great Britain. In 1880 the number of emigrants increased sharply to more than double the figure for the previous year while the number destined for the North American republic trebled. Thereafter, in each year from 1880 to 1916 more than half the emigrants from Ireland sailed for the United States.

In each of the years 1880 to 1914 the proportion of emigrants destined for the States was more than two-thirds of the total. In 1880, 1881, 1885-1907, 1909, 1910 and 1914 the proportion exceeded three-fourths of the total; in 1885-1904 it was more than 80 per cent of the total, while during the decade 1890-1900 and also in 1902 and 1903 it exceeded five-sixths of all the emigrants leaving the country. The highest proportion of emigrants to the States occurred during the period 1892-96. During each of these years the percentage of emigrants to the States exceeded 90 per cent of the total, and the peak year was 1893 when the percentage was 93.9. Emigration to the United States declined after August 1914 and was negligible in 1917-18. Since the war, large numbers of Irish emigrants have turned again to the Republic, whither 83.7 per cent of all emigrants were destined in 1921. In 1926, however, the proportion of emigrants to the United States had fallen to 67.5 per cent.

With the exception of 1885 the year 1893 was the first in which the number of female emigrants from Ireland exceeded the males. This condition continued until 1905 when a preponderance of males again appeared. Between 1887 and 1893, also, the number of emigrants between 15 and 24 years of age annually exceeded 60 per cent of the total. Speaking generally, a large emigration to the United States appears to correspond with large proportions of young people and females among the emigrants. The two features are not unconnected since unmarried Irish females who emigrate leave the country at an early age, and the States have attracted young unattached emigrants to a greater extent than older people with families. It has indeed been a subject of frequent comment

⁴[Volume I, page 731.—Ed.]

that Irish emigrants to the United States, although drawn predominantly from the land, have congregated in the cities. Emigrants leaving Ireland to try their fortune as farmers or agricultural laborers in a new country have preferred one of the British colonies, and in recent years especially Canada. That Dominion has also been the principal field for family settlement.

In 1876 the country attracting the largest number of Irish emigrants was Great Britain which received 17,000. In the following year the number rose to 20,000 as compared with a total of only 18,000 to all other countries. The large Irish colonies in Liverpool, the Clyde Valley, and other towns and districts of Great Britain date from about the middle of the 19th century. In their report on the census of 1871 the Scottish Census Commissioners commented unfavorably on the large Irish element in the population. They remarked¹ that in 1820, "an invasion or immigration of the Irish race began which slowly increased until it obtained enormous dimensions after 1840, when the railways began to be constructed over the country. . . . Already in many of our towns do the persons born in Ireland constitute from 5 to 15 per cent of the population and if we include their children born in this country from 10 to 30 per cent of the population of these towns consists of the Irish Celtic race." The County of Scotland in which the proportion of Irish-born persons was highest in 1871 was Lanark with 13.7 per cent, followed by Renfrew with 12.9 per cent. The total number of Irish-born persons residing in Scotland was 208,000 or 6.2 per cent of the total population, an increase of 4,000 since 1861. In England and Wales the number of inhabitants of Irish birth was 567,000 in 1871 or 2.5 per cent of the population—a decrease of 35,000 during the preceding years. The county with the largest number of Irish settlers was Lancashire where the Irish-born constituted 7.1 per cent of the population. From 1877 until about the middle of the last decade of the nineteenth century the number of Irish emigrants to Great Britain steadily and rapidly declined. In 1893 the number was only 1,352. Thereafter there was a slow upward movement to over 6,000 in 1901. The number fell to about 5,000 in the following year and then fluctuated around 3,500 until 1908. A further downward movement then set in and by 1914 the numbers were only 1,047. A slight increase occurred during the war years but in 1921 the number fell as low as 387. The industrial depression in Great Britain during the past few years has checked Irish emigration to the sister island.

¹Quoted in *Census of Ireland, 1871*, Pt. III: *General Report*, p. 9.

After Great Britain and the United States, Canada has been the country which has attracted the greatest number of Irish emigrants. Large numbers of Irish settlers landed in British North America at the time of the Famine. Thereafter, however, there appears to have been a great reduction in the number of emigrants to Canada and the returns for 1876 show less than a thousand emigrants to that country. With the expansion in emigration which took place from 1879 onwards, the number of emigrants to Canada increased. The highest figure, 11 070, was reached in 1883 but thereafter there was a steady decline and between 1892 and 1902 the number of emigrants sailing to the Dominion annually was less than a thousand. After 1903 Canada again attracted large numbers of Irish emigrants. In 1913 the number was 7,000 while in 1926 it was over 8,000. Arrangements have now been made by the Canadian Government whereby emigrants proposing to engage in farm work can obtain passages for the small sum of £2.

In 1876 the number of Irish emigrants to Australia greatly outnumbered those to Canada. The maximum figure of 6,009 was reached in 1883, the same year in which emigration to Canada reached its zenith. Thereafter the movement has been dwindling, and in only one year since 1892 has the number of Irish sailing to Australia exceeded 1,000.

Emigration to New Zealand has, on the whole, followed a similar trend, in fact the decline in emigration appears to have set in a few years earlier. The greatest number recorded was 3,166 in 1879. There have been many years since 1888 in which the number was less than 100; in no year since 1887 has it exceeded 300.

Emigration to South Africa recorded since 1901, has been small, the highest figure being 678 in 1903.

Irish emigration evidently has gone predominantly to North America, to Great Britain, and to Australasia. Since the last decade of the nineteenth century the movement to Great Britain and Australasia also has fallen to a relatively insignificant position. At no time has emigration to other countries been important.

The Irish statistics regarding emigration do not take into account the previous occupation of the emigrants in Ireland. There is little question, however, that the majority of those who left the country were agricultural laborers or small farmers. The decline in the urban population of Ireland during the past 85 years has been much less than that of the rural districts. An interesting table in the Irish Free State preliminary report on the census of 1926 shows

that "since 1841 the 'country districts' lost 64.4 per cent of their population, towns of 200 to 500 lost 49.1 per cent, towns of 500 to 2,000 lost 43.0 per cent, towns of 2,000 to 5,000 lost 33.3 per cent, towns of 5,000 to 10,000 lost 25 per cent, towns over 10,000 (other than Dublin and its four adjoining urban districts) lost 13 per cent, while Dublin and its four adjoining urban districts gained 47 per cent."¹ In this comparison the greater depopulation of the country districts and the smaller towns and villages is clearly brought out.

The number of agricultural laborers in Ireland has declined greatly. Table 99, taken from the report relating to Irish agricultural laborers for 1913,² shows the total number of agricultural and general laborers (excluding those living in Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Londonderry and Waterford) in Ireland in each of the census years from 1871 to 1911. The census authorities state that a large proportion of the persons returned as general laborers may be assumed to be engaged in agriculture.³

TABLE 99.

NUMBER OF AGRICULTURAL AND GENERAL LABORERS, CLASSIFIED BY SEX, FOR CENSUS YEARS, 1871-1911.

(In Thousands)

Census Year	Agricultural Laborers			General Laborers		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1871	447	63	509	195	20	215
1881	300	36	336	105	9	114
1891	258	22	280	83	5	87
1901	218	14	232	77	2	79
1911	196	4	200	10	1	102

Prior to the war complaints were frequent that there was a real shortage of qualified agricultural laborers.

The Irish Free State emigration returns for 1924 show that out of a total of 10,000 male emigrants over 18 years of age, no fewer than 8,000 were drawn from agriculture. Of the remainder 669 were drawn from skilled trades, 515 from "commercial, finance, insur-

¹Census of Irish Free State, 1926: Preliminary Report (Dublin, 1913), p. 3.

²Agricultural Statistics, Ireland 1913. Report and Tables relating to Irish agricultural Labourers (Dublin, 1913).

³See Census of Ireland, 1911: General Report (Dublin, 1913), p. XXVII.

ance" and 278 from "professional and independent" classes. In the case of females, out of a total of 7,000 over 18 years of age, no fewer than 6,000 were domestic servants many of whom probably came from country homes and 967 "wives or housewives not otherwise described."¹

Immigration.

Prior to 1923 no particulars were collected regarding Ireland's immigration. The number of immigrants, however, has not been large at any time within the past two centuries. The proportion of British-born at successive censuses is shown in Table 100.

TABLE 100.

PER CENT OF BRITISH-BORN IN POPULATION OF IRELAND, 1841-1911.

Census Year	British-born Per Cent	Census Year	British-born Per Cent
1841	0.38	1881	1.77
1851	0.71	1891	2.16
1861	1.16	1901	2.41
1871	1.63	1911	2.93

In 1841 only 0.05 per cent of the population were born outside the United Kingdom. There was a slow increase in this percentage at each decennial census, but in 1911 it had risen to only 0.64, giving a total of 3.57 per cent of the population in that year born outside Ireland, a small proportion but eight times as large as it was seventy years before.

In 1924 there were 2,500 immigrants of Irish nationality admitted into the Irish Free State, of these 1,460 were from the United States, 333 from British North America, 203 from Australia, and 503 from "other countries." Out of a total of 891 aliens who arrived in the Irish Free State in the last nine months of that year 880 were from the United States.² The high proportion of immigrants from the United States reflects the important place which that country has occupied in the history of Irish emigration. In the development of American industry Irishmen have played an active part and although those who have subsequently returned from the States to the land of their origin have been relatively few yet they have constituted the bulk of Irish immigrants from abroad.

¹[Volume I, p. 734, Table V.—Ed.]

²[Volume I, p. 735, Tables VII and VIII.—Ed.]

CHAPTER XI.

MIGRATION STATISTICS OF DENMARK, NORWAY AND SWEDEN.¹

By

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Laws restricting emigration such as were common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in most European countries were found also in Scandinavia. But during the first half of the nineteenth century under the influence of economic liberalism practically all these restrictive laws were repealed.

After the principle of freedom to emigrate had won recognition legislation aiming to protect the emigrant during the voyage and modelled on English laws began to take shape. Scandinavian legislation like the English provided for emigration commissioners whose legal relations with the emigrant were defined by written transportation contracts. These statements are true of the laws passed in Norway in 1863, in Sweden in 1864, and in Denmark in 1868, the main provisions of which are binding to this day.²

Emigration legislation in the three Scandinavian countries thus has the character of police regulation of emigration. But the governments of these countries do not intervene actively to guide the stream of emigration into certain channels. The emigration legislation of Scandinavia has no tendency towards any policy regarding population.

The principle of freedom to emigrate, which was completely realized in the '70's by the repeal of the passport restrictions, has been abandoned to some extent as a consequence of the World War. Not only have passport restrictions been reintroduced but stricter rules are being enforced with regard to granting foreigners permission to stay.

Sources of the Immigration and Emigration Statistics

Denmark. There is no direct information on immigration to Denmark from foreign countries, and available foreign figures on the emigration of Danes or others from non-European countries to

¹[See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pp. 131, 199 ff, 666-71, 747-62.—Ed.]

²[See Volume I, pages 666, 747, and 755.—Ed.]

Denmark are so incomplete that very little value attaches to them.¹ There is a similar lack of direct information as to the total emigration, but annual statistics beginning in 1869 throw a fairly good light upon Danish emigration overseas since that year. Prior to 1869 the American immigration statistics make possible a more or less reliable estimate of the overseas emigration from Denmark, as we know that in those days the great majority of emigrants went to the United States. The statistics of the overseas emigration for 1869 and later are based upon the transportation contracts drawn up between the emigrants and the authorized emigration agents. Duplicate contracts sent to the police superintendents are passed on to the Department of Statistics where the emigration statistics are compiled.

Norway. About immigration to Norway from foreign countries prior to 1901, the only information is that deduced by calculation from the census returns regarding birthplace. The Act of May 4, 1901 required all aliens taking up permanent residence in Norway to register; this law did not apply to Norwegians who had emigrated and returned without having acquired foreign citizenship. The Act of June 24, 1915 extended this requirement to all immigrants, so that from 1916 on Norway has a fairly satisfactory immigration record.²

About emigration, Norway has practically no other information than that regarding emigrants who have gone overseas.³ For 1821-66 the information came from more or less incidental sources, such as reports by the Norwegian consulates in American ports. From 1867, however, the transportation of emigrants was controlled; a written contract with each emigrant was required as in Denmark and the recorded contracts form the basis of the annual emigration statistics.

Sweden. From early times Sweden has had a peculiar and—for the earlier years at any rate—a valuable source of information concerning the movement of the population in the register kept by the minister of each congregation.⁴ This source, however, was used as a basis for emigration statistics only for the years 1861 and following. On the other hand, statistics of emigration were drawn up even in the period 1851-60 from the information contained in

¹[See Volume I, pp. 472 f, 545, 666 ff.—Ed.]

²[*Ibidem*, p. 753f.—Ed.]

³[*Ibidem*, pp. 747-52.—Ed.]

⁴[*Ibidem*, pp. 755-59.—Ed.]

the passport records. When passport restrictions were removed in 1860 these statistics ceased and were replaced by annual reports based upon the ecclesiastical registers. At first these reports concerned themselves with emigration only; but from 1875 immigration was included.¹ In distinction from the Danish and Norwegian statistics those of Sweden cover the whole movement of population across her frontiers. After 1882 there is another source for Swedish emigration statistics, viz., official reports regarding emigrants from Swedish seaports to lands outside Europe. These reports which are drawn up from the transportation contracts, are amplified by Danish and Norwegian statistics about Swedish emigrants sailing from Danish and Norwegian ports.

Completeness and Accuracy of the Information

It is evident that the immigration and emigration statistics of the three Scandinavian countries cannot claim to be very accurate. This is particularly true of the meager information about immigration. For all three countries emigration overseas comprises by far the greater part of the total emigration and the statistics of this are the most accurate and complete.

Norwegian statistics. The Norwegian emigration statistics for the period prior to 1867 were incomplete since they practically included only emigrants who embarked with America as their destination; but it is probable that in those days emigration to other overseas countries was comparatively small.

The Danish and Norwegian emigration statistics, based after 1869 and 1867, respectively, upon the transportation contracts were particularly accurate formerly but this is perhaps less true nowadays. The great majority of those who travelled to overseas countries used to be *bona fide* emigrants, whereas today, when communication with foreign parts of the world is much quicker and easier, an increasing number are persons who cross the seas for other purposes than to settle abroad. Theoretically Danish and Norwegian statistics enumerate only those residents who go away with the intention of remaining in foreign countries, but a strict holding to this definition is often difficult. The figures in consequence are a little too large; but this is offset by the fact that those who emigrate overseas via another European country and do not make an emigration contract, are not included in the statistics.

¹[See Volume I, p. 760 ff.—Ed.]

One more source of error, of particular importance to a seafaring nation like the Norwegian, arises from the desertion of seamen in foreign ports. Very incomplete information is available concerning this factor.

Swedish statistics. Swedish emigration statistics are eminently accurate in such particulars as sex, age, and occupation, but their completeness leaves much to be desired. In the latter respect, however, the various periods differ greatly. Investigations have shown a probability that the emigration figures for the '50's ought to be increased by at least two-thirds and for the last years of that decade by even more. For the '60's the official figures should be increased by about 20 per cent; but later the errors diminish steadily, so that for 1880-84 an addition of only about 10 per cent is needed. The subsequent statistics are regarded as practically complete, although many liable to military service emigrated without permission and thereby often evaded enumeration.

Foreign statistics as checks. The indirect statistics or those published by other countries about immigrants from Norway, furnish no check of value upon the errors just pointed out. One reason for this lies in the varying definition of "immigrant" and "emigrant."

As most of the emigration from Scandinavia hitherto has proceeded towards the United States the immigration statistics of that country might be used to check the emigration figures from Scandinavia. In earlier years, however, the American statistics did not classify immigrants carefully according to the country of birth and in the course of time the American definition of "immigrant" has changed. The American figures for immigrants from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden usually are higher than the corresponding Scandinavian figure for emigrants to the United States. For the period 1881-1925 the mean difference is 11 per cent for all three countries together; it is greatest for Sweden (17 per cent) and only 8 per cent and 3 per cent, respectively, for Denmark and Norway. The following discussion is based on direct statistics only.

The Balance of Population

If Ireland is left out of consideration, there is hardly any country in Europe where the migration of the population in and out across the frontiers through a long period of time, has been so large relative to population as in the two countries on the Scandinavian

peninsula. Denmark also has experienced at times important migrations, but nothing like so great as those of Norway and Sweden.

Even if at times there has been an immigration into the two northern countries by no means insignificant, yet on the whole the movement has been outward and therefore the net result has been a loss of population. The actual and relative magnitude of this loss can be seen in the following summarized review of the development of the populations during the 125 years between 1801 and 1925.

In 1801, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden had a total population of 4,153,000. In the course of the 125 years there were 26,793,000 living births and 16,812,000 deaths, so that there was a birth surplus of 9,981,000. Changes in the boundaries of Denmark brought an increase of 172,000 people. How many have emigrated and immigrated can not be ascertained but, as the population of the three countries in 1925 was 12,260,000 there was a net loss by migration of 2,046,000 persons.

A corresponding balance has been drawn up in Table 101 for each of the three countries.

TABLE 101.
BALANCE OF POPULATION, 1801-1925.
(In Thousands)

	Denmark	Norway	Sweden
Population in the year 1801,	926	880	2,347
1801-1925:			
Births,	6,583	6,003	14,207
Deaths,	4,017	3,480	9,315
Increase by excess of births,	2,566	2,523	4,892
Increase by enlargement of territory,	172		
Decrease by migration,	3,664 229	3,403 632	7,239 1,185
Population in the year 1925	3,435	2,771	6,054

For Denmark the loss of population by migration amounted to almost one-tenth of the birth surplus, but for Norway and Sweden the loss was about one-fourth.

A more correct impression of what has taken place is secured by dividing the 125 years into three periods: 1801-60, 1861-1910, and 1911-25. Taking all three lands together we then get the following figures (to the nearest thousand):

	1801-60	1861-1910	1911-25
Excess of births over deaths,	3,002	5,380	1,599
Excess of emigration over immigration,	89	1,784	173

In the first period migration carried away only 3 per cent of the birth surplus, in the last period 11 per cent, but in the intermediate period 33 per cent.

EMIGRATION

In turning to a consideration of emigration, it must be remembered that while the Swedish statistics give fairly correct information regarding emigration both to European and to overseas lands, for Denmark and Norway useful data exist only about overseas emigration. For Norway the records extend back to 1821, but not until the beginning of the '40's did emigration assume importance. For Sweden, the emigration statistics begin with 1851, and for Denmark not until 1869. Table 102 gives a summary by 5-year periods. The figures for Denmark up to 1868 and for Sweden up to 1850 have been calculated by the help of the American immigration statistics. Further, the official figures for Sweden up to 1885 are corrected in conformity with what has been stated.¹ (The official or published figures for 1851-55 have been increased by 67 per cent, for 1856-60 by 100 per cent, for 1861-70 by 20 per cent, and for the three following quinquennia by 15, 12, and 10 per cent respectively.)

Consider first emigration to overseas countries.

The first three columns in Table 102 show that overseas emigration from Scandinavia has fluctuated greatly. In the first half of the '40's the number of emigrants was only about 10,000 from all three countries together, *i. e.* about 2,000 a year. In the next four quinquennia the annual average was between 5,000 and 10,000. Then in the last half of the '60's there was a sudden increase to almost 40,000 per annum. After some falling off in the next two quinquennia there was a new and more rapid increase in the '80's to more than 60,000 a year. In the last 5-year period of the nine-

¹See page 286.

TABLE 102.

SCANDINAVIAN EMIGRANTS FOR QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS, 1841-1925.
(In Thousands)

Years	To non-European countries from			To European countries from Sweden
	Denmark	Norway	Sweden	
1841-45	..	5	6	..
1846-50	..	12	12	..
1851-55	2	20	19	3
1856-60	3	16	7	1
1861-65	7	24	15	9
1866-70	16	74	97	26
1871-75	23	45	46	26
1876-80	15	40	68	28
1881-85	39	106	163	30
1886-90	43	81	180	22
1891-95	38	61	142	19
1896-1900	14	34	63	23
1901-05	37	103	130	18
1906-10	37	88	94	17
1911-15	35	45	63	15
1916-20	16	17	23	17
1921-25	28	45	59	13

teenth century the figure fell to just over 20,000, but rose again to 50,000-60,000 in 1901-05. After that there was a falling off and in 1916-20, influenced by the war, overseas emigration amounted to but slightly more than 10,000 a year. Finally, the figures for 1921-25 show some increase.

In considering these figures of the actual number of emigrants it must be remembered that between 1841 and 1925 the population of the three countries more than doubled. A more rational view of the changing volume of emigration is secured by expressing the annual number of emigrants to overseas countries for each 5-year period in relation to the population. This has been done in Table 103 where the last column, for purposes of comparison, shows the corresponding ratio for emigration from the whole of Europe.

The last two columns of Table 103 show that in the '40's and '50's overseas emigration from Scandinavia was less than that from Europe as a whole. But from about 1860 to the present day, the

TABLE 103.

AVERAGE ANNUAL EMIGRATION TO NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION, 1841-1925.

Years	Denmark	Norway	Sweden	Denmark, Norway and Sweden	Europe
1841-45	..	78	37	40	57
1846-50	..	176	71	80	134
1851-55	17	281	105	127	175
1856-60	32	204	40	76	86
1861-65	63	286	76	126	93
1866-70	150	864	464	489	144
1871-75	255	510	227	289	129
1876-80	157	432	301	296	94
1881-85	380	1,105	705	720	196
1886-90	401	819	759	686	213
1891-95	338	597	587	530	185
1896-1900	117	312	249	232	147
1901-05	292	903	496	539	271
1906-10	275	746	347	420	322
1911-15	249	364	225	262	...
1916-20	106	132	78	98	...
1921-25	167	336	204	219	(135)

northern countries have supplied larger proportions of their population to overseas emigration than Europe as a whole, and at times this difference has been marked. If the annual number of emigrants to overseas countries per 100,000 inhabitants be called "the emigration rate," that rate up to 1860 was lower for Scandinavia than for Europe, but during 1861-65 and 1906-10 it exceeded that of Europe by up to 50 per cent during 1896-1900, 1901-05, and 1921-25; by 50-100 per cent, during 1871-75 by 100-150 per cent; in 1891-95 by 150-200 per cent; in 1866-70, 1876-80 and 1886-90, by 200-250 per cent and during 1881-85 by more than 250 per cent.

When we consider the three northern countries separately, we observe at once that the emigration rate has always been least in Denmark and greatest in Norway, while Sweden occupies an intermediate position. In Denmark the highest rate was in 1886-90 with 401 emigrants per 100,000 population, in Sweden in the same period with 759, and in Norway in the period 1881-85 with 1,105. Thus

when emigration from Norway was at its maximum, every year more than 1 per cent of the population crossed the ocean to seek a new home. The year when emigration from Scandinavia culminated was 1882; then the emigration rate was: for Denmark 577, for Sweden 974, and for Norway 1511.

Emigration to European Countries

For the emigration to European countries we have regular annual statistics from Sweden reaching back to 1851; their principal results for 5-year periods have been shown in the last column of Table 102. The annual average number of emigrants to European countries from the middle of the '60's was 4,000-6,000. These figures, however, are rather too low.

For Denmark, the emigration to European countries between 1870 and 1921 has been estimated at about 60,000. The foundation for this estimate, however, is very uncertain and the figure must be regarded as a minimum.

Norway has had, at times, considerable emigration to other European countries, especially to Sweden, although it is impossible to give even approximate figures. The extent of the desertion of Norwegian seamen is indicated by an estimate that during the decennium 1871-80 about 11,200 such seamen deserted; while the number returning home after a previous desertion was estimated at about 5,200.

Causes of Emigration

The causes of emigration cannot be satisfactorily examined by means of statistics because that problem has to do not with facts which can be measured, counted, and recorded, but rather with a judgment about the many different motives which might have led people to abandon their native country and try their luck abroad. One can only weigh these motives against one another, and the results one arrives at can have but a limited value.

If it has seemed desirable, however, in this survey to express opinions about the causes of emigration from the Scandinavian countries, it is because the rate of emigration at times has been so great that one involuntarily looks for an explanation. For more than half a century overseas emigration from Ireland was rarely less than 1 per cent of the population a year, often it was above 2 per cent and in some years even 3 per cent. This enormous outflow

was the result of grave economic causes, and something of the same kind must be said about emigration from Italy at certain periods.¹ The question to be answered is whether the heavy emigration from the Scandinavian countries was of a similar character, a flight from poverty, or whether it has another explanation.

It does not seem reasonable to assume that the great emigration from the Scandinavian countries was an economic necessity. In all three countries the density of population was not so high that there was overcrowding or overpopulation in the proper sense. In addition, wealth was more evenly distributed than in most countries and the social conditions on the whole were comparatively satisfactory. There are many districts, to be sure, especially perhaps in Sweden, where part of the rural population have had to struggle hard at times to make a living; but that deep, abject poverty which has created a proletariat in many other countries, happily has not visited the Scandinavian populations. The standards of living and of health are so satisfactory that Denmark, Norway and Sweden have long enjoyed a lower mortality than most other countries.

While emigration from these countries is not apparently due to economic necessity, this does not mean that the causes are not economic. Norway has statistics, dating from 1905, upon the motives of the emigrants for emigrating; these are derived from statements by the emigrants. For 1905-25 these statistics cover a total of 215,100 emigrants, distributed according to the assigned motives as follows:

<i>Motive</i>	<i>Number</i>
Lack of access to profitable occupation	170,000
Hired or seeking hire	6,200
Travelling to join family	36,800
Other motives	2,100
	<hr/> 215,100

Nearly four-fifths of the emigrants stated that the motive for emigrating was "lack of access to profitable occupation." Among males before the World War 80-90 per cent assigned this reason; in the prosperous times during that war the percentage fell to 60-70, to rise again during the last few years.

The cause "Travelling to join family" is also represented by a high number, and in this connection it is of interest to note how

¹[This volume, pp. 447 and 450.—Ed.]

large a number of the emigrants had their tickets or fares sent them by relatives in the country to which they journeyed. Before the war and during its first years this was true of about one-third of the emigrants, but of late years of only about one-eighth. All in all, it seems that the persuasions of those who had previously emigrated play a greater part than the statistics indicate. When more than 80 per cent state that the reason for their leaving home is "lack of access to profitable occupation," it is scarcely reasonable to assume that actual distress drove many abroad. "Profitable occupation" in many cases must undoubtedly be interpreted as meaning that the emigrant expects to earn more abroad than at home. "Travelling to join family" is assigned by so many because many Scandinavian emigrants settle abroad in colonies. The Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish settlements of farmers in the United States illustrate this in a striking manner.

These Norwegian statistics of motives of the emigrants have perhaps no great value as evidence, but they are interesting because they point in the same direction as the general considerations stated before. The following conclusion seems to be warranted:

The great emigration from the Scandinavian countries is due to a craving for social betterment rather than to any physical need. When the Northman emigrates, it is not because his own country has no use for him or because it denies him food, but because he finds it difficult at home to realize his desire and get into the strong upward current in society. In many cases also he is encouraged to try his luck in foreign lands by knowledge that he can live his life among his countrymen—often in close touch with relatives—can speak his own tongue, have his children taught in Scandinavian schools, attach himself to a Scandinavian church, and so on.

In the following discussion what has been indicated about the causes and character of the Scandinavian emigration is supported by comparing the amount of emigration at various times with contemporary economic conditions.

Emigration and Economic Cycles.

In a previous section the fluctuations of the quinquennial emigration figures were examined, and a general impression gained of the varying volume of emigration. In order to study the relation between the emigration rate and the cycles of good and bad times, the annual figures must be used. These show that grouping in 5-year periods has somewhat smoothed the fluctuations. For

present purposes it is sufficient to indicate the periods of most marked rise and fall.

During the years of noteworthy emigration from Scandinavia there were four periods of comparatively heavy emigration. The first of these began with 1866 for Denmark and Norway; for Sweden two years later; for all three countries it lasted until 1873 with the culminating point in 1869. The second period began in Norway and Sweden in 1879, and in Denmark a year later; it culminated in 1882 but even in 1883 emigration from all three countries was fairly high. Then followed three years of much lower figures. With 1887, however, a new and higher rise commenced, and up to 1893 there was a large number of emigrants from all three countries. From 1894 to the end of the century there was a trough in the wave of emigration. After that the fourth period commenced; it reached its peak in 1903 and lasted, with only a short interruption in 1908, until the outbreak of the Great War. That war brought emigration down to a low level, and even after the conclusion of peace it has remained at moderate figures, although in this respect 1923 is an exception for all three countries.

The wave movement of the fluctuations in economic conditions cannot be traced with the same accuracy as the rhythm in emigration. It is simple enough to point to some years in which there was a decided boom, and to others which just as clearly were years of depression; but it is difficult to draw the line between good and bad times, indeed an exact indication of the turning points is impossible. These difficulties applicable to a study of any one country, are increased where—as in the present case—three countries are examined together: countries which geographically indeed form a natural group, but whose national economy is by no means similar. In Denmark the state of agriculture mainly determines the economic character of the various years; in Sweden manufacturing also plays a great part; in Norway, shipping and fisheries are so important that they exercise no small influence upon business conditions.

In spite of these differences, however, the three countries have more or less moved together in the fluctuations between good and bad times. The turning point may have had its appearance in one of the countries a year before or after it did in another; the rise or the depression may have been of longer or shorter duration; but as a rule these differences are not more than six months or a year.

After some good years in the first half of the '60's (disturbed in Denmark by the war of 1864) there followed a period of depression

which may be said to have begun for Norway in 1866 but for Sweden not until the following year. The turning point after the depression appeared in 1870-71 (first in Norway, last in Denmark), and then all three countries enjoyed several good years until 1874-76. The next depression lasted only two or three years from 1877-79. The recovery in Denmark began as early as 1879, in Sweden and Norway in the following year, and in all three countries it lasted until 1883. The following period of depression, 1884-87, ran more or less concurrently in the three countries and was succeeded by a boom which, in Denmark and Norway, lasted until 1890, in Sweden perhaps until 1891. After that there were bad times until 1894, a rise until 1899 (for Sweden until 1900), again a decline until 1902-3, and a rise until 1906-7. A new period of depression began in Sweden as early as 1907 (in Norway the year after) and it lasted until 1909 after which trade was good from 1910 until in 1914 the Great War disturbed the economic conditions of all countries. The time during and after the war is not suitable for testing the connection between emigration and business conditions.

A comparison between these economic fluctuations and the fluctuations of the emigration rate gives the impression that the latter tends to increase when times are bad and decrease when times are good. Thus the wave of emigration of 1866-73 was almost coincident with the period of depression that ended in 1871, and a great emigration commenced with the appearance of bad times in 1900. On the other hand there are several periods in which there is no such parallelism. In 1872-73 the emigration figures were comparatively high although trade was good, whereas during the depression of 1877-78 there were few emigrants. The same was the case in the bad years of 1884-86, while 1888-90 which were good years had heavy emigration; something similar occurred in 1904-6 and 1910-13.

This would seem to establish the conclusion that, even if economic cycles in the home country do influence emigration, they do not control it.¹ Nor would one be justified in expecting this. To begin with, the conditions in the countries of destination also exert an influence, and especially where—as in Denmark, Norway and Sweden—there is constant communication between those who have emigrated and those who have remained at home.

If business conditions in the countries of emigration and immigration fluctuated together that would decrease the fluctuations in

¹[In this connection see also Jerome's *Migration and Business Cycles* (1926), pages 153-208.—Ed.]

the emigration figures. But though there is some connection between business cycles in all countries, certain countries may show fluctuations peculiar to themselves, and the general wave movement may be transmitted to the various parts of the world with varying speeds.

As overseas emigration from the Scandinavian countries has been directed principally to the United States, it is worthwhile to compare that emigration with business fluctuations in the United States. In Table 104 the first column shows the period during which emigration from Denmark, Norway and Sweden was especially heavy; the second column shows the periods of depression in the home country, and the third, the periods of good business conditions in the United States.

TABLE 104.

SCANDINAVIAN EMIGRATION AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Heavy Emigration from Scandinavia	Economic Depression in Scandinavia	Good Business Conditions in the United States
1866-73	1866-71 1877-79	1869-73
1879-83	1884-87	1879-84
1887-93	1891-94	1887-93 1898-1902
1900-1907	1900-1903	1905-6
1909-13	1907-9	1908-

A glance at these dates gives the impression that the parallelism between the first and third columns is closer than that between the first and second columns. This indicates that the amount of emigration from Scandinavia has depended on the economic cycles in America more than on those in the home country.

This seems to confirm the previous results about the causes of emigration. If it were poverty and need that drove the emigrants from home, the figures would scarcely have shown such agreement with American economic cycles as here appears. People do not emigrate from Scandinavia because they must leave home; they are able to wait for the satisfaction of their roving spirit until the

economic conditions in the foreign country seem promising. That many—very many—have been disappointed in their anticipations is another matter.

Emigrations by Countries of Destination

Overseas emigration from Scandinavia has gone chiefly to the United States. Of 1,898,000 emigrants about whose country of destination information is available 1,807,000 or more than 95 per cent went to the United States.

That country has not been preferred equally, however, by Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish emigrants; and there have been periods when other countries have taken more than the normal portion of the stream of emigrants. The figures in Table 105 give an idea of these variations.

TABLE 105.

EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES EXPRESSED IN PER CENT OF
TOTAL EMIGRATION TO NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

Years	From		
	Denmark	Norway	Sweden
1871-75	81.4	96.7	....
1876-80	86.7	98.3	....
1881-85	98.0	99.9	98.1
1886-90	90.0	99.6	98.8
1891-95	93.3	99.2	97.9
1896-1900	89.4	97.8	98.5
1901-5	91.6	94.2	98.8
1906-10	86.0	93.0	96.6
1911-15	78.6	88.0	94.4
1916-20	89.3	93.7	95.4
1921-25	68.8	87.0	91.6

Sweden is the country whose emigrants have most preferred the United States; almost 98 per cent of its emigrants, between 1881 and 1925, had that country as their destination. Then follows Norway with about 96 per cent between 1871 and 1925, whereas only 88 per cent of the Danish emigrants travelled thither.

In the quinquennium 1921-25 the proportion of emigrants from Scandinavia who went to the United States was considerably

less than in the earlier years because of the limitation upon immigration which was introduced by the American Acts of 1921 and 1924. American immigration statistics are given in Table 106 for immigrant Danes, Norwegians and Swedes in the fiscal years 1921-22 to 1925-26, which are compared with the annual quota allowed by the immigration laws.

TABLE 106.

SCANDINAVIAN IMMIGRANTS INTO UNITED STATES AND QUOTAS FOR EACH COUNTRY, 1922-1926.

Fiscal Year ending:	Denmark		Norway		Sweden	
	Quota	Immigrants	Quota	Immigrants	Quota	Immigrants
June 30, 1922	5,694	2,444	12,202	5,975	20,042	6,624
June 30, 1923	5,694	5,281	12,202	11,986	20,042	17,916
June 30, 1924	5,694	4,523	12,202	11,745	20,042	18,310
June 30, 1925	2,789	2,709	6,453	5,292	9,561	8,391
June 30, 1926	2,789	2,712	6,453	6,095	9,561	9,166

In the year 1921-22 emigration from Scandinavia was small and the legal limit set was by no means reached. For some of the subsequent years also the difference between the quota and the number of immigrants was so great as to show that the restrictions have not always been effective. Furthermore the legal limitation refers to the number of permits to enter the country (immigration visas) which are issued by the United States consulates in the countries from which the emigration proceeds. As there are always a number of people who secure a visa without making use of it, or who are rejected on landing, the actual number of immigrants will normally be rather below the quota allowed by the Act.

The country which has taken the next largest number of emigrants from the Scandinavian countries is British North America (Canada); to Central and South America, however, there has been at times a considerable emigration, especially from Denmark, as the percentages of Table 107 show.

Emigration from Scandinavia to Canada was particularly large in 1902-3 (gold discovered at Klondyke) and after 1923. In 1923-25 no less than 12 per cent of the overseas emigration from Scandinavian

TABLE 107.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMIGRANTS TO OVERSEAS COUNTRIES.

Destination	From Denmark 1871-1925	From Norway 1871-1925	From Sweden 1881-1925
United States	87.9	95.6	97.6
Canada	5.4	3.8	1.2
Rest of the Americas.....	3.8	...	0.6
Australia	2.2	0.4	...
Africa.....	0.5	0.2	0.6
Asia.....	0.2	...	...

countries had Canada as its goal (25 per cent of the Danish, 17 per cent of the Norwegian, 6 per cent of the Swedish emigrants) and the information at hand for 1926 and 1927 indicates that this emigration to Canada has continued with increased intensity. While emigration to Central and South America from Norway and Sweden has never been of much importance, a number of Danes have gone to those lands, especially to Argentina. Scandinavian emigration to Australia has consisted mostly of Danes, and was concentrated mainly within the period from 1870 to 1878.

Sweden is the only one of the Scandinavian countries which has statistics of emigration to European countries. A summarized review of the extent of this emigration is given in Table 102, page 289. The greater part of this European emigration from Sweden goes to the neighboring countries Denmark, Norway and Finland. In the 45 years from 1881 to 1925 there were 173,000 emigrants to European countries, and 135,000 of these, or 78 per cent, went to the three neighboring countries (38 per cent to Denmark, 32 to Norway, and 8 to Finland). Emigration to European countries is, however, offset by an almost equally heavy immigration.¹

Distribution of Emigrants According to Sex

Despite the fact that in Scandinavia as in most other European countries, there is an excess of women, men are in the majority among overseas emigrants. There were practically no exceptions to this rule in all the quinquennial periods for which information is available (see Table 108).

¹[See page 307.—Ed.]

TABLE 108.

PER CENT OF MALE EMIGRANTS IN TOTAL EMIGRATION, 1871-1925.

Years	From			
	Denmark	Norway	Sweden	Sweden
	To non-European countries			To European countries
1871-75	61.5	54.2	53.6	55.0
1876-80	62.2	59.1	59.0	51.0
1881-85	59.8	55.9	55.3	48.3
1886-90	60.8	58.6	56.9	45.6
1891-95	57.4	58.0	53.9	42.4
1896-1900	57.8	61.0	49.0	42.9
1901-5	63.1	63.6	57.7	43.5
1906-10	62.9	62.1	63.0	46.0
1911-15	61.2	57.7	56.5	45.1
1916-20	59.7	49.5	48.8	37.8
1921-25	65.0	66.0	65.7	34.8

The excess of males has fluctuated considerably from one period to another, and the three countries differ somewhat in this respect. The excess of males among overseas emigrants has generally been greatest in Denmark and least in Sweden. Regarding this latter point, however, it must be observed that the omissions from the Swedish emigration statistics for earlier periods were probably greater among males than among females, and therefore it is probable that in Table 108 the percentages for Sweden before 1885 are a little too low. The difference between the countries seems to indicate a typical difference in the emigration, the Norwegians and Swedes emigrating more in families than do the Danes.

The fact that the excess of males among the emigrants varies from period to period is undoubtedly connected with the fluctuations in the emigration rate. If we consider the ratio of male to female emigrants from year to year, it will be seen that the preponderance of males is greatest in the years when the stream of emigration begins to grow. The probable explanation of this is that when an emigration period begins the males take the initiative in emigrating. It is also probable that the causes of emigration (whether difficult economic conditions at home or prosperous times abroad) act first of all upon young men without permanent employment. When the

stream of emigration has been running strongly for some time more women join it, partly urged by husbands and relatives who have already emigrated and partly because the movement assumes more the character of family emigration. The rule here indicated may be formulated thus: female emigration is more constant than male emigration, in that the relative number of females rises in periods of small emigration and declines when emigration increases. The rule applies to all three countries, but is most marked in Norway. As an example it may be observed that when, in the first years of the Great War, emigration declined to the minimum the percentage of males among the Norwegian emigrants dropped from 63 to 44, whereas the corresponding decline for Danes was from 64 to 54 and for Swedes from 59 to 53. When in 1923 a sudden wave of emigration set in, the percentage of males from Denmark rose to 68, from Norway to 72, and from Sweden to 73.

Regarding the sex of emigrants to European countries, we have information only about Sweden. The last column in Table 108 shows that while in bygone years males were in the majority, the proportion has gradually changed until in the last quinquennium almost twice as many women as men emigrated from Sweden to European countries.

Distribution of Emigrants According to Age

The information regarding the distribution of the emigrants according to age, is so varied for the three countries that we can point out only certain prominent and characteristic features. The emigration of old people plays a very subordinate part. In all the years for which age statistics are available the group aged over 60 years has rarely exceeded 2 per cent, and the proportion seems to have declined.

Children up to 15 years of age as a rule amount to about 10 per cent of all emigrants to overseas countries. The percentage, however, has changed considerably. Fifty or sixty years ago, when emigration began to assume large dimensions, one-fourth or more of all emigrants were children under 15 years. The subsequent regular decline is illustrated by the percentages for Denmark and Norway given in Table 109.

In the course of time, apparently, there has been a change in the type of emigration, from family to individual emigration. This supposition is strengthened by examining the detailed tables of age distribution. They give the impression that emigration to overseas

TABLE 109.

PER CENT OF CHILDREN UNDER 15 YEARS AMONG OVERSEAS EMIGRANTS, 1866-1925.

Periods	From Denmark	From Norway
1866-70	.....	31.7
1871-75	.....	28.3
1876-80	23.4	22.7
1881-85	24.0	25.3
1886-90	18.9	18.2
1891-95	19.3	15.7
1896-1900	13.6	11.7
1901-5	11.6	14.0
1906-10	12.7	11.2
1911-15	11.5	9.5
1916-20	11.3	13.7
1921-25	10.6	9.2

countries has more and more concentrated in the younger-adult age groups, from 15 to 30 years. This was most marked in the disturbed period 1911-15 preceding the outbreak of the World War. As an illustration Table 110 gives a summary of the Norwegian statistics.

TABLE 110.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY AGE AND SEX, OF EMIGRANTS FROM NORWAY TO OVERSEAS COUNTRIES.

Age-class (years)	Males			Females		
	1866-70	1896-1900	1911-15	1866-70	1896-1900	1911-15
0-14	29	10	8	34	15	11
15-29	40	72	78	34	64	70
30-44	22	13	10	20	14	14
45-59	7	4	3	9	5	4
60 and over	2	1	1	3	2	1
All ages	100	100	100	100	100	100

During the war this movement ceased, the percentages for the age-groups 15-29 and 30-44 having declined somewhat in favor of

the older groups. This is particularly true of the males and is presumably connected with the fact that it was difficult for young men of conscription age to obtain permission to emigrate. After the end of the war the proportionate number in the groups 15-29 years increased again.

Besides this movement in the age distribution of emigrants, a study of the figures for single years reveals a certain connection between the age distribution and the intensity of emigration. At the beginning of a period of heavy emigration the younger-adult age groups are particularly well represented; but as the emigration rate again diminishes, the proportionate share of these age groups gradually declines. This phenomenon is similar to that previously referred to with regard to the proportions between males and females, and presumably the cause is the same. The economic cycle which brings about a wave of emigration exerts its greatest influence upon young adults.

Distribution of Emigrants according to Marital Condition

For Norway and Sweden there is information covering a great many years about the number of emigrants who were married. In investigating the influence of emigration upon the structure of the population,¹ this information gives useful hints. For the sake of brevity, however, we shall simply give summary data to throw more light upon the proportions between family emigration and individual emigration.

If the emigrants are divided into three groups the first of which comprises married men and women and children under 15 years of age, and the two other groups single men and single women over 15 years, we find a percentage distribution such as that presented in Table 111 on page 304.

The figures illustrate the changes in time between family emigration and individual emigration. They cannot, however, be a true picture of this fluctuation both because always there will naturally be some unmarried persons more than 15 years of age who emigrate with their parents and brothers and sisters (and who thus ought to be grouped under family emigration); and also because a number of the emigrant husbands undoubtedly should be classed as individual emigrants. For always more married men emigrate than married women, and at times this difference is considerable. For instance, among the Norwegian emigrants overseas during

¹See page 310.

TABLE 111.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMIGRANTS FROM NORWAY AND SWEDEN
BY MARITAL CONDITION.

Country and Period	Married people and children	Unmarried adults	
		Men	Women
<i>Sweden</i> (All emigrants)			
1851-60	60	27	13
1861-70	45	35	20
1871-80	37	37	26
1881-90	36	36	28
1891-1900	30	35	35
1901-10	28	42	30
1911-20	32	35	33
1921-25	32	44	24
<i>Norway</i> (Emigrants Overseas)			
1891-1900	32	42	26
1901-10	31	45	24
1911-20	26	42	32
1921-25	35	43	22

1891-1925 there were 45,000 married men, but only 29,000 married women. Thus a large number of married men emigrate without their wives, presumably because they wish to see whether they can obtain satisfactory occupation in the foreign country before they let their wives and children follow them. As the difference in the figures is repeated (with varying strength) from year to year and decennium to decennium, it appears that many are disappointed in their anticipations; how many of those who are disappointed return and how many disappear abroad cannot be estimated from the material. Perhaps a truer picture of the strength of family emigration is obtained by subtracting a number corresponding to the difference between married male and married female emigrants. As regards Norway this correction yields the following percentages for family emigration: 29 per cent for 1890-1900; 26 per cent for 1901-10; 26 per cent for 1911-20; 24 per cent for 1921-25.

We have already seen that the number of children below 15 years has formed, on the whole, a diminishing proportion of the emigrants. If we compare the number of emigrant children with the number of emigrant married women, the phenomenon is placed

in a new light. We thus find that for every 100 emigrant wives there have been the following number of emigrant children (Table 112):

TABLE 112.

NUMBER OF EMIGRANT CHILDREN PER HUNDRED EMIGRANT MARRIED WOMEN, 1851-1925.

Decade	Sweden (all emigrants)	Norway (emigrants overseas)
1851-60	229	...
1861-70	217	...
1871-80	204	...
1881-90	211	...
1891-1900	208	182
1901-10	191	176
1911-20	176	137
1921-25	120	122

The decline may be explained in part by the declining birthrate. A complete unravelling of this question would demand a minute investigation into the distribution of emigrants by marital condition and age.

Distribution of Emigrants According to Occupations

Emigrants have been classified according to occupations for many years by all three Scandinavian countries, and figures are available. This information, however, and especially that for earlier times, is of doubtful and varying value, partly because the principles on which the classification has been based were changed from time to time so that the continuity of the figures has been broken. It is with all possible reserve, therefore, that we give in Table 113 the percentage distributions for Sweden and Denmark during 1891-1925.

As the figures for Denmark refer to adult male emigrants to overseas countries, while those for Sweden include both males and females of all ages and to all countries, a comparison between the two sets of figures is impracticable. On the other hand, the percentages permit us to form a rough idea of the changes that have taken place in the composition of the emigrants from each of the two countries. It must, however, be observed that here also

TABLE 113.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMIGRANTS BY OCCUPATION, 1891-1925.

Occupation	1891-1900	1901-10	1911-20	1921-25
<i>Denmark (Males over 15 yrs. to overseas)</i>				
Agriculture.....	10	13	21	27
Industry.....	27	29	23	23
Commerce and Shipping.	8	10	14	16
General laborers.....	45	41	33	26
Others or unknown.....	10	7	9	8
All.....	100	100	100	100
<i>Sweden (All emigrants)</i>				
Agriculture.....	23	31	31	31
Industry.....	15	24	33	32
Commerce and Shipping.	4	4	7	9
Domestic service.....	22	12	12	9
General laborers.....	26	22	9	7
Other or unknown.....	10	7	8	12
All.....	100	100	100	100

caution is advisable. For example, if the percentage of emigrant agriculturists in Denmark has greatly increased while that of general laborers has diminished, the probable reason is—in part at least—an altered practice with regard to the declaration of occupation for young men who normally have been occupied in agriculture (farm laborers and sons of peasants).

As regards Norway, the rules for the classification of emigrants according to occupations were altered so much in 1919 that it is hardly possible to draw correct comparisons with the past. Furthermore, since 1919 there have been considerable changes in the distribution of Norwegian emigrants by occupations. Of males over 15 years of age who emigrated to overseas countries, only 16 per cent were agriculturists in 1919, but the proportion rose rapidly from year to year until in 1925 it reached 48 per cent. At the same time the group "Shipping" fell off from 34 to 7 per cent.

IMMIGRATION

Sweden is the one of the three Scandinavian countries for which the most complete information is obtainable regarding immigration.

It is possible to follow the movement of immigrants, both from overseas and from European countries year by year right back to the middle of the '70's. In Norway since 1901 all immigrants have been required to report themselves, but until 1916 this requirement was not so generally heeded that it furnished a significant basis for immigration statistics. For Denmark there are no immigration statistics at all. In Table 114 the information about immigration into Norway and Sweden is summarized.

TABLE 114.

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS, BY QUINQUENNIA: 1876-1925.
(In Thousands)

Years	From Europe to		From extra- European countries to	
	Norway	Sweden	Norway	Sweden
1876-80	..	12	..	3
1881-85	..	14	..	7
1886-90	..	14	..	12
1891-95	..	14	..	25
1896-1900	..	17	..	23
1901-5	..	20	..	19
1906-10	..	19	..	26
1911-15	..	17	..	23
1916-20	51	20	5	16
1921-25	13	17	2	15

Most of the immigration to Norway and Sweden is from the neighboring Scandinavian countries.

Immigration from overseas countries is of the greatest interest. For Sweden this immigration is considerable; at times it has been as high as 7000-8000 a year. The greater part of this immigration is composed of repatriates. The figures for Norway are too low, for the regulations regarding the reporting of those who come into the country to remain are not yet effectively enforced.

The census statistics given in Table 115 regarding the number of foreign-born inhabitants are of some interest as a supplement to the immigration statistics proper.

For Denmark, an attempt has been made to connect the census information about the number of foreign born with the information

TABLE 115.

NUMBER OF FOREIGN-BORN INHABITANTS OF SCANDINAVIA, 1865-1921.
(In Thousands)

Census Year	Denmark	Norway	Sweden
1865	..	21	..
1870	53	..	12
1875	..	37	..
1880	63	..	19
1890	72	48	25
1900	..	65	36
1901	82	..	..
1910	..	56	48
1911	85	..	..
1920	..	75	58
1921	107 ^a	..	..

^a19,000 of these are of southern Jutland (Schleswig) awarded Denmark in 1920.

about emigrants to overseas countries, in order to calculate the number of immigrants from and the number of emigrants to European countries during the periods between censuses. As these calculations are based upon uncertain assumptions as to the mortality in the foreign-born population, the results are only approximate. Accordingly we give the following figures of immigration to Denmark with all reserve:

Immigration to Denmark

1870-80	20,000
1880-90	21,000
1890-1901	24,000
1901-11	19,000
1911-21	52,000

Of these latter 52,000, about 18,000 were probably persons born in the South Jutland provinces 1911-20 who had entered Denmark before the incorporation of these provinces.

Of those who immigrate into Denmark, Norway and Sweden from overseas countries, the greater number have previously emigrated and are returning. There are no complete or accurate statistics of returning emigrants; but for Sweden one can form an idea of the magnitude of this repatriation by comparing the immigration from the United States with the emigration to that country.

During the 45 years from 1881 to 1925 there emigrated from Sweden to the United States 881,000 persons; the immigration to Sweden from the United States in the same period amounted to 161,000. The distribution by periods is given in Table 116.

TABLE 116.

IMMIGRATION INTO SWEDEN FROM THE UNITED STATES, AND EMIGRATION THERETO, 1881-1925.

(In Thousands)

Decades	Emigrants Sweden to United States	Immigrants to Sweden from United States
1881-90	324	19
1891-1900	201	47
1901-10	219	44
1911-20	82	37
1921-25	55	14
Totals,	881	161

Not all the 161,000 people who came to Sweden from the United States, however, were returning emigrants. Apart from a small number of Americans proper who immigrated, some of the returning emigrants bring with them children born in America. Note that in Sweden the numbers of persons born in the United States were: In 1890, 1500; in 1900, 5100; in 1910, 7300; in 1920, 6700. By far the greater number of these persons, no doubt, were children born to Swedish parents during their sojourn in America. It is not to be doubted, however, that the greater part of the 161,000 are returning emigrants.

If the figures are examined year by year it will be found that the stream of repatriates flows much more regularly than the stream of emigrants. The violent fluctuations in emigrants related to business cycles are not paralleled by the figures of repatriates. Yet these figures also have a typical rhythm, usually there is a perceptible rise in the number of repatriates in the years when the number of emigrants is small. The average annual emigration to the United States in 45 years was 19,600, the average annual immigration from the United States was 3,600. In 27 of the 45

years the number of emigrants was less than 20,000, and in 17 of these 27 years the number of repatriations was over 4,000. It may be said that repatriation tends to vary inversely with emigration.

Much detailed information about returned Norwegian-Americans residing in Norway was obtained by the censuses of 1910 and 1920, but the information for these two years is difficult to compare because the definitions were different, and therefore only the main result will be considered.

In 1920 the population of Norway was 2,695,000 of whom 49,800, or about 2 per cent, were repatriated Norwegian-Americans who had lived in America at least two years or who were children of such persons. Of these 7,600 were born in America, so that of returned emigrants 42,200 had lived in Norway. On comparing American census statistics about the number of Norwegian-born in the United States in 1920, we find that about 10 per cent of living Norwegian emigrants to the United States are now resident in Norway. It must be remembered, however, that this investigation does not consider those who have come home after a sojourn of less than two years in the United States.

The average time spent in America by the returned men was about 8 years, by the women about 7 years.

MIGRATION AND POPULATION

Scandinavian emigration greatly exceeds immigration so that the net result of migration has been a considerable loss of population. The figures of Table 117 indicate the average annual net emigration (emigrants minus immigrants) per 100,000 inhabitants from the countries concerned.

TABLE 117.
AVERAGE ANNUAL EMIGRATION BALANCE PER 100,000 INHABITANTS,
1861-1925.

Decade	Denmark	Norway	Sweden
1861-70	75	509	368
1871-80	221	395	316
1881-90	369	971	753
1891-1900	127	272	365
1901-10	249	689	363
1911-20	-16	49	115
1921-25	84	214	136

The loss of population through migration has been very different in the three countries; in the 65 years 1861-1925 the annual average loss per 100,000 inhabitants in Denmark was 164, in Sweden 360, and in Norway 460. The annual average for all three countries together was 334.

As migration has carried away more men than women, the natural proportion between the sexes has been disturbed. On the population as a whole, however, the influence of migration in this respect is less than might have been expected (at the time of writing¹ the number of women per 1000 men in Denmark was 1051, in Norway 1053, and in Sweden 1036). It is considered demonstrated that after emigration began to increase, the number of both births and deaths has distributed itself more favorably than before for the maintenance of the relative figure of the male sex.

Of much more importance is the influence of migration upon the distribution of the population according to age. To show this in detail would demand more space than is available, and we shall therefore limit ourselves to the following as an illustration.

For many years the Swedish immigration and emigration statistics have maintained a minute classification of all immigrants and emigrants into one-year age-groups. The late Gustave Sundbärg, the Swedish statistician, used these materials to calculate a combined life-and-migration table for the population of Sweden. This table covers the period 1891-1900, when the average annual net emigration from Sweden was 365 per 100,000 inhabitants, so that the decennium chosen, 1891-1900, is fairly typical as Table 117 shows.

On the basis of Sundbärg's Swedish life-and-migration table, it has been calculated that of 100,000 children born alive, 22,000 emigrated. How many returned can not be accurately stated, but a special investigation has shown that 78 per cent of the immigrants were of Swedish birth (98 per cent of the immigrants from overseas countries and 55 per cent of those from European countries). It may be assumed that approximately 7,000 of the 22,000 returned home. Accordingly, of the 100,000 live-born children 85,000 died in Sweden and 15,000 in foreign countries.

The main interest, however, attaches to his tabulated details showing the extent to which migration affects certain age-groups. Of 100,000 children about 78,300 survived at the age of 15 years; during the next 5 years 1,800 died, while the loss by migration was

¹[This chapter was completed in 1926.—Ed.]

4,300. In Table 118 we reproduce a section of his table for those age-groups which are most affected by migration. This shows what a great reduction in the population resulted from the emigration of young adults.

TABLE 118.
SWEDISH MORTALITY AND MIGRATION AT CERTAIN AGES
(PER 100,000)

Age	Surviving	Dead	Emigrated	Immigrated
15	78,349	1,797	4,677	414
20	72,289	2,140	6,042	1,156
25	65,263	2,018	3,336	1,400
30	61,309	1,988	1,860	1,156
35	58,617	.....	.....	.....

Such a thinning has far-reaching secondary effects; the numbers of marriages and of births are lower than they would have been had there been no emigration. There can be no doubt that the low birth-rate in Sweden and in Norway must be ascribed partly to emigration; but to prove this conclusively would lead us too far.

CHAPTER XII

MIGRATION ACROSS THE FRONTIERS OF GERMANY.¹

By

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INTRODUCTION

Whether reliable statistics of migration across the boundaries of a country are possible depends largely upon the nature of the boundaries. Sea or ocean barriers afford the most favorable conditions. Then the migrants are concentrated at a few seaports where they can be easily controlled. Land boundaries on the other hand can be passed at many points and an accurate statistical record of overland migration meets with difficulties, which are all the greater since it is necessary to distinguish true emigration and immigration involving a permanent change of residence from all other crossings of the boundary. The attempt to secure a detailed statistical record from every person who crosses the boundary would interfere with traffic and be regarded by the public as objectionable.

These considerations show why European countries as a rule have good and detailed statistics of emigration by sea, but hardly any statistics of migration across land frontiers. Germany lies at the heart of Europe and its inhabitants have an active commerce with their neighbors. Of its total boundary the sea forms less than three-tenths, and by land it touches about a dozen different countries. The difficulties are increased because boundaries run through regions where German is spoken and where there is an active intercourse between the inhabitants on both sides of the line. To record this intercourse and distinguish statistically true emigration and immigration is far from easy. Furthermore, after the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved and before the North German Confederation was formed in 1867, the German states regarded one another as foreign countries, although they had been organized in 1834 into

¹[In connection with this Chapter compare *International Migrations*, Vol. I, pages 85, 114ff, 136, 184, 194, 230ff, 235, 297, 686 ff., 691-709, and elsewhere. The slightly amended German version of this chapter was published in *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv*, vol. 20, pp. 161 ff.; vol. 21, pp. 37 ff (Jena, 1930).—Ed.]

the German Customs Union. But the inhabitants of these states were of the same race and nationality and spoke the same language. The attempt to gather migration statistics in some of them by combining the arrivals and departures reported to the police with the acquisitions and losses of citizenship could not succeed. Much migration took place without the knowledge of the officials to whom reports were to be made. The number of those who migrated exceeded the number of the migrants reported to the police or the number who gained or lost citizenship, so greatly that when the German Empire was formed it was proposed merely to continue or set up statistics of overseas migration.

The bases for a balance of German migration are furnished by the periodical censuses and the yearly statistics of births and deaths.

The changes in a population during the interval between two censuses are of four kinds, namely: (1) Births, (2) Deaths, (3) Immigration, (4) Emigration. Births and deaths are recorded and from them the natural increase of population or the excess of births over deaths can be determined.

Overseas emigration, the most important kind of emigration, is reported, total emigration and immigration are not directly recorded.

If one compares the actual increase of population between two censuses with the excess of births over deaths during the same period, the difference between the two gives the change due to the balance between emigration and immigration. If the natural increase of population is larger than the total increase, there has been an excess of emigration over immigration, and vice versa.

Censuses have been taken in Germany at regular intervals since 1816. In most of the German states, including Prussia, they were taken every three years. With the formation of the German Customs Union in 1834 the triennial census was introduced throughout the territory of the Customs Union. After the Empire was set up in 1871, quinquennial censuses were introduced and taken regularly until 1910.¹ The war brought a long interruption. The war censuses in 1916, 1917 and 1919 are useless for the present problem. The first general census after the war within the present limits of Germany was taken on June 16, 1925.²

Yearly statistics of births and deaths in the Empire since its formation and for the same territory back to 1840 are obtainable.³

¹W. Beukemann, "Methode und Umfang der deutschen Volkszählungen"; also *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Bd. 201.

²F. Burgdörfer, "Die Volks-, Berufs-, und Betriebszählung 1925."

³Becker and Schumann, "Stand und Bewegung der Bevölkerung des Deutschen Reichs und fremder Staaten in den Jahren 1841 bis 1886."

In contrast to the actual increase of the population, which has been determined back to 1816, the natural increase can be followed back only to 1840. Thus the balance of migration can be computed only since that year.

Actual and Natural Increase of Population, 1840-1910

Within the territory of pre-war Germany the population increased as shown in Table 119.

TABLE 119.

POPULATION AND RATE OF ANNUAL INCREASE IN PRE-WAR GERMANY,
1840-1910.
(In Thousands)

Date	Population	Average Annual Increase per 1,000
Dec. 1840	32,785	....
Dec. 1843	33,722	9.27
Dec. 3, 1846	34,733	9.73
Dec. 3, 1849	35,128	3.83
Dec. 3, 1852	35,930	7.35
Dec. 3, 1855	36,112	1.78
Dec. 3, 1858	36,961	7.85
Dec. 3, 1861	38,137	10.45
Dec. 3, 1864	39,390	10.57
Dec. 3, 1867	{ 40,181 ^a 40,089 ^b	{ 6.58
Dec. 1, 1871	41,059 ^c	6.01
Dec. 1, 1875	42,727	9.96
Dec. 1, 1880	45,234	11.40
Dec. 1, 1885	46,836	7.04
Dec. 1, 1890	49,429	10.69
Dec. 2, 1895	52,280	11.21
Dec. 1, 1900	56,367	15.05
Dec. 1, 1905	60,641	14.61
Dec. 1, 1910	64,926	13.65

^aUntil 1867 resident population. ^bFrom 1867 to 1910 the *de facto* population.
^cIncluding 48,642 German soldiers enumerated in France.

The inhabitants in the states which in 1871 formed the Empire amounted in 1840 to 32.8 million, and in 1910 to 64.9 million; thus it nearly doubled in the seventy years.

This rapid increase was due mainly to the multiplication of the German people and not to immigration. Indeed, they lost by

emigration a large part of their natural increase. In some regions and years emigration was greater than the excess of births, so that there was a temporary decline in population. The actual increase of population was 32.1 million; the natural increase was 37.1 million. Thus in the 70 years before the last war Germany lost about 5 million people by excess of emigrants over immigrants.

In that period the emigration from Germany was more than 5 million. There was little immigration. Only in two census periods, 1895-1900 and 1900-1905, did immigration slightly exceed emigration. In every other census period there was more emigration than immigration.

Emigration sometimes carried off one-third, but on the average only one-seventh of the natural increase. A summary of the actual and the natural increase, 1841-1910, and of the balance of migration derived therefrom is furnished by Table 120.

TABLE 120.

ESTIMATED BALANCE BETWEEN EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION FOR PRE-WAR GERMANY, 1841-1910.

(In Thousands)

Period	Annual Increase in			Rate per thousand Inhabitants		
	Enumerated population	Excess of births over deaths	Excess of immigration (+) of emigration(-)	Total Increase	Natural Increase	Migration increase (+) or decrease (-)
1841-3	309	329	-20	9.27	9.91	-0.64
1844-6	333	367	-34	9.73	10.71	-0.98
1847-9	134	236	-102	3.83	6.74	-2.92
1850-2	261	359	-92	7.35	10.11	-2.76
1853-5	64	222	-158	1.78	6.16	-4.38
1856-8	287	331	-44	7.85	9.07	-1.21
1859-61	393	438	-46	10.45	11.66	-1.21
1862-4	410	442	-32	10.57	11.39	-0.83
1865-7	262	370	-109	6.58	9.31	-2.73
1868-71	239	361	-122	5.9	8.9	-3.0
1872-5	417	497	-80	9.96	11.87	-1.91
1876-80	501	578	-76	11.40	13.13	-1.73
1881-5	324	520	-196	7.04	11.30	-4.26
1886-90	515	580	-66	10.69	12.06	-1.37
1891-5	570	660	-90	11.21	12.98	-1.78
1896-1900	817	799	+19	15.05	14.70	+0.35
1901-5	855	844	+11	14.61	14.43	+0.18
1906-10	857	889	-32	13.65	14.16	-0.51

The net loss through migration was especially large between 1847 and 1855, when crop failure and famine impaired living con-

ditions among a population still mainly agricultural. Political discontent and ferment also quickened the migratory impulse. In the three years, 1853-55, almost half a million people (4.48 per 1000 or one out of each 230 persons) left Germany annually. These losses through migration had the more harmful effect on the growth of population, since the mortality also increased, so that periods with the greatest losses through migration were also periods with the smallest excess of births. Whereas the normal excess before 1871 was between 10 and 12 per 1000, it dropped in 1847-49 to about half that amount. Of the excess of 707,000 births in these three years 306,000, or almost half, were lost through migration. Even larger was the loss in 1853-55 when with an excess of only 666,000 births the excess of emigration over immigration amounted to 474,000. Thus almost three-quarters of the natural increase was lost through migration.

In some parts of Germany (Württemberg, Baden and the Palatinate) noted for their large emigration it became so heavy that the population decreased. In 1849-52 the population of Württemberg, despite an increase of 65,000 by excess of births, suffered an annual loss of 11,000 persons, or 2.2 per 1000; and in 1852-55, with a small excess of 12,000 births, it suffered an annual loss of 64,000 persons or 12.2 per 1000.¹

In Baden, despite a large excess of births between 1847 and 1855, emigration caused a continuous decline in population. On the average it amounted to 0.11 per 1000 in 1846-48, 0.14 in 1849-52, and 1.04 in 1853-55.² In the Bavarian Palatinate, the population of which had long been noted for its great fertility and its large emigration, there was an average yearly decrease in population of 0.27 per 1000 for 1849-52, and 1.34 per 1000 for 1852-55.³ In the former Grand Duchy of Hesse during 1846-49, the entire excess of births (about 23,000 persons) was offset by emigration, so that the growth of population was halted. In 1852-55 the loss through migration was twice as great as the excess of births, so that during this period in Hesse, as in the rest of southwestern Germany, there was a marked decline in population.⁴

In Prussia and Saxony also, which had previously received a

¹H. Losch, *Württembergische Jahrbücher für Statistik und Landeskunde*, Jhrg. 1900, Heft II, p. 158; *Statistisches Handbuch für das Königreich Württemberg*, Jhrg. 1900, p. 3.

²*Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Grossherzogtum Baden*, Jhrg. 1890, p. 151; *idem*, Jhrg. 1894, p. 58.

³*Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Königreich Bayern*, Jhrg. 1897, p. 13.

⁴C. A. Fabricius, *Beiträge zur Statistik des Grossherzogtums Hessen*, Vol. 3, p. 53.

considerable immigration, the growth in population towards the end of the '40's was greatly retarded by emigration. Prussia between 1816 and 1840 had had a net gain from migration amounting to 380,000 persons, 15,000 a year, or 0.14 per 1000. Later it showed a great loss from migration amounting to 27,000 a year in 1847-49, 11,000 a year in 1850-52, and 29,000 a year in 1853-55.¹ Saxony, which previously had had a great excess of births and had also been able to absorb immigrants from other German states, showed in 1846-49 a small loss (0.35 per 1000) and in 1852-55 a greater one (2.25 per 1000) through migration.

After 1855 the German emigration fever abated, partly because economic conditions improved and partly because the attractiveness of the United States diminished during the Civil War, so that the German loss through migration declined to 30,000 a year, or 0.83 per 1000.

Later the German wars of 1864, 1866 and 1870 combined with general economic causes to strengthen the migratory impulse. In 1864-67 the loss through migration rose again to over 100,000 a year, or 2.73 per 1000; in 1868-71 to over 120,000, or 3.08 per 1000.

In subsequent years with a severe economic crisis in America emigration abated and the net loss through migration dropped to 60,000-70,000 annually, or not quite 2 per 1000. But in 1880-85, before Bismarck's economic reforms had come to fruition,² emigration shot up again and the loss of population reached figures never touched before or after. In those 5 years Germany had a net loss from migration of approximately one million people, or almost 200,000 a year. On the other hand, the relative loss (4.26 per 1000) did not quite equal that in 1852-55 (4.38 per 1000). In the earlier period about two-thirds, but in 1880-85 not quite two-fifths of the excess of births was lost to Germany by migration.

Altogether after 1871 there was a material increase in the natural growth of population.

With the abolition of the restrictions on marriage and residence which had lasted in certain German states until the '60's, with the new freedom to change one's residence and occupation, but above all with the industrial development of the new Empire, the number of marriages and births greatly increased. The struggle to lower the death rate and especially to decrease infantile mortality soon began

¹A. von Fircke, "Rückblick auf die Bewegung der Bevölkerung im preussischen Staate 1816-1874."

²A. Sartorius von Waltershausen, "Auswanderung" (1924).

and was carried on with growing success supported by Germany's social legislation, initiated in 1882.¹ Despite the gradual decline in the birth rate, this fall of the death rate led to a growing excess of births. That annual excess was, in thousands:

<i>Period</i>	<i>Annual Excess</i>
1885-90	580
1890-95	800
1900-1905	840
1905-10	880

In the face of this prodigious natural increase, the loss through migration of 65,000 a year in 1885-90 and 90,000 a year in 1890-95, did not count so heavily, but it did mean a regrettable loss of human power and wealth.

Germany was unable to absorb its entire increase in population and supply it with work and bread. Shortly before the close of the century it acquired that ability. In 1895-1900, for the first time since population statistics in Germany began, the country changed from an emigration to an immigration country. As contrasted with 1895, the census of 1900 showed an immigration excess of not quite 100,000, being 20,000 a year or 0.35 per 1000. In 1900-1905 there was an immigration excess of over 10,000 a year, or 0.18 per 1000.

This change was caused largely by the rise of great manufacturing industries, which had begun with the modern Empire, but did not become evident on a great scale until the '90's. Industry, commerce and transportation furnished great reservoirs holding the increased population in Germany. Between 1882 and 1907 the population of the Empire increased by 16,000,000, no less than 10,000,000 of whom found employment in industry and 4,000,000 in trade and transportation.² Thanks to this expansion of industry, Germany developed from a preponderantly agricultural to a preponderantly industrial country, and exported goods instead of men. Mass emigration was succeeded by migration inside the Empire from the open country to the city, from agriculture to industry, from the east to the west. There was also some immigration of foreign laborers.

In 1905-10, during which period there was a retrogression in business, the German balance again showed an excess of emigration,

¹F. Zahn, *Wirkung der deutschen Sozialversicherung* (1915).

²F. Zahn, *Deutschlands Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung*; F. Burgdörfer, "Hauptergebnisse der Volks-, Berufs-, und Betriebszählung, 1925."

but the loss of 30,000 a year, or 0.51 per 1000, was much less than the former mass emigration. Only about one-thirtieth of the natural increase of population was so lost. The period 1895-1905 had a small loss; the two together showed a balance of the two currents. Thus by 1895 the nineteenth century mass emigration had about ended.

How did this balance fare in the period after 1910, and especially after the World War?

The first post-war general census was taken in 1925. The census of 1919 was not a "general" census and is not useful for present purposes.¹ Intermediate balances are not possible for the three and one-half years just before the World War, the four and one-half years of the war and the six and one-half post-war years, which were fundamentally different in their migration movements. Nevertheless, the balance for 1910-25 is of special importance, since it shows the net result of the diverse tendencies during these abnormal periods.

The figures obtainable for Germany within its present boundaries, but excluding the Saar Basin, are given in Table 121.²

TABLE 121.
MIGRATION BALANCE FOR POST-WAR GERMANY, 1910-1925.
(In Thousands)

	Male	Female	Total
Dec. 1, 1910.....	28,490	29,309	57,798
June 16, 1925.....	30,197	32,214	62,411
Total Increase.....	1,707	2,905	4,612
Natural Increase by excess of births.....	1,820	2,738	4,558
Migration increase (+)..... or decrease (-).....	-113	+167	+54

The computation of Table 121 is not quite correct because in determining the excess of births only such deaths were deducted as had been registered, and not the 170,000 members of the military forces who are still missing and who probably are dead. The excess of male births should be reduced, therefore, by about 150,000.

¹*Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 5te Jhrg., Supplem. 2, p.9ff. (1925).

²The data presented on preceding pages have referred to the German Empire within its pre-war boundaries.

With this correction the males alone would show a small migrational increase and the two sexes an increase of about 200,000.

How is this result to be explained? In the years 1910-14 the loss through migration continued, but with the outbreak of the World War migration either way across the German frontier, except by troops and prisoners, almost entirely stopped.

After the war there were return currents of Germans estimated at 1,500,000¹ from the ceded territories, the lost German colonies, and foreign countries. Most of this inflow, to be sure, was offset by emigration partly by sea, but more largely by land. For the period 1910-25, the emigration has been estimated at about one million persons.

This calculation also indicates that the 15-year period 1910-25 showed an excess of about 200,000 immigrants over emigrants.

It does not follow that in the future Germany will be an immigration country. The balance of immigration for 1910-25 was mainly due to the repatriation of Germans from the ceded territories and from abroad, which has been followed by further emigration, a counter current still flowing. Most of the Germans who formerly lived abroad and are now in Germany will return as soon as possible. Germans from the ceded territories are almost forced to emigrate unless they have found an occupation in Germany. The desire of others to emigrate has been notably strengthened by the hardships of the post-war period. Yet the obstacles to emigration are greater than before the war. Drastic legal restrictions on immigration have been established by the United States. As a result of domestic inflation and of general impoverishment, many who wish to emigrate do not have the means.

In spite of the check upon the natural increase of its population, Germany is undoubtedly under great population pressure. Chronic mass unemployment, due partly to business conditions but largely to structural changes in German economy,² is a symptom of this pressure. The increase of 18 per cent between 1910 and 1925 in the population within the present borders of the Reich, affords no accurate picture of the degree of over-population, because the shortage of about 3,500,000 births during the war, as well as the decline in births after the war, must be considered. In consequence of this shortage of births the number of children under 15 years of age has

¹See *Reichstagsdrucksache No. 4034 (I. Wahlperiode 1920-22); Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 5te Jhrg., Supplem. No. 2 (1925); *idem*, 7te Jhrg., No. 7 (1927).

²Compare *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 7te Jhrg., Hefte 4 and 10 (1927); also F. Burgdörfer, "Hauptergebnisse der Volks-, Berufs-, und Betriebszählung, 1925."

decreased about 18 per cent. On the other hand, the population between 15 and 65 years of age, which alone affects the labor market and mainly affects emigration, increased more than a fifth in the same period. At present the opportunities for earning a livelihood, which have become fewer since the war, do not make it possible to absorb this increase of men and women into the industrial life of the country. The number of unemployed in the middle of 1927 was about one million. It remains to be seen whether employment and food can be found for the further increase in people of productive age. So long as that increase continues, there will be unemployment due to an excess in the supply of labor and the impulse to reduce it by emigration will continue.

But the impulse to emigrate will presumably abate when the smaller number of children born during the war and the post-war years arrive at productive age. Calculations by the Statistical Office¹ have already resulted in picturing the future condition of the labor market so far as it depends upon the growth of population.

The deficit of 3,500,000 births caused by the war will first be felt around 1930. The number of young people annually arriving at the age of 15 years will sink between 1930-34 to about half of the present number. During this period there will be a halt or a small decrease in the increase of the population of productive age.

After 1933 there will be a smaller increase in the number of persons of productive age because of the more rapid fall in the number of births after the war—about 1,200,000 children were born in 1927 and about 1,800,000 children yearly before the war. Thus the excess in the supply of labor and probably therefore the impulse to emigrate will diminish. Indeed, soon there may be a shortage of labor. If the marked decline in the natural fertility of the population should continue Germany would become like France, an immigration country.

MIGRATION OVERSEAS

As we have seen, only direct migration overseas is reported statistically.

In the main period of German nineteenth century migration, emigration overseas was by far the most important phase, and furnishes a fairly adequate picture of the whole. This appears from figures in Table 122, which compare the gain or loss of population

¹See *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 316.

through migration determined from the censuses and the statistics of births and deaths, with the loss of population due to emigration overseas. The figures in Table 122 are for the Empire within its pre-war boundaries.

TABLE 122.

COMPARISON OF NET BALANCE IN TOTAL MIGRATION AND IN OVERSEAS
MIGRATION FOR PRE-WAR GERMANY, 1871-1910.
(In Thousands)

Period	Gain (+) or Loss (-) through	
	Total Migration	Emigration Overseas
1871-75	-320	-395
1875-80	-381	-231
1880-85	-980	-857
1885-90	-329	-485
1890-95	-449	-403
1895-1900	+94	-127
1900-1905	+52	-147
1905-10	-160	-133
1871-1910	-2,472	-2,778

Table 122 indicates that before the war the balance of migration, which showed a total loss of nearly 2,500,000, was controlled by emigration overseas. For ten years after 1895, when migration overseas abated, the balance was favorable. The figures show that the great loss through emigration overseas was accompanied by a net gain of about 300,000 or 8,000 a year through immigration from overseas and immigration or emigration over the land frontiers. But in general, when Germany had a pronounced loss by emigration the emigration overseas gave its stamp to the entire movement. Accordingly, the German statistics of emigration overseas constitute so large a part of the total migration movement that deductions from it regarding the movement are thoroughly justified.

The first attempts at a statistical estimate of emigration were made in southern Germany early in the nineteenth century. In Bavaria the collection of data began with an ordinance of 1809. Württemberg, Baden and the Electorate of Hesse also arranged for

similar estimates. Later most of the North German states followed suit, Prussia beginning in 1884.¹ These attempts at migration statistics were based, in the main, on special permits to emigrate which were then required. The local authorities reported the removals of emigrants from the list of citizens. Reports were also to be made at intervals about "clandestine" emigration, or those who emigrated without a permit. But frequently no permit to leave one's native land was needed by an immigrant on entering or becoming naturalized in a foreign country, and the permit might be a hindrance in case of later repatriation. Furthermore some of the German states imposed a removal tax upon property which the emigrants took with them. As a result "clandestine" emigration became more important until it was practically impossible to estimate total emigration from evidence obtained at the emigrant's domicile.

With the improvement in transportation and especially with the introduction of railways, the difficulties grew. The records often suffered also because emigrants were imperfectly or not at all classified by destination and emigrants to another German state were often entered with emigrants overseas or to some foreign country. The bill about emigration which the National Assembly adopted in March, 1849, and which would have furnished the foundation for uniform statistics of migration, did not become a law, and in the matter of emigration the several German states continued independent. But, under the influence of the principle of freedom to emigrate which was embodied in the draft constitution of 1848, the provisions concerning the leave to emigrate and those concerning the removal tax were gradually abolished. With the formation of the North German Confederation in 1867 the subject of emigration became a matter for the Confederation and later for the Empire. Then all restrictions upon the citizen's freedom of migration were abolished with an exception in the case of persons subject to military duty.

But with this development, the adoption of the principle of freedom of movement and the abolition of compulsory passports, the ground was cut from under the German inland states in their attempts to ascertain emigration at the place of departure. The statistics concerning naturalization and the loss of citizenship which were still continued by some states became entirely perfunctory.²

¹See T. Bödiker, "Die Auswanderung und Einwanderung des Preussisches Staates."

²Concerning this and the following statements, see *Vierteljahrshefte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reichs* for 1873 (*Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 2, p. 135.)

Almost simultaneously with the first attempts of certain German inland states to record migration at the emigrant's residence attempts were made to ascertain emigration overseas from records at the ports of embarkation.

Bremen, the most important of these ports, began its record in 1832. Hamburg, the next most important port, followed in 1836. In both instances the emigration statistics at first were very summary. German emigrants were not distinguished from other emigrants leaving Bremen until 1866. In Hamburg the distinction was made in summary fashion after 1851. From certain German ports only very meager data for a few years are available. To be sure, only smaller ports with little emigration were involved, some of which had already been included in the Bremen and Hamburg data since these contained also the emigrants forwarded by Bremen and Hamburg agents, but embarking from neighboring ports.

There are no data available before 1870 about German emigrants through non-German ports.

With 1870-71 came a notable advance in German statistics of overseas migration. In order to secure uniformity in the returns from German ports, schedules were prescribed for emigrants, showing the full name, sex, age, previous residence, previous status, occupation, and destination. The individuals in each family, the date of sailing, the flag of the vessel, whether it was a steamer or a sailing vessel, and its destination, were to appear. Finally, the record was to show whether the emigrant was going directly to an overseas port or indirectly via a European port.

Summaries of these records of all German emigrants were to be sent annually to the Statistical Office. At the same time it was recommended that where Germans embarked from non-German ports the authorities should be requested to record the German emigrants separately and to gather the same information.

Emigration overseas to European countries and immigrants from overseas were excluded from these records, because such migrants were mingled with other travelers, and the control of the whole passenger traffic between German ports and other European ports consisting principally of business people, would have been difficult and annoying.

In these regulations there was no definition of an "emigrant." Yet from their terms one may conclude that it meant a person who left his native land intending to seek overseas a new and permanent abode and to find a new means of livelihood. At the first, to be

sure, some persons were classed as emigrants both at Bremen and at Hamburg who intended to return to their old homes.

A study of the practice of those days indicates that the errors of overstatement and of understatement would about cancel, and that the reported number of overseas emigrants would be near the true number.

Emigration from other German ports (Stettin, Swinemünde, Geestemünde, Lübeck, etc.) had never been important, and from about the end of the nineteenth century it ceased entirely. Emigration through those ports was first included in 1874, and at that time about 1,500 citizens annually emigrated through them.

German emigration through foreign ports, especially through Antwerp and to some extent through Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Havre and Genoa, was of considerable importance. In some years, especially in the '40's, German emigration through foreign ports exceeded German emigration from German ports. For example, between 1846 and 1851 German emigration was as given in Table 123.¹

TABLE 123.

GERMAN EMIGRATION THROUGH GERMAN AND FOREIGN PORTS, 1846-51.
(In Thousands)

Year	German Ports	Foreign Ports
1846	38,058	56,523
1847	42,382	67,147
1848	37,532	44,368
1849	36,249	52,852
1850	37,061	45,343
1851	56,070	56,477
1846-51	247,352	322,710

The large number going via foreign ports is understandable if one recalls that the principal stream of emigration at that period originated in southwestern Germany, and that to emigrants from Swabia and the Palatinate the Rhine offered an easier way to the coast than the journey by land to Bremen or Hamburg. With the construction of a network of railways in later years and with the growth of German shipping, the picture was radically changed.

Nevertheless, in the '70's and '80's German emigration from foreign ports was important and it seemed desirable, therefore, to

¹Hübner's *Jahrbuch* 1852, p. 264.

include it as completely as possible in the statistics of overseas emigration. German consuls abroad were directed, after 1871, to send in data concerning the emigration of Germans through foreign ports as a supplement to German statistics. It is true that these data are not uniform, but vary with the way in which migration statistics were collected and still more with the particular country's legislation about emigration. They were most detailed for Antwerp, and summary for other foreign ports at which many German emigrants embarked. In the case of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, data about German emigrants are available only from 1885. On the whole, where the data concerning German emigration from foreign ports exist, they are incomplete and those from the Austrian ports like Trieste, from the Italian ports like Genoa and Naples, and from the Scandinavian ports are lacking.

Some improvement in migration statistics resulted from the Imperial statute of 1897 and subsequent regulations requiring every despatcher of emigrants to make a register of the emigrants transported by him on a prescribed list, one for each ship. The lists were to contain the following data: Name, sex, age, marital condition, previous residence, citizenship, occupation, position in the occupation, and destination. The members of one family were to be separately designated as such.

These lists were to be handed to the emigration officials and formed the basis for the new statistics of overseas emigration which began January 1, 1899, and were to embrace the overseas emigration from all German ports. German emigration from ports outside of Germany had previously been reported as far as possible by German consuls and these reports were included in German emigration statistics. By the ordinance of 1898, the foreign shipping concerns which desired to transport German emigrants from ports outside of Germany were directed to hand to the proper German consul a list of German emigrants. Through this order the enumeration of German emigrants sailing from foreign ports was placed on a better basis.

This statute did not clearly define an "emigrant." The memorandum in support of it treated the subject negatively, saying that German citizens who went to a German colony and "travelers" who went for a long time to a foreign country were not to be deemed emigrants within the meaning of the statute. Whoever voluntarily left the national territory with the intention of settling

permanently outside of it was to be regarded as an emigrant.¹ According to this, whoever has the *animus revertendi* would not be an emigrant.

It is doubtful whether actual practice conformed to this point of view. Even after 1887 data for German emigration statistics were generally obtained only for steerage passengers who let it be known that they intended to emigrate.

Emigrant ships included all sea-going vessels destined for ports outside of Europe and carrying at least 25 steerage passengers.²

So long as emigration took place in the typical form of mass emigration, the great bulk of it was suitably ascertained. But this changed when the nature of emigration altered. Emigration at its beginning and during the last century had the character of a mass movement. Those disposed to emigrate formed groups and bands in order to struggle along one pathway for a distant goal. In the emigration ports these groups and bands formed large masses which had the same object in view, followed the same pathway and were resolved to leave their native land permanently, for a new home on the other side of the seas. In view of the hardships entailed in the first half of the nineteenth century, there was virtually no question of a subsequent return to Germany.³ Most of them had to make the trip as cheaply as possible. Therefore they traveled by mass transportation arranged to cover the most primitive wants. After the middle of the '30's special emigrants ships were built and later all emigrant ships became subject to special police control. Then emigration took place almost without interruption in these emigrant ships or carriers of steerage passengers.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, mass emigration dwindled and the methods of travel changed. As prosperity increased in Germany and circles economically better off participated in emigration, emigrants began to look down upon the primitive conditions in the steerage and to cross as cabin passengers, leaving the steerage more and more to emigrants from eastern Europe. The shipping companies heeded this change and the steerage was displaced by the third class, which was adapted to higher require-

¹Compare P. Goetsch, *Reichsgesetz über das Auswanderungswesen* (1898).

²In this particular the statute of 1897 follows closely the previous legislation of the states, according to which vessels that under normal conditions were intended for the carriage of more than 12 or more than 25 passengers were deemed to be emigrant ships.

³Concerning the hardships of the ocean voyage and the high mortality among emigrants during the first half of the 19th Century, and the exploitation of the emigrants, see F. Kapp, "Über Auswanderung", pp. 21(163)-29(171); also his *Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderung in Amerika* (3d ed., 1869), pp. 282-302.

ments. But third-class passengers are not exclusively emigrants; they include many business people, visitors, and tourists. On the other hand, many emigrants cross in the second or first class, and are no longer identifiable by the class in which they travel.

Under present conditions, too, it is harder to define an "emigrant." Early in the nineteenth century, when the voyage was prolonged, trying and dangerous, and when sometimes one-quarter or one-fifth of the emigrants died on the voyage, emigration was almost unchangeable and final. Today, when the voyage takes only a few days in safe and comfortable ships without hardship or danger and at low rates,¹ a removal overseas has ceased to be an irrevocable step. Indeed, here and there seasonal emigration is developing, that is, workers who transfer their domicile to an overseas country to profit by its economic opportunities temporarily or for a favorable season. Therefore the term "emigrant" must be defined more loosely than before, as one who departs from the mother country to gain his living abroad.²

German emigration statistics have recently taken into account this change in methods of travel and in the meaning of "emigrant". The officials previously charged with preparing emigration statistics from the ships' lists endeavored to find in the lists of first-class and second-class passengers names of persons who were really emigrants. Yet the result was always uncertain. The general rule prevailed: steerage passengers and third-class passengers are "emigrants." The German overseas emigration figures therefore do not quite correspond with the facts, and since the opening of the new century they are probably too low.

In 1924 the Statistical Office in collaboration with the statistical officers of the United States and with emigration officials and the great emigration companies, studied the bases of these statistics and adjusted them to the changed conditions. An attempt was made for the first time to get a working definition of "emigrant." As overseas emigration is still directed mainly to the United States, the definition was adapted to the American definition of an "immigrant." In the instructions for compiling migration statistics it is provided³

¹According to information supplied by the Hamburg-American Line the passenger rates for the voyage from Hamburg to the United States were:

In the steerage	{ 1900, 100 to 120 Marks (\$25-30)
	{ 1913, 140 to 150 Marks (\$29-34)
In the third class	{ 1913, 175 to 190 Marks (\$40-45)
	{ 1927, 280 RM (\$115)

²This is the definition of the Austrian emigration statute.

³*Vierteljahrshefte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, 1925, Heft I, p. 5.

that every traveler to the United States who is an "emigrant" in the American sense is to be so designated without regard to the class in which he is traveling. Other travelers to the United States are to be classed as "non-emigrants."

Of those going to other countries, no matter in what class they travel, all who do not definitely intend to return within twelve months are to be classed as "emigrants," the others as "non-emigrants." If a traveler's papers do not disclose whether he should be classed as an "emigrant" under these rules, the necessary information is to be obtained when the entries are made in the ships' lists. Since every traveler by sea must be classed as an "emigrant" or a "non-emigrant" and since statistics are now compiled of the entire current of overseas travel, there is a greater guarantee than formerly that the statistics of emigration overseas will be complete and correct.

With the aid of American immigration statistics, the amount of emigration overseas from Germany after 1820 can be determined with some accuracy. German records of overseas emigration began at Bremen in 1832 and were extended to Hamburg in 1836. But these figures do not distinguish the German emigration. When German emigrants came to be distinguished from non-German emigrants—1851 in Hamburg, 1866 in Bremen—and especially when, with the establishment of the empire, the statistics of the German ports of emigration were made more nearly uniform, then German migration statistics became able to furnish direct and reliable information concerning German overseas migration. Before that time they afford some clues and these combined with the American immigration statistics from 1820 to 1870, make an estimate possible.

The United States has continuous statistics of immigration after 1820, classified by country of origin. But in these returns language was often used as a test of the country from which an immigrant came. For example, many Austrian immigrants who spoke German were probably classed as German. As a result, the American immigration statistics show only 6,057 immigrants in 1872 from Austria-Hungary Poland,¹ while according to the port records, 9,204 emigrants from Austria-Hungary embarked via Bremen and Hamburg for the United States. Before 1870 there was little emigration from Austria and this source of error was not important. Another minor source of error lies in the fact that the number of immigrants

¹[Volume I, page 419.—Ed.]

reported at destination was reduced by deaths during the passage, but this too can be disregarded.¹

In an attempt to complete the torso of German statistics of overseas migration for the period before 1870, the following points need consideration:

1. Before 1870 about nine-tenths of the emigrants from Germany went to the United States. Where German figures are not obtainable the American statistics of immigration from Germany may be accepted as a substitute.

2. German emigration to other countries can be estimated as follows:

(a) The statistics of Bremen and Hamburg formerly embraced all emigrants embarking there whether they were of German origin or not (in 1866-72 about 22 per cent were not of German origin).

(b) After 1847 emigrants from both ports were classified by destination. The number embarking for the United States, although many non-Germans were included, was hardly more than one-half of the number of German immigrants arriving in the United States. Many German emigrants to overseas points must have embarked at non-German ports. Some went via England and others went via Dutch, Belgian, French or Italian ports. Yet no data about German emigration are obtainable from the ports in question.

(c) Probably only a part of the German emigrants for other countries embarked in Bremen or Hamburg. Assume that the number of emigrants, German or foreign, embarking at Hamburg or Bremen for the United States (German statistics) was to the number of German immigrants arriving in the United States (American statistics) as the number of emigrants, German or foreign, going from Hamburg or Bremen to other countries (German statistics) was to the unknown number of German emigrants to those other countries. The results of this assumption for 1847-70 appear in Table 124, page 333.

(d) For the period before 1847, when the classification of emigrants by destination at Bremen began, this method cannot be used. For that period the number of immigrants from Germany

¹In the first half of the nineteenth century, when emigrants were carried in sailing ships, the mortality during the passage was high. According to F. Kapp, in the winter of 1847 more than 20,000 persons died while on the way to America or just after arriving in port, because of the defective equipment of the ships. But with the introduction of police control of emigration companies and the displacement of sailing vessels by steamers, the mortality among emigrants sank greatly in the second half of the nineteenth century. On the steamers that arrived at New York in 1870 it amounted to 0.7 per thousand passengers, but on the sailing ships it amounted to 5.7 per thousand.

shown by American statistics has been increased by a uniform percentage to allow for German emigrants to other countries. According to the Bremen and Hamburg statistics for 1847-70 there were 1,596,000 emigrants embarked at the two ports, of whom 1,466,000 were for the United States, showing that the emigrants to the United States were to the total number as 100 is to 109. Consequently, the American figures for German immigrants should be increased by about one-tenth to get the estimated number of all German overseas emigrants.

The results thus reached (Table 124) differ in several respects from those of similar calculations made in 1873.¹ The differences are due mainly to the effect of later corrections, especially of the Bremen and Hamburg figures of emigration to the United States, which grew out of researches made for Volume 336 of the *Statistik des Deutschen Reiches*. The Bremen and Hamburg figures of emigration to the United States published in 1873 were incomplete. In consequence the per cent of German overseas emigration going to the United States has had to be increased (according to my calculations it was 92 per cent of the total German emigration). As a result, the additions to the American statistics of immigration from Germany before 1847 are somewhat less than those shown by the official calculation of 1873 and my figures therefore are somewhat smaller than those then reached.

The calculation of 1873 was confined to a summary by 10-year periods, whereas there is great interest in following the development of German emigration overseas year by year. The calculations hitherto made cannot be accepted. Those made by W. Mönckmeier suffer from the same defects as the calculation of 1873, for he accepted, in the main, the earlier figures and his results therefore are too large. Still less probable are the yearly figures in Hübner's *Jahrbuch für Volkswirtschaft und Statistik, Jahrgänge 1852-1862* which cannot be accepted because no explanation of them is given.

A test of these calculations is afforded by comparing the results with figures previously reached for the balance of migration. Combining the figures in Column 7 (Table 124) for census periods and comparing the results with the losses by migration previously established, one obtains the results given in Table 125 (page 334).

The divergences, in some of the periods, are very wide but for the whole 31 years the two sets of figures agree pretty well.

German statistics of overseas emigration were greatly improved

¹*Statistik des Deutschen Reiches*, Vol. 2, p. 132.

GERMAN MIGRATION

333

TABLE 124.

ESTIMATED AMOUNT AND RATE OF GERMAN EMIGRATION OVERSEAS ANNUALLY:
1820-70.*

Year	Overseas Emigration (German and foreign) from Bremen and Hamburg (German figures)			Immigration of Germans into the United States		Calculated number of German emigrants to other countries (a) 1820-46 =10% of Col. 4 (b) 1847-70 =Col. 3 × Col. 5	Total German Overseas Emigration (Columns 4 + 6)	Emigration Rate per 100,000 In- habitants
	Total	To the United States	Other countries	(American figures)	Column 4 divided by Column 2			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1820	.....	.....	.....	968	.....	97	1,065	4
1821	.....	.....	.....	383	.....	38	421	2
1822	.....	.....	.....	148	.....	15	163	1
1823	.....	.....	.....	183	.....	18	201	1
1824	.....	.....	.....	230	.....	23	253	1
1825	.....	.....	.....	450	.....	45	495	2
1826	.....	.....	.....	511	.....	51	562	2
1827	.....	.....	.....	432	.....	43	475	2
1828	.....	.....	.....	1,851	.....	185	2,036	7
1829	.....	.....	.....	597	.....	60	657	2
1830	.....	.....	.....	1,976	.....	198	2,174	7
1831	.....	.....	.....	2,413	.....	241	2,654	9
1832	10,344	.....	.....	10,194	.....	1,019	11,213	37
1833	8,891	.....	.....	6,988	.....	699	7,687	25
1834	13,086	.....	.....	17,686	.....	1,769	19,455	64
1835	6,185	.....	.....	8,311	.....	831	9,142	30
1836	17,007	.....	.....	20,707	.....	2,071	22,778	73
1837	17,514	.....	.....	23,740	.....	2,374	26,114	83
1838	10,267	.....	.....	11,683	.....	1,168	12,851	40
1839	13,981	.....	.....	21,028	.....	2,103	23,131	72
1840	14,526	.....	.....	29,704	.....	2,970	32,674	100
1841	11,001	.....	.....	15,291	.....	1,529	16,820	51
1842	14,234	.....	.....	20,370	.....	2,037	22,407	67
1843	11,683	.....	.....	14,441	.....	1,444	15,885	47
1844	21,631	.....	.....	20,731	.....	2,073	22,804	67
1845	34,210	.....	.....	34,355	.....	3,436	37,791	110
1846	37,229	.....	.....	57,561	.....	5,756	63,317	183
1847	41,310	38,233	3,077	74,281	1.94	5,969	80,250	231
1848	36,532	34,106	2,426	58,465	1.71	4,146	62,611	180
1849	34,249	32,120	2,129	60,235	1.88	4,003	64,238	183
1850	33,206	31,497	1,709	78,896	2.50	4,273	83,169	236
1851	49,772	45,764	4,008	72,482	1.58	6,333	78,815	221
1852	87,586	72,420	15,166	145,918	2.01	30,484	176,402	492
1853	87,591	82,500	5,091	141,946	1.72	8,717	150,663	419
1854	127,694	114,733	12,961	215,009	1.87	24,237	239,246	663
1855	50,202	43,103	7,099	71,918	1.67	11,855	83,773	232
1856	62,720	55,046	7,674	71,028	1.29	98,899	80,927	223
1857	81,014	72,093	8,921	91,781	1.27	11,330	103,111	282
1858	42,976	34,246	8,730	45,310	1.32	11,524	56,834	154
1859	35,253	31,096	4,157	41,784	1.34	5,570	47,354	127
1860	46,511	43,781	2,730	54,491	1.24	3,385	57,876	154
1861	30,939	26,551	4,388	31,661	1.19	5,222	36,883	97
1862	35,264	30,960	4,304	27,529	0.89	3,831	31,360	82
1863	42,856	36,450	6,406	33,162	0.91	5,829	38,991	101
1864	52,756	49,813	2,943	57,276	1.15	3,384	60,660	155
1865	87,549	82,318	5,231	83,424	1.01	5,283	88,707	224
1866	106,657	102,655	4,002	115,892	1.13	4,522	120,414	303
1867	116,816	112,620	4,196	133,426	1.18	4,968	138,394	346
1868	116,483	110,129	6,354	55,831	0.51	3,133	58,964	147
1869	110,813	106,650	4,163	131,042	1.23	5,120	136,162	336
1870	79,337	76,769	2,568	118,225	1.54	3,955	122,180	299

*For details concerning the fundamental figures in this Table see:

For Column 1, this work, Volume I, p. 692 and 694.

For Column 4, this work, Volume I, p. 377, United States Table I.

^bThe method of calculation is explained on pp. 331-4.

TABLE 125.

COMPARISON OF COMPUTED AND RECORDED GERMAN EMIGRATION,
1841-70.

Period	German Emigration Overseas (calculated)	Total Loss through Migration
1841-43	55,112	63,573
1844-46	123,912	101,013
1847-49	207,099	305,956
1850-52	338,386	294,468
1853-55	473,682	474,313
1856-58	240,872	133,170
1859-61	142,113	136,831
1862-64	131,011	96,200
1865-67	347,545	325,721
1868-70	317,306	441,208
1841-1870	2,347,008	2,372,453

in 1871. The resulting statistics of German emigration to individual countries should be compared with the immigration statistics of the countries in question.¹ The rate of overseas emigration given in Column 8 of Table 124 is continued to 1928 in Table 126 (page 335).

The data in Volume I show that for the earlier years the differences between the German and the American figures are wide enough to require explanation.

The German statistics are for calendar years and those of the United States are for fiscal years ended June 30. When the number of migrants in the second half of a year differs greatly from the number in the first half this difference in the year leads to a marked divergence in the figures. The peak of German migration to the United States usually appears in the American statistics a year later than in the German emigration statistics (see Diagram 11, page 338).

To avoid this difficulty it is well to study the figures for decades. The results are shown in Table 127 on page 336.

¹The materials for such a comparison have been published in detail in Volume I of the present work. The author found the following tables of that volume most serviceable: p. 697, Germany, Table VI "Volume of Intercontinental Emigration" and pages 700 f., Germany, Table VIII "Emigration by Destination". All those data were compared with corresponding immigration figures in the same volume collected by the United States (pp. 419ff, 486), Canada (pp. 360, 364, 367), Brazil (pp. 550 f), Argentina (p. 544), and Australia (pp. 952 f, 973).

TABLE 126.

GERMAN OVERSEAS EMIGRATION RATE PER 100,000 INHABITANTS: 1871-1928.

Year	Rate	Year	Rate
1871	186	1901	39
1872	311	1902	56
1873	266	1903	62
1874	114	1904	47
1875	76	1905	47
1876	69	1906	50
1877	53	1907	51
1878	58	1908	32
1879	80	1909	39
1880	260	1910	39
1881	486	1911	35
1882	445	1912	28
1883	377	1913	39
1884	322	1914	17
1885	236	1915	1
1886	177	1916	0.5
1887	220	1917	0.01
1888	216	1918	.....
1889	197	1919	5
1890	197	1920	14
1891	241	1921	38
1892	231	1922	60
1893	173	1923	187
1894	80	1924	93
1895	72	1925	101
1896	64	1926	105
1897	46	1927	97
1898	41	1928	90
1899	44	1929	...
1900	40	.....	...

According to Table 127 the differences, aside from that in the abnormal period 1911-20, were largest in the decades 1871-80 and 1901-10. For the entire period the American statistics showed 30

TABLE 127.

GERMAN EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES AND AMERICAN IMMIGRATION
STATISTICS COMPARED, 1871-1928.

Period	German Emigrants (German Statistics)	German Immigrants (American Statistics)	Ratio of American to German figures = 100
1871-80	555,866	718,182	129.2
1881-90	1,237,136	1,452,970	117.4
1891-1900	478,930	505,152	105.4
1901-10	255,173	341,498	133.8
1911-20	63,769	143,945	225.7
1921-28	340,854	338,882	99.4
1871-1928	2,931,728	3,502,629	119.5

per cent more immigrants from Germany than the German statistics showed emigrants to the United States. Among the reasons for the discrepancies the following deserve mention:

(1) The statistics of emigration introduced in Germany in 1871 were handicapped at the start by many imperfections. The separation of "emigrants" from other travelers was neither complete nor carried out uniformly at all seaports. By limiting "emigrants" in the main to steerage passengers the definition was made too narrow. The destination of an emigrant was probably assumed to be that of the ship in which he sailed. These German statistics suffered especially from the fact that data were not obtained from foreign ports (especially those of England, France, Italy and Austria) which were frequented by German emigrants, or did not classify the German emigrants by country of destination. Thus in the case of Havre, the 30,000 German emigrants, 1871-80, and the 55,000, 1881-90, were not classified by country of destination. If one adds these emigrants to those shown in the German statistics,¹ the ratio between the German figures and the American is reduced for 1871-80 from 129 to 122 and for 1881-90 from 117 to 112.

(2) The American figures are too large because the classification is, in part at least, by language rather than by residence. The boundaries of Germany and those of the German language do not coincide. Great districts in which the German language is spoken

¹See *Monatshefte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, 1881, Heft II, p. 114.

lay outside of Germany in 1871. Many emigrants from German Austria appeared in the American statistics as Germans. Thus only 45,000 immigrants from Austria-Hungary are shown in the American returns for 1871-77, while by the German approximately 60,000 emigrants from Austria-Hungary embarked at Bremen or Hamburg. On the other hand, in the American entries emigrants were not fully separated from ordinary travelers. According to German figures of 1879, said to be based upon "reliable researches," of the 118,000 Germans who reached New York between 1875 and 1878 only 76,000, or about two-thirds, were emigrants and 42,000, or about one-third, were ordinary travelers.¹ From this evidence it was inferred that a considerable fraction of the Germans recorded as immigrants in the American statistics had reached the United States but did not intend to abide there, and should not have been so entered.

It is hard to decide which set of figures to use. The actual number is probably nearer the German totals than the American. The German emigration figures are too small because they make certain omissions and start from too narrow a definition. The American immigration statistics are too large because they define an emigrant too broadly, and because they include German-speaking emigrants who lived outside of Germany.

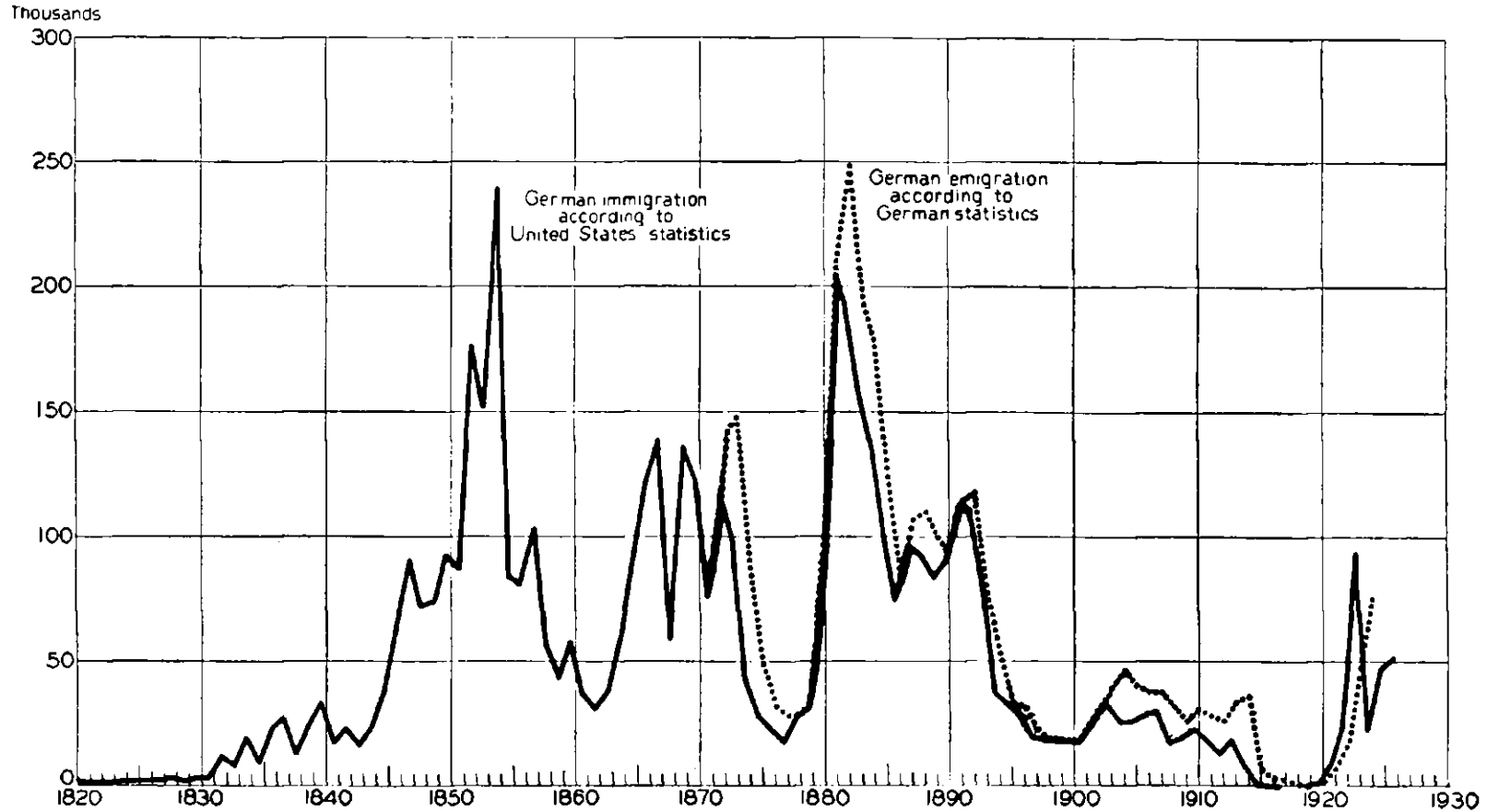
With the return movement at the beginning of the '90's the two sets of figures came much nearer agreement. In 1891-1900 the number of German emigrants to the United States almost agreed with the number of German immigrants shown in the American statistics. But from 1913 on, the two sets of figures began to diverge again, a change due in the main to the fact that methods of travel were changing and that statistics limited to steerage passengers came to depart more and more from the true number which included many emigrants traveling in the cabin.

During the late war emigration from German ports almost ceased, but Germans still emigrated in small numbers via foreign ports.

In spite of individual deviations the two sets of figures run closely parallel. This is evident if one compares the two sets of figures by means of graphs. The graph Diagram 11 (p. 338) compares the German statistics of German emigration to the United States and the American statistics of immigration from Germany. Notwithstanding minor differences the two sets of statistics agree in the main.

¹*Deutscher Reichstag Drucksache No. 157 (1879).*

Diagram 11. German Overseas Emigration Compared with German Immigration into the United States, 1820-1926.



When we compare German emigration statistics with the statistics of other immigration countries, we find wider differences.

For Brazil, the next largest recipient of German emigration, the German statistics in the first three decades agree pretty well with the Brazilian. But in the periods 1901-10 and 1911-20 there was a marked divergence between the two sets of figures, followed by a thorough agreement, as Table 128 shows.

TABLE 128.

GERMAN EMIGRATION AND BRAZILIAN IMMIGRATION STATISTICS COMPARED, 1871-1928.

Period	German Emigrants to Brazil (German statistics)	German Immigrants into Brazil (Brazilian statistics)
1871-80	20,904	17,012
1881-90	18,792	21,628
1891-1900	12,459	12,489
1901-10	3,985	17,533
1911-20	1,674	26,120
1921-28	53,772	67,340
1871-1928	111,586	162,122

The differences between the German and the Argentinian statistics of German migration are shown by Table 129 to be especially great.

The differences in Table 129 are greatest for 1901-20. This is due to the fact that many German emigrants when asked in which country they would settle, were not able to state more definitely, so they gave "South America" as their destination. More than 17,000 German emigrants, in 1911-20, gave their destination as "South America." But this source of error only partly explains the divergences. In going to South America many German emigrants traveled as cabin passengers and were not enrolled as "emigrants." Many who did not intend to settle and were not classed as emigrants when they embarked were counted, when they landed, as immigrants. Other causes mentioned in the discussion of the statistics of the United States, such as treating all German-speaking people as Germans, have played a rôle in South American statistics.

TABLE 129.

GERMAN EMIGRATION AND ARGENTINIAN IMMIGRATION STATISTICS
 COMPARED, 1871-1928.

Period	German Emigrants to Argentina (German statistics)	German Immigrants into Argentina (Argentine statistics)
1871-80	1,542	3,819
1881-90	8,369	14,184
1891-1900	6,406	8,693
1901-10	4,611	19,304
1911-20	4,222	22,158
1921-28	39,084	50,378
1871-1928	64,234	118,536

The much greater differences between the German and the Canadian and Australian migration statistics¹ spring in part from indirect emigration especially through English ports and, in the case of Canada, through the United States.

On the whole, German emigration to other countries does not count for much in comparison with German emigration to the United States, and hardly changes the general picture. The German statistics of emigration overseas although incomplete will serve to characterize the whole German movement overseas, and provide the bases for a subsequent inquiry regarding the dependence of migration upon economic conditions.

¹These totalled: (a) in the case of Canada:

	Emigration of Germans to Canada (German statistics)	Immigration of Germans into Canada (Canadian statistics)
1901-10	3,209	18,612
1911-20	3,288	20,209
1921-28	14,033	36,443

(b) in the case of Australia:

	Emigration of Germans to Australia (German statistics)	Immigration of Germans into Australia (Australian statistics)
1901-10	1,516	13,655
1911-20	1,159	14,173
1921-28	537	2,852

Motives for Emigration

What motives have caused a person to emigrate cannot be determined by statistics. From the ebb and flow of emigration, however, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the effect of certain events or social conditions. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries religious motives for emigration almost completely disappeared, but political motives influenced the migration movement repeatedly, sometimes furthering and sometimes hindering it. After every war in which Germany or German states were involved there was a marked increase in emigration. The emigrant wished to avoid future wars or was antagonized by post-war political conditions. Wars in immigration countries have regularly checked emigration to them. Times of disorder and revolution also have been an influence. Such popular upheavals grew out of dissatisfaction with domestic political conditions. But often they owed their origin to economic and social needs and usually prepared the way for emigration. If high-flown political hopes miscarried, as in Germany after 1830 and 1848, despondency and bitterness succeeded. In such a frame of mind a decision to migrate to the "promised land," the land of freedom beyond the seas, was easily reached.

The most important factors, however, have been economic and social. They are the material foundation upon which psychological motives develop. If people are satisfied with their lot they have no motive to migrate. *Ubi bene ibi patria*. But if single persons or whole classes find their economic existence seriously threatened by a failure of crops or other misfortunes, they will often resort to emigration as a road by which to escape life's tribulations or to improve their lot. To be sure, want does not always drive people to this resolve. It may make them dull and apathetic, scarcely able to come to so momentous a resolve. Only when a sense of want is coupled with the courage to run risks and with a knowledge of better conditions or a better outlook elsewhere does the resolve mature.

The degree of difference which the person debating the question believes to exist between his situation in his own country and his prospects elsewhere is the decisive factor.

About the middle of the nineteenth century an important influence was the passion for land on the part of the younger sons of German peasants who could not hope to satisfy that craving at home. This constant factor was reinforced by severe economic, social or political disturbances in Germany.

What were the external stimuli which caused the great fluctuations in emigration shown by the figures of Tables 124 (page 333) and 126 (page 335) and the graph of Diagram 11 (page 338)?

After the famine of 1816-17, which drove 20,000 Germans to flee to North America,¹ the number of overseas emigrants remained low during the first years after the records began. The '20's were noteworthy for good crops and cheap food. Rye cost, in Prussia, 164 marks per ton in 1816, and 214 marks in 1817, which was twice or more than twice its average price of 87 marks in the '20's.

In the '30's there was an irregular increase in the number of emigrants. In 1838 there was a drop, due primarily to the commercial crisis of 1837 in the United States. Those ready to emigrate but prevented from sailing, carried out their intention in the following years, especially in 1840, which represents the first peak of German emigration.

A second rise started about the middle of the '40's and reached its crest in 1847. It was due to recurrent failures of the wheat crop, wide-spread potato rot, and a consequent rise in the prices of foodstuffs. A ton of rye, which cost 101 marks in 1841, was 27 per cent higher in 1845, 75 per cent higher in 1846, and 113 per cent higher in 1847. Potatoes, which cost some 30 marks per ton in 1841-45, were more than double that price in 1847.

The increase of emigration in the first half of the '50's, culminating in 1854, overtopped anything that had previously occurred. The causes were much the same as 10 or 20 years earlier. After some good harvests and low food prices came several crop failures which forced the prices of cereals and potatoes up tremendously. A ton of rye which cost 90 marks on the average, 1848-50, rose in the following years by 39 per cent, 71 per cent, 89 per cent and 132 per cent, and then fell to 137 per cent and 142 per cent, but never to less than 100 marks. In the years 1854-56 the prices of potatoes were again over 60 marks per ton as compared to 32 marks on the average in 1848-50.

In the first half of the '50's political considerations also stimulated emigration. The political movement of 1848 and the hope that it might lead to a national union of the German people had come to naught. Many of the leaders, disappointed and embittered, emigrated overseas and especially to the United States where they hoped to find the freedom which they had vainly sought to secure in their home country. To what extent the mass emigration in the

¹Friederich Kapp, "Über Auswanderung" (1871), p. 8 (150).

first half of the '50's was due to political disappointment and to what extent to economic factors it is hard to say. Generally speaking, the latter were more important.

In the second half of the '50's and until 1862 the tide of overseas emigration receded. The impulse to emigrate was weakened by favorable economic conditions at home, good crops and cheap food, by the economic crisis of 1857 and later by the Civil War in the United States.

After 1862 German emigration increased year by year to a crest in 1867 with about 140,000 emigrants. The causes for this increase were that part of the emigration, previously checked by conditions in America, was merely postponed and that the economic conditions favored emigration. The principal reason did not lie in bad crops and high prices in Germany. German industry was entering on a period of transformation from an agricultural towards an industrial organization, wherein the handicrafts and household industries frequently met with difficulties. The small farmers and agricultural laborers still craved land, but now the handicraftsmen also and those working at household industries found it more and more difficult to hold their own against prosperous manufacturing industries and began to furnish emigrants. Political motives also played an important part. The German wars of 1864 and 1866 reinforced emigration. Districts in which the inhabitants had suffered from war or were dissatisfied with the change in political conditions or with the introduction of compulsory military service, contributed largely to the new current.

The effects of the Franco-Prussian War were similar but less marked. After German emigration had declined to 80,000 in 1871, it rose in 1872 to 130,000, but for five years thereafter it sank rapidly and uninterruptedly to 23,000 in 1877, for in this period quietude in politics concurred with an economic revival in Germany and an economic depression in the United States.

Towards the end of the '70's the United States began again to absorb European immigration and was facing a rapid economic development while the economic and political changes in Germany had not yet borne fruit. The "swarming" which then began culminated in 1881 and 1882 with more than 200,000 German emigrants annually. In the following years with the gradual improvement of economic conditions at home emigration declined, but through the second half of the '80's remained at about 100,000. The emigrants were mainly recruited from the agricultural districts, which were

suffering from the keen competition of the newly opened and productive regions overseas. But the favorable industrial situation in Germany at the close of the '80's made it possible to absorb within Germany a part at least of the petty farmers and agricultural laborers who would otherwise have emigrated.

The prosperous period, 1889-90, was followed by an industrial crisis in Germany during which the annual number of emigrants rose again to about 120,000, but after 1892 a great decline set in. The curve, which at the beginning of the '70's and still more in the '80's had looked like the temperature chart of an alarming fever, did not show 50,000 emigrants in any one year during the quarter of a century following 1894. From 1895 until the outbreak of the World War the annual number of overseas emigrants, apart from minor fluctuations, ranged between 20,000 and 25,000, or in comparison with previous conditions it almost ceased. To what was the change due?

The main causes lie in the rapid industrial advance of Germany. Through the rise of manufactures, dependent to a great extent on exports, it was possible to retain in the country those surplus workers from the rural districts who had furnished most of the emigrants. The goal of German economic policy, to export goods instead of persons, was substantially attained. Emigration, especially overseas emigration, gave way to an internal migration of an intensity never imagined, largely from the country to the cities, especially the great cities.

The small emigration which continued took on a different character. Much of it became a sort of temporary emigration made up of trained industrial laborers, technical laborers, foremen, engineers and tradespeople, who removed overseas for a long period rather than for life, to profit from the favorable economic conditions. Thus the emigration curve came to depend more than ever upon industrial prosperity and this relationship became more evident the more the phases of the business cycle failed to synchronize in the country of emigration and the country of immigration. When the German period of prosperity came to an end in 1901, German emigration figures increased. Conversely, the American economic crisis of 1908 brought about a decline in the number of German emigrants.

During the World War emigration overseas from blockaded Germany, fell almost to zero. The immigration statistics of the principal immigration countries, especially the United States,

recorded some hundreds or thousands of German immigrants, but most of these probably were Germans from other countries, such as Canada.

Even after the war, German emigration kept down to narrow limits. In view of the desperate political and economic plight into which Germany was plunged this may seem surprising. Many men returning from the front could find no employment. The amputation of large sections of German territory drove hundreds of thousands of Germans out of their homes in the separated districts, and they competed for employment within diminished Germany. Great sections of the people were dissatisfied with the internal political conditions. Numbers despaired of the future and of their fatherland. This widespread feeling of despair was the best medium for producing an emigration fever, and everywhere a great desire to emigrate appeared. But the impulse could not be satisfied, for emergency legislation in foreign countries stood in the way and was only slowly repealed. The German merchant fleet had been almost lost through the Treaty of Versailles, and thus emigration from German ports had become almost impossible.

But despite these hindrances German emigration swelled rapidly. In 1922 it was 37,000, greater than in any year since 1895, and in 1923 it was 115,000, greater than in any year since 1892. This crest was connected with the decline in the value of German currency. In 1923 after the invasion of the Ruhr, inflation reached its maximum figure (\$1 = 4,200,000,000,000 paper marks). Private capital almost disappeared. Thousands in desperation sought by emigration to save themselves from the threatening economic chaos. After the currency had been stabilized the economic and financial situation cleared up and the political outlook improved, confidence in the future was slowly regained. In 1924 emigration dropped to about 60,000 and since then has remained at that level.

This decline is ascribable also in part to measures taken by the immigration countries, such as raising the financial requirements imposed upon immigrants, demanding the possession of more capital or the furnishing of sureties, or limiting the number of immigrants by legislation. The last form of restriction was adopted by the United States, which established immigrant quotas for each European country. As the United States is still the goal of most German emigrants their emigration was greatly curtailed by this legislation.

In view of these legislative restrictions the statistics of emigration are not a good measure of the desire to emigrate. That desire

is better revealed by the statistics of the National Emigration Bureau showing the number of persons anxious to emigrate who had sought advice and information from the bureau. These figures are summarized in Table 130.

TABLE 130.

NUMBERS OF GERMAN APPLICATIONS TO NATIONAL EMIGRATION BUREAU,
1910-27.

Fiscal Year Apr. 1 to March 31	Persons advised	Replies sent out	Number emigrating overseas
1910-20*	18,681	22,518	3,223
1920-21	79,216	101,813	9,194
1921-22	70,765	82,979	24,173
1922-23	76,716	89,011	36,623
1923-24	124,841	148,732	115,431
1924-25	54,594	64,732	58,328
1925-26	73,435	86,595	62,705
1926-27	97,295	115,957	65,280

*In 1920 the *Reichsstelle* was established.

The annual numbers are not exactly comparable on account of the varying extent of the Bureau's field (since 1924 limitations have been imposed on it), but they do show that in recent years the desire to emigrate is much more wide-spread than the number of emigrants would indicate.

German Emigration Foci

To classify emigrants according to their place of origin throws light on the motives of emigration and has interest on its own account. From what parts of Germany do the mass of emigrants come? From rural or city districts? From agrarian or industrial provinces? Are there so-called "emigration foci?" From the economic and social composition of the foci, what conclusions can be drawn about the motives for emigration?

The earliest mass emigration overseas originated in southwest Germany. In the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth the inhabitants of the Palatinate and Swabia fur-

nished the principal contingents. Thanks to the great artery of the Rhine, western and southwestern Germans were connected with international trade at a time when central and northern Germany were almost completely cut off from it.

While the psychological requisites for emigration were found in southwestern Germany, other political, economic and social factors stimulating it were not lacking. Hardly any other region in Europe suffered from wars and devastation more often and more severely than the Palatinate. Nowhere were the political unrest and disappointment in 1848 at the frustration of their hope of eliminating the German petty states and creating a single German Nation, greater than in southwestern Germany. Still more important was the agrarian legislation. Southwestern Germany (the Palatinate, Baden, Württemberg) is preëminently a region of small peasant holdings.¹ Because of the unlimited division of the holdings and the great increase of population, the land was so subdivided that many of the small farms, even in good years, could hardly support a family. When the crops failed in successive years, as frequently happened, these petty farmers and their families suffered bitterly unless they could find other employment. Faced with the impossibility of satisfying their craving for land, for an adequate living, and for economic and social betterment, the inhabitants were ready to accept the invitations of foreign agents and emigrate *en masse*. If the first emigrants made a fortune "over there" or sent back favorable reports, then the more faint-hearted were ready to follow.

Early in the '40's emigration spread, first to the western states and provinces (Hesse, the Rhineland, Westphalia, Thuringia), *i. e.* to those regions with a minute subdivision of landed property and lying near the main arteries of traffic, and later to other districts. With the gradual improvement in transportation by the completion of railways, a great human current began to flow from central and eastern Germany, shifting the foci of emigration to eastern and northeastern districts. German emigration reached its first crest in the southwest and west in the middle of the '50's, its second in central Germany towards the end of the '50's, and its third in the

¹According to the agricultural census of 1925 (*cf. Wirtschaft und Statistik, 1927, Heft 9, p. 396*) about 101,000 farmers were enumerated in the Palatinate. Of these 65,000, or 64 per cent, had an improved area of less than 5 acres, 23,000 had from 5 to 12 acres, 13,000 from 12 to 50 acres, and only about 600, or 0.6 per cent, cultivated more than 50 acres.

east in the '70's and '80's.¹ Emigration from southwestern Germany remained relatively high, but another emigration center developed in the northeast, from which hundreds of thousands of emigrants left for overseas.

After the World War emigration from the northeast was below the average, and the current shifted again to the northwestern and southwestern districts. The sources of emigration in the various parts of Germany since 1870 are shown in Table 132 (page 349).

Before the World War West Prussia, Pomerania and Posen showed the highest emigration rate. They are agricultural provinces with large landed estates and large-scale cultivation.² But cultivation on a large scale, like the other extreme of very small holdings, is a cause of emigration. As Mönckmeier states,³ in northeastern

TABLE 131.
PER CENT OF TOTAL EMIGRATION BY PROVINCES, 1844-71.

Year	Western Provinces	Central Provinces acquired in 1866.	Eastern Provinces
	(a) Prussia (limits before 1866).		
1844-59	42.2	....	57.8
1860	39.3	....	60.7
1861	28.2	....	71.8
1862	18.1	....	81.9
1863	18.2	....	81.8
1864	33.2	....	68.8
1865	30.8	....	69.2
1866	32.3	....	67.7
	(b) Prussia (including Hesse-Nassau, Hanover and Schleswig-Holstein)		
1867	19.8	43.6	36.6
1868	14.9	40.3	44.8
1869	12.6	43.2	44.2
1870	9.5	54.0	36.5
1871	13.4	43.0	43.6

¹For the period before the foundation of the Empire this appears, at least so far as Prussia is concerned, from the following comparison based upon the data given by T. Bödicker, "Auswanderung und Einwanderung des preussischen Staates" (1873).

The total emigration from Prussia—including emigration overseas, the cancellations from the list of citizens, and the notations of the local authorities—was distributed as given in Table 131.

After their incorporation in the Prussian state the newly added provinces showed an unusually large emigration, ascribable to political motives, such as dissatisfaction with the political readjustment or dread of compulsory military service. With the reconciliation of these provinces to the new conditions emigration diminished.

²Cf. *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 212; also *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 1927, Heft 9.

³Mönckmeier, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung* (1912), p. 126.

AVERAGE ANNUAL EMIGRATION RATE PER 100,0

Division ^b	1871-74	1875-79	1880-84
Northeast.....	388	101	604
Northwest.....	381	137	665
Southwest.....	189	47	307
Central.....	95	32	159
Southeast.....	66	32	156
Western.....	106	37	228
Hansa Cities.....	306	156	615
Average for Reich ^a	219	67	378
<i>Province</i>			
<i>All Prussia</i>	219	71	392
East Prussia.....	329	99	91
West Prussia ^c			1154
Brandenburg (inc. Berlin).....	115	50	253
Pomerania.....	695	185	1234
Posen ^d	531	135	866
Silesia.....	58	29	117
Saxony.....	67	28	130
Schleswig-Holstein.....	460	159	866
Hanover.....	347	131	576
Westphalia.....	95	42	227
Hesse-Nassau.....	231	59	415
Rhine Province.....	60	24	156
Hohenzollern.....	115	40	212
<i>All Bavaria:</i>	174	41	303
Right Bank of Rhine.....	155	38	278
Palatinate.....	302	60	475
Saxony (state).....	78	36	209
Württemberg.....	231	68	482
Baden.....	293	68	331
Hesse.....	290	69	369
Mecklenburg-Schwerin.....	944	93	662
Mecklenburg-Strelitz.....	481	69	660
Oldenburg.....	327	107	548
Brunswick.....	114	48	158
Thuringia.....	149	35	226
Anhalt.....	64	37	102
Waldeck.....	226	74	384

TABLE 132

100 POPULATION FROM THE SEVERAL DISTRICTS OF GERMANY: 1871-1926.

Annual Average Rate								
1885-89	1890-94	1895-99	1900-1904	1905-09	1910-14	1921-24*	1925*	1926*
	(a) According to Regional Groups							
335	313	63	68	53	32	76	81	75
341	274	102	80	73	50	147	170	140
195	161	49	43	38	26	123	134	144
73	78	28	25	24	12	64	57	64
68	75	24	22	23	16	52	55	67
114	101	30	29	28	21	65	60	75
371	346	222	134	116	100	317	295	281
209	184	53	49	44	32	95	100	103
	(b) According to States and Provinces							
211	191	49	46	41	27	74	76	77
97	98	27	30	26	18	53	71	64
781	672	93	113	68	40	...	...	...
125	123	50	36	41	30	87	83	83
533	474	68	65	40	24	61	76	55
561	623	116	173	123	58	161	183	163
63	56	17	14	13	10	26	34	40
65	73	26	22	20	17	67	43	50
404	287	106	79	67	50	163	184	151
310	264	103	80	76	49	140	164	135
95	90	23	38	37	29	67	59	64
204	153	52	31	31	20	65	70	83
89	88	26	23	23	16	63	57	81
120	100	32	27	23	7	78	90	124
198	152	49	42	41	28	99	103	126
183	143	44	40	41	28	107	105	122
295	215	78	58	43	24	41	93	153
75	98	32	31	35	22	76	74	91
267	250	79	60	48	28	203	195	175
218	194	53	41	35	27	144	204	204
223	152	45	29	25	13	63	73	85
254	186	43	33	32	16	59	64	50
245	192	25	18	20	8	32	39	36
329	292	84	82	78	53	146	168	143
71	69	33	24	32	18	56	75	55
95	98	31	34	30	3	64	85	98
36	42	21	14	16	3	52	43	52
204	124	45	36	18	58	41	73	28

TABLE 132 (concluded)

Division ^b	Annual Average Rate											
	1871-74	1875-79	1880-84	1885-89	1890-94	1895-99	1900-1904	1905-09	1910-14	1921-24 ^a	1925 ^a	1926 ^a
Lippe and Schaumburg-Lippe . . .	147	60	219	130	102	23	22	21	18	61	44	57
Alsace-Lorraine	35	8	42	52	50	15	37	27	22	...	...	...
Lübeck	185	73	273	145	118	95	45	31	675	77	156	96
Bremen	428	191	852	568	521	271	162	232	89	363	412	392
Hamburg	280	156	582	339	323	224	137	91	39	331	276	270

^aThe figures in the last three columns relate to the present limits of the Reich and those of its parts.

^bThe divisions are composed as follows: *Northeast*, East Prussia, West Prussia, Pomerania, Posen, Brandenburg, Berlin, Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz; *Northwest*, Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Oldenburg; *Southwest*, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, Baden, Nassau, Alsace-Lorraine, Hohenzollern; *Central Germany*, Thuringia, the province of Saxony, Brunswick, Anhalt; *Southeast*, the province of Silesia, the state of Saxony; *Western*, the Rhine province, Westphalia, Hesse-Nassau, Lippe and Schaumburg-Lippe, and the Hansa cities, Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck.

^cThe figures for the remaining portions of the provinces of West Prussia and of Posen that were left to the Reich by the Treaty of Versailles have been summarized from 1921 on under Posen-West Prussia.

Germany the owners of great landed estates and an agricultural working class without land ownership sharply confront one another. There is no middle class.

A sound admixture of small, medium and large holdings makes it possible for hard-working and ambitious members of the farming class (sons of peasants or agricultural laborers) to rise socially and thus favors a stable population. On the other hand, the prevalence of great estates hinders the most capable from getting ahead by industry and thrift and therefore stimulates emigration.¹ Emigration from this region was so great that, before the war, hundreds of thousands of Polish, Galician and other migratory laborers were employed for field and harvest work on the great estates. But these foreign laborers so depressed the wage level of agricultural workers that the residents found therein a further reason for emigrating. The inflow of labor from Russia and Poland was both the consequence and the cause of German emigration.²

These resident laborers instead of emigrating, often simply migrated to another district. Wherever an important industry developed alongside of agrarian pursuits, it absorbed the surplus farming population. Thus Saxony, Brandenburg and Silesia, in which there are many large estates, do not show the same emigration rate as Pomerania, Posen and West Prussia, because great industries have developed in the former and absorbed hundreds of thousands of agricultural laborers. From East Prussia, with many large estates,

TABLE 133.

LOSS BY MIGRATION AND EXCESS OF BIRTHS, 1840-1910.
(In Thousands and Per Cents)

Province	Loss by Migration	Excess of Births	Loss as per cent of Excess of Births
East Prussia	729	1,403	52.0
West Prussia	603	1,393	43.3
Pomerania	744	1,412	52.7
Posen	878	1,753	50.1
Silesia	674	3,052	22.1
Saxony	543	2,007	27.1
Hanover	402	1,657	24.3
Bavaria	764	3,329	23.0
Württemberg	607	1,404	43.2
Baden	303	1,154	26.3
Alsace-Lorraine	476	846	56.3

¹M. Sering, "Grundbesitzverteilung und Abwanderung vom Land" (1910).

²M. Weber, "Die Lage der Landarbeiter in Ostelbien" (1892).

there has been a large emigration to Berlin, Rhenish Westphalia and the Baltic countries, but little has gone overseas.

This may have been due in part to the character of the people. The Masurian race in southern East Prussia cling tenaciously to their homes.¹ The landlords and peasants in the northern part of that province also resort less to overseas destinations than to the German west.² In connection with the occupational census of 1907, the province of birth was reported for residents of Berlin-Brandenburg as well as of the two industrial provinces in the west, with the results given in Table 134.

TABLE 134.

RESIDENTS, 1907, OF WESTPHALIA, RHINE PROVINCE AND BERLIN-BRANDENBURG
ACCORDING TO BIRTHPLACE.
(In Thousands)

Birthplace	Province of Residence					
	Berlin-Brandenburg		Rhine Province		Westphalia	
	Total	In Industry	Total	In Industry	Total	In Industry
East Prussia	182	88	73	54	115	96
West Prussia	157	75	36	26	44	36
Pomerania	258	116	13	6	8	5
Posen	223	114	47	36	84	74
Silesia	297	141	43	29	51	40

In northwestern Germany there has been considerable overseas emigration. This is a region of typical peasant districts, where medium-sized and large peasant farms predominate. The holdings usually pass undivided to one of the sons, the others turning to different occupations or seeking to establish themselves elsewhere. To be sure, there are many tiny holdings, but with these it is difficult to progress and many of the owners emigrate.³

The high emigration figures of Bremen and Hamburg are due in part to the emigration rate of those cities and in part to the fact that many emigrants from elsewhere in Germany stop for a time in

¹Leidig, "Preussische Auswanderungspolitik" (1892).

²The total loss through migration overseas, overland and internal, is higher in the province of East Prussia than in the other provinces east of the Elbe or in the South German States. Of its surplus of 1,400,000 births, 1840-1910, East Prussia lost about 729,000, or more than half, through migration. There occurred in the period 1840-1910 the losses recorded in Table 133.

³Möneckmeier cites in this connection: "Bäuerliche Zustände in Deutschland."

one or the other city and then give Bremen or Hamburg as their last place of residence.

After 1918 the regions with a high rate of emigration were unchanged. Within the borders of Posen and West Prussia there were many refugees from alienated districts further east, and of these refugees many went forth as emigrants in the first years after the war. Other districts with high rates are Holstein and Hanover, and in the southwest are Baden, Württemberg and the Palatinate. The recent high figures of Berlin indicate that it has become a way station, especially for those from alienated regions in the east.

Finally, Table 132 (page 349) shows that after the World War the differences between the agricultural and the industrial districts diminished, emigration having lost its purely agricultural character.

From the earliest period North America and especially the United States has been the destination of most German emigrants. Of the 5,800,000 who departed overseas between 1820 and 1925, not less than 5,200,000, or nearly nine-tenths, went to the United States. Table 135 summarizes the data by decades.

Only in the decade including the war and in the period 1921-26 did the proportion going to the United States fall below seven-eighths, and even then it was more than two-thirds. In only one

TABLE 135.

NUMBER OF GERMAN OVERSEAS EMIGRANTS AND PROPORTION GOING TO UNITED STATES, 1820-1926.
(In Thousands)

Period	Total	Going to United States	Per cent going to United States
1820-30	9	8	90.9
1831-40	168	152	90.9
1841-50	469	435	92.6
1851-60	1,075	952	88.5
1861-70	833	787	94.5
1871-80	626	556	88.8
1881-90	1,342	1,237	92.2
1891-1900	523	479	90.4
1901-10	280	255	91.1
1911-20	92	64	69.3
1921-26	362	248	68.6
1820-1926	5,785	5,173	89.4

year was it less than half, viz., in 1924, when it was 38.5 per cent. This is ascribable to the change in American legislation. According to the Act of 1921 not more than 20 per cent of the yearly quota of immigrants could be admitted in a single month of the fiscal years 1922 and 1923. The unfavorable economic conditions of 1923, the culmination of inflation, resulted in the almost complete exhaustion of Germany's quota in the first half of the American fiscal year. In the second half of that year German emigration to the United States was practically barred. In July 1924, the quota for the fiscal year 1924-25 began and German emigration to the United States was resumed. But the new immigration act of 1924 reduced the German quota from 67,607 to 51,227, and provided that in any one month not more than 10 per cent of the quota could be admitted. In consequence, German emigration to the United States was greatly curtailed in the second half of 1925;¹ and the emigrants went to other countries, especially Brazil and Argentina, in larger proportions than ever before. In 1924 almost as many Germans emigrated to Brazil as to the United States. Under the 10 per cent a month provision introduced by the immigration act of 1924 there was a more even distribution of quota emigration over the year. In 1925 and 1926 the share of the United States in German emigration rose again; in those two years about three-fourths of the overseas emigrants went to the United States.

Among the countries of destination, Brazil occupies second place. Of the 3,200,000 Germans who emigrated overseas between 1871 and 1926 about 108,000, or 3.3 per cent, went to Brazil. In reality there were probably more, since the exact destination of the German emigrants to South America was only imperfectly ascertained, especially between 1900 and 1920. If Brazilian statistics

¹This also explains the divergence, in the first post-war years, between the German emigration statistics based on calendar years and the American immigration statistics based on fiscal years. Were one to reduce the American immigration statistics likewise to calendar years, the two sets of figures would agree pretty well, especially in the most recent periods. In the calendar year there totaled:

	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Emigrants to the U. S. (German statistics)	24,605	92,808	22,475	48,084	51,144
Immigrants from Germany (U. S. statistics)	26,038	97,401	28,810	49,634	50,698
Quota immigrants from Germany (U. S. statistics)	.....	.....	20,419*	49,746	51,193

*July-December 1924.

are accepted 145,000 German immigrants arrived 1871-1926. The distribution by decades is given in Table 136.

TABLE 136.
GERMAN MIGRANTS TO BRAZIL, 1871-1928.

Decade	German Statistics	Brazilian Statistics
1871-80	20,904	17,006
1881-90	18,792	21,628
1891-1900	12,459	12,489
1901-10	3,985	17,533
1911-20	1,674	26,120
1921-28	53,772	(67,340)
Total,	111,586	162,116

For 1818-60, Hehl¹ estimated the number of German emigrants to Brazil at about 37,000. In 1861-70 there were about 5,000. According to Brazilian immigration statistics then, about 190,000 Germans migrated to Brazil 1818-1926.

Important as this figure is it is insignificant beside the 5,200,000 who migrated to the United States during the same period. German and other North European emigration was directed mainly to the United States, Romance emigration mainly to South America. However, the German element is strongly represented in South America, and its economic and cultural importance for the country of immigration does not depend solely on the number of emigrants. After the World War, furthermore, German emigration to Brazil and to South America as a whole increased greatly.

Argentina occupies third place among the countries sought by Germans. About 60,000 Germans emigrated to that country 1871-1926. This number is as much below the truth as the German figures for Brazil. During the same period Argentina's immigration statistics show 107,000 German immigrants. Both totals are distributed by decennia as shown in Table 137 (page 356).

According to the emigration statistics, Germans went to South American countries 1871-1926, as follows: Chile, 6,147; Peru, 1,115; Uruguay, 958. These figures are unimportant, however, for during the same period about 40,000 German emigrants, nearly five times

¹Cited by Mönckmeier in *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung* (1912), p. 216

TABLE 137.

GERMAN MIGRANTS TO ARGENTINA, 1871-1928.

Period	German Statistics	Argentine Statistics
1871-80	1,542	3,819
1881-90	8,369	14,184
1891-1900	6,406	8,693
1901-10	4,611	19,304
1911-20	4,222	22,158
1920-28	39,084	(50,378)
Total,	64,234	118,536

as many, went to the "remainder of South America." Most of these emigrants, doubtless, went to Brazil, Argentina or some one of the other South American countries already mentioned.

According to German emigration statistics, 213,000 Germans went to South America 1871-1926. This number is a minimum, because a part—though a small part (perhaps a tenth)—of the 86,000 German emigrants who embarked at French ports with destination unspecified went to South American countries.

Of the remaining American countries, Canada, Mexico, and Central America have been important destinations. About 39,000 Germans were recorded as emigrating to Canada 1871-1928. This figure is doubtless too low. Canadian immigration data¹ show that the number of immigrants from Germany to Canada was considerably greater than the number registered in the German emigration statistics, and before 1871 there had been considerable German emigration to Canada which seems to have escaped registration.

According to the German emigration statistics, over 7,000 Germans emigrated to Mexico, Central America or the West Indies 1871-1926.²

All told, of the 3,250,000 Germans who emigrated overseas 1871-1926, there were 3,090,000 registered as going to American countries. If one adds the 86,000 Germans who emigrated from French ports without giving their destination,³ then altogether 3,176,000 Germans emigrated to America 1871-1926.

¹[See Volume I, p. 364f., 367.—Ed.]

²[See Volume I, p. 700f.—Ed.]

³[See Volume I, p. 697.—Ed.]

The volume of German emigration to other continents was unimportant. According to German statistics there went to:

European overseas countries	(1899-1926)	10,676 emigrants
Africa	(1871-1926)	19,326 "
Asia	(1871-1926)	3,205 "
Australia	(1871-1926)	23,098 "

German statistics classify emigrants by sex, age, family relation, and marital condition, as well as by occupation and social status. No information on these subjects was obtained about German emigrants embarking at foreign ports, but these omissions were numerically unimportant and would not change the picture.

The sex of more than 94 per cent of the German emigrants was reported. Of these 56 per cent were males and 44 per cent females. This excess of males appeared at the start,¹ and is found among all emigrant groups with unimportant exceptions.²

For the decennial periods after 1871, Table 138 gives the classification of German emigrants by sex.

TABLE 138.

GERMAN EMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO SEX, 1871-1928.
(Per Cent)

Period	Male	Female	Totals
1871-80	57	43	100
1881-90	56	44	100
1891-1900	55	45	100
1901-10	58	42	100
1911-20	61	39	100
1921-28	56	44	100

A more exact picture is secured by combining the data about sex with those about the age, family relation, and marital condition of the emigrants.

The classification of the emigrants by age was at first very summary. Before 1883 only the following age groups were dif-

¹F. Kapp, *Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderung in Amerika* (1869); W. Mönckmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

²According to the compilations by the International Labour Office (Geneva) of the transoceanic emigrants from Europe, 61.4 per cent were males in 1922; 66.7 per cent in 1923; 63.6 per cent in 1924. See *Les mouvements migratoires de 1920 à 1924*.

ferentiated: "Under 1 year," "1 to 10 years," "over 10 years." For 1871-1883 there were, among every 100 emigrants:

Sex	All Ages	Under 1 year	1-10 years	Over 10 years
Male	100.0	5.5	16.4	78.1
Female	100.0	7.1	20.5	72.4

In the middle of the '80's a detailed classification by age was introduced for German emigrants from German ports (and so far as possible for those embarking at foreign ports), namely, 1-6, 6-10, 10-14, 14-21, 21-30, 30-40, 40-50, 50-60, and over 60 years of age. For 1899-1924, the ages for the middle groups became 14-18, 18-21, 21-25, 25-30 years. On summarizing the outcome of this classification by age for a long period and for the most important groups there results the picture given in Table 139.

TABLE 139.

DISTRIBUTION OF ALL GERMAN EMIGRANTS AND OF EACH SEX INTO LARGE AGE GROUPS: 1884-1926.

Period	Under 14 years	14-21 years	21-50 years	50 and over	Totals
PER CENT OF EMIGRANTS IN EACH LARGE AGE GROUP, BY SEX AND TOTAL, 1884-1926.					
<i>Males</i>					
1884-90	23.4	19.9	51.2	5.5	100.0
1891-1900	19.9	19.0	55.8	5.3	100.0
1901-10	17.4	16.6	62.0	4.0	100.0
1911-20	15.5	15.2	65.6	3.7	100.0
1921-26	11.2	19.2	65.5	4.1	100.0
<i>Females</i>					
1884-90	27.3	22.3	43.4	7.0	100.0
1891-1900	23.6	24.4	44.7	7.3	100.0
1901-10	23.3	22.3	48.0	6.4	100.0
1911-20	23.3	20.5	50.9	5.3	100.0
1921-26	14.7	18.6	60.8	5.9	100.0
<i>Totals</i>					
1884-90	25.2	21.0	47.7	6.1	100.0
1891-1900	21.6	21.4	50.8	6.2	100.0
1901-10	19.9	19.0	56.1	5.0	100.0
1911-20	18.6	17.3	59.8	4.3	100.0
1921-26	12.7	18.9	63.5	4.9	100.0

TABLE 139 (Concluded).

EMIGRANTS PER 100,000 OF POPULATION OF SPECIFIED SEX AND AGE, FOR 1885, 1900, 1910, AND 1925.

Period	Under 14 years	14-21 years	21-50 years	50 and over
		<i>Males</i>		
1885	164	363	331	87
1900	60	141	145	37
1910	25	57	74	13
1925	54	140	159	23
		<i>Females</i>		
1885	56	328	216	79
1900	57	147	92	34
1910	24	55	41	13
1925	55	112	120	23
		<i>Totals</i>		
1885	160	346	272	83
1900	59	144	118	35
1910	25	56	57	13
1925	54	126	139	23

This table shows a decline in the proportion of children of both sexes. Whereas in 1884-90 about a quarter of all the emigrants were under the age of 14 years, in 1921-26 there were only one-eighth. The proportion of young people from 14 to 21 years of age declined somewhat for each sex. In the case of the males, however, a rise to 19.2 per cent after the war is to be connected with the abolition of universal military service. But the proportion of those 21 to 50 years of age has risen, for the males from 51 to 66 per cent, for females from 43 to 61 per cent, and for both sexes from 48 to 64 per cent. While formerly about half of the emigrants were from 21 to 50 years of age, today nearly two-thirds belong to this productive class.

These shifts indicate a radical change in the character of German emigration. From the decline in the proportion of children and girls and the increase in proportion of persons from 21 to 50 years of age, it may be inferred that recent emigration is made up less of families, and more of single persons.

German emigration statistics also show the proportion of the emigrants who go out in family groups. Table 140 shows this.

TABLE 140.

PER CENT OF GERMAN EMIGRANTS IN FAMILY GROUPS AND SINGLY,
1881-1926.

Period	In Families	Singly
1881-90	57.8	42.2
1891-1900	47.6	52.4
1901-10	42.2	57.8
1911-20	39.4	60.6
1921-26	35.2	64.8

From the beginning, German emigration has been mainly an emigration in families.¹ Up to the middle of the '90's, the emigrants in families outnumbered the single individuals; but with the shrinkage in emigration, its character changed. Emigration of individuals came to the fore; about two-thirds of the emigrants in 1926 travelled singly and only one-third in families. For the last three years (1924-26) the number of families emigrating and of persons in them are given in Table 141.

TABLE 141.

NUMBER OF FAMILIES AND OF MEMBERS OF FAMILIES EMIGRATING
1924-26.

Year	Number of Families	Number of Members of Families Traveling	
		Total	Per Family
1924	8,062	25,011	3.1
1925	7,472	20,764	2.8
1926	7,109	18,776	2.6

The small number of persons per family indicates that young families are involved. Moreover, the average number of persons in an emigrant's family has declined. In 1890 it amounted to 3.7, in 1900 to 3.4, in 1913 to 3.4, and in 1926, to only 2.6 persons. This decline is probably connected with the general decline in births and the shrinkage in the average size of the family.²

¹Mönckmeier, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung* (1912), p. 137.²Burgdörfer, "Volk, Familie, und Statistik" (1927), p. 349.

In part it is due also to the fact that when the emigrant families moved, the husband went first, leaving the wife and children to follow after he had obtained a foothold. This is also indicated by the fact that in emigrants' families as distinguished from all emigrants and individual emigrants, the females are most numerous (see Table 142).

TABLE 142.

ANNUAL AVERAGE PER CENT OF MALES AND FEMALES AMONG OVERSEAS EMIGRANTS, FAMILIES AND SINGLE PERSONS, 1881-1928.

Period	Emigrant Families		Single Emigrants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1881-90	47.2	52.8	68.5	31.5
1891-1900	45.5	54.5	63.8	36.2
1901-10	45.6	54.4	67.5	32.5
1911-20	45.2	54.8	70.7	29.3
1921-28	45.7	54.3	62.2	37.8

This table shows that more than half of those traveling in families but barely one-third of those traveling alone before the war were females. After the war the per cent of females increased, probably due to the emigration of female domestic servants during the inflation period.

The preceding data find their complement in the classification of emigrants by marital condition which has been made since 1889, and separately for those emigrating in families and those emigrating alone. The summarized data are given in Table 143.¹

TABLE 143.

ANNUAL AVERAGE PER CENTS OF SINGLE AND MARRIED MALES AND FEMALES TRAVELING IN FAMILIES, 1889-1926.

Period	Males		Females		Totals	
	Single	Married	Single	Married	Single	Married
1899-1904	62.2	37.8	55.0	45.0	58.3	41.7
1905-09	60.9	39.1	52.2	47.8	56.2	43.8
1910-14	59.9	40.1	50.6	49.2	54.9	45.1
1921-26	49.0	51.0	42.2	57.8	45.4	54.6

¹The widowed are included among the married, and the divorced also, when they travel in families.

Before the war unmarried persons predominated in the emigration by families, both for the total and for each sex. After the war, however, married persons predominated in each sex but especially among females. This change is related to another, namely, that the children of married emigrants are fewer than formerly. That the proportion of married persons is somewhat less among males is due to the fact that the husband frequently emigrated first, leaving the wife and children to follow. This is more clearly indicated in Table 144 where the classification is by marital relation of males and females travelling alone.

TABLE 144.

ANNUAL AVERAGE PER CENTS OF SINGLE AND MARRIED MALES AND FEMALES TRAVELING ALONE, 1899-1926.

Period	Males		Females		Total	
	Single	Married	Single	Married	Single	Married
1899-1904	84.2	15.8	87.9	12.1	85.5	14.5
1905-09	79.0	21.0	86.7	13.3	81.5	18.5
1910-14	80.3	19.7	86.5	13.5	82.1	17.9
1921-26	79.0	21.0	82.1	17.9	80.2	19.8

The per cent of the married among males is somewhat higher than among females. The proportion married has been somewhat higher also since the war.

If the two kinds of emigration—that by families and that of persons traveling along—are combined, as in Table 145, the proportion of married persons is found to be somewhat greater for females than for males; and since the war the proportion of married persons has risen.

TABLE 145.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF ALL EMIGRANTS, BY SEX AND MARITAL CONDITION, 1899-1926.

Period	Males		Females		Totals	
	Single	Married	Single	Married	Single	Married
1899-1904	76.7	23.3	69.7	30.3	73.7	26.3
1905-09	73.2	26.8	68.4	31.6	71.2	28.8
1910-14	74.1	25.9	67.4	32.6	71.4	28.6
1921-26	70.3	29.7	64.7	35.3	67.9	32.1

Money Value of German Emigration

Calculations about the money value of emigration, the loss of capital through emigration or the gain through immigration, are very difficult. It is hard enough to estimate the property which emigrants take with them, but if one attempts to estimate the money value of the emigrants themselves as a labor force, the difficulties become almost insuperable.

Indeed such calculations are often said to be unjustified. Thus in his treatise on German emigration W. Mönckmeier declined to enter this field "because all these calculations are not entirely free from objections." It was not proper, he thought, to regard emigration as in every instance a loss to the mother country. At times it has served as a safety valve against over-population. Sartorius von Waltershausen also believes that one should abandon such efforts to calculate the loss to a country by emigration or its gain by immigration. He is of the opinion that neither loss nor gain can be established, and points out that sometimes emigration has been considered a detriment and at other times a blessing. But he refers to the great shift of population which has resulted from migration and which has caused and is causing a redistribution of political and economic power. This indicates the real effect and the political and economic importance of migration. It is inconceivable that, without the great immigration into the United States, its unexampled economic, political and cultural rise would have developed. In 1790 it had a free white population of 3,231,930. F. Kapp has calculated that, assuming an average annual increase of 1.38 per cent, these 3¼ millions by 1870 would have increased naturally (that is, without any immigration) to 10 millions, while as a matter of fact 38.5 millions were then enumerated. If one were to carry his calculations through, on the basis of the same natural increase of 1.38 per cent a year, the original population of 3,232,000 in 1790 would have increased by 1920 to, at the most, 19,200,000; while, thanks to the millions of immigrants and their descendants, it actually amounted to 96,200,000. Immigration during the last 120 years has hastened the growth of its population, and has been a main cause for the rapid exploitation of its natural resources, its impetuous industrial expansion, and the tremendous increase in its national wealth.

From the standpoint of an immigration country, and especially of one thinly populated and thirsting for people, immigration must be regarded as mainly a gain. Less easy is it to decide whether and

to what extent emigration is to be deemed a loss to the country from which it goes. It can be regarded as a loss or a gain according to the point of view. It has frequently been regarded as an advantage by those left behind. For example, in the period 1840 to 1889, approximately 4,000,000 marks were spent from the public funds (state and communal) in Baden in the shape of grants in aid of emigration.¹ The question has been answered differently according to the exigencies of the period, and emigration has been regarded even if not a benefit, as a lesser evil than overpopulation.

However, it appears at least doubtful whether this policy of encouraging emigration was sound. From a German standpoint one must regret that so many millions of our most capable people were lost to Germany through emigration and could not be directed to her own colonies. Whether it would have been possible to direct the stream from our principal regions of emigration to thinly populated regions within Germany cannot be decided. That this was not done was due in large part to the subdivision of Germany into many states. Perhaps, if there had been a united Germany and clear ideas about emigration or if there had been no outlet through emigration, the pressure of population would have hastened Germany's economic development and led to an earlier advance into an industrial regime.

This assumption seems the more justified because, as a rule, the more capable, venturesome and versatile elements emigrate, while the timid and pusillanimous, the infirm and the old do not. The emigrants as a rule, thanks to their greater powers, could have attained their ends at home. They would probably have aggravated the struggle for existence but the energy, industry and perseverance used in obtaining a livelihood abroad might have given a mighty impulse to conditions at home and contributed to raising the entire national economy.

Whatever one may think of this hypothesis, the fact remains that Germany lost by emigration millions of healthy, skillful, venturesome and creative people in their most productive age. This emigration of conspicuously capable elements means also the loss of those with the best heredity and therefore a kind of counter-selection.

This loss cannot be estimated in money. But the 6,000,000 emigrants who left Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth

¹Cf. E. von Philippovich, "Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik im Grossherzogtum Baden" (1892), p. 159.

centuries represent a considerable economic loss, because they were reared in Germany at considerable cost, educated and trained to their occupation while the country derived no return from their labor that would pay the interest upon the amortization of the capital invested in their upbringing. An account had been opened in German household economy which contained entries on the "debit" side, while the "credit" side remained blank because the "credit sums" had been transferred to another account, that of the country of immigration.

This is the basic fact from which every attempt to estimate the money value of emigration proceeds. From the standpoint of the country of emigration such an estimate must be based, I think, on the conception of value which Engel has called "Cost value."¹

A man's cost value or reproduction value represents the sum expended for bringing him into the world, for rearing, educating, and training him until he can earn his living. This sum varies with a man's social status and education, and is balanced by what a man can earn in his working life. These earnings must cover, normally, not only current costs of maintenance through the working life and for the period of old age and disability, but also the interest and amortization of the invested capital or cost value.

A man's earnings must equal his cost value; in fact, they must exceed it because the cost value of those dying before they are old enough to earn a living or before the amortization period is ended, and the cost value of those incapable of earning a living must be borne by the producers. A surplus in the earnings of the living generation over its cost value is needed also to pay the costs of bringing up a larger generation, due to the natural increase of population.

In my opinion in the calculation of values the earnings of a migrant should be considered only from the standpoint of the country of immigration. A calculation of the earnings of emigrants in the country of emigration might appear justified, as a measure of lost earnings, but the assumption from which one would have to proceed would be more or less fictitious. For the return the emigrant gets upon the capital invested in him depends not upon conditions at home but rather upon those in the country of immigration. In the country of emigration the earnings of the emigrant would be scarcely greater than his cost value, for the very fact of emigration points to an excess supply of labor, which would lower his earnings.

¹Engel, *Das Wert des Menschen* (1883).

But if the earnings of an immigrant in the immigration country are much higher than his cost value, this increased return cannot be regarded as a "loss" to the country of emigration, for the greater return upon the capital invested in the emigrant is due to favorable conditions in the country of immigration.

For these reasons it does not appear wise, in calculating the money value of German emigration, to follow K. Becker in estimating Germany's loss by emigration.¹ Becker based his calculations, to be sure, not upon the full earnings but upon the so-called "usage value," by which he meant the surplus of the emigrant's future production over his future consumption. According to this conception the loss of the home country consisted not of what an emigrant's subsistence and education had cost or of what he had produced, but of the surplus of his future earnings over his future cost of subsistence. In this computation Becker assumed that in the entire population production and consumption balance. If the age and sex composition of the emigrants were the same as that of the total population, there would be an approximate balance between the production and the consumption of these emigrants and the loss of the population remaining at home would be zero. It was only the larger proportion of persons of productive age among emigrants, according to Becker, that justified one in speaking of a "loss" through emigration.

This conception is based, I think, on several inadmissible assumptions. In the first place it does not seem correct to regard a people's production and consumption as substantially equal. They could be so regarded only if population and national wealth were stationary. But, during the nineteenth century there was a great increase in the German population and a greater increase in the national wealth. Therefore production must have been greater than consumption.

Becker's view, also, that a loss could only be due to differences between the composition of the emigrants and that of the rest of the population does not appear to be tenable. It would imply that no loss of population by epidemics or otherwise would entail an economic loss if the age and sex composition of the lost population coincided with the age and sex composition of those who stayed at home. Undoubtedly there was a great economic loss from the death of many men in the World War; under Becker's theory that would not have been true if graybeards and children as well as men

¹See *Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung*, 1887, p. 763ff.

in the prime of life had been swept away. This shows that Becker's point of view cannot be correct. Finally, as already explained, the calculation deals with fictitious quantities because the future usage value is based on conditions in the country of emigration which are no longer relevant. On the other hand, from the standpoint of the country of emigration, in calculating the cost value of emigrants, actual facts are involved and not fictitious values.

To be sure, considerable difficulties stand in the way of ascertaining the cost value of emigrants. Naturally, there can be no exact calculation, but only an estimate which would give an approximate idea of the order of magnitude of the values in question. Calculations concerning a man's cost value were first made by Engel in 1883 concerning a man's value.¹ He made estimates for three classes, namely: (1) males with an elementary education; (2) males with an average education; (3) males with a higher education. Although many emigrants came from the middle class and some from the educated upper class, yet the man with an elementary education, that is, the man whose education stopped with the common school and who began to earn his living at the age of 14 or 15 should be taken as a basis for the calculation. This gives only minimum figures.

A man's cost value increases with advancing age. In his calculations concerning the cost value of males with an elementary education, Engel started with the sum of 100 marks at the time of birth and made the cost of rearing and educating the child increase by 10 marks a year (110, 120, 130 marks, etc.) In the case of persons with an elementary education this outlay, with interest at 4 per cent, grew to 2,862 marks at the 15th year. But, as a portion of the children born alive had died before reaching their 15th year, their "reproduction costs" must be added to those of the surviving boys 15 years old. For a 15-year old boy with an elementary education, Engel (taking the mortality into consideration) arrived at a cost value of 3,738 marks.

For older persons Engel made the cost value increase from year to year, and from the standpoint of his general calculations this is quite right. But in applying his calculations to the present problem it must be remembered that, with a man's arrival at a producing age, at first part of his living costs and later his entire costs are covered; and furthermore that his reproduction costs during his early years bear interest and are gradually amortized. Therefore

¹Engel, *Das Wert des Menschen* (1883).

in the case of emigrants who are already at a producing age, one cannot enter the total reproduction cost up to the time of emigration, but only the remainder of the reproduction cost or the net cost.

Becker's calculations, to be sure, take this into consideration, but inadequately. The yearly earnings, on which he bases his calculation of the emigrants' usage value, do not satisfy this requirement. He starts with Engel's figures, in the main, with the difference that he recognizes only three age groups, namely: 0-5 years, for which he assumes 116 marks yearly; 6-9 years, for which he assumes 104 marks yearly; and 10-13, for which he assumes 232 marks yearly for living costs. Becker disregards the costs of a child before its birth. Nevertheless, in accordance with Engel's example, they have been included in the following calculation.

From 14 to 19 years of age, Becker assumed a small surplus of 11 marks yearly in earnings over the cost of living. From 20 to 25 years this surplus amounted to 171.5 marks and from 25 to 60 years to 196 marks yearly. However, on the basis of this production value, the capital and interest invested in one generation would rise steadily until at 60 years of age it would be about 6,700 marks per capita. The minimum interest and amortization requirements would therefore not be met. Here, also, Becker seems to proceed on inadmissible assumptions. Therefore in the following calculation the surplus of earnings over costs of living is raised about one-third to 231 marks yearly for those 20 to 24 years of age and 263 marks for those 25 to 60 years of age. With this larger surplus, the total "reproduction capital" would be amortized at the age of 60. For the later years, one can assume that the surplus of earnings over living costs from 60 to 65 would cover the living costs after employment has ceased.

We proceed, then, to calculate an emigrant's average value for the decade 1881-90 and start with the age distribution¹ of emigrants. The average age for each age class has been estimated from more detailed returns. For each of the average ages mentioned in Table 146 the gross and net cost of production were calculated, using the elements already mentioned, the German life-table for 1871-80, and interest at 4 per cent. This amount multiplied by the number of emigrants belonging to that average age per 100,000 of all ages, and the summation of the resulting products gives the capital value of 100,000 emigrants.

¹The sex distribution may be disregarded, since only minimum values for persons with an elementary education are involved and these could scarcely have been less for females than for males.

TABLE 146.

CALCULATION OF THE CAPITAL VALUE OF GERMAN EMIGRANTS IN THE DECADE
1881-90

Age Class	Average Age	Proportion of all Emigrants (= 100,000)	Per capita value at Average Age Marks	Total Value of Each Class Thousands of Marks
0-6	3	13,676	564	7,713
6-14	9	11,852	1,749	20,379
14-21	18	20,543	3,969	81,535
21-30	25	28,802	4,208	121,199
30-50	37	19,154	3,336	63,898
50 and over	55	6,173	1,042	6,432
Total,	..	100,000	.....	301,156

According to these figures and using the cost of rearing, the death rates and the age distribution of emigrants for that period, the capital value of 100,000 emigrants would have been 301,156,000 marks, or about 3,000 marks per capita.

This amount cannot be regarded as holding for the entire period. It is modified by three changes:

- (1) Changes in the age composition of emigrants.
- (2) Changes in the death rates during the emigrants' period of growth.
- (3) Changes in the cost of production.

Changes of the first two types can be measured with some certainty, and have been taken into account in calculations for other decades. Data about the cost of production during earlier periods are scanty, but changes in miners' wages¹ afford a point of departure. The annual cost of rearing and the annual earnings on which the calculations have been based were increased for the period after 1891 in proportion to the rising wage scale. This could not be done for the earlier period because there was no similar basis for determining the changes in the level of prices and of wages. However, they can scarcely be important because the index of wholesale prices, which has been calculated back to 1851,² shows that a man's cost of production was scarcely less during the earlier period than it was during 1881-90.

The results of applying these calculations to the total number

¹See *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1927, p. 317.

²*Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 1925, Supplement 1, p. 19.

of overseas emigrants, shown in Tables 124 and 126 (pages 333 and 335), are given for successive decades since 1820 in Table 147.

TABLE 147.

CALCULATION OF TOTAL CAPITAL LOSS TO GERMANY, BY OVERSEAS
EMIGRATION, 1820-1926.
(Millions of Marks)

Period	Emigrants Overseas (Totals)	Per Capita Value (Marks)	Capital Loss	With Interest Compounded to the end of 1927
1820-30	8,052	3,012	26	1,330
1831-40	167,699	3,012	505	17,505
1841-50	469,292	3,012	1,414	32,857
1851-60	1,075,001	3,012	3,238	55,694
1861-70	832,515	3,012	2,508	26,906
1871-80	625,968	3,012	1,885	14,679
1881-90	1,342,423	3,012	4,043	21,453
1891-1900	529,875	3,154	1,671	6,202
1901-10	267,465	3,824	1,023	2,413
1911-18	79,744	4,762	380	675
1919-26	374,808	5,454	2,044	2,334
Total,	5,773,292	18,736	18,736	182,048

The sum total of the capital values at the time of emigration of the $5\frac{3}{4}$ million emigrants who left Germany 1820-1926 thus amounts to a capital loss of 19 billion marks. This sum, expressed in values prevailing in the past, corresponds to a present value of about 180 billion marks.

These figures do not include the capital which the emigrants took with them. Becker estimates that capital at 350 marks per capita, a figure below other estimates and rather too low. This figure of 350 marks per capita is equal to one-tenth of the capital value of the emigrants themselves, or about 2 billion, and when interest is added corresponds to about 20 billion marks in present value. The total loss due to emigrants and their property therefore would be over 20 billion marks or, in present values, over 200 billion marks. These calculations are based only on emigration overseas between 1820 and 1926. The number of emigrants who went out before 1820 has not been fixed (it has been estimated at 250,000-

300,000). This item may be left out of account or regarded as balanced by the repatriation of emigrants.

OVERSEAS IMMIGRATION INTO GERMANY

Statistics of immigration, or rather of "incoming travelers" from countries overseas have been kept since 1904. The information comes from the shipping companies engaged in carrying passengers from countries overseas to Bremen, Hamburg or Emden. Until 1924 only the number of persons carried to German ports was returned distinguishing cabin from steerage passengers, but with no classification by country of origin or of destination.

According to an arrangement made in 1924, all travelers were to be reported with their age, sex, country of origin, and destination. If destination was not reported, the person's nationality was to be decisive. This improvement has not yet been carried through, for at Bremen the distribution of travelers from South America by destination or nationality and the detailed age grouping are lacking. Table 148 (page 372) summarizes the annual statistics of incoming travelers 1904-26.¹

These figures are to be accepted with great reserve, for they are statistics not of immigrants but travelers. What proportion are immigrants would be hard to say. Most first class and second class passengers are travelers, although this is less uniformly so of immigrants and repatriates than of emigrants. It is doubtful, however, whether all third class travelers are to be classed as immigrants or repatriates, or what proportion belong there. Still more important is it that before 1924 it was impossible to say what proportion of the travelers made Germany their final destination and what proportion went on to other countries.

Before the war the number of such through travelers was very large, and indeed a majority. After the war, the number of arrivals greatly declined, mainly because when the German merchant fleet had disappeared the great mass of through travelers who formerly filled the steerage and the third class chose other routes. In recent years the number of first-class and second-class passengers landed at Hamburg and Bremen has almost reached the pre-war total. On the other hand, the number of incoming passengers who traveled third-class amounted, during recent years, for Hamburg to about one-fourth and for Bremen to about one-third to one-half of the pre-war total. The number of inward-bound persons arriving at

¹Germany, *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, vol. 336.

MIGRATION INTERPRETATIONS

TABLE 148.

ANNUAL NUMBERS OF INCOMING TRAVELERS, AT HAMBURG, BREMEN, AND EMDEN, BY CLASSES, 1904-26.

Year	Hamburg			Bremen			Emden	Grand Total
	I and II Class (Cabin)	III Class	Total	I II Class (Cabin)	III Class	Total		
1904	16,835	28,627	45,462	15,645	36,746	52,391	...	97,853
1905	18,716	22,101	40,817	18,265	27,879	46,144	...	86,961
1906	31,763	66,330	98,093	19,408	41,455	60,863	...	158,956
1907	33,856	95,355	129,211	20,488	68,113	88,601	...	217,812
1908	34,078	101,831	135,909	19,858	61,150	81,008	...	216,917
1909	32,065	47,194	79,259	17,638	30,721	48,359	...	127,618
1910	36,543	62,427	98,970	15,827	39,596	55,423	...	154,393
1911	36,029	95,580	131,609	19,050	47,696	66,746	...	198,355
1912	36,814	84,375	121,189	19,248	46,884	66,132	...	187,321
1913	40,608	79,313	119,921	19,106	46,505	65,611	...	185,532
1914	29,383	72,243	101,626	12,183	38,742	50,925	103	152,551
1920	8,533	39,383	47,916	146	561	707	...	48,623
1921	13,550	38,210	51,760	4,429	8,675	13,104	13	64,864
1922	29,394	27,556	56,950	12,688	12,320	25,008	...	81,958
1923	21,203	13,047	34,260	8,028	5,955	13,983	...	48,243
1924	23,403	13,199	36,602	13,405	11,026	24,431	...	61,033
1925	27,780	18,159	45,939	15,308	16,724	32,032	...	77,971
1926	23,067	18,399	41,466	15,372	17,308	34,969	7	76,442*
1904-26	493,620	923,329	1,416,959	266,092	558,056	826,437	123	2,243,382

*Including 2,288 travelers from Europe without designated passenger class.

German ports in 1926 was about two-fifths of the number for the last pre-war years. The majority of the incoming travelers were from North America, mainly the United States. Of the 78,000 incoming travelers in 1926, there were 46,604 or 60 per cent from North America; from Central America and Mexico there came 1,392; from South America 14,181 (among whom 7,266 from Argentina, 5,800 from Brazil); from Africa, 1,932; from Asia and Australia, 348; and finally, 13,514 from European countries (especially England and Norway).

Up to the present time only Hamburg reports the destination of incoming travelers. Of the 41,466 who arrived in 1926 at Hamburg from overseas, 33,853 or about four-fifths gave Germany as their destination. The others were scattered widely over Europe. A large number—1,378—went to Austria, and 1,197 to Czechoslovakia. About half of the travelers from overseas who arrived at Hamburg and gave Germany as their destination were German citizens.

If one assumes that at Bremen, as at Hamburg, of the travelers from overseas, about four-fifths had Germany as their destination, then the total number of incoming travelers from overseas with a German destination would be about 60,000. It is difficult to estimate how many should be regarded as immigrants. About half of the 60,000 travelers with a German destination were German citizens. These were incoming travelers (returned business men, travelers for pleasure, and others) and more rarely repatriates. The figures also include persons who had been rejected as immigrants by the American officials.

Most of those of foreign nationality arriving at German ports and giving a German destination were travelers; only a few were immigrants or repatriates. Among the 46,000 foreigners who arrived at German ports in 1926, 26,844 or nearly three-fifths were citizens of the United States, most of whom, since they were in the first or second class—were probably travelers. The same is true of the 3,294 British subjects or the 1,757 Norwegian subjects. Most of those belonging to other continental countries also are to be regarded as through travelers or immigrants.

In view of these facts the return migrants into Germany were hardly more than one-fifth to one-fourth of the incoming travelers. That would be 10,000–15,000 persons in 1926. Under the same suppositions one would arrive at about the same total for 1925. Nevertheless, these estimates are extremely unreliable since the basic material is inadequate. For previous years no estimate can be made.

Satisfactory material about the classification by sex is available only for Hamburg. Of 41,466 travelers who disembarked at Hamburg in 1926, 24,424 or 59 per cent were males, and 17,042 or 41 per cent were females. Thus the sex proportion does not differ greatly from that of emigrants, but males are somewhat more numerous. In the age classification there are characteristic differences as may be seen from Table 149 (page 374).

The incoming travelers from overseas have a small proportion of youth and a large proportion of persons over 50 years of age. Incoming travelers from overseas as a class are not immigrants coming in families. The return of persons in advanced years is rather like the change of residence from city to country which occurs so often in old age.

For Bremen there are no available data about the sex of incoming travelers and the age data are limited to the groups: Under

TABLE 149.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF TRAVELERS ARRIVING AT HAMBURG, 1926.

Age	Number		Per Cent Distribution		
	Total	German citizens	Total	German citizens	German emigrants 1921-27
Under 14	3,861	1,602	9.3	8.8	12.7
14-21	2,912	1,341	7.0	7.4	18.9
21-50	26,057	12,587	62.0	68.9	63.5
Over 50	8,636	2,717	20.8	14.9	4.9
Totals	41,466	18,247	100.0	100.0	100.0

1 year, 1 to 10, 10 years and over. In 1926 the travelers arriving at Bremen from overseas were divided among these age groups as given in Table 150.

TABLE 150.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF TRAVELERS ARRIVING AT BREMEN FROM THE AMERICAS, 1926.

Age	Numbers		Per Cent	
	North America	South America	North America	South America
Under 1 yr.	127	103	0.6	2.5
1-10	1,239	463	6.1	11.3
10 and over	19,087	3,527	93.3	86.2
Total	20,453	4,093	100.0	100.0

The classification by age shows notable differences between the incoming travelers from North and from South America; with those from South America the percentage of children under 10 years of age is greater, suggesting that more of them are real immigrants or repatriates. But even in the return current from South America the percentage of children is not as high as it is among emigrants.

MIGRATION ACROSS THE LAND FRONTIERS

There are no German statistics of migration across the land frontiers, but in the nineteenth century it was numerically unimportant. Immediately after the war it may have played a more important rôle. Exiles from the ceded districts, who sought at first to make a living in Germany, departed later on, most of them overseas but a few to other countries of Europe. The probable volume of German overland emigration has been estimated for two post-war years only, namely, 10,000 for 1925 and 12,000 for 1926,¹ but there are no data from which to check the estimate.² Most of the emigrants went to the Netherlands.

Reliable statistics of overland immigration also are lacking. It was not numerically important until towards the end of the nineteenth century, but then it developed from the East. Polish, Galician, and other alien laborers, at first as migratory workers and later on as settlers, took the place of the German farm laborers who had emigrated overseas. In view of the previous low standard of living of these immigrant laborers the places which they took meant a step forward. Later the flourishing industry of Germany attracted not only German laborers but also aliens. Many Polish laborers went to the industrial districts of Silesia or of Rhenish Westphalia.

A basis for estimating the net loss or gain between overland emigration and immigration may be found as follows: (a) Get the net gain or loss from all migration by balancing the excess of births over deaths, or natural increase, in a census period and the total increase revealed by the two censuses; (b) get the decrease from overseas emigration; (c) the difference between (a) and (b) will indicate the net increase or decrease from overland emigration and immigration.

The loss through migration, that is, the difference between the natural and the total increase of population 1841-71 was 2,450,000 and the loss by emigration overseas was 2,370,000.³ The small difference between the two sets of figures shows that neither migration across the land frontiers or immigration by sea, played an important rôle. For the census periods after 1870 the balance of the "other" migrations is obtained by comparing the entire loss through migration with the loss through emigration overseas, as Table 151 (page 376) shows.

¹Germany, *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs* (1927), vol. 336.

²See the following pages.

³See above page 334.

TABLE 151.

ESTIMATED GAIN OR LOSS OF POPULATION, BY GERMANY, FROM "OTHER" MIGRATION, 1871-1910.
(In Thousands)

Years	Entire Gain (+) or Loss (-) through Migration	Loss (-) through Migration overseas	Gain (+) or Loss (-) through "other" Migrations
1871-75	-320	-395	+75
1875-80	-381	-231	-150
1880-85	-980	-857	-123
1885-90	-329	-485	+156
1890-95	-449	-403	-46
1895-1900	+94	-127	+221
1900-1905	+53	-147	+199
1905-10	-160	-133	-27

There was a gain of 75,000 persons through "other" migrations during 1871-75, when many Germans returned.¹ How many came home from overseas and how many from other European countries cannot be determined.

In 1875-85, the emigration overseas was accompanied by a considerable overland emigration, both being due to unfavorable economic conditions. But after the great emigration of 1880-85, when hundreds of thousands yielded to the emigration fever,² came a reaction in 1885-90, when many immigrants from the east streamed into Germany and occupied the vacant places.

This overland immigration swelled greatly in 1895-1905, when German industry developed on a large scale and furnished work and wages not only to the surplus German farming population but also to many foreigners who entered Silesia or the Ruhr. In the years immediately preceding the war, this permanent immigration of aliens into the industrial regions apparently slackened, but seasonal immigration showed a great increase.

Immigration from the ceded districts and the lost colonies and repatriation from overseas after the World War have been estimated at 1¼ million, while the migration balance for the census period

¹This result was due also in part to the inadequacy of German emigration statistics at that time.

²In 1880-85 Germany experienced a total loss, through migration, of about 1,000,000 persons.

1910-25 showed a gain of 200,000 for Germany within its present limits. Therefore, the great immigration after the war must have been followed by a considerable emigration, which may be estimated at about 1,000,000. In 1910-25, about 350,000 Germans emigrated overseas; so that about 650,000 emigrated over the land frontiers. This total is divided among three main subdivisions:¹

1. After the creation of the Polish state, some 200,000 to 220,000 persons with Polish as their mother tongue, emigrated from Germany, some to Poland, others to France. Thus at least 50,000 German Poles left the Ruhr for the French or Belgian mining districts.

2. The emigration of persons of German descent across the frontiers of Germany may be estimated, from the data of various European countries, as at least 200,000.

3. The number of foreigners in Germany, so far as can be inferred from partial returns of the census of 1925, declined from 1,100,000 in 1910 to 900,000 in 1925, or by about 200,000. How far this change is a real one and how far it is based on changes in census methods cannot yet be determined; but the number of foreigners in Germany in 1925 was certainly less than in 1910. However, with the resumption of amicable international relations, this number will undoubtedly rise.

The influx of foreign seasonal laborers into Germany began in the '80's, almost simultaneously with the great German emigration overseas and migration into German industrial regions. Many Polish, Ruthenian and Italian laborers took the positions which the German laborers had abandoned. At the start these positions were secured through private employment agents; but later by the employment agencies of the agricultural institutes and of the co-operative employment agencies of the "Deutsche Feldarbeiterzentrale." For agricultural and industrial laborers since 1910 this service has been performed by the "Deutsche Arbeiterzentrale."

Before 1905 there are no data about the immigration of seasonal laborers; but the fact that Prussia in 1835 introduced special measures to control migratory laborers from eastern Europe indicates that this immigration had already assumed importance. It was changing its character, also, from a temporary immigration of seasonal workers into permanent settlement of aliens who were

¹*Wirtschaft und Statistik, 1927, Heft 7, p. 306.*

deemed undesirable because of their low standards of living and of wages. To prevent this, migratory laborers were required to leave Prussia after the harvest and not later than December.

In spite of these regulations a number of alien laborers settled in Germany, especially in the industrial regions of Silesia and Rhenish Westphalia. In 1908 and 1909 the control was made more stringent and proof of identity was required for all foreign migratory laborers. They were required to obtain identification cards, made out at the time of their entering Germany and valid for the calendar year, with a proviso that the holder of the card must have left Prussia by the beginning of December. In the ensuing years similar measures were adopted by other German states which had received many migratory laborers; yet today alien laborers in Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, Baden, Oldenburg, or Hamburg, are not completely or not at all registered.¹ The total figures for states requiring compulsory identification show only a minimum number of foreign migratory laborers entering Germany.² Identification cards have been issued since 1909 to the extent shown in Table 152.

According to Table 152, alien migratory laborers are mainly in agriculture where they are engaged largely in the cultivation of sugar beets and other root crops. This applies to the Prussian provinces of Saxony (26,000 foreign agricultural laborers in 1926), Pomerania (20,000), Brandenburg (16,000), and to the state of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (16,000). Before the war German industry as well as German agriculture employed large numbers of foreign migratory laborers, but after the war the number greatly declined. The 85,000 foreign migratory laborers employed in German industry in 1926 were principally in the great mining districts: Rhineland-Westphalia (33,000 and 20,000) and Silesia (13,000).

Most of these migratory workers enter in the spring when work begins in the fields. The current swells quickly and then

¹*Statist. Jhrb. f. d. Deutsche Reich, 1924, p. 334.*

²For the period before 1910 there are some data for Prussia which are not comparable with those of the "Deutsche Arbeiterzentrale" for the ensuing years. According to Bodenstein ("Ueber die Frage der Organisation des Arbeitsmarkts") the number of foreign laborers who entered Prussia totaled (in thousands):

Year	Agricultural Laborers	Industrial Workers	Total
1905	207	247	454
1906	236	369	605
1907	258	475	733
1908	309	471	780

TABLE 152.

ALIEN MIGRATORY LABORERS ENTERING GERMANY AND RECEIVING IDENTIFICATION CARDS ANNUALLY, 1909-26.

(In Thousands)

Year	Agricultural Laborers	Industrial Laborers	Total
1909 ^a	...	...	593
1910	384	255	639
1911	388	308	696
1912	397	332	730
1913	412	356	767
1914	437	346	783
1915	338	223	561
1916	349	270	619
1917	355	313	669
1918	374	336	710
1919	138	122	260
1920 ^a	151	144	295
1921 ^b	147	146	294
1922 ^b	148	139	288
1923 ^b	119	103	227
1924 ^b	110	67	177
1925 ^b	143	121	263
1926 ^b	135	88	223
1927 ^b	138	95	233

^aUp to the year 1920, fiscal year ending September 30; for 1921-26 calendar years.^bInclusive of the immunity certificates (*Befreiungsscheine*) and of the frontier pass-cards (*Grenzläuferkarten*) introduced in 1923. The number of these were (in thousands):

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
Immunity Certificates	34	53	106	83	97
Frontier Cards	1	2	3	4	6

slackens but continues until late in the year. After the rye harvest about the middle of August, the return current starts. Although the law requires the laborers to leave by the beginning of December, yet a number regularly pass the winter in Germany. This can be done by renewing the identification card, but a number of foreigners remain without satisfying this requirement.

The number of laborers who wintered in Germany in 1910 was about 195,000. In the following years it rose, attaining 258,000 in 1914. When the war came the Russian Poles in Germany did not return home and the number of alien migratory workers increased 1915-17 to approximately 500,000, reaching 534,000 in 1918. After

the end of the war and the outbreak of the revolution it fell to about 100,000 in 1919. Subsequently the number staying through the winter rose again, within the limits fixed by legislation which provides for issuing "immunity certificates" taking the place of identification cards and allowing the holder to remain in Germany for three years.¹

The summary Table 153 gives the average distribution by nationality of these foreign migratory laborers for 1910-19 and 1916-18. It shows that of these foreign migratory workers about one-tenth are of German and about nine-tenths of alien descent. Poles furnish the bulk of them. Of the 751,000 foreign migratory laborers who came yearly to Germany in 1910-14, about 50 per

TABLE 153.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF IDENTIFICATION CARDS ISSUED BY THE *Deutsche Arbeiterzentrale* TO FOREIGNERS OF ALIEN AND OF GERMAN DESCENT, 1910-18.
(In Thousands)

Origins	1910-14		1915-18	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
<i>German Descent</i>	83	11.1	103	16.0
<i>Alien descent:</i>	668	88.9	543	84.0
Ruthenians	89	11.8	17	2.6
Russian Poles	302	40.2	373	57.8
Austrian Poles	75	9.9	12	1.9
Czechs	27	3.6	11	1.7
Total Slavs	493	65.5	413	63.9
Other Aliens from Austria-Hungary...	41	5.5	10	1.6
Other Aliens from Russia	10	1.4	17	2.7
Italians	54	7.2	12	1.9
Netherlanders and Belgians	60	8.0	79	12.2
French-Luxemburgers and Swiss	1	0.2	4	0.6
Danes, Swedes, Norwegians and Others	69	9.2	7	1.1
<i>Total</i>	751	100.0	646	100.0

¹As to the number of *Befreiungsscheine* compare Table 152, note (b).

cent or 377,000 were Poles from Russia or Austria and 89,000 or 12 per cent were Ruthenians. About two-thirds were Slavs.

For the post-war period the distribution by nationality took a different form. For the years 1922-23 and 1924-26 this is shown in Table 154. In recent years the Poles were almost three-fifths and the Czechoslovaks nearly one-fifth of these migratory laborers.

GERMANS ABROAD AND FOREIGNERS IN GERMANY

The statistical measurement of migration is defective in several respects. Censuses which classify the inhabitants by country or

TABLE 154.

IDENTIFICATION CARDS ISSUED TO FOREIGNERS OF ALIEN AND GERMAN DESCENT, 1922-26.

(In Thousands)

Country of Origin	1922-23		1924-26	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Poland.....	138	53.8	127	57.3
Other Eastern Countries.....	9	3.5	9	4.1
Czechoslovakia.....	56	21.6	40	17.9
Austria.....	8	3.3	7	3.2
Hungary.....	3	1.1	2	0.9
Italy.....	5	1.8	3	1.5
Netherlands and Belgium.....	20	7.7	20	9.2
Other Countries.....	18	7.2	13	5.8
Total.....	257	100.0	221	100.0

race give a picture of the effect of migration and thus supplement the continuous record.

The census data are obtained in different ways and tabulated from different points of view, so that it is hard to compare the results. In some countries the population is classified by citizenship, in others by nativity, in others by mother tongue, or "nationality." In the case of Germany these differences are especially important because the German people have participated largely in international migration; German emigrants, especially to Germanic or Anglo-Saxon countries, are easily lost and the boundaries of Germany are narrower than those of the German people. The

number of German citizens or of persons born in Germany residing abroad is considerably less, therefore, than the number of persons originating in Germany or in the territory occupied by the German people residing abroad.

In connection with the German census of 1910, the German Statistical Office compiled material from foreign censuses about the number of Germans abroad.¹ The data related partly to Germans by citizenship and partly to Germans by birth. Only in Switzerland, Luxemburg, Belgium, Norway and Mexico were both methods used. In those countries the number of German citizens was 305,000 and the number of natives of Germany was 254,000. So far as data are obtainable, 631,650 German citizens were enumerated in 1910 in some countries, and 2,635,819 natives of Germany in others, or 3,260,000 Germans by citizenship or nativity were residing outside of Germany. The numbers of Germans reported in the leading countries are given in Table 155.

So far as comparable results from post-war censuses afford

TABLE 155.

NUMBER OF GERMANS RESIDING IN CERTAIN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.
IN THE YEAR STATED.

Country of Residence	Census year	Germans (Thousands)	Per 1000 Inhabitants of Country of Residence
Luxemburg.....	1910	22	81
Switzerland.....	1910	220	47
United States.....	1910	2,501*	27
Denmark.....	1911	35*	13
Australia.....	1911	33*	7
Belgium.....	1910	57	7
Netherlands.....	1909	38	6
Austria.....	1910	126	4
Chile.....	1907	11	3
France.....	1901	90	2
Great Britain and Ireland.....	1911	56*	1
Argentina.....	1914	27	0.3
Italy.....	1911	11	0.03

*These figures relate to natives of Germany, the others to German citizens.

¹*Vierteljahrshefte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, 1916, Ergänzungsheft IV.*

evidence it appears that the countries which took part in the war now have fewer German citizens. On the other hand, in some countries which remained neutral the number of Germans increased. The reasons for this are to be found partly in the reduction of German territory by the Treaty of Versailles (*e. g.* the 34,000 persons in the United States in 1920 who were born in Alsace-Lorraine are not now counted as Germans), partly in a change of allegiance, and partly in a change in current migration due to a repatriation of Germans during the war and a decrease of German emigration during the same period and earlier. Between 1910 and 1920 the number of Germans in the United States fell from 2,501,000 to about 1,686,000; in France from 90,000 to about 65,000; in Belgium from 57,000 to 8,000; in Great Britain from 56,000 to 13,000 (1921). In Switzerland also, the number of Germans decreased from 220,000 to 150,000 (1920), much of the decrease probably due to naturalization. On the other hand, in other neutral countries the number increased, for example, in the Netherlands from 38,000 to 56,000 (1920). Brazil with 53,000 Germans (1920) and Canada with 25,000 Germans (1921) show notably high figures, evidently connected with the fact that in recent years both countries have been preferred by German emigrants.

If one adds to the results of the censuses taken after the World War the figures from pre-war censuses for the countries for which no post-war figures are available, then one arrives at the result that there are about 500,000 Germans in European countries and 1,900,000 in non-European countries, or 2,400,000 Germans living outside of Germany. This indicates that since about 1910 the number of Germans abroad has diminished by about 800,000, some having returned to Germany in consequence of war and post-war conditions and others having surrendered their German citizenship and been absorbed in the foreign population.¹

These figures include only German citizens or natives of Germany and not foreign-born children of German parents. How numerous these descendants are can be judged approximately from the American census of 1920 which contains data about the mother tongue of persons who were born abroad, and the mother tongue of the parents of persons born in the United States but descended from foreign-born parents.² The figures include the

¹Up to 1913 Germans who had lived abroad continuously for ten years lost their citizenship automatically if they did not register in the consular lists that they wished to retain it.

²*Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, p. 386 f.

entire white race of alien origin (foreign white stock) and distinguish three classes: (1) foreign-born whites; (2) whites born in the United States both of whose parents were foreign born; (3) whites born in the United States one of whose parents was foreign-born and the other born in the United States. The number of foreign-born whites or of those directly descended from foreign-born whites was 36,400,000. Of these, 8,500,000 are apportioned to the German mother tongue (including Dutch, Flemish and Frisian), and thus nearly one-fourth of the total foreign white stock. The German proportion is exceeded only by the British (including Celts, Irish, Scotch and others), which amounted to 9,700,000 or more than one-fourth of the foreign white stock. The number having German, in a narrow sense, as their mother tongue, leaving out the Dutch, Flemings and Frisians, was 8,160,000 or 22.4 per cent of the foreign white stock. The summary in Table 156 furnishes information concerning the distribution in 1910 and 1920 of persons having German as their mother tongue and of their sons and daughters in the groups distinguished by the census.¹

TABLE 156.

NUMBERS AND PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES, AND OF THEIR CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES HAVING GERMAN OR A GERMANIC MOTHER TONGUE, 1910 AND 1920.

United States Census Group	Numbers (Thousands)		Per cent ^a	
	1910	1920	1910	1920
With a Germanic mother tongue.....	9,000	8,623	27.9	23.7
With a German mother tongue.....	8,646	8,164	26.8	22.4
<i>Among whom:</i>				
Foreign-born Germans.....	2,759	2,267	31.9	27.8
Germans born in the United States:				
Parents foreign-born.....	3,977	3,801	46.0	46.5
Father foreign-born.....	1,368	1,467	15.8	18.0
Mother foreign-born.....	542	629	6.3	7.7
Total Foreign White Stock.....	32,243	36,399	100.0	100.0

^aOf total foreign White stock.

¹Abstract of the Fourteenth Census, loc. cit.

The German proportion of the foreign white stock declined after 1910 when it amounted to 9,000,000 or 27.9 per cent. To understand these figures one must realize that the statistics cover only the foreign born and their children one generation removed, but not the grandchildren or more remote descendants, even though they still use the mother-tongue. Should one include the entire progeny of German immigrants, *i. e.* the entire portion of the American population descended from German ancestors, then the proportion of German blood in the American body politic would prove to be considerably higher.¹ German emigration to the United States began very early as a mass emigration; in the '80's of the nineteenth century it had already passed its zenith. From the beginning of the '90's German emigration declined rapidly, while emigration from other countries (especially southern and eastern Europe) rose to tremendous dimensions. According to American statistics the number of emigrants were given in Table 157.

TABLE 157.

TOTAL AND GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1821-1926
(U. S. STATISTICS).
(In Thousands)

Period	All Immigrants	Of whom from Germany	Per Cent German in total
1821-50	2,464	595	24.1
1851-60	2,598	952	36.6
1861-70	2,315	787	34.0
1871-80	2,812	718	25.6
1881-90	5,247	1,453	27.7
1891-1900	3,688	505	13.7
1901-10	8,795	342	3.8
1911-20	5,736	144	2.5
1921-26	2,943	245	8.3
1821-1926	36,590	5,739	15.7

This shift in the composition of the current shows why in later periods the German proportion of the foreign white stock declined and why it probably will continue to decline. But the high proportion which German immigration, until near the end of the nineteenth

¹[For an outline of a different conclusion the evidence in support of which is still unpublished see American Council of Learned Societies Bulletin.—Ed.]

century, made of the total (one-third or one-fourth) indicates that by including the increase of early German immigrants the total contribution of the German element to the American people is considerably higher than it would appear to be from the results of American mother-tongue statistics or from the present composition of the current.

Calculations similar to these are not available for other countries. Nevertheless, W. Winkler, on the basis of private and official material, has tried to give a picture of the diffusion of the German people (and of the German tongue) throughout the world in 1925.¹ According to him the total number of Germans, *i. e.* those speaking German—not all of whom are German citizens—in the world was 94,430,000 or 5 per cent of the population of the globe (see Table 158).

TABLE 158.

DISTRIBUTION OF GERMAN-SPEAKING GERMANS, BY CONTINENTS IN 1925 (WINKLER)

(Thousands)

Europe	82,863 = 17.8 per cent of the population
America	11,081 = 4.9 " " " " "
Asia	198 = 0.0 " " " " "
Africa	127 = 0.1 " " " " "
Australia	161 = 2.0 " " " " "
The Earth	94,430 = 4.9 per cent of the total population

This number of 11,500,000 Germans outside of Europe is the precipitate of German emigration. Of the 83,000,000 in Europe, 77,500,000, or 93.6 per cent, belong to the German area in the heart of Europe. Of these about 62,500,000, or 80.6 per cent, are within Germany and 15,000,000 (13.4 per cent) are distributed over German Austria and a dozen other neighboring states. This splitting up of the group among many states in Central Europe, however, is not a result of migration.

Outside of the German area in Central Europe, there are about 5,300,000 Germans in other parts of Europe, 1,000,000 of whom are in Soviet Russia (500,000 Volga Germans), about 800,000 in Rumania (principally Transylvania), about 700,000 in southern Yugoslavia (The Banat, etc.), and about 600,000 in Hungary. These

¹W. Winkler, *Handbuch des gesamten Deutschtums* (1927).

settlements in Eastern Europe were made centuries ago by German emigrants who were invited thither by the reigning princes, bishops, or lords of the manor. Far from the main area in Central Europe, and without qualifying their loyalty towards the states in which they live, these emigrants have preserved their German nationality, language, customs and culture and have maintained themselves in large numbers in spite of a partial amalgamation with the surrounding folk.

On adding these 5,300,000 Germans residing in Europe outside of the central German area and the 11,500,000 Germans residing outside of Europe, the total of 17,000,000 or about one-fifth of all the Germans residing outside of the solid central European area are to be regarded as the precipitate of a century-long emigration.

TABLE 159.

NUMBER OF ALIENS IN GERMANY, CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP, 1871-1910.
(In Thousands)

Census of December	Austria-Hungary	Russia	Holland	Italy	Switzerland	Denmark	France	Total
1871	76	15	22	4	23	15	5	207
1880	118	15	18	7	28	25	17	276
1890	202	17	37	16	40	36	20	433
1900	391	47	88	70	55	25	20	779
1910	667	138	141	104	68	26	19	1,260

German censuses generally ascertain the citizenship and birthplace of each person. The latest returns upon place of birth were in the occupational census of June 1907.¹ In a population of 61,720,529 there were 1,342,294 persons born abroad, that is, 22 for each 1000 inhabitants.

In the census of December 1910, citizenship but not birthplace was reported. It showed 1,295,880 aliens in Germany, or 19 for each 1000 inhabitants. This number is somewhat less than that of the foreign-born in 1907. The difference is due partly to a different kind of census, but mainly to a difference in the time when the census was taken. In the summer census of 1907, as distinguished from the winter census of 1910, all alien migratory laborers who were in Germany during the summer were included. As a rule the foreigners in Germany have increased markedly from census to census.²

Table 159 shows that the number of aliens in Germany increased

¹Germany, *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs* (1910), Vol. 210.

²*Vierteljahrshefte zu Statistik des deutschen Reichs*, 1916, IV. Ergänzungsheft.

6-fold between 1871 and 1910. For each 1000 inhabitants in 1871 there were only 5 foreigners; in 1910 there were 19. Between 1871 and 1910 the number of foreigners from Austria-Hungary increased about 9 times, but most of these were persons of German descent. During the same period the influx of Russians increased nearly 14 times. The increase of Italians was specially great after 1890, the time when the stream of foreign immigrant laborers attained considerable dimensions. Even though, as a rule, these migratory laborers returned to their homes during the winter, a number remained in Germany, so that the winter census of 1910 would have embraced a portion, though not a large portion, perhaps 200,000 of the foreign seasonal workers. The 1910 census of aliens, classified by place of residence and occupation, points in the same direction.

The large cities, which everywhere are the main magnet, the industrial districts and certain agricultural areas (for example, the two Mecklenburgs, the state of Saxony and the Prussian provinces of Silesia, Westphalia and the Rhineland) are the regions in which alien migratory laborers are most employed. Of the 768,000 foreigners gainfully employed who were enumerated in Germany during 1910: 384,000, or one-half, were in industry; 158,000, or one-fifth, in agriculture; 78,000 in commerce and transportation; 45,000 in household tasks and salaried employments of various kinds; 25,000 in the liberal professions, and 78,000 or one-tenth lived on their own income. Of the 110,000 Russians, not less than 70,000 were engaged in agriculture; of the 376,000 Austro-Hungarians, 57,000 were engaged in agriculture and 320,000 in industry. Of the 68,000 Italians, 59,000 were engaged in industry (principally in mining and in the building trade).

(The first post-war census in Germany was taken as of June 16, 1925, and the results have been recently made available. They indicate a considerable decline in the number of foreigners residing in post-war Germany.¹ For the whole Reich within its present boundaries, but excluding the Saar district, there were in 1925 only 957,096 foreigners, or 15.3 per 1000 inhabitants, as compared with 19.5 per 1000 inhabitants in 1910. The number of foreigners in post-war Germany in 1925 thus was about 170,000 less than it was within the corresponding area in 1910.

The greater portion of Germany's foreign-born population is now derived, as Table 160 shows, from her two eastern neighbors,

¹See *Wirtschaft und Statistik* (1928), No. 19, p. 674.

Poland and Czechoslovakia. But the same table indicates that the majority of the aliens residing in Germany are "foreigners" only as regards their citizenship. Two-thirds of these so-called "outlanders"—roughly 700,000 out of the 900,000—have German as their mother tongue and thus are included within the German-speaking peoples; but they are not German in citizenship or inheritance.

TABLE 160.

NUMBER OF FOREIGN CITIZENS RESIDING WITHIN THE BOUNDARIES OF GERMANY ON JUNE 16, 1925, BY NATIONALITY.

Nationality	Number	Per Cent	Having German as Mother Tongue
Polish.....	259,804	27	117,683
Czechoslovak.....	222,521	23	202,132
Austrian.....	128,859	14	125,512
Netherland.....	82,278	9	57,741
Russian.....	47,173	7	31,296
Swiss.....	42,432	4	41,417
Italian.....	24,228	3	16,167
Hungarian.....	19,142	2	.....
Yugoslav.....	19,142	2	.....
Others.....	111,517	13	.....
Total.....	957,096	100	(591,948?)

Berlin, July 1930.

Burgdörfer.)

CHAPTER XIII

AUSTRIA¹

By

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Regierungsrat in the "Bundesamt für Statistik"

This chapter deals with international migration during the 19th century over the boundaries of the former Austrian Empire, which fell to pieces in 1918. It is thus limited not because migration is of less consequence to the infant Republic of Austria, heir to the name of the former empire, but because the very different political and economic conditions in the two states destroy all historical continuity in this field. In both, to be sure, emigration has been of great importance and immigration has played a minor rôle. But there is hardly any other point of agreement between them and many points of contrast.

The Austrian Empire, regarding emigration as harmful, sought at first to suppress it entirely, and later to regulate and confine it within narrow bounds. The present Republic, crippled by economic restrictions of every kind, looks on emigration as one of the few possible ways in which its precarious economic status might be improved. The opportunities for employment at a living wage in overseas countries might help to absorb Austria's surplus labor and thus to solve its most vital problem.

The change in the policy of countries receiving immigration has been almost equally radical. Originally eager to attract the greatest possible number of laborers, they have now become fully supplied, and the combination between stationary or falling wages and nationalistic sentiments has resulted in restrictive immigration laws like those of 1917, 1921 and 1924 in the United States, the most important objective of Austrian emigrants.

This radical change in the attitude towards emigration and

¹[See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pp. 89f, 184, 188, 230f, 241ff, 251ff, 296ff, 303ff, 335ff, 364ff, 384ff, 418ff, 463ff, 479ff, 585-600, 828, 837.—Ed.]

immigration must be kept in mind when comparing present emigration statistics with those of an earlier date. The current figures, unlike the earlier, do not reveal a free or normal economic movement of laborers from an over-peopled unpromising country into a thinly populated or less developed one, for the natural course of the movement is now artificially hampered by the restrictive legislation of the immigration countries, as formerly it was by similar legislation of the emigration countries.

The pre-war and post-war figures are incomparable also because of the different national composition of the two states. Pre-war Austria included nine different nationalities which played quite different parts in emigration, while in post-war Austria with less than one-fourth the population 97 per cent are of German speech. The summary presented in Table 161 shows the number and proportion of each of these nationalities.¹

TABLE 161.

POPULATION OF AUSTRIA CLASSIFIED BY RACE OR PEOPLE:
1910.

Race or People	Number	Per Cent
Germans.....	9,500,600	33.2
Czechoslovaks.....	6,373,564	22.3
Poles.....	4,300,273	15.1
Ruthenians.....	3,474,663	12.2
Serbo-Croatians and Slovenes.....	2,036,038	7.1
Jews.....	1,313,687	4.6
Italians.....	765,177	2.7
Magyars.....	10,797	0.0
Rumanians.....	274,804	1.0
All others.....	522,331	1.8
Total.....	28,571,934	100.0

Austria and Hungary, which were united into the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, made one unit in matters of international trade, and the migration statistics often did not differentiate between its two parts.

¹[This table differs from the usual figures in that the Jews or Hebrews appear here as a separate people.—Ed.]

The history of Austrian legislation about emigration shows how the definitions have changed with time, as a part of the evolution from the earlier absolute state to a modern liberal and constitutional state.

The ordinance of 1784 treated emigration as normally forbidden because of feudal obligations and of military considerations, and allowed it only exceptionally by royal permit. This ordinance defined an emigrant as one who "absconds abroad from the collective patrimonial dominions with the intention of not returning."

The emigration law of 1832 defined an emigrant in similar terms as one who "departs from our country to a foreign country with the intention of never returning," but the latter ordinance was milder in that it used "departs" instead of "absconds," and did not declare emigration to be fundamentally forbidden but merely distinguished between "lawful" and "unauthorized" emigration. Magistrates were directed to issue the permit whenever it was shown that the petitioner was not a dependent and that neither military nor other public duties were an obstacle.

According to both laws, emigration, whether sanctioned or not, entailed the loss of citizenship.

The first radical change in the official attitude towards emigration occurred in 1867, when the new Constitution provided that "freedom of emigration is only limited by the liability to do military service." But with this repeal of the previous ban, there was no change in the definition of an emigrant, and any citizen who notified the authorities of his emigration was at once released from all connection with the State. The emigration of those liable or likely to become liable to military service was made dependent on the consent of the military authorities. As a result, emigrants either of their own volition or at instigation of the emigration agents, often departed secretly. The authorities could cancel his citizenship only after the emigrant had declared his purpose to emigrate, so all clandestine emigrants—and they were the large majority—continued to be Austrian citizens.

This fact is of special interest because later Austrian statistics, lacking reliable emigration data, sought to find a substitute in the number of Austrian citizens living abroad, although according to the Austrian law citizens living abroad were not emigrants. This

illustrates how the obsolescent legal definition of an emigrant ran counter to actual developments.

When steps were taken in Austria at the beginning of the twentieth century to regulate emigration by a new and comprehensive law, these outgrown definitions were discarded. The bills failed to pass and the legal definition of emigrant remained, until the war, unchanged, but it was not used as a basis for emigration statistics.

What definition was used or should be, it is hard to say, but probably it should include only the emigration overseas of destitute masses of people. There was emigration also from Austria to other European countries, but in view of the dearth of data about it an emigrant came to be regarded as a steerage passenger who crossed the ocean. This large scale emigration, furthered by unscrupulous agents, was felt to be a permanent injury to the nation's defensive strength and an economic loss of valuable labor force.

No legal definition of an emigrant has been adopted since the war by the Austrian republic. To a questionnaire of the International Labour Office, it answered that it considered an emigrant to be either a person who left the country to find employment and settle permanently abroad, or the members of the family of such a person who accompanied or followed him. It thus adopted substantially the prevailing definition.

Under the present Austrian law, emigration does not entail expatriation; on the contrary, an emigrant loses his Austrian citizenship only if he acquires citizenship in another country or enters the service of a foreign state.

During the time when unauthorized emigration was forbidden, the statistics consisted of an administrative list of authorizations and of the known but unauthorized departures embodied in the annual emigration tables.¹

Until the year 1884, emigration statistics based on these tables were confined to legal emigrants, or persons who had left Austria with no intention of returning. But towards the end of the '70's the number of emigrants actually leaving Austria was found to be larger than the number in the official tables. The data from Hamburg and Bremen alone showed over 7000 Austrians who had em-

¹[Volume I, pp. 585-592.—Ed.]

barked for America in 1879, while the Austrian emigration tables showed only 6000 emigrants.

The increasing shortage of the official figures when tested by the returns from foreign ports caused the Central Statistical Commission in 1884 to drop its figures entirely and to follow the emigration movement thereafter only through the reports of port officers and consuls. In the same year government officers were required to record the arrivals in and the departures from Austria. The lists which resulted, unlike the returns from port officers, included details about those arriving or departing and by characterizing this part of the emigration indirectly characterized the whole.

With this change, the previous connection between emigration and expatriation was broken. The reports of the port officers and consuls paid no regard to an emigrant's loss of citizenship and the expatriation lists included only a fraction of the emigrants. Thereafter, until the World War, Austrian statistics included only overseas emigration, because there was no official information about continental emigration or about immigration.

From the censuses of Austrians in foreign countries and from census comparisons between the total increase of population and the natural increase, or excess of births over deaths, the incompleteness of Austrian migration statistics was revealed and an effort was made to fill the gaps by determining the balance between emigration and immigration.

It is uncertain whether the official statistics regarded Austrians living abroad, regardless of their intent, as emigrants or simply as migrants. But, judging from the census reports, the writers probably distinguished these to and fro currents from true emigration, and restricted the latter to emigration overseas.

This short survey of Austrian emigration statistics shows that at different periods they varied greatly in completeness and reliability. So long as a formal permit for emigration was required, the information gathered was probably reliable, for in cases of clandestine emigration the authorities were able usually in the end to establish the fact.

State control of emigration ceased when freedom of migration was proclaimed in the Constitution of 1867, and therewith the basis

for the statistics of emigration was lost. The "emigration tables" were abandoned for the German port statistics.

Whether those returns are regarded as complete depends on the definition of an emigrant. They are confined to overseas emigration, while the definition of an emigrant should include emigration from Austria to other European countries, like Germany or the Balkan States.

So unless the definition of an emigrant is restricted to overseas emigration, these port statistics are incomplete. In any case they are incomplete because they omit emigrant cabin passengers. On the other hand, they include steerage passengers who leave Austria intending to return.

Apart from the limitations of the definition, it will scarcely be possible to measure the error in these Austrian emigration statistics. The statistics of the countries of immigration are still less adapted to give a reliable measure. Even those of the United States can hardly be used as a test. The multiplicity of Austrian nationalities and linguistic stocks, many of them like the Poles found also in other states, led at times to the inclusion of subjects of other countries as Austrians, and at other times to the assignment of Austrian Slavs, Germans, Italians or Rumanians to other states.

In addition, American statistics failed to differentiate between emigrants from Austria and those from Hungary during the period 1892 to 1904 inclusive,¹ so that their distribution to the two halves of the empire was possible only with the aid of arbitrary assumptions. In the reports of the Statistical Bureau of the American Treasury Department, the emigrants were reported by nationalities, sex, age groups, and important occupations. But in the classification by nationalities, citizenship was less regarded than mother tongue, and so this source is hardly more reliable than the Austrian emigration statistics. For example, German-speaking Austrians were often returned as Germans; Italian-speaking Austrians residing in southern Tyrol, Istria or Dalmatia as Italians. In the same way Poles included without distinction persons who spoke Polish and lived in Galicia (Austria), in Russian Poland or in Prussian Poland.

In this respect the figures in the annual reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration after 1898 brought no change.

¹[Volume I, pp. 387-390.—Ed.]

In the tabulation of the countries of origin, between that year and 1904, they treat Austria and Hungary as one country, and in the classification by races, peoples and linguistic stocks, they give each language group as a whole and do not subdivide it according to whether the residence was in Austria or in Hungary. Thus, for example, the column "Croatian and Slovenian" 1899-1909, did not distinguish the residents of Austria from those of Hungary as it did beginning with 1910.¹

After 1905 the reports of the Immigration Commissioner separate the data concerning emigration from Austria and from Hungary, so that for the short period 1905-1914 a comparison between Austrian and American figures is possible.

Because of these difficulties the most detailed study² of Austrian emigration statistics abandoned the comparison between the German port statistics and the American immigration statistics, reaching only the conclusion that there were great discrepancies between them. To show the extent of these discrepancies, the two sets of data are compared in Table 162.

The comparison shows approximately two-fifths more Austrian

TABLE 162.

EMIGRATION FROM AUSTRIA TO THE UNITED STATES, 1876-1910.

(In Thousands)

Period	According to		Excess of American Figures	
	Austrian Emigration Statistics	American Immigration Statistics	Number	Per Cent
1876-1885	137	131	-6	-4.5
1886-1895	310	378	68	21.8
1896-1905	565	1,096	531	93.9
1906-1910	519	556	37	7.1
Total	1,531	2,161	630	41.1

¹[Volume I, p. 461.—Ed.]²Englisch, "Die Oesterreichische Auswanderungs-statistik" (1913).

immigrants reported by the United States than Austrian emigrants reported as embarking for the United States at German ports. This is due principally to the difference in the decade 1896-1905. Now the American reports show that the figures for the years 1892-1904 relate not to Austria alone, but to Austria-Hungary. In the two years before 1892 immigrants from Hungary to the United States were 40 per cent and in the two years after 1904 they were 60 per cent of the total from Austria-Hungary. When corrected for this error the American figures would show about the same result as the Austrian, that is, somewhat more than 500,000 emigrants for the decade 1896-1905 and more than 1,500,000 for the entire period 1876-1910. During the last years of the period the two parts of Austria-Hungary shared nearly equally in the emigration to the United States. For 1905-10, when the distinction between Austria and Hungary was made in American statistics, no great differences appear, except for 1908, especially if the averages for two consecutive fiscal years are compared with the corresponding calendar year of the Austrian statistics.

For Argentina the emigration and immigration statistics show even larger discrepancies. In the period 1885-1910, returns from the ports of embarkation show a total of 91,000 Austro-Hungarian emigrants; the Argentine immigration statistics show only 60,000 immigrants from Austria-Hungary. In this instance the port data are probably nearer the truth.

So of the three sources for statistics of Austrian emigration: Austrian emigration figures, German embarkation figures and American immigration figures, none is satisfactory. The ideal place for making a statistical record is where the emigrant starts. This was realized in the Austrian emigration tables, but lost its value as soon as the acceptance of the principle of free emigration prevented the officials where the emigrant resided from learning of his departure. This knowledge was obtained only in the few cases in which an emigrant liable to military service secured the government's consent to his emigration or, after leaving the country, reported to its authorities that he had emigrated and desired to surrender his citizenship.

The most numerous class of emigrants were those who left without the knowledge of the authorities. For this reason, emigration statistics came to be gathered abroad exclusively and consular officers were directed to make yearly reports based on returns at the

principal ports of immigration and showing the sex, age, and occupation of Austrian emigrants. To supplement these Austrian consular reports, the immigration statistics of the most important countries of immigration were used.

Thus, after the emigration tables which had been compiled in Austria for one hundred years (1784-1884) were dropped, there were no Austrian emigration statistics proper, and thenceforward foreign statistics were utilized and published in Austrian official documents. Although these Austrian emigration statistics are not complete and reliable, they are not worthless. On the contrary, they agree with the corrected American statistics closely enough to indicate that they afford serviceable statistical material, and give information about the intensity, origin, and tendencies of Austrian emigration. Even if the totals are far from the truth, the details reveal the extent of the emigration, the national and occupational composition of the emigrants and their destination.

Table 163 summarizes emigration according to the Austrian statistics 1851-1913, and for three earlier years.

In the first half of the nineteenth century Austrian emigration was unimportant, amounting hardly to 1,000 a year. Omitting Lombardy and Venice, which were ceded to Italy in 1859 and 1866 respectively, 1,211 persons emigrated in 1820, 1,204 in 1830, and

TABLE 163.

AUSTRIAN EMIGRATION ACCORDING TO AUSTRIAN STATISTICS,
1846-1913.

Period	Total	Annual Average	Period	Total	Annual Average
1846; '49; '50	1,569	523	1886-90	133,198	26,639
1851-55	17,873	3,574	1891-95	217,691	43,536
1856-60	11,204	2,240	1896-1900	227,447	45,489
1861-65	10,886	2,173	1901-05	463,811	92,762
1866-70	28,734	5,746	1906-10	641,363	128,272
1871-75	48,514	9,702	1911-13	417,557	139,185
1876-80	51,044	10,208			
1881-85	99,823	19,964	1851-1913	2,369,145	.....

only 585 in 1840.¹ During the stormy times of 1848 and 1849 Austrian emigration was larger, but there is no reliable record of it. From 1850 on, carefully kept lists have been preserved and the results are presented above. The second column in Table 163 shows a constant growth in Austrian emigration after 1861-65.

The sudden increase in emigration, 1851-55, was due to the discovery of gold in California. The movement was confined almost entirely to Bohemia. Of the 58,000 emigrants who registered in the years 1850-68, not less than 44,000, or 76 per cent, were from Bohemia.² At that time also many Austrian emigrants went to Russia, drawn by promises of land and remunerative employment.

Subsequently, other Austrian stocks also were drawn into the current and at the beginning of the '80's Austria became an emigration country. The number of 20,000 emigrants was first passed in 1880, in 1891 they exceeded 50,000 and 100,000 in 1903, and 175,000 in 1907.³

Nearly all Austrian emigrants went to America and, among the American countries, principally to the United States. The emigration from Bohemia to Russia ceased at the end of the '60's. Table 164 shows the distribution of Austrian overseas emigration, 1876-1910.

The emigration from Austria to the United States reached a

TABLE 164.

AUSTRIAN OVERSEAS EMIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRY OF DESTINATION: 1876-1910.

Destination	Number	Per Cent
United States	1,531,362	83.0
Canada	151,913	8.3
Argentina	94,047	5.1
Brazil	55,860	3.0
Other overseas countries	12,180	0.6
Total	1,845,362	100.0

¹[Volume I, page 588.—Ed.]

²[Volume I, page 588.—Ed.]

³[Volume I, page 593.—Ed.]

culminating point in 1892, when 46,000 Austrians departed for that country. An economic crisis which began in the United States in 1893, and whose consequences were felt for several years, checked immigration from Austria, but the decrease was confined mainly to Czech, German and Italian emigrants, the emigration of Slovenes and Poles at this time hardly decreasing at all.

After the improvement in America's economic situation, about 1898, emigration began to increase again;¹ but the Czechs and the Germans did not share much in this increase, and from 1900 on Austrian emigration to the United States was mainly an emigration from Galicia. The figures increased until 1907, decreased in 1908—the year of an American industrial crisis—and increased irregularly thereafter. In 1904–11 Austria-Hungary, which had contributed about 7.2 per cent of the immigration into the United States in 1821–1903, contributed 28 per cent and was first among all countries of origin.

The next most important immigration country was Canada. According to the port statistics about 150,000 Austrians went to Canada 1883–1910. This number is below the truth, but there are no reliable means of control as Canadian statistics do not distinguish Austrians from Hungarians. They show that about 200,000 Austrians and Hungarians entered Canada after 1900. The composition of this immigration by nationalities indicates that more than half of them were Austrian. In 1902–1905 over 90 per cent of the Austrian immigrants to Canada are said to have come from Galicia and Bukovina, more than 75 per cent from Galicia, so that Canadian immigration from Austria was in the main from Galicia.

Austro-Hungarian emigration to Argentina before 1880 was very small.² The changing figures in the following years indicate a great activity, principally among the Romance peoples. According to the port statistics more than 90,000 Austrians emigrated to Argentina in the period 1885–1910.³

Argentina appealed especially to Italians; the Italian-speaking Austrians from the southern Tyrol and Istria commonly embarked at Genoa. As a result probably many Italian-speaking emigrants from Austria were ascribed to Italy, and in this respect also the port

¹[Volume I, page 593.—Ed.]

²[Volume I, page 594.—Ed.]

³[Volume I, page 594.—Ed.]

data did not give a true picture. The Argentinian data were even less complete for they show only 60,000 Austro-Hungarian immigrants, 1885-1910, or two-thirds as many from both countries as the port statistics show from Austria alone.

Austrians who migrated to Brazil were drawn at first almost entirely from Austria's Italian-speaking population. The first mass emigration thither is traceable to action of the Brazilian government and a vigorous campaign by transportation agents. Before 1876 only a few Austrians emigrated to Brazil but the numbers for 1876 and 1877 were much larger both according to the port statistics and also according to those of Brazil.¹ But after 1877 the emigration fever subsided. In 1879-82 the movement was at a minimum and in 1894 it fell again to less than 1,000. During these last years a very few of the emigrants came from southern Tyrol: the majority came from the coastal regions and Carniola, Croatia and Slavonia; some also from Galicia. In 1895 and 1896 most of the Austrian emigrants went from Galicia and settled in Paranà. These two years mark the culminating point of the Austrian immigration into Brazil.

The countries discussed received more than 99 per cent of Austria's emigration. In 1890-95 only 861 Austrians or Hungarians migrated to Uruguay and in 1901-06 about 700 persons from Austria-Hungary arrived at Montevideo. For 1902-04 the Australian Federation reported about 2,300 immigrants from Austria, and for 1905-08 New Zealand reported about 2,000 Austrian and Hungarian immigrants, most of them from Dalmatia.

The fact that Austrian emigration statistics cover only overseas emigration does not mean that emigration from Austria to European countries was unimportant. On the contrary, seasonal emigration from Austria to other European countries—and that is now regarded as emigration—has been greater than overseas emigration. The statistics gathered in the old emigration tables, which included continental emigration, unfortunately contain no data about the destination. It is certain that America was the goal of most emigrating Bohemians (the principal contingent) and that emigration to Russia had almost ceased.

For the period after the discontinuance of these early emigration tables, foreign sources, especially foreign censuses, must be used

¹[Volume I, pages 550 and 594.—Ed.]

although during the few years just before the war, the records of the Board of Police Commissariats afforded a basis for an Austrian estimate of the seasonal emigration from Galicia and Bukovina. From the beginning most of the Austrian laborers who emigrated to European lands went to Germany. There was also a current to the sparsely settled Balkan States, especially Bosnia and Herzegovina which had been recently annexed.

About emigration from Austria to Germany the data are numerous but inconsistent. The German census of 1910 reported 635,000 Austrians in Germany while 10 years previously there were only 370,000, a decennial increase of 265,000 or 70 per cent. But that census, taken on December 1, ascertained only part of the Austrian laborers, for by that date most of the seasonal emigrants had returned.

According to the German census of occupations taken June 12, 1907, there were 316,000 Austrian laborers employed in Germany, of whom 86,000 were in agriculture and 196,000 in industry. The Prussian Landrat Boards ascertained the number of laborers coming annually from Austria-Hungary into Prussia for 1905-11. The number increased steadily from 182,000 in 1905 to 358,000 in 1911. According to the statistics of the German Arbeiter-Zentrale, an organization formed in 1907 under the patronage of the Prussian government to unite the agricultural labor registry offices, the number of laborers coming from Austria was as follows:

1907-08	170,313
1908-09	198,586
1909-10	224,555
1910-11	238,478
1911-12	262,944

Of the figures established for the last three years, 1909-12, Poles and Ruthenians formed each about 80,000 and Germans over 50,000. The Polish and Ruthenian laborers were employed principally in agriculture and the Germans in industry. The Board of Police offices on the Galician, Silesian and Bohemian borders obtained further evidence about the number of Austrian laborers employed in Germany, and concluded that somewhat more than 300,000 seasonal emigrants went to Germany annually 1909-11. The figures include about 10,500 laborers, who emigrated annually through Germany to Sweden and Denmark. By making use of all

sources one arrives at the conclusion that Austrian emigration into Germany before 1914 was about 450,000 annually.

About seasonal emigration from Austria to other European countries it is known from consular reports, official foreign publications, and reliable private estimates that about 8,000 laborers emigrated yearly to Denmark, 2,500 to Sweden, more than 1,000 to Switzerland, between 2,000 and 3,000 to France, more than 2,000 to Italy, and from 12,000 to 15,000 to Rumania. For the last few years before the war, continental emigration from Austria is to be estimated, therefore, at about 480,000 annually, while in 1904 it was estimated in the documents relating to the emigration bill, at only 100,000. The annual number of overseas emigrants estimated from the port statistics may be taken as 120,000, so that Austria's annual emigration of all kinds was about 600,000 persons. As the population of Austria was about 28,500,000, the annual migration rate was about 21 per thousand.

Causes of Emigration

After determining the amount and rate of emigration, the question arises: What were the causes for this large amount and high rate?

A few isolated influences have already been mentioned. The discovery of gold in California started emigration from Bohemia, and later the promise of land and of high wages in Russia started a movement to that country. Divers lawsuits show that the agents of steamship companies often took advantage of the ignorance and credulity of the peasant population and induced them to emigrate by all sorts of misrepresentations. Brazil made contracts with the steamship companies and granted free passage to immigrants to that country. There was a striking parallelism between Austrian emigration and the economic conditions in the United States, such that a pronounced industrial crisis in the latter country brought about a great decline in the number of Austrian immigrants to it. Unfortunately, Austrian statistics do not make it possible to examine thoroughly the connection between periods of prosperity and depression in Austria and fluctuations in emigration from that country.

More important than changes of the economic situation were certain permanent conditions in Austria, above all the small land

holdings, which were exceedingly disadvantageous for the peasantry. A great sub-division of the land had resulted from partitions through inheritance, and at the same time, a few great landowners had amassed much land. According to the census of 1902 more than half of the holdings were of less than two hectares, or 5 acres, and almost one-third of the total area was in great estates of over 100 hectares, or 250 acres, although they constituted only 0.7 per cent of the holdings. This indicated that a law noticed long before by German economists, that emigration increases with the prevalence of great landed estates and decreases with the prevalence of small peasant holdings, finds an illustration in Austria.

The small holdings of the peasants led to overpopulation in certain districts. Wages were very precarious in the city and more so in the country. Consequently, many peasant families and sons of peasants could not resist the enticement of a paradise on the horizon. Emigration laid hold first on the races at a higher level of culture (Germans, Czechs and Italians). This fact has led some authors to conclude that bodily misery or hunger was not the principal cause of emigration. But the causes were not always or with all races the same.

Much of the seasonal emigration was a streaming of peasant groups into industrial districts. For the flight from the land, as it has been called, is not purely internal migration; where flourishing industrial regions lie just over the border, they entice the peasant who is making a miserable living upon his tiny holding away from his native soil. The same influences, which in the second half of the nineteenth century led to internal migration from the agricultural to the industrial and trading districts of Austria, also brought about an emigration to the industrial districts of Germany.

However multifarious the motives for emigration were, it can be said to the honor of Austria that neither political nor religious persecution was one of them.

Emigration's Monetary Balance

In considering the monetary value of emigration or immigration, it is noteworthy how a change in the conditions has shifted the point of view. Formerly when emigration was for the most part a permanent colonization, the losses through emigration were estimated on that basis. Later, when emigration became more and more temporary, the credit side of the account came to the front.

The loss through emigration was computed by capitalizing the costs of the emigrants' maintenance and education or by estimating his excess future production over his maintenance. On the debit side were put the cost of the journey and the cash taken along, and on the credit side the remittances to the native countries so far as figures for them could be ascertained.

TABLE 165.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY'S BALANCE SHEET OF EMIGRATION, IN THOUSANDS OF CROWNS, 1903-10.

Year	Emigrants' Ready Cash	Traveling Expenses	Bank Remittances	Favorable Balance
1903	16,059	41,668	161,644	103,917
1904	18,024	29,820	165,806	117,962
1905	27,106	48,996	194,972	118,870
1906	24,852	51,154	270,253	194,247
1907	30,175	60,864	314,503	223,464
1908	17,039	31,140	178,015	229,836
1909	17,154	31,111	168,432	120,167
1910	.....	.....	272,913	220,913

Such calculations are of little value when there are no facts for separating permanent from temporary emigration and when they do not include the items tending to balance the money drained away by emigration. Still, it may interest countries in which the remittances from emigrants constitute a regular and important item, to learn the yearly amount of these sums. But no estimate of the financial losses incurred by emigration has much scientific importance because there are a number of matters of moment, such as the relief of the labor market, national expansion or trade expansion, which do not admit of monetary estimate.

According to an estimate of the United States Immigration Commission, the remittances sent yearly from the United States by immigrants amounted around 1910 to \$275,000,000, of which 75 million went to Austria-Hungary. An estimate of Austria-Hungary's balance sheet of emigration, for 1903-10, as made by Dr. Bartsch,¹ is given in Table 165.

¹Bartsch, "Einfluss der Wanderbewegung und des Fremdenverkehrs auf die Zahlungsbilanz Oesterreich-Ungarns" (1911).

On the basis of these calculations, Austria's favorable balance from overseas emigration during the last years before the war is estimated by Fellner,¹ at 155 million crowns or 31 million dollars. To this should be added the Continental emigration which, according to the estimates under discussion, ought to show a favorable balance of from 20 to 25 million crowns, or 4 to 5 million dollars.

The classification of emigrants by age and sex makes it possible to draw conclusions concerning the nature of the emigration. Where most of the emigrants are males of working age, it points to temporary employment abroad; a larger proportion of women and children points to a permanent emigration.

The statistics of the United States show on the average two male immigrants to one female. This ratio is confirmed by the emigration statistics. The Hamburg statistical data for 1894-1910 show 66 per cent male and 34 per cent female among Austrian emigrants. The gradual change from a colonizing to a temporary emigration is suggested by the fact that in the earlier years (1854-84) only 54 per cent were male and 46 per cent female. At the start Austrian emigration was an emigration of families, involving a permanent departure.

The age data, 1830-54, agree with this. They show 30 per cent were under 17 years of age and 70 per cent above 17. In the years 1854-84 those above 17 were only 60 per cent and those under it 40 per cent. In contrast to this the port statistics of Hamburg and Bremen for 1894-1910 show 86 per cent of the emigrants as over 15 years of age and only 14 per cent under 15.² These ratios show a gradual shifting whereby the emigration current includes a larger proportion of men.³ Of the 86 per cent of the emigrants more than 15 years of age, not quite 10 per cent were over 40 years old, so that more than three-quarters were between 15 and 40 years of age.

At the beginning of the '80's, with the commencement of Austria's real emigration period, the importance of Bohemia whence three-fourths of the earlier emigration from Austria had gone forth diminished. Then the emigration from the Tyrol, Carinthia and Galicia took the lead; but at the same time the nature of Austrian

¹Fellner, "Das Volkseinkommen Oesterreichs und Ungarns" (1916).

²(This would mean probably less than 20 per cent under 17 years of age as compared with 40 per cent for 1854-84.—Ed.)

³[May this not be due in large part to the fact that males crossing more than once were counted each time they left Europe as emigrants and each time they reached America as immigrants. Females probably did this less often.—Ed.]

emigration changed, because the South Tyroleans, the Carinthians, the Galician Poles, the Slovaks and the Croats did not emigrate--as a rule--in order to become residents of the United States, but rather to work there for some years and then return with their savings to their native country.

On the other hand, the emigrating Czechs, Germans and Jews from Galicia and Bukovina looked forward to permanent settlement in the country of immigration. In later years emigration from Galicia came more to the front, and in the years 1898-1900 it constituted from three-fourths to four-fifths of the total emigration from Austria. The Poles and Jews furnished the largest contingents, as in the decade 1901-10 there were 926 emigrant Poles and 683 Jews per 100,000 of the specified stock in Austria. The corresponding rates for the other nationalities were: Croats and Slovenes, 692; Czechs and Slovaks, 494; Italians, 226; and Germans, 219. The emigration rate of the Italians from Austria is probably too low because many were entered as Italians from Italy.

In the statistics heretofore considered, whether Austrian or foreign, emigration was treated as a movement and every person who crossed the border as an emigrant was a unit. Another source of material is found in the censuses, which deal with the results of emigration. They show the balance of emigration, that is, the changes in the population which have occurred not as a result of a natural increase or decrease by births and deaths, but as a result of a migratory increase or decrease.

According to the migration returns, Austria after 1880 had an increasing net loss through emigration (See Table 166).

Censuses give the number of foreigners residing in a country

TABLE 166.
AUSTRIA'S LOSSES BY EMIGRATION, 1881-1910.
(In Thousands)

Decade	Excess of emigrants over immigrants
1881-1890	201
1891-1900	398
1900-1910	683

and the number of its natives residing abroad; but they do so without regard to whether the persons counted are really emigrants or not.

According to modern definitions, however, only these who go abroad for pleasure or business of a temporary character are not classed as emigrants. As a result, most of those enumerated at a census would come under the modern definition of an emigrant. During more recent decades these census statistics have shown a net loss for Austria, which in 1910 amounted to 2,870,000 persons. At that time there were 3,450,000 Austrians living abroad and 580,000 foreigners living in Austria. In 1900 the net loss amounted to about 300,000 with 490,000 foreigners living in Austria and 790,000 Austrians living abroad. In 1890 Austria's net loss was only 30,000, with 410,000 foreigners living in Austria and 440,000 Austrians living abroad. For earlier years only the number of foreigners living in Austria can be given with accuracy, for the statistical inquiry into the number of Austrian citizens living abroad was then too defective to be used in striking a balance. In 1880, there were 326,000 foreigners enumerated in Austria, and in 1869 only 205,000.

The balance of emigration varied with the country. The largest net losses in 1910 were in the balance with Germany (-500,000) and with the United States (-2,340,000), while in the balance with Hungary there was a net gain of 122,000 and in that with Italy of 68,000.

Census data about the number of foreigners in Austria are the only source of recent information about immigration into Austria. During an earlier period, 1819-54, there were 51,017 persons who entered Austria and 46,458 who left, showing that during the first half of the nineteenth century Austria was not an emigration country. After freedom of migration was introduced, all administrative control of it was dropped, so that only approximate conclusions about the extent of immigration can be had and those derived indirectly from census results.

For the same reason all reliable Austrian data about the repatriation of emigrants are wanting. On the basis of unofficial returns gathered at Austrian frontier stations and seaports, the number of repatriates from North America, 1903-07, was established as given in Table 167. As approximately 618,000 Austrians emigrated to the

United States during the same period, the repatriation was approximately 20 per cent.

TABLE 167.

AUSTRIA'S REPATRIATES ANNUALLY FROM NORTH
AMERICA, 1903-07.

Year	Number
1903	20,847
1904	20,661
1905	19,050
1906	27,890
1907	50,380
1903-07	138,828

Migration Movements in the Austrian Republic.

In the reduced Austria of today, immigration plays a greater rôle than it did in the larger empire. For example, a number of Czechoslovakian agricultural and seasonal laborers (about 12,000) and domestic servants emigrate annually to Austria, and this is, as it was not formerly, an international migration.

Austria now has an Emigration Office, which has charge of all matters relating to emigration and immigration. It was established mainly to assist persons who desire to emigrate by giving them detailed information and guarding them against planning unwisely. The existing emigration statistics present, in monthly reports, overseas emigration classified by sex, age, occupation, country of origin and country of destination.

In view of the severe restrictions upon immigration into other countries, the number of Austrian emigrants is only an evidence of the extent to which Austrians have succeeded in seeking a home abroad under existing restrictions. Were it not for the various obstacles to immigration Austria's problem of unemployment would have caused emigration to increase much more than it did. In the years 1921-24 there were 34,000 Austrians who went to overseas countries, and up to July, 1927 the number had become 50,000.

About 60 per cent were male and 40 per cent female; one-third of the emigrants were under 15 years of age and two-thirds adults. Twenty per cent had been occupied in agriculture, 24 per cent in mining and manufactures, 6 per cent in trade, 9 per cent had been servants or artisans, 3 per cent were in the liberal professions and 38 per cent in other or unknown pursuits.

The United States is still the most important country of immigration, and it has established 785 as the yearly immigration quota from Austria. Two-thirds of the Austrian emigrants, 1921-24, went to the United States, 19 per cent to Brazil and 11 per cent to Argentina, while the other countries of destination had unimportant quotas.

The emigration statistics of the Republic are, as a whole, more reliable and complete than those of the former empire based on port data. In this field, as in so many others, there has been a change from the liberal conceptions of the past to the more social point of view of the present day. When production was the employer's private affair, it was scarcely possible to obtain half-way reliable statistics of production, and so likewise during the period of international freedom of migration, emigration statistics were lacking just because of this freedom. Today, when the conduct of a business is more and more regarded as an activity involving the interests of the community and when the public operation of business is more and more superseding its private operation, statistics benefit from the change.

CHAPTER XIV

HUNGARIAN MIGRATION OF MODERN TIMES¹

By

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Hungary's modern emigration began with an exodus to America and so increased in such a manner that later America and especially the United States, attracted the greater part of the stream. The first sporadic cases of emigration occurred in the '40's of the nineteenth century, but the emigration of Hungarian patriots after the failure of the struggle for independence in 1848 and 1849—although most of them remained in the United States—was not treated in American statistics as immigration, the first two immigrants from Hungary being reported in 1861.²

With the year 1880 the number of emigrants from Hungary began to rise rapidly. In 1881 the Hungarian government placed emigration agencies under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior, and forbade all emigration except when the emigrant was provided with a passport. The consequence, however, was merely an increase in clandestine emigration. The total flow increased in volume year by year and in 1903, when the United States was enjoying an unparalleled prosperity which drew people from all over the world, the number of Hungarian emigrants exceeded 100,000, and in 1907 it was nearly doubled.³ The number of emigrants, however, did not increase uniformly or regularly but showed great fluctuations, a fact which goes to prove that, in addition to incentives in Hungary, American business conditions also were of decisive influence. In 1908, in consequence of the great economic depression of the previous year, the number of overseas emigrants fell to less than one-fourth of the number in 1907.

¹[In connection with the present discussion see also *International Migrations*, Vol. I, pp. 86, 91f, 178ff, 184, 188, 200f, 230ff, 239-255, 300ff, 306-309, 329-341, 710-738.

Apparently the author of this chapter has used at times fuller or slightly different figures from those found in Volume I. In such cases his figures have been reproduced in full.—Ed.]

²[Volume I, page 377, Table I.—Ed.]

³[Volume I, p. 716.—Ed.]

The enormous increase in emigration finally led the Hungarian government to regulate the movement by laws passed in 1903 and 1909. The first aimed to restrict emigration; the second abandoned that effort and aimed merely to protect the emigrants. These laws prescribed what classes of the population (minors, those liable to military service, destitute persons, and the like) were not allowed to emigrate and instituted a system of emigrant passports. The Minister of the Interior was empowered in the interest of emigrants to forbid emigration to certain states. Emigration was restricted to certain steamship lines. The statute defined the legal rights of the transportation companies and of the emigrants, created an emigration fund for assisting emigrants, an emigration council as a consulting agency for the government and emigration commissioners to control emigration matters.

Each transportation company received a permit to carry on its business from the Ministry of the Interior which was thereby enabled to control the company. By virtue of the law, the Cunard Steamship Company, Limited, received an exclusive permit to carry Hungarian emigrants from Fiume to New York. The company was not in a position to transport the enormous mass of emigrants on its own ships and was therefore obliged to divert many of them to ships of the Hungarian Adria Company, sailing from northern seaports. As a result of this procedure and of a rate war instituted by competing concerns against the Cunard Line, most of the emigrants travelled to America via the northern seaports and thus avoided all Government control. In 1911 the Hungarian government granted the North Atlantic Steamship Lines' Association (the so-called Continental Pool) of five combined continental companies a similar permit to transport Hungarian emigrants (Pool Agreement). Then at last all Hungarian emigration was put under government control and the object of the law was attained.

In the '80's of the last century Canada began to receive emigrants from Hungary and in subsequent years, when the United States no longer appealed to the emigrants as the land of promise, Canada exerted a growing attraction on Hungarian emigrants by reason of fantastic assurances. The Canadian government bestowed bonuses at first in the shape of free land and training in its use, such as no other country offered. But the emigrants, who had been carried by the agents of the railway companies many thousands of miles into the interior of the country, were completely disillusioned

and faced with great obstacles and hardships; they were only moderately prosperous.

Still worse was the fate of those Hungarians who went to South America. Brazil and Argentina were the South American states that received most of them. Although the information in regard to this current is scanty, it shows that there was a small migration to these countries after 1880, rising to a maximum of nearly 3,000 in 1905.¹ But the situation of the emigrants was trying. They had been lured away by deceptive promises of Italian steamship companies and found not the loudly-proclaimed landed estates but only the hardest kind of work on coffee plantations or at other tasks. Under such conditions and exposed to a deadly climate many died.

The emigration to European countries deserves more extended consideration. The movement to Austria, is one of the oldest currents. The political relations which long existed between Austria and Hungary led to a continuous exchange of population between the two states, the balance of which was unfavorable to Hungary. From early times the advanced stage of industry in Austria afforded Hungarian laborers employment, while agricultural Hungary attracted only a few Austrians. How great this movement was is shown by the fact that the number of Hungarian citizens living in Austria rose between 1857 and 1900 from 53,000 to 324,000, a more than sixfold increase. Most of the emigrants came from the counties of western Hungary bordering on Austria, and 215,000 of them went to Lower Austria, nearly seven-tenths of whom were in Vienna. Styria also received many Hungarians (39,000) of whom 10,000 were in Graz. This emigration to Austria drew off especially the intelligent, able-bodied elements of the population, a serious loss for Hungary, although it afforded important advantages for the people involved.

Of more recent origin than the emigration to Austria is that from the German-speaking districts of Hungary to Germany. This movement is hardly thirty years old and has been directed to the large German cities in which qualified Hungarian laborers, tradespeople and persons with other occupations have found a good livelihood. The annual number of emigrants has been between 500 and 7,500; in the 15 years, 1899-1913, Hungary lost 42,000 persons thus.²

¹[Volume I, page 717.—Ed.]

²[Volume I, page 718.—Ed.]

For preparing a survey of Hungary's total emigration only incomplete data are available, especially about the demographic and economic composition of the migrants. Hungarian statistics are the only ones which include the entire emigration, but these go back to 1899 only. For earlier years one must turn to the emigration statistics gathered at European seaports and the immigration statistics of the United States, both of which naturally embrace only overseas emigration. But there are no returns from European countries about the number of Hungarian immigrants.

A survey of Hungary's total emigration will make clear its great fluctuations in course of time. In the last two years of the nineteenth century it rose from 37,000 to 39,000, grew rapidly in volume at the beginning of the twentieth century and reached a maximum of 193,000 in 1907.¹ This peak was followed the next year by an extraordinary depression to little more than one-fourth of that total, due largely to a rapid decrease in American immigration; then came a new flood to 113,000 in 1909 and a second ebb-tide, likewise due largely to American conditions. In 1912 and 1913 a third high point was reached with 105,000 emigrants, but shortly thereafter the World War dammed the current.

In these 15 years nearly 1,400,000 emigrants were registered. In order to obtain the actual loss of population, those who departed more than once and those who were repatriated, should be subtracted. On an average for the 15 years there were 4.6 emigrants annually to every 1,000 of population, a rate which rose to 8.8 in the three years of greatest emigration and to 9.4 in 1907 when almost 1 per cent of the population emigrated. During the whole 15 years the country lost not less than 7 per cent of its population.

Table 168 shows the classification by sex, age, nationality and occupation of the total emigration from Hungary.² Since these phases will be discussed later, both for overseas emigration and for Continental emigration, only summaries of the numerical data are presented at this point.

OVERSEAS EMIGRATION

Overseas emigration, which includes the greater part of the total outflow, can best be grasped statistically and can be elucidated

¹[See Volume I, page 720, Table XV.—Ed.]

²[See Volume I, page 721.—Ed.]

with the most detail. The sources of these statistics are the returns from European seaports, the immigration statistics of the United States, and from 1899 on the ample material furnished by the Hungarian official statistics. As they differ in their methods of inquiry as well as in the tabulation and publication of the material, it is natural that the results of the various statistics do not entirely agree and in some respects seem contradictory. Nevertheless, they afford valuable material for a general survey and for an estimate of the importance of emigration from a demographic and economic standpoint.

The statistics of the German seaports, going back to 1871, embrace almost the whole of the important period of Hungarian emigration.¹ They cover the ports of Hamburg, Bremen, Wilhelms-haven and Stettin, and classify by country of destination and by continent (Asia, Africa and Australia). Statistics for other European seaports began in 1899, the date to which Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp and Genoa carried back their port statistics. Much later came the inclusion of the seaports of Havre, Cherbourg, Liverpool, Naples, as well as Trieste and Fiume which last at this time attained great importance for emigration statistics on account of the Cunard agreement. While the statistical material from the most important ports of emigration to North America except the French is at hand and fairly complete, the lack of statistics from the Italian ports engaged in the South American trade leaves a perceptible gap.

The immigration statistics of the United States give many essential demographic features and afford an abundant material, but they often lump emigrants from Austria and Hungary together and so do not furnish adequate information regarding all phases of Hungarian emigration. By way of contrast, the Hungarian emigration statistics, which were started in 1899, are a mine of statistical material. They lend themselves to statistical researches of a local nature because of the exhaustive topographical classification of emigrants by counties and cities. On the other hand, the lack of an exhaustive classification of emigrant destinations according to countries is to be deplored.

During the first decades Hungarian emigration flowed almost exclusively through Hamburg and Bremen. Until 1885 the bulk of it streamed through Hamburg. Then Bremen drew to itself the

¹[See Volume I, page 716.—Ed.]

MIGRATION INTERPRETATIONS

TABLE 168.
SUMMARY OF HUNGARY'S TOTAL EMIGRATION, 1899-1913.
(In Thousands)
(a) By Sex

Year	Number of Emigrants				
	Males *	Females *	Total*	Per 1,000 Inhabitants	Per Cent Females
1899	25	12	37	2.0	32.0
1900	28	11	39	2.0	28.6
1901	41	14	55	2.9	25.5
1902	49	15	64	3.3	23.6
1903	51	17	68	3.5	24.9
1904	49	22	71	3.5	31.2
1905	122	44	166	8.2	26.4
1906	121	48	169	8.3	28.3
1907	141	52	193	9.4	26.9
1908	34	19	53	2.6	35.5
1909	80	34	114	5.4	29.9
1910	64	33	96	4.6	33.9
1911	35	29	64	3.1	45.9
1912	62	42	105	5.0	40.5
1913	46	51	97	4.5	52.1
1899-1904	243	91	334	2.9	27.3
1905-1907	384	144	528	8.8	27.2
1908-1913	321	208	529	4.2	39.3
Grand Total	948	443	1,391	4.6	31.8

(b) By Nationality

Year	Magyars	Germans	Slovaks	Ruma- nians	Ruthe- nians	Croat- ians	Serbs
1899	8,322	4,068	14,251	4,472	1,676	3,703	296
1900	9,883	4,393	14,170	3,092	3,116	3,697	231
1901	14,301	5,328	19,302	4,973	3,553	7,167	316
1902	17,821	8,147	18,760	4,429	3,328	10,143	555
1903	17,896	10,901	17,063	5,585	3,204	12,298	728
1904	21,856	12,134	17,477	9,892	2,895	4,141	1,148
1905	43,754	28,303	38,770	17,747	7,287	17,523	10,376
1906	52,121	30,551	32,904	20,859	4,920	16,016	9,950
1907	58,739	37,611	32,737	26,491	5,088	16,589	13,514
1908	17,144	10,609	9,308	8,277	1,917	3,251	1,737
1909	32,802	19,640	24,229	16,224	5,159	8,817	5,587
1910	25,562	16,758	18,010	14,968	3,805	9,817	5,430
1911	20,143	13,221	11,595	8,227	2,269	5,338	2,513
1912	31,478	16,803	17,029	18,620	3,761	9,961	5,908
1913	29,301	14,124	14,827	20,656	3,002	8,805	4,892
1899-1904	90,079	44,971	101,023	32,443	17,772	41,149	3,274
1905-1907	154,614	96,465	104,411	65,097	17,295	50,128	33,840
1908-1913	156,430	91,155	94,998	86,972	19,913	45,989	27,067
Grand Total	401,123	232,591	300,432	184,512	54,980	137,266	64,181

*[For the detailed numbers see Volume I, page 721, Table XVI.—Ed.]

(c) EMIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY AGE, IN THOUSANDS, 1905-7 AND 1911-13
(Heads of Families and Single Persons)^b

Age Class	1905-07		1911-13	
	Total	Per Cent	Total	Per Cent
0 - 19	109	24.1	34	17.3
20 - 29	160	35.4	67	33.8
30 - 39	115	25.3	46	23.3
40 - 49	57	12.6	37	18.7
50 and over	12	2.6	14	6.9
Total	453	100.0	199	100.0

^b[See Volume I, page 722, Table XVII.—Ed.](d) EMIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATIONS, IN THOUSANDS, 1905-07
AND 1911-13^c
(Heads of Families and Single Persons)

Occupation	1905-07		1911-13	
	Total	Per Cent	Total	Per Cent
Agriculturists.....	77	17.0	42	21.0
Agricultural and Day Laborers.....	234	51.6	94	47.4
Miners and Mine Laborers.....	5	1.2	2	0.9
Industrialists.....	10	2.2	6	3.0
Tradespeople.....	1	0.3	0.8	0.4
Industrial and Commercial Help and Day Laborers.....	51	11.3	17	8.4
Learned Professions.....	2	0.5	1	0.7
Day Laborers not further specified....	43	9.5	20	10.2
Servants, Domestic.....	23	5.2	11	5.3
Other Occupations.....	6	1.2	5	2.7
Total.....	453	100.0	199	100.0

^c[See Volume I, page 723, Table XVIII.—Ed.]

great mass and this preponderance became greater year by year until it diminished a little just before the outbreak of the World War. Besides these two ports during the earlier years and especially after 1900, Rotterdam and Antwerp were important. Then, following the legislative regulation of Hungarian emigration, Fiume came to the front and from 1904 on sent out from 20 to 30 per cent of all the overseas emigrants. Trieste and Havre likewise were engaged in shipping emigrants, although in small numbers, and for some years also Liverpool whence several thousand Hungarian emigrants found their way to America.

If the available material is tabulated by ports for quinquennial periods, the figures of Table 169 result.

TABLE 169.

HUNGARIAN OVERSEAS EMIGRATION BY PORTS OF EMBARKATION FOR
QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS, 1871-1913
(In Thousands)

Period	German			Dutch		Belgian	French	
	Hamburg	Bremen	Other Ports	Amsterdam	Rotterdam	Antwerp	Havre	Cherbourg
1871-75	3	0.9	....	....	....	....	..	....
1876-80	11	1.5	....	....	....	....	..	....
1881-85	50	19	....	....	....	....	..	....
1886-90	40	70	0.09	0.5	1	2	..	....
1891-95	14	66	0.01	3	14	26	..	....
1896-1900	21	94	0.6	0.7	10	29	..	....
1901-05	98	274	....	0	34	69	5	....
1906-10	108	247	....	0	35	56	29	2
1911-13	74	103	....	0	20	24	18	0.5
Totals	420	875	0.7	4	115	206	52	2.5

Period	English	Italian		Austrian	Hungarian	Totals
	Liverpool	Genoa	Naples	Trieste	Fiume	
1871-75	..	..	...	..	...	4
1876-80	..	..	...	..	...	13
1881-85	..	..	...	..	...	69
1886-90	..	3	...	..	...	118
1891-95	..	3	...	..	...	125
1896-1900	..	4	...	..	...	160
1901-05	10	1	0.1	1	58	551
1906-10	2	1	...	20	186	686
1911-13	1	0.3	...	11	61	313
Totals	13	13	0.1	32	305	2,039

Table 169 shows that more than 2,000,000 Hungarians embarked from European ports for overseas countries in 43 years 1871-1913. But this cannot be regarded as the true number of emigrants for not all of them finally abandoned their native country. Many embarked as an experiment and returned only to embark once more. Some returned several times. These persons were entered in the statistics as often as they embarked. From the American immigration statistics it appears that 23 per cent of the Hungarian immigrants had previously been in the United States. Probably the proportion of repeaters increased. If the true number of emigrants is to be ob-

tained from the port statistics, from 20 to 25 per cent should be subtracted from the reported figures.

Unfortunately the statistical data on the direction of overseas emigration are incomplete. Of the European ports only Hamburg and Bremen distinguish the countries to which the emigrants are bound. Such data are available for the period 1871-1913 and the totals for quinquennial periods are given in Table 170. American immigration statistics show the number of Hungarians landed in the United States from 1861 on, but the figures for 1896 to 1904 are lacking because Hungarian emigrants were not then distinguished from Austrian. (In Table 170 the data for those years have been introduced from German port statistics.) Moreover, the American data differ materially from the European; first, because the American statistics are published by fiscal years and secondly, because these statistics embrace Hungarian emigrants arriving on ships from all ports, while the destination of embarking emigrants is shown only in German port statistics. No emigrants who went to the United States on Dutch, Belgian, French or Italian ships had their destination reported and tabulated. Finally, since 1899 the Hungarian emigration statistics show the stream of travelers according to destination. Table 170 brings together the results of the various statistics of overseas emigration from Hungary by quinquennial periods.

Table 171 (p. 421) shows that 98.5 per cent of the emigrants went to the United States, the participation of the other overseas countries being astonishingly small. According to the German port statistics, 17,387 emigrants embarked for the other American countries between 1871 and 1913, and only 663 for other continents.

Concerning the proportion of each sex in Hungarian emigration American statistics are available for the earlier years and Hungarian for the later. The American statistics and the German port statistics show a decrease in the per cent of females between 1871 and 1892, as presented in Table 172 (p. 421). The two sets of figures show a general agreement in per cent and in trend. If children are excluded the American statistics show for ages between 15 and 40 years the per cent of females given in the last column of that table.

For years after 1892 these data are not found in the American statistics. If the figures for Magyar, Slovak, Ruthenian and Croatian peoples coming for the most part from Hungary, are com-

TABLE 170.

HUNGARIAN OVERSEAS EMIGRATION THROUGH GERMAN PORTS AND INTO AMERICAN COUNTRIES, CLASSIFIED BY DESTINATION FOR QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS, 1861-1913.

(a) Through German Ports*

Quinquennial Periods	AMERICA						Total (America)
	United States	Canada	West Indies	Brazil	Argentina	Other States	
1871-75	3,785	...	2	17	4	1	3,809
1876-80	12,538	2	10	49	1	..	12,600
1881-85	68,961	91	1	70	18	3	69,144
1886-90	100,105	125	8	39	66	5	100,348
1891-95	77,000	539	7	981	72	11	78,610
1896-1900	114,835	508	1	69	44	14	115,471
1901-05	365,329	3,259	..	123	3,049	11	371,771
1906-10	349,376	1,353	..	54	3,767	12	354,562
1911-13	174,365	2,094	..	92	815	..	177,366
Totals	1,266,294	7,971	29	1,494	7,836	57	1,283,681

Quinquennial Periods	Asia	Africa	Australia	Great Britain	Total (All Countries)
1871-75	..	..	34	..	3,843
1876-80	..	2	3	..	12,605
1881-85	..	9	6	..	69,159
1886-90	..	3	16	..	100,367
1891-95	2	8	2	..	78,622
1896-1900	3	250	9	323	116,056
1901-05	..	294	3	665	372,733
1906-10	..	2	2	70	354,636
1911-13	..	5	10	51	177,432
Totals	5	573	85	1,109	1,285,453

*[See Volume I, page 717, Table VI.—Ed.]

(b) Into American Countries

Quinquennial Periods	United ^a States	Brazil	Total	Quinquennial Periods	United States	Brazil	Total
1861-65	409	...	409	1896-1900	(114,835) ^a	...	(114,835) ^a
1866-70	75	...	75	1901-04	(265,134) ^a	...	(265,134) ^a
1871-75	3,315	...	3,315	1905	163,703	...	163,703
1876-80	6,644	...	6,644	1906-10	644,808	396 ^b	645,204
1881-85	51,176	...	51,176	1911-13	287,536	1,303	288,839
1886-90	76,515	...	76,515				
1891-95	118,618	...	118,618	Grand Total	1,732,768	1,699	1,734,467

^aGerman port statistics.

^bFrom 1908 to 1910 [see Vol. I, page 551, Table II.—Ed.]

*[See Vol. I, pp. 377-83, Table I.—Ed.]

TABLE 171.

HUNGARIAN OVERSEAS EMIGRATION ANNUALLY TO AMERICA AND TO OTHER CONTINENTS: 1899-1913
(Hungarian Statistics)

Years	America*	Other Continents	Year	America	Other Continents
1899	26,515	166	1911	53,502	258
1900	31,092	84	1912	92,664	132
			1913	84,084	90
1901	45,196	174			
1902	56,346	270	1899-1900	57,607	250
1903	61,466	366	1901-05	362,872	1,453
1904	57,695	232	1906-10	546,018	3,185
1905	142,169	411	1911-13	230,250	480
1906	149,932	577			
1907	172,200	1,189	Total	1,196,747	5,368
1908	38,214	489			
1909	100,424	670			
1910	85,248	260			

*[Volume I, page 718, Table VIII.—Ed.]

bined the per cent of females for 1899-1902 is 22.8, showing a still further decrease in their proportion. Hungarian statistics, beginning with 1899 establish the proportion of females among those emigrating to America as given in Table 172.

TABLE 172.

PROPORTION OF FEMALES IN EMIGRATION FROM HUNGARY TO THE UNITED STATES, 1871-1913.

Years	Per cent Females in Total Migration, according to			Per cent Females, 15-40 Years
	American Returns	German Returns	Hungarian Returns	American Returns
1871-75	39.9	33.6	....	30.8
1876-80	33.2	35.8	....	23.4
1881-85	25.1	25.8	....	21.6
1886-90	26.7	27.6	....	24.4
1891-92	26.5	32.3	....	25.6
1901-04	....	....	27.3	....
1905-07	....	....	28.7	....
1908-10	....	....	33.3	....
1911-13	....	....	47.7	....

With the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a marked change in the proportion of females, the per cent rising slowly at first and then more rapidly, so that in 1913 there were more female emigrants (53.6 per cent) than male. This increase was due in part to a prohibition on the emigration of men liable to military service, issued at the time of the Balkan Wars, and in part, to a growing tendency of females to migrate, for the number of women emigrating increased rapidly.

In the distribution of emigrants according to age, the influence of a country's economic situation is revealed; that influence tending to increase the proportion of immigrants of productive age. According to the early immigration statistics of the United States, the proportion of Hungarian immigrants under 15 years of age fell, between 1873 and 1893, from 28 to 8 per cent. There was a similar decrease also in the proportion of immigrants of more advanced years (over 40 years of age) which fell from 13 to 7.8 per cent. On the other hand the proportion of productive age (from 15 to 40 years) rose steadily from 59 to 84 per cent. At the same time the increase of female immigrants 15-40 years of age, was astonishingly rapid, as Table 173 shows.

TABLE 173.

PROPORTION OF HUNGARIAN IMMIGRANTS OF PRODUCTIVE AGE ENTERING THE UNITED STATES, BY SEX, 1873-1893

Period	Per Cent of Immigrants from 15 to 40 Years of Age	
	Men	Women
1873-75	62.5	45.5
1876-80	70.0	57.9
1881-85	76.0	61.4
1886-90	79.7	68.4
1891-93	85.1	81.2

Later American statistics make 15 and 45 years the limits between the three principal age classes; and show that there were among Hungarian immigrants, 1899-1902, 6.3 per cent under 14 years of age, 90 per cent between 14 and 45 years and 3.7 per cent over 45 years; figures which prove that there was further decrease

in the proportion of children. There was an appreciable increase, also, in the proportion of those of productive age, namely, from 84.2 per cent, when that age was between 15 and 40 years to 90 per cent when it was between 15 and 45 years. An increase partly but not wholly to be explained by the change in the age limit.

As regards the later period only the data in the Hungarian statistics for the emigrants to America are available, and those speak for 1905-07 and 1911-13. Unfortunately they employ different age limits: 0-20, 20-50, and over 50 years of age. A comparison with the earlier results therefore is not possible. These percentages among the emigrants, given in Table 174, show that the decrease in the proportion of child emigrants continued, while the proportion of elderly emigrants increased, and there was a slighter increase in the proportion of those of productive age.

TABLE 174.

PROPORTIONS OF EMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES (HUNGARIAN DATA).
BY AGE-CLASSES, 1905-07 AND 1911-13.

Age Class	Per cent of Emigrants	
	1905-07	1911-13
Under 20 years of age.....	24.4	17.3
From 20 to 50 years of age.....	74.2	77.4
Over 50 years of age.....	1.4	5.3
All ages.....	100.0	100.0

In the case of a country with a population so mixed linguistically and racially as that of pre-war Hungary, statistical evidence of the part played by each group in emigration would be most important. Unfortunately the statistics are inadequate and, therefore, the polyglot mass of emigrants cannot be perfectly classified by mother tongue. Only from 1899 on do the American immigration statistics classify immigrants linguistically and then in some years they do not separate Hungarians from Austrians according to the country to which they belong. While Magyar and Slovak immigrants probably may be regarded as coming from Hungary, it is

TABLE 175.

IMMIGRANTS FROM HUNGARY TO THE UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED BY
LINGUISTIC STOCK: 1898-1913.^a
(In Thousands)

Fiscal Years	Magyars	Germans	Slovaks	Ruthenians	Croats	Serbs
1898-99	6	..	16	1	7	..
1899-1900	14	..	29	3	11	..
1900-01	13	5	28	2	10	..
1901-02	24	10	36	3	19	0.4
1902-03	27	15	33	3	21	4
1903-04	24	14	27	3	14	2
1904-05	45	26	51	3	22	2
1905-06	42	27	35	4	28	3
1906-07	59	26	40	6	32	6
1907-08	24	17	14	3	12	4
1908-09	28	14	21	4	11	2
1909-10	26	19	31	3	22	4
1910-11	19	15	21	2	11	2
1911-12	23	15	24	4	15	2
1912-13	29	16	26	4	23	3
Total	402	219	432	47	257	34

^a[The figures for 1898-1900 and 1909-13 are taken apparently from Volume I, pages 460-469, Table XIII. Those for the other years have, perhaps, been reached by estimating the share of Hungary in the figures for Austria-Hungary in the same tables.—Ed.]

not possible so to classify the Germans, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Croats and other minor groups of immigrants from the Dual Monarchy. We are, therefore, restricted to estimates made by the Hungarian Central Statistical Bureau based on data for 1904-5 and 1907-8 to 1912-13. They give the results shown in Table 175.

Parallel with Table 175 are the results of the Hungarian statistics, available from 1905 on, giving the linguistic stocks of Hungarian emigrants to America. Table 176 shows that emigration from Hungary which was almost entirely Slovak during the early years, soon included other stocks, first Magyars and then Germans, Croats and Serbs in considerable numbers. From about 1905 on the Magyars furnished the largest contingent. Yet their share in the emigration was far below their share of the population and in the later years amounted to scarcely one-third of the total.

The reasons for this result were manifold; probably one was that the movement coming from the west past the Poles and

TABLE 176.

EMIGRANTS FROM HUNGARY TO THE UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED BY LINGUISTIC STOCK: 1905-13

Year	Magyars	Ger- mans	Slovaks	Ruman- ians	Ruthen- ians	Croats	Serbs	Others	Total
1905	40,303	23,147	37,814	8,798	7,143	14,959	8,493	1,512	142,169
1906	48,252	26,244	31,878	13,683	4,790	14,455	9,158	1,472	149,932
1907	54,462	32,414	31,622	19,240	4,880	15,130	12,672	1,780	172,200
1908	14,248	7,310	8,448	2,995	1,759	1,970	1,185	299	38,214
1909	30,642	17,192	23,461	10,857	4,987	7,674	5,001	610	100,424
1910	23,528	14,588	17,638	10,631	3,678	8,607	5,947	631	85,248
1911	18,236	11,086	11,207	3,786	2,230	4,253	2,198	506	53,502
1912	29,716	14,827	16,616	12,527	3,564	8,930	5,609	875	92,664
1913	27,778	12,402	14,657	12,700	2,994	8,031	4,594	928	84,084
Total	287,165	159,210	193,341	95,217	36,025	84,009	54,857	8,613	918,437

Ruthenians of Galicia naturally spread first through the neighboring Ruthenians of upper Hungary, and only later included the Magyar population of the lowlands. The well-known devotion to the soil, so characteristic of the Magyars may have been influential; the Slovaks have long been noted for their roaming propensities. The underlying cause was the scant fertility of their native land, which—in view of the small extent of farm land—was over-populated.¹

Table 175 (p.424) shows that between 1899 and 1913, over 400,000 Magyars and more than twice as many non-Magyars emigrated to all parts of the world. About 260,000 Magyars went to America. On the average 26,700 Magyars and 66,000 inhabitants of other nationalities left their homes in Hungary yearly. If the emigration quotas are compared with the numbers of the different nationalities, this proportion is found to vary with the nationality and to fluctuate widely in course of time. In this calculation the figures for the years 1905-1913 (Table 176) are used because the Hungarians who emigrated to America were determined by stocks for only those years. Comparing these data with the population figures for 1910 gives the rates in Table 177.

Table 177 shows that the emigration rate was smallest among the Magyars, not more than 1 to 5 per 1,000. Then come the

¹The counties of upper Hungary at the center of the emigration territory are thinly populated (100 to 130 per square mile), but the tillable soil is so limited that—after deducting the wooded area—there are from one to one and a half persons to each acre of garden or farm land, a density entirely disproportionate to the fertility of the soil.

Rumanians and after them the Croats and the Serbs whose emigration rates about correspond with the average for the entire population, but show much greater fluctuations from year to year. The emigration rates of the Ruthenians and the Germans were higher, but did not reach the level of the Slovak rate, which in each year was the highest of all and surpassed that of the Magyars more than three-fold.

TABLE 177.

ANNUAL EMIGRATION RATES OF HUNGARIANS CLASSIFIED BY
LINGUISTIC STOCKS: 1905-13

Year	Magyars	Rumanians	Croats	Serbs	Ruthenians	Germans	Slovaks
1905	4.0	3.0	8.2	7.7	15.1	11.4	19.2
1906	4.8	4.6	7.9	8.3	10.1	12.9	16.2
1907	5.4	6.5	8.3	11.5	10.3	16.0	16.1
1908	1.4	1.0	1.1	1.1	3.8	3.6	4.3
1909	3.0	3.7	4.2	4.5	10.5	8.4	11.9
1910	2.3	3.6	4.7	5.4	7.8	7.1	9.0
1911	1.8	1.3	2.3	1.9	4.7	5.5	5.7
1912	3.0	4.3	4.9	5.1	7.5	7.3	8.4
1913	2.8	4.4	4.4	4.1	6.3	6.1	7.4
Total	28.5	32.4	46.0	49.6	76.1	78.3	98.2
Yearly average	3.2	3.6	5.1	5.5	8.5	8.7	10.9
Minimum	1.4	1.0	1.1	1.1	3.8	3.6	4.3
Maximum	5.4	6.5	8.3	11.5	15.1	16.0	19.2
Range	4.0	5.5	7.2	10.4	11.3	12.4	14.9

There is a clear parallelism in the rates of the various stocks, marked by troughs for them all in 1908 and 1911. But the annual fluctuations are considerable and the crest of the rates in the years of greatest emigration is especially marked for the Slovaks, Germans and Ruthenians. The fluctuations are least with the Magyars.

Occupations and Social Status of the Emigrants

Two sources of information are available for the occupations and social status of Hungarian emigrants. For the earlier period (1876-1902) we have the immigration statistics of the United States, and for the later period (1905-1911) the Hungarian emigration statistics. In spite of the material differences in the methods and

in the classification of occupations used by these two sources they throw light on the occupational status of the emigrating masses.

According to the American statistics early Hungarian migration was characterized by the absence of persons following occupations calling for a high degree of intelligence, the learned or well-educated classes. Among the 528,000 Hungarians, who reached the United States between 1876-77 and 1901-02,¹ there were only 655, or one-tenth of one per cent who exercised a calling demanding a high degree of intelligence (teacher, minister, artist, musician, architect, engineer, lawyer, or physician). This is a smaller percentage than in the other countries of Europe except Scandinavia and Russia.

Very small, too, is the class of "skilled" labor (in trade and industry), 23,000 persons or 4.3 per cent of all immigrants, the lowest proportion from any country (maximum, Scotland with 24.6 per cent). On the other hand, "unskilled" laborers were extremely numerous, 346,000 or 65.5 per cent of the whole number. The Hungarians stand with the Italians, 59 per cent, at the head of the list of countries, while the number and proportion of persons without an occupation, 158,000 or 30.1 per cent, is the lowest in any country in consequence of the small number of families and dependents.

Even if the classification of occupations in the American statistics is of too general a character to throw a clear light on conditions, yet it cannot be denied that a marked characteristic of early Hungarian emigration was the exceedingly large proportion of laborers in unskilled occupations who relied on their physical strength. Hungary, then, sent forth mainly untrained laborers who could devote their working power to any sort of occupation that called only for muscular strength. While the decline of the mining industry in upper Hungary naturally led 4,000 miners to emigrate to the United States, it is hard to understand why 44,000 Hungarian farmers and agricultural laborers should have left their homes when thousands of additional hands were needed to intensify Hungary's agricultural production.

Essentially different is the recent classification of Hungarian emigrants according to occupation based on Hungarian statistics. This distinguishes the principal groups of occupations in a more characteristic and rational manner and therefore comes closer to

¹The data for 1894-95 and 1895-96 are wanting. [See also Volume I, p. 455 and p. 178, Table IX.—Ed.]

the facts. But emigration itself had undergone a radical change and had reached classes of the population which had previously been untouched. Persons following other higher kinds of occupations cast their eyes upon America. Independent farmers left their estates in increasing numbers to seek their fortune across the ocean. Tradespeople, industrialists and merchants in business on their own account, embarked for the United States in growing volume, and the proportion of those having intellectual pursuits (public service and liberal professions) became greater. Material in regard to this has been worked out in detail in the Hungarian statistics for the years 1905-07 and 1911-13. During the first period emigration was numerically more than twice as great as in the years 1911-1913. For an estimate, therefore, of the share of the individual groups of occupation only the percentages can be used and they clearly bring out the changes. [The abundant material furnished by the Royal Hungarian Central Statistical Bureau is summarized in Volume I.]¹

Even though no comparison between these figures and the earlier American data is possible because of the totally different classification of occupations, yet the great change in the occupational composition can be recognized. Above all the much larger proportion of persons following intellectual pursuits is evident; they now constitute a noteworthy proportion of the emigrants. Emigration had made great gaps in Hungary's agricultural population. This fact cannot be definitely proved because the old data and the new are not comparable. But if we assume that, aside from the 44,000 farmers and agricultural laborers in the American statistics, half of the 276,000 emigrant laborers were employed on farms, and that would certainly be too large a fraction as a considerably greater proportion are to be attributed to trade and commerce, there would yet be 35-40 per cent of the emigrants to be ascribed to agricultural while according to these Hungarian statistics of the twentieth century not less than 68 per cent are to be thus counted. In the course of a few decades, therefore, the proportion of agricultural emigrants in the total about doubled and surpassed the 61.7 per cent which this group forms in Hungary's total population.

Trade and industry, on the other hand, contributed a smaller

¹[See Volume I, page 723, Table XVIII.—Ed.]

proportion to the emigrants than it had of the general population. Within this group of occupations the emigration rate declined in a gratifying manner. This was probably due in part to the fact that many of the tradespeople, especially in the country, besides having a trade owned a piece of land and so found it easier to earn a living, while the agricultural population was wholly dependent on its farm work and when conditions were unfavorable found in emigration its only way of escape.

Thus it appears that during recent years emigration reached those classes of the population and those groups of occupations which were most essential for Hungary's economic prosperity. In some years, indeed, agriculture—especially at harvest time—had to struggle with a perceptible shortage in labor. Therefore the compulsory interruption of emigration by the war brought some help to Hungary's agriculture by correcting this shortage.

CONTINENTAL EMIGRATION

Although America has attracted the largest portion of Hungarian emigration, the countries of continental Europe have come to the front in recent years and attained importance as goals of the movement. The Hungarian statistics throw light on these tendencies and even if the measurement of the currents be more difficult than to observe the masses crossing the ocean and if the statistics do not include all cases, yet the figures afford a sufficient basis for an estimate of these new phases.

The economic interaction between European countries results, naturally, in an exchange of population between adjacent states. Hungary has had two different kinds of opportunity for guiding into neighboring countries the surplus population which did not deem its livelihood sufficiently assured at home. A low state of civilization in neighboring countries to the south and east (Bosnia, Herzegovina, Serbia, Rumania and Bulgaria) held out a promising future to Hungarians who had reached a higher stage; and, on the other hand, the highly developed industries of Austria and Germany afforded skilled industrial laborers an opportunity to attain a better standard of living.

Such a migration to neighboring states—and in some degree also to distant countries—has long been in progress, as shown by the number of Hungarians residing abroad and enumerated in the

censuses of European states. However, only in the case of Austria, Germany, Rumania, Serbia and other Balkan states can a mass emigration be thus shown, while to other European countries the migration from Hungary is only sporadic.

Hitherto, Hungarian statistics have not recorded Continental emigration in its entirety because the relations of Hungary with Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina did not permit an exact record of the Hungarians migrating to those countries. This circumstance must be considered whenever Hungarian statistical data are used in estimating Continental emigration, as in Table 178.

TABLE 178.

EMIGRANTS FROM HUNGARY TO OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, 1899-1913
(In Thousands)

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number	Years	Number of Emigrants
1899	11	1904	13	1909	13	Totals, 1899-1904	56
1900	8	1905	24	1910	11	1905-07	64
1901	11	1906	19	1911	11	1908-13	74
1902	8	1907	21	1912	12	1899-1913	194
1903	7	1908	15	1913	13		

These totals constitute for the 15 years 14 per cent or one-seventh of Hungary's total emigration. In some years the European percentage was considerably higher, not so much because of an increase in continental emigration such as occurred, 1905-1907, in consequence of the increased migration to Rumania, as because of a decrease in the emigration to America in 1904 and 1908, which pushed the share of continental emigration up from 18.1 to 27.8 per cent. This emigration went to individual countries as given in Table 179.

The migration to Germany was greatest in 1907 when 7,354 persons were enumerated as emigrants; while emigration to Rumania culminated in 1905 with 11,000 persons and in the following years was between 6,000 and 8,000. It gained in importance after 1886 in consequence of the tariff war which began then and caused Transylvania's Rumanian population to emigrate from all parts of the country.

TABLE 179.

EMIGRANTS FROM HUNGARY BY COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION, 1899-1913
(In Thousands)

Periods	Countries of Destination		
	Germany	Rumania	Other States
1899-1904	6	34	15
1905-1907	19	28	18
1908-1913	17	40	17
Total	42	102	50

Regarded as a whole Continental emigration is distinguished by the relatively large number of females taking part in it. In the years 1901-13 females amounted to 39.8 per cent on the average (as against 33.1 per cent of the emigration to America). However, this quota is made up of various elements. Among the emigrants to Germany females were present only to the extent of 26.4 per cent, while in the emigration to Rumania not less than 47.1 per cent were of that sex. Of the emigrants to other countries 32.4 per cent were females. The great stream of females which flowed over into Rumania was, to a great extent, composed of domestic servants, a class that has migrated to Bucharest for many years and particularly from Transylvania. They were welcomed because of their trustworthiness and manual skill.

The classification of Continental emigrants by age in Table 180 (p. 432), shows that, when all countries are included, those under 20 years of age are proportionately less numerous than in the case of trans-oceanic emigration. The quota of those 20-50 years of age corresponds to the American. Elderly persons, on the other hand, leave home in considerably larger numbers, which is probably due to the fact that they undergo the lesser exertion of emigration to a neighboring country much more readily than the hardships of a wearisome sea voyage. The proportion of elderly persons in the emigration to Rumania is strikingly large.

The race or stock of those emigrating from Hungary are known for the years 1910-13 only. The statistics for those years, as presented in Table 181, show that Rumanians constituted about four-

TABLE 180.

CONTINENTAL EMIGRANTS FROM HUNGARY, ACCORDING TO AGE
AND DESTINATION, 1905-7 AND 1911-13
(Per Cents)

Age Class	Germany		Rumania		Other States	
	1905-07	1911-13	1905-7	1911-13	1905-7	1911-13
Under 20 yrs.	20.4	6.6	11.7	4.2	19.9	21.3
20-50 yrs.	74.2	83.3	73.0	70.0	68.8	65.0
Over 50 yrs.	5.4	10.1	15.3	25.8	11.3	13.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

fifths of the emigrants who streamed in great masses to Rumania. The greater portion (60 per cent) of the Magyars also migrated to Rumania (mostly the Széklers from eastern Transylvania), nevertheless about one-fourth went to Germany. A large number of Germans went thither also and another considerable body to Rumania. The Slovaks seek out, in smaller numbers, Germany and other European states (remarkably few to the Balkan countries); the Serbs, on the other hand, principally the latter states. The Croats go to the Balkans and to Germany in about equal proportions, but in larger numbers to the remaining European countries. The small Ruthenian migration is directed principally to Rumania.

TABLE 181.

EMIGRANTS FROM HUNGARY BY PEOPLES AND DESTINATIONS,
1910-13

Peoples	Country of Destination				Totals
	Germany	Rumania	Other Balkan States	Other European States	
Magyars.....	1,736	4,196	388	628	6,948
Germans.....	4,364	2,211	419	856	7,850
Slovaks.....	574	40	105	620	1,339
Rumanians.....	2,110	20,251	107	344	22,812
Ruthenians.....	3	309	13	44	369
Croats.....	737	76	775	2,240	3,828
Serbs.....	219	74	676	412	1,381
Others.....	219	39	106	636	1,000
Totals.....	9,962	27,196	2,589	5,780	45,527

POST-WAR MIGRATIONS

Just before the outbreak of the World War there was a large emigration from Hungary. Even in 1914 the Hungarian population flowed in great streams to the United States, and had it not been for the war the emigration fever would have broken out in more virulent form. Even with the compulsory stoppage in the second half of 1914 the number of Hungarian emigrants at the end of the year exceeded 143,000. Then the stream gradually ran dry. Already in 1914 the Hungarian government had cancelled the transportation licenses of the Cunard Line and the Continental Pool, forbidden emigration of any kind, and strove to induce Hungarians residing in America to return to their native land. At first great numbers were repatriated, but the political and economic collapse of the country caused this movement to die down rapidly. The post-war government had to adopt strict measures in order to control the renewed and heavy emigration of the despairing population and of the Hungarian fugitives from the territories lost to the succession states.

At the same time, the United States also adopted laws restricting immigration from southern and eastern Europe including Hungary. Hungary's annual quota was fixed at 5,638 and from 1925 on, at 473. These measures made emigration to the United States extraordinarily difficult if not impossible.

The consequence was that Hungarian emigrants went in greater numbers to other countries. Canada, Brazil and Argentina particularly were available. Since the fall of 1923 only peasants and agricultural laborers go from Hungary to Canada; neither tradespeople, industrialists nor intellectuals are now admitted. The excluded classes can settle in South America, but life there has been a series of privations and reverses and few of them succeed in securing a satisfactory existence.

Trans-oceanic emigration from post-war Hungary, and repatriation from America, since 1914, as published by the countries of immigration, are shown in Table 182.¹

After the immigration act of July 1, 1924 was passed, 471 persons emigrated from Hungary to the United States in the fiscal year 1924-25 and 783 in 1925-26, of whom 200 and 241, respectively, did not come under the quota.

¹[In this connection see Volume I, pp. 367, 439-43, 484, 495, 527, 544, 551f.—Ed.]

TABLE 182.

 HUNGARIAN IMMIGRANTS TO AMERICA BY COUNTRIES, 1914-24*
 (In Thousands)

Years	United States	Canada	Cuba	Brazil	Argentina	Totals	Repatriations from United States
1914	143	...	...	...	...	143	40
1915	9	...	...	...	...	9	5
1916	2	...	...	...	...	2	0.6
1917	0.4	...	...	...	...	0.4	0.1
1918	0	...	...	...	...	...	...
1919	0	...	...	...	...	...	0.1
1920	0	...	...	...	...	0.2	14
1921	8	...	...	...	0.08	8	12
1922	6	...	...	0.2	0.3	6	4
1923	6	0.4	0.2	0.8	0.3	8	0.9
1924	6	1	0.6	1	0.2	9	0.5
Totals	180	1.4	0.8	2	0.9	186	77

*[In this connection see Volume I, pp. 367, 439-43, 484, 495, 527, 544, 551f.—Ed.]

Hungarian official statistics resumed the collection of migration data in 1921 and the facts in regard thereto have been published quarterly. These statistics fail to give the migration movement in its entirety. Many cases escape record, hence the totals are lower than those of American statistics. Nevertheless, the Hungarian statistics give a general idea of the most recent emigration phenomena.¹ The detailed figures are given in Table 183.

It appears from Table 183 that many of those Hungarians who emigrate to America are repatriated, while only a few of those who went to other countries return. No doubt those who emigrated to Canada and South America find it much more difficult to return, than do those going to the United States; many of the former succumb to the privations of the new existence.

In post-war emigration females are quite strongly represented. Two-fifths of the emigrants over 12 years of age and 15 per cent of the children under 12 were females. Compared with the pre-war years both of these ratios are very high. The emigration of the present day seems to be more of a family type than formerly.

The statistics of repatriation supplement the statistics of emigration and show the loss in population resulting from the balance

¹See International Labour Office, *Les mouvements migratoires de 1920 à 1923* (1925).

TABLE 183.

EMIGRATION FROM AND REPATRIATION TO HUNGARY (HUNGARIAN FIGURES), 1921-26.

(a) Emigration

Year	Men	Women	Children*	Total	Destination	
					America	Elsewhere
1921	503	763	191	1,457	1,218	239
1922	1,206	1,363	507	3,076	1,701	1,375
1923	1,202	1,175	574	2,951	1,935	1,016
1924	982	678	365	2,025	673	1,352
1925	1,922	685	379	2,986	1,530	1,456
1926	2,282	773	381	3,436	2,790	646
Total	8,097	5,437	2,397	15,931	9,847	6,084

(b) Repatriation

					From	
					America	Elsewhere
1921	940	390	401	1,731	1,709	22
1922	524	314	276	1,114	1,022	92
1923	155	83	49	287	232	55
1924	277	110	87	474	323	151
1925	252	117	81	450	309	141
1926	394	177	109	680	400	280
Total	2,542	1,191	1,003	4,736	3,995	741

*Under 12 years.

between emigration and repatriation. These statistics can give the number of cases only, not the number of persons, who were repatriated. Naturally the latter number must always be the smaller since the same person often returns more than once and therefore is counted several times. But in calculating the difference between emigration and repatriation this duplication cancels out, as those who are counted more than once in cases of emigration and repatriation offset each other.

Although the statistics of the United States also record the repatriations, we have confined ourselves here to the Hungarian data since the latter also take into account the demographic features. Difficulties in the way of securing complete information make these statistics on repatriation imperfect, but they are adequate to indicate

the general outlines of the movement. The data in Table 184 are from the publications of the Royal Hungarian Central Statistical Bureau.

TABLE 184.
HUNGARIAN STATISTICS OF REPATRIATIONS, 1899-1913.

Year	Number	Year	Number
1899	4,739 *	1910	24,722
1900	6,169 *	1911	32,787
1901	8,493	1912	23,635
1902	11,463	1913	21,780
1903	20,212	1899-1900	10,908
1904	16,870	1901-05	74,604
1905	17,566	1906-10	174,325
1906	27,612	1911-13	78,202
1907	51,236	Total	338,039
1908	53,770		
1909	16,985		

*Without Croatia and Slavonia.

In the 15 years, 1899-1913, repatriations increased markedly, evidently keeping step with the growth of emigration. When emigration rose the number of those who were disappointed in their expectations and decided to return increased. The economic crisis in 1907, besides checking the current of emigration also forced great numbers of Hungarians in America to return. Thus the yearly totals of the repatriated shot up to more than 50,000 and in 1908 exceeded the number of new emigrants by 15,000, an occurrence never again observed. The recent improvement in America's economic situation has naturally diminished the number of the repatriated; but, on the other hand, the increased emigration that has taken place has helped to revive repatriation. During recent years, therefore, no uniform, continuous tendency has manifested itself, but fluctuations have prevailed originating in opposing factors.

According to the Hungarian data 338,000 Hungarian citizens were repatriated in the fifteen years 1899 to 1913, that is, almost one-fourth (24 per cent) of the number that emigrated. Since the years of repatriation do not coincide with those of emigration, considerable fluctuations in this ratio are to be observed. In early

years, 30 to 35 per cent repatriation quotas were observed and in some districts of upper Hungary they rose to 40 per cent.

The data for the various states from which a repatriation to Hungary took place are given in Table 185.

TABLE 185.

REPATRIATIONS TO HUNGARY ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF LAST
RESIDENCE, 1899-1913

Periods	America	Germany	Rumania	Other States	Total
1899-1904	59,761	927	5,541	1,717	67,946
1905-1907	85,077	3,731	5,125	2,481	96,414
1908-1913	162,116	4,118	4,700	2,745	173,679
Total	306,954	8,776	15,366	6,943	338,039
Average Percentage of the emigrants	25.7	21.1	15.0	13.9	24.0

As is evident, the emigration to America shows the greatest variation, in contrast to which a considerably smaller portion of those who emigrated to Rumania and other European (especially the Balkan) countries returned to their native land. Those emigrating to America seem to have been slower in deciding to remain abroad than were those who sought their fortunes in neighboring European states.

There are an unusually small number of females among the repatriates. There were 224,000 men repatriated in 1905-13, but the number of females was only 46,000 so that while 31.8 per cent of the male emigrants returned only 13.1 per cent of females did so. Few women who had emigrated with their families returned. Inasmuch as children and youth under 20 years of age are not more than 5 per cent of the repatriates, while they make up 25 per cent of the emigrants, emigrant families take slight part in repatriation. On the other hand, 91-92 per cent of the repatriates were in the productive age-class (20-50 years) while only 75 per cent of the emigrants belong to this class.

So far as the classification of the repatriates according to race is concerned, it appears that the percentage is highest among the

Slovaks and Ruthenians (on the average for the nine years under observation, 30.5 and 35.2), while it amounts only to 24.7 per cent among the Magyars, 21.7 per cent among the Germans, 21.3 per cent among the Rumanians, and to 28 and 29 per cent among the Croats and Serbs. Slovaks and Ruthenians, the first to develop the impulse to migrate, are still leaders in migration and repatriation. Rumanians show the least attachment for their native Hungary.

TABLE 186.

THE BALANCE OF HUNGARIAN MIGRATIONS, 1899-1913.

(a) Pre-War Years (1899-1913)

Country or Peoples	Emigrants	Repatriates	Gain (+) or Loss (-)	
			Numbers	Per Cent of Population
<i>By Destinations (1899-1913)</i>				
America.....	1,197	307	-890	-4.3
Germany.....	42	9	-33	-0.1
Rumania.....	102	15	-87	-0.4
Other States.....	50	7	-43	-0.2
Total.....	1,391	338	-1,052	-5.0
<i>By Peoples (1905-13)</i>				
Magyars.....	311	77	-234	-2.3
Germans.....	188	40	-147	-7.2
Slovaks.....	199	60	-139	-7.0
Rumanians.....	152	33	-119	-4.0
Ruthenians.....	37	13	-24	-5.1
Croats.....	96	27	-69	-3.7
Serbs.....	61	17	-44	-4.0
Others.....	12	3	-9	-1.9
Total.....	1,056	270	-786	-3.8
(b) War and Post-War Years (1914-24)				
1914-1919	155	46	-109	-1.4
1920-1924	31	32	+1	+0.02
1914-24	186	78	-108	-1.4

The occupational ratios of the repatriated also display great differences. While among the emigrants the agricultural personnel is most numerous (68.4 per cent in 1911-13), they form only 18.7 per cent of the repatriates. On the other hand, the ratio of miners among the repatriates rose from 0.9 to 12.4 per cent, and the proportion of those engaged in trade and industry, from 12.3 to 55.9 per cent. Inasmuch as the actual number of these repatriates (7,925 miners and 35,835 engaged in trade and commerce in the

years 1911-1913) were considerably higher than those of the other occupational emigrant groups (630 and 7,642) a considerable change of occupation seems to have taken place here.

Many thousands of agricultural laborers who could not pursue their own calling in America, were obliged to seek work in the mines and factories. Thus upon their return they were classed by their new occupations in America. These fundamental changes in the occupational categories of the emigrating masses of people, due to American conditions, influenced materially the occupational ratios of the mother country upon their repatriation.

It remains to consider the material and intellectual success that has attended this emigration. The inquiries concerning the material means of the repatriates are of assistance. While the results must be accepted with reserve, it appears that about 70 per cent of the emigrants left their native country without any means but fully two-thirds of the repatriates had acquired some resources in America and they considered themselves capable of beginning a new mode of life in their native country. Could one assume that this conclusion held also for the emigrants who remained abroad then the latter would be justified in their resolve to seek a new home across the ocean. The balance of Hungarian migration is presented in Table 186. Emigration, which in the case of Hungary, means an important loss of population, has become today very much smaller. In the 15 years, 1899-1913, the loss amounted to 5 per cent (0.33 per cent annually). Since 1914 this loss has diminished to 1.4 per cent (0.10 per cent annually). Indeed for 1920-24 foreign statistics show more repatriates than emigrants. Should this state of affairs become established it ought to be greeted as a development of the emigration movement favorable to Hungary.

CHAPTER XV

ITALIAN MIGRATION MOVEMENTS, 1876 TO 1926.¹

By

DR. ANNA MARIA RATTI

In the middle of the nineteenth century no official body in any of the states into which Italy was then divided was concerned with making a regular statistical return of emigration. There are only a few fragmentary data scattered here and there in memoirs and publications of private scholars. Nevertheless, that there were currents of emigration of some importance is attested by Cesare Correnti in his statistical annual for the years 1857-1858, by Duval,² and by Carpi.³ The Italian census of 1861 likewise showed that in some foreign countries there were large Italian colonies (France 78,000; Germany 14,000; Switzerland 14,000; England 4,500; Alexandria 12,000; Tunis 6,000), and immigration statistics of the United States, Brazil, and Argentina indicated the arrival of Italian immigrants beginning with 1820, 1836, and 1857 respectively.

In 1869 Carpi began the regular collection of statistical data upon Italian emigration, by means of a questionnaire sent by the Ministry of the Interior to each prefecture. Continuing these investigations to 1876, he published the results with an ample commentary. This was the first systematic statistical examination of Italian emigration, and as it is based on copious materials and had a semi-official character, it is still accepted as a first attempt at a statistical determination.

In 1876, however, statistics upon Italian emigration began to be published regularly by two bodies, the Direzione Generale della Statistica from 1876 to 1920, and the Commissariato Generale dell' Emigrazione from 1902 to the present.⁴ They differ in the sources from which they derive their data, and in their methods of research and compilation.

¹[See *International Migrations*, Vol. I, pp. 122ff., 184, 194ff., 199ff., 202, 204ff., 230ff., 811-842.—Ed.]

²Jules Duval, *Histoire de l'émigration* (1862).

³Carpi, *Dell'Emigrazione Italiana all'Estero nei suoi rapporti coll'Agricoltura, coll'Industria e col Commercio* (1871).

⁴The *Annuario Statistica dell'Emigrazione Italiana dal 1876 al 1926*, has been used extensively for the present study.

A statistical survey of emigration is obtained with difficulty in a country like Italy, with over 2,300 miles of coast and numerous ports of embarkation, and more than 580 miles of land frontier traversed by many Alpine passes. Since it was impossible to enumerate emigrants on their way through many frontier posts, the Direzione Generale della Statistica took as a basis the communes' records of the "*nihil obstats*" granted by the local mayors as a prelude to the issue of passports by the State. Popular rumor also was used as a subsidiary source of information.

On the basis of these elements, Italian emigrants were classified as temporary or permanent. The first included persons who went abroad in search of work for a brief period; the second included persons who went for an indefinite time in search of a permanent new residence. Such a distinction, however, based on the intent of the emigrant when the "*nihil obstat*" was granted, could not always be made. As transportation became easier and cheaper, many emigrants who had departed with the intention of remaining abroad for years returned speedily and many who had gone abroad without intention of remaining found satisfactory conditions and prolonged their absence.

That such a distinction was arbitrary was shown by a survey in several prefectural, sub-prefectural, and municipal offices made toward the end of 1903. It revealed that some administrations treated all transoceanic emigration as permanent, while others treated it as temporary because in preceding years many such emigrants had returned.

Further, the data gave too large figures because the number of passports issued was always smaller than the number of "*nihil obstats*", some applicants having later given up their purpose, others having been refused a passport.

For these reasons from January 1, 1904, the distinction between temporary and permanent emigrants was changed to one between emigrants bound for European or Mediterranean countries and emigrants bound for transoceanic points. In addition the emigration statistics began to be compiled at quarterly intervals from the passport registers.

This new system likewise was soon criticized, and properly so. The passport states the intention of the applicant but it does not prove that he carried out his purpose. During the three years that

it remained valid the holder might use it for two or more journeys, while the statistics reported him only once. Then again, as the number of countries requiring a passport for entry decreased the number of persons expatriating themselves without a passport increased.

Accordingly after 1915 the Direzione Generale della Statistica compiled an individual record of each emigrant from the passport registers.

The Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione began the publication of its statistics about overseas emigration in 1902. It obtained summary data from the Commissariat records of the tax¹ which the Emigration Companies paid to the emigration fund for every emigrant transported. Beginning with 1915, the emigration inspectors reported the information in the lists of embarking emigrants and thus a rich and accurate source of data was established about the emigrant's sex, age, occupation, country of destination, and the like.

This material, however, omitted many persons who journeyed to foreign countries and thence embarked for overseas, especially for countries with which Italy had no direct communication; and many who travelled second class and therefore could not be considered legally emigrants, though they were so in fact. There were also persons who signed as sailors, cooks or stewards, and thus escaped the tax and did not appear as emigrants. The same may be said of persons who went beyond the Isthmus of Suez in groups of less than 50, thus falling outside the definition of emigrants and failing of inclusion in the Commissariato record. For these reasons the enumeration fell below the real figures. As a result when the legislative definition of an emigrant was modified, in 1920, new criteria were adopted for emigration statistics.

In Article 6 of the emigration law of January 31, 1901 emigrants had been defined as "citizens who, travelling in the third or equivalent class, journey to countries beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, exclusive of the coasts of Europe, or beyond the Suez Canal, provided that in the latter case their number be not less than 50." This definition was amplified in the emigration law of November 13, 1919

¹Law of January 31, 1901, Article No. 28.

in which an emigrant is thus defined: "Barring special provisions an emigrant is a citizen who leaves the country exclusively to perform manual labor or carry on petty business, or who goes to join his wife, parents, children, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, or relatives of the same degree who had already emigrated to perform manual labor, or a citizen who returns to a foreign country to which he had previously emigrated."¹

To Luigi Bodio, Director-General of Italian Statistics, belongs the credit of defining emigration in such definite terms that distinction can be made between periodic, or seasonal emigration, temporary emigration, and emigration for an indefinite term, according to the emigrant's residence abroad.

Thus, while before 1920 the Commissariato statistics referred only to overseas emigrants, from that year on they have included also those emigrants who journey to European countries and the Mediterranean littoral.

To eliminate the inconveniences arising from a number of bureaus charged with collecting statistics of emigration, the Direzione Generale della Statistica and the Commissariato Generale dell' Emigrazione agreed that from 1920 on emigration statistics should be compiled by the latter only. The basis of statistical computation was radically altered. The chief source of information is now the expatriation and repatriation foils on the emigrant's special passport, which are detached by frontier or port officials at the time of departure or return. These foils contain all the personal information about the emigrant, including the number of minors who accompany the passport holder and the country of destination. They are transmitted to the Commissariato Generale dell' Emigrazione.

Even under this new procedure the movement of expatriation can not be completely recorded because there is some clandestine emigration. Again, some emigrants leave the country several times during the period of validity of the passport (now reduced to one year); others hold special passports *a libretto*, which are not subject to classification. Finally, frontier passport inspection is not always rigid and some citizens, for exceptional reasons or merely from official sympathy, are permitted to leave the country with documents of identity differing from the special passport. All these causes of error affect the accuracy of the statistics, especially those of con-

¹[Compare Volume I, page 815.—Ed.]

tinental emigration, for which the *Commissariato Generale* publishes a so-called table of corrections.

In spite of all these sources of error, Italian emigration since 1921 has been recorded with greater precision than before. The data assembled by this method, while different from those previously obtained, are not so divergent as to modify the general results of studies based upon them.

The *Direzione Generale della Statistica* formerly included in all published emigration statistics brief notices of repatriations as indicated by the municipal registers of the resident population. The article providing for population registers requires citizens who have emigrated and returned, to inform the mayor of the commune in which they are taking up residence within a month of their arrival, and to be entered in the register. These registers are not kept in a regular manner. The *Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione*, since 1902, has also been collecting information about the number, nationality and class of steamship passage of passengers from overseas who land in the ports of the kingdom. These records are based on the passenger lists given by the steamship captains to the emigration inspectors.

Such summary records were recognized to be insufficient for a thorough study of the repatriation movement. The *Commissariato* therefore determined to carry out a preliminary investigation of the repatriations from America in 1905 and 1906, and these investigations were continued until 1919. From 1920 on repatriations have been recorded from the foils on the passports. This system records repatriations, both continental and overseas, more exactly and completely. The passenger-lists are still kept as a subsidiary source of control.

ANALYSIS OF ITALIAN EMIGRATION.

In sketching the general lines of the exodus beyond the Italian frontier and to countries overseas the chief reliance has been the passport statistics,¹ supplementing them with other special compilations such as the statistics of the *Commissariato Generale dell'Emi-*

¹[See Volume I, pp. 815, 837ff.—Ed.]

grazione and the new systems of enumeration. The omissions and the duplications of the passport data largely offset each other, so that the figures furnish a close approximation to the truth and a reliable general view.

It must be noted, however, that the greater facility of travel today, with more direct communication, greater speed and safety, and lower prices, permits more frequent expatriation and repatriation within the brief period of validity of a passport, so that the statistical units now tabulated correspond somewhat less accurately than before to the real facts of the case and therefore the figures do not have identical values at different periods.

Carpi's statistics for 1869-76 are uncertain on account of their lacunæ and positive errors.¹

The movement from the first year of the official data, 1876, may be divided into four periods: 1876 to 1900, 1900 to 1914, 1914 to 1918, and 1919 to the present time.

During the first part of the first period, 1876-86, emigration, still disorganized and sporadic, remained fairly constant around an annual mean of 135,000 emigrants. But from 1887 on the annual number of emigrants rapidly increased to a maximum of 353,000 in 1900, and an average of 210,000 for the period 1876-1900.

After 1900 the exodus of Italian laborers became greater still until it reached a maximum of 873,000 in 1913 and a yearly average 1901-14 of 616,000. The war, the closing of some important countries to immigrants, the risks of navigation, the prohibition upon expatriation in the case of those liable to military service, and the great domestic demand for labor brought an immediate reduction to 479,000 in 1914 and 28,000 in 1918.

With the armistice came an increased demand for labor abroad for reconstruction and replacement, and the number of emigrants rose to 253,000 in 1919, and 615,000 in 1920. The economic crisis of 1921 was marked by a decrease of more than one-fifth, to be followed for three years by larger figures and then another fall due to the rigid immigration restrictions imposed by many countries.

One can better appreciate the importance of emigration to Italy when the absolute figures are converted into percentages of

¹[Volume I, pp. 814 and 817ff.—Ed.]

the population. From 360 emigrants per 100,000 population in the period 1876-78, the proportion rose to more than 2,000 emigrants per 100,000 in 1913. The war reduced the ratio to a minimum of 80 per 100,000 in 1918, but after the war it rose suddenly to 1,200 per 100,000. The difficult re-adjustments of the post-war period, and the restrictions on immigration imposed by trans-oceanic countries, reduced it to an average of 1,000 per 100,000.

Between 1876 and 1886 it was only from the north of Italy that currents of emigration moved direct to other European countries. Gradually, however, emigration from the southern districts became organized and assumed the characteristics of a mass phenomenon. This accompanied the rise of large-scale Italian industry, submerging the class of independent artisans and giving an impulse to expatriation. America also increased her demand for labor.

With the opening of the twentieth century the exodus became widespread and intense. The market for Italian labor extended beyond the confines of the country, and it flowed into the other

TABLE 187.
RATE OF ITALIAN EMIGRATION BY INDIVIDUAL DISTRICTS

District	Average Annual Number of Emigrants per 100,000 Inhabitants			Proportion of Emigrants 1921-25, per 100 Emigrants in 1876
	1876	1911-14	1921-25	
Marches.....	11	2,158	882	8,018
Sardinia.....	4	935	299	7,475
Abruzzi and Molise.....	2	2,857	950	3,393
Apulia.....	23	1,256	392	1,704
Calabria.....	73	2,778	1,221	1,673
Sicily.....	45	2,270	648	1,440
Umbria.....	54	1,910	507	939
Latium.....	27	1,181	190	704
Basilicata.....	211	2,510	1,038	492
Campania.....	112	1,811	530	473
Emilia.....	157	1,197	453	289
Tuscany.....	298	1,395	598	201
Venetia.....	1,247	3,111	1,587	127
Liguria.....	408	638	515	126
Piedmont.....	1,046	1,794	1,272	122
Lombardy.....	588	1,473	665	113
<i>Kingdom</i>	392	1,854	773	197

European and overseas markets. In the first period northern Italy provided more than two-thirds, central Italy little more than one-tenth, and southern and insular Italy two-tenths of the Italian emigration. From 1897 to 1900 the share of northern Italy diminished and that of southern Italy increased, but Venetia retained the greatest emigration rate. In the third period the proportion between northern and southern Italy was definitely inverted in favor of the latter.

The development of emigration in the various regions of Italy is expressed by the emigration rate or the rate of emigration to the population. In Table 187 (p. 446) the initial data are compared with the mean for the four-year period before the World War and that of the five-year period 1921-1925. The figures for the abnormal war years and the chaotic years immediately following are omitted.¹

In the earlier period only the more progressive regions, with a numerous population, had large rates of emigration. In the other regions, especially those of the south and the islands, the motives making for a smaller emigration rate were the traditional love of country and home, the fear of a new life, the conditions of moral and political inferiority in which the old separatist regimes had kept the people, the greater stability of populations unused to the intensive labor developed in the north, the less urgent economic necessity of a life almost exclusively agricultural and patriarchal.

Slowly, however, demographic, economic, and psychological factors modified this state of affairs. The greater increase of population in the south, the influence of free-trade within the new kingdom and the unification policies that transformed the south into an exploited colony of the north, the effect of the new customs tariff of 1887 which strengthened the protection of industry while sacrificing agrarian products; the augmented needs of the country folk and their frequent contact with more highly developed populations; all these causes intensified emigration from the agricultural regions, while the industrial regions succeeded in absorbing an increasing share of the local labor. Through the psychological repercussion of southern emigration the rate in central Italy also rose but did not reach as high a point as elsewhere because of the better equilibrium there between the principal elements composing the local economy.

¹The data for the population of the various regions of Italy in 1926 had not been published in 1927.

Table 187 (p.446) shows that the greatest increase in the emigration rate was in regions prevailingly agricultural and with a sparse population. It likewise shows the falsity of the prevalent opinion that there is a direct relation between emigration and density; in fact no such relation appears and in many cases the reverse relation is found.

The change in the territorial distribution of emigration naturally was reflected in the direction of the currents. Each region has its preferred countries of destination. Emigrants from the north of Italy go in general to the neighboring countries of Europe, while agriculturists from the south prefer the lands beyond the ocean. In fact, only Argentina and Brazil receive any noteworthy percentage of emigrants from Piedmont and Venetia, while the labor flooding into the United States and Canada is chiefly from Sicily, Campania, the Abruzzi, and Calabria.

With the increasing contingents from the southern provinces, the original relation between emigration to Europe and emigration overseas was bound to change. Indeed, the emigration to Europe and northern Africa dropped from a maximum of 82 per cent of the total in 1876 to 36 per cent in 1913. The ratio rose again during the war period on account of the great difficulties of navigation, reaching 86 per cent in 1918, and on account of the urgent demands of the American market descended anew with the armistice to 33

TABLE 188.

EUROPEAN DESTINATIONS OF ITALIAN EMIGRATION
(Per 100 emigrants from the entire Kingdom)

Years	Western Europe	Central Europe	Other European Countries
1876	32.1	44.8	2.4
1890	13.9	29.5	2.7
1900	11.6	36.7	3.0
1914	15.4	33.0	2.0
1925	53.9	6.5	0.9
1926	44.1	6.1	0.7

per cent in 1920.¹ It then rose again, though less markedly, on account of the many causes limiting the influx of Italian labor into overseas countries, to 64 per cent in 1925, and 54 per cent in 1926.

On more detailed analysis of the emigration to Europe, it appears that Central and Western Europe has always absorbed the greater portion of the continental emigration, as is shown by Table 188 (p. 448). Among the countries of Central Europe the former Central Powers received, before the war, the greatest proportion, about 28 per cent of the total. The war period brought this per cent down to 1.6 and correspondingly increased the Italian emigration into France, which alone absorbed more than 50 per cent. The actual average annual emigration was (in thousands):

Periods	To France	To former Central Powers	To Switzerland
1876-1913	42	67	33
1919-26	128	5	14

The percentage of emigrants to Asia (chiefly Asia Minor) and to Australia is almost negligible. More important, though still small in numbers (rarely in this century surpassing 10,000 a year), is the current to Africa (Algeria and Tunis) whither sentimental reasons and climatic affinity invite Italian, especially Sardinian and Sicilian emigrants.

Most noteworthy, on the contrary, is the emigration to the Americas, which absorbed the great majority of Italian emigrants between 1876 and 1926. During this period the total emigration from Italy was (in thousands):

8,980 to the Americas
7,559 to Europe
301 to Africa
42 to Oceania
13 to Asia

Italian emigration to America (chiefly to the United States) up to 1914 passed through three phases. From 1876 to 1890 the prevailing current set toward Argentina; then, until 1897, Argen-

¹[See Volume I, pages 828-831, Table XI.—Ed.]

tina and Brazil were almost equally favored by the emigrants; while from 1898 to 1914 the current set definitely toward the United States.

The preference for these three countries may be explained as follows: In Argentina one-fifth of the total population is Italian in birth or descent, a degree of saturation which it would be difficult to exceed. The same phenomenon in Brazil is accentuated by the concentration of the Italian emigrants in the coastal states, where they compose one-fourth of the white population. The resumption of Italian emigration to Brazil depends probably upon organizing a strong Italian movement toward the rich untouched regions of the interior. In the United States, on the other hand, the Italian-born, though constituting the second largest foreign element, represent less than 1.7 per cent of the white population and about 1.5 per cent of the total population. In addition, the industrial system of North America allures Italian labor by a facility of employment and a scale of payment more attractive than those offered by the agricultural regions of South America, where long and patient labor is required of the farmer and where wages, at least money wages, are on a lower level. Hence the increased movement to the United States and that country's post-war rank as the chief outlet for Italian emigration. (In the two years 1919 and 1920, there were 432,000 expatriates to the United States against 50,000 to Argentina and 16,000 to Brazil.) This emigration continued until legislative restrictions checked that current and forced the emigrants to seek anew the South American fields.

Today the emigrants are going chiefly to Argentina (387,000 from 1921 to 1926, against 281,000 direct to the United States, and 60,000 direct to Brazil) where the possibility of steady work offered by that agricultural country is attractive and where immigration is not limited by drastic legislation.

The problem of outlets for Italian emigration has become complex and difficult. The countries of the world may be grouped into five categories: (1) European countries not offering legal obstacles to immigrants but not attractive to them on account of the continuing post-war crisis and the plethora in the labor market (Germany, Austria, Hungary, England, Russia, Rumania, Albania); (2) overseas countries which do not present secure and advantageous labor conditions (Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, Vene-

zuela, Ecuador); (3) overseas countries where only colonizing emigrants well provided with capital could settle to advantage (Brazil, Peru, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay); (4) Overseas countries which have placed severe restrictions on foreign immigration (United States, Canada, Australia); (5) countries promising remunerative employment (France, Switzerland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Argentina and, to some degree, the United States).

Hence we have an artificial reduction of Italian emigration; Italy, in addition to its rapid progress in intensive agriculture, should be able to develop industrially because its sons are kept at home more than its economic condition and the lack of raw materials make desirable.

In the whole kingdom, the emigrants have always been predominantly male. The proportion of males, which Carpi's statistics (1869-76) gave as 91 and 92 per cent, varies in the period under examination between 87.5 in 1876 and 55.3 in 1918. In only one year, 1917, did the males make less than half of the emigration.

On an average, the ratio before the war was about 80 males to 20 females. After 1914 the summons to arms reduced the males, but even after the return of peace males did not reach the high percentages of preceding years. They rose to an average of only about 72 per cent, a consequence of the war which took the lives of more than 600,000 able-bodied men and made many others invalids or unfit for the laborious and uncertain life of an emigrant.

The proportion of emigrants under 15 years of age has always been small; on the average, it does not exceed 12 per cent. During the war the increase in the percentage of females was accompanied by a rise in the ratio of minors to a maximum of 19.8 per cent in 1916, but it fell again in the post-war period to the normal mean.

The actual volume of the emigration movement for each of the three categories, males, females, and minors, taking as a basis the emigration quota of 1876 (index number) shows the males steadily increased until 1906, from 100 to 675; between 1906 and 1914 the increases and diminutions alternate, with a maximum of 746 in 1913. During the war there was a drop below the index number, and in the following years, although the ratio rose again, it remained at little more than double the original quota.

The index numbers of women and minors are more variable. The first rose in leaps to 590 as early as 1888, and tended upward with frequent alternations of pauses and increases. (The index number was 1069 in 1906 and 1194 in 1913). This ratio also decreased during and immediately after the war, but to a less extent than that for males. It reached, in 1920, its maximum of 1298, and again fell, varying between 5 and 7 times the basic number. The course of the index of minors under 15 years is almost exactly parallel with that of the women except in recent years. In these, especially in 1920, the ratio runs somewhat lower.

The reasons for the increased proportion of females among the emigrants are entirely psychological. At the start, emigration was preponderantly male because of the unknown conditions confronting the laborer. From 1876 to 1886, the females were less than 20 per cent. Hardly had women begun to accustom themselves to the idea of expatriation when new obstacles were interposed with the flood of overseas emigration, and the percentage of females, which had hovered about 20 per cent from 1887 to 1898, again diminished. After the war, however, a new impulse was given to female emigration by the changed conception of life, of danger, and of human needs, by the greater hardihood and initiative imposed on women as well as men, and especially by the departure of men repatriated for military service who had established the possibility of work outside the fatherland and wished to take their families back with them. This new impulse was contemporaneous with the check in male emigration arising after the war. In 1919-26, therefore, female emigrants increased to about 30 per cent of the total.

The ratio of males to females is not the same in all portions of Italy. Piedmont, Liguria, the Marches, Campania, Basilicata, and Sicily, during the greater part of the period under examination, had a percentage of female emigrants above the average. The opposite was true, in general, of Lombardy, Venetia, Tuscany, Umbria, Latium, Abruzzi and Molise, Apulia, Calabria, and Sardinia. The per cent of minors agrees roughly with that of females except in Apulia where it is more like that of the males.

If attention be confined to the transoceanic emigration, it appears that the proportion of females in those currents alone is slightly higher than in the total. For the most part, there is no correlation between the increase in the per cent of females and

that of minors. If we consider only the period 1916-26,¹ the general ratio of the two sexes for all emigrants was 47 per cent females for 1916-18, 34 per cent for 1919-21, and 24 per cent for the period 1922-26. This ratio varies considerably from district to district during the several periods examined, as Table 189 shows.

TABLE 189.

MEAN PER CENT OF FEMALES AMONG EMIGRANTS FROM VARIOUS DISTRICTS, 1916-26

District	1916-18	1919-21	1922-26
Piedmont.....	56.9	33.2	29.2
Liguria.....	40.1	25.0	28.0
Lombardy.....	51.8	32.7	25.7
Venetia.....	56.0	33.7	26.5
Emilia.....	57.4	40.1	29.3
Tuscany.....	55.7	33.4	27.9
Marches.....	55.9	38.6	36.9
Umbria.....	53.4	31.7	26.7
Latium.....	41.8	27.6	21.5
Abruzzi and Molise.....	35.0	31.4	18.0
Campania.....	50.4	34.5	24.8
Apulia.....	44.2	32.9	20.3
Basilicata.....	50.5	38.3	23.0
Calabria.....	38.5	27.9	18.8
Sicily.....	55.7	40.3	26.3
Sardinia.....	25.7	16.8	9.9

On classifying the overseas emigrants according to sex and age, distinguishing the dependent and independent ages, we obtain the figures given in Table 190 (p. 454).

Except for the two years 1917 and 1918, the great majority in each year is composed of male and female emigrants of working age. The figures for emigrants "over 56 or of age unknown" are smaller; those under 16 emigrated for the most part in family groups.

For the most part, emigrants prefer to go abroad alone. The family ties that bind them to the mother country form the chief

¹That is, from the year in which Inspectors of Emigration filled out special forms with the information contained in the lists of embarking emigrants.

TABLE 190.

OVERSEAS EMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO WORKING CAPACITY AND SEX, 1916-26.

Year	Up to 15 years.		Between 16 and 55		56 and over or age not known	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1916	7,606	6,618	19,519	14,959	1,144	695
1917	1,597	1,649	1,391	3,916	229	184
1918	380	396	312	771	76	43
1919	7,403	7,125	24,704	15,701	911	1,041
1920	16,776	14,523	109,710	42,188	2,819	2,613
1921	18,499	15,937	104,665	47,958	4,257	3,924
1922	10,612	8,856	80,760	23,637	2,494	1,627
1923	13,724	10,913	130,416	25,445	3,043	1,565
1924	13,885	11,382	81,654	25,054	2,720	1,356
1925	9,724	7,782	70,759	19,756	3,183	1,604
1926	10,638	8,227	82,329	20,311	3,362	1,628

reason for repatriation, and the remittances from Italians abroad are an important element in the balance of international payments.

Those who leave in family groups do not, as a rule, exceed one-fourth; in only a few years (1888, 1891, 1895, 1897) have they reached approximately 45 per cent of the total. Single emigrants, on the contrary, have always reached high percentages, especially during periods with a high rate of emigration as shown below:

Percentage of Single Emigrants (average)

1889-91	64.4 of total emigrants
1911-13	79.2 of total emigrants
1922-26	80.3 of total emigrants.

In the north the tendency to depart alone is stronger; this is related to the European destination of most northern emigrants and the temporary character of their exodus. In the south, on the contrary, the tendency is to take the family; this fact, in conjunction with the special psychology of the southern populations and the prevailing overseas destination of the emigrants, explains the long duration of their stay abroad.¹

¹An examination of overseas emigration alone would lead to different conclusions; but for this particular study the passport data are more worthy of attention.

The progressive diminution in the number of agricultural laborers, and the constantly increasing number of industrial laborers who emigrate, were indicated in Carpi's statistics for 1869-76. This is the fundamental characteristic of the occupational composition of Italian emigration.

Agricultural workers, shepherds, gardeners, and others engaged in country tasks exceeded 40 per cent of the emigrants before 1903, but between 1904 and 1913 diminished to an average of about 32 per cent. The war and post-war periods further accentuated the decrease. Likewise, from 1914 to 1920 the proportion of manual and day laborers decreased, as did that of workers in the building trades, while that of skilled workers and artisans greatly increased. The proportion of domestic workers and those without an occupation showed a noticeable tendency to rise (from 4.6 per cent in 1914 to 26.6 per cent in 1918, only to fall to 13 per cent in 1920). This is due, no doubt, to the increase in female emigrants, especially from the southern provinces.

In sum, the figures for the period 1878-1920 and the passport data for the following years show the percentages (by sex) in the principal classes of occupations as given in Table 191 (p. 456).

A comparison between the post-war and the pre-war periods shows a decrease in farm laborers and a more marked decrease in general laborers and "navvies" (column 4), while the proportion of skilled laborers and building-trade laborers in general increases.

As for the countries of destination Table 192 (p. 457) shows that the two nations in Europe which chiefly imported Italian labor in the post-war period changed markedly between 1915 and 1926. Among the emigrants to France, where the necessity for the reconstruction of the devastated areas and the inadequacy of the local labor supply favored immigration, there was a considerable increase in all classes of occupations except trade and transportation. Among the emigrants to Switzerland, on the contrary, there was a great decrease in all classes of occupation except the building trades. Among those going to overseas countries—the United States, Argentina and Brazil were the principal outlets for emigration—there was a great increase in every class in 1920 compared with 1915, but in 1926 the situation was different. To the United States, except for slight recent increases in some groups, the various classes of emigrants

TABLE 191.

EMIGRANTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONS (BY SEX), 1878-1926.
(In Per Cents)

Year	All Occupations (1)	Farm Laborers (2)	Building-trade Laborers (3)	Miners, Forest Laborers, etc. (4)	Skilled Laborers (5)	Commercial Laborers (6)	Liberal and artistic professions (7)	Domestic Servants (8)	Household duties or Occupation unknown (9)
<i>Males</i>									
1878	100.0	38.7	16.9	19.1	13.4	6.0	1.6	1.4	0.8
1888	100.0	56.8	9.6	19.1	6.0	2.2	0.8	0.6	0.4
1898	100.0	38.5	18.7	28.4	7.8	2.7	1.1	0.5	0.3
1913	100.0	34.0	14.4	31.2	12.6	3.5	0.8	0.9	1.0
1920	100.0	29.3	13.4	24.0	23.3	7.7	0.7	0.2	0.9
1921	100.0	37.2	11.3	14.8	18.5	6.1	0.8	0.2	9.2
1925	100.0	30.7	20.2	16.8	23.0	5.9	0.8	0.3	0.9
1926	100.0	34.8	17.1	18.8	20.0	5.5	1.7	0.3	1.8
<i>Females</i>									
1878	100.0	55.6	0.6	8.6	13.0	4.0	2.2	6.1	3.9
1888	100.0	72.5	1.3	10.9	5.5	1.5	0.7	2.9	1.5
1898	100.0	58.0	1.5	14.7	7.5	2.1	1.5	4.7	2.6
1913	100.0	26.8	0.8	13.6	16.2	2.1	0.9	10.5	26.9
1920	100.0	18.7	0.01	7.8	22.0	0.7	0.5	3.1	46.8
1921	100.0	21.1	0.1	5.1	13.3	0.9	0.4	3.1	54.3
1925	100.0	12.2	....	2.4	9.6	0.5	0.5	5.3	67.9
1926	100.0	11.4	....	1.9	9.6	0.5	1.4	5.4	62.9

show more or less marked decreases due to restrictive legislation. To Brazil and especially to Argentina, however, very great percentage increases have occurred.

From the examination of the figures for the various provinces of Italy (excluding the annexed territory) the facts are in general harmony with those for the whole kingdom. First, the general decrease of emigration, especially for overseas countries, has reduced the percentage decrease in the exodus to continental countries, so that some regions and some categories may still show an increase of emigrants. Second, the general diminution has particularly affected the categories of farm-laborers, of building-trade laborers and unskilled laborers, while the two more specialized groups, skilled workers and those engaged in trade, everywhere present smaller percentage decreases.

TABLE 192.

VARIATIONS IN PER CENT OF CERTAIN ITALIAN EMIGRANT CATEGORIES, BY DESTINATIONS, 1915-26.

Country of Destination	Farm Laborers	Building-trade Laborers	General unskilled Laborers	Skilled Laborers	Engaged in trade
France.....	+432.3	+479.7	+126.0	+115.5	-44.5
Switzerland.....	-19.1	+4.7	-68.4	-82.9	-86.0
United States.....	-17.3	+78.3	+11.2	-22.4	+40.9
Argentina.....	+1015.2	+1237.8	+793.8	+603.2	+162.1
Brazil.....	+612.3	+268.7	+165.2	+155.7	+52.0

As regards overseas emigration the greater portion of the farm laborers are supplied by the five southern provinces, and by Tuscany, the Marches, Calabria, Sicily, and Sardinia. The categories of unskilled and of building-trades laborers are filled chiefly from the northern provinces (with the exception of Emilia), together with Tuscany, Umbria, Campania, Basilicata, Calabria, and Sardinia, all of whose contingents exceed the general average for the kingdom. Liguria, Venetia, and Tuscany are the three provinces which furnish the greatest quantity of skilled labor; while those engaged in trade come especially from Liguria, Venetia, the Marches, Latium, Campania, Apulia, Calabria, and Sardinia.

SUPPLEMENTARY EXAMINATIONS.

The statistics assembled by the Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione since 1902 give information concerning the principal ports of embarkation and of destination, the periods of embarkation, and the relative numbers of first and second class passengers and emigrants.

The Italian ports have always been preferred by Italians, and emigrants for overseas countries via foreign ports have never been numerous. In the period 1902-10 the number varied between 11,000 and 22,000; and in the period 1911-20, except for the war years when there are no data, it continued at about the same rate.

After 1921—when the port of Trieste came under the Italian flag and the activity of the Italian merchant marine increased—the number of Italian emigrants who embarked at foreign ports de-

creased still more. From 1921 to 1926 they averaged 1865 annually. The leader among Italian ports, up to 1921, was Naples, closely followed by Genoa with Palermo lagging a considerable distance behind. Since then Genoa has led, followed by Naples, Palermo, and Trieste.

Among the ports of destination in the United States, New York leads, far out-distancing Boston, while Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Providence receive Italians but intermittently. Of the ports on the River Plate, Buenos Ayres leads, followed by Montevideo; among Brazilian ports Santos and Rio de Janeiro. For Africa the principal port is Dakar in Senegal. New York was the leading transoceanic port until 1922 when first place was taken by Buenos Ayres.

The months of embarkation of Italian emigrants show great variations in different periods. In 1902-07 the maximum number of departures were between March and May and in October; during 1908-21 the numbers though very irregular were largest in March, April, October, November and May; since 1921 the maxima generally have fallen in October, November, September and August. There is an evident shift in the months of embarkation, probably due to the decreasing number of emigrants engaged in agriculture and to the increased exodus of artisans and skilled laborers, for whom winter is the least favorable period at home.

A more detailed examination shows that the emigrants bound for the United States leave mostly in March, April, and May, whereas the greatest influx into Brazil is in the months of the northern winter and the period of greatest embarkation for the River Plate area is the October-December quarter.

Finally, those who left via foreign ports, both in the 1902-13 period and after the war preferred the months of the northern spring, March, April, and May; it is only of late years that a shift in favor of the third quarter has become pronounced.

While before 1920 to travel in the first or second class sufficed to prevent one's registration as an emigrant, after that year travellers in those classes were registered more accurately (see page 442f.) and many were considered emigrants though travelling in the cabin.¹ This explains the variation between the number of cabin passengers before and after 1920.

¹Royal Decree of Nov. 5, 1919, No. 2,205, Article 10.

The percentages of cabin passengers in the total leaving for overseas in certain years are given in Table 193.

TABLE 193.

PER CENT OF CABIN PASSENGERS AMONG TOTAL OVERSEAS ITALIAN TRAVELLERS.

1902	2.9	1919	18.7
1908	9.0	1925	8.9
1913	8.9	1926	10.1

The percentage of Italians in 1913 among cabin passengers was 56.1; it rose steadily to a maximum of 84.0 in 1922, and then fell to 61.2 in 1925 and 63.1 in 1926.

Italian Emigration to Southwestern France.

It is worth while here to consider a phenomenon characteristic of the post-war years, viz., the increasing volume of emigration from northern Italy (particularly Venetia) to southwestern France. This movement comprised (in thousands):

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>
1922,	109
1923,	183
1924,	225
1925,	175

These were farm-laborers most of them with their families, who left Italy to cultivate and especially to acquire abandoned lands in southern France.

This is a special emigration phenomenon and also a social phenomenon, for this shift of men and capital from one country to another also involved a shift of individuals from a lower to a higher social class. It is not a simple influx of labor but a current of Italian farm-laborers attracted by the low prices of French land and urged by the desire to rise from the status of hired laborers and tenants to that of farm-owners. They may sell their little Italian farms and change their residence permanently. It is similar to the movements of population in earlier times, and to more recent colonization,

except that it is not a move to a new land, but to one of the oldest European nations in which certain areas of the countryside have been gradually depopulated and abandoned.

The hectare of such French land had fallen in value to perhaps 300 francs, but by 1924 it had risen to 800 francs. France is inclined to favor the movement and to facilitate the fusion between the old and the new inhabitants of these regions, especially in the hope of being able to assimilate this fruitful ethnic element. Joseph Barthelemy, addressing the Société d'Économie Politique of Paris in 1924, said that the Italians satisfied all who employed them and at that time were cultivating 20,000 hectares (50,000 acres) of French land. We must recognize this shift as an expatriation which takes man-power and capital from Italy without promising her any definite future advantage.

Total Italian Population Abroad

The data concerning Italians outside of Italy have at best only an approximate value.

In addition to the errors usual in censuses, the statistics omit all who are legal citizens, by birth or naturalization, of the state in which they reside, but Italians by origin. Many Italians also continually shift their residence from one state to another by reason of labor conditions, and therefore escape record. On the basis of available data the Italians abroad at the end of each of the years given were as in Table 194 (p. 461). There was thus an increase of 3,287 per cent in 55 years.

More than two-thirds of the Italian population outside of Italy has been absorbed by North and South America, with increases of 8,818 per cent in 55 years. The Italian element has reached its greatest proportions in the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. Of these the United States has the greatest number, and Brazil the greatest rate of increase.

Europe follows America, with an increase of 810 per cent (155,000 in 1871 to 1,268,000 in 1926). Among the European countries France leads with an Italian population now numbering one million, while before the war it was below 450,000. Second place is held by Switzerland (136,000 in 1926). The number of Italians resident in the Central Powers decreased considerably on account of

TABLE 194.

ITALIANS RESIDING ABROAD FOR SPECIFIED YEARS, 1871-1926.

(In Thousands)

Year	Number
1871	271
1881	1,033
1891	1,985
1901	3,611
1911	5,805
1924	9,012
1926	9,169

the war (192,000 in 1911 to 41,000 in 1926). England, Serbia (which has the greatest rate of increase), Rumania, and Belgium follow in the order given.

Many Italians also reside in Africa (189,000 in 1926). Most of them are in the Mediterranean zone, especially in Tunis (97,000), Egypt (49,000), Algeria (29,000), and Morocco (10,000).

Italian emigration to Asia is not recorded in a reliable manner. Palestine, Syria, Asiatic Russia, and the Dutch East Indies have shown the most considerable increases. Finally, the Italians scattered through Oceania, though displaying a marked and progressive increase, are still too few in number to have statistical importance. In 1926 the Italians in Australia numbered 27,000. The largest groups are found in West Australia, New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland.

REPATRIATION OF ITALIANS

To weigh even approximately the real effect of emigration on the population of Italy, it is necessary to consider repatriations from the various countries visited in search of work, and those parts of Italy to which the repatriates have returned. Such a study was begun in 1905-06 by the Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, but it deals only with repatriations from overseas. The repatria-

tions from continental countries have been reported only since 1921. For this reason and because of the temporary character of emigration to European countries, especially those nearest the Italian frontiers, it is proper to consider the two classes of data separately. Little can be said about European repatriates owing to the short period under examination. One may, however, deduce from the few figures available their increasing influx (from 30,000 in 1921 to 122,000 in 1925, and 106,000 in 1926), and the predominance among them of males and of adults. The study of repatriations from overseas is more complex.

The general curve of repatriations follows, approximately, that of expatriations. From the countries to which the flow of emigration was greatest the return current is likewise greatest. The United States leads in this respect (see Table 195, below), being followed at a distance by the countries of the River Plate, Brazil, and other overseas districts. In 1908 and in 1919 over 80 per cent of the repatriates came from North America.¹

TABLE 195.

PROPORTION OF REPATRIATES FROM THE RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION.

(Per Cent of all repatriates).

Years	United States	LaPlata	Brazil	Central America	Australia	Other overseas countries
1902	49.7	21.6	27.9	0.6	0.2	0.0
1908	80.1	14.7	4.9	0.4	0.0	0.0
1914	68.6	22.1	5.9	0.4	0.2	2.9
1919	85.6	8.5	2.4	0.1	0.0	3.4
1925	58.8	31.6	6.9	0.3	1.1	1.3
1926	55.3	34.9	6.0	0.9	1.6	1.4

When the Italian emigration to Brazil and Argentina had reached its natural limits for the time being the flow of emigrants to the United States was intensified, for the United States was less well supplied with Italian population and was more attractive by reason of the current opinion that it afforded ready employment for capital and labor. But the greater density of population there

¹[See Volume I, p. 838f. Tables XX, XXI.—Ed.]

(average density 36 to a square mile, or four times as great as that in Argentina or Brazil) as well as the legislation restricting immigration had a share in restraining this current of labor.

There was no such sharp check upon immigration into the South American countries with their predominantly agricultural economy. Emigrants went to Brazil and Argentina in less imposing but more sure and stable proportions than they did to North America; and the proportion of repatriates to resident Italians has been considerably greater for the United States than for Brazil or the La Plata countries. Of these latter countries Brazil has the greatest number of repatriations, on account of the greater political saturation of the Italians in its seaboard states which alone are now open to Italian labor.

Concerning Italian districts selected by returning repatriates, those who went out to agricultural regions tend to select northern Italy while southern Italy is preferred by those who went out to industrial zones. From Brazil, in fact, the repatriates come back mostly to Venetia, Tuscany, Campania, and Calabria, and those returning from Argentina to Piedmont, Calabria, and Sicily. From the United States, however, the movement is chiefly to Abruzzi-Molise, Campania, Calabria, and Sicily; this most probably corresponds to the limited variety of occupations of emigrants from these regions, and therefore to their slight possibility of adaptation to the conditions in industrial countries.

To study in its entirety the double phenomenon of expatriation and repatriation one must compare the number of repatriations with the number of emigrants as done in Table 196. Altogether

TABLE 196.

REPATRIATES PER 100 EMIGRANTS TO EACH COUNTRY.

Country of Departure	1902-14	1915-18	1919-26
United States	59.6	157.8	64.1
La Plata Countries	56.6	751.2	30.2
Brazil	118.3	379.2	39.6
Other overseas countries	128.0	420.9	27.2
Total	62.1	233.6	48.3

in the 26 years under survey, there was an average annual excess of 45,712 expatriated, while the increase in the national population continued and swelled so that the gaps were more than filled.

Of the 1,800,000 emigrants who remained overseas (the difference between the approximately 5 million who left and the 3 million repatriated) it is evident that the majority remained in Argentina and Uruguay. The large number of repatriates during the war is noteworthy; the majority were men liable for military service. For the period from May 24, 1915, when Italy entered the war, to December 31, 1918, the statistics show separately the number returning to satisfy their military obligations, both from continental and transoceanic countries. These total 303,919 men (to whom should be added those repatriated between August 1914, and May 24, 1915), as compared with 130,526 males over 16 years of age who departed in the same years. This repatriation figure is very high, especially in view of the considerable number excused from military service or enrolled in Allied armies, notably that of the United States.

The repatriation statistics by sex and age show that males and adults are always in excess. Before the war the males were about 85 per cent. During the war this figure increased to 92 per cent in 1917, and after the war dropped sharply to 75 per cent in 1922 and 74 per cent in 1926. The minors under 10 years remain constantly below 18 per cent.

While among the repatriates from the United States the single emigrant markedly prevails, with a constant tendency towards per centual decrease, the repatriation of single emigrants from Brazil and Argentina is constantly increasing. All the countries under examination are probably tending toward a stabilization on a basis of about 70 per cent single and 30 per cent in family groups among the repatriates.

Only from 1916 on do the statistics offer us data on the occupations of repatriates. From the United States there is a high repatriation percentage of male skilled laborers or artisans (13.0 in 1916 and 40.5 in 1926); while there is a reduction in the proportion of repatriated farm laborers (25.5 and 9.7 in the same two years), general laborers and building-trades laborers (49.8 and 36.5). The repatriated females are mostly household workers and without gainful occupation. Repatriations from Brazil and Argentina are

more evenly divided between the categories just mentioned and the others, yet the percentages of farm laborers are the highest. This fact is undoubtedly due to the greater influx of agricultural labor to those countries. In consequence of this elementary economic law the repatriates show a great decrease in agricultural laborers and an increase of building-trades and skilled laborers.

During 1916-18, Genoa held the first place, the activity of the other ports of arrival being almost *nil*. In other years the majority of the repatriates preferred Naples. The activity of the port of Palermo has grown steadily, especially since the war, reflecting the predominantly southern composition of the trans-oceanic emigration. The number of Italian emigrants repatriated through foreign ports, especially Havre and Bordeaux, has always been small. One notes, however, after the long period of inactivity from 1916 to 1923 a perceptible resumption (7,000 or 9.7 per cent of the 72,000 repatriates in 1926, compared with 6,000 or 5.6 per cent of the 101,000 in 1902).

The greatest frequency of repatriations (1902-26) from all overseas countries occurs in the July-September quarter for those who land at Italian ports, and in the October-December quarter for those who land at foreign ports. Emigrants from the United States prefer to return toward the end of the year, *i. e.* in the Fall while those from South America prefer the northern Spring, evidently they return regularly at the end of the harvest seasons in the two hemispheres.

The duration of residence abroad on the average is from three to four years for the single emigrants, and from 5 to 9 years for heads of families, with a progressive and considerable tendency toward yet longer periods. The shorter stay of single emigrants, and the noteworthy increase in the number of those remaining abroad for more than 10 years (the percentages rose from 19.6 for heads of families and 6.4 for the single in 1909, to 37.3 and 20.6 respectively in 1925), confirm what was said earlier about the tendency of Italian emigrants to remain abroad, especially in Brazil and Argentina. In the United States this is not manifest and the average duration of residence is shorter.

This observation is confirmed by an analysis of the type of repatriation. The shorter stay presupposes less personal adaptability to local surroundings and therefore a greater possibility of definitive

repatriation; while the longer stay presupposes a possibility of more thorough, if not actually permanent, adaptation to the new country. A high proportion of repatriates, therefore, is a mark of a temporary emigration. Such comparisons are limited to 1921, since from 1922 on the United States statistics reflect the influence of their latest laws. In fact, since a declaration of temporary absence or the omission of any declaration suffices to reserve their right to re-enter the United States (which would otherwise be lost), many individuals declare that their repatriation is temporary though they may intend it to be final. The proportion of repatriations from the United States with duration uncertain or undeclared which was 23.9 per cent in 1921 rose, therefore, in 1922 to 38.8 per cent, in 1923 to 58.5, and in 1925 to 60.4.

EMIGRANTS' REMITTANCES

The transfer of savings to Italy by Italian laborers in foreign countries constitutes one of the principal credit items in Italy's balance of international payments.

It is well known that emigrants' savings reach Italy in various ways: through the Bank of Italy, through international postal money orders, private bankers, and currency inclosed in letters and in the form of savings brought in by repatriates. It is obvious that only the first two of these streams are statistically measurable.

The credit institutions and navigation companies refuse to furnish information about the savings they transmit. Data concerning transfers by registered letters are uncertain, since not all contain money, nor is it possible to fix an average value for them. Insured letters are no less uncertain, since the person who sends one usually declares the maximum limit of value permitted by the insurance charge. The volume of savings brought into the country personally by repatriates is equally difficult to determine. Only the first two means of transmission therefore remain. Postal money orders, however, include not only emigrants' savings, but also remittances in settlement of commercial transactions. The latter probably do not reach a considerable sum, and are supplemental to the remittances of unknown but large amounts through ordinary banks. The management of the Bank of Naples furnishes reliable information as to remittances made through it.

Of all the modes of transmission offered by the Bank of Naples, the emigrants regularly prefer ordinary remittances to their own families. In 1920, the peak year for remittances, this method accounted for 43.9 per cent against 35.5 per cent in the savings department of the bank or of the Postal system, and 20.7 per cent by telegraphic remittances or cheques. The total number of remittances through the Bank of Naples has increased in the last few years in comparison with the pre-war years, while it has decreased in comparison with the war period. Some of its annual totals are given in Table 197.

TABLE 197.

TOTAL REMITTANCES THROUGH BANK OF NAPLES, FOR CERTAIN YEARS.

Year	Totals (Thousands of Lire)	Individual Average (Lire)
1902	9,305	149
1908	36,663	266
1914	84,983	308
1919	494,387	1,057
1925	679,815	1,998
1926	596,900	2,147

The high figures begin with 1919, coincident with the relative devaluation of Italian currency, and their magnitude is due in very great measure to this devaluation. This is the reason why four-fifths of the more than 6 billions of lire sent to Italy through the Bank of Naples between 1902 and 1926 was forwarded during the last 8 years. Most of these remittances came from the United States. Among European countries the largest amounts came from Germany, especially from 1911 to 1916, and from France after 1922.

About the various districts of destination there are data (from 1905 to 1926) for the money orders of the Bank of Naples paid by the post offices of the kingdom. They clearly indicate a progressive increase in remittances sent to southern Italy, in comparison with those to the central and the northern sections.

The total number of international postal money orders paid by the post offices of the kingdom from 1901 to 1926 has also been

fairly large (see Table 198 below). However, their number decreased steadily in favor of remittances through the Bank of Naples both during the war years, and especially in the post-war period. The values naturally do not follow the same course of development, owing again to the devaluation of the currency.

TABLE 198.

REMITTANCES TO ITALY BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDERS.

Fiscal Years	Number	Total values (Thousands of Lire)
1913-14	2,968	394,861
1917-18	896	75,093
1920-21	1,105	413,526
1921-22	1,012	350,530
1922-23	1,287	437,733
1923-24	1,246	465,894
1924-25	1,008	325,068
1925-26	776	232,014

The postal money orders originate mainly in the Continental countries; among these the Central Powers led before the war, and France from 1915 and especially from 1922 on. Among overseas countries the United States stands easily first, followed at a considerable distance by Canada. The remittances originating in European countries go mainly to northern and central Italy, but in some provinces of southern and insular Italy there is a rising current from the overseas countries. In general the northern provinces (especially Venetia) receive most of the postal money orders; this differential position between North and South Italy is constantly on the increase.

Although exact information about the other means of transmission is not to be had these probably follow the same descending curve as the known means of transmission. Indirect evidence of this is found in the entries in the governmental postal savings department to the account of Italians resident abroad. If the quantitative valuation of this special means of investment, which is constantly increasing in importance, be taken as an index, it reflects in a striking manner the economic vicissitudes of the emigrant masses and their

remittances. The development of the annual deposits and withdrawals from 1890 on, the year in which this service was instituted, is shown by Table 199. These figures show, from 1921 on, a descending curve of deposits and on the other hand an ascending curve of withdrawals.

TABLE 199.

ITALIAN POSTAL SAVINGS DEPOSITS, WITHDRAWALS AND BALANCES
HELD BY NON-RESIDENT ITALIANS
(Thousands of Lire)

Year	Total Deposits	Total Withdrawals	Balance Net Deposits
1890	87	14	73
1900	5,999	659	5,340
1910	62,660	10,956	61,694
1915	62,053	13,117	49,936
1920	1,326,510	41,536	1,284,974
1925	787,634	548,395	239,239
1926	605,100	656,000	-50,900

The causes of the decrease in the real value of remittances are many and complex. One need only recall the outstanding modifications in recent years of the various factors controlling the savings of Italians abroad and so the flow of their remittances. With the beginning of the war the number of emigrants diminished sharply, and though in the last few years it has risen slightly that number still is less than half of the pre-war figure. Repatriations also have diminished, both absolutely and relatively, thus reducing that rich source of wealth, the savings of the repatriates. The contraction of overseas emigration with the consequent reduction of southern emigration in comparison with that from northern Italy, and the modification in the customary direction of emigration, have had an undoubted influence on the volume of the remittances, both through the greater saving capacity of the more sober southern emigrant and the lower wage-level of South America. To these factors one must add the constantly increasing sums exported with departing emigrants, an increase due in part to the rise in the rate of exchange but more to the improving quality of the emigration currents, the mem-

bers of which are increasingly well-to-do. Finally, the policy of assimilation adopted by the countries of immigration tends to facilitate bringing over whole families, and thus the employment of savings in the adopted country. All these facts explain the decrease of remittances and why they are unlikely to increase.

As an offset and consequence of this decreased volume of money sent to the homeland, there is an increasing tendency for Italian emigrants to invest in Italian government bonds. The payment of semi-annual interest and coupons on the national debt by American agencies of the Bank of Naples has risen steadily from 30,000 lire in 1915, when the service was started, to more than 30 million lire in 1925.

Though forced to seek work and a permanent home in foreign lands, the Italian emigrants continue to aid their families and their country with their remittances.

CHAPTER XVI

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF THE JEWS.¹

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It is impossible in this chapter to trace, even in a general way, the numerous migrations which have marked the whole history of Israel. The present theme is a brief survey of the international migration of Jews in the last half-century, so far as positive statistical data make such a survey possible. This last condition limits the field of study still further in space and time. Many Jews, for example in the last two generations left countries of Central Europe and established themselves in Germany, Austria, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, or more recently in France and Belgium. But concerning all these migrations within Europe the available data are sporadic and uncertain. Consequently, the theme will be further limited to the intercontinental migrations of Jews. With the exception of Poland—and for that country the data cover only a few years—the countries of emigration do not have special statistics about their Israelitish emigrants. The only numerical material available is the statistics of certain countries of immigration including the United States, Canada, Argentina, and more recently Palestine and South Africa. Of all these countries only the United States has adequate and detailed statistics about its Jewish immigrants. Canada gives only the totals for this group without even the distinction by sex. The data for Palestine and South Africa, though a little more detailed, cover only the recent years. Those for Argentina are not even directly official. Even the United States statistics have distinguished the Jews only since July 1, 1898, when the classification of immigrants "by race or people" was introduced. Thus it is only since the fiscal year 1898-99 that extensive and

¹For a fuller discussion of this subject as it stood on the eve of the World War see the author's *Le Juif errant d'aujourd'hui* (1913). That work examines the causes and the effects of Jewish emigration in greater detail and is less statistical than the present study; it did not, however, dwell upon the attempt to establish a home for the Jews in Palestine. With the present chapter compare *International Migrations*, Volume I, pp. 70, 126, 130, 227, 774, 788, 875, 895-899.—Ed.]

detailed statistics are available about the migrations of the Jews. In Canada similar statistics began with the fiscal year 1900-1901, and in Argentina with 1904.

But before the United States adopted a restriction policy Jewish immigrants to the United States were between three-fourths and four-fifths of all Jewish intercontinental migrants. These statistics of the United States now extend over more than a quarter of a century; they embrace the period of most intense Jewish emigration and give us a picture of the vast majority of Jewish migrants, which can not differ greatly from that of the whole.

Under these circumstances, the present study will consist of two unequal parts: one examining in detail Jewish immigration into the United States, and the other giving a general survey of Jewish immigration into other countries beyond the seas.

JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES

Jewish immigration into the United States before 1870 was almost *nil*. In fact, during the half-century 1820-70 the two great empires from which the mass of Jewish immigrants came, the Russian Empire (including Poland) and the Austro-Hungarian Empire sent to the United States about 15,000 immigrants (Russia and Poland 7,000, Austria-Hungary 8,000) only a part of whom were Jews. During the next 10 years more than 125,000 immigrants came to the United States from Russia (with Poland) and from Austria-Hungary, the average annual number increasing about 10-fold over that of the preceding decade. Jewish immigration to the United States on a significant scale began with the last quarter of the nineteenth century. During the decade 1881-90, it must have reached an important figure since the immigration from these two empires increased 5-fold in comparison with 1871-80. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, the immigration from those countries doubled again, reaching about 602,000 for Russia and Poland (Russian Poland only after 1899) and 593,000 for Austria-Hungary (including Austrian Poland after 1899).

How many in this huge migratory flow were Jews? We shall never know exactly.¹ It was only with the fiscal year 1898-9 that the statistics of the United States began to record the number of Jewish immigrants. Out of a total of 123,000 immigrants coming from the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires in that year, the

¹The figures relating to the immigration of Jews into the United States prior to 1899 are quite uncertain and those in the Jewish Encyclopedia generally erroneous.

Jews numbered 35,000 or 28.5 per cent.¹ In 1899-1900, out of 206,000 immigrants from those countries, the Jews numbered 54,000 or 26 per cent. For the two years combined the Jews were 89,000 or 27 per cent. If the same proportion, held throughout the nineteenth century, then of 1,625,000 immigrants to the United States from the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires before 1899, there were 440,000 Jews. Following another method of estimate, the 89,000 Jews who arrived from Russia, Poland and Austria-Hungary during these two years were 91 per cent of the 98,000 Jews who entered the United States during the same years. If the same proportion held for the preceding years 484,000 Jews must have entered the United States before 1899.² Thus, at least 500,000 Jews entered the United States before 1899.

A table in Volume I gives the data for Table 200 (p. 474).³

Table 200 establishes the following facts:

(1) During the 26 years 1899-1924, over 1,800,000 Jews entered the United States of whom 1,500,000 came during the 16 years before the war (1899-1914). They were more than one-tenth of the total immigration into the United States.

(2) The Jews were second in number among the peoples entering the United States, falling below the Italians who were twice as numerous (3,821,000), but exceeding the Poles (1,483,000), the Germans (1,317,000) and the English (1,068,000), the only peoples who contributed to the United States more than a million immigrants each.

(3) The annual average number of Jews entering was more than 70,000, but the actual figures deviated widely from this average ranging between a minimum of 3,000 (in 1919) and a maximum of 154,000 (in 1906).

One can get a general idea of the fluctuations of Jewish immigration by grouping the years as in Table 201 (p. 474).

During the 5 years (1899-1903) preceding the Russo-Japanese war and the first Russian revolution, the number of Jewish immigrants fluctuated about 58,000 per annum. During the 11 years from the Russo-Japanese war to the World War, a period of unprecedented increase in immigration and marked in Russia by

¹[Volume I, p. 464.—Ed.]

²Both of these estimates are probably too low, for earlier in the century the proportion of Jews among the migrants from Russia, Poland, and Austria-Hungary was probably greater; and the proportion of western Jews (especially German Jews) among all Jewish migrants was undoubtedly greater than it was toward the end of the century.

³[Volume I, pp. 432-43, Table X.—Ed.]

MIGRATION INTERPRETATIONS

TABLE 200.

TOTAL IMMIGRATION AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION, INTO THE UNITED STATES, 1899-1924.

(In Thousands)

Fiscal years	Absolute figures		Jews per cent	Fiscal years	Absolute figures		Jews per cent
	Total immigrants	Jews			Total immigrants	Jews	
1899	312	37	12.0	1915	327	26	8.1
1900	449	61	13.5	1916	299	15	5.1
1901	488	58	11.9	1917	295	17	5.9
1902	649	58	8.9	1918	111	4	3.3
1903	857	76	8.9	1919	141	3	2.2
1904	813	106	13.1	1920	430	14	3.3
1905	1,026	130	12.7	1921	805	119	14.8
1906	1,101	154	14.0	1922	310	54	17.3
1907	1,285	149	11.6	1923	523	50	9.5
1908	783	103	13.2	1924	707	50	7.1
1909	752	58	7.7				
1910	1,042	84	8.1	1899-			
1911	879	91	10.4	1914	13,689	1,486	10.9
1912	838	81	9.6	1915-			
1913	1,198	101	8.5	20	1,603	80	5.0
1914	1,218	138	11.3	1921-			
				24	2,345	272	11.6
				1899-			
				1924	17,636	1,838	10.4

revolutionary movements, atrocious reprisals, and pogroms, as well as by bad crops, the Jewish immigration nearly doubled. During the 6 years of war and revolution (1915-20) immigration was almost at a standstill with an annual average of only 13,000. Once the flood-gates closed by the war were opened, the flow started with

TABLE 201.

AVERAGE ANNUAL NUMBER OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES AT DIFFERENT PERIODS, 1899-1924.

(In Thousands)

Years	Annual Average
1899-1903	58
1904-14	109
1915-20	13
1921	119
1922-24	51
1925-30	11

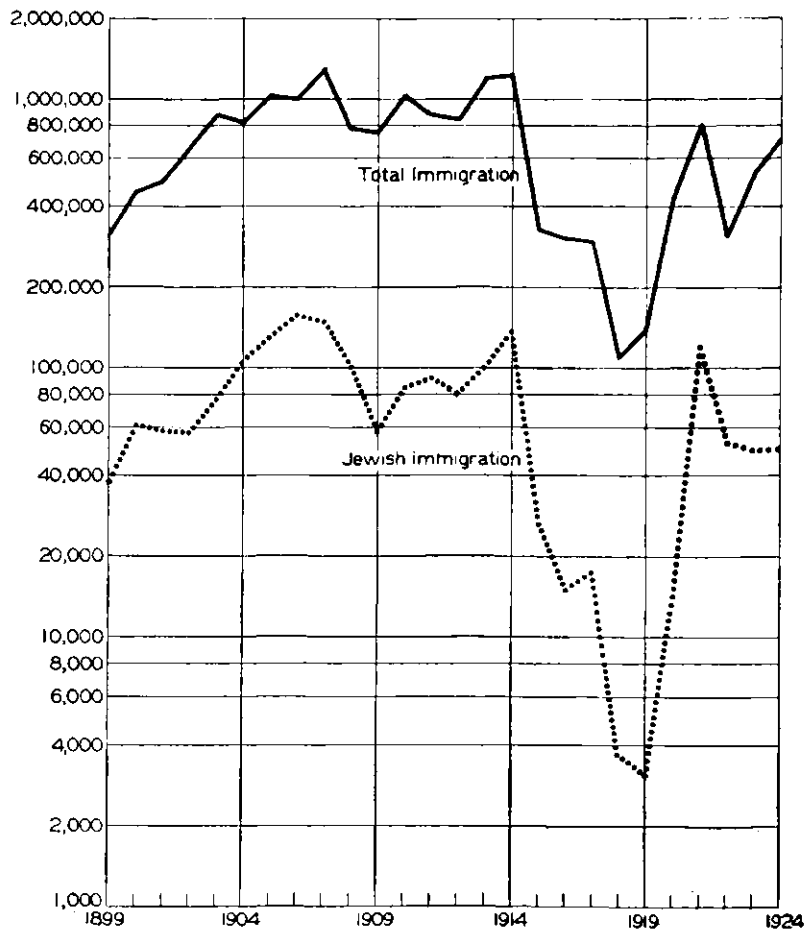
new vigor. Aside from the check to the migratory movement in 1915-20, the desire to emigrate was strengthened by the ruin of the war, by the new frontiers, by the political and social revolutions and counter-revolutions, and by the new series of pogroms which far surpassed all that had previously occurred. In fact, beginning with 1921, the first year of peace—for in Russia and Poland 1920 also was a year of war—Jewish immigration surpassed the pre-war average and almost reached 120,000. But that was the end of free immigration. The first restrictive law (1922-24) reduced Jewish immigration to about 50,000 per annum. In 1925, through the new law, the number of Jewish immigrants was brought down to about 10,000. Thus the United States was closed to Jewish migrants just when the need to emigrate was felt most keenly among the Jews, and when their immigration into the United States was about to take a new and extraordinary spurt.

(4) The wide annual fluctuations in the amount of Jewish immigration arose, partly from general causes which acted on the total immigration into the United States, and partly from circumstances peculiar to the life of the Jews in the countries of their emigration. Thus the minimum of 3,000 for the fiscal year 1919 resulted naturally from the war; but the maximum of 1,101,000 for the fiscal year 1906 was due in part to the terrible scourge of pogroms in Russia immediately following the granting of the constitution of October 30, 1905. In a general way, however, up to 1922 Jewish immigration paralleled the total immigration to the United States, as is shown in Diagram 12. Like the total, it mounted rapidly to 1906 but it reached its absolute maximum a year earlier; then it fell until 1909, following the economic depression which then prevailed in the United States. Both curves rose in 1910, keeping a relatively moderate level in 1911 and 1912. In 1913 both rose again, to a new maximum in 1914. During the war years Jewish immigration dropped even more rapidly than the total, remaining very low in 1920, which was a year of war for eastern Europe. Then both rose suddenly and attained a third maximum in 1921, only to fall again in 1922 obviously due to restrictive legislation. Thereafter the parallelism ceased.

Another American table¹ shows how many Jewish emigrants left the United States in each year after 1907. These figures give

¹Volume I, page 477, Table XIX.

Diagram 12. Annual Immigration into the United States, Total and Jewish, 1899-1924.



an idea of the comparative importance of the two kinds of immigration: *temporary* and *permanent*. They establish for 1908-24 the facts shown in Table 202 (p. 477).

The Jews were 9.5 per cent of the immigrants but only 1.5 per cent of the emigrants; in other words, they took only one-sixth as great a part in the repatriation movement as they did in the incoming movement. The emigrants leaving the United States during this period were one-third as many as the immigrants; the

TABLE 202.

TOTAL JEWISH IMMIGRANTS INTO AND EMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED STATES, 1908-24.
(In Thousands)

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Emigrants per 100 immigrants
Total.....	10,657	3,575	33.6
Jews.....	1,009	52	5.2
Per cent Jews.....	9.5	1.5	....

Jews leaving the United States were only one-twentieth (5.2 per cent) as many as the Jews who entered. While the total immigration into the United States was only two-thirds permanent, the Jewish immigration was nineteen-twentieths (95 per cent) permanent.

But if there is such a difference between the permanence of

TABLE 203.

IMMIGRATION AND REPATRIATION OF DIFFERENT PEOPLES WITH RESPECT TO THE UNITED STATES, 1908-24.
(In Thousands)

Races or peoples	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net Immigra- tion	Per 100 immigrants	
				Emigrants	Immigrants (net)
Jews.....	1,009	52	956	5.2	94.8
Irish.....	475	48	427	10.1	89.9
Scotch.....	362	40	323	11.0	89.0
Germans.....	765	121	644	15.9	84.1
Ruthenians.....	174	29	145	16.7	83.3
French.....	353	64	289	18.1	81.9
English.....	801	153	648	19.1	80.9
Scandinavians.....	490	101	389	20.5	79.5
Lithuanians.....	140	35	105	25.0	75.0
Poles.....	808	321	488	39.7	60.3
Greeks.....	372	176	196	47.4	52.6
Croats and Slovenes.....	230	115	115	50.1	49.9
Russians.....	220	111	109	50.5	49.5
Italians.....	2,085	1,140	945	54.7	45.3
Slovaks.....	231	128	102	55.5	44.5
Magyars.....	234	150	84	64.0	36.0
Rumanians.....	97	64	33	65.9	34.1
Other peoples.....	1,811	727	1,084	40.1	59.9
Total.....	10,657	3,575	7,082	33.5	66.5

Jewish immigration and that of all immigration into the United States, how much greater must the difference be between Jewish immigration and that of certain other peoples, especially those who come from the south and east of Europe where temporary migration is particularly frequent? This is shown in Table 203 (p. 477) embracing all those European peoples each of which sent at least 250,000 immigrants to the United States, 1899-1924, as well as the Rumanians included because of the many Jews in that country.¹

Table 203 (p. 477) shows:

(1) The Jews furnished between one-eighth and one-seventh (13.5 per cent) of the net immigration into the United States (956,000 out of a total of 7,082,000).

(2) In the amount of net immigration the Jews occupy first place, surpassing even the Italians (956,000 as against 945,000).² Far behind them come the English (648,000) and the Germans (644,000). (This does not mean that Jewish migrants to all countries combined are the most numerous, for both Italians and English go in large numbers, as the Jews do not, to countries other than the United States.

(3) The rate of repatriation (emigrants per 100 immigrants) is much lower for Jews than for any other people or, what amounts to the same thing, Jewish immigration is much more permanent than any other. The rate of repatriation for Jews is one-half that of the Irish or the Scotch, one-third that of the Germans, one-fourth that of the English or the Scandinavians. The difference in this respect between the Jews and the peoples among which the great mass of the Jews in Europe live, as well as between them and the peoples from the south of Europe, is especially marked. The rate of repatriation among Jewish immigrants is one-third that of the Ruthenians, one-fifth that of the Lithuanians, one-eighth that of the Poles, one-tenth that of the Russians, one-eleventh that of the Italians, one-twelfth to one-thirteenth that of the Magyars or the Rumanians.

From what countries do Jewish immigrants go to the United States? The answer is given in Table 204 (p. 479).³ More than two-

¹[See Volume I, pages 432-443 and 476-8, Tables X and XIX.—Ed.]

²The same holds for the whole period 1899-1924, if one assumes for the years prior to 1908 a rate of repatriation (emigrants per 100 immigrants) equal to that established for 1908-24. The figures for net immigration of the Jews for 1899-1924 would then be 1,742,000 and that of the Italians (north and south combined) would be 1,731,000 for the same period.

³[For detailed figures see Volume I, pages 460-470, Table XIII.—Ed.]

TABLE 204.

JEWISH IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES ACCORDING TO COUNTRY
OF LAST RESIDENCE, 1899-1924.^a

(In Thousands)

Countries	Absolute figures	Per cent of Total Jewish Immigrants
Russia and Poland.....	1,243	67.7
Austria-Hungary.....	260	14.2
Rumania.....	103	5.6
United Kingdom.....	73	4.0
Turkey.....	20	1.1
Germany.....	15	0.8
British North America.....	57	3.1
Other countries.....	67	3.6
Total.....	1,838	100.0

^aThe countries, for each year, are considered within their frontiers of that period. In particular Austria-Hungary here comprises, for the period 1899-1919, all the territory of the former monarchy; and after 1920, the present territories of Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

thirds of the Jewish immigrants came from the former Russian Empire. In addition at least half of the Jews from Austria-Hungary went from Galicia or Austrian Poland.¹ So Russia and Poland together contributed to the United States at least three-fourths of its Jewish immigrants. We say "at least," for beyond doubt at least three-fourths of the Jews whose last country of residence before they entered the United States was the United Kingdom, British America or "other country", had come originally from Russia or Poland. It might be nearer the truth to say that five-sixths of the Jewish immigrants originally came from one of these two countries.²

¹For the five pre-war years, 1910-14, for which United States statistics give figures for Austria and Hungary separately (Vol. I, p. 464) there was a total immigration of 72,000 Jews from Austria-Hungary, of whom 57,000 or 78 per cent, came from Austria and 16,000 or 22 per cent came from Hungary. The vast majority of the Austrian Jews who went to the United States were Galicians. In addition to the fact that Galicia had a much larger emigration than the rest of Austria, two-thirds (66.4 per cent) of the Jews reported by the Austrian census of 1910 lived in Galicia (871,906 in Galicia and 441,792 in the rest of Austria.)

²The restriction of immigration brought about an increase in the number of Jewish immigrants to the United States whose country of last residence was returned as Canada and Newfoundland. In 1924 they numbered 7,421 or 14.8 per cent of the Jewish immigration into the United States.

Rumania must also be considered. From that country during 1899-1924, more than 100,000 Jews (102,548) migrated to the United States. As the total number of immigrants from Rumania during the same period was 133,577, more than three-fourths (76.8 per cent) of all the immigrants from Rumania were Jews. Furthermore the non-Jewish immigration from that country increased greatly after the war as a result of the annexation of former Hungarian crown territories having a large emigration. The proportion of Jews is greater still if only the territory of the former kingdom of Rumania is considered. Out of a total of 72,000 immigrants coming from Rumania to the United States during the sixteen years before the war, 61,000 were Jews. The Jews thus were six-sevenths of the immigrants coming from the former kingdom of Rumania. Still further, only one-third of the immigrants of Rumanian origin but nineteen-twentieths of the Jews were permanent immigrants (Table 203, p. 477).

In order to get an accurate idea of the rate of migration of the Jews, it is necessary to consider the ratio between the number of migrants and the Jewish population in the countries from which they came. But this rate of migration can be computed only very roughly. There are several difficulties. In pre-war Russia there was only one general census of the population, that of 1897, and the number of Jews before the war in the principal parts of that country became more uncertain as the remoteness of that census increased. Some idea of the rate of Jewish emigration is obtained if the average annual number of Jewish migrants, 1899-1914, is compared with the number of Jews recorded in the Russian census of 1897. The inaccuracy involved in such a method is reduced by the fact that, because of the intense emigration and the oppression of the Jews who did not migrate, their number cannot have increased to any great extent between the date of the census and the beginning of the World War. The Jewish population of Austria-Hungary and Rumania has been treated in a similar way. By assuming also that the Jewish immigrants into the United States, 1899-1914, were five-sixths of the whole number who emigrated to countries beyond the seas, approximate figures can be reached for the amount and rate of the overseas emigration of Jews. With these assumptions Table 205 (p. 481) has been prepared, which establishes the following points:

- (1) On the average, of 1,000 Jews in the Russian Empire, 13

came annually to the United States and 15.6 emigrated annually from Russia. This is one of the highest rates of emigration recorded in the history of modern migrations. As it is an average rate for a period of 16 years and as 95 per cent of the emigrants remained abroad, we must go back to the great Irish emigration in the middle of the nineteenth century to find an exodus of equal magnitude. It reached its climax in that terrible year ending June 30, 1906, when 125,234 Jews or about 25 per mille went from Russia to the United States.

(2) The rate of emigration among Austro-Hungarian Jews was also very high, but only about half that among the Russian Jews. The emigration rate of Hungarian Jews was lower than that of Austrian Jews. Thus, during the five years 1910-14 there were 57,000 Jews from Austria and 16,000 from Hungary entered the United States. The number of Jews returned in the Austro-Hungarian census of December 31, 1910, was 1,313,635 for Austria and 932,458 for Hungary. Out of 1,000 Jews returned by that census 8.6 went from Austria and only 3.8 from Hungary to the United States annually. The emigration rate of Hungarian Jews thus was only two-fifths of that of Austrian Jews.

(3) Although the number of Rumanian Jews who left their

TABLE 205.

AMOUNT AND RATE OF JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, AND RUMANIA, 1899-1914.

	Russian Empire	Austria-Hungary	Rumania
<i>Date of Census</i>	1897	1900	1899
Jewish population.....	5,123,065	2,076,089	266,652
<i>Jews entering United States:</i>			
Total.....	1,066,063	240,000	62,813
Annual Average:			
(a) amount.....	66,629	15,000	3,926
(b) rate.....	13.0	7.2	14.7
<i>Intercontinental emigration of Jews:</i>			
Total.....	1,279,276	288,000	75,376
Annual average:			
(a) amount.....	79,955	18,000	4,711
(b) rate.....	15.6	8.7	17.7

native land was low, the emigration rate from Rumania was about 10 per cent higher than that from Russia itself.

The Jewish emigration rate compared with that of the non-Jewish population of the same region varied greatly from country to country.¹ In the Russian Empire the emigration rate of the Jews was about three times as high as that of the Poles or the Lithuanians. In Austria it was almost equal to that of the Poles and double that of the Ruthenians. In Hungary it was less than for most of the surrounding non-Jewish populations. But in Rumania the difference between the rates for Jews and for others was out of all proportion. While, according to the census of December 1899, there was hardly one Jew to 21 non-Jewish inhabitants (4.5 per cent of the total population were Jews), among the immigrants from that country to the United States there were six Jews to one non-Jew. In other words, in Rumania the Jewish emigration rate was about 125 times that of the non-Jewish population, and if permanent emigration alone were considered this ratio would be trebled.

The group of Jewish immigrants is distinguished not only by the great number of its members, but also by its peculiar composition in sex, age, and occupation. Since its composition changed greatly after the war because of the war itself and of the policy of restriction which followed, it is well to examine it during three periods of unequal length and of unequal immigration: the 16 pre-war years 1899-1914, the 6 war years 1915-20, and the four years after the war 1921-24. But the long period of free immigration, 1899-1914, will be given special attention.

A table in Volume I gives the sex composition of the group of Jewish immigrants.² That table furnishes materials for the summary in Table 206 (p. 483).

Table 206 shows that:

(1) Females constitute almost one-half of all Jewish immigrants (44 per cent for the 16 pre-war years and 46 per cent for the whole period).

(2) The proportion of females among Jewish immigrants is more than one-third higher than in the total immigration to the United States (for the pre-war period it was 38 per cent higher and for the whole period 34 per cent higher.)

¹Hersch, *Le Juif errant d'aujourd'hui* (1913), pp. 43-55 and 61f.

²Volume I, pages 432-443, Table X.

TABLE 206.

JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND TOTAL IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES
ACCORDING TO SEX, 1899-1924.
(In Thousands)

	1899-1914	1915-20	1921-24	1899-1924
Absolute figures:				
<i>Jewish immigration:</i>				
Males	832	42	124	997
Females	654	38	148	841
Total	1,486	80	272	1,838
<i>Total immigration:</i>				
Males	9,348	937	1,330	11,615
Females	4,341	666	1,015	6,021
General total	13,689	1,603	2,345	17,636
Per cent females:				
Jews	44.0	47.7	54.5	45.7
Total	31.7	41.6	43.3	34.1
Jewish females per 100 immi- grant females	15.1	5.7	14.6	14.0

(3) The proportion of females among Jewish immigrants, as among all immigrants, increased greatly after the war. In 1921-24 females were a majority of Jewish immigrants.

(4) Every seventh female immigrant who entered the United States during the period was Jewish.

(5) During the 26 years five-sixths of a million Jewish women and nearly one million Jewish men arrived as immigrants.

If the sex composition of the group of Jewish immigrants be compared with that of other European peoples for the most characteristic pre-war years the results are as given in Table 207 (p. 484).

The inferences from Table 207 (p. 484) are like those already drawn about temporary and permanent immigration. Among immigrants from the northwest of Europe the proportion of females is much higher than it is among those from the east and south of Europe. But Jewish immigrants, although coming from eastern Europe, have a larger proportion of females than the northwestern peoples. The Jews have a larger proportion of females among their

TABLE 207.

IMMIGRATION OF DIFFERENT EUROPEAN PEOPLES INTO THE UNITED STATES ACCORDING TO SEX, 1899-1914.

(In Thousands)

Race or People	Males	Females	Total	Per Cent Females
Irish.....	285	300	585	51.3
Jews.....	832	654	1,486	44.0
French.....	110	81	191	42.5
Germans.....	613	434	1,047	41.5
English.....	372	251	623	40.3
Scotch.....	134	89	223	39.8
Scandinavians.....	459	280	739	37.9
Poles.....	940	462	1,403	33.0
Lithuanians.....	171	82	253	32.4
Slovaks.....	326	151	477	31.6
Magyars.....	313	143	456	31.3
Ruthenians.....	177	78	254	30.5
Italians.....	2,473	734	3,207	22.9
Croats and Slovenes.....	374	84	459	18.4
Russians.....	190	31	221	14.0
Rumanians.....	116	18	134	13.1
Greeks.....	344	26	370	7.0
Other peoples.....	1,119	443	1,562	28.4
Total.....	9,348	4,341	13,689	31.7

migrants than any other people except the Irish. But between the Jews and other immigrants coming from the east or the south of Europe the contrast is especially striking. The proportion of females among Jewish immigrants is one-third higher than among the Poles or the Lithuanians, one-half higher than among the Magyars or the Ruthenians. It is double that of the Italians, and more than three times that among the Russians or Rumanians.

In absolute number, Jewish female immigrants occupy the second place among all the races, following immediately after the Italian female immigrants and would hold the first place if the Italians were classified, as they are in the immigration statistics of the United States, into two groups: North Italians and South Italians.

Other tables in Volume I give the materials for a comparison between the age classification of Jewish immigrants and of all immigrants into the United States.¹ We thus get the following picture

¹Volume I, Tables VII and XI, pp. 397-8 and 444-9.

TABLE 208.

JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND TOTAL IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES
ACCORDING TO AGE, 1899-1914 AND 1921-24.

(In Thousands)

Age	Absolute figures		Per 100 Immigrants		Jews per 100 immi- grants
	Jews	Total	Jews	Total	
1899-1914					
Under 14.....	362	1,694	24.4	12.4	21.4
14 to 44.....	1,037	11,281	69.8	82.4	9.2
45 and over.....	87	714	5.8	5.2	12.1
Totals.....	1,486	13,689	100.0	100.0	10.9
1921-24					
Under 16.....	80	434	29.6	18.5	18.5
16 to 44.....	157	1,696	57.7	72.3	9.3
45 and over.....	35	214	12.7	9.1	16.1
Totals.....	272	2,345	100.0	100.0	11.6

(Table 208 above) omitting the war years 1915-20, because of the change in the age-groups in 1918.

The most salient characteristic revealed by Table 208 is the large proportion of children among Jewish immigrants. For the 16 years before the war Jewish children under 14 years of age were one-fourth (24 per cent) of all the Jews, and more than one-fifth (21 per cent) of all the children, who entered the United States. For three adult Jewish immigrants there was one child, for four non-Jewish immigrant children there was one Jewish child. The table further brings out the following facts:

(1) Before the war the proportion of children among Jewish immigrants was twice as great as among all immigrants.

(2) Young adults (14-44 years of age) were much less numerous among Jewish immigrants than among all immigrants into the United States.

(3) Elderly people were somewhat more numerous among Jews than in the total immigration to the United States (5.8 per cent before the war compared with 5.2 per cent; and 12.7 per cent after the war compared with 9.1 per cent.)

(4) The war and the later restrictions increased the proportion of children and elderly people among Jewish immigrants, as well as

in general (a phenomenon analogous to that of the increase in the proportion of females). For 1921-24, children under 16 constituted almost 30 per cent, and old people almost 13 per cent of all Jewish immigrants.

The age distribution of Jewish immigrants during the pre-war period is compared with that of the 16 other European peoples in Table 209 below.¹ This table brings out the following results:

(1) The proportion of children among immigrants from the west and north of Europe is usually higher than among those from the south and east. But the proportion of Jewish children is much higher than that for any other immigrant group, being about 50 per cent higher than among the Germans, the French, the Scotch, or the English; almost three times as high as among the Scandinavians, and more than four times as high as that among the Irish.

(2) In this respect also the difference is especially great between

TABLE 209.

IMMIGRANTS OF DIFFERENT EUROPEAN PEOPLES INTO THE UNITED STATES
ACCORDING TO AGE, 1899-1914.

(In Thousands)

Race or People	Absolute figures			Per 100 Immigrants		
	Under 14	14 to 44	45 and over	Under 14	14 to 44	45 and over
Jews.....	362	1,037	87	24.4	69.8	5.8
Germans.....	181	794	72	17.3	75.8	6.9
French.....	32	140	19	16.7	73.2	10.1
Scotch.....	36	167	21	16.0	74.8	9.2
English.....	96	457	69	15.5	73.4	11.1
Italians.....	371	2,653	183	11.6	82.7	5.7
Magyars.....	50	383	23	10.9	84.0	5.1
Slovaks.....	49	413	16	10.2	86.5	3.3
Poles.....	137	1,232	34	9.8	87.8	2.4
Scandinavians.....	69	635	34	9.3	86.1	4.6
Lithuanians.....	20	228	5	8.0	90.1	1.9
Irish.....	33	525	27	5.7	89.7	4.6
Croats and Slovenes...	25	418	16	5.5	91.1	3.4
Russians.....	12	205	4	5.4	92.6	2.0
Ruthenians.....	14	233	7	5.4	91.7	2.9
Greeks.....	14	350	6	3.7	94.6	1.7
Rumanians.....	5	118	11	3.7	84.1	8.2
Other peoples.....	189	1,294	79	12.1	82.8	5.1
Total for United States.....	1,694	11,281	714	12.4	82.4	5.2

¹[See Volume I, pages 444ff., Table XI.—Ed.]

Jewish immigrants and immigrants from those stocks among which the Jews in Europe live. Thus the Poles have sent to the United States about 200,000 more young adults than the Jews, but 225,000 fewer children. Polish children who have entered the United States are only one-third as many as the Jewish children who entered. The percentage of children among Jewish immigrants is about three times as high as among the Poles or the Lithuanians, almost 5 times as high as among the Russians or the Ruthenians, and almost 7 times as high as among the Rumanians.

(3) The absolute number of Jewish immigrant children (362,000) is greater than the number for the Slavic peoples, the Lithuanians, Magyars, Greeks, and Rumanians combined.

(4) Because of the high proportion of children and elderly persons the percentage of young adults (14-44 years) is lower among Jewish immigrants than among others. Still their absolute number exceeds a million for 1899-1914, and in rank they are third, immediately after the Italians and the Poles.

The classification of *occupations* used in American immigration statistics has often and rightly been criticized. This classification exists, nevertheless, and serves as a basis for public discussions of the occupational phase of the problem of immigration. So it must first be used and later, perhaps, modified or completed. By it immigrants are classified under four main heads: (1) professional; (2) skilled; (3) miscellaneous; (4) no occupation. Those in some one of the first three divisions may also be combined into one large group "occupied immigrants" or "*breadwinners*,"¹ in contrast with those of the last class the "unoccupied." What was the relative importance, of these two classes of immigrants among the Jews and in the total immigration? In view of the exceptionally high proportion of Jewish women and children it is not difficult to guess that the unoccupied classes, mainly children and women, were especially numerous. The figures of Table 210 (p. 488) confirm this surmise.²

Table 210 permits a series of conclusions like those already drawn about the sex and age of immigrants.

(1) Jewish immigrants have a proportion of persons without

¹Here and elsewhere in this Volume II the term "*breadwinners*" is employed to designate those productive laborers who have gainful occupations and earn money regularly by the exercise of some reputable calling. Many of them are not only "self-supporting" but contribute to support others. The word has been used in this sense in the publications of the United States Bureau of the Census.

²[Compare Volume I, page 453 of Table XII.—Ed.]

occupation much greater than the average for all immigrants. Before the war it was about two-thirds higher.

(2) The war, and the post-war restrictions on immigration giving priority to the members of families of former immigrants, have considerably increased the proportion of unoccupied persons both in the total immigration and in Jewish immigration. In 1915-20 one-half of the Jewish immigrants were without occupation; during the post-war period this class formed a majority.

TABLE 210.

PERSONS WITH OCCUPATION AND PERSONS WITH NO OCCUPATION IN JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND IN TOTAL IMMIGRATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1899-1924.

(In Thousands and Per Cents)

	1899-1914	1915-20	1921-24	1899-1924
<i>Absolute figures;</i>				
<i>Jewish immigrants:</i>				
With occupation	841	40	124	1,006
With no occupation	644	40	148	832
<i>Total immigrants:</i>				
With occupation	10,088	1,000	1,443	12,531
With no occupation	3,601	603	902	5,105
<i>Per cent with no occupation</i>				
Jews	43.3	50.0	54.5	45.3
Total	26.3	37.6	38.5	28.9

(3) In spite of the enormous proportion of unoccupied Jewish immigrants, however, more than one million (1,005,824) occupied Jewish breadwinners entered the United States during the 26 years.

A comparison between Jewish and other European immigrants gives the pre-war ratios presented in Table 211 (p. 489)

Table 211 shows once more that Jewish immigrants are a peculiar people, this time in the matter of occupation.

(1) Among no other migrants does one find a proportion of unoccupied persons equal to that of the Jews: 43 per cent. This proportion is generally much higher for migrants from the north and west of Europe; but among the Jews it is greater than among the French, the English, the Germans or the Scotch, and two or three times as high as among the Scandinavians or the Irish.

(2) In this respect as in many others the contrast between the Jews and the immigrants coming from the south and east of Europe is especially great. The proportion of Jewish immigrants without occupation is twice as great as that among the Italians, Poles or Lithuanians; more than 3 times that among the Ruthenians; and 4 times that among the Russians or the Rumanians.

(3) The absolute number of Jewish immigrants without occupation (644,000) is more than one-sixth of all the immigrants without occupation entering the United States, although the occupied Jews were only one-twelfth of all occupied immigrants. The unoccupied Jews are more than twice the number of Polish

TABLE 211.

EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES, CLASSED AS
BREADWINNERS OR UNOCCUPIED, 1899-1914
(In Thousands)

Race or People	Breadwinners	Not gainfully occupied	Without occupation, per 100 immigrants
Jews.....	842	644	43.3
French.....	114	77	40.1
English.....	378	245	39.4
Germans.....	641	406	38.8
Scotch.....	144	79	35.5
Magyars.....	338	118	25.8
Slovaks.....	363	114	24.0
Italians.....	2,461	746	23.3
Poles.....	1,109	294	21.0
Scandinavians.....	602	136	18.5
Lithuanians.....	206	46	18.4
Irish.....	497	88	15.1
Ruthenians.....	219	35	13.7
Croats and Slovenes.....	399	60	13.1
Russians.....	195	26	11.9
Rumanians.....	118	16	11.8
Greeks.....	337	33	8.8
Other peoples.....	1,124	437	28.0
Total for United States....	10,088	3,601	26.3

immigrants without occupation and yield first place, in this respect, to the Italians alone.

The parallelism between these facts and those previously established about temporary and permanent immigration, and the sex and age distribution of immigrants is such that the phenomena seem clearly related. A further analysis of the facts is needed first.

Are Jewish immigrants specifying an occupation divided among the three large classes (professional, skilled, and miscellaneous) in approximately the same way as in the total immigration? Or is there here also a noticeable difference between Jews and others? An answer can be found in Table 212 below.

The most salient characteristic revealed by Table 212 is the enormous proportion of skilled laborers among the Jews. In this respect the difference between Jewish immigration and total immigration into the United States far surpasses all the differences previously discovered.

(1) Before the war one-fifth of all immigrants, but two-thirds of the Jews specifying occupation, were skilled laborers.

TABLE 212.

NUMBERS OF JEWISH AND OTHER IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES,
GROUPED UNDER THE THREE MAIN OCCUPATIONAL HEADINGS OF
THE UNITED STATES CLASSIFICATION, 1899-1924.
(In Thousands)

	1899-1914	1915-1920	1921-24	1899-1924			
<i>Jewish Immigration:</i>		Absolute	figures:				
Professional.....	11	2	6	19			
Skilled.....	574	23	51	649			
Miscellaneous.....	257	15	66	338			
<i>Total Immigration:</i>							
Professional.....	152	54	67	272			
Skilled.....	2,033	269	440	2,742			
Miscellaneous.....	7,903	677	936	9,517			
<i>Per 100 with occupation:</i>	<i>Jews Total</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Total</i>
Professional.....	1.3 1.5	4.2	5.4	5.2	4.6	1.9	2.2
Skilled.....	68.2 20.2	57.6	26.9	41.4	30.5	64.5	21.9
Miscellaneous.....	30.5 78.3	38.2	67.7	53.3	64.9	33.6	75.9
Total.....	100.0 100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Jews per 100 Immigrants:</i>							
Professional.....	7.4	3.1	9.7	7.1			
Skilled.....	28.2	8.6	11.7	23.7			
Miscellaneous.....	3.2	2.3	7.1	3.6			
Total with occupation.....	8.3	4.0	8.6	8.0			

(2) One-fourth of all the skilled laborers entering the United States before the war were Jews. In other words, for three non-Jews in the skilled trades entering the United States, there was one Jew. The percentage of Jews among the skilled laborers coming into the United States was three times as high as their proportion among all immigrants with occupations.

(3) On the other hand, while the immigrants classed under "miscellaneous" occupations constituted nearly four-fifths of all immigrants with occupations entering the United States before the war, they constituted only three-tenths of the Jewish immigrants with occupations. While one-fourth of all the skilled laborers entering the United States were Jews, only one-thirtieth of the "miscellaneous" group (mainly "laborers") were Jews.

(4) The immigrants practising a profession form among the Jews, as well as in the total immigration, a small group of about 2 per cent of those with occupations. The proportion among the

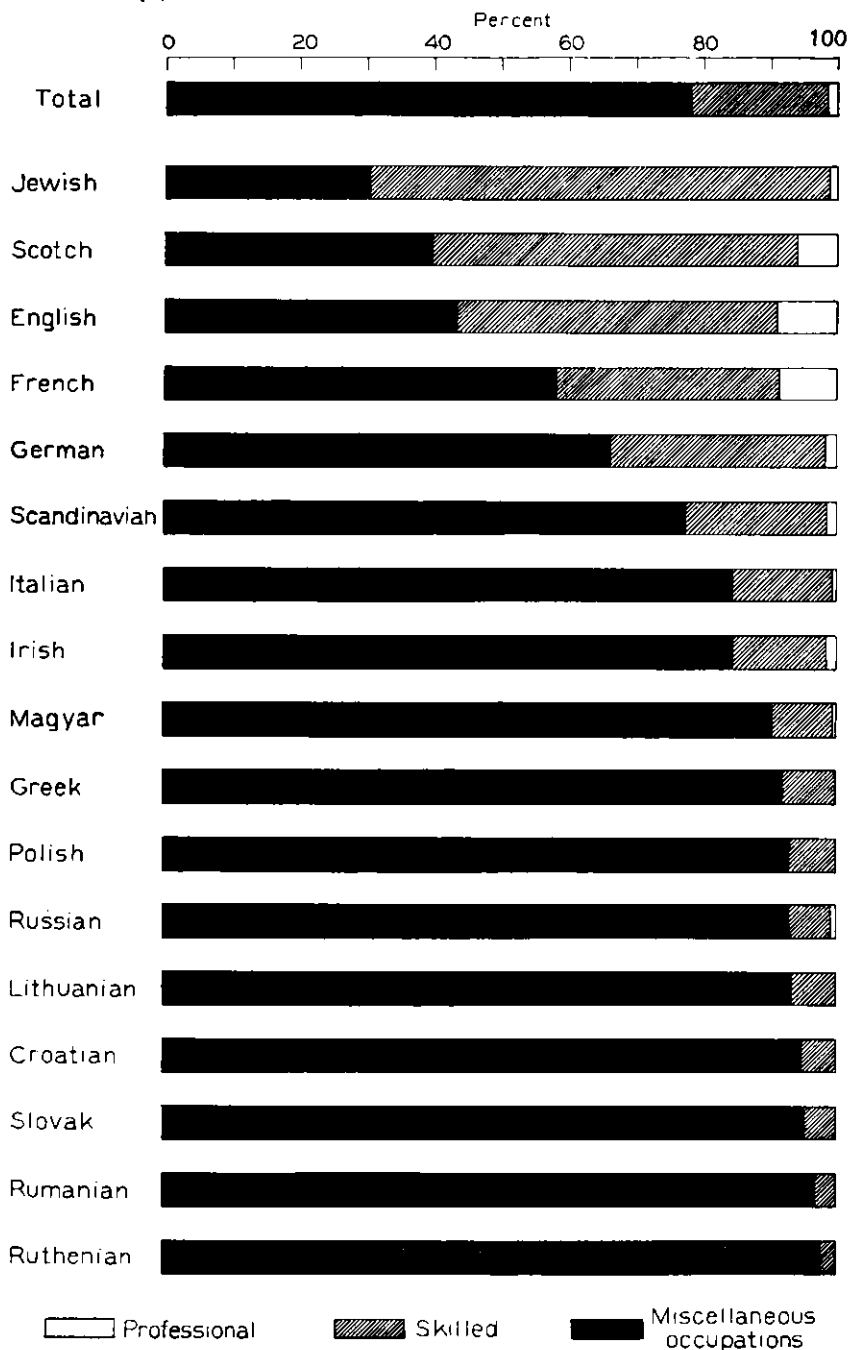
TABLE 213.

NUMBER OF OCCUPIED EUROPEANS ENTERING THE UNITED STATES,
CLASSED BY RACE OR PEOPLES AND BY OCCUPATION, 1899-1914.

(In Thousands and Per Cents)

Race or Peoples	Absolute figures			Per 100 with occupation		
	Profes- sional	Skilled	Miscel- laneous	Profes- sional	Skilled	Miscel- laneous
Jews.....	11	574	257	1.3	68.2	30.5
Scotch.....	9	78	57	5.9	54.3	38.8
English.....	34	179	164	9.1	47.5	43.4
French.....	10	38	67	8.7	33.0	58.3
Germans.....	24	192	425	3.8	29.9	66.3
Scandinavians.....	8	127	467	1.4	21.1	77.6
Italians.....	13	372	2,076	0.5	15.1	84.4
Irish.....	8	68	421	1.6	13.7	84.7
Magyars.....	2	30	307	0.6	8.7	90.7
Greeks.....	1	26	310	0.3	7.7	92.0
Poles.....	2	74	1,033	0.2	6.6	93.2
Russians.....	2	13	181	0.8	6.4	92.8
Lithuanians.....	0.3	13	193	0.1	6.4	93.5
Croats and Slovenes....	0.4	19	379	0.1	4.8	95.1
Slovaks.....	0.2	16	347	0.1	4.3	95.6
Rumanians.....	0.2	3	115	0.2	2.7	97.1
Ruthenians.....	0.2	5	215	0.1	2.1	97.8
Other Peoples.....	26	208	891	2.3	18.5	79.2
Total.....	152	2,033	7,903	1.5	20.2	78.3

Diagram 13. Immigrants into the United States, Classified by People and Occupational Groups, 1899-1914.



Jews, however, is a little smaller than among all immigrants with occupations.

(5) Since the war the proportion of skilled laborers among the immigrant Jews has decreased, while in the total immigration it has greatly increased. But even during 1921-24 the percentage of skilled laborers was much higher among Jewish immigrants with occupations than among all immigrants with occupations. The proportion of immigrants practising a profession has increased, since the war, among the Jews as well as in the total immigration.

A comparison between the number of Jews in the three large occupational groups and the number of other European peoples is presented in Table 213 (p. 491) and Diagram 13 (p. 492), the peoples being arranged in the order of the percentage of skilled workers among their migrants.

Table 213 shows the exceptional character of the distribution of occupations among Jewish immigrants to the United States.

(1) Skilled laborers are much more common among immigrants from northwestern Europe than among those from southern and eastern Europe. For no other people, however, is the percentage of skilled laborers as high as that found among the Jews. The Scotch had a bare majority of skilled laborers among their immigrants specifying occupation, while among the Jews they exceeded two-thirds. The proportion of skilled laborers among Jewish immigrants with occupation was greater by two-fifths than that among the English; it was more than double that among the French or Germans, more than three times that among the Scandinavians and 5 times that among the Irish.

(2) The contrast, in this respect, between Jews and other immigrant folk coming from the east or south of Europe is very great. The percentage of skilled laborers among immigrants reporting occupation is $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as great among the Jews as among the Italians, 8 times as great as among the Magyars, 10 times that of the Poles, the Russians, or the Lithuanians, 25 times that of the Rumanians, 32 times that of the Ruthenians.

(3) In the absolute number of skilled immigrants during the period in question, the Jews far exceeded any other people. This absolute number (574,061) was greater than that for the Italians and Germans combined, or greater than the number of Germans, Scandinavians, Slavs, Magyars, Lithuanians, Greeks and Rumanians combined. Compared with the Poles, the Jews have sent to the United States one-fourth as many immigrants in "miscel-

laneous" occupations and 8 times as many "skilled" immigrants.

(4) The Jews, who hold thus the first place among all peoples in the number of "skilled" immigrants, hold the tenth place in the number of immigrants with miscellaneous occupations. The percentage of immigrants with miscellaneous occupations is much lower among the Jews than among any other people. While for the other peoples of eastern Europe the proportion of migrants with miscellaneous occupations surpassed 90 or even 95 per cent of all the breadwinner group, it constituted only 30 per cent among the Jews.

(5) The professional group among Jewish immigrants is smaller than among those from the northwest of Europe, especially the English-speaking peoples (almost one-half of those recorded as French immigrants are Canadians of French race). Immigrants of the professional group are, however, much more numerous among the Jews than among immigrants from the south or east of Europe. The percentage for the Jews is 2 or 3 times as high as for the Italians, the Russians, or the Magyars, 6 times as high as for the Poles or the Rumanians and 10 times as high as for the Lithuanians.

In order to get nearer the truth, it may be profitable to supplement and make more exact the first general view of the occupational composition of Jewish migrants compared with that of other immigrants to the United States by recourse to two other tables in Volume I.¹ Compared with the total immigration to that country, the Jewish immigration appears as shown in Table 214 (p. 495).

The last column of Table 214 is particularly important. It shows:

(1) The Jews were 10 per cent of all immigrants; but unoccupied Jews were 16 per cent of all unoccupied immigrants. In other words among those without occupation they were three-fifths more numerous relatively than in the total immigration. They were twice as strongly represented among immigrants without occupation as among those reporting some occupation.

(2) The agricultural element among Jewish immigrants was quite insignificant; 2.6 per cent of the Jewish immigrant breadwinners belonged to this occupational group. The Jews made up less than one per cent of the immigrants engaged in agriculture. The proportion of Jews in agriculture was one-tenth of their proportion among all immigrant breadwinners.

(3) The proportion of Jews in general labor and domestic service

¹[Volume I, pages 399 f. and 450-459, Tables VIII and XII.—Ed.]

TABLE 214

TOTAL IMMIGRATION AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES, CLASSIFIED BY LARGE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1899-1924.

(In Thousands and Per Cents)

Occupation	Total in Thousands								Per Cent Distribution											
	Jews				Total Immigrants				Jews				Total Immigrants				Per cent Jews in specified occupation			
	1899-1914	1915-20	1921-24	1899-1924	1899-1914	1915-20	1921-24	1899-1924	1899-1914	1915-20	1921-24	1899-1924	1899-1914	1915-20	1921-24	1899-1924	1899-1914	1915-20 ^a	1921-24	1899-1924
Agriculture.....	21	0.8	4	26	2809	144	170	3123	2.6	2.3	3.0	2.6	28.1	15.4	12.5	25.4	0.8	0.6	2.1	0.8
Industry.....	544	20	43	607	1771	192	338	2301	65.6	54.0	36.3	61.6	17.8	20.5	24.8	18.8	30.7	10.4	12.8	26.4
Commerce and transportation.....	77	8	20	105	469	123	153	744	9.2	21.5	17.1	10.6	4.7	13.1	11.2	6.1	16.4	6.5	13.4	14.1
General labor and Domestic Service .	177	6	45	228	4777	422	636	5835	21.3	17.7	38.1	23.2	47.8	45.2	46.6	47.5	3.7	1.4	7.2	3.9
Professional.....	11	2	6	19	152	54	67	272	1.3	4.6	5.4	2.0	1.5	5.8	4.9	2.2	7.4	3.7	9.7	7.1
Totals, specified:	830	36	119	986	9977	934	1364	12275	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	8.3	3.9	7.2	8.0
None or unknown.....	656	44	153	852	3712	669	981	5361									17.7	6.5	15.6	15.9
Grand Totals:	1486	80	272	1838	13689	1603	2345	17636									10.9	5.0	11.6	10.4

^a[Computed by the Editor.]

also is only one-half the proportion among all immigrant breadwinners in those occupations. So the Jews form less than 4 per cent of this important group of immigrants.

(4) If the groups of "agriculture" and "general labor" are combined, it appears that for the Jews these two groups comprise only a fourth of the immigrant breadwinners and that the other occupations include three-fourths, while in the total immigration the proportions are almost reversed: three-fourths belong to the two groups agriculture and general labor and only one-fourth to all other occupations.

(5) The industrial element holds a dominant place in the Jewish immigration. The immigrants having industrial occupations comprise almost two-thirds of the Jewish breadwinners. The Jews furnished more than a fourth of all the immigrants having industrial occupations who came to the United States between 1899 and 1924. For the pre-war period 1899-1914 this proportion was almost a third. In other words, for two non-Jewish industrial immigrants arriving between 1899 and 1914, there was one Jew.

(6) The commercial group also contains a large proportion of Jewish immigrants. The ratio among Jews is three-fifths higher than in the total immigration. Before the war the disproportion was greater still, the percentage in commerce and transportation having been twice as high among Jews as among all immigrant breadwinners. One-seventh, or before the war one-sixth, of all immigrants in commercial occupations were Jews.

In reality the disproportion between the Jewish and non-Jewish migrants was much greater than as in Table 214 (p. 495). Among the Jews laborers are in most cases former, and frequently also future, petty merchants;¹ while among other peoples and especially among agricultural peoples, the laborers are generally former agricultural workers.² If to the Jewish immigrants recorded as having commercial occupations, we add those registered as laborers, it appears that persons engaged in commerce were one-fifth of all Jewish immigrant breadwinners,³ a proportion twice as high as the table indicates.

(7) Among the Jews, the war and the post-war restrictions seem to have reduced especially the immigration of industrial laborers. Thus for commercial occupations as well as for general

¹Hersch, *Le Juif errant d'aujourd'hui* (1913), pp. 119-23.

²Hersch, *L'Émigration des Européens aux États-Unis au point de vue professionnel* (1912), pp. 321-6 *et passim*.

³Hersch, *Le Juif errant d'aujourd'hui*, pp. 126-9.

labor and domestic service, the total of Jewish immigrants during 1921-24 was slightly over a fourth of the Jewish immigrants of the same occupations for the 16-year period 1899-1914, that is, the annual average after the war is somewhat higher than that before the war. For the professions, the annual average 1921-24 is twice as high as that for 1899-1914. In the industries, on the other hand, the annual average of Jewish immigrants 1921-24 was not quite one-third of that for 1899-1914. The industrial elements, which in 1899-1914 formed about two-thirds of all Jewish immigrants with occupations in 1921-24, were scarcely more than one-third.

The average annual immigration of Jewish agriculturalists likewise decreased. But this decrease had little significance because of the few Jewish migrants in this class.

Jewish immigration will now be compared with that of six other European peoples. Three are from countries in the north and west, the English, the Germans, and the Scandinavians ("old immigration"), and three others from countries in the south and east, the Italians, the Poles, and the Ruthenians ("new immigration").¹

The results for the pre-war period are shown in Table 215 (p. 498).

The agricultural element among the Jews is very small, both absolutely and relatively. For the English, who come next to them among the seven peoples, this percentage is three times as high as for the Jews. The Jews and the Slavs stand at the two extremes. Among the Poles the percentage of agricultural workers is 15 times, and among the Ruthenians 20 times, as high as among the Jews.

Table 215 also shows the exceptional importance of the industrial element among Jewish migrants.

No other people sent to the United States a number of industrial laborers approaching that of the Jews. They were 4 times as numerous as English immigrants having an industrial occupation, and 7 times as numerous as the Scandinavians.

The per cent of industrial laborers among the Jews is likewise exceptional. It is more than one-half again as great as that of the English, 5 times that of the Scandinavians, 11 times that of the Poles, and 31 times that of the Ruthenians.

The commercial element does not appear to be larger among the Jews than among the migrants from northwestern Europe. But most Jewish immigrants whose occupation was recorded as

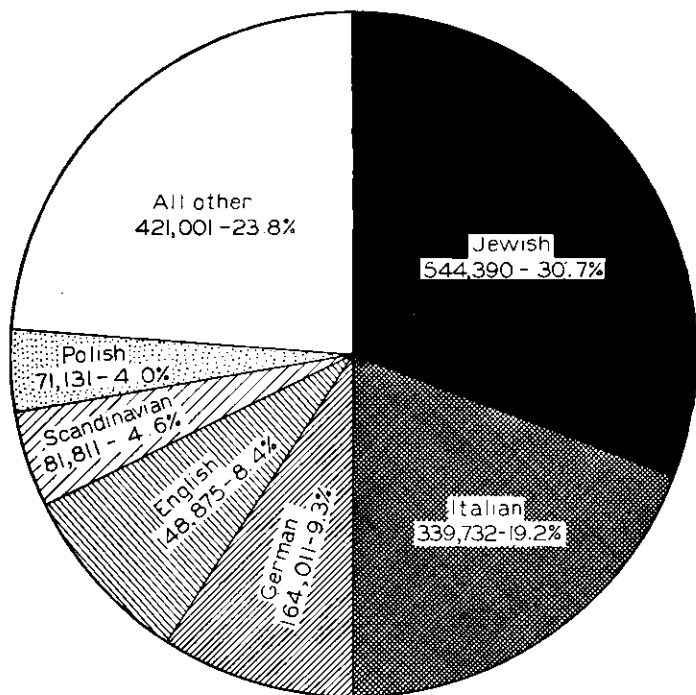
¹[See Volume I, pp. 452f., 456-8, Table XII.—Ed.]

TABLE 215.

IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES, CLASSIFIED BY RACE OR PEOPLE AND LARGE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1899-1914.
(In Thousands and Per Cents)

Race or People	Occupation specified						No occupation or unknown	Total
	Agriculture	Industry	Commerce and transportation	General labor and domestic service	Professional	Total Occupied		
<i>Totals:</i>								
Jews.....	21	544	77	177	11	830	656	1,486
English.....	26	149	53	94	34	355	268	623
Germans.....	143	164	58	241	24	631	416	1,047
Scandinavians.....	77	82	48	382	8	597	142	739
Italians.....	876	340	58	1,164	13	2,451	756	3,207
Poles.....	427	71	3	604	2	1,107	296	1,403
Ruthenians.....	109	5	0.3	105	0.2	219	35	254
<i>Per Cent of known occupation:</i>								
Jews.....	2.6	65.6	9.2	21.3	1.3	100	...	....
English.....	7.2	41.9	14.8	26.4	9.7	100	...	....
Germans.....	22.7	26.0	9.2	38.3	3.8	100	...	....
Scandinavians.....	12.9	13.7	8.0	64.0	1.4	100	...	....
Italians.....	35.8	13.9	2.3	47.5	0.5	100	...	....
Poles.....	38.6	6.4	0.3	54.5	0.2	100	...	....
Ruthenians.....	49.8	2.1	0.1	48.0	0.1	100	...	....

Diagram 14. Industrially Occupied Immigrants into the United States, classified by Peoples, 1899-1914.



“general labor” should appear in the commercial group which, therefore, is really as well represented among the Jews as among the migrants from northwestern Europe. Moreover, the absolute number of Jewish immigrants having commercial occupations was far the highest, 25 times as high as that of the Poles, and their percentage 30 times as high.

The group “general labor and domestic service” is strongly represented among the Jews, comprising more than a fifth of all their breadwinners, but it is smaller, relatively, among the Jews than among other peoples, even the English or the Germans.

If the groups “agriculture” and “general labor and domestic

service" are combined the peculiar occupational structure of the Jewish immigrants becomes particularly striking. The per cent of breadwinners in these two groups is given in Table 216.

TABLE 216.

PER CENT OF IMMIGRANT BREADWINNERS OF VARIOUS PEOPLES IN
"AGRICULTURE" AND "GENERAL LABOR-DOMESTIC SERVICE"
GROUPS.

People	Per Cent
Jews	23.9
English	33.6
Germans	61.0
Scandinavians	76.9
Italians	83.3
Poles	93.1
Ruthenians	97.8

The importance of these figures is further accentuated by the fact that laborers, the largest contingent of the second group, are recruited ordinarily from the agricultural workers, while among the Jews they come especially from petty commerce. Thus from the occupational standpoint also Jewish immigration shows characteristics diametrically opposed to those of other immigration from the south and east of Europe. Jewish immigration is essentially a migration of commercial and industrial elements.

The heading "industry" is too broad, however, to give a clear idea of the actual occupation. Are the Jews equally distributed among the different industrial occupations? Are certain industries more strongly represented than others? If so, what are these strongly represented industries?

To answer these questions the industrial occupations recorded in the Annual Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration have been combined into 8 industrial groups or branches, viz., Food, Clothing, Building and Furnishing, Metals and Machines, Textiles, Paper and Leather, Graphic Arts, All Others. Further, within the clothing group the sub-heads of dressmakers, seamstresses, and tailors are distinguished, and under metals and machines, the sub-heads of machines and common metals, watch and clock-making

and precious metals are separated.¹ In this way the figures in Table 217, showing the distribution of Jews by occupation among the different branches of industry, 1899-1914, are reached.

TABLE 217.

JEWISH IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED BY INDUSTRIAL GROUPS; 1899-1914.

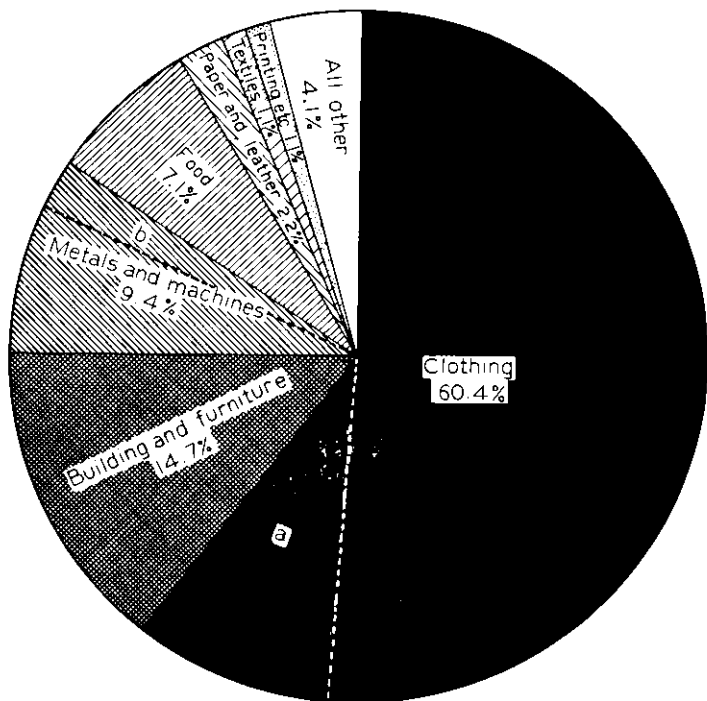
(Thousands and Per cents)

Industrial Group	Number	Per 100 industrial immigrants	Per 100 immigrant bread-winners
Clothing ^a	329	60.4	39.6
Building and furnishing.....	80	14.7	9.6
Machines and metals ^b	51	9.4	6.1
Food.....	39	7.1	4.7
Paper and leather.....	12	2.2	1.5
Textiles.....	6	1.1	0.7
Graphic arts.....	6	1.1	0.7
Other industries.....	22	4.1	2.7
Total.....	522	100.0	65.6
^a Including:			
Dressmakers, seamstresses, tailors.....	279	51.2	33.6
Other clothing workers.....	50	9.1	6.0
^b Including:			
Machines and common metals....	40	7.3	4.8
Jewelers, watch, clock makers....	11	2.3	1.4

A particularly striking feature of Table 217 and of Diagram 15 (p. 502) is the enormous proportion under the heading "clothing." This occupation embraces 60 per cent of all the Jewish industrial immigrants or 40 per cent of all Jewish breadwinners who entered

¹The heading *Food* includes: Bakers, Brewers, Butchers, Cigarette makers, Cigar makers, Cigar packers, Millers and Tobacco workers; *Clothing* includes Dressmakers, Seamstresses and Tailors as well as Furriers and fur workers, Hat and Cap makers, Milliners and Shoemakers; to *Building and Furnishing* belong Cabinet-makers, Carpenters and Joiners, Masons, Painters and Glaziers, Plasterers, Upholsterers, and Woodworkers (not specified); to *Machines and Metals* belong Blacksmiths, Engineers, Iron and steel workers, Locksmiths, Machinists, Mechanics, Plumbers, Stokers and Tinnern (Machines and common metals) as well as Jewelers, Metal workers (other than iron, steel, and tin) and Watch and Clock makers; to *Textiles* belong Textile workers (not specified) and Weavers and Spinners; to *Paper and Leather* belong Bookbinders, Saddlers and Harness-makers, and Tanners and Curriers; to *Graphic Arts* belong Engravers, Photographers, and Printers. The remaining industrial occupations are combined under the rubric *Others*.

Diagram 15. Jewish Immigrants into the United States, classified by Occupations, 1899-1914 (For the significance of sectors "a" and "b" see Table 217, page 501).



the United States, 1899-1914. The immigrant Jews following this branch of industry numbered almost a third of a million.

The tailors, seamstresses, and dressmakers alone were a majority of the Jewish industrial immigrants and a third of all Jewish breadwinners who entered the United States. More than 200,000 (205,308) tailors arrived during the period in question forming three-eighths of industrial Jewish immigrants and one-fourth of all Jewish immigrants having occupations.

All industrial branches other than clothing have contributed together scarcely two-fifths (39.6 per cent) of Jewish industrial immigration.

TABLE 218.

JEWS AND NON-JEWS IN INDUSTRY, PARTICULARLY THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY, AMONG IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES, 1899-1914.
(Thousands and Per Cent)

Group	Absolute figures			Per 100 breadwinners		Jews per 100 non-Jews
	Total for United States	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	
Total immigrant breadwinners.....	10,088	842	9,246	100.0	100.0	9.1
Industry in general....	1,771	544	1,227	65.6	13.3	44.4
Clothing industry in general.....	625	329	296	39.6	3.2	111.0
Tailors, seamstresses, dressmakers.....	459	279	180	33.6	2.0	154.6
Tailors only.....	300	205	95	24.7	1.0	215.9

Jewish immigration not only is largely industrial; but above all it is a migration of workers in the clothing industry. The difference between Jewish and non-Jewish immigrants must be specially marked in the clothing industry. In Table 218 above the analysis is carried somewhat further.

The proportion of clothing workers among the Jews is 12 times as high as the average for non-Jewish immigrants. The disproportion is even greater in the case of makers of wearing apparel proper (tailors, seamstresses, dressmakers). Finally, among Jewish immigrants having occupations the proportion of tailors is 25 times as great as among the non-Jews.

Thus the Jews, who form only 9 per cent of the immigrants with occupations, constitute an absolute majority (52.6 per cent) of all immigrant clothing workers. For 100 non-Jewish immigrants in the clothing industry there were 111 Jews in the same branch; in other words, the number of Jewish immigrants in this branch of industry exceeded by 11 per cent the number of all other peoples combined. The number of Jewish tailors, seamstresses, and dressmakers exceeded the number of non-Jews by 55 per cent; the number of Jewish tailors was more than double the number of immigrants of this occupation among all other peoples combined. It is difficult to imagine an occupational structure more extraordinary and more specialized than that of the Jewish migrants.

The industrial branches other than clothing are much more

slightly represented among Jewish immigrants. It must not be believed, however, that the number of Jewish immigrants in these occupations is negligible. With the large number of immigrants, a small percentage may make an important contingent. Table 217 (p. 501) shows that the Jews coming to the United States, 1899-1914, included about 80,000 workers on building and furnishing, 50,000 workers on machines and metals, and 40,000 workers in the food industry.

Of the 47 industrial occupations recognized in the American statistics only those will be examined (see Table 219, below) in

TABLE 219.

OCCUPATIONS TO WHICH JEWISH IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTED MORE BREADWINNERS THAN ANY OTHER STOCK, 1899-1914.

(In Thousands)

Occupation	Number of immigrants		Per cent Jews
	Jews	Total	
Hat and cap makers ^a	6	8	79.8
Furriers and fur workers ^a	5	7	75.0
Tailors.....	205	300	68.3
Bookbinders ^a	4	6	68.0
Watch and clock makers.....	6	10	60.2
Milliners ^a	6	9	60.0
Cigarette makers ^b	0.126	0.223	56.5
Tinners.....	9	16	54.5
Tanners and curriers.....	5	9	49.3
Seamstresses.....	44	91	48.6
Cabinet makers ^a	4	8	48.3
Upholsterers ^a	2	3	45.5
Jewelers.....	2	6	43.5
Painters and glaziers.....	22	50	43.4
Dressmakers ^a	30	68	43.3
Photographers ^a	2	4	37.9
Saddlers and harness makers.....	3	9	37.6
Locksmiths.....	13	37	34.2
Butchers.....	16	48	33.7
Metal workers (other than iron, steel, and tin) ^a	3	9	32.6
Printers.....	4	13	30.7
Bakers.....	15	57	26.7
Woodworkers (not specified).....	2	7	25.8
Carpenters and joiners.....	47	196	24.2
Cigar packers ^b	0.087	0.364	23.9
Blacksmiths.....	11	69	16.0

^aRubric introduced in the *Annual Reports* after 1904.

^bRubric introduced after 1911.

which the Jews hold first place. Out of these 47 industrial occupations there are 26 in which the Jewish immigrants held the first place.

In the first 8 occupations in Table 219, Jewish immigrants are more than half the total. Four of them are branches of the clothing trade, two belong to the metal and machine industry, one to the paper industry, and one to the food industry. In the first of these occupations (hat and cap makers) the Jews are 80 per cent of the whole number or four times those of all other immigrants combined.

In 11 of the other 18 occupations listed, the proportion of Jews varied from one-third to one-half of the total. Only two of these occupations belong to the clothing industry, the others belong to the industries of building and furnishing (3), metals and machines (2), leather (2), graphic arts (1), and food (1). Among the occupations in which the Jews, though occupying first place, were less than one-third of the whole number, none formed part of the clothing branch.

To sum up, the Jews constituted at least half of the immigrants in all the clothing trades except one (shoemaking), in all the paper trades, in all the graphic-art industries, in all the occupations connected with watch and clock making and jewelry, in 5 of the 7 building and furnishing trades, in 4 of the 8 food industries, and in 3 of the 9 occupations connected with machines and common metals.

Among the 26 occupations in which the Jews were most numerous are 10 of the 13 introduced into the statistics for the first time in 1904. In 4 of these the Jews were an absolute majority and in two others their proportion exceeded 45 per cent. Out of the 8 occupations in which the Jews formed an absolute majority, 4 played a negligible rôle in immigration statistics before the arrival of the Jews. Jewish immigrants might be said to have introduced those trades into the United States.

Jews were quite numerous, moreover, in several other occupations in which they did not hold the first place. Thus, in shoemaking they occupied second place, immediately after the Italians, and furnished 23 per cent of all immigrant shoemakers. They likewise occupied second place, immediately after the Italians, as barbers and hairdressers; second place, immediately after the English, as plumbers; second place, immediately after the Germans, as millers; and second place, immediately after the Cubans, as

tobacco workers. Only in the important occupation of mining was their number insignificant.

Conclusions

The principal conclusions of the analysis may now be brought together.

The number of Jews who entered the United States during the first quarter of the twentieth century, in spite of the check upon immigration after 1914, reached the enormous figure of 1,800,000. This is a larger number than was added to the population of the United States during the same period by any other people, even the Italians, if net immigration be the test. Above 500,000 more Jews must have entered the United States before the end of the nineteenth century. In all, therefore, the Jewish immigrants were more than 2,300,000.

At least three-fourths of these Jews came from Russia or Poland, although many came from other countries, notably from Rumania. In pre-war Russia and in Rumania the Jewish emigration rate attained a height rarely observed in the history of modern migration.

This body of Jewish immigrants attracts attention not only by its size, but also by its characteristics. In general it resembles the emigrants from western Europe much more than it does the other emigrants from eastern Europe where it originated. In the low proportion of temporary migrants, in the large proportion of women and children, and of immigrants without occupation, as well as in the unequaled proportion of skilled laborers, the Jewish migrants surpass the migrants from any of the peoples of western Europe, and the contrast which they present in these respects with the emigrants from regions near their home in eastern Europe could hardly be more striking.

The most noteworthy characteristic of Jewish immigration, however, is the exceptional occupational structure of the group. Of all Jewish immigrants specifying occupation, one-third belong to the group of "miscellaneous" occupations. Among the Jews this group is composed of servants or petty merchants, present or future, *i. e.* the so-called *Luft-Menschen*,¹ two-thirds are industrial workers, the greater part of whom (60 per cent) belong to the clothing

¹By the term *Luft-Mensch* is meant a person with no definite trade or steady employment, who avoids severe manual labor and lives from hand to mouth by small occasional jobs and commissions.—L. Hersch.

TABLE 220.

TOTAL IMMIGRATION AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION BY SEA INTO CANADA,
1900-1901 to 1924-25.
(In Thousands and Per Cent)

Fiscal Year	Total immigrants by sea	Jews	
		Absolute figures	Per Cent Jews
1900-1901	31	3	8.9
1901-2	41	1	2.5
1902-3	79	2	2.6
1903-4	85	4	4.4
1904-5	103	8	7.5
1905-6	131	7	5.4
1906-7	90	7	7.3
1907-8	204	8	3.8
1908-9	87	2	1.9
1909-10	105	3	3.0
1910-11	190	5	2.7
1911-12	221	5	2.4
1912-13	263	7	2.8
1913-14	277	11	4.1
1914-15	85	3	3.7
1915-16	12	0.065	0.6
1916-17	14	0.136	1.0
1917-18	8	0.032	0.4
1918-19	17	0.032	0.1
1919-20	68	0.116	0.2
1920-21	100	3	2.8
1921-22	61	8	13.9
1922-23	51	3	5.5
1923-24	128	5	4.1
1924-25	96	4	4.7
1900 to 1913-14	1,907	73	3.8
1921-22 to 1924-25	335	21	6.2
1900 to 1924-25	2,546	100	3.9

industry. One can say, broadly, that out of three Jewish migrants specifying occupation, there is one *Luft-Mensch* and one tailor. The remaining third, however, includes so many individuals that, even outside the clothing industry, the Jews stand numerically first among immigrants to the United States in most of the other industrial occupations.

Unfortunately Jews are not among the "nationalities" recorded in the immigration reports of Argentina and therefore official data are lacking. According to the data of the Jewish Colonization Association,¹ which seem to be accurate, the number of Jewish immigrants into Argentina after 1904 was as given in Table 222 (p. 510).

TABLE 222.

TOTAL IMMIGRATION AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO ARGENTINA,
1904-1924.

(Statistics of the Jewish Colonization Association.)

Year	Total immigrants	Jews	
		Totals	Per cent
1904	125,567	4,000	3.2
1905	177,117	7,516	4.2
1906	252,536	13,500	5.3
1907	209,103	2,518	1.2
1908	255,710	5,444	2.1
1909	231,084	8,557	3.7
1910	289,640	6,581	2.3
1911	225,772	6,378	2.8
1912	323,403	13,416	4.1
1913	302,047	10,860	3.6
1914	115,321	3,693	3.2
1904-14	2,507,300	82,463	3.3
1915	45,290	606	1.3
1916	32,990	.....	...
1917	18,064	.....	...
1918	13,701	.....	...
1919	41,299	280	0.7
1920	87,032	2,071	2.4
1921	98,086	4,095	4.2
1922	129,263	7,198	5.6
1923	195,063	13,701	7.0
1924	159,939	7,799	4.9
1921-24	582,351	32,793	5.6
1904-24	3,328,027	118,213	3.6

¹Rapport de la Direction Générale au Conseil d'Administration, 1905-1924.

Argentina thus presents phenomena like those in Canada. Almost 120,000 Jews entered Argentina, 1904-24 or almost 4 per cent of the total immigration. The curve of Jewish immigration is very irregular. During the war it almost stopped, but later it resumed its progress a little more vigorously than before.

Among the transoceanic countries which have received many Jews, the Union of South Africa must be mentioned.

Many Jews from Russia, especially the Lithuanian districts, went to South Africa, particularly Cape Colony and the Transvaal,

ERRATUM

Page 511, tenth line: should read

"beginning with the last decade of the nineteenth century."

ous have not completely stopped the immigration of Jews.

According to the *Statistics of Migration* published by the Office of Census and Statistics of the Union, out of a total of 5,265 "immigrants intending permanent residence" arriving in 1924, there were 3,724 British citizens and 1,541 aliens: 773 or one-half of all the aliens who arrived were Jews. In the first quarter of 1925, due to the closing of the United States to the great mass of Jewish immigrants, Jews constituted almost two-thirds (63.8 per cent) of all alien immigrants.

TABLE 223.

JEWISH IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA DURING 1924,
ACCORDING TO NATIVITY.

Country of Birth	Absolute figures	Per Cent
United Kingdom.....	67	8.7
Germany.....	12	1.6
Lettonia.....	51	6.6
Lithuania.....	458	59.2
Russia.....	102	13.2
Poland.....	55	7.1
Other countries.....	28	3.6
Total.....	773	100.0

Unfortunately Jews are not among the "nationalities" recorded in the immigration reports of Argentina and therefore official data are lacking. According to the data of the Jewish Colonization Association,¹ which seem to be accurate, the number of Jewish immigrants into Argentina after 1904 was as given in Table 222 (p. 510).

TABLE 222.

JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO ARGENTINA.

1904	125,567	4,000	3.2
1905	177,117	7,516	4.2
1906	252,536	13,500	5.3
1907	209,103	2,518	1.2
1908	255,710	5,444	2.1
1909	231,084	8,557	3.7
1910	289,640	6,581	2.3
1911	225,772	6,378	2.8
1912	323,403	13,416	4.1
1913	302,047	10,860	3.6
1914	115,321	3,693	3.2
1904-14	2,507,300	82,463	3.3
1915	45,290	606	1.3
1916	32,990	.....	...
1917	18,064	.....	...
1918	13,701	.....	...
1919	41,299	280	0.7
1920	87,032	2,071	2.4
1921	98,086	4,095	4.2
1922	129,263	7,198	5.6
1923	195,063	13,701	7.0
1924	159,939	7,799	4.9
1921-24	582,351	32,793	5.6
1904-24	3,328,027	118,213	3.6

¹Rapport de la Direction Générale au Conseil d'Administration, 1905-1924.

Argentina thus presents phenomena like those in Canada. Almost 120,000 Jews entered Argentina, 1904-24 or almost 4 per cent of the total immigration. The curve of Jewish immigration is very irregular. During the war it almost stopped, but later it resumed its progress a little more vigorously than before.

Among the transoceanic countries which have received many Jews, the Union of South Africa must be mentioned.

Many Jews from Russia, especially the Lithuanian districts, went to South Africa, particularly Cape Colony and the Transvaal, beginning with the first decade of the nineteenth century. This immigration became especially important during the first decade of the present century. The figures concerning immigration thither by race or nationality are completely lacking. Still, the first census of the population in the Union of South Africa, taken in 1911, recorded 46,919 Jews. In 1921 the number of Jews recorded was 62,103, of whom 33,515 were in the Transvaal. The recent restrictions have not completely stopped the immigration of Jews.

According to the *Statistics of Migration* published by the Office of Census and Statistics of the Union, out of a total of 5,265 "immigrants intending permanent residence" arriving in 1924, there were 3,724 British citizens and 1,541 aliens: 773 or one-half of all the aliens who arrived were Jews. In the first quarter of 1925, due to the closing of the United States to the great mass of Jewish immigrants, Jews constituted almost two-thirds (63.8 per cent) of all alien immigrants.

TABLE 223.

JEWISH IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA DURING 1924,
ACCORDING TO NATIVITY.

Country of Birth	Absolute figures	Per Cent
United Kingdom.....	67	8.7
Germany.....	12	1.6
Lettonia.....	51	6.6
Lithuania.....	458	59.2
Russia.....	102	13.2
Poland.....	55	7.1
Other countries.....	28	3.6
Total.....	773	100.0

As in the United States, the percentage of repatriations from South Africa is quite insignificant among the Jews and the percentage of women (47.5 per cent in 1924), like that of children (under 15 years, 35.5 per cent for the same year), is very high.

According to country of birth, the Jews who entered in 1924 were distributed as shown in Table 223 (p. 511).

Lithuania thus contributed almost 60 per cent of all the Jews who entered South Africa in that year. From the countries of the former Russian Empire or from Poland, South Africa received six-sevenths (86.1 per cent) of all its Jewish immigrants. The Jews were only 2 per cent of the immigrants born in the United Kingdom, and 4 per cent of those born in Germany; on the other hand, they were 80 per cent of the immigrants born in Poland, 81 per cent of those born in Russia, 92 per cent of those born in Lithuania, and 96 per cent of those born in Lettonia. Almost all the immigrants who came from Lithuania and Lettonia were Jews.

With respect to occupation, out of 100 men who arrived from Lithuania in 1924, only 42 belonged to commerce and only 5 to industry. The expenses of the voyage must have exercised some selective influence, sifting out the laboring element which is less well-to-do, and favoring the migration of the commercial element, which is better off.

Migration to and from Palestine

Between the migration of the Jews to Palestine and their migration to other countries, there is one essential difference. To other countries the Jews are attracted by the chance to better their economic condition. To Palestine, they have been and still are attracted by nationalistic and religious sentiments. Jewish immigration into Palestine has met economic difficulties without number, demanding endless sacrifices both on the part of the migrants and on the part of the Jewish communities of the Diaspora.

At first the moving force of this migration was almost exclusively religious; many of those who went to Palestine were aged Jews who wished to die and be buried in the Holy Land. After 1880, under the influence of the Zionist movement, a new current started with the purpose of creating a Hebrew center in Palestine. After the end of the nineteenth century, and under the influence of Zionism, Jewish immigration set up as an undisguised aim the transformation of Palestine into a Hebrew state. After the World

War, the expulsion of the Turks, the establishment of the British Mandate and the declaration of the British Government in favor of the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine, the Zionist organization became to some extent official and Jewish immigration proceeded on a larger scale.

Before 1880 immigration into Palestine, being an isolated and individual act of piety, was numerically insignificant. After that date it began to be numbered by hundreds of individuals annually and to vary with the persecutions of the Jews in Russia. The pogroms and expulsions occurring there from time to time aroused Jewish national sentiment and stimulated this current of emigration. The principal waves were those which followed the pogroms of 1880-82, the expulsions of 1890-91, and the pogroms of 1905-6. The number of Jewish emigrants from Russia according to the record of the Palestine Committee at Odessa where this emigration was organized, was about 2,000 per annum, as Table 224 shows.

TABLE 224.

JEWISH EMIGRANTS FROM RUSSIA, 1905-10.
(Statistics of the Palestine Committee, Odessa)

Year	Number
1905	1,230
1906	3,450
1907	1,750
1908	2,097
1909	2,459
1910	1,979

The immigration following a Hebraic renaissance in Palestine was, at first, for visionary motives as well as for economic necessities, not only a return to the Holy Land but also a return to the *land*, that is, to *agriculture*. It thus demanded a double sacrifice and it was especially from the intellectuals, notably the young students, that the first colonists were recruited. From the beginning, however, some small proprietors, artisans, and petty merchants, as well as laborers went to Palestine and established themselves in the cities. The current became really important only when those elements began to immigrate in greater numbers after the establishment of the British in Palestine and the closing of the United States to the

TABLE 225.

JEWISH MIGRATION INTO AND OUT OF PALESTINE, 1922-27.

Year	Immigrants	Emigrants	Excess of immigration (+) or of emigration (-)	Emigrants per 100 immigrants
1922	7,844	1,503	+6,341	19.2
1923	7,421	3,466	+3,955	46.7
1924	12,856	2,037	+10,819	15.8
1925	33,801	2,151	+31,650	6.4
1926	13,080	7,464	+5,616	57.1
1927	2,713	5,071	-2,358	186.9
1928	2,178	2,168	+10	99.5
1929	5,249	1,746	+3,503	33.3
1922-29	85,142	25,606	+59,536	30.1

great masses of Jewish immigrants (beginning with the middle of the year 1924). But this great immigration, directed toward the cities of Palestine, which were not capable of absorbing a mass immigration, soon brought on a terrible crisis that paralyzed Jewish migration in this direction.

The official statistics about immigration into Palestine began with 1922. In view of the short period which the statistics cover and considering the experiment with the "new" urban immigration in 1925, the general rule of stopping with 1924—where the figures in Volume I end—should here be abandoned and the statistics given up to the time of writing. These statistics, be it observed, comprise only the immigrants who have come into the country to settle and the emigrants who leave the country permanently. They are brought together in Table 225 above.

Table 225 shows:

(1) During the 8 years 1922-29, 85,000 Jews entered Palestine and almost 26,000 departed. The net immigration was 60,000.

(2) Out of these 60,000 immigrants, 31,650 or 53 per cent entered during 1925, the year of the unfortunate experiment alluded to above. There was a high immigration for the last six months of 1924, when the experiment was begun, and during the first six months of 1926, when it was completed. Before it the net immigration was 4,000-6,000 per annum.

(3) The experiment of 1925 was disastrous: following the increased influx immigration was reduced to a minimum and

emigration was double the highest preceding figure. Beginning with July 1926 and continuing to July 1928 without interruption except for the single month of April 1927, Jewish emigration from Palestine month by month exceeded immigration. During 1927 the emigration of the Jews was about double their immigration.

(4) Considering the whole period 1922-29, Jewish emigration carried off from Palestine 30 per cent of the immigration, a proportion several times as high as that found for the Jews in the United States. This is all the more striking since the Jews entered Palestine, even more than they did the United States, with the intention of staying, and since this enormous rate of return is found in Palestine just when immigration elsewhere was made excessively difficult for the Jews. These facts show what insurmountable economic difficulties stood in the way of the establishment of the Jews in that country and how little Palestine is fitted to absorb an immigration, however small, of non-agricultural elements. For the Jewish emigrants who leave Palestine do not resemble temporary migrants who return to their native country after having amassed a small fortune abroad; they are people who leave all their savings in Palestine as well as the physical and moral force that brought them to the country, persons who are broken materially and morally, living proof of the powerlessness of idealism in the face of economic impossibilities.

CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF MODERN MIGRATIONS OF THE JEWS.¹

The causes of the great amount of Jewish migration are connected with the extraordinary composition of this group of migrants. Its most salient characteristic is the unequal part played by the representatives of different occupations, and notably, the very large proportion of clothing workers and petty merchants, and the small proportion in some other occupations. That indicates that the occupational factor must play a considerable rôle among the forces resulting in movement and that the occupational structure of the Jewish populations in the countries of residence must be examined. The distribution of occupations among Jews in eastern Europe is exceedingly abnormal owing to numerous circumstances, historical, legal, political and other; the number of Jews in certain occupations, notably commerce and the clothing industry, is inordinately great. This disproportionate distribution of occupations, especially among

¹This phase of the subject has been examined more fully in the writer's *Le juif errant d'aujourd'hui* (1913), pages 161-277.

the Jews of pre-war Russia, makes the existence of the Jews dependent upon a vast non-Jewish market open to their commerce and to the product of their industry. The market offered by the regions of residence, insufficient to maintain the existing number of merchants and clothing workers, was further narrowed by the backward economic life in those countries as a result of the crisis through which peasant economy in the east of Europe and especially in Russia was passing. It was being reduced, also, by the exodus of rural non-Jews to the cities, aggravating non-Jewish competition and provoking anti-Semitic organization. Thus losing much of the non-Jewish market and having limited access to new forms of production (owing to legal restrictions and because non-Jewish entrepreneurs consistently preferred the laborer from the fields to the Jewish worker) the Jews, and especially those engaged in the most crowded occupations, were forced to leave their native country *en masse*. The disproportionate distribution of occupations not only provoked an enormous movement of emigration but also determined the specialized occupational structure of the group of Jewish immigrants. These, even more than the Jews in the countries of emigration, were recruited especially among the crowded occupations, that is, commerce and industry, especially the clothing industry.

But since temporary immigrants are recruited especially among rural emigrants who leave their bit of ground in the home country, among the Jews temporary immigrants are almost a negligible quantity, especially since the reasons which led them to depart would bar their return. The larger the number of women and children among migrants, the more permanent is that migration. It is, therefore, natural that the Jewish immigrants show the largest percentage of women and children. And since the distribution of occupations among Jewish migrants is much more abnormal than among the Jewish population in the countries of their last residence, it is clear that the body of Jewish migrants cannot subsist by itself; it cannot go to countries which are sparsely populated, but must go where there is a numerous population, relatively well-to-do and with rapid progress, and especially where this progress occurs by the numerical increase of elements belonging to occupational branches other than those of the Jewish migrants. Such was notably the case in the United States, where the occupational structure of huge masses of non-Jewish immigrants was quite different from that of the Jews. Such was also the case in Canada and

Argentina, but to a much smaller degree. It was only through much collective and individual sacrifice that a small part of the flood of Jewish migrants was turned toward Palestine, which is much nearer, making the trip much less expensive, and which has for the Jews a particular moral attraction.

Secondary factors and passing circumstances, such as political disturbances, pogroms, variations in crops, and other considerations interfered with the progress of Jewish migration, now accelerating and reinforcing it, now diminishing it or causing it to deviate slightly from its spontaneous advance. It remains true, nevertheless, that among the Jews the occupational structure determined not only the enormous dimensions of the modern migratory movement but also the principal characteristics of the group of emigrants and the direction of their migration.

Still further, the case of the Jews illustrates in a striking way the dominant rôle which the occupational structure plays in migration and the social division of work plays in the whole life of society.

The numerous and far-reaching effects of the immense migration of Jews include the following:

(1) Half a century ago the Jews were shut into the Old World, especially east-central Europe; today they have powerful branches in America and elsewhere. The United States contains today about 3,500,000 Jews,¹ more than any other country in the world, more than Poland (2,772,000 according to the census of 1921) or than Soviet Russia (2,583,000 in Europe and in the Caucasus according to the census of 1926). Canada and Argentina each have more than 100,000 Jews, South Africa more than 60,000.

(2) Emigration has drained Europe of almost all the natural increase of the Jews, but has not diminished their numbers. On the contrary, the Jewish population of Europe has increased slightly. Thus, in Galicia (Austrian Poland) the number of Jews rose from 772,000 in 1890 to 811,000 in 1900 and to 872,000 in 1910. In the area of pre-war Russia the Jews increased, 1899-1920, by at least 150,000.

(3) This emigration of the Jews from eastern Europe does not tend to create a territory populated mainly by Jews. Almost all the Jewish migrants go to America, especially the United States, where, in spite of their great number, they constitute only about 3 per cent of the population. As for Palestine, a net immigration of

¹Lestschinsky estimated the number of Jews in the United States at 4,000,000, but I think that figure is too large. See also Hersch, *Le Juif errant*, pp. 278-315.

some 6,000 Jews a year cannot overcome a numerical superiority of 600,000 non-Jews in that country, and it does not amount to more than a fraction of the annual difference between the natural increase of the non-Jewish population and the much smaller natural increase of the Jews.¹ According to the data of the Palestine Department of Health the natural increase of the population for the years 1923-26 was as presented in Table 226.²

TABLE 226.

ANNUAL EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS IN PALESTINE, 1923-1926.
(Palestine Department of Health)

People	1923	1924	1925	1926	Annual Average 1923-26
Settled non-Jews.....	12,442	14,856	13,685	18,604	14,897
Nomads.....	2,145	2,593	2,418	3,353	2,627
Total non-Jews.....	14,587	17,449	16,103	21,957	17,524
Jews.....	1,966	2,427	2,183	3,517	2,524
Excess in the natural increase of non-Jews.....	12,621	15,022	13,920	18,440	15,000

Thus the annual excess of births over deaths in the non-Jewish population exceeds that of the Jews by 15,000. Under these circumstances the present Jewish immigration into Palestine can hardly prevent an increasing numerical preponderance of non-Jews. In other words, not even in Palestine does the Jewish immigration tend to create a territory populated mainly by Jews. In reality, the vast modern migration of the Jews has resulted only in the creation of important Jewish minorities in several new countries or in strengthening weak Jewish minorities in certain countries where they already existed; but not in the development of a territory populated mainly by Jews.

(4) The vast migration during the last quarter of a century has contributed largely toward raising the economic and social level of the Jews. For the three millions who emigrated, the radical improvement of their condition is evident. Of those who have remained in

¹According to the census of October 23, 1922, there were in Palestine 83,794 Jews and 673,388 non-Jews (including 590,890 Mohammedans) out of a total population of 757,182.

²The data of the Department of Health relate only to the settled population. For the nomads, whose number, according to the census, was equal to about one-fifth of the settled Mohammedans (21.2 per cent) we have assumed a natural increase equal also to one-fifth of that of the settled Mohammedans.

the Old World the same is true. Enormous sums of money, of which no accurate account can be had, have been sent from America, South Africa and elsewhere, to Europe both before and after the war to salve the terrible wounds which the war and the later disorders had inflicted on the Jews. Innumerable works of charity, the small cooperative banking associations, the imposing system of common schools, technical education, the numerous agricultural colonies in Russia, the colonization in Palestine, have all been nurtured by immigrants in transoceanic countries, above all by those in the United States. It is no exaggeration to state that it was this last group who raised the Jewish population of Europe out of the great material distress into which the war and following events had plunged them.

Even aside from organized and individual aid, the fact of the mass emigration of representatives of the crowded occupations, must have relieved the distress of those who remained. The decrease in the percentage of skilled industrial workers during the post-war period is partly the effect of this relief.

(5) Jewish immigrants, in their new homes, seek the large urban centers. Out of 1,486,000 Jews who entered the United States between 1899 and 1914, almost two-thirds (928,000) went to New York City, and the percentage of Jewish immigrants concentrated there in the nineteenth century was doubtless much higher. With time this percentage decreased rapidly so that in 1914 only 57 per cent of the Jewish immigrants went to New York, while the percentage had been 62 in 1910 and 72 in 1900.

But of the 500,000 Jews who entered the United States before 1899, perhaps 400,000 remained in New York. More than 1,300,000 Jews thus settled in New York before the World War. Other Jewish immigrants went especially to Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, and a few other cities. The same was true for Buenos Aires in Argentina and for Johannesburg in South Africa.

This concentration of masses of Jewish immigrants in the large cities has had a double effect:

(a) An enormous Jewish urban center has been created in New York, the like of which Israel has never seen and which numbers today about 2,000,000 Jews. This vast Jewish center, which has sprung up not only in the midst of a non-Jewish country but also in the midst of a great non-Jewish city, develops manifold consequences and problems.

(b) The international migrations of the Jews, together with their internal migrations, have transformed them from a village and small-town folk which they were a few decades ago, into a people living for the most part in large cities, transforming the old patriarchal forms of family life and social life. A break in the continuity of the life of the Jewish masses has taken place such as had not been seen for thousands of years, since the Israelites were driven out of their land by the Romans. Their life regulated in its smallest details by their religion a few decades ago, has been largely secularized; a Jewish lay culture has begun to develop and large masses of Jews have been swept into the whirl of modern civilization.

(c) These migrations have greatly hastened, among the Jewish masses, the displacement of traditional occupations such as petty merchants and middlemen, the so-called *Luft-Menschen*, by physical labor (harder but more productive) and by positions as salaried workers.

It seems probable that no people have changed so profoundly as the Jews under the influences of modern world migration.

CHAPTER XVII

EMIGRATION FROM AND IMMIGRATION INTO RUSSIA.¹

By

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

Although several million Russians have emigrated within a century Russia² has no real emigration statistics. This is due to the fact that the rule of law under which no citizen could leave one country and become a citizen of another without the permission of the country left, a rule which had been in force in many countries of Europe at an earlier date, survived in Russia almost to the present day. If a Russian violated that rule he was banished and his property in Russia sequestered. Under these conditions true emigration statistics were lacking.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA.

The Russian statistics of travellers crossing the Russian frontier begin with 1828; before that date Russian emigration was insignificant. The number of Russians reported as entering the United States between 1820, when the returns began, and 1828 was less than one hundred.¹ From 1828 to 1915 inclusive the excess of outgoing over incoming Russians was 4,510,000. To this number must be added the clandestine peace-time emigrants and the emigrants when frontier registration was suspended in time of war. But the total number of such additions for the period before the World War probably did not exceed a few hundred thousand. In 1914 the net loss to Russia was 526,000 while during the preceding years it had been between 150,000 and 180,000.² These figures for 1914 indicate that from 200,000 to 300,000 agricultural laborers who were not real emigrants although included as such in the preceding figures, were caught in Germany by the war, a number which will perhaps about balance the unrecorded clandestine and war-time emigration of earlier years. If so, we may retain the figure of 4,510,000 for the total net outflow between 1828 and 1915.

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

TABLE 227.
EMIGRATION OF RUSSIANS, 1828-1915.
(In Thousands)

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

¹[Volume I, page 379.—Ed.]

²[Volume I, pages 795 and 797.—Ed.]

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

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

TABLE 228.
RUSSIAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1901-10.
(In Thousands)

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

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

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

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

TABLE 229.
NET RUSSIAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, 1901-10.
(In Thousands)

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

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

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

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

TABLE 230.

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

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

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

TABLE 231.

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

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

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

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

TABLE 232.

DECENNIAL EMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRY OF DESTINATION, 1891-1910.
(In Thousands)

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

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

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

TABLE 233.

RATIO OF RUSSIANS SETTLING IN THE UNITED STATES TO NET RUSSIAN
EMIGRATION BY DECADES, 1861-1915.
(In Thousands)

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

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

*Emigration classified by Linguistic Groups.*¹

Information for all Russia about the districts from which the emigrants went forth is almost lacking. As a result the classification by linguistic groups furnishes the best basis for a study of the causes of Russian emigration. Even this classification is not furnished in the Russian sources but must be derived from the immigration statistics of the United States, where it was introduced in 1899, and of Canada where it began in 1900.² Not until ten years later did the

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

²[Volume I, pages 432 and 364.—Ed.]

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

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

TABLE 234.

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 235.

IMMIGRANTS FROM RUSSIA INTO CANADA, CLASSIFIED BY LINGUISTIC GROUPS, FOR QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS, 1900-1913.¹
(In Thousands)

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

^aFor the years 1900-1904, when Russian Hebrews and Russian Poles were not given separately the per cents 82.7 and 46.6 were accepted.

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

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

TABLE 236.

RUSSIAN IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, CLASSIFIED BY LINGUISTIC GROUPS, 1908-13.
(In Thousands)

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

¹[See Volume I, pp. 364 ff.—Ed.]

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

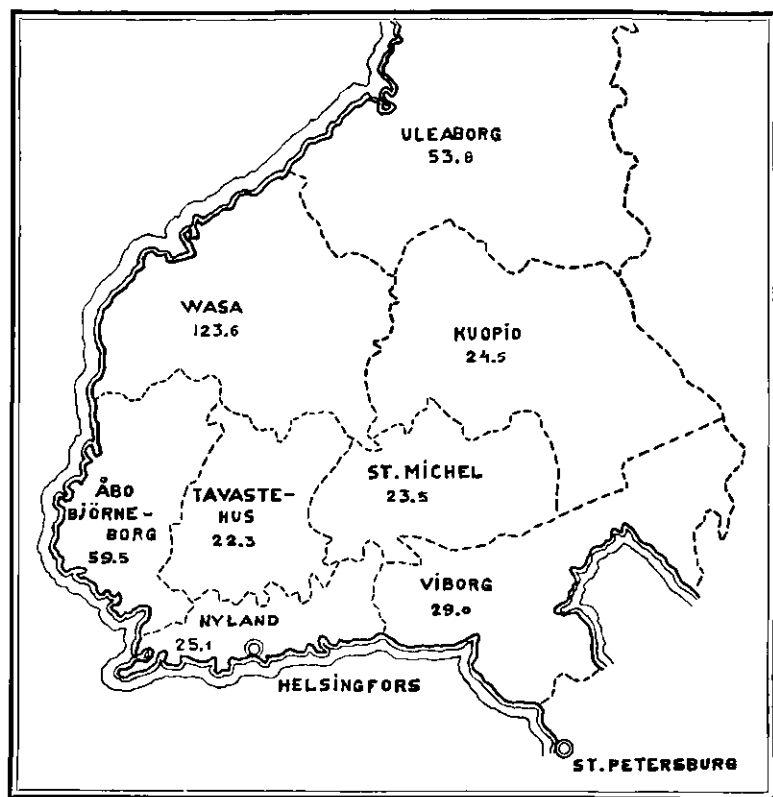
To distribute Russian immigration, gross or net, into the United States and Canada by linguistic groups before 1898 or into other countries at any date would be mere guesswork with existing statistics.

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

Emigration of Finns

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

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



were landless hired laborers or *bobils*. Thus it was an exodus from the farms. The small holdings multiplied and many rich peasants enlarged their holdings. Finnish farms average about 25 acres of improved land while Wisconsin farms under similar agricultural conditions are more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as large. Two-fifths of the Finnish farms have less than 8 acres each of improved land. Thus the land is held in small parcels and landless laborers are numerous. These conditions favored mass emigration and the emigration rate rose from 17 per 10,000 annually, 1893-98 to 50 per 10,000 in 1909-13. The rate from the several provinces in the latest period is shown

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

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

Polish and Lithuanian Emigration.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 237.

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF NON-HEBREW EMIGRANTS FROM POLAND,
1893-1903.
(In Thousands)

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

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

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

The serfs were emancipated in 1807 but received no land.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 238.

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 239.

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

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

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

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

TABLE 240.

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

(In Thousands)

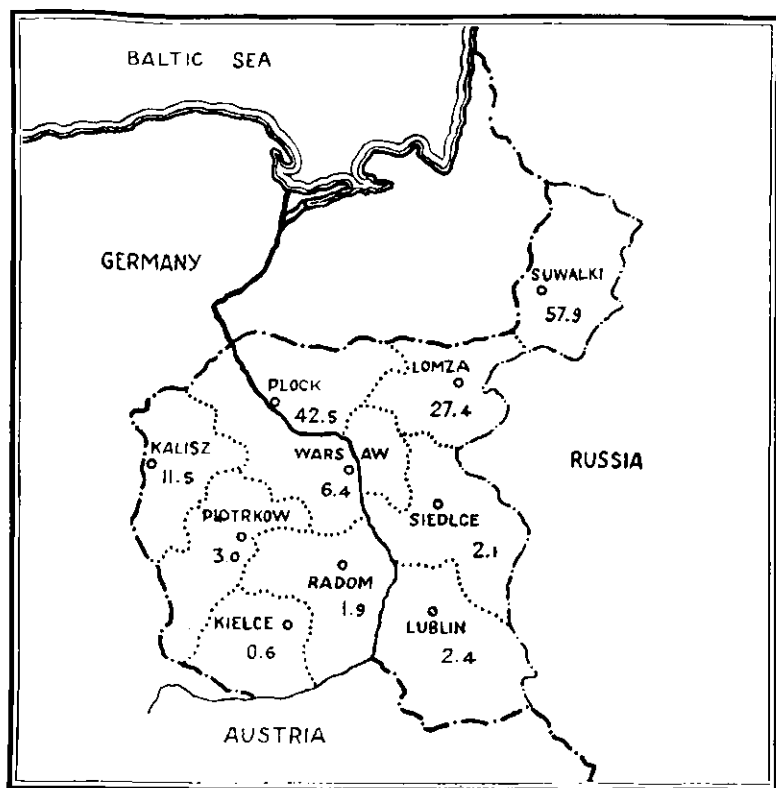
Year	Emigrants	Temporary workers	Total
1904	15	10	25
1908	31	12	43

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

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

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

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



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

Character and Causes of Hebrew Emigration

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

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

Diagram 18. Provinces of the Hebrew Pale.



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

TABLE 241.
DISTRIBUTION OF HEBREWS BY RELIGION, 1897.
(In Thousands)

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 242.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 243.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 244.

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

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

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

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

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

Emigration of Russians, Germans, and Other Peoples.

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

In the United States the question of the number of Russian residents has developed wide differences of opinion. Davis cites four different estimates ranging from less than 300,000 to more than 700,000 persons.¹ The census of 1920 reported 392,000 persons born outside of the United States and having Russian as their mother tongue, and 340,000 born in the United States but with one or both parents having Russian as their mother tongue. However, in a note to his table Davis points out that a considerable proportion of Hebrews were probably included erroneously with the Russians. He might have added that no small number of Ruthenians also were included. We agree with the author of the smallest estimate, I. A. Hourwich, and believe that the Russians in the United States in 1920 were fewer than 300,000.²

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 245.

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

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

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

Let us now briefly consider the forces causing the emigration of 1907-13.

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

In these two groups serfdom had its main development. The southern steppes were settled after the abolition of serfdom chiefly by free colonists. Into the wooded regions of the north and northeast serfdom could not penetrate; nor did it extend into Siberia. In the non-black-earth provinces around Moscow it was undermined before 1861, and later its remnants were quickly eliminated by the course of economic development. These two groups of western provinces and of central provinces dominated by serfdom and its after-effects developed the agrarian revolutions following 1905 and 1917 to the highest degree.

The central agricultural region was the main source of recruits

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



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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 246.

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 247.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 248.

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

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

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

This emigration of Germans went mainly to the United States,

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

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

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

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

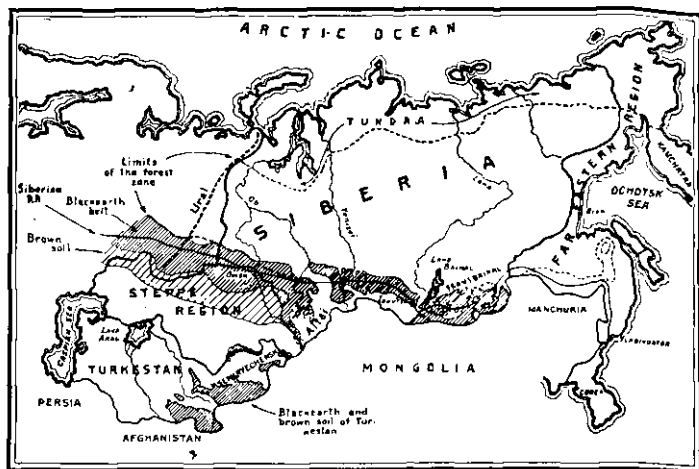
Migration Beyond the Urals.

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

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

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

Diagram 20. Physical Divisions of Asiatic Russia.



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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 249.

POPULATION OF ASIATIC RUSSIA BY DISTRICTS, 1797-1926.

(In Thousands)

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 250.
RUSSIAN REGISTERED MIGRANTS SETTLING IN ASIATIC RUSSIA,
1801-1914.
(In Thousands)

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

*Includes illegal settlers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 251.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 252.

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

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

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

Let us now ask from what Russian provinces these migrants

Diagram 21. Russian Provinces whence Emigrants went to Siberia.



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

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

TABLE 253.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

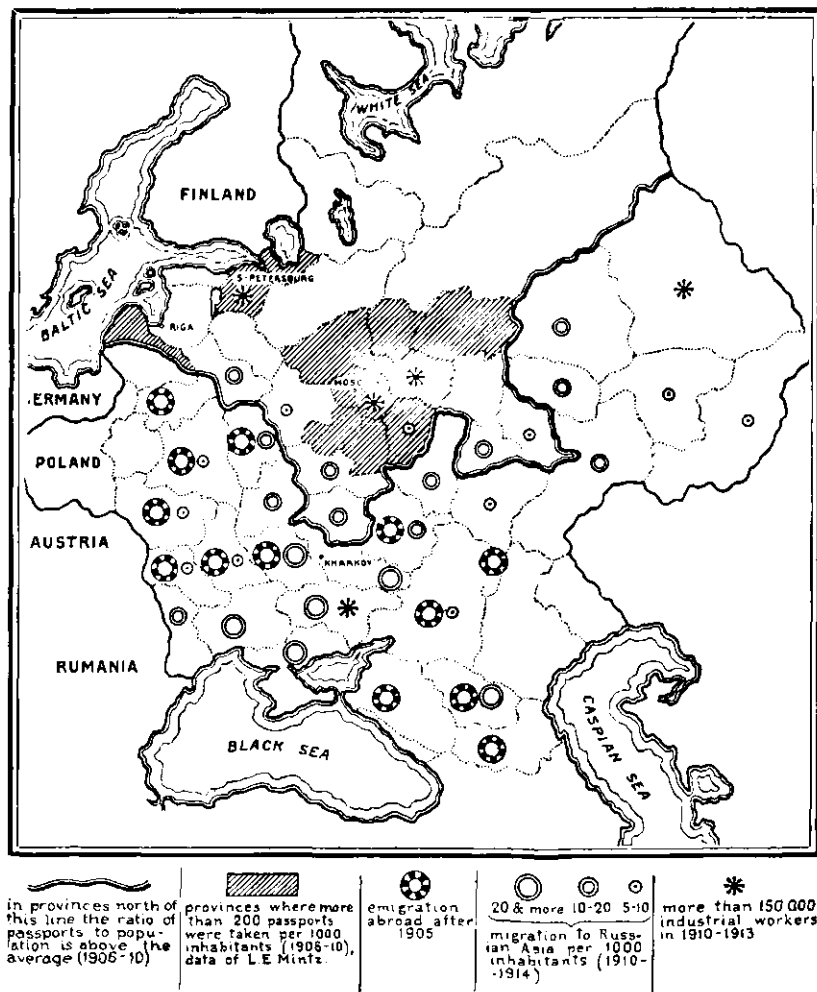
An analysis of the available data about agrarian conditions in these Black-earth Central provinces shows that a large number of peasants suffered from a shortage of land and, having no adequate supplementary earnings, faced complete destitution. This explains their impulse to migrate, especially in localities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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

IMMIGRATION INTO THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

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

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

In the first and second periods immigration was more than

TABLE 254.
DEPARTURE OF RUSSIANS AND ARRIVAL OF FOREIGNERS, 1828-1915.
(In Thousands)

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

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

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

TABLE 255.
NET IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGNERS INTO RUSSIA, 1828-1915.
(In Thousands)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 256

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

(In Thousands and Per Cent)

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

^aEach less than 0.5 per cent, altogether 1.7 per cent.^bIncluding the negative balance of 1,365 persons from Khiva and Bokhara.

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

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

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

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

TABLE 257.

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

(In Thousands)

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

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

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

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

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

POST-WAR AND ASIATIC MIGRATION

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

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

TABLE 258.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 259.

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

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

*Not including children.

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

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

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

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

TABLE 260.

MOVEMENT OF FOREIGNERS ACROSS SOVIET FRONTIERS, 1921-26.

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

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

TABLE 261.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 262.

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

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

*Including: Austria 7,100, Czechoslovakia 3,500, Hungary 1,900.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 263.

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

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

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

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

Whence came these migrants? Table 264 gives the answer.

TABLE 264.

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

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

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

TABLE 265.

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

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

The flow to the Far East steadily increased.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER XVIII

CRITIQUE OF THE OFFICIAL STATISTICS OF MEXICAN MIGRATION TO AND FROM THE UNITED STATES.¹

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[An effort was made to secure a chapter by a Mexican scholar upon Mexican migration statistics, but without success. The following section by an American scholar, which is included as a substitute, shows how inadequate the present statistical basis for such a chapter is and will indicate one reason why the more ambitious attempt failed.

This section is a condensation of a longer critique published in full, with the Editor's cordial approval, in Dr. Taylor's *Mexican Labor in The United States: Migration Statistics* (see Univ. Calif. Publ. Econ., Vol. 6, pp. 237-255, August 1929). With this discussion by Professor Taylor compare Manuel Gamio's *Mexican Migration to the United States* (1930) Chapter I: "Number of Mexican Immigrants in the United States."—Ed.]

The attempt to establish figures measuring the actual movement of Mexicans between Mexico and the United States is beset with difficulties. The following critique aims to analyze the data, to point out how they might be misunderstood, and to indicate of what use they are.

The Racial Background.

During three centuries of Spanish rule over Mexico only about 300,000 Spanish immigrants arrived and practically no other Europeans. The great majority of these 300,000 were men, many of whom married Indian women. The racial composition of the Mexican population about a century ago is shown in Table 266 (p. 582).

The three estimates show discrepancies too great to be credible. Nevertheless, they do give an approximation to the facts and constitute the best available data. The present racial composition is given in Table 267 (p. 582).

Comparison of the two tables shows that during the nineteenth century the proportion of mestizos increased markedly at the expense of both Indians and whites.² Among mestizos as a class, the proportion of Indian blood is greater than the proportion of white blood. Addition to the white stock from outside sources is small;

¹[Migration statistics for years between 1909 and 1924 will also be found in *International Migrations*, Volume I, pp. 234ff, 271ff, 285, and 501-5.—Ed.]

²The number of pure whites probably is even smaller than the census figures indicate. Gruening, in *Mexico and its Heritage*, p. 70, estimates that they do not exceed 500,000.

TABLE 266.

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF MEXICO IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.¹

Race	1803 ^a		1805 ^b		1810 ^c	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Whites.....	1,095,000	23.7	1,000,000	18	1,097,928	18
Mestizos ^d	1,231,000	25.4	2,000,000	38	1,338,706	22
Indians.....	2,500,000	51.7	2,500,000	44	3,676,281	60
Negroes.....	6,100	0.2	.....	..	.....	..
Total.....	4,832,100	100.0	5,500,000	100	6,122,354 ^e	100

^aA. von Humboldt, *Versuch über den politischen Zustand des Königreichs Neu-Spanien*, Book III, chapter 8, p. 245. On p. 8 of Book III the estimated population is given as 5,837,100. The translator of the English edition (1814) tries to explain this discrepancy but is unable to offer anything entirely satisfactory even to himself; he suggests that the number of mestizos probably is understated.

^bD. Valentín Gama, quoted by Hajar y Haro, *La colonización rural en Mexico*, p. 142, cited by Gruening, *op. cit.* p. 69.

^cD. Francisco Navarro y Noriega, *Memoria sobre la población de Nueva-España*, (Mejico, 1814), and *Semanario político y literario de la Nueva-España*, numero 20, p. 94, cited in the Spanish edition of 1836 (Paris), Book II, chapter 4, p. 128, in an addendum.

^dIn this table "Mestizos" includes persons of mixed blood of any races.

^eTotal includes 4,229 secular ecclesiastics, 3,112 regular ecclesiastics, and 2,089 monks.

TABLE 267.

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE NATIVE POPULATION OF MEXICO, 1921.^a

Race	Numbers	Per Cent
Whites.....	1,404,718	9.8
Mestizos.....	8,504,561	59.3
Indian.....	4,179,449	29.2
Others (or unknown).....	144,094	1.0
Foreign-born, without racial distinction.....	101,958	0.7
Total.....	14,334,780	100.0

^aDepartment de la Estadística Nacional, *Resumen del censo general de habitantes de 30 de noviembre de 1921* (Mexico, 1928), p. 62.

¹These figures are for New Spain; but the population estimated by Humboldt in 1803 to be living in territory outside of present Mexico amounted to less than one per cent.

only 0.75 per cent of the population in 1921 was foreign born, and one-fifth of those were Asiatics. In the nineteenth century the population of Mexico became racially less European and more Indian. Of the persons of foreign birth and presumably of the white race only about 30 per cent were females. This low proportion diminishes the chances of maintaining a pure white stock.

The number of Negroes in Mexico probably never was large. Humboldt estimated them in 1803 as only 6,100, and from one of his statements it may be inferred that they were intermingled in perhaps 150,000 of those listed in Table 266 as mestizos. The Negroes are mainly the descendants of slaves imported prior to emancipation in 1821. Most of them live in the hot lands on the east coast, a region from which few Mexicans come to the United States. Some, however, have migrated to the interior of Mexico, and even to the mines of Sonora in the northwest. Through their intermixture with the Indians, Negroes in Mexico have almost disappeared as a separate group.

Official Statistics of the Twentieth Century.

Official statistics of migration between the United States and Mexico have been published by both countries since 1910,¹ and are often used erroneously to indicate the amount of the movement of Mexicans between the United States and Mexico, and the number of Mexicans in the United States in inter-censal or post-censal years. These figures are reproduced in Table 268 (p. 584).

*The American figures.*² The rules of statistical classification of the American Bureau of Immigration were developed to record migration through seaports. Mexican migration is mainly overland. There are administrative difficulties which make it impossible to record migration overland as completely as migration through seaports; there are antiquated rules, some of which exclude from the statistics a type of migrant overland who would be included if he passed through a seaport; fiscal or other technical considerations are given weight; there have been changes in the rules, a lack of uniformity in the practice at different posts, and rules which place in the same statistical group classes which do not belong together.

¹Complete United States data are available since 1908. [See Volume I, p. 384-393, Tables II and III, and following tables.—Ed.]

²[The adjective "American" is used here, as throughout this volume, sometimes to mean relating to the "United States of America" and at other times to mean relating to the "Western Hemisphere." Which meaning is intended will appear from the context.—Ed.]

All these difficulties make it impossible to interpret the figures, whatever their fiscal or administrative justification may be, as a satisfactory measure of migration.

The Bureau of Immigration presents statistics of aliens admitted and departed, classified in two ways, first, according to country of last or intended future residence and secondly according to race or people. The classification by residence includes all residents of Mexico whether Mexican by race or not. No court decisions or departmental regulations define Mexican race, but in the practice of immigrant inspectors Mexican race generally means mixed European and Indian ancestry, although, as a matter

TABLE 268.

AMERICAN AND MEXICAN OFFICIAL STATISTICS OF THE MIGRATION OF MEXICANS TO AND FROM THE UNITED STATES, 1910 TO 1929.¹
North-bound migration.

Fiscal Year ended June 30	American figures			Mexican figures	
	Immigrants	Non-immigrants	Total	Calendar year	Citizens via Zona del Norte
1910	17,760	3,237	20,997	1910	24,203
1911	18,784	3,581	22,365	1911	33,384
1912	22,001	3,701	25,702	1912	55,745
1913	10,954	4,541	15,495	1913	32,826
1914	13,089	3,990	17,097	1914	7,295
1915	10,993	7,649	18,642	1915	6,113
1916	17,198	7,963	25,161	1916	40,859
1917	16,438	9,442	25,880	1917	18,089
1918	17,602	14,147	31,749	1918	33,672
1919	28,844	15,932	44,776	1919	46,080
1920	51,042	17,350	68,392	1920	50,569
1921	29,603	17,191	46,794	1921	9,165
1922	18,246	12,049	30,295	1922	33,180
1923	62,709	13,279	75,988	1923	80,793
1924	87,648	18,139	105,787	1924	57,269
1925	32,378	17,351	49,729	1925	41,759
1926	42,638	17,147	59,785	1926	56,534
1927	66,766	13,873	80,638	1927	76,398
1928	57,765	3,857	61,622	1928	65,180
1929	38,980	3,405	42,385	1929	19,123 ^a
Total 1910-29	661,438	207,824	869,262	....	788,236
Total Jan. 1920- June 30, 1929 ^b	465,484	124,929	590,413	....	489,970

¹American statistics are taken from the annual reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration and include persons admitted and departed who are of Mexican race. Mexican statistics are taken from Departamento de migración, *Boletín*, July 1927; data subsequent to the most recent publications were furnished by letter. The Mexican statistics include Mexicans who pass through the *Zona del Norte*.

TABLE 268 (Concluded)
South-bound migration.

American figures			Mexican figures		
Fiscal Year ended June 30	Immigrants	Non-immigrants	Total	Calendar year	Citizens via Zona del Norte
1910	210	973	1,183	1910	34,696
1911	319	1,485	1,804	1911	35,305
1912	325	1,820	2,145	1912	55,864
1913	910	1,883	2,793	1913	29,312
1914	1,670	2,497	4,167	1914	8,306
1915	573	2,096	2,669	1915	13,758
1916	559	2,317	2,876	1916	37,612
1917	759	1,938	2,697	1917	92,822
1918	25,084	5,607	30,691	1918	39,563
1919	17,793	8,764	26,557	1919	40,428
1920	6,412	4,742	11,154	1920	64,620
1921	5,519	2,383	7,902	1921	106,242
1922	5,770	1,730	7,500	1922	50,171
1923	2,479	1,422	3,901	1923	85,825
1924	1,878	1,694	3,572	1924	105,834
1925	2,875	1,836	4,711	1925	77,056
1926	3,158	2,179	5,337	1926	67,970
1927	2,774	8,180	10,954	1927	69,604
1928	3,873	9,198	13,071	1928	70,414
1929	7,172	3,328	10,500	1929	29,321*
Total 1910-29	90,112	66,072	156,184	....	1,114,543
Total Jan. 1920- June 30, 1929 ^b	37,414	33,398	70,812	....	727,057

*First six months only.

^bThe United States census of 1920 was taken as of January 1. The statistics of the Commissioner General of Immigration are for fiscal years July 1 to June 30. To make possible separate use of figures in Table 268 covering the period since the census of 1920, the American figures for the second half of the fiscal year 1920 and the Mexican figures for the first six months of 1929 were secured by special request. The American figures for the period January 1-June 30, 1920, are as follows: Immigrants 28,751; non-immigrants 8,638; total 37,389.

of fact, pure Mexican Indians who are known to be such, are admitted under that classification.

In Table 268 the figures are for immigrants of Mexican race and so omit a small number of persons of Mexican citizenship. For the present purpose these figures are preferable to those of Mexicans "by residence" which include some who are not Mexicans by either citizenship or race, and exclude some, especially returning migrants, who are Mexicans by both citizenship and race.¹

¹The fact that under immigration rules prior to May 1, 1927, a Mexican once legally admitted to the United States, and returning after absence abroad of less than six months, was entered as from the United States, but as of Mexican race, sometimes resulted in showing more Mexican non-immigrants by race, than Mexicans whose country of last residence was Mexico.

The American data distinguish immigrants from non-immigrants, and emigrants from non-emigrants. The principal group of Mexican immigrants consists of aliens relinquishing residence in Mexico and coming to reside in the United States for at least one year. It is estimated that 95 per cent of recorded Mexican immigrants come within this definition. These immigrants constitute approximately the permanent additions to the American population, "permanent" being defined arbitrarily as residing one year or more. In fact, many of these Mexican "permanent" immigrants return frequently to Mexico and come again to the United States, and are very slow to give up the idea that Mexico is their home.

The "non-immigrants" in the statistics constitute a miscellaneous group. Most of them are (1) persons admitted temporarily who failed to present proof of departure within the time limit allotted to them; or (2) persons entering the United States in transit, and departing at a seaport; or (3) persons previously legally admitted and returning after an absence of less than six months, but held for some reason for a board of special inquiry to determine their re-admissibility. It is important to note that prior to May 1, 1927, at most ports the last group—viz., those previously admitted and returning after an absence of less than six months—were entered in statistics regardless of whether they were or were not examined by a board of special inquiry. As this group includes a large number of Mexicans who seasonally re-visit Mexico and then return to the United States, the effect of this change in the rule is very great. It is the chief factor in explaining the sharp drop of non-immigrants of Mexican race from 13,873 in 1927 to 3,857 in 1928.

Emigrants, if aliens, are such as have resided in the United States for at least one year and report their departure for a stay abroad of one year or more. Non-emigrants are reported only when departing at seaports; no record of them is kept at those land ports of entry through which most Mexicans pass and at which non-immigrants are registered. Any attempt to compare Mexican non-immigrants with American non-emigrants is thereby rendered futile.

The Mexican figures in Table 268 (p.584-5) are of Mexican citizens entering and leaving Mexico via the *Zona del Norte*, or northern border. The great majority of Mexicans migrating to and from the United States pass through this zone and for practical purposes these figures may be assumed to measure the reported movement

between the two countries. But there are several differences between the bases upon which the Mexican and the American data are compiled. The most important are as follows:

The Mexican figures include each entry and each departure of a Mexican citizen without regard to the nature of the migration, as, for example, whether it is temporary or permanent, and whether the individual has or has not previously been recorded. Practically the only exceptions to this rule are Mexicans passing through the United States in transit to another part of Mexico, and border residents who habitually make local crossings and re-crossings. The numerical differences from American practice in this respect, and in reporting immigrants "by race," are probably not very important.

But Mexicans previously admitted to the United States and returning to that country after an absence of less than 6 months have not been entered in the American statistics since May 1, 1927, unless they have been held for a board of special inquiry in which case they were entered as non-immigrants. Prior to this change of rule they were entered as non-immigrants, whether held for a board of special inquiry or not—except such as entered at some port which had followed the present practice beginning at an unknown date not earlier than January 1, 1923. These returning Mexicans, now seldom counted by the United States as non-immigrants and never as immigrants, form a considerable proportion of those leaving Mexico and counted by the Mexican authorities.

Visitors to the United States also, who stay less than 6 months, are counted by the Mexican authorities at both crossings of the border, while at neither are they entered in the American statistics.

The Mexican figures, then, seek to record all border crossings in either direction (except those of Mexicans in transit or of local residents at the border.) The American figures, on the other hand, classify north-bound migrants, and do not record them all in statistics, particularly since the change of rules in 1927. With reference to south-bound Mexicans, the differences are even more marked. The American authorities seek to record as emigrant aliens only those leaving for a year or more; and as non-emigrant aliens, only certain classes departing at seaports; Mexico seeks to record *all* south-bound migrants.

This analysis shows that the different bases upon which the Mexican and the American statistics are compiled render comparison impossible. A further complication is the fact that Mexican figures

are for calendar years, while American statistics are for fiscal years ending June 30.

The Statistics and Attempts to Estimate Migrations

The Mexican statistics have been used to estimate the net immigration into the United States from Mexico and so the Mexican population in the United States since 1920.¹ In none of the cases cited in the footnote is an adequate attempt made to evaluate the figures used, but no one has been bold enough to assert that the United States has "exported" Mexicans into Mexico to the number of over 237,000 during the period January 1, 1920-June 30, 1929, which is the *prima facie* conclusion from the figures. Such a conclusion is too obviously contrary to the facts to be expressed even by those who present the figures. The seasonal flow between the two countries is heavy, but there can be no doubt as to the direction of the net movement.

For the purpose in mind it is impossible to rely on the Mexican figures or on combining them with American statistics. (1) The Mexican total for north-bound Mexicans, January 1, 1920 to June 30, 1929, despite the fact that it covers all classes of migrants, is smaller by 100,443 than the corresponding American figures including both *immigrants* and *non-immigrants*. The American total for these two classes of migrants falls short of the border crossings recorded by the immigration officials since not all are entered in the statistics; *e. g.* Mexicans legally admitted to the United States and returning after an absence of less than 6 months abroad as already explained and visitors intending to stay less than 6 months. When one adds to these classes not entered in the statistics, the large number of illegal entrants, the American figures are shown to be still less complete and the smaller Mexican figures even more unsatisfactory.

(2) The American data on the southward movement are valueless for that purpose because: (a) the United States Immigration Service does not record some important classes; (b) aliens often depart surreptitiously in order to facilitate re-entry; (c) little attention is paid to Mexicans leaving the United States. But this

¹For example, *Memoria de la secretaria de relaciones exteriores de agosto de 1927 a julio de 1928*, Mexico, 1928, pp. 818 ff., p. 820; R. H. Smith, testimony in *Hearings before the Committee on immigration and naturalization*, House of Representatives, 70th Congress, 1st Sess., on H. R. 6465, H. R. 7358, H. R., 10955, H. R. 11687, pp. 373, 374; C. V. Maddux, *ibid.*, p. 617; Secretary Kellogg, testimony in *Hearings before the Senate Committee on Immigration*, 70th Congress, 1 Sess., on S. 1296, S. 1437, S. 3019, pp. 159, 172.

difficulty cannot be solved by any attempt to compare Mexican south-bound with American north-bound figures.

(3) The Mexican statistics, like those of the United States, are not of equal value for all years. The present Mexican law went into effect in November 1926, and the accompanying improvements in administration make later data of more value than the earlier. Surreptitious entry into the United States, often involving also surreptitious departure from Mexico, has been made harder. As a result of these changes the later Mexican data unlike the earlier show more Mexicans north-bound than south-bound.¹

The net additions to the permanent Mexican population in the United States have been estimated by subtracting from the sum of the non-immigrants and immigrants, the sum of the non-emigrants and emigrants, as reported by the United States.² This is incorrect for several reasons, principally because there is a large number of Mexicans who upon their first entry to the United States were counted as immigrants and when returning to the United States after a brief visit to Mexico were counted again as non-immigrants, but under American practice were not counted as emigrants or non-emigrants when leaving the United States for these same visits abroad.

The only basis for estimating the additions to the Mexican population in the United States since 1920 which the American statistics furnish is the excess of immigrants over emigrants. But this method is subject to serious limitations.

The reported number of immigrants understates the actual numbers. The success of the Immigration Service in preventing surreptitious entry has varied greatly, but the recent trend has been to increase the difficulty of such entrance. While the number reported is less than the actual number, the discrepancy in earlier post-war years was much greater than later. To be sure many who first came surreptitiously have been obliged, upon recent re-entry to register. The recent increase in effectiveness of the Immigration Service is further shown by the fact that many who had succeeded in entering the United States surreptitiously and were living there, have sought or been obliged to make their residence secure by compliance with the immigration law. The Department of State reports for the period July-October 1929, inclusive, that of 6,265

¹In 1921, as the Mexican statistics indicate, more Mexicans returned to Mexico than entered the United States. This was because of the business depression in that year.

²This is done, for example, in one of the estimates presented in *Memoria de la secretaria de relaciones exteriores*, p. 819.

visas granted Mexicans 1300, or 20 per cent, were of this class.¹ Estimates of the number of illegal entries are little more than guesses; for the entire period since 1920, however, the balance of unreported entries must be large.

On the other hand, departing aliens are very inadequately reported. For present purposes, however, it is only the unreported Mexicans departing permanently who are important.

An additional source of error lies in the fact that even in the classification of *immigrants*, there is double counting. That this may reach serious proportions is indicated by a study of admissions at El Paso during the months of December 1927 and April 1928 which revealed that 14.9 per cent of those listed as *immigrants* during these two months had previously been listed as *immigrants*.

The illegal entries tend to make an estimate of Mexican population in the United States based upon the excess of immigrants over emigrants too low. The inadequate reporting of Mexican emigrants departing permanently, and the double counting of persons admitted as immigrants tend to make such an estimate too high. The two defects are compensating. However, judging from observation and inquiries at the Mexican border and in the interior of the United States, the writer believes that the number of illegal entries since 1920 very much exceeds the total of the number of immigrants counted twice and the number of unreported permanent departures. Estimating the Mexican population of the United States on June 30, 1929, upon the basis of the census of 1920, and the excess of immigrants over emigrants, as annually reported by the Commissioner General of Immigration, we have the following figures:

Immigrants, January 1, 1920 to June 30, 1929,	465,484
Emigrants, same period,	37,414

Excess of immigrants,	428,070
Persons in United States on January 1, 1920, who were born in Mexico,	486,418

Estimated number of persons in United States on June 30, 1929, who were born in Mexico,	914,488
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The writer believes this estimate to be well within the truth, but just how much below the truth it is he has no means of ascertaining.

¹*United States Daily*, December 11, 1929.

CHAPTER XIX

INDIAN MIGRATION.¹

By

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This analysis and interpretation of the statistics of migration from British India and its dependencies to other parts of the world aims to get at the truth on a controversial subject through the eminently non-political method of statistics. While the author is indebted to the Government of India for much assistance in its preparation, the chapter is unofficial and for the views expressed in it the author alone is responsible.

At the start, it is necessary to envisage the problem by setting forth, from the best available sources, the number of Indians enumerated abroad. For some countries the statistics are incomplete. Where possible the census of the country concerned has been used. The figures refer generally to 1921, or a subsequent year. According to Table 269 (p. 592) there are 2,795,000 Indians abroad, including those born in India or of Indian extraction. More than four-fifths are Hindus, and about half of the remainder are Mohammedans. This number is less than 1 per cent of the 318,942,480 Indians in India—a large population crowded into an area about half the size of Europe.

In Ceylon the population of Indian extraction is 1,405,000 or 31 per cent, and of Indians born in India 635,000 or 14 per cent of the total population of that island. Ceylon Tamils have been domiciled in Ceylon for centuries; Indian Tamils have arrived recently from India for labor on tea, rubber, and other estates. The Ceylon Labor Commission recruits only for estates and therefore practically all who emigrate to the island through its agency are agriculturists. Malaya stands next to Ceylon with 472,000 Indians. The Indian population in Malaya in 1921 had increased 76 per cent over the census figure of 267,000 in 1911.² Unskilled

¹[See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pp. 140-148; 230ff.; 240-260; 296-309; 900-9; 911; 913; 915.—Ed.]

²*Annual Report, Agent of the Government of India in British Malaya for 1925.*

labor under the Emigration Act (Act No. VII) of 1922 may emigrate lawfully from India only to Ceylon and to Malaya. Skilled labor may emigrate under certain safeguards to any country. In some colonies the number of Indians born in India is not great, but there is often permanent colonization. In East Africa there is a considerable number of Indian traders. Thus Sir Benjamin Robertson, in a report on the proposed settlement of Indian agriculturists

TABLE 269.

ASIATIC INDIANS RESIDENT ABROAD IN 1921, OR IN LATER YEARS.
(In Thousands)

<i>Ceylon</i>		<i>Scotland</i>	8
Indian Tamils.....	603	<i>East Africa</i>	
Indian Mohammedans.....	33	Kenya.....	23
Ceylon Tamils.....	517	Tanganyika.....	15
Ceylon Mohammedans.....	252	Uganda.....	10
<i>Total</i>	1,405	Zanzibar.....	13
<i>Malaya</i>		Rhodesia.....	4
Straits Settlements.....	105	Nyassaland.....	0.6
Malay States.....	367	<i>Total</i>	65
<i>Total</i>	472	<i>Fiji</i>	61
<i>Mauritius</i>	266	<i>United States of America</i>	5
<i>South Africa</i>		<i>Australian Commonwealth</i> ... 2*	
Cape Province.....	6	<i>New Zealand</i>	2
Natal.....	141	<i>Hongkong</i>	1
Transvaal.....	13	<i>Canada</i>	1.2 ^{ab}
Orange Free State.....	0.1	<i>Egypt</i>	1
<i>Total</i>	161	<i>Japan</i>	0.2
<i>West Indies</i>			
Trinidad.....	125		
Jamaica.....	20		
Saint Lucia.....	2		
<i>Total</i>	147		
<i>British Guiana</i>	125		
<i>England and Wales</i>	74	<i>Grand Total</i>	2,795,000

*Approximate.

^bIncludes 1100 Sikhs, mostly in British Columbia.

in Tanganyika, says:¹ "Indian traders... have penetrated to every corner of the country and practically monopolize the retail trade. The retail dealers are largely supplied by Indian merchants." For reasons explained below, Indian opinion is much interested in the question of the treatment of Indians abroad, especially in South Africa, East Africa, and Fiji.

Scope of the Statistical Tables.

The statistical tables in Volume I unfortunately are incomplete so far as India and Ceylon are concerned. They do not include all those who emigrated or immigrated during a year. They refer in the main to indentured or unskilled labor, except for 1923 and 1924, years for which more detailed data are available about certain countries.² Moreover, even for unskilled labor, statistics are not in all cases available back to the years in which emigration actually began. Emigration to Mauritius began as early as 1819, it is said, and certainly between 1826 and 1830.³ In 1834, following the abolition of slavery in the previous year throughout the British Empire, emigration from India to Mauritius started on a large scale. Calcutta sent 7000 emigrants there between 1834 and 1837.⁴ These years, however, do not appear in the tables, probably because the records are inaccessible. These are cautions that must be clearly remembered as one's eye runs down the columns.

Again, it is very difficult to define an emigrant or an immigrant. For example, should British or Americans arriving in India for government or private service through long periods or periods of only a few years' duration, be included? As pointed out in the *Reports on Legislation concerning the Movement of Labor and Migration in General*, there is no uniformity in usage about the terms "emigrant" and "immigrant." The present impossibility of reconciling the various points of view was clearly brought out at the discussions of the International Conference on Emigration and Immigration held at Rome in 1924, when the section instructed to draw up an international definition was unable, after prolonged efforts, to produce anything but a very incomplete text. It was finally recognized

¹India Commerce Dep't. Resolution No. 2477d (18 Mar. 1921).

²(See Volume I, pp. 906 f., Tables V and VII.—Ed.)

³"Emigrant," *Indian Emigration*, p. 7. Most of the despatches on which the text of this Chapter is based, have not been published, although quoted by "Emigrant" in his work. The writer must, therefore, refer to his pages and not to the original documents.

⁴*Indian Emigration*, p. 7.

that the term "migration" really covered two distinct phenomena, which had to be taken into account in the definition proposed by the Conference. These were: first, migration for the purpose of settlement, consisting in settlement in another country for a long period (generally permanent); and, secondly, the international exchange of labor, a temporary and fluctuating phenomenon which follows the oscillations in the international labor market.¹

Europeans and Americans are excluded from the tables. At the last census (1921) the number of persons resident in India who were born outside India was only 604,000, of whom 274,000 were born in Nepal, 116,000 in the British Isles, 108,000 in China, and 48,000 in Afghanistan. The number who came from European countries other than the British Isles was 5,000. The figures for the British Isles include the European army in India. The number of males decreased from 103,000 in the 1911 census to 93,000, while females increased from 19,000 to 23,000. Americans (3,000) and Australians (2,000) had increased considerably at the census of 1921, while the number of Germans was 247, as against 2,000 in 1911. Thus it appears that the tables in Volume I do not include the entire migration to or from India, as Europeans, Americans, and Australasians are omitted.

Moreover, those tables do not include the movements across the land frontiers of India, extending for 6000 miles. We know of the existence of a casual movement of population between India and China, Nepal, Afghanistan, and Persia. There is, for example, a considerable movement over the frontier between Burma, China and Siam, just as there is between British territory and native states in India itself, a migration that is not recorded. The migration across the northwest frontier is of especial interest. Probably no country in the world, it is said by the Census Superintendent of Baluchistan, apart from exclusively nomadic regions such as central Arabia, has so much nomadism as Baluchistan:²

Its people seem indeed to have discovered the secret of perpetual motion. The autumn and spring are—as all over the world—the two seasons for migration, in the former towards the plains, in the latter towards the highlands... Even the agriculturists often occupy their so-called permanent villages for certain periods only and return to tent life as soon as the season permits... In 1911, of the total indigenous population, only 54 per cent passed their life permanently under roof; 13 per cent used both roof and tent, while 33 per cent were nomads pure and simple. Similar figures for this decade are 60, 18, and 22.

¹International Economic Conference, Geneva, July 4, 1927, Report C. E. 12.

²*Census of India*, IV, p. 35.

From Afghanistan in the last twenty years there has been a steady decrease of immigrants into India. The immigration from Afghanistan into the Northwest Frontier Province is divided into four streams and is temporary in character, viz.: (1) the carriers who pass in caravans through the Khyber Pass twice a week under the protection of the Khyber Rifles. They move between Kabul and Peshawar; (2) Afghan laborers who immigrate especially to Peshawar for the winter to work; (3) warrior traders (powindah) almost wholly engaged in the carrying trade between India and Afghanistan.¹

They assemble every autumn in the plains east of Ghazni, with their families, flocks, herds and long strings of camels laden with the goods of Bokhara and Kandahar. Entering the Dera Ismail Khan district they leave their families, flocks, and a considerable proportion of their fighting men in the great grazing grounds which lie on either side of the Indus, and while some wander off in search of employment, others pass on with their merchandise by railway to Multan, Rajputana, Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi, Cawnpore, Benares, Calcutta, and other important centers of trade.

(4) The graziers who pass the summer in the hills and in the winter search for pasture in the lowlands. The Afghan immigrants are usually accompanied by their wives, who numbered 69 per 100 males in the Northwest Frontier Province.

The history of Indian migration may conveniently be divided into three periods: (1) from the abolition of slavery and the recruiting of unskilled labor under indenture to the consolidation of the laws regarding the migration of such labor. This period extends over the 75 years, 1833-1908; (2) the dawn of a national policy, 1908-1922. In this period of 14 years indentured labor was stopped and the law of 1922 removed many of the evils of coolieism; (3) the execution of a national policy in regard to emigration. This period extends from 1922 to the present.

Period from 1833 to 1908.

In early times emigration took place from India to Ceylon, Java, and Cambodia. There were two streams of emigration to Ceylon: one was Dravidian from Orissa and the other mainly Aryan from Kathiawar. The emigration to Java took place, probably, in the seventh century from western India. Sculptures in Angkor Vat

¹*Census of India*, XIV, p. 63f.

temple near Angkor in Cambodia, depict events in the Indian classic epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Colonization, except to Ceylon, was suspended for a thousand years, only to be renewed when slavery was abolished in 1833. Shortly after the renewal of this emigration, malpractices and mortality made it necessary almost entirely to suspend emigration to Mauritius and the West Indies. Lord Brougham in 1838 quoted a circular of a firm, Messrs. Husan and Co., who, according to his lordship, "had held themselves forth to the public as accomplished man merchants, and who had bragged that in two years they could furnish to the Mauritius 5000 hill coolies at £10 a head, including passage money, provision, water, and all other stores, and an advance of six months' wages and clothing."¹ Emigration to British Guiana was stopped between 1848 and 1851, owing to excessive mortality on the voyage. In 1863 emigration to Jamaica was suspended, owing to depression and to the unsuitability of the immigrants. Emigration to Natal was stopped between 1866 and 1874 because of unsatisfactory conditions of labor.² Between 1837 and 1864, when the laws were consolidated, there were no fewer than 21 acts placed on the statute book. These acts dealt with recruiting, the care of emigrants during the voyage, the periods for which emigration was permitted, and authorized emigration to particular colonies. The Act of 1837 required emigrants to appear before magistrates at ports of embarkation, and provided that no contract was valid unless the magistrate certified that it was clearly understood by the laborer. Until the contract had been certified no vessel was to have port clearance. Suitable accommodations during the voyage were also required. In Act XXXI of 1855, which deals with emigration to Grenada, the Government of India for the first time took steps to protect its own nationals during their residence in the colony,³ and Act XIX of 1856 empowered the Government of India to suspend emigration to any colony which had not taken measures to protect emigrants on arrival or during residence, or to provide for return passage to India when the emigrant was entitled to it. The Act of 1864 was both a consolidating measure and an attempt to remedy abuses. Its chief provisions were: (1) examination by a magistrate before registration and before the emigrant was taken to the port of embarkation; (2) licensing of recruiters, and fines and imprisonment for unlicensed

¹*Indian Emigration*, p. 8.

²*Indian Emigration*, p. 9.

³[For regulations and statistics of emigration to the West Indies colonies see also Volume I, pp. 141, and 143 f., 506 ff., 514, Table III, ff.—Ed.]

recruiting and recruiting under false pretenses; (3) licensing of the depots at ports which were to be inspected; (4) appointment of a medical officer for every place to which emigration was permitted; (5) definition of the duties of the Protector of Emigrants; and (6) authorization by Government of emigration to any new colony, subject to the provisions of the act. The act of 1883 introduced a more uniform registration procedure, made registration more careful and subject to greater supervision. Act XVII of 1908 consolidated the previous laws, but did not change the attitude of the Government towards migration.

During this period the emigrants were: (1) unskilled laborers under indenture, as in Mauritius, the West Indies and Natal, or under a special system of recruiting, such as was adopted in Ceylon and Malaya. The system of indenture brought many troubles in its train and was abolished in 1917; (2) skilled laborers and persons belonging to the trading, clerical, and professional classes. Emigration of this class has usually followed the emigration of unskilled labor, because the ex-indentured laborers and their descendants form themselves into communities abroad and are Indians in various walks of life who may not be described indiscriminately as coolies or laborers.

Under the system of indenture the laborer was bound to the master since, in consideration of the cost of his passage and a wage, he undertook to engage himself for a fixed period, which varied from one month to five years, according to the colony. On the expiration of this period the laborer could renew his contract; or settle in the country and work as he pleased; or, after 1857 (except in Mauritius), return to his home at the expense of the colony which had imported him. The employer tried, in short, to secure a sufficient supply of labor at a minimum cost for a maximum period. *Laissez-faire* up to 1908, discouraged the fixing of the minimum wage or, as in Fiji and elsewhere, of the ratio of the sexes among emigrants, the absence of a proper ratio leading, of course, to crime and immorality. One writer states:¹

The defects of indenture were many. They were inherent in the system. So far as protection of the emigrant in the land of his adoption was concerned, its effectiveness depended in a large measure, if not entirely, on the good will of its government, the active co-operation of the officials specially charged with the administration of the labor laws, and the force of public opinion. As Mr. (now Sir) Courtenay Ilbert admit-

¹*Indian Emigration*, p. 13 f.

ted in Council in 1883, the only weapon in the hands of the Government of India to safeguard Indian interests was the weapon of persuasion. The removal of other evils, whether moral or economic, was equally beset with formidable difficulties. . . . Indenture has now been abolished . . . Its practical importance to us lies only in the problems which it has bequeathed.

Period from 1908 to 1922.

The second period brought the dawn of a national policy which (a) abolished indentured labor of emigrants; (b) passed the Act of 1922 (Act VII); and (c) ventilated Indian grievances in regard to emigration before the Imperial Conference. Educated public opinion in India was awakened, especially to the iniquities of the indenture system.

"It is needless to draw your Lordship's attention," wrote the Government of India in 1908 to the Secretary of State for India in London, "to the serious crisis with which we are now faced in, at any rate, one portion of the Empire, owing to the methods of self-governing colonies in dealing with the status and rights of British Indians whom they had allowed, if not actually encouraged, to settle within their borders. It is impossible for us to disregard the fact that the history of the anti-Asiatic legislation in Natal and the Transvaal may at any time be repeated in others of the Crown Colonies. . . . Indian settlers lived and traded in British East Africa long before the days of British rule, and their status in the country and their claims to political recognition are such that they cannot be overlooked. We believe, however, that these claims are not regarded with favor by the white colonists, that the Indians as a whole are disliked by them."

In February, 1910, in the Indian Legislative Council, the late G. K. Gokhale of the Servants of India Society moved the following resolution: "That this Council recommends that the Governor-General in Council should be empowered to prohibit the recruitment of indentured labour in India for the Colony of Natal." The object of the resolution was to improve the lot of free Indians in South Africa, whose presence was regarded with alarm by the whites. The Government of India accepted the resolution and emigration was stopped in the following year. Two years later Mr. Gokhale moved the "prohibition of recruitment of Indian labourers under contract of indenture, whether for employment at home or in any British colony." Every one of the 22 Indian members present voted in favor of the resolution, but it failed of passage. In 1915 the Government of India informed the Secretary of State that "the time has come for His Majesty's Government to assent to a total abolition of the system of indentured Indian labour in the four

British colonies where it still prevails, and in Surinam." This was agreed to on March 20, 1915, the Defence of India Act stopped it, and the prohibition received further legislative sanction by the Emigration Act of 1922.¹

This Act is an important landmark in the history of Indian migration. Organized emigration of unskilled labor can now be controlled by the legislature. A standing emigration committee, composed of 12 members of the Indian Legislature, 8 of whom are members of the Legislative Assembly and four of the Council of State, advises the Government of India on all major emigration questions. The fact that the consent of the elected legislature is necessary to the existence of Indian emigration has exercised a liberalizing influence upon colonies which require Indian labor.

Public opinion in India on the status of Indians overseas, has crystallized and after the World War that country, realizing her importance in the British Commonwealth, felt that the treatment accorded to Indians in some parts of the Empire was not such as was fitting for a country the destiny of which under the Government of India Act of 1919 was dominion status. Its chief grievances are that in some portions of the British Commonwealth India's nationals are placed in a position of inferiority in regard to the franchise and the conditions under which they can immigrate and obtain and retain domicile; and that in some parts of Africa their rights to hold land, to enjoy trading facilities and to escape from compulsory

¹Section 10 of Chapter III of the Emigration Act reads: (1) Emigration, for the purpose of unskilled work, shall not be lawful except to such countries and on such terms and conditions as the Governor General in Council, by notification in the Gazette of India, may specify in this behalf.

(2) No notification shall be made under subsection (1) unless it has been laid in draft before both Chambers of the Indian Legislature and has been approved by a resolution of each Chamber, either without modification or addition, or with modifications and additions to which both Chambers agree, but, upon such approval being given, the notification may be issued in the form in which it has been so approved.

Section 11 gives the Governor General power to suspend the emigration of unskilled workers and to revoke such prohibition.

Chapter IV deals with the emigration of skilled labor and provides, in Section 16 (1), that "whoever desires to engage, or to assist, any person to emigrate for the purpose of skilled work shall apply for the permission of the local government having jurisdiction at the port from which such person is to depart, and shall state in his application: (a) the number of persons whom he proposes so to engage or assist; (b) the place beyond the limits of India to which each such person and his dependents are to proceed; (c) the accommodation to be provided for each such person and his dependents until their departure out of India and during the voyage." Information has also to be supplied in regard to the provision for the health and well-being of such person, the terms of the agreement under which such person is to be engaged, and the security in British India which he proposes to furnish for the due observance of such agreement, and for the proper treatment of the person to be engaged and his dependents. The local government may give the permission or withhold it, as it thinks fit, and its decision is final. The Protector of Emigrants has to see such persons who are engaged and their dependents (Section 18).

segregation are restricted. There is, it is clear, a distinction between the position of the self-governing dominions and of the crown colonies. The dominions control their domestic affairs, and are themselves responsible for the treatment of Indians within their confines. It is otherwise with the colonies, and Indian Nationalist opinion regards the mother country as the final arbiter of these grievances.

It was in circumstances such as these that the matter was brought before the Imperial War Conference of 1918. The whole question of the position of Indians overseas assumed vital importance in the public life of the country. That Conference passed what is known as the Reciprocity Resolution,¹ affirming the right of each community of the Commonwealth to control, by immigration restrictions, the composition of its own population. The resolution recommended that facilities should be given to Indians for visits and temporary residence; that domiciled Indians should be permitted to import their wives and minor children "on condition (1) that no more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each Indian, and (2) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful wife or child of such Indian." The resolution also recommended early consideration of the removal of the civic and social disabilities to which Indians were subjected overseas. Some adversely criticized this resolution, because it surrenders the rights of Imperial citizenship. This concept of Imperial citizenship has no legal significance, and the resolution merely accepts what was already in being. At the Imperial Conference of 1921 India's representatives secured the adoption of a Resolution favoring equality of citizenship for Indians who were lawfully settled in the Dominions.²

The last sentence of this resolution was an achievement. An important step was taken at the conference by permitting India to negotiate direct with South Africa, thereby making it certain that

¹Imperial War Conference, 1918 (Cd. 9177). Resolution XXI.

²The resolution agreed to—the South African delegates dissenting—read as follows: The Conference, while re-affirming the Resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1918 that each community of the British Commonwealth should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities, recognises that there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal partner of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire. The Conference accordingly is of the opinion that in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth, it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognized.—(Cmd 1474-1921-Conference of Prime Ministers and Representatives of the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and India, held in June, July, and August, 1921. *Summary of Proceedings and Documents.*)

India's case would be presented with the greatest possible force. The representatives of South Africa were unable to accept the resolution "in view of the exceptional circumstances of the greater part of the Union." It was also informally agreed that a deputation from India should visit Canada, New Zealand, and Australia to consult with the Governments of these dominions with a view to giving effect to the resolution of the conference.

In South Africa in 1921 there were 161,000 Indian residents, of whom 141,000 were in Natal, 13,000 in the Transvaal, and 6,500 in the Cape Province. The number in the Orange River Colony, which excluded Asiatics at an early period, was about one hundred and no difficulties arise there. The same may be said of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope where Cecil Rhodes' policy of "equal rights for every civilized man" prevails. In the Transvaal Indians are politically helpless.¹ The Dutch aim is revealed by the language of the Grondwet of 1883, "that there shall be no equality between the white and the non-white." A thoughtful writer described it thus:²

The cumulative testimony of anti-Asiatic legislation makes it difficult to resist the inference that economic differences alone do not account for this persistent hostility. . . . A little reflection will reveal that the historical circumstances of this region have a sinister peculiarity. The memories of a struggle for existence, accompanied by all the brutalities of uncivilized warfare, have left a lasting legacy of hatred and fear. Those who are familiar with the early history of Dutch colonisation in South Africa will find it easy to understand this attitude. Re-inforced by the fear of economic competition, the prejudice against non-white peoples becomes hard and tenacious.

In the Province of the Cape of Good Hope and in the Transvaal the Indians are petty traders, except in a few cases in the larger towns where they carry on wholesale business; in Natal they are almost entirely indentured laborers or the descendants of such, and are engaged in gardening or small-scale farming. In Natal, where Indians possess the municipal franchise, their position was assailed in 1920 by a commission appointed to inquire into the question of Asiatics trading and holding land in the several provinces of South Africa. Sir Benjamin Robertson, an experienced officer, put the Indian case before the commission. The commission declined to recommend compulsory segregation, but favored the retention of a law prohibiting Asiatics from owning land in the Transvaal. It believed that in future Natal Indians should not be allowed to

¹"India" in 1922-23, p. 5.

²*Indian Emigration*, p. 117.

acquire land in the upland region of Natal. The spokesman of the Natal Agricultural Union held that "the Indians who are already beginning to invade the highlands may one day swamp the European element there." The Union Government, however, rejected this recommendation. Two ordinances introduced shortly afterwards in Natal, and likely to endanger further the position of Indians, were vetoed by His Excellency the Governor General of South Africa. In March, 1922, feeling in India was so stirred that a deputation of members of the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly, and the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay, together with delegates of the Transvaal British Indian Association and of the Natal Indian Congress, waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy of India (Lord Reading), who said:¹

I note with pleasure your statement that the domiciled Indian community in South Africa desire to progress in education and are determined to prove themselves in all respects as deserving as the Europeans of the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship. This, I am confident, is a true avenue of advance. The British citizen, in whatever part of the world he may be, has a strong sense of fair play; and I feel sure that when he finds his Indian fellow-citizens in the Union steadfastly proving themselves by their conduct useful and loyal members of the body politic, he will not persist in withholding from them the status which they justly claim. I am glad that you recognise that it is to the Union Government that Indians must look for the redress of their grievances. While we are determined to do whatever lies in our power to forward the reasonable aspirations of Indians domiciled in the self-governing Dominions, and to press constantly and consistently for the recognition and application of the broad principles of equal citizenship for which we contend, we are sure that you will agree that we must respect the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of the self-governing Dominions, and that any interference which might seem to infringe this principle would not be conducive to the good of the Indian community.

Period from 1922 to 1927

The latest period is one of execution. The policy framed in the previous period has been or is being carried into operation. Thus, following a resolution of the Imperial Conference, a deputation visited the dominions other than South Africa in 1922. After the meeting of the Imperial Conference of 1923 a Colonies Committee met in London in 1924 and consulted with the Imperial Government especially in regard to Indians in East Africa. The control of emigration of unskilled labor and its complete stoppage, except to

¹"India" in 1922-23, p. 6 ff.

Ceylon and Malaya, and the difficult but satisfactory negotiations with the Government of the Union of South Africa are, perhaps, the main features of this period.

In May, 1922, the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, accompanied by Mr. G. S. Bajpai as private secretary, left for Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, after the Dominion Governments had officially endorsed the proposal of the Imperial Conference that as soon as possible after the termination of the Imperial Conference of 1921 a deputation should visit the governments of the dominions concerned to give effect to the resolution recognizing the rights of Indians lawfully domiciled there. Mr. Sastri, in addition to his primary duty of implementing the resolution, was instructed generally to examine any other disabilities of Indians in the three dominions and to ask the authorities to remove them.

In Australia he found the disabilities small and unimportant. An Indian cannot be an elector for the Senate or the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth unless he has the vote in his state for the House of Parliament of that state. In Western Australia and Queensland Indians are disqualified, owing to the fact that in the former they can not be registered as electors for the Legislative Assembly while in Queensland they are disqualified from membership in the Legislative Assembly and from voting at Assembly elections. Like other Asiatics, they are disqualified in the Commonwealth from obtaining leases of land in certain irrigated and reclaimed areas. In regard to employment and occupation they are under some disadvantages; *e. g.* bounties paid under the Bounties Act can be paid only for goods grown or produced by white labor, while in Queensland certain acts prohibit the employment in some occupations of persons who have not passed an educational test which in practice excludes Asiatics. There are also some disabilities about invalid and old-age pensions and in the administration of passports. The Commonwealth and Western Australia Governments promised sympathetic consideration regarding the franchise, while Queensland awaited the lead of the Commonwealth Government. In South Australia the Government decided to remove the only disability from which the Indians suffer in that state by amending its Irrigation and Reclaimed Lands Act. The Commonwealth Government has given an assurance that steps will be taken to enable Indians in Australia to participate in old-age pensions equally with other citizens. In regard to passports, Mr. Sastri thought that local governments in India should see that the

Australian requirements are complied with by persons proceeding to Australia.

In New Zealand there are no disabilities, except in regard to old-age pensions, and the New Zealand Government has promised to give sympathetic consideration to Indian representations when the act is revised. Mr. Sastri's negotiations in regard to passports were successful. The limitation on the number of passports to be issued by the Government of India annually in accordance with the New Zealand Immigration Restriction (Amendment) Act of 1921 was withdrawn, and the Government of New Zealand agreed that such permits will in every necessary case be extended to enable the visitor to complete the purpose of his visit. The New Zealand Government also agreed to amend the regulations providing that Indians lawfully resident in New Zealand can leave the country only for four years without loss of domicile, if it is found that the time fixed can be safely extended with due regard to the prevention of fraudulent use of the old certificate.

In Canada the Prime Minister said, that in regard to the federal franchise for such Indians as do not possess it, Parliament would be requested to give Dominion Parliamentary franchise to Indians in Canada on terms and conditions identical with Canadian citizens generally. Regarding the provincial and municipal franchise in British Columbia, Mr. Sastri found difficulties on account of the economic rivalry between the white and the non-white races, "in which, while Indians do not share to any appreciable extent, popular prejudice is deeply involved." The Government of Canada promised to look into grievances, such as the difficulty of education for children, and also to administer with sympathy the rule regarding the entry of wives and children of resident Indians under the Reciprocity Agreement of 1918.

The increased sensitiveness—a sensitiveness that is thoroughly understandable and justifiable—of Indian opinion regarding the emigration of labor, either skilled or unskilled, is seen in the attitude taken by the Government of India and the Legislature in regard to emigration to Mauritius, British Guiana and Fiji, and also in regard to affairs in East Africa. Coolieism has impaired India's national dignity in the eyes of the world. The unskilled laborer or coolie has been taken as representative of the entire population. For this reason, if for no other, the whole question of emigration requires careful control. The Government of India in its Notification No. 282 of March 22, 1923 (Emigration), in exercise of the powers

conferred by Section 10 of the Indian Emigration Act of 1922 (VII of 1922), laid down the conditions under which emigration to Mauritius for the purpose of unskilled labor would be lawful for a year. In April, 1924, the Government of Mauritius requested that this arrangement might be continued for a further period of one year, but the Government of India, in consultation with the Standing Committee on Emigration, decided that a local investigation should first be undertaken by one of its own officers. This officer reported that unskilled labor should not be sent from India to Mauritius in the immediate or near future.¹ It should be allowed only if Indian interests required it and if Indian opinion in Mauritius favored it. He recommended, among other things, better housing accommodations for laborers on estates, better medical aid in estate hospitals, the prohibition of child-labor in factories, and the introduction of a workman's compensation act.

A deputation from British Guiana arrived in India in 1924 to discuss the conditions under which emigration to that colony might be resumed. The Standing Emigration Committee of the Legislature suggested that an officer should be deputed to report, and in 1925 his report was published.² The investigations of this officer dealt with (1) the provision of suitable land for prospective settlers and existing immigrants, of financial assistance for agricultural development and of measures for improving sanitation (drainage and water supply); (2) repatriation; (3) the political and economic status of Indians since the Indian deputation had visited the colony in 1922; and (4) the sentiments of Hindu residents in regard to the cremation of the dead. He reported:

Education and medical facilities in British Guiana are superior to those in rural India. There are no caste restrictions or *purdah*, and the colonial Indian, man and woman, has a somewhat higher standard of living and is certainly more independent than his confrère in India. There are no political or economic inequalities such as exist, for instance, in South Africa, no segregation, and no restrictions on the acquisition of land.

Emigration to British Guiana on terms approved by the Standing Emigration Committee has not yet (1927) been renewed.

It is, however, in Fiji and the East African territories, so far as Crown colonies and mandated territories are concerned, that the interests of Indian emigrants have been called into question. In

¹Kunwar Maharaj Singh, *Report on his deputation to Mauritius*. P. 40.

²*Idem*. *Report on his deputation to British Guiana*.

1922 a deputation left India for Fiji to inquire locally whether these colonies were suitable for Indian settlement. The report submitted by the deputation is still under consideration. Indians in Fiji long have been dissatisfied. They have asked for better representation on the Legislative Council, for a municipal franchise based on a common electoral roll, and for a minimum wage fixed in relation to the cost of living. More recently a poll tax has been levied on all males except Fijians, and this has pressed severely on the Indian population. The Government of Fiji have, however, exempted from the tax persons having 5 dependent children under the age of 18. The Colonies Committee which assembled in London in 1924, interviewed the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the officials of the Colonial Office, and made representations affecting Indians in Fiji as well as in Kenya and the Mandated Territory of Tanganyika. Pending the settlement of the case, emigration of unskilled labor to Fiji is prohibited.

Indian sentiment, both in India and in Kenya, was much stirred by the legal discriminations against Indians in Kenya. The transfer to Indians of agricultural lands in the highlands of the colony was forbidden. The representation of the Indian population on the Legislative Council was inadequate, and it was proposed to restrict emigration. This was all the more galling because, as Winston Churchill wrote:¹

It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honorable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African countries. It is the Indian trader, who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man would go or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than anyone else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication. It was by Indian labour that the one vital railway on which everything else depends was constructed. It is the Indian banker who supplies perhaps the larger part of the capital yet available for business and enterprise, and to whom the white settlers have not hesitated to repair for financial aid. The Indian was here [in Kenya] long before the first British official. He may point to as many generations of useful industry on the coast and inland as the white settlers, especially the most recently arrived contingents from South Africa (the loudest against him of all), can count years of residence. Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man, to embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith?

¹W. Churchill, *My African Journey*, p. 49 f. Quoted by Mr. N. M. Samarth before the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Early in 1923 the Colonial Office in London discussed the terms of a settlement, and the Government of India put the case on behalf of India in the strongest possible manner. The White Paper of 1923 laid down that: (1) the interests of the African populations must be paramount; (2) the existing system of government was best calculated to achieve this aim and that the immediate grant of responsible government, which had been urged by the white settlers, was out of the question; (3) there was to be communal representation, under which the Indian community was to have five selected representatives; (4) in deference to Indian opinion the policy of segregation of Asiatics was abandoned, while the reservation of the highlands for Europeans was maintained; and (5) in regard to immigration, legislation discriminating against the entry of Indians into Kenya could not be countenanced, but some further control to protect African economic interests was needed. These decisions raised a storm of resentment. The Government of India continued to press their views through the constitutional channel open to them as a result of the Imperial Conferences of 1921 and 1923. The premiers of the four dominions other than South Africa, expressed their sympathy with Indian feelings and their desire to remove the disabilities of Indians resident within their borders. The Secretary of State for the Colonies accepted the suggestion that there should be full consultation and discussion between the Colonial Office and the Colonies Committee (see pp. 602 and 606) which was appointed by the Government of India, to examine all questions affecting British Indians domiciled in British colonies, protectorates and mandated territories.

The result of these representations was announced by Mr. Thomas in the House of Commons on August 7, 1924. On decisions (1), (2), (3), and (4), above, no change was announced. As to (5) no ordinance was to be enacted, although the Secretary of State for the Colonies reserved the right to enact an ordinance at any time, should native interests appear to be threatened by an influx of immigrants from abroad. His Majesty's Government proposed to set apart an area in the lowlands of Kenya for the immigrants from India and advised that an officer with special knowledge of Indian settlers should be sent to report on the areas offered for colonization. The Government of India has thought it inadvisable to proceed any further with this idea. The Colonies Committee's work did much to allay bitterness among the settlers in Kenya, and the Indian community abandoned non-coöperation and selected 5

members for nomination by the Governor to the Legislative Council. But the Kenya decision cannot be accepted by India as final.

The attitude taken toward Indians in Kenya was found also in certain other parts of East Africa. Trouble arose in 1923 between the Indian population of Tanganyika and the government or administration of that territory. Among mandated territories of His Majesty's government Tanganyika has the largest Indian population, and Indian interests there are important. In 1923 three ordinances were published, imposing taxes and prescribing rules for the keeping of accounts to facilitate collection. A deputation was sent by Indians in Tanganyika to the Colonial Office to draw attention to the defects of the legislation. The provision for a yearly renewal of trade licenses would put traders at the mercy of the executive. The difficulty of keeping accounts only in English, Swahili, and French was shown, and it was suggested that Gujarati be included in the list of permitted languages. The Government of India made separate representations to the India Office. The Colonial Office gave an assurance that trading licenses would be renewed as a matter of course, and by raising the limit of taxable income the small Indian trader would be relieved of the obligation to keep accounts. The true solution, as it appears to the Indian community, is to include Gujarati in the list of languages in which accounts may be kept. In 1924 a resolution was carried in the Indian Legislative Assembly that at the next Assembly of the League of Nations India's representatives should be instructed to ventilate this grievance. The Government of India indicated that it preferred to negotiate patiently with the India Office, and the Colonies Committee also took up the matter. The Governor of Tanganyika Territory appointed a committee to investigate the question of trade licenses and the possibility of raising by alternative taxation the revenue from the profits tax. Both European and Indian trading communities were represented on the committee. The provision regarding accounts has not taken effect. The position of Indians in mandated territories was discussed during the consideration of a motion by Mr. K. C. Roy for the adjournment of the Indian Legislative Assembly on August 18, 1927, to discuss the question of the appointment of the Royal Commission on East Africa, its terms of reference, and its personnel. The resolution was adopted, and the Government of India promised to do everything possible to insure the adequate representation of India by Indians on the Royal Commission on East Africa. A deputation, consisting mainly

of members of the Central Legislature, waited on the Viceroy of India on September 17 and expressed concern at the publication of the Feetham Report, which recommended drastic curtailment of Indian representation on municipal councils in Kenya. The deputation requested Lord Irwin to insure that Indians were appointed members of the Royal Commission which had recently been designated to enquire into conditions in East Africa. The Viceroy replied that the Government felt not less deeply than the deputation, and was both anxious and determined to uphold the status and honor of Indian communities in East Africa.

This is another instance showing that the treatment of Indians overseas is at present a very real issue in the eyes of educated Indian opinion. Anything which is regarded as an aspersion upon India's dignity is much resented and affects the course of domestic politics to a large degree. Speaking at the Imperial Conference of 1923 Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said:¹

Really and truly, I am fighting the cause of my country, and the premiers of the various dominions, who have in their day fought the cause of their country, will not object if I fight the cause of mine. But I do fight, let me tell you frankly, as a subject of King George, and I fight for a place in his household, and I will not be content with a place in his stables. . . Do not forget that my country, India, is the one country which makes the British Empire truly Imperial. I take pride in that. . . I do not indulge, in the slightest degree, in reflection upon the dignity or honor or position of any of the dominions, but I do claim that it is my country which makes the British Empire truly Imperial. One-fifth of the human race, with a far more ancient civilization than your own, to which eloquent reference has been made by Lord Peel, joins with you in acknowledging the suzerainty of our common throne. That allegiance with us is a living thing. Shake that allegiance, and you shake the foundations of the entire fabric, with consequences which it is difficult to overestimate.

One of the brightest pages in the interesting history of this period is the working of the Indian Emigration Act of 1922 in regard to unskilled labor. The Government of India has been able to secure, after negotiations with the Government of Ceylon, a scale of standard minimum wages, the payment of full and regular earnings within a reasonable time after they are due, the improvement of medical and sanitary arrangements, increased facilities for the proper education of children, the prohibition of the employment of children under 10 years of age, and the provision by law for the

¹*Proc. Imp. Confer.* 1923, p. 10 f.

issue of rice of a prescribed quality at a prescribed rate.¹ The emigrant may be recruited by a person licensed for the purpose and responsible to the Emigration Commissioner, or, if he applies direct at a depot for an assisted passage, by the Emigration Commissioner himself. The emigrant shall not enter into a contract of service for a period exceeding one month, and no part of the cost of his recruitment, transport, or subsistence during transport shall be recoverable from him. Within one year of his arrival he can return to India, on satisfying the Agent, on account of ill health, of the unsuitability of the work, unjust treatment, or any other sufficient reason, his repatriation being free of cost to him.² Most of the Indian labor since 1842 has been absorbed, originally for coffee raising and after 1880 for tea and rubber. In the last few years there has been a decrease in the number of emigrants to Ceylon. "The gradual decrease seems to bear out the opinion of the Agent to the Government of India in Ceylon that Ceylon is slowly reaching saturation point in absorbing Indian labour on the estates."³

The regulations for Malaya are similar to those for Ceylon.⁴ In Malaya the voluntary system of recruiting is gaining in popularity. Laborers wishing to go to Malaya independently of the *kangani*, or recruiter, appear at the nearest emigrant depot. If they are *bona fide* laborers they are sent by the Emigration Commissioner to Malaya at the cost of the Indian Immigration Fund. They are at liberty, on discharge at the port of destination, to go to any place of employment and they receive free railway tickets before they leave the immigration depot. The usual system is the *kangani* system, by which a few selected laborers are sent to India as *kanganis* by estate managers and other employers of labor who want laborers. Each *kangani* can recruit 20 adult laborers. The recruited laborers are assisted to emigrate to Malaya from the Indian Immigration Fund. The conditions of work in Malaya are similar to those in Ceylon. For example, under the Labor Code, a laborer may not be required to work for more than 9 hours a day, nor may he be asked to work for more than 6 hours continuously. Overtime is paid at the rate of one and a half times the usual rate. According to the Agent of the Government of India in British Malaya:⁵

¹Press Note, Department of Education, Health, and Lands, September 27, 1926. Cf. *Report on the Working of the Indian Emigration Act of 1922, during 1926*, p. 9 f.

²Government of India Notification No. 136, 1923.

³Government of Madras Resolution No. 1161, 1927.

⁴Government of India Notification No. 137, 1923.

⁵Annual Report for 1925.

The wages paid to Indian labourers are generally very much lower than the rates paid to the Chinese and other labourers. Indian labourers are in great demand in rubber estates by reason of the fact that they are most docile and amenable to discipline and are very cheap. There has been, however, quite recently an awakening among Indian labourers, and they have begun to demand higher wages. Chinese labourers are not so easily manageable, though it must be said to their credit that they are assiduous and hardworking and need less supervision than Indian labourers. But the Chinese have a reputation for wounding rubber trees in their desire to obtain more latex. The Chinese labourers invariably demand higher wages.

The most important events of the period 1922-27 are those relating to South Africa, where patient statesmanship on the part of the Union Government and the Government of India resulted in an agreement in 1927 which has been satisfactory to both parties. In 1923 a Natal ordinance dealing with the township franchise to the detriment of the Indian community was again held up by the Union Government. In the same year the Union Government itself introduced the "Class Areas Bill," which would have made it possible to segregate Indians compulsorily in urban areas. The bill lapsed in April, 1924, with the dissolution of the South African Assembly. In December, 1924, the Governor General gave his consent to the Natal Boroughs Ordinance, which safeguarded the rights of Indians already on the roll of boroughs, but prevented further enrollment of Indians as burgesses, which would hit the future of Indians trading and working in South Africa. In January, 1925, the Union Government decided to amend the Mines and Works Act in order to make it possible to refuse certificates of proficiency to natives or Asiatics in certain occupations. In June of the same year the Senate rejected this piece of legislation, but in the following month further anti-Asiatic legislation in the form of the "Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill" was introduced into the Union Parliament. This would have prevented the acquisition of land by Asiatics, save in certain specified areas. The Government of India in August, 1925, made representations to the Union Government regarding the proposed Natal ordinance to consolidate and amend the law relating to townships, an ordinance that would have disfranchised Indians already on the electoral roll. The Government of India was informed that the proposed ordinance was standing over until next year, and that steps would be taken to safeguard Indian voters already on the roll. In September, 1925, assent was given to the "Transvaal General

Dealers (Control) Ordinance," which regulates, controls, and restricts the future granting of licenses to Asiatics. Under this ordinance an appeal is permitted to the Supreme Court of South Africa. Early in 1925 the Government of India suggested a conference between their representatives and representatives of the Union Government to formulate an Indian policy in South Africa. The Union Government found some difficulty in agreeing and preferred to bring forward their own proposals in the form of the "Areas Reservation Bill." They agreed that India should send a deputation to South Africa to inquire into the general position of resident Indians. Mr. Paddison left India in November, 1925, and his first report reached India in January, 1926. This encouraged the Government of India to renew their suggestion for a round table conference or for a fresh enquiry before the legislation was carried further. The Union Government was unable to accept either suggestion, but offered to refer the Areas Reservation Bill to select committee before the second reading instead of after it. The Government of India accepted this, and its deputation arrived in March, 1926, to present the Indian case on broad grounds. The Indian Government again renewed the request for a Round Table Conference, and the reply of the Union Government was favorable. On April 23, 1926, the announcement simultaneously was made in both countries that the conference would take place, but that public opinion in South Africa "will not view with favor any settlement which does not hold out a reasonable prospect of safeguarding the maintenance of a Western standard of life by just and legitimate means." The Union Government, in order to insure that the conference should meet under best auspices, decided not to proceed further with the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (further Provision) Bill until the results of the conference were available.¹

The results of this conference were, on the whole, most satisfactory and may be considered under four heads: (1) A scheme of assisted emigration; (2) Entry of wives and minor children; (3) Uplift of the Indian community in South Africa; (4) The appointment of an agent.

The following is a summary of the conclusions reached.

(1) The scheme of assisted emigration or repatriation to India provides that any Indian of 16 years of age or over may avail himself

¹See *Correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of the Union of South Africa regarding the position of Indians in South Africa, 1926.*

of it and that in the case of a family the decision of the father will bind the wife and children under 16 years of age. Each person 16 years old or over will receive a bonus of £20 and each child under that age a bonus of £10. Free passages to India and free railway fares to the port of embarkation and from the port of landing in India to the destination inland in India are also provided. Arrangements have been made to meet in India the emigrants leaving the Union. Any assisted emigrant wishing to return to the Union will be allowed to do so within three years from the date of departure from South Africa.

(2) To give effect to paragraph 3 of the Reciprocity Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1918, which intended that an Indian should be enabled to live a happy family life in the country in which he is domiciled, the entry of wives and children is governed by certain principles accepted by both parties.

(3) The conclusions for the uplift of the Indian community in South Africa may be grouped under four heads:

(A) The Union Government firmly believes in and adheres to the principle that it is the duty of every civilized government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities, and accepts the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities the considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people

(B) It is difficult for the Union Government to take action which is considerably in advance of public opinion, or to ignore difficulties arising out of the constitutional system of the Union under which the functions of government are distributed between the central executive and the provincial and minor local authorities. But the Union Government is willing:

- (a) in view of the admittedly grave situation in respect to Indian education in Natal, to advise the provincial administration to appoint a provincial commission of enquiry and to obtain the assistance of an educational expert from the Government of India for the purpose of such enquiry;
- (b) to consider sympathetically the question of improving facilities for higher education by providing suitable hostel accommodations at the South African Native College at Fort Hare and otherwise improving the attractiveness of the institution for Indians;
- (c) to take special steps under the Public Health Act for an investigation into sanitary and housing conditions in and around Durban, which will include the question of (i) the appointment of advisory committees of representative In-

dians; and (ii) the limitation of the sale of municipal land subject to restrictive conditions.

(C) The principle underlying the Industrial Conciliation Act (No. 11 of 1924) and the Wages Act (No. 27 of 1925), which enables all employees including Indians to take their places on the basis of equal pay for equal work, will be adhered to.

(D) When the time for the revision of the existing trade licensing arrives, the Union Government will give all due consideration to the suggestions made by the Government of India delegation that the discretionary powers of local authorities might reasonably be limited in the following ways:

- (a) The grounds on which a license may be refused should be laid down by statute.
- (b) The reasons for which a license is refused should be recorded.
- (c) There should be a right of appeal in cases of first applications and transfers, as well as in cases of renewals, to the courts or to some other impartial tribunal.

(4) The last arrangement, important as a step towards the education of public opinion, was the appointment of an Agent. "If the Government of the Union of South Africa makes representations to the Government of India to appoint an Agent in the Union in order to secure continuous and effective coöperation between the two governments, the Government of India will be willing to consider such a request."

Mr. C. F. Andrews, who for his services in Africa on behalf of Indians was presented on August 23, 1927, with an address by the Bombay Municipal Corporation, said that three things badly wanted saying in regard to Indians in Africa. In the first place, they should live in Africa a more settled family life, and not occupy a mere business home in Africa and a family home in Bombay. They must have their wives and children with them in Africa. Secondly, he urged that the money which is being earned by Indians in Africa should be spent in Africa in order to build up the new life of the country. He instanced the Parsee Rustomjee Library in Durban, the Alladina Visram High School of Mombasa, and recently the beginning actually made for a chair of Oriental studies in Capetown University, owing to the founding of the chair by Hajee Suleman Shah Muhammed of the Memon community of Kathiawar. Thirdly, he urged the Indian community in Africa to foster in themselves and in their children a more wholehearted patriotism for their

adopted country. Only as they became good South Africans or East Africans would they win their way to the affection both of the European settlers in Africa and of the Africans themselves, for a wave of patriotism is passing over Africa just as it is passing over India, and only those who cherish that patriotism are now acceptable and accepted.

Since the agreement was reached between the countries, the legislation hitherto proposed by the Union Government has been dropped and emigrants are now returning from South Africa to their native land. This will be susceptible of statistical appraisal in succeeding years. The great and complex problem in South Africa has been assisted to a very large degree in its solution at the moment by the action of the Government of India in selecting the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., as its first Agent. As an ambassador of India, he is coming into close touch with South African problems which in the past have called for the exercise of the greatest skill and ingenuity.

(Since the preceding account was written there has been a greater appreciation of and a greater sympathy with India's point of view in the various parts of the British Empire where Indians are found. In India itself the question has become a political one of high importance and affairs in South Africa, Central Africa and East Africa have received much attention. In South Africa the settlement is a very great step forward in a complicated problem. On the ratification of the Agreement the Union Government introduced legislation to give effect to their promises and lost no time in moving the Provincial Administration of Natal (where the majority of Indians reside) to take the necessary steps with regard to the education of the domiciled Indian community. The friendly spirit of the Union Government was further illustrated when in 1927 the Minister in charge of the Liquor Bill withdrew Clause 104 which purported to prevent the employment of Indians on licensed premises such as hotels, clubs, and breweries. This would have affected 3000 Indians engaged in these occupations. The Commission to investigate the possibility of securing more effective coöperation between the governments of Eastern African and Central African Dependencies has published its Report and this has once more brought the question of Indians in Kenya to public notice. Racial appeasement in colonies to which East Indians have gone has on the whole been uninterrupted. In Kenya there has

been some excitement over the Government's raising funds from Indians by a poll tax and from Europeans by a tax on domestic servants in their employ to pay the net cost of European and Indian education. But the proposal was modified so that both communities should pay the same form of tax—an adult poll tax of 30 shillings for Europeans and 20 shillings for Indians. Some excitement also was caused by the report of a local Government Commission which recommended a European elected majority at Nairobi and Mombasa in local bodies. Four out of five Indians on the Legislative Council withdrew in protest and the Government of India made representations to the Secretary of State. In Ceylon and Malaya negotiations have proceeded successfully in regard to the fixation of a standard wage for Indian estate laborers in Ceylon and Malaya. In Canada domiciled Indians enjoy the federal franchise in eight out of the nine provinces, and in New Zealand likewise Indians have the franchise. In Australia Indians possess both the Commonwealth franchise and the state franchise, except that in Queensland and Western Australia Indians do not vote at elections to the Lower House. By Commonwealth legislation British Indians have also been admitted to the benefits of Invalid and Old Age Pensions and Maternity allowances from which as Asiatics they were previously excluded. This legislation removes the last grievance of Indians in Australia remediable by the Federal Government. In Western Australia and Queensland they are still subject to certain disabilities of which exclusion from the state franchise is the chief.

India, 16th May, 1930.

G. F. S.)

CHAPTER XX

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF THE JAPANESE.¹

By

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In 1868 the present Imperial Regime in Japan was restored, and with it came a revolutionary change in the national life of the Japanese Empire. This was due to the influence of the Western World. An industrial revolution has been in progress ever since, and has been attended by a rapid increase of population. During the last 60 years the numbers have nearly doubled, and today Japan ranks in density of population third among the countries of the world. When one recalls that for more than a century preceding the establishment of the present rule the population had remained stationary its increase in these 60 years appears spectacular. Before the dawn of the twentieth century Japanese statesmen gave no serious thought to problems of surplus population and food shortage. Such an attitude is partly explained by the fact that Japan had acquired new territories, Riukiu in 1872, Formosa and the Pescadores in 1895, the southern half of Sakhalin in 1905, and Korea in 1910. These acquisitions added 113,000 square miles or more than three-fourths as much as the area of the Japanese islands proper and a population at the time of their acquisition of 18,500,000. Of late, however, both the government and the thinking public in Japan have been agitated over the problem of population and the government has instituted a Commission of Population and Conservation.

The present chapter is an attempt to interpret the statistics about the international migration of the citizens of Japan. Since Japanese migration is generally thought to be a modern phenomenon a word is needed to correct that error. The international migration of the Japanese, though limited in scope, is probably as old as their national history and during the latter half of the sixteenth and the first third of the seventeenth century it was extensive. The mistake

¹[See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pp. 160-166; 231ff., 255 ff., 933-41.—Ed.]

is due to the so-called "seclusion law" adopted in 1638 and enforced until 1868 by which Japanese citizens were forbidden to go abroad under pain of death and foreigners, except a limited number of Dutch and Chinese traders, were excluded from Japan. In 1854, to be sure, Japan had made a treaty with the United States, and subsequently with several European powers, but that did not alter the Japanese policy in regard to the emigration of its citizens.

In April, 1868, however, the so-called Charter Oath was taken by the Mikado, which contained among other items a provision encouraging the Japanese to seek knowledge throughout the world. Again, in 1871, an imperial edict was issued urging young men and women to seek education in Western nations. But the idea of encouraging the emigration of laborers, and more particularly of the financially helpless but politically troublesome samurai, did not occur to the government. Perhaps the officials, being still feudalistic in attitude, could not think of allowing their fellow countrymen to labor abroad for economic advantages, and realized the wrongs and sufferings such emigrants might face in a strange land. They would be left without government protection and at the mercy of greedy coolie traders or employers. As a result the emigration of Japanese subjects in general was not legalized until 1885. In spite of this, after the beginning of the nineteenth century, either by accident or in violation of law, some Japanese found their way into foreign countries. For instance, the American immigration returns show that a few landed in the United States before 1868, when the Japanese emigration returns began. The Japanese statistics most useful for the present study are the following: passport returns by countries of destination from 1868 to 1924; occupational distribution of migrants from 1884 to 1924; emigrant (labor) returns by countries of destination from 1898 to 1924; distribution of emigrants by sex and principal countries of destination from 1898 to 1924; and emigrants returning to Japan from 1908 to 1924.¹

These statistical tables may be briefly described to indicate their approximate value. Table I in Volume I contains information supplied by the Japanese government, and apparently was compiled from the *Japanese Imperial Statistical Annual*. The present writer has compiled a similar table for a certain period and a comparison of the compilations shows that as far as the annual totals in the first column are concerned, the table in Volume I is fairly accurate. The distribution of emigration by countries, however, in the other 28

¹[See Volume I, pp. 933-941, Tables I-V.—Ed.]

columns gives unmistakable evidence of careless compilation, instances of which will be pointed out below. The first part of Table II for the years 1884 to 1898 was compiled from the Japanese *Resumé statistique de l'Empire du Japon* and possesses little value because the sex and occupational distribution are not given by countries of destination. The remaining tables are based on data gathered by the Japanese Department of Foreign Affairs. Table III of Volume I gives the emigrants annually to each of 19 countries or other geographical divisions, but Table IV relates to only 5. These returns begin with 1898 although 13 years earlier the emigration of laborers was legalized. The information is incomplete. Table V is confined to the United States, Hawaii, and Canada, and embraces the years 1908-24, the period during which the gentlemen's agreements were in force. Moreover, when the passport returns and those relating to emigrants are compared, many discrepancies appear. The writer will attempt to remedy these defects but he must ask the reader not to criticize the present study too harshly, because he has to use the defective official information.

After this preliminary statement, the history of Japanese migration may be sketched. The returns of passports issued annually from 1868 to 1924, give a total of about 1,188,000.¹ May it be assumed that this number indicates the amount of Japanese migration? Unfortunately, no. For there is no statement about the number of passports re-issued. The Japanese regulations require a new passport every time one wishes to go abroad. The writer knows a man who has crossed the Pacific Ocean eighty times and therefore has secured forty passports. Furthermore, after 1905 the Japanese government stopped issuing passports to citizens going to Korea. Two years later the same practice was applied, in part, to those going to China. During those years the Japanese continued to emigrate to those countries in increasing numbers. Such being the case, if 1,188,000 is used as a measure of Japanese emigration it must be done with a clear understanding of the facts. The following additional information may be of some value. A recent official investigation showed that Japanese citizens residing in foreign countries in 1924 with their children, many of whom are not Japanese citizens, numbered 594,680 or about one-half of the number of passports issued.² From this count the 403,011 Japanese residents in Korea in 1923 are excluded.³ Adding these two figures, we find

¹[See Volume I, p. 934, Table I, col. 1.—Ed.]

²*Financial and Economic Annual of Japan, 1926*, p. 3.

³*Annual Report on Administration of Chosen, 1923-1924*, p. 4.

that approximately 997,000 Japanese citizens and their children were residing outside the Island Empire in 1924.

Prior to 1885 Japanese migration was insignificant. Between 1868 and 1884 only 15,000 passports were issued, an annual average of 900. The majority of these were to persons going to China or Korea. The United States received 1,300, Europe 1,300, and Asiatic Russia 1,200. But according to Table I of Volume I,¹ Hawaii received only 5, all in 1882. Unofficial sources state that, in 1868 under a private contract, 150 Japanese went to Hawaii to stay for a period of three years. The newly established government being unorganized, they may have been smuggled out of Japan. If we except these 150, we may safely assert that prior to 1885 there was no emigration of Japanese laborers. Neither China nor Korea could offer them any inducements. Most of the Japanese who went to China were itinerant tradesmen; those who sought Korea and Russia were itinerant tradesmen and fishermen. Those going to America or Europe were in the main students seeking a knowledge of American or European civilization, many of them sent by the government at its expense.

After 1884 the amount and the character of Japanese migration began to change. In 1885 an agreement was signed between the Japanese government and certain Hawaiian sugar plantation owners under which Japanese contract laborers were permitted to migrate to Hawaii. The agreement was soon followed by an imperial edict legalizing emigration of Japanese laborers in general. During 1885 as many as 3,400 left Japan, of whom 2,000 or more than half went to Hawaii. From that time on emigration increased steadily until 1904 and 1905 when the Russo-Japanese war checked the current. The Chino-Japanese war of 1894-95 had no visible effect. But in 1906 and 1907 a sudden increase took place, stimulated by the pending agreements with the United States and Canada about Japanese immigration. The so-called "gentlemen's agreements" were put in force from 1908 on and greatly curtailed the emigration of Japanese laborers.

Consider now the amount of Japanese emigration before these agreements took effect, or from 1885 to 1907. During that period 540,000 passports were issued, or an annual average of 23,000. The countries of destination and their relative importance are indicated in Table 270 (p. 621).

¹[Volume I, page 934.—Ed.]

TABLE 270.

EMIGRANTS FROM JAPAN BY DESTINATIONS, 1885-1924.

Destination	Number			Per Cent		
	1885-1907	1908-24	1885-1924	1885-1907	1908-24	1885-1924
Asiatic Russia.....	59,273	243,673	302,946	10.9	37.9	25.6
Hawaii.....	178,927	59,831	238,758	33.1	9.3	20.2
United States.....	72,545	123,998	196,543	13.5	19.2	16.6
China.....	58,388	46,870	105,258	10.8	7.3	8.9
Canada.....	10,513	19,278	29,791	2.0	3.0	2.5
Brazil.....	34	25,913	25,947	0	4.0	2.2
Philippines.....	2,175	19,148	21,323	0.4	3.0	1.8
Peru.....	1,108	19,876	20,984	0.2	3.1	1.8
Korea.....	72,027	.....	[72,027]	13.3	.....	[6.1]
Australia.....	7,540	.....	[7,540]	1.5	.....	[0.6]
Other countries.....	77,161	84,667	161,828	14.3	13.2	13.7
Totals.....	539,691	643,254	1,182,945	100.0	100.0	100.0

After 1908, in pursuance of the gentlemen's agreements, the Japanese government stopped issuing passports to its citizens seeking entrance into the United States or Canada except in the cases specifically provided for, and voluntarily applied a similar practice to those intending to go to Hawaii or Mexico. Consequently, for a few years following 1908 the amount of emigration decreased considerably. Meanwhile new fields were opened in Brazil and Peru. A very large number went to Asiatic Russia between 1914 and 1921 owing to the special conditions created there by the World War. Between 1908 and 1924, passports to the number of 643,000 were issued, an annual average of about 38,000, larger by two-thirds than the average in the preceding period. There was also a shift in destinations, as Table 270 shows.

During the entire period 1885-1924 the total number of passports issued was about 1,183,000.¹ These were distributed by countries as shown in Table 270. Omitting incomplete figures for China and Korea the enumerated returns give a total of 836,000. In other words, fully 70 per cent of the entire number of migrants were destined to one of these seven countries. Before 1885 Japanese emigration was numerically insignificant, but peculiar in that there was no emigration of laborers. The situation changed radically between 1885 and 1908. During that period laborers

¹[See Volume I, p. 934.—Ed.]

formed the bulk of the emigrants. Then the gentlemen's agreements becoming effective put a stop to the emigration of laborers to the United States, Hawaii and Mexico, and checked that migration to Canada, which admitted a few annually. The new fields opened to emigrants, *e. g.* Brazil and Peru, offered slight compensation. The large migration to Asiatic Russia must be considered as a temporary phenomenon, for after 1921 the number of emigrants going thither diminished steadily. Only 400 Japanese went in 1924.

In regard to the sex composition of the migration no information is available until 1884. It can be safely asserted, however, that in earlier years few female emigrants left Japan, those few finding their way into the neighboring countries, China and Korea. Japanese women by instinct and training are not adventurous and did not at first accompany Japanese men who went to distant lands. In later years some women ventured to accompany their husbands to Hawaii or elsewhere. Between 1884 and 1898, about 31,000 women, more than 15 per cent of the migration, secured passports. Between 1899 and 1924, perhaps 184,000 women emigrated, forming more than 18 per cent of the total migration.

The most important factors which brought about this female emigration are the following: migrants such as officials and business men who expected to remain long in foreign countries found it convenient to be accompanied by wives; other male emigrants who in time established themselves in the countries of their residence induced their wives to join them. Of the two factors, the second was numerically far more important. The statistics of Japanese residents abroad (Korea omitted) in 1924 give the sex composition as 345,000 or 58 per cent males, and 248,000 or 42 per cent females, and this in spite of the fact that among the migrants, as we have seen, females were only 18 per cent. How are we to reconcile these widely different ratios? Had many of the male migrants returned home, had they died off, or were the majority of Japanese children born abroad female? With the information at hand none of these questions can be answered.¹

As to occupations, our information between 1884 and 1898 gives the following classes: public services, study, commerce, visitors (tourists), agriculture, fishing, various occupations, laborers, and in the employ of aliens.² Artisans are not enumerated. Are they

¹[Perhaps many Japanese males had travelled more than once from Japan to their residence abroad and having obtained a passport for each trip had appeared in the table as two or more emigrants.—Ed.]

²[See Volume I, page 937.—Ed.]

included in the "various occupations"? Or does "laborers" connote skilled as well as unskilled workmen? We can clarify none of these points. From 1899, the categories of "agriculture" and "various occupations" disappear and the "laborers" and those "in the employ of aliens" are thrown into the category of "emigrants." According to the Japanese emigration regulations, an emigrant is a Japanese citizen who goes abroad for the purpose of earning a living at some form of labor.¹ The data do not give his occupational status at the time of emigration.

The "in the employ of aliens" category before 1899 furnished the bulk of the migrants, followed by "commerce," "agriculture," "laborers," and "study," in the order given. After 1899 "emigrants" and "fishing" dominated and were followed by "commerce." The remaining categories steadily increased as years passed.² A few more details concerning the "emigrants" are available.³ The number of passports obtained by emigrants 1898-1924 was 422,000 forming 46 per cent of the total migration of the period. Of this number 173,000 were bound for Hawaii, 86,000 for the United States, 35,000 for Brazil, 27,000 for Canada, 22,000 for Peru, and 20,000 for the Philippines. Asiatic Russia received only 19,000 in spite of the enormous migration to that country. These together account for about 383,000, leaving only 39,000 who were scattered among other countries—Mexico, Chile, Australia, and Indo-China.

Emigration to the United States.

During the entire period, 1868-1924, there were 200,000 Japanese who found their way to the United States. We will assume that this was the extent of the migration. During the years 1898-1924 the number of passports was 181,000 or about 82 per cent in less than half of the period, which shows the recent character of the migration. Of this number 86,000 or 47 per cent were obtained by emigrants. The cry: "Japs must go" was raised in California as early as 1887 when there were not more than 400 Japanese in that State. A severe criticism of Japanese immigrants appeared in the Report of the United States Industrial Commission of 1900,⁴ and in 1905 an organized anti-Japanese agitation was

¹Hereafter in this chapter the term "emigrant" will be used in conformity with the Japanese legal definition; the term "migrant" will include also all others.

²[Vol. I, page 937.—Ed.]

³[*Idem*, page 938.—Ed.]

⁴See the article "Chinese and Japanese labor in the Mountain and Pacific States," in Volume 15 of that *Report*.

started culminating in the School Question of 1906. In 1907 the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" was entered into between the American and Japanese governments, and was put into force in 1908. It marks a turning point in the history of Japanese migration, so it will be interesting to indicate the situation before and after the application of that *modus vivendi*.

Between 1898 and 1907 the passports numbered 57,000 of which 17,000, or 29 per cent, were secured by emigrants. During the years 1908 to 1924 the passports numbered 124,000, those to emigrants totalling 69,000 or 56 per cent of the entire migration. Again, during the first period the mean annual migration of emigrants was only 1,700, whereas during the second period it was 4,000. Thus we see that not only was the proportion of emigrants larger during the operation of the agreement than before its application, but the annual migration of emigrants was also much more extensive during the period 1908-24 than during 1898-1906. It should be observed, however, that during the period 1908-24 as many as 114,000 Japanese departed from the United States, all as third-class passengers and therefore presumably emigrants. These departures exceeded the immigrant arrivals by 77,000. What shall we think of the agreement in face of such facts?

The exact text of the *modus vivendi* is not yet available, but the following statement by the American Commissioner-General of Immigration will perhaps clarify its meaning:¹

This understanding contemplates that the Japanese government shall issue passports to continental United States only to such of its subjects as are non-laborers or are laborers who, in coming to the continent, seek to resume a formerly acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife or children residing there, or to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a farming enterprise in this country; so that the three classes of laborers entitled to receive passports have come to be designated 'former residents' 'parents, wives or children of residents,' and 'settled agriculturists.'

It seems to be clear that no Japanese intending to earn a living by engaging in some form of labor in the United States except in accordance with the provisions of this agreement, was given a passport. The exceptional cases are designated in the passports they obtained as emigrants. This agreement seems to have been executed in good faith by the Japanese government.

At the same time, the Japanese population in the United States increased from 72,157 in 1910 to 110,010 in 1920,² and that fact demands an explanation. In the first place, the loss of 71,000 in the

¹United States Commissioner-General of Immigration, *Report for 1908*, pp. 125f.

²[*Abstract of the Fourteenth Census* (1923), p. 104.—Ed.]

emigrant population¹ was more than made up by the total arrivals during the same period. The aggregate of migrants and emigrants arriving² was 140,450, or 69,055 more than the emigrant departures. Statistics on migrant departures are not available. On this basis there was a gain of over 69,000 in the Japanese population. This fact alone, however, does not explain the increase of 37,853 between 1910 and 1920. The increase was largely due to the arrival of women, many of whom were "picture brides", and to the number of children born of Japanese parentage on American soil.³ The "picture brides" were permitted by the agreement, and between 1908 and 1924 there were something over 30,000 emigrant females admitted to the United States.⁴ Of course, this number excluded non-immigrant females concerning whom we have no information. Many of these immigrant females, but not all, were "picture brides." Agitation was started against them, and in 1922 the Japanese government voluntarily stopped their emigration. But nevertheless, the agreement was unsatisfactory to the American government and a drastic exclusion law, enacted in 1924, ended the story of Japanese immigration into the United States.

Emigration to Hawaii.

The situation in Hawaii presents another important phase of Japanese emigration. During the entire period under consideration 242,322 Japanese went to those islands, or one-fifth more than went to the United States. There is an important error in the passport returns for 1903. Only 86 are recorded in Table I but 9,091 in Table III bound for Hawaii. The writer's own compilation from the *Annals* gives a total of 11,120 passports. The latter figure has been substituted for the erroneous one in order to obtain the following totals. With that change, about 196,000 passports were reported between 1898 and 1924 and of these emigrants secured over 173,000. In the case of Hawaii, then, emigrants formed 88 per cent of the total migration, while in the case of the United States they formed only 47 per cent.

In 1908 the Japanese government applied the American agreement to Hawaii, partly for diplomatic reasons and partly because

¹[See Volume I, page 940, Table V.—Ed.]

²[*Idem*, pages 934 and 938.—Ed.]

³[The number of persons of Japanese stock enumerated in the United States increased, 1910-20, as stated by 37,853; but the number enumerated as born in Japan increased by little more than one-third of that total. The other two-thirds was due to the multiplication of American-born children of Japanese stock. In the same decade there was an increase of 17,212 females born in Japan partly balanced by a decrease of 3,454 males.—Ed.]

⁴[*Idem*, page 940, Table V.—Ed.]

of the labor situation in the islands. What was its effect? From 1898 to 1907 a total of 136,000 passports was issued, the number for emigrants being 122,000, or 89 per cent of the total. Moreover, the average annual emigration during those years was 12,177. Thus this decade was most important both as regards the proportion and the extent of emigrant migration. During the next 17 years from 1908 to 1924 the passports numbered only 60,000, of which emigrants obtained 51,000, an annual average of 3,000 or less than one-fourth of what it had been in the earlier period. Nevertheless, emigrants still formed 86 per cent of the total migration.

Another aspect of the situation, the growth of Japanese population in the islands, should not be overlooked. Between 1908 and 1924 the Japanese departing from Hawaii were 68,000, a number larger than the total migration to the islands during that period. Yet the Japanese population in Hawaii, as in the United States, gained considerably during the decade 1910-1920. The explanation of the phenomenon is that already given, the coming of Japanese women and the number of children born of Japanese parentage.¹ No statistics of female emigration to the islands are available until 1898, and those include only emigrant females.²

They show that over 51,000 females, or 29.6 per cent, went to the islands from 1898 to 1924, but the percentage increased after the application of the gentlemen's agreement. Of the 51,000 females, 29,000 reached the islands during 1908-24. To them were issued 48 per cent of the total number of passports issued during that period.³ This large proportion was another effect of the agreement.

It once seemed as if Hawaii would be a splendid field for Japanese laborers, but now the industrial and labor conditions do not appear favorable, and the hostility in the United States toward Japanese immigration naturally affects the Americans who control Hawaiian affairs.

Emigration to the Philippines.

Japanese migration to the Philippines has a long history. Japanese ships visited that archipelago late in the sixteenth and early in the seventeenth century. In the beginning of the seventeenth century as many as 15,000 Japanese were residing in the

¹[Of the persons of Japanese stock in Hawaii in 1910 about 25 per cent, and in 1920 about 45 per cent had been born in some part of the United States including, of course, Hawaii.—Ed.]

²Volume I, page 939, Table IV.

³*Idem*, Table III, gives 59,831 as total.

district of Dilao [including Manila] alone.¹ Here, however, we are concerned with modern migration. The passport returns² mention the year 1891 as the beginning of Japanese migration. From that year until 1924 about 21,000 passports were issued to Japanese destined to the Philippines whereas the immigrant returns enumerate 20,000 for the period from 1898 to 1924 as going to the same destination. On their face such facts suggest that the islands are a fair field for Japanese immigrants, but that such is not the case will presently be shown.

First, the above returns must be checked. When the two sets of figures are compared year by year the following results appear. The passport returns, Table I, show 47, 271, 646, and 396 for 1902, 1903, 1904 and 1910, respectively, while the emigrant returns for the same years, Table III, show respectively 77, 2215, 2923 and 387.³ Shall we merely say that the former table commits the usual sin of omission and pass on? If so, we must increase the total of passports by adding at least the differences here indicated. That would make the passport aggregate 21,223 plus 5,253 or 26,476 even if we assume that the returns contained no other omissions. On this basis the emigrants constitute 76 per cent of the entire migration, a phenomenon which seems impossible under normal conditions. This insular country was and still is economically less advanced than Japan. Japanese laborers could not compete against native workmen.

Immediately after their acquisition by the United States an abnormal condition developed in the islands. The American government found it necessary to build roads, to construct railways, to erect barracks for the garrison and to improve harbor facilities. Native labor was inefficient, so the Americans imported both skilled and unskilled Japanese laborers. As many as 5,000 emigrants left Japan during 1903 and 1904. These were soon followed by trades men from Japan. A little later a few Japanese capitalists, such as the Ota Development Co., tried to develop certain industries in the islands. Thus 7,000 Japanese immigrants entered the islands during the years 1916-18. These two groups account for over 12,000 or more than one-half of the total immigrants. Apart from these the annual immigration was 393. There is every indication that the Philippine Islands will not attract Japanese emigration.

Emigration to Canada.

According to the passport returns Japanese did not emigrate

¹See Murdock and Yamagata, *History of Japan*, p. 463.

²[Volume I, page 936.—Ed.]

³[*Idem*, page 938, Table III.—Ed.]

to Canada until 1891. The writer's own study, however, reveals that as early as 1870 a few Japanese found their way into British Columbia, and from 1886 they continued to come though in limited numbers. These early emigrants are not mentioned in the Japanese or the Canadian statistics. As a matter of fact, Canada has no official record of Japanese immigration until 1904. According to the passport returns 30,000 Japanese went there during the years 1891-1924.¹ Of this number over 10,000 had left Japan before 1908 while the remaining 20,000 emigrated between 1908 and 1924. Again, according to the immigrant returns the total number between 1898 and 1924 was about 27,000.² Of these emigrants 9,000 had left Japan before 1908 while the remaining 18,000 emigrated after the application of the Japanese-Canadian gentlemen's agreement. This peculiar situation requires careful analysis, but before attempting to explain it the passport returns must be checked.

The writer's compilation shows that 18,914 passports were issued between 1891 and 1907, instead of the approximately 10,000 indicated above.³ Between these two there is a difference of over 8,000, an error which can not be overlooked. A comparison of the two returns shows the source of the error. In the official table no returns are made for 1899, 1900, and 1905 while the writer's own table records 2,853, 3,274 and 329 for those years. Again, whereas the official table⁴ enumerates 549, 206, and 1,039 for 1896, 1897 and 1898, the writer's records show 938, 261 and 2,532. These differences amount to a total of 8,393, leaving only 8 unaccounted for; but it is not worth while to check the annual returns. The inaccuracy of the passport returns can also be checked by the emigrant returns which, however, cover the years 1898-1924. According to the latter returns 9,350 emigrants were destined to Canada between 1898 and 1907, while the passport returns give a total of only 6,058 for the same period. Obviously, the total number of emigrants could not have exceeded the total number of passports. The substitution of the writer's figure of 15,054 passports for this period would obviate this particular difficulty. On the basis of 15,054 passports, the emigrants formed 62 per cent of the total migration before the enforcement of the agreement. Another puzzling situation is encountered after the application of this agreement, viz., the passport returns give a total of 19,278 for 1908-24, while the emigrant returns record a total of

¹[Volume I, page 934.—Ed.]

²[*Idem*, page 938, Table III.—Ed.]

³[*Idem*, page 934 ff., Table I.]

⁴[*Idem*—Ed.]

17,730 for the same period. There is a difference of only 1,539 in favor of the passports. This looks rather suspicious; but the writer's tables do not cover this period. On this basis the emigrants constituted 92 per cent, an unusual phenomenon.

The Canadian agreement is similar to the American, but permits immigration of laborers from Japan to the extent of 400 per annum. In 1907 the passports of persons destined for Canada numbered 3,603 while the number of emigrants going there was 2,753. In 1908 these numbers dropped to 738 and 601 respectively. The American Immigration Commission Report of 1910 concludes that "the great decrease in Japanese immigration to Canada during the year 1908 indicates that the movement from Hawaii was short lived, and also the effectiveness of an informal agreement between Canada and Japan, whereby the issue of passports for Japanese coming to Canada is limited to 400 annually."¹

On the whole, the tendency indicated above has been fulfilled. The average annual number of emigrants going to Canada during 1908-11 was 562: it increased to about 1,000 from 1912, but from 1908 to 1924 the total departure of Japanese immigrants from the country was 20,000.² Departures exceeded arrivals by 1,810. Apparently Canada was satisfied with the result, but in 1924 the agreement was so modified as to admit, annually, only 150 domestic and farm hands instead of 400 laborers.

Emigration to Mexico.

Because of the geographical position of Mexico, Japanese immigration to that country has attracted undue attention. No Japanese appeared in that country of recent years until 1892 when 39 passports were issued with Mexico as the destination.³ Only one emigrant went to that country in 1899 and one more in 1900.⁴ During the entire period 1892-1924 a total of about 12,000 passports were issued, of which, emigrants secured 11,720. On the surface, these returns seem to be reliable, but when checked year by year one finds a situation similar to that in Canada. For instance, the passports issued for 1903 and 1904 were respectively 159 and 201, whereas the emigrants numbered 281 and 1,261. The author's compilation agrees with the passport returns.⁵ The error must have

¹U. S. Immigration Commission. "The Immigration Situation in Canada," p. 70.

²[Volume I, page 940, Table V.—Ed.]

³[*Idem*, page 934.—Ed.]

⁴[*Idem*, page 938.—Ed.]

⁵[*Idem*, page 934.—Ed.]

occurred in the *Annals* from which both tables were compiled.

The most interesting fact about Japanese emigration to Mexico is that of the total 12,000 emigrants, about 9,000 left Japan during the two years 1906 and 1907. This large emigration was undoubtedly stimulated by the pending agreements with the United States and Canada. When the American agreement was applied to Mexico in 1908, Japanese emigration to that country practically ceased. In conclusion it may be said that Mexico *per se* fails to attract Japanese emigrants in spite of the above returns.

Emigration to Brazil.

Brazil is the most important of the new fields for Japanese emigration. That vast territory has but a sparse population, and needs immigrants. Hence European immigration has been assisted by the government, but Japanese immigration was not considered until 1907. In that year an agreement was entered into between the São Paulo government and a private Japanese corporation handling emigrants, by the terms of which the corporation was to send, within three years, 3,000 Japanese including men, women, and children 10 years of age or older, certain monetary assistance being provided by São Paulo. These Japanese were to work on certain coffee plantations under definite arrangement, but it was expected that ultimately they would purchase land and settle in the country. The first band of 1,000 Japanese left for Brazil in 1908; but upon reaching their destination they found the conditions of labor on the plantations unsatisfactory. Many left, causing dissatisfaction on the part of their employers; and in addition, the anti-Japanese agitation in the United States and Canada affected the attitude of the São Paulo government. Such being the situation, the second installment of 1,000 Japanese failed to materialize. However, the situation was cleared and in 1910 another 1,000 left Japan.

Our statistical returns present many difficulties. For instance, the passport returns record 19, 15, 709, and 16 for 1906, 1907, 1908, and 1909, respectively, whereas the emigrant returns record none for 1906 and 1907, but 799 for 1908 and 4 for 1909.¹ Accordingly, the total migration for these years was 759 while the emigrant migration was 803. This is an anomalous situation, although numerically not important; but it becomes more complicated, for between 1908 and 1924 the passport returns show a total of 25,948 while the total of the emigrant returns for the same period was 35,102. In

¹[Volume I, pages 934 and 938.—Ed.]

other words, the number of emigrants exceeded that of passports by 9,189. The matter must be left without further comment, however, since there is no information at hand that would clarify it. It is interesting to note that the emigrants included about 15,000 females, or 42 per cent, a clear case of family emigration.¹

Emigration to Peru, Chile, and Argentina.

Peru received Japanese earlier than Brazil. The emigrant returns show 790, 1,303, and 1,257 for 1899, 1903, and 1906 respectively, but the passport returns fail to record any migration until 1907.² The emigrants were brought in under contract to labor on sugar and rubber plantations, but their experiences in Peru were such as to cause the Japanese government to discourage further emigration of its citizens to that country. Nevertheless, about 19,000 more emigrants went there between 1907 and 1924, a total of about 22,000 for the entire period. Of this number 3,326 or over 15 per cent were women. These figures seem to indicate that Peru has proved less satisfactory than Brazil as a field for Japanese emigration.

Neither Chile nor Argentina seems to have been sought by Japanese emigrants, for during the entire period only about 400 went to the former country, and about 1,000 to the latter.³

Emigration to Australia.

The slogan "white Australia" was coined under the impression that Asiatic immigration threatened that continent, but it is now admitted by Australians themselves that this "threat" was largely a creation of their own imagination. According to passport returns Japanese migration to Australia before 1892 amounted to only 242; but about 5,500 left Japan between 1892 and 1898 for that destination.⁴ This number was made up mostly of laborers going to the sugar plantations in Queensland, these being the first and the last group of such Japanese to reach Australia. In 1901 the Australian government began to restrict, or rather prohibit, Asiatic immigration by the so-called "dictation test." Consequently only 1,552 emigrants went there between 1901 and 1924.⁵ Australia is a closed field for Japanese emigration.

Emigration to Korea and China.

Among the Asiatic countries, Korea was the first to receive

¹[Volume I, page 939.—Ed.]

²[*Idem*, page 938, Table III, and page 934f, Table I.—Ed.]

³[*Idem*, pages 934 and 935.—Ed.]

⁴[*Idem*, page 935.—Ed.]

⁵[*Idem*, page 938.—Ed.]

Japanese immigrants. Unfortunately our statistical information about this migration practically ends with 1904, because Japan assumed a protectorate over Korea in 1905 and annexed it in 1910 and during the protectorate as well as later Japan allowed her citizens to migrate there without passports.

The passport returns¹ enumerate 78,034 as the total migration between 1868 and 1904. According to the Foreign Office returns, there was no migration of emigrants to Korea. This was natural since the country could not offer any inducements to Japanese laborers. The migrants sought to better their economic condition, but independently of the employment offered by Koreans. Furthermore, the majority of these migrants, especially in the early years,² returned home after a brief sojourn. They were adventurous "birds of passage." After 1905, however, and more particularly after 1910, the Japanese government offered many inducements to the Japanese to settle in the country. As a result, in 1923 there were 403,011 Japanese residing in Korea.³

China was the second Asiatic country to receive Japanese. Since 1868 their migration to China has been important. The statistical returns after 1905 are incomplete although they enumerate about 109,000 as destined to China during the period 1868-1924.⁴ As in the case of Korea, the Foreign Office returns do not indicate migration of emigrants. Japanese laborers could not have competed with those of China.

In the earlier years the migration was insignificant. For instance, only 8,400 went to China between 1868 and 1894, an annual average of 311. In 1895, however, the number of Japanese migrants suddenly increased to 1,510. In that year the Chino-Japanese war was concluded by the Shimonoseki Treaty whereby Japan secured many extensive commercial and industrial rights and privileges for her subjects. These newly acquired advantages naturally stimulated Japanese migration to China as shown by the sudden increase noted above. During the decade 1895-1904 the total migration was about 40,000 or an annual average of 3,987. The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 ended with the Treaty of Portsmouth, N. H., under which Japan acquired the Russian railways in South Manchuria, the Russian leasehold of Liaotung Peninsula, and other concessions.

¹[Volume I, page 936, Table I.—Ed.]

²[*Idem*, page 940, Table VII.—Ed.]

³*Annual Report on Administration of Chosen, 1923-24*, p. 4; and *Japan Year Book, 1927*, p. 624.

⁴[Volume I, page 936, Table I.—Ed.]

Stimulated to greater activity by these new advantages, Japanese began to seek China at large and Manchuria in particular. Unfortunately, at this important turn of affairs the statistics become incomplete. The partial returns, however, enumerate 64,000 migrants destined to China between 1904 and 1924. That would give an annual average of only 3,000 or less during the preceding decade; but this cannot represent the true migration to China during this period. Aside from the stimuli already noted, Japan was expanding industrially by leaps and bounds stimulated by the outbreak of the World War and her growing political prestige. Japan's occupation of the German leasehold of Kiao-Chow (not restored to China until 1922) and the many additional rights throughout China secured by her famous twenty-one demands, certainly stimulated Japanese migration to China. In fact the most recent official enumeration of Japanese residents¹ shows that there were about 241,000 Japanese residing in China, the largest number of Japanese residents in any foreign country. Of this number 185,000 or three-fourths were found in Manchuria; the rest were scattered through the country. Many must have entered during the period under consideration. It is clear that China constitutes an important field for Japanese migration, although the country itself cannot offer any attraction to Japanese laborers.

Emigration to Asiatic Russia.

In Asiatic Russia we find a unique case of Japanese migration. According to the passport returns over 304,000 were destined to that portion of Russia and her territories during the entire period 1868-1924.² That is the largest number recorded as going to a single country. However, Japanese migration in earlier years to Asiatic Russia, as to other countries, was insignificant. From 1868 to 1891 the annual average was only 1240, but the movement began to increase about 1892 so that during 1892-1903, about 47,000 passports were issued with Asiatic Russia as the destination, or an annual average of about 4,000. No migrant went in the war-year 1904 and only 230 in the following year. In 1906 the number jumped to over 5,000, and by the close of 1910 as many as 31,000 had sought that country. In 1911 the unprecedented annual number of 16,216 went there; this dropped to 680 in 1912, but leaped to 21,000 in

¹On Oct. 1, 1926, the total number of Japanese residing abroad was 640,018 of whom 240,627, or three-eighths, were in China, according to statistics gathered and published by the Japanese Foreign Office.

²[Volume I, page 936.—Ed.]

1913. During the 8 years 1913-20 there were 186,000 emigrants, or an annual average of over 23,000 that dropped almost to 9,000 in 1921. This decrease has continued so that only about 400 were recorded for 1924. Such violent fluctuations in the movement may require a detailed study, but for the present only a general interpretation will be attempted.

Even in this attempt many limitations must be faced. For instance, not until 1884 do we have any information concerning the occupational distribution of migrants¹ and even this available information does not give the distribution by countries. We must be content, therefore, with a general observation. The majority of the Japanese who found their way to Asiatic Russia in early years were itinerant tradesmen and a few fishermen. They were mostly "birds of passage," as is clearly evidenced by the extent of their regular annual return.² This is equally true for more recent years. No radical change is to be noted in the character of the Japanese reaching Russia before the conclusion of the war in 1905. By the Treaty of Portsmouth, however, Japan gained fishing rights in Russian Asiatic waters, and these rights guided the migration between 1906 and 1913. The large migration in 1911 and 1913 cannot be explained with the information at hand, but the situation that obtained during 1914-20 was largely due to the Allied Siberian Expedition in which Japan assumed the leading rôle. Her army was not withdrawn until 1922, but even before that was effected the volume of migration had begun to dwindle. As far as the migration of laborers was concerned,³ it was not important for only 19,000, or about 6 per cent of the total migration, found their way to Russian territories between 1898 and 1924. Thus it seems clear that, in spite of the enormous migration revealed above, Asiatic Russia is not an attractive field for Japanese migration. Certainly it does not invite Japanese laborers.

Emigration to Other Asiatic States.

The Federated Malay States, India, Siam, Indo-China and Hong-Kong are also enumerated in our statistical information,⁴ and the situations in those countries may be briefly discussed. In 1891 for the first time passports were issued for the Federated Malay States and to only 40 migrants. For the entire period 1891-1924

¹[Volume I, page 937.—Ed.]

²No figures are available, but this is a well-known fact.—Y. I.

³[Volume I, page 938.—Ed.]

⁴[*Idem*, page 935 f.—Ed.]

about 15,000 such passports were issued. Of this number, emigrants secured 4,000 between 1898 and 1924.¹ These Japanese, whether migrants or emigrants, were mostly itinerant in character. Some were attached to large Japanese commercial and industrial firms, others were employed by Europeans, and a few hundred were engaged in fishing. The Malay States do not provide a field for Japanese laborers since they have an abundant supply of cheap native labor.

The remaining countries are unimportant from the standpoint of Japanese migration. The passport returns give 4,000 for India,² 1,300 for Siam, 1,200 for Indo-China and a little over 10,000 for Hong-Kong; the respective emigrant numbers were 400 or less.³ The migrants were mostly large traders, while the emigrants were itinerant adventurers.

Emigration to Europe.

According to the passport returns 22,132 Japanese were destined to Europe during the period 1868-1923.⁴ Of the European nations only England, France and Germany are specifically mentioned in the returns. These migrants were distributed among the three powers as follows: England 12,000, France 3,000, and Germany 3,000; the remaining 5,000 were scattered among other European states. There was no movement of emigrants to Europe. The migrants included officials, merchants, tourists, and students.⁵ The category of merchants requires no interpretation, but in regard to the other categories the following observation may be of interest. Many of the passports designated as "official" were for persons more suitably classed as "student." Strictly speaking, only those in diplomatic and consular service are officials; other officials, including instructors in government colleges and universities, were dispatched to Europe for study or research. The category of "tourists" also includes many students in the strict sense of the word.

It is a well-known fact that the present government early revived the ancient custom of sending students abroad at its expense; and it has been dispatching a certain number of them regularly to various countries of the world. The Charter Oath of 1868 and the

¹[Volume I, page 938.—Ed.]

²[*Idem*, page 936.—Ed.]

³[*Idem*, page 938.—Ed.]

⁴[*Idem*, page 937.—Ed.]

⁵[*Idem*, page 937.—Ed.]

Edict of 1871 (*vide supra*, p. 618) were the first steps adopted by the government towards permitting Japanese students to go abroad. Naturally along with the officially supported students, many private students went. The latter alone are designated in the passports as "student." It is needless to add that the majority of these students sought Europe or America. Today, in the United States there are more than a thousand Japanese enrolled in colleges and universities. Approximately one-third of them are Japanese born in the United States; two-thirds are students, official or private, from Japan. The occupational returns covering the years 1884-1924 give a total of 28,453 students, excluding official students.¹ The presence of such a large number and proportion of students in Japanese migration is unique in the history of the international migration of that race; and since the majority of these students studied in Europe and America, it is quite correct to say that they were largely responsible for the westernization of modern Japan.

In conclusion it may be stated that, viewed broadly, Japanese international migration has not been extensive. Only a little more than a million souls emigrated during the last 60 years in spite of the rapid growth of Japan's population, and many of these migrants proved to be "birds of passage." In 1924 the Japanese residing in foreign countries numbered 594,680, or only half as many as the passports issued to Japanese emigrants between 1868 and 1924.² Again, of the million, less than half belonged to the "laboring class." The majority of these laborers sought Hawaii and the United States, while the rest were scattered among Brazil, Canada, the Philippines, Peru and Asiatic Russia. In the early part of the present century not a few of the countries to which the Japanese tended to migrate adopted highly restrictive immigration policies, and those that did not do so were distinctly less attractive to the migrants. In view of these circumstances it seems evident that emigration must prove entirely inadequate as a solution of Japan's population problem.

[Volume I, page 937.—Ed.]

²*Financial and Economic Annual of Japan*, 1926, p. 3.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

PREVIOUS ESTIMATES OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION

TABLE I.

PREVIOUS ESTIMATES OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION, 1650-1850.

Five predecessors have assembled estimates of the population of the earth made at various dates. The series began with Balbi, whose figures spoke for 1826 but were not published until several years later, included Wappäus (1855), Wagner (1874), Levasseur (1887 and 1889), and ended with Knibbs (1917). Of these the most important are Balbi and Wagner: the former broke ground in this matter and cited many more sources than any successor except Knibbs who simply brought together the earlier results; Wagner gave most attention to the subject, combining his collection of estimates with an historical sketch of similar attempts, wherein he displayed keen critical insight. He showed that the estimates should be arranged not by size as Balbi and Wappäus had done, but by date and then fell into families or groups.

In the following Table I the results of these five writers for dates before 1850 are brought together and arranged chronologically. All previous writers but one wrote in France or Germany, and he made no additions of his own; consequently the new contributions numbering 23 have been drawn for the most part from English sources. As Balbi gave no fuller citation than the last name of the author, several of his sources could not be found after search in American libraries and in those of Paris where he wrote. *These unverified citations are printed in italics*; several of them are probably erroneous. This list stops with 1850 because the annual estimates published in *Hübner's Tabellen* are available after that year (see Table II). The material on which these two tables have been based has been deposited with the Library of Congress.

TABLE I
ESTIMATES OF THE POPULATION OF THE EARTH AND OF THE
CONTINENTS, MADE BETWEEN A.D. 1650 AND 1850.
(In Millions)

Date	Source	Com- piler ¹	Earth	Europe	Asia	Africa	America	Oceanica
1661	Riccioli ²	1	1000	100	500	100	200	100
1682	Petty ³	6	320					
1685	Vossius ⁴	1	500	30	300			
1696	King ⁵	6	700	100	340	95	65	100
1696	Nicholls ⁶	6	960					
1702	Whiston ⁷	6	4000					
1735	<i>Le Gendre</i> ⁸	1	900				150	
1737	Univ. History ⁹	1	4000					
1737	Canz ¹⁰	1	60	10	20			
1740	Struyck ¹¹	1	500	100	250	100	50	
1741-2	Süssmilch ¹²	2	950-1000	150	500	150	150	
1753	Wallace ¹³	1	1000					
1760	Bielfeld ¹⁴	1	950-1000	150	500	150	150	
1761	Süssmilch ¹⁵	1	1080	130	650	150	150	
1762	Büsching ¹⁶	6	1000	150				
1763	Voltaire ¹⁷	3	900					
1771	<i>Beausobre</i> ¹⁸	1	1110	160	650	150	150	
1778	Moheau ¹⁹	6	950	150	500	150	150	
1786	Fabri ²⁰	6	1000	170				
1788	Black ²¹	3	800	110	500	170	20	
1796	Morse ²²	6	731					
1803	Volney ²³	1	437	142	240	30	20	5
1804	Pinkerton ²⁴	2	700	150	500	30	20	0.5
1805	Fabri ²⁵	1	700			90	24	
1807	Galletti ²⁶	6	865	182	491	160	20	12
1809	Hassel ²⁷	3	682	180	380	99	21	2
1810	Alm. de Gotha ²⁸	4	682	180	380	99	21	2
1810	Malte-Brun ²⁹	1	640	170	360	70	40	
1811	Pinkerton ³⁰	6	600.5	150	400	30	20	0.5
1812	Morse ³¹	1	766	180	500	50	35	
1813	<i>Graberg de Hemsö</i> ³²	1	686	180	366	99	24	17
1817	Worcester ³³	6	650	184	380	50	35	2
1817	Thomson ³⁴	6	700	180	400	80	40	
1818	<i>Directors of missionary society</i> ³⁵	1	1000					
1819	{ Gaspari Hassel Cannabich } ³⁶	6	1000				35.5	
1821	<i>Cannabich</i> ³⁷	1	700-912					
1821	Goldsmith ³⁸	6	1000	270	600	70	58	2
1822	Worcester ³⁷	1	718					
1822	<i>Reichard</i> ³⁹	1	732					
1822	<i>Bissinger</i> ⁴⁰	1	700-900					
1824	Hassel ⁴¹	1	938	207	586	104	38.2	2.6
1824	<i>Letronne</i> ⁴²	1	900					
1825	<i>Letronne</i> ⁴³	6	900	200	550	80	50	20
1825	<i>Stein</i> ⁴⁴	1	885					
1827	<i>Pinkerton</i> ⁴⁵	1	710					
1827	<i>Brockhaus</i> ⁴⁶	1	800-1000					
1828	<i>Denaix</i> ⁴⁷ (after Hassel)	1	951					
1828	Meissas and Michelot ⁴⁸	6	900					
1828	Hassel ⁴⁹	1	847	211	449	109	38.4	2.8
1828	<i>Bergius</i> ⁵⁰	1	893	223	521	107	40.5	2.5
1828	<i>Balbi</i> ⁵¹	1	737	228	390	60	39	20
1828	Alm. de Gotha ⁴⁰	6	838	210	482	106	37	3
1829	<i>Letronne</i> ⁵²	6	900	200	550	80	50	20
1829	Oriental Herald ⁴¹	6	583	205	373	62	35	8
1829	Alm. de Gotha ⁴²	6	847	214	481	109	40	3
1829	<i>Villerme</i> ⁵³	1	737					
1833	<i>Brockhaus</i> ⁴³	6	800-1000					
1835	Bradford ⁴⁴ (after Balbi)	6	740	230	390	60	40	20
1838	de Rougemont ⁴⁵	2	850	235-240	425	120		
1838	<i>Franzl</i> ⁴⁶	6	950	233	540	124	49	4
1840	Omalius d'Halloy ⁴⁷	2	750					
1840	<i>von Roon</i> ⁵⁴	2	864	237	454	122	49	2
1841	Bernoulli ⁴⁸	6	764					
1842	<i>Berghaus</i> ⁵⁵	2	1272	296	652	275	47	2
1843	Balbi ⁴⁹	6	739	229	390	60	39	20
1845	<i>Meissas and Michelot</i> ⁵⁶	4	1009					

Notes to Table I.

- ¹In the column headed "compiler" the numbers refer to the earliest compiler who mentioned the estimate. The compilers arranged in chronological order are:
1. Adrian Balbi, *Abrégé de Géographie* (1833) page 46.
 2. J. W. Wappäus in Stein und Hörschelmann's *Handbuch der Geog. u. Stat.*, 7th ed. (1855), vol. I, pp. 171 ff.
 3. Hermann Wagner in *Die Bevölkerung der Erde*, II, (1874) page 5.
 4. Emile Levasseur in *Intern. Stat. Institute Bulletin*, vol. II (1887) page 238.
Emile Levasseur in *La Population Francaise*, vol. I (1889) page 461 footnote.
 5. G. H. Knibbs in *Census of Australia, 1911*, Appendix A: "Mathematical Theory of Population" (1917) pages 30-31.
 6. W. F. Willcox in the present table (1930).
- ⁷J. B. Riccioli in *Geographiae et Hydrographiae Reformatae, Libri Duodecim*, Bologna 1661; Venice 1672. Appendix "De Verisimili Hominum Numero", pages 630-634.
- ⁸W. Petty in C. H. Hull, *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty*, pages 463 (1682) and 476, footnote (1681).
- ⁹I. Vossius in *Variarum Observationum Liber* (1685), page 74-68.
- ¹⁰G. King in "Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England, 1696".
- ¹¹W. Nicholls in *Conference with a Theist* (1696) vol. I, pages 73 ff.
- ¹²W. Whiston, *Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament* (1702), page 65.
- ¹³Estimates printed in italics have not been verified.
- ¹⁴*Universal History from the Earliest Account of Time*, (1737), vol. I, page 160. This is merely a reproduction of Whiston's conjecture of 1702.
- ¹⁵Th. Canz in *De Regimine Dei Universali* (1737), p. 194, par. 294.
- ¹⁶N. Struyck in *Inleiding Tot De Algemeene Geographie* (1740). My MS copy does not give the pages.
- ¹⁷J. P. Süssmilch in *Die Göttliche Ordnung* (1742), page 97. The first edition, 1741, is very scarce; that of 1742, probably an exact reproduction, is more common. There is one in the library of the Surgeon-General at Washington and another in the library of Columbia University.
- ¹⁸Robert Wallace in *Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind* (1753).
- ¹⁹J. F. Bielfeld in *Institutions Politiques* (1760) vol. II, page 308. This is merely a reproduction of Süssmilch's estimate of 1741.
- ²⁰J. P. Süssmilch in *Die Göttliche Ordnung* (2d Ed. 1761-2), vol. II, page 233.
- ²¹Anton F. Büsching in *Neue Erdbeschreibung* (trans. 1762), vol. I, page 47. I have not seen the original, the publication of which began in 1754.
- ²²Voltaire in *Oeuvres*, vol. 24, page 581. The statement of Balbi followed by Wappäus and Knibbs that Voltaire made an estimate of 1600 million is probably incorrect.
- ²³Louis de Beausobre, *Introduction Générale à l'Etude de la Politique* (1765) vol. II, page 443, gives Europe 159 million. Balbi's reference dated 1771 and giving 1,110,000 as population of the earth, is perhaps to the Berlin edition of that date which has not been seen. There seems to be no estimate for the earth as a whole in the Amsterdam edition of 1765.
- ²⁴Moheau in *Recherches et Considerations sur La Population de la France* (1778) pages 61 ff. His figures are borrowed from Süssmilch, edition of 1742.
- ²⁵J. E. Fabri, *Geographie für alle Stände* (Leipsic 1786) pages 267 and 356.
- ²⁶William Black, *Comparative View of the Mortality of the Human Species* (London 1788) page XV.
- ²⁷Jedidiah Morse, *Geography Made Easy* (1796), page 413.
- ²⁸C. F. Volney, *Tableau du Climat et du Sol des Etats-Unis d'Amerique* (Paris 1803) footnote pages 474f. American translation 1804, pages 391-3, footnote.
- ²⁹John Pinkerton, *Modern Geography* (Phila. 1804), vol. I, page 3.
- ³⁰Fabri's figures for Africa and America will be found in Worcester's *Geographical Dictionary or Universal Gazetteer* (1817), vol. II, end.
- ³¹Johann G. A. Galletti, *Allgemeine Weltkunde* (Leipsic 1807), page 2.
- ³²G. Hassel, *Statistische Uebersichtstabellen* (Göttingen 1809), page 48.
- ³³*Almanach de Gotha 1810*, page 32.
- ³⁴Malte-Brun, *Précis de la Géographie Universelle*. The original has not been seen, but only the translation published in Boston in 1824 and giving slightly different figures. Those for 1810 as given by Wagner, and for 1804 and 1810 as given by Balbi, are confirmed by a note in an undated edition of Malte-Brun printed after his death in 1826. It gives his estimate for the several continents in 1810 as reported by Wagner except that the latter's 360 million for Asia is divided into 320 to 340 million for Asia and 20 million for Oceanica.
- ³⁵J. Pinkerton and C. A. Walckenaer, *Abrégé de Géographie Moderne* (Paris 1811), page 3. According to Worcester, *Geog. Dict. or Univ. Gazet.* (2d ed. 1823), Pinkerton gave Asia 500 instead of 400 and thus the earth 700 instead of 600.
- ³⁶Jedidiah Morse. Balbi says only "Morse in 1812." The only work published by Morse in that year was "The American Universal Geography" (6th edition). As it contains no estimate of the population of the earth the citation is probably an error.
- ³⁷Graberg von Hemsö. J. E. Worcester's *Geographical Dictionary or Universal Gazetteer* (2d edition 1823) gives from Graberg the same total as Balbi and adds the details for the continents.
- ³⁸J. E. Worcester, *Geographical Dictionary or Universal Gazetteer* (1817) estimate at end of Vol. II (unpagged).
- ³⁹John Thomson & Co., *New General Atlas* (Edinburgh 1817), page XXII.
- ⁴⁰Adam Christian Gaspari, G. Hassel and J. G. F. Cannabich, *Handbuch der neuesten Erdbeschreibung* (Weimar 1819), vol. I, page 329, par. 72.
- ⁴¹Rev. J. Goldsmith (Sir Richard Phillipps). *Grammar of General Geography* (London 1821) page 12. Balbi's ascription to him of an estimate of 800 million in the same year, 1821, has not been verified.
- ⁴²J. E. Worcester, *Elements of Geography* (Boston 1822). This is probably the second edition of his *Elements of Geography, Ancient and Modern* (Boston 1819, etc.).
- ⁴³Of the three estimates ascribed to Letronne (Antoine Jean) and dated 1824, 1825 and 1829, the last two which agree have been verified, and the first which agrees with the other two in its total, probably agrees with them also for the several continents.
- ⁴⁴Achille Meissas and Auguste Michelot. *Nouvelle Géographie Methodique* (2d ed. 1828), page 333.
- ⁴⁵*Almanach de Gotha 1828*, page 112.

⁴⁰*Oriental Herald and Journal of General Literature*, vol. 21 (1829), pages 13-23 and 257-70.

⁴¹*Almanach de Gotha 1829*, page 117.

⁴²F. A. Brockhaus, *Real-Encyclopedie* (8th ed. 1833), Art. "Erde" in vol. 3, page 678.

⁴³T. G. Bradford, *Abridgement of Universal Geography compiled chiefly from Balbi's Abrégé* (Boston 1835), page 15.

⁴⁴Friedrich de Rougemont, *Geographie des Menschen* (trans. in 1839 of a French edition of 1838), pages 13, 26, 63, 182.

⁴⁵Moritz Fränzl, *Statistik* (Vienna 1838), page 62.

⁴⁶Omalius d'Halloy, probably his undated *Notions élémentaires de Statistique* (Paris), pages 95 and 97, give a classification by religion totaling 737 million and another by race totaling 750 million.

⁴⁷Christoph Bernoulli, *Handbuch der Populationistik* (1841), page 25.

⁴⁸Balbi, *Le Potenze Preponderanti del Globo* (1843), page 7.

TABLE II.

POPULATION OF THE EARTH AND OF THE CONTINENTS SINCE 1850, ACCORDING TO THE ESTIMATES IN HÜBNER'S *Geographisch-Statistische Tabellen* AND OTHER SOURCES

The population of the several countries of the world, so far as it had then been ascertained, has been reported annually through a long series of years in the *Almanach de Gotha* (since 1823), in *Hübner's Tabellen* (since 1850), and in *The Statesman's Year Book* (since 1863). Of these three sources the best for present purposes is *Hübner's Tabellen*, because its figures are regularly combined into totals for each continent and for the world as a whole. No unbroken series of Hübner is to be found in any one library, and no American library is known to contain even half of the small volumes, but that difficulty has been surmounted with the help of the present editor of the series, Professor Eugen Würzburger, President of the Statistical Bureau of Saxony, who enlisted the aid of Dr. Heinrich Seidel of Leipzig. Dr. Seidel prepared the figures from Hübner presented in the following Table II for the years 1850-1900, inclusive. Those from the same source for the years 1901-1927 have been supplied from copies of Hübner in my own library. Dr. Seidel's compilation has been supplemented also by the insertion of a few tabulations drawn from one or another of the five authorities on whose work Table I is based.

Dr. Seidel did not succeed in finding issues of Hübner for 1853, 1856 and 1862, and doubts whether they were published. The full tables in manuscript, showing the population of each country as reported for each year within the half century, have been deposited in the Library of Congress.

TABLE II

ESTIMATES, ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY, OF THE POPULATION OF THE EARTH AND OF THE CONTINENTS, BASED UPON O. HÜBNER'S *Geographisch-statistische Tabellen*, Supplemented by Other Sources, 1851-1930.¹
(In Millions)

Date ²	Source	Com- piler	Earth	Eu- rope	Asia	Africa	America	Aus- tralia	Polar Region
1851			1,055	263	704	27.6	56.9	4.5	.....
1852			1,001	264	643	32.4	58.0	4.6	.....
1853									.....
1854			1,007	265	645	32.4	58.9	5.1	.....
1854	von Reden ³	3	1,135	266	763	46	56	4 ^a	.....
1855			1,007	265	645	32.4	59.0	5.1	.....
1856									.....
1857			1,043	270	668	33.8	66.6	5.5	.....
1858			1,067	274	683	38.9	65.5	5.5	.....
1859			1,068	274	684	38.9	65.6	5.5	.....
1859	Dieterici ⁴	3	1,288	272	755	200	59	2 ^a	.....
1860			1,074	276	684	40.6	68.2	5.6	.....
1861			1,093	279	700	40.6	68.1	5.5	.....
1862									.....
1863			1,143	285	741	41.2	70.2	5.7	.....
1864			1,144	284	742	41.1	70.9	5.7	.....
1865-66			1,148	286	743	41.1	72.0	5.7	.....
1866	Behm ⁵	3	1,350	285	799	188	75	4 ^a	.....
1866-67			1,146	284	743	41.1	72.4	5.8	.....
1868			1,136	292	721	40.4	78.2	4.8	.....
1868	Behm.....	3	1,375	293	805	191	81	4 ^a	.....
1869			1,308	293	813	112	83.1	7.0	.....
1870			1,300	293	803	114	83.6	7.0	.....
1870	Behm ⁷	3	1,359	295	782	193	84	4 ^a	.....
1871			1,309	293	824	100	85.6	7.0	.....
1872			1,318	299	825	101	86.6	7.1	.....
1872	Behm and Wagner ⁸	3	1,377	302	794	193	85	4 ^a	.....
1873			1,314	300	821	100	86.6	6.3	.....
1874			1,369	301	799	175	87.9	6.4	.....
1874	Behm and Wagner ⁹	3	1,391	301	798	203	85	4 ^a	.....
1875			1,365	302	799	170	86.9	6.5	.....
1875	Behm and Wagner ¹⁰	6	1,397	303	799	206	84	5 ^a	.....
1876			1,365	302	799	170	86.9	6.5	.....
1876	Behm and Wagner ¹¹	6	1,424	309	825	200	86	5 ^a	.....
1877			1,380	305	802	178	87.9	6.7	.....
1878			1,410	309	827	178	87.3	7.8	.....
1878	Behm and Wagner ¹²	6	1,439	312	831	205	86	4 ^a	.....
1879			1,412	311	832	174	87.4	7.9	.....
1880			1,411	313	828	175	87.1	7.9	.....
1880	Behm and Wagner ¹³	6	1,456	316	835	206	95	4 ^a	.....
1881			1,428	316	828	178	92.2	6.6	.....
1882			1,429	317	827	179	99.3	6.6	.....
1882	Behm and Wagner.....	5	1,434	328	796	206	100	4 ^a	.....
1883			1,413	329	795	181	101	6.7	.....
1884			1,435	331	796	196	103	7.7	.....
1885			1,480	336	829	196	110	7.9	.....
1886			1,484	339	830	196	112	8.3	.....
1887			1,488	341	828	198	112	8.5	.....
1888			1,497	344	831	199	115	8.5	.....
1889			1,509	348	831	200	121	8.6	.....
1890			1,514	350	832	200	123	8.8	.....
1891	Wagner and Supan.....	6	1,480	357	826	164	122	11 ^a	.....
1891-92			1,552	358	858	201	124	10.4	.....
1893			1,486	361	826	166	124	9.2	.....
1894			1,496	364	828	165	129	9.5	.....
1895			1,502	366	828	165	133	9.6	.....
1896			1,512	373	831	166	133	9.7	.....
1897			1,535	379	837	174	136	9.7	.....
1898			1,545	381	842	175	137	9.9	.....
1899			1,550	382	843	175	139	9.9	.....
1900			1,551	384	841	176	141	10.0	.....
1901			1,558	391	839	177	144	6.2	0.08
1902			1,539	392	814	182	145	6.5	0.02
1903			1,547	393	821	180	146	6.5	0.01
1904			1,524	398	821	149	148	6.6	0.01

TABLE II (continued)

Date	Source	Com- piler	Earth	Eu- rope	Asia	Africa	America	Aus- tralia	Polar Region	
1904	Supan.....	6	1,503	392	820	141	144	6*	.....
1905			1,525	402	823	143	151	7.7	0.01	
1906			1,538	418	826	113	154	6.8	0.01	
1907			1,547	422	829	133	156	6.9	0.01	
1908			1,554	426	827	134	161	6.7	0.01	
1909			1,560	430	829	130	165	6.8	0.01	
1910			1,568	436	831	127	168	6.9	0.01	
1911			1,720	444	955	138	175	7.5	0.01	
1912			1,679	447	909	139	177	7.3	0.01	
1913			1,632	448	863	134	179	7.4	0.01	
1914			1,657	452	871	136	190	7.8	0.015	
1915		
1916			1,671	459	875	136	193	7.9	0.015	
1917}			1,689	462	885	137	197	8.0	0.015	
1918}										
1919			.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1920			1,712	468	895	136	204	8.0	0.015	
1921			.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1922			.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1923			.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1924	1,790	439	1,007	126	210	7.8	.....		
1925	1,813	451	1,011	134	209	7.9	.....		
1926	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1927	1,867	475	1,024	132	228	8.6	0.016			
1928	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1929	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1930	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

* For Oceanica.

¹ Unless another source is noted, the figures are from Hübner.

² The figures speak for the year of publication, the returns being for varying dates shortly preceding that year.

³ F. W. L. von Reden, *Deutschland und das übrige Europa* (Wiesbaden 1854), page 20.

⁴ K. F. W. Dieterici, "Die Bevölkerung der Erde" in Petermann's *Mittheilungen* (1859), pages 1-19.

⁵ E. Behm, *Geographisches Jahrbuch 1866*, page 128.

⁶ E. Behm, *Geographisches Jahrbuch 1868*, page 81.

⁷ E. Behm, *Geographisches Jahrbuch 1870*, page 90.

⁸ E. Behm and H. Wagner *Die Bevölkerung der Erde* I (1872), page v.

9 " " " " " " " " I (1874), page v.

10 " " " " " " " " III (1875), page vii.

11 " " " " " " " " IV (1876), page vii.

12 " " " " " " " " V (1878), page vii.

13 " " " " " " " " VI (1880), page ix.

E. G. Ravenstein (in *Statesman's Year-Book 1891*, p. xxiii), dated 1890:

Europe	380.2
Asia	830
Africa	127
Australasia	4.73
No. America	89.25
So. America	36.42
Earth	<u>1,467.6</u>

APPENDIX II

CRITIQUE OF OFFICIAL UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

By

MARIAN RUBINS DAVIS.

Students of migration into the United States depend almost exclusively for statistical records of the movement upon American official data. To what extent are these figures reliable? What is the population movement which they attempt to measure? A complete answer to these questions lies beyond the scope of the present note. It may serve, however, to raise a number of questions often ignored and contribute towards answering some of them.

The report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration usually contains a table giving the official figures for total immigration into the United States by years, 1820 to date. These figures are assembled from various sources and admittedly do not form a homogeneous series. In the first place, they do not employ a uniform year. Beginning with 1869 they have used the twelve months ending June 30, but for the preceding half century 28 were for calendar years, 7 for fiscal years ending September 30, two for 15-month periods ending December 31, one for a 9-month period ending September 30, and one for a 6-month period ending June 30.¹ This lack of uniformity leads to confusion and inaccuracy in the tables. It reflects the irregular periods covered by the reports originally published, but could have been obviated had the compilers chosen to assemble the material according to some uniform scheme.

A more important defect is that the statistical unit varies. "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 1927, for immigrant aliens admitted."² Thus a note appended to the table attempts to indicate the changes. It is misleading. The change made in 1868 was a substantial one, the others were verbal; significant changes, not mentioned in the note, are revealed by an examination of the sources.

In accordance with the Act of 1819, and later the Act of 1855, the Secretary of State annually presented to Congress a statement

¹This is the arrangement in the 1929 report (see its Table 81). Slight variations are to be found in the reports for other years.

²Report for 1929, Table 81, head note.

concerning passengers arriving in the United States. This statement, compiled from returns received from the collectors of customs, gave the number of passengers, the age and sex of most of them, and, for most of them, the occupation and the country of birth or country to which they belonged, the precise meaning of the word "belong" in the table headings being left to inference. Beginning with 1854 there is information also with regard to the country in which passengers declared their intention of residing. The series begins with the quarter ending December 31, 1819, and is continued until 1874.¹ In the first report the information is given passenger by passenger

TABLE III.

NUMBER OF ALIEN PASSENGERS ARRIVING IN THE UNITED STATES, 1826-1866, AS RECORDED IN CONGRESSIONAL DOCUMENTS AND IN STATE DEPARTMENT REPORTS.

Year	Totals according to		Difference	Year	Totals according to		Difference
	Congressional documents	State Department			Congressional Documents	State Department	
1826 ^a	10,837	10,449	-388	1846 ^e	154,416	154,382	-34
1827 ^a	18,875	18,732	-143	1847 ^e	234,968	235,081	+113
1828 ^a	27,382	28,690	1,308	1848 ^e	226,527	226,521	-6
1829 ^a	22,520	15,303	-7,217	1849 ^e	297,024	297,001	-23
1830 ^a	23,322	9,468	-13,854	1850 ^f	369,980	339,950	-30,030
1831 ^a	22,633	15,721	-6,912	1851 ^g	379,466	379,466	0
1832 ^a	60,482	37,130	-23,352	1852 ^g	371,603	370,603	-1,000
1833 ^a	58,640	58,334	-306	1853 ^g	368,645	368,643	-2
1834 ^a	65,365	65,411	46	1854 ^g	427,833	427,833	0
1835 ^a	45,374	45,417	43	1855 ^g	200,877	200,877	0
1836 ^a	76,242	76,920	678	1856 ^g	200,436	200,436	0
1837 ^a	79,340	78,035	-1,305	1857 ^g	251,306	251,306	0
1838 ^a	38,914	41,161	2,247	1858 ^g	123,126	123,126	0
1839 ^a	68,069	70,509	2,440	1859 ^g	121,282	121,282	0
1840 ^a	84,066	86,405	2,339	1860 ^g	153,640	153,640	0
1841 ^a	80,289	82,029	1,740	1861 ^g	91,918	92,004	86
1842 ^a	104,565	105,998	1,433	1862 ^g	91,985	91,982	-3
1843 ^a	52,496	61,803	9,307	1863 ^g	176,282	173,588	2,694
1844 ^d	78,615	78,970	355	1864 ^g	193,418	193,431	13
1845 ^a	114,371	115,864	1,493	1865 ^g	248,120	248,083	-37
1826-45	1,132,397	1,102,349	-30,048	1866 ^g	318,568	323,655	5,087
				1826-1866	6,133,817	6,075,239	-58,578

^a Years ending Sept. 30.

^b For 15 months ending Dec. 31.

^c For calendar years.

^d For 1844 for 9 months ending September 30.

^e Years ending September 30.

^f For 1850 for 15 months ending December 31.

^g For 1851-66 for calendar years.

¹The Bureau of Statistics monograph of 1903, quoted as authoritative in Volume 5 of the Immigration Commission Reports (*Statistical Review of Immigration: 1820-1910*), states that "statistics of immigration were collected by the Department of State from 1820 to 1874" (p. 3); search in the government documents has revealed published reports only through 1870 (see Table VI. p. 658), and there are gaps. The year 1833 marked the change from the practice of assembling the material by years ending September 30 to the use of the calendar year, and the last quarter of 1832 seems to have been lost in the process; the last quarter of 1867 is missing and the data for the first two quarters of 1868 are notably incomplete. A more exhaustive hunt might turn up the fugitive numbers.

(288 pages of names). In later reports it is classified by customs districts and quarters of the year. There is no systematic practice of appending totals, and those given are not reliable. The statements are full of minor omissions and inconsistencies. The official immigration figures for the years 1820-67 were presumably obtained from this material by subtracting from the number of passengers arriving the number recorded as born in or belonging to the United States. An independent calculation from the documents for 1826-66 yields 41 comparable items; of these only 8 check exactly with the official data, those for 1851 and 1854-60; 16 more items check within 1 per cent and 5 more within 2 per cent; the discrepancies in the remaining items, especially 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832 and 1843, are wide. The two sets of figures are presented in Table III, page 646.

Apparently the material was subjected before publication to drastic revision, but in the absence of information about the methods of compiling the official figures one hesitates to place much reliance upon the result.

The Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department collected statistics of immigration from 1867 through 1895.¹ Its statements, presented in much better form than those of the State Department, were based like them upon returns from the collectors of customs.² They give not only the number of passengers arriving but also the number, age, sex, occupation and country of arriving immigrants. To the Bureau of Statistics "net immigration" included all passengers arriving except United States citizens and foreigners not intending to remain in the United States, these two categories being classed as non-immigrants.³ The Bureau of Statistics figures of net immigration for 1868-91 have been adopted in the official series now in general use. To make the earlier data consistent with those figures it would be necessary, then, to subtract from the number of aliens arriving each year, 1820-67, the number not intending to remain in the United States. Information on the basis of which such a subtraction could be made is to be had in the State Department reports beginning with 1854. More useable is a published series beginning with 1856,⁴ probably compiled from this material and giving the number of "immigrants arrived" (as distinguished

¹These are the dates given in the Bureau monograph of 1903.

²The New York figures for 1867-72 constitute an exception; they were obtained from the steamship companies.

³This "net immigration" should not be confused with the "net gain" or "net increase" of later years.

⁴See *Report of the Superintendent of Immigration for 1892*, p. 17. For 1859-66 the figures coincide almost but not quite with the figures for immigrants published by the Bureau of Statistics and apparently compiled by it from outside sources.

from alien passengers). Comparison of this series with the official immigration figures for the period 1856-66 shows the former to be 98.5 per cent of the latter.¹ The official estimate of the proportion of transients among the total alien passengers arriving 1820-56 was 2 per cent. A reduction of the official figures for 1820-55 by 1½ per cent or 2 per cent and the adoption of the series mentioned above for immigrants 1856-67, would be a reasonable adjustment. It would result in a series of approximate and comparable figures for aliens arriving by sea and intending to remain in the United States 1820-91. In view of the numerous uncertainties with regard to the composition of the figures, they could be used for comparisons year by year only with extreme caution.

The United States Bureau of Immigration was established in 1892 and given supervision of the general immigration service set up at that time. Since the establishment of the Bureau its chief (at first entitled Superintendent, but after 1894 Commissioner-General) has issued for each fiscal year² a *Report* based on returns from the immigration officials on duty at the various ports of entry. The reports vary considerably from year to year in the amount and variety of their statistical data, in the care with which the material has been presented and in the amount of explanation of the figures. Tables are given in them about the age, sex, nationality, occupation, port of entry and destination of immigrants. The Bureau in compiling the official record has used its own figures for the years since it was established. By studying its annual reports and the laws and regulations governing the admission of aliens and by interviews with members of the immigration service, an attempt has been made to determine what definition of an immigrant has been adopted.

The Bureau has not adhered to one definition. This is not, of course, chargeable entirely to the officials who have been responsible for administering a set of extremely complicated and frequently changing laws. In fact the present statistical staff has shown an admirable intention to issue a set of figures that would be comparable year after year.³ The Bureau, however, has not always had so vigorous and far-sighted a chief of the statistical division as the

¹*Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1929*, Table 81.

²Ending June 30.

³The Act of 1924 made drastic changes in the legal definition of an immigrant alien. In subsequent years the Bureau published tables based on the new legal definition, but also tables based on the definition that had ruled in 1924 and previous years, and it gave the more prominent place in the report to the latter.

present incumbent and the continuity of its series of immigration figures has frequently been broken, not only by changes in the law but by changes in administrative practice over which it had, presumably, some control.

Obviously the service is not run for the sake of the statistical record, but necessary legal and administrative changes would be less confusing to one who is looking for comparable statistics if the Bureau had pointed out clearly what the changes were and to what extent they probably affected the figures. It has been necessary to piece together evidence of various sorts, some of it explicit, some of it inferential. Certain minor points, such as the treatment of alien seamen deserting in American ports, have been disregarded, first because the number of persons involved is small, and secondly because it has not been possible to determine from the evidence at hand what the Bureau's practice has been.

An immigrant, according to the Bureau of Immigration, apparently is an alien¹ officially admitted into the United States whose last permanent residence was in some foreign country and who comes with the declared intention of residing here permanently.² Before July 1907 the definitions actually used were shifting, but approached this ideal;³ since July 1907 it has been the official definition.

One bar to comparability of the immigration totals has been the extension of the jurisdiction of the Immigration Service. At its establishment, it was given the task of regulating immigration into continental United States and Alaska. The extension of its jurisdiction since 1892 is indicated in the statistics in two ways: (a) in the table classifying immigrants by ports of entry there have been additions to the list of ports: Honolulu, 1901; San Juan, Porto Rico, 1902;⁴ (b) in the table where classification is by place of intended future residence certain destinations have been added: Hawaii, 1899; Porto Rico, 1902; the Philippines, 1904; the Virgin

¹Aliens are defined in the Act of 1917 as persons not citizens native or naturalized of the United States, except Indians of the United States not taxed and citizens of the islands under the jurisdiction of the United States.

²Residence of 12 months or more is considered permanent.

³In an official agreement of 1893 (the Canadian agreement mentioned below) is found the statement that the word immigrant "shall be understood as meaning all persons who intend remaining in the United States [and] who are not already residents or citizens of the United States."

⁴The addition of Canadian ports and Canadian and Mexican border stations is discussed below. It represents more adequate control of immigration into the original territory rather than an extension of jurisdiction.

Islands, 1917.¹ The two tables are not cross-classified so the official total cannot be reduced by eliminating persons entering at newly added ports and persons destined to newly added places of future residence in order to discover what the immigration total would have been had the territory into which immigration was reported been limited to its original boundaries. It is possible, however, to eliminate separately for ports and for destinations and compare the results. Each process reduces the official total by less than 2 per cent for every year but 1918 and 1919, and less than 3 per cent for those years. The figures almost agree, so it makes little difference which is chosen as the subtrahend. On the whole it seems preferable to subtract the admissions at new ports.

If, now, the figures before 1908 are examined, with the idea of adjusting them so as to build up a series consistent with the definition of an immigrant adopted in that year and retained thereafter, the difficulties prove to be numerous. One of them can be settled readily and with confidence. Debarred aliens were included in the totals for 1895, 1896 and 1897; their number, which should of course be subtracted, is given in the reports.

A more troublesome problem arises in connection with aliens traveling first or second class. No point in the interpretation of the statistics is more baffling than the question whether these "cabin aliens" were included in the totals. New York counted only steerage aliens as immigrants in 1895, and at other ports presumably the practice was the same. The total for all ports in 1897, 1898 and 1899 is definitely said to include only steerage passengers. The report for 1899 estimates that there were in that year 25,000 aliens who arrived first or second class "who intended to remain here and who would have been classified as immigrants had they traveled in the steerage." We have good evidence that, until after 1903, cabin aliens were not included as a rule among the immigrants, although as early as 1900 protests were mentioned in the reports against the class discrimination that led immigration officers to consider all steerage aliens immigrants, but exempt cabin aliens from inspection. A passage in the 1903 Report suggests that the total number of cabin aliens entering that year (64,269) were immigrants, though they were not so counted. Probably cabin aliens were included beginning with 1904, but in 1904 and 1905

¹Admissions into the Philippines, controlled by the "officers of the general government" of the Philippines and not by the Immigration Service, are given in a separate table and not included in the official immigration totals.

there seems to have been some confusion between cabin aliens and aliens in transit (who supposedly were not classed as immigrants). As late as 1912 the inspection and consequently to some extent the count of immigrant aliens traveling in the first or second class were said to be inadequate. The report of the New York Commissioner for that year urges better inspection of cabin aliens, giving as one reason the fact that the government is cheated of revenue when the levy of the head tax on immigrants is dependent upon steamship lists of arrivals.¹ Errors are said to be frequent, especially in taking as citizens persons who have not yet received their final naturalization papers. "Even the present imperfect cabin inspection has increased the Government revenues by thousands of dollars a year." How much the immigration totals should be augmented on account of cabin aliens it is hard to say. If the numbers cited above for 1899 and 1903 are accepted, the total for each of those years should be increased by 8 per cent, shifting into the immigrant class in the former case about half and in the latter case all the alien passengers. On the basis of this and other information, cabin immigrants might be estimated as between 6 and 12 per cent of the official figures 1892-1903. Probably the most reasonable course is to accept the figure for 1899 (25,000) and increase the official totals by 8 per cent for the other years on account of cabin aliens.

The discrepancy between the Bureau of Statistics series and that of the Immigration Bureau for the years in which they overlap (1892-5) is great. It has been suggested that the larger figures of the Bureau of Statistics "include many who were counted by the Bureau of Immigration as temporary or non-immigrant arrivals."² That no doubt is true. But the Bureau of Statistics itself excluded from its immigration figures a number of aliens not intending to remain in the United States. It based its count also on returns from customs officers who, unlike immigration officers, are more concerned with cabin than with steerage passengers. It seems likely that some of the "temporary" arrivals included by the Bureau of Statistics but excluded by the Immigration Bureau were cabin aliens intending to reside in the United States and therefore properly considered immigrants.³

¹Report of Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1912, p. 22 f.

²An official of the Immigration Bureau, quoted by H. Jerome in *Migration and Business Cycles*, p. 30.

	Bureau of Statistics		Bureau of Immigration	
	Immigrants	Other Aliens	Immigrants	Other Aliens
1892	623,084	21,269	579,663	64,690
1893	502,917	40,750	439,730	.....
1894	314,467	32,940	285,631	.....
1895	279,948	21,201	258,536	.....

In the first two years after its creation (1892 and 1893) the Bureau of Immigration did not attempt to count immigrants entering the United States from or through British North America or Mexico. On September 9, 1893, an agreement was concluded between the Superintendent of Immigration and the steamship lines plying between Europe and Canada and railroads in Canada, whereby the steamship companies were to bring to designated ports of inspection in Canada all their immigrants destined for the United States, and only upon presentation of certificates issued to immigrants by officials who had completed their inspection were the railroad companies to sell them transportation. The agreement became effective in October, 1893, and accordingly entries through Canada were included for the first time in the report for 1894. So the Bureau, early in its history, came to grips with what has been its most perplexing problem—control of immigration over the land boundaries.¹ The extension of the border service, on both northern and southern borders, has been gradual. In 1906 for the first time, Canadian and Mexican border stations were expressly included in the points of entry in the main immigration tables, but the former had actually been included since 1893 and two of the Mexican border stations—one of them El Paso, the most important—at least as early as 1904, while there is evidence that an arrangement similar to the Canadian was functioning in Mexico in 1902. It seems impracticable to adjust the official totals for immigrants coming through Mexico; we might, however, increase the figures for 1892 and 1893 on account of entries through Canada.² We have an estimate from Canadian sources for Europeans who entered the United States after landing at Quebec and Halifax during the twelve months preceding October 1893, but it seems unreliable; a more reasonable adjustment would be to add each year the average number of entries through Canada for the first five years after the agreement went into effect. This is, in round numbers, 10,000; that figure can hardly be too large, for it is only about one-fifth of the Canadian estimate.

In no year, however, is the record complete. In spite of all efforts the amount of clandestine immigration through Canada and Mexico has been great. The reports of the Bureau mention it frequently,

¹The Department of State had recorded until 1855 only passengers arriving by sea; in that year an attempt was made to count persons entering across the northern border, but it seems to have had little success.

²An addition to the figure for 1894 on account of the missing first quarter of that year seems an unwarranted refinement.

indicate some of the methods of evasion and deplore the entry by this route of large numbers of diseased and otherwise undesirable aliens. These clandestine migrants, it would seem, are chiefly from the Old World, but since the imposition of the literacy test numbers of Mexicans have entered in that way. The Bureau lauded the work of the border patrol and denounced those who crossed in violation of the law. But under the pressure of a war-time demand for labor on the large farms of the southwest, on the railroads and in certain government industries, and using its discretionary power, it waived requirements which it had urged in time of peace, and admitted over 70,000 otherwise inadmissible aliens with no reasonable expectation of being able to enforce their departure later. These admissions constitute an exception to its usual policy. Increasing rigor of inspection and exclusion, especially under the restrictive measures of recent years, have increased the incentive to clandestine entry. Little reliance can be placed upon estimates of the amount of clandestine immigration;¹ from the nature of the case they are peculiarly liable to error. For the most part the Bureau has refrained from definite statements and such estimates as it has made do not inspire confidence.²

It is impossible, therefore, to say how much the official immigration figures understate the amount of border immigration; even on their showing, the stream through the neighboring countries has been considerable.

For some time the service at the Canadian ports and on the borders was concerned only with inspecting and recording immigrants from other countries entering the United States through Canada or Mexico. This included, theoretically, not only those arriving at Canadian or Mexican ports manifested for the United States and proceeding directly thither, but also those crossing the

¹[In this connection see comments on Mexican migration, p. 581 ff.—Ed.]

²See, for example, the estimate in the 1923 *Report* (page 12) of illegal entries of all kinds. It was necessary, on the ground of failure to prove legal entry into the United States to refuse 20 per cent of the applications of alien residents for re-entry permits during 1925 (the first year in which such permits were required). The total number of applications acted upon was about 90,000. On this basis the Bureau estimated that 20 per cent of the alien population of 7,000,000 might be found unable to prove legal entry into the United States. But the failure to establish legal entry is by no means proof that an alien entered in an unlawful manner, for the Bureau's records are so kept that an alien, to prove that he entered legally, must state the date, place and ship and in many cases the spelling, often incorrect, given his name on the manifest sheet. Furthermore, in 1926 and 1927 the proportion of refusals instead of 20 per cent was only 5 per cent. Lastly the large majority of the 7,000,000 aliens in 1920—if the figures for 1900 may be taken as a guide—had been in the United States more than 5 years and entered therefore before any drastic legal restrictions had been imposed.

border into the United States shortly after landing in Canada or Mexico. It did not, however, include citizens or permanent residents¹ of Canada or Mexico coming from such territory. The regulations of July 1, 1907, ordered the inclusion, as immigrants, of residents and citizens of Canada or Mexico entering the United States. One must ask at once whether this regulation constituted a real departure or merely crystallized an innovation that had crept in gradually. From the evidence at hand it would appear that through 1903 the practice had been unchanged. Probably in 1904, and almost certainly in 1905, 1906 and 1907, alien residents of Canada or Mexico entering the United States were included as immigrants, but native Canadians and Mexicans coming from Canada and Mexico were not regularly included until 1908.² Information is found in the reports of the United States Commissioner of Immigration at Montreal about Canadian citizens admitted to the United States for permanent residence, 1908-14. Their number amounts on the average to 4 per cent of the official immigration minus this class of immigrants. The information about Mexican citizens is scant and unsatisfactory; about 2 per cent might be added to the immigration figures before 1908, for uncounted Mexican immigrants.

The term "non-immigrant alien" is found in reports before 1906, but its consistent and systematic use dates from that time. Non-immigrant aliens are "arriving aliens whose last permanent residence was in the United States, and other arriving aliens whose final destination is not within the United States," including tourists and aliens in transit to other countries.³

Aliens resident for one year or more in foreign contiguous territory coming for a temporary sojourn in the United States are not included. The total number of non-immigrants is given, beginning with 1906, and for each year, 1906-20, there is a table of non-immigrants classified by country of last permanent residence and country of final destination, furnishing a basis for a tentative

¹Permanent residence is generally defined as residence of 12 months or more, but as late as 1901 only those aliens from foreign contiguous territory were counted as immigrants who were manifested to this country or who entered "within 30 days after their arrival at the ports of such foreign contiguous territory."

²From 1894 through 1907 the figure for total immigration included a number of immigrants "from" British North America and Mexico whose exact status it is impossible to determine. Until 1904 the number was inconsiderable. Beginning with 1899, when the classification by "race or people" was adopted, we have in the reports figures for Mexican immigrants admitted from Mexico, but until 1908 they are very small.

³This definition differs from the earlier definition of non-immigrants by the Bureau of Statistics.

classification of the total into the three great classes: tourists, transits, and persons resuming domicile in the United States. Transits, in general, are non-immigrant aliens giving as their destination a country outside of the United States on a continent other than the one in which they had their last permanent residence; tourists are those who give as their destination a country in the same continent as their last permanent residence; and persons resuming United States domicile are those who give the United States as the last permanent residence and the destination. Certain qualifications should be noted, however: (a) Non-immigrant aliens from British North America going to other North American countries (excepting of course the United States), and persons from other North American countries going to British North America, are regarded as transits, not tourists. (b) Non-immigrants giving the United States as either their last permanent residence or their destination are not included as tourists or transits. Persons from the United States and not destined to it, and persons destined to it but not having had their last permanent residence in it, do not fall into the third class or persons resuming domicile, but form a sort of doubtful fringe which prevents the classification from being exhaustive. (c) That fringe is increased by persons, except those from or destined to Europe or Asia or the United States, who give "other countries" (unspecified) as their destination or last permanent residence. They have been excluded because it is impossible to say whether they should be called tourists or transits. In only one year (1906) did the doubtful fringe amount to as much as 1 per cent of the total number of non-immigrants, and in that year it was less than 2 per cent. Our classification¹ shows the number of aliens resuming domicile to be a little more than half of the total number, and the class of transits to be more numerous than tourists for the whole period but fewer in 1915 and following years.

Beginning with 1906 non-immigrant aliens have been excluded from the immigration totals. There is reason to suppose that the Immigration Bureau theoretically excluded tourists and transits from the beginning.² In the 1903 report, however, there is a statement to the effect that exemption from head tax of aliens in transit is impracticable because it is too difficult to determine whether aliens are in transit or not. Probably a small number of tourists

¹For the figures see Table IV, page 656.

²Except in 1898 when aliens in transit were expressly included, and in 1905 when tourists were included. As figures are given for these groups the appropriate adjustments can be easily made.

TABLE IV.
CLASSIFICATION OF NON-IMMIGRANT ALIENS.

Fiscal Year	Resuming U. S. Domicile	Transits	Tourists	Going from		Indeterminate	Total
				U. S. to Other Countries	Other Countries to U. S.		
1906	20,616	30,459	9,853	160	257	673	65,618
1907	88,674	49,617	14,285	213	...	331	153,120
1908	86,570	40,738	14,247	244	...	26	141,825
1909	138,680	34,890	18,632	235	...	12	192,449
1910	94,075	35,749	26,342	294	...	7	156,467
1911	83,818	38,378	29,342	160	...	15	151,713
1912	90,458	57,057	31,059	396	...	13	178,983
1913	102,604	92,543	33,630	546	...	12	229,335
1914	94,689	53,990	35,497	268	...	157	184,601
1915	62,667	20,645	23,812	268	...	152	107,544
1916	32,628	13,556	21,430	287	...	21	67,922
1917	30,805	13,694	22,520	322	...	133	67,474
1918	24,907	14,523	61,356	384	...	65	101,235
1919	27,025	28,712	39,781	262	2	107	95,889
1920	83,747	46,578	60,452	528	39	231	191,575
1906-20	1,061,963	574,729	442,238	4,567	298	1,955	2,085,750

and transits coming in the steerage were mistakenly classed each year as immigrants; how many, it is impossible to say. The numbers of tourists and transits in the classification of non-immigrants for 1906-20 would give material from which to estimate the maximum number of such persons for each of the earlier years, but it would be unreasonable to designate any percentage of that maximum as the number of such aliens wrongly classed as immigrants. With aliens resuming domicile in this country the situation is more definite. In 1905 and presumably in earlier years they were considered immigrants. In 1906 and since they have been classed as non-immigrants and excluded from the immigration totals. If we add to the immigration totals for the years 1906-20 the number of aliens resuming domicile according to the classification of non-immigrants, and work out the relation of the number of aliens resuming domicile to that sum, percentages are reached varying from less than one to more than 18, with an average of 10 per cent.

In view of all this confusion, is it possible to take the bull by the horns, make all the suggested adjustments and offer an estimated series of immigration figures which will be based on the official definition of 1907?

The following steps can be taken: (1) subtract from the official totals the number of admissions each year to outlying possessions, thus restricting the data to continental United States and Alaska; (2) subtract from the figures for 1895, 1896 and 1897 the number of aliens debarred, from the figure for 1898 the number of transits, and from the figure for 1905 the number of tourists; (3) add 10,000 to each of the figures for 1892 and 1893, for entries through Canada; (4) increase the figure each year, 1892-1907, by 6 per cent of the total on account of Canadian and Mexican immigrants; (5) add 25,000 to the figure for 1899 and increase the total figure for each year, 1892-98 and 1900-03, by 8 per cent on account of cabin immigrants and (6) subtract 10 per cent of the total from each figure, 1892-1905 on account of aliens resuming domicile in this country. Carrying these steps through one obtains the figures given in Table V under "Consistent Series."

The chances of error in these adjustments are many, and the divergence of the figures in the final series from the corresponding official totals is no indication of the accuracy of either. Successive additions and subtractions may leave one at the end near the starting point, but the risk of the journey is to be measured by the greatness of the additions and subtractions rather than by the smallness of the net change. No strong claims are made for the "Consistent Series" of Table V. At best it is a guess and will have served its purpose if it suggests how variable, from year to year, have been the bases of these important figures.

TABLE V

OFFICIAL AND "CONSISTENT" IMMIGRATION TOTALS FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1892-1927

Year	Official Totals	"Consistent Series"	"Consistent Series" Diff.	Year	Official Totals	"Consistent Series"	Consistent Series Diff.
1892	579,663	613,000	+33,337	1910	1,041,570	1,036,000	-5,570
1893	439,730	467,000	+27,270	1911	878,587	873,000	-5,587
1894	285,631	297,000	+11,369	1912	838,172	830,000	-8,172
1895	258,536	266,000	+7,464	1913	1,197,892	1,191,000	-6,892
1896	343,267	354,000	+10,733	1914	1,218,480	1,212,000	-6,480
1897	230,832	238,000	+7,168	1915	326,700	323,000	-3,700
1898	229,299	236,000	+6,701	1916	298,826	295,000	-3,826
1899	311,715	324,000	+12,285	1917	295,403	291,000	-4,403
1900	448,572	467,000	+18,428	1918	110,618	107,000	-3,618
1901	487,918	506,000	+18,082	1919	141,132	138,000	-3,132
1902	648,743	664,000	+15,257	1920	430,001	427,000	-3,001
1903	857,046	875,000	+17,954	1921	805,228	802,000	-3,228
1904	812,870	770,000	-42,870	1922	309,556	307,000	-2,556
1905	1,026,499	970,000	-56,499	1923	522,919	520,000	-2,919
1906	1,100,735	1,156,000	+55,265	1924	706,896	704,000	-2,896
1907	1,285,349	1,337,000	+51,651	1925	294,314	294,000	-314
1908	782,870	771,000	-11,870	1926	304,488	304,000	-488
1909	751,786	749,000	-2,786	1927	335,175	335,000	-175
1892-1900	10,881,061	11,060,000	+178,939	1910-27	10,055,957	9,989,000	-66,957
				1892-1927	20,937,018	21,049,000	+111,982

TABLE VI.

STATE DEPARTMENT REPORTS CONTAINING IMMIGRATION STATISTICS, 1820-1870.

<i>Year ending Sept. 30:</i>				<i>Document</i>			
1820	16th	Congr.	2nd	Senate	Document	No.	118
1821	17th	"	1st	House	"	"	134
1822	17th	"	2nd	"	"	"	107
1823	18th	"	1st	"	Executive Document	"	161
1824	18th	"	2nd	"	Document	"	108
1825	19th	"	1st	"	Executive Document	"	175
1826	19th	"	2nd	"	"	"	143
1827	20th	"	1st	"	"	"	287
1828	20th	"	2nd	"	"	"	141
1829	21st	"	1st	"	"	"	114
1830	21st	"	2nd	"	"	"	127
1831	22nd	"	1st	"	"	"	293
1832	22nd	"	2nd	"	"	"	119
<i>Calendar Year:</i>							
1833	23rd	"	1st	House	Executive Document	"	319
1834	23rd	"	2nd	"	"	"	184
1835	24th	"	1st	"	"	"	237
1836	24th	"	2nd	Senate	Document	"	178
1837	25th	"	2nd	House	Executive Document	"	427
1838	25th	"	3rd	Senate	Document	"	252
1839	26th	"	1st	House	Executive Document	"	254
1840	26th	"	2nd	"	"	"	116
1841	27th	"	2nd	"	"	"	219
1842	27th	"	3rd	"	"	"	177
1843							
<i>Year ending Sept. 30:</i>							
1844	28th	"	2nd	House	Executive Document	"	13
1845	29th	"	1st	"	"	"	216
1846	29th	"	2nd	"	"	"	98
1847	30th	"	1st	"	"	"	47
1848	30th	"	2nd	"	"	"	10
1849	31st	"	1st	"	"	"	7
<i>Quarter ending Dec. 31:</i>							
1850	31st	"	2nd	House	Executive Document	"	100
<i>Calendar Year:</i>							
1851	32nd	"	1st	House	Executive Document	"	100
1852	32nd	"	2nd	"	"	"	45
1853	31st	"	1st	"	"	"	78
1854	33rd	"	2nd	"	"	"	77
1855	34th	"	1st	"	"	"	29
1856	34th	"	3rd	"	"	"	78
1857	35th	"	1st	"	"	"	62
1858	35th	"	2nd	"	"	"	92
1859	36th	Congr.	1st	House	Executive Document	"	32
1860	36th	"	2nd	"	"	"	81
1861	37th	"	2nd	"	"	"	111
1862	37th	"	3rd	"	"	"	67
1863	38th	"	1st	"	"	"	53
1864	38th	"	2nd	"	"	"	76
1865-6	39th	"	1st	"	"	"	65
1866-7	39th	"	2nd	"	"	"	39
1867-8	40th	"	2nd	"	"	"	18
1869	41st	"	2nd	"	"	"	235
1870	41st	"	3rd	"	"	"	92

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INDEX

INDEX

(*indicates a diagram)

A

Aboriginal Population,

America, 54ff, 80f

Central, 56ff

Latin, 56ff

North, 55, 57, 66, 70, 75

South, 57f, 60f, 77

Assimilation of, 190

Cuba, 56

Mexico, 56ff, 80, 582

New Zealand, 179ff

Western Hemisphere, 80f

West Indies, 57f

Africa

Area, 78

Immigration

Danish, 299

German, 357

Hungarian, 420

Norwegian, 299

Swedish, 299

Population, 34f

17th Century, 45, 48f, 53f, 63, 69

Riccioli's estimate, 54

18th Century, 64, 69, 71

19th Century, 74ff

Dieterici's estimate, 75

Estimates,

1650-1929, 78

1650-1850, 640

1851-1927, 81*

1851-1930, 643f

Present, 43

Rate of Increase, 79, 80, 82

United States citizens resident in, 106

See also East Africa

Agricultural conditions affecting emigration, 249f, 272ff, 532ff, 548ff, 562f, 578;
see also under countries

Algeria,

Emigration, native,

to France, 232

Immigration, French, 206

Alien,

Defined, 649 footnote 1

Non-Immigrant,

Defined, 654

America

Aboriginal population, 54ff, 80f

Bryce, on, 81

Keane, on, 81

Sapper, on, 57

Spinden, on, 80

Emigration,

Hungarian, 437

Immigration,

Danish, 299

German, 356

Hungarian, by destination, 434

Italian, 449

Russian, 576

by linguistic stocks, 577

Russian-Polish, 537

Swedish, 299

Mestizo Population estimates,

of Bryce, 81

Keane, 81

Willcox, 81

Population

17th Century, 45, 48f

18th Century, 64ff

Estimates,

1650-1850, 640

1851-1927, 81*

1851, 1930, 643f

American, defined, 583 footnote 2

Amerind, *see* Aboriginal Population, America

- Amsterdam port, emigration through,
 German, 326
 Hungarian, 418
- ANDREWS, C. F.,
 on Indian population in Africa, 614f
- Antwerp port, emigration through,
 German, 326
 Hungarian, 417f
- Argentina,
 Arrivals, foreign-born, by travel intentions, 144
 Birds of passage, 150, 152
 Economic balance affected by geographic distribution of immigrants, 160
 Economic conditions, affecting emigration, 147ff
 Emigration, 147, 149, 151f
 Italian, 154
 Franco-Prussian War, effect of, on immigration, 148
 French immigrants, superiority of, in, 217
 Geographic distribution of immigrants, effect of, on economic balance, 160
 Immigrant, defined, 143
 Immigrants,
 Geographic distribution of, 159
 Effect on economic balance, 160
 Literacy, 158
 Sex proportion, 155
 state maintained, 156
 urbanization of, 160
 Immigration,
 affected by
 Franco-Prussian War, 148
 political conditions, 147f, 150
 assisted, 149
 Austrian, 499f, 410
 Austro-Hungarian, 153*
 balance, by decades, 147
 beginning of, 147
 by marital condition and decade, 156, 157*
 occupation, 158f, 159*
 race, 152, 153*, 154f
 sex and decade, 155
 economic conditions affecting, 147ff
 effects of, 150f, 155, 157
 French, 206, 208
 German, 153*, 155, 340, 354ff
 Government encouragement of, 148f
 Hungarian, 413, 420, 434
 intensity, 147ff
 Italian, 152, 153*, 154, 449f
 Jewish, 509ff
versus total, 510
 legislation, 146f
 Russian,
 decennial, 527
 net, 526
 Russian-German, 553
 Spanish, 152, 153*, 154
 Statistics, accuracy of, 144
 Jewish Population, 517
 Literacy of immigrants, 158
 Migration,
 affected by World War, 151
 overland, 146
 river, 145; by race, 146
 statistics, beginning of, 143, 146; compared with, Austrian, 397; German 339f; sources, 144f
 Migratory increase, net, 150, 152
 Natural increase affected by immigration, 157
 Political conditions affecting immigration, 147f, 150
 Population,
 19th Century, 77
 increase, 150; natural *versus* migrational, 150
 Racial structure affected by immigration,—
 United States citizens resident in, 107; natives, 107
 Urbanization of immigrants, 160
 World War, effect of, on immigration, 151
- Asia
 Area, 78
 Emigration to Russia, by countries, 568
 Immigration,
 German, 357
 Hungarian, 420

- Russian, decennial, 527; net, 525
- Population, 35
- 17th Century, 45, 48ff, 63, 69
- 18th Century, 64f, 69, 72, 74
- 19th Century, 69, 72, 74ff; Dieterici's estimate, 73f
- 20th Century, Supan's estimate, 77
- Estimates,
- 1650-1850, 640
- 1650-1929, 77
- 1851-1927, 81*
- 1851-1930, 643f
- Present, 42f
- Rate of increase, 79, 80, 82
- United States citizens resident in, 106
- Asiatic Russia, *see* Russia, Asiatic
- Assimilation,
- of Aboriginal population, 190
- Immigrants, 137f, 168, 175f, 191f, 196;
see also under countries
- Assisted Immigration, *see* Immigration, assisted
- Australia
- Asiatics attracted to, 174
- Assimilation of immigrants, 175f
- Foreign-born population
- by birth-place, 173f
- date of arrival and birth-place, 174f
- length of residence, by race, 173f
- rural, by birth-place and sex, 177
- Immigrant, defined, 170
- Immigrants,
- Assimilation of, 175f
- Assisted, occupations of, 176
- Economic condition of, 177f
- Rural and urban distribution of, by sex, 177
- Immigration,
- Annual overseas, by states and sex, 171f
- Assisted, 176
- by origin, 173
- Japanese, 621, 631
- Restricted, 631
- Net, 170
- Promoted, 246
- Indian population, 592
- Status of, 603, 616
- efforts to improve, 603
- Migration statistics, 169; accuracy of, 170, 172f; compared with German, 340; *versus* census data, 174
- Population,
- by sex, 170
- estimates, 1851-1930, 643f
- native,
- by parent's birth-place, 175f
- urban and rural distribution of, 176
- natural increase, 170
- United States citizens resident in, 106f
- natives resident in, 107
- Urban and rural distribution, by sex, of immigrants, 177; natives, 176
- Australasia, *see also* Australasia and Polynesia
- Population,
- 19th Century, Dieterici's estimate, 73
- Present, 43
- Australasia and Polynesia
- Area, 78
- Population, 73
- 17th Century, 69
- 18th Century, 69, 71
- 19th Century, 75f
- Estimates, 1650-1929, 78
- Austria
- Aliens resident in, 408
- Citizenship, loss of, 492ff
- Economic conditions affecting emigration, 400, 403f
- Emigrant,
- capital of, 405
- defined, 329 footnote 2, 392f, 395, 408
- remittances, 405; Bartsch on, 405; Fellner on, 406
- Emigration,
- affected by economic conditions, 400, 403f
- attitude toward, 390ff
- by destination, 399ff, 410
- districts of origin, 406f

- race, 407
 sex and age, 406
 causes of, 399, 403
 character of, 406f
 clandestine, 392
 intensity, 398f, 403
 Jewish, to U. S. 479, 481
 legislation, 392f
 mass, 401
 monetary value of, 404ff
 restrictions affecting, 409f
 seasonal, 401ff; by destination, 402f;
 occupation, 402
 sex proportion, 406
 state control of, 394
 statistics,
 foreign port, 394
 German ports, 393f, 396f
 survey of, 393ff
 to United States, 396f, 399f, 410
 United States quota for, 410
 1921-24, 409f
- Immigration,
 Hungarian, 413
 recent, 408f
- Migration
 affected by restrictive legislation, 391
 balance, 407f
 statistics, accuracy of, 394ff; compar-
 ed with Argentinian, 397; United
 States, 395ff; Englisch cited on, 396
 footnote 2
 Population, by race, 391
 Repatriations, 408f
- Austria-Hungary, *see* Austria and Hungary
- Austrian Republic, *see* Austria
- B**
- BAAS, J. H., on Black Death mortality, 44
- Bahamas,
 United States, citizens resident in, 107;
 natives, 107
- BALBI, ADRIAN, population estimate, earth,
 45, 71 and continents, 639
- Baltic States, population, 17th Century, 46
- Baluchistan, nomadism of, 594
- Bank of Naples, emigrant remittances
 through, 467f
- Barbados,
 United States, citizens resident in, 107;
 natives, 107
- BARRIOL, N. A., on social value of an in-
 dividual, 216
- BARTHELEMY, JOSEPH, on Italian immi-
 grants, 460
- BARTSCH, DR., on Austria's emigration bal-
 ance, monetary, 405
- BECKER, K., on Germany's monetary loss
 from emigration, 366ff, 370
- BECKER AND SCHUMANN, cited on German
 vital statistics, 314 footnote 3
- BEHM, E.
 cited, 34
 on population of China, 39, 73f
 population estimates, earth and conti-
 nents, 643
- Belgium
 Emigration to Russia, 568
 Immigration, French, 206, 208
 United States, citizens resident in, 107;
 natives, 107
- BELOCH, JULIUS, cited, 33; on population
 of Europe, 17th Century, 49f
- BERNE, P., on French Immigrants into Ar-
 gentina, 217
- BERTILLON, JACQUES, on rate of increase of
 Europe's population, 66
- BERTILLON, L. A., estimate of French emi-
 gration, 204f; on destination of French
 emigrants, 209
- BEUKEMANN, W., cited on German censuses,
 314 footnote 1

- Birds of passage, 119f, 150, 152, 552, 632, 634, 636
- Black Death mortality, 44
- BÖDIKER, T., cited on Prussian emigration, 324 footnote 1; and political conditions, 348 footnote 1
- BODIO LUIGI, cited, 33; emigration defined by, 443; on population of Earth, 19th Century, 72; 20th century, 76
- Bohemia
population, 17th Century, 47
see also Austria and Czechoslovakia;
- Bolivia, population, 19th Century, 77
- BONCH-BRUEVITCH, V. D., on Russian sectarian emigration, 547
- BOTERO, cited, 45
- Brazil
Arrivals, Piraja de Oliveira, on, 162
Assimilation of immigrants, 168
Coffee Industry and Italian immigration, 165f
Economic conditions, affected by literacy, 163f
affecting immigration, 161f
Emigration, Italian, 166
Immigrant, defined, 162
Immigrants,
assimilation of, 168
economic risks of, 168
geographic distribution, by race, 162, 166
Italian, condition of, 165f
Japanese, characteristics of, 166f
literacy, by race, 163
occupations of, 165f
unclassified, 167
Immigration,
affected by economic conditions, 161f
assisted, 162
Austrian, 164f, 399, 401, 410
by origin, 167
race, 163ff
- French, 164, 206
from Europe, affected by World War, 168
United States, 167
German, 164f, 339, 354ff
Government policy toward, 162
Hungarian, 164, 413, 420, 434
Inducements to, 162
Italian, 163ff, 450; restricted, 166
Japanese, 166, 621, 630f
Accuracy of statistics of, 630f
assisted, 630
attitude toward, 166f
sex proportion of, 631
overland, 167
Polish, 164f
Portuguese, 163f, 166; Oliveira on, 167
Post-war, 168
present period, 161f
restricted, 163
Russian decennial, 527; net, 526
Russian-German, 553
Seasonal, 167
Spanish, 163f, 166
Statistics, accuracy of, 162f
unrecorded, 167
Yugoslavian, 164f
- Labor,
skilled, demand for, 168
unskilled, excess of, 163f
- Literacy,
effect of, on economic conditions, 163f
of immigrants, by race, 163
population, 163
- Migration statistics, compared with German, 339
- Population,
19th Century, 77
in Colonial period, 161
literacy of, 163
- Repatriations, 164
United States, citizens resident in, 107; natives, 107
World War, effect of, on immigration from Europe, 168
- Breadwinners, defined, 487 footnote 1
- Bremen port,

- Emigration,
 German, through, 331ff
 Hungarian, through, 415, 418
 statistics, 325, 330ff
 Travelers through, 371ff
- British America, *see also* Canada
 Population, 19th Century, 77
- British Guiana,
 Immigration, Indian, 596
 Indian population, 592; status of, 605
- British Isles,
 Emigration to New Zealand, 1921-24,
 195
 Population, 17th Century, 46ff, 50
see also Great Britain; Ireland
- British North America,
 Emigration, Jewish, to United States,
 479
 Immigration, Irish, 265f
see also Canada
- BROUGHAM, LORD, on abuse of Indian im-
 migrants, 596
- BRYCE, JAMES, on American aboriginal and
 mestizo population, present, 81
- BÜCHER, KARL, cited on lack of early
 population statistics, 44, footnote 1
- Bukowina, *see* Austria
- Bulgarian emigration to Russia, 567f
- BUNLE, cited, 34
- BURGDÖRFER, F., cited on German census,
 314 footnote 2; German unemploy-
 ment, 321 footnote 2; size of German
 family, 360 footnote 2
- C
- Canada,
 Assimilation of immigrants, by race, 137f
 Criminality,
 of foreign-born *versus* native, 138f
 immigrants, by race, 138f
versus nationalization, 139
 Economic condition of, affected by First
 Balkan War, 127; World War, 127f;
 after Confederation, 125ff
- Emigration,
 by decade, 130
 Japanese, 629;
 to United States, 91f
- Empire Settlement Agreement, 142
- First Balkan War, effect of, on economic
 condition, 127
- Foreign-born population of, 131
 by origin, 134
 increase, by decades, 131
- Gentlemen's Agreement, terms of, 629
- Government policy toward immigration,
 125, 141f
- Homestead entries *versus* immigrants,
 132f
- Immigrants,
 assimilation of, by race, 137f
 criminality of, by race, 138f
 infant mortality, by race, 139
 length of family residence, by race,
 140
 literacy of, by race, 138
 naturalization of, by race, 137
 occupations of, by race, 139f
 protection of, 142
 racial fertility of, 139
 sex proportion of, 132; by race, 140
 urbanization, by race, 140f
versus homestead entries, 132f
- Immigration,
 Austrian, 399
 by decade, 130f
 by sea, Jewish *versus* total, 507
 conditions affecting, 125
 Danish, 299
 effect of, on population, 140
 French, 206
 from United States, 105, 136
 German, 340, 356
 Government policy toward, 125, 141f
 Hungarian, 412, 420, 433f
 Irish, 266f, 280

- Japanese**, 621, 627ff; accuracy of statistics, 628f
Jewish, 507ff; statistics of, 508
Jewish, Russian and Polish, 508f
Norwegian, 299
 promoted, 245, 247
 racial structure affected by, 141
 restricted, 141f
Russian, 548
 by linguistic groups, 530
 decennial, 527
 —German, 553
 —Jewish, 530
 net, 525f
Scandinavian, 298f
 stages in, 125ff
 Swedish, 299
 through Quebec and Montreal, 124
Indian population, 592; status of, 604, 616; efforts to improve, 604
Jewish population, 517
Labor, short-time, 132
Literacy of immigrants, by race, 138
Migration statistics, compared with German, 340
Money-order statistics, 132
Naturalization of immigrants, by race, 137
Negroes, criminality of, 139; number in, 134; per cent of total population, 135
Population,
 17th Century, 62
 18th Century, 70
 19th Century, 74
 affected by immigration, 140
 balance, 128f, 131; by decade, 130
 by decade, 130
 increase, *versus* immigration, 123ff
 natural increase, by decade, 130
 probably future increase of, 142
 rate of increase, 82
 total, per cent of each racial origin in, 135f
 racial, segregation, 141; structure affected by immigration, 141
 relation to United States, 129f
 United States, citizens resident in, 107; natives, 107; relation of to, 129f
 urbanization of immigrants, by race, 140f
 World War, effect of, on economic condition, 127f
- CANZ, TH.**, population estimate, earth, 64, 640
Capital of emigrants, 405, 551f
CAREY, WM., population estimate, earth, 65
Carniola, *see* Austria
CARPI, cited on Italian emigration, 440; collection of emigration statistics by, 440; emigration statistics of, 445, 451, 455
Caucasian race, rate of increase of, 82
Central America,
 Aboriginal population, 56ff
 Immigration,
 Danish, 299
 German, 356
 Norwegian, 299
 Swedish, 299
 Population,
 17th Century, 57f, 62
 18th Century, 70
 19th Century, 74, 77
Ceylon
 Immigration, Indian, 591, 585f
 labor,
 regulated, 609f
 unskilled, 592
 Indian population of, 591f
 status improved, 609f
 Labor, Indian, condition of, 610, 616
CHARMES, F., on French emigration, 205
CHEN, CHANG-HENG, on population of China, 51f
CHEN, WARREN, on Chinese enumeration methods, 37

- Cherbourg, port, Hungarian emigration through, 418
- Children, emigration of, 258f; immigration, —
- Chile,
 Emigration to Brazil, 164
 Immigration, German, 355; French, 206
 Population in 19th Century, 77
- China
 Census,
 of 1910, 35ff; Willcox on, 35f
 of 1922, 38ff
 Emigration, to Russia, 568ff; New Zealand, 190f, 195
 Enumeration methods, Warren Chen on, 37
 Enumerators, instructions to, Willcox on, 36
 Household, size of, 36ff, 51, 68
 Immigration,
 French, 206
 Japanese, 620f, 632f
 Adequacy of statistics of, 632f
 affected by Chino-Japanese War, 632
 Russo-Japanese War, 632f
 Infanticide, 37
 Infant mortality, 37
 Japanese population of, 633
 Population, 35f, 38ff
 17th Century, 50ff
 18th Century, 64, 67ff
 19th Century, 69, 72ff; Dieterici's estimate, 73
 20th Century, 78
 Behm cited on, 39, 73f
 by provinces, 41
 Chang-Heng Chen on, 51f
 Continuation Committee's estimate, 39ff
 Gowen on, 51f
 Howard on, 35, 37
 Martini on, 50ff
 Parker on, 51f, 68
 Popov's estimate, 40
 Present, Willcox on, 73
 Rate of increase, 67ff
 Returns, 35ff, 67f, 72; Emperor's influence on, 39, 68
 Rockhill on, 40, 51f, 73
 Sacharoff on, 39, 51f, 68
 Supan's estimate, 39ff, 40, 41
 Wagner's estimate, 39f
 Williams on, 51f, 72
 sex proportion, 37
 Tenney's report on, 35f
 United States, citizens resident in, 107; natives, 107
- CHINA CONTINUATION COMMITTEE, population estimate, 39ff
- Chino-Japanese War, effect of, on Japanese emigration, 632
- CHURCHILL, WINSTON, quoted on Indians in East Africa, 606
- Civil War (U. S. A.), effect of, on immigration, 318
- Clandestine emigration, *see* Emigration, clandestine
- Commonwealth of Australia, *see* Australia
- Coolieism, effect of Indian, 604
- CORRENTI, CESARE, on Italian emigration, 440
- Crimean War, effect of, on emigration, 553
- Criminality of immigrants, 138f; *versus* nationalization, 139
- Croatia, *see* Austria
- Cuba,
 Aboriginal population, 56; Humboldt on, 56
 Immigration, French, 206; Hungarian, 434
 Population,
 18th Century, 56, 70
 19th Century, 74, 76f

- Rate of increase, 82
 United States, citizens resident in, 107;
 natives, 107
- Czechoslovakia,
 Emigration, to Argentina, 153; Brazil,
 164; France, 226, 232
- D**
- Dalmatia, *see* Austria
- DAVIS, JEROME, on Russians in United
 States, 546
- Definitions,
 alien, 649 footnote 1; non-immigrant,
 654
 American, 583 footnote 2
 breadwinners, 487 footnote 1
 emigrant, 202f, 325, 327ff, 392f, 395, 408,
 442f; ships, 328
 emigration, 443
 francisation, 220 footnote 1
 immigrant, 85, 143, 162, 170, 586, 649
 immigration,
 assisted, 184; net, 647; permanent,
 586
Luft-Mensch, 506
 migration, 594
 naturalization, French, 220 footnote 1
 optants, 572
 resident, permanent, 654 footnote 1
- Denmark,
 Emigration,
 by age-classes, 301ff;
 destination, 289, 291, 297ff;
 occupation, 305f
 sex, 300f
 conditions affecting, 294ff
 intensity, 290f, 294
 legislation, 283
 balance, 310f
 statistics, beginning of, 288
 to Argentina, 153
 Brazil, 164
 Russia, 568
 United States quota for, 298
- Immigration,
 intensity, 308
 statistics, 307
 Swedish, 299
- Migration,
 effect of, on population, 311
 statistics, accuracy of, 285; sources,
 283f
- Population,
 17th Century, 50
 affected by migration, 311
 balance, 286ff
 foreign-born, 308
- Repatriations, 308
- United States, citizens resident in, 107;
 natives, 107
- DIETERICI, K. F. W.
 cited, 33
 population estimates of, 72ff, 77, 643
- DORÉ, cited, 34
- DROPPERS, GARRETT, on population of Ja-
 pan, 52
- Dukhobars, emigration of, 521, 553
- DUPREZ, L., on Belgian seasonal agricul-
 tural laborers in France, 221
- DUVAL, JULES, on Italian emigration, 440
- E**
- Earth,
 Area, 78
 Population, 71
 17th Century, 43ff, 63
 before, 44
 by continents, 45, 48
 18th Century, 63ff, 70f
 19th Century, 71ff
 20th Century, 76
 estimates,
 1650-1850, by continents, 640
 1650-1929, by continents, 78
 1851-1930, by continents, 643f
 contemporary *versus* present, 79*
 post-War, 34, 42f

- German-speaking Germans, percent
of, in, 386
present, by continents, 43
rate of increase, 78f
- East Africa
Economic condition of emigrants, 147ff,
177f, 405, 531, 551f, 563
Economic conditions,
affected by emigration, 267ff, 363ff,
531; immigration, 263; literacy of
immigrants, 163f; World War, 127f
affecting
emigration, 147ff, 161f, 197, 212f,
249ff, 263, 267ff, 271, 294ff, 316ff,
341ff, 400, 403f, 411, 422, 533, 536,
541f, 553, 571, 578
immigration, 125, 147ff, 161f, 183f,
197, 249ff, 400, 403f, 531
population increase, 80
Indian population, 592
Churchill quoted on, 606
status of, 606ff; efforts to improve,
607ff; White Paper of 1923, 607
Population, 73f
19th Century, Dieterici's estimate, 73
see also Kenya
- Ecuador,
Emigration to Brazil, 164
Population, 19th Century, 77
- Egypt,
Emigration to Brazil, 164
United States, citizens resident in, 107;
natives, 107
- Emden port, travelers through, 371f
- Emigrant,
defined, by Austria, 329 footnote 2, 392f,
395, 408; France, 202f; Germany,
325, 327ff; Italy, 442f
Emigrant,
monetary value of, French estimate,
216; German, 365ff
ships, defined, 328
- Emigrants,
capital of, 405, 551f
characteristics of, 166f, 506f, 531, 577
economic condition of, 531
French and European compared, 217f
literacy of, 157f, 531
mortality of, 331
occupation of, *see under* countries
quality of, French, 217f; Irish, 263,
267, 269
remittances, Austrian, 405; Irish, 270;
Italian, 466ff
sex proportion, 155, 213, 276ff, 299ff,
357, 361, 406, 421f, 451ff, 483f, 531,
577, 581, 621f, 631
- Emigration,
affected by
agricultural conditions, 249f, 272ff,
532f, 534ff, 548ff, 562f, 578
Chino-Japanese War, 632
economic conditions, 147ff, 161f,
197, 212f, 249ff, 263, 267ff, 271,
294ff, 316ff, 341ff, 400, 403f, 411,
422, 533, 536, 541f, 553, 571, 578
industrial development, 250ff, 446
occupational distribution, 515ff
political conditions, 147f, 150, 317f,
341ff, 517, 542ff, 578
Potato, famine, 250, 264f; harvests
271f
religious persecution, 547, 552
restrictive legislation, 166, 283, 321,
345, 354, 409f, 433, 475, 483, 511,
631
Russo-Japanese War, 620
World War, 151, 168, 273, 294, 302,
337, 414, 433, 446f, 449, 475, 482f,
485, 488, 493, 496, 508, 621
and immigration distinguished, 85f
assisted, 244ff, 253ff, 265f, 276f, 364,
412
causes of, 239ff, 249ff, 264ff, 273,
291ff, 296, 316ff, 341ff, 399, 403,
429, 475, 513, 515ff, 532ff, 542ff,
547ff, 552f, 562f

- clandestine, 324, 392, 411, 443, 523, 525, 527, 590
 defined by Bodio, 443
 effects of, 216, 312, 317, 319, 344, 363ff, 517ff
 female, 257f, 276f, 452, 622, 625f
 government control of, 412
 policy, 243ff, 266, 521f
 juvenile, 258f; promoted, 259
 labor,
 Italian, 445
 Japanese, 621f, 636; affected by gentlemen's agreements, 620ff, 626, 629f; legalized, 620
 legislation, 201f, 283, 392f, 412
 monetary value of, 363ff, 404ff; Mönckmeier on, 363; von Waltershausen on, 363
 restricted, 166, 345, 354, 409f, 433
 seasonal, 401ff
 student, Japanese, 635f; effect of, 636; officially supported, 635f; private, 636
- Empire Settlement Agreement, 142
- Engel, on "cost value" of a man, 365, 367
- England, Russian emigration through, 524
- Englisch, cited on Austrian migration statistics, 396 footnote 2
- Europe,
 Area, 78
 Emigration to Russia, by countries, 568
 Immigration, Japanese, 620; by destination, 635; student, 635
- Population,
 17th Century, 45ff, 63
 Beloch's estimate, 49f
 by countries, 46f, 50
 Riccioli's estimate, 46, 49
 Vossius' estimate, 47
 18th Century, 63ff, 71; Willcox on, 66
 19th Century, 66, 71f, 75f
 Bodio's estimate, 72
 Dieterici's estimate, 75
 Hassel on, 71
- Hemsó's estimate, 71
 Inama's estimate, 72, 75
 Juraschek's estimate, 72, 75
 Malte-Brun's estimate, 71
 Pinkerton's estimate, 71
 Sundbärg's estimate, 66, 72
 Volney's estimate, 71
- 20th Century, 76
 Bodio's estimate, 72
 Inama's estimate, 76
 Levasseur's estimate, 76
 Sundbärg's estimate, 76
- Estimates,
 1650-1929, 78
 1650-1850, 640
 1851-1927, 81*
 1851-1930, 643f
- Increase,
 19th Century, 33
 rate of, 79, 80, 82; Bertillon on, 66
 Present, 43
- United States citizens resident in, 106
- Exclusion of Japanese from the United States, 625; *see also* Restrictive Legislation.
- F
- FABRICIUS, C. A., cited on population decrease, Southwestern Germany, 317 footnote 4.
- Federated Malay States, immigration, Japanese, 634f
- FELLNER, on Austrian emigrants' remittances, 406
- Female emigration, 257f, 452, 622, 625f
- Fiji,
 Indian population, 592; status of, 606; efforts to improve, 606
- Finland,
 Agricultural condition of, 531f
 Economic condition of emigrants, 531
 Emigrants, character of, 531f; economic condition of, 531; literacy of, 531

- Emigration, 531ff; causes of, 532f; character of, 531f; rate, by provinces, 532,* 533; to Brazil, 164
- Immigration, Swedish, 299
- Land ownership, 532
- Literacy of emigrants, 531
- Migration, peasant, 531f
- Finland, *see also* Russia
- Finland, *see also* Scandinavia
- FIRCKE, A. VON, cited on Prussian migration balance, 318 footnote 1
- First Balkan War, effect of, in Canada, 127
- Fiume port, Hungarian emigration through 417f
- Floaters, Italian, 165
- Formosa acquired by Japan, 617
- France,
- Aliens, resident in, 219
 - by race, 223
 - increase, by race, 231f
 - legislation re, 224
 - Allies and captured Germans in, 228f
 - Economic conditions affecting emigration, 212f
 - Emigrant,
 - defined, 202f
 - monetary value of, 216f
 - superiority of, Latinoque on, 217
 - value of, Levasseur on, 216
 - Emigrants,
 - alien, in transit, 202f
 - compared with other European, 217f
 - destination of, Bertillon on, 209
 - quality of, 217f
 - to Argentina, Berne on, 217
 - United States, by occupation, 215
- Emigration,
- affected by economic conditions, 212f
 - annual, by destination, 206
 - by age, 214
 - departments, 210ff
 - destination, 210
 - occupation, 215
 - sex, 214; sex, age and occupation, 213
 - Charmes on, 205
 - effect of, 216
 - estimated, 204f, 207; by Bertillon, 204f; Lagneau, 205; Leroy-Beaulieu, 204f; Levasseur, 204f
 - estimates, compared, 208; indirect, 207
 - gross, by countries, 208
 - intensity, 207
 - legislation, 201f
 - net,
 - by countries, 208
 - versus* gross, 208
 - overseas, by destination, 209
 - sex proportion, 213
 - statistics,
 - official, 203f
 - port, limitations of, 203
 - sources, 201
 - to Argentina, 153*, 153f
 - Brazil, 164, 166
 - French colonies, 209f
 - by departments, 211
 - North Africa, reasons for, 212
 - Russia, 568
- Francisations, 220; defined, footnote 1; Sauvy cited on footnote 1
- Immigrants, occupational efficiency of, by race, 234f
- Immigration,
- affected by World War, 223, 227ff
 - alien,
 - net, 229f
 - racial composition of War and post-War, 231
 - annual, by countries, 222
 - by race, 222f
 - collective, 225, 230
 - organized, 221f
 - effect of, on population increase, 235f
 - estimated, 221
 - labor, 220ff

- Leroy-Beaulieu on, 219
 net, 220, 228
 by race, 232
 measurement of, 219f
 post-War, 223ff
 pre-War, 218ff
 reasons for early, 218ff
 Russian, 223
 seasonal, 230
 total, 1914-20, 228
- Individual's social value, Barriol on, 216
- Infant, cost of, Gide on, 216
- Labor,
 alien,
 by occupation, 233f
 need for, 223
 imported, 229
 1914-20, by race, 227f
 repatriated, 229
 treaties, 224f
- Laborers, alien, in, 220
 seasonal agricultural, 220f
 Duprez on Belgian, 221
- Legislation re aliens in, 224
- Naturalizations, 220
- Occupational efficiency of immigrants,
 by race, 234f
- Population,
 17th Century, 46ff, 50
 increase, affected by immigration,
 235f; annual, 235
- Refugees, World War, in, 229
- Repatriation, 229
- Sex proportion of emigrants, 213
- United States, citizens resident in, 107;
 natives, 107
- World War,
 effect of, on immigration, 223, 227ff
 refugees in, 229
- Francisations, defined, 220, footnote 1;
 Sauvy cited on, 220 footnote 1
- Franco-Prussian War, effects of, 148, 343
- FRENCH BUREAU OF LONGITUDES, popula-
 tion estimates of, 34
- G
- Galicia, Jews in, 517
 Galicia, *see* Austria
- GAMA, D. VALENTIN, estimate of Mexican
 population, 582
- GAMIO, MANUEL, cited on Mexican migra-
 tion, 581
- Garrison, F. H., on population of earth,
 14th Century, 44 footnote 4
- Genoa port, emigration through, German
 326; Hungarian, 418
- "Gentlemen's Agreement"
 effect of, on labor emigration, 620ff, 626,
 629f
 terms of Canadian, 629
 text of United States, 624
- Germans, German-speaking,
 by continents, 386
 distribution of, Winkler on, 386
 percent of in earth's population, 386
- Germany,
 Aliens in, 387ff
 by citizenship, 387f
 descent, 380f
 nationality, 389
 occupation, 388
 origin, 381
 with German mother tongue, 389
 Bismarck's economic reforms, Walters-
 hausen on, 318 footnote 2
 Census, Beukemann cited on, 314 foot-
 note 1; Burgdörfer cited on, 314 foot-
 note 2
 Classes, Mönckmeier on, 348, 351
 "Cost value" of a man, Engel on, 365,
 367
 Economic effect of emigration, 363ff
 Emigrant,
 capital value of, 369
 defined, 325, 327ff
 Goetsch cited on definition of, 328
 footnote 1

- monetary value of, 365ff
ships, defined, 328
- Emigrants,**
hardships of, Kapp cited on, 328 footnote 3, 331 footnote
mortality of, 331
sex proportion, 357, 361; Kapp cited on, 357 footnote 1
- Emigration,**
affected by
economic conditions, 316ff, 341ff
Franco-Prussian War, 343
industrial development, 319, 344
political conditions, 317f, 341ff;
Bödiker on Prussian, 348 footnote 1
restrictive legislation, 321, 345, 354
World War, 337
annual rate, by districts, 349f
assisted, 364; Philippovich cited on, from Baden, 364 footnote 1
by age, 357f
destination, 353ff
marital condition, 359ff; Mönckmeier cited on, 360 footnote 1
origin, 346ff
provinces, 346ff
sex, 357f
sex and age, 358f
sex and marital condition, 362
capital loss by, 370
causes of, 316ff, 341ff; Weber cited on 351 footnote 2
character of, 359f
clandestine, 324
economic effect of, 363ff
effect of, on population, 317
estimates,
Bödiker cited on, 324 footnote 1
Hehl's, 355
Hübner's, 332
Mönckmeier's, 332
foci, 346ff
Hungarian, 437
intensity, 343ff
Jewish, to United States, 479
mass, 319f, 328, 342, 346, 385
monetary loss by, Becker on, 366ff, 370
- monetary value of, 363ff; Mönckmeier on, 363; Waltershausen on, 363
obstacles to, 321
of German Poles, 377
refugees, World War, 353
overseas, 322f
annual, 333
estimated, 332ff
methods of estimating, 331ff
rate of, 335
seasonal, 329
statistics,
beginning of, 323f
of desire to emigrate, 345f
port, 325ff, 330ff
stimulation of, Sering cited on, 351 footnote 1
through foreign ports, 326, 331, 336f, 356f
German ports, 326, 331ff, 337
to America, 356
Argentina, 153, 153*, 155, 340
Australia, 340
Brazil, 164
Canada, 340
France, 222
Netherlands, 375
North America, Kapp cited on, 342 footnote
Russia, 567ff
United States, 331ff, 338*, 340, 353ff
by quota, 354
percent of total, 385
quota for, 354
- Family, size of, Burgdörfer cited on, 360 footnote 2**
- Franco-Prussian War, effect of, on emigration, 343**
- Immigration,**
from ceded districts and lost colonies, 376
Hungarian, 413, 430ff
labor, Russian-Polish, 537; as cause of emigration, 351; Weber cited on, 351 footnote 2
overseas, 371ff
- Industrial development, effect of, on emigration, 319, 344**

- Labor,
 immigration of Russian-Polish, 537;
 as cause of emigration, 351
 migration, 351, 375, 377ff, 388
 by occupation, 378f
 by race, 380f
 regulation of, 377ff
 seasonal, 377ff
- Migration,
 affected by World War, 151, 321, 344
 348, 353, 355
 balance, 334, 375f
 bases for, 314
 by provinces, 351
 sex, 320f
 Fircke cited on, 318 footnote 1
 overland, methods of estimating,
 375
 post-War, 320f
 pre-War, 315ff, 322f
 internal, 344, 352
 overland, 375f, 378
 restrictions removed, 324
 statistics, collection of, 313f
 compared with Argentinian, 339f;
 Australian, 340; Brazilian, 339;
 Canadian, 340; United States,
 330ff, 338*
 overseas, development of, 324ff
 Monetary loss from emigration, Becker
 on, 366ff, 370
 Monetary value of emigration, 363ff;
 Mönckmeier on, 363; Waltershausen
 on, 363
 National Emigration Bureau, applica-
 tions to, 346
 Obstacles to emigration, 321
 Political conditions affecting emigration,
 317f, 341ff
 Population,
 17th Century, 46f, 50
 1840-1910, 315
 affected by emigration, 317
 decrease, Fabricius cited on South-
 western German, 317 footnote 4;
 Losch cited on Württemberg, 317
 footnote 1
 increase, 315
 and unemployment, Zahn cited on,
 319 footnote 2
 Kapp on, 363
 problems, present, 321f
 Refugees, World War, emigration of,
 353; in France, 229
 Repatriation, 164, 307ff, 321, 371, 373,
 376, 408f
 Restrictive legislation affecting emigra-
 tion, 321, 345, 354
 Social legislation, Zahn cited on, 319
 footnote 1
 Statistics,
 of desire to emigrate, 345f
 travel, 371ff
 vital, Becker and Schumann cited on,
 314 footnote 3
 Travelers through, 371ff
 age of, 373f
 destination of, 372f
 origin of, 372f
 sex of, 373
 Unemployment,
 and population increase, Zahn cited
 on, 319 footnote 2
 Burgdörfer cited on, 321 footnote 2
 World War,
 effect of, on emigration, 337; migra-
 tion, 321, 344, 348, 353, 355
 refugees, emigration of, 353
- GIDE, on cost of infant, 216
- GOETSCH, P., cited on definition of emi-
 grant, 328 footnote 1
- GOKHALE, G. K., on indentured labor re-
 cruiting, 598
- Gold discovery, 180, 267, 298, 399, 403
- Gotland, *see* Scandinavia
- Government
 control of emigration, 412
 policy re emigration, 243ff, 266, 521f
 immigration, 125, 141f, 162, 181f
- GOWEN, H. H., on population of China, 51f

- Great Britain,
 Agricultural conditions affecting emigration, 249f
 Arable land, conversion of, 241
 Economic conditions affecting emigration, 249ff
 Effect of Napoleonic Wars, 249
 Emigration,
 affected by agricultural conditions, 249f
 economic conditions, 249ff
 industrial development, 250ff
 Napoleonic Wars, 245
 potato famine, 250
 annual, 244
 assisted, 244ff, 253ff; by Colonial Land and Emigration Department, 246f
 causes of, 239ff, 249ff
 female, 257f; occupations, 257
 Government policy re, 243ff
 intensity, 241, 244, 249f
 juvenile, 258f; promoted, 259
 Peel's scheme, 245
 promoted, 245ff, 252ff
 by individuals, 255ff
 organizations, 247, 252ff
 to Australia, 246
 Canada, 245, 247
 New Zealand, 247
 reports on,
 Dominions Royal Commission's, 248f
 Poor Law Commission's, 248
 Select Committee's, 247
 schemes, 245, 247f, 255ff
 statistics,
 adequacy of, 242f
 available, 239
 beginning of, 241
 to America, Johnson on, 239f
 Australia, 173
 North America, 250
 Wakefield on, 246
 Female emigration, 257f
 occupations, 257
 Government policy re emigration, 243ff
 Immigration,
 Hungarian, 420
 Irish, 263f, 279
 Industrial development affecting emigration, 250ff
 Juvenile emigration, 258f
 promoted, 259
 Migration schemes, Select Committee's report on, 248
 Napoleonic Wars, effects of, 245, 249
 Population,
 1853-1910, 244
 estimated by Nicholl, 48
 Potato famine, effect of, on emigration, 250
 Reports
 on emigration,
 Dominions Royal Commission's, 248f
 Poor Law Commission's, 248
 Select Committee's, 247
 on migration schemes, Select Committee's, 248
 United States, citizens resident in, 107;
 natives, 107
- Great Britain, *see also* British Isles
- Greece,
 Emigration,
 to Brazil, 164
 France, 232
 Russia, 567f
- GRIMSHAW, T. W., cited on population of Ireland, 261 footnote 4
- GRUBB, K. G., cited on South American plateau districts, 57, 61
- Guadeloupe, population, 18th Century, 70
- Guiana,
 Immigration, French, 206
 Population, 19th Century, 77
- H
- Haiti,
 Population,
 18th Century, 70
 19th Century, 75ff

- Haiti, *see also* West Indies
- Hamburg port,
 Emigration,
 German through, 331ff
 Hungarian through, 415
 statistics, 325, 330ff
 Passage cost from, to United States, 329
 Travelers through, 371ff
 by classes, 372
- HASSEL, G., on population of Europe, 19th Century, 71; population of earth and continents estimated by, 640
- Havre port,
 Emigration through, German, 326; Hungarian, 417f
- Hawaii,
 Japanese
 immigration, conditions opposing, 626
 population increase explained, 626
- HEBREW EMIGRATION SOCIETY, 545
- Hebrew Pale, 539*, 540ff
- Hebrews, *see* Jews
- HEHL, German emigration to Brazil estimated by, 355
- HEMSÖ, GRABERG DE, population of Europe, 19th Century, 71
- HERSCH, L., "Le Juif errant d'aujourd'hui," cited 471 footnote 1, 482 footnote 1, 496 footnotes 1, 2, 3, 515 footnote 1, 517 footnote 1
- Hindu emigration to Brazil, 164
- Holland,
 Emigration to Russia, 568
 Population, 17th Century, 46, 48
- Hong Kong,
 United States, citizens resident in, 107;
 natives, 107
- HOURLICH, I. A., on Russians in United States, 546
- HOWARD, H. P., cited, 35; on infanticide in China, 37
- HÜBNER, German emigration estimates, 332; *Tabellen* of, 642ff
- HUMBOLDT, ALEXANDER VON, cited, 56; Aboriginal population of Cuba, 56; of Mexico, 56, 582; rate of increase of, 69; Negro population of Mexico, 582
- Hungary,
 Conditions affecting repatriation, 436
 Economic conditions, effect of, on emigration, 411, 422
 Emigrants to United States of productive age, by sex, 422
 Emigration,
 affected by economic conditions, 411, 422
 restrictive legislation, 433
 World War, 414, 433
 assisted, 412
 balance, 434ff
 beginning of, 411
 by age, 417
 destination, 412f, 420, 421, 433
 linguistic stock, 425f
 occupation, 417
 ports of embarkation, 415, 417f
 race, 416
 sex, 416
 clandestine, 411
 continental, 429
 by age, 431
 age and destination, 432
 destination, 430ff
 race and destination, 431f
 causes of, 429
 Government control of, 412
 intensity, 411, 414, 433
 legislation, 412
 sex proportion, 434
 statistics,
 adequacy of, 414, 419
 indirect, 415, 419

- port, 415, 418f
 through German ports, by destination, 420
 to America, by countries, 434
 Brazil, 164
 United States, 411, 419ff, 433f
 by age, 422f
 linguistic stock, 423ff
 occupation, 426ff
 quota for, 433
 versus repatriation, 434ff
 Government control of emigration, 412
 Migration,
 balance, 438f
 post-War, 433ff
 Population, 17th Century, 47
 Repatriates, resources of, 439
 Repatriation, 434ff
 by last residence, 437
 occupation, 438f
 race, 437f
 sex and age, 437
 sex and last residence, 435
 conditions affecting, 436
 from United States, 434
 versus emigration, 434ff
 Restrictive legislation, effect of, on emigration, 483
 Sex proportion of emigrants, 434
 United States quota for, 433
 World War, effect of, on emigration, 414, 433
- Hungary, *see also* Austria-Hungary
- I
- ILBERT, SIR COURTENAY, on indenture in India, 598
- Immigrant,
 defined,
 by Argentina, 143
 Australia, 170
 Brazil, 162
 São Paulo, 162
 United States, 85, 586, 649
- Immigrants,
 Assimilation of, 137f, 168, [175f, 191f, 196
- Assisted,
 capital of, 186
 occupations of, 176
 Capital of, 551f
 Characteristics of, 166f, 531, 577
 Criminality of, 138f
 Economic condition of, 147ff, 177f, 531, 551, 563
 Infant mortality of, 139
 Literacy of, 118ff, 138, 158, 163, 531
 Naturalization of, 137
 Occupations of, 139f, 165f
 Occupational efficiency of, 234f
 Protection of, 142
 Racial fertility of, 139
 Rural and urban distribution of, 111, 177
 Sex proportion, 111f, 132, 140, 155, 188ff, 483f, 581, 583f, 631
 Urbanization of, 140f, 160, 175, 195
- Immigration,
 affected by
 aboriginal hostility, 181
 Chino-Japanese War, 632
 Civil War, 318
 economic conditions, 125, 147ff, 161f, 183f, 197, 400, 403f, 531
 Franco-Prussian War, 148
 political conditions, 147f, 150, 317f, 341ff, 517
 restrictive legislation, 141f, 146f, 163, 190f, 354, 391, 475, 629, 631
 Russo-Japanese War, 632f
 World War, 151, 168, 184, 223, 227ff
 assisted, 149, 162, 176, 182, 184ff, 189, 193, 197
 defined, 184
 clandestine, 86, 653
 collective, 225
 effect of, 155, 157
 on economic conditions, 150f, 263
 population, 140f; increase, 235f, 92ff
 racial structure, 141
 Government policy *re*, 125, 141f, 162, 181f
 Juvenile, 195
 Legislation, 146f

- Net,
 Defined, 647; methods of estimating, 90f
- Obstacles to, 181
- Permanent, defined, 586
- U. S. Statistics, criticized, 645ff
- Imperial Regime, restored in Japan, 617
- Imperial War Conferences on rights of Indian emigrants, 600f
- INAMA, population of Europe, 19th Century, 72, 75; 20th Century, 76
- Indentured labor,
 Abolishment of, 595, 597f
 Recruiting, 597
 prohibited, 598f
- System,
 defects of, 591f
 described, 597
 iniquities of, 598
- India (British)
 Aliens in, by countries, 594
 Coolieism, effect of, 604
- Emigrants,
 abuse of, Lord Brougham on, 596
 in South Africa, Andrews on, 614f
 protection of, 596f
 rights of, Imperial War Conference on, 600f
 status of,
 British attitude toward, Lord Reading on, 602
 efforts to improve,
 Colonies Committee's, 602, 606ff
 Standing Committee on Emigration, 605
 in Australia, 603, 616
 efforts to improve, 603
 in British Guiana, 605
 Singh's report on, 605
 in Canada, 604, 616
 efforts to improve, 604
 in Ceylon, improved, 609f
 in Mauritius, 605
 efforts to improve, 605
- Singh's report on, 605
 in New Zealand, 604, 616
 efforts to improve, 604
 in South Africa, 601f, 611
 efforts to improve, 601ff, 611f
 improved, 612ff
 Round Table Conference conclusions on, 612ff
 public opinion on, 599f, 602, 607, 609
 Sastri's investigations of, 603f
- Emigration,
 1833-1908, 595ff
 1922, 1927, 602ff
 Acts, 592, 596ff, 605, 609
- Labor,
 public opinion on, 604, 606
 skilled, 592
 unskilled, 591f
 control of, 599, 602
 prohibited, 602, 605f
 to Ceylon, regulated, 609f
 Malaya, regulated, 610
- National policy toward, developed, 595, 598
- of wives and minor children permitted to South Africa, 613
 to British Guiana, 596
 Ceylon, 591, 595f
 Mauritius, 593
- Indentured labor,
 abolished, 595, 597f
 recruiting, 597
 Gokhale on, 598
 prohibited, 598f
- system,
 described, 597
 defects of, 597f
 iniquities of, 598
 Sir Ilbert on, 598
- Labor recruiting,
 by Ceylon Labor Commission, 591
 regulated, 610
- Migration,
 overland, 594f
 periods of, 595
 statistics, adequacy of, 593f
- Population, 591
 17th Century, 53, 69
 18th Century, 69

- 19th Century, 69, 73f
 Moreland's estimate, 53
 Reciprocity Resolution, provisions of, 600
 Repatriation from South Africa, 615
 assisted, 613
 Rights of, Sapru quoted on, 609
 Settlement in Tanganyika, Sir Robertston on, 592f
 United States, citizens resident in, 107; natives, 107
 Indian, American, *see* Aboriginal population, America; and countries of America
 Indians (Asiatic) resident abroad, by countries, 591f
 Individual, social value of, Barriol on, 216
- Industrial development,
 affected by emigration, 319, 344; World War, 633
 effect on emigration, 250ff, 446; migration, 579
- Infant,
 cost of, Gide's estimate, 216
 mortality among immigrants, 139
- Infanticide, 37
- International Statistical Institute, estimates of earth's population, 43, 78
- Ireland,
 Agricultural conditions, effect of, on emigration, 272ff
 Economic conditions,
 1841 and 1851 compared, 269
 affected by, emigration, 267ff; immigration, French Huguenot, 263
 affecting emigration, 263, 271
 Emigrants,
 occupations of, 280ff
 passages pre-paid, 270
 quality of, 263, 267, 269
 remittances of, 270
 Emigration,
 affected by
- agricultural conditions, 272ff
 economic conditions, 263, 271
 potato famine, 264f; harvests, 271f
 World War, 273
 assisted, 265ff; Johnson cited on, 276
 footnote 1, 277 footnote 1
 by age, 277
 destination, 263ff, 267, 277ff
 sex, 275ff
 causes of, 264ff, 273
 character of, 276
 effect of, on economic conditions, 267ff
 female, 276f
 Government policy re, 266
 industrial, 263
 intensity, 263ff, 269ff
 military, 263
 post-War, 273f
 rural *versus* urban, 280f
 seasonal, 274
 sex proportion, 276ff
 through Liverpool, Sir James O'Connor cited on, 266 footnote
 to Great Britain, Sir George Lewis quoted on, 264 footnote
- Female emigration, 276f
 Foreign-born in, 282
 Government policy re emigration, 266
 Immigration, 282
 French Huguenot, 263
 from United States, 282
 since 17th Century, 263
- Laborers, by sex, 281
- Population, 274
 1700-1845, 261
 1845, 264
 change in, 274
 decrease, 267
 estimated by Malthus, 1700, 261
 Grimshaw's estimate cited, 261 footnote 4
 increase
 explained, 262
 rate of, compared with England and Wales, 261
 rate of change, 274
 rural, decrease in, 267
 urban, increase in, 267
- Potato famine,

- effect of, on emigration, 264f
mortality from, 264f
Potato harvests, effect of, on emigration, 271f
Repatriation, 282
World War, effect of, on emigration 273
- Ireland, *see also* British Isles
- Irish Free State, *see* Ireland
- Istria, *see* Austria
- Italy,
Emigrant, defined, 442f
Emigrants,
Barthelemy on, 460
investments of, 470
remittances of, 466ff
by countries, 467f
methods of, 466, 468
volume of, 469f
Emigration,
affected by
industrial development, 446
territorial conditions, 447f
World War, 446f, 449
beginning of, 440
by destination, 448ff
districts and destination, 448
marital condition, 454
occupation, 455ff
occupation and destination, 455ff
occupation and sex, 456
sex and age, 451, 453
clandestine, 443
conditions affecting, 446
Correnti on, 440
defined by Bodio, 443
Duval on, 440
embarkation months, 458
European *versus* overseas, 448f
female, 452
intensity, 445f
labor, 445
conditions affecting, 445
mass, 446
outlets, problem of, 450f
overseas,
by occupation and districts, 457
working capacity and sex, 454
periods of, 445
permanent and temporary distinguished, 441
ports of destination, 458
embarkation, 457f
rate, by districts, 446f
sex proportion, 451
by districts, 452f
statistics,
accuracy of, 443f
beginning of, 440
Carpi's, 440, 445, 451, 455
sources, 440ff
temporary and permanent distinguished, 441
to America, 449
Argentina, 152ff, 153*
Australia, 173
Brazil, 163ff
relation to coffee industry, 165f
restricted, 166
France, 222f, 226, 232
Southwestern, 459f
reasons for, 459
New Zealand, 1921-24, 195
Russia, 568f
United States, 450
versus repatriation, 462ff
Female emigration, 452
Industrial development, effect of, on emigration, 446
Labor emigration, 445
conditions affecting, 445
Population, 17th Century, 466f, 50
Postal savings balances of non-resident Italians, 469
Repatriates,
length of residence abroad, 465
occupations of, 464f
ports of debarkation of, 465
Repatriation, 461ff
by districts, 463
last residence, 462f
marital condition, 464
sex and age, 464
from Argentina, 154
Brazil, 166

- in World War period, 464
 - months of, 465
 - records, 444
 - sex proportion, 464
 - statistics affected by United States laws, 466
 - type of, 465f
 - versus emigration, 462ff
 - Sex proportion,
 - of emigrants, 451
 - by districts, 452f
 - of repatriates, 464
 - Statistics, passport, 441f, 444f
 - World War, effect of, on emigration 446f, 449; repatriation in period of, 464
- Italians resident abroad, by countries, 460f
- J**
- Jamaica,
- Population,
 - 18th Century, 69, 70
 - 19th Century, 76f
 - United States citizens resident in, 107
 - natives resident in, 107
- Jamaica, *see also* West Indies
- Japan,
- Allied Siberian Expedition, effect of, on Migration, 634
 - Birds of passage, 632, 634, 636
 - Charter Oath, 618, 635f
 - Chino-Japanese War, effect of, on emigration, 632
 - Edict of 1871, 618, 636
 - Emigrants,
 - characteristics of, 166f
 - excluded from United States, 625
 - not attracted by Asiatic Russia, 634; Mexico, 630; Philippine Islands, 627; Peru, 631
 - occupations of, 622f
 - Emigration,
 - affected by Chino-Japanese War, 632
 - Russo-Japanese War, 620
 - World War, 621
 - and population problem, 636
 - attitude of United States toward, 623, 626
 - 16th Century, 617
 - 17th Century, 617
 - 1868-1884, 620
 - before 1885, 620
 - by destination, 621
 - sex, 622
 - character of, 620f
 - female, 622, 625f
 - intensity, 620f
 - labor, 621f
 - affected by Gentlemen's Agreements, 620ff, 626, 629f
 - by destination, 636
 - legalized, 620
 - legalized, 618
 - sex proportion, 622
 - student,
 - effect of, 636
 - encouraged, 618, 636
 - by Charter Oath, 618, 636
 - Edict of 1871, 618, 636
 - officially supported, 635f
 - private, 636
 - to Europe, 635f
 - United States, 636
 - to Asiatic Russia, 620f, 633f
 - annual average, 633f
 - by occupation, 634
 - Australia, 621, 631
 - restricted, 631
 - Brazil, 164, 166, 621, 630f
 - assisted, 630
 - sex proportion, 631
 - statistics, accuracy of, 630f
 - Canada, 621, 627ff
 - statistics, accuracy of, 628f
 - China, 620f, 632f
 - affected by Russo-Japanese War, 632f
 - conditions favoring, 633
 - statistics, adequacy of, 632f
 - Europe, 620
 - by countries, 635
 - Federated Malay States, 634f
 - France, 206
 - Hawaii, 620f, 625
 - conditions opposing, 626
 - "Gentlemen's Agreement" applied to, 621, 625f

- statistics, accuracy of, 627
 Korea, 620f, 631f
 Government encouraged, 632
 Mexico, 629f
 1906-7 explained, 630
 "Gentlemen's Agreement" ap-
 plied to, 621
 statistics, accuracy of, 629f
 Peru, 621, 631
 sex proportion, 631
 Philippine Islands, 621, 626f
 Russia, 568f
 United States, 620f, 623ff
 1898-1907 and 1908-24, compared,
 624 of "picture brides", 625
 prohibited by exclusion law, 625
 Female emigration, 622, 625f
 "Gentlemen's Agreements," effect of, on
 labor emigration, 620ff, 626, 629f
 with Canada, terms of, 629
 United States, text of, 624
 Industrial development affected by
 World War, 633
 Labor emigration, 621f
 affected by "Gentlemen's Agree-
 ments", 620ff, 626, 629f
 by destination, 636
 legalized, 620
 Migration,
 statistics, accuracy of, 618f
 sources, 618
 to and from Asiatic Russia, affected
 by Allied Siberian Expedition, 634
 under "Seclusion law", 618
 Population,
 17th Century, 52f, 69
 18th Century, 69
 19th Century, 73f
 Dieterici's estimate, 73
 Count Yanigasawa cited on, 52
 Droppers on, 52
 increase, 617
 problem, 617, 637
 and emigration, 636
 Repatriation,
 from Canada, 629
 United States, 624
 Russo-Japanese War, effect of, on emi-
 gration, 620
 Sex proportion of emigrants, 621f, 631
 Statistics, passport, 619ff
 Student emigration,
 effect of, 636
 encouraged, 618, 636
 by Charter Oath, 618, 636
 Edict of 1871, 618, 636
 officially supported, 635f
 private, 636
 to Europe, 635f
 United States, 636
 United States citizens resident in, 107
 natives resident in, 107
 World War, effect of, on emigration,
 621; industrial development, 633
 Japanese
 Citizens resident abroad, 619f, 636
 Emigrants, characteristics of, 166f; ex-
 cluded from United States, 625
 JEROME, cited on economic cycles and emi-
 gration, 295
 JEWISH COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
 Applications to, 545
 Argentine statistics, 509f
 Rules for emigration under, 521
 Jews,
 As *Luft-Menschen*, 506f, 520
 Economic and social condition of, im-
 provement in, 518f
 Emigration,
 affected by
 occupational distribution, 515ff
 political conditions, 517
 restrictive legislation, 475, 511
 World War, 475 482,f, 485, 488, 493,
 496, 508
 assisted by Hebrew Emigration Socie-
 ty, 545; Jewish Colonization Socie-
 ty, 509, 545
 causes of, 475, 515ff
 Hersch cited on, 471 footnote 1, 515
 footnote 1
 effects of, 517ff
 Hersch cited on, 471 footnote 1, 515
 footnote 1
 from Austria-Hungary, 481

- rate, 481
versus non-Jews, 482
 Hersch cited on, 482 footnote 1
 from Hungary, rate, *versus*, non-Jews, 482
 Lithuania, to South Africa, 512
 occupations, 512
 Palestine, 514f
 Rumania, 481
 rate, 481f
versus non-Jews, 482
 Russia, 481
 abuse of, 541ff
 causes of, 542ff
 mass, 543
 rate, 481
versus non-Jews, 482
 to Canada, 530
 per cent of total, 530
 Palestine, 513
 South Africa, 511
 United States, 529
 characteristics of, 531
 literacy of, 531
 per cent of total, 529
 sex proportion, 531
 Hersch cited on international migration of, 471 footnote 1
 Immigration,
 into Argentina, 509ff
 statistics, 509f
versus total, 510
 Canada, 507ff, 530
 by sea, *versus* total, 507
 intensity, 509
 Palestine, 512ff
 impracticability of, 515
 intensity, 513f
 net, 514
 reasons for, 512f
 statistics, 514
 South Africa, 511f
 by age and sex, 512
 birth-place, 511f
 statistics, 511
 United States, 472ff, 529ff
 affected by restrictive legislation, 475
 average annual, 474
 by age,
versus others, 486
 total, 484f
 industrial groups, 501
 last residence, 479f
 occupation, 487ff, 502*
 Hersch cited on, 496 foot-
 notes 1, 2, 3
versus others, 490f, 492*,
 493ff
 total, 487ff, 492*, 493ff
 sex,
versus others, 483f
 total, 483
 characteristics of, 506f
 chief occupations, 504f
 industrial, *versus* non-Jewish, 503
 industrially occupied, *versus*
 others, 499*
 intensity, 472ff, 506
 occupied
 agriculturally, *versus* others,
 500
 and unoccupied, *versus* non-
 Jews, 488ff
 domestics, *versus* others, 500
 per cent of total, 472ff; net, 478
 unoccupied, 488f
 permanency of, 476ff
 sex proportion, *versus* non-Jews,
 483f
 skilled labor, 490f, 492*, 493f
versus emigration from, 477
 compared with total, 477
versus total, 476*
 in Argentina, 517
 Austria, 391
 Galicia, 517
 Palestine,
 natural increase of, 518
 percent of total population, 518
 Russia, 517, 539ff
 1897, 539
 by occupation, 541
 concentration of, in "Hebrew
 Pale", 539ff
 condition of, 541ff
 distribution of, 540
 economic subordination of, 542

- per cent urbanized, 540f
pogroms against, 542ff; causes of, 543
- Canada, 517
- South Africa, 517
- United States, 517
 Hersch cited on, 517 footnote 1
 Lestschinsky's estimate, 517 footnote 1
 per cent of total population, 517
- International migration of, Hersch cited on, 471 footnote 1
- Migration,
 methods of computing rate of, 480
 statistics, sources, 471f, 509f
- Political conditions affecting emigration of, 517
- Repatriation, 478, 512
 rate from United States, 478
 to Russia from United States, 531
- Restrictive legislation affecting emigration of, 475, 511
- Urbanization of, 519f, 540ff
 effect of, 519f
- World War, effect of, on Emigration of, 475, 482f, 485, 488, 493, 496, 508
- Jews, *see also* Russia, Hebrew Pale
- JOHNSON, SAMUEL, on counting, 44
- JOHNSON, STANLEY C.,
 cited on assisted Irish emigration, 276 footnote 1, 277 footnote 1
 on emigration from United Kingdom to America, 239
- JURASCHEK,
 cited, 33
 Population of Europe, 19th century, 72, 75
- Juvenile emigration, 258f; promoted, 259; immigration, 195
- K
- KAPP, F.,
 cited on German emigrants, hardships of, 328 footnote 3, 331 footnote
 sex proportion, 357 footnote 1
 German emigration to North America, 342 footnote
 on German population increase, 363
- KEANE, A. H., on Aboriginal population of America, 81; mestizo population of America, 81
- Kenya,
 United States citizens resident in, 107; natives, 107
- Kenya, *see also* East Africa
- KIDDER, A. V., on Aboriginal population of Arizona, etc., 55
- KING, G.,
 on population of Africa, 54
 earth and continents, 45, 48f, 640
- KNIBBS, G. H., on population of the earth, 45, 639
- Korea,
 Acquired by Japan, 617
 Immigration, Japanese, 620f, 631f
 Government encouraged, 632
 Japanese population, 1923, 632
- KROEBER, A. L., on Aboriginal population of California, 54f
- L
- Labor,
 Alien, in France, 220ff
 by occupation, 233f
 Code, Malayan, 610
 Emigration,
 Indian, 591ff
 Italian, 445
 Japanese, 621f, 636; affected by "Gentlemen's Agreements," 620ff, 626, 629f; legalized, 620
 Polish, to America, 537; Germany, 537
 Russian, to United States, 550f
- Immigration,
 France, 220ff; Germany, 537; United States, 490ff
- Imported,
 France, 227ff
 Philippine Islands, 627
- Indentured, Indian

- abolished, 595, 597f
 recruiting, 597
 prohibited, 598f
 Indian, conditions of, in Ceylon, 609f, 616; in Malaya, 609, 616
- Migration,
 Germany, 351, 375, 377ff, 388
 seasonal, 377ff
- Recruiting of Indian, 591, 597, 610
 Repatriation of French, 229
 Short-time, in Canada, 132
- Skilled,
 among emigrants, 493
 Jews, 490f, 492*, 493f
 demand for, in Brazil, 168
 Skilled, emigration of Indian, 592
 Treaties, France, 224f
- Unskilled,
 emigration of Indian, 591f
 control of, 599, 602
 prohibited, 602, 605f
 excess of, in Brazil, 163f
- Wages,
 in Malaya, 611
 Russia, 551
- LAGNEAU, G., estimate of French emigration, 205
- Latin America, Aboriginal population of, 56ff
 Velasco on, 56
- LATINOQUE, A., on superiority of French immigrant in Argentina, 217
- LEAGUE OF NATIONS, population of the earth and continents, 43
 Legislation,
 Anti-Asiatic, 601
 Restricting,
 Emigration, 166, 283, 321, 345, 354, 409f, 433, 475, 483, 511, 631
 Immigration, 141f, 146f, 163, 190f, 354, 391, 475, 629, 631
 Migration, 324, 391
 Restricting, *see also* under Country
- LEROY-BEAULIEU,
 Estimate of French emigration, 204f; on Immigration into France, 219
- LETSCHINSKY, estimate of Jews in United States, 517 footnote
- Letts, literacy of, 538
 Letts, *see* Lithuania
- LEVASSEUR, EMILE, cited, 33; French emigration estimated by, 204f; on value of French emigrant, 216; population of earth estimated by, 45, 72, 639ff; Europe, 76
- LEWIS, SIR GEORGE CORNWALL, quoted on Irish emigration to Great Britain, 264 footnote
- Literacy,
 of Brazilian population, 163
 emigrants, 157f, 531
 foreign-born, United States, 118ff
 immigrants, 118ff, 138, 158, 163, 531; effect of, on economic conditions, 163f
 Letts, 538
 Lithuanians, 538
 Test, United States, 119f
- Lithuania,
 Emigrants,
 economic condition of, 531
 literacy of, 531
 Population,
 17th Century, 46f
 literacy, 538
 Lithuania, *see also* Baltic States; Russia
- Liverpool port,
 Emigration through,
 Hungarian, 417f
 Irish, 266
- London, Nicholl's estimate of population of, 48
- LOSCH, H., cited on Württemberg population decrease, 317 footnote 1

- LOVEDAY, A., cited, 34
- Luft-Mensch* defined, 506
- M
- MACLEOD, W. C., on Aboriginal population of North America, 55
- Malaya,
Immigration, Indian, 591
labor,
regulated, 610
unskilled, 592
Indian population of, 591f
Labor, Indian
condition of, 610f, 616
wages of, 611
- MALTE-BRUN, Population of Europe, 19th Century 71; of earth and continents, 640
- MALTHUS population of Ireland, 1700, estimated by, 261; Süßmilch cited by, 65
- Man, "Cost value" of, Engel on, 365, 367; *see also* Individual
- Manchuria, *see* China
- MARTINI, M., on population of China, 46, 50ff; "Novus Atlas Sinensis" quoted, 50
- Mauritius,
Immigration, Indian, 593
labor, unskilled, prohibited, 605
Indian population, 592
status of, 605
efforts to improve, 605
- Mennonites,
Emigration of, to Canada, 553
Migration of, 552
- MERRIAM, C. HART, on Aboriginal population of California, 54f
- Mestizos,
American, 81
Mexican, 581f
racial composition of, 581
- METHORST, H. W., cited, 34
- Mexican race, meaning of, 584
- Mexico,
Aboriginal population, 56ff, 80, 582
Sauer on, 58
Asiatics in, 583
Emigration to United States, 91f, 584ff
clandestine, 590
net estimated, 589f
Foreign-born in, 582f; sex proportion, 583
Immigrants, French, superiority of, 217
Immigration,
French, 206
from United States, 584ff
German, 356
Japanese, 629f; 1906-7 explained, 630; affected by "Gentlemen's Agreement," 630
"Gentlemen's Agreement" applied to, 621
effect, 630
not attracted by, 630
statistics, accuracy of, 629f
Spanish, early, 581
sex proportion, 581
Mestizos in, 581f
racial composition of 581, 582 note *d*
Mexican race, meaning of, 584
Migration,
Gamio cited on, 581
seasonal, to and from United States, 588
statistics,
adequacy of, 588ff
compared with United States, 584ff
United States, for, 583ff
Negroes in, 582f; Humboldt on, 582
Population,
17th Century, 62
18th Century, 56, 69ff
19th Century, 74, 77
Gama's estimate, 582
Humboldt on, 56
Humboldt's estimate, 582

- Navarro's estimate, 582
 racial composition of, 19th Century, 581ff
 rate of increase, 82
 Humboldt on, 69
 Sex proportion of immigrants, 581
 Mexico, *see also* America
 Maoris, *see* Aboriginal population, New Zealand
- Migration,
 affected by industrial development, 579; restrictive legislation, 324, 391; World War, 151, 321, 344, 348, 353, 355, 570, 575, 579f
 conditions affecting, 579
 defined by International Conference on Emigration and Immigration, 594
 effects, 310f
 meaning of, 85f
 overland period of, 29
 overseas period of, 29
 population increase and, 30
 record of, 30
 restricted, 324
 seasonal, 167, 588
- Modern migratory epoch, opening of, 29
- Mohammedans in Palestine, 518 footnote 1
- MOHEAU, population of earth and continents estimated by, 640; quoted on population estimates, 82
- MÖNCKMEIER, cited on German emigration by marital condition, 360 footnote 1; German emigration estimated by, 332; on German classes, 348, 351; on monetary value of German emigration, 363
- Money orders, international, emigrants' remittances by, 467f
- Money order statistics, 132
- MONTESQUIEU, quoted on population of earth, 44
- MOONEY, JAMES, Aboriginal population of North America, 54f
- Montreal, immigrant arrivals through, 124
- MORELAND, W. H., on population of India, 53
- Morocco,
 Emigration to Brazil, 164
 Immigration, French, 206, 208
- Morocco, *see also* French colonies
- MORSE, JEDIDIAH, on population of the Western Hemisphere, 18th Century, 65; population of earth and continents estimated by, 640
- Mortality, infant, 37
 among immigrants, 139
- N
- Naples port, Hungarian emigration through, 418
- Napoleonic Wars, effects of, 102, 245, 249
- Natal, *see* South Africa
- Naturalization of immigrants, 137
- Negroes,
 in Canada, 134f
 criminality of, 139
 Mexico, 582f
 United States, 107f, 109*
- Netherlands,
 Emigration to Brazil, 164
 Immigration, German, 375
 Population, 17th Century, 47, 50
- New Caledonia, French immigration to, 206
- New Granada, population, 19th Century, 77
- New Zealand,
 Aboriginal population, 179ff
 assimilation of, 190
 hostility of, 180f
 Arrivals, immigrant, *versus* reported foreign-born, by sex, 183

- Assimilation of immigrants, 191f, 196
 British colonization companies organized, 179
 Capital of assisted immigrants, 186
 Economic conditions affecting emigration, 197; immigration, 183f
 Emigration,
 by age, 199
 birthplace, 199
 destination, 198ff
 sex and age, 197
 Chinese, 190f
 Indian, 191f
 to Australia, 173
 to, promoted, 247
 Gold discovery, effect of, on immigration, 180f
 Government policy re immigration, 181f
 Immigrants,
 assimilation of, 191f, 196
 assisted, capital of, 186
 occupations, 194; compared with census distribution, 194
 urbanization of, 195
 Immigration,
 affected by economic conditions, 183f,
 gold discovery, 181; World War, 184
 assisted, 182, 184ff, 189, 193, 197
 defined, 184
 importance of, 184
 Austrian, 401
 by origin, 195
 sex and age, 188f
 Chinese, 190f
 assimilation, 191
 occupations, 191
 restricted, 190f
 sex proportion, 190f
 conditions affecting, 181
 effect of New Zealand Company on, 179
 French, 206
 Government policy re, 181f
 Indian, 191f
 assimilation, 192
 restricted, 191
 sex proportion, 191
 intensity, 180ff, 184
 Irish, 280
 Juvenile, 195
 of military settlers, 184
 Syrian, 192
 occupations, 192
 sex proportion, 192
 Juvenile immigration, 195
 Migration,
 seasonal, 193
 statistics, 180
 improved, 192f
 sources, 180, 182
 Population,
 by race, 188
 European, increase, 180ff
 homogeneity of, 186ff
 Indian, 592
 status, 604, 616
 efforts to improve, 604
 natural increase *versus* migratory increase, 182
 white, 179, 182
 Restrictive legislation affecting immigration, 190f
 Sex proportion, 188ff
 Urbanization of immigrants, 195
 United States citizens resident in, 107; natives, 107
 World War, effect of, on immigration, 184
 New Zealand Company, 179
 Nicaragua, United States citizens resident in, 107; natives, 107
 NAVARRO Y NORIEGA, D. FRANCISCO, Mexican population estimated by, 582
 NICHOLLS, W., population of the earth, 45, 48, 640; population of London and Great Britain, 48
 Nomadism in Baluchistan, 594
 North Africa, French immigration to, reasons for, 212
 North America,
 Aboriginal population, 55, 57, 66, 75

- MacLeod on, 55
 Mooney on, 54f
 Stiles on, 65
 18th Century, 70
 Area, 78
 Immigration from United Kingdom, 250
 Population,
 17th Century, 62f
 18th Century, 70f
 19th Century, 74ff
 1650-1929, 78
 present, 43
 rate of increase, 79f, 82
 United States citizens in, 106
- North America, *see also* America; Canada;
 United States
- Norway,
 Economic conditions affecting emigra-
 tion, 294ff
 Emigration,
 balance, 310f
 by age-classes, 301ff
 age and sex, 302
 destination, 289, 291, 297ff
 marital condition, 303ff
 occupation, 305f
 sex, 300f
 causes, 292f, 296
 effect of, on birth-rate, 312
 intensity, 290f, 294
 restrictive legislation on, 283
 statistics, beginning of, 288
 to Brazil, 164
 United States, under quota, 298
 United States quota for, 298
 Foreign-born in, 308
 Immigration,
 by origin, 307
 statistics, 307
 Swedish, 299
 Migration,
 effect of, on population, 311
 statistics,
 accuracy of, 285f
 sources, 284
 Population,
 affected by migration, 311
 balance, 286ff
 Repatriation, 308, 310
 Restrictive legislation on emigration,
 283
- Norway, *see also* Scandinavia
- O
- Occupational distribution, effect of, on
 emigration, 515ff
- Occupational efficiency of races, 234f
- Occupations, *see* under countries
- Oceania,
 Population,
 17th Century, 45
 estimates, 1650-1850, 640; 1851-1927,
 81*
 rate of increase, 80, 82
- O'CONNOR, SIR JAMES, cited on Irish emi-
 gration through Liverpool, 266 footnote
- OLIVEIRA, PIRAJA DE, on Brazilian arrivals,
 162; Portuguese immigration, 167
- Optants, defined, 572
- P
- Palestine,
 Immigration,
 conditions unfavorable to, 515
 Jewish, from Russia, 513
 causes, 513
 Jewish net, 514
 Jews in,
 natural increase of, 518
 per cent of total population, 518
 Migration balance, Jewish, 514
 Mohammedans in, 518 footnote 1
 Palestine, *see also* Jews
- Paraguay,
 Immigration, French, 206
 Population, 19th Century, 77
- PARKER, E. H., on population of China,
 51f, 68

- PEEL, emigration scheme of, 245
- Permanent residence, defined, 654 footnote 1
- Persia, emigration to Russia, 568ff
- Peru,
Immigration,
German, 355
Japanese, 621, 631
not attracted to, 631
sex proportion, 631
Population, 19th Century, 77
United States, citizens resident in, 107; natives, 107
- Pescadores, acquired by Japan, 617
- PETTY W., on population of the earth, 45f, 640
- Philippine Islands,
Immigration, Japanese, 621, 626f
not attracted to, 627
statistics, accuracy of, 627
Labor, Japanese, imported, 627
Population, 73
Japanese, 17th Century, 626f
- PHILIPPOVICH, E. VON, cited on Emigration, assisted, from Baden, 364 footnote 1
- PINKERTON, JOHN, on population of Europe, 19th Century, 71; of earth and continents, 640
- Pogroms, 529, 542ff
Cause of, 543
- Poland,
Emigration to Argentina, 153f; Brazil, 164; France, 226, 232
Jews in, 517
Population, 17th Century, 46f, 50
- Poland, Russian
Agricultural conditions in, 534ff
- Conditions in, 533f
- Emancipation of serfs, 534
- Emigration, 534ff
by provinces, 537
causes, 534ff
labor, to America, 537; to Germany, 537
of non-Jews, by classes, 534
peasant, 534ff
rate, by provinces, 538*
to America, 537
- Land,
classified
by area, 536
ownership, 535f
according to Central Russian Statistical Committee, 535;
Warsaw Statistical Committee, 535
ownership, 535f
- Peasant emigration, 534ff; holdings, 536f
- Population, 1897, 533; distribution of, 533f
- Repatriation, 537
- Serfs, emancipation of, 534
- Statistics of Warsaw Statistical Committee, 537
- Poland, *see also* Russia
- Polar Region,
Population estimates, 1901-1927, 643f
South America, population, 19th Century, 77
- Polish revolution, 535
- Polish serfs, emancipation of, 534
- Political conditions, effect of, on emigration, 147f, 150, 317f, 341ff, 517, 542ff, 578
- Polynesia, *see* Australasia and Polynesia
- Popov, on population of China, 40
- Population,
of continents, estimated, 1650-1850,

- 640; 1851-1930, 643f
 earth, estimated, 1650-1850, 640;
 1851-1930, 643f
- Population, *see also* under continents;
 countries; earth
- Population increase,
 affected by economic conditions, 80
 and migration, 30
 cause of, 80
 European, 33
 Rate of,
 Chinese, 39f, 67f
 European, 66f
- Porto Rico,
 Population, 18th Century, 70; 19th
 Century, 74
- Porto Rico, *see also* West Indies
- Portugal,
 Emigration,
 to Argentina, 153
 Brazil, 163f, 166
 France, 232
- Potato famine, effect of, on emigration,
 250, 264ff
- Q**
- Quebec, immigrant arrivals through, 124
- Queensland, *see* Australia
- R**
- READING, LORD, on British attitude to-
 ward status of Indian emigrant, 602
- Refugees, World War,
 Emigration of, from Germany, 353
 in France, 229
- Religious persecution, effect of, on emi-
 gration, 547, 552
- Remittances, emigrant, 405, 466ff
- Repatriates, resources of, 439
- Repatriation, 89, 91, 105, 154, 164, 166,
 229, 282, 307ff, 321, 371, 373, 376, 408f,
 434ff, 461ff, 477f, 512, 524, 531, 537,
 579, 615, 624, 626, 629
 affected by World War, 464
 assisted, 613
- Restrictive legislation affecting emigration,
 166, 283, 321, 345, 354, 409f, 433, 475,
 483, 511, 631
 immigration, 141f, 146f, 163, 190f, 391,
 475, 629, 631
 migration, 324, 391
- RICCIOLI, J. B., cited, 33; on population of
 Africa, 54; earth and continents, 45,
 640; Europe, 17th Century, 46, 49;
 Western Hemisphere, 54
- Riukiu, acquired by Japan, 617
- ROBERTSON, SIR BENJAMIN on Indian set-
 tlement in Tanganyika, 592f
- ROCKHILL, W. W., interpretation of "men"
 in Chinese returns, 36; on population of
 China, 40, 51f, 73
- Rotterdam port,
 German emigration through, 326; Hun-
 garian, 417f
- Rumania,
 Emigration,
 Hungarian, 437
 Jewish to United States, 479ff
 to Brazil, 164
 Russia, 567f
 Immigration,
 Hungarian, 430ff
- Rural and urban distribution of immi-
 grants, 177
- Russia,
 Agricultural conditions, by regions, 548ff
 Agricultural revolutions, 548
 Aliens, geographic distribution of, 570
 "Black earth" provinces, 548ff
 Distinguished from Soviet Russia, 521
 footnote 2

- Dukhobars, emigration of, 521
- Emigrants,**
- characteristics of, 577
 - by linguistic groups, 531
 - economic condition of, 531
 - occupations of, 551
 - sex proportion, 577
 - to United States,
 - capital of, 551f
 - characteristics of, by linguistic groups, 531
 - occupations of, 531
- Emigration,**
- 1828-1925, 576
 - by provinces, 549*
 - causes of, 547ff
 - clandestine, 523, 525, 527
 - Crimean Tartar, 553
 - causes of, 553
 - estimates, 533
 - German,
 - causes of, 552f
 - mass, 552
 - to Argentina, 553
 - Brazil, 553
 - Canada, 553
 - United States, 552f
 - Government policy re, 521f
 - intensity, 523
 - Jewish, 481, 539ff
 - causes of, 542ff
 - distribution *versus* population distribution, 544, 546
 - from regions of Western, 544
 - mass, 543
 - statistics lacking, 539
 - to Palestine, 513
 - South Africa, 511
 - under Hebrew Emigration Society,
 - by regions, 545f; Jewish Colonization Society, 521
 - net
 - by destination, 526
 - periods, 523
 - estimated, 525
 - of Dukhobars, 521
 - Great Russians, 529, 547
 - Little Russians, 529
 - Mordvians, 547
 - Ukrainians, 547
 - White Russians, 529, 547
 - peasant, post-War, to Asiatic, 575
 - periods, 523
 - permanent, decennial, by destination, 527
 - sectarian, 547
 - Bonch-Bruевич on, 547
 - statistics,
 - lack of, 521
 - sources, 522
 - to America, 576
 - by linguistic stocks, 577
 - Argentina, 153, 153*, 154
 - Asiatic, causes of, 562f
 - Brazil, 164, 166
 - Canada, 548
 - by linguistic groups, 530
 - net, 526
 - net estimated, 525
 - France, 232
 - Siberia, by provinces of origin, 560* 561f
 - United States, 524ff, 548, 550
 - agricultural, 550f; *versus* total, 550
 - by linguistic groups, 529ff
 - net, 526; estimated, 524f
 - per cent of net, 528
 - Germans in, 552
 - non-urban, by provinces, 552
 - Government policy re emigration, 521f
 - Great Russians, occupations of, 541
 - Hebrew Pale,
 - creation of, 542
 - economic conditions in, 541f
 - emigration from, by regions, 543f
 - legal conditions in, 542
 - provinces of, 539*
 - urbanization of Jews in, 542
 - Immigrants, social composition of, by origin, 577f
 - Immigration,
 - across Asiatic frontier, 566f; European, 566f
 - alien,
 - 1828-1915, 577
 - by origin, 567ff
 - net, 566f
 - Austrian, 399

- by origin and decades, 569
 conditions affecting, 565
 French, 206
 from United States, 568
 German *versus* German immigration
 to United States, 570
 intensity, 567
 Jewish Colonization Society, applica-
 tions to, by regions, 545f
 statistics, beginning of, 565
 Industrial development, effect of, on mi-
 gration, 579
 Jews, by religion, in, 539f
 distribution of, 540
 occupations of, 541
 per cent urbanized, 540f
 restrictions on, 542
 Labor wages, by provinces, 551
 Migration,
 affected by industrial development,
 579; Revolution, 570f, 575; World
 War, 570, 575, 579f
 alien, 565f
 balance, 566, 570
 conditions affecting, 579
 post-War, 570f
 pre-War, types of, 564*, 565
 statistics, direct *versus* indirect, 524ff
 trends, 578
 Peasant holdings, 562f
 migration, 551f, 556ff, 562f
 Peasants, emancipation of, 549
 Pogroms in, 529, 542ff
 cause of, 543
 Provinces of, 549*
 Religious persecution in, 547
 Repatriation, 579
 from United States, 524
 Revolution, effect of, on migration,
 570f, 575
 Serfdom, development of, 548; effect of,
 550; fall of, 555
 Statistics of Warsaw Statistical Com-
 mittee, 533, 535, 537, 545
 Village (*mir*), meaning of, 535 footnote
 World War, effect of, on migration, 570,
 575, 579f
- Russia, *see also* Russia, Asiatic; Russia,
 European; Russia, Soviet
 Russia, Asiatic
 Colonization, compulsory, 555, 557
 Conditions in, 553f
 Divisions of, 553, 554*
 Extent of, 553
 Immigrants, Russian, economic condi-
 tion of, 563
 Immigration,
 intensity, 557f
 Japanese, 620f, 633f
 annual average, 633f
 not attracted by, 634
 occupations, 634
 of prisoners and exiles, 556
 peasant, 556
 post-War, 575
 Russian, 556f
 registered, 556
 Migrants, per cent married, by districts
 of origin, 561
 Migration, 553ff, 575f, 577
 by district of origin, 576; settlement,
 576
 Japanese, affected by Allied Siberian
 Expedition, 634
 peasant,
 by districts, 558
 married, by destination, 559
 Population,
 by districts, 555
 increase, 555f
 Siberia, immigration Russian, by pro-
 vinces or origin, 560*, 561f
 Siberia and Far East, peasant settlers in,
 75
 Suitability for settlement, 558
 Russia, European, population, 20th Cen-
 tury, 76
 Russia, Soviet,
 Aliens in, by nationality, 574
 Distinguished from Russia, 521 footnote
 2
 Migration,
 alien,

- balance, by countries, 573
 overland, 572
 overland, 571
 prospects, 580
 Optants, defined, 572
- Russia, Soviet, *see also* Russia
- Russian peasants, emancipation, 549
- Russian serfdom, development, 548; effect
 550; fall, 555
- Russo-Japanese War, effect on Japanese
 emigration, 620, 632f
- S
- SACHAROFF, T., on population of China,
 39, 51f, 68
- Sakhalin, South, acquired by Japan, 617
- Santo Domingo,
 Population,
 18th Century, 70
 19th Century, 75
- Santo Domingo, *see also* West Indies
- SAPPER, KARL, on Aboriginal population of
 America, 57
- SAPRU, SIR TEJ BAHADUR, quoted on In-
 dian rights, 609
- SASTRI, SRINIVASA, investigations of, on
 status of Indian emigrants, 603f
- SAUER, CARL, on Aboriginal population of
 Mexico, 58
- SAUVY, on French naturalizations, 220
 footnote 1
- Scandinavia,
 Emigration,
 affected by economic conditions, 296;
 World War, 294, 302
 by age 301ff
 destination, 297ff
 intensity and age distribution, 303;
 and sex proportion, 300f
 overseas,
 compared with European, 289f
 intensity, 288ff
 sex proportion, 299ff
 Migration, effect of, on population, 310ff
 Population,
 17th Century, 46f, 50
 1801, 287
 affected by migration, 310ff
 Sex proportion of emigrants, 299ff
 World War, effect of, on emigration, 302
- Scandinavia, *see also* Denmark; Norway;
 Sweden
- SCHMIEDER, OSCAR, Aboriginal population
 of South America, 58ff, 59 (map)
- Scotland, *see* Great Britain
- Serfdom, Russian, development of, 548;
 effect, 550; fall, 555
- Serfs, emancipation of Polish, 534
- SERING, M., cited on stimulation of Ger-
 man emigration, 351 footnote 1
- Sex proportion,
 of emigrants, 155, 213, 276ff, 299ff,
 357, 361, 406, 434, 451, 483f, 531,
 577, 581, 621f, 631 (*see also* under
 countries)
 of immigrants, 132, 140, 155, 188ff,
 483f, 581, 583, 631 (*see also* under
 countries)
 of population of China, 37
 of repatriates, 464
- Siberia, *see* Russia, Asiatic
- SINGH, MAHARAJ KUNWAB, report on de-
 putation to British Guiana, 605; to
 Mauritius, 605
- Slavonia, *see* Austria
- South Africa,

- Anti-Asiatic legislation, Dutch, 601
- Immigration,
 French, 206
 Indian, 615
 assisted, 613
 Irish, 280
 Jewish, 511f
 by age and sex, 512
 birthplace, 511
 from Lithuania, 512; occupations,
 512
 Russian, decennial, 527
- Indian population, 592, 601
 condition improved, 613ff
 status of, 601f, 611
 efforts to improve, 601ff
 Round Table Conference conclusions on, 612ff
- Jews in, 517
- Legislation, Dutch anti-Asiatic, 601
- Russian embarkations for, 526
- United States citizens resident in, 107;
 natives, 107
- North Africa, *see also* Africa
- South America,
 Aboriginal population, 57f, 60f
 19th Century, 77
 Schmieder on, 58ff, 59 (map)
- Area, 78
- Plateau, districted, defined by Grubb,
 57, 61
- Polar regions, population, 19th Century,
 77
- Population,
 17th Century, 52, 59ff
 18th Century, 70f, 75
 19th Century, 75ff
 estimates, 1650-1929, 78
 Polar Regions, 19th Century, 77
 present, 43
 rate of increase, 79f, 82
 United States citizens in, 106
- South America, *see also* America
- Soviet Russia, *see* Russia; Russia, Soviet
- Spain,
- Emigration,
 to Argentina, 152, 153*, 154
 Brazil, 163f, 166
 France, 222f, 232
 Mexico, 581
- Immigration, French, 206
- Population, 17th Century, 46f, 50
- SPINDEN, H. J., Aboriginal population of
 America, 80
- Steppe Region, *see* Russia, Asiatic
- STILES, Aboriginal population, North
 America, 65
- Stolypin Reforms, 558
- STRUYCK, N., population of earth, 64; and
 continents, 640
- Student emigration, 635f
- SUNDBÄRG, GUSTAVE, cited, 33; popula-
 tion of Europe, 19th Century, 66, 72;
 20th Century, 76; Swedish life-and-mi-
 gration table, 311f
- SUPAN, A., cited, 34; population of Asia,
 77; China, 39ff; earth and continents,
 643f
- SÜSSMILCH, J. P., cited, 33; population of
 earth, 18th Century, 64f; and conti-
 nents, 640
- Sweden,
 Emigration,
 affected by economic conditions, 294ff
 balance, 310f
 by destination, 289, 291, 297ff
 marital condition, 304ff
 occupation, 305f
 sex, 300f
 effect of, on birth-rate, 312
 intensity, 290f, 294
 legislation restricting, 283
 statistics, beginning of, 288
 to Brazil, 164

- Russia, 568
 United States,
 under quota, 298
 versus immigration from, 308f
 United States quota for, 298
versus repatriation, 310
 Foreign-born in, 308
 Immigration,
 by origin, 307
 French, 206, 208
 intensity, 307
 statistics, 306f
 Life-and-migration table, Sundbärg's,
 311f
 Migration,
 effect of, on population, 311f
 statistics, accuracy of, 286; sources,
 284f
 Population,
 affected by migration, 311f
 balance, 286ff
 Repatriation, 307ff; *versus* emigration,
 310
 United States, citizens resident in, 107;
 natives, 107
 Sweden, *see also* Scandinavia
 Switzerland,
 Emigration,
 to Argentina, 153
 Brazil, 164
 France, 222f
 New Zealand, 195
 Russia, 568f
 United States, citizens resident in, 107;
 natives, 107
 Syria,
 Emigration
 to Argentina, 154; Brazil, 164; New
 Zealand, 192
- T
- Tanganyika, *see* East Africa
 TENNEY, RAYMOND, report on China, 35f
 Thirty Years' War, 49

- Trieste, Hungarian emigration through,
 417f
 Tunis, immigration, French, 206
 Tunis, *see also* Africa; French Colonies,
 211
 Turkestan, *see* Russia, Asiatic
 Turkey,
 Emigration,
 Jewish, to United States, 479
 to Argentina, 153, 153*, 154; Brazil,
 166; Russia, 568ff;
 Immigration, Crimean Tartar, 553
 Tyrol, Southern, *see* Austria

U

- United Kingdom, *see* Great Britain
 United States,
 Alien, defined, 649 footnote 1; alien non-
 immigrant defined, 654
 Alien passenger arrivals, 1826-1866, 646
 Aliens, non-immigrant
 classification of, 656
 defined, 654
 Birds of passage, 119f
 Citizens resident abroad, 105f
 by continents, 106
 countries, 107
 Emigration
 and immigration compared, 103f
 Hungarian, 434
 Italian, 462
 Japanese, 624
 of native citizens, 104; by age, 105
 naturalized citizens, 104; by age, 105
 Russian, 524
 Russian-Jewish, 531
 to Brazil, 167
 Canada, 105
 Irish Free State, 282
 New Zealand, 195
 Russia, 568f
 European stock in, 82
 Europeans in, 30
 Foreign-born,

- by English-speaking ability, 117f
 - length of residence, 115
 - mother tongue, 116
 - states, 109*
- English-speaking ability compared with residence, 118
- in urban and rural population, 108, 110f
- literacy of, 118f
- whites, sex distribution of, 90f
- with Germanic mother tongue, 384
- "Gentlemen's Agreement,"
 - effect of, on Japanese labor immigration, 620ff
 - text of, 624
- German proportion of foreign white stock in, 385
- Immigrant,
 - defined, 85, 586, 649
 - definition, changes in, 86f, 92
- Immigrants,
 - by age, 114
 - race and occupation, 498
- French,
 - occupations of, 215
 - superiority of, 217f
- geographic distribution of, 107f, 109*
- geographic separateness of, and Negroes, 107f, 109*
- industrially occupied, by race, 499*
- literacy of, 118ff
- marital condition, by race, 113
- remittances,
 - Austrian, 405
 - Italian, 467f
- Russian,
 - capital of, 551f
 - occupations of, 531
- Russian-Jewish,
 - characteristics of, 531
 - literacy of, 531
 - sex distribution of, 90f
 - sex proportion, 111; by race, 112
 - urban and rural distribution, 111
- Immigration,
 - affected by restrictive legislation, 390, 410, 433, 475
 - annual, Jewish and total, 476*
 - Austrian, 396f, 399, 400, 410
 - quota for, 410
 - restricted, 390, 410
 - by age and race, 486
 - decades, 87
 - occupation, Jewish *versus* total, 490f, 493ff
 - race and occupation, 492*
 - sex and race, 484
 - sex, Jewish *versus* total, 483
 - Canadian, 91f
 - clandestine, 86
 - Danish, 297ff
 - quota for, 298
 - under quota, 298
 - effect of, on population increase, 92ff; Walker on, 93f, 98f
 - European, occupied and unoccupied, by race, 489
 - French, 206, 208
 - German, 331ff, 338*, 340, 353ff
 - by quota, 354
 - from Russia, 552f
 - per cent of total, 385
 - quota for, 354
 - Hungarian, 411, 419ff, 433f
 - affected by quota, 433
 - quota for, 433
 - sex proportion, 419, 421f
 - Industrial, Jewish *versus* non-Jews, 503
 - Irish, 265, 267, 270, 277ff
 - Italian, 450
 - Japanese, 620f, 623ff
 - affected by "Gentlemen's Agreement," 620ff
 - attitude toward, 623
 - 1898-1907 and 1908-24, compared, 624
 - "picture brides," 625
 - prohibited by exclusion law, 625
 - student, 636
 - Jewish, 472ff
 - average annual, 474
 - by age, *versus* others, 486f; *versus* total, 484f
 - sex, *versus* others, 483f
 - industrial groups, 501
 - last residence, 479
 - occupation, 487ff, 502*; *versus* total, 487ff

- characteristics of, 506f
 from Austria-Hungary, 481; Rumania, 481; Russia, 481, 529
 occupations dominated by, 504f
 per cent of total, 472ff; of total net, 478
 permanency of, 476ff
 restricted, 475; effect, 475
 sex proportion, *versus* non-Jews, 483f
versus emigration, 477; compared with total, 477
versus total, 476*
- Mexican, 91f, 584ff
 clandestine, 590
 net, estimated, 589f
- Net,
 by decades, 89
 meaning of, 647
 methods of estimating, 90f
 since 1820, 90, 92
- Norwegian, 297ff
 quota for, 298
 under quota, 298
- Occupied and unoccupied, Jewish *versus* non-Jews, 488f
 of "picture brides" from Japan, 625
 overland, control of, 652f
 permanent, defined, 586
 Russian, 524ff, 548, 550
 agricultural, 550f
 by linguistic groups, 529ff
 characteristics of, 531
 decennial, 527
 net, 526; estimated, 524f
- Scandinavian, 296ff
- Skilled labor, Jewish *versus* other, 493f; *versus* total, 490f
- State Department Reports, 1820-1870, statistics in, 658; critique of, 645ff
- Swedish, 297ff; quota for, 298; under quota, 298
- Totals, official and "consistent", 1892-1927, 657
versus repatriation, by race, 477
- Japanese population, increase, 1910-1920 explained, 624f
- Jews in, 517; Hersch and Lestschinsky cited, 517 footnote
- percent of total population, 517
- Literacy,
 of children,
 by nativity classes, 120f
 of natives *versus* of immigrants, 121f
 foreign-born, 118ff
 immigrants, 118f
 test, 119f
- Migration,
 seasonal Mexican, 588
 statistics,
 Austrian and, compared, 395ff
 German and, compared, 330ff, 338*
 Mexican, adequacy of, 588ff
 Mexican and, compared, 584ff
- Migratory increase, net, 88; ratio of, to immigrants, 88, 91
- Natives resident abroad, 106; by countries, 107
- Negroes,
 by states, 109*
 geographic distribution of, 107f, 109*
 geographic separateness of immigrants and, 107f, 109*
- Passage, cost of, from, to Hamburg, 329
- Permanent resident, defined, 654 footnote 1
- Population,
 17th Century, 62; 18th Century, 69;
 19th Century, 74, 77
 increase,
 affected by immigration, 92ff; Walker on, 93f, 98f
 due to extension of enumeration area, 97
 from immigration, 89
 rate of, 82
 rate of annual,
 in districts with unchanged boundaries, 101*, 102
 Northern States, by decade, 100
 Southern States, by decade, 100
 on identical areas, 98, 99*
 rate of decennial, 94, 95*, 96
- Relation between Canada and, 129f
- Repatriation from, 89, 91, 105, 434, 462, 524, 531, 624
 statistics, laws affecting, 466

- Restrictive legislation, effect of, on immigration, 390, 410, 433, 475
- Russians in, 546; Davis and Hourwich on, 546
- Statistics, occupational classification criticized, 487
- Urbanization,
of immigrants, 140f, 160, 175, 195
Jews, 519f, 540ff; effect, 519f
- Uruguay,
Immigration,
Austrian, 401
French, 206, 208
German, 355
Population, 19th Century, 77
- V
- VELASCO, LOPEZ DE, Aboriginal population of Latin America, 56
- Venezuela, population, 19th Century, 77
- VOLNEY, C. F., population of Europe, 19th Century, 71; of earth and continents, 640
- VOLTAIRE, population of earth, 18th Century, 65, 640
- VOSSIGS, I., population of Europe, 17th Century, 47; of earth and continents, 45, 640
- W
- WAGNER, HERMAN, cited, 34; list of estimates of earth's population; population of China, 39f; of earth, 639; of earth and continents, 643
- WAKEFIELD, E. G., on emigration from Great Britain, 246
- WALKER, FRANCIS A., on population increase affected by immigration, 93f, 98f
- WALTERSHAUSEN, A. S. VON, cited on Bismarck's economic reforms, 318 footnote 2; on monetary value of German emigration, 363
- WAPPÄUS, J. W., population estimates, earth, 45, 639
- WARSAW STATISTICAL COMMITTEE, land classification, Poland, 535; on Jewish emigration from Poland, 545; Russian emigration, 533; temporary Russian-Polish, 537
- WEBER, M., cited on causes of German emigration, 351 footnote 2
- West Indies,
Aboriginal population, 57f
Population, 17th Century, 62
18th Century, 70
19th Century, 74
- West Indies, *see also* Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Porto Rico
- Western Hemisphere,
Aboriginal population, 80f
Population,
17th Century, 54, 62
18th Century, 65, 69f
Morse on, 65
19th Century, 75ff
Dieterici's estimate, 75
Riccioli's estimate, 54
- WHISTON, W., population of earth, 18th Century, 63f, 640
- WILLCOX, W. F., cited on definition of immigrant, 92, United States birth rate, 103, urbanization of immigrants, 111; on Chinese census of 1910, 35f; Chinese instructions to enumerators, 36; population growth, 80; population of China, present, 73; population of Europe, 18th Century, 66; present aboriginal population of America, 81; present mestizo population of America, 81

- WILLIAMS, S. WELLS, population of China, 51f, 72
- WINKLER, W., on distribution of German-speaking Germans, 386
- World War,
 and migration, 321, 344, 348, 353, 355
 effect of, on economic conditions, 127f
 emigration, 151, 168, 273, 294, 302, 337, 413f, 433, 446f, 449, 475, 482f, 485, 488, 493, 496, 508, 621
 immigration, 151, 168, 184, 223, 227ff
 industrial development, 633
 migration, 151, 570, 575, 579f
- Refugees, emigration of, 353; in France 229
 Repatriation during, 464
- WÜRZBURGER, cited, 34
- Y
- YANAGISAWA, COUNT YASUTOSHI, cited on population of Japan, 52
- Z
- ZAHN, F., cited on German social legislation, 319 footnote 1; population increase and unemployment, 319 footnote 2
- Zionist Movement, 512f