



## Migration Movements throughout the World in 1913, 1920, and 1921

*The International Labour Conference of 1922 recommended the collection of statistical information by all States Members of the International Labour Organisation as a first step towards a study of the migration problem. Certain steps are being taken on the expectation that these recommendations will be carried out; results, however, can hardly be looked for before 1923. Meanwhile, while waiting for such truly comparable information to become available, it seemed worth while to ask the governments for statistics referring to a past period. These are summarised in the present article. They refer to a single and simple item only, namely, the total number of emigrants and immigrants. It is noted that such statistics may be compiled to refer to travellers when they leave a country (emigration) or when they enter one (immigration) or again when they return to their own country (repatriation) or when crossing one country in order to reach another (migration in transit); tables of figures are presented accordingly. The post-war movements of 1920 and 1921 are contrasted with those of the last complete pre-war year, 1913. Attention is throughout drawn to the incomplete nature of the information available.*

**T**HE International Labour Conference which met in October and November 1922 passed a Recommendation upon the subject of the collection of information concerning emigration and related problems. This Recommendation was analysed in a former issue of this *Review* <sup>(1)</sup>. The answers to the questionnaire which was sent in preparation for the Conference showed that the Governments are only too well aware of the defective nature of present statistics of migration. There was at the same time an unmistakable desire on their part to amend this state of affairs and to make any reasonable sacrifices for that purpose.

Pending the adoption of the Recommendation passed at the Conference, it seems worth while to review existing sources of information as to emigration and immigration, briefly to outline the nature of the statistics available and to indicate their value as well as their defects. For the purposes of this survey several Governments have supplied statistics not yet published. Thanks to their assistance the figures of emigration and immigration in 1921 given in this article are as complete as it would be possible to make them at the present time.

The great difficulties in the way of collecting comparatively exact and complete statistics of migratory movements have often obscured the history of migration and a survey would, therefore, offer an added advantage. One important question which requires an answer is as to the effects of disturbances arising

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(1) *International Labour Review*, Vol. VI, No. 6, Dec. 1922, pp. 881-883.

out of the war and as to the increased or decreased importance of migratory movements now by comparison with the time before 1914.

In order to measure the importance of migratory movements and form some conception of the history of the problem of migration, three years which appear to be representative of the history of migration will be taken: the year 1913, which is the last year from which we can get complete pre-war figures and one in which the volume of migration was perhaps the largest ever recorded; the year 1920, which is the first comparatively normal post-war year; and 1921, the latest year for which statistics are available.

An examination would have been eminently desirable, in the course of these remarks, of all the factors affecting emigration, such as age, sex, occupation, civil condition, travelling conditions, and other circumstances bearing on emigration. But no such international classification, even on the basis of the simplest of these data, namely sex, is possible before some system of standardisation of statistical methods, as recommended at the International Labour Conference, has been reached. In one country immigrants and emigrants are classified by sex, in another the sole distinction made is between adults and children, while, in a third country the two principles are combined and three groups are noted, men, women, and children. Classifications by age or by occupation are even more arbitrary, while classification by religious confession, by race, or by standard of education is only very rarely made.

We are thus compelled to make what study we can on the basis of statistics giving simply the total number of migrants; these figures are the only ones which are commonly available. Yet even this information, general as it is, is only available in countries where the study of statistics is comparatively advanced, and here again it is mostly incomplete. In hardly a single case, for instance, has it been possible to obtain comparable figures both for emigration and for immigration from the same country; a separate examination has therefore had to be made of these two aspects.

Again, figures collected separately for emigration and immigration are themselves not always complete or comparable. On careful enquiry it will be found that most countries are satisfied to note the number of persons embarking or disembarking at their ports, without keeping any record of the large numbers of emigrants who proceed to adjacent countries across the frontier either by rail, or by road, or even on foot. In order to avoid inevitable confusion, a distinction has perforce had to be made between oversea migration and migration by land.

It has also seemed advisable to give a separate table of the statistics of repatriation, i. e. the back-flow of emigration and immigration. In years of depression the number of persons returning to their own country exceeds the number of persons

proceeding outwards ; even during a year of prosperity repatriation forms an important movement going on simultaneously with the principal stream of migration, but in the opposite direction ; this applies especially to movements by land. Competent authorities estimate repatriation of overland migrants at nine-tenths of the volume of departures.

The presentation of a fourth series of statistics would also have been very desirable, namely, the figures for those persons who are crossing a country in search of their destination : emigrants or immigrants in transit. Statistics recording these journeys are very liable to be confused with those for emigration and immigration proper. As they attain very high figures, they help to swell migration statistics artificially and cause great confusion. Unfortunately, it has proved impossible to collect any but very scanty statistics of migration in transit ; the tables given only supply the bare outline of a problem which merits careful study.

Finally, there are refugees, expelled persons, deserters, prisoners of war and civilian prisoners, hostages, citizens of newly constituted countries who opt for or reject the new nationality offered to them, refugees and persecuted persons of all descriptions who are wanderers in the east of Europe or on the borders of Asia. Their numbers reach into the hundred thousands and even into millions in the east of Europe. The question whether they should rightly be included in migratory statistics, we think, should be answered in the negative. In truth, a very different set of persons are here in question. These persons have not been impelled by the spirit of adventure, or by a spontaneous desire to seek out a new home. In their case both departure and return are dictated by motives quite different from those which affect the real emigrant. It is not possible to make any identification between the two movements either from the economic, or the political, or the sociological points of view, and certainly not from the psychological.

A general review of migratory movements should be based on complete statistics of the four streams of migration described above : oversea migration, migration by land, repatriation, and migration in transit. Unfortunately, not a single country supplies the whole of this information simultaneously, so that the tables of totals which are printed at the end of each section of this article can only be looked on in the light of sketches, illustrating up to a certain point the curve of development, but hardly its positive importance.

The following pages will examine some aspects of emigration and immigration. Brief explanations as to the statistics printed and the methods which have been used to compile them are added (2).

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(2) The very difficult question of methods of building up migration statistics may be studied in a special publication which has recently been issued by the International Labour Office under the title of : *Methods of Compiling Emigration and Immigration Statistics* (Geneva, 1922). A detailed analysis is there given of the methods employed in different countries.

## EMIGRATION

*Oversea Emigration*

Oversea emigration is the most interesting aspect of the emigration movement, because it represents a real tearing up of roots on the part of the emigrant, a permanent separation from friends and relatives ; it usually means a change to a radically different cultural habitat from that to which the emigrant has been accustomed. It is emigration in a real sense, and represents for the European countries particularly a more or less permanent loss in population. Perhaps because of this fundamental character, information on it is also more exact and more complete than on any other form of emigration. There is no great difficulty in ascertaining at ports the number of emigrants, men and women, embarking or disembarking for the purpose of finding an occupation in a country overseas. These are normally definite cases of emigration, and most countries are interested in them.

A more careful examination of the figures, however, shows uncertainty to be present even here ; the statistics obtained are anything but perfect. The term "emigrant" is undoubtedly interpreted in a largely similar sense in different countries ; yet there remain a great many divergencies which may be a source of error in the comparison of statistics. In all countries an emigrant is a person who leaves his own country in order to reside in another country. Distinctions arise because sometimes he is taken to mean a person who leaves his country in order to establish himself abroad, either permanently or for a time ; sometimes the third-class or steerage passenger ; sometimes any traveller leaving Europe ; and sometimes the traveller embarking at a national port or in vessels of a given tonnage ; sometimes a person passing beyond a certain geographical demarcation line ; sometimes all travellers are included, and sometimes only those persons who have signed a definite emigration contract with certain agents on whose reports national statistics are based<sup>(3)</sup>. It is not proposed here to take account of these distinctions ; the figures presented will be taken as comparable, and are, as a matter of fact, rather more so than might appear at first sight.

Another difficulty arises out of the period stated to be covered by statistics. The ordinary notion of a year is interpreted in the most different ways in different countries. Sometimes the year is taken to be the calendar year ; sometimes it begins on 1 April, or on 1 July, or on 1 October ; sometimes a statistical year, lasting 48 or 50 weeks, is even assumed. The figures presented have been made to correspond to the calendar year, wherever the existence of monthly, three-monthly, or six-monthly statistics have made this process possible ; without them it cannot be

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<sup>(3)</sup> On this question see INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE : *Legislation and Treaties on Emigration and Immigration*. Geneva, 1922.

carried out. Otherwise figures have been taken for the year of which the largest portion lies within the calendar year mentioned in any particular table. Where the statistical year cuts the calendar year exactly in half, as in the United States, that period is taken generally which covers a portion of the calendar year

TABLE I. OVERSEA EMIGRATION ACCORDING TO STATISTICS OF COUNTRIES OF EMIGRATION

Country	1913	1920	1921
<i>(a) Complete Official Statistics</i>			
Austria <sup>(1)</sup>	194,500	7,500	5,176
Belgium <sup>(2)</sup>	7,590	9,384	2,200
Czechoslovakia <sup>(3)</sup>	—	16,857	17,086
Denmark	8,800	6,300	5,229
Finland	20,000	5,595	3,557
Germany <sup>(4)</sup>	25,745	8,458	23,254
Great Britain <sup>(5)</sup>	389,394	285,102	199,177
Hungary <sup>(6)</sup>	119,159	3,000	6,004
Italy <sup>(7)</sup>	559,566	194,224	182,040
Netherlands	2,330	5,978	3,386
Norway	9,876	5,600	4,627
Poland <sup>(8)</sup>	261,812	74,121	87,334
Portugal <sup>(9)</sup>	77,600	46,410	17,915
Spain	220,400	147,918	62,527
Sweden	17,224	6,078	5,062
Switzerland	6,200	9,276	7,120
United States <sup>(10)</sup> (naturalised citizens)	68,920	8,010	7,217
(native-born citizens)		56,554	64,174
Total (17 countries)	1,989,116	893,365	702,965
<i>(b) Incomplete Official Statistics</i>			
Azores <sup>(11)</sup>	—	3,444	—
Brazil <sup>(12)</sup>	—	—	1,380
Danzig	—	—	84
France	5,000	—	—
India <sup>(13)</sup>	7,733	221	1,408
" <sup>(14)</sup>	—	345,937	251,349
Japan <sup>(15)</sup>	—	—	10,000
Malta	—	—	2,585
Mexico	—	15,337	—
Morocco <sup>(16)</sup>	—	3,769	4,135
Roumania <sup>(17)</sup>	—	—	2,949
Russia <sup>(18)</sup>	208,719	—	—
Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom	—	—	12,965
Uruguay <sup>(19)</sup>	—	1,038	2,267

(1) In 1920 and 1921 the area covered had been considerably reduced and the method of compiling statistics modified.

(2) Statistics of direct and indirect emigration of Belgians through the port of Antwerp.

(3) The Government estimates the number of departures in 1913 at 35,000. This figure has not been inserted in the table as in effect it is included in the Austrian statistics. The figures for 1920 and 1921 were compiled in pursuance of a government Circular, but are not entirely reliable. It should be noted that, in addition to oversea and overland emigrants, there were in 1920 1,446 and in 1921 1,400 emigrants to an unknown destination.

(4) Of the total number of Germans leaving for oversea countries, 869 in 1920 and 1,884 in 1921 sailed direct from German ports and the remainder from foreign, mainly Dutch, ports.

(5) Statistics of British emigration issued by the Board of Trade.

(6) The area covered has been considerably reduced and the method of compiling

which is nearest to the present time of writing ; (thus 1922=1 July 1921 — 30 June 1922).

Without entering into details which are explained in the notes to the tables, attention may be drawn to the fact that, in spite of the care taken to include only oversea emigrants and to eliminate figures for migration by land, a number of cases of overland emigration in certain countries have undoubtedly been included in the figures for oversea emigration, just as a certain number of cases of oversea emigration have been included in those for overland emigration. The defective statistical methods adopted make more precise statements impossible.

With the above reservations, and without any pretence to absolute accuracy, which under the circumstances would have been impossible, we give in table I the whole of the general statistics of oversea emigration which it has been possible to collect for the years 1913, 1920, and 1921. For the sake of clearness the data which are definite and complete enough to make a serious study of this aspect of migration possible are given separately from those which are too defective or fragmentary to lend themselves to any comparison. In some cases it has been possible to make good non-existent or incomplete statistics of the countries of emigration by an analysis of the statistics of the nine principal countries of immigration. By this indirect method some comparable figures have been obtained, and are presented in table II <sup>(4)</sup>.

An examination of table I (a) shows, first, that, except for the United States, no extra-European country is included. In Europe

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statistics modified since the war. In 1920 oversea emigration figures were not recorded in the country itself, but there is no doubt that they were very small. The number of Hungarians entering the United States in the year 1919-1920, for example, was only 84. The figure given in the table (3,000) is an estimate, probably rather too high.

<sup>(7)</sup> For 1920 and 1921 the number of foreigners in transit sailing from Italian ports, i.e. 17,203 in 1920 and 12,280 in 1921, has been deducted.

<sup>(8)</sup> The figures for 1920 and 1921 give the numbers of Polish emigrants sailing from Danzig and certain other ports. The figures for 1913 is an official estimate ; it includes a certain proportion of Galician emigrants already covered by Austrian statistics.

<sup>(9)</sup> Government statistics of third class passengers sailing from Lisbon and Oporto.

<sup>(10)</sup> The figures refer to the years 1912-1913, 1919-1920, and 1920-1921. They cover both naturalised and native-born citizens leaving the United States, but do not draw a sharp distinction between emigrants, repatriated persons, and ordinary travellers.

<sup>(11)</sup> Emigration through the port of Funchal.

<sup>(12)</sup> Emigration of nationals of Danzig.

<sup>(13)</sup> Total of emigrants under contract.

<sup>(14)</sup> Non-regulated emigration and travellers from the Presidency of Madras to Burma, Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements.

<sup>(15)</sup> Estimate by the Japanese Government.

<sup>(16)</sup> The figures for 1921 refer to the first ten months of the calendar year only.

<sup>(17)</sup> Russian emigrants sailing from German ports according to Italian statistics for 1912-1913 ; the majority of them were probably Poles and Polish Jews.

<sup>(18)</sup> Figures supplied by the Government. They apply to the first complete year from 1 April 1921, when the statistics were begun, to 31 March 1922.

<sup>(19)</sup> Uruguayan statistics for 1921 cover the first ten months only, those for the last two months of that year having been destroyed by fire.

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<sup>(4)</sup> The tables supplied in this article are based on figures taken from a very large range of publications, mostly of an official kind, whose titles will be found cited in *Methods of Compiling Emigration and Immigration Statistics*. Geneva, 1922.

TABLE II. OVERSEA EMIGRATION ACCORDING TO STATISTICS OF COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION (1)

Country	1913	1920	1921
Bulgaria and Serb-Croat-Slov. Kingdom (2)	15,166 (a)	1,656 (a)	7,059 (b)
China	12,409 (c)	8,699 (c)	11,747 (c)
France	20,524 (d)	8,945 (d)	14,622 (d)
Greece	38,077 (e)	12,243 (e)	4,142 (b)
Japan	16,949 (c)	2,875 (d)	7,700 (i)
Roumania	5,213 (f)	2,756 (a)	8,398 (j)
Russia (excluding Poles and Lithuanians)	79,680 (f)	1,445 (c)	31,864 (g)
Turkey, Armenia, Syria	69,773 (k)	10,871 (c)	4,301 (g)
Total	257,791	49,490	89,833

(1) The United States statistics which have been used are those for the years 1912-1913, 1920-1921, 1921-1922.

(2) These countries are not distinguished in the United States statistics for 1913.

- (a) Statistics consulted : United States, Canada, Brazil.  
 (b) " " United States, Canada, Great Britain.  
 (c) " " United States, Canada, Brazil, Australia.  
 (d) " " United States, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Australia.  
 (e) " " Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Mexico, United States.  
 (f) " " United States, Canada, Australia, Brazil, Argentine, Uruguay.  
 (g) " " United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, Mexico.  
 (h) " " United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia.  
 (i) " " Canada, Australia, United States.  
 (j) " " United States, Canada.  
 (k) " " United States, Canada, Australia, Brazil, Argentine.

no Slav country, except Poland and Czechoslovakia, and no Balkan country is included. However, the data which are given lend themselves all the better to a comparative study, and afford us the surest indication which we have of the progress of migration. The result which emerges from a reading of the table is that the number of emigrants, which for the countries cited reached nearly two million in 1913, had declined to half this number in 1920 and to one-third in 1921.

It may be argued that the areas covered by the statistics were not the same in 1920 and 1921 as they had been before the war ; Austria and Hungary had been considerably reduced in size. On the other hand, the data for 1920 and 1921 include the figures for Czechoslovakia, and the extension of Polish territory into Russia largely compensates for the detachment of certain areas from Austria-Hungary in favour of Roumania and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom. The inaccuracy, therefore, should not be very great.

The impression that migration has declined, which is gathered from table I (a), is confirmed by an examination of table II, where the statistics presented, obtained by indirect methods, may also be made the basis of a comparative study up to a certain point. The result is to show that the number of emigrants for the nine countries cited in the second table was in 1921 scarcely more than one-third of what it had been in 1913.

Adding together the totals of tables I (a) and II, tables which contain more or less comparable figures, the result shows, for

all these countries taken together (i.e. for nearly all the principal countries of emigration in the world), that (except for Mexico, Africa excluding the Union of South Africa, some of the South American Republics, and India) oversea emigration declined from a total of 2,247,000 persons in 1913 to a total of 945,000 in 1920 and of 793,000 in 1921. The figure for 1920 is thus only two-fifths, and that for 1921 only one-third, of that for 1913. This decline in oversea emigration appears even more striking if, instead of examining totals, the figures referring to the separate countries are taken. A look at the first table shows that the figures for the great countries of emigration, Italy, Great Britain, and Spain, have declined rapidly. The process is the same in Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Sweden, in spite of the fact that the war did not disturb economic relations to the same extent in these countries. The same may be observed in Portugal. The only exception is formed by certain countries where hostilities had entirely held up emigration for several years; this was the case in Germany in 1921 and in Belgium in 1920. Poland, Austria, and Hungary, although also affected by hostilities in a similar way, only serve to illustrate the general rule and show an enormously decreased emigration. The United States is the only country where emigration is still going on as it was before the war, but the circumstances are quite special. Switzerland is the only European country showing, both for 1921 and 1920, a higher emigration figure than for 1913.

Table II, which presents the indirect data, shows an even more marked decline in emigration figures than was shown in table I (a) for all countries save China and Roumania. In the case of China the figures remain at about their old level. In the case of Roumania the rise in emigration figures is obviously due to an increase of territory; it is not nearly equal to the decline which may be noted in the case of the adjacent countries.

The figures given in table I (b) are exceedingly incomplete but may merit a passing notice. The large figures for India, which give the number of emigrants and travellers leaving the Madras Presidency, show clearly the decline in emigration as between the years 1920 and 1921, but fail to give any comparison with the year 1913.

To sum up, we may say that oversea emigration has undergone a general decline since the war, amounting altogether to two-thirds of its volume in 1913.

### *Emigration by Land*

The question arises whether this important decline in oversea emigration is possibly being balanced by a corresponding increase in the volume of emigration by land. The incompleteness of the statistics of emigration by land make it a matter of great difficulty to answer this question. A few facts only can be elicited from the table given below. Such as the data are, however, they



TABLE III. EMIGRATION BY LAND

Country	1913	1920	1921
(a) Complete Official Statistics			
Canada (1)	73,802	90,025	72,317
Czechoslovakia (2)	30,000	16,478	16,350
Italy	313,032	153,717	60,846
Mexico (1)	16,926	52,361	30,758
United States	47,972	14,274	11,116
Total	481,732	326,855	191,387
(b) Estimates			
Austria (3)	550,000	—	—
Belgium (4)	40,000	240,000	140,000
Great Britain (5)	125,000	-13,000 (6)	25,000 (7)
Hungarians in Germany	23,125	—	4,451
Poland (8)	—	26,600	9,000
Russia	636,000	—	—
(c) Incomplete Official Statistics			
Argentina	—	36,437	—
Latvia (9)	—	—	15,000
Malay States (10)	—	80,200	40,791
Mexico (11)	—	75,484	—
Roumania (12)	—	—	9,199
Uruguay	600	—	—

(1) According to immigration statistics of the United States.

(2) Figures for 1913 are a Government estimate; for 1920 and 1921 statistics collected as a result of a Government Circular.

(3) Figure based on studies of Polish emigration from Austria in 1913 made by the Austrian Section of the International Unemployment Association.

(4) Figures based on a Belgian study analysed in the *International Labour Review*, Vol. V, No. 3, Mar. 1922, pp. 495-496.

(5) Home Office figures; excess of arrivals over departures of travellers coming from and proceeding to the continent.

(6) Excess of departures over arrivals.

(7) Statistics from another official British source compiled on different methods give the excess of departures over arrivals in 1921 as 16,297.

(8) Polish Government figures. It should be noted that there are also a considerable number of Polish seasonal workers, proceeding regularly to Germany year by year; these were estimated at 140,405 in 1921 by the German Government. The number of Polish workers resident in France in 1922 was estimated by the Polish Government at 300,000.

(9) Figure for the period from the commencement of Latvian statistics (November 1919) down to 31 July 1922.

(10) Figures for the first nine months of 1920 and 1921.

(11) Statistics compiled by the Mexican Government.

(12) Communication from the Roumanian Government, referring to the annual period from 1 April 1921 (when the statistics start) to 31 March 1922.

yield a few indications of the course taken by this kind of emigration. As in the case of oversea emigration, those statistics which are complete and on which a comparative study of movements may be based are given separately from those which are incomplete and altogether defective. In addition, a certain number of estimated returns which may be said to carry weight are given in the case of countries having no official statistics.

However incomplete these tables may be, a most cursory examination of them shows that there has been no increase in the volume of emigration by land to compensate for the decline in emigration by sea as proved above. On the contrary, there is another decline. This decline attains about three-fifths of the pre-war volume for the whole area of those countries for which we have complete statistics (see table III (a)). The figures, however, call for explanation even more decidedly than the oversea figures. First, complete statistics are only available for very few countries, among European countries only for Italy and Czechoslovakia; but Italian emigration by land is so important that it is a very good indication of the general trend. Now the number of persons emigrating by land from Italy in 1921 was barely one-fifth of what it had been in 1913. In the case of Czechoslovakia there has been a decline of one-half, (but here the 1913 figure is a government estimate).

The United States have also published the numbers of those emigrating over land frontiers, to Canada and Mexico; the decline has been from 47,972 in 1913 to 11,116 in 1921, or to less than one-fourth. (Taking the figures referring to Canada and Mexico in the United States immigration statistics, we note that emigration from these two countries into the United States has apparently increased; but in the case of Canada these figures are not confirmed by the Canadian figures so that the facts cannot be stated with certainty.)

Table III (b) confirms the inferences drawn from table III (a). Apart from Italy, (whose official statistics will be found analysed on p. 535), there were in 1913 two great centres of emigration by land in Europe, namely, Austria and Russia. The most competent authorities estimated their overland emigration in 1913 at 550,000 and 636,000 respectively. In the case of both these countries by far the larger number of emigrants came from their Polish provinces. Now the 1920 figure for recorded emigration by land for the whole of Poland was, according to official records, 26,600 persons, while the 1921 figure was only 8,847. The decline has therefore been more marked than for oversea emigration or than for overland emigration in the case of Italy (5).

It must be borne in mind, however, that transit across a frontier has become so much more difficult that many Polish workers who formerly migrated now take up more or less permanent residence in Germany or some other country; the Central Emigration Office in Germany registered in 1921 temporary

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(5) In order to give some idea of the 'continental' emigration toward Great Britain, we give in table III (b) the difference between the number of persons arriving and the number of persons leaving by the principal British ports, coming from or proceeding to the Continent. These travellers form roughly four-fifths of the total number of persons arriving and leaving at these ports. The difference forms some sort of indirect evidence of the importance of the 'continental' emigration movement towards Great Britain. The table shows that the excess of persons arriving was 125,000 in 1913, declined to 25,000 in 1921, while in 1920 there was actually an excess of 13,000 persons departing.

workers in that country as follows : 140,405 Poles, 70,698 Czechoslovaks, 14,971 Austrians, 9,703 Ukrainians, 6,249 Balts, 6,164 Russians, and 4,451 Hungarians. But even admitting this, and admitting a large estimate on account of clandestine emigration, the numbers of foreign workers temporarily resident in Germany has fallen tremendously, from 770,512 in 1914 to 294,219 in 1920 and 293,903 in 1921 (Central Emigration Office figures).

Belgium is the only European country from which the volume of emigration by land, according to the information available, was greater after the war than in 1913. In consequence of the invasion of Belgium and the ruin of her industry, an important emigration movement by land began while the war was still going on, and continued during 1920, a movement of considerably greater volume than was known in 1913. This phenomenon, however, is quite an exceptional one and directly due to the requirements of reconstruction work <sup>(e)</sup>.

Generally speaking, it may be said that in every case the available statistics show a decline in emigration by land parallel to the decline in oversea emigration. Attention should, however, be drawn to the fact that the preliminary statistics available for 1922 seem to prove a tendency towards an increase in the volume of this type of emigration.

#### *Emigration for Repatriation Purposes*

Where a country is primarily a country of immigration, such emigration as takes place from it is mostly the movement of former immigrants back to their old countries, i.e. repatriation. Repatriation is in some degree a movement counterbalancing direct emigration; it tends to restore to the country of emigration the population it has lost and to depopulate the countries of immigration; the returning stream reduces the volume of the outgoing stream by a process of compensation. Comparatively complete figures have been obtained for eight countries (table IV (a)). For the understanding of these data it must be borne in mind that it has not been invariably possible in each case to make a complete distinction between nationals leaving these countries and persons quitting them for the real purpose of returning home (repatriated persons); the figures cited for the latter in the tables include a certain proportion of the former. The distinction has, however, admitted of being made in the case of some few countries, e.g. for Belgium, Brazil, and the United States. The other countries mentioned in tables IV (a) and IV (b) are all pre-eminently countries of immigration and send scarcely any real emigrants abroad; the inaccuracies therefore should be but slight. Countries for which the statistics are incomplete are given separately in table IV (b).

The information in table IV shows clearly that the stream of returning emigrants is being maintained in volume. The total

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(e) The estimates may possibly be slightly exaggerated and inexact.

TABLE IV. EMIGRATION OF REPATRIATED PERSONS

Country	1913	1920	1921
<i>(a) Comparable Official Statistics</i>			
<i>Oversea</i>			
Argentine	156,800	68,294	22,644
Australia	77,000	89,800	72,949
Belgium <sup>(1)</sup>	339	870	633
Brazil	68,461 <sup>(2)</sup>	35,759	31,505
New Zealand	30,400	32,900	10,506
South Africa <sup>(3)</sup>	42,741	35,107	37,948
United States <sup>(4)</sup>	260,218	261,723	245,978
Uruguay	12,400	12,782	8,735 <sup>(5)</sup>
Total	648,089	537,235	430,898
<i>(b) Incomplete Official Statistics</i>			
<i>(1) Oversea</i>			
Cuba	19,300	—	—
Dutch Guiana (Surinam)	668	1,302	—
Venezuela	—	—	9,152
<i>(2) Overland</i>			
France	—	12,151	62,536

(1) Former emigrants to the United States returning to their native country.

(2) Figures for 1912.

(3) Total departures by boat.

(4) Figures for the years 1913-1914, 1920-1921, 1921-1922.

(5) Figures for the first ten month of the year.

number of persons repatriated by sea was, for the eight countries included in table IV (a), 648,089 in 1913 and 537,283 in 1920; the latter figure is astonishingly high in view of the almost total suspension of immigration into these countries during the war. In the course of 1921 oversea repatriation certainly appears to decline; the number of persons returning by sea was only 430,898. The reduced Argentine and New Zealand figures for that year, however, may possibly not be entirely comparable with those for 1920, having been derived from a different source. In any case, it is clear that the drop in repatriation has been much smaller than the drop in emigration.

The figures for the separate countries generally show the same maintenance of the volume of repatriation as is inferred from the totals. The Argentine Republic, however, shows a big decline in the number of persons repatriated between 1913 and 1920. But the Argentine Republic, which took no part in the war, between 1914 and 1918 sent back to Europe no fewer than 438,561 persons while she herself received during those years only 225,366 immigrants, leaving a net decrease in population of 213,195 persons. Under these circumstances the wave of repatriation naturally ebbed during 1920. The same is the case for Brazil.

This general tendency for the stream of oversea repatriation to maintain itself, coupled with the general tendency of oversea

emigration to decline, must obviously result in a considerable reduction in the balance of persons entering the countries of immigration. Table V illustrates this for certain countries in the form of a statement of excess of oversea entries over departures, i.e. of persons arriving as immigrants over persons leaving to be repatriated (or as emigrants).

TABLE V. EXCESS OF OVERSEA IMMIGRATION OVER OVERSEA REPATRIATION (AND EMIGRATION) FOR CERTAIN COUNTRIES BETWEEN 1913 AND 1920 (1921)

Country	1913	1920	1921
Argentina	155,247	31,515	14,981
Australia	64,900	7,800	14,989
Brazil	124,239	35,268	26,971
New Zealand	14,200	11,500	5,817
South Africa	2,941	12,805	9,940
United States	724,376	232,709	143,459
Net oversea immigration	1,085,903	351,597	216,157

For the six countries given the excess of persons arriving falls between 1913 and 1920 to one-third, and in 1921 actually to one-fifth, of the original figure.

The only European statistics we have for repatriation by land are the French statistics, and these are very incomplete. France is the only country where immigration by land has been the subject of the present enquiry and where it still takes place on a fairly large scale. The French figures for 1920 give the number of persons entering as 129,803 and the number of persons repatriated as 12,151, leaving an excess of persons entering of 117,652. However, migratory movements within Europe are still so little stable that in the course of the next year, 1921, we find the movement going entirely in the opposite direction; the number of persons entering France declines to 24,490, while the number of persons repatriated from France rises to 62,536, leaving a net decrease of population of 38,046 persons. The first figures received for the year 1922 show the direction of the current once again deflected: 180,000 foreign workers entered, and 50,000 left France in that year.

### *Emigrants in Transit*

Information on the statistics of countries of emigration and immigration, even granted it be accurate, is not alone sufficient for complete and exact estimation of the volume of migratory movements; the emigrant must be followed in his journey across intermediate countries. It is comparatively rare nowadays for an emigrant to sail from a national port, while emigrants in transit, refugees of all kinds, nationals of countries without a seaboard, and clandestine travellers go to foreign ports. In view of the numerical importance of the latter class and of the frequency with which the emigrant changes his route and his intentions during the journey, statistics of departures from a country are

of only relative value, even when that country takes the trouble to register its emigrants as they pass across the land frontiers, which is rarely done.

It is only possible to draw up complete statistics of the enormous numbers of persons who sail from a foreign port at the moment when they leave the continent; intermediate statistics of migration in transit are therefore of great importance. In order fully to follow the movements of emigrants, they should be registered on their departure, and then successively on entering and leaving each country which they cross, at the moment of embarkation (whether in their own country or abroad), and on each occasion when they move from one country to another. This is hardly ever done, and statistics of migration in transit are meagre.

A few figures have, however, been collected and give some idea, though unfortunately an inadequate one, of some of these movements of emigrants in transit. The ports of transit afford an opportunity for noting the numbers of emigrants there embarking. It has been possible to obtain statistics of emigrants of Polish, Czechoslovak, Serb, Roumanian, Russian, Hungarian, and Austrian nationality embarking during 1921 at the seven 'international' ports of Antwerp, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Danzig, Trieste, Hamburg, and Bremen.

TABLE VI. NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS EMBARKING FROM SEVEN EUROPEAN PORTS IN 1921 BY NATIONALITY

Country of origin	Number of emigrants						
	Total number	leaving by					
		Antwerp	Rotterdam	Amsterdam	Danzig	Trieste	German ports
Austria	4,138	273	777	172	—	145	2,771
Czechoslovakia	16,391	3,337	5,877	191	5	98	6,883
Hungary	6,188	1,331	3,053	96	—	318	1,390
Poland	66,466	23,817	8,699	742	28,074	1,944	3,190
Roumania	8,216	3,625	2,408	216	222	322	1,423
Russia	6,704	3,116	472	313	2,330	—	473
Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom	5,017	—	710	—	—	2,483	1,824
Totals	113,120	35,499	21,996	1,730	30,631	5,310	17,954

Most of the remaining emigrants from these seven countries embarked from ports other than national ports, e.g. from French, British, or Italian ports, but figures are not available.

From national statistics we obtain some information, which is presented in table VII. Table VII (a) shows the number of aliens who, arriving in transit at a port, leave direct for their final destination; table VII (b) relates to a second type of migrant in transit, who leaves his country, or a country of transit, for another country which is not his final destination. This is especially the case with oversea emigrants who leave Belgium

TABLE VII. EMIGRATION IN TRANSIT <sup>(1)</sup>

Country	1913	1920	1921
<i>(a) Emigration to country of final destination</i>			
<i>(1) To oversea countries</i>			
Azores	—	142	—
Belgium	96,979	23,712	17,101
Danzig <sup>(2)</sup>	—	30,578	32,727
Germany	—	—	19,422
Great Britain	—	—	86,060
Italy	—	17,203	12,280
Netherlands	85,483	36,359 <sup>(3)</sup>	25,717
<i>(2) To continental countries</i>			
Latvia <sup>(4)</sup>	—	—	90,506
<i>(b) Emigration to a transit country</i>			
<i>(1) To oversea countries</i>			
Belgium : Belgians foreigners	4,284 9,564	1,982 4,066	885 16,216
Germany	—	7,589	5,070
Netherlands	—	—	6,900
<i>(2) To continental countries</i>			
Latvia <sup>(4)</sup>	—	—	89,367

<sup>(1)</sup> Almost invariably these emigration figures include persons who have already been counted as emigrants in their country of origin. For this reason it appeared impossible to add these figures to those given for oversea emigration, emigration by land, and emigration for repatriation purposes, which constitute emigration strictly so called. These figures of emigration in transit do, nevertheless, include an appreciable number of emigrants otherwise uncounted, such as clandestine travellers, refugees, and nationals of countries which do not compile statistics of emigration. It is unfortunately impossible to determine what proportion of the total is accounted for by these classes.

<sup>(2)</sup> Figures for all emigrants not nationals of Danzig. The figures for 1920 refer to the last eight months of the year only.

<sup>(3)</sup> The figure for 1920 includes both direct and indirect emigration.

<sup>(4)</sup> Figure for the period from the commencement of Latvian statistics (November 1919) down to 31 July 1922, including prisoners of war, refugees, and hostages in transit.

or the Netherlands for Great Britain proposing to embark at Southampton or elsewhere for their final destination. Although these data are unequal in value, they suffice to show what a valuable source of international information might be developed in this direction.

In table VII (a) the figures of oversea emigrants in transit from Belgium and the Netherlands, which refer to 1913, 1920, and 1921, show that alien emigration from transit ports, following the same curve as direct emigration, has decreased steadily. It fell from 182,462 in 1913 to 60,071 in 1920, and 42,818 in 1921, a decrease of more than 75 per cent. Emigration through Danzig also shows a decrease in 1921, as compared with the last eight months of 1920.

Figures for the second type of emigrant in transit, which are shown in table VII (b), are even rarer than those collected for

table VII (a). Those for Belgium are the only complete statistics. They show that the number of Belgians who proceed to England in order to embark for their final destination follows the same fluctuations as those noted in other types of emigration. On the other hand, the number of aliens included in this movement was much larger in 1921 than 1913, but the absolute figures are quite small, and the increase is no doubt due to commercial and advertising conditions which have no connection with the volume of migratory movements properly so called.

The only available statistics of emigration in transit by land are those for Latvia. These refer to a post-war period and include not only emigrants, strictly so called, but vast numbers of prisoners of war, refugees, fugitives, inhabitants of plebiscite areas, and hostages who preferred to cross a comparatively peaceful country in order to reach their native land, going either to Russia or central or western Europe. These figures are interesting in that Latvia, so far as is known, is the only country to draw up statistics of overland migration in transit.

#### *Total Volume of Emigration*

Approximate figures of the volume and growth of emigration cannot be obtained by adding all the figures given in the foregoing tables. Figures of migration in transit, for example, should be entirely excluded, although they provide interesting supplementary information and, for some countries, are the only data at present available. In the majority of cases, however, they duplicate figures of emigration obtained directly or indirectly, and it appears safer to omit these figures, even at the risk of arriving at an incorrect total.

Even more hesitation may be felt on the subject of statistics from countries which have hitherto provided incomplete information only. This is a welcome sign of interest on their part, but the complete use of these new statistics is hampered by the fact that they are not yet as stable and accurate as statistics of longer standing which are drawn up on well defined methods. Moreover, they often duplicate statistics compiled indirectly which are more complete, and their irregular use might introduce an element of inexactitude rather than of added certainty into the conclusions to be drawn from the history of migration movements as here outlined. These figures are, therefore, omitted from the general totals, although the gaps thus left are only too visible. Emigration within the continents of Asia and Africa had also to be ignored. This movement is most important and in some ways of so peculiar a character that a special study built up on adequate documentary material would have been necessary; this was impossible with the scanty information to hand. Statistics for the other continents of the world are fairly complete, at any rate as regards emigration by sea.

In the case of emigration by land (as given in table III) use has been made both of existing statistics and of estimates; the



figures obtained by estimate are possibly a little disparate, but average out at a fairly exact figure for the total volume of the overland movement.

A further problem connected with any attempt to estimate the volume of emigration throughout the world is whether repatriation should be added to, or subtracted from, emigration, or whether it should be disregarded altogether. Any of these three methods might be defended according to the point of view adopted. If an estimate of the total volume of migratory movements throughout the world is required, i.e. of the number of removals from one country to another effected during a given year for the purpose of residence in a foreign country, reckoning, for instance, in terms of transport required, repatriation should be added to emigration. If the problem is looked at from the exclusive point of view of the country of emigration or of immigration, as the case may be, the number of repatriated persons should certainly be subtracted from the number of persons disappearing from the first or entering the second; while if emigration, strictly so called, is the subject of consideration, it is clearly better to neglect entirely a movement which is, on the whole, of a different character.

In these circumstances the best solution appeared to be to draw up three series of totals on the three methods mentioned. In order more clearly to illustrate the history of emigration, these totals have been converted into index numbers, the base for each series being taken as: 1913=100. It should be recalled that the value of these figures is determined by the value of the statistics on which they are compiled; the defects of these statistics have been mentioned in this article as well as in the report on *Methods of Compiling Emigration and Immigration Statistics*, to which reference has already been made.

TABLE VIII. WORLD EMIGRATION IN 1913, 1920, AND 1921 (1)

Type of movement	Number of persons emigrating			Index numbers		
	1913	1920	1921	1913	1920	1921
Emigration plus repatriation	4,301,000	2,090,000	1,583,000	100	47	36
Emigration without repatriation	3,652,000	1,552,000	1,153,000	100	42	31
Emigration minus repatriation	3,004,000	1,015,000	721,000	100	33	24

(1) These totals do not include migratory movements within Asia and Africa, and exclude emigration from countries for which reliable continuous information is not available.

Between 1913 and 1921 the volume of emigration would thus appear to have decreased by about 64, 69, or 76 per cent. according as total emigration, emigration in the restricted sense, or net emigration is considered.

## IMMIGRATION

Statistics of migratory movements have an advantage over most others in being produced on a double basis : figures collected by countries of immigration confirm those of countries of emigration, or the reverse, and, in any case, provide a check upon them. It is impossible in the present article to deal with all the advantages of this double record. For instance, it was not possible to go beyond general figures for emigration ; detailed figures as to either the countries of destination or of origin of emigrants (where this double check would have been peculiarly valuable) could not be dealt with. But even the general figures for emigration call for verification or the reverse by means of comparison with immigration figures. For this purpose the same division may be made as in the first part of this article, and, in turn, oversea immigration, immigration by land, repatriation, and immigration in transit will be considered.

*Oversea Immigration*

In theory, every emigrant who leaves his country should be recorded in the statistics of countries of immigration, but this implies that all statistical information is complete, uniform, and accurate, which is not the case. At first sight it might appear easier to draw up complete statistics of immigration than of emigration. Immigration in transit is much less important than emigration in transit ; all countries of immigration have sea frontiers ; it is easy to see where the immigrants arrive, and hitherto practically all immigrants have arrived under such circumstances. There has been some transit traffic between the United States and Canada, between Uruguay and Argentine, between Australia and New Zealand, but only of small volume. One of the effects of the Three per Cent. Act of 1921 in the United States has been to divert part of the stream of immigration bound for that country to Mexico and Cuba, from which two countries immigration into the United States could be more easily effected. The restriction, by the new Act of 1922, of the favourable treatment accorded to migrants from these countries will, however, result in reducing the volume of this immigration and restore the direct movement to its former importance.

The statistics of oversea immigration collected refer to an even smaller number of countries than those for emigration. There are no figures available for Europe (except Great Britain), Asia, or Africa (with the exception of South Africa), or for many of the Spanish-American countries. Fortunately, however, the statistics cover all the principal countries receiving immigrants from Europe. Such figures as are available are presented in table IX. Table IX (a) covers all countries for which information has been received for the three years considered, thus making possible comparison between the pre-war and post-war periods. A glance at table IX (b) will show that here we have rather an indica-

TABLE IX. OVERSEA IMMIGRATION

Country	1913	1920	1921
<i>(a) Comparable Statistics</i>			
Argentina	302,047	99,809	37,625
Australia	141,906	97,600	87,938
Brazil	192,700	71,027	58,476
Canada	263,423	67,680	101,418
Cuba	43,500	174,221	58,948
New Zealand	44,600	44,400	16,323
Paraguay	1,512	320	557
South Africa (1)	39,827	47,912	47,418
United States (2)	1,053,514	556,996	460,828
Uruguay	12,293	8,424	6,851(3)
Totals	2,095,322	1,168,389	875,382
<i>(b) Incomplete Statistics</i>			
Algeria and Morocco (4)	32,600	—	—
Dutch Guiana	1,329	2,126(5)	—
Great Britain (6)	—	—	48,624
Mexico	—	7,971	26,060
Morocco	—	11,237	11,379(7)

(1) This figure refers to the total number of arrivals by sea, the number of those arriving in the country for the first time was 14,251 in 1913, 18,583 in 1920, and 21,880 in 1921.

(2) The figures for the United States for 1920 and 1921 have been adjusted to refer to the calendar year and are not, therefore, those given in the official statistics. In the first six months of 1922 immigration fell again to 43,830.

(3) Figures for the first ten months of the year only.

(4) This figure only applies to Spanish immigration.

(5) The figures refer to 1919.

(6) Alien oversea travellers (immigrants) coming from ports outside Europe.

(7) Figures for the first ten months of the year only.

tion of what may be got from the statistics of the future than data permitting of present conclusions.

The totals for the ten countries for which complete statistics for 1913, 1920, and 1921 are available — they include all the great countries of oversea immigration — show that immigration decreased by 58 per cent. between 1913 and 1921. The total number of persons immigrating fell from 2,095,322 in 1913 to 1,168,389 in 1920 and 875,382 in 1921. It may be added that the incomplete statistics already published for 1922 show a further reduction.

The movement by sea is of great importance whether in calculating emigration or immigration. Its decrease appears less, however, when judged by the immigration figures than when judged by the emigration figures. This discrepancy may be explained by an increase in clandestine immigration and in transit immigration after the war. But it is even more likely that we have here one of the effects of a better organisation of immigration statistics and of an improved frontier control; or it may be that the gaps in the statistics of one or two countries are responsible.

*Immigration by Land*

Statistics of overland immigration present the same defects as those of overland emigration, and to an even greater degree. Table X contains very few statistical items which can actually be compared or utilised.

The only European statistics available which may be said to be partly comparable are those for Germany and France ; and even here the 1913 figures for France are not obtainable. But it is a striking fact that immigration by land has markedly declined in the case of both countries, for Germany over the period 1913 to 1920, and for both countries over the period 1920 to 1921 ; the decline in the case of Germany is 62 per cent., in the case of France 30 per cent. Assuming the fall in immigration in France between 1913 and 1920 to have been at a rate parallel to the fall in Germany over those years, the decline for both countries between 1913 and 1921 would work out at 70 per cent. This seems to be an exaggerated estimate, but at any rate a considerable decline in the volume of immigration by land may be taken as proved for Europe. The figures for the United States referring both to immigration from, and emigration to, Canada and Mexico

TABLE X. IMMIGRATION BY LAND

Country	1913	1920	1921
<i>(a) Comparable Statistics</i>			
Canada <sup>(1)</sup>	139,009	49,656	48,059
Germany <sup>(2)</sup>	770,521	294,819	293,903
United States	85,139	142,386	103,075
Total	994,669	486,861	445,037
<i>(b) Incomplete Statistics</i>			
Argentina	—	55,523	—
Brazil	—	1,284	—
Cuba	—	28,828	—
Denmark <sup>(3)</sup>	12,865	—	—
France <sup>(4)</sup>	—	129,803	24,490
Great Britain <sup>(5)</sup>	—	—	245,945
Malay States <sup>(6)</sup>	—	80,200	40,791
Mexico <sup>(7)</sup>	—	59,187	12,860
Roumania <sup>(8)</sup>	—	—	15,274
Uruguay	—	5,082	1,908 <sup>(9)</sup>

(1) Figures taken from the emigration statistics of the United States.

(2) Statistics of the *Arbeiterzentrale* drawn up and analysed by the method described in the *International Labour Review*, Vol. V, No. 2, Feb. 1922, pp. 312-313.

(3) Workers from other parts of the continent coming to take up employment in Denmark.

(4) Statistics of the Office for Alien Labour (*Office de la main-d'œuvre étrangère*).

(5) Alien travellers coming from European ports to settle in Great Britain.

(6) Figures for the first nine months of the year.

(7) Including repatriated persons.

(8) Communication from the Roumanian Government, referring to the annual period from 1 April 1921 (when the statistics start) to 31 March 1922.

(9) Figures for the first ten months of the year.

(for which movements they are our sole evidence) do not show much variation. The figures, however, only cover the fiscal years 1919-1920 and 1920-1921; those for 1921-1922 show a decided set-back (75,509 Canadians and Mexicans immigrating into the United States, and 4,907 United States citizens emigrating to Canada, a decided fall in both figures).

The 1922 figures for immigration by land in Europe, so far as at present available, seem to point to fresh developments.

#### *Immigration of Repatriated Persons*

The balance of immigration movements can here again only be properly presented if some relation is established between the number of persons immigrating into any country and the number of those repatriated from that country to their own. Such a comparison mostly presents great difficulties. The emigrant, who left his country travelling steerage or third class, sometimes comes back richer than he was, travelling second or first class, disembarks at other ports, or arrives after a voyage which makes it difficult to identify him as a returned emigrant. In any case, European statistics are mostly arranged with a view to noting departures, and arrangements for noting returns are meagre.

The most striking fact which appears from table XI is the relatively constant number of persons returning to their own country, a very remarkable fact when contrasted with the general decline in immigration statistics. The figures confirm what was said above under the heading of *Emigration for Repatriation Purposes*. An outstanding example is Great Britain. Repatriation there to some extent assumes the character of a natural process by which a stream of nationals are led to return to their mother country, a stream the size of which is not immediately affected by the ebb and flow of migratory movements.

In the case of Italy authoritative estimates put the number of repatriated persons at two-thirds of the total number of emigrants leaving by sea and at nine-tenths of the total number of emigrants leaving by land (7). Italian repatriation, however, is more easily affected than is British by economic factors; marked fluctuations take place according as a period of depression or of prosperity sets in, and Italy alternately becomes a country of immigration or of emigration as these cycles recur. For 1920 the number of nationals repatriated as compared with the number of those leaving was 31 per cent. for the United States, 63 per cent. for the Argentine Republic, 56 per cent. for Brazil, and 31 per cent. for Canada.

The Belgian figures only give the number of returned emigrants disembarked at Antwerp without distinguishing between nationals and aliens. Yet nearly all these disembarking emigrants are persons in process of being repatriated to various countries, and, though it is almost an established fact that by

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(7) Giorgio MORTARA : *Prospettive economiche*. 1921.

TABLE XI. IMMIGRATION OF REPATRIATED PERSONS

Country	1913	1920	1921
<i>(a) Comparable Statistics</i>			
Belgium <sup>(1)</sup>	20,499	11,839	11,834
Great Britain <sup>(2)</sup>	85,709	86,055	71,367
Italy <sup>(3)</sup> : nationals	188,978	77,599	92,212
aliens	2,998	44,706	27,724
Poland : overseas repatriation <sup>(4)</sup>	35,028	70,000	78,827
Spain	147,746	94,189	71,966
	Totals	480,958	384,388
Sweden	8,400	10,800	353,930
	Totals	489,358	395,188
<i>(b) Incomplete Statistics</i>			
Brazil	—	—	2,308
Finland	2,100	—	—
Germany	—	—	40,000
Great Britain (repatriated persons in transit)	—	—	58,641
Hungary	31,800	6,544	10,556
India : indentured labour	5,284	—	—
Madras <sup>(5)</sup>	—	179,599	277,583
Malta	—	—	3,522
Poland : prisoners of war, refugees, and workers	—	141,091	474,840
Portugal	—	16,307	20,232
Roumania <sup>(6)</sup>	—	—	2,546
Spain <sup>(7)</sup>	35,500	—	—
Uruguay	—	1,395	3,186 <sup>(8)</sup>

(1) Total number of returned emigrants arriving at Antwerp.

(2) British immigrants arriving in the United Kingdom.

(3) Nationals and aliens travelling third class, returning to Italian ports or via Havre.

(4) The figures for 1920 and 1921 were given by the Polish Government as the total of returned emigrants. The 1913 figure is that given by the United States Commissioner of Immigration as the number of "Poles" repatriated from the United States. The figures given by the Commissioner are, for 1919-1920, 18,392 and, for 1920-1921, 42,207.

(5) Travellers and non-regulated immigrants returning by sea to the Presidency of Madras.

(6) Communication from the Roumanian Government, referring to the annual period from 1 April 1921 (when the statistics start) to 31 March 1922.

(7) Number of Spaniards returning from Algeria and Morocco.

(8) First ten months of the year.

far the greater number are aliens in transit going home, there is no means of distinguishing the exact proportions of national and alien elements. Italian statistics, on the other hand, make the distinction, and the figures show how relatively large is the number of aliens repatriated by indirect routes; in 1920, out of a total of 122,305 returning immigrants, 44,706 were aliens, whereas the total number of aliens leaving Italian ports during that year did not exceed 17,203 out of a total of 194,224 departing emigrants.

#### *Immigrants in Transit*

The statistics referring to immigrants in transit are unfortunately even more meagre than any hitherto analysed. Only a little

indirect evidence is available, and it is almost always of very small value. During the last few months some direct information has begun to be supplied referring to immigrants in transit by land routes. Latvia has issued very complete monthly tables showing the figures of immigration across each of her frontiers; the total for 1921 was 170,813. Unfortunately, as in the statistics referring to emigration, no adequate distinction is made between immigrants properly so called and refugees, prisoners of war or civilian prisoners, hostages and inhabitants of plebiscite areas, so that it is impossible to make any use of the figures given. Another interesting attempt has been made by the Netherlands Government, which in 1921 collected statistics of immigrants in transit passing through the frontier railway station of Oldenzaal and intending to take ship at a Netherlands port; the number of these travellers was recorded as 38,600 for 1921. This attempt, the first of its kind, shows that such statistics could be collected. But the information gleaned until now has been too fragmentary to allow of any definite inferences. The number of aliens repatriated from overseas travelling via Great Britain was in 1921 84,146.

#### *Total Volume of Immigration*

Applying the same processes as were applied in estimating the volume of emigration, immigrants in transit may be excluded and only such statistics of oversea and overland immigration for 1913, 1920, and 1921 as are comparable will be used. By this means three series of totals can be established: first, by including the figures of repatriated persons, secondly, by leaving them out, and, thirdly, by deducting them from the total immigration figures.

TABLE XII. WORLD IMMIGRATION IN 1913, 1920, AND 1921

Type of movement	Number of persons immigrating			Index numbers		
	1913	1920	1921	1913	1920	1921
Immigration plus repatriation	3,570,000	2,020,000	1,675,000	100	57	47
Immigration without repatriation	3,082,000	1,646,000	1,320,080	100	53	42
Immigration minus repatriation	2,593,000	1,262,000	965,000	100	49	36

A comparison of the absolute figures for immigration in 1913 given in this table with those given in table VIII for emigration shows that the immigration figures are generally smaller, the reason being that we have fewer sources of information on which to draw. For instance, in dealing with emigration by land it was possible to include estimates for Austria-Hungary and Russia, so that almost the whole ground was in this case covered, whereas in dealing with immigration by land it was not possible to obtain data anything like so complete, seeing that no figures could be given for three countries which at that time were

countries of considerable immigration, France, Belgium, and Switzerland. The more marked fall in the emigration percentages as compared with the immigration percentages must also probably be attributed to the inclusion of the estimates mentioned in the emigration figures. The decline seems to have been heaviest in the overland movements, reckoning from 1913 to 1921; and could more complete overland figures have been included, this decline would undoubtedly have been more clearly expressed in the immigration index numbers, which would have been lower.

But the inclusion or omission of such estimates by no means accounts for the whole difference between the index numbers of emigration and of immigration. The absolute immigration figures for 1921 are higher than the absolute emigration figures, in spite of the fact that the number of sets of statistics included is smaller. As already stated, the difference is in all probability due to an increase of clandestine emigration and of emigration in transit after the war, as well as to better frontier supervision of arrivals. The curve of migratory movements does not appear to be exactly obtainable either from the index numbers for emigration or from those for immigration, but apparently lies between the two. Indeed, given the unequal and always uncertain character of the evidence, it is only surprising that the results do not diverge more widely; their approximate agreement is a strong argument for their general correctness.

A comparison of post-war and pre-war statistics suggests one very definite conclusion, and this conclusion is confirmed by every indication which contributes to an estimate of the volume of migration, and, further, by the striking parallelism observed between the two curves of emigration and immigration, curves which have been traced on the basis of different methods mutually confirmatory. This definite conclusion is to the effect that both in the case of oversea and overland emigration, both in emigration and in immigration, there has been a marked decline after the war, which became more marked in 1921. Repatriation is the only aspect of migration which continues as strongly as ever. As far as our statistics allow any deduction to be made, it may be said that migration movements in 1920 amounted to less than one-half of the pre-war volume (in 1913), and that the 1921 movements probably declined still further and did not amount to more than 35 to 40 per cent., or about a third.

Taking the absolute figures, counting in both the countries which have statistics and those which have not, and adding together all figures for departures and returns, by sea and by land, the total volume of international migration may be estimated at five million persons in 1913, at two millions in 1920, and at one and three-quarter millions in 1921; or, omitting repatriated persons, at approximately four millions for 1913, one and three quarter millions for 1920, and one and a quarter millions for 1921; or again, subtracting repatriated persons from the emigration totals, at three millions in 1913, one and a half millions in 1920, and one million in 1921.



An examination of the part played by each country in these movements cannot fail to bring out the fact that this decline in migration has been universal. It seems to result from causes which go very deep, and which are greater than any particular event or tendency. The phenomenon is world-wide.

An analysis of causes is beyond the scope of this article. There are, however, two to which some reference must be made here, if the reader is to understand the true meaning and tendency of this decline. First, legislation and government regulation have been a powerful force in the period immediately following the war. Measures more or less severe have been taken to prevent the voluntary development of migratory movements in all countries, both those of emigration and those of immigration. In almost all countries of emigration the more or less arbitrary grant or refusal of passports puts all emigration under the control of the governments, who, considering how disturbed are present political and social conditions, were not disposed to see the national strength disperse and ebb away in emigration. The national was thus kept in his country, which no longer opened its gates, by the formal obstacle of passport arrangements, which are still almost everywhere in force. Similarly, in countries of immigration measures have been taken almost everywhere to guard against a fear of invasion which has possibly been rather exaggerated. The Three per Cent. Immigration Act in the United States sufficiently illustrates this tendency. This Act restricts the number of immigrants (apart from repatriated persons) coming from any one country to three per cent. of the number of persons of that nationality resident in the United States in 1910 ; it restricts considerably the emigration of peoples who take a principal part in present-day emigration, such as Italians, Poles, Hungarians, and Jews.

Restrictive legislation, however, does not explain the whole situation. The tendency noted is too general to be referred to a particular set of circumstances. Another factor, the economic factor, has been involved, but its effects are often very ill understood. Immigration depends on economic conditions in the countries towards which it is directed ; at a time of depression a country of immigration will close its doors ; it will cease to ask for immigrants and the stream of immigration will automatically dry up. Again, when a country of emigration is hard hit and the prosperity of its people suffers, individuals are unable to find the necessary money to pay their expenses. Poverty keeps a population within its own frontiers, seeing that oversea emigrants are not drawn from a poverty-stricken class ; on the contrary, the possession of certain means is indispensable if emigration is to take place.

Towards the end of 1920 and during 1921 countries both of emigration and of immigration suffered from a very severe economic crisis. In the countries of immigration unemployment and the fear of an excessive influx of immigrants caused restrictive measures to be hastily taken ; in the countries of emigration,

at any rate in those where the exchange had fallen severely, the unfortunate population was unable to get together the money required for passage and settlement, payment for which is always calculated on a gold basis.

The effects of this temporary hold up of emigration are already noticeable. Population movements have become congested, and the presence at some points of an excess of population leads to a threat of new economic crises. Meanwhile in the countries of immigration labour is beginning to grow scarce.

No permanent check, however, appears to have been put on migration. It is a widely held opinion that population movements now temporarily suspended will be renewed. Some European countries, for instance, Denmark, Great Britain, Italy, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, have started schemes for assisted settlement and emigration. Other oversea countries, like Australia, South America, and Canada, have prepared huge areas for settlement purposes. Manufacturers in the United States, planters in Brazil and the Argentine are putting forth demands for labour, and treaties referring to emigrant labour have been negotiated by Belgium, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, and Poland. All these tendencies are signs of an impending change of policy and merit the closest attention; emigration may in the near future resume its former proportions.

Migration has now been taking place for over a century, setting on foot movements of irresistible strength. It has, however, varied enormously. The following analysis of the total number of immigrants entering the United States from time to time is illustrative of such variation, and it may be noted that up to the present nearly one-half of the whole number of oversea emigrants of the world have gone to the United States.

from	Years		Number of persons entering	
	to	minimum	maximum	
1820	1829	6,354	27,302	
1830	1839	22,633	76,242	
1840	1849	52,496	297,024	
1850	1859	112,123	427,823	
1860	1869	72,183	352,768	
1870	1879	138,469	459,803	
1880	1889	331,203	788,992	
1890	1899	229,299	579,663	
1900	1909	448,572	1,285,349	
1910	1914	838,172	1,218,480	

It follows that if the present ebb of emigration during 1921 and 1922 has caused the total number of persons emigrating to the United States to drop to 400,000, there is, nevertheless, no guarantee that such an ebb will be very unusual or permanent. In 1882 immigration to the United States stood at 788,992; in 1898 it fell to 229,299, to rise again to 1,285,349 in 1907. Similar fluctuations may easily be our own experience under the prevailing disturbed and uncertain conditions.