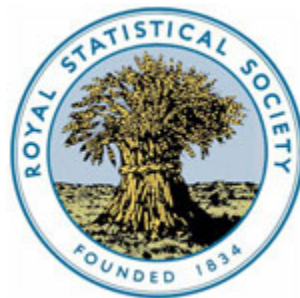


WILEY



The Laws of Migration

Author(s): E. G. Ravenstein

Source: *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Jun., 1889), pp. 241-305

Published by: [Wiley for the Royal Statistical Society](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2979333>

Accessed: 15-06-2015 20:45 UTC

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Wiley and Royal Statistical Society are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

The LAWS of MIGRATION. By E. G. RAVENSTEIN, Esq., F.R.G.S.

SECOND PAPER.¹

[Read before the Royal Statistical Society, 16th April, 1889.
The President, Dr. T. GRAHAM BALFOUR, F.R.S., &c., in the Chair.]

CONTENTS:

PAGE	PAGE		
General Scope of the Paper	241	North America	278
Birth-place and "Nationality"	242	Canada	278
"Dispersion" and "Absorption"	244	The United States	280
Gains and Losses due to Migration	244	Conclusions which may be Drawn	
Countries unequal in Population,		from the facts presented as to	
nor comparable	245	the Laws of Migration	286
The United Kingdom.....	246	Concluding Remarks	288
„ German Empire	247	Appendix (Tables I—X)	290
„ Netherlands.....	253		
Belgium	253	MAPS.	
Luxemburg	254	1. Western Europe: the Foreign Ele-	
Switzerland	254	ment.	
Austria	255	2. Western Europe: Regions of Dis-	
Hungary	259	persions and Absorption.	
The Balkan Peninsula	263	3. Canada and the United States: the	
Denmark	265	Foreign Element.	
Norway	265	4. Canada and the United States: Re-	
Sweden	266	gions of Dispersion and Absorption.	
Finland	267	5. Dispersion of Migrants from Virginia	
Russia	267	and Quebec.	
France	269	6. Absorption of Migrants by Iowa	
Italy	272	and Manitoba. With an inset	
Spain and Portugal	274	Map illustrating the Absorption of	
A General Survey of Europe.....	274	Migrants by Kentucky.	

IN March, 1885, I had the honour of reading before this Society a paper which I perhaps somewhat ambitiously headed "The Laws of Migration." To that title I still adhere, notwithstanding the objections that may be raised against it. Of course I am perfectly aware that our laws of population, and economic laws generally, have not the rigidity of physical laws, as they are continually being interfered with by human agency. Currents of migration which would flow naturally in a certain direction traced out for them in the main by geographical features, may thus be diverted, or stopped altogether, by legislative enactments. Even London, notwithstanding its unique geographical position, and the advan-

¹ In the preparation of this paper I am indebted to my young friend Mr. G. Philip for assistance in computing the tables and for several of the illustrative diagrams.

tages derived from its being the centre of a vast empire, would not have grown to the size it has if an enactment of the reign of Queen Elizabeth in restraint of its growth had been enforced down to the present day.

Instances of towns and even of countries having been stunted in their growth through a mistaken policy can be found as easily as can instances in which a wise legislation has partly neutralised natural disadvantages. But notwithstanding all these exceptions, I hope to be able to prove that similar conditions produce similar migratory movements, whether we examine into this question on this side of the Atlantic or on the other.

In my first paper I confined myself to the United Kingdom. On the present occasion I propose to extend my inquiry to the principal countries of continental Europe and to North America. I shall first of all place before you the leading results of some recent censuses, in as far as they throw light upon the distribution of the population according to birth places, and I shall then discuss these results with a view of discovering the principles, if any, which underlie migratory movements. If my success in the latter respect should turn out smaller than I could wish, I hope that my statistical summaries will be accepted at least in part compensation for this deficiency.

In dealing with my subject I shall adhere, as far as possible, to the lines of my former paper, so as to facilitate comparison.

I shall therefore, first of all, divide the population of each country, province, or parish into its constituent elements, as determined by place of birth. I thus call "Parochial Element" those inhabitants who resided at the time of the census in the parish in which they were born. I apply the terms "Provincial Element," "National Element," or "Foreign Element" in the same sense. Unless otherwise stated these "Elements" are determined by place of birth, and not by "nationality," or admission to the privileges of citizenship. All persons *born* within the limits of the German Empire therefore pass with me for German, whether their mother tongue be German, French, or Polish. On the other hand, the children of Germans born in France, are counted by me as Frenchmen, or rather natives of France, whether enumerated in Germany or elsewhere, or whether they have "opted" for the French nationality, or secured that of their parents. Fortunately the number of such persons proportionately to the total population of a country is nowhere very considerable.

There are however censuses which classify the population not according to place of birth, but according to "nationality," the distinction made being between "citizens" or "subjects" on the one hand, and legal "foreigners" on the other. These distinctions

are not by any means confined to persons born abroad, but apply also to natives who may have changed their "place of settlement," as the English poor law has it. Where the process of naturalisation and the acquisition of civic rights are easy, or attended by material advantages, there must naturally arise a very great difference in the numbers giving places of birth on the one hand, and nationality or "place of settlement" on the other. This difference, in the case of a few countries, is exhibited in the following tabular statements:—

	Population.	Natives.	Subjects or Citizens.	Difference.
United Kingdom	34,884,848	34,535,095	34,859,240	+ 324,145
France.....	37,930,759	36,969,573	36,804,228	- 165,345
German Empire	46,855,704	46,421,179	46,482,912	+ 61,733
Hungary.....	15,642,102	15,400,677	15,502,976	+ 102,299
Italy	28,459,628	28,358,807	28,419,592	+ 60,785

The differences in the last column of this little table are due to the naturalisation of foreigners and the presence of natives of colonies in the mother country, and they are not very great. Their amount depends of course upon legislation, and not upon any natural or economic law. In England every person born in the country, as also the children of British subjects born abroad, are treated as British subjects, whilst in France and elsewhere the children of foreigners born in the country follow the nationality of their father.

These differences however become really formidable when we descend to parishes or "places of settlement," as shown by the following statement of the elements of the population of Hungary:—

	According to Place of Birth.	According to Place of Settlement.
Parochial element	74·60	90·82
County "	90·30	95·79
National "	98·55	99·23
Foreign "	1·45	0·77

It is obvious that figures based on the "place of settlement" are altogether misleading in the case of Hungary; they obscure or even obliterate the great migratory currents, and should therefore be used with caution or not at all.

Having determined the elements of population of each country, I shall endeavour to trace and point out the results of migration, firstly in general, and secondly with reference to selected localities.

If, for instance, I consider the case of a province containing 100,000 inhabitants (90,000 natives and 10,000 persons born outside of it), and I find that throughout the country there were enumerated 150,000 natives of that province, I safely conclude that 60,000 of its natives have migrated to other parts of the country, and that this loss has only been compensated for by an inflow of 10,000 strangers from beyond. The absolute loss due to migration would amount to 50,000 persons, equal to 50 per cent. of the population. Such a province I term a province of "dispersion." Where the reverse process takes place, that is, where the total population of a province is larger than the number of its natives throughout the country, we have to deal with a province of "absorption."

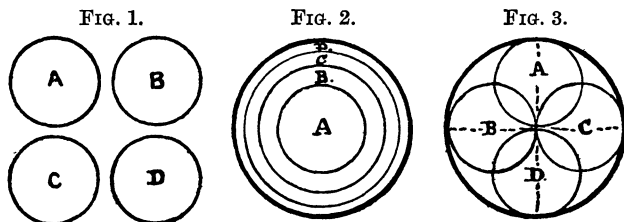
It is clear that the gains and losses from migration ascertained in this manner apply only to migratory movements which go on within the limits of a State or country. They take no account of the losses suffered by emigration to foreign parts, losses which are more especially severe in the case of frontier provinces. These losses however can be expressed if we compare the natural growth of a population, or that increase which is due to an excess of births over deaths, with the actual growth as determined by the census. Where this natural growth is in excess of the actual growth we have before us the process of "dispersion;" where the reverse is the case we are dealing with a case of absorption.² As an illustration I select the Duchy of Anhalt, which had 232,592 inhabitants in 1880, and 248,166 in 1885, exhibiting thus an increase of 15,574 inhabitants, equivalent to 1.29 per cent. annually. But as during the same period the births exceeded the deaths to the number of 16,738, the natural growth, had there been no emigration, would have amounted to 1.38 per cent. annually. The loss therefore due to emigration and not compensated for by immigration amounted to $1.39 - 1.29 = 0.10$ per cent. This loss would have been still more severe if in return for the 59,290 native Anhalters who left their country for other parts of Germany and for foreign countries, there had not been a compensatory inflow of 57,500 Germans and foreigners. And thus whilst Anhalt is clearly a "county of absorption," and a gainer to the extent of 1.3 per cent., as long as we confine ourselves to the migratory movements going on within the borders of the German Empire, it should be classed with counties of dispersion if we desire in addition to this to take account of the emigration to foreign parts.

² The method of computing loss and gain by migration, emigration, and immigration in combination, has been largely used in census returns (see, for instance, the various census reports for the German Empire, as also the census of England and Wales, 1881, IV, p. 51).

Whenever practicable I have availed myself of both methods of stating "losses" and "gains," and I must confess that the method described last presents undoubted advantages.

There is one other feature in my paper against which I feel bound to warn you, viz., the temptation of looking upon the figures which I give as being in the strict sense of the word comparable. My figures are simply relative, and proportional to the total populations to which they refer. It is obvious that the apparent rate of migration must increase proportionately to the smallness of the units of the population with which we deal. The larger or more populous the districts into which we divide a country, the less active will the process of migration appear to be, until by taking a whole country the effects of migration, if we confine our attention to what is going on among the natives residing within the boundaries of the country, absolutely neutralise each other, exhibiting neither loss nor gain. If foreign residents in the country be taken into account, the gain will amount to the numbers of these strangers, and to no more.

I will endeavour to make this clear to you by means of a few simple diagrams. Each of the rings (A, B, c, D) in Fig. 1 is supposed to represent a parish of 100 inhabitants, 20 of whom are not natives; the circle enclosing each parish we suppose to measure = 1. If now we consolidate these four parishes into a single



one, the circle enclosing this united parish would be = 2, and not = 4; and although the total number of inhabitants would still be 400, yet there would be fewer strangers, for those amongst them who had migrated from one parish to another would no longer be counted as strangers. If we suppose the rate of migration to have remained the same, its amount must have diminished proportionately to the reduced extent of the boundary by which the united parish is brought into contact with outlying parishes. Thus if 80 migrants crossed the boundaries of four separate parishes measuring 4, only half that number are likely to cross a boundary measuring only 2. And thus, whilst the foreign element in each of the separate parishes amounted to 20 per cent., it amounts to 10 per cent. only in the united parish, or, in other words, the parochial element has increased from 80 per cent. to 90 per cent.

If instead of consolidating four parishes, we consolidate nine, the result will still be the same if we arrange them symmetrically, placing three to each row. The boundaries of the individual parishes would be = 9, that of the consolidated parish = 3. The strangers, counted for each parish separately, would number $9 \times 20 = 180$, but those in the consolidated parish would only number 60, or 6.66 . . . per cent. of the consolidated population as compared with 20 per cent. in the individual parishes. The reduction is therefore proportional to the reduction in the extent of the line of contact with adjoining outlying parishes, viz., at the rate of $9 : 3 = 3 : 1 = 20 : 6.66$

I had hoped to have been able to utilize this simple mathematical illustration for the purpose of reducing the multiplicity of parishes and other divisions with which I have to deal to standard divisions of the same number of inhabitants, but in this I failed, for it is applicable only where these divisions admit of a certain symmetrical arrangement. As such an arrangement rarely, if ever, exists in nature, all attempts to deduce the migration of any division from that which is going on in another division having a different population must lead to quite misleading results. I very much doubt whether any of our mathematical members would be more successful than I have been.

Nevertheless the illustrations which I have made use of illustrate sufficiently the facts of the case. If for instance you will look at Table I of the Appendix, you will find that in the separate States of Thuringia the native element varies between 74.2 and 84.4 per cent., whilst in a consolidated Thuringia it rises to 88.82 per cent., having been strengthened in consequence of the natives of one State not being accounted strangers in the others.

The United Kingdom.

Before proceeding to the substance of my paper, I shall place before you a summary of the migration statistics for the United Kingdom, referring you for further details to my former paper, published in our *Journal* for 1885.

The United Kingdom in 1881 had a population of 34,884,848, of whom 34,535,095, or 98.99 per cent., were natives, and 350,800, or 1.01 per cent., were persons born abroad. These latter however included all persons born in British colonies, without distinction of race, and as many as 214,145 of them had been born to, or had acquired the privilege of calling themselves "British subjects." The number of "foreigners" was therefore only 136,655, or 0.39 per cent., a very small number compared with the number of foreigners to be found in most other States. This no doubt is to be accounted for by the insular position of the United Kingdom,

which accounts too for the distribution of these foreigners, which differs much from what is to be found in countries having extended land frontiers. Still, as our census officials merely count heads, and do not weigh qualities, it is possible that the influence of these foreigners for good or evil may be much greater than that exercised by a similar number enumerated in other countries.

Confining ourselves to migration within the limits of the United Kingdom, and amongst the natives thereof, we find that England, and, to a smaller extent, Scotland have been the gainers, they having absorbed as many as 781,119 natives of Ireland, of whom 562,374 fell to the share of England; in return for which the counter currents of migration only carried 91,710 natives of England, Wales, and Scotland into Ireland, the absolute loss of that country amounting thus to 689,409 persons, equivalent to 12·7 per cent. of its population in 1871. Ireland, taken as a whole, is thus a vast region of dispersion.

If however in addition to home migration we take account of international migration, it will be found that each of the three kingdoms must be placed among those countries of dispersion, the emigration from which is far in excess of the immigration. By natural growth alone, that is by the excess of births over deaths, the United Kingdom would have increased its population between 1871-81 to the extent of 13·7 per cent., and as the actual increase, notwithstanding an active inflow of persons born abroad, only amounted to 10·8 per cent., this international exchange has resulted in the serious loss of 2·9 per cent. in the course of ten years.

The German Empire.

I begin my survey of continental Europe with the German Empire, as statistics available for that purpose are exceptionally complete.

I ought to state that, for obvious reasons, I have formed several of the smaller "States" into "geographical provinces."

The German Empire on 31st December, 1885, had a population of 46,855,704, distributed as follows:—

		Per cent.
Parochial element (persons enumerated in the parish in which they were born)	28,263,000 ³	60·32 ³
Provincial element (persons enumerated in the province in which they were born)	42,279,325	90·23
National element (all persons born in German Empire)	46,421,179	99·07
Foreign element (born abroad)	434,525	0·93

³ This is an estimate based upon the census taken in 1871. At the present time the parochial element is probably somewhat weaker.

In Table I appended to this paper the results of migration throughout Germany can be clearly traced. I have been able to indicate the results of migration within the empire, as also the gains or losses if emigration into foreign countries be taken into account. If we do not look beyond the limits of the empire it will be found that Berlin, Schleswig-Holstein, Elsass, Royal Saxony, Rhineland, and Westphalia have most largely profited by an importation of the surplus population of other provinces and by the immigration of foreigners, whilst Silesia, Brandenburg (without Berlin), Prussian Saxony, Posen, Eastern Prussia, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg have suffered the severest losses in their natives, notwithstanding an inflow of foreign elements which has been very considerable in some of these provinces. It should however be noted that some of the provinces named above are frontier provinces, and that we have not therefore taken into account the migrants which have gone from them into neighbouring foreign countries. It is obvious, for instance, that if we assume the number of native Alsatians at present in France to amount to 200,000, that province, instead of exhibiting a gain of 10 per cent., would reveal a loss of 2·8 per cent. of its population. And as the gains of all these provinces will be reduced if emigration into neighbouring foreign parts be taken into account, so also will the losses of frontier provinces be intensified. Posen, as an integral part of the German Empire, exhibits a loss of 6·4 per cent., but would exhibit a loss of 12·2 per cent. if we assumed 100,000 native Poseners to have emigrated into the neighbouring Poland.

If international migration be taken into account, the geographical provinces will follow each other in a very different order to that which they occupy in my table, for in that case Berlin and Royal Saxony alone will exhibit a gain, realised at the expense of all other provinces as well as of some foreign countries, whilst Posen, West Prussia, Mecklenburg and Pomerania will be found at the bottom of the list, they having suffered the severest losses. Had there been neither emigration nor immigration the population of the German Empire would have increased at the rate of 1·13 per cent. per annum between 1880-85, instead of increasing at the reduced rate of 0·70 per cent.,⁴ thus exhibiting a loss due to the excess of emigration amounting to 0·43 per cent.

Short-journey migrants abound in Germany as they do else-

⁴ The actual loss (1880-85) amounted to 980,212 souls, of whom 443,535 were females. From other data we learn that trans-Atlantic emigration has been going on (1880-84) most actively from Pomerania (1·22 per cent. of population per annum), West Prussia (1·15 per cent.), Schleswig-Holstein (0·87 per cent.), Posen (0·87 per cent.), and Mecklenburg. Between 1872 and 1881 the annual increase amounted to 1·07, the natural growth to 1·24 per cent., and the loss consequently to 0·17 per cent.

where. This is amply proved by many instances given in the German census returns. Thus, out of 120,784 Royal Saxons who migrated into other provinces, as many as 37,057 had gone no further than the five nearest districts of Prussian Saxony and Silesia. That the larger towns increase in consequence of this migration at a quicker rate than do the smaller towns and the rural parts is an undoubted fact, and they do so at an increasing pace. In 1871 towns of over 2,000 inhabitants only contained 32·1 per cent. of the population, whilst in 1885 they contained 43·7 per cent. Towns of over 100,000 inhabitants between 1880-85 increased annually at the rate of 2·41 per cent., whilst villages or parishes of under 2,000 inhabitants decreased 0·02 per cent. This looks very much like a depopulation of the rural parts, which is not, however, peculiar to Germany alone, and cannot therefore without further examination be ascribed to the action of the land laws, as far as the United Kingdom is concerned.

Females predominate among those migrants who go only short distances, and even in entire provinces, as in Schleswig-Holstein and Oldenburg, whence they are drawn to the neighbouring Hanse towns, in which the demand for domestic servants is considerable. Among long-journey migrants they form a decided minority, for out of 1,000 women enumerated, only 88 were found outside their native province, whilst the proportion among men similarly situated was 106.

The number of persons of foreign birth is not so large as for instance in France, but it is sufficiently so to illustrate by its geographical distribution the migratory phenomena under review. If you examine the map prepared by me, you will find that this foreign element has invaded Germany from all sides, whether the boundary be formed by the sea or be drawn across the land; and that the inflowing currents are most powerful wherever geographical features facilitate or invite intercourse, and that they lose in strength the farther we trace them into the interior. There are of course a few exceptions to this rule, but the only ones of any importance are the capital of the empire (Berlin), and the districts of which Wiesbaden and Frankfurt are the centres. But even in these places, which attracted many foreign settlers notwithstanding that the census was taken in midwinter, the foreign element is far inferior to what it is in some of the frontier districts, for whilst in Berlin it only constitutes 1·35 per cent. of the population, and in Wiesbaden 1·04 per cent., it rises to far higher proportions in such districts as German Lorraine (5·08 per cent.) Hamburg (3·62), Upper Alsatia (3·41), Upper Bavaria (2·43), Aix la Chapelle (2·40 per cent.), Bautzen (2·28) and others, which in addition to enjoying the advantage of being most accessible to

foreigners, are in some instances also great seats of commerce or industry.

Of course a large proportion of these foreign migrants may be classed as long-journey migrants, but the great bulk of them nevertheless shares the peculiarity of all migrants, viz., that they go no further from their homes in search of work than is absolutely necessary. Hence the bulk of the persons of foreign birth is to be found in the provinces bordering upon the countries from which they came.⁵ Thus of 155,331 Austrians, 119,464 were found in the frontier provinces of Bavaria, Saxony (Royal), and Silesia; of the 48,853 Russians, 30,802 were enumerated in Prussia, Posen, and Silesia; of the 45,270 Dutch, 31,785 were resident in Rhineland, and 5,585 in Westphalia. The Swiss abound most in Baden and Elsass; the French⁶ in Elsass and Lorraine, where 20,345 out of a total of 36,708 have made their homes, thus largely compensating for the loss of the Alsatians who have migrated into France; the Danes are most numerous in Schleswig-Holstein and at Hamburg and so on. Only those immigrants who have travelled long distances to reach Germany, such as the English and Americans, are more widely distributed over the country.

In further illustration of the process of migration going on in Germany, I propose to present some details for Berlin, the great centre of absorption, and for East Prussia, a province from which migration proceeds most actively.

The following table furnishes the information for Berlin, its first part exhibiting the elements represented in the population of Berlin, whilst the second part shows to what extent natives of Berlin have found their way into all parts of Germany:—

⁵ Total number of persons of foreign birth in Germany, 434,525; including 155,351 Austrians, 48,853 Russians, 45,270 Dutch, 36,902 Swiss, 36,708 French, 20,848 Danes, 15,007 Americans, 14,889 English, Irish, and Scotch, 11,309 Swedes, 11,067 Luxemburgers, 8,844 Belgians, 8,234 Italians, 6,775 Hungarians, 1,865 Norwegians, &c.

⁶ These are persons *born* in France. The number of Frenchmen in Germany who have retained their nationality only amounts to 24,241.

Geographical Provinces.	Elements in the Population of Berlin.					Distribution of Native Berliners throughout Germany.		
	Natives of each Province Enumerated in Berlin.	Per Cent. of Population of Berlin.	Per Cent. of Population of each Province.	Per Cent. of Natives of each Province.	Per Cent. of Migrants from each Province.	Number.	Per Cent. of Migrants outside Berlin.	Per Cent. of Population of each Province.
Berlin	557,226	42·37	42·37	83·05	—	557,226	—	42·37
Brandenburg	251,646	19·13	10·74	10·26	56·00	59,610	52·99	2·54
Pomerania	81,663	6·21	5·42	5·04	35·10	5,130	4·56	0·34
Silesia	99,743	7·59	2·42	2·32	27·55	7,058	6·27	0·17
Posen	58,776	4·47	3·42	3·22	24·59	2,702	2·40	0·16
East Prussia	45,324	3·44	2·31	2·15	22·28	1,644	1·46	0·08
West „	41,183	3·13	2·92	2·83	22·26	2,276	2·04	0·16
Prussian Saxony.....	77,857	5·93	2·75	2·58	11·68	9,211	8·19	0·33
Mecklenburg	12,450	0·95	1·85	1·68	11·01	1,316	1·17	0·19
Saxony, Kingdom.....	12,821	0·97	0·40	0·43	9·68	3,891	3·46	0·12
Schleswig Holstein	6,101	0·46	0·35	0·41	9·20	4,425	3·93	0·26
Hanover	12,705	0·97	0·42	0·42	5·98	3,496	3·11	0·11
Rhineland	11,105	0·84	0·25	0·26	5·25	3,532	3·14	0·08
Elsass-Lorraine	1,306	0·10	0·09	0·09	4·67	905	0·80	0·04
Thuringia	7,155	0·54	0·68	0·65	4·44	1,335	1·19	0·13
Westphalia	6,984	0·53	0·31	0·30	4·10	1,570	1·40	0·07
Hesse and Nassau.....	7,012	0·53	0·27	0·27	3·19	2,243	2·00	0·09
Bavaria	3,479	0·27	0·06	0·06	2·03	1,038	0·92	0·02
Baden	1,571	0·12	0·10	0·10	1·79	703	0·62	0·04
Württemberg	1,624	0·20	0·08	0·08	1·58	395	0·35	0·02
Foreign parts	17,516	1·33	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1,315,287	100·00	—	2·79	15·70	669,705	100·00	1·45

We learn from this table that whilst Berlin absorbed 740,571 natives of other parts of Germany, the counter-currents emanating from it only carried away with them 112,479 native Berliners. Berlin constitutes thus undoubtedly a great and important centre of absorption, although the currents flowing into it give rise to counter-currents of no inconsiderable strength: in fact, 16·70 per cent. of the native Berliners live outside Berlin, and this is a higher proportion than the average for all Germany: and all the more remarkable, as Berlin is growing at a rate far in excess of its natural growth. It appears to show that the natives of large towns are as a rule more enterprising, and consequently more ready to migrate than are the natives of smaller towns. By far the largest contingent of strangers enumerated in Berlin is furnished by the provinces immediately surrounding the capital, and if the supply from some more distant provinces, such as Prussia, is in excess to what might be expected from their geographical position, this is due to their being frontier provinces. The supply from Thuringia and Westphalia, on the other hand, is curtailed by diverting

currents which draw many of the migrants from these provinces into the more accessible manufacturing districts of Saxony and Westphalia. There is also a disturbing element in the large garrison maintained at Berlin, which notwithstanding the local character of the military forces of Germany, includes natives from all parts of the empire.

Speaking generally, however, the bulk of the migrants who have swelled the population of Berlin have come from the neighbouring provinces, and similarly the Berliners who have forsaken their native place for other parts of Germany have gone no further than the neighbouring provinces, as many as 53 per cent. of them being found in rural Brandenburg. Females form a majority of the migrants who have settled in Berlin, but this majority has been secured solely at the expense of the more accessible provinces. Females too form a majority among the native Berliners who have gone to reside in other parts of Germany.

In the next table we show the dispersion of the migrants from Eastern Prussia:—

Province.	Natives of East Prussia in each.	Per Cent. of Migrants.	Percentage of Population of each Province.
East Prussia	1,903,043	—	97·12
West „	54,173	26·63	3·84
Berlin „	45,324	22·26	3·44
Brandenburg	17,794	8·74	0·76
Westphalia	14,324	7·05	0·61
Schleswig-Holstein	13,420	7·09	0·60
Pomerania	7,753	3·81	0·51
Mecklenburg	2,735	1·34	0·41
Rhineland	15,900	1·32	0·37
Hanover	9,417	4·63	0·31
Posen	5,169	2·54	0·30
Saxony, Prussian	6,794	3·34	0·24
Elsass	2,323	1·14	0·15
Silesia	4,125	2·02	0·10
Hesse and Nassau	2,334	1·14	0·09
Saxony, Kingdom	2,575	1·26	0·08
Thuringia	598	0·30	0·06
Baden	582	0·28	0·04
Bavaria	747	0·36	0·01
Württemberg	283	0·14	0·01
Total	2,106,413	100·00	—

There too we find that the bulk of the migrants have not proceeded very far, but that large manufacturing centres like Westphalia and the Rhineland do not fail in their attractive power, notwithstanding their distance from the centre of dispersion.

The Netherlands.

The Netherlands, on 31st December, 1879, had a population of 4,012,693 souls, distributed as follows :—

Parochial element	2,697,495	67·22	per cent.
Provincial „	3,551,976	88·51	„
National „	3,936,118	98·09	„
Foreign „	75,880	1·91	„
Of unknown birthplace ...	1,195	—	

The foreign element included, in addition to 7,604 natives of Dutch colonies, 42,026 Germans, 18,816 Belgians, 1,614 English, and 5,320 persons of other nationalities. As the increase of population between 1869 and 1879 amounted to 433,164 souls, whilst the natural growth would have yielded an increase of 449,864, there resulted a small loss of 16,700 souls, which is due to international migration. An examination of Table II in the Appendix clearly shows that Holland proper, with its big and growing towns, has been the great absorbent of population, whilst Limburg, Overysse, and Gelderland, notwithstanding their strong foreign elements, have been the most active centres of dispersion. The towns throughout the country increased (1870-79), 17·25 per cent. in population, the rural parts only 6·8 per cent., proportions which tell their own tale. Females are as usual greater migrants than men, for whilst throughout the kingdom the two sexes are equal, there are only 94 females to 100 males among those persons who were found to live in their native parishes.

Migration is steadily increasing. The parochial element, in 1849, still mustered 69·09 per cent. of the population; by 1879, as we have seen, it had been reduced to 67·22 per cent.

Foreigners are most numerous in Limburg, a German border province of great length and little width, and in the maritime province of Zeeland.

Dutch emigration is directed mainly to European countries, and the number of Dutchmen in Germany, Belgium, and France, is double that of the Dutchmen enumerated in the United States.

Belgium.

Belgium, on 31st December, 1880, had 5,520,009 inhabitants, distributed according to place of birth and residence in the following manner :—

Parochial element	3,709,977	67·20	per cent.
National „	5,376,748	99·74	„
Foreign „	143,261	0·26	„

No details as to the distribution of the natives of each province are given, but we are safe in assuming that home-migration flows

towards the provinces which increase most rapidly in population, namely, Antwerp, Brabant (with Brussels), and Liège. As the natural growth exceeds the actual increase of the population, Belgium is a loser by emigration. This emigration however is not so much directed to trans-Atlantic countries as to the neighbouring country of France, where 432,265 "Belgians" were enumerated in 1881, although all the natives of Belgium living outside Belgium did not probably exceed half a million. The parochial element in the only two towns for which information is given, viz., Antwerp and Brussels, is exceptionally strong, mustering 66·11 and 51·03 per cent. respectively; the foreign elements attaining at the same time the high percentages of 8·47 and 8·53 per cent.

Migration is increasing, for the parochial element has fallen from 69·4 per cent. in 1886, to 67·2 per cent. in 1880, and women exceed the men among short-journey migrants. This is clearly proved by the fact of there being only 97 females to 100 males in the parochial element, whilst among the total population of the country the two sexes exactly balance each other.

Persons of foreign birth⁷ are most numerous, proportionately to the population, in the provinces of Liège, Antwerp, Luxemburg, and Brabant, the first three being frontier provinces, the last the seat of the capital. For detailed information see Table III in the Appendix.

Luxemburg.

The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg has within recent years become a great centre of dispersion, and if its population is nevertheless still increasing, this is solely due to an inflow of population from beyond its borders. Between 31st December, 1880, and 1st December, 1885, the number of natives enumerated in Luxemburg actually fell from 197,027 (94·00 per cent.) to 195,681 (91·74 per cent.), whilst the foreign element rose from 12,543 to 17,602.⁸ In 1871 there were 3,220 natives of Germany in the Grand Duchy; in 1880, 8,412; in 1885, 11,863. The number of native Luxemburgers residing in other European States probably reaches 50,000, including 25,000 (?) in France, 11,000 in Germany, 8,000 in Belgium, &c.

Switzerland.

The federal census taken in December, 1880, only distinguishes the inhabitants according to civil rights or "place of settlement,"

⁷ 51,104 French (16,735 in Hainaut, 12,085 in Brabant), 41,391 Dutch (14,263 in Antwerp), 34,196 Germans (18,268 in Liège), 7,760 Luxemburgers (4,227 in Belgian Luxemburg), 3,799 English, 5,011 others.

⁸ Viz., 11,863 Germans, 3,028 Belgians, 1,313 French, 496 Italians, 418 Austrians and Hungarians, 745 Swiss, 68 Dutch, 34 English.

and as the laws referring to settlement in Switzerland are perhaps the most illiberal in all the world, and vary from canton to canton, the figures presented give a most distorted picture of the migration that is going on. Birth in a canton gives no claims to citizenship in that canton, and thus it happens, that full civic rights are enjoyed only by a minority of the inhabitants of Switzerland, and local taxes are voted and expended without the majority of taxpayers being in any way consulted. The results for three recent censuses are as follows (in per cent.):—

	1850.	1870.	1880.
Parochial element	64·5	54·6	49·3
Cantonal „	90·4	83·3	79·3
All Swiss citizens	97·3	94·3	92·6
“Foreigners”	3·0	5·7	7·4

Comparing the natural with the actual growth, it would appear that between 1870 and 1880 69,930 natives of Switzerland emigrated, and that 56,941 foreigners took up their residence in Switzerland, the actual loss amounting thus to 12,989 persons. The number of natives of Switzerland in other European countries appears to be larger than that of the Swiss in the rest of the world. In the four States bordering upon Switzerland the ascertained number of Swiss amounted about 1880 to 132,000, whilst in the United States they numbered only 88,600.

Austria.

The Census Returns for Austria furnish no information on the place of birth of the inhabitants, but merely classify them according to their “Zuständigkeit,” that is place of settlement. Bohemians, for instance, who settle in Vienna, and acquire the privileges of citizens there, are counted as Viennese. We are justified in believing that the bulk of the migrants do not trouble themselves about these civic rights. Still the number of those who do must be sufficiently large to materially tone down the picture of migration which we present. In Vienna, for instance, 6,755 persons were granted the rights of citizenship in 1884, but this included 4,852 dependents, many of whom may of course have been Viennese by birth.

Austria, on 31st December, 1880, had a population of 12,144,244 souls, distributed as follows:—

	Number.	Percentage of Population of Austria.
Parochial element	15,237,343	69'72
District „	17,790,241	81'25
Provincial „	20,398,228	93'02
National „	21,794,331	98'42
Hungarians	183,422	0'83
Germans	93,442	0'42
Other foreigners	73,149*	0'33

* Among whom were 40,152 Italians, 11,654 Russians, 5,885 Swiss, 2,667 Romanians, 2,347 Turks, 2,287 French, 1,988 English, &c.

An examination of Table IV (in the Appendix) shows very distinctly that migration proceeds at vastly different rates in the various provinces constituting the Austrian monarchy. This is not merely to be gathered from the differences exhibited by the parochial element, but more especially from the numbers belonging to each province who were enumerated in provinces in which they had not acquired civic rights at the time the census was taken. In the case of frontier provinces, however, it should not be forgotten that they would occupy a different position were we able to trace the migrants who have gone from them to foreign parts, even though it be merely to the nearest parish lying beyond the frontier. Vorarlberg, the Tyrol, and the Bukowina would not then rank among provinces which have gained from migration, for they have gained only if we do not look beyond the political boundaries of the empire.

Austria at large may fairly be classed among those countries whose natural increment is in excess of the actual growth of its population, but this excess is not very considerable, the births between the last censuses having exhibited an excess over deaths of 1,818,001, as compared with an actual increase of 1,749,264 souls. And whilst other countries send their surplus population across the ocean, Austria sends hers mainly to neighbouring States, Hungary and the German Empire alone containing 354,000 residents of Austrian birth, whilst the whole of the United States only contain 124,000. The main currents of this frontier migration flow into Germany and Hungary, but especially into Germany, either up the valley of the Danube, down that of the Weser, or across the Ore mountains into Saxony. The two currents which flow into Hungary, the one down the valley of the Danube towards Budapest, the other between the valleys of the Drave and the Save, are almost if not wholly neutralised by contrary currents, which cross the Austrian boundaries at the same places and elsewhere, and which result in the exchanges of natives almost balancing each

other, 198,114 Austrians having been enumerated in Hungary, and 183,422 Hungarians in Austria. Had Hungarians by birth been counted in Austria, instead of Hungarians by nationality, a much closer balance would have been found to exist. The map exhibiting the foreign elements of the population clearly exhibits the manner in which this trans-frontier migration is going on: how the migratory currents lose in strength the further they penetrate into the interior of the country, until at length they die away altogether. The bulk of the foreigners in Austria, as in other countries, occupies the frontier districts, the only exceptions being certain towns which are centres of commerce and industry, and attract what I have called long-journey migrants.

Comparing the various provinces of the empire, one is struck with the fact that the migratory movement appears to be more actively going on where commerce and industry are flourishing most freely. If Bohemia is not among these provinces, it is because of its heterogeneous composition. The Bohemia of popular imagination, with its factories and glass works, lies to the north and the north-east, and is no doubt a region which absorbs migrants, but the greater part of Bohemia is an agricultural country, which sends forth swarms of migrants to other parts of the empire and beyond its borders, but within which migration goes on but slowly. Moravia and Silesia occupy pretty much the same position as Bohemia, and their losses would be more considerable still, had they not largely been balanced by an inflow of foreign elements from Prussian Silesia, Poland, and Hungary. Apart from portions of other provinces, Carniola is perhaps most typical as a centre of dispersion, having increased but slowly, notwithstanding the retention of a very considerable provincial element, amounting to 97 per cent. of the total population. The migratory features of the Tyrol, on the other hand, appear to bear out the general belief that the Tyrolese cling with especial love to their mountain home, for out of 801,139 Tyrolese enumerated throughout Austria, only 24,036 or 3 per cent. were found outside their native province, whilst of Bohemians as many as 7·7 per cent. were found living outside Bohemia. Of course, in neither case have we been able to take account of the natives of these provinces who have migrated beyond the borders of the empire, but it may safely be assumed that their numbers would not materially change these relative proportions. Comparing the German half of the Tyrol with the Italian half, we find that the Germans are less sedentary in their habits than their Italian countrymen, though both enjoy the advantage of being able to cross the frontier into provinces where their respective languages are spoken. The parochial element in the German Tyrol only amounts to 66·5 per cent. of the population, whilst in the Italian

Tyrol it reaches 87·5 per cent.; the provincial elements being respectively 95·4 and 97·9 per cent. The “Wandertrieb,” which the Teutonic race sometimes claims as a characteristic peculiar to itself, therefore makes itself felt also in the Tyrolese hills, or ought we not, rather, to ascribe this difference to the greater sterility and smaller resources of the German Tyrol?

Those provinces of Austria which appear to profit most largely from the migration going on within the empire, as well as from immigration from abroad, are Lower Austria, Styria, Salzburg, and the city of Trieste. Lower Austria owes this position mainly to the Kaiserstadt, Vienna, which shares with other large cities the peculiarity of growing largely at the expense of the surrounding country. Vienna in 1881 had 726,105 inhabitants, of whom 250,872 (34·5 per cent.) were Viennese citizens, whilst 94,439 (13 per cent.) had their “legal settlement” in other parts of Lower Austria. Every province of Austria furnished a contingent to swell its population, whilst among “foreigners” (12·9 per cent.) the Hungarians (66,578) and Germans (18,201) were most largely represented.

But as Vienna shorn of its suburbs presents a less favourable object for tracing the currents of migration in Austria than does the province at large of which it forms part, I prefer dealing with the whole of Lower Austria at once. The population of this province (2,330,621) included the following elements:—

Provinces, &c.	Natives from each Province in Lower Austria.	Percentage of all Natives of each Province.	Percentage of Migrants from each Province enumerated throughout Austria.
Lower Austria	1,551,691	96·9	—
{ Styria	19,115	1·69	44·0
{ Upper Austria	34,479	4·60	55·4
{ Bohemia	309,960	5·22	68·1
{ Moravia	176,025	7·26	73·0
{ Hungary	113,992	—	67·7
{ Carinthia.....	4,654	1·33	14·9
{ Salzburg	2,510	1·74	22·9
{ Germany.....	30,455	—	32·6
{ Silesia	32,935	5·61	43·3
{ Galicia.....	22,077	0·37	20·2
{ Carniola	5,787	1·13	13·2
{ Trieste.....	982	1·34	15·3
{ Istria	406	0·14	2·9
{ Görz	630	0·27	2·1
{ Tyrol	5,581	0·70	23·3
{ Vorarlberg	486	0·48	15·7
{ Croatia, &c.....	5,178	—	31·6
{ Dalmatia.....	391	0·08	5·1
{ Bukowina	1,024	0·19	12·8
{ Foreign parts (excluding Hungary and Germany) }	11,915	—	16·3

It will thus be seen that the bulk of the migrants to be found in Vienna have come from the adjoining provinces, which have been the most liberal contributaries, absolutely, as well as relatively to the number of migrants which they have sent forth altogether. If Bohemia contributed so much more largely than other provinces which apparently enjoy greater geographical facilities, this is due to the position of that country on the frontier. We can take into account only those Bohemians who have been enumerated in Austria, but not the large number to be found in the neighbouring districts of Bavaria, Saxony, and Prussian Silesia. And what applies to Bohemia applies equally to other frontier provinces, and more especially to Salzburg, Silesia, and Galicia. The percentages allotted to these provinces would have been lower had we been able to take account of the whole of the natives of these provinces, instead of only those among them who resided in Austria when the census was taken. That such is really the fact is amply proved if we convert Styria into a frontier province, by looking upon Carniola, Carinthia, the Tyrol, and all outside them as a foreign border land. By doing this the Styrians enumerated in Lower Austria would form 75·8 per cent. of the migrants from that province, instead of forming only 44 per cent. At all events our table, although presenting a distorted picture of the facts, nevertheless proves that the bulk of the migrants from the border provinces find their way into Lower Austria, and that distance and facilities of access are important factors, even in the face of diverting currents produced by other centres of attraction.

As to female migration, the Austrian statistics show once more that females form a majority among short-journey migrants, for 73 per cent. of the Austrian males were enumerated in their own parish, whilst the proportion of women in a similar position was only 71. Among migrants going longer distances, however, the females are in a decided minority.

Hungary.

The kingdom of Hungary, including Croatia and Slavonia, had in 1880 a population of 15,642,102 souls, constituted as to birth places in the following manner:—

Born in the parish in which enumerated.....	11,653,392	74·60 per cent.
„ county „	14,103,460	90·30 „
Total born in Hungary	15,400,677	98·55 „
Born in Austria	198,114	1·27 „
„ other foreign countries.....	27,413	0·18 „
Birth place not known	15,898	— —

I have given the details for each county or “comitat” in the Appendix (Table V). Unfortunately, although the inquiries as to

birth places were exceedingly minute, the results, as published, prove but a halting guide when inquiring into the laws which govern migration. The census publications enable us to determine the elements of the county populations, but they neither inform us as to the total number of natives of each county, nor as to their dispersion throughout the kingdom.

Nevertheless, the recorded number of births and deaths justifies us in placing Hungary among regions of dispersion, notwithstanding a very remarkable inflow of foreign elements. The natural growth between 1870-80 amounted to 486,359 souls, notwithstanding an extraordinary severe visitation of cholera⁹ in 1872-73, whilst the actual growth only reached 229,013. Hungary thus suffered an absolute loss of 256,346 of her children. I am inclined to believe that the majority of these emigrants must have been Non-Magyars, for if we examine an ethnological map of Hungary, we shall find that Slavs, Germans, and Romanians, occupy more especially the periphery of the kingdom, and that by merely crossing the boundary they will find themselves among kinsmen, speaking the same language and observing similar customs. Not so the Magyars of Central Hungary. If I am correct in this supposition, the process of migration should result in a gradual Magyarization of the country, unless, indeed, we assume that the Magyars migrating into other districts of the same kingdom become denationalised, which is not probable. I am inclined, too, to believe that this outflowing current largely sets in the direction of the Balkan peninsula.

This outflow of natives is in a large measure made up by an inflow of foreigners. The number of "foreigners," and especially of natives of the neighbouring provinces of Austria, is very considerable. Our map shows very clearly the method of this foreign invasion. One stream, and that the principal one, appears to follow the broad valley of the Danube, until the absorbent power of the capital weakens its strength; another stream enters the country to the south-west, and spreads over the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, which since the abolition of the military frontier system appears to have made considerable progress in wealth and population.¹⁰ The Carpathians form no obstacle to an overflow of population from Galicia, and through the "iron gate" and the passes of the Transylvanian Alps other foreigners have found their way into the country. The preponderance of the Austrians amongst

⁹ The natural growth, had there been no cholera epidemic, would have amounted to 1,265,000 souls, being at the annual rate of 0.72 per cent.

¹⁰ In Croatia-Slavonia, at all events, the actual growth between 1870-80 exceeded the natural to the extent of 5,932 souls, and this home-rule province, notwithstanding its situation on the frontier of the empire, consequently constitutes a centre of absorption, its gain amounting to 0.06 per cent.

these foreign residents in Hungary is very marked. Only in five counties of distant Transylvania are they outnumbered by foreigners of other nationalities, namely, by Romanians. The tendency of this foreign invasion is in the direction of the lower Danube and towards the Balkan peninsula, proving once more that geographical features constitute a very important element in determining the direction of migratory currents.

But if we are pretty safe as to the character of the whole country, our available information does not enable us to divide the kingdom into regions of absorption and dispersion. We are however safe in assuming that those counties which have increased their populations at an exceptional rate, must be numbered among "counties of absorption;" whilst those, at the other extremity, whose population has been dwindling, and which at the same time muster a strong native county element, are foremost among counties of dispersion. The former class has increased its population far in excess of what could have been the result of natural growth; whilst in the latter natural growth has been outstripped by migration into neighbouring counties holding out greater material prospects. We shall then find that there exist two great regions of attraction in Hungary, viz., the counties bordering upon the Danube as far as and even beyond Budapest, and the more fertile portion of Croatia, as far eastwards as Peterwardein. Kronstadt in Transylvania might perhaps be added to these as a minor centre of attraction. The counties which appear to have furnished the largest number of migrants are those lying in the mountainous regions of the Carpathians and of Transylvania.

The towns throughout the country have grown at the expense of the surrounding rural districts, for between 1869-80 the towns of Hungary increased 457,244 souls in population, whilst the rural districts actually suffered a loss of 318,484 souls.

Women certainly are greater migrants than men, but they go shorter distances. Men actually constitute a majority of the parochial element, clearly showing that many more women than men must have left their native places to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Among migrants however who have gone longer distances the men are, as a rule, in the majority.

Budapest calls for special notice. The capital has grown with surprising rapidity since it became the centre of a kingdom, all but independent of Vienna. Its population between 1869 and 1880 increased 33·3 per cent., and if we examine into its elements we discover at once that this increase is not due to natural growth, which is very small indeed, but almost exclusively to an inflow of strangers from all parts of the kingdom, as also from the neighbouring provinces of Austria. The Hungarian census returns do

not enable me to analyse this population as I have been able to do in the case of many English towns, and I must therefore content myself with presenting the following summary, based upon information published in M. Joseph Körösi's admirable "Die "Hauptstadt Budapest in Jahre 1881," where also a map is to be found illustrating this process of recruiting:—

Counties, &c.	Natives of each Residing in Budapest.	Percentage of Population of Budapest.	Percentage of Population of Counties, &c., named in the First Column.
Budapest.....	151,981	42·72	42·72
Pest, rural	27,496	7·73	4·35
Stuhlweissenburg (Féher)...	12,710	3·57	6·06
Komorn	6,292	1·77	4·12
Gran (Esztergom)	2,449	0·69	3·48
Hont	3,474	0·98	3·00
Raab (Győr)	3,516	0·99	3·20
Liptó	4,628	1·30	6·22
Turóc.....	1,480	0·42	3·22
Rest of Hungary	102,216	28·74	0·73
Austrian Empire	33,004	9·27	0·08
Other foreign parts	5,200	1·46	—
Not known	1,236	0·36	—
Total	355,682*	100·00	—

* This is the "residential" population (Wohnbevölkerung), which differs to some extent from the actual civil population given in the appendix.

On examining this table it will be seen that the bulk of the migrants are derived from the counties immediately surrounding the capital, with a decided tendency of the counties lying westward furnishing a larger contingent than the counties lying to the east and south-east. This only illustrates the fact of a main current of migration flowing from Austria down the Danube as far as Budapest, where its strength becomes exhausted.¹¹ There are however, two counties (Liptó and Turóc) which lie far away in the Carpathians, but which nevertheless furnish a much larger contingent, proportionately to their population, than other counties which are geographically much more accessible. This circumstance has led M. Körösi to make the assertion that geographical position, that is to say distance from the centre of attraction, has nothing to do with migration. In this I believe he is mistaken. There are, of course, exceptional circumstances, but distance from the centre of attraction, modified by facilities of access, and the

¹¹ A comparison of the censuses taken in 1869 and 1880 shows that this easterly current is losing in intensity.

existence of rival centres of attraction, would appear to be in all cases the principal factor to be taken into account. It is not with the *population* of these distant counties with which we ought to compare the migrants from them which are to be found in Budapest, but with the total number of *migrants* who have left these counties to seek their fortunes elsewhere.

As to sexes, we find that the females preponderate among the Hungarian migrants who come to Budapest—there are 111 females to 100 males—and that this is more especially the case with reference to the counties in the more immediate vicinity of the capital, which furnish the largest contingents of domestic servants. Among foreigners, on the other hand, the males preponderate largely, the only exceptions being the English, Swiss, and French migrants, amongst whom governesses are very numerous.

The huge currents of migration which set in the direction of Budapest have naturally produced counter currents of weaker force, but still traceable. And these currents even Liptó and Turóc have experienced, notwithstanding their obscure position in the Carpathian hills. Out of 175,223 natives of Budapest, as many as 23,242 (13·26 per cent.) resided in 1880 outside their native town.

The Balkan Peninsula.

Our knowledge of the population of the States occupying the Balkan peninsula has very considerably increased since the great war of liberation, but is not yet sufficiently detailed to enable us to gain an insight into the currents of migration which are traversing it in various directions. Still, making the best use of the materials extant and within my reach, I do not hesitate to say that all these countries (with the exception of the provinces still under Turkish rule, concerning which we have no trustworthy knowledge) increase their population at the expense of the neighbouring countries. The increase of the actual population of late years has throughout been very considerable, and far in excess of the natural growth, as ascertained by a registration of births and deaths:—

Countries.	Annual Increase.		Gain.
	Actual Growth.	Natural Growth.	
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Bosnia and Herzegowina (1879-85)....	2·41	—	—
Servia (1879-84)	2·22	1·84	0·38
Romania (1860-84)	0·73	0·68	0·05
Bulgaria and East Roumelia (1881-87)	1·59	—	—
Greece (1870-79)	1·59	0·83	0·76

If these statistics can be trusted, the provinces recently freed from the government by the Turks are more rapidly increasing in population than any other part of Europe, and this increase, at least in some of them, is undoubtedly due to an inflow of population from abroad.

Bulgaria.

Bulgaria, on 13th January, 1881, had a population of 2,007,919 souls, of whom 37,635, or 1·88 per cent., are stated to have been born abroad. This comparatively large proportion of persons of foreign birth, in a country as yet so little developed, is accounted for by its extended boundaries, which bring it into contact with many foreign countries. The foreign element varies, in the different districts, between 0·10 and 9·9 per cent. It is smallest in the remote and least accessible regions of the Central Balkans, and most considerable in the east, where Bulgaria opens upon the Black Sea and along the Danube.

The foreign element amounts to 9·9 per cent. in Varna, to 5·5 per cent. in the adjoining district of Provadnaye (Provady), to 4·6 per cent. in Silistria, to 2·6 per cent. in Russe (Rushchuk), and to 2·3 per cent. in Vidin. No details as to the origin of this foreign element are given, but we may safely conclude that it includes a large proportion of Austrians and Hungarians.

Romania.

Our information respecting the population of this interesting State is most incomplete. Births and deaths are registered, but no census has been taken since 1859-60, in which year the two principalities are supposed to have had a population of 4,424,961 souls. As 786,768 more persons were born between 1860 and 1884 than died, the population at the close of 1884 ought to have amounted to 5,211,729 souls, if its increase had depended upon natural growth alone. If we can trust an estimate of the population made for 1884, which places it at 5,268,000 souls, the immigration between 1860 and 1884 must have much exceeded emigration. We are inclined to think that Romania is a country of absorption, which receives large accessions to its population from the neighbouring States of Hungary, Austria, Bulgaria, and perhaps also from Russia, but in the absence of a census, it is quite impossible to fix the amount.¹²

¹² M. L. Cretzulesco ("Bulletin" of the Romanian Geographical Society, 1876) estimates the natural growth between 1860 and 1873 at 365,900, the actual growth at 648,000 souls, and therefore assumes a gain of 282,100 by immigration, which appears to us to be far in excess of the truth. According to him there lived in Romania, exclusive of the Dobruja (1873) 85,000 Slavs, 29,500 Hungarians, 39,000 Germans, 8,000 Armenians, 5,000 Greeks, &c. Many of these are, however, natives of Romania and not migrants.

In the Dobruja there were enumerated in 1878 16,220 Russians, 2,471 Germans, &c., but it is quite impossible to say how many of these were natives of that district, and how many immigrants.

Denmark.

Denmark on 1st February, 1880, had 1,969,039 inhabitants, distributed according to places of birth as follows:—

Natives of Denmark	1,904,750	96·79 per cent.
„ Iceland, Danish colonies	1,306	0·05 „
„ foreign countries	62,983	3·16 „

Amongst persons of foreign birth there were 24,148 Swedes, 22,007 Schleswigers, 11,145 other Germans, and 2,823 Norwegians. Foreigners are most numerous in the capital, where they form 7·96 per cent. of the total population (nearly one-half Swedes), and they are least so in the rural parts of the kingdom (2·12 per cent.).

As the natural growth (1870-80) amounted to 224,200, whilst the actual increase of the population only reached 184,298, Denmark, during this decade, suffered a loss of 39,902 natives, and consequently takes rank among regions of dispersion. The goal of a majority among the Danish emigrants is North America. The inflow of natives of neighbouring countries is far larger than are the counter currents of migrants issuing from Denmark, and whilst the number of Danes in Germany, Sweden, and Norway, is only 27,625, that of natives of these countries in Denmark amounts to 60,123.

Norway.

The population of Norway on 31st December, 1875, was divided as follows as to place of birth and residence (see Table VI):—

Parochial element	1,319,912	73·05 per cent.
District „	1,575,916	87·21 „
National „	1,769,640	98·94 „
Foreign „	37,260	2·06 „
Total	1,806,900	100·00 „

As the natural growth of the population (1865-75) amounted annually to 1·22 per cent., whilst the actual growth only reached 0·60 per cent., Norway must take its place amongst regions of dispersion, and the vast majority of Norwegians who have left their native country have found a new home in the United States.¹³ Migration within Norway itself (see Table VI in the Appendix) has yielded the largest profits to the two cities of Kristiania and

¹³ Norwegians in Sweden 4,433, Denmark 2,823, Germany 1,865, British Isles 3,203, in the United States 181,729.

Bergen, and next to these rank the two northern districts of Tromsøe and Finmark, which owe their position mainly to an inflow of migrants from the neighbouring districts of Sweden and Finland. The greatest loss, on the other hand, was suffered by Kristiansamt, a district shut off from the sea, and having no contact with foreign countries. That the towns are the largest gainers is most clearly shown by comparing the city of Bergen with the rural district of Bergenshus which surrounds it.

Females are greater migrants than the males, for the parochial element only includes 104 females to 100 males, whilst among the rest of the population the proportion is as 112 : 100, and throughout the country as 106 : 100.

Of the 37,260 foreigners, as many as 29,340 were natives of Sweden. The foreign element is strongest in Finmark (12·32 per cent.), and next to it in Kristiania (6·19 per cent.), and the districts immediately adjoining the capital. A very strong current of migration sets from Sweden into Norway, whilst the outgoing currents are stronger than the inflowing ones as regards Denmark, Germany, and all other countries.

Sweden.

The population of Sweden included on 31st December, 1880, the following elements :—

Parochial element	3,642,514	79·92 per cent.
District (Län) element	4,035,352	88·54 „
National element	4,589,046	99·59 „
Foreign „	18,582	0·41 „
Not ascertained	8,040	— „
	4,565,668	100·00 „

As the population of Sweden, between 31st December, 1870, and 31st December, 1880, increased 397,143 souls, whilst the natural growth yielded a surplus of 535,897 souls, that country, like the greater part of Europe, takes its place among regions of dispersion. It is supposed that 275,000 natives of Sweden resided at the time of the last census in foreign countries, of whom 194,337 were enumerated in the United States, 28,826 in Norway, 24,150 in Denmark, and 11,885 in Germany. Sweden therefore is a centre of dispersion, even though we take account only of her European neighbours, for the number of persons of foreign birth who have taken up their abode in Sweden is relatively very small.

If we confine ourselves to that migration which is going on within the limits of Sweden, we shall discover (see Table VII in the Appendix) that there exist four districts of absorption. The first of these includes the maritime region from the Sound to the

Norwegian border (with Göteborg); the second includes the capital (Stockholm), and the "läns" lying to the north-west of it; the third is represented by North Bothnia (Norrbotten); and the fourth is confined to the island of Gotland. It should however be observed that the "läns" of Jemtland and North Bothnia lie on the frontier, and that many of their natives have crossed into Norway. By adding these emigrants to the migrants actually enumerated in Sweden, these two "läns" would take their place among regions of "dispersion."

Towns profit by migration at the expense of the rural parts of the country, for whilst between 1871 and 1880 the loss due to home and international migration amounted to 138,754 souls,¹⁴ the towns actually made a gain of 100,875 souls.

Female migrants are more numerous than male migrants, for there are only 104·8 females to 100 males in the parochial element, whilst there are 106·17 in the district element, and 106·15 in the national element.

Migration has undoubtedly increased since the development of means of communication, for in 1860 the district element still formed 92·8 per cent. of the population, whilst in 1880 it only formed 88·4 per cent. Or, to put it differently, in 1860 only 7 per cent. of the native population lived outside their native district, as compared with 11·1 per cent. who did so in 1880.

As to foreigners, their number is small, and the bulk of them has come from the neighbouring countries, namely Denmark (4,575), Norway (4,433), Finland (3,401), and Germany (3,289). They are most numerous in such towns as Stockholm, Malmö, and Göteborg, as also in the frontier districts.

Finland.

Finland, on 31st December, 1880, had 2,046,730 inhabitants, of whom only 14,052 (0·68 per cent.) were of foreign birth, including 7,947 Russians, 3,693 Swedes, 522 Germans, and 1,890 others. The natural growth of the population is considerable, for between 1870 and 1880 it amounted to 1·49 per cent. yearly, but as the actual growth is larger still (1·55 per cent.), Finland, notwithstanding its remote position, and apparent poverty in natural resources, is one of those countries which increase to some extent at the expense of their neighbours. The gain, however, is not very large, having amounted between 1870 and 1880 to only 10,905 souls.

Russia.

The population returns from the Russian Empire still leave

¹⁴ Actual growth 397,143, natural growth 531,897, loss 138,754, the rural parts suffering a correspondingly greater loss of 239,629 souls.

much to be desired, and they leave us altogether in doubt as to the birth-places of the inhabitants. We are however in possession of apparently trustworthy returns of those persons, whether Russians or foreigners, who have openly crossed the frontiers, and these afford us some insight into the "exchange" which is going on between European Russia on the one hand, and the outer world on the other.

We gather from these returns that the number of foreigners who entered European Russia between 1851 and 1886 was greater by 1,733,441 than the number of foreigners who left that empire, thus exhibiting a very considerable inflow of population. On the other hand, 846,931 more Russians left their native country during the period under review than entered it. Balancing profits and losses, we thus find that Russia in the course of these thirty-six years gained an accession of 886,510 souls to her population.

These gains (or losses) fluctuate considerably during different epochs, as may be seen from the following tabular statement:—

	Gain from Foreign Immigration.	Loss from Russian Emigration.	Ultimate Result.
1851-60	130,772	234,038	Loss 102,266
'61-70	461,302	44,998	Gain 416,304
'71-80	609,863	349,516	„ 260,347
'81-86	531,504	218,379	„ 313,125
Total ...	1,733,441	846,931	Gain 886,510

These figures show very plainly that Russia in Europe is one of the countries which absorb population, and our expectation that the elements absorbed should in the main be derived from the border countries is fully borne out by the available statistical returns, for among the foreign immigrants in excess of the emigrants of foreign birth (or nationality?) as many as 951,896 were Germans, 677,154 were Austrians, and 41,083 Romanians, leaving only 63,408 for the rest of the world, the British Islands furnishing 12,765 towards that residue. That this inflow of migrants should create a counter-current of migration or "out-flow" is plainly seen, not only from the Russian returns, but also from those of other countries. The bulk appear to have settled in the neighbouring countries (Germany and Austria), for trans-oceanic emigration from Russia is still in its infancy. Of the net loss in native population which Russia suffered in 1871-86, only 175,934 persons are recorded as having arrived in the United States, whilst 391,961 persons found a home elsewhere.

An inquiry into the natural growth of the population of Russia leads to the same conclusion, for whilst the actual growth between

1871-82 amounted to 1.46 per cent. annually, the natural growth would only have yielded an increase of 1.33 per cent., the difference (amounting to 1,120,000 souls) having been made up by immigration. Poland, owing to its geographical position, was a larger gainer from this immigration than Russia proper.

Whatever errors there may exist in these figures, they appear to me to point plainly to the fact, that a steady stream of immigrants flows into Russia, notwithstanding irksome police regulations and the unattractive political condition of that country; and I feel no doubt that if we could trace these migratory currents to their ultimate destinations, and place on record the migration which is going on within the limits of the Empire, we should find that as steady a flow of migrants leaves it on its eastern frontiers, as is that which enters it from the west. It is thus the vast and promising territories of Siberia, and the re-peopled valleys of the Caucasus, make their influence felt even in the heart of Europe. Of a flow of Russian migrants into the Balkan Peninsula I can find but little trace.

*France.*¹⁵

The population of France amounted in May to 37,930,759 souls, divided according to place of birth into the following elements:—

Parochial element.....	22,490,482	56.60 per cent.
Departmental element.....	31,245,908	79.70 „
National element	36,969,258	97.47 „
Foreign „	961,501	2.53 „

The national element as here given includes the natives of French colonies. According to “nationality” there were:—

French citizens by origin	36,700,342	96.76 per cent.
Naturalised French citizens	103,886	0.27 „
Foreigners	1,126,531	2.97 „

These “foreigners” however include 431,413 natives of France or of French colonies—the children of foreign parents who have not sought naturalisation, but many of whom have nevertheless become merged in the general population. This element of the population is especially numerous in the frontier departments. Among “French citizens by origin” born abroad (266,393) there are many Alsatians born since the loss of that province in 1871.

An examination into the results of home migration is rendered next to impossible, as the census returns do not furnish us with the natives of each department enumerated throughout France. It appears to be assumed in France that this home migration flows

¹⁵ For an account of French migration between 1876 and 1881, see M. Toussein Loua's paper in *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 1885, p. 652.

most actively out of those departments in which the preponderance of the female sex is most marked,¹⁶ or, in other words, that the males take the lead in migration even for such short distances as those from one department to another. Such no doubt is the case in some departments, as in that of the Creuse, which exports an ever increasing number of men into other parts of France, whilst retaining most of its women. It cannot however be the case everywhere, and notably not in the case of the department of the Seine, in which the females are slightly in excess, but which notwithstanding this fact is a centre of absorption and not one of dispersion. In fact the preponderance of one sex or of the other in a department explains nothing, unless we learn at the same time how this preponderance was brought about, whether by a departure of the males, or by an inflow of females.

But if we are unable satisfactorily to trace the currents of home migration, we are in a position to estimate the gain and loss resulting from home and international migration jointly. Between December, 1881, and 30th May, 1886, the natural growth of the population would have amounted to 376,108 souls had there been no emigration, whilst the actual growth amounted to 525,469 souls, the immigration of persons born abroad thus balancing not only all losses resulting from emigration, but leaving in addition a handsome profit of 149,361 souls. Full details as to the gains or losses of each department will be found in Table VIII of the Appendix, and it will there be seen that the great regions of absorption cluster round Paris and Lyons, and the coast of the Mediterranean in the direction of Marseille; whilst the remotely situated departments are most prominent as regions of dispersion.

On one other result of migration the published census results enlighten us sufficiently, namely, with reference to its effects upon the population of the towns and of the rural parts of the country. The towns of France between 1881-86 exhibited a natural growth of 43,665 souls, the rural parts of 332,443 souls, yet when the inhabitants were counted in 1886 the towns were found to have made a gain of 626,301 souls, whilst the rural parts had sustained a loss of 455,554. The gain of the towns proportionately to the population of 1881, amounted to 4.78 per cent.; the loss of the rural parts reached 1.87 per cent. In many of the large towns the natives must form a minority. In Paris the native town element only mustered 34.9 per cent.; the accessions from the outlying parts of the department of the Seine amounted to 3.1 per cent.; but the contributions of the remainder of France reached 53.91

¹⁶ "Résultats statistiques du dénombrement de 1886," p. 80 of the introduction.

per cent., and those from foreign parts 8·09 per cent.¹⁷ Between 1881 and 1886, the rural parts have absolutely decreased in population (from 24,575,506 to 24,452,395), but I am not yet prepared to describe the loss by so ugly a word as “depopulation” of the rural districts.

On one other point the French census reports furnish a satisfactory answer, namely, as to whether migration is increasing. In 1866 the departmental element of the population still amounted to 88·24 per cent.; in 1872 it had fallen to 86·25 per cent., and in 1886 to 84·00 per cent., thus exhibiting a steady decrease, which can only have been brought about through a corresponding increase in the number of migrants.

Persons born abroad are more numerous in France than in any other country of Europe. Their influence in modifying the character of the people, though slow, should not be underrated, and the population of France would exhibit only a very small increase were it not for these formidable reinforcements received from abroad. The number of these foreign migrants is increasing, and their influence is all the more potent as their natural growth, notwithstanding the preponderance of men among them, appears to be greater than that of the native population. If there existed statistics as to the parentage of all natives of France, such as we have for Canada and the United States, the result would possibly surprise in more than one respect. But even without these statistics, the influence of these foreign elements is sufficiently apparent in the foreign names of many persons who have achieved eminence in France.

Speaking broadly, persons of foreign birth are most numerous in the frontier departments and in certain maritime towns. Their nationality in these localities corresponds with that of the nearest foreign country, in fact, as concerns migration, political boundaries do not appear to exist: Germans, notwithstanding the hostile feeling supposed to be entertained towards them, have nevertheless crossed the frontiers in considerable numbers, whilst natives of France have not allowed themselves to be deterred by rigorous passport regulations from crossing the French boundary into neighbouring parts of Germany.

Paris, no doubt, with its manifold attractions to migrants of a more select type, has attracted more foreign settlers (proportionately to its population) than many of the frontier departments. But whilst the foreign element in Paris only amounts to 8·09 per cent., it reaches 9·33 per cent. in Meurthe-et-Moselle, 10·5 in the

¹⁷ I should have liked to have dealt with the elements of the population of Paris as fully as I have done in the case of other large towns, but the materials at my command do not admit of this.

Nord, and 19·98 in Belfort. Passing from German Lorraine in the direction of Paris, the foreign element amounts to 9·33 per cent. in the frontier department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, to 2·72 per cent. in that of the Meuse, to 3·74 per cent. in that of the Marne, to 3·01 per cent. in that of the Seine-et-Marne, and to 7·72 per cent. in that of the Seine.

Persons born abroad are not classified according to their place of birth: instead of this we are furnished with the number of "foreigners" distinguished according to nationalities. We thus learn that these "foreigners" included 482,261 Belgians, 264,568 Italians, 100,114 Germans, 79,550 Spaniards, 78,584 Swiss, 37,149 Dutch and Luxemburgers, 36,134 English, &c.

Italy.

According to the census taken in Italy on 31st December, 1881, the population of that kingdom (28,459,628) included:—

Persons born in Italy	28,358,807	99·64 per cent.
,, abroad.....	100,821	0·36 ,,

Of these latter only 59,956 were "foreigners." No details are given which would enable us to trace the migratory movements going on,¹⁸ but we are furnished with ample information on the geographical distribution of persons of foreign birth. This distribution exhibits the usual features, viz., a massing of these foreign migrants in the frontier provinces, at certain sea ports (Leghorn, Naples), and at a few favoured localities in the interior (Rome and Florence). Thus in Liguria persons of foreign birth constitute 1·33 per cent. of the population (due, in a measure, to the presence of winter visitors on the Riviera); in Venetia they form 0·64 per cent., in Piedmont 0·55 per cent., in Lombardy 0·53 per cent., and in Tuscany, notwithstanding Leghorn and Florence, only 0·44 per cent. The city of Rome, with 2·34 per cent. of persons of foreign birth, forms an exception; but notwithstanding its attractions to holiday makers, lovers of art and religious pilgrims, it scarcely ranks before Milan (2·18 per cent.), which enjoys the advantage of being near the frontier. A majority of these foreigners settle in the towns, for the foreign element in the population of the district capitals mustered 1·22 per cent., whilst in the rural parts of Italy it did not rise higher than 0·19 per cent.

As the population of Italy increased 1,658,474 souls between the censuses of 1871 and 1881, whilst the recorded natural growth

¹⁸ Exceptions were made in favour of Rome and Milan. Of the total population of Rome (300,467), 134,156 persons (44·65 per cent.) were born in Rome, and 7,037 (2·34 per cent.) were born abroad. In Milan (population 321,839) 155,714 (48·38 per cent.) were natives of Milan, whilst 7,028 (2·18 per cent.) were natives of foreign parts.

amounted to 2,020,789 souls, Italy must be classed with those countries which send forth larger number of emigrants than they receive in return. In this exchange Italy is generally the loser, as far as European States are concerned: in other words, the number of Italians in all the neighbouring States, including Spain, France, Switzerland, Austria, and Hungary, is larger than that of natives of these States in Italy. The same may be said of the countries constituting the African and Asiatic seaboard of the Mediterranean. Nay, even the Italian contingents sent across the Alps into Germany and other remote regions appear to be larger than those received in return, and the Italian migrants enumerated in Germany are almost visibly increasing, having risen from at most 5,604 in 1880, to 8,234 in 1885. Italian emigration is annually assuming vaster proportions, and the Italian element in America, especially in the Argentina and Brazil, is steadily rising. In an official volume entitled "Censimento degli Italiani all' estero" (Rome, 1884), we are furnished with the following estimate of Italians residing outside Italy:—

	Europe.	Africa.	America.	Asia.	Austral- asia.	Total.
Italians by birth	42,314	14,373	226,618	1,736	1,990	287,031
„ born abroad	26,981	12,685	191,618	2,722	655	234,954
„ whose birthplace is not known }	311,057	35,145	160,806	3,167	232	510,907
Total	380,352	62,203*	579,335†	7,625	2,877	1,032,392

* Of whom 33,693 in Algeria, 11,106 in Tunis, and 16,302 in Egypt.

† Of whom 254,388 in the Argentina, 170,000 (?) in the United States, and 82,196 in Brazil.

Amongst these Italian emigrants the male sex preponderates throughout, there being only 65 females to every 100 males, and this preponderance increases generally speaking with the distance from Italy.

A distribution of these emigrants amongst the provinces in which they were born is scarcely practicable, owing to defective returns, but as far as our information goes it would appear that those provinces which receive the largest accession of migrants from abroad furnish the heaviest contingents; and that the Italians who migrate into northern Africa are largely natives of Sicily and of Southern Italy generally. For further particulars on this subject I must refer to the work quoted above.

Spain and Portugal.

Spain between 1860 and 1877 increased in population from 15,673,536 to 16,625,860 souls, being an annual increase of 0·34 per cent. During the same period the natural growth, computed from very imperfect data, amounted to 0·38 per cent., showing that Spain sustained a loss in her children slightly exceeding the gains derived from foreign immigration. Many, if not the majority, of these Spanish immigrants find a home in France and in northern Africa (Algeria), rather than in Spanish colonies and daughter States.¹⁹ The Spanish census for 1877 only distinguishes between natives of Spain and persons born abroad, of whom there were 40,741.²⁰ Our map shows that these foreigners are nowhere very numerous, and that the only provinces in which they exceeded 1 per cent. are Cadiz, Huelva, and Guipuzcoa. These are not only readily accessible provinces, but they are at the same time the centres of much commerce and industry (mining). That the Pyrenees form a very formidable barrier to migratory currents is plainly indicated on our map.

As to *Portugal*, our statistics are scanty in the extreme, but after a careful examination of the vital and emigration statistics, there can be no doubt that this country annually sustains severe losses by emigration. The annual increase of the population between 1864 and 1878 only amounted to 0·59 per cent. per annum, whilst the natural growth can hardly have been less than 0·73 per cent. There, as elsewhere, the rural population drifts to the large sea-port towns, and either remains there, or is carried further by migratory currents crossing the ocean.

A General Survey of Europe.

Before leaving Europe for North America, it seems only proper to summarise the results obtained thus far. This I have done in the following table :—

¹⁹ Ibañez (España, 1888) estimates the Spaniards residing abroad at 346,485, including 114,320 in Algeria, 73,781 in France, 59,000 in the Argentina, 39,730 in Uruguay, &c.

²⁰ French 17,657, Portuguese 7,941, English 4,771, Italians 3,497.

States.	Elements of the Population.				Annual Increase.			Difference (Result of Migration). Per cent.
	Paro- chial.	County or District.	Pro- vincial.	Foreign.	Period.	Actual. Per cent.	Natural. Per cent.	
								Loss.
Luxemburg, 1885	84.0	—	91.74	8.26	1881-85	0.35	1.10	0.75
Norway, 1875.....	73.05	87.21	—	2.06	'65-75	0.60	1.22	0.60
German Empire, 1885.	60.32	—	90.23	0.93	'81-85	0.70	1.13	0.43
Sweden, 1880	79.92	88.54	—	0.41	'70-80	0.91	1.19	0.28
Portugal, 1877	—	—	—	—	'64-77	0.60	0.73	0.27
United Kingdom, 1881.	—	73.80	—	1.01	'71-81	1.03	1.29	0.26
Belgium, 1880	67.20	—	—	0.26	'77-80	0.80	1.00	0.20
Denmark, 1880	—	—	—	3.16	'70-80	0.99	1.19	0.20
Hungary, 1880	90.30	—	—	1.45	'70-80	0.14	0.29	0.15
Italy, 1881	—	—	—	0.36	'71-81	0.60	0.73	0.13
Austria, 1880.....	69.72	81.25	93.02	1.58	'70-80	0.75	0.80	0.05
Switzerland, 1880	49.30	79.30	—	7.40	'70-80	0.68	0.73	0.05
Netherlands, 1879	67.22	—	88.51	1.91	'70-79	1.15	1.19	0.04
Spain, 1877.....	—	—	—	0.24	'60-77	0.34	0.38	0.04
								Gain
Romania.....	—	—	—	—	1860-84	0.73	0.68	0.05
Finland, 1880.....	—	—	—	0.68	'71-90	1.55	1.49	0.06
France, 1886	56.60	79.70	—	2.53	'82-86	0.32	0.21	0.11
Russia, 1882	—	—	—	—	'71-82	1.46	1.33	0.13
Servia	—	—	—	2.05	1879-84	2.22	1.84	0.38
Bosnia.....	—	—	—	1.90	'79-85	2.41	—	—
Greece.....	—	—	—	—	'70-79	1.59	0.83	0.76

On glancing through this table it will be seen that the States of Europe form two groups, of which one has suffered a loss from combined European and extra-European migration, whilst the other has been a gainer. The latter group includes the Russian Empire, with Finland, the whole of the Balkan peninsula, and France. In these States the actual growth of the population has been greater than would have resulted from an excess of births over deaths, that is from natural growth. In nearly every case the natural growth has been considerable, not to say excessive. France, in the very heart of Western Europe, occupies quite an exceptional position among these States. But in France the birth-rate is low, and if there are no great currents of emigration crossing the Atlantic, the demands upon the population are nevertheless more considerable than is generally supposed. It should never be forgotten that there exists in Algeria (1886) a French colony of 261,591 persons of French "origin," though not all natives of France, and that the maintenance of this colony has until recently demanded heavy sacrifices. France, having no considerable surplus population to draw upon, is thus compelled to make up for her losses, trifling though they are, by drawing within her borders the outflow population from neighbouring countries. Very

different to this is the position in which Russia and the countries of the Balkan peninsula find themselves. There the population increases rapidly, but the undeveloped resources of these countries, although not equal to those of some favourite trans-oceanic fields of emigration, are such as to produce a considerable inflow of population from the rest of Europe.

The "losses" recorded in our table are largely due to trans-oceanic emigration, or they are at all events aggravated by it. This is more especially the case as regards the United Kingdom, the German Empire, and Scandinavia. Whether Italy's losses are more largely due to migration within the borders of Europe than to trans-oceanic emigration I am not prepared to decide, seeing that our statistics are so very imperfect. The number of natives of Italy who live in other parts of Europe is about 342,000, and I believe this exceeds the *natives* of Italy who live outside Europe. Italian emigration is however assuming ever increasing proportions, and Italy gradually gains upon other countries which send huge contingents of migrants into other parts of the world. There can be no doubt however that the losses sustained by Belgium, Luxemburg, and Hungary are ascribable mainly to an emigration to neighbouring European States.

If we confine ourselves to migration within the limits of Europe, we shall find that some countries have lost in this exchange of natives of the soil, whilst others have been the gainers. As no data for Russia and the Balkan States are available, I am compelled to confine myself to Western Europe.

It will then be found that about the time the latest censuses were taken, 2,655,700 natives of Western Europe lived outside the State in which they had been born.²¹ Among this total there were 452,300 Germans, 447,800 Belgians, 404,100 Austrians, 327,600 Italians, 202,700 Frenchmen, 194,100 Hungarians, 126,900 Swiss, 97,900 Netherlanders, 95,900 natives of the United Kingdom, 91,200 Spaniards, 74,700 Swedes, 46,900 Luxemburgers, 34,200 Danes, 30,500 natives of Man and the Channel Islands, &c. Of course these losses were in many instances more than made up by an inflow of migrants from other parts of Europe, and where this was not the case they were at least considerably reduced in amount. In the following statement I have arranged the various States of Western Europe into two groups, of which the first includes those States which have gained in population as a result of the migration going on within the limits of Western Europe, whilst the second group is formed of States which have been the

²¹ The figures I give are merely rough estimates, but I believe them to be fairly representative of the facts under consideration.

losers. Gains and losses are expressed *pro mille* of the actual population at the time of the last census.

First Group. States which have Gained from Migration.

	Gain.		Net Gains, being the Excess of Immigration over Emigration. Principal Contributory Countries.
	Number.	Per Mille of Population.	
Switzerland	61,900	21·7	{ Germany (51,100), Italy (22,000), Austria (6,100) Belgium (350,900), Italy (207,800), Germany (49,300), Luxemburg (26,700) Sweden (23,900) „ (19,500), Germany (12,400) Spain (12,100) Austria (14,700), Germany (2,000) Germany (26,100), Man and Chan- nel Islands (18,800), Nether- lands (4,400)
France.....	782,300	19·6	
Norway	23,400	13·9	
Denmark	26,800	13·7	
Portugal	13,700	2·9	
Hungary.....	18,700	1·2	
United Kingdom	27,400	0·8	

Second Group. States which suffered Losses through Migration.

	Loss.		Net Losses, being the Excess of Emigration over Immigration. Principal Recipient Countries.
	Number.	Per Mille of Population.	
Finland	700	0·3	{ France (49,300), Switzerland (51,100), United Kingdom (26,100), Belgium (25,400) France (49,300) German Empire (62,100), Hungary (14,700), Switzerland (6,100) Belgium (22,600) France (207,800), Switzerland (22,000), Austria (13,400) Norway (23,900), Denmark (19,500), German Empire (7,800) United Kingdom (18,800) France (350,900) „ (26,700), Belgium (4,800)
German Empire.....	92,300	2·0	
Spain	41,000	2·4	
Austria	76,100	3·4	
Netherlands	32,400	8·1	
Italy	247,000	8·7	
Sweden	58,100	12·7	
Man and Channel Isles	4,300	30·3	
Belgium	308,200	83·1	
Luxemburg.....	29,600	139·0	

Switzerland owes its position at the head of this list no less to its character as a region of transit, lying between four great States, than to its small size, which intensifies all migratory symptoms. France and Belgium, however, are fair representatives of West European extremes, the one being a receptacle into which flows the surplus population from surrounding States, whilst Belgium, whose inhabitants are fairly obeying the Mosaic injunction, are pouring their thousands annually into France.

Hungary, Austria, and Germany would of course occupy different places in our list were we to embrace Russia and the Balkan States within these "United States of Western Europe," for the number of Western Europeans in the East is undoubtedly much larger than is that of "Easterlings" in the west.

America.

Before I proceed to a consideration of the migration statistics of Canada and the United States, with which I propose to close my survey, it appears to me to be desirable that I should draw attention to several points of difference, which distinguish these regions of the new world from our old-established European States. In Europe, or at all events in Western Europe, nearly all the land capable of being cultivated has been occupied and peopled. As a consequence of this, our great migratory currents are produced either by the development of commerce and industry in certain localities, or by an outflow of emigrants, whose places are filled up by local currents of migration. These agencies make themselves felt also in North America, but in addition to them there exists one factor whose power is hardly known in Europe, namely, the powerful attraction exercised by vast areas of cultivable land not yet taken possession of by cultivators.

Another difference is this: whilst with us in Europe the "foreign element" constitutes a mere fraction of the population, it assumes vast proportions in the new world. Here in Europe every inflow of foreign elements is largely compensated by an outflow of natives, but in the new world the inflowing currents are overpoweringly strong, whilst the compensatory counter currents are of the feeblest proportions.

These differences should constantly be borne in mind when discussing the statistics of American migration. They have been most marked in the past, and are very striking still. In course of time, however, they will become less glaring, until at last the new world shall have become assimilated to the old in its migratory currents no less than in other respects depending upon the population having attained a density commensurate with the natural resources of the country.

The Dominion of Canada.

The population of the Dominion of Canada at the time of the last census (1881) was composed as follows:—

Provincial element	3,584,266	82·88 per cent.
Dominion „	3,715,492	85·91 „
American „	77,753	1·79 „
Other foreign elements	531,565	14·09 „

By the term "American" element I mean natives of the United States, whilst the "other foreign elements" include all persons born outside the Dominion who are not "Americans" as defined by me. These foreign elements include consequently 470,092 natives of the United Kingdom, 25,328 Germans, 6,376 Russians, 4,596 Newfoundlanders, 4,839 French, and fractions of many other nationalities.

The Dominion as a whole absorbs the surplus population of other parts of the world, although not to the same extent as is done by her more powerful and pushing neighbour, who at the same time, and notwithstanding that the shortest route from Europe to the East passes through Canada, is much more favoured by geographical position and physical features.

There exist, nevertheless, considerable difference in the power of absorption exhibited by the several provinces of Canada, and if we exclude the accessions received from foreign parts, there are even some amongst them, whose native (Dominion) element is smaller in numbers than are their natives scattered throughout the Dominion. (See Table IX in the Appendix.) These provinces, named in the order of their losses, are the Territories which have suffered most (8.43 per cent.), owing apparently to the removal of many Indians to reservations, Quebec (3.55 per cent.), Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. The greatest gainer has been Manitoba (60.02 per cent.), and next to it rank British Columbia (7.20 per cent.), Ontario (1.71 per cent.), and New Brunswick.

The double effects of geographical distance and facility of procuring land for settlement, are very clearly brought out by these Canadian statistics, although we shall see them more freely at play in the wider area of the United States. Still the underlying principle of all this migration appears to be that the bulk of migrants prefers a short journey to a long one, and that the more enterprising long-journey migrants are the exceptions and not the rule.

This at least would appear to be shown by tracing the 58,734 natives of Quebec who were enumerated in 1881 outside their native province.

Provinces in which Enumerated.	Number.	Per Cent. of all Migrants from Quebec.	Per Cent. of the Canadian Population of the Provinces in which Enumerated.
Ontario	50,407	85.85	3.83
New Brunswick	3,127	5.32	1.08
Nova Scotia	441	0.74	0.11
Prince Edward Island ...	177	0.30	0.18
Manitoba	4,085	6.95	8.33
British Columbia	396	0.67	1.13
Territories	01	0.17	0.19

Whilst the table shows very distinctly that most of the migrants from Quebec went no further than the neighbouring province of Ontario, it shows at the same time that a minor current proceeds from Quebec towards Nova Scotia, and that the main current which carries so many of its sons and daughters into Ontario has not lost all strength when it has reached the western extremity of that province, but still sweeps onward, though with diminished force, and only dies away when it reaches the shore of the Pacific. This is the nature of all these westerly currents in North America. They are like mighty rivers, which flow along slowly at the outset, and after depositing most of the human beings whom they hold in suspension, sweep along more impetuously, until they enter one of the great western lake reservoirs (in our case Manitoba), on leaving which they are nearly limpid.

If on the other hand we inquire whence a province like Manitoba has drawn the many migrants which entitle her to so prominent a place as a centre of absorption, the answer is once more from the nearest available surplus population.

Of the 98,992 natives of Canada enumerated in Manitoba in 1881, 18,020 were natives of Manitoba itself, 19,125 had come from Ontario, 6,422 from the Territories, and 4,085 from Quebec.

In 1885, when another census was taken, it was found that the natives of the other provinces had increased considerably, but the contingents proportionately furnished by each province had hardly changed, except that the Territories, which had themselves become more desirable places for agricultural settlers, furnished a much smaller contingent. In other words, the migratory current had retained its strength whilst passing over Manitoba, carrying more migrants than formerly beyond it.

The United States.

The population of the United States, classified according to birth places, included the following elements in (1880) :—

State element.....	33,789,498	67'37 per cent.
National element	43,475,840	86'69 „
Foreign „	6,679,943	13'31 „

Full details for each State and territory will be found in Table X of the Appendix.

That which strikes us most in examining this table is not so much the large number of persons of foreign birth, than the great mobility of the native Americans. They are greater wanderers, less tied to home associations, than are the inhabitants of Europe. This fact is sufficiently accounted for by the vast extent of unoccupied land, and the great natural resources of the country,

which have as yet hardly been touched. Have we not witnessed migrations on an equally surprising scale when the value of the iron ores of Furness and of Cleveland first came to be recognised?

Putting aside persons of foreign birth, we find that the State element includes 75·4 per cent. of the total native population of the United States, whilst in Austria and Germany, with provinces fairly comparable, the provincial element reaches 93 and 90 per cent. respectively.

If we compare the census returns for 1870 with those for 1880, we shall find that every State and territory has increased in population, but, on examining into the causes of this increase, it will at once become apparent that it is due, in a large measure, to foreign immigration. Thus the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island exhibit an actual growth of 470,158 souls, of which only 162,886 were due to an excess of births over deaths, whilst immigration from other States added 182,150 souls to the population, and foreign immigration 125,122 only. If we bear in mind that the natural growth would have been much slower had there been no foreign immigrants to contribute towards it, we shall be able to estimate the foreign element at its full value. Had we any trustworthy statistics of births and marriages for every State of the Federal territory, it would be found that the actual increase of population in some of them is virtually dependent upon foreign immigration. Take Maine as an instance. In that State the actual increase of population between 1870 and 1880 amounted to 22,000 souls, viz., 12,000 natives of the United States, and 10,000 foreigners. Assuming the excess of births over deaths to have been the same as in the three States of New England for which we have vital statistics, the natural growth during the period under consideration must have amounted to 46,000 souls, clearly showing that in the case of Maine the time when its population shall cease to increase must be close at hand.

If we divide the United States into two regions, one of dispersion and the other of absorption, it will be found that the former includes eighteen States and territories, all of them, with the exception of New Mexico, lying to the east of the Mississippi. This is taking account of the native element only. If we include the foreign element it will be found that four of these States, viz., New Hampshire, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New York, have recovered their loss in consequence of the arrival of numerous foreign immigrants, who at the time of the last census resided within their boundaries. The losses have been most severe in Vermont, Virginia, New Hampshire, and Maine, whilst the gains were most considerable in the newly opened territories in the North West (see Table X, and map).

In illustration of the process of dispersion going on in the United States, I select Virginia, whose exhausted soil appears no longer to be able to support a rapidly increasing population. Of native Virginians there were enumerated throughout the United States 2,118,460, of whom as many as 683,336 had found a home outside their native State. Of these migrants 285,422 (41·74 per cent.) had gone no further than one of the border States; 268,818 (39·33 per cent.) had crossed a border State and had settled in a State just beyond it; whilst 129,096 (18·93 per cent.) had gone to other parts of the Union. If we examine a map exhibiting the distribution of these migrants, we shall find that of the currents of migration which pass out of Virginia, that which flows in a westerly direction, towards the thinly peopled territories to the west of the Mississippi, is the most powerful. Another current swerves round to the south-west, and follows the valley of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. A third current crosses South Carolina into Georgia. It is quite obvious that whilst geographical features have exercised a preponderating influence upon these currents, economical reasons, such as the facility of acquiring land, have very materially modified these. Virginian migration presents in fact the same features as the migration of the natives of Quebec. Tracing the westerly current, we find that nearly one half of the migrants (47 per cent.) settled in Western Virginia, 26 per cent. were enumerated in Kentucky and Tennessee,²² 19 per cent. in Missouri, 5 per cent. in Kansas, and only 3 per cent. further westward.

The leading numerical facts in connection with this migration from Virginia are exhibited in the following tabular statement:—

²² Kentucky, Southern Indiana and Southern Illinois lie on the western track. As I have no figures for parts of States, I substituted Tennessee for Illinois and Ohio.

States and Territories.	Number of Native Virginian Migrants.	Proportion of all Migrants. Per cent.	Proportion of Native Americans in the States in which the Migrants were Enumerated. Per cent.	Proportion of Migrants to every 100 Square Miles of Land. Per cent.
Maryland	26,754	3'90	3'14	271
District Columbia	29,009	4'24	18'07	225,998
West Virginia	135,599	19'84	22'51	550
Kentucky	36,515	5'34	2'28	91
Tennessee	38,059	5'57	2'49	91
North Carolina.....	19,486	2'85	1'39	40
Border States	285,422	41'74	4'66	173
Delaware	642	0'10	0'47	33
New Jersey	4,789	0'70	0'53	64
Pennsylvania	20,189	2'95	0'55	45
Ohio	51,647	7'56	1'18	127
Indiana	24,538	3'59	1'44	68
Illinois	27,904	4'10	1'12	50
Missouri	54,058	7'91	2'76	78
Arkansas	13,292	1'94	1'68	25
Mississippi	28,816	4'22	2'57	62
Alabama	24,279	3'55	1'94	47
Georgia	14,606	2'14	0'95	25
South Carolina.....	4,058	0'59	0'41	13
	268,818	39'35	1'39	54
North Eastern States	20,776	3'02	0'29	19
" Western " 	45,529	6'67	0'82	5
Pacific States	10,267	1'49	0'96	1'2
Southern States	52,524	7'65	0'20	14
	683,336	100'00	1'62	24

On examining the proportions in the last column, it should be borne in mind that all land, whether fit for cultivation or not, has been included. Had I been in the possession of data enabling me to eliminate unoccupied but cultivable land, the proportions would have come out very differently, especially in the case of the Pacific States and territories.

In illustration of the process of absorption of migrants as proceeding in the United States, I have selected Iowa. That State in 1880 had a population of 1,624,614, of whom 737,306 were natives of Iowa, and 625,659 natives of other parts of the federal territory. The migrants of American birth thus constituted 54 per cent. of the total American born population. There is not a State or a territory which has not contributed towards these inflowing currents of migrants, but the largest contributions proportionately to their means of supply were made, with one exception, by the nearest States; that exception is Missouri, which lies in the very

centre of the great westerly current, and whose resources have so largely been drawn upon in the peopling of the neighbouring State of Kansas. Out of 1,202,371 migrants who went forth from the six border States, as many as 173,662 (14.4 per cent.) were found at the last census to have taken up their residence in Iowa. If Missouri be excluded, the proportion rises to 16.7 per cent. Including within the next zone all those States and territories any portion of which lies within 300 geographical miles from the Iowa border, we find that they sent forth 2,564,261 migrants (who were alive in 1880), of whom 213,318 or 8.3 per cent. were enumerated in Iowa. A third zone, lying outside the former, but within 600 miles of Iowa, out of 4,524,763 migrants contributed 201,606, or 4.4 per cent., towards the population of that State. Lastly, there remains an outer zone, of whose natives 1,267,728 were enumerated in other parts of the union, including 46,984 (3.7 per cent.) in Iowa. If we examine into the details of each zone we shall find that there exist considerable differences. It will be found, for instance, that the frontier and maritime States furnish larger contingents than might be expected from their distance from the centre of absorption. This is more especially noticeable in the case of those New England States which are centres of dispersion. It is obvious, however, that the proportions of these States would be reduced considerably if we took account of the migrants who have left them for the neighbouring provinces of Canada. For further details I refer to the accompanying map.

If any further proof were wanted that migration in the United States proceeds on the same lines as in Europe, it is furnished by considering the interstate migration. Looking at my small diagram illustrating the migration of native Americans into Kentucky, it will be seen at once that the number of immigrants, proportionately to the whole of the American-born population, is most considerable in the border counties, and that the migratory currents flow along certain well defined geographical channels. This preponderance is most striking in the westernmost counties, which form a kind of pan-handle, and are accessible from three directions. The features are exactly the same as have been found to exist in European provinces. In America, as with us, the short-journey migrants constitute a majority, and no mere change of political boundaries would affect this fact.

The American census furnishes no information on the comparative migratoriness of men and women, but it affords us an insight into migration as it affects the large cities. I think I am safe in assuming that the time has not yet arrived in the United States when the cities, as with us, are being fed at the expense of the

rural parts of the country. Of course every one of the American cities contains within its boundaries natives of the rural parts of the State, but as the census returns only give the natives of States, we are not able to determine the proportion which they bear to the rest of the State-born population. If we are told that the inhabitants of the towns numbered in 1880 22·5 per cent. of the American born population, as compared with only 20·9 per cent. in 1870, we must bear in mind that the number of cities, during the ten years which lie between the two censuses, increased from 226 to 286. On the other hand, there can be no doubt whatever that the city populations are more largely fed by foreign immigration than are the rural parts of the country. Rural America is far more intensely national than are the cities. In 1870 the cities contained 34·8 per cent. of all foreign born persons enumerated throughout the United States, and in 1880 34·2 per cent. This decrease, slight as it is, appears to point to the fact that rural Americans are beginning to move into the cities. But for the present, at all events, it is the foreign immigrants who are most largely attracted towards them. This fact is most distinctly brought home to us if we compare the foreign element of the cities with the foreign element throughout the State in which they are situated. We shall then find that the number of foreigners in the cities (proportionately to the total population), is much larger than the number of foreigners throughout the State. The following examples illustrate this fact:—

Cities.	Foreign Element in each City.	Foreign Element throughout each State.
	Per cent.	Per cent.
New York	39·7	23·8
Philadelphia	25·0	13·7
Brooklyn.....	31·4	27·2
Chicago	40·7	18·9
Baltimore	16·9	8·8
Boston.....	31·6	24·9
St. Louis	30·0	9·8
Cincinnati	29·1	12·3
New Orleans	19·1	5·7
Washington	9·7	9·6
San Francisco.....	46·6	33·9

These cities are dispersed over all parts of the Union, and may be looked upon as fairly representing the existing conditions. Among foreigners, those who are most inclined to settle in cities are the Poles (52·43 per cent. of all enumerated throughout the Union), the Irish (45·26 per cent.), the Germans (38·71 per cent.), and the Bohemians (38·71 per cent.). Least inclined for a city life are the Norwegians, the Swedes, and the Canadians.

General Conclusions.

Having thus placed before you a vast array of facts and figures, I venture to deduce from them certain principles or laws which appear to me to guide all migratory movements. I do not question for a moment that the principal, though not the only cause of migration, has to be sought for in over-population in one part of the country, whilst there exist elsewhere undeveloped resources which hold out greater promise for remunerative labour. It is obvious that this is not the only cause. Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation), all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to "better" themselves in material respects. It is thus that the surplus population of one part of the country drifts into another part, where the development of industry and commerce, or the possibility of procuring productive land still in a state of nature, call for more hands to labour. But how is this call supplied? Suppose there exists a surplus of labour in one province and a deficiency in another, whilst the intervening provinces are able to find remunerative occupation for all their inhabitants. Will the labourer, in search of work, travel across these intervening provinces, in order to supply the deficiency? I say, no!

1. The want will be supplied from the immediate neighbourhood, and its effect will travel from province to province until it makes itself felt in the most remote among them. Of course there arise exceptional wants as also exceptional opportunities, such as have been pointed out in the case of the United States, but under normal conditions the migratory movement will be a gradual one; it will proceed step by step, and will be transmitted from province to province. I may be permitted to liken this movement to that which is produced in a cistern of water after the tap has been turned on.

2. If this really is so, then the bulk of the migrants ought to travel short distances only, and that they really do this even in America, where the conditions are quite exceptional, I believe to have amply proved. No better proof of it could be found than in the invasion of a country by foreigners, among whom long-journey migrants must obviously be more numerous than among other classes of migrants. If you will carefully examine my tables and the illustrative maps, you will find that foreign emigrants are for the most part content with going no further than the nearest foreign province or the most convenient centre of absorption. If

a map were to be drawn exhibiting the stream of migrants passing from one country into another, it would clearly show that the current lost in strength in proportion to its distance from the source of supply. Of course there may occur eddies and shallows in such a current, and localities where it hurries along or slackens its speed to deposit a larger number of the human beings who are carried along by it; but its broad features are such as I have described. The phenomenon would be still clearer to the beholder if there did not exist in most countries scattered centres of absorption which give rise to currents of their own, and divert others, until it becomes difficult to trace them.

3. I also believe that I have proved that each main current produces a counter current of feebler strength. As I have dealt at length with this branch of my inquiry in my former paper, I need say no more about it on the present occasion.

4. The question of whether our large towns grow at the expense of the rural parts of the country, even to the extent of producing a "depopulation" of the rural parts, has recently been dealt with before this Society in an able manner. My inquiries justify me in asserting that in all settled countries the towns do increase in this way. If left to their own resources, if dependent upon natural increment only, they would increase very slowly, and in some instances they would even retrograde. Nothing can prove this more clearly than the proportion which the native town element bears to the total population of our large towns. The number of natives among a thousand inhabitants is as follows in some of the principal towns of Europe:—

Antwerp	661	Kristiania	425
London	629	Budapest.....	424
Hamburg.....	543	Berlin	424
Copenhagen	524	Stockholm	416
Glasgow	513	Paris	349
Milan	484	Vienna.....	345
Rome	446		

We shall be pretty safe in assuming that one half of the inhabitants of our large towns are not natives of the town in which they dwell. If the rest of the inhabitants had been supplied in equal proportions by all the provinces of a State, then our capitals might be fairly described as presenting an epitome of a whole nation. But although long-journey migrants move by preference into our large cities, still the larger share of the increment is due to an inflow of the surrounding rural population, and this accounts for the fact that even the largest cities of Europe partake of provincial characteristics.

The local streams which carry the rural populations into our

towns are sometimes quite independent of the larger streams of migration, but generally they become merged in them. In the United States, however, and I suppose in other newly settled countries having large agricultural resources, this tendency of the rural population towards the towns is hardly perceptible. The towns there increase largely in consequence of foreign immigration. If it were possible to create or open up similar resources in the rural parts of our European countries, you would at once put a stop to the rural exodus which has been proved to be going on in nearly all parts of Europe, and which is so justly deplored.

5. Females appear to predominate among short-journey migrants. I have drawn attention to exceptions to this rule, but numerically they are insignificant. On the other hand long-journey migrants appear to predominate among females born in large towns, including London; all the great Scotch towns, Paris, Vienna, and many others. Some of these ladies are no doubt carried abroad by counter currents with a view to their adorning rural homes, but many, I am sure, are sought for their accomplishments in certain branches of industry.

6. Does migration increase? I believe so! The exception in England, where the county element rose from 74.04 per cent. in 1871 to 75.19 per cent. in 1881, is an exception accounted for by the interference of Irish immigrants with the normal process of migration.²³ Wherever I was able to make a comparison I found that an increase in the means of locomotion and a development of manufactures and commerce have led to an increase of migration. In fact you need only seek out those provinces of a country within which migration is proceeding most actively, and you will either find yourself in the great centres of human industry, or in a part of the country whose resources have only recently become available. Migration means life and progress; a sedentary population stagnation.

Concluding Remarks.

One other remark before I conclude. Does the process of migration, as illustrated by me, convey any lesson of practical utility, as, for instance, with reference to the colonisation of tropical regions? I believe that it does. I have pointed out in the course of my paper how large is the proportion of Italians who have settled in Northern Africa, as also is that of Spaniards, Southern Frenchmen, and Greeks. These migrants reached their present homes in the normal course of migration, that is to say, they are "short-journey" migrants. In exchanging their native land

²³ Census of England and Wales, iv, p. 51.

for the new country in which they have settled down, they underwent no violent alterations of climatic conditions, and we are justified in asserting that they will thrive and flourish there, instead of perishing prematurely, as have the long-journey migrants, who left Alsatia and Germany for Algeria. And what is more, these natives of southern Europe not only attain a high age in their African homes, but they also become the founders of families. It strikes me that if tropical Africa or other tropical regions are ever to be "colonised" by European races, the rules instinctively followed by most of the migrants should be adhered to. A sudden transition from the temperate to the tropical world can yield no permanent results. That world can be won only, if it is to be won, by a deliberate invasion persisted in during many generations of men. As regards northern Africa in particular, those Europeans who are already seated upon the shores of the Mediterranean appear to me to be most fit for this difficult task. Working their way inland, from stage to stage, each stage marking a generation of men, these European colonisers would follow the Nile valley and other available highroads traced out by nature, already availed of by their predecessors, until even the terrors of a tropical climate would cease to be terrors to the far-off descendants of the men who first started upon this mighty enterprise.

APPENDIX.

TABLE I.—GERMAN
Average Population of a Parish 611 ;

Geographical Provinces.	Population, 1885.	Natives of each Province throughout the Empire.	Proportion of Natives Enumerated outside their Native Province. Per cent.	Elements of the	
				Parochial. Per cent.*	Provincial. Per cent.
	No.	No.			
Berlin	1,315,287	669,705	16·70	—	42·37
Schleswig-Holstein	1,736,585	1,511,701	4·38	51·63	83·21
Schleswig-Holstein	1,150,306	1,134,645	11·10	50·10	87·13
Hamburg	518,620	317,374	2·1	46·58	53·73
Lübeck	67,658	54,682	26·3	62·75	59·93
Elsass-Lorraine	1,564,355	1,407,656	2·10	70·69	88·20
Saxony, Kingdom	3,182,003	2,993,751	4·30	59·76	89·92
Rhineland	4,344,527	4,187,866	5·10	66·02	91·52
Westphalia	2,364,996	2,287,713	7·45	64·27	91·64
Lippe	123,212	134,670	16·10	79·60	91·90
Schaumburg	37,204	38,112	17·90	71·66	84·82
Baden	1,601,255	1,574,238	6·10	75·93	92·83
Hanover	3,052,307	3,016,327	7·04	60·94	91·87
Hanover	2,172,702	2,201,984	10·80	60·85	90·40
Brunswick	372,452	352,069	4·3	60·23	78·74
Oldenburg	341,525	346,214	14·40	64·81	86·78
Bremen	165,628	116,060	3·8	53·94	60·37
Bavaria	5,420,199	5,399,079	3·20	60·86	96·46
Hesse	2,605,640	2,628,284	8·35	72·65	92·43
Hesse-Nassau	1,592,454	1,596,322	11·80	71·18	88·45
Hesse-Darmstadt	956,611	962,049	9·80	74·98	90·78
Waldeck	56,575	69,963	27·40	73·40	89·77
Württemberg	2,061,905	2,114,930	5·71	72·07	96·71
Hohenzollern	66,720	70,393	15·60	78·67	89·10
West Prussia	1,408,229	1,454,760	12·80	47·21†	90·18
Thuringia	1,055,621	1,099,024	14·66	71·88	88·82
Saxe-Weimar	313,946	337,875	21·90	72·16	84·08
„ Meiningen	214,884	218,988	15·60	74·98	85·82
„ Altenburg	161,460	175,139	24·20	65·79	82·21
„ Cob-Gotha	198,829	199,897	15·50	72·82	84·88
Reuss, sen.	55,904	55,932	23·10	74·10	77·07
„ jun.	110,598	111,193	25·80	71·70	74·49
Silesia	4,112,219	4,296,679	8·40	54·30	95·68
Brandenburg	2,342,411	2,451,955	18·30	52·33	85·50
Prussian Saxony	2,833,975	3,007,854	22·25	61·53	82·52
Saxony proper	2,428,367	2,590,717	16·60	60·76	88·60
Anhalt	248,166	244,846	22·50	59·15	76·57
Schwarzb. Sond.	73,606	81,647	25·60	75·39	82·97
„ Rudol.	83,836	89,644	21·80	76·43	84·15
Posen	1,715,618	1,825,353	13·10	49·71	92·47
East Prussia	1,959,475	2,106,413	9·60	47·41†	97·12
Pomerania	1,505,575	1,619,844	14·10	49·94	92·49
Mecklenburg	673,523	739,797	15·28	62·71	92·97
German Empire	46,855,704	46,421,179	8·92	60·32	90·23

* Estimated from the census taken in 1871.

APPENDIX.

EMPIRE.

of a Province 2,342,784.

Population.	Results of Home Migration in proportion to Total Population.		Actual Annual Increase of Population. Per cent.	Difference between Natural and Actual Growth of Population.		Geographical Provinces.
	Foreign. Per cent.	Gain. Per cent.		Loss. Per cent.	Gain. Per cent.	
1'33	49·1	—	3·16	2'16	—	Berlin
2'29	12·8	—	1·12	—	0·10	Schleswig-Holstein
2'17	1·4	—	0·41	—	0·81	Schleswig-Holstein
2'48	37·6	—	2·66	1'52	—	Hamburg
2'07	19·2	—	1·25	0'14	—	Lübeck
3'16	10·0	—	dec. 0'03	—	0·71	Elsass-Lorraine
1'51	5·1	—	1'36	0'06	—	Saxony, Kingdom
1'22	3'60	—	1·29	—	0·05	Rhineland
0'44	3'26	—	1'51	—	0·04	Westphalia
0'21	—	9'3	0·49	—	0·91	Lippe
0'17	—	2'4	1·01	—	0·27	Schaumburg
1'05	1·7	—	0'39	—	0·61	Baden
0'54	1·2	—	0·59	—	0·51	Hanover
0'51	—	1'3	0·49	—	0·59	Hanover
0'45	5·5	—	1·28	0'23	—	Brunswick
0'37	—	1'4	0·24	—	0·86	Oldenburg
1'20	30·0	—	1·11	—	0·17	Bremen
1'13	0·9	—	0·51	—	0·39	Bavaria
0'56	—	0'87	0·46	—	0·53	Hesse
0'64	—	0'24	0·48	—	0·49	Hesse-Nassau
0'46	—	0'6	0·43	—	0·56	Hesse-Darmstadt
0'17	—	23'7	0·02	—	1·14	Waldeck
0'60	—	2'57	0'23	—	0·82	Württemberg
0'40	—	5'5	dec. 0'27	—	1·05	Hohenzollern
0'66	—	3'3	0'03	—	1·42	West Prussia
0'36	—	4'11	0'72	—	0·44	Thuringia
0'33	—	7'6	0'28	—	0·79	Saxe-Weimar
0'21	—	1'9	0'74	—	0·45	„ Meiningen
0'33	—	8'5	0'81	—	0·29	„ Altenburg
0'37	—	0'50	0·42	—	0·62	„ Cob-Gotha
0'74	—	0'05	1·20	—	0·26	Reuss, sen.
0'50	—	0'51	1'75	0'44	—	„ jun.
1'05	—	4'5	0·51	—	0·42	Silesia
0'28	—	4'7	0·65	—	0·45	Brandenburg
0'23	—	6'1	1·02	—	0·29	Prussian Saxony
0'23	—	7'1	0·98	—	0·29	Saxony proper
0'26	1·3	—	1·29	—	0·10	Anhalt
0'24	—	10'9	0'69	—	0·57	Schwarzb. Sond.
0'22	—	6'9	0'86	—	0·37	„ Rudol.
0'52	—	6'4	0·14	—	1·33	Posen
0'55	—	7'5	0·26	—	0·81	East Prussia
0'19	—	7'6	dec. 0'45	—	1·72	Pomerania
0'38	—	9'8	dec. 0'11	—	1·42	Mecklenburg
0'93	0'93	—	0'70	—	0'43	German Empire

† Includes both East and West Prussia.

TABLE II.—NETHERLANDS.

Average Population of each Province 373,881 ; of each Parish 3,561.

Provinces.	Population, 31st December, 1879.	Elements of the Population.				Annual Increase of Population, 1870-79, Per cent.
		Parochial. Per cent.	Provincial. Per cent.	National. Per cent.	Foreign. Per cent.	
Drenthe	118,845	61·53	81·80	98·32	1·68	1·18
Utrecht	191,679	62·38	79·87	98·78	1·22	0·99
Groningen	253,246	62·92	91·68	98·47	1·53	1·17
South Holland	803,530	64·89	85·04	98·47	1·53	1·55
North „	679,990	67·03	84·81	98·21	1·79	1·63
Zeeland	188,635	67·71	93·58	97·19	2·81	0·60
Overijssel	274,136	68·87	86·51	98·39	1·61	0·76
Gelderland	466,805	69·52	88·67	98·01	1·99	0·76
North Brabant	466,497	69·81	92·55	98·39	1·61	0·84
Friesland	329,877	70·18	95·62	99·60	0·40	1·21
Limburg	239,453	71·10	89·73	86·27	6·73	0·67
Netherlands	4,012,693	67·22	88·51	98·09	1·91	1·14

TABLE III.—BELGIUM.

Average Population of each Parish 2,136.

Provinces.	Population, 31st December, 1880.	Elements of the Population.			Annual Increase of Population, 1876-80, Per cent.
		Parochial. Per cent.	National. Per cent.	Foreign. Per cent.	
Brabant (Brussels) ...	985,274	59·2	99·66	0·34	1·2
Liège	663,735	62·3	99·50	0·50	1·2
Antwerp	577,232	66·0	99·61	0·38	1·7
Hainaut	977,565	68·0	99·80	0·20	0·5
W. Flanders (Bruges)	694,764	68·5	99·85	0·15	0·2
Namur	322,636	71·6	99·89	0·11	0·5
E. Flanders (Ghent)..	881,815	73·4	99·90	0·10	0·5
Limburg	210,851	74·1	99·77	0·23	0·7
Luxemburg	209,118	76·0	99·62	0·38	0·5
Belgium	5,520,009	67·2	99·24	0·26	0·7

TABLE IV.—AUSTRIA.

Average Population of each Province 1,302,602; of each District 62,732; of each Parish 983.

Provinces.	Population, 31st December, 1880.	Citizens of each Province throughout the Empire.	Proportion of Citizens Enumerated outside their own Province. Per cent.	Elements of the Population.						Results of Home Migration in per Cent. of Population.	Annual Increase or Decrease of Population, 1870-80. Per cent.
				Parochial. Per cent.	District. Per cent.	Provincial Per cent.	National. Per cent.	Illyngarian. Per cent.	Other Foreign Elements. Per cent.		
Trieste.....	144,844	No. 73,308	8.78	46.85	—	88.20	2.85	13.95	Gain. 49.4	1.15	
Lower Austria	2,330,621	1,616,657	4.02	42.08	66.58	93.07	5.11	1.82	30.6	1.43	
Styria	1,213,597	1,132,697	3.83	56.46	89.75	97.76	1.76	0.48	14.9	0.58	
Salzburg	163,570	143,486	7.66	56.51	81.06	97.68	0.24	2.08	12.3	0.60	
Vorarlberg	107,373	100,453	3.07	75.93	90.68	95.63	0.06	4.31	6.5	0.37	
Bukowina	571,671	549,535	1.45	89.03	94.73	99.43	0.17	0.40	3.8	0.98	
Istria	292,006	283,996	4.89	85.77	92.50	97.31	1.33	1.36	2.7	0.82	
Upper Austria	759,620	747,950	8.32	56.53	90.28	99.01	0.26	0.73	1.5	0.23	
Tyrol	805,176	801,139	3.00	75.86	86.78	98.67	0.09	1.24	0.5	0.26	
Dalmatia.....	476,101	473,845	1.62	94.19	97.92	99.11	0.21	0.68	0.5	0.34	
Galicia.....	5,958,907	5,985,435	1.22	89.44	99.22	98.66	0.10	0.24	Loss. 0.4	0.82	
Carinthia.....	348,730	350,646	8.88	61.21	91.61	98.66	0.59	0.75	0.5	0.29	
Silesia	565,475	586,988	12.94	63.88	82.72	97.38	0.40	2.22	3.8	0.88	
Moravia	2,143,407	2,268,329	10.63	69.00	94.10	99.42	0.38	0.20	5.3	0.59	
Carniola	481,243	511,486	8.54	82.81	96.99	99.03	0.74	0.23	6.3	0.29	
Bohemia	5,580,819	5,935,786	7.67	59.58	98.54	99.39	0.14	0.47	6.7	0.71	
Görz and Gradisca.....	211,084	230,505	13.00	84.63	95.00	97.60	0.46	1.94	9.2	0.21	
Empire	22,144,244	21,794,231	5.49	69.72	93.02	98.42	0.83	0.75	Gain. 1.58	0.75	

TABLE V.—HUNGARY.

Average Population of each County 198,001 ; of each Parish 897.

Counties which Increased in Population.	Civilian Population, 1st January, 1880.	Increase, 1869-80. Per cent.	Elements of the Population.			
			Parochial. Per cent.	County. Per cent.	Foreign. Per cent.	Austrian. Per cent.
Budapest (capital)	360,551	33·3	42·4	50·3	10·86	9·35
Peterwardein*	114,115	20·5	67·3	77·4	2·47	1·76
Brod*	86,725	17·5	68·4	78·9	3·08	2·85
Kreuz (Körös)	120,416	11·3	78·2	91·4	2·16	1·95
Eisenburg (Vas)*	360,590	8·7	68·6	94·7	1·59	1·51
Yazygia	278,443	8·6	81·3	90·6	0·28	0·23
Békes	229,757	8·1	81·4	90·9	0·51	0·46
Gradiska*	61,699	8·1	70·6	83·7	2·31	2·12
Zala*	359,984	8·0	67·2	91·3	0·98	0·89
Wieselburg (Moson)*	81,370	7·8	72·1	86·8	3·40	3·12
Gran (Esztergom)	72,166	7·7	72·2	86·0	1·27	1·14
Belovár	135,962	7·7	79·5	96·9	2·90	2·76
Komorn	151,699	7·3	71·2	87·8	1·08	0·92
Somogy (Sümege)	307,448	6·9	60·1	90·5	0·68	0·58
Ödenburg*	245,787	6·8	75·5	93·0	2·32	2·15
Stuhlweissenburg (Téher)	209,410	6·7	67·1	89·9	0·80	0·70
Baranya	293,414	6·6	68·8	91·6	1·79	1·61
Tolna	234,643	6·3	75·7	92·0	0·38	0·32
Varasdin*	220,663	6·1	82·9	95·2	2·37	2·29
Hajdu	173,329	5·9	81·2	88·3	0·54	0·46
Csongrád	228,413	5·8	81·9	90·7	0·76	0·54
Raab (Győr)	109,493	5·6	66·0	85·6	1·16	1·00
Pressburg*	314,173	5·6	67·6	78·0	4·04	3·74
Sohl (Zólyom)	102,793	5·0	77·1	92·8	0·86	0·75
Agram*	258,691	4·8	73·4	86·7	5·74	5·41
Bács-Bodrog	638,063	4·6	79·8	95·7	0·41	0·31
Csanád	109,011	4·6	71·3	82·5	0·44	0·38
Bars	142,139	3·6	71·2	90·2	0·83	0·75
Petrinia (Báni)*	134,225	3·6	79·5	94·3	1·23	1·16
Veszprém	208,487	3·5	69·6	88·7	0·48	0·43
Mármaros*	227,436	3·1	85·3	96·3	1·08	0·98
Neutra (Nyitra)*	370,651	2·7	73·2	92·3	1·95	1·83
Požega	75,257	2·5	62·5	76·9	8·77	8·55
Turóc	45,933	1·2	70·3	92·0	1·12	1·06
Pest, rural	627,069	1·0	77·1	90·4	0·89	0·74
Kronstadt (Brasso)*	88,929	1·0	77·7	84·0	2·09	1·94
Krásó*	381,304	0·7	82·5	92·6	1·49	1·15
Hont	115,787	0·4	69·3	86·6	0·80	0·69
Borsod	195,311	0·1	74·4	88·4	0·69	0·61

* Frontier or maritime county.

TABLE V—*Contd.*

Counties which Decreased in Population.	Civilian Population, 1st January, 1880.	Decrease, 1869-81. Per cent.	Elements of the Population.			
			Parochial. Per cent.	County. Per cent.	Foreign. Per cent.	Austrian. Per cent.
Udvarhely	105,520	0·4	81·8	95·9	0·22	0·17
Haromszek*	125,277	0·5	80·0	97·2	0·29	0·11
Syrmia	121,893	0·6	65·1	75·3	1·31	1·09
Zips (Szepes)*	173,957	0·7	77·6	94·9	1·38	1·29
Arva*	81,643	0·8	87·3	97·3	1·06	1·03
Bistritz	95,017	1·3	82·5	92·3	1·05	0·87
Trencsén*	244,919	1·5	81·0	96·1	1·58	1·55
Verőcze	180,763	1·6	65·2	79·4	3·21	2·98
Abauj	163,786	1·7	63·9	85·4	1·32	1·16
Torda	137,031	2·5	82·0	92·9	0·13	0·60
Ung*	126,700	2·6	70·5	90·2	1·22	1·09
Torontal*	530,988	2·7	74·8	94·3	0·52	0·37
Fogaras*	84,571	2·7	88·4	95·5	0·36	0·14
Hermannstadt*	141,627	2·7	87·9	95·8	0·55	0·31
Klausenburg (Kolozs)....	196,307	2·9	77·4	90·0	0·60	0·48
Szabolcs	214,008	3·0	64·8	83·8	0·67	0·61
Ugocsa	65,377	3·1	76·5	89·1	0·31	0·22
Fiume*	102,051	3·4	78·6	88·3	7·41	6·44
Bereg*	153,615	3·5	74·6	93·8	1·04	0·99
Hunyad*	248,464	3·5	83·2	96·0	0·71	0·52
Sáros*	168,889	3·7	75·5	95·2	1·39	1·33
Heves	208,420	3·8	77·5	91·0	0·37	0·31
Nagy-Küküllő	132,454	3·8	84·9	94·2	0·50	0·34
Temes*	396,045	3·8	74·1	86·2	0·33	0·29
Maros	158,999	3·9	77·7	94·1	0·34	0·25
Nógrád	192,590	3·9	66·8	88·1	1·24	1·06
Gömör	165,268	4·7	71·5	92·6	0·39	0·34
Szatmár	293,092	5·1	73·4	92·5	0·44	0·39
Ogulin*	150,278	5·1	85·4	97·7	0·38	0·34
Weissenburg	178,021	5·6	82·9	94·0	0·29	0·23
Arad	303,964	5·6	75·9	88·5	1·00	0·83
Liptó (Liptau)*	74,758	5·7	87·8	94·5	0·57	0·52
Csik*	110,940	5·9	85·9	97·6	1·04	0·71
Zemplén	273,102	6·7	70·3	90·9	1·87	1·10
Kis-Küküllő	92,214	7·9	82·2	93·8	0·14	0·09
Szolnok	193,627	8·0	80·1	95·7	0·20	0·16
Torna	20,913	9·7	71·4	87·0	0·20	0·19
Bihar	446,777	10·7	76·2	92·9	0·49	0·42
Szilágy	171,079	12·1	79·1	95·0	0·10	0·07
Gospic (Lika)*	151,045	14·2	86·7	98·9	0·35	0·33
Total	15,642,102	+ 0·144	74·6	90·3	1·45	1·27

* Frontier or maritime county.

TABLE VI.—NORWAY.

Average Population of each District or "Amt" 90,395; of each Parish 3,515.

Districts (Amts).	Population, 31st December, 1875.	Natives of each District throughout Norway.	Proportion of Natives enumerated outside the District in which Born. Per cent.	Elements of the Population.				Result of Migration per Cent. of Popula- tion.	Annual Increase of Popula- tion, 1866-75. Per cent.
				Paro- chial. Per cent.	District. Per cent.	Nati- onal. Per cent.	Foreign. Per cent.		
Kristiania (city)...	76,054	No. 44,976	28·7	42·48	—	93·81	6·19	Gain. 40·8	3·19
Bergen (city)	33,830	28,479	25·2	63·08	—	98·62	1·38	18·8	2·10
Tromsøe	54,019	48,981	5·8	75·82	85·52	97·28	2·72	9·3	1·84
Finmark	24,075	19,283	8·2	62·46	73·60	87·68	12·32	20·0	1·74
Akershus	116,365	107,302	18·2	60·48	75·44	97·29	3·71	7·8	0·82
Nordland	104,151	98,070	4·7	77·13	89·89	98·85	1·15	5·8	1·48
Nedenaes	73,415	67,962	7·9	69·80	86·65	97·49	2·51	4·7	0·80
Jarlsberg	87,506	84,850	12·7	64·21	84·61	95·47	4·43	3·0	0·24
Stavanger	110,965	108,467	2·1	73·81	93·10	99·35	0·65	2·3	0·56
South Trondhjem..	116,804	114,634	9·4	73·96	88·96	99·45	0·55	1·9	0·67
Smaalenene	107,804	106,904	14·2	63·92	85·50	92·29	7·71	0·8	0·89
Bratsberg	83,171	83,067	7·4	74·26	92·44	98·21	1·69	0·1	0·14
South Bergenhus	119,303	121,499	8·6	82·06	93·33	99·76	0·24	Loss. 1·9	0·51
Romsdal	117,220	115,048	15·2	77·03	93·11	99·84	0·16	1·9	1·17
North Trondhjem	82,271	84,104	11·1	75·01	90·88	99·35	0·65	2·2	dec. 0·03
Buskerud	102,186	106,738	15·0	75·00	88·94	99·51	1·39	2·4	0·18
Lister and Mandal	75,121	78,332	10·4	77·15	93·39	99·21	0·79	4·3	0·17
Hedemarken	120,618	128,750	12·1	81·46	93·80	99·45	1·55	6·7	0·02
North Bergenhus	86,208	93,599	10·5	86·85	97·23	99·95	0·05	8·5	dec. 0·01
Kristians	115,814	126,965	12·6	85·82	95·83	99·69	0·31	9·6	„ 0·71
Norway	1,806,900	1,769,640	11·6	73·05	87·21	98·94	2·06	Gain. 2·1	0·59

TABLE VII.—SWEDEN.

Average Population of each District 182,627 ; of each Parish 1,818.

Districts (Län).	Population, 31st December, 1880.	Natives of each District throughout Sweden.	Proportion of Natives enumerated outside the District in which Born. Per cent.	Elements of the Population.				Result of Home Migra- tion per Cent. of Popula- tion.	Annual Increase of Popula- tion, 1871-80. Per cent.
				Paro- chial. Per cent.	District. Per cent.	Nati- onal. Per cent.	Foreign. Per cent.		
<i>Absorption.</i>								Gain.	
Stockholm (city)	167,847	93,011	25.0	41.56	41.56	99.02	1.98	44.59	2.18
Gefleborg	178,077	153,866	5.8	80.49	83.98	99.71	0.29	10.73	1.94
Göteborg and Bohus	260,483	235,171	4.9	78.18	85.89	99.25	0.75	9.72	1.18
Vesternorrland	168,131	154,684	3.6	85.71	88.70	99.16	0.84	8.00	2.31
Stockholm (rural)	146,182	136,653	18.4	74.24	76.36	99.69	0.31	6.52	1.14
Jemtland.....	83,282	80,603	4.3	91.28	92.58	98.93	1.07	3.22	1.73
Vestmanland	128,342	124,513	16.1	76.07	81.40	99.91	0.09	2.99	1.20
Malmöhus	348,738	339,680	6.3	81.63	91.54	99.18	0.82	2.60	1.01
Uppsala	110,749	108,311	18.8	73.33	79.40	99.82	0.18	2.20	1.01
Gotland	54,550	53,639	6.6	86.26	91.88	99.87	0.13	1.67	0.11
Norrbottn	90,753	89,753	2.0	97.16	96.95	99.12	0.88	1.10	1.78
Halland	135,018	134,756	8.0	88.09	91.80	99.71	0.29	0.19	0.62
<i>Dispersion.</i>								Loss.	
Blekinge	137,360	137,810	9.0	85.26	91.22	99.74	0.26	0.33	0.87
Östergötland	266,984	274,373	12.0	82.98	90.43	99.86	0.14	2.77	0.49
Kopparnsberg	190,059	195,902	10.1	90.18	92.69	99.79	0.21	3.07	0.80
Kristianstad	230,474	237,792	11.6	88.95	91.22	99.61	0.39	3.17	0.38
Vesterbotten	106,432	110,567	5.8	96.38	97.93	99.85	0.15	3.88	1.48
Södermanland	147,076	154,771	18.0	79.95	86.24	99.86	0.14	5.27	0.78
Kalmar	244,997	259,521	12.0	88.04	93.24	99.88	0.12	5.93	0.50
Jönköping	196,159	207,971	13.5	82.09	91.70	99.85	0.15	6.02	0.87
Örebro.....	182,193	194,475	16.3	85.40	89.39	99.91	0.09	6.74	0.84
Elfsborg	288,048	307,920	12.4	91.07	93.69	99.86	0.14	6.90	0.34
Skaraborg	257,676	276,366	11.7	90.84	94.73	99.92	0.08	7.26	0.57
Vermland	268,315	289,043	11.7	91.68	95.07	99.57	0.43	7.73	0.30
Kronoberg	169,703	182,895	13.9	91.41	92.78	99.65	0.35	7.77	0.66
	4,557,628*	4,539,046	11.1	79.92	88.54	99.59	0.41	Gain. 0.41	0.91

* Exclusive of 8,040 persons whose birth-place is not known.

TABLE VIII.—FRANCE, 1886.

Average Population of a Department 435,985; of a Parish 1,058.

Departments.	Elements of the Population.				Increase or Decrease of Population, 1881-86. Per cent.	Gain or Loss by Home and International Migration, &c., 1881-86. Per cent.
	Parochial. Per cent.	Departmental. Per cent.	National. Per cent.	Foreign. Per cent.		
Seine-et-Oise	41.1	60.5	96.86	3.14	6.98	Gain.
„ (Paris)	31.4	38.9	92.28	7.72	5.78	4.87
Rhône	46.9	65.2	97.29	2.71	4.22	4.74
Maritime Alpes	64.1	77.7	86.50	13.41	5.06	4.73
Haute Rhin (Belfort)	48.1	63.7	70.02	19.98	7.43	4.35
Bouches-du-Rhône ..	54.6	65.9	91.04	8.96	2.69	4.16
Gironde	54.3	72.6	90.07	9.93	3.68	3.68
Indre-et-Loire	49.8	79.2	99.58	0.42	3.58	3.04
Meurthe et Moselle..	49.1	73.0	90.67	9.33	2.95	2.27
Aube	55.20	80.5	98.64	1.36	0.60	2.00
Seine-et-Marne	48.8	73.5	96.99	3.01	1.76	1.82
Eure-et-Loire.....	50.3	82.8	99.42	0.58	1.29	1.81
Marne	47.4	74.0	99.26	3.74	1.82	1.45
Finistère.....	73.4	95.2	99.93	0.07	3.86	1.42
Seine Inférieure.....	44.8	83.6	98.95	1.05	2.38	1.17
Drome.....	58.1	85.6	99.35	0.65	0.27	1.05
Meuse	60.6	82.2	98.28	2.72	0.73	0.99
Haute Garonne	64.3	84.0	99.01	0.99	0.66	0.91
Vosges.....	59.9	86.4	95.83	4.17	1.68	0.85
Var	58.9	77.1	93.71	6.29	- 1.68	0.84
Hautes Alpes	71.6	87.2	97.26	2.74	0.93	0.83
Puy du Dôme.....	74.5	94.5	99.83	0.17	0.87	0.82
Cantal	74.4	92.1	99.82	0.18	2.35	0.81
Loire Inférieure ..	70.1	90.4	99.79	0.21	2.92	0.81
Maine-et-Loire	56.5	85.2	99.80	0.20	2.78	0.69
Pas-de-Calais	64.7	87.0	98.16	1.84	4.21	0.63
Vaucluse	67.7	87.2	99.47	0.53	- 0.97	0.61
Hérault	88.3	95.4	98.84	1.16	- 0.56	0.56
Calvados	53.8	84.6	99.25	0.75	- 0.59	0.53
Aude	58.0	82.8	97.39	2.61	1.26	0.47
Lot-et-Garonne	53.1	85.3	98.49	1.51	- 1.44	0.41
Tarn-et-Garonne ...	68.1	89.2	99.67	0.33	- 1.88	0.41
Gard	86.8	93.9	99.20	0.80	0.35	0.24
Eure	46.2	79.6	99.23	0.77	- 1.50	0.20
Oise.....	48.9	77.1	97.23	2.77	- 1.35	0.19
Sarthe	46.4	87.0	99.82	0.18	- 0.64	0.15
Côte d'Or	55.0	82.8	99.06	0.94	- 0.33	0.0
Loiret	53.5	80.6	99.62	0.38	1.72	0.0
Haute Vienne.....	61.9	90.7	99.91	0.09	3.96	0.0
Yonne	64.0	87.1	99.51	0.49	- 0.47	0.0
Ain	58.0	87.1	98.61	1.39	0.26	0.06
Manche	61.2	92.2	99.28	0.22	- 1.05	0.09
Nord	60.4	82.5	89.48	10.52	4.16	0.10
Creuse	68.3	94.4	99.92	0.08	2.22	0.10
Corsica	85.6	95.0	96.63	3.37	2.16	0.14
Aisne	55.2	84.8	98.52	1.48	- 0.17	0.27
Somme	64.5	89.0	99.41	0.59	- 0.34	0.29
Indre	60.6	89.6	99.84	0.16	2.94	0.29
Basses Alpes	69.7	89.9	97.39	2.61	- 1.84	0.31

TABLE VIII—*Contd.*

Departments.	Elements of the Population.				Increase or Decrease of Population, 1881-86. Per cent.	Gain or Loss by Home and International Migration, &c., 1881-86. Per cent.
	Parochial. Per cent.	Departmental. Per cent.	National. Per cent.	Foreign. Per cent.		
Vendée	63·8	94·0	99·93	0·07	3·14	Loss.
Loir-et-Cher	56·9	86·3	99·81	0·19	1·27	0·41
Corrèze	84·4	95·8	99·99	0·01	2·97	0·44
Orne	53·2	87·6	99·83	0·17	- 2·36	0·45
Pyrenées Orientale ..	82·3	94·1	96·87	3·18	1·14	0·51
Savoie	73·8	90·0	96·95	3·05	0·37	0·52
Isère	67·6	92·3	99·43	0·57	0·24	0·62
Ile-et-Vilaine	62·8	90·0	99·68	0·32	0·96	0·68
Haute Loire	77·1	93·8	99·94	0·06	- 1·14	0·82
„ Savoie	76·4	83·0	96·76	3·24	0·34	0·85
Morbihan	71·3	92·7	99·95	0·05	2·61	0·93
Tarn	66·1	92·7	99·88	0·12	- 0·13	0·98
Ardennes	58·2	83·3	93·12	6·88	- 0·27	0·99
Deux-Sèvres	57·0	87·6	99·82	0·18	1·04	1·03
Allier	52·1	87·5	99·78	0·22	1·88	1·04
Hautes Pyrenées ...	74·2	91·1	98·93	1·07	- 0·20	1·07
Nièvre	59·8	88·4	99·82	0·18	0·02	1·14
Gers	55·4	86·5	98·41	1·59	2·54	1·21
Doubs	59·6	85·2	97·31	2·69	0·04	1·24
Charente	52·4	87·1	99·86	0·14	- 1·17	1·33
Mayenne	52·7	88·9	99·91	0·09	- 1·40	1·49
Cher	54·6	88·1	99·86	0·14	1·14	1·81
Jura	61·1	87·1	98·58	1·42	1·39	1·82
Vienne	61·0	88·4	99·80	0·20	0·73	1·89
Ardèche	68·1	93·3	99·84	0·16	- 0·37	1·91
Aveyron	72·0	22·6	99·86	0·14	- 0·18	1·94
Côte du Nord	72·1	96·1	99·91	0·09	0·11	2·02
Charente Inférieure.	68·7	92·9	99·50	0·50	- 0·77	2·04
Basses Pyrenées	71·4	90·8	97·00	3·00	- 0·32	2·14
Loire	56·7	80·0	99·62	0·38	0·59	2·21
Haute Saône	65·1	88·9	98·71	1·39	- 1·68	2·26
Lot	97·1	99·4	99·88	0·12	- 3·12	2·42
Haute Marne	58·4	82·8	98·66	1·34	- 2·78	2·45
Saône-et-Loire	55·7	90·3	99·78	0·32	0·05	2·46
Ariège	76·5	94·0	99·83	0·17	- 1·28	2·46
Landes	67·9	85·0	99·72	0·28	0·38	3·00
Dordogne	67·5	91·0	99·22	0·78	- 0·57	3·51
Lozère	77·9	95·1	99·20	0·80	- 1·60	5·12
France	56·6	79·7	97·47	2·53	1·40	Gain. 0·45

TABLE IX.—DOMINION OF CANADA.
Average Population of each Province 540,600; Natives 464,436.

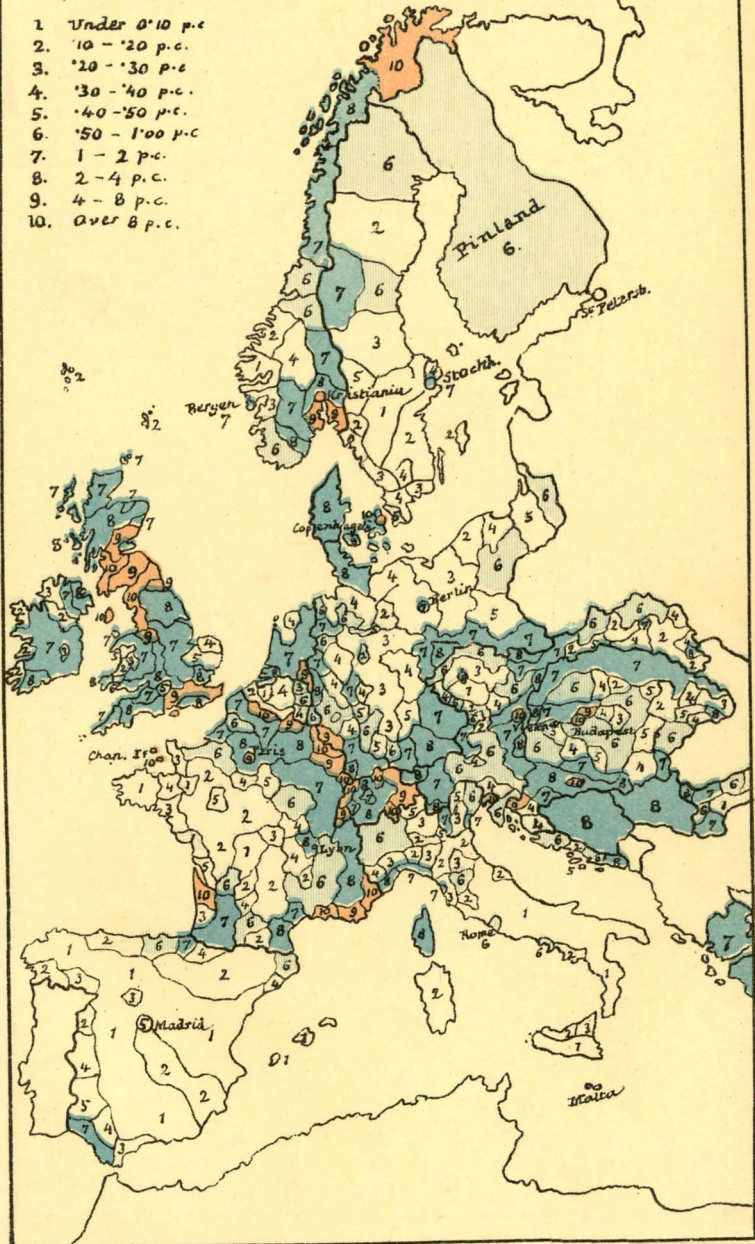
Provinces.	Population, 1881.	Natives of each Province throughout the Dominion.	Elements of the Population.				Results of Migration. Gain (+) or Loss (-).	
			Provincial. Per cent.	Dominion. Per cent.	American (United States). Per cent.	Other Foreign. Per cent.	Including Foreign Elements. Per cent.	Including Natives only. Per cent.
Prince Edward Island	108,891	101,047	87.46	91.25	0.56	8.19	+ 7.20	- 1.69
Nova Scotia	440,572	420,088	92.08	95.91	0.68	3.41	+ 4.65	- 1.82
New Brunswick	321,288	288,265	86.43	90.27	1.59	8.14	+ 13.98	+ 0.59
Quebec	1,859,027	1,327,809	98.39	94.65	1.43	3.92	+ 1.28	- 3.55
Ontario	1,923,228	1,467,988	74.65	77.65	2.37	19.98	+ 22.63	+ 1.71
Manitoba	65,954	19,590	27.32	74.34	2.66	23.00	+ 70.35	+ 60.02
British Columbia	49,459	32,275	65.06	70.62	4.64	24.84	+ 34.71	+ 7.70
Territories	56,446	58,430	91.74	95.54	0.21	4.25	- 3.52	- 8.43
Dominion	4,324,810	3,715,492	82.88	85.91	1.79	14.09	+ 14.09

WESTERN EUROPE. DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGNERS.

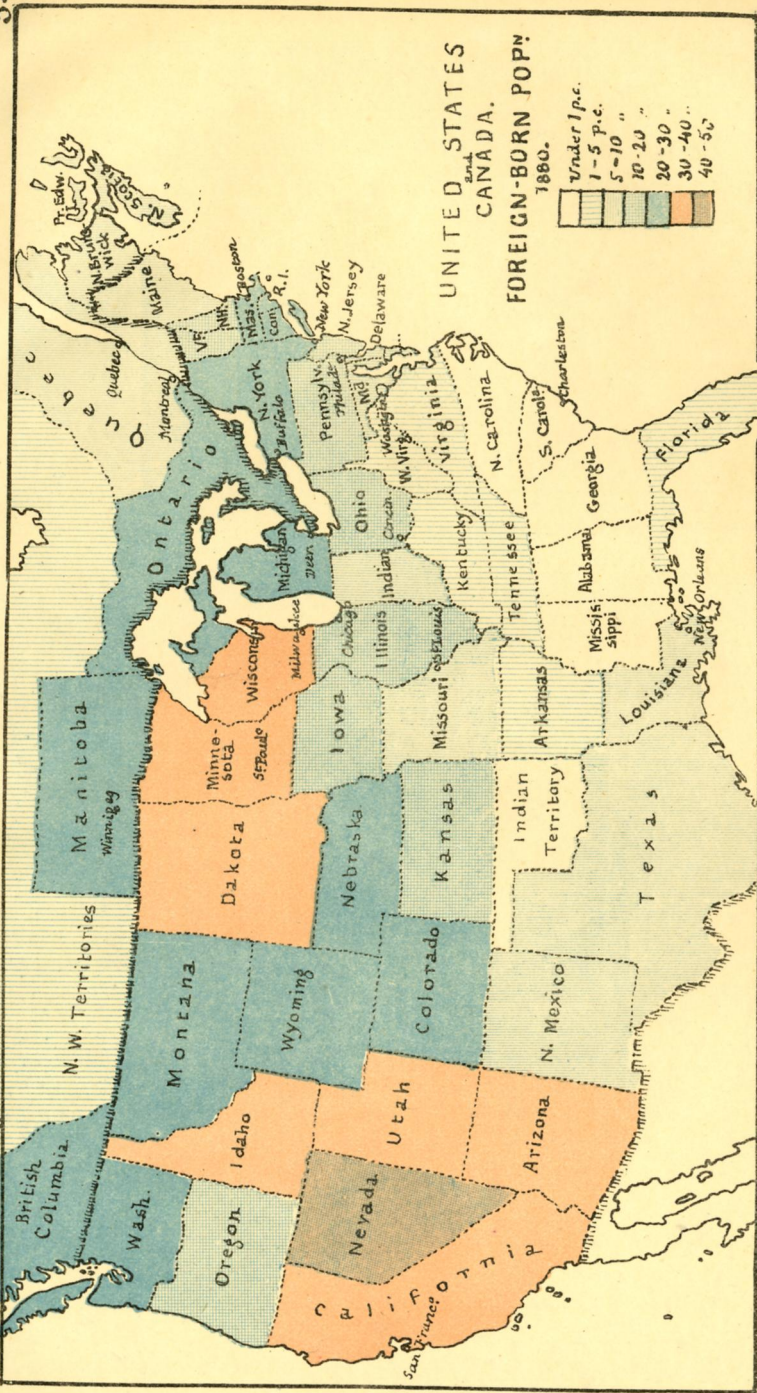
All Persons born outside the State in which they were enumerated are counted as "Foreigners."

Proportion to Total Pop.

- 1. Under 0.10 p.c.
- 2. 10 - 20 p.c.
- 3. 20 - 30 p.c.
- 4. 30 - 40 p.c.
- 5. 40 - 50 p.c.
- 6. 50 - 100 p.c.
- 7. 1 - 2 p.c.
- 8. 2 - 4 p.c.
- 9. 4 - 8 p.c.
- 10. Over 8 p.c.



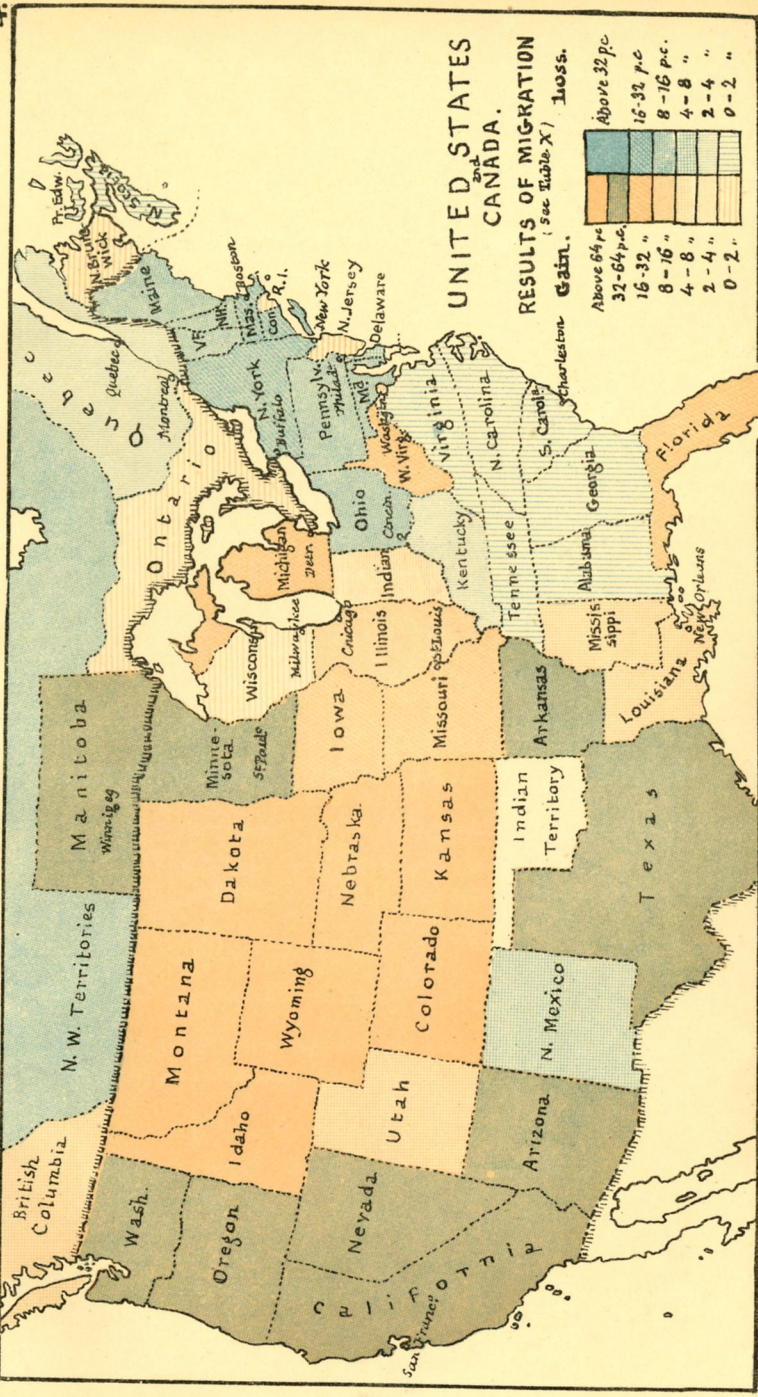
Ravenstein: Laws of Migration.



George Philip & Son, London & Liverpool.

The U.S. & Canada to be looked upon as two distinct Maps.

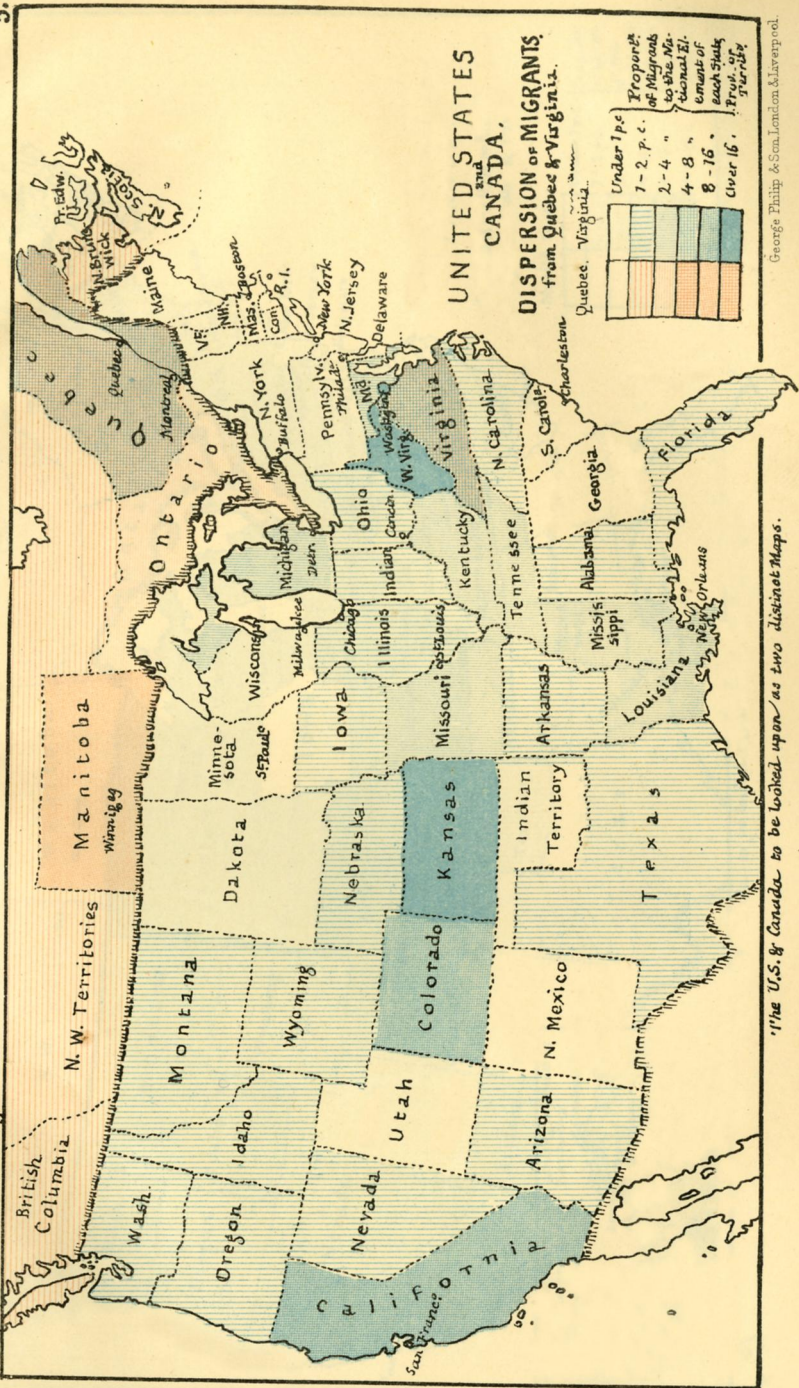
Ravenstein: Laws of Migration.



George Philip & Son, London & Liverpool.

The U.S. & Canada to be looked upon as two distinct Maps.

Ravenstein: Laws of Migration.



George Philip & Son, London & Liverpool.

The U.S. & Canada to be looked upon as two distinct Maps.

TABLE X.—THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
Average Population of each State or Territory 1,067,144.

State or Territory.	Elements of the Population, 1880.			Results of Migration.*	
	State. Per cent.	National. Per cent.	Foreign. Per cent.	Among Natives only. Per cent.	Including Persons of Foreign Birth. Gain or Loss (—). Per cent.
Colorado	13·6	79·5	20·5	Gain. 79·4	83·6
Dakota	13·1	61·7	38·3	75·2	84·7
Wyoming	12·0	71·9	28·1	72·8	82·6
Montana	18·4	70·6	29·4	68·7	77·9
Kansas	23·5	88·9	11·1	68·5	71·9
Nebraska	21·2	77·1	22·9	68·0	75·0
Idaho	18·4	69·4	30·6	65·9	76·2
Arizona	2·0	60·3	39·7	62·7	77·5
Nevada	22·0	58·8	41·2	50·1	70·6
Washington	25·8	79·0	21·0	45·4	70·2
Oregon	38·9	82·5	17·5	43·4	53·3
Texas	54·7	92·8	7·2	38·1	42·5
California	37·7	66·1	33·9	37·8	58·7
Columbia (district)	45·4	90·4	9·6	36·2	42·4
Arkansas	54·4	98·7	1·3	34·2	35·1
Minnesota	38·7	95·7	34·3	33·4	56·2
Iowa	45·4	83·9	16·1	29·9	41·3
West Virginia	64·2	97·1	2·9	26·7	23·8
Michigan	49·2	76·3	23·7	26·2	43·8
Florida	64·4	96·3	3·7	25·1	27·5
Missouri	58·5	90·2	9·8	19·9	27·7
Illinois	55·6	81·1	18·9	9·2	26·4
Louisiana	77·5	94·3	5·7	7·8	13·2
Utah	56·7	69·4	30·6	7·8	36·0
Mississippi	76·3	99·2	0·8	5·8	6·6
Indiana	68·4	92·7	7·3	2·0	9·3
Wisconsin	52·7	69·2	30·8	1·7	32·0
Rhode Island	55·2	72·8	27·2	0·4	27·0
New Jersey	64·1	80·3	19·7	0·3	19·9
Massachusetts	61·0	75·1	24·9	Loss. 1·2	— 23·9
New Mexico	84·5	93·3	6·7	2·0	+ 4·8
Alabama	60·4	99·3	0·7	5·4	— 4·5
Connecticut	63·9	79·1	20·9	9·5	+ 13·4
Georgia	90·5	99·3	0·7	12·2	— 11·5
Maryland	81·5	91·2	8·8	12·4	— 2·4
Delaware	75·4	93·6	6·4	12·8	— 6·1
Pennsylvania	79·0	86·3	13·7	13·3	+ 2·3
Kentucky	85·0	96·7	3·3	16·8	— 12·6
Tennessee	84·5	98·9	1·1	17·2	— 15·9
New York	69·9	76·2	23·8	17·3	+ 6·5
North Carolina	96·1	99·7	0·3	17·3	— 17·0
Ohio	70·7	87·7	12·3	17·8	— 3·2
South Carolina	95·6	99·3	0·7	19·8	— 18·7
Maine	87·7	90·9	9·1	26·3	— 14·7
New Hampshire	69·9	86·6	13·4	29·4	— 7·9
Virginia	94·8	99·0	1·0	41·4	— 40·1
Vermont	75·7	87·7	12·3	47·6	— 29·0
	67·37	86·69	13·71	—	+ 13·71

* Computed as follows: Colorado, native American population, 154,537; natives of Colorado throughout the Union, 31,827; hence, gain 122,710 = 79·4 per cent. of the native population of 1880. Or, total population, 194,327; natives of Colorado, 31,827; hence, a gain of 162,490 = 83·6 per cent.

DISCUSSION *on* MR. RAVENSTEIN'S PAPER.

MR. N. A. HUMPHREYS said that the paper to which they had just listened was one to be studied rather than discussed. There was however one point of interest which had not been dealt with in the paper, namely, the destination of all the emigrants from Europe, and especially from the United Kingdom. The last census report showed that nearly 4 millions of the natives of the United Kingdom were known to be in 1881 living elsewhere. One peculiarity with regard to the emigration from England was that, so far as the census authorities had been able to find out, only 100,000 of the natives of the United Kingdom were in 1881 living in Europe, whereas nearly 3 millions were living in the United States, and nearly another million in the colonies. With regard to the contrast between England and France, the United Kingdom lost on the balance by migration between 1871 and 1881 164,000 persons, while France, on the other hand, in part compensation for the low birth-rate, actually increased its population by the balance of migration to the extent of 149,000. No doubt Mr. Ravenstein was correct in assuming that one of the reasons why England contained such a small proportion of foreigners was its insular position. It was an interesting fact that whereas England had supplied prior to 1881 4 millions to the population of different parts of the world, she really only contributed to the population of France the small amount of 36,447 persons. After carefully reading Mr. Ravenstein's former paper, and listening to the present one, he arrived at the conclusion that migration was rather distinguished for its lawlessness than for having any definite law. He could not recognise any law from the figures that Mr. Ravenstein had brought before them other than the simple fact that overcrowding of population was a prelude to dispersion. The difficulty however of establishing the existence of a law of migration did not detract from the great value of the figures which Mr. Ravenstein had submitted to them.

MR. T. H. ELLIOTT said that the paper had rather whetted than appeased his curiosity, inasmuch as any laws of migration could probably be supported by a much larger number of proofs than were as yet available. It ought he thought to be remembered that in a country with a high birth-rate it was possible that there might be both a considerable increase in the population and a large amount of emigration to other countries, and it therefore by no means followed that a country of dispersion might not be in a better position than a country of absorption. Of course in any consideration of the laws of migration the economic conditions of a country must also be taken into account. Where, as in America the attractions of virgin soil are existing, the population would of

course flow thereto. He thought that too much importance had been attached to the blue patches on the border line. A great many facts had been submitted to the meeting, and he hoped that Mr. Ravenstein would on a future occasion analyse the causes which led to the existence of those facts.

Mr. STEPHEN BOURNE said that although Mr. Ravenstein had spoken of "Laws of Migration," he had not formulated them in such a categorical order that they could be criticised. It was quite clear that the migration must be governed not by the size of the space included within the border line, but by the length of that border line. The only law with which they were conversant was that where a population treads upon each other's toes, there was a disposition to seek more open spaces, and that was the reason why England sent forth so many of her inhabitants. If there was any peculiarity, such as the gold fields of Australia, or the virgin soil of the west of America, of course people would be attracted there. If Mr. Ravenstein would kindly collect together and give a tabular statement of the two classes of countries, those of dispersion and those of absorption, there would be something that they could investigate critically. Mr. Ravenstein had pointedly asked him (Mr. Bourne) why it was that Maine was a country of great dispersion? The real reason was that Maine was one of the earliest settled provinces of America, and as the inhabitants were prone to seek for unexhausted lands, they followed the general rule and migrated towards the other seaboard. The theory that tropical Africa must be colonised from the old countries on its borders was not consonant with the history of the case. No doubt the first instinct of persons who migrated was to choose the country which involved the least amount of labour and expense in travelling; but in a country like England, having portions of the empire all over the world, emigration was not confined to any particular locality. Our insular position too afforded more easy transit to far distances. Tropical Africa was not at all likely to be settled from the bordering nations of Europe, because those were not the nations in which the migratory spirit was most prominent. He thought that tropical Africa would be reached from the Cape of Good Hope and the western and eastern coasts, following the streams into the interior, rather than from the old and decaying nations that bordered the Mediterranean. He did not quite gather any general law as to why female migrants were increasing so much. He could understand that they did not go long distances as a rule, because they were not so qualified for travel as the male sex; but the reason why females migrated from large towns into the country was because the facilities of education and association attracted them from outlying districts.

Sir R. W. RAWSON thought it was very doubtful that the peopling of Africa was likely to proceed from the north southward. The Sahara would be a barrier to the extension of population southward, except down the Nile. He agreed with Mr. Elliott

that migration might be going on as actively within the interior of a county or country as across the borders. But the governments of different countries, and county councils and poor law boards within smaller spheres, were interested in ascertaining the number of persons who entered and passed out of their jurisdiction. France was a country of absorption to such an extent, that the government there must in regard to its politics take into consideration the changes in the social condition of its population; while on the other hand Germany was a country of dispersion; it was sending out hundreds of thousands a year into foreign countries. Four or five years ago he said that there were ten and a half millions of Germans existing out of Germany, and Mr. Ravenstein was then of opinion that he had understated the number. The emigration of Italy to South America, to France, to Germany, must have an influence in the consideration of the politics of Italy and Europe.

Mr. A. K. DONALD wished to ask Mr. Ravenstein whether he did not think that the excessive emigration from Germany was very largely due to the strain of military service there? He was of opinion that most of the artizan class who left Germany could get quite as good a living there as in England or in America. He did not mean that nominally their wages were as much, but the amount of practical comfort they had was quite as great. One of the speakers seemed to think that migration was caused by over-populated countries spilling their population. Most people would think London over populated, and yet there was a very large influx. A similar state of things prevailed in other capital towns, where living was dear, and where employment often could not be obtained. He was under the impression that very often a spirit of adventure had quite as much to do with the migration as the mere desire for more bread and butter. Too much had been made in the paper of the division lines as showing anything very extraordinary, because such lines might be made on any part of any country with the same results. Before the laws of migration were discovered the causes of emigration must be known, and he fancied that those in the first place would be found to be of an economical character, and to a secondary extent due to the spirit of adventure which might exist in some races more than in others. It was a very interesting fact that as a general rule emigrants did not go very far, but simply pushed from province to province; this pointed to the influx of foreigners into England as one of the causes of the emigration of Englishmen.

Mr. R. HAMILTON considered that Mr. Ravenstein had made a very satisfactory and interesting contribution to that generalisation of particulars which would enable them to make a law of migration hereafter. It was an exceedingly difficult thing to know where to draw the line in preliminary investigations of this nature. It was satisfactory to note how easy means of communication between different countries was leading to more intimate intercourse in very many ways. It sometimes happened that the wants of one country were curiously supplied by the workmen of another.

Thus for instance in the construction of the Forth Bridge, notwithstanding the large amount of excellent labour to be obtained in England, Italian workmen had the preference in laying in comparatively deep water the foundations of the enormous buttresses required for that great work. English labourers are in their turn often required to do special kinds of work abroad. The subject of migration is a broad one, and important movements are going on in many other parts of the world. There was a strong migration from the north-west of Africa down by the valley of the Niger. There was also a strong influx on the eastern coast of the same continent from various causes, and the migratory spirit, which was so prominent all over the world ages ago, seemed to be very active at the present time. Many different phenomena would have to be generalised before they could have what in the proper sense of the word could be called a law of migration.

Major CRAIGIE asked Mr. Ravenstein if it would not be possible to give some more information with regard to the movements of the foreign element in the United States. So large a portion of the population of the newly settled Western States was made up of European immigrants, that a record of their primary destination and subsequent settlement would add to the value of the paper.

Mr. RAVENSTEIN, in reply, said that in preparing some of his maps of North America, he had left the foreign element out of account, because it followed quite different rules from the native population. The object was to show that the invasion of a district decreased in strength as the interior was approached. He did not for one moment claim to have discovered any great laws, and he had expressly stated that the origin of migration was economical. All he had tried to show was how the first impulse was being brought into action. It was next to impossible to trace Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans throughout the world. Some figures in the Canadian census had struck him as expressing impossibilities. That census pretended not only to give the elements of population according to birth, but to trace them back for generations. However, that was so large an inquiry that he must leave it to some other member of the Society. Of course he had considered birth-rates, as otherwise he could not have computed the absolute loss and gain in the population of a country. He thought that an inquiry into the birth-rates and natural growth of large towns, as compared with what was going on in rural parts, would furnish excellent materials for a valuable paper, and would bring forth some very strange results. He had no reason to think that emigration from Germany was largely due to military service. If it were there ought to be no emigration from this country, but a large emigration from France, where the conditions of military service were even more onerous than they were in Germany.
