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CHAPTER XII

MIGRATION ACROSS THE FRONTIERS OF GERMANY.¹

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INTRODUCTION

Whether reliable statistics of migration across the boundaries of a country are possible depends largely upon the nature of the boundaries. Sea or ocean barriers afford the most favorable conditions. Then the migrants are concentrated at a few seaports where they can be easily controlled. Land boundaries on the other hand can be passed at many points and an accurate statistical record of overland migration meets with difficulties, which are all the greater since it is necessary to distinguish true emigration and immigration involving a permanent change of residence from all other crossings of the boundary. The attempt to secure a detailed statistical record from every person who crosses the boundary would interfere with traffic and be regarded by the public as objectionable.

These considerations show why European countries as a rule have good and detailed statistics of emigration by sea, but hardly any statistics of migration across land frontiers. Germany lies at the heart of Europe and its inhabitants have an active commerce with their neighbors. Of its total boundary the sea forms less than three-tenths, and by land it touches about a dozen different countries. The difficulties are increased because boundaries run through regions where German is spoken and where there is an active intercourse between the inhabitants on both sides of the line. To record this intercourse and distinguish statistically true emigration and immigration is far from easy. Furthermore, after the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved and before the North German Confederation was formed in 1867, the German states regarded one another as foreign countries, although they had been organized in 1834 into

¹[In connection with this Chapter compare *International Migrations*, Vol. I, pages 85, 114ff, 136, 184, 194, 230ff, 235, 297, 686 ff., 691-709, and elsewhere. The slightly amended German version of this chapter was published in *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv*, vol. 20, pp. 161 ff.; vol. 21, pp. 37 ff (Jena, 1930).—Ed.]

the German Customs Union. But the inhabitants of these states were of the same race and nationality and spoke the same language. The attempt to gather migration statistics in some of them by combining the arrivals and departures reported to the police with the acquisitions and losses of citizenship could not succeed. Much migration took place without the knowledge of the officials to whom reports were to be made. The number of those who migrated exceeded the number of the migrants reported to the police or the number who gained or lost citizenship, so greatly that when the German Empire was formed it was proposed merely to continue or set up statistics of overseas migration.

The bases for a balance of German migration are furnished by the periodical censuses and the yearly statistics of births and deaths.

The changes in a population during the interval between two censuses are of four kinds, namely: (1) Births, (2) Deaths, (3) Immigration, (4) Emigration. Births and deaths are recorded and from them the natural increase of population or the excess of births over deaths can be determined.

Overseas emigration, the most important kind of emigration, is reported, total emigration and immigration are not directly recorded.

If one compares the actual increase of population between two censuses with the excess of births over deaths during the same period, the difference between the two gives the change due to the balance between emigration and immigration. If the natural increase of population is larger than the total increase, there has been an excess of emigration over immigration, and vice versa.

Censuses have been taken in Germany at regular intervals since 1816. In most of the German states, including Prussia, they were taken every three years. With the formation of the German Customs Union in 1834 the triennial census was introduced throughout the territory of the Customs Union. After the Empire was set up in 1871, quinquennial censuses were introduced and taken regularly until 1910.¹ The war brought a long interruption. The war censuses in 1916, 1917 and 1919 are useless for the present problem. The first general census after the war within the present limits of Germany was taken on June 16, 1925.²

Yearly statistics of births and deaths in the Empire since its formation and for the same territory back to 1840 are obtainable.³

¹W. Beukemann, "Methode und Umfang der deutschen Volkszählungen"; also *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Bd. 201.

²F. Burgdörfer, "Die Volks-, Berufs-, und Betriebszählung 1925."

³Becker and Schumann, "Stand und Bewegung der Bevölkerung des Deutschen Reichs und fremder Staaten in den Jahren 1841 bis 1886."

In contrast to the actual increase of the population, which has been determined back to 1816, the natural increase can be followed back only to 1840. Thus the balance of migration can be computed only since that year.

Actual and Natural Increase of Population, 1840-1910

Within the territory of pre-war Germany the population increased as shown in Table 119.

TABLE 119.

POPULATION AND RATE OF ANNUAL INCREASE IN PRE-WAR GERMANY,
1840-1910.
(In Thousands)

Date	Population	Average Annual Increase per 1,000
Dec. 1840	32,785	....
Dec. 1843	33,722	9.27
Dec. 3, 1846	34,733	9.73
Dec. 3, 1849	35,128	3.83
Dec. 3, 1852	35,930	7.35
Dec. 3, 1855	36,112	1.78
Dec. 3, 1858	36,961	7.85
Dec. 3, 1861	38,137	10.45
Dec. 3, 1864	39,390	10.57
Dec. 3, 1867	{ 40,181 ^a 40,089 ^b	} 6.58
Dec. 1, 1871	41,059 ^c	6.01
Dec. 1, 1875	42,727	9.96
Dec. 1, 1880	45,234	11.40
Dec. 1, 1885	46,836	7.04
Dec. 1, 1890	49,429	10.69
Dec. 2, 1895	52,280	11.21
Dec. 1, 1900	56,367	15.05
Dec. 1, 1905	60,641	14.61
Dec. 1, 1910	64,926	13.65

^aUntil 1867 resident population. ^bFrom 1867 to 1910 the *de facto* population.

^cIncluding 48,642 German soldiers enumerated in France.

The inhabitants in the states which in 1871 formed the Empire amounted in 1840 to 32.8 million, and in 1910 to 64.9 million; thus it nearly doubled in the seventy years.

This rapid increase was due mainly to the multiplication of the German people and not to immigration. Indeed, they lost by

emigration a large part of their natural increase. In some regions and years emigration was greater than the excess of births, so that there was a temporary decline in population. The actual increase of population was 32.1 million; the natural increase was 37.1 million. Thus in the 70 years before the last war Germany lost about 5 million people by excess of emigrants over immigrants.

In that period the emigration from Germany was more than 5 million. There was little immigration. Only in two census periods, 1895-1900 and 1900-1905, did immigration slightly exceed emigration. In every other census period there was more emigration than immigration.

Emigration sometimes carried off one-third, but on the average only one-seventh of the natural increase. A summary of the actual and the natural increase, 1841-1910, and of the balance of migration derived therefrom is furnished by Table 120.

TABLE 120.
ESTIMATED BALANCE BETWEEN EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION FOR PRE-WAR GERMANY,
1841-1910.
(In Thousands)

Period	Annual Increase in			Rate per thousand Inhabitants		
	Enu- merated population	Excess of births over deaths	Excess of immi- gration (+) of emi- gration(-)	Total Increase	Natural Increase	Migration increase (+) or decrease (-)
1841-3	309	329	-20	9.27	9.91	-0.64
1844-6	333	367	-34	9.73	10.71	-0.98
1847-9	134	236	-102	3.83	6.74	-2.92
1850-2	261	359	-92	7.35	10.11	-2.76
1853-5	64	222	-158	1.78	6.16	-4.38
1856-8	287	331	-44	7.85	9.07	-1.21
1859-61	393	438	-46	10.45	11.66	-1.21
1862-4	410	442	-32	10.57	11.39	-0.83
1865-7	262	370	-109	6.58	9.31	-2.73
1868-71	239	361	-122	5.9	8.9	-3.0
1872-5	417	497	-80	9.96	11.87	-1.91
1876-80	501	578	-76	11.40	13.13	-1.73
1881-5	324	520	-196	7.04	11.30	-4.26
1886-90	515	580	-66	10.69	12.06	-1.37
1891-5	570	660	-90	11.21	12.98	-1.78
1896-1900	817	799	+19	15.05	14.70	+0.35
1901-5	855	844	+11	14.61	14.43	+0.18
1906-10	857	889	-32	13.65	14.16	-0.51

The net loss through migration was especially large between 1847 and 1855, when crop failure and famine impaired living con-

ditions among a population still mainly agricultural. Political discontent and ferment also quickened the migratory impulse. In the three years, 1853-55, almost half a million people (4.48 per 1000 or one out of each 230 persons) left Germany annually. These losses through migration had the more harmful effect on the growth of population, since the mortality also increased, so that periods with the greatest losses through migration were also periods with the smallest excess of births. Whereas the normal excess before 1871 was between 10 and 12 per 1000, it dropped in 1847-49 to about half that amount. Of the excess of 707,000 births in these three years 306,000, or almost half, were lost through migration. Even larger was the loss in 1853-55 when with an excess of only 666,000 births the excess of emigration over immigration amounted to 474,000. Thus almost three-quarters of the natural increase was lost through migration.

In some parts of Germany (Württemberg, Baden and the Palatinate) noted for their large emigration it became so heavy that the population decreased. In 1849-52 the population of Württemberg, despite an increase of 65,000 by excess of births, suffered an annual loss of 11,000 persons, or 2.2 per 1000; and in 1852-55, with a small excess of 12,000 births, it suffered an annual loss of 64,000 persons or 12.2 per 1000.¹

In Baden, despite a large excess of births between 1847 and 1855, emigration caused a continuous decline in population. On the average it amounted to 0.11 per 1000 in 1846-48, 0.14 in 1849-52, and 1.04 in 1853-55.² In the Bavarian Palatinate, the population of which had long been noted for its great fertility and its large emigration, there was an average yearly decrease in population of 0.27 per 1000 for 1849-52, and 1.34 per 1000 for 1852-55.³ In the former Grand Duchy of Hesse during 1846-49, the entire excess of births (about 23,000 persons) was offset by emigration, so that the growth of population was halted. In 1852-55 the loss through migration was twice as great as the excess of births, so that during this period in Hesse, as in the rest of southwestern Germany, there was a marked decline in population.⁴

In Prussia and Saxony also, which had previously received a

¹H. Losch, *Württembergische Jahrbücher für Statistik und Landeskunde*, Jhrg. 1900, Heft II, p. 158; *Statistisches Handbuch für das Königreich Württemberg*, Jhrg. 1900, p. 3.

²*Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Grossherzogtum Baden*, Jhrg. 1890, p. 151; *idem*, Jhrg. 1894, p. 58.

³*Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Königreich Bayern*, Jhrg. 1897, p. 13.

⁴C. A. Fabricius, *Beiträge zur Statistik des Grossherzogtums Hessen*, Vol. 3, p. 53.

considerable immigration, the growth in population towards the end of the '40's was greatly retarded by emigration. Prussia between 1816 and 1840 had had a net gain from migration amounting to 380,000 persons, 15,000 a year, or 0.14 per 1000. Later it showed a great loss from migration amounting to 27,000 a year in 1847-49, 11,000 a year in 1850-52, and 29,000 a year in 1853-55.¹ Saxony, which previously had had a great excess of births and had also been able to absorb immigrants from other German states, showed in 1846-49 a small loss (0.35 per 1000) and in 1852-55 a greater one (2.25 per 1000) through migration.

After 1855 the German emigration fever abated, partly because economic conditions improved and partly because the attractiveness of the United States diminished during the Civil War, so that the German loss through migration declined to 30,000 a year, or 0.83 per 1000.

Later the German wars of 1864, 1866 and 1870 combined with general economic causes to strengthen the migratory impulse. In 1864-67 the loss through migration rose again to over 100,000 a year, or 2.73 per 1000; in 1868-71 to over 120,000, or 3.08 per 1000.

In subsequent years with a severe economic crisis in America emigration abated and the net loss through migration dropped to 60,000-70,000 annually, or not quite 2 per 1000. But in 1880-85, before Bismarck's economic reforms had come to fruition,² emigration shot up again and the loss of population reached figures never touched before or after. In those 5 years Germany had a net loss from migration of approximately one million people, or almost 200,000 a year. On the other hand, the relative loss (4.26 per 1000) did not quite equal that in 1852-55 (4.38 per 1000). In the earlier period about two-thirds, but in 1880-85 not quite two-fifths of the excess of births was lost to Germany by migration.

Altogether after 1871 there was a material increase in the natural growth of population.

With the abolition of the restrictions on marriage and residence which had lasted in certain German states until the '60's, with the new freedom to change one's residence and occupation, but above all with the industrial development of the new Empire, the number of marriages and births greatly increased. The struggle to lower the death rate and especially to decrease infantile mortality soon began

¹A. von Fircke, "Rückblick auf die Bewegung der Bevölkerung im preussischen Staate 1816-1874."

²A. Sartorius von Waltershausen, "Auswanderung" (1924).

and was carried on with growing success supported by Germany's social legislation, initiated in 1882.¹ Despite the gradual decline in the birth rate, this fall of the death rate led to a growing excess of births. That annual excess was, in thousands:

<i>Period</i>	<i>Annual Excess</i>
1885-90	580
1890-95	800
1900-1905	840
1905-10	880

In the face of this prodigious natural increase, the loss through migration of 65,000 a year in 1885-90 and 90,000 a year in 1890-95, did not count so heavily, but it did mean a regrettable loss of human power and wealth.

Germany was unable to absorb its entire increase in population and supply it with work and bread. Shortly before the close of the century it acquired that ability. In 1895-1900, for the first time since population statistics in Germany began, the country changed from an emigration to an immigration country. As contrasted with 1895, the census of 1900 showed an immigration excess of not quite 100,000, being 20,000 a year or 0.35 per 1000. In 1900-1905 there was an immigration excess of over 10,000 a year, or 0.18 per 1000.

This change was caused largely by the rise of great manufacturing industries, which had begun with the modern Empire, but did not become evident on a great scale until the '90's. Industry, commerce and transportation furnished great reservoirs holding the increased population in Germany. Between 1882 and 1907 the population of the Empire increased by 16,000,000, no less than 10,000,000 of whom found employment in industry and 4,000,000 in trade and transportation.² Thanks to this expansion of industry, Germany developed from a preponderantly agricultural to a preponderantly industrial country, and exported goods instead of men. Mass emigration was succeeded by migration inside the Empire from the open country to the city, from agriculture to industry, from the east to the west. There was also some immigration of foreign laborers.

In 1905-10, during which period there was a retrogression in business, the German balance again showed an excess of emigration,

¹F. Zahn, *Wirkung der deutschen Sozialversicherung* (1915).

²F. Zahn, *Deutschlands Wirthschaftliche Entwicklung*; F. Burgdörfer, "Hauptergebnisse der Volks-, Berufs-, und Betriebszählung, 1925."

but the loss of 30,000 a year, or 0.51 per 1000, was much less than the former mass emigration. Only about one-thirtieth of the natural increase of population was so lost. The period 1895-1905 had a small loss; the two together showed a balance of the two currents. Thus by 1895 the nineteenth century mass emigration had about ended.

How did this balance fare in the period after 1910, and especially after the World War?

The first post-war general census was taken in 1925. The census of 1919 was not a "general" census and is not useful for present purposes.¹ Intermediate balances are not possible for the three and one-half years just before the World War, the four and one-half years of the war and the six and one-half post-war years, which were fundamentally different in their migration movements. Nevertheless, the balance for 1910-25 is of special importance, since it shows the net result of the diverse tendencies during these abnormal periods.

The figures obtainable for Germany within its present boundaries, but excluding the Saar Basin, are given in Table 121.²

TABLE 121.

MIGRATION BALANCE FOR POST-WAR GERMANY, 1910-1925.
(In Thousands)

	Male	Female	Total
Dec. 1, 1910.....	28,490	29,309	57,798
June 16, 1925.....	30,197	32,214	62,411
Total Increase.....	1,707	2,905	4,612
Natural Increase by excess of births.....	1,820	2,738	4,558
Migration increase (+)..... or decrease (-).....	-113	+167	+54

The computation of Table 121 is not quite correct because in determining the excess of births only such deaths were deducted as had been registered, and not the 170,000 members of the military forces who are still missing and who probably are dead. The excess of male births should be reduced, therefore, by about 150,000.

¹*Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 5te Jhrg., Supplem. 2, p.9ff. (1925).

²The data presented on preceding pages have referred to the German Empire within its pre-war boundaries.

With this correction the males alone would show a small migrational increase and the two sexes an increase of about 200,000.

How is this result to be explained? In the years 1910-14 the loss through migration continued, but with the outbreak of the World War migration either way across the German frontier, except by troops and prisoners, almost entirely stopped.

After the war there were return currents of Germans estimated at 1,500,000¹ from the ceded territories, the lost German colonies, and foreign countries. Most of this inflow, to be sure, was offset by emigration partly by sea, but more largely by land. For the period 1910-25, the emigration has been estimated at about one million persons.

This calculation also indicates that the 15-year period 1910-25 showed an excess of about 200,000 immigrants over emigrants.

It does not follow that in the future Germany will be an immigration country. The balance of immigration for 1910-25 was mainly due to the repatriation of Germans from the ceded territories and from abroad, which has been followed by further emigration, a counter current still flowing. Most of the Germans who formerly lived abroad and are now in Germany will return as soon as possible. Germans from the ceded territories are almost forced to emigrate unless they have found an occupation in Germany. The desire of others to emigrate has been notably strengthened by the hardships of the post-war period. Yet the obstacles to emigration are greater than before the war. Drastic legal restrictions on immigration have been established by the United States. As a result of domestic inflation and of general impoverishment, many who wish to emigrate do not have the means.

In spite of the check upon the natural increase of its population, Germany is undoubtedly under great population pressure. Chronic mass unemployment, due partly to business conditions but largely to structural changes in German economy,² is a symptom of this pressure. The increase of 18 per cent between 1910 and 1925 in the population within the present borders of the Reich, affords no accurate picture of the degree of over-population, because the shortage of about 3,500,000 births during the war, as well as the decline in births after the war, must be considered. In consequence of this shortage of births the number of children under 15 years of age has

¹See *Reichstagsdrucksache No. 4084 (I. Wahlperiode 1920-22)*; *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 5te Jhrg., Supplem. No. 2 (1925); *idem*, 7te Jhrg., No. 7 (1927).

²Compare *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 7te Jhrg., Hefte 4 and 10 (1927); also F. Burgdörfer, "Hauptergebnisse der Volks-, Berufs-, und Betriebszählung, 1925."

decreased about 18 per cent. On the other hand, the population between 15 and 65 years of age, which alone affects the labor market and mainly affects emigration, increased more than a fifth in the same period. At present the opportunities for earning a livelihood, which have become fewer since the war, do not make it possible to absorb this increase of men and women into the industrial life of the country. The number of unemployed in the middle of 1927 was about one million. It remains to be seen whether employment and food can be found for the further increase in people of productive age. So long as that increase continues, there will be unemployment due to an excess in the supply of labor and the impulse to reduce it by emigration will continue.

But the impulse to emigrate will presumably abate when the smaller number of children born during the war and the post-war years arrive at productive age. Calculations by the Statistical Office¹ have already resulted in picturing the future condition of the labor market so far as it depends upon the growth of population.

The deficit of 3,500,000 births caused by the war will first be felt around 1930. The number of young people annually arriving at the age of 15 years will sink between 1930-34 to about half of the present number. During this period there will be a halt or a small decrease in the increase of the population of productive age.

After 1933 there will be a smaller increase in the number of persons of productive age because of the more rapid fall in the number of births after the war—about 1,200,000 children were born in 1927 and about 1,800,000 children yearly before the war. Thus the excess in the supply of labor and probably therefore the impulse to emigrate will diminish. Indeed, soon there may be a shortage of labor. If the marked decline in the natural fertility of the population should continue Germany would become like France, an immigration country.

MIGRATION OVERSEAS

As we have seen, only direct migration overseas is reported statistically.

In the main period of German nineteenth century migration, emigration overseas was by far the most important phase, and furnishes a fairly adequate picture of the whole. This appears from figures in Table 122, which compare the gain or loss of population

¹See *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 316.

through migration determined from the censuses and the statistics of births and deaths, with the loss of population due to emigration overseas. The figures in Table 122 are for the Empire within its pre-war boundaries.

TABLE 122.

COMPARISON OF NET BALANCE IN TOTAL MIGRATION AND IN OVERSEAS
MIGRATION FOR PRE-WAR GERMANY, 1871-1910.

(In Thousands)

Period	Gain (+) or Loss (—) through	
	Total Migration	Emigration Overseas
1871-75	—320	—395
1875-80	—381	—231
1880-85	—980	—857
1885-90	—329	—485
1890-95	—449	—403
1895-1900	+94	—127
1900-1905	+52	—147
1905-10	—160	—133
1871-1910	—2,472	—2,778

Table 122 indicates that before the war the balance of migration, which showed a total loss of nearly 2,500,000, was controlled by emigration overseas. For ten years after 1895, when migration overseas abated, the balance was favorable. The figures show that the great loss through emigration overseas was accompanied by a net gain of about 306,000 or 8,000 a year through immigration from overseas and immigration or emigration over the land frontiers. But in general, when Germany had a pronounced loss by emigration the emigration overseas gave its stamp to the entire movement. Accordingly, the German statistics of emigration overseas constitute so large a part of the total migration movement that deductions from it regarding the movement are thoroughly justified.

The first attempts at a statistical estimate of emigration were made in southern Germany early in the nineteenth century. In Bavaria the collection of data began with an ordinance of 1809. Württemberg, Baden and the Electorate of Hesse also arranged for

similar estimates. Later most of the North German states followed suit, Prussia beginning in 1884.¹ These attempts at migration statistics were based, in the main, on special permits to emigrate which were then required. The local authorities reported the removals of emigrants from the list of citizens. Reports were also to be made at intervals about "clandestine" emigration, or those who emigrated without a permit. But frequently no permit to leave one's native land was needed by an immigrant on entering or becoming naturalized in a foreign country, and the permit might be a hindrance in case of later repatriation. Furthermore some of the German states imposed a removal tax upon property which the emigrants took with them. As a result "clandestine" emigration became more important until it was practically impossible to estimate total emigration from evidence obtained at the emigrant's domicile.

With the improvement in transportation and especially with the introduction of railways, the difficulties grew. The records often suffered also because emigrants were imperfectly or not at all classified by destination and emigrants to another German state were often entered with emigrants overseas or to some foreign country. The bill about emigration which the National Assembly adopted in March, 1849, and which would have furnished the foundation for uniform statistics of migration, did not become a law, and in the matter of emigration the several German states continued independent. But, under the influence of the principle of freedom to emigrate which was embodied in the draft constitution of 1848, the provisions concerning the leave to emigrate and those concerning the removal tax were gradually abolished. With the formation of the North German Confederation in 1867 the subject of emigration became a matter for the Confederation and later for the Empire. Then all restrictions upon the citizen's freedom of migration were abolished with an exception in the case of persons subject to military duty.

But with this development, the adoption of the principle of freedom of movement and the abolition of compulsory passports, the ground was cut from under the German inland states in their attempts to ascertain emigration at the place of departure. The statistics concerning naturalization and the loss of citizenship which were still continued by some states became entirely perfunctory.²

¹See T. Bödiker, "Die Auswanderung und Einwanderung des Preussisches Staates."

²Concerning this and the following statements, see *Vierteljahrshefte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reichs* for 1873 (*Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 2, p. 135.)

Almost simultaneously with the first attempts of certain German inland states to record migration at the emigrant's residence attempts were made to ascertain emigration overseas from records at the ports of embarkation.

Bremen, the most important of these ports, began its record in 1832. Hamburg, the next most important port, followed in 1836. In both instances the emigration statistics at first were very summary. German emigrants were not distinguished from other emigrants leaving Bremen until 1866. In Hamburg the distinction was made in summary fashion after 1851. From certain German ports only very meager data for a few years are available. To be sure, only smaller ports with little emigration were involved, some of which had already been included in the Bremen and Hamburg data since these contained also the emigrants forwarded by Bremen and Hamburg agents, but embarking from neighboring ports.

There are no data available before 1870 about German emigrants through non-German ports.

With 1870-71 came a notable advance in German statistics of overseas migration. In order to secure uniformity in the returns from German ports, schedules were prescribed for emigrants, showing the full name, sex, age, previous residence, previous status, occupation, and destination. The individuals in each family, the date of sailing, the flag of the vessel, whether it was a steamer or a sailing vessel, and its destination, were to appear. Finally, the record was to show whether the emigrant was going directly to an overseas port or indirectly via a European port.

Summaries of these records of all German emigrants were to be sent annually to the Statistical Office. At the same time it was recommended that where Germans embarked from non-German ports the authorities should be requested to record the German emigrants separately and to gather the same information.

Emigration overseas to European countries and immigrants from overseas were excluded from these records, because such migrants were mingled with other travelers, and the control of the whole passenger traffic between German ports and other European ports consisting principally of business people, would have been difficult and annoying.

In these regulations there was no definition of an "emigrant." Yet from their terms one may conclude that it meant a person who left his native land intending to seek overseas a new and permanent abode and to find a new means of livelihood. At the first, to be

sure, some persons were classed as emigrants both at Bremen and at Hamburg who intended to return to their old homes.

A study of the practice of those days indicates that the errors of overstatement and of understatement would about cancel, and that the reported number of overseas emigrants would be near the true number.

Emigration from other German ports (Stettin, Swinemünde, Geestemünde, Lübeck, etc.) had never been important, and from about the end of the nineteenth century it ceased entirely. Emigration through those ports was first included in 1874, and at that time about 1,500 citizens annually emigrated through them.

German emigration through foreign ports, especially through Antwerp and to some extent through Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Havre and Genoa, was of considerable importance. In some years, especially in the '40's, German emigration through foreign ports exceeded German emigration from German ports. For example, between 1846 and 1851 German emigration was as given in Table 123.¹

TABLE 123.

GERMAN EMIGRATION THROUGH GERMAN AND FOREIGN PORTS, 1846-51.
(In Thousands)

Year	German Ports	Foreign Ports
1846	38,058	56,523
1847	42,382	67,147
1848	37,532	44,368
1849	36,249	52,852
1850	37,061	45,343
1851	56,070	56,477
1846-51	247,352	322,710

The large number going via foreign ports is understandable if one recalls that the principal stream of emigration at that period originated in southwestern Germany, and that to emigrants from Swabia and the Palatinate the Rhine offered an easier way to the coast than the journey by land to Bremen or Hamburg. With the construction of a network of railways in later years and with the growth of German shipping, the picture was radically changed.

Nevertheless, in the '70's and '80's German emigration from foreign ports was important and it seemed desirable, therefore, to

¹Hübner's *Jahrbuch* 1852, p. 264.

include it as completely as possible in the statistics of overseas emigration. German consuls abroad were directed, after 1871, to send in data concerning the emigration of Germans through foreign ports as a supplement to German statistics. It is true that these data are not uniform, but vary with the way in which migration statistics were collected and still more with the particular country's legislation about emigration. They were most detailed for Antwerp, and summary for other foreign ports at which many German emigrants embarked. In the case of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, data about German emigrants are available only from 1885. On the whole, where the data concerning German emigration from foreign ports exist, they are incomplete and those from the Austrian ports like Trieste, from the Italian ports like Genoa and Naples, and from the Scandinavian ports are lacking.

Some improvement in migration statistics resulted from the Imperial statute of 1897 and subsequent regulations requiring every despatcher of emigrants to make a register of the emigrants transported by him on a prescribed list, one for each ship. The lists were to contain the following data: Name, sex, age, marital condition, previous residence, citizenship, occupation, position in the occupation, and destination. The members of one family were to be separately designated as such.

These lists were to be handed to the emigration officials and formed the basis for the new statistics of overseas emigration which began January 1, 1899, and were to embrace the overseas emigration from all German ports. German emigration from ports outside of Germany had previously been reported as far as possible by German consuls and these reports were included in German emigration statistics. By the ordinance of 1898, the foreign shipping concerns which desired to transport German emigrants from ports outside of Germany were directed to hand to the proper German consul a list of German emigrants. Through this order the enumeration of German emigrants sailing from foreign ports was placed on a better basis.

This statute did not clearly define an "emigrant." The memorandum in support of it treated the subject negatively, saying that German citizens who went to a German colony and "travelers" who went for a long time to a foreign country were not to be deemed emigrants within the meaning of the statute. Whoever voluntarily left the national territory with the intention of settling

permanently outside of it was to be regarded as an emigrant.¹ According to this, whoever has the *animus revertendi* would not be an emigrant.

It is doubtful whether actual practice conformed to this point of view. Even after 1887 data for German emigration statistics were generally obtained only for steerage passengers who let it be known that they intended to emigrate.

Emigrant ships included all sea-going vessels destined for ports outside of Europe and carrying at least 25 steerage passengers.²

So long as emigration took place in the typical form of mass emigration, the great bulk of it was suitably ascertained. But this changed when the nature of emigration altered. Emigration at its beginning and during the last century had the character of a mass movement. Those disposed to emigrate formed groups and bands in order to struggle along one pathway for a distant goal. In the emigration ports these groups and bands formed large masses which had the same object in view, followed the same pathway and were resolved to leave their native land permanently, for a new home on the other side of the seas. In view of the hardships entailed in the first half of the nineteenth century, there was virtually no question of a subsequent return to Germany.³ Most of them had to make the trip as cheaply as possible. Therefore they traveled by mass transportation arranged to cover the most primitive wants. After the middle of the '30's special emigrants ships were built and later all emigrant ships became subject to special police control. Then emigration took place almost without interruption in these emigrant ships or carriers of steerage passengers.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, mass emigration dwindled and the methods of travel changed. As prosperity increased in Germany and circles economically better off participated in emigration, emigrants began to look down upon the primitive conditions in the steerage and to cross as cabin passengers, leaving the steerage more and more to emigrants from eastern Europe. The shipping companies heeded this change and the steerage was displaced by the third class, which was adapted to higher require-

¹Compare P. Goetsch, *Reichsgesetz über das Auswanderungswesen* (1898).

²In this particular the statute of 1897 follows closely the previous legislation of the states, according to which vessels that under normal conditions were intended for the carriage of more than 12 or more than 25 passengers were deemed to be emigrant ships.

³Concerning the hardships of the ocean voyage and the high mortality among emigrants during the first half of the 19th Century, and the exploitation of the emigrants, see F. Kapp, "Über Auswanderung", pp. 21(163)-29(171); also his *Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderung in Amerika* (3d ed., 1869), pp. 282-302.

ments. But third-class passengers are not exclusively emigrants; they include many business people, visitors, and tourists. On the other hand, many emigrants cross in the second or first class, and are no longer identifiable by the class in which they travel.

Under present conditions, too, it is harder to define an "emigrant." Early in the nineteenth century, when the voyage was prolonged, trying and dangerous, and when sometimes one-quarter or one-fifth of the emigrants died on the voyage, emigration was almost unchangeable and final. Today, when the voyage takes only a few days in safe and comfortable ships without hardship or danger and at low rates,¹ a removal overseas has ceased to be an irrevocable step. Indeed, here and there seasonal emigration is developing, that is, workers who transfer their domicile to an overseas country to profit by its economic opportunities temporarily or for a favorable season. Therefore the term "emigrant" must be defined more loosely than before, as one who departs from the mother country to gain his living abroad.²

German emigration statistics have recently taken into account this change in methods of travel and in the meaning of "emigrant". The officials previously charged with preparing emigration statistics from the ships' lists endeavored to find in the lists of first-class and second-class passengers names of persons who were really emigrants. Yet the result was always uncertain. The general rule prevailed: steerage passengers and third-class passengers are "emigrants." The German overseas emigration figures therefore do not quite correspond with the facts, and since the opening of the new century they are probably too low.

In 1924 the Statistical Office in collaboration with the statistical officers of the United States and with emigration officials and the great emigration companies, studied the bases of these statistics and adjusted them to the changed conditions. An attempt was made for the first time to get a working definition of "emigrant." As overseas emigration is still directed mainly to the United States, the definition was adapted to the American definition of an "immigrant." In the instructions for compiling migration statistics it is provided³

¹According to information supplied by the Hamburg-American Line the passenger rates for the voyage from Hamburg to the United States were:

In the steerage	{ 1900, 100 to 120 Marks (\$25-30)
	{ 1913, 140 to 150 Marks (\$29-34)
In the third class	{ 1913, 175 to 190 Marks (\$40-45)
	{ 1927, 280 RM (\$115)

²This is the definition of the Austrian emigration statute.

³*Vierteljahrshefte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, 1925, Heft I, p. 5.

that every traveler to the United States who is an "emigrant" in the American sense is to be so designated without regard to the class in which he is traveling. Other travelers to the United States are to be classed as "non-emigrants."

Of those going to other countries, no matter in what class they travel, all who do not definitely intend to return within twelve months are to be classed as "emigrants," the others as "non-emigrants." If a traveler's papers do not disclose whether he should be classed as an "emigrant" under these rules, the necessary information is to be obtained when the entries are made in the ships' lists. Since every traveler by sea must be classed as an "emigrant" or a "non-emigrant" and since statistics are now compiled of the entire current of overseas travel, there is a greater guarantee than formerly that the statistics of emigration overseas will be complete and correct.

With the aid of American immigration statistics, the amount of emigration overseas from Germany after 1820 can be determined with some accuracy. German records of overseas emigration began at Bremen in 1832 and were extended to Hamburg in 1836. But these figures do not distinguish the German emigration. When German emigrants came to be distinguished from non-German emigrants—1851 in Hamburg, 1866 in Bremen—and especially when, with the establishment of the empire, the statistics of the German ports of emigration were made more nearly uniform, then German migration statistics became able to furnish direct and reliable information concerning German overseas migration. Before that time they afford some clues and these combined with the American immigration statistics from 1820 to 1870, make an estimate possible.

The United States has continuous statistics of immigration after 1820, classified by country of origin. But in these returns language was often used as a test of the country from which an immigrant came. For example, many Austrian immigrants who spoke German were probably classed as German. As a result, the American immigration statistics show only 6,057 immigrants in 1872 from Austria-Hungary Poland,¹ while according to the port records, 9,204 emigrants from Austria-Hungary embarked via Bremen and Hamburg for the United States. Before 1870 there was little emigration from Austria and this source of error was not important. Another minor source of error lies in the fact that the number of immigrants

¹[Volume I, page 419.—Ed.]

reported at destination was reduced by deaths during the passage, but this too can be disregarded.¹

In an attempt to complete the torso of German statistics of overseas migration for the period before 1870, the following points need consideration:

1. Before 1870 about nine-tenths of the emigrants from Germany went to the United States. Where German figures are not obtainable the American statistics of immigration from Germany may be accepted as a substitute.

2. German emigration to other countries can be estimated as follows:

(a) The statistics of Bremen and Hamburg formerly embraced all emigrants embarking there whether they were of German origin or not (in 1866-72 about 22 per cent were not of German origin).

(b) After 1847 emigrants from both ports were classified by destination. The number embarking for the United States, although many non-Germans were included, was hardly more than one-half of the number of German immigrants arriving in the United States. Many German emigrants to overseas points must have embarked at non-German ports. Some went via England and others went via Dutch, Belgian, French or Italian ports. Yet no data about German emigration are obtainable from the ports in question.

(c) Probably only a part of the German emigrants for other countries embarked in Bremen or Hamburg. Assume that the number of emigrants, German or foreign, embarking at Hamburg or Bremen for the United States (German statistics) was to the number of German immigrants arriving in the United States (American statistics) as the number of emigrants, German or foreign, going from Hamburg or Bremen to other countries (German statistics) was to the unknown number of German emigrants to those other countries. The results of this assumption for 1847-70 appear in Table 124, page 333.

(d) For the period before 1847, when the classification of emigrants by destination at Bremen began, this method cannot be used. For that period the number of immigrants from Germany

¹In the first half of the nineteenth century, when emigrants were carried in sailing ships, the mortality during the passage was high. According to F. Kapp, in the winter of 1847 more than 20,000 persons died while on the way to America or just after arriving in port, because of the defective equipment of the ships. But with the introduction of police control of emigration companies and the displacement of sailing vessels by steamers, the mortality among emigrants sank greatly in the second half of the nineteenth century. On the steamers that arrived at New York in 1870 it amounted to 0.7 per thousand passengers, but on the sailing ships it amounted to 5.7 per thousand.

shown by American statistics has been increased by a uniform percentage to allow for German emigrants to other countries. According to the Bremen and Hamburg statistics for 1847-70 there were 1,596,000 emigrants embarked at the two ports, of whom 1,466,000 were for the United States, showing that the emigrants to the United States were to the total number as 100 is to 109. Consequently, the American figures for German immigrants should be increased by about one-tenth to get the estimated number of all German overseas emigrants.

The results thus reached (Table 124) differ in several respects from those of similar calculations made in 1873.¹ The differences are due mainly to the effect of later corrections, especially of the Bremen and Hamburg figures of emigration to the United States, which grew out of researches made for Volume 336 of the *Statistik des Deutschen Reiches*. The Bremen and Hamburg figures of emigration to the United States published in 1873 were incomplete. In consequence the per cent of German overseas emigration going to the United States has had to be increased (according to my calculations it was 92 per cent of the total German emigration). As a result, the additions to the American statistics of immigration from Germany before 1847 are somewhat less than those shown by the official calculation of 1873 and my figures therefore are somewhat smaller than those then reached.

The calculation of 1873 was confined to a summary by 10-year periods, whereas there is great interest in following the development of German emigration overseas year by year. The calculations hitherto made cannot be accepted. Those made by W. Mönckmeier suffer from the same defects as the calculation of 1873, for he accepted, in the main, the earlier figures and his results therefore are too large. Still less probable are the yearly figures in Hübner's *Jahrbuch für Volkswirtschaft und Statistik, Jahrgänge 1852-1862* which cannot be accepted because no explanation of them is given.

A test of these calculations is afforded by comparing the results with figures previously reached for the balance of migration. Combining the figures in Column 7 (Table 124) for census periods and comparing the results with the losses by migration previously established, one obtains the results given in Table 125 (page 334).

The divergences, in some of the periods, are very wide but for the whole 31 years the two sets of figures agree pretty well.

German statistics of overseas emigration were greatly improved

¹*Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 2, p. 132.

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TABLE 124.

ESTIMATED AMOUNT AND RATE OF GERMAN EMIGRATION OVERSEAS ANNUALLY:
1820-70.^a

Year	Overseas Emigration (German and foreign) from Bremen and Hamburg (German figures)			Immigration of Germans into the United States		Calculated number of German emigrants to other countries (a) 1820-46 =10% of Col. 4 (b) 1847-70 =Col. 3 × Col. 5	Total German Overseas Emigration (Columns 4 + 6)	Emigration Rate per 100,000 In- habitants
	Total	To the United States	Other countries	(American figures)	Column 4 divided by Column 2			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1820	.....	.....	.....	968	.....	97	1,065	4
1821	.....	.....	.....	383	.....	38	421	2
1822	.....	.....	.....	148	.....	15	163	1
1823	.....	.....	.....	183	.....	18	201	1
1824	.....	.....	.....	230	.....	23	253	1
1825	.....	.....	.....	450	.....	45	495	2
1826	.....	.....	.....	511	.....	51	562	2
1827	.....	.....	.....	432	.....	43	475	2
1828	.....	.....	.....	1,851	.....	185	2,036	7
1829	.....	.....	.....	597	.....	60	657	2
1830	.....	.....	.....	1,976	.....	198	2,174	7
1831	.....	.....	.....	2,413	.....	241	2,654	9
1832	10,344	.....	.....	10,194	.....	1,019	11,213	37
1833	8,891	.....	.....	6,988	.....	699	7,687	25
1834	13,086	.....	.....	17,686	.....	1,769	19,455	64
1835	6,185	.....	.....	8,311	.....	831	9,142	30
1836	17,007	.....	.....	20,707	.....	2,071	22,778	73
1837	17,514	.....	.....	23,740	.....	2,374	26,114	83
1838	10,267	.....	.....	11,683	.....	1,168	12,851	40
1839	13,981	.....	.....	21,028	.....	2,103	23,131	72
1840	14,526	.....	.....	29,704	.....	2,970	32,674	100
1841	11,001	.....	.....	15,291	.....	1,529	16,820	51
1842	14,234	.....	.....	20,370	.....	2,037	22,407	67
1843	11,683	.....	.....	14,441	.....	1,444	15,885	47
1844	21,631	.....	.....	20,731	.....	2,073	22,804	67
1845	34,210	.....	.....	34,355	.....	3,436	37,791	110
1846	37,229	.....	.....	57,561	.....	5,756	63,317	183
1847	41,310	38,233	3,077	74,281	1.94	5,969	80,250	231
1848	36,532	34,106	2,426	58,465	1.71	4,146	62,611	180
1849	34,249	32,120	2,129	60,235	1.88	4,003	64,238	183
1850	33,206	31,497	1,709	78,896	2.50	4,273	83,169	236
1851	49,772	45,764	4,008	72,482	1.58	6,333	78,815	221
1852	87,586	72,420	15,166	145,918	2.01	30,484	176,402	492
1853	87,591	82,500	5,091	141,946	1.72	8,717	150,663	419
1854	127,694	114,733	12,961	215,009	1.87	24,237	239,246	663
1855	50,202	43,103	7,099	71,918	1.67	11,855	83,773	232
1856	62,720	55,046	7,674	71,028	1.29	98,899	80,927	223
1857	81,014	72,093	8,921	91,781	1.27	11,330	103,111	282
1858	42,976	34,246	8,730	45,310	1.32	11,524	56,834	154
1859	35,253	31,096	4,157	41,784	1.34	5,570	47,354	127
1860	46,511	43,781	2,730	54,491	1.24	3,385	57,876	154
1861	30,939	26,551	4,388	31,661	1.19	5,222	36,883	97
1862	35,264	30,960	4,304	27,529	0.89	3,831	31,360	82
1863	42,856	36,450	6,406	33,162	0.91	5,829	38,991	101
1864	52,756	49,813	2,943	57,276	1.15	3,384	60,660	155
1865	87,549	82,318	5,231	83,424	1.01	5,283	88,707	224
1866	106,657	102,655	4,002	115,892	1.13	4,522	120,414	303
1867	116,816	112,620	4,196	133,426	1.18	4,968	138,394	346
1868	116,483	110,129	6,354	55,831	0.51	3,133	58,964	147
1869	110,813	106,650	4,163	131,042	1.23	5,120	136,162	336
1870	79,337	76,769	2,568	118,225	1.54	3,955	122,180	299

^aFor details concerning the fundamental figures in this Table see:

For Column 1, this work, Volume I, p. 692 and 694.

For Column 4, this work, Volume I, p. 377, United States Table I.

^bThe method of calculation is explained on pp. 331-4.

TABLE 125.

COMPARISON OF COMPUTED AND RECORDED GERMAN EMIGRATION,
1841-70.

Period	German Emigration Overseas (calculated)	Total Loss through Migration
1841-43	55,112	63,573
1844-46	123,912	101,013
1847-49	207,099	305,956
1850-52	338,386	294,468
1853-55	473,682	474,313
1856-58	240,872	133,170
1859-61	142,113	136,831
1862-64	131,011	96,200
1865-67	347,545	325,721
1868-70	317,306	441,208
1841-1870	2,347,008	2,372,453

in 1871. The resulting statistics of German emigration to individual countries should be compared with the immigration statistics of the countries in question.¹ The rate of overseas emigration given in Column 8 of Table 124 is continued to 1928 in Table 126 (page 335).

The data in Volume I show that for the earlier years the differences between the German and the American figures are wide enough to require explanation.

The German statistics are for calendar years and those of the United States are for fiscal years ended June 30. When the number of migrants in the second half of a year differs greatly from the number in the first half this difference in the year leads to a marked divergence in the figures. The peak of German migration to the United States usually appears in the American statistics a year later than in the German emigration statistics (see Diagram 11, page 338).

To avoid this difficulty it is well to study the figures for decades. The results are shown in Table 127 on page 336.

¹The materials for such a comparison have been published in detail in Volume I of the present work. The author found the following tables of that volume most serviceable: p. 697, Germany, Table VI "Volume of Intercontinental Emigration" and pages 700 f., Germany, Table VIII "Emigration by Destination". All those data were compared with corresponding immigration figures in the same volume collected by the United States (pp. 419ff, 486), Canada (pp. 360, 364, 367), Brazil (pp. 550 f), Argentina (p. 544), and Australia (pp. 952 f, 973).

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TABLE 126.

GERMAN OVERSEAS EMIGRATION RATE PER 100,000 INHABITANTS: 1871-1928.

Year	Rate	Year	Rate
1871	186	1901	39
1872	311	1902	56
1873	266	1903	62
1874	114	1904	47
1875	76	1905	47
1876	69	1906	50
1877	53	1907	51
1878	58	1908	32
1879	80	1909	39
1880	260	1910	39
1881	486	1911	35
1882	445	1912	28
1883	377	1913	39
1884	322	1914	17
1885	236	1915	1
1886	177	1916	0.5
1887	220	1917	0.01
1888	216	1918	....
1889	197	1919	5
1890	197	1920	14
1891	241	1921	38
1892	231	1922	60
1893	173	1923	187
1894	80	1924	93
1895	72	1925	101
1896	64	1926	105
1897	46	1927	97
1898	41	1928	90
1899	44	1929	...
1900	40	....	...

According to Table 127 the differences, aside from that in the abnormal period 1911-20, were largest in the decades 1871-80 and 1901-10. For the entire period the American statistics showed 30

TABLE 127.

GERMAN EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES AND AMERICAN IMMIGRATION STATISTICS COMPARED, 1871-1928.

Period	German Emigrants (German Statistics)	German Immigrants (American Statistics)	Ratio of American to German figures = 100
1871-80	555,866	718,182	129.2
1881-90	1,237,136	1,452,970	117.4
1891-1900	478,930	505,152	105.4
1901-10	255,173	341,498	133.8
1911-20	63,769	143,945	225.7
1921-28	340,854	338,882	99.4
1871-1928	2,931,728	3,502,629	119.5

per cent more immigrants from Germany than the German statistics showed emigrants to the United States. Among the reasons for the discrepancies the following deserve mention:

(1) The statistics of emigration introduced in Germany in 1871 were handicapped at the start by many imperfections. The separation of "emigrants" from other travelers was neither complete nor carried out uniformly at all seaports. By limiting "emigrants" in the main to steerage passengers the definition was made too narrow. The destination of an emigrant was probably assumed to be that of the ship in which he sailed. These German statistics suffered especially from the fact that data were not obtained from foreign ports (especially those of England, France, Italy and Austria) which were frequented by German emigrants, or did not classify the German emigrants by country of destination. Thus in the case of Havre, the 30,000 German emigrants, 1871-80, and the 55,000, 1881-90, were not classified by country of destination. If one adds these emigrants to those shown in the German statistics,¹ the ratio between the German figures and the American is reduced for 1871-80 from 129 to 122 and for 1881-90 from 117 to 112.

(2) The American figures are too large because the classification is, in part at least, by language rather than by residence. The boundaries of Germany and those of the German language do not coincide. Great districts in which the German language is spoken

¹See *Monatshefte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, 1881, Heft II, p. 114.

lay outside of Germany in 1871. Many emigrants from German Austria appeared in the American statistics as Germans. Thus only 45,000 immigrants from Austria-Hungary are shown in the American returns for 1871-77, while by the German approximately 60,000 emigrants from Austria-Hungary embarked at Bremen or Hamburg. On the other hand, in the American entries emigrants were not fully separated from ordinary travelers. According to German figures of 1879, said to be based upon "reliable researches," of the 118,000 Germans who reached New York between 1875 and 1878 only 76,000, or about two-thirds, were emigrants and 42,000, or about one-third, were ordinary travelers.¹ From this evidence it was inferred that a considerable fraction of the Germans recorded as immigrants in the American statistics had reached the United States but did not intend to abide there, and should not have been so entered.

It is hard to decide which set of figures to use. The actual number is probably nearer the German totals than the American. The German emigration figures are too small because they make certain omissions and start from too narrow a definition. The American immigration statistics are too large because they define an emigrant too broadly, and because they include German-speaking emigrants who lived outside of Germany.

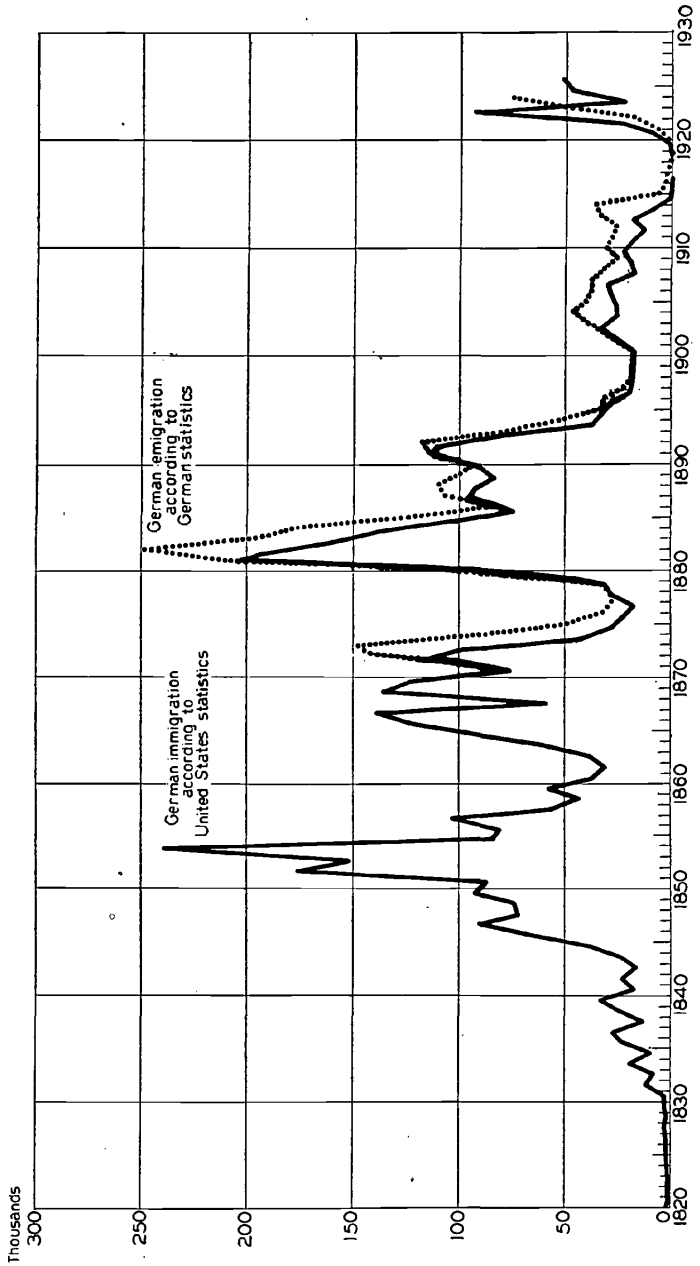
With the return movement at the beginning of the '90's the two sets of figures came much nearer agreement. In 1891-1900 the number of German emigrants to the United States almost agreed with the number of German immigrants shown in the American statistics. But from 1913 on, the two sets of figures began to diverge again, a change due in the main to the fact that methods of travel were changing and that statistics limited to steerage passengers came to depart more and more from the true number which included many emigrants traveling in the cabin.

During the late war emigration from German ports almost ceased, but Germans still emigrated in small numbers via foreign ports.

In spite of individual deviations the two sets of figures run closely parallel. This is evident if one compares the two sets of figures by means of graphs. The graph Diagram 11 (p. 338) compares the German statistics of German emigration to the United States and the American statistics of immigration from Germany. Notwithstanding minor differences the two sets of statistics agree in the main.

¹*Deutscher Reichstag Drucksache No. 187 (1879).*

Diagram 11. German Overseas Emigration Compared with German Immigration into the United States, 1820-1926.



When we compare German emigration statistics with the statistics of other immigration countries, we find wider differences.

For Brazil, the next largest recipient of German emigration, the German statistics in the first three decades agree pretty well with the Brazilian. But in the periods 1901-10 and 1911-20 there was a marked divergence between the two sets of figures, followed by a thorough agreement, as Table 128 shows.

TABLE 128.

GERMAN EMIGRATION AND BRAZILIAN IMMIGRATION STATISTICS COMPARED, 1871-1928.

Period	German Emigrants to Brazil (German statistics)	German Immigrants into Brazil (Brazilian statistics)
1871-80	20,904	17,012
1881-90	18,792	21,628
1891-1900	12,459	12,489
1901-10	3,985	17,533
1911-20	1,674	26,120
1921-28	53,772	67,340
1871-1928	111,586	162,122

The differences between the German and the Argentinian statistics of German migration are shown by Table 129 to be especially great.

The differences in Table 129 are greatest for 1901-20. This is due to the fact that many German emigrants when asked in which country they would settle, were not able to state more definitely, so they gave "South America" as their destination. More than 17,000 German emigrants, in 1911-20, gave their destination as "South America." But this source of error only partly explains the divergences. In going to South America many German emigrants traveled as cabin passengers and were not enrolled as "emigrants." Many who did not intend to settle and were not classed as emigrants when they embarked were counted, when they landed, as immigrants. Other causes mentioned in the discussion of the statistics of the United States, such as treating all German-speaking people as Germans, have played a rôle in South American statistics.

TABLE 129.

GERMAN EMIGRATION AND ARGENTINIAN IMMIGRATION STATISTICS
COMPARED, 1871-1928.

Period	German Emigrants to Argentina (German statistics)	German Immigrants into Argentina (Argentine statistics)
1871-80	1,542	3,819
1881-90	8,369	14,184
1891-1900	6,406	8,693
1901-10	4,611	19,304
1911-20	4,222	22,158
1921-28	39,084	50,378
1871-1928	64,234	118,536

The much greater differences between the German and the Canadian and Australian migration statistics¹ spring in part from indirect emigration especially through English ports and, in the case of Canada, through the United States.

On the whole, German emigration to other countries does not count for much in comparison with German emigration to the United States, and hardly changes the general picture. The German statistics of emigration overseas although incomplete will serve to characterize the whole German movement overseas, and provide the bases for a subsequent inquiry regarding the dependence of migration upon economic conditions.

¹These totalled: (a) in the case of Canada:

	Emigration of Germans to Canada (German statistics)	Immigration of Germans into Canada (Canadian statistics)
1901-10	3,209	18,612
1911-20	3,288	20,209
1921-28	14,033	36,443

(b) in the case of Australia:

	Emigration of Germans to Australia (German statistics)	Immigration of Germans into Australia (Australian statistics)
1901-10	1,516	13,655
1911-20	1,159	14,173
1921-28	587	2,852

Motives for Emigration

What motives have caused a person to emigrate cannot be determined by statistics. From the ebb and flow of emigration, however, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the effect of certain events or social conditions. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries religious motives for emigration almost completely disappeared, but political motives influenced the migration movement repeatedly, sometimes furthering and sometimes hindering it. After every war in which Germany or German states were involved there was a marked increase in emigration. The emigrant wished to avoid future wars or was antagonized by post-war political conditions. Wars in immigration countries have regularly checked emigration to them. Times of disorder and revolution also have been an influence. Such popular upheavals grew out of dissatisfaction with domestic political conditions. But often they owed their origin to economic and social needs and usually prepared the way for emigration. If high-flown political hopes miscarried, as in Germany after 1830 and 1848, despondency and bitterness succeeded. In such a frame of mind a decision to migrate to the "promised land," the land of freedom beyond the seas, was easily reached.

The most important factors, however, have been economic and social. They are the material foundation upon which psychological motives develop. If people are satisfied with their lot they have no motive to migrate. *Ubi bene ibi patria*. But if single persons or whole classes find their economic existence seriously threatened by a failure of crops or other misfortunes, they will often resort to emigration as a road by which to escape life's tribulations or to improve their lot. To be sure, want does not always drive people to this resolve. It may make them dull and apathetic, scarcely able to come to so momentous a resolve. Only when a sense of want is coupled with the courage to run risks and with a knowledge of better conditions or a better outlook elsewhere does the resolve mature.

The degree of difference which the person debating the question believes to exist between his situation in his own country and his prospects elsewhere is the decisive factor.

About the middle of the nineteenth century an important influence was the passion for land on the part of the younger sons of German peasants who could not hope to satisfy that craving at home. This constant factor was reinforced by severe economic, social or political disturbances in Germany.

What were the external stimuli which caused the great fluctuations in emigration shown by the figures of Tables 124 (page 333) and 126 (page 335) and the graph of Diagram 11 (page 338)?

After the famine of 1816-17, which drove 20,000 Germans to flee to North America,¹ the number of overseas emigrants remained low during the first years after the records began. The '20's were noteworthy for good crops and cheap food. Rye cost, in Prussia, 164 marks per ton in 1816, and 214 marks in 1817, which was twice or more than twice its average price of 87 marks in the '20's.

In the '30's there was an irregular increase in the number of emigrants. In 1838 there was a drop, due primarily to the commercial crisis of 1837 in the United States. Those ready to emigrate but prevented from sailing, carried out their intention in the following years, especially in 1840, which represents the first peak of German emigration.

A second rise started about the middle of the '40's and reached its crest in 1847. It was due to recurrent failures of the wheat crop, wide-spread potato rot, and a consequent rise in the prices of foodstuffs. A ton of rye, which cost 101 marks in 1841, was 27 per cent higher in 1845, 75 per cent higher in 1846, and 113 per cent higher in 1847. Potatoes, which cost some 30 marks per ton in 1841-45, were more than double that price in 1847.

The increase of emigration in the first half of the '50's, culminating in 1854, overtopped anything that had previously occurred. The causes were much the same as 10 or 20 years earlier. After some good harvests and low food prices came several crop failures which forced the prices of cereals and potatoes up tremendously. A ton of rye which cost 90 marks on the average, 1848-50, rose in the following years by 39 per cent, 71 per cent, 89 per cent and 132 per cent, and then fell to 137 per cent and 142 per cent, but never to less than 100 marks. In the years 1854-56 the prices of potatoes were again over 60 marks per ton as compared to 32 marks on the average in 1848-50.

In the first half of the '50's political considerations also stimulated emigration. The political movement of 1848 and the hope that it might lead to a national union of the German people had come to naught. Many of the leaders, disappointed and embittered, emigrated overseas and especially to the United States where they hoped to find the freedom which they had vainly sought to secure in their home country. To what extent the mass emigration in the

¹Friederich Kapp, "Über Auswanderung" (1871), p. 8 (150).

first half of the '50's was due to political disappointment and to what extent to economic factors it is hard to say. Generally speaking, the latter were more important.

In the second half of the '50's and until 1862 the tide of overseas emigration receded. The impulse to emigrate was weakened by favorable economic conditions at home, good crops and cheap food, by the economic crisis of 1857 and later by the Civil War in the United States.

After 1862 German emigration increased year by year to a crest in 1867 with about 140,000 emigrants. The causes for this increase were that part of the emigration, previously checked by conditions in America, was merely postponed and that the economic conditions favored emigration. The principal reason did not lie in bad crops and high prices in Germany. German industry was entering on a period of transformation from an agricultural towards an industrial organization, wherein the handicrafts and household industries frequently met with difficulties. The small farmers and agricultural laborers still craved land, but now the handicraftsmen also and those working at household industries found it more and more difficult to hold their own against prosperous manufacturing industries and began to furnish emigrants. Political motives also played an important part. The German wars of 1864 and 1866 reinforced emigration. Districts in which the inhabitants had suffered from war or were dissatisfied with the change in political conditions or with the introduction of compulsory military service, contributed largely to the new current.

The effects of the Franco-Prussian War were similar but less marked. After German emigration had declined to 80,000 in 1871, it rose in 1872 to 130,000, but for five years thereafter it sank rapidly and uninterruptedly to 23,000 in 1877, for in this period quietude in politics concurred with an economic revival in Germany and an economic depression in the United States.

Towards the end of the '70's the United States began again to absorb European immigration and was facing a rapid economic development while the economic and political changes in Germany had not yet borne fruit. The "swarming" which then began culminated in 1881 and 1882 with more than 200,000 German emigrants annually. In the following years with the gradual improvement of economic conditions at home emigration declined, but through the second half of the '80's remained at about 100,000. The emigrants were mainly recruited from the agricultural districts, which were

suffering from the keen competition of the newly opened and productive regions overseas. But the favorable industrial situation in Germany at the close of the '80's made it possible to absorb within Germany a part at least of the petty farmers and agricultural laborers who would otherwise have emigrated.

The prosperous period, 1889-90, was followed by an industrial crisis in Germany during which the annual number of emigrants rose again to about 120,000, but after 1892 a great decline set in. The curve, which at the beginning of the '70's and still more in the '80's had looked like the temperature chart of an alarming fever, did not show 50,000 emigrants in any one year during the quarter of a century following 1894. From 1895 until the outbreak of the World War the annual number of overseas emigrants, apart from minor fluctuations, ranged between 20,000 and 25,000, or in comparison with previous conditions it almost ceased. To what was the change due?

The main causes lie in the rapid industrial advance of Germany. Through the rise of manufactures, dependent to a great extent on exports, it was possible to retain in the country those surplus workers from the rural districts who had furnished most of the emigrants. The goal of German economic policy, to export goods instead of persons, was substantially attained. Emigration, especially overseas emigration, gave way to an internal migration of an intensity never imagined, largely from the country to the cities, especially the great cities.

The small emigration which continued took on a different character. Much of it became a sort of temporary emigration made up of trained industrial laborers, technical laborers, foremen, engineers and tradespeople, who removed overseas for a long period rather than for life, to profit from the favorable economic conditions. Thus the emigration curve came to depend more than ever upon industrial prosperity and this relationship became more evident the more the phases of the business cycle failed to synchronize in the country of emigration and the country of immigration. When the German period of prosperity came to an end in 1901, German emigration figures increased. Conversely, the American economic crisis of 1908 brought about a decline in the number of German emigrants.

During the World War emigration overseas from blockaded Germany, fell almost to zero. The immigration statistics of the principal immigration countries, especially the United States,

recorded some hundreds or thousands of German immigrants, but most of these probably were Germans from other countries, such as Canada.

Even after the war, German emigration kept down to narrow limits. In view of the desperate political and economic plight into which Germany was plunged this may seem surprising. Many men returning from the front could find no employment. The amputation of large sections of German territory drove hundreds of thousands of Germans out of their homes in the separated districts, and they competed for employment within diminished Germany. Great sections of the people were dissatisfied with the internal political conditions. Numbers despaired of the future and of their fatherland. This widespread feeling of despair was the best medium for producing an emigration fever, and everywhere a great desire to emigrate appeared. But the impulse could not be satisfied, for emergency legislation in foreign countries stood in the way and was only slowly repealed. The German merchant fleet had been almost lost through the Treaty of Versailles, and thus emigration from German ports had become almost impossible.

But despite these hindrances German emigration swelled rapidly. In 1922 it was 37,000, greater than in any year since 1895, and in 1923 it was 115,000, greater than in any year since 1892. This crest was connected with the decline in the value of German currency. In 1923 after the invasion of the Ruhr, inflation reached its maximum figure (\$1 = 4,200,000,000,000 paper marks). Private capital almost disappeared. Thousands in desperation sought by emigration to save themselves from the threatening economic chaos. After the currency had been stabilized the economic and financial situation cleared up and the political outlook improved, confidence in the future was slowly regained. In 1924 emigration dropped to about 60,000 and since then has remained at that level.

This decline is ascribable also in part to measures taken by the immigration countries, such as raising the financial requirements imposed upon immigrants, demanding the possession of more capital or the furnishing of sureties, or limiting the number of immigrants by legislation. The last form of restriction was adopted by the United States, which established immigrant quotas for each European country. As the United States is still the goal of most German emigrants their emigration was greatly curtailed by this legislation.

In view of these legislative restrictions the statistics of emigration are not a good measure of the desire to emigrate. That desire

is better revealed by the statistics of the National Emigration Bureau showing the number of persons anxious to emigrate who had sought advice and information from the bureau. These figures are summarized in Table 130.

TABLE 130.

NUMBERS OF GERMAN APPLICATIONS TO NATIONAL EMIGRATION BUREAU,
1910-27.

Fiscal Year Apr. 1 to March 31	Persons advised	Replies sent out	Number emigrating overseas
1910-20 ^a	18,681	22,518	3,223
1920-21	79,216	101,813	9,194
1921-22	70,765	82,979	24,173
1922-23	76,716	89,011	36,623
1923-24	124,841	148,732	115,431
1924-25	54,594	64,732	58,328
1925-26	73,435	86,595	62,705
1926-27	97,295	115,957	65,280

^aIn 1920 the *Reichsstelle* was established.

The annual numbers are not exactly comparable on account of the varying extent of the Bureau's field (since 1924 limitations have been imposed on it), but they do show that in recent years the desire to emigrate is much more wide-spread than the number of emigrants would indicate.

German Emigration Foci

To classify emigrants according to their place of origin throws light on the motives of emigration and has interest on its own account. From what parts of Germany do the mass of emigrants come? From rural or city districts? From agrarian or industrial provinces? Are there so-called "emigration foci?" From the economic and social composition of the foci, what conclusions can be drawn about the motives for emigration?

The earliest mass emigration overseas originated in southwest Germany. In the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth the inhabitants of the Palatinate and Swabia fur-

nished the principal contingents. Thanks to the great artery of the Rhine, western and southwestern Germans were connected with international trade at a time when central and northern Germany were almost completely cut off from it.

While the psychological requisites for emigration were found in southwestern Germany, other political, economic and social factors stimulating it were not lacking. Hardly any other region in Europe suffered from wars and devastation more often and more severely than the Palatinate. Nowhere were the political unrest and disappointment in 1848 at the frustration of their hope of eliminating the German petty states and creating a single German Nation, greater than in southwestern Germany. Still more important was the agrarian legislation. Southwestern Germany (the Palatinate, Baden, Württemberg) is preëminently a region of small peasant holdings.¹ Because of the unlimited division of the holdings and the great increase of population, the land was so subdivided that many of the small farms, even in good years, could hardly support a family. When the crops failed in successive years, as frequently happened, these petty farmers and their families suffered bitterly unless they could find other employment. Faced with the impossibility of satisfying their craving for land, for an adequate living, and for economic and social betterment, the inhabitants were ready to accept the invitations of foreign agents and emigrate *en masse*. If the first emigrants made a fortune "over there" or sent back favorable reports, then the more faint-hearted were ready to follow.

Early in the '40's emigration spread, first to the western states and provinces (Hesse, the Rhineland, Westphalia, Thuringia), *i. e.* to those regions with a minute subdivision of landed property and lying near the main arteries of traffic, and later to other districts. With the gradual improvement in transportation by the completion of railways, a great human current began to flow from central and eastern Germany, shifting the foci of emigration to eastern and northeastern districts. German emigration reached its first crest in the southwest and west in the middle of the '50's, its second in central Germany towards the end of the '50's, and its third in the

¹According to the agricultural census of 1925 (cf. *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 1927, Heft 9, p. 396) about 101,000 farmers were enumerated in the Palatinate. Of these 65,000, or 64 per cent, had an improved area of less than 5 acres, 23,000 had from 5 to 12 acres, 13,000 from 12 to 50 acres, and only about 600, or 0.6 per cent, cultivated more than 50 acres.

east in the '70's and '80's.¹ Emigration from southwestern Germany remained relatively high, but another emigration center developed in the northeast, from which hundreds of thousands of emigrants left for overseas.

After the World War emigration from the northeast was below the average, and the current shifted again to the northwestern and southwestern districts. The sources of emigration in the various parts of Germany since 1870 are shown in Table 132 (page 349).

Before the World War West Prussia, Pomerania and Posen showed the highest emigration rate. They are agricultural provinces with large landed estates and large-scale cultivation.² But cultivation on a large scale, like the other extreme of very small holdings, is a cause of emigration. As Mönckmeier states,³ in northeastern

TABLE 131.
PER CENT OF TOTAL EMIGRATION BY PROVINCES, 1844-71.

Year	Western Provinces	Central Provinces acquired in 1866.	Eastern Provinces
	(a) Prussia (limits before 1866).		
1844-59	42.2	....	57.8
1860	39.3	....	60.7
1861	28.2	....	71.8
1862	18.1	....	81.9
1863	18.2	....	81.8
1864	33.2	....	68.8
1865	30.8	....	69.2
1866	32.3	....	67.7
	(b) Prussia (including Hesse-Nassau, Hanover and Schleswig-Holstein)		
1867	19.8	43.6	36.6
1868	14.9	40.3	44.8
1869	12.6	43.2	44.2
1870	9.5	54.0	36.5
1871	13.4	43.0	43.6

¹For the period before the foundation of the Empire this appears, at least so far as Prussia is concerned, from the following comparison based upon the data given by T. Bödicker, "Auswanderung und Einwanderung des preussisches Staates" (1873).

The total emigration from Prussia—including emigration overseas, the cancellations from the list of citizens, and the notations of the local authorities—was distributed as given in Table 131.

After their incorporation in the Prussian state the newly added provinces showed an unusually large emigration, ascribable to political motives, such as dissatisfaction with the political readjustment or dread of compulsory military service. With the reconciliation of these provinces to the new conditions emigration diminished.

²Cf. *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 212; also *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 1927, Heft 9.

³Mönckmeier, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung* (1912), p. 126.

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TABLE 132
AVERAGE ANNUAL EMIGRATION RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION FROM THE SEVERAL DISTRICTS OF GERMANY: 1871-1926.

Division ^b	Annual Average Rate											
	1871-74	1875-79	1880-84	1885-89	1890-94	1895-99	1900-1904	1905-09	1910-14	1921-24 ^c	1925 ^d	1926 ^e
Northeast.....	388	101	604	335	(a) 313	68	53	32	76	81	75	
Northwest.....	381	137	665	341	274	102	80	50	147	170	140	
Southwest.....	189	47	307	175	101	49	25	26	123	134	144	
Central.....	25	32	159	63	78	28	43	24	64	57	64	
Southeast.....	60	37	256	118	74	22	23	12	52	35	67	
Western.....	106	32	248	114	101	29	23	21	65	60	75	
Hansa Cities.....	371	156	371	371	371	220	134	100	317	295	281	
Average for Reich ^b	219	67	378	209	184	53	44	32	95	100	103	
<i>Province</i>												
All Prussia.....	219	71	392	211	(b) 101	40	27	27	74	76	77	
East Prussia.....	329	99	1154	781	672	30	70	16	53	71	64	
Brandenburg (inc. Berlin).....	115	50	234	125	93	113	68	46	87	83	82	
Pomerania.....	695	185	1234	533	474	68	40	30	61	76	55	
Posen.....	531	135	866	561	623	173	123	58	161	183	163	
Silesia.....	58	29	117	63	56	117	13	10	26	34	40	
Saxony.....	67	28	130	65	73	27	22	17	67	43	50	
Schleswig-Holstein.....	460	159	866	404	287	106	79	50	163	184	151	
Hanover.....	347	131	576	310	264	80	67	29	140	164	135	
Westphalia.....	95	42	227	103	38	38	37	29	67	50	64	
Hesse-Nassau.....	231	59	415	204	153	52	31	20	65	70	83	
Rhine Province.....	60	24	156	89	88	26	23	16	63	57	81	
Hohenzollern.....	115	40	212	120	100	32	27	7	78	90	124	
<i>All Bavaria:</i>												
Right Bank of Rhine.....	174	41	303	198	152	44	42	28	99	103	126	
Palatinate.....	183	38	278	183	143	49	40	28	107	105	122	
Saxony (state).....	302	60	475	295	215	78	58	24	41	53	153	
Württemberg.....	78	36	209	75	98	32	31	22	76	74	91	
Baden.....	231	68	482	267	250	79	60	28	203	195	175	
Hesse.....	293	68	331	218	194	53	41	27	144	204	205	
Mecklenburg-Schwerin.....	290	69	369	223	152	45	29	13	63	73	85	
Mecklenburg-Strelitz.....	944	93	662	254	186	43	33	16	59	64	50	
Oldenburg.....	481	69	660	245	192	25	18	8	32	39	36	
Brunswick.....	327	107	548	329	292	84	82	53	146	168	143	
Thuringia.....	114	48	158	71	69	33	24	32	56	75	55	
Anhalt.....	149	35	226	95	98	31	34	3	64	84	98	
Waldeck.....	64	37	102	36	42	21	14	16	52	43	52	
Waldock.....	226	74	384	204	124	45	36	58	41	73	28	

TABLE 132 (concluded)

Division ^b	Annual Average Rate											
	1871-74	1875-79	1880-84	1885-89	1890-94	1895-99	1900-1904	1905-09	1910-14	1921-24 ^c	1925 ^d	1926 ^e
Lippe and Schaumburg-Lippe	147	60	219	130	102	23	22	21	18	61	44	57
Alsace-Lorraine	35	8	42	52	50	15	37	27	22	..	156	..
Lübeck	185	73	273	145	118	95	45	31	675	77	412	392
Bremen	428	191	852	568	521	271	162	232	89	363	276	270
Hamburg	280	156	582	339	323	224	137	91	39	331	276	270

^aThe figures in the last three columns relate to the present limits of the Reich and those of its parts.

^bThe divisions are composed as follows: *Northeast*, East Prussia, West Prussia, Pomerania, Posen, Brandenburg, Berlin, Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz; *Northwest*, Schleswig-Holstein, Hannover, Oldenburg, Baden, Württemberg, Hesse, Nassau, Alsace-Lorraine, Hohenzollern, *Central Germany*, Thuringia, the provinces of Saxony, Brunswick, Anhalt, Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, the province of Sillesia, the state of Saxony; *West*, the Rhine province, Westphalia, Hesse-Nassau, Lippe and Schaumburg-Lippe; and the Hanseatic cities, Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck.

^cThe figures for the remaining portions of the provinces of West Prussia and of Posen that were left to the Reich by the Treaty of Versailles have been summarized from 1921 on under Posen-West Prussia.

Germany the owners of great landed estates and an agricultural working class without land ownership sharply confront one another. There is no middle class.

A sound admixture of small, medium and large holdings makes it possible for hard-working and ambitious members of the farming class (sons of peasants or agricultural laborers) to rise socially and thus favors a stable population. On the other hand, the prevalence of great estates hinders the most capable from getting ahead by industry and thrift and therefore stimulates emigration.¹ Emigration from this region was so great that, before the war, hundreds of thousands of Polish, Galician and other migratory laborers were employed for field and harvest work on the great estates. But these foreign laborers so depressed the wage level of agricultural workers that the residents found therein a further reason for emigrating. The inflow of labor from Russia and Poland was both the consequence and the cause of German emigration.²

These resident laborers instead of emigrating, often simply migrated to another district. Wherever an important industry developed alongside of agrarian pursuits, it absorbed the surplus farming population. Thus Saxony, Brandenburg and Silesia, in which there are many large estates, do not show the same emigration rate as Pomerania, Posen and West Prussia, because great industries have developed in the former and absorbed hundreds of thousands of agricultural laborers. From East Prussia, with many large estates,

TABLE 133.

LOSS BY MIGRATION AND EXCESS OF BIRTHS, 1840-1910.
(In Thousands and Per Cents)

Province	Loss by Migration	Excess of Births	Loss as per cent of Excess of Births
East Prussia	729	1,403	52.0
West Prussia	603	1,393	43.3
Pomerania	744	1,412	52.7
Posen	878	1,753	50.1
Silesia	674	3,052	22.1
Saxony	543	2,007	27.1
Hanover	402	1,657	24.3
Bavaria	764	3,329	23.0
Württemberg	607	1,404	43.2
Baden	303	1,154	26.3
Alsace-Lorraine	476	846	56.3

¹M. Sering, "Grundbesitzverteilung und Abwanderung vom Land" (1910).

²M. Weber, "Die Lage der Landarbeiter in Ostelbien" (1892).

there has been a large emigration to Berlin, Rhenish Westphalia and the Baltic countries, but little has gone overseas.

This may have been due in part to the character of the people. The Masurian race in southern East Prussia cling tenaciously to their homes.¹ The landlords and peasants in the northern part of that province also resort less to overseas destinations than to the German west.² In connection with the occupational census of 1907, the province of birth was reported for residents of Berlin-Brandenburg as well as of the two industrial provinces in the west, with the results given in Table 134.

TABLE 134.

RESIDENTS, 1907, OF WESTPHALIA, RHINE PROVINCE AND BERLIN-BRANDENBURG
ACCORDING TO BIRTHPLACE.
(In Thousands)

Birthplace	Province of Residence					
	Berlin-Brandenburg		Rhine Province		Westphalia	
	Total	In Industry	Total	In Industry	Total	In Industry
East Prussia	182	88	73	54	115	96
West Prussia	157	75	36	26	44	36
Pomerania	258	116	13	6	8	5
Posen	223	114	47	36	84	74
Silesia	297	141	43	29	51	40

In northwestern Germany there has been considerable overseas emigration. This is a region of typical peasant districts, where medium-sized and large peasant farms predominate. The holdings usually pass undivided to one of the sons, the others turning to different occupations or seeking to establish themselves elsewhere. To be sure, there are many tiny holdings, but with these it is difficult to progress and many of the owners emigrate.³

The high emigration figures of Bremen and Hamburg are due in part to the emigration rate of those cities and in part to the fact that many emigrants from elsewhere in Germany stop for a time in

¹Leidig, "Preussische Auswanderungspolitik" (1892).

²The total loss through migration overseas, overland and internal, is higher in the province of East Prussia than in the other provinces east of the Elbe or in the South German States. Of its surplus of 1,400,000 births, 1840-1910, East Prussia lost about 729,000, or more than half, through migration. There occurred in the period 1840-1910 the losses recorded in Table 133.

³Mönckmeier cites in this connection: "Bäuerliche Zustände in Deutschland."

one or the other city and then give Bremen or Hamburg as their last place of residence.

After 1918 the regions with a high rate of emigration were unchanged. Within the borders of Posen and West Prussia there were many refugees from alienated districts further east, and of these refugees many went forth as emigrants in the first years after the war. Other districts with high rates are Holstein and Hanover, and in the southwest are Baden, Württemberg and the Palatinate. The recent high figures of Berlin indicate that it has become a way station, especially for those from alienated regions in the east.

Finally, Table 132 (page 349) shows that after the World War the differences between the agricultural and the industrial districts diminished, emigration having lost its purely agricultural character.

From the earliest period North America and especially the United States has been the destination of most German emigrants. Of the 5,800,000 who departed overseas between 1820 and 1925, not less than 5,200,000, or nearly nine-tenths, went to the United States. Table 135 summarizes the data by decades.

Only in the decade including the war and in the period 1921-26 did the proportion going to the United States fall below seven-eighths, and even then it was more than two-thirds. In only one

TABLE 135.

NUMBER OF GERMAN OVERSEAS EMIGRANTS AND PROPORTION GOING TO UNITED STATES, 1820-1926.
(In Thousands)

Period	Total	Going to United States	Per cent going to United States
1820-30	9	8	90.9
1831-40	168	152	90.9
1841-50	469	435	92.6
1851-60	1,075	952	88.5
1861-70	833	787	94.5
1871-80	626	556	88.8
1881-90	1,342	1,237	92.2
1891-1900	523	479	90.4
1901-10	280	255	91.1
1911-20	92	64	69.3
1921-26	362	248	68.6
1820-1926	5,785	5,173	89.4

year was it less than half, viz., in 1924, when it was 38.5 per cent. This is ascribable to the change in American legislation. According to the Act of 1921 not more than 20 per cent of the yearly quota of immigrants could be admitted in a single month of the fiscal years 1922 and 1923. The unfavorable economic conditions of 1923, the culmination of inflation, resulted in the almost complete exhaustion of Germany's quota in the first half of the American fiscal year. In the second half of that year German emigration to the United States was practically barred. In July 1924, the quota for the fiscal year 1924-25 began and German emigration to the United States was resumed. But the new immigration act of 1924 reduced the German quota from 67,607 to 51,227, and provided that in any one month not more than 10 per cent of the quota could be admitted. In consequence, German emigration to the United States was greatly curtailed in the second half of 1925;¹ and the emigrants went to other countries, especially Brazil and Argentina, in larger proportions than ever before. In 1924 almost as many Germans emigrated to Brazil as to the United States. Under the 10 per cent a month provision introduced by the immigration act of 1924 there was a more even distribution of quota emigration over the year. In 1925 and 1926 the share of the United States in German emigration rose again; in those two years about three-fourths of the overseas emigrants went to the United States.

Among the countries of destination, Brazil occupies second place. Of the 3,200,000 Germans who emigrated overseas between 1871 and 1926 about 108,000, or 3.3 per cent, went to Brazil. In reality there were probably more, since the exact destination of the German emigrants to South America was only imperfectly ascertained, especially between 1900 and 1920. If Brazilian statistics

¹This also explains the divergence, in the first post-war years, between the German emigration statistics based on calendar years and the American immigration statistics based on fiscal years. Were one to reduce the American immigration statistics likewise to calendar years, the two sets of figures would agree pretty well, especially in the most recent periods. In the calendar year there totaled:

	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Emigrants to the U. S. (German statistics)	24,605	92,808	22,475	48,084	51,144
Immigrants from Germany (U. S. statistics)	26,038	97,401	28,810	49,634	50,698
Quota immigrants from Germany (U. S. statistics)	.....	.....	20,419 ^a	49,746	51,193

^aJuly-December 1924.

are accepted 145,000 German immigrants arrived 1871-1926. The distribution by decades is given in Table 136.

TABLE 136.
GERMAN MIGRANTS TO BRAZIL, 1871-1928.

Decade	German Statistics	Brazilian Statistics
1871-80	20,904	17,006
1881-90	18,792	21,628
1891-1900	12,459	12,489
1901-10	3,985	17,533
1911-20	1,674	26,120
1921-28	53,772	(67,340)
Total,	111,586	162,116

For 1818-60, Hehl¹ estimated the number of German emigrants to Brazil at about 37,000. In 1861-70 there were about 5,000. According to Brazilian immigration statistics then, about 190,000 Germans migrated to Brazil 1818-1926.

Important as this figure is it is insignificant beside the 5,200,000 who migrated to the United States during the same period. German and other North European emigration was directed mainly to the United States, Romance emigration mainly to South America. However, the German element is strongly represented in South America, and its economic and cultural importance for the country of immigration does not depend solely on the number of emigrants. After the World War, furthermore, German emigration to Brazil and to South America as a whole increased greatly.

Argentina occupies third place among the countries sought by Germans. About 60,000 Germans emigrated to that country 1871-1926. This number is as much below the truth as the German figures for Brazil. During the same period Argentina's immigration statistics show 107,000 German immigrants. Both totals are distributed by decennia as shown in Table 137 (page 356).

According to the emigration statistics, Germans went to South American countries 1871-1926, as follows: Chile, 6,147; Peru, 1,115; Uruguay, 958. These figures are unimportant, however, for during the same period about 40,000 German emigrants, nearly five times

¹Cited by Mönckmeier in *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung* (1912), p. 216.

TABLE 137.

GERMAN MIGRANTS TO ARGENTINA, 1871-1928.

Period	German Statistics	Argentine Statistics
1871-80	1,542	3,819
1881-90	8,369	14,184
1891-1900	6,406	8,693
1901-10	4,611	19,304
1911-20	4,222	22,158
1920-28	39,084	(50,378)
Total,	64,234	118,536

as many, went to the "remainder of South America." Most of these emigrants, doubtless, went to Brazil, Argentina or some one of the other South American countries already mentioned.

According to German emigration statistics, 213,000 Germans went to South America 1871-1926. This number is a minimum, because a part—though a small part (perhaps a tenth)—of the 86,000 German emigrants who embarked at French ports with destination unspecified went to South American countries.

Of the remaining American countries, Canada, Mexico, and Central America have been important destinations. About 39,000 Germans were recorded as emigrating to Canada 1871-1928. This figure is doubtless too low. Canadian immigration data¹ show that the number of immigrants from Germany to Canada was considerably greater than the number registered in the German emigration statistics, and before 1871 there had been considerable German emigration to Canada which seems to have escaped registration.

According to the German emigration statistics, over 7,000 Germans emigrated to Mexico, Central America or the West Indies 1871-1926.²

All told, of the 3,250,000 Germans who emigrated overseas 1871-1926, there were 3,090,000 registered as going to American countries. If one adds the 86,000 Germans who emigrated from French ports without giving their destination,³ then altogether 3,176,000 Germans emigrated to America 1871-1926.

¹[See Volume I, p. 364f., 367.—Ed.]

²[See Volume I, p. 700f.—Ed.]

³[See Volume I, p. 697.—Ed.]

The volume of German emigration to other continents was unimportant. According to German statistics there went to:

European overseas countries	(1899-1926)	10,676	emigrants
Africa	(1871-1926)	19,326	"
Asia	(1871-1926)	3,205	"
Australia	(1871-1926)	23,098	"

German statistics classify emigrants by sex, age, family relation, and marital condition, as well as by occupation and social status. No information on these subjects was obtained about German emigrants embarking at foreign ports, but these omissions were numerically unimportant and would not change the picture.

The sex of more than 94 per cent of the German emigrants was reported. Of these 56 per cent were males and 44 per cent females. This excess of males appeared at the start,¹ and is found among all emigrant groups with unimportant exceptions.²

For the decennial periods after 1871, Table 138 gives the classification of German emigrants by sex.

TABLE 138.

GERMAN EMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO SEX, 1871-1928.
(Per Cent)

Period	Male	Female	Totals
1871-80	57	43	100
1881-90	56	44	100
1891-1900	55	45	100
1901-10	58	42	100
1911-20	61	39	100
1921-28	56	44	100

A more exact picture is secured by combining the data about sex with those about the age, family relation, and marital condition of the emigrants.

The classification of the emigrants by age was at first very summary. Before 1883 only the following age groups were dif-

¹F. Kapp, *Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderung in Amerika* (1869); W. Mönckmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

²According to the compilations by the International Labour Office (Geneva) of the transoceanic emigrants from Europe, 61.4 per cent were males in 1922; 66.7 per cent in 1923; 63.6 per cent in 1924. See *Les mouvements migratoires de 1920 à 1924*.

ferentiated: "Under 1 year," "1 to 10 years," "over 10 years." For 1871-1883 there were, among every 100 emigrants:

Sex	All Ages	Under 1 year	1-10 years	Over 10 years
Male	100.0	5.5	16.4	78.1
Female	100.0	7.1	20.5	72.4

In the middle of the '80's a detailed classification by age was introduced for German emigrants from German ports (and so far as possible for those embarking at foreign ports), namely, 1-6, 6-10, 10-14, 14-21, 21-30, 30-40, 40-50, 50-60, and over 60 years of age. For 1899-1924, the ages for the middle groups became 14-18, 18-21, 21-25, 25-30 years. On summarizing the outcome of this classification by age for a long period and for the most important groups there results the picture given in Table 139.

TABLE 139.

DISTRIBUTION OF ALL GERMAN EMIGRANTS AND OF EACH SEX INTO LARGE AGE GROUPS: 1884-1926.

Period	Under 14 years	14-21 years	21-50 years	50 and over	Totals
PER CENT OF EMIGRANTS IN EACH LARGE AGE GROUP, BY SEX AND TOTAL, 1884-1926.					
<i>Males</i>					
1884-90	23.4	19.9	51.2	5.5	100.0
1891-1900	19.9	19.0	55.8	5.3	100.0
1901-10	17.4	16.6	62.0	4.0	100.0
1911-20	15.5	15.2	65.6	3.7	100.0
1921-26	11.2	19.2	65.5	4.1	100.0
<i>Females</i>					
1884-90	27.3	22.3	43.4	7.0	100.0
1891-1900	23.6	24.4	44.7	7.3	100.0
1901-10	23.3	22.3	48.0	6.4	100.0
1911-20	23.3	20.5	50.9	5.3	100.0
1921-26	14.7	18.6	60.8	5.9	100.0
<i>Totals</i>					
1884-90	25.2	21.0	47.7	6.1	100.0
1891-1900	21.6	21.4	50.8	6.2	100.0
1901-10	19.9	19.0	56.1	5.0	100.0
1911-20	18.6	17.3	59.8	4.3	100.0
1921-26	12.7	18.9	63.5	4.9	100.0

TABLE 139 (Concluded).

EMIGRANTS PER 100,000 OF POPULATION OF SPECIFIED SEX AND AGE, FOR 1885, 1900, 1910, AND 1925.

Period	Under 14 years	14-21 years	21-50 years	50 and over
		<i>Males</i>		
1885	164	363	331	87
1900	60	141	145	37
1910	25	57	74	13
1925	54	140	159	23
		<i>Females</i>		
1885	56	328	216	79
1900	57	147	92	34
1910	24	55	41	13
1925	55	112	120	23
		<i>Totals</i>		
1885	160	346	272	83
1900	59	144	118	35
1910	25	56	57	13
1925	54	126	139	23

This table shows a decline in the proportion of children of both sexes. Whereas in 1884-90 about a quarter of all the emigrants were under the age of 14 years, in 1921-26 there were only one-eighth. The proportion of young people from 14 to 21 years of age declined somewhat for each sex. In the case of the males, however, a rise to 19.2 per cent after the war is to be connected with the abolition of universal military service. But the proportion of those 21 to 50 years of age has risen, for the males from 51 to 66 per cent, for females from 43 to 61 per cent, and for both sexes from 48 to 64 per cent. While formerly about half of the emigrants were from 21 to 50 years of age, today nearly two-thirds belong to this productive class.

These shifts indicate a radical change in the character of German emigration. From the decline in the proportion of children and girls and the increase in proportion of persons from 21 to 50 years of age, it may be inferred that recent emigration is made up less of families, and more of single persons.

German emigration statistics also show the proportion of the emigrants who go out in family groups. Table 140 shows this.

TABLE 140.

PER CENT OF GERMAN EMIGRANTS IN FAMILY GROUPS AND SINGLY,
1881-1926.

Period	In Families	Singly
1881-90	57.8	42.2
1891-1900	47.6	52.4
1901-10	42.2	57.8
1911-20	39.4	60.6
1921-26	35.2	64.8

From the beginning, German emigration has been mainly an emigration in families.¹ Up to the middle of the '90's, the emigrants in families outnumbered the single individuals; but with the shrinkage in emigration, its character changed. Emigration of individuals came to the fore; about two-thirds of the emigrants in 1926 travelled singly and only one-third in families. For the last three years (1924-26) the number of families emigrating and of persons in them are given in Table 141.

TABLE 141.

NUMBER OF FAMILIES AND OF MEMBERS OF FAMILIES EMIGRATING
1924-26.

Year	Number of Families	Number of Members of Families Traveling	
		Total	Per Family
1924	8,062	25,011	3.1
1925	7,472	20,764	2.8
1926	7,109	18,776	2.6

The small number of persons per family indicates that young families are involved. Moreover, the average number of persons in an emigrant's family has declined. In 1890 it amounted to 3.7, in 1900 to 3.4, in 1913 to 3.4, and in 1926, to only 2.6 persons. This decline is probably connected with the general decline in births and the shrinkage in the average size of the family.²

¹Mönckmeier, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung* (1912), p. 137.²Burgdörfer, "Volk, Familie, und Statistik" (1927), p. 349.

In part it is due also to the fact that when the emigrant families moved, the husband went first, leaving the wife and children to follow after he had obtained a foothold. This is also indicated by the fact that in emigrants' families as distinguished from all emigrants and individual emigrants, the females are most numerous (see Table 142).

TABLE 142.

ANNUAL AVERAGE PER CENT OF MALES AND FEMALES AMONG OVERSEAS EMIGRANTS, FAMILIES AND SINGLE PERSONS, 1881-1928.

Period	Emigrant Families		Single Emigrants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1881-90	47.2	52.8	68.5	31.5
1891-1900	45.5	54.5	63.8	36.2
1901-10	45.6	54.4	67.5	32.5
1911-20	45.2	54.8	70.7	29.3
1921-28	45.7	54.3	62.2	37.8

This table shows that more than half of those traveling in families but barely one-third of those traveling alone before the war were females. After the war the per cent of females increased, probably due to the emigration of female domestic servants during the inflation period.

The preceding data find their complement in the classification of emigrants by marital condition which has been made since 1889, and separately for those emigrating in families and those emigrating alone. The summarized data are given in Table 143.¹

TABLE 143.

ANNUAL AVERAGE PER CENT OF SINGLE AND MARRIED MALES AND FEMALES TRAVELING IN FAMILIES, 1889-1926.

Period	Males		Females		Totals	
	Single	Married	Single	Married	Single	Married
1899-1904	62.2	37.8	55.0	45.0	58.3	41.7
1905-09	60.9	39.1	52.2	47.8	56.2	43.8
1910-14	59.9	40.1	50.6	49.2	54.9	45.1
1921-26	49.0	51.0	42.2	57.8	45.4	54.6

¹The widowed are included among the married, and the divorced also, when they travel in families.

Before the war unmarried persons predominated in the emigration by families, both for the total and for each sex. After the war, however, married persons predominated in each sex but especially among females. This change is related to another, namely, that the children of married emigrants are fewer than formerly. That the proportion of married persons is somewhat less among males is due to the fact that the husband frequently emigrated first, leaving the wife and children to follow. This is more clearly indicated in Table 144 where the classification is by marital relation of males and females travelling alone.

TABLE 144.

ANNUAL AVERAGE PER CENTS OF SINGLE AND MARRIED MALES AND FEMALES TRAVELING ALONE, 1899-1926.

Period	Males		Females		Total	
	Single	Married	Single	Married	Single	Married
1899-1904	84.2	15.8	87.9	12.1	85.5	14.5
1905-09	79.0	21.0	86.7	13.3	81.5	18.5
1910-14	80.3	19.7	86.5	13.5	82.1	17.9
1921-26	79.0	21.0	82.1	17.9	80.2	19.8

The per cent of the married among males is somewhat higher than among females. The proportion married has been somewhat higher also since the war.

If the two kinds of emigration—that by families and that of persons traveling along—are combined, as in Table 145, the proportion of married persons is found to be somewhat greater for females than for males; and since the war the proportion of married persons has risen.

TABLE 145.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF ALL EMIGRANTS, BY SEX AND MARITAL CONDITION, 1899-1926.

Period	Males		Females		Totals	
	Single	Married	Single	Married	Single	Married
1899-1904	76.7	23.3	69.7	30.3	73.7	26.3
1905-09	73.2	26.8	68.4	31.6	71.2	28.8
1910-14	74.1	25.9	67.4	32.6	71.4	25.6
1921-26	70.3	29.7	64.7	35.3	67.9	32.1

Money Value of German Emigration

Calculations about the money value of emigration, the loss of capital through emigration or the gain through immigration, are very difficult. It is hard enough to estimate the property which emigrants take with them, but if one attempts to estimate the money value of the emigrants themselves as a labor force, the difficulties become almost insuperable.

Indeed such calculations are often said to be unjustified. Thus in his treatise on German emigration W. Mönckmeier declined to enter this field "because all these calculations are not entirely free from objections." It was not proper, he thought, to regard emigration as in every instance a loss to the mother country. At times it has served as a safety valve against over-population. Sartorius von Waltershausen also believes that one should abandon such efforts to calculate the loss to a country by emigration or its gain by immigration. He is of the opinion that neither loss nor gain can be established, and points out that sometimes emigration has been considered a detriment and at other times a blessing. But he refers to the great shift of population which has resulted from migration and which has caused and is causing a redistribution of political and economic power. This indicates the real effect and the political and economic importance of migration. It is inconceivable that, without the great immigration into the United States, its unexampled economic, political and cultural rise would have developed. In 1790 it had a free white population of 3,231,930. F. Kapp has calculated that, assuming an average annual increase of 1.38 per cent, these 3¼ millions by 1870 would have increased naturally (that is, without any immigration) to 10 millions, while as a matter of fact 38.5 millions were then enumerated. If one were to carry his calculations through, on the basis of the same natural increase of 1.38 per cent a year, the original population of 3,232,000 in 1790 would have increased by 1920 to, at the most, 19,200,000; while, thanks to the millions of immigrants and their descendants, it actually amounted to 96,200,000. Immigration during the last 120 years has hastened the growth of its population, and has been a main cause for the rapid exploitation of its natural resources, its impetuous industrial expansion, and the tremendous increase in its national wealth.

From the standpoint of an immigration country, and especially of one thinly populated and thirsting for people, immigration must be regarded as mainly a gain. Less easy is it to decide whether and

to what extent emigration is to be deemed a loss to the country from which it goes. It can be regarded as a loss or a gain according to the point of view. It has frequently been regarded as an advantage by those left behind. For example, in the period 1840 to 1889, approximately 4,000,000 marks were spent from the public funds (state and communal) in Baden in the shape of grants in aid of emigration.¹ The question has been answered differently according to the exigencies of the period, and emigration has been regarded even if not a benefit, as a lesser evil than overpopulation.

However, it appears at least doubtful whether this policy of encouraging emigration was sound. From a German standpoint one must regret that so many millions of our most capable people were lost to Germany through emigration and could not be directed to her own colonies. Whether it would have been possible to direct the stream from our principal regions of emigration to thinly populated regions within Germany cannot be decided. That this was not done was due in large part to the subdivision of Germany into many states. Perhaps, if there had been a united Germany and clear ideas about emigration or if there had been no outlet through emigration, the pressure of population would have hastened Germany's economic development and led to an earlier advance into an industrial regime.

This assumption seems the more justified because, as a rule, the more capable, venturesome and versatile elements emigrate, while the timid and pusillanimous, the infirm and the old do not. The emigrants as a rule, thanks to their greater powers, could have attained their ends at home. They would probably have aggravated the struggle for existence but the energy, industry and perseverance used in obtaining a livelihood abroad might have given a mighty impulse to conditions at home and contributed to raising the entire national economy.

Whatever one may think of this hypothesis, the fact remains that Germany lost by emigration millions of healthy, skillful, venturesome and creative people in their most productive age. This emigration of conspicuously capable elements means also the loss of those with the best heredity and therefore a kind of counter-selection.

This loss cannot be estimated in money. But the 6,000,000 emigrants who left Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth

¹Cf. E. von Philippovich, "Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik im Grossherzogtum Baden" (1892), p. 159.

centuries represent a considerable economic loss, because they were reared in Germany at considerable cost, educated and trained to their occupation while the country derived no return from their labor that would pay the interest upon the amortization of the capital invested in their upbringing. An account had been opened in German household economy which contained entries on the "debit" side, while the "credit" side remained blank because the "credit sums" had been transferred to another account, that of the country of immigration.

This is the basic fact from which every attempt to estimate the money value of emigration proceeds. From the standpoint of the country of emigration such an estimate must be based, I think, on the conception of value which Engel has called "Cost value."¹

A man's cost value or reproduction value represents the sum expended for bringing him into the world, for rearing, educating, and training him until he can earn his living. This sum varies with a man's social status and education, and is balanced by what a man can earn in his working life. These earnings must cover, normally, not only current costs of maintenance through the working life and for the period of old age and disability, but also the interest and amortization of the invested capital or cost value.

A man's earnings must equal his cost value; in fact, they must exceed it because the cost value of those dying before they are old enough to earn a living or before the amortization period is ended, and the cost value of those incapable of earning a living must be borne by the producers. A surplus in the earnings of the living generation over its cost value is needed also to pay the costs of bringing up a larger generation, due to the natural increase of population.

In my opinion in the calculation of values the earnings of a migrant should be considered only from the standpoint of the country of immigration. A calculation of the earnings of emigrants in the country of emigration might appear justified, as a measure of lost earnings, but the assumption from which one would have to proceed would be more or less fictitious. For the return the emigrant gets upon the capital invested in him depends not upon conditions at home but rather upon those in the country of immigration. In the country of emigration the earnings of the emigrant would be scarcely greater than his cost value, for the very fact of emigration points to an excess supply of labor, which would lower his earnings.

¹Engel, *Das Wert des Menschen* (1883).

But if the earnings of an immigrant in the immigration country are much higher than his cost value, this increased return cannot be regarded as a "loss" to the country of emigration, for the greater return upon the capital invested in the emigrant is due to favorable conditions in the country of immigration.

For these reasons it does not appear wise, in calculating the money value of German emigration, to follow K. Becker in estimating Germany's loss by emigration.¹ Becker based his calculations, to be sure, not upon the full earnings but upon the so-called "usage value," by which he meant the surplus of the emigrant's future production over his future consumption. According to this conception the loss of the home country consisted not of what an emigrant's subsistence and education had cost or of what he had produced, but of the surplus of his future earnings over his future cost of subsistence. In this computation Becker assumed that in the entire population production and consumption balance. If the age and sex composition of the emigrants were the same as that of the total population, there would be an approximate balance between the production and the consumption of these emigrants and the loss of the population remaining at home would be zero. It was only the larger proportion of persons of productive age among emigrants, according to Becker, that justified one in speaking of a "loss" through emigration.

This conception is based, I think, on several inadmissible assumptions. In the first place it does not seem correct to regard a people's production and consumption as substantially equal. They could be so regarded only if population and national wealth were stationary. But, during the nineteenth century there was a great increase in the German population and a greater increase in the national wealth. Therefore production must have been greater than consumption.

Becker's view, also, that a loss could only be due to differences between the composition of the emigrants and that of the rest of the population does not appear to be tenable. It would imply that no loss of population by epidemics or otherwise would entail an economic loss if the age and sex composition of the lost population coincided with the age and sex composition of those who stayed at home. Undoubtedly there was a great economic loss from the death of many men in the World War; under Becker's theory that would not have been true if graybeards and children as well as men

¹See *Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung*, 1887, p. 763ff.

in the prime of life had been swept away. This shows that Becker's point of view cannot be correct. Finally, as already explained, the calculation deals with fictitious quantities because the future usage value is based on conditions in the country of emigration which are no longer relevant. On the other hand, from the standpoint of the country of emigration, in calculating the cost value of emigrants, actual facts are involved and not fictitious values.

To be sure, considerable difficulties stand in the way of ascertaining the cost value of emigrants. Naturally, there can be no exact calculation, but only an estimate which would give an approximate idea of the order of magnitude of the values in question. Calculations concerning a man's cost value were first made by Engel in 1883 concerning a man's value.¹ He made estimates for three classes, namely: (1) males with an elementary education; (2) males with an average education; (3) males with a higher education. Although many emigrants came from the middle class and some from the educated upper class, yet the man with an elementary education, that is, the man whose education stopped with the common school and who began to earn his living at the age of 14 or 15 should be taken as a basis for the calculation. This gives only minimum figures.

A man's cost value increases with advancing age. In his calculations concerning the cost value of males with an elementary education, Engel started with the sum of 100 marks at the time of birth and made the cost of rearing and educating the child increase by 10 marks a year (110, 120, 130 marks, etc.) In the case of persons with an elementary education this outlay, with interest at 4 per cent, grew to 2,862 marks at the 15th year. But, as a portion of the children born alive had died before reaching their 15th year, their "reproduction costs" must be added to those of the surviving boys 15 years old. For a 15-year old boy with an elementary education, Engel (taking the mortality into consideration) arrived at a cost value of 3,738 marks.

For older persons Engel made the cost value increase from year to year, and from the standpoint of his general calculations this is quite right. But in applying his calculations to the present problem it must be remembered that, with a man's arrival at a producing age, at first part of his living costs and later his entire costs are covered; and furthermore that his reproduction costs during his early years bear interest and are gradually amortized. Therefore

¹Engel, *Das Wert des Menschen* (1883).

in the case of emigrants who are already at a producing age, one cannot enter the total reproduction cost up to the time of emigration, but only the remainder of the reproduction cost or the net cost.

Becker's calculations, to be sure, take this into consideration, but inadequately. The yearly earnings, on which he bases his calculation of the emigrants' usage value, do not satisfy this requirement. He starts with Engel's figures, in the main, with the difference that he recognizes only three age groups, namely: 0-5 years, for which he assumes 116 marks yearly; 6-9 years, for which he assumes 104 marks yearly; and 10-13, for which he assumes 232 marks yearly for living costs. Becker disregards the costs of a child before its birth. Nevertheless, in accordance with Engel's example, they have been included in the following calculation.

From 14 to 19 years of age, Becker assumed a small surplus of 11 marks yearly in earnings over the cost of living. From 20 to 25 years this surplus amounted to 171.5 marks and from 25 to 60 years to 196 marks yearly. However, on the basis of this production value, the capital and interest invested in one generation would rise steadily until at 60 years of age it would be about 6,700 marks per capita. The minimum interest and amortization requirements would therefore not be met. Here, also, Becker seems to proceed on inadmissible assumptions. Therefore in the following calculation the surplus of earnings over costs of living is raised about one-third to 231 marks yearly for those 20 to 24 years of age and 263 marks for those 25 to 60 years of age. With this larger surplus, the total "reproduction capital" would be amortized at the age of 60. For the later years, one can assume that the surplus of earnings over living costs from 60 to 65 would cover the living costs after employment has ceased.

We proceed, then, to calculate an emigrant's average value for the decade 1881-90 and start with the age distribution¹ of emigrants. The average age for each age class has been estimated from more detailed returns. For each of the average ages mentioned in Table 146 the gross and net cost of production were calculated, using the elements already mentioned, the German life-table for 1871-80, and interest at 4 per cent. This amount multiplied by the number of emigrants belonging to that average age per 100,000 of all ages, and the summation of the resulting products gives the capital value of 100,000 emigrants.

¹The sex distribution may be disregarded, since only minimum values for persons with an elementary education are involved and these could scarcely have been less for females than for males.

TABLE 146.

CALCULATION OF THE CAPITAL VALUE OF GERMAN EMIGRANTS IN THE DECADE
1881-90

Age Class	Average Age	Proportion of all Emigrants (= 100,000)	Per capita value at Average Age Marks	Total Value of Each Class Thousands of Marks
0-6	3	13,676	564	7,713
6-14	9	11,652	1,749	20,379
14-21	18	20,543	3,969	81,535
21-30	25	28,802	4,208	121,199
30-50	37	19,154	3,336	63,893
50 and over	55	6,173	1,042	6,432
Total,	..	100,000	.....	301,156

According to these figures and using the cost of rearing, the death rates and the age distribution of emigrants for that period, the capital value of 100,000 emigrants would have been 301,156,000 marks, or about 3,000 marks per capita.

This amount cannot be regarded as holding for the entire period. It is modified by three changes:

- (1) Changes in the age composition of emigrants.
- (2) Changes in the death rates during the emigrants' period of growth.
- (3) Changes in the cost of production.

Changes of the first two types can be measured with some certainty, and have been taken into account in calculations for other decades. Data about the cost of production during earlier periods are scanty, but changes in miners' wages¹ afford a point of departure. The annual cost of rearing and the annual earnings on which the calculations have been based were increased for the period after 1891 in proportion to the rising wage scale. This could not be done for the earlier period because there was no similar basis for determining the changes in the level of prices and of wages. However, they can scarcely be important because the index of wholesale prices, which has been calculated back to 1851,² shows that a man's cost of production was scarcely less during the earlier period than it was during 1881-90.

The results of applying these calculations to the total number

¹See *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1927, p. 317.

²*Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 1925, Supplement 1, p. 19.

of overseas emigrants, shown in Tables 124 and 126 (pages 333 and 335), are given for successive decades since 1820 in Table 147.

TABLE 147.

CALCULATION OF TOTAL CAPITAL LOSS TO GERMANY, BY OVERSEAS
EMIGRATION, 1820-1926.
(Millions of Marks)

Period	Emigrants Overseas (Totals)	Per Capita Value (Marks)	Capital Loss	With Interest Compounded to the end of 1927
1820-30	8,052	3,012	26	1,330
1831-40	167,699	3,012	505	17,505
1841-50	469,292	3,012	1,414	32,857
1851-60	1,075,001	3,012	3,238	55,694
1861-70	832,515	3,012	2,508	26,906
1871-80	625,968	3,012	1,885	14,679
1881-90	1,342,423	3,012	4,043	21,453
1891-1900	529,875	3,154	1,671	6,202
1901-10	267,465	3,824	1,023	2,413
1911-18	79,744	4,762	380	675
1919-26	374,808	5,454	2,044	2,334
Total,	5,773,292	18,736	18,736	182,048

The sum total of the capital values at the time of emigration of the $5\frac{3}{4}$ million emigrants who left Germany 1820-1926 thus amounts to a capital loss of 19 billion marks. This sum, expressed in values prevailing in the past, corresponds to a present value of about 180 billion marks.

These figures do not include the capital which the emigrants took with them. Becker estimates that capital at 350 marks per capita, a figure below other estimates and rather too low. This figure of 350 marks per capita is equal to one-tenth of the capital value of the emigrants themselves, or about 2 billion, and when interest is added corresponds to about 20 billion marks in present value. The total loss due to emigrants and their property therefore would be over 20 billion marks or, in present values, over 200 billion marks. These calculations are based only on emigration overseas between 1820 and 1926. The number of emigrants who went out before 1820 has not been fixed (it has been estimated at 250,000-

300,000). This item may be left out of account or regarded as balanced by the repatriation of emigrants.

OVERSEAS IMMIGRATION INTO GERMANY

Statistics of immigration, or rather of "incoming travelers" from countries overseas have been kept since 1904. The information comes from the shipping companies engaged in carrying passengers from countries overseas to Bremen, Hamburg or Emden. Until 1924 only the number of persons carried to German ports was returned distinguishing cabin from steerage passengers, but with no classification by country of origin or of destination.

According to an arrangement made in 1924, all travelers were to be reported with their age, sex, country of origin, and destination. If destination was not reported, the person's nationality was to be decisive. This improvement has not yet been carried through, for at Bremen the distribution of travelers from South America by destination or nationality and the detailed age grouping are lacking. Table 148 (page 372) summarizes the annual statistics of incoming travelers 1904-26.¹

These figures are to be accepted with great reserve, for they are statistics not of immigrants but travelers. What proportion are immigrants would be hard to say. Most first class and second class passengers are travelers, although this is less uniformly so of immigrants and repatriates than of emigrants. It is doubtful, however, whether all third class travelers are to be classed as immigrants or repatriates, or what proportion belong there. Still more important is it that before 1924 it was impossible to say what proportion of the travelers made Germany their final destination and what proportion went on to other countries.

Before the war the number of such through travelers was very large, and indeed a majority. After the war, the number of arrivals greatly declined, mainly because when the German merchant fleet had disappeared the great mass of through travelers who formerly filled the steerage and the third class chose other routes. In recent years the number of first-class and second-class passengers landed at Hamburg and Bremen has almost reached the pre-war total. On the other hand, the number of incoming passengers who traveled third-class amounted, during recent years, for Hamburg to about one-fourth and for Bremen to about one-third to one-half of the pre-war total. The number of inward-bound persons arriving at

¹Germany, *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, vol. 336.

TABLE 148.

ANNUAL NUMBERS OF INCOMING TRAVELERS, AT HAMBURG, BREMEN, AND EMDEN, BY CLASSES, 1904-26.

Year	Hamburg			Bremen			Emden	Grand Total
	I and II Class (Cabin)	III Class	Total	I II Class (Cabin)	III Class	Total		
1904	16,835	28,627	45,462	15,645	36,746	52,391	...	97,853
1905	18,716	22,101	40,817	18,265	27,879	46,144	...	86,961
1906	31,763	66,330	98,093	19,408	41,455	60,863	...	158,956
1907	33,856	95,355	129,211	20,488	68,113	88,601	...	217,812
1908	34,078	101,831	135,909	19,858	61,150	81,008	...	216,917
1909	32,065	47,194	79,259	17,638	30,721	48,359	...	127,618
1910	36,543	62,427	98,970	15,827	39,596	55,423	...	154,393
1911	36,029	95,580	131,609	19,050	47,696	66,746	...	198,355
1912	36,814	84,375	121,189	19,248	46,884	66,132	...	187,321
1913	40,608	79,313	119,921	19,106	46,505	65,611	...	185,532
1914	29,383	72,243	101,626	12,183	38,742	50,925	103	152,551
1920	8,533	39,383	47,916	146	561	707	...	48,623
1921	13,550	38,210	51,760	4,429	8,675	13,104	13	64,864
1922	29,394	27,556	56,950	12,688	12,320	25,008	...	81,958
1923	21,203	13,047	34,260	8,028	5,955	13,983	...	48,243
1924	23,403	13,199	36,602	13,405	11,026	24,431	...	61,033
1925	27,780	18,159	45,939	15,308	16,724	32,032	...	77,971
1926	23,067	18,399	41,466	15,372	17,308	34,969	7	76,442 ^a
1904-26	493,620	923,329	1,416,959	266,092	558,056	826,437	123	2,243,382

^aIncluding 2,288 travelers from Europe without designated passenger class.

German ports in 1926 was about two-fifths of the number for the last pre-war years. The majority of the incoming travelers were from North America, mainly the United States. Of the 78,000 incoming travelers in 1926, there were 46,604 or 60 per cent from North America; from Central America and Mexico there came 1,392; from South America 14,181 (among whom 7,266 from Argentina, 5,800 from Brazil); from Africa, 1,932; from Asia and Australia, 348; and finally, 13,514 from European countries (especially England and Norway).

Up to the present time only Hamburg reports the destination of incoming travelers. Of the 41,466 who arrived in 1926 at Hamburg from overseas, 33,853 or about four-fifths gave Germany as their destination. The others were scattered widely over Europe. A large number—1,378—went to Austria, and 1,197 to Czechoslovakia. About half of the travelers from overseas who arrived at Hamburg and gave Germany as their destination were German citizens.

If one assumes that at Bremen, as at Hamburg, of the travelers from overseas, about four-fifths had Germany as their destination, then the total number of incoming travelers from overseas with a German destination would be about 60,000. It is difficult to estimate how many should be regarded as immigrants. About half of the 60,000 travelers with a German destination were German citizens. These were incoming travelers (returned business men, travelers for pleasure, and others) and more rarely repatriates. The figures also include persons who had been rejected as immigrants by the American officials.

Most of those of foreign nationality arriving at German ports and giving a German destination were travelers; only a few were immigrants or repatriates. Among the 46,000 foreigners who arrived at German ports in 1926, 26,844 or nearly three-fifths were citizens of the United States, most of whom, since they were in the first or second class—were probably travelers. The same is true of the 3,294 British subjects or the 1,757 Norwegian subjects. Most of those belonging to other continental countries also are to be regarded as through travelers or immigrants.

In view of these facts the return migrants into Germany were hardly more than one-fifth to one-fourth of the incoming travelers. That would be 10,000–15,000 persons in 1926. Under the same suppositions one would arrive at about the same total for 1925. Nevertheless, these estimates are extremely unreliable since the basic material is inadequate. For previous years no estimate can be made.

Satisfactory material about the classification by sex is available only for Hamburg. Of 41,466 travelers who disembarked at Hamburg in 1926, 24,424 or 59 per cent were males, and 17,042 or 41 per cent were females. Thus the sex proportion does not differ greatly from that of emigrants, but males are somewhat more numerous. In the age classification there are characteristic differences as may be seen from Table 149 (page 374).

The incoming travelers from overseas have a small proportion of youth and a large proportion of persons over 50 years of age. Incoming travelers from overseas as a class are not immigrants coming in families. The return of persons in advanced years is rather like the change of residence from city to country which occurs so often in old age.

For Bremen there are no available data about the sex of incoming travelers and the age data are limited to the groups: Under

MIGRATION INTERPRETATIONS

TABLE 149.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF TRAVELERS ARRIVING AT HAMBURG, 1926.

Age	Number		Per Cent Distribution		
	Total	German citizens	Total	German citizens	German emigrants 1921-27
Under 14	3,861	1,602	9.3	8.8	12.7
14-21	2,912	1,341	7.0	7.4	18.9
21-50	26,057	12,587	62.0	68.9	63.5
Over 50	8,636	2,717	20.8	14.9	4.9
Totals	41,466	18,247	100.0	100.0	100.0

1 year, 1 to 10, 10 years and over. In 1926 the travelers arriving at Bremen from overseas were divided among these age groups as given in Table 150.

TABLE 150.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF TRAVELERS ARRIVING AT BREMEN FROM THE AMERICAS, 1926.

Age	Numbers		Per Cent	
	North America	South America	North America	South America
Under 1 yr.	127	103	0.6	2.5
1-10	1,239	463	6.1	11.3
10 and over	19,087	3,527	93.3	86.2
Total	20,453	4,093	100.0	100.0

The classification by age shows notable differences between the incoming travelers from North and from South America; with those from South America the percentage of children under 10 years of age is greater, suggesting that more of them are real immigrants or repatriates. But even in the return current from South America the percentage of children is not as high as it is among emigrants.

MIGRATION ACROSS THE LAND FRONTIERS

There are no German statistics of migration across the land frontiers, but in the nineteenth century it was numerically unimportant. Immediately after the war it may have played a more important rôle. Exiles from the ceded districts, who sought at first to make a living in Germany, departed later on, most of them overseas but a few to other countries of Europe. The probable volume of German overland emigration has been estimated for two post-war years only, namely, 10,000 for 1925 and 12,000 for 1926,¹ but there are no data from which to check the estimate.² Most of the emigrants went to the Netherlands.

Reliable statistics of overland immigration also are lacking. It was not numerically important until towards the end of the nineteenth century, but then it developed from the East. Polish, Galician, and other alien laborers, at first as migratory workers and later on as settlers, took the place of the German farm laborers who had emigrated overseas. In view of the previous low standard of living of these immigrant laborers the places which they took meant a step forward. Later the flourishing industry of Germany attracted not only German laborers but also aliens. Many Polish laborers went to the industrial districts of Silesia or of Rhenish Westphalia.

A basis for estimating the net loss or gain between overland emigration and immigration may be found as follows: (a) Get the net gain or loss from all migration by balancing the excess of births over deaths, or natural increase, in a census period and the total increase revealed by the two censuses; (b) get the decrease from overseas emigration; (c) the difference between (a) and (b) will indicate the net increase or decrease from overland emigration and immigration.

The loss through migration, that is, the difference between the natural and the total increase of population 1841-71 was 2,450,000 and the loss by emigration overseas was 2,370,000.³ The small difference between the two sets of figures shows that neither migration across the land frontiers or immigration by sea, played an important rôle. For the census periods after 1870 the balance of the "other" migrations is obtained by comparing the entire loss through migration with the loss through emigration overseas, as Table 151 (page 376) shows.

¹Germany, *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs* (1927), vol. 336.

²See the following pages.

³See above page 334.

TABLE 151.

ESTIMATED GAIN OR LOSS OF POPULATION, BY GERMANY, FROM "OTHER" MIGRATION, 1871-1910.

(In Thousands)

Years	Entire Gain (+) or Loss (-) through Migration	Loss (-) through Migration overseas	Gain (+) or Loss (-) through "other" Migrations
1871-75	-320	-395	+75
1875-80	-381	-231	-150
1880-85	-980	-857	-123
1885-90	-329	-485	+156
1890-95	-449	-403	-46
1895-1900	+94	-127	+221
1900-1905	+53	-147	+199
1905-10	-160	-133	-27

There was a gain of 75,000 persons through "other" migrations during 1871-75, when many Germans returned.¹ How many came home from overseas and how many from other European countries cannot be determined.

In 1875-85, the emigration overseas was accompanied by a considerable overland emigration, both being due to unfavorable economic conditions. But after the great emigration of 1880-85, when hundreds of thousands yielded to the emigration fever,² came a reaction in 1885-90, when many immigrants from the east streamed into Germany and occupied the vacant places.

This overland immigration swelled greatly in 1895-1905, when German industry developed on a large scale and furnished work and wages not only to the surplus German farming population but also to many foreigners who entered Silesia or the Ruhr. In the years immediately preceding the war, this permanent immigration of aliens into the industrial regions apparently slackened, but seasonal immigration showed a great increase.

Immigration from the ceded districts and the lost colonies and repatriation from overseas after the World War have been estimated at 1¼ million, while the migration balance for the census period

¹This result was due also in part to the inadequacy of German emigration statistics at that time.

²In 1880-85 Germany experienced a total loss, through migration, of about 1,000,000 persons.

1910-25 showed a gain of 200,000 for Germany within its present limits. Therefore, the great immigration after the war must have been followed by a considerable emigration, which may be estimated at about 1,000,000. In 1910-25, about 350,000 Germans emigrated overseas; so that about 650,000 emigrated over the land frontiers. This total is divided among three main subdivisions:¹

1. After the creation of the Polish state, some 200,000 to 220,000 persons with Polish as their mother tongue, emigrated from Germany, some to Poland, others to France. Thus at least 50,000 German Poles left the Ruhr for the French or Belgian mining districts.

2. The emigration of persons of German descent across the frontiers of Germany may be estimated, from the data of various European countries, as at least 200,000.

3. The number of foreigners in Germany, so far as can be inferred from partial returns of the census of 1925, declined from 1,100,000 in 1910 to 900,000 in 1925, or by about 200,000. How far this change is a real one and how far it is based on changes in census methods cannot yet be determined; but the number of foreigners in Germany in 1925 was certainly less than in 1910. However, with the resumption of amicable international relations, this number will undoubtedly rise.

The influx of foreign seasonal laborers into Germany began in the '80's, almost simultaneously with the great German emigration overseas and migration into German industrial regions. Many Polish, Ruthenian and Italian laborers took the positions which the German laborers had abandoned. At the start these positions were secured through private employment agents; but later by the employment agencies of the agricultural institutes and of the co-operative employment agencies of the "Deutsche Feldarbeiterzentrale." For agricultural and industrial laborers since 1910 this service has been performed by the "Deutsche Arbeiterzentrale."

Before 1905 there are no data about the immigration of seasonal laborers; but the fact that Prussia in 1835 introduced special measures to control migratory laborers from eastern Europe indicates that this immigration had already assumed importance. It was changing its character, also, from a temporary immigration of seasonal workers into permanent settlement of aliens who were

¹*Wirtschaft und Statistik, 1927, Heft 7, p. 306.*

deemed undesirable because of their low standards of living and of wages. To prevent this, migratory laborers were required to leave Prussia after the harvest and not later than December.

In spite of these regulations a number of alien laborers settled in Germany, especially in the industrial regions of Silesia and Rhenish Westphalia. In 1908 and 1909 the control was made more stringent and proof of identity was required for all foreign migratory laborers. They were required to obtain identification cards, made out at the time of their entering Germany and valid for the calendar year, with a proviso that the holder of the card must have left Prussia by the beginning of December. In the ensuing years similar measures were adopted by other German states which had received many migratory laborers; yet today alien laborers in Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, Baden, Oldenburg, or Hamburg, are not completely or not at all registered.¹ The total figures for states requiring compulsory identification show only a minimum number of foreign migratory laborers entering Germany.² Identification cards have been issued since 1909 to the extent shown in Table 152.

According to Table 152, alien migratory laborers are mainly in agriculture where they are engaged largely in the cultivation of sugar beets and other root crops. This applies to the Prussian provinces of Saxony (26,000 foreign agricultural laborers in 1926), Pomerania (20,000), Brandenburg (16,000), and to the state of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (16,000). Before the war German industry as well as German agriculture employed large numbers of foreign migratory laborers, but after the war the number greatly declined. The 85,000 foreign migratory laborers employed in German industry in 1926 were principally in the great mining districts: Rhineland-Westphalia (33,000 and 20,000) and Silesia (13,000).

Most of these migratory workers enter in the spring when work begins in the fields. The current swells quickly and then

¹*Statist. Jhrb. f. d. Deutsche Reich, 1924, p. 334.*

²For the period before 1910 there are some data for Prussia which are not comparable with those of the "Deutsche Arbeiterzentrale" for the ensuing years. According to Bodenstern ("Ueber die Frage der Organisation des Arbeitsmarkts") the number of foreign laborers who entered Prussia totaled (in thousands):

Year	Agricultural Laborers	Industrial Workers	Total
1905	207	247	454
1906	236	369	605
1907	258	475	733
1908	309	471	780

TABLE 152.

ALIEN MIGRATORY LABORERS ENTERING GERMANY AND RECEIVING IDENTIFICATION CARDS ANNUALLY, 1909-26.
(In Thousands)

Year	Agricultural Laborers	Industrial Laborers	Total
1909 ^a	...	...	593
1910	384	255	639
1911	388	308	696
1912	397	332	730
1913	412	356	767
1914	437	346	783
1915	338	223	561
1916	349	270	619
1917	355	313	669
1918	374	336	710
1919	138	122	260
1920 ^a	151	144	295
1921 ^b	147	146	294
1922 ^b	148	139	288
1923 ^b	119	108	227
1924 ^b	110	67	177
1925 ^b	143	121	263
1926 ^b	135	88	223
1927 ^b	138	95	233

^aUp to the year 1920, fiscal year ending September 30; for 1921-26 calendar years.

^bInclusive of the immunity certificates (*Befreiungsscheine*) and of the frontier pass-cards (*Grenzläuferkarten*) introduced in 1923. The number of these were (in thousands):

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
Immunity Certificates	34	53	106	83	97
Frontier Cards	1	2	3	4	6

slackens but continues until late in the year. After the rye harvest about the middle of August, the return current starts. Although the law requires the laborers to leave by the beginning of December, yet a number regularly pass the winter in Germany. This can be done by renewing the identification card, but a number of foreigners remain without satisfying this requirement.

The number of laborers who wintered in Germany in 1910 was about 195,000. In the following years it rose, attaining 258,000 in 1914. When the war came the Russian Poles in Germany did not return home and the number of alien migratory workers increased 1915-17 to approximately 500,000, reaching 534,000 in 1918. After

the end of the war and the outbreak of the revolution it fell to about 100,000 in 1919. Subsequently the number staying through the winter rose again, within the limits fixed by legislation which provides for issuing "immunity certificates" taking the place of identification cards and allowing the holder to remain in Germany for three years.¹

The summary Table 153 gives the average distribution by nationality of these foreign migratory laborers for 1910-19 and 1916-18. It shows that of these foreign migratory workers about one-tenth are of German and about nine-tenths of alien descent. Poles furnish the bulk of them. Of the 751,000 foreign migratory laborers who came yearly to Germany in 1910-14, about 50 per

TABLE 153.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF IDENTIFICATION CARDS ISSUED BY THE *Deutsche Arbeiterzentrale* TO FOREIGNERS OF ALIEN AND OF GERMAN DESCENT, 1910-18.
(In Thousands)

Origins	1910-14		1915-18	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
<i>German Descent</i>	83	11.1	103	16.0
<i>Alien descent:</i>	668	88.9	543	84.0
Ruthenians	89	11.8	17	2.6
Russian Poles	302	40.2	373	57.8
Austrian Poles	75	9.9	12	1.9
Czechs	27	3.6	11	1.7
Total Slavs	493	65.5	413	63.9
Other Aliens from Austria-Hungary	41	5.5	10	1.6
Other Aliens from Russia	10	1.4	17	2.7
Italians	54	7.2	12	1.9
Netherlanders and Belgians	60	8.0	79	12.2
French-Luxemburgers and Swiss	1	0.2	4	0.6
Danes, Swedes, Norwegians and Others	69	9.2	7	1.1
<i>Total</i>	751	100.0	646	100.0

¹As to the number of *Befreiungsscheine* compare Table 152, note (b).

cent or 377,000 were Poles from Russia or Austria and 89,000 or 12 per cent were Ruthenians. About two-thirds were Slavs.

For the post-war period the distribution by nationality took a different form. For the years 1922-23 and 1924-26 this is shown in Table 154. In recent years the Poles were almost three-fifths and the Czechoslovaks nearly one-fifth of these migratory laborers.

GERMANS ABROAD AND FOREIGNERS IN GERMANY

The statistical measurement of migration is defective in several respects. Censuses which classify the inhabitants by country or

TABLE 154.

IDENTIFICATION CARDS ISSUED TO FOREIGNERS OF ALIEN AND GERMAN DESCENT, 1922-26.
(In Thousands)

Country of Origin	1922-23		1924-26	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Poland.....	138	53.8	127	57.3
Other Eastern Countries.....	9	3.5	9	4.1
Czechoslovakia.....	56	21.6	40	17.9
Austria.....	8	3.3	7	3.2
Hungary.....	3	1.1	2	0.9
Italy.....	5	1.8	3	1.5
Netherlands and Belgium.....	20	7.7	20	9.2
Other Countries.....	18	7.2	13	5.8
Total.....	257	100.0	221	100.0

race give a picture of the effect of migration and thus supplement the continuous record.

The census data are obtained in different ways and tabulated from different points of view, so that it is hard to compare the results. In some countries the population is classified by citizenship, in others by nativity, in others by mother tongue, or "nationality." In the case of Germany these differences are especially important because the German people have participated largely in international migration; German emigrants, especially to Germanic or Anglo-Saxon countries, are easily lost and the boundaries of Germany are narrower than those of the German people. The

number of German citizens or of persons born in Germany residing abroad is considerably less, therefore, than the number of persons originating in Germany or in the territory occupied by the German people residing abroad.

In connection with the German census of 1910, the German Statistical Office compiled material from foreign censuses about the number of Germans abroad.¹ The data related partly to Germans by citizenship and partly to Germans by birth. Only in Switzerland, Luxemburg, Belgium, Norway and Mexico were both methods used. In those countries the number of German citizens was 305,000 and the number of natives of Germany was 254,000. So far as data are obtainable, 631,650 German citizens were enumerated in 1910 in some countries, and 2,635,819 natives of Germany in others, or 3,260,000 Germans by citizenship or nativity were residing outside of Germany. The numbers of Germans reported in the leading countries are given in Table 155.

So far as comparable results from post-war censuses afford

TABLE 155.

NUMBER OF GERMANS RESIDING IN CERTAIN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.
IN THE YEAR STATED.

Country of Residence	Census year	Germans (Thousands)	Per 1000 Inhabitants of Country of Residence
Luxemburg	1910	22	81
Switzerland	1910	220	47
United States	1910	2,501 ^a	27
Denmark	1911	35 ^a	13
Australia	1911	33 ^a	7
Belgium	1910	57	7
Netherlands	1909	38	6
Austria	1910	126	4
Chile	1907	11	3
France	1901	90	2
Great Britain and Ireland	1911	56 ^a	1
Argentina	1914	27	0.3
Italy	1911	11	0.03

^aThese figures relate to natives of Germany, the others to German citizens.

¹*Vierteljahrshefte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, 1916, Ergänzungsheft IV.*

evidence it appears that the countries which took part in the war now have fewer German citizens. On the other hand, in some countries which remained neutral the number of Germans increased. The reasons for this are to be found partly in the reduction of German territory by the Treaty of Versailles (*e. g.* the 34,000 persons in the United States in 1920 who were born in Alsace-Lorraine are not now counted as Germans), partly in a change of allegiance, and partly in a change in current migration due to a repatriation of Germans during the war and a decrease of German emigration during the same period and earlier. Between 1910 and 1920 the number of Germans in the United States fell from 2,501,000 to about 1,686,000; in France from 90,000 to about 65,000; in Belgium from 57,000 to 8,000; in Great Britain from 56,000 to 13,000 (1921). In Switzerland also, the number of Germans decreased from 220,000 to 150,000 (1920), much of the decrease probably due to naturalization. On the other hand, in other neutral countries the number increased, for example, in the Netherlands from 38,000 to 56,000 (1920). Brazil with 53,000 Germans (1920) and Canada with 25,000 Germans (1921) show notably high figures, evidently connected with the fact that in recent years both countries have been preferred by German emigrants.

If one adds to the results of the censuses taken after the World War the figures from pre-war censuses for the countries for which no post-war figures are available, then one arrives at the result that there are about 500,000 Germans in European countries and 1,900,000 in non-European countries, or 2,400,000 Germans living outside of Germany. This indicates that since about 1910 the number of Germans abroad has diminished by about 800,000, some having returned to Germany in consequence of war and post-war conditions and others having surrendered their German citizenship and been absorbed in the foreign population.¹

These figures include only German citizens or natives of Germany and not foreign-born children of German parents. How numerous these descendants are can be judged approximately from the American census of 1920 which contains data about the mother tongue of persons who were born abroad, and the mother tongue of the parents of persons born in the United States but descended from foreign-born parents.² The figures include the

¹Up to 1913 Germans who had lived abroad continuously for ten years lost their citizenship automatically if they did not register in the consular lists that they wished to retain it.

²*Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, p. 386 f.

entire white race of alien origin (foreign white stock) and distinguish three classes: (1) foreign-born whites; (2) whites born in the United States both of whose parents were foreign born; (3) whites born in the United States one of whose parents was foreign-born and the other born in the United States. The number of foreign-born whites or of those directly descended from foreign-born whites was 36,400,000. Of these, 8,500,000 are apportioned to the German mother tongue (including Dutch, Flemish and Frisian), and thus nearly one-fourth of the total foreign white stock. The German proportion is exceeded only by the British (including Celts, Irish, Scotch and others), which amounted to 9,700,000 or more than one-fourth of the foreign white stock. The number having German, in a narrow sense, as their mother tongue, leaving out the Dutch, Flemings and Frisians, was 8,160,000 or 22.4 per cent of the foreign white stock. The summary in Table 156 furnishes information concerning the distribution in 1910 and 1920 of persons having German as their mother tongue and of their sons and daughters in the groups distinguished by the census.¹

TABLE 156.

NUMBERS AND PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES, AND OF THEIR CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES HAVING GERMAN OR A GERMANIC MOTHER TONGUE, 1910 AND 1920.

United States Census Group	Numbers (Thousands)		Per cent*	
	1910	1920	1910	1920
With a Germanic mother tongue.....	9,000	8,623	27.9	23.7
With a German mother tongue.....	8,646	8,164	26.8	22.4
<i>Among whom:</i>				
Foreign-born Germans.....	2,759	2,267	31.9	27.8
Germans born in the United States:				
Parents foreign-born.....	3,977	3,801	46.0	46.5
Father foreign-born.....	1,368	1,467	15.8	18.0
Mother foreign-born.....	542	629	6.3	7.7
Total Foreign White Stock.....	32,243	36,399	100.0	100.0

*Of total foreign White stock.

¹Abstract of the *Fourteenth Census*, loc. cit.

The German proportion of the foreign white stock declined after 1910 when it amounted to 9,000,000 or 27.9 per cent. To understand these figures one must realize that the statistics cover only the foreign born and their children one generation removed, but not the grandchildren or more remote descendants, even though they still use the mother-tongue. Should one include the entire progeny of German immigrants, *i. e.* the entire portion of the American population descended from German ancestors, then the proportion of German blood in the American body politic would prove to be considerably higher.¹ German emigration to the United States began very early as a mass emigration; in the '80's of the nineteenth century it had already passed its zenith. From the beginning of the '90's German emigration declined rapidly, while emigration from other countries (especially southern and eastern Europe) rose to tremendous dimensions. According to American statistics the number of emigrants were given in Table 157.

TABLE 157.

TOTAL AND GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1821-1926
(U. S. STATISTICS).
(In Thousands)

Period	All Immigrants	Of whom from Germany	Per Cent German in total
1821-50	2,464	595	24.1
1851-60	2,598	952	36.6
1861-70	2,315	787	34.0
1871-80	2,812	718	25.6
1881-90	5,247	1,453	27.7
1891-1900	3,688	505	13.7
1901-10	8,795	342	3.8
1911-20	5,736	144	2.5
1921-26	2,943	245	8.3
1821-1926	36,590	5,739	15.7

This shift in the composition of the current shows why in later periods the German proportion of the foreign white stock declined and why it probably will continue to decline. But the high proportion which German immigration, until near the end of the nineteenth

¹[For an outline of a different conclusion the evidence in support of which is still unpublished see American Council of Learned Societies Bulletin.—Ed.]

century, made of the total (one-third or one-fourth) indicates that by including the increase of early German immigrants the total contribution of the German element to the American people is considerably higher than it would appear to be from the results of American mother-tongue statistics or from the present composition of the current.

Calculations similar to these are not available for other countries. Nevertheless, W. Winkler, on the basis of private and official material, has tried to give a picture of the diffusion of the German people (and of the German tongue) throughout the world in 1925.¹ According to him the total number of Germans, *i. e.* those speaking German—not all of whom are German citizens—in the world was 94,430,000 or 5 per cent of the population of the globe (see Table 158).

TABLE 158.

DISTRIBUTION OF GERMAN-SPEAKING GERMANS, BY CONTINENTS IN 1925 (WINKLER)

(Thousands)

Europe	82,863 = 17.8 per cent of the population
America	11,081 = 4.9 " " " " "
Asia	198 = 0.0 " " " " "
Africa	127 = 0.1 " " " " "
Australia	161 = 2.0 " " " " "
The Earth	94,430 = 4.9 per cent of the total population

This number of 11,500,000 Germans outside of Europe is the precipitate of German emigration. Of the 83,000,000 in Europe, 77,500,000, or 93.6 per cent, belong to the German area in the heart of Europe. Of these about 62,500,000, or 80.6 per cent, are within Germany and 15,000,000 (13.4 per cent) are distributed over German Austria and a dozen other neighboring states. This splitting up of the group among many states in Central Europe, however, is not a result of migration.

Outside of the German area in Central Europe, there are about 5,300,000 Germans in other parts of Europe, 1,000,000 of whom are in Soviet Russia (500,000 Volga Germans), about 800,000 in Rumania (principally Transylvania), about 700,000 in southern Yugoslavia (The Banat, etc.), and about 600,000 in Hungary. These

¹W. Winkler, *Handbuch des gesamten Deutschtums* (1927).

settlements in Eastern Europe were made centuries ago by German emigrants who were invited thither by the reigning princes, bishops, or lords of the manor. Far from the main area in Central Europe, and without qualifying their loyalty towards the states in which they live, these emigrants have preserved their German nationality, language, customs and culture and have maintained themselves in large numbers in spite of a partial amalgamation with the surrounding folk.

On adding these 5,300,000 Germans residing in Europe outside of the central German area and the 11,500,000 Germans residing outside of Europe, the total of 17,000,000 or about one-fifth of all the Germans residing outside of the solid central European area are to be regarded as the precipitate of a century-long emigration.

TABLE 159.

NUMBER OF ALIENS IN GERMANY, CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP, 1871-1910.
(In Thousands)

Census of December	Austria-Hungary	Russia	Holland	Italy	Switzerland	Denmark	France	Total
1871	76	15	22	4	23	15	5	207
1880	118	15	18	7	28	25	17	276
1890	202	17	37	16	40	36	20	433
1900	391	47	88	70	55	25	20	779
1910	667	138	141	104	68	26	19	1,260

German censuses generally ascertain the citizenship and birthplace of each person. The latest returns upon place of birth were in the occupational census of June 1907.¹ In a population of 61,720,529 there were 1,342,294 persons born abroad, that is, 22 for each 1000 inhabitants.

In the census of December 1910, citizenship but not birthplace was reported. It showed 1,295,880 aliens in Germany, or 19 for each 1000 inhabitants. This number is somewhat less than that of the foreign-born in 1907. The difference is due partly to a different kind of census, but mainly to a difference in the time when the census was taken. In the summer census of 1907, as distinguished from the winter census of 1910, all alien migratory laborers who were in Germany during the summer were included. As a rule the foreigners in Germany have increased markedly from census to census.²

Table 159 shows that the number of aliens in Germany increased

¹Germany, *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs* (1910), Vol. 210.

²*Vierteljahrshefte zu Statistik des deutschen Reichs*, 1916, IV. Ergänzungsheft.

6-fold between 1871 and 1910. For each 1000 inhabitants in 1871 there were only 5 foreigners; in 1910 there were 19. Between 1871 and 1910 the number of foreigners from Austria-Hungary increased about 9 times, but most of these were persons of German descent. During the same period the influx of Russians increased nearly 14 times. The increase of Italians was specially great after 1890, the time when the stream of foreign immigrant laborers attained considerable dimensions. Even though, as a rule, these migratory laborers returned to their homes during the winter, a number remained in Germany, so that the winter census of 1910 would have embraced a portion, though not a large portion, perhaps 200,000 of the foreign seasonal workers. The 1910 census of aliens, classified by place of residence and occupation, points in the same direction.

The large cities, which everywhere are the main magnet, the industrial districts and certain agricultural areas (for example, the two Mecklenburgs, the state of Saxony and the Prussian provinces of Silesia, Westphalia and the Rhineland) are the regions in which alien migratory laborers are most employed. Of the 768,000 foreigners gainfully employed who were enumerated in Germany during 1910: 384,000, or one-half, were in industry; 158,000, or one-fifth, in agriculture; 78,000 in commerce and transportation; 45,000 in household tasks and salaried employments of various kinds; 25,000 in the liberal professions, and 78,000 or one-tenth lived on their own income. Of the 110,000 Russians, not less than 70,000 were engaged in agriculture; of the 376,000 Austro-Hungarians, 57,000 were engaged in agriculture and 320,000 in industry. Of the 68,000 Italians, 59,000 were engaged in industry (principally in mining and in the building trade).

(The first post-war census in Germany was taken as of June 16, 1925, and the results have been recently made available. They indicate a considerable decline in the number of foreigners residing in post-war Germany.¹ For the whole Reich within its present boundaries, but excluding the Saar district, there were in 1925 only 957,096 foreigners, or 15.3 per 1000 inhabitants, as compared with 19.5 per 1000 inhabitants in 1910. The number of foreigners in post-war Germany in 1925 thus was about 170,000 less than it was within the corresponding area in 1910.

The greater portion of Germany's foreign-born population is now derived, as Table 160 shows, from her two eastern neighbors,

¹See *Wirtschaft und Statistik* (1928), No. 19, p. 674.

Poland and Czechoslovakia. But the same table indicates that the majority of the aliens residing in Germany are "foreigners" only as regards their citizenship. Two-thirds of these so-called "outlanders"—roughly 700,000 out of the 900,000—have German as their mother tongue and thus are included within the German-speaking peoples; but they are not German in citizenship or inheritance.

TABLE 160.

NUMBER OF FOREIGN CITIZENS RESIDING WITHIN THE BOUNDARIES OF GERMANY ON JUNE 16, 1925, BY NATIONALITY.

Nationality	Number	Per Cent	Having German as Mother Tongue
Polish.....	259,804	27	117,683
Czechoslovak.....	222,521	23	202,132
Austrian.....	128,859	14	125,512
Netherland.....	82,278	9	57,741
Russian.....	47,173	7	31,296
Swiss.....	42,432	4	41,417
Italian.....	24,228	3	16,167
Hungarian.....	19,142	2	.....
Yugoslav.....	19,142	2	.....
Others.....	111,517	13	.....
Total.....	957,096	100	(591,948?)

Berlin, July 1930.

Burgdörfer.)