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CHAPTER XIII

AUSTRIA¹

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This chapter deals with international migration during the 19th century over the boundaries of the former Austrian Empire, which fell to pieces in 1918. It is thus limited not because migration is of less consequence to the infant Republic of Austria, heir to the name of the former empire, but because the very different political and economic conditions in the two states destroy all historical continuity in this field. In both, to be sure, emigration has been of great importance and immigration has played a minor rôle. But there is hardly any other point of agreement between them and many points of contrast.

The Austrian Empire, regarding emigration as harmful, sought at first to suppress it entirely, and later to regulate and confine it within narrow bounds. The present Republic, crippled by economic restrictions of every kind, looks on emigration as one of the few possible ways in which its precarious economic status might be improved. The opportunities for employment at a living wage in overseas countries might help to absorb Austria's surplus labor and thus to solve its most vital problem.

The change in the policy of countries receiving immigration has been almost equally radical. Originally eager to attract the greatest possible number of laborers, they have now become fully supplied, and the combination between stationary or falling wages and nationalistic sentiments has resulted in restrictive immigration laws like those of 1917, 1921 and 1924 in the United States, the most important objective of Austrian emigrants.

This radical change in the attitude towards emigration and

¹[See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pp. 89f, 184, 188, 230f, 241ff, 251ff, 296ff, 303ff, 335ff, 364ff, 384ff, 418ff, 463ff, 479ff, 585-600, 828, 837.—Ed.]

immigration must be kept in mind when comparing present emigration statistics with those of an earlier date. The current figures, unlike the earlier, do not reveal a free or normal economic movement of laborers from an over-peopled unpromising country into a thinly populated or less developed one, for the natural course of the movement is now artificially hampered by the restrictive legislation of the immigration countries, as formerly it was by similar legislation of the emigration countries.

The pre-war and post-war figures are incomparable also because of the different national composition of the two states. Pre-war Austria included nine different nationalities which played quite different parts in emigration, while in post-war Austria with less than one-fourth the population 97 per cent are of German speech. The summary presented in Table 161 shows the number and proportion of each of these nationalities.¹

TABLE 161.

POPULATION OF AUSTRIA CLASSIFIED BY RACE OR PEOPLE:
1910.

Race or People	Number	Per Cent
Germans	9,500,600	33.2
Czechoslovaks	6,373,564	22.3
Poles	4,300,273	15.1
Ruthenians	3,474,663	12.2
Serbo-Croatians and Slovenes	2,036,038	7.1
Jews	1,313,687	4.6
Italians	765,177	2.7
Magyars	10,797	0.0
Rumanians	274,804	1.0
All others	522,331	1.8
Total	28,571,934	100.0

Austria and Hungary, which were united into the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, made one unit in matters of international trade, and the migration statistics often did not differentiate between its two parts.

¹[This table differs from the usual figures in that the Jews or Hebrews appear here as a separate people.—Ed.]

The history of Austrian legislation about emigration shows how the definitions have changed with time, as a part of the evolution from the earlier absolute state to a modern liberal and constitutional state.

The ordinance of 1784 treated emigration as normally forbidden because of feudal obligations and of military considerations, and allowed it only exceptionally by royal permit. This ordinance defined an emigrant as one who "absconds abroad from the collective patrimonial dominions with the intention of not returning."

The emigration law of 1832 defined an emigrant in similar terms as one who "departs from our country to a foreign country with the intention of never returning;" but the latter ordinance was milder in that it used "departs" instead of "absconds," and did not declare emigration to be fundamentally forbidden but merely distinguished between "lawful" and "unauthorized" emigration. Magistrates were directed to issue the permit whenever it was shown that the petitioner was not a dependent and that neither military nor other public duties were an obstacle.

According to both laws, emigration, whether sanctioned or not, entailed the loss of citizenship.

The first radical change in the official attitude towards emigration occurred in 1867, when the new Constitution provided that "freedom of emigration is only limited by the liability to do military service." But with this repeal of the previous ban, there was no change in the definition of an emigrant, and any citizen who notified the authorities of his emigration was at once released from all connection with the State. The emigration of those liable or likely to become liable to military service was made dependent on the consent of the military authorities. As a result, emigrants either of their own volition or at instigation of the emigration agents, often departed secretly. The authorities could cancel his citizenship only after the emigrant had declared his purpose to emigrate, so all clandestine emigrants—and they were the large majority—continued to be Austrian citizens.

This fact is of special interest because later Austrian statistics, lacking reliable emigration data, sought to find a substitute in the number of Austrian citizens living abroad, although according to the Austrian law citizens living abroad were not emigrants. This

illustrates how the obsolescent legal definition of an emigrant ran counter to actual developments.

When steps were taken in Austria at the beginning of the twentieth century to regulate emigration by a new and comprehensive law, these outgrown definitions were discarded. The bills failed to pass and the legal definition of emigrant remained, until the war, unchanged, but it was not used as a basis for emigration statistics.

What definition was used or should be, it is hard to say, but probably it should include only the emigration overseas of destitute masses of people. There was emigration also from Austria to other European countries, but in view of the dearth of data about it an emigrant came to be regarded as a steerage passenger who crossed the ocean. This large scale emigration, furthered by unscrupulous agents, was felt to be a permanent injury to the nation's defensive strength and an economic loss of valuable labor force.

No legal definition of an emigrant has been adopted since the war by the Austrian republic. To a questionnaire of the International Labour Office, it answered that it considered an emigrant to be either a person who left the country to find employment and settle permanently abroad, or the members of the family of such a person who accompanied or followed him. It thus adopted substantially the prevailing definition.

Under the present Austrian law, emigration does not entail expatriation; on the contrary, an emigrant loses his Austrian citizenship only if he acquires citizenship in another country or enters the service of a foreign state.

During the time when unauthorized emigration was forbidden, the statistics consisted of an administrative list of authorizations and of the known but unauthorized departures embodied in the annual emigration tables.¹

Until the year 1884, emigration statistics based on these tables were confined to legal emigrants, or persons who had left Austria with no intention of returning. But towards the end of the '70's the number of emigrants actually leaving Austria was found to be larger than the number in the official tables. The data from Hamburg and Bremen alone showed over 7000 Austrians who had em-

¹[Volume I, pp. 585-592.—Ed.]

barked for America in 1879, while the Austrian emigration tables showed only 6000 emigrants.

The increasing shortage of the official figures when tested by the returns from foreign ports caused the Central Statistical Commission in 1884 to drop its figures entirely and to follow the emigration movement thereafter only through the reports of port officers and consuls. In the same year government officers were required to record the arrivals in and the departures from Austria. The lists which resulted, unlike the returns from port officers, included details about those arriving or departing and by characterizing this part of the emigration indirectly characterized the whole.

With this change, the previous connection between emigration and expatriation was broken. The reports of the port officers and consuls paid no regard to an emigrant's loss of citizenship and the expatriation lists included only a fraction of the emigrants. Thereafter, until the World War, Austrian statistics included only overseas emigration, because there was no official information about continental emigration or about immigration.

From the censuses of Austrians in foreign countries and from census comparisons between the total increase of population and the natural increase, or excess of births over deaths, the incompleteness of Austrian migration statistics was revealed and an effort was made to fill the gaps by determining the balance between emigration and immigration.

It is uncertain whether the official statistics regarded Austrians living abroad, regardless of their intent, as emigrants or simply as migrants. But, judging from the census reports, the writers probably distinguished these to and fro currents from true emigration, and restricted the latter to emigration overseas.

This short survey of Austrian emigration statistics shows that at different periods they varied greatly in completeness and reliability. So long as a formal permit for emigration was required, the information gathered was probably reliable, for in cases of clandestine emigration the authorities were able usually in the end to establish the fact.

State control of emigration ceased when freedom of migration was proclaimed in the Constitution of 1867, and therewith the basis

for the statistics of emigration was lost. The "emigration tables" were abandoned for the German port statistics.

Whether those returns are regarded as complete depends on the definition of an emigrant. They are confined to overseas emigration, while the definition of an emigrant should include emigration from Austria to other European countries, like Germany or the Balkan States.

So unless the definition of an emigrant is restricted to overseas emigration, these port statistics are incomplete. In any case they are incomplete because they omit emigrant cabin passengers. On the other hand, they include steerage passengers who leave Austria intending to return.

Apart from the limitations of the definition, it will scarcely be possible to measure the error in these Austrian emigration statistics. The statistics of the countries of immigration are still less adapted to give a reliable measure. Even those of the United States can hardly be used as a test. The multiplicity of Austrian nationalities and linguistic stocks, many of them like the Poles found also in other states, led at times to the inclusion of subjects of other countries as Austrians, and at other times to the assignment of Austrian Slavs, Germans, Italians or Rumanians to other states.

In addition, American statistics failed to differentiate between emigrants from Austria and those from Hungary during the period 1892 to 1904 inclusive,¹ so that their distribution to the two halves of the empire was possible only with the aid of arbitrary assumptions. In the reports of the Statistical Bureau of the American Treasury Department, the emigrants were reported by nationalities, sex, age groups, and important occupations. But in the classification by nationalities, citizenship was less regarded than mother tongue, and so this source is hardly more reliable than the Austrian emigration statistics. For example, German-speaking Austrians were often returned as Germans; Italian-speaking Austrians residing in southern Tyrol, Istria or Dalmatia as Italians. In the same way Poles included without distinction persons who spoke Polish and lived in Galicia (Austria), in Russian Poland or in Prussian Poland.

In this respect the figures in the annual reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration after 1898 brought no change.

¹[Volume I, pp. 387-390.—Ed.]

In the tabulation of the countries of origin, between that year and 1904, they treat Austria and Hungary as one country, and in the classification by races, peoples and linguistic stocks, they give each language group as a whole and do not subdivide it according to whether the residence was in Austria or in Hungary. Thus, for example, the column "Croatian and Slovenian" 1899-1909, did not distinguish the residents of Austria from those of Hungary as it did beginning with 1910.¹

After 1905 the reports of the Immigration Commissioner separate the data concerning emigration from Austria and from Hungary, so that for the short period 1905-1914 a comparison between Austrian and American figures is possible.

Because of these difficulties the most detailed study² of Austrian emigration statistics abandoned the comparison between the German port statistics and the American immigration statistics, reaching only the conclusion that there were great discrepancies between them. To show the extent of these discrepancies, the two sets of data are compared in Table 162.

The comparison shows approximately two-fifths more Austrian

TABLE 162.

EMIGRATION FROM AUSTRIA TO THE UNITED STATES, 1876-1910.
(In Thousands)

Period	According to		Excess of American Figures	
	Austrian Emigration Statistics	American Immigration Statistics	Number	Per Cent
1876-1885	137	131	-6	-4.5
1886-1895	310	378	68	21.8
1896-1905	565	1,096	531	93.9
1906-1910	519	556	37	7.1
Total	1,531	2,161	630	41.1

¹[Volume I, p. 461.—Ed.]

²Englisch, "Die Oesterreichische Auswanderungs-statistik" (1913).

immigrants reported by the United States than Austrian emigrants reported as embarking for the United States at German ports. This is due principally to the difference in the decade 1896-1905. Now the American reports show that the figures for the years 1892-1904 relate not to Austria alone, but to Austria-Hungary. In the two years before 1892 immigrants from Hungary to the United States were 40 per cent and in the two years after 1904 they were 60 per cent of the total from Austria-Hungary. When corrected for this error the American figures would show about the same result as the Austrian, that is, somewhat more than 500,000 emigrants for the decade 1896-1905 and more than 1,500,000 for the entire period 1876-1910. During the last years of the period the two parts of Austria-Hungary shared nearly equally in the emigration to the United States. For 1905-10, when the distinction between Austria and Hungary was made in American statistics, no great differences appear, except for 1908, especially if the averages for two consecutive fiscal years are compared with the corresponding calendar year of the Austrian statistics.

For Argentina the emigration and immigration statistics show even larger discrepancies. In the period 1885-1910, returns from the ports of embarkation show a total of 91,000 Austro-Hungarian emigrants; the Argentine immigration statistics show only 60,000 immigrants from Austria-Hungary. In this instance the port data are probably nearer the truth.

So of the three sources for statistics of Austrian emigration: Austrian emigration figures, German embarkation figures and American immigration figures, none is satisfactory. The ideal place for making a statistical record is where the emigrant starts. This was realized in the Austrian emigration tables, but lost its value as soon as the acceptance of the principle of free emigration prevented the officials where the emigrant resided from learning of his departure. This knowledge was obtained only in the few cases in which an emigrant liable to military service secured the government's consent to his emigration or, after leaving the country, reported to its authorities that he had emigrated and desired to surrender his citizenship.

The most numerous class of emigrants were those who left without the knowledge of the authorities. For this reason, emigration statistics came to be gathered abroad exclusively and consular officers were directed to make yearly reports based on returns at the

principal ports of immigration and showing the sex, age, and occupation of Austrian emigrants. To supplement these Austrian consular reports, the immigration statistics of the most important countries of immigration were used.

Thus, after the emigration tables which had been compiled in Austria for one hundred years (1784-1884) were dropped, there were no Austrian emigration statistics proper, and thenceforward foreign statistics were utilized and published in Austrian official documents. Although these Austrian emigration statistics are not compete and reliable, they are not worthless. On the contrary, they agree with the corrected American statistics closely enough to indicate that they afford serviceable statistical material, and give information about the intensity, origin, and tendencies of Austrian emigration. Even if the totals are far from the truth, the details reveal the extent of the emigration, the national and occupational composition of the emigrants and their destination.

Table 163 summarizes emigration according to the Austrian statistics 1851-1913, and for three earlier years.

In the first half of the nineteenth century Austrian emigration was unimportant, amounting hardly to 1,000 a year. Omitting Lombardy and Venice, which were ceded to Italy in 1859 and 1866 respectively, 1,211 persons emigrated in 1820, 1,204 in 1830, and

TABLE 163.

AUSTRIAN EMIGRATION ACCORDING TO AUSTRIAN STATISTICS,
1846-1913.

Period	Total	Annual Average	Period	Total	Annual Average
1846; '49; '50	1,569	523	1886-90	133,198	26,639
1851-55	17,873	3,574	1891-95	217,691	43,536
1856-60	11,204	2,240	1896-1900	227,447	45,489
1861-65	10,886	2,173	1901-05	463,811	92,762
1866-70	28,734	5,746	1906-10	641,363	128,272
1871-75	48,514	9,702	1911-13	417,557	139,185
1876-80	51,044	10,208			
1881-85	99,823	19,964	1851-1913	2,369,145	.....

only 585 in 1840.¹ During the stormy times of 1848 and 1849 Austrian emigration was larger, but there is no reliable record of it. From 1850 on, carefully kept lists have been preserved and the results are presented above. The second column in Table 163 shows a constant growth in Austrian emigration after 1861-65.

The sudden increase in emigration, 1851-55, was due to the discovery of gold in California. The movement was confined almost entirely to Bohemia. Of the 58,000 emigrants who registered in the years 1850-68, not less than 44,000, or 76 per cent, were from Bohemia.² At that time also many Austrian emigrants went to Russia, drawn by promises of land and remunerative employment.

Subsequently, other Austrian stocks also were drawn into the current and at the beginning of the '80's Austria became an emigration country. The number of 20,000 emigrants was first passed in 1880, in 1891 they exceeded 50,000 and 100,000 in 1903, and 175,000 in 1907.³

Nearly all Austrian emigrants went to America and, among the American countries, principally to the United States. The emigration from Bohemia to Russia ceased at the end of the '60's. Table 164 shows the distribution of Austrian overseas emigration, 1876-1910.

The emigration from Austria to the United States reached a

TABLE 164.

AUSTRIAN OVERSEAS EMIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRY OF
DESTINATION: 1876-1910.

Destination	Number	Per Cent
United States.....	1,531,362	83.0
Canada.....	151,913	8.3
Argentina.....	94,047	5.1
Brazil.....	55,860	3.0
Other overseas countries.....	12,180	0.6
Total.....	1,845,362	100.0

¹[Volume I, page 588.—Ed.]

²[Volume I, page 588.—Ed.]

³[Volume I, page 593.—Ed.]

culminating point in 1892, when 46,000 Austrians departed for that country. An economic crisis which began in the United States in 1893, and whose consequences were felt for several years, checked immigration from Austria, but the decrease was confined mainly to Czech, German and Italian emigrants, the emigration of Slovenes and Poles at this time hardly decreasing at all.

After the improvement in America's economic situation, about 1898, emigration began to increase again;¹ but the Czechs and the Germans did not share much in this increase, and from 1900 on Austrian emigration to the United States was mainly an emigration from Galicia. The figures increased until 1907, decreased in 1908—the year of an American industrial crisis—and increased irregularly thereafter. In 1904–11 Austria-Hungary, which had contributed about 7.2 per cent of the immigration into the United States in 1821–1903, contributed 28 per cent and was first among all countries of origin.

The next most important immigration country was Canada. According to the port statistics about 150,000 Austrians went to Canada 1883–1910. This number is below the truth, but there are no reliable means of control as Canadian statistics do not distinguish Austrians from Hungarians. They show that about 200,000 Austrians and Hungarians entered Canada after 1900. The composition of this immigration by nationalities indicates that more than half of them were Austrian. In 1902–1905 over 90 per cent of the Austrian immigrants to Canada are said to have come from Galicia and Bukovina, more than 75 per cent from Galicia, so that Canadian immigration from Austria was in the main from Galicia.

Austro-Hungarian emigration to Argentina before 1880 was very small.² The changing figures in the following years indicate a great activity, principally among the Romance peoples. According to the port statistics more than 90,000 Austrians emigrated to Argentina in the period 1885–1910.³

Argentina appealed especially to Italians; the Italian-speaking Austrians from the southern Tyrol and Istria commonly embarked at Genoa. As a result probably many Italian-speaking emigrants from Austria were ascribed to Italy, and in this respect also the port

¹[Volume I, page 593.—Ed.]

²[Volume I, page 594.—Ed.]

³[Volume I, page 594.—Ed.]

data did not give a true picture. The Argentinian data were even less complete for they show only 60,000 Austro-Hungarian immigrants, 1885-1910, or two-thirds as many from both countries as the port statistics show from Austria alone.

Austrians who migrated to Brazil were drawn at first almost entirely from Austria's Italian-speaking population. The first mass emigration thither is traceable to action of the Brazilian government and a vigorous campaign by transportation agents. Before 1876 only a few Austrians emigrated to Brazil but the numbers for 1876 and 1877 were much larger both according to the port statistics and also according to those of Brazil.¹ But after 1877 the emigration fever subsided. In 1879-82 the movement was at a minimum and in 1894 it fell again to less than 1,000. During these last years a very few of the emigrants came from southern Tyrol: the majority came from the coastal regions and Carniola, Croatia and Slavonia; some also from Galicia. In 1895 and 1896 most of the Austrian emigrants went from Galicia and settled in Paranà. These two years mark the culminating point of the Austrian immigration into Brazil.

The countries discussed received more than 99 per cent of Austria's emigration. In 1890-95 only 861 Austrians or Hungarians migrated to Uruguay and in 1901-06 about 700 persons from Austria-Hungary arrived at Montevideo. For 1902-04 the Australian Federation reported about 2,300 immigrants from Austria, and for 1905-08 New Zealand reported about 2,000 Austrian and Hungarian immigrants, most of them from Dalmatia.

The fact that Austrian emigration statistics cover only overseas emigration does not mean that emigration from Austria to European countries was unimportant. On the contrary, seasonal emigration from Austria to other European countries—and that is now regarded as emigration—has been greater than overseas emigration. The statistics gathered in the old emigration tables, which included continental emigration, unfortunately contain no data about the destination. It is certain that America was the goal of most emigrating Bohemians (the principal contingent) and that emigration to Russia had almost ceased.

For the period after the discontinuance of these early emigration tables, foreign sources, especially foreign censuses, must be used

¹[Volume I, pages 550 and 594.—Ed.]

although during the few years just before the war, the records of the Board of Police Commissariats afforded a basis for an Austrian estimate of the seasonal emigration from Galicia and Bukovina. From the beginning most of the Austrian laborers who emigrated to European lands went to Germany. There was also a current to the sparsely settled Balkan States, especially Bosnia and Herzegovina which had been recently annexed.

About emigration from Austria to Germany the data are numerous but inconsistent. The German census of 1910 reported 635,000 Austrians in Germany while 10 years previously there were only 370,000, a decennial increase of 265,000 or 70 per cent. But that census, taken on December 1, ascertained only part of the Austrian laborers, for by that date most of the seasonal emigrants had returned.

According to the German census of occupations taken June 12, 1907, there were 316,000 Austrian laborers employed in Germany, of whom 86,000 were in agriculture and 196,000 in industry. The Prussian Landrat Boards ascertained the number of laborers coming annually from Austria-Hungary into Prussia for 1905-11. The number increased steadily from 182,000 in 1905 to 358,000 in 1911. According to the statistics of the German Arbeiter-Zentrale, an organization formed in 1907 under the patronage of the Prussian government to unite the agricultural labor registry offices, the number of laborers coming from Austria was as follows:

1907-08	170,313
1908-09	198,586
1909-10	224,555
1910-11	238,478
1911-12	262,944

Of the figures established for the last three years, 1909-12, Poles and Ruthenians formed each about 80,000 and Germans over 50,000. The Polish and Ruthenian laborers were employed principally in agriculture and the Germans in industry. The Board of Police offices on the Galician, Silesian and Bohemian borders obtained further evidence about the number of Austrian laborers employed in Germany, and concluded that somewhat more than 300,000 seasonal emigrants went to Germany annually 1909-11. The figures include about 10,500 laborers, who emigrated annually through Germany to Sweden and Denmark. By making use of all

sources one arrives at the conclusion that Austrian emigration into Germany before 1914 was about 450,000 annually.

About seasonal emigration from Austria to other European countries it is known from consular reports, official foreign publications, and reliable private estimates that about 8,000 laborers emigrated yearly to Denmark, 2,500 to Sweden, more than 1,000 to Switzerland, between 2,000 and 3,000 to France, more than 2,000 to Italy, and from 12,000 to 15,000 to Rumania. For the last few years before the war, continental emigration from Austria is to be estimated, therefore, at about 480,000 annually, while in 1904 it was estimated in the documents relating to the emigration bill, at only 100,000. The annual number of overseas emigrants estimated from the port statistics may be taken as 120,000, so that Austria's annual emigration of all kinds was about 600,000 persons. As the population of Austria was about 28,500,000, the annual migration rate was about 21 per thousand.

Causes of Emigration

After determining the amount and rate of emigration, the question arises: What were the causes for this large amount and high rate?

A few isolated influences have already been mentioned. The discovery of gold in California started emigration from Bohemia, and later the promise of land and of high wages in Russia started a movement to that country. Divers lawsuits show that the agents of steamship companies often took advantage of the ignorance and credulity of the peasant population and induced them to emigrate by all sorts of misrepresentations. Brazil made contracts with the steamship companies and granted free passage to immigrants to that country. There was a striking parallelism between Austrian emigration and the economic conditions in the United States, such that a pronounced industrial crisis in the latter country brought about a great decline in the number of Austrian immigrants to it. Unfortunately, Austrian statistics do not make it possible to examine thoroughly the connection between periods of prosperity and depression in Austria and fluctuations in emigration from that country.

More important than changes of the economic situation were certain permanent conditions in Austria, above all the small land

holdings, which were exceedingly disadvantageous for the peasantry. A great sub-division of the land had resulted from partitions through inheritance, and at the same time, a few great landowners had amassed much land. According to the census of 1902 more than half of the holdings were of less than two hectares, or 5 acres, and almost one-third of the total area was in great estates of over 100 hectares, or 250 acres, although they constituted only 0.7 per cent of the holdings. This indicated that a law noticed long before by German economists, that emigration increases with the prevalence of great landed estates and decreases with the prevalence of small peasant holdings, finds an illustration in Austria.

The small holdings of the peasants led to overpopulation in certain districts. Wages were very precarious in the city and more so in the country. Consequently, many peasant families and sons of peasants could not resist the enticement of a paradise on the horizon. Emigration laid hold first on the races at a higher level of culture (Germans, Czechs and Italians). This fact has led some authors to conclude that bodily misery or hunger was not the principal cause of emigration. But the causes were not always or with all races the same.

Much of the seasonal emigration was a streaming of peasant groups into industrial districts. For the flight from the land, as it has been called, is not purely internal migration; where flourishing industrial regions lie just over the border, they entice the peasant who is making a miserable living upon his tiny holding away from his native soil. The same influences, which in the second half of the nineteenth century led to internal migration from the agricultural to the industrial and trading districts of Austria, also brought about an emigration to the industrial districts of Germany.

However multifarious the motives for emigration were, it can be said to the honor of Austria that neither political nor religious persecution was one of them.

Emigration's Monetary Balance

In considering the monetary value of emigration or immigration, it is noteworthy how a change in the conditions has shifted the point of view. Formerly when emigration was for the most part a permanent colonization, the losses through emigration were estimated on that basis. Later, when emigration became more and more temporary, the credit side of the account came to the front.

The loss through emigration was computed by capitalizing the costs of the emigrants' maintenance and education or by estimating his excess future production over his maintenance. On the debit side were put the cost of the journey and the cash taken along, and on the credit side the remittances to the native countries so far as figures for them could be ascertained.

TABLE 165.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY'S BALANCE SHEET OF EMIGRATION, IN THOUSANDS OF CROWNS, 1903-10.

Year	Emigrants' Ready Cash	Traveling Expenses	Bank Remittances	Favorable Balance
1903	16,059	41,668	161,644	103,917
1904	18,024	29,820	165,806	117,962
1905	27,106	48,996	194,972	118,870
1906	24,852	51,154	270,253	194,247
1907	30,175	60,864	314,503	223,464
1908	17,039	31,140	178,015	229,836
1909	17,154	31,111	168,432	120,167
1910	.....	.....	272,913	220,913

Such calculations are of little value when there are no facts for separating permanent from temporary emigration and when they do not include the items tending to balance the money drained away by emigration. Still, it may interest countries in which the remittances from emigrants constitute a regular and important item, to learn the yearly amount of these sums. But no estimate of the financial losses incurred by emigration has much scientific importance because there are a number of matters of moment, such as the relief of the labor market, national expansion or trade expansion, which do not admit of monetary estimate.

According to an estimate of the United States Immigration Commission, the remittances sent yearly from the United States by immigrants amounted around 1910 to \$275,000,000, of which 75 million went to Austria-Hungary. An estimate of Austria-Hungary's balance sheet of emigration for 1903-10, as made by Dr. Bartsch,¹ is given in Table 165.

¹Bartsch, "Einfluss der Wanderbewegung und des Fremdenverkehrs auf die Zahlungsbilanz Oesterreich-Ungarns" (1911).

On the basis of these calculations, Austria's favorable balance from overseas emigration during the last years before the war is estimated by Fellner,¹ at 155 million crowns or 31 million dollars. To this should be added the Continental emigration which, according to the estimates under discussion, ought to show a favorable balance of from 20 to 25 million crowns, or 4 to 5 million dollars.

The classification of emigrants by age and sex makes it possible to draw conclusions concerning the nature of the emigration. Where most of the emigrants are males of working age, it points to temporary employment abroad; a larger proportion of women and children points to a permanent emigration.

The statistics of the United States show on the average two male immigrants to one female. This ratio is confirmed by the emigration statistics. The Hamburg statistical data for 1894-1910 show 66 per cent male and 34 per cent female among Austrian emigrants. The gradual change from a colonizing to a temporary emigration is suggested by the fact that in the earlier years (1854-84) only 54 per cent were male and 46 per cent female. At the start Austrian emigration was an emigration of families, involving a permanent departure.

The age data, 1830-54, agree with this. They show 30 per cent were under 17 years of age and 70 per cent above 17. In the years 1854-84 those above 17 were only 60 per cent and those under it 40 per cent. In contrast to this the port statistics of Hamburg and Bremen for 1894-1910 show 86 per cent of the emigrants as over 15 years of age and only 14 per cent under 15.² These ratios show a gradual shifting whereby the emigration current includes a larger proportion of men.³ Of the 86 per cent of the emigrants more than 15 years of age, not quite 10 per cent were over 40 years old, so that more than three-quarters were between 15 and 40 years of age.

At the beginning of the '80's, with the commencement of Austria's real emigration period, the importance of Bohemia whence three-fourths of the earlier emigration from Austria had gone forth diminished. Then the emigration from the Tyrol, Carinthia and Galicia took the lead; but at the same time the nature of Austrian

¹Fellner, "Das Volkseinkommen Oesterreichs und Ungarns" (1916).

²[This would mean probably less than 20 per cent under 17 years of age as compared with 40 per cent for 1854-84.—Ed.]

³[May this not be due in large part to the fact that males crossing more than once were counted each time they left Europe as emigrants and each time they reached America as immigrants. Females probably did this less often.—Ed.]

emigration changed, because the South Tyroleans, the Carinthians, the Galician Poles, the Slovaks and the Croats did not emigrate—as a rule—in order to become residents of the United States, but rather to work there for some years and then return with their savings to their native country.

On the other hand, the emigrating Czechs, Germans and Jews from Galicia and Bukovina looked forward to permanent settlement in the country of immigration. In later years emigration from Galicia came more to the front, and in the years 1898-1900 it constituted from three-fourths to four-fifths of the total emigration from Austria. The Poles and Jews furnished the largest contingents, as in the decade 1901-10 there were 926 emigrant Poles and 683 Jews per 100,000 of the specified stock in Austria. The corresponding rates for the other nationalities were: Croats and Slovenes, 692; Czechs and Slovaks, 494; Italians, 226; and Germans, 219. The emigration rate of the Italians from Austria is probably too low because many were entered as Italians from Italy.

In the statistics heretofore considered, whether Austrian or foreign, emigration was treated as a movement and every person who crossed the border as an emigrant was a unit. Another source of material is found in the censuses, which deal with the results of emigration. They show the balance of emigration, that is, the changes in the population which have occurred not as a result of a natural increase or decrease by births and deaths, but as a result of a migratory increase or decrease.

According to the migration returns, Austria after 1880 had an increasing net loss through emigration (See Table 166).

Censuses give the number of foreigners residing in a country

TABLE 166.
AUSTRIA'S LOSSES BY EMIGRATION, 1881-1910.
(In Thousands)

Decade	Excess of emigrants over immigrants
1881-1890	201
1891-1900	398
1900-1910	683

and the number of its natives residing abroad; but they do so without regard to whether the persons counted are really emigrants or not.

According to modern definitions, however, only these who go abroad for pleasure or business of a temporary character are not classed as emigrants. As a result, most of those enumerated at a census would come under the modern definition of an emigrant. During more recent decades these census statistics have shown a net loss for Austria, which in 1910 amounted to 2,870,000 persons. At that time there were 3,450,000 Austrians living abroad and 580,000 foreigners living in Austria. In 1900 the net loss amounted to about 300,000 with 490,000 foreigners living in Austria and 790,000 Austrians living abroad. In 1890 Austria's net loss was only 30,000, with 410,000 foreigners living in Austria and 440,000 Austrians living abroad. For earlier years only the number of foreigners living in Austria can be given with accuracy, for the statistical inquiry into the number of Austrian citizens living abroad was then too defective to be used in striking a balance. In 1880, there were 326,000 foreigners enumerated in Austria, and in 1869 only 205,000.

The balance of emigration varied with the country. The largest net losses in 1910 were in the balance with Germany (-500,000) and with the United States (-2,340,000), while in the balance with Hungary there was a net gain of 122,000 and in that with Italy of 68,000.

Census data about the number of foreigners in Austria are the only source of recent information about immigration into Austria. During an earlier period, 1819-54, there were 51,017 persons who entered Austria and 46,458 who left, showing that during the first half of the nineteenth century Austria was not an emigration country. After freedom of migration was introduced, all administrative control of it was dropped, so that only approximate conclusions about the extent of immigration can be had and those derived indirectly from census results.

For the same reason all reliable Austrian data about the repatriation of emigrants are wanting. On the basis of unofficial returns gathered at Austrian frontier stations and seaports, the number of repatriates from North America, 1903-07, was established as given in Table 167. As approximately 618,000 Austrians emigrated to the

United States during the same period, the repatriation was approximately 20 per cent.

TABLE 167.

AUSTRIA'S REPATRIATES ANNUALLY FROM NORTH
AMERICA, 1903-07.

Year	Number
1903	20,847
1904	20,661
1905	19,050
1906	27,890
1907	50,380
1903-07	138,828

Migration Movements in the Austrian Republic.

In the reduced Austria of today, immigration plays a greater rôle than it did in the larger empire. For example, a number of Czechoslovakian agricultural and seasonal laborers (about 12,000) and domestic servants emigrate annually to Austria, and this is, as it was not formerly, an international migration.

Austria now has an Emigration Office, which has charge of all matters relating to emigration and immigration. It was established mainly to assist persons who desire to emigrate by giving them detailed information and guarding them against planning unwisely. The existing emigration statistics present, in monthly reports, overseas emigration classified by sex, age, occupation, country of origin and country of destination.

In view of the severe restrictions upon immigration into other countries, the number of Austrian emigrants is only an evidence of the extent to which Austrians have succeeded in seeking a home abroad under existing restrictions. Were it not for the various obstacles to immigration Austria's problem of unemployment would have caused emigration to increase much more than it did. In the years 1921-24 there were 34,000 Austrians who went to overseas countries, and up to July, 1927 the number had become 50,000.

About 60 per cent were male and 40 per cent female; one-third of the emigrants were under 15 years of age and two-thirds adults. Twenty per cent had been occupied in agriculture, 24 per cent in mining and manufactures, 6 per cent in trade, 9 per cent had been servants or artisans, 3 per cent were in the liberal professions and 38 per cent in other or unknown pursuits.

The United States is still the most important country of immigration, and it has established 785 as the yearly immigration quota from Austria. Two-thirds of the Austrian emigrants, 1921-24, went to the United States, 19 per cent to Brazil and 11 per cent to Argentina, while the other countries of destination had unimportant quotas.

The emigration statistics of the Republic are, as a whole, more reliable and complete than those of the former empire based on port data. In this field, as in so many others, there has been a change from the liberal conceptions of the past to the more social point of view of the present day. When production was the employer's private affair, it was scarcely possible to obtain half-way reliable statistics of production, and so likewise during the period of international freedom of migration, emigration statistics were lacking just because of this freedom. Today, when the conduct of a business is more and more regarded as an activity involving the interests of the community and when the public operation of business is more and more superseding its private operation, statistics benefit from the change.

CHAPTER XIV

HUNGARIAN MIGRATION OF MODERN TIMES¹

By

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Hungary's modern emigration began with an exodus to America and so increased in such a manner that later America and especially the United States, attracted the greater part of the stream. The first sporadic cases of emigration occurred in the '40's of the nineteenth century, but the emigration of Hungarian patriots after the failure of the struggle for independence in 1848 and 1849—although most of them remained in the United States—was not treated in American statistics as immigration, the first two immigrants from Hungary being reported in 1861.²

With the year 1880 the number of emigrants from Hungary began to rise rapidly. In 1881 the Hungarian government placed emigration agencies under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior, and forbade all emigration except when the emigrant was provided with a passport. The consequence, however, was merely an increase in clandestine emigration. The total flow increased in volume year by year and in 1903, when the United States was enjoying an unparalleled prosperity which drew people from all over the world, the number of Hungarian emigrants exceeded 100,000, and in 1907 it was nearly doubled.³ The number of emigrants, however, did not increase uniformly or regularly but showed great fluctuations, a fact which goes to prove that, in addition to incentives in Hungary, American business conditions also were of decisive influence. In 1908, in consequence of the great economic depression of the previous year, the number of overseas emigrants fell to less than one-fourth of the number in 1907.

¹[In connection with the present discussion see also *International Migrations*, Vol. I, pp. 86, 91f, 178ff, 184, 188, 200f, 230ff, 239-258, 300ff, 306-309, 329-341, 710-738.

Apparently the author of this chapter has used at times fuller or slightly different figures from those found in Volume I. In such cases his figures have been reproduced in full.—Ed.]

²[Volume I, page 377, Table 1.—Ed.]

³[Volume I, p. 716.—Ed.]

The enormous increase in emigration finally led the Hungarian government to regulate the movement by laws passed in 1903 and 1909. The first aimed to restrict emigration; the second abandoned that effort and aimed merely to protect the emigrants. These laws prescribed what classes of the population (minors, those liable to military service, destitute persons, and the like) were not allowed to emigrate and instituted a system of emigrant passports. The Minister of the Interior was empowered in the interest of emigrants to forbid emigration to certain states. Emigration was restricted to certain steamship lines. The statute defined the legal rights of the transportation companies and of the emigrants, created an emigration fund for assisting emigrants, an emigration council as a consulting agency for the government and emigration commissioners to control emigration matters.

Each transportation company received a permit to carry on its business from the Ministry of the Interior which was thereby enabled to control the company. By virtue of the law, the Cunard Steamship Company, Limited, received an exclusive permit to carry Hungarian emigrants from Fiume to New York. The company was not in a position to transport the enormous mass of emigrants on its own ships and was therefore obliged to divert many of them to ships of the Hungarian Adria Company, sailing from northern seaports. As a result of this procedure and of a rate war instituted by competing concerns against the Cunard Line, most of the emigrants travelled to America via the northern seaports and thus avoided all Government control. In 1911 the Hungarian government granted the North Atlantic Steamship Lines' Association (the so-called Continental Pool) of five combined continental companies a similar permit to transport Hungarian emigrants (Pool Agreement). Then at last all Hungarian emigration was put under government control and the object of the law was attained.

In the '80's of the last century Canada began to receive emigrants from Hungary and in subsequent years, when the United States no longer appealed to the emigrants as the land of promise, Canada exerted a growing attraction on Hungarian emigrants by reason of fantastic assurances. The Canadian government bestowed bonuses at first in the shape of free land and training in its use, such as no other country offered. But the emigrants, who had been carried by the agents of the railway companies many thousands of miles into the interior of the country, were completely disillusioned

and faced with great obstacles and hardships; they were only moderately prosperous.

Still worse was the fate of those Hungarians who went to South America. Brazil and Argentina were the South American states that received most of them. Although the information in regard to this current is scanty, it shows that there was a small migration to these countries after 1880, rising to a maximum of nearly 3,000 in 1905.¹ But the situation of the emigrants was trying. They had been lured away by deceptive promises of Italian steamship companies and found not the loudly-proclaimed landed estates but only the hardest kind of work on coffee plantations or at other tasks. Under such conditions and exposed to a deadly climate many died.

The emigration to European countries deserves more extended consideration. The movement to Austria, is one of the oldest currents. The political relations which long existed between Austria and Hungary led to a continuous exchange of population between the two states, the balance of which was unfavorable to Hungary. From early times the advanced stage of industry in Austria afforded Hungarian laborers employment, while agricultural Hungary attracted only a few Austrians. How great this movement was is shown by the fact that the number of Hungarian citizens living in Austria rose between 1857 and 1900 from 53,000 to 324,000, a more than sixfold increase. Most of the emigrants came from the counties of western Hungary bordering on Austria, and 215,000 of them went to Lower Austria, nearly seven-tenths of whom were in Vienna. Styria also received many Hungarians (39,000)² of whom 10,000 were in Graz. This emigration to Austria drew off especially the intelligent, able-bodied elements of the population, a serious loss for Hungary, although it afforded important advantages for the people involved.

Of more recent origin than the emigration to Austria is that from the German-speaking districts of Hungary to Germany. This movement is hardly thirty years old and has been directed to the large German cities in which qualified Hungarian laborers, tradespeople and persons with other occupations have found a good livelihood. The annual number of emigrants has been between 500 and 7,500; in the 15 years, 1899-1913, Hungary lost 42,000 persons thus.²

¹[Volume I, page 717.—Ed.]

²[Volume I, page 718.—Ed.]

For preparing a survey of Hungary's total emigration only incomplete data are available, especially about the demographic and economic composition of the migrants. Hungarian statistics are the only ones which include the entire emigration, but these go back to 1899 only. For earlier years one must turn to the emigration statistics gathered at European seaports and the immigration statistics of the United States, both of which naturally embrace only overseas emigration. But there are no returns from European countries about the number of Hungarian immigrants.

A survey of Hungary's total emigration will make clear its great fluctuations in course of time. In the last two years of the nineteenth century it rose from 37,000 to 39,000, grew rapidly in volume at the beginning of the twentieth century and reached a maximum of 193,000 in 1907.¹ This peak was followed the next year by an extraordinary depression to little more than one-fourth of that total, due largely to a rapid decrease in American immigration; then came a new flood to 113,000 in 1909 and a second ebb-tide, likewise due largely to American conditions. In 1912 and 1913 a third high point was reached with 105,000 emigrants, but shortly thereafter the World War dammed the current.

In these 15 years nearly 1,400,000 emigrants were registered. In order to obtain the actual loss of population, those who departed more than once and those who were repatriated, should be subtracted. On an average for the 15 years there were 4.6 emigrants annually to every 1,000 of population, a rate which rose to 8.8 in the three years of greatest emigration and to 9.4 in 1907 when almost 1 per cent of the population emigrated. During the whole 15 years the country lost not less than 7 per cent of its population.

Table 168 shows the classification by sex, age, nationality and occupation of the total emigration from Hungary.² Since these phases will be discussed later, both for overseas emigration and for Continental emigration, only summaries of the numerical data are presented at this point.

OVERSEAS EMIGRATION

Overseas emigration; which includes the greater part of the total outflow, can best be grasped statistically and can be elucidated

¹[See Volume I, page 720, Table XV.—Ed.]

²[See Volume I, page 721.—Ed.]

with the most detail. The sources of these statistics are the returns from European seaports, the immigration statistics of the United States, and from 1899 on the ample material furnished by the Hungarian official statistics. As they differ in their methods of inquiry as well as in the tabulation and publication of the material, it is natural that the results of the various statistics do not entirely agree and in some respects seem contradictory. Nevertheless, they afford valuable material for a general survey and for an estimate of the importance of emigration from a demographic and economic standpoint.

The statistics of the German seaports, going back to 1871, embrace almost the whole of the important period of Hungarian emigration.¹ They cover the ports of Hamburg, Bremen, Wilhelms-haven and Stettin, and classify by country of destination and by continent (Asia, Africa and Australia). Statistics for other European seaports began in 1899, the date to which Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp and Genoa carried back their port statistics. Much later came the inclusion of the seaports of Havre, Cherbourg, Liverpool, Naples, as well as Trieste and Fiume which last at this time attained great importance for emigration statistics on account of the Cunard agreement. While the statistical material from the most important ports of emigration to North America except the French is at hand and fairly complete, the lack of statistics from the Italian ports engaged in the South American trade leaves a perceptible gap.

The immigration statistics of the United States give many essential demographic features and afford an abundant material, but they often lump emigrants from Austria and Hungary together and so do not furnish adequate information regarding all phases of Hungarian emigration. By way of contrast, the Hungarian emigration statistics, which were started in 1899, are a mine of statistical material. They lend themselves to statistical researches of a local nature because of the exhaustive topographical classification of emigrants by counties and cities. On the other hand, the lack of an exhaustive classification of emigrant destinations according to countries is to be deplored.

During the first decades Hungarian emigration flowed almost exclusively through Hamburg and Bremen. Until 1885 the bulk of it streamed through Hamburg. Then Bremen drew to itself the

¹[See Volume I, page 716.—Ed.]

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TABLE 168.
SUMMARY OF HUNGARY'S TOTAL EMIGRATION, 1899-1913.
(In Thousands)
(a) By Sex

Year	Number of Emigrants				
	Males ^a	Females ^a	Total ^a	Per 1,000 Inhabitants	Per Cent Females
1899	25	12	37	2.0	32.0
1900	28	11	39	2.0	28.6
1901	41	14	55	2.9	25.5
1902	49	15	64	3.3	23.6
1903	51	17	68	3.5	24.9
1904	49	22	71	3.5	31.2
1905	122	44	166	8.2	26.4
1906	121	48	169	8.3	28.3
1907	141	52	193	9.4	26.9
1908	34	19	53	2.6	35.5
1909	80	34	114	5.4	29.9
1910	64	33	96	4.6	33.9
1911	35	29	64	3.1	45.9
1912	62	42	105	5.0	40.5
1913	46	51	97	4.5	52.1
1899-1904	243	91	334	2.9	27.3
1905-1907	384	144	528	8.8	27.2
1908-1913	321	208	529	4.2	39.3
Grand Total	948	443	1,391	4.6	31.8

(b) By Nationality

Year	Magyars	Germans	Slovaks	Rumanians	Ruthenians	Croatians	Serbs
1899	8,322	4,068	14,251	4,472	1,676	3,703	296
1900	9,883	4,393	14,170	3,092	3,116	3,697	231
1901	14,301	5,328	19,302	4,973	3,553	7,167	316
1902	17,821	8,147	18,760	4,429	3,328	10,143	555
1903	17,896	10,901	17,063	5,585	3,204	12,298	728
1904	21,856	12,134	17,477	9,892	2,895	4,141	1,148
1905	43,754	28,303	38,770	17,747	7,287	17,523	10,376
1906	52,121	30,551	32,904	20,859	4,920	16,016	9,950
1907	58,739	37,611	32,737	26,491	5,088	16,589	13,514
1908	17,144	10,609	9,308	8,277	1,917	3,251	1,737
1909	32,802	19,640	24,229	16,224	5,159	8,817	5,587
1910	25,562	16,758	18,010	14,968	3,805	9,817	5,430
1911	20,143	13,221	11,595	8,227	2,269	5,338	2,513
1912	31,478	16,803	17,029	18,620	3,761	9,961	5,908
1913	29,301	14,124	14,827	20,656	3,002	8,805	4,892
1899-1904	90,079	44,971	101,023	32,443	17,772	41,149	3,274
1905-1907	154,614	96,465	104,411	65,097	17,295	50,128	33,840
1908-1913	156,430	91,155	94,998	86,972	19,913	45,989	27,067
Grand Total	401,123	232,591	300,432	184,512	54,980	137,266	64,181

^a[For the detailed numbers see Volume I, page 721, Table XVI.—Ed.]

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(c) EMIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY AGE, IN THOUSANDS, 1905-7 AND 1911-13
(Heads of Families and Single Persons)^b

Age Class	1905-07		1911-13	
	Total	Per Cent	Total	Per Cent
0 - 19	109	24.1	34	17.3
20 - 29	160	35.4	67	33.8
30 - 39	115	25.3	46	23.3
40 - 49	57	12.6	37	18.7
50 and over	12	2.6	14	6.9
Total	453	100.0	199	100.0

^b[See Volume I, page 722, Table XVII.—Ed.]

(d) EMIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATIONS, IN THOUSANDS, 1905-07
AND 1911-13^c
(Heads of Families and Single Persons)

Occupation	1905-07		1911-13	
	Total	Per Cent	Total	Per Cent
Agriculturists	77	17.0	42	21.0
Agricultural and Day Laborers	234	51.6	94	47.4
Miners and Mine Laborers	5	1.2	2	0.9
Industrialists	10	2.2	6	3.0
Tradespeople	1	0.3	0.8	0.4
Industrial and Commercial Help and Day Laborers	51	11.3	17	8.4
Learned Professions	2	0.5	1	0.7
Day Laborers not further specified	43	9.5	20	10.2
Servants, Domestic	23	5.2	11	5.3
Other Occupations	6	1.2	5	2.7
Total	453	100.0	199	100.0

^c[See Volume I, page 723, Table XVIII.—Ed.]

great mass and this preponderance became greater year by year until it diminished a little just before the outbreak of the World War. Besides these two ports during the earlier years and especially after 1900, Rotterdam and Antwerp were important. Then, following the legislative regulation of Hungarian emigration, Fiume came to the front and from 1904 on sent out from 20 to 30 per cent of all the overseas emigrants. Trieste and Havre likewise were engaged in shipping emigrants, although in small numbers, and for some years also Liverpool whence several thousand Hungarian emigrants found their way to America.

If the available material is tabulated by ports for quinquennial periods, the figures of Table 169 result.

TABLE 169.

HUNGARIAN OVERSEAS EMIGRATION BY PORTS OF EMBARKATION FOR
QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS, 1871-1913

(In Thousands)

Period	German			Dutch		Belgian	French	
	Hamburg	Bremen	Other Ports	Amsterdam	Rotterdam	Antwerp	Havre	Cherbourg
1871-75	3	0.9	....	....	....	....	..	....
1876-80	11	1.5	....	....	....	....	..	....
1881-85	50	19	....	....	....	....	..	....
1886-90	40	70	0.09	0.5	1	2	..	....
1891-95	14	66	0.01	3	14	26	..	....
1896-1900	21	94	0.6	0.7	10	29	..	....
1901-05	98	274	....	0	34	69	5	....
1906-10	108	247	....	0	35	56	29	2
1911-13	74	103	....	0	20	24	18	0.5
Totals	420	875	0.7	4	115	206	52	2.5

Period	English	Italian		Austrian	Hungarian	Totals
	Liverpool	Genoa	Naples	Trieste	Fiume	
1871-75	..	..	...	..	...	4
1876-80	..	..	...	..	...	13
1881-85	..	..	...	..	...	69
1886-90	..	3	...	..	...	118
1891-95	..	3	...	..	...	125
1896-1900	..	4	...	..	...	160
1901-05	10	1	0.1	1	58	551
1906-10	2	1	...	20	186	686
1911-13	1	0.3	...	11	61	313
Totals	13	13	0.1	32	305	2,039

Table 169 shows that more than 2,000,000 Hungarians embarked from European ports for overseas countries in 43 years 1871-1913. But this cannot be regarded as the true number of emigrants for not all of them finally abandoned their native country. Many embarked as an experiment and returned only to embark once more. Some returned several times. These persons were entered in the statistics as often as they embarked. From the American immigration statistics it appears that 23 per cent of the Hungarian immigrants had previously been in the United States. Probably the proportion of repeaters increased. If the true number of emigrants is to be ob-

tained from the port statistics, from 20 to 25 per cent should be subtracted from the reported figures.

Unfortunately the statistical data on the direction of overseas emigration are incomplete. Of the European ports only Hamburg and Bremen distinguish the countries to which the emigrants are bound. Such data are available for the period 1871-1913 and the totals for quinquennial periods are given in Table 170. American immigration statistics show the number of Hungarians landed in the United States from 1861 on, but the figures for 1896 to 1904 are lacking because Hungarian emigrants were not then distinguished from Austrian. (In Table 170 the data for those years have been introduced from German port statistics.) Moreover, the American data differ materially from the European; first, because the American statistics are published by fiscal years and secondly, because these statistics embrace Hungarian emigrants arriving on ships from all ports, while the destination of embarking emigrants is shown only in German port statistics. No emigrants who went to the United States on Dutch, Belgian, French or Italian ships had their destination reported and tabulated. Finally, since 1899 the Hungarian emigration statistics show the stream of travelers according to destination. Table 170 brings together the results of the various statistics of overseas emigration from Hungary by quinquennial periods.

Table 171 (p. 421) shows that 98.5 per cent of the emigrants went to the United States, the participation of the other overseas countries being astonishingly small. According to the German port statistics, 17,387 emigrants embarked for the other American countries between 1871 and 1913, and only 663 for other continents.

Concerning the proportion of each sex in Hungarian emigration American statistics are available for the earlier years and Hungarian for the later. The American statistics and the German port statistics show a decrease in the per cent of females between 1871 and 1892, as presented in Table 172 (p. 421). The two sets of figures show a general agreement in per cent and in trend. If children are excluded the American statistics show for ages between 15 and 40 years the per cent of females given in the last column of that table.

For years after 1892 these data are not found in the American statistics. If the figures for Magyar, Slovak, Ruthenian and Croatian peoples coming for the most part from Hungary, are com-

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TABLE 170.

HUNGARIAN OVERSEAS EMIGRATION THROUGH GERMAN PORTS AND INTO AMERICAN COUNTRIES, CLASSIFIED BY DESTINATION FOR QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS, 1861-1913.

(a) Through German Ports^a

Quinquennial Periods	AMERICA						Total (America)
	United States	Canada	West Indies	Brazil	Argentina	Other States	
1871-75	3,785	...	2	17	4	1	3,809
1876-80	12,538	2	10	49	1	..	12,600
1881-85	68,961	91	1	70	18	3	69,144
1886-90	100,105	125	8	39	66	5	100,348
1891-95	77,000	539	7	981	72	11	78,610
1896-1900	114,835	508	1	69	44	14	115,471
1901-05	365,329	3,259	..	123	3,049	11	371,771
1906-10	349,376	1,353	..	54	3,767	12	354,562
1911-13	174,365	2,094	..	92	815	..	177,366
Totals	1,266,294	7,971	29	1,494	7,836	57	1,283,681

Quinquennial Periods	Asia	Africa	Australia	Great Britain	Total (All Countries)
1871-75	..	..	34	..	3,843
1876-80	..	2	3	..	12,605
1881-85	..	9	6	..	69,159
1886-90	..	3	16	..	100,367
1891-95	2	8	2	..	78,622
1896-1900	3	250	9	323	116,056
1901-05	..	294	3	665	372,733
1906-10	..	2	2	70	354,636
1911-13	..	5	10	51	177,432
Totals	5	573	85	1,109	1,285,453

^a[See Volume I, page 717, Table VI.—Ed.]

(b) Into American Countries

Quinquennial Periods	United ^a States	Brazil	Total	Quinquennial Periods	United States	Brazil	Total
1861-65	409	...	409	1896-1900	(114,835) ^a	...	(114,835) ^a
1866-70	75	...	75	1901-04	(265,134) ^a	...	(265,134) ^a
1871-75	3,315	...	3,315	1905	163,703	...	163,703
1876-80	6,644	...	6,644	1906-10	644,808	396 ^b	645,204
1881-85	51,176	...	51,176	1911-13	287,536	1,303	288,839
1886-90	76,515	...	76,515				
1891-95	118,618	...	118,618	Grand Total	1,732,768	1,699	1,734,467

^aGerman port statistics.

^bFrom 1908 to 1910 [see Vol. I, page 551, Table II.—Ed.]

^c[See Vol. I, pp. 377-83, Table I.—Ed.]

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TABLE 171.
HUNGARIAN OVERSEAS EMIGRATION ANNUALLY TO AMERICA AND TO
OTHER CONTINENTS: 1899-1913
(Hungarian Statistics)

Years	America ^a	Other Continents	Year	America	Other Continents
1899	26,515	166	1911	53,502	258
1900	31,092	84	1912	92,664	132
			1913	84,084	90
1901	45,196	174	1899-1900	57,607	250
1902	56,346	270	1901-05	362,872	1,453
1903	61,466	366	1906-10	546,018	3,185
1904	57,695	232	1911-13	230,250	480
1905	142,169	411	Total	1,196,747	5,368
1906	149,932	577			
1907	172,200	1,189			
1908	38,214	489			
1909	100,424	670			
1910	85,248	260			

^a[Volume I, page 718, Table VIII.—Ed.]

bined the per cent of females for 1899-1902 is 22.8, showing a still further decrease in their proportion. Hungarian statistics, beginning with 1899 establish the proportion of females among those emigrating to America as given in Table 172.

TABLE 172.
PROPORTION OF FEMALES IN EMIGRATION FROM HUNGARY TO THE UNITED
STATES, 1871-1913.

Years	Per cent Females in Total Migration, according to			Per cent Females, 15-40 Years
	American Returns	German Returns	Hungarian Returns	American Returns
1871-75	39.9	33.6	....	30.8
1876-80	33.2	35.8	....	23.4
1881-85	25.1	25.8	....	21.6
1886-90	26.7	27.6	....	24.4
1891-92	26.5	32.3	....	25.6
1901-04	....	....	27.3	....
1905-07	....	....	28.7	....
1908-10	....	....	33.3	....
1911-13	....	....	47.7	....

With the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a marked change in the proportion of females, the per cent rising slowly at first and then more rapidly, so that in 1913 there were more female emigrants (53.6 per cent) than male. This increase was due in part to a prohibition on the emigration of men liable to military service, issued at the time of the Balkan Wars, and in part, to a growing tendency of females to migrate, for the number of women emigrating increased rapidly.

In the distribution of emigrants according to age, the influence of a country's economic situation is revealed; that influence tending to increase the proportion of immigrants of productive age. According to the early immigration statistics of the United States, the proportion of Hungarian immigrants under 15 years of age fell, between 1873 and 1893, from 28 to 8 per cent. There was a similar decrease also in the proportion of immigrants of more advanced years (over 40 years of age) which fell from 13 to 7.8 per cent. On the other hand the proportion of productive age (from 15 to 40 years) rose steadily from 59 to 84 per cent. At the same time the increase of female immigrants 15-40 years of age, was astonishingly rapid, as Table 173 shows.

TABLE 173.

PROPORTION OF HUNGARIAN IMMIGRANTS OF PRODUCTIVE AGE ENTERING THE UNITED STATES, BY SEX, 1873-1893

Period	Per Cent of Immigrants from 15 to 40 Years of Age	
	Men	Women
1873-75	62.5	45.5
1876-80	70.0	57.9
1881-85	76.0	61.4
1886-90	79.7	68.4
1891-93	85.1	81.2

Later American statistics make 15 and 45 years the limits between the three principal age classes; and show that there were among Hungarian immigrants, 1899-1902, 6.3 per cent under 14 years of age, 90 per cent between 14 and 45 years and 3.7 per cent over 45 years; figures which prove that there was further decrease

in the proportion of children. There was an appreciable increase, also, in the proportion of those of productive age, namely, from 84.2 per cent, when that age was between 15 and 40 years to 90 per cent when it was between 15 and 45 years. An increase partly but not wholly to be explained by the change in the age limit.

As regards the later period only the data in the Hungarian statistics for the emigrants to America are available, and those speak for 1905-07 and 1911-13. Unfortunately they employ different age limits: 0-20, 20-50, and over 50 years of age. A comparison with the earlier results therefore is not possible. These percentages among the emigrants, given in Table 174, show that the decrease in the proportion of child emigrants continued, while the proportion of elderly emigrants increased, and there was a slighter increase in the proportion of those of productive age.

TABLE 174.

PROPORTIONS OF EMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES (HUNGARIAN DATA),
BY AGE-CLASSES, 1905-07 AND 1911-13.

Age Class	Per cent of Emigrants	
	1905-07	1911-13
Under 20 years of age.....	24.4	17.3
From 20 to 50 years of age.....	74.2	77.4
Over 50 years of age.....	1.4	5.3
All ages.....	100.0	100.0

In the case of a country with a population so mixed linguistically and racially as that of pre-war Hungary, statistical evidence of the part played by each group in emigration would be most important. Unfortunately the statistics are inadequate and, therefore, the polyglot mass of emigrants cannot be perfectly classified by mother tongue. Only from 1899 on do the American immigration statistics classify immigrants linguistically and then in some years they do not separate Hungarians from Austrians according to the country to which they belong. While Magyar and Slovak immigrants probably may be regarded as coming from Hungary, it is

TABLE 175.

IMMIGRANTS FROM HUNGARY TO THE UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED BY LINGUISTIC STOCK: 1898-1913.^a

(In Thousands)

Fiscal Years	Magyars	Germans	Slovaks	Ruthenians	Croats	Serbs
1898-99	6	..	16	1	7	..
1899-1900	14	..	29	3	11	..
1900-01	13	5	28	2	10	..
1901-02	24	10	36	3	19	0.4
1902-03	27	15	33	3	21	4
1903-04	24	14	27	3	14	2
1904-05	45	26	51	3	22	2
1905-06	42	27	35	4	28	3
1906-07	59	26	40	6	32	6
1907-08	24	17	14	3	12	4
1908-09	28	14	21	4	11	2
1909-10	26	19	31	3	22	4
1910-11	19	15	21	2	11	2
1911-12	23	15	24	4	15	2
1912-13	29	16	26	4	23	3
Total	402	219	432	47	257	34

^a[The figures for 1898-1900 and 1909-13 are taken apparently from Volume I, pages 460-469, Table XIII. Those for the other years have, perhaps, been reached by estimating the share of Hungary in the figures for Austria-Hungary in the same tables.—Ed.]

not possible so to classify the Germans, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Croats and other minor groups of immigrants from the Dual Monarchy. We are, therefore, restricted to estimates made by the Hungarian Central Statistical Bureau based on data for 1904-5 and 1907-8 to 1912-13. They give the results shown in Table 175.

Parallel with Table 175 are the results of the Hungarian statistics, available from 1905 on, giving the linguistic stocks of Hungarian emigrants to America. Table 176 shows that emigration from Hungary which was almost entirely Slovak during the early years, soon included other stocks, first Magyars and then Germans, Croats and Serbs in considerable numbers. From about 1905 on the Magyars furnished the largest contingent. Yet their share in the emigration was far below their share of the population and in the later years amounted to scarcely one-third of the total.

The reasons for this result were manifold; probably one was that the movement coming from the west past the Poles and

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TABLE 176.

EMIGRANTS FROM HUNGARY TO THE UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED BY LINGUISTIC STOCK: 1905-13

Year	Magyars	Ger- mans	Slovaks	Ruman- ians	Ruthen- ians	Croats	Serbs	Others	Total
1905	40,303	23,147	37,814	8,798	7,143	14,959	8,493	1,512	142,169
1906	48,252	26,244	31,878	13,683	4,790	14,455	9,158	1,472	149,932
1907	54,462	32,414	31,622	19,240	4,880	15,130	12,672	1,780	172,200
1908	14,248	7,310	8,448	2,995	1,759	1,970	1,185	299	38,214
1909	30,642	17,192	23,461	10,857	4,987	7,674	5,001	610	100,424
1910	23,528	14,588	17,638	10,631	3,678	8,607	5,947	631	85,248
1911	18,236	11,086	11,207	3,786	2,230	4,253	2,198	506	53,502
1912	29,716	14,827	16,616	12,527	3,564	8,930	5,609	875	92,664
1913	27,778	12,402	14,657	12,700	2,994	8,031	4,594	928	84,084
Total	287,165	159,210	193,341	95,217	36,025	84,009	54,857	8,613	918,437

Ruthenians of Galicia naturally spread first through the neighboring Ruthenians of upper Hungary, and only later included the Magyar population of the lowlands. The well-known devotion to the soil, so characteristic of the Magyars may have been influential; the Slovaks have long been noted for their roaming propensities. The underlying cause was the scant fertility of their native land, which—in view of the small extent of farm land—was over-populated.¹

Table 175 (p.424) shows that between 1899 and 1913, over 400,000 Magyars and more than twice as many non-Magyars emigrated to all parts of the world. About 260,000 Magyars went to America. On the average 26,700 Magyars and 66,000 inhabitants of other nationalities left their homes in Hungary yearly. If the emigration quotas are compared with the numbers of the different nationalities, this proportion is found to vary with the nationality and to fluctuate widely in course of time. In this calculation the figures for the years 1905-1913 (Table 176) are used because the Hungarians who emigrated to America were determined by stocks for only those years. Comparing these data with the population figures for 1910 gives the rates in Table 177.

Table 177 shows that the emigration rate was smallest among the Magyars, not more than 1 to 5 per 1,000. Then come the

¹The counties of upper Hungary at the center of the emigration territory are thinly populated (100 to 130 per square mile), but the tillable soil is so limited that—after deducting the wooded area—there are from one to one and a half persons to each acre of garden or farm land, a density entirely disproportionate to the fertility of the soil.

Rumanians and after them the Croats and the Serbs whose emigration rates about correspond with the average for the entire population, but show much greater fluctuations from year to year. The emigration rates of the Ruthenians and the Germans were higher, but did not reach the level of the Slovak rate, which in each year was the highest of all and surpassed that of the Magyars more than three-fold.

TABLE 177.

ANNUAL EMIGRATION RATES OF HUNGARIANS CLASSIFIED BY LINGUISTIC STOCKS: 1905-13

Year	Magyars	Rumanians	Croats	Serbs	Ruthenians	Germans	Slovaks
1905	4.0	3.0	8.2	7.7	15.1	11.4	19.2
1906	4.8	4.6	7.9	8.3	10.1	12.9	16.2
1907	5.4	6.5	8.3	11.5	10.3	16.0	16.1
1908	1.4	1.0	1.1	1.1	3.8	3.6	4.3
1909	3.0	3.7	4.2	4.5	10.5	8.4	11.9
1910	2.3	3.6	4.7	5.4	7.8	7.1	9.0
1911	1.8	1.3	2.3	1.9	4.7	5.5	5.7
1912	3.0	4.3	4.9	5.1	7.5	7.3	8.4
1913	2.8	4.4	4.4	4.1	6.3	6.1	7.4
Total	28.5	32.4	46.0	49.6	76.1	78.3	98.2
Yearly average	3.2	3.6	5.1	5.5	8.5	8.7	10.9
Minimum	1.4	1.0	1.1	1.1	3.8	3.6	4.3
Maximum	5.4	6.5	8.3	11.5	15.1	16.0	19.2
Range	4.0	5.5	7.2	10.4	11.3	12.4	14.9

There is a clear parallelism in the rates of the various stocks, marked by troughs for them all in 1908 and 1911. But the annual fluctuations are considerable and the crest of the rates in the years of greatest emigration is especially marked for the Slovaks, Germans and Ruthenians. The fluctuations are least with the Magyars.

Occupations and Social Status of the Emigrants

Two sources of information are available for the occupations and social status of Hungarian emigrants. For the earlier period (1876-1902) we have the immigration statistics of the United States, and for the later period (1905-1911) the Hungarian emigration statistics. In spite of the material differences in the methods and

in the classification of occupations used by these two sources they throw light on the occupational status of the emigrating masses.

According to the American statistics early Hungarian migration was characterized by the absence of persons following occupations calling for a high degree of intelligence, the learned or well-educated classes. Among the 528,000 Hungarians, who reached the United States between 1876-77 and 1901-02,¹ there were only 655, or one-tenth of one per cent who exercised a calling demanding a high degree of intelligence (teacher, minister, artist, musician, architect, engineer, lawyer, or physician). This is a smaller percentage than in the other countries of Europe except Scandinavia and Russia.

Very small, too, is the class of "skilled" labor (in trade and industry), 23,000 persons or 4.3 per cent of all immigrants, the lowest proportion from any country (maximum, Scotland with 24.6 per cent). On the other hand, "unskilled" laborers were extremely numerous, 346,000 or 65.5 per cent of the whole number. The Hungarians stand with the Italians, 59 per cent, at the head of the list of countries, while the number and proportion of persons without an occupation, 158,000 or 30.1 per cent, is the lowest in any country in consequence of the small number of families and dependents.

Even if the classification of occupations in the American statistics is of too general a character to throw a clear light on conditions, yet it cannot be denied that a marked characteristic of early Hungarian emigration was the exceedingly large proportion of laborers in unskilled occupations who relied on their physical strength. Hungary, then, sent forth mainly untrained laborers who could devote their working power to any sort of occupation that called only for muscular strength. While the decline of the mining industry in upper Hungary naturally led 4,000 miners to emigrate to the United States, it is hard to understand why 44,000 Hungarian farmers and agricultural laborers should have left their homes when thousands of additional hands were needed to intensify Hungary's agricultural production.

Essentially different is the recent classification of Hungarian emigrants according to occupation based on Hungarian statistics. This distinguishes the principal groups of occupations in a more characteristic and rational manner and therefore comes closer to

¹The data for 1894-95 and 1895-96 are wanting. [See also Volume I, p. 455 and p. 178, Table IX.—Ed.]

the facts. But emigration itself had undergone a radical change and had reached classes of the population which had previously been untouched. Persons following other higher kinds of occupations cast their eyes upon America. Independent farmers left their estates in increasing numbers to seek their fortune across the ocean. Tradespeople, industrialists and merchants in business on their own account, embarked for the United States in growing volume, and the proportion of those having intellectual pursuits (public service and liberal professions) became greater. Material in regard to this has been worked out in detail in the Hungarian statistics for the years 1905-07 and 1911-13. During the first period emigration was numerically more than twice as great as in the years 1911-1913. For an estimate, therefore, of the share of the individual groups of occupation only the percentages can be used and they clearly bring out the changes. [The abundant material furnished by the Royal Hungarian Central Statistical Bureau is summarized in Volume I.]¹

Even though no comparison between these figures and the earlier American data is possible because of the totally different classification of occupations, yet the great change in the occupational composition can be recognized. Above all the much larger proportion of persons following intellectual pursuits is evident; they now constitute a noteworthy proportion of the emigrants. Emigration had made great gaps in Hungary's agricultural population. This fact cannot be definitely proved because the old data and the new are not comparable. But if we assume that, aside from the 44,000 farmers and agricultural laborers in the American statistics, half of the 276,000 emigrant laborers were employed on farms, and that would certainly be too large a fraction as a considerably greater proportion are to be attributed to trade and commerce, there would yet be 35-40 per cent of the emigrants to be ascribed to agricultural while according to these Hungarian statistics of the twentieth century not less than 68 per cent are to be thus counted. In the course of a few decades, therefore, the proportion of agricultural emigrants in the total about doubled and surpassed the 61.7 per cent which this group forms in Hungary's total population.

Trade and industry, on the other hand, contributed a smaller

¹[See Volume I, page 723, Table XVIII.—Ed.]

proportion to the emigrants than it had of the general population. Within this group of occupations the emigration rate declined in a gratifying manner. This was probably due in part to the fact that many of the tradespeople, especially in the country, besides having a trade owned a piece of land and so found it easier to earn a living, while the agricultural population was wholly dependent on its farm work and when conditions were unfavorable found in emigration its only way of escape.

Thus it appears that during recent years emigration reached those classes of the population and those groups of occupations which were most essential for Hungary's economic prosperity. In some years, indeed, agriculture—especially at harvest time—had to struggle with a perceptible shortage in labor. Therefore the compulsory interruption of emigration by the war brought some help to Hungary's agriculture by correcting this shortage.

CONTINENTAL EMIGRATION

Although America has attracted the largest portion of Hungarian emigration, the countries of continental Europe have come to the front in recent years and attained importance as goals of the movement. The Hungarian statistics throw light on these tendencies and even if the measurement of the currents be more difficult than to observe the masses crossing the ocean and if the statistics do not include all cases, yet the figures afford a sufficient basis for an estimate of these new phases.

The economic interaction between European countries results, naturally, in an exchange of population between adjacent states. Hungary has had two different kinds of opportunity for guiding into neighboring countries the surplus population which did not deem its livelihood sufficiently assured at home. A low state of civilization in neighboring countries to the south and east (Bosnia, Herzegovina, Serbia, Rumania and Bulgaria) held out a promising future to Hungarians who had reached a higher stage; and, on the other hand, the highly developed industries of Austria and Germany afforded skilled industrial laborers an opportunity to attain a better standard of living.

Such a migration to neighboring states—and in some degree also to distant countries—has long been in progress, as shown by the number of Hungarians residing abroad and enumerated in the

cenuses of European states. However, only in the case of Austria, Germany, Rumania, Serbia and other Balkan states can a mass emigration be thus shown, while to other European countries the migration from Hungary is only sporadic.

Hitherto, Hungarian statistics have not recorded Continental emigration in its entirety because the relations of Hungary with Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina did not permit an exact record of the Hungarians migrating to those countries. This circumstance must be considered whenever Hungarian statistical data are used in estimating Continental emigration, as in Table 178.

TABLE 178.

EMIGRANTS FROM HUNGARY TO OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, 1899-1913
(In Thousands)

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number	Years	Number of Emigrants
1899	11	1904	13	1909	13	Totals, 1899-1904	56
1900	8	1905	24	1910	11	1905-07	64
1901	11	1906	19	1911	11	1908-13	74
1902	8	1907	21	1912	12	1899-1913	194
1903	7	1908	15	1913	13		

These totals constitute for the 15 years 14 per cent or one-seventh of Hungary's total emigration. In some years the European percentage was considerably higher, not so much because of an increase in continental emigration such as occurred, 1905-1907, in consequence of the increased migration to Rumania, as because of a decrease in the emigration to America in 1904 and 1908, which pushed the share of continental emigration up from 18.1 to 27.8 per cent. This emigration went to individual countries as given in Table 179.

The migration to Germany was greatest in 1907 when 7,354 persons were enumerated as emigrants; while emigration to Rumania culminated in 1905 with 11,000 persons and in the following years was between 6,000 and 8,000. It gained in importance after 1886 in consequence of the tariff war which began then and caused Transylvania's Rumanian population to emigrate from all parts of the country.

TABLE 179.

EMIGRANTS FROM HUNGARY BY COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION, 1899-1913
(In Thousands)

Periods	Countries of Destination		
	Germany	Rumania	Other States
1899-1904	6	34	15
1905-1907	19	28	18
1908-1913	17	40	17
Total	42	102	50

Regarded as a whole Continental emigration is distinguished by the relatively large number of females taking part in it. In the years 1901-13 females amounted to 39.8 per cent on the average (as against 33.1 per cent of the emigration to America). However, this quota is made up of various elements. Among the emigrants to Germany females were present only to the extent of 26.4 per cent, while in the emigration to Rumania not less than 47.1 per cent were of that sex. Of the emigrants to other countries 32.4 per cent were females. The great stream of females which flowed over into Rumania was, to a great extent, composed of domestic servants, a class that has migrated to Bucharest for many years and particularly from Transylvania. They were welcomed because of their trustworthiness and manual skill.

The classification of Continental emigrants by age in Table 180 (p. 432), shows that, when all countries are included, those under 20 years of age are proportionately less numerous than in the case of trans-oceanic emigration. The quota of those 20-50 years of age corresponds to the American. Elderly persons, on the other hand, leave home in considerably larger numbers, which is probably due to the fact that they undergo the lesser exertion of emigration to a neighboring country much more readily than the hardships of a wearisome sea voyage. The proportion of elderly persons in the emigration to Rumania is strikingly large.

The race or stock of those emigrating from Hungary are known for the years 1910-13 only. The statistics for those years, as presented in Table 181, show that Rumanians constituted about four-

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TABLE 180.

CONTINENTAL EMIGRANTS FROM HUNGARY, ACCORDING TO AGE
AND DESTINATION, 1905-7 AND 1911-13

(Per Cents)

Age Class	Germany		Rumania		Other States	
	1905-07	1911-13	1905-7	1911-13	1905-7	1911-13
Under 20 yrs.	20.4	6.6	11.7	4.2	19.9	21.3
20-50 yrs.	74.2	83.3	73.0	70.0	68.8	65.0
Over 50 yrs.	5.4	10.1	15.3	25.8	11.3	13.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

fifths of the emigrants who streamed in great masses to Rumania. The greater portion (60 per cent) of the Magyars also migrated to Rumania (mostly the Széklers from eastern Transylvania), nevertheless about one-fourth went to Germany. A large number of Germans went thither also and another considerable body to Rumania. The Slovaks seek out, in smaller numbers, Germany and other European states (remarkably few to the Balkan countries); the Serbs, on the other hand, principally the latter states. The Croats go to the Balkans and to Germany in about equal proportions, but in larger numbers to the remaining European countries. The small Ruthenian migration is directed principally to Rumania.

TABLE 181.

EMIGRANTS FROM HUNGARY BY PEOPLES AND DESTINATIONS,
1910-13

Peoples	Country of Destination				Totals
	Germany	Rumania	Other Balkan States	Other European States	
Magyars.....	1,736	4,196	388	628	6,948
Germans.....	4,364	2,211	419	856	7,850
Slovaks.....	574	40	105	620	1,339
Rumanians.....	2,110	20,251	107	344	22,812
Ruthenians.....	3	309	13	44	369
Croats.....	737	76	775	2,240	3,828
Serbs.....	219	74	676	412	1,381
Others.....	219	39	106	636	1,000
Totals.....	9,962	27,196	2,589	5,780	45,527

POST-WAR MIGRATIONS

Just before the outbreak of the World War there was a large emigration from Hungary. Even in 1914 the Hungarian population flowed in great streams to the United States, and had it not been for the war the emigration fever would have broken out in more virulent form. Even with the compulsory stoppage in the second half of 1914 the number of Hungarian emigrants at the end of the year exceeded 143,000. Then the stream gradually ran dry. Already in 1914 the Hungarian government had cancelled the transportation licenses of the Cunard Line and the Continental Pool, forbidden emigration of any kind, and strove to induce Hungarians residing in America to return to their native land. At first great numbers were repatriated, but the political and economic collapse of the country caused this movement to die down rapidly. The post-war government had to adopt strict measures in order to control the renewed and heavy emigration of the despairing population and of the Hungarian fugitives from the territories lost to the succession states.

At the same time, the United States also adopted laws restricting immigration from southern and eastern Europe including Hungary. Hungary's annual quota was fixed at 5,638 and from 1925 on, at 473. These measures made emigration to the United States extraordinarily difficult if not impossible.

The consequence was that Hungarian emigrants went in greater numbers to other countries. Canada, Brazil and Argentina particularly were available. Since the fall of 1923 only peasants and agricultural laborers go from Hungary to Canada; neither tradespeople, industrialists nor intellectuals are now admitted. The excluded classes can settle in South America, but life there has been a series of privations and reverses and few of them succeed in securing a satisfactory existence.

Trans-oceanic emigration from post-war Hungary, and repatriation from America, since 1914, as published by the countries of immigration, are shown in Table 182.¹

After the immigration act of July 1, 1924 was passed, 471 persons emigrated from Hungary to the United States in the fiscal year 1924-25 and 783 in 1925-26, of whom 200 and 241, respectively, did not come under the quota.

¹[In this connection see Volume I, pp. 367, 439-43, 484, 495, 527, 544, 551f.—Ed.]

TABLE 182.

HUNGARIAN IMMIGRANTS TO AMERICA BY COUNTRIES, 1914-24^a
(In Thousands)

Years	United States	Canada	Cuba	Brazil	Argentina	Totals	Repatriations from United States
1914	143	...	...	...	...	143	40
1915	9	...	...	...	...	9	5
1916	2	...	...	...	...	2	0.6
1917	0.4	...	...	...	...	0.4	0.1
1918	0	...	...	...	...	...	...
1919	0	...	...	...	...	...	0.1
1920	0	...	...	...	...	0.2	14
1921	8	...	...	...	0.08	8	12
1922	6	...	...	0.2	0.3	6	4
1923	6	0.4	0.2	0.8	0.3	8	0.9
1924	6	1	0.6	1	0.2	9	0.5
Totals	180	1.4	0.8	2	0.9	186	77

^a[In this connection see Volume I, pp. 367, 439-43, 484, 495, 527, 544, 551f.—Ed.]

Hungarian official statistics resumed the collection of migration data in 1921 and the facts in regard thereto have been published quarterly. These statistics fail to give the migration movement in its entirety. Many cases escape record, hence the totals are lower than those of American statistics. Nevertheless, the Hungarian statistics give a general idea of the most recent emigration phenomena.¹ The detailed figures are given in Table 183.

It appears from Table 183 that many of those Hungarians who emigrate to America are repatriated, while only a few of those who went to other countries return. No doubt those who emigrated to Canada and South America find it much more difficult to return, than do those going to the United States; many of the former succumb to the privations of the new existence.

In post-war emigration females are quite strongly represented. Two-fifths of the emigrants over 12 years of age and 15 per cent of the children under 12 were females. Compared with the pre-war years both of these ratios are very high. The emigration of the present day seems to be more of a family type than formerly.

The statistics of repatriation supplement the statistics of emigration and show the loss in population resulting from the balance

¹See International Labour Office, *Les mouvements migratoires de 1920 à 1923* (1925).

TABLE 183.

EMIGRATION FROM AND REPATRIATION TO HUNGARY (HUNGARIAN FIGURES), 1921-26.

(a) Emigration

Year	Men	Women	Children ^a	Total	Destination	
					America	Elsewhere
1921	503	763	191	1,457	1,218	239
1922	1,206	1,363	507	3,076	1,701	1,375
1923	1,202	1,175	574	2,951	1,935	1,016
1924	982	678	365	2,025	673	1,352
1925	1,922	685	379	2,986	1,530	1,456
1926	2,282	773	381	3,436	2,790	646
Total	8,097	5,437	2,397	15,931	9,847	6,084

(b) Repatriation

					From	
					America	Elsewhere
1921	940	390	401	1,731	1,709	22
1922	524	314	276	1,114	1,022	92
1923	155	83	49	287	232	55
1924	277	110	87	474	323	151
1925	252	117	81	450	309	141
1926	394	177	109	680	400	280
Total	2,542	1,191	1,003	4,736	3,995	741

^aUnder 12 years.

between emigration and repatriation. These statistics can give the number of cases only, not the number of persons, who were repatriated. Naturally the latter number must always be the smaller since the same person often returns more than once and therefore is counted several times. But in calculating the difference between emigration and repatriation this duplication cancels out, as those who are counted more than once in cases of emigration and repatriation offset each other.

Although the statistics of the United States also record the repatriations, we have confined ourselves here to the Hungarian data since the latter also take into account the demographic features. Difficulties in the way of securing complete information make these statistics on repatriation imperfect, but they are adequate to indicate

the general outlines of the movement. The data in Table 184 are from the publications of the Royal Hungarian Central Statistical Bureau.

TABLE 184.
HUNGARIAN STATISTICS OF REPATRIATIONS, 1899-1913.

Year	Number	Year	Number
1899	4,739 ^a	1910	24,722
1900	6,169 ^a	1911	32,787
1901	8,493	1912	23,635
1902	11,463	1913	21,780
1903	20,212	1899-1900	10,908
1904	16,870	1901-05	74,604
1905	17,566	1906-10	174,325
1906	27,612	1911-13	78,202
1907	51,236	Total	338,039
1908	53,770		
1909	16,985		

^aWithout Croatia and Slavonia.

In the 15 years, 1899-1913, repatriations increased markedly, evidently keeping step with the growth of emigration. When emigration rose the number of those who were disappointed in their expectations and decided to return increased. The economic crisis in 1907, besides checking the current of emigration also forced great numbers of Hungarians in America to return. Thus the yearly totals of the repatriated shot up to more than 50,000 and in 1908 exceeded the number of new emigrants by 15,000, an occurrence never again observed. The recent improvement in America's economic situation has naturally diminished the number of the repatriated; but, on the other hand, the increased emigration that has taken place has helped to revive repatriation. During recent years, therefore, no uniform, continuous tendency has manifested itself, but fluctuations have prevailed originating in opposing factors.

According to the Hungarian data 338,000 Hungarian citizens were repatriated in the fifteen years 1899 to 1913, that is, almost one-fourth (24 per cent) of the number that emigrated. Since the years of repatriation do not coincide with those of emigration, considerable fluctuations in this ratio are to be observed. In early

years, 30 to 35 per cent repatriation quotas were observed and in some districts of upper Hungary they rose to 40 per cent.

The data for the various states from which a repatriation to Hungary took place are given in Table 185.

TABLE 185.

REPATRIATIONS TO HUNGARY ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF LAST
RESIDENCE, 1899-1913

Periods	America	Germany	Rumania	Other States	Total
1899-1904	59,761	927	5,541	1,717	67,946
1905-1907	85,077	3,731	5,125	2,481	96,414
1908-1913	162,116	4,118	4,700	2,745	173,679
Total	306,954	8,776	15,366	6,943	338,039
Average Percentage of the emigrants	25.7	21.1	15.0	13.9	24.0

As is evident, the emigration to America shows the greatest variation, in contrast to which a considerably smaller portion of those who emigrated to Rumania and other European (especially the Balkan) countries returned to their native land. Those emigrating to America seem to have been slower in deciding to remain abroad than were those who sought their fortunes in neighboring European states.

There are an unusually small number of females among the repatriates. There were 224,000 men repatriated in 1905-13, but the number of females was only 46,000 so that while 31.8 per cent of the male emigrants returned only 13.1 per cent of females did so. Few women who had emigrated with their families returned. Inasmuch as children and youth under 20 years of age are not more than 5 per cent of the repatriates, while they make up 25 per cent of the emigrants, emigrant families take slight part in repatriation. On the other hand, 91-92 per cent of the repatriates were in the productive age-class (20-50 years) while only 75 per cent of the emigrants belong to this class.

So far as the classification of the repatriates according to race is concerned, it appears that the percentage is highest among the

Slovaks and Ruthenians (on the average for the nine years under observation, 30.5 and 35.2), while it amounts only to 24.7 per cent among the Magyars, 21.7 per cent among the Germans, 21.3 per cent among the Rumanians, and to 28 and 29 per cent among the Croats and Serbs. Slovaks and Ruthenians, the first to develop the impulse to migrate, are still leaders in migration and repatriation. Rumanians show the least attachment for their native Hungary.

TABLE 186.

THE BALANCE OF HUNGARIAN MIGRATIONS, 1899-1913.

(a) Pre-War Years (1899-1913)

Country or Peoples	Emigrants	Repatriates	Gain (+) or Loss (-)	
			Numbers	Per Cent of Population
<i>By Destinations (1899-1913)</i>				
America.....	1,197	307	-890	-4.3
Germany.....	42	9	-33	-0.1
Rumania.....	102	15	-87	-0.4
Other States.....	50	7	-43	-0.2
Total.....	1,391	338	-1,052	-5.0
<i>By Peoples (1905-13)</i>				
Magyars.....	311	77	-234	-2.3
Germans.....	188	40	-147	-7.2
Slovaks.....	199	60	-139	-7.0
Rumanians.....	152	33	-119	-4.0
Ruthenians.....	37	13	-24	-5.1
Croats.....	96	27	-69	-3.7
Serbs.....	61	17	-44	-4.0
Others.....	12	3	-9	-1.9
Total.....	1,056	270	-786	-3.8
(b) War and Post-War Years (1914-24)				
1914-1919	155	46	-109	-1.4
1920-1924	31	32	+1	+0.02
1914-24	186	78	-108	-1.4

The occupational ratios of the repatriated also display great differences. While among the emigrants the agricultural personnel is most numerous (68.4 per cent in 1911-13), they form only 18.7 per cent of the repatriates. On the other hand, the ratio of miners among the repatriates rose from 0.9 to 12.4 per cent, and the proportion of those engaged in trade and industry, from 12.3 to 55.9 per cent. Inasmuch as the actual number of these repatriates (7,925 miners and 35,835 engaged in trade and commerce in the

years 1911-1913) were considerably higher than those of the other occupational emigrant groups (630 and 7,642) a considerable change of occupation seems to have taken place here.

Many thousands of agricultural laborers who could not pursue their own calling in America, were obliged to seek work in the mines and factories. Thus upon their return they were classed by their new occupations in America. These fundamental changes in the occupational categories of the emigrating masses of people, due to American conditions, influenced materially the occupational ratios of the mother country upon their repatriation.

It remains to consider the material and intellectual success that has attended this emigration. The inquiries concerning the material means of the repatriates are of assistance. While the results must be accepted with reserve, it appears that about 70 per cent of the emigrants left their native country without any means but fully two-thirds of the repatriates had acquired some resources in America and they considered themselves capable of beginning a new mode of life in their native country. Could one assume that this conclusion held also for the emigrants who remained abroad then the latter would be justified in their resolve to seek a new home across the ocean. The balance of Hungarian migration is presented in Table 186. Emigration, which in the case of Hungary, means an important loss of population, has become today very much smaller. In the 15 years, 1899-1913, the loss amounted to 5 per cent (0.33 per cent annually). Since 1914 this loss has diminished to 1.4 per cent (0.10 per cent annually). Indeed for 1920-24 foreign statistics show more repatriates than emigrants. Should this state of affairs become established it ought to be greeted as a development of the emigration movement favorable to Hungary.