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## CHAPTER VI

### THE WAR AND POST-WAR PERIOD

The principal emphasis in this study has been placed, for somewhat obvious reasons, upon the years preceding the Great War. The pre-war period is particularly significant for our purpose because at that time, on this side of the Atlantic at least, there were fewer legal or unusual barriers to the free flow of migration in accordance with the pull of economic motives.

On the other hand, the decade just past is not to be entirely neglected. Despite the restraint and distortion due to unusual political conditions and restrictive legislation, to a considerable extent it is possible to clear away the results of such extraneous influences, and to throw still further light on the influence upon migration of cyclical variations and other economic phenomena.

#### THE WAR PERIOD: 1914-1918

For our purpose, the years from the outbreak of the war to the conclusion of the armistice are relatively inconsequential. Ordinary migratory movements were hindered by the hazards of ocean travel, the restraints placed upon their nationals by the belligerent countries, and similar obstacles to the normal movement of migrants.

The net result of these influences is shown in Table 29 giving the number of alien arrivals, alien departures, and the net alien movement in the war period and in a few years immediately preceding and succeeding the war.

It is evident that even before our entry into the war, the number of arrivals had shrunk to less than a third of the 1913, or peak year, total, and reached a still lower ebb in 1917 and 1918. Departures also decreased during the war, but, after the armistice, recovered more quickly than arrivals, and in 1919 the number of alien departures was within a few thousand of the number of arrivals. In fact, if we consider male aliens only, we find that the departures exceeded the arrivals by 24,045 in 1915 and by 61,090 in 1919.

We must not conclude that there were no migratory movements

actuated by economic motives in this period. Prior to our entry into the war, a considerable fraction of the usual flow continued from neutral countries, and even from the allied countries; and the number of "immigrants" recorded from British North America increased, exceeding one hundred thousand in each of the fiscal years 1915-16, and 1916-17. The numbers from Mexico also increased, particularly if we include those admitted during and immediately following the war period by special provision waiving the literacy test and admitting for temporary conditional sojourn to help meet the demand for labor.

TABLE 29.—EFFECT OF THE WAR UPON ALIEN MIGRATION\*  
Thousands of Persons

CALENDAR YEAR	ALIEN ARRIVALS	ALIEN DEPARTURES	EXCESS OF ARRIVALS OVER DEPARTURES <sup>b</sup>
1913	1,617	599	1,018
1914	848	585	263
1915	328	285	43
1916	429	165	264
1917	212	131	81
1918	225	184	41
1919	397	393	5
1920	918	423	495
1921	694	414	280
1922	520	242	277
1923	906	199	707
1924	527	232	295

\*Compiled from the publications of the United States Bureau of Immigration. Both permanent and temporary migrants are included.

<sup>b</sup>Apparent discrepancies of one thousand in this column compared with the difference of the first two columns is due to the fact that the differences were computed from the original data before reduction to thousands.

### THE POST-WAR PERIOD

The history of migration subsequent to the armistice presents many peculiar features. Over the greater part of the period unusual forces were operating to distort fluctuations in migration from their characteristic pre-war types.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the greater part of emigration was to Canada, Mexico, Italy, and Greece, but emigration to Europe trebled in the following immigration year, ending June 30, 1920.

On the return of transportation to something akin to normal conditions, thousands of foreign-born residents of the United States who had been forced by war conditions to postpone a trip to their former home sailed for Europe. Among these were many returning because of changed political conditions. For example, in the three fiscal years 1920, 1921, and 1922, the emigrant aliens destined to reconstituted Poland numbered over 90,000, most of them of the Polish race.

Obviously, the emigration movements of the early post-war period, at least, need close analysis for other influences before the role played by economic conditions in this country can be ascertained.

### **Tardy Recovery of Immigration.**

Immigration, likewise, was somewhat slow to recover, not quite reaching the two hundred and fifty thousand mark in 1919 (calendar year). The incoming movement, however, exhibited a growing momentum and reached a total of over seven hundred thousand in the calendar year 1920, not including nonimmigrants; and even in 1921, despite industrial depression, did not drop below 50,000 per month until June, 1921, by which time the three per centum quota law had gone into effect.

This law was apparently due, in part at least, to the fear that the volume of immigration in 1920 was but an indication of the growing momentum of a flood of immigrants which had been dammed up by war conditions and which now, spurred by actual or impending economic and political chaos in Europe, threatened to inundate this country with an unprecedented volume of aliens.

Whatever the facts may be concerning the probability of the expected inundation, steps were taken in the law of May, 1921, which make the disentanglement of the economic trends in the subsequent period more than usually difficult. Because the quotas began to be available in July, and twenty per cent of the quota of any country could be admitted in a single month, the law has tended to concentrate the arrivals in the second half of the calendar year, thus creating a seasonal movement materially different from that characteristic of the pre-war period, and obscuring the effects of industrial prosperity and depression except for those countries which were obviously falling short of the quota or, like Canada and Mexico, were not subject to the law.

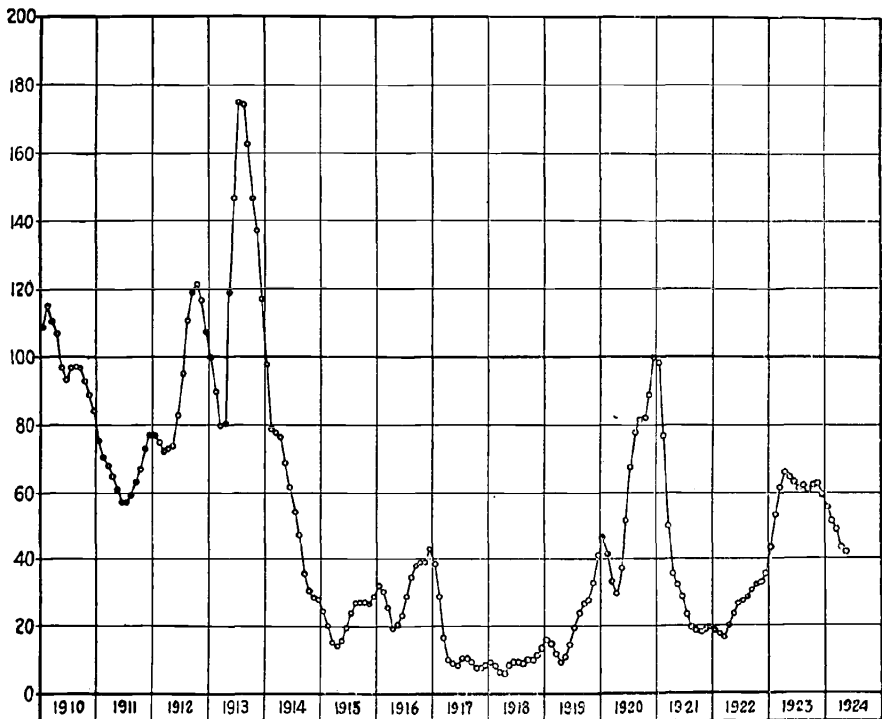
**Male Immigration.**

The course of male immigration during the war and post-war period and, for the sake of comparison, a few of the pre-war years, is shown in Chart 23. The curve in this chart represents the

CHART 23

## MALE IMMIGRATION: 1910-1924.

*Three-month moving average of index, adjusted for seasonal variation, with base 1910=100*



•Numerical data in Table 30.

changes in the numbers of those officially recorded as male immigrants, after adjustment has been made for the typical seasonal variation. The tendency for the quota law to concentrate the greater part of immigration in the months of July to November required the computation of a special seasonal correction for the years beginning in July, 1921, in order that the curve as shown might be free as far as possible from mere seasonal fluctuations.

The depression of 1911, the long decline just before and in the early part of the war, the low ebb during the war, the recovery beginning in 1919 and gaining momentum in 1920, the sharp decline in 1921, and the subsequent recovery in 1923, modified doubtless by the quota restrictions—all show up clearly on this chart.

Chart 23 furnishes the general picture of the war and post-war period. The details of the movement of migration from 1919 to 1923 are set forth more clearly in subsequent paragraphs.

TABLE 30.—CYCLES IN MALE IMMIGRATION: 1910-1924<sup>a</sup>

Three-month moving average of index corrected for seasonal variation: 1910=100

YEAR	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APR.	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
1910	109.1	115.0	110.5	107.1	96.8	93.5	96.8	97.3	96.9	93.2	88.9	84.0
1911	75.4	70.5	68.0	65.3	61.1	57.4	57.4	59.7	63.3	67.0	73.4	76.9
1912	77.0	74.9	71.9	73.0	73.9	82.9	95.4	110.6	119.2	121.5	116.5	107.7
1913	99.9	89.8	90.1	90.1	118.7	147.2	174.7	174.3	163.1	147.1	136.7	116.9
1914	97.9	79.2	77.9	76.5	69.0	61.9	54.1	46.8	35.6	30.4	28.3	27.8
1915	24.3	20.0	15.3	14.2	15.8	19.5	23.8	26.6	26.9	27.1	26.7	29.3
1916	32.1	30.5	25.5	19.4	20.4	22.9	28.8	34.6	38.0	39.2	39.1	43.0
1917	38.4	28.7	16.6	10.0	9.1	8.6	10.4	10.4	9.6	7.9	7.8	8.6
1918	9.6	8.2	6.4	6.1	8.4	9.5	9.6	9.2	10.2	10.3	11.7	13.9
1919	16.2	14.7	12.0	9.6	11.1	14.7	19.9	23.9	26.6	27.8	33.3	41.4
1920	46.5	41.6	33.5	29.7	37.3	51.2	67.7	77.8	81.8	82.2	89.2	99.9
1921	98.3	77.6	49.7	35.6	32.4 <sup>b</sup>	28.7	23.7	19.9	19.1	18.6	19.0	19.9
1922	19.1	18.0	17.4	20.1	23.8	26.6	27.5	28.4	30.8	32.3	33.3	35.7
1923	43.5	53.2	61.8	66.1	64.9	63.6	61.6	62.2	61.3	62.3	62.6	59.8
1924	55.5	51.0	48.6	43.7	42.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

<sup>a</sup>Computed from the data in Table II, Appendix.

<sup>b</sup>For the period subsequent to April, 1921, a special computation of the typical seasonal variation was made to allow for the change in the seasonal movement caused by the quota limit law.

### Employment and Production Data in Post-War Period.

We have just noted that only certain elements in the migratory movement since the war have escaped material modification by non-economic forces. However, the statistical data concerning industrial conditions available for comparison are more nearly adequate than in any previous period. The years since the war have witnessed unusual activity in statistical compilation and analysis. New index numbers of employment, production, and the volume of trade have been developed; and while some of these have been extended back into earlier years, the data are most adequate for the period beginning with 1919. Also, we have in this period one severe depression period, affording an interesting basis for comparison with migratory movements.

Of the several indices of employment conditions in the years 1919 to 1923, one of the most significant for our purposes is the "labor market" index, described in the following paragraph.

### Immigration and the State of the Labor Market.

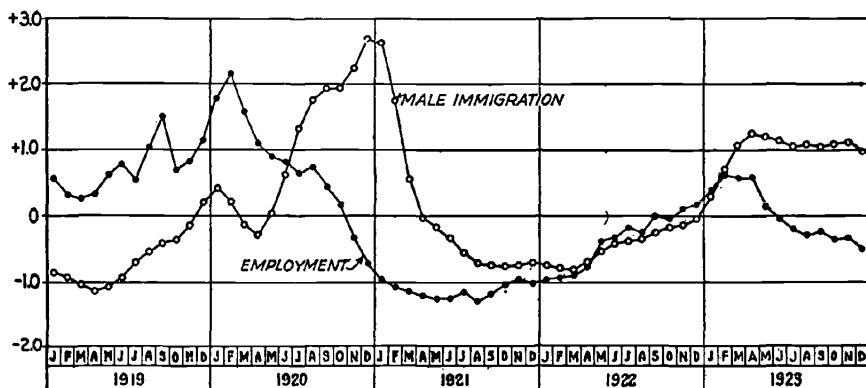
For the years 1919 to 1923, the Federal Reserve Board has published an index of the state of the labor market, based upon the ratio of jobs to applicants in the operations of the public employment

CHART 24

### CYCLES OF EMPLOYMENT AND OF MALE IMMIGRATION IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD: 1919-1923.

*Deviations from the average for the period 1919-1922, seasonally adjusted*

*Unit = one standard deviation*



\*Numerical data in Table 31. The employment index is computed from the ratio of jobs to applicants in public employment offices in six states.

offices in six states: New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin.<sup>1</sup> In the period from July 1, 1918, to June 30, 1923, over half of the total number of immigrants named one of these six states as their intended destination. This index is of special interest, not only because the states in question are those to which a large proportion of newly arrived immigrants are destined, but also because the business of the public employment offices is with the common laborer to a large extent, and not only with factory labor but with construction labor as well.

<sup>1</sup> *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, February 1924, p. 87.

TABLE 31.—CYCLES IN THE LABOR MARKET AND IN MALE IMMIGRATION:  
1919-1923

Percentage deviations from mean for 1919 to 1922, corrected for seasonal variation and expressed in multiples of their standard deviations.

YEAR AND MONTH	LABOR MARKET <sup>a</sup>	MALE IMMIGRATION <sup>b</sup>	YEAR AND MONTH	LABOR MARKET	MALE IMMIGRATION
1919			1921 (con.)		
January . . . . .	+0.58	-0.85	July . . . . .	-1.14	-0.54
February . . . . .	+0.32	-0.92	August . . . . .	-1.29	-0.70
March . . . . .	+0.27	-1.03	September . . . . .	-1.18	-0.73
April . . . . .	+0.33	-1.13	October . . . . .	-1.03	-0.75
May . . . . .	+0.62	-1.07	November . . . . .	-0.96	-0.73
June . . . . .	+0.79	-0.92	December . . . . .	-1.01	-0.70
			1922		
July . . . . .	+0.55	-0.70	January . . . . .	-0.95	-0.73
August . . . . .	+1.04	-0.53	February . . . . .	-0.92	-0.78
September . . . . .	+1.50	-0.41	March . . . . .	-0.90	-0.80
October . . . . .	+0.70	-0.36	April . . . . .	-0.77	-0.69
November . . . . .	+0.83	-0.13	May . . . . .	-0.39	-0.53
December . . . . .	+1.16	+0.21	June . . . . .	-0.32	-0.41
1920			July . . . . .	-0.18	-0.38
January . . . . .	+1.79	+0.43	August . . . . .	-0.24	-0.34
February . . . . .	+2.15	+0.22	September . . . . .	0.00	-0.24
March . . . . .	+1.58	-0.12	October . . . . .	-0.04	-0.17
April . . . . .	+1.10	-0.28	November . . . . .	+0.12	-0.13
May . . . . .	+0.90	+0.04	December . . . . .	+0.18	-0.03
June . . . . .	+0.82	+0.62	1923		
July . . . . .	+0.66	+1.32	January . . . . .	+0.38	+0.30
August . . . . .	+0.74	+1.75	February . . . . .	+0.62	+0.71
September . . . . .	+0.43	+1.92	March . . . . .	+0.57	+1.07
October . . . . .	+0.17	+1.93	April . . . . .	+0.58	+1.25
November . . . . .	-0.32	+2.23	May . . . . .	+0.14	+1.20
December . . . . .	-0.71	+2.68	June . . . . .	-0.04	+1.15
1921			July . . . . .	-0.20	+1.06
January . . . . .	-0.96	+2.61	August . . . . .	-0.29	+1.09
February . . . . .	-1.07	+1.74	September . . . . .	-0.23	+1.05
March . . . . .	-1.13	+0.56	October . . . . .	-0.36	+1.09
April . . . . .	-1.20	-0.03	November . . . . .	-0.33	+1.11
May . . . . .	-1.24	-0.17	December . . . . .	-0.50	+0.99
June . . . . .	-1.24	-0.33			

<sup>a</sup>Federal Reserve Bulletin, February, 1924, p. 87. Based upon the ratio of jobs to applicants in public employment offices.

<sup>b</sup>Computed from the index given in Table 30.

In Table 31 and Chart 24, the fluctuations of male immigration and of the labor market, as computed by the Federal Reserve Board, are compared. Both curves are corrected for typical seasonal variation, but not for trend, and are expressed in terms of the



standard deviation from the average of the four years, 1919-1922; hence the curves are useful only for the study of timing and not for comparing the volume of unemployment with the volume of migration.

#### **Lag.**

The male immigration curve, it will be noted, continues to rise for ten months after the employment curve begins to fall early in 1920. It is true there is a temporary slump in immigration in the early part of 1920, but it may be equally plausible to interpret this as a reflection of some of the erratic movements of 1919 rather than as a prompt reaction to the current decline in employment. On the downward swing of the cycle, although the evidence is less emphatic, immigration again seems to reach low ebb six or seven months later than the labor market, but on the upward movement, in the attainment of the 1923 high and the commencement of the subsequent decline, the labor market leads immigration by only a couple of months.

Doubtless the cyclical movement of migration after the middle of 1921 is influenced by the quota restrictions, but no small part of the immigration of these years came from Canada and Mexico, which are not subject to the quota limitations. In a subsequent section, we return to an examination of the movement of immigration from Canada.

#### **Post-War Cyclical Movements in Male Emigration.**

The post-war fluctuations in male emigration, as in immigration, are somewhat abnormal. In 1919 emigration increased, not so much because employment conditions were discouraging as because many who would otherwise have returned to Europe during the war years found in 1919 their first opportunity to revisit their native lands. In 1920 the emigrant movement declined somewhat from the high point reached toward the close of 1919 and the beginning of 1920, but this decline was temporarily checked by the depression of 1921. Since 1921, emigration has been consistently low, not only because of the industrial recovery from the depression conditions of 1921-1922, but also because of the fact that the restriction of the incoming flow, and the fear of those who are here that they may be unable to return readily if they once leave, combined with the deterring effect of unsettled political conditions and industrial depression in European countries, have kept emigration to a minimum.

### The Comparative Volume of Migration and Changes in Employment in the Depression of 1921

The major depression of the post-war period is the depression of 1921. The recession phase of this period began in 1920, and the depression continued into 1922, but for the sake of brevity we shall designate it as the depression of 1921. The delimitation of its exact duration depends upon the slope of the trend assigned to the indexes of production and industrial activity, but the satisfactory determination of trends for the short period since the war is indeed difficult. In our index of factory employment in New York and Massachusetts, the cycle of employment reached its high point in March, 1920, declined thereafter to its lowest point in January, 1921, and remained below the estimated trend until December, 1922.

Employment in the nine quarters from the first quarter of 1920 to the first quarter of 1922, inclusive, is covered by the special investigation conducted by the National Bureau of Economic Research for the President's Conference on Unemployment. The computations made by Dr. W. I. King on the basis of this investigation give the estimated average number of employees in each quarter, not only in manufacturing but also in other major industries. The estimated total number employed in the extraction of minerals, construction, and manufacturing affords the best basis of comparison with migration. These are the industries in which the great bulk of new immigrants engage.

In Table 32 and Chart 25, Fig. A, are presented data concerning the change from quarter to quarter in the average number employed in the given industries and also the net additions to the alien male population of the United States in the same period, obtained by subtracting the recorded number of outgoing males, both emigrant and nonemigrant, from the recorded number of alien male arrivals, both immigrant and nonimmigrant. Each comparison, then, is between the net alien male migration in the given quarter and the increase or decrease from the previous quarter in the number employed.

#### Lag.

A sharp decline in employment appears in the fourth quarter of 1920, but arrivals continue to exceed departures through that and the following two quarters. Only in the last two quarters of 1921 does the net movement of male aliens show an excess of departures.

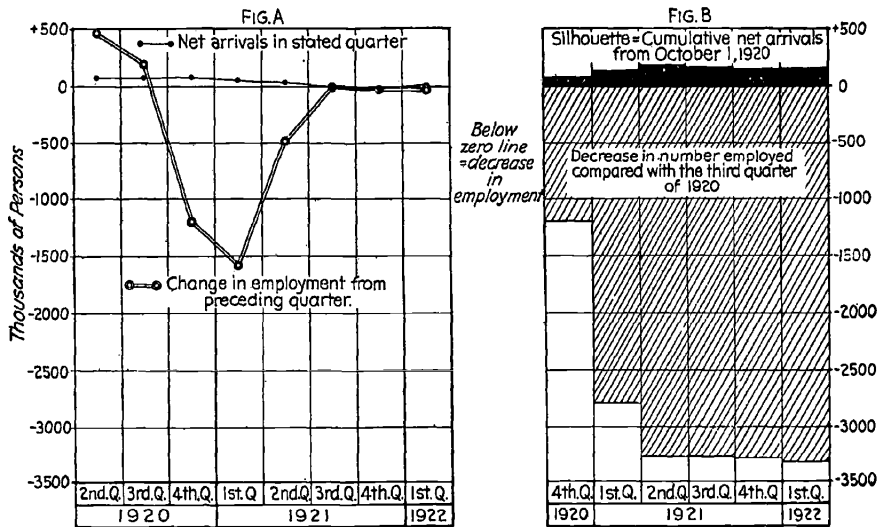
The relatively tardy response of migration to the employment decline in 1920 and 1921, as shown in Charts 24 and 25, may be in part due to the desire of prospective immigrants to enter before the threatened restriction became effective.

CHART 25

CHANGES IN THE NUMBER EMPLOYED IN SELECTED INDUSTRIES  
 COMPARED WITH ALIEN MALE ARRIVALS LESS DEPARTURES:  
 DEPRESSION OF 1921.

Fig. A: During Stated Quarter.

Fig. B: Cumulatively from October 1, 1920.



•Numerical data in Table 32.

**Comparative Volume.**

In most of the eight quarters under consideration the volume of alien male net migration is relatively small in comparison to the concurrent change in employment. On the average, the quarterly change in employment is ten times as great as the corresponding net alien male migration.

Similarly, if we take the high quarter in 1920, that is, the third quarter, as our starting point, and compare the total net immigration of alien males after that quarter with the total change in the number employed, (Fig. B of Chart 25) we find that by the first

quarter of 1922 there had been a decrease of about 3,300,000 in the number employed in mining, construction, and manufacturing, accompanied by a total net immigration after the third quarter of 1920 of 158,000.

Clearly, in the depression of 1921 the available evidence indicates that migration was a factor aggravating unemployment to some extent but was not sufficiently large in volume to be considered a major cause of unemployment.

TABLE 32.—NET MALE MIGRATION AND CHANGES IN THE VOLUME OF EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED INDUSTRIES IN THE DEPRESSION OF 1921-1922

Unit= one thousand persons

YEAR AND QUARTER	ARRIVALS LESS DEPARTURES OF ALIEN MALES <sup>a</sup>		CHANGE IN NUMBER EMPLOYED <sup>b</sup>	
	IN GIVEN QUARTER	AFTER THE THIRD QUARTER OF 1920	FROM PRECEDING QUARTER	AFTER THE THIRD QUARTER OF 1920
1920				
1st quarter....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2d quarter....	+79	.....	+ 462	.....
3rd quarter....	+77	.....	+ 192	.....
4th quarter....	+84	+ 84	-1,199	-1,199
1921				
1st quarter....	+56	+140	-1,587	-2,786
2d quarter....	+40	+180	- 485	-3,271
3d quarter....	-12	+168	- .0	-3,271
4th quarter....	-14	+154	- 21	-3,292
1922				
1st quarter	+ 4	+158	- 38	-3,330

<sup>a</sup>Computed from Table 24.

<sup>b</sup>Based on estimates of the total number of employees on the payrolls of all establishments in the extraction of minerals, construction, and factory industries, published in *Employment Hours and Earnings in Prosperity and Depression*, Vol. 5 of the publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc.

### Immigration from Canada.

The post-war movement of immigration from Canada is of special interest because the 1921 quota law did not apply to natives of Canada or to persons born in other countries who had resided there for five years, and also because the volume of immigration from that country, as shown by the official statistics of the United States Bureau of Immigration, reached such dimensions in this period that it aroused considerable discussion in the Canadian press.

Leaving out of consideration citizens and nonimmigrants and including only the "immigrant alien" group, the immigration in calendar years from Canada and Newfoundland<sup>2</sup> to the United States is recorded as follows:

Table 33

## IMMIGRATION FROM CANADA

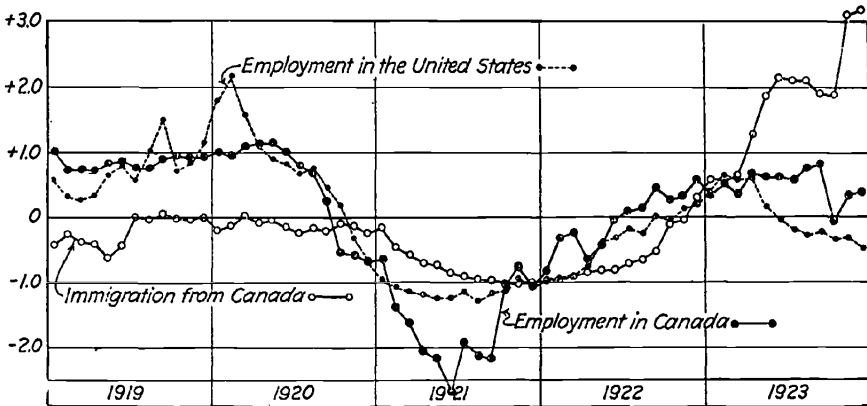
1919	81,179
1920	85,249
1921	52,929
1922	63,089
1923	182,369

When adjusted for typical seasonal variation, the curve of immigration from Canada (Chart 26) exhibits a substantial decline during the greater part of 1921; in fact, through most of 1920 a

CHART 26

## CYCLES IN IMMIGRATION FROM CANADA AND IN EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS: 1919-1923.

*Unit = one standard deviation*



•Numerical data in Tables 31 and 34.

slight tendency to decline is evidenced in immigration from Canada, though the general movement of immigration from all countries is still on the upgrade (See Chart 24), suggesting that the decline in

<sup>2</sup>At other points in our discussion of these data, we have used the term "Canada" as inclusive of all British North America.

industrial activity in the United States affected immigration from Canada more quickly than from Europe.

In Chart 26, the fluctuations of immigration into the United

TABLE 34.—EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS IN CANADA AND IMMIGRATION THEREFROM TO THE UNITED STATES: 1919-1923

Deviations from monthly average, 1919-1923, corrected for seasonal variations, and expressed in multiples of their standard deviations.

YEAR AND MONTH	IMMIGRATION FROM CANADA <sup>a</sup>	EMPLOYMENT IN CANADA <sup>b</sup>	YEAR AND MONTH	IMMIGRATION FROM CANADA	EMPLOYMENT IN CANADA
1919			1921		
Jan. ....	-0.45	+1.02	July ....	-0.91	-1.92
Feb. ....	-0.28	+0.71	Aug. ....	-0.96	-2.15
Mar. ....	-0.39	+0.71	Sept. ....	-0.97	-2.19
Apr. ....	-0.43	+0.70	Oct. ....	-1.01	-1.06
May. ....	-0.65	+0.82	Nov. ....	-1.03	-0.78
June. ....	-0.46	+0.87	Dec. ....	-1.00	-1.07
			1922		
July. ....	0	+0.75	Jan. ....	-0.97	-0.81
Aug. ....	-0.03	+0.75	Feb. ....	-0.97	-0.33
Sept. ....	+0.04	+0.90	Mar. ....	-0.93	-0.23
Oct. ....	-0.02	+0.97	Apr. ....	-0.85	-0.68
Nov. ....	-0.04	+0.92	May. ....	-0.83	-0.45
Dec. ....	0	+0.93	June. ....	-0.82	-0.04
1920			July. ....	-0.72	+0.08
Jan. ....	-0.21	+1.00	Aug. ....	-0.67	+0.12
Feb. ....	-0.14	+0.96	Sept. ....	-0.54	+0.43
Mar. ....	+0.01	+1.09	Oct. ....	-0.13	+0.26
Apr. ....	-0.10	+1.14	Nov. ....	-0.04	+0.32
May. ....	-0.05	+1.13	Dec. ....	+0.29	+0.54
June. ....	-0.16	+1.01	1923		
July. ....	-0.25	+0.79	Jan. ....	+0.54	+0.31
Aug. ....	-0.18	+0.67	Feb. ....	+0.52	+0.49
Sept. ....	-0.22	+0.22	Mar. ....	+0.63	+0.34
Oct. ....	-0.11	-0.56	Apr. ....	+1.27	+0.66
Nov. ....	-0.15	-0.60	May. ....	+1.86	+0.60
Dec. ....	-0.25	-0.69	June. ....	+2.13	+0.59
1921			July. ....	+2.09	+0.56
Jan. ....	-0.18	-0.65	Aug. ....	+2.09	+0.75
Feb. ....	-0.48	-1.40	Sept. ....	+1.89	+0.80
Mar. ....	-0.60	-1.63	Oct. ....	+1.88	-0.08
Apr. ....	-0.72	-2.04	Nov. ....	+3.07	+0.32
May. ....	-0.75	-2.15	Dec. ....	+3.16	+0.39
June. ....	-0.86	-2.67			

<sup>a</sup>Computed from monthly statistics prepared by the U. S. Bureau of Immigration and published in the *Monthly Labor Review*.

<sup>b</sup>Obtained by reversing the signs of an index of unemployment, computed from percentages of unemployment in trade unions, published in the *Canada Year Book* for 1921, 1922, and 1923, and the *Canada Labor Gazette* for February and November, 1924.

States from Canada, adjusted to eliminate the influence of typical seasonal variation, are compared with employment conditions in the United States and Canada, respectively. Employment conditions in Canada are represented by the percentage of unemployment among trade union members (with the signs reversed so that severe unemployment is represented by a depression in the curve and vice versa). Employment in the United States is represented by the "labor market" index previously described.

The major depression of 1921 and the lesser decline in 1923 are common to employment in both countries. Both are above average in 1919 and the first half of 1920, begin to decline in 1920 to a low point in 1921, with a recovery beginning in 1921 and continuing through 1922 and part of 1923, followed by a moderate decline. In 1920, the downturn in employment came about three months later in Canada than it did in the United States.

To summarize, in the years from 1919 to 1922, inclusive, immigration from Canada tended to be greatest when employment was good in both countries and to be low when employment was at a minimum. For Canada in these years, it would appear that it is good prospects in the country receiving the immigration, rather than distress in the home country of the prospective immigrant, which cause cyclical fluctuations in immigration. However, the upward movement of Canadian immigration in 1923 is not consistent with this principle, inasmuch as employment in the United States evidences a cyclical decline subsequent to April of that year. In Chapter VIII, we return to this problem of the relative influence of conditions in the country of immigration and the country of emigration.

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

Fluctuations in migration in the war and post-war periods are dominated by non-economic influences to a much larger extent than in the pre-war period. Nevertheless when the effect of the economic factors has been as far as possible isolated, we find in the post-war period much the same relation between employment and migration as in the pre-war years. An increase in employment is reflected, somewhat later, in an increase in immigration and a decrease in emigration.