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Volume Title: International Migrations, Volume II: Interpretations

Volume Author/Editor: Walter F. Willcox, editor

Volume Publisher: NBER

Volume ISBN: 0-87014-017-5

Volume URL: <http://www.nber.org/books/will31-1>

Publication Date: 1931

Chapter Title: Austria

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Chapter URL: <http://www.nber.org/chapters/c5115>

Chapter pages in book: (p. 390 - 432)

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 Paraná. 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.