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CHAPTER VIII

MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS BETWEEN FRANCE AND FOREIGN LANDS¹

By

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FRENCH EMIGRATION

Before 1853 no French emigration statistics were published; the only information regarding French emigration before that date, such as the exodus of Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes or the emigration during the French Revolution, is derived from historical studies. For emigration during the period 1853 to the present day, however, there are official documents as follows:

Annales de Démographie internationale, 1877;

Statistique de la France, 2nd series, vols. X, XI, XVIII;

Mouvement de l'émigration en France, 1865-1874, 1875-1877, 1878-1881;

Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris, 1891;

Annuaire statistique de la France, reproducing information furnished by the Minister of the Department of the Interior.

These sources of information are supplemented by the statistics of French immigration, and the censuses of French citizens abroad taken in countries where such inquiries are effectively carried out and where their results are made public.

Until 1852 the provisions of the Code de Commerce were deemed sufficient for the regulation of French emigration to the colonies and to foreign lands. Two decrees, those of February 13 and March 27, 1852, regulated the immigration and the policing of labor in the French colonies. Emigration commissioners were authorized by a decree of January 15, 1855.² French legislation relative to emi-

¹[See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pages 105-114, 230-232, 296, 303, 334, 338, 348, 397, and 672-685.—Ed.]

²[See Volume I, page 672.—Ed.]

gration from France to the colonies or to foreign countries comprises also:

The statute of July 18, 1860;

The decrees of March 9 and March 15, 1861;

The resolutions, regulations and instructions of May 15, 21, 22 and 25, 1861. These instructions, regulations, resolutions, decrees and statutes have themselves been supplemented by circulars, the most important of which bear the following dates:

July 3, 1862

June 22, 1863

February 9, 1866

June 4, 1867

November 10 and December 9, 1873

August 25, 1874.

For about sixty years these regulations have been unchanged. They were drawn up mainly for the purpose of settling the conditions under which emigrants should embark, of fixing the responsibilities of transportation companies and emigration agencies, and of insuring the protection of emigrants. The statute of 1860 was promulgated, in reality, to lift the ban which the Prussian government had placed on resort to French ports by Prussian emigrants in the absence of French legislation concerning the transportation of emigrants to overseas countries.

The decree of March 9, 1861, defines an emigrant and an emigrant ship. An emigrant is a passenger who does not take his meals at the captain's or the officers' table, and who pays for his passage—meals included—less than 40 francs a week on sailing vessels and less than 80 francs a week on steam vessels. An emigrant ship is a vessel which has 40 emigrants on board.

A transmigrant, or alien emigrant passing through France to an overseas country, must have on arriving at the land frontier 200 francs if an adult, and 80 francs if a child between 6 and 15 years of age; or when arriving by sea, 150 francs if an adult and 60 francs if a child between 6 and 15 years of age; or he must have a transportation ticket across France and to an overseas country.

Special commissioners of emigration were provided for wherever the Minister of the Interior deemed it necessary, and a ship-owner or the captain of a vessel engaged in transporting emigrants was to deliver to the commissioner of emigration, before the boat sailed, a list of the emigrants whom he was to transport with a declaration

of the age, sex, nationality and destination of each. In ports where there was no emigration commissioner the provisions were to be applied under the supervision of the prefects.

This legislation provided the means of obtaining statistics of emigration of citizens and of aliens. How has it been applied?

Promulgated at a time when sailing ships made up the merchant marine, the statute of 1860 is now completely out of date; for many years, in fact, its definition of an emigrant has not been followed. The statistics of emigration are still being furnished by the special commissioners, but each of them interprets the word "emigrant" in his own way. To some an emigrant is one who goes abroad to work for several years (the seasonal emigrant not being counted). For most, an emigrant is a third-class passenger who goes abroad for a long period and is not provided with a round-trip ticket. The French emigration statistics since about 1880 therefore refer to only third-class one-way passengers on board vessels.

Since 1913 statistics of the emigration of French citizens have been kept only at certain ports: Boulogne-sur-Mer, Havre, Cherbourg, St. Nazaire, La Rochelle, Bordeaux and Marseilles. They relate only to French emigrants going to America and do not include: (a) Seasonal emigrants departing by sea; (b) Emigrants going to Africa, Asia or Oceania; (c) Emigrants leaving by land.

Furthermore they do not include all French emigrants to America because of the unsatisfactory definition of an emigrant and the absence of returns from certain ports.

Alien emigrants in transit through France should be better reported. Every foreigner who has an official document, such as a ticket for transportation, establishing his status as an emigrant is deemed to be one. But the statistics of these alien emigrants in transit through France are not gathered or published.

The official French statistics contain two series of figures. The first gives the number separately of French and of alien emigrants leaving France between 1853 and 1891. The second gives, in theory, French emigration in each year from 1853 to 1926.

The series relating to alien emigrants shows a tendency to increase with maxima in 1869, 1874, 1882, 1887-88, and minima in 1871, 1877 and 1885.¹

The most important problem with which we have to occupy ourselves is the determination of the amount of French emigration in the second half of the nineteenth and the first part of the twen-

¹[Volume I, page 677.—Ed.]

tieth century. The figures for these periods, which French official statistics supply, fall into three series:

(1) From 1853 to 1864 they give the number of passports delivered and should include emigrants to all countries: Europe, French colonies, and overseas countries.

(2) From 1865 to 1910 they give the number of French citizens departed for overseas countries from the following five ports: Bayonne, Bordeaux, St. Nazaire, Havre and Marseilles, to which La Rochelle is added for the period 1895-1907.

(3) From 1911 to 1926 they give the number of French emigrants departing for America from the following seven ports: Boulogne, Havre, Cherbourg, St. Nazaire, La Rochelle, Bordeaux and Marseilles.

But the countries of emigration almost always record more immigrants as coming from France than there are emigrants reported by the French statistics. According to Bodio, it would be proper to raise the French totals for the period 1878-1887 by about 80 per cent.¹ If one takes into account that the reported number of French emigrants is lower than that of the immigrants reported as coming from France, it is probable that the French official statistics give results for the American countries 40 to 50 per cent below the true total. Nor do they reveal the emigration to Europe and the French colonies. The total French emigration can be estimated either from the French statistics or from those of foreign countries about French immigrants.

Estimates of the total emigration or of overseas emigration for various periods have already been published. The earliest was by L. A. Bertillon for the period 1854-60. Having satisfied himself that the statistics of passports were incomplete and that the data published by the United States recorded more than twice as many French immigrants as appeared in the French emigration statistics, he estimated the total French emigration previous to 1860 at 30,000 persons annually.²

In his great work on the population of France³ Levasseur estimated that the average annual number of French emigrants exceeded 30,000 and perhaps 35,000. This number was larger than that put forward by Leroy-Beaulieu a few years before.⁴ The latter

¹Bodio, *Bull. Institut. Internat. Statist.*, Vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 98.

²L. A. Bertillon in *Ann. Demogr. Internat.* (1877), p. 177.

³E. Levasseur, *La population française*, (1892), vol. III, p. 352 ff.

⁴Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes* (1886).

placed the average annual number of French emigrants before 1880 at 20,000-30,000.

In a critical study of the French statistics relating to the years 1860 to 1880 Dr. G. Lagneau has shown that, on applying appropriate corrections, the yearly French emigration through the four ports of Havre, Bordeaux, Bayonne and Marseilles was then about 11,500 to the overseas countries, 2,900 to the French colonies, and 1,100 deportations, or a total of about 15,500 emigrants.¹ This number is very close to that advanced by F. Charmes who states that "Without impoverishing herself, France can supply from 15,000 to 20,000 emigrants."²

We thus have the four estimates of French emigration given in Table 67. All four estimates greatly exceed the official French

TABLE 67.

FOUR ESTIMATES OF AVERAGE ANNUAL FRENCH EMIGRATION, 1854-90.

Author	Period	Kind of Emigration	Annual Average
Bertillon,.....	1854-60	total	30,000
Lagneau,.....	1861-80	oversea and colonies	15,000
Leroy-Beaulieu,.....	1871-80	total	20,000-30,000
Levasseur,.....	1881-90	total	35,000

figures. The estimates of Leroy-Beaulieu and Levasseur are not explicit enough to be accepted without further scrutiny. Those by Dr. G. Lagneau are only of emigrants to overseas countries and the French colonies.

An estimate of the total French emigration in each decade of the period 1851-1925 has been made by a new method based on the statistics of French immigration into foreign countries and the census returns of French residing abroad. The censuses of the French in a foreign country do not of themselves make it possible to estimate the French emigration to that country. The census figures are influenced by the births and deaths and by naturalizations; perhaps also by changes in the census instructions.

The annual statistics of French immigration into some 20 foreign countries afford a better starting point. They are adequate in amount but are not kept on a uniform basis. Certain countries

¹G. Lagneau, "L'émigration de France" (1884), pp. 502 ff.

²F. Charmes, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nov. 1, 1883.

give the number of French immigrants; others the immigrants coming from France; and still others, the number of passengers in and out. The following estimates are based on the number of French immigrants, which is always lower than that of the immigrants from France. In some countries in which these figures are not published, they can be deduced from the statistics.¹ In a few others either the number of immigrants from France or the difference between the number of passengers arriving from France and the number leaving for that country has been used. Table 68 summarizes the results.

TABLE 68.

AVERAGE ANNUAL FRENCH IMMIGRATION INTO CERTAIN FOREIGN COUNTRIES, BY DECADES, 1851-1925.

(Foreign Statistics)

Country	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-1900	1901-10	1911-20	1921-25
Overseas:								
United States.....	7,600	3,400	5,800	4,050	2,900	5,870	4,650	4,200
Canada.....			250	200	400	1,600	1,200	300
Mexico ^a					200	170	50	120
Cuba.....						280	230	250
Venezuela.....						400	300	300
Argentina.....	400	1,200	4,500	13,100	3,700	3,420	2,520	1,450
Uruguay ^a		250	250	250	200	450	280	250
Paraguay.....				100	100	30	15	20
Brazil.....	50	250	450	550	500	480	790	650
South Africa.....						50	60	90
Australia ^a						250	200	150
New Zealand.....						140	100	150
China ^c						100	100	100
Japan ^c						10		10
Chile.....	100	150	150	500	450			
French Colonies:								
Algeria.....	5,400	1,500	4,100	4,500	4,350	2,000 ^a		2,000
Tunis ^a				1,600	2,250	650		500
Morocco ^a						500	3,500	6,000
New Caledonia ^b		750	750	600	250			
Guiana ^b	800	800	800	450	900	800	300	1,100
Other Colonies.....		50 ^c	50 ^c					
Europe:								
Belgium.....						10,600	6,200	7,200
Spain ^a							400	150
Sweden.....						50	50	50
Russia ^a						1,100	500	

^aNet Immigration. ^bDeportations. ^cDerived from the number of French enumerated at the end of the year.

Table 68 does not include certain countries concerning which no direct information is obtainable. Figures for those countries were estimated in an indirect and approximate way from the num-

¹In the United States for example. See H. Bunle, "L'immigration française aux États-Unis" (1925).

ber of French enumerated abroad at different dates and the reported French immigration to other foreign countries.¹

In Table 69 these estimates have been added to the results ascertained in other countries. The totals furnish, therefore, an average value close to the total annual French emigration in each of the periods considered.

TABLE 69.

AVERAGE ANNUAL NUMBER OF FRENCH EMIGRANTS BY DECADES,
1851-1925.

(In Thousands)

Destination	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-1900	1901-10	1911-20	1921-25
Overseas:								
Ascertained.....	8.2	5.3	11.4	18.8	8.5	13.3	10.4	7.9
Estimated.....	2.9	1.9	2.5	2.5	1.5	2.7	2.0	2.0
Colonies:								
Ascertained.....	6.2	3.1	5.7	7.2	7.8	4.0	3.8	9.6
Estimated.....	0.8	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.5	1.2
Europe:								
Ascertained.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11.8	7.2	7.4
Estimated.....	7.0	7.0	15.0	18.0	10.0	12.2	9.2	9.5
Total.....	25.1	17.7	35.3	47.2	28.6	44.5	33.1	37.6

The average annual number of French emigrants fell from 25,000 in 1851-60 to less than 18,000 in 1861-70. It rose to 35,000 and then to 47,000 in the two following decades only to fall below 29,000 in 1891-1900. In the first 10 years of the twentieth century the annual average rose to nearly 45,000, dropped to 33,000 during the decade of the war and rose above 37,000 in the last period.

¹The rudiments of the method are as follows: The French population abroad in or near 1860, 1880, 1900, 1910 and 1920, according to the censuses, is known. Let A = the number of French enumerated on one of the dates in all the countries having statistics of French immigration, a = the sum of French immigration to those countries in the decade immediately preceding. Let B and b represent the corresponding numbers for all other foreign countries.

We may assume that in the second group of states $b: a = B: A$. We have, therefore $b = aB/A$

The value of b thus found can be corrected, if need be, by allowing for the different rates of decennial increase of the French population in the two groups of countries, thus obtaining a new value of b , namely b_1 . Bertillon's rule, that the number of French enumerated on a given date equals approximately the amount of French immigration in the preceding 29 years can also be applied. A third value of b , namely b_2 , can thus be found. In some cases the three numbers, b, b_1, b_2 , are very close (*e. g.* in 1851-70, 1891-1900, 1901-05), in others they differ a good deal. We have adopted the arithmetic mean of the three methods of estimating, as the best figures for the annual French immigration into these countries.

These results can be compared with the estimates in Table 67 (page 205) by other French authors. There is an agreement about overseas and colonial emigration 15.0 and 15.5 in the period 1861-80. About total emigration the differences are of little importance, if the approximate character of the estimates is kept in mind. These figures for 1851-60 are smaller than those of Bertillon, but for 1871-80 and 1881-90 they are higher than those of Leroy-Beaulieu and of Levasseur. For the four decades 1851-90 for which a comparison can be made, they average about one-fourth larger than the earlier estimates already cited.

This method cannot be used in determining the amount of French emigration year by year. But, from the figures in the French statistics, a second series can be reached by footing up for each year the number of French emigrants landed in foreign countries. The curves for these two series are generally parallel. Although the French statistics include only a part of the total French emigration, and of the overseas emigration, they give, nevertheless, an idea of the annual fluctuations in the number of French emigrants.

The statistics of some foreign countries show the total and the net immigration of French for certain periods. A comparison of these two series gives the results in Table 70.

TABLE 70.
IMMIGRATION, GROSS AND NET, OF FRENCH INTO CERTAIN COUNTRIES,
1901-24.

Period	Overseas Countries					Colonies	Europe			Grand Total
	United States	Venezuela	Argentina	Uruguay	Total	Morocco	Belgium	Sweden	Total	
ANNUAL AVERAGE NUMBER OF FRENCH EMIGRANTS										
<i>Total Emigration</i>										
1901-10	5,870	400	3,420	450	10,140	.....	10,600	50	10,650	20,790
1911-20	4,640	....	2,520	....	7,160	3,500	6,200	50	6,250	16,910
1921-24	4,200	....	1,450	....	5,650	6,000	7,200	50	7,250	18,900
<i>Net Emigration</i>										
1901-10	3,060	150	1,230	110	4,550	....	5,470	..	5,470	10,020
1911-20	1,700	....	160	....	1,540	2,100	2,420	10	2,430	6,070
1921-24	2,840	....	50	....	2,790	2,300	2,380	30	2,350	7,440
PROPORTION OF NET EMIGRATION TO EACH 100 OF GROSS EMIGRATION										
1901-10	52.0	37.5	36.0	24.5	45.0	....	51.5	..	51.2	48.5
1911-20	36.6	....	....	....	22.5	60.0	39.2	..	39.0	38.0
1921-24	67.5	....	....	....	49.2	38.2	33.0	..	32.5	39.5

In the years 1921-25 the net French immigration into all of these countries constituted from 35 to 50 per cent of the total French

emigration. It was smaller during the World War than in the pre-war or post-war periods. In the latest years it rose to 40 per cent. This proportion, ascertained for some countries, probably applies approximately to the total French emigration.

For 1854-60, Bertillon determined from the passports the destination of French departing with the intention of settling abroad.¹ America was the objective of 32.5 per cent of departures (15.3 per cent for North America); 23 per cent were for the French colonies (21.8 per cent for Algeria); 40.9 per cent for European countries (principally Spain, Italy, England, Germany and Switzerland).

In the following years the French statistics gave only overseas emigration, and showed the per cent distribution given in Table 71.

TABLE 71.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FRENCH OVERSEAS EMIGRATION,
1870-1889.

Periods	United States, Canada	Argentina, Uruguay	Other American Countries	Africa	Asia	Australia	Totals
1870-1874 ^a	24.6	72.7		1.6	1.1	...	100.0
1875-1887 ^b	41.1	43.9	13.7	0.6	0.5	0.2	100.0
1888-1889 ^c	14.4	75.8	9.1	0.1	0.6		100.0

^a*Bulletin de l'Institut International de Statistique*, Vol. I, p. 199.

^b*Idem*, Vol. II, pt. 2, p. 93.

^c*Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris*, 1891, p. 192.

French overseas emigration goes mainly to Latin America. From 1875 to 1887 out of 100 French overseas emigrants (excluding those going to French colonies), 44 went to Argentina and Uruguay, 5 to Brazil, 8 to other countries of Latin America, or 58 to all Latin America and 41 to the United States and Canada.

The estimate of French total emigration previously made² opens the way for an approximate distribution by destination of French going abroad in each decade for the period 1851-1925. From Table 69 (page 207) the per cent distribution given in Table 72 has been computed.

The relative importance of French emigration overseas is thus seen to be diminishing, while that directed towards Europe is growing. The emigration of Frenchmen to their colonies appears to have decreased in the years 1861-1890. But in this period it was checked

¹L. A. Bertillon, "Migrations françaises" (1877), p. 181.

²See Table 67, page 205.

TABLE 72.

PROPORTION OF FRENCH EMIGRANTS OVERSEAS, TO COLONIES, ETC.,
BY DECADES, 1851-1925.

Destination	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-1900	1901-10	1911-20	1921-25
Overseas.....	44.4	40.6	39.4	45.1	35.0	36.0	37.4	26.3
Colonies.....	27.8	19.8	18.1	16.8	30.0	10.1	13.1	28.7
Europe.....	27.8	39.6	42.5	38.1	35.0	53.9	49.5	35.0
Totals.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

by the War of 1870. During the same period Algeria had to face the insurrection of 1871, famine, typhus, and cholera. The occupation of Tunis and the bad condition of French agriculture between 1891 and 1900 explain the resumption of emigration to the colonies. This waned again, however, in the following twenty years, the World War being a sufficient explanation for the diminution 1911-1920 and masking the colonization movement to Morocco, which is more apparent in the last few years.

In the years 1857 and 1858 the Pyrenean departments and Alsace furnished the largest proportion of emigrants to population. Three southern departments (Bouches-du-Rhône, Gironde, Hérault) and two eastern (Haute-Saône and Doubs) came next.¹ Dr. Lagneau prepared a table from the statistics of the Ministry of the Interior² showing for 1857-81 the departments of origin of registered emigrants who embarked at one of the four leading ports on a vessel carrying more than 40 emigrants to foreign lands (excluding the French colonies). The departments which contributed the largest proportion of their population were: Basses-Pyrénées, Hautes-Pyrénées, Gironde, Pyrénées-Orientales, Haute-Garonne, Hautes-Alpes, Savoie, Corse, Bouches-du-Rhône, Doubs, Cantal, all but one of them lying south of a line between Bordeaux and Geneva. Nevertheless, in certain departments of this region the emigration rate was quite small, the proportion being large in frontier or maritime districts. But the registered French emigration includes only a small fraction of the total.

The departments which supplied the greatest per cent of their population as emigrants in the period 1880-89 were: Basses-

¹Legoyt. *L'émigration Européenne* (1867).

²France, *Mouvement de l'émigration en France, 1875-1877*, pp. 58-60; *idem*, 1878-1881, p. 29 f.

Pyrénées, 3.57; Hautes-Alpes, 2.76; Hautes-Pyrénées, 2.72; Belfort, 1.80; Haute-Saône, 0.97; Aveyron, 0.87; Doubs, 0.86; Lot, 0.84; Savoie, 0.83; Pyrénées-Orientales, 0.80. Levasseur wrote:¹ "The departments of the Midi, especially the mountainous departments of the Pyrenees and of the Alps, the basin of the Garonne and the Rhone and the eastern frontier departments supply almost all the emigrants. In the case of the Basques of the lower Pyrenees, the mountaineers of the Alps and of the Cevennes, the emigrants follow an ancient family tradition. Poverty drives the mountaineer out of his native country. The proximity of the sea opens the ocean routes to the Basques, hardy mariners. The phylloxera, in ruining the peasants, has been a cause of emigration from the plaines of the Garonne in the last ten years."

The preceding estimates do not take into account emigration to the colonies. For the most part, however, this gap can be filled. Certain censuses of Algeria and Tunis show the French departments in which persons of French origin enumerated in the colonies were born. From a study of the census of 1896 it appears that the French departments which had contributed to the population of Algeria can be divided into three groups. The first is bounded on the north by a line drawn from Hendaye in southwestern France to Geneva. In all departments but one south of this line, the proportion of natives living in Algeria was more than 50 for each 10,000 inhabitants; in some it rose to 100 and even 190. One only—Basses-Pyrénées—has a smaller proportion (20).² North of this line, only four departments have comparable rates.

The second group of departments is included between this straight line and another line running from south of La Vendée to Givet. It comprises all departments in which the number of natives enumerated in Algeria was between 25 and 50 per 10,000 population. It is less homogeneous than the first region. Finally, the departments of northern and northwestern France are very slightly represented in Algeria.³

The results derived from the censuses of the French civilian population in Tunis are similar.⁴ The departments of the Midi, the Seine, and Finistère are those which have contributed the largest proportions of their population as immigrants.

¹Levasseur, *Population française* (1892), Vol. III, p. 352.

²The inhabitants of Basses-Pyrénées, principally Basques, emigrated in great numbers to South America.

³V. Demontes, *Le peuple algérien* (1906), pp. 81 ff.

⁴*Dénombrement de la population civile française en Tunisie*, years 1921 and 1911.

The reasons which have induced the French to settle in North Africa are geographical, administrative, economic or historical in nature, and have operated together or separately according to the part of France considered. In the north, administrative reasons (the supplying of officials) have played the most important rôle. In the Alsatian region historical reasons growing out of the Franco-Prussian war have been decisive. In the Midi, on the contrary, geographical, administrative and economic reasons have coöperated. These include nearness to North Africa; better communications, similiar climate and crops; colonization under official auspices; and above all, the destruction of the French vineyards by the phylloxera, while the vines in North Africa being immune to the disease could give better yields than those planted on French soil.

So far as they relate to the preponderating importance of French emigration from the departments south of the line Bordeaux-Geneva the results of the Algerian and Tunisian censuses are in accord with the statistics of French recorded emigration. Unfortunately the destinations abroad chosen by Frenchmen going from the various provinces are unknown. Some special monographs, however, have pointed out the peculiar attraction which Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil have had for the Basques and the inhabitants of the Western Pyrenees, and the attraction exercised by Mexico on the natives of the Barcelonnette (Basses-Alpes). These peculiarities may be due to the recruiting of emigrants by relatives already settled abroad.

It is difficult to detect the influence of French economic activity on the imperfectly known annual movement of emigrants. The defective statistics have been replaced by estimates nearer the truth, but made out for 10-year periods.

Nevertheless, the annual totals of French immigrants arriving in certain overseas countries show the same general fluctuations as the totals of overseas emigrants according to the French statistics. In the absence of more precise records it has been taken for granted that they represent the actual fluctuations of French overseas emigration. They have been compared with the annual indexes of French wholesale prices. The values ascertained by the covariant index are:

-0.12 for the period 1857-1885,
+0.34 for the period 1886-1914,
+0.14 for the period 1857-1914.

With the index of French industrial production the value of the coefficient of covariation is fixed at 0.33 for the period 1885-1914.

Before 1885 French overseas emigration does not appear to have increased or decreased with the economic activity of the country, but after 1885 this interdependence became perceptible.

The number of French immigrants into the United States depends on the economic prosperity of the United States more than on that of France, but this dependency is not very great. It is most marked when the number of emigrants from France to the United States is compared with American wholesale prices of the preceding year.¹ That France's economic activity should have little influence on the departure of emigrants need occasion no surprise, especially if one notes the remark of the United States Immigration Commission:² "Emigration from Europe is not now an economic necessity. In the main those who emigrate to the United States are swayed by a desire to better their condition rather than by the necessity of escaping intolerable ones." The same is true of French emigration to other overseas countries and to Europe.

Since France as a whole before 1914 enjoyed good and stable industrial conditions, it is quite natural that those conditions should not have been the determining cause of French emigration. The agricultural crisis between 1875 and 1895 influenced the increase of emigration between 1870 and 1890, as attested by French departures abroad and to the colonies. The phylloxera invasion and the temporary ruin of the French vineyards during that period resulted in a growth of French emigration to the North African colonies and to South American countries where vineyards were profitable.

During the period 1857-90 the statistics of the Ministry of the Interior give the distribution of French emigrants by sex, age, and occupation. They include only about one-half of the overseas emigrants. *A priori*, there is no pronounced reason for supposing that French emigration differs much according to the place of final destination. In an initial approximation, which is doubtless near the truth, the proportion calculated for an important fraction of overseas emigrants can be applied to all French emigrants.

About two-thirds of French emigrants are males (see Table 73). The statistics of the United States show a similiar but somewhat smaller proportion for all immigrants from France. During the period 1871-1920 the two series of numbers reveal a slight diminution in the predominance of males.

¹Statistique Générale, *Bulletin*, January 1925, p. 202.

²United States Immigration Commission, *Reports*, Vol. I, p. 185.

TABLE 73.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY SEX OF FRENCH EMIGRANTS, 1857-1910.

Recorded Overseas Emigration (French Statistics)			Immigrants from France to the United States (United States Statistics)		
Period	Males	Females	Period	Males	Females
1857-64	69	31	.....	.....	.....
1865-70	72	28	1869-70	66	34
1871-77	72	28	1871-80	64	36
1878-81	68	32	1881-90	64	36
1882-90	68	32	1891-1900	59	41
			1901-10	59	41

Among French overseas emigrants the proportion between 20 and 50 years of age grew from 582 per thousand in 1865-70 to 660 per thousand in the years 1882-90 (see Table 74). On the other hand, the proportion of individuals who had passed the age of 50 diminished from 82 to 40.

TABLE 74.

DISTRIBUTION BY AGE OF RECORDED FRENCH IMMIGRATION,
1857-1890.¹

(French Statistics; In Thousands)

Ages	1857-64	1865-70	1871-77	1878-81	1882-90
Under one year.	6	12	10	12}	138
1-10 years.....	73	51	62	104}	
10-20 years.....	235	273	243	186	162
20-30 years.....	350}	582	601	639	660
30-40 years.....	196}				
40-50 years.....	85}				
50 and over.....	55	82	84	59	40
Total.....	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

The United States statistics of immigrants from France give similar results, although the age groups are somewhat different. The proportion of the immigrants landed in the United States who were from 15 to 40 years of age increased from 70 per cent in 1871-1881 to 81 per cent in 1891-1900, and the proportion over 40 years of age diminished from 16.5 to 8.8 per cent during the same years.¹

¹Statistique Générale, *Bull. January 1925*, p. 205.

Less than one-third of the French overseas emigrants had an occupation connected with agriculture, and from 34 to 40 per cent worked in industry (see Table 75). The remainder (from 30 to 37 per cent) consisted of emigrants engaged in trade, the liberal professions or public utilities, or without any occupation.

TABLE 75.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF OVERSEAS EMIGRANTS BY OCCUPATION
(French Statistics)

Occupation	1857-64	1865-70	1871-77	1878-81	1882-90
Agriculture.....	24.6	27.2	28.7	25.9	28.0
Industry.....	38.4	40.0	34.8	36.1	42.5
Other Occupations...	37.0	32.8	36.5	31.5	29.5
Without Occupation..	....	....	....	6.5	....
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

These figures show an increase in the proportion of French emigrants occupied in agriculture or industry, and a decrease in the proportion of those in other occupations or without an occupation.

The United States statistics of occupations of immigrants from France (Table 76) show the same trend between 1875-80 and 1881-90. But from 1891 to 1898 the proportion of agriculturists and industrial laborers diminished.

TABLE 76

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS FROM FRANCE INTO THE
UNITED STATES BY OCCUPATION
(United States Statistics)

Occupation	1875-80	1881-90	1891-98	1875-98
Agriculture.....	9.0	20.5	18.0	16.2
Industry.....	51.0	51.0	47.5	50.2
Others.....	40.0	28.5	34.5	33.6
Totals.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The increase in the proportion of agricultural laborers during the period 1881-1900 is perhaps attributable to the severe crisis in French agriculture during those years.

The immediate loss which the emigration of its citizens brings to a country is two-fold: a decrease of population and particularly of adult workers, and a decrease of capital. Besides, a country losing a portion of its marriageable population may find, in the end, that its birth rate is falling.¹

The net loss is less obvious. It is a fact that at the present time emigrants remit to their native country sums exceeding the capital originally carried away and that they develop the exchanges between the two countries.

As the statistics of French emigration are not very accurate or detailed, it is difficult to estimate the decrease among various classes of the population. When one attempts to estimate the monetary value of this emigration the problem is more complicated. There is no agreement regarding the monetary value of an emigrant. If by monetary value is meant the profits which can be made in the country of origin or of immigration, those profits vary with sex, age, occupation, and physical and moral qualities. Again, monetary value may refer to the emigrant's cost to his family and to the nation up to the time of his departure. These different points of view lead to different results.

Taking the average of several American estimates, Levasseur concluded that in 1890 the value of an adult French emigrant was about 4,000 francs.² Gide concluded that in the course of 25 years an infant cost his parents 80,000 francs.³

Starting from a different viewpoint, N. A. Barriol⁴ called the social value of an individual to society the returns which he makes to society in the shape of expenditures of every kind paid out of his personal earnings. He determined the value of a laborer and of an engineer at different ages. At 20 years of age this value is 34,000 francs for a laborer and 350,000 francs for an engineer; at 40 years it is 27,000 francs for a laborer and 490,000 francs for an engineer. At 60 years the corresponding values drop to 7,000 and 270,000 francs respectively. Furthermore, they are different from those calculated under another definition and published elsewhere.⁵

According to the definition adopted and according to a person's position in the social scale, the variation is considerable.

¹All other things remaining the same and supposing for the moment that emigration does not raise or maintain the birth rate of the citizens who remain.

²Levasseur, *La population française*, Vol. III, p. 369, note.

³Gide, *Revue écon. internat.*, March 1910.

⁴*Ibidem*, December, 1910.

⁵*Almanach Hachette*, 1909, p. 215.

Even if it be assumed that French emigrants are all laborers, which will be seen to be far from the truth, the monetary value of an individual would vary according to the definition adopted. Whatever the initial definition adopted, the monetary value of French emigration during a given year is not the same for the country of origin and the country of destination, and varies also with the period.

Putting this moot question aside, let us consider a less involved question, viz., the comparative value of French and other European emigration, basing our statements upon the principal characteristics of the migrants and upon estimates made abroad.

In 1886 the Commissioner-General of Immigration of Argentina wrote: "Among the immigrants from Europe none have better antecedents or more satisfactory conditions than the French."¹ P. Berne judges French immigrants to Argentina as follows:² "There are some agriculturists and vine-growers. But most of them are artisans, engineers, architects, doctors and industrialists. If French emigrants are compared with Italian and Spanish, it would seem that their real influence is much above what their small numbers would normally give them. And A. Latinoque writes: Better educated, often provided with capital, the French belong to the aristocracy of emigration. French economic achievements in Argentina have been considerable. In all branches of production the French emigrants have shown the way. They have established flour mills and breweries. In the cultivation of the vine and in the sugar industry they have been front rank initiators. In the financial world they take second place after the English."

In Mexico, also, the French hold an important position. Although only about 4,000 French were settled in that country in 1910, the financial houses, factories, agricultural or mining enterprises belonging to them numbered 260, with a French capital of more than \$250,000,000. In the world crisis of 1908 not a single failure was recorded among the French colonists.³

In another field the statistics of immigration into the United States corroborate those of immigration into Latin America. In a study of French immigration into the United States⁴ the writer has said that in the liberal professions French immigrants have much the largest proportions. Among wage earners in mining

¹Cited by Levasseur, *op. cit.*, p. 373, note.

²P. Berne, *L'immigration française en Argentine* (1915).

³A. Genin, *Notes sur le Mexique, 1908-1910*.

⁴H. Bunle, *Bull. statist. générale*, January, 1925.

and industry, the annual income of the families of immigrants born in France averages higher than that of the families of other immigrants, although in the former case subsidiary income from subtenants or from boarders is less common. Finally, education is most widespread among French immigrants; the difference is specially notable in the case of individuals born outside of the United States.

Foreign statistics concerning occupations, wages, housing, education and economic conditions concur in revealing the high standard of living of French immigrants. They are fewer than immigrants from some other European countries. It is difficult to question their higher worth.

IMMIGRANTS INTO FRANCE.

As in the case of French emigration, we may distinguish two periods in the history of immigration into France. Until about the beginning of the World War it was almost entirely a movement of individuals and not the subject of any numeration or official statistics. After 1914 the movement into France became more important and put that country in the second place among countries of immigration.

This immigration is, in part, a collective organized current and better known than French emigration. Although not all foreigners who enter France are counted, all who report themselves at the frontier as laborers are. Fragmentary statistics furnish information also about the repatriation of laborers. These official data, although not complete, show a real progress compared with the earlier period, when no record was made on entrance or departure. Finally, France now appeals more strongly to ethnical elements which hitherto have been slightly represented on French soil.

After the period of the great invasions, France became the goal of an alien and spontaneous immigration. The reasons for this were: first, the numerous wars which brought foreign mercenaries (Swiss, Rhenish, Hungarian, Italian, Croatian, etc.); then, the attraction of the elite to the court of France; and finally, importation by the government of foreign experts to create or strengthen new industries. For example, Italians came for the silk, glass and mirror making industries, and Germans for the printing and cabinet-making trades. Later, European conditions led a large number of foreigners to seek refuge in France.¹

¹For example: the expansion of the French Empire under Napoleon I and the Treaties of 1815, political disturbances in Germany about 1830, and the Polish revolution in 1860 and 1863.

Nevertheless, in the eighteenth century this immigration was far from equalling in amount French emigration to foreign countries and the French colonies. At that period there were not more than 50,000 foreigners in France, which would indicate an annual immigration of 2,000 to 3,000 persons.

The influx of foreigners was increased in the first half of the nineteenth century. The census of 1851 found 380,000 foreigners on French soil. This would indicate an average annual immigration, in the previous decade, of approximately 20,000 persons.

The only official French statistics before the World War which permit following the immigration movement, are those giving the number of foreigners settled in France at the date of each population census. These figures are reproduced in Table 77.

TABLE 77

FOREIGNERS SETTLED IN FRANCE AT EACH CENSUS, 1851-1911.

(In Thousands)

Census Year	Number of Foreigners	Census Year	Number of Foreigners
1851	381	1886	1,126
1861	497	1891	1,130
1866	635	1896	1,052
1872	741	1901	1,034
1876	802	1906	1,047
1881	1,001	1911	1,160

France's foreign population grew 1851-91 without a break. About 1886 P. Leroy-Beaulieu wrote: "France is quite as much an immigration country as Argentina or Australia. In good years or bad from 40,000 to 50,000 foreigners go there to settle and found a family."¹ This increase of emigration appears to have been arrested during 1891-1906; it was merely masked by the effects of the laws of 1889 to 1893 concerning naturalization and citizenship.² From 1906 on it was resumed.

The magnitude of France's net immigration is not to be measured by the increase of aliens, especially in the period 1886-1921 when naturalizations were numerous. But one can take as a

¹P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes* (1886).

²France, *Census of 1921*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 41.

basis the number of aliens in successive censuses in order to reach an approximate estimate of net immigration.¹

The results of such calculations for the periods 1851-1911 are given in Table 78.

TABLE 78.

COMPUTATION OF NET IMMIGRATION INTO FRANCE, 1851-1911.
(In Thousands)

Periods	Increase in Foreigners	Naturalizations	Francisations	Excess of Births	Net Immigration
1851-61	116	2	5	10	112
1861-66	138	1	3	14	128
1866-72	106	3	5	16	98
1872-76	61	3	5	18	51
1876-81	199	3	5	20	187
1881-86	126	6	10	25	117
1886-91	3	36	60	28	71
1891-96	-78	61	138	29	92
1896-1901	-18	34	121	36	101
1901-06	13	26	115	41	105
1906-11	113	33	120	41	225

Italian, Belgian and Dutch statistics furnish some information about emigration to France. On using these data as a basis, net immigration into France is found as a rule to be higher than the preceding figures. From these slightly divergent ways of estimating immigration, the round numbers in Table 79 have been derived and represent approximately the minimum estimates of alien immigration into France.

Aside from the aliens who come to settle in France, French agricultural or industrial establishments attract other classes of alien laborers: (a) those who are domiciled abroad but enter France each morning and leave in the evening; (b) seasonal agricultural workers who come into France for several months during the sugar beet season or for the harvest or the vintage, and work the rest of the year in their own country. In 1906 the number belonging to the first class was estimated at 30,000 (including 25,000 Belgians).²

¹To the increase in the number of aliens in a census interval add the number who were naturalized in France by decree (naturalization) or by law (francisation) and subtract the excess of alien births over deaths. The result is approximately the net immigration during the interval. See Sauvy, "La population étrangère en France et les naturalisations," *Jour. Soc. Statist. Paris*, Feb.-Mar. 1927.

²France, *Census of 1906*.

TABLE 79.

ESTIMATED IMMIGRATION INTO FRANCE, BASED ON BELGIAN
EMIGRATION TO FRANCE, 1851-1911

(In Thousands)

Period	Estimated Average Annual Immigration		Period	Estimated Average Annual Immigration	
	Net	Gross ^a		Net	Gross ^a
1851-61	12	25	1886-91	20	40
1861-66	26	50	1891-96	22	45
1866-72	20	40	1896-1901	27	35
1872-76	16	35	1901-06	26	70
1876-81	34	65	1906-11	42	120

^aOn the assumption that the total, or gross, immigration into France is to the net immigration as the total immigration of Belgians into France is to that net immigration.

About 1904, as the result of an inquiry conducted in Belgium, L. Duprez wrote that 40,000 Belgian seasonal agricultural laborers came for several months (generally from May 15 to July 15) to work in the French fields. More than half came from eastern Flanders, a third from western Flanders, and the others were from Hainaut. They were found especially in the northern departments and in the region about Paris.¹ Besides these Belgians there were from 10,000 to 20,000 Spaniards who gathered grapes in southern France and departed as soon as this task was ended.

Both the permanent and the seasonal immigration into France was almost exclusively individual. The first attempts at a collective organized immigration do not date back further than 1908. At that time the Federation of Agricultural Societies of North-eastern France, after an agreement with the Emigration Committee and the Diet of Galicia, introduced about 1,000 Polish agricultural laborers, who were distributed through the eastern departments. This manner of recruiting, continued until 1914, introduced into France about 20,000 Poles distributed over a third of her territory.²

As a sequel to negotiations over a long period, the Iron Workers Committee of Meurthe-et-Moselle was able to recruit from 4,000 to 5,000 Italian workmen in 1912 and 1913.

¹L. Duprez, "L'Emigration temporaire des ouvriers agricoles en France" (1922), p. 452-5.

²N. Rafin, *Le placement et l'immigration des ouvriers agricoles polonais en France* (1911).

These are the only instances of collective organized immigration before the war.

To follow the variations in the racial composition of this stream of immigration is a difficult matter. French data are lacking, but Italy, Belgium and Holland publish more or less complete statistics about emigration from those countries to France. The data have been summarized in Table 80.

TABLE 80.

AVERAGE ANNUAL IMMIGRATION INTO FRANCE FROM CERTAIN FOREIGN COUNTRIES, 1876-1910.

(In Thousands)

Period	Belgian, ^a		Italian, ^b Gross	Dutch, ^c Gross
	Gross	Net		
1876-80	....	...	36.9	...
1881-85	8.5	3.0	44.5	...
1886-90	7.4	3.9	30.2	...
1891-95	8.8	4.3	26.9	...
1896-1900	7.4	4.2	24.5	...
1901-05	8.0	2.3	54.3	0.2
1906-10	11.6	5.8	60.2	0.3

^aEmigrants born in Belgium, according to official Belgian statistics.

^b*Statistica delle Emigrazione, Bollettino della Emigrazione.*

^cNetherlands statistics.

For the whole period, Italian immigration was about 5 times as great as Belgian. It seems to have been least in 1896-1900 and greatest in the latest years. The total Dutch immigration was very small, not exceeding 300 annually. Both Belgian and Italian immigration seem to have decreased until 1896-1900 and increased notably in the following years. Belgians and Italians furnish more than half of the immigrants into France. The proportion of these peoples to all foreigners in France rose, as Table 81 shows, from 50 per cent in 1851 to 63 per cent in 1872, to 67 per cent in 1881, 66 per cent in 1901 and 62 per cent in 1911.

The figures in Table 81 also show that the largest immigrant groups have always been the Belgians, Italians, Germans (including Austro-Hungarians), Spaniards and Swiss, that is, citizens of countries adjacent to France and ethnical elements which are easily assimilable.

TABLE 81.

NUMBERS AND PROPORTIONS OF ALIENS IN FRANCE AT DIFFERENT CENSUSES, BY PEOPLES, 1851-1911.

Peoples	Census Year						
	1851	1861	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911
	Number in thousands						
Italian.....	63	77	113	241	286	330	419
Belgian.....	128	204	348	432	466	323	287
German, Austro-Hungarian	57	85	110	94	95	102	117
Spanish, Portuguese.....	30	35	53	75	79	82	110
Swiss.....	25	35	43	66	83	72	73
Russian.....	9	9	9	10	14	16	35
Luxemburger, Dutch.....	10	13	17	21	40	29	26
Others.....	59	39	48	62	67	80	93
Totals.....	381	497	741	1,001	1,130	1,034	1,160
	Per Cent Distribution						
Italian.....	16.5	15.6	15.3	24.1	25.4	31.9	36.2
Belgian.....	33.6	41.0	47.0	43.1	41.3	31.2	24.7
German, Austro-Hungarian	15.0	17.2	14.8	9.4	8.4	9.9	10.1
Spanish, Portuguese.....	7.9	7.0	7.2	7.5	7.0	7.9	9.5
Swiss.....	6.5	7.0	5.8	6.6	7.3	7.0	6.3
Russian.....	2.4	1.8	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.6	3.0
Luxemburger, Dutch.....	2.6	2.6	2.2	2.1	3.5	2.8	2.2
Others.....	15.5	7.8	6.5	6.2	5.9	7.7	8.0
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

From 1851 to 1872 the proportion of Belgians increased, while that of the Italians, Spaniards and Swiss diminished. From 1872 to 1911 the proportion of Belgians decreased and that of the Italians, Spaniards and Swiss increased.

With the World War, immigration into France entered a new phase. From August, 1914, Frenchmen in good health between 18 and 40 years of age were under arms. For work on the farms only women, youth and old people remained, and they were not enough to provide the country with food. Then too the manufacturing of war material demanded labor on an ever-increasing scale.

When the armistice came, the able-bodied French population had been diminished by 1,250,000 killed, and by almost as many wounded. The country had to face the reconstruction of ten devastated departments where the mines, industrial plants, transportation system, and arable land had been wrecked. Only by bringing in foreign labor could this restoration be brought about rapidly.

French regulations about the admission, sojourn, settlement and change of abode of aliens have always been brief. The statute of July 16, 1912, which modified that of August 8, 1893, required a declaration to the town or city clerk stating the place of residence of any foreigner who came to work in France. It set up a register and certificates of matriculation; every person who employed an alien who had no matriculation certificate was liable to a fine.

The decree of April 2, 1917, instituted a special identification card to be used by any foreigner over 15 years of age staying in France more than two weeks. This card had to be visaed by the mayor or commissioner of police in each place where the foreigner arrived or departed.

According to the present legislation and regulations, the frontier may be crossed by a foreigner provided with a passport. But before he has stayed in France for more than two months he must ask the Commissioner of Police or the mayorality where he resides for an identification card. To obtain it, he must show an employment certificate visaed by the Ministry of Labor or of Agriculture and pay ordinarily 100 francs, but only 40 francs if he is a foreigner regularly brought in,¹ or a savant, writer, or student, or a relative of a wage earner already admitted. If the identification card is refused, the alien must leave within a week. Every change of residence necessitates the visaing of his card by the commissioner of police at his new domicile. Finally, employers can hire only such aliens as are provided with identification cards and have not broken earlier labor contracts.

The immigration of aliens into France thus is really unrestricted. A laborer who does not make known his intention to accept employment can enter without difficulty. Later his status is regularized by his presenting an employer's certificate visaed by the Ministry of Labor and certifying that there were no unemployed French laborers in the same occupation. In an economic crisis or when unemployment prevails, the opportunities are less and the visa of the Ministry is obtained with difficulty.

After the Armistice the French government concluded labor treaties with Italy and with Belgium, and immigration and emigration agreements with Poland and with Czechoslovakia. These were concluded on the basis of complete reciprocity, and provide for a control of collective recruiting by the two governments in order

¹That is, one who has passed a frontier post and received there a safe-conduct, exchangeable for an identification card later at the prefecture of his place of work.

not to disorganize the labor market; for equal wages for Frenchmen and aliens in the same occupation; for the extension of the benefits of French labor legislation to these aliens; and for the supervision of these arrangements by the national administrations rather than by diplomatic or consular authorities.

In Czechoslovakia and Poland, France maintains offices for hiring laborers. At these offices the candidates sent by the Polish and Czechoslovakian employment bureaus are examined with reference to their occupation and their health. In fact, it is the French General Society of Agricultural and Industrial Immigration which supervises the hiring and inspection of laborers to see that they satisfy the employers' joint requirements, after they have been visaed in France by the Ministry of Labor or of Agriculture. This collective immigration is of a peculiar character. It is a spontaneous inflow directed by foreign authorities toward the centers of employment and distribution.¹

There are two central offices: one at the Ministry of Agriculture for agricultural laborers; the other at the Ministry of Labor for those in other occupations. These central offices are in touch with immigration bureaus maintaining depots or loading centers; supplementary frontier posts; regional central stations having interpreter controllers and assisting the regional employment offices charged with the visaing of the individual or the collective demands to introduce alien laborers;² and with labor offices abroad.

The introduction of identification cards for aliens and the use of duplicate cards whose renewal or cancellation is under one control ought to provide for complete and accurate statistics of immigrant aliens. The number of departures would be less well ascertained because some aliens neglect to make a declaration when they leave.

French official statistics are not secured in this way, however. The number of colonial and alien laborers brought in by the Ministry of War or the Ministry of Munitions during 1914-1919, is known. These statistics, though not official, have a real value as they come from the persons who managed the importation of labor during the war. According to the Ministry of the Interior, there is also an estimate of the number of agricultural laborers brought in (or sent out) which can likewise be regarded as accurate.

¹A. Pairault, *L'Immigration organisée et l'emploi de la main-d'oeuvre étrangère en France* (1926).

²The establishment of two new regional control stations is planned at Strassburg and at Bâle St. Louis.

Since 1920 tables have appeared each week in the *Journal Officiel* and in the *Bulletin du Marche du Travail*, which are summed up every quarter in the *Bulletin du Ministère du Travail*. They comprise only a fraction, though a large one, of the aliens entering or leaving France. They set forth solely the number of aliens who have declared at the frontier that they were laborers and have received a safe-conduct to go to their place of work,¹ but they do not give the total number of aliens entering France. In fact, they do not include: (1) members of the laborer's family who do not state that they wish situations as laborers; (2) aliens who have not declared their status as laborers and later made their status conform to the law; (3) tourists, salesmen and travelers. The repatriations from France are shown still less completely, in fact aliens are under no obligation to declare that they are leaving French territory.²

Besides, a complete check-up on all who enter or leave is almost impossible in the case of France which has long land frontiers, some of which—especially the northeastern ones—are completely open. The frontier officials cannot supervise all entering or departing and cannot distinguish laborers from alien travelers.

TABLE 82
NUMBERS OF CERTAIN ALIEN IMMIGRANTS ENTERING FRANCE, 1920-25.
(In Thousands)

Year	Italians		Poles		Czechoslovaks	
	French Statistics	Italian Statistics	French Statistics	Polish Statistics	French Statistics	Czechoslovakian Statistics ^a
1920	86	120	15	..	1	..
1921	12	36	9	..	..	..
1922	57	86	28	30	1	3
1923	112	191	31	71	4	6
1924	98	231	23	27	10	13
1925	55	174	18	..	6	7

^aNumber of passports issued for France.

The actual number of alien laborers and of alien immigrants entering France or departing from it is larger than would appear from official statistics. This results from the French method of the enumeration and from the facts explained above. A comparison of French and foreign statistics as in Table 82, gives direct proof of this.

¹That is to say, those who present a labor contract containing a proper authorization to enter the country and accept employment. (*Bulletin du Marche du Travail* supplem. March 4, 1927.)

²Lebelle, "La main-d'oeuvre étrangère" (1925).

The Czechoslovakian figures are based upon passports issued and exceed the actual departures. The Italian and Polish statistics include non-wage-earning members of the family, who are not counted by the French, and immigrants entering France without a labor contract and without stopping at an immigration bureau or a frontier post. All three report many more emigrants than the corresponding French statistics.

From the beginning of hostilities in 1914 the Ministry of War turned to the French colonies and to China in order to increase the labor supply in France. At the time of the Armistice it had introduced 223,000 colonial and Chinese laborers, divided as follows: North Africans, 133,000 (Algerians, 79,000; Moroccans, 36,000; Tunisians, 18,000); Indo-Chinese, 49,000; Chinese, 37,000; Madagascans, 4,500. A considerable number (principally North Africans) had already been repatriated, and the departures continued the following years.¹

TABLE 83
TOTAL NUMBER OF WHITE LABORERS INTRODUCED
INTO FRANCE, 1914-1920

Period	Italians	Spaniards	Belgians	Poles	Czechoslovaks	Portuguese	Greeks
1914—2nd half	4,500 ^a	52,000 ^b					
1915—1st half							
2nd half	15,000						
1916—1st half		92,400					
2nd half							
1917—1st half	3,700	102,300		1,300		5,600	14,600
2nd half							
1918—1st half	4,100					26,200	12,300
2nd half		70,900					
1919 year	13,700	75,800	5,300	1,000		15,000	4,200
1920	86,100	58,800	28,600	14,000	1,000	6,700	200

^aRefugees from northern and eastern France.

^bNet immigration.

The foreign labor service directed its energies to introducing white alien laborers. Starting in July, 1916, it recruited Italians, several thousand Poles, Dutch, Montenegrins and Scandinavians, but especially Portuguese, Greeks and Spaniards. Many of these

¹B. Nogaró and L. Weill, *La main-d'oeuvre étrangère et colonial pendant la guerre* (1926).

presented themselves at the Spanish frontier and entered France to work in agriculture or industry. The total number of white laborers thus introduced is shown in Table 83 (page 227).¹

These statistics are incomplete. Those issued by the Alien Labor Service enumerated laborers only and excluded members of their families who did not seek employment.²

These statistics and the classification by sex of agricultural laborers brought in from 1915 to 1920³ together indicate that the number of immigrants who entered France, 1914-20, was at least 1,150,000 (220,000 of whom were colonial and Chinese laborers). The net immigration during the same period was about 600,000 persons, of whom 50,000 were Chinese and Colonials.

The war led to migratory movements between France and foreign countries other than those already mentioned. In August 1914, about 80,000 aliens from enemy or neutral countries departed and 100,000 French residing abroad returned to France. It has also been estimated that at a later period 100,000 aliens left France in order to serve in the Allied armies (60,000 in 1915 and 40,000 between 1916 and 1918).⁴

TABLE 84.

EFFECTIVES OF THE ALLIES AND GERMANS PRISONERS IN FRANCE
(In Thousands)

Date	British	Americans	Italians	Portuguese	Russians	Poles, Serbs, Czechoslovaks	German Prisoners
Aug. 1914	118	....	..	..	..	..	...
July 1915	560	....	..	..	..	..	?
July 1916	1,462	....	..	..	5	..	?
July 1917	1,850	20	..	..	5	..	?
Jan. 1918	1,830	176	50	35	5	..	?
July 1918	1,898	996	50	35	5	20	?
Nov. 1918	1,850	1,993	50	35	5	20	400 ^a

^aIn the hands of the French and Americans but not including German prisoners in the hands of the British.

¹*Bulletin du Ministère du Travail* (January, 1920); "La main-d'oeuvre agricole" (June 25, 1918 and February 25, 1920). B. Nogaro, "L'Introduction de la main-d'oeuvre étrangère pendant la guerre" (1920).

²Statistique générale, *Bulletin*, October 1921, p. 105.

³*Ibidem.*

⁴*Statistique du mouvement de la population en France, 1914-1919*, p. XVI.

On the other hand, the number of laborers from Allied countries and of German prisoners in France grew steadily from 1914 to 1918 (see Table 84).

France served also as a place of refuge for Alsatians and Lorrainers and for aliens, notably Belgians, Serbs and Montenegrins who had been driven out of their country at its invasion. The number of refugees in the 77 non-invaded departments varied as follows on the first of January in each of the years from 1915 to 1920.¹

	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Refugees (Thousands)	100	200	210	240	260	90

Among the 150,000 alien refugees who were receiving aid September 1, 1918, there were 144,000 Belgians and 6,000 aliens of other nationalities. Most of them were ultimately repatriated.

According to the statistics of the Ministry of Labor, the number of laborers brought in and repatriated by the Ministry of Labor and Agriculture from 1921 to 1926 was about as stated in Table 85.²

TABLE 85
LABORERS BROUGHT IN AND REPATRIATED, 1921-1926.
(In Thousands)

Laborers	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Introduced.....	80	193	274	265	176	162
Repatriated.....	63	50	60	48	54	49
Apparent Net Immigration:						
Aliens.....	17	143	214	217	122	113
Native Algerians ^a.....	..	...	22	14	-11	14

^aAccording to information furnished by the Governor-General of Algeria.

Between the censuses of 1921 and 1926, the net immigration of aliens appears to have been about 730,000. It does not include about 40,000 native Algerians who settled in France during the same period and, for reasons previously indicated, it is a minimum estimate of the aliens. A more accurate idea of the actual increase of foreigners can be obtained by adding to the increase of aliens between 1921 and 1926, naturalizations, re-instatements and fran-

¹*Statistique du mouvement de la population en France, 1914-1919*, p. XVI.

²Corrected figures *Bull. minist. travail*, July-September, 1926, p. 263; *Bull. Marché Travail*, Mar. 4, 1927.

cisations. The number of enumerated aliens increased by 948,000 and there were about 90,000 naturalizations, re-instatement and franchisements. A comparison of the census figures of 1921 and 1926 with the excess of births over deaths in the intervening period, shows a net immigration for the whole of France of 1,125,000 individuals during the period. Barring census errors there should have been then at least 87,000 franchisements (gallicizations).

If the net immigration in these five years was at least 1,125,000 persons, or about 225,000 per year, the statistics showing the balance between the laborers imported and those repatriated do not reveal more than 65 per cent of the net immigration. But the repatriations are less accurately known than the importations. Immigrant laborers, then, supplied about three-fourths of the total alien immigration into France. As far as the classification of immigrants by peoples is concerned, the statistics are certainly nearer to the truth in the case of aliens whose immigration is for the most part in groups, like the Poles, Czechoslovaks, Russian refugees and Serbs, than they are in the case of Belgians, Italians or Spaniards among whom individual immigration plays a great part.

As laborers are needed more and more in French agriculture the present seasonal immigration ought not to be less than that in the pre-war period. The number of 40,000 Belgian immigrants established by the 1904 inquiry may be taken as a minimum.

The statistics of the Alien Labor Service show the entry of 25,000 Spanish vintagers in 1922, of 16,000 in 1923 and 1924, and of 11,000 in 1925. To this seasonal immigration should be added aliens who live across the frontier and enter each day to work in French industrial plants. According to the census 14,500 Belgians were so situated in 1921.

Collective immigration is now well organized. Between January 1, 1921, and December 31, 1925, recruiting by the Coal Mining Committee and the General Immigration Society brought into France about 270,000 persons (145 000 men, 55 000 women, and 70 000 children). The immigrants were distributed among the different industries as follows: coal mines, 170,000; metalliferous mines and metallurgical industry, 25,000; agriculture, 70,000; other industries, 5,000.¹ Assuming that in all 1,500,000 alien centered, this recruiting furnished for the 5-year period about one-fifth of the total immigration.

¹A. Pairault, *L'immigration organisée en ... France* (1926).

The racial composition of alien immigration into France during the war was not the same as after the armistice.

During the war period Spaniards, Portuguese, Greeks, natives of North Africa and Asiatics, together with Belgian refugees, furnished the largest contingents. Italians had been mobilized for the armies or industrial plants at home. Immigration from Switzerland was much reduced; that from enemy countries was *nil*.

When the numbers of aliens of different peoples in 1911 and 1921 are compared, the impression left by the fragmentary statistics of alien immigration into France is confirmed. The German and Austrian colonies in France were considerably reduced in consequence of departures in 1914. The subjects of the Allied or neutral countries were more numerous than before the war. The largest increases were among the Spaniards (100 per cent); the Portuguese (700 per cent); the Greeks (900 per cent); and the Asiatics and French African subjects or *protégés* (1000 per cent).¹

The relative importance of the different peoples in the net immigration is made evident by the growth in the number of aliens of each different nationality between 1911 and 1921. Table 68 shows this growth.

TABLE 86

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF ALIENS, BY PEOPLES, 1911-21
(In Thousands and Per Cents)

Peoples	Increase 1911-1921	
	Number	Per cent
Belgian.....	58.6	16.3
British.....	6.8	1.9
Spaniard.....	148.8	41.6
Greek.....	9.8	2.7
Italian.....	11.3	3.2
Portuguese.....	9.5	2.7
Roumanian, Serb, Bulgars.....	7.0	2.0
Pole, Russian.....	34.5	9.6
Swiss.....	7.2	2.0
United States.....	3.8	1.1
African.....	34.2	9.5
Scandinavian.....	2.0	0.6
Asiatic.....	25.1	7.0
Total.....	358.6	100.0

¹Statistique Générale, *Bulletin January-March*, 1927, p. 213.

Spaniards, Belgians, Poles and Russians, Africans and Asiatics, contributed five-sixth of the increase; the Spaniards more than four-tenths and the Belgians 16 per cent.

For the period 1920-25, the laborers imported and repatriated have been classified by peoples.¹ The balance between them represents about 65 per cent of the net alien immigration into France. Probably the errors are about the same for the different nationalities. If so, the net alien immigration is apportioned between the races as presented in Table 87.

TABLE 87
IMMIGRANTS ESTABLISHED IN FRANCE, BY PEOPLES, 1920-25
(In Thousands and Per Cents)

Peoples	Number	Per Cent
Belgian.....	223	19.8
Spanish.....	180	16.0
Portuguese.....	6	0.5
Greek.....	1	0.1
Italian.....	325	28.9
Polish.....	222	19.8
Russian.....	15	1.3
Czechoslovak.....	25	2.2
Native Algerian.....	40	3.5
Others.....	88	7.9
Total.....	1,125	100.0

The Italians have furnished the most important contingent (nearly 30 per cent), then come Belgians and Poles (each about 20 per cent) and Spaniards (16 per cent), or more than five-sixths from these four countries. As before the war, the states bordering on France furnished most of the immigrants. But the current from Poland, Russia, and Czechoslovakia has greatly increased, as has that from North Africa (principally Kabyles and Moroccans.)

The variations in the numbers of laborers brought into France will be examined on the assumption that the causes of error already described were of the same relative importance in successive years. The net immigration fell from 181,000 in 1920 to only 17,000 in 1921. It rose to 143,000 in 1922, to 214,000 in 1923 and 217,000 in 1924, but dropped back to 122,000 in 1925 and to 113,000 in 1926. In the first half of 1927 repatriations accounted for 23,500

¹Ministère du Travail, *Bull.* July-Sept., 1926, p. 267 (corrected for Algerians.)

departures. These figures show the influence of the crises of 1921 and of 1927.

The importation of agricultural laborers diminished slightly in the crises of 1921 (63,000 in 1920; 54,000 in 1921; 71,000 in 1922), but much less than that of industrial laborers (131,000 in 1920; 26,000 in 1921; 123,000 in 1922). In the first quarter of 1927 aliens imported for agriculture (1,260) were fewer than those imported for industry (1,506). French agriculture needed more labor, but by temporarily stopping the importation of both types of aliens, France sought to avoid the fraudulent entry, in the guise of agricultural laborers, of wage-earners who would compete with French industrial laborers who were feeling the stress of unemployment.

In the period 1923-26, during which the statistics appear to be comparable, 30 per cent of the immigrants who passed through the control stations and employment bureaus were hired in agriculture. The remainder as shown in Table 88, entered trade, industry or

TABLE 88.

EMPLOYMENT OF ALIEN LABORERS BY OCCUPATION, 1923-26
(In Thousands and Per cents)

Occupation	Number	Per Cent
Coal Mines.....	82.9	7.9
Iron Mines.....	49.8	4.7
Building Construction.....	107.3	10.2
Digging.....	84.1	8.0
Metallurgy, Metals.....	60.1	5.7
Laborers.....	195.2	18.6
Agriculture.....	311.2	29.6
Miscellaneous.....	160.3	15.3
Total.....	1,050.9	100.0

domestic service. In this table the laborers are classified as they were placed. A large number broke their contracts in order to accept other places in the same industry or to enter other occupations. It is estimated that only 30 to 40 per cent of the workers placed in agriculture remained there.¹

At the present time (1927) the number of alien wage-earners in France, not including natives of North Africa, is about 1,000,000. The nationalities do not specialize in certain occupations. Still Italians abound in the building trades, in the construction of public

¹A. Pairault, *L'immigration organisée ... en France* (1926).

works, and in the hat industry; Poles in the coal mines; Belgians in the metallurgical and textile industries of the north; Spaniards in the chemical trade and in digging.

The distribution of immigrants is governed not only by their occupation but also by their place of origin. Immigrants from countries adjoining France are most numerous in the departments nearest their native country.¹ Poles are grouped especially in northern France and Paris.

The importance of these immigrants for French economy can be judged from their output. Sundry investigations have shown that the output varies with the nationality of the immigrant. In the coal mines, Belgians, Poles and Germans are the best workers, followed by Moroccans, Czechs and Italians. In the iron mines the order of decreasing output would be: Italians, Germans, Poles. In the building trades the Italians and the Czechs are most valuable. The results of two of the most important inquiries have been grouped in Table 89.² The first was made in 258 large metallurgical and metal works employing 60,000 aliens (47,000 were in plants

TABLE 89.
RESULTS OF INQUIRIES INTO OUTPUT EFFICIENCY, BY PEOPLES.

Peoples	First Inquiry (Metallurgical Works)		Second Inquiry (Automobile Factory)
	Percentage of Workers		Number of Points Obtained
	Good	Average or Inadequate	Maximum = 10
British	90	10	...
Belgians . . . . .	..	..	...
Luxemburgers	85	15	9
Italians	70	30	7.3
Poles	65	35	6.4
Spaniards	50	50	6.5
Portuguese	50	50	6.5
Russians	50	50	6.6
Czechs	40	60	6.7
North Africans	15	85	2.9
Swiss . . . . .	..	..	8.5
Armenians . . . . .	..	..	6.3
Chinese . . . . .	..	..	6.2
Greeks . . . . .	..	..	5.1
Miscellaneous	40	60	...

¹See France, *Census of 1921*, Vol. I, part 2.

²A. Pairault, *op. cit.*

having more than 100 workers); the second in an automobile factory with an aggregate of 17,000 workers, of whom 5,000 were aliens.

The results of the two inquiries are not identical but, generally speaking, the best elements seem to be the British, Swiss, Belgians and Italians; then come the Poles, Spaniards, Portuguese and Russians. The workers whose output was much the lowest were the Armenians, Greeks and North Africans. It is not a matter of indifference that the ethnical elements which are most numerous and most like the French, are also those whose industrial value is greatest.

Influence of Immigration on the Growth of the French Population

From the beginning of the nineteenth century the birth-rate in France has continued to decline at about the same rate, and there has been a corresponding fall in the excess of births over deaths. During the same period, however, industry has been transformed and developed. France, extending its colonial empire and increasing its foreign trade, needed a larger number of workers in spite of the progress of machinery. The workers whom she could no longer find on her own soil she sought abroad. As Table 90 shows, from 1861 to 1866 the population of France increased by 125,000 annually, from 1881 to 1886 by 110,000; and from 1901 to 1906 by only 60,000. In the growth of France's population, then, immigration has played a significant rôle.

TABLE 90.
AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE IN POPULATION, 1851-1926.
(In Thousands)

Period	Total	Due to Immigration	
		Number	Per Cent
1851-61	95	12	13
1861-66	125	26	20
1866-72	-80	20	?
1872-76	160	16	10
1876-81	150	34	23
1881-86	110	30	27
1886-91	25	20	80
1891-96	35	22	63
1896-1901	90	27	30
1901-06	60	26	43
1906-11	70	42	60
1911-21	-230	160	?
1921-26	305	225	74

The share of net immigration in the increase of population rose from 13 per cent in 1851-61 to 80 per cent in 1886-91. It fell to 30 per cent in 1896-1901, but since then it has grown steadily and in the interval between the last two censuses attained 74 per cent, an increase due largely to the loss of French population during the World War.