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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: Italian Migration Movements, 1876 to 1926

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Chapter URL: <http://www.nber.org/chapters/c5116>

Chapter pages in book: (p. 440 - 470)

CHAPTER XV

ITALIAN MIGRATION MOVEMENTS, 1876 TO 1926.¹

By

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In the middle of the nineteenth century no official body in any of the states into which Italy was then divided was concerned with making a regular statistical return of emigration. There are only a few fragmentary data scattered here and there in memoirs and publications of private scholars. Nevertheless, that there were currents of emigration of some importance is attested by Cesare Correnti in his statistical annual for the years 1857-1858, by Duval,² and by Carpi.³ The Italian census of 1861 likewise showed that in some foreign countries there were large Italian colonies (France 78,000; Germany 14,000; Switzerland 14,000; England 4,500; Alexandria 12,000; Tunis 6,000), and immigration statistics of the United States, Brazil, and Argentina indicated the arrival of Italian immigrants beginning with 1820, 1836, and 1857 respectively.

In 1869 Carpi began the regular collection of statistical data upon Italian emigration, by means of a questionnaire sent by the Ministry of the Interior to each prefecture. Continuing these investigations to 1876, he published the results with an ample commentary. This was the first systematic statistical examination of Italian emigration, and as it is based on copious materials and had a semi-official character, it is still accepted as a first attempt at a statistical determination.

In 1876, however, statistics upon Italian emigration began to be published regularly by two bodies, the Direzione Generale della Statistica from 1876 to 1920, and the Commissariato Generale dell' Emigrazione from 1902 to the present.⁴ They differ in the sources from which they derive their data, and in their methods of research and compilation.

¹[See *International Migrations*, Vol. I, pp. 122ff., 184, 194ff., 199ff., 202, 204ff., 230ff., 811-842.—Ed.]

²Jules Duval, *Histoire de l'émigration* (1862).

³Carpi, *Dell'Emigrazione Italiana all'Estero nei suoi rapporti coll'Agricoltura, coll'Industria e col Commercio* (1871).

⁴The *Annuario Statistica dell'Emigrazione Italiana dal 1876 al 1925*, has been used extensively for the present study.

A statistical survey of emigration is obtained with difficulty in a country like Italy, with over 2,300 miles of coast and numerous ports of embarkation, and more than 580 miles of land frontier traversed by many Alpine passes. Since it was impossible to enumerate emigrants on their way through many frontier posts, the Direzione Generale della Statistica took as a basis the communes' records of the "*nihil obstats*" granted by the local mayors as a prelude to the issue of passports by the State. Popular rumor also was used as a subsidiary source of information.

On the basis of these elements, Italian emigrants were classified as temporary or permanent. The first included persons who went abroad in search of work for a brief period; the second included persons who went for an indefinite time in search of a permanent new residence. Such a distinction, however, based on the intent of the emigrant when the "*nihil obstat*" was granted, could not always be made. As transportation became easier and cheaper, many emigrants who had departed with the intention of remaining abroad for years returned speedily and many who had gone abroad without intention of remaining found satisfactory conditions and prolonged their absence.

That such a distinction was arbitrary was shown by a survey in several prefectural, sub-prefectural, and municipal offices made toward the end of 1903. It revealed that some administrations treated all transoceanic emigration as permanent, while others treated it as temporary because in preceding years many such emigrants had returned.

Further, the data gave too large figures because the number of passports issued was always smaller than the number of "*nihil obstats*", some applicants having later given up their purpose, others having been refused a passport.

For these reasons from January 1, 1904, the distinction between temporary and permanent emigrants was changed to one between emigrants bound for European or Mediterranean countries and emigrants bound for transoceanic points. In addition the emigration statistics began to be compiled at quarterly intervals from the passport registers.

This new system likewise was soon criticized, and properly so. The passport states the intention of the applicant but it does not prove that he carried out his purpose. During the three years that

it remained valid the holder might use it for two or more journeys, while the statistics reported him only once. Then again, as the number of countries requiring a passport for entry decreased the number of persons expatriating themselves without a passport increased.

Accordingly after 1915 the Direzione Generale della Statistica compiled an individual record of each emigrant from the passport registers.

The Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione began the publication of its statistics about overseas emigration in 1902. It obtained summary data from the Commissariat records of the tax¹ which the Emigration Companies paid to the emigration fund for every emigrant transported. Beginning with 1915, the emigration inspectors reported the information in the lists of embarking emigrants and thus a rich and accurate source of data was established about the emigrant's sex, age, occupation, country of destination, and the like.

This material, however, omitted many persons who journeyed to foreign countries and thence embarked for overseas, especially for countries with which Italy had no direct communication; and many who travelled second class and therefore could not be considered legally emigrants, though they were so in fact. There were also persons who signed as sailors, cooks or stewards, and thus escaped the tax and did not appear as emigrants. The same may be said of persons who went beyond the Isthmus of Suez in groups of less than 50, thus falling outside the definition of emigrants and failing of inclusion in the Commissariato record. For these reasons the enumeration fell below the real figures. As a result when the legislative definition of an emigrant was modified, in 1920, new criteria were adopted for emigration statistics.

In Article 6 of the emigration law of January 31, 1901 emigrants had been defined as "citizens who, travelling in the third or equivalent class, journey to countries beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, exclusive of the coasts of Europe, or beyond the Suez Canal, provided that in the latter case their number be not less than 50." This definition was amplified in the emigration law of November 13, 1919

¹Law of January 31, 1901, Article No. 28.

in which an emigrant is thus defined: "Barring special provisions an emigrant is a citizen who leaves the country exclusively to perform manual labor or carry on petty business, or who goes to join his wife, parents, children, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, or relatives of the same degree who had already emigrated to perform manual labor, or a citizen who returns to a foreign country to which he had previously emigrated."¹

To Luigi Bodio, Director-General of Italian Statistics, belongs the credit of defining emigration in such definite terms that distinction can be made between periodic, or seasonal emigration, temporary emigration, and emigration for an indefinite term, according to the emigrant's residence abroad.

Thus, while before 1920 the Commissariato statistics referred only to overseas emigrants, from that year on they have included also those emigrants who journey to European countries and the Mediterranean littoral.

To eliminate the inconveniences arising from a number of bureaus charged with collecting statistics of emigration, the Direzione Generale della Statistica and the Commissariato Generale dell' Emigrazione agreed that from 1920 on emigration statistics should be compiled by the latter only. The basis of statistical computation was radically altered. The chief source of information is now the expatriation and repatriation foils on the emigrant's special passport, which are detached by frontier or port officials at the time of departure or return. These foils contain all the personal information about the emigrant, including the number of minors who accompany the passport holder and the country of destination. They are transmitted to the Commissariato Generale dell' Emigrazione.

Even under this new procedure the movement of expatriation can not be completely recorded because there is some clandestine emigration. Again, some emigrants leave the country several times during the period of validity of the passport (now reduced to one year); others hold special passports *a libretto*, which are not subject to classification. Finally, frontier passport inspection is not always rigid and some citizens, for exceptional reasons or merely from official sympathy, are permitted to leave the country with documents of identity differing from the special passport. All these causes of error affect the accuracy of the statistics, especially those of con-

¹[Compare Volume I, page 815.—Ed.]

tinental emigration, for which the Commissariato Generale publishes a so-called table of corrections.

In spite of all these sources of error, Italian emigration since 1921 has been recorded with greater precision than before. The data assembled by this method, while different from those previously obtained, are not so divergent as to modify the general results of studies based upon them.

The Direzione Generale della Statistica formerly included in all published emigration statistics brief notices of repatriations as indicated by the municipal registers of the resident population. The article providing for population registers requires citizens who have emigrated and returned, to inform the mayor of the commune in which they are taking up residence within a month of their arrival, and to be entered in the register. These registers are not kept in a regular manner. The Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, since 1902, has also been collecting information about the number, nationality and class of steamship passage of passengers from overseas who land in the ports of the kingdom. These records are based on the passenger lists given by the steamship captains to the emigration inspectors.

Such summary records were recognized to be insufficient for a thorough study of the repatriation movement. The Commissariato therefore determined to carry out a preliminary investigation of the repatriations from America in 1905 and 1906, and these investigations were continued until 1919. From 1920 on repatriations have been recorded from the foils on the passports. This system records repatriations, both continental and overseas, more exactly and completely. The passenger-lists are still kept as a subsidiary source of control.

ANALYSIS OF ITALIAN EMIGRATION.

In sketching the general lines of the exodus beyond the Italian frontier and to countries overseas the chief reliance has been the passport statistics,¹ supplementing them with other special compilations such as the statistics of the Commissariato Generale dell'Emi-

¹[See Volume I, pp. 815, 837ff.—Ed.]

grazione and the new systems of enumeration. The omissions and the duplications of the passport data largely offset each other, so that the figures furnish a close approximation to the truth and a reliable general view.

It must be noted, however, that the greater facility of travel today, with more direct communication, greater speed and safety, and lower prices, permits more frequent expatriation and repatriation within the brief period of validity of a passport, so that the statistical units now tabulated correspond somewhat less accurately than before to the real facts of the case and therefore the figures do not have identical values at different periods.

Carpi's statistics for 1869-76 are uncertain on account of their lacunæ and positive errors.¹

The movement from the first year of the official data, 1876, may be divided into four periods: 1876 to 1900, 1900 to 1914, 1914 to 1918, and 1919 to the present time.

During the first part of the first period, 1876-86, emigration, still disorganized and sporadic, remained fairly constant around an annual mean of 135,000 emigrants. But from 1887 on the annual number of emigrants rapidly increased to a maximum of 353,000 in 1900, and an average of 210,000 for the period 1876-1900.

After 1900 the exodus of Italian laborers became greater still until it reached a maximum of 873,000 in 1913 and a yearly average 1901-14 of 616,000. The war, the closing of some important countries to immigrants, the risks of navigation, the prohibition upon expatriation in the case of those liable to military service, and the great domestic demand for labor brought an immediate reduction to 479,000 in 1914 and 28,000 in 1918.

With the armistice came an increased demand for labor abroad for reconstruction and replacement, and the number of emigrants rose to 253,000 in 1919, and 615,000 in 1920. The economic crisis of 1921 was marked by a decrease of more than one-fifth, to be followed for three years by larger figures and then another fall due to the rigid immigration restrictions imposed by many countries.

One can better appreciate the importance of emigration to Italy when the absolute figures are converted into percentages of

¹[Volume I, pp. 814 and 817ff.—Ed.]

the population. From 360 emigrants per 100,000 population in the period 1876-78, the proportion rose to more than 2,000 emigrants per 100,000 in 1913. The war reduced the ratio to a minimum of 80 per 100,000 in 1918, but after the war it rose suddenly to 1,200 per 100,000. The difficult re-adjustments of the post-war period, and the restrictions on immigration imposed by trans-oceanic countries, reduced it to an average of 1,000 per 100,000.

Between 1876 and 1886 it was only from the north of Italy that currents of emigration moved direct to other European countries. Gradually, however, emigration from the southern districts became organized and assumed the characteristics of a mass phenomenon. This accompanied the rise of large-scale Italian industry, submerging the class of independent artisans and giving an impulse to expatriation. America also increased her demand for labor.

With the opening of the twentieth century the exodus became widespread and intense. The market for Italian labor extended beyond the confines of the country, and it flowed into the other

TABLE 187.
RATE OF ITALIAN EMIGRATION BY INDIVIDUAL DISTRICTS

District	Average Annual Number of Emigrants per 100,000 Inhabitants			Proportion of Emigrants 1921-25, per 100 Emigrants in 1876
	1876	1911-14	1921-25	
Marches.....	11	2,158	882	8,018
Sardinia.....	4	935	299	7,475
Abbruzzi and Molise.....	2	2,857	950	3,393
Apulia.....	23	1,256	392	1,704
Calabria.....	73	2,778	1,221	1,673
Sicily.....	45	2,270	648	1,440
Umbria.....	54	1,910	507	939
Latium.....	27	1,181	190	704
Basilicata.....	211	2,510	1,038	492
Campania.....	112	1,811	530	473
Emilia.....	157	1,197	453	289
Tuscany.....	298	1,395	598	201
Venetia.....	1,247	3,111	1,587	127
Liguria.....	408	638	515	126
Piedmont.....	1,046	1,794	1,272	122
Lombardy.....	588	1,473	665	113
<i>Kingdom</i>	392	1,854	773	197

European and overseas markets. In the first period northern Italy provided more than two-thirds, central Italy little more than one-tenth, and southern and insular Italy two-tenths of the Italian emigration. From 1897 to 1900 the share of northern Italy diminished and that of southern Italy increased, but Venetia retained the greatest emigration rate. In the third period the proportion between northern and southern Italy was definitely inverted in favor of the latter.

The development of emigration in the various regions of Italy is expressed by the emigration rate or the rate of emigration to the population. In Table 187 (p. 446) the initial data are compared with the mean for the four-year period before the World War and that of the five-year period 1921-1925. The figures for the abnormal war years and the chaotic years immediately following are omitted.¹

In the earlier period only the more progressive regions, with a numerous population, had large rates of emigration. In the other regions, especially those of the south and the islands, the motives making for a smaller emigration rate were the traditional love of country and home, the fear of a new life, the conditions of moral and political inferiority in which the old separatist regimes had kept the people, the greater stability of populations unused to the intensive labor developed in the north, the less urgent economic necessity of a life almost exclusively agricultural and patriarchal.

Slowly, however, demographic, economic, and psychological factors modified this state of affairs. The greater increase of population in the south, the influence of free-trade within the new kingdom and the unification policies that transformed the south into an exploited colony of the north, the effect of the new customs tariff of 1887 which strengthened the protection of industry while sacrificing agrarian products; the augmented needs of the country folk and their frequent contact with more highly developed populations; all these causes intensified emigration from the agricultural regions, while the industrial regions succeeded in absorbing an increasing share of the local labor. Through the psychological repercussion of southern emigration the rate in central Italy also rose but did not reach as high a point as elsewhere because of the better equilibrium there between the principal elements composing the local economy.

¹The data for the population of the various regions of Italy in 1926 had not been published in 1927.

Table 187 (p.446) shows that the greatest increase in the emigration rate was in regions prevailingly agricultural and with a sparse population. It likewise shows the falsity of the prevalent opinion that there is a direct relation between emigration and density; in fact no such relation appears and in many cases the reverse relation is found.

The change in the territorial distribution of emigration naturally was reflected in the direction of the currents. Each region has its preferred countries of destination. Emigrants from the north of Italy go in general to the neighboring countries of Europe, while agriculturists from the south prefer the lands beyond the ocean. In fact, only Argentina and Brazil receive any noteworthy percentage of emigrants from Piedmont and Venetia, while the labor flooding into the United States and Canada is chiefly from Sicily, Campania, the Abruzzi, and Calabria.

With the increasing contingents from the southern provinces, the original relation between emigration to Europe and emigration overseas was bound to change. Indeed, the emigration to Europe and northern Africa dropped from a maximum of 82 per cent of the total in 1876 to 36 per cent in 1913. The ratio rose again during the war period on account of the great difficulties of navigation, reaching 86 per cent in 1918, and on account of the urgent demands of the American market descended anew with the armistice to 33

TABLE 188.

EUROPEAN DESTINATIONS OF ITALIAN EMIGRATION
(Per 100 emigrants from the entire Kingdom)

Years	Western Europe	Central Europe	Other European Countries
1876	32.1	44.8	2.4
1890	13.9	29.5	2.7
1900	11.6	36.7	3.0
1914	15.4	33.0	2.0
1925	53.9	6.5	0.9
1926	44.1	6.1	0.7

per cent in 1920.¹ It then rose again, though less markedly, on account of the many causes limiting the influx of Italian labor into overseas countries, to 64 per cent in 1925, and 54 per cent in 1926.

On more detailed analysis of the emigration to Europe, it appears that Central and Western Europe has always absorbed the greater portion of the continental emigration, as is shown by Table 188 (p. 448). Among the countries of Central Europe the former Central Powers received, before the war, the greatest proportion, about 28 per cent of the total. The war period brought this per cent down to 1.6 and correspondingly increased the Italian emigration into France, which alone absorbed more than 50 per cent. The actual average annual emigration was (in thousands):

Periods	To France	To former Central Powers	To Switzerland
1876-1913	42	67	33
1919-26	128	5	14

The percentage of emigrants to Asia (chiefly Asia Minor) and to Australia is almost negligible. More important, though still small in numbers (rarely in this century surpassing 10,000 a year), is the current to Africa (Algeria and Tunis) whither sentimental reasons and climatic affinity invite Italian, especially Sardinian and Sicilian emigrants.

Most noteworthy, on the contrary, is the emigration to the Americas, which absorbed the great majority of Italian emigrants between 1876 and 1926. During this period the total emigration from Italy was (in thousands):

8,980 to the Americas
7,559 to Europe
301 to Africa
42 to Oceania
13 to Asia

Italian emigration to America (chiefly to the United States) up to 1914 passed through three phases. From 1876 to 1890 the prevailing current set toward Argentina; then, until 1897, Argen-

¹[See Volume I, pages 828-831, Table XI.—Ed.]

tina and Brazil were almost equally favored by the emigrants; while from 1898 to 1914 the current set definitely toward the United States.

The preference for these three countries may be explained as follows: In Argentina one-fifth of the total population is Italian in birth or descent, a degree of saturation which it would be difficult to exceed. The same phenomenon in Brazil is accentuated by the concentration of the Italian emigrants in the coastal states, where they compose one-fourth of the white population. The resumption of Italian emigration to Brazil depends probably upon organizing a strong Italian movement toward the rich untouched regions of the interior. In the United States, on the other hand, the Italian-born, though constituting the second largest foreign element, represent less than 1.7 per cent of the white population and about 1.5 per cent of the total population. In addition, the industrial system of North America allures Italian labor by a facility of employment and a scale of payment more attractive than those offered by the agricultural regions of South America, where long and patient labor is required of the farmer and where wages, at least money wages, are on a lower level. Hence the increased movement to the United States and that country's post-war rank as the chief outlet for Italian emigration. (In the two years 1919 and 1920, there were 432,000 expatriates to the United States against 50,000 to Argentina and 16,000 to Brazil.) This emigration continued until legislative restrictions checked that current and forced the emigrants to seek anew the South American fields.

Today the emigrants are going chiefly to Argentina (387,000 from 1921 to 1926, against 281,000 direct to the United States, and 60,000 direct to Brazil) where the possibility of steady work offered by that agricultural country is attractive and where immigration is not limited by drastic legislation.

The problem of outlets for Italian emigration has become complex and difficult. The countries of the world may be grouped into five categories: (1) European countries not offering legal obstacles to immigrants but not attractive to them on account of the continuing post-war crisis and the plethora in the labor market (Germany, Austria, Hungary, England, Russia, Rumania, Albania) (2) overseas countries which do not present secure and advantageous labor conditions (Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, Vene

zuela, Ecuador); (3) overseas countries where only colonizing emigrants well provided with capital could settle to advantage (Brazil, Peru, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay); (4) Overseas countries which have placed severe restrictions on foreign immigration (United States, Canada, Australia); (5) countries promising remunerative employment (France, Switzerland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Argentina and, to some degree, the United States).

Hence we have an artificial reduction of Italian emigration; Italy, in addition to its rapid progress in intensive agriculture, should be able to develop industrially because its sons are kept at home more than its economic condition and the lack of raw materials make desirable.

In the whole kingdom, the emigrants have always been predominantly male. The proportion of males, which Carpi's statistics (1869-76) gave as 91 and 92 per cent, varies in the period under examination between 87.5 in 1876 and 55.3 in 1918. In only one year, 1917, did the males make less than half of the emigration.

On an average, the ratio before the war was about 80 males to 20 females. After 1914 the summons to arms reduced the males, but even after the return of peace males did not reach the high percentages of preceding years. They rose to an average of only about 72 per cent, a consequence of the war which took the lives of more than 600,000 able-bodied men and made many others invalids or unfit for the laborious and uncertain life of an emigrant.

The proportion of emigrants under 15 years of age has always been small; on the average, it does not exceed 12 per cent. During the war the increase in the percentage of females was accompanied by a rise in the ratio of minors to a maximum of 19.8 per cent in 1916, but it fell again in the post-war period to the normal mean.

The actual volume of the emigration movement for each of the three categories, males, females, and minors, taking as a basis the emigration quota of 1876 (index number) shows the males steadily increased until 1906, from 100 to 675; between 1906 and 1914 the increases and diminutions alternate, with a maximum of 746 in 1913. During the war there was a drop below the index number, and in the following years, although the ratio rose again, it remained at little more than double the original quota.

The index numbers of women and minors are more variable. The first rose in leaps to 590 as early as 1888, and tended upward with frequent alternations of pauses and increases. (The index number was 1069 in 1906 and 1194 in 1913). This ratio also decreased during and immediately after the war, but to a less extent than that for males. It reached, in 1920, its maximum of 1298, and again fell, varying between 5 and 7 times the basic number. The course of the index of minors under 15 years is almost exactly parallel with that of the women except in recent years. In these, especially in 1920, the ratio runs somewhat lower.

The reasons for the increased proportion of females among the emigrants are entirely psychological. At the start, emigration was preponderantly male because of the unknown conditions confronting the laborer. From 1876 to 1886, the females were less than 20 per cent. Hardly had women begun to accustom themselves to the idea of expatriation when new obstacles were interposed with the flood of overseas emigration, and the percentage of females, which had hovered about 20 per cent from 1887 to 1898, again diminished. After the war, however, a new impulse was given to female emigration by the changed conception of life, of danger, and of human needs, by the greater hardihood and initiative imposed on women as well as men, and especially by the departure of men repatriated for military service who had established the possibility of work outside the fatherland and wished to take their families back with them. This new impulse was contemporaneous with the check in male emigration arising after the war. In 1919-26, therefore, female emigrants increased to about 30 per cent of the total.

The ratio of males to females is not the same in all portions of Italy. Piedmont, Liguria, the Marches, Campania, Basilicata, and Sicily, during the greater part of the period under examination, had a percentage of female emigrants above the average. The opposite was true, in general, of Lombardy, Venetia, Tuscany, Umbria, Latium, Abruzzi and Molise, Apulia, Calabria, and Sardinia. The per cent of minors agrees roughly with that of females except in Apulia where it is more like that of the males.

If attention be confined to the transoceanic emigration, it appears that the proportion of females in those currents alone is slightly higher than in the total. For the most part, there is no correlation between the increase in the per cent of females and

that of minors. If we consider only the period 1916-26,¹ the general ratio of the two sexes for all emigrants was 47 per cent females for 1916-18, 34 per cent for 1919-21, and 24 per cent for the period 1922-26. This ratio varies considerably from district to district during the several periods examined, as Table 189 shows.

TABLE 189.

MEAN PER CENT OF FEMALES AMONG EMIGRANTS FROM VARIOUS DISTRICTS, 1916-26

District	1916-18	1919-21	1922-26
Piedmont.....	56.9	33.2	29.2
Liguria.....	40.1	25.0	28.0
Lombardy.....	51.8	32.7	25.7
Venetia.....	56.0	33.7	26.5
Emilia.....	57.4	40.1	29.3
Tuscany.....	55.7	33.4	27.9
Marches.....	55.9	38.6	36.9
Umbria.....	53.4	31.7	26.7
Latium.....	41.8	27.6	21.5
Abruzzi and Molise.....	35.0	31.4	18.0
Campania.....	50.4	34.5	24.8
Apulia.....	44.2	32.9	20.3
Basilicata.....	50.5	38.3	23.0
Calabria.....	38.5	27.9	18.8
Sicily.....	55.7	40.3	26.3
Sardinia.....	25.7	16.8	9.9

On classifying the overseas emigrants according to sex and age, distinguishing the dependent and independent ages, we obtain the figures given in Table 190 (p. 454).

Except for the two years 1917 and 1918, the great majority in each year is composed of male and female emigrants of working age. The figures for emigrants "over 56 or of age unknown" are smaller; those under 16 emigrated for the most part in family groups.

For the most part, emigrants prefer to go abroad alone. The family ties that bind them to the mother country form the chief

¹That is, from the year in which Inspectors of Emigration filled out special forms with the information contained in the lists of embarking emigrants.

MIGRATION INTERPRETATIONS

TABLE 190.

OVERSEAS EMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO WORKING CAPACITY AND SEX, 1916-26.

Year	Up to 15 years.		Between 16 and 55		56 and over or age not known	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1916	7,606	6,618	19,519	14,959	1,144	695
1917	1,597	1,649	1,391	3,916	229	184
1918	380	396	312	771	76	43
1919	7,403	7,125	24,704	15,701	911	1,041
1920	16,776	14,523	109,710	42,188	2,819	2,613
1921	18,499	15,937	104,665	47,958	4,257	3,924
1922	10,612	8,856	80,760	23,637	2,494	1,627
1923	13,724	10,913	130,416	25,445	3,043	1,565
1924	13,885	11,382	81,654	25,054	2,720	1,356
1925	9,724	7,782	70,759	19,756	3,183	1,604
1926	10,638	8,227	82,329	20,311	3,362	1,628

reason for repatriation, and the remittances from Italians abroad are an important element in the balance of international payments.

Those who leave in family groups do not, as a rule, exceed one-fourth; in only a few years (1888, 1891, 1895, 1897) have they reached approximately 45 per cent of the total. Single emigrants, on the contrary, have always reached high percentages, especially during periods with a high rate of emigration as shown below:

Percentage of Single Emigrants (average)

1889-91	64.4 of total emigrants
1911-13	79.2 of total emigrants
1922-26	80.3 of total emigrants.

In the north the tendency to depart alone is stronger; this is related to the European destination of most northern emigrants and the temporary character of their exodus. In the south, on the contrary, the tendency is to take the family; this fact, in conjunction with the special psychology of the southern populations and the prevailing overseas destination of the emigrants, explains the long duration of their stay abroad.¹

¹An examination of overseas emigration alone would lead to different conclusions; but for this particular study the passport data are more worthy of attention.

The progressive diminution in the number of agricultural laborers, and the constantly increasing number of industrial laborers who emigrate, were indicated in Carpi's statistics for 1869-76. This is the fundamental characteristic of the occupational composition of Italian emigration.

Agricultural workers, shepherds, gardeners, and others engaged in country tasks exceeded 40 per cent of the emigrants before 1903, but between 1904 and 1913 diminished to an average of about 32 per cent. The war and post-war periods further accentuated the decrease. Likewise, from 1914 to 1920 the proportion of manual and day laborers decreased, as did that of workers in the building trades, while that of skilled workers and artisans greatly increased. The proportion of domestic workers and those without an occupation showed a noticeable tendency to rise (from 4.6 per cent in 1914 to 26.6 per cent in 1918, only to fall to 13 per cent in 1920). This is due, no doubt, to the increase in female emigrants, especially from the southern provinces.

In sum, the figures for the period 1878-1920 and the passport data for the following years show the percentages (by sex) in the principal classes of occupations as given in Table 191 (p. 456).

A comparison between the post-war and the pre-war periods shows a decrease in farm laborers and a more marked decrease in general laborers and "navvies" (column 4), while the proportion of skilled laborers and building-trade laborers in general increases.

As for the countries of destination Table 192 (p. 457) shows that the two nations in Europe which chiefly imported Italian labor in the post-war period changed markedly between 1915 and 1926. Among the emigrants to France, where the necessity for the reconstruction of the devastated areas and the inadequacy of the local labor supply favored immigration, there was a considerable increase in all classes of occupations except trade and transportation. Among the emigrants to Switzerland, on the contrary, there was a great decrease in all classes of occupation except the building trades. Among those going to overseas countries—the United States, Argentina and Brazil were the principal outlets for emigration—there was a great increase in every class in 1920 compared with 1915, but in 1926 the situation was different. To the United States, except for slight recent increases in some groups, the various classes of emigrants

TABLE 191.

EMIGRANTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONS (BY SEX), 1878-1926.
(In Per Cents)

Year	All Occupations	Farm Laborers	Building-trade Laborers	Miners, Forest Laborers, etc.	Skilled Laborers	Commercial Laborers	Liberal and artistic professions	Domestic Servants	Household duties or Occupation unknown
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
					<i>Males</i>				
1878	100.0	38.7	16.9	19.1	13.4	6.0	1.6	1.4	0.8
1888	100.0	56.8	9.6	19.1	6.0	2.2	0.8	0.6	0.4
1898	100.0	38.5	18.7	28.4	7.8	2.7	1.1	0.5	0.3
1913	100.0	34.0	14.4	31.2	12.6	3.5	0.8	0.9	1.0
1920	100.0	29.3	13.4	24.0	23.3	7.7	0.7	0.2	0.9
1921	100.0	37.2	11.3	14.8	18.5	6.1	0.8	0.2	9.2
1925	100.0	30.7	20.2	16.8	23.0	5.9	0.8	0.3	0.9
1926	100.0	34.8	17.1	18.8	20.0	5.5	1.7	0.3	1.8
					<i>Females</i>				
1878	100.0	55.6	0.6	8.6	13.0	4.0	2.2	6.1	3.9
1888	100.0	72.5	1.3	10.9	5.5	1.5	0.7	2.9	1.5
1898	100.0	58.0	1.5	14.7	7.5	2.1	1.5	4.7	2.6
1913	100.0	26.8	0.8	13.6	16.2	2.1	0.9	10.5	26.9
1920	100.0	18.7	0.01	7.8	22.0	0.7	0.5	3.1	46.8
1921	100.0	21.1	0.1	5.1	13.3	0.9	0.4	3.1	54.3
1925	100.0	12.2	2.4	9.6	0.5	0.5	5.3	67.9
1926	100.0	11.4	1.9	9.6	0.5	1.4	5.4	62.9

show more or less marked decreases due to restrictive legislation. To Brazil and especially to Argentina, however, very great percentage increases have occurred.

From the examination of the figures for the various provinces of Italy (excluding the annexed territory) the facts are in general harmony with those for the whole kingdom. First, the general decrease of emigration, especially for overseas countries, has reduced the percentage decrease in the exodus to continental countries, so that some regions and some categories may still show an increase of emigrants. Second, the general diminution has particularly affected the categories of farm-laborers, of building-trade laborers and unskilled laborers, while the two more specialized groups, skilled workers and those engaged in trade, everywhere present smaller percentage decreases.

TABLE 192.

VARIATIONS IN PER CENT OF CERTAIN ITALIAN EMIGRANT CATEGORIES, BY DESTINATIONS, 1915-26.

Country of Destination	Farm Laborers	Building-trade Laborers	General unskilled Laborers	Skilled Laborers	Engaged in trade
France.....	+432.3	+479.7	+126.0	+115.5	-44.5
Switzerland.....	-19.1	+4.7	-68.4	-82.9	-86.0
United States.....	-17.3	+78.3	+11.2	-22.4	+40.9
Argentina.....	+1015.2	+1237.8	+793.8	+603.2	+162.1
Brazil.....	+612.3	+268.7	+165.2	+155.7	+ 52.0

As regards overseas emigration the greater portion of the farm laborers are supplied by the five southern provinces, and by Tuscany, the Marches, Calabria, Sicily, and Sardinia. The categories of unskilled and of building-trades laborers are filled chiefly from the northern provinces (with the exception of Emilia), together with Tuscany, Umbria, Campania, Basilicata, Calabria, and Sardinia, all of whose contingents exceed the general average for the kingdom. Liguria, Venetia, and Tuscany are the three provinces which furnish the greatest quantity of skilled labor; while those engaged in trade come especially from Liguria, Venetia, the Marches, Latium, Campania, Apulia, Calabria, and Sardinia.

SUPPLEMENTARY EXAMINATIONS.

The statistics assembled by the Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione since 1902 give information concerning the principal ports of embarkation and of destination, the periods of embarkation, and the relative numbers of first and second class passengers and emigrants.

The Italian ports have always been preferred by Italians, and emigrants for overseas countries via foreign ports have never been numerous. In the period 1902-10 the number varied between 11,000 and 22,000; and in the period 1911-20, except for the war years when there are no data, it continued at about the same rate.

After 1921—when the port of Trieste came under the Italian flag and the activity of the Italian merchant marine increased—the number of Italian emigrants who embarked at foreign ports de-

creased still more. From 1921 to 1926 they averaged 1865 annually. The leader among Italian ports, up to 1921, was Naples, closely followed by Genoa with Palermo lagging a considerable distance behind. Since then Genoa has led, followed by Naples, Palermo, and Trieste.

Among the ports of destination in the United States, New York leads, far out-distancing Boston, while Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Providence receive Italians but intermittently. Of the ports on the River Plate, Buenos Ayres leads, followed by Montevideo; among Brazilian ports Santos and Rio de Janeiro. For Africa the principal port is Dakar in Senegal. New York was the leading transoceanic port until 1922 when first place was taken by Buenos Ayres.

The months of embarkation of Italian emigrants show great variations in different periods. In 1902-07 the maximum number of departures were between March and May and in October; during 1908-21 the numbers though very irregular were largest in March, April, October, November and May; since 1921 the maxima generally have fallen in October, November, September and August. There is an evident shift in the months of embarkation, probably due to the decreasing number of emigrants engaged in agriculture and to the increased exodus of artisans and skilled laborers, for whom winter is the least favorable period at home.

A more detailed examination shows that the emigrants bound for the United States leave mostly in March, April, and May, whereas the greatest influx into Brazil is in the months of the northern winter and the period of greatest embarkation for the River Plate area is the October-December quarter.

Finally, those who left via foreign ports, both in the 1902-13 period and after the war preferred the months of the northern spring, March, April, and May; it is only of late years that a shift in favor of the third quarter has become pronounced.

While before 1920 to travel in the first or second class sufficed to prevent one's registration as an emigrant, after that year travelers in those classes were registered more accurately (see page 442f.) and many were considered emigrants though travelling in the cabin.¹ This explains the variation between the number of cabin passengers before and after 1920.

¹Royal Decree of Nov. 5, 1919, No. 2,205, Article 10.

The percentages of cabin passengers in the total leaving for overseas in certain years are given in Table 193.

TABLE 193.

PER CENT OF CABIN PASSENGERS AMONG TOTAL OVERSEAS ITALIAN TRAVELLERS.

1902	2.9	1919	18.7
1908	9.0	1925	8.9
1913	8.9	1926	10.1

The percentage of Italians in 1913 among cabin passengers was 56.1; it rose steadily to a maximum of 84.0 in 1922, and then fell to 61.2 in 1925 and 63.1 in 1926.

Italian Emigration to Southwestern France.

It is worth while here to consider a phenomenon characteristic of the post-war years, viz., the increasing volume of emigration from northern Italy (particularly Venetia) to southwestern France. This movement comprised (in thousands):

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>
1922,	109
1923,	183
1924,	225
1925,	175

These were farm-laborers most of them with their families, who left Italy to cultivate and especially to acquire abandoned lands in southern France.

This is a special emigration phenomenon and also a social phenomenon, for this shift of men and capital from one country to another also involved a shift of individuals from a lower to a higher social class. It is not a simple influx of labor but a current of Italian farm-laborers attracted by the low prices of French land and urged by the desire to rise from the status of hired laborers and tenants to that of farm-owners. They may sell their little Italian farms and change their residence permanently. It is similar to the movements of population in earlier times, and to more recent colonization,

except that it is not a move to a new land, but to one of the oldest European nations in which certain areas of the countryside have been gradually depopulated and abandoned.

The hectare of such French land had fallen in value to perhaps 300 francs, but by 1924 it had risen to 800 francs. France is inclined to favor the movement and to facilitate the fusion between the old and the new inhabitants of these regions, especially in the hope of being able to assimilate this fruitful, ethnic element. Joseph Barthelemy, addressing the Société d'Économie Politique of Paris in 1924, said that the Italians satisfied all who employed them and at that time were cultivating 20,000 hectares (50,000 acres) of French land. We must recognize this shift as an expatriation which takes man-power and capital from Italy without promising her any definite future advantage.

Total Italian Population Abroad

The data concerning Italians outside of Italy have at best only an approximate value.

In addition to the errors usual in censuses, the statistics omit all who are legal citizens, by birth or naturalization, of the state in which they reside, but Italians by origin. Many Italians also continually shift their residence from one state to another by reason of labor conditions, and therefore escape record. On the basis of available data the Italians abroad at the end of each of the years given were as in Table 194 (p. 461). There was thus an increase of 3,287 per cent in 55 years.

More than two-thirds of the Italian population outside of Italy has been absorbed by North and South America, with increases of 8,818 per cent in 55 years. The Italian element has reached its greatest proportions in the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. Of these the United States has the greatest number, and Brazil the greatest rate of increase.

Europe follows America, with an increase of 810 per cent (155,000 in 1871 to 1,268,000 in 1926). Among the European countries France leads with an Italian population now numbering one million, while before the war it was below 450,000. Second place is held by Switzerland (136,000 in 1926). The number of Italians resident in the Central Powers decreased considerably on account of

TABLE 194.

ITALIANS RESIDING ABROAD FOR SPECIFIED YEARS, 1871-1926.

(In Thousands)

Year	Number
1871	271
1881	1,033
1891	1,985
1901	3,611
1911	5,805
1924	9,012
1926	9,169

the war (192,000 in 1911 to 41,000 in 1926). England, Serbia (which has the greatest rate of increase), Rumania, and Belgium follow in the order given.

Many Italians also reside in Africa (189,000 in 1926). Most of them are in the Mediterranean zone, especially in Tunis (97,000), Egypt (49,000), Algeria (29,000), and Morocco (10,000).

Italian emigration to Asia is not recorded in a reliable manner. Palestine, Syria, Asiatic Russia, and the Dutch East Indies have shown the most considerable increases. Finally, the Italians scattered through Oceania, though displaying a marked and progressive increase, are still too few in number to have statistical importance. In 1926 the Italians in Australia numbered 27,000. The largest groups are found in West Australia, New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland.

REPATRIATION OF ITALIANS

To weigh even approximately the real effect of emigration on the population of Italy, it is necessary to consider repatriations from the various countries visited in search of work, and those parts of Italy to which the repatriates have returned. Such a study was begun in 1905-06 by the Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, but it deals only with repatriations from overseas. The repatria-

tions from continental countries have been reported only since 1921. For this reason and because of the temporary character of emigration to European countries, especially those nearest the Italian frontiers, it is proper to consider the two classes of data separately. Little can be said about European repatriates owing to the short period under examination. One may, however, deduce from the few figures available their increasing influx (from 30,000 in 1921 to 122,000 in 1925, and 106,000 in 1926), and the predominance among them of males and of adults. The study of repatriations from overseas is more complex.

The general curve of repatriations follows, approximately, that of expatriations. From the countries to which the flow of emigration was greatest the return current is likewise greatest. The United States leads in this respect (see Table 195, below), being followed at a distance by the countries of the River Plate, Brazil, and other overseas districts. In 1908 and in 1919 over 80 per cent of the repatriates came from North America.¹

TABLE 195.

PROPORTION OF REPATRIATES FROM THE RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION.

(Per Cent of all repatriates).

Years	United States	LaPlata	Brazil	Central America	Australia	Other overseas countries
1902	49.7	21.6	27.9	0.6	0.2	0.0
1908	80.1	14.7	4.9	0.4	0.0	0.0
1914	68.5	22.1	5.9	0.4	0.2	2.9
1919	85.6	8.5	2.4	0.1	0.0	3.4
1925	58.8	31.6	6.9	0.3	1.1	1.3
1926	55.3	34.9	6.0	0.9	1.6	1.4

When the Italian emigration to Brazil and Argentina had reached its natural limits for the time being the flow of emigrants to the United States was intensified, for the United States was less well supplied with Italian population and was more attractive by reason of the current opinion that it afforded ready employment for capital and labor. But the greater density of population there

¹[See Volume I, p. 838ff. Tables XX, XXI.—Ed.]

(average density 36 to a square mile, or four times as great as that in Argentina or Brazil) as well as the legislation restricting immigration had a share in restraining this current of labor.

There was no such sharp check upon immigration into the South American countries with their predominantly agricultural economy. Emigrants went to Brazil and Argentina in less imposing but more sure and stable proportions than they did to North America; and the proportion of repatriates to resident Italians has been considerably greater for the United States than for Brazil or the La Plata countries. Of these latter countries Brazil has the greatest number of repatriations, on account of the greater political saturation of the Italians in its seaboard states which alone are now open to Italian labor.

Concerning Italian districts selected by returning repatriates, those who went out to agricultural regions tend to select northern Italy while southern Italy is preferred by those who went out to industrial zones. From Brazil, in fact, the repatriates come back mostly to Venetia, Tuscany, Campania, and Calabria, and those returning from Argentina to Piedmont, Calabria, and Sicily. From the United States, however, the movement is chiefly to Abruzzi-Molise, Campania, Calabria, and Sicily; this most probably corresponds to the limited variety of occupations of emigrants from these regions, and therefore to their slight possibility of adaptation to the conditions in industrial countries.

To study in its entirety the double phenomenon of expatriation and repatriation one must compare the number of repatriations with the number of emigrants as done in Table 196. Altogether

TABLE 196.

REPATRIATES PER 100 EMIGRANTS TO EACH COUNTRY.

Country of Departure	1902-14	1915-18	1919-26
United States.....	59.6	157.8	64.1
La Plata Countries.....	56.6	751.2	30.2
Brazil.....	118.3	379.2	39.6
Other overseas countries.....	128.0	420.9	27.2
Total.....	62.1	233.6	48.3

in the 26 years under survey, there was an average annual excess of 45,712 expatriated, while the increase in the national population continued and swelled so that the gaps were more than filled.

Of the 1,800,000 emigrants who remained overseas (the difference between the approximately 5 million who left and the 3 million repatriated) it is evident that the majority remained in Argentina and Uruguay. The large number of repatriates during the war is noteworthy; the majority were men liable for military service. For the period from May 24, 1915, when Italy entered the war, to December 31, 1918, the statistics show separately the number returning to satisfy their military obligations, both from continental and transoceanic countries. These total 303,919 men (to whom should be added those repatriated between August 1914, and May 24, 1915), as compared with 130,526 males over 16 years of age who departed in the same years. This repatriation figure is very high, especially in view of the considerable number excused from military service or enrolled in Allied armies, notably that of the United States.

The repatriation statistics by sex and age show that males and adults are always in excess. Before the war the males were about 85 per cent. During the war this figure increased to 92 per cent in 1917, and after the war dropped sharply to 75 per cent in 1922 and 74 per cent in 1926. The minors under 10 years remain constantly below 18 per cent.

While among the repatriates from the United States the single emigrant markedly prevails, with a constant tendency towards percentage decrease, the repatriation of single emigrants from Brazil and Argentina is constantly increasing. All the countries under examination are probably tending toward a stabilization on a basis of about 70 per cent single and 30 per cent in family groups among the repatriates.

Only from 1916 on do the statistics offer us data on the occupations of repatriates. From the United States there is a high repatriation percentage of male skilled laborers or artisans (13.0 in 1916 and 40.5 in 1926); while there is a reduction in the proportion of repatriated farm laborers (25.5 and 9.7 in the same two years), general laborers and building-trades laborers (49.8 and 36.5). The repatriated females are mostly household workers and without gainful occupation. Repatriations from Brazil and Argentina are

more evenly divided between the categories just mentioned and the others, yet the percentages of farm laborers are the highest. This fact is undoubtedly due to the greater influx of agricultural labor to those countries. In consequence of this elementary economic law the repatriates show a great decrease in agricultural laborers and an increase of building-trades and skilled laborers.

During 1916-18, Genoa held the first place, the activity of the other ports of arrival being almost *nil*. In other years the majority of the repatriates preferred Naples. The activity of the port of Palermo has grown steadily, especially since the war, reflecting the predominantly southern composition of the trans-oceanic emigration. The number of Italian emigrants repatriated through foreign ports, especially Havre and Bordeaux, has always been small. One notes, however, after the long period of inactivity from 1916 to 1923 a perceptible resumption (7,000 or 9.7 per cent of the 72,000 repatriates in 1926, compared with 6,000 or 5.6 per cent of the 101,000 in 1902).

The greatest frequency of repatriations (1902-26) from all overseas countries occurs in the July-September quarter for those who land at Italian ports, and in the October-December quarter for those who land at foreign ports. Emigrants from the United States prefer to return toward the end of the year, *i. e.* in the Fall while those from South America prefer the northern Spring, evidently they return regularly at the end of the harvest seasons in the two hemispheres.

The duration of residence abroad on the average is from three to four years for the single emigrants, and from 5 to 9 years for heads of families, with a progressive and considerable tendency toward yet longer periods. The shorter stay of single emigrants, and the noteworthy increase in the number of those remaining abroad for more than 10 years (the percentages rose from 19.6 for heads of families and 6.4 for the single in 1909, to 37.3 and 20.6 respectively in 1925), confirm what was said earlier about the tendency of Italian emigrants to remain abroad, especially in Brazil and Argentina. In the United States this is not manifest and the average duration of residence is shorter.

This observation is confirmed by an analysis of the type of repatriation. The shorter stay presupposes less personal adaptability to local surroundings and therefore a greater possibility of definitive

repatriation; while the longer stay presupposes a possibility of more thorough, if not actually permanent, adaptation to the new country. A high proportion of repatriates, therefore, is a mark of a temporary emigration. Such comparisons are limited to 1921, since from 1922 on the United States statistics reflect the influence of their latest laws. In fact, since a declaration of temporary absence or the omission of any declaration suffices to reserve their right to re-enter the United States (which would otherwise be lost), many individuals declare that their repatriation is temporary though they may intend it to be final. The proportion of repatriations from the United States with duration uncertain or undeclared which was 23.9 per cent in 1921 rose, therefore, in 1922 to 38.8 per cent, in 1923 to 58.5, and in 1925 to 60.4.

EMIGRANTS' REMITTANCES

The transfer of savings to Italy by Italian laborers in foreign countries constitutes one of the principal credit items in Italy's balance of international payments.

It is well known that emigrants' savings reach Italy in various ways: through the Bank of Italy, through international postal money orders, private bankers, and currency inclosed in letters and in the form of savings brought in by repatriates. It is obvious that only the first two of these streams are statistically measurable.

The credit institutions and navigation companies refuse to furnish information about the savings they transmit. Data concerning transfers by registered letters are uncertain, since not all contain money, nor is it possible to fix an average value for them. Insured letters are no less uncertain, since the person who sends one usually declares the maximum limit of value permitted by the insurance charge. The volume of savings brought into the country personally by repatriates is equally difficult to determine. Only the first two means of transmission therefore remain. Postal money orders, however, include not only emigrants' savings, but also remittances in settlement of commercial transactions. The latter probably do not reach a considerable sum, and are supplemental to the remittances of unknown but large amounts through ordinary banks. The management of the Bank of Naples furnishes reliable information as to remittances made through it.

Of all the modes of transmission offered by the Bank of Naples, the emigrants regularly prefer ordinary remittances to their own families. In 1920, the peak year for remittances, this method accounted for 43.9 per cent against 35.5 per cent in the savings department of the bank or of the Postal system, and 20.7 per cent by telegraphic remittances or cheques. The total number of remittances through the Bank of Naples has increased in the last few years in comparison with the pre-war years, while it has decreased in comparison with the war period. Some of its annual totals are given in Table 197.

TABLE 197.

TOTAL REMITTANCES THROUGH BANK OF NAPLES, FOR CERTAIN YEARS.

Year	Totals (Thousands of Lire)	Individual Average (Lire)
1902	9,305	149
1908	36,663	266
1914	84,983	308
1919	494,387	1,057
1925	679,815	1,998
1926	596,900	2,147

The high figures begin with 1919, coincident with the relative devaluation of Italian currency, and their magnitude is due in very great measure to this devaluation. This is the reason why four-fifths of the more than 6 billions of lire sent to Italy through the Bank of Naples between 1902 and 1926 was forwarded during the last 8 years. Most of these remittances came from the United States. Among European countries the largest amounts came from Germany, especially from 1911 to 1916, and from France after 1922.

About the various districts of destination there are data (from 1905 to 1926) for the money orders of the Bank of Naples paid by the post offices of the kingdom. They clearly indicate a progressive increase in remittances sent to southern Italy, in comparison with those to the central and the northern sections.

The total number of international postal money orders paid by the post offices of the kingdom from 1901 to 1926 has also been

fairly large (see Table 198 below). However, their number decreased steadily in favor of remittances through the Bank of Naples both during the war years, and especially in the post-war period. The values naturally do not follow the same course of development, owing again to the devaluation of the currency.

TABLE 198.

REMITTANCES TO ITALY BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDERS.

Fiscal Years	Number	Total values (Thousands of Lire)
1913-14	2,968	394,861
1917-18	896	75,093
1920-21	1,105	413,526
1921-22	1,012	350,530
1922-23	1,287	437,733
1923-24	1,246	465,894
1924-25	1,008	325,068
1925-26	776	232,014

The postal money orders originate mainly in the Continental countries; among these the Central Powers led before the war, and France from 1915 and especially from 1922 on. Among overseas countries the United States stands easily first, followed at a considerable distance by Canada. The remittances originating in European countries go mainly to northern and central Italy, but in some provinces of southern and insular Italy there is a rising current from the overseas countries. In general the northern provinces (especially Venetia) receive most of the postal money orders; this differential position between North and South Italy is constantly on the increase.

Although exact information about the other means of transmission is not to be had these probably follow the same descending curve as the known means of transmission. Indirect evidence of this is found in the entries in the governmental postal savings department to the account of Italians resident abroad. If the quantitative valuation of this special means of investment, which is constantly increasing in importance, be taken as an index, it reflects in a striking manner the economic vicissitudes of the emigrant masses and their

remittances. The development of the annual deposits and withdrawals from 1890 on, the year in which this service was instituted, is shown by Table 199. These figures show, from 1921 on, a descending curve of deposits and on the other hand an ascending curve of withdrawals.

TABLE 199.

ITALIAN POSTAL SAVINGS DEPOSITS, WITHDRAWALS AND BALANCES
HELD BY NON-RESIDENT ITALIANS

(Thousands of Lire)

Year	Total Deposits	Total Withdrawals	Balance Net Deposits
1890	87	14	73
1900	5,999	659	5,340
1910	62,660	10,956	61,694
1915	62,053	13,117	49,936
1920	1,326,510	41,536	1,284,974
1925	787,634	548,395	239,239
1926	605,100	656,000	-50,900

The causes of the decrease in the real value of remittances are many and complex. One need only recall the outstanding modifications in recent years of the various factors controlling the savings of Italians abroad and so the flow of their remittances. With the beginning of the war the number of emigrants diminished sharply, and though in the last few years it has risen slightly that number still is less than half of the pre-war figure. Repatriations also have diminished, both absolutely and relatively, thus reducing that rich source of wealth, the savings of the repatriates. The contraction of overseas emigration with the consequent reduction of southern emigration in comparison with that from northern Italy, and the modification in the customary direction of emigration, have had an undoubted influence on the volume of the remittances, both through the greater saving capacity of the more sober southern emigrant and the lower wage-level of South America. To these factors one must add the constantly increasing sums exported with departing emigrants, an increase due in part to the rise in the rate of exchange but more to the improving quality of the emigration currents, the mem-

bers of which are increasingly well-to-do. Finally, the policy of assimilation adopted by the countries of immigration tends to facilitate bringing over whole families, and thus the employment of savings in the adopted country. All these facts explain the decrease of remittances and why they are unlikely to increase.

As an offset and consequence of this decreased volume of money sent to the homeland, there is an increasing tendency for Italian emigrants to invest in Italian government bonds. The payment of semi-annual interest and coupons on the national debt by American agencies of the Bank of Naples has risen steadily from 30,000 lire in 1915, when the service was started, to more than 30 million lire in 1925.

Though forced to seek work and a permanent home in foreign lands, the Italian emigrants continue to aid their families and their country with their remittances.