

The Laws of Migration

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JOURNAL OF THE STATISTICAL SOCIETY,

JUNE, 1885.

The LAWS of MIGRATION. By E. G. RAVENSTEIN, ESQ., F.R.G.S.[Read before the Statistical Society, 17th March, 1885. The PRESIDENT,
SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G., C.B., in the Chair.]

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Introductory Remarks.

It was a remark of the late Dr. William Farr, to the effect that migration appeared to go on without any definite law, which first directed my attention to a subject,* to which, after the publication of the census of 1881, I now propose to return. I shall confine myself in what follows to migration going on within the limits of the United Kingdom,† reserving for a future occasion a consideration of the same subject in connection with foreign countries. In his general report on the census of 1871 the registrar-general says very justly: "The improved roads, the facilities offered under the " railway system, the wonderful development of the mercantile " marine, the habit of travelling about, and the increasing know- " ledge of workmen, have all tended to facilitate the flow of people " from spots where they are not wanted to fields where their labour " is in demand. The establishment of a manufacture or the open- " ing of a new mine rallies men to it, not only from the vicinity, " but from remote parts of the kingdom. The great towns afford " such extraordinary facilities for the division and for the combina-

* See the Birthplaces of the People and the Laws of Migration in the " Geographical Magazine," 1876, with seven maps.

† That is England, Scotland, and Ireland; Man and the Channel Islands are therefore excluded.

“tion of labour, for the exercise of all the arts, and for the practice of all the professions, that they are every year drawing people within their limits.” Farther inducements to migrate are offered by educational facilities, salubrity of the climate or cheapness of living. In a few instances, as in the case of convicts or of soldiers and sailors, migration is even compulsory.

It shall be our task to trace the extent of this migration throughout the United Kingdom, and to point out some of those laws which appear to govern it. The materials at our disposal for the performance of this task are voluminous, but they are by no means complete. Information on many points of interest is withheld in the census returns. It is impossible, for instance, to trace the natives of any particular county of England into Scotland or Ireland. Another circumstance likely to lead to misconception, if not error, arises from the very unequal size of the counties. Rutland and Yorkshire are hardly comparable. A journey of 25 miles at the most converts any native of Rutland into a “migrant,” whilst a native of Yorkshire to place himself into the same position might have to travel as many as 95 miles. The exchange of population between the border counties of England and Scotland cannot be traced, nor is it possible to point out those counties of Ireland which have furnished the largest contingents of migrants to Great Britain. The emigration returns fortunately enable us to obtain an insight into this branch of our inquiry.*

Yet notwithstanding these shortcomings in the census returns, they enable us to obtain a clear insight into the mode in which migration proceeds, and the general results appear to be trustworthy.

Population and Birthplaces.

The population with which we have to deal numbered in 1871 31,484,661 souls, in 1881 34,884,848 souls, distributed as follows:—

	1871.	Per Cent.	1881.	Per Cent.	Increase, 1871-81.
England and Wales....	22,712,266	72·1	25,974,439	74·4	Per cent. 14·4
Scotland	3,360,018	10·7	3,735,573	10·7	11·2
Ireland	5,413,377	17·2	5,174,836	14·9	-4·9
United Kingdom	31,484,661	100·0	34,884,848	100·0	10·8

* It is to be hoped that by the time the next census is taken, so-called “Registration Counties” and “Counties proper” will have been assimilated. The registrar’s districts or unions undoubtedly present the most suitable unit for summarising the ages, birthplaces, and occupations of the people. The present complex system of the territorial divisions is most confusing, and increases the volume of the returns without adding anything of real use to the information they furnish.

According to birthplaces this population was divided as follows:—

	1871.	Per Cent.	1881.	Per Cent.	Increase, 1871-81.
Born in England and Wales	21,830,528	69·34	25,017,027	71·71	14·6
„ Scotland	3,295,103	10·47	3,673,615	10·53	11·5
„ Ireland	6,081,067	19·31	5,843,406	16·75	- 3·9
„ elsewhere	277,963	0·88	350,800	1·01	26·2
Total	31,484,661	100·00	34,884,848	100·00	10·8

The details for each kingdom (for 1881) are given in the following set of tables:—

		Number.	Per Cent.	
England and Wales	{	Born in England and Wales	24,855,822	95·69
		„ Scotland	253,528	0·98
		„ Ireland	562,374	2·17
		„ elsewhere	302,715	1·16
		Total	25,974,439	100·00
Scotland ...	{	Born in Scotland	3,397,759	90·96
		„ England and Wales	91,823	2·46
		„ Ireland	218,745	5·86
		„ elsewhere	27,246	0·72
		Total	3,735,573	100·00
Ireland ...	{	Born in Ireland	5,062,287	97·85
		„ England and Wales	69,382	1·34
		„ Scotland	22,328	0·43
		„ elsewhere	19,792	0·38
		Total	5,174,836*	100·00

* Including 1,047 persons whose place of birth is not known.

This set of tables shows very clearly that the rate at which the population of each kingdom increases does not correspond with the rate of increase among the natives of each, and that as a result the English element, as far as birthplace determines it, is gaining ground. It need hardly be pointed out that this difference is due primarily to emigration to foreign parts, and in a less degree to migration from one kingdom into the other.†

Had there been no Irish emigration between 1871-81, 530,924

† Emigration from census to census, 1871-81: English, 996,038; Scotch, 170,757; Irish, 530,924. That is of 100 emigrants 59 were English, 10 Scotch, and 31 Irish, whilst of 100 inhabitants of the United Kingdom, 72 are English, 11 Scotch, and 17 Irish

persons of Irish birth would have remained in the kingdom, to increase and multiply, as they have done across the ocean, and the population of Ireland would have exhibited an increase, instead of a decrease. The number of Irish, however, is in reality much larger than shown by the census returns, which take note of the place of birth only, and not of parentage, and thus quite consistently record a child born of Irish parents in England as a "native of England." If an inquiry into the parentage of our population were to be instituted, as in Canada, some very startling and undoubtedly interesting facts might be revealed as to its racial composition.

Geographical Distribution of the Natives of each Kingdom.

We will now glance at the geographical distribution of the natives of each kingdom, according to whether they remained and were enumerated in the county, had migrated to border counties, or to more distant parts of the county. The general results (1881) are presented in the following set of tables:—

		Numbers.	Per Cent.
Natives of England and Wales enumerated in	County where born	18,699,922	74'75
	Border counties	3,308,732	13'22
	Rest of England and Wales...	2,847,168	11'38
	Scotland	91,823	0'37
	Ireland	69,382	0'28
Total		25,017,027	100'00
Natives of Scotland enumerated in	County where born	2,527,794	68'81
	Border counties	529,163	14'41
	Rest of Scotland	340,802	9'27
	England and Wales	253,528	6'90
	Ireland	22,328	0'61
Total		3,673,615	100'00
Natives of Ireland enumerated in	County where born	4,534,699	77'61
	Border counties	212,023	3'63
	Rest of Ireland	315,565	5'40
	England and Wales	562,374	9'62
	Scotland	218,745	3'74
Total		5,843,406	100'00
Natives of the United Kingdom enumerated in	County where born	25,762,415	74'60
	Border counties ..	4,049,918	11'73
	Elsewhere in kingdom where born	3,503,535	10'14
	Elsewhere in United Kingdom	1,218,180	3'53
	Total	34,534,048	100'00

We thus find that out of 34,534,048 persons born in the United Kingdom and enumerated in 1881, as many as 33,315,868, or 96·47 per cent., resided in the kingdom in which they were born. Among every 100 natives of England and Wales, 99·35 were in that position; among every 100 natives of Scotland, 92·49; and among every 100 natives of Ireland, 86·64. The Irish therefore appear to be the most migratory people of the three kingdoms; and if we bear in mind that they furnish at the same time, proportionately to their numbers, by far the largest contingent of trans-oceanic emigrants, we may safely assume that whatever decrease may have occurred in the population of Ireland, there is no decrease in the number of Irishmen.

But if, instead of confining ourselves to the migration from kingdom to kingdom, we include that which is going on within the limits of each, from county to county, we shall find that the Irish are second to the Scotch and English as a migratory people. In 1881 25,762,415 persons were enumerated in the county in which they were born, and 8,771,633 elsewhere; and whilst among 100 natives of England and Wales enumerated throughout the United Kingdom there were 25·25 who resided beyond the county in which they had been born, the proportion of Scotch in a similar position was 31·32, that of the Irish only 22·39. Here therefore the Scotch hold the first rank, whilst the Irish, notwithstanding the large contingent which represents them in the sister kingdoms, come last.

The Scotch also come first if we look at each kingdom separately, for out of every hundred natives of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, there were enumerated:—

		In County where Born.	In Border Counties.	Elsewhere, but in same Kingdom.
Natives of	England and Wales	75·23	12·42	12·35
	Scotland	74·40	15·68	10·02
	Ireland	89·58	4·19	6·23

The more active migration of Great Britain is only what might have been expected from its larger size, its higher commercial and industrial development, the greater variety of its resources, and more extended facilities for travel. Migration within the limits of Ireland is strikingly small, nor need this be wondered at where nearly all counties are agricultural. There is no mistaking the fact however that migration in Ireland tends towards the ports of embarkation for Great Britain, whence the surplus population is poured into the great manufacturing and mining districts of Scotland, North England, and Wales.

The National Element of the Population in England, Scotland, and Ireland.—If by “national element” of the population we understand those inhabitants of the United Kingdom who, on the day of the census, were enumerated in the kingdom in which they were born, we shall find that they numbered no less than 34,534,048 souls, or 98·99 per cent. of the total population, distributed as follows:—

	1871.	1881.	Per Cent.	
			1871.	1881.
England and Wales.....	21,692,165	24,855,822	95·53	95·69
Scotland	3,061,531	3,397,759	91·12	90·96
Ireland	5,306,757	5,062,287	98·00	97·85
United Kingdom (impe- rial element)..... }	31,231,300	34,534,048	99·20	98·99

These proportions are just what might have been expected. The natives of Ireland have been least encroached upon by immigrants from the sister kingdoms or from abroad, whilst Scotland has profited most largely, and England to a smaller extent (as far as mere numbers go) by an influx of immigrants from the sister isle. It should be stated, however, that this influx of Irish immigration has for the time passed its zenith, and is going on now at a slower rate than was the case some fifteen years ago. This diminution accounts too for the increase of the national element which has taken place since 1871 in England, for the children of natives of Ireland born in England at once take their place among the English national element.

Our figures show very clearly that the national element is strongest in Ireland: Ireland in fact is more intensely Irish than Scotland is Scotch, or England English. In twenty-seven counties out of a total of thirty-two the national element embraces more than 98 per cent. of the total population, and only in two counties does it fall below 95. These two are Dublin and Kildare, and the depression in their case is sufficiently explained by the presence of many strangers in the capital of the kingdom, and of a strong military force on the Curragh of Kildare. The most intensely Irish counties are Leitrim and Cavan, where natives of Ireland constitute 99·4 per cent. of the population.

In Scotland, out of a total of thirty-three counties, there are only ten in which the Scotch national element exceeds 98 per cent. whilst in sixteen it falls short of 95 per cent. The depression is greatest in Renfrew, Lanark, Dumbarton, and Southern Scotland generally; in fact, in those counties which are most exposed to an inflow of the Irish element or of the English border element.

The most intensely Scotch counties are Shetland, Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney, Ross, Banff, Kinross, and Kincardine, in all of which the national element exceeds 98 per cent. ; the most intensely Scotch towns, Dunfermline (97·26 per cent.), Arbroath, Aberdeen, and Inverness. Even Edinburgh-Leith includes a Scotch national element of 89·51 per cent. Those towns in Scotland in which strangers are most numerous are Greenock (79·5 per cent.), and Glasgow (82·8 per cent.).

In England and Wales, out of a total of fifty-two counties there are thirty-one in which the English national element exceeds 98 per cent., and six in which it sinks below 95 per cent. It exceeds 99 per cent. in the agricultural counties of Cambridge, Hunts, Norfolk, Suffolk, Merioneth, Montgomery, Radnor, Cardigan, and Carmarthen, and is weakest in the Scotch border counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland.

The most intensely English towns are West Bromwich, Norwich, Ipswich, Leicester, and Northampton, in all of which the national element exceeds 98 per cent.*

Liverpool is that one among the towns of England in which the number of strangers of non-English birth is proportionately larger than in any other town of the kingdom, and Birkenhead ranks next to it. In Liverpool only 80·61 of every 100 inhabitants are of English birth. This depression of the national element is almost wholly due to the large number of Irish. In the metropolis the national element is as high as 93·80 per cent., although numerically the Irish, Scotch, foreign and colonial elements of the population are stronger than in any other town of the United Kingdom. London therefore has the character of a cosmopolitan town, although the proportion which its cosmopolitan element bears to the general population is less than in several provincial towns.

The Native County Element.—Under this term we include those inhabitants of a county who are born within it, or of a town who are natives of the county to which it belongs. In the case of towns lying within two counties we have included the natives of both under the term of “native county element.”

Whilst the proportion of the “national element” is dependent upon the number of strangers from the sister kingdoms or from abroad who have settled in a county or town, the “native county element” is the outcome of migration from county to county.

If we analyse the census returns, we find that in 1881 25,762,415 persons were enumerated in the counties in which they were born.

* To these should be added, according to the census of 1871, Yarmouth, Salisbury, Bury St. Edmunds, Reading, Boston, Cambridge, Dudley, Exeter, Oxford, and Truro. No details are furnished for these towns for 1881

This number is equal to 73·85 per cent. of the total population of the United Kingdom, or to 74·60 per cent. of all enumerated natives of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The following summary shows that this native county element has not inconsiderably decreased since 1871, which shows that migration has increased to a corresponding extent. The increase was largest in England (6·3 per cent.); Scotland followed next (2·0 per cent.), and then came Ireland (1·8 per cent.), the mean for the United Kingdom having been 3·2 per cent.

	1871.	Per Cent. of Popula- tion.	Per Cent. of Natives.	1881.	Per Cent. of Popula- tion.	Per Cent. of Natives.
England and Wales....	16,921,436	74·04	77·51	18,699,922	72·00	74·75
Scotland	2,315,458	68·90	70·24	2,527,794	67·67	68·81
Ireland	4,804,959	88·73	79·00	4,534,699	87·63	77·61
United Kingdom ...	24,041,853	76·36	77·04	25,762,415	73·85	74·60

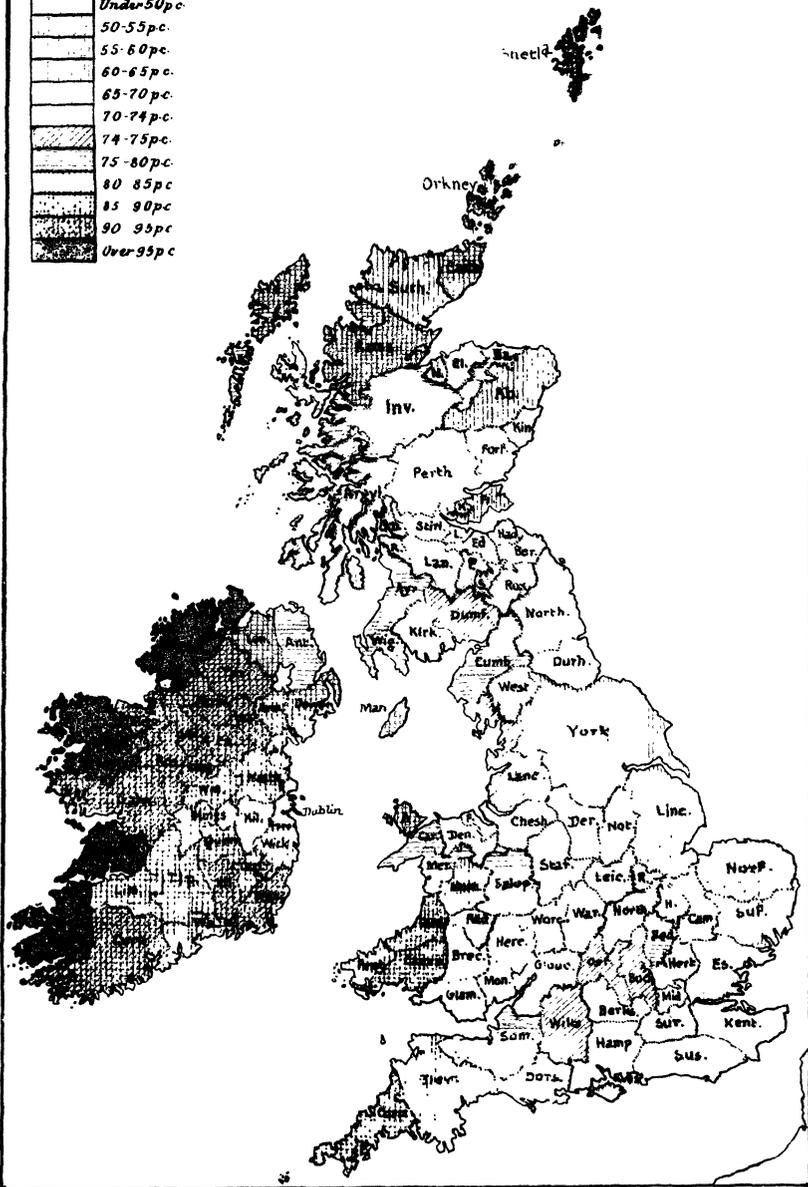
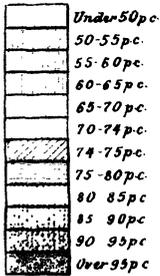
The proportion of the native element for each county is shown on Map 2, and more precise data will be found in the appendix. On the map those counties whose native county element approaches the mean for the whole of the United Kingdom are left uncoloured, whilst counties in which it is stronger are tinted blue, and those where it is weaker are tinted red. The native county element is strongest in the more remote parts of the country, as in the extreme north of Scotland, in the west of Ireland, in parts of Wales, in Cornwall, and in Norfolk.

Our map, we regret to say, is in a certain measure misleading. A true representation of this feature could be obtained only if the counties were approximately equal in area. It is clear, for instance, that if the figures given in the census returns had enabled us to divide Yorkshire into its three ridings, the native county element would have suffered a depression, whilst in the case of small counties like Rutlandshire it would relatively to larger counties appear unduly to preponderate.

In the case of towns the preponderance of the native county element depends largely upon geographical position. A town centrally situated, and thus accessible with equal facility from all parts of its county would in the ordinary course secure a larger share of this element than a border town.

The Native Town Element.—We should have liked to trace the natives of our great towns throughout the country, but the published census returns only allow us to do this in the case of London and of seven Scotch towns. In London the native town

THE NATIVE COUNTY ELEMENT.



element constitutes 62·9 per cent. of the general population, in the seven Scotch towns only 52·4 per cent., as follows:—

Aberdeen	56·5	Greenock (M.B.)	50·0
Dundee	55·1	Paisley	61·8
Edinburgh-Leith.....	50·8	Perth	48·0
Glasgow (M.B.)	51·3		

Its smallness, when compared with the native county element, very distinctly suggests the recruiting process, which causes our towns to increase more rapidly in population than the country which surrounds them. Migration, and more especially emigration beyond the limits of the kingdom, tend to the same result. Migration properly so called is not at all excessive, for out of 100 natives of London only 19·6, and of the seven Scotch towns no more than 27·9, were enumerated outside the towns in which they were born. Emigration to the sister kingdoms or to other parts of the world is more considerable if we may judge from the fact that there are 111 females to every 100 natives of the seven Scotch towns, and 112 to every 100 natives of London.

The Border Element includes those inhabitants of a county who were born in the counties contiguous to it. It varies very considerably, not only in consequence of migration proceeding more or less actively, but also because of the geographical configuration of the county boundaries. Counties having an extended boundary in proportion to their area, naturally offer greater facilities for an inflow of the border element than others with a restricted boundary. A long maritime boundary is usually deterrent, except where a county has facile communication with a county across the sea, facing it. A glance at the map showing the distribution of the Irish element in Great Britain at once brings this fact home to us.

The counties in which the border element is strongest are Surrey, Essex, Brecon, and Worcester; Dumbarton, Peebles, Selkirk, Linlithgow, Clackmannan, Kinross, Kincardine, and Nairn in Scotland; and Antrim in Ireland. The proportion for each is given in the table in the appendix under "Border Element."

The Irish Element in Great Britain.—The Irish element in Great Britain is of considerable importance, and since 1871 it is once more increasing, if not proportionately to the total population, at all events in absolute numbers, even although the children born of Irish parents in Great Britain be necessarily excluded, owing to the absence of data with respect to them.

In 1851 there lived in Great Britain 727,326 natives of Ireland; in 1861, 805,637; in 1871, 774,310; and in 1881, 781,119. The numbers for 1871 and 1881 were:—

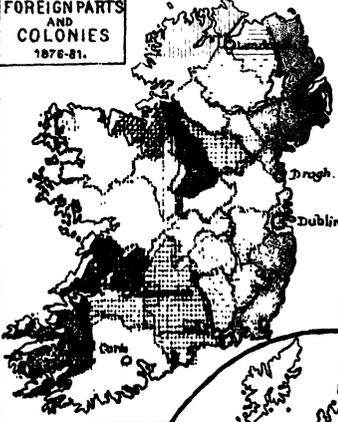
	1871.	Per Cent. of Population.	1881.	Per Cent. of Population.
In England and Wales.....	566,540	2'49	562,374	2'17
„ Scotland.....	297,770	6'18	218,745	5'86

There are fifteen counties in which the Irish element exceeds 3 per cent. of the total population, and fourteen towns, out of sixty-six included in our tables, in which it exceeds 5 per cent. The counties most affected by natives of Ireland are Renfrew, Lanark and Dumbarton in Scotland, and Lancashire in England. The towns containing among their inhabitants over 10 per cent. natives of Ireland are Greenock (19'1 per cent.), Glasgow (13'1 per cent.), Liverpool (12'8 per cent.), and Airdrie (10'2 per cent.).*

There is not a single county in which natives of Ireland have not found a home, whilst their geographical distribution, proportionately to the total population, shows very distinctly that proximity to Ireland and facilities of communication with the sister island most decidedly determine their numbers. Glasgow and Stranraer, Siloth and Whitehaven, Fleetwood and Liverpool, Milford Haven, Swansea, Cardiff and Bristol, Plymouth, Southampton and Portsmouth, are evidently the ports where most of these immigrants disembark, at which many of them find a permanent home, and whence, in search of employment, they spread to the more remote parts of the country. This process of dispersion becomes at once clear to us when we examine a map showing the leading steamboat routes, and the proportion of emigrants which left each county of Ireland for Great Britain. This last we are able to do since 1876, in which year the "Emigration Statistics for Ireland" for the first time furnish information on the numbers of natives of each county of Ireland, who have emigrated to Scotland on the one hand, and to England and Wales on the other. We have summarised these statistics for six years—1876-81. They show that of 42,297 natives of Ireland who during that period emigrated to Scotland, as many as 28,061 were natives of Antrim, Down, Londonderry, Tyrone, and Armagh. The majority of emigrants from the province of Ulster, and of the counties of Leitrim and Longford who left Ireland for Great Britain went to Scotland, whilst the majority from the remainder of Ireland found its way to England and Wales. Ulster, with Leitrim and Longford, in 1876-81, despatched 36,296 emigrants to Scotland, and only 17,086

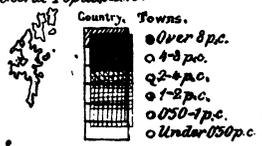
* Of 10,000 natives of Ireland enumerated in England and Wales, as many as 5,567 lived in the forty-four great towns included in our table in the appendix.

EMIGRATION TO FOREIGN PARTS AND COLONIES 1876-81.

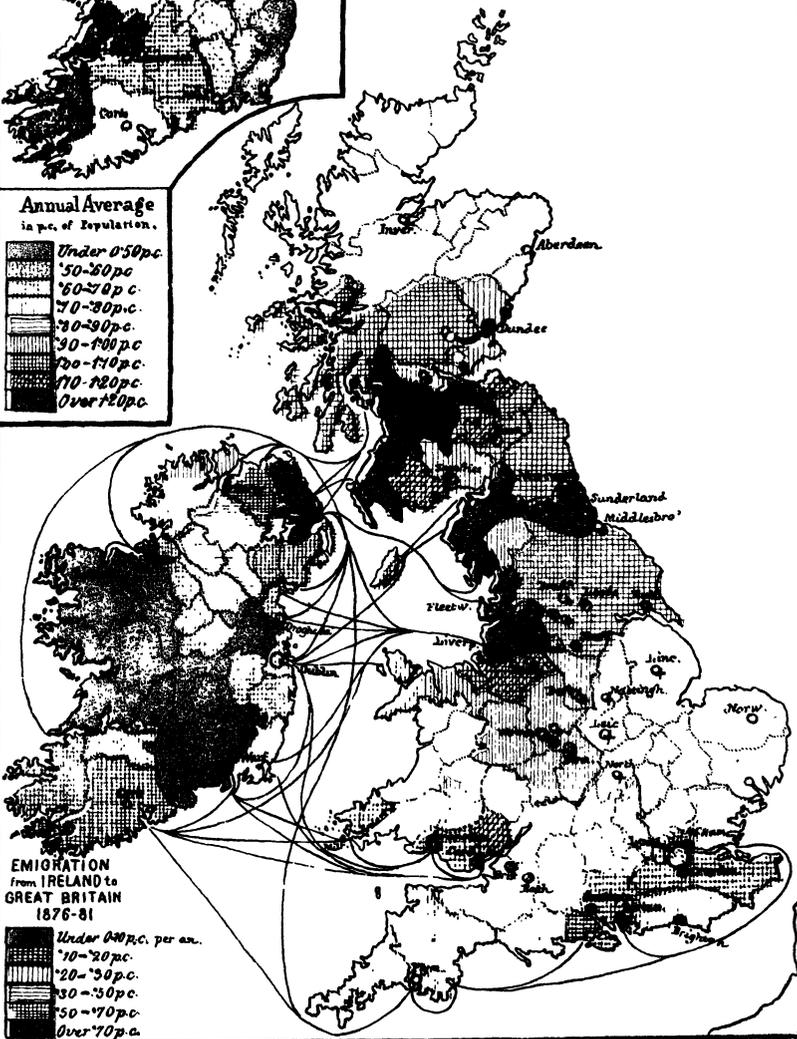
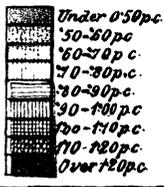


THE IRISH ELEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.

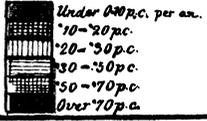
The Tints indicate the Proportion of Natives of Ireland in the General Population.



Annual Average in p.c. of Population.



EMIGRATION from IRELAND to GREAT BRITAIN 1876-81



to England and Wales, whilst out of the remainder of Ireland only 6,001 went to Scotland, but as many as 35,993 to England and Wales, and of this last number Cork alone furnished 17,291, and Kerry, Limerick, Wexford, and Dublin 9,430 more. This renders it perfectly clear that the destination of these Irish emigrants is most decisively determined by geographical position. So powerful is the attraction which Scotland exercises upon its nearest neighbour Antrim, that the number of emigrants who left that county in 1876-81 for Scotland was larger than the number which crossed the ocean for foreign parts or the colonies. The currents of emigration from Wexford and Cork are affected in a similar manner, though not to the same extent. Wexford, out of every 100 emigrants, sends 57 abroad, 42 to England and Wales, and only one to Scotland; whilst Cork sends 60 abroad, 39 to England and Wales, and one to Scotland.

The most productive recruiting grounds of the Irish element in Great Britain is consequently not the west of Ireland, as had been supposed before trustworthy information had been procured by the registrar-general for Ireland, but Ulster, Dublin, Wexford, and Cork (with Kerry and Limerick). And whilst Ulster and Dublin furnish the bulk of Irishmen who settle in Scotland and the north of England, it is Wexford and Munster whence most of the natives of Ireland residing in southern Wales and England are derived. This origin of the Irish residents very satisfactorily explains the sporadic occurrence of the Irish element in southern Britain. Of the Irish emigrants who land at Milford Haven many remain in Pembrokeshire, thus raising the Irish element in that county, whilst at the same time impelling many of its natives to migrate. Steamers from Waterford, Cork, and Wexford convey Irish emigrants direct to Swansea, Cardiff, and Bristol; whilst the steamers which connect Cork with London, land many of their passengers at Plymouth, or at Southampton or Portsmouth, thus accounting for the comparative strength of the Irish element in Devonshire and Hampshire, through which latter county many of these emigrants appear to make their way to Surrey and to London.*

In the following table the leading facts connected with the emigration of natives of Ireland in 1876-81 are summarised. It is

* Map 3 is intended to illustrate the geographical distribution of the Irish element in Great Britain, proportionately to the total population of counties and towns, as well as emigration from Ireland to Great Britain as also as to foreign parts and colonies. The lower map of Ireland exhibits the emigration to Great Britain, the upper one that to foreign countries and the colonies. The tints on both indicate the average annual rate of emigration for the years 1876-81 per 100 of the natives of counties, as enumerated in 1881. The counties tinted blue are below, those tinted red above the average for the whole country.

based upon the "Emigration Statistics for Ireland," prepared by Dr. Thomas W. Grimshaw, the registrar-general, with the exception of the last column, which is taken from the "Census of Ireland, 1881, General Report," p. 379.

Counties.	Emigration of Natives of Ireland, 1876-81.								Emigration, 1861-81.
	Destination.			Percentage.			Average Annual Rate per 100 of Natives of each County.		Average Annual Rate per 100 of Population.
	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Foreign Parts and Colonies.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Foreign Parts.	Great Britain.	Foreign Parts.	
Antrim	6,657	11,820	10,658	22	4.1	37	0.87	0.50	1.35
Armagh	1,891	3,678	4,525	19	3.7	44	0.55	0.44	1.14
Carlow	293	14	2,614	10	1	89	0.10	0.82	1.17
Cavan	646	1,520	8,233	6	1.5	79	0.26	1.01	1.61
Clare	600	65	12,541	5	1	94	0.08	1.45	1.78
Cork	17,291	663	26,658	39	1	60	0.62	0.93	1.95
Donegal	543	2,922	9,829	4	2.2	74	0.27	0.78	1.02
Down	3,822	5,282	5,455	26	3.6	38	0.53	0.32	1.09
Dublin	3,244	815	7,110	29	7	64	0.24	0.61	0.60
Fermanagh	406	1,269	3,825	7	2.5	68	0.32	0.73	1.26
Galway	834	356	13,191	6	2	92	0.08	0.91	1.29
Kerry	1,983	36	14,969	12	—	88	0.17	1.24	1.68
Kildare	617	98	3,037	16	3	81	0.16	0.67	0.88
Kilkenny	369	54	4,116	8	1	91	0.06	0.67	1.08
King's	292	136	3,876	7	3	90	0.10	0.90	1.44
Leitrim	343	771	7,405	4	8	88	0.20	1.34	1.48
Limerick	2,048	277	11,447	15	2	83	0.22	1.06	1.90
Londonderry	1,168	4,031	7,750	9	3.1	60	0.54	0.81	1.33
Longford	276	331	4,831	5	6	89	0.16	1.30	2.04
Louth	287	192	1,888	12	8	80	0.11	0.42	1.02
Mayo	751	399	13,425	5	3	92	0.08	0.91	1.06
Meath	208	103	4,071	5	2	93	0.05	0.76	1.49
Monaghan	775	1,422	4,248	12	2.2	66	0.33	0.65	1.38
Queen's	405	101	4,410	8	2	90	0.10	0.92	1.28
Roscommon	548	152	7,381	7	2	91	0.09	0.93	1.33
Sligo	233	108	7,709	3	1	96	0.05	1.16	1.06
Tipperary	1,038	60	12,356	8	1	91	0.09	1.01	1.85
Tyrone	1,559	3,250	10,131	10	2.2	68	0.38	0.81	1.35
Waterford	472	50	6,817	7	1	92	0.08	1.04	1.44
Westmeath	276	256	3,463	7	6	87	0.11	0.76	1.30
Wexford	2,155	44	2,858	42	1	57	0.28	0.36	1.18
Wicklow	626	75	1,915	24	3	73	0.13	0.36	0.71
Total	53,079	42,297	242,837	15	1.3	72	0.31	0.80	1.42

The Scotch Element in England and Wales.—The natives of Scotland enumerated in England and Wales in 1841 constituted 0.65 per cent. of the total population. In 1881 they constituted 0.98 per cent., and numbered 253,528 souls. Numerically they are not therefore very strong when compared with the natives of Ireland, but their geographical distribution is interesting as illustrating

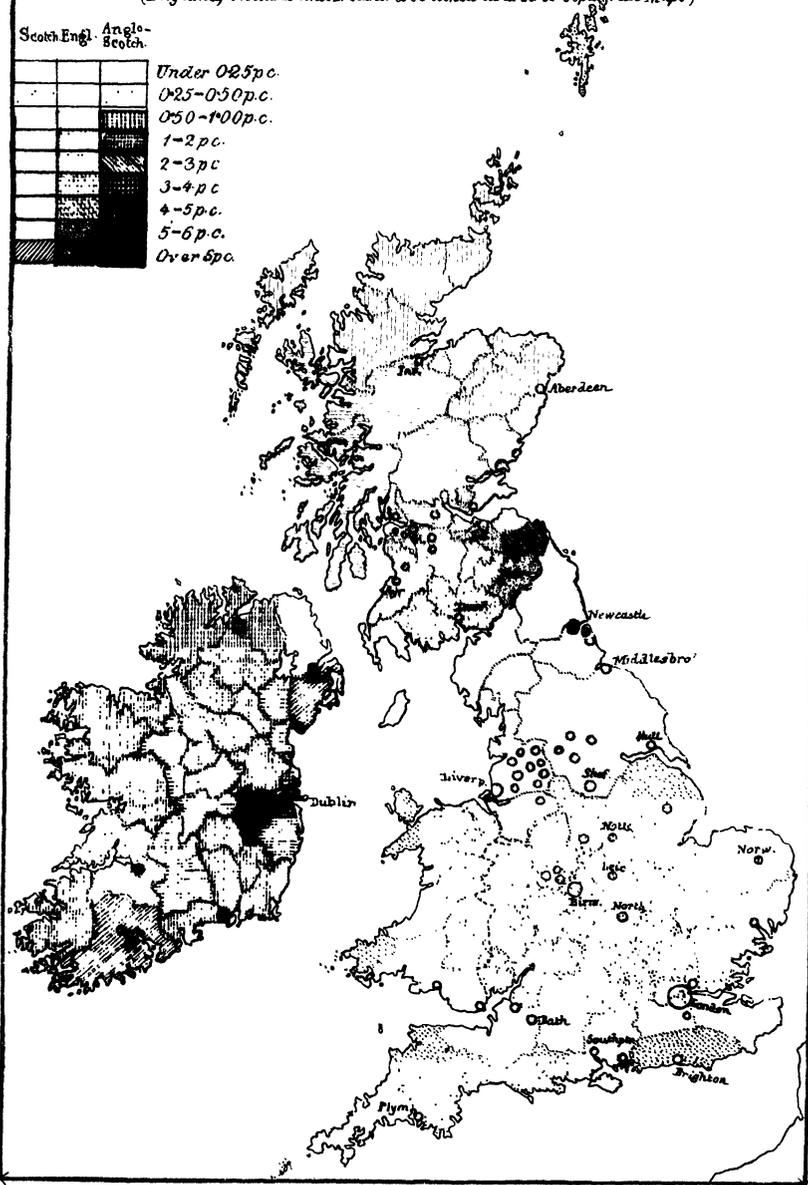
THE SCOTCH ELEMENT IN ENGLAND, THE ENGLISH ELEMENT IN SCOTLAND, THE ANGLO-SCOTCH ELEMENT IN IRELAND.

(England, Scotland and Ireland to be looked at as three separate Maps)

Scotch Engl. Anglo-
Scotch.



Under 0.25 p.c.
0.25-0.50 p.c.
0.50-1.00 p.c.
1-2 p.c.
2-3 p.c.
3-4 p.c.
4-5 p.c.
5-6 p.c.
Over 6 p.c.



the mode of migration. There are altogether thirteen counties in which natives of Scotland number over half a per cent. of the population, and these counties form two distinct groups, viz., a northern one, into which the population of Scotland may be said to have overflowed, and a metropolitan group, to which Scotch migrants have been drawn by special circumstances. The northern group includes Cheshire and Yorkshire and all that lies to the northward, and within it reside 5,699 of every 10,000 natives of Scotland enumerated; the metropolitan group includes Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Essex, Hampshire, and Sussex, and within it 2,942 of every 10,000 natives of Scotland were enumerated. Proportionately to the total population of the counties, the Scotch element is most numerous in Northumberland (5·39 per cent.) and Cumberland (4·87 per cent.), that is in the border counties. It decreases as we proceed southward, amounting to 2·85 per cent. in Durham, to 1·63 per cent. in Westmoreland, to 1·62 per cent. in Lancashire, to 1·22 per cent. in Cheshire, and to 0·67 per cent. in Yorkshire. In the metropolis the Scotch number 1·30 per cent. of the population; in Hampshire 0·97 per cent., a high proportion, undoubtedly due to the presence of numerous Scotch soldiers and sailors.

More than one-half of the natives of Scotland enumerated in England and Wales (5,178 out of every 10,000) resided in the forty-three great towns included in our table in the Appendix, but there were only two towns, Newcastle, with Gateshead, and South Shields, in which the Scotch constituted more than 5 per cent. of the total population.

The English Element in Scotland, proportionately to the population of Scotland, is stronger than the Scotch element in England, and if, as a matter of fact, the Scotch can be said to invade England, there is a very strong counter-current of English migration into Scotland. If for every 100 Scotchmen in England and Wales there are only 36 natives of England in Scotland, the proportion which these latter bear to the total population of Scotland is as 2·46 to 100, whilst the Scotch element in England and Wales only amounts to 0·98 per cent. In its geographical distribution this English element in Scotland exhibits the same features already noticed in connection with the Scotch settlers in England, that is to say, it is strongest in the border counties. Out of 91,823 natives of England and Wales enumerated in Scotland, as many as 57,427, or 62 per cent., reside in the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Dumfries, Edinburgh, Kirkcudbright, and Lanark; the proportion to the total population of these counties varying between 6·41 and 3 per cent., and being highest in the three border counties. London and other more distant parts of England have no doubt furnished their contingents to this body of English emigrants, but it is clear

that the bulk of them are natives of the north of England, just as the bulk of the Scotchmen enumerated in England came from the south of Scotland.

The Anglo-Scotch Element in Ireland.—The number of natives of Scotland and England (with Wales) enumerated in Ireland was 88,199 in 1871, and 91,710 in 1881, thus exhibiting an increase of 3,511 souls. This increase is largely due to an increase of the floating population as represented by the army and navy. Of the natives of Scotland and England enumerated in 1871, 18,464 were soldiers and sailors. In 1881 the number of these had risen to 19,192. The presence of this floating military population materially affects the composition of several Irish counties, and more especially of Kildare, where the camp on the Curragh accounts for the fact that 6·13 per cent. of the total population of the county is of Scotch or English birth. This is a higher proportion even than in Dublin (5·66 per cent.). Besides Kildare and Dublin the only counties in Ireland in which the Anglo-Scotch element constitutes over 2 per cent. of the total population are Antrim (2·86 per cent.), Cork (2·35 per cent.), and Down (2·02 per cent.). These are the very counties which furnish exceptionally large contingents of migrants who leave Ireland for Great Britain. In the five counties named 57,522 natives of Scotland and England were enumerated in 1881, being 62 per cent. of the total Anglo-Scotch element in Ireland.

The Foreign and Colonial Element.—This element increased between 1871 and 1881 from 277,963 to 349,750 souls, or to the extent of nearly 26 per cent. It included in 1881 145,860 natives of British colonies and possessions, 203,890 natives of foreign parts, of whom perhaps 70,000 were "British subjects" by parentage or nationalization. The natives of "foreign parts," inclusive of persons "born at sea," increased 24·7 per cent., the natives of British possessions 26·5 per cent. The bulk of these latter is undoubtedly of British parentage.*

A considerable proportion of this element consists of temporary residents in the country, for it includes colonists and their children on a visit to relatives at home, foreign travellers on pleasure or on business bent, sailors, and students. At the same time the number of those who have made the United Kingdom their permanent home is considerable, and the influence which these foreign settlers

* The census returns do not, unfortunately, admit of our entering into more detail. Full details on the ages, civil condition, and occupations of "foreigners" are given, but persons of foreign birth who have undergone the simple process of naturalization are excluded from the voluminous tables dealing with these subjects. The question of parentage or nationality, although all-important, is ignored, and the natives of "islands in the British seas" are dealt with as if Man and the Channel Islands formed a geographical unit.

have exercised for centuries past upon the character of the general population must not be underrated.*

The foreign and colonial element has its representatives in every county, but its chief centres are the great towns, in twenty-eight of which 196,365 persons of foreign or colonial birth, or 56 per cent. of all, were enumerated in 1881. London alone included 111,624 of them, Liverpool 15,768, Manchester-Salford 9,028, Edinburgh-Leith 6,165, Glasgow 5,720, Birmingham 3,440, Hull 3,281, Portsmouth (mostly from the Channel Islands) 3,271, Leeds 3,259, West Ham 2,902, Bristol 2,824, Cardiff 2,714, Newcastle-Gateshead 2,420, Brighton 2,366, Dublin 2,015. It will be observed that all these towns are centres of business or industry, with the exception of Bath and Brighton.

Classification of Migrants.

Our personal experience, however limited, enables us to say that the distances which migrants travel before their place of residence is recorded in one of our periodical census returns, vary very widely. Some of these migrants hail no farther than from the next parish; others are natives of a neighbouring county; others again have come from a more remote part of the kingdom, or even from beyond sea. And when we inquire into the motives which have led these migrants to leave their homes, they will be found to be various too. In most instances it will be found that they did so in search of work of a more remunerative or attractive kind than that afforded by the places of their birth. It may be worth while to attempt a classification of migrants.

The local migrant confines himself to moving from one part of the town or parish in which he was born to another part of the same town or parish. The only place in the United Kingdom in which we can trace this local migration on the sure foundation of the census returns is London. Out of every 100 of the 2,401,955 native residents enumerated in London, 59·7 were natives of Middlesex, 23·8 of Surrey, and 6·5 of Kent;† but as out of every 100 only 66·2 were enumerated as residing in Middlesex, whilst 27·1 were enumerated in Surrey and 6·7 in Kent, a considerable migration from Middlesex into Surrey and Kent must have been going on within the limits of the metropolis. As a matter of fact only 86·7 out of every 100 natives of London thus enumerated were living on the day of the census in the county in which they were born. That a like displacement of the population is in pro-

* Already in 1580 there resided 5,060 foreigners in London, which at that time had 150,000 inhabitants. The "foreigners" were therefore relatively more numerous three hundred years ago than they are now, even though we include among them the natives of all the colonies.

† That is of the intra-metropolitan parts of these counties.

gress in other towns of the United Kingdom cannot be doubted. That this is the case with respect to Manchester is evidenced by a decrease of the population of that town, which is more than balanced by an increase in its twin-city Salford. Similarly Glasgow grows but slowly in population, whilst its suburbs increase at a rapid rate. An interesting and suggestive paper by Dr. Longstaff, which deals with this branch of our inquiry, will be found in the "Charity Organisation Reporter" for 1883 and 1884.

Short-journey Migrants.—If our census returns enabled us to analyse the inhabitants of each parish or registrar's district according to birth places, we should find that the bulk of migrants had journeyed but a very little distance. Even with counties as large as Yorkshire, and with no information on the migration which goes on across the Scotch border, we find that of every 100 migrants enumerated in England and Wales, as many as 53·7 had gone no further than a border county. In Scotland 60·8 per cent. of all migrants were enumerated in border counties; in Ireland 40·2 per cent. The low proportion for Ireland is ascribable to the migration from Ireland to Great Britain, and would at once be reversed if we treated Lanark and Lancashire as border counties of Ireland.

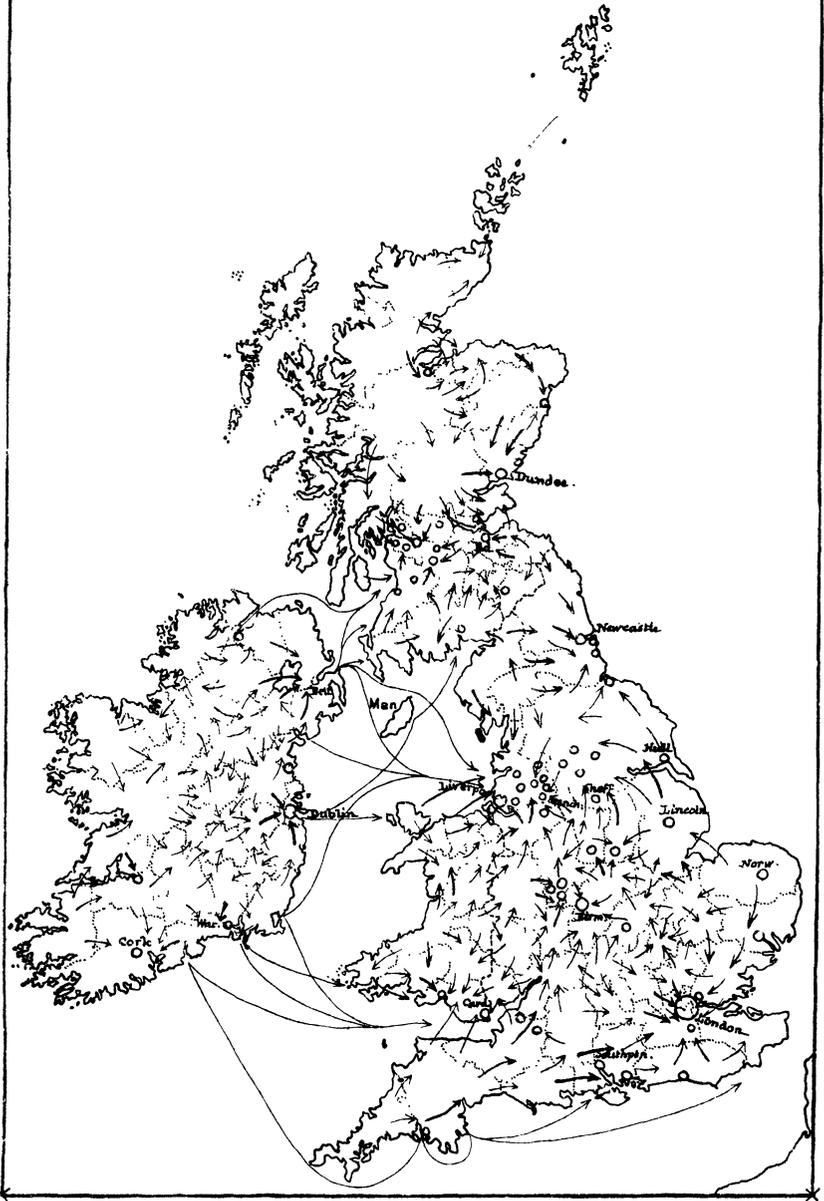
The distribution of the migrants for the whole of the United Kingdom is exhibited in the following tabular statement:—

	Proportion of Migrants Enumerated in		
	Border Counties.	Elsewhere in same Kingdom.	Sister Kingdoms.
Migrants of Anglo-Welsh birth	52·4	45·1	2·5
„ Scotch birth	46·0	29·8	24·2
„ Irish „	16·2	24·1	59·7
„ British „	46·2	39·9	13·9

The proportions refer, as a matter of course, to migration from county to county only. Fortunately the proof that migrants are as a rule content with going but a very short distance from their homes is furnished by the census of Holland. Of every 100 migrants enumerated in Holland in 1879, 69 resided outside the commune in which they were born, but in the same province, and only 31 had left their native province.* Applying these proportions to the United Kingdom, 57 per cent. of all migrants would

* On an average each province of Holland has an area of 1,150 square miles and 384,000 inhabitants. The average for the counties of the United Kingdom is 1,030 square miles and 298,000 inhabitants. Provinces and counties are consequently fairly comparable.

CURRENTS OF MIGRATION.



reside outside the parish in which they were born, 18 per cent. in border counties, and 25 per cent. elsewhere. Of course these figures are not absolutely correct, but they are hardly in excess of the truth. They prove that the bulk of migrants consists of what, for want of a better term, I designate as short-journey migrants.*

Migration by Stages.—It often happens that a migrant in search of work wanders from parish to parish, settling down at each place for a time, until on the day when the census is taken he finds himself far away from the place from which he originally started. There can be no doubt, for instance, that many if not most of the natives of Ireland to be found in London did not travel from their homes in Ireland direct to their present place of residence, but reached it by stages. Some of them landed at Liverpool, and gradually worked their way through Cheshire, Stafford, Warwick, Northampton, and Buckingham, whilst another stream, and perhaps the more voluminous one, passed through Plymouth, Hampshire, and Surrey.

Long-journey migrants who leave their homes in order to settle in a distant part of the country are the exception, not the rule, and do not probably constitute 25 per cent. of all migrants. Their movements are dependent upon special circumstances, some of which we shall consider in the sequel.†

Temporary migrants are an important class, whose existence is vouched for by the size of our hotels, barracks, prisons, and colleges, as well as by the number of sailors, many of whom must have been enumerated at ports lying outside the counties in which they were born. These temporary migrants constitute the floating element of the population, which is swamped in large towns of complex composition, but makes its presence felt very decisively at our naval and military stations, at health and pleasure resorts, in university towns, and in places abounding in boarding schools. It is a special feature of these temporary dwellers among strangers that many of them are migrants by compulsion and not by choice. The hop-pickers, who annually leave London for Kent and Surrey, and the agricultural labourers from the West of Ireland, who assist

* Migration in Holland is going on at a far less active rate than in the United Kingdom. Of 100 natives of Holland, as many as 90 live in their native province, whilst of 100 natives of the United Kingdom, only 75 live in their native county.

† In our tables the proportion of these migrants is made to appear larger than it really is. Had we been in a position to substitute a "border zone" five times the area of the central county, for "border counties" bounded by arbitrary political boundaries, we might have obtained a truer measure of this element. This we found it impossible to do. A glance at our migration maps will show, however, that the migrants who really came from a considerable distance are few in proportion to the population which absorbed them.

in getting in the harvest in the North of England, belong to this class.

Counties of Absorption and Dispersion.

Whilst migration may be said to be going on in every portion of the United Kingdom, there exist nevertheless vast and striking differences with reference to its extent and direction when we compare one part of the country with another. There are counties which retain nearly the whole of their native population, and even receive an accession from other counties; counties from which broad currents of emigration proceed, compensated in some measure by counter-currents of immigration; and counties which appear to be traversed by these migratory currents.

Of the natives of Lancashire, the Shetland Islands, of Kerry, and of eleven other Irish counties, less than 10 per cent. were enumerated outside the counties in which they were born; whilst over half the natives of Peebles and Kinross had established themselves beyond the boundaries of their native counties. These are the extremes, and between them all gradations will be found to exist in apparently inextricable confusion. We will attempt to bring something like order into this chaos.

There are counties which increase their population not merely by an excess of births over deaths, but also by the reception and absorption of migrants from other counties. Counties such as these we will call "counties of absorption," whilst the counties at whose expense they are fed and grow populous we will call "counties of dispersion."

A county of absorption has a population more or less in excess of the number of its natives enumerated throughout the kingdom. In a county of dispersion, on the other hand, the population falls short of the number of natives enumerated throughout the kingdom. If the natives of each county now scattered throughout the kingdom could be made to return to the counties in which they were born, the population of the counties of absorption (tinted blue on Map 6) would dwindle away, whilst that of counties of dispersion (tinted red) would increase to a corresponding extent.

The natives of Surrey enumerated throughout England and Wales number 996,655, but Surrey has a population of 1,436,899. Consequently, even though all the natives of Surrey were to return to the county of their birth, it would still be necessary to retain within its limits 440,244 natives of other counties, equivalent to 30·7 per cent. of all inhabitants, in order to maintain its population at its present level. Surrey, therefore, is a county of absorption.

Radnorshire, on the other hand, is represented by 33,974 natives

dispersed throughout England and Wales, whilst its population only numbers 23,528 souls. The natives therefore are 43·7 per cent. in excess of the population of the county, and Radnorshire may fitly be described as a county of dispersion.*

The following tabular statement is intended to present the leading facts connected with the dispersion and absorption of migrants:—

COUNTIES OF ABSORPTION.†

Natives of Counties short of the Population of Counties, in per Cents.

‡‡ Surrey 30·7	‡‡ Yorkshire 6·9	†* Essex 4·4
‡‡ Glamorgan 26·7	‡‡ Cheshire 5·5	†* Derby 2·9
‡‡ Durham 19·9	‡‡ Warwick 5·5	† Nottingham 2·7
‡‡ Lancashire 18·1	†* Sussex 5·3	* Merioneth 1·8
‡‡ Middlesex 17·7	* Carnarvon..... 5·1	Northumber- } 1·4
‡ Monmouth 8·0	* Hampshire 4·7	land..... }
‡‡* Kent 7·9		‡‡ Stafford 0·3
‡‡ Selkirk 37·6	‡‡ Dumbarton 26·2	* Bute 12·9
‡‡ Lanark 29·2	‡‡ Renfrew 17·3	* Kirkcud- } 5·1
‡‡ Edinburgh 28·9	‡‡ Forfar 15·5	bright }
‡‡ Dublin 31·8	* Londonderry ... 3·3	Limerick 0·7
‡‡ Antrim 15·9	* Louth 2·5	* Kildare 0·6
Waterford 3·6	‡‡* King's 1·5	‡‡* Galway 0·2
‡‡ Cork 3·4	†* Sligo 0·9	* Roscommon ... 0·2

* Sir Brydges P. Henniker, the registrar-general, considers that those counties "in which the actual growth, as shown on enumeration, was in excess of the "natural growth," absorbed population from without "over and above their native "product." ("Census of England and Wales," iv, p. 51.) He describes London, Sussex, Essex, Leicester, Notts, Derby, Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Glamorgan, and Carnarvon, as counties of absorption. We include, in addition to these, Monmouth, Warwick, Hampshire, Merioneth, Northumberland, and Stafford, but place Leicestershire among counties of dispersion. The actual growth of Leicestershire (1871-81) certainly exceeded the natural growth to the extent of 4,957 souls. This, however, is by no means a proof of absorption, for we find that the enumerated natives of Leicestershire were 332,902, whilst the population of the county only numbered 321,258. Leicestershire cannot therefore have absorbed migrants. As a matter of fact, 85,772 natives of Leicestershire were enumerated outside the county, whilst the population of Leicestershire only included 74,128 persons who were not natives of the county.

† Counties in which the agricultural class is above the average of the kingdom are marked *; counties whose population increases more rapidly (or, in the case of Ireland, decreases at a slower rate) than throughout each kingdom at large, are marked ‡; counties whose natives increase similarly, are marked †.

We observe once more that in compiling this table no notice could be taken of migration from kingdom to kingdom. Had we been able to trace the migrants from Northumberland into Berwick and Roxburgh, it is probable that that county would have taken its place among counties of dispersion. Our inability of tracing the natives of Irish counties in Great Britain affects even more seriously the relative position of many of the Irish counties, several of which, as units of the United Kingdom, would have to be described as "counties of dispersion," being counties of absorption only relatively to the rest of Ireland.

COUNTIES OF DISPERSION.*

Natives of Counties in excess of the Population of Counties, in per Cents.

* Radnor 43·7	* Cardigan 23·3	* Lincoln 14·3
* Hunts 33·5	* Dorset 22·9	* Devon 13·9
* Rutland 33·5	* Pembroke 22·2	* Herts 11·3
* Wilts 27·4	* Hereford 21·4	* Flint 9·8
* Salop 26·4	* Westmoreland 21·2	* Northampton . 9·5
* Bucks. 24·8	* Anglesey 20·1	* Denbigh 8·2
* Norfolk 24·8	* Carmarthen 19·5	* Berks 8·1
* Suffolk 24·8	* Somerset 17·3	* Gloucester 5·9
* Montgomery 24·5	* Cornwall 16·9	* Worcester..... 3·6
* Oxford 24·1	* Bedford 16·4	† * Leicester 3·6
* Cambridge..... 23·4	* Brecknock 14·6	* Cumberland ... 1·7
* Kinross 26·1	* Berwick 13·9	‡ Linlithgow ... 4·8
* Banff 22·8	* Fife 6·8	† * Peebles 4·2
* Kincardine 20·2	* Wigtown 9·7	‡† Stirling 4·0
* Sutherland 19·5	* Shetland 7·4	* Inverness 3·9
* Ross 15·5	Ayr..... 7·0	* Elgin 2·6
* Haddington 15·4	* Orkney 6·9	* Nairn 2·6
* Caithness 15·1	* Dumfries 6·2	* Roxburgh 2·2
* Argyle 14·4	‡ Clackmannan..... 4·9	‡ * Aberdeen 1·1
* Perth 14·2		
* Wicklow 25·3	‡ Down 5·6	* Donegal 1·9
* Carlow 13·5	* Tyrone 5·1	* Tipperary 1·9
* Meath 13·1	* Cavan..... 5·0	* Leitrim 1·9
* Queen's 9·2	* Kilkenny 4·5	* Longford 1·6
* Wexford 6·9	Armagh..... 4·1	‡† * Kerry 0·2
* Westmeath ... 6·7	* Fermanagh 2·6	‡† * Mayo..... 0·1
* Monaghan..... 6·2	‡† * Clare 2·1	

The "counties of absorption" are the chief seats of commerce and industry. The agricultural class within most of them is less numerously represented than in the country at large. The few agricultural counties included under this class, such as Kent, Sussex, Derby, and Essex, are not without their industrial centres.

The population of these counties increases at the same time at a rate exceeding that of the general increase. In Ireland these features are obscured owing to the vast amount of migration to Great Britain.

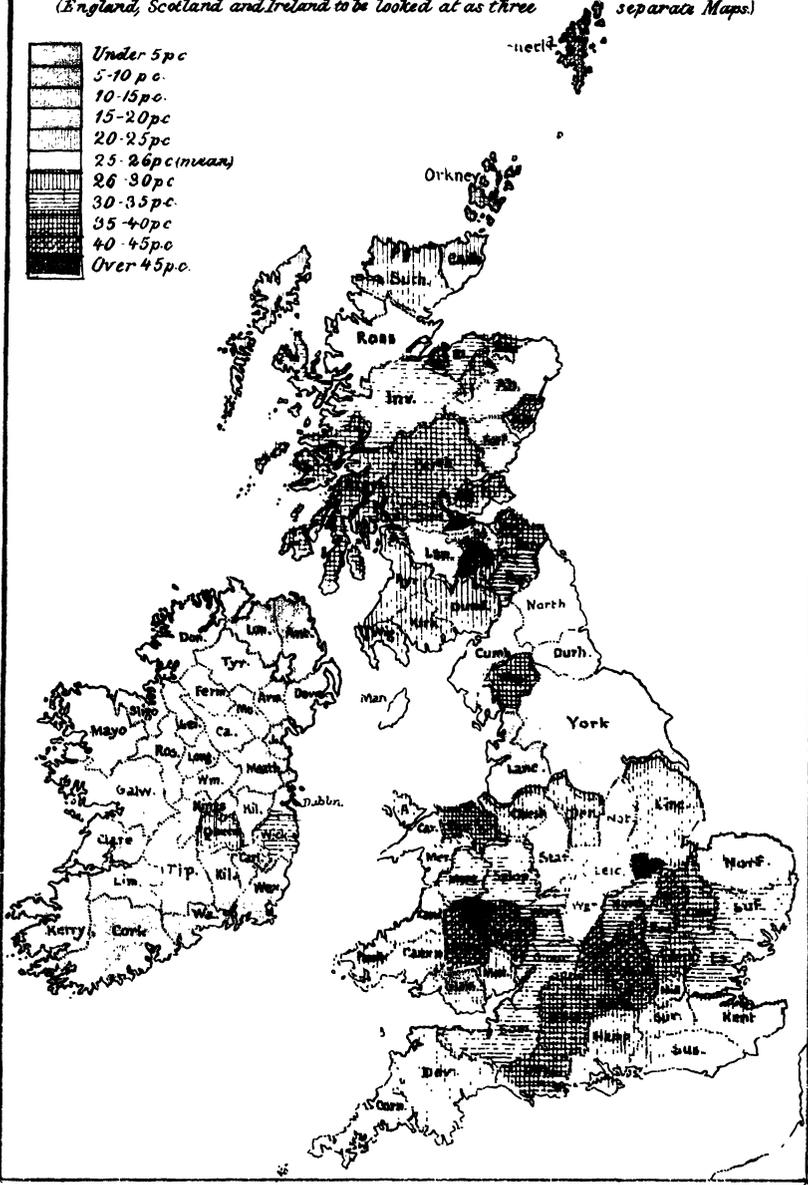
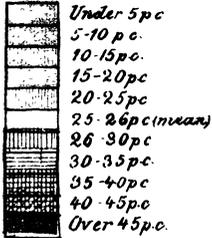
The vigour with which the process of absorption is going on in the metropolitan counties, in Glamorgan, Durham, and Lancashire, in certain Scotch counties, and in Dublin and Antrim, is deserving attention, no less than the feebleness to be observed elsewhere.

Very different are the features presented by the counties of dispersion, from which the counties of absorption are being fed.

* See note (†) on preceding page.

MIGRATION-MAP,

exhibiting the Proportion of Natives of each County
 enumerated (in 1881) outside the County of their Birth
 (England, Scotland and Ireland to be looked at as three separate Maps.)



They are nearly all of them agricultural, and their population increases but slowly or is retrogressive. There are a few exceptions, but none in the case of counties from which the process of dispersion is going on most vigorously.

Counter-Currents of Migration.

We have already had occasion to refer to the fact that side by side with each main stream or current of migrants there runs a counter-current, which more or less compensates for the losses sustained by emigration. This counter-current is strong in some cases, weak in others, and literally compensatory in a few instances. Its universal existence is proved by the fact that there is no county in England in which the native county element exceeds 90 per cent. and none in the United Kingdom in which it exceeds 97 per cent.

This counter-current is not by any means composed of migrants who return homeward disappointed in their hopes or in the possession of a competency, for ex-migrants of this class are included in the native county element, and no data for even approximately determining their number are in our possession. It includes, no doubt, many children of migrants, who have gone to the counties in which their parents were born, but the bulk of these migrants undoubtedly consists of persons whom business interests take away from their homes. But although we readily understand why the manufacturers of Yorkshire and Lancashire send persons to London to look after their interests, whilst the merchants of London despatch agents and buyers to the manufacturing districts, the grounds, which lead to an "exchange" of natives between counties so far removed from each other as are, for instance, Dorsetshire and Westmoreland, are not quite so easily understood. Yet fifty-five Dorsetshiremen were enumerated in Westmoreland, and twenty-six natives of Westmoreland in Dorset. Even the miniature county of Rutland has its representatives in every county of England and Wales, with the sole exception of Carnarvon and Radnor, and natives of all these counties were likewise enumerated in Rutland.

In the case of London, both the main and the counter-currents flow with considerable vigour. In 1881 584,700 natives of London were enumerated in other parts of England and Wales, whilst the migrants from the country who resided in London numbered 1,164,071. The main currents of migration flow in every instance, with one single exception, Londonward, the exception being extra-metropolitan Surrey. The numbers for each group of counties are furnished in the following table:—

Counties, &c.	Natives of the Country Enumerated in London.	Natives of London Enumerated in the Country.	Proportion of Migrants from London to every 100 Immigrants.
Extra-metropolitan Middlesex.....	97,736	94,848	97
" Surrey	63,284	66,476	105
" Kent	95,505	54,638	57
Essex	92,553	83,326	90
Herts	35,793	14,845	41
Metropolitan group	384,871	314,133	82
Inner belt of counties	380,427	113,572	29
South-western group	137,226	24,972	18
Outer belt	115,629	45,974	40
Midland group	31,794	17,623	56
North-western group.....	32,506	28,686	88
North-eastern "	48,071	31,796	66
Wales	23,547	7,944	34
	1,164,071	584,700	50

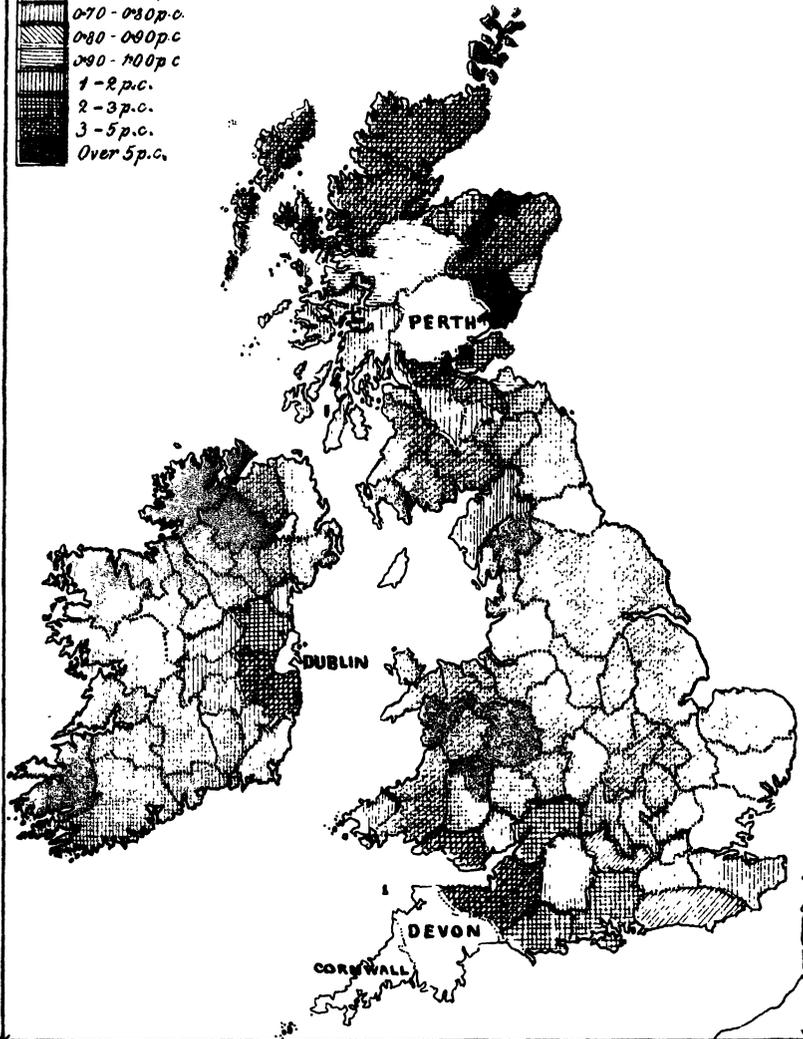
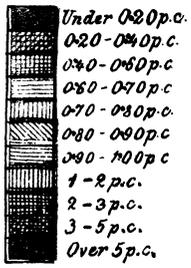
We thus see that for every hundred strangers who settle in London, fifty natives of London leave the metropolis, and that over one-half of these migrants are carried no further by the counter-currents than one of the five metropolitan counties. Many, if not most of them, have merely removed to what are actually suburbs, and can hardly be said to have left the metropolis. Relatively strong are the counter-currents which set towards the manufacturing districts, and more especially towards Lancashire and Yorkshire. This proves once more that the movements of migrants are governed in most instances by business considerations.*

For our second illustration I propose to go to Scotland, to the county of Peebles, where both emigration and immigration, outflow and inflow, are far above the average. In 1881 14,272 natives of Peebles were enumerated in Scotland, of whom only 6,709 resided in the county of their birth, and 7,563 in other parts of Scotland. But as Peebles had a population of 13,688, no fewer than 6,979 persons enumerated within its borders, were found to be natives of other parts of the world, and of these 6,370 were natives of Scotland. Peebles is therefore classed by us as a "county of dispersion," and, like Perthshire, it is at the same time a "county of passage;" for whilst the migrants who cross its borders for Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Selkirk, Kirkcudbright, Renfrew, and Dumbarton, outnumber the immigrants from these counties, the immigration from the rest of Scotland is in excess of the emigration. A kind of balance-sheet of these opposing currents is presented in the following table:—

* The details for each county are given in the table, p. 210.

DISPERSION OF MIGRANTS from DEVON-CORNWALL, PERTHSHIRE AND DUBLIN.

The Tints indicate the proportion of Migrants to the Population of the Counties in which they were enumerated.
(England, Scotland & Ireland to be looked as separate Maps)



	Natives of other parts of Scotland Enumerated in Selkirk.	Natives of Selkirk Enumerated in other parts of Scotland.	Proportion of Migrants from Selkirk to every 100 Natives of other parts.
Selkirk.....	431	672	156
Edinburgh	1,504	3,713	247
Linlithgow	104	109	105
Kirkcudbright	27	62	229
Renfrew	58	86	148
Dumbarton.....	16	50	312
Roxburgh	564	250	44
Dumfries.....	359	180	50
Wigtown	13	11	85
Berwick	214	88	41
Haddington	195	153	78
Lanark	1,786	1,544	86
Ayr	103	80	78
Stirling	108	90	83
Argyll and Bute	52	38	73
East Midland division	521	337	65
North-east division	175	56	32
Ross and Inverness	76	22	29
Northern division	52	22	42
	6,370	7,563	119

The Dispersion of Migrants Illustrated.

The county of Dublin, which we select as our first illustration of dispersion, has a population of 418,910 souls; and as only 285,528 natives of it were enumerated in 1881 as residing in Ireland, it has been classed by us among "counties of absorption." Of the enumerated natives of Dublin, 259,246 resided within the county in which they were born, 26,283 in other parts of Ireland. Of the migrants as many as 7,195, or 27·39 per cent., were enumerated in the border counties of Wicklow, Kildare, and Meath; 3,954, or 15·5 per cent., were found to reside in an outer belt of counties, including, Louth, Westmeath, King's, Queen's, and Carlow; 6,112, or 23·25 per cent., had settled in the counties of Wexford, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, Cork, and Longford; and 9,022, or 34·30 per cent., had scattered themselves over the whole remainder of Ireland. But as the number of migrants which any county is able to absorb depends very largely upon population, just as a large sponge will absorb more water than a small one, we obtain a more correct insight into the extent of migration if we compare the number of migrants with the total population of the counties in which they settle down. We then find that the natives of Dublin enumerated in the three border counties amounted to 3·8 per cent. of the total population of these counties, whilst in the outer belt they only mustered 1·15 per

cent., in the third group of counties 0·56 per cent., and in the remainder of Ireland 0·29 per cent.

And when we examine Map 9, which illustrates this dispersion of the natives of Dublin, we are at once struck by the decrease of migrants as we travel away from the centre of dispersion, the only exception, and that not a very striking one, being presented by the county of Antrim. The following table exhibits the

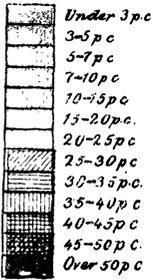
Dispersion of the Migrants from Dublin County.

	Migrants.	Per Cent. of Migrants.	Per Cent. of Population of Counties.
Wicklow	2,849	10·84	4·04
Kildare	2,452	9·33	3·23
Meath	1,894	7·22	2·16
Border counties.....	7,195	27·39	3·08
Louth	906	3·46	1·17
Westmeath	798	3·04	1·11
King's	874	3·33	1·20
Queen's	863	3·28	1·18
Carlow.....	511	1·94	1·10
Second belt.....	3,954	15·05	1·15
Wexford	969	3·69	0·78
Kilkenny.....	550	2·10	0·55
Tipperary	1,082	4·12	0·54
Waterford	603	2·29	0·53
Cork	2,567	9·76	0·52
Longford.....	341	1·30	0·56
Third belt	6,112	23·26	0·56
Rest of Ireland....	9,022	34·30	0·29
Total	26,283	100·00	0·55

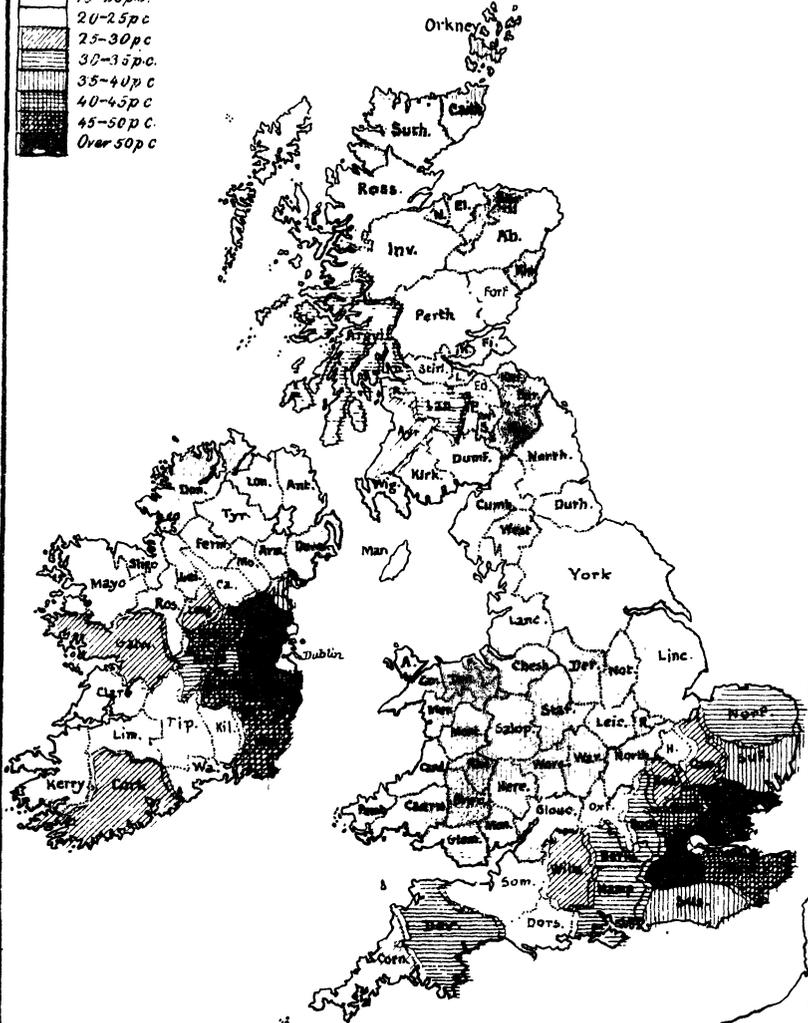
We will next consider the migration from the counties of Devonshire and Cornwall. In 1881 240,930 natives of these counties were enumerated in other parts of England and Wales, whilst the number of strangers settled in Devon-Cornwall was only 100,564. Devon-Cornwall is thus a region from which a broad stream of migration flows to other parts of England and Wales. As Somerset and Dorset, and indeed a broad belt of country stretching north-eastward as far as the German Ocean, send forth a larger number of migrants than they receive in return, whilst South Wales and south-eastern England, with the Metropolis, are the great absorbents of migrants most readily within reach of natives of Devon-Cornwall, it might be presumed

MIGRATION INTO LONDON, GLASGOW AND DUBLIN

The Tints indicate the Proportion of Migrants from each County who were enumerated in 1881 in London, Glasgow, and Dublin County.



Shetl. England, Scotland and Ireland to be looked at as three separate maps.



that the bulk of the latter would have proceeded thither, to the utter neglect of the border counties. Such, however, is not the case. Somerset, proportionately to its population, has absorbed more migrants from Devon-Cornwall than any other county in England; and if Glamorgan ranks above Dorset in that respect, this is due quite as much to the proximity of the Welsh county, and the facility with which it can be reached, as to the attraction which it exercises as a field for remunerative labour. Map 9 shows very clearly by its tints that the great currents which carry the migrants of Devon-Cornwall along with them set across the Bristol Channel to South Wales, up the valley of the Severn in the direction of Warwickshire, and through Dorset, Hampshire, and Surrey to London. The more distant from the fountain head which feeds them, the less swiftly do these currents flow; and whilst they sweep along with them many of the natives of the counties through which they pass, they deposit, in their progress, many of the migrants which had joined them at their origin. In this way 18,687 natives of Devon-Cornwall were found in 1881 to have been "deposited" in Somerset, whilst 33,728 natives of the latter county were enumerated in Gloucester. Similarly, the gaps created in the population of Dorsetshire by a migration of 19,476 natives of that county into Hampshire had partly been filled up by an immigration of 4,355 natives of Devon-Cornwall. And thus it happens that even in the case of "counties of dispersion," which have population to spare for other counties, there takes place an inflow of migrants across the borders, and this inflow is most considerable across that border which lies furthest away from the great centres of absorption.

On examining Map 9 it will be found that proportionately to the population migrants from Devon-Cornwall are more numerous in certain parts of the north of England than in the centre of the kingdom. It is clear that the "facilities" enjoyed by maritime counties for cheap transit by sea have something to do with this. It is clear likewise that among the natives of Devon-Cornwall enumerated in the ports of north England there must be many sailors. We look, however, to the decay of the mining industry in Cornwall as to the principal cause of this comparative preponderance. In 1871 there were 25,643 miners in Devon-Cornwall, in 1881 only 14,976; and many who lost their employment at home, appear to have gone to the mining districts of the north in search of work.

The following is a tabular statement of the

Dispersion of the Migrants from Devon and Cornwall.

	Migrants.	Per Cent. of Migrants.	Per Cent. of Population of Counties.
Glamorgan	17,145	7·12	3·35
Somerset	18,697	7·76	3·98
Dorset	4,355	1·81	2·28
Border counties	40,197	16·69	3·43
Gloucester	12,390	5·14	2·16
Monmouth	3,256	1·36	1·54
Lower Severn	15,646	6·50	2·00
Hampshire	12,125	5·03	2·04
Surrey (extra-metropolitan).....	6,380	2·65	1·45
London	75,490	31·33	1·98
Middlesex (extra-metropolitan)..	5,790	2·40	1·23
Kent (extra-metropolitan)	7,414	3·08	1·04
Sussex	4,391	1·82	0·89
South-east England	111,590	46·31	1·71
Lancashire	17,856	7·40	0·51
Cumberland	2,997	1·24	1·20
Westmoreland	115	0·05	0·18
Yorkshire	10,559	4·39	0·36
Durham	6,302	2·62	0·73
Northumberland	2,516	1·04	0·55
North England	40,345	16·74	0·51
Rest of England and Wales.....	33,152	13·76	0·34
Total	240,930	100·00	0·96

For our third illustration we go to Perthshire in Scotland. That county has a population of 130,282 souls, and as its natives, as far as they were enumerated in Scotland, numbered 148,835 souls, it is classed by us as a "county of dispersion." But whilst Devon-Cornwall may justly be said to feed all the counties of England and Wales, Perthshire only feeds a portion of those of Scotland, and is itself being fed by others. In sixteen counties the natives of Perthshire are more numerous than the natives of these counties enumerated in Perthshire. Within this group of counties there resided in 1881 49,525 natives of Perthshire, whilst the compensating counter-currents of migration had brought into Perthshire only 22,559 natives of the whole of them. Perthshire had thus sustained a loss of 26,966 souls.

The remaining Highland counties, on the other hand, had sent 6,007 of their natives into Perthshire, only receiving 3,253 of that county in return. The corresponding figures for the remaining

Lowland counties were 1,194 and 1,070. From these two sources Perthshire had consequently obtained an accession of 2,878 inhabitants, reducing its absolute loss to 24,088 souls.

It is clear from this that whilst currents of migration set into Perthshire from the north, much stronger currents flow out of it into its eastern and southern border counties. The immigration from certain Lowland counties constitutes a special feature. The proportions for each county are as follows :—

		Per Cent. of all Migrants from Perthshire.	Per Cent. of Population of Counties.
Counties fed by Perthshire.	Kinross	1·84	14·34
	Clackmannan	3·75	8·86
	Forfar	30·25	6·40
	Stirling	8·56	4·55
	Fife	7·59	2·51
	Edinburgh	13·84	2·01
	Dumbarton	2·12	1·54
	Lanark	19·47	1·17
	Peebles	0·26	1·06
	Linlithgow	0·73	0·94
	Haddington	0·46	0·68
	Bute	0·19	0·62
	Selkirk	0·28	0·60
	Renfrew	2·35	0·59
	Roxburgh	0·46	0·50
Berwick.....	0·30	0·47	
Highland counties which feed Perthshire.	Argyle	1·57	1·10
	Kincardine	0·43	0·69
	Inverness	1·02	0·67
	Nairn.....	0·08	0·53
	Elgin.....	0·40	0·50
	Sutherland	0·12	0·31
	Aberdeen	1·36	0·29
	Ross	0·38	0·27
	Caithness	0·13	0·20
	Banff.....	0·16	0·15
Shetland	0·03	0·06	
Orkney	0·03	0·06	
Lowland counties which feed Perthshire.	Dumfries	0·47	0·35
	Ayr	1·09	0·29
	Kirkcudbright	0·20	0·27
	Wigtown	0·12	0·18

The Absorption of Migrants Illustrated.

The process of absorption is the inverse of that of dispersion, and presents and resembles the latter inasmuch as growing towns or counties first absorb the migrants from their environs or borders before they call upon the resources in men of the more distant parts of the country. The county of Warwickshire, which we select on account of its central position as an illustration of this

process, has a population of 737,339 souls; and as the number of natives of Warwickshire enumerated throughout England and Wales only amounts to 696,710, it is classed by us as a "county of absorption." As a matter of fact, however, it acts as a feeder to two important groups of counties, one of which includes the leading manufacturing districts in the North of England, whilst the other embraces the metropolitan counties, with Essex, Sussex, and Hampshire. In 1881 37,218 natives of Warwickshire were enumerated in the first of these groups, and 37,308 in the second, whilst only 21,859 natives of the first and 21,132 of the second were enumerated in Warwickshire. The county in its exchange of population with these two groups had thus sustained a loss of 31,535. This loss, however, was more than made good by an excessive immigration from the remainder of England and Wales. The border counties alone sent 116,668 migrants, whilst receiving only 87,457 in return. In the following tabular statement we have distinguished the counties which feed Warwickshire from those which are fed by it:—

Natives of	Number.	Percentage of Population of Warwick.	Percentage of Natives of Groups of Counties.	Percentage of Migrants from Groups of Counties.
Warwickshire	518,436	70·31	74·41	—
<i>Counties which feed Warwickshire</i>				
Border counties ¹	116,668	15·82	4·12	14·47
Counties on Welsh border ²	13,974	1·90	2·13	6·01
Wales	3,989	0·54	0·28	1·20
South-western England ³	8,809	1·20	0·40	1·30
South-eastern Midland ⁴	6,480	0·89	0·67	1·71
Eastern counties ⁵	5,170	0·71	0·29	0·95
Northern counties ⁶	1,091	0·15	0·17	0·59
<i>Counties fed by Warwickshire—</i>				
Northern manufacturing districts ⁷	21,859	2·96	0·29	1·97
Metropolitan group ⁸				
Scotland	2,908	0·39	—	—
Ireland	9,628	1·31	—	—
Other parts	7,095 ⁹	0·96	—	—
Total	737,339	100·00	—	—

¹ Gloucester, Oxford, Northampton, Leicester, Stafford, and Worcester.

² Shropshire, Hereford, and Monmouth.

³ Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall.

⁴ Rutland, Hunts, Beds, Herts, Bucks, Berks.

⁵ Lincoln, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk.

⁶ Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland.

⁷ Cheshire, Lancashire, Derby, Notts, York, Durham.

⁸ Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hants.

⁹ Inclusive of 1,907 natives of England whose place of birth is not known.

Further illustrations of "absorption" will be given in connection with the large towns.

Migration and the Natives of Towns.

The census returns only furnish the number and distribution of the natives of London and of seven Scotch towns, viz., Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh-Leith, Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, and Perth. The results have been embodied by us in the table below.

Composition of the Population of London and of Seven Scotch Towns.

Natives of	London.		Aberdeen.		Dundee.		Edinburgh-Leith.	
	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.
Town	2,401,955	62·9	59,485	56·5	77,201	55·1	146,416	50·8
Rest of county	394,871*	10·3	23,333	22·2	15,353	10·9	14,423	5·0
Border counties	—	—	11,543	11·0	22,655	16·1	44,067†	15·3
Rest of kingdom	777,699	20·4	6,509	6·2	9,627	6·9	53,703	18·5
England and Wales ..	49,554‡	1·3	2,507	2·4	2,865	2·0	14,193	4·9
Ireland	80,778	2·1	715	0·7	11,443	8·2	8,875	3·1
Other parts.....	111,626	2·9	1,097	1·0	1,095	0·8	6,165	2·5
Total population, } 1881.....	3,816,483	100·0	105,189	100·0	140,239	100·0	287,842	100·0
Proportion of the natives } of the town enumerated } in the town in which } born, in per cent.	80·4		74·5		80·1		75·3	
Females to 100 males } among all natives (and } among native town } element)	112 (109)		116 (115)		113 (117)		113 (110)	

Natives of	Glasgow (M.B.).		Greenock (M.B.).		Paisley.		Perth.		Seven Scotch Towns.	
	Num-ber.	Per Cent.	Num-ber.	Per Cent.	Num-ber.	Per Cent.	Num-ber.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.
Town	262,146	51·3	33,309	50·0	34,362	61·8	13,897	48·0	626,816	52·4
Rest of county	§51,607	10·1	3,439	5·1	3,969	7·1	6,430	22·5	118,554	9·9
Border counties	68,518	13·3	10,515	15·8	8,196	14·8	3,748	12·6	169,242	14·2
Rest of kingdom	41,327	8·1	5,758	8·6	3,016	5·4	2,987	10·3	122,927	10·3
England and Wales ..	16,026	3·1	2,097	3·1	850	1·5	849	2·9	39,387	3·3
Ireland	67,109	13·1	10,717	16·1	4,994	9·0	850	2·9	104,703	8·7
Other parts.....	4,682	0·9	869	1·3	251	0·4	219	0·8	14,378	1·2
Total population, } 1881.....	511,415	100·0	66,704	100·0	55,638	100·0	28,980	100·0	1,196,007	100·0
Proportion of the natives } of the town enumerated } in the town in which } born, in per cent.	70·1		71·9		63·5		52·2		72·1	
Females to 100 males } among all natives (and } among native town } element)	108 (108)		114 (102)		112 (111)		115 (114)		111 (110)	

* Including extra-metropolitan Middlesex, Surrey and Kent, Essex and Hertford.

† Natives of Scotland.

‡ Including Fife.

§ Including Lanark and Renfrew.

|| Including Argyll and Bute.

At the first glance it would almost appear as if the natives of towns were more migratory in their habits than the natives of the country, for we find that as many as 27·9 per cent. of the natives of the Scotch towns were enumerated outside the town in which they were born, whilst the proportion for the natives of counties averages only 25·6 per cent. But it is evident that towns cannot be compared with entire counties, but must be compared with rural parishes, and were we in possession of information enabling us to do this, we should undoubtedly find that the natives of towns are more sedentary in their habits than are the natives of the country.

As to female emigration we find that females are more migratory than males, for among the natives of the seven Scotch towns there are 111 females to every 100 males, whilst among the native town element there are only 110. For London these figures are 112 and 109.

Female Migration.

Woman is a greater migrant than man. This may surprise those who associate women with domestic life, but the figures of the census clearly prove it. Nor do women migrate merely from the rural districts into the towns in search of domestic service, for they migrate quite as frequently into certain manufacturing districts, and the workshop is a formidable rival of the kitchen and scullery.

Amongst the natives of England and Wales enumerated throughout the United Kingdom in 1881 there were 106 females to every 100 males, amongst the natives of Scotland 108, and amongst those of Ireland 103. The large preponderance of females among the Scotch distinctly points to an extensive emigration to foreign countries; and those who have experienced the ubiquity of the Scot in the military and civil services of his country, in the mercantile marine, in commercial and all other pursuits, will not be surprised at this fact. On the other hand the low proportion of females among the Irish does not by any means prove that emigration is not taking place on a large scale, for we know the reverse to be the case. It proves, however, that females migrate from Ireland much more frequently than they do from Scotland or England. Whilst emigrants from England or Scotland depart in most instances without "incumbrances," it appears to be a common practice for entire families to leave Ireland in search of new homes. At all events the elements which make up families will be found to exist amongst Irish emigrants, and this fact, amongst others, explains their slow assimilation with the peoples among whom they settle.

The following tabular statement exhibits the influence which migration within the limits of the United Kingdom exercises upon the proportion between the sexes:—

	Number of Females to every 100 Males among Natives of			
	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
Residing in county where born	104	108	104	105
Residing beyond county where born, but not beyond limits of kingdom	112	114	116	112
Residing in other parts of the United Kingdom				

These proportions show very clearly that females are more migratory than males within the kingdom of their birth, but that males more frequently venture beyond. In other words more females than males leave the county in which they were born in order to seek employment in some other county of the same kingdom, but more males leave the kingdom of their birth for one of the sister kingdoms.

And whilst the migration of females from county to county is proceeding more actively than that of the males, the female migration within the limits of each county is going on at a corresponding if not at a higher rate. In nearly all the towns included in our table, the proportion of females among the native county element is higher than it is in the rural parts of the counties, which proves that a migration of females has taken place into the towns in excess of that of males. Most of these migrants came in search of domestic service, but others, and in several instances no doubt a majority, came also in the hope of finding employment in shops and factories. The only towns which have proved more attractive to males than to females are West Ham, St. Helen's, West Bromwich, Middlesbrough, Airdrie, Hamilton, Greenock, Hawick, and Londonderry. In all these towns male labour is more sought after than female labour. They are in fact great centres of iron and coal mining, of machine building, and of other branches of industry chiefly carried on by men.

When we turn from towns to counties we find the same causes in operation. In most of the counties the proportion of females in the native county element is smaller than it is among the natives of each county enumerated throughout the kingdom. This shows that the migration of females into other counties has been in excess of that of the males. The excess has been greatest in such counties as Rutland, Berkshire, Huntingdonshire, and Shropshire,

Argyll, Linlithgow, and Stirling, Wexford, and Wicklow, in which female labour is not much in demand, or through which strong currents of female migration flow in the direction of the great towns and manufacturing districts.

The counties on the other hand which have retained a larger proportion of their county-born females than of males are either those which in their textile and similar industries afford employment to numerous females, or those which, owing to geographical position, are more or less remote from female labour markets, or, what brings about the same result, hold out inducements to male migrants in search of work in neighbouring iron works or coal mines.

To the first class of counties belong Bedfordshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire in England; Fife and Forfar in Scotland; Antrim, Dublin, and Cork in Ireland. All these are counties in which female labour is much sought, and where native-born females have consequently little inducement to go elsewhere in search of employment.

The counties which retain a larger proportion of females than males, because the latter are drawn away by promise of employment in quarries, mines, and iron works, are Cardigan, Pembroke, Carmarthen, and Anglesey in Wales; Kinross, Wigtown, Banff, Clackmannan, Kirkcudbright, Perth, Ross, Selkirk, and Roxburgh in Scotland.

The Laws of Migration.

It does not admit of doubt that the call for labour in our centres of industry and commerce is the prime cause of those currents of migration which it is the object of this paper to trace. If, therefore, we speak perhaps somewhat presumptuously of "laws of migration," we can only refer to the mode in which the deficiency of hands in one part of the country is supplied from other parts where population is redundant.

1. We have already proved that the great body of our migrants only proceed a short distance, and that there takes place consequently a universal shifting or displacement of the population, which produces "currents of migration" setting in the direction of the great centres of commerce and industry which absorb the migrants.

In forming an estimate of this displacement we must take into account the number of natives of each county which furnishes the migrants, as also the population of the towns or districts which absorb them.

2. It is the natural outcome of this movement of migration, limited in range, but universal throughout the country, that the process of absorption would go on in the following manner:—

The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth, flock into it; the gaps thus left in the rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts, until the attractive force of one of our rapidly growing cities makes its influence felt, step by step, to the most remote corner of the kingdom. Migrants enumerated in a certain centre of absorption will consequently grow less with the distance proportionately to the native population which furnishes them, and a map exhibiting by tints the recruiting process of any town ought clearly to demonstrate this fact. That this is actually the case will be found by referring to maps 3, 4, 8, and 9. These maps show at the same time that facilities of communication may frequently countervail the disadvantages of distance.

3. The process of dispersion is the inverse of that of absorption, and exhibits similar features.

4. Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current.

5. Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry.

6. The natives of towns are less migratory than those of the rural parts of the country.

7. Females are more migratory than males.

These propositions have either been considered, and supported by facts, in the preceding portion of this paper, or they will be considered in connection with the towns.

The Laws of Migration and the Towns.

1. Having thus shown that the bulk of our migrants only move a comparatively short distance from the place which gave them birth, and having suggested a law in accordance with which the displacement of our population resulting from migration is going on throughout the country, we proceed to test the correctness of our conclusions with special reference to the towns. That our great towns and centres of industry are the goal to which the migrants from the rural districts most frequently wend their steps, becomes at once evident when we examine into the composition of our town populations according to birthplaces. The mere fact that most towns increase much more rapidly in population than the rural districts does not suffice to prove this. It is quite true that the town population of England and Wales between 1871 and 1881 increased to the extent of 19·6 per cent., whilst the rural population exhibited an increase of only 7·4 per cent., and that in Scotland the increase of the towns amounted to 18·2 per cent., and that of the remainder of the kingdom to 1·4 per cent. only. But this comparatively large increase might have been brought about

by a natural increment, that is, by an excess of births over deaths. To show this we need merely refer to the fact that there are nine counties in Great Britain whose natives between 1871 and 1881 increased more than 18 per cent. These counties, with their increase, were Selkirk (42·1 per cent.), Durham (32·2 per cent.), Lanark (25·3 per cent.), Lancashire (21·5 per cent.), Monmouth (20·9 per cent.), Glamorgan (20·2 per cent.), Stafford (19·2 per cent.), Warwick (18·7 per cent.), and Middlesex (18·3 per cent.).*

It is only when we inquire into the composition of the population of the towns according to birthplaces, that we obtain an idea of its mixed character. The "native county element" will be found to preponderate in most cases, but there is always present a strong border element, and a large number of natives from more remote parts of the country. If the process by which the towns recruit their population is really such as we have suggested, *Sub. 2*, then the native county element should be stronger in the town than it is in the rural parts of the county in which the town is situate; and the border element should be stronger in the rural parts than in the town. These features, however, we can only expect to find fully developed in cases where the population of the town is not altogether out of proportion to that of the rural parts of the county, and where the town lies in the centre of the county to which it belongs politically, for towns lying near a boundary between two counties naturally attract migrants from both. Still, out of sixty-seven towns, with a total population of 11,610,687 souls, with reference to which we have information as to the birthplaces of the inhabitants, as many as twenty-six, with 2,795,913 inhabitants, follow this rule, viz., the native county element is stronger within them than in the rural parts of the county in which they lie, and the border element, that is, natives of border counties enumerated in the towns, is weaker than in the surrounding rural parts.

These towns are Blackburn, Bolton, Bury, Preston, Rochdale, and St. Helens in Lancashire; Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, and Leeds in Yorkshire; Bristol, Southampton, Walsall, Newcastle with Gateshead, Sunderland; Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, Kilmarnock, Dunfermline, Arbroath, Hamilton, Airdrie, and Hawick in Scotland; Belfast and Drogheda in Ireland.†

In illustration of this class of towns we select Paisley. The

* We need hardly observe that the increase of the natives of counties is largely influenced by migration, for the children of migrants count towards the natives of those counties in which they are born.

† Additional towns of the same type, according to the census for 1871, are Macclesfield, Exeter, Durham, Canterbury, Maidstone, Coventry, Dudley, Worcester, York.

contingent which each county of Scotland has contributed towards the population of that manufacturing town of Renfrewshire differs of course very considerably according to the population of each county; but when we compute the proportion which the natives of each county enumerated in Paisley bear to the total number of natives enumerated throughout Scotland, and to the migrants from each county, we soon perceive that the counties of Scotland group themselves in a certain order. The bulk of the inhabitants consists naturally of natives of Paisley itself and of the remainder of Renfrewshire, but the counties forming a "border zone" have furnished, proportionately to the number of their natives, a considerable contingent, which depends primarily upon distance and facility of access, but is also influenced by the extent to which migration is going on from each county.

Natives of	Number.	Percentage of Population of Paisley.	Percentage of Natives Enumerated in Scotland.	Percentage of Migrants from each County.
Paisley	34,362	61·76	16·51	—
Rest of Renfrew	3,989	7·16	3·01	—
Renfrew	38,351	68·92	2·06	—
Ayr	2,834	5·10	1·22	4·37
Lanark	4,024	7·23	0·60	3·83
Stirling	440	0·79	0·40	1·02
Dumbarton	466	0·84	0·83	2·19
Argyll	772	1·39	0·84	2·28
Bute	129	0·23	0·84	2·15
Border zone	8,665	15·58	0·74	3·16
Wigtown	110	0·20	0·26	0·91
Kirkcudbright	67	0·12	0·16	0·61
Dumfries	123	0·22	0·14	0·54
Peebles	15	0·02	0·10	0·20
Selkirk	6	0·01	0·04	0·14
Edinburgh	456	0·82	0·17	0·82
Linlithgow	122	0·22	0·26	0·58
Clackmannan	63	0·11	0·25	0·59
Kinross	18	0·03	0·20	0·33
Fife	240	0·43	0·13	0·48
Perth	224	0·40	0·16	0·39
Outer zone	1,444	2·60	0·16	0·56
Rest of Highlands	870	1·57	0·09	0·38
„ Lowlands	94	0·16	0·07	0·17
Birthplace not known.....	119	0·21	—	—
England and Wales.....	850	1·53	0·93	—
Ireland	4,994	8·98	0·72	—
Other parts	251	0·45	0·92	—
Total	55,638	100·00	1·55	—

Glasgow presents similar features.* The city, within its municipal limits, has a population of 511,415 souls, and the native county element amounts to 62·13 per cent., and is consequently somewhat higher than in the rural parts of Lanark and Renfrew. The population is largely recruited from the Highlands and from Ireland. The rural parts of Lanark and Renfrew have furnished comparatively small contingents, and although taking the lead, as far as numbers go, they are exceeded by Dumbarton, Argyll, and Bute, when these numbers are compared with the total number of natives who furnished the migrants. The influence of geographical position upon migration is very clearly illustrated in Glasgow. The large number of migrants from Argyll and Bute shows that the sea is frequently a less formidable obstacle than are difficult roads through mountain passes.

Very conclusive, too, as to the law which governs migration is the distribution of the migrants along the currents of migration

* The details for Glasgow are as follows :—

Natives of	Number.	Percentage of Population of Glasgow.	Percentage of Natives Enumerated in Scotland.	Percentage of Migrants.
Glasgow	262,146	51·26	70·72	—
Lanark and Renfrew (rest)	51,607	10·09	10·76	33·81
Ayr	21,631	4·23	9·29	33·38
Bute	1,681	0·33	10·91	28·06
Argyll	10,651	2·08	11·53	31·51
Dumbarton	7,184	1·40	12·42	33·72
Stirling	10,742	2·10	9·66	24·98
Edinburgh and Linlithgow	18,090	2·56	4·06	17·00
Rest of Lowlands	9,642	1·88	2·90	8·88
Northern Scotland	34,371	6·72	2·50	10·88
England and Wales	16,026	3·14	1·74	—
Ireland	67,109	13·12	30·68	—
Other parts	4,682	0·91	17·21	—
	511,415†	100·00	—	—

† Inclusive of 853 natives of Scotland whose place of birth is unknown.

which set towards Glasgow. We find thus that natives of Perth form 4·55 per cent. of the population of Stirling, 1·54 per cent. of that of Dumbarton, 1·43 per cent. of that of Glasgow, and only 0·77 per cent. of that of the more distant rural parts of Lanark and Renfrew. The natives of Argyll number 3·10 per cent. in Dumbarton, 2·08 per cent. in Glasgow, and 1·88 per cent. in Lanark and Renfrew outside Glasgow.

The proportion of natives of Fife in the counties lying between Fife and Glasgow (in per cent.) is as follows:—

FIFE.

Perth, 3·3. Kinross, 19·7. Clackmannan, 6·1. Edinburgh, 4·0. Linlithgow, 2·1.
Stirling, 1·7. Lanark (outside Glasgow), 0·98.

GLASGOW, 0·97.

Renfrew, 0·22.

2. *Border Towns.*—The currents of migration towards towns increasing in population flow everywhere subject to the same law, although their effect, as exhibited in a preponderance of the native elements in the towns, and in that of the border elements in the surrounding rural parts, are not infrequently obscured by the operation of other circumstances. One of these is geographical position. A town lying near the boundary of a county virtually becomes a centre of attraction to migrants from two counties. This would necessarily result in a depression of the native county element in the population of the town, accompanied by a corresponding increase in the border element. In nineteen border towns, having a total population of 2,015,146 souls, the effect of geographical position upon the composition of the population is sufficient to warrant their being placed into a separate group. In twelve of these towns the native county element is below what it is in the rural parts of the county, whilst the border element is higher; in four (Burnley, Oldham, Hull, and Sheffield) both the native county element and the border element are in excess, whilst in three (Derby, West Bromwich, and Swansea) both the native county element and the border element are depressed below the level of the rural parts of the counties in which the towns lie. In dealing with towns of this class we obtain a more truthful view of the constituent elements of the population if we deal with them as if they were situated in two counties, and make both contribute towards the native county element. As an illustration of this class of towns we have selected Birmingham with Aston Manor, the requisite details for which are given in the following table:—*

* The table contains more information than is requisite for settling the point under consideration. An examination of it, with the help of the maps, and especially of Map 6, will make apparent the set of some of the main currents of migration, as well as the influence of counter attractions.

Natives of	Number.	Percentage of Population of Birmingham.	Percentage of Natives Enumerated in England and Wales.	Percentage of Migrants from each County.
Warwickshire	309,726	68·13	4·44	—
Worcester	23,669	5·30	6·0	18·1
Stafford	30,964	6·81	3·2	13·9
Derby	2,246	0·50	0·49	1·74
Leicester	3,929	0·86	1·2	4·5
Northampton	3,160	0·70	1·1	3·5
Oxford	3,636	0·80	1·6	4·00
Gloucester	11,106	2·44	1·83	6·00
Border zone	78,710	17·31	2·09	8·42
Lancashire	4,826	1·06	0·17	1·77
Cheshire	1,257	0·27	0·21	0·71
Shropshire	6,269	1·38	1·99	5·30
Hereford	4,222	0·93	2·87	7·12
Monmouth	800	0·18	0·41	1·45
Somerset	2,277	0·50	0·41	1·21
Western belt	19,651	4·32	0·42	2·03
Yorkshire	3,637	0·80	0·14	1·11
Nottingham	1,829	0·40	0·48	1·88
Rutland	167	0·03	0·59	1·18
Lincoln	1,062	0·23	1·98	0·71
Huntingdon	219	0·05	0·28	0·62
Redford	555	0·12	0·32	0·93
Buckingham	1,092	0·24	0·50	1·23
Berkshire	722	0·16	0·31	0·77
Eastern belt	9,283	2·04	0·21	1·07
Remainder of England } and Wales	24,484	5·39	0·19	0·72
Scotland	1,882	0·41	0·74	—
Ireland	7,440	1·64	1·31	—
Other parts	3,440	0·76	1·14	—
Total	454,616	100·00	1·71	—

If we looked upon Birmingham as a town common to Warwick and Worcestershire, its native element would at once be raised to $68·13 + 5·30 = 73·45$ per cent., whilst its border element would be depressed to a corresponding degree. Even though we reckoned Shropshire towards the border element, to make up for the transfer of Worcestershire, the town would still stand the test, viz., its native county element would be stronger than in the rural parts of Warwickshire, whilst its border element would be weaker.

A similar emendation in the case of the other towns of this category would furnish analogous results, as will at once be seen by

comparing the following table with the general table at the end of this paper.

Towns.	Native County Element drawn from	Per cent.	Remaining Border Element.
Burnley	Lanc. (77'4) and York (8'5)	85'9	2'3
Oldham	„ (85'1) „ (7'1)	92'2	4'9
Hull	York (73'3) and Linc. (8'3)	81'6	3'3
Sheffield	„ (74'8) and Derby (4'7)	79'5	5'4
Derby	Derby (65'5), and Leic. (8'8)	74'0	8'2
West Bromwich	Staff. (76'8) and Worc. (6'1)	82'9	7'0
Swansea	Glam. (64'2) and Carn. (5'4)	69'6	2'2
Birkenhead	Cheshire (49'5) and Lanc. (15'3)	64'8	5'6
Stockport	„ (61'6) „ (21'2)	82'8	4'1
Plymouth	Devon (74'5) and Corn. (10'1)	84'6	1'9
South Shields.....	Durh. (63'9) and Northbld. (12'7)	76'6	3'4
West Ham	Essex (38'4) and Midd. (26'1)	64'5	9'1
Wolverhampton	Staff. (72'9) and Salop (5'6)	78'5	8'8
Croydon	Surrey (45'7) and Kent (7'5)	53'2	23'2
Birmingham	Warwick (68'1) and Worc. (5'3)	73'4	11'5
Dumfries	Dumf. (53'9) and Kirkcudb. (23'3)	77'2	5'2
Dundee	Forfar (66'0) and Perth (8'1)	74'1	8'1
Inverness	Inv. (62'1), Ross (15'4), and Nairn (1'5)	79'0	8'0
Stirling	Stir. (59'9) and Perth (10'4)	70'3	10'8

3. We have thus disposed of forty-five towns, all of which recruit their population in the main from the county in which they are situated, or in the case of border towns, from two contiguous counties. But there are towns which, either on account of their size or rapid growth, absorb so considerable a number of migrants, that the resources in men of the country immediately surrounding them are not able to supply their wants. In towns like these the native county element, owing to the inflow of strangers, sinks below what it is in the surrounding country. It is obvious, for instance, that large towns like Manchester, Salford, and Liverpool, having jointly a population of 1,070,157 souls, while rural Lancashire only numbers 1,315,299 are not likely to find a productive recruiting ground in their immediate neighbourhood, even if there existed no other larger towns in Lancashire to which migrants are attracted. The large towns which we shall consider are:—

	Population of Towns.	Population of Rural Part of Country.
London	3,816,483	2,095,041*
Liverpool	552,508	1,315,299†
Manchester-Salford	517,649	
Edinburgh-Leith	287,842	
Dublin.....	345,245	

* Of an enlarged county including all Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, and Essex.

† In Lancashire, outside the ten large towns included in our table.

London—It will be our task to show that the recruiting process goes on in these towns in accordance with the law suggested, notwithstanding the exceptional position which they occupy on account of their large population.

	Natives of Counties named in first Column Enumerated in London.	Percentage of the Population of London.	Percentage of Natives of each County.	Percentage of Enumerated Migrants from each County.	Distribution of the Natives of London throughout England and Wales.		
					Number Enumerated.	Percentage of Migrants from London.	Percentage of Population of Counties.
London (metropolis).....	2,401,955	62·94	80·4	—	2,401,955	—	62·94
Middlesex (extra metrop.)	97,736	2·56	35·5	60·8	94,848	16·22	20·19
Surrey { ")	63,284	1·66	18·9	50·6	66,476	11·37	14·14
Kent { ")	95,595	2·50	13·6	49·7	54,638	9·34	7·70
Essex	92,553	2·42	16·8	52·1	83,326	14·25	14·46
Hertford	35,793	0·94	15·8	41·0	14,845	2·54	7·31
Metropolitan group ...	394,871	10·34	18·9	50·8	314,133	53·73	13·10
Norfolk	49,999	1·40	9·0	30·5	7,359	1·26	1·66
Suffolk	53,316	1·31	12·0	36·1	7,581	1·30	2·12
Cambridge	25,085	0·66	10·9	29·8	3,792	0·65	2·04
Huntingdon	7,392	0·19	9·3	20·9	1,054	0·19	1·77
Northampton	17,569	0·46	5·9	19·2	5,171	0·88	1·90
Bedford	15,677	0·41	9·0	26·4	3,703	0·63	2·47
Buckingham	27,282	0·71	12·4	30·7	6,322	1·08	3·60
Oxford	22,373	0·59	10·0	24·9	4,414	0·75	2·46
Berkshire	32,324	0·85	13·7	34·4	10,005	1·71	4·53
Wilts	31,316	0·82	9·5	25·2	4,661	0·80	1·80
Hampshire	53,694	1·41	9·5	34·5	25,488	4·36	4·30
Sussex	44,401	1·16	9·6	36·3	34,022	5·82	6·93
Inner belt.....	380,427	9·97	9·9	30·2	113,572	19·43	3·45
Somerset	43,522	1·14	7·9	24·7	7,368	1·26	1·57
Dorset	18,214	0·48	7·8	21·9	3,471	0·59	1·81
Devon	58,956	1·55	8·6	30·6	11,914	2·04	1·97
Cornwall	16,534	0·43	4·3	17·9	2,219	0·38	0·67
South-western group..	137,226	3·59	7·4	24·7	24,972	4·27	1·57
Lincoln	17,730	0·46	3·3	11·6	5,710	0·98	1·22
Nottingham	7,874	0·21	2·1	8·1	4,334	0·74	1·11
Rutland	1,514	0·04	5·3	10·8	433	0·07	2·02
Leicester	8,367	0·22	2·5	9·7	4,114	0·70	1·28
Warwick	25,302	0·66	3·1	14·8	13,637	2·33	1·86
Worcester	9,535	0·25	2·4	7·3	4,293	0·73	1·13
Gloucester	34,135	0·89	5·6	18·5	10,417	1·78	1·82
Hereford.....	6,674	0·17	4·5	11·3	1,597	0·27	1·31
Monmouth	4,498	0·12	2·3	8·2	1,439	0·24	0·68
Outer belt.....	115,629	3·03	3·5	11·0	45,974	7·86	1·42

	Natives of Counties named in first Column Enumerated in London.	Percentage of the Population of London.	Percentage of Natives of each County.	Percentage of Enumerated Migrants from each County.	Distribution of the Natives of London throughout England and Wales.		
					Number Enumerated.	Percentage of Migrants from London.	Percentage of Population of Counties.
Derby	6,081	0·16	1·3	2·6	3,778	0·65	0·82
Stafford	12,771	0·33	1·3	5·7	6,886	1·18	0·70
Shropshire	6,865	0·18	2·2	5·7	1,796	0·31	0·72
Cheshire	6,077	0·16	1·0	3·5	5,163	0·88	0·80
Midland group.....	31,794	0·83	1·3	4·6	17,623	3·02	0·77
Lancashire	28,042	0·73	1·0	10·3	27,173	4·65	0·79
Westmoreland	1,103	0·03	1·4	3·6	409	0·07	0·63
Cumberland	3,361	0·09	1·3	5·3	1,104	0·19	0·45
North-western group..	32,506	0·85	1·0	8·9	28,686	4·89	0·76
Yorkshire	32,223	0·84	1·2	9·9	22,295	3·81	0·77
Durham	8,070	0·21	1·2	7·6	5,883	1·01	0·68
Northumberland	7,778	0·20	1·8	6·5	3,618	0·62	0·83
North-eastern group ..	48,071	1·25	1·3	8·7	31,796	5·44	0·76
Glamorgan	4,296	0·11	1·1	9·7	3,594	0·61	0·70
Carmarthen	1,602	0·05	1·1	3·7	388	0·07	0·31
Pembroke	2,832	0·07	2·5	8·2	1,011	0·17	1·10
Cardigan	2,352	0·06	2·7	9·9	346	0·06	0·49
Brecknock	1,200	0·03	1·8	4·7	351	0·06	0·61
Radnor	658	0·02	1·9	4·2	162	0·03	0·69
Montgomery	1,651	0·04	2·0	6·0	284	0·05	0·43
Flint	746	0·02	0·8	2·4	413	0·07	0·51
Denbigh	1,112	0·03	0·9	2·9	499	0·08	0·45
Merioneth	558	0·01	1·1	5·5	183	0·03	0·35
Carnarvon	784	0·02	0·7	4·1	447	0·08	0·38
Anglesey	438	0·01	0·7	2·6	266	0·05	0·52
County not stated	5,318	0·14	0·4	—	—	—	—
Wales	23,547	0·62	6·8	0·7	7,944	1·36	0·58
Scotland	49,554	1·30	1·3	17·9*	—	—	—
Ireland	80,778	2·12	1·4	10·3*	—	—	—
Abroad	111,626	2·92	—	31·9*	—	—	—
Total	3,816,483†	100·00	—	—	2,986,655	100·00	11·46

* Percentage of natives of Scotland and Ireland enumerated outside the kingdom of their birth, and of natives of foreign parts enumerated throughout the United Kingdom.

† Inclusive of 18,499 natives of England whose county of birth was not stated.

The leading facts connected with this subject are presented in the table on p. 206, which classifies the population of London according to birthplaces, and exhibits the proportion which the

natives of each county enumerated in London bear to the number of natives enumerated throughout England and Wales, and to the migrants from each county. This last feature is shown graphically on Map 8.

If we look upon London as the capital of an enlarged metropolitan county, including Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Essex, and Herts, and then compute the native county element, as we have done in the table in the appendix, this element will be found to amount to 73·3 per cent. of the total population of London, and to 74·2 per cent. of the population of the rural parts of the enlarged metropolitan county. The "border element," on the other hand, only reaches 9·97 per cent. in London, whilst it amounts to 10·56 per cent. in the rural parts. The excess is slight, but it is nevertheless significant.*

Looking to the proportion of migrants who have gone from each county to London, we find that it bears a most pronounced relation to distance, modified by facility of access and the vicinity to other centres of absorption. Out of what we have described above as the rural parts of an enlarged metropolitan county 50·8 out of every hundred migrants went to London. A second group of counties, stretching from Norfolk and Suffolk to Hampshire and Surrey, and included in the accompanying table under the designation of "inner belt," sent 380,427 or 30·2 per cent. of its migrants to London.† A south-western group of counties, including Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, is represented in London by 24·7 per cent. of its migrants, whilst a centre belt of counties, extending from the Severn to the Humber, is represented by 11·0 per cent. The migration from these counties already exhibits the counter attraction of other centres of absorption in the centre and north of England, and this influence is still more marked in the case of a group embracing Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire, of whose migrants only 4·09 per cent. have reached London. Of the migrants from Wales 6·8 per cent. had found their way to the metropolis, whilst the north of England despatched 8·7 per cent. On comparing the contingents of migrants furnished by each county we find that although they correspond upon the whole pretty fairly with distance and facility of access, and do so most decisively as regards the counties nearest

* Population of London 3,816,483, of rural parts of enlarged metropolitan county, 2,293,110; native county element, 2,796,826 and 1,706,441; border element, 380,327 and 242,682.

† The natives who form this "inner belt" enumerated in the rural parts of the enlarged metropolitan county only amounted to 242,682, or 19·2 per cent. of all migrants, but they constituted 10·56 per cent. of the population, whilst the 30·2 per cent. who had gone to London only constituted 9·97 per cent. of the population.

to London, that three of the most distant occupy an exceptional position. These counties are Devonshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire. That Devonshire should send a larger contingent of her migrants than other counties at an equal distance from London, but situated in the centre or north of England, is only what might have been expected, for in consequence of the geographical position of their county, the eyes of the native of Devonshire desirous of migrating turn naturally to the eastward, and London is the great focus of light which attracts him (see p. 190). The case of Lancashire and Yorkshire differs from that of Devonshire, for whilst the last is a "county of dispersion," the former are "counties of absorption," and emigration from them is almost insignificant. Where such is the case the migrants belong in a large measure to a select or special class, and they go by preference to a centre of culture, commerce, and industry like London.

There still remains to be considered the displacement of the population of the counties surrounding London resulting from the currents of migration setting in the direction of the metropolis. If our suggestion as to the law of migration really embodies the facts of the case, then the number of natives of one of the counties of the "metropolitan group" and "inner belt" not in immediate contact with the metropolis met with in London should be less, proportionately to the population, than in the intervening counties. This is actually the case of the natives from all the thirteen counties, and the decrease on approaching London is progressive in all but three, namely, Norfolk, Northampton, and Cambridge.

The results summarised are presented in the following table:—

Natives of	In London.	In Intervening Counties.	Percentage of Population	
			Of London.	Of Intervening Counties.
Norfolk	49,999	40,338	1·40	2·31
Suffolk	53,316	20,068	1·31	3·49
Cambridge	25,085	5,381	0·66	0·81
Huntingdon	7,392	3,820	0·19	0·45
Northampton	17,569	8,784	0·46	0·88
Bedford.....	15,677	8,555	0·41	1·27
Hertford	35,893	11,714	0·94	2·49
Bucks	27,282	8,224	0·71	1·75
Oxfordshire	22,372	9,597	0·59	1·48
Perthshire.....	32,344	16,825	0·85	1·55
Wilts	31,316	30,422	0·82	1·80
Hampshire	53,694	16,179	1·41	3·68
Sussex	44,401	38,634	1·16	3·37
Total	416,320	218,541	10·91	25·34

As this migration towards and into London affords a good test,

we feel justified in going somewhat further into detail, and in order to save space we do so in a tabular form:—

Natives of	Proportion in per Cent. to Population of Intervening Counties.*	Ditto London.
Norfolk	{ In Suffolk, 54·5; Cambridge, 4·04; Essex, 1·30; Herts, 0·70; Middlesex, 0·95 }	1·40
Suffolk	„ Essex 3·49	1·31
Cambridge	„ Herts, 1·16; Middlesex, 0·64	0·66
Huntingdon	„ Beds, 1·51; Herts, 0·29; Middlesex, 0·20	0·19
Northampton	{ „ Bucks, 1·98; Beds, 1·56; Herts, 0·53; Middlesex, 0·40	0·46
Bedford	„ Herts, 2·62; Middlesex, 0·69	0·41
Herts	„ Middlesex 2·49	0·94
Bucks	„ „ 1·75	0·71
Oxford	„ Bucks, 3·22; Middlesex, 0·83	0·59
Berks	„ „ 2·21; Surrey, 1·60; Middlesex, 1·26	0·85
Wilts	{ „ Berks, 3·55; Hants, 2·46; Surrey, 10·3; Middlesex, 0·78	0·82
Hampshire	„ Surrey 36·8	1·41
Sussex	„ „ 4·10; Kent, 2·91	1·16

* Only the extra-metropolitan parts of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent are here referred to.

These proportions show very distinctly the effect which distance has upon migration, and how the “absorption” of migrants depends upon the population of the counties where they settle. The natives of Norfolk, Cambridge, and Northampton, in proportion to the population, are slightly less numerous in extra-metropolitan Middlesex than they are in London; and those of Norfolk are moreover less strongly represented in Herts than they are in Middlesex. But as the greater part of extra-metropolitan Middlesex, and more especially that portion of it which is most likely to attract migrants, actually lies beyond London to a migrant coming from the counties named, whilst Herts is outside the route which the main stream of migrants from Norfolk may be presumed to follow, we are entitled to state that the migrants from all these counties decrease, proportionately to the population, the nearer we approach London, and are least numerous in London itself.

It is only when we trace the currents of migration from the more distant counties that this rule appears to be broken through, and the fact of the metropolis exercising a preponderating attraction out of proportion to its population becomes apparent. On leaving Yorkshire, for instance, we find that the natives of that county decrease proportionately to the general population until we reach Herts or Middlesex; but that in Middlesex, and especially in London, they are proportionately more numerous than in Herts Cambridge, or Hunts. The decrease could be made continuous

only if we removed 851 natives of Yorkshire from Middlesex, and 13,427 from London, which would reduce their proportion to the general population of these counties to respectively 0·50 and 0·49 per cent.

The details of the distribution of the natives of Yorkshire on the road to London are as follows:—*

YORKSHIRE.

Derby, 16,467 (3·56).	Notts, 10,163 (2·59).	Lincoln, 16,683 (3·55).
Leicester, 3,017 (0·94).		Rutland, 202 (0·94).
Northampton, 2,081 (0·75).		Hunts, 389 (0·65).
Bucks, 726 (0·41).	Beds, 699 (0·47).	Cambridge, 991 (0·53).
	Herts, 1,032 (0·51).	
	Extra-metropolitan Middlesex, 3,193 (0·68).	
	LONDON, 32,223 (0·84).	

If we trace the natives of Cornwall along the routes leading to London, the result will be found to be analogous, inasmuch as they are more numerous in London than in any intervening county, Devonshire excepted. The natives of that county bound for London evidently follow two routes, the one overland, the other by sea. The overland stream appears to die almost away on reaching Wilts, whilst a considerable migration by sea accounts for the strength of the Cornish element in Hampshire. The following tabular statement illustrates this:—

CORNWALL.

	Devon, 27,220 (4·50).	
Dorset, 561 (0·29).		Somerset, 1,676 (0·35).
Hants, 2,876 (0·40).		Wilts, 325 (0·12).
Berks, 321 (0·15).		Extra-metropolitan Surrey, 1,256 (0·29).
	Extra-metropolitan Middlesex, 1,284 (0·27).	
	LONDON, 16,534 (0·40).	

Liverpool and Manchester.—These two towns having jointly a population of 1,070,157 souls, whilst rural Lancashire, outside the ten other towns included in our table, only numbers 1,315,299, can hardly be expected to find a productive recruiting ground in their immediate neighbourhood; and this all the less so, as there exist numerous other large and growing towns in that part of England. Hence the native county element is exceptionally weak, and the population is largely made up of elements drawn from a considerable distance. The Irish element is conspicuous in both, more especially in Liverpool, which is within easier reach of Irishmen than of the majority of natives of England; indeed we should be justified in treating Ireland as a border county of Lancashire.

* The figures in brackets give the proportion of natives of Yorkshire to the general population of each county in per cent.

The Scotch too are numerous in Liverpool, and next to them rank the natives of North Wales. Proportionally to its population, North Wales furnished a larger contingent to the population of Liverpool than any other part of the United Kingdom, and out of every 100 natives of North Wales enumerated in other parts of England and Wales, as many as 17 resided at Liverpool when the last census was taken.

The leading facts connected with the birthplaces of the inhabitants of Liverpool and Manchester-Salford are given in the following table:—

Natives of	Number of Natives from each County, &c.		Percentage of the Population of		Percentage of the Natives of each County, &c.		Percentage of the Migrants from each County, &c.	
	Liverpool.	Man- chester.	Liverpool.	Man- chester.	Liver- pool.	Man- chester.	Liver- pool.	Man- chester.
Lancashire	345,992	353,126	62·62	68·22	12·22	12·44	—	—
Cheshire	16,242	22,714	2·94	4·36	2·67	3·73	9·21	12·88
North Wales ..	18,297	6,188	3·31	1·20	3·46	1·17	17·49	5·92
Salop	4,631	4,427	0·84	0·86	1·48	1·41	3·92	3·75
Staffordshire ..	4,042	7,474	0·73	1·44	0·41	0·76	1·81	3·35
Derbyshire	1,492	6,235	0·27	1·20	0·33	1·36	1·15	4·82
Notts	1,157	2,529	0·21	0·48	0·30	0·66	1·19	2·60
Yorkshire	8,709	5,504	1·58	1·06	0·33	0·20	2·67	1·69
Westmore- land	1,540	1,046	0·28	0·20	1·98	1·34	5·03	3·42
Cumberland ..	5,960	2,239	1·08	0·43	2·34	0·88	9·38	3·52
London	6,398	6,450	1·16	1·25	0·21	0·22	1·10	1·10
Rest of Eng- land and Wales	30,897	43,186	5·59	8·36	0·24	0·34	0·78	1·08
Scotland	20,434	8,953	3·70	1·73	0·55	0·25	7·41*	3·25*
Ireland	70,977	38,550	12·84	7·45	1·21	0·66	9·09*	4·93*
Other parts...	15,768	9,028	2·85	1·75	—	—	4·49*	—
	552,508	517,649	100·00	100·00	—	—	—	—

* Percentage of natives of Scotland and Ireland enumerated outside the kingdom of their birth, and of natives of foreign parts enumerated throughout the United Kingdom.

Edinburgh-Leith.—The Scotch metropolis had 287,842 inhabitants in 1881, whilst rural Edinburghshire had only 100,994. Both town and country increase rapidly in population, and as both owe this increase in a large measure to migration, the native county element is exceptionally weak within them. This is more especially the case in the city, whose colleges and law courts attract migrants from the more distant parts of Scotland. How much more attractive the city is in the eyes of migrants than rural Edinburghshire may be seen from the following consideration: In 1881 112,192

natives of other parts of Scotland (including rural Edinburghshire) were enumerated in Edinburgh Leith, and 47,986 natives of Edinburgh-Leith in the rest of Scotland, leaving a balance of 65,206, equal to 22·6 per cent. of its population in favour of the city. The balance in favour of rural Edinburghshire, obtained in the same way, only amounts to 8,053 migrants, or to 7·9 per cent. of the population. The details are as follows:—

Edinburgh-Leith.

	To or from Rural Edinburghshire.	To or from Border Counties.	To or from rest of Scotland.
Immigrants.....	14,423	44,067	53,702
Emigrants	11,375	22,022	39,589
Balance	3,048	22,045	39,113

Rural Edinburghshire.

	To or from the City.	To or from Border Counties.	To or from rest of Scotland.
Immigrants.....	11,423	22,024	8,264
Emigrants	14,423	14,549	4,638
Balance	- 3,048	7,475	3,626

Further particulars on the composition of the population of Edinburgh-Leith and of rural Edinburghshire are given in the following table:—

Natives of	Inhabitants.		Percentage of the Population.		Percentage of Natives Enumerated in Scotland.		Percentage of Migrants Enumerated in Scotland.	
	City.	Rural.	City.	Rural.	City.	Rural.	City.	Rural.
Edinburgh-Leith	146,417	11,375	50·87	11·26	75·32	5·85	—	23·70
Rural Edinburghshire ...	14,423	48,561	5·01	48·08	17·55	59·08	42·93	—
Eight border counties*.....	44,067	22,024	15·31	21·81	4·11	2·06	18·54	9·26
Rest of Scotland..	53,702	8,264	18·66	8·18	2·62	0·40	9·31	1·43
England & Wales	14,193	3,968	4·93	3·93	15·46	4·32	—	—
Ireland	8,875	5,892	3·08	5·83	4·06	2·24	—	—
Other parts.....	6,165	910	2·14	0·90	22·34	3·30	—	—
	287,842	100,994	100·00	100·00	—	—	—	—

* Including Fife.

Dublin.—The population of Dublin, or rather of the two Dublin unions, comprehends 82 per cent. of the total population of the county. Dublin consequently recruits its population very largely in the border counties, and in a lesser degree in the remainder of Ireland. Map 8, which illustrates migration into the county of Dublin, very fairly illustrates the leading features of migration into Dublin town likewise, whilst the following table contains the particulars of the composition of the population of Dublin town:—

Natives of	Number.	Percentage of the Population of Dublin.	Percentage of Natives Enumerated in Ireland.	Percentage of Migrants Enumerated in Ireland.
Dublin county	209,940	60·81	73·53	—
Meath	9,120	2·65	9·22	41·64
Kildare	16,736	4·84	22·22	91·45
Wicklow	15,833	4·59	17·95	54·97
Rest of Ireland	68,359	19·80	1·51	15·82
England and Wales....	16,948	4·91	24·42	—
Scotland	4,220	1·22	18·92	—
Other parts	4,059	1·18	20·50	—
	345,215	100·00	—	—

4. The towns which fall next under our consideration increase far more rapidly in population than the country districts which surround them, or they increase at all events at a tolerable rate, whilst the rural population surrounding them either gains but little in numbers or is actually retrogressive.

The ten towns of this type are divisible into two groups:—

1. Towns in “counties of absorption” the rural population of which increases at a rate equal or superior to that of the general population of the country.

2. Towns in “counties of dispersion” the rural population of which increases very slowly or decreases.

To these we feel inclined to add four Irish towns, of which one (Cork) gains slowly in population, whilst the three others decrease at a rate much below that at which the rural population of the counties in which they are situated decreases.

These towns are:—*

* According to the census of 1871 the following additional towns represent the same type: Barrow-in-Furness, Reading, Lincoln, Redford, Yarmouth, Oxford, Cambridge, Bury St. Edmunds.

	Increase (or Decrease) of Population, 1871-81.	
	Town.	Rural parts of County.
	Per cent.	Per cent.
<i>First Group—</i>		
Middlesbrough.....	40	17
Nottingham.....	34	14
Cardiff.....	44	26
Leicester.....	28	14
<i>Second Group—</i>		
Northampton.....	26	8
Ipswich.....	17	Sta.
Aberdeen.....	19	3·7
Perth.....	13	- 2·1
Ayr.....	17	6
Norwich.....	9	- 0·4
<i>Irish Group—</i>		
Cork.....	1·9	- 5·1
Londonderry.....	0·5	- 7·9
Limerick.....	2·0	- 6·9
Waterford.....	- 3·6	- 9·6

In all these towns the native county element is below what it is in the rural parts of the counties in which they are situated, for when the increase of the population of town and country is so disproportionate, the resources of the latter in men are frequently insufficient to meet the demand, and the hands required in the workshops and factories have to be drawn from a wider area. This must naturally lead to a depression of the native county element. Various circumstances contribute to promote this immigration from the more distant parts of the country, such as the vicinity of competing towns, or the demand for a particular class of labour which the surrounding country is not able to furnish. Emigration to foreign parts is also of some influence, more especially in Ireland.

Middlesbrough affords a suitable illustration of this type of towns. Its rapid growth, the heterogeneous composition of its population, and the preponderance of the male sex, recall features generally credited only to the towns of the American west. The population of Middlesbrough increased 108 per cent. between 1861 and 1871, and 40 per cent. between 1871 and 1881. The composition of its population at the time of the last three censuses very faithfully reflects this rapid growth. In 1861* it still had a native county element of 73·2 per cent., but soon after this miners

* We take the superintendent-registrar's district of Guisborough (22,128 inhabitants) as representing the Middlesbrough (18,992 inhabitants) of 1861, no other details of the birthplaces for that year being available.

and ironworkers flocked into the town in increasing numbers from Durham, South Wales, Staffordshire, and Scotland, as also Irish labourers, so that in 1871 the native county element was found to have sunk to 50·1 per cent., that is only about one half the inhabitants were natives of Yorkshire. During the next decade this immigration continued, but at a much diminished rate, and as the children of the older immigrants were counted towards the native county element, this element once more rose to 55 per cent.

There is no county of England and Wales which has not contributed its contingent towards the population of Middlesbrough, although the contingents of the nearest border counties, and of Yorkshire itself, have been heaviest. To nimble-fingered migrants from the textile manufacturing districts a town of ironworks and miners held out but few inducements, whilst sturdy miners and ironworkers from Staffordshire, Scotland, and South Wales found their way to it, notwithstanding the distance they had to travel. This accession of migrants of a special class is a very marked feature in towns of this type, and in order to exhibit it we have included in our table all counties 0·10 per cent. of whose migrants were enumerated in Middlesbrough. Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that these "special" migrants form but a fraction of the population, and that the very mixed composition of the population of rapid growing towns is the outcome of an inflow of migrants from all parts of the country, rather than from any particular district.

Composition of the Population of Middlesbrough according to Birthplaces.

Natives of	Numbers.			Percentage.		
	1861.	1871.	1881.	1861.	1871.	1881.
Yorkshire	16,179	19,858	30,654	73·2	50·1	54·8
Durham	1,854	5,281	7,560	8·4	15·3	13·5
Northumberland	329	929	1,270	1·5	2·4	2·3
Cumberland	138	537	543	0·6	1·4	1·0
Lancashire	208	725	892	0·9	1·8	1·6
Stafford	109	1,031	1,197	0·4	2·6	2·1
Lincoln	639	556	717	2·9	1·4	1·3
Norfolk	278	547	977	1·2	1·4	1·7
Monmouth and Wales	267	1 530	1,680	1·2	3·9	3·0
Rest of England	1,404	3,182	3,589	6·4	8·2	8·2
Scotland	239	1,163	1,554	1·1	2·9	2·8
Ireland	442	3,621	3,686	2·0	9·1	6·6
Other parts	42	603	615	0·2	1·5	1·1
Total	22,128*	39,563	55,934	100·0	100·0	100·0

* In the superintendent-registrar's district of Guisborough. Middlesbrough only had 18,992 inhabitants.

Middlesbrough in 1881. Composition of its Population according to Birthplaces.

Natives of	Number.	Percentage of Population of Middlesbrough..	Percentage of Natives Enumerated in England and Wales.	Percentage of Migrants of Counties Enumerated in England and Wales.
Yorkshire	30,654	54·82	1·14	—
Durham	7,566	13·52	0·09	7·10
Northumberland	1,270	2·27	0·30	1·18
Cumberland	543	0·97	0·21	0·85
Westmoreland	108	0·20	0·14	0·35
Lancashire	892	1·60	0·03	0·33
Derby	163	0·29	0·04	0·13
Stafford.....	1,197	2·14	0·12	0·54
Worcester.....	370	0·66	0·09	0·28
Gloucester	206	0·37	0·03	0·12
Salop.....	173	0·31	0·05	0·15
Warwick	224	0·40	0·03	0·12
Lincoln	717	1·28	0·13	0·47
Notts.....	111	0·20	0·03	0·12
Norfolk.....	977	1·75	0·17	0·59
Suffolk	378	0·67	0·09	0·26
Cambridge	238	0·42	0·10	0·28
Kent	311	0·55	0·03	0·13
Monmouth	371	0·66	0·19	0·67
Glamorgan	412	0·74	0·11	0·92
Brecon	78	0·14	0·12	0·29
Cardigan	37	0·06	0·04	0·15
Carmarthen	57	0·10	0·04	0·13
Pembroke.....	45	0·08	0·04	0·13
Carnarvon.....	22	0·04	0·02	0·11
Remainder of Eng- land and Wales.. }	2,965	5·31	0·03	0·10
Scotland	1,554	2·78	0·61	—
Ireland	3,686	6·58	0·65	—
Other parts	615	1·10	0·20	—
	55,934	100·00	—	—

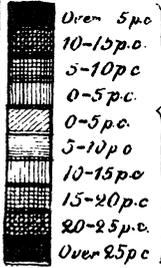
5. In conclusion, we have to notice those towns in which the "floating element" is so numerously represented as to result in a depression of the native county element below what it is in the rural parts of the counties to which towns of this type belong. In large cities this influence is but rarely decisive, and although the "floating element" in every commercial city, and more especially in our sea-ports, is undoubtedly large, we have been able, in most instances, to trace any deficiency in the native county element to some other more universal cause.

There are instances, however, where it is decisive. At Portsmouth a population of 127,989 souls included (in 1881) 9,942 men of the army and navy. We may fairly assume that a majority of these men are not natives of the county in which they temporarily reside, and, together with their dependents, they must materially affect the proportions between the constituent elements of the population, and bring about a lowering of the native county element. If we deduct these men from the population of Portsmouth, and then compute its elements, the native county element at once rises to 71·04 per cent., which is higher than in rural Hampshire, whilst the border element only rises to 9·26 per cent., and is thus still lower than outside Portsmouth. A similar depression of the native county element may be noticed in towns which are the seats of large educational establishments, such as Oxford, Cambridge, Bedford, and Winchester. Then there are health resorts and towns affected by annuitants and grass-widows, which generally also abound in ladies' colleges. Representative towns of this type are Bath and Brighton. That there is something exceptional in the composition of the population of these towns may be judged from the large preponderance of females, for whilst throughout England there are 105 females to every 100 males, there are 147 in Bath, and 128 in Brighton. If in cases of this kind we could separate the floating from the residential element of the population, it would undoubtedly be found that towns like those mentioned follow the general rule as respects the absorption of migrants.

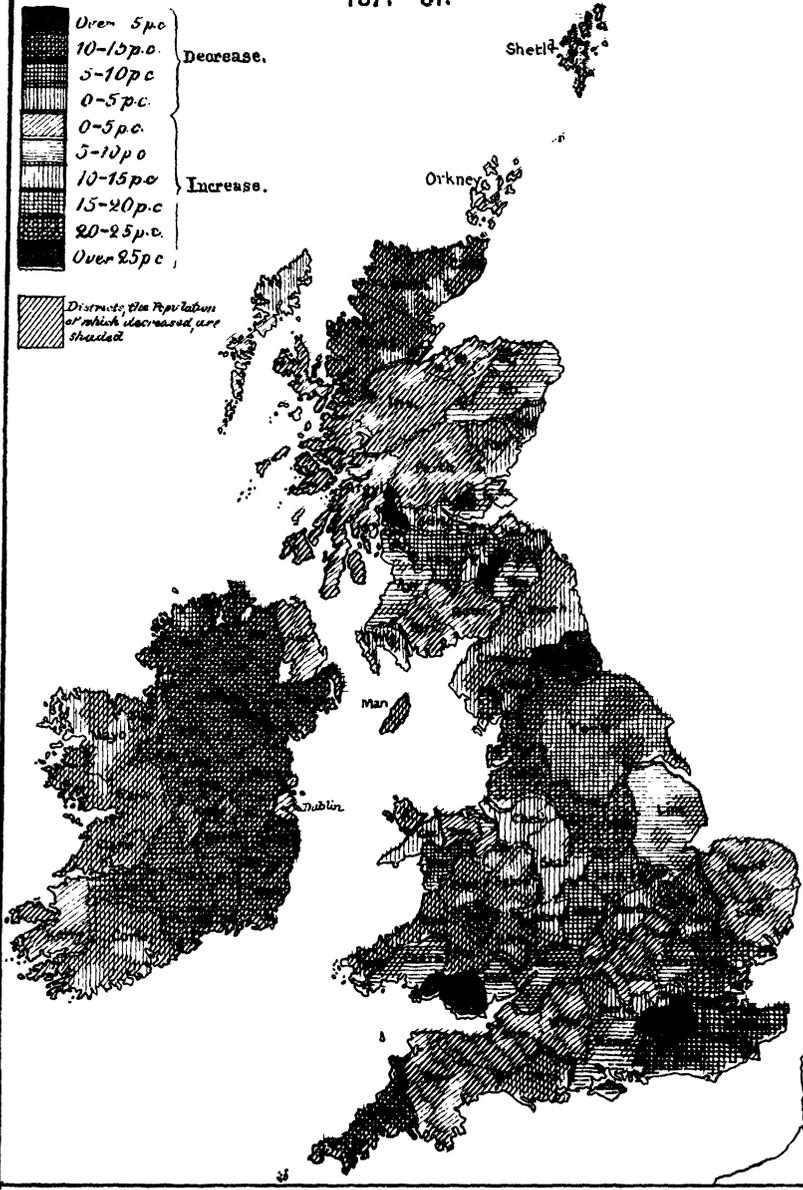
Concluding Remarks.

It has been the object of the author of this paper to place before the Statistical Society not merely an abstract of the returns of the birthplaces of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, but also to consider migration generally, and to determine, if possible, some law or rule by which it is governed. He is quite aware of the many imperfections of his essay, but trusts that his compilation will at least be looked upon as a contribution not altogether

INCREASE (OR DECREASE) OF THE POPULATION OF EACH COUNTY. 1871 - 81.

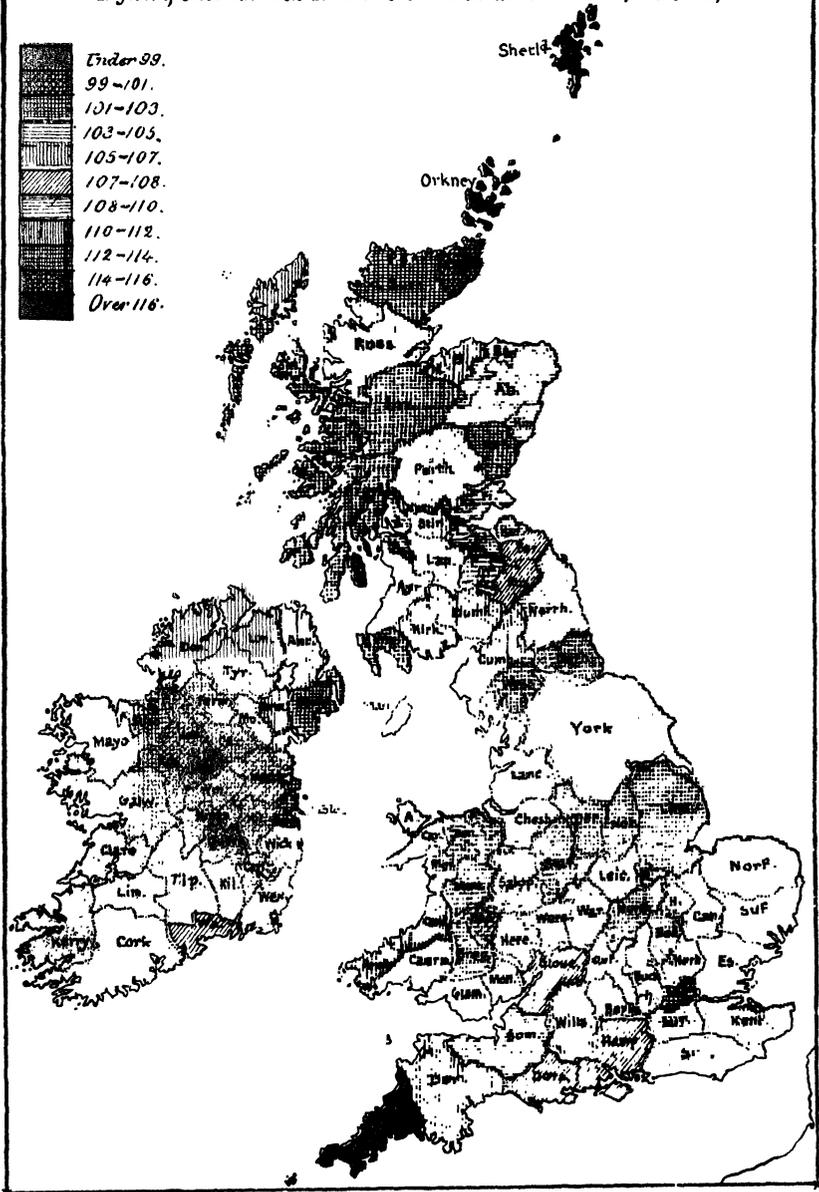
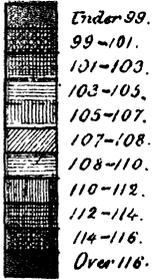


Districts the Population of which decreased, are shaded.



FEMALES TO 100 MALES AMONG THE NATIVES OF COUNTIES.

England, Scotland and Ireland to be looked at as three separate Maps



without value to a branch of inquiry of peculiar interest to the statistician.

The accompanying maps will assist in rendering clearer some of his arguments. In most instances the line separating the two colours marks the average.

APPENDIX.

Table Illustrative of Migration

Counties and Towns.	Population, 1881.	Natives of Counties, 1881.	Increase or Decrease, 1871-81.		Females to every 100 Males.		
			Of Popula- tion.	Of Natives.	Among Total Popula- tion.	Among Natives.	Among Native County Element.
Bedfordshire	149,473	173,985	Per cent.	Per cent.	112	103	106
Berkshire	218,363	236,015	2.2	9.9	101	106	97
Buckinghamshire	176,323	220,049	11.2	6.4	103	104	99
Cambridgeshire	185,594	229,254	0.2	5.8	103	106	101
Cheshire	644,037	608,589	- 0.8	7.9	107	104	103
Rural	500,478	—	14.6	15.5	106	—	102
Birkenhead	84,006	—	1.3	—	104	—	102
Stockport	59,553	—	27.3	—	116	—	113
Cornwall	330,686	386,898	12.3	—	112	118.9	117.0
Cumberland	250,647	254,898	- 9.1	- 2.9	101	105.5	104.9
Derbyshire	461,914	458,449	13.8	9.6	99	102	99
Derby	81,168	—	21.5	17.3	103	—	106
Devonshire	603,595	687,749	26.4	—	113	112	111
Plymouth	73,794	—	0.5	3.7	119	—	121
Dorset	191,028	234,883	7.3	—	104	108	104
Durham	867,278	694,238	- 2.4	4.1	95	102.5	101.2
Sunderland	116,548	—	26.6	32.2	104	—	113
South Shields	56,875	—	18.6	—	100	—	113
Essex	576,434	550,769	25.5	—	100	106	99
West Ham	128,953	—	23.5	13.6	97	—	98
Gloucestershire	572,433	606,641	105.0	—	112	107.4	106.6
Bristol	206,874	—	7.1	13.3	121	—	119
Hampshire	593,470	565,988	13.3	—	102	108	105
Portsmouth	127,989	—	9.0	13.1	105	—	116
Southampton	60,051	—	12.7	—	112	—	113
Herefordshire	121,062	146,944	11.7	—	102	105	99
Hertfordshire	203,069	226,110	- 3.5	1.4	106	107	101
Huntingdonshire	59,491	79,305	5.6	7.0	104	105	97
Kent	977,706	900,701	- 6.4	- 3.6	104	107	103
Lancashire	3,454,441	2,831,553	15.2	16.1	107	106.0	106.5
Rural	1,315,299	—	22.5	21.5	106	—	105
Blackburn	104,014	—	0.4	—	112	—	109
Bolton	105,414	—	21.5	—	111	—	110
Burnley	58,751	—	14.3	—	107	—	106
Bury	52,213	—	43.7	—	111	—	110
Liverpool	552,508	—	20.6	—	103	—	106
Manchester and Salford	517,649	—	12.0	—	109	—	111
Oldham	111,343	—	8.8	—	108	—	108
Preston	96,537	—	34.8	—	118	—	115
Rochdale	68,866	—	10.6	—	115	—	112
St. Helens	57,403	—	8.4	—	93	—	98
Leicestershire	321,258	332,902	27.2	—	106	103.4	104.4
Leicester	112,376	—	19.2	13.7	112	—	112
Lincolnshire	469,919	537,137	28.5	—	100	103	101
Middlesex	2,920,485	2,402,932	7.6	8.9	114	111	109
London (Metrop.)	3,816,483	2,986,655	14.9	18.3	112	—	109
Monmouthshire	211,267	194,445	17.3	19.9	95	104	101
Norfolk	444,749	555,347	8.1	20.9	107	107	105
Norwich	87,842	—	1.4	4.5	118	—	118
Northamptonshire	272,555	298,398	9.3	—	101	103	99
Northampton	51,881	—	11.7	10.2	106	—	108
Northumberland	434,086	427,891	26.0	—	103	103.6	103.4
Newcastle & Gateshead	211,162	—	12.3	14.5	103	—	107

in the United Kingdom.

Birthplaces, 1881.			Native County Element.	Border Element.	Distribution of Natives of each County, 1881.			Counties and Towns.
England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.			In County where Born.	Border Counties.	Elsewhere in same Kingdom.	
Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	
98·7	0·28	0·33	76·7	11·3	67·1	9·9	23·0	Bedfordshire
97·8	0·48	0·67	65·1	18·0	60·2	17·2	22·6	Berkshire
98·9	0·34	0·28	74·4	15·8	59·6	29·4	11·0	Buckinghamshire
99·1	0·21	0·27	78·2	14·6	63·4	12·7	23·9	Cambridgeshire
94·2	1·22	3·67	67·1	18·5	71·0	23·5	5·5	Cheshire
96·0	0·88	2·37	70·8	17·2	—	—	—	Rural
84·9	3·94	8·81	49·5	20·9	—	—	—	Birkenhead
93·3	0·48	5·63	61·1	25·3	—	—	—	Stockport
98·3	0·19	0·51	89·0	4·8	76·4	7·0	16·6	Cornwall
88·7	4·87	5·62	76·4	6·8	75·1	18·3	6·6	Cumberland
98·1	0·35	1·13	71·3	17·9	71·8	22·7	5·5	Derbyshire
97·1	0·62	1·56	65·2	17·0	—	—	—	Derby
97·2	0·46	1·04	82·0	7·1	72·0	5·5	22·5	Devonshire
95·4	0·61	1·94	74·4	12·0	—	—	—	Plymouth
98·0	0·38	0·75	79·5	11·0	64·6	15·9	19·5	Dorset
92·2	2·85	4·24	67·8	16·2	84·7	13·4	1·9	Durham
91·0	4·04	3·84	71·2	11·6	—	—	—	Sunderland
89·1	5·39	3·60	63·9	16·1	—	—	—	South Shields
97·3	0·76	0·86	64·8	20·6	67·8	20·2	12·0	Essex
94·5	1·72	1·56	38·4	35·1	—	—	—	West Ham
97·6	0·41	0·93	73·7	13·7	69·5	13·2	17·3	Gloucestershire
96·5	0·54	1·55	76·3	5·3	—	—	—	Bristol
95·2	0·97	1·93	68·8	10·7	71·6	11·3	17·1	Hampshire
93·8	1·16	2·46	65·5	8·5	—	—	—	Portsmouth
94·9	1·13	1·27	69·8	10·4	—	—	—	Southampton
98·8	0·33	0·48	72·4	17·0	59·7	28·1	12·2	Herefordshire
98·5	0·46	0·39	68·3	17·8	61·4	21·3	14·3	Hertfordshire
99·2	0·20	0·26	74·0	14·4	55·6	15·1	29·3	Huntingdonshire
95·8	0·88	1·63	67·2	15·5	72·8	19·8	7·4	Kent
91·0	1·62	6·15	74·1	8·3	90·4	5·5	4·1	Lancashire
93·7	1·25	4·24	76·2	10·1	—	—	—	Rural
94·7	0·77	4·07	87·5	4·0	—	—	—	Blackburn
94·2	0·84	4·39	85·2	4·4	—	—	—	Bolton
95·3	0·62	3·64	77·4	10·8	—	—	—	Burnley
94·5	0·64	4·24	83·6	5·7	—	—	—	Bury
80·6	3·70	12·84	62·6	6·1	—	—	—	Liverpool
89·1	1·73	7·45	68·2	7·2	—	—	—	Manchester and Salford
94·9	0·56	4·01	76·9	12·1	—	—	—	Oldham
94·2	0·75	4·40	86·6	3·8	—	—	—	Preston
95·2	0·61	3·70	81·7	7·9	—	—	—	Rochdale
90·1	1·09	8·49	79·8	3·6	—	—	—	St. Helens
98·7	0·32	0·58	77·2	13·3	74·2	15·3	10·5	Leicestershire
98·2	0·43	0·78	74·6	13·8	—	—	—	Leicester
98·8	0·26	0·41	82·2	10·0	71·9	17·1	11·0	Lincolnshire
93·3	1·34	2·10	60·8	12·0	73·2	16·3	10·5	Middlesex
93·8	1·30	2·12	69·7	7·5	—	—	—	London (Metrop.)
96·5	0·32	2·47	65·9	18·9	71·7	17·5	10·8	Monmouthshire
99·2	0·23	0·23	88·0	5·3	70·5	5·9	23·6	Norfolk
98·7	0·37	0·38	87·9	3·9	—	—	—	Norwich
98·9	0·26	0·39	75·9	13·7	69·3	12·8	17·9	Northamptonshire
98·1	0·35	0·85	74·9	10·4	—	—	—	Northampton
90·7	5·39	2·88	73·6	9·8	74·8	17·4	7·8	Northumberland
89·1	5·56	4·11	78·2	4·8	—	—	—	Newcastle & Gateshead

Table Illustrative of Migration

Counties and Towns.	Population 1881.	Natives of Counties, 1881.	Increase or Decrease, 1871-81.		Females to every 100 Males.		
			Of Popula- tion.	Of Natives.	Among Total Popula- tion.	Among Natives.	Among Native County Element.
Nottinghamshire ...	391,815	381,226	Per cent. 22·6	Per cent. 14·5	105	102	103
Nottingham	186,575	—	34·2	—	113	—	111
Oxfordshire	179,559	222,867	0·9	6·7	104	106	97
Rutland	21,434	28,606	- 2·9	2·3	99	102	91
Shropshire	248,014	313,531	- 0·1	4·4	100	105	97
Somersetshire.....	469,109	550,500	1·2	3·4	113	110	107
Bath	51,814	—	- 1·4	—	147	—	127
Staffordshire	981,013	977,353	14·3	19·2	97	103	101
Rural	790,157	—	—	—	99	—	100
Wolverhampton...	75,766	—	10·9	—	100	—	102
Walsall	58,795	—	19·9	—	100	—	102
West Bromwich...	56,295	—	17·8	—	99	—	100
Suffolk.....	356,893	445,785	2·3	5·0	104	105	101
Ipswich	50,546	—	17·7	—	113	—	114
Surrey	1,436,899	996,655	31·5	30·9	110	108	104
Croydon	78,953	—	41·8	—	124	—	110
Sussex.....	490,505	464,409	17·5	11·8	111	105	101
Brighton.....	107,546	—	16·3	—	128	—	116
Warwickshire.....	737,339	696,710	16·2	18·7	107	105	104
Birmingham (with Aston Manor)]	454,616	—	20·4	—	106	—	105
Westmoreland	64,191	77,759	- 1·3	7·2	104	102	99
Wiltshire.....	258,965	329,908	0·7	3·3	102	106	99
Worcestershire	380,283	393,847	12·2	11·8	106	105	103
Yorkshire	2,886,544	2,684,925	18·5	17·1	103	104	104·5
Rural	1,744,240	—	16·9	—	102	—	103
Bradford	183,032	—	24·4	—	115	—	113
Halifax	73,630	—	12·4	—	113	—	111
Huddersfield	81,841	—	15·1	—	110	—	109
Hull.....	154,240	—	26·5	—	104	—	107
Leeds	309,119	—	19·3	—	106	—	108
Middlesbrough ..	55,934	—	40·2	—	92	—	99
Sheffield	284,508	—	18·6	—	101	—	105
WALES.							
Anglesey	51,416	61,722	- 0·1	1·9	104	106·4	107·0
Brecknock	57,746	66,197	- 3·6	5·0	99	101·7	101·6
Cardigan	70,270	87,063	- 4·4	2·0	122	112	124
Carmarthen	124,864	149,235	7·9	5·9	109	106	110
Carnarvon	119,349	113,241	12·3	11·0	103	107	104
Denbigh	111,740	120,986	3·6	6·1	98	102	96
Ffint	80,587	88,495	5·3	7·6	99	102	95
Gla.norgan	511,433	375,153	28·6	20·2	95	104	103
Rural	362,975	—	25·7	—	93	—	101
Swansea	65,597	—	26·8	—	104	—	112
Cardiff.....	82,761	—	44·1	—	95	—	107
Merioneth	52,038	51,125	17·6	11·2	98	102	99
Montgomery	65,718	81,828	- 2·7	2·8	99	103	98
Pembroke	91,824	112,238	- 0·2	3·4	112	112	117
Radnor	23,528	33,744	- 7·4	0·9	97	100	95
England and Wales..	25,974,439	24,855,322*	14·4	14·6	105	106	104

* Inclusive of 108,596 persons, the county of whose birth is not known.

in the United Kingdom—Contd.

Birthplaces, 1881.			Native County Element.	Border Elcment.	Distribution of Natives of each County, 1881.			Counties and Towns.
England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.			In County where Born.	Border Counties.	Elsewhere in same Kingdom.	
Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.		
98·5	0·35	0·58	72·5	15·9	74·5	16·4	9·1	Nottinghamshire
97·8	0·44	0·82	70·8	15·1	—	—	—	Nottingham
98·8	0·32	0·31	74·9	13·5	59·7	14·8	25·5	Oxfordshire
98·7	0·44	0·40	67·6	18·7	50·5	24·7	24·8	Rutland
98·6	0·33	0·75	78·3	12·5	65·2	15·1	19·7	Shropshire
98·4	0·27	0·48	77·2	13·4	65·9	11·4	22·7	Somersetshire
95·7	0·58	1·28	61·6	17·2	—	—	—	Bath
98·0	0·34	1·33	72·9	13·6	77·2	10·4	12·4	Staffordshire
98·1	0·32	1·23	77·7	13·8	—	—	—	Rural
96·8	0·51	2·25	72·9	14·3	—	—	—	Wolverhampton
97·1	0·45	2·13	77·9	10·6	—	—	—	Walsall
98·9	0·19	0·66	76·3	13·1	—	—	—	West Bromwich
99·0	0·27	0·27	83·2	9·1	66·9	9·2	23·9	Suffolk
98·3	0·56	0·48	80·0	8·2	—	—	—	Ipswich
95·8	0·96	1·51	51·0	26·8	73·5	21·0	5·6	Surrey
95·5	0·95	1·28	45·7	30·7	—	—	—	Croydon
97·1	0·56	0·73	69·7	10·8	73·7	14·8	11·5	Sussex
96·0	0·76	1·06	64·0	9·6	—	—	—	Brighton
97·6	0·39	1·31	70·3	15·8	74·4	12·6	13·0	Warwickshire
97·2	0·41	1·64	68·1	16·8	—	—	—	{ Birmingham (with Aston Manor)
97·4	1·63	0·58	73·4	19·6	60·5	33·3	6·2	Westmoreland
99·0	0·21	0·30	79·4	11·9	62·3	15·9	21·8	Wiltshire
98·7	0·31	0·59	69·1	21·3	66·8	21·1	12·1	Worcestershire
96·8	0·67	1·97	81·7	7·4	87·8	7·9	4·2	Yorkshire
97·7	0·53	1·39	72·5	6·6	—	—	—	Rural
94·0	0·81	4·29	80·9	5·8	—	—	—	Bradford
95·3	0·63	3·52	83·8	5·3	—	—	—	Halifax
97·1	0·69	1·73	88·4	4·4	—	—	—	Huddersfield
95·1	1·17	1·60	73·3	11·6	—	—	—	Hull
95·0	0·86	3·09	82·7	5·0	—	—	—	Leeds
89·5	2·20	6·58	54·8	17·1	—	—	—	Middlesbrough
97·0	0·56	1·76	74·8	13·1	—	—	—	Sheffield
								WALES.
98·4	0·29	0·83	86·2	4·3	71·8	11·8	16·4	Anglesey
98·5	0·35	0·77	68·2	22·2	59·4	32·4	8·2	Brecknock
99·5	0·15	0·15	89·8	5·6	72·5	8·1	19·4	Cardigan
99·3	0·19	0·29	85·3	10·2	71·4	23·1	5·5	Carmarthen
98·6	0·37	0·52	79·1	11·5	83·3	6·9	9·7	Carnarvon
98·3	0·49	0·87	73·5	16·4	68·3	17·5	14·2	Denbigh
97·2	0·49	1·73	71·5	10·3	62·1	12·9	22·0	Flint
96·3	0·39	2·34	65·6	12·5	88·1	4·7	7·2	Glamorgan
97·8	0·23	1·62	67·8	14·7	—	—	—	Rural
95·2	0·60	2·78	64·2	7·6	—	—	—	Swansea
90·6	0·94	5·14	48·6	6·8	—	—	—	Cardiff
99·1	0·21	0·26	75·1	17·1	76·4	13·5	10·1	Merioneth
99·2	0·29	0·30	82·6	9·8	66·5	14·6	18·9	Montgomery
98·0	0·33	1·08	84·6	4·4	69·2	4·5	25·3	Pembroke
99·4	0·18	0·20	77·0	16·4	53·4	25·4	21·2	Radnor
95·7	0·98	2·17	72·0	12·8	75·23†	12·42	12·35	England and Wales

† Or 74·75 per cent., inclusive of natives of England and Wales enumerated in Scotland and Ireland.

Table Illustrative of Migration

Counties and Towns.	Population, 1881.	Natives of Counties, 1881.	Increase or Decrease; 1871-81.		Females to every 100 Males.		
			Of Popula- tion.	Of Natives.	Among Total Popula- tion.	Among Natives.	Among Native County Element.
SCOTLAND.							
Aberdeenshire	269,047	272,130	9'2	11'2	109	110	109
Aberdeen	105,189	—	19'3	—	118	—	120
Argyll	80,761	92,431	1'4	- 4'0	102	114	103
Ayrshire	217,630	232,894	8'3	10'1	104	107	106
Ayr	20,987	—	16'9	—	110	—	129
Kilmarnock	25,844	—	9'0	—	105	—	108
Banff	59,783	73,453	1'5	7'3	111	110	112
Berwick	35,273	40,171	- 3'0	1'5	109	108	106
Bute	17,634	14,366	3'9	2'4	118	120	111
Caithness	39,859	45,893	- 2'8	2'0	111	115	113
Clackmannan	24,025	25,202	8'0	13'5	110	106	107
Dumbarton	78,182	56,252	28'0	15'9	102	105	101
Dumfriesshire	75,166	80,883	1'8	1'9	111	112	112
Dumfries	17,092	—	10'7	—	119	—	124
Edinburgh	388,836	276,574	18'5	16'6	112	110	109
Edinburgh (with Leith)	287,842	—	19'1	—	115	—	111
Elgin	45,108	46,306	1'2	6'6	111	111	110
Fife	172,131	189,074	7'0	6'9	113	110	112
Dunfermline	17,084	—	14'2	—	127	—	122
Forfar	268,653	227,191	11'0	14'1	122	113	116
Arbroath	21,785	—	8'0	—	127	—	125
Dundee	140,239	—	7'7	—	129	—	118
Haddington	38,510	44,434	1'9	3'7	105	104	99
Inverness-shire	86,389	99,841	2'5	0'7	106	114	111
Inverness	17,385	—	19'8	—	108	—	112
Kincardine	35,465	42,642	1'0	3'0	103	109	103
Kinross	7,330	9,237	- 7'4	- 0'01	115	110	122
Kirkcudbright	42,290	40,113	0'5	- 4'3	113	112	113
Lanark	942,206	667,335	19'7	25'3	101	106	105
Glasgow	511,415	—	8'0	—	106	—	109
Airdrie	13,363	—	- 0'9	—	101	—	103
Hamilton	18,517	—	61'0	—	96	—	101
Rural	414,213	—	37'1	—	94	—	104
Linlithgow	44,005	46,126	6'3	13'1	91	105	96
Nairn	8,847	9,076	5'6	1'6	110	111	108
Orkney	32,040	34,271	2'5	3'0	114	119	116
Peebles	13,688	14,272	12'1	3'8	109	105	101
Perthshire	130,282	148,835	1'4	- 1'0	110	111'3	111'4
Perth	28,980	—	13'2	—	115	—	120
Renfrew	225,611	186,598	15'4	15'1	108	109	107
Rural	103,259	—	15'0	—	112	—	110
Greenock	66,704	—	15'4	—	95	—	104
Paisley	55,638	—	15'3	—	119	—	112
Ross and Cromarty	79,967	91,777	- 3'3	0'02	112	111'8	112
Roxburgh	52,592	53,773	9'0	3'4	110	107'8	108
Hawick	16,184	—	35'4	—	110	—	104
Selkirk	26,346	16,448	34'0	42'1	110	103'3	103'7
Shetland	29,705	31,907	- 6'0	- 5'9	135	145	141
Stirlingshire	106,883	111,195	14'5	11'4	100	107	100
Stirling	16,012	—	12'1	—	108	—	110
Sutherland	22,376	26,743	- 3'9	- 3'2	108	113	112
Wigtown	38,448	42,169	- 0'4	1'8	113	113	115
Total	3,735,573	3,397,759	11'2	11'0	108	110	108

* Or 65'8 per cent. inclusive of natives of Scotland

in the United Kingdom—Contd.

Birthplaces, 1881.			Native County Element.	Border Element.	Distribution of Natives of each County, 1881.			Counties and Towns.
England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.			In County where Born.	Border Counties.	Elsewhere in same Kingdom	
Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	
1.28	97.8	0.38	84.8	9.2	83.8	8.5	7.7	SCOTLAND.
2.38	95.9	0.68	78.7	11.0	—	—	—	Aberdeenshire
1.31	96.7	1.55	72.6	11.6	63.4	12.9	23.7	Aberdeen
2.49	89.4	7.65	77.3	9.9	72.2	22.6	5.2	Argyll
3.43	89.4	6.08	71.9	11.0	—	—	—	Ayr
1.52	93.6	4.45	80.7	9.6	—	—	—	Kilmarnock
0.68	98.8	0.23	76.2	17.6	63.5	25.5	11.0	Banff
6.11	92.2	1.01	71.7	14.3	63.0	24.6	12.4	Berwick
1.81	93.9	3.60	53.3	8.3	60.9	10.5	28.6	Bute
0.63	98.9	0.17	88.0	6.0	76.2	2.6	21.2	Caitness
1.85	96.0	1.07	60.9	21.2	58.0	20.2	21.8	Clackmannan
2.07	86.2	11.02	44.7	30.8	60.2	32.9	6.9	Dumbarton
5.04	93.1	1.31	74.9	11.9	71.8	20.0	8.2	Dumfriesshire
6.48	88.9	3.72	53.9	28.5	—	—	—	Dumfries
4.67	89.7	3.80	56.8	13.0	79.8	11.9	8.3	Edinburgh
4.93	89.5	3.08	55.9	11.2	—	—	—	Edinburgh (with Letty)
1.21	97.9	0.31	69.7	17.4	68.0	9.8	22.2	Elgin
1.56	96.8	0.86	81.1	6.9	73.8	8.4	17.8	Fife
0.92	97.3	1.53	94.9	6.7	—	—	—	Dunfermline
1.71	93.0	4.62	71.6	15.0	84.7	7.5	7.8	Forfar
1.62	96.6	1.25	84.4	7.8	—	—	—	Arbroath
2.04	89.0	8.16	66.0	16.2	—	—	—	Dundee
2.94	92.9	3.70	68.2	12.6	59.2	27.6	13.2	Haddington
1.24	97.8	0.41	79.4	13.6	69.0	15.4	15.6	Inverness-shire
2.77	95.3	0.88	62.1	24.9	—	—	—	Inverness
1.11	98.2	0.29	68.7	23.8	—	—	—	Kincardine
0.87	98.4	0.40	52.2	34.1	57.3	32.8	9.9	Kinross
4.17	93.3	2.02	68.6	19.4	41.4	28.3	30.3	Kirkcudbright
3.00	84.0	12.21	59.7	15.1	72.4	17.9	9.7	Lanark
3.14	82.8	13.12	61.3	11.1	84.3	11.9	3.8	Glasgow
1.14	88.3	10.17	72.9	10.9	—	—	—	Airdrie
3.10	88.8	7.41	72.4	11.2	—	—	—	Hamilton
2.93	85.0	11.16	60.4	20.4	—	—	—	Rural
2.49	89.4	7.65	56.5	25.1	53.8	39.2	7.0	Linlithgow
1.21	98.0	0.26	57.6	24.6	56.3	22.7	21.0	Nairn
0.63	98.9	0.15	92.8	2.3	86.6	1.8	12.3	Orkney
2.09	95.5	1.99	49.0	29.8	46.9	42.7	10.4	Peebles
1.80	96.0	1.63	70.6	16.5	61.8	22.2	16.0	Perthshire
2.93	93.4	2.93	70.1	12.7	—	—	—	Perth
2.17	83.6	13.49	56.8	19.0	68.7	26.7	4.6	Renfrew
1.80	83.2	14.30	51.3	23.5	—	—	—	Rural
3.14	79.5	16.07	55.1	17.8	—	—	—	Gretnock
1.53	89.0	8.98	69.0	14.7	—	—	—	Paisley
0.69	98.9	0.18	88.4	9.4	76.5	8.4	15.1	Ross and Cromarty
5.71	92.3	1.57	68.8	16.5	67.3	24.4	8.3	Roxburgh
5.73	91.8	2.22	70.1	13.9	—	—	—	Hawick
2.69	94.7	2.22	45.8	31.6	73.4	19.8	6.8	Selkirk
0.43	99.3	0.07	94.8	0.3	90.5	0.6	8.9	Shetland
1.48	93.9	4.17	63.8	19.1	61.3	28.1	10.6	Stirlingshire
2.83	91.3	4.87	59.9	21.9	—	—	—	Stirling
0.72	98.9	0.16	83.5	7.8	70.1	12.5	17.4	Sutherland
2.37	91.0	6.11	78.3	7.3	72.2	4.9	22.9	Wigtown
2.46	91.0	5.86	68.3	14.2	74.4*	15.6	10.0	Total

enumerated in England and Wales and in Ireland

Table Illustrative of Migration

Counties and Towns.	Population, 1881.	Natives of Counties, 1881.	Increase or Decrease, 1871-81.		Females to every 100 Males.		
			Of Popula- tion.	Of Natives.	Among Total Popula- tion.	Among Natives.	Among Native County Element.
IRELAND.							
Antrim	421,943	355,216	Per cent. — 4'4	Per cent. — 1'7	114	111'6	112'1
Belfast (Union)	239,283	—	18'1	—	119	—	—
Armagh	163,177	169,872	— 9'0	— 8'2	110	111	109
Carlow	46,568	52,862	— 9'8	— 7'8	101	102	98
Cavan	129,476	136,009	— 8'0	— 6'9	100	99'5	98'8
Clare	141,457	144,432	— 4'3	— 4'3	99	99	99
Cork, County	495,607	478,754	— 4'1	— 4'0	101	104'7	104'8
Cork	80,115	—	1'9	—	113	—	114
Donegal	206,035	211,862	— 5'6	— 5'0	105	107	104
Down	272,107	287,310	— 7'3	— 1'0	112	113	111
Dublin, County	418,910	285,528	3'4	— 0'5	112	114'3	114'7
Dublin (City)	169,274	—	6'5	—	110	—	116
„ (Union)	345,245	—	3'5	—	110	—	116
Fermanagh	84,879	87,138	— 8'5	— 9'0	102	102	100
Galway	242,005	241,503	— 3'1	— 3'4	101	101'8	101'8
Kerry	201,039	201,494	2'3	1'2	98	100	99'8
Kildare	75,804	75,347	— 9'3	— 5'2	86	99	94
Kilkenny	99,531	104,082	— 9'0	— 8'3	103	105	104
King's County	72,852	71,749	— 4'0	— 4'3	96	99	96
Leitrim	90,372	92,107	— 5'4	— 5'3	100	100	99
Limerick, County ...	180,632	179,357	— 5'9	— 5'6	104	105'3	105'1
Limerick	38,555	—	— 2'0	—	111	—	112
Londonderry, County	164,991	159,450	— 5'1	— 6'1	108	106'3	105'5
Londonderry	58,400	—	— 0'6	—	77	—	103
Longford	61,009	61,990	— 5'4	— 4'6	98	98'6	97'6
Louth	77,684	75,721	— 7'5	— 8'3	103	106	105
Drogheda	12,297	—	— 8'9	—	116	—	115
Mayo	245,212	245,550	0'1	0'2	106	107	106
Meath	87,469	98,923	— 8'5	— 4'5	100	100	95
Monaghan	102,748	109,097	— 10'6	— 34'3	105	105	104
Queen's County	73,124	79,843	— 8'3	— 5'2	98	98'9	98'8
Roscommon	132,490	132,239	— 5'8	— 6'4	99	99	99
Sligo	111,578	110,509	— 3'4	— 12'1	102	102'4	101'9
Tipperary	199,612	203,502	— 7'9	— 7'5	102	103	103
Tyrone	197,719	207,788	— 8'4	— 6'6	105	106	104
Waterford, County...	112,769	108,737	— 8'6	— 7'9	106	108	107'6
Waterford	22,452	—	— 3'8	—	112	—	114
Westmeath	71,798	76,588	— 8'5	— 5'9	96	99	96
Wexford	123,854	132,508	— 6'6	— 6'1	103	105	96
Wicklow	70,386	88,223	— 10'6	— 7'7	101	106	98
Ireland	5,174,836	5,062,287	— 4'9	4'6	104	105	104
United Kingdom ...	34,884,848	34,538,048	10'8	10'3	106	106	105

* Or 77'6 per cent. inclusive of natives of Ireland

in the United Kingdom—Contd.

Birthplaces, 1881.			Native County Element.	Border Element.	Distribution of Natives of each County, 1881.			Counties and Towns.
England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.			In County where Born.	Border Counties.	Elsewhere in same Kingdom.	
Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	IRELAND.
1·50	1'36	96·7	78·2	14·7	92·9	5·3	1·8	Antrim
2·69	2'30	94·4	78·6	9·4	—	—	—	Belfast (Union)
0·79	0·40	98·5	87·9	7·4	84·5	7·3	8·2	Armagh
0·53	0'13	99·1	86·0	9·9	75·8	9·1	15·1	Carlow
0·28	0'14	99·4	93·4	4·9	88·9	5·2	5·9	Cavan
0·43	0'07	99·3	95·1	2·5	93·2	4·2	2·6	Clare
2·09	0·26	97·1	92·7	2·4	95·2	1·9	2·9	Cork, County
3·59	0·52	94·8	87·2	—	—	—	—	Cork
0·37	0·36	99·0	95·6	2·1	92·4	5·1	2·5	Donegal
1·18	0·84	97·7	87·6	7·3	83·0	11·4	5·6	Down
4·56	1'10	93·2	61·9	10·8	90·8	2·5	6·7	Dublin, County
5·35	0·87	92·5	62·6	—	—	—	—	Dublin (City)
4·91	1'22	92·7	60·8	12·1	—	—	—	„ (Union)
0·55	0'31	98·9	89·5	6·7	87·2	6·9	5·8	Fermanagh
0·80	0'14	98·8	94·2	2·6	94·4	2·5	3'1	Galway
0·88	0'12	98·8	96·4	1·8	96·2	2·5	1'3	Kerry
5·49	0·64	93·2	75·1	11·1	75·8	20·8	3·4	Kildare
0·85	0'14	98·7	90·9	5·3	86·5	7·8	5·8	Kilkenny
1·26	0·29	98·0	83·8	9·6	85·2	7·4	7·4	King's County
0·30	0'14	99·4	93·4	4·7	91·7	5·6	2·7	Leitrim
1·30	0'16	98·2	89·1	7·2	89·8	6·5	3·7	Limerick, County
4·70	0·54	93·5	76·2	—	—	—	—	Limerick
0·76	0·82	98·0	87·6	8·5	90·6	7·2	2·2	Londonderry, Cnty.
1·66	1'45	96·3	60·9	15·4	—	—	—	Londonderry
0·97	0'15	98·6	90·8	5·1	89·4	4·4	6·2	Longford
1·28	0·25	98·1	84·5	9·3	86·6	5·1	8·3	Louth
1·20	0'35	98·0	85·0	—	—	—	—	Drogheda
0·59	0'13	99·1	96·3	1·7	96·1	2·2	1·7	Mayo
0·66	0'16	99·0	87·9	8·2	77·8	19·8	2·4	Meath
0·33	0·25	99·3	91·8	5·9	86·5	6·7	6·8	Monaghan
0·71	0·21	98·8	88·2	6·5	70·7	7·1	22·2	Queen's County
0·91	0'10	98·7	92·8	4·4	92·9	4·4	2·7	Roscommon
0·47	0·36	99·0	93·1	3·8	94·0	3·0	3'0	Sligo
1·18	0'14	98·3	89·8	6·5	88·1	7·2	4·7	Tipperary
0·33	0'35	99·1	91·8	6·6	88·6	9·0	2·4	Tyrone
1·22	0'17	98·2	87·3	8·2	90·6	6·1	3'3	Waterford, County
2·85	0·49	95·9	71·0	—	—	—	—	Waterford
1·02	0'14	98·4	87·83	6·14	82·4	5·6	12·0	Westmeath
0·80	0'10	98·9	93·44	2·81	87·4	3·9	8·7	Wexford
1·14	0'30	98·2	84·3	9·82	67·3	2·9	29·8	Wicklow
1·34	0·43	97·5	89·6	4·1	89·6*	4·2	6·2	Ireland
71·7	10·50	16·7	73·8	11·6	74·5	11·7	13·7	United Kingdom

* enumerated in England and Wales and in Scotland.

DISCUSSION *on* MR. RAVENSTEIN'S PAPER.

THE PRESIDENT said he hoped that the accident of Mr. Ravenstein's not having been able to prepare a written paper in time to be printed with his tables, would not prevent members from entering upon a profitable discussion on the important subject which had been brought before them. Doubtless many had personal knowledge, not of the laws of migration but of the actual facts of migration in different parts of the kingdom, affecting as they did their criminal population, their increase of population, and also their social existence. The influx of the population from the agricultural into the urban and manufacturing districts was one of the immensely difficult problems of the present day, and was one which was not confined to England, but existed in France, in the United States, and was increasing in other countries throughout Europe. He hoped that the very pregnant and important matters placed before them would lead to a profitable discussion.

Dr. G. B. LONGSTAFF said he had done a little work in the same direction as Mr. Ravenstein, though not in such an elaborate way. He held in his hands a map in which he had coloured the counties of England and Wales with three colours, according to the results obtained by comparing the actual increase in the ten years as shown by the census, with the natural increase recorded by the comparison of the registers of births and deaths. In every county there was a very considerable natural increase by excess of births over deaths, because the English death-rate is exceptionally low, and the birth-rate somewhat high; but owing to migration the actual increase of the different counties was very different from the natural increase; the counties fell into three categories, first there were those counties in which the population at the enumeration of 1881 was smaller than in 1871; these were very few in number, and had no towns of any considerable magnitude: they comprised Westmorland, Shropshire, Hereford, Dorset, Cornwall, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Rutland. The only towns of any considerable size in those counties were Shrewsbury and Cambridge. Then at the other end of the scale there were those counties which had increased considerably more than the natural increase, mainly, the great seats of manufacture and mining, Durham, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, and the counties in the immediate neighbourhood of London, Essex, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. The greater portion of England came into the third category, *i.e.*, counties in which the population had increased but not to such an extent as the natural increase would lead one to expect, owing to the fact that in all of them emigration had exceeded immigration. Mr. Ravenstein stated that people migrated not from one county direct to the centre of population, but moved from each county as it were into the

next, and so on, moving towards the centre, and he (Dr. Longstaff) should like to know whether he found in the peripheral counties that the native county element was very large. According to his theory they would for example expect to find that in Norfolk, Anglesea, Carnarvon, Pembrokeshire, and Cornwall, the people were almost entirely natives, because there was no place beyond from which migrants could come, since none of them contained seaports of any consequence. Speaking of Devonshire, he noticed that there was a very considerable migration of Devon people into Wales, and of Welsh people into Devon, so that the Severn was not by any means the barrier that it might be supposed to be. When his map showing the relation of migration to natural increase was compared with a map showing the density of the population, they would find practically, which of course was a fact generally known, that where the population was densest there was the tendency for it to increase most, and people mostly went from the thinly populated to the densest portions. It was an interesting problem to find out what was the real annual decennial migration from place to place. Take for instance the Germans in England: the census showed a greater number in 1881 than in 1871. According to the usual process of subtracting one from the other, the ordinary writer in a newspaper would tell them that so many thousand people had come into England from Germany in the ten years. But a little thought would show that the stream of migration must have been very much larger than that, because during the whole time there had been Germans dying in England at presumably the same rate as English people. Mr. Humphreys had suggested a way of ascertaining the real increase as follows: take as the average German born population the mean of the numbers enumerated in 1871 and 1881, and then assuming in place of any better facts that they died at the same rate as English people, they could get an approximation to the number of Germans that had died in England during the ten years; and as the population had increased, it was obvious the total migration consisted of a number equal to those who had died added to the enumerated excess. The migration of Irish was very large into this country, but seeing that the Irish population enumerated in 1881 was smaller than in 1871, the first idea that one might have would be that there had been no migration of the Irish. But if they allowed for the death-rate in the interval they would find that the migration was very considerable, although it was not sufficient to make up for the death-rate. He thought the law laid down by Mr. Ravenstein might be true for most completely settled countries, but it was not altogether true. If they looked at the facts of the United States, where of course the foreign element was a very large one, they would find that maps coloured to show the distribution of the foreign born of each nationality were quite different. An Irishman as long he remained in Ireland talked about nothing but the land; possession of land was his idea of bliss, and the land laws were the cause of all his misery; nevertheless in the United States and Canada they did not find the Irish population most dense where most land was to be had, but it was greatest in the great

cities of the Eastern States. It was not so with other peoples. If they took the Germans, they would find them going to the great wheat growing States, Minnesota, Dakota, and Wisconsin. There was no Scandinavian population in the Eastern States, but in Dakota and Minnesota they formed no less than 13 or 14 per cent. of the total inhabitants. The British population was more evenly distributed over the whole, but very naturally the largest proportion was in Upper Canada. So that it would be found if they went to other countries where conditions were very different, that there were other laws which would interfere altogether, and might even turn the tables completely upon Mr. Ravenstein's law and produce results quite different. He thought they ought to be very grateful for the interesting facts which Mr. Ravenstein had brought before them.

Mr. NOEL A. HUMPHREYS said the author had made some allusion to the extra-metropolitan parts of Middlesex. The small proportion of the enumerated population born in the extra-metropolitan districts was apt to be very deceptive. The growth of the population in extra-metropolitan Middlesex was larger than that in almost any other so-called registration county in England, and although the population born therein bore a very small proportion to the total number enumerated therein, that was not due to any strong tendency to migration, but rather to the overpowering numbers of those who had come over the borders of London and were born in other parts of Middlesex, thereby apparently reducing the proportion of the natives of that portion of the county. This must not be attributed, as Mr. Ravenstein rather appeared to do, to any unaccountable tendency in the natives of that county to migrate. There was one other point in which he thought Mr. Ravenstein was not sufficiently explicit. He had stated that the increase of the natives of Durham had been 32 per cent. in the ten years; but the information given was not sufficient in order to ascertain that very accurately, since the last census was the first occasion on which the natives of the county had been grouped together in the way to facilitate the inquiry which Mr. Ravenstein made. The enumerated natives of Durham in 1881, however, included all the children of the immigrants into the county since 1871. There was one very startling fact with regard to the county of Cornwall, viz., that the natural increase of population in that county during the last ten years was 32,000, and yet the recorded population had decreased 34,000; so that Cornwall actually contributed to the increase of other places to the extent of 64,000 in that period. The subject was one full of interest, and at the same time full of perplexity on account of the difficulty of localising the migrations in sufficiently small areas.

The PRESIDENT said he would take the opportunity of bringing before the members some very interesting information with regard to the non-progress of the population of France, touching upon this very question, which had been published in the March number of the "Journal of the Statistical Society of Paris," and had reached

him last Saturday. It was contained in a paper by M. Loua, the general secretary of the society, showing the changes of population in France chiefly in the last five years, and bringing prominently into notice the difference between what he called the natural and the artificial increase of the population, viz., the excess of births over deaths in each locality, and the increase independent of that change. Mr. Ravenstein's paper did not bear upon that subject, but it was a very important element in considering the question, and if they had the statistics complete with regard to births and deaths throughout the kingdom, which he believed to a certain extent they had, anyone who would undertake to make an abstract of them, would be able to compare for each part of the country how far the changes were due to the natural excess of births or deaths and how much to migration. He had hoped that perhaps Mr. Ravenstein might have touched upon that branch of the question, but his subject was large enough as it was; still it was one that might be usefully taken up by any gentleman interested in it, and would well repay him for his labour. Now with reference to France, we find there the population is almost stationary. M. Loua says, "You know already that since 1870 our population has scarcely increased, that is to say, the excess of births over deaths is less than 100,000 in the year; and that allowing for immigration of foreigners it is not more than 150,000." As the present population of France is 37 millions, you can understand the increase is 0.3 per cent. at the outside. So that it is really almost stationary. M. Loua goes on to say that "if you examine the details more closely, it will be shown that the greater part of our territory is becoming depopulated day by day, while certain more favoured regions increase incessantly, to the great detriment of the national equilibrium. This is a point which it is unnecessary for me to prove, because it is generally admitted." He then proceeds to show that, comparing the census of 1876 with that of 1881, in five years there had been an increase of 766,000 souls, and of these 561,000 were in the forty-seven principal cities; and 204,000 in the county districts. The population of these forty-seven large towns, which was about 12 millions, had increased little more than half-a-million (561,869), while that of the rural districts, being about 25 millions, had only increased about 200,000 (204,301). He then shows that among the city populations embracing those forty-seven principal towns, and containing 12 million inhabitants, the natural increase by excess of births over deaths in those five years was only 38,480, and the artificial increase by immigration was 1,080,000. The whole paper was well worthy of examination, showing as it did in the most striking way, first, that the population of France was almost stationary, and secondly, that the changes were derived entirely from the movement of the population from the country into the towns and from the introduction of foreigners. During the five years mentioned (1876-81), while the increase of the native-born French in France was about half-a-million, the increase of foreigners was about a quarter of a million; so that one-third of the total increase during that period consisted of foreigners. The total number of foreigners in 1881 was 1,001,090. Of these

432,256 were Belgians, chiefly settled in the departments of the Nord, the Seine, and the Ardennes. The Germans accounted for only 82,000; chiefly in the Seine, 35,954, and Meurthe and Moselle 12,000. Then came the Italians, who having been only 76,000 some twenty years ago, had now increased to 241,000. They were to be found chiefly in the Bouches du Rhône, the Alpes Maritimes, the Seine, and the Var. Spaniards accounted for 73,786, chiefly in the Basses Pyrénées and Pyrénées Orientales. The Swiss were 66,281, of whom 23,422 were in the Seine; and the English were 37,006, of whom 12,636 were in the Seine, 5,704 in the Pas-de-Calais, and 2,347 in the Alpes Maritimes. The facts adduced with regard to the migration from the country districts into the towns had a distinct bearing upon Mr. Ravenstein's paper, and gave him the opportunity of expressing the hope that that gentleman would carry out his intention of extending his inquiry to the several European countries, and show in a subsequent paper the migration from one country into the other that was there going on throughout the continent.

Rev. I. DOXSEY said there were various commercial and political circumstances that seemed to affect the law of migration. Some years ago in Northamptonshire there was an objection on the part of the working classes to use machines, and when the masters found that they could not get on with their workpeople, the trade was to a very considerable extent driven out of Northampton and settled itself in Kettering, Wellingborough, Leicester, and other towns, causing a migration altogether unusual during the period of time in which the masters were contending with their workpeople. And later still with regard to the iron shipbuilding trade, it would be in their recollection that at one time there was a considerable shipbuilding trade on the Thames, but owing to the failure of a large shipbuilding company, a considerable district on the borders of that river was almost entirely deserted, and the shipbuilding trade took its flight principally to the Clyde. He suggested whether similar circumstances had not been operating during the last ten years in regard to the migration of population from the country places to the towns. It was well known that agriculture had been very seriously affected in two ways, partly because agriculturists found it desirable to lay down their farms in grass instead of tillage, which caused a considerable portion of the country population to seek refuge in the towns wherever they could find employment; and partly because a considerable number of farms had lain idle, and therefore labourers were necessarily driven away from the rural districts, from what Mr. Ravenstein had called the country portion of the counties, into the town population, and some of them to considerable distances in order that they might find work. He did not know how far Mr. Ravenstein had looked into that portion of the question, but it did seem to him that in ascertaining the causes of the migration of population during the last ten years they must necessarily take these considerations into account especially remembering the great changes that had taken place in agriculture.

Mr. ROWLAND HAMILTON, while highly appreciating the value of the facts that Mr. Ravenstein had laid before them, felt he must take exception to the use that had been made of the word "law" in the discussion of them. The work of investigation had to be carried on by reversed processes, sometimes by working out from a law to its consequences, and sometimes by taking consequences, and drawing from them inferences which aided the discovery of "law," but did not in themselves constitute a "law;" much confusion arose by formulating a "law," and then explaining away its action, as if what was a law in one sense was not a law in another. A natural "law" worthy of the name could not admit of any exceptions. The conditions laid before them were but a portion of a very large and intricate question, and would constantly be modified by other facts. It seemed to him, as far as he had been able in the last ten or twelve years to watch some of the issues of this question, that there was within the small area of Great Britain what they might notice on a larger scale in historic times, viz., a very great difficulty in overcoming what might be called the *vis inertia*, especially in rural districts. The population would remain for a long time under circumstances of much hardship before some great necessity or opportunity induced them to face a change. When that was once made many joined a class moveable as compared with their former stationary class. In England at the present time there were trades which could migrate from one place to another with little difficulty, but when it came to taking up an entirely new occupation, it required a very much larger force to initiate the first change. Some twelve years ago, for example, there was a considerable demand in the northern mining countries, especially Durham, for labour, and employers sent far and wide to get it. They attracted a considerable number of agricultural labourers from Norfolk, and the result was curious, and by no means unsatisfactory. Some of those men came back again and said that the change was all a delusion, that they had to work harder and to spend a good deal of the enhanced wages in the food necessary for their support. Others of a more vigorous class, even when admitting this, preferred their new way of life, and to have the choice of spending their own money in their own way. Thus under new conditions a new division of population arose. Many of these considerations would come under Mr. Ravenstein's inquiry, and would throw a very great deal of light upon the curious mixture of imperturbability and modifiability which existed in the very mixed population of this country.

Mr. S. BOURNE confessed to sharing with Mr. Hamilton the difficulty of recognising the use which Mr. Ravenstein made of the word "law." It did not appear to him from the result of the investigation that there was anything, strictly speaking, in the way of law to be discovered which regulated the migration of the population from one part of the country to another, unless it was the simple law of demand and supply. Very great light had been thrown upon some of the most difficult problems of the present day by the reference that the President had made to the statistics

of France. It did seem exceedingly strange that whilst France was not increasing at all in population, her rulers should be so thoroughly bent upon adding to her territory. It was well known that though France was not increasing in her own population, she was increasing very rapidly in her demand for food, proving that her population must be employed to a very much greater extent than before in manufacturing operations rather than agricultural. This had an important bearing upon the relation in which England stood with regard to France and the other countries of the world; and though he did not wish to introduce the question of protection or prohibition, or fair trade or free trade, yet there was a very great deal of information to be derived from the facts of the case as bearing upon these questions. They were often told that England was necessarily on the eve of a great change, because all other nations had adopted an opposite fiscal system to her own. Nothing could be more delusive than that, because the circumstances of the countries were very different. France, with her stationary population, her decaying agricultural employment, and her increasing manufacturing occupations, could not be governed by the same fiscal laws as this country, where they were increasing their population rapidly. It ought to be a great satisfaction to know that different circumstances prevailed in England to those existing in France. England possessed immense territories of fertile soil in which to plant her surplus population, and her resources were sufficient to meet the emergencies in which she might be placed. No doubt they could not lose sight of the fact that they were at present in a position of very great difficulty, though he would hardly say that it arose from a surplus population, because he was one of those who believed that whilst there was an acre of land capable of producing food, it was a misnomer to talk about surplus population at all, and that the wealth of the empire under proper economical conditions and proper legislation would be increased more and more by largely increasing its population rather than by retarding it. Any investigation as to the facts of migration, and the circumstances in which they were placed, must be extremely valuable as guiding decisions unquestionably of the very greatest moment. They were therefore worthy of the consideration of their statesmen and political economists to a much greater extent than had hitherto been given them, for it was upon the proper use of the information they had, and the proper embracing of the opportunities presented to them by their colonial empire, and by the conditions in which they were placed, that the future prosperity of the country was to be determined.

Mr. RAVENSTEIN, in reply, said he had been asked by Dr. Longstaff whether there were any facts to show that migration did not take place for long distances. There certainly were many such migrants, but as a rule migrants merely went to neighbouring parishes or counties, and a careful consideration of the facts showed that London, and other towns where there was a demand for labour, were only approached by degrees. He thoroughly agreed with

Mr. Humphreys that the census lacked information on certain points, and should like to see sub-registrars' districts more equal in size. Perhaps the new parliamentary divisions might be adopted as the future standard, instead of this incomprehensible mass of districts, parishes, counties, and registration counties, which were no counties at all. At the same time the census returns for many years back enabled them to say that so many natives of a certain county lived in England, and to determine the increase which had taken place among them. This increase in several instances was so considerable, that he should have hesitated to accept it had it not been confirmed by successive censuses. He had incidentally referred to certain disturbing influences which tended to obscure the general law of migration. There was no doubt that in many cases the sending of a garrison into a town, or the removal of prisoners or of school children, would affect very materially the constituent elements of the population of a town; but if they separated this floating or flitting element from the settled population, they would find these towns return to allegiance to what he believed to be the process of migration. He was able to say that whether we took the census for 1861, 1871, or 1881, the results would still be the same. The greatest element of disturbance was the number of Irishmen in certain towns; he did not say this offensively, he merely meant that the number of Irishmen in Liverpool, for instance, was so large as to depress the native county element. In large towns, however, this element of disturbance was not of much weight. If they had information about smaller places, these elements of disturbance would no doubt become very prominent features in a good many instances. He had intended to introduce an inquiry into the migration in foreign countries with this paper, but he found that the subject was too large. He had, however, looked into the matter, and if, for instance, in the case of the United States they eliminated the foreign-born element, and confined themselves to the native-born Americans, they would find that they too moved about from place to place as in the case of England; that some States overflowed, whilst others were being inundated; that people moved by degrees to the west, and that the natives of the outlying parts of New York State flowed into New York city just as the people of the metropolitan counties moved into London. He had hesitated before he made use of the term "law," and merely did so because he could find no other term. All he meant to convey was that migration went on according to certain rules. They spoke of laws of population, notwithstanding that these laws might be interfered with at any moment, and, as Mr. Bourne had shown, were really being interfered with in different countries.

A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Ravenstein, and the proceedings terminated.
