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V. Dingelstedt ^a

^a Royal Scottish Geographical Society

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THE SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE.

ITALIAN EMIGRATION.

By V. DINGELSTEDT, Corresponding Member of the Royal Scottish
Geographical Society.

THE emigration, either permanent or temporary, of vast numbers of Italian workers has not only great national importance for Italy, but has also considerable international, political and economic interest, and no one would deny that it is of interest from a geographical point of view. A nation which sends a number of its children to work in regions outside of its own borders exercises a far greater influence in the world's affairs than one which is content to remain within its own political or national borders. It is in contact with people of different races and character, and living in manifold conditions of climate and physical environment it is able to develop to the full its particular genius and virtues. The Italians are the most migratory of all Latin races; they are truly cosmopolitan, and are called together with the Anglo-German race to people the world and to exercise a powerful mental and moral influence. An Italian statesman, Cesare Bulbo, said some time ago that an excellent history of Italy might be made from the doings of Italians abroad. Since that time and especially since the *risorgimento*, that is the resurrection of Italians (or at least the greater part of them) to national unity and independence, emigration has shown extraordinary extension, and constitutes now one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest problem the statesmen of Italy have to face. The present writer desires to contribute to the elucidation of this problem so far as the space and material at his disposal may permit.

Introductory.—During last year the writer had the opportunity of studying in the pages of the *Magazine* (vol. xxv. p. 126) the emigration of the Swiss and its moral effects. Being now about to consider Italian emigration one might naturally inquire in what respects emigra-

tion differs in these two neighbouring states, and what are in these two cases the main motives which prompt the men to leave their beloved country to seek occupation abroad.

The Italians, though citizens of a country geographically more favoured, emigrate in relatively greater numbers than the Swiss. The latter, thanks to their ancient liberties and excellent schools, send abroad their teachers and skilled artisans, pushed rather by ambition than necessity, whereas the former send abroad many ignorant and very often unskilled workers, ready to accept all kinds even of the hardest, most perilous and unremunerative work. The Swiss do not interest themselves much in their emigrants, knowing them to be on the whole pretty well off, and, in consequence, the literature no less than the legislative and administrative enactments of the Swiss in regard to emigrants is but scanty. It is otherwise with the Italians going abroad to seek the work they do not find at home; they are more impulsive and also more ignorant, apt to be seduced by illusions and false prospects; they are more confiding and irresponsible, they want more tutelage and direction on the part of their government and the enlightened opinion of their country, and in consequence the literature upon Italian emigrants, the preoccupation of the public on their behalf, the legislative and administrative interference on their behalf is far greater in Italy than in Switzerland. The Italians were the first to organise a congress to debate the numerous problems connected with emigration. They have established in some schools, and in the associations for public instruction (popular universities) series of lectures with lantern views upon emigration. There are many official publications upon this subject, and some eminent Italian scholars and statesmen, such as P. Villari, Vincenzo Grossi, Conte Antonelli, D'Avarna di Gualtieri, Florenzano, E. Gontioi, Jannone and many others, have written volumes of discussions, data and researches concerning emigration, and the possibility of establishing a closer connection between the emigrants and the people remaining at home. The deputies Ferrera, Turetti and Cobriani proposed to accord to the first some part in the government of their native country. According to the deputy Camillo Ferrera, the Italian emigrants may be considered as true modern helots, without civil rights, though bound by duties both towards the country they have left and the new country they have adopted. They cannot be naturalised without losing their citizenship in Italy, and it is asked why they should not have their representatives in the Italian Parliament.

Italians going abroad certainly render great and manifold service to the countries they settle in; they accomplish much hard and useful work, they establish almost everywhere their schools, and their moral and spiritual influence on other nations must be considered important. England did not escape this influence. Chaucer read, loved, imitated and translated Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. The great Elizabethans from Spenser and Shakespeare downwards were saturated with Italian influence, and the spell is strong in Milton. It had scarcely spent itself in letters when England fell under it again in the domain of arts. Many eminent Italians, insecure in their own country, have found a secure and respected asylum in England, and one of the greatest artisans of Italian

independence, Mazzini, found there many enthusiastic admirers and helpers, as for instance, Jessie White Mario, who is considered by Italians themselves as the Walkyrie of their successful revolution. The society founded in London by Mazzini—"Friends of Italy"—for long enjoyed the support of Lord Shaftesbury and a number of other eminent English men and women.

Italian workmen are of very great importance for the civilisation of Europe, for they undertake and execute with accomplished skill the most difficult works, such as the piercing of mountain tunnels, the construction of bridges and railways, the digging of canals and the erection of buildings, which are so essential for modern comfort. The cities of Switzerland and its magnificent hotels in the plain and on the summits of the high mountains, its tunnels and railways, which bring so many millions to the Swiss tourist industry (*Industrie des étrangers*) and make of Switzerland the meeting-place of Europe and America, are the work of Italians, who have made them, exposing their very life to a thousand dangers, for a very modest remuneration. The same may be said with but little modification of some parts of France and Germany, where, as for instance in the mineral districts of Alsace and Lorraine, as also in the region of Lyons for the silk and glass industries, the Italian workman occupies a very conspicuous place. Italian labour in Latin America as well as in the United States is also of a very high importance.

Italian immigration is not, however, viewed everywhere with equal favour; the Italians, like other men, have both serious and slight defects, and even virtues, which have not the gift of pleasing everybody. They may work sometimes at lower wages than other people, they are sober, and they save part of the money they get to aid their families at home. They are also not much liked by police and authorities on account of being troublesome, inclined to violence, strikes, and disrespect of law and order. Some of them are very poor, miserable, drunken and lazy. They tax heavily the local beneficent institutions, and profit largely at the expense of the indigenous race from gifts given to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. The Italians abroad live in more or less large, segregated groups bound together by their common interests, having in everything their own ways, their boarding-houses, their bars, their inns, their schools, their newspapers, their pleasures, their quarters. They do not associate much with the people of the country they live in, they do not learn either the language of the people, nor the local economic or geographical conditions of their new home; very ignorant, strangers among strangers, they do little to make themselves sympathetic to the natives and do not always present themselves to the last as a model of moral life worthy of imitation.

The Italian emigrants contribute to the increase of crimes, often of a violent and passionate character, perpetrated mostly among Italians themselves. The "Black Hand," for instance, is the terror of Italian colonies in New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Pittsburg. It is a gang of individual blackmailers working in groups and using the sign of a black hand. Their practice of bomb-throwing, arson, and assassination in the Italian quarter of New York have long made them the despair of police com-

missioners and a terror to peaceful citizens. Happily, however, the latter are in their turn beginning to stir and to organise a counter-society of the "White Hand." According to Sir Harry Johnston, the crimes among the Italian settlers in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana are proportionately more frequent than even among the negro population of these countries. The Italians are also not seldom daring smugglers, as is, for instance, the case on the Ticino-Italian frontier, where the objects of their exploits are sugar, tobacco, chocolate, and naphtha.

One may hear other complaints about Italian colonists, but all this does not impair their sterling qualities, and must be mainly ascribed to the cruel conditions, sufferings, privations, insecurity, injustice, rigours of climate the poor Italians are subject to amidst a foreign population, on leaving their beautiful country in search of work and living under foreign laws, and in an unaccustomed environment.

Besides, it is only of recent years that the government in Italy has begun to interest itself a little more seriously in the fate of its numerous population beyond the frontiers. In order to guide and to protect the emigrants, the "Istituto Coloniale Italiano" has been created, at the head of which is placed a high commissioner (commissario), and a central commission of emigration (commissariate) directed by the minister of foreign affairs, and a board or council composed of representatives of the home, treasury, naval, educational and agricultural departments, as well as of a geographer, a statistician, an economist, a member from the co-operative societies, and another from the principal charitable societies. Besides this central authority, at all the principal ports of Italy inspectors, and committees whose members are chosen from the districts of most active emigration, are appointed; there are also provincial secretaries for emigration, *addetti* or functionaries who may be consulted, and travelling inspectors abroad. The law provides that only licensed agents may sell a ticket to an intending emigrant at a fixed price. These agents are forbidden to incite to emigration and to receive anything beyond the passage money, which must be returned if the intending emigrant is prevented from going by illness. The agents have to provide food and lodging if the emigrants are detained by quarantine or shipwreck, and to compensate those emigrants who are rejected. There is now being discussed in parliament a project of a law for emigration elaborated by Mr. Tittoni. The Istituto Coloniale disposes of a fund of about four millions, and the annual expenses for subsidies and patronage reach a sum of about two millions. Besides the government, considerable private initiative has manifested itself recently in order to preserve in colonies virtues proper to Italy, under the term of "Italianity." Nothing is more natural on the part of such a gifted nation as the Italians, having conquered at last, after long and heroic struggle, political unity and independence for at least the majority of its children, than the tendency to defend and conserve their national spirit, their language and customs, in face of so many dangers which menace those precious gifts among foreign people and surroundings. Just as personal liberty is the basis of individual development, so the preservation of national characteristics may be considered a necessary condition for the progress of a nation along the line of least resistance. Many

efforts are made now for the defence and preservation of "Italianness," and for that purpose the Dante Alighieri Society was founded twenty years ago, and already numbers some fifty thousand members. It held its last congress in autumn 1909 at Brescia. Its means of action is the creation and subsidy of schools, libraries, clubs, organisation of lectures, charitable institutions, and the defence and maintenance of the Italian language among Italians dispersed in the world. There is in parliament at present an outstanding project of Mr. Tittoni's in regard to Italian schools abroad with a view to their better management and the raising of the salaries of teachers. The Mediterranean schools will belong to the government, whilst the schools beyond the seas will be subsidised. All those schools, whilst following the curriculum of the home schools, will have to adapt themselves to local conditions. In order to settle all didactic and disciplinary questions connected with Italian schools abroad, it is proposed to attach a central commission to the foreign ministry. At the present time the Italians have to maintain abroad about five hundred schools, all primary. But most of these are very poor, and from the small sum at the disposal of the government (about one million lire) some of them get an entirely ludicrous subsidy of some fifty to sixty lire a year.

Statistics.—The number of Italian emigrants across the sea was small at the time of the Italian resurrection in 1859; but it has begun to increase in an alarming manner since the happy time when, after heroic struggles and great efforts, the Italians obtained at last their national and political unity and became one of the Great Powers of the world. In 1876 there were a little above 100,000 emigrants annually. This number had doubled in the next years; and in 1896 there were already 300,000 emigrants annually. In the six years from 1894 to 1899 one and three-quarters of a million of Italians left their native shores, and about one million of them crossed the ocean, going mainly to Brazil (372,600), United States (289,536), and Uruguay and Paraguay (257,550). At the beginning of the present century, the number of Italians abroad was calculated at about two millions. Since then this formidable movement is steadily increasing. In the first three years of the twentieth century it was above half a million annually; in 1905 the number had reached three-quarters of a million; in the year 1906 the total number of emigrants was as high as 787,977, and only very little beneath it in 1907, when, according to official statistics, 574,432 men, 130,273 women, and 72,237 children under the age of fifteen, left Italy. About 40 per cent. of them went to the continent of Europe, the other 60 per cent. sailed for America. These numbers are rather beneath the truth, for there are always a certain number of clandestine emigrants, not accepted on the ships on account of pellagra and other reasons. Among the emigrants in 1907 there were about 34 per cent. agriculturists and shepherds, about 30 per cent. navvies, builders, and unskilled labourers (*giornalieri*), 13 per cent. miners and operatives, 12 per cent. masons, bricklayers, sculptors, and other artisans. The proportion of the emigrants to the rest of the population has increased in the following formidable way. For every 10,000 inhabitants—

Years 1876-78,	81	emigrants, of whom	5	crossed the ocean.
1886-88,	547	"	"	489
1896-98,	831	"	"	763
1899-1901,	1287	"	"	1147
1902-04,	1817	"	"	1577
1905-07,	2757	"	"	2531

Happily there is also a contrary movement of repatriation. In 1906 the numbers of those who returned home after a longer or shorter absence abroad was calculated at 174,949; in 1907 at 248,979. The emigration is thus to be distinguished as permanent, temporary, and semi-temporary, that is, when the absence from the native home is prolonged for years.

The temporary emigration is directed from Milan to Switzerland (mainly to Ticino, Zürich, Vaud, Geneva, and Valais); to Germany and to Austria-Hungary. These emigrants, mainly from North and South Italy, start usually at the beginning of the spring and return home at the end of the autumn; sometimes, if there is winter work, they do not come home for some years. The semi-temporary emigrants embark for America for five or six years, with the idea of getting money, some thousand lire, and then returning home to buy a field and to build up a farm. By far the greatest number of emigrants go, however, to the United States, Argentina, Brazil, Central America, mainly from South Italy—especially Calabria, Basilicata, Sicilia.

There have emigrated into Argentina—

In 1902,	.	.	.	.	32,000
1903,	.	.	.	.	40,581
1904,	.	.	.	.	59,964
1905,	.	.	.	.	86,346
1906,	.	.	.	.	114,818
1907,	.	.	.	.	86,649
The first four months of 1908,	.	.	.	.	14,169
Total,					434,517

There is now going on a species of collective emigrations *en masse* of whole villages with a parish priest at the head. According to Professor Boser, in the ten years from 1896 emigration from South Italy had grown threefold, and had attained the figure of 180 persons for each 10,000 inhabitants. The already thinly populated Basilicata has seen its numbers, in some provinces, decrease by about 40 per cent. (from 11,600 to 6000 in Marsico Nuovo, and from 6400 to 2500 in Pignola) in consequence of emigration. The greatest number of permanent emigrants come from Campania, Abruzzi, and Molise, and Sicilia, Basilicata, and Calabria; the greatest number of temporary emigrants come from Venetia, Emilia, Piedmont, and Tuscany. Of the total number of yearly emigrants, a little above half return.

The oversea emigrants are conveyed partly by Italian and partly by foreign ships. The main Italian ports are Genoa and Naples, and Italian

vessels are taking a more and more prominent part in the transport of emigrants. In 1902 the ratio of the national and foreign movement of ships was as 4170 to 5830; in 1907 this ratio was as 5210 to 4790. The expenditure of Italian emigrants for their conveyance in foreign ships has been calculated as high as sixty million lire.

Italian Colonies.—The Italian workers go almost everywhere where work is to be done, mostly as masons, navvies, agriculturists and unskilled labourers, but the region of their expansion is limited by their objection to cold climates, and also naturally by the state of the labour market. They do not go much to Russia, nor to the Scandinavian countries, and they are not seen in South Africa. In Europe they go mainly to Switzerland, France, Germany, and in smaller numbers to Austria-Hungary, the Balkan Peninsula and the Mediterranean countries—Turkey, Egypt, Tripoli. Their most numerous colonies over the ocean are in the United States, Argentina, and Brazil. The current of emigration to Canada is but small—about ten thousand yearly.

For the emigration directed towards the European Continent, the principal meeting-place and starting-point is Milan, where, thanks to the liberality of a Milanese patrician of the Doria family and the devotion of many generous citizens, especially Monsignor Bonomelli, every accommodation is organised for intending emigrants at most moderate prices. There are also many workshops in which those who cannot be immediately engaged for work abroad may find remunerative occupation for three weeks. In Milan the emigrants can obtain all necessary information concerning the state of the labour market, and they are directed, under the patronage of the "Humanitarian Society," *via* Chiasso, or Domodossola, to the place where they can find work.

The Italians find generally sufficient work in Switzerland. Their number in the warm season is estimated at about one hundred and ninety thousand. Many have established themselves definitely, but the majority return home to Italy for the winter. They have their schools, their newspapers, their inns, their organisations, their chiefs, etc. They are not specially protected by Swiss laws, whose protection extends mainly to the workers in covered establishments, while the Italians work usually in the open air. They are at the head of socialistic movements, tend steadily to improve their situation and increase their wages, and are always disposed to organise strikes, sometimes with good results, but often not.

We cannot, of course, follow the emigrants everywhere, nor present to the reader the varied conditions in which they are called to work under foreign laws. But we may mention two important groups of Italian workers in France and Germany, viz., the mining district of Alsace and Lorraine centred about Metz, and the manufacturing district of Lyons where silk and glass wares are manufactured. Each of these two great labour markets employs about ninety thousand Italians—men, women and children. They are certainly paid for their work, but they are scarcely protected against exploitation. They live huddled together in a most communistic manner; they make their girls and boys work together, and their morals, as described by such competent authorities

as the acting secretary for emigration for Tuscany, Capitan Valentino, are deplorable.

The most important Italian colonies over the ocean, as already stated, are in the United States, Argentina and Brazil. But it must be at once acknowledged that the actual importance of those colonies for Italy, either in America or in the Mediterranean basin, does not correspond to the considerable numbers of Italians they contain. The number alone of workers nowadays, in the universal competition for fortune in the regions of the world promising the greatest profit, though certainly important, yet is not sufficient to assure to one particular nation a benefit corresponding to its output in labour. There are necessary, besides, enterprise, money, and last, but not least, diplomatic pressure, political ability, and conventions with the governments concerned. It may very well be that the actual importance of the Italian colonies in the countries just mentioned depends less on the numbers of Italians toiling therein, than on the situation of Italy in Europe, and the strength and the credit it enjoys. Buenos Aires, like Rio de Janeiro, and like Alexandria, are industrial and commercial centres founded properly by Europe at large, where preponderance is assured not to those European natives who have there the greatest number of their countrymen, but to those who have best-developed industries, possess the greatest credit, and are more enterprising, more cultured, and enjoy the most efficient political support from their respective governments. It may be that Italy is as yet not quite awake to the grave duties imposed on her by so great a number of her children obliged to seek work outside her frontiers. But that is not to say that the important question of Italian emigration does not occupy the government or public opinion, for the question is treated frequently in the press. The Italians want above all more money. As an illustration of the poverty of some, even of the most important Italian colonies, may be cited an instance given by Enrico Corradini in *Il Manzocco* (17th November 1909). In San Paolo in Brazil the Italian colony was in dire want of a secondary school. The need is recognised by all, but they cannot succeed in getting the necessary sum of about twelve thousand pounds. Happily an agreement has been reached recently between the French and Italians for the establishment of the "Banque Française et Italienne pour l'Amérique du Sud."

The *United States* constitute now for Italians the main point of attraction. Once it was Britons, Germans, and Scandinavians who emigrated to the United States, now it is Magyars, Italians, Russians, and Finlanders who constitute the bulk of immigrants. According to the estimate of the "commissariati" for emigration, the numbers of Italian emigrants to the United States increased in 1905 and 1906 from 241,143 to 284,039. From the 1st July 1906 to 30th June 1907, 285,700 emigrants went to this country, being a little above 22 per cent. of the total number of immigrants in this period of time (1,285,349).

It is mostly a sad story that of Italian emigration to the United States. Certainly the Italians get money for their work and ability, but at what a fearful sacrifice. By far the greatest number of Italians going

to the United States come from the south of the peninsula and from Sicily. Out of the number of Italian emigrants just mentioned, 237,680 were from the South, and only 47,800 from the North. Most do not go into the interior of the country or to the Far West, but stop at New York. In 1904 they constituted already in this city a colony of 400,000—that is almost as many as in the capital of Italy itself, and since that time their numbers have increased. According to Dr. Stella, surgeon at the New York Hospital, only one-fifth of these immigrants may be considered as well-to-do. They possess property estimated at thirty to forty million dollars. The rest live miserably, executing the hardest and lowest type of work for a daily wage of one or one and a half dollars. This is hardly sufficient to live tolerably in the great city, but to save money for their homes the Italians submit to every kind of privation, eat badly, lodge yet worse, sometimes three or four persons in a dark room. And these conditions exercise the most deplorable effect, as Italians in their own country are accustomed to work in the open air. Anæmia, nephritis, bronchitis, and especially tuberculosis, make in consequence numbers of victims among them (Dr. Stella, *Gli Italiani negli Stati Uniti d'America*, New York, 1906). The Italian Government certainly endeavours to protect its subjects from abuse on the part of Americans who seek to profit by their inexperience and embarrassments. The New York Commissioners have succeeded recently in establishing at the Battery a “Casa per gli Italiani,” where the immigrants may obtain board for half a dollar a day, but how many there are who cannot afford this moderate sum. According to Luigi Villari, the former Italian Consul in Philadelphia, there are in New York in the Italian quarters 360,000 inhabited rooms without a window. Certainly there are other parts of the United States where the Italians are better off than in New York. They work in Louisiana in the plantations along with the black people. Some thousand families of them are engaged in Florida on the vast property belonging to the Royal Duke Litta, Visconti Arese.

Italian immigration into America may be considered as an important factor in human development, for the high moral and intellectual standard characteristic of this classical, idealistic, and artistic nation should mitigate the too material tendency of American civilisation, with its exaggerated notion of the value of money.

Argentina.—The numbers of Italians who have emigrated to Argentina was calculated at 1,331,536 from 1857 up to 1903, that is above 61 per cent. of the total number of European emigrants to this country for the indicated period of forty-five years. Since then the flow of Italian emigration has continued uninterrupted, and even with increasing strength. The numbers of Italians who have embarked for Argentina during the last seven years (1903-10) may be calculated as high as half a million, including mostly non-agricultural labourers, attracted by the extensive works and industrial enterprises. An excellent account of the vast possibilities and the economic expansion of Argentina, given in the twenty-fifth volume of this *Magazine*, explains well such a rush from a country whose inhabitants need work. Most of the Italian immigrants converge

towards Buenos Aires and its harbour and thus increase its proletariat. Italians with Spaniards constitute above four-fifths of the total number of immigrants. According to the estimate of Signor Tomezzoli (inspector of the Italian committee for emigration) 24 per cent. of the immigrants remain in the capital, which includes within its limits almost one-fifth of the total population of the vast republic, four times as great as France. In Buenos Aires gather all the ruined and disheartened immigrants together with the landlords enriched by speculation or by the land. The older inhabitants go more to the west and south-west to open up the virgin lands, and abandon the littoral to the newcomers. The great facilities for transport have brought Argentina so near to Italy that some Italian labourers find it possible to go to Argentina for the harvest and return for the harvest at home the same year. It is, however, only just to acknowledge that Argentina owes most of its agricultural and commercial prosperity to Italians, who some twenty years ago opened up this now rich but formerly so little known country. They were its first indefatigable pioneers, and have almost alone, with the greatest difficulties, by hard labour, sobriety and perseverance, engaged in the struggle with wild Nature. With their labour, though but with little money, they opened up a country which has now become one of the granaries of the world.

Brazil.—The Italians began to colonise this vast country in 1874-76, some time after the Germans, who established their first colonies in the southern part of the republic in 1820-30. At first Italian emigration to Brazil was moderate; in ten years (1877-86) 113,628 persons¹ emigrated in all; but in 1887, and especially during the next year, which was the year of the final abolition of slavery in the country, Italian emigration grew to alarming dimensions, which has experienced, however, a diminution during the last few years. It is calculated that during the last twenty years above one million Italians have gone to Brazil, twice as many as even Portuguese. During the last twenty years Italian emigrants to Brazil were as numerous as the European emigrants of all other nationalities to the country. Out of the twenty united states of Brazil it is the state of São Paulo which attracts by far the greatest number of Italian as also of other emigrants. Next to it come Bahia and Rio Grande do Sul; six other states, viz. Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, S. Catharina, Minas Geraes, Espirito-Santo, and Maranhão, have relatively small numbers of Italian or of other immigrants, whilst the remaining states have none at all.

Brazil is ethnically a very heterogeneous country, and its sole chance of acquiring unity in this important respect lies in the numerical preponderance of Italians, who cross frequently with the indigenous element (*sertanista*). This permits us to expect that in the future there may be constituted a Brazilian race capable of yielding the necessary national unity. From 1827 up to 1901 the state of S. Paulo alone has received one million emigrants, of whom 770,000 were Italians.² In

¹ V. Grossi, *Storia della Colonizzazione europea al Brasile*. Roma, 1905.

² Unfortunately the Italians are divided into groups of Piedmontese, Venetians, Calabrians, Sicilians, etc., each speaking their own dialect, and in consequence they speedily learn Portuguese, in order to facilitate communication with each other.

1902, 28,895 more Italian immigrants arrived in this ancient state; in 1903, 9444. This considerable decrease in the numbers of Italian immigrants has come about in consequence of the decree of Prinetti which abolished gratuitous transport over the sea. In 1904 the number of Italian immigrants continued to decrease. The Italian element in the state of S. Paulo predominates along the railway of the company *Paulista*, and around the great centres of coffee production on the railway of *Mogyana*. In decreasing numbers the Italians are also found established along the lines of the Central and Sorocabana railways. The majority of the Italians are agriculturists, lodged in private *fazendas* as paid hands according to a compact concluded with the proprietors of the coffee plantations. The usual wages are 80,000 reis for the annual cultivation of 1000 plants of coffee, and 500 reis for every 50 litres of coffee loaded into cars. A colonist takes charge of about 5000 bushes of coffee, maintaining them in good order in every respect, collecting the ripe grains and preparing the soil. The almost exclusive cultivation of coffee produces commercial crises, which, as for instance at the end of 1896, have a great effect on the welfare of the colonists. Immigration decreases with the decrease in the price of coffee. The agricultural crises from which Brazil suffers are mainly the consequence of the fact that, whilst the commerce of agricultural products has become "mondial," the organisation of agricultural labour has retained its regional or local character. There are great fluctuations in the distribution of immigrants among different states, this distribution depending greatly on the actual state of the labour market and the success of the crops. To attach the immigrant more firmly to the region once chosen it is necessary to give him more rights and more chance of becoming a true citizen of the country chosen as his new home.

The case of Italian emigration to Brazil illustrates forcibly what we have advanced before concerning the inadequacy of numbers to win for the Italian colonies the degree of importance to which otherwise they are entitled. Very instructive in this respect is the comparison made by Professor Vincenzo Grossi in his paper printed in the *Rivista Maritima*, 1904, in regard to the relative situation in Brazil of German and Italian colonies. The Italian colonies are far more numerous than the German ones; but in spite of their number, the Italian colonies are decidedly inferior to the German from the economic, financial, and administrative points of view, as well also in respect of the political, commercial, and moral relations of those colonies with their respective mother countries. The reasons for this, as explained by the author, must be ascribed to the peculiar genius of the Italians: bold in enterprise, persevering in labour and in saving, they are badly fitted for forming associations and corporations, and though prosperous in Rio Grande do Sul, as in some other states, they have not been able, like the Germans, to form a collectivity living a corporate life. Another eminent Italian, Conto Antonelli, has acknowledged that in spite of their spirit of industry the Italians lack the gift which allows the giving of a rational direction to a common effort. The Germans also know better how to develop their mercantile marine to aid the needs of their colonies; they have opened many new lines of

navigation with some initial risk, and they have managed to oblige some Italian merchants to communicate with their colonies in Brazil *via* Hamburg, to the great damage of Italian commerce.

The Italian Government is endeavouring, however, to do what it can with the small means at its disposal. It has its "Patronati," to which it gives a subsidy of about 80,000 lire, its "Maestri-agenti," its "Medici-agenti," an inspector, and so forth.

Causes and effects of Italian emigration.—The density of population in Italy is only 290 per square mile. It might seem very strange that these lovely coasts with their beautiful climate, which have attracted from immemorial times civilised and barbarians from all the less favoured parts of the world, and still continue to attract millions of foreigners, should be deserted by their own inhabitants, and that precisely after secular efforts, at last crowned with success, to attain political unity and independence. The fact seems yet more stupendous when we consider that Italians are highly patriotic; they love their country and their home above everything in the world, and they have so many touching expressions of their deep attachment. *Casa mia, mamma mia. Legami mani e piedi e gettami tra' miei.* Those and many other similar popular sayings seem to indicate clearly that Italians love their country dearly, and besides, they prove it not only by sayings but yet better by facts: on going abroad they send most of the money won by hard labour and privations home. According to Professor Villari (*Scritti sulla Emigrazione*) the remittances of emigrants are estimated at 35 million francs per year. In his inaugural address at the meeting of the London branch of our Society in April 1892, Professor James Bryce affirmed that Food, War, and Labour were the three main causes which prompt men to change their home.

Food and Labour go certainly far to oblige the Italians to emigrate, but there are other powerful causes which prompt them to leave their beautiful country. The peasants are certainly very badly off. How dreadful is their poverty may be judged from the statements of excellent authorities. In Calabria and in many other parts of South Italy the country people are huddled in deserted and desolated rural boroughs, suspended upon dreary rocks. Many of the town people are also poor. One may see in Naples four families living in the four corners of the same room, without beds. There are about 100,000 people who live in this squalor under atrocious conditions.¹ The picture of poverty described also by Professor Villari² is appalling. The Italians, most favoured of nations under their blue sky, are poorer than the Swiss in their inhospitable regions amidst glaciers and snow. The foreign yoke, the cruel oppression, the numbing influence of the Roman Church, the heavy taxes, bad administration, have all together and separately played their evil part in impoverishing the country, naturally so rich, and certainly they continue to exercise their deplorable action. But since already for half a century modern Italy has rejoiced in all the blessings of freedom and an enlightened constitutional government, why then does the Italian still

¹ Monzilli, *Italia Moderna*.

² *Scritti sulla Emigrazione*.

continue to suffer from poverty to such a degree as to find himself obliged to leave his beautiful country and to emigrate to less congenial climates to win his bread by painful work? One of the reasons is that there are as yet few industries and much ignorance. Half a century is not a very long period in the life of a nation, and yet in this brief period of time the Italians have made wonderful progress; they have placed their finances on a sound footing; in the north of the peninsula, they have very considerably developed their industries, they have taken an active part in numerous scientific discoveries, they have won more self-confidence. And yet, it is precisely since their emancipation or *risorgimento* that Italians have begun to leave their country in great numbers; it is as if the energies now no more necessary for the attainment of unity and independence have taken another direction, in the search for useful and remunerative work all over the world. Italian emigration may be thus not a sign of poverty, but on the contrary the sign of pent-up energy, which does not find applications at home; it is a sign of discontent, which has become one of the most characteristic phenomena of the present social movement in the working classes all the world over, a sign also of the increasing spirit of adventure and enterprise. From this point of view Italian emigration is more easily explained.

There are certainly very poor provinces in Southern Italy, but they have not grown poorer since the times of Bourbon and Papal domination. As to discontent it is otherwise; it has grown immensely, and discontent is often a sign of progress and increasing ambition. Notwithstanding the very considerable progress that united Italy has accomplished during the last fifty years, the Italians have not mastered as yet the highly difficult problem of increasing the prosperity of the southern provinces and of the two great Italian isles, and they have not as yet found the means of accomplishing the necessary land reform on a sound basis. The legislative and well-to-do classes have not as yet made the necessary efforts to raise the social and economic conditions of the poor and to fill up the social abyss that separates the two classes. The sense of patriotism has partly gone with many of the poor workers, obliged to seek their bread abroad. "Do you love Italy?" asked Senator Villari of some of the workers at Goeschenen. "Italy is to us the country which gives us bread," answered the workers, laughing. "Are you Italians?" continued the interrogator. "We were born in Italy, but we are not Italians because we have been obliged to seek our bread abroad."¹ The poor are crushed by heavy taxes, and the thousand promises made by the government to alleviate them remain promises. Contrary to what has been done in Switzerland, the poor people in Italy have not been brought to participate in communal and municipal affairs and deliberations. The Italian councils retain a rather oligarchic character, and besides it is a great misfortune for Italy that it has never known how to develop country life, and has centred all interests in the boroughs. There are many minor causes that have contributed to increase emigration. There are few or no industries in the south fitted to occupy the winter. The

¹ P. Villari, *Scritti sulla Emigrazione*. Bologna.

silkworm disease which made its appearance in 1850 has almost ruined the old and once prosperous industry of sericulture. The young and very ignorant people are allured by the prospect of living in company with their friends who have already departed, far from the surveillance of the old people and from family cares, and with a prospect of making money. Some of the theories about crime made popular by Lombroso may possibly also have contributed to urge on emigration, for according to those theories the criminal may become virtuous and orderly by simply changing his environment.

There is at present an intense desire among patriotic Italians to investigate the causes of such an alarming social phenomenon as depopulation by an exodus of natives from the most beautiful regions of Italy into foreign lands. It may be also that the ignorance of the conditions prevailing in these, in consequence of the astonishing neglect in which the study of geography is left in Italy, is partly answerable for the errors committed by the emigrants.

The effects of Italian emigration are vast and widespread. They interest not only Italy but the world at large. They are already much discussed, and are certainly partly beneficial, partly mischievous. They deserve to attract the further attention of statesmen and the public. We will consider first the beneficial effects of Italian emigration, and mention before all the truly gigantic work accomplished by Italians for the benefit of the whole of humanity in piercing high mountains, in digging navigable canals, in constructing roads and buildings. Modern comfort owes much to the rude Italian mason, ploughman, and navvy, who accept the hardest work. But the Italians are highly fitted not only for manual labour; the civilised world owes also to the Italians abroad a great debt of gratitude for many spiritual delights due to their incomparable art, their efficiency in music, sculpture, architecture, painting, science and mechanics. The main benefit of the emigration for Italy consists in the amount of money the Italians are getting abroad for their work, a considerable part of which they send to their near relatives who have remained at home. This money contributes considerably to ameliorate the situation of poor families in many districts. Besides, the fortunate emigrants do not only send money home to help their parents, but after some years of successful work they return home with their money themselves, buy a piece of land, construct a house and continue to work, thus contributing to the welfare of the whole community.

In Turrìto, a province of Taranto, about four thousand emigrants have returned to buy land and construct farms. This fact produces in some southern provinces of Italy an astonishing economic transformation. The former petty landlords of those provinces, who till lately lived in laziness on their estates, spending their time in taverns, whilst squeezing their tenants, are gradually being replaced by emigrants returned home with fortunes made, and animated with quite another spirit of useful activity.

With extended emigration popular instruction has also benefited, for the intending emigrant appreciates the value of knowledge. Usury seems also on the road to disappear. Emigration from agricultural

regions has also indirectly contributed to the rise of wages for the labourers remaining at home, though this has been accompanied by a rise in the price of food. There may be other beneficial effects, such as usually accompany travel and knowledge of the world; for instance, better opportunities for developing one's faculties in the vast camp of universal competition. There are not a few Italian publicists who consider emigration rather as a boon for their mother country.

It is to be feared, however, that the bad effects of Italian emigration, at least for Italy, outweigh its advantages. The regions whence the emigration proceeds are depopulated, for it is the strongest and ablest who go, the weak, the old and incapable remain; the land does not retain sufficient numbers of labourers, and the small landlords see themselves obliged to abandon cultivation, or engage workers from distant provinces such as Lombardy and Romagna at higher and ruinous wages. Large tracts of land are passing out of cultivation. Many of the people left behind are kept from starving only by the help of those who have gone to work abroad. The whole rural life of the country feels the need of workers. The former summer displacement of the alpine and sub-alpine population towards the rich Po valley has changed its current; the mountain population prefers now to direct its steps abroad. With the coming of the spring the people disperse to Switzerland, France, Austria, and Germany. From the hills dominating Brescia, for instance, the people no longer descend as in former years, or only in very decreased numbers, to rear the silkworm in the plains of Lombardy. They prefer to go abroad. Similarly the population of Abruzzi used to descend formerly at the beginning of the season to the Roman plains for field work, now they go abroad, and the landlords of Latium are without hands. The same thing occurs almost everywhere. The people of Basilicata usually furnished their contingent of workers to the plains of the Campania, now they have mostly deserted their native country, have emigrated to the United States, and the Campaniards are obliged to engage workers from distant Apulia. The plains of Basilicata itself now need workers from elsewhere. Formerly there was a great displacement of agricultural workers in the interior of Italy at harvest time; from 200,000 to 400,000 labourers moved from one place to another in search of work, now this movement has mainly taken the direction abroad, to the great prejudice of national agriculture.

There is besides another evil. A number of emigrants beyond the ocean succeed after hard toil in the mines, or the railways, in the tunnels, and hard privations of every kind, in saving a sum of money, say some £400 to £500. They then return to their native homes, and if not ruined in health, they buy at double or triple its real value some piece of land from its former landlord, and construct a house, and seem happy. But the happiness is ephemeral. Ignorant of the rational culture of land, and having paid too high a price, the little property soon becomes exhausted, and the owner finds how difficult it is to get a living on the land and to sustain competition. If a bad season occurs he falls into debt, and sometimes even before he has completed the construction of his hovel he sees the necessity of emigrating again to

seek work abroad. If he succumbs, his small property, badly secured, divided between his children, loses much of its value and becomes incapable of resisting the weight of the taxes. There are other mischiefs consequent on emigration. The young men who set out emancipate themselves too early from family ties and the surveillance of their elders. According to Antonio Mongano (*Nuova Antologia*, 1st September 1907) there are many Italians in America who have two wives, one in Italy and another in America. Women left by the emigrant at home have a hard life and are often ruined. The dismemberment of families has grave moral consequences for all, and especially for the children: family discipline goes to the winds. If the emigrant gets money he gets also vices unknown to him before; if some part of the money won abroad is employed to buy land, the other part serves for merrymaking and debauch. Alcoholism makes great strides, and syphilis, almost unknown thirty years ago, has become widely spread (P. Villari, *Scritti sulla Emigrazione*). In many provinces (Udine, Belluno, Cadore), not only men but also women take to drink; the countrywomen on Sundays enter the public-house before Mass, ask for a quinto of brandy, soak in it their piece of bread and drink it as if it were coffee or milk. The commune of Cadore (in Belluno) with its 4093 inhabitants, consumes 30,000 lire worth of brandy. One can easily imagine that alcoholism does not produce any good effect. The cases of mental aberration are on the increase, whilst the number of strong, healthy, active men and women is decreasing. Left alone without their menfolk, the countrywomen have to execute in course of time every kind of field work; they plough, they reap the corn, mow the grass, and load it on their shoulders, etc.

This is already a sufficiently long list of drawbacks accompanying Italian emigration on so large a scale, but it is to be feared that besides it renders yet more difficult the solution of a terribly difficult question, the so-called South Italian question, which concerns the realisation of a true unity, economic, social, commercial and industrial, between the two halves of the kingdom so long separated and so different in many respects. It is certainly not by abandoning their beautiful country instead of bearing their part in the common work of the whole that the South Italians can hope to share the prosperity and the progress of the north of the peninsula. The exodus of so many young Italians tells unfavourably on the armed strength of the nation. It becomes increasingly difficult for the War Office to enlist the quota of new recruits for the reserve and the standing army. One hundred thousand yearly are required for the last and 25,000 for the first; but these last years the number for the army, which it was really possible to enlist, fell from 87,000 to 75,000 (1906). The War Office thus sees itself obliged to abolish exemptions and to make the terms of conscription more stringent, but that provokes discontent.

Conclusion.—The writer is conscious of having dealt but inadequately with this vast and intricate subject of Italian emigration. It is a subject which provokes in Italy much controversy and heartburning, and whole volumes are necessary to treat it in all its manifold details. In any

case the exodus of Italians in such numbers from their own beautiful native country is a contemporary fact well worth the study and attention of geographers. It is one of those facts which contribute to change the aspect of the world. There are certainly many good and evil consequences for Italy in this readiness of her children to abandon their native home and seek their fortune abroad in far-off countries, but the writer believes that the evil is about to lessen in consequence of the measures taken by the Italian Government, the increased attention of the public to their brethren abroad, and especially, in consequence of the gradual but uninterrupted development of prosperity, the progress in agriculture, commerce and industry, the amelioration in the situation of peasantry, the alleviation of taxes, commercial treaties with foreign powers, and the increasing importance that Italy, after centuries of foreign oppression, is taking among the great families of nations.

Having obtained by conquest their national unity and independence, after many heroic efforts, the Italians have yet to traverse some difficult paths in their long and glorious history; they have to efface the deep traces of particularism which has so long reigned in different parts of divided Italy; they have to acquire a greater sense of the solidarity of all these unhappily divided parts, but they are certainly now on the road to progress, and there cannot be the least doubt that, notwithstanding the difficulties, they will with their inimitable gifts exercise with the lapse of time an always increasing influence on the civilisation of the world.

PRACTICAL GEOGRAPHY IN SCHOOLS.¹

By WILLIAM MILLER, M.A., D.Sc., Ph.D., Dollar Institution,
Dollar.

(*With Illustrations.*)

THE title of my paper, "Practical Geography," embraces a very wide field, each part of which requires specialised knowledge. Those of us who are not trained geographers can scarcely be expected to do justice to branches of the subject which have no relationship to our original specialised studies. It is my intention, therefore, to confine my remarks to the subjects of earth measurement and elementary sun observations.

In actual practice the highest refinement has been attained in this work, but this does not mean that the last word has been said in regard to methods of instruction. Entirely different ends are to be attained in the two cases. Practice aims at almost absolute accuracy, irrespective of labour, time, and even cost; instruments have become so elaborate that it is often difficult to distinguish the underlying principle amongst the numerous and complicated accessories made for accuracy. In school teaching, on the other hand, I take it that a proper understanding of the

¹ An address delivered to the Glasgow Branch of the Secondary Association of Scotland.