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INTERNAL MIGRATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1881-91

IN the many valuable contributions to our knowledge of the migration of the inhabitants of our country from one place of residence to another, the method followed in investigating the facts has most commonly been to compare the records of places of birth with those of places of residence. Where the birthplace differs from the place of residence, migration is recorded. Without desiring to undervalue the results thus obtained, one may be permitted to suggest the desirability of trying to trace the course of the movement somewhat more minutely than the records of birthplaces in the census reports permit. In respect of the absorption into the great towns, Mr. Cannan afforded an example of the use of a different portion of the records of the census in his discussion of the growth of Manchester and Liverpool in the *ECONOMIC JOURNAL*, in March, 1894, and has developed the same mode of comparison elsewhere. So far as the writer is aware, however, no attempt has hitherto been made to utilise the records, which served Mr. Cannan's purpose so well, in any complete manner, so as to cover the whole country, and so as to distinguish between a mere change in numbers of the population and a movement which may affect the two sexes in different degrees and even in opposite senses. The work is so simple that one might not unreasonably expect that a government department engaged in handling the figures of the census would prepare a report on the subject. The fact that this has not been done would even suggest that some subtlety known to the officials and not readily discovered by outsiders renders the records of doubtful utility for the purpose in question.

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The records are those of the enumerated population of each registration district in England and Wales at the date of the census and the recorded births and deaths in each district in the ten years which most nearly coincide with the intercensal period. Given the population in 1881 and the births and deaths for the ten years beginning 1881, the population which would be found in the district in 1891 had no migration occurred is determined. A comparison of this figure with the enumerated population of the district in 1891 will, therefore, indicate what net flow of population outwards or inwards has taken place in the intercensal decade. The census reports provide these figures for the sexes taken together, but make no use of them. To what errors, then, is the computation liable, or how can such a computation give a figure representing something else than the fact sought?

In the first place the recorded births and deaths relate to calendar years, while the date of the census is early in April. In almost all cases, however, the error thus introduced is quite small, and, after careful consideration, it has not appeared necessary to compute populations for the beginning of the calendar year or births and deaths for the precise intercensal period. The excess of births over deaths for the period January 1st, 1881, to December 31st, 1890, will be found not to give misleading results when used instead of a computed excess for the period April 4th, 1881, to April 5th, 1891. Next must be considered difficulties arising from changes in the areas of registration districts in the intercensal period. When a considerable population has been transferred from one district to another it has been found necessary to compute the excess of births over deaths among this population for the period between the 1881 census and the transference, since births and deaths are recorded in the district to which the population belongs when the births and deaths occur and remain credited to that district even after the separation from it of the area in which they have occurred. The number of these cases in which such changes caused serious inaccuracies was not very large, and, where they were trifling, the inaccuracy has not been corrected, inasmuch as the correction is necessarily an estimate, and, in such a case, might be in error almost as much as the recorded figures. In a few cases the census report groups areas in accordance with changes which came into effect later than the date of the last census, and the reconstruction of the areas as they then were has been necessary, because the figures of births and deaths in the Registrar-General's decennial supplement refer to the areas as then existing. It may be noted as curious

that this report, though issued very considerably later than the census volumes, preserves the arrangements which, in the census volumes, have been modified to suit changes subsequent to the census. A conspicuous example is afforded by the borough of Leicester, but it does not stand alone.

If the difficulties created by the modifications of boundaries of registration areas can be regarded as not really serious, the records on which the measure of net migration from or to each registration district depend may be taken to be sufficiently trustworthy to give a true picture of the net movements of the decade. Were a similar computation made for several preceding decades, the course of migration about the country would be more effectively shown than is possible from the records of birthplaces, especially in view of the fact that birthplaces are recorded by ancient counties, areas not coincident with the areas in which present residence is recorded. The birthplace record has the advantage that it is capable of showing some movements inwards and outwards, which, in the mode of reckoning described above, would simply balance each other.

One further point may be referred to. As pointed out in the Registrar-General's decennial supplement for 1881-90, the movements of population in the metropolis are a good deal affected by the existence of great institutions such as hospitals and workhouse infirmaries. The distribution of deaths in these institutions in accordance with the areas in which the persons dying ordinarily resided is there given, but without distinction of sex, and it was only recorded from 1885. It is not, therefore, possible to revise completely the figures of migration within London so as to allow for these institutional deaths. In some cases a really serious change would be the result. So far as the country at large is concerned, the cases in which serious readjustment would be required on account of institutional deaths are, as the decennial supplement states, not frequent. To ignore them will not, therefore, seriously invalidate the results attained.

Enough has, however, been said of method, and attention to results may now be given. The results may be presented either in the form of absolute movements, or in the form of migration as a percentage of population. For general comparisons the latter mode of expression has been adopted, and the proportion of net migration to mean population of each sex for each district has been calculated, as well as the movement for the population ignoring distinctions of sex.

It is a little curious to note that the intensity of migratory

movement, as thus measured, reaches 50 per cent. in individual cases both in the inward and outward movement. The extreme case in emigration is found in the district of Reeth in the North Riding of Yorkshire. This district shows an emigration of males equal to $51\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of its mean male population, and for females, an emigration equal to $43\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the mean female population. Its population actually fell from 4,717 in 1881 to 3,217 in 1891, and the emigration, estimated as above described, was 1,883. Such cases, however, are rare. Only eight districts show a net emigration exceeding 25 per cent. of mean population, and only double this number show as large a movement of either sex. It is a noteworthy fact that, in every one of these cases, with the exception of the district of Westminster, the male movement is stronger than that of the female. The aggregate mean male population of the sixteen districts only amounted to 215,376, the male emigration was 62,942. The female population of 222,097 contributed 56,572 to the net migration. As Liverpool and Westminster were two of the places showing the strongest emigration, and as their population amounted approximately to the half of the figures given, it might well be that their conditions would govern the numerical result. As a fact they do not. These two places contribute very slightly more to male migration than in the proportion of their male population, and substantially more to female migration. The remaining fourteen districts with high emigration (in excess of 25 per cent. for males) show, therefore, even more markedly than the whole group of sixteen, the stronger tendency of the male to emigrate.

At the other extreme we find the district of Christchurch, which not merely retained all its own excess of births over deaths, amounting to 11 per cent. of its population, but attracted in addition a male influx of about 46 per cent. of its mean male population and very close to 50 per cent influx of females on its mean female population. Its female population being largely in excess of the males, this female influx represents three females to every two males among the immigrants. Ten districts show an immigration exceeding 25 per cent. and three others an immigration in excess of this figure for one of the two sexes. In this case the excess of movement is on the side of the females. Of the thirteen cases, three only, namely Orsett, Cardiff and Pontypridd districts, show the male immigration as stronger than the female. Thus we have a result markedly contrasted with that found in districts showing large emigration. For further comparison, the aggregate mean male population of the thirteen strongly absorptive districts

was 583,818, the absorption 189,000 ; the mean female population was 621,767, the absorption of females 213,565. Thus this group has about three times the population of the corresponding group of districts of extreme dispersion, and the proportion of movement to population is rather stronger in the absorptive than in the dispersing districts.

The curious contrast of the movement of the two sexes shown by these two extreme groups is worth a little closer attention. Students of migration have remarked on the greater apparent mobility of the female as compared with the male, when the measures are based on records of birthplaces. The question of whether this is real or apparent is one worth examining. Some of the facts distinctly suggest that the female is more stop-at-home than the male, a result which certainly seems in accordance with the impressions one receives in a casual way, and without reference to any precise or scientific measure of mobility.

For the decade 1881—91, the 632 districts of England and Wales for which the computation can be made on the basis previously explained give the following results :—

Districts showing absorption of both sexes number . .	104
Districts showing absorption of males number	119
Districts showing absorption of females number.....	136
Districts showing absorption in general number	124
Percentage migration of females exceeds that of males arithmetically in.....	217

The last line of this table most clearly indicates that the mobility of males was greater than that of females in the decade 1881—91. When we examine the totals of net migration for all the districts we find that they amount to 1,370,000 for males and some 10,000 less for females, while, as is hardly necessary to remark, the female population was in excess of the male by about 6 per cent. The mobility of the female thus comes out slightly less than that of the male. But the birth-place records give greater prominence to migration to a considerable distance than do the records here used, inasmuch as the birth-place returns do not show a movement from one place to another in the same county. The separation of the latter movements is therefore necessary. It is found that they aggregate about 609,000 for males, 699,000 for females ! The deficiency of female movement from any district to some place outside the county is therefore somewhat greater than that shown by the total of net movement.

But when we examine the net emigration to other countries,

we find that some 417,500 males and 201,000 females are counted as excess of emigrants over immigrants. Hence the net county to county movement, which is the movement measured by the birth-place records, comes out as 343,500 males against 459,000 females,¹ showing the greater mobility of the female as found by other inquirers. But, in the light of the whole of the figures, it is submitted that this greater mobility is merely apparent, and due to the fact that a rather larger number of the somewhat more mobile male sex are removed beyond the reach of our census enumerators, and thus the fact that they have left their birth-places goes unrecorded because their place of residence is outside the area for which the records are prepared.

In the statement made above, it is shown that the registration districts showing absorption are relatively few. In number they are only about one-fifth of the registration districts of the country. In point of population they include some 10,000,000 out of a total mean population of approximately 27,500,000. It is, clear, therefore, that they include a considerable proportion of the districts of large population. Thus the crowding into the cities is illustrated. The districts absorbing both sexes absorb a total of 459,000 males and 562,000 females, numbers differing considerably more than in the ratio of male to female population, which is not far from the average. The situation and characteristics of these absorbing districts are matters of interest. In most of them the characteristic of a stronger absorption of females than of males is shown. The exceptions to this rule, when considered, throw some light on the migratory movement. There appears to be a governing principle as follows :—When the immigration is mainly due to industrial developments, the male migrants are in excess, when mainly connected with residential questions, the female migrants are in excess. I state this rule somewhat tentatively, but I believe it to be a fair summary of the facts. Thus, among the thirteen districts before used to illustrate the strongest absorption, the male migrants are in excess only in the cases of Orsett, Cardiff, and Pontypridd. The other ten include Christchurch, Eastbourne, the Fylde, Hendon, West Ham, Edmonton, Fulham and Hampstead, and, as provincial examples, Blaby and Billesdon. The next inferior grade of intensity of absorption, which, it may be noted, affords a comparatively small group of districts, further illustrates the rule suggested. The Wirral (in which the resi-

¹ The persons concerned in the movement will number only one-half of the figures here stated, inasmuch as they are counted both as emigrants from one place, and as immigrants to another.

dential effects are blended with the movement of workmen towards the Manchester Ship Canal, then building), Kettering, Hartlepool, Nuneaton are some of the cases of excess of male migrants, while Wandsworth, Kingston, Conway, Solihull, King's Norton, Hastings and Headington may illustrate cases of excess of female immigrants. Burnley is a case which seems to run contrary to the rule. Since the majority of absorbing districts show excess of female migrants, the conspicuous fact in the absorption is, not that it is an absorption by industrial towns, though this is in part true, but that it is a movement into suburbs and into watering-places. The latter feature may well be connected with the date of the census of 1891, which relates to the situation at midnight on the Sunday following Easter Sunday. It is a tenable proposition that the conclusions as to migration which can be drawn from figures relating to such a date should not be pressed far on a point like the apparent extreme growth of watering-places conveniently situated in relation to London or the manufacturing districts of the North.

Turning to the other end of the scale, the localities of dispersion show a greater uniformity of excess of male migrants than is shown for the opposite sex by the regions of absorption. But the districts showing strong dispersion are, it is to be remembered, mainly districts of small population. The 94 districts in which, for one or both sexes, the emigration exceeded 17·5 per cent. of the mean population, included a population of only about 2,000,000, and over one-fourth of these were in seven London districts. Besides these seven, only 10 of this group had a mean population in excess of 25,000, while 26 of them fell short of 10,000. Clearly we are here dealing very largely with country districts, and moreover with the vexed question of rural depopulation. In reference to it, the fact that the counties of Bucks, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Suffolk, Cornwall, Somerset, Hereford, Shropshire, Stafford, Rutland, and Westmoreland, together with all the Welsh counties except Glamorganshire and Carnarvonshire, contain no registration district showing net absorption is noteworthy. Conway is the sole absorbing centre in Carnarvonshire, Cockermouth in Cumberland, Middlesborough in the North Riding of Yorkshire, Sculcoates in the East Riding, Caistor in Lincolnshire, King's Norton in Worcestershire, Barton Regis in Gloucestershire, Poole in Dorsetshire, Highworth in Wiltshire, Bedford in its county, Headington in Oxfordshire, Watford in Hertfordshire, and Norwich in Norfolk, not to refer in detail to counties in which

more than one centre of absorption is shown. This enumeration indicates how widespread is the movement of dispersion.

In the case of Lincolnshire, the influx of females into the Caistor district only just overbalances the efflux of males from that district; in Staffordshire there is a small influx of males into Stoke-upon-Trent, outweighed by an efflux of females; the cases of Barton Regis and Norwich resemble that of Caistor; and in Cornwall the case of St. Germans is like that just described in Stoke-upon-Trent; while in Ipswich and Mutford an influx of females is outweighed by an efflux of males.

The areas of strongest efflux are to be found in Wales and Cornwall, on the Scotch border, in the north and east of Yorkshire, and in Lincolnshire. A large area of dispersion is found in the Eastern counties, but the strength of the movement is not quite so marked as in the regions named.

The areas of strongest absorption are found in the London suburbs and those of a few large provincial towns, in the watering-places before mentioned as possibly deceptive in the indications of the figures, in Glamorganshire, and in lesser degree near the mouth of the Tyne. Some minor absorptive areas there are, but the noteworthy feature of this side of the case is rather that the northern and midland industrial districts retain their own natural increase of population with comparatively small addition or decrease than that they absorb strongly from other districts on balance.

The influence of two important motives is clearly to be traced in these migration records. One, the search for new conditions of employment; the other, a search for better conditions of residence. In the movement from country to town the motives covered by the latter phrase are not, as has often been urged, by any means absent. The movement into suburbs, which is especially a search for better conditions of residence, can, however, be distinguished, and some examination of its results on the health of the community can be made. Taking half a-dozen of the strongly absorbing districts about London, namely, Hendon, West Ham, Edmonton, Fulham, Hampstead, and Wandsworth, and examining the distribution of their population, which was about one and a quarter millions in 1891, we find that about one quarter of these were the result of the net influx (apart from the effect of this influx on the natural increase) of the preceding decade. This suburban population contained, relatively to the country at large, an excess of persons between twenty-five and

fifty years of age and also an excess of children under ten years of age. Calculating the death-rates for various groups of ages, it appears that they were less, in 1881-90, for the suburban population in question, in every instance except that of female children under five years of age, than the rates at corresponding ages for the general population, and the excess, in the solitary case of exception, was quite trifling. The death-rate in a population of the same age and sex distribution as that of England and Wales, calculated by the age-group death-rates here referred to, and corrected for the rate of increase of the population as shown in the Registrar General's last decennial supplement, is found to be 18·13 as against the 19·02 for the whole of the country. This figure may serve to measure the relative health conditions of suburban life near London and of the country at large. The corresponding figure for the county of London is 21·42. The suburbs have therefore a substantial advantage in the matter of mortality. Whether this advantage is greater or less than can be assigned to a relative deficiency of weakly individuals which is likely to characterise their population, is matter for consideration. The correction for deaths in institutions, so far as can be judged from the part of the data available, that is, the figures from 1885 onwards, would slightly, but not more than fractionally, add to the mortality of the group of suburban districts here considered.

But, though the suburban mortality falls below that of the country at large, it compares unfavourably with that of those rural districts which show the strongest outflow of population. A dozen of the districts from the places already referred to as manifesting the extreme of emigration yield a corrected death-rate in standard population of 15·50 only. This group of districts shows a deficiency in the proportion of persons from fifteen to forty-five years of age as compared with the country at large, and also in young children under five years of age, as a consequence. For males in the age-period twenty to twenty-four, and for females in the same, and also in the preceding and following periods, the death-rates are higher than for England and Wales as a whole. Here again is an evidence that the drain of population leaves a larger proportion of weakly people behind, who, in spite of the healthier conditions indicated by the low general mortality stated above, cause the mortality figure for the ages suffering most from the depletion to be abnormally raised.

Though comprising twelve districts, this group includes only a small population and accounts for some 43,000 emigrants only.

The suburban group, used to illustrate one phase of the immigration problem, accounted for nearly one-third of all the net movement of the ten years, though the mean population was only about a million persons. If it cannot be taken as typical of the whole movement, it shows by itself a sufficiently important part of that movement to be worthy of the special attention accorded it.

As reference has been made to the possibility of some connection between the date of the census and the apparently strong flow into a number of watering places, it will not be out of place to point out that, though the absorption shown, as measured by the percentage of migration to mean population, is great, the absolute movement is not so great as seriously to interfere with the indications of the figures relating to the large populations from which, if we regard the influx as composed to a considerable extent of temporary visitors, such visitors would be drawn. Christchurch, for example, shows a net absorption of 20,000 persons, and half-a-dozen other watering-places (or rather, the registration districts containing them), along the south coast eastward from Christchurch to Folkestone, which are found to show absorption, account only for about twice as many more in the aggregate. Not the whole of this influx can be regarded as drawn from such places as London, for the districts of Lewes and Brighton both show emigration, with which the migration into the district of Steyning may be taken as not quite unconnected. This example will tend to show that the disquieting suggestions of the connection between the apparent extraordinary growth of some watering places and the short interval between Easter and the census, are not as serious as they appear at first sight, at any rate in their general effect on the indications which, derived from the figures of the census and the Registrar-General's decennial supplement, have been here used to afford an indication of some of the details of the circulation of the population. A net movement of a million persons in ten years from one to another of the areas for which the registration figures are provided in the decennial supplement may seem a rather small amount of movement; whether it is to be accounted small or large would be more readily judged if corresponding figures for preceding decades were available for comparison with it.

A. W. FLUX