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**Repeat Migration between Europe and the United States, 1870-1914
working paper for IES, by Drew Keeling (September 2009)**

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ABSTRACT AND INTRODUCTORY REMARKS:

Repeat crossings of the North Atlantic by European migrants during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were more frequent, faster-growing, and had more intricate and significant impacts on the overall long-distance relocation process, than previous scholarship has appreciated. This result is revealed by the first comprehensive accounting of all crossings between Europe and North America during the period, and by a consistent, broad, and process-based definition of migration which encompasses all transoceanic journeys except those made by tourists and business travellers. The rise of repeat migration between Europe and the United States was a rational response of migrant networks to the growth of “floating” job opportunities in America, and to the need for diversifying the risks of remote and uncertain employment across multiple individuals making multiple moves. This is a revision of the earlier 2006 working paper of the same title. The author is grateful for comments and suggestions by Amy Bailey, Susan Carter, Ray Cohn, Jan de Vries, Gerry Feldman, Joe Ferrie, Jon Gjerde, Walter Kamphoefner, Alexander Klein, Eva Morawska, Regula Schmid, Larry Shumsky, Marian Smith, Richard Sutch, Simone Wegge, Patrick Weil and Tom Weiss. The assistance of Beverly Crawford and Eric Kotila at the Institute of European Studies at the University of California, Berkeley is also appreciated. Any remaining errors are the sole responsibility of the author.

Repeat Migration between Europe and the United States, 1870-1914

1. Physical migration and its repetition

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century transatlantic migration was among the greatest and most transparent intercontinental population transfers ever, but historical studies of its causes have infrequently encompassed all of Europe, and have tended to skirt around the intricate set of mechanisms by which the relocation was physically affected. How the Atlantic crossing evolved from one-time resettlement into repeatable travel for temporary employment, has also not been systematically connected to the broad overall causes behind migrant self-selection.

The purpose of this paper is to help explain the general processes of two-way migration across the North Atlantic in the context of an environment wherein such relocation was legal, readily affordable, and clearly economically advantageous to several times as many Europeans as the twenty million who actually undertook it between 1870 and 1914.¹ Doing so in a thorough and accurate manner, however, turns out to require dealing with long unresolved problems of inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the basic migration data which most prior historical accounts have relied upon, often uncritically or unconsciously. As will be shown below, the official U.S. government record keepers of the early twentieth century undercounted overall migration from

¹ From Appendices 1 and 2 below: 24 million migrant crossings were made westwards from Europe to the United States in those years, but roughly 4 million were made by “repeat migrants” who had already traversed the ocean westwards at least once before. 2.6 million of these repeat migrant crossings happened between 1900 and 1914 (column 4 of Table A-1 in Appendix 1) and about 1.4 million between 1870 and 1900 (see notes to Appendix 4).

Europe slightly, and repeat migration greatly, thereby contributing to a significant under-appreciation of the rising rate of repeat migration over the 1870-1914 period as a whole.²

In six sections, this paper explicates these migration processes and measurement issues. The first, third and fourth sections deal with definitional matters: most especially, which transatlantic moves by individuals should be counted as migration, and how to most effectively measure those moves and that migration. The resulting methodology is used in the fifth section to analyze the principal motivations behind migrants crossing the North Atlantic more than once. The second section meanwhile argues more basically that to be comprehensive, any explanation of the relocation as a whole (including one-time and multiple moves) must account for the large number of Europeans who shared fundamental demographic and socio-economic characteristics with those who emigrated, but nevertheless chose to stay in Europe.³

The sixth and final section of this paper develops such an explanation by relating the central features of transatlantic repeat migration to the general self-selection mechanisms governing the overall numbers who relocated. Moving across the North Atlantic a century ago, for a non-permanent but indefinite period of low-skilled work, was an inherently risky endeavor. Most potential European emigrants dealt with that risk by avoiding overseas relocation altogether. The minority which did relocate to the New World consisted, for the most part, of those able and willing to diversify their endeavors over multiple moves within families (“chain migration”) and multiple moves per individual (“repeat migration”).⁴

Before 1870, migration across the North Atlantic is thought to have consisted overwhelmingly of “once-and-for-all” relocations. By the late 1870s, however, passenger travel

² The analysis here is an outgrowth of research conducted for the PhD thesis (Keeling, “Business”). The dissertation committee consisted of Gerry Feldman, Jan de Vries, Jon Gjerde, and Richard Sutch.

³ Bade, p. 146.

⁴ Keeling, “Networks,” pp. 134-47, 155-57.

there had completely shifted from sailing ships to steamships. Thereafter (up to World War I, which led to the eventual end of transatlantic migration as a mass phenomenon), human movement across that ocean became noticeably more “circular.”⁵ During the years 1908-1914, half of North Atlantic migrant crossings were part of multiple-move “back-and-forth” transfers.⁶ The “steamship revolution” itself, by reducing both transit times and travel risks, undoubtedly made the possibility of a repeat crossing more palatable to migrants. The overall effect of travel improvements upon mass migration remains unclear, however, partly due to the difficulties of defining and measuring migration.⁷

Migration is ubiquitous to life. Birds do it, bees do it, even plants do it (intergenerationally), and it has been part of human history from its African origins to its globalizing dispersion today. Whether viewed as departure (emigration), as arrival (immigration) or both (migration), long-term moves of people on a wide scale across political borders have grown in importance for human societies along with the rise of the political power structures demarcated by those boundaries, and human migration has acquired a host of varying meanings to those who have studied it in recent decades.⁸

For understandable practical reasons, migration has often been regarded by governmental authorities and policy-makers as being externally or “exogenously” determined. Migration can be discouraged or adapted to, regulated or channeled, its benefits accentuated, or its negative

⁵ Gould, p. 111, Thiess, p. 141.

⁶ From Table A-1 of Appendix 1: During 1908-14 there were 10.4 million migrant crossings between Europe and the U.S.. 6.8 million traveled westward (to the U.S.) and 3.6 million went eastward (to Europe). Of the westward crossings, 1.5 million were repeat moves. Since only migrants of European origin are tallied here (see the definition of “migrant” below - only negligible numbers of U.S.-born persons moved to Europe during the period) all eastward crossings of migrants were also repeat crossings. Total repeat migrant crossings (1.5+3.6 = 5.1) divided by all migrant crossings (10.4) equals 49% ($5.1/10.4 = .49$).

⁷ Nugent, pp. 34, 156-57, Jackson, p. 56, Keeling, “Cartels,” p. 206.

⁸ Among many fine overall introductions to the field, McNeill’s collection remains one of the most illuminating.

impacts ameliorated, but its ultimate *sources* have been implicitly considered to be beyond reach, associated with inscrutable human psychology, deeply-rooted economic conditions, and unpredictable calamities, “natural” or “man-made”. By contrast, the *effects* of mass migration have been often obvious and tangible. The demographic and social consequences of individuals, families, and communities from one society being “uprooted” and “transplanted” into another, for instance, tend to be widely noticed. Thus, while the ultimate causes of international migration have often seemed relatively obscure, the interest of many politicians and scholars has focused instead on the challenges of dealing with migration’s more readily discernable effects.⁹

The broad ethnic and linguistic diversity of the European overseas exodus, in the decades before the First World War, have enabled many interesting comparative analyses of the social, racial, or political ramifications of migration, the cultural exchanges associated with it, the sociological trajectories of alienation and assimilation, and identity transformations in ethnic diasporas, and so forth. Causal mechanisms, who moved, who did not and why, are crucial questions less frequently investigated in the prior literature on transatlantic migration.

This paper addresses these historiographical gaps by straightening out previous inconsistencies in governmental statistics on transatlantic migration, and by combining those statistics with complementary but rarely used data from passenger shipping records, in order to accurately and comprehensively measure migratory movements by European origin region and time period.¹⁰ The transatlantic relocation is principally examined here as a process organized within self-selected families and kinship networks.

⁹ Discussed further in section 3 below.

¹⁰ See section 5 and Appendix 1 below.

“Migrant”, unless otherwise specified, is broadly defined here as follows:¹¹

A *migrant* (between Europe and the United States) is any traveller born outside the United States making any crossing of the Atlantic for the purpose, with the result, or as a consequence of long term residency in the United States.

Consistent with this:

A *repeat migrant* (between Europe and the United States) is any migrant making two or more transatlantic or more crossings (west or east).

These definitions¹² may seem straightforward, but they differ from those implicit in most previous migration histories in several important respects. One such difference is based partly on semantic convenience: any migrant crossing the ocean more than once is designated, by the definitions used here, as a “repeat migrant.” This contrasts with the more typical differentiation between sub-types of multiple ocean-crossers based on the direction of travel.¹³

Another definitional difference is the lack of any “expiration date”. Under the designations used here, a European migrant to the United States does not cease being a migrant merely by virtue of having already made a previous sojourn in America.¹⁴ In other words, there is no attempt *within the definition itself* to obtain a measure of “net” rather than “gross” migration.

Precisely that intent led to a change in the definition of “immigrant” used by the U.S. Bureau of

¹¹ These definitions do not adeptly classify a few interesting though statistically negligible forms of movement: A European-born person moving to America as an infant, and making a summer holiday in Europe fifty years later would then be crossing as a “migrant” (and a “repeat migrant.”) A U.S.-born child accompanying its European-born immigrant parents on their return to Europe would be a “non-migrant.” A diplomat from Europe, having made a “long term” stay in the U.S., would thereafter be a “repeat migrant” each time he time he crossed the Atlantic. The definitions also ignore the (however relatively miniscule) counter-current of U.S.-born adults who relocated permanently to Europe in this period. During 1870 to 1914, Europeans moving to America constituted over ninety percent of all U.S. immigrants, and about half of all trans-oceanic migration anywhere in the world (Keeling, Networks, p. 162, Historical Statistics of the United States).

¹² See section 4 below for more details and rationale.

¹³ The more common terminology categorizes migrants going east (back to Europe whence they came) as “return migrants”, and only those among them who later moved *again* to America, i.e. at least for the second time, are labelled as “repeat migrants” (on the occasion of any westward crossing other than their first one). By not counting eastward migration crossings as repeat migration, this traditional characterization has contributed to the under-appreciation of multiple moves as a salient aspect of turn-of-the-20th century transatlantic migration.

Immigration starting in 1906.¹⁵ Anyone relying on the official U.S. Immigration Bureau statistics for the peak immigration years of 1906 to 1914, and using applying the conventional definition of repeat migration meaning a non-first-time westbound move, would have to consistently (but quite erroneously) conclude that such repeat migration was zero for those nine years.¹⁶

Essentially, a passenger between Europe and the United States who was not a tourist or business traveller is straightforwardly assumed here to have been a migrant, and a repeat migrant if he or she had previously crossed the Atlantic already. Nevertheless, even with the overall migration flow magnitude revised upwards thereby, it was still remarkably small relative to its potential.

2. Why did “so few” leave Europe?

The general causes of migration across the open borders of the late nineteenth century Atlantic basin are “over-determined.” The economic advantages of relatively high U.S. wages were well-known, legally accessible, and economically attainable.¹⁷ The all time highest rate of immigration relative to the U.S. population had occurred already during the 1840s and 1850s exodus from Ireland, then one of Europe’s most impoverished regions, and before steamships cut

¹⁴ even if U.S. citizenship was acquired in the meantime. See also Appendix 1.

¹⁵ see Shumsky.

¹⁶ In fact it was 1.9 million (column 4 of Table A-1 in Appendix 1).

¹⁷ The costs of migrating during this period posed a less significant barrier to movement than is commonly assumed. By the late nineteenth century, most Europeans could expect to have recouped (from American earnings minus living costs) the total costs of moving to the U.S. within six months after arriving there. See Keeling, “Networks,” pp. 132-37, 168-70, “Capacity,” pp. 227-31, for calculations and further details. The conclusion of a less-than-six-month period being needed to earn back relocation costs applies to cases in which employment was obtained within a few weeks after arrival, and maintained for several months thereafter (i.e. not lost in a cyclical recession).

migrants' oceanic transit times by two-thirds.¹⁸ The "more important" unanswered question about migration after 1870 is therefore, as economic historian Dudley Baines has put it, "not what factors caused people to emigrate but what caused so few people to emigrate."¹⁹ Addressing this question requires measurements suited towards general explanations of the migration's fundamental causes and processes.

3. Migration as flows and processes

Historical research on late nineteenth and early twentieth century migration has typically followed the lead of contemporary government statisticians wanting to distinguish "permanent settlers" from "temporary sojourners." Transatlantic relocation has been categorized and analyzed in considerable detail on this basis, but without being accompanied by a comprehensive quantitative foundation. Migration scholars have lamented the "statistical swamp" of migration data without managing to find a clear path through it, and have relied heavily on qualitative or episodic observations whose general quantitative significance remains vague.²⁰

Attempting to sort migration into subsets differentiated by degree of "permanence" is odds with a growing scholarly consensus of recent decades: that the unit of migration is more often the kinship or community group than the individual, that such migration units are composed of multiple individuals making multiple moves over multiple years, and that the total and integrated intention and outcome, in most cases, is a shifting mixture of both permanent and temporary

¹⁸ Keeling, "Capacity," pp. 267-77. Jones, pp. 61-92, 158.

¹⁹ Baines, p. 28. See also Thistlethwaite, pp. 36-37. There is a general scholarly consensus that although most migrants during the period eventually settled in America for good, many, if not most, came with the original intention of staying only temporarily. Psychological antipathies to forsaking one's roots do not suffice to explain the large majority of Europeans who did not migrate overseas at all (see Wyman, p. 193, Baines, pp. 39-47).

relocation.²¹ This awareness was reflected in the widely heeded call of historian Frank Thistlethwaite in 1960 for a “new look at the subject as a whole” whereby scholars would “treat the process of migration as a complete sequence of experiences.”²² Although Thistlethwaite’s advocacy of a broad transatlantic perspective has powerfully influenced half a century of subsequent migration historiography, the “harvest” of scholarship he helped inspire has not included any major revision to the pattern wherein “it has been the consequences and not the causes of migration which have received the most attention.”²³ This imbalance is also reflected in the formulation of the government immigration statistics upon which historians have typically relied.

If one’s primary objective is to illuminate migration’s many-faceted effects, then it is statistically important to focus on the population levels most directly associated with those effects (especially the numbers of foreign-born in the U.S.) at different points of time. The principal concern here, however, is with the causal processes by which a minority of young European adults from lower-to-middle income families chose to physically relocate in the first place. Accordingly, the statistical emphasis is less on ultimate changes in population *stocks* than on the continual series of *flows* over time, in both transatlantic directions, that were the immediate outgrowth of those causal processes. Following this approach requires, in turn, correcting for the inconsistent definitions and classifications of U.S. authorities,²⁴ who, in attempts to better measure net additions to the stock of the U.S. population from abroad,

²⁰ Kamphoefner, p. 305.

²¹ Tilly, p. 84.

²² Thistlethwaite, p. 22.

²³ Thistlethwaite, pp. 19, 57.

²⁴ In most cases, and for most purposes, records of European migration authorities are less detailed, complete and reliable than American government records, and none of the European entities covered flows not passing into, out of, or through its national territory. Italy and Austria Hungary, the largest contributors of migrants to America, made up less than a quarter each (Figures from Historical Statistics of the United States).

obscured and understated the magnitude of the underlying flows, the frequency of multiple moves, and the extent to which ship accommodations used by migrants deviated from traditional wooden-slatted steerage.²⁵

4. Distinguishing between migrants and non-migrants

The measurement of cross-border movements of people is notoriously fraught with statistical difficulties.²⁶ Transatlantic migration a century ago -despite being atypically legal and well-documented- is not an exception.²⁷

The general assumption governing U.S. statistics-gathering for most of this period was that immigrants were only those foreigners making once-and-for-all westbound crossings in the steerage class. In three steps after 1900, this assumption was revised. As a result, there are notable inconsistencies within the U.S. Immigration Bureau statistics for 1900-1914, a period marked by high migration volumes documented in relatively complete detail. The new measures shown in Table A-1 of Appendix 1, columns 3 and 8, reduce these inconsistencies considerably by making the following adjustments to the BI data:²⁸

²⁵ For a good general introduction to the measurement difficulties see Hutchinson. Gould is also helpful. Kuznets and Rubin, pp. 87-94, offer a useful example of a stock-based analysis.

²⁶ See for example, *Economist*, "Cross Frontier Chaos," June 15, 2002, pp. 50-51.

²⁷ See especially Hutchinson, for the most definitive prior cataloguing of these problems.

²⁸ Appendices 1-3 below provide further information on the methodologies used and measurements obtained.

1) From 1900 to 1902, the U.S. Bureau of Immigration (BI) counted as “Immigrants” only those Europeans crossing to the U.S. in steerage (“third class”). The new time series of “westbound migrants” shown in column 3 of Table A-1 in Appendix I sums up migrants in all shipboard travel classes for the *whole* 1900-1914 period.

2) After 1905, the BI stopped counting as “Immigrants” those who had “been in the U.S. before,” and instead lumped them together with European tourists and short term business travellers in the general category of “Non-Immigrants.” The series “westbound migrants” of Table A-1 in Appendix I undoes that major source of inconsistency and confusion.

3) In 1908, the BI began counting “emigrants” departing the U.S. (see column 6 of Table A-1 in Appendix 1 below). Those figures are notably inaccurate, however, and the method of correction used in Table A-1 generates instead the “eastbound migrant” flows for 1900-14 shown there (in column 8). See also Table 2 below. Based on more sparse underlying data, less precise but still reasonably accurately estimates for eastbound migrant flows have been developed for 1870-99 as well.

4) **As defined here**, “migrants” include naturalized U.S. citizens travelling between Europe and America. That designation is based on records indicating that about one third of U.S. citizens travelled in the steerage class, that nearly all U.S. citizens in steerage were naturalized Europeans, not native-born Americans, that their crossings were mostly roundtrips from America to (and back from) small villages in Europe²⁹ and that on the westbound traverse they often accompanied non-citizen relatives from those villages who were migrating to the U.S. for the first time.³⁰

These adjustments have been made in order to clearly and accurately divide the gross flows of passengers between Europe and the U.S. into migrants (as defined here) and non-migrants going in both directions for the entire period. The resulting figures shown in Table A-1 of Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 indicate that official U.S. government tallies normally used by

²⁹ i.e. U.S. citizens in steerage were not on summer sightseeing tours of Europe as citizens in first class often were. Although naturalized and native-born citizens were not routinely distinguished on passenger lists, the length and purpose of stays in Europe often were. Accompanying family members were usually grouped together on the manifests of arriving passengers, and dozens of sampled U.S. passengers lists, across many years and routes, show clearly that the incidence of non-English first and last names among U.S. citizens travelling in steerage was much higher than in 1st class, with 2nd class in between the two.

³⁰ Based on the definitions and assumptions here, 90% of Non-Migrants were native-born U.S. citizens, the rest were nearly all Europeans. Most of these non-migrants were summer tourists (based on BI annual reports, Dillingham report, passenger manifests). Most of the rest were businessmen on business trips. Naturalized U.S. citizens, in sharp distinction, overwhelmingly crossed the Atlantic in order to visit family members back in Europe, to bring the intellectual and financial fruits of labor in the United States to

historians understate overall westbound migrant inflows to the U.S. from Europe by more than 10%.³¹ Other important revisions yielded by this analysis, for the 1900-1914 period,³² are that:

- 1) Westbound repeat migrant crossings were 19% of total westbound migrant crossings [versus the U.S. immigration authorities' estimates of 12%]
- 2) Eastbound repeat migrant crossings were 42% of total westbound migrant crossings [versus the U.S. immigration authorities' estimated "return rate"³³ of 33%]
- 3) Migrants to and from South and East Europe were about 68% of total westbound migrants [versus the U.S. immigration authorities' figures of "New Immigrants" being 75% of total]

those European family members, and to help them to also migrate to America. See also Appendix 1 below, especially part C.

³¹ This was because U.S. federal government records did not classify as "immigrants" the following groups (rounded percentages of all migrants are in brackets): Non-citizen migrants in the second class [+1%], naturalized U.S. citizens [+5% - see prior two footnotes for the logic], westbound "domicile resumers" (multiple crossers) [+6%]. Figures based on the calculations for Appendices 1-3 below.

³² The repeat migrant crossing rates are from the 1900-14 totals at the bottom of Table A-1 in Appendix 1 (2,613/13,419 = 19% westward, 5,171/13,419 = 42% eastward). Migrants from North and West Europe were under counted (and the relative size of New Immigrants" from South and East Europe consequently overstated) because they travelled more often in the second class that were excluded from "immigration" counts before 1904 (Transatlantic Passenger Conferences (TPC) reports, Keeling, "Conditions"), and had higher rates of (undercounted) repeat migration westbound (see, for example, Table 4 below). For comparable U.S. government figures: Westbound migrants in the cabin class are estimated by BI for 1899 (see Hutchinson, p. 984), in BI Annual Reports (1900, p. 5, 1901, p. 4, 1902, p. 5, 1903, p. 5), and in *Facts About Immigration*, 1907, p. 106. Westbound repeat immigrants are estimated in Dillingham Report, vol. 1, p. 104, vol. 3, pp. 358-59, eastbound flows (emigration as % of immigration) in Dillingham, vol. 1, pp. 181-84, vol. 3, p. 372. Figures for "New Immigration" (as defined by Dillingham, vol. 1, p. 170) are given, by "race" in the BI, 1914, pp. 101-02. These three pairs of ratios are not exact comparisons, because the government estimates are (presumably) ratios of persons not crossings. This does not make a tremendous difference, however, because a large majority of repeat migrants crossed the ocean a total of either two or three times. In other words, they made at most one *repeat* crossing in either direction (e.g. for them, number of crossings in each direction equaled number of crossers). For example suppose, in round numbers, 10 million migrants moved west, 12% of them made multiple crossings, and 90% of those crossed west two times, 10% three times. Then, the rate of repeat westbound *crossers* would be 12%. The rate of repeat westbound *crossings* would be (using millions) 1.32 (= 1.2+.12) repeat westbound crossings divided by 11.32 (10+1.32) total westbound crossings, or 1.32 divided by 11.32 = 11.7%

³³ As stated in the Dillingham Report, vol. 3, p. 372: "...the outward movement or emigration of aliens has been approximately one third as great as the immigration movement."

To better understand the dimensions of transatlantic repeat migration in the “peak” decades preceding World War I it is useful to look comprehensively at the overall relocation between Europe and America. By the definition established here,³⁴ every migrant began his or her migratory experience by making a westward crossing from Europe to the U.S.. All subsequent crossings were repeat migration crossings. To properly count (gross) flows of migration and repeat migration, one thus first needs a reliable measure of westward and eastward crossings. By correcting for inconsistencies in U.S. government data after 1900, Appendix 1 develops³⁵ a consistent time series of westward and eastward flows for the entire period, 1870 to 1914. Table 1 shows the results in (annualized) summary form :

Table 1 Annual average migrant crossings in ‘000s, by direction, 1870-1914

Fiscal Years	Westward	Eastward	East/West	East/Total
1870–82	291	62	21%	18%
1883–99	403	132	33%	25%
1900–14	899	382	42%	30%

Source: Based on Appendix 1 below.

All eastbound migrant crossings are, by the definition used here, repeat migration flows. Movements westbound are less clear cut, because they consist of a mixture of first-time crossings (not repeat migration) and non-first-time crossings (repeat migration). As noted on the previous page, 19% of westward migrant crossings between 1900 and 1914 were made by migrants who had already crossed west (at least) once before.³⁶ Although records of repeat

³⁴ in section 1 above.

³⁵ in columns 3 and 8 of Table A-1 below.

³⁶ This is based on the second to last row of columns 3 and 4 of Table A-1 in Appendix 1: 2,613 / 13,491 = 19 %.

westbound flows are not available before 1896,³⁷ it is clear that such repeat traffic must have increased in volume over 1870-1914, and faster than overall migration did. Based on Table 1 above, the maximum conceivable rate of repeat migrant crossings during 1870-82, for example (if 100% of eastward crossings during those years generated one additional crossing west (again) over that same thirteen year time period), would be 18%, versus the 19% rate of 1900-14. More realistic estimates (e.g. much lower estimates) of westbound repeat flows during 1870-99, as well as their relative growth over the 1870-1914 period as a whole, are shown in Appendix 4.

In order to better appreciate the reasons behind the secular rise of repeat migrant crossings, eastward and westward, it is useful to also examine their seasonal and cyclical patterns. This aspect is taken up in the section which follows below.

5. Seasons, Reasons and Regions: when, where, and why repeat migration occurred

Migrants made multiple crossings for a variety of reasons beyond the usually appreciated final repatriation for retirement, or due to failure, homesickness or other disappointment in America.³⁸ Many went home seasonally, and with greater relative frequency to Northern Europe in the summer than to and from Italy in the winter on the archetypal “bird-of-passage” routes. Many also went from the United States to Europe temporarily: to “escape” cyclical unemployment in America. Another often overlooked form of repeat migration are the crossings of those returning to Europe in order to then accompany relatives on another, later, journey to America. A comparison for the end of the period, 1909-13, between the overall migration

³⁷ See Hutchinson, pp. 990-91.

³⁸ Wyman, pp. 75-76.

movements as measured in this paper³⁹ and those used by most prior scholars, highlights the much greater magnitude of the eastward flow that results from defining migrants to include all those passengers originating in Europe (other than tourists and business travellers) crossing the Atlantic to and from America:

Table 2 Eastward crossings as % of westward, by European origin region, 1909-13

	Bureau of Immigration classifications	more inclusive measures	
	[1] ("Emigrants" / "Immigrants")	[2] All Migrants who were not U.S. Citizens	[3] All Migrants
North	16%	42%	48%
East	21%	29%	29%
South	34%	47%	49%
ALL Europe	24%	40%	42%

Sources: BI Bulletins, BI annual reports, and Table A-1 of Appendix 1 below. [1] "Immigrants" and "Emigrants" are as defined by the BI during this period, exclude westbound repeat migrants and "alien residents of the United States making a temporary trip abroad" (BI annual report for 1908, p. 102 (serial set)). Rates in column [2] are adjusted to exclude non-migrants (tourists and short term business) from Europe. [3] "Migrants", as used consistently herein, equals [2] *plus naturalized* U.S. citizens. A yet slightly broader measure, all 2nd and 3rd class passengers (not shown here, but shown in Appendix 1) yields virtually identical results: (44% for all Europe).

Subdivisions of repeat migrant flows (non first time migrant crossings in the westbound direction, and all migrant crossings in the eastbound direction) can be made based on the season and stage of the business cycle when the crossing occurred. This procedure leads to the following seven sub-categories, based on the probable reasons behind the repeat crossing:

³⁹ e.g. in table 1 above and Appendices 1 and 2 below.

Table 3 Categories of Repeat Migration by timing and purpose (and their estimated size)

- 1) **“Summer”**: Crossings of migrants departing the U.S. in May, June, or July and returning the following August, September, or October.
- 2) **“Year End”**: Crossings of migrants departing the U.S in November or December and the following January to June.
- 3) **“Short Term Cyclical”**: Crossings of migrants departing the U.S during recessions and returning during the next subsequent recovery.
- 4) **“Other Short Term”**: All other migrant crossings consisting of east-then-westward roundtrip journeys completed within twelve months
- 5) **“Debarred”**: Eastbound journeys of those migrants denied entry to the U.S. at U.S. port-of-entry checkpoints⁴⁰
- 6) **“Permanent return”**: All eastbound crossings made by migrants who did not come to America again. (This group and the debarred group, by definition, consist of eastward migrant crossings only.)
- 7) **Long Term**: All other repeat migrant crossings.

As a % of all repeat migrants, in both directions, 1900-1914:⁴¹

Summer	15%
Year End Seasonal	13%
Short Term Cyclical	15%
Other Short Term	9%
Long Term	7%
Debarred (east only)	2%
Permanent Return (east only)	38%

⁴⁰ Interestingly, some of those debarred from entry, and sent back to Europe, were able to very soon come to America again, and enter successfully, at a *different* port. Since they typically had never actually “been in” the US before (other than in an inspection station the first time) they would not be counted as repeat migrants, even though they had crossed the ocean three times in order to enter America once. No attempt is made here to correct for this additional (if small –total debarments were only 2% of repeat migrants and about 1% of all migrants) example of unnoticed repeat migration. I am nonetheless grateful to Marian Smith of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service for calling my attention to this phenomenon.

⁴¹ “Permanent Return” is based on the overall relation of eastbound and westbound repeat migration shown and derived in Appendix 1 below. “Debarred” numbers are from BI annual reports. The other five categories are estimated, month by month, based on available shipping and immigration statistics (the latter adjusted to include naturalized citizens and exclude migrants not from Europe) and by region based on the Immigration Bulletin figures for 1909-13. “Summer,” “Year End Seasonal,” and “Short Term Cyclical,” are based on seasonal and cyclical deviations from trend. The remaining residual is divided

While these percentages are only approximate estimates based on available data for 1900-14, they make it readily apparent that repeat migration was a broad and varied phenomenon.

Repeat migration across the Atlantic rose after 1900 and more quickly than did overall migration, but there were important differences between European source regions and calendar seasons. Repeat migration of northern Europeans (e.g. from the British Isles and Scandinavia) was dominated by short summer visits (to Europe in early summer, back to United States in early fall), while repeat migration of southern Europeans mostly consisted of one-time return trips to Europe in the late fall.⁴² In the westbound direction, the northern regions of Europe had proportionally higher rates of repeat migration than did the southern regions. Available U.S. Bureau of Immigration data, adjusted to be consistent over the period, yield the following results for two key sub-regions:⁴³

Table 4 Repeat Westward Migration as a % of Total Westward Migration

		Long Term	Short Term	All Repeat Westward
1900-05	Italy	7%	4%	11%
1906-08	Italy	7%	5%	12%
1911-14	Italy	11%	7%	18%
1900-05	Scandinavia	6%	10%	16%
1906-08	Scandinavia	7%	14%	21%
1911-14	Scandinavia	11%	20%	31%

(Westbound migrants from Italy and Scandinavia were, respectively, 25% and 7% of all migrants from Europe to the U.S. As in Table 3, “short term” generally means repeat migrant crossings that were part of a transatlantic round-trip completed within a twelve month period.)

Source: These are approximate estimates based on figures in the BI annual reports. The breakdown between Long Term and Short Term is available only for the years 1909 and 1910 and the resulting ratio for each region is assumed to have applied in the other years as well.

roughly equally between “Other Short Term” and “Long Term,” based on separate estimations west and eastward (see also Appendix 3 below).

⁴² Many of the northern repeat migrants were naturalized U.S. citizens (*Wall Street Journal*, May 11, 1903, p. 2). It was common to return to the United States “after harvests abroad are finished” (*Wall Street Journal*, August 19, 1904, p. 2).

⁴³ BI annual reports, 1900-1914.

6. Repeat Migration as Risk Management

Repeat migration across the North Atlantic was related to underlying mechanisms of migrant self-selection within self-replicating kinship and community networks. Temporary summer trips to Europe by migrants already in America, short term moves to Europe to avoid periods of seasonal or cyclical unemployment in the U.S., and the permanent return to origin communities in Europe, all primarily reflected efforts by extended families to cope with uncertainties and vagaries of pursuing economic opportunities on two continents. Amidst their many purposes and characteristics, migration “chains” fundamentally developed as a means for diversifying the risks of migration across multiple individuals and multiple moves per individual (repeat migration).

Migration across the Atlantic a century and more ago, was often considered a risky “gamble” by those undertaking it, and risks also limited the numbers attempting it.⁴⁴ Migration chains were the principal means of coping with the uncertainties and pitfalls of long-distance relocation. Transatlantic kinship networks not only helped migrants find jobs and accommodations in the New World, and adapt to an unfamiliar language, new laws and new customs, they also helped the immigrant workers outlast periods of low labor demand in the U.S.,⁴⁵ or return to Europe, where living costs were lower, to wait out American slumps there.

North Atlantic passenger shipping companies, whose activities were characterized by unusually high fixed costs, and fluctuating demand, were in a business more risky than most. On the late nineteenth and early twentieth century North Atlantic, shipping lines’ biggest business

⁴⁴ See section 2 above.

and riskiest business segment was migrant traffic.⁴⁶ One way shipping lines coped with the uncertainties of supplying fixed cost carrying capacity to meet drastically fluctuating demands for migrant travel, was to make some of that capacity interchangeable between migrants and tourists. Seasonally, for example, migrants moved west to America most heavily in the late spring, at a time when tourists (overwhelmingly Americans going for summer trips to Europe) approached a peak in the eastbound direction. Having the same quarters used in opposite directions by migrants and tourists, however, required upgrading accommodations from the “open-berth” dormitories typically found in nineteenth century steerage, into a quality level also acceptable to at least “second class” tourists. By 1914, most migrants on routes from and to the U.K and Scandinavia, where summer repeat migration was most frequent, were housed in such “closed-berth” quarters. Improved on-board offerings (including more deck space, and better dining facilities as well as the more private enclosed cabins) were also a logical consequence of the scale economies which helped foster an approximately five-fold increase in average ship size over the period. These on-board improvements, in turn, further encouraged migrants to consider making the (thereby) less onerous crossing more than once.⁴⁷

Repeat migration across the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Atlantic was more substantial, more widespread, and more directly related to the underlying causal processes of that

⁴⁵ See, for instance, the charitable functions of immigrant mutual aid societies described in Park and Miller, pp. 124-32.

⁴⁶ Keeling, “Networks,” p. 122, note 26.

⁴⁷ The increasing ship size was used in two ways: to carry more passengers and to provide more space per passenger. About 65% of migrants on these northern routes traveled in closed-berth cabins by the end of the period. Overall (on the main routes between Europe and the U.S. during 1900 to 1914), about 35% of migrants were in closed berths, of which 15% in second class and 20% in third class. Keeling, “Transportation Revolution”, pp. 50,58-59, “Conditions,” especially Appendix 2. For passenger shipping lines, the advantages of an increased rate of multiple crossings per migrant can be seen in Appendix 4 below. The growing countercyclical eastward flow during recessions late in the period (1904-13) meant that overall fluctuations in migration volume across that business cycle (a central dilemma for the shipping companies whose costs varied hardly at all with these wide swings in travel demand) were reduced considerably, and thereby also the overall business risk for these transportation providers.

relocation than prior scholarship indicates. Looking more explicitly and fundamentally at repeat migration, measuring it more accurately, and examining its causes more comprehensively allows for a better integration of hitherto rather disparate historiographical findings.

Scholars of cross-border migration have long been aware of the critical importance of kinship and community networks. More sporadically, they have also acknowledged the curious dichotomy of millions of Europeans a century ago voluntarily seeking economic betterment overseas while *tens* of millions of demographically and economically similar contemporaries voluntarily stayed in Europe. Widespread and growing repeat migration is a central linkage between these two important features of mass relocation across the pre-1914 Atlantic. By at least the late 1880s, risk considerations (not upfront costs) were the primary barrier keeping most Europeans from pursuing opportunities for economic improvement in America. Chain migration was the principal means by which those who chose to surmount that barrier managed to do so. Repeat moves were a vital element of the risk-managing strategies within those kinship chains.

APPENDIX 1: DERIVATION OF MIGRANT FLOWS, 1870-1914

A. TABLE A-1: Yearly Passenger flows between Europe* and USA, 1870-1914 ('000s, fiscal yrs ended June 30)

COLUMN #:	ARRIVALS				DEPARTURES			
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]
SOURCES: (re details see notes below)	US Gov't (except 1892-95)	Ship lines	<i>calculated here before 1900: = [1]</i>	<i>calculated here (see notes to Appendix 3)</i>	US Gov't	US Gov't	Ship lines	<i>calculated here before 1900: = [5]</i>
			<i>from 1900 on: see notes to Appendix 2</i>					<i>from 1900 on: see notes to Appendix 1-C below</i>
	"Immigrants" from Europe	Westward 2nd & 3rd Class Crossings from Europe	Westward Migrant Crossings from Europe	Westward REPEAT Migrant Crossings from Europe	By sea in 3rd Class (Steerage)	"Emigrants" to Europe	Eastward 2nd & 3rd Class Crossings to Europe	Eastward Migrant Crossings to Europe
1870	329		329 e		44			44 e
1871	265		265 e		46			46 e
1872	352		352 e		43			43 e
1873	397		397 e		62			62 e
1874	263		263 e		83			83 e
1875	183		183 e		106			106 e
1876	121		121 e		83			83 e
1877	106		106 e		76			76 e
1878	102		102 e		61			61 e
1879	134		134 e		51			51 e
1880	349		349 e		41			41 e
1881	528		528 e		48			48 e
1882	648		648 e		63			63 e
1883	523		523 e		78			78 e
1884	454		454 e		101			101 e
1885	353		353 e		154			154 e
1886	329		329 e		113			113 e
1887	483		483 e		102			102 e
1888	538		538 e		114			114 e
1889	435		435 e		140			140 e
1890	446		446 e		132			132 e
1891	546		546 e		139			139 e
1892	612 e		612 e		151			151 e
1893	492 e		492 e		135			135 e
1894	304 e		304 e		191			191 e
1895	270 e		270 e		217			217 e
1896	329		329 e		121			121 e
1897	216		216 e		98			98 e
1898	218		218 e		131			131 e
1899	297		297 e		128			128 e
1900	425	489	471	79	137		176	145
1901	469	560	535	99	158		195	173
1902	619	695	677	94	169		203	187
1903	815	860	846	104	207		237	219
1904	768	795	781	125	324		345	327
1905	974	1,013	999	213	335		391	373
1906	1,018	1,108	1,092	187	282		346	327
1907	1,200	1,331	1,314	196	345		430	397
1908	692	820	799	178	638	377	841	811
1909	655	862	829	342	342	181	446	413
1910	926	1,074	1,044	200	327	154	370	344
1911	765	906	876	171	432	231	492	466
1912	719	872	843	210	505	286	541	509
1913	1,056	1,228	1,201	232	450	249	510	482
1914	1,058	1,207	1,183	185	520	257	578	553
1900-14:	12,159	13,818	13,491	2,613	5,171		6,101	5,726
1870-1914:	22,781		24,113		8,222			8,778

* = except for column 5 which includes more than Europe e = estimated here (for 1870-99) as being westward = column 1, eastward = column 8

B. General Methods used in Table A-1:

Of the eight columns in Table A-1, the three most crucial to the analysis of repeat migration are *Westward Migrants* (column 3), *Westward Repeat Migrants* (column 4), and *Eastward Migrants* (column 8). To achieve better overall consistency, different sources were used before than after 1900 in deriving these three data columns:

- 1) Before 1900, the basic U.S. government time series, immigrant arrivals (column 1) and steerage departures (column 5), consistently and closely approximate the broader migrant flows westward and eastward, as defined in section 1 of this paper, and shown in columns 3 and 8.
- 2) During 1900-14 the government data deviate more sharply, more variably, and more traceably from migration, as broadly defined here. For that period, columns 3 and 8 (the migrant flows west and east) were instead derived from the more consistent shipping data of columns 2 and 7. (The main difference between columns 3 and 8 and the shipping time series is that non-migrant 2nd class passengers were deducted from columns 3 and 8 after 1900).
- 3) There were essentially no figures kept on repeat migrants westbound (column 4) before the late 1890s. Repeat migrant flows in the westward direction before 1900 are therefore not shown in Table A-1 of Appendix 1 immediately above, but are instead estimated in Appendix 4 below.

C. General Sources used in Table A-1

Column 1: Historical Statistics of the United States, series C-90, except for 1892-95 where it deviates from the more reliable Bureau of Statistics data which is then used instead (see Hutchinson, pp. 982-83) with estimates to adjust for the small fraction of flows which were not from Europe.

Column 2: Transatlantic Passenger Conference (TPC) records for traffic to and from New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore.

Column 3: Before 1900, estimated as equal to column 1. For 1900 through 1914, estimated by making small adjustments (not over 1% individually or in toto, net) to annual BI figures for immigrants to the four main ports, so as to reflect regular paying passengers from Europe, and thus be consistent with the shipping figures of column 2. For example, passengers debarred at the entry ports are included as "estimated migrants," but stowaways are not. Two larger adjustments are the inclusion of immigrants in cabin class (excluded by BI before 1903) and repeat migrants (mostly excluded by BI, after 1905). Figures in this column, after 1900, also include flows of naturalized U.S. citizens, estimated by using available data for citizens in the steerage class on arriving steamships. See also Appendix 2 below.

Column 4: Derived in Appendix 3 below.

Column 5: U.S. Bureau of Statistics data, reproduced in "Quarterly Report No.2, Series 1892-'93".

Column 6: BI annual reports: Table XX (1908) and Table VIII (1909-14)

Column 7: TPC

Column 8: Before 1900, estimated as equal to column 5. For 1900 through 1914, derived by deducting estimated eastward non-migrant crossings from total eastward passenger flows (including first class, not shown here). Intra-annual allocations of migrant flows (west and east) are similarly derived. Eastbound transits are smaller as a % of 2nd and 3rd class flows than westbound because tourists (in 2nd class) all travelled both east and west, whereas a majority or large minority of migrants travelled only west (once).

D. The effect of various minor omissions on the rate of eastbound repeat migration

(the overall net effect is estimated in Table A-3 below)

i. Counting of departures

Column 1 of Table A-1 covers only arrivals from Europe, whereas column 5, before 1900, includes movement to all foreign countries. By-country breakdowns available for 1890-95 show that 8% of such departures were to non European countries (Bureau of Statistics: "Foreign Commerce and Navigation," 1800-95), thus, for this reason, the column 8 figures *overstate* the U.S. to Europe flow.

This overstatement is, however, mostly offset by a bias toward *undercounting* inherent in the way these departure statistics were compiled. Migrants departing *to* Europe (in contrast to those arriving *from* Europe) were not inspected upon embarkation or disembarkation, nor were they recorded in detailed government-required passenger manifests. The U.S Bureau of Immigration (BI) relied upon the "courtesy of the agents of steamship and packet lines for information on the outward passenger movement," and during busy times agents did not fully count all departing passengers. The resulting under-reporting can be measured by comparing BI departing passenger figures against (Transatlantic Passenger Conferences records. Figures for 1906-1914 show that the BI undercounted departures by an average of 5%. The net effect thus amounts to about a 3% 8% less 5%) overstating of eastbound flows for the years 1870-99, in Table A-1.

ii. Some repeat migrants possibly not included in "immigrants" figures even before 1900

According to Hutchinson, (p. 994) "aliens" arriving at U.S. ports between 1868 and 1891 were "counted as immigrants on each re-entry", unless they were "temporary visitors". It seems likely, however, that at least some ports in some years before 1891 did not classify some repeat migrants as immigrants in their record-keeping (e.g. see Commissioners of Emigration annual report for 1884).

iii. Migrants going from Europe through Canada to the United States

Some European migrants coming to the United States via Canada were not counted as being immigrants from Europe. Undoubtedly some of those migrants later departed the U.S. for Europe, without going back through Canada enroute. The rate of eastbound migrant flows relative to westbound indicated by Table A-1 is thus slightly inflated, to the extent that such migrants were counted in the departures column (8) but not in the arrivals column (3) . Any such overstatement, however, is small. At an extreme, if 100% of all immigrants coming into the U.S. from Canada came through it from Europe, and if 0% of migrants leaving the U.S. for Europe departed via Canada, the calculated rates of eastbound crossings, relative to westbound, would be altered (at most) as shown in Table A-2 here:

TABLE A-2: Maximum Effect of including migration between Europe and USA *through* Canada

Column #:	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
	Westward Migrants	Estimated European Migrants via Canada	Westward Migrants including via Canada	Eastward Migrants	Eastward without via Canada	Eastward Rate with via Canada
<i>Derivation:</i>	from Table A-1	see below	= [1] + [2]	from Table A-1	= [4] / [1]	= [4] / [3]
1870-82:	3,777	648	4,425	807	21%	18%
1883-99:	6,845	844	7,689	2,245	33%	29%
1900-14:	13,491	426	13,917	5,726	41%	40%

Sources for column 2: Dillingham Report, vol.3, pp. 30-44 (for 1870-84), Hutchinson, pp. 986-87 (for 1885-99), Appendix 2 below (for 1900-14).

iv. Naturalized citizens and cabin class migrants: Naturalized citizens are completely excluded from column 1 in Table A-1, and thus also from the final estimated westbound migration flows of column 3 in that table, for the years prior to 1900. The treatment of migrants in the cabin class is more ambiguous, but they too were left out of the “immigrant” totals in at least some years before 1900. Both these groups were smaller as a percentage of total migrants, and in both directions, before 1900 than they were thereafter, however. (See Hutchinson, pp. 983-85, Keeling, "Transportation Revolution", table A3, pp. 60-61.)

v. Overall effect: The overall effect of the omissions (outlined in parts i –iv above) upon the rate of eastward to westward crossings is estimated below in Table A-3. As that table shows, the impact of these various omissions is not very large, either individually or in toto. The net result is that the time series prepared in Table A-1 very slightly understates the rise in the east/west crossings rate.

vi. Time lags: A further omitted factor is more relevant to the rate of east/west *crossers* than *crossings*, and its effect on both is fairly small, and it is not mentioned in Table A-3 because it is difficult to determinate whether appropriate adjustments would raise or lower east/west rates measured over spans of a decade or longer. This “omission” amounts to an uncorrected-for “apples-to-oranges” mismatch occurring because eastward travel followed westward after a lapse of time spent in the U.S. The time lag seems to have averaged about three years, but there are few usable statistics, it is not easy to estimate, and it probably varied somewhat over the business cycle. (A similar lag pertains to the rate of westbound repeat crossings; e.g. time spent *in Europe* between crossings to America). For the purposes of the analysis here, however, time lag effects were small, for two reasons: (1) The length of the three periods being compared (13-17 years) insures that a large majority of people moving east as well as west would have completed both legs of the roundtrip within the period, e.g. no lag effect. (2) Time lags mainly impact the directional crossings rates at the beginning and end of each period, and, measuring over the entire period, the two impacts offset each other. (For example, in the first year of each period, most eastward moves were made by people whose previous westward move was made *before* the period began. In the last year of the period most westward moves were made by people who, if they ever crossed east again, did so *after* the period ended.). An “overcount” of eastward moves early in the period is thus offset by an “undercount” towards the period end. The offset largely, though not perfectly, eliminates the impact of the time lag mismatch.

TABLE A-3: Estimated net effect of minor omissions on east / west migrant crossing rate

1. FROM TABLE A-1		2. LIKELY EAST / WEST CROSSING RATE RESULTING FROM CORRECTING FOR THESE OMISSIONS				
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	
	Eastward crossings as % of Westward per Table A-1	OVERCOUNT OF EASTWARD FLOWS	Some Repeat Migrants not considered immigrants	Migration from Europe through Canada to USA	naturalized citizens not counted as immigrants before 1900	
1870-82:	21%	21%	21%	19%	20%	
1883-99:	33%	32%	32%	30%	30%	
1900-14:	42%			42%		
3. CHANGE IN CROSSING RATE (vs TABLE A-1) IF SUCH CHANGES MADE						<u>Total Change</u>
(percentages from section 2 minus those of section 1)						(sum from left)
1870-82:		-1%	-1%	-2%	-1%	-5%
1883-99:		-1%	-1%	-3%	-2%	-7%
1900-14:				-1%		-1%
4. LIKELY OVERALL EFFECT OF SUCH CHANGES						
	<u>Eastward / Westward</u>		<u>Growth in East / West crossings rate</u>			
	Unadjusted per Table A-1	adjusted for "Total change" above	Unadjusted per Table A-1	adjusted for "Total change" above		
1870-82:	21%	16%				
1883-99:	33%	26%	11%	10%		
1900-14:	42%	42%	10%	15%		

Sources: see text of this section (Appendix 1, part D) above Note: minor discrepancies above due to rounding

Assumptions: (a) 3 % net eastward overcount before 1900
 (b) Because repeat migrants were sometimes left out of "Immigrant" figures
 Immigrants 3% undercounted, 1870-82
 Immigrants 2% undercounted, 1883-99
 (c) Adjustment for via Canada: 2/3 of amount calculated in Table A-2 above
 (d) Adjustments for omitted naturalized citizens and cabin class migrants as follows:

	Westward	Eastward
1870-82:	+ 2%	+ 9%
1883-99:	+ 5%	+ 13%

Appendix 2: Westbound Crossings of "Immigrants", Migrants, Second and Third Class Passengers, Europe to USA, 1900-14

	<u>in '000s</u>	<u>as % Immigrants</u>
IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS FROM EUROPE (Table A-1, col. 1)	12,159	
<u>Migrants who were not "immigrants"</u>		+15%
Naturalized U.S. citizen arrivals	+ 606	+ 5%
Westbound "domicile resumption"	+ 758	+ 6%
Cabin class arrivals before 1904, in-transit, debarred	+ 510	+ 4%
<u>Migrants who were "immigrants" but not regular passengers to main U.S. ports</u>		-5%
Migrant crossings from Europe through Canada	-426	-4%
Arrivals of stowaways, deserters, migrants on irregular vessels, or through minor ports	-116	-2%
MIGRANT CROSSINGS, WESTBOUND (Table A-1, col. 3)	= 13,491	
<u>Westbound migrants who were not 2nd & 3rd class passengers</u>		-1%
Migrant crossings in First Class	-135	
<u>2nd & 3rd class passengers who were not westbound migrants</u>		+4%
Non-Migrant crossings in Second Class	415	
Non-Migrant crossings in Third Class	48	
2ND+3RD CLASS PASSENGER ARRIVALS (Table A-1, col. 2)	= 13,818	

Sources:

"Immigrants" are as variously defined by the U.S. Bureau of Immigration (see text). **Naturalized U.S. Citizens:** estimated year by year based on available sources showing them (over the period as a whole) equal to about one quarter of arriving citizens from Europe. For example, BI and TPC data for 1901-05 and 1907 show about 28% of arriving citizens at New York came in steerage class from Europe. This percentage declined somewhat after 1907 due to the growing arrivals of native-born U.S. tourists and business travellers, particularly from non-European ports (Caribbean) which swelled the total count of arriving citizens.

Domicile resumption (aliens "returning to resume domiciles formerly acquired in this country" -BI Annual Report, 1906, p. 45, cited in Hutchinson, p. 992, note 78): per BI annual reports, table 15 (for 1906), table 14 (for 1907-14) with adjustment for flows not from Europe. See also Willcox, vol. 2, p. 656. Cabin Class: per BI annual reports, 1900-03, table 6, with deductions for tourists, passengers not from Europe, etc.

Through Canada: for 1900-05 from BI annual reports for 1904, p. 78 and 1905, p. 63, for 1906-14, BI annual reports "admitted through Canada (Table 1) less "last permanent residence" in Canada (BI annual reports, table 5 (1906-08) and table 8 (1909-14) **Stowaways, deserters, irregular vessels, etc.:** from BI annual reports. **Migrants in 1st class:** based on the excess of Westbound over Eastbound first class passengers over the 1900-14 period as a whole (TPC). **Non-Migrant crossings in 2nd and 3rd class:** based on calculations from TPC compared to BI immigration data, and corroborated by passenger list samples.

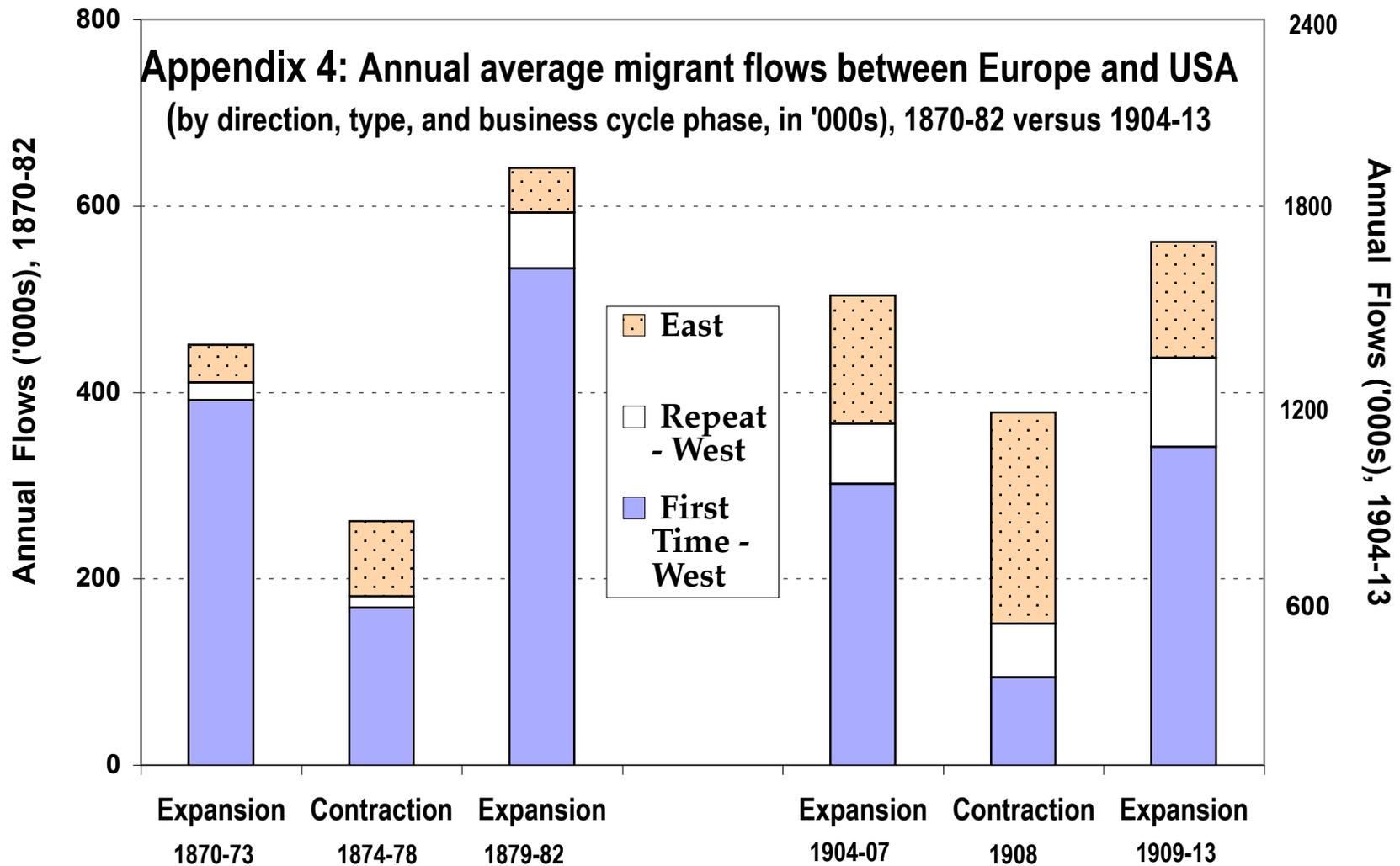
Appendix 3 Repeat Migrant Crossings Westbound, Europe to USA, 1900-1914 by statistical category and sub-period

(in '000s and as % of all westbound repeat migrant crossings in the subperiod)

	<u>1900-1905</u>		<u>1906-1914</u>		<u>1900-1914</u>
MEASURED BY BI					
Immigrants who had "been in the U.S. before" (Repeat migrant arrivals)	478		468		946
NOT MEASURED BY BI because not reported as "been in the US before"					
Long Term Repeat "Immigrant" arrivals			278	15%	278 11%
NOT MEASURED BY BI because not considered "immigrants"					
Naturalized U.S. citizen arrivals	210	29%	396	21%	606 23%
"Domicile Resumption"			758	40%	758 29%
Repeat migrant arrivals in cabin class	25	4%			25 1%
Total Westbound Repeat Migrant Crossings	713		1,900		2,613
Total % missed by BI	33%		75%		64%

Sources:

Been in US before: BI Table 2, Dillingham, vol. 3, p. 359. **Long Term Repeat:** not separately measured during 1900-05 (included in "been before"), BI reports for 1906-08, 1909-14 estimated based on 1906-08 ratio to "been before"
Naturalized U.S. Citizens, Domicile Resumption: see Appendix 2. **Repeat Migrants in Cabin:** estimated by multiplying the BI repeat ratio (European Race Immigrants Been Before / European Race Immigrants) to all Migrants in Cabin (from Appendix 2)



Sources for 1870-82: East flows: steerage departures (U.S. Bureau of Statistics), total west flows: "Immigrants" from Europe (Historical Statistics of the U.S.), business cycle phase for fiscal years 1870-82 per Walton and Rockoff, 7th ed., p. 400. The breakdown of West flows into repeat-west and first time - west flows is estimated here as follows: Total repeat flow during 1870-82 estimated at 50% of eastward flow (during 1900-14, it was 46% of the eastward flow), distribution of that total over the three time periods shown here is set to be equal to the same relative proportions for same phases of the business cycle for 1904-1913.

Sources for 1904-13: Calendar year flows for East and Repeat-West derived as in Appendix 1-C and Appendix 3 above, First Time West = All West - Repeat-West (see Table A-1), business cycle phases per Jerome.

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