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Authors

Sutch, Richard Roehl, Richard Lyons, John et al.

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URBAN MIGRATION IN THE PROCESS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION:
BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY*

by

Richard Sutch, Richard Roehl, John Lyons, and Michael Boskin

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Almost by definition, conventional historical wisdom refers to those interpretations which have become so well-known and obvious that they are essentially taken for granted. This is the case, for example, with respect to the importance of the accumulation of productive capital in the process of economic development. Such is also the case with regard to the association of a growing trend toward urbanization with the complex phenomenon of modern economic growth. Indeed, Simon Kuznets (whose work has done much to give substance to that latter concept) has written that it ". . . has been so common in the course of modern economic growth that urbanization has become a widely recognized feature of modern life and perhaps no statistical elaboration is needed."

[Kuznets, 1966, p. 270.] This attitude is quite typical; historically, the correlation between industrialization and urbanization appears so close that discussion of the specific nature of the interconnections is often deemed unnecessary.

It should perhaps come as no surprise, then, to discover that the ready acceptance of the significance of the interrelationships between these two processes has resulted in their neglect in most treatments of the historical experience; allusions are made to the economies of scale in production afforded by cities, but little else is said. Thus, to take two of the most familiar cases of industrialization, a survey of the standard literature on nineteenth-century American and British economic

with urbanization. Yet the traditional accounts of the two countries' economic growth imply relationships between urban and industrial development which are, interestingly enough, quite different. For England, it is usually argued that exogenous changes in agricultural technology resulted in a surplus of agricultural labor and forced a migration to urban centers; the availability of cheap labor in the cities provided the impetus to rapid industrialization. In the case of the United States, on the other hand, it is normally suggested that high wages and rapid economic growth induced by urban-centered industry attracted workers away from agriculture and into the cities; the resultant labor shortage in rural areas inspired the adoption of new agricultural techniques. This apparent contradiction has by and large been ignored.

Before the question of the role of urbanization in the process of industrialization can be dealt with properly, the nature of urban growth must itself be clarified. Both the United States and Great Britain experienced fundamental, though by no means identical, economic change during the nineteenth century; both, too, became progressively more urbanized. As is well known, rates of natural increase in the urban areas were not nearly great enough to account for the growth of population actually observed there. It follows that urbanization was importantly determined by migration. Much of this migration was international in character, and this aspect has been rather extensively studied. However, a large portion of urban migration was not international, but internal. This latter process appears to be much less well understood.

In large measure, the unsatisfactory state of knowledge concerning the process of urban migration in England and the United States during the nineteenth century can be ascribed to the unsatisfactory state of the data relating to that process. This is not to say that the data do not exist; indeed, as discussed below, the abundance and quality of the data in raw form is generally quite good, for both countries. The problem is precisely that this data has not been adequately worked up and analyzed. The question raised by Vance over thirty years ago, for instance, seems to have remained unanswered to this date: "What is the amount and proportion of migration within the United States (1) from agricultural to industrial areas, (2) from city to country, (3) between types of farming areas, (4) from city to city." [Vance, 1938, p. 115.] The situation with respect to Britain is little better.

The traditional belief in the significance of urbanization for modern economic growth is, almost certainly, correct. But before it can be held with confidence—let alone the exact nature of the relationships involved can be studied in detail—we must first vastly improve our knowledge of the process of urban migration itself. As Dorothy S. Thomas concluded some years ago: "Our examination of researches bearing on these differentials led us to almost no acceptable generalizations about the strength and direction of selective internal migration. This is not surprising for, although the field is old with respect to speculation, it is new with respect to empirical research." [Thomas, 1938, pp. 160-161.]

Once the data were made available, any number of interesting and important questions might be studied. For example, the effects of the internal mobility of a country's population upon the specific nature of

Rothbarth and extended by Habakkuk, the existence of a frontier in America caused high wages to be paid to urban laborers. In this view, the mobility of labor stimulated the search for labor-saving technology and thereby produced an incentive toward capital investment and accumulation, and so toward modern economic growth. Yet, for England, the traditional interpretation has been that relatively low wages in agriculture forced migration to urban areas, and the consequent large supply of urban labor facilitated industrialization. Economic growth in one case is caused by urban in-migration, and in the other by urban out-migration.

One very much neglected topic regarding internal migration concerns the implications for the areas in which the migration originates. In so far as the movement of population is rural-urban, one ought to consider the impact of urban growth on the non-urban origin areas. In general we can distinguish two basic, and contradictory, hypotheses. Classical economic analysis suggests that the region which loses population through migration will benefit; the loss of the "surplus" labor will serve to raise the marginal productivity of the remaining population, and thus boost real incomes. An opposite point of view is associated with the literature on dual economies, where it is frequently argued that the rural areas will lose the cream of their labor force—the young, the educated, the skilled, the highly motivated—and hence will be left worse off after the migration occurs. It would be useful to examine the historical record on this matter.

¹ See Rothbarth [1946] and Habakkuk [1962].

Not unrelated to the "cream-skimming" allegation contained in the preceding argument, is the human capital approach to the analysis of population movements. Penrose has made the general judgement that "In practice migration has never taken place on a scale adequate to bring the distribution of population into anything approaching a close correspondence with the distribution of resources." [Penrose, 1934, pp. 177-178.] This is basically a statement about the proportions of human to non-human capital, and about the efficacy of migration as a mechanism of equilibration. If the generalization just quoted is correct, it would be important to know the reasons for the failure to equate at the margins.

In addition to these somewhat broader issues, there are also a variety of specific interpretations which could be investigated. For example, the role of the frontier in American economic history is essentially a matter of the patterns of international and internal migration. If there was in fact a "safety-valve" effect, some measure of it ought to be obtainable from the detailed statistics of migration. In the case of England, Redford's study of labor migration stands out as exemplary, and his notion of the wave-like process of migration has been widely accepted. His analysis, however, refers to the period 1800-1850, while many subsequent writers have simply extrapolated his findings and conclusions, and applied them to most of the rest of the century as well. Redford himself speculated that the decade of the 1850's might indeed have seen a transition in the character of British internal migration. The more general validity of his thesis might profitably be tested. Again with

²See Redford [1964, first published in 1926].

reference to Britain, the "special character" of the migration to London is invariably remarked. It would be valuable to give firmer content to this notion, and to express its implications for the experience of modern economic growth.

This list of problems for study in the history of nineteenthcentury urbanization could certainly be extended; but it is perhaps already sufficiently long to provide justification for this choice of topic, time and place.

The published censuses of the United States and Great Britain for the nineteenth century do not contain data on interregional migration.

Migration streams must be estimated from the population and nativity data which are reported in the censuses. The net migration into a region, disaggregated by age, sex, and, for the United States, by race, can be computed using the population tables. However, the age-sex-race data alone cannot tell us the origin of the in-migrants; nor can it be used to separate in- from out-migration. For this purpose, nativity data are required. A general discussion of the methods used to calculate both regional net migration and migration streams is presented below; information on the specific sources of, and adjustments to, the data, may be found in the appendices.

There is a striking lack of comment on the quality of the British data. Virtually every discussant notes several insurmountable (and possibly quantitatively important) obstacles to accurate enumeration. The point most strongly made is that by 1851 the data is vastly superior to that available for earlier periods. A further problem for our purposes is that the discussion centers on less important data—that on emigration and

immigration—rather than on the basic population and nativity data. The raw census data are used as the basis for many of the series presented in Mitchell's Abstract of British Historical Statistics [1962]. This standard reference on British statistics argues that "Whilst none is perfect, it seems likely that the first two [decennial censuses] were alone in omitting a significant proportion of the population" [p. 2]. Mitchell concludes that the underenumeration is negligible for all censuses beginning in 1821.

While more information on the quality of the data, especially the county and city data, would be useful, it appears that by 1851, the data are considered usable by those who have attempted to use them.

Comments on the quality of the United States data are as rare as those on the British. In general, the early censuses of the United States, like those of Britain, are considered as good as the censuses of almost any country today. In some respects, the United States Census of 1850 is more comprehensive than that of 1950. Both the British and the United States data seem of sufficiently high quality to warrant the application of our method of estimating internal migration patterns.

Of course, some quantitative information of various types on internal migration has already been derived from the raw data. However, many of these studies are of a basically anecdotal nature, and do not permit serious scientific analysis of the tenability of certain hypotheses in economic history. However, there are three major pioneering analyses of

³The most notable exception to these comments on the generally high quality of United States census data concerns the 1870 census; it is generally believed that it significantly underenumerated the population of the eleven states of the former Confederacy. See Coale and Zelnik [1963].

internal migration in the United States or United Kingdom for the nineteenth century: those by Ravenstein [1885, 1889]; Kuznets and Thomas [1957, 1960, 1964]; and Friedlander and Roshier [1966a,b].

For decades, demographers have attempted to make inferences about the pattern of migration and the process of urbanization by careful readings of nativity data. The general procedure is to examine the nativity tables of a particular region at some point in time and detail the distribution of places of birth of the residents of the region. Thus, Ravenstein notes that

The natives of Surrey enumerated throughout England and Wales number 996,655, but Surrey has a population of 1,436,899. Consequently, even though all the natives of Surrey were to return to the country of their birth, it would still be necessary to retain within its limits 440,244 natives of other countries, equivalent to 30.7 per cent of all inhabitants, in order to maintain its population at its present level. Surrey, therefore, is a county of absorption. [Ravenstein, 1885, p. 184.]

Statements of this type are frequently made, and the inference is drawn, or strongly implied, that this is a meaningful statistic in the study of migration and urbanization. While such casual empiricism has an appropriate place, it is incapable of telling the complete story. It leaves unanswered such crucial questions as when and why the migration occurred. As will be demonstrated below, our methods allow us to overcome several of the major limitations of this type of analysis and to present a richer array of information on internal migration.

The most authoritative and comprehensive work on United States internal migration in the 19th century is the monumental three volume work edited by Kuznets and Thomas, <u>Population Redistribution and Economic Growth</u> [1957, 1960, 1964]. This work, comprised of essays by Everett Lee and

others, can be of only limited use for our purposes since it starts with the decade of the 1870's, and leaves untouched the preceding two decades which we consider quite important. Although taken as source material in many subsequent investigations, this study suffers from several inadequacies. First, Lee's study presents data only on net migration into or out of a region and does not produce information obtainable on migration streams. That is, he presents data on net inflow to or outflow from a region, but not on the origins or destinations of the migrants. This additional information is crucial, for example, in identifying rural-urban migration, a key feature of the literature on economic dualism. In addition, one would have an almost hopeless task attempting to analyze formally the factors inducing migration; knowing that there was a certain net outflow from Mississippi, or net inflow into California, in a certain decade, allows one to examine only the forces "pushing" migrants out of Mississippi, or "pulling" migrants into California. However, the forces "pulling" migrants to California may well affect potential migrants differently in New York City than in rural Mississippi; migration from rural Mississippi to urban California has different economic implications than migration to urban California from urban Illinois. Thus, data on migration streams is essential for certain types of inquiries.

Second, and directly connected with the lack of data on migration streams, is the absence of any finer geographical breakdown than state net migration. For the study of rural-urban migration, for example, state data are unsatisfactory; a breakdown by counties and cities is required.

Third, the value of the body of data presented in the Lee study suffers from certain methodological defects. For example, he assumes

uniform mortality rates across regions and as Price [1955] has subsequently shown, this can lead to errors in the migration estimates themselves.

These considerations should suffice to warrant a more thorough analysis of internal migration in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century than that provided by Lee, and were a prime motivation in our decision to undertake this project.

For the United Kingdom, the most comprehensive study on internal migration for this period is the work of Friedlander and Roshier [1966 a,b]. This study, like that of Lee for the United States, appears inadequate from our point of view—although, unlike Lee, they do estimate county—to-county migration streams, beginning with 1851. This still leaves unanswerable the rural—urban questions for all British cities with the exception of London, which is the only one that can be closely approximated by county observations. Further, their definition of the "most important" migration streams employs the criterion of which flows were heaviest relative to population in the counties. They report only these results and, because of this procedure, many of the reported streams involve migration between pairs of counties in Wales. Unfortunately, these are not the most interesting or important migration flows from the point of view of social and economic history.

The crux of the Friedlander and Roshier method is to assume that "the age distributions of migrants at the time of migration are constant irrespective of time, origin, or destination." [Friedlander and Roshier, 1966, p. 245.] Since a major theme of the internal migration literature refers precisely to hypotheses about differential propensities to migrate by age and sex (as well as other characteristics), assuming an age distribution a priori makes it difficult to test these hypotheses. In addition, if this

powerful assumption is not valid, large errors in estimating the migration streams will result. While they do offer some justification for making this strong assumption, it would clearly be preferable to have a procedure which does not require it.

Finally, Roshier and Friedlander use English life tables in the calculation of survival rates; this procedure is also questionable, and, again, some other procedure would be preferable.

Our primary aim in this project is to derive, through employing an improved methodology, a set of more detailed and accurate estimates of internal migration in the second half of the nineteenth century for both the United States and the United Kingdom. This data can then serve as an input to studies on the economic history of the two countries. We also hope that our methodology will prove useful to scholars working on migration problems for other countries, since our work differs from that which has preceded it in several important respects.

For each country, we derive migration estimates by decade for the period 1850-1910, and examine a detailed disaggregated set of migration flows: state-state and state-city in the United States, and county-county and county-city in the United Kingdom. A uniform method is applied to the data for both countries, rendering a comparison of the two different historical experiences potentially more meaningful. For each region we also derive new estimates of net internal migration. All of this data is disaggregated by age and sex, and, in the case of the United States, also by race. We thus make available new and disaggregated figures on the size of migration flows and the characteristics of migrants.

Estimates prepared in connection with the present study demonstrate that the age distributions of migrants from different regions are <u>not</u> uniform.

The present paper develops this methodology and applies it to the decade 1850-1860. The decision to begin our investigation with this decade was made for the following reasons:

- a) prior to 1850, the relative scarcity and poor quality of the data render it inadequate for the application of our method;
- b) virtually all of the problems of data which appear for later periods are present for the period 1850-60. Therefore, with but minor adjustments, the methodology may be employed for the later periods;
- c) as mentioned above, with respect to the United States and United Kingdom, there are reasons for believing that the period beginning in 1850-60 is of particular interest;
- d) the data needed for testing certain important hypotheses about migration become relatively more abundant by 1850 (e.g., wage rates).

Techniques for computing net migration from the regional age, sex, and race tabulations of censuses have been worked out by Hamilton [1934], Hamilton and Henderson [1944], Siegel and Hamilton [1952], Price [1955], and Lee [1957]. These techniques produce an estimate of the expected population in each region at the end of a decade by the application of survival rates to each age, sex and race cohort enumerated at the beginning of the decade. The difference between the expected population and the enumerated population of each cohort at the end of the decade is an estimate

For a review of the literature on this methodology, see Hamilton [1966].

of the net out migration from the region between the two censuses.

All of these techniques begin with the simple identity:

(1)
$$P_0 + B - D + M = P_1$$

which says that the aggregate population of a region at the beginning of the period (P_0) plus the number of births within the time period (B) less the number of deaths (D) plus the <u>net</u> in-migration (M) must equal the aggregate population at the end of the period (P_1). For every age, sex, and race cohort there is a similar identity. For example, for white females ten to twenty years old at the beginning of the period we have:

(2)
$$P_0 - D + M = P_1$$

where, in this case, each quantity refers only to white-females aged ten to twenty at the beginning of the period. In addition to the age cohorts in existence at the beginning of the period there is also the cohort of those born within the period. For this group the corresponding identity would be:

(3)
$$B - D + M = P_1$$

The age-sex-race tabulations of the population censuses provide us with the information on P_0 and P_1 . If we can obtain data on births and deaths, we can use these identities to compute an age-sex-race breakdown of the net migration. Unfortunately, neither the American nor British

 $^{^6{\}rm See}$ Appendices A and B for a discussion of the data used in this paper.

ensuses for the nineteenth century provide reliable statistics on the number of births and deaths. However, sufficient information on mortality and fertility rates are available to allow an estimation of these numbers. When computing net migration it is commonplace to assume that the number of deaths in any given cohort between the two census dates can be obtained by applying the appropriate mortality rate to the original cohort population. Symbolically this can be written as:

$$(4) D = dP_0$$

where d is the mortality rate applying to the age, sex and race cohort in question. Substitution of equation (4) into equation (2) produces:

(5)
$$M = P_1 - (1 - d)P_0$$

In this formulation the term (1 - d) is a survival ratio—the fraction of the given cohort which survives the period from the first census to the second. The equation is usually written as:

$$M = P_1 - sP_0$$

This technique is open to objection, since it implicitly assumes that no migrants die. This point can be illustrated by rewriting equation (2) as follows:

(7)
$$P_0 - P_n - P_m + M = P_1$$

where all the symbols denote the same quantities as before except that D is now divided into two groups: those non-migrants in the region who die

during the period (D_n) and those persons who migrated into the region within the period but then died before the end of the period (D_m) . It is this latter group that the survival technique assumes is zero (since $sP_0 = P_0 - [1-s]P_0 = P_0 - D_n$). Siegel and Hamilton [1952] have shown that this omission is not always a trivial one. In order to correct for this problem, a further assumption can be used to estimate P_m . First, it is helpful once more to rewrite equation (2) as follows:

(8)
$$P_o - D_n + M_p - D_{mb} - D_{ma} = P_1$$

Here, P_o , D_n and P_1 are defined as before: M_p denotes the total number of potential migrants into the region at the beginning of the period (the number of people who would have migrated had no one died during the period); D_m is the number of the potential migrants who died before they migrated into the region in question; and D_m is the number of potential migrants who died during the period but after arriving in the region. The net migration figure which we wish to compute is the number of potential migrants less those who died before migrating ($M = M_p - D_{mb}$).

We can rewrite equation (8) using the survival ratio as follows:

(9)
$$sP_0 + M - D_{ma} = P_1$$

To compute M we must estimate D $_{\rm ma}$. By applying the same survival rate to the potential migrants as we applied to the non-migrants we can estimate the sum of D $_{\rm mb}$ and D $_{\rm ma}$. 7

There are at least two objections to this assumption. (1) Migrants are likely to be hardier people than non-migrants (even in the same race-sex-age cohort). (2) Migration is a dangerous and health destroying process, thus migrants are exposed to greater risks of death. It will be observed that these two effects work in opposite directions. The assumption made can be thought of as requiring that these two factors exactly cancel.

(10)
$$(1 - s)M_p = D_{mb} + D_{ma}$$

We further assume that D_{mb} equals D_{ma}. If the total number of migrants within a period were distributed uniformly throughout the census decade, we would expect more to have died after moving than before since the probability of dying generally rises with age. On the other hand, the morbidity preceding death may deter migration in a sizable number of cases. This will have an opposite effect: death will overtake more of the potential migrants before they move than after. We shall assume these two effects roughly cancel leaving an equal chance of dying before as after moving for a member of the potential migrant group. This assumption allows us to write:

(11)
$$D_{ma} = \frac{(1-s)M}{2} = \frac{(1-s)(M+D_{ma})}{2}$$

Solving for D_{ma} yields:

(12)
$$D_{\text{ma}} = \frac{(1-s)}{(1+s)} M$$

Substituting this last expression into equation (9) and solving for M yields

(13)
$$M = \frac{(1+s)}{2s} (P_1 - sP_0)$$

⁸This point was made by Hamilton and Henderson [1944].

⁹It should be noted that this equation is identical to the formula suggested by Siegel and Hamilton [1952, p. 491].

Equation (13) can be used to estimate the net migration into each census region by age, sex, and race. With the exception of the survival ratios, all the information required is available in the age classification tables in the published censuses.

The real difficulty in estimating net migration is in obtaining accurate estimates of the survival ratios by age, sex, race, and region. Accurate estimates are particularly important because of the sensitivity of the results to small changes in the survival ratio. Table 1 illustrates this fact by presenting the estimated out-migration from Virginia of female slaves who were between 20 and 29 years of age in 1850, between 1850 and 1860, for several assumed survival ratios. As can be seen, a substantial change in the rate of migration can be produced by small changes in the survival rate.

There are essentially two approaches to the problem of estimating the survival ratios. The first technique employs life-tables which give the probability of death at each age. Since accurate data on mortality experience is not available for either the United States of the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century, life tables which could be used in migration calculations would have to be based on partial data, sampling

The equation does not apply to the cohorts born during the inter-censal period. Estimating these flows requires estimates of fertility by region. Techniques for including these cohorts in the calculations are discussed below.

¹¹Jaffe [1951] presents techniques for computing survival rates from life tables, p. 5-7.

Table 1: An Illustration of the Sensitivity of Net Migration Estimates to the Survival Ratio

Survival Rate	Net Out- Migration	Rate of Out Migration (in percent)				
.75	1914	6.9				
.76	2328	8.3				
.77	2735	9.6				
.78	3138	10.9				
.79	3534	12.1				
.80	3925	13.3				
.81	4312	14.4				

Note: This illustration is based on female slaves 20-29 years old in 1850 and 30-39 in 1860 in the State of Virginia. The number enumerated in this cohort in 1850 was 36,974 and in 1860 it was 26,090. The national census survival rate for this cohort of female slaves was .78 (see Table 2). United States. Census Office, The Seventh Census [1853], p. xliv and United States. Census Office, The Eighth Census of Population of the United States in 1860 [1864], pp. 594-595.

a: Defined as a percentage of the expected population in 1860 on the assumption of no migration. Hamilton [1965] has demonstrated that this definition is the most appropriate one.

techniques, or extrapolation. 12

An alternative to the life-tables based on statistical material are "model" life-tables which reflect theoretical mortality experience. If the fragmentary data available were sufficient to provide estimates of the parameters of these theoretical models, life-tables could be computed for each sex, race, and region. 13

The use of life-tables, whether statistical or theoretical, for migration calculations, however, will compound and transmit any errors in the reporting of ages to the migration estimates. [Hamilton, 1934; 1965.] For example, it can be established that censuses generally underenumerate the number of children under five years of age relative to other age groups. Thus it is frequently found that a census will report more persons

The beginning of civil registration in each of the various parts of the United Kingdom has almost as great an effect on the information available for vital statistics as the 1801 census has for population . . . [C]omparisons over time cannot be made with a great degree of accuracy until the later part of the century, and comparisons between kingdoms are perhaps equally dangerous. But the civil registration particulars are more complete than the statistics of baptisms, burials and marriages from the parish registers, which is the only information we have for earlier dates. [pp. 3-4.]

¹² See Yasuba [1962], Chapter III for a discussion of the available American data. In the United States, several states (such as Massachusetts) have reasonably complete mortality data extending back well into the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, only a relatively few regions have data sufficiently complete for the construction of lifetables and the application of the tables prepared for one region to other regions may not be warranted. The situation for the United Kingdom is no better. On the quality of the vital statistics, Mitchell [1962] states:

 $^{^{13}\}mathrm{For}$ a discussion of model life tables and their application see Coale and Demeny [1966].

computed after adjustments for immigration, while those for the Black population can be based directly upon the published age distributions. In Table 2, the national survival ratios for each age-sex-race cohort which can be isolated in the U.S. censuses of 1850 and 1860 are illustrated as an example of the results obtained. The correction for immigration to the United States during the decade is somewhat complicated and has been relegated to Appendix C.

The distortions in the age distributions caused by misreporting or underenumeration are apparent in the survival ratios shown. No true survival ratio could exceed one, and the higher survival ratios for the 40-49 year old 1860 cohorts than for the 30-39 1860 cohorts is very unlikely to reflect a true mortality reversal. Rather, these peculiarities reflect a systematic underenumeration of young children and of single gainfully occupied adults. However, to the extent that the degree of underenumeration at each age is uniform across the regions under study, use of the census survival ratios will automatically correct for this bias while the use of life-table survival ratios would introduce serious errors.

When the CSR technique has been employed it frequently was assumed that the national-cohort-survival ratios apply uniformly to each region of the country. This technique obviously will not take account of possible differences in mortality by cohort between regions. As Price [1955] has noted, this omission can cause considerable error. There are at least two approaches which could be used to correct this oversight. The first would be to obtain data on mortality by region and to use this information directly. As already noted, there do not exist accurate vital statistics for either the United States or the United Kingdom during the nineteenth century. However,

10 to 15 years of age at one census than it reported as under five years of age 10 years previously. A life-table would yield an estimate of the survival ratio for this cohort of less than one and thereby attribute the improved enumeration of this age cohort in every region to net migration—greatly exaggerating the true migration. For this reason the computation of net migration by the technique known as the Census Survival Rate (CSR) method is preferred.

The CSR technique observes the rate of decline (or increase) of each age-sex-race cohort between successive censuses for a closed population. In the case of a country with little or no immigration or emigration the national survival ratio for each cohort can be computed from the age tabulations of the total population. If the country has experienced considerable net immigration or emigration the aggregate cohort populations would have to be corrected for the net changes. If the country experienced in-migration but negligible out-migration, age classifications for the native-born population might be used when available.

During the nineteenth century the United States experienced considerable immigration of foreign-born whites, and negligible immigration of Negroes. Census survival ratios for the White population therefore must be

¹⁴ For example, the number of male slaves aged 10-14 reported in the U.S. Census of 1860 was 276,928 while this same cohort was measured in 1850 as containing only 267,088. The difference cannot be explained by immigration since importation of slaves was illegal at this time and illegal importation or enslavement of free Negroes was comparatively negligible. The data are from the United States. Census Office, Census of Population: 1850 [1853], p. xliv and the United States. Census Office, Census of Census of Population: 1860 [1864], pp. 594-595.

 $^{^{15}\}mathrm{For}$ the United States, data on the native-born population do not become available until 1870.

Table 2: National Census Survival Ratios by Age, Sex, and Race: The United States 1850-1860

		Wh	ite ^a	Free	Colored	Slave			
Age in 1850	Age in 1860	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
0 - 4	10 - 14	1.017	1.008	1.004	.982	1.037	.967		
5 - 9	15 - 19	.952	1.021	.859	.958	.921	.952		
10 - 19	20 - 29	.904	.916	. 843	.935	.893	.867		
20 - 29	30 - 39	.779	.809	.811	.783	.754	.780		
30 - 39	40 - 49	.804	.855	.819	.801	.803	.779		
40 - 49	50 - 59	.792	.822	.733	.743	.731	.685		
50 - 59	60 - 69	.768	. 794	.653	.671	. 708	.714		
60 - 69	70 - 79	.580	.607	.479	.521	.405	.430		
Over 70	Over 80	. 292	.323	.331	.409	. 342	. 384		

a: See Appendix C for details of adjustment made for immigration.

partial enumerations of deaths were made at the time of the censuses in both countries during the latter half of the century. While these data are known to suffer from a significant underenumeration of deaths, it has been argued that the census mortality statistics can be used to rank order the states on the basis of mortality since it is believed that the rate of underenumeration was roughly uniform across regions. Such information could be used to adjust the national cohort survival ratios for differences in state mortality.

A second approach employs the census data on state or foreign country of birth. It rests on the assumption that the death rate of persons born within a given region, regardless of their residence, is equal to the death rate of persons residing in the region regardless of their place of birth. 17

If we consider the population born in a given region regardless of the region of residence, we have the following population identity:

(14)
$$P_0 + B - D = P_1$$

which says that the total population born in a region and alive at time zero (P_0) plus those born within the region during the intercensual period and

¹⁶ Yasuba [1962] has examined the 1850 mortality data with some care and concludes that: "The evidence examined so far seems to lead us to the inference that the relative levels of mortality shown by the 1850 Census represented roughly the relative levels of actual mortality for the year ending June 1850." [p. 82.]

This assumption is probably reasonably accurate as long as the effects of migration on the region in question have not been large, i.e., if the number of people born in and residing in the region represents the bulk of both (a) the population of region and (b) the number of persons born within the region.

still living at the time of the second census (B) less those members of the original native population who died (D) will be equal to the population born in the region and alive at the time of the second census (P_1) . The survival rate for the population P_0 can then be computed from the following formula:

(15)
$$s = \frac{P_1 - B}{P_0}$$

In order to carry out the computation of state-of-birth survival ratios using equation (15) it is necessary to estimate the number of children born in each region and surviving to the end of the decade. This is accomplished by estimating fertility ratios for each region and using these ratios to distribute all native born children under ten years of age at the end of the census decade to a state of birth. These regional fertility ratios can be estimated by taking a weighted average of the ratio of infants under one year of age to women of child-bearing age at both the initial and terminal censuses.

The definition of the child-bearing-age cohort is somewhat arbitrary; nevertheless, we have adopted the practice of counting all women between the ages of twenty and thirty-nine and one-half of the women between fifteen and nineteen. This crude fertility ratio is then converted to an index by dividing each region's ratio by the national ratio computed in the same manner.

In order to distribute the native born (hildren to their region of birth a census decade fertility ratio for the nation as a whole is computed as the ratio of all native born children under ten years of age to

the average number of women of child-bearing age during the decade. This latter cohort is defined as the average of women who were fifteen to thirty-nine at the first census and women who were twenty to thirty-nine a decade later. This definition has the advantage that it includes all of the women who were 15 to 29 at the first census (and hence 25-39 at the second census) and in addition it counts with a weight of one-half those women who were 30 to 39 at the first census (40-49 at the second) and those women who were 10-14 at the first census (20-24 at the second).

This ratio of children to women is multiplied by the regional fertility index previously mentioned to obtain a regional census decade fertility ratio. This ratio is then multiplied by the average number of women of child-bearing age in the region during the decade, computed in the same manner as that cohort was for the nation. As an example of the results obtained by this technique, Table 3 illustrates the distribution of native-born children under ten in 1860 to their state of birth for the native-born population of the United States. 18

These estimates are used in equation (15) along with the nativity data to compute the survival rates by state of birth. These results are presented in Table 4, Column 1 for the 1850-60 U.S. data. One would expect differences in the state survival ratios computed in this manner to arise solely from differences in the age distribution of the population of these states. To assess the impact of these age differences, average

See Appendix A for the sources and a detailed description of the data used. Note that Table 3 also presents for comparison the distribution of children to their state of birth applying the national fertility ratio (1.856) uniformly to all states.

TABLE

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DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVE BORN CHILDREN UNDER TEN IN 1860 TO STATE OF BIRTH -- FREE POPULATION

TOTAL	X KIN X	AH TEPPIT	MODA TRRETT	INCHEST		•		A CHICAGO		722	1001		シャニつべく	77 I 70 I 70 I	ζ.	0 U	ウィングラフ	かさ さん	Δ Π Δ	SE D T T T T T T T T T		CAROL	DRIH CAPOLINA	BGIVIA		<i>D</i> 1	- ANART	ZZZY:	Ti.	بر ج بر		537 TATAND	0 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1		₹ -	-•		REGION		-2	26-
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Table 4: Ranking of States by an Index of the Relative Mortality of Their Natives: 1850-1860

	From Nati	vity Data of Birth	Correctio Differenc Age Distr	Index of		
	Survival	State	Survival	State	Relative a	
State	Ratio (1)	Relative (2)	Ratio (3)	Relative (4)	Mortality ^a (5)	
	(1)	(2)		····		
District of Columbia	.708	.800	.860	.987	811	
Rhode Island	.753	.85 <u>1</u>	.850	.976	.872	
Arkansas	.810	.916	.893	1.025	.894	
Missouri	.812	.919	.886	1.018	.903	
	.816	.923	.865	.994	.929	
Delaware	.818	.925	.863	992	.933	
New Jersey North Carolina	.838	.948	.873	1.003	.945	
Massachusetts	.816	.923	.849	.975	.946	
	.840	.950	.863	.991	.959	
Maryland	.852	.963	.871	1.001	.963	
Virginia	.828	.937	.843	.968	.968	
Connecticut South Carolina	.859	.972	.873	1.003	.969	
	.868	.982	.880	1.010	.972	
Kentucky	.832	.941	.840	.965	.975	
New Hampshire	.875	.990	.883	1.014	.976	
Tennessee	.883	.999	.886	1.017	.982	
Indiana	.882	.997	.881	1.012	.986	
Florida	.873	.988	.860	.988	1.000	
Maine	.899	1.017	.884	1.015	1.002	
Georgia	.889	1.006	.870	.999	1.007	
Pennsylvania	.918	1.038	.885	1.017	1.021	
Alabama	.892	1.009	.850	.977	1.032	
Vermont	.934	1.056	.888	1.020	1.036	
Mississippi	.909	1.029	.862	.990	1.039	
New York	.926	1.047	.877	1.007	1.040	
Ohio	.934	1.056	.870	.999	1.057	
Louisiana	.982	1.111	.885	1.017	1.093	
Illinois	1.006	1.137	.878	1.009	1.128	
Michigan	1.140	1.289	.872	1.002	1.287	
Territories	1.158	1.310	.886	1.018	1.288	
Texas	1.204	1.362	.890	1.022	1.333	
Iowa	1.270	1.436	.879	1.010	1.423	
Wisconsin	3.937	4.453	.806	.926	4.811	
California	3.731	CC+++	•000	.,20		
UNITED STATES	.884	1.000	.871	1.000	1.000	

a: Column (2) divided by column (4). Note that a low index number indicates a high mortality rate relative to the nation.

state-survival ratios were computed using weighted averages of the national age-sex-race cohort survival ratios where the weights were the percentages of the 1850 population in each age-sex-race cohort. These figures are given in column 3 of the table. In order to compute an index of relative mortality both the survival ratios computed from the nativity data and the weighted average ratios were converted to relatives by dividing each survival ratio by the ratio for the nation as a whole computed by the same technique (these numbers are given in columns 2 and 4). The index of relative mortality was then defined as the ratio of these two relatives (column 5 of the table).

Upon examination of this "healthiness index," a major difficulty appears. Seven regions have impossibly high relative mortality indices (Illinois, Michigan, the territories, Texas, Iowa, Wisconsin, and California), reflecting the fact that their survival ratios as computed from the nativity data were either greater than one or in the case of Illinois impossibly close to one.

We believe these excessively high survival ratios reflect, in part, an improvement in the coverage of the census between 1850 and 1860. All of the areas mentioned are in the western part of the United States and in 1850 were either on the frontier or still in the process or rapid settlement just behind the frontier. The populations of such regions were probably underenumerated relative to the more stable populations of the eastern seaboard. It is also fairly certain that the degree of underenumeration declined substantially between 1850 and 1860. ¹⁹ To the

For a more extensive discussion of this problem of underenumeration on the frontier see Thompson [1955] and Sabagh [1943], Chapter 2. California in 1850 presents special difficulties; see Appendix A for details.

extent that the high survival indices for these western states reflect only a change in the coverage of the two censuses, use of these figures will have the same error-correcting properties that the Census Survival Ratios by age cohort possess. $\frac{20}{20}$

Appendix Table D-1 presents the net migration estimates for the United States employing the correction for state differences in mortality (and state differences in the degree of improvements in census coverage). 21

Blanks in the nativity column (of the enumerators manuscripts) sometimes extend to whole pages. These blanks were considered in the office to mean that the person was born in the state, as the only probable construction. (United States. Census Office, Census of Population: 1850 [1853], p. iv.)

It would be possible to compensate for these difficulties by assuming a constant propensity for migrants' birth places to be misreported. Given a value for this "misrepresentation propensity" we could recompute the nativity data and then recompute the nativity-specific survival ratios. The difficulty encountered in following this procedure is in choosing an appropriate value for the misrepresentation propensity. The followup survey on the 1950 U.S. Census indicates that approximately three percent of the birth places were misreported; United States. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1950, Volume IV [1953], p. 4. As a rough indication of the effect such an adjustment might have on the net migration figures, adjustments were made to the nativity data assuming a propensity to misreport of four percent. The results obtained with these adjusted data are presented in Appendix D.

Another type of error in the nativity data would produce errors in the survival ratios which would not automatically correct themselves. It is known that some migrants (particularly foreign-born ones) have a tendency to announce as their birth place their new residence rather than their true home state or country. Thus the number of people reported as natives of the states in which they reside would be consistently overenumerated. In states with high rates of in-migration, the rapid growth of these false "natives" would bias the survival ratios upward. See Lee and Lee [1960]; Eldridge [1965], pp. 92-93; and United States. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1950, Volume IV, Part 4, Chapter A [1953], p. 4. The misreporting of nativity was not always the result of misreporting by the migrants. The director of the 1850 U.S. Census noted the following:

²¹In Appendix Table D-1 the state mortality correction was applied to the city population data as well as the balance of the state. This is undoubtedly a poor technique as there is considerable evidence that urban mortality rates were higher than rural mortality rates; Yasuba [1962], Chapter III. We intend to correct for this difference by exploiting the data available in the mortality censuses of 1850 and 1860.

Appendix Table D-2 presents net migration estimates which use the national survival ratios without this adjustment. Appendix Tables D-1 and D-2 contain estimates for the net migration of children under the age of ten as well as estimates for the other cohorts. These numbers were computed using a modification of the technique described above, necessitated because these children were born during the decade. Our estimate of the net migration of children was obtained using the following formula:

(16)
$$M = P_1 - (B - D)$$

the number of children in that cohort under ten enumerated in the region at the end of the decade, B is the number of births in the region during the intercensual period, and D is the number of deaths occurring to members of this age-sex-race cohort. The quantity (B - D) is the number of children born in the region and surviving until the end of the decade. This number was computed by the technique outlined when describing the calculations underlying Table 3. The only difference between the numbers presented in Table 3 and those which we wish to calculate involves the necessity of obtaining these estimates by sex and race. To accomplish this breakdown we employed sex-race fertility ratios rather than the aggregate ratios described in our discussion of Table 3. When calculating the net migration of free colored males under ten, for example, the fertility ratios were computed as the ratio of free colored males under ten to free colored females in the child-bearing age group.

In Appendix Tables D-3 and D-4 the numerical results presented in Appendix Tables D-1 and D-2 are presented as rates of net migration where

Table 5: Comparison of Results Obtained by Two Different Methods of * Calculating Numbers of Immigrants: United States: 1850-1860

	Using N		Using State Mortality						
		l Ratios	Factors Computed from						
Region	For Eac		Nativity Data						
•		tal	Total						
	Male	Female	Male	Female					
Maine	-18,819	-20,662	-18,864	-20,711					
New Hampshire	-7,268	-7,801	-3,719	-4,089					
Vermont	-14,152	-15,687	-18,627	-20,041					
Massachusetts	35,588	48,215	62,075	76,220					
Rhode Island	1,605	2,925	11,122	13,131					
Connecticut	21,215	24,126	27,162	30,263					
New York	103,842	111,270	45,462	53,260					
New Jersey	35,565	31,759	52,858	49,061					
Pennsylvania	29,286	25,089	21,918	17,799					
Delaware	1,099	-733	4,309	2,425					
Maryland	-11,285	-8,621	-39	2,721					
District of Columbia	5,028	5,940	10,523	12,198					
Virginia	-53,318	-65,479	-29,226	-41,857					
North Carolina	-37,555	-40,336	-15,823	-18,293					
South Carolina	-49,555	-49,2 90	-40,475	-39,945					
Georgia	-39,645	-37,059	-40,448	-37,848					
Florida	15,599	13,326	16,308	13,960					
Alabama	2,952	-2,532	-4,765	-9,971					
Mississippi	18,931	10,633	8,607	952					
Louisiana	51,728	39,775	36,450	26,280					
Texas	156,748	131,105	114,532	95,283					
Arkansas	77,757	63,457	93,308	77,331					
Tennessee	-72,498	-86,313	-61,721	-75,758					
Kentucky	-42,671	-56,71 6	-29,844	-44,572					
Missouri	142,639	103,071	184,428	139,674					
Illinois	299,750	229,988	250,490	187,147					
Indiana	38,953	10,362	48,026	18,681					
Ohio	-50,856	-68,412	-87,302	-103,129					
Michigan	133,876	104,078	103,291	77,418					
Wisconsin	180,092	153,373	101,207	85,636					
Iowa	196,866	165,850	147,354	122,777					

 $^{^{*}}$ The figures given are for the total population.

provided in the census publications of the United States and the United Kingdom. Such estimates are based on the assumption that a migrant makes only one move in his lifetime—the move away from his region of birth. While such an assumption could not be reasonably applied to the mobile populations of the twentieth century, it probably will not introduce serious error into the nineteenth—century data. 24

To apply the CSR technique to the nativity data the base population is taken to be the number of people living in the destination region who were born in the origin region. A survival ratio is applied to this nativity cohort at the first census date and the resulting number of expected survivors is subtracted from the number of persons in the nativity cohort at the second census. The result is an estimate of the migration of persons born in a given region to the destination region. If the assumption that people make only one move in their lifetime is valid then this migration will be an estimate of the number of persons moving from the origin region to the destination region.

As in the previous techniques for estimating net migration, the difficulty in using this technique also arises in selecting the appropriate survival ratio. This problem is aggravated in this case because the age classifications of the populations are not available for each nativity class. Since survival ratios are obviously sensitive to the age distribution

This assumption is certain to be most strongly violated in the case of the United States for the foreign-born category, members of which may have established a temporary residence in an east-coast port city but then subsequently changed residence by moving westward.

of the population, it will be difficult to compensate for differences in the age distributions of various nativity classes. 25

Several studies have attempted to estimate point-to-point migration using nativity data, when age breakdowns were not available. Friedlander and Roshier, for example, used a hypothetical age structure "calculated from English life tables" to apply to those born outside each region [1966, p. 245]. Eldridge and Kim [1968] computed census survival ratios for each region of birth and applied them to natives of those regions wherever they were living. Burch and Elizaga applied regional survival ratios to every population cohort within the destination region regardless of the region of birth. ²⁶ The technique of using hypothetical age-structures has the disadvantage of not providing the automatic correction for underenumeration which the Census Survival Rate technique possesses. The technique used by Eldridge and Kim will have this error-compensating property because the survival rates are applied to the same population from which they were computed. Their technique, however, has the disadvantage

²⁵It might be possible to estimate the age distribution of the population born in the region and living there at the time of the census by tracing the populations born in the state through time and subtracting estimates of out-migration by age and year of departure. This estimated age-distribution of the region's natives could be subtracted from the age distribution of the total population to obtain an age distribution of non-natives. However, such a technique would require out-migration estimates covering a period of at least fifty years prior to the census with which one is working. At the present time such adjustments are beyond the scope of our project.

Thomas K. Burch, <u>Internal Migration in Venezuela</u>, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1962, and Juan C. Elizaga, "Assessment of Migration Data in Latin America," <u>Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly</u>, January 1965. We have not directly consulted either of these works, but draw upon the information concerning them which is presented in Eldridge and Kim [1968, p. 8].

We began our project with the recognition that serious economic analysis of the historical experience of urbanization during the process of industrialization was hampered by a surprising lack of relevant data. Thus far our work has been comprised of efforts designed to overcome this lack and to develop a methodology for estimating migration flows from available census data. While at present our results are confined to the single decade 1850-60 for the United States and the United Kingdom, they already suffice to indicate the potential fruitfulness of the enterprise. As an indication of the types of results which can be obtained, we would like to call the reader's attention to several interesting phenomena which emerge from the data.

1. With respect to the settlement of the agricultural states in the upper Mississippi Valley (which, during this decade experienced an increase in population due to net in-migration equal to forty or fifty percent of the base, 1850, population), our figures (see Appendix D) reveal several noteworthy features about the sources of this immigration. American-born settlers predominated; persons from abroad accounted for roughly ten to twenty percent of all immigrants in these states, though in the case of Wisconsin they comprised almost forty percent of the immigrants. The Americans moving to this region generally made relatively short moves, coming from the agricultural areas to the east. In the case of Illinois, for example, twenty-five percent of all in-migration originated in the states of Ohio and Indiana; other states supplying large numbers of migrants were New York, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky (in that order).

Total Number of Immigrants

As a Percentage of the Total Cohort Alive at the End of the Decade

Table 6.
Urban Immigration into Three English Cities: 1850-1860

	and the residence of the contract of the contr	-			and the second s		-				
Age in	London	Birm	Birmingham	Manchester	(& Salford)	London	on	Birmingham		Manchester	(& Salford)
1861	Ж	X	Ħ	M	12]	M	'	X	45	X	Ħ
10-14	-7,815 -3,707	7 366	193	-2,440	-2,080	-5.65	-2.70	2,45	1.30	-10.04	-8.57
15-19	-94 22,164	4 2,109	2,478	1,470	2,970	-0.08	18.86	17.60	20.04	7.41	14.51
20-24	29,190 44,913	.3 3,561	3,590	4,488	6,562	30.69	40.91	32.60	28.42	25.33	31.90
25-29	27,619 37,715	.5 2,156	2,714	2,025	3,755	32,12	36.21	21.46	24.68	12.03	19,40
30-34	3,926 13,297	7 216	921	-1,310	-109	3.97	12.09	1.99	8.70	-7.16	-0. Ui
35-39	-7 , 138 -708)8 -591	570	-2,645	-1,122	-7.68	-0.69	-6.20	6.38	-15.76	-6.60
40-44	-10,004 -5,063	53 -595	227	-2,383	-1,160	-10.87	-5.13	-6.75	2.70	-15.83	-7.29
45-49	-7,752 -4,579	19 –271	84	-1,714	-841	-11.05	-6.05	-4.06	1.29	-14.96	-7.04
50-54	-7,628 -3,848	,8 -420	33	-1,722	-978	-13.00	-5.94	-7.68	0.61	-16.84	-9.08
55-59	-6,860 -3,196)6 -547	-166	-1,541	-973	-16.70	-6.95	-13.64	-4.17	-22.27	-13,15
60-64	-5,406 -3,177	77 -382	-187	-1,363	893	-15.35	-7.26	-11.79	-5.34	-23.75	-13.76
65-69	-2,165 -39	39 -217	-92	-667	-418	-11.18	-0.15	-11.88	-4.33	-24.13	-12.30
70-74	-1,759 1,339	39 -156	-11	509	-307	-13.07	7.47	-13.50	-0.79	-28.39	-13.19
75-79	-2,059 -475	75 –178	-75	-325	-333	-27.59	-4.58	-30.58	-9.79	-37.40	-26.92
80 and over	-1,917 -2,244	44 -244	-348	-435	- 511	-42.96	-28,41	-71.14 -58.19	-58.19	-86.31	-59.98

former is traditionally thought of as having enjoyed the advantages of a diversified economy, the latter displayed a monistic industrial structure based upon textile production (Jacobs, 1969, pp. 86 f.). It is interesting to note that we do not seem to detect this as a common pattern for United States urbanization during this decade (see below).

An interesting aspect of the data on net migration into the urban areas of the United States is the apparent absence of similarities in the patterns of population growth among the various cities. newer cities in the west - Chicago and St. Louis - which were developing in conjunction with the rapidly expanding agriculture of the region, were growing even more rapidly than the states in which they are situated. On the other hand, the older, established cities of the east differed both with respect to the western cities and among themselves. New York and Philadelphia both display high rates of net immigration; however, unlike the western cities, certain specific age cohorts exhibit rates of net out-migration. The New York and Philadelphia cases follow what seems to be a weakened version of the English pattern discussed in point 2, above; specifically, the youngest age cohort of children and the older adult age cohorts are found on balance to be leaving the city. Boston and Baltimore, by way of contrast, have rates of urban growth roughly paralleling the rates of in-migration in the rest of their states. Cincinnati falls between these two extremes, with a moderately more rapid rate of growth than the rest of Ohio but with net out-migration from the older cohorts and the younger children's cohorts. Interestingly,

the remainder of Ohio saw out-migration of its young adults while Cincinnati experienced an inflow of these persons.

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Appendix A: Data for Migration Calculations: The United States 1850-1860.

The basic data required for the computation of migration streams are the age, sex, and race classifications of the population for each state and city and the classification by region of birth for each state and city. The original data were published as follows.

Classification by Age, Sex, and Race for States and Territories.

- 1850: from table XXI, pp. x1ii-x1iv of the <u>Seventh Census of</u>
 the <u>United States: 1850 . . .</u> [United States. Census
 Office, 1853.]
- 1860: from the Recapitulation section, pp. 592-597, of the

 Population of the United States in 1860 . . . [United

 States. Census Office, 1864.]

Classification by Region of Birth of the Free Population for States and Territories.

1850: from table CXX, pp. 116-118 of the <u>Compendium of the</u>

<u>Seventh Census . . . [United States. Census Office, 1854.]</u>

1860: from the Recapitulation section, pp. 616-623 of the

Population of the United States in 1860 . . . [United States. Census Office, 1864.]

Tables of the data used in the calculations are available from the authors upon request.

Classification by Age, Sex, and Race for Eight Major Urban Areas.

	1850 ^b	<u>1860</u> °
Cook County (Chicago), Illinois	pp. 694-702 ^a	pp. 78-81
Orleans Parish (New Orleans), Louisiana	pp. 466-703 ^a p. 397	рр. 188-193
Baltimore City, Maryland	p. 397 ^b	pp. 210-213
Suffolk County (Boston), Massachusetts	pp. 48, 49 ^a p. 398 ^b	pp. 218-219
St. Louis County, Missouri	p. 398 ^b	pp. 276-283
New York County, New York	p. 396 ^b	pp. 322-327
Hamilton County (Cincinnati),		
Ohio	pp. 810-818 ^a	рр. 364-369
Philadelphia City, Pennsylvania	р. 396Ь	pp. 406-411

Classification by Region of Birth of the Free Population for Eight Major Cities.

	1850 ^b	1860 ^c
Chicago, Illinois	p. 399	p. 613
New Orleans, Louisiana	р. 399	p. 615
Baltimore, Maryland	р. 399	p. 611
Boston, Massachusetts	p. 399	р. 608
St. Louis, Missouri	р. 399	p. 614
New York, New York	p. 399	p. 609
Cincinnati, Ohio	p. 399	p. 612
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	р. 399	p. 610

Seventh Census of the United States: 1850 [United States. Census Office, 1853]

Compendium of the Seventh Census [United States. Census Office, 1854]

Population of the United States in 1860 [United States. Census Office, 1864]

The age and sex classifications were identical for both censuses. The age cohorts used in tabulating the data are: under 1, 1-4, 5-9, 10-14, 15-19, 20-29, and thereafter in ten-year ranges up to the age of 99, and two additional age categories of over 100 and "age unknown." In 1850, the

For the city data in 1850, all age cohorts 70 and above are reported as one category; in 1860, age cohorts 80 and above are reported as one category.

population was divided into White, Free Colored, and Slave. In 1860, the only change was to further divide the White population by reporting "Civilized" Indians separately. These Indians, when enumerated, presumably were included in the White population in 1850.

The published tables were checked for consistency by summing rows and columns to compare with the published row and column totals, and a few errors in transcribing numbers from original to summary tables were discovered, as well as some addition errors in producing column or row totals. In most cases the correct data could be found in the supplemental tables or in the Compendium Volume of the 1850 Census [1854]. Appendix Table A-1 lists the errors uncovered in the published results.

All of the 1850 Census tables for California report figures based on incomplete returns, due to the loss by fire of the San Francisco county returns and the loss in transit of the returns from Contra Costa and Santa Clara counties. We adjusted the 1850 figures by using the results of the 1852 Special Census of California (published in United States. Census Office, Compendium of the Seventh Census [1854], p. 394).

The total 1852 population of these three counties was subtracted from the California total for that year, and the ratio of the 1850 reported population to the 1852 state population (less the total population of the three counties missing from the 1850 returns) was then multiplied by the 1852 total population to estimate the 1850 total population. This technique produced an estimate of the 1850 population of 112,815—1.218 times larger than the reported total in the volumes of the 1850 Census.

Table A-1. Errors discovered in the published census data, 1850-1860.

a. Age-Sex-Race Tables: 1850

Corrections:

- 1) The published table shows 36,580 for the number of White females, 5-9, in Maine; this is a transcription error. The correct figure is 36,590, which is given in the Maine state table. [1853, p. 2.]
- 2) The published table shows 501 for the number of Free Colored females, 5-9, in Tennessee; this is a transcription error. The correct figure is 504, which is given in the Compendium table. [1854, p. 70.]
- 3) The published table shows 12,572 for the total number of Free Colored females, 50-59; this appears to be an error in addition. The correct total is 12,582.

Further note:

The 1850 age-sex-race table was reproduced in the <u>Compendium of the Seventh Census</u> [1854, pp. 88-89], with an entry at female slaves, 40-49, in <u>South Carolina</u> of 14,518. This was a transcription error from 14,513 in the original table.

b. Age-Sex-Race Tables: 1860

Corrections:

- 1) The published table shows 2,280 White males, 60-69, in California. This results from a transcription error. The correct figure, derived from combining the White and Asiatic populations of this category in the California age-sex table, is 2,780. [1864, pp. 23 and 27.]
- 2) The published table shows 110 White males, 70-79, in Oregon, a transcription error. The Oregon age-sex table shows 119. [1864, p. 401.]
- 3) The published table shows 203 Free Colored females 30-39 for Missouri, a transcription error. The Missouri state age-sex table shows 293. [1864, p. 280.]

b. Age-Sex-Race Tables: 1860 (continued)

Further note:

The 1860 census returns from Hancock, Sunflower, and Washington Counties in Mississippi and from Bienville Parish in Louisiana were not delivered at the Census Office, due to the secession of those states at the outbreak of the Civil War and the presumed refusal or inability of the Census Marshals to deal with the Union Government. Therefore, estimates for the populations of these districts were made by the Census Office (Indian populations were not estimated in either state, nor was the Free Colored population in the Mississippi counties) and these totals were included in the returns as persons of unknown age. The figures follow.

	Wh	ite	S1	.ave	Free Co	lored
	<u>M</u>	F	M	F	M	<u>F</u>
<u>Mississippi</u>						
Hancock	1,282	1,000	457	400	***	
Sunflower	602	500	2,000	1,917	-	_
Washington	612	600	7,467	7,000		-
Louisiana						
Bienville	3,170	2,730	2,881	2,119	51	49

c. Nativity Table: 1850

Corrections:

1) The published tables, both in the Statistics Volume of the Seventh Census [1853] and in the Compendium to the Seventh Census [1854] show as zero the number of Danes residing in Vermont in 1850. This is inconsistent with the column and row totals which were published; 1 appears to be the correct entry.

d. Nativity Table: 1860

Corrections:

- 1) The published table shows as 1,383 the number of people born in France residing in Texas. This was mistranscribed from the Texas state nativity table, which shows 1,883. [1864, p. 490.]
- 2) There is an addition error in the published table, showing the column total of those born in Ohio as 2,122,605; the correct figure is 2,122,603.
- 3) The published table shows as 353 the number of people born in South Carolina residing in Virginia. This was mistranscribed from the Virginia state nativity table, which shows 357. [1864, p. 523.]
- 4) The published table shows as 1 the number of people born in Kansas residing in Virginia. This was mistranscribed from the Virginia state nativity table, which shows a 7. [1864, p. 523.]
 - e. Age-Sex-Race Tables for Eight Major Urban Counties: 1850

Corrections:

There is an error in the New Orleans aggregate population figures for 1850. The free population reported for the city alone in 1850 is 99,364, which we have adjusted downward by 110 to 99,254. This adjustment is necessitated by the following discrepancies in the tables for free colored males: in the statistics volume the number of Free Colored males in the city is reported as 3,999, whereas the total for the parish is 3,955. Furthermore, the Compendium reports the number of Free Colored males in the city plus Algiers and Lafayette (two suburbs of Wew Orleans) as 4,104, and the Statistics Volume reports their number in Lafayette as 147, yielding 3,957 in the city plus Algiers (for which separate data are not available). The city tabulation is then clearly in error, but we have no way of knowing how many Free Colored males were residing in Algiers. Thus to estimate the number of Free Colored males in the city alone we have taken the ratio of Free Colored females in the parish to those in the city (1.017) and have divided the number of Free Colored males in the parish by this ratio to get 3,889, or 110 fewer Free Colored males in the city than the incorrect number reported. The figures we use are 0.983 times the published values. [1853, p. 474.]

f. Age-Sex-Race Tables for Urban Counties: 1860

Corrections:

- 1) The published table shows 91,045 for the total number of White males in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, and 190,279 for the total White population. These are errors in addition; the correct figures are 90,045 and 189,279.
- 2) The table also shows 1,086 for the total number of Free Colored males in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, and 2,398 for the total Free Colored population. These are errors in addition; the correct figures are 1,186 and 2,498. [1864, p. 219].
 - g. Nativity Table for Eight Major Cities: 1850

Corrections:

 In six of our eight cases, the sum of the United States-born residents of the city is not equal to the published figures; we use the actual sum. [1854, p. 399].

City	Published Sum	True Sum
New Orleans, Louisiana	50,470	50,464
Baltimore, Maryland	130,491	130,489
Boston, Massachusetts	88,948	88,944
St. Louis, Missouri	36,529	36,526
New York, New York	277,752	277,750
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	286,346	286,345

2) The total population of New Orleans has been reduced by 110 to 99,254, and the United States-born total has been further reduced by 110 to 50,354 by reducing each native-born category in proportion. (See Table A-1, Panel e.)

ħ.	Nativity	Tables	for	Eight	Major	Cities:	1860
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Corrections:

Another and more serious problem affecting the 1850 California Census is the substantial underenumeration of the population; this error was estimated at the time by the Census Office to be approximately thirty percent. [Sabagh, 1943, pp. 120-121.]. Underenumeration was also a problem in California at the time of the 1860 Census; however, the Census of that year was certainly more accurate than that of 1850. [Sabagh, 1943, ch. 2.] Our unadjusted estimates of net migration into California for this decade will exaggerate the true flows to the extent that the degree of underenumeration was lower in 1860 than in 1850, since we have made no attempt to correct the 1850 data for misreporting. However, as noted in the text, the estimates obt obtained using state correction factors will correct automatically for this un underenumeration.

For the purposes of our migration calculations for the period 1850-60, the United States was divided into 37 regions: the 31 states in existence in 1850, the District of Columbia, and five territorial areas--Minnesota, Oregon, Utah, New Mexico, and an area unenumerated in 1850.

There were several boundary changes in the decade of the 1850's which affected the definitions of each of these five territories. In 1850, Minnesota and Oregon were territories, but before 1860 both became states and were reduced in area. Minnesota was admitted as a state with its present boundaries by a Congressional act of May 11, 1858, with the remainder of the old territory included in what was later to become Dakota Territory. Oregon was admitted as a state with its present boundaries by a Congressional act of February 14, 1859, and the remaining area was incorporated as the Territory of Washington.

 $^{^3{\}rm The}$ following discussion draws upon Douglas [1939] as well as the census publications.

There are several discrepancies between the U.S. internal boundaries as they existed in 1860, and the divisions reported in the volumes of the Eighth Census, taken in 1860 [1863 and 1864]. The data were originally collected according to the 1860 political divisions, but apparently were rearranged before publication to coincide with boundaries extant sometime before the formation of Idaho Territory, on March 3, 1863. Because of these rearrangements, we have regrouped the divisions reported in the 1860 Census volumes into regions comparable in area with the divisions of 1850, as follows.

- 1) Minnesota: The Territory was originally bounded by the Missouri and White Earth Rivers on the west. In 1858 the present western boundary was established, and the western portion of the old Territory (81,960 square miles) was ceded to Dakota. In our calculations, the figures reported for Minnesota Territory in 1850 and Minnesota State in 1860 are regarded as representing equivalent areas and comparable populations. The probability of significant error is negligible: the western portion of the territory was sparsely populated in 1850; we estimate that its population was between 600 and 1,000.
- 2) Oregon: For our calculations, we aggregated the 1860 population of Oregon State and Washington Territory, which were equal in area to the Oregon Territory of 1850, with the exception of a small area (4,638 square miles) ceded by Washington to Negraska Territory in 1861. This region is now part of south-western Wyoming, and contained no more than 200 persons in 1860.

- 3) Utah: This Territory was considerably reduced in size by the formation of Colorado and Nevada Territories in 1861, and by the cession of 10,740 square miles to Nebraska on March 2, 1861. Nevada was formed entirely from area previously in Utah Territory, but Colorado was formed from sections of Utah, New Mexico, Nebraska, and Kansas Territories. The western section of Colorado was acquired from Utah. To establish comparable boundaries for Utah in 1850 and 1860, we use the data of the 1850 Utah Territory as reported, and amalgamate the 1860 Territories of Utah and Nevada, and include the western part of Colorado Territory and the part of Nebraska Territory originally in Utah.
- 4) New Mexico: This territory had two boundary changes between the census of 1850 and the final tabulation of the 1860 census figures: a) the area of the Gadsden Purchase (45,535 square miles) was annexed by a Congressional act of August 4, 1854; and b) an area of 14,000 square miles was ceded to Colorado in 1861. For our calculations, we use the boundaries of 1850, and adjust the 1860 population to correspond by subtracting the 1860 population of the Gadsden Purchase and adding the 1860 estimated population of the area ceded to Colorado. The Gadsden Purchase was approximately

Unfortunately, county data for western Nebraska and the entire Territory of Colorado are not available for 1860, so an <u>ad hoc</u> technique was used to estimate the 1860 total population of these regions by examining the county population figures for 1870. In that year the area in western Colorado consisted of Summit, most of Lake, and about half of Conejos counties. The 1870 populations of these counties were multiplied by the percentage of area included in the region transferred from Utah and then were deflated by a factor of 0.86, the ratio of the 1860 to the 1870 Colorado population. In this manner, we estimate the 1860 populati of the Colorado region to be 1,850. The area transferred to Nebraska in 1861 was in 1868 transferred to Wyoming, and at the time of the 1870 ensus comprised Sweetwater and Carbon counties in Wyoming. Following a similar procedure as was used for Colorado, the population of this area in 1860 was estimated at 210.

coincident with Arizona county as enumerated in the 1860 census, when it had a population of 6,482. We estimate that the 1860 population of the area ceded to Colorado was 7,200.

United States was unenumerated in 1850; it consisted of most of the 1860 Territories of Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, all of the State of Kansas, and all of the Indian Territory (now the state of Oklahoma). In 1860, all of this area was included in the census with the exception of the Indian Territory. For the purposes of our calculations it is assumed that these areas had no population in 1850. Since there were people residing there in 1850, they will appear as migrants in the results.

In all of the calculations the age and nativity distributions of Utah plus Nevada territories and New Mexico territory in 1860 were used to distribute the adjusted population of these two regions.

For the calculation of migration into urban areas, we increased the number of regions to 45 by breaking eight states into two parts: the major city of the state and the remainder. Classifications both by agesex-race distributions and by nativity groups are available for 29 cities from the 1850 Census and for 9 cities from the 1860 Census; cities appearing in both Censuses are those of the latter year: Chicago, Illinois; New Orleans, Louisiana; Baltimore, Maryland; Boston, Massachusetts;

This area corresponded to the 1870 Colorado counties of Costilla, and parts of Saguache, Pueblo, Bent, Conejos, Huerfano, and Las Animas. The 1860 population was estimated from the 1870 county data in the same manner as the 1860 population of western Colorado.

St. Louis, Missouri; New York, New York (New York County only); Cincinnati, Ohio; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Washington, District of Columbia.

A problem of boundary change occurs in several of these cities.

As an example, the city of Chicago annexed five portions of surrounding

Cook County between 1850 and 1860. To adjust the city populations for

such changes would be a tedious exercise. For convenience, we decided to

consider as urban areas the counties containing the cities, rather than the

cities themselves. This is reasonable since the cities were either coterminous

with the counties or represented a large portion of the county population

(the lowest proportion was 70 percent in the cases of Chicago and Cincinnati).

We presumed there would be many fewer boundary changes for counties than

for cities in any period we might consider, and found that in the 1850
1860 decade there were no such changes. [United States. Bureau of the

Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States . . . 1920, Vol. I, pp.

139-149.]

In the cases of Baltimore, St. Louis, New York and Philadelphia in the two census years, the cities and their counties represented the same area. For Washington, instead of the city itself, we have used the entire District of Columbia, data for which is reported separately in both Censuses. In the cases of Chicago, Cincinnati, Boston and New Orleans the nativity data are available only for the cities proper, requiring an upward adjustment to correspond with the larger populations of Cook, Hamilton, and Suffolk Counties, and Orleans Parish, respectively.

A simple adjustment was used to make age-sex-race and nativity data commensurable for these areas for both census years: inflating each of the nativity classifications in the various cities by the ratio of

the total free county population to the free city population. The adjustments do not account for slaves in New Orleans, Baltimore and St. Louis, since no birth place data are reported for them. The nativity data adjustment factors are presented in Table A-2.

United States. Census Office [1864], p. 219 (Table I, Population by Age and Sex, Massachusetts.).

^mUnited States. Census Office [1853], p. 830 (Table II, Population by Sub-Division of Counties, Ohio).

ⁿUnited States. Census Offices [1853], p. 817 (Table I, Population by Counties, Ohio).

OUnited States. Census Offices [1864], p. 612 (Nativity of the Population of the City of Cincinnati, Ohio).

PUnited States. Census Office [1864], pp. 365, 367 (Table I, Population by Age and Sex, Ohio).

Appendix B: Data for Migration Calculations: The United Kingdom, 1850-1860

The basic data required for computing British migration streams are age and sex classifications of the population by county and city and the classification by place of birth of the population of each county and city. The data were published as follows.

Classification by Age and Sex for Counties.

- 1851: England, Wales and Scotland: House of Commons: Papers:

 1852-53, volume LXXXVIII, part I, [1853], pp. CXII-CXCV.

 Ireland: House of Commons: Papers: 1863, vol. LVI,

 [1863], p. 6.
- 1861: England and Wales: House of Commons: Papers: 1863, vol. LIII, [1863], part I, pp. XIV-XVII, p. 815.

 Ireland: House of Commons: Papers: 1863, Vol. LVI, [1863], p. 6.

 Scotland: General Registry Office, Census of 1951 for Scotland Vol. III, [1954],p. 43.

Classification by Region of Birth for Counties.

- 1851: House of Commons: Papers: 1852-53, vol. LXXXVIII, [1853]

 Part 1, pp. ccxl-ccxcvi.
- 1861: <u>House of Commons: Papers: 1863</u>, Vol. LIII, [1863], Part 1, pp. 35, 243, 321, 413, 515, 516, 595, 655, 729, 797, 885.

 $^{^{1}}$ Tables of the data used in the calculations are available from the authors upon request.

Classification by Age and Sex for Cities.²

1851: House of Commons: Papers: 1852-53, Vol. LXXXVIII, [1853],
Part 1, p. 81; Part 2, p. 526.

1861: House of Commons: Papers: 1863, vol. LIII, [1863], Part 1, pp. xviii, xix.

Classification by Region of Birth for Cities.

1851: <u>House of Commons: Papers: 1852-53</u>, vol. LXXXVIII, [1853],
Part 1, p. 81; Part 2, p. 526.

1861: <u>House of Commons: Papers: 1863</u>, vol. XXXXVI LIII, [1863],
Part 2, pp. 528, 529, 657-659, 732, 733.

The age and sex classifications and the nativity classifications were identical for both Censuses. The age cohorts used in the tabulations were 0-4, 5-9, 10-14, . . . , 95-99, 100 and over, and "age not stated."

The published data were checked for consistency by summing rows or columns to compare with the published column or row totals. A number of errors were found in the 1861 census data. When an error was found, the published total was changed on the assumption that the error was in addition rather than in transcription (transcription errors, in any case, would not be traceable to a particular entry). Table B-1 lists the corrections made.

The cities presently under study are: Birmingham, Bolton, Coventry, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Salford, and Sheffield. London is treated both as a city and as a county; the data for London are obtainable from the county tables.

The "age not stated" classification appears only in the data for Scotland and Ireland.

		-62-
	Table B-1. Errors discovered in the published census data, 18	51-1861.
-	a. Age-Sex Tables for Counties: 1851	
	Corrections:	•
	1) None.	
	b. Nativity Tables for Counties: 1851	
	Corrections:	
Ċ	1) None.	
·	c. Age-Sex Tables for Counties: 1861	
	Corrections:	
	1) Rutlandshire's total male population was published as 11,6 should be changed to 11,651.	46 but
•		

d. Nativity Table for Counties: 1861

Corrections:

- 1) The total number of males over 20 living in London was published as 726,805 and should be changed to 726,807.
- 2) The total number of males under 20 living in Kent was published as 166,151 and should be changed to 166,071.
- 3) The total number of females under 20 living in Kent was published as 161,090 and should be changed to 161,095.
- 4) The total number of females under 20 living in Berkshire was published as 49,617 and should be changed to 49,611.
- 5) The total number of males under 20 living in Bedfordshire was published as 31,623 and should be changed to 31,620.
- 6) The total number of males under 20 living in Somersetshire was published as 100,297 and should be changed to 100,295.
- 7) The total number of males under 20 living in Durhamshire was published as 125,149 and should be changed to 125,119.
- 8) The total number of females under 20 living in Cumberlandshire was published as 46,520 and should be changed to 46,522.
- 9) The total male population of Ruthlandshire was published as 11,646 and should be changed to 11,651.

e. Age-Sex Tables for Cities: 1851

Corrections:

1) None.

						•		-64-
T	able B-1 (co	nțin	ued)	-				• •
				_	-			
		f.	Nativity Tables	for Citie	s: 1851			
- <u>с</u>	orrections:						- 	
1) None.							
					÷			
						·		
		g.	Age-Sex Tables	for Cities	: 1861	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
<u>c</u>	orrections:							<u> </u>
1) None.							
								
		h.	Nativity Tables	for Citie	s: 1861			
<u>C</u>	orrections:		•			-		·
1	None.				· · · ·			
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from Great Britain and Ireland in 1853 and 1854. The eleven yearly totals were then divided by sex according to the ratios of males to females among the total arrivals in the United States in those years. Finally, since the dates of the 1851 and 1861 Censuses were April 8 and March 31, respectively, we subtracted an estimate of first-quarter 1851 departures from the total for the year, and used an estimate of first-quarter departures for 1861 as the figure for that year. Table B-2 presents these data.

The absence of age data for British and Irish emigrants necessitated the use of the age distributions of arrivals in United States ports (see Appendix C). These distributions were applied to the yearly emigration totals for males and females, and re-aggregated to find totals for sex-and age-in-1851 cohorts of those who left Great Britain and Ireland between the censuses of 1851 and 1861. The results are presented in Table B-3. These totals were then subtracted from the 1851 national totals given in the censuses of Great Britain and Ireland, and the results were used to compute the national ten-year Census Survival Rates given in Table B-4.

⁷This estimate was obtained from the United States immigration data for 1856, in which arrivals during the first quarter of the year represented 7.32 percent of the annual total.

For the migration calculations over the decade 1851-1861, Britain was divided into 49 regions: the 42 counties of England, three subdivisions of London, two regions in Wales--defined as North and South Wales--each comprised of six counties, 4 and Ireland and Scotland--each counted as a single unit.

In order to calculate national survival rates by sex and age cohorts, the population of Great Britain and Ireland must be "closed" in a manner similar to that described in Appendix C for the United States. Data on immigration and emigration for Great Britain and Ireland are difficult to obtain. Immigration statistics for the period prior to 1870 are not reliable [Willcox, 1929, vol. I, p. 622]; but in view of the very small increase of the foreign-born population in these countries between 1851 and 1861, it was not felt necessary to correct the survival rates to account for immigration. However, this is not true of emigration over the period, which was substantial. Data on emigration was assembled from the following sources.

The six counties included in South Wales in the 1851 Census are Glamorganshire, Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire, Brecknockshire, and Radnorshire; those in North Wales are Montgomeryshire, Flintshire, Denbighshire, Merionethshire, Carnarvonshire and Anglesey. The 1861 Census reports data only for South and North Wales.

Emigration For the Year:	Source
1853	House of Commons: Papers: 1854, volume XXVIII, [1854], p. 92.
1854	House of Commons: Papers: 1854-1855, volume XVII, [1855], p. 70.
1855	House of Commons: Papers: 1856, volume XXIV, [1856], p. 60.
1856	House of Lords: Papers: 1857, volume XXXIV, [1857], p. 67.
1857	House of Lords: Papers: 1857-1858, volume XLVI, [1858], p. 77.
1858	House of Lords: Papers: 1859, volume XXX, [1859], p. 75.
1859	House of Commons: Papers: 1860, volume XXIX, [1860], p. 69.
1860	House of Commons: Papers: 1861, volume XXII, [1861], p. 53.
1861	House of Commons: Papers: 1862, volume XXII, [1862], p. 74.

With the exception of the figures for 1859, we do not have detailed age-sex disaggregations for the emigrants, but only the total emigrants departing from English and Welsh ports by nationality—English and Welsh, Scottish, Irish, various foreigners, and "Not Distinguished." Those not distinguished we distributed in proportion to the native/foreign ratio of the figures for emigrants of reported nationality. The total figure for each year was obtained by adding the English and Welsh, Scottish, and Irish to our estimate of native-born among those not distinguished. The totals for 1851 and 1852, for which we found no published tables, were estimated in the following manner. The ratios of the 1851 and 1852 British and Irish arrivals in the United States to the average of those arrivals in 1853 and 1854, were applied to the average of total native emigration

The category of "Not Distinguished" sometimes included cabin passengers. They should form part of the totals for emigrants for, according to Willcox, "... until 1860 one would not be far wrong in treating all passengers, even the few cabin passengers, as persons who sailed for overseas countries with a view to changing their abode." [1929, vol. I, p. 622.]

 $^{^{6}}$ For 1851, the ratio used was 1.514, and for 1852,1.099.

Table B-2. Native-born emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland-April 1851 to March 1861.

Year	Male	Female
1851	252,888	153,881
1852	190,388	128,253
1853	176,126	120,282
1854	175,348	108,066
1855	100, 483	64,703
1856	99,786	66,165
1857	119,081	79,918
1858	67,526	41,229
1859	71,459	43,704
1860	74,229	48,443
1861	3,766	2,511
Sub-totals	1,331,170	893,662
Total	2,224	,832

Table B-3. Gross emigration of natives from Great Britain and Ireland, by 1851 age cohort and year of departure.

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	1851	1852	reparture 1852 1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	Total
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5 1 4 1 1 4	35,050	31, 138	32,689	35,017	20.830	13,830 20,955	25,031	13,964	14,270	12,388	, 17, 6 1, 17, 6	263,735
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•	5,03	1,20	6,17	3,56	2,21	1,07	2,18	6,44	36	16	9	80,73
ī	8,07	6,47	6,82	5,62	35	,71	,49	,40	,24	8	∞	17,38
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otal	252,887	187,799	171,405	168,388	95,228	93,339	109,947	61,543	64,293	65,937	3,303	1,274,069
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_	9,02	6,30	5,53	19	82	7.	,73	55	, 26	7,15	N	9,63
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otal	153,882	125.727	115.590	101.820	59,772	20 030	70 991	α. α.	37 3/5	009 07	2 067	803 660

Table B-4. National Census Survival Rates by Age and Sex: Great Britain and Ireland, 1851-1861.

	Surviva	11 Rates
1861 Cohort	Male	Female
10-14	.949	.936
15-19	.928	.963
20-24	.890	1.009
25-29	.879	.919
30-34	.937	.834
35-39	.955	.830
40-44	1.000	.916
45-49	.922	.868
50-54	.877	.844
55-59	.801	.784
60-64	.795	.819
65-69	.678	.720
70-74	.527	.536
75–79	.477	.499
80 and over	.236	.265

Appendix C: Immigration Estimates for the United States, 1850-1860.

Computation of age-specific survival ratios for the resident White population of the United States requires estimates of the number, age, sex and country-of-origin of the immigrants arriving in the intercensal period 1850-1860. There are three major sources of immigration data for the United States during the mid-nineteenth century:

a) State Department reports to Congress, "Passengers Arriving in the United States," published yearly as House of Representatives' Executive Documents; b) Walter F. Willcox, editor, International Migrations [1931]; c) United States Department of the Treasury, Bureau of Statistics, "Immigration into the United States," in various issues of Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance (beginning with 1892). Despite minor differences in aggregate immigration totals among these sources, the latter two seem to be derived from the first. Thus, we have used the State Department reports as the basic source for this period. 1

In these reports, various aggregations were published of immigration: by country of birth, by age at time of entry, by port-of-entry, by quarter of entry, etc. The State Department totals were used, except for 1850 and

Since all immigration data were recorded by quarterly periods, it was convenient to use the dates July 1, 1850 - June 30, 1860 for the decade in question, despite the census enumeration date of June 1 for both years. The discrepancy arising from this usage is small and was ignored in all calculations.

1852, where it was necessary to make separate tabulations.² These aggregations of age-sex compositions and nativity were then used as bases for the calculations described below.³

Necessary Corrections to the Data

As indicated by Willcox [1931], the available data are inaccurate for a number of reasons.

- (1) Cabin passengers were not counted among the arrivals in the State Department reports. An estimate based on the period 1892-1903, calculated by Marian Rubins Davis (Willcox [1931], Vol. 2, p. 659), indicates that about eight percent should be added to the reported arrivals to account for those who did not travel steerage class.
- (2) The data for this period are for arriving passengers, rather than for declared immigrants, so a correction must be made for visitors and return migrants. Our estimate indicates that about eleven percent of the passengers arriving during the decade left the United States within

²In 1850, neither an age-sex nor a nativity aggregation was reported; therefore, we summed the age-sex and nativity classifications by port-of-entry for the third and fourth quarters, to obtain arrivals during 1850 after the census date. In 1852, only total arrivals by nativity were aggregated so it was necessary to calculate the age distribution by summing the age classifications by port-of-entry; the resulting total was a bit smaller than the reported totals of arrivals by nativity. This difference was added to the age distribution designated as of unstated age, and by sex proportionally to the sex ratio of the tabulated total.

The age distributions available in the 11 reports consulted for this period were available by sex and by 5 year age cohorts through age 39, and by sex for all immigrants 40 years of age and older.

the period, so we will assume immigrants were 89 percent of the reported arrivals, as corrected.

- (3) Overland immigration was not recorded. A substantial number of Canadians and Mexicans entered the United States overland rather than by sea as immigrants during this period, and separate estimates of Canadian and Mexican immigrants were made.⁵
- (4) Although there presumably was some overland immigration through Canada and Mexico of other nationals, we assume that by 1850 this was insignificant and will make no correction for it.

$$dP_0 + I - (1 - d)^{1/2}I + rI = X_0$$

where P is the foreign-born population of the United States in 1850 (2.21 million), I is the total reported foreign arrivals (2.67 million), d is the ten year crude death rate, r is the return rate, and X is the excess of immigration over population increase (0.76 million). An estimate of the five-year survival rate of immigrants, $(1-d)^{1/2}$, is used assuming that those immigrating are in the country for an average of five years. In order to solve the equation an annual crude death rate of 13 per thousand was used to establish d. (Yasuba [1963], p. 80). This yields a decade return rate, r, of 10.9 percent.

Because the reported arrivals by sea of Canadians and Mexicans cannot account for the total rise in the Canadian- and Mexican-born population of the United States during the decade 1850-60, we have used census data for 1850 and 1860 to estimate the immigration from these two countries for the period. Computations were made of the increase of Canadian- and Mexican-born residents as a proportion of the increase in non-North-American-born population between the censuses of 1850 and 1860. Assuming that the gross numbers of Canadian and Mexican arrivals were in these proportions to the total reported non-North-American-born arrivals, we find that the decade totals of gross immigration are 145,800 for Canadians (as opposed to 64,500 reported as arriving by sea), and 20,300 for Mexicans (as opposed to 3,200).

An estimate of return migration from the United States during the years 1850-1860 was prepared in the following manner. The increase in the number of foreign-born in the United States from 1850 to 1860 was 1,927,954. The reported immigration for the period was 2,670,464-757,782 in excess of the reported increase. The excess can be accounted for by deaths and by return migration. Our estimate of the extent of return migration as a percentage of arrivals during the period was derived using the following equation:

(5) Most of the yearly State Department documents indicate that no report was received for various periods from some of the immigration agents. Since this produces a relatively small and unsystematic undercount, we have made no attempt to correct for it.

Computation of Gross Immigration

(1) Aggregate Immigration.

We multiplied non-North-American-born arrivals by 1.08 to account for cabin passengers, and deflated these figures by 0.11 to account for returnees. This yields a net deflation factor of four percent to be applied to total non-North-American-born reported arrivals. We then added the estimates of Canadian and Mexican immigration.

(2) Sex Distribution by Year.

These adjusted aggregates were divided by sex according to the sex division of the <u>unadjusted</u> yearly totals, assuming that cabin passengers, returnees, and Canadian and Mexican arrivals all had the same proportions of men and women as the original reports indicate. The sex distribution of arrivals also included United States citizens; an implicit assumption, therefore, is that arrivals of United States citizens had the same sex distribution as the immigrants.

(3) Age Composition of Immigrants.

The reported age distributions of arrivals from abroad also included Americans returning home. The calculations outlined below are based on total arrivals, but were applied to our estimates of immigrants.

First, an average age distribution of arrivals from abroad for the decade was computed by averaging the age-sex distributions of the yearly figures by the nine age cohorts reported plus an unstated age category. Then, assuming that the unstated age category represented the same distribution as the remainder, the figures for the stated age categories were inflated by an appropriate factor so that they summed to 100 percent.

Second, since the population-closing process for 1860 involves the age-sex composition of immigrants in 1860, it was necessary to break down the age distribution into single years of age. This was done by fitting a smooth curve, the area under which summed to one, to the male and female age distributions as reported by age cohort. The curve for those over forty was fitted using a rough exponential-decay curve to the total for this classification, producing a smooth decline from the total for age 39.

Finally, to estimate the number of immigrants who would have been of a given age and sex in 1860 (had no deaths occurred), the figures were aggregated by year of arrival to show what percentage of those arriving in a given year would be in a certain age cohort at the 1860 census date. To do this, we assumed that on the average the immigrants would be n years older, where n = 1860 - Y, with Y = calendar year of arrival. These percentages were applied to the immigration total by sex and year producing estimates of the 1860 age composition of immigrants for both sexes. The resulting figures are given in Table C-1.

(4) Nativity Composition of Immigrants.

Birthplaces of those arriving in the United States from foreign countries are shown in the State Department reports, both by port-of-arrival and in summary tables. The yearly figures were reaggregated into the same

nativity classifications as those used in the 1850 and 1860 Censuses. The decade totals were then adjusted for cabin passengers and return migrants, so that the total immigration by nativity groups is identical with the total by age given in 1860. These data are presented in Table C-2.

Computation of Net Immigration

In order to close the population of the United States for our internal migration calculations, the number of immigrants to the country between the 1850 and 1860 censuses who lived to be enumerated in 1860 must be subtracted in order to have an 1860 population comprised of those who were residing in the United States in 1850, or who were born in the country in the intercensal period. This must be done both by age-sex and by nativity disaggregations of the immigrants. Accordingly, the yearly immigration figures given in Table C-1 were adjusted to remove those immigrants who died before the end of the decade. In order to make this adjustment, we assumed that both the rates of survival and of underenumeration were equal for 1850 residents and immigrants by specific cohorts. An immigrant's chance of dying was assumed to have been in proportion to the fraction of the decade he was in the country. Table C-3 presents the resulting estimate of net migration by age in 1860.

Other countries of origin were placed in the "Others" category, excepting ambiguous classifications, which were placed in the "Unknown" category.

The computation of the number of deaths among the immigrants entailed an iterative process. Since we could not compute the survival rates for natives without first subtracting the net number of immigrants we could not apply these ratios directly to the immigration data. In order to obtain a solution we first computed the national survival ratios assuming that all of the immigrants died. These ratios were then applied to the immigrants to obtain an estimate of net immigration which was used to refine the national survival ratios. The new ratios were used to obtain a new estimate of net immigration, and the process was repeated until the results converged.

Table C-2. Immigrants by place of birth, adjusted for cabin passengers and return migration, decade ending June 30, 1860.

Country or region of birth	Unadjusted decade total	Adjusted decade total ^a
Asia	15	14
Africa	134 .	129
Belgium	4,737	4,548
British America ^b	145,777	145,777
Central America	428	411
China	38,664	37,117
Denmark	3,491	3,351
France	75,935	72,897
German States	961,686	923,217
Great Britain	471,639	452,773
Greece	31	30
Holland	10,908	10,472
Ireland	921,973	885,094
Italy	7,301	7,009
Mexico	20,298	20,298
Norway	10,045	9,643
Portugal	1,001	961
Russia	419	402
Spain	9,017	8,656
Sweden	11,891	11,415
Sardinia	1,700	1,632
Switzerland	24,737	23,748
South America	1,283	1,232
Sandwich Islands	24	23
Turkey	87	84
West Indies	10,437	10 ,0 20
Others	4,805	4,613
Unknown	30,053	28,851
Total	2,768,516	2,664,417
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^aAdjusted total equals unadjusted total deflated by four percent, as discussed in the text.

The figures in both columns for British America (Canada) and Mexico are the adjusted totals discussed in footnote 5 in this Appendix

Table C-3. Estimated net immigration by 1860 cohorts for decade ending June 30, 1860.

1860 age cohort	Net immigration: male	Net immigration: female
10–14	96,621	90,260
15-19	98,759	95,253
20-29	467,673	350,658
30-39	425,478	216,421
40-49	193,936	94,539
50-59	76,386	44,587
60-69	18,705	15,644
70–79	285	1,090
Total	1,377,843	908,452
Grand total	2,286,	295

The census survival ratios for the White population, as adjusted for immigration, are given in the text. Since it was assumed that the immigration of non-Whites to the United States was negligible, survival rates given in the text for the Free Colored and Slave populations are based on the age distributions as published.

Appendix D

Inter-Regional Migration Estimates for the United States, 1850-1960.

NOTE: In the following tables, all ages refer to the age in 1860.

These tables include only the results for the total population. Tables with a disaggregation by race are available from the authors on request.

1850 TO 1860 NET MIGRATICN BY AGE AND SEX OF THE TOTAL POPULATION CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL RATE METHOD USING STATE MORTALITY FACTORS COMPUTED FROM NATIVITY DATA

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1850 TO 1860 NET PIGRATICN BY AGE AND SEX OF THE TOTAL POPULATION EACH STATE CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL RATE METHOD USING NATIONAL SURVIVAL RATIOS FOR EACH STATE

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Table D-2 (continued)

1850 TO 1860 NET MIGRATICN BY AGE AND SEX OF THE TOTAL POPULATION CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL RATE METHOD USING NATIONAL SURVIVAL RATIOS FOR EACH STATE

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CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL PATE METHOD USING NATIONAL SURVIVAL RATIOS FOR EACH STATE

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1850 TO 1840 NET PIGRATICN BY AGE AND SEX OF THE TOTAL POPULATION

AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE 1850 COHORT SURVIVING TO 1860

CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL PATE METHOD USING STATE MORTALITY FACTORS COMPUTED FROM NATIVITY DATA

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1850 TO 1860 NET MIGRATICN BY AGE AND SEX OF THE TOTAL POPULATION

AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE 1850 CCHORT SURVIVING TO 1860

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1850 TO 1860 NET MIGRATION BY AGE AND SEX OF THE TOTAL POPULATION

AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE 1850 COHORT SURVIVING TO 1860

CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL RATE METHOD USING STATE MORTALITY FACTORS COMPUTED FROM NATIVITY DATA

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1850 TO 1840 NET MIGRATION BY AGE AND SEX OF THE TOTAL POPULATION

AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE 1850 COHORT SURVIVAL RATIOS FOR EACH STATE
CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL RATE METHOD USING NATIONAL SURVIVAL RATIOS FOR EACH STATE

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m X	1 d	-6.57	-2.95	-4.91		•	ა 2	7.6
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1850 TC 1860 NET MIGRATICN BY AGE AND SEX OF THE TOTAL POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE 1850 COHORT SURVIVING TO 1860 Calculated by Census Survival rate method using national survival ratios for each state

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1850 TO 1860 NET MIGRATICN BY AGE AND SEX OF THE TOTAL POPULATION

AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE 1850 COHORT SURVIVING TO 1860

CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL RATE METHOD USING NATIONAL SURVIVAL RATIOS FOR EACH STATE

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1850 TO 1860 NET MIGRATICN BY AGE AND SEX OF THE TOTAL POPULATION
CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL RATE METHOD LING STATE MORTALITY FACTORS COMPUTED FROM ADJUSTED NATIVITY DATA

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1850 TC 1860 NET MIGRATION BY AGE AND SEX OF THE TOTAL POPULATION
CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL RATE METHOD LING STATE MORTALITY FACTORS COMPUTED FROM ADJUSTED NATIVITY DATA

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1850 TO 1860 NET MIGRATION BY AGE AND SEX OF THE TOTAL POPULATION
CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL RATE METHOD USING STATE MORTALITY FACTORS COMPUTED FROM ADJUSTED NATIVITY DATA

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1850 TC 186C NET MIGRATICN BY AGE AND SEX CF THE TOTAL POPULATION

AS A PERCENTAGE CF THE 1850 CCHORT SURVIVING TO 1860

CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL RATE METHOD USING STATE MORTALITY FACTORS COMPUTED FROM ADJUSTED NATIVITY DATA

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1850 TC 1860 NET MIGRATION BY AGE AND SEX OF THE TOTAL POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE 1850 CCHORT SURVIVING TO 1860 Calculated by Census Survival rate Method Using State Mortality Factors computed from Adjusted Nativity Data

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Table D-6 (continued)

CALIFCRNIA
MINNESOTA TERRITORY
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ONENUVERATED IN 1850 WISCONS IN XENTUCKY DELAWARE
MARYLAND
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA MISSOURI MISSISSIPP NORTH CARCLINA VIRGINIA NEW JERSEY CONNECTICUT MASSACHUSETTS FLORIDA GEORGIA PENNSYL VAN I A RHODE ISLAND NEW TAMPSHIRE INDIANA ARKANSAS TEXAS LOUISIANA VERMONT CLCIACIS ALABAMA 1850 TO 1860 NET PIGRATION BY AGE AND SEX OF THE TOTAL POPULATION

AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE 1850 COHORT SURVIVING TO 1860

CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL RATE METHOD USING STATE MORTALITY FACTORS COMPUTED FROM ADJUSTED NATIVITY DATA REGION 1111 114.3 7C-75 37.8 E PALE HIMBORAARI 2703.59 446.09 227.18 185.84 11011004 0100004 1000004 1000000000 -14.98 -24.00 -19.99 101.11 140.69 -29.5 12.9 -20.4 63.86 -3.9 MALE 80 AND 100.69 -21.10 OVER 646.28 322.15 121.24 124, 29 124, 96 235, 89 FEVALE -70.56 0. -52.74 -74.2 0 AGE CNKNOWN -61.00 -63.43 -58.4 -16.09 -65.08 FEMALE 257.34 27.92 19.30 10.5 11.9 6.7 2.45 MALE TOTAL 44.88 1780.82 169.12 116.39 FEMALE AGGREGATE 111145.47

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Table D-7.

185 TO 185 MET MERKAITON BY AGE AND SEVENT THE TETAL PUPPLICT OF COLUMBIA CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIYAL RATE METHIOD USING STATE MOFTALITY FACTORS COMPITED FROM NATIVITY DATA

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	PHILADELPHIA COUNTY AND CITY REMAINDER OF PENNSYLVANIA PENNSYLVANIA	HAMILION COUNTY (CINCINNATI): REMAINDER OF OHIO DHIO	NEW YORK COUNTY REMAINDER DE NEW YORK STATE NEW YORK STATE	MISSOURI DE MISSOURI MISSOURI COUNTY AND CITY	SUFFICE COUNTY (BOSTON) REMAINDER OF MASSACHUSETTS MASSACHUSETTS	BALTIMURE CITY REMAINDER OF MARYLAND MARYLAND	ORLEANS PARISH (NEW ORLEANS) REMAINDER OF LINISIANA ' LOUISIANA	COOK COUNTY (CHICAGO) REMAINDER OF ILLINGIS ILLINGIS	REGICN	CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL RATE CALCULATED BY CENSUS SURVIVAL RATE
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27:1	5525 3134 8658	14 -9044 -8544	12113 3755 15867	17159 2621	266 9163 11923	238 1434 3814	12.982 19. 2982	3 673 3 8715	FFMALE	THE REMAINDERS OF
1672	2798 11279 14:78	-1221 924 -397	3362 9362 12724	3326 18502	1) 633 1) 6 9372	-591 259/ 1996	-29 c -7,1 -3512	0.00 4.00 4.00 5.00 5.00 5.00 5.00 5.00	MALE	ATE
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699	-11:7 23:7 1698		-1616 -1923 -354	1341 1717 866	- +421 4323 3972	-265 427 16	-24 ·5	127432 8432 200	MAL E	FACIORS COM
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-	-24175 40781	-19316 18362	-4789 22419	-848 -1:69	-755 -1:3	-1646 -1478	-1617 -1732	ANLA
	64889	37581	. 272 A	-22	-274	267	-115	PHILADELPHIA COUNTY AND CITY
	-192544 -189984	-1 1393 -1 2745	-884-12 -884-12	1 2 3 3 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5	211 357 357 357	-2425	-344 -2927 -3271	HAMILTON COUNTY (CENCINNATE) REMAINDER OF OHIO OHIO
	137500 -388.9 98683	71297 -17855 53429	662°3	#1225 #1225	-1742 -13 A	-145a	1 1 1 4 5 1 1 2 3 3 4 3 4 5 1	NEW YORK COUNTY REMAINDER OF NEW YORK STATE NEW YORK STATE
	886. 6 235724 324353	41375 98388 139773	47231 137336 18458	- 700 - 400 - 400	- 42 2007	494 659 1154	. 399 931 1331	ST. LOUIS COUNTY AND CITY REMAINDER OF MISSOURI MISSOUPI
	23115 114654 137768	12736 53 53 75797	1, 379 51576 61971	-147 -258 -406	-817 -695 -1514	336 2662 371	-59 1262 1213	SUFFICK COUNTY (POSTON) REMAINDER OF MASSACHUSEITS MASSACHUSEITS
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	295588 53438 727	16473 972 24394	12915 23718 35626	22963 2963 5955	1-344 4-22 3676	-88 -74 -152	-1186 -245	ORLEANS PARTSH (NEW ORLEANS) REMAINDER OF LOUISIANA LOUISIANA
	67652 37/565 439226	32938 154496 167436	34714 215 69 25 79	† † † † † † † † † † † † † † † † † † †	1666 18	318 1496 1414	265 1653 1921	COOK COUNTY (CHICAGO) REMAINDER OF ILLINGIS ILLINGIS
	AGGREGATE	FERALF	J JVW	JNKNOWN FEMAL 6	AGE J	בנייאר <i>ב</i> טיטהפ	7 AND	REGION
	OF COLUMBIA EROM NATIVITY DATA	CIMPUTED FROM CONSTRUCT OF CO	TULAL CTURS (SEX OF THE R STATES: AN MORTALITY FA	ANU THEI	MIDRATION BY AGE THE MEMAINDERS OF TE METHOD OSING S	SUS SURVIVAL RATE	FOR EIGH CALCULATED BY CEN
		A SECTION AND A SECTION ASSESSMENT AND A SECTION ASSESSMENT ASSESS		ed peder i statio e sei entereste aceste que es especie				102~

### PROPERTY CONTRIBUTE OF SPACES SHAVING MARKET WITHOUT STATES, AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMNIA AREAS, THE REMANDES OF FREID STATE THAT WORKER, AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMNIA AREAS, THE REMANDES OF THE DISTRICT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMNIA AREAS, THE REMANDES OF THE DISTRICT	~	79.91	78.43	59.66	49.42	31. 4	63, 73	5. • 1. • 1.	-7.81	PISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
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185	7777	40.6 -13.7	56.7 ₀ -13.71 -9.27	13. 15 -12.61 -96	4.61 -12.1 -11.4	-13.32	-19.45 -12.54	-14.31 -9.84	-15.87 -4.14 -5.22	A L T ON
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ESTIMATES OF THE NET MIGRATION STREAMS BETWEEN REGIONS -- 1852-1860 APPLYING THE REGION OF BIRTH SURVIVAL RATE TO THE NATIVE POPULATION

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ESTIMATES OF THE NET MIGRATION STREAMS BETWEEN REGIONS -- 1850-1860 APPLYING THE REGION OF BIRTH SURVIVAL RATE TO THE NATIVE POPULATION

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ESTIMATES OF THE NET MIGRATION STREAMS BETWEEN REGIONS -- 1851-1861-APPLYING THE FOREIGN-BORN SURVIVAL RATE TO THE FOREIGN-BORN

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ESTIMATES OF THE NET MIGRATION STREAMS BETWEEN REGIONS -- 185, -186; APPLYING THE FOREIGN-BORN SURVIVAL RATE TO THE FUREIGN-BORN

DESTINATION OF MIGRATION

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ESTIMATES OF THE NET MIGRATION STREAMS BETWEEN REGIONS - 1851-1861 APPLYING THE FOREIGN-BORN SURVIVAL RATE TO THE FOREIGN-BORN

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ESTIMATES OF THE NET MIGRATION STREAMS BETWEEN REGIONS -- 1850-1860 APPLYING THE FOREIGN-BORN SURVIVAL RATE TO THE FOREIGN-BORN

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	OTHER COUNTRIES	27	.95	6	U	44		78	4593	
Ĭ	TOTAL FOREIGN	14.238	81136	17163	197	2415	4517	6689	3210467	-
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