MIGRATION IN IRISH HISTORY, 1607–2007

Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin

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Also by Patrick Fitzgerald

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Migration in Irish History, 1607–2007

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Centre for Migration Studies
Ulster American Folk Park, Omagh

For the Fitzgerald, Moore, Lambkin and Muhr families,
at home and abroad

*Do-ell Érinn, indell **cor**,*
*Cechaing noib **nemed** mbled*
[He turned away from Ireland, he entered a *pact*,
He crossed in ships the *sanctuary* of the whales]
(poem in praise of St Columba by Beccán mac Luigdech, seventh century)

*Salve regina … ad te clamamus, **exsules** filii Hevae …gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle … post hoc **exsilium** …*
    [Hail, [Holy] Queen … to thee do we cry, *banished* children of Eve …mourning and weeping in this valley of tears … after this *exile*…]
Salve Regina, prayer of petition to the Blessed Virgin Mary, eleventh century)

As I walked through the **wilderness** of this world … and behold the **City** shone like the sun; the streets also were paved with gold …
    (John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That Which Is To Come*, 1678)

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Foreword

This book is the culmination of a very unusual project, undertaken in a very unusual place.

It has always been easier to study presence than absence. Immigration has thus traditionally received more attention than emigration, and scholarship has been concentrated in countries of reception rather than regions of departure. The work of Robert Park and his colleagues of the Chicago School in the 1920s, for instance, explored many of the questions still relevant to scholars of immigration today, summed up in two simple questions: who comes and how do they fit in? But it paid little or no attention to the countries of origin of migrants, to the concern of some migrants to retain aspects of their own culture once settled in a new place, or to the notion that the encounter between migrants and host society was a two-way process which changed both sides.

Comparatively few research projects have attempted to explore the migration process in a more holistic way: who comes, who goes, who comes back and what are the effects on them, on those left behind, on new regions of settlement and on succeeding generations? Do migrants and their descendants assimilate and ultimately vanish into the host society, as was once assumed, or do they retain aspects of their ethnic origins in the new country as well as a sense of felt membership of a diasporic or transnational community? In an increasingly mobile world, interconnected as never before by technology, travel, globalised economic patterns and shared ideas, such questions are more relevant than ever.

For centuries Europeans saw themselves as emigrants: it was our *mission civilisatrice* to bring European values to other supposedly less enlightened parts of the world. In the case of Ireland and the Irish, occupying an ambivalent and liminal position in the developing project of European expansion as well as being victims of colonial oppression themselves, it has never been easy to capture their multifaceted and complex role and presence in the history of European migration. Were they emigrants or exiles, voluntary or forced migrants, lost children of the nation or the vanguard of a colonising movement in the new world? And how unique or exceptional was the Irish experience anyway? For many, it is probable that emigration simply represented opportunity. Furthermore, the process of leaving was conditioned by a culture which, for better or worse, normalised it as something that was inevitable, if regrettable.

The past 20 years have seen a welcome growth in interest in the story of Irish migration, in Ireland and beyond. This interest has been conditioned by

political realities such as the emphasis given by President Mary Robinson in the Republic to the Irish Diaspora – a term not in common use before the 1990s. In Northern Ireland the period of the Troubles saw the quiet and often unremarked departure of a generation of young people who saw little hope or future in a troubled society and faltering economy. As the rate of departure soared in the Republic in the 1980s, other commentators were angered by what they saw as a kind of sanitisation of migration. Finally, the post-Belfast Agreement period has coincided with a remarkable change in the fortunes of both parts of the island as emigration fell to an all-time low and Ireland, for the first time since the seventeenth century, became a region of immigration.

A new generation of scholars is posing interesting and fundamental questions about Irish migration. The roles of women migrants have begun to be explored after much neglect. The painstaking reconstruction of individual migrants' lives through the use of letters and other personal sources has enabled new insights to be gained. There is a new interest in the multi-stranded nature of Irish migration – the role of Protestant migrants, the stories of those who went to less obvious places such as Argentina, the experiences of people who left for reasons of religious or sexual oppression and the negative as well as positive legacies of these migrants and their descendants in other societies around the world. Research on Ireland is now focusing on the emerging multi-ethnic nature of contemporary society and is seeking to explore, *inter alia*, what we can learn from Irish experiences elsewhere and apply in Ireland itself.

This new scholarship has come from many sources. As well as the signal achievements of a number of the most prominent individual scholars, a thriving virtual community of researchers has emerged around the world, aware of and interested in each other's work and able to exchange ideas and information in ways not previously possible. The role played by Patrick O'Sullivan's Irish Diaspora email discussion forum is particularly noteworthy in this regard.

In Ireland itself, the Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster American Folk Park in Omagh, Co. Tyrone, occupies a unique position. It is currently the only dedicated migration research centre in either part of Ireland, and its specialist library and online databases provide a unique resource. Its excellent taught MSSc in Irish Migration Studies was the first in the country and continues to grow from strength to strength, generating new scholarship with a particular focus on regional migration. It collaborates actively with migration research centres in Europe and worldwide and has worked with other scholars in Ireland. With University College Cork, it has pioneered the development of oral archives, using a life-narrative approach to explore the lives and experiences of migrants.

This book is the first to offer an integrated narrative of Irish migration from the seventeenth century to the present. The choice of a four-century span is not arbitrary. The early seventeenth century saw the Flight of the Earls and the permanent departure of a key part of the remaining leadership of Gaelic Ireland, followed by a century characterised by immigration on an unprecedented scale, with all the consequences of that immigration for Irish history to the present day. It is appropriate that the book finishes at a hopeful point in that history, when a resolution to the negative consequences of that seventeenth-century immigration is finally in sight, even as Irish emigration itself seems to be becoming a fact of history, and a new, more benign immigration changes the face of the country in challenging but exciting ways.

Piaras Mac Éinrí
Cork

Preface

This book comes out of the experience of teaching postgraduate Irish Migration Studies since 1996 at the Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh, Co. Tyrone in association with Queen's University, Belfast. These years have seen an unprecedented growth of interest worldwide in the theme of human migration, defined simply as 'changing place of residence' or 'moving home', and now seen as a major aspect of globalisation. There has certainly been cause for growth of interest in Ireland where such a dramatic shift from net emigration to net immigration has been taking place since the late 1990s. This leads us to believe that there may be interest in what we have to say here beyond specialist students of migration or Irish studies and we have tried to bear such readers in mind. Learning from our historical experience of migration, especially emigration, should help us to make informed choices as we come to terms with its contemporary challenges, especially those of immigration (Hoerder and Knauf 1992, 10; Koivukangas 2005, 62).

Increasingly, migration is being used as a prism through which to view societies as a whole, since the migrants, who are moving in and out of them, are in relationship, both in their old and new worlds, with those who are non-mobile and settled. Focusing on the minority that migrate sheds light on the majority that do not. This is the first book to survey the theme of migration in Irish history over four centuries (1607–2007) and to examine the dynamic relationship between its three main directions: immigration (including return migration), internal migration and emigration. Our basic argument is that each can only be understood fully in relation to the other two. In this 400th anniversary year, we take the Departure, or Flight, of the Earls in 1607 as an iconic event that marks a new start both to the Plantation (immigration) project of 'Making Ireland British' and to the emigration flow that has resulted in what we now call the Irish Diaspora.

In Part I, 'Putting Migration into Irish History', we give a fuller definition of what we mean by migration, as distinct from the two other fundamental elements of demography: fertility and mortality. Although historians often treat 'movement' and 'settlement' separately, as if they were opposites, we would emphasise at the outset that we see them as integrated in migration, a *coincidentia oppositorum* or agreement of opposites, in much the same way as Joyce saw life and death integrated in the 'wake' (Ellman 1959, 543). We should also make clear that by 'Irish' migration we mean migration into, within, out of and back to the whole island of Ireland and, as appropriate, we refer to its two main parts as Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. To

avoid tedious repetition, we should also point out here that the fragmentary nature of the surviving historical record means that estimating the numbers migrating before regular census-taking in the middle of the nineteenth century is difficult, if not impossible, and that therefore the figures offered should be treated as rough approximations.

Also in Part I, we are concerned with explaining how our approach fits into an already well-developed historiographical framework. Preceding *Migration in Irish History* are studies of *Migration in World History* (Cohen, R. 1997; Hoerder 2002; Manning 2005; Rodriguez and Grafton 2007) and *Migration in European History* (Bade 2003; Page Moch 1992; 2003; Bade et al. 2007); and at the national level there are studies of Irish immigration (Fanning et al. 2007) and Irish emigration (Fitzpatrick 1984; Delaney 2002), particularly of the Irish diaspora (O'Sullivan 1992–7; Akenson 1993; Bielenberg 2000). There is also a study of the British Isles diaspora (Richards 2004). This framework is based on the key migration concepts of 'home', 'family' and 'diaspora'. 'Home' is taken to mean the place of residence to which an individual most closely belongs. 'Family' is taken in its broad sense to mean the social group or community to which an individual most closely belongs, from the level of the nuclear family through the local, regional, and national levels to that of the international community. 'Diaspora' is taken as a useful term for describing collectively not only those migrant members of the 'family' (however defined) who are no longer living in the 'family home', but also their descendants.

Having set the scene, we present an overview of migration in Irish history between 1607 and 2007. Migration is seen as a three-stage process of 'leaving', 'crossing' and 'arriving'; as a three-way process of immigration (including return migration), internal migration and emigration; and as a three-outcome process of segregation, integration and modulation or alternation between the two. Distinctive aspects of continuity and change in the Irish migration landscape are highlighted: the slackening of the immigration flow, the slow tipping of the rural–urban balance as a consequence of the internal migration flow, the persistence of the emigration flow, the high proportion of females in the emigration flow and the low proportion of return migrants in the immigration flow.

In Part II, 'In-Within-Out-Migration, 1607–2007', a more detailed, chronological survey of the four centuries is offered in chapters that deal with a half-century each. The exception is the decade of the Great Famine (1845–55), which is given its own chapter. In the course of the survey a particular migration chronology emerges, marked by key dates that mostly do not conform to those of the more familiar political chronology of Irish history. For example, between 1900 and 1950 the years 1907 and 1929 are prominent; the former as the high-point of European emigration and the latter as the turning-point when Irish emigration was reoriented away from the United States and

towards Britain. Rather than divide up the chapters according to such less obvious landmarks, we have found the structure of half-century blocks easier to navigate, integrate and memorise across the four-century span, helping the reader to explore the detail of shorter periods without losing sight of the bigger picture. Each chapter of Part II follows the same pattern of three sections which deal in turn with immigration, internal migration and emigration, again in the hope that this will aid exploration of the dynamic or tension between them.

In Part III, 'The World in Ireland – Ireland in the World', we are concerned with the long-term outcomes of migration over the four centuries: with Ireland as a site of diaspora for the peoples of Britain and the rest of the world, and the rest of the world as sites of diaspora for the peoples of Ireland. We return to the key migration concepts of 'home' and 'diaspora' and consider the 'family' relationship between them. A fundamental concern of all communities or 'families', whether at the level of the planet, continent, nation, region, town, parish, townland or family home, is the so-called 'Goldilocks' question: how close is our community to being 'just right', in the sense that its condition is as it should be? Whether the focus of enquiry is political, economic, religious or cultural, migration plays an important part in constituting communal conditions that are more or less near to 'just right' and so communities generally tend to keep an eye on who is moving in and who is moving out, becoming particularly concerned when it appears that too many of the 'right sort' (however defined) are leaving and too many of the 'wrong sort' are arriving.

With the common human concern for knowing whether or not 'our' community is growing, stagnating or dying goes the aim of achieving that elusive equilibrium between being an overly 'open' or 'closed' society. The terms 'open' and 'closed' reflect the two main strategies available to communities for adjusting their immigration/emigration balance: integration and segregation. So we return also to the third possibility: that of the skill or 'art' of continually 'modulating' between integration and segregation. Just as Thomas Ryan's painting *The Departure of O'Neill out of Ireland* provides an icon of Irish migration at the opening of our survey (Plate 1), so does Petra Fox's painting *Small Island* provide an icon of it, towards the close, with the island apparently 'full up' (see front cover of Ó Gráda 1995). This prompts the question of how a better understanding of our migration past might be useful in meeting the current challenges of migration.

In 2007 we heard much about how migration is transforming the world and its many nations, about how more than 200 million (one in 35 of the world's population, or 3 per cent) are now living outside the country of their birth, and about how urgently we need to strive for social cohesion. The three epigraphs to this book, in what have been the three main languages of the

island, Irish, Latin and English, are reminders of the depth of our migration past and of how the idea of migration has transformed our understanding of the human condition. Catholic and Protestant alike, following St Columba (Columcille), the author of the *Salve Regina* or John Bunyan, have mostly seen themselves as 'banished' from the original Garden of Eden into the 'wilderness' of this world, 'exiles' and 'pilgrims' intent on crossing over to final 'sanctuary' in a new world 'City', where the streets are paved with gold. The idea of migration has been central not only to religion but also to the secular ideologies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and their projects of leaving the 'wilderness' of the present to arrive, either back in an original 'garden' of some kind, or in some kind of 'gold-paved city' in a brave 'new world'. We can see the interpenetration of the religious and the secular, for example, in the US holiday of Thanksgiving (fourth Thursday of November) for the 'Pilgrim Fathers', who were first described as such in the eighteenth century when the humble self-description of the first settlers as 'strangers and pilgrims on the earth' (Hebrews 11: 13) was fused with the patriarchal, civic piety of the phrase 'founding fathers'.

Common to both religious and secular visions of the future is a concern with crossing to an 'otherworld' and with how entry to it will be regulated. In this book we are concerned with the historical crossings that were made by secular migrants (and religious missionaries) between the different 'worlds' of this world and with how their migrations were regulated. These range from the seventeenth-century immigration from Britain to Ireland of Planters, like Sir Arthur Chichester, the internal migration from the countryside to the new towns that they built, the emigration of the Earls O'Neill and O'Donnell, and the return migration of Owen Roe O'Neill, to the twenty-first-century immigration of those arriving at Dublin and Belfast airports as economic migrants, refugees, asylum seekers and returned emigrants. Within all this criss-crossing of internal migration, emigration and immigration are also the migrations of those who are continually in a state of migrancy, in mobile homes on land or sea, on the move 'between worlds'.

Although we write as historians, we have tried to bear in mind that the broad discipline of migration studies seeks to include the insights of others, including architecture, art history, anthropology, folklore, geography, literature, sociology and socio-linguistics, and that it is about, as Patrick O'Sullivan says, 'putting the song next to the census'(1992a, xv). We have tried also to follow J. J. Lee's injunction to 'incorporate the visual' by making detailed use of paintings, drawings and photographs, maps and diagrams (2005, 218). As well as providing landmarks across the four centuries, the illustrations intimate something of the 'art' of migration, in the dual sense not only of the range of artistic representations of the migrants themselves, but also the skill or art that they exhibit in migrating. Migration is about the moving of people

between places. Accordingly the Index is arranged in three sections: Subject, Personal Names and Place Names. We hope that this will not only be useful as a tool for navigating the text, but, also be seen as a reflection of the 'through-otherness' that has come, for better or worse, from migration in Irish history. We hope that by pointing to further reading, the diversity of current research directions, debates about research and indeed gaps in research, readers may be inspired to explore the field further and contribute to the ongoing research effort, particularly at the level of the localities and families with which they are most familiar, at home and abroad.

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Part I
Putting Migration into Irish History

Migration is defined broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. No restriction is placed on the distance of the move or upon the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act, and no distinction is made between external and internal migration. Thus, a move across the hall from one apartment to another is counted as just as much an act of migration as a move from Bombay, India, to Cedar Rapids, Iowa, though of course the initiation and consequences of such moves are vastly different … No matter how short or how long, how easy or how difficult, every act of migration involves an origin, a destination, and an intervening set of obstacles.

Everett S. Lee (1966)

Introduction

We have taken the classic definition of Everett Lee as the cornerstone of our approach to migration in Irish history. It is based on the three dimensions of time, space and community. With regard to time, migration is distinguished from other movement, such as a holiday or temporary business visit, by being sustained – that is, it is permanent or semi-permanent. With regard to space, it is distinguished by the crossing of a significant boundary or border that involves a changed relationship to the physical environment. With regard to community, it is distinguished by a social transition that involves a change of status or a changed relationship to the local, regional or national community. Quite legitimately, specialists in international emigration and immigration, such as that between India and the United States, and even specialists in internal migration, have found the idea of including moves between apartments in the same block impossibly elastic, stretching the meaning of migration so far that, for their purposes, it becomes unserviceable:

> First, we will expect migration to be a *significant* movement. By this we mean that it has demographic consequences such that the move has involved a shift across a definite administrative boundary. This will mean that we will not consider as migration moving Grandad into a 'granny flat' in the same village or small town, so some quite significant moves will be omitted. However, every move to another town or across a country or district line we will include as migration.
>   (Jackson 1986, 4; on the work of Jackson, see Delaney 2007, 4)

In this book we restrict ourselves to moves that cross the lowest-level administrative boundary which, in the case of Ireland historically, is that of the townland (Muhr 2000, 5, 11; Crawford 2003, 35). The great elasticity of the term migration, like that, for example, of 'community', makes it important to be clear about its limits if we are not to empty it of meaning altogether

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(Williams 1988; Manning 2005, 3–4, 13–14; Koser 2007, 16–19). It is worth noting that Lee himself imposed limits. Missing from the quotation above is the following:

> However, not all kinds of spatial mobility are included in this definition. Excluded, for example, are the continual movements of nomads and migratory workers, for whom there is no long-term residence, and temporary moves like those to the mountains for the summer.

The exclusion of nomads and migratory workers can be seen as arbitrary, in this case for the convenience of Lee in making his self-imposed task of reassessing Ravenstein's 'laws of migration' (see Appendix II) more manageable. A major study of *Migration, Migration History, History* (Lucassen and Lucassen 1999) happily *includes* a study of Europe's 'eternal vagrants' and 'travelling groups' (Lucassen, L., 225–52). It would be very difficult to justify excluding, for example, seasonal agricultural workers from migration in Irish history. The intimate relationship between short-distance internal migration and international migration is illustrated by the well-known Irish case of the returned emigrant Michael MacGowan (Micí Mac Gabhann), who spent 17 years in America, in the steelworks of Bethelehem, the silver mines of Butte and the goldmines of the Klondike. His first experience of migration was in May 1874 at the age of eight, as a hired farm servant, moving from his home townland of Derryconor (*Doire Chonaire*, 'Conaire's oakwood') in Cloghaneely to that of Meenadrain (*Mín an Draighin*, 'the mountain grassy patch of the blackthorn') in Glenveagh, less than 20 miles away and still within the county of Donegal. He described arriving in Meenadrain:

> It wasn't the kind of landscape that I was used to at home. I missed the sea and the islands and there wasn't the same green countryside around me. I was in a mountainy desert: *charbh é an cineál radhairc é a rabh mé cleachtaithe leis fá bhaile. Cha rabh an fharraige, ná na hoileáin, ná an talamh glas céanna le feiceáil agam. Bhí mé anois istigh i bhfásach sléibhe.*

MacGowan, who knew about international migration, clearly classed this childhood experience as migration. Reflecting, in old age, on his return home that November to Derryconor, he told his interviewer: 'You'd think I'd returned from America, there was such a warm welcome given to me: *shílfea gur as Meiriceá a tháinig mé, bhí an oiread sin fáilte romham ar ais* (MacGowan 1962, 18, 23; Mac Gabhann 1996, 38, 44).

In order to make study of migration more manageable and give due recognition to important differences, it is necessary to distinguish among different types according, for example, to the distance involved, the nature of the

boundary crossed or the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act (see Appendix I). In this book our primary focus is on the three types: immigration (including return migration), internal migration and emigration.

Notwithstanding these qualifications, we insist on the validity of Lee's comprehensive definition of migration and its relevance to our basic argument: that immigration (including return migration), internal migration and emigration each can only be understood fully in relation to the other two, and that each is part of a common migration process, however long or short the move: from origin, across a set of intervening obstacles, which may include administrative boundaries or borders, to destination.

Defined objectively, migration is about moving 'place of residence', but it also involves the idea of moving 'home', as is made clear by the common practice of calling those without a place of residence 'homeless'. It makes sense for social scientists grappling with large-scale movements to restrict their concern to data related to places of 'residence', but migration history needs also to deal with what is subjectively thought of as 'home', and the fact that the two do not necessarily coincide. Although international migration and internal migration are in many respects 'vastly different', as Lee acknowledges, the latter is not necessarily less stressful and challenging, as is evident from the case of Irish Travellers: 'an "outsider" group in Irish society, a negative "Other" perceived as a 'problem' that needs to be solved' (Hayes 2006, x; Mac Éinrí 2007, 232).

Sociologists, starting with the classic study by Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1918–20), were quicker off the mark than historians in seeing the importance of migration, and in the 1960s were exposing the myth of the static society, which assumes that:

> by harking back to some pre-existing rural utopia, that the natural condition of man is sedentary, that movement away from the natal place is a deviant activity associated with disorganization and a threat to the established harmony of *Gemeinschaft* relationships which are implied by life within a fixed social framework
>   (Jackson 1969, 3; Manning 2005, 2; Black and MacRaild 2000, 149)

The myth of the static society came under challenge from historians in the 1990s when the case was being widely advocated for 'putting migration into history'. A leading advocate was Leslie Page Moch in *Moving Europeans* (1992; 2003, 1–21), where she highlighted the distortion of our previously dominant image of a sedentary Europe – due to our overlooking of mobility – and went on to show how our understanding of history 'alters dramatically with the realization that its actors were not sedentary'. Other pioneering scholars, such as Dirk Hoerder (2002), Karl Bade (2003) and Leo Lucassen (2005), agree that

migration is 'a missing piece in the standard understanding … of the nature of historical change'. One important sign that the case for 'putting migration into history' has not only been widely accepted but acted upon is *Diasporas, Migration and Identities*, the £5.5 million, five-year trans-disciplinary, strategic research programme launched by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council in April 2005. Once we take migration into proper account, so the argument goes, the central story that emerges is one of 'human movement, comprising primarily local and seasonal migration in the seventeenth century that subsequently shifted, then dramatically expanded by the end of the nineteenth century' (Moch 2003, 21).

In Part I we are concerned with the more specific case of 'putting migration into Irish history', dealing first with what exactly we mean by migration, then with the emergence of the discipline of migration studies and of Irish migration studies in particular, and finally with how our resulting new approach to thinking about migration as a three-stage, three-way, three-outcome process can be applied to the history of Ireland.

1
Migration and Irish Migration Studies

Ireland in Europe

The scale of the shift in Europe's migration story, driven by the twin engines of industrialisation and urbanisation, is seen most starkly in the growth of its cities in relation to its population. Between 1800 and 1900 London grew by 340 per cent to 6.5 million; Paris by 345 per cent to 2.5 million; Vienna by 490 per cent to about 2 million; and Berlin by a staggering 872 per cent also to about 2 million. In 1800, when Europe's population was about 200 million, 6 million (3 per cent) were living in its 23 major cities with populations over 100,000, but by 1900, when the population had reached 400 million, about 50 million (12 per cent) were living in 135 major cities. By 1914 there were a dozen million-plus conurbations in Europe, with London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St Petersburg and Istanbul having reached that status first, followed by Glasgow, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham, the Ruhr, Hamburg and Moscow (Manning 2005, 169). Dublin and Belfast in 1901 had populations of 290,000 and 350,000, respectively.

A major component of this growth was internal and transnational migration within Europe (always more significant than emigration) which was highly complex according to the diversity of both the receiving and sending areas and of the causes and effects of the migration flows between them as changing cross-currents and counter-currents were driven by economic cycles of boom and bust as well as intermittent crises of famine and war. Towns and cities grew differently, as for example London and Paris, whose growth rate due to in-migration in the second half of the nineteenth century was 16 and 64 per cent respectively. While all towns had service sectors of administration and commerce, they varied greatly in the relative importance of their primary and secondary manufacturing sectors. Predominantly service towns, such as Amiens in France and Cologne in Germany, had low birth rates and grew mainly through in-migration, especially through women going into domestic

service. Textile towns, such as Manchester in England, Roubaix in France and Barmen in Germany, had high birth rates (decreasing after 1870) and high in-migration, mostly from the immediate vicinity, with a very high proportion of women; and coal and steel towns, like Sheffield in England and Duisburg in Germany, had the highest volume of in-migration with high birth rates and a very high proportion of men.

Cultures of migration

The migration process did not affect all parts of a country equally of course. Therefore, as Dudley Baines (1991) has warned, the country may not be the appropriate unit of analysis because of the high degree of regional variation. It is important to bear in mind that some countries, such as Germany after unification in 1871, were particularly large and heterogeneous to the point of developing different 'cultures' of migration within them. In all the European countries, even the smallest, some regions produced relatively large numbers of migrants, while others produced relatively few, with sharp contrasts often observable down at the level of neighbouring sub-regions, and even between and within local communities. So as well as seeing the countries of western, central and northern Europe as 'core' and the southern and eastern countries as 'peripheral' in the nineteenth century, we need to be aware of both the core and periphery areas *within* the countries of western, central and northern Europe. One such example of an internal core–periphery relationship was that between Britain and Ireland, within the United Kingdom.

In the history of the migration streams between these areas lies the explanation for the take-off of mass overseas migration from Europe during the crisis years of the 1840s, when between 200,000 and 300,000 left each year. Not surprisingly, it was the countries of western, central and northern Europe which initially supplied the largest proportion of overseas migrants, especially Britain and Ireland. Of the 50 million or so Europeans who migrated overseas between 1800 and 1914 (40 million to the United States), about 10 million were from Britain (England, Scotland and Wales) and 6 million from Ireland, together accounting for over 30 per cent of the mass emigration. That said, however, overseas migration in the long nineteenth century (1815–1914) was at a rate of only 3 per 1,000 per year and migration *within* remained the dominant aspect of Europe's migration story (Baines 1991, 22).

It is understandable then that Ireland, with its migration story dominated by emigration, should receive little attention in a survey of European migration from 1650 to the present, notwithstanding the acknowledgement of its importance as a special case (Moch 2003, 120–1). The focus shifts between different areas across four main periods, but not to Ireland. Thus in the first period, between 1650 and 1750 (the 'pre-industrial' period), the focus is on the rural

English midlands, Artois in northern France, Tuscany and some parishes south of Stockholm, as well as on the German cities of western and central Europe, London, Amsterdam and the North Sea migration 'system' which linked seasonal workers from northern Germany to the western Netherlands. In the second period, between 1750 and 1815 (the 'rural industrialisation' period), the focus is on rural industrial villages in Normandy, the English midlands and today's Belgium, as well as on the industrial towns of Bordeaux, Rouen and Verviers and the migration system that connected the highlands of France with Spain. In the third period of 'urbanisation', between 1815 and 1914, the focus is on the deindustrialising countryside of Normandy and Languedoc as well as the prosperous agrarian areas of Prussia and northern France, and also the growing cities of Roubaix (France) and Duisburg and Cologne (Germany), and the links between the Polish territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and eastern Prussia and western Germany and the United States. Finally, in the fourth period, between 1914 and the present, the focus is on international migration, especially the movement of Belgians, Italians, Portuguese and North Africans into France, and of Poles, wartime forced labourers, post-war Turks and eastern Europeans into Germany.

Multi-level migration studies

Any survey of this kind cannot include every country, let alone region. Having offered the 'big picture' in outline, grounded in these detailed case studies, Moch (2003, 143) points to the need for further case studies and comparative research at the national, regional and local levels. As another leading migration historian points out, 'the more we know about other regions, the more partial our explanations become. But the comparative method, although difficult, is the one that yields the insights' (Baines 1991, 28; see also MacRaild 2000, 42–6). We may see the overall picture, but we can only explain it in terms of detailed and local studies because, like any other highly complex phenomenon, migration cannot be explained adequately in terms of simple patterns or relationships. This is true, for example, of the effect of immigration on a receiving economy where the outcome may be negative or positive, and not necessarily one or the other. As we have noted, regional and local studies can reveal an astonishing diversity of migration experience down to the level of families in the same small community, where the tradition of migration may be common in some and rare in others. Hence there is great value in the reconstruction of individual migration stories. Rarely, however, have individual migrants left full records of their own stories, such as *Mes mémoires* by Jeanne Bouvier, who was born into a peasant family in eastern France near Lyon in 1865, moved to Paris as a domestic servant, became a skilled dressmaker and found, when she returned to her home village in the 1890s, that she could no longer understand the local *patois* (Moch 2003, 102–3).