

STATISTICAL AND SOCIAL INQUIRY SOCIETY OF IRELAND.

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE CENSUS OF POPULATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND, 1937.

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(Read on Friday, 28th May, 1937.)

The second Census of the Six Counties of Northern Ireland was taken on February 28th, 1937. The preliminary figures of that Census have now been published, and it will be of some interest to discover how far they disclose trends of population change which have been noted in the Census taken for the Free State area in 1936.

Such an enquiry may be of greater interest since even the elementary statistics of the Six Counties are little known. Not so long ago one of the first things taught at school was the population of Ireland: it is doubtful if it is now known to any but the most Macaulayesque of schoolboys. The change, if not for the better, is perhaps inevitable. Before partition the statistics for the country were easily available. Since then they have, in one sense, become even more complete. Since partition the material for the statistical study of the Free State area, and, to a necessarily lesser extent on account of the difference in political status, of the Six Counties has increased enormously. When one considers the output of our own Statistics Branch, one cannot imagine what smallest branch of life has been left unsurveyed. But at the same time, as the study of the parts has increased, the study of the whole has declined, and, apart from the valuable collation of the more important figures in a couple of directories, there is no publication which will give the figures necessary for any study of the country as a whole. Suggestions are far cheaper than their adoption, but is it impossible that we should have some publication, however unambitious, which would give the figures for Ireland of population, migration, trade and finance?

In another sense the progress of population in the Six County area must be of interest. The demographic history of Ireland has always been of the greatest interest to students on account of the meteoric rise of population and its even swifter decline, which has given rise to the numerous exaggerations of tendencies which were noted in the last ninety years, and which in greater or less degree survive to our time. Amongst them, though in no way attempting an enumeration, are to be found such phenomena as the high rate of emigration, the low marriage rate, the low birth rate accompanied by a high fertility rate, the late age of marriage, the growth or constancy of the natural increase, the sex ratio, and the age-grouping of the population. All those phenomena were found in the thirty-two counties of Ireland in 1911, and their number and intensity were such as to make the country a subject of absorbing interest to every student. In the Free State, we know that all these features continue to exist after a decade and a half of partition. Indeed we know that the effect of partition has rather been to accentuate them, for in many cases the statistics for the Six

Counties were such as to redress, in part at least, the exaggerations of the other Twenty-Six. These exaggerations have remained with us, and, in view of the Preliminary Report of our Census of 1936, it is not too much to say that there does not appear to be any immediate prospect of their disappearance. It is therefore of some importance to enquire what has been the trend in the Six Counties, whether it has tended towards the norm or whether it retains the exceptional characteristics which marked the statistics of united Ireland, and, lastly, if there is any divergence from the phenomena of the Twenty-Six Counties, whether that divergence is to be found over all the Six Counties, or whether within that small area there exists marked divergence on one side or the other.

The first Census of the Six Counties was taken on the night of the 18th-19th April, 1926, on the same night as that for the Free State area—a collaboration which one hopes it will be found possible to renew. The second was taken, as has been said, on the night of the 28th February, 1937, thus covering a space of time slightly longer than the normal. It disclosed that in that period the population of the area had increased by 22,616, or by a rate of 1·8 per cent. It is of interest to set together the populations, in 1926 and 1937, of the divisions of Ireland.¹

It will be borne in mind that both the Free State and Northern Ireland figures are *preliminary* and subject to revision. The definitive figures are not likely to be appreciably different—certainly not to a degree which would affect the deductions in this paper.

TABLE I.—POPULATION OF IRELAND, FREE STATE AND NORTHERN IRELAND, AND THE PROVINCES, 1926 AND 1937.

	Leinster	Munster	Con- nacht	Ulster	Ireland	Free State	Northern Ireland
1926	1,149,092	969,902	552,907	1,556,652	4,228,553	2,971,992	1,256,561
1936-7	1,219,501	941,392	524,847	1,559,291	4,245,031	2,965,854	1,279,177

It is the first Census year since 1841 in which an increase of population has been reported. Against the increase of 22,616 in the Six Counties must be placed the decrease of 6,138 in the Free State; movements small enough in themselves, but provoking the hope that the larger area may soon attain the position of the smaller. Of the provinces it will be noticed that Ulster maintains that primacy in number of population which it has kept since the first Census was taken in 1821, although the margin between it and Leinster has shrunk since the preceding Census of 1926. In fact, it will be seen that the difference of population between the two provinces is largely the measure of migration to Dublin and Belfast respectively. It is only since 1891 that Leinster has occupied second place among the provinces being formerly surpassed by Munster. The only provinces to show an increase are again Leinster and Ulster. The increase in the former is the second in its post-Famine history, the first being in the decade 1901-11, but it is greater than the increase in Ulster, which is due wholly to the increase in the Six County area. The three Free State counties showed a decrease of 19,977.

¹ Taking the figures of the Census of 1936 for the Free State areas.

The percentage changes in the population of the provinces are better contrasted over a longer period

TABLE II—PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN THE POPULATION OF IRELAND, FREE STATE, AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE PROVINCES, 1821-1937

	Lemster	Munster	Connacht	Ulster	Ireland	Free State	Northern Ireland
1821-31	+ 8 7	+15 1	+21 0	+14 4	+14 2	+14·2	+14 0
1831-41	+ 4 0	+ 8 2	+ 5 1	+ 4 5	+ 5 5	+ 5 7	+ 4·8
1841-51	-15 1	-22 5	-28 7	-15 7	-19 8	-21 6	-12 6
1851-61	-13 3	-18 9	- 9 8	- 4 9	-11 8	-14 2	- 3 2
1861-71	- 8 1	- 7 9	- 7 4	- 4 2	- 6 7	- 7 9	- 2 7
1871-81	- 4 5	- 4 4	- 2 9	- 4 9	- 4 4	- 4·5	- 4 0
1881-91	- 7 1	-11 9	-11 8	- 7 0	- 9 1	-10 4	- 5 3
1891-01	- 3 3	- 8 3	-10 1	- 2 3	- 5 2	- 7·1	+ 0 1
1901-11	+ 0 8	- 3 8	- 5 6	- 0 1	- 1 5	- 2·5	+ 1 1
1911-26	- 1 1	- 6 2	- 9 5	- 1 6	- 3 7	- 5 3	+ 0 5
1926-36-7	+ 6 1	- 2 9	- 5 1	+ 0 2	+ 0 4	- 0·2	+ 1 8

It is noticeable that not only the Six County area but also Ulster as a whole not only increased in population before the Famine at a rate comparable with that of the other provinces but have since decreased, if at all, at a markedly lower rate than that of the other provinces

The population of the Six County area has increased, if only slightly, ever since 1891, while it is only in the last decade that the change in Ireland as a whole has been upwards for the first time since 1841. The percentage change in Lemster is the greatest increase marked anywhere since the same year, and the decrease in Munster is the lowest ever recorded

The changes in the counties of Northern Ireland are as follows —

TABLE III —INTERCENSAL CHANGES OF THE SIX COUNTIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND, 1926-37

	1926	1937	Change (+Increase, —Decrease)
NORTHERN IRELAND	1,256,561	1,279,177	+22,616
Antrim	191,643	197,284	+5,641
Armagh	110,070	108,936	-1,134
Belfast C B	415,151	437,824	+22,673
Down	209,228	210,274	+1,046
Fermanagh	57,984	54,560	-3,424
Derry (excluding County Borough)	94,534	94,883	+349
Derry C B	45,159	47,857	+2,698
Tyrone	132,792	127,559	-5,233

It is impossible not to notice how closely these returns follow the tendency already noticed in the Free State—the movement of population from the west to the east from the rural to the urban areas. The

areas showing increases in Northern Ireland were Belfast and the contiguous counties of Antrim and Down with the County Borough of Derry, the comparable areas in the Free State were Dublin City and County and Counties Louth and Wicklow, and the Cities of Cork, Limerick and Galway (The list is not complete, however)

In the Six Counties the chief decreases were in Tyrone and Fermanagh, and the least increase in County Derry, in the Free State the chief decreases were in Leitrim, Roscommon, Cavan and Donegal. When one remembers that the next greatest decrease was found in Donegal, Mayo and Monaghan, one may well think that the area of depopulation appears to have shifted in the last half century. Nevertheless, the counties with the largest population continue, though with changes of place since 1926, to be Dublin (City and County), 587,000, Belfast County Borough, 437,000, Cork (City and County), 355,000, Down, 209,000, Antrim, 191,000, Galway, 168,000, Mayo, 161,000, Donegal, 142,000, Tipperary, 141,000, Limerick, 141,000, Kerry, 139,000, Tyrone, 127,000, and Armagh, 110,000. The percentage changes are as follows, and they illustrate the point just made —

TABLE IV — PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN THE THIRTY-TWO COUNTIES, 1926-36/7

1 Dublin	+16.1	18 Meath	-2.5
2 BELFAST C B	+5.6	19 Cork	-2.8
3 DERRY C B	+4.0	20 Leix	-3.1
4. ANTRIM	+3.3	21 Kilkenny	-3.4
5 Louth	+2.5	22 Tipperary S	-3.7
6 Wicklow	+1.5	23 Westmeath	-3.8
7 DOWN	+0.5	24 TYRONE	-3.9
8 Limerick	+0.5	25 Longford	-5.4
9. DERRY	+0.4	26 Clare	-5.6
10 Carlow	-0.2	27 Sligo	-5.8
11 Tipperary N	-0.4	28 FERMANAGH	-5.9
12 Kildare	-0.5	29 Monaghan	-5.9
13 Galway	-0.7	30 Kerry	-6.3
14 ARMAGH	-1.0	31 Mayo	-6.7
15 Waterford	-1.2	32 Donegal	-6.8
16 Wexford	-1.8	33 Cavan	-7.1
17 Offaly	-2.5	34 Roscommon	-7.3
		35 Leitrim	-9.0

One of the most interesting features of the Free State Census of 1936 was the increase of the male population both absolutely and proportionately to the female. The same tendency is apparent in Northern Ireland with the qualification that while the female population of Northern Ireland increased that of the Free State diminished. The increase in the male population of the Free State was the first recorded since 1841, that of the Six Counties has increased, if slightly, ever since 1901. The female population of the Free State has continued to decline since 1841, in the Six Counties its first increase was noted at the Census of 1911.

TABLE V—NUMBER OF MALES AND FEMALES IN POPULATION OF FREE STATE, SIX COUNTIES AND IRELAND, 1901-1937

	Free State		Six Counties		Ireland	
	M	F	M	F.	M	F
1901	1,610,085	1,611,738	589,955	646,997	2,200,040	2,258,735
1911	1,589,509	1,550,179	602,539	647,992	2,192,048	2,198,171
1926	1,506,889	1,465,103	608,088	648,473	2,114,977	2,113,576
1936-7	1,518,807	1,447,047	623,050	656,127	2,141,857	2,103,174

From this table it would seem that the excess of males in the population of the Free State has been sufficient to overbalance the excess of females in Northern Ireland. In fact, the extent of that excess in Northern Ireland has shrunk since the 1926 Census. In that year there were 40,385 more females than males in Northern Ireland, in 1937 that excess had fallen to 33,077.

In the same way the ration of females per 1,000 males has fallen in both territories.

TABLE VI—RATIO OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES FREE STATE AND NORTHERN IRELAND, 1901 TO 1937

	Free State	Northern Ireland
1901	1,001	1,097
1911	975	1,075
1926	972	1,066
1936-7	953	1,053

The position of the Free State is, of course, abnormal even in comparison with the newer countries overseas, but the fall in Northern Ireland is well marked. In the latter area an increase is shown only in Belfast County Borough, and it is instructive to note that the sole increases shown in the Free State are in the County Boroughs of Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Waterford and in the County of Dublin. Over the rest of the Six Counties the rates vary and curiously follow very nearly the same order as the change of population. Derry County Borough has a ratio of 1,139 (surpassed in the whole country only by 1,290 in Dun Laoghaire Borough) against the 1,125 of Belfast. The other ratios are Antrim, 1,054, Down, 1,053, Armagh, 1,000, County Derry, 979, Tyrone, 942, and Fermanagh, 890. Even the latter figure is much in excess of the Free State counties with the lowest ratios: Kildare, 810, Leix, 847, Offaly, 863, and Leitrim, 864.

In this respect it may be of some interest to compare the figures for Belfast and Dublin (including Dun Laoghaire) County Boroughs. Over the period 1926-37 Belfast showed a male increase of 9,948 and a

female increase of 12,725 This gives a total increase of 22,673 On the other hand the population of Dublin County Borough and County increased by 81,346¹ Of this increase the Preliminary Report attributes 46,982 to the natural increase, and 34,364 to immigration It is noticeable that in this migration females predominate, their number being 21,914 against 12,450 males² In Belfast, on the other hand, it would appear, that the tide must be flowing in the other direction, since the natural increase of the population during the decade would have resulted, if retained, in a greater expansion of population In the following table I have taken the natural increase for the years 1926 to 1935 from the published Reports of the Registrar General for Northern Ireland, and have estimated the figure for 1936 on the average of the years 1931-35

TABLE VII—CENSUS POPULATION OF BELFAST IN 1926 AND 1936 AND NATURAL INCREASE 1926-36 (INCLUSIVE)

	Total	Males	Females
A—1926 Census	415,151	195,539	219,612
B—Estimated Natural Increase, 1926-36	35,763	20,177	15,586
C—Sum A+B	450,914	215,716	235,198
D.—Census 1937	437,824	205,487	232,337
E—Deficiency C—D (net emigration)	13,090	10,229	2,761

It is clear then that there must be some degree of migration from Belfast though not upon a scale to prevent, even if it diminishes, expansion of population It is noticeable also that that migration appears to be much greater amongst the male than amongst the female population Such migration necessarily includes "migration" to the suburbs outside the city boundaries

Lastly, it may be noted that the natural increase of the County Borough showed a marked diminution during the ten years between 1926 and 1935

TABLE VIII—AVERAGE ANNUAL NATURAL INCREASE OF COUNTY BOROUGH OF BELFAST, BY SEXES, 1926-35

	Total	Males	Females
1926-30	3,576	2,007	1,569
1931-35	2,981	1,690	1,291

¹ It should be said that this comparison is incomplete Properly speaking certain areas around Belfast and in the Counties of Antrim and Down should be added

² Net migration

³ It is probable that the figure thus found is lower than the actual figure Nevertheless the main purport of the argument will remain.

Lastly, we may turn to the statistics for the area as a whole. While the population rose by 22,616 it fell far short of the level of the natural increase which in the period was 82,912¹. The table bearing upon this matter will show the same characteristics as that dealing with Belfast.

TABLE IX—CENSUS FIGURES OF NORTHERN IRELAND, 1926 AND 1937, AND ESTIMATED NATURAL INCREASE 1926-36 (INCLUSIVE)

	Total	Males	Females
A—1926 Census	1,256,561	608,088	648,473
B—Estimated Natural Increase 1926-36	82,912	48,053	34,859
C—Sum A+B	1,339,473	656,141	683,332
D—Census 1937	1,279,177	623,050	656,127
E—Deficiency C—D (net emigration)	60,296	33,091	27,205

While, as has been said, these figures reproduce the tendencies already noticed in the returns for the County Borough of Belfast, they differ considerably from the returns for the Free State.

TABLE X—NET MIGRATION BY SEXES NORTHERN IRELAND AND IRISH FREE STATE, 1926-36-7

	Free State			Northern Ireland		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Change in Pop 1926-36-7	+11,918	-18,056	- 6,138	+14,962	+ 7,654	+22,616
Natural Increase	86,128	77,050	163,178	48,053	34,859	82,912
Net Emigration	74,210	95,106	169,316	33,091	27,205	60,296

Arising from this table are two points which deserve to be noticed. First, that while the *total* rate of net emigration per annum was somewhat greater in the Free State, the rate of *male* emigration was practically identical at 4.9 per thousand population per annum in the two areas. Secondly, the Preliminary Report of the 1936 Census estimated that during the decade 1926-36 there was a balance of emigration across the Border to the extent of 37,795. It would seem that this emigration passed through the Six Counties to other destinations unless indeed, and there appears to be little reason to suppose, the original inhabitants of the Six Counties are emigrating and leaving their place to immigrants from the South—a truly apocalyptic possibility. One must await more detailed statistics before this matter can be fully cleared up. In the meantime the information which we possess does not allow of further conclusions and we can only repeat those points which have been already noted.

¹ Here I have been able to use to the Registrar-General's return for 1936.

² The average annual natural increase in the Six County area also showed a decline, being 8,015 in the period 1926-30, and 7,072 in the period 1931-35. The male natural increase fell from 4,699 to 4,057 and the female from 3,316 to 3,015.

- 1 That the population of all Ireland has shown an increase of 14,478, the first increase to be noted at any Census since 1841
- 2 That this increase is wholly due to an increase in the population of Northern Ireland
- 3 That Ulster continues to contain the largest population of any province
- 4 That the shift of population in the Six Counties follows the same lines as that in the Free State, viz, the urban areas show the greatest increase and the general movement is from west to east
- 5 That the ratio of females per 1,000 males has fallen in the Six Counties as in the Free State
- 6 That there is evidence of a loss by migration from Belfast County Borough. This migration is more marked among males than among females
- 7 That there is also a loss by migration from the Six Counties as a whole, and that this migration is also greater among males than among females. In this respect the Six Counties differ from the Free State where females preponderate in emigration

DISCUSSION.

Mr. Lyon, proposing a vote of thanks, said Mr Meenan's paper was a worthy contribution to the records of the Society. It did not leave much room for criticism, since the facts which had been given were not controvertible. Mr Meenan referred to the "preliminary figures" of the Census, it might have been more correct to say they were his own preliminary figures, since it was understood that the Preliminary Report itself would be published in July—that was to say, the advance figures. These might be changed in the Preliminary Report, and changed again in the Final Report.

Mr Meenan had said that, apart from a couple of Directories, there was no publication which gave the figures necessary for a study of the country as a whole. That was the reason why it was to such bodies as the Statistical Society that one had to look for papers in which the official figures of other countries were brought together.

Reference had been made to the date at which the Census in Northern Ireland had been taken. In 1936 he (the speaker) had done his best to induce his *vis-à-vis* in Northern Ireland to have the Census in that part of the country taken at the same date as it was being taken in the Free State. But other powers, superior to his, had decided otherwise.

The Census taken in Northern Ireland with which Mr Meenan dealt had made no inquiries as to the occupation or industry of the people. He believed they would not be able to get much more from it than a counting of heads by ages. This would lead to the inference that the Census authorities in Northern Ireland were waiting to get into step with Great Britain and other countries in 1941.

It was only with a great deal of reserve that the figures of the Free State Census of 1936 and that of Northern Ireland in 1937 should be compared. In the case of Table I given by Mr Meenan, he doubted whether it was fair to compare Ulster and Leinster, or Munster and Connacht, when they represented different years and different economic conditions. Except for these reservations with regard to comparability, he thought that the paper rested on incontrovertible facts.

Professor Duncan, seconding the vote of thanks, said that the first point he would like to draw attention to was a purely arithmetical one in relation to Mr Meenan's statement on page 70 that "It is the first census year since 1841 in which an increase of population has been reported." It was possible that if they had the figures of the Free State at a date in 1937 corresponding with the date of the Northern Ireland Census there would not be an increase in population.

From a general point of view, the most interesting thing the paper showed was the co-existence in one small area of two distinct population trends, and the clear differences that appeared under an apparent, or superficial, homogeneity. The kind of area which was being denuded of population was not so important in Ulster as a whole as in the Free State. There was nothing in Ulster comparable to the running sore of, say, Roscommon, Eastern Mayo and part of Leitrim and Cavan.

To take another difference in character, the urban areas referred to as showing an increase were more important in the Six Counties

than in the Free State. The statistics did not give full weight to that urban increase in Northern Ireland largely because of the increases in population shown in Antrim and Down. County Antrim showed an increase of 5,600, but the greater part of the actual increase was to be found in the suburbs of Belfast, while the county population had been decreasing. For the purposes of demographic statistics, there was a great deal to be said for some kind of publication that would give the populations of the actual—and not merely the legal—cities. In Dublin and Belfast the legal boundaries of the cities were practically meaningless.

One point of semi-political interest that he hoped would emerge from the present Census in Northern Ireland when the results came to be published was the question of birthplace. A considerable section of right-wing opinion in the North believed that there was a considerable migration of people from the Free State into Northern Ireland. This migration to rural areas was, in the North, supposed to be of some considerable importance. A study of birthplaces would be of interest to confirm or deny this widely-held view.

There had been a very marked change in the last thirty years in both the Free State and Northern Ireland in the sex ratio, and it might be worthy of the attention of some human biologist.

Professor O'Brien said there were several points on the paper, and some off it, that he would like to speak about. In connection with the last point raised by Professor Duncan, he thought it likely that the difference in sex ratios was the result of differential emigration. A recent book on the national income of Great Britain had dealt with the problem of the future demand for the employment of labour. Unless something unexpected happened, there was going to be a falling population in Great Britain, and one of the results of this would be an increase in the demand for female labour, and equalisation of wages. If there was a great increase in the demand for female labour, and the present mobility prevailed, there would be a decrease in the female labour available in the Free State, and the sex ratios here would alter still more.

The thing that struck him about the figures presented was not so much the unlikeness between the two areas as their likeness. The main movements were the same—the movement to the urban areas and the movement from west to east. The only difference was that the rate of depopulation of the rural areas in Northern Ireland was less than in the Free State. As far as the South was concerned, the towns of Ireland were in the United States. The mobility of the Irish was extreme, and, in the second half of the nineteenth century, was abnormal. No population in the world had increased its standard of living so much in recent years as the population of Ireland. That factor was going to play an important part in the future of Irish history. If there had been a high degree of mobility fifty years ago, when transport expenses were high, the mobility now towards Great Britain was going to be much increased. Between Great Britain and the Free State, owing to penal tariffs and high protection, a low degree of mobility of capital was found, but at the same time complete mobility of factors of production—an exceptional circumstance of international trade. Real wages were lower in Ireland, too, on account of the high cost of living, and that led to a considerable drift to Great Britain in response to the demand for labour. Unless the present trend was reversed, the population of this country might fall at a greater rate than it had done after the famine. There

might be a decrease, too, in the nett reproduction rate, which, if a sufficiently large number of Irishwomen went away, must go down cumulatively

The economic results of this decrease must be serious, since schools, houses, roads and factories were being built on the assumption that the population would, at any rate, not decrease. Unless something unforeseen occurred—an increase in the English birthrate or a diminution in the demand for labour (and there was no sign of either)—then, failing a phenomenal increase in the birthrate here, Ireland was doomed to a falling population. This was the central and outstanding fact of public life, and it was a fact that nobody took any interest in. The whole of Ireland was suffering in the same way,

Dr. Jacobsson said that Professor Duncan had pointed out with regard to Table 2 that there had been for a number of years a difference between the populations of Northern Ireland and the Free State, and had given the explanation that the northern area contains relatively less of the rural area in which the decline in population had taken place. He thought the industrial character of Belfast was another explanation. Where, as in Belfast, there was an export industry, an expanding population could be expected.

With regard to Table 4, it might be natural to ask whether the economic war with Great Britain might not have had some influence on the difference in population movements in the North and South. All employment depended on a correct relation between cost and price. In the South, in the second half of 1932, the relation between imports and exports was 20% to the disadvantage of exports. The immediate effect of the economic war was that export prices went down in relation to import prices. The same thing had happened in agriculture where there was a fall in prices and no fall in wages. With all the new industries set up in the Free State and the increased opportunities for employment, an expanding population might be expected. Yet there was a decrease. In the North, in spite of the distress in shipbuilding, the tendency was the opposite, and he wondered whether the explanation, this agricultural country, was not the economic war.

Mr. Geary said he did not agree with Dr. Jacobsson that the difference in the trends between the two areas was so very marked. The increase in the population in the North was extremely small. The decrease in population in the Free State was small, and a very minor error in the enumeration would easily turn the figure into a plus. He gave due regard to what Professor Duncan had said about the possibility that if an enumeration had been taken in the middle of 1937 the population of the Free State might be 10,000 less, but still thought that the essential changes were small, and that the trends, North and South—including emigration—were very similar.

Dr. Jacobsson said he could not agree with Mr. Geary that there was much similarity between the North and the South. In the North there were heavy industries and no protection. All the likelihood would have been that the population there would have decreased, while in the South the industrial development should have led to an increase. Mr. Meenan's paper showed that exactly the contrary had happened. There must be something fundamental happening in the Free State, to its disadvantage. On looking round he had found only one such fundamental thing.

Professor O'Brien asked whether the social services in Northern Ireland were higher than in the Free State. If they were, they might prove to be the differential.

Mr. Geary said that the rates of unemployment assistance were lower in the South than in the North, national health insurance was about the same. On Dr Jacobsson's point, he should say that he was not thinking only of the last intercensal decade. The trends in Northern Ireland and in the province of Leinster, were rather similar, as might be expected. In essence the aggregate population changes had been small; in the South there had been a greater increase in urbanisation and a greater decrease in the agricultural population. That was logical, given the economic policies of the two areas. The internal economic factor, however, was not the only one to be considered, and over-riding was the pull of the population, both North and South, to England.

The President, conveying the vote of thanks to Mr Meenan, said that he would like to ask whether anything was known of the fluctuation in the figures of the military population in Ireland. The personnel of the British Army located in Ireland at different dates might be a factor having some bearing on the figures they had been discussing. It would affect, for instance, the proportion of males to females. Table 10 seemed to confirm what Professor O'Brien had said to the effect that emigration figures were probably a strong influence in producing the disproportion of males and females.

An interesting point that emerged from the discussion was that in considering the probabilities of the future, they must follow not merely what was happening within the boundaries of the Free State, but also what was happening in areas likely to affect the movement of our population.

Mr. Meenan, returning thanks, stressed the fact that the figures were merely preliminary, and it was for that reason that he had been unable to give a satisfactory figure for Belfast. The increases in Antrim and Down were undoubtedly due to the increase in Belfast County Borough. It would be of great interest to see what the exact figures of migration to the Six Counties were. The figures as worked out showed a loss by emigration from the Six Counties, but they must await what the official figures would reveal.

So far as rural affairs were concerned, the last five years had been dominated by the economic war, and they must wait until this was settled, and normal conditions restored, before it could be said whether the rural population was going to maintain itself.

With regard to Dr Jacobsson's remarks, the differences which might appear in the statistics for the twenty-six counties and the six counties were due practically entirely to the three counties of Antrim, Down and the Borough of Belfast. If other counties, e.g., Derry, Tyrone or Fermanagh, were considered it would be found that they had exactly the same characteristics as the twenty-six counties.