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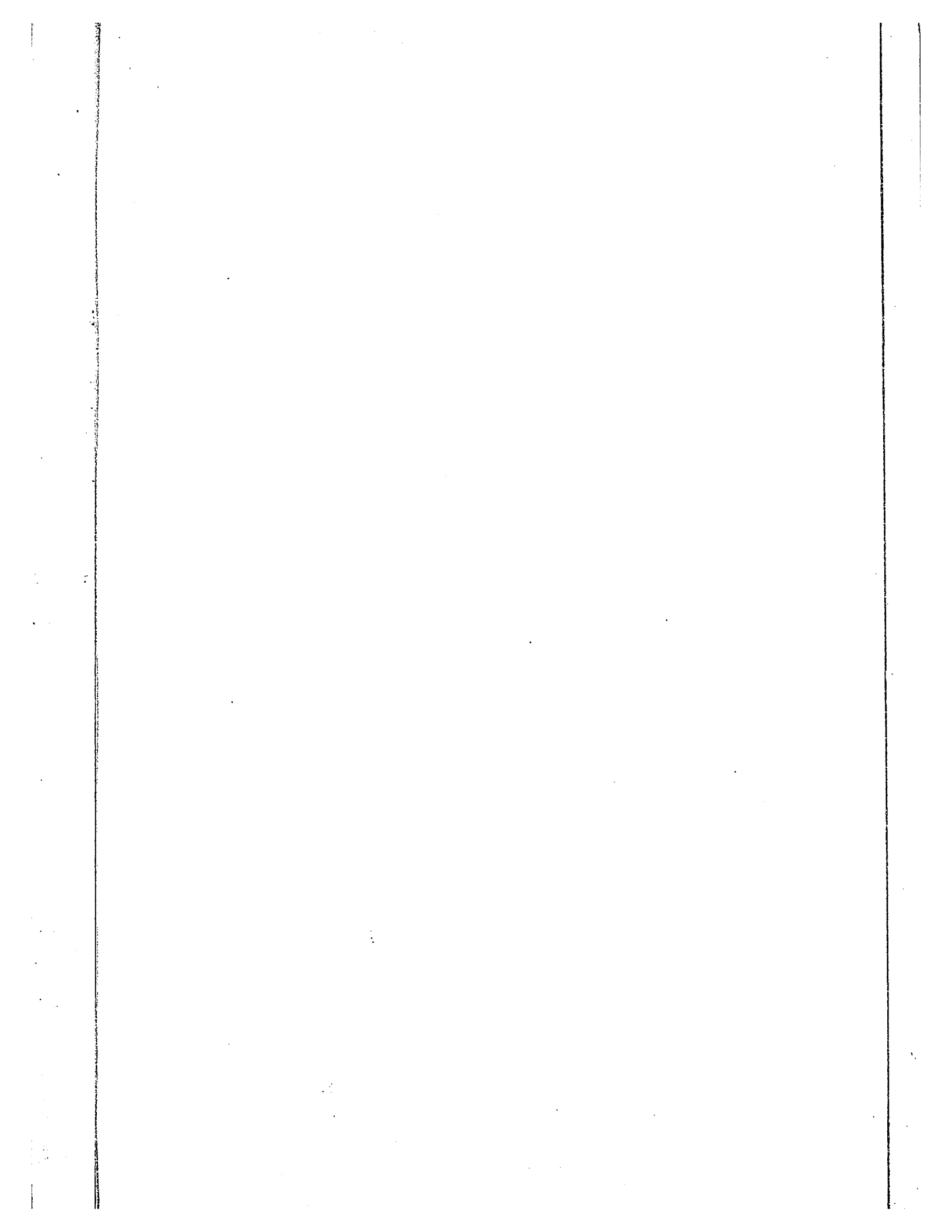
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CANADIAN IMMIGRATION

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### Foreward

Not every phase of the immigration problem could be considered in this thesis. Some aspects were deemed more important than others and hence received more emphasis. Quotations were made to show the prevailing public opinion and, in subjects of a technical nature, the conclusions of accepted authorities were given.

1.

History bears witness to the fact that mankind moved about down through the ages. When the inhabited land could not support all those who endeavoured to draw their sustenance from it, a dispersion began. This does not seem to have been premeditated but rather an instinctive movement for an outlet from crowded conditions. For that reason, the movement was slow and always towards those districts which were not already occupied. It caused certain definite changes in the physical makeup of those who moved. Some commentators attribute the beginning of racial distinctions to this dispersion.

This overflowing of peoples had been peaceful. The only difficulties encountered were from wild animals or the geographical nature of the new abode. Inevitably the known parts of the inhabitable world became filled. However, the population still increased; great numbers of people still found it hard to sustain life in crowded localities. The new circumstances made some forethought necessary before any migration was made. Generally, a strong barbaric tribe decided to move, as a body, to find new lands, where living conditions would be more advantageous. Their large forces and simple conditions of living enabled them to defeat peoples, of a higher civilization but of a less warlike nature. The rather

strange fact is, that the civilization of the conquered survived, and was adopted by the conquerors. The Goths abandoned their homes around the Baltic and two hundred years later we find them in Rome. They had moved along Western Russia, along the Black Sea and the Danube. Allies of Rome, at first, they soon realized their strength and became her conqueror. Yet it was the Roman civilization which survived and took on a new lease of life because of the intermingling of this strong virile people. The invasion of Europe by the Huns, the Tartars, and the Magyars are other examples of this form of invasion.

A third form of migration, clearly outlined in the history of mankind, is conquest. A government deliberately decides to secure possession of the land of another nation. An army is despatched, the people are subjugated, a change is made in the personnel of the governing body, the civilization of the conquerors is introduced and the natural resources are turned to the advantage of the new rulers. No great body of new settlers are sent out but, as far as possible, the inhabitants are left in possession. Alexander followed this policy in conquering the world. Macedonian methods of government were adapted to the local conditions prevailing in Persia, in Egypt, and in India. Rome achieved

### 3.

temporary success and exerted a marvellous influence on Spain, on the great Eastern nations, and on Britain by the same methods. With a slight migration of Romans, a new civilization was introduced; with a minimum of loss in man-power, a huge empire was held together.

Another type of migration is colonization. Colonists are despatched to thinly-populated districts where the inhabitants are unable to resist. Their going has a beneficial effect, both on themselves and on those left behind. Congestion is relieved, trade is developed, wealth is increased. Such colonies were Canada, The Thirteen Colonies, and Brazil.

The last form of population movement and that with which we are here concerned, is immigration. While immigration is a movement of peoples from one nation to another and while the underlying reasons for this change in habitation may be the same, present day immigration is distinctly different from former migrations. It has clear-cut, definite characteristics.

Immigration is a peaceful movement, while the other forms of migrations were hostile. In the former cases, the emigrants decided on the country, towards which they would turn their steps and it mattered naught if the the country was unwilling to receive them. Rome did not desire the Goths; France had not invited the Germanic

tribes, when they rushed down upon her in the fifth century. The countries that received the colonists did so unwillingly, although the opposition was weak and sometimes, practically non-existent. The native population of India had no welcome for British colonists; the Indians of North America sought to expel the invaders of their native haunts. Immigration is, on the contrary, peaceful. A country sends out an invitation for settlers, either expressly, or tacitly, by welcoming them when they come. When it is decided that enough immigrants have come, or when a particular class is excluded, the decision is not a cause of war.

The old forms of migrations might bring together two different types of civilization but present-day immigration tends to be a movement of peoples from one state to another with a similar civilization. A "single-culture area" is essential. The Roman and German civilization were dissimilar; the American and English types of civilization are much the same.

Migrations were group movements; immigration is concerned, chiefly with individuals. Canada might determine the conditions of entry of prospective immigrants; she might appoint commissions, to encourage peoples in other countries to emigrate but when all is done, it is the individual who decides, whether he is to leave Europe or not.

The countries which to-day desire immigration are also manifestly trying to secure settlers, whose climatic conditions are similar and whose life and customs are akin. It is an evident fact that the influx of Eskimos to Canada would be neither for their own good nor for the future betterment of this country. The colony of Carthage, which the people of Tyre sent out, flourished because the climatic and geographical conditions were almost identical. Two thousand miles from Phocaea, a colony from that city, founded Marseilles in Southern France and found slight difficulty in adjusting themselves to their new surroundings because the type of food was like to that of their parent city, because the climatic conditions did not differ from those to which they were accustomed, and because the land was no less productive. Nearly all successful population movements have been between countries in the temperate zone.

Immigration, therefore, might be summarized--to use the words of Professor Huxford--as "A movement of people, individually or in families, acting on their own personal initiative and responsibility, without official support or compulsion, passing from one well-developed country (usually old and thickly populated) to another well-developed country (usually new and sparsely settled) .

It might be well, at this point, to ascertain the reason for this migration towards America and to Canada in particular. Obviously, while the underlying reasons for immigration may be practically the same, there are also particular causes for the immigrant to direct his steps towards American countries and special attractions which Canada has, to the exclusion of other American nations.

To understand the charm which America has for the average European, we must go back to the time of Columbus. The discovery of America opened a new world to a harassed worker. To one living at the present age, his lot was almost inconceivable. Panunzio in his book "Immigration Cross-roads" thus outlines it.

"For several centuries the worker had led a life which to all intents and purposes was narrow and cruel, degraded and degrading. He was tied politically, socially and economically to the very spot and conditions in which birth had set him. Governments took an interest in him principally as a tool of warfare. His masters owned him, had the right to purchase or sell him, import, export, and exploit him at will. He was forced to work on the land of a given proprietor whether he wished to do so or not. He had to take his grain to the seignior's mill to be ground, his bread to be baked in the master's ovens and his vintage to be made into wine only at his lord's winepress. If he

committed an offense, it was to his seignior that he had to pay a fine; if he perpetrated a crime, the owner condemned him to death and confiscated his possessions, such as they were. He had no right to assemble with his fellows, even to consider his own affairs. He could not marry or give his children in marriage without the permission of his seignior, nor could he choose his own burial place. The lord sat in judgment and rendered verdicts involving life and death. In short, if the records coming down to us are at all trustworthy, it appears that the laborer of the middle ages was deprived of every right and privilege which we now consider the birthright of the most ordinary person, and no amount of personal merit or industry, aspiration or discontent could possibly raise him above the station to which the accident of birth had assigned him.

The laborer's lot was even more difficult because his world was stagnant and limited. Population was practically stationary, trade nearly at a standstill. The pressure of population on the land and food supply was quite complete. Food was scarce and poor in quality. Chronic hunger hung upon the masses like a shadow. Devastating famines and plagues raged like flames, swept sections of entire countries, at times destroying as many as one-third of a nation's population.

But what could the worker do about the matter? He had reached the very brim of the then known world. To the west lay only the Atlantic and beyond nothing but a vague and vast abyss. Under such conditions he could do nothing but resign himself to his fate. Energy, therefore was lacking, lethargy and apathy hung like a pall upon men and a hopelessness of spirit seems to have been quite general and complete.

It is not difficult to imagine what it meant to that torpid, decaying society when the Genoese Navigator brought the news, early in 1493, that he had found a new world. Naturally no one at first could realize the full import of that discovery and yet it seems as if from the very first the masses were stirred by the news. Harrera in his "General History" tells us how the Admiral gained a "Wonderful reputation" among the common people. More's Utopia and Montaigne's writings reflect the hope which America's discovery seems to have awakened among the humbler classes. In time, as the news of the discovery spread, it seemed to shake them out of their stupor. Their gaze, thus far centered on the Mediterranean, now turned outwards. Their imagination took sudden leaps, their outlook broke the bonds of inland seas and the ports of the shore of the Atlantic were no longer outposts on the bounds of a waste-estranging sea, but outlets towards a vast New World."

## (Immigration Crossroads--Panunzio)

From that day to this, America has been held in popular estimation as a refuge for the oppressed, as a source of wealth for the impoverished, as a land where man could live his life, free and undisturbed, with a minimum of labor and a maximum of result. That many an immigrant has found himself deceived has not served to destroy that picture. For a time, America, to most Europeans, meant United States, but as Canada became better known, as the barriers to United States became greater, the attention of the prospective immigrant was turned towards Canada and to South American countries. As will be seen later, Canada has proven much more attractive than the South American lands.

What are the main reasons that prompt Europeans to come to Canada? It is evident there must be strong and urgent motives to cause one to leave the land of his birth, separate himself from his family ties, to depart from a district whose peoples he knows and who know him, whose customs form a part of his life, where the very tombs of his forefathers are a kind of bond preventing him from taking his leave. The force, which would cause him to wrench himself from these surroundings, must be found in a dissatisfaction with his environment or because of the alluring inducements which the new land offers and which seem to outweigh the difficult-

ies and hazards of the great change. It is hard to convince a satisfied citizen that the lot of a new home in a strange land is better than the certain contentment which he enjoys. If, on the contrary, he is far from content with his present amount of wealth or if he feels unhappy surroundings would be changed to ones less hard the terrors of emigrating are less formidable. Consequently a sense of dissatisfaction with his environment is most often the reason for change, rather than the attractions which the new land offers. The enticement, which Canada offers, may stir up this discontent and may disturb his complacent regard for this present situation.

The disturbing elements, which arise, may be traced to religious, social, political or economic reasons. While religious differences and social inequality in bygone days have caused great discontent, as is seen in the history of the Jewish race and in Eastern countries, it does not play an important role to-day. Political motives are more to the fore.

The political health of Europe is disturbed. After-war suffering, distrust, and, oftentimes, despair made itself felt. Russian Bolshevism not only overthrew the Russian government but exerted an influence beyond the confines of that country.

To quote from Professor Finney in "Causes and Cures for Social Unrest": "All central Europe has remained in

unstable equilibrium ever since the armistice. Budapest was terrorized; an ugly, sullen temper broods continually over the Ruhr valley; barricades were from time to time thrown up in Berlin and the Balkan states never ceased to boil like a cauldron. Even west of the Rhine conditions have been disquieting, almost every West European country having at times shown symptoms of fever. Westminster has had its anxieties and the French government its fears. Meantime, reports from all over the world--Japan, China, India, Syria, Egypt--have shown people everywhere seething with social unrest."

The outlook is not so black now as then but conditions are by no means normal. It requires but little fanning to cause the smouldering fires of suspicion and hate to break forth into uprising and civil war. The Balkan states, Russia, China, Egypt, all have potentialities for trouble for themselves and other countries of Europe. Many a worker, sick of all the turmoil and the strife, desires to find a home, where political changes are peaceful and orderly, where an election does not mean a possible revolution or an orgy of bloodshed. United States has almost barred her doors; his thoughts turn to Canada, where life is secure and the rights of the individual respected.

But the motive which exerts the strongest press-

ure on the prospective immigrant is neither social, political, nor religious, it is an economic one. A native of Russia might endure political oppression, if he were prosperous, a British miner is not consoled at the thought he belongs to a mighty empire, if he is starving. An inhospitable soil, a famine, a flood, a lack of work react immediately on the worker and turn his thoughts towards emigration. The pangs of hunger are stronger than the ties that bind him to his home; an increase of fifty or seventy-five percent in wages will compensate for many hardships.

This economic cause is the stronger because it is a personal one. The worker estimates his wages in Canada with those he is now receiving; he compares the comforts he enjoys at home with those he would possess; he has received reports from advertising or returned immigrants with regard to houses, to clothing and food. As E. C. Drury in "Our Population Problem" notes: "It is the relative prosperity of similar classes here with which comparison is made. It is not enough to show Bill Jones, Welsh miner, that Canada is highly mineralized, and that fortunes have been made in mines. What he wants to know is--how fares the actual miner, the man who works below the ground? Has he steady work, reasonable hours, proper safeguards and is he able, on his wages to live in greater

comfort and decency, and give his children a better chance than they had in Wales? John Rudd, farm laborer, is interested only remotely in the fact that Canada is the largest exporter of wheat in the world, that our agricultural lands are productive and our rainfall reliable. He is anxious to know whether he can obtain farm work, what wages he will receive, whether he has a fair chance to set up on a farm for himself, and what sort of living he may expect when he does so."

The economic ground for emigrating has long been used and abused by interested parties. The advantages, which have been pictured to the prospective immigrant, existed, at times, in fancy and not in fact. Transportation companies were the chief offenders. The carrying of immigrants is a large and profitable business. Those engaged in it were and still are interested, not in the welfare of the immigrant, not in the future benefit of the country concerned, but in the dollars and cents resulting from the traffic. The possibilities for profit can be seen since the average charge for steerage passengers is, at the very least, thirty dollars and the large immigrant ships carry two thousand steerage passengers alone in one trip. An infirm immigrant paid as much as one physically sound; and imbecile was as profitable as the brightest intellect. It mattered not to them if these passengers

were diseased, incapable of earning a living or likely to be rejected. If they had the money they were--as far as these companies were concerned--desirable. J. T. Maguire's "The Irish in Canada", Hale's "Letters on Immigration", and Mayo-Smith's "Emigration and Immigration" paint a realistic word-picture of the abuses to which this system gave rise. The immigration act of 1910 and of 1919 checked many of these abuses by making the transportation companies responsible for undesirable immigrants, subject to fine and under obligations to return the undesirable to the port of embarkation. When it was no longer profitable to stir up false hopes, untrue information was not disseminated.

The Canadian Government appeals to the economic motive in soliciting immigrants. A systematic program of advertising is used, a network of paid agents is placed in those districts, where desirable immigrants are located. Circulars, depicting life in Canada, are broadcast. The response to this mode of increasing immigration has not been in proportion to the expense incurred.

Another influence is causing the immigrant to think he can better his economic lot in coming to Canada is a contented settler who has come here and found conditions to his liking. Naturally, he writes letters home telling of his good fortune. The letter is passed around among

the friends of the family, it is received with friendly interest, it is concrete evidence that one, whom they know, one in whom they trust, has done well in settling here. Others are drawn to follow his example and they too write of their good fortune. S. G. Canoutas, in the Greek-American Guide, has this comment on the influence of such letter "Such a one, from such a village, sent home so many dollars within a year, is heard in some village or city, and this news passed like lightning from village to village and from city to city, and magnified from mouth to mouth, causes the farmer to forsake his plow, the shepherd to sell his sheep, the mechanic to throw away his tools, the small grocer to break up his store, the teacher to forsake his rostrum, and all to hasten to provide passage money, so that they may embark, if possible, on the first ship for America." What an influence this is, can be ascertained from the information that, of those admitted to the United States in 1910, 93.7 per cent were going to join friends or relations, in 1910, 95.1 per cent re-entering with the same idea. If we look at the matter in another light, we might realize the significance. In 1913 over 400,000 people entered Canada. If one half were satisfied, the news, at a conservative estimate, would reach one million people.

When an experiment is performed in a science labor-

atory the student is able to observe the materials used, to view the different phenomena as it actually took place before his eyes and to conclude, with a considerable feeling of certainty, the results that followed from that particular experiment and which would likely result from similar trials. Unfortunately immigration does not admit of the same treatment. We are dealing with men and women, with human beings, each of whom is different. Some portions of the drama we can watch, some effects of the influx we can observe, but social forces act slowly and sometimes, it is generations before their full effects are seen and felt. Perhaps, that is the cause for so many divergent opinions with regard to the effects of immigration. It may also help to explain why many learned and thoughtful, serious-minded men differ, in such a marked degree, concerning the effect of one race or another will have on the future destiny of our country. Some see in the free and unrestricted admittance of Americans to our cities and farms, a threat to our status as a member of the Empire; others proclaim this type of immigrant the most desired of any we can welcome. Each one of these opinions is made on the basis of regard for the consequent effects this particular group will have on those already here. In this battle of words, the terms, "race" and "nationality" are much in use. It might well, in our

study of the effects of immigration, to determine what is a "race" and what constitutes a "nation". "Race is biologically transmitted while nationality is socially transmitted." We inherit race, we acquire nationality. The confines of a race are marked by distinctively physical traits. The size of the skull, the facial angle, the colour and shape of the eyes, nose and lips, the size of the arms, the colour of the skin, the form of the hair, all help to distinguish one race from the other. So we speak of a black race, a yellow race or brown. No changes in the life of a child can affect his race. A Scandinavian boy, reared in a native Negro home in Africa, will have the blonde hair, the blue eyes, the fair skin of his forefathers, although his language, his moral code, his habits of life may correspond to those of his foster parents. Nationality, unlike race, is acquired. At birth, the individual has no nationality, properly speaking. If he were taken from the environment in which he was born, he could develop a different nationality of another group or even of a different race. Someone has defined nationality as "A composite body of ideas and ideals, beliefs and traditions, customs, habits, standards and morals infused with loyalty, devotion, allegiance, and affection."

Must we have identity of race to have a nation?  
History and present nations prove identity is not essential.

Switzerland includes many races, United States has a white and coloured race but no one doubts that it possesses a living vigorous nationality.

While a healthy, national spirit can exist with a variety of races, there has been much misgiving with regard to the result of a mingling of many races. Some see in such an occurrence, the lowering of the standard of intelligence, the increase of morons, social evils, and immorality. This doctrine is chiefly held by those who believe that the particular race, to which they belong far surpasses members of other races. It is a nation almost as old as mankind. To the Greeks, a Persian was a barbarian, to the Roman, foreigners were of a lower class. The exaggerated regard which the Germans held for their "kultur" was but another instance of this opinion. Anyone holding such a doctrine would assuredly feel, that the introduction of inferior races would contaminate the blue blood of this superior people. In America, Charles W. Gould, in "America a Family Matter", Madison Grant in "The Passing of a Great Race", and T. Lothrop Stoddard in "The Rising Tide of Color", propagate this fear.

It is manifest that one race, in certain phases, is superior to another. Some excel in physical strength, others have a superiority in mentality. The natives of

Scotland are, on the average, taller than the inhabitants of Italy; it is also generally conceded that the average white American has a higher mental development than a colored member of that race. The experiment of R. W. Woodworth and Terman give us strong evidence of the correctness of this theory. But because a race has a higher standing in a particular aspect does not mean that this can be said of a particular individual. Here Gould, Grant, and Stoddard make their mistakes. If we were collecting an army of tall men, and were to pick for that army all Scots who applied, we should soon find many undersized soldiers cropping up, here and there. If we are endeavouring to build up a nation of intellectual giants and selected all Scandinavians, because the general intelligence of this people is high, we could not escape having many feeble-minded in our nation. Yet that is precisely what race purists would have us do.

At this point, it might be well to say a word about the Nordic race. Some of our Canadian Spokesmen--as will be seen later--advocate an immigration, overwhelmingly Nordic in content.

The origin of the Nordic race is shrouded in mystery. Apparently, around the beginning of the Christian era, a great migration took place by a people of whom

little or nothing was known before the movement. It is supposed the race originated South of the Baltic in Eastern Germany, Poland, or Russia. Here, they are presumed to have enjoyed a long period of isolation. Thence, they moved East, South and West. Much discussion has arisen over the constituents of the members but it included Goths, Vandals, Saxons, Angles, Danes, Norsemen, Franks, and kindred tribes. This race--if we accept the testimony of its historians--"not only differed from other sections of human species but from other divisions of the white race, in mind and body. In stature, it was tall and slender, the head and face were long, the skin fair, the eyes blue, the hair light in varying shades,--the only example of light hair in the whole human family--the nose slender and straight, the temperament marked by initiative, enterprise, venturesomeness, a certain degree of phlegmatism, sometimes bordering on moroseness, and a well-developed mechanical and organizing ability." The Nordics all over the world are a race of "soldiers, sailors, adventurers, and explorers, above all, rulers, organizers and aristocrats." Grant.

That the Nordic race is an outstanding one, few deny. But it has not all the goodness of the human family. There is no ground for its assumption that it is the

race of races. To begin with, the race is not a pure one. An admixture of other strains has taken place. Even among its members the average and inferior types are found; geniuses and morons exist. Granted that it may excel in producing types who dominate, who are born rulers, we do not want all immigrants to be rulers; we have just as much need for those of aesthetic temperament, for those whose disposition does not "border on the morose". All the inhabitants of the country cannot rule. Nor is it certain that its members have a monopoly on this ability to lead and rule. For example, Brigham explains the inability of the Celtic race to unite throughout the ages, and their failure, until recent years, to have their own government, as due to the lack of Nordic blood and the preponderance of Mediterranean stock. However, Sir Arthur Keith, in "Race and Nationality from an Anthropologist's Point of View" remarks: "Of all the inhabitants of the British Isles the Irish may be regarded as the purest representatives of the North Sea or Nordic stock." Who is wrong?

This question of the excellence of race has been taken more seriously in Canada and in the United States than in the supposed fountain of Nordicism itself. R. H. Tawney, a British economist of some renown, says, "My own experience is, that I have heard more about Nordics

in the four delightful months that I have passed in the United States, than I heard during the forty years in the humid island which the barbarians in question were foolish enough to colonize."

In view of the bitterness of feeling which this question of race has aroused, in view of the many rather unfounded opinions which have been expressed that intermingling of the races means a degrade, a mongrel nation, and, especially, because the solution of the Canadian immigration problem includes the introduction of several races, the view point of Professor Hankins on this dispute will be quoted at some length. He has given years of study to the question, he is himself a keen student of psychology laws rather than on the whims of race prejudice. His conclusion on the result of the intermingling of races follows:

"If then we make a systematic statement of the apparent relation of the racial factor to cultural history, always assuming that it is only one of the several necessary factors, we should begin by stating that the first essential is a crossing of able stocks. In actual history, up to the modern era of colonization every area of high culture has been the scene of conquest of an indigenous, peasant people by migrating patronymic nomads. Following such a conquest there has oc-

curred, first gradually and then more rapidly, a breaking down of caste lines and the evolution of new amalgam, conceiving itself as a nation of one race, but in fact a people of diverse racial composition. Such an amalgam possesses three qualities which make it superior to a single race as the basis for the evolution of an advanced culture. It has a wider range of variation, and hence contains within its bosom a greater variety of talent. It is biologically more plastic than either parent race, gives rise to entirely new combinations of genetic elements and is thus fitted to express itself in all those multitudinous ways which are exhibited in the activities of a complex society."

"In the second place and in consequence of the above facts, it will give rise to a greater number of geniuses of various sorts. Even if one attributes nothing to the little-known operation of heterosis on the intellectual plane, it is clear that the combining of the different genetic potentialities of the more highly endowed strains of two well-endowed races will increase the likelihood of those rare combinations which represent the genius of the human race."

"Finally when a mixture of races breaks the cake of custom and starts a new phase of cultural progress, population increases. As a mere fact of statistical probabilities the larger the population, other things being

equal, the larger the chances for the rare combinations which give rise to men of genius."

"Where all the factors, racial, geographic and psychosocial, are favorable, and amalgamation of stocks gives impetus to an economic and political development which leads to the rise of a nation. If the rights of the individual are made secure and his liberty of thinking and acting are well guaranteed, the diverse potentialities of the population find a more or less complete expression."

Concluding his summary of the results of many races in the United States he says, "This is particularly true of the United States. The original population undoubtedly possessed many excellent qualities. But the hereditary potentialities of the American people have greatly increased by the immigration of the last hundred years. If these have been somewhat reduced by some of the immigration of recent decades they have been widened and diversified by other endowments in which many of the newcomers were richer than the Old Americans."

(The Racial Basis of Civilization)-Hankins.

Such are some of the general principles which hold true in respect to immigration. We will now view Canada's problem in particular.

Several aspects of this question are most encour-

aging. A lively interest in our immigration question is shown by the average citizen. The discussion is forced on his motives, almost daily. Quite frequently our newspapers comment editorially on one phase or another. The enforcement of the American Law is often noted in news items. Oftentimes, many citizens have occasion to cross the border and the thoroughness of the examination given them is apt to arouse resentment and, in their calmer moments, inquiry as to the need of the careful investigation. Those, who live in Canadian border towns, have been brought face to face with the prospect of unemployment because of the same laws. All in all, these factors stir up an interest in our own immigration question, and have caused and will still be the occasion of spirited discussion. In a democracy, an aroused electorate will deal more intelligently with an important public issue than if they depended solely on the impassioned appeal of candidates at election time.

At our disposal, is the experience gained by the United States, during the years when settlers were pouring into that country from all parts of the world. A scientific study of this great race movement was made by a commission appointed by congress and put in written form. It is sought to estimate, as far as it could,

the races from which immigrants had come, their effect on the growth of the country, their influence on the standard of living and the like. Our physicians now cure diseases which were incurable a decade ago, they prevent diseases whose cause was unknown a century past, and they use the data, obtained in successful attacks against diseases, such as cancer, in guiding their own endeavours. Their success is due to the accumulated knowledge acquired by their predecessors and passed on to them. So the mistakes made by the American Government in her treatment of immigrants serve as warnings to our own legislators. The discoveries, which the American people have made with respect to the best means of selecting immigrants, the most practical method of examining them, and, to a considerable degree, the selection of our own system of settling similar difficulties.

The constitutive elements of our population are another source of strength. The census of 1921 revealed that our population was made up of 27.91 per cent of French origin, 28 per cent of English stock, 13 per cent of Scotch and 12 per cent of Irish. Only six other nations represented a percentage of one per cent or more. Of these, the Germans have the largest quota, having 3.35 per cent. In almost all cases, the

German has proven a good citizen. The Chinese and Japanese element is extremely small, the former constituting .45 and the latter .18 per cent of our population. Thus, about 82 per cent of our people belong to British or French stock. The task of assimilating the foreigner should not be so great when such a considerable portion of the nation belong to races, who, for centuries, formed a part of the same Empire, who have obeyed similar laws, and who are disturbed over the entire country.

The large proportion of Canadians of French origin is also a reason for optimism that this perplexing matter will be brought to a satisfactory and successful solution. At first sight, it might seem that this would be a source of disunion, that the existence of two official languages would make the assimilation of foreigners harder, that it would arouse misunderstanding, multiply sectional differences and create bigotry. An examination will rectify these superficial views and afford insight into the real situation.

It can hardly be denied by an unbiased judge that a stronger national spirit exists in Quebec than in any other province. Her people can trace their ancestry back through successive generations of Canadians; the greater proportion of the inhabitants of Ontario, New

Brunswick--not to mention the newer provinces can tell you when their grandparents came to Canada; the interests of the Canadians, of French origin, lie chiefly in this country; the citizens of the neighbouring provinces are concerned with political conditions in other countries. While it is natural that the memory of the home of our forefathers, of its customs and its prejudices should still survive, it is also true that the greater the interest in another country, the less vigorous and the lighter will be our appreciation of our own. The poems and songs of Quebec abound in the natural expression of the beauties of their native land, in the romantic charm of its historic forests and lakes, in the intimate relation between the cure and his people, between the doctor and his patients. Among the English speaking peoples, for many years, it was held a sign of disloyalty to display too much interest in things Canadian; to advocate governmental reforms was "colonial disloyalty". Bitterness and the dampening of a national spirit was the result. John S. Ewart thus describes this conflict: "Colonial disloyalty has always at the bottom meant desire for self government--not for the separation from the metropolitan or annexation to another nation, and not disloyalty to the Sovereign." Answering his own question "why is there so little national sentiment in Canada"?

he makes reply "At present we are distracted. Our unofficial orators have held up to us, not Canadianism, but Imperialism, and their failure to achieve success is similar to that of those who endeavour to love God and yet remain out of sympathy with their fellow men." "Is Ontario to have more sympathy with New South than with Nova Scotia, or Quebec more affection for British Guiana than for British Columbia. We must have Canadian sentiment first. It is a prerequisite of all Imperialism."

Ewart--Addresses to Canadian Clubs.

Too much of our literature and incidents of history dealt with every part of the Empire save that in which we are vitally concerned. Only of late years is it possible to conclude a meeting with the song "O Canada" without being accused of disloyalty to the Empire. That some remnant of the old colonial narrowness is still rampant in our midst, was clearly in evidence at the time of the appointment of a Canadian ambassador to Washington. It manifests itself in the opposition to a distinctive Canadian flag.

When larger force of immigrants flock into this country it will be harder to assimilate them; a danger always exists that, instead of being influenced by the civilization existing here, they may change it. The Canadians, of French origin, will not be as greatly affected by them as will other races. The difference in language will be a barrier. The old traditions will still be strong;

the same regard for law, the same high ideals of morality will persist. This influence will be represented in parliament and will be an effective check on harmful legislation that might be introduced. Our few divorces can be directly ascribed to that influence and this saneness in outlook will be a safeguard in the future.

The prophecy of Pr  chette is being every day fulfilled:

La plante qui va na  tre   tonnera le monde.

Car, ne oubliez pas, nous sommes    ce lieu

Les instruments choisis du grand oeuvre de Dieu.

The government was hampered in attracting to our shores by the superior financial condition of United States. Capital was abundant in that land to develop industries, to furnish money to inaugurate new industries, to open factories, to finance enterprises of every kind and to furnish a better opportunity of securing work. The advantage is still with United States but Canada is now approaching a state of financial independence. Mr. Ray Hall, of the United States Department of Congress, gives this unsolicited and unbiased view; "Canada's present position is similar to that of the United States during the years prior to the great war; it is the position of a so-called debtor nation which is reducing its old debts to foreign investors, or is making new foreign investments of its own in aggregate amounts

exceeding that of its new borrowing from abroad. No clearer indication could be asked of Canada's growing financial independence." What is more to the point is that industries are being more widely separated and extended throughout the country. Mr. A. W. Kingsland, western manager of the Canadian National railroads, reported in the closing days of 1928 that business conditions in the West were generally good. In addition, he added, "developments in many of the western cities, indicate that manufacturers, both in Eastern Canada and in the United States, are taking advantage of their opportunities of establishing branch factories and plants in Western Canada, to take care of growing business interests there." This marks a change for the better in the Canadian industrial situation. A few years ago, agriculture was the only industry of any importance in Western Canada; the Ford motor company and the General Motors have now assembling plants in Winnipeg. This is a step in the right direction."

While some circumstances are very favorable one handicap is with us yet and, until some remedy can be found, will nullify all our endeavours to keep the people whom we attract to Canada. I refer to the present condition of Agriculture. Agriculture is the basic industry of Canada. It was stated previously that Canada was essentially concerned in attracting immigrants who could develop the vast agricultural resources of the country.

If that basic industry is not capable of supporting those who now cultivate farms, if it is not on healthy economic basis, how can we hope to make any progress in settling newcomers where our own citizens have failed?

Any industry, to be self supporting, must be able to bring a reasonable margin of profit to the promoter of that industry. The returns must be enough to take care of all outlays, such as prices for materials, for machinery, for labor, for depreciation, for interest on the capital invested. Beyond this, it must at least--if a wise person is to continue in the business--make a return equivalent to interest on the money invested. Otherwise one would be better off financially to put whatever money he had in a more profitable enterprise or in the bank, where he will be certain of some return.

For the ordinary man the cost of buying and operating a farm is almost prohibitive, as will be seen in table A. page 33. It would require an investment of nearly eleven thousand dollars (\$11,000) for essentials.

Even the old experienced Ontario farmer, with settled conditions, with his farm totally or partially paid for, is finding difficulty in laying aside any surplus money. The budget of one farmer given, on page 34, is the story of countless others. How can the immigrant succeed where the old settler has failed?

Table A.

## Necessary Expenditures for Prospective Farmer in Ontario.

Note--This table was prepared by a retired farmer and, in most instances the prices quoted were considered to be very conservative. Estimate is for 100 acres.

Cost of farm		\$7,500.
Cost of essential Implements.		
	Binder	\$ 250.
	Mower	\$ 150.
	Rake	\$ 60.
	Plow	\$ 18.
	Wagon	\$ 100.
	Hay-loader	\$ 120.
	Scuffler	\$ 10.
Stock	2 horses	\$ 350.
	10 Cattle	\$ 800.
Fodder		\$ 300.
Seed Grain		\$ 120.
Wind & Fire Insurance		\$ 60.
Taxes		\$ 130.
Church and School		\$ 50.
Hired Labor		\$ 400.
Furnishings for House		\$ 450.

Clothing	\$ 100.
Total	\$10,968.

Table B.

Table of expenditures and income of a farmer in Huron County, Ontario.

Note--This farm is clear of debt, the soil is rich, modern machinery is being used. The farmer in question has been engaged in this occupation for thirty years. The terms used and the method of bookkeeping have been left in the wording and manner employed by the compiler. The farm consists of 100 acres.

## Proceeds

300 bushels of wheat	\$ 375.
Sale of 1 horse	\$ 150.
Sale of 4 head of cattle	\$ 440.
Sale of 20 hogs	\$ 400.
Sale of cream	\$ 130.
Sale of eggs	\$ 100.
Sale of clover seed	\$ 200.
Living furnished by farm	\$ 500.
Total	\$ 2295.

## Expenses

Hired labour--Wages & Board	\$ 500.
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Cost of threshing	\$	170.
Taxes	\$	140.
Fire and Storm Insurance	\$	50.
Doctor's Bill	\$	55.
Repairs--Building and Machinery	\$	100.
School Expenses--Books etc.	\$	25.
Depreciation--Buildings	\$	400.
Machinery	\$	150.
Wages for owner	\$	1000.
Interest on investment in land	\$	350.
Total Proceeds	\$	2295.
Total Expenses	\$	2940.
Net Loss	\$	645.

Few denials are made concerning the depression existing in the agricultural world. J. J. Morrison, secretary of the "United Farmers of Ontario" puts the whole question in one sentence. "I might elaborate it, perhaps, by pointing out that agriculture in Ontario is over one hundred years old and that when it ceases to keep those who were born and raised on the land, or when it fails to be sufficiently enticing of itself to newcomers, there must be something radically wrong." If the farm in Ontario is not on a paying basis, little can be expected from the farming industry in Western Canada. The price of land may be cheaper but implements, the cost of living, and other expenses are higher. The land might be exploited for a few years, money-raising crops might be sown, necessary expenditures might be curtailed but such a course is avoiding difficulties which must be met and settled, if the farmer in the West is to remain on the land, if immigrants are to have an even chance of succeeding in this calling.

Is the problem a hopeless one? By no means, is it without remedy. Why is the farmer not making a greater profit? It is because he has not a market for his goods. Market prices are determined by demand and supply. The supply of farm products is abundant. The land is no less fertile than it formerly was, the

farmer is no less industrious. Wheat is produced, stock is prepared for the market, scientific methods of farming have been introduced but a steady and consistent market for his surplus is lacking. It will not help him, if the price of wheat is high in March; generally, he must sell in the fall. The price of eggs may be high in January but the hens do not remember.

This demand can only come when people desire the products of the farm and have the ability to pay for them. The farmers about Windsor and Detroit do not worry about selling their products because, at small cost, they can be transported to these cities and they know a sale will be had for them. During the months of July, August and September a continuous line of trucks pass along the highways and cross the ferries to Detroit to market their goods. Enough people work in this city to need large quantities of food for their daily sustenance. Regular pay-checks enable them to be consistent buyers at the market. Hence, in these localities, you find few complaints about the marketing of farm products.

If continuous employment is available, the question of demand will settle itself. Anything that can be produced in this country should be produced here. If automobiles are imported it means that the workmen producing that car are buying their food products, not from Canadians but from Americans. If the car costs one

thousand dollars, all of it save the commission of the local dealer, will be expended in United States. We allow much of our wheat to be ground in American mills and the flour is sold by American buyers in competition with Canadian flour; pulp is shipped to United States and Canadian Newspapers import much of their newsprint. Sporting goods, to a large extent, are imported from the United States. These are but a few of the articles which could be manufactured in this country and which would furnish work and, as a necessary consequence, give a demand for the surplus of the farm.

To make the manufacturing of many products possible, certain industries must receive protection for the Canadian workman and farmer as well as for the manufacturer. As it is now, the buyer is paying the greater part of the duties, placed on these articles. For example, Henry Ford has an automobile factory in Ford City, Ontario. Most of the materials necessary for the manufacture of this automobile, are imported under a very low rate of duty. Even the unassembled parts that are brought in, are taxed lightly. Wages are lower than in his factory across the river, in Detroit; taxes are not as high. But when the automobile is put on the market its sale price is that prevailing in Detroit plus. A duty which the Canadian government places on every imported automobile. The same

boat, which brings material to the factory in Detroit, transports the material to Ford City. The distance between the plants is four or five miles; the duty on imported parts is low but the prices in the two cities differs greatly. Most of the duty represents, in this case, so much extra profit which goes to the Ford Company, not to the Government and not to Canadian workmen or the Canadian farmer. Henry Ford acknowledged this state of affairs in an interview at the time of the Customs investigation. He simply stated that, as long as the Canadian people were willing to pay the extra price, he was not unwilling to take it. The Ford Company does not sell as many automobiles as they would at a lower price but even that circumstance works to their advantage. If they can make as much profit on one car as they could on two at a lower selling price, they are gaining in making one. Fewer men are employed and the overhead expenses are smaller. Radios give us another example of the same principle being applied on a smaller scale. It is cheaper to buy a radio in Detroit, to pay the duty on it, than it is to buy it in Windsor. The duty is being used as a pretext for keeping the price above the normal value. The profit, made on those sold, is high enough to compensate the dealer for fewer sales but it is also the cause of the diversion of much money to a foreign country; it is the reason of fewer men being employed in Canada; it is a contributing cause

to the lack of a market for farm products.

The government is the only agency that has the power and the machinery to remedy this situation. When they face the situation squarely, and without fear or favour, the manufacturers will adopt a more reasonable scale of profits. The General Motors offices at Oshawa maintained the reduction of the duties on automobiles would greatly injure their business; they brought pressure to bear on the government; they organized a delegation and sent it to Ottawa. When they came to the conclusion that the government was determined, the complaints ceased, work was resumed and the factory adjusted itself to the new prices. To arbitrarily fix prices is a serious consideration and should only be done after careful thought but, if a fair price for manufactured articles is not set, the government should so act. The practise would not have to be continued for a long period. The possibility of it, would be a sufficient deterrent against exorbitant prices, charged by firms using protective tariffs, not to protect but to unduly enrich themselves.

It was noted that the farmers adjoining Detroit and Windsor were able to transport their marketable products with ease and cheapness. To have factories and industrial centres accessible to the farming community is an ideal situation. The lack of proper distribution of our industrial centres is a real handicap in the sale of surplus farm products. If coal from Alberta must be

marketed in Windsor and Montreal, the cost of freight will prevent it from competing successfully with American coal. The power, produced by the coal in Montreal and Toronto, is not aiding the farmer of Alberta but if factories, manufacturing farm implements, were located in Calgary and Edmonton, a market would be available for the finished products and a corresponding need would result for the butter, the eggs, the vegetables, the pork, which the farmer has for sale. We will always require a foreign market but a foreign market will never be sufficient to absorb all our products.

Even if the Government had to expend considerable sums of money to encourage the erection of factories, to bear the initial cost, it would be a wise investment. It was pointed out, in the beginning, that a contented immigrant from Europe is a powerful incentive in attracting many acquaintances. If money set aside for the purpose of improving the lot of the farmer, for the aiding of industrial expansion and for a permanent board of experienced men, charged with the duty of determining the protection which was necessary for these industries, the farm would attract the settlers. The Chinese, whom we tried to exclude, are not deterred by the necessity of paying a head tax. The natives of Continental Europe, where almost no advertising was done, exceeded those from the parts of Europe, where a concerted effort was

made to attract them. W. G. Smith, in "A Study in Canadian Immigration", writes, "Just here it might be well to recall some of the financial aspects of past immigration mentioned in a previous chapter, namely, that since the beginning of the present century, Canada has spent a total of \$18,930,404. in promoting and regulating the entrance of some three and one-quarter millions of immigrants, at an average of three and one-sixth per capita. On this basis the 33,000 Chinese who have entered during the same period have cost \$198,000. but from 1885, when the first head-tax of fifty dollars was placed on the Chinese Immigrant, exclusive of the officials, to 1918, they paid into the treasury of Canada, by that means alone, over \$18,000,000. and nothing was spent in China for promoting emigration, while over ten million dollars were spent in Europe urging people of the British Isles and the continent to seek our shores."

The people from Eastern and Central Europe have flocked to our farms, although practically no effort was made to induce them, although the money spent on advertising was never intended to be for their benefit. The Chinese and the Central European peasant came because they knew they could better their financial standing, because they could raise their social status, because the new land had something to offer them, because reports coming from Canada convinced them that the reward was worth the sacrifice. If we can place agriculture in such a position that it will attract the Northern European and the natives

of the British Isles, we will not need the millions we are now expending to bring them here. What is more to be desired, we will keep them on the land when they do arrive.

The British Government considers the development of agriculture so important for the future of the Empire that it has appointed an "Empire Marketing Board" to further the interests of this industry. Already heavily burdened with debt England feels that, in her own interests, this money is well spent. La Presse thus commends the good work which this board has already accomplished: "Comme on le voit, L' "Empire Marketing Board" joue un grand rôle dans le développement agricole de toutes les possessions britanniques. Tout en intéressant les producteurs à accroître le rendement de leur récoltes, il vulgarise chez eux les meilleures méthodes de classification, d'emballage, et de vente; il les fait bénéficier, en outre, des résultats de ses recherches scientifiques. Pour réaliser son programme d'études, le parlement de Londres lui a voté un octroi de 500 mille louis sterling, dont une partie a été affectée aux recherches scientifiques poursuivies au collège d'agriculture de Guelph, dans la province d'Ontario, sur les facteurs constituant la qualité des oeufs et l'effet de la diète sur la capacité d'éclosion.

If it is of such importance to England--whose interests are only indirectly concerned--to spend money in Canada for the betterment of the farmer, how much greater

motive should our own government have, to safeguard and increase the prosperity of the tiller of the soil when it is our basic industry, when we wish to increase the farming population.

On some aspects of our immigration problem unanimity of opinion exists, in other phases the greatest difference of viewpoint manifests itself.

The nationality of the new settlers seems to be the chief bone of contention some think that, since we need immigrants, we should encourage the peasants of Eastern and Central Europe. "The man with the sheepskin coat", they say, will willingly go to the farm and remain. His standard of living is much lower than ours and he will live on less money. Sir Clifford Sifton and C. W. Peterson have long advocated this policy. Peterson writes in the January number of Maclean's: "Experience proves conclusively that the Central European peasant is essentially the person to tackle this job (development of Western farms) for which no other applicants are in sight. Any immigration policy which does not welcome with open arms this specialist in our most difficult national development problem is simply futile. If we want agricultural settlers we may try our luck in Northern Europe, but we must place our main dependence on the Eastern and Central European peasants."

Bishop Lloyd, the Anglican bishop of Saskatchewan, fears that the alien will gain control. He is supported

in this view by "The Toronto Globe" and by several members of the Empire Club. This group would refuse or greatly restrict the admittance of any settlers from Eastern or Central Europe and give the preference to British settlers with a slight interspersion of French and a somewhat larger number of Scandinavians. The bishop was quoted in the press of September 27th, as saying "Measured by the Ontario standards I knew between 1881 and 1890, we in the Western provinces are not becoming a nation of British stock. I say that to-day in the prairie provinces there is not in excess of 48% of British stock, and I include in this that those from the old country, French and Americans. And mark you, it is getting worse, annually. Are we to have little German states and Balkan politics in Western Canada. I know that it is easier to teach a Britisher how to use a spade or plow than it is to teach the men of Central Europe not to use a knife in an argument over here."

"It is true we of the British stock still retain predominance in business and the professions. It will not long be the case and we might as well admit it, unless this horde from Central Europe is offset by more of British stock." Excerpts from speech before Empire Club of Winnipeg. The Globe is no less emphatic in its assertion that unless a radical change is made in the character of our immigrants we are on the way to a kind of national

perdition.

Both of the views quoted above are extreme. The great majority of the Canadian people, as far as can be judged from public utterance and editorial opinions, do not agree with either the wide open policy of Clifford Sifton or the calamitous forebodings of the Globe. The standard of living, prevailing among Bulgarians, Crostians, Russians, Esthonians is much lower than that existing among Canadians. If natives of these nations were to establish themselves as the predominating element in the West, grave consequences might ensue. The tragic story of "The Douk-abors" is still too fresh in mind to take any chances with such a system of wholesale admittance. It would be equally foolish to adopt the policy of the other extreme that certain races are ipso facto divinely appointed to become good citizens because of the accident of birth. Not all English are good citizens, nor do all Scotch or Irish excell Ruthenians in achieving success, nor does the climate of the Scandanavian countries make one immune from criminal traits, or physical disability. The question of race superiority has been discussed in previous pages but a distinction must be drawn here between a welcome extended to a particular group, because of their racial origin, and the invitation given to the same class, because of their manner of living, their social customs, their political traditions. Viewed in the latter sense, the citizens of England, Ireland, or Scotland or of some

parts of the Empire are most acceptable because they will find it easy to accustom themselves to our method of government. A university student from McGill would not find a change to Oxford as trying and difficult as a scholar from Petrograd, even though the latter might have acquired a speaking knowledge of English. In the same way, natives of the British Isles do not find the new environment radically different from the old.

Some politicians and newspapers advocate a quota system to regulate Canadian immigration. The Globe and those who wish to restrict immigration solely to the so-called Nordic race approve. To realize the full significance of the effects the quota system would have on our immigration, we will briefly review the reasons for its adoption in United States and its chief effects on that country.

Even as early as 1855 there was some agitation for restriction of immigration. All presidents up to that time did their utmost to encourage an influx of foreigners. It was felt that America owed her greatness to the "amalgamation of foreign blood." Late in the eighties a persistent demand began to be made by many prominent Americans for some kind of restriction. Two methods were advocated: consular certification of immigrants abroad and a literacy test. Very little was done until Senator Lodge became the chief advocate of the literacy test. He presented a bill for the restriction

of immigration in the form of literacy test to congress in 1896. It had for its purpose to reduce the number of immigrants and especially those of South and East Europe. The bill read "to admit no person over sixteen years of age who could not read or write in his own language. President Cleveland vetoed it. It was resurrected again in 1907 but met with the same fate at the hand of President Taft. In 1915 the bill once more was passed but, for a third time was vetoed. The measure became law in 1917, being passed by the house and senate over the second veto of Wilson. The literacy test accomplished one thing: it closed the open doors of the United States. It was the beginning of closed door policy.

After the war, United States experienced the hardships of unemployment. In 1921, in 141 cities alone, 1,819,272 workers could not find work. This period of unemployment was attended by labour and political disturbances. The steel strike at Pittsburg which occurred in 1919 had brought before the attention of American politicians the large element of foreigners who were exciting strikes. The activities of the I.W.W's served further to bring the foreign element under public scrutiny. These industrial and radical disturbances drew many of the employers to the side of restrictionists. Rumors were broadcast that millions of immigrants of the poorest class were waiting for means of transportation to America. The cry was taken up

by the political leaders and from January 1919 to January 1920 no less than ten bills were placed before Congress. Most of them demanded restriction of a drastic sort. Some would have suspended all immigration from Europe, for a period of from two to fifty years, others would have permanently restricted all immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. Congress did act. A bill was passed, limiting the number of immigrants to three per cent of the foreign born in this country in 1910. This three per cent limit act was enacted for one year as an emergency measure. As is easily apparent the number of legal immigrants was greatly reduced. The first thirty days, ten thousand aliens arrived in United States in excess of the quotas. Many entered illegally. Some of the Southern Europeans would come with a shipload of Northerners and try to secure entrance under their quotas, but were refused because the immigrant had to be born in the country, under whose quota he was entering.

The three per cent act of 1921 was officially extended in 1924. When this act expired in 1924 legislators were ready for a new law. The restrictionists wished to reduce immigration still further and to discriminate against the South-Eastern Europeans. They, therefore, proposed to use the 1890 census as the basis of quotas. It was the fairest method--so its advocates maintained--because it gave credit

and recompense to the pioneers who had builded the nation. "Was no credit to be given to those hardy, intrepid, and energetic immigrants who had borne the brunt of the task of opening up the new country, in the face of hardships of which the modern immigrant could hardly dream, who, to be sure, were no longer counted by the census but whose blood still flowed in the veins of persons just as worthy to be considered in providing for the future population of the country as some immigrant just landed from the Ellis Island ferry? As someone said, the existing system failed to count the gravestones in the New-England burying grounds." Immigration--Fairchild. Sides were taken; heated discussions followed. Some advocated the 1790 census. A few wished to name openly those nations and races which were to be favored. Finally, the bill passed on May 26, 1924, and the 1890 census was used as the basis of selection.

There are four parts to the new law. It greatly reduces the number of aliens who can be admitted; it provides for preliminary examination abroad; it takes a step toward positive selection; it completely excludes certain nations and reduces to an appreciable extent the number admissible from certain nations. The act further provided for added restrictions to take effect in the year 1927.

At this period in our history we do not need a quota. The 40,000 miles of steam railways representing an investment of over \$395 per head of our population, our national debt about \$246 for every individual, our 300

million acres of arable land, our million square miles of forests, our undeveloped mines, our desire to see Canada one of the great nations of the world, all indicate a necessity for more people. If the University of Michigan discovers that its attendance is too large, that many undesirable students, it does not follow that the University of Detroit, a comparatively young and growing institution, would be wise to lay down similar regulations. Rather, it would be a wiser plan to study the history of the University of Michigan, to discover the reasons for the present dissatisfaction with the calibre of Michigan's student body and safeguard themselves against the possibility of a like situation. The relation of Canada to United States is along the same lines. We must avoid the carelessness that made the quota a necessity.

It is generally accepted by economists that it was their "open door" policy and their disregard for the need of a wise distribution of immigrants that occasioned the need of the quota. We have not pursued a system, whereby everyone who wishes may enter the threshold of our gates. A conscious effort has been made and is in effect to encourage people from farming communities or those who can adopt themselves to farm life, to select those who are in sympathy with our democratic government, to exclude those whose standard of living is below our own, to discourage the Oriental

immigrant. But we are neglecting the distribution of the new settlers.

The foreign settlers tend--and naturally so--to congregate in colonies. Thus in 1911, of the 752, 732 foreign born, 62.2 per cent were found in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. Compact colonies of Mennonites, Doukhobors, Ruthenians, Scandinavians, Mennonites, Mormons, and Germans flourished. They retained their native language, their social customs, good and bad, their own newspapers, their own ideas of education or a disregard of it. The children grow up with all the racial characteristics of their parents; they have no opportunity to mingle with Canadian children; their facilities of acquiring information is most limited.

Unfortunately, they become an easy prey of agitators and professional trouble-makers. Robert Stevenson has said "Man lives not in the cold, external regions of his brain but in the warm phantasmagoric chambers of his heart, with its pictured windows and storied walls." The scant written matter, Canadian in sentiment, that came before the notice of these races were official declarations, written in exact language, because it recalled the necessarily toilsome life which was theirs and painted a future, immune from many of their hardships, because it aroused their sympathies for the alleged wrongs which their fellow laborers were suffering in Canada and the other countries. As a healthy, strong

man, living continuously in a germ-laden atmosphere, almost inevitably contracts disease, so those misguided people were led astray. The I. W. W's, the different Russian Revolutionary groups, the Finnish Red groups, the extreme Socialists and a host of others, found a foothold among them and engendered a spirit of discontent and bitterness which will take years to eradicate.

Had these foreigners the opportunity to intermingle with old Canadians, to discuss with them the subjects which disturbed them, they would have a truer knowledge of their new surroundings, a kinder feeling towards their adopted country. The rural store, with its animated discussions, with its feeling of friendliness, with its criticism or approval of local and Federal government is a real "Melting-Pot". The gathering about the stove is not so much concerned with the nationality of John Steffanson or the fact that Peter Dietrich was originally from Germany. His foreign pronunciation, his somewhat strange ways, are accepted with an easy good-nature or light-hearted bantering. As a result, John Steffanson and Peter Dietrich feel they are one of the community, that their problems are the same as their neighbours, that the Liberal Government is extremely good or very bad. They begin to think in terms Canadian.

Very encouraging results have followed from the adoption of a definite plan of distributing aliens in certain States of the United States. Wisconsin and California are

leading the way. Small groups are selected and placed in a section of the state. It is the aim to make these groups of five to fifteen families each. They know enough of their own people to feel they are among friends; they are few enough to render it certain that they will become acquainted and mingle with the other groups. At Durham and Delhi, two communities in this state, formed under such a plan, representatives of ten different nationalities live near one another in peace and harmony.

In Canada we could follow an even safer system. During the eight months of the year 1928, Canada received 13,477 Scotch, 7,915 Irish, 28389 from United States and something less than 24,000 from England.

Why should any insurmountable difficulty present itself in locating foreign groups near an English, Irish, Scotch, or American settlement? The foreigner would have before him a living example of the social customs, the political outlook, the educational viewpoint that prevails in Canada. Ontario provides instances of the feasibility of such a system. In the county of Huron, five distinct nationalities, Irish, French, English, Scotch, and German, are settled within a radius of ten square miles. The French and Germans have retained their own language but all speak English as well. Using the same railroads, making purchases at the same stores, meeting each other at

political gatherings, has been the means of forging a bond of union. The reeves of the townships have been selected without much regard for race or religion. Agitators have entered at elections, striving to set one race against the other, but it has proved futile. What has happened by chance in this district, can be repeated in the Western provinces with a small amount of forethought.

The national development of Canada is waiting upon an increased population. We have now ten millions of people while our governmental, educational and transportation machinery can easily be adapted to provide for thirty millions. To let down the bars and welcome every immigrant without discrimination is not to solve this vexed question but to augment trouble. To imagine that we can secure enough people from the British Isles is a fancy. If all the wage-earners were to migrate from England, Ireland, and Wales they could not satisfy our needs. To paint a mournful picture of a mongrel country because of a mixture of racial strains is not in accordance with facts, as we have seen them.

Certain conclusions force themselves upon us in the study of immigration.

The great dominating factor in migration will continue to be economic. The hope of doing better, the wish to create new homes on land that is their own will be the only lasting inducement attracting new settlers. Whatever relieves the burden of taxation, whatever will facilitate

means of transportation, whatever will improve the basic industries will materially aid in terminating the scarcity of suitable immigrants. If the fear of winter unemployment is banished, immigrant armies, of the right kind, will march to our doors.

Our future immigration policy must, in the last analysis, be determined by the government. Transportation companies, social organizations should not dictate who should come and in what numbers. The one is concerned with their own financial interests, the other often sacrifices the welfare of the nation in the fond hope that a change of climate will reform the criminal. Their advice is valuable but it should not be final. No other association but the government has the same facilities to ascertain the requirements of Canada, no other body of men has the power to adequately provide for these needs by measures that can be enforced.

Thirdly, money must be spent more freely on Canadians to induce them to occupy our vacant land. The million and a half that Canada has lost through migration, in the last eight years, represents a costly leakage. If one half of the money spent on immigrants from Europe was expended in aiding families from Quebec and Ontario to settle on Western homesteads, this leakage would be smaller.

Fourth, the new immigrant, when he is accepted, must be given proper medical and religious care. Doctors cannot live in very sparsely populated districts, churches cannot

hope to maintain regular clergymen where the inhabitants are far apart: Disease will come, doctor or no doctor; man has the same religious duties on the lonely prairies as in the prosperous cities. No excuse can be offered by any government, that solicits an immigrant to settle in Canada, and then refuses to provide a doctor and clergyman within reasonable distance.

Lastly a sound, healthy love of Canada must be encouraged. The stranger, in our midst, will prize his Canadian citizenship in a degree, proportionate to the value which the old inhabitant places upon it. If the latter is proud of his Canadian citizenship and so expresses himself, the immigrant will likewise esteem it. Sound "Canadianism", while placing Canada first, will recognize the value of British connection, will respect the traditions of British laws.

With a reasonable hope of economic prosperity, with a respect for law, with a genuine appreciation for the land of his choice, the immigrant has a real opportunity to prove a valued citizen of Canada.

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