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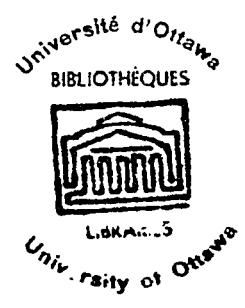
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# I N T R O D U C T I O N

## CHAPTER I

Ever since history has recorded the doings of man, there has been a constant movement of people and peoples. The circumstances that rendered this necessary differed greatly and this difference influenced ways and means. In many regions where the population drew its sustenance almost exclusively from herds, the community followed or drove its herd from one pasturage to another although even here its range of travel was limited by the range of another nomadic community belonging to some different tribe or race. Another method very widely used was conquest: a community, race or people, while continuing to occupy its original place, extended its boundaries ever farther afield or else moved in a more or less compact mass to an entirely new place. Around the Mediterranean, the natives of many commercial towns followed the paths of trade and could be found anywhere and everywhere along the coast. Later on, empires started to form and relatively large numbers of Europeans went to distant lands as colonists. All these migrations had one common feature throughout: they were prompted by man's desire to improve his situation.

In the latter half of the nineteenth and the first half of the 20th centuries a new type of migration developed when people, impelled by the desire to earn an easier and better living, left their relatives and friends and gave up their native countries for the numerous cities, the spacious lands, the adventure and prosperity of the New World. In

this, as in the other forms of migration, the element of financial betterment was a fundamental, but instead of death and the destruction of states, it resulted in the growth of many young, undeveloped countries and better living than most of the immigrants would ever have enjoyed had they remained in their countries of origin. This type of migration was called immigration in the receiving countries and its difference from the others lay in the fact that the people involved severed all ties with the place of their birth and became citizens of youthful and immature countries.

This movement of people from Europe to America began as a trickle a number of times in the 18th and 19th centuries but never developed into anything greater owing to the almost insurmountable difficulties of transportation and to wars that cut some sources off from time to time. However during the period extending from Confederation to 1930 it swelled to a veritable torrent. The United States alone received in all approximately thirty-eight million. At first, the flow was almost exclusively from the British Isles, Scandinavia and Germany but it subsequently swung down to the Latin and Slav countries of Southern and South-Eastern Europe. In its final phase, the movement included large numbers of Japanese, Chinese, Philipinos and Hindus but the influx of these races was considerably impeded and finally brought to a dead stop by public opinion in the receiving countries.

As it is Canada with which we are especially concerned here, it might be wise to make a rapid survey of the concourse of colonists, settlers, and immigrants that has resulted in the Canadian people as we

know it to-day. During the French Régime, the mother country sent out shiploads of colonists sporadically, but Frenchmen are ineradicably attached to their homeland and have never left it in the large numbers in which citizens of other countries have abandoned the land of their birth to seek their fortunes abroad. Even had this not been the case, emigration to New France would probably never have gained in volume to any greater extent than it did because the French people's conception of this particular colony was very well summed up by the words "a few acres of snow".

After the conquest, English and Scottish soldiers and the odd English-speaking settler took up land but very little was done in this respect until the War of the American Revolution when the United Empire Loyalists translated their devotion to the Mother Country into action and realized their desire to live and die on British soil at the cost of making the long, hard trek to Canada in season and out of season and starting life anew in what was then a virgin wilderness. There had always been a rather steady flow of people from the British Isles to the American colonies and it resumed its course as soon as peace returned but after the Revolutionary War as before, and it may be added here that this has ever been the characteristic of Canadian immigration, the vast bulk of the newcomers were attracted to the more tolerable climate and more populous cities of the United States of America, and of the entire process our country got but the crumbs. Of the nearly 62,000,000 people who came to North America, of which 24,000,000 from the British Isles, from early in nineteenth century to 1930, the

U.S.A. received about 38,000,000 and Canada, some 7,000,000. From 1820 to 1890 the countries of origin of immigrants to the U.S.A. in order of numerical importance were:

1840-49	1850-59	1860-69	1870-79	1880-89
Ireland	Ireland	Germany	Germany	Germany
Germany	Germany	Ireland	England	Ireland
England	England	England	Ireland	England
France	France	Canada	Canada	Canada
Canada	Canada	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden

From 1890 to 1930 this immigration changed complexion and the most important countries of origin in numerical sequence were:

1890-99	1900-09	1910-19	1920-29
Italy	Austria-	Italy	Canada
Germany	Hungary	Austria-	Mexico
Austria-	Italy	Hungary	Italy
Hungary	Russia	Russia	Germany
Russia	England	Canada	Poland
Ireland	Ireland	England	

That both these tables apply pretty much to the situation in Canada can be seen from the following:

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS IN CANADA FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE UNITED STATES, AND OTHER COUNTRIES, 1881-1930

DECADE	IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS FROM			TOTAL
	UNITED KINGDOM	UNITED STATES	OTHER COUNTRIES	
1881-90.....	280,773	526,974	78,430	886,177
1891-00.....	146,450	84,535 <sup>a</sup>	90,317	321,302
1901-10.....	562,054	496,959	394,378	1,453,391
1911-20.....	687,215	821,490	466,738	1,975,443
1921-30.....	534,535	261,847	497,565	1,293,947
TOTAL.....	2,211,027	2,191,805	1,527,428	5,930,260

<sup>a</sup> No statistics of immigrants from United States were collected for the years 1892-96.

How all this immigration has changed the origins or ethnic composition of the American people can be seen from comparison of the apportionment of the White Population of the United States by country of origin for 1790 and 1920:

APPORTIONMENT OF THE WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES,  
BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, 1790 AND 1920<sup>1</sup>

	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION	
	Population in 1920	Colonial Stock
Total.....	100.0	100.0
Quota Countries.....	94.4	97.7
Austria.....	0.9	a
Belgium.....	0.8	1.5
Czechoslovakia.....	1.8	0.1
Denmark.....	0.7	0.2
Estonia.....	0.1	...
Finland.....	0.4	a
France.....	1.9	1.9
Germany.....	16.3	7.4
Great Britain and Northern Ireland.....	41.4	77.0
Greece.....	0.2	...
Hungary.....	0.6	...
Irish Free State.....	11.2	4.4
Italy.....	3.6	...
Latvia.....	0.2	...
Lithuania.....	0.2	...
Netherlands.....	2.0	3.3
Norway.....	1.5	0.2
Poland.....	4.1	a
Portugal.....	0.3	0.1
Rumania.....	0.2	...
Russia, European and Asiatic.....	1.8	a
Spain.....	0.2	0.1
Sweden.....	2.1	0.5
Switzerland.....	1.1	0.9

a Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

<sup>1</sup> 70th Congress, 2d Session, Senate Document 259, Immigration Quotas on the Basis of National Origin, p.5; Warren S. Thompson and P.K. Whelpton, Population Trends in the United States, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, p.91.

Syria and the Lebanon.....	0.1	....
Turkey.....	0.1	....
Yugoslavia.....	0.5	....
All other.....	0.2	a
Non-Quota Countries.....	5.6	2.3
Canada.....	4.3	1.6
Newfoundland.....	0.1	a
Mexico.....	1.2	0.7
West Indies.....	0.1	a
Central and South America.....	a	a

Although Anglo-Saxons constitute only a little over 40% of the population of the United States, yet the tendency is for the percentage of that element to increase because the great majority of the immigrants settled in the cities and towns while the farming class down there is very largely Anglo-Saxon and in any country, that class alone really multiplies. In all probability the U.S.A. will remain an essentially Anglo-Saxon nation.

In the 1941 edition of the Canada Year Book, on page 60, appears the following table:

ORIGINS OF THE PEOPLE OF CANADA, CENSUS YEARS, 1871-1931

Note-Origins were not taken in the Census of 1891. Dashes in this table indicate that data were not reported under the respective headings.

ORIGIN	1871 <sup>1</sup>	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931
British-						
English.....	706,369	881,301	1,260,899	1,871,268	2,545,358	2,741,419
Irish.....	846,414	957,403	988,721	1,074,738	1,107,803	1,230,808
Scottish.....	549,946	699,863	800,154	1,027,015	1,173,625	1,346,350
Other.....	7,773	9,947	13,421	26,060	41,952	62,494
Totals, British.....	2,110,502	2,548,514	3,063,195	3,999,081	4,868,738	5,381,071
French.....	1,082,940	1,298,929	1,649,371	2,061,719	2,452,743	2,927,990
Austrian, n.o.p.....	-	-	10,947	44,036	107,671	48,639
Belgian.....	-	-	2,994	9,664	20,234	27,585
Bulgarian and Roumanian	-	-	354	5,883	15,235	32,216
Chinese.....	-	4,383	17,312	27,831	39,587	46,519
Czech (Bohemian and Moravian).....	-	-	-	-	8,840	30,401

ORIGIN	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931
Dutch.....	29,662	30,412	33,845	55,961	117,505	148,962
Finnish.....	-	-	2,502	15,500	21,494	43,885
German.....	202,991	254,319	310,501	403,417	294,635	473,544
Greek.....	-	-	291	3,614	5,740	9,444
Hebrew.....	125	667	16,131	76,199	126,196	156,726
Hungarian.....	-	-	1,549	11,648	13,181	40,582
Indian and Eskimo <sup>2</sup> ....	23,037	108,547	127,941	105,611	113,724	128,890
Italian.....	1,035	1,849	10,834	45,963	66,769	98,173
Japanese.....	-	-	4,738	9,067	15,868	23,342
Negro.....	21,496	21,394	17,437	16,994	18,291	19,456
Polish.....	-	-	6,285	33,652	53,403	145,503
Russian.....	607	1,227	19,825	44,376	100,064	88,148
Scandinavian <sup>3</sup> .....	1,623	5,223	31,042	112,682	167,359	228,049
Ukrainian.....	-	-	5,682	75,432	106,721	225,113
Yugoslavic.....	-	-	-	-	3,906	16,174
Various.....	4,182	8,540	7,000	31,381	28,796	27,476
Unspecified.....	7,561	40,806	31,539	16,932	21,249	8,898
GRAND TOTALS	3,485,761	4,324,810	5,371,315	7,206,645	8,787,949	10,376,786

<sup>1</sup>The figures for 1871 cover the four original provinces of Canada only.

<sup>2</sup>Incomplete in 1871; includes "half-breeds" in 1901.

<sup>3</sup>Includes Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swaish; in 1921 they numbered, respectively, 21,124, 15,876, 68,856, and 61,503; in 1931, 34,118, 19,382, 93,243, and 81,306.

Prior to Confederation the French and British stocks were practically the only elements in Canada's population but from Confederation onward and especially after 1900, people of all races came here in large numbers as the above figures indicate.

As the country now stands, the Financial Post in its Oct. 23, 1943, edition gives the main racial divisions as follows: Anglo-Saxon (meaning British Isles stock), 49.6%, French 30.2% and others 20.2%. In this country, in contrast with the United States, the really agricultural and prolific element is the French; in English-speaking Canada

the youth has long been abandoning the countryside until now only the older people, the parents and grandparents, still remain, and the English-speaking population as a whole is reproducing itself barely if at all. The remainder or the 20.2% representing Canadians of other than British and French origin, occupies an intermediate position between the other two groups.

28.7% of the total population derives its livelihood directly from agriculture. Mr. P.C. Armstrong, special representative of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in an address before the Winnipeg Rotary Club, in November, 1943, gave the average age of adult workers on U.S. farms as 55. In view of the similarity of conditions in Canada and in the United States, it can safely be assumed that, especially since the war, the future of the farming class in Canada is dark indeed, barring appropriate action by competent authorities. Canada's farmers, because of our extremely sparse population, depend on foreign markets and foreign markets, especially in Great Britain where we unloaded the bulk of our agricultural exports, are tending to contract as countries seek more balanced economies and greater self-sufficiency at least in the necessities of life. Too, our competitors, either more powerful or more advantageously located, secure mastery of these outlets by means of lower production and transport costs.

## ARGUMENTS AGAINST IMMIGRATION

### CHAPTER II

#### INCREASED UNEMPLOYMENT

Anyone who has discussed the advisability of immigration in Canada must realize that, while there are some who harbour the conviction that Canada needs but more people to become a great and prosperous nation and that the quickest and surest way for Canada to get this larger population is for her to let down the barriers and allow the dammed-up tide of overpopulation in Europe to gush forth, there are other people who are far from certain that an influx of foreigners would help Canada's economy and who, although they usually admit the need for more population, feel that this end should be attained by natural increase rather than by sudden acquisition. These opponents of immigration have many fears and many arguments on which they base their uneasiness and the subject cannot be studied without these reasons being examined.

The most commonly encountered argument against the lowering of Canada's immigration barriers is that, as there is not enough employment for all the native sons, there will hardly be enough for large numbers of outsiders and that both the Canadian-born and the newcomers would suffer more than if things were left as they stand. This contention enjoys the advantage of appearing mathematically sound at first glance but upon closer scrutiny it can be found to neglect a very important principle, namely, that an increase in population from immigration does not mean a numerically equal increase in the number of unemployed because the

greater the population, the greater the consumption of goods and consequently the greater the number of employed. The percentage of unemployed on the total population may remain the same, or rise or fall, but the increase in unemployed does not correspond to the increase in population.

Naturally the principle does contain the elements of a vicious circle because, for the increase in population to mean an increase in consumption, the immigrants must earn and must have purchasing power almost from the time they land if the demand is to be increased without encumbrance to the taxpayer. However this anomaly can be waived on the general principle that every newcomer represents additional economic activity, and in particular by a return to the land and to self-sufficient farming. This would break the circle by inserting into the works a growing independent and self-supporting class whose reliance upon supply and demand for a living would be relatively limited, whose earnings from the sale of farm surplus would provide industry and commerce with a constant stimulus and whose ranks could absorb business and factory unemployed. This, of course, implies the granting of a little more recognition to farming than it now receives, and also a very radical departure from present methods and principles of taxation.

The main point to keep in mind is that, in this objection, the conclusion does not follow from the premisses. The best example that can be given, the U.S.A., shows a country whose population soared to astronomical figures in a relatively short time from natural increase and the

largest immigration ever to be directed to one place, a country that, like Canada, possesses most of its own raw materials and its own means of production but, unlike Canada, also possesses its own market, thanks to its dense population, and all this has been achieved with, comparatively speaking, little or no foreign trade.

CHAPTER III

LOWER STANDARD OF LIVING

A cause of opposition to immigration similar to the foregoing is the fear that the arrival, in large numbers, of Europeans or others whose standards of living are almost without exception lower than ours would entail the lowering of the standard of living in Canada. This is a very real source of misgiving. In the United States, many large concerns recruited their help almost exclusively among foreign elements because they were much cheaper than native Americans, and, with the advent of hard times, when native Americans were without jobs, these concerns persisted in employing foreigners then more than ever on account of the inexpensiveness of such labour. The result was that the native American ended up worse off than the foreign-born in many cases.

This inconvenience could be eliminated, and probably would be eliminated under the force of public opinion in the event of mass immigration to this country, by labour legislation, labour unions, and a minimum wage law, and as a consequence, could hardly be considered alone of sufficient weight to condemn the admission of foreigners into the country on a large scale.

CHAPTER IV

LOSS OF FRENCH-CANADIAN IDENTITY

French-Canadians have always opposed immigration for two reasons: first of all, ever since the conquest in 1759 they have had to maintain a fairly sustained and energetic struggle to secure implementation of the rights conferred upon them by the constitution and by law, and as they have never carried any great economic or financial weight, they have had to seek their strength in numbers, in a large French-Canadian percentage on the total population. Quite naturally then they are not at all interested in having the number of non-French-speaking inhabitants in Canada greatly increase. The greater their numerical importance when compared to the population of the country as a whole, the greater the possibility of defending their rights, imposing on the general political conscience their conception of the national interest, and continuing to exist as a distinctive entity.

In the second place French-Canadians, almost down to the last man, are looking forward with impatience and deep conviction to the day when their race will constitute a majority here in Canada. This ambition can hardly be qualified as other than most legitimate when one considers that it springs from their longstanding position of underdog and their equally longstanding desire to be something else, from the immense superiority of the French-Canadian rate of increase when compared to English-speaking reproduction figures and from the stress that is laid on this difference by prelate and politician alike for the purpose of stimulating love of race and encouraging the people to continue

having large families in order to realize this ambition all the sooner, from the growing importance they are assuming in the country's politics as their electoral and representational value rises. When all this is taken into account, it must be admitted that nothing could be more natural.

To the first reason why French-Canadians oppose immigration, the only rebuttal is to invite them to look back upon their history. At the time of Wolfe's victory their number was insignificant, and they were, with the passage of time, subsequently reduced to the position of only one-quarter of the population, although their numbers grew. And during almost two centuries of "foreign domination", they have retained language, religion and a high degree of racial purity not only in Quebec where they have been in overwhelming majority, but everywhere else in Canada where they have been, at best, but islands in a sea of Anglo-Saxonism. Yet they remained unswamped by the tide of immigration, unengulfed by the sometimes turbulent sea. And now that they are three million strong, with the greater portion in Quebec province but over half a million spread across the rest of Canada, can any plausible reason be found why, having weathered the storm so far, they should not continue to do so?

As for "l'Etat français, nous l'aurons", it can be assumed that no frivolous desire to say something, anything, prompted the federal Minister of Justice, the Hon. Louis St. Laurent, to tell his French-speaking fellow countrymen that there would never be a French state in North America.

In the first place, Anglo-Saxon predilection for birth control, for small families or no families at all, for race suicide, is due not to a general loss or even atrophication of the power to reproduce, or widespread sterility among the womenkind but to the materialism and demoralization of the times to which the Anglo-Saxon fell a readier and more complete victim than the French-Canadian for a multitude of reasons. And there are many indications that the Anglo-Saxon, who is above all practical, is beginning to realize that with a dwindling population he can never hope to compete with such immense political units as Russia, and with the awakening Orient or even hold his own among his more man-size neighbours. The family would need but to be converted from an economic liability to an economic asset for radical changes in population trends to ensue and all post-war planning appears quite evidently designed to bring about this change. Besides, anything resembling a steady flow of British immigration would complete the inadequate rate of increase among the English-speaking in this country and thus, if carried over a number of years, would more or less maintain the present ratio between the two linguistic groups.

Even in Quebec Province itself certain definite tendencies and influences are unwittingly or at least unintentionally conspiring to slow down the rate of natural increase among French-Canadiens. If Quebec is to acquire any financial importance and development, it must open itself to English-Canadian, American, and, to a lesser degree, British enterprise and it certainly has the labour required to do this. The present Quebec Government is undoubtedly committed to this policy and

this can be gleaned from its efforts to work with the rest of Canada and the changes it is effecting or trying to effect in its educational system, involving greater attention to the English language, science, and business. The first result of this will be to raise the standard of living, followed invariably, as Canadian and American immigration statistics plainly reveal, by a serious reduction in the rate of natural increase.

Some may object: "This concerns the factory-ridden cities and towns. But what of the numerous, vigorous and prolific farming class in which Quebec so justly prides herself?" According to American statistics, as soon as an agricultural community becomes mechanized, its population figures drop steeply. This has happened time and again south of the border and apparently is a rule that admits of no exception. Since the day when this conflict made farming a war industry producing goods of basic strategic importance, the mechanization of the Quebec countryside has proceeded apace and will not stop after the war any more than it was arrested in English-speaking Canada by the economic crisis of the thirties.

Why is it that a rise in the standard of living entails a decline in the rate of increase? The explanation is very simple: A man who has always lived in a very low income bracket can prosper on almost nothing at all; he satisfies only his needs and those are few. He can, and does, get married on \$60.00 a month (often less) and can and does raise a regular brood on \$100.00 a month (or less) whereas a man whose

father was earning from \$300 to \$500 a month would hardly risk even getting married until he was earning \$150.00 or thereabouts, and would not want to have more than one or two children until he was earning well over \$200.00 a month. Consequently, he marries much later than the former and when he does, much of his period of productivity has passed by and his youthful exuberance is often little more than a simmer. In the event of widespread birth control, the ages when both groups marry may not differ but the effect on the population is even more marked. One has only to apply this condition to an entire generation to imagine its bearing on the national population trend, and on French Canada's reproduction statistics.

RATE OF INCREASE AMONG FRENCH-CANADIAN

1871-1881	1881-1901	1901-1911	1911-1921	1921-1931	1931-1941
20. %	34. %	25. %	14. %	19. %	18. %

CHAPTER V

LOSS OF SENSE OF NATIONALISM

Another objection to an influx of outsiders, not very weighty in itself but advanced by some people usually in support of or in conjunction with other more convincing protests, is that it would destroy the sense of nationalism, the national pride that has been developing in proportion to the increase in the percentage of native-born in Canada. There is a considerable cross-section of the people of Canada that adheres to this view, and again, without any pre-meditation, we come to the French-Canadians, although they are not alone in this category by any means but probably represent its largest part. These people had absolutely nothing to do with the building of the British Empire, they were absorbed into it and isolated from their Mother Country. Consequently they could not feel any real pride in its existence or any real concern about its endurance except to the extent that Canada, and they themselves, were directly affected since this required an effort of reason much harder to obtain than sentimental agreement from hearts brought up in its lore and attached to it. The Anglo-Saxon (British variety) over the centuries had with his own hands erected this structure known as the British Commonwealth and when the hub of empire was involved in a struggle, like someone conscious of intimate relationship with and actual membership in a body politic, he needed no convincing but dutifully put his shoulder to the wheel.

When a minority within this body politic did not consider valid his reasons for doing so, the Anglo-Saxon could not always explain with

absolute clarity what was not reason within him but sentimental attachment, but, being a majority, he went ahead with the defense of the empire. The peace-loving French-Canadian, not fully convinced, and faced with unequivocal and therefore more or less cold and harsh enforcement of the dictates of Anglo-Saxon sentiment, was antagonized and developed a most profoundly isolationistic attitude towards empire co-operation. Quite naturally ~~he~~ does not want this situation aggravated in any way, and the arrival of large numbers of Britishers, or any other race for that matter, would hardly produce a Canadian nationalism on a country-wide scale.

All that can be said in the way of refuting this contention is that, on the one hand, the condition would only last for three or four generations until Canada had become almost self-sufficient and a large majority of its citizens were native-born, and that on the other hand isolationism can hardly be condoned in Canada when the United States, already more than self-sufficient, has relinquished the attitude, and that henceforward Canada's policy will tally with that of Great Britain and the United States rather than with the policy of Great Britain alone. It cannot be otherwise, with British foreign trade falling off and America (U.S.A.) becoming the economic pivot of the world.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF IMMIGRATION

CHAPTER VI

THE MORAL PRINCIPLE

So far, only negative support has been given to the idea of immigration in Canada. What about the arguments for, instead of against? Can immigration be given a moral case sufficiently strong to warrant its acceptance in principle? It quite definitely can. In Holy Scriptures mention is made of a divine admonishment to mankind to multiply and fill the earth. On the grounds that the earth belongs to man, no country as vast, as potentially rich in material resources of almost every description and simultaneously as void of human resources as Canada's can justly prevent access to such spaces and treasures when there are other countries, both small and overpopulated, that cannot provide sufficient opportunity for all their citizens. Such is the overhead principle but fortunately for us it commands certain modifications that soften the rigour of its application. This principle outlines the duty for us solely of filling Canada's emptiness, not of relieving the population pressure in any specific countries. Canada remains, in spite of all, the possession of Canadians and among all the nations of the world whose space, natural wealth and opportunity do not correspond to their dense population, those nations can be favoured only which will provide citizens of the stamp required to realize the ambitions Canadians entertain for their country. In other words Canadians may admit immigrants from one or more countries while excluding them from others and in doing so they would act well within their moral rights.

CHAPTER VII

EFFECT ON GOVERNMENT AND RAILWAY SYSTEMS

TO the moralist, the foregoing reason may prove decisive but to those who require arguments closer to earth, physical and especially economic factors enjoy much more effective appeal. Canada has a railroad system that was built to meet the needs of a population of forty or fifty million and the fact that it has been operating at a deficit for some time now may be largely attributed to the failure of these population figures to materialize. Hundreds of miles of rail pass through districts almost, if not completely, uninhabited.

If immigration could wipe the railway deficit from the ledger, and it certainly could because in the United States the railways, with the shipping companies, were the primary promoters of migration to the New World, and consequently must have derived the greatest benefit from it, what a lightening of the taxation load would result for Canadian citizens or what large amounts of money would be rendered available for duty elsewhere! Why, the money paid from taxes to balance this deficit in past years could establish thousands of new citizens in this Country, open up immense tracts of new land, defray many of the governmental expenses attendant upon the attraction and establishment of large numbers of newcomers.

The government service itself, due to the immense territory that must be administered, would hardly require enlarging at all. Even if a certain amount of expansion became necessary in view of the socialistic tendency of all governments to-day, this expansion would certainly not

amount to 100% for every 100% increase in population. Canada is quite evidently suffering from over-government: we have one government for about every one million two hundred thousand people. Even the United States with its far denser population and its forty-eight state governments and one central government has only one such organization for more than two and a half million people. The disproportion between population and government in this country could easily be righted by immigration and such burdens as the cost of government and the national debt considerably lightened when spread over a much greater number.

CHAPTER VIII

NATIONAL RESOURCES AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT

The situation in the field of natural resources and their development bears very close resemblance to the population situation: both present almost unlimited possibilities and potentialities but yet in both almost insignificant progress has been made. There is some divergence of opinion about the extent of the purely agricultural resources left untouched and some low estimates place the probable population that could be supported from domestic farming at forty million, which is a severe limitation for a country the size of Canada even if much of it falls under sub-arctic conditions of climate. Yet in compensation, our mineral resources admit of no such limitation.

In a world of industrial substitutes, industrialization and attempts to attain self-sufficiency by other nations, Canada's share of foreign trade will hardly provide the stimulus required to push development of this potential wealth ahead. The only course we can follow, while doing our duty by other countries, is the one to which the United States owes her wealth and position. We have the energy, the skill, and we have the raw materials. All we lack is the economic impetus of a market and if we cannot get markets abroad, then like the U.S.A. we must provide our own market by means of a much thicker population. The same applies to agricultural development, since our present wartime demand for farm produce is at direct variance with the pre-war trade tendencies.

Naturally immigration is not being prescribed as the cure for all the nation's ills, there will be much it will not change, but at least it

will enable us to develop our country to a greater extent than is now possible and will give us in the international realm something approaching the rank and influence to which the physical size of our country entitles us.

And now that the international outlook has been touched upon, another angle from which to view the immigration question suggests itself. National economy, in peacetime, is of primary importance since the life of a nation or its continued existence may depend on it, although some nations have economies in very bad shape and yet live on. In wartime, national defense is of incomparable importance because not only the nation's economy but its very existence as a free, self-determining state is at issue.

The basis of all military power, either for offensive or defensive purposes, lies in manpower. War has been mechanized more quickly and more thoroughly than any other field of mass human endeavour, countries have overrun much less effectively equipped nations, the machine has changed war from a partial to a total struggle between peoples, yet new weapons and sea and air operations would be useless without manpower for there would not be enough weapons made and enough weapons manned. Everything builds upon the common soldier of the line and the worker in the field and factory and nations without plenty of such are weak.

Canada is doubly weak from the immensity of the territory that must be defended by its ever so sparse population, and from its abject dependence on other powers for defense and for trade. With a population of forty million and up, Canada would not need to be a second-rate power

in America and a third or fourth rate power in the world. Just now it has the good fortune of seeing both its defensive and economic requirements satisfied by two entwined international organizations, the British Commonwealth, including the Dominions and the British Empire, and the Anglo-Saxon family of nations, comprising the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States of America. By boosting its population and growing up, Canada can reduce the abjectness of her own dependence, and immeasurably strengthen both world bodies by yet retaining her loyalty, her economic and sentimental attachment to them provided the newcomers are well chosen.

Looking at this country from the outside, it will be easily perceived that as long as there are great tracts of untilled but arable land, almost unlimited forest wealth, and boundless mineral deposits of which the surface has only been scratched, densely populated and enterprising nations in the same northern or a slightly more southern latitude in Europe, Asia, and America are going to cast covetous glances in our direction and if we either forcibly or willingly allow great resources to remain untapped while Nature's gifts in other countries are gradually exhausted, countries where demand for such goods is heavy may step in and take control. Indeed, have we the moral right to use dog-in-the-manger methods and, unwilling ourselves to take the necessary steps to put them to use, prevent others from benefitting from their presence through our sovereignty over the territory?

"As long as differences exist in birth rates, in density of population, in economic pressure, in social, political, religious

conditions, the drive to migrate to new and better lands will continue. Struggles will continue to arise from inequalities in population density, for example over the question of whether nations with vast unexploited areas are justified in excluding less fortunate peoples."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Maurice R. Davie: World Immigration. page 5.

CHAPTER IX

NATIONAL DEFENSE

The problem may really be construed not as one of whether Canada's immigration barriers should be lowered or not but one of the kind of immigrant that should be admitted and encouraged to come in large numbers. Once it is thus defined, certain subdivisions of the question immediately follow: the economic subdivision - what classes of people should be admitted, for instance should Balkan and Southern European farmers be preferred to people from the mercantile and working classes of the British Isles - and the racial or ethnic subdivision - should Canada change the racial physiognomy of her people or not. If she should, what races should be allowed to enter and what races should be excluded, on account of their standard of living, their political conceptions and traditions, their religion, their general economic background, their technical and business training and aptitudes, their language, their racial traits, and heaven knows how many other approaches? In the event of this supposition materializing, on what criterion or criterions, on what scale of values could anyone possibly base himself to decide to what language group we should belong, because a flood of immigrants equal to even half of the present population and of foreign speech would bring linguistic chaos. The United States was able to absorb and Americanize 38 million foreigners because the native population was not only immensely superior in number but unilingual and a

very large proportion of the total number of immigrants to that country were of the same race and speech as the native Americans. Here in Canada, not only is our population so deplorably small that any large-scale immigration would swamp it entirely, but it is also divided into two language groups rapidly approaching numerical equality<sup>1</sup> with consequent weakness in any attempt at Canadianization. Truly the difficulties would defy unravelling.

If Canada should not change her racial complexion, immigratory permission and facilities will be extended to the British Isles and France exclusively. Naturally there is little possibility of immigrants coming from France because this is, or until very recently has been, an immigrant-receiving country and because Frenchmen are not migratory by nature. However if such immigration materialized the problem would be how to distinguish genuine Frenchmen from foreigners of which there are a large number of every description with more or less lengthy domicile in that country, who would in all probability be the first to emigrate. And how are we going suddenly to absorb thousands of industrial workers and office men from the British Isles when about the only fields in which any number of workers could be employed would be prospecting, lumbering and above all self-sufficient farming, for which Englishmen are singularly ill-equipped, mentally and physically.

<sup>1</sup>Total increase in Canada's population 1931-1941, 1,129,869  
Increase in French-Canada's population 1931-1941, 555,048  
Increase in population for rest of Canada 1931-1941, 674,821

And if we want a vigorous, prolific, natural people to fill our empty expanses, what will be the use of importing contraceptive-ridden British who will not be any more valuable in giving this country a decent population than the dwindling portion of Canadians that is their racial counterpart!

A consideration that must never be lost from sight and whose essentiality must, in this year nineteen hundred and forty three, be vividly and, we hope, indelibly impressed on the minds of all, can be summed up in two words: military security. A country cannot grow and prosper until, and unless, it exists and as with man and the animal kingdom, so with countries self-preservation must logically and naturally constitute the primary law of existence. A country's lease on life rests on two elements: the force of arms and economic welfare. Strictly speaking, one is just as necessary as the other and nowadays military assault cannot help but imply economic warfare because a war of any magnitude or duration inevitably becomes total, when it does not begin that way.

Even economic warfare is waged with military means. A nation in conflict tries to produce and secure all the raw materials and manufactured goods it requires to obtain ascendancy over the foe: it devotes all its energy to providing and wielding the weapons of war and it diverts some of its military strength and output towards preventing the enemy from doing likewise.

The foundation of all such effort and of course of all success in such an enterprise is a numerous and robust population with good

technicians, much heavy industry and plentiful raw materials. The technical ability and training facilities we may say we have, the heavy industry we shall not get until we have a domestic market and therefore sufficient population to warrant its existence, and population we cannot have without mass immigration because natural increase is quite evidently inadequate in this respect.

Canada's position, geographically and politically, presents the most enviable protective advantages. She is part of that Empire which powerful, wealthy and intensely industrialized Britain is vitally interested in defending and she falls within the orbit of the Monroe Doctrine which the gigantic United States is pledged to uphold and violation of which that country interprets as a direct attack. Unfortunately Great Britain as a major world power is being superseded by other immense world powers such as Russia, China, and the U.S.A. Her might as a rampart of Canadian defense diminishes accordingly because, while her navy made a staunch shield and her army a sharp sword against such purely land powers as Germany and France, now that the air has emerged as the primary medium of combat Britain's chances of, let us say, repulsing such relentless attacks as those that might be launched by mechanized hordes from China and Russia or the numerical and industrial might of the U.S.A., can hardly be qualified as anything but slim, and this situation is in no way improved by her remoteness from the theaters in which such conflicts would unfold.

As long as world power was vested in Europe, Britain was the supreme bastion of Empire and American defense but now that political

power and economic wealth no longer center in Europe and are focussing on other points such as America or Asia, Britain is gradually moving from foreground to background. She will probably remain for a long time a military and economic power whose worth cannot be dismissed lightly from international deliberations, but the British dominions will have to take upon themselves, to an ever-increasing extent, the onus and responsibility of their own defense<sup>1</sup> Against China's 350,000,000, Russia's 170,000,000, Japan's 60,000,000, Brazil's 50,000,000, and the United States' 150,000,000, Canada's 12,000,000 will represent little more than an invitation to come and take over, whereas with the natural resources and technical advantages they would have at their command, and the compact vastness of their territory, 50,000,000 or more Canadians could look the rest of the world in the eye, unflinching, and unashamed.

Maurice R. Davie, an American, who has made a most comprehensive study of world migration, states, when dealing with Canada, that "an immigration of 200,000 a year would assure Canadian prosperity and 250,000 a year would spell 'boom'". Certainly a large measure of American prosperity up until 1929 can be attributed to the great market the U.S. was creating for itself, so to speak, "in its own back yard", from the millions of unskilled and largely unproductive but consuming immigrants.

<sup>1</sup>South Africa's Field Marshal Smuts, in a recent speech in Britain, said that the Empire is becoming too costly for Britain to carry it alone and suggested that she transfer the onus of certain parts of it to the Dominions.

Despite the multitude of foreigners who stepped down the gang-plank to the shores of the United States, the so-called "one-hundred percent American" of Anglo-Saxon stock prevailed over the diversity of other strains and is gradually absorbing them all or imposing his print upon them with eventual assimilation on the way. In Canada, were foreigners to swarm into the country in numbers even remotely resembling American immigration figures, they would completely obliterate the Anglo-Saxon element. If we admit sufficient outsiders to bring boom conditions to Canada, some very definite and very effective plans to protect and increase the ethnic stock must be laid and very rigidly applied.

Yet Canada needs many more people, in spite of everything. Almost inconceivable riches lie hidden and untouched beneath the green carpet of our endless forests. Nearly all the known metals and a lot of others for which a use will probably be found sooner or later, out of reach of the two-hundred mile fringe of population north of the American border, beckon man onward, whether he be inside the country or out, and offer him superabundance of the valuable and useful things of this world. There, gold and silver, iron, aluminum, manganese, and radium and what have you, await the magic touch of industry and human endeavour to turn into articles of livelihood, trade, life-saving and labour-saving but no one approaches, no one delves into their unfathomable treasures, because there is no home market and external outlets have to be shared with so many others more powerful. Even the very forests that hide these unlimited natural resources and render them hard of access

represent a gift of nature that, if it were used with the utmost wisdom and thrift, instead of being wantonly burned and otherwise destroyed, would act as an important element of our national economy.

In the Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, August, 1943, edition, in an article entitled "Canadian Perspective", a Mr. C.A. Dawson reviews Canada's potential capacity for absorbing additional population. The opinion he puts forth shows the purely scientific or mathematical approach to the question and probably represents the views of a large portion of those with a scientific turn of mind. He decries the widespread belief among Canadians that their country is one, as he puts it, "of boundless resources, meagerly developed and offering great opportunities for population expansion, not only by way of natural increase at home but by immigration from abroad". Mountainous and other non-arable land comprises most of Canada, he states, and of the remaining 1,000,000 square miles of land surface, only 550,000 "is available for potential agricultural settlement, much of it very problematical". Canadian Government statistics show that less than one half of the 550,000 square miles is actually occupied.

He quotes, in support of this theme, the conclusion drawn by a Professor Waines after a study of the Sirois report: "The material presented in this review affords no basis for the belief that the presently unexploited resources of the Prairie Provinces are capable of supporting large additions to the present population. Assuming a continuance of present factors, it appears that the Prairie Provinces

will not find it easy in the early future to support their own natural increase and that any attempt to enhance the population by assisted immigration or land-settlement schemes would probably merely accentuate to that degree the present emigration (from the Prairie Provinces)". The situation in the West, from all indications, differs not, generally speaking, from that in the East.

Mr. Dawson even casts some doubt on our eventual ability to give "chances of livelihood to our present population as augmented by natural increase". Every feature of Canada, climate, resources, location from a competitive standpoint, leads to the belief that opportunities here cannot possibly expand any further. He pictures Canada, not as the vast empty space it is considered to be at home and abroad, but as a country that has practically reached the limit of its growth and he places its maximum population at between eighteen and twenty millions<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Note: Stephen Leacock, Canadian humorist and economist of wide repute, says. "But as often as I have made in print the statement that Canada can easily support a population of a hundred million people I have been met with incredulity, derision or with the direct accusation of being a humorist. As a matter of fact the figure might well be nearer to two hundred million....."

All these opinions are not adduced nor these quotations recorded with the dishonest intention of filling space. They reflect the attitude of nearly all prominent Canadian economists towards immigration into this country and thus have a very direct bearing on the problem not only of absorbing additions to the Canadian people into our economic scheme but also of making Canada sufficiently growth-conscious for

lets itself be carried along by every current can never become anything or get anywhere unless such currents so conspire, and this happens so rarely that the phenomenon is most unreliable.

They seem to forget that a people can and should bend their national economy to their will. And yet the present-day world does not lack convincing examples. Siberia is as cold as, if not much colder than, most of Canada, means of transportation and industrial and agricultural markets just do not exist, or did not until quite recently. Did Russia try to camouflage inertia by maintaining that a plan for settling Siberia had absolutely no economic justification, that what with home or foreign markets she had her hands full finding occupational opportunity for her natural increase of about a million a year, that it was too far north and too remote to have any attraction for a sociable people? No, indeed. In fact the Russians moved to Siberia and soundly established a number of people equal to the entire population of Canada. They gave these new settlements a sufficiently numerous and self-reliant farming class to ensure a local market for the industries established there and sufficient rural blood to keep the urban centres in a state of growth.

But the Russians, you say, are economically inferior anyway, are peasants who never had anything and could easily adapt themselves to the sacrifice such mass moves impose? But Russia is totalitarian and can therefore do what it likes with its citizens? In a world where the struggle for existence is a reality not only among individuals but among races and states, what chance has Anglo-Saxondom, numbering some two-

hundred politically compartmented millions, to survive against 170,000,000 united Russians, 350,000,000 Chinese, teeming millions of Blacks and some 300,000,000 Hindus if material progress has so reduced its vitality, its initiative and imagination as to render it physically and intellectually incapable of the effort required to give it a fighting chance against races and nations lower down on the ladder of material progress?

Anglo-Saxondom is everywhere preoccupied with post war problems because winning the peace is going to be much more vital and much more complicated than winning the war. Military contest involves only the military and economic forces of the moment whereas a nation's, race's or politico-economic group's place in the world depends on the foresight and adaptability deployed in controlling and directing peacetime trends and activity, and the opinion held by most Canadian economists on immigration reflects neither of these two essential qualities.

Nor is it necessary to go as far afield as Russia to find concrete instances of peoples taking the conduct of their existence into hand. England, to-day, offers one of the most striking illustrations of such initiative and an example worthy of emulation. She knows that methods and policies that worked well when she was the first nation on earth, lying in the lee of an impregnable naval defense line and strong enough to police the world, no longer produce desired results and therefore require to be replaced when circumstances have so changed that adherence to such principles is no longer warranted.

Formerly British exporters told customers they could take British goods or leave them. While Britain had practically a monopoly on world

markets, the policy was not unreasonable, but now that other nations cater more carefully to foreign markets or flood them through mass production methods, Britain is making a complete about-face and turning into a much more affable trader.

Just as radical has been her change-over from free trade to protectionism. With the lowering of her position in the world, Britain is looking abroad, she seriously contemplates sending some ten million of her people to the dominions not only to reduce the population she must feed at home but to strengthen and enlarge the empire so that it may be better able to share the responsibilities she is finding increasingly difficult and heavy to shoulder. According to a statement by Garfield Weston, British M.P. extremely interested in buying up Canadian business concerns, she is planning to effect some kind of "integration of British and Canadian business interests", and ipso facto moving closer to American business interests. In other words Britain knows her existence as a great power is threatened and she is using foresight and adaptability to retain and retrieve as much world trade as she possibly can.

While every other nation of note is saying the bull can be taken by the horns, and translating this intrepied theory into action, is Canada to continue maintaining that she can not do so and in this way doom herself forever to the ignoble position of a satellite, an awkward defenseless mass or, what is even more probable, a subject part of another state?

Naturally many technical hurdles present themselves to materialization of any plan of national development and growth but this

war of 1939-? should prove that relatively nothing is impossible. No allied country could afford to arm and yet when war actually came, that was the least worry. The great mass of American public opinion has been changed from rabid isolationism to the most ardent internationalism, something that seemed a hopeless task prior to the war. Countries that could not provide work for their own citizens found in war that they had not enough citizens for the things they wanted to do.

Peace can and should benefit just as much as war from the principle: "If it must be done, it can be done." Canada's future existence may depend on it much more, actually, than many people believe. It constitutes the basic strategy of our national defense. If our economic system cramps our growth, it should be modified, or shelved, and another one fashioned.

CHAPTER X

RELATIONS WITH U.S.A. AND EMPIRE

Much deliberation must be devoted to various aspects of a country's relations with its neighbours, friends and relatives in contemplating population enlargements and for Canada this means our relations with the other countries of the empire and with the United States.

Anyone who examines the framework and history, especially modern, of the British Empire and Commonwealth will perceive that only those members in which there exists a strong British majority cleave instinctively to this family of nations, and those countries in which the majority is ethnically dissimilar tend just as instinctively in a completely opposite direction, i.e. towards nationalistic self-determination. Thus Northern Ireland, The Union of South Africa, Canada and Australia, and New Zealand, like the others, prefer to achieve this end within the framework of the Commonwealth. On the other hand you have Eire, India, Egypt, the Sudan, Malaya, Burma and nearly all the others, who seek egress from the Empire and are only retained within its fold by military or economic pressure or both. In the former states the British are predominant, in the latter they are a negligible minority. This truth is elementary.

Now, within the former and preponderantly Anglo-Saxon group there are minorities and population trends are and have been for some time definitely favourable to these minorities. In Northern Ireland the

native Irish or Celts have a much higher rate of natural increase than the Anglo-Saxon or English and Lowland Scottish element; in South Africa not only is there a discrepancy between Afrikaander and British rates of increase but the negroes have outstripped both. In Canada, according to figures from the 1931 census in the Census of Canada 1931 (Table 38, Page 736), the number of children that have been brought into the world by English, Irish, Scottish or other British races is rapidly sinking to one half the number of those by French-Canadian parents.

The situation has certainly not improved since then, and, although in wartime births radically increase in number and the present conflict offers no exception to the rule, modernism has absolutely no room for child-bearing and child-raising and in pervading society to an ever greater extent, it can ultimately end only in loss of prestige and position for the Anglo-Saxon race if not the eventual subjugation and absorption that has ever characterized the last chapter in the existence of all masterful races throughout the course of history. The Anglo-Saxon, in the present day world, seems to be, apart from the Frenchman of France, the only race materialistic and unnatural enough to pursue this end and like it.

Even in Australia and New Zealand the birth-rate situation is far from satisfactory and although neither of these countries has any thorny minority problem, yet both are as islands, rather small islands, in a veritable sea of Oriental peoples whose swell would certainly have washed over them by this, were it not for assistance from the senior English-speaking nations.

Just how does all this affect Canada? Simply this way! By opening her doors to all races and peoples, Canada will, owing to her diminutive population, change her entire ethnic physiognomy and her tendency will change from one of adherence to the British Commonwealth or to the Anglo-Saxon family of nations to one of withdrawal as from under a foreign domination. Without any immigration, Canada, through the moral indolence and irresponsibility of the English-speaking peoples, seems well on its way to becoming a French state with an English-speaking and only partly Anglo-Saxon minority. As our political autonomy and our economic existence depends almost exclusively on Great Britain and the United States and on the fact that so far we have been one with them in blood and upbringing, the implications engendered by both possibilities are manifold and hardly to our advantage.

Our relationship with the American colossus will change radically with any such change in the racial structure of the Canadian people. The U.S. will certainly not look upon a French state on its northern border with any favour. Anglo-Saxon and Protestant America will then be surrounded by Latin and Catholic civilizations and, much as this may appear desirable to many for religious reasons, it can only bring strife of some kind or other under the pretext of ensuring the security of the U.S. north border. Anglo-Saxon and Frenchman are miles apart in their manner of reasoning as well as in their ambitions, and misunderstanding would be bound to develop, and it would not be alleviated by American economic interest in Canada and French-Canada's desire to retain Canada for Canadians.

In fact the question might well be put: Would the United States allow such a development to take place? Or to state the question in another way that might be much closer to the truth, would North American Anglo-Saxondom allow half of the North American Continent, with everything of value contained in it, to pass beyond its political control? Here is the essential pivot-issue and the answer to this question will provide the North American economic set-up of to-morrow-American economic hegemony over all North America or division of resources and economy between two great and powerful countries.

Two hypotheses naturally come to mind right off when this question is asked: either Canada becomes the 49th state of the American Union or Canada retains her autonomy. Let us suppose that, no immigration having taken place on any grand scale, Canada has reached the stage where the imminence of a French-Canadian majority, with its political significance, is inevitable and quite app rent to all. That, of course, projects us several decades into the future.

In that day, the English-speaking Canadian will probably be much more American than British since the earth will likely be revolving around Washington economically speaking, rather than around London as formerly, or around both, more or less, as it does to-day. In taking stock of his position, he, our Canadian, will reflect upon the fact that his breed has spread its institutions in many lands and climes and especially all over the North American continent, the institutions of the democratic parliamentary system and the general sense of civic duty and

spirit of voluntary joint effort that are typical of the English-speaking world and of almost no other.

By that time the history of France will have shown to all, as it has already shown to those who have eyes that see, that the French individualistic and warm-blooded temperament is no more suited to democracy than Pike's Peak because in its essence it is the very opposite of that character comprising co-operation and common-sense and that has enabled democracy to flourish wherever English is currently spoken.

This bodes not well for British institutions and progress on the whole in Canada, for in France such division prevailed that the country went ahead only in wartime when under emergency authoritative and central administration and yet the English Canadian can live under no other but the system of rule by popular representation.

Can anyone blame him then for turning to a country of between one hundred and fifty and two hundred million souls, just across the border, where his kind are in great majority, and demanding inclusion within its political limits for his Country while he still has the reigns of its government in his grasp? And the Americans, only too eager to acquire new virtually unexploited territory because their own resources are dying up as a result of mass production and waste, will not inconceivably accede to his request.

Some already say that this solution would be the best anyway. They lack imagination, to say the least, because not only would we have the present problem of minority rights in all provinces but we would

also acquire the negro problem which does not exist here now but which, once it did, would defy solution as it does and has always done in the United States. We would also lose our police efficiency if we had to assume the American police system, with crime on a scale similar to the one on which it is practised in the U.S.A. These are just a few of the inconveniences of such a move and they should prove adequate deterrents. The only conceivable advantage might be the greater exploitation of our country but even this loses its attraction when we consider that Canadians would be the least of the benefactors from such a scheme. The Canadian standard of living might be raised but only ever so slightly because there is not what could be called a wide discrepancy between American and Canadian living scales.

Another principle that militates against any amalgamation of this kind is that the smaller a country or territory, the easier it is to govern. Since both Canada and the United States are vast, sprawling lands in their own right, their unification would hardly improve matters.

From the French-Canadian viewpoint, Canada's merger into the United States can only be envisaged as a major political calamity. If French-Canadians find it hard to impose respect for their interests on a government in which they are in a minority ratio of one against two, can any advantage possibly accrue to them in this respect by allowing this unfavourable ratio to jump from one against two to one against thirty-two? Throughout this entire question, it is to the advantage of French-speaking people in this country for Canada to acquire such a population and thereby such real autonomy and maturity that they may be sure at least the main interests of all Canadians, if not the particular interests of

Suppose, however, that the Americans, for some reason or other, leave us alone, in spite of their economic imperialism that is even now in ever increasing evidence. The following figures are worth examining; they are from the 1931 Canadian census.

<sup>1</sup> RACIAL ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION, BY QUINQUENNIAL AGE GROUPS, SEX, RURAL AND URBAN, CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1931

Racial origin and sex	AGE GROUP							
	All ages	Under 1	1-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29
CANADA...T.	10,376,786	202,668	871,747	1,132,749	1,074,051	1,039,591	911,185	786,281
R.	4,802,988	103,695	454,974	579,623	543,204	496,391	401,487	333,399
U.	5,573,798	98,973	416,773	553,126	530,847	543,200	509,698	452,882
RURAL.....M.	2,602,021	52,732	230,142	294,042	277,684	267,805	227,992	188,505
F.	2,200,967	50,963	224,832	285,581	265,520	228,586	173,495	144,894
BRITISH RACES								
English...M.	600,948	9,945	44,822	60,390	59,717	62,677	52,138	41,148
F.	514,778	9,625	43,453	57,688	55,846	48,621	38,786	34,025
Irish....M.	305,851	5,194	22,756	30,147	30,309	29,069	24,973	20,489
F.	252,289	4,880	21,758	28,751	28,013	24,118	18,522	15,579
Scottish..M.	317,413	5,137	22,731	30,544	30,739	30,780	26,294	21,240
F.	266,987	4,797	21,800	29,494	29,020	25,157	19,038	16,499
Other.....M.	15,337	240	1,050	1,444	1,419	1,571	1,429	1,189
F.	11,061	213	1,069	1,404	1,400	1,129	830	666
EUROPEAN RACES								
French...M.	706,668	18,526	79,278	98,007	86,638	78,670	63,577	46,994
F.	641,426	18,207	78,448	96,086	84,203	71,788	53,245	41,164
URBAN.....M.	2,772,520	50,198	210,100	278,465	265,246	257,445	235,730	221,471
F.	2,801,278	48,775	206,673	274,661	265,601	285,755	273,968	231,411
English...M.	797,565	12,530	53,218	73,867	74,274	74,925	67,826	58,869
F.	828,128	12,072	51,791	71,794	72,342	80,549	75,622	64,514
Irish....M.	324,644	5,019	21,596	29,476	29,210	29,167	26,533	23,286
F.	348,024	4,853	20,625	29,143	29,446	31,270	31,091	26,599
Scottish..M.	372,725	5,654	24,169	33,660	33,831	34,564	31,094	27,597
F.	389,225	5,495	23,693	32,493	33,719	36,903	35,738	30,818
Other.....M.	19,182	295	1,193	1,732	1,766	1,674	1,585	1,464
F.	16,914	253	1,174	1,659	1,639	1,834	1,571	1,254
French...M.	766,707	18,451	77,201	95,195	83,396	76,407	69,482	61,509
F.	813,189	17,816	77,235	95,353	85,766	87,931	82,949	69,903

		AGE GROUP								
		30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	
CANADA...T.		708,836	688,463	646,099	585,211	488,681	367,025	294,597	231,134	
	R.	296,642	286,062	268,983	248,491	211,067	166,558	135,905	108,812	
	U.	412,194	402,401	377,116	336,720	277,614	200,467	158,692	122,322	
RURAL.....M.		163,188	156,733	151,815	143,002	121,250	95,621	77,686	61,605	
BRITISH RACES		F.	133,454	129,329	117,168	105,489	89,817	70,937	58,219	47,207
	English...M.	36,569	37,578	39,321	38,607	33,019	25,173	20,782	16,063	
	F.	34,970	35,217	32,920	30,537	26,300	19,725	15,813	12,401	
	Irish.....M.	18,735	18,764	18,434	18,154	16,948	14,075	12,405	9,997	
	F.	15,539	15,478	14,679	13,623	12,451	10,309	9,093	7,350	
	Scottish...M.	19,420	20,019	20,519	20,325	17,967	14,543	12,142	9,779	
	F.	16,521	17,312	16,858	15,373	13,751	10,946	9,275	7,677	
	Other.....M.	975	971	1,128	1,101	876	628	496	344	
EUROPEAN RACES		F.	738	751	701	566	514	359	261	204
	French.....M.	38,573	35,079	31,787	29,146	25,073	21,539	17,100	13,967	
	F.	34,507	31,370	27,018	24,167	19,912	17,142	13,830	11,380	
URBAN.....M.		204,947	202,348	195,948	178,511	146,082	103,539	97,226	59,090	
	F.	207,247	200,053	181,168	158,209	131,532	96,928	79,466	63,232	
	English...M.	54,516	57,041	59,307	58,352	48,555	33,765	26,183	18,812	
	F.	63,261	63,840	60,296	54,874	47,099	32,986	26,566	20,358	
	Irish.....M.	22,356	22,887	22,778	21,487	19,307	14,684	12,209	9,735	
	F.	24,971	26,061	24,158	21,895	19,248	15,298	13,698	11,305	
	Scottish...M.	25,472	26,506	28,333	27,241	23,001	16,087	12,330	9,375	
	F.	29,051	29,700	28,726	25,972	21,257	15,495	12,995	10,459	
	Other.....M.	1,407	1,480	1,556	1,561	1,195	767	593	392	
	F.	1,240	1,389	1,202	1,046	822	575	439	336	
	French.....M.	53,105	48,124	42,264	35,756	30,083	23,106	17,704	14,017	
	F.	57,803	50,086	43,424	35,492	29,712	23,130	18,512	15,008	

<sup>1</sup>Statistics for other races not required for purposes of this book and therefore omitted.

Notice the difference between the number of very young children by English parents and those by French parents despite relatively little difference in numbers of all ages for both groups.

And that was away back in 1931 when the English world was not as luxury-loving and pro-birth-control as it is to-day, more than ten years later. Notice also that French-Canadians are prolific whether in urban or rural districts whereas the English-Canadian and his Irish and Scottish confrères are little more than half as prolific as their French fellow-citizens in rural districts and no better in urban centres. Notice how the English are more numerous than French from the 35-39 age group upward, whereas in the lower age groups the French have a considerable edge. In other words the English are rapidly becoming an old population, with a small percentage of youth, compared to the French population with just the opposite proportion. The effect of this condition on the adaptability, vigour and progress of the two races can well be imagined.

An attempt is not being made to paint for the average English-speaking Canadian a horrible picture of possible French domination here in Canada. The only wish is to illustrate statistically whither Canada, to date, a member of the Anglo-Saxon family of nations, is going by contrasting its English element, which constitutes the real Anglo-Saxon nucleus, and is typical of the low-birth-rate group, with its French element, which is the largest non-British group and typical of the high-birth-rate group.

As a slight but pertinent digression, the remark might be made here that the lowering of the birth-rate has hereto borne the name of progress among most English-Canadians and has been looked upon as unnatural and sinful by French-Canadians, an example of the influence of social outlook on a people's chances of survival and growth.

From all that comes before it can be seen that any real change in the racial picture in Canada, either through indiscriminate immigration or through voluntary reduction of the English-speaking and Anglo-Saxon element in the population, would alter our relations with the rest of the Empire and with the U.S.A. Since dealings between relatives are always more cordial, more understanding and patient, more generous than those between strangers, whether acquainted or not, Canada, once it became predominantly non-Anglo-Saxon, could not possibly be accepted any longer, in peace or in war, as a blood brother by Great Britain, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, and above all by the United States whereas, in remaining a British nation, it well strengthen the Anglo-Saxon family of nations and will continue to enjoy the solidarity and preference that, in spite of varying degrees of commercial rivalry, has really characterized this family to the mutual advantage of its members.

CHAPTER XI

THE ANGLO-SAXON BLOC

The importance, the real value of this Anglo-Saxon Bloc will easily be sensed by a peep, no matter how amateur, into the future. One need not be a prophet extraordinary to get an inkling of things to come among nations and peoples. The Orient is becoming industrialized, very slowly if you will but none the less surely, and shows evidence of a growing inclination to cast off Western political and economic tutelage. The Oriental is discounting the white man's superiority more and more every day. Immense political masses whose size and populousness caused the white man no misgivings when they were unorganized, unproductive, uncompetitive, are now growing into well-defined and mammoth units and the day is certainly approaching when they will reach that stage of economic and political maturity where they too will take up the quest for foreign markets. Such countries are India, China, and, just now the most formidable of all, Russia. It will be hard for little England whose markets are constantly dwindling, and the complacent and relatively self-sufficient United States of America and any other country to bear "the white man's burden" against the expanding interests of these oriental and semi-oriental lands.

No attempt is being made here to instill in anyone that international distrust that will spell failure for any post-war plan or system of co-operation towards maintaining peace. The purpose of the preceding sketch is to illustrate how important and necessary it is, for our own sake and for the sake of world order, that Canada strive to

strengthen the Anglo-Saxon Bloc by every available means, especially by bringing herself, the link between the English-speaking European empire and English-speaking America, to full size through immigration so designed and controlled as to fulfill this requirement of her, and the rest of Anglo-Saxondon's future security. This end will certainly not be reached by opening the immigration barriers to all or a large number of peoples, no matter how strong the humanitarian or sentimental urge, until the Anglo-Saxon is but an insignificant minority and the bulk of the Canadian people no more resembles the American and British nations than does any South American or Continent European population.

CHAPTER XII

CONTINUITY OF CANADIAN HISTORY AND TRADITION

One last point deserving of consideration in the draft of any plan of post-war immigration into Canada is the continuity of Canadian history and tradition and its maintenance. This is something that will carry little or no weight with the business, scientific or radical mind but will evoke response in the heart and mind of those who know Canadian history and tradition and whose patriotism involves deep respect for both. Just as the history of Canada in the time of the French regime turned in a completely different direction when a people with a completely different allegiance and outlook assumed the powers of government, so in our day Canadian history and tradition will sheer from the course it has held for a century if its administration falls to people who, in conjunction with these native Canadians that do not look very favourably on our present British connection or American association, profess an allegiance altogether different from the ones to which we at present subscribe or negative in the sense that the subject is not particularly interested in either Britain or the U.S.A.

To sum up, any post-war immigration plan must regulate the admission of newcomers in such a way as to endow this country with a population most likely to afford the greatest possible measure of military security, to provide maximum economic prosperity and development and to preserve or raise Canada's present standard of living, to enable us to keep on the most friendly terms with the United States of America and with the other nations of the British Commonwealth, to add to the

durability and strength of the Anglo-Saxon Bloc and to maintain the continuity of Canadian history and administrative and cultural traditions.

These conditions are the undeniable foundations on which Canadian immigration policy must henceforth rest. Simple? It certainly is and yet it is surprising the number of people who, through ignorance of the implications or through business interest, advocate a lowering of all barriers, unrestricted immigration similar to what took place in the United States before the quota system was imposed.

## KIND OF IMMIGRATION

### CHAPTER XIII

#### SELECTIVE IMMIGRATION: BRITISH AND AMERICAN

If Canada really aspires to maturity as a big, powerful and self-reliant nation, she must observe the requisites treated in the foregoing chapter and her leaders must keep them always in mind in choosing the elements of future Canadian citizenry.

Selection comprises acceptance of some races, peoples, or classes, and rejection or exclusion of others. There are all kinds of selection, depending on the point of view. People applying for right of entry into a country may be accepted or rejected on economic, political, religious, educational, legal grounds, etc., but since the subject of immigration is being analysed in this thesis solely from the ethnic viewpoint, the word "selection", when used, will mean choice of immigrants on racial grounds only. The composition of a country's population is the most important factor in determining its nature and future trend. Consequently this aspect is uppermost in this treatise. If other forms of selection must be practised, they can be fitted into the framework of this one but must never replace or supersede it.

A rapid survey of the ends to be attained and the corresponding pitfalls to be avoided in embarking on an immigration policy for this country will reveal quite clearly that the most valuable immigrants will come from the British Isles.

People from that place fill all the requirements of Canada's future population. British immigrants are valuable from a military

security point of view because they strengthen the Anglo-Saxon element here, and if they come in large enough numbers, will permit it to maintain a decided majority in the country, and thus make for greater unity and consistency of foreign policy and more unified and therefore more efficient internal administration in time of war. The Britisher is notoriously phlegmatic and always practical and in time of stress his character will be as much an asset to Canada as it was to Britain during the "fateful days after the fall of France" in 1940. Anything but warm-blooded, the Englishman does not rush into things, takes his time and gets organized, but has enough of the romantic in his temperament to follow a cause around the world one he makes it his.

England has not been called a nation of shop-keepers for nothing. The people are full of business: England's position in the world in relation to her size furnishes ample proof of this; and the present day world testifies to the truth of the statement that the English never settle a country without turning it into a giant in its class. The economic importance of such relatively small countries as Canada, Australia, New Zealand illustrates this point. Canada with less than twelve million people cuts a much better figure in the economic field than South American countries, for instance, with as much as four times its population. The same may be said of the other dominions. Great Britain and the United States themselves are head and shoulders above the next nation in their class. Business is the English race's life blood and results in a country's being much more developed under the private enterprise system, when inhabited by them

than when inhabited by any other race. And business is also a country's life blood, its source of prosperity and power.

It does not even require imagination to realize that admission of large numbers of British immigrants would not imperil our relations with the Mother Country or with the neighbouring Republic, nor would it have an adverse effect on any of our administrative or cultural traditions or cause any deviation in the general trend of Canadian history. The solidarity and weight of the Anglo-Saxon Bloc, which exist in wartime if not in peacetime, would certainly gain from it.

Furthermore, of all probable immigrant-sending countries except possibly the United States, the standard of living in Great-Britain approaches Canada's the most. British labour, the best organized in the world, in coming over here will adapt itself with no effort at all to our trade union system and will thus do no harm to Canadian labour's standards and wage levels.

The British speak the same language as the majority of Canadians, owe allegiance to the same sovereign, profess adherence to almost the same principles and institutions and consequently their assimilation would require no government expenditure or interference and would be accomplished in no time. Foreigners on the other hand take generations to absorb and some remain undigestible and a cause of complaint for the entire nation.

In thus favouring the British Isles exclusively or almost, Canada will certainly not be treading on new ground. Rather she will

be following a path already beaten and followed by all the other Dominions and by the United States, the greatest immigrant-receiving country in history. For a long period United States ports of entry were open to immigrants no matter where from or in what numbers. Finally foreigners made up such a portion of the American population that the force of public opinion compelled the government to dam the tide in order to protect the original stock and retain the country's Anglo-Saxon character.

After trying one form of test after another to reduce the number of foreigners coming in, the U.S.A. finally adopted the quota system, based on the national origins. Of the total yearly quota of 150,000, Great Britain and Northern Ireland are allowed 65,721, Germany 25,957, the Irish Free State 17,853, Poland 6,524, Italy 5,802, Scandinavia (Norway, Sweden, Denmark) 6,872, and so on down the line. From this it can be seen that Great Britain and Northern Ireland are entitled to nearly half, and, with Eire included, the British Isles alone are allowed considerably more than half, of the entire quota. And yet the danger of the Anglo-Saxon element's being snowed under never existed in the U.S.A. to the extent to which it now exists in Canada. Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and our country have all sought British immigration in preference to any other in the past. Australia and New Zealand have always admitted overwhelmingly British immigration, with the result that 98.4% of all New Zealanders have been born in New Zealand or in British countries and 95% of all Australians are of British stock. Thus the population of these two dominions is remarkably homogenous and this means much for

national unity of purpose in peace and in war. Indeed the past policy of Canada's immigration branch has always been to try to keep Canada predominantly British and from evidence of growing uneasiness among Canadians of British stock about different aspects of population increase it would seem that this basic principle is definitely not destined to be forsaken.

Another country from which emigrants may possibly be admitted in large numbers is naturally the United States. However two dangers would have to be dodged in such a venture: first of all some steps would have to be taken to prevent our element of foreign stock (not French or British) from receiving too substantial additions to its numbers from across the border because in this way we would be defeating our own purpose. Much of the foreign element below the border is still little removed from the customs of the land of its forbears and still seeks its own kind. In the second place since one of the aims of Canadian immigration will be to maintain Canadian independence in the face of waning British and growing American influence, it would hardly be advisable to admit American citizens here in very large numbers. Knowledge of the uncompromising nature of American patriotism and popular antipathy towards Britain and of the history of the State of Oregon, and, to a lesser degree, that of the State of Texas, should adequately deter any Canadian leader from offering too hearty an invitation to United States citizens to settle here.

If the Canadian government however wants to reinforce and enlarge our English-speaking farming class, it can accomplish this

purpose only by launching a sustained appeal to the immense and almost purely Anglo-Saxon farming class in the United States. All immigration from Britain will certainly be overwhelmingly composed of industrial workers and commercial townfolk, owing to the fact that, judging from utterances by Prime Minister Churchill and other dignitaries of the realm, Great Britain is, or shortly will be, definitely committed to a policy of encouraging home agriculture with a view to a larger measure of self-sufficiency. Besides, farmers represent an almost insignificant portion of Britains's population and even if encouraged to emigrate, would only come here in small numbers.

Between Great Britain's industrial and the United States' landed population Canada will have to strike a balance that will conform to the requisites of a symmetrical economic structure. That aspect of the question does not fall within the province of this work.

CHAPTER XIV

ATTITUDE TOWARDS OTHERS

Apart from the senior members of the Anglo-Saxon Bloc, the only other sources from which Canada should draw any new citizens are the Scandinavian countries, or Norway, Sweden and Denmark. These people, by their history and their methods of government, their peacefulness, agricultural occupation and progressiveness, would qualify as sound, respectable citizens of a young and growing country. The Finns are mongoloid in origin and this goes against Canada's ambition to remain a white man's country with special stress on Northern European Celto-Germanic stock. But even these sources should be tapped only sparingly so as to render assimilation as effortless and rapid as possible.

What about the Germans? Were they not always considered as good Northern European stock? See the large numbers of them that have been admitted to the United States! Quite so, but to admit Germans is to run counter to our desire to accept only those immigrants who will continue and strengthen our working democratic institutions.

The fact is that democracy or popular government is not a rung in the ladder of progress to which all nations will sooner or later climb but simply the expression of the Anglo-Saxon mind and temperament and that is the reason why hardly any other country in the world has succeeded in making it function properly. A system of popular and universal co-operation requires people who can co-operate and co-operation is the keystone of the Anglo-Saxon mind and temperament and

of no other, with the possible exception of Scandinavians. The Anglo-Saxon cannot work well when working alone and he instinctively seeks fulfilment of the desires, rights and ambitions of the individual. All this is amply borne out by the grand outlines of history.

The German mind is the very antithesis: it functions best when a little cog in a big wheel and the individual tends to lose his identity and personality in that of the overall unit or organization. Thus the German lends himself to dictatorial or one-man rule much more easily than to popular government, and accepts the theory that the individual exists only for the state much more readily than the opposite and democratic conception. Hence, in principle, a democratic country like ours must consider the German as undesirable from his very nature and exclude him from citizenship.

Coloured people, and in this category must be included negroes from the United States or elsewhere, all Orientals without exception, and Hindus, must be kept rigidly out. Apart from the fact that they may fill some transitory need for cheap labour, they are not of the slightest use to this country from any point of view. Even in the case of a demand for labour, their presence here only serves to lower the white workers' wage level and standard of living. No matter what work they do, it can be done just as well by white men's hands or machinery.

The anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese riots that have flared up in the past in this country and in the U.S.A., the implacable negrophobia of the average white citizen in the United States resulting in such

outbreaks as lynchings and the Detroit race riots of 1943 for an instance, the discrimination that is invariably shown towards coloured people by whites here in America and towards their children and grandchildren both by the whites here and by the people in their homelands make them a thorn in the side of the country in which they live and the cause of much diplomatic friction and misunderstanding between it and their country of origin.

Indeed the Oriental himself does not benefit from living in a land of Western culture and population because, no matter how American or Canadian his manners and speech after several generations, his outward appearance will forever brand him as Oriental and his presence is resented in every field of endeavour. Then if he returns to the land of his people, experience shows that even there he is looked upon with suspicion and disfavour because of his Western manners or methods. In a white country the Oriental is absolutely unassimilable, is condemned by circumstance to be a pariah all his life. It would be for better for himself, his native land and the country of his adoption, if he were never admitted. The phenomenon is rooted deep in human nature.

The Oriental does not contribute anything to the Canadian nation that cannot be secured from more assimilable immigrants. Why allow something so transitory and elusive as diplomatic manoeuvring with any country to be a pretext for starting a permanent sore in Canada's growing nationhood! Our attitude and legislation must be adamant on this point. Any foreign government that cannot or will not understand our reluctance to admit races that will give us nothing but trouble as

long as this country endures certainly do not deserve to be treated "avec des gants blancs".

Nearly everything already written here concerning the undesirability of oriental or coloured immigration applies to the Jews. We all know they have a hard time of it almost wherever they live but to conclude that, since Jews are despised, shunned, suspected or openly attacked and generally not wanted by all the rest of humanity, we should accept them here so that Canada may in the future "enjoy" the resentment they never fail to inspire in Gentiles is preposterous, to say the least.

The Jew shows nearly the same degree of unassimilability as the Oriental. He has not been called "the nation within a nation" without reason. While the Oriental will arouse opposition and even race riots when his presence has a detrimental economic effect on his white neighbours, as in the case of all the anti-Japanese, anti-Chinese, anti-Hindu and anti-Philippino demonstrations of one kind or another that have taken place on the North American continent, Jews go a step farther and antagonize people economically not only by the racial monopoly they sooner or later extend over different lines of business but also by that undefinable and ever-present something that has prevented them from identifying themselves with the natives of any country in which they have lived and has kept them objects of popular discontent and antipathy ever since they cried "His blood be upon us and upon our children" over nineteen centuries ago.

So that the motive behind the last two paragraphs may not be

misconstrued, the author wishes at this point to make it clear that he is not obsessed by any anti-semitism whatsoever and that he is quite definitely not attempting to arouse or instill anti-Semitic feelings of any kind. He seeks merely to prove that Canada needs more population, that the immigration required to fill this need must be assimilable above all.

The history of immigration over the entire world teaches a striking lesson in the absolute folly and futility of allowing unassimilable elements to slip into a country's population. Throughout the American hemisphere Chinese, Japanese, Negroes and Jews have lain as undigestible and usually disturbing masses within the body of every state, whether Latin or Anglo-Saxon, impossible to absorb, impossible to expel once they lose the citizenship of their country of origin. Canada herself has not escaped. Is that any reason for her to plunge further into the blight?

The objection will not fail to be advanced that we are a democratic people, that we cannot, morally speaking, forbid Jews to migrate here on such racist grounds, and that in reality and in general we are relatively free from such narrow prejudice. To begin with, democracy does not in the slightest degree imply that a country is duty-bound to accept anyone and everyone. Lincoln's "government of the people for the people and by the people" does not forbid the exclusion from a country of people who would have a perturbing effect on the nation any more than it forbids the exclusion from a country of goods that would have a troublesome effect on home industry. The only satisfactory way of curing a nation's as well as an individual's ills is to eliminate the cause, not to lose

with all sorts of palliatives and painkillers.

Moreover if such objectors have the gift of sight they need only to travel to some beach or resort where Jews are known to flock and to notice how universally and how scrupulously the Gentiles shun the place. Or they may read in all large cities before places of amusement, lodging, or business here and there such signs as "No Jews Allowed", or "Gentiles Only". In the latter case, further inquiry will reveal that this sequestration stems not from bigotry, but from sound business sense and a knowledge of human nature.

That it is all very deplorable is granted. That it should be condoned is rejected. That it should be mitigated or eliminated by realistically withholding permission to settle in this country from that unfortunate but not altogether blameless race of people is obvious. We do not owe them admission to Canada, much as we may be inclined to pity them. And Charity begins at home. Here again no contribution will be made to Canadian nationhood that can not be secured from British and kindred race groups with much less inconvenience to the nation.

The negative side of the immigration question has been hereto discussed with particular reference to the coloured and Hebrew races and the conclusions follow quite easily. But what about the other white races! Here is an issue much more subtle, much more difficult to settle with adequate proof. As already noted Canadians are divided ethnically as follows: Anglo-Saxon 49.6%, French 30.2% and others 20.2% While the smaller than half British portion will certainly favour British immigration, even in this group a large number, through ignorance or interest as

already stated, advocate indiscriminate immigration, especially as concerns whites, and the non-English and the native-born among these are not at all unanimously in favour of British incomers. The French mostly prefer no immigration at all for several reasons already explained. And the 20.2% group of foreign extraction unanimously prefer indiscriminate immigration mainly because that is to the advantage of their kith and kin back in the homeland.

This last group of Canadians will hardly admit any plan excluding their co-racials. To prove the advisability of such a plan to this group would be well nigh impossible were it not for the assistance of valuable and yet elementary observations within everybody's range of vision.

In the first place it is well to study the experience of others. This method saves much trouble and is really the basis of all human progress. About thirty-eight million foreigners streamed across the seas to the United States from early in the nineteenth century until 1930. In some years the registers show over a million new arrivals.

Naturally, there were many of the same race in these throngs and the first to come found themselves in strange surroundings among a strange people with strange language and customs. Instinctively members of a same race stuck together, founded little colonies in American cities. Those who crossed later joined these already established colonies with the result that these little colonies became veritable towns in themselves where the familiar language and old customs were affectionately treasured. Many were able to earn their livelihood without leaving the

precincts of these foreign settlements, many more worked with numbers of their fellows and whenever it became necessary for them to deal with the self-styled "100 percent" or native Americans, communication was achieved through an interpreter.

Thus "Little Italies", "Little Germanies", completely Irish quarters and so on sprang up everywhere. The effect of all this was to bring the process of assimilation almost to a standstill. When this was perceived, efforts were made to teach these people English, to acquaint them with American history and customs, and these attempts against such personal belongings as language and custom were eventually rather bitterly resented by the objects of such attention and this in turn led to much ill feeling.

Even to-day Little Italy and Little Germany symbolize homogenous foreign quarters where Italian and German is still the first language, where native customs are cherished, where Americanization is slow, far behind, and somewhat painful at times. The Pennsylvania Dutch, who are really Germans (Deutsche), still speak a language that, no matter how corrupt, is basically German. The same applies to the large Scandinavian (especially Swede) groups in the Mid-West and to almost every non-Anglo-Saxon race in the Union.

All this goes to show that if the Canadian government, for some reason of political or international expediency, opens this country's doors wide to all the races of Europe, the phase of American history summarized in the foregoing paragraphs is going to repeat itself here with this difference, that its effects are going to be reproduced on

a much more formidable and a quite possibly incurable scale owing to the numerically limited and dual nature of our "native population", the foreign colonies that already exist in just about all Canadian cities and the foreign blocs in the West that brought Canadians twenty-five years ago to fear the formation of another Balkan Europe on the Prairies.

The only proper solution or preventative lies in severely restricting, if not completely prohibiting, the migration of continental Europeans to Canada. The apparent harshness of such a measure is largely offset by the advantages it holds for Canadians in general. It will avert bad feeling and will substantially reduce, or eliminate entirely, as the case may be, the necessity of assimilation and save the country many growing pains. It will more or less prevent the establishing of a precedent in immigration that, internationally speaking, will certainly be much more easily avoided than broken. A veritable howl went up all over the world when the United States closed her gates to nearly all immigrants.

Too, Canadian labour has materially improved its position and organization in this war but admission of large numbers of continental Europeans who will certainly not be drawn from the upper classes over there will cause these gains to dissolve into thin air. Cheap labour cannot fail to produce this effect and such immigration cannot fail to produce plentiful cheap labour.

While we have considered the possibility of some immigration from the other European countries being allowed to enter Canada, yet there is a very real and fundamental reason why they should be excluded.

It emanates from the most elementary workings of nature and is so evident that one can only marvel at the fact that in the United States, the only country that adopted the melting-pot idea as a policy with anything resembling its full implications, this theory was not exploded from the very start. It takes but a pin to burst the biggest bubble and, although the melting-pot idea in the U.S.A. was and is some bubble, the reasoning that bursts it is actually no more complicated than - a pin.

Let us take horses, for instance, because they are big and easy to examine. They are quite close to us too, insofar as they sometimes bear striking physical and mental affinities with humans, and humans, on the other hand, often show such distinctly equine traits as.... But then, we are going off on a tangent and that is very poor form in argumentation.

A percheron is a very heavy draft horse. It lacks speed and running endurance but when it comes to hauling a heavy load, this horse really shows up. Now an Arab horse is the complete opposite, very fleet of foot, very light, small-boned, long-winded, built to run great distances. In both breeds nature has developed outstanding qualities that are completely opposite but the purer the strain, the higher the degree to which they are possessed. Cross-breed them and you get a horse not nearly as fast as the Arab and not nearly as strong as the percheron, in other words an all-round mediocrity.

From the features and other physical characteristics of the North American Indians, scientists have learned the origins of the

human race as it exists on this planet to-day. Thousands of years ago, some even say millions, humanity started on the steppes of Asia. The race grew and grew and migrations in search of the necessities of life took people far and wide. The first important eastward migrations crossed Asia into America on the land bridge said to have existed at that time between the two continents along the Aleutians. But climate, food, environment and heredity had not yet given people those distinguishing features that to-day set one race off from the other. All people looked pretty much alike.

The second series of migrations followed the same path and showed the first arrivals ahead of them. By this time the forces mentioned above were starting to have their effect and these newcomers were collectively different in appearance from their predecessors. This difference became still more pronounced in subsequent migratory waves and the people who made the last trek bore the features of one of the well-defined racial groups of our day.

The outcome of all this is that the Indians along the Atlantic Seaboard differ little in appearance from whites, but as one proceeds westward the race becomes progressively Mongoloid, with the last migration, the Eskimos, pure Orientals of the Siberian type.

The same evolution took place west of the Asiatic steppes with this peculiarity, that each successive wave absorbed the preceding one to a certain extent. Yet even in Europe the story of these migrations can be gleaned from the position of the racial groups. First along some of the rugged parts of the Atlantic coast comes "the Celtic fringe",

then the Germanic peoples in Western Europe, then the Slavs in Central Europe and the Mongols in the Eastern extremity of Europe.

In this slow, arduous way Nature developed races with outstanding qualities and characteristics. Thus, for example, all the European peoples have their distinctive form of artistic expression in which they excel - Italian, Spanish, French, German, Russian, Scandinavian, English, Irish and Scottish music is very distinguishable. They also have other distinguishing mental traits: the English are remarkable by their sense of "fair play" and their administrative genius, their embodiment of the principle of co-operation, the Germans by the thoroughness of their science, the French by their logic, and so on down the line. Admittedly none of these races are pure. The strains of many races pulse through their veins but to-day the blend is more or less complete and they represent homogenous units or masses. The very fact that they have very perceptible and very definite national characteristics proves this.

And what have the United States and to a certain extent Canada and the other immigrant-receiving countries done? They have taken all these now distinct elements, and completely nullified these centuries of evolution. They have put everything back almost to where it was on the Asiatic steppes. They want to start the whole thing all over again.

Can you imagine a horse-raiser trying to pawn off on people who want racehorses and people who want draft horses an animal that is a

go-between, that is neither one or the other? Can you imagine what an intellectual nonentity you would consider him if, upon being asked why he had crossed the two breeds, he stated that he simply wanted to found a new breed, although he had not the faintest idea what kind of breed would finally emerge and had no serious fault to find with either of the two existing breeds?

Compare this attitude on the part of the horse-breeder with United States' adherence to and application of the melting-pot principle. Is the situation any less ridiculous when practised on a national scale? And when the clock of history is thus turned back about three thousand years what becomes of English administrative genius, German thoroughness, French logic, Italian sensibility, and what have you, when all the strains are confused, dissolved into one popular strain?

And the most evasive feature of the whole project is the advantage or advantages the originators of the melting-pot principle thought to secure thereby. A master race? How can a people aspire to such an end when their policy for the past century has been to blend into one universal mediocrity all those national attributes that natural segregation has perfected after countless generations and that serve to set one nation above another in a certain particular field!

Some present-day Americans blithely contend that they have founded a new people that has, for instance, a greater average height than others, or greater longevity, or some other such claim. Yet who can prove that, if such improvements have been effected, they do not result from climatic or economic conditions rather than from racial combination.

And how did Americans of this generation and of the original generation know that the product of this combination would be good or to their liking? They just did not have so much as a glimmer of the final product, the finished article that will come only centuries from now while it is already here in nearly every other mature country of the present day.

All Canada needs is population. But she needs population capable of providing her with those qualities that make for economic vigour and military security and good government while at the same time enabling her to remain on terms of understanding and co-operation with the United States and Great Britain and to avoid linguistic and cultural confusion, loss of her present personality and ethnic nature. The only country able to furnish immigration that will meet all these requirements adequately is Great Britain. Under such circumstances, what purpose can be served in drawing from any other!

## CONCLUSION

### CHAPTER XV

Serious obstacles will require circumvention or removal before immigration can be organized on a large enough scale for Canada to realize her ambition to "grow up". While the British may be the most desirable future citizens for ethnic and political reasons, economically they may be next to the Americans, the most difficult to induce to come here, and to establish once they do come.

The principal motive that prompts people to leave their native land and to start life anew in a distant, different clime lies in their desire, their ambition to improve their material situation. This consideration immediately leads to a number of difficulties. Since industrial workers compose the great bulk of the British nation and will be most affected by Britain's deteriorating economic position in the world, it goes without saying that immigration from that country will involve this particular class most of all. In view of the number of more powerful, more industrialized competitors Canada must face on world markets, it may well be wondered how she will succeed in expanding her peacetime industry sufficiently to absorb enough of these labour immigrants to make the movement worth the trouble.

A prominent personage has already been quoted as having recently stated in public that the average age of our rural population is fifty-five. When the youthfulness, the fertility of the French-Canadian and usually the "foreign" farming classes are taken into account, the present

and future condition of the British-Canadian farming-class looks bleak indeed. What a complicated and yet workable system must be devised to attract many of these newcomers from Britain to the land and to make it possible for them to find a reasonably complete living there and thus inject some new young blood into the hardening arteries of the agricultural population of British origin! Some will suggest that we allow British factory and office workers to come here but that we recruit our farming stock from agricultural Europe such as the Balkans and Russia. The fact that urban population rarely reproduces itself, must be fed from the countryside and that the race that owns or occupies the land eventually controls the country, if only on population grounds, amply proves that this plan solves absolutely nothing and is therefore totally inadequate.

"If it is all so very difficult", some may conceivably query, "why then increase the rural classes at all! We can only consume a quarter of the produce from our farms as it is. Why not merely increase the urban population until it consumes the other three quarters for which we are always at our wit's end to find markets?" There are valid reasons why this suggestion is unacceptable.

From the rural classes a nation primarily draws its energy, its fecundity, its physical well-being and ruggedness. These people provide population for the cities and constitute the domestic market for their country's industrial products in proportion to their number, self-reliance and general prosperity. They supply or should supply the food required for themselves and the rest of the nation and buy industrial

products while the working and business classes, in buying their food, give or should give the farmers the means of purchasing manufactured goods.

In France, for instance, during the depression, the rural classes or farmers and small rural businessmen representing about half the population of the country, absorbed unemployed to such an extent that of all the industrial countries fallen victim to the economic crisis, France suffered least from unemployment. Both France and the United States where farmers represent about half the population, are the only two countries that have really enjoyed any self-sufficiency, that have really shown a balanced economy. Even in Britain, where agriculture has been so long neglected, Winston Churchill and other leaders have stressed the need, and are elaborating plans to increase farming and the farming class in order to achieve a certain independence in respect to the supply of the necessities of life.

The farming class is a nation's base from which it draws most of its natural population increase and its food supply and hence a large measure of its military security. The broader and more solid the base, the more stable and durable the entire structure.

Plainly immigration can no longer follow the wilful course it took in the past. It will have to be constantly regulated by some grand overhead plan drawn up in such a way that the answers to all these various problems will be interwoven into its general fabric, each with its due share of attention and importance. Such a plan will have to include a

scheme of simplifying, condensing and teaching the art of farming, just as the art of flying has been condensed and taught in this war, until the youth of the land can and will learn to do it well. An unprecedented reduction in land taxes and thorough training in farm self-sufficiency and security alone will enable and induce the youth to forego the amenities and bright lights of city life and chose a decent and un-dependent living in the lap of nature.

There exists a very strong psychological attitude that is responsible for much of the coolness towards British Immigration to this country. The almost universal dislike for English "arrogance", distrust of British imperialism in certain quarters, uneasiness about a native Canadian's chances of securing a job against an English candidate's represent some of the unfavorable topics often discussed by nearly all classes. While they are only of secondary importance in themselves, their influence on public sentiment goes beyond all proportion. The fact that there is an almost universal detestation of English "arrogance" and know-it-all-ness strongly indicts British judgment.

But take the second-generation Englishman in this country or across the border. He is just as much a Canadian or an American as the next person and yet he retains some attachment for Britain. In this, history will repeat itself. The only rebuttal that can be given to the above objections is that the conditions are, like Purgatory, only temporary. After the second or third generation, these people ordinarily lose such objectionable British attributes and, as history, and observation indicate, become worthy citizens of a worthy country, at least as far as their attitude is concerned.

A very noticeable feature of past immigration here and elsewhere is that many immigrants come over here with the sole intention of making a small fortune and then of returning to the land "from whence they came" to live a life of ease among their less fortunate fellow-countrymen. Past Canadian immigration experience reveals that an astounding percentage of the total number who came to this country either went on to the United States or eventually returned home with their savings.

While the American border is pretty much closed to immigration and this fact should therefore improve the first half of the situation, the only way to cure the second evil is to encourage entire families to emigrate rather than single or unaccompanied individuals. In this way the immigrant will be more tempted to settle here permanently and that much Canadian wealth will remain in Canadian hands for Canadian use.

What inducements, what appetizing bait, what propaganda and appeal will lure them over here is another problem whose solution may prove interesting but will certainly need to be effective, because the standard of living in Britain is quite high and people with the forest-clearing, homesteading, weather-braving kind of pioneer spirit have become, in the main, extinct.

We shall want reliable citizens really intent on sinking their roots deeply into Canadian soil. Canadian propaganda abroad, then, will need to be factual, not exaggerated, and accurate, not lurid, if the

attention of such a brand of immigrant can be riveted and his interest and admiration aroused and focussed on this country. The government must resolutely avoid all publicity the least bit tainted with unscrupulous salesmanship and misrepresentation. We do not want people making the awful decision to change hemispheres and sever all ties with home, relatives and friends, only to land here and suffer from grave disillusion. Such methods produce disgruntled, defiant or suspicious citizens. If Canada requires any immigration at all, then it requires contented, open-minded and friendly newcomers disposed to co-operate with the people and the government towards making the land of their adoption a country foremost among nations, with a voice in the great councils of the "bright, new world of to-morrow."

Instead of blazoning such slogans as "the land of unlimited opportunity for all," or painting word-pictures of the senior dominion reminiscent of the stories of streets paved with gold that excited Spanish cupidity long ago, stress should be especially laid on the value and advisability of either Empire or Anglo-Saxon solidarity and on the nobleness of the task of helping a young, enterprising sister nation through the period of adolescence. To stimulate popular curiosity by publicizing Canada's immensity, diversity, hidden wealth and natural beauty would not be unethical, however.

Sir Wilfred Laurier has been credited with the prediction that, while the nineteenth century was America's the twentieth century would be Canada's. In our grasp we hold a future, our future. We Canadians are standing on the threshold of a new era, and unlimited possibilities, both good and bad, hang on our decision. Let us do the job well!

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