

THE CANADIAN-AMERICAN POPULATION MOVEMENT

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by

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PREFACE

The happy circumstances surrounding the social, cultural and economic relations of the peoples of Canada and the United States have often been cited as an example for an uneasy world to follow. Probably no other two countries under separate sovereignty have more closely woven interests. For hundreds of years the peoples of North America moved to settle the continent paying scant attention to the international border. Today, even though certain restrictions are enforced, there is an ease of accessibility to either nation by the nationals of the other that defies duplication elsewhere.

The ease of assimilability of the two peoples is remarkable when one remembers the traditional allegiance of Canada to Great Britain and the diverse racial stock of the United States-born in Canada. Further complication is caused by the existence of a French-Canadian population which, quite justifiably, demands a large voice in the governmental affairs of the Dominion.

There is a hope that this thesis will serve the reader, as it has the writer, as an introductory insight into the broad relationships of the Canadian and the United States populations. The study has also shown the need of the continuing dependency of each country upon the other if a peaceful and profitable way of life is to be enjoyed. While the citizens of both powers are justifiably proud of their governmental institutions and while the majority are content to maintain the status quo nevertheless, the geographic proximity of the two countries and their binding economic ties make it essential that a family type of harmony prevail.

The immediate purposes of this thesis are firstly the noting of the historical integral movement of the North American peoples; secondly, the thesis seeks to determine the distribution and the characteristics of the Canadian-born who are in the United States; thirdly, the distribution and characteristics of those American-born who have taken up residence in Canada in their search for best advantage. Such information as this thesis contains is offered under these three headings.

The statistics used in Part 2 are those of the United States Census from 1850 to 1930. Unless specifically acknowledged otherwise, they are the statistics selected by L.E. Truesdell, Chief Statistician for Population, United States Bureau of the Census, as being most pertinent to his study, The Canadian-Born in the United States. The statistics used in Part 3 are those of the Canadian Census from 1851 to 1931 and unless otherwise indicated are those selected by R.H. Coats and N.L. Maclean of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, as the basic material for their study, The American-Born in Canada.

Frequent reference in the body of this thesis to the urbanward movement of both the Canadian and American peoples in the last few decades warranted some additional information being presented on this aspect of internal migration. This has been done in the form of a brief appendix.

I wish to acknowledge the academic patience of Miss Betty Belle Robinson of the Department of Political Economy, McMaster University. For the clerical work involved in this presentation I am grateful to Miss Brenda Redick and Mrs. J. Collins.

A.B.

McMaster University
April 16, 1950

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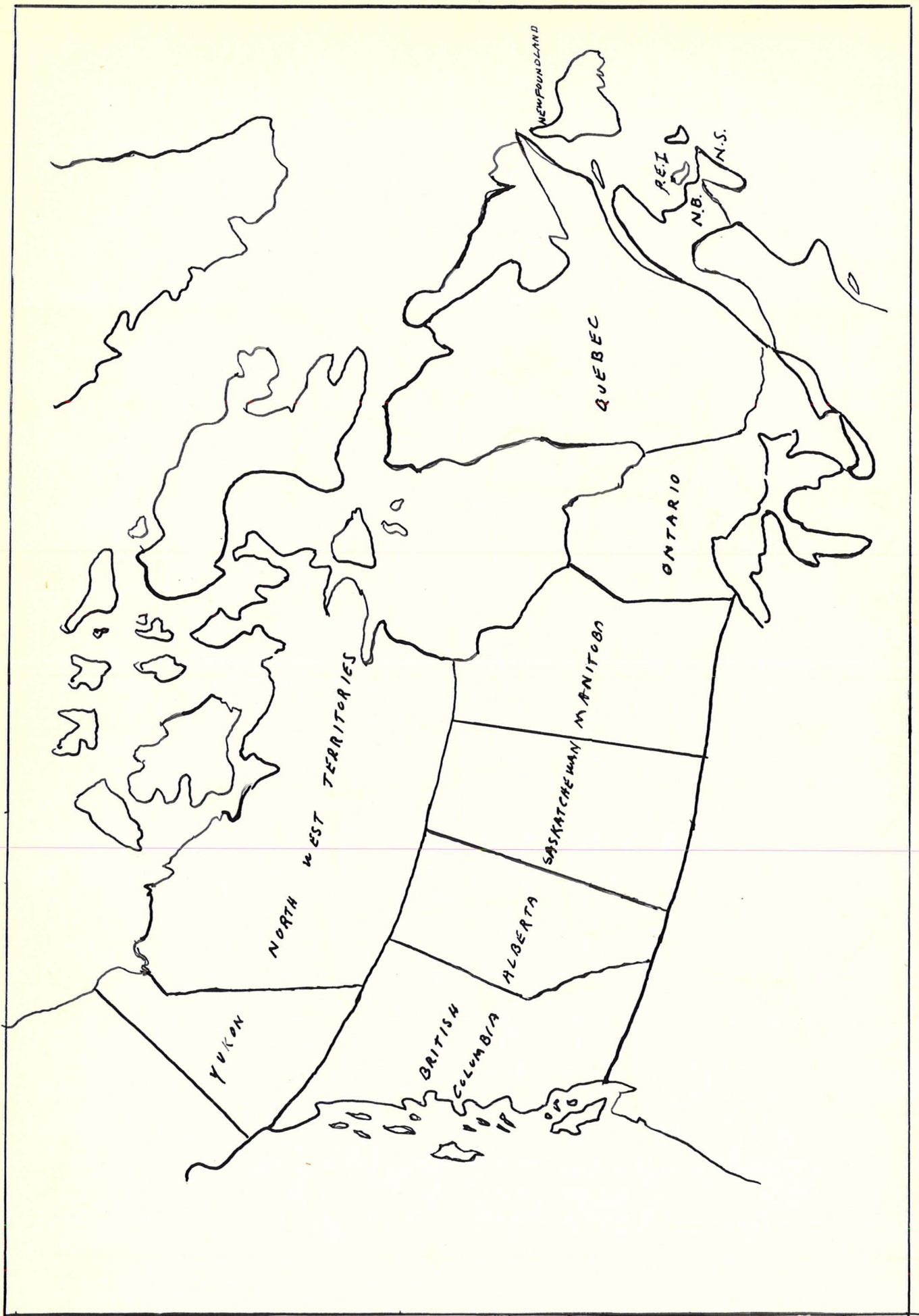
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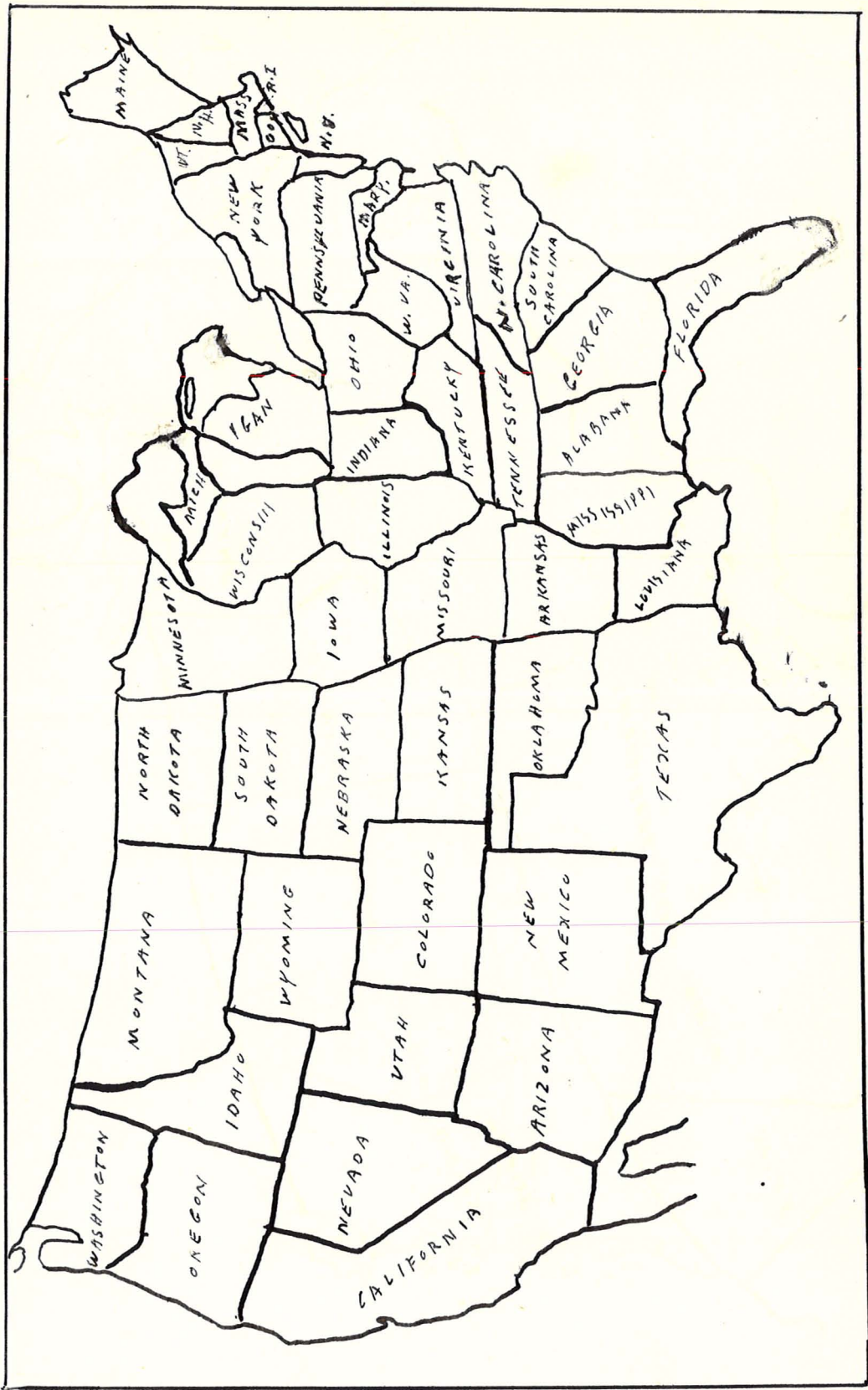
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PART 1

THE CANADIAN-AMERICAN POPULATION MOVEMENT

PART 1 -- A survey of the Integral movement of Americans and Canadians; a general study of North American population movement from its Atlantic Coast starting point.

1. Unity of the Westward Movement: General Summary

Regardless of the political boundary line between Canada and the United States, North American population movements have historically followed a fundamental pattern in the quest for a better living. One easily perceives the basic American stock of the Maritimes and of Ontario, the millions of French Canadians in New England, the traces of Canadians in the American middle west and of Americans on the Canadian prairies, and the persistent interchange of Canadian and Americans on the Pacific Coast. "North Americans all, and eminently capable of allegiance to one country one day and to another the next."¹ Self generated pressures of number, the pioneer spirit and new tides of immigration have caused a movement of population that has had little regard for political allegiance but was rather based on a demand for raw materials and staple crops which persisted over three centuries. By the end of the 19th century, the Pacific Coast was peopled by settlers (or their descendants) from the Atlantic areas. Transport systems, land companies and governments recognized the demographic integration which was to prevail in North America and laid their plans accordingly, thus contributing further to the development. The questions arises, "Why is there such an integration?"

Chronologically, the first factor affecting the distribution of North America's population is the glacial action which stripped the Canadian shield

1. M.L.Hansen, The Mingling of the Canadian and American People, The Ryerson Press, Toronto 1940, p.x.

area of its fertile soil and deposited it in the area of the American mid-west from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. "Herein lay the principal reason why future North Americans would distribute themselves on the continent in the proportion of twelve Americans to one Canadian."². Even here was a basis for economic integration in that huge harvest in the fertile areas of the mid-west United States contrasted with the extractive industries of the Canadian Shield. Ultimately there was to be an interdependence of one area on the other.

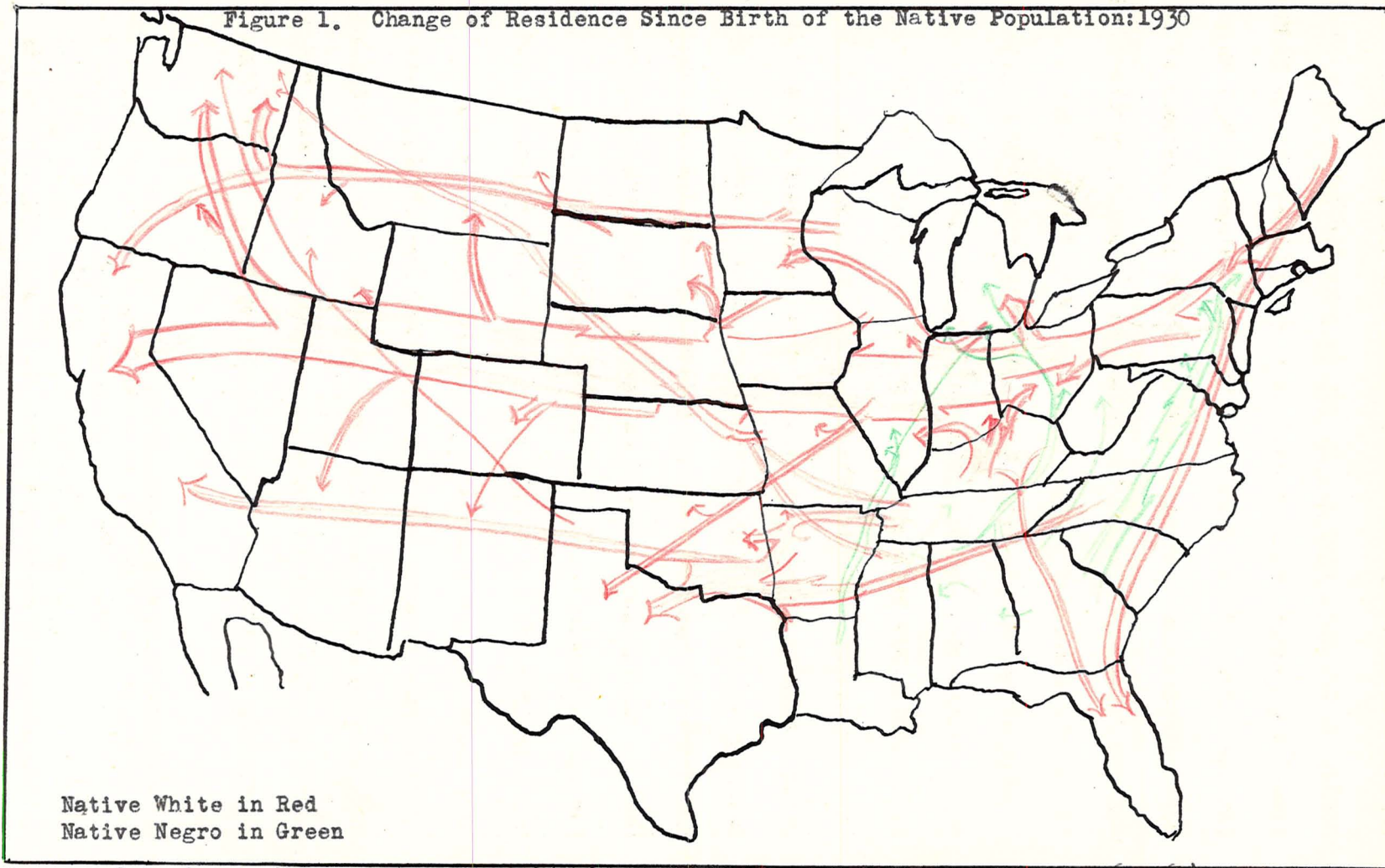
Economically speaking, rivalry and integration are based on the ambitions of the early Europeans who settled the continent along the lines of its natural avenues into the interior i.e. Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay, the St.Lawrence River, Hudson River to the Mohawk and the Mississippi system, in a quest for the natural resources which the rest of the world wanted.

Brebner suggests that there are three prominent factors which obscured the fact that the movement of Canadians and Americans was an integral one, "... the natural dividing line of the St.Lawrence and Great Lakes with the Canadian Shield to the north of them, the slight but perceptible height of land between the Missouri Valley and the valleys of the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan, and men's inclination to find comfort in the fact that they and their regional groups are not as other men are."³. Therefore, the route of the advance of the people was determined by topography, resources, politics and chance, but all routes were based on the Atlantic Coast starting point. (See Figure 1).

2. J.B.Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle, the Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1946, p. 1.

3. J.B.Brebner, op. cit., p.6.

Figure 1. Change of Residence Since Birth of the Native Population:1930



Source: C. Goodrich, Migration and Economic Opportunity, U. of Penn. Press, Phila., 1936, :. 684.

The whole of the Atlantic Coast was not a base area, even though early British policy was determined by the thought that it should be a system of colonies from sea to sea in jurisdiction. In actuality, commerce from Europe became concentrated in certain ports, mostly in New England (at the Hudson River, Delaware River and Chesapeake Bay) because of the more hazardous navigation in the South and the bleakness of Newfoundland and the North. A gradual consolidation of inland territory which followed the establishment of these ports made ready for an advance into the interior.

Once the advance began there were four distinct columns in terms of time, destination and significance.⁴ These were (1) along the Atlantic Highway with New Englanders moving down the coast; (2) through the valleys into the interior forming the first West of 1750-1800; (3) along the Ohio River System to a New West peopled from the Middle States and by new immigrants; and (4) finally came the expansion beyond the Mississippi. Movements (1) and (2) began as independent columns and merged into (3); (4) was the further westward expansion of the merged columns. Once the Indians were defeated and the Patroonships⁵ broken up - factors which had had retarding effects - population movements progressed more rapidly. By 1812 there was the beginning of a joint expansion along the Great Lakes by those Americans who had used the Mohawk Route⁶ and those Canadians who had moved up the St. Lawrence; both sides of Lake Erie witnessed considerable activity. The whole movement in the area was, however, diverted into Ohio by the War of 1812-15. The population bypassed that section

4. M.L.Hansen, op. cit. pp. 6-19.

5. Patroons - persons who received large tracts of land with manorial rights under the old Dutch governments of New York State and New Jersey. Great blocks of land were held with a speculation motive; their high prices hindered organized development of these areas.

6. The Hudson River-Mohawk River Route was popular with the pioneers because of the ease of water transport through the mountain valley. Once beyond the mountains travel was easy over broad plains.

of Michigan north of Detroit and headed for Chicago and the prairies stretching to the Mississippi. The initial intermingling along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes was inevitable as Canadians chose to go west rather than to an inhospitable north and an antagonistic south. Eventually those who were moving to make a home in the normal course of events in the Canadian west met the Laurentian Shield and the column was turned into the American west, filling Michigan.

The expansion beyond the Mississippi was the greatest in number and the most cosmopolitan. Canadians, New Englanders and new immigrants were destined to mingle after the American consolidation, after the Canadians had advanced along the St. Lawrence and after New York, Quebec and Montreal had established good connections with the Old World.

The era of railroad building shortened the duration and distance of the journey to the west and led to an even greater unity of movement. For example, lines were laid across the peninsula from the head of Lake Erie to the head of Lake Michigan in 1854. Another early line was that from Chicago to Sarnia - Port Huron which carried the migrants to the west and commercial goods to the east. The railroads became huge land companies, i.e. they had been endowed with millions of acres as an encouragement to their construction. The location of these lands and the disposal policy of the companies determined the western movement. "Three hundred years after the St. Lawrence was discovered by Cartier the steam railway was brought to life in America to become a prime agency in the turning of the tide of traffic from the Mississippi to the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence outlets, and the binding together of Canada and the United States in friendly accord."⁷.

7. W.J. Wilgus, The Railway Interrelations of the United States and Canada, Toronto, the Ryerson Press, 1937, p.37.

The West became Iowa, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska and Kansas and it was the West to Americans, Canadians and new immigrants from 1865-1890. The settling of the Canadian west at this time was remarkable but was considered only as an offshoot of the settling of the above territory.

Due to general world depression there was little frontier development and there was a consolidation in areas established before 1880. World depression was relieved after the turn of the century by increased world gold production and higher prices, moderating influences which led to the opening of new agricultural areas in the United States. Grain growing in the Old West gave way to mixed agriculture and the Middle West became the world's new granary. This meant that land was scarcer and more expensive in the Middle West at a time when farmers' sons wanted wheat land. Further westward expansion in wheat farming in the United States was limited by an area best suited to ranching and mining activities. Thus the sons of American farmers turned to the Canadian West which now came into its own. The Canadian railroads had reached in from the east and the American railroads had reached the border; consequently international boundaries meant nothing to the new pioneers.

Thus the forests of the east and the prairies of the west were conquered and the moving population reached the Rockies and the Pacific Coast; all but the northernmost of the four population columns which left the Atlantic coast had mingled once they passed the Appalachians. They successively settled the old south west and old north west. The spearheads of the movement provided the ranchers of the west who were in turn to be dispossessed by a population intent on farming the land. The whole of the movement reached the western extremity of the continent and joined a north-south movement between the United States and British Columbia. "There was unity within the westward movement and that unity makes clearer the pattern

that lies beneath the confusing wanderings in which the Americans and Canadians were constantly engaged."⁸

2. Establishment of an Atlantic Base 1604 - 1775:

Before the westward movements took place, the North Americans needed to create a base. The period 1604-1755 saw the occupation of the plains and lowlands sloping back from the Atlantic. Eventually there was a merging of the several agricultural communities that had been formed. Another aspect was the north-south movement of peoples in the coastal regions and from the Newfoundland fishing communities.

An important part of the Atlantic movement was based on the war with the French and expulsion of the Acadians. The British felt that the native Acadians were a great drawback to settlement in that they held the choicest locations and resisted any interference. Consequently when Braddock was defeated in Ohio⁹, the worried British administration decided to remove the Acadians. Quotas of French were consequently assigned to each colony from Massachusetts to Georgia in an attempt to diffuse French blood. With the capture of Louisbourg in 1758 a northward population movement was encouraged to the Basin of Minas. The majority settled in Nova Scotia and several groups also entered New Brunswick; the former became the "child of New England."¹⁰

In reality there was a general northern movement and the influx into Nova Scotia was merely a part of it. The area around the Richelieu and Lake Champlain began to fill in rapidly and an American wedge approached the St. Lawrence. Important to the population of the area was the Proclamation of 1763. This prohibited western settlement which the

8. M.L.Hansen, The Mingling of the Canadian and American People, the Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1940, p.19.

9. J.B.Brebner, New Englands Outpost, N.Y., 1927, pp. 203-233.

10. M.L.Hansen, The Mingling of the Canadian and American People, Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1940, p.35.

British authorities feared to encourage, wishing to avoid strife with the Indians of the west. They feared the outbreak of such hostilities would weaken their position in the east relative to the French element and that the balance of power might fall into French hands during British preoccupation with Indian uprisings. The British authorities did all in their power to keep a strong loyal nucleus in the Atlantic base area. However, dissention grew in the American colonies over stamp taxes, etc. and many English, anticipating trouble, moved north and served to fill in many gaps in the settlement picture. By 1774 settlement began to proceed westward in the general direction of the Niagara Peninsula.

3. Loyalist Migration and Its Aftermath 1775-1837:

The partiality to the British crown on the part of the Loyalists inevitably led to population movements in anticipation and as a consequence of the American Revolution. There were some who wanted to return to England, and these gathered in refugee camps along the east coast along with disbanded military personnel. The Maritimes seemed to be the natural place of exile for a great many while others looked to the security of Montreal and Quebec and eventually further west to Niagara. In the final analysis Nova Scotia secured around twenty thousand new immigrants. In addition, New Brunswick received about fifteen thousand especially in the St. John's area. Loyalist settlement in the Niagara area was hampered by Indian enmity in that the area was the home of loyal Iroquois. Gradually the area between the head of the St. Lawrence and Niagara around Lake Ontario was filled in by pioneers whose families in turn settled the area drained by the Thames River System.

All of these new settlements acted like magnets on more and more settlers and from 1785-1812 there was a steady flow of population northward more in the "pioneer" than in the "loyalist" sense. At the same time there was some southward movement from the Maritimes of immigrants who were originally destined for Canada but who were disappointed by the bleakness of Cape Breton and the coastal area.

The division of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada made available the land known as the Eastern Townships which previous to this time had been held for the French Canadians. Population moved freely north and south along the natural channels even though the political border as defined by the Treaty of Utrecht (1783) was an east-west one. The land was accessible and a market was available in Montreal for its products, especially the basic ash chemicals which were in demand in England for the dyeing of textiles.

Americans were treated very liberally by the Canadian authorities as regards the land policy until the outbreak of the War of 1812-14. Up to this time "...eight out of every ten persons in Upper Canada were of American birth or American descent."¹¹. As a result of this war a definite population policy was formulated for Canada which stated that Americans were to be discouraged from entering and the entry of British immigrants was to be fostered. This was difficult, however, in that there was a decided preference for migration to the United States in the mind of the British immigrant - - as with all Europeans. The reluctance to accept Americans reacted against Canada when the westward movement resumed in 1825. Only the formation of the Canada Company in 1826 and its vigorous action in sponsoring immigration, building roads, etc., saved Canada from a longer period of inactivity. The policy of the

11. Ibid, p. 90

company was so effective that British immigrant opinion once again swung in favour of Canada. One should note however that many merely used Canada as a stepping stone to the United States.

4. Magnetic Pull Southward 1837-1860:

"...when, in the middle 'forties', prosperity returned to the continent of North America, it set under way such vigorous activity in the industry of the eastern states and such hopeful development of the agriculture and transportation of the western states that for the time being the advantages to be found in the provinces were almost eclipsed. Then Canadians joined with Americans in the great expansion of settlement into the Mississippi Valley and beyond that did much to stamp indelibly upon American consciousness an infectious faith whose historical name is "Manifest Destiny".^{12.}

Canadians left home around 1837 because of the political rebellions and consequent severe reprisals in both provinces and because of the depression with its hardships of economic stagnation. It remained for Lord Durham, the new Governor General, to analyze the situation and initiate far-reaching legislation. Chief amongst his reforms were the merger of Upper and Lower Canada and a policy of liberal land grants designed to hold the population.^{13.} Unfortunately for Canada, the United States was entering an era of prosperity in all of her land area from Atlantic to Pacific and this proved to be a drawing force on many Canadians. The fishermen left Nova Scotia and the lumbermen left New Brunswick. French Canadians sought relief from over-population and were attracted to the New England textile mills. Moreover, in Canada the French Canadian was hindered in his natural population expansion by the actions of land speculators and the provisions of the Clergy Reserve.^{14.}

12. Ibid, p. 115.

13. C.W. New, Lord Durham, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929.

14. 1791, 1/8 crown lands set apart for support Prot. clergy- Secularized 1854.

In addition, the copper mines on the United States side of Lake Superior proved an attractive drawing card.

Superimposed upon all of this was the discovery of gold in California with its promise of reward to Canadians attracted to that area. The only compensation, at least in numerical terms, was the continuing flow to Canada from the parent United States' communities of the Quakers and the Mennonites and the influx of former Negro slaves. These latter were given much help by sympathetic Canadians.

5. Effect of Civil War 1861-65:

The freedom which was characteristic of population movements had been extended to business enterprise by a series of reciprocal agreements in 1854. Thus "By the middle of the 19th century so close were the relations between the British Provinces and the United States that any violent change in the internal organization or domestic affairs of one of them created repercussions that would be felt in the most remote district of the other."¹⁵ Such a shock occurred in 1861 with the outbreak of Civil War and the disruption of southern trade in the United States.

The greatest population movement of the war was caused by young Canadians entering the United States to serve in the forces under the impetus of a "bounty" system which made the whole thing a profitable financial adventure. An actual brokerage in human beings appeared in 1862 when the Federal administration passed a draft law which allowed a draftee to have a substitute serve for him. A counterpart to this movement was that of the draft dodgers to Canada and of refugees, i.e. those Southerners who in normal times had holidayed in Canada now sought refuge there. Another aspect of the whole matter was the attractiveness

15. Ibid, p.139.

of the labour market in the United States as a result of the wartime economy -- manufacturing, lumbering and mining -- all were drawing cards.

The upper Mississippi region and the Red River area would probably have had a great expansion in this era were it not for the Sioux uprising of 1862; the uprising was however, an indication to many Americans that they should migrate north of the 49 parallel where British relations with the Indians were friendly.

The Civil War had as its aftermath a Republic which was intent on pushing rail lines to the west and overcoming the Indian menace. This led to another westward surge of population from the eastern United States. Because the Laurentian Shield was a barrier to the development of the Canadian west, people in Eastern Canada joined in the movement using American routes and settling in American territory.

6. The Strength of Economic Factors: 1865-1880:

The new westward expansion gave rise to a surge of optimism associated with economic prosperity, but virtual stagnation came with the financial crash of 1873. It is ironic that the prosperity due to the technological advances in New England and the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty led to much suffering in the Canadian Maritimes. Prince Edward Island crops, Nova Scotia fish and coal and New Brunswick lumber were suddenly surplus commodities; as a result, there was another population movement to New England and to the American west from the Maritimes.

The financial crash of 1873 ushered in for Canada twenty-three years of falling prices and depressed business conditions at a time when the new Dominion might have hoped for a surge of prosperous activity. The wide expanses of the American west were much more attractive than the barrier of the Canadian Laurentian Shield. French Canadians adopted the habit of founding new communities in New England when they found that the mills

there provided work for the whole family. This exodus was arrested only when the depression of the '70's' made itself felt in the United States. Emigration from Ontario was to the western prairies by men who had no desire to clear acres of forest in Ontario when wide open prairie was available.

The Canadian west was recognized in its true light only when plans were made to organize transportation from Lake Superior to the Red River and to build a railroad to British Columbia. During the interval British stock moved out of Canada and, unlike the French Canadians who maintained a home connection,¹⁶ were permanently lost to Canada. However, once the Red River area was made accessible, Canadians made a vigorous effort to hold the district for themselves and not allow Americans to claim it. This consolidation, however, gave way to a movement along the Saskatchewan River System. Once the stability of settlement had been disrupted by this movement, there was an increased willingness to migrate into the United States as well.

7. The Great Emigration from Canada 1880-1896:

In the area of the United States west of the Mississippi in particular, and even in the East, there was the feeling that a new era was at hand. The persistently high demand for American wheat contributed to this feeling in the wheat producing areas. It drew Canadians as well as Americans to those localities and was responsible for a renewed westward movement characteristic of the migratory patterns of both peoples. In Ontario, for example, the limits of agricultural settlement were being reached and young people looked further west and particularly to Michigan to repeat the exploits of their forefathers.

16. Traditionally many French Canadians have migrated to the United States to take advantage of economic opportunity but with the thought of returning to Canada for permanent residence.

As a part of this movement there occurred the further settlement of Manitoba -- the "Manitoba Boom"¹⁷ -- which came when the Canadian Pacific Railway pushed its lines over the Laurentian Shield; this was the opening of the Canadian west, comparable to the opening of the western United States.

In the far west the gold rush of 1879-80 led to a north-south movement which disregarded international boundaries. In 1881 construction of the western end of the Canadian Pacific Railway added much to the prosperity of British Columbia and the western states and attracted tradesmen from the United States to Canada. The completion of the railroad acted like a magnet to draw people westward. Included in this migration were not only skilled lumbermen and miners but also trained professional people who looked not to make their living from the land, but to doing business in the growing cities of the west.

In Quebec, the Habitant realized that the American demand now was for year round rather than seasonal workers, and he took advantage of cheap rail rates to travel to French Canadian communities which were mushrooming in New England. His original idea may have been to return to Quebec, but many families decided to stay and they adopted a French Canadian nationalism tinged with Americanism. As the permanency of the settlement came to be recognized, more professional people came from the comparatively crowded areas of Quebec and their contributions to these communities made life much more pleasant for all. The movement was not without some counteraction as American tradesmen moved in to find work in Canadian industry, which was beginning to feel prosperous under the influence of the high protectionist policy of the Conservative Government of 1878.

These population movements continued until around the turn of the century when the slowing down of western expansion began to have damaging effects upon the industry of the east.

17. M.L.Hansen, op.cit., p.192

Table 1. -- Canadian Born Population in the United States: 1850 to 1930.

Census Year	Number	Increase		% of Total Population of U.S.	% of Foreign Born in U.S.	% of Total Population of Canada	% of Native Population of Canada	% of Foreign Born of Canada
		Amount	%					
1930	1,286,389	161,464	14.4	1.05	9.1	12.4	15.9	55.2
1920	1,124,925	-79,712	-6.6	1.06	8.1	12.8	16.5	57.5
1910	1,204,637	24,715	2.1	1.31	8.9	16.7	21.4	75.9
1900	1,179,922	198,984	20.3	1.55	11.4	22.0	25.3	168.7
1890	980,938	263,781	36.8	1.56	10.6	20.3	23.4	152.4
1880	717,157	223,693	45.3	1.43	10.7	16.6	19.3	118.9
1870	493,464	243,494	97.4	1.28	8.9	13.4	16.4	82.0
1860	249,970	102,259	69.2	0.79	6.0	7.9	10.3	36.6
1850	147,711	...	....	0.64	6.6	6.2	9.8	32.1

Source: L.E. Truesdell - The Canadian Born in the United States, Table 2, p.10.7

Table 1 indicates that the degree of willingness to leave Canada expanded to major proportions between 1880 and 1900.¹⁸

8. Magnetic Pull Northward - 1896 - 1914:

Just as the century turned, however, the Canadian wheat belt came into its own; this was the era that brought forth Sir Wilfred Laurier's famous statement to the effect that just as the nineteenth century had belonged to the United States, the twentieth would be that of Canada.¹⁹ The railroads continued to open up thousands of acres of wheatland and bumper crops sold at high prices in European markets. The magnetic force of these factors coupled with the fact that the Dominion Government embarked on an intense immigration programme brought "...almost a million Americans over the international line into the great wheat belt that extended west from the Red River to the foothills of the Canadian Rockies".²⁰ The basis of this movement was the fact that Canada wanted capital and "know how" at just the time that the United States' Middle West began to feel crowded; it is logical to suppose that many of these "Americans" were in reality Canadians and their descendants who had settled a generation earlier in the Mississippi Valley.

In addition, many Mormon communities from United States' sources were settled in Southern Alberta. This area was the northward projection of the Great Plains and the production of grain in much of it was possible only through the construction of extensive systems of irrigation. The Mormons' skill in canal engineering and the science of cultivating the soil under artificial conditions enabled them to initiate these improvements. The reticence of the Mormons toward outsiders meant that additional settlers were forced to "leap-frog" over these areas. However, the irrigation ideas

18. L.E. Truesdell, The Canadian Born in the United States, the Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1943, Table 2, p.10.

19. Manitoba Free Press, July 4, 1906.

20. H.L. Hansen, op. cit., p.220

of the Mormons were duly observed and copied by many land companies. The Canadian Pacific Railroad, for example, developed a three million acre tract in 1903-05.

In 1912 a rail line was pushed into the Peace River district and it is a matter of speculation as to how the area would have developed were it not for the approaching war and the financial stringency of 1913; this latter was caused by a depression in the prairie areas which made for caution in public and private enterprise.

During this era British Columbia advanced in all phases of economic activity. Much of this was the response to the demands from the prairies for the products of the fishing, lumbering and mining industries. Moreover, a semi-leisured class of people moved in from the developing areas to finish their lives in the pleasant Victoria-Vancouver area. The traditional floating labour supply of the West Coast now moved toward Canada to take their place in the rapidly developing lumbering, mining, fishing and agricultural schemes.

One other area of Canada was to be opened up during this 1900-14 period; this was the land to the northeast and northwest of Lake Superior. Investors and settlers moved in to take advantage of the mineral wealth. The Canadian Pacific had cut the area on its way west and in addition, an American line was pushed north from Sault Ste. Marie to join the Canadian Pacific, thus making a convenient route for Americans to follow.

The final notable point of the period was the inflow of American capital. In the interest of goodwill and to counteract the tariff laws, many American companies set up branch plants in Canada and migrations of men, capital and skill were observed along the international boundary from Quebec to British Columbia.

9. War and its Aftermath 1914 - 1938:

During the war the United States was transformed into a creditor nation and Canada rose to the position of a prominent world trader. All of this led to a feverish expansion of industrial and agricultural activity. American dollars flowed into Canada contributing to the growth of a number of international industrial areas such as the forest industry of Seattle-Vancouver; the mining industry of British Columbia and Washington; the transport industry of Windsor-Detroit; power and canals in the Niagara area; the mills of Montreal and northern New York. Certain minor migratory movements were associated with these developments.

In the period following the First World War, the United States applied immigration quotas in the early '20's (1921-1924)²¹. which were not applicable to native-born Canadians of British or French stocks. The Canadian standard of living depended on a continued high purchasing power abroad and this simply did not exist from 1918 to 1923. Consequently during these years, Canadians, noting the economic expansion of the United States, took advantage of the easy entry into that Country. Their movement was stimulated by the fact that Europeans who could not enter the United States took up residence in Canada thereby aggravating the depressed conditions. However, such economic devices as high tariff walls and bilateral trade treaties were real causes working toward an eventual economic stabilization between Canada, Britain and the United States. It was upon the basis of this commercial compromise that future migratory trends would be based. "In effect, the United States had broken inside the British system created at Ottawa in 1932, at the price of reducing her own tariffs and, in particular, of recognizing as normal the flow into the United States of a large number of raw and semi-manufactured products from Canada."²².

21. E.P.Hutchinson, "Immigration policy since World War I," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1949.

22. M.L.Hansen, op. cit., p. 220.

Another important aspect of the post war period was the depression in both the Canadian and American west due to over-expansion in grain. This meant that acreages were too great, once World War I ended; the debt structure based upon wartime prices was too heavy for the peacetime economy to bear; the expenditure on expensive labour saving machinery and on many of the irrigation projects were out of proportion to the income structure. In addition, a drought cycle persisted from 1929 to 1938. People left the prairies and most of them headed for the larger cities of the United States and Canada.

Nevertheless, Canadian productivity increased in fields of industry other than agriculture. British and American industrial interests set up branch plants and Canada herself expanded the pulp and paper, mining and hydro-electric industries. This rise in the importance of industry led to a notable growth in urban (as compared with rural) population. As the cities grew, educational institutions also grew and improved. American employers looked with great favour on Canadian-trained professional men. Some numbers of these emigrated to the United States to take advantage of the more numerous opportunities to be found there.

Despite these movements, the overall picture indicates a comparative immobility amongst North Americans in the Post War I era; just as the two nations worked out an economic equilibrium between themselves and Britain, so too did the population seem to conform to the demands made by this equilibrium. While a great number of Canadians were south of the border, they seemed to have little desire to return to Canada nor was there a great desire on the part of Canadians, other than professional people, to leave home; similarly with Americans. Conceivably this might be merely a lull which is to be broken by the development of the mineral and oil production of Canada. If this production were to take on major proportions there is little fear that either government would strictly prohibit an appropriate population movement.

10. The Present -- The Future:

Davis and Senior suggest some possible generalizations relative to immigration in the Western Hemisphere.²³ They state that the United States has consistently received rather than given. Most of the emigrants going from the United States to another American country have represented individuals returning to their homeland rather than native American stock. The United States has always been a magnet despite the fact that most of the Canadian areas from which the immigrants have come are more sparsely settled than the United States. At times there has been a feeling of resentment in Canada that the United States should draw trained professional people and other Canadians who might have contributed to this development of the country. The immigrants from Canada have tended to concentrate in a particular region of the United States -- the region closest to them in terms of transportation facilities; they have, especially in the case of the French Canadians, retained their identity as separate ethnic groups. The most predominant motive for migration has been economic. Not too much is known about this immigration in that a large proportion of it came by way of the extensive land borders. There has been little political controversy and international ill-will over the immigration. Of all the nations of the Western Hemisphere, Canada has always sent the largest share of immigrants to the United States. During the period 1901-47, Canada and Newfoundland supplied just over two million immigrants to the United States - i.e., 60.6 per cent of the Western Hemisphere immigration. Though Canada has held up well as to proportion of the total immigration, she reflects the declining tendencies generally characterizing immigration to the United States. There seems small possibility that Canada will ever again wish to send her

23. K. Davis and C. Senior, "Immigration from the Western Hemisphere", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1949, pp. 70-73.

Table 2. -- Immigrants from the Western Hemisphere by Region of Origin, 1901-1947 (000 omitted).

Region of Origin	1901-10	1911-20	1921-30	1931-40	1941-47	Total 1901-47
Western Hemisphere	362	1,144	1,517	160	209	3,391
Canada and Newfoundland	179	742	925	109	99	2,054
Per Cent	49.5	64.9	61.0	67.8	47.6	60.6
Mexico	50	219	459	22	37	788
Per Cent	13.7	19.1	30.3	13.9	13.9	23.3
West Indies	108	123	75	16	30	351
Per Cent	29.7	10.8	4.9	9.7	14.3	10.4
South America	117	42	42	8	12	122
Per Cent	4.8	3.7	2.8	4.9	5.9	3.6
Central America	8	17	16	6	14	61
Per Cent	2.3	1.5	1.0	3.7	6.9	1.8

Source - U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report, Year ended June 30, 1947,
Table 4, cited in The Annals, March 1949, p.73.

people to the United States in that the Canadian Government is eager to hold its people and to add to their number by immigration. The various regions of the Western Hemisphere have remained highly consistent in the proportion of the immigration they have furnished to the United States, i.e. rank order has remained the same. Canada has always sent the largest share. Table 2, raises the question as to whether the percentage drop for Canada in the era 1941-47 indicates a future lessening of Canadian-born migrants to the United States. One is tempted to feel, however, that the integral population movement of the North American Continent will once again have an effect as the resources of Canada are developed, and that quite possibly the movement will be into Canada from the United States. Moreover, with increased unionization in the United States and growing urbanization and industrialization in Canada, it seems unlikely that many Canadians will find better opportunities in the United States than in our less crowded country.

Conclusions:

Both Canada and the United States had their origins in Atlantic Coast colonial enterprise. Settlement gradually spread along the Atlantic seaboard and the river valleys. The westward population movement to the Pacific was more or less contemporary, with settlement of the Canadian Northwest being delayed until such times as were developed particular varieties of wheat suited to the climate and until such times as railway lines were built to service the areas.

In the present day, government and business of both nations are carried on in much the same way. Our economic and social life is similar and passage over the border is made as easy as possible. Assimil^{1a}ability is easy.

The two succeeding parts of this thesis will attempt to investigate the distribution and characteristics of the Canadian-born in the United States and the American-born in Canada. Such a study assumes new importance when it is

REALIZED that approximately 15 per cent of the foreign-born population of Canada is United States-Born and 9 per cent of the foreign-born population of the United States are of Canadian birth.

PART 2

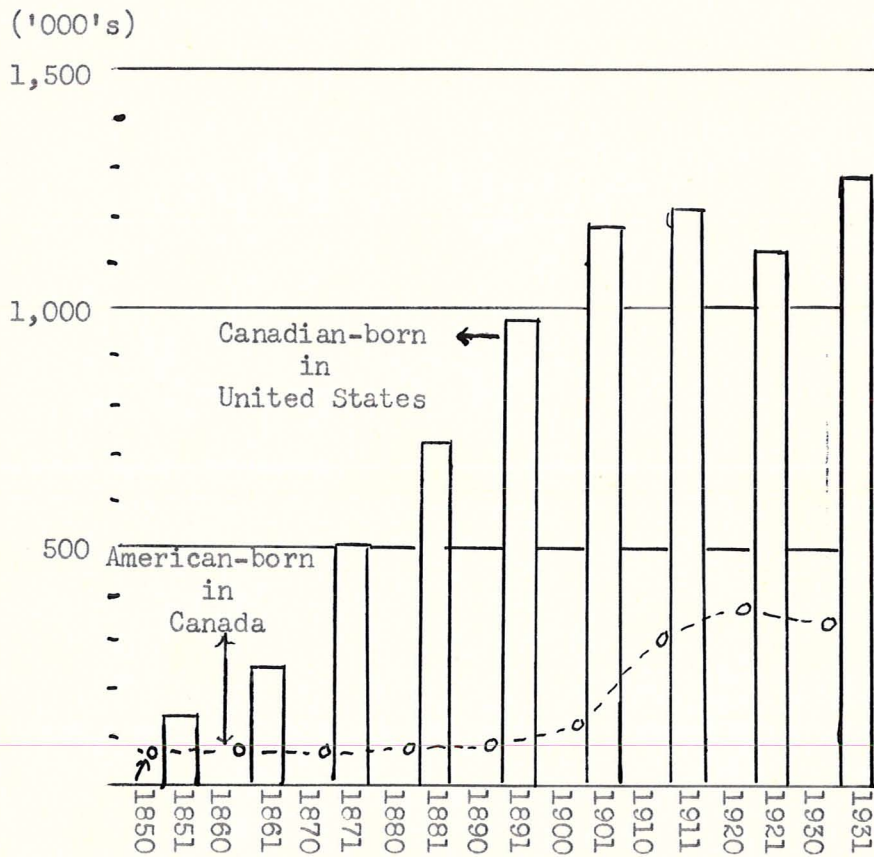
FIGURE 2

CANADIAN-BORN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES

COMPARED WITH

AMERICAN-BORN IN CANADA

1850-51 to 1930-31

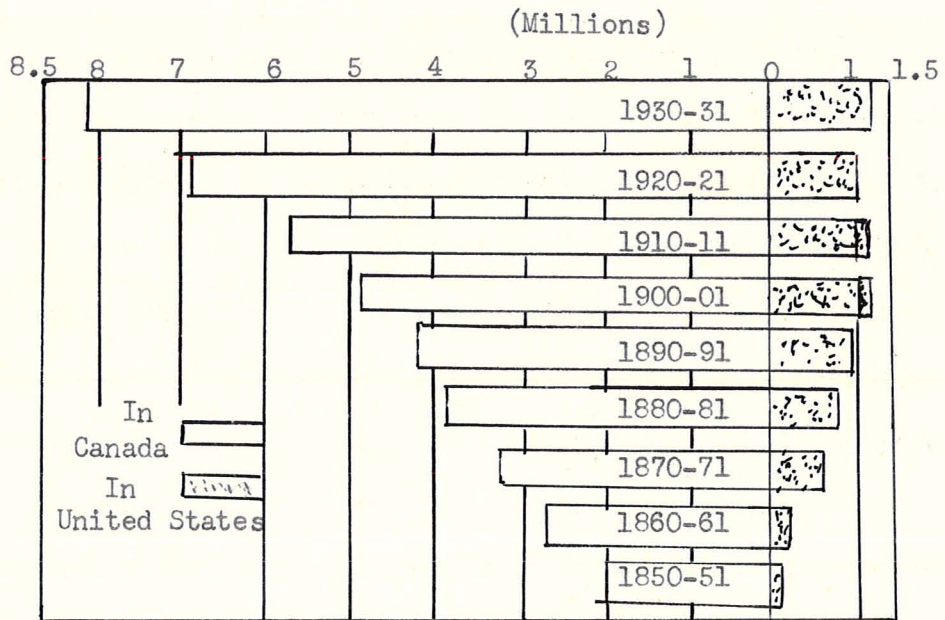


Source: R.H. Coats and M.C. Maclean, The American-Born in Canada, p. 23.

FIGURE 3

CANADIAN-BORN IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

1850-51 to 1930-31



THE CANADIAN BORN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

1. INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL STATEMENT:

One will recognize that the United States has been the main foreign contributor to Canadian population, but one must also realize that in both a relative and an absolute sense, and at different kinds of periods the Canadian race has contributed to the population of the United States. This section of the thesis will attempt to observe the distribution and characteristics of the Canadian stock in the United States. This is an important factor since much of the present distribution of the American-born in Canada is a result of the coming to Canada of the descendants of Canadians who settled in United States territory. "The truth is, the historic Canadian exodus is the largest and most significant single episode, certainly to a Canadian, scarcely less to an American, in the whole history of Canadian-American population relations."¹

Figure 2 indicates that as early as 1850 the Canadian-born in the United States numbered approximately 147,000. By 1931 this number had increased to approximately 1,285,000, i.e. over three times the number of the American-born in Canada. Figure 3 shows the number of all Canadian-born who were in Canada and the United States 1850-1931.

Coats and Maclean point out² the amazing fact that in the eighties, for every thousand that Canada added to the native-born at home, there were sent 700 to the Canadian-born in the United States. Even in the

¹R.H. Coats and M.C. Maclean, The American-Born in Canada, The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1943, p. 23.

²Ibid. p. 24.

Table 3--Proportions of Population Moving from the United States to Canada and from Canada to the United States; 1851-1931.

Census Year	Canadian-Born in United States			American-Born in Canada		
	Number	%Total Can. Population	%Total U.S. Population	Number	%Total U.S. Population	%Total Can. Population
1851	147,711	6.06	0.64	63,002	0.27	2.59
1861	247,970	7.74	0.79	70,000	0.22	2.17
1871	493,464	13.38	1.28	64,613	0.17	1.75
1881	717,157	16.58	1.43	77,753	0.16	1.80
1891	980,938	20.30	1.56	80,915	0.13	1.67
1901	1179,922	21.97	1.55	127,899	0.17	2.38
1911	1204,637	16.72	1.31	303,680	0.33	4.21
1921	1124,925	12.80	1.06	374,022	0.35	4.26
1931	1286,389	12.40	1.05	344,574	0.28	3.32

Source: Coats and Maclean, The American-Born in Canada, p. 24.

FIGURE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CANADIAN-BORN IN THE UNITED STATES 1930 -- Note that map emphasises "bloccing" in easily accessible areas.

SOURCE: Truesdell - The Canadian-Born in the United States



nineteen-twenties there were added 220 to the Canadians of the United States for every additional 1,000 in the Canadian census. This in spite of 300,000 "returned Canadians" in the immigration figures of 1926-31.

Another contrast in the movement is illustrated by Table 3 showing that the Canadian-born made up nine per cent of the entire foreign-born population of the United States, i.e. over twelve per cent of all Canadian-born people are today living in the United States whereas of the American-born, less than one-third of one per cent are in Canada.

A glance at the accompanying map (Figure 4) indicates that Canadians are widely scattered in the United States. A closer inspection reveals that the scatter is apparent rather than real. Coats and Maclean indicate³ that three states contain half the Canadian-born, and eleven states contain nearly eighty per cent. The largest representation is in New England (500,000), second largest in the North-Central States (350,000), then the Middle Atlantic States with 180,000 and the three Pacific States with 170,000. Out of the one and a quarter million Canadian-born, eleven states have less than one thousand each, and fourteen states have less than five thousand each.

The above figures are then an indication that the Canadian-born in the United States settle in blocs, i.e. most of them are found in a small number of places and in these places they form a large percentage of the total population. Our map figure further indicates that these blocs occur in the easily accessible region, i.e. the adjacent border areas. This implies also that Canadians are not merely attracted to American cities generally, but rather that they are attracted to

³Ibid. p. 25.

particular cities , i.e. those where Canadian groups are already present.

If one were to use occupations as a measure of distribution, it is found that a very even distribution is found, i.e. although the Canadian-born in the United States bloc according to population group they do not bloc according to occupation. This factor will be further amplified below. Pursuing the analysis further, one might say that the apparent dispersal of the Canadian-born is due to a high degree of individualism in the character of the migratory Canadian. However, the bulk of the movement being concentrated in a few areas indicates an economic cause for the movement despite the broad occupational distribution. Coats and Maclean indicate that the economic cause was not native to the United States, but rather to Canada, i.e. they claim that it is an overflow movement, "...which began sporadically, but culminated in rural Ontario and Quebec several decades ago, and which halted in spots just over the border, where a new home was made under circumstances as like the old one as possible".⁴ In subsequent decades and chiefly because of social factors, Canadians have continued going to those parts of the United States where Canadians were already to be found. In addition their children have tended to stay in this same orbit.⁵

⁴Ibid. p. 27.

⁵P.K. Whelpton, Needed Population Research, Lancaster, Pa., 1938, p. 123 notes the following: The movement from Canada to the United States may be divided into three points; 1. Prior to 1860, varied emigration conditions; 2. 1860-80, when the overflow was from the densely settled rural parts of Ontario and Quebec; 3. After 1880 when the exodus became general. The emigrants of the first period were distributed widely and evenly in the United States. Those of the second went to border States, to be followed by those of the third with an increasing tendency to invade the cities. As to the Canadian "stock" in the United States, they are to be found in the whole living in the same area as the Canadian-born - only a negligible proportion show evidence of having moved with the tide of "continental" migration.

Table 4---Population Of The United States and Canada
1850 to 1930.

Census Year	United States			Canada			Ratio U.S. to Canada	Ratio Canada to U.S.
	Number	Increase Amount	%	Number	Increase Amount	%		
1930	122,775,046	17,064,426	16.1	10,376,786	1,588,837	18.1	11.83	0.09
1920	105,710,620	13,738,354	14.9	8,787,949	1,581,306	21.9	12.03	0.08
1910	91,972,266	15,977,691	21.0	7,206,643	1,835,328	34.2	12.76	0.08
1900	75,994,575	13,046,861	20.7	5,371,315	538,076	11.1	14.15	0.07
1890	62,947,714	12,791,931	25.5	4,833,239	508,429	11.8	13.02	0.08
1880	50,155,783	10,337,334	26.0	4,324,810	635,553	17.2	11.60	0.09
1870	39,818,149	8,375,128	26.6	3,689,257	459,624	14.2	10.45	0.10
1860	31,443,321	8,251,445	35.6	3,229,633	793,336	32.6	9.74	0.10
1850	23,191,876	.....	.....	2,436,297	.....	.....	9.52	0.11

From all of this it can be gathered that the movement of Canadians to United States has represented a population movement as a whole rather than the movement of individuals and as such they have proceeded to the most easily accessible parts of the United States and have kept together.

Even so, in the areas in which they did settle Canadians in the United States have mingled freely with the native population. They have intermarried and have become naturalized in many cases. The French Canadian has not been as eager to take permanent root in the United States as has the English Canadian stock, but nevertheless he is deeply influenced by United States customs. With Canadians in the United States as with Americans in Canada, occupational assimilability has been easy. Nevertheless, the overflow of Canadians into the United States has meant that they form a distinctive element in the population.

This section of the thesis is then an attempt to review information concerning the Canadian-born in the United States, relative, e.g. to basic population relationships, age, marital status, etc., to point out the predominant features, and to show probable reasons for such relationships.

2. POPULATION RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA:

From Table 4 it may be seen that in 1851, at the beginning of the decennial census, the Canadian population numbered approximately 2,500,000 and that of the United States was approximately 23,000,000. In Canada the major portion of the population was in Ontario and to the East; that of the United States was east of the Great Plains. The fact then, of vast spaces to be settled in the west of both nations led to population growth and the intermingling noted in Part I of this thesis. By 1901,

Table 5

American-Born Population in Canada: 1850 to 1931

Census Year	Number	Increase		Percent of the total Population of Canada	Percent of the total Population of U.S.A.	Percent of the total Can. Born in U.S.A.
		Amount	%			
1931	314,574	-29,148	-7.9	3.3	0.3	26.8
1921	374,022	70,342	23.2	4.3	0.4	33.2
1911	303,680	175,781	137.4	4.2	0.3	25.2
1901	127,899	46,984	58.1	2.4	0.2	10.8
1891	80,915	3,162	4.1	1.7	0.1	8.2
1881	77,753	13,140	20.3	1.8	0.2	10.8
1871	64,613	-5,387	-7.7	1.8	0.2	13.1
1861	70,000	7,000	11.1	2.2	0.2	28.0
1851	63,000	.....	....	2.6	0.3	42.7

Foreign-Born Population of Canada By Place of Birth: 1851 to 1931

Census Year	Number	Total		United States	Number Born In--	
		Increase Amount	%		British Isles	Other Countries
1931	2,307,525	351,800	18.0	344,574	1,138,942	824,009
1921	1,955,725	368,764	23.2	374,022	1,025,199	556,584
1911	1,586,961	887,461	126.9	303,680	804,234	479,047
1901	699,500	55,629	8.6	127,899	404,848	166,753
1891	643,871	40,887	6.8	80,915	477,735	85,221
1881	602,984	1,009	0.2	77,753	470,906	54,325
1871	601,975	-84,318	-12.3	64,613	496,595	40,767
1861	686,293	219,507	47.0	70,000		616,293
1851	466,786	.....	....	63,000		403,786

the Canadian population was approximately 5,500,000 and was widely scattered throughout Canada; that of the United States was approximately 76,000,000 and occupied much of the good farm land of the western United States. The population growth of Canada is seen to be relatively slow up to 1900 while that of the United States was continuous and even. A rapid increase in the Canadian population is noted in the 1900-1910 era. This was due to the opening of the Canadian West. Reference to Table 3 indicates only small increases in the number of Canadian-born in the United States during this era and is thus an indication that the Canadians were finding suitable settlement areas in their own west. In addition, Canada, during this era, by offering expanded opportunities for settlement, attracted increasing immigration from the United States and from European sources. This is indicated by reference to Table 5 which shows a doubling of both the American-born and the foreign-born populations in the 1901-11 decade.

The theory has been advanced that the Canadian contribution to the United States population has been paritally compensated for by an influx of foreign-born people. An anlysis of Table 5 reveals that in 1901 the entire foreign-born population of Canada was only approximately 700,000 while Table 3 indicates that the number of Canadian-born in the United States was over one million. Thus at that time the Canadian contribution to United States population was more than the contribution Canada received from all foreign sources. As noted earlier, the foreign-born population of Canada more than doubled by 1911 (the addition from United States being substantial) due to the opening of the Prairie Provinces after new varieties of wheat had been developed. Following the era of Prairie settlement, the rate of increase of the foreign-born population (Table 5) more closely approximated the rate of increase of the native population (Table 4). By 1931, the population of Canadian foreign-born was approximately 2,300,000.

Table 6--Percentages Based on Number of Foreign Born From Selected Countries: 1890, 1910 and 1930.

Country of Birth	Percent of Total Population of the United States			Percent of all Foreign Born in United States			Percent of the Population of Country of Birth			Population of the Country of Birth at Census nearest 1930
	1930	1910	1890	1930	1910	1890	1930	1910	1890	
Canada	1.05	1.31	1.56	9.1	8.9	10.6	12.4	16.7	20.3	10,376,786
England	0.66	0.95	1.44	5.7	6.5	9.8	2.1	2.6	3.3	37,794,003
Scotland	0.29	0.28	0.38	2.5	1.9	2.6	7.3	5.5	6.0	4,842,980
Wales	0.05	0.09	0.16	0.4	0.6	1.1	2.8	4.1	6.6	2,158,374
Ireland	0.75	1.47	2.97	6.5	10.0	20.2	21.7	30.8	39.8	4,258,854
Norway	0.28	0.44	0.51	2.4	3.0	3.5	12.4	16.9	21.2	2,814,194
Sweden	0.48	0.72	0.76	4.2	4.9	5.2	9.7	12.0	10.0	6,142,191
Denmark	0.22	0.20	0.21	1.3	1.3	1.4	5.1	6.5	6.1	3,550,656
Germany	1.31	2.51	4.42	11.3	17.1	30.1	2.4	3.6	5.6	66,030,491
Poland	1.03	1.02	0.23	8.9	6.9	1.6	3.9	...	....	32,133,500
Italy	1.46	1.46	0.29	12.6	9.9	2.0	4.3	3.9	0.6	41,176,671
Greece	0.14	0.11	....	1.2	0.7	...	2.8	3.8	0.1	6,204,684

At the same time there were approximately 1,300,000 Canadian-born in the United States (Tab.3). There may be some justification for the replacement theory.

(a) Foreign-Born From Canada and Other Countries:

In a consideration of the place which the Canadian-born occupy in the population of the United States, a comparison should be made with the numbers of persons in United States who were born in other countries. Table 6 reveals that in 1930 both Germany and Italy made greater contributions to the United States population than did Canada. One should note that several countries other than Canada had by 1930 contributed a substantial per cent of their total population. These would include, as Table 6 indicates, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Scotland, Denmark, and Italy in that sequence. The point to be made here is that, "The circumstances of having contributed a considerable part of the natural growth of its population to the settlement and the urban growth of the United States is therefore not peculiar to Canada, though in no other case has there been anything at all like the free interchange of population between the two countries concerned which is evidenced by the fact that in proportion to the population of the receiving country, there are far more persons born in the United States living in Canada than there are Canadian-born living in the United States".⁶

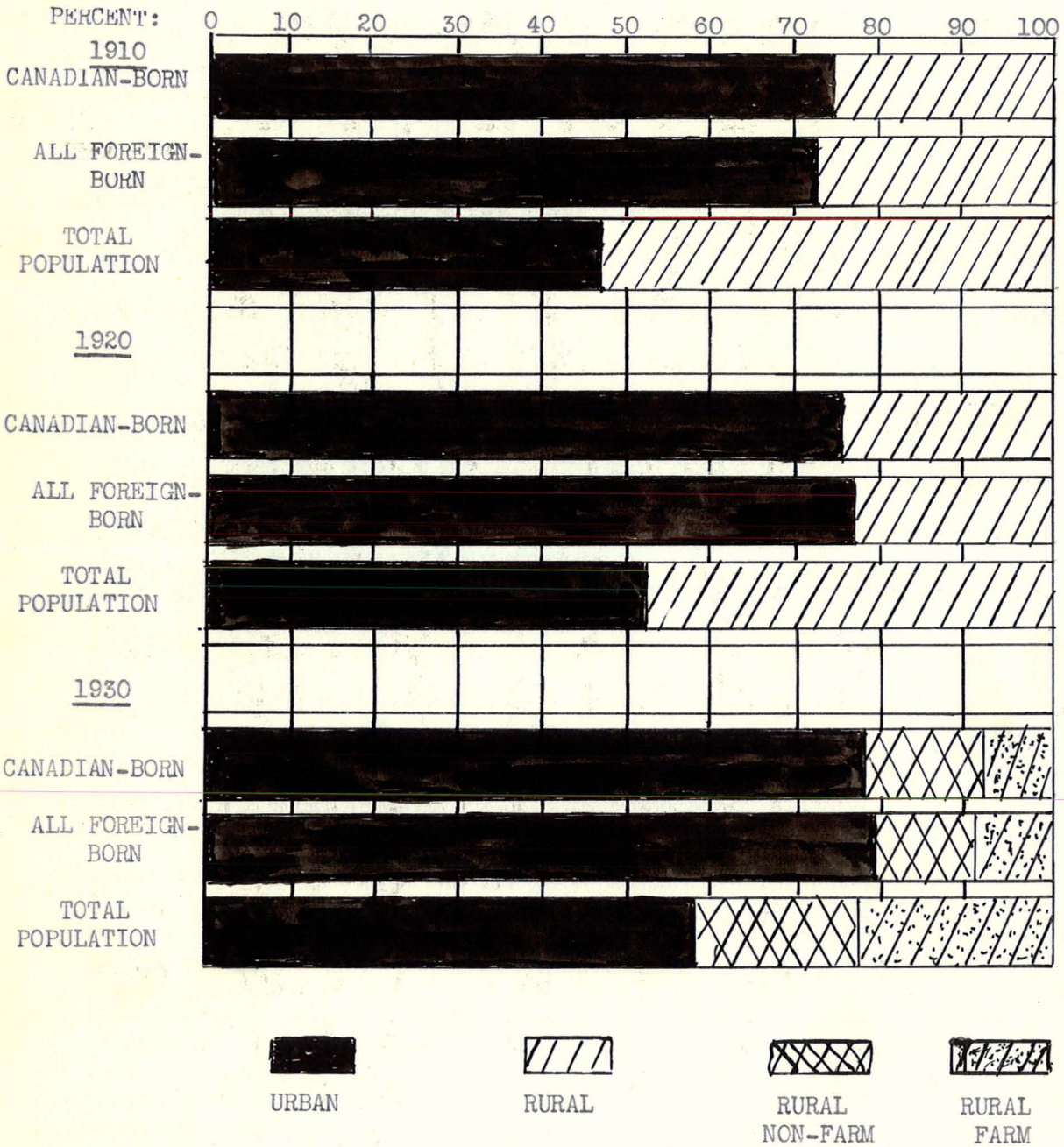
(b) Urban and Rural Areas:

The urban population of the United States, i.e. that residing in cities and other incorporated places having 2500 or more inhabitants

⁶L.E. Truesdell, The Canadian-Born in the United States, The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1943, p. 21.

FIGURE 5
UNITED STATES

URBAN RURAL CLASSIFICATION OF CANADIAN-BORN,
ALL FOREIGN-BORN, AND TOTAL POPULATION: 1910 to 1930



(the remainder of the population designated as rural) has shown a continuous increase in each successive census, e.g. 1790 - 5.1 per cent; 1880 - 28.2 per cent; 1930 - 56.2 per cent. Since excess of births over deaths is smaller in cities than in surrounding country, the rapid growth of cities can be classified as due to migration from rural areas to cities.⁷ Since this aspect of internal migration is so noticeable amongst the native United States population, one might conceivably reason that a large part of the foreign-born population entering the United States might also be carried in this general city-ward movement. Figure 5 shows the urban-rural classification of Canadian-born, all foreign-born and the total population; 1910 to 1930. Of the Canadian-born population in the United States in 1930, approximately 77 per cent were in urban areas as compared with approximately 56 per cent of the total population of the country. (Truesdell notes, however - p. 24 - that if the area considered is reduced to the sixteen states in which the Canadian-born form one per cent or more of the population the percentage urban of the total population is approximately 72 per cent and the Canadian figure is thus more comparable.) Figure 5 also indicates that the urban rural distribution of the Canadian-born is similar to that of the total foreign-born population. However, the excess of the percentage urban among the Canadian-born over that in the total population of the United States was greater in 1910 (73-46 = 27%) than in 1930 (77-56 = 21%) indicating that the tendency toward greater urban concentration has not affected the Canadian-born as much as the remainder of

⁷See Appendix of this thesis for a more complete review of this aspect of internal migration.

Mountain:

Montana	2.08	2.68	3.68	5.68	6.33	6.34	5.69	....	....
Idaho	1.02	1.15	1.65	1.81	2.02	1.79	2.23	....	....
Wyoming	0.51	0.74	0.98	1.35	2.10	2.61	3.61	....	....
Colorado	0.56	0.81	1.20	1.82	2.21	2.98	1.89	2.00	....
New Mexico	0.15	0.20	0.31	0.39	0.42	0.23	0.14	0.08	0.06
Arizona	0.47	0.59	0.89	1.03	0.83	1.41	1.47	....	....
Utah	0.23	0.33	0.45	0.48	0.58	0.72	0.79	1.61	2.97
Nevada	1.05	1.53	2.26	2.44	3.51	5.05	5.57	3.03	....

Pacific:

Washington	3.09	3.18	3.46	3.92	4.87	3.80	4.68	3.51	....
Oregon	1.88	1.76	1.84	1.82	2.03	1.73	1.31	1.26	2.20
California	1.79	1.74	1.88	2.01	2.15	2.18	1.90	1.43	0.90

Table 7--Percentage of Total Population Canadian Born, By States: 1850 to 1930

Division and State	1930	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860	1850
United States	1.05	1.06	1.31	1.55	1.56	1.43	1.28	0.79	0.64
New England:									
Maine	9.28	9.69	10.27	9.66	7.88	5.72	4.27	2.79	2.43
New Hampshire	10.96	11.81	13.44	14.33	12.30	7.82	4.07	1.37	0.79
Vermont	7.56	7.06	7.32	7.47	7.52	7.41	8.64	5.01	4.61
Massachusetts	6.81	6.84	8.83	10.45	9.27	6.69	4.81	2.20	1.59
Rhode Island	5.72	6.04	7.73	9.16	8.08	6.62	4.71	1.62	0.69
Connecticut	2.36	1.79	2.40	2.98	2.84	2.64	2.02	0.68	0.26
Middle Atlantic:									
New York	1.18	1.09	1.36	1.62	1.55	1.66	1.80	1.42	1.52
New Jersey	0.41	0.33	0.36	0.38	0.33	0.31	0.27	0.17	0.12
Pennsylvania	0.17	0.17	0.20	0.23	0.23	0.29	0.28	0.12	0.11
East North Central:									
Ohio	0.41	0.43	0.50	0.55	0.45	0.50	0.49	0.30	0.30
Indiana	0.19	0.18	0.22	0.24	0.23	0.28	0.28	0.23	0.19
Illinois	0.58	0.60	0.81	1.05	1.03	1.11	1.28	1.18	1.26
Michigan	4.21	4.52	6.15	7.62	8.66	9.09	7.57	4.87	3.52
Wisconsin	0.53	0.74	1.07	1.64	1.96	2.20	2.43	2.34	2.71
West North Central:									
Minnesota	1.06	1.42	1.98	2.72	3.33	3.80	3.80	4.66	23.32
Iowa	0.26	0.37	0.52	0.70	0.91	1.30	1.50	1.23	0.91
Missouri	0.15	0.19	0.25	0.28	0.32	0.40	0.49	0.24	0.15
North Dakota	1.84	2.43	3.73	8.83	12.07	7.90	6.39	30.14	...
South Dakota	0.49	0.70	1.03	1.75	2.72	2.72	2.14	1.52	....
Nebraska	0.32	0.45	0.62	0.85	1.14	1.91	2.14	1.52	....
Kansas	0.22	0.30	0.43	0.58	0.83	1.26	1.46	0.92	....
South Atlantic:									
Delaware	0.20	0.20	0.25	0.16	0.18	0.17	0.09	0.03	0.02
Maryland	0.14	0.13	0.11	0.10	0.10	0.11	0.08	0.05	0.04
Dist. Columbia	0.36	0.39	0.35	0.33	0.28	0.25	0.22	0.08	0.06
Virginia	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.06	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.02
West Virginia	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.05	0.05	0.05	....	....
North Carolina	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.02	....	....
South Carolina	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Georgia	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01
Florida	0.56	0.43	0.23	0.23	0.29	0.17	0.09	0.05	0.11
East South Central:									
Kentucky	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.03
Tennessee	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.01
Alabama	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01
Mississippi	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.02	0.01
West South Central:									
Arkansas	0.04	0.05	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.10	0.07	0.04	0.02
Louisiana	0.05	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.10	0.12	0.10
Oklahoma	0.09	0.12	0.17	0.23	0.16	....	....	....	....
Texas	0.08	0.09	0.09	0.10	0.13	0.16	0.07	0.08	0.06

the American population. One should remember at this point the social motive attraction of those cities in which Canadians had already settled.

(c) Canadian-Born by States:

Reference to Canadian-born distribution by States indicates that the largest proportionate representation is in New England, then, in numerical order, the North Central States, the Middle Atlantic States and the three Pacific States is verified in Table 7.

The fact that in many States this percentage of the total population represented by the Canadian-born has varied from census to census (Table 7) gives statistical strength to the view expressed in Part I of this thesis that the Canadian-American population movement has historically been an integral one to a large degree. In a general review of the situation, Trussdell (p. 28-29) points out (1) that the New England and Middle Atlantic States Canadian-born population has grown because in the early days of Canadian settlement there was much commerce and population interchange between the Canadian and New England colonies, at first by water, but later by well established land routes. The growth of the textile industry was also an important factor. (2) The decline in the West North Central States indicates that persons of Canadian birth had taken a large part in the settling of these areas, but had not been followed by fellow Canadians as the area developed. In addition the original Canadian-born settlers may have moved on because of their pioneering spirit and because their partially developed holdings brought good prices from less venturesome souls; (3) that Michigan has attracted Canadians as its industrial strength increased; (4) that the Pacific Coast states have always attracted the Canadian-born and are doing so now in increasing numbers. One feels that climatical conditions

Table 8 -- Canadian Born in the United States, by Color and Sex, With Comparative Data for Total Population: 1900 to 1930

Class and Census Year	Total	Male	Female	Males per 100 females
All Canadian Born:				
1930	1,286,389	620,762	665,627	93.3
1920	1,124,925	550,679	574,246	95.9
1910	1,204,637	605,956	598,681	101.2
1900	1,179,922	610,121	569,801	107.1
White Canadian born:				
1930	1,278,421	617,090	661,331	93.3
1920	1,117,878	547,357	570,521	95.9
1910	1,196,070	601,833	594,237	101.3
1900	1,172,860	606,666	566,194	107.1
Nonwhite Canadian born:				
1930	7,968	3,672	4,296	85.5
Negro	5,817	2,554	3,263	78.3
Indian	1,969	1,001	968	103.4
Other Races	182	117	65	180.0
All foreign-born white:				
1930	13,983,405	7,502,491	6,480,914	115.8
1920	13,712,754	7,528,322	6,184,432	121.7
1910	13,345,545	7,523,788	5,821,757	129.2
1900	10,213,817	5,515,285	4,698,532	117.4
Total Population of United States:				
1930	122,775,046	62,137,080	60,637,966	102.5
1920	105,710,620	53,900,431	51,810,189	104.0
1910	91,972,266	47,332,277	44,639,989	106.0
1900	75,994,575	38,816,448	37,178,127	104.4

Table 9 -- Canadian Born in the United States, by Color and Sex, for Urban and Rural Areas:1930

Sex and Color	Total	Urban		Rural-Nonfarm		Rural-Farm	
		Number	Per Cent of total	Number	Per Cent of total	Number	Per Cent of total
Total	1,286,389	994,800	77.3	191,192	14.9	100,397	7.8
White	1,278,421	988,738	77.3	189,946	14.9	99,737	7.8
Negro	5,817	5,257	90.4	429	7.4	131	2.3
Indian	1,969	659	33.5	795	40.4	515	26.2
Other Races	182	146	80.2	22	12.1	14	7.7
Male	620,762	466,726	75.2	98,577	15.9	55,459	8.9
White	617,090	464,065	75.2	97,927	15.9	55,098	8.9
Negro	2,554	2,248	88.0	227	8.9	79	3.1
Indian	1,001	314	31.4	412	41.2	275	27.5
Other Races	117	99	84.6	11	9.4	7	6.0
Female	665,627	528,074	79.3	92,615	13.9	44,938	6.8
White	661,331	524,673	79.3	92,019	13.9	44,639	6.7
Negro	3,263	3,009	92.2	202	6.2	52	1.6
Indian	968	345	35.6	383	39.6	240	24.8
Other Races	65	47	....	11	....	7	....
Males per 100 females							
Total	93.3	88.4	....	106.4	....	123.4	....
White	93.3	88.4	....	106.4	....	123.4	....
Negro	78.3	74.7	....	112.4	....	....	....
Indian	103.4	91.0	....	107.6	....	114.6	....
Other Races	....	....	....	....	....	....	....

there might be an inducement for retired Canadians to take up residence in that area; (5) that the Canadian-born population in the Southern States has always been a comparatively negligible factor. In general, then, the most important single reason for the location of the Canadian-born in the United States is once again emphasized as being "ease of access from Canada".

3. CANADIAN-BORN IN THE UNITED STATES BY COLOUR AND SEX:

Practically all of the Canadian-born in the United States are of the white race. (Table 8) The percentage of the non-white Canadian-born was 0.60 in 1900 and 0.62 in 1930. The Census of the United States now regards the colour classification of no importance. Reference to Table 8 also indicates that since 1900 the sex ratio (number of males per 100 females) has declined considerably, i.e. 1900 - 107.1 males per 100 females; 1910 - 101.2; 1920 - 95.9 and in 1930 - 93.3. One reason for this change might be a returning of the males to Canada in greater numbers than the females; this point will be elaborated on below in the discussion of "year of immigration". Another reason might be that the Canadian-born population is ageing, thus showing a preponderance of females. This latter point will again be noted in our discussion below on the age of the Canadian-born in the United States.

Table 9 indicates that the ~~rural~~ urban distribution of the Canadian-born in terms of the sex ratio was only 88.4 as compared with 106.4 in rural non-farm areas and 123.4 in rural farm areas. This then is an indication that there is a marked excess of females in the Canadian-born population of the cities. This can in turn be attributed to the fact that the cities offer more employment opportunity for the females and the rural areas more employment opportunity for the males.

Future statistical reference in this thesis is confined to the Canadian-born white population.

4. THE CANADIAN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, FRENCH AND ENGLISH:

(a) Historically:

Canada was settled by the French around 1600 and during the developing process there was enmity between them and the English in the United States for possession of Canadian territory. Much of this enmity was the reflection of European wars between France and England. At the end of the Seven Years War in 1763, Canada was ceded to England. This meant a cessation of French immigration to Canada.

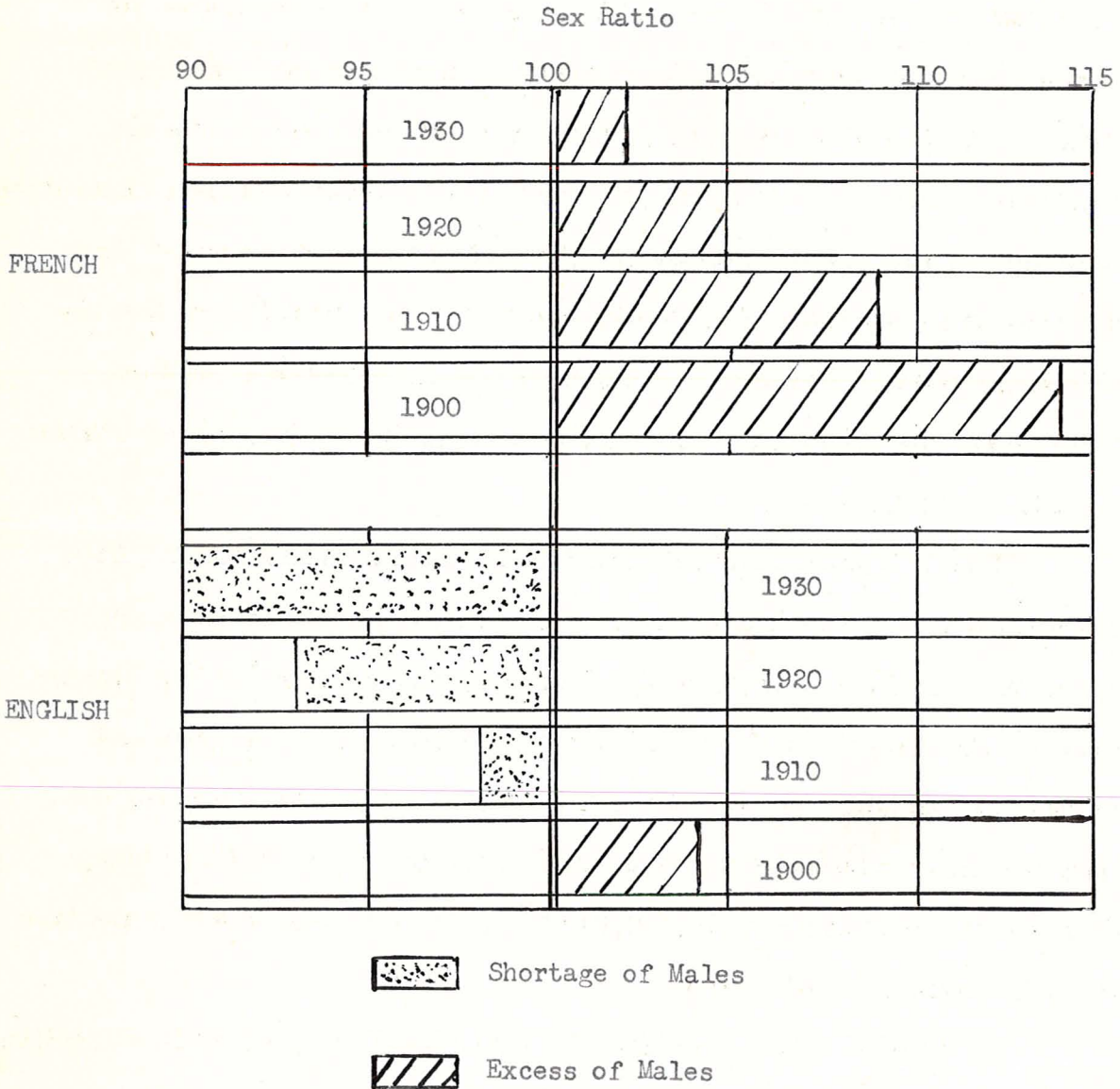
Nevertheless, the French-Canadian population has increased from an estimated 90,000 in 1763 to three million in 1931. In other words the French-Canadian population, because of the excess of births over deaths within the group itself, has doubled in number every thirty-three years.

In Canada the French-Canadians have tended to segregate in their own distinctive communities, i.e. in 1931, 85 per cent in Quebec and East, ten per cent in Ontario and only five per cent to the West. In contrast the English-Canadians have scattered widely. This same characteristic is evident amongst the Canadian-born in the United States, i.e. the French-Canadians have their distinctive communities and carry on a considerable population exchange each year with Canada, whereas the English stock Canadian-born are found in considerable numbers in all parts of the country with the exception of the South.

The language characteristic is undoubtedly the main reason for the above noted distribution. The Quebec Act in 1764 allowed the maintenance of the French language and religion. At the present time, most

FIGURE 6

SEX RATIO IN THE CANADIAN-BORN POPULATION OF
THE UNITED STATES, FRENCH AND ENGLISH: 1900 to 1930



of the Canadian public documents are printed in both languages. In addition, the Roman Catholic Church does much to maintain the French language and traditions, presumably on the theory that a mingling with the English-Canadians might weaken the French-Canadian tie with the Roman Catholic Church. Moreover, the English speaking Canadians are in most cases not many generations removed from their immigrant grandparents and thus retain more of a pioneering spirit than the French-Canadian. This latter point may be considered a reason for the comparative "blooming" of the French-Canadian in the United States and for the fact that the major proportion of Canadian-born in the United States West are of English stock. Finally, the English speaking Canadian-born have found themselves naturally more readily assimilable in the United States.

(b) Sex Distribution:

Figure 6 gives graphic verification to the former comment that the sex ratio of the Canadian-born in the United States is gradually declining. In 1900 there were 114 French-Canadian males for 100 French-Canadian females; in 1910 the ratio was 109; in 1920 it was 105, and in 1930 it was 102. The corresponding ratios for the English-Canadian-born were 104 in 1900; 98 in 1910; 93 in 1920 and 90 in 1930. Noting that the French started with a higher ratio, the rate of decline has been about the same for both races.

An attempt will now be made to carry this analysis of the Canadian-born in the United States further by reference to the white population of Canadian stock in the United States.

5. THE WHITE POPULATION OF CANADIAN STOCK IN THE UNITED STATES

(a) General Statement:

This group is composed of the sum of the Canadian-born whites and those members of the United States population having one or both parents

born in Canada.

The present numerical condition of these two elements is traceable to the historical fact that the Canadian-born have not always continued to enter the United States areas which were pioneered by Canadians. Thus although the numbers having Canadian parentage is considerable, the number of Canadian-born is small in these areas. Conversely, in these areas where Canadian immigration is recent, the number of Canadian-born is high and the number of the native population claiming Canadian-parentage is low.

Truesdell points out (p. 58) that the relative importance of the Canadian stock in the United States has changed considerably. From 1890 to 1900 the percentage of the total population of the United States represented by the Canadian stock increased from 2.9 to 3.4, i.e. because in that era the effects of the Great Emigration from Canada 1880-1896 began to be felt.⁸ Since 1900 the percentage has decreased to 3.1 in 1910; 2.8 in 1920, and 2.7 in 1930. This is a result of the declining relative importance of the Canadian-born rather than to any drastic change in the percentage represented by native persons of Canadian parentage. In summary, the Canadian stock as a whole has increased during the forty year period from 1890 to 1930 from 1,800,000 to 3,300,000 (approximately). This was made up of an increase of 31.1 per cent in the Canadian born, mostly between 1890 and 1900 and an increase of 136.8 per cent in the second generation group. This latter large increase can be attributed mainly to the French-Canadians in the United States because of their larger families, geographical stability and urban concentration.

⁸Cf. Part I, Section 7 of this thesis.

Table 10 -- White Population of Canadian Stock in the United States French and English:1890-1930

Class	1930	1920	1910	1900	1890	Per Cent Increase			
						1920	1910	1900	1890
						to 1930	to 1920	to 1910	to 1900
All Canadian stock	3,337,345	2,959,483	2,846,891	2,562,330	1,845,032	12.8	4.0	11.1	38.9
French	1,106,159	870,146	947,792	850,491	535,501	27.1	-8.2	11.4	58.8
English	2,231,186	2,089,337	1,899,099	1,711,839	1,309,531	6.8	10.0	10.9	30.7
Canadian Born	1,278,421	1,117,878	1,196,070	1,172,860	975,496	14.4	-6.5	2.0	20.2
French	370,852	307,786	385,083	394,461	302,496	20.5	-20.1	-2.4	30.4
English	907,569	810,092	810,987	778,399	673,000	12.0	-0.1	4.2	15.7
Canadian Parentage	2,058,924	1,841,605	1,650,821	1,389,470	869,536	11.8	11.6	18.8	59.8
French	735,307	562,360	562,709	456,030	233,005	30.8	-0.1	23.4	95.7
English	1,323,617	1,279,245	1,088,112	933,440	636,531	3.5	17.6	16.6	46.6
Per cent French:									
All Canadian stock	33.1	29.4	33.3	33.2	39.0	....	....	....	....
Canadian born	29.0	27.5	32.2	33.6	31.0	....	....	....	....
Canadian Parentage	35.7	30.5	34.1	32.8	26.8	....	....	....	....
Ratio of Canadian parentage to Canadian born:									
Total	1.6	1.7	1.4	1.2	0.9	....	...	....	....
French	2.0	1.8	1.5	1.2	0.8	....	....	....	....
English	1.5	1.6	1.3	1.2	1.0	....	....	....	....

Table 11 -- White Population of Canadian Stock, French and English, in Urban and Rural Areas:1910-1930.

Census Year and Area	All Canadian Stock			Canadian Born			Canadian Parentage		
	Total	French	English	Total	French	English	Total	French	English
1930									
Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	73.4	76.6	71.8	77.3	78.9	76.7	71.0	75.5	68.5
Rural Nonfarm	16.7	16.2	16.9	14.9	15.0	14.8	17.8	16.8	18.3
Rural-farm	9.9	7.2	11.3	7.8	6.1	8.5	11.2	7.8	13.2
1920									
Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	70.4	76.7	67.9	74.3	79.2	72.4	68.1	75.3	65.0
Rural	29.6	23.3	32.1	25.7	20.8	27.6	31.9	24.7	35.0
1910									
Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	67.9	76.5	63.7	73.1	81.3	69.2	64.2	73.2	59.5
Rural	32.1	23.5	36.3	26.9	18.7	30.8	35.8	26.8	40.5

Reference to Table 10 shows that of the total population of Canadian stock, the majority were English speaking in 1930, i.e. approximately 2,200,000 of 3,300,000. However, reference to the Canadian parentage section of the table reveals that the French-Canadian second generation gained substantially faster than did the second generation of English stock, between 1920 and 1930. That these increases should not be consistent over the period 1890 to 1930 was hinted at by our former reference to the effect of the opening of the Canadian West in 1900-1910. In addition, the war conditions of 1910 to 1920, i.e. the return of Canadian stock to Canada to enlist or serve the war machine was a further disturbing factor. In more normal times, a factor to be reckoned is the movement of the children of the Canadian-born back to Canada.

(b) Rural-^Urban Distribution:

Reference was made in Section 1 (b) to the general rural-urban movement and the indication was that the Canadian-born population shows a lower percentage urban than the United States total population.

Table 11 shows that the French stock has a higher percentage urban than has the English; moreover, the Canadian-born show a higher percentage urban than the American-born of Canadian parentage. The French-Canadian born is the most highly urbanized, i.e. 78.9 per cent urban as compared with 76.7 for the English-Canadian born and with 75.5 and 68.5 respectively for the French and English of the second generation.

The reasons for this are the occupational distribution (see below) of the French Canadian and also the fact that they tend to settle whereas the English-Canadians tend to wander. The French-Canadians are mainly settled in States which are industrialized and urbanized while English-Canadians are in their greatest numerical strength in the important farm states, i.e. those of the Middle West. Another causal factor is that the

Table 12 -- Canadian-Born White Population in the United States, French and English, by Year of Immigration and Sex: 1930

Year of Immigration	All Canadian Born			French			English		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	1,278,421	617,090	661,331	370,852	187,523	183,329	907,569	429,567	478,002
Reporting year of immigration	1,191,155	578,905	612,250	355,260	180,429	174,831	835,895	398,476	437,419
Not Reporting	87,266	38,185	49,081	15,592	7,094	8,498	71,674	31,091	40,583
Per cent Reporting	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1925 to 1930	13.3	12.9	13.7	10.2	9.8	10.6	14.7	14.4	15.0
1920 to 1924	17.4	18.2	16.6	15.6	15.9	15.3	18.1	19.3	17.1
1915 to 1919	7.3	7.0	7.6	6.6	6.4	6.8	7.6	7.3	7.9
1911 to 1914	4.8	4.6	5.0	4.7	4.6	4.9	4.8	4.6	5.1
1901 to 1910	14.7	14.0	15.3	15.9	15.3	16.4	14.2	13.4	14.9
1900 and earlier	42.4	43.3	41.7	47.0	48.0	46.0	40.5	41.1	39.9

Canadian-born group as compared to the American-born of Canadian parentage contains many single people who go to the city seeking employment. The American-born group being longer resident and composed of families has tended to spread from urban to rural areas.

Generally, the figures reveal that all of the groups (Canadian-born, French and English; Canadian parentage, French and English) are dominantly urban. This is in keeping with the general trend of internal migration in the United States.

6. YEARS OF IMMIGRATION OF THE CANADIAN-BORN:

Another method of ascertaining the general time pattern of immigration to the United States of the Canadian-born is to question their year of arrival. The accompanying table (#12) indicates the following salient points: (1) Of those answering the question, 42.4 per cent entered prior to 1901; 14.7 per cent from 1901-10; 4.8 per cent from 1911-14; 7.3 per cent from 1915-19; 17.4 per cent from 1920-24; 13.3 per cent from 1925-30. (2) The figures generally speaking also indicate that a greater proportion of the French-Canadians migrated to the United States pre 1910, but since that time the proportion for English-Canadians is higher. (3) In no case is there a marked variation between the two sexes. This is an indication that unlike the European immigration to the United States, the Canadians have represented a more nearly normal segment of the population of origin, rather than a group of predominately male workers. A question arises here as to how to reconcile the fact that many Eastern United States cities have drawn an excess of Canadian-born females. The answer must be that there has been an excess of males in the newer Western areas. Thus the theory that a more normal segment of the population has migrated to the States, while recognized as true, is not quite as obvious as first appeared.

Table 13 -- Canadian-Born White Population in the United States, French and English, by Citizenship and Sex: 1930

Sex and Citizenship	All Canadian Born		French		English	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	1,278,421	100.0	370,852	100.0	907,569	100.0
Naturalized	658,557	51.5	173,938	46.9	484,619	53.4
Having first papers	109,062	8.5	29,797	8.0	79,265	8.7
Alien	444,624	34.8	154,002	41.5	290,622	32.0
Unknown	66,178	5.2	13,115	3.5	53,063	5.8
Male	617,090	100.0	187,523	100.0	429,567	100.0
Naturalized	310,145	50.3	89,258	47.6	220,887	51.4
Having first papers	77,950	12.6	22,725	12.1	55,225	12.9
Alien	197,408	32.0	69,354	37.0	128,054	29.8
Unknown	31,587	5.1	6,186	3.3	25,401	5.9
Female	661,331	100.0	183,329	100.0	478,002	100.0
Naturalized	348,412	52.7	84,680	46.2	263,732	55.2
Having first papers	31,112	4.7	7,072	3.9	24,040	5.0
Alien	247,216	37.4	84,648	46.2	162,568	34.0
Unknown	34,591	5.2	6,929	3.8	27,662	5.8

Our general pattern then is once again given proof, i.e. the year-of-immigration information indicates that the periods of heavy migration of Canadian-born to the United States are pre 1900 and after 1920 with comparatively few in the years 1900-1920.

7. CITIZENSHIP OF THE CANADIAN-BORN:

The degree to which the Canadian-born have become naturalized serves as a measure of the expected permanency of their stay. The United States Census distinguishes three specific classes: (i) Naturalized - which is the most important group for our purposes; (ii) having first papers, indicating that when a person meets the residence qualifications he intends staying in the United States; (iii) Aliens . Table 13 indicates that of the total Canadian-born white population of the United States in 1930, 51.5 per cent were naturalized and 8.5 per cent had first papers. Moreover an appreciably higher proportion of the females were naturalized; at the same time more than twice as many males as females had taken out first papers. The apparent discrepancy here is explained by the provision which allows an alien woman who marries an American to become naturalized without taking out first papers.

The French-Canadians show less propensity to become naturalized despite the fact that they average a longer stay in the United States than English-Canadians. The basis for this is that many French-Canadians go to the United States, but retain the idea of eventually returning to Canada. Moreover, as we have seen, they tend to group together and not mingle with the native population; they seem to be instilled with very little desire to become naturalized.

(a) Comparison with other Countries:

Table 14 indicates that immigrants from several countries show

Table 14 -- Foreign-Born White Males 21 Years Old and Over, by Citizenship, for Selected Countries of Birth: 1930

Country of Birth	Total	Naturalized		Having first Papers		Alien	Unknown	Males, All Ages, per cent naturalized
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent			
All Countries	6,797,494	4,217,576	62.0	926,454	13.6	1,435,309	218,155	60.6
Canada, total	531,685	290,066	54.6	75,305	14.2	138,023	28,291	50.3
French	167,493	86,019	51.4	22,209	13.3	53,572	5,693	47.6
English	364,192	204,047	56.0	53,096	14.6	84,451	22,598	51.4
England	391,838	272,566	69.6	46,307	11.8	56,671	16,294	67.8
Scotland	163,588	96,710	59.1	31,062	19.0	29,992	5,824	55.6
Ireland	394,845	278,889	70.6	48,576	12.0	47,353	19,997	69.3
Norway	191,248	135,482	70.8	23,298	12.2	26,173	6,295	69.7
Sweden	326,663	235,680	72.1	39,475	12.1	41,881	9,627	71.1
Denmark	107,423	80,911	75.3	12,267	11.4	10,808	3,437	74.3
Germany	813,294	588,295	72.3	108,098	13.3	87,696	29,205	70.4
Poland	656,348	363,922	55.4	110,597	16.9	169,496	12,333	55.1
Italy	986,531	545,729	55.3	119,191	12.1	299,015	22,596	54.6
Greece	125,619	62,649	49.9	22,701	18.1	36,516	3,753	49.5

a percentage of naturalization much higher than Canada's, e.g. Denmark, Norway, Germany and Ireland in particular. Reference to year-of-immigration information⁹ indicates that these are countries from which principal emigration to United States took place at a relatively early date. But simply to note that the Canadian-born are newer arrivals does not give us the only reason for laxity in naturalization, i.e. we have already noted that French-Canadian-born migrants show less propensity to naturalize even though they have been eligible for considerable time. The probable reason is that very many Canadians go to the United States with the expectation of returning to Canada - the French Canadians are particularly so inclined. The ease of border movement between Canadians and Americans makes this a stronger desire with Canadians than it could possibly be with immigrants from Europe and Asia. It must be pointed out also that because Canada is a country which is continuing to send immigrants on a relatively large scale her percentage naturalized will continue to show lower than those countries which have ceased to be heavy contributors to the United States population.

8. AGE OF THE CANADIAN STOCK:

(a) General Analysis:

The classification of the age groups of a population is a most important statistical record. For example, if the population is found to contain many young and few old people it can be said to be a growing population; a high proportion of young adults means high birth rate and high economic productivity. Age group statistics are necessary for the proper interpretation of information pertaining to education, marriage and occupation. A country which is seeking to establish an immigration policy

⁹L.E. Truesdell, op. cit., p. 95, Table 36.

Table 15 -- White Population of Canadian Stock in the United States, By Age, with Data for Total Population, etc.: 1930

C a n a d i a n S t o c k

Age	N u m b e r			P e r c e n t			Population of the		
	Total	Cana- dian born	Canadian Parentage	Total	Cana- dian born	Cana- dian par- centage	Total	United States, Foreign- born white	Per cent Native White
All Ages	3,337,345	1,278,421	2,058,924	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5 years	183,489	8,823	174,666	5.5	0.7	8.5	9.3	0.2	10.5
5 to 9 years	211,962	35,887	176,075	6.4	2.8	8.6	10.3	1.0	11.4
10 to 14 years	234,499	51,090	183,409	7.0	4.0	8.9	9.8	1.3	10.9
15 to 24 years	555,339	153,745	401,594	16.6	12.0	19.5	18.3	8.0	19.5
25 to 44 years	1,136,661	415,958	720,703	34.1	32.5	35.0	29.4	42.1	27.6
45 to 64 years	762,811	427,095	335,716	22.9	33.4	16.3	17.4	35.3	15.3
65 and over	251,189	185,155	66,034	7.5	14.5	3.2	5.4	12.0	4.7
Unknown	1,395	668	727	....	0.1	....	0.1	0.1	0.1

will pay particular attention to the age of immigrants in order to assure for example that no relief burden will be placed on the state or that there will be no surplus of the working age group amongst the immigrants which might compete with the native working force. In addition, a proper knowledge of age statistics facilitates prediction of future trends, especially in these days of controlled migration to Canada and the United States.

For our particular purpose in this study, age classification is important. The age statistics of the Canadian-born in the United States are, however, not as good a base for prediction as they might be. This is because of the continuing movement of Canadian-born into the United States for permanent residence and because of the fluctuating traffic.

Truesdell emphasized (p. 121) that the age composition of the Canadian stock as a whole differs from that of the total population of the United States mainly in that it contains relatively fewer children under fifteen and appreciably more persons in the age periods beyond twenty-five.

Table 15 shows the basic age composition of the Canadian stock as a whole in the United States. The salient features are as follows.

- (1) Of the Canadian-born, 7.5 per cent were children under fifteen years of age (compared with 2.5 per cent under fifteen years of age in the total foreign-born population). This is an indication that Canadians migrate as families rather than as individuals; compared to the native population's 32.8 per cent under fifteen years a substantial difference is observed.
- (2) In the age group fifteen to twenty-four years, the percentage of Canadian-born followed the same trend as the under fifteen group.
- (3) In the forty-five to sixty-four age group, the percentage 33.4 is a little lower than the percentage of 35.3 for the whole foreign-born white.
- (4) At sixty-five years and over the percentage was 14.5 again somewhat higher than the 12.0 percentage of the foreign-born whites.

The age distribution of the second generation of Canadian stock is more nearly that of the normal resident population although the percentage of children was smaller and the age group twenty-five to forty-four substantially larger.

Truesdell (op. cit., p.123) gives a very complete table concerning the age data for the Canadian stock classified as French and English and by sex. The important point revealed by the figures is that the French-Canadian-born, oddly enough, show a smaller percentage of children under fifteen years of age than the English-Canadian-born - 5.9 as compared to 8.1; also a smaller percentage of fifteen to twenty-four - 10.0 as compared to 12.5. In the age groups twenty-five to sixty-four there is a slightly higher percentage of French than English and practically the same percentage of sixty-five years and over. The differences between males and females in the various age groups in Canadian-Born and Canadian parentage categories is relatively small. This observation holds for the two racial stocks. The principal changes in the age composition of the Canadian-born population of the United States are a marked decrease of the percentages between twenty and forty-nine years of age in the period between 1910 and 1930, and a considerable increase in the ages from fifty years upwards. During this time the Canadian-born population has been a relatively static group subject to increasing age, i.e. there have been insufficient immigrants in the younger ages to offset the effects of advances against mortality.

(b) The Canadian-Born in Canada and the United States by Age:

According to Truesdell, (op. cit., p. 127) the most striking difference in age distribution between the Canadian-born in Canada and the Canadian-

born in the United States is the very much larger percentage of children in the former than in the latter. In 1931, 38.8 per cent of the Canadian born in Canada were under fifteen years of age as compared with 7.5 per cent of the Canadian-born in the United States. Beginning with age twenty-five, however, the situation was reversed, the percentage in each subsequent age group being higher for the Canadian-born in the United States than for those who remained in Canada. This then is once again an indication of the relatively little immigration from Canada to the United States in the 1900-1930 period. Consequently, the Canadian-born in the United States increased appreciably in average age, while the Canadian-born remaining in Canada were added to by the birth of thousands of children each year.

It is of some interest to note relatively little difference in the 1931 age distribution of the Canadian-born in Canada and in the United States. This was a change from 1910 at which time the percentages of females amongst the Canadian-born in the United States was appreciably higher in all the age periods up to thirty-five years and appreciably smaller in all the later age periods. This latter situation might be said to be another manifestation of the Great Emigration from Canada 1880-1896 and particularly of the movement of French-Canadians to New England where the demand had arisen for year round rather than seasonal workers.

The number of males per hundred females in the whole number of Canadian-born white persons in the United States decreased from 101.3 in 1910 to 93.3 in 1930. The decrease in the sex ration, which represents an increase in the relative number of females was most marked in the ages from thirty-five years upwards. By contrast, the sex ratio for the

Table 16 -- Relation Between Survivors of Canadian Born who were in the United States in 1910 and
 Number Enumerated in 1930, By Age
 (A minus sign denotes excess of "survivors" over enumerated)

Age in 1910 (Years)	Population 1910		Age In 1930 (Years)	Survivors From 1910 to 1930		Enumerated in 1930		Gain Over Survivors	
	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under 5	7,073	7,009	20 to 24	6,612	6,596	41,140	50,737	34,528	44,141
5 to 9	12,083	12,171	25 to 29	11,338	11,464	49,411	53,941	38,073	42,477
10 to 14	16,712	17,280	30 to 34	15,450	16,024	47,633	51,592	32,183	35,568
15 to 19	27,065	30,486	35 to 39	24,540	27,750	48,352	54,454	23,812	26,704
20 to 24	46,696	53,944	40 to 44	41,455	48,257	52,728	57,847	11,273	9,590
25 to 29	57,704	63,912	45 to 49	49,773	56,107	53,264	59,928	3,491	3,821
30 to 34	64,716	67,496	50 to 54	53,643	57,619	58,221	62,250	4,578	4,631
35 to 39	66,484	64,868	55 to 59	52,088	52,973	51,966	51,386	-122	-1,587
40 to 44	64,758	60,941	60 to 64	46,479	46,235	45,066	45,014	-1,413	-1,221
45 to 49	64,948	59,080	65 to 69	40,450	39,519	40,293	40,178	- 157	659
50 to 54	54,097	48,112	70 to 74	26,893	26,241	25,960	26,311	- 933	70
54 to 59	39,173	35,259	75 to 79	13,687	13,904	24,848	27,565	-2,982	4,182
60 to 64	31,253	28,045	80 to 84	6,397	6,644				
65 to 69	22,496	20,194	85 to 89	2,093	2,209				
70 to 74	13,424	12,414	90 to 94	5,653	626				

Canadian-born in Canada showed relatively little change. This could conceivably mean that numbers of the Canadian-born males in the United States had returned to Canada for war service and had not returned after the war. Such being the case, their remaining in Canada may have served to counteract the loss of manpower during the war with consequent effect on the sex ratios.

Table 16 shows the relation between the estimated survivors of the Canadian-born enumerated in 1910, classified by age, and those enumerated in 1930. The important point here is revealed when the estimated number of survivors is compared with the number of persons in the corresponding age groups, as enumerated in 1930. It becomes apparent that there had been a large net immigration of persons who were below the age of thirty-five in 1930, since at each age below thirty-five the number of persons enumerated exceeded the expected number of survivors. On the other hand, in 1930 among males thirty-five years and over, the expected number of survivors exceeded the number actually enumerated, indicating a net loss of population in these ages through the return of some of the older male immigrants to Canada. The tendency of the older females to return was less pronounced, except in the 35-44 age group.

(c) ^Urban and Rural Areas:

Truesdell's figures (pp. 134-5) show the differences in age distribution as between urban and rural areas. His general comment is that there were proportionately fewer old people in the urban areas than in the rural non-farm or in the rural farm. Also, contrary to expectations the percentage of children under fifteen was about the same. The conclusion to be emphasized is that these figures show the effect of the migration to the cities of persons in the earlier working ages. This is further clarified by his note that in the urban population, 34.5 per cent

Table 17 -- Sex Ratios for the White Canadian Stock, French & English, by Age, for Urban & Rural Areas: 1930

Area and Age	All Canadian Stock			Canadian Born			Canadian Parentage		
	Total	French	English	Total	French	English	Total	French	English
United States	95.2	100.1	92.9	93.3	102.3	89.9	96.4	99.0	95.0
Under 15 years	102.2	101.4	102.7	99.1	95.4	100.3	102.8	102.1	103.3
15 to 24 years	94.1	95.4	93.5	86.5	89.6	85.5	97.2	97.0	97.3
25 to 44 years	91.2	97.3	88.4	91.0	100.7	87.0	91.4	95.6	89.2
45 to 64 years	95.8	104.1	92.4	95.4	105.4	91.4	96.4	102.6	93.6
65 and over	97.5	110.7	92.4	96.9	112.1	91.2	99.2	106.9	95.9
Urban	90.7	96.0	88.1	88.4	97.4	84.9	92.3	95.2	90.6
Under 15 years	101.4	100.6	101.8	97.7	93.4	99.0	102.1	101.4	102.6
15 to 24 years	89.1	90.8	88.2	82.3	84.6	81.6	92.2	92.6	91.9
25 to 44 years	88.3	94.1	85.5	89.3	98.4	85.6	87.7	91.9	85.3
45 to 64 years	89.6	98.1	85.7	89.7	100.0	85.3	89.4	95.6	86.4
65 and over	83.9	98.9	77.8	84.1	100.9	77.4	83.3	92.5	79.4
Rural-Nonfarm	103.2	109.7	100.3	106.4	117.2	102.2	101.6	106.4	99.3
Under 15 years	104.0	103.3	104.3	102.2	99.5	103.0	104.2	103.7	104.6
15 to 24 years	100.5	104.3	98.7	96.8	102.2	94.6	101.6	104.8	99.9
25 to 44 years	97.9	107.0	93.8	99.1	110.8	93.9	97.4	105.3	93.8
45 to 64 years	107.9	107.7	103.9	111.2	122.9	106.9	104.6	113.0	101.0
65 and over	113.8	128.7	108.4	116.8	136.4	110.3	107.7	115.9	104.1
Rural-farm	118.8	127.7	116.1	123.4	138.1	119.5	116.9	123.8	114.7
Under 15 years	105.8	105.6	105.9	108.1	107.3	108.3	105.5	105.4	105.5
15 to 24 years	131.3	139.5	128.8	128.1	136.7	125.4	132.2	140.3	129.7
25 to 44 years	107.5	118.5	104.2	97.4	113.3	92.0	110.4	120.4	107.7
45 to 64 years	121.1	135.8	117.0	122.7	141.2	118.2	119.9	132.5	116.1
65 and over	158.8	176.3	153.9	159.1	188.7	152.4	158.1	160.0	157.4

were from twenty-five to forty-four years old; and 32.6 per cent from forty-five to sixty-four. In the rural farm population, only 19.9 per cent were between twenty-five and forty-four years of age, and 39.0 per cent were from forty-five to sixty-four. These latter figures indicate that the more recent youthful immigrants from Canada to the United States had gone to the cities and that the farm population was growing older.

(d) Sex Ratios by Age:

The purpose of the accompanying table - #17 - is to present the number of males per hundred females in the Canadian stock, by age, for urban and rural areas. In the entire Canadian stock in 1930 there were 95.2 males for every hundred females. The chief source of the excess of females was the English-Canadian stock, with a ratio of 92.7 compared with the French-Canadian 100.1. In a normal stable population this excess of females would be concentrated in the higher ages but in this case the concentration was in the fifteen to twenty-four age group. In addition the excess of females was confined almost entirely to the population resident in urban areas, i.e. among the Canadian-born of all ages there was a ratio of 88.4 males per hundred females in the urban areas compared with 123.4 on the farm.

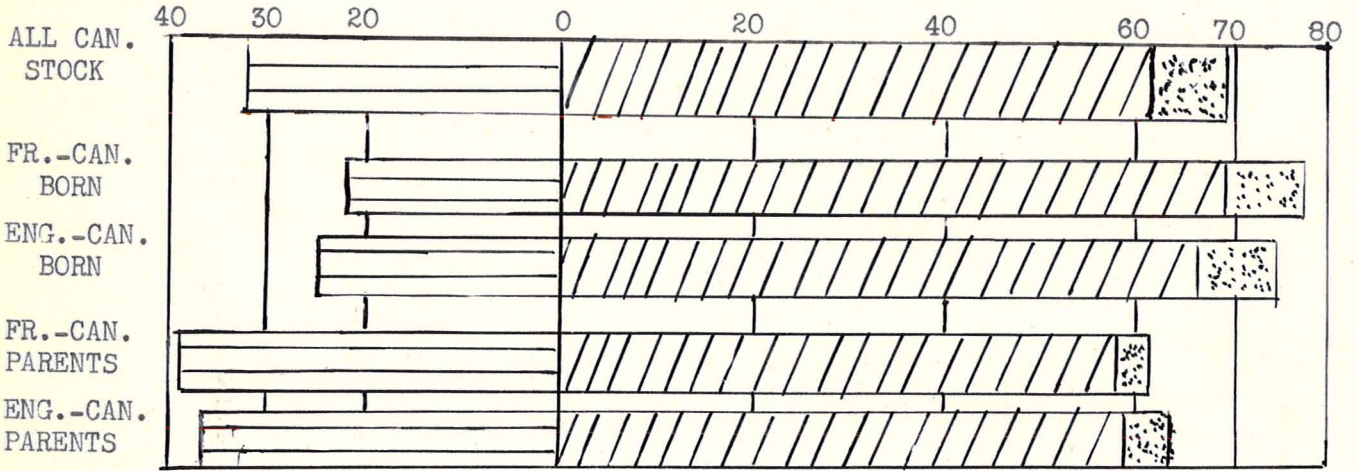
By way of general explanation of this phenomenon we note that the cities offer office and factory work which draws the females from the farm where in reality they are not needed as badly as are the males. However, the distinction is so clear, that to account for it we must further assume that women left Canada in larger numbers than men to seek employment in United States cities. Truesdell in this regard warns that this assumption can be made only for the English-Canadian population since the sex distribution of all French-Canadians in the United States is nearly even.

FIGURE 7

CANADIAN STOCK IN THE UNITED STATES BY MARITAL STATUS:
1930 (persons 15 years old and over)

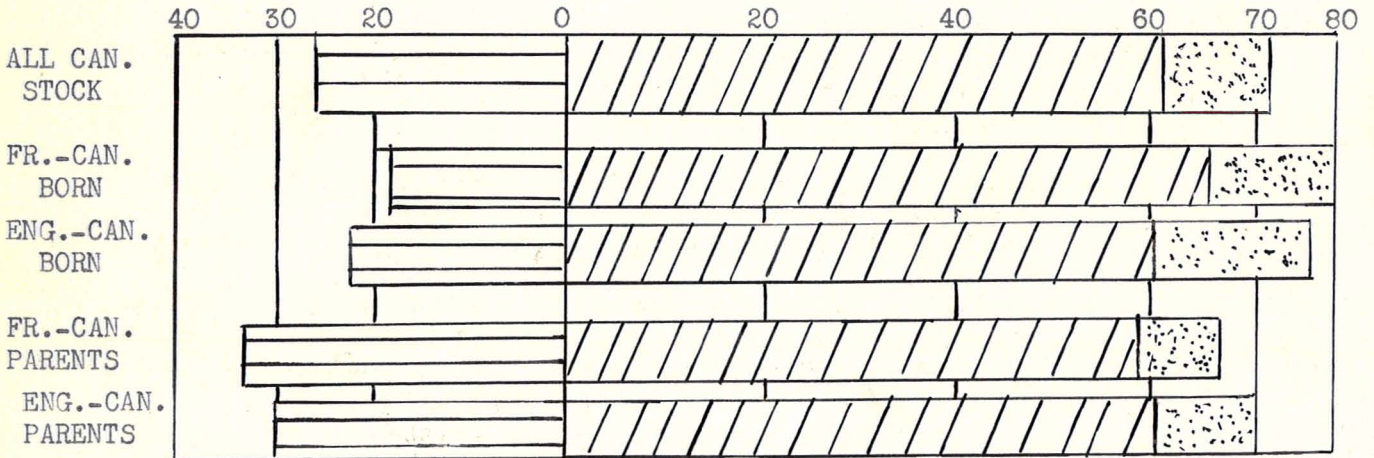
MALES

percent



FEMALES

percent



 SINGLE

 MARRIED

 WIDOWED
OR
DIVORCED

9. THE MARITAL STATUS OF THE CANADIAN STOCK:

A general statement on the conjugal condition of the Canadian stock in the United States (Truesdell *op. cit.*, p. 167) indicates that the condition differs very little from the corresponding distribution of the entire population of the United States. This despite the fact that the Canadian element is considerably older, its median age being 33.5 as compared with 26.4 years for the total population. The marital status statistics of the immigrant group can be an important criterion as to the permanency of the migration and may also indicate the degree or ease of assimilability.

The accompanying figure - #7 - shows the classification of the Canadian stock by marital status. Of the whole number of males Canadian stock fifteen years old and over in the United States in 1930, 32.2 per cent were single, 61.4 per cent married, 5.0 per cent widowed, and 1.3 per cent divorced. For the total United States population, the corresponding figures are 34.1, 60.0, 4.6 and 1.1.¹⁰ Of the whole number of females of Canadian stock fifteen years old and over, 26.3 per cent were single, 61.0 per cent married, 11.2 per cent were widowed and 1.4 per cent divorced. Corresponding percentages of the female population of United States as a whole were 26.4, 61.6, 11.1 and 1.3.

Comparison of the male and female percentages reveals that the percentage single for males is somewhat higher than that for females. The percentage married is nearly the same while the percentage of females widowed is almost double that of the males. This latter fact is indicative that marriage is more often broken by the husband's death because of the

¹⁰L.E. Truesdell, op. cit., p. 168 for the United States figures used in this paragraph.

greater longevity of women as compared with men and the later age at which men tend to marry.

One would expect also that since there are relatively few Canadian-born in the younger ages the percentage single in this group would be less than that of the second generation Canadian stock. This hypothesis is proven by the figures indicating that only 24.0 per cent of the Canadian-born males fifteen years and over were single as compared with 38.4 per cent in the second generation of Canadian stock, and 34.1 per cent in the total population of the United States. The corresponding female statistics are 31.0 as compared to 26.4 per cent.¹¹

The most extreme differences were in the percentages widowed, i.e. for the Canadian-born compared to the second generation the figures were 7.4 to 3.2 for males and 16.4 to 7.1 for females. The high percentage for widowed females explains the relatively low percentage married.

(a) Urban and Rural Areas:

Having noted that there was an excess of females in the urban areas, one might expect that marital status figures would reveal greater numbers of single girls in the cities, and the smaller number in the farm areas. This is proven an accurate expectation with the percentages of females single being given as urban 28.3; rural non-farm 20.9, and rural farm 18.5.

10. ILLITERACY IN THE CANADIAN STOCK:

When one remembers that generally speaking the immigration and naturalization laws of the United States demand literacy the importance of this concept is realized. Moreover one could expect that if the immigrant population were literate then assimilability is made easier. According to the United States Census, one is illiterate if he is unable to both

¹¹L.E. Truesdell, op. cit., pp. 169-70 for statistics quoted in this section.

Table 18 -- Illiteracy Among Persons of White Canadian Stock 10 Years Old and Over, French and English, By Sex: 1930

Class and Sex	Number	T O T A L		F R E N C H			E N G L I S H		
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Number	Per Cent	Number	Number	Per Cent
All Canadian stock	2,941,894	57,247	1.9	957,650	48,303	5.0	1,984,244	8,944	0.5
Male	1,427,190	31,461	2.2	478,306	26,147	5.5	948,884	5,314	0.6
Female	1,514,704	25,786	1.7	479,344	22,156	4.6	1,035,360	3,630	0.4
Canadian Born	1,233,711	40,668	3.3	360,724	35,760	9.9	872,987	4,908	0.6
Male	594,661	21,549	3.6	182,590	18,698	10.2	412,071	2,851	0.7
Female	639,050	19,119	3.0	178,134	17,062	9.6	460,916	2,057	0.4
Canadian Parentage	1,708,183	16,579	1.0	596,926	12,543	2.1	1,111,257	4,036	0.4
Male	832,529	9,912	1.2	295,716	7,449	2.5	536,813	2,463	0.5
Female	875,654	6,667	0.8	301,210	5,094	1.7	574,444	1,573	0.3

read and write. Table 18 summarizes the data on illiteracy of the Canadian stock in the United States. The figures reveal that 1.9 per cent of the total were illiterate, i.e. among the approximately three million persons ten years old and over in the Canadian stock, some 57,000 were unable to read and write. Further investigation reveals that illiteracy is higher among the Canadian-born than amongst those persons born in the United States of Canadian parentage; 3.3 compared to 1.0 per cent. This is explained by the observed older age grouping of the Canadian-born, i.e. the general rule is that illiteracy is always higher among older persons.

Of some special concern is the fact that of the French-Canadian-born, 9.9 per cent were returned as illiterate as compared to 0.6 per cent of the English-Canadian-born. The percentage of illiteracy for English-Canadians compares favourably with the percentage of illiteracy among the total native population, i.e. 0.6 compared to 1.8. Truesdell found (op. cit., p. 180) that the percentage of illiteracy amongst the males in the Canadian stock in 1930 was appreciably higher than amongst the females, i.e. 2.2 per cent compared to 1.7 per cent.

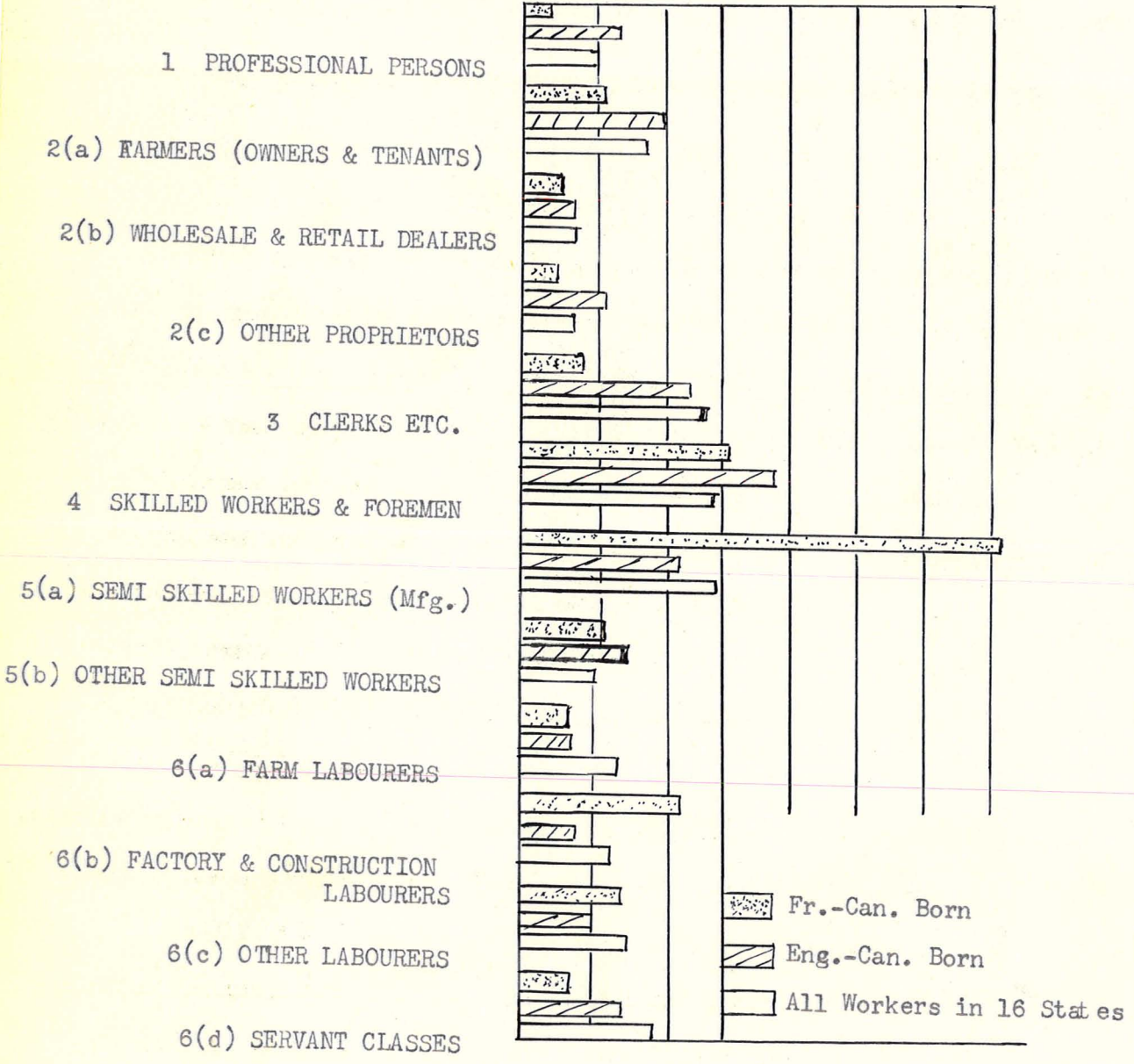
In regard to the ability of the French-Canadian-born to speak English, it was found that even though there were more illiterate males the men had greater ability to speak English.¹² Those who were unable to speak English were practically all Canadian-born. Thus a high percentage of second generation French-Canadians speaking English is an indication that the French-Canadians in the United States rapidly learn the language despite the tendency of the French-Canadians to settle in blocs. In the Province of Quebec itself, only 39.0 per cent of the French population spoke English in 1930 while 81.8 per cent of the French outside Quebec spoke the language. This is an indication that conditions in the provinces

¹²L.E. Truesdell, op. cit., p. 192.

FIGURE 8

CANADIAN-BORN WORKERS, FRENCH AND ENGLISH, ALL WORKERS IN
16 SELECTED STATES, BY SOCIAL ECONOMIC GROUPS: 1910

SOCIAL ECONOMIC GROUP



outside of Quebec are similar to those under which the French-Canadians in the United States live. One feels that the Canadian internal migration trends during War II will show results in the 1951 census, i.e. that more French-Canadians in Quebec will have learned to speak English.

11. CANADIAN-BORN WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES BY OCCUPATION:

The best available study of the occupational distribution of Canadian-born workers is that which divides them into twelve social-economic groups. The area dealt with is that of the sixteen States having one per cent or more of the 1910 population Canadian-born.¹³ (It is felt that conditions affecting choice of occupation are not radically different today.) The results are depicted in Figure 8 and may be commented upon as follows. In the professional group 5.3 per cent of the Canadian-born workers were found. This compares with 5.2 per cent of the native workers. Only 8.6 per cent of the Canadian-born workers were farmers compared with 15.9 per cent of native while workers. The general statement again holds true that the Canadian-born in the United States are found mainly in urban areas, with very few in any part of the South, where relatively large proportions of all workers are engaged in agriculture.

In the "Wholesale and Retail Dealers" group, 3.2 per cent of the Canadian-born compare with 3.9 per cent of all the native workers. "Other Proprietors, managers and officials", 4.7 per cent compared with 4.0 per cent. In the "Clerical" group 9.9 per cent Canadian-born to 13.0 per cent of the native born. "Skilled workers and foremen" 18.4 per cent compared to 14.6 per cent. "Semi-skilled workers in manufacturing" shows the greatest divergence, i.e. 1933 Canadian-born to 14.9

¹³ These states were Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Nevada, Washington, Oregon and California.

Table 19 -- White Canadian Families in the United States, French and English, by Tenure of Home and by Residence (Urban or Rural), with Data for All Families:1930

Tenure and Residence	All Canadian Families		French Canadian families		English Canadian Families		All families in United States		All Foreign-Born White Families in United States	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
All Families	460,731	100.0	141,118	100.0	319,613	100.0	29,904,663	100.0	5,736,491	100.0
Owners	222,265	48.2	61,227	43.4	161,038	50.4	14,002,074	46.8	2,968,707	51.8
Tenants	232,169	50.4	78,215	55.4	153,954	48.2	15,319,817	51.2	2,690,300	46.9
Tenure Unknown	6,297	1.4	1,676	1.2	4,621	1.4	582,772	1.9	77,484	1.4
Families Living In										
Urban areas	384,169	75.6	110,721	78.5	237,448	74.3	17,372,524	58.1	4,535,603	79.1
Rural-Nonfarm	74,031	16.1	21,883	15.5	52,148	16.3	5,927,502	19.8	689,999	12.0
Rural-farm	38,531	8.4	8,514	6.0	30,017	9.4	6,604,637	22.1	510,889	8.9

Table 20 -- White Canadian Families in the United States, French and English, by Tenure of Home, for Urban and Rural Areas: 1930

Class and Tenure	U R B A N		R U R A L		Rural-Farm		PER CENT OF TOTAL		
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Urban	Rural Non-farm	Rural Farm
All Canadian families	348,169	100.0	74,031	100.0	38,531	100.0	75.6	16.1	8.4
Owners	147,252	42.3	44,530	60.2	30,483	79.1	66.3	20.0	13.7
Tenants	196,879	56.5	28,408	38.4	6,882	17.9	84.8	12.2	3.0
Tenure Unknown	4,038	1.2	1,093	1.5	1,166	3.0	64.1	17.4	18.5
French	110,721	100.0	21,883	100.0	8,514	100.0	78.5	15.5	6.0
Owners	42,779	38.6	11,556	52.8	6,892	80.9	69.9	18.9	11.3
Tenants	66,778	60.3	10,043	45.9	1,394	16.4	85.4	12.8	1.8
Tenure Unknown	1,164	1.2	284	1.3	228	2.7	69.5	16.9	13.6
English	237,448	100.0	52,148	100.0	30,017	100.0	74.3	16.3	9.4
Owners	104,473	44.0	32,974	63.2	23,591	78.6	64.9	20.5	14.6
Tenants	130,101	54.8	18,365	35.2	5,488	18.3	84.5	11.9	3.6
Tenure Unknown	2,874	1.2	809	1.6	938	3.1	62.2	17.5	20.3

native. Most of this Canadian-born group was French-Canadian. In the "Unskilled" group the percentages are comparable and nearly so in the "Other labourers" group. In the servant classes were found 5.7 per cent of the Canadian-born workers as compared with 7.1 per cent of all workers in the sixteen states concerned.

In summary, this classification indicates that appreciably larger proportions of the Canadian-born than of the total number of native workers are found in skilled and semi-skilled occupations and correspondingly smaller proportions in unskilled occupations and domestic service. The percentage of Canadian workers listed as farm labourers is about half that shown for all native workers in the sixteen States being surveyed. The percentage of Canadian-born factory workers is higher.

12. CANADIAN FAMILIES BY TENURE AND VALUE ON RENT OF HOME:

Another statistical concept for appraising the position of the Canadian stock in the United States is to utilize the classification by tenure of home. The United States Census would define "family" as a group of persons related by blood, marriage or adoption. Of quite some importance is the definition given for a "home" i.e. the living quarters occupied by a family. This means then that the number of homes is always the same as the number of families; a home is "owned" in the Census report only if it is owned wholly or in part by any related member of the family.

Reference should be made to Tables 19 and 20 for classification of Canadian families by tenure and for comparison with the figures for all families in the United States. These figures reveal that 48.2 per cent of the Canadian families in the United States lived in their own homes as compared to 46.8 per cent of all United States families and 51.8 per cent of all foreign born white families. An effect of the majority

of the French Canadian families living in the cities is apparent from these figures, i.e. they have a lower percentage of ownership, 43.4 per cent of French-Canadian families as compared to 50.4 per cent English-Canadian families. This is in keeping with the general trend toward lower percentage of ownership in cities and higher percentage of ownership in rural areas and especially on farms. Of the whole number of Canadian families 75.6 per cent lived in urban areas, 16.1 percent in rural non-farm and 8.4 in rural farm areas. The corresponding figures for United States families are 58.1; 19.8 and 22.1. The obvious conclusion is that Canadians are attracted urbanwards to a greater degree than are United States families. This is a correct assumption but not correct to the extent that these figures imply since the United States family statistics include the Southern States in which the Canadian population is scarce.

13. CANADIAN FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES BY SIZE AND BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN:

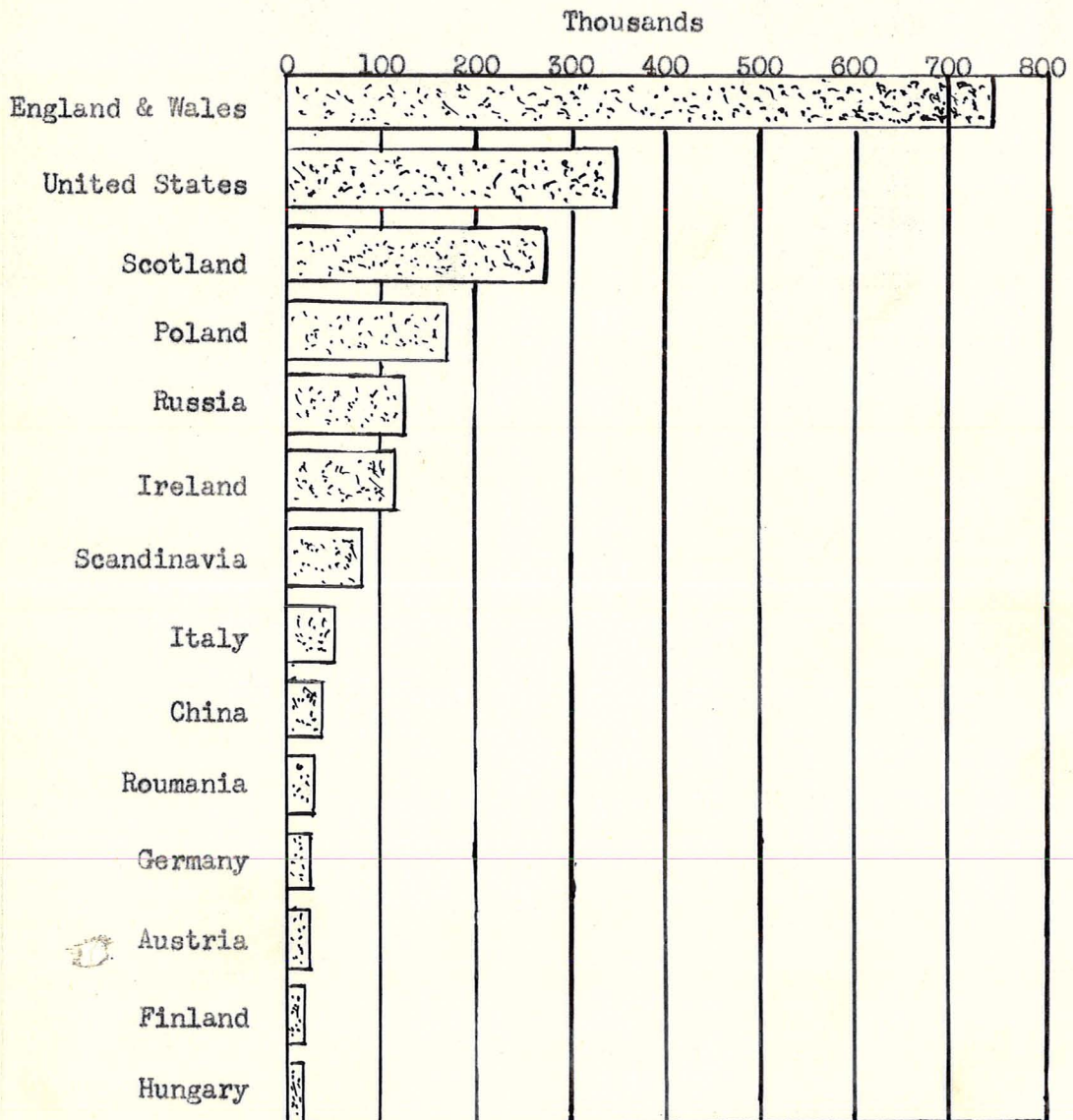
Statistics presented by Truesdell (pp. 238-40) indicate that of the whole number of Canadian families in the United States, the English-Canadian families were materially smaller than the French-Canadian; that the families in rural non-farm areas were somewhat smaller than those in urban areas because of the preponderance of one and two person families; that the rural farm families are slightly larger than the urban. The most important observations for our purpose is that in average or medium size, the French-Canadian families were appreciably larger than families in the entire population of the United States, and the English-Canadian families somewhat smaller. The percentage of both French and English-Canadian families without children under ten years old was larger than the corresponding percentage of all families in the United States. The

probable reason for this latter is the higher age of the Canadian heads of families, i.e. the average age of any immigrant population tends to be considerably higher than that of the total resident population.

PART 3

FIGURE 9

POPULATION OF CANADA-BORN IN SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1931



Newfoundland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Belgium, France, Ukrania, Japan, Holland are represented in quantities less than 50,000, and therefore omitted from this chart.

THE AMERICAN-BORN IN CANADA

1. INTRODUCTION

The Canadian Census for 1931 gives the total population of Canada as 10,376,786 of whom 8,069,261 (77.8 per cent) were Canadian-born and 2,307,525 (22.2 per cent) were born in other countries. Of this latter figure, England contributed 7.0 per cent, the United States 3.3, Scotland 2.7, Ireland 1.3, other British territory 0.4 and other foreign countries 7.5 per cent. When it is noted that the Canadian Census defines Foreign-Born as those born outside of the British Commonwealth, then it may be realized that in 1931 the American-born made up 30.7 per cent of the foreign-born, i.e. more than twice as many as any other foreign nation. Figure 9 graphically portrays the immigrant contribution from selected countries.

We shall have occasion to analyze the American-born element in Canada as we did the Canadian-born element in the United States, i.e. by age, sex, conjugal condition, etc. However, our main purpose will be to attempt to determine the distribution of the American-born in Canada. The result of this will be to portray in broad terms their mingling with the native population.

Distribution, as Coats and Maclean point out, (p. 3) has three applications: (1) the distribution of the immigrants by areas, i.e. their political effect, (2) their distribution by population group, i.e. their social effect, (3) their distribution by occupation, i.e. their economic effect.

The distribution must be partially attributed to such non-

TABLE 21

THE AMERICAN-BORN POPULATION OF CANADA: 1841-1931

YEAR	CANADA	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	QUEBEC	ONT.	MAN.	SASK.	ALTA.	B.C.	YUK.	N.W.T.
1841	49,000	150	*..	*..	*.....	32,809	...	....	.....	....	....	.....
1851	63,000	550	*..	*..	12,482	43,732	...	....	.....	....	....	.....
1861	70,000	330	1,950	3,050	13,648	50,758	...	....	.....	....	....	.....
1871	65,000	350	2,239	4,088	14,714	43,406	...	....	.....	....	....	.....
1881	77,753	609	3,004	5,108	19,415	45,454	1,752	....	.....	2,295	....	.....
1891	80,915	582	3,238	4,278	18,524	42,702	3,063	710	1,251	6,567	....	.....
1901	127,899	764	4,394	5,477	28,405	44,175	6,922	2,705	11,172	17,164	6,707	14
1911	303,680	829	4,802	5,766	29,843	55,676	16,328	69,628	81,357	37,548	1,891	12
1921	374,022	1,215	7,016	8,268	42,122	70,729	21,644	87,617	99,879	34,926	557	46
1931	344,574	1,380	7,222	8,794	49,406	72,525	17,903	73,008	78,959	34,706	526	145

*Columns 4, 5 and 6 for 1841 should have some quantities appearing in them, i.e. 49,000 - 150 - 32,809 16,041. However, the unreliability of the data as to the distribution amongst N.S., N.B., and Quebec of this 16,041 portion of the American-born population makes it advisable to present the table in this form.

measurable factors as the spirit of gregariousness, of enterprise and adventure of the American-born in Canada. A more measurable factor is their capacity to spread, e.g. if there are many more thousands of American-born residing in Canada than Dutch-born, then it may be said that the former have a greater capacity to spread. However, if we note that an element of the population has the capacity to spread and does not do so, then we conclude that there is no necessity for it to spread.

The concepts of capacity and necessity may be illustrated by reference to the French-Canadian population. This group is great in number, is widely scattered, yet tends to cling together in these scattered areas. Par 2 of this study attempted to classify their movement as an overflow of the population, eventually over the international border, i.e. they have spread widely yet have tended to settle in blocs in the areas to which they migrated.

A closer statistical study of the American-born population will now be attempted and will be followed by a general statement on their distribution based on the statistical findings.

2. BASIC STATISTICS OF THE AMERICAN-BORN POPULATION OF CANADA

(a) General Statement:

Table 21 gives the broad story of the presence and movement of the American-born population of Canada. In 1841 the estimated population was 49,000 of whom 32,809 were in Ontario and the remainder in the Maritimes and the Eastern Townships of Quebec. In 1851 the estimated figure was 63,000 and the distribution remained the same. The years 1861 to 1871 showed a decline. By 1881 a regular overall Canadian Census was begun. The American-born population from 1871 to 1911 showed an increase each decade. The period from 1901 to 1911 is especially noted

TABLE 22

AMERICAN-BORN, NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL IMMIGRANT POPULATION,
CLASSIFIED BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, CANADA: 1931

Period of Immigration	Total American-Born			Total American-Born			Total Immigrant Population		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Totals	344,574	175,140	169,434	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1931 (5 months)	5,115	2,598	2,517	1.5	1.5	1.5	0.5	0.5	0.6
1926-30	52,704	26,455	26,249	15.4	15.2	15.6	19.9	20.9	18.4
1921-25	28,787	13,906	14,881	8.4	8.0	8.8	12.2	11.6	13.0
1916-20	42,634	20,768	21,866	12.4	11.9	13.0	8.5	7.0	10.4
1911-15	64,294	32,907	31,387	18.8	18.9	18.6	20.6	19.9	21.6
1901-10	102,825	55,037	47,788	30.0	31.6	28.4	27.2	28.8	25.2
Pre 1901	46,347	22,614	23,733	13.5	13.0	14.1	11.1	11.2	10.9

as a period in which this population group doubled. The American-born poured into the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia particularly and also came in greater numbers of the eastern provinces. (Note Ontario) The 1921-31 decade showed a net decline of approximately 30,000 for the whole Dominion as a result of a heavy movement out of the West. This outward movement was not sufficiently counterbalanced by the return of the children of Canadian-born parents in the United States, a movement which was noted in Part 2 of this thesis and which again appears in the statistics for the American-born in Ontario and Quebec for 1921-31.

(b) Period of Immigration:

Reference to Table 22 indicates that the American-born have been longer in Canada than the total immigrant population, i.e. 43.5 per cent of the American-born came in prior to 1911 as compared to 38.3 per cent of the total immigrant population. World War I caused a noticeable drop in the number of American-born migrants and an even greater drop in the total immigrant flow, i.e. 12.4 compared to 8.5 per cent. After 1921 the drop was more accentuated amongst the American-born. From 1926-30 the flow again increased and this can be attributed to the fact that the more recent migrants from United States have been the children of Canadian-born parents. Coats and Maclean (op. cit., pp. 57-60) point out the increased migration to the eastern provinces 1926-30 and cite this as additional proof of the influx of children of Canadian parentage, i.e. migrating to the birth place of their parents.

(c) The American Stock:

The Canadian Census does not compile the number of native Canadians who are children of American-born parents. However, a reliable figure is obtained by reference to vital statistics which since 1921

TABLE 23

AMERICAN-BORN, CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY OF PARENTS, CANADA AND PROVINCES: 1931

Nativity of Parents	Canada	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Quebec	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	Yuk.
Total American-Born	344,574	1,380	7,222	8,794	49,406	72,525	17,903	73,008	78,959	34,706	526
Both Parents											
Can.-Born	66,953	814	3,489	4,057	26,107	15,424	2,897	5,864	4,990	3,281	30
Br.-Born	21,603	25	378	230	1,717	7,576	1,307	2,312	3,677	4,342	39
For.-Born	198,842	167	1,344	2,116	12,835	32,693	10,641	57,169	61,087	20,280	369
One or Both Parents											
Can.-Born	110,128	1,177	5,319	6,382	33,874	28,649	5,188	11,296	10,703	7,560	78
Br. or Can.-Born	144,970	1,212	5,867	6,668	36,507	39,661	7,211	15,643	17,831	14,212	154
Father Can. & Mother											
Br.-Born	3,995	23	224	160	369	1,588	258	368	447	553	5
For.-Born	19,508	130	656	1,057	4,072	5,065	1,038	2,000	2,917	1,846	25
Father Br. & Mother											
Can.-Born	5,875	58	248	159	479	2,485	358	619	660	805	4
For.-Born	8,510	7	99	96	564	2,076	449	1,311	2,345	1,535	28
Father For. & Mother											
Can.-Born	13,797	152	702	849	2,847	4,087	637	1,745	1,689	1,075	14
Br.-Born	4,729	3	71	60	352	1,360	267	724	1,106	775	9

(1926 in Quebec) have been recorded in a manner which lists the parental nationality. To the figures of pre 1931, the 1931 life tables have been applied to give the probably number of native Canadians of United States parentage. Coats and Maclean give this figure as 474,200 and adding to this the 344,574 American-born recorded in the 1931 Census, the total American stock for 1931 is said to be 818,774.

The theory has been advanced that the reason a proportion of the American-born migrate to Canada is because of their Canadian or British ancestry, i.e. a desire to live under the British tradition of government, law, etc. Such a theory is given considerable weight by reference to Table 23 which indicates that of the 344,574 American-born of 1931, 66,953 had both parents Canadian-born, 21,603 had both parents British-born, and 9,870 had one parent Canadian and the other British. In addition, approximately 33,000 had one parent Canadian and the other Foreign-born, and 13,000 had one parent British and the other Foreign-born. Of the total only 199,000 had both parents foreign-born. Table 23 also indicates that from Ontario east the majority of American-born were of Canadian or British stock. Saskatchewan and Alberta show large majorities of American-born of foreign stock.

3. DISTRIBUTION BY AREAS

Table 24 shows the geographical distribution of the American-born in Canada and other Foreign-born as a comparison of their extent of distribution over the same areas of Canada. Basically, the number in each Foreign-born group is divided by the number of counties and census divisions to give the average which would prevail if distribution were to be equal amongst all the counties and census divisions. The population most closely approaching this average is said to be the most widely and

TABLE 24

DENSITY OF DISTRIBUTION, BY BIRTHPLACE, OF THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION OVER
THE 221 COUNTIES AND CENSUS DIVISIONS OF CANADA: 1931

Birthplace	Total	Average per County or Division	Twice the Average or More	Over but less than Twice the Average	Less but More than Half the Average	Less than Half the Average	No Immi- grant Popu- lation
Total Population	10,376,786	46,954	14	36	87	84	0
Total Immigrant Population	2,307,525	10,441	21	33	34	133	0
British Isles --							
England	723,864	3,275	17	26	39	139	0
Ireland	107,544	487	13	20	45	138	5
Scotland	279,765	1,266	16	17	46	137	5
Wales	22,348	101	21	26	30	101	43
United States	344,574	1,559	32	19	31	139	0
Other Foreign Countries --							
Austria	37,391	169	30	18	20	111	42
Belgium	17,033	77	22	16	23	122	38
Bulgaria	1,467	7	22	15	13	47	124
China	42,037	190	16	12	22	148	23
Czechoslovakia	22,835	103	24	26	21	87	63
Denmark	17,217	78	26	28	23	112	32
Finland	30,354	137	16	13	8	128	56
France	16,756	76	22	21	32	139	7
Germany	39,163	177	35	20	19	126	21
Greece	5,579	25	16	18	17	81	89
Holland	10,736	49	25	20	29	96	51
Hungary	28,523	129	26	12	18	96	69
Iceland	5,731	26	14	7	11	55	134
Italy	42,578	193	21	7	15	155	23
Japan	12,261	55	7	1	5	62	146
Lithuania	5,704	26	15	18	21	77	90
Norway	32,679	148	37	16	8	116	44
Poland	171,169	775	27	18	18	127	31
Roumania	40,322	182	27	12	14	128	40
Russia	114,406	518	24	20	11	143	23
Sweden	34,415	156	36	21	8	122	34
Switzerland	6,076	27	27	24	28	90	52
Yugoslavia	17,110	77	26	13	13	78	91

best distributed. From this fact can be deduced the relative assimilability of various nationalities. If a group is found to be non-assimilable the reason can then be traced to the political, religious or social environment of that group.

From the table it will be seen that the Scottish are the most evenly spread in Canada, neither concentrating nor losing touch with one another. Thus the Scottish range in the various sections between a moderately large number on one hand and a moderately small number on the other.

The American-born while not as evenly distributed as the Scottish-born are more widely distributed, i.e. the table indicates that they are represented in every section. Remembering that the Canadian Census does not identify Commonwealth peoples as Foreign-born we may state that the American-born are the most widely distributed of all of the Foreign-born groups. The final general statement of this section will advance more information on the significance of the widespread and comparatively even distribution of the American-born in Canada. However, it should be noted from the Coats and Maclean statistics (pp. 71-76)¹ that (1) Nova Scotia, in its southern part, increased in American-born as Canadian-born and their children returned from United States and as rural facilities in Nova Scotia improved; (2) that Quebec greatly increased its American-born especially in the urban industrialized areas around Montreal and Jesus Islands; (3) that the Prairie Provinces showed marked homogeneity and (4) that British Columbia showed an increase in the border area and especially in Vancouver city. This is an indication of American business interests in the area and of its reputation as a health centre.

¹R.H. Coats, M.C. Maclean, The American Born in Canada, Ryerson Press, Toronto 1943. Conclusions are based on 1931 census statistics. See also their frontpiece map of census divisions.

TABLE 25

AMERICAN-BORN, RURAL AND URBAN, BY SEX, AND SEX RATIO, CLASSIFIED BY AGE GROUPS, CANADA: 1931

Age Group	Rural		Total Urban		Urban Localities						Sex Ratio	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	30,000 or Over		1,000-30,000		Under 1,000		Rural	Urban
					Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
All Ages	98,991	80,045	76,149	89,389	37,599	45,980	28,398	32,699	10,152	10,710	124	85
0-4	2,742	2,560	2,945	2,783	1,418	1,369	1,271	1,214	256	200	107	106
5-9	4,054	3,719	4,105	3,899	1,976	1,873	1,782	1,644	347	382	109	105
10-14	4,369	3,955	3,879	3,797	1,924	1,814	1,604	1,586	351	397	110	102
15-19	6,513	5,616	4,794	5,576	2,344	2,759	1,918	2,211	532	606	116	86
20-24	9,889	8,318	6,642	9,495	3,474	5,065	2,448	3,408	720	1,022	119	70
25-29	10,495	9,252	7,166	10,332	3,722	5,462	2,522	3,560	922	1,310	113	69
30-34	10,493	9,495	7,804	10,442	3,849	5,383	2,870	3,681	1,085	1,378	111	75
35-39	11,175	9,785	8,761	11,161	4,393	5,649	3,113	4,027	1,255	1,485	114	78
40-44	10,487	8,107	8,017	8,911	3,855	4,670	2,892	3,121	1,270	1,120	129	90
45-49	8,844	6,377	6,911	7,067	3,408	3,735	2,460	2,513	1,043	819	139	98
50-54	6,438	4,399	4,933	4,936	2,463	2,603	1,709	1,719	761	614	146	100
55-59	4,797	3,124	3,628	3,747	1,798	1,957	1,298	1,349	532	441	154	97
60-64	3,416	2,108	2,608	2,769	1,304	1,450	921	987	383	332	162	94
65-69	2,314	1,372	1,656	1,773	715	875	646	642	295	256	169	93
70-74	1,683	988	1,192	1,356	484	667	486	502	222	187	170	88
75-79	832	541	708	835	316	414	267	313	125	108	154	85
80-84	298	217	273	307	111	147	127	129	35	31	137	89
85-89	93	72	74	126	25	56	37	59	12	11	129	59
90-94	23	15	28	45	11	18	14	22	3	5	153	62
95-99	4	7	6	12	1	2	5	9	..	1	57	50
100 or over	....	2	...	1	...	1	..	..	..	.	..	..
Not stated	32	16	19	19	8	11	8	3	3	5	200	100

4. AGE - SEX - RURAL AND URBAN

(a) General Statement:

The Canadian Census classified as urban all of those members of the population living in cities, towns or incorporated villages. The laws of the various provinces differ as to the requirements for incorporation and in some cases the stipulated number of population is very small. This is in contrast to the United States Census which includes as urban those places having a population of 2,500 or more, incorporated or unincorporated.

Of the 344,574 American-born of both sexes in Canada in 1931, 179,036 or 52 p.c. were in unincorporated rural areas; 20,862 or 6 p.c. incorporated villages of less than one thousand; 61,097 or 18 p.c. urban localities of 1,00 to 30,000 and 83,579 or 24 p.c. in cities of 30,000 or over. The comparative figures for the total Canadian population are 46 p.c. 4 p.c., 21 p.c., and 29 p.c. Thus the American-born in Canada appear to keep fairly well within the general pattern. This is a notable contrast with the Canadian-born in the United States, 92 p.c. of whom are in urban localities.²

The sex distribution of the American-born by types of locality shows a greater urban tendency on the part of females than of males. Table 25 indicates an excess (+18,946) of rural males over rural females and an excess (+13,240) of urban females over urban males. In addition it may be seen that females gravitate to the larger urban centres. The table also supplies the sex ratio, rural and urban. While a higher rural male ratio is expected to be found, one might well question why it consistently predominates in the rural classification. It is possible that the females

²R.H. Coats, M.C. Maclean, op. cit., p. 77.

migrated to urban from rural areas after coming to Canada at the same time as the males, but this is not likely the case. The more probable cause lies in the different years of immigration of the males and females. Coats and Maclean note (op. cit., p. 77) that in 1911 the males and females of the American-born in Canada numbered respectively 168,278 and 135,402 giving a male excess of 32,876; in 1921 196,425 and 177,597 or over the decade a male increase of only 28,147 and a female increase of 42,195; in 1931 they compared as 175,140 males and 169,434 females, a male decrease of 21,285 and a female decrease of only 8,163. Thus between 1911 and 1931 the males increased by 6,862 and the females by 34,032. From all;of this it may be gathered that the American-born male moved into Canada in greater numbers before the appearance of a strong urbanizing tendency. The later migration of females was then to the urban centres and the effect on the sex ratio has been a lasting one.

A closer examination of the sex ratios in Table 25 indicates an abrupt rise at the late thirties for rural males only. This may be said to be caused by the movement of single and married females into the city.

(b) Age Distribution:

Coats and Maclean (op. cit., p. 83, Table XX) offer statistics to show that the natives of Canada are younger than those of the United States. Factors contributing towards this are the relatively large proportion of the population of Canada formed by recently arrived immigrants, who historically have contributed heavily to the young reproduction ages, and the possible contribution to the youthful age groups by young persons of Canadian stock in the United States attracted to Canada by religious and social ties.

The same table compares the American-born in Canada and "other immigrant" population of Canada. The American-born are found to be

younger than the "other immigrant" population, ages up to twenty-five being in excess. Thereafter, a United States peak occurs around thirty-five while the "other immigrant" peak occurs around forty. This is an indication that the American-born did not migrate to Canada in as early a period as the other groups. Moreover, the 1931 figures include the large number of American-born with Canadian parentage who settled in the Maritimes. This group has served to lower the average age of the American-born in Canada.

5. CONJUGAL CONDITION - VITAL STATISTICS

An analysis of Table 26 indicates that the American-born living in Canada have a larger percentage married than the white population of the United States. The percentage of widows is greater than that of widowers in every classification, i.e. in the total population of Canada, in the immigrant population of Canada, in the American-born in Canada and in the white population of the United States. Reasons which may be cited for this latter are that husbands die at an earlier age than wives and that widowers remarry more often.

~~There is a higher percentage of divorced among the American-born in Canada than amongst the total population of Canada. The assumption that the greater part of these divorces took place before entry into Canada is strengthened by reference to Table 26 showing the divorce rate to be higher in the United States than in Canada.~~

There is general agreement that the American-born follow the Canadian pattern to the degree that there is a larger proportion married among the urban than among the rural males, and among the rural than among the urban females. The implication here is that as the unmarried females move into the city they add to the unmarried urban and the excess from rural districts increases the proportion of the married female rural population.

Coats and Maclean stress the fact (op. cit. p. 101) that Americanborn

TABLE 26

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS, BY SEX, CLASSIFIED BY CONJUGAL CONDITION, OF TOTAL POPULATION, TOTAL IMMIGRANT POPULATION AND AMERICAN-BORN IN CANADA 1931, AND TOTAL WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES 1930

Conjugal Condition	Total Population Canada		Immigrant Population Canada		American-Born in Canada		Total White Populat of United States	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All classes	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single	59.2	55.4	34.6	23.7	43.2	30.4	53.1	47.9
Married	37.8	38.7	61.1	67.4	53.2	63.2	42.8	43.7
Widowed	2.8	5.8	3.6	8.7	3.2	6.2	3.2	7.5
Divorced	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.8	0.9
Not stated	0.2	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.1	...	0.1	0.1

TABLE 27

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGES OF AND LEGITIMATE BIRTHS TO
AMERICAN-BORN, BY SEX, CLASSIFIED BY BIRTHPLACE OF SPOUSE: 1931

Birthplace of Spouse	Marriages of American-Born		Legitimate Births to American-Born	
	Bridegrooms	Brides	Fathers	Mothers
All Birthplaces	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Canada	64.2	46.8	55.3	50.0
British Isles	9.0	11.9	8.3	9.7
United States	21.1	27.1	30.0	29.0
Other	5.7	14.0	6.3	11.3

males were exceeded by the males of only three countries (of the nineteen listed) in the tendency to marry brides born elsewhere than in the country of birth of the husband. This is another item, then, in the gathering evidence of the ease of assimilability of the American-born in Canada.

Table 27 is of interest for the following reasons. It shows that of children born to American-born fathers, fifty-five per cent had Canadian-born mothers and only thirty per cent had American-born mothers. Of the births to American-born mothers, fifty per cent were of Canadian-born fathers and twenty-nine per cent of American-born fathers. The American-born female immigrant is then less likely to have children by an American spouse than is the American-born male. Moreover, she shows a stronger preference for a British or other non-United States spouse than does the American-born male immigrant. The low percentage of those marrying compatriots is significant, i.e. the American-born are willing to compromise as to the race, religion and country of birth of their spouse. There is strong indication here that the American-born did not come to Canada to settle in groups.

6. RACIAL ORIGINS AND LANGUAGE

The term "racial origin" in the Canadian Census is used to signify primarily the country of original family habitat and the implied biological and cultural background. Table 28 shows the races in Canada which have been increased by American-born immigrants. Those races that constituted larger proportions of the American-born than of the total Canadian population in 1931 were Irish, British other than English, Czechoslovak, Dutch, Finnish, Russian, German, Scandinavian and Negro. The point here is that these comprised 43.74 per cent of the American-born whereas they

TABLE 28

Racial Origin	Percentage Distribution of American-Born and of Total Population, Rural and Urban, Classified by Racial Origin: 1931						Percentage Rural and Urban Distribution of each Race for American-Born and for Total Population 1931			
	American-Born			Total Population			American-Born		Total Population	
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
British --										
English	24.93	21.88	28.22	26.42	23.23	29.17	45.61	54.39	40.70	59.30
Irish	13.70	13.02	14.42	11.86	11.62	12.07	49.41	50.59	45.35	54.65
Scotish	10.93	10.27	11.64	12.97	12.17	13.67	48.82	51.18	43.41	56.59
Other British	1.07	1.09	1.04	0.60	0.55	0.65	54.01	46.99	42.24	57.76
French	16.15	12.86	19.69	28.22	28.07	28.35	41.39	58.61	46.04	53.96
Other European--										
Austrian	0.33	0.44	0.21	0.47	0.63	0.33	69.83	30.17	62.18	37.82
Belgian	0.20	0.27	0.12	0.27	0.36	0.18	71.60	28.40	62.92	37.08
Czechoslovak	0.36	0.47	0.23	0.29	0.31	0.28	68.72	31.28	48.37	51.63
Dutch	2.82	3.21	2.41	1.44	2.05	0.91	59.02	40.98	66.05	33.95
Finnish	0.43	0.58	0.28	0.42	0.50	0.36	69.03	30.97	54.20	45.80
German	13.06	16.72	9.10	4.56	6.22	3.14	66.52	33.48	63.06	36.94
Hebrew	1.26	0.13	2.49	1.51	0.12	2.71	5.20	94.80	3.55	96.45
Hungarian	0.19	0.21	0.16	0.39	0.43	0.36	57.63	42.37	50.53	49.47
Italian	0.61	0.24	1.00	0.95	0.38	1.45	20.73	79.27	18.45	81.55
Polish	0.53	0.58	0.47	1.40	1.62	1.22	57.21	42.79	53.43	46.57
Roumanian	0.09	0.10	0.07	0.28	0.33	0.23	60.60	39.40	55.37	44.63
Russian	0.89	1.38	0.36	0.85	1.33	0.43	80.59	19.41	72.66	27.34
Scandinavian	10.77	15.05	6.13	2.20	3.21	1.32	72.64	27.36	67.70	32.30
Ukranian	0.21	0.27	0.14	2.17	3.30	1.19	67.56	32.44	70.47	29.53
Other European	0.27	0.21	0.32	0.40	0.28	0.49	41.12	58.88	32.90	67.10
Asiatic--										
Chinese & Japanese	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.67	0.42	0.89	27.45	72.55	29.18	70.82
Other Asiatic	0.08	0.03	0.13	0.14	0.06	0.21	18.08	81.92	20.60	79.40
Indian and Eskimo	0.27	0.45	0.07	1.24	2.58	0.09	87.99	12.01	96.08	3.92
Negro	0.64	0.35	0.96	0.19	0.16	0.21	28.22	71.78	39.18	60.82
Unspecified & Other	0.24	0.19	0.30	0.10	0.08	0.10	40.28	59.72	39.08	60.92

TABLE 29

AMERICAN-BORN, BY SEX, CLASSIFIED BY OFFICIAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN: 1931

Official Language	Numbers			Percentages		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Total	344,574	175,140	169,434	100.00	100.00	100.00
English Only	286,953	147,353	139,600	83.28	84.13	82.39
French Only	13,273	5,574	7,699	3.85	3.18	4.54
English and French	43,430	21,826	21,604	12.60	12.46	12.75
Neither Eng. nor Fr.....	918	387	531	0.27	0.23	0.31

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE AMERICAN-BORN COMPARED WITH THAT
OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF CANADA 10 YEARS OF AGE OR OVER,
BY CHIEF MOTHER TONGUE: 1931

Mother Tongue	American-Born	Population of Canada 10 Years of Age or Over
Total	100.00	100.00
English.....	68.72	58.50
French	13.72	25.57
German	6.90	3.47
Scandinavian ...	6.52	1.71
Other	4.14	10.75

made up only 22.41 per cent of the total Canadian population.

Of particular interest is the fact that the total proportions of British in each case are both about fifty-one per cent. Nevertheless the American-born differ considerably from the total Canadian population in a racial sense, i.e. the French element is considerably smaller, 16.15 as compared to 28.22 per cent; the Dutch, German and Scandinavian races comprise 26.65 as compared to 8.2 per cent of the total Canadian population; the remaining races total 4.8 per cent of the American-born and 11.73 per cent of the total Canadian.

Table 28 indicates also that the percentage rural in the American-born exceeded that in the total population in the majority of cases, i.e. the American-born in Canada may be said to be more rural than other Canadians irrespective of race. It should be noted that two of the exception races i.e. the Dutch and the French also have very strong rural tendencies.

The ability to speak the language of a country is normally a good test of the degree of assimilation of a foreign-born group. The fact that Canada has two official languages somewhat complicates the gathering of data, but the following analysis emerges. We assume the language learned in childhood to be the mother tongue and acknowledging that, the mother tongue need not coincide with racial origin, i.e. the longer the stay of an immigrant family of non-British race and tongue, the greater the probability that their descendants will speak English as their mother tongue. In Canada, then, the majority of American-born could be expected to have English as mother tongue and because of the interchange of the French speaking population there should also be some considerable number claiming French as the mother tongue. Table 29 bears out this analysis by noting that of the 344,574 American-born in Canada in 1931, English only was spoken by 83.38 per cent, 12.60 per cent could speak either

TABLE 30

NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF AMERICAN-BORN NATURALIZED AND ALIEN,
CANADA: CENSUS YEARS 1901-31

Year	Total	Naturalized		Alien	
	No.	No.	p.c.	No.	p.c.
1901	.....127,899	87,049	68.06	40,850	31.94
1911	.....303,680	152,308	50.15	151,372	49.85
1921	.....374,022	237,993	63.63	136,029	36.37
1931	.....244,574	249,595	72.44	94,979	27.56

TABLE 31

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE AMERICAN-BORN, 7-14 YEARS OF AGE
AT SCHOOL, RURAL AND URBAN, BY PROVINCES: 1931

Province	Total	Rural	Urban
Canada	100.00	100.00	100.00
Prince Edward Island ..	0.99	1.48	0.51
Nova Scotia	3.28	4.26	2.30
New Brunswick	4.35	6.02	2.69
Quebec	16.30	9.20	23.39
Ontario	28.50	16.90	40.10
Manitoba	4.89	5.77	4.01
Saskatchewan	14.90	22.03	7.78
Alberta	16.24	23.96	8.53
British Columbia	10.54	10.38	10.70

English or French, 3.85 per cent spoke French only, thus leaving 0.27 per cent unable to speak either English or French. Of particular interest is the information in the second part of Table 30 which reveals that because only 68.72 per cent gave English and 13.72 gave French as their mother tongue then 17.56 per cent must have learned another tongue in childhood and retained their ability to speak that language.

7. CITIZENSHIP

Table 30 gives the numbers and percentages naturalized and alien among the American-born for the census years 1901 to 1931. A high percentage (72.44) of naturalization was reached in 1931. The point to be made by this overall concept is that the movement of American-born to Canada appears to be permanent on the part of most United States-born once they do decide to remove their residence to Canada.

8. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND ILLITERACY

In an analysis of the school attendance of the American-born in Canada 1931, Coats and Maclean point out (op. cit. p. 139) that of the American-born, 6.69 per cent were children attending school as compared with 4.02 per cent for the British-born and 15.75 per cent for the Canadian population as a whole. This is attributable to the fact that there must have been fewer children of school age among the immigrants from British overseas countries than from the United States, i.e. the American-born influx was more of a family affair.

Table 31 reveals the interesting data that Ontario had the largest percentage attending school even though its American-born population has been seen to be less than that of Saskatchewan and Alberta.³ The low

³Cf. Table 21, p. 27.

TABLE 32

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN-BORN COMPARED WITH THOSE OF FOREIGN-BORN, POPULATION BORN OUTSIDE OF CANADA, AND OF TOTAL POPULATION, CLASSIFIED BY RELIGION: 1931

Religion	American-Born	Foreign-Born	Born Outside of Canada	Total Population
All Religions	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Adventists	0.66	0.36	0.22	0.15
Anglicans	9.72	4.13	26.21	15.76
Baptists	5.90	2.90	3.15	4.27
Brethren and United Brethren.	0.23	0.09	0.18	0.15
Christians	0.46	0.21	0.14	0.11
Christian Science	0.62	0.22	0.28	0.18
Church of Christ, Disciples .	0.36	0.13	0.11	0.15
Confucians and Buddhists	0.01	2.77	1.35	0.38
Evangelical Association	0.23	0.29	0.19	0.21
Greek Orthodox	0.17	4.32	2.11	0.99
International Bible Students.	0.23	0.16	0.17	0.13
Jews	1.24	7.45	3.80	1.50
Lutherans	10.54	17.84	8.73	3.80
Mennonites	1.25	2.44	1.20	0.86
Mormons	1.20	0.42	0.26	0.21
Pentecostal	0.50	0.33	0.29	0.25
Presbyterians	0.49	3.91	11.08	8.39
Protestants	0.45	0.38	0.41	0.22
Roman Catholics	27.99	37.73	22.00	41.30
Salvation Army	0.23	0.11	0.48	0.30
United Church	271.70	10.94	15.48	19.44
Other sects	1.15	1.42	1.25	0.88
No religion	0.61	0.69	0.48	0.20
Not stated	0.08	0.77	0.42	0.15

percentages for the Maritimes and Manitoba probably indicate that many of the children were below school age rather than reflecting the lack of educational facilities. Coats and Maclean further point out (op. cit., p. 140) that the number attending school is almost identical in rural and urban Canada. Nevertheless, the circumstances do alter from province to province, i.e. in the Maritimes and the Prairies there is greater rural school attendance; in Ontario and Quebec urban attendance is higher; in British Columbia the attendance rural and urban is comparable. Thus we might speculate that families from the United States settled in rural rather than in urban localities in the Maritimes and Prairies and in urban localities in Ontario and Quebec. Finally, it should be pointed out from Coats and Maclean statistics (op. cit., p. 142) that the percentage of American-born illiterates is higher than the British-born, but lower than that of any other European stock.

9. RELIGION

The well-known difficulties that Canada has had in attempting to assimilate various religious sects makes interesting a summary analysis as to what religious denominations the American-born in Canada have chiefly contributed. The American-born have increased the proportions of the following denominations: Adventists, Baptists, Brethren and United Brethren, Church of Christ, Christian Science, Evangelical Association, International Bible Students, Lutheran, Mennonites, Mormons, Pentecostals, Presbyterians, United Church, "other sects", and "no religion".

Table 32 indicates (1) that the American-born contribute in smaller measure to the Anglicans, Greek Orthodox, Jews, Presbyterians, etc. than do the total born outside of Canada, (2) the American-born contribute more than do the total born outside of Canada to the Baptists, Lutherans

and Roman Catholics all of whom have large representations in the United States.

10. OCCUPATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The Canadian Census figures for 1931 have been rather closely analyzed by Coats and Maclean (op. cit., pp. 159-174). The statistics reveal that of the American-born the males show higher distribution percentages than the total population under the headings of agriculture, metal products, non-metallic mineral products, chemicals, electric light and power, railway transport, trade, finance and insurance, and professional and recreational services. Several of these comparisons are close but in agriculture, fishing and trapping, logging and mining over fifty per cent of the American-born are engaged as compared to thirty-nine per cent of all the male population. The female American-born showed higher percentages in agriculture, "other" transportation, finance and insurance, and professional and recreational services, the most marked differences being in the latter and in agriculture. In textile manufacturing, trade, professional services and clerical occupations, the percentages of American-born females and total female population are comparable.

It should be pointed out that while the American-born in Canada may be similar to the Canadian-born in that they are found in the same industries and services, they might conceivably be of different occupational status. In the primary industries and manufacturing such distinction may have occurred on the basis of skill but in many other fields of endeavour the distinction must be made on the basis of managerial responsibility. Omitting agriculture and trade, the census figures for 1931 indicate that one in 5.2 Canadian-born and one in 3.5 American-born are in positions classified as responsible. The implication here is that the occupational

TABLE 33

PERCENTAGES OF AMERICAN-BORN, CANADIAN-BORN AND BRITISH-BORN ENGAGED IN
PROFESSIONS, CANADA: 1931

	MALES			FEMALES		
	American- Born	Canadian- Born	British- Born	American- Born	Canadian- Born	British- Born
All Professions	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Religion	13.54	12.01	12.69	11.22	7.91	5.71
Health	10.78	16.29	4.00	21.27	27.52	42.86
Education	16.43	20.04	9.42	57.93	56.93	35.56
Art	12.56	9.39	19.58	5.71	4.77	10.36
Law	3.44	8.97	2.88	0.04	0.05	0.02
Technical & commercial	36.80	27.13	43.71	0.75	0.54	1.01
All others	6.45	6.17	7.72	3.08	2.28	4.48

status of the American-born is higher than that of the Canadian-born. These figures do not assess comparative qualities or qualifications, but merely indicate some of the causes and effects of immigration and emigration.

In regard to unemployment, the principal feature is that the male wage-earners American-born had less unemployment. This may be said to be due to their occupational distribution, i.e. in so far as the American-born vary occupationally from the remainder of the Canadian population they tend to be in highly specialized work or in farming. This being the case, they contribute a high proportion of engineers, owners and managers, i.e. those classes which suffered least from unemployment.

As regards professions, it was found that of the 139,000 male and 22,000 female American-born in the Canadian population who were gainfully employed in 1931, nearly 11,000 approximately equally divided by sex were in the professional class, i.e. four per cent of the American-born males and 22.5 per cent of the females. Those proportions were in excess of the Canadian-born of both sexes.

Table 33 arranges the professions in seven classes and reveals that Religion is the one class in which the American-born males exceed both the Canadian and British born. This is thought to be due to the tendency of the children of Quebec-born parents to return from the United States to train for the priesthood in the Roman Catholic Church. The American-born males also exceed the Canadian-born in the art and technical professions.

As regards the female population American-born, their percentage is greater in all of the professions excepting health and law than the

Canadian-born females. The preponderance in religion is again noticeable.

Generally, the American-born do not spread so evenly among the professions as among other occupations, though the males spread much more evenly than the females. However, they do spread more evenly than the Canadian-born.

More will be written as to the occupational distribution of the American-born population in Canada in the General Statement to which this study now turns.

PART 4

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

General Statement

In 1931 there were approximately 11,285,000 Canadian-born in the United States or three times the number of the American-born in Canada. Despite a wide scattering in the United States the majority of the Canadian-born lived in the states along the border with southward projections of the pattern down the Atlantic Coast to New York, and down the Pacific Coast to California. Detroit, Boston and New York were the cities having the heaviest concentration of Canadian-born. The Canadian-born tend to settle in blocs and in particular cities, this characteristic being more strongly emphasized amongst the French Canadian-born element, their concentration being particularly noticeable in the northeastern corner of the United States.

Canadians have been tempted to think of this loss of population as a type of calamity to be deplored. One may argue however, that the Canadians who stayed at home gained because of the emigration to the United States, i.e. the departure of many of our numbers lessened the pressure upon opportunity and remuneration.

The scope of this thesis is not intended to go beyond 1931 so be it sufficient to say that while access to the United States is still relatively easy for native-born Canadians, the evasions of collective responsibility and the desire for national economic self sufficiency, common to all world powers in the '30s, meant that the United States was no longer a safety valve for "surplus" Canadian population, as a result of the quota system of 1924 which restricted entry of nationality groups other than Canadian-born. In point of fact, the recent development of Canada's natural resources and her wartime-born industrialization surge

has wiped out any "surplus" and has actually created room for immigrants to this country. It is quite conceivable that ever increasing numbers of American-born will follow American capital into Canada.

The American-born are to be found to some extent in each of the 222 census areas of Canada; they are spread more widely than the native born of any country except England and Canada itself. Relative to other populations, the highest percentages are west of Manitoba. Although the American-born are found in every census district, in none of them do they exceed one third of the number constituting a majority of the local population. If the American-born in Canada 1931 were to be evenly apportioned per census district each would have 1552; if a similar technique is used to find an average for other immigrant groups as a basis of comparison is arrived at as per the following:

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Index</u>
1	Scotland	100
2	Ireland	101
3	England	106
4	Wales	107
5	Denmark	112
6	France	114
7	Holland	115
8	Switzerland	116
9	*United States	118
10 & 11	Germany & Belgium	124
12	Austria	125
13	Poland	129
14	Czechoslovakia	132
15	China	139
16 & 17	Roumania & Sweden	140
18 & 19	Norway & Russia	144
20	Hungary	146
21	Italy	155
22	Finland	156
23	Lithuania	162
24	Greece	164
25	Yugoslavia	172
26	Bulgaria	216
27	Iceland	228
28	Japan	247

Thus, the American-born are not only the most widely distributed geographically of the native born of any foreign country but they also rank high for evenness of distribution by areas.

What are the chances of the American-born being found in a specific population group? The technique used by Coats and Maclean is to find their percentage of the total population in each unit. The Scottish and the German stocks are used as "controls", the first as the criteria of evenness and the latter as the foreign stock which has been longest in Canada and has had best opportunity to spread. Noting that the American-born made up 3.3 per cent of the total Canadian population in 1931, the idea is to assume that a 3.3 percentage distribution in each census area is the most perfectly even spread available.

Compared to the Scottish and German stocks by this method it is found that the American-born are exceedingly evenly distributed although less so than the Scottish and much more so than the German. One of the main reasons for this evenness of distribution is that the American-born represent many strains and there is a tendency for each strain to seek its own.

Using occupations as a measure of distribution, it was found that the Canadian-born in the United States have a very even distribution, i.e. they bloc according to population group but not according to occupation. However, a comparison of the occupational classification of the Canadian-born with that of the population of the 16 Northern and Western States in which most of the Canadian-born are found indicates that appreciably larger proportions of the Canadian-born are found in skilled and semi-skilled occupations than of the total number of gainful workers in the 16 states. There are smaller proportions in unskilled occupations and domestic

service. In particular, there was a low number of Canadian-born farm workers and on the other hand the percentage employed as factory operators (especially French Canadian) was higher than the native group.

The American-born in Canada are also found to be evenly distributed by occupations. The percentage which they constitute of the total employed in Canada is 4.3 for males and 3.4 for females. In the industries, trades, and professions these percentages are more closely approached by the American-born than are the corresponding percentages for other immigrant groups. Owners and managers are the notable exceptions in that the American percentage here is much higher than the average referred to above, but the number affected is small and highly specialized. Thus, no one occupational characteristic can be stressed, i.e. it is wrong to say that the majority are agriculturalists or that they are managers and owners.

Is there any special cause for the wide and even distribution of the American-born and the "blooming" tendency of the Canadian-born? The fact that the American-born distribution is so wide and even indicates that there can be no single cause for it being so, i.e. the causes are numerous and only collectively important. There are general forces causing population movement, e.g. race gregariousness or economic forces and there are individual, specific causes, e.g. desire to do a certain type of work in a certain kind of place. Particular causal factors worthy of analysis here are: (1) length of residence in the country and the period during which settlement has taken place; (2) racial composition; (3) the movement to Canada of children born to Canadians resident in the United States, and (4) numerous sundry causes, e.g. language, proximity, tourist trade, etc.

The classification of the Canadian-born in the United States in

1930 by year of immigration indicates that the periods of heavy migration of Canadian-born to the United States was pre 1900 and after 1920 with comparatively few in the years 1900 to 1920. This is an indication of the early arrival of Canadians in the agricultural states of the Middle West and their later arrival in some of the eastern manufacturing centres and in the Pacific Coast states.

The American-born have been in Canada in substantial and sustained numbers for many years and are found to have conformed to the general ebb and flow of immigration tides, e.g. 1901-11 the American-born flowed into the Prairie Provinces. The numerical strength of the inflow was comparable to that of Canadians from other provinces, 146,514 Americans to 182,769 Canadians. Since that time this large group of American-born and their descendants have shown a tendency to migrate from their areas of initial settlement into other provinces. This, although length of residence in Canada is important, it is not the only explanation for evenness of distribution.

The majority of the Canadian-born in the United States are of British or French racial extraction. The French Canadians have their own distinctive communities and carry on a considerable population exchange each year with Canada, whereas the British stock Canadian-born were found in considerable numbers in all parts of the country with the exception of the south. The original French Canadian population of the United States might be considered as an overflow from the comparatively crowded areas of Quebec. This group having made some settlement acted as a magnet on their fellows in Canada. The British stock in the United States has carried on in a more individualistic manner.

If the American-born in Canada were found to be largely of British

origin, one would expect them to scatter widely as the British stock has traditionally done in Canada. If they were of, e.g. Italian or Hebrew origin the opposite should be the case. However, if an immigrant population were composed of several racial strains it could be expected to scatter widely, seeking its own throughout the Dominion. This the American-born, being sired from many racial groups, has done.

Common language and social customs are said to promote population interchange over the international line. Thus the tendency for all immigrants to the United States to attempt to learn English makes their assimilability easier in Canada if they decide to move to the Dominion. However, there is a very strong attraction, as we have noted at many points in this thesis, on the part of Quebec for the French speaking immigrants in the United States. Of the 344,574 American-born in Canada in 1931, little more than half at the most had both parents American-born.¹ More than half of the 66,953 with both parents Canadian were in Quebec and the Maritimes. These provinces have much higher proportions of American-born immigrants than of other immigrant groups due to the tendency of children of Canadian-born in the United States to re-migrate to their parents' province of origin in Canada. This movement to Quebec and the Maritimes counteracts the economic movement of American-born to the Canadian Prairies and helps explain the even distribution of the American-born in Canada.

Proximity is another important factor encouraging migration both north and south between the United States and Canada. The ease of access extended by both countries to tourists familiarizes them with the neigh-

¹Some 66,953 had both parents Canadian-born; 110,128 had at least one parent Canadian-born; and 144,970 had one parent either Canadian or other British.

bouring country and could thus quite conceivably influence them to settle here. The fact that many American firms have established branches in Canada, chiefly as a means of overcoming tariff barriers, has been a result of proximity, e.g. the border industrial cities.

In summary, the distribution of the Canadian-born may be diagnosed as follows. (1) Mainly in the New England and Middle Atlantic States because of the early interchange of population and commerce at first by water and later by well established land routes. (2) A declining number of Canadian-born in the North West Central States because the original Canadian settlers have not been followed by fellow Canadians as the area developed. (3) An increase in the Great Lakes area in response to industrialization. (4) An increase on the Pacific Coast because of favourable climatic conditions. (5) The Canadian-born have never been attracted to the agricultural south. The most important single reason for the location of the Canadian-born in the United States is "ease of access from Canada".

In general summary it may be said that no one condition stands out as the chief cause of the American-born being attracted to Canada, i.e. such factors as land schemes, investment and employment opportunities, racial strains, religion, etc., have all worked in combination to bring the results determined by the census figures. Coats and Maclean remark (op. cit., p. 37) that the even distribution of an immigrant people affords the maximum opportunity for a free intermingling of the two populations and for the freest possible interchange of ideas and cultures on almost every plane. The even distribution of the American-born implies that they are becoming Canadianized rather than that Canada is being Americanized by their influence. If further proof of this is needed, this discussion may close with the noting of two facts. (1) That in 1931

72.4 per cent of the American-born had become naturalized as compared to 45.9 per cent of the total foreign-born, and those becoming naturalized had influenced others of their races who came to Canada direct from the home country, to become naturalized. (2) There seems to be almost complete indifference on the part of the American-born male in Canada as to whether he marries one of his own race or not. The general assimilability of the American-born in Canada is an easy one.

APPENDIX

Some Theoretical Aspects of Internal Migration

The accepted definition of internal migration is the change of residence from one community, or other clearly defined geographical unit, to another within the national boundaries. The causes of internal migration are not essentially different from those of international migration, but the economic motive is more singularly significant for the former than for the latter. "This would be expected since there is commonly less difference between the several regions within a nation than between nations in religious tolerance, in political rights, and in social status, while differences in economic status and opportunity within a nation may be just as great and probably are better known than those between nations."¹

Interest in the problems of immigration has tended to force interest in internal migration into the background. D.S. Thomas notes, however, that several factors have contributed toward growing interest in internal migration in the United States.² It will be noticed from the following list that many of these factors and their results are equally applicable to Canada. (1) World War I reduced immigration to a minimum at a time when there was a strong demand for labour in the Northern industrial centres. The need was filled by internal migration,

¹W.S. Thompson, Population Problems, McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., New York, 1942, p. 393.

²D.S. Thomas, Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, Social Science Research Council, New York, pp. 2-3.

especially a northward Negro movement.³ (2) After the war, the immigrant restrictions adopted in 1921 and 1924 made immigration comparatively negligible. Interest in immigration thus became historic. The dynamic questions concerned internal migration at least until post War II when international immigration again came to the fore. (3) At the same time there was a rapid fall in the birth rate, rural as well as urban. This led to a study of rural-urban differentials. (4) Distressed conditions in agriculture focused attention on "stranded" groups. (5) Industrial depression caused mass unemployment in the cities and aggravated the situation by leading to a blocking of the usual channels of migration.

Sources of Internal Migrants:

During the period of modern industrial development the prevailing movement has been from farm and agricultural village to industrial centres. Moreover, the agricultural population has constantly had a higher rate of increase because of its higher birth rate and lower death rate as compared to the urban population. Thus, once the period of rapid settlement of new lands was finished, a surplus of population developed. In addition, technological change has drastically reduced the manpower required to work the farms. This surplus has gone to the urban areas.

³National Resources Committee, Problems of a Changing Population, May 1938, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., p.21. 'The negro migration constitutes a special aspect of the north-south movement. In pre-Civil War days 92 per cent of the Negro population of United States lived in the South. After emancipation there was an initial movement to the new lands west of the Mississippi but the movement did not prevail and very few reached the Far West. The shortage of labour in northern industrial cities during World War I attracted large numbers and once the movement had begun, it continued at an increasing rate until in 1930, 20 per cent of the total Negro population of the nation was living north of the Mason Dixon line. At first, the source states were chiefly Virginia and Kentucky south, i.e. Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia. There is evidence that most of the migration is a stop by stop northward movement rather than a direct move from the deep south to the north. Moreover, the northward migration has been almost entirely to large urban centres.

Thomas speaks of the above as "push" factors in internal migration.⁴ She notes, however, that these are probably not as important as the "pull" factors, i.e. the demand for industrial and commercial workers in the cities and industrial areas, and the higher wages and better working conditions offered. The capacity of a region to keep its natural population increase within its local area will depend, then, on the distribution of land and the amount of local industry. If the production of local industry is consumed locally, production will be determined by the total buying power in the region. If production has reached this pre-determined peak then the surplus population must migrate to a more distant area to find employment or the industrial producers must develop a more distant market in order to offer more employment. In summary, the initial move of the surplus population will be to the more urban centres because of technological change and the attraction of the city-type of life with all of its amenities. For the most part, there is room for these people in the cities because of the failure of the urban population to reproduce itself quantitatively.

Thus, in the United States (and equally in Canada) "the twentieth century city is still a kind of a colony which must be repopulated each year by the rural parts of the nation. The bulk of the people who live in cities are either migrants from the country or the children of migrants. Few families have been urban residents for as many as three generations."⁵ The fact that people now tend to live in compact city groups has greatly affected their welfare. Questions are raised as to whether this is the better way to develop the economic and social capacities of mankind.

⁴D.S. Thomas, op. cit., p. 270.

⁵T.L. Smith, Population Analysis, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., Toronto 1948, p. 324.

There are advocates for a plan which would seek a decentralization of population in the interests of economics, health and wartime risks. However, having observed that the predominant movement in the United States has been a rural-urban one, we take note also of a state-to-state movement and a farm-to-farm movement and seek to determine the classes of migrants concerned, i.e. on the basis of migration differentials. Thomas reminds us that these differentials concern age, sex, family status, physical health, intelligence, occupations, motivation and assimilation. Also, there is a definite sequence in which differentials may appear. (1) Migrants may be differentiated from non-migrants at the time of migration, i.e. they are not a random sample of the parent population, e.g. one sex predominates. (2) The differentiation may take place in the process of migrating, i.e. they were a random sample of the parent population, but a change concomitant with migration differentiated them, e.g. farmer becomes industrial employee. (3) The migrants become differentiated in the process of assimilation to a changed environment, e.g. honest labourer becomes a thief.⁶ In the final analysis, also, migrants must not only be differentiated from non-migrants, but may be further classified amongst themselves (i) on the basis of the community structure to and from which they migrate (ii) on the distance they travel and (iii) on the time (phase of business cycle) at which the migration occurs.

In regard to age differentials the general conclusion is that there is an excess of youths amongst the migrants as compared with the non-migrating population. The general statement is based on the reasoning that (1) rural areas are losing population and urban areas are gaining

⁶ D.S. Thomas, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

(2) the age distribution of urban and rural areas is known and peaks in the former correspond to troughs in the latter and (3) the age of migrants can thus be inferred from peaks and troughs in the age distribution of a population affected by migration. "These comparisons indicate that a continuing process of migration tends to produce an excess of persons of ages 20-44 in gaining areas and deficiencies of the same group in losing areas."⁷

In regard to sex differentials the generalization is that females are more migratory than males, but there is some doubt that the urban centres naturally attract more females. Consideration must be given to the type of city, employment opportunities and distance from area of origin. Thomas suggests that answers must be found to such questions as "What social and economic opportunities are offered young men and women in what types of communities? How far is migration an adjustive response to these opportunities?"⁸

Assuming then that young people are the chief migrants it can be realized that this will lead to differentials in family status, e.g. established family patterns are disrupted and new families formed; if more females than males migrate to the cities there is the possibility of fewer marriages; if contraceptive measures are more prevalent in the urban centres the average family size will be affected.

The question arises as to whether physical well-being is a selective factor in internal migration. In this regard, A.B. Hill has

⁷D.S. Thomas, op. cit, p. 191. Reference should be made to pages 20, 21 and 22 for the tabulated findings of fifteen American studies employing this method and culminating in the above quoted result.

⁸Ibid, p. 68.

concluded, "as a rule it is the brighter and stronger of the young men and women in rural districts who tend to migrate; in the country villages there remains the weaker element".⁹ On the other hand, Dorn has warned against "concluding too hastily that the greater rural mortality at the ages when migration is heaviest is due to urban selection of the more healthy".¹⁰ He would stress differential hospital care and health standards as between rural and urban areas rather than selective migration of the healthy. Mental health differentials must also be noted. The statistics are not too reliable as they must be based on only those classes who are admitted to mental hospitals. In view of this, there is no consistency of data due to varying regulations in various areas. Factors to be considered are the racial, economic and social difficulties which a migratory population undergo and the consequent mental strain. Inherent here is the thought that those people who are not subjected to such difficulties should not produce as many mental cases. This would be a difficult thesis to prove.

Thomas notes¹¹ the claim of some authors that in the process of migration the selection of the more intelligent or the less intelligent tends to draw the more intelligent from the rural areas to the urban centres. Arguments against such findings can be found in the basis that the intelligence tests do not take into account the type of schooling available before migration and to what degree the schooling obtained after migration affected the results of the tests. Standardized tests overcame

⁹A.B. Hill, Internal Migration and its Effects upon the Death Rates; with special reference to the County of Essex, London: Medical Research Council Special Report Series, No. 95 (1925), p. 123.

¹⁰H.F. Dorn, "The Effect of Rural Urban Migration Upon Death Rates", Population 1:95-114, November 1934, p. 103.

¹¹D.S. Thomas, op. cit., p. 110.

this argument but are disputed on the grounds that they do not, as claimed, measure innate intelligence independent of environment. There seems to be considerable doubt as to whether migration is selective of the extremes, i.e. the very intelligent and the very inferior or whether generally speaking it is unselective with regard to intelligence.

The crux of the problem as regards occupational differentials lies in the extent to which change of occupation is a concomitant of migration, i.e. whether the migrants better themselves occupationally. Also important is the extent to which the migrants take up occupations which up to the time of their migrating was foreign to the area to which they migrated. Another factor is how much more successful they are than the native population in those occupations which previously existed. Only when an accurate classification of occupations in order of pecuniary reward and prestige is made will statisticians be able to make a reliable study of occupational differentials. Such an analysis is important in that economic motives are those most responsible for internal migration trends. This implies that a study of the causes of internal migration should consider such factors as (1) wanderlust (2) a need for new horizons (3) hope of improving one's situation, the need for independence and self respect (4) housing (5) wages (6) employer-employee relationships.¹² Thomas suggests¹³ that a complete study of occupational differentials must also make allowance for the various demographic variables influencing selection. In addition, a comparison amongst various classes within the occupation under study is required.

¹²R. Littmarck, Nomads of the Malan Valley, as adopted for presentation in D.S. Thomas, Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, (quoted above).

¹³D.S. Thomas, op. cit., p. 140

Once the investigator is able to determine the extent to which migration is caused by a seeking of economic goals and with what degree of success the migrant is satisfied with them, he is able to look more closely at the problems of differentials in motivation and assimilation. The data for this is obtained by observing the migrant's behaviour before and after migration, the migrant's own experiences, the environment of the origin community and of the receiving community.

Thomas concludes¹⁴ that there is no acceptable generalization about the strength and direction of selective internal migration. However, the social and the economic structure of the sending and receiving areas, the phase of the business cycle, the distance of the migration are important to a study of migration differentials.

¹⁴D.S. Thomas, op. cit., pp. 160-167.

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