

McMASTER UNIVERSITY

A SURVEY OF CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY,
ITS DEVELOPMENT AND EFFECT
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PREVAILING CANADIAN ATTITUDES
ON THE SUBJECT

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL ECONOMY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
BACHELOR OF ARTS

By

Willa Ruth Harwood

Hamilton, Ontario
May, 1950.

PREFACE

The main object of this study is to examine the development of Canadian immigration policy. To deal comprehensively with such a subject would, of course, never be accomplished by an undergraduate in one hundred pages and within the space of a few crowded months. An adequate treatment might involve any number of fields -- economics, sociology, history, philosophy, law; it might include an analysis of past trends, present policy, or even an attempt at prognostication; it might trespass into a comparison of other countries' problems; it might even dare to question whether policy is being decided by the people or for them. Such fields of inquiry beckon temptingly, and the task of confining one's curiosity to the mere periphery is a difficult one. Of necessity, then, a more modest goal has been set up. This goal is a two-fold one: to satisfy the writer's curiosity concerning Canadian immigration -- when and why did it vary in volume, what effect had it on Canada, who decides how much there will be? -- and secondly, to get to the root of popular opinions on immigration policy.

All human beings, not excepting Canadians, are nowadays anxious to acquire more and more of the comforts of life, as well as the security that these will continue. But all humans, and especially Canadians, are awakening to the realization that a fatter pay-envelope depends not only on what the union can squeeze out of the employer, but also on the elusive and remote functioning of such things as world trade, and national development, as wheat contracts and immigration policy. A subject that is both timely and popular, immigration policy is certainly one around which there is an ample cloak of prejudice, ignorance and exaggeration.

This thesis is an attempt to find an answer to some of these popular fallacies.

The groundwork for such an appreciation of a contemporary problem lies in the direction of history and theoretical analysis, and the keyword is soon found to be "estimate". For although economics is rightly described as a science, our shortcomings in understanding the economy's complex inner-workings are certain to show up with the first practical problem. The physicist, it is argued, can tell to a decimal point the effect on a mechanical system of a change in some part of the mechanism, yet the economist, when asked what effect an influx of so many thousand immigrants would have on the economy, can only advance a list of possibilities, qualified by such terms as ceteris paribus. But the fact that man is just commencing to harness the sciences dealing with his society, or that this task is infinitely complicated by the human element which is its stuff and substance, need not discourage yet another attempt at 'intelligent speculation'.

I gratefully acknowledge the help in the preparation of this thesis of all who have read and criticized the manuscript or parts of it, and have provided valuable suggestions. In particular I am indebted to Miss Betty Belle Robinson of the Department of Political Economy for her unfailing encouragement and patient guidance throughout the year. In its earlier stages, I had the privilege of the late Professor W. Burton Hurd's advice and inspiration.

McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario
May, 1950

W.R.H.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF CHARTS	vi
PART I: THE PAST	
I The Nature of Migration and Restrictive Policies	2
II A History of Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy	10
III Effects of Migration on Canada	35
PART II: THE PRESENT	
IV An Introduction to the Senate Committee Hearings	51
V Sectional Economic Interests	57
VI The Humanitarian Argument	69
VII French Canadian Views	81
VIII The Opinions of the 'Experts'	90
PART III: THE FUTURE	
IX Future Immigration Policy: Some Considerations	107
APPENDIX	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	124
	127

LIST OF TABLES

Table Number	Title	Page
1	Natural Increase, Immigration, Emigration and Canadian Population Growth 1851-1941	16
2	Growth of the Canadian-Born and Immigration Populations	18
3	Canadian Returned from the United States 1926-1947	23
4	Postwar Immigration and Emigration, Canada 1945-47	29
5	Birthplace of Immigrant Arrivals, Canada 1947	30
6	Immigrants to Canada, By Province of Settlement	33
7	Percentage of Illiteracy Among Immigrants	37
8	Canadians in Penitentiaries, 1931	39
9	Convictions for Indictable Offences	39
10	Oriental Immigration to Canada	45
11	Migration from Canada to United States	48
12	Ukranian Immigration to Canada	71
13	Canadian Residents of Polish Ancestry	72
14	Hebrew Immigrants	74
15	Estimated Labour Shortage in Canada	102

LIST OF CHARTS

Chart Number	Title	Page
I	Increase in Population	14
II	Immigration and Emigration, Canada 1851-1941	17
III	Unemployment Compared with Immigration	116

PART I

THE PAST

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF MIGRATION AND RESTRICTIVE POLICIES

Migration, which covers both emigration and immigration, may be roughly defined as "the movement of free individuals from one political state to another with the intention of effecting a lasting change in permanent residence".¹ To merely define it thus reveals, rather than resolves, the difficulties involved in describing the nature of migration. As Isaac² points out, migration may be defined to include both emigration -- the movement away from the country of former residence, and immigration -- the movement into the new country, yet each movement is a different phenomenon, requiring often a different motivation and certainly dissimilar psychological experiences. In the second place, the line drawn between an immigrant and a non-immigrant (a transient) on the basis of length of residence is often quite arbitrary. There may be those who intend to remain in the country of immigration, yet who emigrate again in a few years; or there may be those who arrive with the idea of moving south like the birds as soon as possible, yet who remain for the rest of their lives. It is comparatively simple to arbitrarily classify international migrants on paper, but the practical difficulties still remain. There have been few attempts (and none very successful) to distinguish between "permanent" and "transitory" emigrants either in Immigration Law

¹L.G. Reynolds, The British Immigrant, (Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1935) 5.

²J. Isaac, The Economics of Migration (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd; London 1947) 26.

or in Government Statistics, and this is but one of the real difficulties in interpreting migration statistics. The fact that Canada has kept no adequate record of emigration from this country further complicates analysis, and leaves us dependent upon United States records, particularly Census data, to estimate at least a partial accounting of emigration movements.

Why do people break the ties of homeland, native-tongue and friendship to start life over in a strange new land? As has already been intimated, there may be two separate motivations involved. Firstly, there is the one which operates in the country of emigration to dislocate the individual from his stable position and to make him dissatisfied with life there. This is usually termed the "push" or repellent force. In the second place, there is that which operates in the country of immigration, to lure the individual by real or fictitious advantage to seek a new home. This may be termed the "pull" or attracting factor.

Greatest of all mobilizing forces is that of economic misfortune in the home country. With the displacement of hand labour by machines during the Industrial Revolution and after, labourers often found that valuable skills now brought no livelihood on the market. Faced with the prospect of beginning over again in a new occupation, many chose to make their new start in another country. Economic necessity may arise from other causes. Reynolds³ lists landlordism, high rents and discriminatory taxation as reasons for heavy emigration from rural areas in Ireland, Italy and Austria-Hungary. Land enclosure in England (and more particularly in Scotland) forced crowding into urban areas where a

³Reynolds, op. cit., 6.

depressive effect upon wages was the result. This low level of wages and the pessimistic outlook with regard to future changes in the standard of living caused discontent and led to a desire to "try one's luck elsewhere". Thus in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries land enclosure was a significant factor contributing to the growth of colonies in Canada's Eastern Townships. Although adverse economic conditions are probably the oldest and most important repellent forces, religious or political persecution may also lead people to seek out a more tolerant place of residence. The migration of the Pilgrim Fathers and of the Mennonites and Doukhobors illustrates this desire to escape from religious infustice; those who fled before the Nazi hordes in this last war, as well as the more recent migrations from Communist-dominated countries, show that political discontent is still an important "push" force.

Turning now to consider the "pull" forces, the most important again seems to be the economic one -- the attraction of high wages and favourable working conditions -- in general, the prospect of increasing one's real income. Reynolds⁴ points to several studies which appear to demonstrate that immigration to any country is greatest when that country is enjoying a period of prosperity. The rapid expansion of Canada in the nineteenth century provided opportunities for immigrants to rise in the economic and social scale at a rate which would have been impossible in the home-land. Again, other forces besides economic ones exert an important influence. These include the charm of the unknown, the opportunity for adventure and, of course, the assurance of freedom -- political and religious.

⁴Ibid. 7 citing M.S. Jerome, Migration and the Business Cycle, 121, 208.

Among the most significant attractions (significant for this study especially) are the methods of manipulation employed by various sectors in the country of immigration to lure, or on the other hand, to discourage, immigrants. Railway and steamship companies, who stand to gain by extensive immigration have employed several methods to attract customers. These include highly coloured pamphlets illustrating the endless bounty in the country of immigration, as well as the employment of persuasive selling-agents to operate in European ports. In recent years this sort of thing has been restricted by law and discouraged by the necessity for prospective immigrants to comply with selective immigration conditions. Business leaders may also lend their support to immigration schemes, since such schemes usually assure them an abundant supply of labour. On the other hand, organized labour usually does all in its power to discourage immigration and to protect wage-rates from the competition of immigrant labour which may underbid native labour. In this same class is the French Canadian element in Canada, traditionally opposed to immigration in order to protect their culture and religion. As this study will attempt to show in Part II in relation to Canada, Government policy in the country of immigration is the resultant of the relative strength of such conflicting groups.

The relative importance of the "push" and "pull" factors has varied throughout the history of migration movements. Before the wide acceptance of laissez-faire philosophy, popularized by Adam Smith, there was actually little free migration in the modern sense. The Mercantilists with their Nationalist policies stressed the value of a large population in the strengthening of a nation, and in the accumulation of its wealth. With increasing freedom of movement the character of migration gradually changed. Until about 1850 migration was determined largely by the

repellent forces, by conditions in European countries; from 1850 to roughly 1914 the movement was primarily influenced by conditions in North America. Transportation became cheaper and more convenient, and the advantages of the new lands were matters of common knowledge. A new phase in the history of recent immigration began after 1914 when entry into the New World was no longer free and unimpeded. Quotas and restrictive legislation, as well as selective measures, sifted prospective immigrants and cut down the numbers admitted. Government action in the field of restriction also took place in some countries of emigration, with the purpose of keeping their citizens at home.

It is generally felt that some government action in the receiving countries was justified in order to relieve obvious cases of occupational maladjustment and social dependency. In addition, students of the question were beginning to realize the effects on the nation of unassimilated nationality groups. As a consequence, Canada imposed a prohibitive poll tax on Chinese immigrants, and followed this example of discrimination by the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, which prohibited practically any immigration from China. At the same time, a "gentleman's agreement"⁵ with Japan prevented Japanese immigration of any consequence. During the inter-war years restrictions were gradually extended to cover many classes of European immigrants, and were replaced by extremely restrictive measures during the great depression. Now the tide is turning. The significant element in migration may no longer be the restrictive measures imposed by the country of immigration. It may in the near future be the source

⁵Isaac, op. cit., 54.

of prospective immigrants. Although the war-dislocated industries of Europe and the threat of communist upheaval may mean a bleak future for many European citizens, they are too often unable to begin again in a new country because of both emigration and immigration restrictions.

Certain factors have been used by immigrant countries to determine the desirable volume of immigration.⁶ Among these are such concepts as 'optimum population', 'carrying capacity', 'absorptive capacity' and 'capacity to assimilate immigrants'. Population carrying capacity relates to the number of people which could be supported in a country if all resources were fully utilized without reference to why, in actual fact, all resources are not exploited. This is at best a very rough gauge and of little use in formulating a short-term policy. The capacity of a population to absorb immigrants, on the other hand, considers the actual rate at which a country, as presently developed, can receive immigrants without being subject to adverse consequences. Since the development of a country is constantly changing, this measure varies constantly also, but for this very reason is valuable to those considering an immigration plan for a short period. In the third place, assimilation deals with that process by which individuals of different cultural backgrounds, but living in the same country, "achieve a cultural solidarity, sufficient at least to sustain national existence".⁷ This matter is becoming increasingly important, especially in the "melting pot of the world", the United States.

One of the most important theoretical approaches to the subject of limiting immigration is found in the optimum theory of population. This

⁶Here I am indebted to Isaac's analysis, Ibid.

⁷Ibid. 130.

considers the question of size of population in terms of the optimum which provides the greatest real income per capita -- natural resources, technical knowledge and capital remaining constant. The effect of these variables can be illustrated by Canada's national development. Isaac⁸ believes that Canada's population is below optimum, and as a result is one factor in hampering development. He suggests that industrial costs here are higher than would be the case if mass production methods could be employed; that costs of local government and transportation place a burden on Canadians which, in turn, impede a more rapid increase in native-population growth. Isaac⁹ also shows how capital imports to Canada and heavy immigration to this country have gone hand in hand. The fact that they did go together, he suggests, may account for the apparent lack of friction in absorbing immigrants into Canada, as compared with that witnessed in the United States. Other reasons, such as cheaper land prices, lesser population density and the United States "safety-valve" may also have helped. He quotes figures for capital imports into Canada for the period 1900 to 1910 as increasing from \$1,200 million to \$2,448 million (104 per cent change) and reaching \$3,700 in 1913 (208 per cent change). A large inflow of capital without accompanying influx of immigrants, he feels, would have driven wages so high that the marginal productivity of capital would have fallen below the current rate of interest, and no further foreign capital would have been forthcoming. On the other hand, immigration without capital imports would have depressed wages and meant serious dislocation.

⁸Ibid. 100.

⁹Ibid. 251.

Human migration is, therefore, a complex phenomenon involving a series of far-reaching effects on the lives of immigrants and in the national development of the areas to which they come. Until recently, Canadian Immigration Policy has been based infrequently on scientific grounds, more often catering to the wishes of individuals or interest groups. One result is that Canadian data concerning the effect of immigration on her economy -- results upon which an informed immigration policy might be based -- are scarce and inadequate.

CHAPTER II

A HISTORY OF CANADIAN IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION POLICY

It has often been said that Canada is a nation built by immigration, that most of its citizens are immigrants or descendants of immigrants. Yet the history of population growth in Canada is a much more complex and interesting study than this statement purports. Not only have there been enormous variations in the volume of immigrants, largely reflecting the economic conditions of the period in question, but also an equally volatile movement of emigrants from Canada. These two movements, motivated by 'push' and 'pull' forces, along with natural increase, combined to determine the rate of growth of the population. Until the period of economic depression in the late twenties migration to and from Canada's borders operated with very little restriction from Government legislation. The official policies of the Colonies on this question, and of the Federation after 1867, reflected a willingness to add to numbers by immigration, and even the Immigration Act of 1910 laid few restrictions on prospective immigrants, with the exception of physical and mental requirements. One might generalize, then, by dividing the history of Canadian immigration into roughly three periods: until roughly 1850 the 'push' forces were relatively more important than in later periods, while the demand for immigrants was unlimited; from 1850 until 1929 the pull of new frontiers waiting to be opened became the uppermost force; in this period there was only the mildest selective policy based on exclusion of lunatics and other social

unacceptables. But with the war and the ensuing depression, immigration was prohibited, with the exception of only a few classes of persons. This third period, in which government policy has been the dominant element in determining the extent of immigration, continues today.

1608-1850

For three hundred years¹ after the first French settler in Canada in 1608, immigrants pushed slowly but firmly from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, pausing now and then to build up 'jumping-off' bases for further settlement. But from this first settlement until the French Regime fell to the British in 1763, immigration was consistently slow. Neither the climate, accessible natural resources nor official policy was encouraging. With the British Conquest, however, New France was opened to the currents of World Trade, and some encouragement (especially by those who desired to anglify the French) was given to British immigration. But even this movement was not significant, until the American Revolution, when the influx of United Empire Loyalists added some 25,000 to the population, and established several permanent English-speaking settlements. With the Constitution Act of 1791, which divided the colony into Upper and Lower Canada, interest in British immigration quickened, and 170,677² immigrants arrived between the years 1827 and 1832. One reason for this increase was undoubtedly the social and economic conditions prevailing in Europe as a result of the Industrial Revolution. The ferment of discontent there sent thousands of unemployed artisans across the ocean to America.

¹I am indebted to the Dominion Statisticians, Mr. Herbert Marshall, for the statistics used to illustrate this chapter, as well as to A.W. Currie (Canadian Economic Development, Toronto, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. 1942) and D.C. Harvey (The Colonization of Canada, Toronto, Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd. 1936) for a substantial portion of the historical material.

²The Canada Year Book, 1948-49. (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1949)p. 172.

1850-1929

In the years following the mid-century mark, the pull of the new land became a more important factor in inducing prospective immigrants to leave their homelands. Jobs could be had almost as the traveller disembarked, while the lure of the frontier drew many inland.

The decade 1851-1861 was one of flourishing trade with the United States, and as later observed, this period of high activity and opportunity stimulated not only a rapid growth in the Canadian-Born population (increasing by 32.6 per cent) but enlarged Canada's capacity to absorb immigrants as well. Emigration was insignificant; immigration totalled some 216,000. Population statistics for countries in the provinces indicate that the new-comers settled largely in already-populated areas, and that some parts of French Canada were already showing signs of over-population.

The period from 1861 to 1871 saw a drop in both population increase and net migration figures. The former was only 14.2 per cent, while emigration totalling three hundred and seventy-six thousand greatly exceeded immigration figures of some one hundred and eighty-six thousand. It was a period of economic strains and stresses in Canada, while the United States, riding high on the success of the Civil War, was booming, with high prices and rising wages. Canada could not absorb either immigrants or her own natural increase at the standard of living desired, hence the heavy emigration. A small movement westward in Canada was just beginning, but had little immediate effect on the over-populated counties of the East.

There was prosperity in the opening years of the next decade, 1871 to 1881, but in 1873 the world financial crisis reached Canada,

leaving her in a state of economic depression until the mid-nineties. The United States, however, rebounded more quickly and attracted great floods of immigrants from Europe, as well as from Canada. Canada was losing through emigration not only the equivalent of the immigration that had entered in the same period, but much of her natural increase as well. This fact is illustrated in the accompanying chart which reveals that natural increase, in these years, exceeded by a substantial figure the actual growth of the population. One Report on this period comments:

The principal policies and expenditures of the Federal Government were designed to fill the empty space with people. Yet for thirty years Canada was a land of emigration helping to people the frontier and cities of the United States.³

Mr. Herbert Marshall has estimated⁴ that natural increase plus immigration in this period exceeded Canada's "capacity for absorption" by over forty per cent. This is, of course, only an estimate, since such a concept is not one which can be precisely measured even today. In short, B.K. Sandwell calls it a period of "depression and disenchantment".⁵

The following decade, 1881-1891, was even more depressed economically. The Riel Rebellion, too, in 1895 (greatly exaggerated in the press) was deterrent to immigration. Although the Canadian Pacific

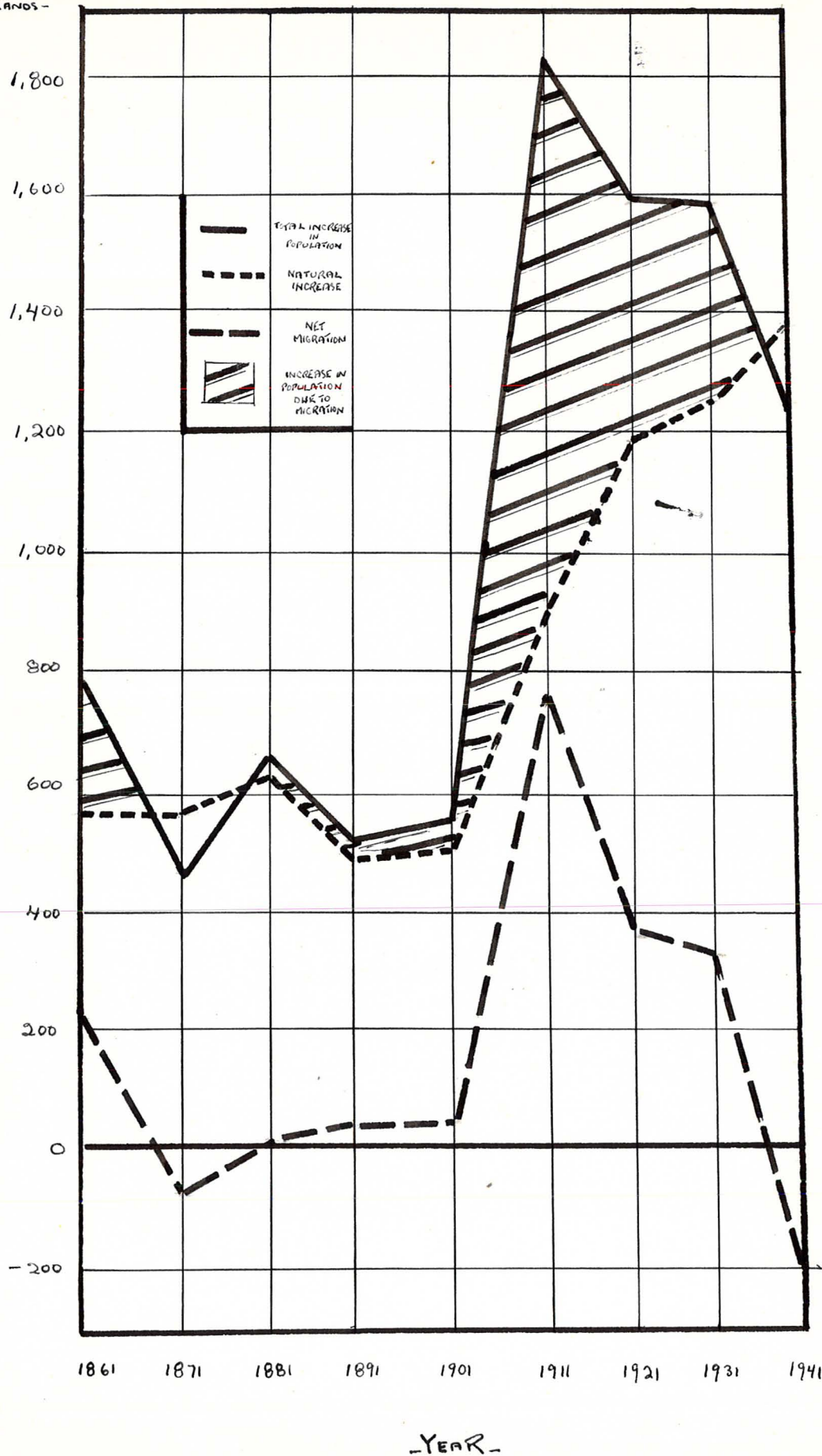
³Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Book I, p. 53 cited by Lucy I. Morgan, "Immigration, Emigration and External Trade", (MS, 1949).

⁴Senate Hearings on Immigration and Labour (Ottawa, King's Printer), 1946, 254.

⁵B.K. Sandwell, "Population: A Canadian Problem", Queen's Quarterly, (54; 312-22, Autumn 1947).

CHART I INCREASE IN POPULATION (NATURAL INCREASE AND MIGRATION) CANADA 1861-1941

NUMBER OF PERSONS
IN THOUSANDS -



-YEAR-

Railway had been completed to the Pacific in 1885, and although the boundaries of Manitoba had been extended and coal and gold discovered in British Columbia, the increasingly prosperous conditions in the United States drew prospective immigrants for the Canadian West into the United States Prairies. Population increase was 11.8 per cent, and Marshall here estimates that absorptive capacity was exceeded by approximately seventy per cent.

Depression deepened until 1896, but immigration remained at a very low figure until the end of the century. Emigration to the United States continued, including for the first time many migrants of French origin. Marshall again estimates that population was in excess of absorptive capacity by some fifty per cent.

With the return of prosperity -- rising world prices, the demands of a rapidly industrializing Europe, the inflow of capital into Canada -- a period of unprecedented development commenced. The major obstacles to the opening of the wheat-producing prairies had been overcome -- the United States West had filled up; the Canadian Pacific Railway had pierced the Laurentian Shield, and new techniques for growing wheat in early frost areas had been developed. Sir Wilfred Laurier's famous words about the twentieth century belonging to Canada must have resounded around the world, for immediately a vast influx of immigrants entered her gates. The immigrant population move^{ment} then doubled in this decade, and the increase in total population during the same period almost reached two million.

The prosperity of the previous decade continued until 1913, with Government and shipping agencies encouraging an almost indiscriminate inflow of immigrants. The peak was reached in 1913 when 400,700 immigrants entered the Dominion. Although the depression caused a rapid

slump in immigration, and the war virtually cut off the flow from Europe, immigrants from the United States were drawn into Canada by the land settlement opportunities still existing here. The rapid industrialization associated with the war helped to lay the basis for the absorption of immigrants in the following ten years. Over the decade 1911-1921, both immigration and emigration were at a high level in spite of the interruption of migration due to wartime restriction. Net migration, however, made a relatively small contribution to population (about two hundred and thirty thousand) and the increase in the Canadian-born rather than migration was the chief factor contributing to population growth.

TABLE 1

NATURAL INCREASE, IMMIGRATION, EMIGRATION AND
CANADIAN POPULATION GROWTH 1851-1941⁶

DECADE	NATURAL INCREASE	IMMIGRATION	EMIGRATION	POPULATION GROWTH
1851-61	670,132	209,437	86,233	793,336
1861-71	650,170	185,906	376,452	459,624
1871-81	720,354	352,784	437,585	635,553
1881-91	715,749	903,264	1,110,584	508,429
1890-01	718,443	325,879	506,246	538,076
1901-11	1,120,559	1,781,918	1,067,149	1,835,320
1911-21	1,349,568	1,592,474	1,360,736	1,581,306
1921-31	1,485,370	1,198,103	1,094,636	1,588,837
1931-41	1,242,107	149,461	261,699	1,129,869

1921-1931 included the post-war transition period followed by the post-war boom, culminating in 1929 on the eve of the depression.

⁶Senate Hearings, op. cit., 1946, p. 261. Evidence of the Dominion Statistician.

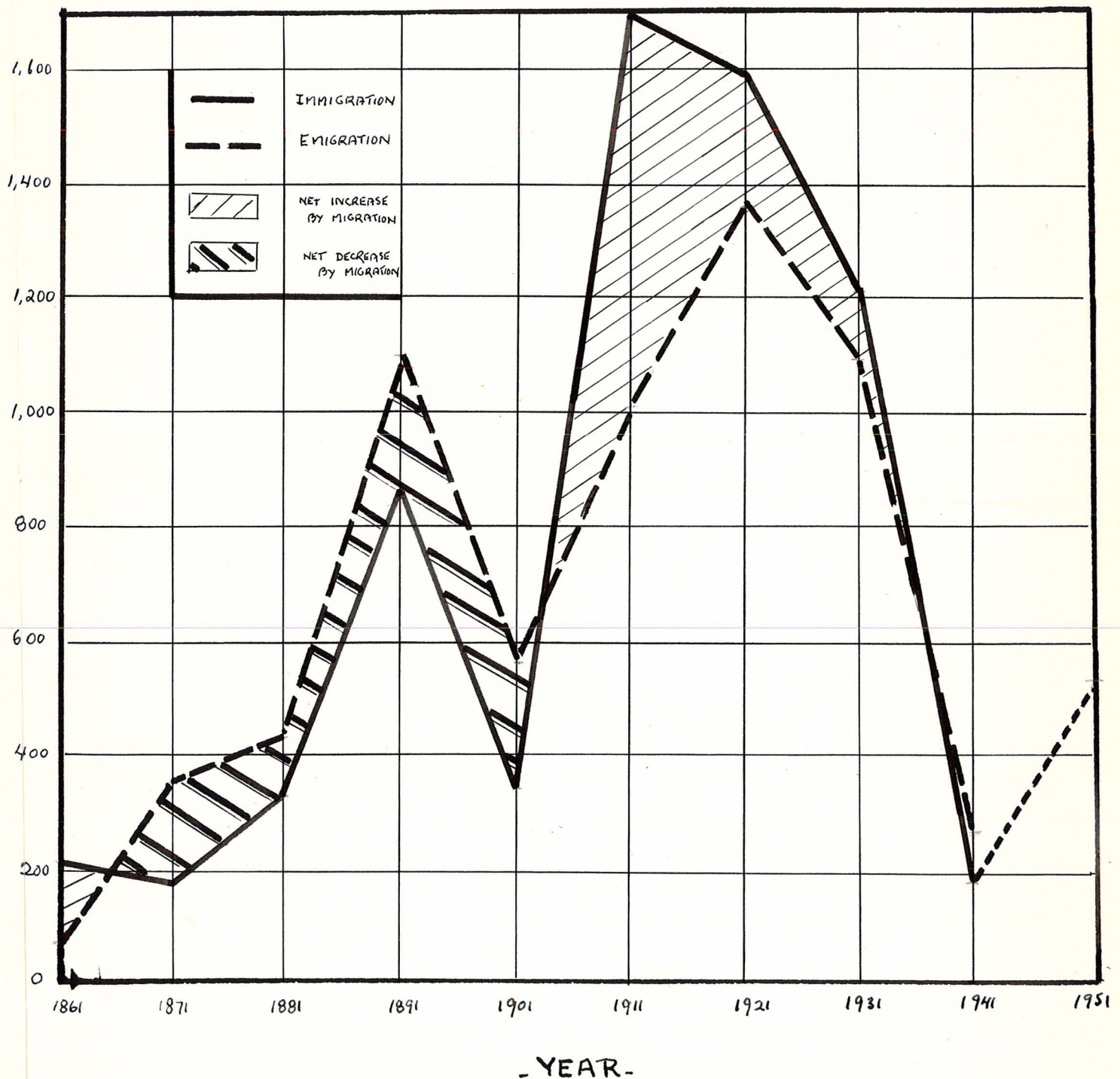
CHART II

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

CANADA 1851-1941

WITH PROJECTION FOR 1951.

NUMBER OF
PERSONS:
IN THOUSANDS -



Immigration had risen slightly from the war slump, but with easily accessible prairie land largely settled, with reconstruction underway in Europe and subsidization of agricultural production begun by European Governments, as well as newly imposed European restrictions on emigration, the rate of increase due to migration was far below post-war levels. In particular, the pull towards Canada was not as strong as formerly. Canada's agricultural population suffered from the frightful drop in world food prices, and naturally the subsidized German farmer preferred to remain at home, as did the European industrial worker, for the first time tasting the benefits of old age pensions, health insurance schemes and so on. Canada's economic structure had been geared largely to continuing rapid immigration. The artificial prosperity created by the war for a time obscured the fact that the economy was overexpanded.⁷

TABLE 2

GROWTH OF THE CANADIAN-BORN AND IMMIGRANT POPULATIONS⁸

Decade	Total Pop. at start of Decade '000	Can.-Born Pop. at start of Decade '000	Change during Decade		Immigrant Pop. at start of Decade '000	Change during Decade	
			'000	%		'000	%
1851-61	2,436	1,976	571	+29	460	223	+48
1861-71	3,230	2,547	550	+22	683	-91	-13
1871-81	3,689	3,097	625	+20	592	11	+2
1881-91	4,325	3,722	467	+13	603	41	+7
1891-01	4,833	4,189	483	+12	644	55	+9
1901-11	5,371	4,672	948	+20	699	888	+127
1911-21	7,207	5,620	1,212	+22	1,587	369	+23
1921-31	8,788	6,832	1,237	+18	1,956	352	+18
1931-41	10,377	8,069	1,420	+18	2,308	-290	-13
1941-51	11,507	9,489	2,018

⁷B.K. Sandwell, op. cit., p. 314.

⁸Senate Hearings, op. cit., p. 261.

In summary of the period preceding contemporary development, there is much to support the belief that in the past immigrants were allowed to enter in numbers far beyond the capacity of Canada to absorb them.

Surpluses of immigrants, whether temporary or persisting, caused suffering and adjustment difficulties, and would have done so to a greater degree had not the 'safety-valve' of the United States (which remained wide open until after 1920) eased the pressure and obscured somewhat the real overpopulation. The argument of course may be raised that the action of this 'safety-valve' may have hindered Canada's development by draining off valuable elements in the population.

1929-1949, RESTRICTIVE POLICY

Although general immigration policy first reached the Statute Books of Canada in 1910, changes in the form of Regulations and Orders to the Act especially in the turbulent economic period of the thirties, reshaped and redefined official policy. These changes were the result of changing attitudes toward immigration, in turn the product of changing conditions in the economy.

Despite these frequent additions, there has been no basic change in the Act since the original one was passed in 1910.⁹ The arrangement of the Act is as follows: The first section deals principally with interpretation and defines the acquisition of domicile and the laws therewith. In this connection the original Act stipulated that domicile followed after two year's residence. Later this was amended to three years, and in 1919 to five years. The Act further states that after an immigrant

⁹Immigration Act and Regulations (Department of Mines and Resources), R.S.C.: 1927, ch. 93.

has thus acquired domicile, he is not subject to deportation unless he comes within one of two excepted clauses which are: First, aliens who have been convicted under Section 4 (d) of the Opium and Narcotic Drug Act, and secondly, aliens who fall within a block of defined prohibited classes. These include persons suffering from some form of mental or physical ailments, criminals, advocates of the use of force or violence against organized Government, spies, illiterates and others. Other widely restrictive powers are given to the Governor General-in-Council to prohibit the landing in Canada of,

immigrants belonging to any nationality or race or of immigrants of any specified class or occupation, by reason of any economic, industrial or other condition temporarily existing in Canada, or because such immigrants are deemed unsuitable having regard to climate, industrial, social, educational, labour or other conditions, or requirements of Canada, or because such immigrants are deemed undesirable owing to their peculiar customs, habits, modes of life and methods of holding property, and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian Citizenship within a reasonable time after their entry.¹⁰

It becomes apparent that it is the Regulations and Orders, rather than the Act itself, which have defined those persons who are admissible.¹¹ The Act does not guarantee to anyone the right of admission as an immigrant. In general, it has been this first section concerning prohibitive classes, and the related clauses of admissible classes in the Regulations which have been most frequently and extensively changed by subsequent Orders.

Returning to the study of the Act of 1910, the sections following deal with the appointment, authority and procedure of Immigration Boards of Enquiry, the method of appeal, procedure to be followed by prospective

¹⁰Ibid. ch. 93, sect. 38 (c).

¹¹H.L. Keenleyside, "Canadian Immigration Policy and Administration", (MS 1949), p. 1.

immigrants and the provision of Regulations which may be made in the future by the Governor General-in-Council, not only covering those wide clauses quoted above, but also those requiring immigrants to possess money to a prescribed minimum amount.

Next are the sections giving authority for the deportation of prohibited and undesirable classes, including the obligations of Transport Companies as to rejection and deportation. Following these are the regulations concerning seamen, the filing of manifests, the protection of immigrants, and finally a general provision regarding persecutions under the Act. As Mr. Keenleyside points out,¹² the value of this original legislation is its flexibility, for exceptions are made possible other than by formal amendment of the Act -- thus rendering administration workable. Section 4 of the Act states in part,

the Minister may issue a written permit authorizing any person to enter Canada, or having entered or landed in Canada to remain therein without being subject to the provisions of this Act for a specified period only.¹³

(This period, however, must not be so long as to amount in reality to permanent entry.)

As the previous section has revealed, the first World War postponed the inevitable change in Canadian immigration policy. While new frontiers existed or while the demands of war artificially stimulated industry, immigration was welcomed, and great movements took place with little consideration of the boundary stretching across North America. Now the last great frontier -- the Canadian West -- was no longer beckoning, nor was the post war adjustment period one which welcomed further hordes

¹²Ibid.

¹³Immigration Act, loc. cit., sect. 4 (i).

of newcomers. Repatriation and re-establishment of the armed forces meant a sudden race for jobs; industry had to adjust itself to the lesser demands of peacetime; yet thousands in distressed areas in Europe were pressing to be admitted. The isolationist views prevalent in the United States became apparent in higher tariffs and stricter immigration regulations there, so restrictive in fact that as the depression of the late twenties and the early thirties broke, the restrictions were almost completely exclusive. Yet, Canadians, at this time, were still admitted to the United States on a non-quota basis¹⁴ and Canadian labour was sucked across the border as the United States showed signs of a rapid recovery from post-war doldrums. This United States quota system also indirectly affected immigration into Canada. In the decade 1921-31 immigration averaged twelve thousand per year, many of them entering Canada with the hope of passing through to the United States. In other cases, this meant merely a displacing of Canadians (who went to the United States) for immigrants (who took the latter's place here). The Canadian Government tried to remedy this situation by enactments which set up a selective process for choosing immigrants; capital requirements were raised, and only certain categories of workers were allowed entrance.

The depression of the thirties saw immigration continually decrease. By Order in Council 695, dated March 31, 1931, all but a very few classes of immigrants were prohibited from entering Canada. Heavy unemployment even led to drastic migratory shifts and some alien public charges were repatriated. European immigrants whose entry had been in the least irregular were sent back to Europe, and a general homeward trek

¹⁴Senate Hearings, op. cit., 1946, p. 252 (Mr. Herbert Marshall).

began for many Canadians in the United States as well as for Americans in Canada.

TABLE 3

CANADIANS RETURNED FROM THE UNITED STATES,
1926-1947¹⁵

YEAR	TOTAL	YEAR	TOTAL
1926	62,293	1937	5,167
1927	42,078	1938	4,659
1928	34,120	1939	4,610
1929	30,479	1940	4,990
1930	31,608	1941	3,564
1931	20,352	1942	3,467
1932	18,220	1943	2,333
1933	10,209	1944	2,210
1934	7,272	1945	2,689
1935	6,378	1946	5,177
1936	5,168	1947	8,970

According to Mr. Marshall's figures,¹⁶ during the decade 1931-41 immigrants numbered approximately 150,000, emigrants 260,000 -- amounting to a net loss of 110,000. Population increased by 1,129,000 or 10.9 per cent during this period. The lack of "absorptive capacity" is estimated at 300,000 persons, almost twice as many as new immigrant arrivals in this period.

The Regulations to the Act in these years which brought about this marked drop in immigration reflect an attitude of mind among Canadians which was created by the depression. The crisis of more men than jobs not

¹⁵Canada Year Book, 1948-49, p. 182. (including Canadian-born citizens, British-born who had acquired Canadian domicile, naturalized Canadian citizens, but not including aliens with Canadian domicile).

¹⁶Senate Hearings, *op. cit.*, 255.

only blotted out the consideration of what immigrants had contributed in the past toward the widening and strengthening of the economy, but developed among many (and especially among the labouring classes) a positive hatred towards immigration. The wide powers given to the Governor General-in-Council by the Act of 1910 were thus exercised in P.C. 695 (1931) which read in part:

The landing in Canada of immigrants of all classes and occupations is hereby prohibited, except as hereinafter provided;

... any immigrant who otherwise complies with the provisions of the Act if such immigrant is --

1. A British subject ... who has sufficient means to maintain himself until employment is secured.
2. A United States citizen (as in 1.).
3. The wife or unmarried child under 18 of any person legally admitted to or resident in Canada, who is in a position to receive and care for his dependents.
4. An agriculturist having sufficient means to farm in Canada.¹⁷

Although a series of Orders passed in 1937 and shortly afterwards widened the admissible classes to Canada, immigration fell to a very low level during the first four years of World War II. At the end of hostilities, with thousands applying to emigrate to this country, the stream of immigration was still blocked by lack of transportation facilities -- all available ships being used to return servicemen and their sixty-five thousand dependents. Transportation for immigration purposes remained at a premium until the end of 1947. Up until January of that year, only two regular passenger vessels in the Canadian Service carried immigrants; in December, another entered the North Atlantic Service, and a fourth in February 1948.¹⁸

¹⁷P.C. 695 (1931) Government pamphlet.

¹⁸Canada Year Book, 1948-49, 173.

In 1945, however, not only transportation facilities were lacking, but, more important, the Regulations excluded from admission to this country the majority of those applying in Europe. The necessity for increased immigration, nevertheless, seemed obvious on every hand. There was, in Canada, a shortage of labourers for farms, lumbering, mining and shipping, and for some urban industries, while as was the case after World War I, conditions in Europe were deplorable. Thousands of Canadian citizens had relatives in the stricken areas, and their desire to bring these people to Canada became more vocal as the delay continued and as cases of outright discrimination were uncovered.

It was at this time that Canadian attitudes on the subject of immigration were gathered, sifted, and presented to the Senate by the Standing Committee of the Senate on Immigration and Labour.¹⁹

These Reports, as well as general pressure from strong sections of the people, led to serious consideration and finally reformulation of Immigration Regulations. The first of these were Order in Council P.C. 2070 and P.C. 2071 in May 1946, which provided for the admission of the father and mother, the unmarried son and daughter without limitation as to age, the unmarried brother and sister and the nephew and niece orphaned of both parents and under sixteen years of age, of persons legally resident in Canada who were in a position to receive and care for such immigrants.²⁰ In the Minister's statement made in the House of Commons, Mr. Glenn referred to these Orders as short-term measures, to help meet the pressing demands for Displaced Persons being made by their

¹⁹An analysis of these attitudes is presented in Section II of this study.

²⁰Canada Gazette, May 26, 1946.

relatives in Canada.²¹

This concession, however, failed to satisfy public opinion.

The 1946 Report of the Senate Committee stressed that:

The Committee sees no good reason for the exclusion of married sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, and nephews and nieces whether orphaned or otherwise, and whether under or over 16 years of age. These are but technicalities, giving the impression of a grudging opening of the door.... What really counts is whether they are healthy, willing to work and capable of taking their part in Canadian life, in which case the fact of relatives already here, assuming responsibility and guaranteeing assistance, is an advantage to the immigrant so great as to justify a priority -- such privileges might well be extended to friends as well as relatives....²²

Six months later in January 1947, Order in Council P.C. 371 further widened the Regulations for admissibility to include the widowed daughter and sister, unmarried children under eighteen years of age. Provision was also made at this time for the admission of farm labour and persons experienced in mining, lumbering and logging, when these were insured of employment.²³

During the early months of 1947, the Committee heard repeated complaints that preference was being extended to single persons, in effect excluding relatives on the grounds of marriage. Finally in May of that year, the Prime Minister announced that revision by Order in Council had been made to include the husband or wife, the son, daughter, brother or sister, together with husband or wife²⁴ and unmarried children if any, the father and mother, the orphaned nephew or niece under twenty-one years of age, of any person legally resident in Canada, who was in a

²¹Senate Hearings, op. cit., 1946, p. 314.

²²Ibid. 311.

²³Ibid. 315.

²⁴Italics mine.

position to receive and care for such relatives. As the 1947 Report²⁵ pointed out, the effect of the enactment was to wipe out the "legal ban against marriage" and to allow the admission of whole family units (except for married children) when one of the spouses came within the class of previously defined admissible relatives.

The humanitarian plea for the admission of Displaced Persons from Europe was finally answered in June 1947 by Order in Council P.C. 2180 in which authority was provided for the "immediate admission to Canada of five thousand individuals from the Displaced Persons Camp in Europe",²⁶ and without the requirement of blood relationship and guarantee. By P.C. 2856 of July 1947 and P.C. 3926 of October 1947, an additional five and ten thousand Displaced Persons respectively were admitted.²⁷

The programme to bring to Canada Displaced Persons, then, consisted of two parts. The first was under the Close Relatives Plan, successively widened from May 1946 to June 1947, which admitted relatives of Canadians whether they were Displaced Persons or not. Up to March 15, 1948, there had been 27,890 applications made for relatives under this plan, of which 21,743 were approved, resulting in 4,473 arrivals in Canada.²⁸ In the second place, the 1947 Orders-in-Council now made possible the entry of displaced persons without relatives in Canada. Under the Group Movement Plan, refugees were selected in accordance with recognized manpower needs of Canadian farms and industries, by Canadian

²⁵Senate Hearings, op. cit., 1947, 393.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Canada Year Book, 1948-49, 174.

²⁸Ibid.

Immigration-Labour teams, travelling in Europe. By May 15, 1948 (after less than a year in operation) eighteen thousand workers had been approved, and 8,490 persons had arrived in Canada. Of these immigrants, 3,599 went to lumber companies, 535 to the railways for construction work, 200 to textile mills, 200 to foundry and steel works, 778 were miners, 1,671 were employed as domestics in hospitals and private homes, and 641 in the garment industry.²⁹

Special arrangements were also made at this time to allow in farm settlers, (not labourers) from the Netherlands, whose lands had been flooded as a result of military operations. Mr. Keenleyside reported in April 1949³⁰ that up to that date Dutch Settlers and their families who had taken advantage of this arrangement totalled over 11,000. At the same time, another agreement with the British Ministry made possible the admittance of four thousand Polish soldiers from Italy -- under obligation to work as agricultural labourers for a period of at least two years. Other special arrangements permitted the entry of two thousand Jewish orphans from refugee camps in Europe. By May 1948, four hundred of these children had landed in Canada.³¹

As a result of the widening of Immigration Regulations, necessitated by the extraordinary war and post-war conditions, a total of 64,127 immigrants entered Canada in 1947.³²

In 1948 a federal plan for transporting prospective immigrants by air was announced -- with an objective of some ten thousand British citizens by March 1949.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰H.L. Keenleyside, "Canadian Immigration Policy and Administration", (Mim.) 1949, p. 3.

³¹Canada Year Book, op. cit., 174.

³²Ibid.

TABLE 4

POSTWAR IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION CANADA 1945-47³³

YEAR	IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS FROM			TOTAL IMMIGRATION
	U. K.	U. S.	OTHER COUNTRIES	
1945	14,677	6,394	1,561	22,722
1946	51,408	11,469	8,842	71,719
1947	38,747	9,440	15,940	64,127
				34

YEAR ENDED June 30	EMIGRATION FROM CANADA TO U.S.A.			TOTAL EMIGRATION
	Immigrant Aliens From Canada	U.S. Citizens Returning from Can.	Persons deported from Canada	
1945	11,079	5,138	188	16,405
1946	20,434	6,769	414	27,617
1947	23,467	5,003	589	29,059

This great influx of new citizens was viewed with alarm by many who vividly remembered the crisis of the thirties, and by others who feared that political upheaval and economic unrest would be the inevitable result. The following chapter and Section III of this study deal with these considerations.

Before leaving this discussion of present conditions, however, a concise review of the Act and Regulations as they stand now may be helpful.³⁵

³³Ibid. 175, 184. Emigration figures include only those concerning migration from Canada to the United States. Figures for 1948, 1949 are not yet available.

³⁴Figures for immigration in 1948, 1949 are estimated at 125, 414, 92, 217 respectively. (Saturday Night, February 14, 1950, p. 13)

³⁵Here I am indebted to H.L. Keenleyside's analysis, op. cit.

The categories of persons admissible to Canada in order of preference are:

- a. British subjects from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa; citizens of Ireland, citizens of the United States, and French citizens born in France and entering Canada directly from that country. These are admissible if they can satisfy the immigration officers that they are in good physical and mental health, are of good character and not likely to become public charges.
- b. Close relatives of Canadian citizens or of persons legally admitted to or domiciled in Canada.
- c. Citizens of non-Asiatic countries who are coming to this country as agriculturists, and who have sufficient means and the intention to farm in Canada; farm labourers coming to assured farm employment; miners and woods workers with work in mining or forest industries awaiting them.
- d. Only persons of Asiatic racial origin who are wives and unmarried children under 18 of Canadian citizens.
- e. A limited number of displaced persons otherwise inadmissible (i.e. without relatives in Canada etc.)³⁶

A breakdown of immigration figures for 1947 by birthplace of immigrants in the accompanying table serves to illustrate these categories of admissible persons.

Mr. Keenleyside³⁷ revealed that the 64,860 displaced persons which Canada had received from the time of the 1947 Order-in-Council until March 1949 (twenty-one months) was a number considerably higher than that of any country outside Europe including the United States. He estimated that this movement in the long run might mean an addition of some 100,000 displaced persons to Canada's population, as those already admitted brought over their own relatives under other Regulations of the Act.

³⁶This is not a direct quotation, but a summary of present regulations.

³⁷H.L. Keenleyside, loc. cit.

TABLE 5

BIRTHPLACE OF IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS, CANADA, 1947³⁸

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	NUMBER
The British Empire --	
British Isles	35,554
Other	5,901
The Continent of Africa	47
The Continent of North America --	
United States	7,075
Others	77
The Continent of South America	110
The Continent of Asia	317
Continental Europe --	
Austria	150
Belgium	926
Czechoslovakia	383
France	404
Germany	445
Greece	652
Hungary	167
Italy	131
Latvia	451
Lithuania	1,235
Netherlands	2,718
Norway	177
Poland	5,169
Romania	135
Russia	870
Switzerland	151
Yugoslavia	180
Others	702
TOTAL	64,127

He pointed out that great care had been taken by the Department in selecting those displaced persons under this category to insure that they are not used to depress wages in the industries to which they come.

It might be noted that although the Act and Regulations as stated exclude all other persons from entering, individual cases may, in fact, be admitted either for humanitarian reasons or because they are

³⁸Canada Year Book, op. cit., 178.

of particular advantage to Canada. These exceptions may be made by the Government through Order-in-Council.

The Canadian Government's post war immigration policy was clearly outlined in a speech in the House of Commons in May 1947 by Prime Minister Mackenzie King. He said in part that,

the policy of the Government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration ... to insure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can advantageously be absorbed in our national economy ... It is of the utmost importance to relate immigration to absorptive capacity ... There is no intention of allowing mass immigration to make a fundamental change in the character of our population. The Government has no intention of removing the existing regulations respecting Asiatic immigration ... The Canadian Government is prepared, at any time, to enter into negotiations with other countries for special agreements for the control of the admission of immigrants on a basis of complete equality and reciprocity.³⁹

PROVINCIAL FUNCTIONS IN IMMIGRATION⁴⁰

While general Canadian immigration policy is the prerogative of the Federal Government, the B.N.A. Act, Section 95, gives the provinces concurrent rights in immigration matters. It reads,

In each province the Legislature may make laws in relation to ... immigration in the Province; and it is hereby declared that the Parliament of Canada may from time to time make laws ... in relation to Immigration in all or any of the Provinces; and any law of the Legislature of the Province relative ... to Immigration shall have effect in and for the Province as long and as far only as it is not repugnant to any act of the Parliament of Canada.⁴¹

³⁹House of Commons Debates, May 1, 1947, (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1947).

⁴⁰Using the title, and based on material submitted at the McMaster University Symposium on Population Growth and Immigration into Canada, (April 21, 22, 1949) by Mrs. Evelyn Brownell, Director, Immigration Branch, Department of Planning and Development, Province of Ontario. (MS)

⁴¹W.P.M. Kennedy, Documents of the Canadian Constitution 1759-1915, (London, Oxford University Press, 1922) p. 677.

And in P.C. 4849 amending the Immigration Act is the following,

Provided that immigrants referred to [above] are destined for settlement to a Province which has not signified its disapproval of such immigration.

The provinces have, in most cases, exercised their right to select and assist immigrants, but only in co-operation with Federal Departments already doing just this. For instance,⁴² Nova Scotia, through its Land Settlement Board, has provided financial aid to farm settlers. Saskatchewan assists professional classes in securing positions, while Alberta has undertaken to select immigrants for that Province directly through its London office. In addition, all the Provinces, except Alberta and New Brunswick, have agreements with the Dominion Government whereby hospitalization costs of immigrants during their first year of residence in Canada are shared equally. There is also close co-operation between Adult Education (a Provincial responsibility) and the training of immigrants for citizenship. Lastly each of the Provinces has a Government Department to promote Industrial Development -- a field in which immigration is a key word.

Ontario has gone further than this, however, and has initiated an immigration programme of its own. In 1943 Ontario House in London, England, was reopened and in the next two years 35,000 applications for immigration were filed there. As a result of a survey taken in the Autumn of 1946, it was decided that immigrants would be valuable in Ontario's industrial development -- but the lack of transportation facilities had still to be overcome. By June 1947 the Ontario Air Immigration Plan was in operation. In two years of service some ten

⁴²Brownell, op. cit., 3.

and one-half thousand immigrants have been flown to Ontario, and this number again have come to this Province by sea. Some of the Ontario regulations for immigration are worth noting. Immigrants must be between 21 and 40 years, able to pay their own fares and have sufficient funds to support themselves until they secure employment. No family groups are admissable unless the father has first settled here and secured a job and housing for the family. No jobs are arranged before the immigrant arrives.

TABLE 6

IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA, BY PROVINCE OF SETTLEMENT
September 1, 1945 - December 31, 1949⁴³

PROVINCE	NUMBER (Approx.)
British Columbia	37,000
Alberta	27,000
Saskatchewan	15,000
Manitoba	20,000
Ontario	175,000
Quebec	60,900
New Brunswick	7,000
Nova Scotia	12,000
Prince Edward Island	1,345
Newfoundland	123
Yukon and North West Territories	200
Total	362,451

It seems likely that, within the limitations of the Federal Act, the provinces will continue to select and regulate the flow of new citizens into their territories. To this extent, then, Canadian Immigration Policy has another aspect -- that of provincial needs and desires

⁴³Saturday Night, op. cit.

concerning the question. Such considerations -- all too familiar in countries which are basically Federations -- contain both advantages and disadvantages. In the former respect immigrants (both their number and their skills), may be more closely fitted to the needs and absorptive capacity of the country as a whole by being thus more or less specifically chosen by one area of the country whose local needs are relatively more accurately judged. On the other hand, such a system makes it more difficult to administer a carefully co-ordinated Federal policy relatively independent of provincial pressures.

CHAPTER III

EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON CANADA

In analyzing the history of Canada's immigration policies, one hopes to uncover data which can be neatly classified as cause and effect. The foregoing chapter has shown that it is comparatively simple to trace the cause of immigration movements in terms of push and pull forces, but the effects of these movements, except for certain immediate and superficial results which may be postulated with a fair degree of accuracy, are largely a matter of the future. These immediate effects, such as those which alter the ethnic composition of the population, are of relatively little importance in the formulation of policy, while the way in which the various sectors of the Canadian economy are affected, as well as the impact of migration on social, religious, moral and quantitative aspects of our national life, are of prime importance. Frequently the attitude of the Canadian citizen towards the question of immigration depends on what he believes these effects to be; the 'policy-makers' (more or less influenced by the aggregate force of these attitudes) also in the absence of certainty, base their decisions on arguments which attempt to prove that certain effects have transpired or will transpire. Here we face a mass of common prejudice, with only the weapons of logic, theory, and speculation.

Fairchild¹ lists three classes of effects which are clearly

¹H.P. Fairchild, Immigration (New York, MacMillan Co., 1925), 166.

distinguished: those which are felt in the receiving country, those which reflect in the country of source, and those which can be seen in the lives of the immigrants in question. The last two are not important to this study,² but serve to remind us that there are other factors which do alter with migration.

A more useful classification for the present discussion is suggested by Isaac in his comprehensive study of the Economics of Migration.³ He distinguishes between two basic effects on the receiving country -- demographic and economic. Under the former heading he lists both quantitative and qualitative reactions. Applying Isaac's classification to the Canadian picture, what effect has immigration had upon the qualitative aspects of the Canadian population?

Isaac points out⁴ that there are two opposing views concerning the general quality of immigrants. The first takes the stand that without some method of selection, an inferior type of immigrant would be admitted; the second, that only the superior elements of a population possess the initiative to leave their homeland and begin again in a strange land. He suggests that it is quite probable that the extreme cases, "the most valuable and the definitely undesirable elements"⁵ are more strongly represented among immigrants, than would be the case in the population of their native countries as a whole. The whole matter, he stresses, is one of uncertain evidence, plus the bias of personal impressions, and the difficulty of providing tests which eliminate the effect of environmental factors.

²Ibid. 412-428 for a discussion of effects felt by the country of source, and by the immigrants in question.

³J. Isaac, Economics of Migration (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1947) Chapter VI.

⁴Ibid. 192

⁵Ibid.

To measure the qualitative effects in Canada, then, becomes an increasingly difficult problem. Although not an adequate gauge of intelligence among immigrants, Mr. W.B. Hurd's⁶ estimates of illiteracy among immigrants are some indication:

TABLE 7
PERCENTAGE OF ILLITERACY AMONG IMMIGRANTS
Canada, 1931⁷

NATIONALITY	PER CENT ILLITERATE
English and Scottish	.83
Danish	1.31
German	4.48
Yugoslav	11.42
Russian	18.87
Ukranian	23.72

Such differentials among immigrants in the percentage of their number which have some education are reflected in the range of occupations entered by these peoples. The racial distribution in occupations is revealing.⁸ Among the English and Scottish immigrants, the number engaged in highly skilled occupations is above average, especially engineers, mechanics, skilled craftsmen, clerical and professionally trained workers. Only twenty-three per cent of English and twenty-two per cent of Scottish immigrants engage in agriculture, as against thirty-four per cent of all males in Canada. Of the Italians, thirty-seven per cent are labourers, as against thirteen per cent for all Canadians. Thirty-four per cent of

⁶W.B. Hurd, Racial Origins and Nativity of the Canadian People, (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1931).

⁷Date on education etc. of immigrants are not readily available.

⁸M.F. Martin, "A History of Canadian Immigration", (1942) p. 13.

Polish immigrants do heavy labour, while Ukrainians and Russians have percentages for this occupation of 24 and 22 respectively, with 52 and 54 in agriculture.

The broad effects of immigrant illiteracy on the nation are realized in the light of a few observations regarding social tendencies of illiterate groups in general. It is widely held that there is a greater tendency for illiterates to marry younger, and to become separated from husband or wife. Larger families and illegitimate children are more common among these groups. Wages are lower, and more illiterates enter both mental and corrective institutions than members of other groups.

Nevertheless, in the absence of conclusive statistical evidence, or reasonably accurate data, it need not be assumed that immigrants in general adversely effect the quality of intelligence in the population. The large number of immigrants with advanced education or technical skill tend to offset those who are less well endowed mentally.

The subject of crime among immigrants is customarily linked with the discussion of pauperism and insanity by those who would prove that immigrants impose an added burden upon the receiving nation and its taxpayers. The necessity for adjustment to new ways of life, the sudden liberty which may be interpreted as license, all seem logical reasons for these conditions to be more prevalent among immigrants than among native-born citizens. Even Canadian statistics seem to bear this out.

Isaac, however, warns that statistical comparisons of the differentials in criminality between immigrant and native sectors of the population must be interpreted with care. He feels⁹ that if due

⁹J. Isaac, op. cit., 195.

TABLE 8

CANADIANS IN PENITENTIARIES 1931

By Country of Birth¹⁰

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	PER 100,000
Canadian Born	62
Other British Born	70
Foreign Born	108
Scandinavia	36
Germany	44
Britain	47
Yugoslavia	88
Greece	147
China	203
Negro	559

TABLE 9

CONVICTIONS FOR INDICTABLE OFFENCES

By Birthplace, 1945, 1946

CANADA¹¹

BIRTHPLACE	1945	1946
Canada	34,079	37,427
England and Wales	726	856
Ireland	264	262
Scotland	405	411
Other British Possessions	106	103
United States	633	700
Other Foreign Countries	3,105	2,562
Not given	2,647	4,618

allowance were made for differences in sex, age, regional and social distribution, the results might actually be reversed.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Canada Year Book, 1948-49, op. cit., 279.

In short, an inquiry into the qualitative aspect of immigration is so greatly hampered by lack of accurate information, that conclusions are necessarily based on estimate rather than fact. What it does reveal is that selective immigration (on the basis of mental and physical defects) may be extremely valuable in cutting down the number of immigrants who do become public charges.

Most of the more important effects of immigration on the nation are no more easily reduced to statistics. The facts are often obscure; the methods of measurement inadequate; the total complexity of the problem overwhelming -- and most important the observable results are still largely a matter of the future. Yet these are the proverbial footballs in most discussions. The effect of immigration on wages, trade unions, the standard of living and economic crises are favourite points of argument, as is its possible effects on politics and the growth of population.

Immigration, it is argued, may lower wages to labour by either increasing the supply of labour seeking employment, or by introducing into the labour market a body of workders whose wages and corresponding standard of living are lower than those of natives in the receiving country. The native worker is thus underbid, and one of the results is that he is denied the opportunity of profiting financially by exceptionally advantageous periods in the cycle. Such periods of expansion and innovation where the demand for labour suddenly increases would mean a corresponding rise in wages, were it not also the period when great throngs of immigrants are attracted to the country in question. In this connection, Professor Taussig wrote:

The position of common labourers in the United States (especially in the northern and western states) has been kept at its low level only by the continued inflow of immigrants ... These constant new arrivals have kept down

the wages of the lowest group, and have accentuated also the lines of social demarcation between this group and others.¹²

In his discussion of the effect of migration on the wage level, Isaac notes¹³ that a fall in the wage rate may readily follow if more immigrants than are easily absorbed are admitted to a country at one time. However, he feels that the net result of such a fall would be an increased demand at a lower price level, which would have a counteracting effect on the declining trend of the wage rate. The more elastic the demand for labour, the smaller the wage cut needed to reduce immigrant unemployment, and the elasticity of this demand tends to approach infinity over a longer period of time.

As far as Canada is concerned, one serious defect in the "keep up the wages by restricting industrial immigrants" argument is that it overlooks the reaction between the industrial wage rate and that rate for the extractive industries. Although this is a very slow reaction because of the temporary immobility of labour from the latter to the former industry, it has occurred especially since the twenties,¹⁴ when wage rates have favoured factory workers. The 1941 census reports that the average weekly wage (including board) to farm labourers was \$11.58; for a fifty week year this averaged about \$993. For male workers in factory industry the average annual wage was \$1202. As a result, this differential is beginning to correct itself not only by a sharp rise in

¹²Taussig, Principles of Economics, Vol. II, p. 139, (1911).

¹³Isaac, op. cit., 209.

¹⁴B.K. Sandwell, "Population, A Canadian Problem", Queen's Quarterly, (Autumn 1947), 317.

the price of farm products, but also by a rural-urban movement. Mr. B.K. Sandwell points out¹⁵ that the rate paid to agricultural labour is limited by the world price of Canada's exportable surpluses. Because of European demand, made effective by Western gifts, the post-war price is a high one. He predicts that when this situation ceases to exist and the prices of such surpluses fall, the farm-factory differential will again be significant. Whether this cut in agriculture's purchasing power will bring on a general slump in industrial production is another matter for speculation. What is clear is that the use of restrictions on immigration of industrial labour then, in order to keep up wages, would seem to be poor economics in a period when these wages are out of line with those of agricultural workers. Above all, agricultural manpower must be maintained at a level sufficient to produce those export surpluses which are our chief source of foreign exchange.

Immigration has seriously complicated the problems of the trade unions, for because of it both the need and the difficulties of organization have increased. Since the depression, the attitude of the unions on this question has been one of caution if not of opposition,¹⁶ but once immigrants are admitted to the country the unions are under the necessity of receiving them or suffering from their competition. One study has revealed the extent to which alien races differ in their adaptability to union control.¹⁷

¹⁵Ibid. 317. A similar argument is expanded in Dr. J.E. Lattimer, Immigration and Land Settlement (Gardenville, Garden City Press, 1942).

¹⁶The attitude of labour will be discussed below.

¹⁷Ethelbert Stewart, "The Influence of Trade Unions on Immigrants", The Making of America, Vol. III, pp. 226 ff.

In reply to these attacks by labour, the defence is often made that the effect of immigration is rather to increase industrial efficiency, facilitate the development of resources, and expand industry at a rate not otherwise possible. Whether such a claim is valid rests upon two basic assumptions. In the first place it assumes that alien residents constitute a net addition to total population. The opposite situation could conceivably follow where immigrants displace native residents or native reproduction dropped.¹⁸ In the second place, immigrants must initiate innovations and inventions which raise the standard of living -- yet history has shown that one of the greatest incentives to invention is the scarcity of labour.

What effect has immigration on the amount and distribution of wealth, on financial crises? Only guesses can be made, but one authority¹⁹ feels that there may be sound reasoning in the quip that it is cheaper to rear labourers than to import them. Concerning Canadian immigrants, at least, it is currently quoted that \$5000 capital is needed to establish one immigrant in this country, and to this might be added the large sums of money sent abroad by immigrants each year. One thing does seem certain from history -- that is, that immigrants have profoundly affected the distribution of wealth in a country. Like other symptoms or postulated causes of crises, the effect of immigration is no more certain or clearly defined. Fairchild,²⁰ however, does think immigration accelerates the tendency toward overproduction. He argues that increased immigration is a response to a strengthening demand for labour, and in turn, the new

¹⁸Fairchild, op. cit., 341. The whole question is discussed below with special reference to Canada.

¹⁹Charles F. Speare, "What America Pays Europe for Immigrant Labor", North American Review, (187:106).

²⁰Fairchild, op. cit., 347-357.

purchasing power in the hands of immigrants may mean a rising demand for consumer goods. The short-run price of the goods jumps in response. Investment prospects in related industries brighten, especially when the continuing flood of immigrants keeps wage costs from rising and ensures active consumer demand in the future. Should wages fall as the supply of new labour temporarily outruns demand, the under-consumption theorists would foresee an immediate drop in consumption, and possibly the first signs of the downswing. Even this phase, it is argued, is worsened because of immigration. With prices falling, many consumers prefer to save rather than to spend. Immigrants, often being accustomed to very low standards of living can cut necessity-buying even more than natives, quite possibly hoarding the balance, or sending it out of the country.

Another effect may be seen in the field of political unrest, of non-assimilation of immigrants into the democratic and "English" way of life. The Canada Year Book for 1942²¹ states that where there is any considerable immigration into a democratic country such as Canada, the racial and linguistic composition of the immigrants is of prime importance. It is best, of course, for immigrants to be already identified by race or language with one or other of the major Canadian 'races'. Since statistics have shown that the French are not to any great extent an emigrating people, this means in practice that the great bulk of what may be called preferable settlers as far as assimilation is concerned are those who speak the English language. Next in order of preference on the basis of assimilation are the Scandinavians and Netherlands who learn English readily and have some acquaintance with the workings of democratic institutions. Settlers from Southern and Eastern Europe, although excellent from an economic point of view, have been found to be slow to assimilate. The 'Canadianizing' of those who have come to Canada from

²¹Canada Year Book, 1942, 324.

TABLE 10

ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION TO CANADA
1906 - 1947²²

YEAR	TOTAL	YEAR	TOTAL
1906	5,392	1927	569
1907	12,161	1928	592
1908	3,341	1929	230
1909	2,171	1930	298
1910	5,112	1931	226
1911	7,402	1932	181
1912	7,682	1933	143
1913	7,216	1934	160
1914	2,284	1935	96
1915	467	1936	116
1916	868	1937	158
1917	1,437	1938	66
1918	4,027	1939	63
1919	2,978	1940	50
1920	1,864	1941	5
1921	3,226	1942	3
1922	1,227	1943	1
1923	1,246	1944	--
1924	567	1945	1
1925	482	1946	16
1926	513	1947	172

these regions in the twentieth century is a problem in many centres of settlement. Less assimilable still are those coming from the Orient.

The 1941 census shows that of the 11.5 millions in Canada then, only half reported themselves as of British Isles origin. Of these, one half were English and the other half more Scottish than Irish. The other fifty per cent of the total population were thirty per cent of French origin, with eighteen per cent "Other European" and two per cent Asiatic, African, Indian and Eskimo.²³ The accompanying table illustrates

²²Canada Year Book, 1948-49, op. cit., 183.

²³N. Keyfitz, "Ethnic Groups and their Behaviour", The Annals, (Phil., Sept. 1947), 159.

that one of the least assimilable groups -- the Oriental category -- has been characterized by a relatively low number of immigrants to Canada since 1906.

Interesting and valuable studies on assimilation were carried out by the late Prof. W.B. Hurd from the 1931 census data. Assuming one of the tests of complete assimilation to be intermarriage with native-born residents, we may judge the tendency of certain ethnic groups thus:

In 1926 the proportions of parents in the several groups married to a member of the same group was for most European origins 75 per cent or over ... (with Rumanians, Belgians and Czechs at 65 per cent, Swedish and Dutch at about 50 per cent). But from 1926 to 1943 Scandinavians stood at about 20 per cent; Rumanians at about 35 per cent; Russians and Poles at about 50 per cent. Italians had dropped from 80 to 50 per cent; Ukrainians from 90 to 75 per cent; Finnish from 90 to 60 per cent.²⁴

The effect of immigration on the size of the population of Canada has given rise to a considerable amount of controversy. The facts,²⁵ on first sight at least, do not support the brief that the size of the population is largely due to immigration.

In 1901 the population was about -- 5,300,000

From 1901-30 natural increase ----- 3,200,000

From 1901-30 immigration ----- 5,000,000

Hence the total population in 1931 should be 13,500,000

But it was only ----- 10,300,000

Many of the remaining three and one half million had emigrated to the United States. Of this number it has been estimated that only about 500,000 were Canadian born; the rest were immigrants who had never become established in Canada. The Dominion was acting as a side-door

²⁴Ibid. 162. This is an analysis of Mr. Hurd's findings in Racial Origins and Nativity of the Canadian People, (Ottawa, Dominion of Statistics, 1931).

²⁵Canada Year Book, 1942, op. cit., 332.

for immigration to the United States. To quote Mr. McLean of the Bureau of Statistics:

The increase in population in the last eighty years due to immigration was 1,844,000 and this about balances the loss of Canadians to the United States, and certainly only balances the loss of Canadians to the United States and elsewhere.²⁶

But this does not allow us to conclude hastily either that immigration is of no value to population growth or that immigrants drive out native-born Canadians. Canada will have to face, for a time at least, the strong pull of the United States with the varied opportunities in business and the professions. Professor Hurd estimated²⁷ that for the decade 1921-31 our population actually was larger by 212,000 people than it would have been had there been no immigration from abroad even when offset by emigration of native Canadians. In other words it would appear that the one and a half million immigrants who entered in that decade²⁸ increased the population by 212,000.

Mr. H.L. Keenleyside²⁹ outlined some of the reasons why immigrants stayed so short a time in Canada before moving south. These include the physical advantages of an agreeable climate and a variety of natural resources; the political and psychological ones -- the immigrant being supposedly attracted by a country which offers the greatest number of changes from that to which they were accustomed. A republic, a "wealthy country", democratic equality were attractive for similar reasons. Increasingly, too, another advantage lured prospective immigrants as

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷W.B. Hurd, op. cit., 231.

²⁸1941 Census figures are 1,509,136 for the decade.

²⁹H.L. Keenleyside, "Canadian Immigration Policy", International Journal, (Toronto, 1948), 4.

TABLE 11

MIGRATION FROM CANADA TO UNITED STATES
1935 - 1947.³⁰

YEAR ENDED JUNE 30	IMMIGRANT ALIENS FROM CANADA	U.S. CITIZENS RETURNING FROM CANADA	PERSONS DEPORTED FROM CANADA	TOTAL
1935	7,695	4,453	224	12,372
1936	8,018	4,524	206	12,748
1937	11,799	5,211	214	17,224
1938	14,070	5,032	153	19,255
1939	10,501	4,233	153	14,887
1940	10,806	4,284	113	15,183
1941	11,280	3,572	79	14,931
1942	10,450	4,725	107	15,282
1943	9,571	4,892	78	14,541
1944	9,821	4,743	69	14,633
1945	11,079	5,138	188	16,405
1946	20,434	6,769	414	27,617
1947	23,467	5,003	589	29,059

well as native Canadians to the United States. This was the accumulation of investment capital in New York and Boston. Parallel with this development came the growth of a leisure class, which drew to its wealth and culture the ambitious and talented of this continent and beyond.

Mr. Keenleyside interprets this as

an attraction ... not so much of a country as of a social structure ... As Montreal and Toronto draw from smaller cities and the rural areas of Quebec and Ontario, so New York draws from the continent as a whole.³¹

Conclusive evidence of the numerical effect, at least, of immigration on Canada's population is somewhat obscured by the meagre information in

³⁰Canada Year Book, 1948-49, *op. cit.*, 184. In view of the lack of Canadian statistics on emigration, this Table was compiled from figures supplied by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the United States Department of Justice.

³¹Keenleyside, *op. cit.*, 5, 6.

American Immigration Statistics regarding the exact origin of persons crossing into that country from Canada. Herbert Marshall, Dominion Statistician,³² estimates that between 1851 and 1941 almost 6,700,000 immigrants entered Canada, and in the same period 6,300,000 left -- making a net immigration of 400,000 for these ninety years.

In 1941 the immigrant population of Canada (those born outside Canada) was slightly over 2,000,000. As the net inward movement since 1851 was only 400,000 it is obvious that many Canadian-born left Canada. Statistics show that in 1931 more than one and one quarter Canadian-born were living in the United States.³³

What conclusion, then can be drawn from these somewhat conflicting opinions? One group would have us believe that immigration only served to displace native-born Canadians; While another would list immigration as the key factor in this country's recent development. A third view, that taken by Mr. Marshall³⁴ and Professor Hurd³⁵ might be chosen as being closer to the truth. They hold that although there has been considerable emigration of Canadian-born to the United States, this was inevitable because of the diverse economic development of the two countries and would have resulted in a much smaller population today had there been no immigration to replace those leaving. Some areas of over population, it is true, accelerated such southward movement. The lessons of the past in this regard should be carefully noted today. If the flow of Canadians to the United States decreases, more and more attention will have to be paid to our absorptive capacity for immigrants as well as for their smooth assimilation into Canadian life.

³² Senate Hearings, op. cit., (1946) 249.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid. 256.

³⁵ Vide Supra.

PART II

THE PRESENT

A SURVEY AND APPRAISAL OF PREVAILING CANADIAN ATTITUDES

TOWARDS IMMIGRATION

CHAPTER IV

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SENATE COMMITTEE HEARINGS

A study of Canadian Immigration Policy is apt to be completely occupied with a mass of history, statistics and Law, and perhaps rightly so -- for what is national policy except a series of decisions, revised and reformulated on the basis of their effect on the nation? As it stands that is the whole picture -- but a decision is not a mechanical conclusion like the total which appears on an adding machine. A human, or a group of humans, are responsible for its birth, and they are influenced in turn by thousands of other humans whose opinions are heard only in the background.

The study of the influence of pressure groups within the nation on national policy is a new and fascinating field. Moulded by circumstance, united by common interests, the modern nation with its efficient communication and transportation facilities easily divides itself into sectional groups -- Labour, the Church, Big Business, unassimilated Ethnic groups and so forth. For their own ends, or from their own standpoints, they adopt certain attitudes towards national questions, and, with success dependent upon their respective power, political action and influence, they work towards the formulation of their particular attitudes into national policy.

In discussing North American pressure groups, one authority¹ points

¹ R. M. MacIver, The Web of Government (New York, MacMillan Co., 1947).

out that such "a frankly materialistic conception of politics"² paradoxically accompanies, without seeming need of reconciliation, the most universal acceptance of the democratic ideal. In the United States he feels that,

politics [have become] the jockeying of organized groups for relative advantage [To some] a legislative act is always the calculable resultant of a struggle between pressure groups, never a decision between opposing conceptions of National Welfare. ... The public interest might seem to be nothing but the diagonal of the forces that constantly struggle for advantage.³

Since, however, the whole logic of democracy is based on the conception that there is a national unity, and in addition, that the value of personality entitles every man to his *own* opinions, every specific interest must make an appeal to the whole. The danger, in modern society, is that the imperialism of powerful groups may threaten the value of personality as a universal good, and thus destroy the democratic ideal.

This is perhaps too extreme a picture to apply directly to Canadian politics, where the English tradition of government is a tempering factor. Nevertheless, a milder counterpart of the American situation is assuredly present. For this reason, then, I have attempted as a part of this study to root out prevailing Canadian attitudes on the subject in question, not so much to find out which pressure group is the strongest on the basis of the policy which has recently and is now evolving, but rather to throw light on the Canadian stage -- to distinguish the principle actors by their attitudes, and to trace,

²Ibid. 219.

³Ibid. 220.

however sketchily, the manner in which the drama of Canadian Immigration has been plotted and has unfolded as a result of these characters.

The principal source for this inquiry has been a series of Government Publications containing verbatim reports of the Hearings of the Senate Committee on Immigration and Labour, beginning in May 1946 and continuing through 1949. This specific inquiry into Immigration was undertaken on the suggestion of Senator Roebuck with the purpose of examining,

the Immigration Act (R.S.C. chapter 93 and Amendments) its operation and administration and the circumstances and conditions relating thereto including: (a) the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada, (b) the type of immigrant which should be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics, (c) the availability of such immigrants for admission, (d) the facilities, resources and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants, and (e) the appropriate terms and conditions of such admission;

.... and that the said Committee report its findings to [the Senate].
 and that the said Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records.⁴

What were the circumstances behind this inquiry? The war had just ended and the economy was in the throes of conversion to peacetime functions. In this conversion process, a severe labour shortage was hampering success in some sectors; refugees in Europe, unrepatriated as a result of political upheaval, were homeless and starving, and were clamouring to come to America; relatives of Europeans, who had waited patiently through the years of War, were demanding immediate admission for their loved ones; nations were talking about defence plans, and already Australia had announced a broad policy of Immigration

⁴Proceedings of the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, 1946, p. iv. This is the "Order of Reference, an extract from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate, Wednesday, May 8, 1946."

to this end. In short, a consideration of Canada's Immigration Policy, still in its wartime form, was demanded -- and in a democracy, who were more suitable to consider it than the people themselves? As I have attempted to show, people are not only individuals, but members of pressure groups. As a result, the people who were called on by the Senate Committee to voice their opinions on Immigration policy did so frequently in their capacity as delegates of some one of these sectional groups.

Representatives of a wide range of interests were summoned to appear before the Committee; their briefs were heard, questioned and debated, and at the end of each year, a very concise, and rather general, report with Recommendations was submitted to the Senate. Some of the oral evidence, or the carefully prepared Statements and Briefs are concerned primarily with racial, religious or sectional economic reasons for the support, or the rejection of a wider immigration policy; others look at the whole picture from a humanitarian view; and still others regard the problem in the light of economic or military advantage for Canada.

One may ask, in the midst of this maze of opinions how much value such a Hearing would be in influencing the Government towards the actual formulation of policy. Did the Government, for political reasons at least, listen to the multitude of opinions, so carefully condensed and reduced to anonymity in the Senate Recommendations? Or were the opinions of the Government Economists (who would appear from time to time before the Committee) the only ones considered? The Senators themselves voiced this query every so often. At the first meeting in 1947, the Hon. Mr. Burchill asked,

"After we make the inquiry as wide as we possibly can by calling on everybody who can give us any light on the subject, what shall we do then?.... Last year a large number of people representing various sources made excellent representations before the committee [which were] submitted to the government, and what happened? We are in just the same position that we were in last year, even worse perhaps."⁵

Whereupon the Hon. Mr. Roebuck reminded the disheartened members that public opinion was vastly influenced by the Reports, and that the Government department in question had changed its recommendations concerning immigration along the lines suggested by the Committee.

Whether the influence of individual opinions was of considerable importance or not, one feels somehow an instinctive confidence in the democratic ideal to assure that the 'little people' will be heard. If one believes in the importance of this pressure group idea -- in the pushing and pulling forces behind policy-making -- the inner-workings of the machine are open to inspection in these Reports. Here is the struggle of the selfish and the idealistic, the ignorant and the scholarly, the powerful and the pestering, which in a democracy shapes public thinking. Whether it shapes public policy is the question under debate, but one is inclined to believe that the active forces are not always, not entirely, the Economist or Statesmen in Ottawa, but these pseudo-economists and pseudo-statesmen, the French-Canadian, the labour union, the big corporation, whose votes are, after all, valued in a general election.

The following study is thus an attempt to sift, condense and assess these interviews, with the hope of producing some general analysis

⁵Ibid. 1947, p. 7.

of Canadian attitudes. The first two chapters include the views of Labour, unassimilated Ethnic groups, transportation companies and social workers. The French-Canadian position is presented separately, since the material used for the analysis is not included in the Senate Committee Hearings. In conclusion are set out the broader viewpoints of Economists, Government officials and the chief recommendations of the Senate Committee itself. An appendix to this general study contains an Index to the Senate Committee material, listed chiefly under particular topics of discussion, interest groups represented, and by Briefs delivered by well-known individuals. Although only a very general guide, it is at least a path into the maze of useful (and not so useful) information.

CHAPTER V

SECTIONAL ECONOMIC INTERESTS

One of the most vocal pressure groups in the Canadian economy, Labour has recently been carrying increasing weight in matters of national policy. On the question of immigration, its voice has been raised in protest since the twenties. In particular Labour has objected to the admittance of immigrants whose customary standard of living was lower than that of native Canadian workers, fearing lest wages would be subsequently kept down, if not lowered, by the willingness of these immigrants to work for next to nothing. In general, Labour has shown little approval of any immigration involving labourers, except perhaps those destined for the farms or for domestic service. For this reason, the evidence of its attitude on recent policy as contained in the Reports of the Senate Hearings is interesting, and it is hoped, valuable.

The two great Canadian Trade Unions, the Canadian Congress of Labour and the Trades and Labour Congress, were summoned by the Committee to send delegates. Both presented views substantially similar in emphasis, and two separate aspects of the immigration problem were distinguished by both. On the one hand, the Unions agreed that Canada should accept her share of Displaced Persons, feeling that this was essentially a humanitarian question to be considered separately from immigration policy in general. The latter, on the other hand, was an economic question and, as such, necessitated caution, planning and consultation with Labour.

The Canadian Congress of Labour was represented before the

Committee in 1946 by its president, A.R. Mosher, and Research Director, Eugene Forsey. This union, which was born in 1940 as the Congress of Industrial Unionism, has repeatedly recommended that whatever immigration policy be deemed wise, it should contain no discrimination on grounds of race, nationality, creed or colour. This was the first topic presented in the 1946 Brief. It read:

Racial discrimination should have no place in our immigration policy. People from some countries may, because of their background, education or customs, fit into Canadian life more easily than people from some other countries, and such factors may properly be taken into account. But "race" (however defined) or nationality ought not to be considered at all.¹

They further suggested that if for economic reasons some immigration was allowed, preference ought to be given to those who were, or soon would be, of working age, in order to overcome what they called "a steadily rising proportion of old people in our population."² Said Mosher: "There is no reason why Canada should be expected to serve as a sort of international old people's home."³ Although this suggestion does seem to be a logical one to apply, one is surprised to find it so readily endorsed by Labour. There could easily be some conflict between the absorption of these younger immigrants and the union-guarded seniority rights of older workers. Warren Thompson⁴ discusses this possibility in some detail, foreseeing as a result, hopelessness and frustration among younger workers competing with older ones who have, through various types of union benefits, secured almost a monopoly-hold on certain types of skilled work.

¹Senate Hearings, op. cit., 1946, 207.

²Ibid. 208.

³Ibid.

⁴Warren S. Thompson, Population Problems, (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1942) 300, 302.

The Congress continued to point out that it would be unwise to base immigration policy on the assumption that Canada could get as many suitable immigrants as she wanted in the years to come, since most European countries were becoming increasingly anxious to keep in the homeland exactly the types of people who would make the best immigrants.⁵

Turning to the more fundamental question of the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada, the Congress stated:

Specifically, [it] must be related to the Government's declared aim of maintaining a high level of employment and income. We want as many immigrants as will give us the highest possible standard of living for the masses of the people. We do not want immigration used as a means of getting cheap and docile workers and breaking down the standards which organized Labour has built up. We do not want it used to provide employers with a pool... of unemployed workers who will be taken on when the employer can make a profit by using extra hands, laid off and maintained at the taxpayers' expense when he cannot, and used as a big stick to keep labour in its place.⁶

For this reason, the Congress recommended that neither the framing of an immigration policy nor its administration be left to private interests, but should be kept firmly in the hands of the Government ("which is responsible to the people") who would "regularly consult with the representatives of Labour and Agriculture as to both policy and administration".⁷ One need hardly point out the contradiction in this statement. As might be expected, organized labour wanted the Government to be strictly democratic, except that it must lend an attentive ear to Labour and Agriculture.

As far as the capacity of Canada to beneficially absorb immigrants is concerned, Mr. Mosher stressed that a careful study of our physical

⁵Senate Hearings, op. cit., 208.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid. 209.

resources was the first necessity. Until such a study was made, it was suggested that Prof. W.B. Hurd's estimates of twenty-seven to twenty-nine million acres of reasonably accessible land, be used as the basis of judgment.⁸ Nor did he feel that the limited natural resources available as a basis for increased population could be offset by "the progress of science, new discoveries and inventions which will make the desert blossom like the rose and enable us to grow bananas at the North Pole".⁹ In other words they suggested a conservative, flexible policy, not a "leap in the dark on the cheerful assumption that science will provide a comfortable landing-net at just the right moment".¹⁰

But this matter of immigration, the Congress stressed, was an economic one, as well as one of physical capacity. It involved markets as well as resources, and as part of the country's general economic problem, should be considered as an integral part of the whole. The prospects of any considerable expansion in Canadian wheat-growing, in view of the relatively inelastic foreign demand for wheat, were not bright, especially since the population of Northern and Western Europe might soon be stationary and within a few decades, they felt might begin to fall. The uncertainty of foreign trade, and the unlikely expansion of

⁸This suggestion led to the following debate:

HonMr.Horner: Who is Professor Hurd?

Mr. Mosher: He is a professor at McMaster University.

Hon. Mr. Horner: I am very doubtful about professors.

Dr. Forsey: May I add that Professor Hurd was retained by the advisory committee of the Department of Reconstruction, and he is by general consent the best informed expert on the subject in the Dominion of Canada. (Ibid. 214)

⁹Ibid. 210.

¹⁰Ibid.

outside markets could allow for little stable expansion of Canada's export industries. As Labour saw it, the other alternative base for a growing population, an increasing home market, would depend primarily "on high productivity and a comprehensive social security system".¹¹ These are obviously matters of union concern, but one might add to them another factor. Immigration will tend to increase dependence on world trade if it contributes proportionately more to the production of Canada's staple exports than to the consumption of these products. This is less likely to happen when immigrants bring with them new industries and know-how which enables the development of more varied products.

Another matter brought into the discussion was the loss of Canadians to the United States. They pointed out that even in the best years of immigration, in the decade before the first world war, when conditions seemed particularly favourable for retaining immigrants and native Canadians alike, new arrivals did not stay but sought what they evidently considered to be "greener pastures" in the United States.¹² The argument that immigrants would help to carry the burden of our national debt and taxation also came in for discussion. They reminded the Senate Committee that if the immigrants were to go on relief, expenses would rise and tax revenue fall so that the burden of debt per head of producing population would be higher, not lower.

In conclusion, the Congress submitted that the first aim of national economic policy should be to provide full employment at "decent incomes" for Canadian people. Immigration policy should be "dovetailed in with general employment policy, housing policy, a Labour Code, and

¹¹Ibid. 213.

¹²Ibid. 214.

social security".¹³ If this were done, controlled population intake need not bring disaster to the labour market.

The Trades and Labour Congress has traditionally stood for restriction since its beginning in the 1880's. In the Brief presented before the Committee by Percy Bengough in 1946, this policy was evident. One of the first suggestions made was again for the "exclusion of all races that cannot be properly assimilated into the national life of Canada".¹⁴ Continuing, Bengough stated:

We cannot ignore the fact of the wonderful productive advantages of our industries, agriculture and our valuable natural resources, and in our judgment we should be willing to accept selected people only in such degrees that they can be absorbed and do not vitally affect the general welfare of our own citizens, and that full employment and security are assured to all before any attempts are made to remove existing restrictions.¹⁵

The Trades and Labour Congress also pointed out that the problem of securing selected immigrants was no less than the one of how to retain them as citizens.

Until means are found to retain our ablest and brightest citizens, the looking for new immigrants to educate, train and lose is not so important. On the face of it our first job is to repair the container, then pour in the new immigrants.¹⁶

The suggestion was made that the problem might be solved by raising the standard of living to a level sufficient to retain Canadians customarily attracted to the United States. In commenting on this problem elsewhere,¹⁷ B.K. Sandwell points out that most immigration of this

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid. 1946, p. 222.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid. 223.

¹⁷B.K. Sandwell, "Population: A Canadian Problem", Queen's Quarterly, (May 1948).

nature in recent years has consisted of persons with rather more than average skill or education. He suggests that this may substantiate the argument that a larger proportion of Canadians are receiving higher education in relation to that being given in the United States, a situation which may well have been magnified during the War by the wholesale replacement of higher education with technical military training programmes in the United States particularly. In addition he feels that the high average income and the many large aggregations of extremely wealthy people, which are part of the United States economy, enable it to sustain a larger per cent of its population in occupations requiring special skill and knowledge, while it also affords opportunities for top-notch skills which Canada cannot maintain at all. How the Canadian economy could be geared to such a height as to absorb all these skilled persons (which is in effect Labour's suggestion) is puzzling. A given population with a given national income can support just so many professors, ministers and surgeons. One possible solution does seem to be in the field of immigration -- to admit people who will do the rough work which must be done if those with the skill and knowledge are to make a living. This alternative would not suit Labour!

True to expectations, Labour's official voice, the Trade Union, revealed its attitude towards immigration as one of extreme caution, but surprisingly enough, not of complete objection. Mass immigration, it was pointed out, would threaten the organized supply of Labour, would weaken its bargaining power, with the possible result of decreased real wages and social benefits. One appreciates this consideration, but one wonders, whether labour's tight organization, bargaining with owner forces of similar strength, may not be artificially holding up wages at the

expense of an ultimate increase in the standard of living. Is it impeding a more natural rise, through investment in, and exploitation of, new resources and techniques -- ventures which may now be discouraged by the high costs of production as well as the risky return?

TRANSPORTATION COMPANIES

Representatives from Canada's two large railway systems were frequently present at Senate Hearings. Their experience with immigrants -- transporting and aiding in settling, placement in industry and agriculture, as well as current information on economic development across the country -- proved a source of valuable information for the Committee. Surprisingly enough, the question of the advantage to the railroads of increased transportation through immigration, while hinted at, was left in the background.

The Canadian National Railways were asked to send three delegates in 1946 and in June, Messrs. Fairweather, McGowan and Maxwell were heard. Canada, it was stated, was a "land of opportunity", whose vast "store house of resources" is made available only by rail transportation -- a system which extends across the continent and into remote and sparsely settled areas, yet which is furnished "at lower costs than in any other country of the world".¹⁸ The Canadian National Railways' Department of Research and Development, the Committee was told, operates to build up traffic along this system by opening up, and urging the development of, new resources in remote areas already served by railway tributaries. The Brief continued:

Canada is a storehouse of natural resources, access to which has been afforded by her railway systems and the country

¹⁸Ibid. 1946, 117.

is therefore in a most favourable position to take advantages of opportunities for expansion.¹⁹

They felt that the possibility of securing desirable immigrants of good type was more promising than it had been for many years, and given a regulated long-term programme, Canada could advance into a period of comparatively rapid growth "with ample free land for future development."

In June 1947, these three men returned to the Senate Hearings, and unlike the frequent practice of delegates to read again the previous year's Brief,²⁰ Mr. Fairweather had prepared an admirable economic analysis with substantially revised conclusions. The trend in Canada, he said, "is increasingly toward a broader production, with production per unit of employment trending upward due to increasing mechanization and improved technique".²¹ One of the results of this is to "produce a condition equivalent [in rate of economic development] to immigration at the rate of 250,000 people per year".²² Fairweather also pointed out that if substantial immigration was directed toward the agricultural segment of the Canadian economy, lower average productivity (because of the necessity to employ marginal lands) and serious international trade problems (because of the difficulty of selling the additional product) would be encountered. Since the railways' interest in immigration was centred on a return from the increased traffic large enough to offset the additional expense involved, such "misplaced immigration" would be frowned on by them also.

¹⁹Ibid. 119.

²⁰Vide Labour (Ibid. 1947, 208-11) The Senators were apparently fooled.

²¹Ibid. 232.

²²Ibid.

Surprisingly enough, Mr. McGowan did not seem to fully endorse this argument. He referred to the popular fear that immigration would lead to economic insecurity as a thought-product of the depression, and claimed that it was unfounded in the light of Canadian economic history.²³

Not only, he stated, was immigration a duty of Canada as "an underpopulated country" but "it is vital and necessary to the future welfare of our people". In addition "the admission of more people will benefit the country and lessen the controlling influence of export markets on the economy".²⁴

The Canadian Pacific Railway's point of view was presented in 1946 by Messrs. Cresswell, Hutt and Collins. They contended that "there is no need for apprehension about the ability of the country to absorb large numbers of people". Said the Brief:

Canada is huge. It will support a large population, probably three or four times its present [size]....
 . A home market can only be created by increased immigration.²⁵

The conclusion reached was that we could easily absorb three hundred to five hundred thousand immigrants a year.

In a Brief presented before the McMaster Symposium in 1949,²⁶ Mr. Fairweather elaborated on the effect of immigration on railway transportation. He stressed that the degree to which the railways profited from immigration, if at all, depended on the productivity of the immigrant, which in turn, depended on his education, acquired skills, capital and opportunity.

²³Ibid. 236.

²⁴Ibid. 237.

²⁵Ibid. 1946, 151.

²⁶S.W. Fairweather, "Transportation and Immigration", (Mim), 1949.

The immigrant impinges upon the transportation economy, in operating revenues and in operating expenses. If immigration is to be predicated upon the maintenance of our standard of living or its increase, it is obvious that for each immigrant capital will need to be invested to enable his labor to be productive.²⁷

For example, if it is assumed that the immigrant is as productive as the average Canadian, Mr. Fairweather estimated that the direct and indirect demands for railway service would amount to 4,700 ton miles and 275 passenger miles per year.²⁸ On the other hand, if the immigrant contributes nothing to production and lives at subsistence level, a demand for railway services would hardly exceed \$15 per immigrant per year and the railway industry would suffer a loss of \$10 per immigrant per year.²⁹

The steamship companies were also questioned by the Committee, chiefly concerning the problem of future accommodation for immigrants. In 1946 when Mr. Randles of the Cunard White Star appeared, the bulk of war-depleted shipping facilities was being used for the Armed Forces returning from overseas. Many lengthy debates were held with shipping officials during 1946 and 1947 in an attempt to procure immigrant space, but perhaps the most valuable material in regard to immigration policy is contained in this first interview with Mr. Randles.³⁰ He explained in some detail how before a new vessel could be built for this purpose

²⁷Ibid. 1.

²⁸Ibid. 2.

²⁹Ibid. 3.

³⁰Senate Hearings, op. cit., 1946, 269.

some definite assurance of continued traffic was necessary. "It would be folly to contemplate the investment of something like \$10,000,000 per ship ... unless there is more concrete prospect of a continuing volume of immigrant traffic". Added to this, he pointed out, ocean traffic is a two-way stream and it will not pay shipping companies to bring immigrants here if their ships must go back empty. In short, "the long term policy of the Government ... will decide what type of ship will be built".³¹

It seems from this evidence that theoretically, at least, the initial boost to passenger and freight traffic brought about by immigration would mean added incomes to steamship and railway companies, provided the productivity of the immigrant (in the case of railways at least) was sixty per cent that of the native population.³² In the case of steamships it might mean the necessity to expand facilities in a period of high costs and to find return cargoes; in the case of railways, the necessity to extend certain branch lines -- again adding capital equipment.

³¹Ibid. 271.

³²Fairweather, op. cit., 3.

CHAPTER VI

THE HUMANITARIAN ARGUMENT

.... "Let us distill some real achievements out of the dregs of the present disaster... [Let us] build new refuges for the tired, for the poor, for the huddled masses yearning to be free.."

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Unassimilated Ethnic Groups

Most of the major ethnic groups in Canada were represented by speakers at the Senate Hearings. As might be expected, the majority spoke in favour of admitting those of their own nation, while some also gave their general opinion of the wisdom of immigration for Canada. On the whole, however, while these Briefs must have added little of value towards the formulation of policy, they are helpful in bringing to light strong race attitudes within Canada.¹ It is interesting to note how the question of Communism among possible immigrants is present not only in the minds of the Committee, but is also mentioned by the majority of speakers. A brief discussion of salient attitudes revealed by Ethnic delegations should put the spotlight on yet another group in Canada's drama of sectional pulls. The very fact that these groups spoke so forcefully on behalf of prospective immigrants in their respective

¹Proceedings of the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, 1946, p. 58. The Ukrainian brief begins, "It is not the purpose of this Brief to try to influence the Government of Canada in formulating a policy, but is rather an appeal to the Government to allow a certain element into the country once that policy is declared in favour of more immigration..."

ethnic groups is some evidence of the lack of their complete assimilation into Canadian life.

Ukranian -- The Ukranian delegation of five members from the Ukranian Canadian Committee² appeared before the Senate on May 29, 1946. Their Brief set forth a number of reasons for a wider immigration policy for Canada, and stressed "equal opportunity and a square deal for all races",³ in other words, the abolition of the distinction between 'preferred' and 'non-preferred' groups, in which latter group the Ukrainians had been placed. The Brief continued to point out that Ukrainians in Europe were not only in great need of refuge -- squeezed between two totalitarian systems as they were, but that they would make good citizens in Canada.

Many of these refugees... could be settled on the land and become a desirable asset to agricultural Economy ... a portion could be absorbed into industry. Many of them understand the English language and would bolster up our own type of democracy.⁴

In opposition to this view, another Ukrainian, editor of the Ukranian Life,⁵ urged that the Canadian Government refuse admittance to Ukrainian immigrants, arguing that otherwise "war criminals and collaborationists would gain entry into Canada under false pretences. "When questioned further, he admitted that he endorsed the view that Ukrainians were needed in their native land. This raised cries of "communist inspired!", "policy of the Soviet Government!" from the other Ukrainian

²A co-ordinating organization of six nation-wide Canadian organizations, embracing eighty per cent of all organized Canadians of Ukranian origin.

³Senate Hearings, op. cit. 1946, p. 78.

⁴Ibid. 1946, 42.

⁵Mr. Stephen Macievich, Ibid. 1946, p. 42.

delegates.⁶

It is interesting to note in the table of Ukrainian Immigration to Canada, that in the fifty years since the first Ukrainians were admitted, the decrease in the numbers entering has been steady.

TABLE 12
UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA
1900-1941⁷

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1900 to 1921	39,915	24,983	61,898
1921 to 1930	22,191	14,893	37,084
1931 to 1935	1,688	1,905	3,593
1936 to 1939	1,932	2,377	4,309
1940 to 1941	62	53	115
Not stated	102	58	160
Total	62,890	44,269	107,159

Polish -- The Polish Briefs were presented in June 1946. The president of the Canadian Polish Congress⁸, J.S.W. Grocholski, reviewed the advantages to be gained from a larger population, and stressed the need for an "economically sound policy of immigration...based on a wise

⁶Ibid. 1946, 52.

⁷Ibid. 1947, 315.

⁸An association of Canadians of Polish ancestry, representing 135 organizations.

selection of people".⁹ He continued with a strong plea to accept members of the Polish Armed Forces -- reviewing at great length their qualifications, "cultural assets", and so forth. In reply to this, Mr. Dutkiewicz, general secretary of the Democratic Committee to Aid Poland,¹⁰ urged that Polish troops be left in Poland, where he said, "there is more liberty.. than there is in Canada".¹¹ At this, the question of Communism was brought forward, and was heartily denied by the second delegation.

TABLE 13

CANADIAN RESIDENTS OF POLISH ANCESTRY
By Provinces¹²
1946

PROVINCE	NUMBER
Prince Edward Island	1
Nova Scotia	2,206
New Brunswick	233
Quebec	10,036
Ontario	54,893
Manitoba	36,550
Saskatchewan	27,902
Alberta	26,845
British Columbia	8,744
The Yukon	35
North West Territories	40

Jewish -- Members of the Canadian Jewish Congress appeared in July 1946 and again in May 1947. With the theme of the furtherance of

⁹ Senate Hearings, op. cit., 1946, p. 83.

¹⁰ An association of Canadians of Polish ancestry, representing 50 organizations.

¹¹ Senate Hearings, op. cit., 1946, 98. Said Mr. Durkiewicz, "I would say sir there is more liberty in Poland than there is in Canada. I do not mean to cast any reflections on Canada in any way."

¹² Ibid. 1946, p. 92. Submitted by the Canadian Polish Congress.

Jewish Immigration, Mr. Saul Hayes pointed out that although the present Immigration Act appears to treat Jewish applicants in precisely the same manner as others, in actual practice, a discriminatory policy has been followed for some time. Hayes¹³ stressed that "Our Dominion has not done its humane duty to the persecuted Jewish people during their worst time even within the limits of the written immigration law of our country."¹⁴ In reply to a statement by the Hon. Mr. Molley that only two per cent of Jewish population become agriculturalists, Mr. Hayes suggested that an immigration policy stressing primarily farm immigrants "may hamper the balanced development of the country".¹⁵ It was made clear in the Briefs delivered that immigration would be endorsed by them only if in the basis of selection and the enunciation of the programme, "there be no secrecy".¹⁶ An appeal for humanitarian action on behalf of the survivors of Hitler's purge led to a number of positive suggestions, including, as previously stated, the plea for wider immigration and the removal of race theories from the Act.¹⁷

The 1947 Brief contains much the same material. In short, the Committee was told that,

The problem of the Jewish Displaced Persons in Europe is a specific one, offering this Dominion an excellent opportunity of securing fine citizens.¹⁸

¹³Ibid. 1946, p. 98.

¹⁴Ibid. 1946, p. 170.

¹⁵Ibid. 1946, p. 174.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., 179.

¹⁸Ibid., 154.

TABLE 14

HEBREW IMMIGRANTS
1930-1945¹⁹

YEAR	NUMBER
1930-31	3,421
1931-32	649
1932-33	772
1933-34	943
1934-35	624
1935-36	880
1936-37	619
1937-38	584
1938-39	890
1939-40	1,634
1940-41	626
1941-42	388
1942-43	270
1943-44	238
1944-45	330

The accompanying table of Jewish Immigration over the last fifty years does seem to substantiate the claim, made repeatedly by the Jewish delegations, that discrimination was being practiced against prospective Jewish immigrants by those administering the Immigration Act and Regulations.

Finnish -- Also in July 1946 the Senate heard the opinions of a Finnish representative, Mr. Sven Stadius.²⁰ Here again the appeal to welcome Finnish immigrants,²¹ and here again the wary sniping of the

¹⁹Ibid. 173.

²⁰Secretary of the Finnish Advancement Association, Toronto, representing about 3,000 of the 4,000 Finnish people in that city.

²¹Until recently, Finns were not applicable as immigrants, since technically there still existed a state of war between Finland and Canada.

Senators at the delegates, in search of Communist leanings, especially with reference to Finns in the Canadian North.²² Stadius ended his Brief with positive suggestions to follow up immigrants after they have settled, to assist assimilation of these foreign peoples into the Canadian way of life, and to discourage the practice of building up a nest-egg and then departing with it for the Old Country.²³ The other speaker, Mr. Gustef Sundquist, after a similar appeal, bit smartly into the Communism queries, by admitting that he did not favour discrimination against would-be communist immigrants, since he regarded Communists as democrats, and Russia as a democracy.²⁴

Czechoslovak -- On the same day, Mr. Karel Buzek appeared on behalf of the Czechoslovakian National Alliance in Canada. His plea was for emergency measures to help reunite families, where husbands who had come to Canada in the late twenties, and who, because of the depression of the thirties and the recent war had been unable to finance the transportation of their families to join them. Buzek felt, furthermore, that unless these immediate steps were taken, many Czechs resident in Canada would return to their native land. Again there is the appeal for no 'preferred' groupings of immigrants, and another for 'disinterested trustees' over immigration policy and action within the framework of the Department of Mines and Resources.²⁵

²²Senate Hearings, op. cit., 1946, p. 188.

²³Ibid. 189.

²⁴Ibid. 204. Asked whether he was a Communist, Sundquist replied, "Personally, I am", adding "the fact that I am a communist and am the secretary of this organization is incidental". The dialogue is amusing. Rather than the bitter sniping observed in previous hearings, the frankness of Sundquist disarmed the Senators. The Chairman concluded the interview, "Glad to have heard from you anyway. Good luck to you."

²⁵Ibid., 1946, 204.

Baltic -- The Baltic delegation appeared in April 1947, with Mr. R.N. Bryson²⁶ speaking on their behalf. An oppressed people, easily assimilated, democratic, agricultural, highly educated, they were painted as the ideal immigrant.²⁷

Croatian -- One of the last spokesmen to be heard in 1947 was Dr. Mladen Giunio-Zorkin representing the Canadian Croatian Peasant Society.²⁸ In brief, his recommendation was that 10,000 Displaced Persons from Yugoslavia be allowed to emigrate to Canada, and that the Canadian Croatian Peasant Society, rather than the "Communist-inspired" Council of Canadian South Slavs be given the responsibility for the new immigrants.²⁹

Chinese -- In 1948, a delegation for the repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act³⁰ appeared, arguing the case of married men of Chinese descent, who being resident in Canada, but not Canadian citizens (i.e. nativity) were not allowed to bring to this country their wives and children.³¹

Even a brief review, such as this, of the prevailing attitudes of Canada's new, and not so new, citizens serves to bring into sharp focus the widespread interest in the problem of immigration policy. Many of these people based their reasoning on no personal economic advantage; a few expressed opinions in relation to Canada's capacity or long-term

²⁶President of the Community Welfare Association of Ontario.

²⁷Ibid. 1947, 94.

²⁸Croatians, Slovenes and Serbs inhabit Yugoslavia.

²⁹Ibid. 1947, 377.

³⁰Order in Council P.C. 2115 states that men of Chinese or Asiatic race can bring in wife and children only if the man is a Canadian citizen. If the husband is a European, South African or of U.S. parentage, he need only be a resident of Canada. (O. in C. 695)

³¹Senate Hearings, op. cit., 1948, p. 95.

benefit, but in the main the arguments were for mercy to kin-folk. One's belief in mankind in general is undoubtedly strengthened after reading the forceful and oft-repeated eulogies of particular oppressed peoples -- yet the spectre of communism cannot be forgotten.

It is not an easy task to analyze and criticize attitudes of this type. One faces over and over the conflict of economic versus humanitarian ends, and listening to these tragic appeals one cannot help appreciate the difficulties of policy-making. One hears the phrase "our humane duty" echoing louder and louder; in contrast cold and calculated economic policy seems insignificant and selfish. Instinctively one searches for a compromise, a balance between the Government's duty to mankind in the capacity of men holding the keys to freedom and food, and the Government's duty to Canada, as statesmen entrusted with the safety and prosperity of her people.

The Opinions of Social Workers

As the discussion of ethnic attitudes has revealed, there is more involved (or at least in the minds of some) in the formulation of policy than the economic need of the country of immigration and its absorptive capacity. There is an emotional and ethical side as well. Its followers increase with every stirring speech, or graphic description of conditions in Europe. Few men can listen unmoved to the tales of terrible suffering abroad, yet turn their backs to the outstretched hands, willing and eager to work in a new and peaceful country. Few can turn away to examine the economic facts alone.

Some have claimed, therefore, that a distinction should be drawn

between immigration policy and refugee³² policy. Perhaps representative of those thousands of Canadians who strongly urge the fulfillment of Canada's "moral duty", of her humanitarian responsibility, are those members of refugee committees or social service workers who appeared before the Senate Committee. Since this non-economic 'pressure group' is one of the most vocal in Canada, a few quotations from its Briefs seem necessary.

A letter to the Prime Minister from the Canadian National Committee on Refugees³³ was read before the Senate by the Hon. Cairine Wilson, (Chairman of the C.N.C.R.). Its purpose was to,

request the Government's consideration of the larger problem of refugees and Displaced Persons on the ground that there is a general acceptance of the belief that Canada needs a larger population... Besides the economic need [there] is the moral obligation to share with the homeless of Europe our spaces, our wealth and our heritage.³⁴

The letter added that on economic grounds, immigration would develop natural resources, decrease per capita taxation, utilize expanded productive capacity and increase home markets, without decreasing wages.. [All this and heaven too!]. A comprehensive list of requests concludes the letter: that Canada state her policy on Displaced Persons immediately; that admission should not be confined to farmers and first-degree relatives and that the Immigration Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources be increased and broadened. This last suggestion was fulfilled in 1950 when a separate department to handle immigration and citizenship was set up.

³²A 'refugee' is usually defined (as *Ibid.* 1946, p. 241) as a "person who is outside of his country of nationality and who, as a result of events subsequent to the outbreak of the second world war, is unable or unwilling to avail himself of that country's protection."

³³Formed in the autumn of 1938 after the Munich agreement forced thousands of Czechoslovaks from their homes.

³⁴Senate Hearings, op. cit., 1946, p. 233.

Mr. B.K. Sandwell, Honorary Chairman of the Canadian National Committee on Refugees, appeared in July 1946, and delivered an eloquent and moving address on this "moral obligation which rests upon Canadians."

The nation which ignores this obligation will suffer as all nations ultimately do which ignore the debt which man and nations owe to the human being at their gates simply because he is a human being.³⁵

In April 1947, the Senate Committee listened to Messrs. Colley and MacKay.³⁶ The latter stressed that if Canada cannot place refugees in jobs immediately, he felt sure that the Canadian people were "big enough" to assume that responsibility. Mr. Colley spoke of the economic benefit which would ensue when Canada met her moral duty. He felt that Eastern and Western Canada would be closer tied if some two million people were admitted to occupy "the 300,000 acres of land now being brought under irrigation in Southern Alberta..."³⁷

The Canadian Association of Social Workers, represented by Miss J.A. Maines made the following suggestions: that Canadian citizens want to and should accept their full share of responsibility for people displaced from their homes by world conflict; that, while careful medical screening was necessary, a non-discriminatory policy in regard to race or religion should be followed.³⁸

One need glance over only a few of these Briefs to catch the note of earnest pleading for immediate action on behalf of destitute refugees. But an appreciation of their suffering and the "moral obligation", while it doubtless influenced the policy which was subsequently formulated and

³⁵Ibid. 1946, 239.

³⁶Mr. James Colley, Canadian Resident Representative, Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees; Reverend Ian MacKay, former U.N.R.R.A. worker in Germany.

³⁷Senate Hearings, op. cit., 1947, p. 85.

³⁸Ibid. 231.

is therefore a valuable consideration in a study of this type, does not exclude the necessity to look at refugee immigration in the light of its economic effects on the country. If general immigration policy is the end product of economic and non-economic pressure groups, its results are more often evaluated on solely economic grounds; if a so-called 'refugee policy' distinct from the former is the end-product of non-economic forces, the results no less effect the economy.

CHAPTER VII

FRENCH CANADIAN VIEWS

The evidence presented before the Senate Committee Hearings contains almost nothing directly relating to the French Canadian attitude on immigration, yet this block of opinion has been, and still is, a vocal and influential one. Thus to complete this survey of sectional Canadian attitudes on the immigration question, the French Canadian viewpoint, both that which exists at present and the development of the same through past years, is analyzed here, largely from an unpublished manuscript on the subject written by Senator L. M. Gouin¹ for the McMaster Symposium on Population Growth and Immigration into Canada, April 1949.

French Canadian Views From 1760 to 1947

With the fall of New France and the influx of "les nouveaux venus", the French settlers began to form their first views on immigration. Instinctively the sixty thousand vanquished habitants wanted their country to remain French and Catholic under the British Crown, and any increase in the ranks of their British and Protestant conquerors, especially through immigration, was met with disfavour. The fear of being encircled by the British culture increased with the coming of the United Empire Loyalists, a fear which was to be intensified after 1850 with the yearly exodus of Quebec citizens to the New England states.

¹L. M. Gouin, "French Canadian Views on Immigration", an address read before the McMaster Symposium on Population Growth and Immigration into Canada, April 1949.

Both Mercier (the first premier of Quebec, in 1888) and Buies, a publicist, struggled for the repatriation of French Americans, and the colonization of Eastern Canada with French immigrants.² In 1903, under the leadership of Henri Bourassa, the Nationalists began to launch their campaign in Quebec.³ One of their platforms was "absolute freedom to regulate our immigration" -- that is, to free Canada from the complete supervision of the British Crown in matters of immigration as well. In the next few years the Commons repeatedly heard protests on the part of French members against the policy which they contended aimed at stamping out the French Canadian culture under the flood of alien elements into the country, especially protesting that scheme which they felt was shutting out Quebec settlers from the Prairie Provinces.⁴

In 1913 Georges Pelletier's pamphlet entitled, Immigration Canadienne was published. It contained, according to Senator Gouin, "an excellent synthesis of the Nationalist thought".⁵ A preface to the booklet by F. D. Monk deplored the lack of selection of immigrants ("Selection judicieuse")⁶ but Pelletier went further to advocate that immigration should be allowed only at a rate which would maintain the proportions of French Canadians to the total inhabitants in the country. He classed immigrants thus: the most desirable, he felt, were farmers from North and Western Europe; "tolerable" immigrants would include

²Ibid. Senator Gouin refers here to Buies' speeches as cited by Ramilly, Histoire de la Province de Quebec, vol. VI, p. 98.

³Ibid. 4.

⁴Ibid. 7. The argument was that the railways, subsidized by the Federal Government, carried foreign immigrants at reduced rates, yet charged French Canadians excessive ones.

⁵Ibid. 13.

⁶Ibid. 16.

clerks, labourers and unskilled workmen; "undesirables" included those who were mentally or physically unsound, idlers and any "who cannot be assimilated on account of their origins, their ways of life, their different civilization."⁷ He levelled his attack, too, at the appointments of immigration officers through political patronage.⁸ Gouin declares that Pelletier's views as set forth in this pamphlet are still the driving force which orients Quebec views so strongly in favour of selective immigration. He adds,

Quebec does not want indiscriminate large scale immigration to turn again Canada into being to a great extent a dumping ground for the surplus population of the Old World.⁹

In 1914, the Nationalists were still hammering against British immigration and imperialistic propaganda. Le Devoir began to warn its readers that politicians and railway owners were considering large scale European immigration to fill the gaps in the Canadian civilian consumer ranks caused by recruiting. They added that these powerful persons were "suggesting even to grant exemption from military service to the newcomers."¹⁰ More anger was aroused by an address given by the Duke of Connaught in which he proposed that after the war an immigration campaign should be initiated exclusively in favour of British immigrants.

The post-war depression and the beginning of a restrictive policy

⁷Ibid. 21 citing Pelletier, Immigration Canadienne, 9.

⁸Ibid. 22 citing Pelletier, Immigration Canadienne, 44-45.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid. 24.

towards immigration brought a lull in French Canadian objections. It was not until the late thirties, when shelter in Canada was given to Jewish refugees from Nazi persecution, that hostility to Government policy on this matter broke out once more.¹¹

French Canadian Attitudes in the Period Since 1947

With a sharp increase in immigrants entering Canada in 1947, various public bodies and associations in Quebec again turned their attention to this question. In this year La Chambre de Commerce de Montréal published a booklet, A Brief on Immigration.¹² Among recommendations contained therein were those suggesting that the only immigration which would be valuable to Canada would be of "technicians and specialists who would allow for the development of new industries, the production of which could be absorbed by the domestic market where our country now depends on imports." In addition they felt that Canada could absorb some agriculturists, though "a sufficient amount of farms should be reserved for the needs of future generations of Canada's rural districts."¹³ The Brief continues,

If immigrants are to be absorbed in our economical life, we must be assured of increasing our exports beyond the level reached during the war...

a situation for which the Chamber felt it could hold little hope.¹⁴

¹¹Ibid. 25.

¹²Ibid. 25 citing Brief on Immigration, 10.

¹³Ibid. 26.

¹⁴Ibid. 27 citing Brief, op. cit. 9.

The following statement could stand as a fairly accurate summary of their argument.

Preliminary to the adoption of any immigration policy, Canada should first devise a policy the aim of which would be to keep Canadians inside Canada.¹⁵

Its further suggestion that British and French should be put on an equal footing when preference is to be granted immigrants,¹⁶ was subsequently carried out by the Dominion Government.

During 1947 statements were issued by the Catholic Church in Quebec favouring a policy of immigration consistent with principles of Christian charity and Canada's national interest.¹⁷ Catholic Immigrant Aid Societies and the adoption of some one thousand Catholic orphans formed part of the programme. Senator Gouin states that although steps to secure a "fairer quantity of Catholic and if possible French immigrants"¹⁸ have been taken, French Canadians are still convinced that immigration has a tendency to increase the proportion of Protestant and non-French speaking citizens of Canada. Hence the present negative attitude of the Quebec people concerning a wider policy follows naturally.

As compared to the fairly 'sympathetic' attitude of the Catholic Church, the St. Jean Baptiste Society, the chief national association of French Speaking Canada, takes an even more adverse stand. At their 1948 convention¹⁹ a resolution, "Against Immigration" was adopted, stating

¹⁵Ibid, citing Brief, 113.

¹⁶Ibid. 24.

¹⁷Ibid. 30. This refers to letters from the Archbishops and Bishops of the Province of Quebec, March 1947; and a letter from his Grace Archbishop Charbonneau, December 1947.

¹⁸Ibid. 31.

¹⁹Ibid.

in part that,

immigration is in full swing while industries are slowing down their production and are dismissing workers Our soldiers did not fight to allow foreigners to invade their country.

Again in 1948 it asked the Quebec Government to,

keep Crown lands for its native sons, and to take all necessary steps to enable the people of Quebec to occupy, by preference to others, all the vital space and all places.²⁰

So extreme are their views that this Society does not even favour French immigration.

In the closing pages of his Brief,²¹ Senator Gouin sums up the present attitudes of several French Canadian organizations. In the first place, the Nationalist sympathizers claim that Canada is entitled to a fair quota of French immigrants, and that the Government is not taking adequate steps to secure these French peoples. Secondly the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada have gone on record²² as believing that, "there should be no question of immigration to Canada until it is first assured that all Canadian citizens have employment." In contrast to the St. Jean Baptiste Society, this organization recognizes that we have a humane duty towards the victims of war, an attitude which undoubtedly shows the influence of the Catholic church. On the other hand, La Fédération Provinciale du Travail de Quebec²³ adopted a resolution in June 1948 protesting immigration and

²⁰Ibid. 32.

²¹Ibid. 33-39.

²²In their Memo to the Dominion Government, March 25, 1949.

²³The Quebec branch of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.

labour contracts instigated by private companies and involving Displaced Persons. The case of the Dionne Textile Mills was especially criticized. Senator Gouin stresses that all French Canadian labour, irrespective of trade union affiliation, would be more favourable towards immigration if Labour were given an official voice in such matters.

"The most important of all recent developments in the French Canadian attitude concerning immigration",²⁴ Gouin suggests, is an article by Paul Sauriol, published in Le Devoir in April 1949. It urges that French Canadians do their part in welcoming immigrants, since this action is not only a matter of charity but a chance to add to their numbers those peoples who may have even remote affinity with French culture. This seems to point to the fact that the traditional opposition of French Nationalists to any immigration is being replaced by a more liberal attitude in favour of a selective policy.

That this 'enlightened' attitude has really taken firm roots may be questioned in the light of an article released by the Press Information Bureau in February 1950, which summarizes statements made in three prominent Quebec newspapers concerning the question of immigration.²⁵ Charges against the Federal Government for "bowing the knee to those who are determined to keep Canada British at all costs" were invoked by reports that immigrants from the British Isles might be encouraged to come to Canada with some sort of financial assistance from the Federal Government, with a view to overcoming the difficulties caused by the devalued pound. Notre Temps, a Nationalist weekly, contends that Ottawa's

²⁴Gouin, op. cit. 38.

²⁵Hamilton Spectator, February 22, 1950: Editorial page.

policy is a result of fears -- first of a rapid increase in the non-British element, and secondly in the growth of Roman Catholicism. Although it calls the policy in question "a racial and religious [one] of a very dangerous and damnable kind" it advocates that the door should be opened wide to refugees from all countries -- a most unusual suggestion from a French Nationalist group. For its part, the Montreal - Matin questions the wisdom of adding new citizens to the economy when unemployment figures are increasing monthly. Speaking of Mr. St. Laurent's policy, it charges that "he is endeavouring to realize in full the electoral motto of the Liberals of all Provinces -- except in Quebec -- 'keep Canada British' even at the price of an economic crisis." La Patrie quotes M. Letellier de Saint Just who writes, "there is room to speculate on the question whether our Country can assimilate the continued flow of new Canadians which have come to us during the years 1945-48 inclusively. It does not seem a bad thing for this wave to decrease."

Throughout its history, Quebec, and most particularly the French Canadian element, has looked on immigration as a force to dilute, and perhaps eliminate altogether, the ancient French culture which this section has sought to preserve as an entity. Statistics seem to substantiate their view that in general immigration brings non-French, non-Catholics, to Canada. The proportion of the population which is French has changed only very slightly since Confederation. Despite emigration to the United States and only trickles of French immigration, the high birth rates have enabled it to increase as fast as the population of the country as a whole. Mr. G. E. Marquis estimates that immigration from France has been so slight that the present three and one-half million French are all descended from the sixty thousand in Canada in

1760.²⁶ Despite Senator Gouin's hopes for a more enlightened attitude toward immigration, it would seem that as long as this French-Catholic culture is preserved very little fundamental difference can be expected in the traditional outlook. Thus there is added another distinct pressure group which Government policy-makers must seek to pacify on this question of immigration.

²⁶G. E. Marquis, "The French-Canadians in the Province of Quebec", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia, May 1923), 7, 9.

CHAPTER VIII

THE OPINIONS OF THE 'EXPERTS'

These few chapters from the Senate Hearings on the attitudes of particular groups in Canada toward immigration have revealed the breadth of material collected there. Almost any argument, either for or against the policy in question, can be found within the Report. For such a collection of opinion, the Report is certainly valuable. With sifting and editing a picture of a cross-section of Canadian opinion begins to take shape. In addition to these varied sectional arguments, and perhaps more valuable from the standpoint of a critical analysis of present policy, are the more informed and learned Briefs of the economists and Government officials consulted, as well as the recommendations made in the final reports of the Senate Committee based upon its findings. A condensed account and critical analysis of the more vital material will form the body of this chapter.

Mr. Herbert Marshall, the Dominion Statistician, appeared before the Committee in July 1946.¹ He stressed that the present period, with its absence of new frontiers and the barring of the immigrant gate into the United States, necessitated a new approach to immigration policy. The basic requirement, he felt, was careful planning based on a thorough study of present capacity to absorb, sufficiently flexible to be adjusted to changing trends in the economy. In addition, one which would encourage

¹Senate Hearings, op. cit. 1946, p. 256.

the entry of young families rather than single persons might alleviate the problems connected with an ageing population. Moreover, Marshall warned that selection in regard to occupations was of primary importance in order to adjust the movement of immigrants to the existing needs of the country. The 1931 Monograph, Racial Origin and Nativity of the Canadian People,² indicated that the matter of the ethnic origins of prospective immigrants should also be carefully considered.

Returning in May 1947,³ Marshall delivered a Brief entitled "The Question of Absorptive Capacity in Relation to Immigration Policy", in which he outlined the difficulties involved in determining a numerical objective for immigration. He quoted Carr-Saunders' definition of 'optimum population',⁴ and Gunnar Myrdal's conclusion that such a theory is a "speculative figment of the mind without much connection with this world". Although fully aware of the difficulties of which Marshall speaks so competently, one wonders whether the issue is cleared any by sweeping aside so swiftly the common phraseology. Admittedly no exact 'optimum population' for a country may ever be found; but this is not to say that there is no such ideal, had we the knowledge to find it. It would seem that the very goal which population theorists envisage is that of an 'optimum population'; and the wisdom of immigration policies is judged,

²Professor W.B. Hurd, Racial Origin and Nativity of the Canadian People (Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 193).

³Senate Hearings, op. cit., 1947, 215.

⁴Ibid, 216 Carr-Saunders, "In any country under any given set of conditions there may be too sparse a population in the sense that, if the population was more dense, on the average every one would be better off.... On the other hand there may be too many people in the sense that, if there were fewer, every one would be better off."

perhaps unconsciously, by its effects.

Marshall continued by showing that another yardstick to population 'carrying capacity', especially if measured by per capita food production was highly deceptive in a country which depended largely on export trade. Comparing low density per square mile, he said, might also lead to erroneous conclusions. Industrial development, soil fertility, foreign markets, the standard of living, topography, climate and so forth must be considered in order to judge whether or not a country is under-populated. He pointed out that the twentieth century movement of population from rural to urban districts is the opposite to that which one would expect if population movements were based on relative density per square mile. Perhaps Mr. Marshall should have added that numerous other 'push' and 'pull' forces besides the one mentioned, relatively over-populated areas, motivate the rural-urban movement.⁵ Marshall does point out that the comparison of population within a country with its natural resources can lead to no more accurate conclusions. So-called natural resources are not economic assets until they are accessible and exploited in response to effective demand. He stated that the argument that an increase in population creates demands which lead to the exploitation of natural resources, contrary to general opinion, is not substantiated by past experience in Canada, where immigration has usually followed, not preceded, spurts of increased industrial activity. As was indicated in the Introduction to this study, Isaac would not readily agree with this analysis. Mr. Marshall, however, by this statement has not denied that whatever may be the cause of the increase in population, demand is eventually further

⁵Vide Nels Anderson, Men on the Move (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940) p. 357.

stimulated by it.

In short, Marshall concludes that the real critereon upon which an immigration policy should be based is one relating to the economic needs and the country. There was no doubt, he reminded the Committee, that since 1851 Canada had brought in several millions of immigrants more than she could absorb -- a costly procedure but one which was relieved by the United States "safety valve". With this door closed, a long-term policy, he suggested, must be closely related to economic absorptive capacity. On the whole, his Brief was informative and clearly stated, but one wishes that Marshall could have stepped out of his role as a Government official, put aside all the cautious statements and generalized opinions which his post necessitated, and have presented the more complex, and possibly provocative, stand which he may have held as an individual and scholar.

In July 1946,⁶ Mr. Stewart Bates, Director General of Economic Research, Department of Reconstruction and Supply, appeared with his Brief, "Canadian Economic Progress and Immigration". Immigration policy, like any other, he began, has to be considered against the changing pattern of our economy. One change in recent years has been toward greater industrialization, resulting in a reduced dependence on agriculture for the provision of a large share in our National Income. In 1919 agricultural commodities accounted for forty-four per cent of national products, with manufacturing at thirty-three per cent. In 1943, manufacturing accounted for fifty-four per cent while agriculture made up only twenty per cent. This proportional decline, he stressed, should not

⁶Senate Hearings, op. cit. 1946, p. 280.

obscure the fact that there has been no absolute decline in agricultural output, even though a great increase in farm technology has resulted in surplus employment in this field. These facts suggest, in his opinion, that it was unlikely that there would be any pressing need for new agricultural settlement in Canada. He quoted Professor W.B. Hurd's estimates⁷ which suggest that some twenty-five thousand immigrant settlers might be placed on farms in Northern Ontario, Alberta, and central British Columbia, largely on land classified as submarginal by Canadian standards. Nationally, therefore, he felt that there was no strong case for Federal support of large-scale agricultural immigration, though, he added, Provincial governments may wish to push rural land settlement and some immigration might be permitted by the Federal Government for this purpose. As Mr. Bates suggests here, and as a previous chapter attempted to outline, there must be some compromise made between Federal and Provincial desires on this matter as well on others.

On the other hand, Mr. Bates continued, conditions do suggest the need for attending to the developing process of industrialization in Canada. With decreased Government investment stimulus, the level of income and employment, he felt, would decline unless private enterprise and initiative increased; unless the skill and resourcefulness of management and labour met the demands of a highly competitive world market. The focus now, he said, was on industrial diversification, rather than on the expansion of primary industries. The maintenance of present levels of national income depends on improvements in the utilization of known resources, rather than on the opening up of new ones. Our great need, he

⁷Professor W.B. Hurd, Report on Agricultural Settlement Possibilities in Canada (Prepared for the National Committee on Reconstruction) Mim., Ottawa, King's Printer, 1944.

stressed, was for entrepreneurs who could find new uses for our resources and skills, for professional and scientific technicians, for certain types of skilled artisans to carry through industrial procedures in the most efficient ways. To make fuller use of our resources and investment possibilities in many fields of private endeavour, some import of brains and skill was necessary. Mr. Bates elaborated his conviction that efficiency in industry was the present problem. Some of our new or expanded wartime industries were just beginning to be tested in the heat of international competition. Mr. Bates' plea here for the admittance of highly trained personnel is especially interesting in the light of the usual reasons given for the Canadian-American migration. This, typically, includes some reference to the lack of opportunities in Canada for the professional and highly skilled groups -- more than likely adding that the remuneration for this type of work is also much higher to the South. While Mr. Bates' suggestion to import such persons may answer a definite need in Canada, one might ask whether such importation would only accentuate the North-South movement, by taking the jobs for which Canadians are at present training, or whether, once admitted to Canada, these immigrants might be attracted away by the salaries offered them in the United States for the same work. If this last were the case, we would have succeeded only in aiding our competitor. Mr. Bates apparently foresees this objection when he elaborates further into the possible sources of highly trained personnel.

The needed skills, he suggested, might come from three sources: immigration, programmes of technical training for native-born, and by reducing the export of native skills to the United States through offering offsetting inducements in Canada.

Against the background of these considerations, the Brief continued

with a discussion of selective immigration possibilities. Stress is laid on the necessary, and quite recent, consideration of quality as well as quantity in Canadian immigration policy. Mr. Bates pointed out that refugee-immigrant figures for the past few years illustrated how properly selected immigration might aid in maximizing the use of resources through expanded diversification of our industries -- such immigrants being especially valuable if they brought in capital, productive or professional skills, experience, or connections in export trades. Examples of successful immigrant industries, the number of labourers employed, and the extent of their capital, are set out at various places in the Senate Hearing material.⁸

Mr. Bates thought it was unlikely that any flooding of the labour market would occur through selective immigration, since "our need at this time is not for a large volume of settlers and large scale immigration is out of the question". In fact, he stated, as has been the case since 1880, selective immigration might again have to be called on to help offset the loss of those with training and ability to the United States, to which the Canadian economy is particularly prone. Again the question arises as to whether such immigration may aggravate the disease rather than effect the cure, as Mr. Bates suggests. He continued with the statement that unemployment stems not from actual numbers competing in the labour force, but from maladjustments within the national or international economy. Newcomers, although augmenting the labour force, also raised domestic demand for the products of labour. An extension of our home

⁸Vide Appendix, Index to the Senate Hearings.

market as well as the greater diversification of our products, he felt, would lessen to some degree our dependence on foreign markets. This does not refer to any scheme for self-sufficiency, but only to measures which would add stability in the economy. Other advantages of a larger domestic market, such as the economies of decreasing-cost accompanying large-scale production, the lessening of national "fixed costs" (per capita debt charges, fixed transport charges etc.) might conceivably accrue.

In conclusion, Stewart Bates restated what he considered to be the chief criteria for the formulation and administration of an immigration policy. The first was the economic need of the country -- for training, experience and ability, some heavy labour, and with emphasis on young immigrants. The second was the suitability of such immigrants, including considerations of training, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. An "experimental target" to be followed for a certain number of years, he felt, could be aimed at, at the end of which period the results could be carefully studied, and the policy in question evaluated. Such a scheme as this suggested by Mr. Bates would approximate the 'experimental method' as closely as the social sciences may, but its value might be limited if such experimentation became dominated by both national and international politics. The continuity supplied by the Civil Service does not assume that any change in policy found to be necessary at the end of the specific period would be translated into legislation.

Dr. H.L. Keenleyside, Deputy Minister, Department of Mines and Resources, was heard in 1947,⁹ 1948,¹⁰ and 1949.¹¹ Rather than presenting

⁹Senate Hearings, op. cit. 1947, p. 32 et seq.

¹⁰Ibid. 1948, 14 and 219.

¹¹Ibid. 1949, 7 et seq.

an opinion on present or future policies, Mr. Keenleyside at each hearing, supplied statistics and information regarding the operation of the Immigration Branch of the Department, in answer to the questions of the Senators. Valuable summaries are thus available of the process of screening, educating, and assisting towards assimilation of New Canadians.

One of the most informative Briefs, with emphasis primarily on the economic aspects of immigration, was given by Mr. Alex. Skelton,¹² Director General of Economic Research, Department of Reconstruction and Supply, in June 1947. He commenced by suggesting that the chief arena of discussion was the need of industry rather than of agriculture, not only because agriculturalists found easy entry under the present regulations, but also because of the change-over in Canada from an agricultural to an industrial economy. He listed two important ways in which immigration was tied in with Canadian industrial requirements. In the first place, he suggested that immigration can strengthen and solidify the industrial base by adding initiative and resourcefulness to industry through the introduction of new skills, new uses of primary products, new methods of distribution and new services (all consistent with a higher standard of living). In addition it could expend the domestic market so that in primary industries, as well as in the manufacture of raw products into a greater variety of finished goods for home consumption, the vulnerability of our export position would tend to be reduced. He claimed in this connection, that there would be less dependence on foreign markets for imports if goods formerly brought in were manufactured in

¹²Ibid, 1947, p. 323 et seq. Mr. Skelton referred to his Brief as "basically a sequel to that given last year by Mr. Stewart Bates".

Canada. An increase in consumer demand, which might readily accompany immigration, would help to stabilize certain industries through increased purchasing power, possibly effecting average total cost reductions. One might add that the principle of comparative advantage, to the extent that it is in practice in international trade today, is a limiting factor to this diversification goal.

In the second place, Mr. Skelton stressed that immigration can supply labour needed to fill specific jobs in industry, where at that time vacancies persisted. As an example he cited the scarcity of entrepreneurial skill, which when overcome, would serve to create additional jobs for other classes of labour. Such an effect, he pointed out, would be the reverse of the popular idea that immigrants would add to a surplus supply of labour which some foresaw would result from the trend toward increased mechanization. Again, he added, immigration might satisfy technical and professional shortages.

Turning to a more temporary problem, Mr. Skelton analyzed the Displaced Persons question. Acknowledging that it was primarily a humanitarian consideration, he expressed the hope that little difficulty would be experienced in absorbing this type of immigrant into Canadian jobs -- openings in service trades and light manufacturing industries he felt should be sufficient to do so. On the other hand, guidance, assistance and supervision would be an essential responsibility for Displaced Persons. In conclusion Mr. Skelton stressed the importance of selective immigration. The ideal policy, he said, "is one that sets a target consistent with the absorptive capacity of the country, favouring the migration of families, especially young people, to the end of maximizing the use of Canada's resources and aiding Canadian development

on a national scale".¹³ One notices again in this Brief the same platitudes and the sometimes superficial theorizing which characterize the Government Briefs. To repeat, such Briefs would be certainly more valuable had those concerned abandoned their customary vague and consistent party opinions.

One further Brief seems worthy of analysis -- that of Dr. Allon Peebles, Director of Research and Statistics, Department of Labour, in April 1947,¹⁴ entitled "Labour Shortages in Relation to Immigration". The first section concerns the general manpower situation -- a survey of total employment trends in 1947 and the succeeding months. The second deals with an outline of the assumptions to be made in discussing shortages of labour in particular fields in relation to immigration. Among those assumptions are a state of continuing full employment and the mobility, over time, of labour. The presence of these assumptions, the speaker reminded the Committee, dictated caution in making estimates of the actual manpower shortage in particular fields. In view of the sweeping statements already made to the Committee concerning so-called vast opportunities in certain lines of occupation, Peebles' reminder of the real conditions -- the risk of unemployment and the immobility of certain specific labour groups -- is sound.

The third section of this Brief is a discussion of what the speaker considers to be the chief labour-shortage fields. In part he suggested that the seasonal shortage in agricultural labour could not suitably be met by immigration. The long-run proposition of immigrant

¹³Ibid. 327.

¹⁴Ibid. 1947, p. 43 et seq.

farm-owners, however, was dependent on estimates of unoccupied, suitable land. Had Mr. Peebles cited Professor W.B. Hurd's estimates¹⁵ in this connection, the long-run proposition would have been seen to offer little more hope. Continuing, he spoke of the poor results obtained from inexperienced labour, and pointed out that for this reason at least there was no particular demand for immigrant labour in logging in Canada, except for one particular region, the Lakehead area in Northwestern Ontario, where three new pulp mills had been recently opened. As far as the mining industry was concerned, Peebles felt that a definite need could be filled by immigrant labour, especially if native Canadians continued to leave this occupation in large numbers. In the construction field, the demand for bricklayers and plasterers was unsatisfied, as was that for heavy labourers in other industries. The shortage of domestic servants and waitresses, he felt, presented an opening for female immigrants. But the most acute shortage, the speaker concluded, was in specialized fields, where technical and administrative training was requisite.

The accompanying table puts Mr. Peebles' estimates in more graphic form. In view of the maximum figure here of forty-four thousand available positions which immigrants might fill in 1947, the 1948 figure for actual admittances of 125, 414 is rather surprising, although a substantial proportion of this number would not be entering the labour market (e.g. wives and dependent children). If one assumes (using 1947 statistics as a guide) that roughly forty per cent of this total joined the working force (1947 - 37.2 per cent) then a little over fifty thousand new

¹⁵W.B. Hurd, Agricultural Settlement Possibilities in Canada
(Prepared for the National Committee on Reconstruction).

labourers were competing for jobs in that year from the ranks of New Canadians alone. Although figures are not readily available the indications are that additional openings were forthcoming during 1948 which enabled the absorption of these immigrants with a minimum of difficulty.

TABLE 15

ESTIMATED LABOUR SHORTAGE IN CANADA
By Occupations
1947¹⁶

INDUSTRY OR GROUP	ESTIMATED SHORTAGE	
	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
MALES		
Agriculture	2,000	2,000
Logging	5,000	6,000
Mining	2,300	2,400
Construction	600	600
Unskilled Labour	5,000	5,000
Total	14,900	16,000
FEMALES		
Women in service work	10,000	12,000
Women in manufacturing	10,000	16,000
Total	20,000	28,000
Grand Total	34,900	44,000

The Reports of the Senate Committee

At the end of each year of Senate Committee Hearings, a fairly detailed Report of Briefs, pleas of sectional interests and general conclusions was drawn up and presented to the Senate. An analytical and

¹⁶Ibid. p. 52.

rather condensed version of these will serve to conclude this section on the contents of the Senate Committee Hearings.

The 1946 Report¹⁷ began by pointing out that none of the witnesses heard opposed the general principle of immigration into Canada -- indeed, that there was unanimous accord that immigrants should be admitted, subject to certain qualifications (including selection, economic conditions in Canada at the time, etc.). The Committee found that the problem of immigration fell into three general divisions: In the first place, considering agricultural possibilities, it accepted official figures that one hundred and seventy-five million acres of such land were still unoccupied, adding however that "much of what is classified as unoccupied farm land is really not presently available for settlement". It quoted Dr. Booth's¹⁸ estimate that in reality, about twenty-seven million acres (150,000 farms) are reasonably accessible for this purpose. Says the Report:

Future progress in agricultural expansion and development will be undesirably slow if we depend entirely upon our own natural increase, but what has been accomplished in agriculture in the past by immigration, given comparable opportunity, may be repeated in part at least in the future.¹⁹

It might be noticed at this point that the whole prospect of active agricultural development depends a good deal on the phrase "given comparable opportunity". Professor W.B. Hurd is not so optimistic in this respect.²⁰

¹⁷Ibid, 1946, 306 et seq. An interesting comment on this Senate Report is contained in John Dauphinee, Opportunity in Canada, (London, Salisbury Square, 1948) Chap. 7, "The Government Immigration Policy".

¹⁸Dr. Booth is in the Economic Branch of the Canadian Department of Agriculture.

¹⁹Senate Hearings, op. cit., p. 307.

²⁰W.B. Hurd, "Postwar Agricultural Settlement Possibilities in Canada", Journal of Farm Economics, May 1945.

The Committee's conclusions concerning industrial opportunities for immigrants form the substance of the next division. They emphasized that manufacturing has supplanted agriculture as the Dominion's greatest source of wealth, and quoted various Briefs to the effect that selective immigration of the managerial, technical and artisan classes would increase employment rather than take work from Canadians. Yet they added that,

A settled immigration policy and a sustained effort is necessary if any real success is to be achieved in attracting immigrants of the type indicated. Worthwhile men of skill and enterprise do not lightly pull up stakes in the land of their birth in order to emigrate into new and unknown conditions.²¹

A third employment field, said the Report, was that of domestic service. "Your Committee was advised that many public, institutions.... are handicapped by a shortage of domestic help".²²

Referring to the Immigration Act, the Report called it,

A non-immigration Act....[whose] main purpose seems to be exclusion. What is needed is a policy of selective attraction to replace that of repulsion, and a vigorous administration that will search out a reasonable number of desirable immigrants.... Any discrimination based upon either race or religion should be scrupulously avoided....the limitation of Asiatic immigration being based, of course, on problems of absorption.²³

In general, the Committee recommended that immigrants be admitted to Canada in substantial numbers commencing as soon as possible. They did not hesitate to take the stand that Canada's ability to support a substantial increase in population was beyond all question. Although such a stand might be severely criticized today, one appreciates the

²¹Senate Hearings, op. cit. 308.

²²Ibid. 309.

²³Ibid. 310.

circumstances which prompted it in 1946. After a year of listening to pleas for the admittance of prospective immigrants, it is no wonder that a very optimistic view of Canada's capacity to support them, would be taken by the Committee.

The 1947 Report²⁴ contains similar conclusions, as well as considerable data on available immigrants and shipping facilities in 1947. It recommended, specifically, that the Regulations be broadened to include relatives of all degrees together with their families and without limit as to age. The Report ended significantly (and nebulously).

Public opinion approves a carefully selective immigration in numbers not exceeding from time to time the absorptive capacity of our country.²⁵

The summary of evidence gathered in 1948²⁶ includes reports on the Immigration Branch, citizenship, and transportation arrangements. With the widening of the Act to admit substantial numbers of immigrants during 1947 and 1948 the focus of the Committee's attention was now on arrangements in Canada to aid the assimilation of the New Canadians -- such organizations as the present Citizenship Branch, and a proposed Co-ordinating Committee with representatives from Immigration, Labour, Health and Welfare, and Citizenship Branches.

Although the logic and insight displayed in some of the Briefs presented before the Committee were not always above criticism, the very breadth of opinion and the multiplicity of viewpoint are valuable in assessing Canadian attitudes towards immigration policy. Clearly some arguments were based on facts, others on fantasy -- the majority on a combination of both!

²⁴Ibid. 1947, 396 et seq.

²⁵Ibid. 400.

²⁶Ibid. 1948, 238.

PART III

THE FUTURE

CHAPTER IX

FUTURE IMMIGRATION POLICY: SOME CONSIDERATIONS

Early in 1950, after frequent recommendations¹ to do so, the Government of Canada formed a new Department to concern itself solely with immigration and citizenship. The major task facing the new Minister, Walter Harris, and his deputy, Colonel Laval Fortier, is of course, to study and possibly revise Canadian Immigration Policy, and to present their findings to the Cabinet. The issue is both controversial and consequential; the task both baffling and challenging. The tools at hand are the facts and figures of immigration history as well as the often contradictory theories of future population trends and the effect on the Canadian economy of much, or little, immigration. Nor can the planners ignore two other considerations -- the temporary problem of humanitarian relief to those made homeless by war, and most important of all, the prevailing attitudes among Canadians towards immigration.

In this general question, at least, the Senate Hearings voiced the almost unanimous approval of a cross-section of Canadian life. As might have been expected, social workers and ethnic groups favoured immediate, and almost unrestricted admittance of European war sufferers; transportation companies were equally anxious, undoubtedly with their eyes on prospective customers and lower per capita operating costs; business interests just as strongly endorsed a liberal policy, influenced by memories of swelling home markets, production booms and rising standards of living

¹Senate Hearings, op. cit. (1946) 231. As one example, the Report publishes a letter addressed to the Prime Minister from the Canadian National Committee on Refugees.

which followed previous floods of new citizens into the country. But what was more surprising, and certainly significant, both labour and the French-Catholic section showed very little antagonism and in some cases approval. The vocal sections of the former, educated and led by the large trade unions, revealed a certain confidence in the Government to select and place new workers where the demand was seen, and to co-operate with the unions to prevent any unwelcome effect on wages. Perhaps their stand more truly revealed an understanding on the part of union executives of the rôle immigration might play in preventing a post-war collapse and subsequent unemployment. The French Canadians, traditionally nurturing a culture and religion which immigration threatened to disturb, have lately shown a more 'enlightened' (to use Senator Gouin's expression) opinion, encouraged possibly by the assurance that a percentage of future immigrants will be French and Catholic.

This overwhelming approval for a liberal, but selective, immigration policy is summed up by Mr. H. L. Keenleyside as follows:

In contrast to experience of the earlier years it is interesting to note that there has been little organized opposition to the current expansion of the movement of immigrants to Canada... Certain sections of the country which have traditionally looked critically on any substantial movement of this character have shown little opposition during the last two years.²

Granted then, that Canadians want immigration, a number of immense and for the most part insoluble problems remain. How many immigrants can we support comfortably; how shall they be selected and placed; how may the annual increment be varied to suit internal demand; are suitable prospective immigrants available now, and will they continue to be so over a period of years?

²H.L. Keenleyside, "Canadian Immigration Policy", International Journal, (Summer 1948).

In attempting to answer these questions the controversy begins at once. On the one hand there are those, whom we may call the over-optimists, who would welcome almost any number of new-comers. Canada, they argue, has a land area of some three and a quarter million square miles and has a population of only thirteen millions -- a ratio of three persons per square mile. Since the United Kingdom can support some five hundred persons per square mile, Canada should be able to increase her population to over one hundred million. Such an increase, they continue, will strengthen our defences, reduce the average burden of our transport system, and give a tremendous stimulus to industry and agriculture. The impression is given that, this done, Canada would automatically have solved military, trade, and internal economic problems, leaving our Southern neighbour far behind. Although somewhat exaggerated and perhaps unfair to a number of the less ardent exponents, the simplicity and logic of it -- at first glance -- allows for few limiting clauses. In this school of thought appear such people as Gerry McGeeer, former M.P. for Vancouver, who estimated one hundred million could be settled in British Columbia and Alberta alone; C.P. Peterson of Calgary, with fifty million for Canada; Sir Donald Mann, one hundred and fifty million; Stephen Leacock who reckoned that two hundred and fifty million could be supported (speaking, one presumes, in his character as an economist) and Professor Griffith Taylor of Toronto, with an estimate of ninety millions for the prairies alone.³

³Miss M.F. Martin, "Canadian Immigration", (MS, 1942).

On the other hand there are more cautious, and perhaps pessimistic, estimates of Canada's capacity to support population and particularly immigrants. Among the foremost economists and historians of this school are W.B. Hurd, B.W. Bladen, Chester Martin, D.A. MacGibbon and Stephen Cartwright. They argue that of the three million square miles much is, by present standards, uncultivable -- probably less than two million square miles are even habitable. Such waste areas are to be found in the Canadian Shield and in the far north. Professor Hurd estimated that there are only twenty million acres of new land available for agricultural settlement in the prairies, much of it covered with grey soil and of submarginal quality. He asserted that only seventy-one thousand to eighty-one thousand potential farms are still available for settlement outside of the Province of Quebec.⁴ Professor Carrothers of the University of British Columbia has reached the same conclusion, and the Rowell-Sirois Commission was told by the Provincial Ministers of Saskatchewan and Manitoba that there was no free land for settlement there.⁵

The latter school outlines the limitations to immigration on the basis of available agricultural land, and points out that the astronomical figures quoted by the over-optimists would result in oriental over-population with the accompanying oriental standards of living -- if, and here the mystery deepens -- if the new-comers are to earn their living in agricultural pursuits. Absorptive capacity is, of course, the measuring stick. This may be defined, roughly, as the ability of a country to admit immigrants, find them suitable opportunities to earn a living at

⁴W.B. Hurd, "Demographic Trends in Canada", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, (September 1947) p. 14.

⁵Martin, op. cit.

a standard equal to that of the existing population in the country, and without adverse effect on the buoyancy of the economy. Absorptive capacity depends not only on available land for farming, but also on the nature, distribution, availability and market ability of natural resources; on the knowledge of effective techniques for their extraction, processing and distribution; on the existence of a large accumulation of capital available for investments, and on the quality of the existing population (education, character, philosophy and so forth). It seems probable, on the basis of existing information concerning the development of natural resources⁶ -- both technically and economically -- that hope for expansion and opportunities for employment are good. Untapped natural resources, forested areas and mineral lands, could be exploited if necessary capital were readily available, and if additional transportation facilities could be provided. The Quebec-Labrador iron-ore development, the oil boom in Alberta, the St. Lawrence Seaway power scheme are recent projects.

In discussing this question of absorptive capacity in Canada, Professor J.J. Spengler⁷ of Duke University admitted that "the question permits only a conjectural answer". However, he estimated that if an average of 2.5 acres is assumed to be sufficient to provide subsistence for one person, then the estimated arable land acreage -- some sixty million -- could provide about twenty-five million Canadians with a comfortable supply of food and agricultural raw materials. In addition, he felt that to fully exploit this acreage required no increase in the

⁶ As opposed to the concept of 'carrying capacity' which is concerned with the potentialities of development in all industries without taking into consideration why such developments have not occurred.

⁷ J.J. Spengler, "Implications of Canadian Demographic Trends" (address presented before the McMaster Symposium on Population and Immigration), 1949.

agricultural labour force.⁸ Canadian resources available for heavy industry, could support a population much larger than at present, Spengler stated. Before the war, Canada and Newfoundland (in per capita terms) had twice as much coal and lignite as the United States and nine times the potential and actual water power.

But even such encouraging statements leave the problem of future immigration policy far from solved. Not only is there a small question-mark after any such estimates, but a large one beside such matters as population growth, capital formation, internal trade conditions and the availability of prospective immigrants.

The 1941 Census pointed to a declining rate of population growth,⁹ as well as to a tendency towards a gradual aging of the population. Although the war years saw a sudden increase in the Canadian birth rates,¹⁰ it is probable that with the cessation of social disturbances that may have caused this phenomenon, the birth rate will fall back to its previous level of about one per cent annually. Should the two conditions noted -- of an aging population with lower birth rate -- continue, immigration might help to modify¹¹ the economic, social and military difficulties which might loom. The Hansen-Reddaway theory of the effects of an aging population and declining rate of growth foresees such problems as an

⁸Ibid, p. 1, "With a population of twenty-five million, about forty per cent of whom are enrolled in the labor force, an agricultural labour force in the neighbourhood of a million will suffice. In 1941 of the gainfully occupied, 14 years of age and over, nearly 1.1 million, or 24 per cent of the total number were reported as in agriculture."

⁹Charles, Keyfitz, Roseborough, The Future Population of Canada (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, 1946.)

¹⁰Bank of Nova Scotia, "Rise in the Birth Rate", Monthly Review, (Toronto) February 1949.

¹¹Miss B.B. Robinson, "Immigration: The Economic Perspective for Canada" (M.S., August 1949).

increase in per capita income accompanied by a lower propensity to consume. The proportionately increased savings which consequently become available find investment opportunities not only scarce (with a slowing rate or decline in population growth) but also uncertain, as production centres on luxury goods whose demand fluctuates widely. At the same time older entrepreneurs and investors may aim at security and may be less prone to launch risky ventures. In 1950, however, some considerations should be given to the adjusting effect of population increase from the 362,451 immigrants¹² who have settled in this country from September 1945 to the beginning of this year.

Spengler, in this connection, writes,

It would not be surprising if the annual increment of growth [in Canada] remained within the 200 - 250 thousand bracket for several decades, and if the annual rate of birth centred around 1.5 per cent under these circumstances, population total may approach and finally settle about twenty-five millions around the close of the century. Of course, if immigration declines, and births fall below the three hundred thousand level, annual growth will fall below two hundred thousand.¹³

The net immigration which he envisages would total some twenty to thirty thousand persons per year under present circumstances.

Spengler's theory of the effect of such a population growth on capital formation is valuable here. He states that capital formation depends on two factors: the ratio of capital to national income (which usually rises gradually in advanced economies), as well as the rapidity with which Canadians feel per capita income should grow.¹⁴ He suggests that if we postulate a two per cent rate of per capita income formation

¹²M. Barkway, "How Many Immigrants do We Want?", Saturday Night (February 14, 1950) 13.

¹³Spengler, op. cit., p.4.

¹⁴Ibid. 5.

as the desired level, with an annual population growth rate of 1.5 per cent, about fourteen per cent of the national income will have to be saved each year in Canada to meet the annual increment of population, and to maintain and improve present equipment. To the extent that other leakages to saving exist, the rate of saving will have to be increased over the fourteen per cent level.¹⁵

The next step is to attempt to determine the income-optimum population, which he defines as "one of such size that, given it, per capita income approximates the highest level attainable over an extended period of time, with circumstances other than population growth remaining put."¹⁶ He admits that the difficulty in determining it is considerable, since per capita income is governed by many circumstances in addition to mere ratio of population to resources. One method which yields a rough approximation is that of comparing the movement of the probable cost of domestically produced raw materials (assuming raw material imports non-existent) with the movement of factory wages. If the former tends to rise more rapidly than the latter, it may be inferred that population growth will affect per capita income adversely.¹⁷

While the data at hand do not permit a precise statement, they do suggest that the maximum annual growth rate the Canadian people stand willing voluntarily to accommodate for some time to come lies between 1 and 1.5 per cent, and almost certainly does not exceed 2 per cent. If this be the case, an annual

¹⁵Ibid. 6.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid. 7, "Probable raw material costs should reflect the impact of increasing use of domestic raw materials, while the movement of factory wages reflects the changes in division of labour and the economies of scale which may follow population growth."

increase of not over two hundred thousand is indicated for some years to come, until the population and the national income can be raised sufficiently above current levels.¹⁸

We cannot overlook, however, a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian economy, and one which raises a danger signal to over-optimistic immigration. To the familiar statement that one out of every three workers in Canada depends for his livelihood on the demand of foreign markets for his product, one may add the following statement from the Commercial Intelligence Journal,

Whole regions of the Dominion and many of its major industries have always depended, and still depend, upon exports for their prosperity. Years hence, their reliance may be much less than it is today, but the immediate prospect is that many sections of Canada and many of the greater Canadian industries must live by exports.¹⁹

Peaks of immigration in past years have come when a strong foreign demand for Canada's products stimulated an expansion in the economy. As long as the demand continues, Canada's capacity to absorb them is high, but the present chaotic conditions of world trade offer little security for the future period.²⁰ The effect of the dollar difficulties is being felt by many of these export industries. Some of Canada's oldest customers in the sterling area are entering into bilateral deals with non-dollar countries. Surplus capacity may appear in primary industries such as wheat, fish, lumber, and in some manufacturing industries. Offsetting, somewhat, this dependence on external markets are the increasing facilities for processing primary products in Canada (e.g. base metals which used to

¹⁸Ibid. 8.

¹⁹Commercial Intelligence Journal, September 2, 1944, p. 185, cited by Mrs. L.I. Morgan, "Immigration, Emigration and External Trade", MS, 1949.

²⁰Morgan, op. cit., p. 13.

CHART 3

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPARED WITH IMMIGRATION (POST WAR) BY REGIONS
CANADA FEBRUARY 1950.

% TOTAL
LABOUR
FORCE

15

UNEMPLOYED (Including seasonal)
POST WAR IMMIGRANTS

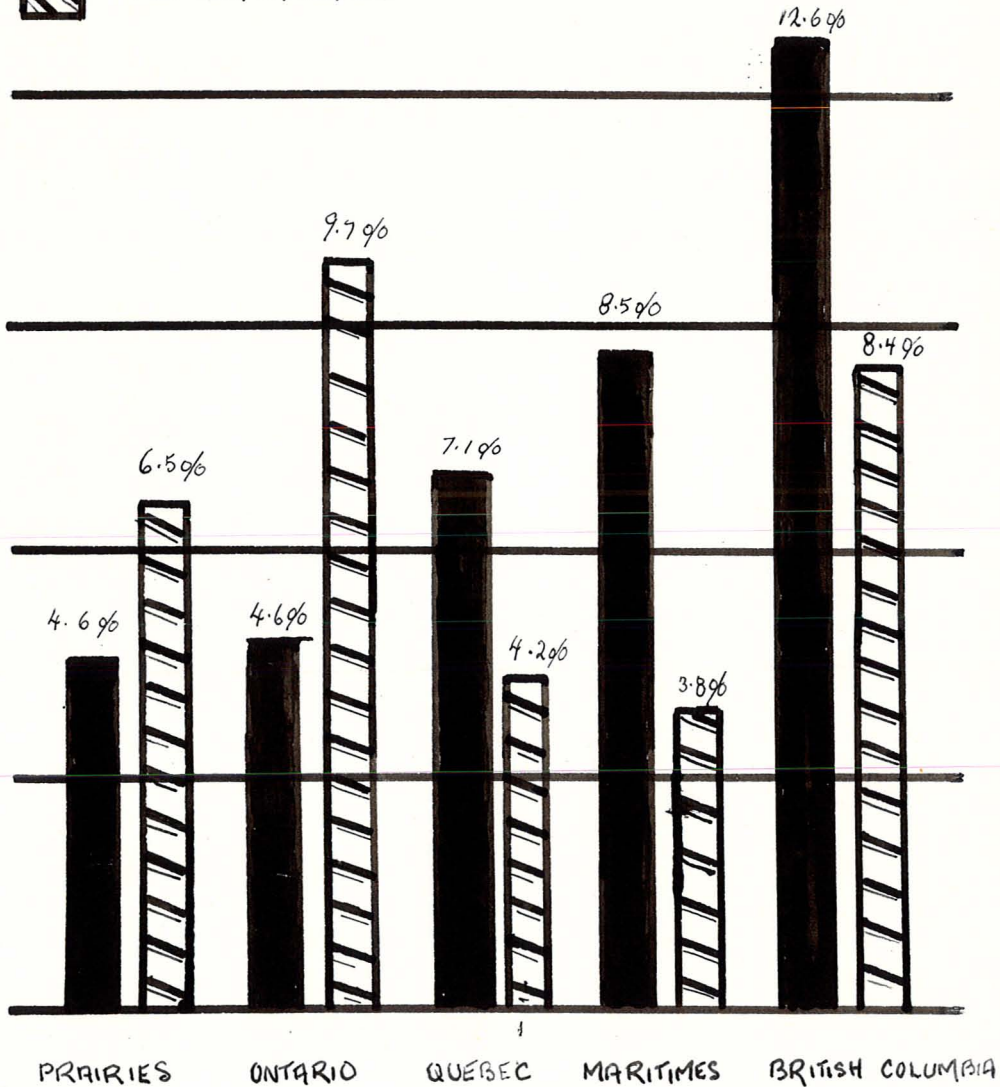
12

9

6

3

0



SOURCE: SATURDAY NIGHT, FEB 14, 1950, 13.

be transported in a raw state) and the resource development mentioned previously. Such developments may lead to periods of expansion and capital development, dependent, as in the past, on a strong demand for Canadian production. Under such circumstances, it seems possible that a number of immigrants could be absorbed without adding too great a burden. The availability of foreign markets is certainly one of the major limiting factors to a large-scale immigration programme. We must attempt to decrease rather than exaggerate the vulnerable position of the Canadian economy to fluctuations in external demand for her products. Nor does this mean that a policy of self-sufficiency would be less costly for Canada.²¹

The related problem of unemployment has been outlined by labour union briefs. Whether immigration aggravates this condition or actually stimulates employment depends largely on the circumstances. One recent article attempted to prove that immigration in Canada has had the latter effect. By comparing figures of unemployment and recent migration for different regions, it judged that,

there would be a better case for counting immigration among the factors which have brought employment to an all-time high and put the Economy at a level never reached before.²²

One wonders whether a good part of this expansion was not the reflection of the backlog of war and early post-war consumer demand.

²¹One prominent businessman, however, sees no pressing problem here, "Western nations must continue to trade their surpluses with each other, or they, and our way of life, will die.... There are still thousands of specialized fields of commercial, professional and personal service where we both need and can profit from Immigration"... James C. Duncan, "Immigration: The Concern of Industry and Commerce, MS, 1945. (Mimeographed), p. 15, 16.

²²Saturday Night, op. cit., p. 13.

Still, this is no conclusive argument against immigration in its effects on employment. What does seem conclusive is that immigrants must be selected to fill particular employment needs in the Country. Even then, as the immigration of Displaced Persons has shown, some frictional unemployment may result because immigrants so placed have drifted into other occupations. Spengler speaks of such selection methods as 'specific' (as compared to 'general')²³ and shows that the difficulty in gauging accurately future specific labour requirements plus the possibility already mentioned of a shift in occupation, have convinced him that a more general selection (where the choice is based primarily on the immigrant's general potentialities) may result in more ready assimilation of the new-comers.

This question of assimilation leads immediately to another related one, that of the migration of persons from Canada to the United States. The very proximity of the country to the South, with its influence on Canadian economic development -- not only financially but by the introduction into Canada from the United States of certain technological methods -- has made it easier for residents of Canada to take advantage of the long-standing non-quota entry as well as to make friends in, and acquire knowledge of, the thriving States. What practical steps could be taken to reduce this leakage, if not entice Canadians living in the United States to return to their Homeland? Spengler²⁴ sees this problem of the retention of immigrants (as well as native Canadians to some extent) as dependent upon two circumstances. The first is that employment opportunities would need to be expanding and appropriately balanced, with entry into industries

²³Spengler, op. cit., p. 11.

²⁴Ibid, p. 12.

fairly unrestricted. This of course ties in with the above mentioned trade and capital problems. In the second place, he feels that the transient sector could be reduced and assimilated into Canadian life by locating immigrants, whenever possible in relation to employment openings, in small communities. It is hoped that as Canada's economy becomes more highly industrialized and diversified, the differential in opportunities between the two countries will tend to disappear.

Should some policy of selective and restrictive entry be deemed wise in view of the advantages and disadvantages briefly sketched, the further consideration of the availability of prospective immigrants would arise. The conditions which produced the great outsurge of immigration from Europe have altered in recent years. The temporary supply of Displaced Persons may have obscured this basic change, and although suitable immigrants might be readily selected from such temporary sources for a few years, any long range policy must look beyond this supply. Anything less than a steady flow, which could be expected and planned for by both business and labour, would accentuate business fluctuations -- nor does this imply that the flow might not be regulated within limits to the current state of health of the economy. Aside, then, from the desire of these homeless peoples to settle in a new country, the urge to emigrate has lessened -- both the pull and the push motivations have weakened. The pull of easily settled agricultural land, which probably accounted for about one-half of the increase of one million and a quarter in Canada's immigrant population between 1901-1921, has gone with the filling up of these areas, the increased size of farms and the trend to mechanized farming. The pull which began in the twenties and thirties

with the expansion of extractive and manufacturing industries in the Central provinces continues to some degree.²⁵ In general, the high per capita income in Canada undoubtedly attracts immigrants from lower income countries -- but so, in this regard, does American luxury.

The push forces, however, have undergone the greatest change.²⁶ Since the first World War advancing industrialism in Western Europe has created new opportunities for surplus rural population. The sharp decline in birth rates, which commenced in the late nineteenth century, is beginning to reflect in aging population symptoms, especially in France, with the result that most European governments are loath to lose their younger workers -- essentially the ones most desired by the country of immigration.²⁷ Mr. W.D. Forsyth, in his book, The Myth of Open Spaces, maintains that the problems of human welfare in thickly populated areas are better solved by social reforms within the distressed area, than by transporting large numbers to some distant land.²⁸ Even so, those countries in Eastern Europe, where agricultural population is still pronounced, are now cut off behind the Iron Curtain. Another large potential source lies in the Western zone of Germany and Austria. In addition, there may be Dutch citizens willing to migrate (the Netherlands Government is one of the few in Europe encouraging immigration) as well as those from Scandinavia and Switzerland. Spengler²⁹ quotes United Nations Reports

²⁵Professor Hurd draws attention to the significant change in the character and direction of immigrant settlement after 1920. W.B. Hurd, "Population Movements in Canada, 1921-31: Some further considerations", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 1, No. 2, May 1935.

²⁶Lucy I. Morgan, op. cit. p. 9.

²⁷"Reappraising our Immigration Policy", Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1949.

²⁸Cited by Morgan, op. cit., 10.

²⁹Spengler, op. cit., 10.

which reveal that in a survey taken among prospective immigrants only twelve per cent reported that they wanted to come to Canada, and of these, ninety-one per cent were from the United Kingdom and eight per cent from the United States. It is obvious from this alone that Canada cannot expect to have a wide choice of selection, if she can secure immigrants at all. Britain sent 51,000 people in 1946; 46,057 in 1948; and 22,201 in 1949 to this Country.³⁰ The drop may be explained both in terms of a depleted labour force in Britain and, most important, in terms of currency restrictions. At the present time, an immigrant from Britain is allowed to bring over only \$760.00 a year for four years (in contrast to the previous figure of \$4000.00 yearly) and this naturally increases the risk involved. The French, who have never readily emigrated, cannot bring over more than \$300.00 apiece, the Netherlands, only \$100.00.³¹ Overpopulated Italy, with its poverty and unemployment, might present a larger, if more undesirable, supply.

Although the economic considerations of future immigration policy seem to be the chief concern here, the question in reality, is further complicated by both military and humanitarian arguments for a more liberal policy. The former focuses its attention on the empty and defenceless Northland, while the latter has in mind the Displaced Persons in Europe. A compromise among these conflicting forces will clearly be necessary. One authority³² has proposed that a "careful study of all aspects of the Canadian population question be undertaken by a Committee equipped with

³⁰Saturday Night, op. cit., p. 13.

³¹Ibid.

³²Spengler, op. cit., p. 13.

adequate funds and personnel". No one, even partially comprehending the size and complexity of the problem, would dispute this suggestion. The number of variables are almost infinite; the possible effects on the economy more a matter of opinion than one of theory; even the goal -- prosperity, military security, and so forth -- is not agreed upon.

As far as can be seen then, future immigration policy for Canada will have^{to} be formulated as a compromise among conflicting and, possibly, complementary goals. As far as the economic considerations are concerned, a further compromise will be necessary -- one which maximizes the advantages to be gained from immigration, such as the stimulus to the production and consumption functions in the economy, the dismissal of the "declining rate of population growth" bogey, as well ~~as well~~ which minimizes the disadvantages. These include an increasing dependence on world trade, and the possibility of a falling standard of living if capital formation does not occur at a sufficiently rapid pace. The solution seems to lie in a carefully regulated, flexible policy whose administrators would employ all available knowledge to anticipate and, if possible, counter-balance adverse turns in the economy by an adjusted flow of immigrants. Even if this were practicably possible (and it may not be so for some time) two matters will need to be recognized -- the availability of suitable immigrants, and the prevailing attitudes in Canada towards the question. The future of Canada hangs on the careful and intelligent balancing of these considerations.

APPENDIX

INDEX OF SELECTED TOPICS AND BRIEFS
PRESENTED BEFORE THE
SENATE STANDING COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR,
CANADA, 1946-1949

APPENDIX

1946-1949.¹

-
- | | |
|---|--|
| Absorptive Capacity, 47:333;
49:13. | Capital, limit to immigration,
46:131;134; 47:243, 143, 191. |
| Agricultural Settlement Possibilities,
46:299. | Chance, L.G., 48:91. |
| Associated Poles of Canada, 46:101. | Chile Immigration, 46:166. |
| D'Aust, J.A., 46:226 | Chinese Immigration Act, 48:95. |
| Australia's Immigration Policy,
46:293; 47:141; 48:215. | Colley, J., 47:55, 285; 48:17. |
| | Collins, F.W., 46:161; 47:146. |
| | Committee for Repeal of Chinese
Immigration Act, 48:95. |
| Baltic Relief Committee, 47:365. | Communism in Canada, effect of
immigration, 47:263, 312, 376. |
| Bates, Stewart, 46:280 | Community Welfare Association of
Ontario, 47:95. |
| Bengough, Percy E., 46:222;
47:185 | Conroy, Pat., 47:312 |
| Brand, Captain E.S., 48:75. | Cresswell, H.C.P., 46:152; 47:135. |
| Brazil, Immigration Policy, 47:70. | Croatian Peasant Society, 47:375. |
| British Dominions Emigration
Society, 47:366 | Cunard White Star Ltd., 46:263;
47:122. |
| Bryson, R.N., 47:95. | Czech National Alliance, 46:201;
47:169. |
| Buckley, J.W., 47:194 | |
| Burgoyne, Rev. R.G., 47:366 | |
| Canadian Association of Social
Workers, 47:103; 47:369. | Day, A.A., 48:92. |
| Canadian Citizenship, 47:246;
48:226. | Defence, Need of Immigration for,
46:28, 103, 222; 47:194, 274,
351, 43. |
| Canadian Congress of Labour,
46:207; 47:212; 48:102. | Democratic Committee to Aid Poland,
46:97. |
| Canadian Jewish Congress,
46:170; 47:151. | Displaced Persons admitted to Canada
1947, 48 - 48:152. |
| Canadian Metal Mining Association,
48:203. | Displaced Persons (classified in
Germany 1947), 47:287. |
| Canadian National Committee on
Refugees, 46:227; 47:262. | Displaced Refugee Camps in Germany,
48:27. |
| Canadian National Railways,
46:117; 47:227. | Dominion Bureau of Statistics,
46:249; 47:215. |
| Canadian Pacific Railway,
46:152; 47:135. | |
| Canadian Polish Congress, 46:81;
47:338. | Episcopat de la Prvonce de Quebec,
47:3. |
-

¹Abbreviation of date and page as follows: page 96, Proceedings for 1946 will read, "46:96."

The Senate of Canada, Proceedings of the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, King's Printer, Ottawa.

External Affairs, Department of,
48:84.

Fairweather, S.W., 46:117; 47:227.

Farming, immigration for, 46:140,
150, 174, 282; 47:6, 98, 117.

Federation of Baltic Canadians,
46:187.

Finnish advancement Association,
46:185; 47:181.

Finnish Organization of Canada,
46:187.

Forest Industries, opportunities
in, 48:205.

Forsey, Eugene, 46:226; 47:205.

Foulds, Frank, 47:246; 48:226;
49:45.

Garber, M., 47:151.

Gibson, Hon. C., 49:37.

Hayes, S., 47:158.

Hayward, Miss C., 46:243; 47:262;
49:49.

Henshaw, Mrs. J., 48:27.

Hicks, A.J., 47:117.

History of Canadian Immigration,
46:9, 15, 42, 134, 162, 187
227, 234, 250-60; 47:14;
48:95.

Home market, immigrants to support,
46:35, 136, 213, 285.

Housing, effect of immigration on,
46:233.

Hugessen, Mrs. A.K., 48:142.

Humanitarian argument for immig-
ration, 46:35, 36, 74,
133, 170, 178, 208, 236,
240, 280; 47:36, 54, 65,
111, 179, 361; 48:92.

Hurd, Prof. W.B., 46:209, 299.

Hutt, G.M., 46:145; 47:144.

Immigrant arrivals in Canada from
U.S.A., 1900-1945, 46:139.

Immigrants, availability quality,
46:37, 68.

Immigrants by Nationalities, 1946,
47:93, 94.

Immigrants to U.S.A. 1820-1945,
46:60.

Immigrants to U.S.A. from Canada
1820-1945, 46:80.

Immigrants to U.S.A. 1940-45,
46:19.

Immigrants to Canada by Racial Origin,
1947, 47:25, 26.

Immigration Act and Regulations,
46:8, 18, 174; 47:14, 39, 135,
194; 48:3, 14, 95, 128, 129,
138, 219.

Immigration Service, (Table of Exp-
enditures, No. of Employees),
48:145.

Immigration to Canada by Origins,
1945-1948, 48:156-180.

Inter-Governmental Committee on
Refugees, 47:55, 285.

International Refugee Committee, 48:17.

International Refugee Organization,
Constitution of, 48:36, 67.

Jews - See Canadian Jewish Congress
Joliffe, A.L., 46:1; 47:13; 48:119.

Keenan, T.J., 47:104.

Keenleyside, H.L., 47:32; 48:1, 213;
49:1.

Krug, Col. C.A., 47:252.

Labour, Minister of, 48:53.

Labour, Immigration views of, 46:208,
222, 226; 47:185, 195, 208-11,
214; 48:101.

Latvian Relief Fund of Canada, 47:99.

Lerner, Max, 48:5.

Lewis, S., 47:282.

MacKay, Rev. I., 47:83.

MacNamara, A., 48:64.

Maines, Miss J.A., 47:369.

Marshall, Herbert, 46:249; 47:215;
48:213.

Maxwell, W., 46:141; 47:243.

Mayors of Canadian Municipalities,
47:275.

McGowan, J.S., 46:150; 47:235.

Military Government in Europe, 47:117.

Mines and Resources, Department of,
46:1; 47:13, 32; 48:1, 84, 119;
49:53.

Mining Industry, Opportunity in,
48:203.

Mitchell, Hon. H., 48:53; 49:11.

Moral obligation, argument for
immigration, 46:35.

Mosher, A.R., 46:207; 48:102.

- Occupational Classification of D.P. Skills, 47:87-92.
- Ontario Forest Industries, attitudes re: immigration, 48:205.
- Order in Council, p.c. 695, 47:39.
p.c.2071, 47:41
p.c. 371, 47:42.
p.c.1647, 47:164.
- Peebles, A., 47:43.
- Polish Democratic Association of Canada, 46:81; 47:340.
- Polish Professional and Trade Association, 46:103.
- Politics in Canada, effect of immigration on, 46:94, 197; 47:111, 263, 312, 376; 48:123, 326, 232.
- Population Balance Figures in Canada, 46:261.
- Racial Discrimination, 46:179, 203, 224; 47:352, 355; 48:205.
- Railways, attitudes re immigration, 46:127, 131, 151, 158, 162; 47:229, 235, 243.
- Randles, A., 46:263; 47:122
- Reconstruction and Supply, Dept. of, 46:280; 47:323.
- Refugee Industries Established in Canada, 46:238; 47:165.
- Religion, attitude of, 47:3.
- Report of Senate Committee on Immigration and Labour, 46:305; 47:389; 48:235.
- Research and Statistics, Dept. of, 47:43.
- Riddell, R.G., 48:84.
- Sandwell, B.K., 46:238, 47:273.
- Secretary of State, Dept. of, 47:246; 48:226; 49:37.
- Skelton, A., 47:323.
- Social Workers, Canadian Association of, 47:103.
- Spielberg, E.V., 47:99.
- Standard of Living, effect of immigration, 46:196, 226.
- Statistics - Re: immigration
Displaced Persons and Refugees in Germany and Austria 1947, 47:287.
- Immigrants to U.S. 1820-1945, 46:80.
- Immigrants to U.S. from Canada, 1820-1924, 46:80.
- Immigrant arrivals in Canada from U.S. 1900-1945, 46:139.
- Immigration to Canada by Racial Origin 1945-48, 48:156-180.
- Immigration by Nationalities 1946, 1947, 47:93, 94.
- Net increase in population by arrival and departure of aliens 1908-1924, 46:139.
- Occupational classification of D.P. Skills, 47:87-92.
- Population Balance Figures, 46:261.
- Refugee Industries established in Canada, 46:238.
- Ukrainians in Canada (detailed), 47:300.
- Steamship Companies, attitude to immigration, 46:268, 270.
- Swedish American Line, 46:274; 47:128.
- Taxation, effect of immigration on, 46:57, 82, 166, 214.
- Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, 46:222; 47:185.
- Trade, effect of immigration on, 46:176, 212; 47:233.
- Truman, Pres., Directive (1945), 46:24.
- Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 46:27; 47:297.
- Ukrainians in Canada (detailed statistics 47:300.
- Unemployment, effect of immigration on, 46:208, 285; 47:44.
- United Nations Society in Canada, 47:255
- United States of America, emigration from Canada to, 46:80, 139, 222, 240; 47:204, 213, 240, 249-50.
- United Ukrainian Canadians Association, 47:255.
- UNRRA Workers, 47:63; 47:104.
- Valdmanis, Dr.A.A., 49:53.
- Van Ark, W., 48:67.
- Waselius, C.E., 46:274; 47:128.
- Wenige, G.A., 47:275.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Anderson, Nels, Men On The Move, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940.
- Currie, A.W., Canadian Economic Development, Toronto: Thomas Nelsons and Sons Ltd., 1942.
- Dauphinee, J., Opportunity in Canada, London: Salisbury Square, 1948.
- Dublin, L. (ed), Population Problems in the United States and Canada, Boston: Pollak Foundation for Economic Research, 1926, Chaps. 6-8.
- Fairchild, H.P., Immigration, New York: MacMillan Co., 1925.
- Hall, P.F., Immigration, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1908.
- Hansen, M.L., The Atlantic Migration, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945.
- Hansen, M.L., The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1940.
- Harvey, D.C., The Colonization of Canada, Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1936.
- Isaac, J., Economics of Migration, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1947.
- Johnson, Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America 1763-1912, London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1913.
- Kennedy, W.P.M., Documents of the Canadian Constitution 1759-1915, London: Oxford University Press, 1922.
- MacIver, R.M., The Web of Government, New York: MacMillan Co., 1947.
- Reynolds, L.G., The British Immigrant, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1935.
- Thompson, W.S., Population Problems, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1942.
- Truesdell, L.E., The Canadian Born in the United States, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1940.
- Willcox, W. (ed), International Migration, New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1931.

Public Documents

Canada Year Book 1948-49, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1949.

Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. I, Ottawa: King's Printer, 1931.

House of Commons Debates May 1, 1947, Ottawa: King's Printer, 1947.

Hurd, W.B., Agriculture Settlement Possibilities in Canada. Prepared for the National Committee on Reconstruction; Ottawa: King's Printer, 1944.

Hurd, W.B., Origin, Birthplace, Nativity and Language of Canadian People, Ottawa: King's Printer, 1921.

Hurd, W.B., Racial Origins and Nativity of Canadian People, Ottawa: King's Printer, 1931.

Immigration Act and Regulations, RSC 1927, Ch. 93; Ottawa: King's Printer, 1937.

Order-in-Council, P.C. 695, Ottawa: King's Printer, 1931.

Proceedings of the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour of the Senate, Ottawa: King's Printer 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949.

Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Book I. Ottawa: King's Printer.

Articles

Angus, H.F., "The Future of Immigration into Canada", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, August 1946

Angus, H.F., "Need for an Immigration Policy", The Annals, September 1947.

Bank of Nova Scotia, "Immigration and Canada's Development", Monthly Review, August 1947.

Barkway, Michael, "How many Immigrants do we Want?", Saturday Night, Toronto, February 14, 1950.

Carter, H. (ed), "Reappraising our Immigration Policy", The Annals, March 1949.

Hurd, W.B., "Demographic Trends in Canada", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September 1947.

Hurd, W.B., "Population Movements in Canada, 1921-31; Some Further Considerations", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. I, No. 2, May 1935.

Keenleyside, H.L., "Canadian Immigration Policy", International Journal, Toronto, Summer 1948.

Keyfitz, N., "Canada's Population, Past and Future", Industrial Canada, January 1948.

Keyfitz, N., "Ethnic Groups and their Behaviour", The Annals, September 1947.

Lattimer, J.E., "Quo Vadis?", Journal of Commerce, Gardenville, Quebec, 1943.

Logan, H.A., "The Canadian Labour Market and Postwar Employment", The Annals, September 1947.

Marquis, G.E., "The French Canadians in the Province of Quebec", The Annals, Phil., May 1923.

Press Information Bureau, "Quebec Turns Sharp Eye to Immigration", Hamilton Spectator, February 22, 1950.

Sandwell, B.K., "Population: A Canadian Problem", Queen's Quarterly, Autumn 1947.

Spengler, J.J., "Population and Per Capita Income", The Annals, January 1945.

Steele, H.E.R., "An Immigration Programme", Saturday Night, February 7, 1948.

Tweed, J.S., "A New Immigration Policy", Saturday Night, March 6, 1948.

Reports

Chambre de Commerce du District de Montreal, "Memoire Sur l'Immigration", Montreal, 1947.

Cresswell, H.C.P., "The Canadian Pacific and Immigration", February 1949.

Unpublished Material

*Brownell, E., "Provincial Functions in Immigration", April 1949.

*Cresswell, H.C.P., "Transportation and Immigration", April 1949

*Duncan, J.S., "Immigration: The Concern of Industry and Commerce", April 1949.

*Fairweather, S.W., "Transportation and Immigration", April 1949

Forsey, E.A., "Memorandum on Immigration", 1946.

*Gouin, L.M., "French Canadian Views on Immigration", April 1949.

*Keenleyside, H.L., "Canadian Immigration Policy and Administration", 1949

Keenleyside, H.L., "Canadian Immigration Policy", February 1949.

Keenleyside, H.L., "Canadian Immigration Policy", November 1948

Martin, M.F., "A History of Canadian Immigration", 1942.

*Morgan, L.E., "Immigration, Emigration and External Trade", April 1949.

*Robinson, B.B., "The Economic Prospective for Canada", August 1949.

*Spengler, J.J., "Implications of Canadian Demographic Trends", April 1949.

*Presented before the McMaster Symposium on "Population Growth and Immigration into Canada", April 21, 22, 1949.