

MIGRATION
OF
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MIGRATION OF POPULATION BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

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C H A P T E R I.

THE FRONTIER.

The Dominion of Canada and the United States of America, together comprising over 85 per cent of the total area of the North American continent, occupy the most unique position of all the countries of the world, in that they are separated by a boundary of over 3,000 miles, stretching across the entire width of the continent, terminated on the East by the Atlantic Ocean and by the Pacific Ocean on the West. A cursory glance at a map of the physical features of North America will show that the boundary itself for the most part is a political rather than a geographical division. Within each country, section is definitely separated from section by certain natural barriers which of course are clearly reflected in the physical character of the boundary line. Between eastern Canada and eastern United States, western Canada and western United States, no material difference exists. Each section of Canada, moreover, is by nature merely a portion of a geographic unit of which the other part lies on the other side of the boundary. Thus the maritime provinces are physiographically a continuation of New England, the St. Lawrence valley corresponds to the Hudson valley, the lands bordering the Great Lakes are alike on the North and South, the prairies of Canada are indistinguishable from the Dakotas, and the Pacific

slope in Canada reproduces the soil and climate of Washington.¹

Lastly the sea connections on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts gather up the loose ends of the boundary line establishing a contact of no little importance. On the Atlantic numerous steamship lines connect the ports of Halifax, St. John and New Brunswick with Portland, Boston and New York. On the Pacific, Vancouver and Victoria are connected with Seattle, Portland and San Francisco. In addition an established water route between San Francisco and New York, via the Panama Canal, links these two coastal services together, and at the same time completing an all-water connection between the eastern and western extremities of the international boundary.

In view of this easy means of communication made possible by similar geographical conditions, is it not to be expected that there would be a constant migration back and forth between the two countries. To what extent has the physical features of the country been a determining factor on the sum total of the migration; to what extent has it been an influence where the migration has been the greatest?

These are questions that can only be answered by giving a more detailed study to the character of the boundary line.

Turning first to the most easterly portion of the boundary, that separating the state of Maine from the provinces of New Brunswick and Quebec, broadly speaking the cardinal eastern features of the North American continent are common to both these political divisions of the country, namely, the

1.
Edward Van Dyke Robinson - "Reciprocity and the Farmer". -
Publications of the Western Economic Society.

great highlands stretching from the southern states through New York and New England into Quebec and the Maritime provinces. This territory connecting the seaboard with the inland country constitutes no small part of an immense peninsula, formed by the river and Gulf of St. Lawrence on the north and north-east, and the waters of the Atlantic on the south.

While New Brunswick is essentially a part of the mainland adjoining the province of Quebec, it has a very extensive sea coast and of its inland boundaries by far a greater portion comes in contact with Maine than with the province of Quebec. Under the terms of the Ashburton treaty the state of Maine now presses like a huge wedge into New Brunswick and Quebec, the uppermost portion of which constitutes a wilderness, hitherto sparsely settled, with inadequate means of communication. At the same time it separates New Brunswick from Quebec except by that portion bordering on the Gaspé peninsula. To-day one wishing to take the shortest route from St. John to Montreal must pass through Maine for some 300 miles.

It was the absence of any natural division between New Brunswick and Maine that necessitated the drawing of an astronomical line through a territory composing a single geographic unit. Along no portion of this arbitrary boundary, so easily is it traversed, is the attention of the traveller drawn to the fact that he is crossing into a foreign country.

Passing to the next natural division of the country we come to the open frontier of the Eastern Townships.

They lie in that part of the province of Quebec, which is south-east of the St. Lawrence river and south of the city of Quebec, bordering on the frontier lines of Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire. Being that part of south-eastern Quebec to be surveyed into townships after the English manner of survey instead of division into parishes according to the custom that prevailed during the French rule in Canada, the district is commonly known as the Eastern Townships.

This territory is distinguished from the rest of Quebec by a difference of physical features as well as by the accident of the mode of survey, while at the same time in both of these respects it bears a marked resemblance to the adjoining territory of the United States. Composing a part of the St. Lawrence Lowlands stretching down into the New England states, the country is comparatively flat and lies less than 500 feet above sea level. Again the boundary itself is just an imaginary fence marking of two peoples living together in a single geographic unit. In addition to the fact that there are no natural barriers to impede communication across the boundary line, this communication is facilitated by certain natural waterways that were of particular importance in the early development of the country. The Chaudiere on the eastern side, the St. Francis pursuing a circuitous route through the midst of the Townships, the Yamaska and the Richelieu to the west - all pursuing a northerly course from the south extending across the international boundary and emptying into the St. Lawrence.¹ Lake Champlain and Lake

1. Henry H. Miles, M.A. - "The Eastern Townships of Lower Canada."

Memphremagog extending across the territories of both countries provide a convenient means of access to either country.

The province of Ontario looks upon her neighbors on the further banks of navigable rivers and lakes. From Cornwall to Kingston on the Canadian side, a distance of some one hundred miles, the St. Lawrence river, which can be crossed in ten minutes, separates a portion of Ontario from New York state. The water frontier of the Great Lakes making up a portion of the St. Lawrence river system, separates the rest of Ontario from the United States by a line of the St. Lawrence through the middle of the lakes to the Lake-of-the-Woods. They form the most important system of waterways on the continent and one of the chief highways of the world. Large passenger steamers traverse the distance from Duluth or Fort William to Buffalo in fifty hours, through Lakes Superior, Huron and Erie, past Sault Ste. Marie, Sarnia, Detroit and Cleveland. Since the early development of traffic on these lakes they have been the basis of reciprocal treaties between the two countries.

That part lying adjacent to Lakes Ontario, Erie and Huron is of uneven surface and has its greatest elevation of over 1700 ft. and slopes rather gently to the Great Lakes which have an elevation at the highest point of 600 feet. The Lakes are bordered by some of the richest and most thickly settled sections of United States and Canada. Not only do people depend upon them for their transportation, but both

alike turn to them for their water supply and a place to dump their sewage.

While the eastern features of the continent are common to both countries, in the central and especially the east-central section, Canada and the United States are strikingly unlike. The central portion of the United States is mainly occupied by a huge plain or series of plains. A very different type of territory covers central Canada. A minor projection of the great interior plain forms the fine farming regions of southern Ontario and Quebec, while a much larger section crosses the international boundary to the west, which gives the Dominion the broad agricultural domain of the prairie provinces.

But wedged between these two Canadian extensions of the plain is the huge rocky Laurentian Upland which occupies most of the central portion and over half of the whole area of the Dominion. That portion of the highland stretching across Northern Ontario through the Lake Superior region, constitutes 1,000 miles of wilderness, hitherto thinly populated, long stood as a barrier to the westward march of Canadian development. To-day two transcontinental railway lines bridge this gap but so great was this natural barrier that even as late as 1900 the main stage of development had lingered east of Lake Huron.

While the development of the country in recent years has retraced its steps eastward, closing up this gap, even yet there has been little or no highway construction.

Between Fort William and Sault Ste. Marie there are no roads whatever. Sault Ste. Marie is connected with the eastern portions of Ontario by a single highway, while one wishing to drive from Winnipeg to Fort William or Port Arthur must take a roundabout route by way of Duluth.

While the Laurentian Highlands of East Central Canada will never present a counterpart to the Mississippi Valley of the central States, it is the western half of the continent that exhibits the closest resemblance to the United States, in the open frontier of the prairie provinces. Stretching from Manitoba to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains on the west, it is really only the western part of the Great Central plains disconnected in Canada because the Canadian Shield happens to project across the international boundary in a narrow belt east of Lake Ontario and in a wide zone between Lake Huron and the Lake-of-the-Woods.

This interior plains region is composed of the three great watersheds, the first watershed extending from the foot of the mountains to a point about 100 miles east of Winnipeg and reaching to the south as far as the Missouri plateau. This great plateau is drained by the numerous rivers which flow into the Hudson Bay. The second watershed is the great tableland extending from the Missouri plateau along the Mississippi down to the Gulf of Mexico. The third watershed comprises all that vast extent of territory draining into the Great Lakes.

Here, the international boundary itself consists of

the 49th parallel stretching from the Lake-of-the-Woods to the Pacific coast. Merely an astronomical line there are no natural barriers to mark the division between Canada and the United States. Across this border separating the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta from the states of Minnesota, North Dakota and Montana, hundreds of people pass daily with nothing to remind them of the crossing except occasional custom officials placed at the various ports of entry.

Continuing to the Pacific coast, the 49th parallel separates British Columbia from the neighboring state of Washington. Here the mountain and plateau belt of the western states continues northward through British Columbia and the Yukon. Thus as in the East, so in the West, the cardinal features of the North American continent are common to both countries.

This region, known as the Cordillerean region, embraces nearly all British Columbia, the Yukon and the western edge of Alberta. The eastern part of the Cordillera is occupied by the Rocky mountains, rising to heights of 10,000 to 12,000 feet. The western part is occupied by the coast ranges, which rise to heights of 7,000 to 9,000 feet. Between these two ranges lies a vast plateau system having elevations of 3,000 to 4,000 feet and cut by deep rivers and valleys. A striking feature is a deep trench that lies immediately west of the Rocky Mountains extending across the international boundary.

Thus British Columbia, withdrawn behind her natural barriers, lies apart from the rest of the Dominion, the only means of communication being the two transcontinental railways and a highway rapidly nearing completion. On the other hand between the two mountain ranges, and between the Rockies and the Pacific Ocean the intervening spaces running north and south allow for freedom of access between British Columbia and the Western States.

The physical character of the international boundary and its adjoining territory are, however, not the only capital points of distinction. In addition there is a radical contrast in the climatic conditions which has a vital effect on the movement of population. Covering an enormous territory, most varied in altitude, in distance from the sea, and in topographical features, it follows then quite naturally that the climatic conditions are varied.

Since lofty mountain ranges parallel the coast of the Pacific, at no great distance from it, it follows that the continental type of climate predominates, while only the immediate coast line of British Columbia possesses a climate of marine type. The Atlantic provinces, although subjected to a modified type of marine climate, do not display conditions so mild as those of the Pacific coast on account of the cold Labrador current of the North Western Atlantic.

On the Pacific side of the Dominion, the Andean chain, with peaks ranging from 10,000 to 13,000 feet cut off the coast and the interior valleys from the great plains of the

west, already mentioned. These western prairie lands are far removed from the tempering influence of the ocean, while the mountains of the west and the lakes of the east play¹ important roles in modifying climatic conditions.

Thus it is evident that the boundary separating these two political entities passes through territories composing a single geographic unit and with this in mind we will turn to the more direct purpose of the thesis - the Migration of Population between Canada and the United States.

1.
Canada Year Book, 1929.

C H A P T E R I I .

THE COMING OF THE LOYALISTS.

When the Americans inaugurated their Declaration of Independence in 1776 by enacting that all adherents to connection with the mother country were rebels and traitors, thousands of United Empire Loyalists, who had either taken up arms in defence of the cause, or had been forced to abandon their possessions and property by positive persecution or the certainty of being subjected to it, left their homes to seek a refuge on British soil. While this policy depleted the United States of some of their best blood, it at the same time laid the foundation of the settlement and institutions of the wilderness provinces which have since become a portion of the Dominion of Canada.

The effect of the immigration was to create two new English-speaking provinces, New Brunswick and Upper Canada, and to strengthen the English element in two other provinces, Lower Canada and Nova Scotia.

In the 13 colonies at the time of the revolution there were in the neighborhood of 3,000,000 people. Of this it is probable that 1,000,000 were Loyalists, very unevenly distributed.¹ In the states of New York and Pennsylvania the Loyalist element was very large, it being estimated that in New

1.

The U.E.L. - Stewart Wallace.

York state, out of a population of 185,000 at least 90,000 were Loyalists. On the other hand in Massachusetts and in most of the New England states, the Loyalists constituted a small minority, and as a result they were forced to leave the country for a place where their opinions would not expose them to danger of persecution. In New York the Loyalists were numerous and under the protection of the British soldiers and consequently were able to live in comparative safety. As a result of this an attempt was made at the end of the war when the Loyalist emigration took place to make a distinction between themselves and the Refugees who had not remained in the 13 colonies to fight it out.

Whatever may have been the cause of the struggle in America, itself, it cannot be said in any sense that the revolution was a war of social classes. It is true that among the official classes and large landowners, clergymen and professional men, the majority were Loyalists, but on the other hand no humbler peasants were to be found in the revolutionary ranks than some of the Loyalist farmers who migrated to Canada in 1783.

In the early stages of the struggle, it had more of the aspect of a civil war rather than a revolution. Not all of the people of the colonies favored the extreme measures advocated by the more radical leaders of the rebellion. At the same time a great majority of the American Loyalists did not approve of the course pursued by the British government between 1765 and 1774, in that they were devoted to the

democratic institutions which the crown was by no means anxious to encourage. Those who had been in America were indeed more different from the men with whom they had thrown in their lot, than from those with whom they had fought during the revolution. A large proportion of the early settlers of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island were Americans who had adhered to the cause of England. Six months before the Declaration of Independence was passed by the Continental Congress, the leaders of the rebels had been almost unanimous in repudiating any intention of severing the connection between the mother country and the colonies. It was however in the summer of 1776 when the attitude of the leaders of the rebel forces took on an entirely different aspect; many who were opposed to the measures of the British government and who had even approved of the policy of armed rebellion threw in their lot with the United Empire Loyalists.

While the number who entered Canada will probably never be accurately determined, and the movement itself complex and imperfectly understood, it is however made perfectly clear that the great migration flowed in two streams, one by sea to Nova Scotia, and the other overland to Canada following along the inland water routes.

The first considerable migration took place at the time of the evacuation of Boston by General Howe in 1776. At this time almost 1500 Loyalists embarked in transports and landed at Halifax. From that time on until the end of the war refugees were constantly arriving in Nova Scotia, the

greater part taking up their abode in that province. However, the greatest migration to Nova Scotia took place from New York at the time of the evacuation of the British in 1783. The advantages of Nova Scotia as a field of immigration had been known to the people of New England and New York before the¹ revolutionary war had broken out. Being contiguous to the New England colonies, having abundance of good land and of the same climatic conditions, it offered the most favorable retreat for those who were too poor, or who had no desire to return to England. These people embraced many classes, officials who had held offices under the crown in the old colonies, men who had served as officers or privates in the various Loyalist corps during the war, and men in civil occupations whose only offence was that they had not become rebels.

In 1782, when it became certain that the Loyalists would not be permitted to remain in the old colonies, they formed themselves into associations for the purpose of making arrangements for their removal to Nova Scotia. The first party of 500 sailed from New York in nine transports on October 19, 1782, arriving at Annapolis Royal a few days later. These were closely followed by 500 Loyalists from Charleston who arrived in December of the same year. The favorable reports on the conditions in Nova Scotia transmitted by these people through their agents to their friends in New York brought about the invasion of 1783.

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On April 26, a large fleet of transports left New York with 7,000 Loyalists, half of which went to the mouth of the River St. John and half to Port Roseway at the South-West end of the Nova Scotia Peninsula. This first contingent was followed by many others throughout the summer, and in 1784 a muster taken showed the total number of Loyalists in Nova Scotia to be 28,347. Of this number about 12,000 settled north of the Bay of Fundy, the remaining numbers scattered throughout the Peninsula portion of Nova Scotia.

It is difficult to estimate the extent of the immigration from the United States in the first years succeeding the peace when it took the form of a national sentiment. However in the succeeding 20 years the population greatly increased. In 1806 it amounted to between 70,000 and 80,000, this increase being principally attributed to immigration the greater part of which came from the United States.¹

In April, 1783, a statement was prepared showing the extent of the available lands in Nova Scotia. The total area of the province was estimated at 26,000,000 acres, of which 5,416,849 acres had been granted prior to 1773, leaving 20,583,151 acres ungranted. Of this area two-fifths was estimated to be unfit for cultivation, leaving 12,347,891 acres ungranted that were fit for cultivation.

The grant to the Loyalists was limited in extent, usually 200 acres for each person, which although sufficient for a farm would not make a large estate. In 1873

1.
Kingsford - History of Canada.

a petition was presented to Sir Guy Carlton by 55 of the settlers in which they asked for 5,000 acres the allowance of a field officer. These men because of their former positions wished to be large land owners, and to have the other Loyalists subordinate to them as tenants. However, this petition was refused and they were forced to be content with 1,000 acres each.

New Brunswick at the time of its separation from Nova Scotia contained about 16,000 inhabitants, of whom 12,000 were Loyalists. From the beginning of their settlement along the St. John river and in that territory on the north side of the Bay of Fundy, a feeling of ill-will had prevailed between these settlers and the Nova Scotia authorities, and it was out of this feeling that arose an agitation to have the country north of the Bay of Fundy removed from their jurisdiction altogether and erected into a separate province. The governor was charged with failure to look after the new arrivals and with permitting unfair practices in the granting of land to prospective settlers. There was moreover much complaint that Halifax was too far removed, and communications too difficult to insure a proper interest in the problems of the settlers in the part of Nova Scotia west of the Bay of Fundy. As a result of this agitation pressure was brought to bear upon London and in 1784 the province of New Brunswick came into existence. Whatever may have been the reasons advanced for making the change, the erection of the new province at least

provided offices for many of the Loyalists who were pressing for a place in the government at home.

During the following years the work of settlement went on rapidly in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Towns like Halifax, Shelbourne and Annapolis came into prominence as Loyalist settlements. Up the St. John's river the migration moved towards Fredericton, many of the new arrivals at once becoming influential in provincial and local affairs. Many, however, found their lands disappointing and moved to other parts and after 1790 numbers went to Upper Canada.

Not many Loyalists found their way to Prince Edward Island, or as it was called at the time of the revolution, the Island of St. John. It can be safely assumed that there were never more than 600 on the Island at any time, most of whom came direct to the Island from New York or from Shelbourne. These people found great difficulty in obtaining the grants of land promised to them. They were allowed to take up their residence on certain lands and after making improvements were told that their titles to the land lacked validity. In 1783 Prince Edward Island was owned by a number of large landed proprietors who had offered to resign certain of their lands for colonization, but apparently the object of these proprietors was to force the settlers to become tenants instead of freeholders. For 75 years the Loyalists continued to agitate for justice before they received a satisfactory redress for their grievances.

The increase of population of the Maritime provinces

from immigration during the years immediately following 1783 was partly counterbalanced by the exodus of people from the provinces. Some went to England, some to Upper Canada, and some to the Eastern Townships. In the beginning the Townships were not settled by the Loyalists because any attempts on their part to settle land along the Vermont frontier were officially discouraged by the Governor of Quebec. In spite of this however some of the more daring Loyalists, because of the proximity of that territory to the markets and easiness of access ventured to settle on Mississquoi Bay.

At the very beginning of the revolutionary war loyal refugees began to flock over the border into the province of Quebec. As early as 1774 a large number arrived at St. John's on the Richelieu and in 1775 and 1776 large bodies of persecuted Loyalists from the Mohawk valley came north to form in Canada the first of the Loyalist regiments. It was not however until 1778 that the full tide of immigration set in. Settlements were established at Machiche, St. John's, Chambly, Montreal, Point Claire, Sorel and Nouvelle Beauce. A still greater accession took place in 1782-1783 when in the latter year it was estimated that there were close to 7,000 Loyalists in the province of Quebec.¹ However in the spring and summer of 1784 a great number of the refugees within the limits of Quebec were removed to what was afterwards known as Upper Canada. Some however remained and swelled the number of the old subjects, considerable settlements being made

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The U.E.L. - Stewart Wallace.

at Sorel and in the Gaspé Peninsula on the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and of the Chaleur Bay. The English population in Lower Canada reached about 20,000 by 1791, due chiefly to the influx of Loyalists.¹ At the present time of all the Loyalist groups in Quebec hardly a trace remains they having all been swallowed up by the French population.

It was in 1784 that we have the commencement of the foundation of the province of Ontario. Previous to this time there had been little settlement in Upper Canada, but the closing year of the revolution witnessed the arrival in this section of 10,000 Loyalists. "This hesitation in seeking a home in Canada arose from the belief that the government was purely military and the Loyalists of the United States were unwilling to be submitted to this control. But when it was known that a constitutional government was established large numbers carried out the desire so ardently felt by them to live under the British flag."²

The first colony of banished refugees to seek homes in Upper Canada sailed from New York around the coast of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and up the St. Lawrence to Sorel, where they arrived in October 1783, where they wintered, to proceed in May 1784 to their destination Cataraqui, afterwards Kingston, which they reached in July. The task of transporting the settlers from their camping places at Sorel, Macheche and

1. W. H. Siebert. - The Dispersion of the American Tories.

2. Kingsford. - History of Canada, Vol.VII, page.224.

St. John's was no small task. Bateaux for the most part took the settlers up the St. Lawrence to their respective destinations.

By far the greater number of Loyalists made their way to Canada by the overland routes. The one to Lower Canada was by Lake Champlain descending the river Richelieu from St. John's to Sorel. The most common route to Upper Canada from New York was to Albany, 180 miles up the Hudson river, up the Mohawk river towards Oneida Lake which was reached by portage. From Oneida Lake, Lake Ontario was reached by the Oswego river. Some of the Loyalists coasted along the western shores of Lake Ontario to Kingston and thence up the Bay of Quinte, others went westward along the south shore of the lake to Niagara and Queenstown. From there some conveyed their boats over a portage of ten or twelve miles, thence up the river and into Lake Erie, settling chiefly in what is now the county of Norfolk. It was not however until 1796 that proclamations were issued inviting settlers into this district and appealing especially to the United Empire Loyalists. The immigrants who responded were chiefly of this class from Lower Canada and New Brunswick, the great majority of which had lived in the latter province for over a decade. Some of these came by land, but most of them came in boats coasting along the northern shores of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.

During the years 1783-1790 the British government rendered a great deal of assistance to the Loyalists. Many

of the leaders received offices under the crown, and every Loyalist who wished to do so received a grant of land. The rule was that each field officer should receive 5,000 acres, each captain 3,000, each subaltern 2,000, and each non-commissioned officer and private 200 acres. Although this rule was not uniformly observed, and there was great irregularity in the size of the grants, 3,200,000 acres were granted out to Loyalists before 1787. In addition they were clothed, housed and fed until they were able to provide for themselves. The officers of the Loyalist regiments were put on half-pay and there is evidence that many were allowed thus to rank as half-pay officers who had no real claim to the title. While it is difficult to compute the total cost to the British government during the years following 1783, on account of the Loyalists, it is estimated that it must have amounted to not less than £6,000,000 exclusive of the value of the land¹ assigned.

But it is not to be supposed that migration from the United States ceased with the coming of the main body of the Loyalists. The influx of new settlers was kept up for many years after 1784, and in fact Loyalism was only one, if² the most important phase of American immigration into Canada. The settlement of Upper Canada went on continuously, in part consisting of people from the former colonies, who were Loyalists

1. Stewart Wallace - The United Empire Loyalists.

2. Falconer - The U.S. as a Neighbour.

but for various reasons were unable to join the first wave of emigration. There were also newcomers of another class, men who had not been loyal in the revolution and some who had actually borne arms in the rebel forces. While many of these were of an undesirable character, being merely land-seekers and adventurers, by far the greater portion proved to be a quiet and hard-working class and above all became loyal subjects of the British crown.

We have unfortunately no means of measuring the immigration from the United States during the period that followed the coming of the original Loyalists. The figures for the port of Oswego exist however and show that between April 25th and October 15, 1795, 1,064 persons crossed into Canada.¹

The first settlers from Pennsylvania to arrive in Upper Canada located in Lincoln county in 1786. About 1794 a party of German Protestants from New York State and shortly before from Germany, were granted 64,000 acres near Yonge Street, about twenty miles from Toronto. This was known as the Markham colony. Settlers from Pennsylvania also went to Markham from 1804 on. But by far the largest number of settlers from Pennsylvania went to the Waterloo Township. There are several accepted authorities on the history of the Waterloo county. In 1896, Ezra Eby, a descendant of early settlers, published A Biographical History of Waterloo Township and Other Townships of the County containing brief biographies

1.

The Simcoe Papers - Vol.IV, p.104

of nearly 8,500 individuals - Pennsylvania settlers and their descendants.

Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe's proclamation, published at Quebec on 7th February, 1792, announced that one of the terms of grant and settlement of the crown lands in the new province of Upper Canada would be that no farm lot should be granted to any one person which should contain more than 200 acres. Yet the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or persons administering the government was allowed and permitted to grant to any person or persons such further quantity of land as they might desire, not exceeding 1,000 acres over and above what may have been granted to them. Petitions came in rapidly, a considerable number from persons seeking townships on behalf of themselves and their associates who they stated wished to emigrate from their present homes in New England and settle in a body in Upper Canada. Altogether some 4,000 petitions were received and considered in less than four years. Quite 80 per cent of these were from ordinary settlers who were¹ contented to accept a single farm lot and expected no more.

While this Loyalist migration may appear insignificant with the present day movement of population, it had the most important consequences so far as the political development of Canada was concerned. First of all it determined that Canada should develop as an English province and not along the lines of the old French colonial system which the Quebec Act of 1774 tended to perpetuate. In spite of the fact that the

1.

Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society -
Vol. XXIV.

Loyalists were Tories and Imperialists, they had become saturated with American ideas and accustomed to a very advanced type of Democratic government, and it was not to be expected that they would be satisfied with the arbitrary system of the Quebec Act. Thus it was the settlement of Upper Canada that rendered the Quebec Act of 1774 obsolete and made necessary the constitutional act of 1791, which granted to Canada representative assemblies.

While the actual progress of the development of territory occupied by the Loyalists was not of a very great extent because of the great difficulties and handicaps they had to contend with, they paved the way for future settlement and development of the country. "Until the arrival of the Loyalists, most of the lands situated more than a few miles from the chief waterways were uninhabited, uncultivated and more or less forbidding. But the Loyalist went in of sheer necessity and formed the nucleus for later settlers and laid¹ the foundation for the western extension of Canada."

1.
Johnson - Immigration from the United Kingdom to North America.

C H A P T E R I I I.

PROGRESS OF SETTLEMENT AND GROWTH OF COMMUNICATION 1815-1867.

In considering the relationship between Canada and the United States, it is inevitable that the migration of population should be the greatest where the people come into direct contact with one another. To-day in view of the density of the population in the North Central states and the provinces of Eastern Canada, and the easy passage and similar geographical conditions that exist between them, the reciprocal influence of both are felt to a large degree. But this was not so previous to the war of 1812 between the United States and England of which the colonies of North America bore the brunt. However from that time on, up until the actual coming into existence of the Dominion of Canada in 1867, the history of both countries marks a period of transition in the development and settlement of their respective territories.

In the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada previous to 1815, the St. Lawrence river and the Great Lakes chain constituted the seats of settlement and colonization. In the years following and the subsequent arrival of more settlers, these waterways were used as a means of pushing farther into the interior. In the United States in spite of the fact that there was a growing tendency on the part of the people to emigrate into the west, until 1800 the unsettled conditions of the whole Lake region held the bulk of the pioneers along

Lake Ontario, and the shores of Lake Erie were still regarded as in the far wilderness. With the completion of the war, however, we see the commencement of a migration from the old thirteen states on the Atlantic seaboard that meets with few parallels in the history of the world.

This gradual strengthening of the tide of emigration from East to West synchronized with the development of new modes of transportation.¹ Previous to this time, travel was arduous and dangerous. The national roads authorized by Congress in 1806 served mainly the needs of Pennsylvania and the states to the south. It was not until the Erie Canal and its connecting links of transportation became available around 1830 that emigrants from New York and New England could gain the western country with any degree of speed and safety. By 1840 railroads began to influence migration, but it was after 1850 that this mode of transportation became an important element in the settlement of the North-West.²

The Erie Canal was the first to offer any extensive opportunity for human travel by which New York state connected the waters of the Hudson river with those of Lake Erie. It was opened for navigation in 1825, and by 1836 more than 3,000 canal boats were employed on it. Of this a large part of the traffic consisted of the transportation of immigrants and their effects to the large vessels on

1.

Professor Albert P. Brigham. "Great Roads across the Appalachians". Bulletins of the American Geo. Society, June 1903.

2.

Channing. - History of U.S.

Lake Erie. During the early consideration of the plans for the construction of the Erie Canal, opinion was divided as to whether the natural route which connected the Hudson river with Lake Ontario or an artificial inland navigation through the centre of the state from Rome to Lake Erie should be adopted. When the route was finally decided upon the inland one was adopted for the reason that by this route more of the western traffic could be diverted from Canada than by the Ontario route. In spite of this, both during and after its construction the agitation continued for the connection of the waters of the Erie Canal and Lake Ontario at Oswego. As a result of this agitation, on April 28, 1929, the Oswego Canal was opened to navigation throughout its whole extent.

Closely affiliated with the history of the development of the Erie Canal and its subsidiaries are the events leading up to the construction of the Champlain Canal, forming a waterway between Lake Champlain and the Hudson river. As early as the occupation of Canada by the French the valley of the Hudson and Lake Champlain was recognized as one of the most important lines of communication on the continent. On April 15, 1817 the state legislature authorized the construction of the Canal and on September 10, 1823, the main line of the Canal from Whitehall to the junction with the Erie was opened.

Thus by the use of artificial water routes and the further use in conjunction with them of the Great Lakes and the waters of Ohio and the Mississippi river an immense

system of combined natural and artificial interior waterways had been created. An immense area between the Atlantic ocean and the Mississippi river had been roughly linked together forming practicable water routes of transportation over which flowed for many years a constant stream of human and commercial traffic.

However in spite of these great natural waterways afforded by the Great Lakes, prior to the initiation of improvements for the benefit of navigation, through traffic was restricted by physical conditions and it was inevitable that canals should be constructed at appropriate points in order to render these inland waterways more valuable. The Welland Canal was begun in 1823, six years after the beginning of the construction of the Erie Canal in New York and was opened for traffic in 1829. By this and other canal construction a great water route was opened up forming a natural transportation highway with a water surface of over 75,000 square miles and a shore line of over 8,300 miles. "In point of volume and importance this lake group has no equal as an inland route for waterborne commerce."

In the United States the period between 1850-60 was one of great activity in railway construction. Previous to this time railways were in the experimental stage and almost without exception were as local as the turnpikes had been before them. The necessity of providing facilities for uninterrupted travel however brought about the beginning of the process of welding together numbers of short connecting railroads into long lines under single ownership. The

railroad had fully demonstrated its superiority over the canal for fast travel and it was at this time that the trunk lines of the large railway systems were completed. The Erie Railroad joined New York to Dunkirk on Lake Erie in 1851 and the same year connections between New York and Buffalo by way of Albany were established, which were subsequently consolidated into the New York Central and the Hudson River Railroad. The Baltimore and Ohio, the first railroad in the United States, reached the Ohio in 1851 and the following year a through rail route was completed between Philadelphia and Pittsburg. All of these lines made connections with new railway systems spreading throughout the central states. Lines connected Toledo and Detroit with Chicago and by 1853 it was possible to travel from the Atlantic seaboard to Chicago by rail.

In Canada, also, little had been accomplished in railway construction before the middle of the century. The early railroads were short and of a local nature. The first railway was constructed in 1836 between St. John's, Quebec, and La Prairie - a distance of 16 miles - and was intended to shorten the distance between Montreal and New York. In 1854 the Great Western connecting Hamilton with London and Detroit was opened. The Grand Trunk, with an open water outlet at Portland, Maine, and a western terminus at Port Huron, was opened the same year, and in 1859 when the Victoria Bridge across the St. Lawrence river at Montreal was completed this line with its connections supplied through trains from Portland to Sarnia. A line from Detroit to Port Huron was

leased in 1859 and the Buffalo and Lake Huron in 1867. The Grand Trunk Western from Port Huron to Chicago in 1880.

From this it is evident that the development of transportation facilities in the Northern States and Canada were very closely related to one and other. Travel between the two countries was continuous. Many of the principal waterways and railroads took on an international aspect and trains and boats were allowed to proceed from one country to another. In his report on the affairs of British North America in 1839, Lord Durham states: "The border townships of Lower Canada are separated from the United States by an imaginary line; a great part of the frontier of Upper Canada by rivers, which are crossed in ten minutes; and the rest by lakes which interpose hardly a six hours' passage between the inhabitants of each side. Every man's daily occupation brings him in contact with his neighbors on the other side of the line; the daily wants of one country are supplied by the produce of the other, and the population of each is in some degree dependant on the state of trade and the demands of the other."

Thus with the gradual vanishing of the frontier lines separating the two countries; and with the growth of population in the border states, is it not to be expected that people would be attracted back and forth across the boundary line due to the reciprocal influences in these two countries.

During the period under consideration the migration was considerable, but it was largely one-sided and

Canada was the loser. In Canada while the foundations of the Maritime provinces and Ontario were laid by the influx of Loyalists from the United States, by 1851 the population had grown to 952,000 of whom 526,000 were non-French Canadian born. Most of this increase was due to immigration from the British Isles with the exception of 44,000 who came from the United States. In the five years preceeding 1837, however, the flood of emigrants from Great Britain to British America reached 125,000 souls. During the Rebellion of 1837 and immediately succeeding years, this stream of immigration sank to a few thousands, only to develop after the Union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841 into a far greater mass of incoming population. During these years the principal British emigration had been to Upper and Lower Canada from which a great many settlers had drifted into the United States. In 1831 several hundred Irish families settled south of Quebec city in what afterwards became the County of Megantic. A thousand more persons of the same extraction took up land in the immediate neighborhood of Quebec, while some fifteen hundred others found homes in the Eastern Townships and fully 5,000 settled in the vicinity of Montreal. In all during this year 34,000 Irish emigrants actually reached Quebec, though despite the settlements recorded above a majority were attracted over the border "by the superior fascination of a large population and progressive cities - to say nothing of the unpleasant evidences of political agitation and turmoil which they found around them in the Canadas, and which must have prevented many a would-be¹ colonist from staying in the country."

1.

J. Castell Hopkins. - Canada in the 19th Century.

Thus at this time we see the commencement of a returning ebb of population from Canada into the United States. In 1850 Canadians formed 6.6 per cent of foreigners in the United States. Of these the emigrants from the Maritimes and Quebec found their way into New England, while the people from Ontario were to be found chiefly in the larger cities of New York, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois.¹ That this emigration to the border states was regarded as one of the major problems confronting the people of Canada even as early as 1839 is shown in Lord Durham's report, where he says: "What proportion may be of those emigrants from the United Kingdom who, soon after their arrival, remove to the United States, it would be very difficult to ascertain precisely." "Mr. Bell Forsyth, of Quebec, who had paid much attention to the subject, and with the best opportunities of observing correctly in both the Canadas, estimates that proportion as 60% of the whole. Mr. Hawke the chief agent for emigrants in Upper Canada, calculates that out of two-thirds of the immigrants by the St. Lawrence who reach that province, one fourth re-emigrate, chiefly to settle in the United States. It would appear however that the amount of emigration from Upper Canada, whether of new comers or others, must be nearer Mr. Forsyth's estimate. The population was reckoned at 200,000 in January 1930. The increase by births since then should have been at least three per cent per annum, or 54,000. Mr. Hawke states the number of immigrants from Lower Canada since 1829 to have

1.

Falconer. - U.S. as a Neighbor.

been 165,000; allowing that these also would have increased at the rate of three per cent. per annum, the whole increase by immigration and births should have been nearly 200,000. But Mr. Hawke's estimate of immigrants takes no account of the very considerable number who enter the province by way of New York and the Erie Canal. Reckoning these at only 50,000, which is probably under the truth, and making no allowance for their increase by births, the entire population of Upper Canada should now have been 500,000, whereas it is, according to the most reliable estimate, not over 400,000. It would therefore appear, making all allowance for errors in calculation, that the number of people who have emigrated from Upper Canada to the United States since 1829 must be equal to more than half of the number who have entered the province during the eight years. Mr. Bailie, the present commissioner for crown lands in New Brunswick, says: "A great many emigrants arrive in the province but they generally proceed to the United States, as there is not sufficient encouragement for them in the province." Mr. Morris, the present commissioner of crown lands and surveyor general of Nova Scotia, speaks in almost similar terms of the emigrants who reach that province by way of Halifax."

In spite of this, however, the movement of population was not all in the direction of the United States. In speaking again of the Maritime provinces Lord Durham points out: "It is a singular and melancholy feature in the condition of these provinces that the resources rendered of

so little avail to the population of Great Britain, are turned to better account by the enterprising inhabitants of the United States. While the emigration from the province is large and constant, the adventurous farmers of New England cross the frontier and occupy the best farming lands."

From the French portion of Lower Canada, there had been at this time a large annual emigration of young men to the northern states, in which they were highly valued as labourers and received good wages. In a report of a select committee of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada in 1849, appointed "to enquire into the cause and importance of the Emigration which take place annually from Lower Canada to the United States", they stated in part: "The emigration of Her Majesty's subjects in this province, to places out of Her Majesty's domain, is much more considerable than was generally believed, and threatens to become a real calamity for Lower Canada. The emigration began principally after the insurrections of 1837 and 1838, and was then strictly confined to the district of Montreal, and to such parts of that district as had suffered the most from the depredations carried on at that period. The efforts at settlement and the construction of railroads which was undertaken in the United States about that period, attracted and retained a great number of workmen who had been driven away by the want of work and the terror of the times. Some farmers, who had left their country for political reasons had reached the states of Michigan, Ohio and Illinois which were then and are still cultivated with so much activity and success, struck with the fertility of those

lands, sent to their friends and relations whom they had left in Canada exaggerated descriptions of the prosperity which awaited them there, and spared no means to induce their friends to join them."

This emigration of the agricultural population the committee stated "has been constantly on the increase, as well as that of the working population of the city of Montreal, and soon after, of the city of Quebec, where the want of work consequent upon the falling off of the lumber trade, has been sensibly felt during the last few years, while the disastrous fires of 1845 obliged a certain number of families to emigrate immediately."

Again in their report the committee referred to the emigration from the Eastern Townships to the United States, but this they pointed out was: "more than compensated by the constant emigration of farmers from the United States, the old Canadian settlements, and of emigrants from Europe."

"Many Canadian farmers, however, discouraged by the want of roads, the vexations of the large landholders, and sometimes through their own fault and want of perseverance, abandon the lands they have begun to open and go and hire themselves as labourers to the American farmers. On the other hand, a good number of natives of the United States, Ireland and Scotland, who have succeeded in the cultivation of their lands, sell them (in many cases after they have exhausted the soil) either to a new Canadian settler, or to some other emigrant from the British Isles in the United States, and with the proceeds of their sale go and purchase other lands in the west. The French-Canadians, on the

contrary, when they succeed in their settlement, keep their lands and remain."

Most of these emigrants the committee pointed out went to the United States by way of St. Johns and Albany, or by the Kenneble road, while those who sought new lands in the western states almost all went to Chicago by way of the canals and lakes.

"It would be very difficult", the committee reported, "to state even approximately the number of persons who have emigrated to the United States, and the amount of capital thus withdrawn from the Province. As public attention has been only lately directed to this subject, your committee thought it merely necessary to question persons to whom they applied for information respecting the statistics of the last five years only; their answers are in a general way vague and unsatisfactory."

The numbers of those stated to have arrived from the United States and those having gone to the United States are simply estimated, and a critical examination would probably show that they are incorrect. However the following are the figures compiled from the Canadian reports for 20¹ years, from 1851 to 1871 inclusive:-

1.

The Year Book and Almanac of Canada for 1871-74.

T A B L E I.

Year	From the United States	Settled in Canada	Passed through to the U.S.
1851	3,670	22,515	22,231
1852	3,500	29,943	12,733
1853	5,000	32,295	11,404
1854	7,000	38,800	21,383
1855	10,000	23,000	8,274
1856	10,729	24,816	8,352
1857	41,994	33,663	40,428
1858	26,860	12,340	27,330
1859	13,179	6,300	15,657
1860	4,829	7,827	7,152
1861	23,723	12,486	19,960
1862	40,450	28,798	33,828
1863	23,948	26,118	17,249
1864	27,048	21,738	24,487
1865	28,853	19,413	30,795
1866	23,147	10,091	41,704
1867	31,121	14,666	47,212
1868	37,148	12,765	58,683
1869	32,718	18,630	57,202
1870	24,544	24,706	44,313
1871	27,365	27,773	37,949
<hr/>			
	598,018	426,826	588,326
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The greater number of those set down in the preceding statement as having come from the United States were passengers via the Suspension Bridge for the Western States, who had chosen that route as the shortest and best to reach their destination. They were not in either case, as we have seen represented, persons who had come to Canada for settlement; and who afterwards on becoming dissatisfied had left for the United States. No record of the shiftings of this nature from either side of the frontier is available.

The 416,683 immigrants stated in 20 years to have settled in Canada, were persons who announced their intention to settle to government agents. But many more came from the United States to settle, while on the other hand many may have gone to the United States from Canada of whom there are no records whatever.

In a speech delivered by the Hon. Sir Richard Cartwright in the House of Commons, Ottawa, 14th March, 1888, in discussing the movement of population in Canada between 1861 and 1886, he said: "In these 25 years, one in every four of the native-born population of Canada has been compelled to seek a home in a foreign country, and that of all the emigrants whom we have imported at great cost, three out of four have been compelled to follow in the track of that fraction of the native-born population." "In the year 1860 there were 249,000 men of Canadian birth in the United States; that in 10 years they had grown to 490,000 souls, and that in 1880 there were 707,000 Canadians in the United States." Taking into consideration the death rate that must have prevailed during these twenty years, Sir Richard estimated that between 1860 and 1880 at least 600,000 Canadians found homes in the United States; and in 1886 he estimated that at least 900,000 of our population were inhabitants of the United States.

With regard to our foreign population, he stated: "The foreign population in Canada in 1861 amounted to 665,000 souls, and that in 1881 that foreign population had shrunk to 570,000 souls. In other words we lost 95,000 souls in those twenty years." Allowing again for a death rate amongst the

521,000 immigrants represented to have been brought into the country, he said: "The utmost numbers who can by any possibility have remained in Canada are 125,000; so that 380,000 had made Canada a mere place for transit at our expense."

C H A P T E R I V.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES IN THE DAYS OF RECIPROCAL TRADE, 1854-1866.

Prior to 1854 the development of the provinces of British North America had proceeded almost altogether along commercial lines. It was a commercialism of which the mother country was the centre and life of activity. There was for years practically no trade between the Maritime provinces and Upper and Lower Canada. The natural barriers between these two sections of the British possessions and close similarity of their products left the colonies bound together by no more than a common allegiance to the Sovereign.

Canada as we have seen is divided into several geographical divisions, each of which belongs logically to a corresponding division of the United States. In the absence of Tariffs each of these divisions would tend naturally to become a simple competing area, including both the Canadian and American portions of the division. Moreover the free navigation of all natural waterways and the equal use on both sides of canals and railways would tend to bind such sections of the country closer and closer together, enabling us to compete very successfully in the sale of our products to certain American markets with the same articles produced in the United States.

The Elgin-Massey treaty of 1854 secured the market long sought. There was to be Reciprocity between the United States and the British possessions of North America, on the products of the farm, seas and forests. The treaty also included

coal, which was to be an aid to Nova Scotia. While this treaty did not include all the products of the provinces, and in many respects was unsatisfactory to both the countries concerned, surely it was of advantage to the Maritime Provinces, situated as they are apart from the rest of the Dominion with New Brunswick but a continuation of the neighboring state of Maine. Surely it was of advantage to Nova Scotia with her forests and fisheries and her beds of coal, bordering on the sea, to have free access to the seaports of the United States, to dispose of her fish and coal and to give employment to her seamen.

Conditions in the Maritime provinces, during this period, were relatively stable, both in political and economic spheres. Responsible government had been obtained, and any public issues were local and personal not disruptive. On the economic side, manufacturing and commerce were centred in the provinces themselves. A large part of the Maritime commerce was with the United States. In 1857 it was stated by the Nova Scotian delegates to London, in their communication to the colonial secretary, that of the annual tonnage entering the port of Boston more than half was from Nova Scotia. Interprovincial migration was yet infrequent. "Boston is a few hours' trip", declared a Nova Scotian representative at a Dominion Board of Trade meeting, "but to come to Toronto one needs to mortgage his farm to pay the fare." A Canadian or New Brunswickian would often have a farm on each side of the, practically, imaginary boundary line, and a citizen of the United States often lived on his own and traded on the other side of the border. In fact the border jealousies which had caused such bitterness and danger had in this

period all but disappeared. In addition to this, in view of the likeness of the two peoples, is it not natural that there would be a considerable migration from one country to the other. And truly so, during and previous to this period we have under consideration, there was a large migration across the boundary line, and again from what few statistics that are available, Canada was the loser. To whatever causes this emigration from the Maritimes may be attributed, it was no doubt due in part to the fact that during this period and previous, in the Maritime provinces, colonising movements had not been very extensive. In fact, there seems to have been a distinct indifference to colonization. Opinion was prevalent that the number of immigrants to the provinces each year was more than the province could properly absorb in such a short time, and many were allowed to drift away to the United States. In many cases, however, emigrants reported as having gone to the United States were in no sense emigrants from Canada, but simply passengers from the United Kingdom or the continent of Europe, whose destination was the United States but chose this as the shortest and best route.

In the few years preceeding the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty, the population of New Brunswick had increased perhaps more rapidly than that of any other British colony, excepting Canada. The great influx of Loyalists in 1783 was followed by a steady flow of emigration from the neighbouring colonies and Great Britain. The rapid increase of population may be ascribed in some degree to the employment

created by the timber trade. The average number of immigrants who arrived in the provinces annually was about 6,000, and of these not less than 2,500 departed annually for the United States leaving 3,500 as the actual annual number of British emigrants who remained in the province.¹ In addition a few settlers came in from the United States annually. But the emigration to the United States previous to 1854 was not confined to transient peoples alone. Many of the young people went abroad as they reached maturity. In 1848-49 a number were attracted to Australia, but after that year California was a great attraction for young men and service in New England homes for the young women.²

But it is not to be supposed that the migration was all one-sided for there was also a considerable emigration from the United States and it is probable that the entire number of immigrants, 1344 given in the Census of New Brunswick in 1851 as from foreign countries, were from the United States. This immigration appeared to have but a single impulse or motive, namely, the desire of certain individuals to take advantage of the opportunities offered in the growing province, especially in the timber trade, and most of the Americans who came to New Brunswick in this period seemed to have been connected with the lumbering industry.³

After 1854 there was some immigration from the United States to the Maritime provinces, but it was very scattered and for the most part took the form of sporadic

1. Jas. Hannay. "History of New Brunswick."
2. Rev. George Patterson, D.D. - "History of the County of Pictou".
3. Ganong - "Origins of Settlements in New Brunswick."

invasions and as before was mostly connected with lumbering. A more distinctive form of American immigration, however, consisted of the settlement in the provinces of a number of American citizens who fled from the United States in 1863 or 1864 to escape the draft into the Union armies. Many of these returned to the United States after the close of the¹ war, but others remained as permanent settlers.

In a report of the Immigrant agent for Nova Scotia, in the Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1864, he stated: "No immigrants requiring any aid have arrived direct from Great Britain since July last, but a few have come by way of the States and New Brunswick. Some of the immigrants of last spring are doing so well that they have written to their friends inviting them to come to the province, but I have heard of too many who, allured by the reports of high wages, have been induced to leave the province for the Northern States."

In his report of 1866, he said: "The immigrants who entered the province this year may be arranged in three classes: First, those who came with the harvest determined to work, who were fit to work at their several vocations and to make Nova Scotia their home; second, a considerable number who had friends in the United States and who had more than an idea of going there when they left the British shores, availing of Nova Scotia as a stepping-stone to their intended destination, resolved that if they did not find the country exceeding their expectations for

1. Origin of Settlements in New Brunswick. - Ganong.

high wages and light work that they would not remain in it. Third, a set of lazy, unprincipled people, who would not thrive in any country, who must have been useless at home and left under an impression that any change would be for the better."

"Little difficulty was experienced with the first class, except with the coal miners who were greatly discouraged by their dissatisfaction in want of opening for their labour. I have not been able to ascertain the number remaining in the province, but I am sure that by far the most only remained until they had earned and raised enough money to carry them on to the States, or to return home again. I believe that all mechanics and labourers of this class are doing well and are satisfied although some encountered difficulties at first. Several of the Cornish miners have done well at the goldfields where nearly all were employed on arrival. But the most of them having friends and relatives in the States have left to join them. Indeed, I have been informed of money having been remitted to them in many cases to carry them on."

"With regard to the second class, there was a great deal of trouble, and many of the miners are included in it. They were incessantly complaining, saying that they were much better off at home, and attempting to extort money for aid under many pretences. They dropped away gradually, some by way of New Brunswick, some by the packets to Boston, and others by vessels from the coal pits."

"The third class was the most annoying of all, professing willingness to work and withdrawing from every work offered under various excuses such as they had not been used to

it, but ready to apply to any other that they were fit for. Fortunately this class was not numerous. While others were eager to leave the depot, they would have remained as long as they were lodged and fed, and I was compelled to force them out by suspending their rations. I had no time to inquire after them."

In addition to the foregoing several English and Scottish immigrants, chiefly miners, came into the province from the United States. But as far as it is possible to ascertain the great majority of the coal miners left the province, the greater part of whom sought new homes in the States. Had it not been for the sudden depression in the coal trade, many miners would have been attracted to Nova Scotia from the United States, in addition to those from England and Scotland, without any leaving for the United States.

During this period, farming was deficient in practical as well as scientific agriculture, and the lands were tilled in a careless and improvident manner. The farmers endeavoured to get along with as little hired labour as possible, many of them depending solely on their own and their family's labour. From this it is evident that little or no reliance could be placed on them for the regular employment of a large number of agricultural labourers. Hence this policy of those who were following agricultural pursuits, not only made it impossible to attract or hold farm labourers, but in addition many of the farmers' sons were forced to go to the United States for employment. In spite of this, however, we are given to

understand from the report of the Immigration Agent, that no considerable loss of population was sustained by the exodus of farm labourers.

C H A P T E R V.

THE FRENCH-CANADIAN MIGRATION, 1867-1900.

For many years before Confederation large numbers of French-Canadians attracted to the New England States by prospects of earning more money than in Canada, had been crossing the frontier and making the neighbouring republic their home. This was universally deplored, but all efforts to stem the exodus proved fruitless. The causes of the great drawing power of the United States were clear. The free lands of the country were easily accessible and seemingly limitless. Those of Canada difficult of access and belied by rumor. To the younger generation the obligation of clearing new land became less attractive than labor in New England cities. Many departed from their native soil because of the industrial and financial crisis which prevailed under the Union of Ontario and Quebec; as well as the hope or expectation entertained by them of receiving good wages in the factories and other industries of the eastern States. Many French-Canadians hoped in part to earn enough to liberate their properties from indebtedness and to resume some day the tilling of their Canadian farms.¹ In 1881 the Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Massachusetts said: "With some exceptions the Canadian French are the Chinese of the Eastern States. They care nothing for our institutions, civil, political

1.

The French-Canadian Question Outside of Quebec. Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Hon. Senator N. A. Bellecourt - May 1923.

or educational. They do not come to make a home among us, to dwell with us as citizens, and so become a part of us; but their purpose is merely to sojourn a few years as aliens, and, when they have gathered out of us what will satisfy their ends, to get away whence they came and bestow it there." While this no doubt is a gross exaggeration, to some extent it was true in the earlier days of migration. Then young men went to the States for seasonal occupations, such as in the Maine woods or brickyards.¹

However, owing to indifference or want of action on the part of Canada's governmental authorities to arrest the exodus, and to take steps to bring back those who left, and in part to the good treatment extended to them on the other side of the line, they readily accommodated themselves to the change of environment and for the most part gave up all hope of returning to their native land. As the immigration increased in numbers, and as a larger proportion secured better-paying positions, this impermanence of abode gradually wore off.

After the close of the Civil War the demand for labor in the New England states created by the growth of manufacturers, and to relatively high wages obtained by comparatively unskilled workmen, proved to be an attraction of no little influence. Advertisements of various kinds setting forth the advantages to be had in New England communities were widely scattered over the province of Quebec, assisted by the activities of immigration agents. Of these a large number were representatives of manufacturing corporations where the assurance of steady

1.
Fifty-Fifty Americans. - Robert Dexter. World's Work,
August, 1924.

employment, that was not laborious, at wages unheard of, made an irresistible appeal to the Canadian habitant. In addition, the factory offered a place not for himself alone, but also for his wife and older children. The first arrivals sent back enthusiastic accounts of conditions in the new country with money for the transportation of friends and relatives who were left at home.

In his book on the "Gross Mismanagement of Immigration in the Hands of the Government of Quebec", around 1872, Hans Wilhelm Muller says: "The causes for the French-Canadian exodus may be shortly summed up. It is the absence of abundance of work, it is the scarcity of remunerative work, it is in a degree the actual want of constant employment for all hands, it is the absence of room in our limited and unprotected industrial manufactories, it is the existing laws of a mediaeval age, oppressive on the awakening spirit of the present times in its antiquated, mouldy, nature of sinister feudal tyranny, suppressing just these powers in body and mind, free action of the God-given soul, now-a-days so much required for enterprise and competition. Feudal usages will always operate injuriously to growth in the body politic and natural wealth."

The expansion of French-Canadian life over the American border began very early. A considerable number had settled there before 1776, and not a few of them fought in the American Army during the Revolutionary war, receiving in part as payment for their services grants of land in the vicinity of Lake Champlain. After 1837 many French-Canadians sought a refuge in Western Vermont, and by 1865 the number leaving for the United States had reached alarming proportions.

Prior to 1890, however, reliable statistics on the actual movement of this element of the Canadian population are not to be had with any degree of accuracy. No records are available in the Canadian Census, and until 1890 the French-Canadian population was not separately returned by the United States Census. The best idea of the rapid growth of the French-Canadian population between 1865 and 1890 can be obtained from an examination of the French Catholic parishes with the dates of their organization. In 1851 the first French Catholic priest settled at Burlington, Vermont, and soon after we see the beginning of a systematic effort to build up French parishes. Between 1868 and 1890 a total of 74 French Catholic parishes were established in the New England States. In addition, there were 78 mixed parishes making a total of 152 parishes in all. Of these Massachusetts showed the most steady growth having in 1890 a total of 40 French-Canadian parishes and 52 parishes altogether. Connecticut appears to have been reached last of all, the first French-Canadian parish in that state not having been organized until 1880, at which date 36 parishes were in existence elsewhere in New England. Following is a chart showing the distribution of parishes in the six New England States 1868-1890.¹

1.

French-Canadians in New England. William MacDonald -
Quarterly Journal of Economics, April 1898.

TABLE II.

	ME.	N.H.	VT.	MASS.	R.I.	CONN.	TOTAL
1868	-	-	1	1	-	-	2
1869	1	-	2	3	-	-	6
1870	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
1871	1	-	1	5	-	-	7
1872	1	2	1	2	1	-	7
1873	-	-	-	1	2	-	3
1874	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
1875	-	-	-	2	1	-	3
1877	-	1	-	1	-	-	2
1878	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
1880	-	1	-	-	-	1	2
1881	-	2	-	1	-	-	3
1882	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
1883	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
1884	-	2	-	4	-	1	7
1885	-	-	-	4	-	-	4
1886	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
1887	-	1	-	1	-	1	3
1888	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
1889	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
1890	1	1	1	7	-	-	10
Total	5	10	6	40	8	5	74
Mixed Parishes	6	13	15	13	5	26	78
Total	11	23	21	53	13	31	152

The most distinctive feature of all is that the distribution of the parishes corresponded very roughly to the relative importance of the manufacturing interests of the different states.

As has been said an enumeration of the French-Canadian population of the United States was first attempted in the Census of 1890. Immigration to the States was at its height from 1875 to 1890 and those who arrived in that country annually numbered by thousands. In the early years this great

addition consisted naturally almost entirely of the foreign-born, but as the number of families increased the natural growth of the population began to make itself felt, so that, while the great majority of the French-Canadians were still of foreign birth, the proportion of such rapidly decreased. In 1890 of the French-Canadians in New England more than 38 per cent were born in the United States. In 1890 the number of French-Canadian residents of the United States who were foreign-born numbered 302,496. In 1900 they numbered 395,126. During this period it was calculated that 150,000 crossed the boundary to take up their residence in the States. The number of foreign-born French-Canadians was at its maximum in 1900, however, and since then has shown a considerable decrease. Solicited immigration had ceased and the labor market was well supplied.

That the migration was causing considerable comment even at that time is evidenced by a despatch from Boston to the Montreal Star, April 19, 1899, which reads as follows: "The influx of Canadians to New England this spring is the heaviest known for many years and is causing the Canadian Government officials some uneasiness. The backward spring in Canada, higher wages and improved outlook in manufacturing towns on this side of the line are the causes of the movement. It is estimated that almost 20,000 persons, a large proportion of whom are French-Canadians, have crossed the line this season. Usually at this time the tide of travel favors Canada but this year the annual exodus is very limited.

"The influx has spoilt the plans of the Canadian

Government which proposed to take thousands of French to Quebec and settle them on free lands. The labor market here is over-supplied and lower wages for farm labourers are predicted. Many of the cotton mills report that they have more applications for employment than they can accept."

There is no doubt that there were some grounds for the above despatch, in spite of the fact that it was flatly denied by Sir Wilfred Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada, in the House of Commons on the following day.

From 1900 to 1910 only 55,000 emigrated to the United States, and from 1910 to 1920 only 20,000. During this latter period there is reason to believe that the number of French Canadians returning from the United States to Canada was in excess of the numbers migrating from Canada to the United States.

But it is not to be supposed that even previous to these ten years there was no migration backwards across the boundary to Canada of native Canadian born French-Canadians. How great it is difficult to say, but previous to 1900 the Government had placed at the disposal of the Repatriation Society of the Province of Quebec a sufficient subsidy to enable that society to meet the salary and travelling expenses of one agent, besides subscribing \$25 a month towards the maintenance and free distribution of the Society's paper: "Le Colonisateur", and providing for the free transmission of the Society's advertising matter through the mails. The Quebec and Lake St. John Railway Company also gave financial aid in the

colonization work, the most of their attention being directed to repatriation. Four agents were steadily employed by the Department of Interior in this special work. French pamphlets were published and distributed in large quantities through these agents and directly from Ottawa, and direct communication was established with various parties in the United States in the interest of the movement. The returns available for the calendar year 1898 show 339 families of French-Canadians having been repatriated through the efforts of the Canadian Government. But that was not all, many others went to the Maritime provinces, particularly New Brunswick, of whom there is no record. In addition, many went to the North-West, who were classified as "Canadians" without reference to their French extraction. In the province of Manitoba five townships were reserved for French-¹ Canadians coming from the United States.

The great bulk returning to Canada came from the New England States and for the most part settled in the rural districts of New Brunswick, Quebec, the Nipissing district in Ontario and Alberta. The inducements offered to these people were the same as those offered to other settlers: free lands, low railroad rates and supervision and assistance by officers² of the Government.

Though by far the greatest number of the French-Canadians settled in the North Eastern states, and along the Atlantic Coast, some of them found a home in other parts of the American Union. In 1890 about 75 per cent were to be found

1.

Hill - History of Manitoba.

2.

Sir Clifford Sifton. Speech in House of Commons April 17, 1899.

along the Atlantic, 20 per cent in the North Central regions, 3 per cent in the West, and 2 per cent in the South. The following is a table showing the geographical distribution of the Canadian-born French-Canadians in the United States 1890-1900.¹

TABLE III.

	1890	1900
New England	205,761	275,435
Middle Atlantic	23,593	29,785
East North Central	46,789	55,554
West North Central	18,924	21,465
South Atlantic	284	636
East South Central	124	419
West South Central	270	1,041
Mountains	3,361	5,608
Pacific	3,390	5,183
United States	302,496	395,126

Quite the largest part of this population were to be found grouped together in cities and towns. Drawn to the manufacturing centres at the beginning by the influences already referred to, and finding their employment not only steady and remunerative but very agreeable to their former conditions in Canada. With regard to the six New England States as a whole, the largest proportion of French-Canadians were to be found in the small manufacturing towns and in particular to those given over to the textile industries. In these towns the French-Canadian people composed almost the whole of the foreign element.

In the early days of this emigration the newcomers to the United States were poor and in many respects vastly

¹. Annals of American Academy of Political & Social Science.
C. E. Jackson. Emigration of Canadians to the United States. May, 1923.

inferior to the average class of French-Canadian. Later on, however, they came of a more honorable and intelligent class, whether they went in groups of families or as individuals, making a decided improvement upon the earlier arrivals. But even as early as 1789 some French-Canadians went to the United States to receive educational advantages which could not be had at home.¹ Since that time American institutions have attracted many French-Canadian students.

Though the first immigrants were largely made up of labourers, employed on arrival almost exclusively in the factories, a considerable number entered into the commercial, industrial and professional life of their adopted country. As a result many acquired and controlled as they now do an important part of the business and professional life of these states. By 1900 over 84 per cent had taken out their naturalization papers,² and in 1884 two were elected to the Maine Legislature.

In spite of all this, however, it was as operatives that the French-Canadians were most in evidence, and of the total number employed in New England in 1890 over 70 per cent were employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries.³

To-day it is estimated that there are over a million French-Canadians, or people of French-Canadian stock, in New England alone.⁴ They determine to a very large extent the

1. Evolution of French Canada. J. C. Bracy.

2. J. C. Bracy.

3. The French-Canadians in New England. O. W. MacDonald.
Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol.12, 1928.

4. Fifty-Fifty Americans. Robert Dexter. The World's Work,
August, 1924.

social, intellectual and religious life of entire villages. Old New England communities, particularly the smaller textile centres, have been slowly transformed. Many of the stores have become French, and the town offices have numerous French-speaking officials.

While the assimilation of the French-Canadians will take place sooner or later, to some extent it has been retarded by the influence of the French-Canadian press, their parochial schools and by the French-Catholic churches.¹

It was generally expected when the French-Canadian immigration took place, which was predominantly Catholic, it would strengthen already existing Catholic churches. For a time this was true, but as the movement gained momentum there arose a demand for churches with French Catholic priests. The earliest appeal came from the Bishop of Vermont, Mgr. de Gaesbriand, a Breton by birth, and at first was received in a half-hearted way by the Canadian clergy.² This desire soon spread to other dioceses where the church authorities were mostly Irish by hereditary and all English by speech. As a result of this desire so strongly felt by these Canadians to have sermons in their mother-tongue, presided over by their own priests, numerous French-Catholic parishes have been established throughout the New England states.

1. The evolution of French Canada. J. C. Bracy.

2. ~~Fifty-Fifty~~ Americans. Robert Dexter.

C H A P T E R V I.

THE AMERICAN INVASION OF THE NORTH-WEST, 1900-1913.

"On July 1, 1890, by royal proclamation all that portion of British North America lying between Ontario and British Columbia became a part of the Dominion of Canada. This area, embracing the whole of the present provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta with their hinterlands to the Arctic seas, was a vast waste upon which human activities save in a few isolated localities had made no mark."¹

In taking over this vast new stretch of country, Canada found herself confronted with a series of problems of the greatest magnitude. The Dominion embarked upon this great enterprise because her public men ~~who~~ had faith that this "Western Heritage", by affording homes to the younger generations of Canadians and to settlers from other lands, would add to the prosperity and greatness of the Dominion. Before this settlement was possible however, many things in the way of preparation had to be done. The west had to be brought into a closer relationship with the east. When the transfer took place, "the immigrant proceeding to the Northwest had a choice of two routes, both long and arduous, and the Canadian one was the least inviting of the two. Those who desired to take the American route could either go by rail to Chicago and St. Paul, or by water to Duluth, thence by rail to the Red River, and from there by boat or stage to Fort Garry." The Canadian route was more strenuous. A boat

1.

J. W. Dafoe. - Economic History of Prairie Provinces 1870-1913. - Canada and its Provinces.

would be taken from Sarnia or Collingwood to Fort William, at the head of the Great Lakes from whence the Dawson Trail was followed to Shebandowan Lake, and then to the Lake-of-the-Woods. From there it was a 450 mile journey by cart and boat to Winnipeg.¹ In addition much had to be done when the settlers arrived, involving such tasks as making surveys, providing roads and railways, and in general establishing law and order over such a wide territory.

The first ten years' work in the west prepared and opened the way for settlement on a generous scale. Much had been accomplished in such a short period, law and order had been enforced, a definite railway policy had been adopted, and above all the marked fertility of the soil had been sufficiently demonstrated. In 1872 the MacDonald Ministry adopted the homestead system of land disposal (a literal copy of the American land settlement scheme of 1862) and introduced it into Western Canada.

In spite of all this, however, up until the close of the 19th century any attempts at settlement and colonization met with very little success. The anticipated immigration did not measure up to expectations. By 1881 the combined population of Manitoba and the North West territories was 118,706,² or slightly more than double that of 1871. The number of homestead entries in 1881 numbered only 2,753,³ making a total of 13,750 in all.

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1. John Thomas Culliton, M.A. - Assisted Emigration and Land Settlement.
 2. Canada Year Book, 1925. P.83.
 3. Mavor - Report on North-West Canada, P.25.

The second decade of development marked the completion of a railroad system, and it is to the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway that may be attributed the large migration that followed in the subsequent years. During the 90's the development of Western Canada proceeded slowly speeding up towards the close in readiness for the great movement which set in with the beginning of the new century. From 1891 to 1901 homestead entries were made to the number of 45,881, representing a transfer of 7,320,960 acres of prairie land.¹ The records of 1896 show that in addition to those by British and Canadian settlers, entries were made by people from practically every country in Europe and every state in the American Union. It was in this year that we see the beginning of the American immigration when 198 homestead entries were made by residents of the United States. The influx of Americans grew with such rapidity that in 1901 it was estimated that there were already 50,000 Americans in Western Canada.²

But it was not until the opening of the 19th century that immigration into the West set in with any marked degree. From 1901 to 1911 the population of these prairie provinces more than trebled, rising from 419,512 to 1,281,118.³ Of this immigration the most remarkable was the "American Invasion" as it has been called.

It was inevitable that these vast vacant stretches of fertile land in the Canadian Northwest would in time attract

1. Report of Department of Interior.

2. Dafoe.

3. Canada Year Book.

an American migration. It was this counter current flowing towards the Northwest that for a time balanced the Canadian current flowing south. "Until the beginning of the present century the progress of American settlement was held in with remarkable effectiveness by the imaginary fence of the 49th parallel."¹ The states touching the border on the American side between Lake Superior and the Pacific increased their population by over 2,100,000 in the twenty years previous to 1900. The Canadian territories on the other side of the invisible line, with as good or better land, did not gain 1/10² of that number of people in the same period. But it was not to be expected that this line could remain a barrier for ever. The more fertile homestead areas in the Western States were taken up and the end of these free lands was in sight. On the other hand, in the Canadian North-West, there were hundreds of millions of acres of land inviting cultivation with nothing but a parallel of latitude to shut them off.

While it may be safely assumed that this influx of American settlers was a spontaneous migration of a multitude of individuals anxious to better their conditions, it was not entirely without certain political significance. The government at Ottawa adopted a vigorous and many-sided policy for the opening and development of the West. They realized that nowhere could settlers be had with more capital and practical experience of western needs than the farmers of the western and mid-western states. In furtherance of this policy through legitimate

1. Samuel E. Moffat. The Americanization of Canada. Columbia University Thesis, 1907.

2. Moffat.

channels, Canadian immigration agencies at various points in the United States were re-organized and new ones opened. Tens of thousands of dollars were expended in advertising and in the distribution of literature. Free railroad trips were arranged for parties of farmers and for press representatives. In addition every assistance was given to make it easy for the settler to transfer his effects and inhabit his new home.

As a result of these aggressive efforts, the rank of incoming Americans arose to astounding proportions - from 700 in 1897 to 15,000 in 1900, 100,000 in 1911 and in 1913 it reached its height at 139,000 immigrants. During the five years preceeding 1902 it had been estimated that over 55,000 United States settlers with their families settled in the North-West, and in 1903 these foreigners had risen to upwards of 86,000 settlers.¹

In spite of the statistics that are available, however, a large number of emigrants escaped statistical record. Many who entered Canada by the Minneapolis and St. Paul Railway (the "Soo" line) and by the Alberta railway, as well as those who arrived by covered wagons, did not come to the knowledge of the authorities unless they made applications for homesteads. During the years 1903-4, 15,722 settlers came into Canada over the "Soo" line, bringing with them 2,563 cars of settlers' effects and stock. For these reasons the list of applications for homesteads is a more reliable guide, although farm laborers and their families are excluded. Of these newcomers roughly speaking they may be divided into three classes; those coming

of American stock; those descended of North European stock - Swedish and Norwegian; and finally those who were formerly Canadians, repatriating themselves from many states, some of whom belonged to first, but many to second, generations. In a report of P. F. Daly, of the Canadian Bureau of Information and Immigration, Chicago, December 31, 1896, he says: "A large percentage of the immigration that has gone during the past two or three years from the United States to Manitoba and the North-West territories has consisted of Canadian¹ sons of our oldest and best Ontario farmers."

The following is a statement giving the number of homestead entries for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1896 to 1913 by persons coming from the various states and territories of the American Union, also of these what numbers were Canadians returned from the United States:-

1. Sessional Papers. Vol.XXXI, 1897.

T A B L E I V.

Year	No. of Entries	Number of Returned Canadians
1896	198	48
1897	218	54
1898	698	117
1899	1,167	105
1900	1,462	155
1901	2,191	165
1902	5,162	401
1903	11,841	899
1904	8,255	525
1905	9,015	483
1906	13,188	703
1907	6,552	493
1908	8,328	510
1909	10,522	693
1910	13,566	753
1911	13,038	553
1912	10,978	401
1913	9,075	180

Total	125,456	7,228

In addition to those who settled on homesteads there were many who were not satisfied to fulfil homestead requirements and purchased large areas of land outright. Even as early as 1901, this immigration was marked by the incoming of men of means on the look-out for favourably situated and improved holdings which they purchased at good figures. Of the many large areas of land sold by the Canadian Pacific Railway and other land companies, American settlers were the chief purchasers, and from this it is reasonable to assume that many others purchased farms from other sources without taking up land on homestead conditions. As the price of land rose in the United States and the subsequent

reduction of profits on farm products by high capitalization, many sold out their holdings to begin again on the Canadian prairies with adequate capital for a good start.

In addition, almost without exception, those who settled on homesteads had considerable capital. In the years 1907-8, the value of the money and effects brought in by 58,312 American settlers was in the neighborhood of \$52,000,000, or nearly \$1,000¹ per head. Of these, 48,000 took up homesteads and most of the balance purchased land and started farming.

These new additions to the population were of a highly desirable class, being composed chiefly of experienced farmers, possessed of considerable means. In addition, 50 years' experience in prairie farming had taught them improved agricultural methods, so necessary to successful farming in Western Canada. The ability of these people to cope with these conditions no doubt contributed in no small measure to the movement of population to the prairie provinces. Their success in farming operations naturally moved others to follow them. They have proved to be remarkably good citizens, have made excellent farmers, have readily adapted themselves to Canadian institutions and anxious to share in working them.

1.
Dept. of Interior - Annual Report.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTEMPORARY CANADA

The development of Canada has been, and is, inseparably interwoven with the immigration question. It has been the immigrant flow of population from other lands that has enabled Canada to achieve its present status of development. What part this immigration question is destined to play in the future can be somewhat appreciated when it is remembered that Canada with scarcely 10,000,000 people occupies one-sixteenth of the world's land area, and more than that proportion of its natural resources.

This development, however, up until the beginning of the present century was largely of an undirected character. Individuals and groups migrated to Canada from the British Isles, most of the countries of Europe and from the United States, but led only by a desire for self-betterment stimulated by their own initiative. True, some impetus was given this movement from time to time, but for the most part it was small, detached and unorganized. In 1871 the population of the entire country did not exceed 3,690,000. The increase in population during the decade 1871 to 1881 was 635,553; during the decade 1881 to 1891 it was 508,429; and from 1891 to 1901¹ it was 538,076.

From the beginning of the 20th century up until the

1.
Canada Year Book, 1926, p.91.

outbreak of the Great War, immigration was at its high tide. From 1901 to 1914 immigration to Canada totalled 2,906,022 people; of these 1,116,352 came from the British Isles, 998,659 from the United States, and 791,011 from other¹ countries.

With the outbreak of the Great War immigration from the enemy countries was, of course, immediately and completely suspended; from Great Britain and her allies practically so, the movement from the United Kingdom dropping from 142,622 in 1914 to 8,664 in 1916. The movement from the United States was similarly but not so seriously affected, dropping from 107,536 in 1914 to 36,937 in 1916.² While the United States remained neutral Canada as a warring nation was at an obvious disadvantage as a field for new settlers, and after the United States entered the war the heavy enlistment for active service had a similar effect upon immigration returns. At the same time the strict military rules enforced throughout Canada during the war operated greatly to reduce immigration into the United States from Canadian sources. The lowest figures in Canadian immigration since the beginning of the present century were touched in 1916, and from then until 1920 the yearly arrivals were only about 25 per cent of the³ years immediately preceeding.

With the close of the war the consensus of opinion was that the movement to Canada would again be heavy, and in

1. Canada Year Book.

2. Canada Year Book.

3. J. C. Stead. Canada's Immigration Policy. Annals of American Academy of Social and Political Science.

all probability exceed all previous records. But this has not been so, Canada along with all countries experienced a financial and industrial depression during this period of reconstruction. With the return of peace the new conditions called for new policies. The demobilization of the Canadian forces brought about the problem of re-absorbing into civil life the hundreds of thousands of returning soldiers. There was a surplus in the local labor markets and it was impracticable for the Canadian Department of Immigration and Colonization to extend inducements to the vast numbers of labourers available at that time as immigrants. In view of this Canada found it necessary to restrict activities almost exclusively to those who were in a position to buy land or were prepared to take farm employment, and to household workers.

In the United States during this same period the immigration problem naturally claimed much attention, both from the economic and political points of view. Organized labor favored the restriction of immigrants because of the belief that immigration made for low wages and unemployment. In 1921 the system of a prescribed quota was adopted¹ fixing the rate for aliens of any nationality at three per cent of the number of foreign-born persons of such nationality resident in the United States as determined by the United States Census of 1910. On May 26, 1924, the quota rate² was reduced to two per cent and adopting the census period of 1890 as the basis, but fixing a minimum of 100 from any nationality. Various exemptions are made as to the application of this law, provision being made for relatives, students, travellers, etc.

1. Act of May 19, 1921, 42, Stat. 5.

2. Act of May 26, 1924, 43, Stat. 153.

Furthermore, nearly all of the American hemisphere is not subjected to these quota laws including the whole of the Dominion of Canada.

While the quota restrictions have no direct concern with the citizens of Canada, indirectly they are not without certain significance. When the United States partially closed her doors to the people of Europe, and to a lesser extent to the people of the British Isles, she at the same time improved the prospects for citizens of Canada who wished to go to that country to take up permanent residence.

To-day Canada's population is approximately 9,800,000. At the time of the decennial census in 1921 the population of the Dominion numbered 8,788,483, so that the intervening years have seen an increase of approximately 1,000,000 people. This is a disappointing showing to many who had anticipated that after the war this country would receive a large influx of immigrants. Moreover during the post-war period Canada lost a large number of her best citizens through emigration to the United States where economic conditions proved more attractive.

The explanation of the heavy migration from all parts of Canada to the United States a few years ago is perfectly simple. Severe depression in this country, and prosperity and expansion in the United States, largely due to the investment of enormous sums of money during the war, led a great many Canadians to seek employment across the line. This country, however, soon recovered, growth and expansion set in, and with it came the increasing return movement from the United States.

The following figures for the years 1920-29 will give some idea of the recent trend of migration across the boundary between Canada and the United States:-

T A B L E V.

	Immigration from U.S.	Emigration ¹ to U.S.
1920	49,656	90,025
1921	48,059	72,317
1922	29,345	46,810
1923	22,007	117,011
1924	20,521	200,690
1925	15,518	102,753
1926	18,778	93,368
1927	21,025	84,580
1928	25,007	75,281
1929	30,560	66,451
Totals	280,476	949,286

A movement not included in the immigration figures is that of returned Canadians. Since April 1924 a record has been kept of the number of Canadian citizens returning to Canada after an absence in the United States, who left Canada with the intention of making their permanent home in the United States, and subsequently returning to Canada declaring their intention of again taking up permanent residence here. Persons who left Canada on visits, or for other temporary purposes, have not been included with these people. Returning Canadian citizens are divided into three classes: (a) Those born in Canada; (b) Those British-born who acquired Canadian domicile; and (c) Those who secured naturalization in Canada. The figures

1. No official emigration figures are compiled at Ottawa. The information given here is supplied by the U.S. Commissioner General of Immigration, and covers U.S.A. fiscal figures ending June 30th.

since April 1, 1924, are as follows:

T A B L E V I.

STATEMENT OF RETURNED CANADIANS TO CANADA FROM THE UNITED STATES
from APRIL 1, 1924 ended MARCH 31, 1929.

Fiscal year	Canadian- born Citizens	British sub- jects with Canadian domicile	Naturalized Canadians with domicile	Totals
1924-25	36,473	4,487	2,815	43,775
1925-26	40,246	4,102	2,873	47,221
1926-27	49,255	5,326	2,376	56,957
1927-28	35,137	3,280	1,470	39,887
1928-29	30,008	2,795	995	33,798
Apr.1st to Dec.1/29	22,210	1,695	731	24,636
Totals	213,329	21,685	11,260	246,274

The shift of population over the Canadian-American boundary is now near a balance. The volume of emigrants from Canada to the United States in 1929 was not only the smallest since 1922, but it was less than one-third of the numbers for 1924, the peak year of emigration to the United States from this country when 200,834 people crossed to take up residence on the American side of the boundary line.

The figures for 1929 show that 64,440 people emigrated to the United States; immigrants to the Dominion from that country amounted to 30,560, plus 33,798 returning Canadians, indicating a net loss of 112 people.

This situation has been brought about by a decline in emigration from the Dominion rather than an increase in immigration. A further analysis of immigration figures show that the emigration of native-born Canadians has decreased more rapidly than the total. For example, in 1926 native Canadians

to the number of 82,462 emigrated to the United States. In 1929¹ the count had fallen to 49,009.

The French-Canadian, the statistics indicate, is more firmly rooted to his native heath than his English-speaking compatriot. While French-Canadians make up about 28 per cent of the total population of the Dominion, the percentage of their emigration in relation to the whole is only 20.² Over the last five-year period the movement of French-Canadians to the United States has declined at the same rate as the general movement. In 1925 the figures were 16,173 and in 1929 they were 10,773.³

Not only has there been a marked decline in the number of French-Canadians leaving annually for the United States, but in addition considerable numbers have returned after an absence of a few years. "An act respecting the repatriation of Canadians in the Province of Quebec", was passed by the Legislature of Quebec, and received Royal assent on the 22nd of March, 1928, in which it was provided: "The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may set apart annually a sum of \$50,000 for the repatriation of Canadians who have emigrated or established themselves abroad. Such sum of \$50,000 shall be paid out of the consolidated revenue fund, in such manner and upon such conditions as the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may determine".

Since that time the Government of that province has continued without intermission a policy of repatriation bringing back to that province French-Canadians who have emigrated to the

1. U.S. Department of Labor - Bureau of Immigration.

2. Ditto. Ditto.

3. Ditto. Ditto.

United States, more particularly those who have emigrated to the New England states. To date Quebec has succeeded in bringing back large numbers of French-Canadian families that had left Quebec with the object of permanently settling in New England only to find that economic conditions in the United States were not as favorable as they appeared to be.

In a report of the Hon. Hector Laferte, Minister of Colonization in the Province of Quebec on repatriation during the years 1928-29, the report shows that from the 1st of March, 1928, to the 31st of December, 1929, 1,903 people were repatriated through the efforts of this movement. Of these 1,474 people, representing 280 families, have been established on the land. 87 families and 27 bachelors, making 314 people in all, have been returned to industry, while 115 more people have returned to settle on the land but have not yet purchased property. In all cases the process of careful selection has been strictly adhered to. Not only have their history in the United States been investigated, but also enquiries made at the Canadian centre from which these families came originally. In the opinion of J. Bergeron, priest, Colonization Missionary, under whose direction this repatriation work has been carried out, that which has been done to date is very encouraging and there are still many more families who are ready to return and will be repatriated within the coming year.

Of recent years the annual export of graduates of Canadian Universities to the United States has been a subject of much contention. It has been held by many, that we are educating young people in our Universities and Colleges who afterwards leave Canada because there is no occupation for them in this country. Moreover it is said, that, "by many persons in the United States, Canada is regarded as the best intellectual recruiting ground in the North American Continent."

No doubt there is much truth in this statement. In the early stages of Canada's development and even as late as the years immediately following the Great War, Canada did not realize the importance of utilizing trained men in public service and the industrial life of the community. This situation, however, has been considerably altered of recent years. To-day scientifically trained men are much in demand by the larger industrial organizations of the country.

Quite a large percentage of our University graduates have gone to the United States because of the opportunity afforded to them of pursuing graduate studies in some of the larger educational centres. A student who has done well as an undergraduate has little difficulty in securing an assistantship or scholarship at American Universities. Commenting on the situation, the head of one of our eastern Universities said, "It is interesting to note, that when students have not gone to the United States for further training the majority of them have stayed in Canada, while the reverse is true where the graduate

work has been done in the United States." This condition no doubt has tended to cast a reflection on the higher educational policy of the country and as a result has been a subject of consideration by the heads of our various Universities. At the 12th National Conference of Canadian Universities, held at McGill University, 1928, certain facts were furnished by various members of the Conference with respect to the distribution of their graduates. The following is a statement showing the percentage of the total number of graduates of these Universities who have gone to the United States.*

Acadia University.....	35.5%
University of Alberta.....	6.0%
Brandon College.....	11.2%
University of British Columbia.....	6.8%
Dalhousie University.....	14.3%
Laval University.....	None
McGill University.....	9.0%
University of Manitoba.....	12.0%
Nova Scotia College of Agriculture.....	4.2%
Nova Scotia Technical College.....	30.0%
Ontario Agricultural College.....	12.7%
Queen's University.....	15.0%
Royal Military College.....	24.0%
University of Saskatchewan.....	7.0%
University of Toronto.....	13.6%
Trinity College.....	19.7%
University of Western Ontario.....	18.0%

Not all of these, however, have taken up permanent residence in the United States. Many have only gone to American Universities to pursue graduate studies, with the expectation of again returning to Canada. Of the Canadian Universities, those situated in Eastern Canada and in particular those of the Maritime provinces, have made the largest contribution to the annual quota of the Canadian graduates going to the United States

* Report of the 12th National Conference of Canadian Universities, page 47.

This no doubt is due in part to the close proximity of the higher American educational Institutions and also to the fact that many students from Western Canada pursue their graduate work in Eastern Universities.

But it is not to be supposed that this movement is entirely in the one direction. In McGill University a large percentage of the graduates in Medicine come from the United States. During the years 1927 and 1928 the average was 18%. In 1927 it was reported that 733 Canadian students were attending American Universities. At the same time more than one-third of this number were registered at McGill University alone. In the opinion of Dr. H. M. Tory, President of the National Research Council and former President of the University of Alberta, the interchange of graduates of the two countries is very considerable, and in the Province of Alberta at least, the balance of trade in University graduates is very much in our favour.

But this is only one of the many phases of migration between the two countries. To-day there is a greater annual migration across the border between Canada and the United States than any other international boundary; recent estimates set the figures at 25,000,000 people. The presence of the United States on our Southern border, with its dense population, possessing in a high degree the leisure and the means to travel, the ease of communication between the two countries, the large automobile population, and the close interlocking of business interests between the two countries, result in very large travel over the border. In addition, Canada's great natural assets, many still in their natural state, and the large cities and more favourable

climate of the United States are attracting tourists in ever-increasing numbers. The importance of the tourist trade as a factor in Canada's economic growth is becoming more widely recognized year by year. During the years 1922 - 1929, the value of the Canadian tourist trade has grown at a more rapid rate than the income of any other individual industry in the country.

Tourists who enter Canada from the United States are divided into two classes: (a) those entering from the United States in automobiles; (b) those entering by rail or steamer. Of these the most important factor is the automobile traffic. Under the regulations of the Department of National Revenue each motor tourist entering Canada is required to take out a permit for the motor vehicle according to the length of time it remains in Canada, e.g.- (1) for a period not exceeding twenty-four hours, or good only for the day the car enters; (2) for a period exceeding twenty-four hours but not exceeding sixty days; and (3) for a period exceeding sixty days but not exceeding six months. Canadian cars leaving for touring purposes in the United States are likewise required to take out an export permit but only one form of permit is used, whether the car remains in the United States one day or six months. Cars crossing the border every day, however, are required to take out only a season permit, and consequently the total number of permits does not represent the total number of cars crossing the border although it does fairly accurately represent the number of tourist cars.

Foreign automobiles to the number of 4,508,803 entered Canada last years for touring purposes. This was an

increase of 863,353 cars over 1928. Every province enjoyed a substantial increase on the tourist traffic. The year 1929 showed an increase of over 150,000 in the number of cars which remained in Canada for some considerable time. Last year 1,099,961 foreign cars entered Canada under 60-day permits, and 1,204 others came in for longer periods than that. The remainder of the 4,508,803 came in for a period not exceeding 24 hours. In 1929 the number of cars which came in under the 60-day permit totalled 945,545.

Ontario was the banner tourist province of the Dominion. Over 75 per cent (3,505,500) of the total tourist vehicles entering Canada came in by Ontario ports. Of the increase of 863,353 over all the Dominion, 743,338 is accounted for by the increase in that province. Quebec had a gain of 58,000; British Columbia 19,000; Alberta 17,000; New Brunswick 20,000; and Saskatchewan 3,000.

The number of tourist automobiles admitted into Canada in 1929 and 1928 by provinces is as follows*:

	<u>1929</u>	<u>1928</u>
Ontario	- 3,505,500	2,762,162
Quebec	- 523,825	465,773
New Brunswick	- 196,142	175,618
British Columbia	- 181,798	161,808
Manitoba	- 48,514	48,147
Alberta	- 29,567	12,472
Saskatchewan	- 21,652	17,870
Nova Scotia	- 1,805	1,600
TOTALS	4,508,803	3,645,450

It might be pointed out that tourists frequently enter through

* Figures for this table as well as other figures presented on the tourist trade are taken from a report issued by the Minister of National Revenue.

the port of one province when they are on their way to another province. For example, many tourists who enter New Brunswick ports visit Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

The number of Canadian automobiles exported for touring purposes during 1929 and 1928 totalled by provinces was as follows:

		<u>1929</u>	<u>1928</u>
Ontario	-	283,250	236,606
Quebec	-	145,714	98,534
British Columbia	-	126,830	118,193
New Brunswick	-	27,740	34,603
Saskatchewan	-	17,736	10,762
Manitoba	-	16,375	18,989
Alberta	-	2,795	2,086
Nova Scotia	-	<u>132</u>	<u>98</u>
TOTALS	-	620,572	519,871

That there will always be a great deal of migration both ways across the boundary may be taken for granted. The two countries are contiguous for more than 3,000 miles; they have the same language and very similar institutions. The people of the two countries are also becoming more intimate as a result of the vast tourist movement both ways across the line.

The migration between the two countries will probably continue to be very considerable, with this important difference, that while in the past it has been largely one-sided and Canada has been the loser, the scale will be more evenly balanced now and in all probability turn definitely in Canada's favour. At the present time it is possibly slightly in our favour, and the development and expansion of the next few years are likely to attract an increasing number of people from the South.

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