THE GERMANS IN CANADA

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Occupational and Social Adjustment of German Immigrants in Canada.

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PREFACE

Recently men prominent in the public life of Canada and Great Britain have made pronouncements which point to a renewed interest in immigration. The author suspects that frequently neither the speaker nor his audience have very specific knowledge either of the peoples already in Canada or the population requirements of the country. Such literature as exists on this subject is very fragmentary and unscientific for the most part. It is as a contribution to the knowledge in this field that the present study of Germans in Canada is being submitted.

The body of the study divides itself naturally into three main sections, each of which is complete in itself. Part I is a general section treating the population structure of Canada, German backgrounds and the distribution of Germans in Canada. The two sections of part II are two case studies of German immigrants in two areas, the first section treating a German group in a rural setting, the second a group in a metropolitan centre.

Part I begins with a brief treatment of the physical base of Canada, since it is with reference to this that successive population elements have become distributed. The resultant population structure is analysed and trends in the ethnic composition since the beginning of the present century discussed in more detail. It is noted that after the British and French the Germans form both the next oldest and the next largest group. The second chapter then goes on to describe in greater detail the heterogeneous backgrounds from which German immigrants in Canada have come, distinguishing particularly between Reich Germans and

PART I

CANADA AND ITS GERMANS

Ausland Germans. Then the reader is carried on to a study of German settlement in Canada and particularly the changes in distribution since the 1901 census and the rural and urban distribution. A field so large as the Dominion of Canada is, however, too large a unit in which to study in detail the adjustments of immigrants. Since these take place in specific communities, the regional approach is used in the second part of the study.

Part II is divided into two sections. Section I is a study of assimilation in St. Peter's and St. Joseph's Colonies, two German Catholic rural communities in Saskatchewan. The survey was conducted by G. H. Craig and L. G. Reynolds for the Canadian Pioneer Problems during the summer of 1932. Through an arrangement with the committee the materials were placed at the disposal of the writer. The present study was written during the following summer under the close supervision of Dr. C. A. Dawson. The writer is indebted to Miss Eva R. Younge and Miss Evelyn Cornell of the Social Research Laboratory Staff (McGill) for checking all tables and suggesting certain revisions.

Part II, Section II is the writer's own field survey of post-war German immigrants in Montreal. In collecting family schedules the writer was assisted by Mr. W. Joeck of the Social Research Staff. The family schedule used was developed by Mr. S. W. Mȧmchur and the writer (see Appendix B). The sample finally used was that of 63 heads of German families in Montreal, all of whom have arrived in Canada since the war.

In addition to collecting family schedules all the particular German institutions such as churches, social clubs, political organ-

izations, athletic organizations, etc. were visited - some quite frequently - and data obtained from each.

After the field work was completed the data on the schedules were coded by the writer and compiled by International Business machines. Tables 41 and 42 were again revised in the Social Research Laboratory to conform in the treatment with similar studies of other immigrant groups. The charts and maps (maps 1 & 4 only) are the work of Mrs. C. A. Severs and Mr. Hans Schmelzer, both of the Social Research staff (McGill).

The reader will be struck by the absence of tables from the text. As a methodological experiment all tables have been relegated to an appendix and charts inserted in the text. Where reference to a table is made, or where a table is analysed, the number of that table appears in brackets. This method of treatment enables the reader to continue without a break and adds greatly to the appearance of the volume.

Acknowledgments where they are due have been made in the preceding paragraphs. Additional acknowledgments are due to Dr. H. Lehmann for his criticism, particularly of the second chapter; members of various German churches, clubs and organizations, and to all those from whom field schedules were collected. Most of all, acknowledgment is due to Dr. C. A Dawson, head of the Department of Sociology, McGill University, for the liberal time and guidance he gave to the writer.

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CHAPTER I

A. The Physical and Cultural Base of Canada

Canada of the twentieth century has witnessed a movement of European and American peoples to its boundaries parallel to that of the United States during the preceding century and exceeded in few places during the present. Coming at a time when fundamental economic and social changes were taking place in our national life, the entrance in large numbers of members of racial groups other than British or French has added the further element of a changed and changing ethnic composition of the Canadian people.

The Canada to which this immigration has come has always been a pioneer country. As soon as one section passed the initial settlement stage, the footsteps of newer arrivals turned to the unoccupied territories beyond. The country divides itself naturally into four main geographic areas of settlement : the Maritime, Central, Prairie, and Pacific.[1]

The central area is the economic nerve-centre of the country. It is with reference to this area, which includes the agricultural lands of Quebec and Ontario, that the population, industrial and institutional expansion of the country as a whole have taken place. The St. Lawrence - Great

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1. These divisions correspond roughly to groupings by provinces - viz.:
   1. Maritime - Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick
   2. Central - Quebec and Ontario
   3. Prairie - Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta
   4. Pacific - British Columbia

Lakes system forms the natural highway through the heart of this region.

The Maritime area is cut off from the central area by the projection of the Appalachian mountains northward. Physiographically it is a part of the New England maritime region ; from an economic point of view it is isolated politically from the United States and geographically from the central area. Thus it has remained a chronic frontier.

The Prairie plains are separated from the Central Area by the Laurentian shield, a great wedge covering some 2,000,000 square miles of as yet almost totally uninhabited country. On the west it is bounded by the Rocky Mountains which cover the greater part of British Columbia and, together with the narrow strip of coast, form the fourth settlement region , the Pacific.

Upon this geographical base successive population elements have spread. Early in the seventeenth century the French entered the continent at its widest point and founded a civilization along the banks of the St. Lawrence. Their farm economy served largely as a base for the exploitation of the fur trade with the native Indians ; habitant and courier-de-bois were the two distinct types of colonists, the former relatively stable in tenure, the latter highly mobile.

Conflict between England and France resulted in the British occupation of Canada in 1763. Montreal and Quebec had already become important as trade centres during the French regime. To these centres now came English traders and merchants who, with the return of many seigneurs to France, assumed the leadership in civil and commercial fields ; and their leadership is only very recently being challenged. Religious leadership was, however, retained by the French. Culturally and racially the country remained French.

After the American Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, other racial elements augmented the population. United Empire Loyalists - not all of British stocks - and emigrants from the British Isles pushed beyond the French settlements , along the upper St. Lawrence and into Niagara Peninsula. There were now two great races in Canada, and thus the bi-racial problem came upon us.

The development of these two main agricultural sections of the central region - i.e. the St. Lawrence valley and the Niagara peninsula - was the pre-requisite for further expansion to other physiographic areas. Expansion in turn resulted in concentration, for the farming populations of the prairies demanded manufactured products, financing, transportation and other services from the central area. Thus the central area developed more manufacturing. At the same time the surplus farm population spread southward and westward, since expansion in other directions was restricted by geographic barriers. In 1930 there were 1,278,421 Canadian born inhabitants of the United States[2] . Many thousand others had gone to the prairie provinces where they mingled with immigrants of numerous European racial stocks.

The communicational structure of the country did not follow natural geographic lines, but was rather strongly determined by political realities. Canada is economically a strip several hundred miles at its greatest width, running east and west across the continent. The main geographic divisions on the other hand, run north and south. Thus lines of communication joining the extremities of the country of necessity traversed the geographic divisions. The main trunk railways in many instances preceded population in

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2. Statistical Abstract of the United States 1933,Table 24.
- the figures are : French 370,852, other 907,569.

the Prairie Provinces. Their location to a large extent determined both the flow and the patterns of settlement. It did not, however, determine the racial distribution.[3]

B. Twentieth Century Additions to Population by Immigration.

a. Sources of the Immigrant Stream 1902-31.

Two other factors at least entered as determinants of the present ethnic and regional distribution of the Canadian population. The one is natural increase; the other is immigration. Since our present study is that of an immigrant group, we are concerned chiefly with the latter. Out of a total population of 10,376,786 in 1931, no less than 2,307,525 were foreign-born; and of these 88.9 per cent had arrived since 1901. (Tables 4 & 7).[4] Only 51.9 per cent of the total population were of British stock and 28.2 per cent were French. The remaining 19.9 per cent were of other racial origins. (Table 8).

It is no surprise, then, that the pattern of distribution of racial groups in Canada resembles a patchwork quilt rather than a neatly uniform and symmetrical picture. Here the mosaic of Middle Europe appears to be superimposed on the French and Anglo-Saxon background, for here many representatives of the same stocks are segregated. So close is the resemblance in Western Canada, for example, that oversensitive alarmists have not failed to express their fears that this region might become a second hot-bed of racial conflicts. Though such fears seem unfounded, the

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3. For a fuller treatment see Dawson, C.A.: Population Areas and Physiographic Regions of Canada. - Am.Jour.of Soc.1927, vol.XXXIII, No.1, pp.43-56. Also in Dawson and Getty's: Introduction to Sociology, pp.179-88.
4. All tables are given in the appendix.

the situation is, however, one of concern for the ultra-Britisher. To some extent the development of a Canadian cultural unity is complicated by the presence of this wide variety of ethnic groups. For better or for worse Canada is to-day a melting pot in a way she never was before. And this situation is largely the product of simultaneous immigration streams since the opening of the present century.

Twentieth century immigration to Canada may be grouped into five main streams: 1. United States, 2. British Isles, 3. Germanic and Scandinavian, 4. Slavic and 5. Others. This is clearly illustrated by Chart 1a, (Table 1)[5] which shows the fluctuations from year to year. Most outstanding is the predominance from American and British sources, and the low proportion of Germanic and Scandinavian immigrants during the pre-war period. The trends for all groups almost parallel one another. Thus the years 1906 and 1908 are peak years. The four years 1911-14 alone witnessed a total immigration of 1,452,631 persons. But already in 1914 the United States and British totals were decreasing, while those for other groups continued to rise. The war period shows the practical cessation of migration other than from the United States. The post-war period has three significant factors:

1. The decrease of immigration from the United States subsequent to 1919 to a low in 1925. While later it again rose somewhat, nevertheless

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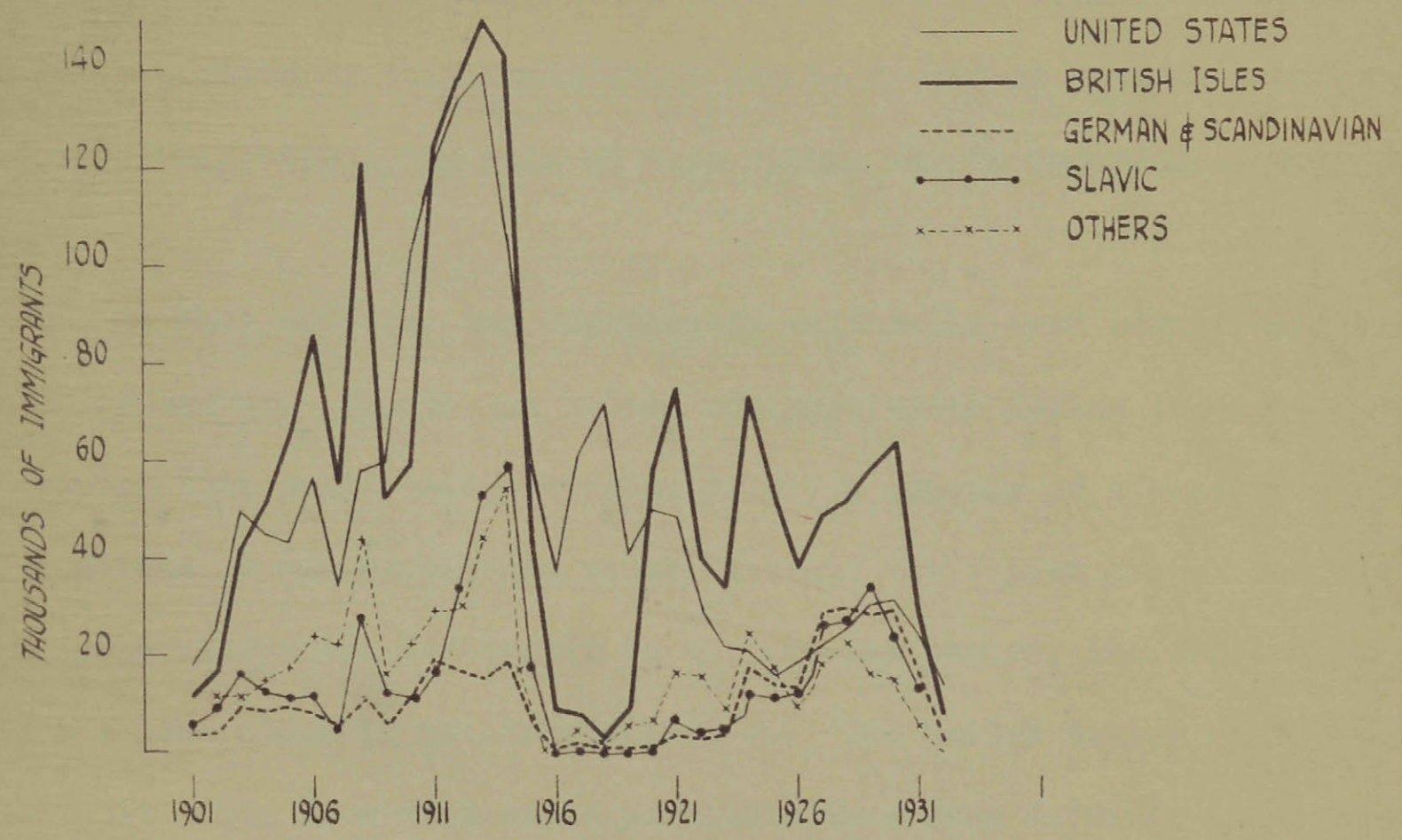
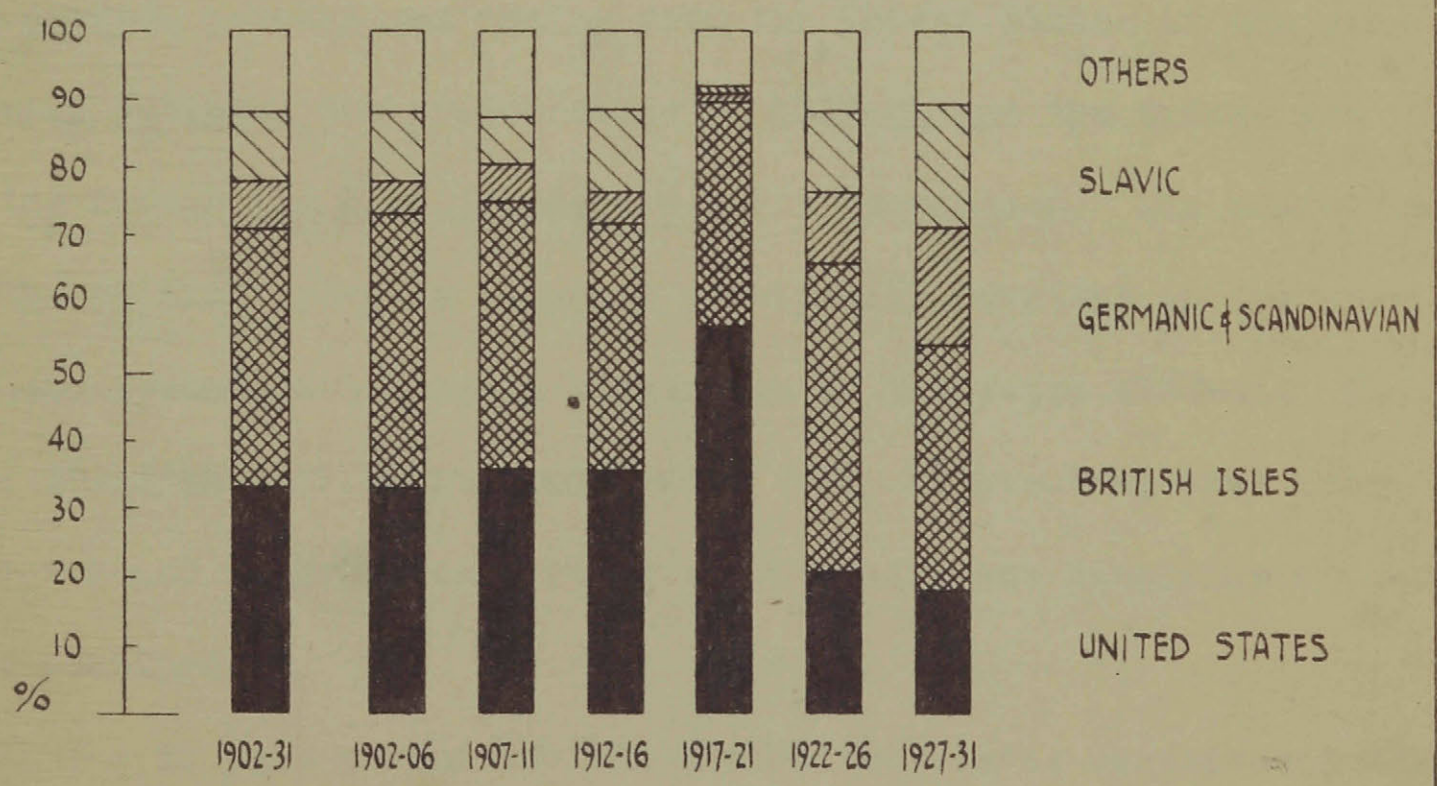
5. This and other tables on immigration have been compiled from the annual reports of the Department of Immigration and Colonization. For the early years of the century these are not available in the required detail. From 1905 on they are more extensive. 1905 means the fiscal year 1904-5 and similarly for other dates. From 1901 to 1906 the fiscal year of the Department of Immigration ended June 30. Since then it ends March 31. The data used in this study are largely those for the quarter-century period 1907-31, and are presented in quinquennial periods corresponding to inter-census dates. A different classification would perhaps have shown the peaks of immigration in greater relief, but in the interests of direct comparison with census data this possible advantage has been foregone.

Chart I. Tables I & 2

a. TOTAL IMMIGRATION TO CANADA
MAIN SOURCES
1900-1931



b. TOTAL IMMIGRATION TO CANADA
TOTAL & QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS 1902-06 TO 1927-31
IN PERCENTAGES



the net result is a less prominent position relatively.

2. The immediate resumption in 1920, and maintenance at a fairly high level for a decade of immigration from the British Isles. Though a considerable portion of this immigration may be traced to various schemes of assisted immigration, the bulk of this volume may be regarded as voluntary migration.

3. Most notable, and doubtlessly culturally most significant are the other groupings. Though the volume of immigration during the period 1927-31 is greater than that during 1902-06, (i.e., a quarter of a century earlier), the composition is not nearly the same. Whereas the United States and the British Isles shared the leadership in the pre-war period, the British Isles assumes the lead alone in the decade 1921-30. The United States share decreases until 1925, from when on it parallels that from Germanic and Scandinavian and that from Slavic origins. The amount of immigration from sources other than these main four is becoming less important.

The proportions of immigrants coming from the five main groups during five-year intervals is shown clearly in Chart Ib (Table 2). Here the relative uniform percentages coming from the United States in the pre-war quinquennial periods, the predominance in 1917-21, and the sudden and drastic decline during the last decade, are quite pronounced. The share contributed by the British Isles is likewise practically constant in the pre-war periods, and assumes its largest proportion in the years 1922-26. The percentage of 35.14 in 1927-31 is practically twice as great as that from the United States and as great as that of the Germanic and Scandinavian and Slavic groups combined.

For the 30 year period 1902-31 the United States contributed 33.32 per cent of the 4,761,855 immigrants to Canada, the British Isles 37.79 per cent, the Germanic and Scandinavian group 7.13, the Slavic group 10.03 per cent

and all others 11.73 per cent. During the pre-war periods the immigration of German and Scandinavian stocks was less than that of Slavic peoples, which reached its height in the years 1912-14. In the post-war period they are somewhat in excess, due somewhat to the placing of Germany on the list of preferred nations in January 1927 and the recent heavy Finnish immigration.

b. Regional destination of immigrants 1902-31

Chart 2 (Table 3) shows the destination of immigrants, as calculated from the annual reports of the Department of Immigration for Canada[6]. Of the total immigration during the three decades 1902-1931, 4.3 per cent went to the Maritime Provinces, 44.4 per cent to the Central Provinces, 41.0 per cent to the Prairie Provinces, and 10.3 per cent to the Pacific. The proportion to the Maritimes increases from 3.6 per cent in 1902-06 to 5.6 per cent in 1917-21, from which point it has decreased to 2.7 per cent in 1927-31. That to the central region increased from 34.7 per cent in 1902-06 to 53.2 per cent in 1921-26 and stood at 44.9 per cent for the period 1927-31. That to the prairies was greatest in 1902-06 when it stood at 55.5 per cent; from this point it receded to 34.9 per cent in 1922-26, but during the last five-year period again stood at 46.3 per cent. The

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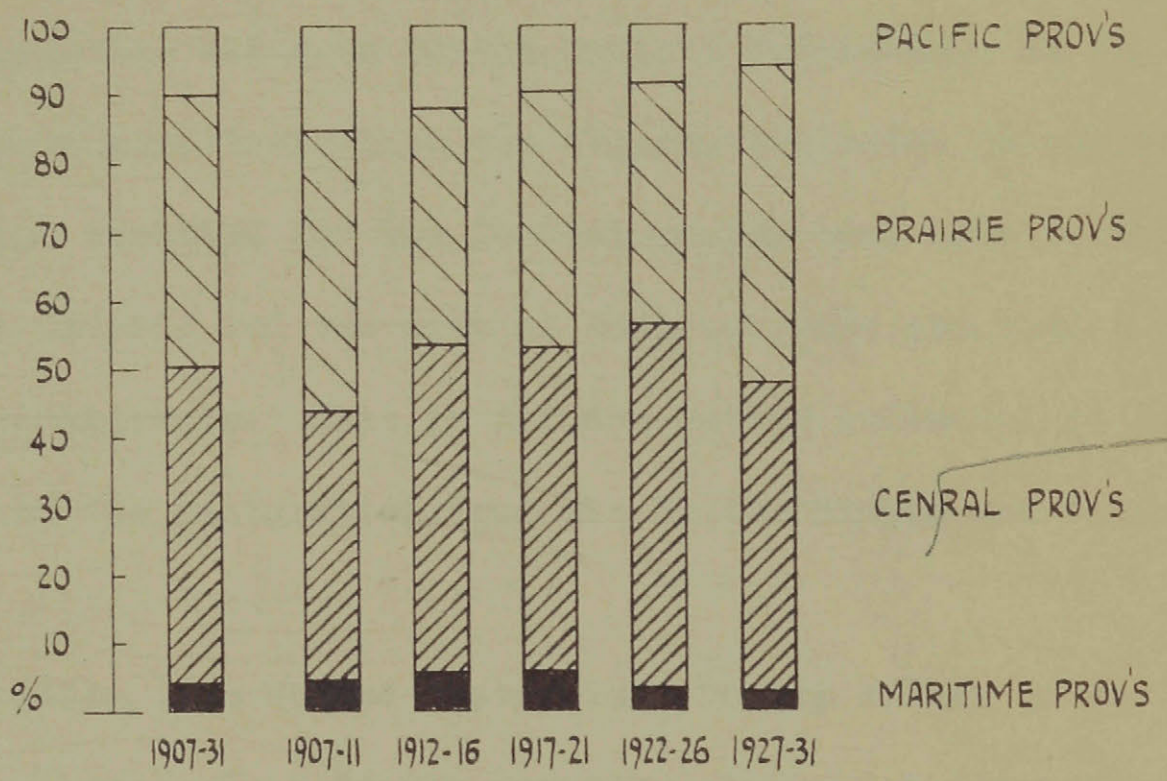
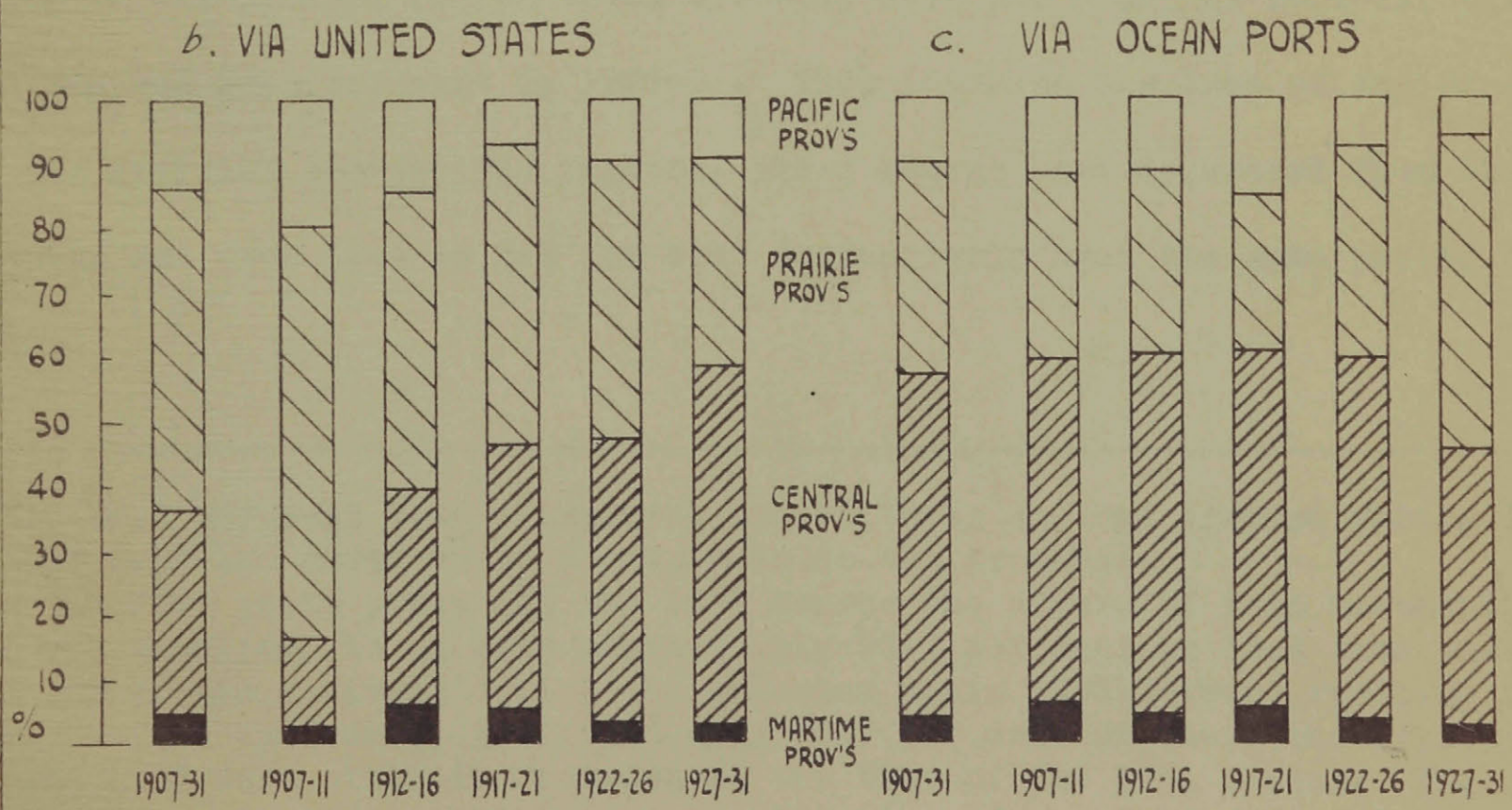
6. There is, however, no way of tracing an immigrant to his destination, as the destination given in the above reports is that to which the ticket has been bought.
Thus a person who has bought a ticket for Montreal is classified as destined for Quebec; for Toronto, Ontario; for Winnipeg, Manitoba; and so on. Immigrants from Europe frequently buy their tickets for Montreal or Winnipeg and from these proceed to another province within a few days. The writer has estimated that even during the years immediately preceding the 1921 census, when the movement was quite small, fully 18.4 per cent of those who had arrived in Manitoba during the first five months of 1921 were no longer in the province on June 1st. Of those who arrived during

Chart 2. Table 3.

DESTINATION OF IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA
TOTAL & QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS 1907-11 TO 1927-31
IN PERCENTAGES





proportion to the pacific province increased from 6.7 per cent in 1902-06 to a high of 14.5 per cent in the following 5-year period, from which point it has declined to a low of 6.1 per cent in 1927-31.

The above analysis does not bear out the common impression that the bulk of our immigration has gone to the Prairie Provinces. It is probable that more have gone there than the figures indicate. A considerable number of those destined for the Central region have gone further west. Nevertheless, Ontario and the city of Montreal have absorbed a considerable number of immigrants. This is perhaps better indicated in an analysis separately of the immigration from the United States and that via ocean ports.

The immigration from United States is likewise mainly to the Central and Prairie Provinces. That to the Maritimes forms 4.6 per cent of the total during the quarter-century 1907-11; that to the central region 32.2 per cent, that to the prairies 49.7 per cent, and that to the pacific 13.5 per cent[7] . Striking is the phenomenal increase of the proportions going to the central region which was only 14.8 per cent in 1907-11, but had reached 55.4 per cent in 1927-31. This increase has been at the expense of the prairies and pacific regions, whose shares have decreased from 63.9 to 32.2 and from 19.4 to 9.2 per cent respectively over the same period of years.

1920, 28.6 per cent were elsewhere, and of those who had arrived during 1919, 37 per cent had moved on to points outside the province.
For the five years preceding the 1931 census the nature of this movement through Winnipeg, is clearly shown. Only 23.2 per cent or less than one-quarter of the arrivals during the calendar years 1926-30 were residing in the province on June 1, 1931; and only 23.7 per cent of those who arrived during 1930 were still in Manitoba at the time of the 1931 census. Thus fully three-quarters moved in within 18 months of arrival.
For a fuller treatment of this problem see Appendix

Two thirds of our immigration has come via ocean ports, all excepting a very small percentage from the British Isles and continental Europe. All too frequently it has been assumed that these have gone to the prairies. The immigration statistics do not bear out this contention. 4.4 per cent were destinated for the Maritimes, 52.7 per cent for the Central region, 33.3 per cent for the Prairies, and 9.6 per cent for the Pacific. Only in the period 1927-31 has the share of the central region been less than half the total volume, and only in the same period does that of the prairies approach this proportion. Immigration via Ocean Ports to the Prairie Provinces for the quarter century 1907-31 forms only 22.2 per cent of the total immigration ration to Canada.

A comparison of the percentage distribution of our immigrants by intended destination for the period 1902-31 and the present distribution of our foreign-born population in 1931 shows the close correspondence between the two[8]. Contrary to the common assumption, the Central Provinces have a greater share of the immigrant population than they received of the immigration, while on the Prairies the reverse is the case. This would indicate that the return drift to the central region is greater than the movement from original destinations in the central area to the prairies.

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7. From this point on data are for the 25-year period 1907-31. The immigration data for the years preceding 1905 are not available. Note that the totals in Table 2 are for the years 1902-31. The totals immigration for 1907-31 is 4,100,451 for Canada and 1,589,678 or 38.8 per cent for the Prairie Provinces. The immigrants via ocean ports to the three Prairie Provinces is 912,117 or 22.2 per cent of the total immigration.

8. Table 3a gives the distribution of immigrants by destination for the years 1902-31 as 4.3, 44.4, 41.0 and 10.3 per cent for the four regions respectively. Table 4 gives the distribution of the foreign-born as at the 1931 census as 3.0, 45.8, 37.3, and 13.9 per cent. It will be noted from Table 7 that 89.9 per cent of the foreign-born population arrived since 1901. Thus for ordinary purposes the two sets of data may be directly compared.

C. Resultant Trends in Regional and Ethnic Distribution 1901-1931

Such a large volume of immigration has not been without its effects upon the regional distribution and ethnic composition of the population. For this foreign-born population has not distributed itself in the same proportions as the general population, The result is that in 1931 the Maritime region with 9.6 per cent of the total population has only 3 per cent of the immigrant population. The Central region similarly has a smaller proportion of the immigrant population than of the total, 45.8 per cent and 60.8 per cent respectively. In the Prairie region the percentage of immigrants becomes the higher, while in the Pacific region it is double the proportion of the total population. From east to west it forms 6.9, 16.7, 36.5, and 45.5 per cent of the total population of each of the regions. Taking the three Maritime Provinces as one, this steady increase from east to west holds for each province[9] . Ontario with 33 per cent of total population and 34.9 per cent of the immigrant population then stands as the only province in which the distribution approaches that for the Dominion as a whole. Its 23.43 per cent foreign-born approximate the 22.4 per cent for Canada. East of it, the immigrant proportions are relatively small; west of it they become increasingly greater (Table 4). From the above it is clear that the more newly settled regions of Canada have the larger proportions of immigrants in their popu-

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9. The gradation from east to west becomes even more clear when Quebec and Ontario are separated. The percentage distribution for Maritime, Quebec, Ontario, Pacific and Prairie then become 9.6, 27.8, 33.0, 22.7, and 6.9 for the total population and 3.0, 10.9, 34.9, 37.3, and 13.9 for the immigrant population.

lation.

Such is the resultant picture in its regional aspects. Did space permit we could present the ethnic picture for each region; as it is, we present it only for Canada as a whole. Certain trends are noticeable since the beginning of the century. In 1901 only 13 per cent of the Canadian people were foreign-born; in 1931 the figure stood at 22.2 (Table 5). Significantly, the present proportion of foreign-born and native born had been reached two decades ago. But though the percentage of foreign-born has not changed appreciably for three census periods, the actual number of immigrants has increased, and at the same rate as the total population increase. The racial composition of these immigrant born has, however, not remained uniform, as is shown in chart 3b (Table 6) showing the birthplace of the immigrant population at succeeding census periods.

Though at each census period 94 to 95 per cent of our immigrant population have been born in either the United States, British Isles, or Europe, the proportions from each of these show changing trends (Table 6).

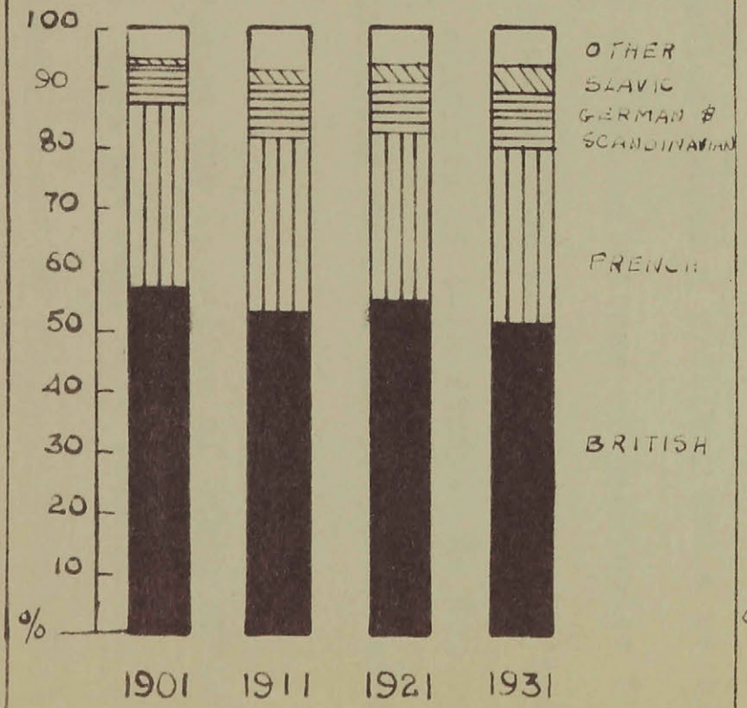
Significant is the decline in the proportion of American-born between the 1921 and 1931. This decrease will undoubtedly lessen the cultural contribution to the future of Canada from this group; but not even those enthusiastically hailing the increasing penetration from the south have as yet become alarmed at this presumed decrease in the proportion of Uncle Sam's culture bearers.

The British born show decreases, over a larger period, from 58 per cent in 1901 to 49 per cent in 1931. While the decrease was greatest during the decade 1901 to 1911, there is even a decrease during the last decade. And this despite the efforts of Empire Settlement Boards and other schemes of assisted immigration especially designed to encourage British immigration.

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE

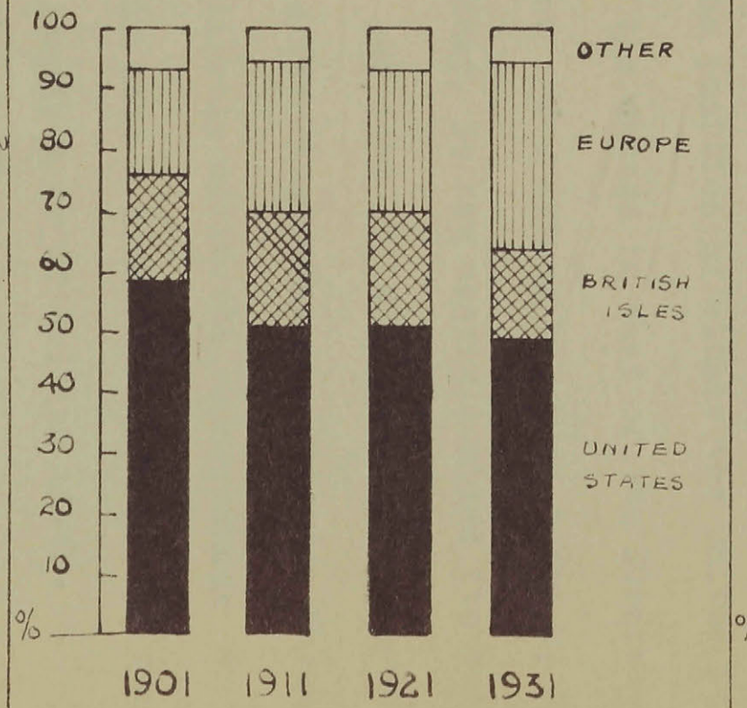
a. RACIAL ORIGIN OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION 1901 - 1931

IN PERCENTAGES



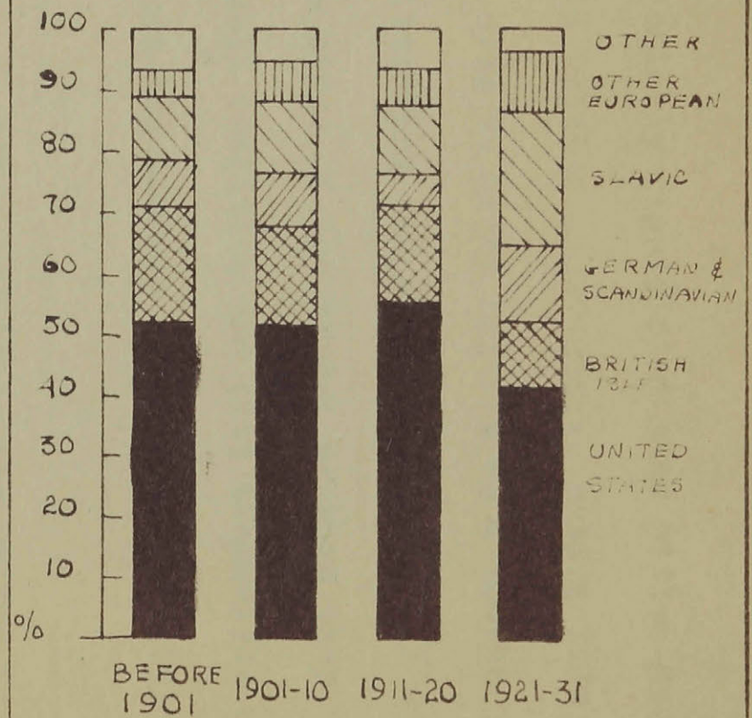
b. BIRTHPLACE OF THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION 1901 - 1931

IN PERCENTAGES



c. BIRTHPLACE OF THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION - 1931 BY YEARS OF ARRIVAL

IN PERCENTAGES



This singular phenomenon is particularly significant when pitted against the pronouncements of leading men in British and Canadian public life who still persist in turning their eyes to Great Britain as a source of Canadian immigration. It seems politicians and even statesmen will not take the trouble to read rightly the signs of the times; or when they have read the trends, foolhardily avoid realities and pitt themselves against the tide of events. For such men the labours of the social scientist are of little value.

More important than the position of either the United States or the British immigrant group is the change in that of the European-born. The combined decline in both the above groups has been taken up here. Since the beginning of the century, it has nearly doubled its proportion, from 18 per cent in 1901 to 31 per cent in 1931. Both the American-born and the British-born come to us from Anglo-Saxon cultures. These European peoples are, however, from distinctly different backgrounds. An equal number of a given group will presumably have a greater effect on the resultant culture, than will a group of American or of British birth.

Obviously such a situation raises a problem; and a problem worthy of study for Canada. What are the contributions of particular immigrant peoples to the future of this country? We ask ourselves this question. But we cannot treat it in the confines of this study. We do, however, keep it in mind. It is the underlying note in our treatment of the German immigrant.

For the present we present the countries of birth of immigrants by period of arrival (Table 7)* . 32.4 per cent have been in the country 10 years or less, 29 per cent between 10 and 20 years, another 27.1 per cent

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* Chart 3c.

between 20 and 30 years, and 11 per cent over 30 years. Here again is noticeable the smaller percentage American and British born among the more recent arrivals, and the larger percentage originating from continental Europe. Germanic and Scandinavian countries have contributed 12.3 per cent and Slavic countries fully 21.9 per cent of the total foreign-born who arrived since 1920 and were still in Canada at the time of the 1931 census[10].

D. The Cultural Significance of Immigration

Changes in the volume and ethnic composition of immigrants are reflected in the ethnic composition of the total Canadian population at each succeeding census period. Here certain trends are observable since the beginning of the century.

The proportion of British has declined from 57.0 per cent in 1901 to 51.9 per cent in 1931, that of the French from 30.7 per cent to 28.2 per cent. The German and Scandinavian groups have increased from 7.2 per cent to 9.1 per cent. The Slavic groups have increased still more, from 0.6 per cent to 4.2 per cent; while that of all others rose from 4.5 per cent to 6.6 per cent in the same period (Table 8). The ethnic composition has thus shifted to the disadvantage of both the British and the French races. European countries and the United States have sent us considerable numbers of full-grown adults, and we are permitting our native-born to emigrate across the line. But we are not getting the same kind of people that we are losing. Continuously we are receiving into our ranks peoples with different traditions and memories, heritages and practices. Our culture is always in a flux, ever in the process of becoming; as yet we have had little opportunity to develop anything distinctly Canadian.

That the backgrounds of immigrants vary from our own and from one another is common knowledge; and that an immigrant group is seldom a representative cross-section of the mother race is also generally known. What is not so obvious is that immigrants of a given racial origin may themselves be anything but a homogeneous group. This situation is clearly illustrated in the case of immigrants to Canada of German racial origin, as will be pointed out in the course of this study. When marriage takes place between two Germans, to the outside world the racial stock is being preserved. Nevertheless, there may be as great a mixture of blood and of culture in the offspring as would have been the case had marriage with an outside group taken place.

The whole question of immigration and its supposed purpose and result requires further investigation. Someone should make a thorough study of the effects of bringing immigrants with different and differing cultural and economic backgrounds to this country. And as a preliminary, before we pronounce further judgement on this subject, it might be well to know something more about the peoples already here.

Some contribution might be made by studies of the social and occupational adjustment problems of particular immigrant groups. It is with this end in mind that the present study of Germans in Canada has been undertaken. Before we treat the Germans in their Canadian setting, however, we shall make a brief survey of their historical backgrounds.

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10. It must be noted that these figures give "country of birth", and not "racial origin". For example, as we shall show later, many of those of German origin come from Slavic and other European countries.

CHAPTER II

GERMAN BACKGROUNDS

A. German Distribution

Of the numerous non-British and non-French racial stocks which together make up the ethnic pattern of Canada, the Germans are by far the largest single group. According to the most recent census they number 473,544, nearly half-a-million, and more than twice as many as any other group[11] . But these Germans in our population are by no means a homogeneous group, as any good "Reichsdeutscher" will tell you when referring to an "Auslandsdeutscher"[12] .

And the statistics of the Department of Immigration bear this out. In the five-year period 1927-31 immigrants from Germany, while the largest group from any country, formed only one-quarter of the total immigrants of German racial origin to Canada. The remaining three-fourths were "Auslandsdeutsche". Some 9.8 per cent came from Austria, Hungary and Switzerland; another 20.6 came from Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, and Czecho-Slovakia; 24.2 per cent from Russia, Ukraine and Poland; and 18.4 per cent from the United States (Table 14).

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11. Census of Canada 1931; Population bulletin XXIII, table 1. The Ukrainians follow with 225,113; the Hebrew with 156,726, the Dutch number 148,962; and the Polish 145,503. No other European group has 100,000, though the Italians have 98,173, the Norwegians 93,243, the Russians 88,148 and the Swedes 81,306. There are 122,911 Indians and 84,548 Asiatics in a total population of 10,376,786.

12. A "Reichsdeutscher" is a citizen of Germany; an "Auslandsdeutscher" is a person of German origin but not of German citizenship, i.e., not born in Germany.

An analysis of twentieth century immigration of Germans to the United States shows a similar diverse composition. During the years 1900-1915, of a total of 1,011,340, only 40.7 per cent came from Germany, while 33.9 per cent came from Austria-Hungary, 13.7 per cent from Russia and 11.7 per cent from other countries, mostly from Switzerland and Canada (from table 12).

But German migrations have not been confined to the twentieth century. Caesar's legions came into conflict with certain Germanic tribes on their move south-westward; in the second century after Christ, Gothic tribes settled on either side of the Dniper River (in Russia) and created a conglomerate empire under the rule of King Hermanic[13] ; four centuries later the Angles, Saxons and Jutes invaded the British Isles and there in time combined with the native stocks to form the present English race[14] ; as early as the twelfth century the Siebenbuergen "Saxons" answered the call of Magyar rulers and colonized Transylvania in present Roumania[15] .

One of these German stocks in particular, the Swabians, is noted for its wide distribution over the face of the globe. Legend has it that they were in America before Columbus and at the South Pole before Captain Byrd. To quote only one of the numerous stories: When Columbus landed in 1492 he was greeted by the query:

"Are you Mr. Columbus?"

"Yes," he replied, "but how in the world do you know that my name is Columbus?"

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13. Pares, B.: A History of Russia, p.9. (b) Stumpp, K.: Die Deutschen Kolonien in Schwarzmeergebiet, p.11.

14. See Green, J.R. : A Short History of the English People, p.7

15. Wehenkel, G.: Deutsches Genossenschaftswesen in Roumanien 1929, p.11

"Oh, that's easy", the natives replied. "A few years ago a Swabian peddler from Erringer was around these parts selling flower seeds, and he said to us : 'Soon Columbus will come to discover you'."

The Swabian, however, in his native modesty, left no record of his visit to America, and thus the honor of discovering the country went to the distinguished Genoese geographer and seaman[16] .

Be that as it may, history records that during the past two centuries large numbers of Germans at various times have left their native soil and migrated in waves to Hungary, to Roumanis, and to Russia. Sometimes they were invited by feudal aristocrats to colonize their recently acquired territories, as in Hungary ; sometimes they were the overflow of a migration movement ; sometimes they migrated to escape persecution, as for example, the Mennonites to Russia[17] .

As a result there are scattered throughout south-eastern Europe numerous communities of peoples of German stock, often completely surrounded by members of different races. No country of Europe has so many peoples speaking its language and bearing its culture outside its own boundaries. German is the mother tongue of over six million Austrians, nearly three million Swiss, three and one-half million Czecho-Slovakians, 600,000 Hungarians, 800,000 Roumanians, 600,000 Jugo-Slavians, and over a million Russians, to say nothing of the ten millions of German origin in the United States (Table 9) .

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16. St. Pauls-Kirchengemeinde, Vibank, Sask: Festschrift zur 25-jaehrigen Jubilaeumsfeier, 1929 p.23.

17. See Section C. of this chapter.

The term "German" is thus an omnibus expression. It invariably has an ethnic connotation; but it may refer to any one of a number of national backgrounds. Since our problem deals essentially with German immigrants in Canada, it is necessary at this point to digress and to discuss in some detail the various types of Germans in Germany itself and the position of the Germans in other countries of Europe and in the United States. As a basis for studying their adjustment problems in Canada we shall therefore make a preliminary historical survey of their economic, political and cultural position in these several countries; for it is in the light of conditions in the home setting that migration takes place.

B. Reichsdeutsche

a. The Germans:

The people of Germany are the People of the Centre. Only a folk of the centre could develop such a heterogeneity; only they could be open to so many stimulations. There is no European culture which has been in interaction with the foreign as much as that of Germany. It has been in a liberal fashion the bearer and transmitter of European intellectual movements; and it has understood how to benefit from the fruits of foreign thought and literature[18] .

When the question is raised why it took Germany so long to develop into a unified nation, the answer is in the manner of its political development. Situated in a strategic position on the European continent,

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18. Schaefer, D. : Deutsche Geschichte, 9th impression, Vol. 1, p.1.

Germany has been the pivot around which all important European movements have taken place. But the moving forces in its history have until recently been without real focus. Aims and tendencies kept changing, north and south developed independently, everything was done by halves. The history of its towns is one of turbulence and wars; that of its rural regions one of feudal backwardness and excessive taxation. Dynastic struggles and religious wars periodically laid waste and impoverished large sections of the country, and ensuing famines precipitated migrations[19].

Though geographically it is a land without design, there is a general division between northern and southern Germany, with the Thuringian States forming a sort of central zone. Northern Germany may again be divided into east and west by a perpendicular line following the Elbe River. These partitions serve approximately as cultural, political, religious and economic divisions. Culturally, the north has a certain hardness and austerity of character, particularly the eastern section, which is the home of Prussianism. Along the Rhine, the atmosphere is somewhat more gracious; the West is the region of strong liberalism in religion and politics. In the south there is less strenuousness and more humanity; this is essentially the land of the Swabians and the Bavarians, the home of the German "Gemuetlichkeit". Religiously this tripartite demarcation serves equally well. The East is predominantly Protestant, the West mixed with the Protestants in the majority, while the South is more Catholic. Economically the same subdivision is useful. East of the Elbe lies the granary of the Empire; the West is the region

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19. Diesel, E.: Germany and Germans, 1929, see pp. 7-10; 73-75.

of heavy industry. Agriculturally, the West and the South are the home of the samll landowner and tenant[20] .

Until the coming of the Third Reich in 1933, "Germany" implied not one people but many, each fundamentally a German people in itself, with its distinctive culture and distinct system of political and social institutions. Before the Great War the term "Reichsdeutscher" was seldom heard. A German was known as a Swabian, a Bavarian, a Saxon, a Prussian, or by some other designation. It must be specifically pointed out that these terms have both an ethnic and a political connotation. Ethnically they imply membership in one of the German races; politically they have reference to citizenship. The two may coincide, but frequently they do not. For it is only recently that the German peoples have been able to assert their common interest and their feeling of "Schicksalsgemeinschaft" (common destiny) over special dynastic interests which for centuries kept Germany from becoming a politically united nation. Our references, then, are exclusively to the races of Germany, which throughout the centuries have preserved this feeling of common unity; the terms have no political implications.

The Swabians are the product of a very remarkable mosaic of geographical, religious, and economic elements. Their dialects are distinguished by a certain broadness; the language is very intimate, expressing everyday little personal terms with an intimacy that is at once simple and disarming. Though not musical, they are none-the-less quite intelligent.

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20. Dawson, W.H. : The Evolution of Modern Germany, 1908.
Chapter II. Tripartite Germany.

Somewhat squarely built and solid, reputed for his astuteness, the Swabian occupies among Germans a position similar to that of the Scot among Anglo-Saxons; he likewise has always been the butress of jokes among his neighbours. His wide distribution is a standard theme for humour. Born of prolific families where a system of land tenure divided the already small inheritance yet smaller in each succeeding generation, the Swabian has often taken the "Wanderstab". From his home in Wuerttemberg and adjacent principalities, he has spread to all corners of the globe, almost invariably following the agricultural occupation of his forefathers.

The Bavarian takes life more lightly than the Swabian. There is something of restless merriment about him; the sense of mimicry is so ingrained in him that his most solemn pronouncements are even so colored. The atmosphere of social intercourse is characteristically violently hearty; no one seems to enjoy himself more than a Bavarian at his clap-dance or over his beermug. He sheds bitter tears over the fact that the modern world insists on intruding upon him. He wants to be left alone in his mountainous home; born a good Catholic he has been content to remain in his church and in his isolated agricultural village. But that is all going. The outer industrial world with its factory-made articles insists on penetrating his precincts. His young folks are being drawn to the industrial centres with their insistence on efficiency and with their soullessness. And in many cases he too has been obliged to leave his stein of beer and seek newer lands.

Next to the Swabians and Bavarians, the Lower Saxons are usually considered to be the people with the richest personalities. They enjoy a patriotic prestige in Germany because they represent true-blood, blue-

eyed type on which the German bases his faith in his Nordic heritage. Like the people of Hamburg and Bremen, they have a highly developed sense of civic pride; but they cling to local loyalties, and consequently have exercised no decisive political influence on the rest of Germany. Their dialects have a certain simplicity to them which is in extreme contrast to the stiff formality of the Prussian.

The Franks are a scattered and far-spread people. They have always occupied the part of Germany most thickly sprinkled with towns, and hence appear more urbanized than elsewhere. They are superior in business, so that many a large German town has become in effect a Central German colony. Thus, though they are predominantly rural, their dialects are town dialects; when Franconian dialects are referred to; we think of the dialect of Nuremberg, Mainz, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Cologne.

The further we get into Upper Saxon country, the less do we find of the gay variety and charm of the Frank. The Saxon type inclines to be fairhaired and stout; the manner and bearing of the Saxon is German formlessness carried to the last degree. Nevertheless, Saxony, despite its factories and ill-paid, over-crowded workers, has produced many great men in its time - poets, philosophers, scholars and leaders of industry.

Science refers to the Germans east of the Elbe between Wittemberg, Memel and Ratibor as East Germans. This district is the home of Prussianism, a term which has not so much a racial as an ideal and administrative connotation. Prussianism, briefly, implies a landed and military aristocracy and the somewhat stern ideal they represent. The north-east Germans are a stern and sober people; this is the one and only part of Germany without any sort of Romanticism. And yet this is the land which

has given leadership to Germany for nearly two centuries. More and more Germany is losing its localism and becoming centralized in Berlin. And largely because the methodical soul of the Prussian administrator and the hard, severe and colorless life he leads are most in tune with a highly developing industrial age[21] .

Such are the races of Germany. In this respect, the country is heterogeneous. It is therefore not possible to make generalizations about the characteristics of the Germans. Those only will undertake to do so who little know, and still less understand, the country or its people. Neither Prussia nor Prussianism can be regarded as typical and representative of the whole Reich. And yet it is essential to bear this fact in mind. It is further essential to supplement the heterogeneity of this people with the diversity of backgrounds of the "Ausland" Germans. But before we proceed to this, let us get a clearer picture of the economic development and present position of Germany.

Throughout history there have existed various and varied combinations of principalities within and surrounding the present German Reich; but from 1648 to the time of Bismark, factually and practically the term "Reich" was of little political significance[22] . The excesses of feudalism imposed onerous restrictions on trade intercourse, while the exactions of feudal barons kept the agricultural population poor.

Hence it was that many sought to escape by migration. As early as the 11th and 12th century Germans colonized Siebenbuergen (Transylvania); from 1720 to 1724 migration was strong from the Rhine territory to present

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21. Diesel, E.: Germany and the Germans, 1929. The above treatment has been adapted from Book III, Chapter 1, The Races of Germany.
22. Masur, G.: Deutsches Reich und Deutsche Nation in Achtzehnten, Jahrhundert - in Preussiche Jahresbuecher, July 1932.

Hungary; after 1775 German peasant came to Boukhovina (in Roumania); following the manifesto of Catherine II in July 1763 heavy immigration set in to Russia.

Emigration was particularly heavy from the countries of southern Germany; Wuerttemberg, Baden and the Palatinate lost heavily of their populations. Early in the nineteenth century the destinations were largely to Russia, and to Austro-Hungarian territories already to a lesser degree; in the latter half of the century the stream turned America-ward, to the United States, to Argentina, and to Canada. Economic and political factors weighed heavily in this emigration, while the spirit of adventure frequently served as an additional incentive. Though the population of Germany doubled from 1880 to 1910, the net loss by emigration was over five millions.

National unity in Germany promises for the first time in modern history to become a reality in the Third Reich. Progress has been slow, what with the wars between Catholics and Protestants and the dynastic rivalries headed by Austria and Prussia. Though Napoleon really gave the impetus for a beginning, the Zollverein (customs union) of 1834 was the first step toward a politically united Germany; from then on German industry and German trade bear a new and real meaning. But the country was still predominantly agricultural and on a home-industry economy; not until the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 was the epoch of industry ushered in. By the close of the century three achievements stand out: the iron and chemical trades, railway and canal development, and shipping[23].

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23. Rose, et al.: Germany in the Nineteenth Century, Part IV:-
Gonner, E.C.K.: The Economic History, p.84; 96-97.

Population now began to flow from the agricultural districts to the iron and coal districts of the west; the gulf between the economic classes was becoming deeper and more distinct. Though the population of Germany rose from 23 millions at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century to 41 millions in 1871, to 65 millions in 1910, a complete change in the rural-urban distribution had taken place. Whereas in 1871 still 63.9 per cent of the population was rural, the proportion sank to 53 per cent by 1890 and to only 40 per cent by 1910. Both rural and urban sections showed a declining birth rate, though the decline in total number of births between 1900 and 1914 was not drastic. The war years show a deficiency, the years 1919 and 1920 a heavy spurt, but already in 1921 the decline again had set in. It is significant that the lowering of the death rate has at the same time proceeded effectively. Thus while in 1925 the total number of births was only 71.4 per cent of the 1901 figure, the actual addition to the population 5 years of age and over was nearly as great. This population background must be borne in mind in our later discussion of German immigration to Canada[24] .

Had German industry been in a position to absorb this constant addition to the population there would have been no need for emigration. But such was far from the case. Already before the war an oversupply of highly educated and technically well trained young people was becoming noticeable. Though during the war period all available manpower was

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24. Meerwarth, R.: Die Entwicklung der Bevoelkerung in Deutschland Waehrend des Krieges und Nachkriegzeit. Introduction in Carnegie Foundation for International Peace; Wirtschafts und Soziale Geschichte des Weltkrieges, Deutsche Serie, 1932.

utilized, after demobilization the situation was more grave than ever. The post-war period has been one of continued depression, with two bright years, 1924 and 1927. The former was the year of the stabilization of the Reichsmark, following a period of the wildest speculation and uncertainty, when fortunes depreciated overnight and many of the middle-class were wiped out. The latter was the year when rationalization of German industry was in full swing. Rationalization was necessary if industry was to survive; and the actual technical alterations took up much of the employment slack. But in the end the demand for producers' goods had been filled, the accompanying Kartelization has been accomplished on the ruins of thousands of smaller enterprizes, and on top of it all the increased efficiency made its contribution to unemployment. Add to this the continual political uncertainties, heavy taxation burdens, the curtailment of American credits and German exports. In the face of growing unemployment figures subsequent to 1927 there is little wonder that members of the "Lost Generation" should seek their fortunes elsewhere.

b. The Austrians:

Though politically not a part of the German Reich, the Austrians can hardly be regarded as "Auslandsdeutsche". Only the political pressure exerted with a heavy hand by international powers prevents the Austrian people from speedily effecting an "Anschluss" (union) to Germany. For the Austrians are Germans; they belong to the Bavarian-Austrian branch. Ninety-six per cent of the total population and 97.3 per cent of all Austrian nationals have confess German as their mother tongue[25].

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25. Austrian Year Book 1930 pp. 2 and 4.

The present Austria includes only the German provinces of the old Hapsburg dynasty. Its total population in 1923 was only 6,534,481. But it has not always been so. For centuries the Austrians have been rulers. By virtue of their rule over the Austrian provinces, the Hapsburgs were members of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nations and exerted their influence in the councils of their German neighbors. On their own account, they were sovereigns of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and masters over several times their numbers of numerous Slavic races. But the Austrians were not Germanizers; they imposed themselves, but they never assimilated, and in time the sleeping consciousness of nationality awakened strong enough in their subjective peoples and the latter threw off the yoke.

By 1866 the Hapsburgs had lost their position in both Italy and Germany. Until then the large German populations had stood behind them and had constituted a numerical majority in their spheres of influence. Now it was no longer so; with the rapid population growth, the rapid economic developments, the economic unity of Austria-Hungary, the different nationalities were becoming more conscious of their identity. They came to the Austria-Hungarian parliament with their native flags. The Austrians had raised their culture, but in so doing they had awakened the dormant nationalism. The struggle now became one of defence against the encroaching Slavs. At the opening of the century it was becoming clear that the Germans could not long remain masters of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy[26].

On the breakup of the monarchy after the Great War Austria for

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26. Gayda, V.: Modern Austria; Her Racial and Social Problems - see particularly Ch. VII and VIII.

the first time in centuries became a purely German State; the new federal republic consisted now only of the original German provinces. Denied the right of self-determination, she was prevented by the Versailles peacemakers from forming any sort of union with Germany. The country was in a sore plight indeed. Trade was impossible because she had been severed from the previous parts of the Hapsburg empire. The population was isolated from its food supply, industry from its raw materials; the country was on the verge of starvation and received special attention from the League of Nations. The latter sent food, arranged for financial credits, and sent a commission to report[27].

In spite of progress, the economic problems were not solved. Production increased in the post-war period, but it did not reach the pre-war level. Many of the unemployed belonged to occupations which were overdeveloped for Austria's market. A large part of the middle-class was without economic prospect, for Vienna was no longer an Empire capital. That degree of economic integration which had been achieved so slowly in the Empire was effectively destroyed by the re-imposition of tariff barriers[28].

Thus the post-war emigration. Emigration from the territories of Austrian republic is comparatively new; until the war, with increasing industrialization and bureaucracy, the country had been itself receiving populations. But during the post-war period some 62,211 persons left for

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27. The Layton and Rist Report 1925: The Economic Situation of Austria.
28. Schueller: Oesterreich Nach dem Kriege, etc. - in Carnegie Foundation for International Peace; Gratz-Schueller: Der Wirtschaftliche Zusammenbruch Oesterreich-Ungarns, 1930, Part III

overseas, 30, 158 of whom came to the United States and 4,580 to Canada[29].

C. Auslandsdeutsche

a. Hungarian Germans:

Germany, Austria, and to a lesser degree, Switzerland, may be regarded as the home of the German peoples. Here they are the predominant elements numerically politically, culturally, and economically. Elsewhere they are minority groups. In many sections of south-eastern Europe they are quite concentrated, but everywhere they are under foreign flags. Though at times they have enjoyed a considerable degree of local autonomy, never have they been sovereign in their own rights.

In many cases they came to form outposts of Western civilization and served as bulwarks against invasions from the East. In Hungary, for example, from the Plattensee northeasterly to the elbow of the Danube, colonization was due to the successful efforts of Hungarian rulers who obtained settlers "from the regions of Swabia, Hessia, Wuerzburg, and Mainz" in the first half of the eighteenth century. Besides the secular landlords, ecclesiastical potentates also exerted themselves to procure colonists for their territories. The newcomers were predominantly agricultural peoples who had left their homeland because of adverse agricultural conditions and the devastations of the wars of the Spanish Succession. Over a century later (1857) "The German inhabitants of this group, despite various admixture, preserve their predominant Swabian character", but "they

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29. Austrian Year Book 1930 - see section on emigration p.60 ff. The word "Austrian" means only "federal citizen of the Austrian republic"(p.60).

wear Hungarian clothes and have command of the Hungarian language"[30].

Rieth, in his volume has worked out in considerable detail the trends in the German population, according to the Hungarian statistics. The net result is that between 1880 and 1920 the centre of gravity in the rural population has moved in favor of the Magyar - or at least Magyarized - elements. More particularly is this the case nearer the larger cities, such as Budapest, and in districts where industrialization has taken place; away from the stream of modernization the smaller outposts often show a greater tenacity in maintaining their language than do larger settlements.

Many of the urban centres in Hungary were originally founded by Germans; but by 1920 there was not one town of importance where the Germans constituted a statistical majority. Budapest, originally settled by Leopold the Great with Germans, has become a wholesale graveyard for this group. Whereas in 1880 the Germans formed 33.2 per cent of its population, by 1920 they were only 6.5 per cent. Magyarization was doing its work; and the increase in industrialization, accompanied by the recession in agriculture and the loss of ancestral property, proved a useful right hand in the process.

The spheres in which magyarization was most strongly applied were the educational and the municipal. In 1875 at least 1/3 of the teaching staff was German; by 1910 in only two districts was it over 10 per cent. Though in 1875 special privileges for schools had been officially granted, pressure from above greatly weakened the application of these rights. And this all in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy! In the municipal field the situation was equally bad for the Germans. For unlike the Austrians,

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30. Rieth, A.: opp. cit. p. 13 ff.

the Hungarians were great assimilators. They have continously drawn upon the leading elements in their subject peoples; and they have not been afraid to absorb them into the services of the State. As a result, the majority of local authorities are now Magyars, and these can be depended upon to carry out the desires of the government.

Thus it is easy to understand why Germans emigrated; it is no surprise that the peak years 1905-07 coincide in time with the final wave of magyarization which swept away the last German schools. Compulsory degermanization is a strong incentive to emigration, but in itself it is not enough; there must be a place to go. And that place offered itself in the American continent.

b. The Balkan Germans:

Those migrations which led to the settlement of Germans in Hungary pushed beyond the confines of the Kingdom to other Austrian and Hungarian territories. Thus as we have already mentioned in the dismembered parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire, in Roumania and Jugo-Slavia alone there are today a million and one-half peoples of German stock. These we may refer to as the Balkan Germans. In addition there are the 3,500,000 in Czecho-Slovakia and 1,350,000 in Poland, which we shall also treat in this section.

Veteran among the German group settlements in Roumania is that of the Siebenbuergen Saxons in Transylvania. They came at the request of Magyar rulers during the 11th and 12th century to settle a then wholly unpopulated region. Wehenkel says that racially they are Middle-Franks, while Binder says they came from Holland. Among the people themselves,

some are known as "Gaelic".[31] They were distributed roughly over seven districts and lived in villages, though not in closed communities. Land ownership was vested in the community as a whole and heirless property reverted to it.

The relations of the Saxons to the neighbouring population elements was somewhat strained from the start. Their very tenacity and steady growth were a sore spot in the eyes of the Hungarian nobility, for there was danger that an independent Saxon territory might develop. Spiritual contact with Germany was preserved throughout; their teachers in the higher institutions, their lawyers, their doctors, and their clergy received their education in German universities. At the same time the Saxons were alive to agricultural development and realists to their economic situation.

During the 19th century the struggle for the preservation of identity was intense on two fronts: (1) the political struggle against Magyarization, and (2) the economic struggle against agricultural invasion by Roumanians. With the government they came to terms early; to meet the latter they organized co-operatives. Truly socialist in character these institutions not only retrieved the grounds lost but also served as a focus around which other aspects of Germandom rallied. While Saxons and Magyars were struggling on the political arena, the Roumanians were as surely penetrating and possessing the agricultural lands. The encroachment on Magyars was facilitated by the fact that the latter were finding ready absorption in the Hungarian civil service and similar occupations.

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31. a. Wehenkel, G.: opp.cit. p.11.
    b. Binder, R.M.: The Transylvanian Saxons, in Proceedings of the American Sociological Society, 1927, p.195.
    c. Field notes.

Against the Germans it was a purely agricultural invasion. It was in the face of this invasion that the credit co-operatives had been formed as a specific weapon in the preservation and re-occupation of Saxon Farmsteads. Despite a fair degree of success, the meagre prospects of obtaining new land for increasing families lead to a decline in the birth-rate such as was seldom met in an agricultural community. Furthermore, it lead to emigration to America[32] .

Such degree of identity as the Siebenbuergen Saxons have been able to preserve is due in no small measure to their retention of many original customs and folkways. Religiously they are largely Lutherans, for the most part staunch orthodox "fundamentalists". Racially, they consider themselves superior; intermarriage is little tolerated. But even the rights and privileges granted them in prepetuity, particularly those pertaining to local administrative autonomy and education, were being subjected to Magyar pressure. And in the post-war period, in Roumania, which is not bound by the letters patent of the Hungarian crown, the situation has become more difficult. Still they are determined not to be degermanized[33] .

Emigration began about 40 years ago when the vineyards were being destroyed by phylloxera. Once the way to America had been found, the high differential in wages and the lack of opportunities at home operated effectively. Many returned in a few years and firmly established themselves; others remained in United States and Canada. During the past few years the general economic depression has brought forth once again a

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32. See Wehenkel, G.: Opp. cit. Part I.

33. Binder, R.M.: Opp. cit. pp.197-8.

severe agricultural crises, since 80 per cent of the Saxons are small farmers. But for the restrictions on emigration, many others would cross the Great Water[34].

West and south of Transylvania, mostly southwesterly, lie the provinces of Temes, Arad, Sreym, Banat and Bacska. The first three are in Roumania, Banat partly in Roumania and partly in Jugo-Slavia, Bacska in Jugo-Slavia; all were formerly in Austria-Hungary. This is the home of the "East Swabians" as they call themselves. Banat celebrated the 150th anniversary of its settlement by Germans in 1933, though certain districts were settled earlier. Here magyarization was seen at its best, and in the end it extended to practically the whole of the Swabian intelligentia. At the opening of the twentieth century the agricultural masses, however, were not magyarized to any extent. There had developed a gap between the social classes, the peasants regarding the intelligentia as the betrayers of Germandom. In these provinces, largely Catholic, there was not the same degree of national consciousness as among the Transylvanian Saxons. Much of it was due to the fact that their leadership found ready access to Hungarian social and civil circles, "provided they laid aside their German ways, their German names, refrained from using the German language; in short, were prepared to become cultural leaveners"[35].

Nevertheless the peasant population continued to live in the manner of their forefathers. They had their village church, their community school, and their local administration. But in time the opportu-

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34. Bischopsvicar Dr. F. Mueller: letter to author dated Hermannstadt, April 5, 1934.

35. Wehenkel, G.: Opp. cit. p. 90.

nities of procuring land for approaching families had become limited. In the pre-war period the atrocities of the newly power-intoxicated Roumanians in particular, hastened indirectly to the migration of further numbers, sometimes as many as two hundred families from one village. And these migrants followed in the paths of their pre-war predecessors to United States and to Canada.

There are yet other Germans who came from the countries of reconstructed Europe. Before the war migration of Germans from Czecho-Slovakia and Poland attracted little attention, as these territories were then respectively under Austrian and German rule. But the national selfconsciousness which lead to the formation of these countries was already awakened. Already in 1880 a Schulverein was formed for the protection of the German language, and of houses and properties, against the encroachment of the dominating Czechs; and in 1900 the League of Germans in Bohemia was organized[36] .

After the war, with the pent-up racial consciousness let loose, the German minorities fared badly in both these countries . Politically and economically, and probably most of all at the hands of over-zealous minor officials their lot was made uncomfortable. Emigrants from here also, as well as those from Roumania and Jugo-Slavia, tell of ill treatment and discrimination in those early post-war years. Hence the escape to the American continent, the land of freedom and opportunity.

c. Russian Germans:

Germans in Russia date back to the time of Peter the Great, who

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36. Gayda, V.: Opp. cit. p. 100

recruited settlers, skilled artisans and professionals in his program of "europeanizing" Russia. They are distributed largely in the regions of the Baltic, Volhynia, the Volga(river), and the Black Sea. The Baltic Germans are an extention of East Prussian settlement, for the most part well educated, exclusive and somewhat aristocratic. The Volhynians are more a peasant people. Neither of these groups are numerically as important as the other two; nor have they contributed as much to our Canadian immigration.

It was the manifesto of Empress Catherine II of Russia issued on July 22, 1763, that mobilized the first movement of Germans to southern Russia. The Empress required settlers for her fertile southern plains which had been recently wrested from the Turk. She offered to all who would come free lands, freedom in perpetuity from military service, religious freedom, local autonomy in matters of municipal government and education, and certain other privileges[37] .

As a result the Volga and the Black Sea areas became in time dotted with prosperous German colonies, roughly divided into two groupings, the Mennonites and the "colonists". Their story reads for all like that of the pioneering settlements in our own Prairie Provinces a century later. Initial hardship were followed by more prosperous times, and in time expansion took the form of establishing "daughter" colonies.

Originally the colonies formed a mosaic of all German fatherlands, though the most came from middle-German states, and the Hessian and Wuertemberg dialects predominated. But in time the differences among the incoming

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37. Stumpp, K.: Die Deutschen Kolonien in Schwarzmeergebiet, 1922. The manifesto is printed verbatim pp. 25-28

generations became less and less. They developed their own local governmental, educational and religious system, perpetuating as far as they were able their original customs and practices. These Germans were, however, not culture carriers for their neighbors, for they had litte contact with the Russians. Yet assimilation in this direction was to be required of them.

The Russian reform government which brought about the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 extended its program farther afield, interfering more and more with its German subjects, and withdrawing many of the original privileges granted. Thus it came about that the exemption from military service was revoked, Russian teachers introduced, municipal records required in the Russian language, and a general program of "Russianizing" inaugurated. When an expanding population in such a situation is not only faced with a land shortage for new colonies, but has its attention directed to free lands elsewhere, the idea (of) emigration has fertile ground upon which to develop. A movement then only requires to be organized.

And so it was in this case. In the 1870's for the first time migration went? was beyond the boundaries of Russia. The Mennonites went to Manitoba. Thousands of colonists, sometimes considerable portions of villages, migrated to the western plains of United States and of Canada. There was unrest among those left behind. Despite this a considerable economic advance was made, which was however halted by the war and the changed position of the Germans. During the post-war period came the introduction of communism.

d. The American Germans:

Outside of Germany itself, there is no country in the world with such a large number of people of German origin as the United States of America. But to speak of American-Germans, is really a misnomer. We do it here for consistency only; we are interested in the source of Germans in Canada. More correctly we should call them German-Americans; for while of German stocks, for the most part they come to us first and foremost as United States citizens.

The first permanent German settlement in North America dates back to the founding of Germantown (now a suburb of Philadelphia) in Pennsylvania in 1683. Early in the seventeenth century, while their brethren left for parts of eastern Europe, Mennonites and Anabaptists from Switzerland and the Palatinate came to Pennsylvania and here found a haven from religious persecution. Mercenary soldiers from the Palatinate were in 1710 settled along the mohawk Valley in New York State as a buffer against the French and the Indians. Maryland had many Roman Catholics[38].

During the past century emigration from Germany to the United States totalled fully 5,900,164 persons, the bulk of whom came in the last half of the 19th century. From 1831-40 to 1881-90 they formed over one-quarter of immigration to United States in every decade. In one decade, 1881-90, not less than 1,452,970 are recorded in the American statistics. From that date on the numbers have receded to 143,945 in 1911-20 to rise again to 412,202 in 1921-30 (Table 10)[39].

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38. Lehmann, H.: Zur Gesichichte des Deutschtums in Canada 1931. Vol. 1. Das Deutschtum in Ost Canada p. 5 ff.

39. These figures refer only to immigration from Germany. They do not include the Auslandsdeutsche, but include a certain number of German citizens of Polish, Czeck or other extraction. See in this connection Table 11.

From 1870 onward the supply from Germany itself has been supplemented from other countries, so that already at the opening of the present century less than one-half the Germans coming to the United States were citizens of Germany. In the pre-war periods between 30 and 40 per cent came from Austria-Hungary, probably two-thirds of whom were from the former Hungarian territories mentioned in a previous section of this chapter. Thousands came from Russia, settling mainly in the mid-West agricultural regions such as Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. In the post-war period the percentage from Germany has, however, again risen to 68.5 per cent in 1921-25 and 83.5 per cent during the next five years (Table 12) . This increase in the proportion from Germany is almost entirely due to the operation of the American immigration quota law[40] . (See also Table 11).

The history of Germans in the United States differs significantly from that of Auslandsdeutsche. From the beginning of the country they have participated in the building of a free nation, unhampered by the rule of feudal lords. In every sphere of life their influence has been felt. They contributed regiments to the Revolutionary forces, and leaders in civil life. Many of those coming during the years 1815-60 came with the definite hopes of realizing certain and social ideals. Thus with the advent of the "forty-eighters" their political activity was powerful in several states. There were even some attempts at organized colonization and the creation of pure German States.

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40. This law, though not made an act until July 1, 1924, was actually in force from May 19, 1921. See the annual report of the Secretary of Labor, United States 1930 page 13 where this information is given together with a short history of American immigration. We shall hear more of this quota to U.S. in our study of German migration to Montreal.

Since the civil war their outlook has been more American. Though after two centuries some still speak the German language, the United States is the only country they know, its ideals are their ideals , its fortunes are theirs. From such a background many of their numbers have come to Canada, and in such a light only can we understand them.

CHAPTER III

SUCCESSIVE GERMAN SETTLEMENT IN CANADA

A. Settlements Before 1900

Having thus treated the German backgrounds, we come to our main subject, the Germans in Canada. The story begins with the arrival of 300 Germans in Halifax in the late summer of 1750. Extensive and unscrupulous soliciting brought these and others in the immediately succeeding years. In 1753 some 1453 out of the 2000 Germans left Halifax and founded Lunenburg; the remainder formed a German block in Halifax itself. To this day their descendants live in this country, for the most part eaking out a meagre existence as fishermen. They speak English with an accent which betrays their German origin, though many have known no German for several generations. They are Canadians in every respect, nevertheless over one-half the population of Lunenburg county is still recorded in the 1931 census as of German origin[41].

Likewise the European settlement of Eastern Ontario began with Germans, this time in the persons of German mercenary soldiers who had been settled in the Mohawk and Shoharie valleys. At the close of the Revolutionary Wars these German Lutheran United Empire Loyalists crossed the St.Lawrence and settled in Dundas county. There they still live in the multiplicity of their offspring. Many of the names have been Anglicized, few of the people are ethnically pure, only the odd person can speak German. ?

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41. Census of Canada 1931: Population Bulletin XXII, table 2.

Yet they have preserved their Lutheran religion. On June 10, 1934 they celebrated the 150th anniversary of the founding of the first Protestant congregation in Ontario.

More important in every way are the settlements in the Ontario peninsula. Here likewise the earliest German settlers were loyalists or belated loyalists. Among the latter were the Pennsylvania Mennonites who had found public opinion in the new Republic somewhat uncomfortable. In addition, there had developed a scarcity of cheap lands upon which to settle their younger sons. Thus it came about that as early as 1795 they approached Governor Simcoe for a land grant. But the latter was averse to making grants of large blocks of land to people of non-British stock. What they were unable to accomplish by negotiation, they obtained by purchase. They purchased large tracts in Waterloo and Woolwich townships in 1805 and 1807 respectively, as more families from Pennsylvania arrived. In 1806 the town of Berlin was founded. Over a century later in 1916 when it had become a flourishing industrial centre and the county seat, it was re-named "Kitchener".

Though numerous other German loyalists were scattered in small groups or individual farmsteads throughout the Ontario penninsula, they are of little significance in the story of Germans in Canada. The Mennonite settlements, on the other hand, comprising solid blocks, and not open to development by settlers other than those desirable to the owners served as the basis for further German expansion.

Immigration from Germany did not begin in any volume until 1830, and even for decades thereafter was little more than an appendage of the

great migration stream from the British Isles, Germany and Scandinavian countries to the United States. Those Germans who first came were largely peasants and artisans. The Mennonites employed them to develop their lands which were as yet far beyond the requirements of the Mennonites themselves. Lehmann estimates that some 20,000 immigrants from Germany had arrived by 1848. In the 1850's Waterloo County was becoming filled and new immigrants took up lands in Bruce and Grey Counties. Other substantial German settlements had meanwhile been formed in the Niagara peninsula, particularly in the counties Lincoln, Welland and Haldimand.

Outside the Niagara Peninsula, Germans settled most heavily along the Ottawa valley in Renfrew County. Here they were for the most part Protestants from Pommerania and West Prussia. In 1860 already some 150 families had emigrated to this region from Germany, while during the decade 1861-70 probably 4000 more Germans made their homes in Renfrew County. Pembroke is a strong-hold of Germanism. To this day the surrounding districts are referred to as the "solid north". There were yet other German settlements along the Ottawa valley, notably at Eganville, Arnprior and Ladysmith,(Quebec). The German language is still used, but the oncoming generation is almost wholly Candianized and becoming strongly Anglicized.

Mention should also be made of the German groups in such cities as Montreal and Ottawa. Of the former we will have much to say in a succeeding section; suffice it here to mention that there has always been a group of commercial men, mechanics and artisans. Already in 1835 they formed the present German Society. Quite a number of the original families have become well-to-do. Ottawa likewise boasts a German Benefit Society,

formed in 1872. In Ottawa the Missouri Lutherans have two parochial schools, while in Montreal the Catholics have a German school[42].

German settlement in Western Canada received its first impetus with the coming of the Mennonites to Manitoba in 1873. Rather than submit to the Czar's program of "Russianizing" which involved military service and use of the Russian language, the more orthodox of this sect emigrated. In the Western States there was more suitable land, in Canada they were promised more concessions. Those who preferred religious freedom above all, settled in Manitoba, in the East Reserve south of Winnipeg, on the Red River, and on the West Reserve north of the International boundary in the Winkler-Gretna-Plum Coulee districts. As was to become characteristic of prairie settlement, they occupied the country almost overnight. The bulk of the movement was in 1874 and 1875; by 1879 some 1400 families had come to Manitoba. They brought with them their village form of settlement, some of which exist to this day. Before the end of the century, in 1891 and 1894 respectively, they founded a second main settlement between the south and north branches of the Saskatchewan River, at Rosthern and Laird in Saskatchewan[43].

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42. Lehmann, H.: Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada. vol.1. Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada, 1931. The preceding sketch of Germans has been freely adapted from this volume with the kind permission of the author.

43. Dawson, C.A.: Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada 1934 (in Press) Chapter V . The section of this volume on the Mennonites is the work of L.G. Reynolds, Social Research Assistant in the Department of Sociology, McGill.

Meanwhile the nucleii of other German settlements were being formed in what were then the Northwest territories. At Langenburg, Saskatchewan, near the Manitoba boundary the beginnings were made in 1895. Two years later some 46 families were there, and still two years later there were at least five groups of Germans in the vicinity; two were Austrian, one Bavarian, one Bohemian and one Russian. Several German Catholic groups from southern Russia settled about 20 miles east of Regina, Saskatchewan in 1890. Here they at first settled in open homesteads, in a few years all moved to villages as they had been accustomed, and in time again gradually became reconciled to the North American individual farmstead system. A few miles south of these a number of Lutheran families, likewise from southern Russia, located in 1894. Though these set up a European village at the start, all the buildings excepting those of one farmstead have been since moved to individual farms.

Even as far west as Alberta these pioneers pushed. In 1889 they settled at Gleichen and in 1892 in the vicinity of Wetaskawin and Edmonton. By 1896 there were some 3,500 Germans in the latter district, about half of whom were from Russia and Austria, one-third from United States, and the remaining one-sixth from Germany. In that year another German settlement began further south at Pincher Creek, this time of Roman Catholic Westphalians from the United States.

Easily the largest of German settlements were the two Catholic colonies of St. Peter's at Humboldt and St. Joseph's at Tramping Lake, begun in 1903 and 1906 respectively. We shall treat them in greater detail later. They are more properly part of the main movement to the

prairies which began in earnest soon after the opening of the present century.

Already the pattern of German distribution in this most recent area of settlement was beginning to take shape. By the end of the nineteenth century there were at least fifty German settlements in the Northwest territories (Saskatchewan and Alberta). But it was only a beginning of what was to follow. During the first three decades of the new century existing settlements were to be augmented by immigrant arrivals, and new ones were to be started elsewhere. Indeed, so large were these additions to become that at succeeding census periods they were to shift the centre of population gravity of the Germans from the Central region to the Prairie (see Table 17).

B. Twentieth Century Additions

a. Destination and source:

Twentieth century immigration of Germans to Canada came from two main sources : 1. from the United States; 2. via Ocean Ports. There is no way of determining the volume from the first source statistically antecedent to 1927, nor that via Ocean Ports before 1904-05. Excepting for the period 1927-31 our analysis is thus of necessity confined to German immigrants via Ocean Ports for the quarter century 1907-1931.

Over this period fully 76.2 per cent have gone to the Prairie Provinces, a percentage more than double that for total immigration and even considerably above that for all immigration via Ocean Ports. Some 19.9 per cent have gone to the Central region, less than half the proportion

of total immigration, and only slightly more than one-third of that for all immigrants via Ocean Ports. Only very small proportions were destined for either the Maritime or the Pacific regions, in each case less than one-half that for total immigration and for all immigration via Ocean Ports (Charts 3 and 4a, Table 13 for chart 4 a). During the 5-year period 1907-11 the percentage destined for the Prairies was 61.2[44] .

In the last period, 1927-31 it was 80. In the intervening periods, the proportion fluctuated, but in general the trend is as these two figures indicate.

There is nothing in these data to indicate the source of these Germans. Were they Reichsdeutsche, or were they Auslandsdeutsche; and of those who were Auslandsdeutsche, from what particular countries did they come? The immigration reports in the sessonial papers (Canada) for the closing years of the nineteenth century contain lists of settlements in the Northwest Territories (now Saskatchewan and Alberta). From these it appears that the Germans on the prairies were predominantly - almost exclusively - Auslandsdeutsche[45] . Anything more definite than that we cannot establish statistically. We have not the data until 1927.

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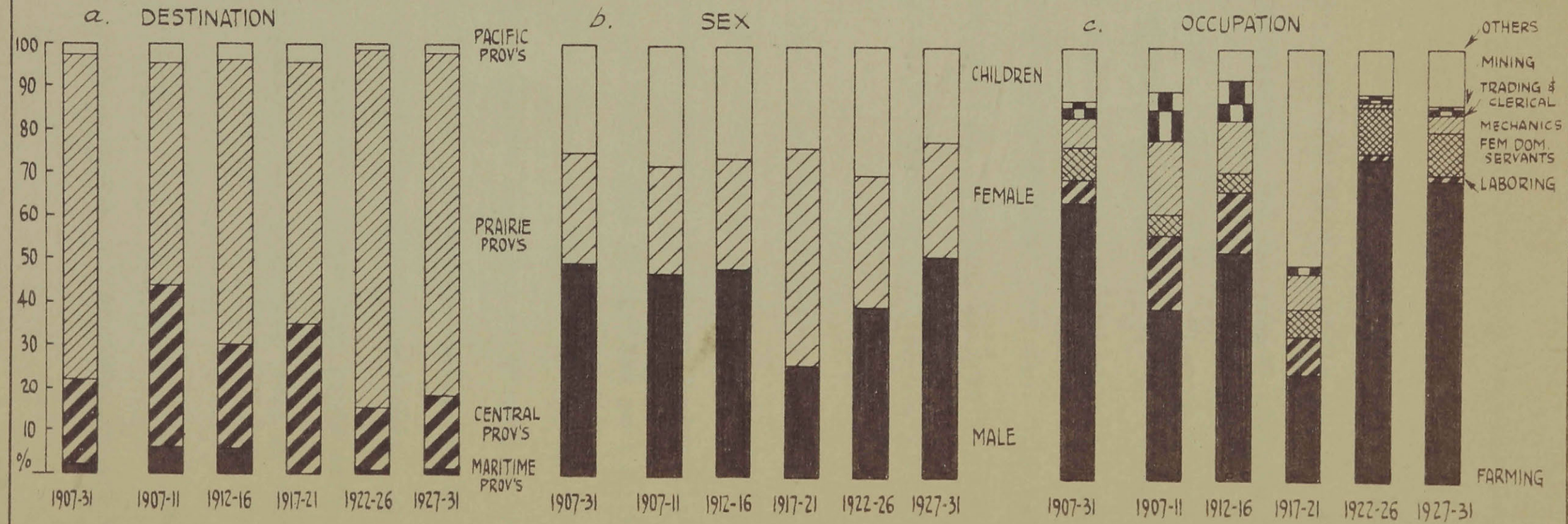
44. It must be remembered that the data cover only immigrants via Ocean Ports; large numbers of Germans came from the Western States in the early years of this century. Thus of 12,367 Germans entering via Winnipeg in 1902-03, 6,730 or 54.4 per cent were from United States. See report of Western Commissioner for Immigration in Sessional Paper, Department of Interior 1903-04, p.

45. Time did not permit a more extensive treatment here. Dr. H. Lehmann is making an intensive study of these settlements for his second volume on the History of German Settlement in Canada. T his volume is to treat the settlements in the West. The author is indebted to him for the privilege of reading his original manuscript.

GERMAN IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA
VIA OCEAN PORTS
TOTAL & QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS 1907-11 TO 1927-31
DESTINATION, SEX, OCCUPATION
IN PERCENTAGES



As it happens, the bulk of German immigration from Europe has been subsequent to this latter date. Of 100,705 Germans who arrived via Ocean Ports 1907-31, no less than 61,472 or 61.4 per cent came during the period 1927-31. Actually the movement was well under way by 1924, but we do not know the country of origin. For the period 1927-31, however, we have this information.

Despite the fact that Germany was placed on the preferred list on January 16, 1927, the number from Germany forms only 24.7 per cent of the total (Table 14). It is nevertheless greater than that from any other country. There is good reason to believe, however, that this percentage forms a greater proportion of German immigration than during any other period since Confederation.

The United States, the home of a greater number of Germans than any other country outside Germany, ranks also second as a source of German immigration to Canada, for the period 1927-31, supplying 18.4mper cent of the total. There is good reason to believe that in earlier periods the proportions were greater. A certain number of these were German aliens who moved on to Canada before they had acquired American citizenship. But by far the greater number were American-born. Quite frequently, as in the case of the settlers to St. Peter's Colony at Humboldt, Saskatchewan, they were second generation immigrants, who in the search for farm lands were attracted by the opportunities of the West; quite often, too, they were of much older American backgrounds.

Russia and the Ukraine furnished 13.6 per cent of this 1927-31 total. Ever since the coming of the Mennonites to Manitoba, Russia has

been an important source. Peoples particularly from the Black Sea and Volga areas, and to a lesser extent from Volhynia and the Baltic provinces, before the war migrated to the prairies. In the post-war period immigration has been somewhat difficult due to disruption and disorganization of services and impoverishment of the agricultural population in the early years of the soviet regime. Nevertheless, as seen above, it has been substantial.

Former Austro-Hungarian and German territories, viz: Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, Czecko-Slovakia, and Poland furnish some 30 per cent of the German immigration. Already in the pre-war years emigration of Germans from the agricultural territories of these regions was strong. It took place simultaneously with the heavy Slavic migration. From Banat and the Boukhovina they came to the prairies; from Transylvania many settled in the Niagara penninsula; in both cases they came to agricultural regions similar to those they had left. The heavy post-war immigration, though the result of adverse economic conditions, was in these countries as in Russia considerably accentuated by political circumstances. There is little doubt but that the Germans in reconstructed Europe were more burdened with excessive taxation than other nationals, that they were deprived of many of their privileges, that things were avowedly made uncomfortable for them, and finally that little was done to prevent their emigration.

b. Sex and intended occupations:

Though we shall establish the occupational backgrounds more specifically for the particular community studies of the succeeding main divisions

we can at least here get an indication of the larger picture. This we do by making an analysis of the sex and occupation of German immigrants via Ocean Ports. For the quarter-century period 49.2 per cent were adult males, 26.1 per cent adult females and 24.7 per cent children. Excepting for the period 1917-21, when there was practically no immigration these percentages vary little (chart 4b Table 15)[46] .

This sex distribution, when compared with that for all immigration via Ocean Ports, shows that without exception the percentage of adult males is less, and that of women and children greater than for all immigrants via Ocean Ports. This would indicate that German immigration was more of a movement of families. If such were actually the case, one would expect that they would form a more stable addition to our population (charts 4b and 5a, Table 15).

This seems substantiated by the occupational distribution. 64.2 per cent of all arrivals were farmers, 5.0 per cent laborers, 8.7 per cent female domestic servants, 7.6 per cent mechanics and miners, 2.4 per cent trading and clerical and 12.1 per cent unclassified. Omitting the period in our data covering the war years - i.e. 1917-21 - the percentage of farmers was in every period greater than that among all arrivals via Ocean Ports. Throughout, farmers have formed a greater percentage of German than of total immigration, the figures for 1927-31 being 69.5 and 50.3 respectively (Charts 4c and 5b, Table 16).

Compared to the farming group, no other occupational group is of great numerical importance. Without exception those of all other classified groups are relatively less important in the German than in all immigration via Ocean Ports. In the earlier periods the laboring group was as high as

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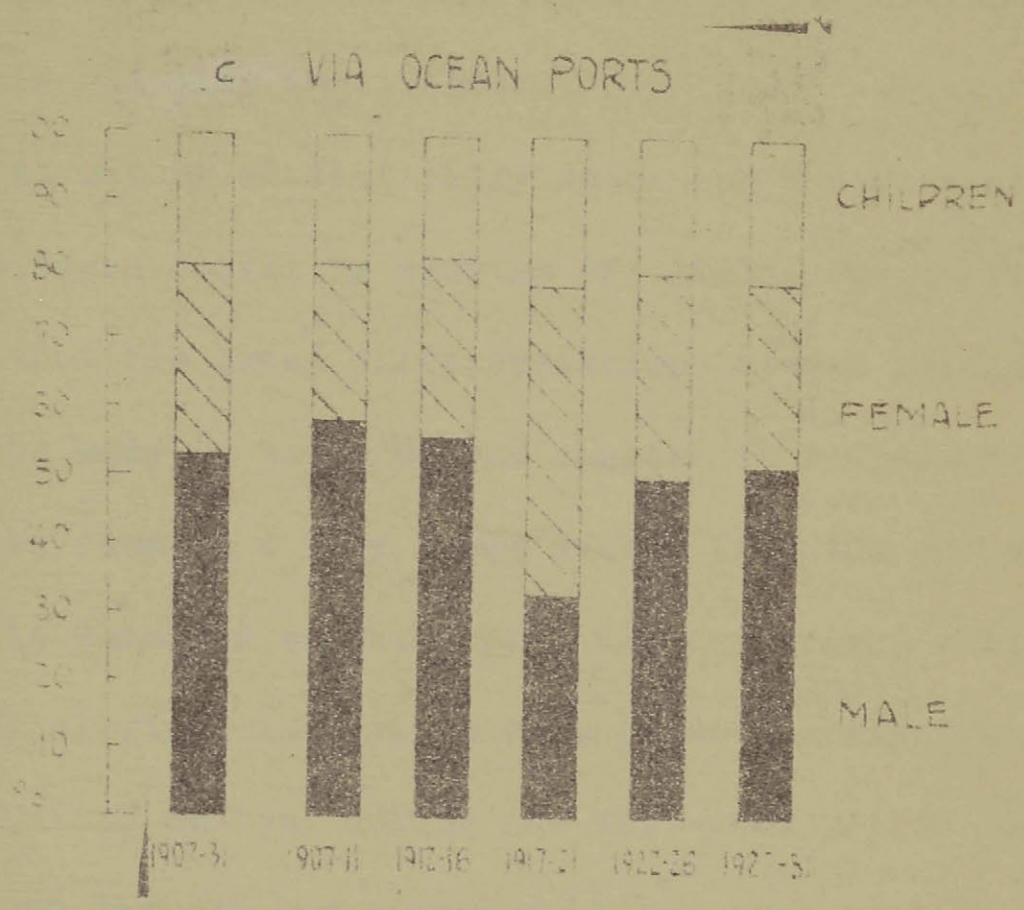
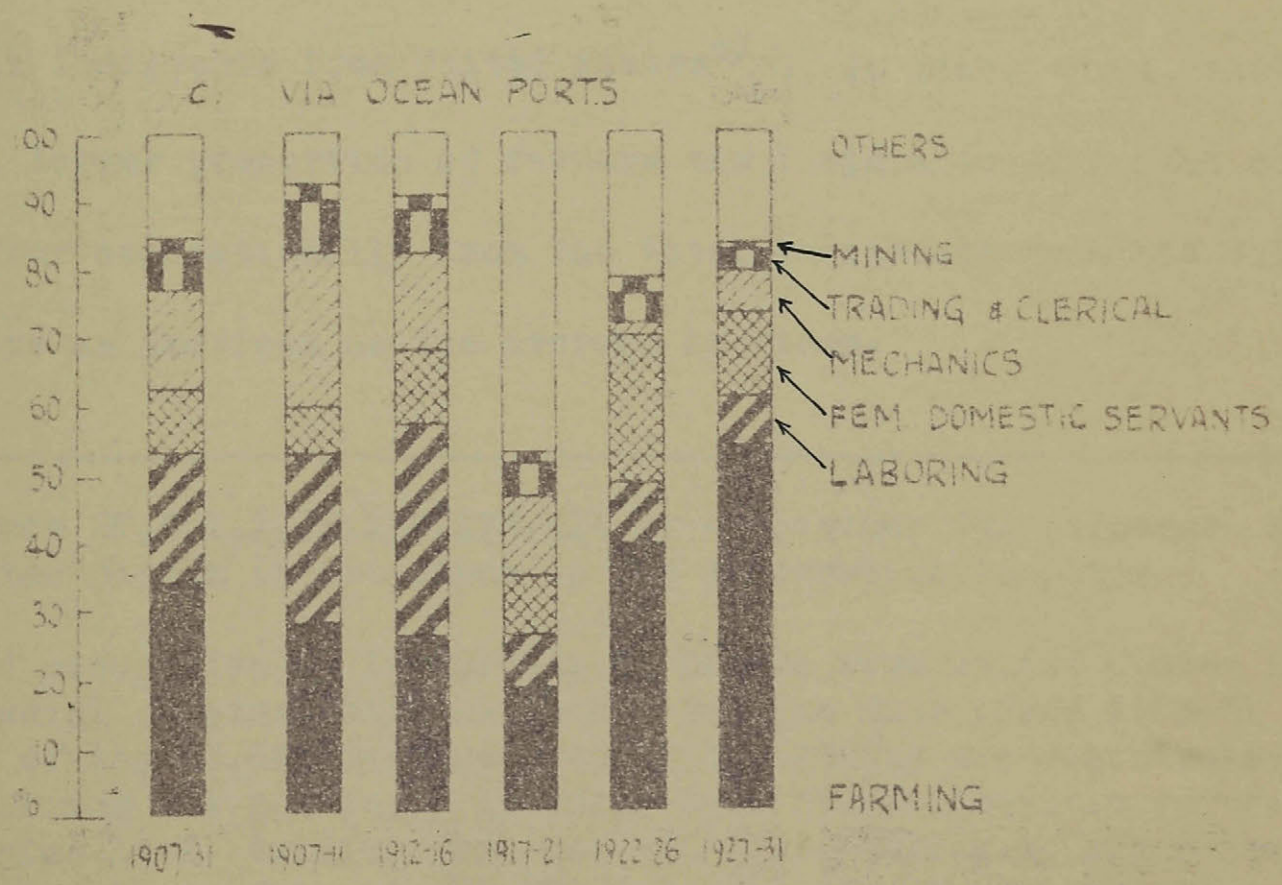
46. The immigration of Germans via Ocean Ports for each the years 1915-16

Chart 5. Tables 15 & 16

SEX OF IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA
TOTAL & QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS 1907-11 TO 1927-31
IN PERCENTAGES



OCCUPATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA
TOTAL & QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS 1907-11 TO 1927-31
IN PERCENTAGES



17.0 per cent (1907-11) but at present it is negligible. That of female domestic servants, while increasing, is still below the figure for total immigration. Mechanics and miners, and the trading and clerical groups also have receded in relative importance.

There is no way of statistically determing the occupations of Germans coming via Ocean Ports, by country of origin, but there is good reason to believe that the broad differentiation between Reichsdeutsche and Auslandsdeutsche made in the previous chapter is reflected here. Farmers and laborers come to a very large extend from the countries other than Germany, female domestic servants from all countries, while the mechanical, trading and clerical immigrants come predominantly from Germany.

From the United States, during the four-year period 1928-31, the percentages of German farmers was somewhat higher than that in all immigration from United States, 36 per cent compared to 29.3 per cent, that for laborers lower and that for unclassified immigrants also lower. For the other occupations the percentages of German immigrants are practically the same as for all immigrants from United States[47] . In other words, excepting for a somewhat larger proportion of farmers the immigrants of German origin do not differ occupationally from the total immigrants from the United States; they are as American as the average American.

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to 1922-23 were 27,9,1,1,12,137,178,216 or altogether 581 persons. That from the United States is not given in The Immigration Reports.

47. The sex and occupation of immigrants to Canada from United States is not given by racial origins until 1927-28. For the four years 1928-31 the occupation of the 13,642 Germans from United States was distributed as follows: farming 36. per cent, laboring 6.6, female domestic servants 2.5, mechanics 14.2, trading and clerical 11.4, mining .5 and others 2.8 per cent. That of the total 131,599 arrivals from United States 1927-31 was 29.3, 8.3, 2.2, 14.9, 10.9, .7 and 33.7 per cent respectively.

C. Trends in the Distribution of Germans 1901-1931

a. Trends in regional distribution:

We turn now to the resultant regional distribution of Germans in Canada. From the beginnings of British Canada the Germans have always been the largest group outside the British and French[48]. Pioneers as they were in both Nova Scotia and Ontario, they have in the past been relatively more important than in recent years. And this despite the heavy immigration during the present century.

Already in 1921 of the total of 294,636 Germans 71.7 per cent were born in Canada, 13.6 per cent in United States, 8.6 per cent in Germany, and 6.1 per cent elsewhere[49]. The percentage born in Germany has at least since Confederation been small. In the 1871 census of a total of 202,991 only 11.9 per cent were born in Germany. The percentage born elsewhere than Canada - i.e. United States and Germany - as given in the 1921 returns, is definitely too low as is the total figure for that year. Though similar data for 1931 are not available, it is probable that the percentage born in Canada and that born in the United States are both slightly lower. That of those born in Germany stands at 8.3, while that of "born elsewhere" is at least double the 1921 figure[50].

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48. Excepting, of course, the original Indians, who were in the 19th century still numerically superior to the Germans.

49. Hurd, W.B.: Origin, Birthplace, Nationality and Language of the Canadian People (1921 Census) 1931, Table 13 p 50.

50. Census of Canada, Population Bulletin XXVII, p.8. The probable percentages would be 65, 12, 8.3 and 14. Of the total German immigrants (72,199) to Canada 1922-31 via Ocean Ports approximately one-quarter came from Germany. Probably another 20,000 not included in

The regional distribution of Germans in Canada at the past four census dates show a steady shift in the centre of gravity from east to west. At the beginning of the century 14.7 per cent were in the Maritimes, 67.7 per cent in the Central Region, 15.1 per cent in the Prairie Provinces and a nominal 2.5 per cent in the Pacific Region. Three decades later in 1931, the Maritime and Central propertions had decreased to 6.3 and 39.1 per cent respectively, while the Prairie proportion had increased to 51 per cent. Throughout the whole period the figure for the Pacific Region has been nominal (Table 17).

It is noticeable that even absolutely the numbers of Germans in the Maritime and Central Regions have declined since 1901. There is no reason to believe that the death rate or emigration of Germans from either of these regions was greater than for the population as a whole. Thus the only explanation for the statistical decline in the Maritime Provinces is that many of those originally German are no longer aware of their racial origin. In the course of a century and three quarters they have

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in the above came from United States. Against these figures 36,064 are recorded in the annual reports of United States Commissioner General of Immigration as emigrated to United States, to which must be added the return of German United States citizens and emigration elsewhere. The net increase of German population from immigration during the decade is thus under 50,000. Births of German fathers were 98,108 while deaths of German racial origin totalled 33,782, leaving the natural increase of 64,326 (Vital Statistics of Canada 1921-1931). Immigration and natural increase together are probably between 100,000 and 110,000. The increase in Germans according to the 1931 census enumeration is, however, 178,908. Clearly the 1921 figure of Germans in Canada is too low, due to statistical enumeration. With memory of the war years still fresh, many returned themselves according to nationality instead as of German racial origin. Thus the small percentage recorded as born elsewhere in 1921.

become Anglicized completely. Similarly in Ontario the sudden drop of 32 per cent between 1911 and 1921, despite the additions from immigration and natural increase, can be attributed to this, though undoubtedly the failure to give their German origin was in some cases intentional; hence the decided rebound in the 1931 returns[51] .

b. Rural and urban distribution

For Canada as a whole the population of German origin in 1931 was 63.2 per cent rural and 36.8 per cent urban. In the Maritimes the Germans have remained rural to 75.4 per cent, while in the Central Region they are only 48 per cent rural. In the Prairie Provinces they are 73.7 per cent rural. (Table 18).. These data show only the present position; they show nothing of trends. It would be interesting to work out the trends since the beginning of the century and compare it with the general trend for the whole population; but the data cannot be readily obtained.

The distribution of the rural population of German origin in the Prairie region in 1931 is shown in Map 1 for 1931. Dr. Hurd has prepared a similar map showing the distribution in 1921[52] . While the foundations

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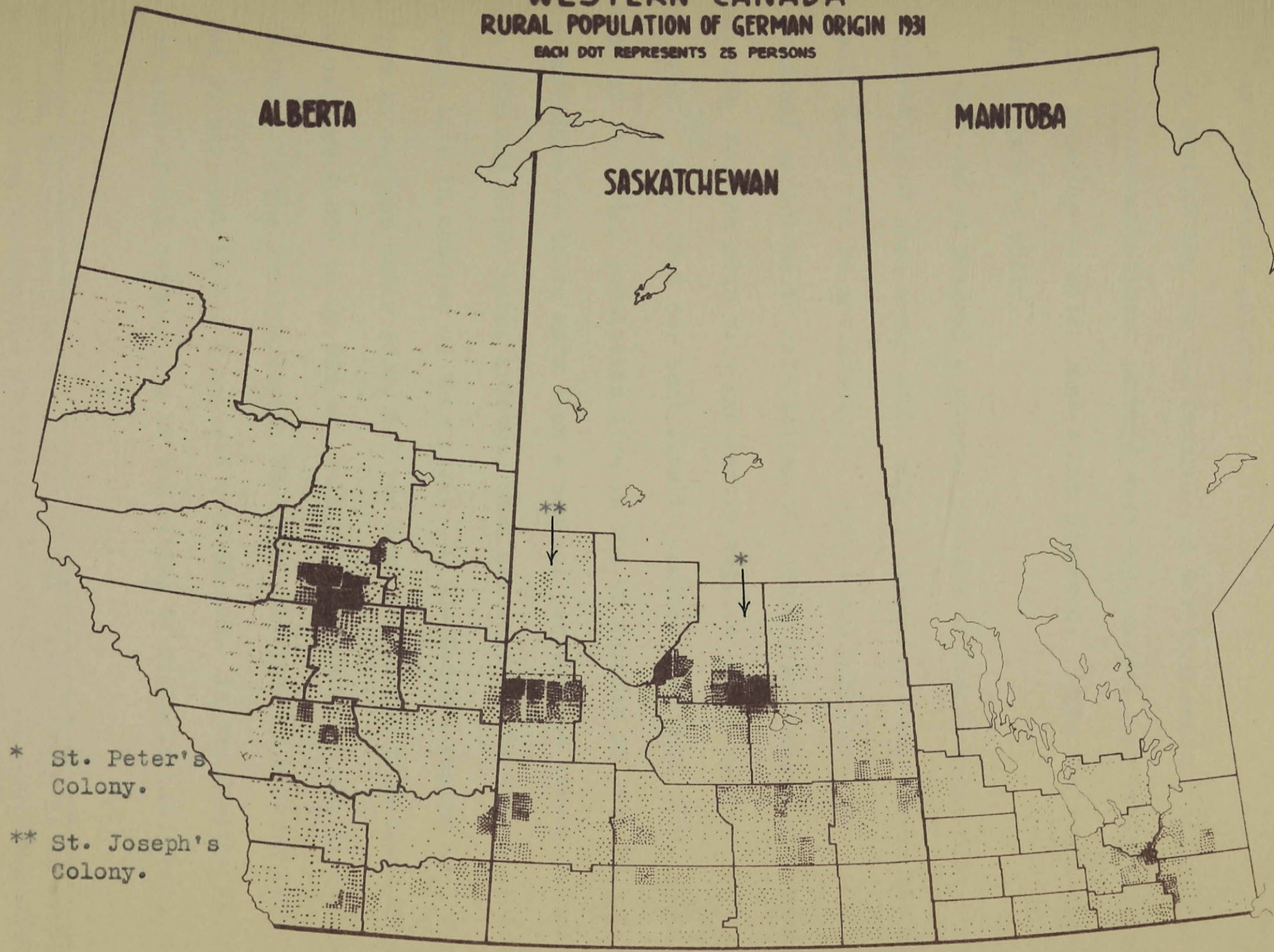
51. In the Prairie Provinces there is also evidence of this. What can and did happen is clearly illustrated by the case of Tramping Lake, Sask., (in St. Joseph's Colony). In 1921 the total population was 100, of which 11 were recorded as German and 50 as Russian. In 1931 the total population was 228 of which 175 were German and not a single Russian. The district is settled predominantly by R ussian Germans.

52. Agriculture, Climate, and Population of the Prairie Provinces of Canada: A Statistical Atlas, Showing Past Development and Present Conditions. Prepared under the direction of W. Burton Hurd and T-W. Grindley (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics,1931)pp. 91,

WESTERN CANADA

RURAL POPULATION OF GERMAN ORIGIN 1931

EACH DOT REPRESENTS 25 PERSONS



* St. Peter's Colony.

** St. Joseph's Colony.

for the present distribution had been laid by the opening of the century, there are certain trends noticeable even between 1921 and 1931. Everywhere the German population is on the increase; even in Manitoba they are more numerous. In Saskatchewan, and particularly in Alberta the concentrations have become greater.

A similar map for the Central and Maritime regions would likewise show certain concentrations, perhaps even more marked than on the Prairies. It was not possible to have such a map prepared. Hence the rural distribution cannot be shown.

Nor can we present a graphic picture of German urban distribution. The preparation of such a map would entail extensive work; and in the end the result might not be satisfactory. With these considerations in mind, we have confined ourselves to calculating the urban distribution of Germans in Canada in 1931, for the four main geographic regions and by size of centres within each.[53] Only 25.5 per cent live in centres less than 2500, while 47.4 per cent of the urban population live in the 20 centres of over 30,000. Only in the Maritimes is there more than a nominal per centage living in centres between 2500 and 4999; here, however, 45.8 per cent of the German urban population live in centres of this size. In the Central region 19.4 per cent live in centres under 2500, 6.5 per cent in centres 2500-4999, 28 per cent in centres 5,000 to 29,999 and fully 46.1 per cent in the 11 centres over 30,000. In the Prairie Region 38.4 per cent live in centres under 2500 and 50 per cent in the 5 centres over 30,000. In the Pacific Region 62.1 per cent of all Germans are in the cities of Victoria and Vancouver (Table 18).

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53. The term "urban" includes all incorporated places. There is no particular consideration (outside the statistical) involved in our grouping, since the size of centre varies in importance between the different regions. The dividing line was placed at 2500 to conform to other treatments; the grouping of all centres over 30,000 is in conformity with certain census data for 1931.

(other than the statistical one

It is clear that in the Maritimes centres from 2500 to 4999 contain more Germans than all smaller centres and more than all larger centres; in the Central Region nearly three-quarters live in centres over 5000; in the Prairie Regions all but a small percentage live either in small centres or in the 5 large cities; while in the Pacific Region the concentration is in two large cities, actually 56.5 per cent in the city of Vancouver alone. The next question that arises is how the German urban population is distributed regionally.

Less than ten per cent of the urban German population live outside the Central and Prairie Regions; 55 per cent live in the Central Region and 36.3 per cent in the Prairie Region. The Central Region has thus a greater percentage of the urban population than of the total German population; the Prairie Region less. Of those in centres under 2500 54.4 per cent live in the Prairie Region and 41.1 per cent in the Central. In all other urban grouping the proportion in the Central region is greater. It would appear that on the Prairie Region the German urban population is concentrated more in the smaller villages, while in the Central Region it gravitates more toward the larger centres.

Similar data for the whole population of Canada are not yet available for comparison. When they are available they will probably show a correlation between the time of German settlement and the comparative extent of urbanization. It appears that in the urban centres of Central Region the Germans are taking their place in the commercial and industrial life with Anglo-Saxon Canadians. On the Prairies they probably show less urbanization.

PART II

OCCUPATIONAL AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS OF GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN TWO TYPICAL AREAS

PART II

SECTION I

GERMAN GROUP SETTLEMENT

IN

WESTERN CANADA

A Study of Assimilation in St. Peter's and St. Joseph's Colonies, Two German-Catholic Communities in Saskatchewan.

INTRODUCTION

THE SELECTION OF TYPICAL COMMUNITIES FOR STUDY.

The regional distribution and the rural and urban distribution of the Germans in Canada to-day has been the result of a series of adjustments, differing somewhat in detail from region to region and from community to community. Nevertheless, certain communities may be selected as typical of this ethnic group and may serve as suitable units in which to observe the processes of its adaptation to Canadian life. In such selected communities may be seen operative all the processes of economic and social adjustment.

These processes of adjustment may be expected to run their course at a different rate in a rural than in an urban setting. In a rural homogeneous German community the impact of outside forces is not so extensive as in the city, and hence adjustments to the outside community can be made more gradually. But while such adjustments are infinitely slower, they take place unmistakably in the direction of eventual assimilation.

In an urban centre the German immigrant group is seldom from a homogeneous community background as is the case in many rural settlements. Furthermore, because of the proximity and constancy of outside contacts they do not find it possible to remain alone. Even where they are segrated and enjoy a certain degree of regional isolation, they soon find participation in the occupational life of the larger community on other than a group basis imperative. Since in the pursuit of their occupations the Germans frequently have little in common with each

other, their institutional organizations cannot be built around their occupations.

A distinctly rural field and a distinctly urban setting may, therefore, be expected to provide two areas in which the occupational and social adjustments of German immigrants in Canada might be observed in greater detail. Yet care must be exercised to select German communities which have arrived at a stage suitable for study. In a community too recently in Canada, the cycle of adjustment may not have progressed far enough; in one already too completely assimilated, the distinctions between it and the surrounding Canadian communities no longer warrant designating it as a German community.

St. Peter's Colony and St. Joseph's colony in the province of Saskatchewan most nearly meet the requirement of a rural field for study. They comprise 50 and 77 townships respectively within their ecclesiastical boundaries, and are situated east and west of Saskatoon respectively, with 108 miles between their nearest boundaries. Established in 1903 and 1906 respectively in territory which was previously unoccupied, they are the example par excellence of German group settlement in Western Canada.

The settlement of these two areas by German Roman Catholics was the result of an organized attempt at group settlement on the part of the church and certain other interests working in close co-operation with it. Though the settlers were composed of Reich Germans, Ausland Germans, and American Germans, the ties of a common language and a common religion proved sufficiently strong to bind the members

into a community group. Furthermore, their common occupation and the comparative regional isolation they enjoyed as a pioneer rural community, enabled them to organize their social life around institutions of their own making. When, with the coming of the railroad, the impact of the forces of the outside community came to be felt, the colonists were able to make the necessary adjustments with less disorganization and on a basis which did not obliterate their identity as a German Catholic community.

Post-war German immigrants in the city of Montreal form a fairly satisfactory sample in which to study the adjustments of an urban group. Both Montreal itself and the German group in Montreal existed long before their arrival. They find themselves in a different setting than the immigrants to St. Peter's colony and St. Joseph's colony in that they came into an area in which the occupational and institutional structure was already set up. Their coming was not the result of any organized German settlement; they came as individuals from all parts of the German Reich, from Austria, Switzerland, Hungary, Roumania, and from almost every other country of the globe.

Though denominationally they were practically all either Lutherans or Roman Catholics, the heterogeneity of their community backgrounds made for varied organization on the basis of common interests. Particularly was this true of those who came from Germany. They were not segregated in any particular group of industries or occupations, and consequently their contacts with outsiders were frequently more extensive than those with persons of their own racial origin. The Ausland-Germans had more the aspects of community group settlement to be sure, but even in the streets in which they are most closely segregated they form only a

small percentage of the population. Though they were able to form a few institutions of their own, they could not approach the isolation enjoyed by the rural communities selected.

Both the Reich Germans and the Ausland Germans arriving in Montreal in the post-war period were thus required to make much more extensive and much more rapid adjustments to the larger community than those in St. Peter's colony and St. Joseph's colony in the same period of time. While the period of their residence in Canada is quite short, it is yet sufficiently long to observe certain trends.

The above rural community and urban group each form the basis of a case study. In Section I St. Peter's and St. Joseph's colonies will be treated as typical of German group settlement in a rural area. In Section II the adjustment problems of a group of German immigrant families will be studied as typical of adaptation in an urban area. In both cases it will be possible to study the groups in their regional setting.

CHAPTER IV

THE SEGRATION OF GERMAN CATHOLICS IN ST. PETER'S AND ST. JOSEPH'S COLONIES

A. Introduction: The Nature of Group Settlement.

Western Canada of to-day is almost wholly a product of the twentieth century. Though three decades are but the span of an active life, at certain periods in the development of a region they may witness an advancement not dreamed of by the previous generation and perhaps never to be equalled again in its history. Such a remarkable transformation has taken place on the Canadian prairies during the past thirty years. From the Maritimes and the central area the settlers came, Nova Scotia and Ontario furnishing many of their younger sons; from the Motherland, and from nearly every nation and nationality of Europe. In addition, as we have seen, large numbers, forming nearly half of the total movement to the Canadian West in the pre-war years, came from the United States (Table 3). Many of these settlers had not yet acquired American citizenship.

Swept into and forming part of this mass movement from the United States were many of German extraction. Reports of the Minister of Immigration show that the number of German-speaking immigrants coming from the United States via Winnipeg had increased from 435 in 1900-01 to 6,730 in 1902-03. In this latter year they formed 54.4 per cent. of the total of 12,367 German-speaking arrivals recorded at Winnipeg. Many of them were German Catholics on their way to St. Peter's colony in Saskatchewan.

Migrations to this continent during the past century, by very reason of their volume, had the appearance of mass movements. They differed, however, from mass movements in at least two important respects: the motives for migration were individualistic, and each immigrant sought his own goal; the majority of immigrants travelled on their own responsibility.

Yet individualistic motives taken alone constitute insufficient explanation for the migration of a people. The decision and the acts of the individuals involved do not take place in a vacuum. They are affected profoundly by the interests, excitement, and opportunities which belong to the total situation. It is through the combined stimulation of these more general aspects of a given social situation that the minds and bodies of individual persons are set in motion. Thus, the offer of free land in Western Canada combined with certain factors in the home situation to transport peoples to a pioneer region. The elements of dissatisfaction with conditions in their home communities varied from group to group. The Mennonites, the Doukhobors and the Mormons, for example, were greatly distressed by religious crises in their homelands, yet in each case this dominant factor manifested itself somewhat differently. In the case of the Mennonites, it was the withdrawal of exemptions from military service; with the Doukhobors it was a religious schism within the sect; and the Mormons sought freedom from political persecution under the Edmunds law.[1]

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1. Dawson, C.A.: Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, 1934 (in Press). See particularly Chapters I, V, and X. This and the two succeeding chapters, with certain revisions, form chapters XIV to XVI of the above volume.

The migration of the German Catholics of St. Peter's and St. Joseph's colonies[2] was animated by the possibility of obtaining cheap land as well as by the urge, which they shared with their church leaders, to change from a condition of scattered settlement in the United States to a homogeneous colony of their own in Saskatchewan. While old communities are broken up and their members mingle with the mass en route to the new land, the tendency to settle in communities of their own kind is almost irresistible. Such homogeneous settlements are not always feasible, at least not at the outset, as was indicated in the preceding paragraph. Nevertheless, the urge is there; the racial origins map of Western Canada gives specific indication of the tendency to settle beside neighbours with the same ethnic backgrounds.[3] Added to this general tendency is the desire to maintain their folkways and beliefs. The Doukhobors and Mennonites, as many other sects, have attempted to keep intact their "way of life" by pushing far beyond the boundaries of existing communities. Hence these groups have not run counter to the main trend of settlement but were to be found at its spearhead. These observations hold true also for the German Catholic colonies of St. Peter's and St. Joseph's which have been selected for the purpose of this study.[4]

In certain other respects these German colonies must be differentiated from the Mennonites and Doukhobors. The Mennonite and Doukhobor movements

2. The term colony as used in this study has reference to a type of immigrant settlement; it does not signify any political control by the homeland.

3. Hurd & Grindley: Agriculture, Climate and Population of the Prairie Provinces of Canada, 1931. See Racial Maps on Rural Population.

4. These are not the only homogeneous German colonies in Western Canada. They are, however, typical of German Catholic group settlement and reasonably representative of German blocs as a whole.

were those of homogeneous groups from bloc settlements to culturally homogeneous settlements on the prairies of Western Canada. The German Catholic movement, on the other hand, was mobilized from half the States of the Union as well as from parts of Europe. Many had become adjusted, partially at least, to the modes of living in the American regions in which they had settled temporarily. A minority, however, came directly from European countries and brought with them their old-world culture. Yet these diverse groups had certain elements in common. They all were of German extraction, and all were Roman Catholics.

In their community structure also the German colonies differed from those cited above. While the community structure of the Mennonites and Doukhobors, transplanted more or less completely from their homeland, differed fundamentally from the Canadian pattern of distribution, that of the German Catholic colonies was from the start indistinguishable from the system of scattered farmsteads prevailing in Canada. A further differentiating factor is that practically all the original settlers of St. Peter's colony and a considerable proportion of those of St. Joseph's had spent periods varying from a few years to a lifetime in the United States and were thus quite familiar with the community structure and farm organisation prevalent on this continent.

B. Geographic Bases of the two German Colonies.

Movements of population take place with definite reference to the ecological base. Racial groups, taken as a whole, tend to settle a country more or less organically, moving into it successively or simultaneously, and each finding its position occupationally and culturally with reference

to existing population elements. Such migrants come from definite geographic regions and go to an equally specific territory, with certain topographical features, natural resources, climatic conditions and actual or potential economic possibilities.

The region towards which the German Catholics made their way lies somewhat to the north of the prairie country proper.[5] St. Peter's colony, rectangular in shape, comprises fifty townships: townships 35 to 40, ranges 18 to 22, and townships 37 to 41, ranges 23 to 26, west of the second meredian. Its south-west corner is about 40 miles east of Saskatoon, while the south-east corner touches the north-west shore of Big Quill lake; from thence the boundary of the German Catholic settlement runs north some twenty-five miles and then westerly to Lake Lenore, Basin Lake and Wakaw Lake, which is a few miles north of the northwest corner.

St. Peter's colony lies in the black park soil belt between the open prairie region and the grey-soil country.[6] The surface of the district as a whole is somewhat rolling, though there are patches of level land. A few miles east of Bruno there is a township of rough land, settled by Galicians within the otherwise solid German colony. South and west of Humboldt, the metropolis of the colony, the soil is a light loam, with some patches of sand and gravel. Further north the soil becomes heavier, ranging from a black park-land loam to a brown loam with a clay subsoil. In the district west of Lake Lenore there is some heavy clay land. Most of the soil is excellent in quality and well adapted to grain growing, though the north-western part of the colony is more suitable to mixed farming.

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5. For location and boundaries of St. Peter's Colony and St. Joseph's colony, see Map I, p.

6. Classification used by Dept. of Soils, University of Saskatchewan.

Poplar and willow bluffs are scattered throughout the region.

St. Joseph's colony is situated in the Tramping Lake district, directly west of St. Peter's, its eastern boundary some 70 miles west of Saskatoon. The Saskatchewan - Alberta line forms the western boundary of the rectangular block (77 townships) including townships 37 and 39, range 17; townships 36 to 40, range 18; and townships 34 to 40, ranges 19 to the Alberta boundary. Tramping Lake runs north and south through the heart of the colony and divides it naturally into two areas.[7]

This district is a portion of the true prairie region. Miles and miles of open country meet the eye, with never a tree to obstruct the view. Ninety per cent. of the land in the colony has the same general topographical features. The soil is for the most part a dark, chocolate-coloured clay loam. A line of coulees, three or four miles south of Broadacres, connects with Tramping Lake to form a natural boundary of the better agricultural land. The coulees also fix roughly the southern edge of German settlement. The northern boundary is similarly formed by a coulee extending from Killsquaw Lake to Tramping Lake and passing just south of Scott. The soil adjoining Tramping Lake is somewhat light, but further west it becomes heavier until in Grass Lake - Rural Municipality No. 381, there is little light land. The district as a whole thus fulfilled the requirements of the settlers - a region of excellent wheat country, easy to bring under cultivation.

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7. St. Joseph's Colony: Silver Jubilee Booklet, 1930. This pamphlet gives a good description of the physical features, beginnings in the colony, and development of churches.

C. Main Factors in the Situation.

These areas which attracted German Catholics from the United States to Canada were at the spearhead of the continued migration westward and northward. Operative in the situation which produced the colonization movement itself were a number of factors. In Canada an energetic minister of immigration was conducting an aggressive settlement campaign. Railways, engaged in a programme of expansion, served as the right arm of the Department of Immigration. On the American side of the line, steady agricultural expansion not only made it difficult to procure agricultural land cheaply, but also made it easy to dispose of holdings and move on to the cheaper lands available in Canada.

In addition to these general forces, specific factors fixed the attention of the widely scattered German Catholics of the United States upon the future St. Peter's colony. The settlers had two elements in common: the German language and the Roman Catholic religion. Prior to their migration to America many had been members of culturally homogeneous rural communities; in the United States they grew restless under conditions of scattered settlement in which they saw their traditions disintregating rapidly. Thus the desire of German Catholics to reside in bloc settlements supplemented the economic motives for migration.[8]

The Catholic Settlement Society was formed to give direction to this urge. Mr. F. J. Lange, its president at that time, a high-school

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8. St. Peter's Colony: Souvenir of Silver Jubilee, 1928. (Pages not numbered).

teacher in St. Paul, Minn., writes:

> Here was the point through which all the settlers seeking land in the great North-West passed and it struck me that no organization existed for recommending Catholic land-seekers to Catholic districts.[9]

At about the same time the Benedictine Monks, of St. John's College, Collegeville, Minn., were interested in Western Canada. They conceived the possibilities of settling German Catholics in large closed colonies, similar to the one in their own diocese. At Cluny, Illinois, a small community of Benedictine Fathers were not happy in their location, and for some time their Prior had been seeking a more favourable field of activity.

Certain laymen saw their opportunities in directing the real estate activities, and the possibility, if not necessity, of keeping these in German Catholic hands. For this purpose they organized the German American Land Company with Mr. Henry Haskamp as president. Thus a settlement society, an ecclesiastical order, and a land company all were interested in a similar project. It remained but for them to coordinate their efforts.

D. Colonization.

The organizations interested in German Catholic settlements combined their forces and sent a delegation of four from Stearn's County, Minnesota to Western Canada for the purpose of selecting a suitable location for a Catholic colony. The party included three representatives of the German American Land Company and Father Bruno Doerfler of the

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9. St. Joseph's Colony: Op.cit., p.21.

Order of St. Benedict. Mr. F. J. Lange was to accompany them, but was prevented by urgent business. After travelling extensively in what were then the Northwest Territories they eventually reached the district east of Rosthern which had been recommended to them by immigration officials at Winnipeg. On August 30, 1902:

> Suddenly we emerged from the hills and a beautiful panorama spread out before us.... Small groves of poplars were spread about the plain in profusion. Mr. Ens halted the horses, jumped up and throwing down his coat cried out enthusiastically that any man who did not think this a splendid country would have to fight him. Needless to say, nobody picked up the gauntlet, for this was indeed a splendid location for a colony. We all agreed that nothing finer could be found, provided the soil was of the right quality and provided the district was large enough.[10]

This tour of inspection was followed by the completion of plans for immediate settlement. The German American Land Company entered into an agreement with the Dominion government by which a block of land comprising 50 townships was set aside for the colony. The company agreed to bring 500 settlers per year for three years. During this period only those brought in by the company or their associates would be allowed to homestead within the limits of St. Peter's colony. They bought 108,000 acres of land from the North Saskatchewan Land Company at $4.50 per acre, paying 50 cents per acre cash and the rest in instalments. Their land comprised only part of the land in the colony, and only the odd-numbered sections. The even-numbered sections were reserved for homesteading.

The Catholic Settlement Society undertook the task of providing settlers by advertising extensively in the German papers of the United States and distributing numerous pamphlets among the German Catholics.

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10. Doerfler, B.: Through Western Canada. (First published about 1904). Reprinted serially in the Prairie Messenger, 1928.

The Society organized parties of prospective homesteaders and conducted them to the selected territory.

The Benedictines supplied the priests for the colony. Prior Alfred from the monastery at Cluny accepted the invitation to take charge of the work in Saskatchewan. He lost no time in making the necessary arrangements for transplanting his entire community of monks to the field of future activity.

The movement to St. Peter's colony was undertaken within a few months. On October 11, 1902, a group of twenty-six men arrived at Rosthern and, in the company of Father Bruno, selected their homesteads. By December, 1902, some 1000 homesteads had been taken. The present boundaries of the colonies were agreed upon by the authorities on Jan. 16, 1903.

From half the States of the Union the settlers came, but particularly from Minnesota, the Dakotas, Wisconsin, and Kansas. Minnesota was the most heavily represented. They came through two main channels: by way of Rosthern into the Western part of the colony, and by way of Yorkton into the eastern section. Many of them brought a full equipment of livestock, farm machinery and household furniture. Practically all were German Catholics, as the ecclesiastical influence behind the movement was predominant. Many of them were second-generation German immigrants whose fathers had settled in the United States between 1860 and 1880. Probably not more than 10 per cent. of the original settlers in St. Peter's colony came directly from Germany, and these came mostly in the years 1905 and 1906.

By 1906 all the free homestead lands had been taken. After that date the German American Land Company began to dispose of its

holdings freely. In 1911 the company had only 20,000 acres unsold and these were disposed of to a new company. Most of the best land was taken up before the war. The colony did not expand outward, largely because settlement on its borders resisted invasion and because the lands available within have until recently proved sufficient to most requirements.

To provide homesteads for later arrivals Mr. F. J. Lange, president of the Catholic Settlement Society, had already scouted the possibilities of a second settlement. He reports:

> While I was directing the colonizing of St. Peter's colony I met many who were not satisfied with the land there because there was a lot of bush and scrub on it. This attitude I found particularly prevalent among the immigrants from southern Russia and those from the western parts of the United States. To satisfy these, and as the good homestead land in St. Peter's colony was already taken up, I decided to found a colony on the open prairie.[11] ... arrived on July 28th on the west side of Tramping Lake in the territory of St. Joseph's colony.

In the same year the Catholic Colonization Society was formed at Rosthern with Mr. Lange as president, Mr. Bentz as secretary and three Oblate priests on the executive.[12] The Benedictines were no longer interested but secured the cooperation of the German Oblates. There was no parallel to the German American Land Company of the St. Peter's colony. Nor was a definite block land reserved for the colonists.

The following spring the first settlers began to arrive. A party which left Saskatoon early in May was representative of the St. Joseph's colony to be. One member came from Germany, one from Austria

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11. St. Joseph's Colony. Op.cit., p.21.

12. Mr. F. J. Lange, it will be remembered, had been president of the Catholic Settlement Society which was active in the settlement of St. Peter's colony. He is still active as an organiser of German Catholic settlements.

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two brothers from Russia, and one from the United States.[13] All were of original German stock and dutiful sons of Mother Church. These two things they had in common, and these served first to assemble and subsequently to preserve them as a more or less compact racial group in the Canadian setting.

Two main trails were used by the settlers: one, the Swift Current - Battleford Trail, passing just east of Leipzig, the other west from Saskatoon to Sounding Lake, crossing Tramping Lake at the present crossing between Handel and Tramping Lake villages. The main body of German-American settlers came into the country during 1906 and 1907; most of the district east of Tramping Lake and west to the present sites of Revenue and Tramping Lake was settled by them. The settlers as a whole were well off; no one brought less than a carload of effects. They took up the odd-numbered sections, which consisted mainly of pre-emptions and Hudson's Bay Company land, and made this territory almost a solid German settlement.

Meanwhile another movement was under way. Extensive advertising in Russia and Austria-Hungary directed part of the exodus from these countries to the colony. The result was a large influx of Russian-Germans during 1908, -09, and -10 into the Tramping Lake - Macklin part of the colony. A few of these people had money; most of them however had none. Many of them worked at railway construction to obtain capital for the purchase of farm equipment; sometimes a group would support one of their number to stay on the homestead and break land for each of them.

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13. St. Joseph's Colony: Ibid., p.28.

E. Continuation of the Settlement Process.

The settlers on their individual homesteads formed the human base of the community structure which soon took form at St. Peter's. As the area had been set aside as a reserve for German Catholics for three years, it was occupied almost completely by Germans. Such information as exists indicates that the migration to St. Peter's colony was largely a family movement. The earliest available census figures are those for 1906; these show that the excess of male population over female population was less in the townships more solidly occupied by Germans than in those at the fringe of the colony.

The census data for St. Joseph's colony suggests definitely that in the first years the heads of families came out alone, and within a few years the families followed. Thus for 1906 the sex ratio is 191 males per hundred females, while five years later it had dropped to 151 males per hundred females. (Table 22). As previously mentioned, the territory at St. Joseph's colony was not reserved for German settlement, but the practice of proxy homesteading and the intensive drive for colonization combined to keep the settlement almost wholly German.[14]

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14. Field Notes, St. Joseph's Colony:
    a. We had no monopoly of the territory; we tried to keep it German Catholic by locating farther west than most of the landseekers were going and by speeding up the movement of our people. But even at that some of them (i.e. the English and others) got among us.
    b. F. J. Lange moved behind everything and pulled the strings; he was responsible in large part for the fact that the colony remained solidly German. He filed on a large number of homesteads by proxy, picking out the best land. If non-German settlers came along they were told the lands had been filed on. But when he got a likely German settler he brought him into the office and said: "So-and-so has resigned his homestead, give it to this man."

St. Joseph's colony had more heterogeneous German elements than St. Peter's colony. Many were immigrants who had spent a few years in the United States; while others came directly from European countries. At Leipzig, for example, the population was composed of Russian-Germans, Hungarian-Germans, and Germans directly from the homeland in almost equal proportions.[15]

The central community structure that arose to coordinate and give direction to activities of these new settlers was very simple. A common background in language, religion, and other phases of culture facilitated informal social activities, the unity of effort in establishing themselves on the land, and in setting up basic institutional services. In all these matters they had marked advantages over the surrounding heterogeneous pioneer communities. Cooperation in the ownership and use of farm machinery in carrying on farming operations was not uncommon among these German Catholics.

Few of the settlers in the St. Peter's colony had any money. Some brought livestock and machinery with them, others purchased a minimum of household and farm equipment at the pioneer towns. In St. Joseph's colony, the American-Germans, who came first, were in more comfortable economic circumstances. The Russian-Germans, on the other hand, were poor. Many of them worked out for the first year or two, leaving their wives to manage affairs at home. Sometimes four would work on the railway to support a fifth who stayed at home and broke 15 or 20 acres for each of them, often with equipment owned by several

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15. St. Joseph's Colony: Op.cit., p.52.

persons. Beginnings by this method were slow, but nevertheless substantial. Already in 1904 some 20,000 to 25,000 acres were reported under cultivation in St. Peter's colony.[16]

Even with the advantages of social solidarity, the privations of pioneer life were not unknown to these settlers. Dwellings were constructed for the most part of poplar logs in St. Peter's colony and of sod in St. Joseph's, where logs were not so readily available. The floor was made of mud or possibly of boards, the ceiling likewise. The original roof was often a framework of poplar rafters covered with grass, sods, and several coats of mud. The houses usually had two rooms: a kitchen, and a bedroom curtained off by the necessary number of partitions. Furniture was often homemade and very simple. Life itself was severe enough. Change of diet was an unknown luxury:

> The food served at meals was: cereal foods (Mehlspeisen) and milk for breakfast, milk and cereal foods for dinner, and cereal foods and milk for supper. Now and again, after the day's work the farmer took his shotgun from the wall and brought down a few rabbits or wild duck..... If anyone took sick recourse was had to household remedies such as herb teas, mustard plasters, sweat cures, etc. Medical services were of course not readily available.[17]

The formal community structure was very elementary before the coming of the railway. St. Peter's colony got its supplies mainly from Rosthern, and St. Joseph's from Battleford. Small local stores sprang up throughout the community to serve the needs of neighbours. Frequently these stores were near the church and the school. Store, church, school and post office were often the nuclei of open country trade centres which are still in existence in sections untouched by the railway.

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16. Report of Dept. of Immigration, 1904-05, p.105

In the development of this early community structure the church played a dominant role: As we have mentioned above, the Benedictine Order undertook the spiritual guidance of St. Peter's colony. This order has a long tradition in the development of pioneer areas; it builds slowly, but it builds well. In St. Peter's colony it lost no time in getting started. Already in 1903 at Leofield a church, a school, and a parish house had been erected and the parish organized. In the same year parishes were established at Muenster, at Annaheim and at Dead Moose Lake (now Marysburg). At these and other places services were held in private houses. Smaller sections of the community became mission stations. Within a year a college had been built, ten parishes and missions had churches, and a number of schools had been erected. In St. Joseph's colony affairs were under the jurisdiction of the Oblate Fathers. Here, too, the priests lead in community building.

Early education in both colonies was in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church. The earliest schools in St. Peter's colony were parochial schools; a report relating to St. Joseph's mentions that in October of the first year the two missionaries were engaged in the daily instruction of 25 children in catechism, the English language, and other school subjects.

F. Isolation during the Early Years.

The regional and social isolation of these German Catholic colonists was neither so marked nor so long continued as was that of the Doukhobors and Mennonites. North-west of St. Peter's colony, German Mennonite and Hungarian settlements were already in existence

and other surrounding districts were being homesteaded. It will be remembered also that there were no topographical barriers to prevent the close approach of other settlers.

Naturally, there were barriers of language, religion and modes of living which separated these Germans from those who lived just beyond their community borders. The former had that sense of social security and self-sufficiency which prevails among the membership of any closely knit ethnic group. Yet the fact that the English language was taught at the outset in the church schools indicates that these groups were far more tolerant of the ways of their Canadian neighbours than were the Mennonites and the Doukhobors in their original communities. In this connection it must be remembered that these Germans as members of an historic church had learned to tolerate not only the religious practices of others but their secular interests as well. Then, too, there were among them many who had lived in American communities already and who were in close contact with their American neighbours. All this helped to prepare them for a more rapid readjustment to Canadian economic and social institutions, which in a short space of time began to penetrate their "solid" communities.

CHAPTER V

INVASION AND DISPLACEMENT.

A. Evolution of the Trade Centre Pattern.

The regional approach in an analysis of the readjustment of these colonies fixes the mind on those more tangible movements of material utilities and population elements which usually accompany the less visible social changes. Among those tangible elements the coming of the railway was of central importance. Along its right of way new commercial towns drew to themselves commercial and professional services which in the earlier period had been located in the vicinity of the church. These railway towns also brought to the colonies new population elements which took charge of the business enterprises and assumed professional leadership. The recent economic and social changes may be traceable in large measure to their presence in the colony towns.

The first railway came through St. Peter's colony in the fall of 1904. The main line of the Canadian Northern Railway (now Canadian National Railways) passed through the colony from east to west, slightly south of its geographical centre. The course of the railway had already been surveyed when the settlers came, so that the community pattern was built with reference to it from the beginning. The commercial importance of Humboldt increased considerably when that town became a divisional point. The religious headquarters had already been established in 1903 at Muenster. Local centres sprang up at the usual

intervals along the line. Away from the railway open country villages remained under the dominance of the church.

Shortly before the war a branch line of the Grand Trunk Pacific from Young to Prince Albert skirted the eastern edge of the colony. About 1921, a C.N.R. line from Humboldt to Melfort penetrated the north-eastern section of the colony and the Lanigan-Melfort branch of the C.P.R. passed just beyond the eastern fringe of German settlement. As recently as 1930 a C.P.R. line from Lanigan to Prince Albert passing through Humboldt in a north-westerly direction brought railway facilities to that portion of the colony west of Lake Lenore. In all this construction a relocation of open country centres to the new town locations resulted, often bringing conflict in its train.

In St. Joseph's colony the railway came later in the settlement development, but its facilities were extended more rapidly. In 1908 the main line of the G. T. P. came through Scott and Landis, and in the following year the main line of the C. P. R. passed through Macklin. Branch lines were built within a few years; the Macklin-Moose Jaw branch (C. P. R.) and the Wilkie-Kerrobert branch (C. P. R.) both in 1911, and the Wilkie-Kelfield branch (C. P. R.) in 1912. Since then the only construction has been a branch from Unity south-westward through Reward and Cosine in 1929. It is significant that in St. Joseph's colony the more important lines form a triangle enclosing the bulk of German settlement and that none of them pass through the heart of the colony.

In the new constellation of centres those towns growing up along the railway soon asserted their leadership in community building. To these new centres came the storekeeper, the livery man, the blacksmith,

and the implement dealer. Later the station agent, the elevator man, the banker, the teacher, and in some cases the doctor and lawyer appeared. Their coming marks not only the end of regional isolation, but that of cultural isolation as well. For the commercial centre was the main medium through which Canadian commercial methods, professional services, and political practices entered the German Catholic communities. Soon, too, the provincial school system came to displace the school under sectarian supervision. Religions strange to the group came to be practised side by side with their own.

In St. Peter's colony the distribution of trade centres was determined by the first trunk railway (Map 2a). Humboldt, as already mentioned, assumed leadership because of its position as railway divisional point. As early as 1905 Humboldt had a bank, a land titles office, and a creamery. In 1907 it was incorporated as a town. That year the Agricultural Society was formed and a cooperative elevator and a cooperative store were built. These few indications point to Humboldt's role in the community as the centre of a secular life.

To-day Humboldt stands as the undisputed centre of a dominance in the colony. It has a population of 1,899 persons and ranks fifth among the towns of Saskatchewan.[1] An imposing city hall, a new $15,000 skating rink, three schools, four churches, a large hospital and a courthouse are the outstanding buildings in the town. Seventy-five business units draw trade within a radius of twenty miles. The flour mill has a capacity of 100 barrels a day and the creamery of

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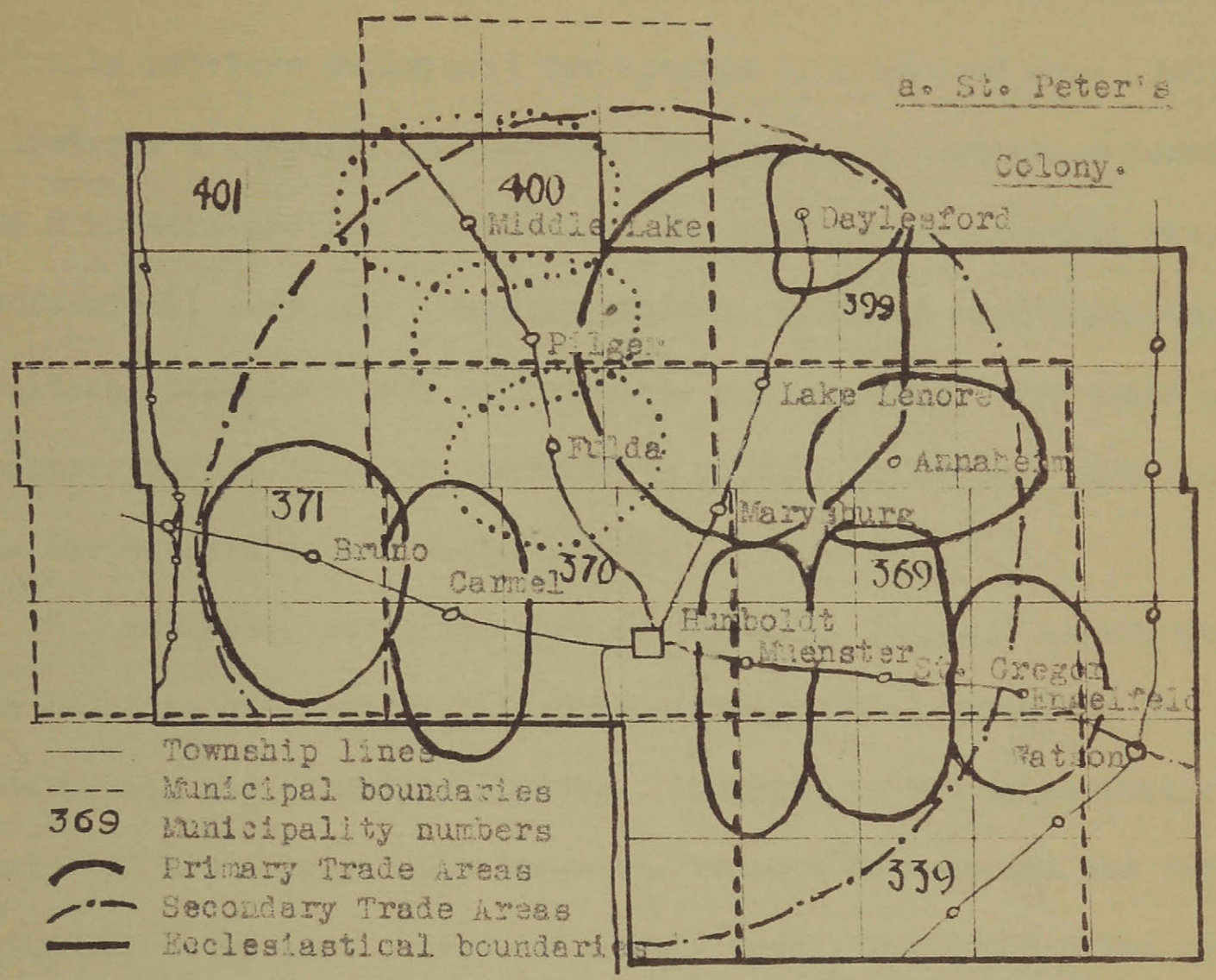
1. There are eight cities in Saskatchewan at present (1934).

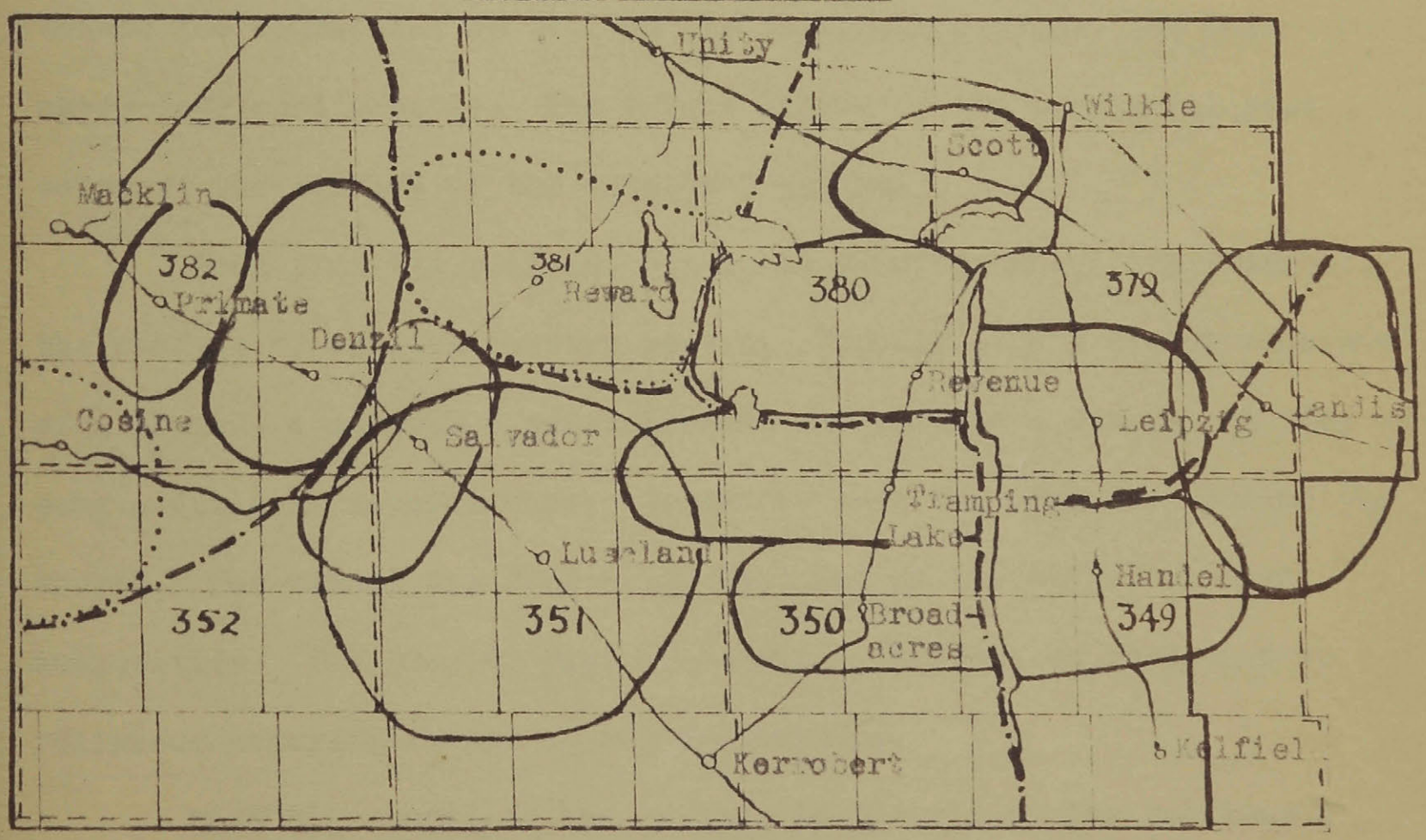
Map 2.

TRADE AREAS: St. Peter's and St. Joseph's Colonies, Saskatchewan 1932.

a. St. Peter's Colony.



b. St. Joseph's Colony.



10,000 to 12,000 pounds of butter per week. Work on the railway normally provides employment for upwards of a hundred men. Four ministers, 4 lawyers, 16 teachers, 34 nurses, 3 doctors, 2 dentists and 2 bankers provide the town and the surrounding district with professional services. Numerous lodges, farmers' organizations, political organizations, sports clubs and societies have their headquarters here. In short, Humboldt's secular influences have reached the far corners of the whole colony.

Muenster, six miles east of Humboldt, presents an example of the relative strength of religious and commercial interests in determining the community pattern. Muenster is the ecclesiastical centre of the colony. The large St. Peter's College and the imposing Cathedral stand just outside the small town. The Benedectine monks had built St. Peter's College in 1903 believing that Muenster would become the commercial as well as the religious centre. But Muenster never developed greatly. The bright lights of the commercial town outshone the candles of the cathedral centre.

Back from the railway, the local country church was frequently the nucleus of an open country centre. Usually such a centre consisted of a church, a school, a general store and perhaps a blacksmith shop or some additional service unit. Community life was organized around the church. The school was originally operated by the ecclesiastical authorities. The greater part of community activities pertained to religious observances and church festivities.

With the coming of the railway to these outlying sections a relocation was invariably necessary. Thus at Lake Lenore in 1904 a

church stood half a mile north of the present site, and in 1906 the store and post office opened there. But the present town developed in 1919 when the railway entered. Some of the buildings in the old village were moved and new ones erected. In a comparatively short time all the commercial activities, the church and the school were moved to the new town. At Fulda and Pilger the process of breaking up the old open country centres and transplanting them to the new sites is in progress at the present time, following the construction of a railway line through these parts in 1930. Annaheim, ten miles north of St. Gregor, affords another example of commercial centralization on the railway. This town has been a centre since the settlement of the surrounding country in 1903, but it has gradually declined. Annaheim had a flour mill and a creamery which were destroyed by fire in 1922. The coming of railways on either side of the town has caused its gradual disintegration. At present Annaheim has a population of only 25 persons. All its functions except those of the general store and the rural municipal office are related to religious organizations.

Even the smaller centres on the railways play important parts in commercial growth and social change. Engelfold, St. Gregor, Carmel and Bruno are old-established centres along the main line. Daylesford, north of Lake Lenore, is on a line constructed some ten years ago. Daylesford is in an area where the ethnic composition is heteregeneous and population is more mobile than elsewhere in the colony. Middle Lake is a new town on the latest railway line. Each railway point serves as a primary trade centre for the surrounding area. Map $\frac{\quad}{2a}$ shows how well-defined those

trade areas have become, even in the newer districts.

The development of the trade centre structure in St. Joseph's colony shows the same trend of change from a church village to a commercial railway centre. The railway structure forms roughly a triangle around the main German Catholic settlement. None of the more important lines pass through the heart of the colony, and this German colony therefore has no dominant trade centre corresponding to Humboldt. The commercial interests are divided among Kerrobert in the south, Wilkie, Scott and Unity in the north, Biggar in the east, and Macklin in the west. None of these lie within the colony proper, and none have a predominance of German population.

B. Population Changes.

The cycle of growth and change in the development of the present community structure is indicated by measurable trends in population growth, sex distribution, and changes in ethnic composition. The data in Table 21 gives the rural population growth in St. Peter's and St. Joseph's colonies. The trend in each colony is the same. There is an initial period of rapid growth during which the available homestead lands are taken; then follows a period of almost stationary population while the process of consolidation is going on; and finally, a period of slow expansion as the outlying regions are brought under cultivation.

Changes in the sex ratio give a rough indication of the types of households in these communities. The lower the sex ratio, the greater the proportion of family to non-family households tends to be.[2]

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2. This statement is based on calculations made by the writer from Census of Saskatchewan,1926. Here sex ratios and ratio of unmarried males to single females vary directly.

In both colonies, and this may be credited to group settlement, the sex distribution soon reaches a relatively normal ratio for rural communities within a short time (Table 22). The rapid decline in surplus males as evidenced by a change from 146 to 124 in the sex ratio for St. Peter's and from 191 to 151 in that for St. Joseph's which occurred during the period of railway construction shows clearly the importance of modern transportation facilities in the settlement process.

More important than sex ratio changes is the trend in main ethnic elements. Table 23 gives the statistics on this point for certain rural municipalities only. While the line drawn around those does not coincide with the ecclesiastical boundaries of German settlement, their correspondance is sufficiently close for our purpose.

The present distribution of Germans in rural sections is shown in Map $\frac{}{3}$ which gives the lands occupied by Germans. Both colonies show marked concentration at the centre with penetration at the edges. The non-German settlement east of Bruno in St. Peter's colony is an interesting example of an ethnic group within an ethnic group, for this block of poorer land is occupied by Ukrainians who settled there in 1909 and 1910.

Though the four municipalities used in Table 23 in St. Peter's colony show a slight decrease in the percentage of Germans, two municipalities partially within the colony show increases of 19 per cent over the 1921 total for the German population. The scatter of German

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3. Rural Municipalities Nos.339 and 401 show 42 per cent Germans in 1921 and 50 per cent in 1931, i.e. an increase in the German population of 19 per cent. Calculated from Census of Canada, 1921, Vol.I, Table 27; 1931, Bull. No.XXII.

farms at the fringes thus indicates that here the Germans are increasing their holdings. This is in evidence in the northwest and southeast areas. The north-eastern fringe, which is an area of considerable population change, interestingly enough, shows little invasion of either the French from St. Brieux or the Germans from Lake Lenore. On the eastern fringe around Beauchamp the few French families have been resisting the encroachment of the German element in vain; they have been forced out even from their church.

In St. Joseph's colony expansion was due to the steady march of German settlement westward. The region east of Tramping Lake was occupied first, then that on the west side, and over a period of years those sections farther west. Some of the land south of Macklin has been occupied by Germans during the past decade. In the south-western municipality of the colony the number of Germans has increased from 315 to 2631 persons. Throughout the whole colony the number of Germans in rural sections has nearly doubled, now comprising 7,152 out of a total of 14,690 persons for the eight municipalities included in our data. At Kerrobert, the boundary of German settlement has moved about three miles south of the original border. More important still, there has been a gradual infiltration of German Catholics on scattered farms in the adjoining districts. At Landis they are moving east, and at Scott they are spreading northward. The number of British has slightly decreased, while that of "others" is only 64 per cent of the 1921 total.

The rural sections of both colonies thus show a steady expansion of the Germans. Members of this group are buying up lands on the fringes and displacing other racial groups. The Germans themselves

show little sign of being displaced. Of 16 farmers of whom records were taken in St. Peter's colony, 14 had resided there over 21 years; eight of them still lived on the original farm; two had sold their homesteads to purchase the present farm and four had come into the district with their parents. The two latest arrivals were both on their first farms. These figures indicate relatively little mobility among the Germans after they acquire their first holdings. At Muenster it is said you can count on the fingers of one hand the number of families who have moved.

In the urban centres - incorporated towns and villages - the German element is also on the increase. The trend in St. Peter's colony is best seen by separating Humboldt from the other urban centres (Table 24). The story for both Humboldt and the other urban centres is broadly the same: (a) substantial German and British elements were present early in the life of the colony, (b) an invasion by proportionately larger numbers of other races occurred during the period of town building, (c) and during the past decade there has been a relatively greater increase of Germans than of other ethnic groups. In detail, however, there are significant differences. The recent increase of Germans is relatively nearly twice as great in Humboldt as elsewhere (29 per cent and 15 per cent respectively). More important, the increase in Humboldt is at the expense of the British elements, while elsewhere the other ethnic stocks are being relatively displaced. Thus, the German Catholics are not only regaining the dominant position in their own villages, but are increasing in relative importance to other groups in the larger commercial centres.

The Germans in Humboldt are largely retired farmers or new arrivals who work on the railway. Nevertheless, not all belong to these classes. Though the British are still the chief commercial group, 18 of the 75 business units recorded are operated by Germans; in addition, one doctor and one dentist are Germans. Some of the original German functionaries, such as the rural municipal secretary and the administrator of the German American Land Company, have been throughout the most active community leaders. The trend is unmistakeable. The Germans mean to play an increasingly larger part in the secular life of the colony.

Reference to Table 23 shows that during the past decade the increase of the German population in urban centres is even greater for St. Joseph's colony. The proportions of German, British and "others" show only normal changes between 1911 and 1921. But during the next decade the British element had decreased from 55 per cent to 29.9 per cent, while the German element increased from 18.8 per cent to 38.8 per cent, and that of "others" only from 26.2 per cent to 31.5 per cent. The increase of Germans is mainly in Macklin, Handel, Luseland, and Tramping Lake. As noted in an earlier section, St. Joseph's colony has no predominant commercial centre; furthermore, all of the larger centres are outside the settlement proper. This extends the contacts of the Germans with the members of the neighboring Canadian communities. Then, too, cultural diffusion coming through several centres simultaneously is further intensified by the lack of loyalty to any one German centre.

Thus the Germans here, as in Humboldt in particular, are being drawn to the urban centres as residents, there displacing the British element. In addition, with the increased transportation facilities the

German farmers are going more frequently to the commercial towns. The net result is easier cultural assimilation accompanied by an increasing relative importance of the German group.

The above analysis of population growth and change shows clearly that these German Catholic colonies, far from disappearing have not only retained, almost intact, their original agricultural base but have expanded this base, replacing other racial elements along their borders. The commercial towns, however, have been points of invasion by other population elements chiefly Anglo-Saxon. This English-speaking group is composed of those who conduct the commercial and professional services and it has been displaced only in a minor way by Germans in recent years. The cultural penetration which has been effected by this group will be analyzed in the final chapter. The increased proportion of retired farmers and laborers to be found in these towns at the present time does not signify any lessening of Canadian contacts in these German colonies.

C. Agricultural Development in Relation to Family Expenditure Practices.

a. Agricultural Expansion Trends:

Population increase combined with changes in community structure to pave the way for greater agricultural production, Canadian farm practices, and Canadian standards of living. Agricultural development in St. Peter's and St. Joseph's colonies has followed the same general trend as population expansion. Differences in the agricultural base of the two colonies, however, have meant that St. Peter's colony, despite its earlier settlement, and despite the previous experience of the

settlers in an American setting, proved less adaptable to large scale farming than St. Joseph's colony.

Table 25 indicates that after the initial period of homesteading expansion has taken place not so much by increasing the number of farms as by increasing the acreage per farm. In St. Peter's the homestead period was fairly well over by 1906 and the next five years saw a filling-in process, as indicated by a rural population increase of 75.1 per cent between 1906 and 1911 and only 14.1 per cent between 1911 and 1916 (Table 21). St. Joseph's colony, on the other hand, was but at the start of homestead settlement in 1906. Here the homestead period lasted until after 1912 and the occupation of non-homestead lands up to 1916.

The acreage of field crop per farm is the only datum which is extant as early as 1906. At that date it was 24 acres for St. Peter's and 15 acres for St. Joseph's. By 1916, it had increased to 88 acres and 150 acres respectively; already the field crop acreage per farm in St. Peter's colony was only 59 per cent of that in St. Joseph's, a proportion which remained unchanged a decade later. Though the field crop acreage per farm for the two colonies stood at the same ratio for these two census periods, the increase in the average size of farms and in the improved acreage per farm went on at different rates in the two colonies. The increase in the size of farms was relatively greater in St. Peter's, while the increase in percentage of improved acreage per farm was greater in St. Joseph's. Thus in St. Peter's the average size of farms increased from 260 acres in 1916 to 358 acreas in 1926, or 37 per cent, while in St. Joseph's the average of 340

acres increased to 426 acres, or only 25 per cent. On the other hand the 42 per cent of improved acreage per farm increased to only 48 per cent in St. Peter's, while 60 per cent in 1916 increased to 73 per cent in 1926 in St. Joseph's colony.

It is further noted that these increases took place without a corresponding increase in the number of farms. This is particularly pronounced in the 5-year period 1921-1926 where increases in field crop acreage of 29 per cent and 20 per cent correspond to an actual decrease of 3 per cent in the number of farms in St. Peter's and an increase of only 5 per cent in St. Joseph's.[4] The trend towards greater land utilization is in both cases unmistakeable. Differences between the colonies in the average size of farm, percentage of improved acreage per farm, and in the acreage of field crops per farm all point to a difference in the type of farming. St. Peter's colony, it will be remembered, lies in the park belt, while St. Joseph's is in the open prairie country. Hence St. Peter's is more devoted to mixed farming, while St. Joseph's is almost exclusively a wheat-growing area. In both, wheat and oats are the major crops; and in both the percentage of field crop acreage devoted to wheat has steadily increased. The 69 per cent of St. Peter's is, however, lower than the 79 per cent. of St. Joseph's. This, together with the lower percentage of improved farm acreage, denotes a greater degree of diversification in St. Peter's colony.

Data on the size of farms for 1926 show the same variation as those above. In St. Peter's colony, out of the total of 1,656 farms,

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4. The percentages referred to in the above paragraphs are calculated from Table 25.

33 per cent were 160 acres (or less) while in St. Joseph's, out of 2,817 farms only 18.7 per cent were quarter-section farms. The percentages of half-section farms were 34.2 per cent and 36.6 per cent respectively; those of three-quarter sections 18.6 per cent and 19.6 per cent; and those over 480 acres 5.2 per cent and 10.7 per cent respectively. (Table 26a). Smaller holdings predominate in St. Peter's, while large-scale farming is the rule in St. Joseph's.

Farm Tenure as in 1926 shows 73 per cent owners, 7 per cent tenants, and 20 per cent part owners and part tenants in St. Peter's colony compared to 61.17 and 22 per cent respectively in St. Joseph's. (Table 26b). The higher percentage of ownership in St. Peter's colony is what we would expect. The smaller the holdings, the greater the degree of ownership; and, what is perhaps more significant, the more diversified the type of farm economy.

The net result of the changes which have gone on in agriculture since the beginning of the colonies is that the pioneer homestead farm has been displaced. The initial stage when rural population increased faster than field crop acreage per farm has been reversed as larger-scale operations have been made possible by greater mechanization and by the consolidation of quarter-section farms into larger units. Tenancy has become established and is on the increase; wheat production has increased proportionately and, until 1926 at least, had supplanted livestock raising. Though the census data for 1931 have not yet been released, the field surveys indicate that the trend towards wheat farming has been checked. In St. Peter's colony there has been a

considerable return to mixed farming, more so than in St. Joseph's where changes from the one-crop system cannot so readily be made. But it is too early to say to what extent such practices are the direct result of adverse conditions of the wheat-growing industry or to what extent they indicate permanent trends towards a more diversified agriculture.

Through a series of invasions - sheer population growth, the penetration of the commercial village, increased mechanization - the original homesteads have been transformed into up-to-date Canadian farms. The self-sufficiency of pioneer days has given way to production for a market. Agriculturally the colonies have become integral parts of the Canadian economic system.

b. Present Agricultural Economy in St. Peter's Colony.

The present position of this farm economy in one of these settlements at least can be indicated by an analysis of 13 farm schedules collected from as many German farmers in St. Peter's colony during the summer of 1932. Of the 13 German farms, 1 was a quarter-section, 6 were half-sections, 2 were three-quarter sections, 1 comprised 800 acres (5 quarter-sections) and 3 were 960 acres and over. Ownership, calculated on the basis of land operated, included 91 per cent of the farms.

One year's revenue and expenditures per farm for this group are compared in Table 27 with those of an Anglo-Saxon group in the Davidson-Craik district, south of Saskatoon.* The average income of

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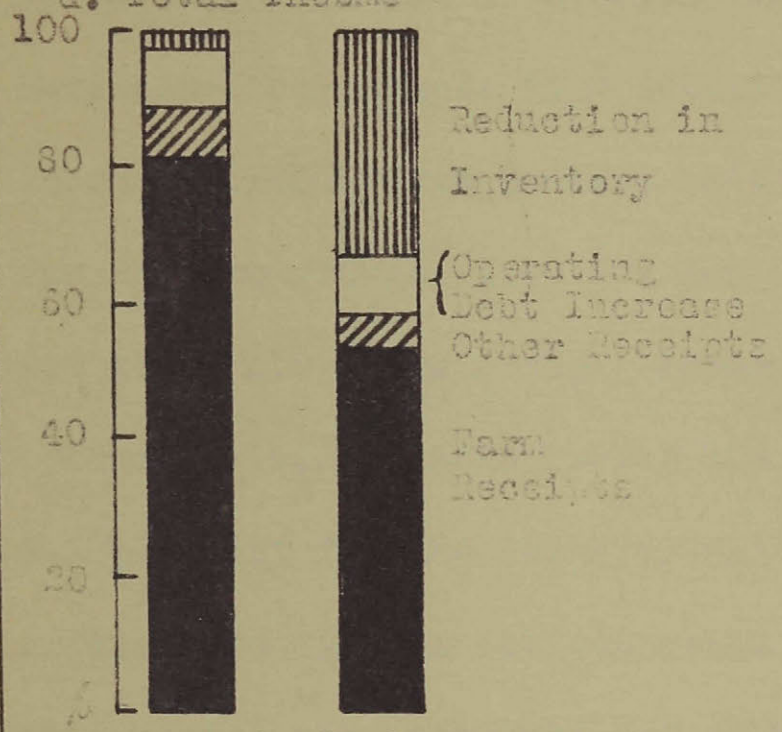
* See Chart 6.

CHART 6. TABLES 27 & 28 PAGES 95 & 97

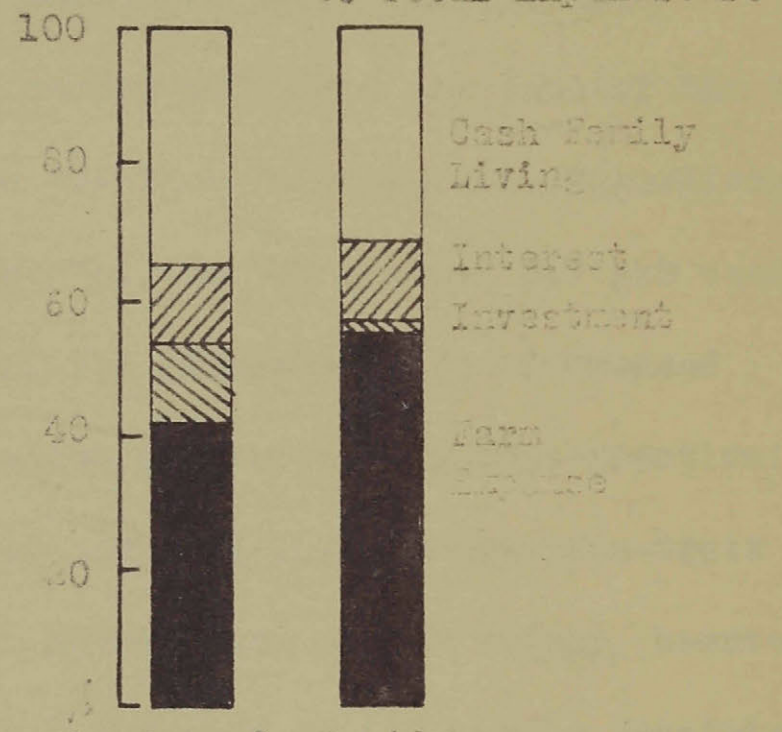
INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF SASKATCHEWAN FARM FAMILIES:
ST. PETER'S AND DAVIDSON-CRAICK.
In Percentages
1932 and 1931.

a. Total Income



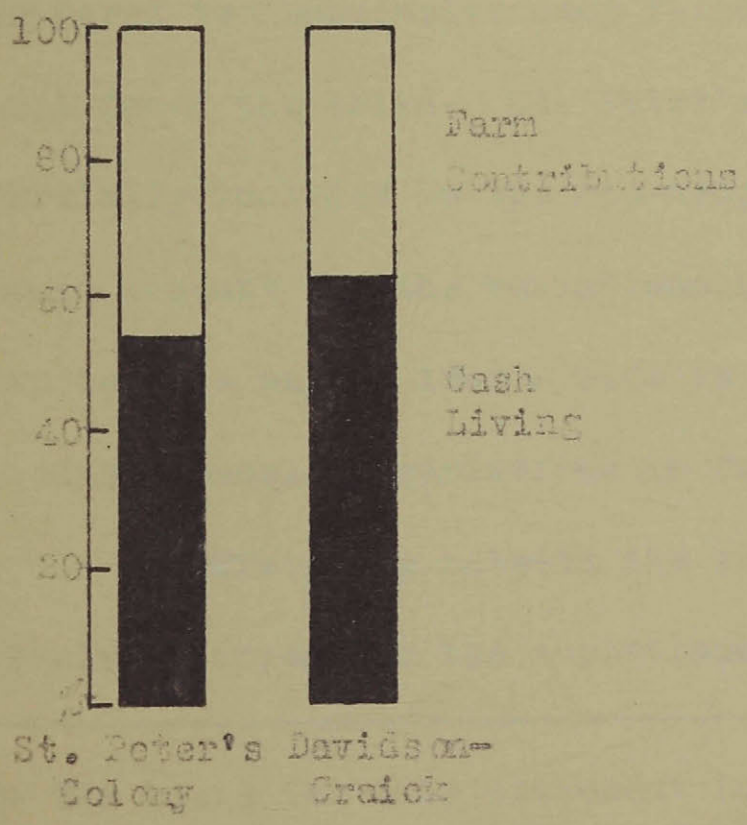
(As Table 27a)

b. Total Expenditure

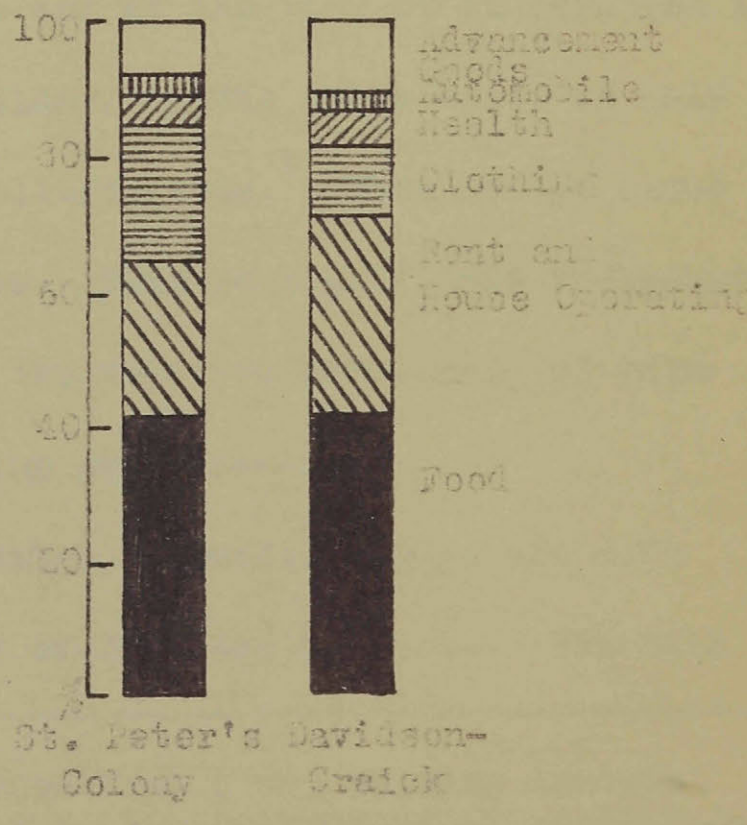


(As Table 27a)

c. Analysis of Family Living Expenditures.



(As Table 23a)



(As Table 28b and c)

the German group is $1,814 as compared with $2,252 for the Davidson-Craik sample, and the sources of that income show a considerable variation between the two samples. In the German group, 82.1 per cent of the total income is derived from farm receipts, while in the Davidson-Craik sample farm receipts formed only 52.8 per cent of the total income. Income from sources outside the farm form similar proportions for the two groups, i.e. 7.1 per cent for the Germans and 5.7 per cent for the Anglo-Saxon group. Moreover, the proportions for increased operating indebtedness during the period studied were almost identical, 8.7 per cent for the Germans, and 8.8 per cent for the Davidson-Craik group. The figures for reduction in inventories differ widely, however. This latter item accounts for only 2.1 per cent of the year's receipts in the German group but it comprises 32.7 per cent of the cash resources of the Anglo-Saxon group. The data for Davidson-Craik were taken one year earlier than those for the German sample, when the former had suffered two successive crop failures and at the time of enumeration in 1931 faced the third. St. Peter's colony, on the other hand, is only partially included in the one-crop failure areas.[5] This factor alone would account for the variations above. Thus no significant statement can be made on the income side as to the relative efficiency of farm productiveness or variations in farming practices.

Differences between the practices of racial groups are more likely to appear in the apportionment of farm expenditures. The main

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5. The basis for this statement is drawn from a map showing drought areas in 1929, 1930, 1931, as supplied by the Department of Agriculture, Province of Saskatchewan.

features in our data are, however, not the differences, but the similarities. Farm and income producing expenditure forms 41.6 per cent of the total expenditure in the German group and 55.1 per cent in the Anglo-Saxon group. This variation, considered in conjunction with investment expenditures of 11.4 per cent and 1.3 per cent, respectively might be quite easily due to variations between given years. Both items are related directly to the yearly crop prospects in the farming districts of Western Canada. Cash family living does not vary widely between the two groups. Interest, which indicates the extend of indebtedness, forms the same proportion, 11.8 per cent, of total expenditure in each case. In the proportionate allocation of farm expenditures, the German group is not very different from the Davidson-Craik group. But in dollar terms the figures for the Davidson-Craik sample are higher than those for the Germans with the one exception of investment expenditure. It remains to be seen how they compare in family living expenditure practices.

c. Family Living Practices.

Practices of family living expenditure give us some indication of differences in modes of living as between these two groups. Table 28 sets out the details of family living expenditures per farm. The most striking feature is the greater proportion that farm contributions form in the German group. Comparative figures of 44.29 per cent and 36.2 per cent for the Germans and Anglo-Saxon families, respectively, indicate at once that the Germans are less dependent

upon cash living items than are their Anglo-Saxon colleagues.

A more detailed examination of the data shows where the variations are greatest. Cash expenditure for food requires 16.2 per cent of the German budget but 21.2 per cent of that for the Anglo-Saxon families. Farm contributions in the form of livestock and other farm produce are 25.1 per cent and 20.0 per cent respectively. The total food proportions of the family budget thus stand at 41.3 per cent and 41.2 per cent for the German and Anglo-Saxon families, respectively. It has been pointed out, however, that the German group derives a relatively greater proportion of this from the farm. The proportions allotted for rent are 19.8 per cent for the Germans and 16.2 per cent for the Anglo-Saxon group. Clothing forms another large item of total family living. The German figures are $227 per family, or 19.9 per cent of total living, or about twice as great as the corresponding figures for the Anglo-Saxon families. It should be kept in mind here that the size of family is a complicating factor. The German families average 4.6 adult units[6] as compared with 3.5 adult units in the Anglo-Saxon group. But even if allowance is made for this difference it seems clear that the German families do not lag behind the Anglo-Saxon families in expenditures for food, clothing and house accomodation.

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6. Adult unit is a device used to reduce family expenditures to a comparable basis. A person 17 years and over who resided in the farm home during the whole survey year counts as one adult unit. Two children under 17 years of age are assumed to be equivalent to one adult as regards family living costs. Hired help or boarders are not included with the family.

Household operation comprises 3.2 per cent in St. Peter's colony, while the Davidson-Craik sample averages 13.8 per cent of total living for such expenditure. Presence of local fuel supply in St. Peter's colony, and scarcity of wood in the Davidson-Craik district accounts for a part of this difference. In Davidson-Craik the amount of wood derived from the farm averaged only 17 cents per family, while in St. Peter's the average was 22 dollars per family. Moreover, a portion of the lower household operating costs of the German group may possibly be due to more economical practices of the German housewife as compared with those of the Anglo-Saxon woman.

The automobile costs form a small proportion in both groups, though it is greater in St. Peter's.

The item which usually assumes a greater share of the Anglo-Saxon budget than of that for New-Canadian groups is expenditure for advancement goods.[7] The Germans spend $92 per family, or 8.0 per cent, of total living on these items, while the corresponding figures for the Anglo-Saxon families are $123, or 10.8 per cent. While church contributions form over one-half of the item in the German group, expenditures for education and recreation are substantial. Here is a variation between the two groups which is probably related to differences in participation in community affairs.

Health expenditures of the German families form only two-thirds of the proportion for the Anglo-Saxon group. In the words of a local doctor:

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7. This includes expenditures for education, religion, recreation and personal items.

> The Germans are considerably below the Anglo-Saxon level in their attitude towards medicine. Midwives are usually called in for maternity cases... the use of patent medicines is common.[8]

A smaller expenditure, it must be borne in mind, does not indicate a disregard for health; it may mean no more than that traditions respecting hygienic practices differentiate the German group from the Anglo-Saxon. Such differences as still exist will likely disappear in the course of time.

The above analysis shows that while the total proportion of family living allotted to food is practically the same in both groups, the portion of cash expenditure for this item is less in the German than in the Anglo-Saxon group. The German families spend relatively more for clothing, rent and automobile upkeep than do the Anglo-Saxon. But the opposite relationship holds for advancement goods and household operation. On the whole the evidence suggests that the German families have become adjusted to the Canadian modes of living.

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8. Field Notes.

CHAPTER VI.

SECULAR TRENDS IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The entry of the railway was the beginning of a series of changes which made the commercial towns rather than the church-villages the central points in economic and social organization. Indeed many of the churches themselves were relocated in these new towns, where independent secular institutions were securing an increasing share of popular attention. This shift of attention signified that Canadian secular social organization was displacing the German social form associated with their church. It seems apparent that the church will in turn dissociate itself completely from its German appendages and become reconciled to that division of labour with secular institutions so characteristic of English-speaking communities. These trends in the readjustment of religious and secular institutions will be traced with particular reference to St. Peter's colony.

A. The Resistance of the Church to the Extension of Secular Interests.

The church was very active in organizing the movement to St. Peter's colony and has continued to guide the colony through the series of readjustments which have followed. It has endeavoured to keep alive the German language and traditions as aids in resisting the secular invasions from outside the colony.

In its struggle to preserve German cultural unity, the church has not been unwilling to make the necessary readjustments. This is evidenced in the relocation of churches to fit the new community pattern. At times, these parish changes have been accompanied by conflict. In one case the congregation split into two factions, in others the population shifted when the railway came and disorganized the earlier open country congregations. In St. Joseph's colony the struggle was intense in many cases, while in St. Peter's the conflict was apparently not so great, for the main line of the railway arrived before many permanent church structures had been built. In neither colony has this readjustment been completed.

The church has extended its social programme to keep the people as closely under its supervision as possible. It is still able to influence education and it is the preserver of what is left of the German language. It even sets a wholesome example in farming practice through the college farm at Muenster and gives encouragement to the Community Progress Competition (sponsored by the C. N. R.). Indirectly the church is responsible for the political faith of its members. More directly it has organized Sunday picnics and other social activities and has sought to determine the attitudes of the faithful in regard to these matters. The annual celebration at the cathedral in Muenster is attended from far and near; the Abbot's jubilee in commemoration of his twenty-five years of service was an event which will be long remembered; the shrine at Mount Carmel provides the occasion for a large annual pilgrimage from all parts of the colony, besides numerous less elaborate

festivities. Smaller community gatherings are held throughout the summer. The church expected that such social and religious festivities would satisfy the wishes of the young as well as the old, but in respect to the former these hopes have not been realized in full as the following instances show. Barn dances in particular, have aroused the opposition of the church.

> There is moonshine, they sit out in cars, there is grave danger of moral corruption. Dancing is all right, but we tell our people they must not go to dances of that sort if they are to do their duty as Christians; they know the groups which sponsor those affairs and must avoid them.[1]

Though the injunction against barn dances has been observed in general, church control has not been so authoritative in regard to certain other activities. In one case the local priest forbade girls playing softball in knickers. The result was that the game proceeded on the down-town diamond. The injunction against barn dances and knickers was made on moral grounds, but underlying this contention were attitudes antagonistic to the penetration of the secular social activities of English-speaking communities.

In so far as this Canadian penetration has succeeded in Anglicising the activities of young people the church has been shorn of its racial objectives. Thus in Humboldt, where the Catholics are not all Germans, there is no attempt to preserve the German language; they can remain true Catholics without it. On the eastern fringe, where an interpenetration of German and French has taken place, the church would like to see a breakdown of the language barrier. But the bonds of a

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1. Field notes.

common religion have not been strong enough to transcend wider cultural differences and there has been trouble between the German and French Catholic elements. A French priest serving a church in St. Peter's colony was superseded by a German in 1926. As a result the French attendance dropped off; many even neglected to pay church dues. While the church has resisted the detachment of religious and racial objectives in its struggle against the extension of secular interests in the colonies, it is gradually making its peace with those who have established themselves therein.

B. The Secularization of Education.

The speed at which the provincial educational system has been imposed upon aliens has been determined often by popular opinion based on little knowledge of the readjustments to be made by the newly-arrived. So conflicts have been the rule more often than not where the hands of educational authorities have been forced.

Missionaries were the first teachers in St. Peter's colony. There ecclesiastical influence in education has remained strong from the beginning; in St. Joseph's colony, there are indications of its revival within recent years. In both colonies there have been conflicts with secular authorities. The settlers had been accustomed to private schools in the United States where instruction was half in German and half in English. It will be remembered that, from the first, instruction in the English language was included as a subject in the German-Catholic school curriculum in the colonies. The transition to a system of all-English instruction did therefore not involve such a drastic change.

The building of schools did not take place as soon as that of churches, for frequently the church building was used as a school for a few years. Urban schools were the first to be constructed. In St. Peter's seven such schools were built before 1907, two during the next five years. In St. Joseph's four were built between 1907 and 1911, five between 1912 and 1916 and two during the next decade. Rural school construction in both colonies was concentrated between the years 1907-1921. The modern school buildings were imposing structures, often rivalling even the Catholic churches. Out of eleven of the St. Joseph's urban schools visited, six were valued at $20,000 or over. Rural schools are usually the typical frame buildings ranging in value from $1,500 to $7,500. In St. Peter's colony the median value is $2,000 and in St. Joseph's it is $4,000.

Practically all of the colony schools have become part of the public school system. In St. Peter's colony one after another of the parochial schools have become identified with the provincial system until only those at Muenster and Marysburg are left. In St. Joseph's the urban schools were public from the start. Rural schools were either public from the beginning or have become so by now. Everywhere instruction is in the English language and the course of study is that of the provincial Department of Education.

But though in outward form the schools have become separate from the church and the racial group, secularization is far from complete. Bruno and Annaheim are staffed by Urseline Sisters; Leipzig and Tramping Lake by the Sisters of Notre Dame. In other centres and

in many of the rural schools German Catholic teachers are employed; St. Joseph's colony reporting 50 in 1930.[2] These Catholic teachers hold Saskatchewan teachers' certificates; in addition, the Sisters have a longer teaching experience - both total and in the district - than the average colony teacher. Religious instruction, mostly in German, is still given in seven urban and six rural schools in St. Peter's colony and three urban and fourteen rural schools in St. Joseph's.[3] German Catholics have shown no aversion to serving as school trustees. Participation in the direction of education by German colonists has been provided for, though both the form and content of the system is determined by the provincial educational authorities.

In reaching the present stage of adjustment conflicts have arisen. For a time to be sure there were attempts to retain German as the language of instruction, but the group soon realized that in Canada secular education would be conducted in English. German instruction, if any, now takes place after regular school hours, usually as the language of the catechism. Some parents do not encourage their children to learn German, while others say, "We want our children to learn English." Only occasionally is German the

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2. St. Joseph's Colony Jubilee Bulletin, p.125.

3. The Saskatchewan School Act permits religious instruction during the last half hour of the school day. Such instruction must be entirely voluntary and pupils not participating must be otherwise profitably employed. In practice the instruction is usually given for half an hour after the regular school hours.

language of the playground, where Canadian games and sports prevail. Religious instruction in the schools rather than the question of the German language has been the source of conflict in these colonies. Where the school population is homogeneous both as to language and religion the catechism is taught, sometimes daily after the regular school hours. Other difficulties have arisen where the population elements are mixed. In one particular case, religious instruction in French was abandoned with the attendance of German children. At present none is given, though presumably an English catechism could be used. The catechism has apparently more than a religious significance; its language serves also as a symbol of racial group traditions, which have proven to be stronger than religious ties. Thus it is not surprising that no issue has arisen in those schools where both racial and religious elements are heterogeneous; the catechism just is not taught.

Recently, in a few cases has the struggle been for the introduction of religious instruction. In almost every instance the effort has been to retain the teaching of the catechism in the German language. The conflict is thus a phenomenon of resistance to Anglo-Saxon culture. When the battle has been lost, many, even of the Roman Catholics, are opposed to a re-introduction of the old arrangement. On this particular issue they have adjusted themselves to the customs of the English-speaking community.

Resistance to the complete separation of school and church has been intensified during recent years by the imposition of new school regulations which forbid the use of religious symbols and the wearing of religious garbs in public schools. This imposition revived a German-

Catholic consciousness which had been on the wane. Adjustments are still going on, but not with the smoothness of a few years ago.

In one particular village five Protestant families had been successful in petitioning the Minister of Education for a public school. Rather than have this happen, the church authorities advised that the $18,000 four-roomed parochial school be rented to the public school board. With over 90 per cent of the population Roman Catholic the church is still assured of control; for all practical purposes the school will be operated as before; and in addition the district will receive the government grant.

Similarly, in another town the change from a parochial to a public school was made "to fight the government in its own schools." Here the challenge could be accepted, for 87 per cent of the population is Roman Catholic, 95 per cent of the school population is German Catholic, and the teachers, though members of a religious order, are all qualified to teach in the provincial schools. The Sisters come to school in their gowns, take them off during school hours, and put them on again at night. Here they have ceded more than in another case where a compromise was finally achieved by permitting the teachers to wear academic gowns over their uniforms.

The above illustrations will suffice to show the nature of the resistance to the secularization of schools. Education has gradually come out from under the dominance of the church. Even in the parochial schools the provincial course of study is used. The language of instruction is English and the contents of the curriculum are the same

as elsewhere. Church influence is exercised indirectly through ordinary democratic channels, such as securing Catholic trustees and teachers.

Assimilation through education is nearing completion as a result of the gradual penetration of the provincial school system. Standards in the German colonies compare favorably with English-speaking communities. All the urban centres in St. Joseph's colony and the larger centres in St. Peter's provide instruction to the eleventh grade or beyond. In addition there are the Urseline Academy for girls at Bruno and St. Peter's College for boys at Muenster. Over half of the rural schools give instruction beyond the eighth grade. Enrolment in two-thirds of the rural schools is above the provincial average, and in both urban and rural schools the attendance figure is at least 10 per cent higher than the provincial average. More than one hundred pupils in each colony have received education beyond high school during the past five years. In brief, the German-Catholic settlements are participating creditably in the educational life of the province.

C. Trends in Political and Agricultural Organization.

The penetration of Canadian forms of political and agricultural organization represents a further extension of secular interests in these German-Catholic communities. While they might resist more or less successfully the entry of certain types of social and economic organizations, participation in Canadian politics is unavoidable. Consequently, the colony leaders established a type of organization which allowed their

entry into politics in a way that modified but slightly their church-centred culture. Nor was there much likelihood that their political organizations would be brought under the control of outside authorities as their schools had been.

a. The Political activity of the Colonists.

The German-Canadian Catholic Association, formed at Muenster in 1908, is closely connected with the church, in that there is a local branch in nearly every church in St. Peter's colony and St. Joseph's. Under its auspices German-Catholics from all over the province come together annually, the 34 locals convening in turn in each of the three provincial districts, St. Peter's, St. Joseph's and Southern (i.e. at Regina). Originally intended to be primarily religious, it has extended its activities to the field of politics. During its existence the association has been able to secure the election of members to both the provincial and the federal houses of parliament.

That the political strength of the German vote is a reality in St. Peter's colony is illustrated by the career of the past provincial member for Humboldt constituency. It seems that he secured the 1921 Liberal nomination largely because he was a German Catholic. In 1925 he lost the Liberal nomination, but contested the riding as an Independent, and "gave us a hell of a beating". In 1929 he again received the Liberal nomination and once again was successful at the polls.[4]

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4. At the 1934 elections the boundaries of the constituency were naturally altered, and he made room for another Liberal member. Judging by the name the present member is probably an Irish-Catholic.

The Germans take a keen interest in municipal politics as well. Elections for reeve and councillors are quite warmly contested. The Germans make certain that they get their share of offices and appointments. They elect their own school trustees wherever possible. In addition, St. Peter's colony is a stronghold of the Catholic School Trustees' Association.

The members of this racial group are participating actively in politics. It is clear, however, that the accusation that the immigrant vote can be bought and sold cannot be made in this case. Their franchise is "not for sale" to any political party. While this political activity has a German-Catholic motivation it is nevertheless Canadian in outlook:

> We Canadians of German descent, of one mind in the general principles of democracy, stand politically in support of our lawful government. Towards Ottawa, and not towards Berlin, our eyes are directed for political guidance and leadership.[5]

b. Their enlistment in Agricultural Organizations.

The German Catholics have not participated very actively in agricultural organizations. This is due to the fact that the latter have been highly centralized and under the direction of officials in distant centres, and not because "the German-Americans are individualists" as some have claimed. Those organizations which have been able to identify their programmes with the interests of the colonies and their natural leaders, have been successful. Furthermore, some agricultural and political movements have made little headway here, because they are or

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5. Editorial in "Der Courier", June, 1933.

seem to be associated with ideas which run counter to the traditions of German Catholics. Radicalism, either political or economic, finds little favour among them. Some indication of how and when they "cooperate" is given in the following paragraphs.

The Humboldt Agricultural Society, for example, was organized in 1907 with 120 members. For several years it put on an annual exhibition. But in 1912 and 1913 the townspeople got control. This meant that the Agricultural Show, here as elsewhere, was dominated as usual by commercial and industrial interests which displayed their wares and made it a big business day in town. Also, many of these business men were identified with the extension of secular aims and interests. Since then, though nominally a farmers' organization, there have been always enough directors from the towns to control its polity. The society finally disbanded in 1927 and has not functioned since.

> The Germans are very hard to organize. The Humboldt Agricultural Society was never more than a feeble effort. We had difficulties in organizing the first rural telephone company, too. We "stamped" this whole country, but had very little success. They waited until they had other companies all around them and then, when they were sure it was a good thing, they went into it.[6]

The Wheat Pool received only nominal support in the colony. The 1920 membership of 60 per cent of the German farmers in the colonies did not represent cooperative spirit so much as expectations of large profits. Many of the original signers have never attended a pool meeting, and have shown little interest in this organization.[7]

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6. Field notes.

7. As has already been intimated, to some extent the lack of enthusiasm in participation in farm organizations is political in nature. Frequently the members in the community who were most active in sponsoring these were most identified with such advanced political movements such as the Progressive

Nevertheless, the cooperative spirit of these so-called "individualists" came to the fore during the Community Progress Competition, sponsored by the Colonization Department of the Canadian National Railways. St. Peter's colony entered the competition in 1930 and in 1931, and gained distinction during the latter year. The Abbot himself was the moving spirit in encouraging the community to take part, and a good deal of cooperative work was accomplished.

D. Newspaper Circulation and Content as an Index of Secular Interests.

Far more pervasive and influential than the average German Catholic colonist realizes are the newspapers and magazines. They are bought like an ordinary commodity and read by the members of the family group without arousing public attention. Their variety is some indication of the individuation of interest - concomitant of secularization - which is narrowing the gap that separates German colonists from English-speaking Canadians. While there is a sectarian and racial slant in some of their reading matter, German Catholics read both English and German language papers extensively, on matters of general interest to all Canadians.

An analysis of subscriptions of 14 farmers in St. Peter's colony shows that significantly the English-Canadian papers have a much greater

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movement, the United Farmers of Canada (U.F.C.) and now the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.). (The U.F.C., though nominally not a political organization, always had a strong political left wing in it.) As these movements were suspected of communist leanings they were denounced by the Church and hence found little following among faithful Catholics. The unfortunate part of it was that the repercussions affected the non-political organizations such as the agricultural societies, the wheat pools, and other cooperative ventures.

circulation than the German-Canadian papers in the two colonies.[8] Many of the farmers subscribe to three or four English papers, two-thirds of which are weekly newspapers or farm journals. Of the four who subscribe to St. Peter's Bote, not one received either of the two large German weeklies.

St. Peter's Bote and the Humboldt Journal are the local papers. St. Peter's Bote and its English mate, the Prairie Messenger, are published at St. Peter's College, and both are definitely Catholic organs. An analysis of the contents of St. Peter's Bote, shows that 30 per cent of its space is devoted to news items (Table 29). To this extent it performs for the German-Catholics of the colony the functions of the secular press. Its front page puts before German readers the catholic point of view on political questions of the day.[9] But it is more a religious and family paper; over half the total space is given over to cultural items, of which articles, definitely religious, form 25 per cent of the total printed space. The Humboldt Journal, on the other hand

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8. The number of subscribers were as below:

German Newspapers		Non-German Newspapers	
St. Peter's Bote	- 6 subscribers	Manitoba Free Press (daily)	- 1 subscriber
Der Nordwestern	- 4 "	Financial Post (business)	- 1 "
Der Courier	- 4 "	Humboldt Journal	- 6 "
Other church papers	- 2 "	Weekly Newspapers	- 15 "
		Farm Journals (various)	- 15 "
		Magazines, etc.	- 4 "

9. The following are some front-page headlines from numbers preceding the Saskatchewan provincial elections of June 19, 1934:

What is the Attitude of the Farmer-Labor Party towards Religion?
Is the Farmer-Labor Party Socialistic?
Provincial Elections on June 19.
The Provincial Election is before the Door.

is entirely secular in its contents. Subscriptions to this paper have steadily increased and the present total of 2,300 subscribers indicates a larger circulation than that of the Muenster papers.

The Nordwesten and the Courier are the two outstanding German secular weeklies in the West. Both are to-day independent papers, doing much to further the cultural interests of their German readers. The Courier was originally founded to draw the Germans into the Liberal fold, for a time in 1918-19 had to appear in the English language, and when the management changed hands might have become a Catholic organ but for the fact that the majority of its readers were Protestant. To-day its 11,800 subscribers are 50 per cent Lutherans, 10 per cent Mennonites and 40 per cent Roman Catholics. The Nordwesten is the older of the two, founded in Winnipeg in 1889.

Both attempt, however, to be impartial in respect to religious matters. Only about 2 per cent of their space is devoted to church news as such, though a great part of the local news are reports of this character. The advertising, which occupies about 15 per cent of the total space, is supplied by Canadian firms with the exception of a few patent medicine advertisements inserted by American companies.

News items account for 51 per cent of the space in these papers, and show great diversification. Over one-third of the space is given to Canadian news, and practically all of this is from the three Prairie Provinces. Approximately the same amount of space is devoted to news from Germany and those countries in which the Germans are interested, such as Austria, Russia, Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Hungary. About 10 per cent of the news space given to news is occupied by other

items of an international nature, while less than 5 per cent is devoted to American news. Other items include an editorial section covering 2 per cent of the space, the agricultural page and the woman's page which together account for 9 per cent, and literary items occupy 16 per cent. Miscellaneous items, such as scientific articles, sports, theatre reviews, radio programmes, health articles, etc. occupy the remaining 5 per cent of these 12-page issues. (Table 29).[10]

Through its own papers, the immigrant group is kept in touch with the outside world. But more than that, it is becoming familiar with Canadian affairs and opinions. The political, economic, and household problems of the Canadian community are brought to the very doors of the German settlers by one of their own institutions. Thus their own newspapers have become fundamental means of contact with the culture of their adopted country. It is significant to note here that German secular papers were found in only one-third of the homes sampled. This fact, taken in conjunction with the much wider circulation of the English papers, indicates a pronounced secular trend in the reading tastes of the Germans in St. Peter's colony.

Newspaper indices supplementing the preceding analyses of major trends in social organization support the conclusion that German Catholics have in a large measure become Canadian Catholics. This change has involved a greatly increased participation in varied secular activities. While all colonists have been susceptible to the assimilation forces of

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10. See footnotes to table 29 for method of analysis and samples taken.

Canadian institutions and their functionaries, operating particularly through commercial towns, the young have been the most responsive to these forces. This is indicated by interest in Canadian forms of social and recreational life. The younger generation among German settlers is well represented in the local baseball and hockey teams. An analysis of our farm-schedule data shows that 10 out of 16 families participate in athletics of some kind, a large proportion for a rural sample. Eleven families go to parties and picnics. Though many of the picnics are church affairs and hence identified with the ethnic group, others are the regular sports days in which all participate, regardless of ethnic or religious distinctions. Sports grounds have been provided by community effort at Pelican Lake, near St. Gregor.

> The Lake is small, possible two-thirds of a square mile. Near it is a baseball diamond in good condition... There is also a soft-ball diamond and a basketball court. A horseshoe tournament was in progress when these grounds were visited. About 200 people from the surrounding countryside were enjoying themselves after the fashion of any other Western Canadian community. They dressed as other Canadians and English was the common language.[11]

In fact, newer social and recreational activities have captured the attention of the younger colonists so extensively that is has evoked unfavorable comment from older Canadians.

> The older German settlers are praised for their integrity and thrift, but the younger generation is frequently not looked upon so favorably.[11]

> Some of the younger ones are not so good; they are all for amusement. I know dozens of old men who have had to buy cars for their children.[11]

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11. Field notes.

E. Conclusion.

The assimilation of immigrants living in bloc settlements often requires the span of three generations or even longer. The length of time required depends upon the similarities of culture with their neighbours, and the nature of the facilities for transportation and communication in the areas concerned. Conditions have favored a fairly rapid transformation of these German Catholic colonies into Canadian communities. While the bloc has been changed as a whole, the change has been most complete on the part of the younger generation. The behaviour of this latter group is very often indistinguishable from that of other Canadian young people. While their rapid readjustment to things Canadian has resulted in conflict between children and parents, it has been rather moderate for situations of this type.

Already these young people have begun to marry outside their own group. As one might expect, these mixed marriages occur more frequently on the fringe of these blocs and in their commercial centres where other racial elements are to be found. On one fringe, a number of the new German immigrants have married Anglo-Saxon women; on another fringe, intermarriage is more frequent between German girls and Anglo-Saxon men. (Cf. Table 19). The racial barrier is being lowered to a point where it does not present as great problems as that of religion.

While the young have been quick to take up the English language it is spoken by their parents extensively as well. In many districts there is little use of the German language. All can understand the simple English of the street, though they may not understand the more

complicated language of a sermon. Thus the use of German is often confined to this latter situation. It is almost as difficult for some of the younger people to learn literary German (high German) as to acquire a third language. Consequently some of the young people and a few of the older ones have not learned high German at all. English is the spoken language in a number of homes. Moreover, it is a common occurrence for parents to speak in German and for their children to reply in English. Even when German is used at home, the children speak English among themselves and in public.

Although both the church and the German Canadian Catholic Association encourage the use of German in the homes and have been responsible for the provision of private classes, there is little real concern over the fact that the German language is becoming less widely used. A few years ago some German priests, after a tour of the colony, regretted to note that the German language and German culture were disappearing. But the Abbot replied: "It is natural. It must come. What of it?"

What has just been cited in regard to language and intermarriage trends harmonizes with the data on secularization presented above. This extension of secular interests is, as we have seen, one of the more important indications of how these blocs are becoming Canadian. It is also a preparation for the final phases of their incorporation in our Canadian life. There is every evidence that the settlement of German Catholics in blocs has made for stability, agricultural progress, and institutional accessibility. Finally, this form of settlement, while slowing up the process of assimilation, has enabled it to go on with a minimum of conflict and disorganization.

PART II

SECTION II.

GERMANS IN MONTREAL

A Study of the Occupational and Social Adjustments of Post-War German Immigrants in Montreal.

CHAPTER VII

DISTRIBUTION AND COMPOSITION OF THE GERMANS IN MONTREAL

A. Evidences of Early German Settlement.

Montreal is an old established centre. Its history goes back fully four centuries to the time when Cartier planted the fleur-des-lys and cross on Mount Royal in 1534.[1] To-day an electrically-lighted cross erected on the same spot shines over an island with more than a million inhabitants.

For over a century after Cartier's visit the white man did little. Then, in 1642 the Sieur de Maisonneuve made the beginnings of the present city. Situated at the vertex of a triangular-shaped island some 35 miles across its base and 25 miles on either side, and at the foot of the Lachine Rapids, it early became the headquarters of ocean navigation and trade with the inland. During the French regime it was the farthest main settlement of the river and the centre of the fur trade with the natives. When the British took over the country in 1763 Montreal retained its position as the leading trading centre.

To-day it is the largest financial, industrial, and transportational centre in Canada. Of its 818,577 inhabitants 63.9 per cent are French-Canadian, 21.8 per cent British, 6 per cent Hebrew, and 2.6 per cent are Italian.[2] The rest belong to a multiplicity of races. For Montreal is

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1. At the time of writing celebrations commemorating the fourth centennary of the landing of Jacques Cartier are in progress (August, 1934).
2. Seventh Census of Canada, 1931: Population Bulletin XXII, Table 4.

an immigrant port. In the confines of its boundaries are found groups of peoples from Europe and from Asia, and from Africa.

When the first Germans came to Montreal no one knows. All that is certain is that the story goes back for more than a century. For our purposes it begins with the founding of the German Society, or the Deutsche Gesellschaft, as it is known in German, in 1835. Of the 76 members enrolled in that year, only one-quarter were born in Germany. What is more, 15 of these 19 were from Wuertemberg, the home of the Swabians.[3] The other four came one each from Rhein-Hessia, Hessia, Hannover and Hamburg. Fully half of the members were born in Canada, of whom 25 were of German descent, one of Swiss, and 12 were married to German wives. The remaining quarter were born elsewhere.

Professionally the membership was diverse. Eight were "gentlemen", of whom four were German-Canadians by birth. Five were in the legal profession, in addition to one sheriff, one bailiff, and one high constable. Two were medical doctors, both born in Canada. Thirteen were butchers, of whom 11 came from Wuerttemberg. Six were clerks, nine merchants and 3 grocers. And there were 2 tobacconists, 2 tailors and 2 jewellers. A captain and a valet, a musician and a pawnbroker, a minister and a cryer, a bookbinder, a cabinet maker, a painter, a conditor, a confectioner, a furrier and, to top it all, a hatter, complete the list.[4]

That it was possible to form such a society indicates at least two things: (1) that there was a conscious German element among the population

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3. See Chapter 2, p.20 ff.

4. Compiled from a copy of the original membership roll.

of Montreal; and (2) that German immigrants were coming to the city, if often only to pass through. That one-half were born in Canada indicated that the coming of the Germans dates back several generations; and that fifteen held held their membership by virtue of having wives of German descent is evidence of considerable intermarriage.

From that date the annual entries in the membership books practically form a record of recruits to the professional and business group from Germany. The names of prominent fur dealers, of brewers, of wine importers, of engineers, appear on the roll. By 1853 the Protestant Germans founded their own congregation and within five years had built a Lutheran Church. Situated at 127-131 St. Dominique (old address) between St. Catherine and Dorchester, it served as the centre of worship until the present structure was built at the south-west corner of Prince Arthur and Jeanne Mance streets in 1910. Many, if not all, of the names of the founders of the St. John's congregation are also found on the rolls of the German Benefit Society.

B. Trends in Expansion and Distribution 1871-1931.

Where the Germans lived in the second quarter of the nineteenth century we do not know. Nor do we know anything about the residence or occupations of the many other Germans who were not members of the Society. We do, however, know in what parts of the city the Germans were living at the time of the 1871 census. For purposes of analysis we have divided the city of Montreal into six main areas, and, on the basis of the 1931 ward boundaries, have named these: immigrant, central, south, north, east and west. In addition there are the cities of Westmount,

Outremont, Verdun and the town of Mount Royal.

The areas, as we have divided them, include the following wards respectively (Map 4):

1. Immigrant Area: Cremazie, St. Lawrence, St. Louis.

2. Central Area: St. Andrew, St. George.

3. South: St. Anne, Ste. Cunegonde, St. Gabriel, St. Henry, St. Joseph, St. Paul.

4. North: Ahuntsic, Delormier, Laurier, Montcalm, Rosemont, St. Denis, St. Edward, St. Jean, St. Jean Baptiste, St. Michel, Villeray.

5. East: Bourget, Hochelaga, Lafontaine, Maisonneuve, Mercier, Papineau, Prefontaine, St. Eusebe , St. James, St. Marie, Ville Marie.

6. West: Notre Dame de Graces, Mount Royal.

Though the above-mentioned divisions have been made to facilitate statistical treatment of population expansion, they correspond fairly closely to natural sub-divisions of the city in which the Germans have moved successively. Sixty years ago the Germans were living predominantly in the first three areas mentioned. At that time there were three main population elements.

> "'East-end' and 'West-end' are terms frequently used and the line is about Bleury street..... The population is divided into three chief race divisions: 'English', inhabiting mainly the west end;... 'French' inhabiting principally the east end;... and 'Irish' inhabiting the region known as 'Griffintown' west of McGill Street."[5]

Notre Dame and St. James were the main business streets and St. Catherine and Sherbrook were the homes of the English-speaking aristocracy".

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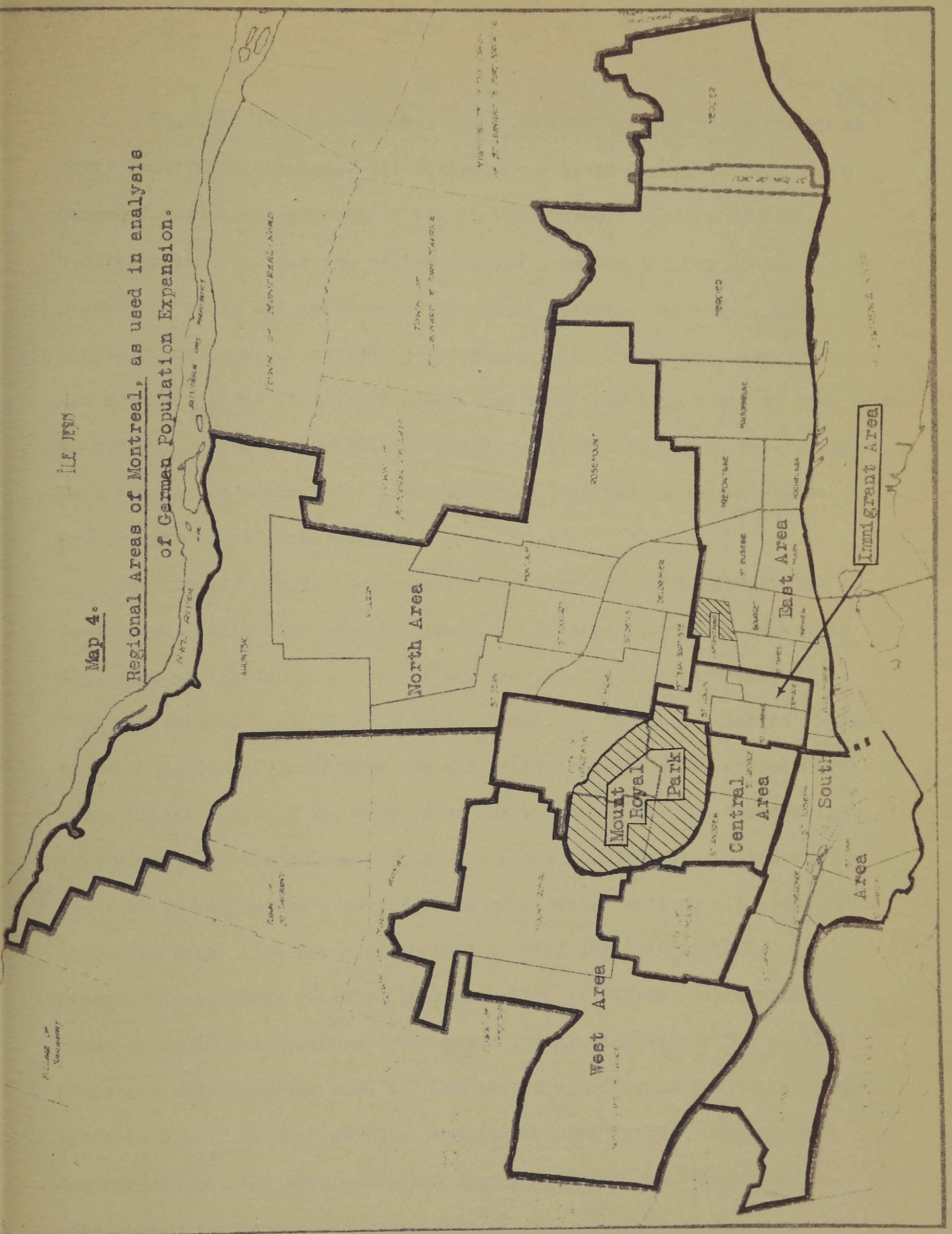
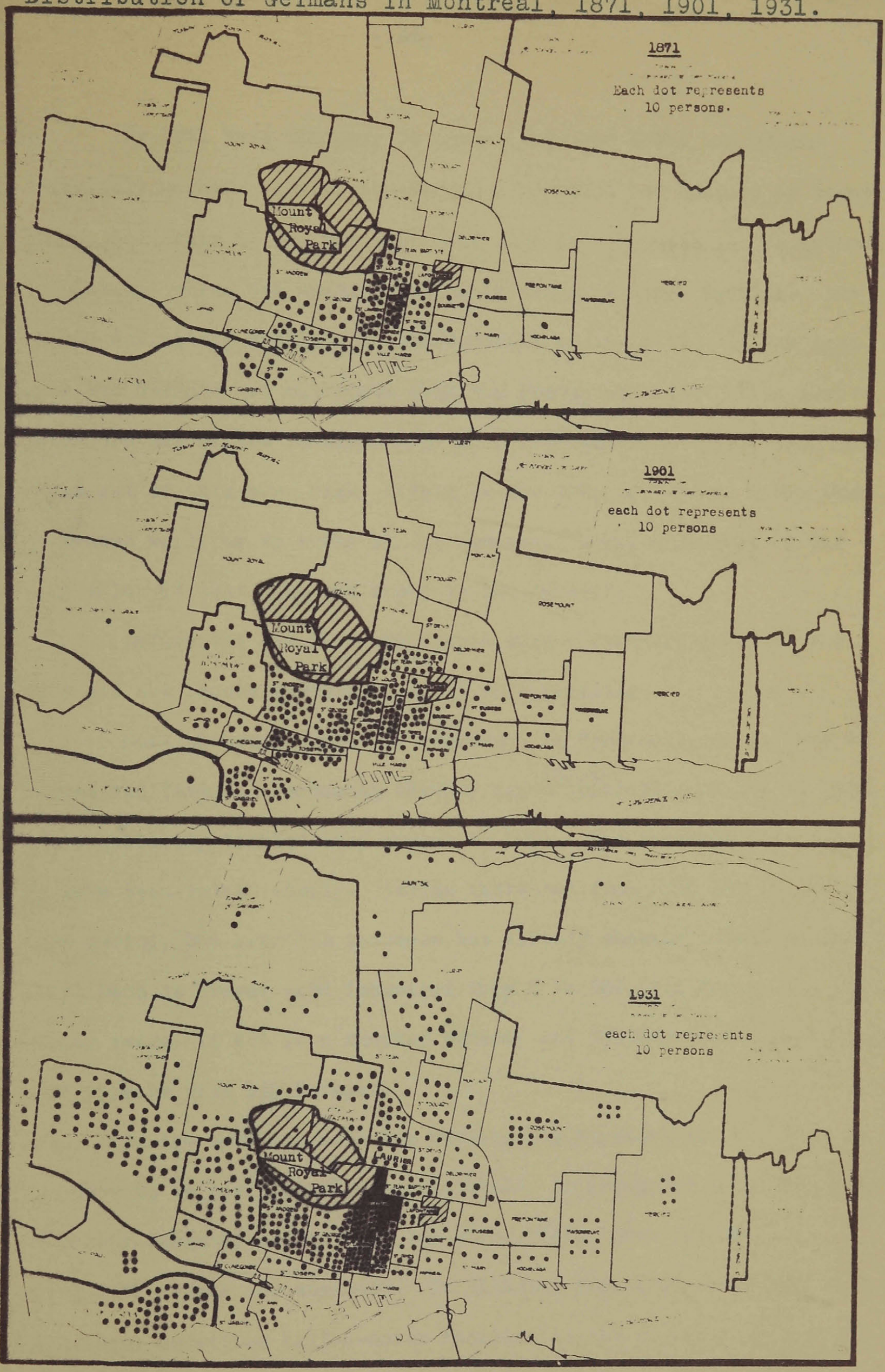
5. Lighthall, W.D.: Montreal after two Hundred and fifty years. 1892, p.17


Map 4.
Regional Areas of Montreal, as used in analysis of German Population Expansion.
ÎLE JÉSUS
TOWN OF MONTREAL-NORD
TOWN OF ST. LAURENT
VILLE DE MONT-ROYAL
VILLE DE ST. LAURENT
VILLE DE ST. PIERRE
VILLE DE ST. MICHEL
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE PORT MAURICE
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE NORTH VERDUN
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE VERDUN
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ROSEMONT
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE MAISONNEUVE
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE POINTE AUX TREMBLES
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE HOCHELAGA
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE MONTREAL
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE DELORIMIER
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. DENIS
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. JEAN BAPTISTE
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. LOUIS
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. JOSEPH
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. ANDRÉ
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. HENRI
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. PAUL
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. ANTOINE
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. JACQUES
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. MARC
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. ANNE
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. ANDRÉ
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. HENRI
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. PAUL
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. ANTOINE
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. JACQUES
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. MARC
VILLE DE ST. LÉONARD DE ST. ANNE
North Area
West Area
Mount Royal Park
Central Area
East Area
South Area
Immigrant Area

It seems that the Germans had a similar spacial distribution (Fo) as their British neighbours. The business men lived mainly between Notre Dame and Dorchester streets, (i.e. in the southern section of the central area), the skilled artisans lived probably further south, nearer the docks and nearer the industrial section. Already a substantial number were settled in the present St. Louis, St. Lawrence and Cremazie wards (Immigrant area). At that time this seems to have been an area of second settlement for the Germans, for it was in this section that they later built their Lutheran church, at the corner of Prince Arthur and Jeanne Mance streets.

With the general expansion of the city due to the industrial development during the second half of the nineteenth century went the expansion of the German group. The number in the immigrant area by 1901 was actually less than in 1871, though the German population in the city had doubled. (Table 30). In all other areas there is an increase. The smallest relative increase is in the eastern area, the Germans thus showing little tendency to settle among the French. In the central area, which had become a better class residential section the proportion increased from 18.4 per cent in 1871 to 28.1 per cent in 1901. Practically an equal relative increase, from 14 to 21.6 per cent had taken place in the southern area, where the growing demand for skilled mechanics had attracted some of them to the vicinity of the Grand Trunk yards in Point St. Charles (St. Anne and Gabriel wards). And already the more well-to-do were spreading west into Westmount,-then Cote St. Antoine - while others had gone north on the east side of the mountain (Map 5, and Table 30).

Distribution of Germans in Montreal, 1871, 1901, 1931.



By 1931 this tendency to spread west and north has become definitely marked. Again, the German population had doubled in twenty years, and again it had not kept pace with the increase in the general population, which had nearly trebled in the same three decades. But it had definitely declined in two sections of the city. In the east area the Germans had withdrawn from the French sections. With the deterioration of the southern area as a residential section, they have moved out of this area also, either to the city of Verdun, Notre Dame de Graces ward, or to north of the immigrant area, a section of the city which at that time was known as the "Annex".

Before the war these movements were already noticeable; but they did not become pronounced until more recently.

Most phenomenal are the increases in Westmount, Notre Dame de Graces and Verdun. Westmount already had a/ German population of 129 in 1901, but practically trebled that number by 1931. The increase here seems to have been rather steady. Verdun increased from 8 to 464 in the same period, but here the increase was already showing itself in 1911. Notre Dame de Graces ward increased from 8 to 630, all during the past twenty years, if not in a shorter period; and the adjoining Mount Royal ward appears with 125 Germans.

In the northern area the Germans are represented, but they do not seem to be particularly concentrated. In Rosemount they have come to occupy recently-constructed two-story flats, more particularly along 11th Avenue and eastward. In Villeray they also favor the newer buildings, sometimes half-a-dozen families in the vicinity of a block.

They do not appear to be attracted there by work as much as by the cheapness and the newness of the residences.

The succession of German settlement traced in the preceding paragraphs has paralleled that of British immigrants.[6]

The central area has for both groups been an area of first settlement. Notre Dame seems for the Germans as well as for the British to be an area of second settlement. Verdun, Rosemount, Maisonneuve and Lachine, areas of British ascendant colonies, are also regions of German expansion since 1901, while St. Henry and Point St. Charles, two areas of British descendant colonies, are also areas from which the Germans have receded.

Thus, by 1931 the Germans had assumed a pattern of distribution throughout the city, with concentrations in the immigrant area, the central area, Rosemount, Notre Dame de Graces and the city of Verdun. Since the beginning of the century they had doubled their population again; but it seems not from natural increase nor from pre-war additions. The phenomenal increase from 1,871 in 1921 to 5,260 in 1930 is attributed almost wholly to immigrant arrivals subsequent to 1924.

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6. Reynolds, L.G. in his manuscript on British Immigrants in Canada (Ch.V, p.17, typescript) has grouped their areas of settlement as follows:
   1. Central area, between St. Denis and Guy Streets and from Sherbrooke Street south to the waterfront.
   2. Ascendant colonies: Verdun, Rosemount, Lachine and Maisonneuve.
   3. Descendant colonies: St. Henry, Hochelaga, The Annex, and Point St. Charles. The Annex includes approximately St. Louis, St. Jean Baptiste, Laurier, St. Michel, St. Denis and Delormier wards.

C. Post-War German Immigration to Montreal.

a. Coming of Post-War German Immigrants.

Those immigrants of German origin who came to Montreal during the post-war years came upon an already established pattern of population distribution. The ecology of the city determined that they should reside in certain areas; the industrial structure that they should follow certain occupations; even the institutional facilities influenced their social activities. They could but take what was there; these immigrants individually or as a group could contribute very little towards determining the course of events.

It is because of this, that we have selected post-war Germans in Montreal as the basis for our study of German immigrants in an urban setting. These Germans have numerically helped to form the 1931 distribution. Yet that distribution is throughout the city, for nowhere do the Germans form five per cent of the total population. They are not isolated regionally or socially.

The story of the adjustment of post-war German immigrants in this urban centre might therefore consequently be expected to differ in detail from that of St. Peter's and St. Joseph's colonies. It covers a comparatively shorter period, for practical purposes only a matter of seven years. It is an account of Reich Germans and Ausland Germans[7]; of a group arriving during the peak years of a

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7. From this point on we use terms less cumbersome for English eyes, tongues, and ears. Instead of writing of Reichsdeutsche and Auslandsdeutsche we will speak of Reich Germans and Ausland Germans respectively.

period of great expansion; of a people not yet firmly established when they were caught in the throes of an industrial depression such as Canada has never known.

Such is the story we hope to unfold in the succeeding chapters. As a basis for our study we have taken 63 schedules from German families in Montreal, 27 from Reich Germans and 36 from Ausland Germans. The processes which mobilized them to Montreal, their residential and occupational experiences, their family living practices as seen from their distribution of income and their social participation, will be analyzed in order to determine the extent and direction of their adjustments to an urban Canadian setting.

The greater number of these Germans came in the four-year period 1927-30. Only ten out of the total 63 were here before 1927 (Table 31a). For the most part they were men in their best years, 23 being between 20-29 years and 32 from 30-39 years of age (Table 31b). All excepting three of the 27 included in our sample of Reich-Germans were born in Germany.[8] The Ausland Germans came from German communities in those countries described in our chapter on German Background (see Chapter 2). Five came from Hungary, 23 from Roumania, 4 from Jugo-Slavia, 2 from Czecho-Slovakia, and 2 from Lithuania; all excepting the last two were born under Austro-Hungarian sovereignty (Table 31c).

Among the motives leading to their migration the economic predominates (Table 31e). Fully 50 out of the 63 cases stated this

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8. This sample of 27 includes one Austrian, one Swiss, and one from an urban centre in Czecho-Slovakia.

reason. Next in order are political pressure and personal reasons. Personal reasons play a much greater part among the group from the Reich than among those from Ausland countries; the converse is true with respect to political pressure and excessive taxation.[9] The desire to see the world and to get to the United States were other reasons given.

b. Immigration from the Reich.

The migration of the Reich Germans was a migration of individuals. Nowhere in all our study did we find any evidence of group migration to Montreal. Each came from a different place in Germany, each had his own specific history. Predominantly they were an urban group. Nineteen of the 27 were born in urban centres and the remainder had practically all resided in such before coming to Canada (Table 31d).

Though the circumstances which lead to the emigration of these Germans from their native country were predominantly individualistic, yet they arose out of the prevailing economic circumstances. Germany has suffered heavily since the war. As mentioned earlier, every year was a depression year, with only two bright spots.[10] German resources were strained to the utmost in the attempt to meet the burdens of disarmament payments. She taxed her subjects heavily; she went through a period of wild inflation where many of its substantial middle class was wiped out. In time her currency was stabilized on a new basis. And within a few years, financed by loans predominantly from the United

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9. The analysis was made of all the stated reasons for emigration. In a number of cases two or three reasons were given.

10. See p.26.

States, German industry was rationalized. This latter development was nearing its completion in 1927. Its fulfilment left many highly-skilled mechanics without employment. Germany had created a superstructure of capital equipment, but there were not sufficient markets in which to dispose of the consumer-goods which the country was capable of producing.

Just at this time Germany was placed on the "preferred list" by our Canadian immigration authorities (Jan. 16, 1927). The restrictions as to the occupations of intending immigrants to Canada which applied to most European countries did not apply here. More than that, Canada was experiencing the period of greatest expansion in its history. Technically trained men were in good demand, and such men were with little future in Germany. Many of them came to the central area. Of our Reichs German group at least 15 came directly to Montreal and 7 either here or elsewhere in the central area; only two went west (Table 31f). All excepting four had their own means of passage (Table 31g), and all of them had over $50 on arrival; 12 brought with them between $100 and $500, and 12 brought sums above $500 (Table 31h).

c. Immigration from the Ausland countries:

The migration of Germans from countries other than Germany and now residing in Montreal definitely bear the earmarks of group movement. Those from Hungary are predominantly from a few rural villages, four out of the five in our sample being from the province of Vesprim. Those from Roumania come from the provinces of Banat, Bacska, Arad, and Temes.

Some thirty-odd families in Montreal are from the Roman Catholic village of St. Ann. Twice that number of families came from the Protestant village of Liebling[11]; and similarly others of the Ausland Germans have come in groups.

The village of Liebling may be taken as typical of a German-European rural community situation in the post-war period. Liebling is a European agricultural village in the province of Banat, Roumania. Formerly Banat was Hungarian territory, but with the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary after the Great War it was awarded to Roumania. Its population of approximately 1,500 houses, or 6,000 inhabitants is purely German. During its existence it has been extended five times, on the petition of families in the community. For the village is a parish-community, as is typical of agricultural sections of Europe. All are staunch Lutherans. The one school which serves the whole village is a denominational school, wholly supported by the community.

Banat is an important wheat-growing province, and wheat is the main crop of the villagers of Liebling. Altogether they cultivate 23,000 yoch[12] of land, though the home grounds are only 8,000 yoch; they have bought up lands successively from their Roumanian neighbours, who acquired property in the redistribution following the agrarian reforms after the war. The farms are not large, 10 yoch being a fair sized farm and few are over 15 yoch. Mechanization as we know it in Western Canada is just making its debut. In 1927 there were probably

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11. According to persons interviewed, 45 families came from Liebling to Canada in one ship-load in the Spring of 1929.

12. A yoch is 1600 square metres, or 1.59 acres.

no more than 10 harvesting machines in the community.

Economic life is hard in Roumania. As one man from another village put it "If I were permitted to work as hard for 2 or 3 years in Canada as I have to in the Old Country to make a bare existence, my old age would be well taken care of". From the time the children are out of school, girls as well as boys, women as well as men, work in the fields during the summer. The farmers themselves find it difficult to make ends meet and the landless members of the community are able to do little more than eke out an existence.

But if their economic position is precarious, the political situation is likewise. Though the Roumanian government has officially promised rights to minorities, the strong nationalistic feelings make it apparently unpleasant for the Germans at every turn. Roumanian officials are installed over the head of the community's appointees, the taxation burden is heavy, educational and other rights must be continuously defended.

What is true of Liebling and Banat is true of other sections likewise. In Transylvania the "Saxons" are experiencing difficulty in maintaining their Germandom.[13] In Jugo-Slavia the discrimination against the Germans, while not quite so crude, was nevertheless in evidence. Hungary, now stripped of her outlying territories, is concentrating on magyarizing its citizens. In Czecho-Slovakia the aggressive policy of the dominant Czechs is extending itself. The city of Deutsch-Proben, for example, is surrounded by a number of

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13. See pp.31-34 ff.

German rural villages in the heart of Slovak territory. To here the Czechs are bringing in Czech laborers and skilled workmen. Czech is the language of the school, and Czech teachers may be relied upon to carry out the policies of the ruling group.

Predominantly a rural people, 27 out of our sample of 36 Ausland-Germans went to the Prairie area, and only two came direcly to Montreal (Table 31f). Their residence in an urban centre is for the most part not their own desire. "I wouldn't have come to the city if agricultural conditions were not so bad". "...Of those who came from Liebling, no three wanted to go to towns". "If you are born a farmer, town life does not agree with you" are some of the voluntary comments made. Only 10 stated they had their own means of passage, while 25 definitely borrowed money, sometimes at excessive interest rates.[14] (Table 31g) Seventeen had less than $50 on arrival and 16 between $50 and $250. Only two brought over this amount. (Table 31h).

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14. Field Schedules: In one case at least the rate of interest was .32 per cent.

CHAPTER VIII

RESIDENTIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENTS OF GERMANS IN MONTREAL.

A. Residential Mobility in Montreal.

From the preceding chapter it is apparent that there are two main groups of post-war German immigrants in Montreal. The one group from Germany is predominantly an urban selection, its members for the most part strangers excepting to a very limited number of their countrymen; the other group, mainly from the dismembered sections of Austria-Hungary, peasants but very recently and for the most part still children of the soil at heart. Both find themselves in a strange environment; both are in an urban setting. While the former have the advantage of familiarity with urban ways, the latter are enabled through the presence of neighbours from their native villages to preserve a certain amount of group solidarity.

The broad distinctions between these groups work themselves out in their residential distribution in Montreal.

Of our total sample of 63 families 38 first came to the immigrant area, 4 to the central, 5 to the south, 4 to the north, 2 to the west and 3 to Verdun. At the time of the survey 37 lived in the immigrant area, 4 in the central area, 2 in the south area, 7 in the north area, and 11 in Verdun (Table 32a).[1]

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1. The data are taken from an analysis of 63 field schedules - 27 from Reich German and 36 from Ausland German families. The survey was conducted between January and July, 1934. Thus all data used in this and the following section are taken as at December 31, 1933. Sometimes the information on a given point was incomplete. For example, it was not possible to determine from the field schedules the first residence of 7 families.

The succession from the immigrant and such areas to the north area is due almost wholly to the movements of the Reich group. Of this group 7 first settled in the immigrant area, 4 in the central, 2 in the south, 4 in the north, 3 in Verdun and 2 elsewhere. At the time of the survey 6 lived in the immigrant area, but only 1 of these had come from the central and 2 from the north; four lived in the central area again, of whom 1 came from the immigrant area; 5 lived in the north section of the city, of whom at least 2 first resided elsewhere; and 11 had settled in Verdun, of whom 8 came from other sections - three from the immigrant area, 2 from the south, one from the West, and 2 not stated (Table 32b). The north area and city of Verdun, it will be recalled, are areas of comparatively recent settlement. The earlier statement that these tended to be areas of second settlement for German immigrants seems to be borne out by the residential history of even this small sample.

The residential mobility of the Auslands-German group shows little succession. Thirty-one of the 36 settled in the immigrant area and 29 of these are still there. The 2 who first settled in the south are still there (Table 32c).[2] The average length of time in Canada is less than a year and their time in Montreal has been less than three months shorter than that of the Reich group. In the Reichs-German sample only 6 had given residences outside Montreal, in the Auslands group all but two had been elsewhere, 21 less than one

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2. These are the two in our sample who were born in Lithuania.

year, ten 1 year and three over 2 years (Table 33a).

But though both groups have been in Montreal only an average of between 4.5 and 5 years (Table 33b), and though the residential succession of the Reich Germans is more marked, the actual residential mobility of the Ausland group is much greater. Seventy-five of the 99 recorded places of residence of less than six months duration were from the latter sample (Table 33c).[3] Seventy residences in the Reichs group and 142 in the Auslands group were of over 6 months duration. In the Reich-German sample 18.6 per cent were between six months and one year, 35.7 per cent between 1 and 2 years, 24.3 per cent between 2 and 3 years, and 21.4 per cent 3 years and over. In the Ausland-German sample 35.2 per cent were between 6 months and one year, 52.8 per cent between 1 and 2 years, 8.5 per cent between two and three years, and 3.5 per cent 3 years and over.

Supposing you knew that a German immigrant had been living at an address for the past 6 months, After another 6 months the chances of finding him at the same address would be 81.4 per cent in the Reich-German group and only 64.8 per cent in the Ausland group. At the end of another year the probability of finding him there is still 45.7 in the Reich group but only 12 per cent in the Ausland group (Table 33c).

An average of less than five years in an urban centre is too brief a period for the cycle of immigrant adjustment to run its full course. Yet even this brief period shows great variation between the two groups of German immigrants. The Reich-German group is definitely

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3. In some cases the shorter residences were not all recorded. For this reason we are using only those residences of over 6 months duration in our analysis.

more stable in and presumably better adjusted to residence in Montreal than is the other group. It remains to be seen if this condition obtains also in their occupational adjustment.

B. Occupational Adjustments in Canada.

The success or failure of an immigrant group in an urban centre hinges primarily upon its occupational adjustments. The occupational training is in most cases the one thing that immigrants bring with them which they can utilize to make a living; and again, occupational opportunities have been among the primary motives for the immigration of Germans to Canada and to Montreal. Around their occupations these immigrants have organized their lives. Thus a study of the occupational adjustments of the Reich German and Ausland German groups promises to throw additional light on the whole process of immigrant adjustment.

In occupation and training the two groups show distinct differences. The Reich Germans are for the most part a highly skilled group. Only 2 of the 27 were semi-skilled, while 23 were skilled and one had commercial training in Europe (1 not stated). Twenty-two had served apprenticeship ranging from 3 to 5 years, and 14 of these had more advanced technical training. Twenty-five intended to follow their occupation in Canada, one did not, and one was indefinite. Twenty-five found their previous training useful and only two did not (Table 34).

The Ausland Germans were, as stated previously a rural group. Fifteen of them had been farmers in their home country and the others for the most part were familiar with farm work. One was unskilled, two semi-skilled, sixteen skilled and one had commercial training. Nineteen had served apprenticeships and one spent a year at a Gymnasium.

Thirteen of those who had a trade intended to follow it, four did not. Seventeen found their previous training useful, while 8 did not. (Table 34).

Occupational intention and the capitilization of previous training depend upon occupational opportunities. Thus it was that adjustments were frequently not made as rapidly as was hoped or as satisfactorily as might be desired. Nevertheless all (excepting 2 Reich-Germans not stated) had some form of employment within the first year. Nineteen Reich-Germans obtained their first job within the first month, and another four within the second, and two in the second half of their first year in Canada. Of the Ausland group twenty-one were successful in finding employment within the first month, another five in the second, five in the third, and the remaining five before the end of half a year (Table 35a).

The duration of the first employment was frequently quite brief. Sometimes the work was not suitable; more often it was of a temporary nature. In 14 cases in the Reich group duration was for less than three months, in 6 between 3 and 12 months, 1 between 1 and 2 years, 1 over 3 years, and in 3 cases the men are still at their first employment. Practically the same was the experience of the Ausland group, where 20 first jobs lasted less than 3 months, another 12 less than a year, 1 between 1 and 2 years, 1 over 3 years, and 2 had not yet terminated (Table 35b)

But though all of our samples found employment of some kind within the first year, for not many of them was their first employment in their own trade. Nevertheless 11 of the Reich Germans were able to work at their trade within their first month in Canada. Another 4 were employed in their trade within three months, 5 within a year, 2 within two years, and 5 were never able to follow their trade. The Ausland Germans made a somewhat

less satisfactory adjustment. Only 2 worked at their trades within the first month, 5 between 3 months and a year after arrival, another 3 before the end of the second year, 2 not until the third year, and 7 never (Table 35c).

In the course of such occupational adjustment (which as) has been attained these immigrants have worked at a variety of occupations not only outside their own, but in many cases outside their skill groups. The semi-skilled group (2 cases) in the Reich-German sample in the course of their occupational history worked at farm, semi-skilled, and skilled occupations, the skilled group (23 cases) at all occupations, while the one with commercial training did only semi-skilled work. Among the Ausland-German sample, the 15 farmers worked on farms, at unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled jobs, while the 16 skilled men also worked at the whole range of skills (Table 36a).

The methods by which they obtained employment were varied. Employment agencies were used in a few cases; advertisements were answered and applications submitted; in 4 cases in the Reich-German group and in 1 case in the Ausland group immigrants started their own businesses.

By far the most widely used methods were search and personal application at the "factory-door", and the recommendation of friends or employers. 14 of the Reich-German group were successful at some time or other in obtaining jobs by search, and 13 found employment through the recommendation, direct or indirect, of friends or in a few instances previous employers. In the Ausland group no less than 30 out of the 36 got jobs by search and 18 through recommendation (Table 37a). Much could and should be written concerning the lack of more organized

means of securing employment, but it cannot be done here. The problem is merely raised in passing. An analysis of the relation between the old country occupation and the main occupation in Canada shows that here again the Reich German group fared better than the Ausland German. Of the 23 skilled men, 19 followed mainly a skilled occupation, 2 dropped to semi-skilled employment, and 2 were engaged in commercial occupations. Of the 15 farmers in the Ausland group none followed farming as a main occupation in Canada[4]; 8 did unskilled labour, 6 semi-skilled and one skilled work; this occupational group thus rose in the scale. The skilled group, with 16 representatives fared worse, only 11 did skilled work as a main occupation in Canada, one did semi-skilled, and four were reduced to unskilled employment (Table 36b).

Employment mobility, even with the same skill group, has been high, but again it has been higher in the Ausland group. Following the procedure in the analysis of residential mobility the shorter periods of employment were not all recorded. Despite these omissions, however, the number of recorded jobs of less than six month's duration by far exceeds the number in any other duration-group. For the Reich Germans it is, however, less than half as large as for the Ausland Germans; for the latter it is again nearly twice as great as the number of all other jobs combined (Table 37b). The percentage distribution of the duration of jobs over 6 months interestingly enough, shows little divergence between the two groups; but in the Reich German the sample is smaller and the number of longer jobs greater. It appears that when

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4. It will be borne in mind that the Montreal sample is a selection of those who had left the farm.

the Ausland Germans have steady jobs they retain them as well as the Reich Germans, but they have a fewer number of such jobs. This is borne out by the fact that the percentage of those who worked at their trade in Canada who are still at their trade is 72.6 for the Reich Germans and 75 for the Ausland Germans. It must be recalled at this point that 18.5 per cent of the Reich Germans and 19.5 per cent of the Ausland Germans never worked at their trades (Table 37c).

From the above it is seen that occupational adjustments of German post-war immigrants in Montreal have been quite extensive. Though some sort of employment was obtained in most cases within the first two months after arrival, it was the exception rather than the rule that these Germans received their first employment at their own trades. Since their arrival they have made adjustments continually, until at present practically three-quarters of the skilled in each group are working at their trades. Neither of the groups can thus be said to have reached a completely satisfactory stage of adjustment at the end of the year 1933.

C. Fluctuations in Employment, 1927-1933.

In the preceding pages some indications were given of the occupational adjustments which German post-war immigrants had made. Nothing, however, was specifically stated concerning fluctuations in employment, or the extent of unemployment. The succeeding pages will be devoted to an analysis of such data.

Detailed records of employment, month by month, subsequent to January 1927 were obtained from each member of the German group. From

this data was calculated the percentage of employment of those in Canada for each month during the past seven years. The period itself covers a time of great industrial expansion and several years of severe economic depression. It, therefore, might be expected to serve as a measure of the extent of German occupational adjustment.

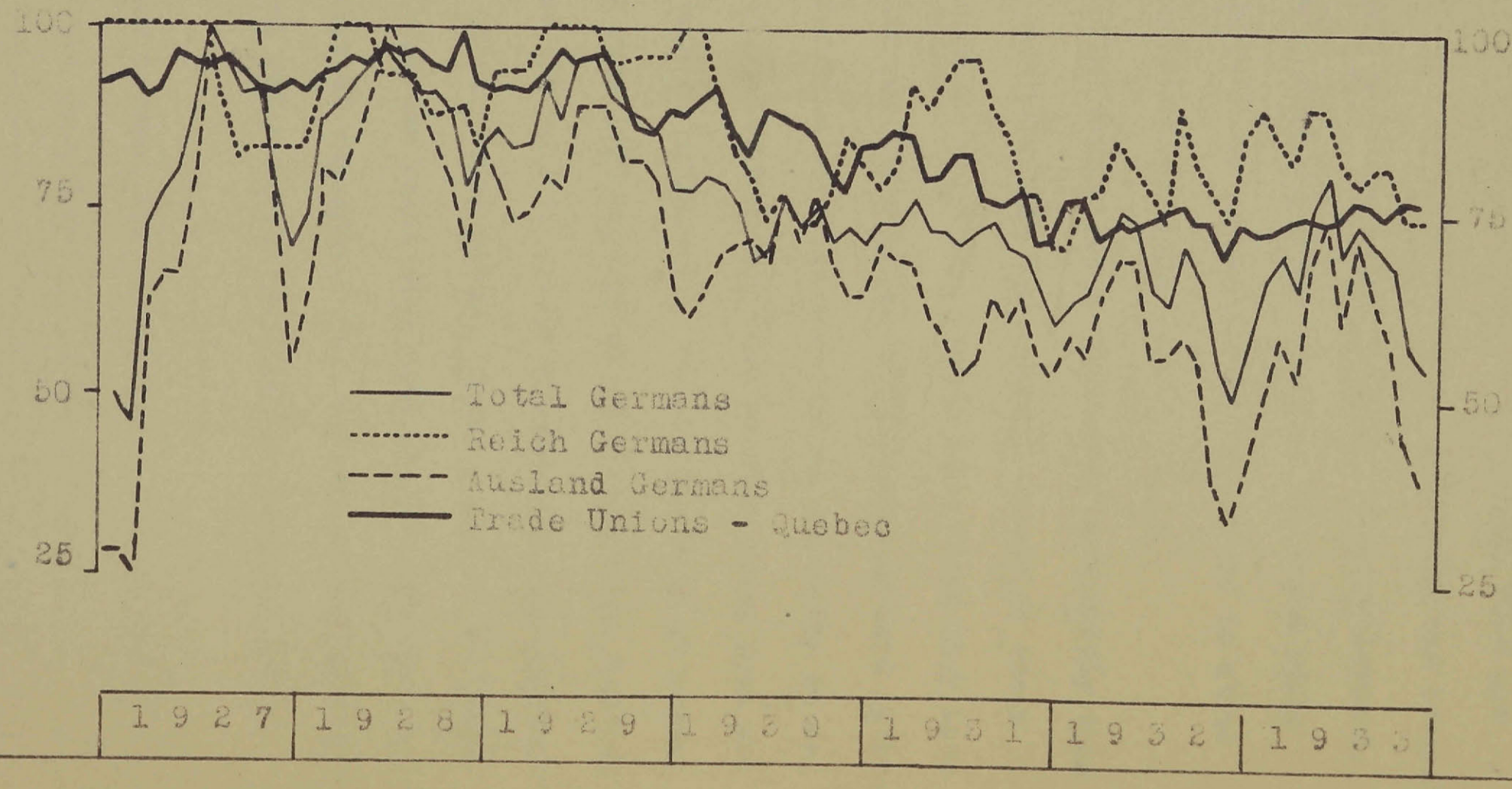
Month by month fluctuations in the percentage of employment are graphed in chart 7 (Table 38) for all our sample group and for the Reich and Ausland Germans separately. These are compared to the graph for trade unions in the province of Quebec. For all intents and purposes, Quebec means the city of Montreal and its suburbs, since few trade union members in the province reside outside this industrial centre. We thus have something which we can use as a norm in discussing the employment record of our recent German immigrants in Montreal.

Throughout the seven-year period under review, the percentage of employment for all of the German sample is below that of trade unions, excepting for a few individual months. It fluctuates more from month to month and shows wider seasonal variations. Judging from this the reader would conclude that they suffered the incidence of unemployment more than men in trade unions, who are themselves a very select sample subjected less to unemployment than unorganized labour.

A comparison of the separate movements of our Reich German and Ausland German groups separately present a different picture. For the Reich German group the percentage of employment over the whole period is for the most part higher than for trade unions. It does, however, show wider seasonable fluctuations. The graph is a peculiar one in that nearly every year presents a different picture. The general

CHART 7 TABLE 38 PAGE

PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED OF HEADS OF 63 GERMAN FAMILIES IN MONTREAL, 1927-1933.
TOTAL (63), REICH-GERMANS (17), AUSLAND-GERMANS (36), AND TRADE UNIONS FOR QUEBEC.



tendency is towards a rise in the early months of the year and a drop in the last months. But in between almost anything may happen. Following 1930 no month can be regarded as marking either an annual peak or a low.
I
In the summer of that year the graph reaches its low point. Four new arrivals swelled the sample at a time when finding employment was becoming difficult. Early in 1931 some of these had apparently found employment, for during the summer of that year the graph is above the trade union line. Excepting for January 1932 the percentage of employment is above the trade union figure until November 1933.

Employment in the Ausland German group fluctuates more widely than in the Reich German group. It reflects both the seasonal nature of their occupations and the insecurity of their employment. As a group they have found employment in unskilled and low-skilled occupations, as farm laborers, unskilled laborers in construction work, as low-skilled painters, or as small artisans. Seasonal employment has thus been greater among them and resulted in a lower percentage of employment, even in the best of times. Excepting for July 1928 and June 1933 employment is always below the trade union percentage.[5] The end of the year is always a period of low employment; the early months, again as in the Reich German group, a period of rising employment. Noticeably the past two years show both greater seasonal fluctuations and a lower percentage of employment than the two preceding years. Noticeably also, the seasonal rally in the fall months has been almost absent in 1932 and 1933.

Much of the discrepancy between the percentage of employment of the two German groups is due to the fact that the Reich Germans are more

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5. The year 1927 is disregarded because of the smallness of the sample. See Table 38 in this connection.

highly skilled. Moreover, they are occupationally more nearly in tune with the prevailing trend (see chart 10, p. 171a). It is not because they are highly skilled but because there is a demand for those skills that the Reich Germans show a higher percentage of employment than that for trade unions. It is not because they are agriculturalists or because they are unskilled that Ausland Germans have felt more heavily the incidence of unemployment; rather because the labor market had inadequate demand for their services.

This is reflected directly in the number of months of employment in the year 1933. During that year 21 of the Reich Germans were employed at skilled occupations; 5 of these worked from 7 to 9 months and 15 were employed 10 months or more. In the same year 15 of the Ausland Germans worked at unskilled, 8 at semiskilled and 13 at skilled occupations. Seven of the unskilled and 7 of the semi-skilled worked 6 months or less, while 11 out of the 13 engaged in skilled occupations worked 7 months and over. The incidence of umemployment thus bears much heavier upon those engaged in low-skilled occupations, which are frequently seasonal as well.

From the above analysis it is clear that while as a whole the Germans have suffered more unemployment than trade union members, the Reich Germans have fared better during the past 3 years than this rather select norm. The Ausland Germans, on the other hand, have been more severely hit. Since very few of our German sample are trade union members, the high percentage of employment in the Reich German group indicates a relatively great degree of occupational adjustment. For the Ausland German group there may also be adjustment; but it is to a lower level of employment.

CHAPTER IX

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PRACTICES.

A. Raising the Family Income.

The spread in the percentage of employment between the Reich German and the Ausland German group is reflected in the amount of earnings from wages. This is clear from data on this point covering the year 1933, the year of the survey of Montreal German post-war immigrants. The higher percentage of employment of the Reich German group in 1933 meant a higher level of income. Only 2 men in the Reich German sample earned less than $500, 14 between $500 and $999, and 11 over $1,000. Of these 2 who earned under $500, each were employed less than 2 months. Of those earning from $500 to $999, 2 were employed 6 months, 5 from 7 to 9 months and 7 the whole year. Of those earning over $1,000 one was employed 10 months and all the others 12 months (Table 40b).

In the Ausland group the range of incomes from wages is not great. Only 10 earned over $500 and none over $1,000. Of the 26 men who earned less than $500, eight were employed for 3 months or less, 6 between 4 and 6 months, 5 between 7 and 9 months, and 6 ten months and over. Of the 10 earning $500 to $999 one worked 5 months, 3 from 7 to 9 months and 6 over 10 months (Table 40c).

While the heads of families earned an average of $994 in the Reich german group and $363 in the Ausland German group, these earnings formed only 78.0 and 50.1 per cent respectively of total family income.

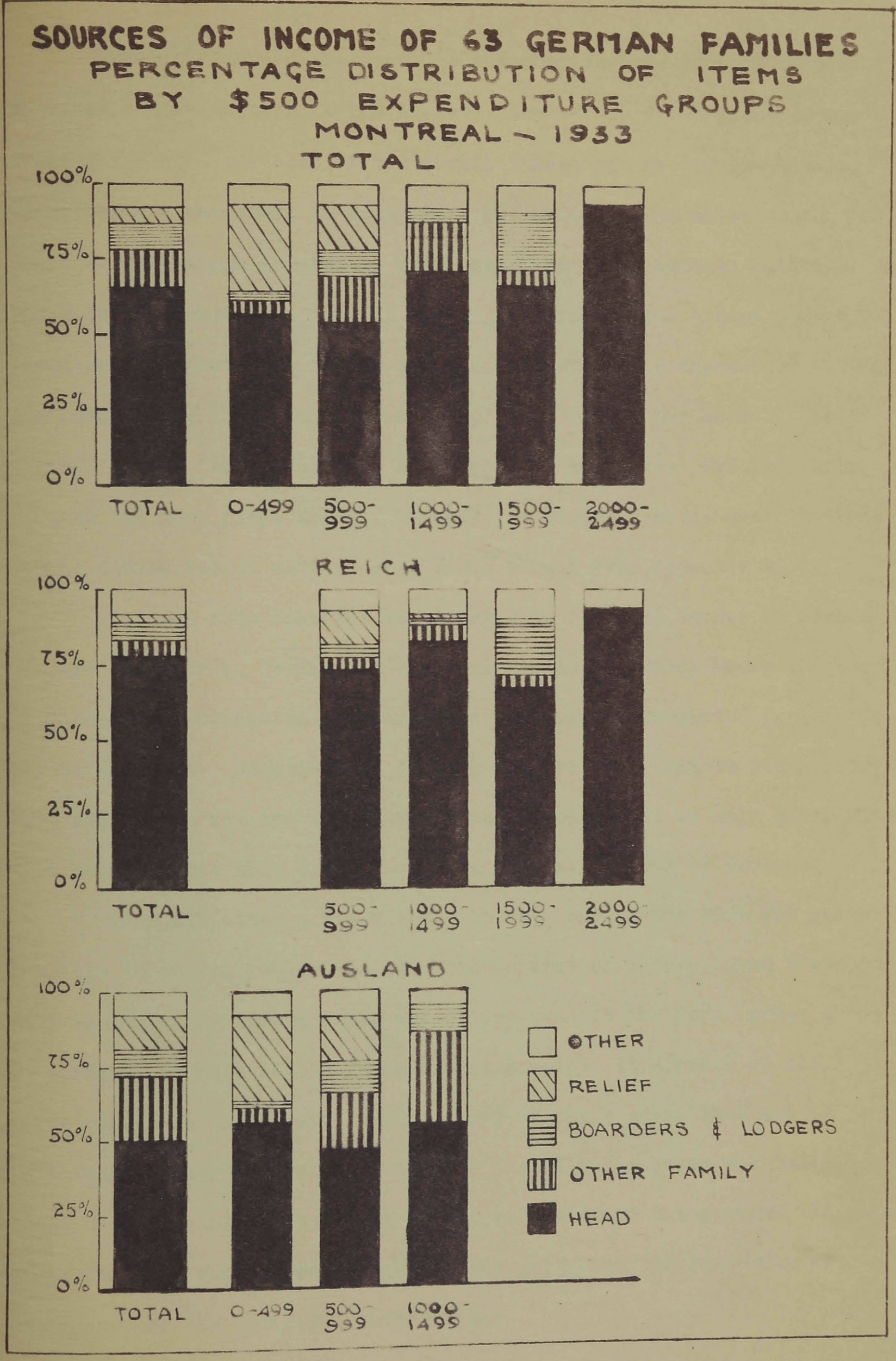
Other members of the family contributed an average of $62 and $159 respectively. Revenue from lodgers brought in $88 and $66 respectively; relief $28 and $90 and other sources $102 and $45 for the Reich and Ausland group respectively.

For purposes of further analysis we have divided our data on income and expenditure into $500 expenditure groups. Expenditure for consumption rather than income was taken as basic, in conformity with other immigrant group studies. Technically income and expenditure should be equal, but in practice it is difficult to get the data from families sufficiently accurate. The working rule used in collecting our data was that every family schedule should balance within 5 per cent. Those schedules where a balance within 10 per cent was not obtained by the field worker were not used in the compilation of any of the tables in the chapters dealing with German post-war immigrants in Montreal.

The distribution of these expenditure ranges varies between our two sets of samples. In the Reich German group 9 cases fall within the $500-$999 range, 9 between $1,000-$1499, 6 between $1,500-$1,999 and 3 over $2,000. In the Ausland German group 5 have an expenditure range under $500, 24 between $500-$999 and 7 between $1,000-$1,499.

Chart 8 (Table 41b) shows the main sources of income within each expenditure range for the Reich German and Ausland German group separately. Striking is the larger proportion earnings of the head of the family form in the Reich-German sample. It varies from 66.2 to 94.0 with an average of 78 per cent, compared to only from 46.5 to 56.4 and an average of 50.1 per cent in the Ausland-German group.

Chart 8. Table 41b.



In a number of cases it was necessary to draw on past saving, where there were any, and in some cases debt increases were made. Raising the necessary moneys for living expenditure was apparently done with difficulty in a considerable proportion of cases, expenditures for family living had to be made.

B. Family Expenditure Practices.

The expenditures which a family makes for consumption is probably the best index to their manner of living. It is not so much what people do with their money, but how they apportion its expenditure; the sources of income enter the picture only insofar as they throw light upon how the revenues for expenditure are raised. We have here not groups which can select the items upon which to expend their income, but groups which are compelled to spend for consumption, even when the income is lacking. Looked at in this way, the emphasis on consumption is clear.

Figures of the actual amounts expended for each of the items of a family budget are indicative of family living practices, but in themselves are not enough. When, supplemented, however, by direct observations, they form a suitable frame of reference around which to describe the practices of a group. It is in this sense, and not so much for their value in themselves, that the data on the items of expenditures of German families in Montreal during the year 1933 will be used.

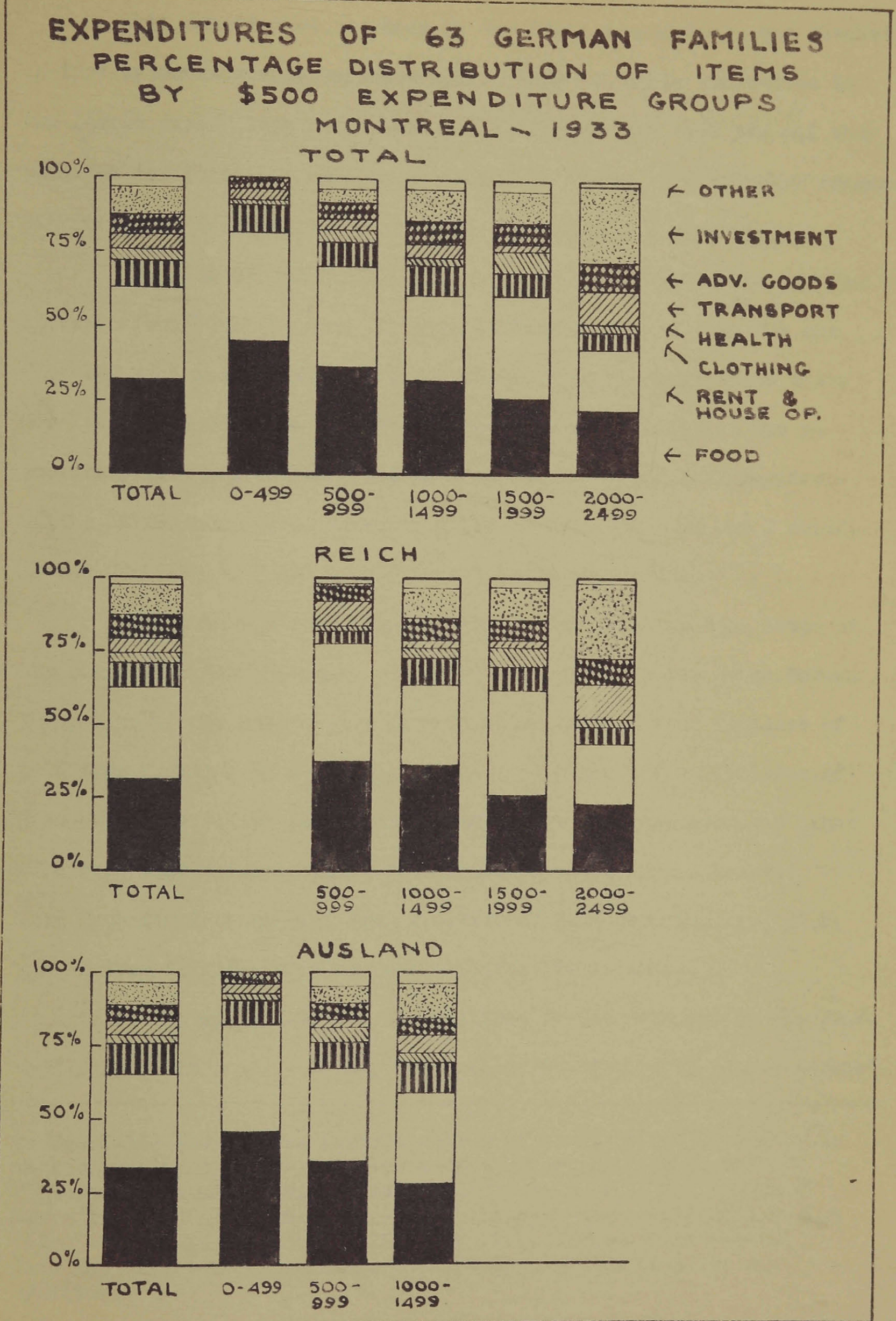
Excepting for a lower proportional expenditure for food and a higher one for investments, the Reich German group shows little

difference from the Ausland German group in the average distribution of expenditures. Food, Rent and Household Operation, and Clothing are the three items which together require 69.9 per cent of total expenditures in the Reich German group, and 75.6 per cent in the Ausland German group. Next in order of magnitude are those expenditures for investments, advancement goods, transportation and health (Chart 9, Table 42b).

Food: Food requires 30.5 per cent of the Reich German budget, and 33.6 per cent of that of the Ausland German, despite the fact that the latter is only three fifths as large. Within each group the trend in the proportion of the family budget expended for this item is consistently downward from the lowest to the highest expenditure group.

But while the percentage of the family budget expended for food decreases in the higher income groups, the actual amount increases (Table 42a). For the two lowest income groups in the Ausland sample it is a bare minimum, only $203 and $240 for the year, or $3.90 and $4.62 per week. Such a small expenditure for a family meant, of course, that the food was plain, and barely sufficient to keep body and soul together. While in the lower income ranges in the Reich group, expenditure for food was also at a minimum, it was not as low as in the corresponding Ausland expenditure range, the $8.35 per week comparing with the $6 per week for the Ausland group in the $1,000-$1,499 expenditure range. The percentages are 35.7 and 27.7 respectively. It appears that the Reich German group can afford a better quality of food than can the other group, since there is little evidence that they live less economically.

Chart 9. Table 42h



This observation was made by the field enumerators, who checked on food expenditures rather carefully. Time and again housewives in the lowest expenditure range insisted that $3.50 per week was all they required for food, and equally as frequently those in the higher ranges declared that food was the last thing they would cut down on.

The size of the family, and the number of adult units per family in each group could be used for more refined analysis. But for our purposes such refinement is not necessary.[1] In no family were there more than four children. Of the 27 Reich German families 4 had no children, 11 had 1 child, 8 had 2, 2 had 3, and 2 had four children. Of the 36 Ausland German families 4 had no children, 11 had 1 child, 14 had 2 children, 6 had 3, and only 1 had 4 (Table 43a).

Both groups show a tendency to smaller families than those of the parents of the husband. Of the 27 male heads in the Reich German group 2 were only children, 4 from families of 2, 6 from families of 3, 4 from families of 4, 4 from families of 5 and 7 from families of 6 or over. Of the 36 male heads in the Ausland German group, 2 likewise were only children and 4 from families of 2. Nine, however, were from families of 3, 6 from families of 4, 4 from families of 5, and 11 from families of 6 or more children (Table 43b).

Not in all cases were the children in the home during the year 1933. In a few cases - a very few - older children were either married

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1. See Table 42b for the average number of adult units per family in each expenditure group. The basis of adult units used is that employed by Reynolds, viz.: Husband 1.00; wife .80; child over 17 years 1.20; child 12-16 years .75; child 6-11 .50; child 5 years and under .40; adult dependents .75. The adult unit was not used as it does not affect the percentage distribution of the items of expenditure.

or working out, mostly in the case of the Reich German group. In some cases the children were still in Europe. It is not an infrequent practice, particularly among the Ausland group, for parents to precede to Canada, and children to follow later. Thus, while there were only 4 families with no children in this latter group, there were seven cases where only two persons - i.e. husband and wife - were in the home 1933. In 12 cases in the Reich group and 13 cases in the Ausland group, 3 persons were in the home: in 10 and 12 cases respectively 4 persons, in 2 and 3 five persons and in one case in the Ausland group 6 persons (Table 43c).

Rent and Household Operation: Differences in the number of persons in the home during the year are not sufficient to account for differences in expenditures for rent and household operation, the combined amounts of which were again greater in the Reich German group. Rent and household operating expenditures have been combined for treatment, since no useful purpose is served by separating them. On the contrary such separation would entail adjustments for heated flats, for cases where gas and light are paid, and so on. This difficulty is avoided by treating the two as one.

This combined item of household expenditure and rent looms large in the family budget, larger than that for food in the Reich German sample and nearly as large as the food item in the Ausland sample, the percentages being 30.9 and 32.1 respectively. But it is offset to the extent of 6.9 and 9.1 per cent respectively of total income by revenue from lodgers in each sample.

In the Reich-German group it is noticeable that revenue from lodgers is small excepting in the $1,500-$1,999 expenditure range, where

it forms 18.8 per cent of the total. In this group of 6 cases several supplemented the earnings of the head of the family by renting larger quarters and taking in roomers. When the difference of $267 in rent and household operation between this and the preceding group is subtracted, the average of the expenditure falls within the previous range (Table 42a). Since the care for these rented rooms is largely the work of the housewife, we may say that while women in the Ausland group contribute to the family budget by working for wages, Reich German women choose this way of contributing.

In the Ausland German group some families "take in" lodgers, more than in the Reich German group. Even though the revenue is not so large as in the one Reich German group it is 9.1 per cent of the total. But while the Reich Germans take in single lodgers, some of the Ausland German families are themselves lodgers. Fourteen of the 36 had only one room and 21 only one bedroom (Table 43d,e).

Both the room and bedroom space throws light on the type of residences. In the Reich group only 5 had less than 4 rooms, 9 had 4 rooms, 11 had 5 rooms, and 2 had 6 rooms. Six had one bedroom, 16 had two bedrooms and 5 had 3 bedrooms for family use.[2] Four and five-roomed flats, with two or three bedrooms, seem to be the rule here.

In the Ausland German group, however, 14 have only one room, 4 have 2 rooms, 9 have 3 rooms, and 8 have more than 3 rooms. Twenty-one have only 1 bedroom, 11 have 2, and 3 have 3. Frequently husband, wife and the children sleep in the one room. In one particular case, four families occupied one flat. Each family had a bedroom and the use of

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2. The above data on room and bedroom space applies only to space used by the family. It does not include such rooms as are rented out

kitchen, bathroom, and living room. In the centre stood a round table, in the corner a gramaphone valued at a maximum of $5. Another few pieces serving as seating places and a few kitchen chairs completed the furniture in the stateroom.

Such is an extreme example, but it is fairly common for two and none too rare for three families to occupy one flat. To some people such a state of affairs would seem shocking, but to these people there is nothing morally indecent in this manner of living or sleeping. In many cases they were accustomed to nothing better in the old country, where the "pater familias " and the whole family live under the one roof. In Montreal they are not often blood-relatives, but they are "countrymen". One of their number rents the flat and sublets portions of it to the others. More accustomed to group life, they are not as intent upon separate family houses as the Reich German group. One person who was as janitor sharing half of a bright apartment estimated his rent at $10 per month "because that is what I would pay for living quarters if I were living with a countryman". It is probably a truer value in the light of group practices than any adjusted figure estimated by an enumerator. For we are not interested so much in the monetary value of living quarters as in the meaning these quarters have for a particular group.

Clothing: Clothing is third in importance among the expenditure items. But while food and the combined rent and household expenditures consume each over 30 per cent of the family budget in both groups, clothing requires only 8.5 per cent in the Reich German group and 9.9 per cent in the Ausland German group (Table 42h). In the highest income range of the Reich German group it forms the smallest percentage,

in the corresponding ranking Ausland German group it forms the highest; elsewhere the proportion is between 8.4 and 9.5 per cent; nowhere is the deviation from the average for either group very far. It appears that in the proportion expended for clothing there is little difference either between the two groups or between the income ranges within groups. It will, however, be noted that in the highest income range among the Reich German group, no other members contributed to family income, while in the highest range in the Ausland German group fully 30.4 per cent was earned by the wife or children (Chart 8). The extent and the direction of the deviation of expenditures for clothing is explained by this observation.

Transportation: Expenditures for transportation approach to being a necessity. In the city, where distances between residence and place of employment are frequently considerable, the employee must use some means of travelling to and fro. The greater part of expenditure for travel are of this nature. In a few instances the men had cars, but in most cases the street-car was used. Only in two or three instances were travelling expenditures incurred for recreation recorded.

Health: Health expenditures are the least of any of the classified. It seems that outside the two lowest groups and one other there seems to be little variation in the amount required for this purpose. The very poor cannot pay, and often either do not get a doctor or get one at municipal expense. All in all, there was little sickness in either of our German sample groups during 1933.

Advancement Goods: Under Advancement Goods are included expenditures for such items as church contributions, club fees and

social participation, education, reading matter, and tobacco and drinks. Though the revised data were compiled, the table was never completed. It appears, however, that tobacco and drinks account for at least half of the total; in many cases drinks and expenditures for social participation were not clearly separated. Since the greater part of drink is in the form of beer consumed at the club it was difficult to draw the line. We shall in the succeeding chapter deal with the institutional life of our groups in greater detail. Here we note that the expenditure was small and there appears to be a tendency for this item of expenditure to become increasingly more important as the income rises. For the same expenditure ranges it is slightly higher in the Ausland group, but nothing conclusive can be stated at this point of the analysis.

Investment: The amounts which the members of a group are able to put aside apart from pure consumption are sometimes taken as an index of economic progress. Here we note that investment expenditures form 11.5 per cent in the Reich German group and 7.1 per cent in the Ausland German group. In the expenditure range under $1,000 the investment expenditure of the Reich group is only nominal, while that in the Ausland group is already 5.2 per cent. Above $1,000 in no case is the investment expenditure less than 10 per cent, and in the 3 Reich German cases of over $2,000 earnings it forms 26 per cent of the total. Despite the fact, therefore that in 1933 for this group both income and expenditure were little above a minimum for the group, these German families were yet able to lay aside for the future.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS OF GERMAN POST-WAR IMMIGRANTS.

A. Introduction: The Range of Social Adjustment.

Residential and occupational adjustment and accomodation and to some extent reconciliation to Canadian consumption practices are the background upon which social adjustments are made. For while these more primary aspects of living engage the energies of the German immigrant, they do not engage all his energies, nor do they satisfy his social wants. He still finds time, or makes time if need be, for participation in church and for visits to the particular German club which is most frequented by members of his group. More than that, he makes outside contacts, and even during the first years at times goes to an English church, to a talking picture, or to a hockey game. It is our purpose in the succeeding pages to indicate the extent and direction of these various contacts.

Twenty three of our German sample were Roman Catholics, and 40 were Lutherans. Of the Reich German group 8 were Catholic and 19 Lutherans; of the Ausland Germans, 15 were Catholics and 21 Lutherans (Table 44a). Thirteen of the 23 Roman Catholics belonged to the German Roman Catholic congregation. Fifteen Lutherans were of the St. Paul's Lutheran church, 9 were members of the St. John's Lutheran, while 16 belonged to the Christ Evangelical Lutheran Church or the preaching station conducted by its pastor in Verdun. Four

sometimes attended English Protestant services, 2 Roman Catholic churches other than the German, and 9 attended other religious services (Table 44b).[1]

Outside the church, the next set of institutions which play a role in German life in Montreal are the German Clubs. Eighteen are members of or attend the Harmonia Club, 9 are members of the Swabian-German Club, only 1 of our sample of the German-Hungarian Club, 4 of the German League and 2 are members of the German Society (Table 44c). While the Reich German group apparently have fewer acquaintances among the German group than the Ausland Germans, they have more outside contacts (Table 44e, f).

Clearly the statistical evidence points to signs of German institutional life in at least two fields, the religious and the social. We shall treat each of these in turn.

B. Religious Participation.

There are five Lutheran churches to which the German immigrant can go in Montreal, but in practice he will go to one of three. He will attend either St. Paul's which holds its services in the Diocesan College chapel room, 3473 University Street. He will attend St. John's, situated on the south-west corner of Jeanne Mance and Prince Arthur. Or he may attend Christ church at 3664 De Bullion Street.

St. John's is the older, and probably the larger. It was founded in 1853, situated first at 127-29 St. Dominique, between St.

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1. These data are on participation, and do not necessarily imply membership. In the case of the first four churches mentioned the correspondence is close.

Catherine and Dorchester. Later, about 1910 the present structure was built. A quarter of a century ago it had among its members many well-to-do Germans, and five years ago a considerable number were still on its roll. Now, though the minister claims these Reich Germans and Canadian Germans still form the backbone of the congregation, persons familiar with the situation say that not half-a-dozen of the old guard are left. Until three years ago it was the only German Lutheran church congregation in Montreal, but there was conflict and two branches split off - a Reich German group founded St. Paul's congregation; an Ausland German group organized as Christ Church congregation. Many more left the Lutheran Church altogether.

Though the conflict was on the surface between minister and certain groups in the congregation,, there is probably more involved. For both of the dissenting elements were in a sense not at home in the situation which had developed. The original Reich German and Canadian German members had become emancipated, though they probably would not admit this. They had moved out of the area, away to Westmount, N. D. G., and the north area. With the expansion of the city and the steady expansion of the business section outwards this area, which a quarter of a century ago was a residential area for the German group, had deteriorated into an immigrant area. First the Germans have (gotten out of) the area, and now they have (gotten out of) the church. A number of those who helped build the present structure feel they have a vested interest, and a few still hang on as paying but non-active members. Some are bitter over the conflict and feel

they have been forcibly ousted. These and others hope that some day they will get back their church. But it will probably never happen. The development, painful though it may be for the individuals involved, is in accordance with processes in similar institutions elsewhere.

Meanwhile those at present in the congregation carry on. They are having their financial difficulties, for they are predominantly an immigrant selection with little economic reserves. Yet they preserve a certain amount of group life. When they come out of church they go down the street in groups, talking to each other as many of them were accustomed in their villages in rural sections of Europe. In the congregation there are a few Reich Germans. But more of them are Hungarian-Germans, Balkan Germans, and Siebenbuergen Saxons. Predominantly from rural parts they still in religious practices at least are not so far from the European setting. German is their mother-tongue, and in German they have their religious services.

A skilful clergyman probably could have held all the elements in the congregation together for a few years longer, but for a few years only. As it was, one group formed the St. Paul's congregation. The majority of its members are Reich Germans. A few are Canadian born and a few from the Ausland countries. For all intents, however, it is a congregation of Reich Germans. Founded in 1932, it is restricted by the Canada synod to hold services in German only. As such its life will depend upon new arrivals, for the older members will move on; they will get out from under the German fold.

But there are signs of changes in the near future. Considerable numbers of those who left St. John's church consider this new

congregation as <u>their</u> congregation. When they attend German services at all, they attend in St. Paul's. Less than six months ago the Tabaeer Verein was organized. It is a ladies' aid in all but name. And among its members are ladies from the more socially select German group. Names that were formerly on the membership list of the ladies aid of St. John's church appear once more. The German sentiment and the attachment to the Lutheran church is not gone. But they will have a Lutheran church according to their heart's dictates. And they will probably succeed. St. Paul's will then lose its German character; it will be a church of Germans still, but of Germans who were born and raised in Canada or who have become more Canadian than German in their social participation practices.

Christ Evangelical Lutheran church is definitely an immigrant church. Officially it is spoken of as the Siebenbuerger Saxon mission congregation, but this name is somewhat misleading. At least 25 of its 70-odd families come from the village of Liebling in Roumania. They left St. John's church avowedly because the minister referred to them as "Pollacks", and intimated they were not true Germans. Such an inference would touch them to the quick, for if there is anything that an Ausland German is proud of it is the fact that for generations he has remained a German; on this point he is sensitive.

Nevertheless, the whole reason here too is not so on the surface. It appears that within the Liebling group a certain strain had developed. Half stayed in the original church, and the dissenting section formed the nucleus of a new congregation. Here they have reintroduced their old song books; here once again they can worship as they were accustomed,

for here they are more than the minority they were within the larger congregation. They have their song books, but they also have their neighbours, and all that goes with it. In Liebling not all neighbours were on friendly terms; some of the families have hated each other for generations. And in a few cases these feuds have been transferred to the Montreal immigrant setting. Already there are signs of strife in the new congregation. They will become adapted to Canadian ways, but they will resist an undue speeding up of this process.

More than in any of the Lutheran churches, the members of the German Roman Catholic congregation form a community group. The church is situated in St. Louis ward, somewhere in the vicinity of Roy and De Bullion streets. Its members are predominantly from Hungary and former Austro-Hungarian territories. Though probably 10 per cent of the original founders are Reich Germans, and though others come from many Ausland districts, there are a few regions which are more heavily represented. Hungary, Banat, Arad, and Bacska are the districts from which the majority came.[2] In this congregation likewise, as many as 30 to 35 families from one European village are found. Community life is here more developed, for backgrounds are less heterogeneous. Through their efforts they have procured a German Catholic school, probably the only one of its kind in the province of Quebec.

Both in Church and school conflict is rife. Again the priest is blamed, and again as in the senior Lutheran church, it is possible that the present incumbent is probably not a very fortunate choice.

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2. See Chapter II, section on Ausland Germans.

But it is probably nearer the truth to say that these peoples are becoming rapidly emancipated from their European traditions. They may say they go to an English or French Catholic service because they prefer to hear something other than scolding and exhortations to get make greater contributions from the German pulpit. If they are honest with themselves they will probably admit that they are beginning to take on Canadian attitudes in regard to religious observances.

Thus in all the churches which may be considered churches for German immigrants the forces are at work which are assimilating them to Canadian ways. Consciously or unconsciously they may resist these in their attempt to preserve their traditions. They are, however, too rapidly breaking away. Their group consciousness is not sufficiently strong to build around them a wall of cultural isolation. Cultural penetration at various points is breaking in upon them. What takes several generations in a rural setting is being accomplished in relatively short time in Montreal.

C. Group Social Participation.

The Germans have yet another set of institutions in which they attain a certain amount of group solidarity in their various clubs. There are four main German clubs in Montreal: The Teutonia, The Harmonia, The Swabian-German Club and the German-Hungarian Club. Each has a specific membership composition, and each has successively grown out of the other. It is in these clubs that a certain degree of German atmosphere is attained, but it is in these clubs also that contacts with the outside are made.

The Teutonia is the oldest of these clubs. It also is accorded first rank socially. An outgrowth of a glee club, it was founded as such in 1880. In time the Teutonia became quite select, too select for some of the Germans. When, for example, it moved into quarters since demolished to make room for the hole in the ground which was to become a $50,000,000 C. N. R. terminal, it attempted to become an exclusive men's club. In time it sold and moved to its present location at 1777 Mountain Street; and in still more recent time it has again become less exclusive. But it is still not a club which is frequented by the ordinary German immigrant.

The Harmonia is the largest of the German clubs. Founded in 1911 because German artisans and mechanics had no place in the Teutonia, it in a short time became the centre of German life in Montreal. In those days the Germans were more of a group. Members knew one another intimately, and visited back and forth. To-day its membership, though predominantly Reich German is more representative of Germans in Montreal than that of any other German institution or organization.

But the Harmonia is not what it used to be. So many of the earlier members will tell you, "If my father would see the way things are going now, he would take a fit", said the son of its founder. When the club moved to its present location at 1173 Drummond Street it took on a more commercial aspect. "What happened to the old Germans who used to gather in its four walls?" the writer asked. "Many of the older German families have stopped coming altogether".

The Harmonia is, however, patronized by recent German arrivals. It is the centre of German cultural life in Montreal, so far as that

life heads up anywhere. In its building are held semi-official German celebrations. Recently it has come to be the place where the benefit balls of the Deutsche Gesellschaft (German Society) are held. And many of the more than 50 Germans who attend these say that despite the more cramped quarters the atmosphere they prefer being in a German house.

Nevertheless the Harmonia perhaps more than any other German or Canadian agency has become a medium for the cultural penetration of the Germans. The regular Saturday and Sunday night dances are attended by other than Germans. Particularly is this true of the ladies, for there appears to be a shortage of German girls. Finnish and Scandinavian girls, domestics in Montreal's better homes and themselves often of good family and well educated, and English and Scotch lassies help the German young man to wile away otherwise lonesome hours. Though predominantly non-Canadian-born, these groups become assimilated to each other and in turn will make their impact upon Canadian culture. Already a number of mixed marriages have resulted.

Yet the Harmonia goes farther afield. Canadian groups engage its hall for their functions. Guests exchange experiences over a glass of beer. In addition the club is a member of the Montreal chess league and has connections with outside athletic associations. Through participation in its activities Germans are becoming acclimatized.

The Harmonia was, however, not congenial for a new group of Germans, and so the Swabian-German club was formed about three years ago It is situated at 1617 St. Lawrence Boulevard. It's members are almost wholly Ausland Germans; a sprinkling of Siebenbuergen Saxons, but

predominantly from Banat and Bacska (i.e. Roumanian and Jugo-Slavian). They had felt uncomfortable in the Harmonia, where Reich Germans looked somewhat askance upon Ausland Germans and frowned at the pretence of the latter to being Germans.

In the Swabian-German club they can develop more of a group spirit. It was out of this club that the German Catholic congregation was formed, the first of its kind in the history of Germans in Montreal. It is in this club that they have preserved an air of Swabian Gemuetlichkeit, which somehow is not present in the Harmonia. Likewise, however, this institution is becoming a means of wider contacts outside the group.

There is yet another German club, the German-Hungarian club, situated at 3641 St. Lawrence Boulevard. Formerly its members belonged to the Swabian-German club, but strains developed between this and other groups and they founded their own society. Though only two years old, they likewise have not been able to develop in a manner which ensures preservation of their cultural identity.

With the rise of National Socialism in Germany has risen the German-consciousness of German immigrants in Montreal. A year ago, as is characteristic of nationalistic groups, they too formed a league, the "Friends of the New Germany". They are not a political party in the ordinary sense. Officially they do not express any desire to introduce their doctrine. All they desire is to unite all the Germans in Montreal into one organization to keep these and Canadians in touch with developments in Germany. The Union Jack must occupy the most prominant position, for they emphasize they are in Canada. In a year

they have gone through metamorphosis and now are the German League; but at heart they are still the same. Staunch admirers of Adolf Hitler and the New Germany, they cannot understand why any group that pretends to be German can do anything but welcome them with open arms; they cannot conceive any true German being outside their own ranks.

This desire for a unity of all Germans is, however, not confined to members of the German League. The same sentiments are expressed in each of the clubs in turn, though couched in different phraseology. But each has something slightly different in mind. It is not hostile to joining another group in the attempt to achieve this German unity. But none will have anything to do with an interpretation of what is German not in conformity with its own.

D. The Extent of Social Adjustment.

More than they realize German post-war immigrants are becoming assimilated through their own church and social institutions. Group consciousness will probably find expression in a form German-Canadian rather than purely German. For, as we had seen, their contacts extend beyond members of their own group and outside their own institutions. In the urban setting the German post-war immigrants in Montreal have been subjected to numerous influences of cultures other than their own. In their residential location they are among neighbours other than German; in following their occupational pursuits, they are developing common interests with non-Germans on other than on a German basis; in their social participation they are again subjected to outside influences.

The years of their domicile in Canada have been difficult years, and in their own estimation not all have gained by coming to Canada. Of the total sample of 63 heads of German families only 20 stated they had gained. Eighteen said they neither gained nor lost; 22 lost, while 3 Reich Germans were undecided. Of the remaining 24 Reich Germans 13 gained, and 7 lost. Of the 36 Ausland Germans only 7 gained; 14 neither gained nor lost and 15 stated they lost (Table 45a). The majority of those who gained arrived before 1929; similarly with those who neither gained or lost; of those who lost, the majority came during 1929 and 1930. (Table 46A). There is thus in this group a direct relation between the time in Canada and their economic progress. The earlier arrivals apparently made more satisfactory adjustments.

Regardless of whether they have gained or lost 41 intend to become Canadian citizens. Three are already naturalized, 11 are indefinite, and only 5 do not intend to become naturalized (Table 46B). Asked what they think of Canada, 17 said that it was easier to make a living in Canada than in Europe. They are particularly impressed by the margin of the employed man's wages above the requirements for food and shelter. Twenty-four consider the country satisfactory when work is available. Six voluntarily stated that they would not return to Europe nor exchange life here for that in Germany or an Ausland country. And only one definitely said that he wished to return permanently to Germany (Table 45c).

They are here and they are here to stay. "Heimat ist Heimat",[3]

---

3. "Heimat" is the German word for "native land".

they will tell you, but in the next breath they will say that they had no intention of returning permanently. In this respect they are realists. They know that while occupational opportunities are limited in Canada, they are even more limited in their homeland. They know quite well that for the most part the chances of their success are greater in Canada.

In the course of their brief domicile in Canada they have already gone considerable distance on the way to assimilation. Here the extent of their cultural isolation has been lessened by the fact that they were not regionally isolated even where they were segregated. Consequently they have made frequent contacts with the culture of the larger community. Even in their own institutions, as has been noted, the influences of these contacts are becoming noticeable. Culturally, as well as occupationally, they are rapidly becoming adjusted to the Canadian situation.

CONCLUSIØN

CONCLUSION

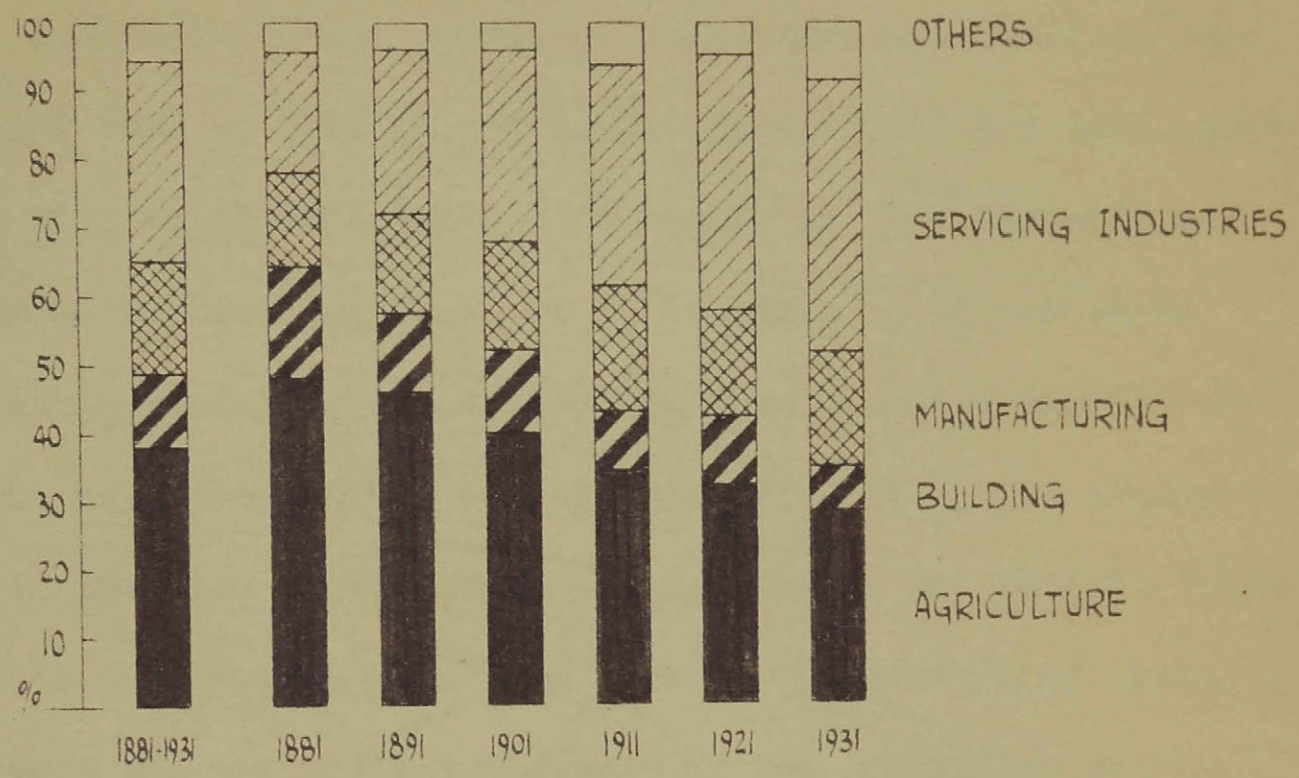
Occupational adjustment of German immigrants in Canada is the background with reference to which social adjustments take place. The key to occupational adjustment is the trend in occupational opportunity as determined by the industrial structure of the country. Where German immigrants possess training in occupations which are becoming relatively more important, they may be expected to make satisfactory adjustments; where this is not the case, the reverse holds. In this concluding section we shall briefly deal with this problem.

The trends in the proportions of the gainfully employed by main industry groups for Canada between 1881 and 1931 is shown in Chart 10 (Table 47). The chart shows the steady decline of the relative importance of agriculture and the building trades as sources for employment. Interestingly enough, even manufacturing has declined from its high of 18.1 per cent in 1911, and in 1931 is of little more importance than at the beginning of the century.

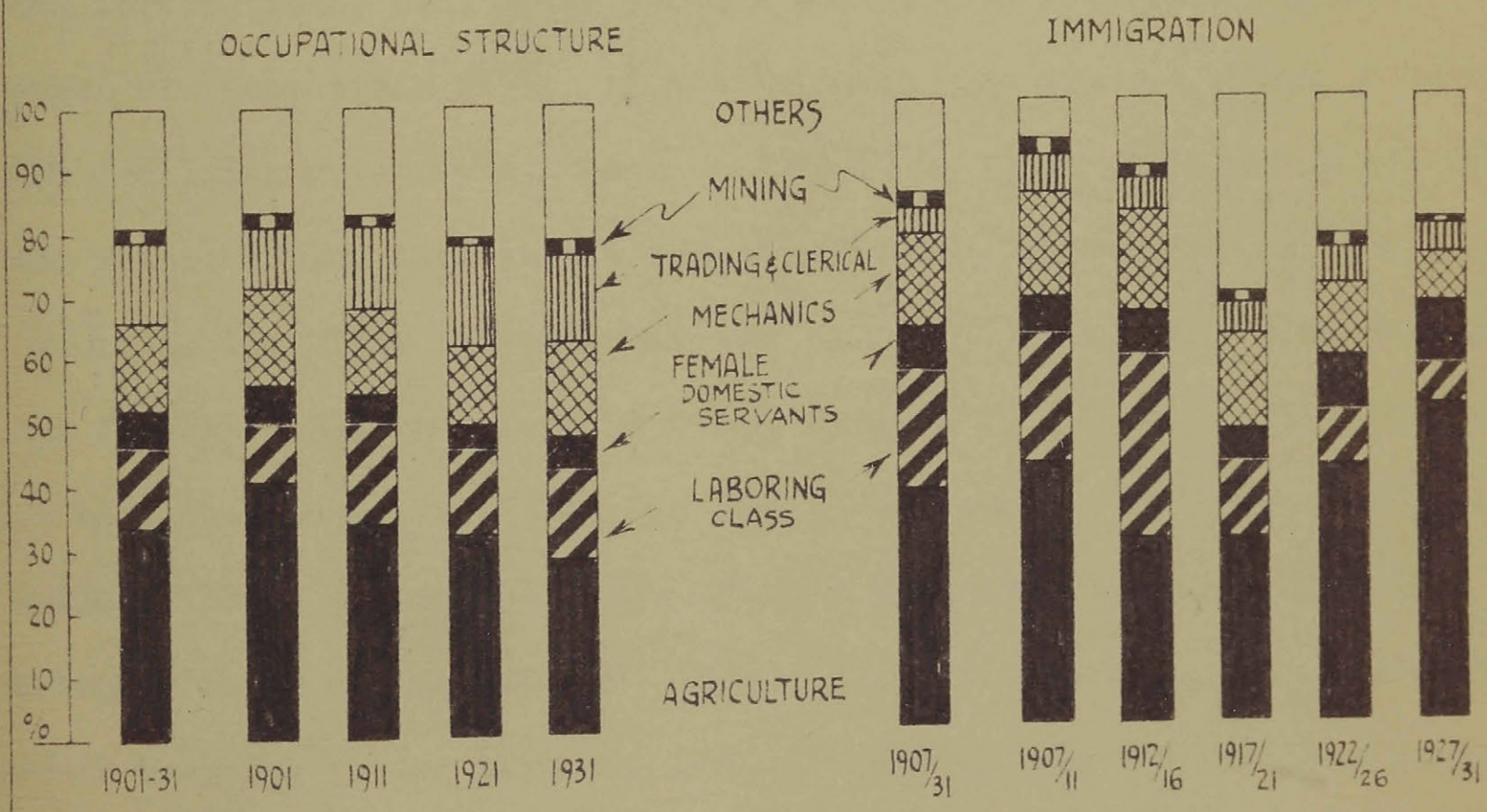
There is a group of occupations which have more than doubled in proportion since 1881 and have increased considerably in importance since the beginning of the century. This group might be called the "servicing industries" and includes, domestic and personal service, trading and merchandizing, civil and municipal government, professional and transportation occupations. Already in 1901 it engaged 27.8 per cent of all employed, but by 1931 its proportion had risen to 39.6 per cent. The trend, then, is away from primary production, away from manufacturing, and increasingly more towards distributive and social services.

Chart 10. Tables 47, 48 & 49

GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN CANADA BY MAIN INDUSTRY GROUPS
CENSUS PERIODS 1881-1931
IN PERCENTAGES



RELATION BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF CANADA AND IMMIGRATION 1901-31
IN PERCENTAGES



A comparison of this chart with chart 4c (p.48a) showing the intended occupation of German immigrants via Ocean Ports discloses the fact that in the latter no such trend is observable. While the relative importance of agriculture as a source of employment has declined from 40.2 to 28.7 per cent or over 30 per cent, between 1901 and 1931, that of immigrants stating their intention to engage in this industry has increased from 40 to 69.5 per cent, or an increase of 75 per cent. Instead of running parallel, the two trends show opposite directions.

This is reflected in the adjustments affected by the groups we have treated in Part II. The Germans who settled in St. Peter's Colony and St. Joseph's Colony came at a time when the proportion of German immigrant farmers was practically the same as the proportion of the gainfully employed engaged in agriculture (Tables 16 and 47). They became established occupationally and developed their institutional life to an extent where participation in the larger community was via their own institutions. The Reich Germans who came to Montreal came to a group of occupations which, if not becoming more important were at any rate not declining relatively. Hence during their brief period in Canada those who consider they have gained form a higher percentage than in the Ausland German group. This latter group came with the stated intention of becoming farmers. But, as graph 10 shows, farming is declining in importance. At best they could but fill gaps left by others; they did not enter an industry which was on the ascendent from an employment point of view. Actually there was no place for them. The only other occupation for which their training fitted them was that as unskilled and semi-skilled labourers in the construction and building trades. To there they came, but these are likewise industries which are declining relatively. Thus the chances of

occupational adjustment were from the start unfavorable for the Ausland Germans.

The extent of social participation both within the group and in the institutions of the larger community apparently cuts across all distinctions other than the degree of occupational adjustment. At any rate, the two go hand in hand. It happens that St. Peter's and St. Joseph's colonies, where this institutional participation has gone farthest, are the older in time of settlement of the groups we have studied; but it must not be forgotten that occupationally they had a better chance of becoming adjusted from the start.

This direct relation between social participation and occupational adjustment is more clearly marked in the case of the two Montreal sample groups. The Reich Germans are participating more frequently in the institutional and cultural life of the Canadian community mainly because the degree of occupational adjustment which they have achieved makes it financially possible for them to do so. The Ausland Germans do not participate as extensively because they have not the financial means; and they have not financial means mainly because they have not yet made sufficiently satisfactory occupational adjustments.

Frequently it is contended that culturally the Reich Germans are more readily adaptable to the Canadian; this is doubtful, but may be granted. And again, attention is called to the regional distribution of the two groups in the city; but regional location is related to employment. Cultural adaptability and regional position may be important factors affecting the assimilation of an immigrant group. Both, however, give place to occupational opportunity as determinants of social adjustment.

APPENDIX

A. TABLES

B. FAMILY SCHEDULE

C. BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX A

TABLES

INDEX TO TABLES

INDEX TO TABLES -- continued.

INDEX TO CHARTS

INDEX TO MAPS

Table I.

Main Sources of Immigration to Canada: 1902-1931[X] . (X see footnotes to Table 2)

Fiscal year	United States	via Ocean Ports: British Isles	via Ocean Ports: German and Scandinavian**	via Ocean Ports: Slavic*	Others	Grand Total
1901-02	26,388	17,259	3786	9,260	10,686	67,379
1902-03	49,473	41,792	9,292	16,028	11,779	128,364
1903-04	45,171	50,374	8,202	12,178	14,406	130,331
1904-05	43,543	65,359	9,318	10,931	17,115	146,266
1905-06	57,796	86,796	8,471	11,954	24,047	189,064
1906-07	34,659	55,791	6,204	5,780	22,233	124,667
1907-08	58,312	120,182	10,773	28,300	44,902	262,469
1908-09	59,832	52,901	6,416	12,379	15,380	146,908
1909-10	103,798	59,790	11,708	11,490	22,008	208,794
1910-11	121,451	123,013	19,654	17,453	29,513	311,084
1911-12	133,710	138,121	17,177	34,291	30,938	354,237
1912-13	139,009	150,542	15,256	53,441	44,184	402,432
1913-14	107,530	142,622	18,618	59,274	56,834	384,878
1914-15	59,779	43,276	6,213	17,840	17,681	144,789
1915-16	36,937	8,664	958	55	1,923	48,537
1916-17	61,389	8,282	1,198	40	4,465	75,374
1917-18	71,314	3,178	676	42	3,864	79,074
1918-19	40,715	9,914	310	49	6,714	57,702
1919-20	49,656	59,603	879	144	7,054	117,336
1920-21	48,059	74,262	3,864	6,030	16,262	148,477
1921-22	29,345	39,020	2,143	3,476	16,015	89,999
1922-23	22,007	34,508	3,387	3,435	9,550	72,887
1923-24	20,521	72,919	17,982	12,431	24,707	148,560
1924-25	15,818	53,178	14,755	11,944	15,667	111,362
1925-26	18,778	37,030	13,800	13,696	12,760	96,064
1926-27	21,025	49,784	27,867	26,868	18,447	143,991
1927-28	25,007	50,872	28,034	25,293	22,391	151,597
1928-29	30,560	58,880	27,531	34,395	16,356	167,772
1929-30	30,727	64,082	28,903	24,392	15,184	163,288
1930-31	24,280	27,584	15,981	14,768	5,610	88,223

Main Sources of Immigration to Canada; Total and Percentages, Quinquennial Periods 1902-06 to 1927-31:

Fiscal year	United States	via Ocean Ports: British Isles*	German and Scandinavian	Slavic	Others	Grand Total
a. Total Immigration:						
1902-06	222,371	261,580	39,069	60,351	78,033	661,404
1907-11	378,052	411,677	54,755	75,402	134,036	1,053,922
1912-16	476,965	483,225	58,222	164,901	151,560	1,334,873
1917-21	271,133	155,239	6,927	6,305	38,359	477,963
1922-26	106,469	236,655	52,067	44,982	78,699	518,872
1927-31	131,599	251,202	128,316	125,716	77,988	714,821
Totals	1,586,589	1,799,578	339,356	477,657	558,675	4,761,855
b. Percentage Distribution:						
1902-06	33.62	39.55	5.91	9.12	11.80	100.00
1907-11	35.87	39.06	5.20	7.15	12.72	
1912-16	35.74	36.20	4.36	12.35	11.35	
1917-21	56.73	32.48	1.45	1.32	8.02	
1922-26	20.52	45.61	10.03	8.67	15.17	
1927-31	18.42	35.14	17.95	17.59	10.90	
Total %	33.32	37.79	7.13	10.03	11.73	

X Compiled from Department of Immigration and Colonization: Annual Reports 1900 to 1931. The earlier reports are under Department of Interior.

* Includes English, Welsh, Scotch, Irish. Date supplied by Miss M. Davidson

** Includes German, Dutch, Austrian(n.o.s. from 1904-05 on) Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, and Finnish.

*** Includes Bulgarian, Czecho-Slovak, Doukhobor, Polish, Russian, Jugo-Slavian, Ukrainian. Data supplied by S.W. Mamchur.

Table 3. Chart 2

Destination of Immigrants to Canada: Totals and Percentages: 1902-31[x]

Fiscal Years	Total	Maritime	Central	Prairie	Pacific
A. Totals:					
a. Total Immigration:					
1902-06	661,404	24,090	229,432	363,591	44,291
1907-11	1,053,922	47,267	416,863	437,468	152,324
1912-16	1,334,873	69,594	641,565	463,340	160,374
1917-21	477,963	26,724	226,513	177,544	47,182
1922-26	518,872	19,283	276,211	180,925	42,453
1927-31	714,821	19,583	320,915	330,401	43,922
1902-31	4,761,855	206,541	2,111,499	1,953,269	490,546
b. Total from United States:					
1907-11	378,052	7,106	55,907	242,605	73,434
1912-16	476,965	32,636	153,463	220,969	69,897
1917-21	271,133	15,089	111,466	126,460	18,118
1922-26	106,469	3,642	46,413	46,126	10,288
1927-31	131,599	4,246	72,878	42,406	12,069
1907-31	1,364,218	62,719	440,127	678,566	183,806
c. Total via Ocean Ports:					
1907-11	675,870	40,161	360,956	195,863	78,890
1912-16	857,908	36,958	488,102	242,371	90,477
1917-21	206,830	11,635	115,047	51,084	29,064
1922-26	412,403	15,641	229,798	134,799	32,165
1927-31	583,222	15,337	248,037	287,995	31,853
1907-31	2,736,233	119,732	1,441,940	912,112	262,449
B. Percentage Distribution:					
a. Total Immigration:					
1902-06	100.0	3.6	34.7	55.5	6.7
1907-11	100.0	4.5	39.5	41.5	14.5
1912-16	100.0	5.2	48.1	34.7	12.0
1917-21	100.0	5.6	47.4	37.1	9.9
1922-26	100.0	3.7	53.2	34.9	8.2
1927-31	100.0	2.7	44.9	46.3	6.1
1902-31	100.0	4.3	44.4	41.0	10.3
b. Percentage from United States:					
1907-11	100.0	1.9	14.8	63.9	19.4
1912-16	100.0	6.8	32.2	46.3	14.7
1917-21	100.0	5.6	41.1	46.6	6.7
1922-26	100.0	3.4	43.6	43.3	9.7
1927-31	100.0	3.2	55.4	32.2	9.2
1907-31	100.0	4.6	32.2	49.7	13.5
c. Percentage via Ocean Ports:					
1907-11	100.0	5.9	53.4	29.0	11.7
1912-16	100.0	4.3	56.9	28.3	10.5
1917-21	100.0	5.6	55.6	24.7	14.1
1922-26	100.0	3.8	55.7	32.7	7.8
1927-31	100.0	2.6	42.5	49.4	5.5
1907-31	100.0	4.4	52.7	33.3	9.6

x For footnotes see below table 4.

Table 4. page 10 (4)

Distribution of Immigrant Population, 1931 by Regions:[x]

	Canada	Maritime	Central	Prairie	Pacific
Total Population	10,376,786	1,009,103	6,305,938	2,353,529	708,216
Immigrant "	2,307,525	68,985	1,056,028	860,872	321,640
Percentage Distribution:					
Total Population	100.0	9.6	60.8	22.7	6.9
Immigrant "	100.0	3.0	45.8	37.3	13.9
Percentage of Population who are immigrants:	22.24	6.9	16.7	36.5	45.5

x Census of Canada, 1931. Population Bulletin XXVII.
Maritime includes Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.
Central includes Quebec and Ontario.
Prairie includes Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.
Pacific includes British Columbia, Yukon and Northwest Territories.

****

Footnotes to Table 3.

a. Total from Canada Year Book, 1932, pp.154-55.
b. From United States calculated by subtracting immigration via Ocean Ports from total immigration.
c. via Ocean Ports compiled from Department of Immigration and Colonization Annual Reports.

Table 5 page 11

Birthplace of the Canadian People, 1901-1931, Total and Percentages:[x]

Birthplace	1901	1911	1921	1931
Total Population	5,371,315	7,206,643	8,787,949	10,376,786
Canada	4,671,815	5,619,682	6,832,224	8,069,261
Immigrant	699,500	1,586,961	1,955,725	2,307,525
Percentages:				
Canada	86.98	77.96	77.75	77.76
Immigrant	13.02	22.04	22.25	22.24

x Census of Canada 1931. Population Bulletin XXVII p.1.

Table 6 Chart 3b page 11

Birthplace of the Immigrant Population of Canada: Percentage Distribution 1901-31:[x]

Birthplace	1901	1911	1921	1931
Total Immigrant Population	699,500	1,586,961	1,955,725	2,307,525
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
British Isles	58	51	51	49
United States	18	19	19	15
Europe	18	25	24	31
Elsewhere	6	5	6	5

x Census of Canada 1931. Population Bulletin XXVII p.1

Birthplace of Immigrant Population, 1931, by periods of arrival.[x]

	Total	Before 1901	1901-10	1911-20	1921-31*
A. Population:					
Total	2,307,525**	255,379	625,174	669,875	748,648
British Isles	1,138,942	133,971	321,784	371,306	308,078
United States	344,574	46,347	102,825	106,928	86,606
German & Scand.***	207,686	21,608	52,194	40,577	92,517
Slavic****	339,279	26,054	76,843	71,609	164,036
Other Europe	167,497	12,210	41,232	41,577	72,101
Elsewhere	109,547	15,189	30,296	37,878	25,310
B. Percentage Distribution:					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
British Isles	49.3	52.5	51.5	55.5	41.2
United States	14.9	18.1	16.5	16.0	11.6
German & Scand.	9.0	8.5	8.3	6.0	12.3
Slavic	14.7	10.2	12.3	10.7	21.9
Other Europe	7.3	4.8	6.6	6.2	9.6
Elsewhere	4.8	5.9	4.8	5.6	3.4

x Census of Canada, 1931. Population Bulletin XXVII, p.2.
* To June 1, 1931, the Census date. Includes 12,341 arrivals Jan.-May, 1931.
** Includes 8449 not reported.
***German and Scandinavian includes: Germany, Austria, Holland, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finnland.
**** Slavic includes Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Poland (& Galicia), Russia, Ukraine.

Table 8. Chart 3a page 13 (4)

Racial Origin of the Canadian Population, 1901-1931 in percentages.[x]

	1901	1911	1921	1931
Total population	5,371,315	7,206,643	8,788,483	10,376,786
Canada	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
British*	57.0	54.1	55.4	51.9
French	30.7	28.5	27.9	28.2
German and** Scandinavian	7.2	8.5	8.1	9.1
Slavic***	.6	2.1	3.1	4.2
Other	4.5	6.8	5.5	6.6

x Census of Canada, 1931. Population Bulletin XXXV; 1901, 1911, 1921 from Hurd, W.B.: Origin, Birthplace, Nationality and language of the Canadian People, Table 7, p.43.

* British includes English, Irish, Scotch and other British.

** Germanic and Scandinavian includes Austrian, Dutch, German, Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish.

*** Slavic includes Czecho-Slovakian, Jugo-Slavian, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian only.

Table 9 page 17

Germans in the World, 1925.[x]

Country	Census date	Total Population	Estimated No. of Germans
Europe:			
Germany (incl.Saar)	16.6.25	63,225,000	62,500,000
Danzig (free city)	1.11.23	366,730	360,000
Austria	7.3.23	6,535,363	6,300,000
Switzerland	1.12.20	3,880,320	2,860,000
Lichtenstein	1911	16,716	12,000
Luxembourge	1.12.22	260,767	250,000
Czecho-Slovakia	15.5.21	13,613,172	3,500,000
Hungary	31.12.20	7,980,143	600,000
Jugo-Slavia	31. 1.21	12,017,323	700,000
Roumania	1.12.20	15,776,845	800,000
Poland	30. 9.21	27,184,836	1,350,000
Italy	1.12.21	38,835,824	300,000
France	6. 3.21	39,209,518	1,700,000
Belgium	31,12.20	7,465,782	150,000
Scandinavian*	1920-23	11,823,365	70,000
Baltic**	1922-25	4,981,730	236,000
Finnland	31.12.20	3,364,807	4,500
European Russia	28. 8.20	90,271,249	1,000,000
Great Britain	19. 6.21	42,767,530	50,000
Netherlands	31.12.20	6,865,314	80,000
Other Europe	1920-23	39,669,194	30,400
Asia:			
Transcaucasia	28. 8.20	5,683,767	20,000
Siberia	28. 8.20	8,682,326	100,000
Central Asia	1920	4,150,610	60,000
Other	1918-24	-	17,480
America:			
United States	1 . 1.20		10,000,000
Canada	1. 6.31	10,376,786	473,544
Mexico	30.11.21	13,887,080	5,000
Central America (inc.W.I.)	1920	11,313,137	2,000
Brazil	1. 9.20	30,635,605	600,000
Argentine	1. 1.24	9,548,092	130,000
Chile	31.12.20	3,753,799	30,000
Other South America	1918-20		13,800
Africa:			
British South Africa	3. 5.21	6,928,580	57,000
Other Africa	1921?		38,700
French Foreign Legion			31,000
Australia & Polynesia	1921		160,650

x Winkler, W.: Statistisches Handbuch fuer das Gesamte Deutschtum, 1927 Table I, pp.18-23.
* Scandinavian includes Denmark, Norway and Sweden.
** Baltic countries include Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia.

Table 10.

page 38

Immigration from Germany to United States, by decades 1820 - 1930.[x]

Period	Total Immigration	Immigration from Germany.	Percentage from Germany.
1820 - 30	151,824	7,729	5.1
1831 - 40	599,125	152,454	25.4
1841 - 50	1,713,251	434,626	25.4
1851 - 60	2,598,214	951,667	37.6
1861 - 70	2,314,824	787,468	34.1
1871 - 80	2,812,191	718,182	25.6
1881 - 90	5,246,613	1,452,970	27.7
1891 - 1900	3,687,564	505,152	13.7
1901 - 10	8,795,386	341,498	3.9
1911 - 20	5,735,811	143,945	2.5
1921 - 30	4,107,209	412,202	10.0
Total	37,762,012	5,907,893	

x U. S. Dept. of Labor: Report of Commissioner General of Immigration, 1930, p.202.

Table 11. page 39

German Immigration to United States: Racial Origin and Nationality Compared, decades 1901 - 1930.

	1901-10	1911-20	1921-30
Total German Origin*	698,061	345,683	530,235
Total from Germany**	341,498	143,945	412,202
German Origin from Germany*	296,481	121,512	399,777
Percentage from Germany of German Origin	86.7	84.4	97.1
Percentage of total German origin from Germany	42.3	35.2	75.4

* from Table 12.

** from Table 10.

Table 12.

German Aliens admitted to United States, by Country of last permanent residence, 1901-30, 5 year periods. x

Fiscal period	Total German Origin	Germany	Austria	Hungary	Switzer-land	Russia & Ukraine	Roumania	Jugo-Slavia	Poland	Canada	Others
1901-5	315,360	154,317	(103,811)		13,027	38,520	898	-	-	113	4,674
1906-10	382,701	142,164	(150,341)		13,137	51,565	865	-	-	9,992	14,637
1911-15	313,279	116,040	30,181	68,070	12,054	48,461	298	-	-	25,311	12,864
1916-20	32,404	5,472	442	508	4,111	121	53	106	-	17,747	3,818
1921-25	270,771	185,274	18,853	1,610	14,596	905	8,047	7,404	2,004	19,538	
1926-30	259,464	214,503	5,099	303	7,742	114	1,012	913	566	16,526	
Percentage Distribution:											
1901-05	100.0	48.93	(32.92)		4.13	12.22	.29			.03	1.48
1906-10	100.0	37.15	39.28		3.43	13.47	.23			2.61	3.83
1911-15	100.0	37.04	9.63	21.73	3.85	15.47	.10			.81	11.37
1916-20	100.0	16.89	1.36	1.57	12.69	.37	.16	.33	-	54.77	
1921-25	100.0	68.5	6.95	.595	5.4	.335	2.97	2.73	.74	7.25	
1926-30	100.0	83.5	1.61	.097	2.84	.0046	.653	.352	.218	6.05	

x a. Wilcox, : International Migrations, 1932, vol.I, p.463.
b. U.S. Dept. of Labor: Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1920-30.

Table 13. Chart 4a page 48

Destination of German Immigrants to Canada via Ocean Ports, Quinquennial periods 1907-11 to 1927-31. Totals and Percentages.

	Total	Maritime	Central	Prairie	Pacific
a. Total:					
1907-11	9,686	580	2,713	5,929	464
1912-16	17,653	986	4,405	11,675	587
1917-21	160	-	56	97	7
1922-26	11,734	39	1,762	9,808	125
1927-31	61,472	234	11,085	49,185	968
1907-31	100,705	1,839	20,021	76,694	2,151
b. Percentage Distribution:					
1907-11	100.0	6.0	28.0	61.2	4.8
1912-16	100.0	5.6	25.0	66.1	3.3
1917-21	100.0	-	35.0	60.6	4.4
1922-26	100.0	.3	15.0	83.6	1.1
1927-31	100.0	.4	18.0	80.0	1.6
1907-31	100.0	1.8	19.9	76.2	2.1

Table 14. page 49 (15)

Source of German Immigrants to Canada, 1927-31, by countries: Totals & Percentages x

Country	Total	Percentage
Total German Origin	77,963	100.0
Germany	19,361	24.7
Austria	4,753	6.1
Hungary	2,115	2.7
Switzerland	794	1.0
Russia & Ukraine	10,586	13.6
Czecho-Slovakia	1,516	2.0
Roumania & Jugo-Slavia	14,377	18.5
Poland	8,293	10.6
United States	14,299	18.4
Others	1,869	2.4

x Compiled from Dept. of Immigration and Colonization, Canada: Annual Reports 1907-31.

Table 15. Charts 4b, & 5a. page 51

Sex of Immigrants to Canada via Ocean Ports: Total and German, quinquennial periods 1907-11 to 1927-31.[x]

Period	Total	Male	Female	Children
A. Totals:				
a. Total via Ocean Ports:				
1907-11	675,870	394,758	157,694	123,418
1912-16	857,908	481,872	224,603	151,433
1917-21	206,830	69,886	93,216	43,728
1922-26	412,403	205,484	129,090	77,829
1927-31	583,222	303,103	158,037	122,082
1907-31	2,736,233	1,455,103	762,640	518,490
b. German via Ocean Ports:				
1907-11	9,686	4,624	2,392	2,670
1912-16	17,653	8,551	4,405	4,697
1917-21	160	38	85	37
1922-26	11,734	4,621	3,630	3,483
1927-31	61,472	31,720	15,795	13,957
1907-31	100,705	49,554	26,307	24,844
B. Percentage Distribution:				
a. Total via Ocean Ports:				
1907-11	100.0	58.4	23.3	18.3
1912-16	100.0	56.2	26.2	17.6
1917-21	100.0	33.8	45.1	21.1
1922-26	100.0	49.8	31.3	18.9
1927-31	100.0	52.0	27.1	20.9
Total%	100.0	53.2	27.9	18.9
b. German via Ocean Ports:				
1907-11	100.0	47.7	24.7	27.6
1912-16	100.0	48.4	25.0	26.6
1917-21	100.0	23.7	53.1	23.2
1922-26	100.0	39.3	30.9	29.7
1927-31	100.0	51.6	25.7	22.7
Total%	100.0	49.2	26.1	24.7

x Compiled from Department of Immigration and Colonization Annual Reports, 1907 to 1931.

Occupations of Immigrants to Canada via Ocean Ports, Total and German, quinquennial periods,1907-11 to 1927-31

Period	Total	Farming Class	Laboring Class	Female Domestic Servants	Mechanics	Trading and Clerical	Mining	Others
A. Totals:								
a.Total via Ocean Ports:								
1907-11	675,870	192,584	165,024	45,280	151,375	49,757	18,835	53,015
1912-16	857,908	220,765	274,723	70,683	137,596	54,772	15,638	83,731
1917-21	206,830	36,236	17,242	18,112	24,270	10,082	2,993	97,895
1922-26	412,403	160,924	37,819	47,687	47,225	19,324	6,838	92,586
1927-31	583,222	321,021	33,800	71,746	34,680	19,416	3,587	98,972
Totals	2,736,233	931,530	528,608	253,508	395,146	153,351	47,891	426,199
b.German via Ocean Ports:								
1907-11	9,686	3,873	1,648	481	1,659	579	519	927
1912-16	17,653	9,290	2,557	793	2,068	749	849	1,347
1917-21	160	39	14	12	6	3	-	86
1922-26	11,734	8,741	101	1,367	102	49	20	1,354
1927-31	61,472	42,699	712	6,152	2,370	1,078	20	8,441
Totals	100,705	64,642	5,032	8,805	6,205	2,458	1,408	12,155
B.Percentage Distribution:								
a.Total via Ocean Ports:								
1907-11	100.0	28.49	24.42	6.70	22.40	7.36	2.79	7.84
1912-16	100.0	25.73	32.02	8.24	16.04	6.38	1.83	9.76
1917-21	100.0	17.52	8.34	8.76	11.73	4.87	1.45	47.33
1922-26	100.0	39.02	19.17	11.56	11.45	4.69	1.66	22.45
1927-31	100.0	55.04	5.80	12.30	5.95	3.33	.62	16.96
Total%	100.0	34.04	19.33	9.26	14.44	5.60	1.75	15.58
b.German via Ocean Ports:								
1907-11	100.0	39.99	17.00	4.97	17.13	5.98	5.56	9.57
1912-16	100.0	52.63	14.48	4.49	11.72	4.24	4.81	7.63
1917-21	100.0	24.38	8.75	7.50	7.75	1.87		53.75
1922-26	100.0	74.49	.86	11.65	.87	.42	.17	11.54
1927-31	100.0	69.46	1.16	10.01	3.86	1.75	.03	13.73
Total%	100.0	64.19	5.00	8.74	6.16	2.44	1.40	12.07

x Compiled from Department of Immigration & Colonization Annual Reports - 1907 to 1931.

Table 17. page 54 (47)

Germans in Canada, Census years 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931.[x]

Geographical Division	1901	1911	1921	1931
Canada	310,501	393,320	294,636	473,544
Maritime Provinces	45,545	42,535	29,004	30,039
Central Provinces	210,242	198,468	135,213	184,622
Prairie Provinces	46,844	140,010	122,979	241,760
Pacific Province	7,870	12,297	7,440	17,123
Percentages:				
Canada	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Maritime Provinces	14.7	10.8	9.8	6.3
Central Provinces	67.7	50.5	45.9	39.1
Prairie Provinces	15.1	35.6	41.8	51.0
Pacific Province	2.5	3.1	2.5	3.6

x Census of Canada: 1921, vol.I, Table 23 -- for 1901, 1911, 1921.
: 1931, Bulletin XXII, table I -- for 1931.

Table 18. page

Rural and Urban Distribution of Germans in Canada, 1931.[x]

A. Rural and Urban Distribution:	Grand Total	Total Rural	Total Urban
Canada	(473,544)*	(298,623)*	(174,921)*
		298,128	174,416
Maritime	30,039	22,645	7,394
Central	184,622	88,769	95,853
Prairie	241,760	178,365	63,395
Pacific	17,123	9,349	7,774
Percentage Distribution:			
Canada	100.0	63.2	36.8
Maritime	100.0	75.4	24.6
Central	100.0	48.0	52.0
Prairie	100.0	73.7	26.3
Pacific	100.0	54.5	45.5

B.	Total Urban	Under 2,500	2,500-4,999	5,000-29,999	Over 30,000
B. Urban Distribution by size of Centres:					
Canada	174,921	44,749	12,388	34,953	82,326
Maritime	7,394	1,163	3,387	1,290	1,544
Central	95,853	18,414	6,281	26,915	44,243
Prairie	63,395	24,321	1,843	5,530	31,701
Pacific	7,774	851	877	1,218	4,828
Percentage Distribution:					
Canada	100.0	25.5	7.1	20.0	47.4
Maritime	100.0	15.8	45.8	17.4	21.0
Central	100.0	19.4	6.5	28.0	46.1
Prairie	100.0	38.4	2.9	8.7	50.0
Pacific	100.0	11.0	11.4	15.5	62.1

x Census of Canada, 1931: Bulletin XXI.
* These data from Bulletin XXXV. Time did not permit correcting the discrepancy.

Table 19.

Racial Origin of Mothers of German Children(having German Fathers,)1931.[x]

Geog.Division	Total	German	Austrian & Dutch	British	French	Scandin.	Slavic	Others.
Canada	11,411	8,196	119	2,196	296	174	272	158
Maritime Prov.	267	104	10	129	17	-	-	7
Central Provs.	3,399	1,996	32	1,100	169	14	42	46
Prairie Provs.	7,450	5,947	72	870	103	145	216	97
Pacific	295	149	5	97	7	15	14	8
Percentages:								
Canada	100.0	71.8	1.0	19.3	2.6	1.5	2.4	1.4
Maritime Prov.	100.0	39.0	3.7	48.3	6.4	-	-	2.6
Central Provs.	100.0	58.8	0.9	32.4	5.0	0.4	1.2,	1.3
Prairie Provs.	100.0	79.8	1.0	11.7	1.4	1.9	2.9	1.3
Pacific	100.0	50.5	1.7	32.9	2.4	5.1	4.7	2.7

x Canada Vital Statistics, 1931, Table 27.
The term "German" as used in this table, is that defined for census purposes. Children take the racial origin of their fathers.

Table 20.

Religions of the Germans in Canada, 1931, Total and Urban over 30,000.

	Total German	Roman Catholic	Lutheran	Mennonites*	Baptist & Evang.	Anglican	United Church**	Others
A. Religions by Geographic Regions:								
a. Totals:								
Canada	473,544	107,940	147,290	34,687	41,490	26,878	93,875	21,384
Maritime	30,039	1,412	4,694	---	6,293	8,495	8,566	579
Central	184,622	36,900	53,092	12,543	18,968	11,881	44,471	6,767
Prairie	241,760	65,746	84,989	21,967	15,313	4,670	36,325	12,750
Pacific	17,123	3,882	4,515	177	916	1,832	4,513	1,288
b. Percentage Distribution:								
Canada	100.0	22.8	31.1	7.3	8.7	5.7	19.9	4.5
Maritime	100.0	4.7	15.6	---	20.9	28.3	28.5	1.9
Central	100.0	20.0	28.7	6.8	10.2	6.5	24.1	3.7
Prairie	100.0	27.2	35.2	9.1	6.3	1.9	15.0	5.3
Pacific	100.0	22.7	26.4	1.0	5.3	10.7	26.4	7.5
B. Rural and Urban:								
a. Totals:								
Canada	473,544	107,940	147,290	34,687	41,490	26,878	93,875	21,384
Rural	298,623	65,004	95,362	29,828	26,986	13,973	54,237	13,133
Urban	174,921	42,936	51,928	4,859	14,514	12,905	39,538	8,251
Urban under 30	92,595	20,935	25,105	3,019	8,299	6,644	24,519	4,074
" 30-100	42,830	12,434	14,343	1,207	3,913	2,390	6,441	2,102
" over 100	39,496	9,567	12,480	633	2,292	3,871	8,578	2,075
b. Percentage Distribution:								
Rural	63.2	60.3	64.7	86.0	60.1	52.0	57.8	61.4
Urban	36.8	39.7	35.3	14.0	34.9	48.0	42.2	38.6
Urban under 30	19.5	19.3	17.1	8.7	20.0	24.7	26.2	19.1
" 30-100	9.1	11.5	9.7	3.5	9.4	7.9	6.9	9.8
" over 100	8.2	8.9	8.5	1.8	5.5	14.4	9.1	9.7

* Mennonites includes 1,430 Brethern and United Brethern.

** United Church includes 20,789 Presbyterians. The above compiled from Census of Canada, 1931, Bull.XXXV.

Table 21 page 86 (92)

Rural Population Growth in St. Peter's and St. Joseph's Colonies, Saskatchewan, compared with the Province of Saskatchewan[x]

Year	Saskatchewan		St. Peter's Colony*		St. Joseph's Colony**	
	No. of Persons	Increase per cent over preceding census	No. of Persons	Increase per cent over preceding census	No. of Persons	Increase per cent over preceding census
1906	257,763	-	3,397	-	1,486	-
1911	492,432	91.0	5,947	75.1	7,914	432.7
1916	647,835	31.6	6,786	14.1	10,585	33.8
1921	757,510	17.0	8,561	26.2	13,021	23.0
1926	820,738	8.3	9,713	13.5	14,320	10.0
1931	921,785	12.3	11,046	13.7	14,690	2.6

x Census of Canada, 1911, vol.II, Table 7; 1921, Vol.I, Table 16; 1931, Bull.No.XX. Census of Prairie Provinces, 1906, Table I; 1916, Part I, Table 1; 1926, Table 20.

* Includes the following rural municipalities in Saskatchewan: St. Peter (No.369), Humboldt (No.370), Bayne (No.371), and Three Lakes (No.400).

** Includes the following rural municipalities in Saskatchewan: Grandview (No.349), Mariposa (No.350), Progress (No.351), Hearts Hill (No.352), Reford (No.379), Tramping Lake (No.380), Grass Lake (No.381), and Eye Hill (No.382).

Table 22

page 87 (76)

Trends in the Rural Sex Ratio for St. Peter's and St. Joseph's Colonies, compared with the Province of Saskatchewan.x

Number of Males per Hundred Females

Year	Province of Saskatchewan	St.Peter's Colony*	St.Joseph's Colony**
		(Rural)	(Rural)
1906	146	146	191
1911	145	124	151
1916	128	118	135
1921	120	118	124
1926	119	121	123
1931	119	124	121

x Census of Canada, 1911, vol.II, Table 7; 1921, vol.I, Table 16; 1931, Vol.II, Table 21.
Census of Prairie Provinces, 1906, Introduction, Table V, and Table I; 1916, Table 1; 1926, Table 20.

* Includes the following rural municipalities in Saskatchewan: St. Peter (No.369),Humboldt (No.370), Bayne (No.371), and Three Lakes (No.400).

** Includes the following rural municipalities in Saskatchewan: Grandview (No.349), Mariposa (No.350), Progress (No.351), Hearts Hill (No.352), Reford (No.379), Tramping Lake (No.380), Grass Lake (No.381), and Eye Hill (No.382).

Table 23

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Principal Ethnic Origins of St. Peter's and St. Joseph's Colonies,[x] Saskatchewan

Ethnic Groups	1911		1921		1931	
	No. of Persons	Per cent	No. of Persons	Per cent	No. of Persons	Per cent
a. St. Peter's Colony - Rural areas*						
Total Population			8,561	100.0	11,046	100.0
British			901	10.5	957	8.7
German			4,711	55.0	5,900	53.4
Others			2,949	34.5	4,189	37.9
b. St. Peter's Colony - Urban areas**						
Total Population	948	100.0	2,571	100.0	2,884	100.0
British	466	49.2	1,111	43.2	1,063	36.9
German	364	38.4	906	35.2	1,191	41.3
Others	118	12.4	554	21.6	630	21.8
c. St. Joseph's Colony - Rural areas***						
Total Population			13,021	100.0	14,690	100.0
British			5,369	41.2	4,875	33.2
German			3,639	28.0	7,152	48.7
Others			4,013	30.8	2,663	18.1
d. St. Joseph's Colony - Urban areas****						
Total Population	205	100.0	786	100.0	1,573	100.0
British	124	60.5	432	55.0	470	29.9
German	45	22.0	148	18.8	611	38.8
Others	36	17.5	206	26.2	492	31.3

x Census of Canada, 1911, vol.II, Table 7; 1921, vol.I, Table 27; 1931 Bull.No.XXII.

* Data given for rural areas include St.Peter (No.369), Humboldt (No.370), Bayne (No.371), and Three Lakes (No.400) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

** Data given for urban areas include Humboldt, Bruno, Englefield, Lake Lenore, Muenster, and St. Gregor.

*** Data for rural areas include Granview (No.349), Mariposa (No.350), Progress (No.351), Hearts Hill (No.352), Reford (No.379), Tramping Lake (No.380), Grass Lake (No.381), and Eye Hill (No.382) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

**** Data for urban areas include Denzil, Hanel, Leipzig, Luseland, Primate, Revenue, Salvador, Tramping Lake. These towns and villages are all within St. Joseph's Colony.

Table 24

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Principal Ethnic Origins in Humboldt and Other Urban Centres of St. Peter's Colony, Saskatchewan[x]

Ethnic Groups	1911		1921		1931	
	No. of Persons	Per cent	No. of Persons	Per cent	No. of Persons	Per cent
a. Humboldt						
Total Population	859	100.0	1,822	100.0	1,899	100.0
British	460	53.6	1,002	55.0	923	48.6
German	287	33.4	391	21.5	513	27.0
Others	112	13.0	429	23.5	463	24.4
b. Other Urban*						
Total Population	89**	100.0	749	100.0	985	100.0
British	6	6.7	109	14.6	140	14.2
German	77	86.5	515	68.7	678	68.8
Others	6	6.8	125	16.7	167	17.0

x Census of Canada, 1911, vol.II, Table 7; 1921, vol.I, Table 27; 1931, Bull. No. XXII.

* Includes Bruno, Englefeld, Lake Lenore, Muenster, and St. Gregor.

** Includes Bruno and Muenster only.

Table 25

Trends in Size of Farms and in Land Utilization in St. Peter's and St. Joseph's Colonies, Saskatchewan.x

	1906	1916	1921	1926
St. Peter's Colony*- 40 miles east of Saskatoon				
Total Number of Farms.	934	1,370	1,747	1,656
Average size of farm. (Acres)	**	260	314	358
Improved Acreage per farm. (Acres)	**	108	131	172
Average field crop acreage. (Acres)	24	88	104	134
Wheat - Average Acreage	**	45	58	92
Wheat - per cent.	**	51	56	69
Other Crops - Average acreage	**	43	46	42
Other Crops - per cent.	**	49	44	31
St. Joseph's Colony*** - 70 miles west of Saskatoon				
Total Number of Farms	153	2,422	2,739	2,817
Average size of farm. (Acres)	**	340	403	426
Improved Acreage per farm. (Acres)	**	203	256	312
Average field crop acreage. (Acres)	15	150	189	227
Wheat - Average Acreage	**	105	137	180
Wheat - per cent.	**	70	73	79
Other Crops - Average acreage	**	45	52	47
Other Crops - per cent.	**	30	27	21

x Census of Prairie Provinces, 1906, Table 27; 1916, Part II, Table 25; 1926, Tables 97 and 98. Census of Canada, 1921, vol.V, Tables 81 and 82.

* Rural areas include: St. Peter (No.369), Humboldt (No.370), Bayne (No.371), and Three Lakes(No.400) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

** No data available.

*** Rural areas include: Grandview (No.349), Mariposa (No.350), Progress (No.351), Hearts Hill (No.352), Reford (No.379), Tramping Lake (No.380), Grass Lake (No.381), and Eye Hill (No.382) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

Table 26

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Size of Farms and Farm Tenure in St. Peter's and St. Joseph's Colonies, Saskatchewan.[x]

	St. Peter's Colony		St. Joseph's Colony	
	Total	Per Cent	Total	Per Cent
a. Size of Farms				
No. of Farm Holdings	1,656	-	2,817	-
1 - 160 Acres	505	33.0	526	18.7
161 - 320 acres	563	34.2	1,030	36.6
321 - 480 acres	305	18.6	551	19.6
481 - 640 acres	164	10.0	406	14.4
641 - 800 acres	65	3.9	144	5.1
800 - 960 acres	28	0.7	80	2.8
960 acres and over	26	0.6	80	2.8
b. Farm Tenure				
No. of Occupiers	1,656	-	2,817	-
Owners	1,208	73.0	1,726	61.0
Owner-tenants	331	20.0	611	22.0
Tenants	117	7.0	480	17.0

x Census of Prairie Provinces, 1926, Tables 95 and 97.
St. Peter's includes: Rural Municipalities Nos.369, 370, 371 and 400.
St. Joseph's includes: Rural Municipalities Nos.349, 350, 351, 352, 379, 380, 381 and 382.

Table 27 Charts 6a & 6b. page 95

Main Income and Expenditure Items of Saskatchewan Farm Families.[x]

	St. Peter's Colony		Davidson-Craik	
No. of Families	13		134	
Average No. of Adult Units*	4.6		3.5	
Income and Expenditure Items	**Average per Family**	**Per Cent**	**Average per Family**	**Per Cent**
	(dollars)		(Dollars)	
a. Total Income	1,814	100.0	2,252	100.0
Farm Receipts	1,489	82.1	1,188	52.8
Other Receipts	128	7.1	130	5.7
Increase in Operating debts**	158	8.7	198	8.8
Reduction in Inventory	39	2.1	736	32.7
b. Total Expenditure	1,789	100.0	2,294	100.0
Farm Expense	744	41.6	1,263	55.1
Cash Family Living	630	35.2	729	31.8
Investment Expenditure	203	11.4	30	1.3
Interest	212	11.8	272	11.8

x Data from surveys made by the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee. 1931 survey in Davidson-Craik; 1932 survey in St. Peter's colony.

* Adult Units is a device used to reduce family expenditures to a comparable basis. It is assumed here that two children under 17 years of age are equivalent to one adult as regards family living costs.

** Increased Operating Indebtedness, such as unpaid taxes, unpaid interest for current year, and bills owed for groceries and health, etc., are included here under income for the sake of balancing this item with total expenditure.

Table 28. Chart 6c. page 97

Total Living Expenditure per Family.[x]

	St. Peter's Colony		Davidson-Craik	
No. of Families	13		134	
Average No. of Adult Units*	4.6		3.5	
Items of Family Living	**Average per Family**	**Per cent**	**Average per Family**	**Per cent**
	(dollars)		(dollars)	
a. Total Family Living	1,144	100.0	1,143	100.0
Cash Living	630	55.1	729	63.8
Farm Contributions	514	44.9	414	36.2
b. Analysis of Cash Living for Six Main Items.				
Food	185	16.2	242	21.2
Clothing	227	19.9	111	9.7
Household Operation	37	3.2	158	13.8
Automobile	34	3.0	30	2.6
Advancement Goods	92	8.0	123	10.8
Health	55	4.8	65	5.7
c. Analysis of Farm Contributions for Three Main Items.				
Rent (10 per cent. of value of house)	227	19.8	185	16.2
Livestock	201	7.5)	229	20.0
Other Farm Produce	201	17.6)		

x Data from surveys made by the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee. 1931 survey in Davidson-Craik; 1932 survey in St. Peter's colony.

* Adult Unit is a device used to reduce family expenditure to a comparable basis. It is assumed here that two children under 17 years of age are equivalent to one adult as regards family living costs.

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Table 29 page 114 (116)

The German Press in Canada: 1933.

A. Name and Circulation:[x]	Address	Year Founded	Circulation	Denomination	Times published
1. Der Courier	Regina	1907	11,800	Secular	Weekly
2. Der Nordwesten	Winnipeg	1889	9,000	"	"
3. St. Peter's Bote	Muenster	1904	1,200	Rom.Cath.	"
4. Der Bote	Rosthern	1923	2,000	Mennonite	"
5. Die Post	Steinbach	1913	1,500	"	"
6. Mennotische Rundschau	Winnipeg	1877	4,900	"	"
7. Christlicher Jugenfreund	Winnipeg	—	3,000	"	bi-"
8. Der Mitarbeiter	Gretna	—	500	"	Monthly
9. Werden und Wachsen	Winnipeg	—	500	"	"

B. Percentage Analysis of Contents:[xx]	Secular*	Catholic**	Mennonite***
Editorial	1.8	-	-
News:			
Canada	18.6	12.2	27.7
United States	4.6	1.0	3.5
Other	27.8	16.8	15.2
Total News	51.0	30.0	46.4
Agricultural	6.3	1.1	1.0
Cultural:			
Family	2.9	13.9	-
Religious	2.2	24.6	16.2
Literary	15.8	10.8	18.5
Group	-	4.5	8.4
	20.9	53.8	33.1
Advertising	15.2	7.7	15.7
Miscellaneous	4.8	7.4	3.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0

x Information obtained from German Consulate-General, Montreal.
xx Unweighted percentages. The analysis is in any case only approximate.
* Der Courier and Der Nordwesten: one number of each, Summer, 1933.
** St. Peter's Bote: 4 numbers; one early number for each quarter-year, i.e. January, April, July, October, 1933.
***Die Post (Steinbach):) 4 numbers, early number from each
Der Bote (Rosthern):) quarter, 1933.
Mennonitische Rundschau: 3 numbers, one number each from months of April, May, June, 1934.

Table 30. page 125.

German Population in Montreal and Vicinity, 1871, 1901, 1931.[x]

	1871	1901	1931
Area:*			
Total (Montreal only)	1,345	2,669	5,260
Immigrant	610	604	1,640
Central	247**	751***	852
South	188	576	317
North	11	204	1,216
East	289	519	480
West		15	755
Westmount		129	382
Verdun		8	464
Outremont		2	178
Mount Royal, Town of			49
Percentage Distribution:			
Total (Montreal only)	100.0	100.0	100.0
Immigrant	45.3	22.6	31.2
Central	18.4	28.1	16.2
South	14.0	21.6	6.0
North	.8	7.7	23.1
East	21.5	19.4	9.1
West		.6	14.4

x Census of Canada: 1871, vol. table ; 190
1901, vol. table ;
1931. Population Bulletins XXII and XXXV.

* The areas include approximately the territories of the present wards:
Immigrant: Cremazie, St. Lawrence, St. Louis.
Central: St. Andrew, St. George.
South: St. Anne, Ste. Cunegonde, St. Gabriel, St. Henry, St. Joseph, St. Paul.
North: Ahuntsic, Delormier, Laurier, Montcalm, Rosemount, St.Denis, St. Edward, St. Jean, St. Jean Baptiste, St. Michel, Villeray.
East: Bourget, Hochelaga, Lafontaine, Maisonneuve, Mercier, Papineau, Prefontaine, St. Eusebe, St. James, St. Marie, Ville Marie.
N.D.G.: Notre Dame de Graces and Mount Royal wards.
Westmount: City of Westmount only.
Verdun: City of Verdun only.
Outremont: City of Outremont only.
Mount Royal: Town of Mount Royal.

** Includes St. Joseph's ward and probable St. Cunegonde, St.Henry and Westmount.

***Includes St. Joseph's ward and possibly Westmount. In 1901 all this was St. Antoine ward. Westmount was formerly Cote St. Antoine.

Table 31. pages 129, 130, 131, 174.

Immigration of 63 Heads of German Families in Montreal.[x]

	Total German	Reich German	Ausland German.
Number of cases	63	27	36
a. Year of Arrival:			
Before 1927	10	3	7
1927	13	9	4
1928	14	6	8
1929	14	5	9
1930	12	4	8
b. Age on Arrival:			
Under 20	2	2	-
20-29	23	7	16
30-39	32	14	18
40-49	6	4	2
c. Country of Birth:			
Germany	24	24	-
Hungary	5	-	5
Roumania	23	-	23
Jugo-Slavia	4	-	4
Czecho-Slovakia	3	1	2
Other	4	2	2
d. Birthplace: Rural or urban:			
Rural	42	8	34
Urban	21	19	2
e. Reasons for Emigration:			
Economic	50	17	33
Taxation	7	1	6
Political	18	3	15
Adventure	5	3	2
Personal	10	9	1
To get to U.S.A.	7	4	3
f. Destination:			
Montreal	17	15	2
Other Central	10	7	3
Prairie	30	3	27
Not stated	6	2	4
g. Means of Passage:			
Own	33	23	10
Borrowed	28	3	25
Not stated	2	1	1
h. Cash on Arrival:			
Under $50	17	-	17
$50-$99	12	3	9
$100-$500	20	12	8
$500-$999	4	4	-
$1,000 & over	5	4	1
Not stated	5	4	1

x Data compiled from field schedules taken as at Dec. 31, 1933.

Table 32. pages 135,136.

Relation Between Present and First Residence.

Location of Present residence	Immigrant	Central	Location of First Residence: South	North	Verdun	Elsewhere	Not Stated	Total
a. Total Germans:								
Immigrant	31	1	1	2	-	-	2	37
Central	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	4
South	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
North	2	-	-	2	-	1	2	7
Verdun	3	-	2	-	3	1	2	11
Elsewhere	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
	38	4	5	4	3	2	7	63
b. Reich Germans:								
Immigrant	2	1	-	2	-	-	1	6
Central	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	4
South	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	5
Verdun	3	-	2	-	3	1	2	11
Elsewhere	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	7	4	2	4	3	2	5	27
c. Ausland Germans:								
Immigrant	29	-	1	-	-	-	1	31
Central	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
North	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Verdun	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Elsewhere	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	31	-	3	-	-	-	2	36

Table 33. Page 137

Duration of Residences Outside and in Montreal.

	Total German	Reich German	Ausland German
Number of cases	63	27	36
a. Years outside Montreal:			
Less than 1 year	23	2	21
1 and less than 2 years	10	-	10
2 and less than 3 years	3	2	1
3 and less than 4 years	3	1	2
6 years	1	1	-
Not stated	23	21	2
b. Years in Montreal:			
Less than 3 years	3	1	2
3 and less than 4 years	14	5	9
4 and less than 5 years	18	8	10
5 and less than 6 years	9	4	5
6 and less than 7 years	15	9	6
7 years and over	4	-	4
c. Duration of Recorded Residences in Montreal:			
1. Number of residences:			
Under 6 months	99	25	74
6 months & under 1 year	63	13	50
1 year and under 2	100	25	75
2 years and under 3	29	17	12
3 years and over	20	15	5
Total Recorded	311	95	216
2. Percentage Distribution:			
6 and under 12 months	29.7	18.6	35.2
1 year and under 2	47.1	35.7	52.8
2 years and under 3	13.7	24.3	8.5
3 years and over	9.5	21.4	3.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0
d. Time at Present Residence:			
Under 6 months	3	-	3
6 months and under 1 year	20	7	13
1 year and under 2	25	9	16
2 years and under 3	4	2	2
3 years and over	11	9	2

Table 34. Page 138

Education and Occupational Background and Intention.

	Total German	Reich German	Ausland German
Number of cases	63	27	36
a. Education of Husband:			
Community School	33	-	33
Public School (incl. High School)	30	27	3
Apprenticeship	41	22	19
Technical	14	14	-
Commercial	1	1	-
University	2	1	1
b. Occupations in Europe:			
Farming	15	-	15
Unskilled	1	-	1
Semi-skilled	4	2	2
Skilled	39	23	16
Other	2	1	1
Not stated	2	1	1
c. Intention to follow:			
To follow	38	25	13
Not to follow	5	1	4
Indefinite	2	1	1
Not stated	18	-	18
d. Usefulness of previous training:			
Useful	42	25	17
Not useful	9	1	8
Not stated	12	1	11

Table 35 Page 139, 140

Initial Occupational Adjustments in Canada.

	Total German	Reich German	Ausland German
Number of Cases	63	27	36
a. Time Until first Employment:			
Under 1 month	40	19	21
1 month and under 2	9	4	5
2 months and under 3	5	-	5
3 months and under 6	5	-	5
6 months and under 1 year	2	2	-
Not stated	2	2	-
b. Duration of First Job:			
Under 1 month	11	5	6
1 month and under 2	16	7	9
2 months and under 3	7	2	5
3 months and under 6	10	3	7
6 months and under 1 year	8	3	5
1 year and under 2	2	1	1
3 years and over	2	1	1
Still	5	3	2
Not stated	2	2	-
c. Time until first at trade:			
Under 1 month	13	11	2
1 month and under 2	3	3	-
2 months and under 3	1	1	-
3 months and under 6	5	1	4
6 months and under 1 year	5	4	1
1 year and under 2	5	2	3
3 years and over	2	-	2
Never	12	5	7
Not stated	17	-	17

Table 36. page 140

Occupations worked at and Main Occupations in Canada.

	Farming	Old Country Occupation: Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled	Other	Not Stated	TOTAL
A. Occupations Worked at in Canada:							
a. Total German:							
Farming	6	-	2	7	-	1	16
Unskilled	14	1	2	15	1	2	35
Semi-skilled	10	1	2	18	2	1	34
Skilled	1	-	1	29	1	1	33
Other	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Total	16	1	4	39	2	2	63
b. Reich Germans:							
Farming	-	-	1	1	-	1	3
Unskilled	-	-	-	4	-	1	4
Semi-skilled	-	-	1	7	1	1	9
Skilled	-	-	1	20	-	1	21
Other	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Total	-	-	2	33	1	1	27
c. Ausland Germans:							
Farming	6	-	1	6	-	-	13
Unskilled	14	1	2	11	1	1	30
Semi-skilled	10	1	1	11	1	-	24
Skilled	1	-	-	9	1	-	11
Total	15	1	2	16	1	1	36
B. Main Occupation in Canada:							
a. Total German:							
Unskilled	8	-	2	4	-	1	15
Semi-skilled	6	1	1	3	1	-	12
Skilled	1	-	1	30	1	1	34
Other	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Total	15	1	4	39	2	2	63
b. Reich Germans:							
Semi-skilled	-	-	1	2	1	-	4
Skilled	-	-	1	19	-	1	21
Other	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Total	-	-	2	23	1	1	27
c. Ausland Germans:							
Unskilled	8	-	2	4	-	1	15
Semi-skilled	6	1	-	1	-	[illegible]	8
Skilled	1	-	-	11	1	-	18
Total	15	1	2	16	1	1	36

Table 37. Page 140

Methods of Obtaining and Duration of Employment.

	Total German	Reich German	Ausland German
Number of cases	63	27	33
a. Methods of Obtaining Employment:			
Employment Services	13	5	8
Answering advertisements	7	5	2
Formal application	4	2	2
Search	44	14	30
Through acquaintances & recommendations	31	13	18
Own Business	5	4	1
b. Duration of Recorded Jobs:			
1. Number of Jobs:			
Under 6 months	149	40	109
6 months to 1 year	53	28	25
1 year to 2	28	16	12
2 years to 3	13	7	6
3 years and over	32	18	14
2. Percentage Distribution of Jobs over 6 months duration:			
6 months to 1 year	42.1	40.6	43.8
1 year to 2	22.2	23.2	21.1
2 years to 3	10.3	10.1	10.6
3 years and over	25.4	26.1	24.5
c. Time Since last at Trade:			
Under one month	3	2	1
1 month and under 2	-	-	-
2 months and under 3	-	-	-
3 months and under 6	1	-	1
6 months and under 1 year	2	1	1
1 year and under 2	1	1	-
2 years and under 3	1	1	-
3 years and over	1	1	-
Still	25	16	9
Never	12	5	7
Not Stated	17	-	17

Table 38. Chart 7 page 143

Percentage of Employment of 63 heads of German Families in Montreal, 1933.[x]
Total German, Reich German, Ausland German and Trade Unions for Quebec

		Total number of samples in Canada			Percentages of Employment[xx]			
		Total German	Reich German	Ausland German	Total German	Reich German	Ausland German	Trade Unions for Quebec.[xx]
1927	J	10	3	7	50	100.0	28.5	92.2
	F	10	3	7	50	100.0	28.5	92.8
	M	11	3	8	45.4	100.0	25.0	93.5
	A	11	3	8	72.6	100.0	62.5	90.7
	M	13	4	9	76.9	100.0	66.7	91.2
	J	15	6	9	80.0	100.0	66.7	96.0
	J	17	7	10	88.3	100.0	80.0	94.8
	A	17	7	10	100.0	100.0	100.0	94.6
	S	20	10	10	95.0	90.0	100.0	95.2
	O	21	11	10	90.4	81.7	100.0	94.4
	N	23	12	11	91.3	83.3	100.0	92.2
	D	23	12	11	78.3	83.3	72.7	90.7
1928	J	23	12	11	70.0	83.3	54.5	92.1
	F	23	12	11	73.9	83.3	63.6	90.9
	M	23	12	11	87.0	91.7	80.8	93.0
	A	27	13	14	88.9	100.0	78.8	93.8
	M	27	13	14	92.6	100.0	84.7	95.2
	J	31	14	17	100.0	100.0	94.2	94.4
	J	34	16	18	97.1	93.8	100.0	97.4
	A	35	16	19	94.0	93.8	94.8	96.0
	S	35	16	19	91.3	93.8	89.5	96.5
	O	35	16	19	91.3	87.5	84.3	94.3
	N	36	17	19	83.3	88.2	79.0	93.7
	D	37	18	19	78.5	88.8	68.5	99.1
1929	J	37	18	19	84.0	83.3	84.3	92.1
	F	37	18	19	86.5	94.4	79.0	91.0
	M	37	18	19	84.0	94.4	73.7	92.1
	A	38	18	20	84.3	94.4	75.0	90.7
	M	42	18	24	93.0	100.0	80.0	93.2
	J	45	18	27	87.6	100.0	77.8	97.1
	J	45	18	27	95.5	100.0	89.0	95.2
	A	46	18	28	96.0	100.0	89.2	95.4
	S	48	20	28	91.7	95.0	89.2	96.1
	O	48	20	28	89.8	95.0	82.3	92.2
	N	50	22	28	88.0	95.5	82.3	86.4
	D	51	23	28	86.5	95.7	78.6	85.5
1930	J	51	23	28	78.4	95.7	64.3	88.7
	F	51	23	28	78.4	100.0	60.7	87.9
	M	51	23	28	80.4	100.0	64.3	90.0
	A	53	24	29	79.4	91.7	69.0	91.7
	M	55	24	31	76.4	83.3	71.0	85.2
	J	60	25	35	78.4	80.0	71.5	82.5

Table 38 (Cont'd.) Chart 7 page 143

		Total number of samples in Canada			Percentages of Employment			
		Total German	Reich German	Ausland German	Total German	Reich German	Ausland German	Trade Unions for Quebec.
1930	J	61	26	35	70.6	73.1	68.6	88.5
	A	63	27	36	77.7	77.7	77.7	87.7
	S	63	27	36	73.0	74.1	71.2	87.3
	O	63	27	36	76.2	74.1	77.7	85.5
	N	63	27	36	71.4	77.7	68.6	80.8
	D	63	27	36	73.0	85.2	63.9	77.2
1931	J	63	27	36	71.4	81.5	63.9	83.9
	F	63	27	36	74.6	77.7	71.2	84.3
	M	63	27	36	74.6	81.5	69.4	86.0
	A	63	27	36	77.7	92.6	68.6	85.1
	M	63	27	36	73.0	88.9	60.2	79.5
	J	63	27	36	73.0	92.6	58.4	80.0
	J	63	27	36	71.4	96.3	52.8	83.0
	A	63	27	36	73.0	96.3	55.6	83.1
	S	63	27	36	74.6	88.9	63.9	77.3
	O	63	27	36	71.4	85.2	60.2	76.4
	N	63	27	36	70.0	77.7	63.9	77.9
	D	63	27	36	65.0	77.7	55.6	71.0
1932	J	63	27	36	60.4	70.4	52.8	71.6
	F	63	27	36	63.5	70.4	58.4	76.9
	M	63	27	36	65.0	77.7	55.6	76.5
	A	63	27	36	70.0	77.7	63.9	71.9
	M	63	27	36	76.2	85.2	69.4	73.7
	J	63	27	36	74.6	81.5	69.4	72.9
	J	63	27	36	65.0	77.7	55.6	73.8
	A	63	27	36	63.5	74.1	55.6	75.0
	S	63	27	36	71.4	88.9	58.4	76.4
	O	63	27	36	66.8	81.5	55.6	73.4
	N	63	27	36	55.6	77.7	38.9	73.4
	D	63	27	36	50.8	74.1	33.3	69.1
1933	J	63	27	36	58.8	85.2	38.9	73.1
	F	63	27	36	66.8	88.9	50.0	72.5
	M	63	27	36	70.0	85.2	58.4	72.7
	A	63	27	36	65.0	81.5	52.8	74.3
	M	63	27	36	76.2	88.9	68.6	75.0
	J	63	27	36	81.0	88.9	75.0	73.8
	J	63	27	36	70.0	81.5	60.2	74.0
	A	63	27	36	74.6	77.7	71.2	77.4
	S	63	27	36	71.4	81.5	63.9	75.9
	O	63	27	36	68.4	81.5	58.4	74.9
	N	63	27	36	57.2	74.1	44.4	77.2
	D	63	27	36	54.0	74.1	38.9	76.8

x Compiled from Field Schedules.

xx Department of Labour, Canada: The Labor Gazette, June, 1928, p.645
June 1931, p.694
June, 1934. p.552

Table 39. page 145

Months of Employment during 1933 by Main Occupation in Canada

Occupation	Months employed 1933					
	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	Total
Total German:						
Unskilled	1	2	4	3	5	15
Semi-skilled	1	3	5	-	3	12
Skilled	1	2	-	10	21	34
Other	1	-	-	-	1	2
Total	4	7	9	13	30	63
Reich German:						
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-
Semi-skilled	-	-	2	-	2	4
Skilled	-	1	-	5	15	21
Other	1	-	-	-	1	2
Total	1	1	2	5	18	27
Ausland German:						
Unskilled	1	2	4	3	5	15
Semi-skilled	1	3	3	-	1	8
Skilled	1	1	-	5	6	13
Total	3	6	7	8	12	36

Table 40, Page 147 ff.

Earnings of Heads of 63 German Families by Months employed, 1933.

Earnings of Head	No. of cases	Months employed 1933: 0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12
a. Total Germans:						
Under $100	5	3	2	-	-	-
$100-499	23	1	5	6	5	6
$500-999	24	-	-	3	8	13
$1,000-1,499	6	-	-	-	-	6
$1,500-1,999	3	-	-	-	-	3
$2,000 and over	2	-	-	-	-	2
	63	4	7	9	13	30
b. Reich Germans:						
Under $100	1	1	-	-	-	-
$100-499	1	-	1	-	-	-
$500-999	14	-	-	2	5	7
$1,000-1,499	6	-	-	-	-	6
$1,500-1,999	3	-	-	-	-	3
$2,000 and over	2	-	-	-	-	2
	27	1	1	2	5	18
c. Ausland Germans:						
Under $100	4	2	2	-	-	-
$100-499	22	1	4	6	5	6
$500-999	10	-	-	1	3	6
	36	3	6	7	8	12

Table 41a — Chart 8 — page 147 ff

Sources of Income of 63 German Families in Montreal, 1933. Average per Family by $500 Expenditure Groups.

Expenditure Group	Total Receipts	No. of cases	Head	Other Family	Board	Invest.& Pension	Debt Inc.	Bank Dec.	Relief	Other
Total German:										
0-499	440	5	248	20	16	-	26	-	126	4
500-999	690	33	375	108	58	-	29	14	99	7
1000-1499	1175	16	836	196	56	-	23	38	7	19
1500-1999	1688	6	1118	100	317	3	-	117	-	33
2000-2500	2200	3	2067	-	-	-	-	-	-	133
Total	960	63	633	117	76	-	23	28	64	19
Reich Germans:										
500-999	750	9	549	37	33	-	29	1	76	25
1000-1499	1214	9	999	83	20	-	36	35	8	33
1500-1999	1688	6	1118	100	317	3	-	117	-	33
2000-2500	2200	3	2067	-	-	-	-	-	-	133
Total	1275	27	994	62	88	1	22	38	28	42
Ausland Germans:										
0-499	440	5	248	20	16	-	26	-	126	4
500-999	667	24	310	134	67	-	29	18	108	1
1000-1499	1123	7	626	341	102	-	6	43	5	-
Total	724	36	363	159	66		24	21	90	1

Table 41b

Chart 8

Sources of Income of 63 German Families in Montreal, 1933. Percentage Distribution of Items by $500 Expenditure Groups.

Expenditure Group	Total Receipts	No. of cases	Head	Other Family	Board & Lodgers	Invest.& Pension	Debt Inc.	Bank Dec.	Relief	Other
Total Germans:										
0-499	100%	5	56.4	4.6	3.6	-	5.9	-	28.6	.9
500-999	100%	33	54.4	15.6	8.3	-	4.2	2.0	14.4	1.1
1000-1499	100%	16	71.1	16.7	4.8	-	2.0	3.2	.6	1.6
1500-1999	100%	6	66.2	5.9	18.8	.2	-	6.9	-	2.0
2000-2499	100%	3	94.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.0
Total	100%	63	65.9	12.2	7.9	-	2.4	2.9	6.7	2.0
Reich Germans:										
500-999	100%	9	73.2	4.9	4.4	-	3.9	.1	10.2	3.3
1000-1499	100%	9	82.3	6.8	1.6	-	3.0	2.9	.7	2.7
1500-1999	100%	6	66.2	5.9	18.8	.2	-	6.9	-	2.0
2000-2499	100%	3	94.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.0
Total	100%	27	78.0	4.8	6.9	.1	1.7	3.0	2.2	3.3
Ausland Germans:										
0-499	100%	5	56.4	4.6	3.6	-	5.9	-	28.6	.9
500-999	100%	24	46.5	20.1	10.0	-	4.3	2.7	16.2	.2
1000-1499	100%	7	55.7	30.4	9.1	-	.5	3.8	.5	-
Total	100%	36	50.1	22.1	9.1	-	3.3	2.9	12.4	.1

Table 42a

Items of Expenditure of 63 German Families in Montreal, 1933. Average per Family for $500 Expenditure Group.

Expenditure Group	Total Receipts	Expenditure	Food	Rent	House	Clothing	Health	Transp.	Adv. goods	Invest.	Other
Total German:											
0-499	440	449	203	126	40	39	7	16	18	-	-
500-999	690	700	254	168	71	59	28	26	41	26	27
1000-1499	1,175	1,183	382	203	136	121	37	53	83	124	44
1500-1999	1,688	1,696	432	402	201	144	104	53	109	185	66
2000-2500	2,200	2,193	493	283	173	137	33	268	201	569	33
Total	960	969	311	202	102	85	36	46	64	90	33
Reich Germans:											
500-999	750	755	284	200	96	67	15	25	54	4	10
1000-1499	1,215	1,216	434	183	153	115	39	37	90	123	42
1500-1999	1,688	1,696	432	402	201	144	104	53	109	185	66
2000-2500	2,200	2,193	494	284	173	137	33	268	201	570	33
Total	1,275	1,278	390	248	147	108	45	62	95	147	36
Ausland Germans:											
0-499	440	449	203	126	40	39	7	16	18	-	-
500-999	667	679	242	156	62	57	32	26	36	35	33
1000-1499	1,123	1,140	316	229	114	129	34	72	73	126	47
Total	734	737	251	187	69	69	29	34	41	48	31

Table 42b | Chart 9 | page 150 ff

Items of Expenditure of 63 German Families in Montreal, 1933. Percentage distribution per family by $500 Expenditure Groups.

Expenditure Group	Av. Adult units per family	Expenditure	Food	Rent	House	Clothing	Health	Transp.	Adv. Goods	Invest.	Other
Total German:											
0-499	2.3	100%	45.2	28.0	8.9	8.7	1.5	3.6	4.1	-	-
500-999	2.6	100%	36.2	24.0	10.2	8.5	4.0	3.7	5.8	3.8	3.8
1000-1499	2.9	100%	32.3	17.2	11.3	10.3	3.1	4.4	7.0	10.5	3.7
1500-1999	2.8	100%	25.5	23.7	11.8	8.5	6.2	3.1	6.4	10.9	3.9
2000-2500	2.6	100%	22.5	12.9	7.9	6.2	1.5	12.3	9.2	26.0	1.5
Total	2.7	100%	32.1	20.8	10.6	8.8	3.7	4.7	6.6	9.3	3.4
Reich Germans:											
500-999	2.7	100%	37.6	26.5	12.7	8.9	2.0	3.3	7.2	.5	1.3
1000-1499	2.8	100%	35.7	15.0	12.6	9.5	3.2	3.0	7.4	10.1	3.5
1500-1999	2.8	100%	25.5	23.7	11.8	8.5	6.2	3.1	6.4	10.9	3.9
2000-2500	2.6	100%	22.5	12.9	7.9	6.2	1.5	12.3	9.2	26.0	1.5
Total	2.7	100%	30.5	19.4	11.5	8.5	3.5	4.9	7.4	11.5	2.8
Ausland Germans:											
0-499	2.3	100%	45.2	28.0	8.9	8.7	1.5	3.6	4.1	-	-
500-999	2.6	100%	35.6	23.0	9.1	8.4	4.7	3.8	5.3	5.2	4.9
1000-1499	3.1	100%	27.7	20.1	10.0	11.3	3.0	6.3	6.4	11.1	4.1
Total	2.6	100%	33.6	22.6	9.5	9.9	3.2	5.0	5.6	7.1	3.5

Table 43. Page 151, 153

Size of Families and Number of Persons in Home.

House Space and Equipment, 1933.

	Total German	Reich German	Ausland German
Number of cases	63	27	36
a. Number of Children in family:			
None	8	4	4
1	22	11	11
2	22	8	14
3	8	2	6
4	3	2	1
b. Number of Children in father's family:			
1	4	2	2
2	8	4	4
3	15	6	9
4	10	4	6
5	8	4	4
6 and over	18	7	11
c. Number of Persons in Home, 1933:			
2	10	3	7
3	25	12	13
4	22	10	12
5	5	2	3
6	1	-	1
d. No. of Rooms used by Family:			
1	15	1	14
2	6	2	4
3	11	2	9
4	11	9	2
5	16	11	5
6	3	2	1
Not Stated	1	-	1
e. Number of Bedrooms used by Family:			
1	27	6	21
2	27	16	11
3	8	5	3
Not Stated	1	-	1
f. Household Equipment:			
Toilet	63	27	36
Bath	59	25	34
Radio	22	19	3
Sewing Machine	27	13	14
Piano	2	2	-
Gramaphone	23	10	13
Washing Machine	6	5	1
Vacuum Cleaner	6	6	-
Telephone	17	9	8
Car	4	4	-

Table 44. Pages 157, 158.

Social Contacts of German Immigrants.

	Total German	Reich German	Ausland German
No. of cases	63	27	36
a. Religion:			
Roman Catholic	23	8	15
Lutheran	40	19	21
b. Church Attendance:			
German Roman Catholic	13	1	12
Other Roman Catholics	2	-	2
St. Paul's Lutheran	15	13	2
St. John's Lutheran	9	2	7
Christ Evangelical	16	4	12
English Protestant	4	3	1
Other (mostly R. C.)	9	-	9
c. Organizational Participation:			
German Society	2	2	-
Harmonia Club	18	17	1
Swabian-German Club	9	-	9
German-Hungarian Club	1	-	1
German League	4	3	1
Other	5	4	1
d. Initial Contacts:			
Clergyman	27	11	16
German Club	11	11	-
Employment Agency	10	5	5
Other	2	1	1
Not Stated	23	8	15
e. Acquaintances in Group:			
None	2	2	-
Few	14	7	7
Fair number	7	5	2
Many	35	8	27
Not Stated	5	5	-
f. Acquaintances outside Group:			
None	1	1	-
Few	23	6	17
Fair number	9	5	4
Many	14	6	8
Not stated	15	9	6

Table 45. Page 168

Progress, Estimation of Canada, and Values.

	Total German	Reich German	Ausland German
Number of cases	63	27	36
a. Gained or Lost by Coming to Canada:			
Gained	20	13	7
Lost	22	7	15
Neither	18	4	14
Undecided	3	3	-
b. Intention re Naturalization:			
Naturalized	3	1	2
Intend to become	41	16	25
Indefinite	11	5	6
Do Not Intend to become	5	3	2
Not Stated	3	2	1
c. What do You Think of Canada:			
A Country With a Future	7	6	1
Easier to Make Living than in Europe	17	7	10
Satisfactory when employment	24	11	13
Wouldn't return or exchange	6	3	3
Want to return to Europe	1	1	-
Not stated	12	3	9
d. Money Sent to Europe:			
Less than $100	12	7	5
$100-$499	26	6	20
$500 and over	6	1	5
Not stated (or none)	19	13	6
e. What Would You Do if More Money:			
Improve standard of living	6	4	2
Buy a farm or a home	30	6	24
Start own business	14	9	5
Invest, etc.	4	3	1
Visit Europe	4	3	1
Return permanently to Europe	3	1	2
Other	4	3	1
Not stated	6	4	2

Table 46.

Page 168

Estimation of Progress and Intention re Citizenship.

	Estimation of Progress				
	Gained	Lost	Neither	Undecided	Total
A. Period of Arrival:					
Before 1924 a. Total:	2	-	-	-	2
1924-1928	12	9	13	2	33
1929-1933	6	13	5	1	25
	20	22	18	3	63
b. Reich Germans:					
Before 1924	2	-	-	-	2
1924-1928	8	4	3	2	17
1929-1933	3	3	1	1	8
	13	7	4	3	27
c. Ausland Germans:					
1924-1928	4	5	10	-	19
1929-1933	3	10	4	-	17
	7	15	14	-	36
B. Intention to Become Naturalized:					
a. Total German:	1	-	2	-	
Naturalized	1	-	2	-	3
Intend to become	10	16	12	3	41
Indefinite	8	-	3	-	11
Do not intend	1	3	1	-	5
Not stated	-	3	-	-	3
	20	22	18	3	63
b. Reich German:					
Naturalized	1	-	-	-	1
Intend to become	7	4	2	3	16
Indefinite	4	-	1	-	5
Do not intend	1	1	1	-	3
Not stated	-	2	-	-	2
	13	7	4	3	27
c. Ausland German:					
Naturalized	-	-	2	-	2
Intend to become	3	12	10	-	25
Indefinite	4	-	2	-	6
Do not intend	-	2	-	-	2
Not stated	-	1	-	-	1
	7	15	14	-	36

Canada: Total and Percentages of the Gainfully Employed, by Main Industries, 1881-1931[x].

Occupation	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Total Occupation:						
All Industries	1,377,585	1,606,369	1,782,832	2,723,634	3,173,169	3,927,591
Agriculture	662,266	735,207	716,860	933,735	1,041,618	1,128,188
Building Trades	230,875	185,599	213,307	246,201	284,679	256,282
Manufacturing	173,436	237,319	283,897	493,216	555,758	650,533
Servicing Industries:						
Domestic and Personal Service	78,184	129,690	155,948	212,138	212,415	302,743
Trading and Merchandising	78,905	109,652	160,410	283,087	373,747	387,315
Civil and Municipal Govt.	7,938	18,287	17,308	76,604	94,541	116,839
Professional	48,461	62,023	83,219	120,816	222,149	440,440
Transportation	40,741	69,048	80,756	217,544	308,092	300,273
Other;						
Mining	7,160	10,187	22,650	62,767	51,065	71,999
Fishing and Hunting	28,500	30,045	27,225	34,812	29,292)	97,746
Forestry	3,116	12,812	16,764	42,914	39,815)	
Miscellaneous	13,005	---	490	---	---	139,263
Percentage Distribution:						
Agriculture	48.1	45.8	40.2	34.3	32.8	28.7
Building Trades	16.8	11.6	12.0	9.0	9.0	6.5
Manufacturing	12.6	14.7	15.9	18.1	17.5	16.6
Servicing Industries	18.3	24.2	27.8	33.4	36.9	39.6
Other	4.2	3.7	4.0	5.2	3.8	8.6

x 1881-1921 - Census of Canada, 1921, Vol IV Table VII p. xvi and Table I pp. 2-8;
1931 - Census of Canada, 1931: Population Bulletin XXXVI Tables I and II.

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Table 48 Chart 10b

Canada: Occupations of the Gainfully Employed, 1901-1931
Classified to compare with occupations of Immigrants.[X]

Occupation	1901	1911	1921	1931
Total Population	5,318,606	7,179,650	8,775,853	10,376,786
Population 10 years and over	4,063,943	5,514,388	6,671,838	8,139,059
Gainfully Employed	1,782,832	2,723,634	3,173,169	3,924,533
Agriculture	716,860	933,735	1,041,618	1,128,813
Laborers	189,736	428,165	406,262	557,402
Female Domestic Servants	100,763	132,640	126,212	201,198
Mechanics	267,139	362,914	377,644	606,544
Trading and Clerical	171,135	339,002	526,975	533,808
Mining	28,650	62,767	51,063	89,410
Others	308,549	464,411	643,395	807,358
Percentage Distribution:				
All Occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	40.2	34.2	32.8	28.8
Laborers	10.7	15.7	12.8	14.2
Female Domestic Servants	5.6	4.8	4.0	5.1
Mechanics	15.0	13.7	11.9	15.4
Trading and Clerical	9.6	12.4	16.6	13.6
Mining	1.6	2.3	1.6	2.3
Others	17.3	16.9	20.3	20.6

X Compiled from
Census of Canada 1921, vol. IV Table I for 1901,1911,1921;
Census of Canada, Population Bulletin XXXI Table IV for 1931.

The classifications above are only approximately those used for immigration, since the two sets of data are classified differently.

Occupations of Immigrants to Canada: Total and form United States, quinquennial periods 1907-11 to 1927-31.[x]

Period	Total	Farming Class	Laboring Class	Female Domestic Servants	Mechanics	Trading and clerical	Mining	Others
A. Totals:								
a. Total Immigration:								
1907-11	1,053,922	439,819	222,478	48,011	183,317	63,441	26,883	69,973
1912-16	1,334,903	396,840	395,971	83,141	213,250	72,789	23,162	149,450
1917-21	477,963	143,090	55,813	24,923	74,306	22,611	5,920	151,300
1922-26	518,872	208,272	46,971	50,593	58,516	27,741	7,894	118,885
1927-31	714,821	359,582	44,771	74,696	54,306	33,716	4,439	143,311
1907-31	4,100,451	1,547,603	766,004	281,364	583,965	220,298	68,298	632,919
b. Immigration from United States:								
1907-11	378,052	247,235	57,454	2,731	31,942	13,684	8,048	16,958
1912-16	476,965	176,075	121,248	12,458	75,924	18,017	7,524	65,719
1917-21	271,133	106,854	38,571	6,811	50,036	12,529	2,927	53,405
1922-27	106,469	47,348	9,152	2,906	11,291	8,417	1,056	26,299
1927-31	131,599	38,561	10,971	2,950	19,626	14,300	852	44,339
1907-31	1,364,218	616,073	237,396	27,856	188,819	66,947	20,407	206,720
Percentage Distribution:								
a. Total Immigration:								
1907-11	100.0	41.73	21.11	4.56	17.39	6.02	2.55	6.64
1912-16	100.0	29.73	29.67	6.23	15.98	5.45	1.74	11.20
1917-21	100.0	29.94	11.68	5.21	15.55	4.73	1.24	31.65
1922-26	100.0	40.14	9.05	9.75	11.28	5.35	1.52	22.91
1927-31	100.0	50.30	6.26	10.45	7.60	4.72	.62	20.05
1907-31	100.0	37.74	18.68	6.86	14.24	5.37	1.67	15.44
b. Immigration from United States:								
1907-11	100.0	63.59	15.20	.72	8.45	3.62	2.13	4.49
1912-16	100.0	36.92	25.41	2.61	15.92	3.78	1.58	13.78
1917-21	100.0	39.41	14.23	2.51	18.45	4.62	1.08	19.70
1922-26	100.0	44.47	8.60	2.73	10.60	7.91	.99	24.70
1926-31	100.0	29.30	8.34	2.24	14.91	10.87	.65	33.69
1907-31	100.0	45.16	17.40	2.04	13.84	4.91	1.50	15.15

x Compiled from Department of Immigration and Colonization Annual Reports 1907 to 1931.

APPENDIX B

FIELD SCHEDULE USED IN MONTREAL STUDY OF GREEK IMMIGRANTS

McGILL UNIVERSITY

Immigration Groups Study

A. GENERAL: Date . . . . . .

Name (optional) .....Age: Now.....On emigration.....

Years in Canada ... in Montreal ... Present address ..... Time at .....

Racial Origin .....Main Occupation .....Religion:Present .....
past.....

Marital Status ..... Where ..... When .... Children: M.... F.... Dep....

B. FAMILY:

Child /of no. / /	Racial Origin	Birthplace			Religion	Occupation	Date Immig. to Can.	Residence now
		State	Province	R. or Urban				
Husband	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Father	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mother	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wife	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Children:								
1.Age Sex								
1....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

C. EDUCATION:

Husband	A.E.	A.L.	Type of School	Additional (to H.S.)	Standing	Reason Reaso leaving	Languages		
							speak	read	write
Husband	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wife	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Children:									
Age Sex									
1....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Notes:

D. HUSBAND

OLD COUNTRY OCCUPATION:

Main employment: (1) after school until 21.....(2) After 21.....

Regularity: Steady..... Seasonal..... Casual..... Other .....

Did you own land?..... How much?..... Business?..... Valuation.....

Military service: Country..... Active..... Dates or age.....

Occupation of Brothers: 1 ..... 2 ..... 3 ..... 4 .....

EMIGRATION:

How did you learn about Canada? ..... What? .....

Reasons for emigration ..... Employed at time?.....

Did you intend to return to O.C.?..... When?..... Why?.....

If so, why did you not? .....Did you intend to bring family.....

Means of passage ..... Capital on arrival: Cash..... Property.....

Family emigration: Who..... When..... Where.....

INTENTION: Occupational: Stated ..... Actual....., Definite?.....
Residential: Stated ..... Actual..... Definite?.....

Notes on emigration process:

EMPLOYMENT AND RESIDENCE IN CANADA:

Did you have a job in Canada when you came?..... What?..... Where?.....
How long?.....

Procedure in attempt to find first employment.....

How long until first job?..... How obtained..... Duration.....

Did you have a trade?..... What?..... How learnt?.....

When did you work at your trade in Canada (a) first?..... Last?.....

Did you originally intend to follow this occupation in Canada?.....

If not at your trade now, why not?..... Would you return?.....

Previous occupational experience been of service to you in Canada?.....

How?..... What training acquired in Canada?.....

Any additional notes:

EMPLOYMENT AND RESIDANCE IN CANADA: (Con't).

Year	Employ't. JFM JAS	Employ't. AMJ OND	Location	Reason came	Residence Type of R.	Residence Dur. of R.	Occupation Occup-ation	Occupation Sk.	Occupation How ob-tained	Occupation Dur.	Occupation Earn. av.	Occupation Reason left
1.												
2.												
3.												
4.												
5.												
1927												
1928												
1929												
1930												
1931												
1932												
1933												

EMPLOYMENT AND RESIDENCE IN CANADA: (concl'd).

What has been your main occupation in Canada?.....

What helps or hindrances have you encountered in seeking work in Canada:

Helps ..... Hindrances.....

Occup.friction: British ..... French-Can ..... Others.....

Preference to work: British ..... Own group..... Others .....

Personal Reasons for unemployment: .....

Were you content with jobs?..... Why not? ..... Why not secured

better jobs?..... Content to remain labourer?.....

What do you usually do when unemployed?.....

E. EMPLOYMENT OF WIFE AND CHILDREN:

WIFE: Reasons for emigration .....

Occup.exper. of wife before marriage: Occup..... Where..... Reg'ty.....

Employment since marriage: Occup..... Where..... Earnings.....

Wife ever compelled to work in Canada due to husbands unemploy't?.....

	Occupation	Reg'ty	Earnings	Contrib.
CHILDREN:	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....

F. SOCIAL CONTACTS, ETC.:

Did you stay with friends on arrival?..... Where?..... How long?.....

Contacts in first months after arrival: Clergymen..... Other Church

Officers..... Clubs..... Employ't agencies..... Others.....

Use of social agencies in Montreal:

Bureau:	Time:	What:
Papers read: Own	.....	.....
Others.....	.....	.....

Are you naturalized?.... Why?..... Why not?..... Wish to be?.....

Voted in Canada?..... Own initiative?..... Mun.... Prov..... Fed.....

Have you many acquaintances: In own group?..... Outside.....

-5-

Letters to Old Country: 1st yr..... 3rd yr.... 5th yr..... Now.....

Revisited Europe?..... When?..... Impressions .....

Sent money to Europe?..... When?..... To whom?..... Amt's.....

Do you consider you have gained or lost by coming to Canada?.....

What do you think of Canada?.....

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION:

		Name	Location	Parents				Children		
				Who go	Times / yr.	Cost /yr.	Posi-tion	Who go	Times / yr.	Cost yr.
Church	1.									
	2.									
	3.									
Other religious	1.									
	2.									
Clubs and Societies	1.									
	2.									
	3.									
	4.									
Informal:										
Theatres, etc										
Concerts										
Dances										
Home entert.										
Picnics										
Athletics										
Vacations										
Other										

G. FAMILY LIVING:

HOUSING: Initial setting up home: ..... Later expenses : Type of goods ..... Value ..... When after arrival .....

Present House or Apart..... Number of rooms ..... Bedrooms.....
Sanitary flush toilet?..... Bath..... Heating system .....

Do you own home? ..... Valuation ..... Indebtedness....Taxation.....

Moved because depression? .....

Valuation of: radio ..... sewing machine ..... piano.... gramaphone....
Washing machine ..... vacuum cleaner ..... telephone..... automobile....

If you had more money,
what would you do with it?.....

Notes: (incl. furniture)

FAMILY LIVING:

CONSUMPTION:

	Expend. av.mo.	Total year
FOOD:		
Bread	.....	.....
Milk & butter	.....	.....
Meat & eggs	.....	.....
Fruit & veg.	.....	.....
Other groc.	.....	.....
Board out	.....	.....
TOTAL:		
CLOTHING:		
Husband	.....	.....
Wife	.....	.....
Children	.....	.....
Upkeep	.....	.....
TOTAL		
RENT:	.....	.....
HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES:		
Fuel, light & water	.....	.....
Insurance	.....	.....
Telephone	.....	.....
Miscellaneous	.....	.....
TOTAL		
HEALTH:	.....	.....
TRAVEL:		
Car	.....	.....
Tramway (& train)	.....	.....
Other	.....	.....
TOTAL		

	Expend. av. mo.	Total year
EDUCATION, ETC.:		
Sch.fees, books	.....	.....
Music lessons	.....	.....
Reading matter	.....	.....
Other	.....	.....
SOCIAL PARTICIPATION: (incl. Tobacco & drinks)	.....	.....
TOTAL		
INVESTMENTS:		
Life Insurance H	.....	.....
W	.....	.....
Ch	.....	.....
Investments increase		.....
Savings increase		.....
Other		.....
TOTAL		
MISCELLANEOUS:		
Remittances	.....	.....
Debt decrease	.....	.....
Legal services	.....	.....
Sundries	.....	.....
TOTAL		

RELIEF: (1933)

	Period	Value
Food	.....	.....
Clothing	.....	.....
Rent, Fuel, etc.	.....	.....
Health	.....	.....
Cash	.....	.....
Other	.....	.....
TOTAL		

SUMMARY TRIAL BALANCE

INCOME:	
Father	.....
Mother	.....
Children	.....
Relatives	.....
Lodgers, etc.	.....
Capital Realzn.	.....
Debt increase	.....
Bank bal.decrease	.....
Relief	.....
Other(incl.investm'ts)	.....
TOTAL	

EXPENDITURES:	
Food	.....
Clothing	.....
Rent	.....
Household exp.	.....
Health	.....
Travel	.....
Education, etc.	.....
Social Participation	.....
Investments	.....
Miscellaneous	.....
TOTAL	

Unexplainable difference:

APPENDIX C

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