EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS

IN MONTREAL

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THE MEANS AND MODES OF LIVING OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS IN MONTREAL

-by-

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Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
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Abstract.

M.A. Sociology

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The Means and Modes of Living of European Immigrants in Montreal

Immigration is intended as an adjustment from one set of conditions to a more satisfactory environment. This thesis attempts to cover the adjustments in the means and modes of living of two immigrant groups in Montreal, Canada, the Italians and the Finns, and to present several general hypotheses concerning the assimilation process in these fields. The effects of the economic depression on these processes are noted. Spatial adjustment and changes in family organization are included in so far as these relate to our main points of reference. The principal source of information has been the family budgets of representative samples of the two groups.

The Italians, of agricultural backgrounds, have settled near the periphery of Montreal. They have entered the building trades, dock labour, and factory trades. They exhibit a strong family unity. They are assimilating slowly towards the French.

The Finnish men are migratory. Their employment is largely in the lumbering, mining, farming and building industries. The women are domestic servants. The Finns have settled in a down-town area. They are assimilating quickly towards the English.

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The Means and Modes of Living of European Immigrants in Montreal

PART 1

INTRODUCTION

Chapter One

METHODOLOGY

The Immigration Process.

Any migration of people from one place to another, and especially one country to another, must be studied as a process if it is to be understood. If it is the approach of the sociologist to view group conduct in its social setting, then this setting must be viewed as existing in both space and time. The whole cycle of experiences and contacts of any migrating group must be known before the values and attitudes of the group can be fairly interpreted. In studying the adjustment of European immigrants in the urban environments of our Canadian cities, we must remember assimilation is a change in the practices and beliefs that were European heritages. In the background experiences of any new Canadian group and the pull of the new country, are to be found the reasons for their migration. These experiences also serve by comparison to test the extent of the adjustment which is called for their new environment.

It seems scarcely necessary to assert that within the range of the experiences of a migrating group, a selection of certain of these experiences is sufficient to account for the response

which is migration. Not all immigrants are moved by the same set of forces. Rather, the motivation for different groups is found in a variety of stimuli, occurring with differing frequency and intensity. Whatever these forces may be, if they exist as effective causes of emigration, as a rule they are given their first expression in the feeling of dissatisfaction or unrest with his present lot and in his dream of changed conditions in a new environment. In the early stages of this process one can usually detect that all-important stimulus to activity -- want, whether it be economic, political, religious, social or personal.

It is not necessary to go far into the causes of emigration. As the migrant consciously seeks adjustment from <u>one</u> set of conditions, be it religious intolerance or economic insecurity, he places himself in a new environment which requires of him an adjustment in <u>all</u> those practices which differ from his background experience. He comes first to live among others of his own nationality in a local world of their own creation. Within the limitations of the new environment they reconstruct their home country life, and satisfy their old wants in comparative isolation from the wider community. Old practices are modified to fit a new situation. Within this colony a communal life grows up. Relationships remain close and personal. Among some groups, participation in the social activities of the area takes on characteristics that are almost rural. This relationship arises out of the close proximity of families to one another in space and from the ease of communication, with its dependence on the understanding of customs and usages, as well as common language. This sharing in the corporate life of the community is also facilitated by more formal organisations, as mutual benefit societies, social

clubs and so forth.

In this sheltered environment, the newcomer makes more than local contacts. He reads the foreign language press bearing news of the Canadian community; he becomes acquainted with the practices of the Canadian market; he sends his children to a Canadian school. He is driven to avail himself of such goods and services as are offered him. His freedom of choice is limited, and he must face this fact, though the bars of tradition can be hurdled only with pain.

Meanwhile the immigrant is driven by the pressure of need to seek employment. He probably makes his first contacts with the occupational community through one of his own countrymen - either a friend or profit seeking labour agent. He may work with others of his own kind, yet in a scene that is typically Canadian. He cannot escape visual contacts with the new community; he hears a different language, sees Canadian goods. So his contacts with the New World began at the moment of his arrival, became more regular and more extensive.

During the whole period of assimilation the immigrant finds himself drawn between a number of competing influences. At first his traditional modes of acting are the only ones that have meaning for him. As he is brought into contacts with the new community, he acquires the more widely acceptable behaviour forms, and as he communicates more freely, he takes on new attitudes towards these values. The process of adjustment is not smooth, the immigrant and his family may pass through periods of intense covert and overt conflict. Living for parts of the time in different environments, the various members of the family group acquire different norms of conduct. Old forms of action are discarded

before the immigrant is adjusted to his new situation. In time, he participates more freely in the life and practices of the wider community, he no longer feels the same dependence on his first settlement. He moves, perhaps to an area where others like himself are far on the road to assimilation while more recent arrivals move in to take his place. His habits are changed, he learns new practices, new evaluations. He loses those badges which hint at his European origin and feels himself a part of the wider community group. After one or two more moves he finds himself completely away from his old national group with all the bonds of unity broken.

The assimilation process cannot be spoken of as complete until the immigrant is completely adjusted to his new environment. He must be able to compete in the occupational sphere on an equal basis with the native population. He must have acquired all the traditional forms of conduct. But also, he must have taken over the memories and traditions, hopes and aspirations of the new land and so gained an attachment that is one of binding loyalty. This is the work of years, perhaps generations.

Within the cycle of the immigration process, a number of fields may be selected for study. This thesis is intended to cover only two; first, occupational experience and means of provision and secondly, consumption. These are taken as points of reference from which to study the adjustment of immigrants in Montreal, and must at all times be viewed in the perspective of the complete process.

Means and Modes of Living.

An individual's or group's occupational experience and its consumption practices are inter-related in two ways. First,

both are part of one culture complex. This is to say that if persons earn their living in one area, they will tend to follow the customary consumption habits of the region. Secondly, an individual's or family's earnings will determine the amount of goods and services which they may acquire. Occupational experience in Europe may be within at least three types of organization relating to production; rural farm organization, organization built around other extractive processes as lumbering or mining, and industrial and commercial organization usually centering in cities. Each supports a peculiar community and family organization. Each is subject to its peculiar conflict situations, in each there is a typical adjustment to these situations. At the same time, each has consumption practices characteristic of the whole of the type. The urban worker, now that home industries have nearly disappeared, works out, gets his goods by purchase, pays rent for a home in a workingmen's area. The peasants have two main village patterns, dispersed or centralized. Their consumption rests largely on the production of their own area. Yet within each type of organization, language and uses of goods vary significantly, giving each culture zone its solidarity. Yet it is the experience that comes to people as members within a cultural area that leads to unrest and emigration.

In each area there are certain sets of occupations. Within these are typical sets of ambitions - to own property, to acquire a skill and so forth. The existence of these latter is an evidence of a stratification in society that is somewhat elastic. Notions of success, of status, and satisfaction in comsumption are directly related to the means of economic provision. Dissatisfaction in these fields is usually attributed to their

occupational sources. Hence it has been around the economic conditions of European countries that unrest has risen to stimulate emigration.

Unrest implies a margin between the satisfied and the desired wants of a group. In the interplay of persons living on different economic levels, scales of values are constructed that shape the ambitions on every social plane. On the side of consumption, the set of wants, "as it develops -- is not describable in simple and unqualified terms. Presently comes an idealization of the actual and customary notion of well-being, an enhancement towards which men reach out. There is a sort of inkling of what might be, and this is gradually attached to the standard, or thrust under it, so that it lifts somewhat. It easily springs up to the limit of what is possible and is prone to range beyond. At each stage of societal existence new wants arise and the visualized satisfaction of them enters into the standard. What is seen is a set of prospective adjustments to life conditions, called for by needs that have sprung out of present adjustment and whose entrance has made of the latter, in so far, a maladjustment."(1).

Resting on their experience as members of several groups, persons tend to construct, not only choices over the whole range of commodities entering consumption, but also choices between various classes of goods. These sets of attitudes towards consumption values, some clearly defined, some vague, some existing vividly in consciousness, some sub-conscious, together constitute the standard of living of an individual or of a group.

(1) Sumner, W.G. and Keller, A.G. The Science of Society, V. 1, P. 72. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1927.

This is the subjective basis from which efforts to make effective the securing or retention of these felt wants are motivated and directed. It has its roots in the culture of a stratified society.

The limits beyond which the levels of living of a group cannot rise are determined by its available power to command goods. The level of living of a group is the amount of goods and services it consumes without itemized reference. Plane of living and scale of living are used synonymously with this concept. It is measured by a group's real income or that part of it that is consumed. The complex of wants together press for an upward extension of the group's income. Within the range of wants, since some are to remain unsatisfied, persons are called to evaluate these one against the other. The competition of wants is a joint product of the standard of living and the limited incomes of the group. Those goods and services which are consumed by individuals or groups represent an accommodation within the wider range of wants. To this picture of how people actually do live in society we apply the concept modes of living. It is to be described in terms of specific usages as well as a broad classification of consumption of goods. Within fields of fairly standardized consumption in a familiar cultural environment, pecuniary values may be used to measure both quantitative and qualitative variations. Whether the practices of a group be known or not, both statistical and non-statistical presentations are necessary in describing this aspect of its behaviour.

The European cultures differ in varying degrees from our Canadian culture. Each has been built up in a normal way, through interaction between persons or groups for whom communica-

tion is easy. The accessibility of goods-- their growth, processing and distribution, has, of course, figured in the modes of living of each group. While no part of the old-world continent attempted self-sufficiency, the types of food and housing consumed by the various peasant groups indicated usages arising from their own provision. The urban populations dwelt much more in an economy of exchange.

Differences in consumption, then, rest in part on a particular economy where the compared groups reside. Dissatisfaction arose from the standards built up around the visible yet unattained practices of consumption. The solution sought was essentially a higher level of living; with higher real income they could attain their standards of living, until these changed. Unrest, then, must be traced back to the sources of income, or into the conditions of production and employment.

From continental Europe the great migration has been of peasant farmers. The largest contributing areas have been those whose isolation has recently been broken down and who have been brought within a broader area of standards and ideas at a time when transportation was already developed. Agriculturalists who have carried on in the same local community for generations, had continually worked for long hours for an uncertain and fluctuating return. Now, in the light of more advanced techniques applied to more fertile soils, their antiquated farming methods and out-worn farm organization become new or more vivid symbols of oppression. No longer in self-sufficient isolation they became restless and dissatisfied. They cultivated fields of Scandinavia, south Germany, the Ukraine or Italy allowed but a simple fare. Conditions differed widely, but throughout the areas of emigration, limited

resources and the control imposed by organization kept the return to labour low.

European agricultural economy has been essentially a family economy. The division of labour within the family group accorded each member a place in the organization of farm work, including cultivating. Whole families shared the tasks of production, and only if together they could not cover the work were others engaged. Mothers, sons, daughters, each assumed their specific position, either in the fields, in the grain sheds, or elsewhere. This was a practice stamped by the traditions of centuries. In certain areas where outside employment provided the means of subsistence, whole families would hire themselves out at planting and harvesting seasons. The men and boys were given more regular employment. Only through this practice could the farm labourers and their families earn sufficient for their needs. In these tasks of production, the various persons contributed as members of a family group, and not as individuals. Their earnings were family earnings. Likewise, their returns in kind or goods gotten by exchange were restricted largely to those which were consumed normally within a family group, as food and shelter. None were deprived till were all.

Class differences in Ireland and in many parts of central and southern Europe have contributed to the poverty of the peasant class. The great mass of rural workers inherited a role in the occupational structure of society that accorded them a meagre subsistence. Should they be so fortunate as to have their own land, they had the satisfaction of the full return from their labours and rested more or less happy in the attainment of the ambition of every peasant folk - to own property. Otherwise they

were the tenants of unscrupulous and exacting landlords or worked on the others' estates for small wages in cash or kind. Their status was caste-like; their simple comforts were set against the luxury of their masters. Very often they were the subjected peoples of land owners of different national groups. Their promise of escape from the suppression of peasantry was coupled with a new hope of freedom.

In the north timber country, and in certain agricultural districts of Germany and France, seasonal employment made for a high mobility among the workers. In the Scandinavian countries there was a regularized migration between the forests and farms in dovetail fashion. Migrations to assist in harvesting were often across national borders. This seasonal shifting between industries and between localities, while in a sense may have been a fixed accommodation, did not allow a fixed dependence in these workers' home communities or their primary group associations. Home ties among the North Europeans were normally weak. Earnings were more largely individual; there was much consumption apart from the family group. Internal migration was an individual migration. Contacts were secondary, and often where more intimate were often not continuous. The occupational experience of these groups, so closely bound up with their whole social organization, offered little stability. No static attitudes towards a fixed order of existence was present to hold them to their tasks.

The instability of a routine of movement was less great than that occasioned by a breakdown of routines. In both Europe and the Orient, emigration has been accompanied by a shifting economic base. The shifting of production techniques set in motion a great population movement, and brought the farm groups

within a money economy. The old home industries were broken down. Many sought a solution to the crisis (situation) created by industrialization by moving to the cities, others sought adjustment by emigrating.

In the cities, occupational organization was of a different order. The body of workers from whom the emigrants were drawn were engaged in factory trades, in mining, or in dock or (in) construction work. Their poverty (was the product of) has rested on inadequate wage rates, or irregular employment or both. Their standards of success are those of an industrial economy. The male worker in this setting has usually been the head of an interdependent household. Children have been expected to seek positions on leaving school, and contribute the major part of their earnings to the family fund. Consumption, then, took place largely within the family group. Individual wants were satisfied only as the parents permitted them to be. The wife and mother has been a house-manager. Women and girls have at no time made up more than a small percentage of the total working population.

Placed in this role of family provider, the male worker was sensitive to the insecurity in industry. Success has readily been linked with pride, misfortune with shame. While the man's job may have been monotonous, in very many instances his attitude towards it has not been one of static acceptance. Many workers sought to better their conditions by organization and collective action. Others sought an escape, and emigrated.

As the extension of communication has tended to give rise to a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction, so this motivation has been dependent on the promise of improvement in another geographic occupational setting. Commons writes, "A

striking fact which first attracts the attention of one who examines the statistics since 1840 is the close sympathy between immigration and the industrial prosperity and depression of this country (the United States). Indeed, so close is the connection that many who comment on the matter have held that immigration during the past century has been strictly an industrial or economic phenomenon, depending on the opportunities in this country, and that the religious and political causes which stimulated earlier immigration no longer hold good." (1)

This correlation between American immigration and the opportunities for employment is much higher for some incoming groups than for others. This "pull" factor probably counted for less in the early stages of the recent world movement of peoples than it did towards the close of the century. Whether the impetus to migration came primarily from a looking back over long periods of subjected tenantry and oppressive taxation, or from looking ahead to the illusion of an American Utopia, the more promising conditions of the New World to the west were either basically causal, or, at least, served to give direction to the migration movement.

The different ethnic groups coming to America during the recent waves of immigration have settled in widely separated areas offering a wide range of occupational opportunities. The Ukrainians in Canada are found in greatest numbers in agricultural settlements in the prairie provinces. The various Germanic groups have a wide distribution in both rural and urban habitats. The Greeks and Hebrews, whatever was their intended destination, are

(1) Commons, John R., Races and Immigrants in America. The Macmillan Co., - N.Y. 1920. P.63.

nearly all found in certain selected occupations in our larger cities. Different groups have followed certain typical patterns of settlement. ~~They have adopted these to their new environment~~. Under pressure of need, the European immigrant has accommodated himself in our occupational structures almost immediately on arrival. This essay is intended to cover only the adjustments made by groups in urban environments.

In urban, though not necessarily in rural environments, the immigrant normally fits himself into two culture groups. He goes to work, perhaps with those of his own nationality, in Canadian factories where some Canadians work and where there are typical Canadian practices in employment and rules of work. At the same time he settles among those of his own kind to consume goods or advantages.

In entering employment in Canada, the immigrants from European urban environments find much that is familiar to them. They are accustomed to a wage economy, to fixed hours and certain working conditions. Their already acquired skills may aid them in making their entry into Canadian industries, should their skills be applicable here. This has been true for a large number of British incomers, though their different notions of apprenticeship have caused some dissatisfaction among them.

Those with rural backgrounds are faced with much greater problems of adjustment. They are more acutely strangers in a strange world. They are drawn into completely new fields of production, with no aiding heritage but brawn and simple intelligence. In consequence, their whole organization has to be reconstructed as they are forced into a new system of relationships extending to their very family groups.

The immigrants' levels of living, and their choices between commodities have been rebuilt through interaction between members within separate ethnic groups.

The European immigrant groups in America, competing with each other for location and occupational opportunities, have isolated themselves from each other in matters related to consumption. Their wants at the time of their arrival were modified little from the standards set in their home countries. They have settled in colonies, and attempted to reconstruct their home societies in this shelter. Yet naturally, they have been driven to accept what is available in the new country. The immigrant lives in houses modelled on those about them, even though they be slum dwellings. They probably acquire such furniture as they have from Canadian stores or second-hand shops after their arrival, or if they cannot afford that, they live in furnished quarters or with friends. In other goods, too, the immigrant is forced to choose within the offerings of the Canadian market. In this general situation, tradition is brought face to face with hard fact, and the result is almost wholly one of accommodation.

Often immigrant groups find their accommodation problems made easier by those of their own kind. Immigrant stores sell their own food choices; "bankers" do a very wide business in banking, remitting money, acting as travel agents, and so forth; the enterprising journalist prints a paper in his own European language. Even with this problem thus eased, the once-rural elements make a wide adjustment in entering an economy of income and purchase. The shopkeepers, still, are bound by the available supply of European goods, and it is only as the local market becomes large, or the wider-than-local market becomes organized, that

independent manufacturing can give satisfaction to the old-country preferences.

Even in the use of these Euro-Canadian shops, the immigrant is acting as one in a wage economy. Except for those few groups who live at the city's edge and cultivate garden plots, the urban immigrants live in a single type of economic environment.

Because of this, standards of living and a desire for higher wages have been mutually stimulated. Since the immigrant often feels his position in both the wider Canadian and his own colonial social worlds to be one of temporary accommodation, the first stimulus to ambition in either field is frequently not felt for a considerable period of time. The attaining of standards in consumption or occupation arising out of their experiences in Canada is an important stage in the immigrants' march towards assimilation.

In the field of occupation, most immigrants have taken positions where skill counted for little. Since their wants were culturally defined largely within their colonies, and their levels of living low, they were often willing to work for wages below that warranted by their efficiency. This appears an abnormal situation in which the level of living of a group has been a dominant factor in determining its rates of wages.

As the immigrant becomes more acquainted with American working conditions and standards, his attitudestoward his formerly accepted conditions are likely to change. He, in time, becomes conscious of his place in the stratification of society; he becomes more aware of his attachment to his new environment; he takes on community evaluations. It appears that in the course of one or two generations of immigrant peoples, the attitudes supported by those groups pass through a cycle of change as they

pass through this wider congruency. The once-peasants at first hope to return to rural property by purchasing Canadian farms. Then they have wished for,and attained urban property—their own home, an apartment or a block of flats. After years of exposure to Canadian values, they have cast aside these symbols of "arrival", and have seen in occupational ranking and income a Canadian status and a field for attainment. As the immigrants take on these new attitudes, they offer less and less advantage to their employers; and the probability of their replacing the native-born workers (so) declines. This process probably has the effect of spreading his range of competition as the immigrant loses his homeland traits. His competitive basis, then, is not that of different levels of living, but of efficiency.

The adjustment of the male immigrant, then, is from the occupations, skills, and related ambitions, of one culture area to those of another. In his capacity as a wage-earner, if he were once an agriculturalist, he takes on a new family rôle in becoming the economic provider. The woman from (off) the mid-European farm finds in her new set of household duties a different position in the family division of labour and a new status. The tending of the house and preparing of meals, in America, her main task, were supplemented in her old-home environment with certain tasks in production - the caring for animals and so forth. In her new setting she has come to feel a new dependence. Her husband, often with an exaggerated notion of his earning power, has made for her a new unequal rating. She is slow to sense a social sanctioning for her now-limited duties. Her time may not be completely occupied; she has become apathetic, or perhaps restless.

In groups of individualistic leaning, this problem has been overcome through the regular channels of employment. Many European women are in domestic service, and while lonely, and among strangers, they are acquiring Canadian practices and notions of success. The achievement of these has been and so will continue to be, an irregular and somewhat scarred process.

Boys and girls have entered employment with the stimulation of family need or individual or family ambitions. Where the pressure of family circumstances has not been dominant, the conditions of mobilization have been distinctly cultural. The various ethnic groups have different standards of education for their children, based on their notions of scholastic requirements for status and for a satisfactory occupational attainment. Those groups which are impressed with a sense of family loyalty tend to govern the movements of the young for the retention of that sense. The girls may stay in the homes, or conceive their earnings as family property. Boys act within a similar discipline, though, of course, modified with a view to his future family rôle. Meanwhile, those groups holding attitudes which admit of individual freedom and ambitions for the young, see their boys and girls entering industry for other rewards. These various attitudes are usually the products of the joint influences of our individualistic occupational organization on the one hand, and the deeply rooted custom of the home land on the other.

These various attitudes pass through various cycles of collapse and reorganization as their bearers are led nearer to assimilation.

Situations of family conflict have often arisen when children have acquired these attitudes more readily than their

parents. The child brought up in America learns that he must make his own way, that success is his own affair. Impatient in his position, his first tendency is to blame his parents. Adjustments are made to this general situation only with a certain personal disorganization. Petty thievery, or a record of prostitution often intertwines the process.

The family conflict between immigrant parents and children is in part due to differences in the ease of learning and adjustment. In part it is due to a different social participation. In the realm of consumption where goods are used in common, as house furnishings, or where they are partaken together, as food, in each family there may be a compromise, or a necessary surrender from the children. Still, all the members of a family participate in the Canadian social world to an extent; the man at his work; the wife, if she does not work out, on the streets about her home; the children at school or play, or in employment. In time they come to adopt the new world goods and means of entertainment for themselves.

The immigrant then is part way between two modes of living different from one another. Since he must choose between them, they are set in opposition. The group practices within his colony are at first more nearly the expression of his wants; they are acquired easily, and performed with a measure of comfort. They carry with them a notion of welfare. It is as a member of this group he first sought status in America. In time, as he comes to such a status in the wider community, he finds it necessary to give expression to these new culture forms. The conflict in the choice of practices then becomes, in part, a conflict between the desire for status within his national group or within the wider community. This adoption of Canadian usages

may be accompanied by the adoption of the Canadian attitudes towards these usages. Either one may lag behind the other.

The process of adopting Canadian goods and practices and the accompanying Canadian attitudes continues until the immigrant shows none of his homeland traits. At the same time, the man is adjusting himself in the occupational sphere, and acquiring new attitudes. As these two related processes advance, the immigrant moves through successive areas of settlement; each bearing successively less of the stigma of the homeland. These processes are those of immigrant assimilation. They tend to lead the European out from his dual social world. The series of adjustments, however, is marked by conflicts. First, as we have mentioned above, is that created by a necessity of choosing between values and, corollary to this, family conflict. Secondly, rising from widespread crisis situations, as depressions, are new sets of problems having widespread effect.

The trend towards Canadian modes of living is usually correlated with a rise in the level of living of an immigrant group. They do not readily adopt the practices of those Canadians living on the same economic plane. The trend towards assimilation is by no means regular or unbroken. Canadian practices change. The economic security of nearly all on low income is threatened by recurring periods of unemployment. As the interaction between the incoming and receiving groups has been carried through time to those depression years following 1929, the result has become not merely a competition between one set of values and another. The immigrant, while being pulled towards the practices of the Canadian groups, is confronted by the needs of a more immediate adjustment in his mode of living because of conditions imposed on

him by a declining income.

Part of the task in this thesis has been to study the way different groups meet these conflict situations. Our observations have focused on the use of savings and investments, borrowing and incurring debts, mutual aid, community relief, and other practices peculiar to one or more groups. The question of mutual aid calls forth the whole matter of community organization within a group, while relief raises the question of the relation of the immigrants to the receiving city. The immigrant has usually been willing to accept certain community practices in the care of the unemployed. In this he is seen to feel himself a part of the new country.

With these various aids, the immigrant will probably have to make a farther adjustment, and scale down his cost of living. Reluctant though he may be to do this, once he faces the issue, he has to choose between the adoption of a lower level of living, supporting such Canadian practices as his degree of assimilation will permit, or revert to the immigrant mode of living which he practiced on small income. Since he has tended to adopt or wish to practice, only those Canadian traits which are dependent on a higher plane of living, he finds support for the first of these choices neither in attitude or tradition. He has tradition in support of the second, but his evaluations of the old culture forms have changed. In either case, he is forced to adopt practices for which at the time he has no supporting attitudes; in consequence, he may become disorganized, and restless.

These depression crises occur at approximately the same time for a large percentage of the population of any community. The various immigrant groups meet these at different stages in

their own assimilation. The more progressed they are, the less complex will be the resulting conflict. Adjustment is continually being sought wherever fluctuations occur because of fashions or economic conditions. When those of European origin have lost all the signs of the home-land culture, and hold the same attitudes to Canadian usages as those about them, they meet these situations exactly as those who never knew their European heritages. Then, at least in the fields covered by this study, they live and move as Canadians.

Summary.

Our presentation to this point has been a brief natural history of the adjustment process in the fields of occupation and consumption. This is justified in a section on methodology in that it marks the points of observation from which we are examining the assimilation process in detail for two groups, the Italians and the Finns. Since our primary interest is in immigrants from rural backgrounds, this introduction has neglected more than passing mention of the adjustment of urban Europeans. It is not intended that this thesis should make any great contribution relating to the typical sorts of adjustment made, but rather to present specific data for specific groups on the one hand, and, on the other, to test the worth of specific data as a means of examining the whole immigration process for these groups. This summary presentation, which is available in most books on immigration, should help the reader to fit the detailed data into the typical processes. The concepts introduced are important points of reference for the work which is to follow. It is also hoped that this introduction will tend to give each of the chapters which follow a perspective in the whole of each part, and help tie them together into a coherent discussion.

CHAPTER TWO

TECHNIQUES

The Selection of Groups.

After a research problem has been set and points of reference determined, the next step is to determine the technical means of investigating the problem. Near the outset comes the problem of selecting the groups of people to be covered. In doing this, thought must be taken of the sorts of groups desired; for instance, whether or not one hopes to make a study covering all the immigrants of a given nationality in a community, or whether selected types suit the researcher's purpose better. For this thesis the two national groups selected were chosen more or less arbitrarily from among those not yet studied in Montreal. It was also hoped that the two groups would exhibit readily observed differences. The final choice was a numerically large group of pre-war immigrants, the Italians, and a small post-war group, the Finns.

The first step in selecting (what) persons or group within these nationalities to cover was to include only those who lived in group settlements or immigrant colonies. The principal reason for doing this was to keep the different groups as homogeneous as possible. This limitation was also made to expedite investigation. For the Finns, this selection focused our study on those living in one down-town area. Only a scattered few live outside this region, so the data presented in Part III may be taken as representative of the Montreal Finnish population. Com-

pared with the Finns, the Italians have a much less concentrated distribution in Montreal. They are nearly all near the periphery of the city. Our selection included a group at Ville Emard, near two large factories, as a typical industrial settlement; a group near the north end of Papineau Street of unskilled labourers depending mainly on the building trades and having considerable cultural isolation; and a group just north of Mile End centering on Dante Street, containing unskilled labourers and artisans and having close contact with the French-Canadians. These latter two are the largest Italian centers in Montreal. If time had permitted, it would have been well to include the group of dock labourers living two or three miles directly east of the city center, and also a small group of the more successful living in the lower part of Notre Dame de Grace ward. (We do not claim for our) data on either the Italians or the Finns that they are applicable to the whole of their numbers in Montreal. We do hold that they provide a representative picture of the total number of these national groups in the areas covered.

The Collection of Materials.

A general statement of a problem still leaves to be decided the scope of information required. In a "standard of living" study, the information asked of the householders will vary according to the object of the inquiry. Before the investigation proceeds far, a tentative outline is valuable in determining what data should be sought. In this thesis the data desired falls into three classes. First is historical and other descriptive data covering the social conditions in the background countries of immigrants, immigration movements and spatial readjustment.

Secondly, there is general descriptive data not available in print about the growth of areas of immigrant settlement in Montreal and on immigrant institutions. Such information of the first category, as exists, is found in books, newspapers, magazines and in official immigration and census bulletins. This class of data is available only through personal interviews with persons familiar with the growth and transition of areas and through persons well acquainted with the immigrant institutions. Club executives, newspaper editors and ministers were found to be the persons best equipped to provide the information required. In the study of areas, the worth of city directories must not be overlooked.

Finally, there is scheduled budgetary data and supplementary information gathered from householders. With regard to the scheduled data, two problems confront the researcher, first, the preparing of a questionnaire and second, the selection of families to interview. The schedule used in this thesis is given in the Appendix at the end of the volume. Suggestions were incorporated from other theses, especially those of Miss Phyllis Heaton, Miss Mary H. Davidson and Mr. L.G. Reynolds (1). It is hoped that much of the data presented will be comparable with these and with other theses in preparation. It does not seem necessary to describe its various parts in detail here. It was drawn up to cover the basic data on the means and modes of living of any immigrant group in the most concise way possible. Some thought was taken to include sources of provision and kinds of goods entering into consumption as well as the pecuniary amounts received and spent. Where our questionnaire proved insufficient, supplementary notes

(1) See bibliography.

were taken.

Sampling.

Obviously it was impossible to interview all the families in the areas selected. Our resort was to sampling. Sampling in this field is the a simple statistical device of choosing a number of typical families and treating them as representative of the whole group. The problem in this method is to keep bias from entering the sample. The popular method of obtaining lists of names and addresses from employers of labour or from membership lists of organizations is likely to give a selected group on the basis of specific participation (which is itself a thing to be measured) rather than a general cross-section of an ethnic group. For this thesis, the distribution of families was learned from the Montreal Directory and from personal inquiry; a representative number of families was chosen by taking every second or third family on streets that from their outside appearance seemed typical of those in the areas. In this, there may have crept in some bias but the investigator does not know where it lies.

In our Italian areas, our samples included forty-five from around Dante Street, fifty from the Papineau Street area and thirty from Ville Emard. Certain ones taken above these numbers were excluded on account of errors in calculation or omission. A very few were not used as they exhibited very wide variations from the rest of the group and so were not suitable for statistical analysis. Separate reference has been made of these in the text. The numbers chosen from the three areas are roughly proportionate to the total number of Italians in each and so may be combined and presented as representative of the three regions taken together.

The statistical compilations for the Finns were made

from fifty family records chosen from a slightly larger number gathered.

We have defined an immigrant family as one in which both the male head and his wife were born in Europe. Only families have been included where the two family heads are of the same nationality.

Interviews with families were nearly all made without appointment. The nature of the study was usually explained very carefully to secure the co-operation of householders. In gathering the information, we learned that none of the families kept budgets and so had to depend on their memories. This procedure was quite satisfactory in covering a large part of the schedule. In matters of food, recreation and sometimes clothing, we could obtain only estimates. The expenditures for food were usually obtained for several classes of victuals for a short period, usually one week, though seasonal differences and special occasions were taken into account. The average expenditures for recreation over shorter periods than one year were usually taken as typical of other similar periods. In clothing, the larger or more costly garments were usually readily listed, while smaller purchases of more quickly replaced goods, as socks, were often only estimated. On the whole, we believe that the data presented is fairly accurate. Since expenditures for different families are grouped in the same distribution tables, errors are as likely to correct one another as not. The class intervals in which individual expenditures or receipts are presented, ranging upwards from $10/ to $100/ allow some range of error in either direction for all but the marginal cases. Thus an earned income of $850. is presented as being at least $800. and less than $900. instead of the actual amount.

We make, however, no claim of infallibility. There are errors in our data, to be sure. One of the greatest limitations of this thesis arises in that there was no practical means of obtaining more accurate and better authenticated first-hand information.

The Analysis of Materials.

Once the necessary data has been collected, the next step in procedure is the compilation of results. It does not seem necessary to elaborate here what will be obvious from the Parts which follow. In summary, the total receipts have been classified according to their sources; the consumption data has been analyzed within classes of goods or services with reference to the distribution of amounts between these classes and to the specific goods within each. Some attempt has been made to retain the cultural reference throughout and to present the data in such a way as to show a transition in custom.

The treatment of monetary values of goods or services that are consumed by the family group together, as food and rent, has involved the adoption of a unit of consumption. Usually an adult man is taken as this unit. That practice has been adopted here for food. In housing, we have treated all people as equals. Different persons make very different use of a house, and the difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory scale of equivalents seems not to be merited by the increased accuracy it allows.

The scale of equivalent male adults used for food is based on the expenditure of Italian families. The scale used does not rest entirely on the Italian data, but is approximately accurate for that group. First, with the use of another scale, it was found that families of three consumed 95% as much per person as families without children, families of four consumed 89% as

much, and so forth. Correction was then made from these percentages to eliminate the factor of the pressure of large families as the amounts spent per person on food. Following this, the method used was to select groups of families which had only one variable, as the number of boys aged 12 - 14, and note the trend in food costs corresponding with this variable. Once the first one or two ratios are arrived at, the values received may be applied as a corrective and so larger numbers of families may be used thenceforth. In the table which lists the scale of equivalents finally used the majority of the figures were arrived at by this method. The closest multiples of five were taken instead of scattered amounts. The ratio between men and women, and the position of children aged 9-11 between the classes on either side, were necessarily taken from other scales. This scale stands midway between the scale of the Chicago Bureau of Charities (1) and the scale used by the United States Bureau of Statistics. As stated above, it is only partly an "Italian" scale and could not have been completed without the use of the other ratios.

TABLE 1.

Scale of Equivalent Male Adults for the Analysis of Food Consumption.

Male Adult	100
Female Adult	85
Boy 15-17	105
Girl 15-17	90
Child 12-14	90
Child 9-11	75
Child 6-8	65
Child 3-5	50
Child Under 3	20

At the best, this exact quantitative analysis of the consumption of food and housing is only a frill. Its chief value is for making valid comparisons between the consumption of differ-

(1) see Houghteling, Leila, The Income and Standard of Living of Unskilled Laborers in Chicago. Chicago, U of Chicago Press, 1927

ent ethnic groups, and has been included primarily for that purpose. In a work written from a point of view as presented in Chapter One above, the quantitative measurements are primarily valuable in showing cultural phenomenon and minute analysis is not of special importance for this.

This introductory part is intended to present the field of investigation covered in the main body of the thesis and the method of procedure. Its contribution to the work as a whole is that it should explain the nature of the data which follows, and help give it a setting where otherwise the trend might seem submerged in detail. The reader should now be aware of the probable validity of the material presented and of its shortcomings.

THE ITALIANS

PART TWO

CHAPTER ONE

ITALIAN BACKGROUNDS AND EMIGRATION

Italian Backgrounds.

While the various elements of a country's emigrating population shows many characteristics in common, it is significant for a study of this nature that traits are exhibited which differ from one geographical group or occupational class to another within any given country. If we are to understand the means and modes of living of the Italian born population of Montreal, we must first see these people against the occupational and social environments of their mother-provinces. Our attempt, therefore, is to present this in descriptive analysis. Against this background, the responses of the Italians to Canadian conditions becomes for us a question of immigrant adjustment and provides for an examination of the process of assimilation of these our future Canadians.

The dissatisfaction that led to the emigration movement in Italy was founded on a revaluation of long existing economic conditions. The extension of communications and the new opportunities for industrial employment in Italy and abroad led the peasant farmers to a new examination of their existing occupations and the levels of living that were their rewards for toil. Their feelings were directed more towards their levels of occupational ranking and their levels of living than towards the industries in which they worked or the kind of goods that entered into consumption. In the first of these was their reason for emigration. But the whole of their experience was the cultural heritage which they

as immigrants were to bear. This chapter, then, must show the background experiences of the Italians in so far as they fall within our field of investigation and from among these, show the causes of emigration.

While the post-war period has seen a comparatively rapid growth of industry in and around her great cities, as Rome, Turin, and Milan, Italy has been, and to a very great extent still is, basically agricultural. This economic base, predominant though it has been, has proved inadequate to supply even the humble needs of the Italian people. "Italy is a very rough country, and much of the agriculture is carried on under conditions which we should consider impossible. Indeed, they are quite impossible from the standpoint of making a decent living, as anyone can testify who has visited hill communities in various parts of Italy. Not only must much of the working of the soil in the rough lands be done by hand, but often the soil is poor and stony. It appears less fertile than much of the land in the north-eastern states, which has been abandoned to pasture or is used only for meadow." (1) To add to this there is just one tillable acre for each person in the whole of Italy, or 4.7 acres per agriculturalist. In an effort to eke out a living, they cultivate their land to the last inch, and often sow a double or treble crop. Even then, the production indexes show that by comparison with the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and other countries around, Italy's output per unit area and per agriculturalist was the lowest among them in the early part of this century.

The agrarian system was reflected in the poverty it gave

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(1) Thompson, Warren S., Danger Spots in World Population, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1929, P. 214.

continuance to; likewise it was reflected in the class divisions in agricultural society. In the south "agricultural economy is governed by the inadequacy of roads and the insufficiency of water." (1). Near the towns, and along the sea coast, or wherever irrigation is possible, the land is divided into small farms, and given to market-gardening, vineyards or orchards. Most of the southern region is fitted only for extensive cultivation, and consequently there is a wide occurrence of large estates. "The exploiter - sometimes the owner - but more often a large tenant farmer, works his farm either directly with the assistance of permanent workers and day labourers, or indirectly, by letting, or subletting the land in small parcels to peasants or their families." (2). In the central and northern regions, there is a similar structure of masters and subordinates, a similar relationship of exploiters and exploited. In the north, however, agriculture has provided for a standard of consumption above the bare minimum for subsistence, and some workers have risen from serfdom to have small farms of their own.

The proprietors, tenant farmers and day laborers were each accorded a status, and were each provided with the means of a correspondingly graduated level of living. It was from the second and third of these groups, and particularly the latter, that our Italian immigrants were drawn.

The first of these, the tenant farmers, enjoyed a fair measure of security. Some would lease farms for a fixed sum, and fare as best they could. Many others, for a share in the produce would cultivate plots of ground, fifteen to thirty hectares in area, and would make their permanent homes either on the farms or in

(1)(2) Collective Agreements in Agriculture in Italy, International Labour Review, V. 14, P. 662.

neighbouring villages. Buildings, tools, and seeds were provided. The day laborers knew not this. They felt attached to one village only so long as it provided openings for work. Great numbers were able to procure work at home for only a few months each year. They moved about, if they were able to. The migrating northern Italians fitted themselves into the agrarian schemes of central and western Europe. This migratory conduct naturally did not lead to stability, and the uncertainty of provision made it easy for these people to conceive of venturesome moves to distant lands. Wage levels had their basis in the low productivity of agriculture and in the widespread proprietorial greed. "Exploitation qui enrichait l'administrateur procure au proprietaire un maigre revenu et condamne le paysan a mourir de faim." Families could not hope to exist on the earnings of the father. Not the father, nor yet alone he and his wife, but frequently the whole family would work together, some to do one task, some another. There might have been a family contract, or some may have been on regular employment, while others would enter at a day rate as jobs were available. During the post-war decade, government ordinances have given protection to women during periods of child birth, and a lower age limit for child workers, namely thirteen to sixteen years (varying with the locality) has likewise been established.

Those families and individuals who worked on farms as day labourers usually had their homes in the neighbouring villages. They accepted as their social heritages the customs and usages of their somewhat isolated farming communities. Their homes, their clothing, their mannerisms had not been affected by the dynamic of city life.

"Gesso, a typical Sicilian town, six miles from Messina, perched on the top of a mountain, is the locality whence the Sicilians came to Hammonton (Atlantic County, N.J.). The people are crowded together in a little village, one-half mile long by one-quarter mile wide, with three streets running lengthwise. Every possible space is occupied by a brick house of three or four rooms in one of which a mule is stabled, chickens and pigs are also kept. A boy of Italian birth pictures the conditions as inexpressibly squalid. The residents of the village own small farms of from one to one and a half acres in the outlying district and the few Italians who live in the country are usually tenant farmers. The markets for produce are poor and the farmers get but meagre returns." (1).

Their meagre earnings allowed these workers but a simple living. Out of the twenty or thirty cents a day which they might earn, they had first to pay oppressive taxes to the Church and State. Prices were low, and living cheap; men were able to exist on as little as five cents a day. Food was scanty, but provided one small enjoyment in which the workers set great store. Polenta (chestnut meal porridge) and pasta (like macaroni) were part of the daily menu, while green vegetables, bread and cheese, milk, figs, chestnuts, fresh fruits, oils and home-made wines were also widely used.

✓ In the relatively closed provinces, differences in the ways of preparing foods and in the dietary practices generally, tended to mark areas of interaction. These areas were usually

(1) Emily Fogg Meade, The Italian on the Land, A Study in Immigration. Bulletin, United States Department of Labour, V. 14, Bulletin 70, May 7, 1907.

not larger than the Provinces, though the two did not always coincide. Within these culture areas, local crafts and local prejudices were perpetuated. These different consumption practices were not widely variant. They were sufficiently gripped in tradition to encourage a grouping in America following the old geographical and cultural alignments.

It was the breaking down of local isolation - hitherto supporting these provincial practices - that spirited the unrest among the Italian peasants. The whole of Italy was being made accessible to her larger cities during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The transformation that made for this was first, however, a purely urban movement of industrialization that had affected every large city in Europe.

In a new occupational setting the workers were thrown into new alignments of relationships. A new order of societal organization not unlike that of agricultural feudalism accompanied this change in production. The new industrial society was quickly drawn into distinct class lines.

What level of living was allowed these urban workers? Some indication is given in the fact that sixty to seventy per cent of the family income, or even more, was spent for food. Cramped living quarters and rough clothing were their allotted comforts. Never more than a small percentage of the worker's budget has been used as rent. In 1920 the amount for all classes of workers was 4% in Rome and only 2.9% in Milan. A pre-war study of the housing of unskilled government employees showed an almost equal number living in one, two and three-roomed houses, and these groups together constituted three-quarters of the total

included in the survey. Over 85% of the homes were occupied by families of from two to six persons. The same report (8. shows that 11% of the railway workers of the lower skills lived in homes consisting of a single room.

The different nature of the urban occupations accounts for a different family organization. The women shared less directly in the providing of the family need; their place was in the homes. The children too, were not an economic asset until they were able to find themselves employment. The Italian urban family pattern, then, was much as we know it in America to-day. To escape the squalor of their airless, waterless rooms, the women and children would spend much of their time on the streets. In the cities then, there was continued a sort of rural social control. This may be important in understanding the nature of the relationships existing within the Italian colonies in Montreal. Inside their homes, the Italian families had only rough furnishings and almost never any books or periodicals. This description does not fit those of the salaried classes. Their modes of living do not concern us here.

Families spending three-quarters of their incomes for food, forced onto the streets to find space for work and play, and still sufficiently unsettled to have these modes of conduct hardened into routine, were almost certain to give vent to a new unrest. One reaction was the attempt of the workers to bargain collectively and to strike for demands that would allow a higher level of living. The history of labour in the early years of this century is built up around a series of class organizations and strikes. The continued persistency of these workers in their efforts to better their conditions carried with it a proof of their

feeling of subjection and an evidence of their earnestness in the struggle for gain. Political groups sprang up to champion the workers' cause, and continued pressure did result in a slight amelioration.

Some chose still another escape - emigration. In the rapidly evolving Italy new employment conditions in the cities and new evaluations of rural peasant conditions gave rise to a widespread discontent. Discontent of this sort is, typically, a forerunner to some sort of social movement. Fewer industrial workers chose emigration as a means of adjustment than did agricultural workers. This may have been because they were able to conceive the solution to their immediate problem as lying in a change of social relations in their home industries. The rapid exodus from the agricultural villages by the middle of the century's first decade had become a vast movement. Many of the villages and smaller towns were drained of all their more able-bodied inhabitants. The Italian land-owners, driven in desperation to get farm labourers, attempted to attract their help from provinces where the rage for emigration had not become so imperious. Internal migration was encouraged by the government and in some instances agricultural colonies were set up. Still there came reports of success across the seas. High salaries, lower taxes and easier conditions of life until the time of the War, acted like a magnet on the young men who would formerly have settled into the routine of drudgery and struggle.

Italian Emigration.

The course of emigration from Italy may be traced briefly. We need not press our inquiry back beyond the middle of the last century. No official data on emigration is available for the

years before 1869 and such data as exists is fragmentary. Private memoirs, census material and the reports of certain interested groups do, however, throw some light on the movement in its earlier stages.

Emigration before 1859 was sporadic, and did not gain significant proportions till later. Until this date there were restrictive laws preventing people from leaving the country. In consequence few moved out. The immigration statistics of the United States indicated the arrival of Italians from 1820 forward; of Brazil from 1836 and Argentina from 1857. In less distant lands were to be found much larger numbers. The Italian census of 1861 reported 78,000 in France, 14,000 in Germany, a similar number in Switzerland, 4,500 in England, 12,000 in Alexandria and 6,000 in Tunis.

The outflowing stream of migrants was soon to widen. In the decade following 1870, the average number leaving Italy per year was slightly over one hundred thousand. A steady increase after 1880 more than trebled this number by the years immediately before 1900. The notable trend during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the disproportionate increase in the number moving to the distant shores of transoceanic countries. The proportion of the emigrants leaving Europe increased from just under 25% per cent to 53%. The United States, Argentina and Brazil absorbed most of the overseas emigration.

During the pre-war years the trend continued rapidly upward, till in the years 1911-1913, the annual average mounted to over 700,000. The Americas' share of these increased to nearly sixty per cent.

This same trend is indicated in the reports of other

southern European countries. In the decade immediately preceding the war, industrial and commercial expansion in the Americas promised ready work at wage rates almost unknown in Italy. The home country held but little hope for the improvement of their economic lot and the Italian peasants left their farms, and in some cases their children, to seek new comforts abroad. To this increasing outflow the War put a check. Men of fighting age were conscripted and forbidden to emigrate. After five gruelling years the migrant stream widened again, but was to be diverted from its earlier channels. The open-door policy of the United States was modified in its Quota Acts of 1921 and 1924, to one of automatic and rigid control. By these acts the emigrant of southern European countries was forced into a position of disadvantage. Likewise, the 1910 and subsequent Immigrant Acts of the Dominion of Canada enabled our authorities to place a check on the influx of the southern European groups. One effect of this legislation has been to concentrate the time of arrival of the North American Italian immigrants in the pre-war period. Argentina and Brazil, however, continued to welcome them and, till 1926, large numbers moved to these and neighbouring countries in the South American continent.

Since 1927, as a result of Fascist policy, emigration has been much reduced. A parliamentary statement on this point cites emigration as "an evil which, in return for a handful of gold, robs Italy from the material standpoint of all that she has spent in feeding and educating him and turning him into a producer; from the military standpoint of a soldier; from the population standpoint, of a element of youth and strength that will fertilize foreign lands and give children to a foreign country." (1). A rigid policy has been adopted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

(1) See next page.

to regulate the outflow of population by restricting the issuance of passports. The new regulation provides that passports may be issued only to those who hold a regular contract for work in a foreign country, or to those who can show a request from relatives abroad to have them join them. In 1928 an even more stringent rule provided only temporary passports for all except those who were emigrating to join relatives. This general policy on the part of the Italian govenment has been accompanied by an active and official repatriation movement.

Canada has never received more than a small number of the emigrating Italians. This may be attributed to the greater attractiveness of our near neighbour, the United States.

TABLE 11

Number of Italian Immigrants Entering Canada, by Years

Year	Average Number Per Year	Percentage of Overseas Emigration
1876--1900	560	0.54
1900--1914	9676	2.72
1915--1918	649	1.65
1919--1927	4405	2.77
1928--1929	1231	1.86

The flow of Italian immigrants to Canada has been very largely from the Southern provinces and islands. This group, especially in the pre-war period, is the one whose home experiences show most clearly the reason for the emigration boom. They were among the most depressed of agriculturalists.

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(1) Camera dei Deputati ~~X~~ Atti parlamantari, 27th Legislature, first session, sitting of May 26, 1927.
Quoted International Labour Review, v. 23 p. 806 June 1931.

It is very difficult to ascertain to what extent our Italians are a selected group from among the rural population of the homeland. They appear to be drawn very largely from the central and southern provinces. A further comment, true of any group, is that they must have had sufficient economic freedom to move. Of the ninety-five not brought by their parents, seventy-five did not have financial assistance to cover the costs of moving. Fourteen were helped by their parents, while four persons borrowed from friends. Two persons, coming in the immediate post-war years, were given financial assistance by the Italian government.

Our Italian immigrants are also a selected group in that they were not drawn proportionately from the different age groups of the population. The men who emigrated were young men. Half the number coming were under twenty-five. Half of those coming independently of their parents were not more than twenty-seven. Only one-fifth of the total number arriving had passed thirty.

TABLE XI

Age of Italian Men at Date of Emigration

Age at Date of Emigration	Frequency	Percentage Distribution
5--10	9	7.2
10--15	10	8.0
15--20	19	15.2
20--25	31	24.8
25--30	29	23.2
30--35	11	8.8
35--40	10	8.0
40--45	2	1.6
45--49	4	3.2
Total	125	100.0

Background Experiences of 125 Italian Immigrants in Montreal.

Any study of the adjustment of an immigrant group must take into account that body of experiences on which the attitudes and values of the group rested. The occupations and the ways of life that so often were built up around them, the nature of the group's social participation in its particular environment, the institutional practices, all were part of this experience. The statistical data which follow were taken from the case records of 125 Italian families resident in Montreal.

Thirty of the male heads of these families came to Canada as children with their parents. Of the remaining ninety-five, sixty-three, or approximately two-thirds, were farmers or farm labourers. In the Italian farm regions where the unit of participation in agricultural production was the family group, the women worked in the fields beside their husbands. This was the case in almost every family where marriage occurred before emigration. Thirteen men, including two bricklayers, two carpenters, two plasterers and a stone-mason, were drawn from the construction trades. A much smaller number were from small commercial trades, among them a baker, a shoemaker and a tailor. One man had his own transfer business. One was a musician, another a sailor. It is clear that the vast majority of the Italians in Montreal came to Canada with a background of rural experience. Several of the non-farming residents were found to have come from small towns in central Italy whose economic life was dependent on the agricultural population surrounding them.

Of the ninety-three who had worked in Italy and from whom reports were available, sixty-seven, or over 70% had an aver-

age of nine months work or more per year. Agriculture knew its busy seasons and its seasons of slackened activity. In this industry where productivity was low, wages in the off-season were extremely small and consumption was limited to a few necessities. Most of the remaining number averaged work for at least half the year, only six were in a less favourable position.

Why, then, did these people emigrate? Thirty were brought. All but six of the others stated their reason as economic. Some were driven by the pressure of necessity, others aspired to a higher and more secure level of living. Of those who conceived their reasons for coming as being of a more personal nature, let it be noted that their closed communities with little or no mobility in occupation were not able to offer an adjustment to the conflict situations in which these people found themselves. Doubtless many emigrated because others in the same communities were doing so. In many towns in Italy emigration became a social movement born of a discontent arising from economic suppression.

Table 1V gives the date of emigration of the male heads of households of our sample group. This table shows 55% emigrating in the ten-year period immediately preceding the War. Together nearly three-quarters of the total number came to Canada in the pre-war period, while only twenty-six, or 22%, came in during the past decade.

TABLE 1V

Date of Emigration of Italian Men in Montreal

Date of Emigration	Frequency	Percentage Distribution	Cumulative Percentage
Before 1900	6	5	5
1900--1904	17	13	18
1905--1909	26	21	39
1910--1914	43	34	73
1915--1919	7	6	79
1920--1924	19	15	94
1925--1929	7	6	100
Total	125	100	---

CHAPTER TWO

THE ITALIANS' HABITAT

Immigration and Spatial Distribution.

In 1901 the Italian population of Canada was 10,834. A more careful study of the census data shows approximately one-quarter of this number distributed throughout the mining areas of the Pacific ranges, the Port Arthur -- Sault Ste. Marie region and in Nova Scotia. The central area of Ontario had about three thousand, one-third of this number being found in and around Toronto. There were about 2300 in Montreal and the separately incorporated villages on the Island. This latter figure represents the greatest aggregate number found in any Canadian city at that time.

By 1911 over 45,000 of Italian origin were resident in this country. The early decade of the new century was a period of rapid immigration and some emigration. The 1911 population figure is about the same as the number of Italians entering Canada since 1904.

The trends in settlement of these newcomers seem to accentuate those indicated in the figures for the earlier period. Nearly 21,000 were in Ontario, nearly 10,000 were in Quebec, while a similar number were in British Columbia. There were somewhat over 3,000 in the Prairie Provinces and about 1300 in the Maritimes.

The mining areas continued to attract this population group. The majority of those found in the Prairie Provinces were in the mining areas, near Canmore and MacLeod in the southern part of Alberta. There was a definite urban trend during the de-

cade. Vancouver and the neighbouring area had nearly 3,000 of Italian origin; Winnipeg, fast becoming a commercial and industrial center, had attracted 700. There were 4,000 in Toronto with an additional 1,500 at Hamilton forty miles to the west. The growing industrial towns in Ontario were attracting fair numbers of these people. Montreal retained her position as Canada's largest Italian city with 7,000 living on the Island in 1911.

In the ~~last~~ census for 1921 and for 1931, there were respectively 66,769 and 98,173 Italians in Canada. British Columbia was the only province to see a falling off in numbers during the War decade. The Italian population in the Prairie Provinces more than doubled. Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes retained about the same proportion of the total population as before. The last ten-year period between census shows slight absolute increases in the Maritimes and Prairie regions. British Columbia added 4,000 Italians to her population. Ontario now, as throughout the century, has approximately half the Italian population of Canada, while Quebec has about one-quarter of the total. Montreal retained her position as first ranking Italian city. Throughout this period there has been a definite trend towards urbanization. The following table gives the numbers living in unincorporated areas and in incorporated villages, towns and cities, classified according to their Italian population, by provinces and for Canada as a whole.

TABLE V.

Percentage Distribution of Italians in Communities of Different Sizes, by Provinces

1921

	Unincorp. Areas and Villages under 1000	1000 to 2499	2500 to 4999	5000 to 9999	10000 to 24999	25000 to 49999	50000 to and over
Canada	23.47	3.94	7.63	3.16	12.52	1.73	47.54
Nova Scotia	16.91	9.63	8.95	28.58	26.24	---	9.69
New Brunswick	60.61	.55	10.90	3.27	4.36	12.53	----
Quebec	6.04	.04	1.270	1.134	1.295	---	90.22
Ontario	23.53	3.56	7.88	2.40	21.20	2.09	39.55
Manitoba	17.90	.93	5.26	.57	7.55	---	67.82
Saskatchewan	77.21	2.03	2.76	4.29	.44	13.35	----
Alberta	57.45	19.24	---	1.76	5.06	---	16.48
British Columbia	38.22	4.83	22.77	6.56	3.30	2.67	21.66

1931

	Unincorp. Areas and Villages under 1000	1000 to 2499	2500 to 4999	5000 to 9999	10000 to 24999	25000 to 49999	50000 to and over
Canada	18.95	3.34	4.73	5.54	13.63	2.72	51.08
Nova Scotia	17.02	2.00	17.98	34.27	21.98	---	6.758
New Brunswick	57.78	---	10.37	6.67	6.67	18.52	---
Quebec	5.52	1.82	1.51	1.30	2.10	.54	87.21
Ontario	18.80	2.34	3.88	4.21	23.19	4.37	44.21
Manitoba	13.37	2.06	.67	8.91	5.04	---	69.95
Saskatchewan	56.34	2.12	8.65	16.35	---	12.12	4.42
Alberta	59.76	12.15	2.08	---	7.43	---	18.63
British Columbia	29.00	7.88	14.71	16.89	1.80	1.80	27.83

This table shows the extent to which the Italians have tended to settle in cities. The number of these people living in incorporated communities was 4.5% greater in 1931 than in 1921. A relative decrease is also to be noted in the numbers living in villages and towns with a population of under 5,000. Now over half the Italians in Canada live in ten of our great cities, while the majority of these live in Montreal and Toronto. In Quebec province alone, where until a few years ago scarcely any Italians

outside the city of Montreal, there has been a relative increase in their numbers in the incorporate towns in each of our population classifications, except the largest which includes Quebec City and Montreal. These cities, however, have showed a large absolute gain.

The major trends in Italian settlement in Canada might be summarized briefly. First, the Italians have shown but little tendency to reconstruct their agricultural or village life but have tended rather to seek manual labour in the mining areas, on construction projects or in the cities where an elastic demand for brawn offers recurring opportunities for employment. Secondly, the Italian, like almost every other European immigrant group, has tended to settle in greater numbers in Ontario than elsewhere. Thirdly, while they have not been a mobile group, except as the industries to which they have been attracted have made them so, they have tended more and more to follow the general movement of population to our larger cities. Fourthly, Montreal, for many their port of entry, has been from the beginning of the immigration movement the greatest Italian city in Canada.

Several reasons might be noted for this concentration of population in Montreal. Like New York, it is a divisional point in transportation, and for many months of the year a point of entry. Doubtless many families migrated without any specific pre-determined destination and so stopped here either to view the Canadian scene with its occupational opportunities or to earn some much needed money before seeking a more permanent adjustment. Montreal, with its phenomenal growth as a commercial and industrial city, has favored the immigrants because of its employment opportunities in the unskilled trades. Important in selecting

the Italians to Montreal has been the religious situation here. Montreal is probably the most Catholic of the large cities in America, while Italy is the most Catholic country in Europe. Here the Italian has been able to transplant his home land religious sentiments and mores with little disturbance to these or to himself. Montreal, rather than the territory about it, is a place of glamour that bears with a fascination, the answer to the mystic wonderings of many peasant groups, among them the Italians. Once the first few settled here, others naturally followed, some to join friends, some to make easier their accommodation through settling among those with background experiences similar to their own.

Spatial Distribution in Montreal.

There has been developed in sociological theory a natural history of the movement of the occidental immigrant through successive stages of settlement in his new urban environment. It is our purpose to trace this process with little reference to detail in the paragraphs which follow.

In 1881 there were fewer than one hundred and fifty Italians in Montreal. The Italians seem to have entered the Dufferin Square district in the 1890's along with the Irish and other southern Europeans. Of the two thousand Italians resident in Montreal in 1900, about half this number lived in the St. Louis, St. Lawrence and St. James wards covering this area. The process of city expansion had already transformed this region into a typical down-town slum. At this early date, some of the more "successful" Europeans, among them a few Italians, were living in the residential area immediately north of St. Catherine Street on the streets paralleling St. Lawrence. Out here, on St. Urbain

Street at Prince Arthur, was the office of the Italian Consul-General for Canada. Approximately half the Italians on the Island lived outside this downtown transitional area. These lived in small groups on the outer edge of settlement in Ville St. Louis (north of Mount Royal Ave.), in the old St. Denis ward and in the new industrial area along the river to the east. Only a few settled west of the city center.

The last decade, we have indicated, was a period of large Italian immigration into Montreal. Within the city itself great changes were taking place. Vast industrial expansion along the river bank to the east and along the Lachine canal, gave to Montreal a new role of domination. The effect of this was to attract a new body of industrial labour both from abroad and from the rural counties of French Quebec. From just over 2000, the Italian population more than trebled in the ten-year interval. The combined influences of the natural attraction of the fringe area for the Italians and the newly located employment opportunities gave these Italians their peculiar spatial distribution during the period. While the Italian population increased by over 5,000, the number in the area "below the hill" increased by only 800. While some passed through the slum on their way outward, and others replaced those there in 1900, the vast majority made their area of first settlement away from the central slum region in the areas of cheap land costs out near the city's periphery.

These people tended to group themselves together in "village colonies". The largest of these by far, until after the War, was in Laurier ward. This area centred on Clarke Street (one block west of St. Lawrence), between Papineau and Atlantic Streets and extended for a block or two on either side of the

north-south thoroughfare. A block or two to the south lay the Canadian Pacific railway lines, while a similar distance to the north was farm property and open country.

A half-dozen other groups, each somewhat smaller in number, were scattered throughout the city. The most of these were on the east side of the city and for the most part in areas of non-intensive land usage. The industrial areas of Maisonneuve and along the Lachine canal were attracting a few through their offer of industrial employment. (Let it be noted, however, that) these industrial suburbs offered not only work, but also garden space and freedom from the congestion of the more central areas.

This movement from the center to the fringe of the city was not an unbroken trend. Two or three small groups, doubtless those who had been living in the central slum area for a considerable period of time, had moved out to the second zone of settlement. This area of workingmen's homes is the one in which immigrant groups usually establish their areas of second settlement. This tendency has been much less general among Italians in Montreal than might be expected.

The post-war period has been one of almost continuous urban growth and expansion. The metropolitan area of Montreal increased from less than three-quarters of a million inhabitants to over a million. Building has gone on apace; new areas have been opened up to settlement; new population elements have been attracted. The number of Italians on Montreal Island doubled during the War decade due, no doubt, to the heavy immigration in the years 1911--1914; these increased from 15,000 to 22,000 during the next ten-year period.

The trends of distribution of this population element

over the metropolitan region are much the same as have been indicated for the pre-war decade.

Fewer than half of the over resident in the city at the time of the 1931 census were foreign born, and changes in the pattern of settlement might be attributed in part to their increased period of residence.

The latest census report (1931) shows Italians living in every ward in the city. There are still a few living in the downtown area, with the greatest number here living in the waterfront wards of Ste. Anne and St. James. These are nearly all dock workers who are held to the slum area on account of their irregular work and low pay and also through necessity of being near to the "gates". The wards just to the north of these show some of the smallest aggregates of Italians of any in Montreal. (1). This area of first settlement has been taken over in part by immigrant groups of more recent arrival.

Some have moved into the wards of the city wage earners. No very large aggregate in this zone is to be found in any one location. Instead, a few families may be found on one or two adjacent streets, living in among those of other ethnic backgrounds. It must be noted that these smaller groups are found almost exclusively in that part of the second radial zone which lies east of Bleury Street. In this spatial patterning, we have an effect, as well as a cause, of the Italians being assimilated towards the French rather than the English.

The vast majority of Italian immigrants have continued to settle in the fringe areas. More than half the Italians in the metropolitan area of Montreal live north of Beaubien Street and east of Bleury. Others have been attracted to the suburban indus-

(1) This statement may be misleading on account of the small area covered by each ward in the down-town district.

trial areas in Maisonneuve, Rosemount and the wards along the canal. They may be found congregated in large numbers around such industrial plants as the Canada Cement Factory and the Canadian Tube and Steel Company plant beside the canal. These areas have still vacant property scattered throughout them and (again) are near the edge of population settlement.

The dominant feature in Italian settlement in Montreal, then, has been the development of "fringe colonies" of varying sizes along the north-east edge of the city and around the suburban industrial plants. The three areas selected for detailed study are the outgrowth of ~~the~~ a typical Italian tendency - the search (in seeking) for fringe homes and garden plots. Two, at least, are set in a wider array of small colonies, while one of these serves as a parish center and shopping area for the other settlements around. The third area chosen is typically industrial.

The Dante Street Area.

The Italian area centering on Dante Street is bounded, roughly, by Clarke Street on the west, Drolet Street on the east and Mozart and Beaubien Streets on the north and south respectively. The time distance of this area from Phillips Square is about thirty minutes by street-car. The area is shut off on the west by the Brandram Henderson Paint (Company) factory. On the north are the vacant properties surrounding the new fire hall, police station and civic market on a block beyond Isabeau Street with its buildings serving industrial and commercial purposes. While the area of Italian settlement does not extend as far south as the Canadian Pacific railway lines (on block south of Beaubien) this rail line and the industrial property beside it acts as a natural barrier. One block to the east of Drolet Street is St. Denis Street which

serves commercial interests at this point. This territory, then, is a "natural area", having fairly clearly defined boundaries. Dante Street, running in an east-west direction between St. Lawrence Boulevard and Henri Julien Ave., is approximately at its geographic center. The region is located just north of Mile End in Montreal.

This area is set in a broader region of residences and light industries near the northern periphery of the urban region of unbroken settlement. The dominant population element throughout this whole area is French, though there are small numbers from other ethnic elements scattered throughout. The Italians form the largest foreign group in practically all the wards on this northern edge of settlement. The Dante Street district does not exist as a lone island, but is really a point of concentration of Italian people and institutions in a widely spread area of Italian settlement. It has grown up naturally near the intersection of north and east transportation lines, a point of entry for the whole area.

Clarke Street was one of the earliest Italian centers in Montreal. It was not until after the War that the area east of St. Lawrence had superseded it as a center. As early as 1910 all the streets running north and south had been opened through this area. At this time Mozart Street was only a road allowance and beyond were a few residences, then open country. In the immediate pre-war years, this area was built up very quickly. The streets showed one-fourth to one-sixth the number of residents in 1909--1910 as they do to-day. By 1915 the number of buildings for residence had nearly doubled. At this time settlement tended to spread out from St. Lawrence Blvd. rather than St. Denis Street. Many of the houses erected at that time are those which occupy the

same space to-day. At 1910 not more than a dozen Italian families lived in this neighbourhood east of St. Lawrence. By 1915, while the total number of residents had increased from about 300 to over twice that number of families, the number of Italian families increased fourfold. Still, they were an infinitesimal part of the population.

Building continued during the War period and extended northward. The outward expansion of the city was breaking down the "fringe" aspects of the neighbourhood. St. Lawrence Blvd., as it became given over more and more to commercial usage, tended to separate the old Clarke Street area from the newer settlement.

This early appendage of Clarke Street had taken on characteristics peculiar to itself. It was now attracting people who had been in this country for years and who were moving from their first established homes. During the War period, the Italian population in this northern area more than doubled. Casgrain, De Gaspe and Alma Streets attracted the most of the invaders. For the most part these people had become partly Canadianized. Within sound of the old "village" colony of fifteen years before, these people had established their largest area of second settlement among a section of the French working class population. During this period, a second "foreign" population element entered the area -- the Jews. However, this new group did not become large and at present (1934) there are scarcely any of its number in the area.

Expansion continued. By 1925 single streets were housing over two hundred families in each of several blocks. Less and less vacant land remained to be built upon. More of the buildings were constructed to house four or six families than before. Ital-

ians were attracted to the area from the various "colonies" throughout the city. Again, in the five-year period, 1920--1925, the Italian population in the area doubled.

The inward movement of Italians was less accentuated after 1925, though it has continued in an almost unbroken stream. The total Italiam population in the area to-day might be stated approximately as two thousand, though estimates range somewhat higher. As such they are not more than about one-quarter of the total population of the area. The dominant population element is French. The more recent tendency among the Italians has been to move north in the area. While larger aggregate numbers live south of Dante Street than above it, the greatest increase, relative to the number of residents on the streets, has been on Dante and Mozart and on the streets joining the two. The trend is almost certain to continue in this direction.

More residents could find homes in this area to-day only by a more intensive use of the property already built upon. Two or three vacant lots remain but not more. It is obvious on appearance that building in this area was not the work of any large scale promotion. No long series of buildings stand side by side, wearying the passers-by with their monotonous exactness in copy of design. The places stand rather, each as a separately erected home, a visible symbol of the success of some French or Italian in the city.

The buildings facing Dante Street are, on the average, larger than those on the adjoining streets. The most of them extend up three storeys and house six or more families. Without exception, the families covered by our interviews on this street were tenants. The buildings are nearly all of brick construction

and most have outside stair cases, after the French style in the city, winding from the sidewalk up to the small verandah above. One or two have outside winding stairs again to the third floor. The buildings on most of the corners have been given over to commercial use. On the north side of the street are a number of small shops set in among dwellings. These, again, have homes above them with outside stairs placed against the front walls.

Alma Street presents a somewhat drab appearance at places. Most of the buildings are two storeys in height. Several groups of homes are built on the same level as the street or only a step above it. In front of these, the sidewalk has been widened to the very door-step and the passer-by is greeted with a series of doors and windows. Inside stairs lead up to those living in upstair flats. Within two blocks of Dante on this street, one of the better known city dairies has a plant.

One block east is Avenue Henri Julien. This avenue is lined with various types of buildings of different sizes and differing architectural patterns. Here buildings of one, two or three storeys stand side by side, places of red brick and yellow brick, places old and new.

Mozart Street, on the north, has several single dwellings of cheap wooden and hasty construction. These open directly on to the street. Throughout the area, too, are places sheltering only single families, built perfectly symmetrically and kept clean and tidy. These places are invariably those of Italians. Another typically Italian home is the one of wooden construction, built far back from the street, with a verandah extending the whole width of it. In front of these homes, the Italians cultivate vegetable gardens.

Clarke Street, as we have indicated, stands apart from the main Dante area of Italian segregation. It is shut off from the larger area by the commercial usage of St. Lawrence Blvd. Several of the more important streets do not continue unbroken over as far as Clarke, while, again, the public square breaks the binding rows of residences. No better evidence of the separation of the old and new units of the area can be given than that St. Dominque Street, immediately east of St. Lawrence, is almost solidly French.

Most of the houses on Clarke Street are old. Like the streets across the Main (1), it has no long series of identical buildings. The houses are set back varying distances from the street, according to the building practices of different periods. Here an Italian grocer serves the specific needs of his fellow countrymen, while another of the same group begs a wider clientele as a shoe-repairer.

The newer Italian area, too, is marked by its institutions. The Italian Catholic Church, Notre Dame de la Defense, is an imposing structure, standing between Alma and Avenue Henri Julien and fronting on Dante Street. It is of brick construction and has no high pointed steeple, such as would characterize any neighbouring French church. It was constructed in 1929. A tablet in its front lobby pays tribute to its donors by listing their names and the amount of their contribution. Inside, it is of distinctive design. In its circular loft are pictures significant to those familiar with the teaching of their faith. The front mural is intended to show the development of the church in its relation to the state from the earliest times to the present. On the extreme left one finds Abraham, on the right, visible above

(1) Montreal colloquialism for St. Lawrence Blvd.

all other figures, is Mussolini. The whole church is brightly and decoratively coloured. Italian influence is seen again in the pillared effect given the walls. The building stands clearly a tribute to Catholicism, a symbol of Italian national solidarity.

Other Italian nationalistic organizations have gained position to enable them to set up their own club headquarters. The "Fascio Italiano", the Italian Fascist club, has its club rooms on St. Lawrence Blvd. with its insignia painted on its door. The Italian branch of the Federation des Clubs Ouvriers, a French Fascist organization, has had its club rooms on Dante Street until very recently. In this area, too, the Italian weekly journal, "L'Araldo" (Herald), has its offices and joins with L'Italia and other Italian papers from American cities in bringing the news of the new and old lands to these people. There are then the more purely commercial enterprises, a large and attractive Italian grocery and meat store, and several smaller Italian shops catering to their native kin. An Italian photographer sets out attractive pictures of bridal couples to attract the passers-by. At the same time, competing for their trade, French shop-keepers set out their bargains and serve the less peculiarly Italian wants.

The Papineau Street Area.

The area centering on Papineau Street between Beaubien and Belanger Streets, we shall speak of as the Papineau Street area in this study. The area is directly east of the Dante Street area. It is served by the Beaubien bus and the Papineau street-car and has a street-car time distance of about forty minutes from the central up-town business district.

The area is, in a sense, less shut off by natural barriers than is the Dante Street area. On the south, from Marquette

Street west is the quarry of P. Martineau et Fils. On the north, paving stops at Belanger Street and a short distance further on settlement stops. On the west the Italian area shades off into the French, Fabre Street might be taken to mark this division. Eastward, the area extends to Bordeaux Street. Thus on two sides, and part of the third, the only effective boundaries are cultural.

This district forms part of the larger industrial and residential area which includes the Dante Street colony. It is bounded more directly than the other by the residences of the native born French-Canadians. The Papineau Street area is slightly over a mile to the east of Dante Street. A few Italian families are scattered through the area between. These two areas are nearly independent of each other. Each has its own stores. They come together in the Dante Street area for Church services and other religious activities.

The first streets opened in this area were Papineau and Marquette Streets. In 1910 settlement was beginning to take place along these, though at this date no intersecting streets were opened up. Marquette Street had only seventeen residents north of the railway line, the majority French; three or four were Jewish, two families were Italian. Papineau Street was somewhat more settled, with the same population elements represented in like proportions. The property around was then farm land operated by British proprietors. During the next few years, the present street pattern was given reality. Settlement extended as far north as Belanger Street and Papineau extended beyond. Approximately 300 families of mixed ethnic backgrounds were living within the area. Marquette Street was the scene of the greatest building activity, though all other streets shared in fair proportions. The great

invading group at this time was the Jewish. North of Beaubien Street was only a handful of French, but the Hebrews dominated the area by their culture. On Cartier Street, one block east of Papineau, three synagogues of different sectarian groups were erected and around these their social life revolved. Then, as yet, this was a fringe area and here a working class element of this typically urban ethnic group erected small homes for themselves. At the outbreak of War, not more than six or seven Italian families were in the whole area.

The next quinquennial period takes us to 1920. During this period building continued, though not at its former pace. The total population increased by about one-quarter. A new ethnic element had appeared in sufficiently large numbers to gain mention -- the Negroes. The greatest visible institutional symbol of this presence was the High African American Methodist Episcopal Church on Papineau Street north of St. Zotique Street. However, they remained a minority group and, in the course of the next few years, had all made their exit from the region. During the War period the Jews lost hold on the dominance of the area as the French crowded in from the south. Some fifty Italian families were spread throughout the area. Twenty of these were on Marquette Street; ten were on Chabot Street. Eleven families were living in small shack-like homes of their own construction, north of Belanger Street, where space permitted them to cultivate gardens.

The general rate of growth of population continued during the next five years. The most of this increase can again be attributed to the French. The area as far north as Belanger Street was almost completely built up, while beyond were a few more scattered dwellings. The Jewish group, still a very large element

in the population, was tending to concentrate on Cartier and Papineau Streets, though a large number were still to be found on Marquette. The Italian increase was out of all proportion to their former numbers; they now constituted about one-fifth of the total population. An approximately equal number was to be found on each side of Papineau Street, while, relative to the general spread of population, they were more numerous towards the north or open edge of the area than elsewhere.

Since that date building has gone on but has not yet filled out the area. The car line on Belanger still marks the edge of solid settlement, though homes are being placed seemingly in open country several blocks northward. The Jewish element still remains strong and doubtless outnumbers the Italians. On the other hand, it shows no great tendency to increase. One of the three buildings for the practice of religious rites has retained its early use and the closing of the others more likely represents a secularization than a withdrawal of population. In these intervening years, the Italian population has almost doubled its 1925 figure. It is now about one-quarter of the total for the area. The streets west of Papineau seem to have attracted the greatest number. Marquette, with about seventy families, is one-third Italian; Fabre Street, one block west, is less densely inhabited but is about half Italian.

To-day these three population elements, Jewish, French and Italian, stand side by side, competing with one another for survival. The two great Roman Catholic groups stand more nearly together and so tend to dominate the area. Invasion has taken place into this once Jewish area for a period of twenty years, but succession is not yet completed.

Papineau Street is in many ways a typical suburban business street. Most of the store buildings are old. They are of two storeys, with dwelling space on the upper floor. Many of these shops bear the names of Jewish proprietors. There are one or two Italian shops and a number of French. Dry goods, meats, groceries and other standardized products of habitual consumption are available. The houses on this street, between Beaubien and St. Zotique, are nearly all of one storey. They have brick fronts, flat roofs and are built to cover the width of the lots.

A public playground in this area is the gathering place of the children of several nationalities. It is equipped with swings and bars and during the summer months an extensive programme of games of one sort or another is kept in motion by the directors. The park is between St. Zotique, Papineau, Belanger and Cartier Streets.

On the residential streets skirting Papineau about one-sixth of the land is vacant to St. Zotique Street. North of this there are still more vacant building lots. Beyond Belanger, settlement is still in its elementary stage. In a sense, these two east-west streets divide the area into three distinctive zones. The first of these, south of St. Zotique Street, is very obviously the oldest. More than half the homes in this area are of one storey. Some of the houses are adjoining, others have space between them; some are of wood, others brick; some are dilapidated, others in good repair. The two-flat and four-flat dwelling, where it is found, marks an invasion of the typical Montreal house into this semi-slum fringe area. New one-storey brick dwellings are being constructed by Italian owners, usually attractively finished and with larger verandahs than are typical among the French.

In the second zone, between St. Zotique and Belanger Streets, there are fewer of the small single dwellings, more of the two, four or six flat type. The new buildings of flats are orthodox in design though neatly finished. No large blocks have been built together. It is in this area that building will go on in the period which is to follow, should the city continue its outward expansion.

North of St. Zotique there are only scattered dwellings. These are nearly all small and many are left unfinished. They are built back from the road a distance of about twenty feet, while all the vacant space about them is used as garden. The houses are square and box-like, some among them are shacks obviously intended as make-shift quarters by owners who since have not been able to build better.

Ville Emard.

Ville Emard is situated on the south side of the Lachine Canal, directly across from the Canadian National Railway Turcot yards. It is an industrial suburb built up around the factories of the Canadian Car and Foundry Company and the Canadian Tube and Steel Company. These two plants are on either side of the Canal and so mark an effective boundary of the once incorporated Ville Emard. Like the other two areas described, this, too, is practically shut off from the outside community. On the west, settlement stops abruptly at Jogues Street; on the south, it shades off into open country beyond Allard Street. On the east the only continuous settlement is along the canal and there each suburb is built up around its own industry or group of industries. The only street car line, which follows Monk Boulevard and Allard Street, crosses the canal before leading in towards the city cen-

ter, forty-five minutes distant.

The Canadian Car and Foundry factory was opened in 1905. At this time there was practically no settlement south of the canal. Shortly following, Davidson Street (now Monk Blvd.) and one or two neighbouring streets were opened. It does not seem clear whether this new area should rightly be placed as a extension to settlement from the east or from across the canal. The incoming population element was almost entirely French. The 1911 census reports show nearly six thousand inhabitants in Ville Emard. Of these over 5000 were French, about 800 were of British origin. There were 158 Italians.

Before the War, the Canadian Tube and Iron Company had established its plant while a few blocks to the east was the Mount Royal Spinning Company, a branch of the Dominion Textile Company Limited. The area continued to be invaded by the French. By 1915 all the streets now in the area were opened. Foreign population began to enter. By 1920 the Italians had established themselves on Orchard Street (now Hurteau). The Poles found their entry around the fringes of the area, especially on its north and south.

In more recent years, both these European immigrant groups have come in in greater numbers. The Poles have retained their fringe locations. The Italians, most of them already resident in Montreal for a number of years, remained in greatest numbers near the geographic center of the area. Many, also, had found residence in among the French on the surrounding streets. Such being their general pattern of settlement, we shall describe in a brief way the whole area to place them in their setting.

Monk Boulevard is the main business street for the French group of the area. Here are local shops supplying all the

more regular needs of these people, shops whose reason for survival lies in the French practice of supporting their neighbourhood stores. Several chain grocery stores, clothing stores, meat markets and a bank are included among them. Here, too, near the heart of the area stands the Church of Notre Dame du Perpetual Secours, a massive stone structure towering high above the surrounding buildings. This church is attended only by the French. A number of families find residence on this street, among them a few Italians.

Jolicoeur Street intersects Monk Blvd. near the center of its business zone. This east-west street is likewise used for business purposes though not as exclusively so as is the other. East of Monk, it is almost entirely residential. Here are some very new and attractive homes constructed in the traditional Montreal style. West of Monk, stores and houses stand side by side. Those near the Boulevard are again French. Two or three blocks west is the Italian center of Ville Emard. While the Italian stores in this area are to be identified by the names of their proprietors rather than any other visible outward symbol, they seek trade through catering to the Canadian -- Italian wants. A vacant store building tells the fate of an Italian co-operative venture. Upstairs in this building is a large hall operated by the same group on a commercial basis. None of the stores on this street are operated by the large chain companies. On the whole the buildings are clean and attractive. Some, naturally, are older and somewhat dilapidated. These offer cheap rentals above to needy tenants. The club quarters of the Fascio Italiano, Ville Emard branch, is in a small corner building situated farther west than most of the shops. Many of the residence dwellings in this

street are good brick buildings of two or three storeys. They usually are marked by straight or winding outside stair-cases. Some of the most attractive of these were built and are owned by Italians. One or two homes among them are built with fairly large verandahs. Westward, past Hurteau, Mazarin and Joques Streets, the buildings are smaller and more vacant property appears.

West and north of the business streets just described is a solidly built-up residential area. Several corner buildings have been made into small stores. On down the hill, within a close distance of the "Canadian Tube" factory there is a Polish grocery store. The St. Jean Damascene Church, which is attended by the Italians in this district, is on Jogues Street just below Jolicoeur. It was opened only two years ago. It is of simple construction, brick on the outside and plainly but attractively decorated within. People of several nationalities worship there, French, English, Italians and others.

The houses through this area, as in the two other Italian areas we have described, are the property of innumerable separate owners. They show no exact conformity to any one architectural pattern, though the French style dominates. Side by side are houses of one, two and three storeys. Outside stairs are the rule and in some cases even lead up two storeys to the third floor. At one location in the area is an inside court with about a dozen homes placed around it. From the outside this court shows nothing but steps and verandahs. Inside, the homes facing on it are little less attractive, if any, than the more typical homes in the neighbourhood. On Mazarin and Jogues Streets, the two most westerly in the area, single storey dwellings are more prevalent. Most of these places have space about them for small gardens.

South of Jolicoeur Street the same building pattern prevails for one or two blocks as it does on the north. Here are a number of Italian homes of one storey and perfectly symmetrical in design. They are attractively kept and have window curtains and blinds matching on each of the two front windows. There is another Catholic church situated here, a low unfinished building, but with the statue of Christ standing on the lawn before it.

A block farther south the general pattern changes. Allard Street, with the car line along it, has more Poles than any other foreign group resident on it. Extending for a block or two on either side of it is an area of small homes, physically separated from each other and surrounded by gardens. Some of these are neatly painted while others appear rather as small shacks. Small poultry houses are found with some of these places. Only a few Italians live through this area, while other nationality groups predominate. Larger buildings of the more usual type are pressing in on this area from the north and with this invasion, Italian settlement is spreading southward.

Occupation as a Selective Factor in Spatial Distribution.

There may be traced a natural cycle in the spatial distribution of persons of an ethnic group through successive areas of settlement. Among any large immigrant group, as the Italians in Montreal, there will be found several areas representing each period of settlement. In the first set of these areas, often found in and around the down-town slum areas, association and neighbourliness are usually on the basis of home-town traditions or are drawn on blood lines. This is less true, yet still holds, for immigrants whose first areas of settlement are in suburban

industrial districts. It is our hypothesis that as the members of an ethnic group move towards assimilation, the basis on which associations of the more informal type rest, tends to shift from these more intimate background experiences to such factors as occupations and economic status. We suggest, further, that the occupation factor becomes increasingly important in selecting persons for different areas as they become more nearly assimilated, even while their more intimate relationships are with those of their own ethnic group. This same change might well take place within a colony whose workers are dependent on industrial plants in the same vicinity. This process is doubtless encouraged through persons helping their friends of more recent arrival enter employment alongside themselves.

The three sample areas chosen for this study show distinct occupational differences. The Dante Street area has a large number of unskilled construction workers. This group sets the median for the level of living of the whole group. In the upper skills are found a number of artisans, a tailor, an engineer and so forth, whose professions rank, at least, as semi-skilled and who consequently enjoy a level of living somewhat higher than the rest.

At and around Papineau Street, the percentage of skill is so low as to be nearly non-existent. This group is nearly all manual labourers, drawn primarily from the construction trades, but a few enjoy more regular employment in the service of such companies as the Montreal Tramways.

At Ville Emard, factory employment is the chief occupational pursuit and many of those who do not work in the area have regular positions with one or two large companies as the

Montreal Light, Heat and Power.

This pattern of distribution cannot be attributed to differences in the periods which these persons have been in Montreal. The median period of years for the male heads in each area does not vary more than twelve months from twenty years and the cycle of distribution on either side of this median figure is roughly the same in the three cases. Apart from the cases of the one or two who had acquired some useful skill before immigrating, the existing spatial and occupational distribution must largely have been a matter of opportunities in employment. Our emphasis on this point, however, must not give place to exaggeration.

Household Composition of Italians in Three Areas.

These economic differences are reflected in the family groups. The households in the Dante Street area average 4.1 members, while they are 5.0 and 5.1 in the other two. These numbers include a small number of lodgers in the three cases. The age distribution of children is about the same in the different areas. The largest number of children are between the ages of 3 and 12. Within these ages there is a fairly even distribution. The dropping off in the lower years is due no doubt to the effect of the depression on the birth rate. Approximately as many children in these families had passed their ninth birthday as had not attained it.

An analysis of the age groups of children living at home shows that among both males and females there are approximately as many eighteen years of age and over as in any other three year age group. Among the girls, however, there is a very rapid decline in numbers? after the age of twenty is reached, while among the men this is not so noticeable until about the age of twenty-two

or twenty-three. This may be a chance result due to sampling; it may show a tendency for Italian children to live at home until they leave to set up households for themselves.

The age compositions of the parent groups is given in Table Vl.

TABLE Vl

Ages of Parents of Italian Families

Age	Father		Mother	
	Frequency	Percentage Distribution	Frequency	Percentage Distribution
20--24	1	.8	6	4.8
25--29	5	4.0	24	19.2
30--34	17	13.6	17	13.6
35--39	17	13.6	21	16.8
40--44	31	24.8	13	10.4
45--49	19	16.2	9	7.2
50--54	11	8.8	13	10.4
55--59	13	10.4	13	10.4
60--64	5	4.0	2	1.6
65--69	4	3.2	3	2.4
70 and over	2	1.6	--	---
Deceased	--	---	4	3.2
Total	125		125	
Median	43		39	

Over forty per cent of the men are between forty and fifty years of age. The medians for the three areas are 45, 43 and 41 years. This is important as affecting the desire and ease with which they may broaden their participation in our institutional activity and other social practices. Among the men, too, there is a further difficulty in making an occupational adjustment and, indeed, of fitting into the occupational structure of many industries at all, even where the acquiring of skill is not a consideration. This age distribution has been conditioned by the nature of (our) Italian immigration, by the type of men attracted, and by the changes in the numbers admitted before and after the War.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MEANS OF LIVING OF ITALIANS IN MONTREAL

Introductory

The cycle of change in the modes of living of any immigrant group might imply any of three series of adjustments, spatial, occupational, and adjustments related to skills In the case of the Italians, coming to Canada from peasant backgrounds, our attention at this point revolves around the latter two These people have entered a community where occupations and skills are foreign to them. They have been forced into almost immediate accommodation in industry; having only rural experiences, their skills were not questioned The place and importance of skill, and the ambitions which some of the native workers have built up around it, likewise had not entered their experience The cycle of adjustment which would fit these people, in hard fact, and in attitude, into this new occupational setting has been slow and irregular for others It lies inevitably between the newcomer and his ultimate assimilation

Success is a concept best understood by sociological analysis Every group of persons tends to define success for its members; most members set for themselves goals which are acceptable in their own group The business men, and many of the professional class, construct their ambitions around the pillars of industryand commerce and hope that the reward for persistent effort will be a large financial return. The student aims at a degree, then at a higher one In any pyramided society, as is ours, many persons remodel their norms of success as they themselves advance in the

direction of their goals. This process is accompanied by a social climbing which is for some an adjustment to increased opportunity.

Around his notion of success, each individual attempts a personal organization which tends to direct and co-ordinate his various activities to that end. In a city, where there is a wide selection of occupations from which to choose and into which one might be marshalled, many youths do not give a crystallized form to their objectives until they make their debut into industry or commerce. In environments where this condition is not prevailing, as in the peasant regions of Europe, success takes on a more unified character for those of the whole area. Born on the land, destined to be farmers, the peasant folk construct their hopes and ambitions in the only arena that they know. Social climbing for them implies, not a shifting of occupations, but success at farming and ultimate land ownership. Their own organization dictates a persistent striving within the limitations of a nearly rigid occupational setting.

The social stratifaction of Southern Italy and the effective control over the lower classes, made climbing difficult. The persistent blockade by the landlord class, set against ambitions of the tenants and labourers, made for unrest. Those who came to Canada to get some money and return, continue to act within their old sets of ambitions. Those who came to cast their life-destinies in this new land had already made an adjustment in their former attitudes. Their homeland choice was to struggle against odds largely within the limits of one occupation. Their choice in coming to Canada appears to have been not so much to extend their range of available occupations, but to find new security and economic returns in the few occupations to which they would gravitate.

Trends in Occupational Adjustment of Italians in Montreal.

The occupational experiences of the Italians have not been controlled by the total range of employments which existed in the new habitat. Even before the move was made, those seeking an escape from the bondage of agricultural depression had projected into their experience from letters a response to their situation. To seek accommodation in the cities and to accept as inevitable their selected occupations became part of the Italian emigrants' tradition. They lacked the training that would qualify them to compete in any but the lower skilled "city" occupations. It is not surprising, then, that the Italians' means of living has been through the their exchange of brawn and not brain.

The Italian has not proved an initiator in matters of employment. While it is true that any group, except those who have allowed wanderlust to rule their fancies, will prefer the security of regular employment to the continual fear that accompanies the casual job, the Italians have been slow to develop skills to enter competitively in the field of higher vocations. They have not constructed for themselves "standards" of living much above their present levels. This may be an influence of persons about them, usually French, who have not significantly higher comforts. In cases where the Italians have been encouraged to work for higher returns, they have not responded. In a well-known Montreal factory a group of Italians, formerly on piece-work, at a routine sort of job, were placed on a task and bonus wage scale. These workers seemed quite satisfied to work just so hard as to earn the same amounts as under the old system, though other workers reported that they had not reached a point of near-capacity. This does not

present a complete picture. A number of the Italians in Montreal have acquired some of the more typical American urban attitudes towards employment. The proportion of these is small.

The cycle of change in this matter is likely to be slow. The Montreal community, divided along lingual lines, carries this division into the whole occupational structure of the community. Generally summarizing, the managerial group in industry and commerce is English speaking, while the main body of unskilled wage earners is French. The French are known as a docile group of conscientious workers who carry on for small pay, and who meet their financial needs through having several members of each family employed. A few have risen to important positions. As a class, they give less place to the secular attitudes supporting class conflict and economic advancement than do the English and several European urban workers. The Italians are drawn into a natural alignment with this French group through their positions in industry, through their places in industry, and through parallel Church connections.

Of our Dante Street sample of forty-five workers supporting families, forty-four started working in Montreal as unskilled labourers, usually in construction trades or in factory positions.

Practically all have worked in the building trades at one time or another, and for nearly half this group, occupational experience in Montreal has not extended beyond this. Of the twenty falling in this category, one is a contractor, four are bricklayers, while one plasterer, one skilled carpenter, one cement finisher and one stone-mason complete the number having specific trades. In the related trades are to be found a marble maker and

in the same industry a labourer.

Others are to be found in the unskilled ranks of other industries. The transportation trades have attracted a few. Two from this district are dock-workers, one of which is a foreman. Two work as unskilled labourers for the large Canadian railway companies. In the Montreal Tramways Company, two from this group of Italians have worked as labourers, two as trackmen, and one as a trainman; while one has risen to the rank of conductor.

In the factory trades, several have found a new "port of entry". Of those entering these industries, four made no advance to jobs of higher skill, while three, after long training and apprenticeship, became machinists.

Three men reported having worked at different times for distributing companies, one as a labourer in a well-known coal importing company, another for a company distributing gasoline, while a third had for three years been in the coal and wood business for himself.

In this occupational picture we also have to place one gardener, three boot-blacks, two tailors, a presser, and one musician.

As a group, then, these Italians have entered competitively into a field where skill or previous training was not a necessity. Hampered at the outset by the language requirements of a bilingual city, they have not made their entry into the clerical or professional ranks. Two only have been able to put to use skills that were acquired in Italy, one a musician and the other a tailor. Those who have acquired skills above that required to compete in the lower ranks have gained their training through long association with others of the higher skill. It is to be noted, too, that nearly all these skills fall within the manual field.

All those living in the Papineau Street District covered by our sample, made their entry into the occupational ranks as labourers. The majority work in construction projects, without any fixed trades in this field. One bricklayer, a tile-setter and a moulder are the only three to have specialized their tasks. Over one quarter of the total number of men have at one time or another worked for the Montreal Tramways Company, as trackmen or labourers. These usually have held their positions over long periods, though many have had only intermittent employment. A somewhat smaller number have been engaged in similar work for the Canadian Pacific Railway. Six have had some factory work -- two of these at Ville Emard. Also included are two bakers, a hardware store operator, an automobile mechanic, a teamster and a blacksmith.

Two trends might be noted for the Papineau group as a whole. The first is the tendency for a few persons to rise within the occupations they are in.. This is less true of those in the area than those now found at Dante Street where nearly half in the construction trades have risen to skilled or semi-skilled positions. The automobile mechanic, after years of apprenticeship, became master of his own shop. The second trend is for men to make their positions more secure by getting employment with the transportation companies. This was stopped abruptly with the beginning of the depression.

Throughout the occupational history of the Ville Emard group, too, since their arrival in Montreal, twenty of the thirty covered had worked in construction trades, for at least a year. The history of the development of the Ville Emard settlement has been paralleled by a shifting of these men from casual employment at building to industrial pursuits. The Canadian Car and Foundry and the Canadian Tube and Steel Company have given nearly half the

Italians in the area employment at some time during their residency there. The Poles, too, have competed for these positions. An almost equal number of Italians from the area have had industrial employment in several plants in different parts of Montreal. A few have remained in construction work, and four together have become bricklayers and plasterers. Two were trackmen for the Canadian National Railway. Three have worked for Roma Bakery, two in the plant,and one delivering. Two others are a tailor, and a mechanic.

Some indication of the attitudes of the workers towards their respective positions might be given of the mobility of the workers within these industries. Only two or three men reported having been outside Montreal to work since first settling here. A tabulation of the longest period for which a person has worked, regularly or intermittently, for the same employer might be taken as an index of mobility. Table VII shows a fair measure of stability.

TABLE VII

Longest Period, Regular or Intermittent, for which 125 Italian Men Have Worked for any one Employer

	Percent			
	Dante	Papineau	Ville Emard	Total
Less than 1 year	21	22	8	18
1 and under 2	5	8	3	6
2 " " 3	9	6	10	8
3 " " 5	2	8	13	7
5 " " 10	18	26	33	25
10 " over	45	30	33	36
	100	100	100	100

The occupational stratification between the two north districts is brought out in this table. Dante Street, with its higher percentage of specialization shows many more in the higher interval of years than either of the other two areas. This same

factor gives the district a sense of maturity, of "having arrived". Within the same professions, the Dante group report slightly more regular employment throughout the past decade, though this has been obscured by the depression in more recent years. Conspicuous is the fact that at Ville Emard, only one-fifth of the workers had not worked for three years for any employer. More significant still, only a very small percentage of the rest have not had regular employment for at least that period. That places the industrial group in a very different category with respect to earnings than the other groups depending largely on employment that seems by nature to be seasonal and casual.

Those unskilled occupations, as building or dock work, in addition to being subject to short time fluctuations, are often more marked in the business cycle than is the general employment level. These wide margins of fluctuation in employment continually threaten the security of the vast number of Italian workers. The nature of their work, too, is such that most persons displaced in the higher skills may compete there.

The comparatively long periods for which the Italians have worked in one occupation and for one employer, and their experience within these occupations, tend to show that these once-peasants still tend to seek occupational adjustment within the confines of a few classes of trades.

Occupations of Italian Men, 1932.

The two tests of the measure of occupational adjustment might be, first, the place of the immigrant in the total occupational structure of the community, and, secondly, the adequacy of the reimbursement received to provide the wants which the group feels to be necessary to their well-being. Thie second test is only

valid when one takes into account the extent of economic activity--that is, the amount of remunerative work available at any given time. As we examine the occupational experience of these Italian groups for the year 1932, we should recall that by the beginning of that year the depression had become more or less settled, and that during the year there were no great fluctuations in industrial or commercial activity.

The year selected as the period for study found these men following the same occupations as before. These are listed in Table VIII.

Many, not covered by this study, have risen to the position of independent contractors. Some others, too, have become skilled in almost every branch of building—foundation workers, carpenters, masons, plasters, bricklayers, marble-workers and so forth. In the factories some few have developed mechanical interests. This process, however, is slow. If the vast majority of these people appear now to be in trades that furnish a large amount of casual work and offer poisitons of skill to a few, we must remember that most of these Italians came to Canada when our rapidly developing industries and need for homes offered some promise of steady work in the trades they entered. Many are now of middle age, and so must continue as unskilled labourers as long as our industries have place for them. It is to be expected that a generation hence, they will enter the competition for employment at a different level.

TABLE VIII

Occupations of 125 Italian Men in Montreal, 1932.

Dante Street Area

Bootblack	1
Bricklayer	3
Carpenter	1
Cement Finisher	1
Conductor (street car)	1
Foreman - city	1
harbour	1
Gardener	1
Labour - Construction	20
M.T.Co.	2
Machinist	2
Marble maker	1
Plasterer	1
Musician	1
Presser	1
Tailor	1
Own business - contractor	1
coal dealer	1
Not working	3
Total	45

One man was in partnership in a grocery business with two others for six months of the year, when the business had to be closed. He reported a loss of $2000. (including wages to himself) in a period of about a year.

Papineau Street Area

Tile Setter	1
Baker	2
Blacksmith	1
Bricklayer	1
Factory - miscellaneous	3
Labour - construction	23
C.P.R.	3
M.T.Co.	9
Mechanic	1
Moulder	1
Not working	5
Total	50

Ville Emard

Baker	1
Bricklayer	1
Driver - bakery	1
Factory - Can. Car & foundry	1
Can. Tube & Steel	6
Labour - construction	3
C.N.R.	1
Montreal Light & H. & P.	3
Mechanic	1
Plasterer	2
Tailor	1
Not working	9
Total	30

Employment and Unemployment

We have suggested that within these occupations employment fluctuates widely. This is borne out by Table IX. The cases of four men in the Dante Street area who would normally not be "employed" are excluded from consideration. These are, the contractor, coal dealer, musician, and one man who is blind. More than half the men in our sample group from this area were employed less than four months during the year. Two men had no work at all, while three others had only relief work from the city. Only fifteen of the forty-one, or 37%, worked for more than half the year. Of these, four had steady employment.

TABLE IX

Time Unemployed, 125 Italian Men in Montreal, 1932

Time Unemployed	Dante Street No.	Dante Street %	Papineau Street No.	Papineau Street %	Ville Emard No.	Ville Emard %
Twelve Months	2	5	5	10	9	30
11 and less than 12	8	20	6	12	2	7
10 " " "	3	8	10	20	3	10
9 " " "	6	14.5	8	16	1	3
8 " " "	6	14.5	2	4	-	-
7 " " "	1	2	3	6	1	3
6 " " "	5	12	4	8	2	7
5 " " "	1	2	1	-	3	10
4 " " "	-	--	4	8	2	7
3 " " "	4	10	1	2	1	3
2 " " "	-	--	-	-	1	3
1 " " "	1	2	1	2	-	-
Under 1	4	10	5	10	5	17
Total	45	100	50	100	30	100
Average Median	8½ months		9½ months		9 months	

?

All the cases are included in the other two series of figures. In both of the northern areas, most of the workers had very irregular employment throughout the year. The median for Papineau Street was only two and a half months' work during 1932, or over a month less than the Dante group. In this former area, only twelve, or roughly one-quarter were able to work six months or longer. Five had regular employment.

Employment among the Ville Emard group was much less casual. More, proportionately, had regular employment; very many more had no work at all. The median for the group is midway between that of the other two groups.

Wage Rates and Earnings

To compute the rates of earnings of these groups, all figures have been worked out on a weekly basis. In cases where the hours of work was not given, a figure that is prevalent for such occupation has been used, or, where that procedure has been impractical, a figure given in the "Wages and Hours of Labour" Supplement of the Labour Gazette (for the City of Montreal) has been substituted.

TABLE X

Weekly Wage Rates Paid 108 Italian Men in Montreal, 1932.

WAGE RATE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Under $5 00	1	1
$5 00 and under $7.50	1	1
7.50 " " 10.00	7	6 5
10.00 " " 12 50	7	6.5
12 50 " " 15 00	13	12
15 00 " " 17.50	32	29
17.50 " " 20.00	24	22
20.00 " " 22 50	12	11
22 50 " " 25.00	4	4
25 00 " " 27.50	2	2
27 50 " " 30 00	1	1
30 00 " " 32 50	3	3
32 50 and over	1	1
TOTAL	108	100

Q1 $14 60; M $16 95; Q3 $19 60

Approximately one half these men were paid between $15 and $20 for a week's work. (However small) this amount may appear, it must be noted that in many instances the men did not have work for more than a few days a week. Others, among the more highly skilled, had only a few weeks' work throughout the year. One man, earning 65¢ an hour ($32.25 a week) when working, was unemployed for eleven months. Another, working at the same rate of pay, had two days work a week for seven months, and was unemployed the rest of the time. One whose hourly rate was 70¢ was without work for eight months.

The rates of wages which these people received depended largely on the nature of their work. Those without skills were the victims of uncontrolled competition in the labour market. Such were the untrained construction workers and factory labourers. Such trades as ornamental plastering and bricklaying are in a measure unionized, and even when the trades are open, workers within these usually have been able to obtain the higher wage rates. The process of adjustment for these workers in any one set of occupations has been to climb into those levels of skill where competition is restricted, and where higher wage rates are normally accepted. This climbing has narrowed the range in which the trained men have chosen to compete. The result of this has been to make them more dependent, in times of widespread unemployment, on a small selection of jobs.

No marked differences existed between the wage rates of the groups from the three areas. The medians for the two northern groups stand together at approximately $17.50, while this average for Ville Emard is only $16.00. The Dante Street group shows the widest spread, and has one-quarter of its number earning $20.00 a

week or more. While the industrial group shows the lowest average, it also had the narrowest distribution of the three. One man, a baker, earned $8. per week all year, to set the lower extreme. At the same time, only one-quarter of those working had more than $17.50 weekly.

Weekly rates of pay cannot by themselves be taken as an index of the earnings of a group. Many of the most highly paid union workers demand such rates as they do on the ground that their work is very casual. In periods of severe unemployment, the wages of those working, regularly or casually, are always forced down. The yearly earnings of our three groups of Italians are shown in the table which follows. One cannot help but be impressed with the low amounts of these earned incomes. Thirty percent of the whole number earned less than one hundred dollars; of these, some earned nothing. Those of skilled ranking, who had sufficiently steady work to place themselves in the $1000 and over classes, all resided at Dante Street. This number, it will be noted, is extremely small. Ville Emard, with nearly one-third its numbers completely unemployed, had a higher median than the others, even with this factor taken into account. Of those working, from Ville Emard, the average earning was $550, or nearly twice the median figure for the whole group. If we exclude from consideration again those unemployed all year, the median of the Dante Street group rises from $237 to $250, and that of the Papineau group from $212 to $239. This comparison of the medians of those partly employed shows a difference in the place earnings hold in the means of provision of groups of different industries. This same difference must, too, condition the regulation of spending over any long period of time from small and fluctuating reserves.

TABLE XI

Total Earnings of 125 Heads of Households, Montreal, 1932

Earnings	Dante St No.	Dante St %	Papineau No	Papineau %	V. Emard No	V. Emard %	Percentage Distribution (weighted)
Under $100	11	25	7	14	3	10	16 8
$100 and under $200	6	14	12	24	2	7	16 0
200 " " 300	8	18	8	16	1	3	13 6
300 " " 400	1	2	1	2	1	3	2 4
400 " " 500	4	9	7	14	3	10	11 2
500 " " 600	3	7	3	6	2	6	6.4
600 " " 700	2	4	4	8	5	18	8.8
700 " " 800	1	2	1	2	2	6	3.2
800 " " 900	2	4	-	-	1	3	2.4
900 " " 1000	1	2	2	4	1	3	3.2
1000 " " 1100	-	-					
1100 " " 1200	1	2					.8
1200 " " 1300	1	2					.8
1300 " " 1400	-	-					
1400 and over	1	1					8
Not working	3	7	5	10	9	31	13.6
TOTAL	45	100	50	100	30	100	100.0

Medians

Dante Street	$237
Papineau Street	212
Ville Emard	300.
Combined Sample	227.

The practice of women in regard to employment is significant both from the point of view of family earnings and family organization.

In no case was a married woman reported to be working. Custom has it that the Italian girls likewise should stay in the home and assist in the household duties until they leave to get married. They are being drawn slowly into the garment factories, clerical and clerking positions. Our sample of 125 families shows girls from only seven of these in employment. Seven girls are in factories, two in clerking positions, one is in office work. Boys usually enter employment as soon as they are able to obtain it. Only a very small number were in positions in 1932, however. The Italian family still functions as an interdependent unit. In the Montreal occupational setting however the individuals have taken on different rôles in a family group that of necessity has been reorganized.

The younger members of those families who have made their entry into employment during the past few years have had to accept low pay. The few girls who work were in positions which provided fairly steady employment. Their earnings for 1932 were scattered downward from $450. The boys were in a wider range of positions. Their records show a wider spread in employment, also in earnings, than those of the girls. More were in positions of skill. Their median earnings were much the same as for the parent groups.

The occupations to which the Italians looked for employment have been seriously depression ridden. They have offered no hope of security for persons dependent on them during the past three or four years. Many were already seasonal, or fluctuated within still shorter periods. Our attempt here is not to portray fluctuations in employment as a social problem. The data presented will be useful to the economist or political scientist who has

chosen that field for study. None the less, these Italian families have been set face to face with the facts of this situation. They have been called to make a deliberate adjustment in this meeting of crises. They have had to regulate their expenditures, and to scale their living to what appeared to them to be a minimum. Further, they have had to find means of supplementing their incomes.

Consumption Related to Earnings

Before we proceed, it might be well to give in summary fashion the total value of consumption of these Italian families. These values have been arrived at by adding together all money values received from whatever source whose commodity equivalents were consumed in 1932, and the monetary equivalent of goods and services received other than by purchase. These are given for the three groups in the table on the following page. For convenience in analysis, they have been divided into four "consumption classes", under $600, $600 and under $800, $800 and under $1000, and $1000 and over.

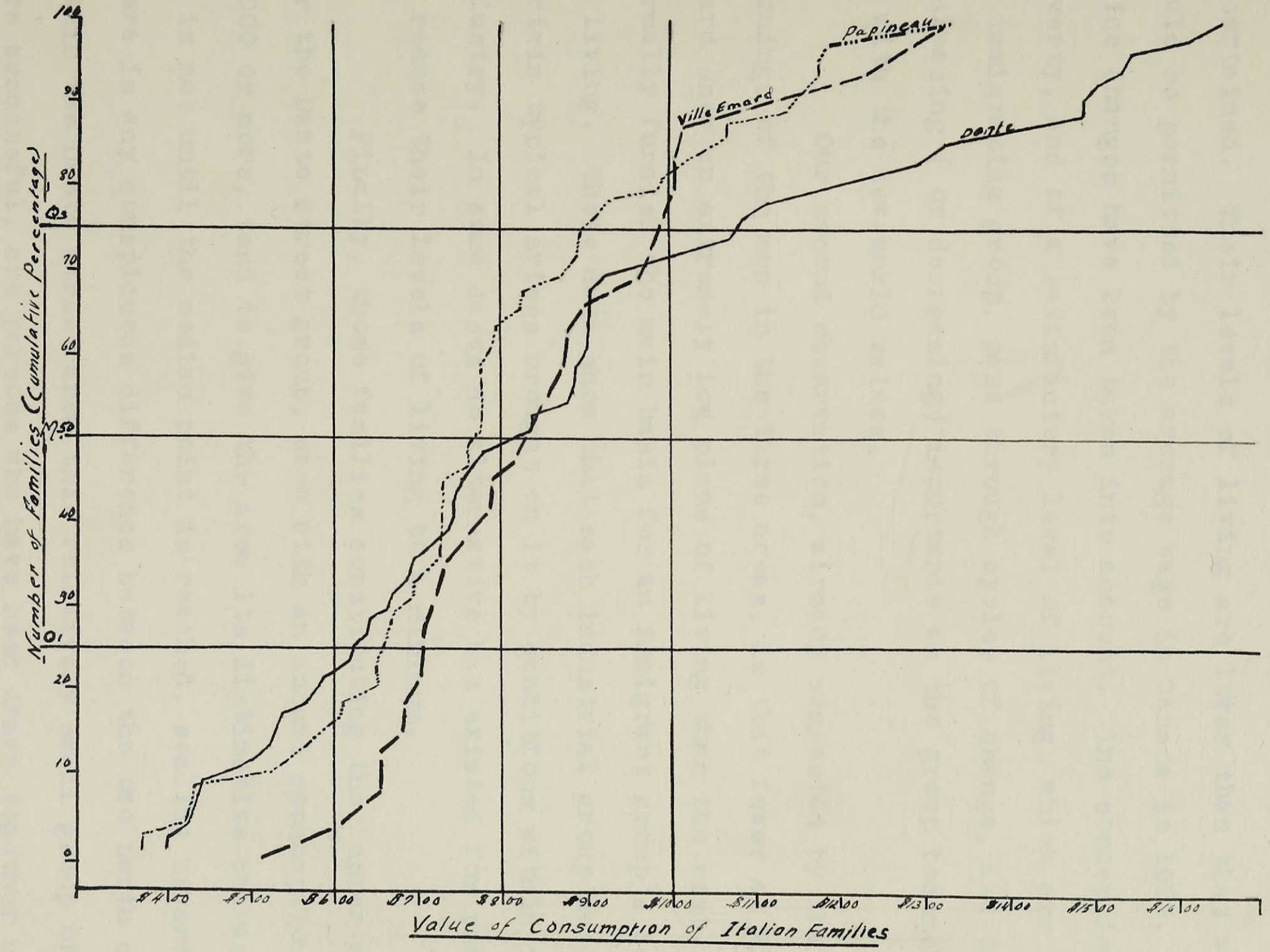
Three things of significance stand out from the table and chart on the pages following. First, the general level of living of these people appears very low. It is not our purpose to compare these levels with those subscribed as adequate by our welfare organizations. One fifth of these households consumed less than $600, one half had less than $800, four-fifth had less than $1000. Let it be recalled, too, that these cases do not represent specially selected low income groups from within the areas.

TABLE XII

Monetary Value of Consumption of 125 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932

Monetary Value of Consumption	Dante Street No.	%		Papineau Street No.	%		Ville Emard No.	%		Composite Percentage	
$300 and under $400.				2	4	20				1.6	18.4
400 " " 500.	6	13	24	3	6					7.2	
500 " " 600.	5	11		5	10		2	7 - 7		9.6	
600 " " 700.	7	16	29	7	14	44	6	20	37	16.0	36.8
700 " " 800.	6	13		15	30		5	17		20.8	
800 " " 900.	7	16	20.5	6	12	18	7	23	40	16.0	24.0
900 " " 1000.	2	4.5		3	6		5	17		18.0	
1000 " " 1100.	1	2		3	6	18	2	7	16	4.8	20.8
1100 " " 1200.	2	4.5		5	10		1	3		6.4	
1200 " " 1300.	1	2		-	-		1	3		1.6	
1300 " " 1400.	1	2	26.5	1	2		1	3		2.4	
1400 " " 1500.	3	7								2.4	
1500 " " 1600.	2	4.5								1.6	
1600 and over	2	4.5								1.6	
Total	45	100		50	100		30	100		100	

Chart I



Value of Consumption in Italian Families in Montreal, 1932

Poverty is a social conception. Overcrowding has been defined in England as existing where there are more than two to a room. By Miss Houghteling's standard, more than one to a room constitutes overcrowding. Whether or not these Italian people consider their present condition as being depressed, we have not ascertained. Their levels of living are lower than that which would be permitted by the average wage in Canada in 1929, even after price changes have been taken into account. The conceptionsof poverty, and of a satisfactory level of living, which are held by an immigrating group, pass through cycles of change, and take on increasing (or decreasing) importance as the group becomes acquainted with the new-world values.

Our second observation, already suggested by the total earnings of the men in the three areas, is that fewer at Ville Emard show an extremely low plane of living than the rest. Earnings normally furnish the main basis for an immigrant group's level of living. These data show that each industrial group has to meet certain typical crises brought on it by conditions within the industry. In some cases no alternative has existed for people but to reduce their levels of living to a minimum.

Finally, those families constituting the upper quarter for the Dante Street group, each with an annual consumption of $1000 or more, tend to give the area its distinctive character. It is not until the median point is reached, scaling upwards, that there is any conspicuous difference between the two north districts. Within the Dante Street area this relatively small group of the more successful, are persons who have been drawn together naturally, and who have achieved some measure of occupational assimilation. It is to be recalled, too, that the average size of households in

this area is smaller by one person than among the other two groups.

While the scale of living of a group is conditioned by the incomes of its workers, it is none the less true that this scale must be measured in terms of consumption, and not of means of purchase. The total combined sources of provision, including earnings, present and past, unemployment relief and charitable donations generally, form the basis of the level of living which a family enjoys at any given period. Whether the maladjustment indicated in the section above is to be attributed to a dislocation of our whole economic machinery, or whether it may be traced in part to a failure of these Italians to fit themselves into our schemes of production, new accommodation was called for if they as individuals or as a group were to survive.

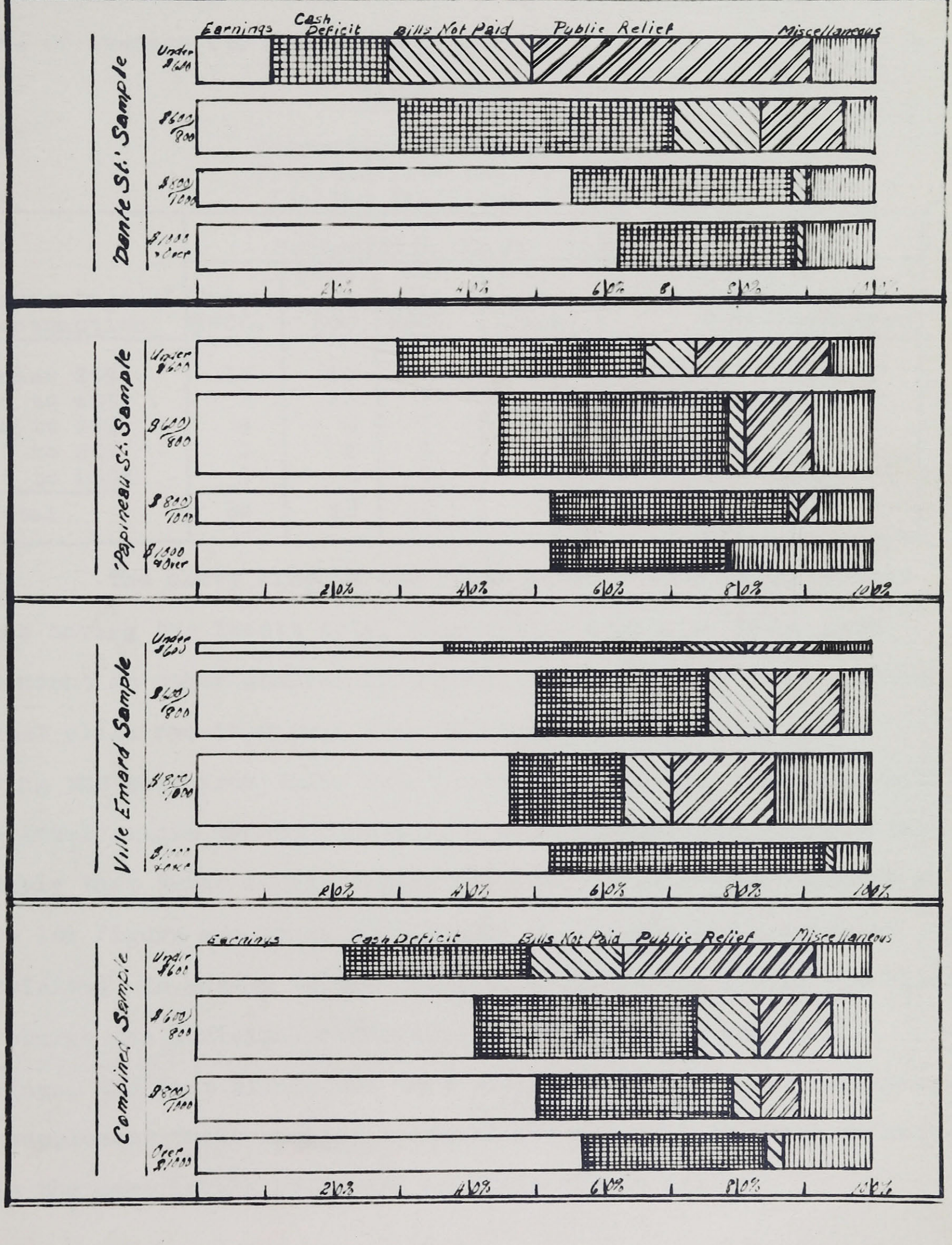
The means of living of these Italians requires an analysis deeper than that of occupation or earnings. The extent to which they have been able to retain their former levels of comfort is to be measured in terms of the group practices in economic provision. A number of questions may be raised. To what extent were families dependent on current incomes of their workers for the provision of commodities? What has been the relationship of these people to the various distributive agencies -- grocery stores and others? What has been their relationship with public relief institutions? To what extent have these people developed a dependence on one another, individually, or collectively through their institutions? It is to such questions as these that we now turn our attention.

The means of living of the three groups of Italians is given summarily in statistical analysis in Chart III. All the family earnings are included in the first classification. "Cash deficits" cover money drawn from previous savings, and drawn on future earnings in the form of cash loans. "Bills not paid"

includes only money owing for goods already received, and excludes other obligations. The "miscellaneous" classification includes money received from boarders and lodgers, money saved on household operation through earlier investments, and all other items which do not properly fit elsewhere. Since there is no essential difference between groups in their manners of obtaining supplies, apart from the matters of earnings, the area reference has been largely dropped in the treatment of this subject.

Chart IX

The Means of Living of Italians in Montreal, 1932.



To what extent have expenditures been met out of current incomes by these groups? Table XIII shows the relation of income to consumption for our total sample. These data are given more exactly in Chart IV for each case recorded, with the lines of average for the three groups.

TABLE XIII

Percentage of Consumption Provided from Wages, 125 Italian Families, 1932.

Percentage of Consumption	Consumption Class					
	Under $600.	$600 to 800	800 to 1000	1000 and over	Total	Percentage Distribution
Under 20%	15	15	6	1	37	29.6
20 to 40%	2	13	9	6	30	24.0
40 to 60%	4	6	7	9	26	20.8
60 to 80%	1	4	2	6	13	10.4
80 to 100%	1	8	6	4	19	15.2
Total	23	46	30	26	125	100.0

The heavy line in the Chart shows beyond question that those having the lowest total consumption were also those most dependent on other sources of supply. Two-thirds of those in the lowest class received less than twenty percent of their goods during the year from their total current earnings. More than half the total sample earned less than forty percent. The trend shows clearly that those whose incomes are cut, or otherwise stand at a very low figure are those most likely to acquire other means of provision. In answer to the critics of our relief system who blindly charge the municipal authorities with excessive charitable dishonorable
givings, the fact stands out that those who find it most necessary by reason
to supplement their current incomes, are not able to reach or maintain the same levels of living as those who do not.

Earnings as Percentages of Consumption

1 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120

Papineau St.

Dante St.

Ville Emard

Papineau St.

Dante St.

Papineau St.

Dante St

Papineau St

Ville Emard

$300 $400 $500 $600 $700 $800 $900 $1000 $1100 $1200 $1300 $1400 $1500 $1600 $1700

Total Value of Consumption

Chart III

Earnings as Per centage of Consumption. 125 Italian Families, 1932.

Occupational assimilation might imply one or both of two conditions. The first is that the incoming group be able to compete on equal terms with the native groups of the same skill. The second is that they should have attained a place in the occupational strata of a community which will assure them of those wants, over long periods of time, which they deem essential to their welfare. This latter is an adjustment foreigners and native-born will both attempt to make. So long as our economic system remains as it is, large numbers can hope to gain positions of security only through entering into increasingly stiff competition for a few jobs. In this struggle, many are destined to fail. Immigrants are always able to compate for employment at some level. This shifting to a higher level of competition is a life-process for a large body of workers. Many seem fated never to climb. The Italians have not risen far enough to escape the full force of the depression.

Supplementary Means of Provision

One resort of these people has been to make up for inadequacies in their incomes by leaving bills outstanding. Forty-three % of the group have such debts, ranging in amounts from under five dollars to over three hundred and fifty dollars.

TABLE XIV

Bills Unpaid, by Consumption Classes, Italian Families in Montreal, 1932

Amount ($)	Consumption class: Under $600	600 to 800	800 to 1000	1000 and over	Total	Percentage Distributive
Under 25	2	4	1		7	6
25 to 50	4	2	4	2	12	10
50 to75	1	1	1	2	5	4
75 to 100		6	1	1	8	6
100 to 125	3	3			6	5
125 to 150	1	2			3	2
150 to 175		1	2		3	2
175 to 200	1				1	1
200 to 250	1	1	2	1	5	4
250 & over		2		2	4	3
	15/23	22/46	11/30	8/26	54/125	43

This practice appears to be more widespread among the lower consumption groups than among the higher. Thirteen of twenty-three consuming less than $600. had still to pay for goods already used. Two-thirds of all those having debts were persons whose total consumption fell below the median point for the group as a whole. About one-third of those in the two upper consumption classes had debts. Among these, there is evidence of an effort to retain a level of living which, during 1932, they could not afford.

This practice of receiving credit appears the most prevalent in the Dante Street area, least prevalent at Papineau Street.

The spread of this indebtedness over the various items of consumption reveals certain acquired practices of the Italians. It is common knowledge that the French, much more than the English, tend to support their local neighbourhood stores, rather than shop at the city centre. In Montreal, longer than in any other city in Canada, the independently owned corner store bids fair to retain its place in the retail business of the community. The Italians, having settled in areas surrounded by the French, and in most cases having made early contacts with this group, in turn have adopted this practice. Like the French, their's was a rural heritage; the communities from which they came were more or less isolated, and in the eyes of most of the villagers, were self-contained. In this "localized" environment, a close personal relationship could be built up between the store-keeper and his clients. If this background experience has conditioned the French housewives to make the neighbourhood their area of economic participation, then it was natural that the Italians should adopt a similar practice.

Reference has already been made to the Italian stores.

Throughout America, immigrant groups wherever they have congregated in large numbers, have tended to support their own distributive agencies. These stores have entered into the pulse of the neighbourhood life. Relationships were personal, and a mutual dependency grew up. We suggest that this continued support of the local stores, both French and Italian, has been due to the similar practice of the larger community group. That the immigrant stores would have sprung up in any case, we do not doubt. Whether or not these stores would have withstood outside competition had the Italians settled among the English is a matter of speculation.

TABLE XIV

Unpaid Grocery Bills of 125 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932

Grocery Bills	Number	Percentage of Total
Under $25.	11	8.8
$25. and under $50.	12	9.6
50. " " 75.	11	8.8
75. " " 100.	4	3.2
100. " " 125.	1	.8
125. " " 150.	2	1.6
150. " " 175.	1	.8
Total	42/125	33.6

Median $46.

The close relationship which has been retained between these sellers and buyers of goods has made it possible for many of these Italian families to shift the pressure of the depression onto their local storekeepers. They would be given goods on credit at a time when it was obvious that they could not pay. It seems to have been a practice of most of these local stores that goods should be given without cash. Table XIV shows that forty-one, or nearly one-third of the households visited had outstanding grocery bills, for amounts averaging $46. While it is upon the minds of these

people that these bills should be paid some day, they appear to regard this method of provision as an accepted practice.

TABLE XVI

Unpaid Rent Bills of 125 Italian Families in Montreal,1932

Rent Bills	Number	Percentage of Those Renting Homes
Under $25.	1	1.1
$25.and under $50.	6	6.7
50. " " 75.	2	2.2
75. " " 100.	5	5.6
100. " " 125.	8	9.0
125. " " 150.	1	1.1
150. " " 175.	5	5.6
175. " " 200.	2	2.2
200. " " 225.	3	3.3
225. " " 250.	1	1.1
	34/89	37.9

Median $109.

The outstanding rent bills (See Table XVI) probably represent an accommodation to depression conditions where outside resistance is least great. On the other hand is the desire of the Italians to remain within and share the corporate life of his neighbourhood. Housing differs from other items of consumption in that it represents a satisfaction to be taken away rather than be renewed, because of our contract system. It will be shown later that housing represents a major item of consumption, and so payments would have to be made at greater sacrifice than would smaller items. Thirty-four of the eighty-nine families not owning their homes reported having rent bills outstanding at the end of the year, and half this number for amounts of $100 or more.

Among our native Canadians, a family might be expected to have met its housing problem by moving to another district where rents are lower. Among the foreign born, the tendency towards segregation has been effective in holding them in their neighbourhood

colonies. Their attitudes might provide for a change of residence from one such colony to another. We expect to show in Chapter IV that the differentiation in rentals between these various Italian areas is not sufficiently great to offer a solution to their problem.

There were still other outstanding bills. Four families reported indebtedness to their bakers for amounts of $20 to $35. Three had left their taxes unpaid. One owed $24 on light and gas. Another owed a large amount for clothing.

One form of accommodation, less directly related to the immediate pressure of economic need, has in effect absorbed the need for adjustment in rents. Less directly related to depression conditions is the fact of home ownership. Thirty-five families, twenty-one at Papineau Street,and seven in the other two areas, own their homes. A comment on the distribution of home ownership will be made in a later section. When corrections are made for costs of operation,— taxes, insurance and so forth, these families saved from $50 to $175 each, and four who left their taxes unpaid had almost free rental accommodation valued in turn at $150, $190, $204, and $240.

Eleven families own two-flat houses, oroother homes, and together rent fifteen flats for monthly rentals of $15 to $20. Two of these also own stores, one renting for $39 a month, the other for $40. These latter two enjoy an income from property of $828 and $912, respectively.

It is common practice for Italian families to take in or give assistance to the relatives of either parent. No instance was recorded of the doubling up of non-related families. Seven families were giving living accommodation to one or both parents of the husband or wife. This is an evidence of the reverence with

which these Italians view the older members of their own families. One case was recorded of an elderly lady without her own means of support who moved about between the homes of her four sons, staying exactly three months with each before moving. Only occasionally was any payment made for this service. This added cost was spread, quite normally, over the whole family group, inasmuchas consumption has been but little individualized.

In a smaller number of cases, other relatives, usually brothers or sisters were accommodated. About half of these contributed small amounts. The men would usually live in simply as roomers, and get their meals independent of the family.

Some spread the cost of the rent by taking in outside boarders. Only eight of the twenty-two household groups enlarged by persons outside the family were not relatives. These were, generally speaking, in the families having low consumption levels. They normally "roomed", and got their meals by themselves. Rates of pay were between $6.50 and $8.50 per month.

In other ways than this, the cost of a depression era has been spread over a much longer period of time. This spread was seen to extend in both directions. This is to say that among these people, deficits were being met both out of their past savings, and, through cash loans, out of the anticipated earnings of their future.

In nearly every instance, families reported having some money at the beginning of the year. This fund, in many cases built up over a fairly long period of time, was a source of economic provision for thirty-three of the forty-five families visited. Our impression was that these savings were rarely, if ever, large enough to assure a continuance of their experienced levels of living for

any period of time. It is true of any group whose vocational practices offer them only irregular employment that earnings for any long period of time are not determined by the rate of wages received. Then if spending for this group is to be regularized, savings must be effected out of income. Doubtless, the experience of the Italians would support this contention. They would know less of a hand-to-mouth existence than would a group dependent on small but regular incomes. Accordingly, they would be better able to contribute towards the cost of their existence should they find their sources of income severed from them.

The extent to which these people drew on past savings during 1932 is given in Table XVII.

TABLE XVII

Previous Savings Spent by 125 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932

Amount	Number	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Under 50	7	6	6
50 to 150	17	14	20
150 to 250	23	18	38
250 to 350	14	11	49
350 to 450	18	15	64
450 to 550	8	6	70
550 to 650	5	4	74
650to 750	2	2	76
750 to 850	-	-	76
850 to 950	1	1	77
Total	95/124	77	77

In this tabulation, we have not included the case of the man who lost $2,000 in business during 1931-1932. Since the figure covers wages to himself we should have to determine whether or not the amount which he took as wages represents earnings or a drawing on capital.

Of the twenty-nine families whose records do not fall within this table, only thirteen were able to meet their current expenditures out of earnings and other income. Sixteen were without

savings and depended on community assistance or on loans of friends. Of the sixteen drawing their living from the year's income, three were at Dante Street. One of these, in which the husband and father is a contractor, received money from the sale of a house. Another, the householder, in this case an engineer, had regular employment, and also owned property in Notre Dame de Grace. Only one family in this area reported a saving; the amount was $50. Out of seven at Papineau Street, two families kept their spending within the limits of the small incomes earned by the fathers. One family had two roomers. In another case the son worked, and contributed his earnings to the family fund. Three, in addition to their earnings, enjoyed a small return from property investments. Of the seven, three reported (to have) saved money during the year; two had $150 each, one had $300 left unspent. At Ville Emard, one man, on regular employment saved $100, while two others, one working all the year, the other for eight months, had just kept their expenditures within their incomes.

In twenty-nine households, where adequate provision was not otherwise obtainable, part of the cost of the depression years' consumption has been shifted to the future. These borrowings were for amounts from $18 to $600. The average of these was $160, and is a fairly representative figure. Half those securing loans were from near Papineau Street. While the Dante Street group had fewer borrowing, their loans were usually for larger amounts. In every instance, the whole, or a part of the amount borrowed, was furnished by "friends". One man borrowed $60 on his insurance policy. Another borrowed $150 from his wife's parents. No family reported having borrowed through any established Italian or Canadian institution.

In this condition of personal lending and borrowing, there

is an evidence of a close inter-relationship among these Italians in their local neighbourhood. A close dependence of the immigrant on the other members of his own colony during his first years after immigration is essential to his adjustment. It is perhaps more surprising that after the handicaps of foreign language and practices have been overcome, and communication directly with the wider community has been made possible, a new consciousness of individualization, the thought of a life more apart from the neighbourhood community, should have taken form so slowly. This may appear a divergance; the personal financial assistance of friends is only an evidence of the closely knit unity of the Italians in this area being studied.

The unwillingness of a group to adjust itself readily to a lower plane of living, and the feeling that certain wants are necessary to its well-being, are both common phenomena in periods of depression. Nevertheless, in many families, the amount of consumption was scaled down, as goods could not be obtained. When individuals or families became no longer able to provide their own needs, they were cared for through public relief. Sixty, or approximately one half our sample group, received public relief during either the whole or a part of the year being reviewed. This same proportion holds for the groups of the three areas taken separately.

The main item of provision by the city relief agencies has been food. Different families have been given food for periods ranging from three weeks to the whole year, and have received goods valued from $8. to $350. A more complete analysis of this will be furnished in the sub-section on food.

In twenty cases, fuel was supplied during the winter months. In each case, coal and wood was furnished to meet the municipally-determined requirements of the household. When valued at

the rates current during 1932, the fuel received from relief represented the equivalent of amounts ranging from $10 to $32. One family, in a heated flat, had its gas and light bill paid; the amount was $30.

The provision of clothing has been limited by the amount of available supply. Like fuel, clothing has been provided only in kind. Twelve families reported received clothes and shoes, usually to amounts up to $25. throughout the year. One family received the equivalent of $57.

During 1932, relief was limited to the provision of these three major items, save in very exceptional cases. Until more recently relief organization was drawn on religious lines. The Catholic Church covered all Catholics, the Protestant Relief Bureau covered all non-Catholics. In the case of the Catholics, assistance was given through the machinery of the various parish churches. Scales of relief in food were uniform throughout the city for groups of either religious affiliation. Clothing was given as it was needed, and as it was available. It was received both locally, and through the central relief organizations. In the case of Catholics, the priest was given full power to distribute as he chose, such clothing as he had to give out. Now this whole system is broken down, and relief is administered through an independent commission.

Table XVIII gives the monetary equivalents of relief received by the various consumption classes. This table appears on page 108

Together, this group received $8,696. as relief during 1932. This averages $143 for each household on relief, or about $70 for every family in the group. Our analysis shows all families consuming less than $600, except three, to have had relief at some time during the year. Of the households of the $600 - $800 classification, about two-thirds had relief. None of the households consuming more than $1,000 received assistance in this way. These figures support our earlier contention that families dependent on relief are much worse off than those dependent on other means of provision. These families will not stay on relief when their men can get work. Our scales of relief are certainly not open to the charge of being too high!

Relief is not an accommodation peculiar to the Italians. If this provision be nation-wide, it has no more significance for our study than that these European-born Canadians have adopted a normal course sponsored by the wider community. It may have helped develop a feeling of dependence, and so a more concrete relationship between the family group and the city; but the way in which relief has been administered through the local parish Churches has prevented this feeling from gaining any wide prevalence. Indeed, the way these men would gather outside their Notre Dame de la Defence Church at Dante Street on Wednesday mornings, waiting their turn to be furnished relief, gave one the impression rather of a community social gathering. They would stand around the street and sidewalks, or perhaps sit on the curbs, and, in apparently happy spirits, converse together. It appears that the local community of Italians is being held together through the strenghening of the ties between the various members and their own parish church.

Another form of institutional relief is connected with

health services. Of the eighty-four families who reported having had medical or dental service during 1932, twenty-three reported either having left their bills outstanding, or having free clinical service from the hospitals. Fourteen reported having had this hospital service for different treatments. This service might be estimated roughly, on the basis of public ward rates, at amounts up to $200. This practice of dependence upon health clinics, like that of receiving food and fuel from the relief agencies, shows the attitudes of these immigrants towards their place in the Montreal community.

TABLE XVIII

Total Value of Goods and Money Received as Relief by 125 Italian Families in 1932

Value Received as Relief	Consumption Class: Under 600	600 to 800	800 to 1000	1000 and over	Total	Percentage of whole group
Under $50	2	5	3		10	8.0
50 and under 100	4	8	2		14	11.2
100 " " 150	2	3	2		7	5.6
150 " " 200	4	5	2		11	8.8
200 " " 250	2	6	2		10	8.0
250 " " 300	1	2	-		3	2.4
300 and over	4	13	2		7	5.6
Total	19/23	30/46	13/30	0/26	62/125	49.6

CHAPTER FOUR

The Modes of Living of Italians in Montreal.

Food, shelter and clothing are the daily necessities of all peoples living outside the regions of tropical warmth. Other commodities, as newspapers, are used regularly by some, either for self-advancement, or merely from habit. Certain forms of recreation are indulged in less frequently; vacations are usually taken but once or twice a year. Those wants which exist in answer to physical necessities, that is, food and protection from the outer elements, must be supplied to immigrants in passage and immediately after their arrival. Europeans in America must accommodate themselves in matters of food and housing while yet the new-world cities have their first glamour and strangeness. In their first selection of goods here, there must be a compromise imposed by the limitations of even the "European" stores, or by the kinds of houses available. The nature of this compromise is usually determined by the accommodations made by those of the same background already here. Those classes of wants related to social participation and advancement are usually less urgently required and less exacting on the family budgets. These are first answered from within the colony's walls, in its institutions and social practices. These institutions offer an accommodation arising from socio-psychological conditions -- the wishes for security and response.

The Italian families covered in this study have all passed, by several years, the period of first accommodation.

Through continued usage of these compromise values, they have come to adjust their attitudes towards them. The adoption of further Canadian usages in food has been for Italians, with their closed family organization, a slowly-moving process.

Food.

In the competition of wants, food and housing press most heavily on the resources of all low-income groups. Both these are stable wants, neither hold as elastic a place in the family budgets as do most other items. In these two fields there is a minimum fixed cost which must be borne by somebody if the family is to survive. Just where that minimum lies, it is not our task to decide; on this subject the dietitians and health experts are better able to speak. It might well happen that our conception of poverty for a social group whose scales of preferences we know, should be constructed around the proportionate place of these two major items of consumption in the total number of satisfied wants. We present this only as an hypothesis, to avoid having to determine what level of living does constitute poverty for Italians.

The place of food in the total budget of consumed goods and services procured from all sources shows a great concentration of cases consuming 40 to 45% in this way. Ninety percent of our 125 representative families used 30 to 60% in this way. This leaves the "median family" about 62% of its total budget to cover housing, clothing, recreation, advancement, insurance and other incidentals.

Engels, a disciple of LePlay, who later took up his master's work enunciated the law that as the income of a family increased, the proportion of its total expenditure that is absorbed in the major items of food and rent increased absolutely, but

decreased relatively. Our data shows an absolute increase, less great to individual persons than our table would seem to indicate, because of the different sized families falling within the four classifications. The proportionate decrease which we might normally expect among the Italians scarcely exists at this low level of living. Those on very low incomes increase the portion spent for food as their means increase.

TABLE XIX

Food as Percentage of Total Consumption of 125 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932.

Percent	Total	Percent of Total	Cumulative percentage up to %	Cumulative percentage % or more
20 to 29	7	5.6	5.6	100.0
30 " 39	41	32.8	38.4	94.4
40 " 49	54	43.2	81.6	61.6
50 " 59	18	14.4	96.0	18.4
60 " 69	5	4.0	100.0	4.0
	125	100.		

TABLE XX

Food as Percentage of Consumption of 125 Italian Families in Montreal by Classes.

	Consumption Class				
Percentage	Under $600.	$600. to $800.	$800. to $1,000.	$1000. and over	Total
20 to 29	--	2	2	3	7
30 " 39	9	12	13	7	41
40 " 49	8	22	12	12	54
50 " 59	6	7	2	3	18
60 " 69	--	3	1	1	5
	23	46	30	26	125

Food has been received from three main sources, from the local merchants for cash or credit, from the relief agencies, and

in small amounts from the garden plots of those at Papineau and Ville Emard. In estimating the total value of food consumption, bread and milk, supplied in kind as relief, have been given the current cash values based on the average cost reported by other householders. The few who have gardens obtained only small amounts from them. Estimates of the store prices for these goods have been made. To obtain the amount of food received during a year, we usually obtained a statement of purchases for a typical week, itemized into milk, bread, groceries, including vegetables, and meat. The amount received weekly as relief was learned in every case and also the amount by which it was supplemented. None of the families interviewed kept accounts. Some small margin of error may have crept into our figures through errors in estimates. In cases where the figures seem to vary widely from the most commonly given for families of similar size, further questioning was engaged in, to test the figures' validity. We present these data, believing them to be very nearly accurate. The errors in individual cases have very likely off-set each other. If error does exist, it is absorbed largely within the fifty-dollar class intervals into which the data are grouped. This does not necessarily hold for marginal cases.

TABLE XXI

Value of Food Consumed by 125 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932.

Value	Number of Families	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Under $150.	3	2.4	2.4
$150 & Under $200	6	4.8	7.2
200 " " 250	17	13.6	20.8
250 " " 300	14	11.2	32.0
300 " " 350	33	26.4	58.4
350 " " 400	19	15.2	73.6
400 " " 450	6	4.8	78.6
450 " " 500	9	7.2	85.6
500 " " 550	6	4.8	90.4
550 " " 600	5	4.0	94.4
600 " " 650	3	2.4	96.8
650 " " 700	3	2.4	99.2
700 " Over	1	.8	100.0
	125	100.0	

Median $335.

TABLE XXII

Food Consumed by Italian Families in Montreal, 1932, by Consumption Classes

Value	Consumption Class: Under $600.	$600. and under $800.	$800. and under $1000.	$1000. and over	Total
Under $150	3	-	-	-	3
$150 & Under $200	5	1	-	-	6
200 " " 250	10	6	1	-	17
250 " " 300	3	10	1	-	14
300 " " 350	3	18	5	1	33
350 " " 400	-	7	13	5	19
400 " " 450	-	2	3	1	6
450 " " 500	-	2	4	4	9
500 " " 550	-	-	2	4	6
550 " " 600	-	-	1	4	5
600 " " 650	-	-	-	3	3
650 " " 700	-	-	-	3	3
700 " Over	-	-	-	1	1
Total	23	46	30	26	125
Median	223	317	381	525	335

The two above tables give the cash value of food consumed by our sample group of Italian families in 1932. A fairly wide spread will be observed. The three quartile points for the group as a whole stand at $269, $335 and $42.8, respectively. The three families with the lowest consumption are all without children.

Each of the four consumption classes show a spread of $200. or more. Except in the case of the upper consumption group, with its wider spread of incomes, these groups show a high amount of concentration near the median points. These averages are $223, $317, $381, and $525, respectively for the four classes.

Our data does not show whether an increase in the value of food consumed is a qualitative or quantitative variable. Doubtless it is both, though in the selection of foods are much more operative among those with higher levels of living.

Differences in the size of families and the ages of the children, must be a major factor in conditioning the amount spent for food. A brief discussion of the issue involved on this point is given in Chapter Two of the Introduction. For convenience of analysis, the size of each family has been worked out in terms of Equivalent Adult units on the basis of the scale presented in the earlier chapter. The tables following give the expenses for food per equivalent adult male for the 125 families in the three Italian groups.

TABLE XXIII

Food Consumed per Equivalent Male Adults, 125 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932.

Amount	Consumption Class: Under $600.	$600. and under $800.	$800. and under $100.	$1000. and over	Total	Percent	Cumulative Percent
$40 & Under $50.	1	3	-	-	4	3.2	3.2
50 " " 60	4	3	2	1	10	8.0	11.2
60 " " 70	3	5	6	2	16	12.8	24.0
70 " " 80	6	10	8	5	29	23.2	47.2
80 " " 90	4	8	5	2	19	15.2	62.4
90 " " 100	-	1	1	1	3	2.4	64.8
100 " " 110	2	6	4	4	16	12.8	77.6
110 " " 120	3	3	2	8	16	12.8	90.4
120 " " 130	-	5	1	1	7	5.6	96.0
130 " " 140	-	2	1	-	3	2.4	98.4
140 " " 150	-	-	-	-	-	-	98.4
150 " " 160	-	-	-	1	1	.8	99.2
160 " Over	-	-	-	1	1	.8	100.0
Total	23	46	30	26	125	100.0	
Median	75	82	79	105	82		

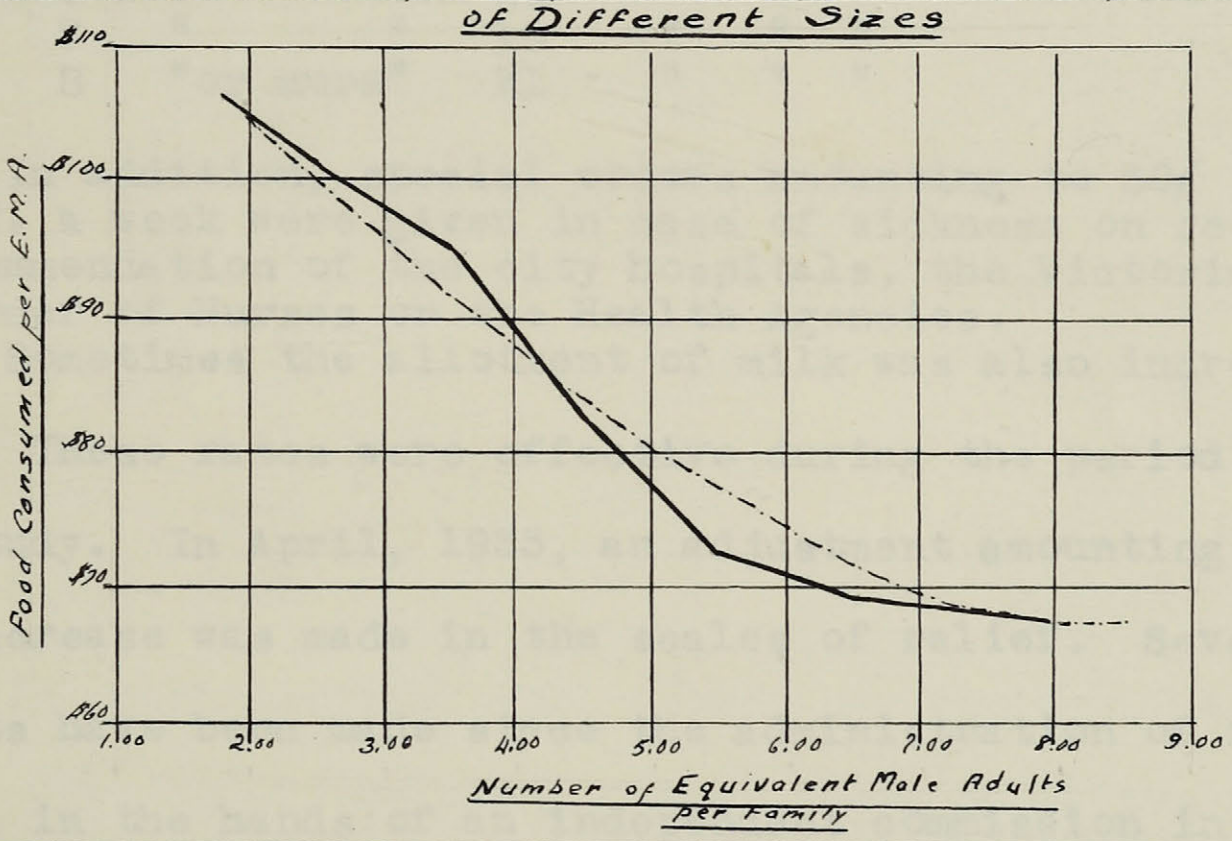
When viewed in this way, consumption within the various classes seems even more spread. One-quarter of the whole group consumes $60.or less per adult male. One-half have $82.or less. The third quartile point is at $108, or an increase of over 80% over the lower one.

The variations for the medians of the four consumption classes are less great than for the values of food given for families. These median points are $75, $82, $79, and $105, respectively. We have proof here of the rather obvious contention that where goods are available to those on low incomes, from sources other than current incomes, large families function automatically to push up the cost of family living.

As the size of a family increases, and the larger number of persons to be fed makes an increasing demand on the family budget, their whole range of wants are again called into competition. Few people can increase their budgets at will; certainly none of these Italians can to any great extent. While usually the resultant sacrifice is spread over a wide field of expenditures, the pressure is felt in such items as housing, where the same sized homes may be retained, and food. Ogburn has illustrated that as the size of the family group increases, it is normal for this to act as a new pressure over all its members, and that the cost of feeding the larger family is covered in part by a lower food consumption per person throughout. This does not mean that in large families there is necessarily undernourishment. It does mean that there is more likelihood of it. Miss Colcord states that as many families of higher income levels in New York were forced to reduce their food costs during the pressure of the late depression years, many reverted to more wholesome and healthful foods. The Italian

families with which we have been dealing have allowed themselves neither Italian nor Canadian delicacies. The pressure of numbers in their households has borne down upon level of consumption of the larger families. Chart IV shows that while families without children consumed $106 per adult male, families having the equivalent of seven or more male adults had only $67. each. A part of this difference can be accounted for by the savings that are effected in purchasing large quantities of goods at a time. The waste per person is also likely to be less. These together

Chart IV. Food Consumed per Equivalent Male Adult by Families of Different Sizes



might account for a quarter, or less, of the difference between the two figures. Until children become an economic asset to their families, as in the farming communities they were, they are a liability, not only to the wage earners but to their whole families.

Sixty families were given food by the city relief agencies in 1932. Chapter III showed these to be drawn from the lower consumption classes, and in like proportion from the three areas studied. The rate of relief for families of different size is

as follows:

$1.50	grocery	order	for	1	and	2	people
2.25	"	"	"	3	"	4	"
3.00	"	"	"	5	"	6	"
3.50	"	"	"	7	"	8	"
5.00	"	"	"	8	"	more	"

Milk was given at the rate of a pint a day for each child under twelve years of age, not exceeding three quarts.

Bread was given as follows -

2	people	receive	4	loaves	a week
3	"	"	7	"	" "
4	"	"	10	"	" "
5	"	"	12	"	" "
6	"	"	14	"	" "
7	"	"	18	"	" "
8	"or more"		21	"	" "

In addition, special orders amounting to 50¢ to $2. a week were given in case of sickness on recommendation of the city hospitals, the Victorian Order of Nurses or the Health Agencies.
Sometimes the allotment of milk was also increased.

These rates were effective during the period covered in this study. In April, 1933, an adjustment amounting to a ten percent increase was made in the scales of relief. Several minor adjustments have been made since the administration of relief was placed in the hands of an independent commission in the late summer of the same year.

Eleven of the sixty families needing relief were thus dependent all year. Of these, six were from Dante Street. Seven families had relief for less than ten weeks during 1932. Fourteen had relief from ten to twenty weeks; the same number were assisted from twenty to thirty weeks. Seven had thirty to forty weeks'relief, and seven had forty to fifty weeks. Several of these families were helped intermittently, rather than for one continuous period. More than half the families receiving community assistance were in need of it less than half the year.

The amount of food that has been received as municipal relief is given in the table which follows.

TABLE XXIV

Monetary Value of Food Provided to 125 Italian Families as Municipal Relief, Montreal, 1932.

Amount	Number	Percentage Distribution	Cumulative Percentage of Relief Cases
Not on relief	65	52.0	-
Under 25	3	2.4	2.4
25 and under 50	7	5.6	8.0
50 " " 75	8	6.4	14.4
75 " " 100	6	4.8	19.2
100 " " 125	4	3.2	22.4
125 " " 150	6	4.8	27.2
150 " " 175	7	5.6	32.8
175 " " 200	6	4.8	37.6
200 " " 225	3	2.4	40.0
225 " " 250	3	2.4	42.4
250 " " 275	3	2.4	44.8
275 " " 300	2	1.6	46.4
300 " over	2	1.6	48.0
	125	100.0	

Median - $133.

An approximately equal amount of spread exists within successive fourths of the sixty relief cases until the third quartile point is reached. The first quartile point is at $65, the median at $133, the third quartile at $192. Within the fourth quarter, the spread is upwards to $348. The amounts which these families have received through public assistance, however they may appear from the point of view of adequacy, are large enough that if these families were left on their own resources, or were dependent on less organized charity, the paths of their attempted adjustments would be strewn with individual and social disaster. The depression crisis is one which these people in their peasant days did not have to face. True, their level of living may have sunk to a lower level than they enjoy here even when on relief. With

some sort of employment normally available for most members of the family group, families were seldom completely without resources. The crisis which these people felt on first applying for relief appears to have been no different from that experienced by the majority of native Canadians (This is the observation of a relief investigator). This seems true for Protestants as well as Catholics. When we compare this with the experience of other groups in Montreal and the Poles studied in Thomas' momentous work, we take it to be an indication of the changed attitudes of the Italians that they should so readily accommodate themselves within our Canadian institutions.

Concerning the adequacy of the relief given in 1932, a correlation of the percentage of time the various families received assistance and the percentage of their total food consumed which was provided publicly shows that for most these families, the relief figures were eighty to ninety-five percent as great as the weekly average of these families for the year. Another comparison shows the relief amounts to be a slightly smaller proportion again of the amounts spent for food by the forty-nine families during that part of the year when they were able to purchase their own supplies. About one-third the total number of families on relief supplemented their receipts by small amounts, usually less than one dollar a week; some families added as much as two dollars. These supplementary amounts were often received through credit of one form or another.

While the amount of bread and milk has been fixed rigidly by the relief commissions, the remainder of the amount received was in the form of a cheque or voucher that enabled the Italian families to purchase goods of their own liking. It is

common practice for the various workers of the Federated Charities in Montreal too, to allow their foreign clients to continue their old-country preferences as far as possible. Practically all the Italians in Montreal stated their preference for Italian dishes. One or two who have been out of the city and who have been forced into close association with those of other nationalities have changed their food customs somewhat.

Macaroni, in one form or another, is the main dish on every Italian menu. Some purchase it already made up; very many lay in supplies in carton lots, rather than buy separate packages. In other households, the macaroni is made. A dough of fine flour is rolled very thin, and cut in ribbons, usually one-quarter of an inch wide, and three or four inches long. From this condition it is cooked once, and sometimes twice, before being served. In the old-country provinces, each culture group had its own kind of macaroni. Here, too, these background traits are continued, though with the closer associations of these people, the local differences in custom stand to be obliterated.

Vegetables are consumed in large quantities. Tomatoes are eaten, though more often they are made into a sauce to add flavour to the macaroni. String beans are used more widely than perhaps any other vegetable. Potatoes figure less in the Italian diet than they do in the native Canadian. Broccoli and chickory are used very widely. Peas, corn, and practically every other vegetable is given its place. These are all very highly flavoured with Italian salad oil. It is not umusual for children at school or on the playground to be seen with sandwiches spread with raw peas. Some of the children carry out cucumbers and eat them much as we might expect a school-boy to take an apple.

Meats are used only occasionally, and in small quantities. This is an item of consumption whose usage may vary widely among those of different levels of living among our native population. To what extent meat is considered a luxury among the Italians has not been carefully ascertained. The evidence seems to indicate that meat holds a less important place in the Italians' scale of preferences than is customary in the Montreal environment.

Bread is used in large amounts. Many of the larger families consume two or three loaves a day. A preference is shown for the round French loaves.

Tea and coffee are used widely as beverages. Several families of Italians reported making wine for their own consumption. The main ingredient in this is the juice of certain wild berries found in or near the city. The wine has a slightly flat taste, though is very refreshing. It is scarcely intoxicating, if at all. This wine is a delicacy, though is popularly served to company by those who have it. Wines, often of European vintage,are often purchased for fête days, and especially at Christmas. Wine, thus occasionally served, is an item of consumption for all the members of the family except the young.

Forty-three, or approximately one-third the total number of men reported some expenditure on beer during 1932. The use of beer is limited almost entirely to the men, though is often consumed inside their homes. The amounts spent on beer are given in tabulated form. Only nine families made the beverage a part of their regular consumption, and had beer with their meals. Of these, seven are from among those enjoying a higher than average level of living at Dante Street. Even then its use was restricted largely to the men.

TABLE XXV

Amounts spent on Beer by 125 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932.

Amount	Number	% Distrib.
None	82	65.6
Under $3.	7	5.6
$3. and under $6.	10	8.0
6. " " 9.	4	3.2
9. " " 12.	3	2.4
12. " " 15.	3	2.4
15. " " 18.	7	5.6
18. " " 85.	9	7.2
	125	100.0

While two-thirds make no practice of consuming it, beer is for most the others a luxury, taken for refreshment. Since beer is not an item of family consumption, the above figures have not been included as part of the value of the food used by the family group.

In the choice of foods, then, the Italians seem to have altered little since their initial adjustment called for by the limitations of the Montreal market. Few practices in consumption can be carried on so sheltered from the observation of the wider community as those of food. It is an evidence of the close family organization of the Italians that so few among their numbers have had some of their meals regularly apart from the family circle. Men going out to work have nearly always taken prepared lunches of sandwiches with them. Their own food practices sheltered, these people have not allowed themselves an acquaintance with the new-world customs. The adjusting of dietary habits appears a reservation for the next generation.

Housing

Few people live in houses which they designed for themselves. Neighbourhoods have developed and changed. Areas that once held the homes of the aristocracy in many large cities have

become boarding-house regions, or slums. The slum houses often are once-palatial abodes remodeled and subdivided. Into these quarters many groups of newly arrived immigrants make their way. Attracted by the cheap rentals, the newcomers are usually forced to adopt living accommodations in buildings modeled for them by the native population. At the very outset most imcoming groups have had to neglect the pressure of tradition, and accept the community values available to persons of their income levels.

As immigrant groups move out of their central slum colonies, they are offered, for a somewhat higher rental, houses in two or three classes of neighbourhoods. Houses near the city centre renting for twenty dollars a month, let us say, are apt to be smaller than those commanding a similar rental in areas of working men's homes farther out. While the immigrants are able to make this move outward, their choice in houses is limited to two or three prevailing types, each set in its own natural area, each with its architectural style determined by the patterns of the whole community. Most people will move out to an area where others of their own nationality are living. Those who lead the way will choose an area with reference to their places of work, though with regard to their ease of entry. The Italians, we have pointed out, have entered near the fringe of settlement, to escape the intensive land usage of the mid-urban area.

A few immigrant groups have obtained sufficient isolation to erect houses for themselves which are a compromise between the two cultures. The Jews who entered the region below our Papineau Street area before the war built their houses on piles, and had goats, and some pigs living below them. Montreal has spread to break down their isolation, and these old homes have been torn

down or reconstructed more in conformity with the general east-side type of house. This appears an inevitable process in an outward expanding city. Cultural differentiation in housing, resting on national backgrounds, seems to have no permanent existence.

In the working men's areas, many Europeans live in houses that were not specially designed for them. This is true of the Italians covered in this study; it is true of other ethnic groups living east of Bleury Street in Montreal. The foreign groups have accommodated themselves readily to the first housing adjustment that was compelled of them. Many have remained content with their initial accommodation until long after their savings would permit them to move outward. This is especially true of those who have clung to their old ambition to own property rather than to enjoy a higher level of living. The Italians, still anxious for property, hope to see this ambition attained in the districts where they now live. Having quickly made their way out from the down-town region, they have accommodated themselves readily in the types of homes which were constructed and available in the regions which they entered. Those who have their own homes for the most part have copied the customary French types of buildings. It seems a more difficult accommodation that these people should adjust themselves to an environment of urban population density than that they should have difficulty in accustoming themselves to house types.

A brief description of the houses in the three neighbourhoods studied as they appear from the street is given in Chapter II above. Most of the houses in the three areas are flats in either two -,four -,or six-flat buildings. All have separate front entrances. Practically none of the houses are detached, except those on the northern edge of the Papineau area. Papineau

Street has the greatest number of single-dwelling buildings, Dante Street the fewest. Internally, the houses in the three areas are much the same. It does not seem useful that we should retain our area reference in describing them.

Our first consideration has to do with the size of these dwellings. We see from the accompanying Table that 86% of the homes have four, five, or six rooms; also that many more have four or five rooms than six.

TABLE XXVI

Number of Rooms in Italian Homes, 1932.

Number of Rooms	Number of Families	Percentage Distribution
3	11	8.8
4	41	32.8
5	43	34.4
6	24	19.2
7	6	4.8
	125	100.0

The four-roomed flat is more prevalent in the Dante Street area than in the other two. It will be recalled, however, that in this area the median family is smaller by one person than in the other two districts.

In examining the living conditions which these dwellings permit, one must take into account the number of occupants in each. Table XXVII presents this in a tabular analysis. In this Table, the figures above the heavy line indicate families having one or more rooms per person. Sixty-three, or half these families, are recorded above the line. A simple arithmetic average for the whole group is six rooms for every seven people. Two families without children each have six fooms. At the other extreme are a family of seven with three rooms, a family of nine with four, and a family of eleven, and one with twelve, each with five rooms.

Further study of the Table shows that the thirty-one households of seven or more persons each have less than one room per person, while of the ninety-four households of two to six persons, only thirty-eight or forty percent show this condition. Just as large families reduce the level of food consumption per person, so they force the individuals within their membership to accommodate themselves in more crowded quarters.

TABLE XXVII

Number of Rooms Occupied by 125 Italian Families of Different Sizes, Montreal, 1932

Number of Persons	Number of Rooms 3	4	5	6	7	Total
2	-	3	1	2	-	6
3	5	7	2	-	-	14
4	3	9	7	3	1	23
5	2	9	10	3	-	24
6	-	9	8	7	3	27
7	1	-	4	2	-	7
8	-	3	6	5	-	14
9	-	1	-	-	-	1
10	-	-	1	2	1	4
11	-	-	2	-	1	3
12	-	-	2	-	-	2
TOTAL	11	41	43	24	6	125

TABLE XXVIII

Number of Single Beds, or their Equivalents, Occupied by 125 Italian Families of Different Sizes, Montreal, 1932

Number of Persons	Number of Single Beds											Total
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
2	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
3	-	10	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
4	-	3	14	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	23
5	-	1	6	14	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
6	-	-	3	10	10	3	-	1	-	-	-	27
7	-	-	-	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	7
8	-	-	-	-	1	6	5	-	1	1	-	14
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	4
11	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	3
12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
TOTAL	3	15	28	32	15	15	6	6	2	2	1	125

In a large number of the homes, more rooms are used as bedrooms than as livingprooms. Twenty-three homes report having only one living-room, a kitchen - dining-room. Sixty-two, or one half, have two such rooms, usually a kitchen and living-room - dining room combined, but in some instances, the arrangement consists of a living-room, and joint dining-room - kitchen. In a third of the cases, there are three or more living-rooms, and of these, seven use a fourth as a playroom or sewing-room.

If we count each couch which is used regularly for sleeping as a single bed, and each double bed as two single beds, we find that in seventy percent of the homes, each person has at least one single bed or its equivalent on which to sleep. Twenty-two families (17.6%) each showed a higher average than one single bed per person. The greatest crowding is, as would be expected, in the larger families. The data from which these facts are drawn are given in Table XXVIII.

Our sample of 125 families showed that nearly all have a bathroom equipped with bath and toilet. Three houses at Dante Street are without baths, these all have separate toilets. At Papineau Street, four places, all north of Belanger Street on the outer edge of the settlement have neither baths nor toilets. One other place in the area has no bath.

House furnishings give us a further indication of the living conditions of these people. The first concern of the Italians is for attractive bedroom furniture. In many of the homes visited we found beds of"modern" walnut finish. Others were of brass finish. These are usually covered with an attractive spread. The bedrooms of the children are usually fitted up with common white enamel beds. The dressers in the parents'rooms, and doubtless in the rooms of

the older daughters, are often carefully set out with brushes, combs, pin cushions, and the like. Photographs or snapshots of relatives were often there to view. On the walls, too, we frequently noted pictures of the Madonna. Pictures of the parents of the man or wife are not uncommon. In a few homes the bedrooms were more ornately set out than this general statement suggests. Also, many were much more plainly furnished.

The furnishings in the living rooms were all of Canadian purchase, with the probable exception of some pictures. For the most of these families, the moving of furniture from the homeland would be too expensive a business. In Italy, they in their depressed state probably used the furniture that had been the family possessions for generations, and only purchased new house furnishings as families sub-divided. The usage of Canadian furniture, then, is as inevitable an accommodation as the use of Canadian-designed buildings.

The descriptions of living rooms which follow were written shortly after interviews were held in the rooms, from notes taken for the purpose. One represents an extreme of squalor, the fourth is typical of a few of the better homes. The remaining two are typical of the homes we more frequently found.

No.I. One's immediate impression was that this house should have been located in a slum area. A long narrow hall ran from the front entrance to the living rooms. There were two small dark rooms adjoined by an arch. Their only window was a small one in the kitchen, and dull light flowed between its dirty curtains. In the kitchen, too, there was a stove, and table, with two or three chairs. The sink showed signs of long abuse. In the adjoining room was a small heater, from which a stove-pipe ran across the

ceiling. The only other furnishings was a single wooden chair, A cardboard box stood in the corner, with an old garment or cloth suspended over its edge. No pictures adorned the walls. Neither was there coverings on the floor, nor varnish.

No.II. We soon learned that the man we were interviewing had had his monetary resources cut short by the depression. He was neatly dressed, though his clothes bore mends. His wife wore a light apron over her light dress, and had just finished washing the dishes from their evening meal when we arrived. Two small children were entertaining a neighbouring relative without the use of toys.

This dining-room and the kitchen to which it was arched composed the living rooms of this family. The central feature of the dining-room was a circular oak table. The chairs were cushioned and covered with an artificial leather. One large upholstered chair added to the room a note of comfort. The walls were panelled to a height of approximately six feet; above, a few chosen dishes rested on a plate rail, and two small pictures hung. Behind the glass doors of a long cupboard, the household china was arrayed. A sewing machine stood before the window. The floor was covered by a linoleum square, while above a chandelier filled the room with light.

No.III. The room was approximately sixteen feet long, and almost as wide. It was approached by a long hall running past the sleeping quarters of the house. Along one side of the hall were hung a number of coats and hats, and place was made there for ours. A small stove stood in an alcove in this hallway to complete the furnishings. As we passed from it to the larger room, we found ourselves again in a living - dining-room. There was a large square table of dark oak finish, with a centre-piece of simple design.

Against one wall stood a buffet to match; while several cushioned chairs complete the suite. It was of war-time design,or earlier, and showed signs of regular use. A built-in cupboard extended from floor to ceiling for a distance of about eight feet alongside the hall entrance; and two central glass doors showed dishes within. A mantel-clock rested on the buffet. There were five pictures, one showed the ruins of a pillared Roman structure, one was of a basket of fruit, while two of the others were oval-framed portraits of the parents of one of the now-Canadian parent group.

No.IV. The room was attractively decorated and clean. Large and richly coloured drapes of royal blue separated this room from the entry hall; while those of similar material edged the windows. A chesterfield suite of velour finish, and conservative in style, blended in shade and softness with a simply patterned rug. A small centre table, modern in design, stood in the centre of the room. In the corner was a large cabinet radio. Two carefully tinted portraits hung side by side in large oval frames, alone to bear evidence of the traditional practices that characterize these immigrants' preferences.

The man we interviewed offered us refreshment, and gladly would have supplied it had we accepted.

Of all the homes visited, not more than eight or ten offered as little attraction as No.I. Three or four homes on the northern extension of the Papineau Street area were not finished inside. One home had only rough partitions, with no ceiling except that formed by the roof; it had neither doors nor wall coverings; oil lamps were used for light. The others were likewise only temporarily fitted up for use, and were without the convenience of electric light and gas. The other homes which may be classed with the one

described are scattered throughout the three areas.

Comforts such as are described in Numbers II, III, above, are more commonplace, and may be said to characterize these groups of Italians. The large dining-room tables and the built-in cupboards are very prevalent. There are variations in decorations, just as there are in every class of home. Dining-room chairs are used very widely, to make up for the deficiencies in upholstered furniture.

Approximately one-quarter of the families have their living rooms furnished with chesterfield suites. The furnishings in the homes of the more successful among the Italians, shows that they do now, or will, as opportunity nears, tend to aspire to the same type of interior decoration as is found in any of our lower middle class homes. It may be significant that a large proportion of those whose homes most resemble our own live in rented houses, when we take into account the extent of home ownership among these people. This may indicate a change in attitude embracing the whole notion of success which this or any other group erects for its members. For most of these families, this is probably an exaggerated inference. It is, we think, a visible sign of the direction that changes in attitudes may be expected to take among these or other once-peasant folk.

A knowledge of the furnishings not having universal usage may help give us a better picture of the homes of these people and the home life which is theirs. Table XXIX shows the distribution of some of these.

TABLE XXIX

Number of Italian Families Having Specific House Furnishings; Sample, 125 Families in Montreal, 1932.

Item	Number	Percent
Radio	36 x	28.8
Gramophone	46 x	36.8
Piano	7	4.8
Sewing machine	93	74.4
Washing "	46	36.8
Telephone	11	8.8

x Includes 7 combination radio-gramophones(counted twice).

TABLE XXX

Number of Families having Specific Number of Furnishings (incl. Radio, Gramophone, Piano, Sewing Machine, Washing Machine, Telephone); Sample, 125 Italian Families in Montreal,1932

Number of Furnishings	Number of Families	Percent
0	18	14.4
1	33	26.4
2	32	25.6
3	31	24.8
4	9	7.2
5	--	--
6	2	1.6
	125	100.0

When corrections are made for overlapping, five-eighths of the families have musical instruments of some kinds in their homes. Most of the radios are large cabinet models. A radio is an item of furniture that many of these families are anxious to acquire. This is, perhaps, one evidence of the place the home plays in the social and recreational life of the Italians.

The large number of sewing machines indicates one industry that is still carried on in the house. These machines are used. The place of the Italian mother is in the home. Her rôle in the Canadian - Italian society is a family rôle. In at least three-quarters of the homes, some at least of the children's

clothing is made by her.

The use of telephones is an American culture trait that has not been widely adopted. The relatively closed communities in which these people live, and the narrow range of their associations, make telephones unnecessary. As these people disperse throughout the wider community they will, in all probability, have telephones.

Half the families interviewed have two or more of the furnishings listed. On the other hand, very few indeed have more than three. Two families at Dante Street have all six. The families not having any are evenly distributed throughout the three areas.

Among these groups it was found that only four families had their homes heated. The others all used coal stoves. Many had small heaters placed in the hallway or some other central location from which the heat would circulate throughout the house.

Twelve families reported the purchase of furniture during 1932. One Dante Street family, the father a contractor, purchased home furnishings valued at $1000. The money was obtained from the sale of a house. A young Ville Emard couple, just setting up their home, spent $800 for furniture out of their accumulated savings. Another Dante Street family got a bedroom suite for $150, though at the end of the year $25 was still to be paid on it. Three families bought stoves, one for $60, another for $145. One of these families, a young couple, also bought a crib. A Papineau family bought a new dining-room suite for $185. One family bought a sewing machine, another had a washing machine, though at the time of our interview little had been paid towards it. The other family spent $6. for a small item.

It seems a common belief that Italian immigrants take little care about the sorts of homes they live in. That ten percent of these families, none of whom enjoy a high level of living,

should purchase furniture during a depression year such as 1932, appears as evidence that many of these families take pride in their homes. It may well be that these families are anxious for the pride of ownership, and not alone of comfort. Many families are willing to sacrifice furniture until they are able to purchase their homes.

The Italian home is characterized by its pictures. A place is given in nearly every bedroom to some picture of religious significance. In many living rooms are portraits of the parents of either senior householder, sometimes tinted, and nearly always in large oval frames. Pictures of relatives, and wedding pictures, are frequently shown. Dozens of these might be found enclosed within a single frame, sometimes as large as three feet square. This custom is prevalent also among certain Slavic peoples. As these people move towards assimilation, this type of furnishing is seen to change. These large frames are found in the homes of those whose associations are passively bound up with the Italian communities of Italy and Canada, and who have retained their old reverence for family ties. The parents' portraits are retained in families when other photographs are relegated to less conspicuous places. It is doubtful if these will be rejected while the man or wife lives. As the family pictures disappear, pictures of landscape are given their places.

Calendars from Italian stores are frequently seen, often bearing their inscriptions in French and English.

In monetary terms, what does the consumption of such rental value represent? No attempt will be made to assign any consumption value to the use of the house furnishings. Rent, as a major item in family provision, has to be considered, and to this we now turn.

It is a well-substantiated truth that rental values are slow to adjust themselves to changes in the general price level. In Montreal, where leases usually cover a twelve-month period, adjustments in rates can be made only on the termination of such contracts. This factor, along with the expense and effort required in moving, makes rent one of the most inelastic of budgetary expenditures. We assume it to be a depression phenomenon that housing should represent an increasing proportion of the total value of a family's satisfied wants.

This is not to say that in every case these rents have been paid; indeed, in many cases, they have not. Our contention is that as long as the household is allowed tenancy, the consumption value remains as before. In the case of families owning their own homes, rent values have been assigned based on the rates charged for similar places on the same street. This has usually been about ten percent per annum of the assessed value.

TABLE XXXI

Rent Values Consumed by 125 Italian Households in Montreal, 1932.

Rent Value	Number	Percentage Distribution
Under $100.	2	1.6
$100. and under $125.	5	4.0
125. " " 150.	7	5.6
150. " " 175.	17	13.6
175. " " 200.	25	20.0
200. " " 225.	29	23.2
225. " " 250.	22	17.6
250. " " 275.	10	8.0
275. " " 300.	3	2.4
300. " " 325.	4	3.2
325. " " 350.	1	.8
	125	100.0

With a few exceptions, houses of three or four rooms had a monthly rental value eighteen dollars or less, while the

rents of houses of five rooms or larger ranged from $18 to $27 per month. The median rental for places in the Dante Street area was $214, or ten and fourteen dollars higher than in the other two areas. This margin between the two rent levels appears still larger when we take into account the smaller size of the houses at Dante Street. All but three of the houses having an estimated rental value of less than $150 are located in the Papineau area. Of the eighteen places worth $250 or more per year, half are at Dante Street. While the difference in the rentals between the three areas is significant, it is not wide enough to encourage people to move about between areas to adjust their rent problems. Moving can only be undertaken at a cost. Each area has places of different sizes and commanding variant rentals. Within any of the three areas, moving might be undertaken without outside assistance.

TableXXXII gives the rental values of these houses as a percentage of the total satisfied wants.

TABLE XXXII

Rent Values as Percentage of Consumption of Families of different consumption Classes

Percent	Consumption Class. Under $600.	$600 and under $800	$800 and under $1000	$1000 and over	Total	Percentage Distribution
10 &under 20	--	7	6	19	32	25.6
20 " " 30	8	20	21	7	56	44.8
30 " " 40	10	18	3	--	31	24.8
40 " " 50	5	1	--	--	6	4.8
	23	46	30	26	125	100.0

Rent ranks next to food as the second major item of consumption. Nearly half of these Italian families consumed twenty to thirty percent of their total budgets in rent. The Dante Street group spent a slightly higher percentage on rent than did those in the other two areas. None in this region whose consumption was less

than $1000 used less than twenty percent as rent.

Students of the economics of consumption have always been interested in the relation of rents to other items of family budgets. Many studies have borne witness to the fact that as the family fund is increased, the expenditure for rent is also increased, but not in like proportion. Among this Italian group, and especially those whose chief source of provision has not been the current earnings of the family group, we may assume that the proportion of consumption classified as rent is larger than it would be during periods of regular employment. The Table above shows the place of rents in the budgets of families of graded consumption classes. The hypothesis presented by earlier students is tested more clearly in Table XXXIII.

TABLE XXXIII

Average Rentals, Expressed as Cash Value and as Percentages of Total Consumption of 125 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932.

Consumption Class	Average Rent	Percentage of Consumption
Under $600.	$159	33 %
$600 and under $800	202	27
800 " " 1000	211	24
1000 " over	233	19

It is the ambition of many of the Italians to own their homes. We have noted in Chapter III that thirty-eight families have achieved this goal. The Papineau Street area, in a sense the most culturally isolated, has twenty-two of these. This is not to be taken as an index of greater success among these. It is rather a choice in expenditure that has been a more important objective for these people than for others. Also, it is probably easier to buy a house in this district. The Italians at Dante Street, with the same number of home owners among them as at

Ville Emard, or proportionately, two-thirds the number, seem to have moved farthest from the traditional Italian-Canadian attitudes. One from this area who has invested in property has bought a house in Notre Dame de Grace, a middle class residential district, while he rents for himself one of the most attractive flats in the area.

The declared values of these houses are given in Table XXXIV and the tax rates in Table XXXV..

TABLE XXXIV

Value of Houses Owned by Italians;
Sample, 125 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932.

Value	Number at Dante Street	Number at Papineau Street	Number at Ville Emard	Total
Under $1500.	1	3	--	4
$1500 & under $2000	--	4	1	5
2000 " " 2500	1	6	2	9
2500 " " 3000	--	3	--	3
3000 " " 3500	--	1	2	3
3500 " " 4000	2	1	1	4
4000 " " 4500	3	1	--	5
4500 " " 5000	--	--	--	--
5000 " Over	--	3	1	4
	7	22	7	38

TABLE XXXV

Taxes Charged 38 Italian Property Owners in Montreal, 1932.

Amount	Dante Street	Papineau Street	Ville Emard	Total
Under $50.	1	6	--	7
$50 & under $75	1	4	--	5
75 " " 100	1	5	3	9
100 " " 125	3	2	3	8
125 " " 150	1	2	--	3
150 " Over	--	3	1	4
	7	22	7	38

The above Tables indicate that many of the Italian homes in the Papineau area are small. These are for the most part in the northern section of the area. Two of the houses at Dante

Street are built back about thirty feet from the street. These both have verandahs extending the width of the house. The spaces between them and the street are planted in vegetables. One of these houses is finished only roughly, the walls and floors are covered only with dressed lumber. The other five are all two-flat houses. Five of the places at Papineau Street have two flats or more. Only one house at Ville Emard brings its Italian owner any additional revenue.

Tax rates vary slightly within areas as well as between areas on account of special assessments for street paving, sewage, and so forth. Of the four places for which taxes were not paid for 1932, none of these were at Papineau Street. For them, property is a possession which, once gained, is to be protected.

Other expenses of household operation not included in rent must be taken into account,as fuel, light and gas. Of our sample, fifteen families used only such fuel as was furnished by relief. Twelve of these were from Dante Street. This is due, no doubt, to the system of relief organization, with the parish as its unit, that existed in 1932. Five others, four from Dante Street, depended in part on this aid. While the provision of fuel varied according to the requirement of each family, the usual allotment was five bags of coal (each one hundred pounds) and one bag of wood per month during the winter.

If the fuel given as relief is evaluated at the then-current rates, the fuel used by these 121 families whose homes were not heated centrally, is as given in Table XXXVI.

TABLE XXXVI

Value of Fuel used by 121 Italian Families, Montreal, 1932.

Amount			Number	Percentage Distribution
$10	and under	$20	4	4 %
20	"	30	11	9
30	"	40	27	22
40	"	50	27	22
50	"	60	23	19
60	"	70	15	12
70	"	80	12	10
80	"	Over	2	2
			121	100

It has been suggested already that coal has an almost universal usage among this group. Wood is bought in the approximate proportion of one cord of wood to three tons of coal.

Gas is used for cooking in about four-fifths of the homes; the rest use kitchen ranges burning coal and wood. About half the homes without gas are at Papineau Street. Two homes in this area each spend about $5.00 annually for oil for lamps. All the other homes use electricity for lighting. Since both gas and light are purchased on account from the same company, the Montreal Light, Heat and Power, no attempt was made to ascertain their separate cost. Together they ranged from $12.(for electric light only) to $78.00, while the median was $36. The distribution is given in Table XXXVII.

TABLE XXXVII

Gas and Electricity Used by 125 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932.

Value			Number	Percentage Distribution
Under $20			13	10.4
$20	& under	$30	24	19.2
30	"	40	48	38.4
40	"	50	25	20.0
50	"	60	6	4.8
60	"	70	4	3.6
70	"	80	3	2.4
Use Oil			2	1.6
			125	100.0

In a few instances, attempts were made to find the costs of household operation not included in the above. The items covered include the replacement of dishes and linen, also soaps and other articles used for washing dishes and laundering. The figures given ranged from $6. to above $24, with an average of approximately $15.

Taken together, the pecuniary values consumed as housing or in household operation form a large percentage of the satisfied wants of this group. Together, they range from $130 to $439, with an average of $282. Expressed as a percentage of the total consumed values, the range is from 18% to 58%, with a median of 34%.

TABLE XXXVIII

Cost of Household Operation in 125 Italian Homes in Montreal, 1932. (Items included - Rent, Fuel, Gas, and Light).

Amount	Number	Percentage Distribution
Under $200.	8	6.4
$200 and under $225	10	8.0
225 " " 250	21	16.8
250 " " 275	19	15.2
275 " " 300	20	16.0
300 " " 325	17	13.6
325 " " 350	15	12.0
350 " " 375	7	5.6
375 " " 400	5	4.0
400 " " 425	2	1.6
425 " " 450	1	.8
	125	100.0

TABLE XXXIX

Housing and Household Operation as Percentage of Total Consumption, 125 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932.

Percentage	Number	Percentage Distribution
10% and under 20%	1	.8
20 " " 30	33	26.4
30 " " 40	51	40.8
40 " " 50	31	24.8
50 " " 60	9	7.2
	125	100.0

The competitive demands upon the total family fund of income and charitable provision are variously satisified by different groups according to their attitudes and social practices. A wider or redirected participation in the life of a community, or again a change in the total number of wants that can be satisfied, or in the degree to which certain of these may be satisfied, may result in changes in the mode of living of any one group over a period of time. Our hope is to indicate the choices of goods and services made by this Italian group in a depression year.

Much more elasticity is to be expected in the consumption of some items than of others. Further, certain items require renewing at short intervals, while others may be said to represent a long-time investment. The various items of food, and goods and services used in household operation may be said to fall in this first category; clothing might rightly be placed in the second. As the demands for food and shelter must, in a measure, be satisfied regularly, it is to be expected that these would be given a prior claim on the resources of those whose income is rapidly declining. Our contention, then, is that in this budgetary analysis we have an indication of the pressure made on this group by the conditions of a limited and declining income. Table XL gives these items as a percentage of all satisfied wants, the families being classified according to the total value of their consumption. The demands of these goods upon the smaller household funds is at once clear.

TABLE XL

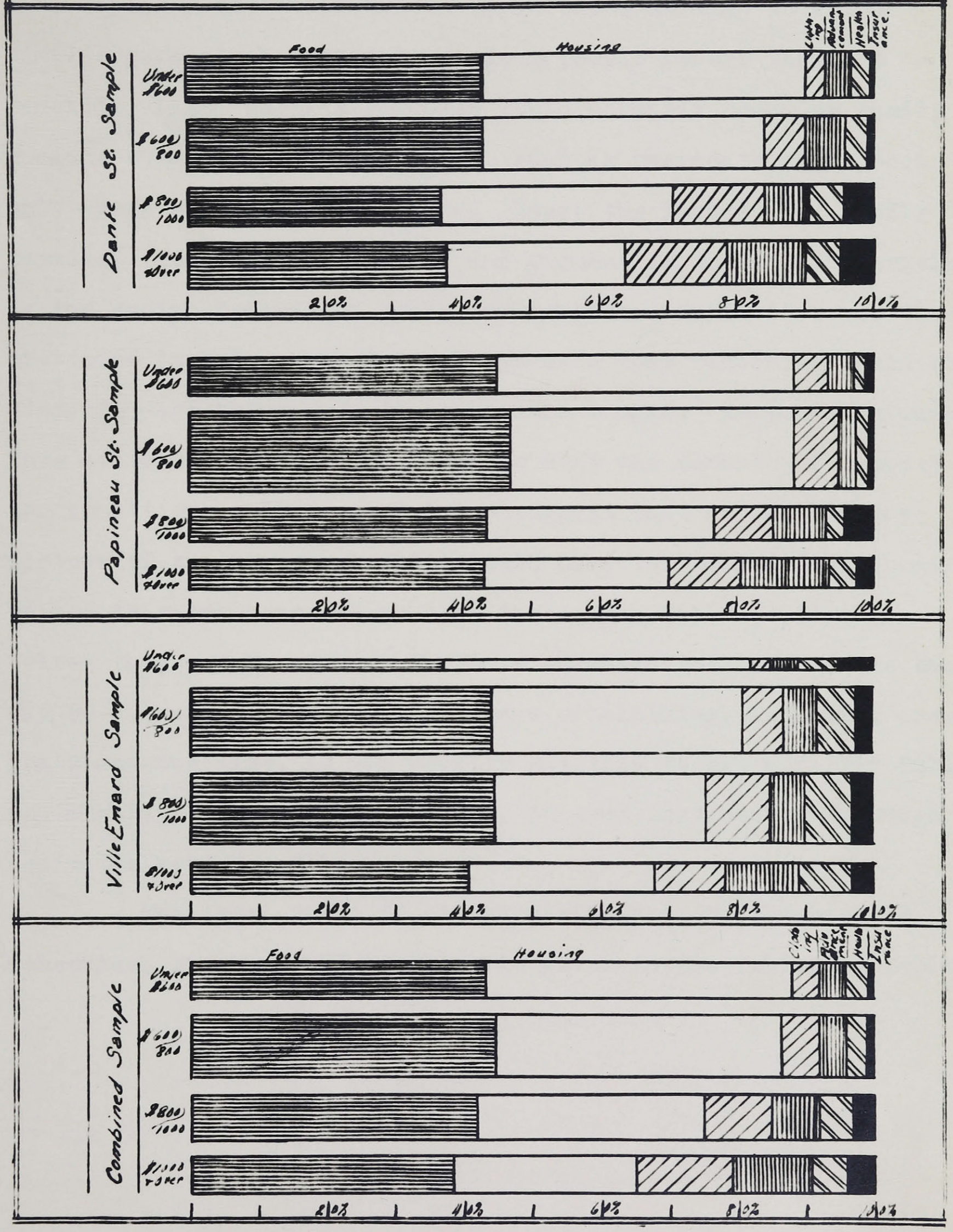
Food, Rent and Household Operation as Percentages of Total Consumption, 125 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932.

Percentage of Consumption	Consumption Class: Under $600.	$600. and under $800.	$800. and under $1000.	$1000 and over	Total	Percentage Distribution
40 & under 50	-	-	1	2	2	1.6
50 " " 60	-	1	1	5	7	5.6
60 " " 70	-	2	10	9	21	16.8
70 " " 80	5	12	12	8	37	29.6
80 " " 90	9	19	7	2	37	29.6
90 " " 100	9	12	-	-	21	16.8
	23	46	30	26	125	100.0

In so far as the assimilation of any immigrant group depends on the participation of its members in the social activities of the receiving community, conditions such as these must act as a retardation. There is inter-communication of groups during work, at school and on the playground. Still, participation in many of the institutions of the wider communities very often necessitates direct expenditure, also it is aided by the accepted standards of neatness in dress. When these people are not free to make their purchases at our large shopping centres, again the process of assimilation is checked. Yet sixteen percent of this group are not able to satisfy more than a mere minimum of wants other than those of food and shelter, while nearly one-half of these families consume 80% of their household supply in the form of these two items, and more than three-quarters consume as much as 70% in this way. Certain families have reported that they could not afford carfare to go to the city centre to shop; others were hesitant even to attend their own parish church because of the condition of their clothing. These may be depression phenomena; it is to be hoped that they are.

Chart II

The Modes of Living of Italians in Montreal, 1932.



Clothing.

There is more spread shown in the distribution of clothing than in any other major item considered in this study. In part this may be traced to the differences in time in which similar garments are used by various people before they are renewed. Also, certain garments would normally occur on family budgets every year, while others, such as overcoats,might occur only every second or third year. Where the income of a family permits, the length of life of any garment is determined largely by the social demands of style and neatness; while in cases where provision is being scaled down, garments that otherwise would be discarded are being made to serve much longer. In many instances this accommodation is being made to meet the demands of depression conditions. It seems fair to suggest that a satisfactory picture of the use of clothing would have to cover a much longer period than one year. We present these data for what in themselves they may be worth. The data on which this section is based may be inaccurate. For larger items of clothing, as suits, dresses, coats and the like, it was usually possible to get a fairly full statement. For the smaller items, in some instances only rough estimates were possible.

The total value of clothing received, by purchase or otherwise, by these 125 families is given in the following Tables:

TABLE XLI

Total Value of Clothing Received by 125 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932.

Amount	Consumption Class: Under $600.	$600. and under $800.	$800. and under $1000.	$1000. and over	Total	Percentage Distribution
Under 25	15	14	1	-	30	24.0
$25 & Under 50	6	13	5	-	24	19.2
50 " " 75	2	10	6	3	21	16.8
75 " " 100	-	6	2	3	11	8.8
100" " 125	-	2	11	3	16	12.8
125" " 150	-	1	-	3	4	3.2
150" " 175	-	-	4	5	9	7.2
175" " 200	-	-	1	1	2	1.6
200" " 250	-	-	-	2	2	1.6
250" " 300	-	-	-	2	2	1.6
300" " 350	-	-	-	3	3	2.4
350" " 400	-	-	-	1	1	.8
	23	46	30	26	125	100.0

TABLE XLII

Clothing Received as Percentage of Total Consumption, 125 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932.

Percentage	Consumption Class: Under $600.	$600. and under $800.	$800. and under $1000.	$1000. and over	Total	Percentage Distribution
Under 5%	16	21	5	-	42	33.6
5 & Under 10	5	16	7	7	35	28.0
10" " 15	2	8	14	11	35	28.0
15" " 20	-	1	3	4	8	6.4
20" " 25	-	-	1	3	4	3.2
25" " 30	-	-	-	1	1	.8
	23	46	30	26	125	100.0

Eleven families received some clothing from the city relief agencies. One family was supplied clothing from the branch of the Fascio Club on St.Lawrence Boulevard, near Dante Street. The others were all dependent on their own means of purchase, though one family reported a large clothing bill unpaid. The pressure of falling incomes on the purchase of clothing is shown

clearly in the above analysis. Each dollar purchase of clothing has a variable real value depending on the wear that is given each garment before it is voluntarily or necessarily discarded. Those families falling within the lower consumption classes not only wear their clothes longer, but also manage on a smaller wardrobe. The male heads of some households reported not having bought new suits for five or six years.

Approximately one-fifth of our total sample had less than $25. in new clothing during 1932. Of these, half fell in the twenty-three families of our lowest consumption class. The absolute increase in the amounts spent by families of greater means is clearly evident. Of the ten cases recorded of families using $175. or more in this way, one is from Papineau Street, the others are all at Dante Street. If we exclude these cases from consideration momentarily, to include those of the lower consumption classes, the amounts spent on clothing are about equal for the three areas.

Among the Italians, as with other peoples, those of higher incomes spend more absolutely, and also proportionately, for clothing. Those in our lowest consumption class received only four percent, on the average, of all that was spent for them, as clothing. Those in the next class consumed $34 per family (median) or six percent. Those consuming between $800 and $1000 averaged $102, if we take the median, or, using the arithmetic average, eleven percent. The averages of the highest class were $155, or 13%. These data give us a fair notion of the effect of incomes on expenditures for clothing. We suggested near the outset that the very low figures given for the lower consumption classes show one means that these families have taken

to adjust themselves to the depression. Clothes wear out, so this can only be a means of alleviating a temporary demand. As employment conditions improve, it is probable that all these families will bid for status and social participation through proportionately increased expenditures for clothing. It seems normal to expect that those with the lower levels of living, being the group whose incomes fluctuate most, will show the greatest relative increase. The spread in percentages, if not in absolute amounts, will likely be diminished.

In every ethnic group the clothing worn by its working members is determined largely by the nature of their occupations. Since nearly all the Italians covered in this study are manual labourers, they have not frequent use for fine dress. While the small group of tradespeople at Dante Street are equipped with ability to purchase clothing. the nature of their vocations increases the pressure of the demand for clothing on their family budgets. We noted, too, that as the senior members of a family set a standard in clothing, that standard is carried throughout the whole family group.

The receipt of clothing and its distribution over the different members of the family group is of interest to us. In the Table showing this distribution, several cases have been omitted for which only the gross sum was given. In several instances, detailed information was obtained for some members of the family, while only an estimate was given to cover the rest.

The greatest spread is shown in the case of the parents. In roughly half the cases, the individual expenditure was less than $10. Many men reported having bought no more than one or two shirts, some socks, and perhaps had their shoes re-soled;

while the purchases of the women were no more numerous. Of those spending more than this amount, there is more spread among the men than their wives. At the higher extreme is a man whose clothing purchases during the year cost $105.

TABLE XLIII

Clothing Expenditure for Italian Persons of Different Age Groups; Sample,125 Italian Families in Montreal,1932.

Amount	Parents 18 yrs. & Over		15 - 17		12/14		9/11	6/8	3/5	Under 3
	M	F	M	F	M	F				
Under $10	59	56	8	13	6	7	18	21	32	43	32
$10 & Under 20	16	26	7	7	3	6	21	21	21	12	9
20 & Under 30	10	13	3	5	3	5	15	9	8	5	-
30 " " 40	13	5	4	3	2	1	3	3	2	1	-
40 " " 50	6	6	1	1	-	1	3	1	1	-	-
50 " " 60	3	2	1	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	-
60 " " 70	3	2	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
70 " " 80	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
80 " " 90	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
90 " " 100	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
100 & Over	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	117	114	25	31	14	22	64	55	64	61	41

Another man, a tailor, had new clothing valued at $147, though the actual cost to him was something less than this amount. This difference in the expenditures of man and wife are occasioned by differences in the social participation of the two parents. The division of labour of the various members of the family group accords each a field of participation in occupational and other social groups. The mother, with her rôle directing most of her participation within her own family, does not receive her status through expenditures. This spread in clothing purchases will probably continue so long as the old family organization remains.

It is unusual that there should be so little difference in the cost of clothing for dependents of school age, and those older. It often happens that youths of eighteen of Canadian

upbringing spend more for clothes than do their parents. Among the Italians this seems not to be the case. Fewer are satisfied to get along on very small amounts, though their arithmetic average is lower than for their parents. The influence of family organization is doubtless responsible for this. Those in school usually have a higher standard in dress than those staying around home. They enjoy a wider social participation, also there is subconsciously operating the opinion that the position of the Italian families in his local community is affected greatly by the status of its individual members.

On ordinary occasions, the Italians are a little careless about their clothing. The men are nearly all better equipped with working outfits than dress clothes. Around their homes they make extensive use of these. On the streets they usually wear neck-ties and suit-coats. The children dress much as the Canadian children do. Many of the girls' clothes are made in the home, and sisters are often dressed alike. It is the observation of one who has worked in a district where there are children of two or three distinct ethnic groups that the Italian youngsters were less well dressed than the others. The mothers of these children nearly always wear black house-dresses, made rather plainly. Some of the younger wives use printed ginghams, and dresses of brighter material. Even for street wear, many use clothes that are old and shabby. A few among them take extreme care with their clothing. These families are the ones for whom good clothes mean less sacrifice in other items of consumption.

Tobacco.

Practically all Italian men smoke. Most of them use cigarettes, and many roll their own. A few make a regular

practice of smoking pipes. None use cigars regularly, though a few use Montreal-made Italian cigars. A large number of the men work at jobs from which cigarettes would offer easy relaxation. Their jobs are such, too, that a number of them, perhaps along with some French, would be thrown together at lunch time. A number of the older boys smoke. This practice has spread to few, if any, of the girls, and certainly none of their mothers smoke. Many of the men spend comparatively small amounts in tobacco. This is because they avail themselves of the cheaper forms of smokes. As a group they are not, in comparison with Canadians, heavy smokers. Table XLIVgives the amounts spent.

TABLE XLIV

Amounts Spent for Tobacco; 125 Italian Families in Montreal,1932.

Amount	Number	Percentage
Non-smokers	13	10.4
Under $5.	35	28.0
$5.and under $10	24	19.2
10 " " 20	24	19.2
20 " " 30	7	5.6
30 " " 40	11	8.8
40 " " 50	3	2.4
50 " over	8	6.4
	125	100.0

Health Services.

Two-thirds of the Italian families interviewed reported having special health services during 1932. Sixty-five percent of the money paid out covered the bills of visiting doctors. Nineteen percent was for medicine, sixteen percent for dental services. The Italian people call on French doctors almost entirely.. Of the eighty-four families having services during the year, fifteen left their doctor or dentist bills unpaid, while fourteen had free clinical services in the different city hospitals.

When we take account for overlapping, twenty-three, or a quarter, had services for which they did not pay.

As many used the outdoor clinics of the English hospitals as of the French. L'Hopital Hotel Dieu, the largest of the French ones, has its clinic opened for only one hour a day, as compared with the all-day services of the General and Royal Victoria Hospitals. The Wider services offered at these hospitals, and the high standards of their work, account largely for this preference.

Table XLV lists the total value of the health services had by these families. The value of clinical services is roughly estimated on the basis of rates charged in public wards. While the value of these services shows a wide spread between families, this seems a very normal distribution.

TABLE XLV

Value of Health Services to Italian Families in Montreal, 1932.

Value	Number	Percentage of those having Health services
Under $5.	13	15.6
$5. and under $10	10	12.0
10 " " 20	20	22.9
20 " " 40	17	20.3
40 " " 60	8	9.6
60 " " 80	3	3.6
80 " " 100	6	7.6
100 " " 120	-	-
120 " " 140	1	1.2
140 " " 160	1	1.2
160 " " 180	-	-
180 " " 200	2	2.4
200 " Over	3	3.6
	84	100.0

The median for those having medical services is under $20, and, roughly, $10 for the group as a whole.

Only half the families in our lowest consumption class

had medical services, while of those consuming $1000 or more, only four had no medical attention. The values of the services had by these various families mounts more rapidly than the total incomes. It might reasonably be inferred that many of the low incomes have deprived themselves of health services which they required; some may pay for this through a loss in working efficiency. The rates charged for medical services are so variable that inferences are difficult. Even if we disregard the differences in the given value of services, the fact that more families from among the higher levels of living use medical facilities, and use them more often, remains.

The Table which follows shows the number having health services in each consumption class, the average value of the services had, and the means by which they were obtained.

TABLE XLVI

Amounts of Health Services, by Consumption Classes, and Means of their Provision, 84 Italian Families in Montreal, 1932.

Consumption Class	Number having service	Average Value of services	Means of Provision(Percent) Paid Cash	Bills outstanding	Clinical Services
Under $600.	12/23	$20	59	25	16
$600 & Under $800.	29/46	35	62	35	3
800 " " 1000.	21/30	62	39	17	44
1000 " Over	22/46	74	80	16	4

Insurance.

One of the first concerns of every new group of immigrants is for their security. This security must be such as to tide them over periods of physical incapacity, and also give them the assurance of a good funeral, in accordance with their various home-land customs. These two wants are powerful, and much of the status of the individual rests on his ability to meet these crisis-occasions. Traditions differ between ethnic

groups, but most European peasant cultures instill a fear of loss of respect in persons who may not be provided proper burial, either from their own resources, or those of relatives. All groups of any size have built up immigrant institutions, on the prime motivation of a collective feeling of need for security. The purpose of these has passed through different cycles of change as their original function has become less urgent. In Montreal, there are a number of such organizations among the Italians. Some of these are purely local, the Figli d'Italia has branches all over America. Forty-two men, and the wives of three of these have membership in these. They provide from $125 to $400 in case of death, to cover funeral expenses, and usually $10 a week as sick benefit. As these organizations will be discussed in the following chapter, it is not necessary to devote more space to them here.

Fifty-eight families have some of their members covered by commercial insurance companies. The fathers of ten other families are members of mutual benefit associations. The amount expended on insurance is seen to increase very rapidly as one ascends the scale of living of the Italians. TableXLVII shows only one-third of the families of under $800 with insurance, while 73% of those over $1000 have some of their members insured.

TABLE XLVII

Money Expended as Premiums for Insurance Policies by Italian Families in Montreal, 1932.

	Consumption Class				
Amount of Premium	Under $600.	$600. and under $800.	$800. and under $1000.	$1000 and over	Total
Under $25.	7	7	4	4	22
$25 & Under $50.	-	5	8	4	17
50 " " 75	1	2	3	1	7
75 " " 100	-	-	1	5	6
100 " " 150	-	-	1	3	4
150 " " 200	-	-	-	-	-
200 " Over	-	-	-	2	2
	8/23	14/46	17/30	19/26	58

Among the Italians, insurance may be intended to give security to the dependents of a deceased one, or it may be intended primarily to cover the expenses of the funeral. In the family economy of rural Italy, where neither production nor consumption were individualized, as persons withdrew or were taken from the family group, the others carried on their collective enterprise. A place for the crippled or those otherwise dependent was provided for in this family organization. As these people came to Canada, and especially to our cities, and adopted a new form of family organization, the feeling persisted that the families of dependents should continue to care for them. The evolution of a new body of opinion which is shifting the responsibility for dependents onto those who in the complete family would normally care for them, or onto the dependent persons themselves is one of the most radical changes in family organization which is taking place among the Italians in America.

In the Papineau area, which, we have suggested, has retained most of the old body of traditions, seven of the ten men covered by insurance, carry amounts of less than $1000, or funeral insurance. The Ville Emard group has moved farthest from this custom. The amounts of insurance covered by the forty-two men is given here.

TABLE XLVIII

Insurance Held by Italian Men in Montreal, 1932.

Amount	Consumption class: Under $600.	$600. and under $800.	$800. and under $1000.	$1000 and over.	Total
Under $500.	1	4	2	2	9
$500 & Under 1000	-	1	4	2	7
1000 "	2	4	8	8	22
3000	-	-	-	1	1
5000	-	-	1	2	3
	3/25	9/46	15/30	15/26	42/125

Three men at least cashed in on their policies during 1932, and one or two others left their premiums unpaid. The depression is making itself felt here, too. This brings out the point that life insurance, while intended as a means of security, rests back on the family's ability to pay premiums. Future security is thus based on present security, and offers no aid to those whose existing economic position is not secure.

Funeral insurance is not limited to the male heads of households. Thirty-six families have insurance on ninety-nine persons other than the fathers. These are nearly all for very small amounts. Very often the wife is covered by the same amount of insurance as the children. In some families the children are insured where the wife is not. In a few cases, the wife is covered by a larger amount. The insurance on wives and children is given in Table XLIX. This insurance is taken out on the children almost at birth. The premium is frequently paid a collector in small weekly installments.

TABLE XLIX

Insurance Held by Members of Italian Families other than the Male Heads, Montreal, 1932.

	Consumption Class				
Am't of Insurance	Under $600.	$600. and under $800.	$800. and under $1000.	$1000. and over.	Total
$ 50.	1	-	-	-	1
100	-	2	7	14	23
150	1	4	-	3	8
200	-	4	5	13	22
250	5	4	11	3	23
300	-	-	9	-	9
400	-	-	-	1	1
500	1	1	1	-	3
1000	-	-	2	3	5
1100	-	-	-	1	1
1300	-	-	3	-	3
	8	15	38	38	99

This insurance, we have suggested, is to assure the continued respect of these children in case of death. Since funerals are more likely to remain within the social organization of the Italian community long after their social participation is extended outside it, this custom has persisted and developed throughout the past twenty years, no doubt with the encouragement of sales agents. These expenses for insurance are in the family budget; they enter in the families' standard of living. In the Italian-Canadian community, the whole family status is called to attention at the funeral of any one of its members.

CHAPTER FIVE

Italian Modes of Living (Cont'd)

Social Participation

Social participation is a very broad term. Every person except the lone hermit, who hunts his own food and makes no use of languages, participates in the activities of one or more social groups. The child consciously feels himself to be a part of his family at a very early age. The participation of the child, the adult, the Liberal, the Catholic, the Chinese, is usually directed to give satisfaction to his four fundamental wishes. In his need for security, the man fits himself into the occupational structure of his community. If he is an immigrant, and can afford it, he will belong to a mutual benefit society. Persons adopt the standardized practices in recreation, share in club activities, and compete in their families and in their community for status and for affection.

Those practices in social participation of the deliberate or formal sort, and patterned by the mores of a group to satisfy the desire for pleasure or advancement, constitute a set of cultural phenomena. They also make an environment for interaction, and the learning or perpetuating of other values. From both these points of view, social participation is important for our study.

The groups in whose gatherings an immigrant might participate may be classed either as being of his own culture or of the culture of the receiving country; and either personal or

impersonal. There might be some overlapping of the first two in religious gatherings or in athletic meets, but seldom elsewhere. An impersonal gathering fitting into the last category here mentioned is usually an audience or congregation, and the immigrant participates as an unknown observer in some programme of one or other culture. Generally speaking, then, our European is either in a Canadian or modified homeland cultural setting.

Neighourhood Life

The Italians are a very stable group. Only a very small number have been outside Montreal since their first arrival, except possibly for short visits. Very many have lived for ten years or more in the same areas in which they are now located. The areas in which most of them live have a comparatively light population density. In the area of scattered settlement towards the north of Montreal Island are to be found small groups of Italians, living a good deal of their lives in complete isolation from the Montreal community. The conditions under which these people live are such as to encourage a free and ready intermingling. The informal neighbourhood life that has grown up is one of the strongest preservers of Italian culture.

The neighbourhood solidarity of the Italian colonies shows itself clearly in the amount of visiting between neighbouring families. Very often, as we went to interview families we found they had callers. The housewives would occasionally spend an afternoon with one another in a purely social way. This visiting is largely between people of the same area. Indeed, many of the mothers with household responsibilities rarely get beyond their local colony; others go outside it only to shop at the downtown stores. The neighbourhood stability has given place to a form of social participation that in many parts of the native

English or French areas has broken down. It has slowed down the process of assimilation. So, too, it has allowed the attitudes and usages of the Canadian community to trickle in slowly, and has saved the Italians in Montreal from much of the demoralization that so frequently follows immigration.

Much more widespread than the formal afternoon call is the unplanned visits of those living side by side. Relatives living near together walk into each others' homes without knocking, at any time of the morning or afternoon. This same practice obtains, though in lesser degree, among those not united through blood or marriage. It appears that little attempt is made at privacy. During the course of our interviewing, neighbours would stay seated in the same room; or they might enter or leave while we were still there, quite without ceremony. The presence of these others did not seem to act as a restraint on the persons giving information.

Children run freely into one another's houses as they play together. The visiting youngsters come under the same discipline as the others. In every neighbourhood where there are children, they will gather together in play so long as there is no parental interference, though usually with less freedom in the use of one another's homes than the Italians permit. The intimacies of children may indeed be a cause of the friendly relationships between parents.

Lodgers in Italian homes are not treated as having a business relationship alone with the families with whom they stay. While the lodgers prepare their own meals, they enjoy the use of the living-rooms of the houses. This appears another indication of the fraternity of this ethnic minority.

The social organization of a community determines the nature and extent of social control over its members. The intimate associations of Italians within their own areas directs and restrains their behaviour within the Italian-Canadian mores. Ambitions related to occupation, social values related to education or religion, neighbourhood relationships, all come within this jurisdiction. Primary-group relationships are sufficiently intensive and extensive to leave almost no arena of activity beyond community control. As persons come to substitute new-world practices and evaluations for those supported by the colony, they move, if they are able, to areas supporting similar attitudes and social values. Several such moves are made before the adjustment process has run its course. This sequence is accompanied by an increasing individuation, and by increasingly more casual relationships with a larger and more diversified body of people.

The extent of informal participation in neighbourhood life differs between areas. The Papineau Street area shows the strongest tendency towards primary group association. The colony seems to be a more closely-knit unity than the other two. Here the people visit most freely, and a social organization almost rural in character prevails. The difference in organization between the three areas is not very great. Dante Street is an area of second or third settlement for probably a larger percentage of its Italian population than is Ville Emard. The industrial suburb, on the other hand, appears much less divided through occupational stratification than does Dante Street. In none of the three regions have the Italian adults become very intimately acquainted with their French neighbours; though the children mingle freely. This situation is typically urban, and not necessarily an indication of cultural distance.

Religious Participation.

A more deliberate attempt to rebuild the home life of the Italians has been the establishment of a number of immigrant institutions. Among this group, as most others, social participation in organized activities has centered around the church. The Catholic religion has been dear to Italians for centuries. In Montreal, they have had the tradition and organization of the Catholic church to aid in the re-establishing of their Church here.

The Italian parish of Notre Dame de Mont Carmel was founded in 1905. The church is located on Dorchester Street near St.Hubert Street, in the lower east side of Montreal. In this parish at present are 1250 families, in whom 4500 persons have taken communion. Since this parish is outside the areas covered in this study, details of its organization will not be given here.

Under the direction of the priest of this Church, and the "Servites of Mary" there is operated the Italian orphanage "Madonna del Carmina". The building used was completed in 1933, and has accommodation for one hundred children.

In 1910 a second Italian parish, Notre Dame de la Defense, was founded, with its centre near the Mile End district. The large new church standing on Dante Street now serves this parish. The parish extends for two or three miles each way from the church, and borders the older one on Mount Royal Boulevard. Its total membership is 10,850, including 8,500 communicants.

The Servites of Mary are in charge of this Parish. Since 1912 the Franciscan Sisters have been sharing in the work. There are two organizations within the Church for married women, the "Ladies of St. Anne" and the "Ladies of Charity." There is also a men's club, and two separate associations for boys and unmarried girls. A branch of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society is also active

in the Church. There are three priests serving this parish. In this same parish are two Italian schools. Reference will be made to these at a later point.

These two parishes together cover approximately two-thirds of the Italian families in Montreal. Unlike the Polish parishes, which,for example, divide the city of Montreal into two areas at St Lawrence Boulevard, the Italian churches have a large number outside their parish borders. These others are enrolled as parishioners of the various French churches in the areas in which they are located. At Ville Emard, for example, the Italians are included in the parish of St.Jean Damascene. A few travel greater distances to attend the Italian services, while most attend their local church. Small numbers attend English churches. Many of those living in the lower part of Notre Dame de Grace ward follow this practice.

At least one-quarter, and perhaps more, of the Italians in Montreal attend French Catholic churches. This is a comparatively easy point of entry for the Italians into participation with the French. Both have the same beliefs, and support them by similar traditions. Aided by the spirit of fellowship, the Italians have found their entry into French Catholic churches easier than any other organization. This participation is both a cause and an indication of the direction of assimilation.

Two Italian Protestant churches have been established in Montreal with the assistance of the parent organizations of which they form a part. The Italian Church of the Redeemer is a unit of the United Church of Canada. This church is on Alma Street, near the centre of the Dante Street area. A block east of St.Lawrence Boulevard on St.Catherine Street is the Italian Presbyterian Church. This church has two missions in affiliation with it, one at Ville

Emard on D'Aragon Avenue, the other on Papineau Street. Rev.De Pierro is in charge of this circuit. On Fabre Street, in the Papineau area is the Chiesa Christiana, a Pentecostal church. All these Protestant churches tend to be of the orthodox and evangelical type. Together they reach only a small percentage of the Montreal Italians.

In our sample of 125 families, 112 reported some church affiliation. Of these, ninety-four are Catholic. Most of them attend mass regularly. In about half these families the amounts given to the Church in one way or another was $10 or less. Those better able to gave more. One family reported giving $63, another $37, a third $48. Only seven families made no contribution.

Of the eighteen Protestants, thirteen are from Papineau Street. Four of these attend the Pentecostal church. Among the Protestants, it is difficult to determine how many became so through conviction. There is evidence to indicate that some have rejected Catholicism because of its too severe views on divorce, or because couples have been living together unmarried and families created, when one or both participants have been married before immigrating. Some of these may have admitted Protestant religious affiliation to get relief. Let it be made clear that this practice is far from universal. Most of the offerings made to the Protestant churches were small amounts. No family averaged more than twenty-five cents per Sunday.

National Organizations

The Italian mutual benefit and recreational institutions are not pure heritages in the way the Italian Catholic church is. They are the products of an attempt to construct a set of organizations that would care for the peculiar needs in a new country. "The different immigrant groups have formed spontaneously in America,

organizations that reproduce to some extent the home society or replace it with forms more adapted to the needs of the immigrant here." (1)

Among the earliest formed immigrant institutions are their mutual aid and benefit societies. The ORDINE FIGLI D'ITALIA, or Sons of Italy, was established in the United States, and incorporated in 1905. At the outbreak of the War, the first branch in Canada was established at Sault Ste. Marie, and five years later a unit was opened in Montreal. There is now a Grand Lodge, and eleven branches located throughout the city. Membership is through the branches. There are about a thousand members in Montreal, nearly all of whom are men. Our sample showed about one-third of the men interviewed, and only three women, probably from the same lodge, to be members.

These lodges meet once a month. These meetings are essentially recreational. The ritual is performed with less secrecy than in many of our American fraternal orders. The special advantage of membership for many is, of course, the mutual benefit provisions. The fees are one dollar per month, plus one dollar if the funeral of a member is attended. Such benefit is paid for ten weeks at $10 a week, while $400 is paid in case of death.

The Sons of Italy has always had the characteristics of a nationalistic organization. In addition to providing some measure of economic security it has stated its purpose:

"To unite fraternally all white males and females of Italian descent residing in the several states of the United States of America---in one family, without regard to religious, philosophic, or political faith or belief---

---

(1) Park, R.E., "Old World Traits Transplanted, P.120
Harper and Brothers, New York, 1921

"To assist with all its vigour and strength the individual members at all times and to aid any of their relatives in the event of difficulty in obtaining entry into the United States as immigrants, or in case of other distress or difficulty.

"To aid in maintaining alive the patriotic spirit and love for the father-land,---,by providing means for the diffusion of the Italian language, and by adopting the same as the official language at all meetings of this order." (1)

The Montreal organization has given expression to this purpose in several ways. It took the iniative in collecting subscriptions for $12,000. for the erection of a monument to John Cabot. Difficulties arose from the protest of the French against the inscription, "John Cabot, the discoverer of Canada". The French have insisted that Jacques Cartier, and not the Italian, Cabot, was the real discoverer. No satisfactory agreement has yet been reached. The national pride of these two groups may hold them in conflict on this point for time to come.

Another attempt to further Italian nationalistic spirit has been the setting-up of evening classes for Italian children. In 1933, six or seven hundred children attended these classes. The dominant interest of those active in initiating this practice has been to preserve the Italian language among the youth, and to engender a spirit of patriotism. The study covers Italian language, literature, folk-song, and also Italian history. It seems likely that the attempt is to create? attain a strong pro-Italian opinion among the youth. To achieve this, bias may enter among the teaching.

The Sons of Italy has also encouraged an acquaintance with the home-land literature and history by establishing libraries in the club rooms of the various units. Most of the books have been

(1)Park, R.E., "Old World Traits Transplanted, P.133.

contributed by members and other interested persons. Together, the collections contain about a thousand volumes.

The organization readily avails itself of any opportunities for patriotic manifestations. They joined with the other Italian organizations in their reception for General Balbo and his Italian armada in the summer of 1933. The Grand Master of the lodge once presided at an Empire Day celebration in the city.

The Sons of Italy has changed since its first organization. It is being supported more and more as a social and recreational institution as the Italians are serving their need for security through Canadian channels. Dances, concerts, picnics and sporting activities are becoming increasingly important features in its programme of activities. Among the younger people it has the competition of the theatres and the Canadian recreational institutions. Now that Italian immigration has been shut off, the institution will have to extend its activities to meet this competition. Should it experience a decline now, it will have already assisted large numbers of Italians in the United States and Canada to make an otherwise difficult accommodation.

The Italians in Montreal have a number of other mutual aid and benefit associations. The Italian War Veterans Association, with about two hundred members, is the Italian branch of the Canadian Legion. The fees are the same as in the Sons of Italy. No collection is made from the members attending funerals. The amount paid in case of a death is $125, or just that which is required to meet funeral expenses. The sick benefit is $10. a week. Only four of our sample of 125 men were members of this association in 1932.

The membership in many of the local mutual aid societies is from the same home village or province. Casacalenda, Montorio

nei Frentani, Rippabottioni, and Larino are neighbouring towns in the district of Molise. There are a number of families and young men in Montreal from this locality, and together they support the Societa Larinesse and the Rippabottioni, both mutual aid societies. The Cavalieri di Chabotto is one of the larger societies. A number of others we have left unmentioned.

More limited in its purpose than the Sons of Italy or the other mutual aid and benefit societies is the Fascio Italiano; or the Italian Fascist Club. This organization, like others of its kind, is a purely patriotic association, designed to bind the allegiance of the Montreal Italians to the mother-land and to enhance the status of Italy in the eyes of the native Canadians. The organization was started in Montreal in 1925, and in 1934 has six or seven branches in the various Italian districts throughout the city. It has no thought of entering directly into Canadian politics. The various branches have discussion groups on political and social life in Italy. They, too, have adopted the practice of collecting books and making them available for whatever Italians will read them. Together, they sponsor sport events, both out of the interests of their members and to bring the Italian youth together.

The Fascist clubs have grown very rapidly. It appears that they have entered into competition with the older Sons of Italy, and have copied many of their practices. The clubs are purely social and patriotic. Being such, they require no membership fee. The membership in the various clubs is now about 750; which ranks it easily the second largest Italian organization in Montreal, if we exclude the Church. Each of the several clubs has its own rooms, and the Italian Fascist crest on the door or window. At present (1934) the organization seems to be carried forward on a wave of

enthusiasm and activity.

The Italian Consul has been active in promoting Italian interests in Montreal. He headed the committee which planned the reception and pageantry for the coming of the Italian air armada referred to above. At the present time, he is directing a campaign for funds to erect a building which will be the Italian social centre in Montreal. Already nearly $25,000 has been collected. This building is to contain assembly halls, a library, and a gymnasium. When completed, it is to be made the property of the Italian government. This is a momentous undertaking and a severe test of the allegiance of the Italian people.

Only dim signs foretell any movement away from these Italian organizations. A number of the railway workers and those engaged in the Montreal Tramways are members of trade unions. These workers are finding in these organizations the fellowship and mutual aid with the native Canadians with whom they work. The Tramways union is dominantly French. One man is a member of an English branch of the Independent Order of Foresters, another is a Mason. These men had entered a stage in social participation which most of the others have not reached. The abnormal age distribution of the men, with a very small proportion between the ages of twenty to thirty-five has retarded the movement towards participation in Canadian institutions. The new generation of Canadian-born, now ready to invade the labour market, will doubtless accentuate this movement greatly during the next fifteen years.

It is a fact rising from the social organization of the Italians that practically all their institutions, excluding the Church, have been for adult males. Through his place in the home, the father enjoys these privileges as his right after the basic family needs have been met. Where he is purchasing the security of

income, his expending of $12 a year for membership fees is an item of family expenditure. This membership is a choice between wants. It is also a choice between the wants of the various members of the family group and a clue to family organization.

Political Affiliations.

The Italians now are tending to take out naturalization papers in Canada. Politically they are Liberal. The Italo-Canadian Association at Mile End includes those Italians who are interested in Canadian affairs of state. There is also an Italian Liberal Club, with its headquarters on St.Catherine Street east. The activities of these two clubs have not been investigated in connection with the writing of this thesis.

The political leaning towards Liberalism is probably the result of the joint influence of the Church and the French. In this adherence, the Italians are drawing themselves towards the French practice that is bound with memories and tradition. The trend towards secularism in politics is noticeable among the French. The Italians, too, may shift with the changing French tradition. For the Italians, the memory of Laurier will probably be of purely sentimental, rather than political importance.

Italian and Canadian Newspapers.

Large numbers of our immigrants, especially those of rural background, have come to Canada without having read news journals in their own tongue. The outside world did not enter their experience. Too, the local dialects often prevented them from understanding the literary writings of the educational class.

In America, the immigrant is not a member of an isolated group. At the time of his moving he saw and became curious about parts of the world that he knew not before. In his work, and moving about his new city, he has developed an interest in American modes

of acting, and in American ideas and events. The foreign language press, to its owners a commercial venture, is to its readers a source of information about affairs of the same ethnic group in Canada, about events of the home-land, and news of general interest in America. Some read the press irregularly,as a form of recreation.

Many foreign language papers are political in tone. A large percentage of these are professedly radical. Nearly all are strongly nationalistic. This tendency to patriotism centres the immigrants' interests and activities in the affairs of their own groups in America, or in the political struggles of the father-land.

While this might seem to retard assimilation, the press does tend to interpret Canadian attitudes and memories and aspirations to our future citizens. "What the foreign language press really does, whether or not the editors desire it, is to facilitate the adjustment of the foreign-born to the American environment, an adjustment that results in something that is not American, at least according to the standards of an earlier period, but that is not foreign either, according to the existing European standards".(1)

In Montreal there are two weekly and one monthly Italian publications. L'Italia, a weekly newspaper, was established in 1916. It has now a circulation of over ten thousand throughout Canada, including four thousand in Montreal. Its offices are located in the down-town section of the city. This paper is very national-istic. It has given publicity to all attempts at patriotic mani-festations. The editor personally and through his paper supports enthusiastically "the Italian cause.". The newspaper does carry a wide selection of news.

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(1) Park,R.E., The Immigrant Press and its Control, PPp87-88. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1922

L'Araldo di Canada has its offices located on St.Lawrence Boulevard, near Dante Street. Its circulation numbers about four thousand and is more concentrated in Montreal. This paper resembles L'Italia in its selection of news, though it is less patriotic and smaller.

The Italia Genti is a monthly journal, intended to fill a literary need rather than disperse news. This journal has been in publication for only three years. It has a circulation of about a thousand copies per issue.

The Italians from the southern provinces have a low literacy. Only half the families covered in this study spent money for newspapers during 1932. Twenty-two families bought Italian papers. Twenty of these were at Dante Street. One each was in the other two areas. This distribution rests largely on the differences in reading ability, in the greater interest in Italian affairs of this group through club memberships, and through the men being drawn into broader contacts in the Montreal community through their jobs.

Twenty-seven families buy French papers, usually La Presse, and seventeen get papers in English, usually the Montreal Daily Star. Nearly one-half of those buying papers in any of the three languages get them regularly. Some families get only the week-end issues.

The trend in reading is a trend in literacy, that is, in the ability of the Italians to understand journalistic language as well as the folk vernacular which they speak. These people are learning the more formal usages of the two native languages of Montreal, and especially the French. In the French papers they read news of general interest, but also find their own pro-clerical attitudes given expression there.

Most of the Italians learn French as a second language. They are situated among the French. The men are drawn towards them through contacts at work. Very many Italians attend the French churches and are drawn towards the French on that account. The languages of the two nationalities are more alike than Italian and English. Primarily because of the religious tie, the Italians outside their own parishes send their children to French schools, where they through teaching and association learn to master that native tongue.

The Public Schools.

Throughout the Province of Quebec there is a separate school system. Within the Catholic organization the schools are linked up very closely with the church. The territory served by some of the schools coincides roughly with the parish area. Schools are both French and English, and in areas where parishes for foreign groups have been established, there are schools using the immigrants' language. The curriculum is arranged with parochial supervision, and the teachers during training are kept within the dominance of the church. The Protestant schools on the other hand tend rather to be secular, and enrollment tends to include all non-Catholics. Their instruction is practically all in English. In the parish of Notre Dame de Mont Carmel, there is an Italian school bearing the parish name, with ten teachers and two hundred and sixty Italians pupils. The parish centering on Dante Street church has two Italian schools. St. Phillip's school has 375 boys in attendance. The newly completed Notre Dame de la Defense school is across the street from the parish church. It has about 750 pupils, four-fifths of whom are girls. Sixteen nuns and seven other lady teachers make up the teaching staff.

These schools are attended by many of the Italian children

in the areas which they serve. In the north parish over 1100 Italians are in schools using their own language. In these schools the Italian language is used exclusively during the first grade; in the second grade French and English are introduced, and after that the immigrant tongue is supposed to be dropped completely. It is continued for religious instruction but in other subjects both French and English are used in equal proportion. Thus, after the elementary grades, a bilingual system gives the Italian children a wide knowledge of French and English.

If we estimate roughly that one-fifth to one-quarter of the total Italian population is of school age, then as many or more must be in French or English as in Italian schools. The parents have the option of sending their children to any one of these three schools. Of those not starting in the Italian institutions, a majority are in French schools. Very many boys, and a few girls, are in the English ones, however. This may reveal an Italian opinion that English is a more valuable language industrially and commercially than the French.

Only small amounts are spent for school books. The purchase of pencils and exercise books allows for little elasticity in spending, however.

Very few children continue beyond the elementary school grades Two Ville Emard families had boys attending technical school. In their rural home communtiies, the Italians had but bittle schooling. LIteracy in the southern provinces of Italy, after much improvement in recent years, was upward from 44% in 1929. The immigrants have not included more than a public school education in the individual organization of their children. The parents have entered the unskilled ranks, and some have risen there. The tradition of higher

education is less developed among the French than the English. An important consideration for these families, too, is that free education is not given in the higher school grades. The fees for tuition, and expenses for books and clothing, make high school education a budgetary choice. Most of these families are too pressed for other needs to give preference to education. It is not yet a part of their culture.

For girls, especially, education is very much of a luxury. After she has reached her middle teens, a girl enters into the thoughts of her parents and godparents as a person soon needing to be married. Thenceforward she is likely, if her home discipline is strict to enjoy very little freedom of movement. This is an age long custom that is doomed to collapse as more girls enter factory employment. While the attitudes towards the girl's place in the home may be changing, the evaluations of her need for education seem likely yet to continue.

The Amherst Playground.

The Amherst playground is situated centrally in the Papineau Street area. It has been shown above that this region is settled by French, Jews and Italians, with only a few English. The children of these various nationalities all play together on this field. Most of the children are able to converse in French and English. During the summer months, an English-speaking girl has been the director. The children of the several ethnic groups show little or no tendency to segregation. After the wave of Italian nationalism which was occasioned by the coming of the Air Armada, the Italian children went around, separately or in groups, singing Italian songs. This brought forth the comment from the others that the Italians were always singing those songs, but did not draw the groups apart.

It may be an indication of Italian family organization that some of the younger Italian children are allowed to attend the playground only when they are accompanied by their older brothers or sisters. A member of a ball team from the playground once told the supervisor he could not go to another ground for a game but was allowed to go because an older member of the family was accompanying him.

On the playground, the Italian children mingle freely with those of other nationalities. There they speak both of the languages prevalent in Montreal. As they grow older they will come to resent differences between themselves and the children with whom they play. This social force is active now before the youngsters have crystallized too firmly the traditional Italian modes of behaviour. It will do much to attract these people away from their old ways of living.

The Italian young people are participating in the sporting activities of the outside community, and joining French teams. They have not formed their own teams to enter into competition with other local athletes. Persons together in sport are usually quick to reject cultural distance between each other, and communicate in a friendly way. The youth must first have adopted part of a new culture to be able to enter into sports with the Canadian-born.

Other Forms of Recreation.

While Italians of all ages attend the concerts and dances of the various Italian societies, and go off in small groups in picnics, there is a growing tendency for the young people to go to our theatres. As many go to English shows as to the French ones. The large advertisements of the down-town English theatres in the French newspapers indicate one arena of joint participation between these two ethnic groups Through the American films, the Italians ac-

quaint themselves with new world values, and especially with American marriage and family relationship, even though these be presented in exaggerated forms.

Roughly forty percent of the families spent money to attend the movies during 1932. This again represents a budgetary choice. This form of social participation depends largely on the amount of a family's income. Twenty of the twenty-six families in our $1000 and over class went to the shows, and a majority of these made a habitual practice of it. Young people with some money of their own, attended often.

The local neighbourhood theatres are patronized more than the down-town movie houses. In a sense, the Italians are thus participating in a neighbourhood activity. It was suggested near the outset of this chapter that in the theatre relationships are anonymous. There is still a social control in such matters as dress, and a direct, if impersonal, contact. The real influence making for assimilation is the screen.

Summary.

In summary, then, Italian institutions have been created, and have evolved. At the same time other adjustments have been made to French and English organizations. The Italian Catholic church, established early to satisfy a socially inherited religious longing, has continued to grow, though the peculiar home-land religious celebrations, as festas, are decreasing in splendor and popularity. The mutual benefit associations served to meet an initial need for security, and have become increasingly social in importance. They now tend to be rivalled by the purely social and patriotic Fascist Clubs. Many children are attending French schools, and are joining with those of diverse cultures on the playgrounds.

Those a little older are joining French athletic clubs, and attending French and English theatres. It seems doubtful if the Italians born before immigration will ever participate freely in French or English social activities, except as they can enter impersonally, as at the motion picture houses. Most Italian children of school age seem to be able to join freely in all nature of activities with other children of their own age. There is a wider variation between the older young people. Many have reached a stage of assimilation and independence to make a rapid entry into French social affairs in the near future. As the barriers between the French and English are being broken, the Italians will also broaden their contact with this other great Montreal population group.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ITALIANS

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

During the past sixty years millions of Europeans have left their native homes in the quest of new freedom. The breakdown of rural isolation over large agrarian areas of Europe was threatening the old established modes of thought and action. Thomas and Znaniecki have presented rural Poland in almost revolutionary transition. In this process of change, unrest has resulted. Ambitions became active, and hopes frustrated. No greater drive to emigration existed in Europe than the stimulus of economic ambition --either to rise above oppression, or to acquire property, usually in their own country, with money earned abroad.

Our study of immigration is intended to cover only those who came to the United States or Canada and one reason or another have remained here. The earlier immigrants broke certain of the home-land customs in not seeking success in the generally recognized ways. This is less true when people have come from towns where emigration was a mass movement. Most of the home-land traditions were brought, however. Very few immigrants had built up any personal organization around Canadian occupations. Not being acquainted with these, they could not. The assimilation process for these people is an adjustment to Canadian means of living, including new sets of ambitions and new notions of success; to Canadian modes of living, that is to Canadian values and scales of preferences; to Canadian family and community organization. It involves the adoption of a culture that to many peasants is nearly completely new,

new practices, and new morality, new memories and traditions, new hopes and aspirations for the destiny of their new country.

The great wave of Italian immigration was in the pre-war years of this century. They spread themselves throughout the Dominion in the large cities and in the mining areas. Ontario has had about half of Canada's Italian population throughout the century. Montreal, with about half the remaining number, has always been the largest Italian city in the country. In Montreal the tendency has been for these people to move quickly out from the down-town slums toward the periphery of urban settlement. They have grouped themselves in areas where there is vacant land about, and near the suburban factories. A number have remained a mile or two east of the city centre, to be readily accessible to the docks. For the most part they have settled among the French Canadians and often in the same geographic areas as other foreigners.

The Italians came to Canada without skills to enable them to make an adjustment to Canadian occupational conditions. They have entered where skill is not essential--in construction work and in the factories. Some find work with the railway companies. Others are engaged privately in shoe repairing and shining, tailoring, and baking. A few scattered throughout the city are market gardeners. Some find it congenial and profitable to serve their own countrymen in manufacturing or importing Italian foods and products.

The vast proportion of Italians are in occupations that do not offer continuous employment. As they have entered the building and factory industries, it is within these that they tend to climb, either by becoming contractors, or skilled carpenters, plasterers, bricklayers and so forth, or by becoming factory mechanics.

Very few were able to live on their current earnings in 1932. Most of the Italians had small reserves on which to draw. Some borrowed money, or left bills unpaid. Half the families had municipal relief. These are adjustments to depression conditions which a large section of the native Canadian population have also had to make.

Bound up with a stable family organization is the practice of keeping the mother in the home. Few,if any,married Italian women are working outside their homes. The girls are just beginning to enter the garment factories. The old notion still prevails that girls should be kept at home and taught housework until they set up homes for themselves. Young men enter industry as soon as they are able, and usually give a large part of their earnings to their families.

In the matter of consumption, the Italians, as all immigrants, have subjected to the limitations of the Canadian market. They accommodated themselves at once to Montreal houses, or where they erected their own homes, used building materials available here. Some of their homes erected near the periphery of the city, in the Papineau area or Cote St. Paul area, are only roughly constructed shacks. The more permanent homes follow the popular architectural patterns.

Because of their restricted social participation, the Italians have continued to use almost the same foods as when they first arrived.

In 1932, and probably through much of their time in Canada, the Italians spent the great proportion of their incomes for food and housing. Clothing has been given but small space in their budgets. Consumption is very little individualized yet, though will

become increasingly so as the young people find their places in industry or commerce.

In the realm of social participation the Italians have been drawn towards the French. While a majority attend the Italian churches and some children go to Italian schools, these institutions are exactly the same as the French ones with the exception of language and of the groups' participating. A majority of the others go to French schools and churches. Mutual benefit associations have grown up among the Italians, and have come to be increasingly social in function. The young people are drawing these into competition with the French and English theatres and French athletic clubs. Practically all the Italians speak French, and a large number speak English. It is anticipated that they will participate much more freely in the social activities of the outside community in the near future, if provision can be made for this participation in their individual and family budgets.

The rate of assimilation of an ethnic group depends on the nature of the adjustment that is to be made. British immigrants cling to their old prejudices because of a feeling of superiority for these, when compared with the practices and traditions of their "colonials". The European peasant thinks of most Americans as eminently successful while still he places no significance on American symbols of success. Persons from urban backgrounds may have skills to assist them in their adjustment. They have almost certainly inherited a family organization that can be reconstructed in any Canadian city. The extent to which their consumption habits are at variance with those practised here will determine the width of adjustment needed; this is but a truism. Speeding or impeding the assimilation process is the extent and nature of contacts with the native population groups in the new land. The slower the

process, the less wrapped in emotion ~~are~~ the practices needing to be changed, the narrower the extent of adjustment, and the greater the ease of communication between the new and the receiving group, — the less likely is the path of assimilation to be strewn with tragedy and disaster.

A number of factors have made the Italians favourable to assimilation towards the French. Many of the French Canadians in Montreal have in this generation or the one before been drawn into the city in the shifting of people that has gone on all over the continent. The heritage of their fathers was a rural one. They have entered the city, anxious for security. Following the rural tradition, they have made property their visible sign of independence and success. They have fitted themselves into the lower part of the occupation pyramid, while the English group, smaller in numbers, has tended to retain control of capital and management in industry. The rural French have fitted into the church organization of the city, and have retained much of their enthusiasm for Catholicism. A closely knit family organization has had the support of both tradition and the church. Being the majority group in a large city, with approximately two-thirds of its population, the French have not had to adjust themselves radically to any other group, except in matters related to employment. Low wage rates have driven girls into employment to contribute to the family fund. The married woman still has her place in the home, and usually has children to care for.

The experience of the French during the period of rural-urban migration is not essentially different from that of the Italians. The Italians have been drawn into industries and trades that are predominantly French. It has been relatively easy for them

to remould their old ambition for land into a desire for city property--a house in which to live, and perhaps a flat to sublet. About nine-tenths of the Italian families in Montreal would buy a house if they were at once given the money to do so, and this in preference to a higher level of living that would be sought by most English-Canadians. Working beside the French, and living in the same sections of the city, the Italians are apt to retain this ambition. While they,like the French, have no longing for automobiles, expensive holidays, and a greatly improved scale of comfort, this condition denotes a high measure of assimilation--assimilation to a culture that is foreign to many of the English-speaking of Montreal.

Throughout the Roman Catholic church, the mass service is uniform. The Italian peasants, emotionally religious as most agrarian peoples are, have fitted easily into the French church here, and have been drawn towards the French because this similarity of faith. The important thing is that the Italians have found in the French a group supporting the same systems of morality, the same notion of the place of the Church in the community, and the same body of memories and tradition built up around this their most sacred heritage. The church of both these peoples has been able to continue its support of the sanctity of the family bond because of the similar agrarian family economy of the two groups. In the whole realm of religion, the greatest barrier to assimilation has simply been the difficulty of communication between two peoples speaking separate Latin tongues.

By definition, every cultural group has usages peculiar to itself. Every ethnic group is, to a measure, a separate cultural group. The Italians have been called upon to make adjustments in

certain practices, as differences in clothing and recreation. They have had to adjust themselves to a new economic base and change their family organization in accordance with these. The occupational adjustment is the one which the immigrant, Italian or non-Italian, expects to make. The conflict here is less great than in other spheres.

Among the Italians the assimilation process has been slow. Tolerable of much that they have found, they have not called to question in any serious way the practices they have been able to continue . In Montreal, assimilation has been relatively smooth. They have experienced little of the conflict and disorganization that is reported regularly about the Italians on the near north side of Chicago where slum conditions and a more foreign culture have had their cost.

A few of the more successful Italians have moved to the lower part of Notre Dame de Grace ward, an area which is largely English. These families have already had some contacts with the English, and, like the French have learned some of their scales of values. They have already crossed much of the field of adjustment. Among the English, they have found co-believers in Catholicism. In matters of family organization, they may yet experience conflict.

PART THREE : THE FINNS

CHAPTER ONE

Finnish Emigration

Finnish Culture.

The cultures of Italy and Finland are about as far apart as the respective countries are on the European continent. The emigrating groups of both countries were largely agricultural, yet in Finland this economic pursuit made for a less rigid family organization, and less community isolation. The male workers of Finland had a high mobility between several extractive industries, and in their wanderings, have become very individualistic. In social practice, and in legislation, women were allowed a rôle in society outside their homes, and were given a status as individuals in the professions. Here again there is contrast. In religion and education, the two countries differed. The Finnish agriculturalists had political consciousness, developed from their relations with Sweden and Russia. Finland was the first European country to extend the suffrage to women. If our purpose in this essay were to illustrate a contrast in cultures, and widely different processes of assimilation by immigrants from those cultures, two better countries could not have been chosen. Yet in Finland as in Italy, the home conditions appeared so unfavourable by comparison with those believed to be prevailing in America as to make for emigration.

To the western traveller, Finland appears as a place of extreme beauty rather than of utility. It lies far to the north, roughly between the territories that bound our North West Territories. Between its sea boundaries on the south and at one point on the

north, and the dividing lines of Norway, and the once conquering Sweden on the west and Russia on the east, in an area one-third larger than Great Britain, a population of 3,634,047 (1929) is supported. The area is described as " a rapid succession of lakes, bogs, streams, forests, bare rock wastes, boulder strewn surfaces and conspicuous hills, either forested, farmed, or barren."

Finland is still predominantly rural. The latest census classifies 17.9 percent of the population as urban. Helsinki (Helsingfors), the centre of commerce and education and the seat of government in the republic, is the only large metropolitan city in the area, with a recorded polulation of 230,000. Eighteen other cities range in size from five thousand to over sixty thousand. With three million Finns still living in a rural environment, few as yet have been attracted to the more recently developing industrial centres.

Geographic factors have forced a concentration of population in the southern part of the country, and to a marked extent near the navigable waterways. Geographic conditions seem to offer no direct invitation for these northern people to seek their livelihood from the soil. Yet a surprisingly large proportion of the population is engaged in agriculture.

TABLE L (1)

Percentage of Persons Engaged in Various Occupations in Finland, 1880 and 1920.

Year	Agriculture(x)	Industries (Mfg.)	Communicating	Commerce	Other
1880	74.8	6.6	2.0	1.0	15.6
1920	65.1	14.8	3.4	3.4	13.3

(x) Includes fishing, hunting and forestry.

To the hardships of an unfavourable climate and a soil of

(1) From Perret, Jean-Louis,"La Finlande",P.42
Paris, 1931.

poor fertility, there must be added the greed of foreign dominating powers. The peasants, while they were never oppressed as others of the same class in other European countries, were made to bear a large part of the country's taxes, at least till the period of the World War. While there were a large number of small land owners, others were obliged to acquire the use of property through working on their landlords' farms for so many days each year. This group has been thought of as an agricultural proletariat, and was conceived politically as being a social danger. In 1918, when the new republic was established, a favourable land policy gave a new stimulus to agriculture. A law of that year assured tenant farmers ~~of~~ the right to buy their own lands, and provided financial aid by the state where necessary. The result of this has been to free the farmers from the suppression of the large land holders and to enlarge the class of small property owners.

The unfavourable natural conditions in the vast area over which agriculture is impossible or impracticable have made for very intensive cultivation. Holdings are small; seventy-eight percent of all farms are of less than twenty-five acres.

Agriculture in Finland may be said to be in the transitional stage. In eastern and Northern Carelia one still finds self-contained farm units, usually small in area, where agricultural practices have been but little modified for decades. In the less isolated areas are modern farm buildings and an increasing use of farm implements -- of mowers and rakes and binders. These tools may be the possession of a single farmer, but more often they are owned cooperatively by a number of neighbours. The modern American farm, mechanized and scientifically operated, is still rare. An active government policy is fostering agricultural expansion and

experimentation. It is to be expected that the adoption of Western techniques will be hastened greatly during the next decade.

Grains of various sorts furnish the main crops. Rye, oats and barley are the main cereal crops. The first of these furnishes the mainstay of the Finnish diet. Fruits and root crops enter readily into production. Dairying, too, is important, and dairy products enter significantly into the export trade of the country.

The Finnish farmer is an industrious worker. He spends long hours at laborious toil for small return. His methods are not yet modern, and nature is against him. In return he is afforded a standard of comfort somewhat lower than that enjoyed by the farmers of Sweden and other neighbouring countries.

Lumbering is undergoing a period of rapid expansion in Finland. Almost three-quarters (73.5%) of the country is forest land, and forest products in recent years have accounted for from 60 to 86 percent of her exports. Fishing, and hunting are the other important extractive pursuits.

While 65% of the population are engaged in agricultural pursuits during the summer, many of these same people work at lumbering during the winter. Nearly all who are hired farm labourers, large numbers of the sons of land owners, and a few owners themselves, dovetail these two occupations. While for a large number of persons these combine to provide a sufficient income, these also give rise to a mode of living that is highly individualized, and somewhat unstable. This movement is a male movement, and in the lumbering regions there are few women, if any. In consequence, a different relation between the sexes exists than we would find in southern Italy, for instance. Relations tend to be temporary, and sometimes not too well disciplined. This mobility means that a large body of Finns are not permanently attached to any primary

group, and are more anxious for new experience than for security or response. From this group, many have been induced to emigrate.

In purely agricultural communities there is a fair measure of family unity. In Finland as in central and southern Europe, the women work in the fields, and certain parts of the task of harvesting are set aside as theirs. This is especially true of the northern regions where most of the work is done by hand. Raking the cut crop is almost completely a woman's job in some areas. In the isolated farming regions, consumption is little individualized. The farmers -- for such are the whole family -- enjoy but small comforts.

Of the modes of living of the rural Finns, little is written in literature. Many live in log houses or places of roughly hewn lumber. Farm buildings are often built end to end in a straight row, both for convenience, and for ease of building. Each farmer depends on his own holdings to provide his fuel needs, and his land as a source of food supply. His surplus of dairy products he will exchange for herring,and coffee.

Dried fish and smaller quantities of dried and salted meat find their place in the Finnish diet. Potatoes are used much as in America. Rye flour is made into circular loaves of hard dry bread which can be preserved for indefinite periods. Many dishes not known to this country are made from milk and milk products. These will be described more fully in the chapter dealing with the modes of living of the Finns in Montreal.

Coffee is a refreshment for every part of the day. The coffee pot is put on the stove by the first riser in the morning, and the others partake of its contents as soon as they get up. In both the middle of the forenoon and the afternoon it is served again.

Often when the men worked away from home, their wives would trudge a mile or two to bring them their afternoon coffee. Whenever a countryman drops in, be he the nearest neighbour or a distant traveller, he is offered coffee and cakes, and this without fail.

Among the rural population, soured milk, which the Finnish housewife prepares tastily, or home brewed ale,often replace coffee at meals. The urban population is usually denied these.

Every farm has a steam bath house. This is usually a small detached building standing near the house. The steam is created by pouring water over very hot stones; while the person bathing sits on a bench far enough above to avoid being scalded. If the farm is situated near a lake, this bath is often followed by a plunge into the cold water immediately afterward.

In Finland there has been a wide spread in the levels of living of different groups and a distinct class consciousness. An indication of the breakdown of class suppression is the large number of cooperatives that have grown up. Their membership is largely from the rural areas, and consequently their activities are conditioned by the agricultural environment. About 500,000 persons are in such societies. These institutions are built up around the needs of the agricultural communities, and include the following types: "retail general merchandise stores, dairies, restaurants, cafés, bakeries, groceries, rural banks, agricultural-machinery buying societies, peat-moss societies, wholesale houses, and export firms - primarily for export." These facts are introduced here to show that it is the acquired nature of the individualistic Finns to cooperate, often as equals, when they are together. In Canada they move about together, and make common usage of certain household property in their places of residence. These points will be elaborated later.

A further suggestion of the realignment of the Finns is found in the movement to the cities. Manufacturing is only beginning to figure significantly in the economic life of the northern republic. The urban factories are nearly all for the processing of Finland's agricultural and forest products. As yet these are relatively unimportant in the economic structure of the country, and the internal migration towards the industrial centres has not assumed large proportions. Finland is still more than four-fifths rural.

While industrial development in Finland is new, the factory workers have not been subjected to employment conditions that marked the early development of manufacturing in England. By collective agreements and legislation, the eight-hour day has been established. The Finnish labourers for years have lived in the tradition of trade unionism. Government employment offices have been operated in the more settled regions since 1926. Some progress has been made toward long-time planning of public works to dovetail with industrial employment.

One unacquainted with Finnish culture would wonder at the number of women he would find in employment there. In the banks most of the work is done by women. Office and administrative work is rapidly becoming theirs in the country's division of labour. The law is prepared to recognize them as diplomats and judges. Only church and army positions are withheld from them. The Constitution of 1919 established equality between the sexes, and the rule of equal pay for equal work has spread outward from the teaching profession to other occupations. For years Finnish women have been exercising their franchise and taking an active interest in politics.

In the communities which offer women employment, other

than farm labour, a family organization exists that is not found anywhere else in Europe. Should a woman in one of the professions marry, she entertains no thought of giving up her position. She continues to have an independent income, and spends a large part of it to please her own fancy. The husband, free from the need of being a family provider, continues his independence. Finnish families are usually small, if there are any children at all. In the Scandinavian region, marriages are often less permanent than in other parts of Europe. Individualism, arising from the nature of production and kept alive in sentiment, has made the Finnish family what it is.

The typical family dwelling in Helsinki is a flat or apartment of two rooms. Home life figures less in the manner of living of these people than among any peasant group. In adjusting their social participation to a Canadian environment, the Finns, in consequence of this practice, have accommodated themselves less satisfactorily within their homes than have the Montreal Italians.

The Finns have brought to Canada a tradition of free and compulsory education. The percentage of illiteracy among them ranks with the lowest in Europe. In 1930 there were 230 high schools, and the University of Helsinki had a student body of over five thousand.

The state constitution gives assurance of religious freedom. Still, Finland is ninety-seven percent Protestant, and of these all but a scant few prefer the Lutheran denomination. While there are religious observances in the schools, the children are not compelled to participate in them. The Finns seem not to have developed the same religious temperament and fervour as the peasants in many of the Catholic sections of Europe.

Finnish industrial development has been hampered until very

recent years by an unhealthy political condition. From the middle ages Finland has been a greatly sought prize by the militarists of both Sweden and Russia. The struggle has not been one against foreign invasion, but between the two great powers for control of the middle territory. From 1809 to 1917 Finland was under the domination of the Russian autocracy. In 1899 the "February Manifesto" of Nicholas II virtually abrogated the Finnish diet and established a military government. Four years later, the Russian Governor was made dictator. Mass movements, and a national strike in 1905, wrenched some control from the foreign rulers, but not till 1917, when Russia herself was in turmoil, was independence gained.

During this period of tyrannic rule, many Finns sought freedom abroad, and especially in the United States. Many who came with this motivation sought immediately to adjust themselves, some by acquiring property, rather than fit themselves into makeshift jobs as many Italians did who planned to return to the home-land.

A consequence of Finland's international position has been the law of 1922 introducing compulsory military service. One year in the infantry and fifteen months in the special armies is required of all men on reaching their twenty-first birthday. This interference with occupational ambitions of young Finns has been another cause of unrest among them, and so a reason for emigration.

The somewhat free movement of persons across the Finnish borders has led to a diversity of cultures within the country. In the east are a few Russians who speak the Russian language and are steeped in the traditions of old or new Russia. A much larger number of Swedes occupy the western regions. Almost one-third of the population of Finland speak Swedish as their native language. Swedish is used in their schools and other public institutions, and the Finnish parliament is bi-lingual. There is not sufficient space to

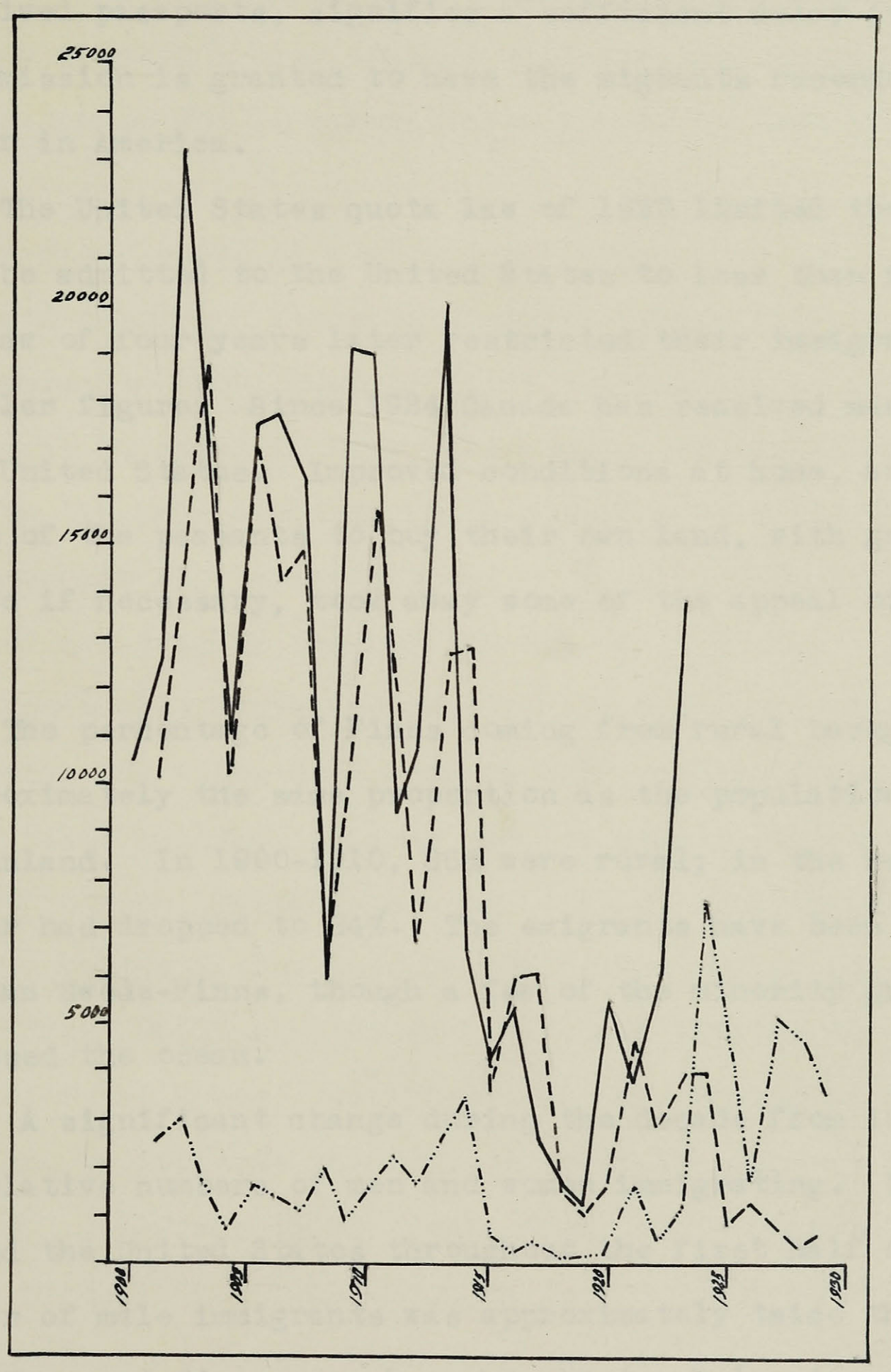
give the Swedish and Finnish groups very complete isolation. Both groups have their own literature and art; both value different sets of traditions. Both have emigrated, and settled side by side in Canada.

Emigration from Finland.

Finnish immigration has been essentially a response to the need for food and economic security. The vicissitudes of nature have compelled large parts of Finland's working force to depend regularly on work in two or more industries, and have continually threatened their hope of a satisfactory subsistence. Other factors have contributed to the dissatisfaction of the Finns. The oppression of Russia kept Finland in a condition of political unrest till 1917. To the west, the Swedes, as immigrants, were occupying some of the most productive land. The emigration movement, once started, gained momentum through the reports of Finns already in America; and the advertising of the transportation companies encouraged the American flow by painting velvet pictures of conditions in the best parts of the United States and Canada. The attraction of America, with its political freedom and economic opportunity, attracted relatively large numbers from far-north Finland.

The first Finnish migration was towards 1860 when a small number came and found work in the newly-opened Michigan copper mines. This movement was instigated by the United States Mining Company, and is believed to be the only instance of Finns being brought to perform a specific industrial task. It was not till 1890 that the movement became significantly large. The trend of emigration from Finland is shown in the accompanying chart for the years 1900-1924. The fluctuations during the pre-war years appear to result from the joint influence of political conditions at home and economic conditions in America.

Chart VI: Finnish Emigration



There is a striking coincidence during the pre-war years of the number of passports issued in Finland and the number of Finns entering the United States. The apparent inconsistency, which appears in the chart, of more Finns being admitted to the United States than received passports, signifies a sufficient delay in emigration after permission is granted to have the migrants recorded in a later year in America.

The United States quota law of 1920 limited the number of Finns to be admitted to the United States to less than four thousand, and the law of four years later restricted their immigration to a much smaller figure. Since 1924 Canada has received many more Finns than the United States. Improved conditions at home, and especially the right of the peasants to buy their own land, with government assistance if necessary, took away some of the appeal of an escape abroad.

The percentage of Finns coming from rural backgrounds has been approximately the same proportion as the population distribution in Finland. In 1900-1910, 86% were rural; in the next decade the number had dropped to 84%. The emigrants have been pure Finns rather than Swede-Finns, though a few of the minority group have also crossed the ocean.

A significant change during the decade from 1920 has been in the relative numbers of men and women immigrating. In both Canada and the United States throughout the first half of this period, the number of male immigrants was approximately twice the number of female. The next five years brought about a balancing of numbers. Towards the close of the decade, there was about an equal number of Finnish men and women entering Canada, while in the United States, women became the majority. The large percentage of the women entering who came as domestic servants, and the small number of Finnish

children coming in, shows that this immigration was essentially an immigration of single men and women.

The marital condition of the migrating Finns has affected their whole adjustment in America. It has conditioned their institutions, be these boarding houses or recreational organizations. Too, it has allowed a high spatial mobility, and short-term employment; so has made the Finn a valuable person in the development of Canada.

Background Experiences of Montreal's Finns.

Our sample of Finns in Montreal covers fifty records of families selected from those of about sixty families interviewed. The sample is intended to be representative of all the Finnish families in the area studied, whether they have children or not. In this approach we are leaving out of consideration those who are not married, or roughly one-half of the adult Finns.

Montreal's Finns are practically all post-war immigrants. One man, with his wife, came here in 1912, and returned to Finland for eight years in 1920. Eleven men, or nearly one-quarter of the total came between 1920 and the end of 1924. Thirty-two, or two-thirds came in the latter half of the decade, while six came in 1930 and 1931. While similar data were not obtained in the same exact way for the women, our occasional questioning of those interviewed seems to indicate that more than three-quarters came in since 1925. The Finns in Montreal, then, are a comparatively new immigrant group. They have had much less contact with Canadian customs, in time at least, than have the Italians. Many came to Canada at a time of rapid business expansion and are now weathering their first depression. How they have fared we shall tell later.

Twenty-one, or 42% of the men constituting Montreal's Finnish population,were either farmers or farm labourers.before immigrating.

Of these, over half dovetailed farming with other work, a majority with lumbering, but also a few with carpentering or unskilled manual work. Eight made a regular practice of working in the lumber camps in the winter, but only two of these did not depend on other work for part of the year. Fifteen, or nearly one-third, considered their trade to be in the building industry. Ten of these were carpenters at least part of the time, three were painters, one was a stone cutter, another a bricklayer. Together, thirty-four, or two-thirds of those covered by our sample, depended on these three industries - farming, lumbering or building. Five were in factory trades. One was a shop foreman, two were in machine shops, two were furniture or cabinet makers. Most of the others were from the artisan class of the cities or small towns. Six reported doing only unskilled labour in whatever industries and whatever community it happened to be available.

Most of the workers had fairly regular employment. Only seven worked continually for twelve months of the year. The vast majority of the rest averaged at least nine months. Even with conditions as they were, the men felt the risk of not being able to find jobs, and of the uncertain duration of jobs which they did have. Some farm workers complained that they could not always get paid, and so were left without means to tide them over between jobs. Wage scales for farm labour were very low especially in the infertile rocky areas. The workers enjoyed but little comfort; yet often fared as well as the masters who fed and housed them.

Of the twenty-two women from whom reports were obtained, five worked as farm girls, usually in their own homes. Five others were tailoresses, or dressmakers. There were also two stenographers, one hairdresser, one waitress, a clerk, a nurse, a domestic servant and a governess. One girl worked as a polisher in a furniture

factory, and another in a bakery. Only two stayed at home doing housework and other chores. Two-thirds the total number worked regularly away from their homes; and of those from the urban regions the fraction is still higher. The rôle of the woman in Finnish industry marks an extreme that is violently condemned by religion and tradition among the peasant peoples of southern Italy. In Finland there is individualism in place of family solidarity; and a notion of marriage quite foreign to most rural populations.

Two-thirds of our sample came to Canada with the prime hope of bettering their economic conditions. The opportunities of this new land were given glaring descriptions in the press in articles and advertisements. Posters, too, were part of the steamship company's publicity scheme. Fifteen men stated that they were positively influenced in their decision to emigrate by the appeal given Canada by advertisers. Nine persons, won over to the lure of travel, profess to have come to America out of sheer adventure, without knowing whether they might choose to remain or not. Four came for personal reasons. It is a reflection on the attitude of the Finns towards the family bond that a man married in the homeland could and would quite openly state he came here because of unfriendly relations with his mother-in-law.

Those venturesome persons who attribute their coming to Canada only to their own temperament doubtless became footloose because at the time of their entry into employment they were made to move about to earn their living. It seems safe to attribute ninety percent of Finland's emigration to Canada to her occupational conditions, as contrasted with ours. Our immigration was too late to be motivated by the political difficulties of the Russian régime.

Eight of the fifty men covered by our research received direct financial assistance from friends to buy their passage. Four

others received loans from Finnish banks, supported by the counter-signature of relatives. Thirty-eight paid their own way.

The Finns in Montreal, then, are a selected group of those able to secure a passage. Their immigration can be attributed to economic conditions in Finland, and their hope of improvement abroad. Most came here single, and married in this city. In America they have selected areas and occupations in which they have been able to follow their home-land practices closely. This is the subject of the chapter which follows.

CHAPTER TWO

Spatial and Occupational Distribution in Canada

The Adjustment Scene.

In the experience of any immigrant group, spatial and occupational adjustment goes hand in hand. Every community offers a certain range of occupations. In the purely agricultural area, the newcomer must either take up farm work, or journey on. At the other extreme is the metropolitan city, with its wide range of occupations and skills. Large geographic regions have a few dominant industries, as farming on the prairie provinces, lumbering and mining in British Columbia, or manufacturing amd merchandising in Ontario. Persons brought up in any one such region usually build up their ambitions, and organize their futures, to fit themselves into the economy of the region. The persons who move from one such region to another often have to make an occupational adjustment in certain aspects, only different in degree from that made by the immigrant.

While the immigrant makes his adjustment in a community and in an occupation at the same time, in the matter of planning he must give one or the other of these first consideration. He might, first, select an area for settlement, either a city or a smaller community, either one large geographic region or another, primarily because of certain of its characteristics other than those relating to specific occupational opportunities, and then make his entry into such occupations as may be opened to him. Thus, he may allow his spatial adjustment to control his occupational adjustment. The alternative is that he should select the occupations which he hopes

to enter, and choose then between the communities holding these occupations. Both these courses are followed by different immigrant groups.

In the case of the Italians, it appears that the vast majority would fall in the category of those who let occupational adjustment follow spatial adjustment. There was little in their background experience to direct them away from farming except the tradition built up by those who had come here before them. Being somewhat immobile, and urgently in need of immediate work, many did not get past the city of their first arrival. For the majority, certainly, of those in Montreal, the specific occupations of the city had so little to do with their settling here that these two types of adjustments have been treated in separate chapters.

The Finns' experience has been very nearly the opposite of the Italians'. The basis of selecting the first areas to be settled by the Italians has mattered little to the later arrivals who have made their choice in space coincide with their predecessors'. The Finns, more prepared, through years of shifting, to move about, have chosen as their areas of settlement, districts which resemble very closely the physical environment of their home communities,and which offer employments such as their background experiences have fitted them for. They have chosen the lakes region of northern Ontario - an area of lumbering, mining and small farming. Through this broad area, the land is rough and stony. There are only scattered settlements, joined together and to the larger cities by links of rail and the Great Lakes water routes. The area is kept alive almost exclusively by the extractive industries, and at Fort William and Port Arthur on the west, by grain shipping and storage. A comparison between Finland and Canada would lead one to select the Great Lakes

region, and parts of British Columbia as the Dominion's counterpart of that European republic.

In taking up their old occupations, though modified in the Canadian form, and entering the field of construction labour in the suburban and rural districts, the Finns have again destined themselves to lives of continual transiency. They have been active in construction projects in both Ontario and Quebec as we will show in a more specific way later. In this unordered existence, they have made contacts with a selected group of Canadian workers - the hobos who move about without much direction, picking up work as it is available, and the body of migratory workers who follow the same routine course throughout the different seasons year after year. In these same occupations, too, are a large number of foreigners who know little, if any, more of Canadian values and attitudes than do the Finns. In the far west in Canada and the United States, and perhaps elsewhere in these countries, Scandinavians are the largest body of non-English speaking transients.

While the Finns in these occupations meet only a selected and from some points of view, adverse population group in Canada, they have fairly close contacts with those whom they meet. They sleep in the same camp buildings, and eat at the same table. This brings them in early contact with the English language, even though it be a lumberman's jargon. The rapid moving about among different people necessitates that they acquire quickly some means of communication. The Finns, individualists and wanderers, cannot have the same communal solidarity and conservatism with respect to their traditional diet, and so forth, as the Italians who live nearly always as members of family and neighbourhood groups.

The Finnish girls and young women who have immigrated as domestic servants have remained in relatively greater numbers in the

cities. Domestic work is almost exclusively an urban occupation. The female population, then, is much less mobile than the male. Because of the greater number of men, the female Finnish population in the cities rarely if ever exceeds the male. In none of the rural areas is there any close approach to equality in numbers between the sexes.

Immigration and Spatial Adjustment.

The census data on the distribution of the Canadian population by racial origins makes no division of the two sexes. The earliest year for which those of Finnish descent are recorded separately is 1921. The count of that year showed 21,494 Finns residing in Canada. The 1911 figure might be estimated roughly at two-thirds that number. In the early post-war year, nearly thirteen thousand, or nearly sixty percent of the total number were in Ontario. Sault Ste.Marie had eight hundred, and the two large Lake Superior ports to the west had a still larger number. In the small towns and rural areas around Sudbury were roughly one-fifth of the Finnish population of Ontario. There were seven hundred in Toronto.

British Columbia, with slightly over three thousand Finns, had the second greatest number in 1921. These were scattered through the timbering, mining and agricultural areas of the province, with a number on Vancouver Island. Alberta had only slightly fewer. In Alberta they were scattered throughout the province, quite obviously in farm work. The same distribution prevailed for the smaller numbers found in the other prairie provinces. In the Maritimes together there were only about seventy-five Finns, while in Quebec there were seventy.

At this census there were fifteen men on Montreal Island, eight in the central city, four in Verdun and one in Lachine.

By 1931 the Finnish population of Canada had more than

doubled. In consideration of the large number of unmarried, and the low birth rate among those in a position to have families, this increase can be traced almost exclusively to immigration. In analyzing the 1931 distribution, it must be remembered that in any depression year the floating population of any country tends to be more concentrated in the cities than when business is active.

Of the 43,885 Finns in Canada in 1931, 29,137, or almost exactly two-thirds were in Ontario. Toronto in that year was the largest Finnish city in Canada, with 3,453 persons. Port Arthur, with 3,252, ranked a near second. The Finnish population of this latter city constituted roughly one-sixth of its total. These people continued to spread themselves in large numbers around the Canadian (and American) shores of Lakes Superior and Huron. During the inactive year of 1931 they lived in large numbers in the towns around - Sudbury, Saulte Ste.Marie, Cochrane, Parry Sound, and so forth. During this decade there was a slight trend towards some of the industrial centres. Windsor, the Canadian industrial suburb of Detroit, had attracted a few, and other manufacturing cities throughout the province had small quotas.

British Columbia's Finnish population increased in approximately the same proportion as the total for the Dominion. Vancouver, the permanent home of a few and the resting place of others, had 1,843, or more than any other city except the two above-mentioned. A fair number had settled in the lower Fraser Valley, a region of small mixed farming, and lumbering. Many more were scattered through the farming and mining regions of the interior. Vancouver Island had about two thousand, or almost as many as in the rest of the province together, outside the metropolitan region of Vancouver. This island has been the scene of rapid development in timbering in recent years. Coal mining, once carried on quite extensively in

the area, does not play the important rôle in the economy of the region that it once did.

In the prairie provinces the increase has been less marked. The Finns of mixed-farming experience have not hastened to adopt themselves to the large scale farming of the Canadian west. In Alberta, a large group has congregated in and around Rocky Mountain House, a coal-mining town southwest of Edmonton. In the agricultural regions there is not complete segregation of the Finns. In many townships there are individuals living in apparent isolation of others of their same culture. The tendency toward colonization is exhibited in some regions, however.

Relatively speaking, the increase in the Finnish population of Quebec Province has been much more phenomenal than in any other province. From seventy persons in 1921, the number has grown to approximately three thousand. The Montreal metropolitan region had in 1931, 1,833 persons, of whom all but a small number were in Montreal city. One hundred and fifty-six, nearly all domestic servants, were in Westmount. The remaining number in the province are nearly all engaged on construction projects.

The figures given from the most recent census are for the year before that covered in our first-hand research, and three years before the time of writing this thesis. It seems reasonable to believe that the same general distribution exists now as did then. The census, taken during the summer months, may show a slightly smaller percentage living in the cities than would be derived from a yearly average.

The place that the city has in the lives of these people must be made clear if we are to understand the modes of living of a sample group in urban residence. The city is a focal point in which transients conveniently congregate. Too, it offers the sort of

accommodation which they require, that is, a place to live when work is not available, and a centre from which to learn of jobs in outlying regions.

Occupational Adjustment.

The growth of Montreal as a Finnish city appears to be coincident with the entry of the Finns into the construction trades. The types of building at which these people work are different from those at which so many Italians are engaged. The Finns have found employment on large construction projects - the erection of hotels, mills, power plants, and so forth. In other words, they have entered that field of construction where men are chosen and jobs supplied through the employment agencies. The use of employment bureaus is a characteristic of the Finnish workman, though he also relies very greatly on information supplied him by his fellow countrymen. It is characteristic of all peoples that they tend to climb, or to erect ambitions for themselves, within or around the occupations at which they are engaged. The Italians, we noted, became skilled builders and contractors. The Finns, working for large scale employers of labour, may, and have already shown a tendency to climb the ladder of skills. Unlike the city house-building Italians, they have little opportunity of becoming contractors or of concerning themselves with the business management of building.

In the data which follows, drawn from our sample of fifty Finns residing in Montreal during the whole of 1932, there will appear considerable overlapping. The occupations listed are those at which any Finn has worked for six months or more since immigrating to Canada. In the construction trades, twenty men have at one time or another worked as carpenters. Few, if any, of these have been doing fine finishing work; but only those are included in this figure who have used the saw and hammer, not persons who merely

carry materials around. Ten persons have been stone drillers, a trade fairly quickly learned, yet requiring a certain amount of concentration and care in its execution. Three have been employed at crushing rock, and one, somewhat more skilled, as a mason. As painters, four have been engaged. Some in this latter mentioned trade, our sample indicates, are following a profession learned in Finland. Twenty persons have been engaged in construction labour outside the trades mentioned above, mostly as unskilled workers. Together, approximately seventy percent of the sample group covered have made construction work figure prominently in their means of living. This is not to suggest that a majority of them have not worked at some time or other in other industries.

One more than half our total sample have been engaged in lumbering and logging operations. In this general category we have placed cutting pulpwood and fire wood, felling trees and performing other tasks in the preparation of lumber, as for example log floating. This work has been somewhat more seasonal than construction, though in many ways is not unlike that of their homeland experience. The Montreal Finns seem to be moving away from the lumbering industry; though it seems probable, in consideration of the geographic location of this city, that the Montreal group represents a selection of those whose adjustment is in that direction.

Five Finns have worked as miners, and five others as farm labourers, three of these latter on the harvest fields of the Canadian prairies. Those in the trades already mentioned, or very nearly all the Finns in Montreal in 1932, have depended during certain periods on employment that was set in a rural environment. Most of them have lived in camps, with men of other nationalities, and without women. The mode of living of the whole employed group has been essentially the same - and that as determined by the

management of each unit of industry.

Only twenty percent of the fifty Finns have worked at peculiarly urban occupations for two months or more. Three have worked in factories as unskilled labourers. Two have been in restaurants, doing washing and other general work. Two others have applied their earlier training in gardening and caring for lawns. One has been a janitor, one a butler, one a chauffeur, and one has worked at preparing furs for wear. It seems likely that three or four of these may have made contacts with their employers through the Finnish women.

The occupations of the Finnish women have not been learned with the same care. Practically all have worked as domestic servants throughout the city. A few years ago the demand for these domestics was in excess of the supply, and in 1932 there were not many begging positions. One or two have entered other trades. Two have worked as masseurs, and one other from whom the data for our schedule was not obtained, has her own dressmaking shop. The women immigrated to enter the domestic ranks. Not only have they shown little occupational mobility; many have spent most of their time since immigration in Montreal.

The spatial mobility of the men is both interesting and enlightening. Of those in Montreal in 1932, only six had worked outside the provinces of Ontario or Quebec. One of these was in British Columbia. One was in New Brunswick, cutting pulpwood. Four others have been on the prairies, some doing farm labour. The others have spent all their time in the two central provinces, moving about from job to job. In illustration of the spatial mobility of the Finnish men, the experience of our Montreal sample might well be cited. During the years 1924 - 7, four men worked on a construction project at Alma, in northern Quebec. Overlapping in time, though

continuing longer, the erection of an aluminum factory at Arvido, Quebec, gave work to a similar number. Three men worked on the building of a paper mill at Masson. Six helped construct the magnificent lodge at Lucerne-in-Quebec during 1929-30. From 1930 onwards, eight men worked on the construction of the huge power plant at Beauharnois. A Canadian Pacific Railway dam being built at Kenogami furnished employment to three during the years 1930-31. Eight men worked at times during 1928-31 on a power project in the suburban area of Montreal. A few in Montreal have come in from the lakes region. Two once lived at Port Alfred, five at Sudbury, and five at Toronto.

Unlike lumbering, or farming, these construction projects, by their nature, offer employment for a short period only. They do not follow a fixed mobility as certain classes of migratory workers enjoy. In these various undertakings, individual Finns rarely find themselves isolated from their countrymen. There seems to be built up a practice of joint effort and mutual assistance in the procuring of jobs. These Finns are normally together in periods during which they must accommodate themselves between jobs. This accommodation is often in the cities.

The Finnish Community in Montreal.

It appears that each group of Finns gravitates around a city, be it Toronto, Montreal, or elsewhere. Construction or logging camps offer accommodation to men only when they are working or are temporarily idle. The class of employees who depend on scattered jobs must be accessable to vacant positions, and so are led to the employment centres in the cities. The city, too, has its lure. It has its bright lights, and its wide variety of recreational facilities for persons of almost every type. In the cities, too, the Finnish women reside. The temporary nature of the Finns' residence in the

cities determinesto an extent their urban modes of living. It also helps determine what residential part of the city the group will try to enter.

With the exception of the few who live in St.Paul ward or in Verdun, practically all the Finns in the metropolitan region, except those living in municipally provided relief shelters, live in an area bounded approximately by St.James Street and the Canadian National Railway tracks on the south, Richmond Street on the west, St.Antoine Street on the north, with the notable exception of Richmond Street, which is just across the Canadian Pacific Railway tracks from St.Antoine Street, and St.Genevieve Street on the east. This Finnish area is spoken of as being "between the tracks", and part of a larger region "below the hill". It is an area that years ago was left in the wake of the city's westward and northward expansion. The larger region of which the Finnish area forms a partially secluded part is an area of first settlement for several immigrant groups. A few blocks to the east are Montreal's worst slums, with their slum-dwelling population types, and slum institutions. The whole region is one with a high turn-over of people and institutions.

Mr.W.E.Israel, in his thesis,"The Negro Community in Montreal"(1)has described the growth of this area in considerable detail. (This thesis is available to those interested.) Since the development of this region did not figure in the modes of living of the Finns in the way the growth of Italian regions affected theirs, we shall allow here only a summary statement of the transition of this area.

Shortly after the opening of the nineteenth century, St. Antoine Street was built up as far west as Mountain Street, while only lanes intersected it. The area was the home of some of the

(1) Unpublished Thesis, McGill University,Montreal,1928.

more successful in business through the first half of the century. With the westward movement of commercial activity, and the general expansion of the city with its rapidly increasing population, those termed"better to do"moved north and west. In the eighties the railroads entered from the west. Windsor Station was opened in 1886, and Bonaventure in 1888 after the Grand Trunk Railway had made temporary use of St.Henry station as its terminus. Street car lines pushed westward through the area in the closing decade of the century. The process of social degradation went on rapidly during this period. First the white collar classes entered the region, only to follow on westward and make room for the artisans and semi-skilled. By 1900 the area held the homes of unskilled workmen, and others of low and uncertain incomes. While industry and European immigrants were pushing on the east, the negroes entered the region.

The railway boarding-houses first placed the Negroes in the St.Antoine Street area. Because of the low rents, and the proximity to their work, the Negroes stayed, and established their homes. At the present time these dark skinned people give the area much of its complexion. They are moving west, towards St.Henry. The Negro centre in Montreal still is on St.Antoine Street for two or three blocks west from Windsor Street.

Into this area of still more depressed rents, the Finns found their way during the last decade. Several factors attracted them to the area. The first entrants were single men, probably arriving by rail, and wanting cheap accommodation during their intended short stay in the city. St.Antoine Street was the nearest place offering this sort of accommodation. Those who followed were attracted because of the presence of their countrymen, and the need for low rents and accommodation for irregular periods. The

nearness of the employment offices and railway offices and lines allowed a high efficiency in obtaining positions. The urban tradition in Finland for families to live in one or two rooms made the mode of living the area permitted fairly acceptable. The housing practice followed here fits itself easily into this sort of region of large subdivided houses.

The Finnish area is divided towards the east by Windsor Street. East of Windsor the invading factories have driven many residents out of the area. The houses that remain are not intended by their owners as a permanent source of revenue, but merely a means of bearing the cost of holding the property until it can be sold for industrial purposes. In consequence, the buildings are let fall into dilapidation. They are most of two storeys, with inside staircases, and subdivided into very small one or two-room dwellings to yield the greatest possible financial return.

West of Windsor Street, there are fewer factories. The houses in this area are old. Most of them date back thirty years, and many a great deal longer. The majority are places of three or four storeys, with stone fronts, and attached on both sides to the places next to them. On some of the narrower, lane-like, streets, as St.Felix, some of the homes appear very dilapidated. Buildings are used for residence that were not originally intended this use. St.James Street, bounding the region on the south, is lined with factories, warehouses, stores, and tenements. Very few Finns live on this street, though they are in large numbers just around the corners, on streets meeting or intersecting St.James Street. In this whole downtown area, there are no outside staircases as in the Italian or French sections of Montreal. Inside, these homes are partitioned to allow for the peculiar Finnish custom in housing.

In this region the Finns are competing with the Negroes for space. At the present, the area of greatest Finnish concentration seems to be immediately west of the centre of the Negro community, though on some streets persons of these contrasted groups live side by side; indeed, sometimes they live in the same buildings. Fucignan, Versailles, Mountain and Aqueduct Streets, and part of St.Antoine Street are very largely Finnish. Immediately to the east, these Europeans are a white minority.

Overdale Avenue and that part of the Finnish district lying north of the Canadian Pacific Railway tracks does not evidence an expansion or overflow from the central area. Separated from the lower community by only the railway, it stands apart spatially, and shows characteristics indicative of a narrower participation in the group activities.

The evidence of one or two persons is to the effect that a certain element has set itself apart from the larger group, in some instances by making a better adjustment to the Canadian situation in others by an unsupported view of social superiority which may have been carried over from the home-land. This cannot be presented as a generalization, as many bear no distinction in practice, association or outlook from those south of the tracks. In so far as persons of the "superior" type exist among the Finnish, it is here that they are found.

Overdale Street extends for only a block. In addition to the houses on the street are to be found a store, a small industrial building and an automobile maintenance garage, as well as several apartment buildings. The apartment house has rounded the corner from Mackay Avenue, and the Finns, where economic resources permit it, have found it an easy move from the neighbouring "rooms" to these

more comfortable (Canadian) quarters.

The scheduled data obtained for these families shows in most cases a more regular income (during 1932) than was prevalent. Also there appeared a greater dependency upon the male head of the household than on the wife. There was probably a lower-than-average rate of mobility than in the rest of the Finnish community.

Richmond Square, and the apartment buildings on St.Antoine Street nearby, house persons showing some of the same characteristics. One probable difference is that this area is Finnish because of a direct expansion from the central Finnish region. It constitutes a fringe, the residence of only a very small percentage of the total number of Finns.

Most of the scattered Finnish institutions are on St.Antoine Street. To the east of the area is a Finnish pool-room and barber shop, a place where a number of single men while away their time. In this section of the area, too, is a restaurant which serves Finnish foods almost exclusively. Another restaurant is found farther west on the same street, near the centre of the area of Finnish settlement. There are one or two other Finnish shops on the street. English and French stores throughout the region compete for the business of those of every race and nationality. Most of the shops on St.Antoine Street are grocery stores. On St.James Street small dry-goods stores attempt to keep people away from the uptown stores by their apparent bargains. Windsor Street, dividing the area as it does, is given over largely to hotels and restaurants which cater to visitors entering Montreal from either of the two railway stations.

The commercial institutions of the Finns characterize their new and unstable community. Several shops - the pool-room and restaurants - make their appeal especially to the transient and

homeless.

Family Composition among the Finns in Montreal.

In Montreal, a large number of men, and a few women, are not in families. Most of the others have been married only a short while. Several couples we found who had been married during 1932. Of our fifty families, half had no children. Some of these twenty-five childless families had been married several years. Sixteen families had one child; six had two, three had three. The age distribution of these children shows that out of thirty-one, thirteen were under three years of age at December, 1932; while ten others were under six. That is, three-quarters of the children were under school age. All the others, with the exception of a person aged twenty-two, were under fourteen.

The parents are still young, as might be expected among a group of recent immigrants. The median age of the men in our sample is thirty-four, and the women, thirty-two. Only one woman is past the age of forty-five.

CHAPTER THREE

The Means of Living of Finnish Families during 1932

It cannot be borne in mind too continually that this study is intended to cover the adjustment made to depression conditions, as well as to Canadian attitudes and values. The present depression is a part of the social environment of all persons living in our American economy. Its effect on those who have retired with means has been to lower the returns on most investments, and to increase their taxes. In a large part of industry, women have replaced men, with the result of lower family earnings, and a new family organization for many. On its account, millions more in the United States, and thousands more in Canada, have been without work than in more "normal" times. The Finnish men have been affected most seriously by the fluctuations in employment in their trades. Building and lumbering both show much wider fluctuations than does Canadian industry as a whole, if we exclude agriculture. The employment history of the men interviewed for this work shows that as a class they have moved about only between jobs of uncertain duration. We have suggested above that the Finnish men in Montreal are a group who, when in the city, are away from their regular vocations.

It seems probable that marriage among the Finns might give rise to a conflict situation. Most of the Finnish men and women meet in the city. The man is in Montreal, between jobs; the woman has regular employment in the city, and she sees no reason for breaking with the Finnish tradition of continuing her work after she marries. Much more than is true of the Italians who follow the

homeland tradition, the Finnish marriage rests on courtship and romance. If the man is to follow his old employment, either he must separate himself from his wife, which he hesitates to do, or he may take her away from the city where she will lose her economic independence. In many camps no place is provided for women; or a certain range of jobs is cut off from him if he wishes to follow the second of these alternatives. The second accommodation possible without the separation of man and wife is for the male to adjust himself to some urban occupation, and adopt as permanent an urban mode of living. It appears that all three alternatives are adopted, each with some conflict, to meet this situation.

Occupations and Employment of Finnish Men.

It is difficult to speculate to what extent the Finnish men who had work in Montreal during 1932 were accommodating themselves to the existing employment conditions throughout the country, and to what measure they were seeking an adjustment arising out of this comparatively new marital relationships. Sixteen men (32%) had no work at all during 1932. Eleven others had only relief work for a few days each ~~week~~ which was provided by the city. Whatever their wish about city employment, the Finns who have been resident here for only a short while are not acquainted with the Montreal labour market. They are very much hampered, too, in not having a sufficient knowledge of English or French to communicate freely with the native population. This male group, with fifty-four percent of its number without employment during 1932, has probably been as much affected by the depression as amy other ethnic group in Montreal.

Five others in our sample had out-of-town employment during the year. In three cases, the man and his wife were away together. (1) Nine others had work in the construction industry in

(1). An explanation of the way the cost of living of these six cases is treated is given in the following chapter.

the city, or within commuting distance. Four of these were carpenters, one was engaged in cutting stone for building, the remaining four were general construction labourers. Two others who might be placed in this same category are painters. These two have both lived in the city for several years. One man was a smith and metal worker; another was a butcher.

The five men whose occupations are not already given have found employment in occupations closely akin to those followed by their wives. These five represent twenty percent of those working during 1932, and one-quarter of those working in Montreal. Two of these worked in the same places as their wives, one as a caretaker and houseman of a women's club where his wife was cook; the other helping to process furs for wear while his wife lined them. Of the others, one was a chauffeur, one a baker, and one a grounds caretaker. This appears more purely an accommodation than is the case of those who have entered the building trades. As the men remain longer in the cities they will come to depend less on the assistance and traditions of their wives and will probably enter industries as manual labourers, and climb within these same sets of productive activities.

Table LI gives the duration of time for which the Finnish men were without employment during 1932. All but two men were

TABLE LI

Time Unemployed of 50 Finnish Men in Montreal, 1932.

Months	Number	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
12 months	16	32	32
11 and under 12	12	24	56
10 " " 11	7	14	70
9 " " 10	4	8	78
8 " " 9	3	6	84
7 " " 8	5	10	94
6 " " 7	1	2	96
Under 1	2	4	100
Total	50	100	

without work during half the year or longer. The median point for the group is one month's work, or approximately one-third that enjoyed by the Italians. The most of those working outside the city during the year had four or five months' work, so in effect the employment conditions of the men in Montreal should appear still more depressed.

The Men's Earnings.

The cash earnings of these men naturally were small. Current rates of wages in the industries in which most were engaged were 35 or 40 cents per hour, though one or two earned considerably more, and some less. The table which follows requies little explanation. Sixty-eight percent of the men earned less than $100. during the year. Ninety percent earned less than $400.

TABLE LII

Earnings of 50 Finnish Men in Montreal, 1932

Amount	Number	Percent	Cumulative Percent
$0	16	32	32
$1 and under $100	18	36	68
100 " " 200	2	4	72
200 " " 300	5	10	82
300 " " 400	4	8	90
400 " " 500	2	4	94
500 " " 600	-	-	94
600 " " 700	2	4	98
700 and over	1	2	100
Total	50	100	

The Occupations and Earnings of Finnish Women.

One of the most interesting contrasts between the Italians and the Finns is in the matter of family organization. The Italians have a definite rôle for each member of the family, changing now in the case of daughters of working age. The Finns, on the other hand, tend to adjust the relationships between the various members of their

families to serve the greatest economic expediency. This elastic family organization of the Finns rests on a long-established custom of individualism, and freedom and equality in employment for those of either sex who chose it. The greatest clue to the family organization of the Finns during 1932 is found in the employment of the women, and the modes of living that were built up around their occupations.

Thirty-nine women from our sample of fifty families, or all but 22%, worked outside their homes during 1932. The husbands of six of the eleven others earned at least $350. during the year. In only one instance where the man earned more than this amount did the wife work.

Twenty-nine of the thirty-nine women working were engaged as domestics. Most of the women immigrated to enter this profession, and found their entry into this vocation relatively easy. Some of these women work out by the day, others sleep at their place of work and get home only one or two days a week. These latter tolerate an existence very largely away from their husbands. While apart, however, the husband and wife recognize an economic responsibility towards each other. Current rates of wages for these domestics during 1932 were from $1.50 to $2.00 per day. or from $25. to $40. a month, depending partly on whether sleeping accommodation was provided at their place of work and on the number of meals protided. In giving the earnings of these people, we have added the cost saved on meals to the cash earnings.

Several of those in other occupations were giving personal service in a professional way. Two women were dressmakers, one was a hairdresser, and one a masseuse at the Windsor Hotel. Others were applying their domestic training in other fields. Two worked in

Eaton's restaurant, one woman cooked for a women's club, another for the Steel Co. of Canada. One woman pursued her home-land occupation as a tailoress, while another, we have already mentioned, lined furs.

The table which gives the time during which the Finnish women were out of employment during 1932 must be understood to mean the relative period of idleness rather than the periods during which the women were continuously unemployed. Many worked two or three days a week, perhaps at two or three different places. Others worked regularly for several months.

The women had much more regular employment than the men. Half the total number worked six months or more, and if we exclude six who appear to be out of employment through choice the median is between four and five months unemployment per person. Ten had steady work, while only one man, and he in personal service, enjoyed this.

TABLE LIII

Time out of Employment of 50 Finnish Women in Montreal, 1932

Months	Number	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
12 months	11	22	22
11 and under 12	1	2	24
10 " " 11	1	2	26
9 " " 10	2	4	30
8 " " 9	4	8	38
7 " " 8	4	8	46
6 " " 7	2	4	50
5 " " 6	1	2	52
4 " " 5	3	6	58
3 " " 4	4	8	66
2 " " 3	5	10	76
1 " " 2	2	4	80
Under 1	10	20	100
Total	50	100	

The earnings of the women are summarized in the table below. The median earnings for those in employment during the

year was $270. The highest amount earned was $676.

TABLE LIVI

Earnings of 50 Finnish Women in Montreal, 1932

Amount	Number	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
$0	11	22	22
$1 and under 100	5	10	32
100 " " 200	7	14	46
200 " " 300	9	18	64
300 " " 400	10	20	84
400 " " 500	3	6	90
500 " " 600	3	6	96
600 " " 700	2	4	100
Total	50	50	

Earnings Related to Consumption.

What proportion of the total receipts of the Finnish families did earnings constitute in 1932? The total goods and services received in exchange for earnings, and from all other sources, by these families ranged from $324 to $697. For this study, fifty case records were selected from a slightly larger number. Two cases whose consumption was below $300 for the year and three cases whose consumption was over $700 were dropped, since there were not enough cases falling within the three various classifications where these should fall to allow any valid conclusions.

The family with the lowest consumption, $253 for the year, spent only $6 in cash during the year, half of this going for tobacco The family was entirely dependent on municipal relief and friends for food and clothing, and had paid no rent for its room during the year.

The other case falling below $300 was able to meet all of its current expenditures out of the wife's earnings. The man spent two weeks at the Vitre Street dormitory where food and shelter were given to homeless men. Apart from a very low room rent, the family's

expenditures were much the same as those in the lowest consumption class here considered.

Among the other cases omitted is a family whose cash income was about $900 for the year, earned by the wife who was a masseuse. The husband cared for their two year old child. Their total expenditure was $840. In another family the husband and father came to Canada as a skilled armature winder in 1926, and has been following his trade here. He had regular work during 1932, though was dismissed as a foreigner at the end of that period. He was living in a carefully furnished apartment on Mackay Avenue, and had already developed an equal liking for English and Finnish menus. The family's expenditures for the year were $1300 approximately. The man is anxious to open an electric shop of his own, and to specialize in the repairing of electric motors.

For convenience of analysis, then, we have taken as our Finnish sample a number of families whose consumption during 1932 fell between $300 and $700. Only five families from over sixty interviews, or eight percent, were excluded because of the selection of this range. Ten families consumed $300 and under $400 in goods or services during 1932; twenty-one families consumed from $400 to $500; fourteen families fell in the next hundred dollar classification, while five consumed $600,but less than $700. These four consumption classes, falling within consecutive class intervals, of one hundred dollars, are carried throughout this thesis as a basis for the analysis of the means and modes of living of Montreal's Finns.

Let us now revert to our earlier question. Table LV shows the relation of earnings and consumption for the families being reported. In this Table the earnings of husband, wife, and of one

child who was working, have been added together.

TABLE LX

Earnings of 50 Finnish Families in Montreal,1932, by $100 Consumption Classes.

Earnings	Consumption Class $300 & under $400	$400 & under $500.	$500 & under $600.	$600 & under $700.	Total	Percentage	Cumulative Percent
Under $100	3	2	-	-	5	10	10
$100 & Under $200	4	-	1	1	6	12	22
200 " " 300	-	6	3	-	9	18	40
300 " " 400	2	4	5	-	11	22	62
400 " " 500	-	4	1	1	6	12	74
500 " " 600	1	3	3	-	7	14	88
600 " " 700	-	2	1	2	5	10	98
700 " " 800	-	-	-	-	-	-	98
800 " " 900	-	-	-	-	-	-	98
900 " " 1000	-	-	-	1	1	2	100
Total	10	21	14	5	50	100	
Average	$200	370	387	572	361		
Median	153	378	368	624	355		

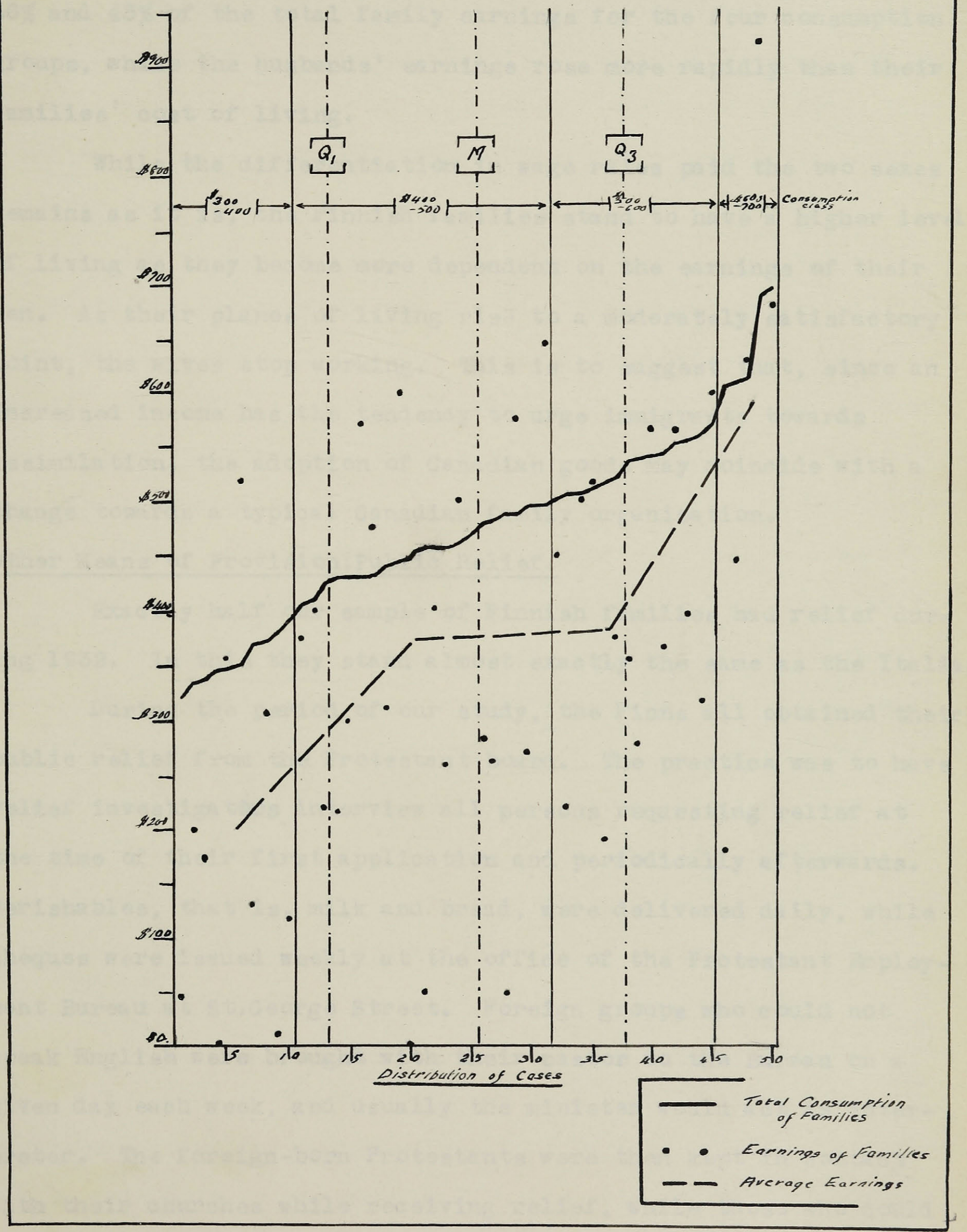
Among this group, fifteen families earned more than they consumed. This condition, we have noted, was almost non-occurring among the Italians. Only two families, one falling in each of the two lowest classes were completely without work during the year. The accompanying chart shows that, as is the case among the Italians, those with the highest consumption earn the largest proportion of their total receipts. One great difference between the Finns and Italians is that the former earned 75.5% (1) or three quarters of all they used as goods or services during 1932. The percentages which wages constituted of the total consumption in the four consumption classes are 49, 79, 70, and 81%, respectively.(2).

The relation of the men's earnings to those of the women may be significant. Rowntree, in his extensive study made among the working classes of York, observed a negative correlation between the cost of living of the families he studied and their

(1) Median earnings and median consumption.
(2) Arithmetic averages.

Chart VII

Earnings and Consumption of 50 Finnish Families in Montreal — 1932.



dependence on the wife's earnings. Among the Montreal Finns, the contributions of the wives towards the cost of living of those in the four classes was 39%, 58%, 39% and 38%, respectively. At the same time, the wives' earnings composed respectively 69%,74%, 56% and 43% of the total family earnings for the four consumption groups, while the husbands' earnings rose more rapidly than their families' cost of living.

While the differentiation in wage rates paid the two sexes remains as it is, the Finnish families stand to have a higher level of living as they become more dependent on the earnings of their men. As their planes of living rise to a moderately satisfactory point, the wives stop working. This is to suggest that, since an increased income has the tendency to urge immigrants towards assimilation, the adoption of Canadian goods may coincide with a change towards a typical Canadian family organization.

Other Means of Provision:Public Relief.

Exactly half our sample of Finnish families had relief during 1932. In this they stand almost exactly the same as the Italians

During the period of our study, the Finns all obtained their public relief from the Protestant board. The practice was to have relief investigators interview all persons requesting relief at the time of their first application and periodically afterwards. Perishables, that is, milk and bread, were delivered daily, while cheques were issued weekly at the office of the Protestant Employment Bureau at St.George Street. Foreign groups who could not speak English were brought with their pastor to the Bureau on a given day each week, and usually the minister would act as interpreter. The foreign-born Protestants were then kept in contact with their churches while receiving relief, while those who could speak for themselves had not this obligation.

A few Finnish families received public assistance during short periods while the wives in these families were working. It appears to have been the assumption that if the male head of a household was not working, the family was without income. Any understanding of Finnish family organization would show that this is not necessarily the case. During periods as these, and especially if the wife was getting some of her meals at her place of work, the quantity of the relief provision allowed a very adequate supply of food for persons of their culture.

A few of the families on relief appeared very anxious to regain their independence, and one or two were active in initiating means of doing this, by leasing property to sub-let rooms at a profit. Individual economic freedom appears to have been part of the background culture of these people, and community asistance was received by some with shame. On the other hand, is a strong tendency towards communism among certain elements of the Finnish population, both here and in Finland. This philosophy holds it a state obligation to care for those who cannot secure their own incomes.

The first item of community provision has been food. All the families except one whose consumption was less than four hundred dollars had this assistance. Fifteen families whose consumption was above this amount also needed public assistance. Nine had relief all year; the rest were given help for different periods varying in length from three weeks to fifty weeks.

In addition to food, eight families, including four from our lowest consumption class were given clothing through municipal relief. The value of the clothing was estimated as being worth less than ten dollars for each family. Four of these families also had their rents paid for amounts of $10, $15, $40 and $60, respectively.

The total value of the municipally provided relief which these families received is given here.

TABLE LVI

Public Relief Supplied to 50 Finnish Families in Montreal, 1932.

Amount	Consumption Class $300 & under $400.	$400 & under $500.	$500 & under $600.	$600 & under $700.	Total	Percentage	Cumulative Percentag
Under $25.	-	3	1	1	5	10	10
$ 25 & Under $50	2	-	2	-	4	8	18
50 " " 75	-	1	-	-	1	2	20
75 " " 100	1	-	-	-	1	2	22
100 " " 125	1	-	-	-	1	2	24
125 " " 150	1	-	2	-	3	6	30
150 " " 175	1	1	1	-	3	6	36
175 " " 200	2	-	2	-	4	8	44
200 " " 225	-	-	-	-	-	-	44
225 " " 250	1	1	-	-	2	4	48
250 " " 275	-	-	-	-	-	-	48
275 " " 300	-	-	-	1	1	2	50
Total	9	6	8	2	25	50	-
Number in Class	10	21	14	5	50	100	

One quarter the total number of families on relief were given $32 or less; half the families did not receive more than $125. The concentration of families in our third class ($500 - 600) appears to be a matter of accident, and perhaps of inadequate sampling.

The Finnish Lutheran minister and his wife have taken the responsibility during these recent years of need for collecting and redistributing worn clothing. Used garments, for which their purchasers had no further need, were sometimes passed on to friends. Women in domestic service were supplied some used clothes from their places of work. Seven families added clothing to their wardrobes from these sources. Three of these also had clothes given them as municipal relief.

Free Health Services.

One other set of free services which the Italians availed

themselves of is the clinics that are operated as a part of our Montreal hospitals. The outdoor wards have an important place in the provision of medical and health services for the poorer elements of our population. While to the native-born this service bears some semblance to charity, the foreigners with their different social standards make fuller use of the services offered.

Persons in eleven different Finnish families had free hospital service during 1932. As we observed for the Italians, only a rough estimate of the value of these services is possible, first because it has not always been possible to get an accurate statement of the nature of the services received, and secondly, because charges made by those in the medical profession fluctuate above a fixed minimum according to the patient's ability to pay. The services received by six of the eleven persons might be placed at amounts up to $20, by the next three, between $20 and $40, and by the others at figures approximating $45 and $65, respectively.

One woman who was in domestic service in a doctor's home was given free hospital service, while the doctor performed an operation for her without charge. The woman's husband was also attended without compensation to the doctor. This family estimates the value of the doctor's services and hospital care at $100.

These twelve, and two others had health services for which they did not pay. Of these, only five made no cash payments whatever for doctor's services or medicine during the year; the others made some payment for the services received, or paid for certain services and received others charitably. Four persons had bills outstanding at the end of the year. One man owed a hospital $41 after having paid $25, following an appendicitis operation. One family owed a doctor $20, the other two had doctor's bills outstanding

for smaller amounts.

Bills Outstanding.

The Finns do not report large grocery bills outstanding as do the Italians. The Finns are a new group to the city, and within the Montreal area they probably have a high mobility. Where no long-established relationship has grown up between a grocer and his customers, in this field of purchasing, ready cash is the only accepted exchange medium. The chain stores, which are not respecters of persons, are in the Finnish area, offering bargains for cash. This cash buying from Canadian stores is one sign that the Finnish colony is not a closely knit and near-sufficient community within the larger community.

Supplementary Cash Income.

It is not the custom for Finnish families to take in boarders, as other immigrant groups frequently do to accommodate themselves to depressed employment conditions. The reason for this will be easily evident after our discussion of Finnish housing practices. Briefly, single men and families both make their homes in "rooms", do their own cleaning, and prepare their meals separately or in small groups. A few families rent large houses, heat the places, provide gas and light, and perhaps telephone, and sub-let rooms. Many Finnish houses display the sign "Huoneita", which translates"rooms". Some families follow this practice to provide a regular cash return, which may cover the cost of their own housing accommodation in part of the same building, and may allow a cash surplus. In either case this may be viewed as in effect a supplementary earning. One or two families placed a large part of their savings in rent in this way to stave off the need for public relief. This procedure then, has been one way which the Finns have accommodated themselves to the depression. This has been possible because of the large increase

in the Finnish urban population during the recent years of decreased activity in lumbering, out-of-town construction and the like.

Of our sample of fifty families, fourteen rented houses to sub-let rooms. Twelve of these families were able to do this profitably. After correction has been made for the value in rent consumed by these families themselves, three earned in cash amounts up to $50, five made from $50 to $100; three others earned less than $150, while one family, carrying on this practice on a larger scale, profited to the extent of $321. As in most business activities, there are risks involved. One family would have lost $276, had it not left a rent account for $320 unpaid. Another offset the most of an $86 loss by leaving $72 to be paid. One other family, who on the transaction as such earned $138 and its own rent, added $15 to its profit through having this part of a month's rent still owing. These families still have the risk that their tenants will not pay. Five families, other than those just mentioned, left billss for $18, 24, 40, 70 and 72. This leaving bills unpaid is a means of securing goods or services when cash is not available. It must be considered part of the means of living of any person or group making use of the practice.

Practically all the means by which the Finns received goods or services during the year without affecting detrimentally their financial status have been reviewed. One family received $100 from a daughter working in the United States. Another man begged $15 on the streets to supplement his relief allowance. Apart from current receipts, many showed a cash deficit for the year, either by drawing on their past savings, or by borrowing.

Savings, Deficits, Loans

It seems unfair to appraise any change in the financial

status of a group as the Finns during a period as brief as one year. The earnings of the men fluctuate widely during different years, and the measure of their adjustment to Canadian conditions must be observed over the whole period of a completed business cycle.

The data which follow must be taken to show only the accommodation made to a year of depression by a group with a specific type of occupational experience.

We noted above that fifteen families earned more than the amount of their recorded consumption during the year. In seven of these, the difference was for amounts of $25 or less. Some families used this amount in ways we have not accounted for; others made purchases such as linen or dishes which we have not included(perhaps erroneously) in their cost of living during any one year. These families, along with eleven others, consider that their financial status did not change during 1932. Their savings or deficits, if existing, were for insignificant amounts.

Eight families reported either cash savings or the use of money in ways not considered as part of their current cost of living. Two of these families purchased furniture, each for approximately $200. This must be taken as a cash investment to yield its return in rent. One of these families drew $75 from past savings, to make this purchase, so in reality their invested surplus' were $125 and $200.

Four families remitted money to Europe, some to pay accounts still owing on their fares, some to their own children, or relatives. The amounts sent by those in our sample were $40,75,200 and 240. Two of these families withdrew $50 and $70 to make up these amounts, while one family recorded an additional saving of $250. Two other families had cash savings of $50 and $60.

Including the three families who withdrew money for furniture and remittances, twenty or two-fifths reported having used up part or all of their past savings during the year. This figure stands in sharp contrast with that of the Italians. These latter showed that 77% showed a cash deficit of this nature. Thirteen of these twenty families also had relief during the year, so we assume that they, or the most of them were without resources at the end of the year. Six other families appear to have entered and ended the year completely without resources. The amounts of cash deficits resulting from drawings on past savings range from $15 to $330. The distribution of these amounts is given in Table LVII.

TABLE LVII Previous Savings Spent by 50 Finnish Families, Montreal, 1932

Amount	Consumption Class $300 & under $400.	$400 & under $500.	$500 & under $600.	$600 & under $700.	Total	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Under $25	1	-	-	-	1	2	2
$25 & Under $50	-	-	-	1	1	2	4
50 " " 100	1	4	3	-	8	16	20
100 " " 200	-	4	3	-	7	14	34
200 & " 300	1	-	1	-	2	4	38
300 " Over	-	1	-	-	1	2	40
Total	3	9	7	1	20	40	-
Number in Class	10	21	14	5	50	100%	
Median	$50	$110	$112	$40	$100		

Seven families, without money to draw on, borrowed from friends or relatives during the year. One family got $15, another $30, one $60, one $80, two had $100 each, while one obtained $250. Most of these families depended on the brothers or sisters of either the man or wife for this assistance. There appears to be but little lending between friends in the way there is among the Italians.

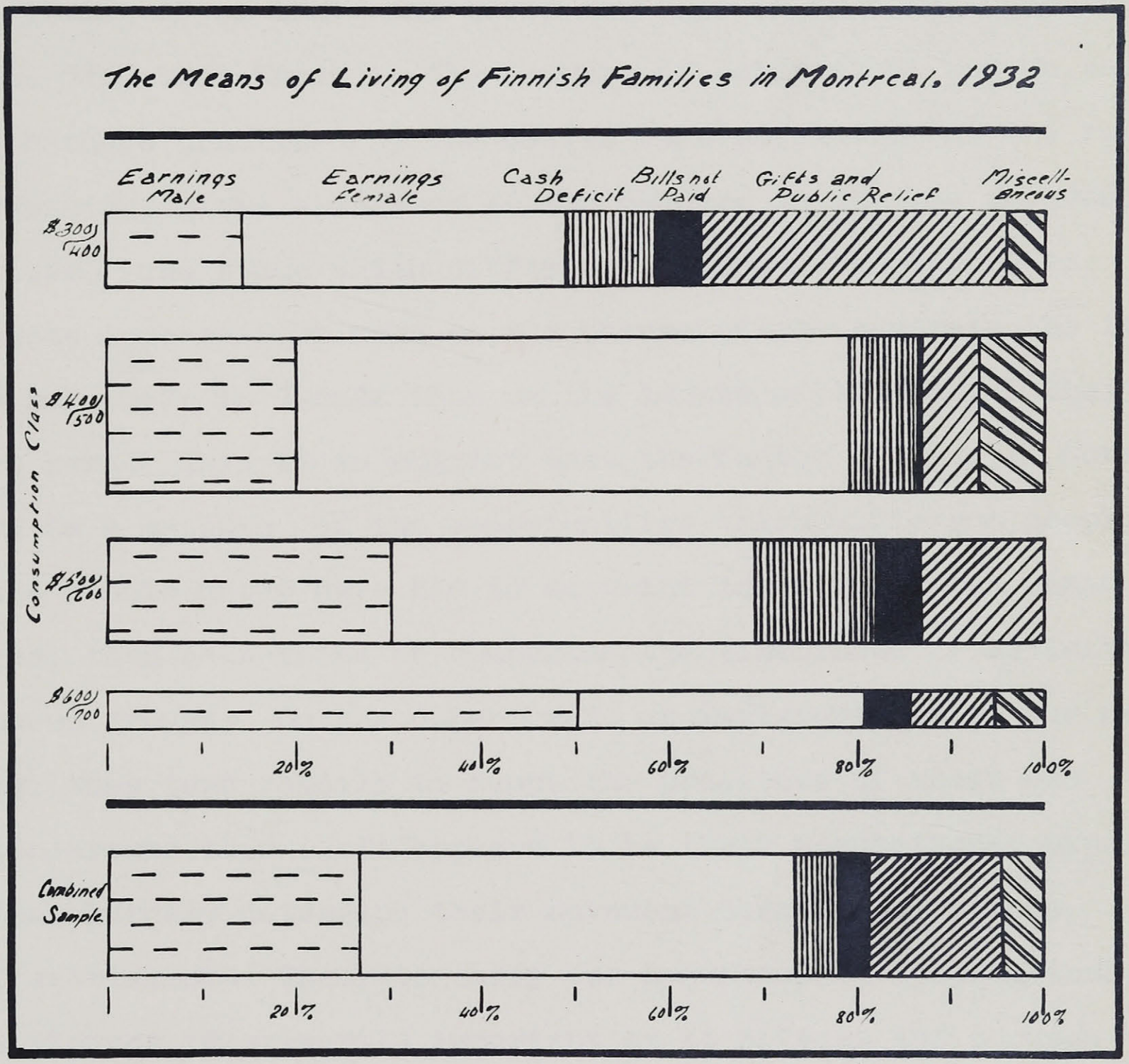
In summary, then, eight families showed a cash saving, remittance or investment; eighteen kept their status unchanged, either through choice or because they were without an alternative;

seventeen families drew on past savings to meet their current expenditure, while seven borrowed money. Strangely enough, and perhaps by accident due to sampling, there was no overlapping in these last two categories.

Summary.

The means of living of the Finns is shown in Chart form on the following page. The classifications include the same items as the similar chart for the Italians. The "miscellaneous" column covers money received from rent or saved on rent, plus one or two incidentals, as begging, and the money received from the girl who is in the United States. The most striking contrast between the Italians and the Finns is the greater ability of the latter group, primarily on account of its family organization and small number of children, to meet its current wants out of wages. The different items classed as "miscellaneous" reflect certain aspects of the culture of the two groups. Viewing the Finnish analysis by itself, among the most interesting observations is the place of the men's earnings in the successively rising consumption classes.

The Means of Living of Finnish Families in Montreal. 1932



CHAPTER FOUR

FINNISH MODES OF LIVING

Assimilation is, briefly, a process of changing from European usages and preferences to those prevalent in Canada. The modes of living of an immigrant group moving through this process, compared on the one hand with those in the country of emigration, and on the other with those practised by the native born population of the receiving country, gives a measure of the changes in the use of goods and services. The stage which different persons have reached in this process appears much more on the nature of the contacts the immigrants have made in Canada than on the length of time which they have been here. This is to suggest that the factor of time is more important as a measure of the opportunities which different people in any one ethnic group have had to acquaint themselves with Canadian usages, than as a means of comparing the likelihood of assimilation between groups. On the other hand, as immigrants enter the new community, they tend readily to adopt the practices of their own countrymen around them. It appears to be their occupational experiences that largely determine their movement through to various areas of settlement. Then, to carry our hypothesis a step farther, the time element is primarily important as it affects the occupational adjustment of an immigrant group, and so is only secondary as affecting consumption practices. We observed among the Italians that where there were differences in the modes of living, these could usually be given an area, and so an occupational, but not a time, referance.

The Finns have made unusually rapid contacts with certain

Canadian practices. The women in their places of employment see them about/ a part of the realized ambitions of certain occupational classes. Their acquaintance with English-Canadian menus, houses and house-furnishings, are quickly made. The men at their work use Canadian foods. The food choices of the Finnish families in their own habitats are made of a combination of Finnish and English menus. This change, let it be noted, is being made after only six or seven years in this country, while the Italians, who constitute a pre-war immigrant group, still cling to their old menus.

Food Choices and Costs.

About half the families give some place in their menus to Canadian foods; other than those dishes which are substituted necessarily on account of the Montreal market. The most of these still give a greater preference to those foods which constitute part of their Finnish culture. Some of these are described here in greater detail than was necessart to present them in the earlier chapter.

The Finnish bread, usually dry, is baked in thin round cakes, not unlike Swedish "hardtack," except that the latter is much thinner. Some from certain regions of Finland prefer a flat round loaf to the dry cakes. In Finland, the flour used was usually made of mixed rye and wheat, while wheat flour was considered something of a luxury. Our Canadian wheat flours are used here. In Montreal, some Finns buy the dark brown Italian loaf.

Coffee bread is taken as light refreshment at different times during the day. This is made from white wheat flour. It is made up something like our sweet rolls, or sweet raisin loaf, or the less highly flavoured French pastries. This bread is made in an infinity of styles. The braided loaf is a favourite in the home, while buns are more often served in restaurants. Cake is used only rarely,

and then as a delicacy.

The very extensive use of coffee in Finland has been carried over to this country. There is probably less drinking between meals in Montreal than in the European country, but those Finns who have settled on the land in Canada continue much as before.

Milk is very important in the Finnish diet even in this country. Many families without children purchased a quart per day regularly; and those on relief who were not given milk added it to their supplies whenever possible. Two very popular dishes made with a milk base are described here briefly. "Vellia" is made of milk, or, less tastily, of water, and a coarsely meal cereal, - either barley, oats, rye, or wheat. Canadian Cream of Wheat is often used. In consistency it may be compared to thick, creamed soup or a thin gruel. It is usually slightly sweetened and flavoured. Chopped meat or tomato juice is sometimes added. A common dessert is known to the Finnish as "puuroa". It is made from milk or water or fruit juices and a cereal flour or tapioca. This is mixed until it is moderately stiff, then cooked like a pudding. It is often eaten with a fruit sauce thickened with a small quantity of starch.

Those who are giving some place on their menus to Canadian foods are adopting our main entree dishes. Potatoes are used here as in Finland, and our other vegetables are gaining in popularity. Small amounts of meat enter into their diets, though this may be in consequence of the relatively small sums that can be spent on food. Salted herrings, a common food item in Finland, are very much liked. In Montreal, supplies of these fish are often bought in small wooden pails, and intended to last for considerable time.

Women in housework, whenever there is only one maid at a place, eat the same food as those they serve, and come to acquire a taste for some of the more expensive Canadian dishes. With the gap

between the cost of these foods and that of their own, intended for a much smaller budget, the Finns are not hastened to try to adopt the cheaper dishes of the native group. In a few homes, where there are enough domestics to have their meals prepared separately, this is not the case. Their meals are more in keeping with their supposed station in life.

In estimating the cost of the food consumed by the Finns, we have assumed the food at their places of work to be the same as that eaten in their homes. This gives a picture of the food consumption while the family is together, and is placed on a yearly basis for comparisons and budgetary analysis. This is actually inaccurate, insomuch as the meals had away from home have probably a higher cash cost.

The value of the food consumption of our 50 Finnish families is given in the following table. The median for the whole group is $214; the arithmetic average is $215.40. Almost half the families

TABLE LVIII

Food Consumed by 50 Families in Montreal, 1932.

Consumption Class Amount	300 and under 400	400 and under 500	500 and under 600	600 and under 700	Total	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
$125 and under 150	1				1	2	2
150 " " 175	4	3		1	8	16	18
175 " " 200	3	5	1		9	18	36
200 " " 225	2	9	3	3	17	34	70
225 " " 250		1	4		5	10	80
250 " "275		2	2		4	8	88
275 " " 300		1	3		4	8	96
300 " over			1	1	2	4	100
Total	10	21	14	5	50	100	

consumed amounts falling within $25. of this average. The fact of differences in the size of families is corrected by using the Italian scale of equivalent male adults. Insofar as the scale is not necessarily applicable for the Finns, the following table may be considered

speculative. The small number of Finnish children has made an independent scale rising out of their consumption practices too probably erroneous.

TABLE LIX

Food Consumed by 50 Finnish Families, Expressed as Cost per Equivalent Male Adult

Amount	Consumption Class 300 and under 400	400 and under 500	500 and under 600	600 and under 700	Total	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
$65 and under $70	2	1			3	6	6
70 " 75	3	1			4	8	14
75 " 80	1				1	2	16
80 " 85	-	1	1	1	3	6	22
85 " 90	3	3	3		9	18	40
90 " 95							40
95 " 100		4			4	8	48
100 " 105		3			3	6	54
105 " 110	1	2	2	1	6	12	66
110 " 115							66
115 " 120		2	3	2	7	14	80
120 " 125		2	1		3	6	86
125 and over		2	4	1	7	14	100
	10	21	14	5	50	100	

The median for the group was $102. per adult male. The lowest amount was $66. the highest, $160 This table shows more accurately than the one preceding it that those in the higher consumption classes consume more value in food than those with lower total receipts. The pressure of additional family members is even more accentuated here than among the Italians. Families without children consumed $111 per adult male; families with from two to three equivalent adults averaged $93; those with three to four averaged $82; while the one family with more than four consumed only $65 each.

Twenty-five families were given public relief during the year. The periods of time and the amounts received are given in the appending tables. Most of the families supplemented their relief cheques by one means or another. Of 9 families who were on relief all year, only one did add to the amounts provided. This is not to

TABLE LX

Value of Food Received as Relief by Families in Sample of 50 Finnish Families, Montreal, 1932.

Amount	Number	Percentage
Under $25.	5	10
$25 & Under $50	4	8
50 " " 75	1	2
75 " " 100	1	2
100 " " 125	3	6
125 " " 150	3	6
150 " " 175	4	8
175 " " 200	2	4
200 " " 225	-	-
225 " " 250	1	2
250 " Over	1	2
Total	25	50

TABLE LXI

Number of Weeks which Finnish Families Received Relief, Montreal, 1932.

Weeks	Number	Percentage
Under 5	3	6
5 & Under 10	1	2
10 " " 15	3	6
15 " " 20	1	2
20 " " 25	1	2
25 " " 30	-	-
30 " " 35	2	4
35 " " 40	-	-
40 " " 45	3	6
45 " " 50	-	-
50 " Over	10	20
Total	25	50

TABLE LXII

Percentage of Food Received from Relief, Finnish Families in Montreal, 1932.

Percentage	Number	Percent
Under 10	6	12
10 & Under 20	2	4
20 " " 30	1	2
30 " " 40	2	4
40 " " 50	2	4
50 " " 60	1	2
60 " " 70	3	6
70 " " 80	3	6
80 " " 90	2	4
90 " Over	3	6
Total	25	50

TABLE LXIII

Food as Percentage of Total Consumption of 50 Finnish Families in Montreal in 1932.

	Consumption Class						
Percentage	$300 & under $400.	$400 & under $500.	$500& under $600.	$600 & under $700.	Total	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
20 and under 30	-	-	-	1	1	2	2
30 " " 40	-	3	2	3	8	16	18
40 " " 50	5	15	8	-	26	52	70
50 " " 60	4	4	4	-	12	24	94
60 " Over	1	1	-	1	3	6	100
Total	10	21	14	5	50	100	
Average Percent	49	46	48	37	45		

be attributed wholly to the inadequacy of the relief given, but also to the fact that not full knowledge of the food preferences was known by the authorities administering relief. The policy of equal treatment for all persons, except those in special circumstances, as ill persons, has proven costly among the Finns. These people received more bread than they normally bought for themselves, and bread of a different kind. At the same time, all those families who were without children received no milk, except as they purchased from their cheques which were intended for groceries. Most of the families got milk from one source or another. One man begged small amounts of money for its purchase.

The relief practices have acquainted the Finns with Canadian bread, and have forced some to abandon some of their preferred Finnish dishes. This must have resulted in a certain amount of conflict, and may account in part for unenthusiastic attitude towards relief.

Food makes a severe demand on the total receipts of these families. Over one-half consumed between 40 and 50% in this way; while 30% of the families consumed as much in food as all other goods and services combined. One family consumed slightly less than 30%. The average for the whole group was 45%. Little significant difference was shown between the first three classes, and only the highest class, comprising 10% of the families, averaged less than the average for the whole group.

Housing and Household Operation .

The Finns in Montreal are concentrated largely in an area which quite normally has changed from a region of the homes of the salaried class to one of industries, tenements, and subdivided houses. This process is one that has gone on with the outward expansion of the city and the slow development of its center In the area bet-

ween the tracks, where the negroes and the Finns are competing for dominance families are naturally forced, on account of the high land values, either to pay a rental which the area as a residential section does not justify or live in very small quarters which carry a rental that is small, absolutely, yet very large if the rate per room is compared with that paid in other working class areas of the city. As the Finns, or immigrant groups, move out from the down-town area of Montreal, they will probably increase the size of their homes considerably, first because cheap one-roomed apartments are available only in one or two parts of the city, and secondly because this moving is usually a part of the process of taking on a higher level of living.

The retarding influence of the depression on this process of spatial adjustment is clearly evident. One or two families who were found who had moved out from the down-town Finnish area towards Verdun and Cote St. Paul, and had found themselves without means to meet the differences in rents, subsequently returned. This returning must surely have involved some conflict and disorganization. The slum for these families was a different type of accommodation than for the newly arrived immigrants. While the values found there were familiar, the attitudes towards them had changed. Perhaps most important in these people's situation is the probablity that moving from the central area outward was a realization of Canadian-built ambition, and the return, even more than if the families had been held there, would lead to a sense of failure and shame, and a fear of the loss of status in the eyes of the larger body of Finns.

The few families who were living in Montreal before the falling off of employment and who had hoped to move out to one of these other districts, have been held in their places. Their hopes have been dormant for several years; some at the time of our inter-

views had every ambition shattered. In the outer areas the Finns would have contact with a wide range of Canadian values and in time develop attitudes of acceptance towards these. Let it be noted, and emphasized, that even while these people may want to move to Verdun or Cote St. Paul, this they would feel is merely a more satisfactory accommodation in an urban mode of living. The Finns' ambitions are rural ambitions. To add a point that has not yet been made clear, the Finns, or at least those married, are anxious to own their own farm lots, and carry on mixed farming within accessible distance from the city.

It has been stated already that the Finns live in "rooms" Our sample shows this to be true for from 80 to 90% of all the Finns in Montreal if we include those first rent the Finnish houses. The most typical house has practically all the rooms entering into a central hall. Each kitchen is usually equipped with a gas-stove with four to six burners, a sink, with plenty of cupboard space above it, a kitchen table, frequently covered with oilcloth, and one or two kitchen chairs. The cupboard space is usually divided between the residents, while the kitchen itself is a sort of common-room. In places of three storeys, there may be two such kitchens, or there may be a gas-plate set in one or more of the upstairs halls Fewer than one-quarter of the Finnish homes have separate gas-plates.

Forty-two families, or if our sample is representative, 84% of all the Finnish families in Montreal made their homes in one room, each with the joint use of a kitchen and bath. Six families had two rooms in 1932 while two had three rooms each. Not more than 10% of the group had their homes completely private, with their own bathrooms and kitchens.

The rooms vary greatly in size--from about eight feet square to three or four times that floor space. Their furnishings

give little cause for surprise. Every room has, first, a double bed,, usually white enamel finish. The majority of rooms have bed-spreads to add to their attractiveness. There are usually one or two kitchen chairs, and perhaps an upholstered one. Several places have settees. In a few scattered homes the men have applied their art and made their own chairs,, though these are not as carefully finished as the factory product. The tables are usually small; the majority are smaller than three feet square. Attractively woven cloths, probably brought from Finland are kept over these, except at meal-times. Clothes-rooms are sometimes built-in, either as adjoining closets or as cupboards projecting into the rooms. More often the clothes are hidden and protected merely by having curtains draped in front of them.

Between the various homes there is, of course, a great deal of variation. Some rooms, located in basements are dark, and open onto dirty back alleys. None, or nearly so, are inside rooms. A few have separate gas-plates. Some have separate couches, especially where they are needed for sleeping. Rooms fitted out as described above, are extremely typical, however.

Two families living in apartments have been included in our sample of fifty. One of these had a chesterfield suite, ~~another~~ Canadian and other typically furnishings in a separate living- and dining-room. These homes give some indication of the form of accommodation these Finnish families will provide for themselves, as they fit themselves into regular, urban employment. It appears that their living conditions are going to follow quite naturally from their means of living. This holds true, even for those living in single rooms.

The listing of certain other furnishings may add to our

conception of the Finnish modes of living. About one-quarter have telephones accessible to them in the buildings where they are. Fourteen have sewing machines and women's and children's clothing is made. Twelve have gramophones, usually of the small portable type. Only one radio was found, and that one small, and perhaps home-made. There was only one washing-machine among the fifty families. In contrast, it will be recalled that the Italians had as many radios as gramophones; that three-quarters of the families had sewing-machines, while almost none had telephones. In these last two contrasts there is a reflection of the different family and communal organization of the two groups; of the differences in the industries of the home, and in the stable, rather casual community contacts of the Italian groups

Many sympathetic observers would declare that the Finns show a high measure of overcrowding. It is not our purpose to prove or to protest this contention. If such were the task of this study, the data presented would have to be refracted from a different point of view. Another difficulty would arise from the fact that, while the wives, as domestics, may sleep out, the size of the household group fluctuates throughout the week and throughout the year. If such a contrast is valuable by itself, the Finns may be said to average one room to two persons throughout the year, while the Italians average approximately one room per person.

Counting again each couch used for sleeping as one single bed, and each double bed as two single beds, the correlation between beds and persons is given in Table LXIV. This table presupposed all persons of the families to be sleeping at home. In other words, it represents the maximum of crowding. Seventeen families have less than one single bed per person; while only three families have more than one. The worst case of crowding was a family with three chil-

dren and but one double bed. The mother of this family slept on the floor beside the bed, while the father made his bed on the floor of the kitchen.

TABLE LXIV

Number of Single Beds and Number of Persons, of 50 Finnish Families in Montreal, in 1932

Beds	Persons 2	3	4	5	Total
2	23	8	4	1	36
3	2	7	2	1	12
4	25	1/16	6	1/3	2/50

The value of rent and other items of household operation consumed by the Finns cannot be separated. It is a part of their culture that these cannot The costs of heating and lighting the separate rooms are first borne by the landlords, whose rent charges are intended to cover these costs. As in our analysis of the Italians the families who were not paying a regular rental for houses or parts of houses they themselves occupied have here been assigned a figure supposed to represent the rent value they consumed.

TABLE LXV

Housing and Household Operation of 50 Finnish Families in Montreal, 1932

Amount	Consumption Class 300 and under 400	400 and under 500	500 and under 600	600 and under 700	Total	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
75 and under 100	2	1			3	6	6
100 " " 125	3	9	1		13	26	32
125 " " 150	3	5	2		10	20	52
150 " " 175	1	3	7	2	13	26	78
175 " " 200	1	2	4		7	14	92
200 " " 225		1		2	3	6	98
225 " " 250				1	1	2	100
Total	10	21	14	5	50	100	

The median for the group is $144. It is clear that the

rent values consumed vary directly with the total consumption. This is to say that for the Finns, improved housing conditions are not achieved by cutting down on other expenses. Rent appears to occupy a fairly fixed place in the Finns' budgets. Thirty-one percent of the consumption of the whole group was in housing, while for the four consumption clases the percentages are consecutively 36, 30 and 31. We might find rent to occupy a relatively smaller part of the budgets of the higher consumption classes. It may be that their ambitions relating to a higher level of living are built more around the housing item than any other.

The accommodation in housing made by the Finns in Montreal may be attributed partly to the urban practices in Finland. The particular custom which is so prevalent in this Canadian city is likely to be the outgrowth of the needs of single men who wished a place to live for a few days at a time. These men were without extensive means, and cared little for status where they were not known The area first attracted the Finnish men as a boarding-house region, and evolved only slightly during the last decade Many of the women lived in a Finnish Immigrants Home, operated under the supervision of their Lutheran pastor. The present practice in housing seems to result from the women's adopting the mens way of living. The evolution will probably be in the direction of a spatial separation of the married and the single and the adoption of the apartment or low-rent house by the former.

Food and housing are the items of consumption which are used regularly and when purchased are intended to cover only a fixed period of time. Clothing lasts for an indefinite period, persons can go to the theatre whenever they have the means. These major items must figure in every monthly budget, and usually to about the same amount every month. The depression has been more severe on the

elastic items of consumption, and while food and housing costs have been scaled downward, they together have absorbed a continually larger part of the families' total budgets.

The table which follows, and the chart on the following page show the proportion of the budget used as food and clothing. The chart shows most clearly the trend between the different classes. The range is from 50.3% to 96.3% while the averages are given in the table.

TABLE LXVI

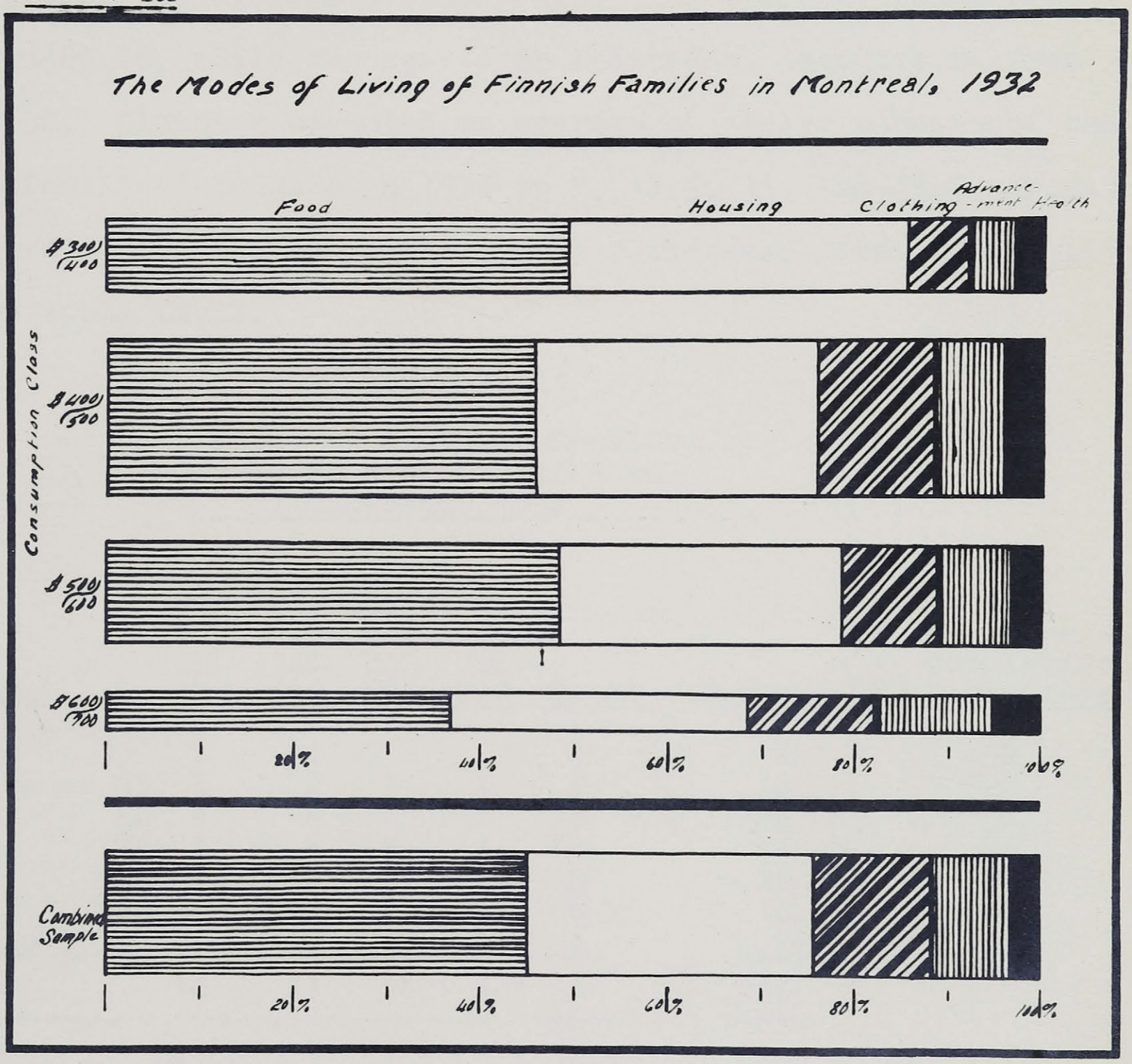
Food and Housing Combined
Expressed as Percentage of
Total Consumption of 50
Finnish Families in Montreal
1932

Percent	Consumption Class 300 and under 400	400 and under 500	500 and under 600	600 and under 700	Total	Percentage	Cum. % (not more than)	Cum % (or over)
50 and under 60			1	1	2	4	4	100
60 " 70	1	3	3		7	14	18	96
70 " 80		9	5	3	17	34	52	82
80 " 90	6	8	5	1	20	40	92	48
90 and over	3	1			4	8	100	8
Total	10	21	14	5	50	100		
Average	85	76	78	69	76			

Clothing.

Any expenditure for clothing, except that required for physical warmth, is an expenditure for social participation, or closely related, for status. This will account for the difference in the place clothing is given in the budgets of the Finns and the Italians. Social participation, as used above, must include sharing in occupational activities. The participation of different members of the Italian families resulted in a competition for clothing between the various members of the family, to be purchased from their parent-governed fund. In this scaling of choices, the parents

CHART IX


The Modes of Living of Finnish Families in Montreal, 1932
Food
Housing
Clothing
Advance-ment
Health
$ 300 / 400
$ 400 / 500
$ 500 / 600
$ 600 / 700
Consumption Class
Combined Sample
10%
20%
30%
40%
50%
60%
70%
80%
90%

often sacrificed themselves for their children. With a different family composition and a different set of social contacts--both factors in the Finnish family organization--the total expenditure and the distribution of that expenditure, was different.

Clothing shows both an absolute and a relative increase in the family budgets of the Finns as their level of living rises. The average for the ten families in our lowest class is less than half that for the average of the group. The averages range from $24.90 to$85.40, while the spread in individual accounts is from $8 to $150. Clothing occupied an average of twelve percent of the Finnish families' budgets in 1932 or 7, 12.5, 11, and 13.5 percent respectively for the four hundred-dollar classes. The distribution is given table LXVII.

TABLE LXVII

Value of Clothing Received by 50 Finnish Families in Montreal, 1932

Amount	Consumption Class 300 and under 400	400 and under 500	500 and under 600	600 and under 700	Total	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Under 10		1			1	2	2
10 and under 25	5	2	1	1	9	18	20
25 " " 50	4	8	4		16	32	52
50 " " 75	1	5	5	1	12	24	76
75 " " 100		3	2		5	10	86
100 " " 125		2	2	2	6	12	98
125 and over				1	1	2	100
Total	10	21	14	5	50	100	
Average	$24.9	57.1	59.5	85 4	54.4		

The amounts received by the parents show a fairly wide spread. The average for the whole group of males is just under $30 or approximately $10 above the median. There is no significant difference between the distribution of men's and women's clothing. No child, except the youth of 22 who himself worked a few weeks,

TABLE LXVIII

Values of Clothing Received for Persons of Different Ages in 50 Finnish Families in Montreal 1932

Amount	Parents M	Parents F	Age 22	Age 12-14	Age 9-11	Age 6-8	Age 3-5	Age 2-0
Under $10	10	10		1	3	4	7	9
10 and under 20	13	16			2	2	3	4
20 " 30	12	6	1	1				
30 " 40	6	9						
40 " 50	3	1						
50 " 60	4	5						
60 " 70	1	2						
70 " 80		1						
80 and over	1							
Median	$20	$19						

had clothing valued above $20. One boy of 12 received that amount. Our figures give no indication that the children were better or worse dressed as they grew older.

The Finnish women are usually well dressed. They have nearly all enjoyed an independent income in Canada at some time or other, with no one but themselves to provide for, so have become accustomed to having attractive clothing. Even after they marry, they have some freedom in spending. In their homes they dress plainly, while at their social functions observers declare they are delightfully but not extravagently gowned. Their clothes reveal nothing of their foreign culture. Here, tradition has given way to fashion.

The men dress around home in much the same clothing that a cross-section of the English speaking working-class would. They are nearly all equipped with heavy workshirts and other garments that might be suited for logging. They, too, have been accustomed to independent spending with only their own wants to care for.

Social Participation.

Social participation, in a restricted sense, implies association with persons or groups who are engaged in some specific activity. That activity may be merely a speculating between balconies about the likelihood of good weather. It may be the recreational pursuit of an athletic club or bridge club. It may be watching a moving picture, or bidding on the stock exchange. Social participation may be completely voluntary with an individual; such is the Italian's attendance at the concert presented by the Figli d'Italia. On the other hand the influence of social censorship may direct and control the Italian's church attendance. In the province of Quebec school attendance falls in the same category, while elsewhere it is enforced by law. The Finns have erected a social structure about their community that is different from that of the Italians in certain respects, partly because of the different nature of social control, also because of their peculiar needs and traditions.

In the Finnish community, there are not the same "rural" relationships that are found in the Italian areas. The population shows nothing of an agricultural stability. Further, they live amid a whole congeries of peoples and institutions. Contacts, then, are more casual. Perhaps they can be described as midway between those of the stable urban Italian immigrants and those of the more typical native-born slum dwellers. It seems probable that this condition is due more to the migratory habits of the Finns than any other of their characteristics. In their work, the men are continually being brought into close contact with new groups; they learn to fit themselves in with strangers. In their Montreal homes, the men and women in any one building associate very freely with

one another. They would give the data for our questionnaire in each other's presence, and without hesitation on that account. While the wives are away working, the men if they are home often prepare their meals together. If a group of Finns were to live mear together in a fringe area, and have regular work in the city, they then would develop a community life of free visiting and primary group control. Before this occurs, it is probably that the Finns will be too familiar with the English language and customs to desire cultural isolation.

Thursday afternoon is the redognized half-holiday for a large percentage of the domestics in Montreal. During that period it is difficult to arrange for an interview with the Finns. The women are home, some "visiting" with their husbands, others entertaining other women friends. This visiting between women usually brings forth their best delicacies in refreshment. There is in this practice the evidence of longer-established and more stable friendships than seem to exist among the men; and can be traced again to the difference in the mobility of the two sexes.

The migratory nature of the Finns has conditioned the form and the extent of their participation in certain institutions. Spending much of their time away from any organized community, and still more away from any large congregation of their own nationality, the Finnish men have become independent of certain types of organizations and have made others primarily centers of recreation.

In Finland, the population is almost solidly Lutheran. In the middle of the last decade the Finnish church was re-established in Montreal, as a Seaman's Mission. This church had the support of the Home Mission Board of the Lutheran Church of America, which centers in New York. It had many of the characteristics of a slum mission--greatly fluctuating congregations, a rapid turn-over in

membership, an evangelical appeal.

The history of this institution covers its evolution from a mission to a city church. During recent years, a made-over house on Dorchester Street has been used as a church building and now (1934) the old building of the American Presbyterian Church, just two blocks to the east, is loaned them by the United Church. During the past four or five years, the congregation has gained in stability and following the arrival of Rev. J. Arttimas two years ago, has grown extensively.

The church has now a congregation of four hundred persons. Since this is the only organized Finnish church in Montreal, this figure may be taken as fairly indicative of the extent of church adherence among the Finns. From our sample of fifty families, eighteen attended at times during 1932. The more popular minister now in Montreal has doubtless increased this number. While there are many more Finnish men in the city than women, the majority of church supporters are women. This may be an almost universal tendency among Protestants, still in the exaggerated form in which it appears here, can only be explained by the differences in temperament resulting from widely variant adjustments made by the two sexes in Canada. The very transient men rarely if ever attend the services, or like the native-born transients, may do so to pass the time.

In this church, there is a Young People's Society of 20 members, composed mostly of girls. The Ladies Aid Society has about sixty women in it. At the time of writing, this club is very active in church work, under the leadership of the wife of the Finnish Consul-General. There is a Sunday School of over fifty children. While this latter number may not seem large, our sample shows an average of less than one child per family, and very many

fewer of school age. Probably a majority of Finnish children of school age attend Sunday School. During the past two years this church has operated a summer camp at Caughnawaga near Montreal; and has made suitable recreation available for these people who live near the metropolitan center during the most of the year

Already some of the Finns are beginning to attend the church services given in English. The Lutheran church on Clarke Avenue Westmount, is composed largely of Germans and Danes, both of whom are strong Lutherans by tradition. The services here are given in English. There is little feeling of competition between this church and the purely Finnish one. In some activities they have shown an active cooperation. In the Clarke Ave. church, the only means of communication is English. Those Finnish families which have acquired the use of this language are thus perfecting their diction. This change in religious participation from a Finnish church service to an English one is an indication of the measure of assimilation attained. It is also an aid to further change.

Of our total sample, only seven were between the ages of six and twelve, while the only older child was aged twenty-two. From such a small number of cases, it is extremely hazardous to make any generalizations about the attitudes of the Finns towards education. The youngsters are started to school at the ages of six or seven, and while they make a slow progress during the first two years move along more quickly after the language difficulty is mastered. The children attend the English Protestant schools, and so learn the traditions of the secular commercial population group in Montreal rather than those of the clerical French. The amounts spent for school books, pencils, and the like, are extremely small, usually less than a dollar per person per year. Education, then, is not a financial cost to these families while their children are still too young to earn money.

The home-land practice is usually for the children to complete either a high school or a commercial training. Since the English-Canadian group is tending more and more to associate education and occupational advancement, it seems likely that this Finnish tradition may be fitted into the new set of ambitions and evaluations that the immigrants will acquire here.

The literacy of the Finns is indicated in a measure by their expenditures for the press. There is no Finnish paper printed in Montreal. The "Vapaus" printed daily in Sudbury, is widely read in this city. It also has a large circulation throughout the rest of Canada. The paper is Communist in tone.

In Finland the Communists have been an active political group for years, and have had to withstand the attacks of five other recognized parties. In 1930 the Communists were excluded from public life in Finland by law and now are fighting for the return of their political freedom. The socialists have been the strongest party numerically since 1919, though at no time have had a majority. This radical tradition has been carried to Canada, and a division between the left wing group and the nationalists or a "moderate" political group, has asserted itself in every large Finnish center in the country. It is difficult to tell which is the larger group numerically. The Communists are certainly the more active.

The Vapaus is read in two-thirds or more of the Finnish homes in Montreal. In 1928 the Communist group established a reading room on St. Antoine Street in the heart of the Finnish area. "Vapaus" and five other papers used to come to this address every week. During the five years which it remained open, this room became a sort of Finnish social center. On week-ends especially, both men and women would gather there to read, hear the tales of the home-land, or exchange stories of their varied experiences as new Canadians.

A few Finns subscribe to New York and other American Finnish newspapers. They do not have nearly the same interest or support as the Sudbury journal.

It is customary for those who buy papers to pass them on to their friends. Actually there is a much larger circulation of these journals than the figures giving the extent of their purchase would seem to indicate. Eleven families, including ten who bought

TABLE LXIX

Money Spent by 50 Finnish Families for Finnish Newspapers in Montreal 1932

Amount (approx)	Number	% of group
$1	3	6
2	6	12
3	6	12
4	1	2
5	4	8
7	1	2
8	1	2
10	2	4
Total	24	48

Finnish papers, also purchased the Montreal Daily Star. One family got it regularly; the others spent varying amounts up to $3. No one reported any expenditure for French papers. While some of the Finns may have learned the rudiments of English in their schools at home, others have learned its use only since coming to Canada. It speaks well for the group that after only so few years in Canada, one-quarter of them are reading the English press. Here they will develop an interest in Canadian political situations and traditions, or at least in those supported by the particular papers they read. It seems important for the assimilation of any immigrant group in a new and expanding country that they come to share the hopes and aspirations of the native-born. In this, the Canadian press will mould their beliefs better than their own papers will.

The strong political divisions among the Finns to which

we have referred are reflected most clearly in their formal organizations. Two clubs, their buildings located far apart, support the opposing political views. It is variously estimated that half to four-fifths of the adult Finns in Montreal attend one or the other of these clubs. Quite naturally, there is little or no overlapping in the membership of the two groups.

The Communist organization has its hall on Notre Dame Street. This club is a unit in a Canadian-wide Finnish workers' association. Since the outlawing in Canada of the Communist party or any other groups recognized as Communist, many have dropped their membership from the organization, through fear of arrest, though have remained staunch supporters of the communistic principle. This club draws most heavily on the men in the building trades, and the loggers and miners. None of the men in personal service, as chauffeurs, belong to this group. The membership of this club has not been ascertained satisfactorily. It has been estimated as between 100 and 500.

In their dilapidated hall below the Canadian National Railway tracks, this group holds its party meetings. Their assemblies are usually for live discussion, or "mass" demonstrations for themselves only to observe. Occasionally they present plays that are intended to arouse class feeling and cast the bourgeoisie in an unfavourable light. Dances are sometimes held in the building and gymnastics are encouraged. The men lounge around the hall a great deal of the time, chatting or reading. A number of unemployed make the building their regular sleeping quarters, and get their meals at the Vitre Street shelter for homeless men.

In its dances and gymnastics, this club attempts to meet a recreational demand of its members. They also encourage track and field sports, and have a sports ground somewhere near Lachine

This latter is a sign of a form of recreation that is very popular among the Finns. Small groups often use the site as a picnic ground, this also is a very popular practice.

Some of the more politically active who have a sufficient knowlege of English are members of outside radical organizations, as the Canadian Labour Defense League, and several unemployed workers' associations. Most of the Finnish communists can find enough scope for their energies among their own nationality. From the point of view of the assimilation process, contacts with Canadian political clubs will probably increase, and interest will probably come to center on the tasks facing Communists in Canada.

The Montreal Suomi Seura, or Montreal Finnish Society, is also a local unit of a nation-wide organization. The first unit was started in Ontario about the middle of the last decade, while now there are branches in every large Finnish community. While this association professes to be non-partisan, it is none the less strongly political. The members, collectively if not separately, are intensely nationalistic; they are opposed to socialism, and very bitterly opposed to communism. They possess an intense hatred towards the "reds" of Finland. The organization is a bulwark of the status quo, and, according to one observer, inclines to Fascism.

While in Finland, the persons now constituting this group were sons of well-to-do farmers, or shopkeepers, military officers, white collar workmen and a few in skilled trades. In Canada, the differences in occupation between this group and the Communists have been obscured. Some of them have maintained an air of superiority, while for others it has broken down.

The activities of this organization show it to be largely recreational. Their dances are frequent, and well attended. Afternoon gatherings, with coffee and refreshments are popular. Concerts

feature plays, songs and skits of Finnish life. There are sometimes gymnastics and folk-dancing in native costume. Many of these activities are intended to display a patriotic-flavour.

The "M,S.S." also gives a large place in its programme to field and track sports. This appears to be a custom brought from Finland, and kept alive by their rural residence here.

The spirit of the society is promoted through various demonstrations of national feeling, as speeches, and so on, on such occasions as Independence Day. In this the organization is typical of many immigrant institutions that rest on the sentiments attached to the motherland, and that seek to give their home country, and so themselves, status in the eyes of the receiving community.

These Finnish social organizations can only be understood as mirrors of the Finns' cares and sentiments. They differ from the vast number of nationalistic societies that start primarily as mutual aid and benefit associations. Security is the dominant wish of many stable peoples, but meanwhile the migrant seeks new experience. The Finns, or at least the men, have been more anxious for compensation for long periods of near-isolation than to assure their future needs or satisfactory burials. One of the two clubs in Montreal is almost entirely recreational, the other is attempting to give entertainment a larger place on its programme along with political activities Recreation is combined successfully with mutual benefit in one society only when a regular membership may be retained over a period of years. Any attempt by the Finns in Montreal to establish this sort of a club until the present would probably have ended in failure.

Some of the young men, and a larger number of the single girls, go to the German Harmonia Club and the Scandinavian Club. Whatever else these clubs are, the German Club on Saturday and Sun-

day evenings and the Scandinavian Club all week are operated much as cabarets. Very similar religious beliefs and traditions draw these groups together. Too, the Finnish and German girls may meet at their work. An average attendance of Finnish girls at the Harmonia Club is ten to fifteen, while on the week-end evenings, more attend the Scandinavian Club. They come to these places to make the acquaintance of the men, and seem readily to enter into friendships This is the first stage for some people in participating socially outside their own group.

The Finns are extending their social contacts much more rapidly than the Italians are. They are much less bound by the moral code of a church that regulates gaiety. The average age of the adult is younger and their desire for recreation is much greater. In all their activities the Finns are the more venturesome of the two groups. Differences in family organization, and a different notion of the place of the home for recreation or simply passing the time, gives the Finnish women much more freedom than the Italian women. Men and women attend the clubs together, or if they are not married the girls may go alone. The young married Finns have spread the range of their recreational activity and already are attending the English moving-picture houses.

To return to our sample, twenty families made some place in their budgets for going to the movingppictures. None of these were in our lowest consumption class. Among the remaining forty, then, half attended the theatres. Thirteen of these spent less than five dollars each. This low amount may mean that the Finns are only partially appreciative of this form of entertainment. For some families it is certainly a consequence of the pressure of necessities in the competition of wants. Three spent about fifteen each, or went to the up-town movie houses every third or fourth week. One

couple went nearly every week, and spent approximately forty dollars in this way. While theatre attendance we described in the earlier chapter as a form of impersonal participation , it does reveal American attitudes and values, and so is important in the assimilation of the immigrants.

Other Goods and Advantages entering Consumption.

To the sociologist, the family budget is interesting as a means of studying certain fundamental conditions or processes. Some have used the budget to test the adequacy of a community's wage rates to provide a certain selected level of living. Others have found it useful in analyzing the processes of interaction within a community which lead to fashions, or, to use a broad term, to culture; and as a corollary to this, in observing the adjustment of a whole range of wants to a scale of preferences. The budget is one of the most useful means of studying family organization. Some analysts have been interested only in usages; others have attempted to understand attitudes. In this thesis, we are investigating the use of the budget in understanding the general process of immigrant adjustment.

In this study, certain items which we class as miscellaneous, are only of incidental use to us, as they concern the nature of the community which provides us with our setting for study much more than they help us to understand the habits of a group. Expenditures made for street car fare to work might fall in this class, and are important only as fixed charges to be met regularly out of a budget. The question of why the Finns do not live near their places of work need not be elaborated. The men do live near the employment offices, which is their source of jobs, while the families cannot afford to live in the more exclusive Westmount districts near the wives' work. If the Finnish area were not but a few blocks from the main business center of Montreal, expenses for car-fare other

than to work might be taken as an indication of the shopping habits of the group

Twenty-eight families spent car-fare going to their places of work. The amounts ranged up to $39 for the year. Twenty-three used the street car for other purposes, though only one spent more than $10 on this account. One family owned an automobile, and paid out $50 in operating expenses. Friends of the family helped buy gas should they be taken out on pleasure drives. The ownership of this automobile is likely an American-acquired trait, as only the well-to-do in Finland have their own cars.

Nearly all the men and probably a few of the women smoke cigarettes. All but seven men of our sample reported some expenditure for tobacco. A large number rolled their own cigarettes, probably as a means of economizing. Table LXX details the amounts spent.

TABLE LXX

Amounts of Tobacco Purchased by 50 Finnish Men in Montreal in 1932

Amount	Consumption Class 300 and under 400	400 and under 500	500 and under 600	600 and under 700	Total	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Under $5	2				2	4	
5 & Under 10	4	3	1	1	9	18	
10" " 15	1	4	3	1	9	18	
15 " " 20		5	1		6	12	
20 " " 25		2	1		3	6	
25 " " 30	1	2	2		5	10	
30 " " 35	1	1	2	1	5	10	
35 " " 40		1		1	2	4	
45 & Over			1	1	2	4	
Total	9	18	11	5	43	86	

Beer and wine are never consumed with meals. Only six men of fifty interviewed spent money for beer during the year to amounts of $10 or less. None bought wines. Beer is taken in a purely social or recreational way by these men, and practically never as a food.

In our Euro-American culture zone, it is customary for trained doctors to attend the sick. In almost every society, and certainly among primitives, certain persons, through training or succession, have been trusted with the curing of physical maladies. It is not unusual, then, that foreigners should seek health services here as they require them. Some groups, through fear or custom, make more use of the doctors than others. The immigrants' practices in this field concern the means by which those with low incomes acquire their medical services. There is a high negative correlation between the level of living of the Finnish (and Italian) families and their use of the clinics. The incidence of illness or injury is largely accidental, and the amount of health service varies widely between families. Too, the nature of treatment and the means of getting it, varies with the nature of the physical harm. This correlation, then is only true if we take the sample as a whole and not necessarily so for any few selected cases. There is a much more consistent relation between the level of incomes and the proportion of bills rendered for health services that have been paid.

TABLE LXXI

Total Value consumed as
Health Services by Finnish
Families in Montreal, 1932

Amount	Number	Percentage
Under $20	17	34
20 & under 40	4	8
40 " " 60	3	6
60 " " 80	2	4
80 " " 100	3	6
120 " " 140	1	2
Total	30/50	60%

Figures have been given in the prededing chapter for clinical services and unpaid health bills. In summary, 57% of the service received was paid for; 16% was billed, but left unpaid while 27% was received free from the hospital clinics. When aver-

aged for the four classes, health services composed three to five percent of the total consumption of the Finns.

None of the Finns have taken out American Insurance policies. Eight had policies in Finland. It appears that most of these were taken out by their parents while they were children. Three of these were for 1000 Finnish marks, two for 2000 and one each for 5000, 15000 and 25000 marks. The Finnish mark is nominally worth 2,21 cents in Canadian money, so these amounts are only $25 to $600 or slightly less. Most of these policies are still the property of the parents in Finland. Five of them have been completely paid up. One is being continued by the parents of one of the women, while only two are being paid from here. Their premiums are $2 and $10 respectively. In addition, several Finnish policies have been allowed to lapse. These policies obviously are not intended to provide an income for the dependents of the insured ones but only to cover the cost of burial.

It is a factor in their family organization that neither the men nor the women at the present time feel a responsibility for the provision of the other's needs after their own departing. The women, with earning ability equal to the men at least during the depression, will be expected to shoulder their own burdens as before marriage. Only a more rigid division of labour between man and wife, in conformity with the Canadian pattern, will alter this. A trend in this direction will probably be evident during the next few years.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The present condition of the Finns in Montreal is one almost wholly of accommodation. It seems scarcely to be a compromise between old world values and new world necessity. Their urban modes of living are better termed a depression accommodation, since few of the men view their slum habitat as a preliminary surrender to a more satisfactory city adjustment. The city itself is an environment which is foreign to many and which is the setting of scarcely any of their ambitions. As the men live in Montreal, though they be held here by the security of their wives' employment, they may eventually adjust their urban attitudes, make the city their regular place of employment, and eventually erect ambitions around city occupations.

From an occupational standpoint, assimilation does not necessarily mean that a person must have attained a certain determined occupational standing. This would be artificial; it would consider the immigrant Canadianized when he had acquired the standing of certain group within the native Canadian population. Occupational assimilation may be understood as having been attained when the immigrant, or his children, take over the ambitions that are common to certain sets of occupations in industries that are important in a community's economy, and when he can compete equally with the native Canadians, with skill and experience equal to his own, in the attaining of those ambitions.

The Finns have wrought their initial adjustment in northern Ontario, in a part of Canada that closely resembles Finland. This

region is one of hills and lakes, and of forests, fields and mines. They then made their entry into the extractive industries of the area, and worked much as they did in their Finnish setting. This does not appear to be a forced accommodation resulting from the pressure of immediate need, but rather a choice from among the occupations that were open to them. In their work, they were alongside other Europeans, and also a group of native Canadians who had accommodated themselves to an unmarried and transient way of living. This native group is not abnormal, they rather are the products of a new and expanding country. In a sense, the Finns entered as their equals, and have successfully competed with them for jobs.

It has been inevitable that once the Finnish men entered the extractive industries they should become migratory. In Finland, many moved about in a fixed route throughtout the different seasons, to dovetail farming and lumbering. Here they have been less successful in regularizing their seasonal movements, so have continually sought new jobs, often with the aid of the provincial employment bureaus. Twenty-eight men, or 56% of our sample, had no job longer than one year, while over half of these had neither continuous nor intermittent employment for more than six months with any one employer. Seventy-eight percent had not jobs longer than two years. The average period of time from starting a job of at least two months' duration in one community to starting another job of the same minimum length in a defferent community was just over fifteen months. These data are based on the period from the data of the immigrants' arrival intil the end of 1931. We might infer then that the average stop in any one community for the group, exclusive of short "visits" to the large cities, was not

more than one year.

The Finns' choice in entering the extractive and building industries was not an absolute preference. It doubtless ranked high in their scale of wishes. The men who were in Montreal during 1932 have retained their home-acquired ambitions, to shake themselves free of dependence on "employment", by owning their own farms. A few Finns settled in the Canadian west soon after their arrivals, and others have followed as soon as their means permitted The Montreal Finn seems to be much less interested in large scale agriculture than he is in owning a small plot within easy access to the large city, where he can farm intensively and sell his produce on the urban market. This is the wish of one-third to one-half the married Finns in Montreal. This ambition may be less general among the single men, since the formerly mentioned group are anxious for a situation allowing a measure of family life.

Many of the Finns have been discouraged by conditions of the past few years. A number had been in Canada only s short period before employment conditions began to get bad. The first two or three years for any immigrants are usually difficult. The glorious opportunities of the near-golden west, as reported in the Finnish press and advertisements, they have not discovered, and some feel themselves victims of deception. The only future hope entertained by a number of the men is an improved level of living while this desire is not fitted into any scheme of life organization. Complete despair prevails among a few "How can I live and hope and love in Canada with conditions as they are?" Many feel their opportunities would be better in Finland, and some are held in this country only because they have insufficient means to return. Nearly all who yearn for their home country see it as a means of escape

from the depression. They are forgetful or unaware that the present slump is a world condition, and that their home-land, while spared some of the severity of the depression, is not as they left it. Only a very small number entertain the thought of returning to Finland should conditions improve here. The motherland does not hold for them a means of escape from Canada as such, but from the dpression conditions of the past few years.

There is a slight indication of a change in the Finns' objectives. The men covered in this sample ~~are~~ periodically live in cities, and during the depression many have remained. ~~so~~ Those with skills, as an electrician, a cabinet-maker, and a few who have acquired special training in the building industry, build their future hopes around following these occupations in the cities. Others are anxious for interim employment in Montreal between jobs in the rural areas, and if any get permanent employment here, they will likely retain it until other opportunities offer an almost certain prospect for improvement. There is no reason to assume that all or even a majority of the Finns will finally become assimilated in the cities. Many will be happier on the land. It seems almost certain, however, that many more will find their place in the cities than their present ambitions alone would lead us to expect.

The Finnish women have found their accommodation less marred by conflict. Nearly all entered Canada unmarried with the hope of entering domestic service. While for the most part their immigration has been more recent than that of the men, they have had but little difficulty in obtaining employment. In domestic service and other vocational pursuits, they have had more regular positions than the men and fewer have been completely without work during

the depression.

Here as in Finland, the women have not given up their positions on entering into wedlock. Only a very small number are voluntarily not engaged in some money-making activity, while the most of these are able to rely on the earnings of their husbands. As a group, the married women have contributed more through their earnings to the total receipts of their respective families than have the men. This feature of family organization, for such it is, has lightened the pressure of the depression tremendously. It will be recalled that a majority of husbands had no work at all during 1932, except perhaps a few days provided as municipal relief.

It is a significant trend that a few women whose husbands enjoyed a sufficient family income, were not working. This is a typical Canadian phenomenon,yet probably not foreign to Finland. As the men do enter regular employment it appears probable that the Canadian family pattern will be more in evidence among these people. This will be significant only if this adjustment is an urban one, since the factors making for the family institution in its presented form are almost non-existent in the smaller rural communities. The likelihood of a conflict of ambitions between the men and women at the time of increased employment on rural construction projects ar at the lumber camps has, we trust, been presented clearly in chapter three. In summary, the couples, bound together in marriage and love, both have ambitions to be in employment, and in two different types of community. This difficulty, it seems, can be worked out only by compromise and reorganization.

Many significant factors in determining the speed and direction of the assimilation of the Finns may be attributed directly to their family organization. The women at work learn Canadian

cooking; they see the house furnishings of the salaried and professional groups who employ them and in these see the realization of the ambitions of a selected group of Canadian women. At work, too, they see the division of labour in one type of Canadian family; they learn the English language. Here they become acquainted with the customs of a minority population group of Montreal, yet because of the secular outlook of the English, they find it much easier to modify their own habits in the English direction. We noted that the Finns are adopting Canadian menus after being in Canada for only a short period. The housing practices of the Finns are an outgrowth of the "rooming" habits of the single men, and in their own attitudes, many married couples feel their rooms to be only a temporary living arrangement. The observation, by the men, of the separate rural residences of families here and in Finland is added to the experience of the women in making for a joint desire to have a separate, and if possible, detached house in which to make their home.

It is a matter of family organization in Finland that the young unattached women should be allowed to emigrate by themselves. Here, before marriage, they made recreation their own responsibility, just as did the men. The womens' freedom in social participation has made them readily aware of the social practices of other women, especially those pertaining to dress. In recreation, the conventions of the group allow the women to attend the moving pictures, and probably the men and their wives attend the theatres together more than either would alone. The family form of the Finns is already much more like that of the English than of the French.

While the Finns have made very broad and ready contacts with English values in this country, they have many of the traits of a group midway between two more or less stable cultures. Their

mixed diets, their slum housing, their commercial institutions and nationalistic organizations all betray the group as midway along the adjustment stream. But they are changing rapidly, vastly more quickly than are the Italians. The composition of their households and the nature of their participation in new world activities is such that any internal family conflict is unlikely. As individuals, they are likely to face embarrassment in choosing between opposing sets of values, and may suffer a concealed pain. Some of their children are growing up without a discipline in an unstable home situation, and may yet meet difficulty.

PART FOUR

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER I

Main Trends in Immigrant Adjustment

Sociology concerns itself with the reciprocal relationships of individuals and groups, and also the relationships of groups to one another. People live within a framework of social organization; it is there that they develop from biological animals to social beings. They acquire practices that are the folkways and mores of their groups. Their position in the group gives direction to the interaction which they experience. It is likewise clear that the rôle of an individual in one group may determine the rôle which he will play in another. His forms of conduct in one branch of activity may make for freedom or dependency elsewhere. This sociological fact is significant in our study where the individual earns his money in one group and spends it in another. It is likewise important where a person's position in his family directs or restricts his social participation in the field of vocation or recreation. Wherever a person acts in two groups supporting different values in the same field, he is forced to compromise. This is seen most clearly where an individual works in a Canadian industry, and so must resign himself to the limits of a Canadian market. He cannot be a Canadian earner, and a European in matters of consumption. This same principle of accommodation may give rise to conflict, especially as one begins to participate in a "purely social" way in groups with different cultures. The ironing out of these difficulties of multiple participation is the assimilation process itself.

The nature of the initial participation of an immigrant group is determined in part by its background experiences, and also very largely by forces operative in the new country. The cycle of change in participation following their first entry into Canadian groups very largely determines the course of the immigrants' assimilation. Our tool of analysis in this study has been the family budget; our prime concern has been the incomes and expenditures, or in more accurate terms, the means of living and the consumption of two distinctly different immigrant groups. The researcher and the reader are both much more familiar with the values than with the attitudes of these peoples. Yet these valuesaare social products of interaction between groups; and where the background cultures of the immigrants are known, are an index of this interaction. Our purpose in this final Part is to present a few general conclusions pertaining to the assimilation process, arising from the data presented in the earlier parts of this thesis, and in lesser degree from other immigration studies being carried on in Montreal. This section may serve to test the validity of the budget method in the study of the migration process, though it is intended to cover a somewhat wider scope. Our three main points of reference are occupational adjustment, consumption, as displaying cultural value s, and family organization.

Indices of Occupational Adjustment

Most of our immigrants came to Canada to seek an occupational adjustment, and so a higher level of living. Their choice was deliberate; their method was a spatial movement to a country promising a high financial reward for labour. Their background experiences were about as diversified as the range of low-income positions in Europe itself was. In the new country, nearly all have been directly dependent on their earnings as a primary means of provision. To

what extent does the data entering a yearly budget measure the nature and success of the immigrants' occupational adjustment?

An immigrant's earnings at any one time we assume are a measure of his earning ability in the prevailing set of employment conditions at that time. Earnings, when set against the conditions of the labour market, may be an indication of the success of an immigrant. They do not show the direction of adjustment. Over time, they may register a change in the skill of a workman, but do this without reference to his specific occupation, and with no mention of the industry that employs him. We need to know either by report or inference the immigrant's earnings throughout the duration of his time in Canada. Further, we must have the supplementary data covering his periods of employment and unemployment, and the occupations and industries in which he has worked, presented in chronological sequence. In other words, we must know the immigrant's occupational history in Canada, and his attitudes towards his occupational position throughout.

Occupations, institutions supplying goods and services to families, and the goods which enter into consumption are all reflected in the budget in a monetary way; the question arises whether these should be thought of as budgetary data or not. If they are not, then the budget itself gives but little clue to the culture of a group, except as it equates in monetary form a division of wants over several classifications of consumption. In this thesis the income and expenditure accounts have been primarily valuable in revealing the actual satisfied wants, expressed as commodities or services. The pecuniary values are important, as persons must weigh the objects of their will in terms of their cash cost. In summary, the dollar amounts in the financial statement of an immigrant family give a notion of the success of the wage earner, if it

is known for a sufficient period of time. In the field of consumption it gives little or no clue to the detailed practices of the group; it records its level, but not its mode of living.

Occupational adjustment differs from adjustment in consumption in that the cycle of the former is more apt to be marked by fluctuations, or by "floundering", than the latter. With a description of the current modes of living of a foreign group, and some notion of its spatial adjustment, we can reconstruct its course of change much more accurately than we can the group's means of living by similar data. Three significant points of reference for the study of occupations all closely inter-related, are occupational mobility, earnings, and the relation of both of these to family organization.

Occupational Mobility and Occupational Adjustment.

Occupational stability appears to be an objective sought by nearly all in employment. The crystallized ambitions of most workers are built around specific occupations, and usually around industries with which they have some familiarity. Many persons acquire their occupational life organization on entering industry; others erect theirs around industries or occupations with which they have a different contact, as through their parents or friends, or from news reports. In either case, most workers advance in the line of least resistance, which is usually in the industry in which they have already found an opening. In this process of advancement, many men who had previously ambitions outside the industry they are engaged in, tend to rebuild their hopes on the basis of their new experience. This latter is significant in the case of immigrants who have come to Canada with their homeland ambitions, often to attain or practice a specific skill, or to own farm property.

Occupational mobility may be thought of as being any one or

more of three sorts. First is a change in skill within any one set of trades. The second is a change from one industry to another, using the term to mean a specific type of productive activity, as building, agriculture, or steel manufacturing. Lastly, there is the movement of one's place of work, considered apart from and perhaps not involving any change in his occupational skill or of industry. The mobility of any one immigrant group can only be understood in the light of their background skills and the time and place of their initial entry into Canadian industries.

Mobility in skill is usually in one direction. It appears a very typical phenomen that immigrants should climb within the industries in which they are regularly engaged. The Italian building workers are becoming contractors or skilled tradesmen. Immigrants in manufacturing are becoming mechanics. With this adjustment usually goes a higher level of living and a greater preference for Canadian goods. The industry in which the immigrant group first enters makes a difference to the rate and extent of advancement in skills. The Ukrainians in Montreal work in the shops of the two large Canadian railways, and in the steel factories. The British are in a wide range of manufacturing. The Italians are in construction and factory trades, while the Finns have not yet gravitated in large numbers to any one urban industry.

At least two factors are important in the skill adjustments of these various peoples. First is the background skills. Of the above mentioned groups, the British is the only one whose homeland training has counted for anything in this country. Those trained in clerical work have found their entry easy here and are climbing to positions of office management. In the manufacturing trades the British immigrant's change for a speedy and successful adjustment to Canadian conditions depends largely on the skill group to

which he belongs. Most British trained in a skill follow the same skill in this country, and for the most part they gravitate to their own trades fairly quickly, even in the face of English-or French-Canadian competition. Incidentally, it seems probable that these who came to Canada hoping to practise their homeland skills but were prevented would be very liable to disorganization, and probably hold strong feelings of resentment against some symbol of their failure. This debit side of an European-acquired training must not be overlooked.

Arising more directly from the nature of the industry to which a foreign group has been attracted is another important factor affecting mobility in skills. Where there is free competition, that is, where a person may invade a skill,as bricklaying, and compete for jobs with those already practising that skill, he may be less held down by others ahead of him. In a factory, on the other hand, competition for advancement may be limited to a small group of employees. In the northern groups of Italians, a number in the building industry have climbed, while at Ville Emard those in the factories all work as unskilled labourers. The Ukrainians, a newer group to the city, and attracted to the steel factories partly on account of the Slavic tradition built up at Pittsburgh, likewise still are held in the unskilled ranks. This difference in adjustment can be traced, surely in part, to the nature of the different industries. A farm hand does not try to acquire great skill; he climbs by buying his own land. Since the immigrant enters an industry to meet an immediate need, unless he has already either a skill or a set of specific ambitions, the opportunities for advancement or the pitfalls in an industry face him as accidents.

The movement between industries is of a different sort. The

Britisher with his skill, if he at once cannot apply his training in employment, usually will work in an outside industry until he can make the adjustment he desires. Even a move to an unskilled position in an industry which covers his skill, is a more promising accommodation for him. The Finn who saves his money and moves out to an Alberta farm might be placed in the same category. The actions of both these are motivated by a wish for a specific adjustment. On the other hand, most Finns have been moving about from place to place, from industry to industry, and job to job, in the hope of saving enough to buy property or to return to Finland. While this accommodation was practised before immigration, it has been considered in itself as a means to a better job, and a source of current provision. A few persons in every immigrant group move about in this way. Likewise, this is a practice of the native-born. With the immigrant, the dominant control over movement of this sort is the difficulty of acquiring new jobs, and the hold of others concentrated in the same industry. While a high mobility between industries is a sign of maladjustment, occupational stability is not necessarily a sign of greater success. Immigrants may spend years, perhaps the whole of their working lives, in positions which they feel are only temporary. They fail to erect ambitions, or to take advantage of the opportunities in the same plant, or within their reach outside it. Certain Italians holding rural notions of success and its dependence upon fate, build their hopes around regular factory work, and the acquiring of property. Their accommodation they are not well able to evaluate, since they are without a norm except that acquired before emigration.

Before we evaluate mobility of the sort just described, we must take into account the nature of the employment offered in the pertinent industries. This information must cover the fluctuations

in employment, both seasonal and cyclical; the general rate of turnover of personnel; and changes within the industry making for technological employment of different sorts. The Finns would almost certainly have stayed in one position longer had the nature of their jobs not necessitated their moving.

Any movement between jobs of a similar sort must also be viewed against a background of fluctuating employment conditions. No groups illustrate the fact of this mobility better than those reviewed in the main body of this thesis. The Slavs in Montreal for the most part are factory labourers; they,during the past several depression years, have worked irregularly, but few have changed their places of employment. This, too, has been true for a large number of immigrants from England. The Italian dock-labourers might be similarly categorized. The builders, while they have had vastly more jobs than employers, have not relied solely on one or two sources of employment, and in moving around have probably increased their earnings. The Finns following one trade, as carpentering, have stood at the call of employment offices, seeking work from any employer.

Whether or not this form of mobility is a sign of maladjustment rests on two considerations; first, whether or not a worker's earnings are increased in this way, and secondly, whether the continual shifting is in any way coincident with the unrest of the worker. This latter may be checked by comparing the rate of turnover of jobs by individuals or groups with the average for all workers in the same occupation, by such indications of dissatisfaction as the creating of symbols of failure; or by learning if jobs are left before completed for apparently inadequate reasons. The Italians seem to be "satisfactorily" accommodated in the building trades. The Finns, while not married, were able to move between

jobs without great conflict on account of their homeland transiency. We cannot do more than guess what effect marriage may have on this. This sort of maladjustment, however, is more apt to have its incidence in a few individuals of almost every immigrant group than on groups as a whole.

In summary, then, all groups have shown some mobility, and while the experience of members within these groups has been varied, each has one or two typical cycles of movement. Mobility in itself is not necessarily disorganizing. Its gain should register in a high skill or higher earnings, or in times of depression any change in employment that reduces a probable decrease in skill or earnings should count positively. Any incessant moving between industries, except in the pursuit of a specific trade, is a sign of maladjustment. Moving between jobs in any industry may be a symbol of a like disorganization, though gives the worker a greater chance for gaining stability.

Ambitions nearly always impel some mobility, though perhaps only in skill. Whether occupational mobility is good or bad depends on the net result of each move. In some cases this evaluation is obvious; in other cases the effect remains unknown to both immigrant and researcher. A major difference of those British with their skills and urban backgrounds is that they had ambitions erected which could readily be transplanted in Canada. The continental peasants, on the other hand, had no "urban" ambitions. For years they have moved about seeking the best possible immediate accommodation. Only as they have become sufficiently Canadianized to construct ambitions around specific industries or occupations have they organized their mobility towards the attaining of a goal. These ambitions often have been the products of opportunities seized for other ends - sometimes taken to aid in the achievement

of their homeland hope for property. The experience of the writer is to the effect that few immigrants have deliberately set out to climb in one industry to assist themselves in entering another industry. Even the notion of property as a visible symbol of success begins to give way as a worker mounts upwards in the ladder of skills. When the immigrant reaches this stage he is far towards being Canadianized occupationally.

Earnings and Occupational Adjustment.

An immigrant's earnings may be computed from his wage rate and the time which he was employed during any chosen period. This very simple observation is introduced here as a means of analysis. Wage rates in Montreal are not identical for all work in any one skill. Rates differ slightly between factories. Where the same group of workers furnishes the labour supply in any one fluctuating trade, the rates of pay are higher than in stable trades. The dock labourer enjoys a much higher hourly return than the factory worker. Skill differences nearly always denote differences in pay. Yet we observed among the Italians that some of the most highly paid workers had very low yearly earnings. There is no necessary correlation between one's skill level and his ability to retain a job during the depression.

Earnings may serve to measure success in occupational adjustment either by a comparison with the immigrant's homeland real earnings or by comparisons with other immigrants' of like backgrounds. The first of these is too laden with complexities to be of practical use, so the second must be our tool. The British immigrants of Rosemount and Maisonneuve averaged over $1000 for a depression year. The Ukrainians averaged about $500, or about the same as the Ville Emard Italians. The northern groups of Italians, engaged primarily in construction work, had as their medians $250 and $239. These

figures exclude those from all groups who had no work at all during the year of observation. The Finnish families earned slightly over $350 each, but of this amount the men contributed only one-third. What do such data as these tell us about the process of immigrant adjustment?

The British for the most part have made a successful adjustment, by either criterion mentioned in the paragraph above. Since this group is the subject of a separate and complete publication, no great elaboration is called for here. The point to be made is that while the British are in an apparently better position than the Continental groups, they did not start at the same point in the adjustment process. They already had skills and ambitions, besides the advantage of language and a favourable sentiment. The Germans, Poles, or Italians who are persistently moving to the point where the British started might with equal justice be termed successful.

The two Continental groups mentioned above, the Ukrainians and the Ville Emard Italians, earned the same amount per man in two years of like employment conditions. The men of both nationalities are unskilled labour; the Ukrainians are earning a slightly higher hourly wage. Incidentally, the women in this latter group work out, and supplement the family earnings. The similarities between these two groups indicate that a comparison of these Italians with the other Italian groups gives a valid comparison also between the Ukrainians and these other Italians.

The first point to be recalled in comparing the Italians is that while the earnings for 1932 show a fairly wide margin of difference, the levels of living of the three groups, or at least of those falling within the two middle quarters of their distribution, are nearly identical. Since these people are usually dependent on earnings as their means of provision, it is a safe conclusion that

the earnings of those in these quarters are approximately equal during most years. The differences exhibited in 1932 are due, in part at least, to the incidence and extent of unemployment in the depressed industries. The higher unemployment in the construction industries in periods of more regular general employment, is compensated for by higher wage rates. The median weekly earnings for the Ville Emard group were $1.50 lower than for the others in 1932. For the builders, then, irregular employment is a problem of systematic spending.

The main body of Italians, then, has adjusted itself to the Canadian occupational scene as well as the Ukrainians, if earnings over a long period of time be taken as our basis of comparison. So far as advancement in skill goes, the Italian builders have proceeded farther than the industrial workers, and also farther than the Ukrainians. Over a longer period of years those in skilled trades will show a better adjustment than the Slavic group, on account of the differences in competition for advancement in the two trades. Their incomes, however, will remain much more subject to fluctuation.

To summarize, among the various conclusions to be made about wage rates as a measure of occupational adjustment two points stand out. First, the homeland heritages pertaining to occupational ability must be taken into account, and success measured in terms of the total adjustment required. Secondly, on account of differences in employment and wage rates in different industries, a sufficiently long period to show each set of workers in all the typical employment conditions of their occupation, must be taken. If correction can be made for these variables, earnings give us a very good index of adjustment. This measure of assimilation can often be applied to measure the success of different persons of

one national group, since for many the starting point and the industry are the same.

Employment and Family Organization

The earnings of the male heads of immigrant households in relation to their levels of living determine the extent to which other sources of provision must be used. There is first the earnings of other family members. The two groups covered already show each has certain typical means of meeting emergencies. The Italians have property, take in lodgers, leave bills unpaid. The Finns sub-rent rooms. Both have depended on public relief. It is not our intention to give much space to these here. The reader is referred to the earlier chapters, and to the other theses appearing concurrently with this at McGill University. One or two comments are given here on the employment of family members as it affects immigrants' family organization.

The individual engagement of workers in Canada has broken down the European peasant family economy. In nearly every instance, after emigration, the male has become the main breadwinner. It appears a practice of almost every immigrant group that women are in employment only when the men cannot furnish the means for a "satisfactory" level of living. This is true of the Finns, as it is for the native Canadians.

Dependent children who have finished their schooling are the first, after the father, to seek work. This is universal among immigrant boys, less true among the girls. Boys often enter the occupations of their fathers or of some others of their own nationality. In contrast to their once-peasant parents, the boys quickly establish for themselves some notion of success. This rests back on the Canadian morality learned at schools and from other boys, and on the necessity of establishing preferences in the only arena of

occupational activity that they know.

The ways the boys spend their money is an index of the family institution to which they belong. During the depression years most of the Italian boys gave in the greater part of their earnings to their parents. If in more "normal" times this practice is followed, the family economy of agrarian Europe will be revealed in a new form. More probably, the boys will want more money for themselves. They will give their choices in goods and recreation a fuller expression, and create new wants. Being less hampered by the age-long practices of their parents, they will move towards assimilation more quickly. This can only be done with a certain amount of family conflict. The institutional controls of the family will be called to test; the old family unity will probably emerge weakened.

This much about boys might also be said about girls who are working. The employment of girls outside the home is a clue to the place of women in their family organization. When girls work outside their homes, there we very likely have a forerunner to the married woman in employment. At present almost no Italian mothers are working. Yet the Catholic Ukrainian women work away from their homes. The Germans and Scandinavians of the lower income classes have their wives in domestic service. The two extremes in family organization are presented in this thesis already. The one group is far to one side of the Canadian family institution, the second far to the other. These differences will probably be wiped out only with recurring periods of depression and prosperity. During the past few years the Italian girls have sought work, while the Finns have been very largely dependent on the earnings of their women. Should employment conditions improve, more of the central and north European families will be satisfied with the earnings of

their men. At the same time not all, and perhaps very few of the single Italian girls will return to their homes. In time the wide differences between these two extremes will be narrowed, and both will tend to conform with either the French - or English-Canadian family pattern. In the latter of these, employment outside the home is increasing. The nature of the family organization to which the European immigrants will ultimately assimilate will probably be more equalitarian in all respects than our present institution is. Differences in wage rates and employment conditions may change the present trend. It is unlikely that they will reverse it.

Family Organization and Consumption.

The employed man of 1934 is a member of two groups. Among his employers and employees he is treated as one in a Canadian scene, who outside their groups exists merely as an individual. At the same time he is regarded in his colony and his home as a consumer, and also a breadwinner, that is, a functionary in a family institution. From this point of observation he is not seen as a member of a Canadian producing organization, (unless his vocational rank should accord the family a status.) Which is to say that from the point of view of the family institution, the employment of its members is a means to the serving of its various interests, such as the feeding and sheltering of its members in the manner prescribed by the colony.

The degree of family unity is tested in the measure to which that institution fulfils its function in providing goods and services, and perpetuates that function in having them consumed by its members as units in a family group. Inter-related though earnings and expenditures must be, we think it is a fair assertion that the practices of a group pertaining to family organization, and to their homeland cultures generally, are revealed more clearly

when we view the individuals comprising the group as consumers, both inside and outside the family institution than when we view them as producers.

One of the most important writers who used the family budget to understand family organization and practices was Frederic LePlay. He did his work in the latter part of the last century, and so must be regarded much as a pioneer. Much of the philosophy of this school need not concern us directly. In an effort "to ascertain social laws by observation", LePlay faced the need for, first, a unit of study, and second, a method of analysis. He selected the family as his basis of study. "The family is the simplest and most elementary form of society. In various forms it exists in all societies and all times because of the helplessness of the new-born babies. The family is the group which takes care of them. It is the institution which procures the means of subsistence for its members". (1) LePlay combined the case study method and the questionnaire method in obtaining data. Our great heritage from this school is doubtless its scientific approach. With the data thus acquired, they built up a whole social philosophy. LePlay's "Nomenclature" is a classification for the analysis of social systems and organizations, covering economic factors, factors related to family organization and functioning, and also to social organization generally. There stands out LePlay's famous formula of Place, Work and People,(family), and the correlation between the various forms of each of these. Through his study of the family he sought to construct a complete and accurate picture of the whole social activity of the group sampled from. In these studies his point of reference was the family budget. "The family budget reflects the entire life, organization and functions of the family.

(1) Sorokin,P., Contemporary Sociological Theories, P.92 ff. Harper Bros.,New York, 1928.

By analyzing carefully all items of family income and of its expenditures we obtain a quantitative expression of the whole family life, its organization and functions". (1)

In our concept "family budget" is included both receipts, as earnings or otherwise, and goods and services received for consumption which usually are acquired through purchase. With these data on hand, we proceed to view the assimilation process. At the outset, two or three general inadequacies of our method appear that might best be noted apart from our main body of analysis.

Standards of Living and Family Budgets.

We assume that the immigrant's mode of living is at any one time at a point part way between his homeland culture and the American culture which he is moving towards. For simplicity, the various traits or practices constituting his mode of living may be attributed either to (1) his homeland culture, (2) his specific needs as a European in America, (as his mutual aid societies) (3) the necessity of accommodation where he has neither European values or Canadian attitudes, or (4) his adopting Canadian goods by choice. In any one field of consumption, as food, there may be usages falling in at least three of the four categories above. By a careful study of European and American cultures, some classification of traits is possible. In differentiating between values and attitudes, we are reduced to speculation. The standard of living of a group, when viewed in both its time and space setting, is an index of the stage reached in assimilation. The group's mode of living is a less satisfactory index; though it is this latter that we observe. Not all attitudes find their expression in actions. This seems the first inaccuracy of the hypothesis. Some attitudes are revealed in practically all expenditures. In the case of immigrant peoples, an act of overt behaviour - let us say an expenditure

(1) Sorokin,P.,Contemporary Sociological Theories,P.92 ff.
Harper Bros., New York, 1928.

for clothing, may be the expression of a different attitude than we would normally expect. Let us recall that the immigrant, because of his background culture, acts in a different situation in Montreal than does one native-born of native parentage.

Further, the attitudes of dependent children find expression in an expenditure of money only when these attitudes are tolerated by the parents, unless,of course, the dependent child should get his money under another pretense. This situation of a child wishing goods which do not figure in the culture of the parents, would likely lead to a covert conflict arising from the attitudes pertaining to family organization, and the attitudes pertaining to the usages of certain goods. If through interviewing we could obtain the attitudes of immigrant children then the extent to which these attitudes towards Canadian objects are allowed expression gives us an index of family organization.

A third and conspicuous observation is that not all of a group's activities are shown in the budget. Social participation, at school, on the playground, or any popular meeting place, can be learned only in a different way. At the time LePlay was writing, many of the activities now removed from the home were found in the domestic scene, or there were fees to be paid for the services elsewhere. The goods that now enter the homes free, as the newspaper that is passed around, likewise do not appear. The importance of these is sufficient that they cannot be neglected. On this account, subsidiary data on social participation has been included in both the parts on the Italians and Finns.

Consumption Values: Food and Housing.

The introductory part of this thesis carries a suggestion that a quantitative analysis of consumption, especially when expressed in monetary terms, is less revealing of the immigrants'

assimilation process than a cultural analysis. The pecuniary values of goods in themselves mean but little. Twenty or thirty dollars might rent a five-roomed house in certain parts of a city, while it would not begin to pay for a two-roomed apartment in a fashionable hotel. Fifty cents might buy a meal from the menus in a dozen different immigrant restaurants. The budget, to be useful, must show not only qualitative and quantitative differences in purchases, but differences in kinds of goods used.

The Finns show a slightly higher average consumption of food per equivalent male adult than the Italians. The difference is so small as not to require explanation; but let us suppose the reverse had been the case. At least three factors would still demand our attention. How much can the difference be attributed to differences in the size of families? The pressure of large families decreases the food consumption per person of both groups, but the Italians have larger families. Secondly, what part of the differences in cost of food can be accounted for in the Canadian prices for goods entering the foreigner's consumption? The Italian's macaroni is probably reasonably priced here on account of the country's wheat supply, while the food preferences of another immigrant group may be less easily available here than in Europe. Thirdly, what part of the differences may be attributed to a better occupational adjustment, and greater means, or to the devoting of a larger percentage of one's budget to food? The Finns have consumed proportionately more as food, less as housing than the Italians.

Food, and our two ethnic groups, have been selected in the above paragraph to illustrate the difficulty of a monetary comparison. Assimilation is primarily a cultural phenomenon, and the culture which each usage reflects is more important in understanding "Canadianization" than any quantitative measurement. It is more

significant that the British diet is more like the Canadian than the Polish is, or that the Finns, on account of their particular social participation, are adopting the use of Canadian foods much more quickly than the Italians. The Chinese on the west coast of North America, where they are congregated in large numbers, will continue to use their own foods so long as convention denies them a broader knowledge of Canadian practices.

The British and Italians, and a number of Slavs, live in houses typical of those in a large part of Montreal. Some groups of Germans, like the Finns, live in "rooms". A number of foreign groups live in slum homes between downtown and uptown Montreal. At one time the Jews from Slavic countries in Europe built their homes on piles near the periphery of the city, and kept domestic animals beneath them. As a rule, though, most immigrants live in houses that either were built or remodelled for them, or that they have come to occupy through the invasion of an area,

The difference in rent paid by the Unkrainian in the central slum and that paid by one out near the lower end of Delorimier Street makes the latter a budgetary choice, often to be gained only by sacrifice of other wants. Any increase in the amount spent for rent, both absolute, or relative to the amount spent on other goods, may usually be taken as an index of a move towards housing of the more widespread types in Montreal. Often the move is from a first to a second zone of settlement, and is motivated by other cultural preferences than housing alone. At the same time, some groups who settle at the edge of a city do adopt the houses that invade their areas, partly by choice to remain in the colony. The Italians and Ville Emard Poles show this.

Among groups of similar incomes, the different amounts spent

on rent often bear a direct relation to the place of the home in the group's social life. That is, the amounts spent reflect the home and home life in the family's standard of living. Home furnishings, such as sewing machines and telephones, reflect the economy of a group and perhaps its family and community organization.

An interesting deviation illustrates the hypothesis in the above paragraph. From a study of Canadian-born English-speaking unskilled workingmen's families (1) we learn that this group had .9 rooms per person, or practically the same as the Italians. They had less bed space per person. At the same time, they were consuming less, in percentage of total expenditure, than were the Italians. The importance of the place of the home if the Italians' scale of values, coupled with the above facts, seems to illustrate our hypothesis well.

Social Participation.

Most studies of immigrant assimilation are focused around the newcomers' social participation. This field of investigation is indeed a fruitful one. It pictures the immigrant in a number of typical environments of people in congregation, and so in specific sorts of cultural surroundings. From these observations, it is easy to infer the direction of assimilation, if the receiving group is not homogeneous, and also the distance moved toward assimilation. This thesis aims to present scientifically obtained data to cover in part the area of reference of the other type of work; the two really are supplementary. In an attempt to round out our discussions, short sections have been included on advancement and recreation. The field of occupational participation is, common to both types of work.

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(1) Heaton, Phyllis, Standards of Living Studies and their significance, including a Special Study in Montreal. McGill University Thesis, 1932.

It has been pointed out that the budget is very inadequate as a means of studying social participation. The method of investigation has then been changed, and been made primarily non-statistical.

In our study of European immigrants three phases in the cycle of change in their social participation bear special interest. The first accommodation is the development of an informal neighbourhood life. This appears to be a product of easy communication based on a common understanding, for the facing of similar problems, and on mutual sympathy. The extent to which it develops rests largely on the mobility of the persons in the group. The rural or urban backgrounds of the immigrants is also an important conditioning factor. The measure of cultural isolation, carrying with it freedom or restraint, may add or deter the development of neighbourhood characteristics.

Coincident in time is the adjustment which the immigrants make in constructing their own institutions, and in changing the rôle of these, as they attempt to meet their several sets of wishes amid the surroundings of a strange community, and as the demands of the incoming groups upon these institutions change. The third phase of adjustment is the changing measure of participation of foreign groups in the social activities of the receiving community. This third process sets in almost immediately after the immigrants' arrival astthey find for themselves a place in the occupational structure of the American community; or as their children start school. Acting again on compulsion, many immigrants are brought into relationship with welfare organizations, as the Family Welfare Association, or civic relief agencies of any of our large cities.

Voluntary participation in the institutions of the Canadian community is undertaken only after a long period of restraint. The

children of various ethnic groups,having come together in school, freely join in games on the playground or on the street. The adults tend to enter first in such institutions as the theatre or the church where relationships are anonymous. From these they acquaint themselves with new-world values. This type of social participation requires an expenditure of money; it is a choice between wants. Recreational pursuits are often the first consumption choices to suffer in times of depression. Among foreigners, then, a decline in income acts as a retarding force in the broadening or redirecting of social participation in these fields.

Voluntary participation in group activities of the native Canadians for recreational or purely social purposes where relationships are personal, marks an immigrant as well advanced towards assimilation. The European man who belongs to a Canadian non-benefit fraternal order or the woman who visits unhesitatingly with women of native parentage have lost much of the stigma of the foreigner. Assimilation must not be measured by social participation alone, but also by the ease with which the European enters into the new activity. That is, assimilation is primarily an matter of attitude. This point is rarely, if ever, reached in one generation. Some ethnic groups pass through this cycle more quickly than others. The process contains essentially the same series of stages for them all.

Some forms of participation are universal among immigrants, others are not. Two that are, are occupational participation and school attendance. The first has been discussed already; the second deserves at least brief attention. Nearly always the immigrant children attend the regular public schools. Training in their own language may be given after, or on school holidays. The significant

point is the distance the immigrant children go in school. The factors determining this appear to be, first, the family need, and secondly, the attitudes of the parents towards the youngsters'needs for education. In education then, we find the occupational ambitions of the immigrant parents for their children given expression. True, the wishes of the children are taken into account, and often affect the parents' hopes for their advancement. In Montreal, secondary school education is a budgetary consideration much more than elementary schooling is, because of the tuition charges in the higher institution. As a rule, education is more important in the "receipts" part of a family budget than in the expenditures, as schooling is usually discontinued to add the boy's contribution to the family's earning capacity. The education of girls usually varies with the group's opinions of their intended station in life.

Attitudes towards education are primarily cultural phenomena. The Italians, many of whom have had no schooling whatever, encourage their children to acquire only the simplest rudiments of education. Two boys who are in technical school come from families whose fathers are in factory trades. Many from Nordic groups bring with them a high standard of education, though this ambition is often tempered by the family's immediate economic needs. A number of the more successful Jewish immigrants enter the professional schools of our universities. The British in Verdun, peculiarly enough, show a lower average schooling among Canadian-schooled children than British-schooled parents. Their educational attainments are somewhat higher than the Italians',however. These data are necessarily fragmentary. A separate study of the education of immigrants would make an interesting and valuable publication.

Three classes of immigrant institutions typical to most groups are, first, commercial institutions, catering through one

or several services, and filling a valuable social need; second, institutions, as churches, that are transplanted, with only slight modification, from the homeland;and third, institutions designed to fill recreational or other social interests arising from the needs of an immigrant people in a strange country. The social clubs often function as mutual benefit societies, and as supporters of homeland political traditions.

Characteristic differences in the social organizations of various ethnic groups can usually be traced to other elements in their culture. The Italian clubs, for instance, reflect characteristics of their family form. Nearly all their organizations, except their church, are restricted to men. The men spend more in recreation than the rest of their families do together. The Finnish men and women, not bound by any trace of patriarchal family organization, spend about equally. Among the Italian women, there is the compensation of a close neighbourhood life, and a different home life, both of which are cultural factors. The absence of these two among the Finns may contribute towards giving recreation a proportionately larger place in their budget than in the Italians'.

Weddings and funerals are both occasions for lavish display among the Italians. A wedding among these people, like participation of individuals in social clubs, is an item in the family standard of living. Much of the cost is borne by the parents of the fêted lady. It is a test of family unity that parents and children alike willingly forego new clothing and other wants for several months to fit the wedding into their family budget. The whole family feels itself a participant in the gala event.

Family participation in activities that are for us more individualized is common among immigrants who come with a closely knit family organization. Parallel with this is the parental control

over the activities of their children. The individualistic Scandinavians probably show the opposite tendency. The regulation of participation is an interesting cultural trait, the life-cycle of its change is often strewn with social disorganization and social wreckage.

Those of foreign birth who have not been to school here, attend the churches and movie houses of the native group before they brave their way into other Canadian institutions. A probable exception is the workers' club or trade union. Attendance at the moving picture houses, if at all continual, does seem to imply an appreciation of the values represented on the screen. A fair understanding of English or French (in Montreal) is essential. A similar appreciation is required for foreigners to value our church services, though the necessary understanding is usually learned in their own groups. The invasion of other organized groups usually lags far behind their entry into impersonal congregations. It usually requires a fairly broad understanding of the culture they are moving towards.

Beyond a point easily reached, participation in the activities of the organized associations of either immigrant or native group requires a cash expenditure. Including education, recreation and so forth, the expenses for advancement by certain families of British immigrants has been as large as the total consumption of many of our Italian and Finnish families. The freedom to spend such amounts makes a very extensive participation possible. While for the British the adjustment to Canadian institutions is very rapid on account of the great initial likenesses of the two groups, the Continental Europeans would probably proceed more quickly if their budgets would allow a greater expenditure in this field. More time

would be given to education, in keeping with a different notion of success. Broader social contacts within their own groups would hasten their acquaintance with Canadian values. Here, however, we are diverging from reality. Most immigrants take up their struggle for a livelihood in this country with little or no financial means. except their own earning ability. Their movement toward assimilation must be controlled by the limitations of their means.

The Assimilation Process and its Points of Reference.

This discussion is far from complete. Our greatest omission has probably been our failure to include clothing in this final survey. The distribution of new clothing among the various age groups of Italians shows its close relation to social participation. Likewise, the higher sums spent by Finnish adults than Italians shows this same correlation. Numerous other items enter into the consumption of every ethnic group. Some of these are homeland cultural values; others are Canadian substitutions. The cultural identification of these usages may with some safety be assumed to follow that of some of the more important cultural indices of a group; of these, social participation, in its various divisions, is perhaps the most reliable.

We have not made full tests of the methods of LePlay. It seems clear that his approach is both a valuable and an inadequate one. In LePlay's own work, he studied the modes of living of families from the point of view of expenditures, and when that broke down or proved inadequate, he pushed his query beyond, in search of a fully rounded picture of the families studied.

In this thesis, several kinds of data, covering a number of fields of investigation have been introduced. Each set, and each kind of data has had a function in presenting and interpreting the processes of immigrant adjustment. On the side of occupations

and means of living, the place of occupational history material, of wage rates and earnings, have been already evaluated in this chapter. On the side of consumption, something may be added. The statistical data, especially that expressing prices, is valuable primarily in showing the comparative worth of different commodities or sets of commodities in the immigrants' scale of wants. Beyond that point, this quantitative frame of reference is less valuable than the general description of specific goods or services entering consumption. Both these types of data show cultural phenomena, but in the second only is an exact cultural identity possible. Since a study such as this is focused primarily on cultural facts, the quantitative is valuable only in illuminating the cultural; its chief purpose is to show the extent of certain usages.

Cultural data are interesting as an evidence of the position of an immigrant group in its movement toward assimilation. In a sense, the whole processes of adjustment can be followed by these facts. On the other hand, nearly all usages result from social interaction, and can be interpreted only through a knowledge of that interaction. This being so, we have introduced in this thesis, data on social participation, both as cultural data in themselves, and as social situations within which there is a reciprocation of ideas and influences. The situations in which social interaction takes place, then, have been presented, first, to give each set of facts in the field of occupation or consumption a social setting, and corollary to this, to interpret specific practices in terms of a specific social conditioning. The data on social participation, discussed under that heading and elsewhere, might well be rated as more important than the tabular data in this thesis, though probably are less important than facts of specific usages when given their cultural identity.

In our attempt to study the ways of groups whose social heritages have been from environments different from our own, we can observe values readily, but when we step beyond into the field of attitudes, our scientific method of inquiry is less adequate. In the case of immigrants, Canadian values nearly always become preferences through familiarity. The successive adopting of the traits of the new country does roughly mark the progress towards assimilation. If Canadian attitudes towards these usages do not precede their adoption, they are sure to follow.

Immigrant Assimilation.

Social values are the heritages of all humans. The young child adopts the culture of those about him. Usually this process is hampered by the undeveloped state of a youngster's mind, and his uncontrolled impulses. The process of acquiring a new social heritage by adult immigrants involves a similar learning process; but at this age the migrant is hampered by deeply engrained practices that are much more permanent than childish impulses. He is for a while living in two cultural worlds. Certain values of the new he accepts quickly, especially some related to occupation. At the moment of immigration he casts his choice in favour of new-world vocations, and must continue one or more of them, unless he chooses to return to Europe. Some consumption values he and his family are forced to adopt at once on arrival; others they become acquainted with gradually. It is these latter whose adoption marks the milestones towards assimilation in the field of consumption. These consumption choices are each adopted with a certain amount of conflict. As youngsters break ahead in the acquiring of new practices, there may result a family problem, a break-down of discipline, and consequent disorganization of both old and young. The process moves on till the immigrant has acquired all the material culture of the

native-born. One thing remains - sentiment. This latter is often not completely re-directed until the second generation or later. Through school, the press, and public opinion about him, the once-immigrant eventually takes on an interest in the past of his new country, and hopes for its future destiny. Then, and not before, does he truly greet the native Canadians as fellow nationals.

Name . . . . . Address . . . . . Date . . . . .

	Country of Birth	Nationality	Age	Sex	Occupat or School Grade, etc.	Employer	Contrib. to Family Income (1932)	Terms of Contract (Hourly etc Rate)	Earnings (1932)	Time Lost During 1932	
										Illness	Unemp't
Male Head of Household											
Wife											
Children											
Other Dependents											
Boarders											
Lodgers											
Other Income (Specify)	$		$		$		$				
TOTAL INCOME							$				

OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE, ETC.

	Occupation	Industry	Reg'ty
Chief wage-earner (country of emigration)			
Other members of household:			
Reason for emigration			
Was immigration assisted?	By whom?		
Length of residence in Canada	In Montreal		
Employment in Canada: (Exclude jobs less than 2 mths):-			
Industry			
Occupation			
Time of Employment			
Place (Geographical)			
How Obtained			
Why Quit			

GENERAL EXPENDITURES (1932)

Food: Expenditure on personal account $. ; provided by municipal relief . . (No. of weeks . .

Meals bought away from home $ . .

What items occur most frequently on your menu? .

Yearly expenditure for clothing:

Man $. Woman $.

D.Ch. Age . $ . . Age . $ . .

HOUSING: House or apartment .....
Number of rooms (not incl. halls, etc..... .....
Number of bedrooms .... . single beds .. ... double beds ..... .
Sanitary flush toilet? .. . Bath? ...
Monthly rent $ . .... .
Do you own home : If so, value $ . . . Annual Tax'n $ ....

FUEL AND LIGHT : What fuel used . . . . Cost, 1932 ... (not incl. gas)
What sort of heating system . . . .
Expenditure for light and/or gas $ .....
FURNITURE: Furniture bought during 1932. $ ...

Health services

Expenditure .....Doctor $ . ...Medicine $ ... Dentist $ .. Other $.
Clinical services (specify) . ...
Estimated value $ .. .... Amount paid $ .....
Other unpaid-for medical services (specify) .. ..
Estimated value $ .. ..

ORGANIZATIONS

Organization	Type	Supported by Whom	National Group	Fees, Donations, etc

OTHER EXPENDITURE
Street car fares: (a) to work $ .. . (b) other $ ... . ..
Expenses for recreation: movies $ . . . others .... $ . . .
. . .
Beer, wine, tobacco $ .. . .
Education: school books $ . . tuition $ .. .... other $ .....
Newspapers, magazines, etc.: English $ .... . Other $ . .....

Yearly remittance to friends and relatives in Europe $ . . . .

Do you own an automobile .... Value $ . . . . Annual expense $ ...

Have you a radio .. ... .sewing machine . .. . piano .. gramophone ..
washing machine .. . .telephone ... . .

SAVINGS, DEFICITS, ETC
Insurance carried : (a) Chief wage earner $ . .. Annual premium $. ..
(b) Family $ . . ..Premium (s) $ . . ..

Money saved during 1932 $ ... .
Deficit $ . . ..Borrowings $ ... .. From whom .. ..
Outstanding bills : Rent $ ..... Groceries $ ..... Other $ ...
Money lost through having partly paid for furnishing reclaimed $ .....
Help received in form of goods and services, etc., other than
municipal relief for food : (specify) . . ..
.. ..
If you had more money, what would you do with it? .. . .
.....

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