

A STUDY OF
FAMILY DISORGANIZATION
IN CANADA

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A STUDY OF FAMILY DISORGANIZATION IN CANADA

A dissertation

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by

Muriel Bernice McCall,

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CHAPTER I

THE FAMILY AS THE CENTER OF PUBLIC INTEREST

(1)

A Shift in the Focus of Public Attention

Within the last generation a radical change has taken place in the subject of public discussion. The real issue is no longer political, diplomatic or even economic. Neither is it one of social reform. It is in a word matrimonial. Divorce and desertion rates have shown a marked increase within the last two decades. The newspapers and magazines have seized upon this choice bit of news and have presented it in lurid form to the public. Through this organ chiefly the public has been made aware of the seriousness of family problems and stimulated to an increasing interest in ways and means of bringing about some change. A part of society view the hopelessness of the family situation in horror. Another part looks forward with pleasure to a day in the near future when the old restraints of managamous marriage will be a thing of the past and a new freedom in the making and breaking of marriage unions will exist. Both these groups have as the center of their interest the same social problem, that of family disorganization.

Despite the fact that this intense public interest in family problems has only shown itself within the last two decades, these same problems have engaged the attention of reformers for generations. Divorce and desertion are not the products of a sudden outgrowth on the tree of social organization. Nor are they the inventions of the "moderns". Family disorganization as it exists and is discussed today is the outcome of a long slow process aided and directed by certain social forces and greatly increased in volume.

(2)

The Changing Attitude of the Public.

No institution can be considered or judged in its full light apart from the attitudes of the people who go to make it up and the family is no exception to this rule. The solidarity of the family as a part of the greater society has always depended upon the unity of the attitudes of the individuals who composed it. "The family is not merely a group of individuals living in close proximity as formal studies of divorce and desertion often seem to assume. It is an organization of attitudes and ideals which each family develops independently and which seems to characterize the family as a cultural group. The establishment of a family is the process of building up organized attitudes in which all concur. Family disorganization represents the converse process in which the family complex breaks up and the ambitions and ideals of the individual members of the family become differentiated." The amount of family disorganization as indicated by the sudden upward trend in the rate of divorce incidence today would lead us to the assumption that the attitudes of the members within the family itself have undergone a radical change during the last few years.

This change in attitude has not occurred only in the disorganized families themselves but is true of the attitudes of the public as a whole. Divorce is no longer a matter of morals. There was a day when a divorce was a scandal and when the parties to it were completely excluded from the normal group life of the community. Within the last decade this type of control has been disappearing everywhere, with the exception of a very few parts of both Canada and the United States where the traditional prejudice is still very strong--and following upon its disappearance we have an almost phenomenal increase in divorce.

(1) Mowrer, E. W. Family Disorganization, Chapt. 1, page 3 ff.

Fifty years ago marriage was conceived as a permanent union from which there could be no release no matter how impossible the situation between husband and wife might become. There was too a feeling of great responsibility in begetting and rearing children and a very definite consciousness of the importance of the family as "the backbone of the nation." Disillusionment after marriage, quibbles between husband and wife, family tensions and general incompatibility were looked upon as something that must be expected and put up with and were normally concealed as part of the private life of the individuals concerned. The modern family on the other hand is becoming more and more ready to "wash its dirty clothes in public," and what is more, the public is permitting it without much protest. The newspapers of the country all possess a column in which advice of the most intimate nature is given to people in matrimonial difficulties. The divorce courts are full despite the fact that no divorce is possible without a greater or lesser degree of sensational publicity. Courts of Domestic relations handle more cases in a single year now than passed through the same courts over a period of four or five years fifty years ago. The very existence of such a state of affairs bespeaks the great change that has taken place in the attitudes of the public.

One of the forces which can be held accountable to a great extent for this change may safely be said to be the increasing individualism of modern family life. "The family in the past has been the most influential of institutions in imposing upon the new generation the ideas and forms of the old. Under the changing conditions of city life however, the individual lives more in the community than in the family and there he finds divergent views. The result is an attitude of experimentation on the part of the individual--a rebellion against the old ideals of family life and a tendency to enter into marriage relations along more individualistic lines than would have been tolerated under less mobile conditions." (2) As long as the wishes

(2) Mowrer, E. W. Family Disorganization, Chapter 1, page 6.

of the individual members of the family group are subordinated to the welfare of the group as a whole, conflict between the members assumes such insignificant proportions that the permanence of the family relationships is in no way jeopardized. When however, as in the case of the modern family the wishes of the individual are of paramount importance conflicts between husband and wife tend to increase and seriously to affect the continuance of the marriage relationship. "When this stage is reached the family as an unchanging and indissoluble institution is no longer taken for granted but becomes a subject for speculation and reflection." (3)

Another factor which may be said to be responsible to a great extent for the change in attitude in the public is the change in the position of women. Not long ago the admittance of a woman into an institution of higher learning was unheard of, whereas the idea of women entering the field of competitive industry would have made people gasp with horror. Woman's vocation was essentially marriage. From the time she was old enough to understand anything this one fact was impressed upon her. All her training was to fit her for the performance of the tasks consequent upon marriage. After her marriage she became the "property of her husband" and had no separate identity apart from him. She could not hold property in her own name. She might and was expected to work like a slave in her own home, but outside of her home she might not work. Incompatibility between herself and her husband might arise but even should she take it upon herself to separate from her husband as a solution there was no place for her to go.

"The change in modern economic conditions due to invention, factory production and the growth of Capital which has transformed her work largely from individual to social production has changed her status to a marked degree." (4)

(3) Mowrer E. W. Family Disorganization, Chapter 1, page 8.

(4) Lichtenberger. Divorce, A Study in Social Causation, Chapter 10, P. 165 ff.

The introduction of machinery into industry with the lightening of tasks consequent upon such a change made a place for women in industry and created an increasing demand for woman and child labor. At the opening of the industrial era public opinion was decidedly averse to female employment. Woman was going out of her own sphere. To invade the ranks of public labor was unbecoming and done only by those in the lowest social positions. But time has served to change all this. "The field is open, the motive is supplied and traditions concerning propriety must adjust themselves to new conditions." (5) Women are now no longer confined to the home. They have entered the economic field in open competition with men and in so doing have brought the problems formerly hidden within the sacred precincts of the home into the field of public discussion. Woman is no longer bound to bear her sorrows in silence. If she wishes to she may solve her marriage difficulties by leaving her husband's home and still have somewhere to go. "Marriage is no longer the only vocation open to woman and for which she is qualified. She is not forced into marriage as her only means of support. And later marriages and lower birth rates reveal this fact. If marriage is a failure she does not face the alternative of endurance or starvation. The way is open to independent support and under diminishing opprobrium. Conscious of her legal rights and protected in the use of property or income, she is no longer compelled to accept support or yield to the tyranny of a husband whose conduct is a menace to her health and happiness." (6)

The feminist movement has grown directly out of this increasing independence of women in the economic world. Women are claiming equal rights with men not only economically but socially and their insistence on this point has contributed perhaps more than any other single thing to the increasing interest which the public has shown of recent years in the question of divorce.

An interesting indication of the changing attitude of the public may be seen in the great freedom accorded people who are expounding new

(5) Lichtenberger. *Divorce, A Study in Social Causation*, Chapter 10, P. 167.
(6) Lichtenberger. " " " " " " " " 10, P. 169.

6.

forms of marriage entirely out of keeping with that set down in tradition. Doctrines of free love, companionate marriage, easier divorce, and equal rights for men and women would have called for complete ostracism, if not imprisonment of the exponent in a day not very long past. Today the public not only permits such doctrines to be expounded but discusses them freely and encourages further question and discussion by making them available to an ever larger public through publication in newspapers, periodicals, and books.

(3)

Influence of the Press.

All the recent studies on the subject of divorce are unanimous in proclaiming the important part the press has played in making divorce the center of public attention. Scarcely a day passes without some article appearing pointing out the seriousness of the divorce question. Today it is as unusual to pick up a periodical without a reference to this question as it was to find such an article in the publications of twenty-five years ago.

The modern press fulfills two functions, it both reflects and directs public opinion. No newspaper can succeed for very long which continues to publish articles on a subject having no place in the life or thoughts of the people for whom it is written. This does not mean that the press is necessarily hampered from imparting new ideas. Walter Lippmann in his "Liberty and the News" does not express any fear on that point, but rather feels that the modern press errs on the side of becoming purely an organ for the spread of sophistry and propaganda.

The world as most of us know it, is not a seen but a reported world, and these reports we gather chiefly from the one great source, the press.

We do not, however, take over the news exactly as it is printed. We recast and remold the various incidents in terms of our life experience. If we are not familiar with the object being reported we cloth it, in imagination, in terms which are familiar to us. Lippmann uses the term "stereotype" to imply the mold into which we cast all the reports which we accept. The Press, before it can hope to direct public opinion must create a common stereotype. The larger the public which it hopes to influence the more simple this stereotype must be in order that it may become a part of the life of every reader. The Press does not begin by writing sensational articles on any subject and divorce is no exception. It first creates the stereotype around which individual interest may be clustered and then proceeds to advance theories in connection with it.

The interest in divorce has been aroused in just such a way. Divorce until recent years had no part in the life of the vast majority of the people. Changes of a marked nature began to take place whereby divorce became more common in circles where it had been heretofore practically unknown. The press during this period lost no opportunity of reporting this change, stating it always in terms of "increase" and the "growing field of influence" but not yet advancing any theories which might conflict with the readers preconceptions of the rightness or wrongness of such a change. The readers on the other hand as a result of having the matter repeatedly called to their attention, began to feel the importance of the new problem, to apply it in their own lives and to discuss reasons for its existence and possible means of reform. Once it reached this stage of public discussion it had become a matter of public opinion.

At this point the press changed its tactics and began to publish some of the discussions that were taking place. We note this change especially in our periodicals. The emancipation of women had not only increased the circulation of periodical literature but had changed its nature. Articles on the subject of social reform replete with emotional situations and abounding in human interest (calculated to be more interesting to women readers) supplanted in part the purely political discussion. Another change has taken place in the last few years and the articles on social reform have had to yield place to a subject of more vital importance to the public of today, the crisis in the marriage system and its possible future. The change in emphasis in the Collette, the Dorothy Dix and Annie Laurie Columns of our papers reflect this change in interest. Earnest enquirers of these columns who used to ask "How can I hold my sweetheart's love for me?" now ask "How can I hold my husband?" Magazines quote the opinions of outstanding men on the subject of divorce in an attempt to impress the public that even the highest intellectual powers realize the seriousness of the problem. Sensational titles such as "Divorce in the United States; A searching exposition of a great social problem" introduce articles on the subject in our Sunday papers while in our daily editions appear reports from the census Bureau, criticisms of existing legislation and discussions of the radical programmes of reform suggested by such people as Judge Ben Lindsay and Ellen Keyes.

But our press does not simply report such news and leave the reader to draw his conclusions. By the insertion of a single sentence or the subtle use of terms held in good or bad repute it can and does influence the public to form a good or bad opinion of the theory under discussion.

The following excerpt from a Chicago paper illustrates this clearly.

"Writing on the "Moral Revolt," Judge Lindsay discusses with intimate frankness the cases of several couples who brought their love and marital troubles to his court. He argues that the existing marriage ~~system~~ and moral standards are not standing the test, hence the "revolt" of youth which has been alarming some of our clergymen." So far the press was able to give a fairly unprejudiced report of Judge Lindsays theory of "Companionate Marriage" but here it could not refrain from spreading some of the "sophistry and propaganda which it considered to be in the nations interest and concludes the paragraph with the following caustic remark. "He does not adopt such terms as "trial Marriage" and "birth control" but his phraseology runs to the same end." (7)

Closely allied to the daily newspaper and even more minutely read is the human interest story. These stories appear in their wildest form in Bernard McFaddens magazine, and in milder form in True Story, Dreamland, and Confession. One is puzzled as to how to classify them. They are at one and the same time news and fiction. They may be news in the form of fiction or fiction in the guise of news. One scarcely knows which. Their main theme is the thrill of sex love and the dangerous rocks upon which love and matrimony fall. The circulation of these magazines is immense. It is calculated that they are actually read by millions of people, chiefly women. The element of fiction in them holds the interest while the "news," if it may be called such, is true enough to life to appeal very strongly and to play an important part in forming the readers attitude towards the matrimonial crisis.

With a power like the press, exerting such a wide field of influence, and possessing such powerful weapons as the above, it is no wonder that "Divorce" in its many aspects has come to be the center of public interest.

(7) Chicago Daily Tribune. January 12, 1927.

(4)

The Church and Divorce

We cannot however consider the question of divorce without some reference to the church. Throughout the entire course of history the church, as embodying religion, has been one of the strong and determining factors in human conduct. Traditional beliefs and customs which have taken on a religious significance, survive and retard the effect of other causes which tend to bring about change in the social order. Sometimes it has seemed to stand in the way of social progress but it has likewise prevented the spread of many policies which might have been disastrous.

The church has made its influence felt from the very beginning on the question of divorce. Much of the difficulty in passing divorce legislation especially in England has been due to the persistence with which the church opposed it. As will be shown in the following chapter, attempts in England to broaden divorce legislation even in our day was checkmated by the action of two church dignitaries. The church resents the new order. It believes firmly in marriage as a sacrament and actively opposes marriage as a contract. Upholding as it does that marriage ~~is~~ a sacrament it cannot believe that dissolution followed by another marriage is possible. The churches of the world are sound on the point that marriage is indissoluble except by death and are therefore a formidable body of Christian opinion against any movement for making the facilities for divorce greater.

Ecclesiastical legislation on the part of the Protestant churches falls wholly within the last fifty or sixty years. Finding itself unable to prevent the passing of legislation permitting of divorce with the privilege

to remarry, the church passed certain ecclesiastical legislation partly to give public witness to the fact that it did not approve of divorce and partly to protect itself against having to play any part in the proceedings after divorce was granted. The Roman Catholic church does not admit of divorce as we understand it with the corresponding right to remarry on any grounds. The Protestant church is, however, agreed that divorce with remarriage is permitted by the Holy Scriptures for one cause, adultery and that divorce on any other grounds is illegal. Ecclesiastical legislation has for the most part taken the form of regulations forbidding the clergy to remarry any but the innocent party to a divorce and then only after a certain time has elapsed. These regulations vary in the different denominations and a detailed examination of them, therefore, is impossible within the narrow scope of this study.

That the divorce question is of vital interest to the Christian Church is further evidenced by the frequency with which the discussion of this subject appears in the proceedings of Conferences, Synods and Assemblies and the number of articles which find a place in church papers and publications of various kinds. Ministers plead the sanctity of marriage constantly in their sermons. Different churches have appointed special commissions to enquire into the subject. It is interesting to note that the only study of the divorce question in Canada which has received publication has been that made by the Social Service Council of the Protestant Churches of Canada. Despite the open opposition which the churches have shown, however, the divorce rate has continued to soar, and public opinion towards the divorce has continued to grow more and more lenient. If the church has had or can have any influence upon the situation it will be as in the past upon divorce legislation.

CHAPTER II
DIVORCE AND DIVORCE LEGISLATION

(1)

Legislation in General and the Increase in Divorce

Before considering the question of divorce and its frequency in Canada in detail, it will be necessary for us to examine such of our legislation as may have a direct influence upon the divorce trend. It would be impossible to present a complete picture of such legislation within the pages of this study but we may very profitably show the trends it has taken and trace briefly its effects.

The legislation which effects the divorce problem falls into two natural divisions, marriage legislation and divorce legislation. During the first few years of what is known to press readers as "the divorce crisis" - all public attention was centered upon divorce legislation, placing there entire responsibility for the phenomenal increase in divorce. When changes in divorce legislation involving greater stringency failed to bring about any corresponding change in the frequency of divorce, the importance of this question was brought before the public's attention more forcibly and careful scientific investigations were made to try to discover where the real source of the trouble lay. The result of these investigations was to shift the onus slightly from divorce and center it upon our marriage legislation. The press immediately took up the cry, "What is the matter with marriage", though still continuing to question the effectiveness of existing divorce legislation.

Of those who emphasize the importance of marriage legislation in controlling the divorce situation, Professor Howard is a notable exponent.

He says: "It is freely admitted that bad marriage law is not the chief source of divorce. Nevertheless, it will account for the dissolution of wedlock in far more instances than will bad divorce law. For in reality clandestine marriages are often due to this cause and clandestine marriages are apt to terminate in divorce. Moreover, bad marriage laws may permit or fail to prevent the union of those who are unfit because of venereal disease, insanity, crime or degeneracy. Thus there is a radical difference between a bad divorce law and a bad marriage law". (1)

That bad marriage laws have an effect on the divorce rate may be conceded but that its effect is greater than that of correspondingly bad divorce legislation, is extremely doubtful.

"If the divorce movement is in any way controlled by "the laws governing Marriage and Divorce" then the direction which this movement has taken would certainly indicate that there has been a general relaxation, either on the part of the law or in respect to its administration. As a matter of fact, the situation is precisely the reverse. The whole trend of both legislation and administration has been towards greater stringency". (2)

An examination of the changes in marriage and divorce legislation in the United States made at two different periods revealed the same conclusion in both instances that "the effect of legislation in preventing the increase of divorce - has been almost nil". (3) To say that it has had no effect would, however, be quite false. Where the legislation has become more stringent there has been some very slight decrease in the divorce rate. Where the law was made more lax, the rate has increased but not to any marked extent nor for any considerable length of time. The general trend has remained the same. As a consolation to conscientious reformers, Professor Howard wittily observes, "Still the reformer need not despair, Without the reforms accomplished the rate might have been still higher". (4)

(1) Howard. American Sociological Society. Vol. III Page 178.

(2) Lichtenberger. Divorce - A study in Social Causation. Chapt.VI Page 97.

(3) " " " " " Chapt.VI Page 106.

(4) Howard. American Sociological Society. Vol. III Page 175.

Studies similar to the ones made in the United States have been made in Great Britain but a greater correlation has been found to exist between changes in legislation and the increasing divorce rate, although these changes admittedly do not account entirely for the increase. A closer study of legislation in Great Britain, United States and Canada may be of great help to us in interpreting the statistical material to be found in a later chapter of this study.

(2)

Legislation in England

Divorce legislation in England cannot as in the new countries, be studied in terms of statutes only but must be viewed in the light of social custom and institutions dating back many many centuries and closely linked with the religious history of the Old World. Prior to the passing of the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act, 1857, the term divorce signified only a divorce 'a mensa et a thoro' or separation as to bed and board. The ecclesiastical courts, at that time exercising exclusive jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to divorce, were very much opposed to an absolute dissolution of the marriage tie with the accompanying right to remarry. Such a right could only be obtained after tedious and costly repetitions of the desire before separate and distinct tribunals and finally before the House of Lords. Thus, divorce required ecclesiastical, civil and parliamentary proceedings. The costliness of these proceedings practically limited relief from matrimonial difficulties to the upper and wealthier classes, whereas

(5) Material for the digest of divorce legislation was gathered from consultation with R. R. Evans, Law and Practise, relating to divorce in Canada; Dixon - Law and Practise; Lichtenberger, Divorce - a Study in Social Causation; United States Census Special Report on Marriage and Divorce 1906.

the less fortunate financially nursed a grievance of being unable to get any alleviation for their matrimonial wrongs. Bills were proposed to right the situation but were defeated through the objection of ecclesiastical authorities. As the power of the church over the state decreased, however, the state grew in power and was able to take many of the functions of the church entirely into its own hands. Parliament consequently took up the grievance and "endeavoured to create a court in which everyone could obtain redress of matrimonial wrongs at a cost within reach of the poorest".⁽⁶⁾ The result was the constitution of the English divorce courts.

The Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, commonly known as the Divorce Act, transferred to a court known as the Divorce Court complete jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to divorce which had formerly been exercised by the Ecclesiastical Courts. It was now possible to obtain a divorce 'a vinculo matrimonii' or absolute dissolution of marriage ties with the right to remarry. This same law, with the addition of certain minor amendments from time to time is the law in force in England to-day. Under this court lies jurisdiction on all questions regarding the Dissolution of Marriage (Divorce); Judicial Separation; Nullity of Marriage; Restitution of Conjugal Rights and other related matters.

Divorce in England, as is the case in other countries, is granted on unequal grounds to husband and wife. A husband may obtain a divorce on the grounds of adultery alone, whereas, the wife must prove (a) incestuous adultery; (b) bigamy with adultery; (c) rape; (d) sodomy; (e) bestiality; (f) adultery with desertion for two years or more; (g) adultery with such

(6) Dixon - Divorce and Law Practise. Introductory Page 2. Butterworth & Co.

cruelty as of itself would entitle her to separation as to bed and board. There is a clause in the law which provides for the husband obtaining from the guilty correspondent damages and costs. It is interesting to note that at every stage when the Bill was brought before parliament, it contained a clause forbidding the remarriage of the guilty party. To-day this clause still exists in any Bill of divorce sought by Act of Parliament in England, but is crossed out in the committee stage. In actual practise then, either of the divorced parties may remarry providing they have obtained their divorce on the grounds stated above. A further clause in the Act relieves a clergyman of the Church of England from officiating at the marriage of divorced persons, although strangely enough he cannot refuse the use of his church for such a purpose should any other minister in the diocese wish or be willing to officiate.

Under such a system the average number of divorces gradually rose. This increase coupled with the question of greater facilities being open to the wealthy than the poor, and the irritating fact of the inequality of grounds on which divorce could be granted to the two sexes, caused a general dissatisfaction in the text and administration of divorce legislation. The press with its unrestricted publication disseminated the details of an increasing number of cases which only served to whet the already existing dissatisfaction and bring the subject more and more within the field of public discussion. In 1909 the question had become of such national importance that on a motion of Lord Gorell, for three years President of the Probate and Divorce Division of High Court, and exponent of freer divorce in England, a commission was appointed to inquire into the whole question.

The commissioners made a study of the law relating to divorce and

matrimonial causes considering the broader field of the problem in its legal, social and religious aspects. The report given by the Royal Commission is much too lengthy to be given here. Among the recommendations made, we may note a clause providing equal footing for the sexes as to the grounds on which divorce may be obtained, an extension of the conditions upon which nullity of marriage might be proven and separation secured, and the introduction of the following grounds on which divorce might be granted.

- (a) Adultery (without sex irregularity at present existing).
- (b) Desertion for three years or upward.
- (c) Cruelty.
- (d) Incurable insanity after five years confinement.
- (e) Habitual drunkenness found incurable.
- (f) Imprisonment under commuted death sentence.

Shortly after the presentation of this report, Lord Gorell introduced a Bill into the House of Lords incorporating the findings of the majority report as to an extension of the grounds for divorce. After a second reading of the Bill, its rejection was moved by the Archbishop of York, the Archbishop of Canterbury and several of the Lords. In 1921 he introduced another Bill to give effect to the findings of the minority report presenting two principles, (1) the extension of High Court procedure to make the law available to all; (2) to place women on a position of equality with men in regard to divorce. The Archbishops supported the Bill because "it abstains from allowing new grounds of divorce". Unfortunately, an amendment introduced by Lord Buckmaster making desertion for three months a ground for divorce, was moved and carried. The Archbishops immediately withdrew their support. The Bill carried on the first reading but was defeated on the second, largely due to the efforts of the Mothers Union, who rigidly opposed any ex-

tension of the grounds for divorce.

Except for certain amendments as to procedure, the Divorce Act of England remains essentially the same as the original Bill of 1857. The failure to secure less rigid legislation resulted in a manipulation of existing grounds to overcome the limitations set down by the law. The divorce rate has continued to soar and to call forth comment in newspaper and periodical. The question is in process of being seriously mooted in England at the present time. One side maintains that an inability to obtain a divorce on legal grounds leads to the formation of irregular unions. The question then arises as to which is the most advisable course to follow with a view to re-establishing the stability of the family, the establishing of legislation permitting of a wider ground of divorce with remarriage or the establishing of legislation to penalize any departure from regular family unions.

(3)

United States Legislation

In no country in the world has divorce had such a phenomenal increase as in the United States. It was there that the divorce crisis first made itself felt and it is there that we may turn for the most comprehensive studies on Divorce Causation. Especially have studies been made as to the correlation between divorce and divorce and marriage legislation. The results of these studies have been much the same and have reported the effects of legislation on the divorce rate to be almost nil. A more detailed examination of legislation pertaining to marriage and divorce enacted during the past thirty years, however, will serve to illustrate this point more clearly.

Marriage legislation in the United States has undergone very little change and such changes as have occurred have been of minor importance and of

such a nature as to have little or no effect upon the divorce rate. These changes may be ranged under three headings, (a) changes in age requirement; (b) changes in clauses concerning prohibited marriages; (c) changes effecting the remarriage of divorced persons. As we may readily see the only change intended to effect divorce is the last.

Fourteen states have made some change which would come under the first heading. Each of these states, however, has raised the age at which parental consent is required or at which minors are capable of marrying.

Eighteen states introduced new statutes or amended old ones dealing with the subject of prohibited marriages. Six of these enacted legislation forbidding marriage of negroes with whites. Four included Mongolians in this prohibition. Five directed the changes in legislation to prevent marriages resulting in propagation of the insane.

The only changes aimed directly at affecting the number of divorces was that legislation which dealt with the remarriage of divorced persons. Without considering this legislation State by State we may say that the number of states which tended towards laxity in this regard was not greater than those which tended towards greater stringency.

Changes in divorce legislation fall under four headings, (a) those which have to do with provisions for notice to the defendant; (b) provision for defending the suit; (c) regulations regarding previous residence, and (d) statutory grounds for divorce.

Nine states enacted laws regarding notices to the defendant when non-resident or when residence is not known. Five states made provisions for defending the suit. Eighteen states made changes in residence requirements.

Of this number thirteen have raised their residence requirements while five only reduced them.

The change, however, which has been most debated is the change in grounds upon which divorce may be granted. Four states added insanity to the list of grounds on which divorce might be granted and one state repealed this cause. Six states made their laws more rigid whereas ten states widened the grounds on which divorce may be sought.

In every discussion of divorce the question of the effect of broadening the grounds for divorce is brought up. In each instance the United States is used as an example of the effects of such a principle upon the increase in divorce. The grounds for divorce in United States vary greatly with the various states, and any detailed enumeration of them by states is neither possible nor necessary in this study. A list of the causes for which divorce can be obtained in some one or several of the states will suffice for our purpose and may be listed as follows:-

1. Adultery on the part of either husband or wife.
2. Cruelty - Including cruelty of itself, extreme or repeated cruelty, intolerable severity, cruel and abusive treatment, cruel and inhuman treatment, cruel and barbarous treatment, attempt to take life, indignities rendering life intolerable, excess and outrages, treatment endangering reason, treatment injuring health, violence endangering life.
3. Desertion - May include abandonment, absence for a given period of years, wilful desertion, complete desertion, etc.
4. Drunkenness - Habitual or continued drunkenness, or habitual or continued intemperance, habitual or continued intoxication, habitual use of opium, morphine, chloral or other like drugs.
5. Neglect to Provide - Includes non-support, wilful neglect, refusal to provide, failure to provide.
6. General Causes - Such as conviction of felony, impotency, in-

sanity, imprisonment in penitentiary, incompatibility of temper, mental incapacity, pregnancy before marriage, voluntary separation, etc.

In United States the divorce problem has evidenced the most alarming proportions. There, too, the grounds upon which divorce can be granted are most liberal. The question naturally arises, "Is there any correlation between grounds for divorce and the divorce rate?" Professor Willcox in his study "The Divorce Problem" has shown the fallacy of any such assumption. He says, "To establish a connection between the two as even probable the change in the number of divorces must be shown to occur solely or mainly in causes affected by the law".⁽⁷⁾ Employing this method of comparison, it was shown that not in a single instance was the divorce rate altered by an introduction of new grounds for divorce. It might be very interesting as well as remunerative to make such a comparison between England and United States, and Canada and the United States to attempt to show whether an extension in the grounds for divorce is responsible for the phenomenal difference in the incidence of divorce in these countries. At present, however, the available statistical materials for Canada are not of a nature that will admit of such a comparison.

(4)

Canadian Legislation

Divorce Legislation in Canada like that of the United States varies greatly from province to province. The reason for this can very easily be explained by the fact that there is no federal law affecting divorce. A clause of the B. N. A. Act of 1867 gives to parliament complete jurisdiction in all matters relating to marriage and divorce except

(7) Willcox - The Divorce Problem. Page 48.

the solemnization of marriage which remains a matter of province jurisdiction and legislation. A later clause in the same Act, however, makes provision that all laws in force in Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at the time of Union, and all civil and criminal courts and all authorities, judicial, administrative and ministerial existing in these provinces at the time of Union, should continue as if the Union had not been made. A still further clause makes provision whereby the Parliament of Canada may call into existence any additional courts for the better administration of Canada. In these clauses of the B. N. A. Act, drawn up and passed at the time of Confederation, we see the reason for the divergence in divorce legislation.

As the divorce situation in Canada seems to be rather directly affected by the legislation in existence, a closer examination of this legislation will be to our benefit.

Prince Edward Island, which at the time of Union, had legislation affecting divorce retained this legislation and has continued to do so without change. By an Act of provincial parliament in 1835, the Governor and his executive council were constituted a court with jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to divorce. The grounds upon which divorce may be granted are (1) adultery (2) impotence (3) consanguinity. As there has been only one divorce in a period of fifty years and that one in 1913, there has been no pressure exerted upon the Governor and his executive and no need for change has been felt.

New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, both of which had well organized divorce courts in existence at the time of Confederation also retained their Courts. In New Brunswick a divorce can be granted on grounds of (a) adultery; (b) impotence; (c) frigidity; (d) consanguinity. In Nova Scotia the grounds are (a) adultery; (b) impotence; (c) cruelty; (d) consanguinity. It is in-

teresting to note that in these Maritime Provinces the grounds for divorce are the broadest of any in the Dominion, yet it is not here that the highest rate exists.

British Columbia did not enter Confederation until 1871. Prior to this in 1858 by proclamation of the Governor "the civil laws of England insofar as they were not inapplicable were made the laws of that province". As early as 1877 a dispute arose in the courts as to the power of that province to grant divorce and the decision was made that the above legislation introduced into British Columbia the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, and that the supreme court of British Columbia possessed the jurisdiction of the English Divorce courts in all proceedings of divorce. This same legislation exists in British Columbia to-day without change. A later discussion in "Watts & Watts" which went before the Privy Council ratified the decision previously made as to the powers of the province in matters pertaining to divorce. This final definition of the court and its powers brought an unprecedented increase in divorces in that province which has continued to go higher until to-day British Columbia has by far the highest divorce rate in Canada.

Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan being the last provinces to enter Confederation were the last in which any argument on the question of divorce legislation arose. Prior to 1919, all petitions for divorce in Manitoba had gone directly to Parliament. In 1917, a petition was filed in provincial courts seeking a decree of divorce with the result that the Manitoba Court of Appeal, by a unanimous decision, declared the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act the same as it existed in 1870 in England to be in force in that province and further reported that the Court of Kings bench had the same jurisdiction as the courts of England coming under that Act. This decision was confirmed

upon appeal by the Privy Council in 1919 so that to-day it is a recognized fact that The Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act as it existed in England in 1870 is in force in Manitoba.

It was not until 1905 that Alberta and Saskatchewan became a part of our Dominion. Some years before this, however, in 1886, the Parliament of Canada had declared the civil laws of England, as they existed in 1870, in force in the Northwest Territories (under which name these two provinces were known at that time). In 1918, a petition for divorce was filed in Alberta and the decision was made that the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act as in force in England in 1870 applied to the province by Dominion legislature. A similar decision was made in Saskatchewan a year later.

In all these Western provinces which now operate under the English law of 1857 and maintain their own courts, the grounds for divorce are those which come under the English law and have been enumerated earlier in this chapter.

"The Dominion Parliament has never passed any divorce legislation giving to Canadians, or persons domiciled in Canada, the right to be granted a decree of divorce nor has it ever created a divorce court having jurisdiction throughout Canada - but Parliament has permitted persons domiciled in Canada to petition Parliament for matrimonial relief through the Divorce Committee of the senate and will grant divorce by way of private bill. Now Parliament while acting within the scope of its authority is not limited in the same manner or to the same extent as is the English Divorce Court, and the various courts of the provinces exercising jurisdiction in Matrimonial Causes and Parliament can, if it sees fit, grant a divorce upon any grounds as it may deem sufficient. In practise, however, Parliament has always restricted itself in the exercise of its powers to granting relief in conformity with the principles upon which matrimonial causes are determined in England under the Provisions of the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 - but subject to this one important exception that a wife may be given relief on the sole ground of adultery committed by her husband without establishing any of the concomitant grounds which under the English law she is obliged to allege and substantiate." (8)

In Ontario and Quebec there is no provision made for a court having jurisdiction over matters pertaining to divorce. Quebec has assumed jurisdiction "not to dissolve but to annul a marriage because of antecedent impediment" and even to entertain petitions for separation as to bed and board following the practise of the Ecclesiastical Courts of England. Prior to the Act of 1857, Ontario does not exercise jurisdiction even to such a limited extent. Every petition for divorce then has to go before the special committee of Parliament and involves the passing of a separate bill. The proceedings are both tedious and complicated, the fee is large and the expense necessitated by appearing in Ottawa beyond the average purse. The dissatisfaction with this arrangement was such that in June of 1919 W. F. Nickle introduced a bill into the Canadian Commons which proposed to transfer from the Senate to a special court, jurisdiction in the matters of divorce. It is interesting to note that this is exactly the same argument as was used in the British House at the time of the passing of the English divorce law and under practically the same circumstances. After passing its second reading, the Nickle Bill was withdrawn. A similar Bill was introduced to take its place but was abandoned. In 1920 Senator W. R. Ross introduced a Bill entitled "An Act to provide in Ontario and Prince Edward Island for the Dissolution and Annulment of Marriage." Another Act passed about the same time sought to make uniform the divorce laws of Canada, excepting Quebec. The result was an immediate answer from Prince Edward Island setting forth their opposition to any such legislation on the grounds, (1) that Prince Edward Island did not want it and had not asked for it, and (2) because "the establishment of such a court will tend to destroy the stability of the home and encourage the dissolution of the marriage tie". The two Bills were abandoned and Ontario is in exactly

the same position with regard to divorce as she was fifty years ago.

Such are the origins of divorce legislation and such its condition at the present time. A further examination of statistics will enable us to determine whether or not it has had any effect on the divorce rate.

CHAPTER III

DIVORCE IN CANADA

(1)

The Limitations of Statistics.

In any discussion of a statistical nature it is well to set down at the very outset the limitations imposed by these statistics. Statistics at best can only be taken as symptoms of an existing condition whereas many people are prone to take them as absolute indications of the state of the subject under consideration. Dr. Mowrer in his most excellent study of "Family Disorganization" has the following comment to make in this regard, "Caution is the word which should be observed in the interpretation of comparative statistics on family disintegration. Especially is this true if these statistics are of divorce which are often interpreted as absolute proof that family disorganization is more prevalent in one society than another." (1)

With this warning in mind it would be well for us to consider in what regard we should be cautious and exactly the nature of this limitation upon statistics. Since our statistics will deal entirely with the question of divorce we will consider the limitations in regard to that subject. First, we must remember that divorce is simply a legal recognition of a social fact. That this social fact exists in a great many cases without being brought under legal jurisdiction is unquestioned. We all of us know of cases even among our friends where the tension between husband and wife is so acute as to be noticeable even to the outsider. But these cases do not appear in our statistics at all. Dr. Mowrer says, "Divorce statistics take no account of the concealed tensions and subdued quarrels of husband and wife in cases where these do not eventuate in separation, desertion or divorce." (2)

(1) Mowrer - Ernest W., Family Disorganization Chap.11 Page 29. Chicago Press

(2) " " " " " " " 2 " 29. Chicago University Press.

There are two factors influencing the number of divorces which pass through our courts. The first is the difference in laws controlling separation and divorce in different countries. That this partially accounts for the difference in divorce rate between Canada and United States has been hinted at in the previous Chapter on legislation, but that it is only of minor importance as a contributing factor has also been pointed out.

The second and most important factor in bringing family tensions before our courts is the state of the public mind, or the attitude of the public towards the divorce question. Dr. Mowrer observes that, "As far as the United States is concerned, the rapid increase in the divorce rate up until the earliest part of the twentieth century was probably chiefly the result of a changing attitude towards divorce." (3) Important as this factor must be in any consideration of the divorce question, statistics take no cognizance of it whatever. We can readily see that great caution must then be observed in the presentation and interpretation of statistics lest a false and one-sided picture be presented. With this consideration in mind we should note that no comparison between countries is fair without a corresponding comparison of the attitude of the people of those countries to divorce. "Custom and tradition whether contained in oral precepts or in formal legal statutes determine not only whether family disintegration shall exist but the kind and degree which becomes known to the public." (4) It is only reasonable to expect, as is the case that in the older countries where custom and tradition are firmly rooted, the prejudice towards divorce should deter many from seeking divorces who otherwise would and even further that in the older settled parts of the new country the prejudice of the public towards divorce would be even harder to overcome than in the more recently settled parts and reflect itself in a considerably lower divorce rate.

(3) Mowrer, E.W., *Family Disorganization* Chap. 2 Page 38 Chicago University Press
(4) " " " " " 2 " 29 " "

In addition to the warning against misconstruing statistics of divorce because of their failure to take into consideration the relation of divorce to the local mores we must be cautious about our choice of statistics and the way in which they are handled. The gross number of divorces at any given time can mean nothing unless used for purposes of comparison with those of a previous year or in their relation to population. The difficulty in this study has been further increased by the fact that so few statistics on the question of divorce in Canada have been compiled up to the present time due doubtless to the fact that the people of Canada have been more interested in the distress of their brothers across the line and have not recognized at least until very recently any possibility of a similar crisis arising in their own country. The writer has therefore been put to the necessity of gathering from various sources and piecing together such statistical information on divorce as is contained in this Chapter. It unfortunately is not nearly as compete as could be desired, leaving out of consideration as it does such important factors as the causes for which divorces are granted, to whom granted and the relation of children to divorce. All that this study can hope to do is pave the way for a more intensive study of the subject at some future date.

(2)

Marriage Statistics

In the discussion of any social problem it is customary to choose one eventuality as an indication of the extent of the problem. There are several eventualities which might be chosen for a study of family disorganization. The Chicago School of Sociology maintains that Juvenile Delinquency is the most reliable index. For the purpose of this study, however, divorce has been chosen because of the fact that the most complete and reliable statistics could be obtained on this subject. A glance at some Canadian statistics may be of some help in determining to what extent the marriage institution as it exists today is responsible for the increase in divorce. The following is a table of the number of marriages recorded for Canada for the years 1919 to 1925.

Table I

Marriages reported by years 1919 - 25.

Province	1925	1924	1923	1922	1921	1920	1919
Canada		65,129	66,463	64,420	69,732	89,931	
P.E.I.	407	408	454	579	518	607	574
N.S.	2,922	2,999	3,246	3,169	3,550	4,411	3,585
N.B.	2,906	2,972	2,911	2,799	3,173	3,780	
Quebec		17,591	17,361	16,609	18,569	21,587	15,254
Ontario	23,074	24,038	24,842	23,360	24,871	29,361	25,807
Manitoba	4,377	4,132	4,544	4,808	5,310	6,068	5,177
Sask.	4,899	4,792	5,045	5,061	5,101	5,320	3,511
Alberta	4,355	4,159	4,177	4,272	4,661	5,107	3,630
B.C.	4,211	4,038	3,943	3,763	3,889	4,690	4,509

Territories and Yukon omitted.

(5) Above table compiled from Canada Year Book 1926.

From the table we may observe that the number of marriages has decreased gradually from 1920 - 1925 in each one of the provinces and for Canada as a whole. During this same period, however, Canada was experiencing the greatest rise in the number of divorces.

But decrease in the number of marriages can have no meaning for us unless taken in relation to population. Below is a table of the marriage rates per 1,000 of the total population.

Table II

Marriage Rates per 1,000 population
1918 - 1925

Province	1925	1924	1923	1922	1921	1920	1919	1918
Canada	-	7.1	7.2	7.1	8.0	9.39	-	-
P. E. I.	4.7	4.6	5.2	6.6	5.8	6.82	-	-
N. S.	5.4	5.6	6.1	6.0	6.8	8.48	-	-
N. B.	7.2	7.4	7.4	7.1	8.4	9.85	-	-
Quebec	-	7.1	6.3	6.5	7.9	9.29	-	-
Ontario	7.4	7.9	8.2	7.8	8.5	10.16	-	-
Manitoba	6.7	6.4	7.1	7.7	8.7	10.14	-	-
Saskatchewan	5.9	5.9	6.3	6.4	6.7	7.24	-	-
Alberta	6.7	6.5	6.6	7.0	7.9	8.96	-	-
British Columbia	7.5	7.3	7.2	7.0	7.4	9.18	-	-

This table of ratios indicates the same thing as the previous numerical table, a slight decrease in the marriage rate for Canada and for the provinces singly. In face of ^{this} the assumption made by Professor Howard that the "laxity of marriage legislation (in allowing too many persons to marry) is the fountain head of divorce" would seem to be quite false, Canada's marriages, instead of being more numerous during the period of greatest increase in divorce, show a slight decrease. We may assume this decrease to be due to two facts, firstly, the economic independence of women which is encouraging many to remain single, and secondly, the

higher age at which women marry due to this same reason.

Table III.

Marriage and Divorce Rates in Various Countries.

<u>Marriage</u>			<u>Divorce</u>	
<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Rate</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Rate</u>
Japan	1923	8.8	1923	8.8
Italy	1923	8.4	1923	-
Denmark	1923	8.0	1922	3.9
Australia	1924	7.9	1922	2.2
England				
& Wales	1924	7.6	-	-
Germany	1924	7.1	1922	5.8
Scotland	1924	6.6	1921	1.1
Norway	1924	6.0	1922	2.1
Canada	1925	6.9	1925	
United				
States	1924	10.5	1924	15.2
Ukraine	1923	11.2	-	-
Belgium	1924	10.4	1924	4.9

The above table shows a comparison of divorce and marriage rates in different countries for various years. There seems to be no correlation whatever between the marriage rate and the divorce rate. Taking United States with a marriage rate of 10.5 in 1924, the second highest shown in the table, we find the divorce rate in the same year to be 15.2 per 100,000., the highest in the table. Belgium, however, whose marriage rate is only .1 per 100,000 less than that of the States has a comparatively low divorce rate. On the other hand, Norway with the lowest marriage rate recorded, 6.0 per 100,000 has not the lowest divorce rate.

As far as these tables show then we may safely assume that there is very little relation between marriage and divorce rates in Canada.

(3)

Statistics on Divorce in Canada

Divorce statistics show much more clearly the trend of family disintegration in Canada than do marriage statistics. The following tables reveal some very interesting facts about the divorce situation in Canada.

Table IVDivorce in Canada (Numerically)

	1868-70	1870-80	1880-90	1890-1900	1900-10	1910-20	1920-26
Can.	11	46	106	119	300	1,289	3,299
P.E.I.	-	--	-	-	-	1	-
N.S.	6	21	32	33	75	139	189
N.B.	3	14	34	22	29	87	86
Que.	1	1	6	9	15	41	62
Ont.	1	8	15	23	56	248	644
Man.	-	-	1	2	9	145	541
Sask.	-	-	-	-	1905-2	47	246
Alta.	-	-	-	-	1905-2	121	673
B.C.	-	2	18	23	109	470	858

Table VDivorce Rate in Canada (Per 100,000 Population)

	1868-70	1870-80	1880-90	1890-1900	1900-10	1910-20	1920-26
Can.	.3	1.2	2.3	2.3	4.8	16.1	36.8
N.S.	1.5	5.	7.1	7.2	15.7	27.5	36.2
N.B.	1.	4.5	10.6	6.7	8.4	23.5	22.2
Que.	-	-	.42	.6	.82	1.8	2.6
Ont.	-	.4	.7	1.7	2.4	8.8	21.9
Man.	-	-	-	.9	2.6	31.4	88.6
Sask.	-	-	-	-	1905-2.1	9.5	32.4
Alta.	-	-	-	-	1905-2.7	30.8	114.5
B.C.	-	4.6	24.4	17.	38.1	119.5	163.5

(7) The divorce rate in the above table is figured on the total number of divorces over ten-year periods and is not an annual average.
 (8) Above tables compiled from divorce statistics in Canada Year Book 1926.

Canadian statistics as can be seen from these tables evidence the same trends as are reported in studies made of the situation in the United States, though of course in a much smaller degree. Divorce exists as a form of family disorganization in every province of Canada although in Prince Edward Island the number of divorces, in fifty years, is so small as to be almost negligible. In Canada as a whole, the divorce rate has been steadily increasing. From a fraction in the decade previous to 1870, it has risen to 36.8 per 100,000 population in a period of six years between 1920 and 1926. Until 1900 the upward trend was so gradual as to remain unnoticed. Between 1900 and 1910 the rate doubled. In the next decade it was four times as great and in the last six years it has increased again two and one half times.

Various reasons have been advanced for this sudden increase in the divorce rate. In an article found in the "Montreal Gazette" of October 27th. 1927, the following statement is made, "The unsettling moral effects of the Great War may be cited as a reason for such increase as official statistics indicate for the actual years of the war and several years immediately following". A glance at Table 1 will show that this is not^asufficiently convincing explanation. It doubtless does explain the reason for the number of divorces being increased four times during the period from 1910-20, but it does not explain the almost equal increase in divorce during the decade preceding when none of the "Moral unrest following the Great War" existed. During the war many things were done without raising much comment. Especially was this true of women who at that time entered fields formerly open only to men. The enlarged social and legal freedom enjoyed by women subsequent to the war and brought about largely by the pressure of war conditions may have some bearing upon the question of the increase in divorce. It is interesting to note that the most

phenomenal increase has come since the period of woman's emancipation.

Another frequently cited cause for this rise in the divorce rate in Canada is the change in legislation. In the previous chapter it was shown that changes of this kind took place in the four western provinces between the years 1909 and 1920. That this had some effect on the increasing rate is undoubtedly true but it is also true that just as great an increase was noted in the rate for Ontario where no change in legislation was effected.

The whole crux of the situation seems to rest, as suggested by Dr. Mowrer, "on the changing attitude towards divorce". The possibility that there has been as great an increase in the inability of two people to get along together as there has been in the divorce rate is highly improbable. The difference rests in the fact that society has changed its attitude towards divorce making it permissible for more of the family disintegration to receive legal recognition without ensuing ostracism.

Table VI

Population - Number of Divorces - Divorce Rate in U.S.A. 1924

Province	Estimated Population		Divorces per 100,000		
	Total Population	Married Population	Number of Divorces	Total Population	Married Population
U.S.A.	112,269,440	45,874,157	170,954	152.	373.
New Eng.	7,855,650	3,191,046	8,184	104.	256.
Mid Atlantic	23,682,352	9,765,595	14,893	63.	153.
E.N. Central	22,970,356	9,883,747	44,391	193.	449.
W.N. Central	12,873,458	5,285,661	22,006	171.	416.
S. Atlantic	14,981,506	5,728,397	12,770	85.	223.
E.S. Central	9,120,385	3,556,952	14,475	159.	407.
W.S. Central	10,917,890	4,283,300	28,266	259.	660.
Mountain	6,663,836	1,469,316	7,890	215.	537.
Pacific	6,204,007	2,710,143	18,127	292.	669.

Table VII

Population - Number of Divorces - Divorce Rate in Canada 1924

Province	Estimated Population		Divorces per 100,000		
	Total Population	Married Population	Number of Divorces	Total Population	Married Population
Canada	9,226,740	3,330,156	543	5.1	16.3
P.E.I.	87,700	31,284	-	-	-
N. S.	533,600	188,192	42	7.2	22.3
N. B.	399,400	138,534	15	3.6	10.8
Que.	2,480,000	805,811	13	.51	1.6
Ont.	3,062,000	1,196,704	114	3.7	9.5
Man.	647,000	231,275	77	11.8	27.2
Sask.	815,000	278,701	28	3.4	10.04
Alta.	637,000	227,271	118	18.5	51.9
B. C.	553,000	228,089	136	24.5	55.1

(9) Table VI taken from United States Census Bulletin on Marriage and Divorce 1924.

(10) Table VII compiled by writer from 1921 Census - Canada Year Book 1924.

The foregoing tables present a very interesting comparative study of divorce conditions in Canada and the United States. The first thing which strikes one is the marked difference in the acuteness of the divorce situation in the two countries. The United States with a population of 112,269,440 reported 170,954 divorces in the single year of 1924 with a rate of 152 divorces per 100,000 population. Canada in the same year, with a population of 9,226,740 reported only 543 divorces with a rate of 5.1 divorces per 100,000 of the total population. As divorce is always connected more or less definitely in thought with the married population and its stability, we would do well to compare the two. In the United States the number of divorces per 100,000 of the married population was 373, while in Canada it was 16.

Although the difference in the rate in these two countries seems to point to an almost negligible degree of seriousness in the question in Canada we must consider that although in actual number and rate it seems unimportant the trend is just as much and as sharply in the upward direction as it is in the United States.

Another very interesting comparison that can be drawn from these tables is the geographical analogy apparent in the incidence of divorce in the two countries. In the Eastern states, in the case of the United States, and in the Eastern provinces, in the case of Canada, we find the lowest rate with a gradual increase as we advance westward (with the single exception in the United States of the South Atlantic division and in Canada of Saskatchewan) until the apex of divorce frequency in the states and provinces respectively is reached at the Pacific coast. In both countries the western provinces were among the latest settled and legislation was a superimposed structure, the result of impersonal and rational thought rather than as in the case of the Eastern states the outgrowth of custom

and tradition which took years to build up and which is therefore very slow to change. The attitude towards divorce in the Western states and provinces, because it was founded less on sentiment and more on rational thought, has changed more easily and completely and with the change has come the marked increase in divorce.

In an earlier paragraph of this Chapter a statement was made to the effect that although the actual number and rate of divorces in Canada seemed unimportant as compared with the United States the trend was just as much and as sharply in the upward direction. The following charts show very clearly the nature and extent of this upward trend in divorce incidence in United States, Canada, and Great Britain respectively. Because of the fact that the rates in Canada in comparison with those of other countries are so low as to render any delineation of them in tables and charts difficult, the tables for Canada in this study have been made on a ten year basis. The first table indicates a comparison between Canada and United States for the years 1922 and 1924, showing clearly the difference in the number of divorces. Charts II and III indicate the great similarity in the trend which divorce rates are taking in these two countries.

Chart I

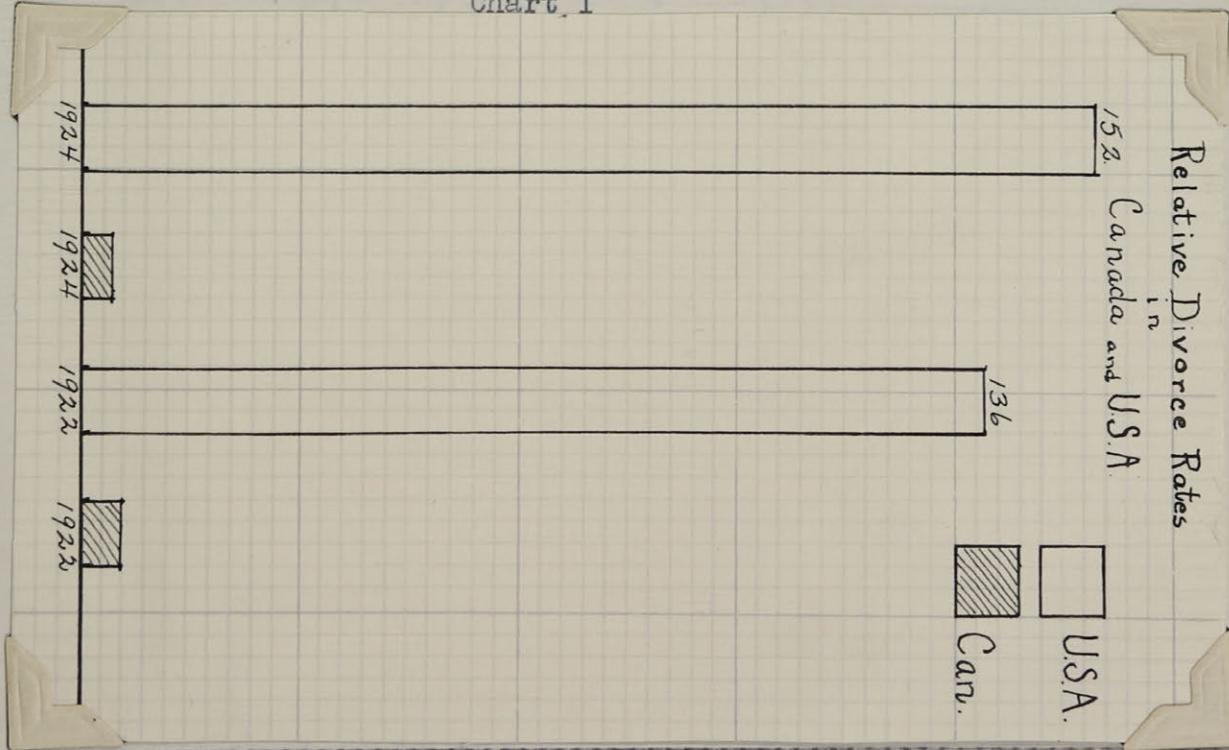


Chart II
Divorce Rate in U.S.A. per 100,000.

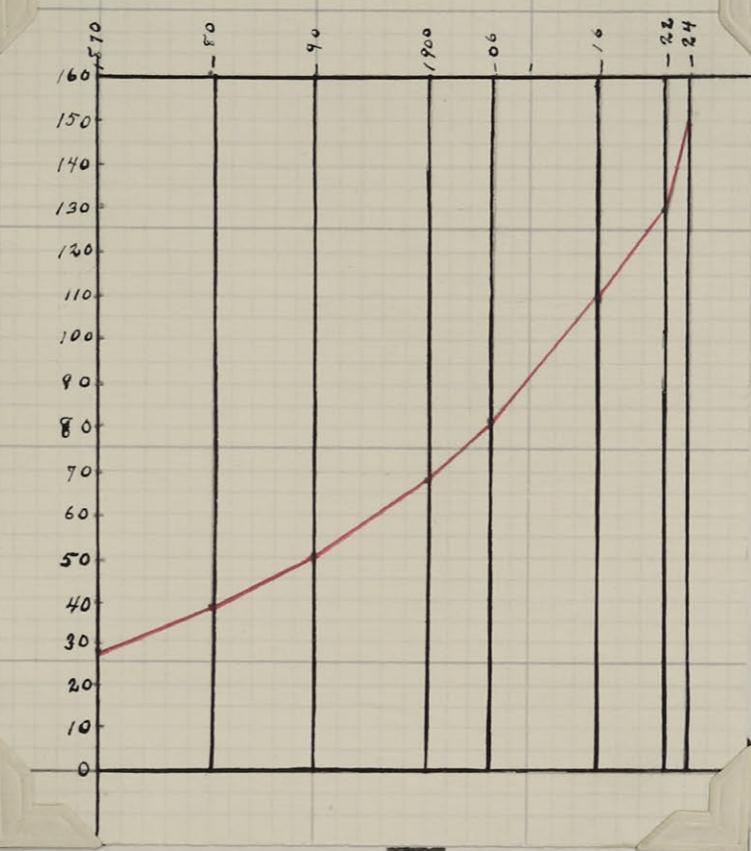
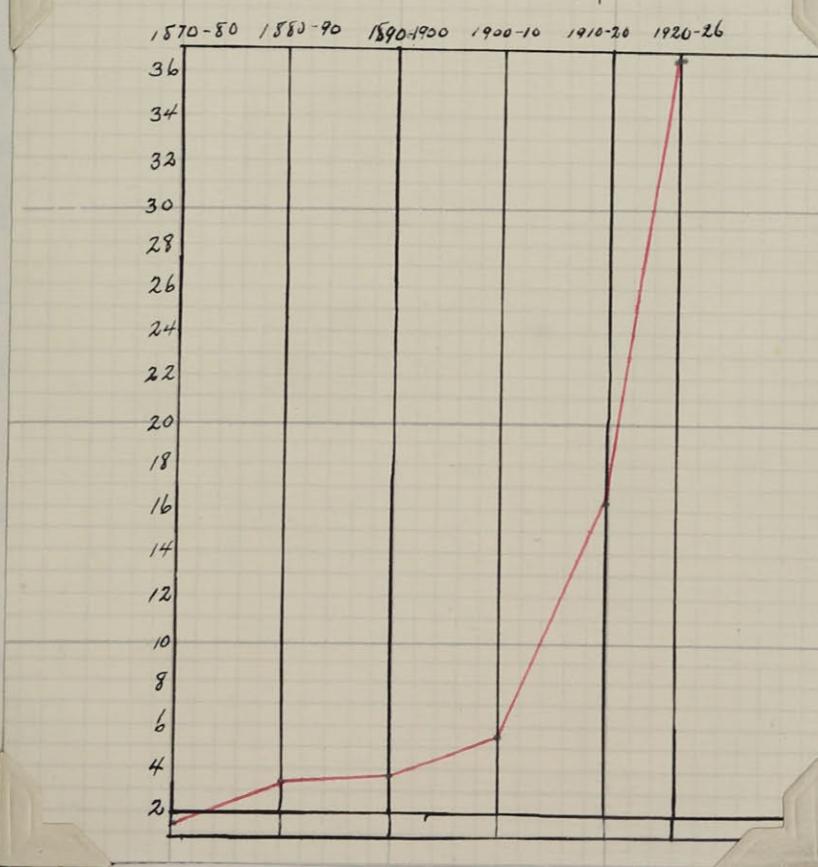
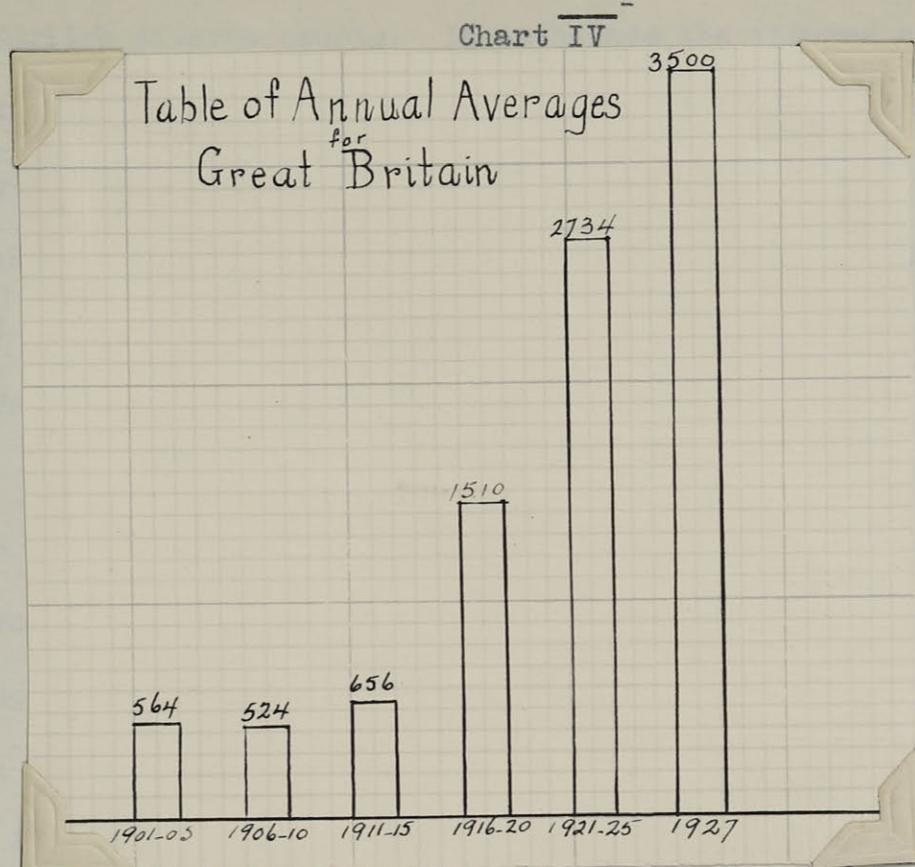


Chart III
Divorce in Canada per 100,000.



(12) Chart II taken from Dr. Mowrer's Study of Family Disorganization Page 37
 (13) Chart III compiled by writer from Canada Year Book 1924.



In the case of Canada the point at which the curve commences is very much lower than that of the United States in the same period. The final rate reached is also much lower. The trend, however, is much the same. The increase in the case of Canada is very much more gradual prior to 1900 than is the case in the United States. After that time, however, the upward curve in the case of Canada is even more sharp than that of the United States. From 132 per 100,000 population in 1922 the American rate jumped to 152 in 1924. The Canadian rate per 100,000 population for the five year period 1920 to 1925 jumped from 16.1 to 36.8 an increase of two and one half times as compared to an increase of 1-1/7 times in the United States.

The British figures show equally alarming proportions.
taken
The above table from an article in the Montreal Star of November 30th., 1927 shows the upward trend of divorce as evidenced in statistics compiled

by the English divorce courts. In each case the figures represent the annual average over a period of four years. As can be seen, the number of cases for 1907 alone is over six times as great as the annual average of the 1906-10 period, more than twice as great as the annual average of the 1916-20 period and almost half as great again as the annual average of the years 1921-25.

Discussion similar to that carried on in the new country has been carried on in England as to the reasons for such a marked increase in divorce during the last few years and the same causes found to be contributing as function in the case of the United States and Canada. In addition to these, however, the influence of a recent amendment of the British Act forbidding publicity of the details of different cases heard in the courts has been pointed out as an important factor in the increase of the divorce rate.

Another way in which we can judge the prevalence of divorce is in its relation to marriages. Here again the United States' ratio indicates a much more serious condition numerically than does that of Canada but the following graphs show the tendency to be generally in the downward direction more gradual in the case of the United States but with a very marked decrease in the case of Canada between the years 1915 and 1920. In the United States the number of marriages to 1 divorce has declined from 17.3 in 1887 to 6.9 in 1924. In Canada the decline has been from 1077.2 in 1911 to 124.7 in 1925.

Chart V

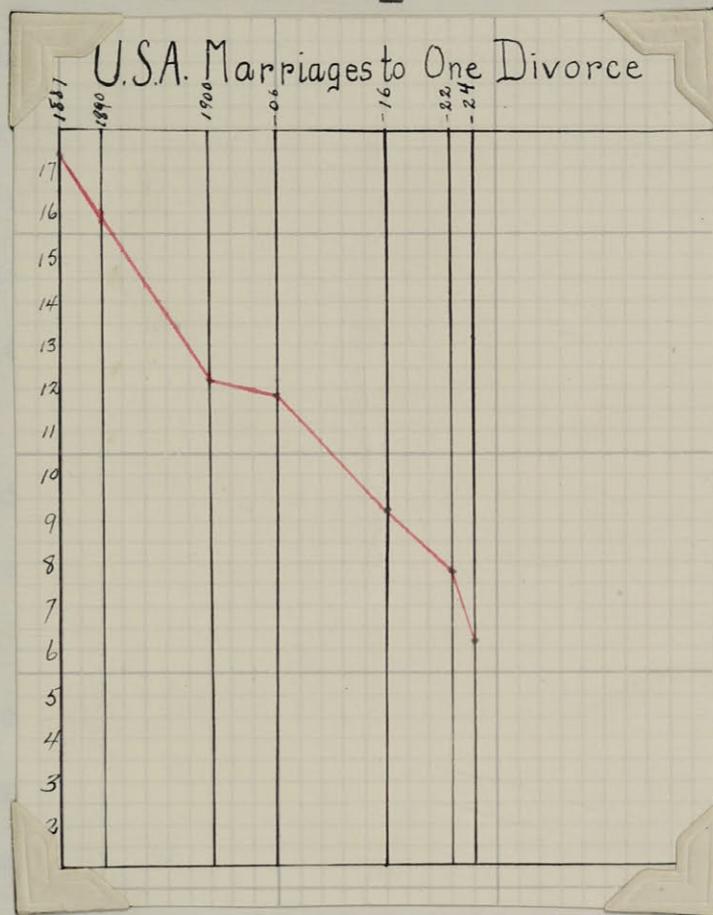
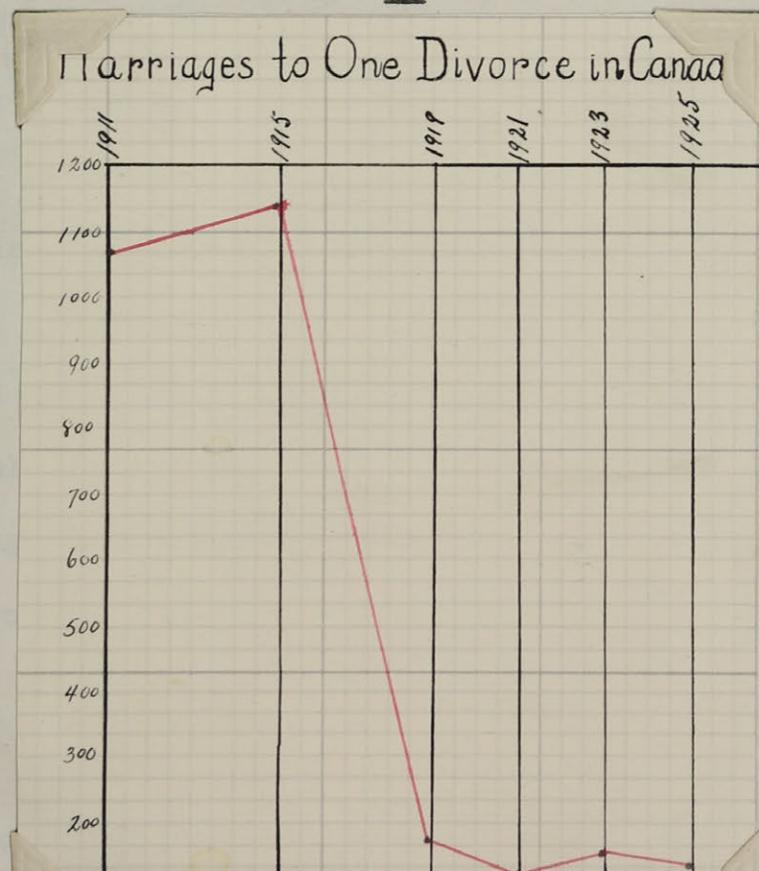


Chart VI



Another interesting fact may be noted in these charts.

The rate in Canada rose from 1077.2 in 1911 to 1134.6 in 1915 but no corresponding increase is noted in the American curve at that time. The increase in the case of Canada may be due to the preponderance of "war marriages" during the first years of the war. This, of course, would not affect the United States which did not enter the war until 1917 and was only engaged in the struggle for a short time.

An examination of statistics for the whole of Canada however detailed and complete it may be does not give us an entirely accurate picture of the divorce situation. The fact that Canada's divorce rate rose from 16.1 in the decade from 1910 - 20 to 36.8 in the five years following does not indicate that such a rise was general. The number of divorces in one province may have decreased to a great extent but this decrease may have been counterbalanced by a more than equal increase in another province. That it would be possible for as much difference in divorce rate to exist between the different divisions in Canada as between Canada and other countries can only be shown by a closer analysis of the situation in the various provinces.

For the purpose of a study of this kind the provinces fall naturally into three groups according to the type of legislation in force in each - (a) the Maritimes which have always maintained separate and self-constituted divorce courts; (b) Ontario and Quebec where divorce can be obtained only by Act of Parliament; (c) Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, constituting the Prairie provinces, and British Columbia of the Pacific coast, all of which are operating under the English divorce law.

(a) Divorce in the Maritimes.

The maritime provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia may be said to possess the most liberal divorce legislation in Canada inasmuch

as they grant divorce for four causes and on equal grounds to husband and wife. Moreover their divorce courts have not witnessed any change since the year they were established. The grounds upon which divorce may be granted are the same in both provinces, except that Nova Scotia allows cruelty as a ground in place of frigidity as set down in the New Brunswick law.

With these facts in mind coupled with a knowledge of the geographical and distributional similarities in the two provinces, we would expect to find a corresponding similarity in the trend of divorce. A glance at the following charts will reveal that such was not the case. In New Brunswick between 1870 and 1890 the increase in the divorce rate was much more marked than that of Nova Scotia for the same period. Starting at practically the same point the New Brunswick rate rose to 10.6 as compared to 7.1 in Nova Scotia. The rate in the latter province continued to rise until in 1910 it had reached 15.7 per 100,000 population whereas that of New Brunswick decreased to 8.4, a point below the rate reached in 1890. From 1910 - 20 both provinces took a leap upward reaching 27.5 in Nova Scotia and 23.0 in New Brunswick. During the last five years Nova Scotia's rate has again increased reaching 36.2 as compared with a rate of 36.8 for the whole of Canada. The rate in New Brunswick for the same period showed a slight decrease.

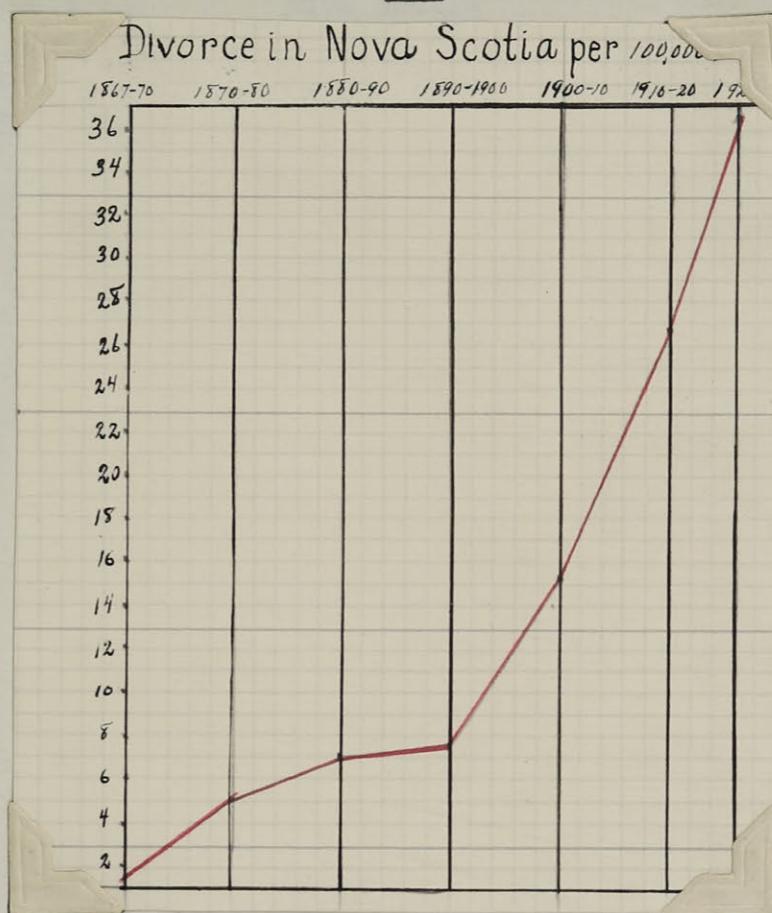
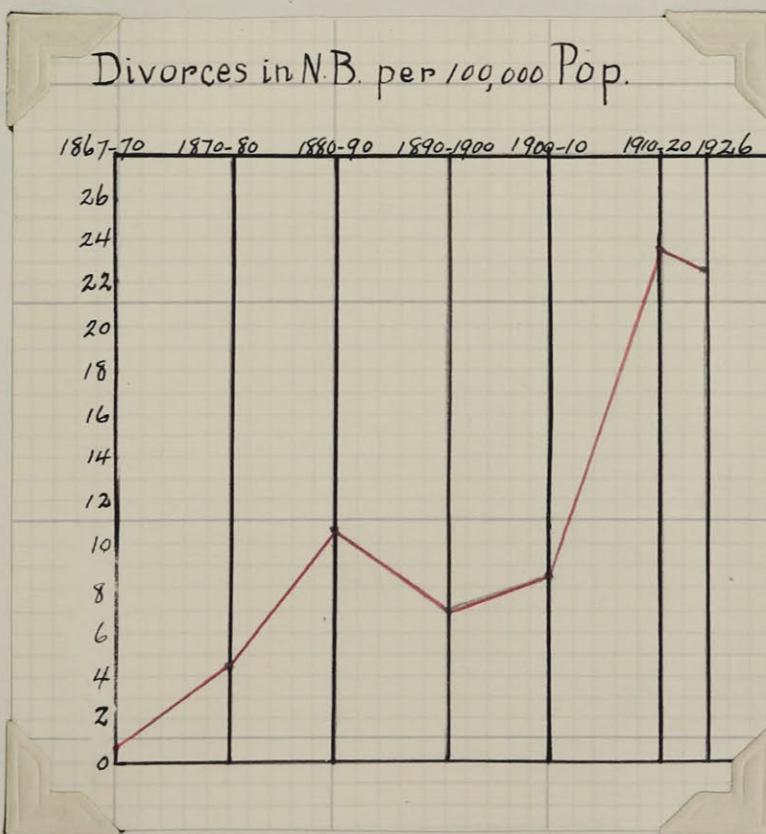
Chart VIIChart VIII

Table VIIINova Scotia

<u>Year</u>	<u>Divorces</u>		<u>Year</u>	<u>Divorces</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Increase over</u> <u>preceding year</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Increase over</u> <u>preceding year</u>
<u>Number</u>			<u>Number</u>		
1870-80	21	-	1914	10	-
1880-90	32	11	1915	13	3
1890-1900	33	1	1916	14	1
1901	10	-	1917	8	-6
1902	9	1	1918	24	16
1903	8	1	1919	36	12
1904	6	2	1920	45	11
1905	6	-	1921	41	-4
1906	5	-1	1922	35	-6
1907	8	3	1923	22	-13
1908	5	-3	1924	42	20
1909	8	3	1925	30	-12
1910	13	5	1926	19	-11
1911	11	-2			
1912	4	-7			
1913	-				

Table IXNew Brunswick

<u>Year</u>	<u>Divorces</u>		<u>Year</u>	<u>Divorces</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Increase over</u> <u>preceding year</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Increase over</u> <u>preceding year</u>
<u>Number</u>			<u>Number</u>		
1870-80	14		1911	6	-
1880-90	34	20	1912	4	-2
1890-1900	22	-12	1913	4	-
1901	-	-	1914	12	8
1902	1	-	1915	6	-6
1903	4	3	1916	11	5
1904	2	-2	1917	6	-5
1905	2	-	1918	10	4
1906	1	-1	1919	13	3
1907	3	2	1920	15	2
1908	5	2	1921	13	-2
1909	5	-	1922	12	-1
1910	6	1	1923	19	7
			1924	15	-4
			1925	15	-

A study of the table of divorces by years will show another interesting fact. Although there was no change in legislation which could affect any such change the number of divorces takes a sudden jump in 1917 and 1918 with an almost uninterrupted increase from then to the present day. This same trend we noticed in our consideration of statistics for Canada as a whole and we will see as we advance in our study of the province that the same is true of each in turn.

(b) Divorce in Ontario and Quebec.

The lowest divorce rates in Canada are to be found in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Neither of these provinces have any provision for divorce in their provincial statutes. To obtain a divorce a resident of Ontario must make application to Dominion Parliament for the passing of a private bill granting him such a right. The tediousness of such proceedings, combined with the great cost involved is undoubtedly a great deterrent to any increase in divorce in these provinces. A further reason for the extremely low divorce rate which is often cited is the ban which the Roman Catholic Church places on divorce. A comparison of divorce figures even in these two provinces would seem to indicate some such check in Quebec, as the largest number of divorces ever granted in one year in that province is 13 as compared to 121 granted in Ontario in the same year. Before reaching any conclusion as to the reasons for such a difference we must take into account the difference in the composition of the population in the two provinces. The population of Quebec is largely made up of the French Canadian element in which the unity and strength of the family is such an important part of the community structure. Where such is the case we would expect to find much less family disintegration especially divorce where public avowal would be necessary.

Table XOntario

<u>Divorces</u>			<u>Divorces</u>		
<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>Increase over</u> <u>preceding year</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>Increase over</u> <u>preceding year</u>
1870-80	8	-	1912	9	-4
1880-90	15	8	1913	20	11
1890-1900	23	7	1914	18	-2
1901	2	-21	1915	10	-8
1902	2	-	1916	18	8
1903	2	-	1917	10	-8
1904	5	3	1918	10	-
1905	2	-3	1919	49	39
1906	10	8	1920	91	42
1907	3	-7	1921	101	10
1908	8	5	1922	90	-11
1909	8	-	1923	105	15
1910	14	6	1924	114	9
1911	13	-1	1925	121	7
			1926	131	10

Table XIQuebec

<u>Divorces</u>			<u>Divorces</u>		
<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>Increase over</u> <u>preceding year</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>Increase over</u> <u>preceding year</u>
1870-80	1	-	1911	4	2
1880-90	6	5	1912	3	-1
1890-1900	9	3	1913	4	1
1901	-	-	1914	7	3
1902	-	-	1915	3	-4
1903	1	-	1916	1	-2
1904	1	-	1917	4	3
1905	3	2	1918	2	-2
1906	3	-	1919	4	2
1907	1	-2	1920	9	5
1908	-	-	1921	9	-
1909	4	3	1922	6	-3
1910	2	-2	1923	11	5
			1924	13	2
			1925	13	-

The proportion of French Canadians in Ontario, however, is hardly great enough to account for the great disparagement in divorce rate between it and the other provinces. In such an event we can hardly but feel that the lack of legislation in these two provinces is to a great extent accountable for the low divorce rate.

Chart IX

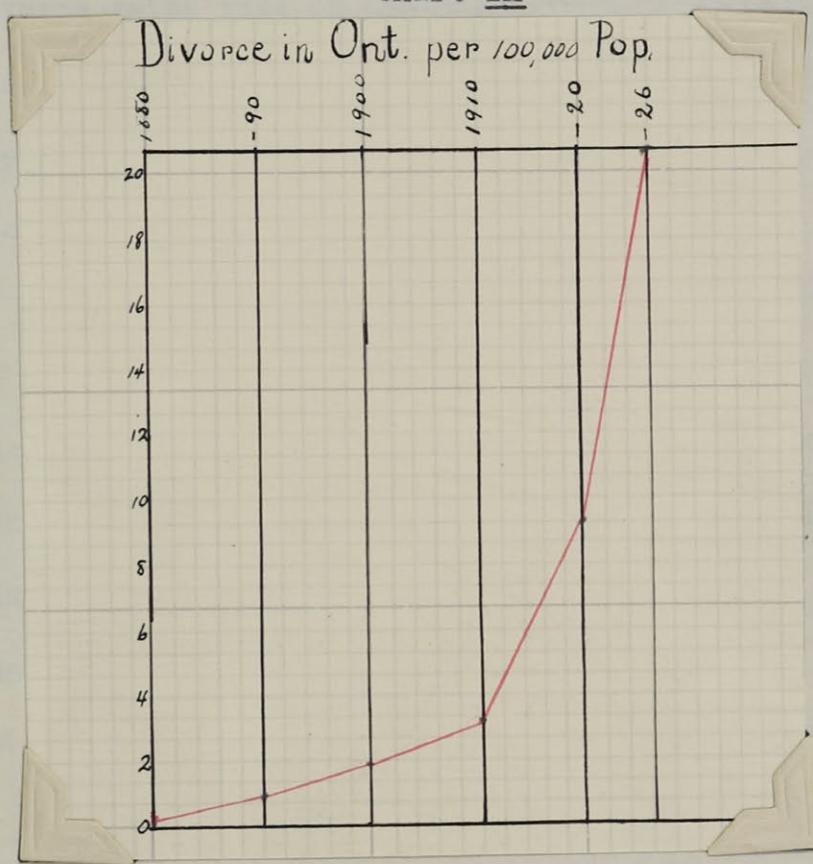
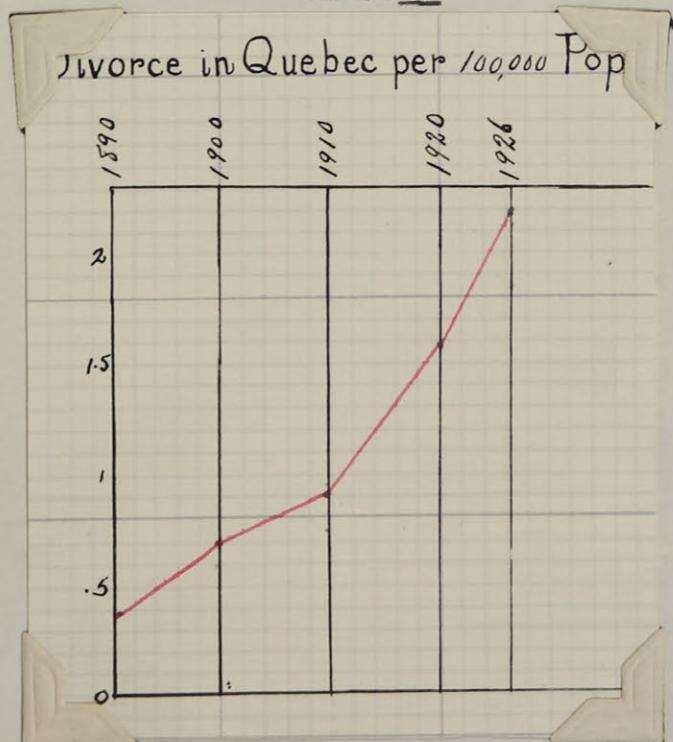


Chart X



The above tables show the rise in divorce in Ontario and Quebec. The trend here shown is upward as in the case of the other provinces.

(c) Divorce in the Prairie Provinces

It is in our prairie provinces and British Columbia, however, that Canadian divorce rates take on the most alarming proportions. Prior to 1918, these provinces could not grant divorce but since that time all four of them have been operating their own courts in accordance with the English law as has been shown earlier in this study.

An examination of the charts presented below will show that in each of the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta a marked increase in the divorce rate took place in the period from 1920 to 1926, that immediately following the change in legislation. We need not, however, interpret this increase as being due to greater leniency.

Chart XI

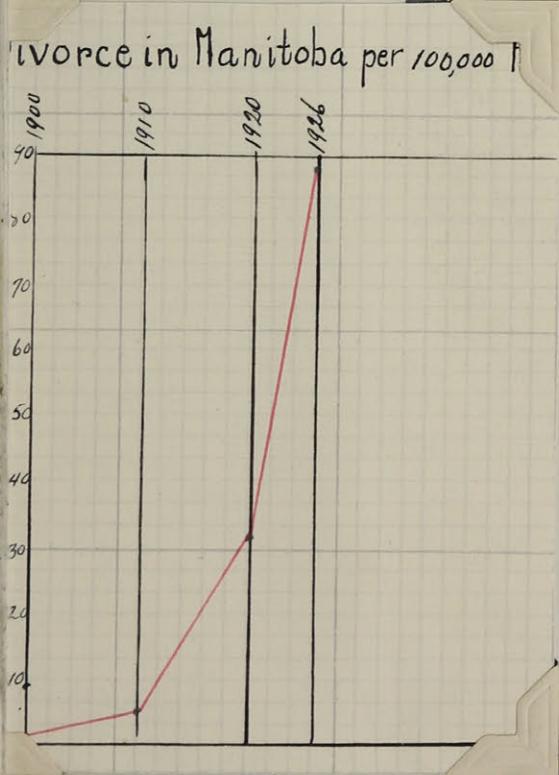
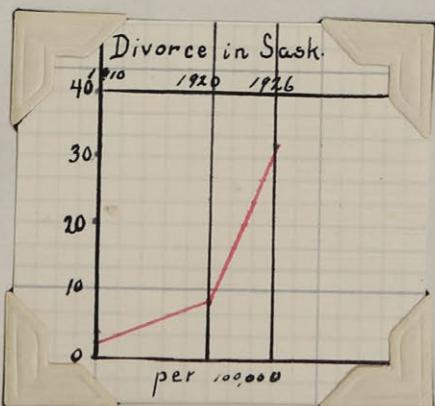


Chart XII



Chart XIII



It is quite conceivable that the distance which it had been necessary to go to get a divorce during the period prior to the constitution of the separate courts when every petitioner for divorce had to appear before the Senate in Ottawa, and the expense consequent upon such proceedings had deterred many from getting a divorce who would otherwise have done so. Furthermore, being a new country where tradition had not implanted any ~~very~~ firm prejudice against divorce there would be less likely to be any effective feeling against persons who obtained a divorce, and consequently less hesitation in doing so.

Even if there should be a change in legislation in Ontario and Quebec, it is doubtful whether there would be any immediate rise in the divorce rate corresponding to that experienced in the Western provinces, since the prejudice towards divorce is so much more firmly planted by tradition and so much harder to overcome in the East than in the West.

Table XII

Manitoba

Year	Divorces		Year	Divorces	
	Total Number	Increase over preceding year		Total Number	Increase over preceding year.
1880-90	1	-	1913	6	5
1890-1900	2	-	1914	2	- 4
1901	-	-	1915	1	- 1
1902	-	-	1916	2	1
1903	1	-	1917	-	-
1904	-	-	1918	-	-
1905	2	-	1919	88	-
1906	-	-	1920	42	-46
1907	1	-	1921	122	80
1908	2	-	1922	97	-25
1909	2	-	1923	81	-16
1910	3	1	1924	77	- 4
1911	3	-	1925	79	2
1912	1	- 2	1926	85	6

Table XlllSaskatchewan

Year	<u>Divorces</u>		Year	<u>Divorces</u>	
	Total Number	Increase over preceding year		Total Number	Increase over preceding year
1906	-	-	1917	1	-
1907	-	-	1918	1	-
1908	-	-	1919	3	-
1909	1	-	1920	26	23
1910	1	-	1921	50	24
1911	-	-	1922	37	- 13
1912	1	-	1923	41	4
1913	1	-	1924	28	- 13
1914	2	-	1925	-	
1915	1	-	1926	-	
1916	2	-			

Table XIVAlberta

Year	<u>Divorces</u>		Year	<u>Divorces</u>	
	Total Number	Increase over preceding year		Total Number	Increase over preceding year
1906	1	-	1918	2	-
1907	-	-	1919	36	34
1908	-	-	1920	64	28
1909	1	-	1921	84	20
1910	-	-	1922	129	45
1911	2	-	1923	87	-42
1912	2	-	1924	118	31
1913	4	2	1925	101	-17
1914	4	-	1926	154	53
1915	3	- 1			
1916	1	- 2			
1917	2	1			

That legislation is not entirely responsible for the increase in divorce is clearly exemplified by an examination of the above tables. Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, although possessing the same legislation, do not show the same divorce rates. Of the three provinces in 1924, Alberta records the highest number of divorces 118. Manitoba comes next with a total

of 77, while Saskatchewan only records 28. A possible explanation of this phenomenon may be in the fact that a larger proportion of the population of Saskatchewan is made up of immigrants than in the other two provinces, or to the peculiar cultural background of the immigrants in that province. The introduction into any community of a large number of persons who for religious or traditional reasons are opposed to divorce would tend to keep down the divorce rate. That this is the cause of the low divorce rate in Saskatchewan while it cannot be proven statistically, is probable since the largest number of Doukhobors is found in that province, and their religious beliefs would prevent them from seeking any legal recognition of family disintegration.

(d) Divorce in British Columbia

The divorce rate in Canada reaches its highest point in the province of British Columbia. The divorce rate in this province, while it has assumed the largest proportion in recent years, has always contributed more divorces to Canada's total than any other province.

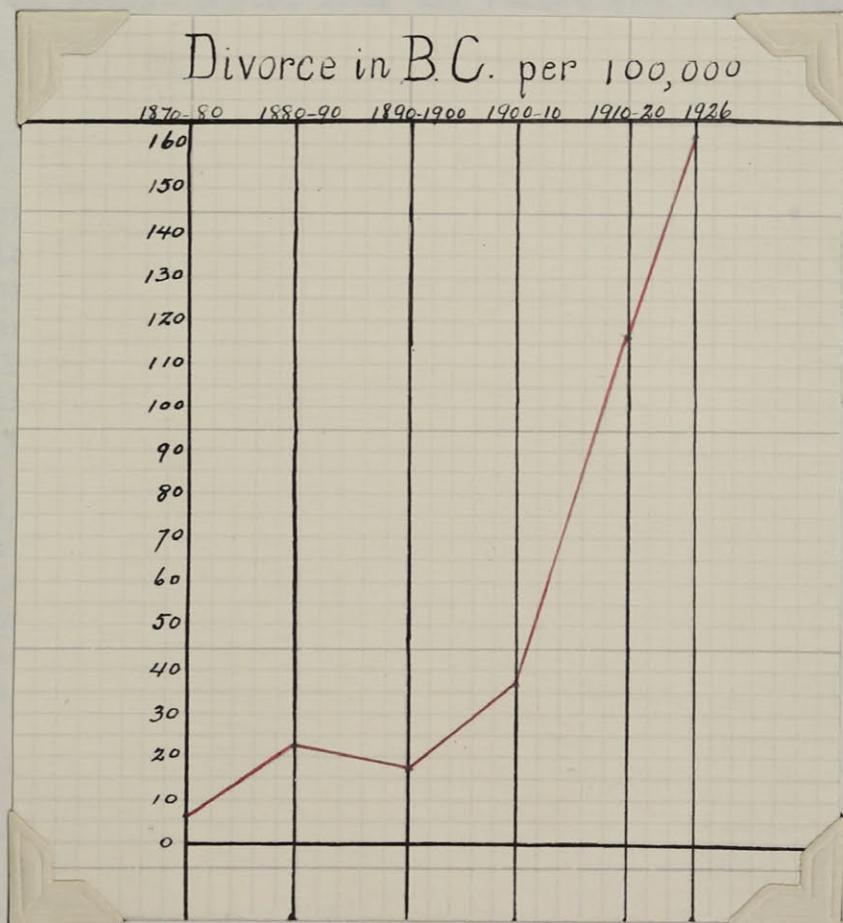
Table XV

British Columbia			British Columbia		
	<u>Divorces</u>			<u>Divorces</u>	
Year	Total Number	Increase over preceding year	Year	Total Number	Increase over preceding year
1870-80	2	-	1911	19	17
1880-90	18	16	1912	11	- 8
1890-1900	23	5	1913	20	9
1901	7	-	1914	15	- 5
1902	3	- 4	1915	16	1
1903	4	1	1916	18	2
1904	5	1	1917	23	15
1905	18	13	1918	65	42
1906	17	- 1	1919	147	82
1907	9	- 8	1920	136	- 9
1908	12	3	1921	128	- 9
1909	22	10	1922	138	10
1910	12	-10	1923	139	1
			1924	136	- 3
			1925	150	14
			1926	167	17

As early as the period from 1880 to 1890 divorces in British Columbia numbered 18 or 24.4 per 100,000 population. In the next ten years although divorces increased numerically, taken per 100,000 population they only numbered 17. In 1918 the number of divorces jumped from 23 to 65, an increase of 64.4%. This number more than doubled the following year. Except for a slight decrease between 1920 and 1922, the number of divorces has continued to rise reaching a total of 167 in 1926.

Divorce Rate per 100,000 Population for B.C.

Chart XIV



The above chart shows the trend in divorce as evidenced by the divorce rate taken by ten year periods. In comparison with the charts given

for the other provinces in Canada it reveals the same upward trend but more accentuated and culminating in a higher rate for the five year period 1920-26.

(e) Divorces granted to Canadians in the
United States

The Canadian public is beginning to be alarmed by the trend divorce is taking in this country, and to a smaller degree by its numerical proportions. That a complete picture of the divorce situation in Canada cannot be deduced from the study of the statistics of divorces granted in Canada alone because of the number of Canadians who cross into the United States for that purpose each year has often been postulated. How large a part crossing the border plays is shown in an excerpt quoted from the latest available bulletin on "Marriage and Divorce" compiled by the United States Census Bureau, and published in the Literary Digest of September 24th. 1927.

"In 1922 no fewer than 1,368 divorce decrees were granted to couples married in Canada, a number more than two and one-half times as large as the total number granted in Canada in the same year. This number also formed 36.2 percent of the number of divorces granted in the United States during the year to couples married in foreign countries, while, at the same time, the percentage of the Canadian-born population to the total foreign-born amounted to only 8.1 percent. The Bulletin goes on to say: 'It is possible that many Canadians acquire a residence in the United States for the sole purpose of obtaining divorce, because, in general, divorce laws are more liberal in the United States than in Canada'. Of the 1,368 divorces granted to couples who had been married in Canada, no fewer than 462 were granted by the courts of the State of Michigan, while 135 were granted in the State of California, and 128 in Washington".

Some very interesting observations may be made from this quotation. Canadians are crossing the border to get their divorces at a rate of more than two and one-half to one of every divorce granted in their home province. Furthermore, the largest proportion of the divorces granted to Canadians in the United States were granted in the courts of Michigan within easy reach of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, where the divorce rate is the smallest in

Canada. It is surprising to note that the third largest number of divorces granted to Canadians in the United States was granted in the State of Washington and was contributed to doubtless by the two provinces in Canada already possessing the highest divorce rate, Alberta and to an even greater extent British Columbia. The high rate in California can be accounted for by the popularity of that state with those who wish a fashionable divorce. California signifies to Canadians what Paris signifies to American ultra fashionables, - an aristocratic and sensational divorce.

(f) Rural and Urban Population in Relation to Divorce

In endeavouring to discover the reasons for the distribution of divorce as it exists in Canada to-day, it might be well to take into consideration its relation to the urban and rural distribution of the population. In the rural community the individual's actions are controlled by the dictates of the group to which he belongs. In the urban community the individual flits easily from group to group. "The circle of intimates to whom one's conduct matters is very limited and in addition divergences of conduct are easily concealed".⁽¹⁶⁾ In view of this, we would expect to find a higher rate of divorce in these provinces in Canada which are most urban and vice versa.

(16) Mowrer - Family Disorganization. Chapt. 2. Page 46.

Rural & Urban Population by ProvincesTable XVI

	<u>1891</u>		<u>1901</u>		<u>1911</u>		<u>1921</u>	
	Rural Percent	Urban Percent	Rural Percent	Urban Percent	Rural Percent	Urban Percent	Rural Percent	Urban Percent
P.E.I.	86.9	13.0	85.5	14.4	84.0	15.9	78.4	21.5
N. S.	82.9	17.9	71.8	28.5	62.2	37.8	56.6	43.3
N. B.	84.7	15.2	76.6	23.3	71.7	28.2	67.9	32.0
Que.	66.4	33.5	60.3	39.6	51.8	48.2	43.9	56.0
Ont.	61.2	38.7	57.1	42.8	47.4	52.5	41.8	58.1
Man.	73.1	26.8	72.4	27.6	56.5	43.3	57.1	42.8
Sask.	-	-	84.3	15.6	73.3	26.6	71.1	28.9
Alta.	-	-	74.6	25.3	63.2	36.7	62.1	37.8
B.C.	62.8	37.9	49.5	50.4	48.1	51.9	52.8	47.1

The above table shows that the highest rate of urbanization exists in Ontario although the divorce rate in that province is very low. The same is true of Quebec which ranks second. We must keep in mind, however, in any consideration of divorce rates in Ontario and Quebec, the large number of persons from these provinces who cross into Michigan to obtain their divorces. British Columbia ranks third as to urbanization, whereas it possesses the highest divorce rate in Canada. Saskatchewan and New Brunswick, having approximately the same percentage of urbanization also have very similar divorce rates. Nova Scotia and Manitoba, however, which even more nearly approximate one another as to urbanization differ widely as to divorce rate. In making any deductions from these statistics, we condition our findings in the light of the fact that urban and rural as applied in this table are absolutely artificial, designating towns and cities of a certain size rather than the kind of attitudes possessed by the people in the various centers. Only Prince Edward Island upholds the theory of the effect of urbanization on the divorce rate evidencing the smallest degree of urbanization and at the same time possessing a practically insignificant divorce rate. We have every reason to believe, furthermore, that Prince Edward Island even in the instances where it is classified

as urban, is really rural minded.

A further examination of this table will reveal the fact that from 1891 to 1921 there was a steady movement upwards in the process of urbanization. These same years witnessed a gradual increase in the divorce rate, the latter being much more marked than the former. Before it would be possible to say whether the increased urbanization in Canada has been responsible for Canada's increase in divorce it would be necessary to go much more carefully and intensely into the question than we can hope to do here.

(g) Divorce and Mobility of Population

"It is evident that with any considerable amount of mobility the powerful weapons possessed by traditional groups for disciplining the individual, namely, the social rebuke, fine, reprimand, ostracism and actual expulsion possess but little coercive force. In the great society the individual may violate with impunity the most sacred law and maintain his status by simply moving to some other community. Modern institutions, the church, the home, the school and even the state are finding it difficult to preserve the whole-hearted interest and loyalty necessary for proper functioning". (17)

More and more as time goes on people are coming to see the importance of this factor called by sociologists mobility, in the organization and disorganization of the community. No study of divorce, then, would be complete without some consideration of the influence of this force. It is very difficult to get any statistics which record such a fact. In the absence of more exact information, the following table will serve to show us approximately the rates of stability and mobility in the different provinces.

(17) Lind - A Study in Mobility in Seattle. Page 10.

Table XVII

Nativity by Provinces of Persons Married in Registration AreasPercentage distribution of Grooms and
Brides by Nativity

Provinces	Year	Marriages Per 1,000	Born in Provs. of Residence		Born in other Provinces		Born Elsewhere	
			Grooms	Brides	Grooms	Brides	Grooms	Brides
P. E. I.	1921	5.8	92.3	94.6	5.0	1.9	2.7	3.5
	1924	4.6	88.7	93.1	7.4	3.7	3.9	3.2
N. S.	1921	6.8	76.3	81.3	6.4	4.5	17.3	14.2
	1924	5.6	78.8	82.9	5.0	3.0	16.2	14.1
N. B.	1921	8.4	73.4	78.0	10.1	8.4	16.5	13.6
	1924	7.4	73.2	77.2	10.0	7.9	16.8	14.9
Ontario	1921	8.5	63.6	66.7	5.6	4.7	30.8	28.6
	1924	7.9	58.8	62.3	6.8	6.1	34.4	31.6
Manitoba	1921	8.7	26.4	37.2	18.1	14.1	55.5	48.7
	1924	6.4	28.4	43.1	17.0	13.4	54.6	43.5
Sask.	1921	6.7	7.1	15.6	31.4	28.1	61.5	56.3
	1924	5.9	11.2	24.6	30.2	25.6	58.6	49.8
Alberta	1921	7.9	7.0	14.2	26.2	25.1	66.8	60.7
	1924	6.5	11.6	22.5	25.0	22.4	63.4	55.1
B. C.	1921	7.4	13.7	18.3	22.6	20.5	73.7	61.2
	1924	7.3	16.2	23.3	21.3	19.8	62.5	56.9
Canada	1921	8.0	46.9	52.0	13.0	11.3	40.1	36.7
	1924	7.1	46.0	52.5	12.9	11.2	41.1	36.3

Prince Edward Island has a very low rate of mobility as may be shown by the fact that 92% of the grooms and 94% of the brides in the year 1921 were born in the province where they were married. Considering along with this fact the very low divorce rate, we would infer that the relative mobility of a community or province has a marked effect on its divorce rate.

This conclusion would seem to be born out by an examination of the rest of Canada. The four western provinces which possess the highest rates in Canada (with the exception of Saskatchewan, whose possible limitations have been discussed elsewhere) also have the least stable population as witnessed by the small percentage of brides and grooms born in the province where they were married and the large percentage which came from other parts of the

Dominion. As far as actual number goes, Saskatchewan should rank highest with Alberta next, British Columbia third and Manitoba last. The composition of the population in Saskatchewan as we have seen may have something to do with the low rate in that province whereas the temper of the courts undoubtedly does account for the divorce rate in British Columbia being much higher than the stability of its marrying population would indicate that it should be. One other observation might be made in passing. The stability in the marrying population in the provinces where the divorce rate is showing the greatest increase is increasing rather than decreasing as an increase in divorce would lead one to expect.

(h) Occupation and Divorce

Very little information has been available as to the relation of occupation to the divorce rate in Canada. The following table presenting figures for three different groups over a period of seven years applies only to divorces granted by Parliament to persons in Ontario and Quebec.

Table XVIII

Divorces Granted by Parliament

Year	General Labourers & Workers: Workers at Trade; Farmers.				Skilled Mechanics: Artisans				Business Professional				Occupation not given	
	To Husband	To Wife	Total	To Husband	To Wife	Total	To Husband	To Wife	Total	To Husband	To Wife	Total		
1915	2	2	4	4	-	4	3	4	7	-	2	2		
1916	3	1	4	3	4	7	6	1	7	1	4	5		
1917	4	1	5	2	3	5	5	1	6	1	-	1		
1918	5	-	5	2	1	3	3	4	7	-	-	-		
1919	5	-	5	11	3	14	6	6	12	4	15	19		
1920	18	2	20	41	1	42	8	5	13	6	20	26		
1921	16	2	18	28	23	51	12	16	28	2	13	15		
	53	8	61	91	35	126	43	37	80	14	54	68		

The first conclusion which seems to come from these figures is the relatively small number of divorces granted to general labourers, workers at a trade and farmers, although this group makes up the major part of the population. (18)

Conversely we are surprised to note the very large number of divorces granted to professional people when taken in proportion to the small part of the population which they constitute. Noticeable also is the marked increase in divorce among the artisans and skilled mechanics which records the largest total for the seven years.

Studies made in the States have revealed the fact that people engaged in the more mobile occupations have the largest number of divorces. Unfortunately no statistics exist in Canada which would permit of such a conclusion.

(i) Remarriage of Divorced Persons

"Divorced men and women are not much more disposed to marry directly after the decree than widowers and widows are to marry after the death of husband or wife". (19) This is the observation of Professor Willcox after a careful study of the remarriage of divorced persons as compared to the remarriage of widow and widower. There are no statistics permitting of any analogous study in Canada.

The following table shows us two things. The number of divorced persons who remarried in 1922 was very small when compared to the total number of marriages in that year. In the second place when taken in comparison with the divorce rate in the various provinces it records the remarriage of

(18) In making such an observation we must note that the expense involved in getting a divorce excludes many labourers from this way of solving their matrimonial difficulties.

(19) Willcox - The Divorce Problem. Page 27.

almost as many divorced persons as there were divorces granted in the same year, and in the case of New Brunswick there were twice as many divorced persons remarried as obtained divorces in that year. That (20) 1922 was a record year for the remarriage of divorced persons is highly improbable. The inference would then be that Canadians are getting their divorces somewhere else than in Canada.

Table XIX

Divorced Persons Remarried -
1922

	Total Marriages	Remarried Divorced Women	Remarried Divorced Men	Divorces
P. E. I.	579	-	-	-
Nova Scotia	3,169	16	26	35
New Brunswick	2,799	39	21	12
Ontario	23,360	70	82	90
Manitoba	4,808	41	62	97
Saskatchewan	5,061	29	33	37
Alberta	4,272	62	65	129
British Columbia	3,763	130	103	138
Canada	47,811	387	392	538

Conclusion

To sum up our findings on the statistics of divorce then, we may say first that great caution must be exercised in the choice and handling of statistics, and even greater care exerted in the interpretation of what these statistics mean and indicate. Next we may safely say that Canada, while numerically very far behind the United States and Great Britain in divorce incidences, shows the same upward trend with a sharp increase from 1918 onward. The reason of this upward trend may be a single cause or a combination of many: the moral unrest following the Great War; the emancipation of women; change in legislation which is really only a reflection of more fundamental

(20) It is to be noted that there are two divorced persons to every divorce granted.

social change and the influence of British thought and tradition upon the people in the new world. That the rate for Canada was not indicative of the divorce situation uniformly in all provinces was shown by a more detailed study of the individual provinces. A consideration of the relation of urbanization, mobility, occupation and remarriage to the divorce question, insofar as such a consideration would be possible from the limited statistics available, apparently revealed the fact that some relation did exist subject of course to limitations based upon the artificiality of the terms used in statistical tables. Statistics can never fully interpret the divorce situation. It does give us numerical proportions and indicates trends but it leaves out of consideration the human element, the more fundamental social changes which play such an important part in any type of family disintegration.

Map Showing Distribution of Cases of Family Disorganization
Compiled from Files "Montreal Society for Protection of Women and Children" 1921-28



Dark - Prot.
Light - R.C.

Original of this map on file in Dept. Sociology, McGill University

CHAPTER IV
THE ORGANIC UNITY OF THE CITY

(1)

Differentiation of Cultures in the City Area.

Any large city, or even town is a corporate example of the age worn proverb "Birds of a feather flock together." Every city is a combination of many "little cities," whose population is drawn together because of a community of interests and whose attitudes vary from group to group. Such a differentiation within the city area is bound to reveal itself in a great disparity in the rate of disorganization in its different parts.

In any interpretation of a community's social problem then "there are cultural differences in the various areas which must be taken into account. These differences find expression not only in the formal but in the informal life of the community. They are reflected in the attitudes and interests of the people. Standards vary from neighborhood to neighborhood. What is considered moral in one neighborhood will be judged immoral in another. Even the institutions are not the same in all. Family life, for example is quite a different thing in Washington Heights from what it is in the Ghetto. This difference is reflected in the way in which the family becomes disorganized." (1)

The inadequacy of statistics for the whole of Canada to be significant in the case of the various provinces has been shown in the previous chapter. This same inadequacy shows itself in the city where statistics for the whole are an inaccurate index of the true nature of disorganization in the different localities. The areas upon which statistics are based are for the most part artificial political units the boundaries of which may divide, as far as statistics are concerned, a neighborhood which is a natural cultural entity. Figures gathered on such

(1) Mowrer E.R. Family Disorganization, Chapter V Page 110.

a basis cannot but be misleading.

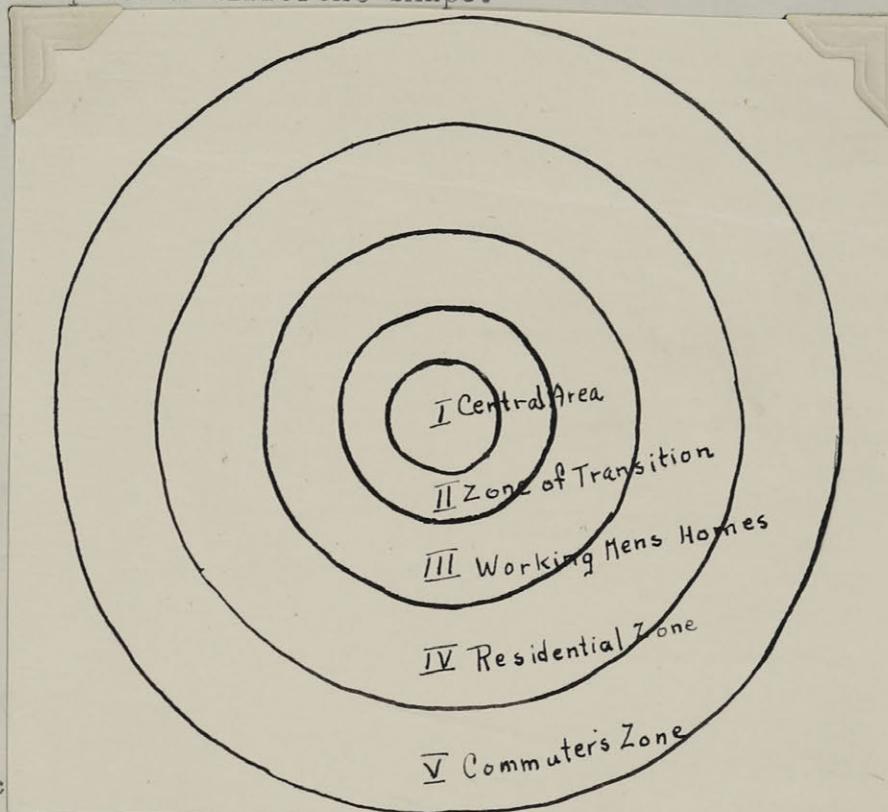
The population of any great city is heterogeneous rather than homogeneous. It includes individuals of widely differing racial and national origin, of unequal economic status, of different marital condition and diverse cultural background. Despite this the city is a closely knit cultural unit, gathering all these differing individuals into groups of like interests and background and incorporating them into a single whole in the process of its natural growth.

(2)

One of the most outstanding features of our modern civilization has been the phenomenal growth of cities. Within a little more than a century America has changed from a rural to an urban civilization. This is true of countries all over the world but nowhere has the change been so spectacular or so complete as in the "new land." All the objects which we think of as peculiarly urban, the skyscraper, daily newspaper, tramways and departmental stores are characteristically new world. The subtle changes in our social life which in their most acute forms are termed social problems. Problems that alarm us such as Juvenile Delinquency, divorce and desertion, are found in their largest proportions in the new world. The deep underlying forces which have brought about these changes may be measured in the physical growth and expansion of cities.

A very clever device for presenting some of the man trends in the growth of a city, and one for which we are deeply indebted to Dr. Ernest W. Burgess, may be represented by a series of concentric circles which designate both the successive zones of urban development and the types of areas differentiated in the process of expansion. It is well to keep in mind that the arrangement of these cirlces is ideal and that the

geographical features such as rivers and mountains often cause them to take on quite a different shape.



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expansion takes place. The second area is an area of transition which was formerly residential but which is now in the process of being invaded by business and light manufactures. The deterioration following upon this invasion gives rise to our slums, our little Italies and Sicilies and our areas of vice and crime grow up. In the third area live the families of the workingmen, for the most part industrial workers, some of them skilled, some unskilled, but all of whom have got sufficient together to escape from the area of deterioration and to establish a home more permanent and more healthful from both a physical and moral point of view. The fourth area represents the residential district, that part of our large cities which is occupied by the middle and professional classes. Building restrictions appear for the first time in this zone single family dwellings are the common, and residential hotels flourish. The last area is the area of the "dormitory

towns" where father travels in and out to his work by the commutes special and is more or less a stranger to his family and where mother brings up the children and represents the family in all community or neighborhood activities.

(3)

An Ecological Sketch of Montreal.

No city however fits ideally into this scheme, complications arising from the presence of certain physical and geographical features such as rivers and mountains, the position of railroads, canals and the location of certain types of industry interfere with the symmetrical growth of the city. Because of its unique position on an island and because of the way population has concentrated between the mountain and the river on the south side it will be necessary to represent Montreal by means of a series of concentric kidneys. Let us glance at some of the surface features of Montreal relating them to this general city plan

In Montreal as in other large cities the central business district is the center not geographically but financially, politically and culturally. It includes the retail wholesale and financial districts. In it are situated the stations of Canada's two great transportation lines, the C.P.R. and the C.N.R. and hotels both great and small. Within easy reach of train service and extending East is St. James Street, the "Wall Street" of Montreal, narrow and congested but quaint in an old world sort of way. On its very northern boundary is St. Catherines Street, lined on both sides for miles and miles with retail shops. It is the center for Schools of Art, business colleges and other educational institutions of a secondary nature. Here are the theatres and cinemas. In the daytime it is thronged with people busy and purposeful. At night the twinkling lights invest it with a sort of romance from which all the tenseness of the day is gone. Nearer the river still are the big wholesale houses and light manufacturing plants, a collection of shapeless, apparently planless buildings of unknown age and history. Imposing and serene at its very center stand the municipal buildings, a reminder of a form of control and unity in the city as a whole. Press offices are scattered all through this district, publicity firms flourish and advertising disseminates freely. Land values are high because of the increasing demand for building sites close to the business center. Nowhere else in the city is the mobility of population so great. Thousands upon thousands of people come into this district every day, meeting and talking and living together for a few hours only and then separating to spend the remainder of the day with nary a thought of each other.

As the city's business grows and develops and there arises an increasing demand for building room, the business section tends to expand and invade the area adjoining it. Thus we have the zone of transition. As in the business district a high value is set upon land which is held speculatively for business requirements which make use of the site rather than the buildings. Consequently as residences they are allowed to deteriorate and only very low rentals can be had for them. Dorchester Street was once the chief habitat of Montreal's aristocracy, a street of fine old homes and fine old families. To-day the portion which lies in the business district and extends through the transition zone is a scene of decay. Dignified old grey stone houses either be crumbling in disuse or bear in their windows in sharp contrast with their old splendour, a poorly printed placard whose legend reads "Rooms to let by day or week." This third area is the slum area of Montreal especially the Eastern portion of it, where the population is ever changing and where the old social order is broken down before a new and adequate form of social control has arisen to take its place. (3) The houses are old and in bad repair. Houses of prostitution, gambling dens and other forms of vice flourish here as nowhere else in the city. An area of first settlement, it has attracted to it peoples from every land, Syrians, Dutch, Russians, Germans and Chinese peoples whose codes of morals are so different as to be entirely incompatible and who therefore live their own way with no thought as to whether or not their neighbor approves. No questions are asked and no explanations given. It is the area of most acute family disintegration. Scattered all through this area

(3) Studies are being made of two of these communities, one by Mr. P. Robert dealing with a disorganized community, the other by W. Israel dealing with the Negro population in Montreal.

but concentrated chiefly in the western portion near the railway centers, lives the negro population of Montreal. They are crowded together for the most part in cheap boarding houses under most unsatisfactory conditions. They are casual by nature and by choice preferring work as lackeys and porters or even bootblacks to employment of a more permanent nature. Their sense of moral right and wrong is practically lacking. When they do enter into any legal marriage relationship they regard it very lightly. They are ready to air their troubles on the slightest provocation and therefore contribute a great deal of disintegration. North of St. Catherine Street are the better boarding house and one room flats. Disorganization and disregard of accepted moral codes exists to a great degree here too but any such irregularities are more subtle more discreet.

I have said before that the population of this second zone is very mobile and moves constantly from place to place in the district. But a still more outstanding characteristic of the people in this area is the eagerness with which they look forward to leaving it. As soon as they are economically able they move out into better districts. So we have the third area, an area of second settlement for the successful immigrant and for the independent workmen. The homes are usually new buildings of the two flat type, ugly in the extreme and very poorly built. In Verdun and Maisonneuve and Rosemount as well as north on Park Avenue, there are rows and rows of these houses, drab monotonously the same with their straight brick fronts and twisting iron stairways. Here father is the boss and mother is confined to looking after the home and caring for the children. These people are the stabilizers of our nation, not unprogressive nor phlegmatic but

solid and dependable and proud of their new found economic security.

The fourth zone is the habitat of the upper middle and professional classes. Private ownership of a home and restrictions upon how and where it shall be built appear here for the first time. The homes in Westmount and in Notre Dame de Grace are homes of this kind. Small lawns appear in front of the house and some attempt is made to have the exterior of the home as attractive as the interior. There are children but the families tend to be small and the care of them is often left to nurse maids hired for the purpose. Husband and wife are on an equality of footing. Father has his club and mother has hers. If they find it impossible to get any enjoyment out of being together there are always a multiplicity of other activities ready to claim them.

The last area has very aptly been called the area of the "dormitory town." More commonly it is known as the commuters zone. Father "commutes" into work every morning and out every night. There is an entire departure from the sameness of a city area. Every house is built just a little bit different, always with the idea of beauty in hand sometimes at the expense of utility. After even the better residential district of Notre Dame de Grace the large cool lawns, the shady trees and peaceful homes of the commuters towns such as Point Claire and St. Annes de Bellevue seem a breath from the faraway country. From a crowded and decidedly urban section we have moved outward with the city's growth to a community whose life in its neighborhood aspects at least is almost of a rural nature.

Nowhere can a line be drawn to correspond with or mark off any one of these five areas. The city is in a constant state of flux.

In the course of its expansion we note an ever increasing tendency on the part of each area to reach forth and extend into the next, thus making for a mixture of population on the margin. In the zone of tradition even to-day in Montreal, we will find some old families who persist in living in their old homes. There are people of many kinds in every community.

This tendency of the people of one area to invade the adjoining one and drive out still further those already living there is very similar to the process in plant life called invasion and succession. In the early years of Montreal the area which is now the business section included all five zones within its circumference. With increase in population came a congestion which was neither comfortable nor healthful resulting in a movement of institutions and residences radically from the center to a more advantageous location.

There are several factors influencing this movement not least of which is greater facilities in transportation. Lines of transportation have not only accelerated the growth of the large city but it has determined the direction of that growth. Extension of these lines has served not only to bring outlying districts into touch with the central area but has tended to take business out of the central area as well placing it in subcenters which are more accessible and more efficient from an economic standpoint.

"Another factor in the growth of a city is industrial expansion. Industries tend to locate along the railways and waterways; light manufacturing just outside the area taken by business and heavy manufacturing at outlying points. The light manufacturing zone constantly encroaches on the area held for residential purposes and thus lowers its values for residence.

This causes a selection by the area of those elements in the population who, either because of low financial status can find a foothold nowhere else or because of low repute cannot remain securely elsewhere." (3) On the other hand the location of heavy manufacturing in outlying districts tends to build up colonies of workers about such industries.

Inventions and discoveries influence profoundly the growth of city. Their importance may be obviously seen in connection with means of transportation and communication where any extension is the direct result of some new invention. Furthermore it extends the field and scope of industry at the same time making for greater specialization. This specialization creates a specialization of the interests of the population and results in a natural segregation of certain industrial types in a single community.

Such forces as these are constantly at work causing the expansion of the city and directing the course of its growth . Natural processes of invasion and succession are causing a movement of the population radially from the center and necessitating a constant process of adjustment. Such movement is necessary to the development of any city but rapid urban expansion such as has been going on in Canada and United States within the last few years is invariably accompanied by excessive increase in divorce, delinquency, crime vice and other forms of social disorganization.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF THE MAP SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF
DISORGANIZATION IN MONTREAL

(1)

Source of Information

Disorganization occurs in every city in the process of the city's growth, assuming its largest proportions during a period of rapid expansion. One of the first institutions to be threatened by this disorganisation is the family which evidences such forms of disintegration as Juvenile Delinquency, desertion and divorce. A study of this last type of disorganization in Montreal would be futile, however, because of the very small number of divorces actually granted to residents of Quebec. This does not mean that Montreal is not facing the same problems as other cities and that its problem is not becoming more acute each year. It simply means that disorganization is taking such forms as desertion, non-support, and separation rather than divorce which is so rigidly opposed by the Roman Catholic Church.

The map included in this chapter was compiled by the writer from information obtained in the files of one of Montreal's Social Agencies, The Society for the Protection of Women and Children. This agency is the only one in this city dealing with non support, desertion and other such family problems either from a social or legal point of view. It is a combination of a Court of Domestic Relations and a Legal Aid Bureau and extends its services to all regardless of nationality or religion.

There are certain limitations however upon the information which this map gives of the nature and extent of family disorganization in Montreal.

Despite the fact that the agency gives advice and assistance without any prejudice in regard to religion and nationality, the cases taken from their files cannot be considered as representing accurately the proportion of disorganization in the Protestant and Catholic sections of the population respectively. The agency is decidedly a protestant agency. Its workers are for the most part protestant and it is supported entirely by subscriptions from the protestant population of Montreal. It is even housed in the same building and considered a corporate part of the Protestant agencies. This is bound to keep away a large body of Catholic families who are having marital difficulties but who are prejudiced about seeking help from Protestants. Furthermore as the workers are all English and English speaking a large part of the French Catholic population feels that it is excluded from obtaining advice because of the barrier cast up by a difference in language. Then too the French Catholic who is in difficulty usually goes to only one source of help, the parish priest. Consequently a large part of the marital distress of that element of the city is solved by the church without ever appearing before an agency or a court.

It has been impossible to show both for reasons of limitations in graphic representation and reliability; the whole mass of information gathered from this survey. For the purpose of this study two facts have been chosen, the fact of disorganization itself and the religious belief in each case. A spot represents the existence and location of a case of family disorganization while color, (red in the case of protestants, green in the case of Catholics) indicates the religious belief of the family. The spots represent the number of cases handled by the agency over a period of seven years from January, 1921 to December of 1927 (inclusive).

Nature of the Disorganization Recorded

Before undertaking any consideration of the distribution of disorganization let us consider for a moment the forms which this disorganization takes. Desertion, as would be expected, heads the list both in frequency of occurrence and in the duration of time over which it lasted. Non-support was also an important form of disintegration and is included, of course, in every case of desertion. Drunkenness and abuse was a very common combination and formed a large part of the total number of cases recorded. Incompatibility, insanity, immorality, flagrant neglect, assault, unemployment and destitution complete the list. These terms are of course arbitrarily used and it is therefore quite conceivable that there would be a great disparity in the classification of problems at different times and by different people. Despite this limitation, however, this information does show us two very important facts. Firstly it shows that disorganization existed in the family to such an degree as to be impossible of solution by the family itself and to warrant taking it before the only family court in the province of Quebec, the Legal Aid Bureau of the Social Agencies. Secondly it shows us the distribution of this disorganization through the city and its relation to the city plan.

-3-

Distribution of Disorganization

A single glance at the map will at once reveal the great concentration in certain areas giving one the impression of a patch work quilt. The greatest concentration is, as we would expect, near the center of the city not very thick at its very heart because the buildings are taken up for business

purposes chiefly and very few families live there but clustering around it in the zone of transition. To the north west there is practically nothing but in the South west appear two patches where disorganization is again quite concentrated. Directly South of the business section there lies a patch with others to the East and North.

This sketchy survey of the general characteristics would seem to point out a correlation between certain districts and disorganization. The question that naturally arises in our mind is, "Do the people become disorganized after they move to these districts or do they move there because they are already disorganized?" The answer to the question is both "yes" and "no". An area like that between Bleury and St. Lawrence on the East of the business section and Atwater on the West (both in the area of transition) where the rate of mobility is so high and where many divergent codes of morals exist side by side is sure to have its effect for better or for worse upon the individuals residing there. "The mobility of city life with its increase in the number and intensity of stimulations tends inevitably to confuse and demoralize the person. For an essential element in the mores and in personal morality is consistency, consistency of the type that is natural in the social control of the primary group. Where mobility is greatest and where in consequence primary control breaks down completely as in the zone of deterioration in the modern city, there develop areas of demoralization, of promiscuity and vice. In different studies made of the city it is found that areas of mobility are also the regions in which are found Juvenile Delinquency boys gangs, crime, poverty, wife desertion, divorce and abandoned infants."⁽¹⁾

Personalities do become disorganized as a result of living in areas of deterioration but the converse is also true. Individuals and families who are potential material for disorganization inevitable drift to such communities because they are of such a disposition and because there is no other place

which will tolerate them. In the expansion of the city, a process of distribution takes place which sifts and sorts and relocates individuals in accordance with occupation, economic status and other interests. Thus a community tends to attract people to it who are somewhat the type of those already living there. "Disorganized areas tend to accentuate certain traits, to attract and to develop their own kind of individuals and so to become further differentiated.

Studies on disorganization in various cities have further pointed to the fact that disorganization follows certain topographical features such as railways and waterways. This conclusion is also borne out in Montreal. A glance at the map will show how closely disorganization hugs the waterfront. from the extreme west to the most easterly point the shore line is dotted with disorganized families thinning out gradually as you go north. The waterfront of Montreal is fast being developed. Land values are high. An increasing demand for new building sights is causing the invasion of the adjoining area. Light manufacturing concerns are creeping in among residences and these latter, because they will sooner or later be torn down to make room for commercial concerns, are allowed to deteriorate. Rents are cheap and neighborhood conditions are undesirable. The result is that a very undesirable type of resident comes in because he is the only person who cares little enough about physical comfort and decency to live in such places. This tendency of industry to concentrate along the waterfront and to continually invade the surrounding residential districts making it desirable only for the disorganized person is quite conceivable accountable for the concentration of disorganization along the waterfront. Other factors such as occupational propinquity do enter in but they will be discussed later.

A still greater concentration seems to take place near lines of transportation. The area in Montreal showing the greatest number of cases

of disorganization lies just between and on either side of the railway tracks within a radius of 15 blocks of the two central stations. For a distance of four or five blocks on St. Antoine St. just west of the C. P. R. station, there is a case of disorganization in almost every house while in Lagache-tiere running East from the station the same thing is true. Business invasion here too is in a sense responsible but of even greater influence is the attraction force of an area, undesirable for permanent residence to the middle class where people come and go freely without any questions being asked or any comments made.

Different types of occupation seem to bring with them varying degrees of disorganization. We may assume although there is no statistical proof of the fact that those who live near the waterfront are men who are employed on the docks, longshoremen for the most part. The very nature of their work is such as to cause much of the disorganization which we find in these parts. Employed for only one season of the year and then only intermittently they pile up debts until they are so large that there is no possibility of paying them up. Then the man of the house disappears leaving the mother to shoulder the burdens of the household alone. Social workers claim that the economic aspect of family disorganization is entirely overshadowed by other factors. A man's occupation, they say, inevitably imprints certain qualities upon his character. If his work is casual, he will tend to become so, if it is irregular he will tend to become the same. How much of this is actually true has not been proven but a map of the distribution of disorganization would seem to confirm this statement.

In addition to the longshoremen and dock workers who are found chiefly along the waterfront we have other communities of people built up around employment of an irregular nature. Two of these are point St. Charles and Rosemount, the former on the waterfront to the west of the business section and the second to the East quite a distance north of the river. Both

are communities where the men are employed in "the Yards" meaning of course railway yards. Employment is far from regular and wages for the most part low. In these communities social workers find a justification for their existence, churches are under constant financial strain because of the insistent demands upon them for relief and social settlements flourish. Here too we find a high degree of family disorganization pointing it would seem to a close correlation between occupational types and family disintegration.

The religious distribution of these cases of family disorganization reveal some very interesting facts. The current idea is that the portion of Montreal lying East of the mountain is French and Catholic whereas the portion to the West is English and Protestant. This map would tend to point out the fallacy of any such an assumption. There may be a slight predominance of Protestant over Catholic in the Western portion but a comparison of the number of cases of each religious body with the total number of that faith in the population of any given area would probably show a fairly even rate for both.

In the Eastern portion of Montreal this same observation is borne out. Catholics and Protestants are fairly evenly distributed which would lead us to believe that there are a great many more English people in this area than would be expected. It must be noted however that Catholicism does not necessarily imply that the family is French or Protestantism that the family is Anglo-Saxon. The Catholic families found in the western portion are, for the most part, Irish Catholics or Catholics of British origin. Most of the Protestants however in the Eastern portion are British, there being less than ten French Protestant families recorded in all. The distribution of religions shown on this map, viewed in the light of the fact that Montreal is essentially a Catholic city⁽²⁾ would tend to bear out the assumption made at

(2) Writer was unable to get statistics as to the proportion of Catholics and protestants in the total population in time to include such information in the body of this material.

the beginning of this chapter that the information upon which this map is based, while it is the most adequate that could be collected at the time, is not accurately representative of the comparative degrees of disorganization among the Catholic and Protestant populations of Montreal.

Disorganization as has been pointed out tends to become concentrated in certain directions. As the city expands radially from the center, so disorganization spreads out radially from the business center. These radials in Montreal run out East along the water front, north between Park Avenue and St. Denis Streets and West along the water front and lines of transportation. Close together near the center the cases become farther and farther apart as we move out until in our high class residential districts of Westmount and Notre Dame de Grace they are so few in number as to be insignificant.

A very interesting study has been made recently in the University of Chicago, showing this tendency of disorganization to grow less and less as we move out from the center. The study which was made with special reference to Juvenile Delinquency pointed out that there was little, if any, correlation between this form of disorganization and race or nationality. The correlation was rather between the neighborhood and Juvenile Delinquency. As long as the Irish remained in a certain neighborhood their rate of delinquency but as they moved out radially from the center, the rate became less until the Irish were no more abnormal in this respect than any of the other nationalities in the Area.

The people who succeeded them in each area went through the same series of changes and experienced the same decrease in the delinquency rate.

It would be interesting to continue from this point to study the city of Montreal from the standpoint of racial distribution and mobility showing the relationship of these two factors to the problem of disorganization. Industrial invasion will change the character of areas now purely residential. Following the industrial encroachment will come neighborhood deterioration and an increase in the amount of disorganization.

This study has by no means exhausted the subject of family disorganization either for Canada or for the city of Montreal. Forces are always at work changing and reorganizing the existing order and new avenues of approach to the subject are ever opening up. All that can be hoped from this short paper is that it may raise questions in the mind of the reader which will serve as an incentive to a further and more complete study of the question of family disorganization.

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