

FOREIGNERS IN THE CANADIAN WEST

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IT may reasonably be asked why, beyond a desire to keep Canada British and French, there has been such an agitation against south-eastern and eastern Europeans, and why so many are considered undesirables. The main questions put by Canadian students of population problems and sociologists in connection with immigrants are:

- I. Do they become rural or urban?
- II. Are they illiterate?
- III. Are they criminally inclined?
- IV. Are they politically disruptive?
- V. Which occupations do they incline to?
- VI. What is their fertility?
- VII. Can they become assimilated?
- VIII. Do they become naturalized?

In how far is the foreign population rural or urban?

Certain foreign elements in Canada tend to establish not only rural enclaves, but also urban ones. In the case of urban concentration, intermarriage and general assimilation is easier and more general than in the country. The highest percentage of aliens who are urban is among the Orientals (65.5%). Immigrants from the British Isles congregate in urban districts more than those coming from the continent, but they are not under discussion. The greatest percentage of urban continentals is supplied by the Greeks (89.33%) followed by the Italians (75.81%), the Poles (67.30%), Russians (56.25%), Bulgarians (52.83%), Roumanians (51.12%), Jugo-Slavs (49.69%), Ukrainians (41.85%), Czechoslovakians (41.42%) and Dutch (40.90%). The Scandinavians (25.75%) are the least urban of all, the Germans (37.24%) follow. A typical mixed urban centre is Winnipeg, of whose 218,785 inhabitants (1931 Census) 132,376 are British, 18,358 Ukrainians, 17,236 Jews, 13,209 Germans, 11,228 Poles. In addition, across the river is St. Boniface, of whose 16,000 inhabitants 11,000 are French-Canadians.

In discussing the foreign rural and urban element, we should take into account that in Canada and elsewhere there is a distinct drift from the country into the towns. Among the many reasons is the increased mechanization¹ of farming, which reduces very far the need of farm labourers but also of immigrants. This is particularly the case in those parts of the Prairie Provinces solely devoted to wheat growing; to this should be added the low prices of agricultural products, drought and locusts on the prairies, and the desire for the greater freedom of town life. The shift from the country to the towns is illustrated by the following figures: the rural population in 1891 was 68.20%, the urban 31.80%; in 1901 the figures are: 62.50% and 37.50%; in 1911: 54.58% and 45.42%; in 1921: 50.48% and 49.52%, that is to say, almost equal, but in 1931 the balance is definitely in favour of the urban population, which was 53.70% as compared with 46.30 rural. This does not affect the output of agricultural products, which is growing as speedily as the rural population decreases.

Taken as a whole, the foreign-born population is not yet as urban as the British² of whom large numbers are occupied in commerce, manufacturing and professions. We have seen that in 1921 of the total population 49.52 p.c. were urban. As in the big cities of the United States, so too in Canada are there Jewish, Italian, Chinese and Negro quarters. "One does not hear of a Scandinavian or of a Dutch or German section of a city nearly so frequently."³

Illiterateness.—What is the state of illiterateness among the foreign-born in Canada? No analytical statistics by race have as yet been published for the 1931 Census, but those from the 1921 Census give the figures for the illiterate foreign stock of 10 years and over.

On closer scrutiny of these figures, we discover that illiterateness among the British stock is very small, among the French large, among other north-western Europeans very small, among south, eastern and central Europeans very large, among the Scandinavians and Germans very small, and among the Latin, Greek and Slavs very large.

There is great resistance among the foreign stocks, with whom illiteracy is high, to send their children to school or to provide school accommodation. True, many of the Slavs are settled in remote, thinly populated districts where it is difficult to control

1. 4 men and a combine can handle the harvest on a farm which formerly occupied 24 men when only a binder was used.

2. Hurd, op. 114.

3. Hurd, p. 174.

school attendance, especially in winter. Illiteracy decreases considerably among Canadian-born foreign stock. Be all this as it may, illiteracy is one of the greatest obstacles to assimilation. For comparison purposes here are the figures for the English: 1.00 p.c.; for the French: 7.96. This is mainly accounted for by the fact that many French Canadians live in remote districts as trappers, hunters and guides, as indeed do many of their farmers. The appended table is suggestive:

| Percentages Illiterate and Percentages unable to speak English or French among the Foreign-Born of the principal Non- British and Non-French Origins in Canada in 1921.* | | |
|--|--|---|
| Origin | (Illiterates over 10 years of age and over.) | (Unable to speak French or English 10 years of age and over.) |
| Norwegian..... | 1.40 | 1.41 |
| Swiss..... | 1.52 | 1.15 |
| Dutch..... | 1.68 | 8.70 |
| Danish..... | 1.74 | 1.84 |
| Swedish..... | 2.67 | 2.68 |
| Icelandic..... | 3.16 | 10.09 |
| German..... | 4.90 | 4.02 |
| Belgian..... | 6.59 | 4.94 |
| Hebrew..... | 9.83 | 7.24 |
| Greek..... | 11.59 | 7.05 |
| Czech..... | 11.94 | 8.00 |
| Finnish..... | 12.59 | 17.31 |
| Various..... | 13.95 | |
| Hungarian..... | 15.73 | 13.76 |
| Japanese..... | 20.40 | 42.50 |
| Syrian..... | 22.22 | 5.32 |
| Serbo-Croatian..... | 22.72 | 10.27 |
| Bulgarian..... | 23.56 | 18.08 |
| Italian..... | 23.68 | 17.19 |
| Lithuanian..... | 23.74 | 9.61 |
| Russian..... | 23.92 | 18.47 |
| Polish..... | 24.46 | 17.26 |
| Roumanian..... | 27.03 | 14.55 |
| Chinese..... | 31.15 | 32.60 |
| Austrian..... | 35.08 | 22.68 |
| Ukrainian..... | 39.46 | 32.98 |

Crime.—Some interesting facts come to light in connection with crime and the foreign-born. While the criminal statistics show that convictions among the British-born and Canadian-born

* The 1931 Census (Vol. II, Ottawa 1933) shows that there are more urban Bulgarians, Czecho-Slovaks, Greek, Hebrew, Jugo-Slavs and Lithuanians than rural.

are equal, the number for the foreign-born is nearly twice as great. The figures for children in reformatories show that for the average foreign community there is a marked improvement in the behaviour of the children of the second and subsequent generations in Canada, (Hurd p. 29).

According to the analysis of the 1921 Census, it was found that of the total population 15 years of age and over, 26 per 100,000 were in penitentiaries in Canada in 1921. For the Canadian-born the rate was as low as 19 per 100,000; for the British-born it was 27; but for the foreign-born it was 75.¹

Of course there is always a higher percentage of criminals among immigrants than among the native-born population, and as men preponderate among the immigrants, the number of female criminals is small among them. If we take all males in penitentiaries over 15, the Canadian-born account for 38 per 100,000, the British-born 49, the foreign-born 127. When we take all those immigrants who were in penitentiaries per 100,000 of the population in 1921, the Bulgarians led with the rate of 1064 (per 100,000 of the male population of 21 and over) followed by the Italians (337), Turks (377), Greeks and Austrians (273), Roumanians (209), Swiss (199), Americans (159)², Russians (144), Danes (132), Hungarians (2), Dutch (107), Finns (104), Belgians (99), French (77), Chinese (57), Germans (46), Czecho-Slovaks (45), Japanese (39), Swedes (36) and Ukrainians (32).

Among all immigrants, therefore, the Ukrainians are the most law-abiding, and though they are the most illiterate and backward immigrants, they appear to be particularly free from crime of a serious nature. This is due mainly to their rural residence and agricultural occupation. Indeed the Ukrainians³ not only among the Slavs but among nearly all immigrants have proved to be a very great asset to the country as real pioneers, especially in difficult bush country. The German and Dutch Mennonites, the Russian Doukhobors, and the German Catholics are the most difficult groups to assimilate. Actually in the year under discussion there was only one Turk and Czecho-Slovak, 3 Japanese and Dutch, 4 Swiss and Hungarians and so on in penitentiaries. With such small numbers rates are not reliable. But the fact is established during the course of many years that there is a definite relation between crime and country of origin. The greatest

1. Hurd, *op. cit.* p. 189.

2. The high rate of the Americans is due to the crossing into Canada of gangsters and other professional criminals, some of whom endeavour to escape in Canada, and does not reflect the criminality of the actual settlers.

3. For further information about the Ukrainians in Canada, see C. H. Young's very instructive work, *The Ukrainian Canadian*, Toronto 1931.

relative number of criminals in Canada are among the Latins, Greeks, south-eastern and central Europeans and Slavs, the lowest among the north-western Europeans and Germans. These were the facts that have determined Canada's recent immigration policy, and the immigrants now coming into Canada are "picked".

There is one phenomenon in connection with the peoples from southern and south-eastern Europe, the striking absence of mental defectives. This is contrary to the general opinion. "It appears that, if compulsory education can be generally enforced, we have in such cases not only an industrial asset . . . , but also the assurance of a population remarkably free from the degenerative effects seen in those classes which have been for several generations factory operatives and dwellers in the congested centres of large industrial populations."¹ Too many immigrants who came to Canada hitherto came from urban centres instead of from agricultural classes, though there is sufficient evidence that young men from cities and towns have become good farmers in Canada, especially in the prairie where farming methods are simple and easily learned by willing and adaptable young people. Nor does the strong son of the soil necessarily make the best farmer; intelligence and self-discipline are as important as mere physical strength, especially now that farming is becoming more mechanized.

Disruptive Political Tendencies.

Politically, many of the immigrants, especially from Italy, south-eastern and eastern Europe are disruptive. The Doukhobors have had to be imprisoned wholesale, as they oppose education and tax-paying by such phantastic methods as burning schools and naked parades. But their fractiousness is due to religious and not to political scruples. They have a sort of dictatorship method which "in many ways . . . shows the community to be a microcosm of Russia."² The Slavs in Winnipeg and other western cities contribute considerably to Communist ideas and troubles, sometimes developing into local riots. The Canadian Communist party is small. It is exotic, and led principally by European immigrants. Other foreign elements in Toronto and Montreal are politically restless, and the Jews have become unpopular in the Province of Quebec, where the French Canadian nationalists are developing Fascist tendencies. The "Canadian Forum", a monthly Toronto Journal, has Radical sympathies, and many

1. P. H. Bryce, Chief Medical Officer of Immigration, Report, Ottawa 1908, p. 110.

2. Robert England: The Colonization of Western Canada, London 1936, p. 216. He is referring to the community Dukhobors who are orthodox and oppose naturalization and the taking of the Census.

of its contributors are Jews whose articles while being critical, are never constructive, and whose ideas are distinctly alien to those of the British and French-Canadians.

Occupation.—Occupationally the picture that presents itself of the immigrants and foreign-born is such that it shows “speaking relatively, that immigrants from the British Possessions and British Isles avoid agriculture and engage in manufacturing and transportation to a much greater extent than do the Canadian-born”;¹ that the settlers from Europe (and the United States), as would be expected, supply the largest proportion of the agriculturist, and among the south, south-eastern and eastern Europeans the women work more on the land than do those from other countries or than do the Canadian women. French, German, Scandinavian, Austrian Slav, Russian and Ukrainian immigrants are nearly all agricultural people. The Jews² are all urban and the Poles largely so; so too are the Italians, and especially the Greeks. Very many Finns, Poles and south-eastern Europeans work in the mines, and as gangers on the railways. The Chinese favour laundry work, cheap restaurants, particularly on the Prairies, where they also run small hotels, and in Winnipeg and further west they act as railway porters (“red caps”). In British Columbia they do a lot of fruit farming (as do the Japanese) and truck gardening; they also work as domestic servants, and in the fish-canneries, whereas the Japanese do a lot of the salmon fishing. The Orientals in British Columbia are a special economic, social and political problem outside the scope of this study. A notice outside many pulpmills, etc., in British Columbia, “No Orientals need apply” is symptomatic.

Fertility.—Finally, the fertility by origin is a most important factor of Canadian population problems. The fertility of the Slav (the absolute greatest), Latin and Greek stocks in Canada is much greater than that of the British, and of the French, German and Scandinavian. The effect of the war, which sent 400,000 Canadians overseas and killed close on 59,000 of the flower of Canadian manhood, was, as in most countries participating in the war, disastrous to the increase of the population.

To speak generally, in Canada the lower the standard of education and culture the greater the fertility, which again means it is in favour of the south-eastern and eastern stocks with whom, however, naturally infant mortality is higher. What further tends to neutralize fertility is the disproportionate high number of

1. W. B. Hurd, *op. cit.* 32.

2. Jewish agricultural settlements have practically all been deserted.

males among immigrants. On the other hand, the lower a stock is culturally, the earlier it tends to marry, and among this class the child-bearing age of the women is very high.

Assimilation.—Canada was not confronted with difficulties of assimilation till the end of the last century, unless we count the quondam abortive and foolish attempts to assimilate the French-Canadians, a policy suggested by Lord Durham. Nobody thinks of such a fantastic scheme to-day; indeed, responsible people have long since recognized the desirability of keeping that important and valuable element of the Canadian population intact. We should always remember that the French do not really constitute a "minority", such as is familiar in modern European politics. When the south, eastern and south-eastern Europeans came pouring into the prairies at the turn of the century, Canada soon found herself faced with the problem how to assimilate them.

Marriage outside their race is one method. But, owing to the fact that many of the above-named immigrants settle in enclaves, do not learn English, keep their children away from school as much as possible and marry among their own people, marriage acts slowly as a method of assimilation. Canada cannot possibly in the long run tolerate the presence of alien enclaves, if she does not want to become Balkanized. She has had trouble enough with her two-race problem, although French-Canadian and Anglo-Canadian cultures and sociological conditions are not so far apart as those of, say, the Ukrainian and Anglo-Canadian. Different races can often be housed under one national roof if each race occupies one section of the country, as is the case in Switzerland; but the problem becomes dangerous and complicated if races are scattered in enclaves like plums in a cake, as is the case in the Canadian Prairie Provinces.

Where the races are interwoven as it were, and the children leave their parents and are swallowed up by the Anglo-Saxon element in Canada, assimilation progresses normally and unavoidably. The French have remained immune from the settlement of other races in their midst. Even their old historical capital, social and political stronghold Quebec (founded 1608) with a population of 170,915 (1931) has only 14,289 non-French. This includes 12,084 of British origin, leaving only 2,205 non-French and British, and if one deducts the 446 Indians, one finds only 1,759 other races, of which there are about 25. Any attempts to settle among them have resulted in their being crowded out; indeed the French in Canada push out the Anglo-Canadian population,

as for instance in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, and are filtering in Ontario. They have also established settlements in the West where their race had penetrated long before the British.

Assimilation is difficult in a country the size of Canada with a widely scattered population. Success is possible only if the task is taken up province-wise, as for instance in Saskatchewan, where there are many eastern and south-eastern Europeans with a low standard of living and a tendency to preserve their culture by living in enclaves, often in remote parts of the country. It is now recognized in western Canada, which was the chief goal of immigrants and where the races are most mixed, that there is however a limit to which attempts at assimilation should be carried. True, the immigrants' children are taught citizenship and English with all its significance to facilitate their life in the Dominion. If the dozens of races and nationalities were to attempt to remain as enclaves, the country would become a veritable Tower of Babel and disintegrate. The person who emigrates to a country overseas, whether for political or for economic reasons, usually does so because he finds life unbearable in his own country. This does not necessarily mean that he wishes to cut cultural and sentimental ties. Unless he is a Chinaman or Italian, he seldom intends to return. He is often a valuable commercial and financial asset to his country of origin, because he establishes trade relations and often remits considerable sums home.

In spite of definite (but undocumented) statements to the contrary,¹ there has never been an attempt to influence the religion of the immigrant as a step towards assimilation, beyond the usual proselytizing that goes on in many countries and which is merely religious in its aims. It is a fact with few exceptions (Mennonites and Doukhobors) that the first generation of the immigrants' children will usually be well on the way to become Canadian, provided they do not live in remote districts. This is in their own interests if they wish to compete successfully with the Canadians, and do not want to remain an alien element with all its economic, political and social disadvantages. Not only has every attempt ceased to assimilate the foreigner in Canada to such an extent as to destroy many of his valuable qualities, but Canadians now recognize that the *preservation of national culture, folklore, art and music* contributes towards the civilization of their country. For this reason, for instance, exhibitions of handicraft-work, art and drama and concerts have been encouraged, especially in the Prairie Province, and incidentally have proved very stimulating and inspiring. Much

1. e.g. H. Lehmann, *Das evangelische Deutschtum in Kanada*, p. 7.

inducement and assistance along these lines has been given by Professor Robert England.¹ The competitions in "community progress" instituted in 1930 by Dr. W. J. Black of the C.N.R. Dept. of Colonization and Agriculture have done a lot to encourage handicraft (embroidery, weaving, rug-making, knitting, basketry, toy-making, pottery, vegetable dyes are specially fostered) for which cash prizes are given, "to bring within the sweep of our Canadian culture and life the traditional skills, homecraft and handicrafts of our European peoples."

A typical Canadian attitude towards assimilation is expressed by A. D. Fraser:²—"The open-door policy that Canada has adopted is involving the country in a serious problem of assimilation. It is a very grave state of affairs when a country finds itself confronted by this problem of assimilation, for this is one of the means by which we may maintain our unity in the face of constant incoming streams of persons of other nationalities. Unity can be obtained only through the complete sacrifice of extraneous national traits on the part of our foreign elements. Non-assimilation is the destruction of nationality. There is no give-and-take in assimilation."

As a short cut to assimilation, the suggestion to stop immigration altogether was made long before the general trend of world affairs, economic and political, checked immigration, more than perhaps the regulations made in 1931 which provided that the only persons eligible to enter Canada were agriculturists of means (\$2,000 at least are required to begin farming), the wife or child (under 18) of a Canadian resident, and British or United States citizens if they had money. Unless they can qualify under these headings, British and United States citizens are also not desired in Canada to-day.

Those Canadians opposed to immigration are chiefly to be found in labour ranks who wish, like the Australians, to keep out competition and are not worried about race problems; further French-Canadians, Orangemen and a few pro-British fanatics. In the Canadian House of Commons (11.6.31) a French-Canadian member said that Canada should dispense with immigrants, as they brought with them their miseries, and sometimes their diseases.

Intermarriage³ is the greatest promoter of assimilation. Intermarriage of north western Europeans and British and French is the most frequent, accounting for about one-third of this section of the population marrying Canadians. The percentage of north-

1. See his *The Central European Immigrant in Canada*, Toronto 1929, and *The Colonization of Western Canada*, London 1936.

2. A Quota System for Canada? *Saturday Night*, Toronto 14.5.30.

3. The figures are based on W. B. Hurd's, *Origin, Birthplace, Nationality and Language of the Canadian People*, Ottawa 1929.

western European women marrying outside their own stock preponderates slightly. Thus the Nordics tend to fuse with their own stock. The greatest amount of intermarriage (*ca* 43 p.c.) is among Scandinavians; the Germanic peoples rank second.¹ The figures for the Latins and Greek are much lower (men 22 p.c., women 7.6 p.c.). The Slav figures are still lower (men 15.2 p.c., women 14.4 p.c.). But with the groups, north-western Europeans, Latin and Slavs the figures vary; for instance 74.2 p.c. of the Danish men, 73.7 p.c. of the Swiss and 53 p.c. of the Dutch married wives of other origins, as against 10.6 p.c. for the Austrians, 10.5 p.c. for the Galicians, 9.2 p.c. for the Finns (who are of course not Nordics), 7.5 p.c. for the Ukrainians and 4.2 p.c. for the Hebrews. Intermingling by marriage has proceeded farther with the Scandinavians and Germanics than with the Slavs, Latins and Greeks.²

In the south-eastern and central European stock only 5.9 p.c. of the men and 2.5 p.c. of the women married into British and French stocks. It is therefore established that assimilation by intermarriage with the British and French has made progress among most north-western European peoples, but it has scarcely begun with those of the south, eastern and central parts of the continent.³

We have seen that segregation in enclaves is inimical to intermarriage, and this also affects all stocks. The chief examples are the Dutch and German Mennonites (in Manitoba and less so in Ontario).

With the decrease of immigration the number of Canadian-born of non-British and non-French origin is of great interest as an index to assimilation. Thus in 1931 nearly 2,000,000 of the population had both foreign-born mothers and fathers.

Naturalization is a very important factor favouring assimilation. When an immigrant becomes naturalized, apart from purely economic reasons—*e.g.* homesteading,—he usually does so because he wants to become a Canadian⁴ and identify himself with the country. When an immigrant has reached the point of getting

1. Hurd, p. 23.

2. Hurd, p. 24.

3. Hurd, *op. cit.* 24.

4. Nationally a person born in Canada (who has not become an alien), or British domiciled in Canada or a naturalized person is a Canadian. Canadian nationality was defined by an Act in 1927. But in general a "Canadian" is a person whose family has been three generations or more in Canada. By then he begins to show the climatic influence and to show traits of what is loosely called the "American" type, which is definitely recognizable. There is as yet no discoverable difference between the American (United States) type and the Canadian. It is beyond the scope of this work to discuss the problem of Canadian nationality which is definitely evolving. The beginnings of a Canadian art and literature are a step in this direction. The literature on the subject is as yet small. Professor W. S. Wallace's *The Growth of Canadian National Feeling* (Toronto 1927) is an excellent book to begin with; W. Harris's *Achates or the Future of Canada* (London 1929) is useful. The political side of the question is dealt with in great detail in a work of the late J. S. Ewart's, *The Kingdom Papers*, Ottawa 1912, etc. Prof. A. Brady's *Canada*, London 1932 should be consulted.

naturalized, this is an indication of the process of assimilation. Still, naturalization does not always necessarily mean Canadianization, as was shown at the outbreak of the war. Mr. R. H. Coats estimates that after ten years only about 30% of the foreign-born population remain unnaturalized.¹ In 1931 there were 1,122,695 foreign-born residents in Canada; of these 614,971 were naturalized Canadian subjects (54.78%). But among the foreigners born in Canada in 1931 those born in the United States amounted to 344,574 (of whom 72.44 were naturalized by 1931) exceeded those born in any other country. According to a Census study based on the Census of 1921 and supplementary data² the British, French, Germans and Scandinavians accounted for 95 per cent of the total United States born residents of Canada in 1921; and though a similar analysis has not yet been made for the 1931 Census, there is little reason to believe that the percentage has changed much.

Of the total foreign-born population in Canada (1931) except those born in the United States (*vide ut supra*) the Poles led with 171,169, of whom 46.87% were naturalized. They were followed by the 114,406 Russians, of whom 59.02 p.c. were naturalized. The sequence is then as follows (per cent naturalized in brackets): Asiatics 60,608 (20.00); these include 42,037 (7.01) Chinese; 12,261 Japanese (37.32); 3,953 (74.07) Syrians and 921 (71.66) Turks and 1,436 (70.26) classed as others. The following figures are for the "country of birth" (*Canada Year Book* 1934-35, Ottawa 1935, p. 144) which is by no means always an indication of race, and are therefore only approximate;³ 114,406 (59.02) Russians; 42,578 (62.81) Italians; 40,322 (57.81) Roumanians; 39,163 (47.08) Germans; 37,391 (59.93) Austrians; 34,415 (59.76) Swedes; 30,354 (28.65) Finns; 28,523 (22.41) Hungarians; 32,679 (56.51) Norwegians; 17,217 (31.21) Danes; 22,835 (20.00) Czechs; Yugoslavs and Belgians both 17,000 (19.70) and (49.70); French 16,756 (66.14); Dutch 10,736 (36.86); Ukrainians 6,075 (41.36); Icelanders 5,731 (91.10); Greeks 5,579 (62.74); and 1,467 (47.65) foreign-born Bulgarians were naturalized.

In descending order the Icelanders lead in naturalization, followed by the French, Syrians, Turks, Italians, Greeks, Austrians, Swedes, Russians (the last three to the extent of nearly 60%), Roumanians, Norwegians, Belgians, Bulgarians, Germans, Poles, Ukrainians, Swiss, Japanese, Dutch, Danes, Finns, Hungarians, Yugoslavs and Chinese.

1. Population Problems. Edited by L. S. Dublin, Boston 1926, p. 192.

2. Hurd, p. 49.

3. In the Canadian statistics there are also tables of languages spoken, but these too can present only an approximate picture of race, as the mother-tongue is not necessarily an indication of race thus a Jew who speaks Italian is not racially a Latin.

By far the greatest number of naturalizations take place in the three Prairie Provinces, where a contributing factor towards increasing naturalization is the taking-up of homesteads. We must mention here that *homesteading* is intimately connected with the whole question of immigration, and the possibility of obtaining free homesteads has been a great inducement in the past to settlers to go to Canada as it was to the United States. As mentioned before, the practical cessation of free grants of lands within economic distance of the railways¹ has been a contributory factor to reducing immigration. Indeed, the free homestead is almost a thing of the past. They were first just granted in Canada in 1872; since then (till 1931) 640,000 homesteads, each 160 acres in size, were granted, but in the same period nearly the half were cancelled for one reason or another (non-fulfilment of obligations, etc.). The peak was in the fiscal year 1911 when 44,479 entries for homesteads were made, but practically half as many (22,122) grants were cancelled that year too. In 1931 Dominion public lands in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta were transferred to these provinces. But by this time practically all the desirable land fit for homesteading was so far from railway stations that a great retardation had set in, irrespective of the drop in immigration. It goes without saying that, beyond the western homesteads granted, large free grants of land have been made throughout the country since the conquest (as well as prior to 1763), and that land was sold, and can still be purchased in remote districts, at a mere nominal sum. Indeed, farm lands are still much cheaper in most parts of the Dominion than in Europe and the United States (a chief reason for American immigration into Canada). We need not deal here with squatters in the early history of the country. The railways received grants of nearly 32,000,000 acres alone in the Prairie Provinces. Homestead grants were always a great factor in assimilation, as one of the conditions of receiving a grant is naturalization if the grantee is a foreigner. Thus, to take the year 1931, when 10,984 homesteads were granted, 9,492 of the grantees were foreigners; including 755 United States nationals. (Of these 10,984 entries there were 3,827 cancellations.) I have no figures as to how many foreigners there were among this number whose homesteads were cancelled. In view of what has been said above, it is clear why the greatest number of naturalizations takes place in the three Prairie Provinces and in British Columbia. The foreigner who acquires a farm by purchase will usually become naturalized.

1. Farming cannot as a rule be carried on successfully more than 15 to 20 miles from a railway station.

For some reason or other, urban life is *per se* comparatively unfavourable to naturalization. A partial explanation is that the factor of land acquisition is lacking.

For the present the danger to Canada of a racial, and with it social and political, Balkanization by too great an infiltration of non-Teutonic and non-French elements has been averted. There is a certain element of safety in the various ethnic groups who are too diverse in their culture and language to become a hostile unit. That in the future, should the emigration wave set Canada—wards again, Canada will be so indiscriminate in her hospitality is improbable. It would be unwise. The Great War proved that the melting pot theory in the United States was wrong; it showed not a United States, but a disunited States of Europe on the American continent.